

The Representation of Female Politicians in the Media : the Case of Hillary Clinton's 2016 Presidential Campaign

Mémoire réalisé par
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Introduction

“Will we ever have a woman President? We will.”¹

“When that day comes, I believe that my two presidential campaigns will have helped pave the way for her. We did not win, but we made the sight of a woman nominee more familiar. We brought the possibility of a women president closer. We helped bring into the mainstream the idea of a woman leader for our country. That’s a big deal, and everyone who played a role in making that happen should feel deeply proud. This was worth it. I will never think otherwise. This fight was worth it.”²

In October of 2017, I had the opportunity to attend a book conference held by Hillary Rodham Clinton in Montreal, Canada. During this conference, Mrs. Clinton discussed her new book called *What Happened*³, in which Mrs. Clinton expressed her thoughts and views on the 2016 presidential campaign. While I was there, the atmosphere was electric. I saw that the people in the audience were not only present to listen to Mrs. Clinton but to support a woman who almost became the first women president of the United States of America. Indeed, I was particularly impressed by a young woman wearing a shirt that said, “A woman's place is in the White House”. I could feel that what was important was not the personality of Mrs. Clinton or her history, but what she accomplished as a woman in a world that is still particularly dominated by men.

There are various reasons why women are underrepresented in American politics such as women’s lack of confidence, their family, party leaders, and the media.

One reason key to understand gender and American politics is by examining the role that the media played in the 2016 presidential campaign. Indeed, the media plays an important role in the presence of candidates in the newspapers. The media also portrays candidates positively or negatively. Furthermore, it also states if a candidate is viable or not. When talking about politics, journalists use certain lexical fields. The media also talks about candidates’ personal

¹ Rodham Clinton, Hillary. *What Happened*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2017, p. 144.

² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

³ *Ibid.*

issues and personal life. Furthermore, it also describes the candidates' qualities. Finally, issues considered as gendered are also associated with candidates.

In this thesis, I will analyze the representation of Hillary Rodham Clinton by the media during the 2016 presidential campaign according to the seven criteria previously stated. I will analyze chronologically the coverage of three major events of the race for the nomination. Then, I will analyze my findings in order to reach a conclusion.

I hypothesize that the representation of Hillary Rodham Clinton is different than the representation of male candidates in the media during the 2016 presidential campaign. I expect Mrs. Clinton to receive less coverage than her male counterparts. Furthermore, I hypothesize that the portrayal of Mrs. Clinton will be stereotyped, focusing on the fact that she is a woman rather than on the fact that she is a politician.

1. Theory

1.1. Women in politics, a long journey

The first woman to ever run for president of the United States of America was Victoria Woodhull in 1872.⁴ This candidacy happened at a time in which the role of women was centered on the private sphere as they were in charge of taking care of their family at home.⁵ Men were active in the public sphere, and thus, in politics.⁶ They were presumably representing best the interests of their family as well as society.⁷ The situation evolved only in 1920 when women in the United States of America acquired the right to vote.⁸

Nowadays, politics has become more hospitable as more women have entered the electorate.⁹ However, the number of women in high-level positions is still low in comparison to men and no women were ever elected president or vice-president of the United States of America. This situation is even more interesting considering that women constitute the majority of voters for these male representatives.¹⁰

This underrepresentation of women in politics can be attributed to different factors. Julie Dolan, Melissa M. Deckman and Michele L. Swers stated three factors that could explain the difference between female and male politicians.¹¹ First, women are underrepresented in politics due to their lack of confidence in their own qualifications.¹² Second, party leaders discriminate, consciously or unconsciously, against women during their recruitments.¹³ Third, women choose to put their family first and wait for their children to grow up before focusing on their political career.¹⁴

Furthermore, some argue that the representation of female candidates in the media could be a reason for this underrepresentation of women in politics.

⁴ Falk, Erika. *Women for President: Media Bias in Nine Campaigns*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2010, p. 35.

⁵ Dolan, Julie, Deckman, Meleissa M. and Swers, Michele L. *Women and Politics: Paths to Power and Political Influence*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016, p. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Carroll, Susan J. and Fox, Richard Logan. *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹¹ Dolan, Julie, Deckman, Meleissa M. and Swers, Michele L. *op. cit.*, p. 106.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 106

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

1.2. Politics in the media

In the past, the portrayal of candidates tended to differ depending on the gender of the candidate.¹⁵ As Erika Falk stated, women candidates received less coverage than their male counterparts.¹⁶ Moreover, she explained that fewer stories about women candidates were published and that these stories were usually shorter than those about men.¹⁷

In addition, differences appeared in the kind of issues associated with the candidates. Some topics were considered more “feminine” and were more generally associated with women than men.¹⁸ Many of these “feminine” issues were mainly in relations with the home and family, and were issues such as education, health and housing.¹⁹ For example, equal rights and reforms in marriage are considered as “feminine” issues.²⁰

The language used in the press to talk about politics can also be characterized as particularly masculine. Indeed, Jackson Katz explained that journalists often use metaphors and references about sports while talking about politics. These references often relate to two sports in particular, American football and boxing whose participants and fans are mostly composed of men.²¹ For example, Mr. Katz cited a headline from the *Los Angeles Times* during the 2000 presidential primary, “McCain Delivers Hard Left to Christian Right.”²² Furthermore, Susan J. Carroll and Richard L. Fox pointed out that the language of war is also prevalent in politics.²³

This use of gendered language reinforces the conception that people have in regards to the type of politicians that should be in office. As Susan J. Carroll and Richard L. Fox explained, Americans want their leaders “to be tough, dominant, and assertive”.²⁴ They added that in the

¹⁵ Falk, Erika. *op. cit.*, p. 101.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

¹⁹ Vaughn, Justin S. and Goren, Lilly J. *Women and the White House: Gender, Popular Culture, and Presidential Politics*. Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 2013, p. 15.

²⁰ Falk, Erika. *op. cit.*

²¹ Katz, Jackson. *Man enough?: Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton, and the Politics of Presidential Masculinity*. Northampton, Massachusetts Interlink Books, 2016, p. 50.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 53

²³ Carroll, Susan J. and Fox, Richard Logan. *op. cit.*, p. 6.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

post-9/11 world, people preferred candidates with a military background, which are still mostly men.²⁵

Another difference was, as Kathleen A. Dolan pointed out, how journalists tended to focus on the personal life and personal issues of female candidates in comparison to their male counterparts.²⁶ These personal issues included the physical appearance of the candidate, their personality and their family status.²⁷

1.3. The importance of the coverage of female candidates in the media

The coverage of politicians in the media is important in all elections, but most particularly in the presidential election as the information spread in the news is mainly what the voters will learn about the candidates.²⁸ Thus, I can say that journalists have an impact on the viability of candidates. If they never talk about some candidates, voters do not get to know about them and thus, will not vote for them.²⁹ Furthermore, through the stereotypical representation of female candidates or through their non-representation, the media contributes to the belief that “women do not belong in the political sphere”.³⁰

Thus, the press may impact voters during elections. It can also impact candidates, as well as future potential candidates. Indeed, as Erika Falk stated, the representation of female candidates in the press and how they are treated may encourage or discourage women to later enter the world of politics.³¹

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Dolan, Kathleen A. *Voting for women: how the public evaluates women candidates*. Boulder Westview, 2004, pp. 49-50.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Falk, Erika. *op. cit.*, p. 2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

1.4. The representation of Hillary Rodham Clinton in the newspapers

In 2008, Hillary Rodham Clinton was a candidate in the Democratic party's primaries in order to become the first woman president of the United States of America. After losing the nomination to Barack Obama, she became the first woman to be Secretary of State.³²

In 2015, she announced that she would be running in the 2016 presidential election. Throughout 2016, she participated in numerous events and rallies, went through all the caucuses and primaries to finally be nominated as the candidate for the Democratic party. This event marks a new milestone in the history of women in politics, as Clinton was the first woman to be nominated as a main party candidate for a presidential election.

In order to understand how Hillary Clinton became the first woman to become a main party nominee, I will analyze her portrayal in the media. Indeed, the media has a role in elections as it might influence voters. In this thesis, I will analyze the representation of Hillary Clinton in the news in order to see if the generalities made about the representation of women in the press apply to Mrs. Clinton and whether media coverage had an impact on her campaign.

A selection of different articles has been gathered. The articles come from the *New York Times*. This newspaper has been chosen as it is presumed to be a neutral newspaper. Furthermore, I decided to focus my analysis on articles written for three important events, which are the Iowa caucus, the New Hampshire primary and Super Tuesday. These events were selected due to their importance in the journey towards the presidential nomination in the United States of America. Articles were selected according to the following criteria: I limited my selection to articles published between the day before, the day of, and the day after the event. Finally, I removed any articles that were not pertinent for my analysis such as TV programs and articles that mentioned the name of the event but were focused on subjects not linked to politics.

Next, I analyzed the data with different criteria.

First, I went through the articles to compare the coverage of Hillary Rodham Clinton with other male candidates. Secondly, I examined this coverage to determine if her representation was positive or negative. Thirdly, I searched to see if the journalists talked about the viability of Hillary Clinton as a candidate to become president. I then looked into the language used in

³² Katz, Jackson. *op. cit.*, p. 249.

the media to see if the argument about the use of sports and war language in politics is applied only to male candidates or also to female candidates. In regards to the content of the coverage, I analyzed whether the personal life of a candidate was covered more for women than for men. I also looked into the qualities used to describe the candidates. Finally, I searched to see if topics more traditionally considered as feminine issues were attributed more to women than men and vice versa.

Finally, I will analyze the findings to present my conclusions.

2. Iowa Caucus

The Iowa caucus is an important event on the way towards a party nomination. It is, indeed, the first caucus that candidates will have to go through.³³ Furthermore, Elaine C. Kamarck pointed out how this caucus coverage in the media is more intense than the ones organized in other states.³⁴ For these reasons, it was important for my research to look into the articles on the Iowa caucus of the 2016 presidential campaign, which was held on February 1, 2016.

Surprisingly considering the importance of this caucus, only three articles containing the words “Iowa caucus” were published in the *New York Times* between January 31 and February 2.

2.1. Presence of Hillary Rodham Clinton in the *New York Times*

The three articles written in the *New York Times* on the Iowa caucus did not offer a lot of coverage on Hillary Clinton. In fact, only two articles mentioned the candidate. The article “You Didn’t Win Iowa. Now What?” written by Emma Roller was about the candidates who lost the caucus.³⁵ Since Ms. Roller considered Hillary Clinton as one of the winners, she did not write about her. However, she did mention her name twice; once when addressing the Democratic candidate Martin O’Malley, “Now may be time to harness some of that Carcetti-like charm and start cozying up to Clinton staffers.”³⁶, and the other time when talking about the winners of this caucus, “Both Hillary Clinton and Mr. Sanders spoke, in triumphant tones, to their supporters Monday night before a winner was declared”³⁷.

The other two articles were each focused on one particular candidate. One of them focused on the Texan candidate, Ted Cruz and the other on the New Yorker Donald Trump. The article on Ted Cruz³⁸ did mention Hillary Clinton three times while the other article did not mention her at all.

³³ Kamarck, Elaine C., *Primary Politics. Everything You Need to Know About How America Nominates Its Presidential Candidates*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2016, p. 54.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

³⁵ Roller, Emma. “You Didn’t Win Iowa. Now What?.” *New York Times*. February 2, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Draper, Robert. “Higher Math.” *New York Times*. January 31, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

The fact that none of the articles were written about Hillary Clinton did not allow me to compare it with the articles written on male candidates such as the ones written about Ted Cruz or Donald Trump. However, it is in itself revealing of the difference in coverage between the candidates. Indeed, it shows that male candidates received more coverage than female candidates since articles focused on male candidates while no articles focused on female candidates. Furthermore, while looking at the coverage of Hillary Clinton in each article, I saw that the Democratic candidate did not receive the same coverage as other candidates such as Donald Trump. This could be seen in the article “Higher Math”.³⁹ This article was focused on Ted Cruz; however, both Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump were mentioned. The difference, which proves that the Democratic female candidate did not receive the same treatment as her Republican counterpart, is that she was mentioned three times while Donald Trump was mentioned seven times.

2.2. The image of Hillary Rodham Clinton in the media, positive or negative?

The two articles mentioning Hillary Clinton offered a different image of the candidate. In one of the articles, the coverage of Mrs. Clinton could be seen as more negative. Indeed, in the article “Higher Math”⁴⁰, the author made two comparisons between her and other male candidates. Both times, Hillary Clinton was portrayed as inferior. Indeed, Mr. Draper quoted Bob Vander Plaats, an evangelical activist in Iowa who supported Ted Cruz, “Now we have a full-spectrum conservative in Ted Cruz. This is a base election, and everyone knows it. And I think he crushes Hillary.”⁴¹ This could also be seen when Robert Draper reported that the strategists of the Republican candidate Ted Cruz suggested that she “will not inspire voters the way Obama did”⁴² and when the author chose to support this statement by writing “and this may well be true.”⁴³

In “You Didn’t Win Iowa. Now What?”⁴⁴, the image portrayed was more neutral. Indeed, Emma Roller wrote about Hillary Clinton stating that she was the Democratic candidate who

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Roller, Emma. “You Didn’t Win Iowa. Now What?”, *op. cit.*

won the Iowa caucus. However, the author did not write about her program or the qualities she had that would enable her to be the nominee of her party. Furthermore, Ms. Roller talked more about Mr. Sanders, portraying him as a winner of the Iowa caucus, than Mrs. Clinton who actually won the caucus. Indeed, Ms. Roller wrote, “And to the winners: On caucus night, you can win simply by out-performing expectations, and that’s just what Senator Bernie Sanders did.”⁴⁵ The image of Hillary Clinton was neutral as Ms. Roller only stated facts about her. However, the little coverage of Mrs. Clinton compared to the coverage of Mr. Sanders showed a difference in regards to the coverage between female candidates and male candidates. Indeed, Ms. Roller focused more on Bernie Sanders than Hillary Clinton, the winner of the Iowa caucus, when talking about who won the caucus.

2.3. Hillary Clinton, a viable candidate?

The image of Hillary Clinton portrayed in the articles mostly shown the viability or non-viability of the candidate. Indeed, in the article “Higher Math”, the author chose to quote the evangelical activist Bob Vander Plaats: “Now we have a full-spectrum conservative in Ted Cruz. This is a base election, and everyone knows it. And I think he crushes Hillary”.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the author wrote that Mrs. Clinton would not convince voters as Obama did.⁴⁷ I could see through these statements that the image of Hillary Clinton suggested in the article was one of a candidate that has fewer chances to win the presidential election than the other male candidates of the 2016 primaries as well as candidates from previous elections.

In “You Didn’t Win Iowa. Now What?”⁴⁸, the coverage of Hillary Clinton was more positive than in Robert Draper’s article. Indeed, Emma Roller chose to give some advice to Martin O’Malley by telling him to try to make a good impression on Hillary Clinton’s team in order to get a position in the Cabinet in January.⁴⁹ While writing this advice, the author implied that Hillary Clinton would be the one to win. Thus, Ms. Roller represented Mrs. Clinton as a viable candidate.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Draper, Robert. *op. cit.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Roller, Emma. “You Didn’t Win Iowa. Now What?”, *op. cit.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

2.4. Politics: a field for sports and war references

The little coverage of Hillary Clinton and other female candidates did not allow me to analyze if the language of sports and war was as used for men than women. However, numerous occurrences were used when talking about male candidates. Robert Draper's article "Higher Math"⁵⁰ was particularly representative of this. The journalist used numerous sport and war references in regards to Ted Cruz. For example, he reported that "After scoring his upset victory in 2012, Cruz took his Tea Party platform with him to Washington [...]"⁵¹ and that "Cruz also wasted little time offending his Republican colleagues in the Senate, well before any ideological battle lines had been drawn"⁵².

This reinforces the theory about the usage of sports and war metaphors to describe scenes in politics.

2.5. Personal issues and personal life, a woman's issue?

According to Kathleen A. Dolan, personal issues such as physical appearance, clothes and personal life are more often covered for female candidates than their male counterparts.⁵³ In the article written on the Iowa caucus in the *New York Times*, little coverage of Hillary Clinton and other female candidates was published and what was printed did not cover personal issues or personal life. Regarding the personal issues and personal life of male candidates who received more coverage, I could see that these topics were not addressed. "Higher Math" mentioned that Cruz's father gave sermons that could be seen as a support for his son.⁵⁴ This was the only reference to the family of one of the candidates in all the articles from the *New York Times*. Moreover, this article, which focused on Ted Cruz, focused on his faith and the role that it had in his campaign. By putting the emphasis of the article on the religion of a candidate, the author singled out an aspect of his personal life and how the candidate used it for his political campaign. Furthermore, when the author of the article "You didn't Win Iowa. Now What?" addressed candidates, she told Jeb Bush that he should eat

⁵⁰ Draper, Robert. *op. cit.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Dolan, Kathleen A. *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

⁵⁴ Draper, Robert. *op. cit.*

some dairy products.⁵⁵ Talking about his eating habits was a direct reference to his personal life. This proves that journalists not only talk about the personal life of female candidates but also of male candidates.

2.6. Qualities of the candidates

The qualities of a candidate can help them in their path towards the presidency. Indeed, some qualities are still considered necessary to become the president of the United States of America⁵⁶. How journalists describe the qualities of candidates is thus a key factor in the election process.

Surprisingly, few qualities were used to talk about the candidates cited in all the articles on the Iowa caucus, and none of the articles actually described or talked about Hillary Rodham Clinton's qualities. However, I could see that some qualities often attributed to presidents were used for male candidates.

Robert Draper's article on Ted Cruz⁵⁷ was the one that described the most qualities. However, most of these qualities attributed to candidates were not ones that the journalist chose to directly attribute to them, they were written in the article through citations from other people. Indeed, the author cited Jeff Roe, the campaign manager of Ted Cruz, who explained how the words to describe the Texan candidate had changed and now included "leader" and "strong".⁵⁸ These two qualities are ones often attributed to the president of the United States of America.⁵⁹ Even if the author chose to share these words and thus, spread the belief that the politician did have these qualities, he also used other words to describe the candidate. These words expressed more flaws than strengths. Mr. Drapper described Ted Cruz when he entered the political world as arrogant and ambitious.⁶⁰ Moreover, the author also chose to describe Donald Trump in a negative way, saying he was "wildly unscripted, crass, impossible to ignore or forget"⁶¹. Finally, I observed that the article offered two visions of the Texan candidate, a positive one by quoting other politicians and a more negative one through

⁵⁵ Roller, Emma. "You Didn't Win Iowa. Now What?", *op. cit.*

⁵⁶ Carroll, Susan J. and Fox, Richard Logan. *op. cit.*

⁵⁷ Draper, Robert. *op. cit.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Carroll, Susan J. and Fox, Richard Logan. *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁶⁰ Draper, Robert. *op. cit.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Mr. Drapper's own words. Thus, I concluded that the journalist described a negative image of Ted Cruz while stating that other people talked about the positive image of Mr. Cruz.

2.7. “Masculine” issues for male candidates and “feminine” issues for female candidates?

In all of the articles, none associated “masculine” issues or “feminine” issues with women candidates. Indeed, the articles wrote about female candidates but did not really talk about their program or views on issues. However, some articles did report on certain issues while talking about male candidates. Emma Roller, author of the article “You Didn’t Win Iowa. Now What?”, raised the importance of Mr. Rubio’s view on abortion and same-sex marriage.⁶² These two issues are more generally associated with “feminine” issues as they concern the private sphere and more precisely the family sphere. I could thus see that there was some evidence that in the article published in the *New York Times* on the Iowa caucus, issues commonly attributed to a certain gender were not only attributed to that gender.

⁶² Roller, Emma. “You Didn’t Win Iowa. Now What?.”, *op. cit.*

3. New Hampshire Primary

The New Hampshire primary is a key event in the race for the nomination. According to David W. Moore and Andrew E. Smith, the state of New Hampshire is particularly interesting due to its small size.⁶³ Indeed, the small size of this state allows candidates who have little money to campaign by investing in local television and newspapers, which they cannot afford in bigger states that have “extremely expensive large media markets”.⁶⁴ Moreover, Mr. Moore and Mr. Smith added that, “New Hampshire voters are more engaged in the nomination process than are voters in other states.”⁶⁵ Regarding the importance of the New Hampshire primary, it was crucial for my thesis to analyze the articles covering that event.

3.1. Presence of Hillary Rodham Clinton in the *New York Times*

In all the fifteen articles written that corresponded to the criteria of selection, only one of them was written with the Democratic candidate, Hillary Rodham Clinton, as the main subject, which was less than for her male counterparts. Indeed, the Republican candidate Donald Trump had two articles focusing on him. The Democratic candidate, the Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont had, as Hillary Clinton, only one article focusing on him. However, he was discussed in other articles that were not focusing solely on one specific candidate but several, such as the article “Trump and Sanders Win Resoundingly in New Hampshire” written by Patrick Healy and Jonathan Martin⁶⁶.

Furthermore, in those articles that focused mostly on one specific candidate, I could observe differences.

I compared the number of times the name of each candidate was cited in all the articles as referenced in Table 1 found in the Appendix. Indeed, even articles focusing on one particular politician did not limit themselves to that one person. Out of all the fifteen articles, only three did not contain the name of Hillary Clinton. The first article not containing the name of the

⁶³ Moore, David W. and Smith, Andrew E. *The First Primary*. Durham, New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire Press, 2015, p. 2.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Healy, Patrick and Jonathan Martin. “Trump and Sanders Win Resoundingly in New Hampshire.” *New York Times*. February 10, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

female Democratic candidate was about the tactic of campaigning named ‘Vote Shaming’.⁶⁷ In this report, the only candidate mentioned was the Texan Republican Ted Cruz. The second article concerned the last economic policy implemented by President Obama.⁶⁸ Only one other candidate was mentioned in this text, the Democrat Bernie Sanders. The last article that did not contain the name of Hillary Clinton was a report on the possible campaign of Michael R. Bloomberg.⁶⁹ There was no mention of Mrs. Clinton, but her Democratic opponent, Bernie Sanders, the Republicans Ted Cruz and Donald Trump were cited.

Unsurprisingly, the article with the most mentions of Hillary Clinton was Amy Chozick’s article, which was focused on the candidate.⁷⁰ In addition to Mrs. Clinton’s name, there were names of other candidates in that article. The same pattern could be found in the article “Trump Finds Next Voters Are Unruffled by Bluster”⁷¹. The name of Donald Trump was cited thirty-eight times while other candidates’ name was mentioned only ten times.

Other articles focusing on one or several candidates did not follow the same pattern as the names of the main subjects were less numerous in comparison with the other names cited in the articles. This could be particularly seen in the article “Trump and Sanders Win Resoundingly in New Hampshire”⁷². Indeed, the article was focused on Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders. Their names were cited fourteen and eighteen times respectively. However, in the same article, Hillary Clinton’s name was cited eighteen times, which was the same as her Democratic counterpart, Mr. Sanders, and even more than the Republican Donald Trump. As shown in Table 1, overall, Mrs. Clinton was the candidate whose name was the most cited in all the articles. I also noticed that Mr. Trump, who had several articles focusing on him, had five articles in which his name did not appear, which was more than Mrs. Clinton. I concluded that, in comparison with other male candidates, Hillary Clinton was more cited during the coverage of the New Hampshire primary even if only one article was focusing on her. Moreover, I could see that Mrs. Clinton was the only candidate whose name was mentioned more than the name of the candidate who was the article’s main focus.

⁶⁷ Confessore, Nicholas. “‘Vote Shaming’; Mailing That Drew Fire in Iowa Shows Up in New Hampshire.” *New York Times*. February 8, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

⁶⁸ Scheiber, Noam. “A Budget Nod to the Reality for Workers.” *New York Times*. February 10, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

⁶⁹ Burns, Alexander. “Third Party; Bloomberg Confirms He’s Weighing an Independent Run for President.” *New York Times*. February 8, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

⁷⁰ Chozick, Amy. “In Flint, Clinton Prods Congress and Calls Response to Crisis ‘Immoral’.” *New York Times*. February 8, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

⁷¹ Burns, Alexander. “Trump Finds Next Voters Are Unruffled by Bluster.” *New York Times*. February 8, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

⁷² Healy, Patrick and Jonathan Martin. *op. cit.*

3.2. The image of Hillary Rodham Clinton in the media, positive or negative?

To answer this question, I first analyzed the image of Hillary Clinton in the article “In Flint, Clinton Prods Congress and Calls Response to Crisis ‘Immoral’”⁷³, since it was the one offering the biggest coverage of the candidate. In that article, the journalist pointed out that Mrs. Clinton was the one who raised awareness of the water problem in Flint, Michigan. Her opponents “used the trip as evidence that Mrs. Clinton, facing a possible loss in New Hampshire, needs to shore up support among African-Americans heading into South Carolina’s Democratic primary on Feb. 27.”⁷⁴ Furthermore, the author quoted the chairwoman of the Republican Party in Michigan who accused Mrs. Clinton of turning the crisis into “a complete partisan problem”.⁷⁵ However, the journalist also wrote that the people who did not support Mrs. Clinton still recognized the good she did by raising awareness about the crisis. One of them was quoted saying, “This is clearly not a campaign stop, because the primary is 48 hours and 1,000 miles away”.⁷⁶ Even if the journalist, Amy Chozick, chose to write about the two different visions that people had about Mrs. Clinton’s acts in regard to that crisis, Ms. Chozick chose to end the article with the one saying that she was not motivated by new voters and that the people in Flint did not care about her reasons for coming to their town. Thus, Ms. Chozick left the readers with a positive image of Mrs. Clinton as Ms. Chozick described the Democratic candidate as having no ulterior motives and helping people.

In addition to portraying Mrs. Clinton as the one who raised awareness of an important health crisis, Amy Chozick stated that Hillary Clinton had thought of concrete solutions to the problem when her opponents did not.

Thus, I saw that even if the author chose to write some negative statements about Hillary Clinton, she also chose to emphasize a positive image of the candidate. Furthermore, the negative statements about Mrs. Clinton were often attributed to other people and did not come directly from Ms. Chozick.

⁷³ Chozick, Amy. “In Flint, Clinton Prods Congress and Calls Response to Crisis ‘Immoral’”, *op. cit.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

Secondly, I looked how Hillary Rodham Clinton was portrayed in the articles that focused on another male candidate.

In both articles written on the Republican Donald Trump, the image of Mrs. Clinton was neutral. In “As Trump Wins, the Mainstream G.O.P. Is Left to Muddle On”, Alexander Burns pointed out that Mrs. Clinton lost the New Hampshire to her competitor, Bernie Sanders, and that she no longer had an open path in the race as it was the case before.⁷⁷ However, the author quoted Howard Dean, chairman of the Democratic Party and former Senator of Vermont, saying, “Hillary is going to do much better in states that look more like the rest of America.”⁷⁸ Alexander Burns thus wrote both positive and negative statements about Mrs. Clinton, which made her coverage neutral. In “Trump Finds Next Voters Are Unruffled by Bluster”, the reporting on Hillary Rodham Clinton was general facts such as the fact that she had been a Senator or that she was living in Westchester County.⁷⁹

Then, in the article focusing on the Democratic candidate Bernie Sanders, David E. Sanger shared an image that could be seen at first as positive.⁸⁰ Indeed, the author compared her to Bernie Sanders and stated that she had a better foreign policy program as Sanders seemed to have none at all.⁸¹ However, when looking at the article in depths, some of it could be interpreted as negative. For example, the author wrote about Sanders, “In fact, he never once mentioned North Korea, telling his interviewer, John Dickerson of CBS News, that Hillary Clinton had ‘voted for the war’ - - the Iraq war, 14 years ago - - and reassuring him that ‘I can put together a strong team to provide great foreign policy’”.⁸² This quote showed Sanders’s weakness but also reminded the readers of negative information on Mrs. Clinton and thus, impacted their judgment against her depending on the voter’s ideology.

The image of Hillary Rodham Clinton was more positive in Jeremy W. Peters and Jonathan Martin’s article on Senator Marco Rubio.⁸³ Indeed, they only mentioned that she won the 2008 New Hampshire primary and that she was a more experience candidate.⁸⁴

I could thus see that the image of the Democratic candidate varied in the different articles. It was in the article on Bernie Sanders, a candidate from the same party as her, that her image

⁷⁷ Burns, Alexander. “As Trump Wins, the Mainstream G.O.P. Is Left to Muddle On.” *New York Times*. February 10, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Burns, Alexander. “Trump Finds Next Voters Are Unruffled by Bluster.”, *op. cit.*

⁸⁰ Sanger, David E. “Questions on Foreign Policy Are Pushing Sanders Outside His Comfort Zone.” *New York Times*. February 9, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Peters, Jeremy W. and Jonathan Martin. “Rubio Is Tested as Rivals Sense Vulnerabilities.” *New York Times*. February 8, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

could be seen as the more negative.⁸⁵ It is surprising as the image of Mr. Sanders came across negatively.

Thirdly, I analyzed the image of Hillary Rodham Clinton in articles that did not focus on any specific candidate. In most of these articles, the representation of Mrs. Clinton was mostly neutral as the authors mostly talked about the fact that she won or lost. However, two articles stood out. Ashley Parker's article was one of them.⁸⁶ Indeed, her depiction of Mrs. Clinton was particularly positive even if her coverage was rather short. She chose to quote a voter from New Hampshire saying that Mrs. Clinton had "proven leadership experiences, gets things done and builds consensus and compromise"⁸⁷ and added that this voter intended to vote for her during the primary.⁸⁸

"Harsh Tone in Campaigns Bodes Ill for Governing" written by Albert R. Hunt was the other article that stood out.⁸⁹ Mr. Hunt chose to write both negative and positive things about Hillary Clinton. However, the negative surpassed the positive. Furthermore, even statements that at first looked to be in favor of Mrs. Clinton could be interpreted as the opposite. For example, Hunt wrote, "Mrs. Clinton's central case against her liberal opponent, Mr. Sanders, is that she could get things done."⁹⁰ Being able to "get things done" could be seen as something positive, but by writing that it was her central case made it look more negative. Indeed, it hinted that Mrs. Clinton had no other qualities that surpassed Mr. Sanders's qualities.

In summary, I concluded that the representation of Mrs. Clinton varied depending on the type of articles she appeared in.

⁸⁵ Sanger, David E. *op. cit.*

⁸⁶ Parker, Ashley. "The Undecided Hint at Reason Race Is So Fluid." *New York Times*. February 9, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Hunt, Albert R. and Bloomberg view. "Harsh Tone in Campaigns Bodes Ill for Governing." *New York Times*. February 8, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

3.3. Hillary Clinton, a viable candidate?

Out all the articles written about the New Hampshire primary that featured Hillary Rodham Clinton, none of them clearly declared if she was a viable candidate for the presidency or not. However, several did imply whether she was viable or not.

This could be seen in several articles, such as Alexander Burns's "Our Man in New Hampshire – Voting Starts in a State Built for Surprises"⁹¹. This article mainly talked about Mrs. Clinton's position in the polls or her results in the primary. This could be seen as simply stating facts. However, how the journalist chose to exploit these facts could show the viability of a candidate. In the Burns article, the author chose to state that Hillary Clinton was still first in the nationwide polls and that she "will be looking for strong showings as the campaign moves on to other states".⁹² By writing that, Alexander Burns implied that she was a viable candidate as she led polls and was going to gain even more votes in other states. He also referred to Mrs. Clinton winning the 2008 New Hampshire primary.⁹³ If Mrs. Clinton won at that time, it was because she was considered as a viable candidate and thus, I concluded that by writing that, the author reminded people that Mrs. Clinton was qualified to win. However, Alexander Burns made several comparisons between Hillary Clinton and the other Democrats, Bernie Sanders and Barack Obama. In these comparisons, Mrs. Clinton always came up short: "Among Democrats, Mr. Sanders's lead over Hillary Clinton here has fluctuated widely, but a Clinton victory would be a staggering upset."⁹⁴ This could make her look less viable as a candidate than the others. Thus, I concluded that in this article, Mr. Burns made the female candidate look viable but less viable than her male counterparts.

In David E. Sanger's article focusing on Bernie Sanders⁹⁵, the portrayal of Hillary Clinton as a winnable candidate was particularly interesting. Indeed, Mr. Sanger decided to write about the Democrat Bernie Sanders and his lack of foreign policy. In order to do that, he made several references on Hillary Rodham Clinton and often portrayed Mr. Sanders as less prepared than her. However, the author also wrote several times that she supported the war in

⁹¹ Burns, Alexander. "Our Man in New Hampshire: Voting Starts in a State Built for Surprises." *New York Times*. February 10, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Sanger, David E. *op. cit.*

Iraq, which was portrayed as a questionable decision. Furthermore, Mrs. Clinton was said to lack judgment even if she had experience⁹⁶. Even if the author attributed these statements to Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont each time, the readers might still be influenced as they are reminded of questionable decisions Mrs. Clinton made in the past such as her decisions on the war in Iraq.

I concluded that in this article, Hillary Rodham Clinton was portrayed as more viable than Bernie Sanders since she was more prepared than him in regard to foreign policy. However, several sentences presented her as not fit for the role of president. Thus, Mr. Sanger represented Mrs. Clinton as more viable than Mr. Sanders, but not viable enough to become the president of the United States of America.

Patrick Healy⁹⁷ and Albert R. Hunt⁹⁸ used the same pattern to express the viability of Hillary Rodham Clinton's candidacy. In their articles, they attributed qualities and views to her that were considered as necessary in order to become president. In Patrick Healy's article, Mrs. Clinton was portrayed as someone "ready to do battle" during her husband's campaign in 1992.⁹⁹ This showed that she was strong, which is one of the qualities looked for in presidential candidates.¹⁰⁰ In Albert R. Hunt's article, he implied, consciously or not, that Hillary Clinton was a viable candidate.¹⁰¹ He stated that she "does talk some about searching for governing consensus, as do several Republicans."¹⁰² He also reported on John R. Kasich Jr., governor of Ohio and Republican candidate for the 2016 presidential nomination, writing, "John R. Kasich Jr. contends that a bipartisan approach is essential".¹⁰³ By making these two statements, Mr. Hunt implied that searching for consensus was something that, to some people, was seen as a characteristic that made a candidate more viable to become president. Moreover, the author wrote that John R. Kasich Jr. has an "extensive experience"¹⁰⁴ which gave the impression that his statement had more value.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Healy, Patrick. "Bill Clinton's 1992 Make-or-Break Stand in New Hampshire." *New York Times*. February 9, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

⁹⁸ Hunt, Albert R. and Bloomberg view. *op. cit.*

⁹⁹ Healy, Patrick. *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁰ Carroll, Susan J. and Fox, Richard Logan. *op. cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁰¹ Hunt, Albert R. and Bloomberg view. *op. cit.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

Portraying Mrs. Clinton as someone fitting the requirements to become president could also be seen in the article “Rubio Is Tested as Rivals Sense Vulnerabilities”¹⁰⁵. Indeed, the journalists pointed out that “if the election were fought as a résumé contest, [Rubio] would lose to more experienced rivals, whether Mr. Bush or Mrs. Clinton.”¹⁰⁶ This statement implied that the Democrat candidate already had what it takes to become president.

The last article to use that pattern was Ashley Parker’s article¹⁰⁷. She reported on one of the voters who intended to vote for Mrs. Clinton and why he made that decision, “Mr. Farr plans to take a Democratic ballot and vote for Mrs. Clinton, who he said had ‘proven leadership experiences, gets things done and builds consensus and compromise.’”¹⁰⁸ By reporting his views on the candidate, the journalist shared that Mrs. Clinton corresponded to the expectations of some voters in regard with their choice for the presidential race.

Surprisingly, the only article focusing on Mrs. Clinton¹⁰⁹ did not offer a clear picture of her viability. Amy Chozick stated about Mrs Clinton’s trip to Flint, Michigan, that, “Her political rivals used the trip as evidence that Mrs. Clinton, facing a possible loss in New Hampshire, needs to shore up support among African-Americans heading into South Carolina’s Democratic primary on Feb. 27.”¹¹⁰ This statement expressed the belief of the other candidates that she was not viable enough to win and thus was searching for new supporters. However, the journalist also quoted Pastor Stewart as saying he was hoping for a woman president, implying his support for Mrs. Clinton.¹¹¹ This proved that a voter saw her as the most suitable candidate for the presidency. I concluded that contradictory opinions on her viability as a potential candidate for the presidential race were expressed in that article. However, Amy Chozick wrote about the concrete ideas Mrs. Clinton had in order to solve the crisis that was happening in that area. Ms. Chozick also included what other male candidates thought of the crisis and their plans to act. The comparison between their views on the problem and Mrs. Clinton’s showed that she had more concrete solutions, which portrayed her as more capable and thus a viable presidential candidate.

¹⁰⁵ Peters, Jeremy W. and Jonathan Martin. *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Parker, Ashley. *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Chozick, Amy. “In Flint, Clinton Prods Congress and Calls Response to Crisis ‘Immoral’.” *New York Times*. February 8, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

3.4. Politics: a field for sports and war references

In all the articles analyzed, only four did not contain any references or metaphors of sports or war.

Many references found in the articles were used to talk about politics in general, thus confirming that the language of sports and the language of war are often used in political journalism.

The article “New Hampshire, the Primary That Clarifies”¹¹² written by Nate Cohn was particularly representative of the use of words from the lexical field of sports. Indeed, Mr. Cohn used many words such as “underdogs”, “sideline”, and “clear the field” to talk about politics.¹¹³ For example, Mr. Cohn wrote, “given that it’s about to hand victories to candidates who will remain significant underdogs”.¹¹⁴ Another example of the language of sports in politics was found in a quote from Thomas M. Reynolds, a former representative of New York who said: “For the establishment, it’s almost like a hockey fight. [...] And the gloves are off and the refs can’t get in the middle of it.”¹¹⁵ while talking about the race between the Republican candidates. In regards to the language of war, the article “A Budget Nod to the Reality for Workers” offered several examples such as “it falls well short of the crusading vision of government intervention ascendant in the Democratic Party”¹¹⁶ and “it may be able to strike a handful of deals”¹¹⁷.

In addition to the use of both sports and war vocabulary to talk about politics in general, many journalists used this vocabulary to write about a specific candidate. However, few articles showed the same vocabulary when discussing the female Democratic candidate, Hillary Rodham Clinton. In fact, only four journalists did it. Furthermore, one word was used frequently. This word was “fight”, which can be attributed to both the lexical field of war and the lexical field of sports for example in boxing. This word was often used as a verb as in

¹¹² Cohn, Nate. “New Hampshire, the Primary That Clarifies.” *New York Times*. February 9, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Burns, Alexander. “As Trump Wins, the Mainstream G.O.P. Is Left to Muddle On.”, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁶ Scheiber, Noam. “A Budget Nod to the Reality for Workers.” *New York Times*. February 10, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

“pledged to fight”¹¹⁸ and “to fight like hell”¹¹⁹. However, I could see that the language of war was used more to talk about Mrs. Clinton than the language of sports in “her attacks”¹²⁰ and “Hillary was ready to do battle”¹²¹. I could thus conclude sports and war lexis were not only used to talk about male candidates. However, I noted that all the articles, in which words from these lexical fields were used, were all written by male journalists. Furthermore, the only article focusing on Mrs. Clinton, which was written by a woman named Amy Chozick¹²², did not contain any references to war or sports.

3.5. Personal issues and personal life, a woman’s issue?

Regarding the coverage of the personal life and issues of the candidates, I could observe that few journalists focused on this topic. Only five articles out of the fifteen contained information about this matter.

In *Voting for Women*, Kathleen A. Dolan stated that personal issues such as physical appearance were more exploited by journalists when talking about female candidates than male candidates.¹²³ Out all the statements on that topic, only two were about the physical appearance of a candidate. The first one was found in “Trump and Sanders Win Resoundingly in New Hampshire”¹²⁴. The journalist described the smile of the Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont writing, “At his victory party, Mr. Sanders, flashing a wide, toothy grin, pointed to the large”¹²⁵. The second statement was found in Alexander Burns’ article in which he quoted a voter saying that what he characterized as something from New York in Donald Trump was “His hair”¹²⁶. Surprisingly, I could observe that these two statements on physical appearances of a candidate both referred to a male candidate. Thus, Mrs. Dolan’s statement does not seem to apply to the coverage of the New Hampshire primary.

¹¹⁸ Healy, Patrick and Jonathan Martin. *op. cit.*

¹¹⁹ Healy, Patrick. *op. cit.*

¹²⁰ Hunt, Albert R. and Bloomberg view. *op. cit.*

¹²¹ Healy, Patrick. *op. cit.*

¹²² Chozick, Amy. *op. cit.*

¹²³ Dolan, Kathleen A. *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

¹²⁴ Healy, Patrick and Jonathan Martin. *op. cit.*

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ Burns, Alexander. “Trump Finds Next Voters Are Unruffled by Bluster.”, *op. cit.*

Even if the physical appearance of Hillary Clinton was not described in the articles, her personal life was mentioned. Amy Chozick wrote that Mrs. Clinton went to a church to talk and that she cited a Psalm.¹²⁷ These were references to the fact that she was religious and religion is a private issue. Moreover, Ms. Chozick wrote, “She talked about looking at photographs of her granddaughter, Charlotte, on the way to the church”¹²⁸. This was a direct reference to her family and thus, her personal life. However, these personal issues were directly shared by Mrs. Clinton and it was not the journalist who attributed them to her. However, I could still note that the journalist chose to retell these personal details. Nevertheless, as the article was mainly focused on Hillary Clinton, there was not enough coverage of other candidates for me to analyze if the author would have written about their personal issues. Thus, there is some evidence to confirm Kathleen A. Dolan’s hypothesis.

In addition to Amy Chozick’s article¹²⁹, Patrick Healy’s article on Bill Clinton’s 1992 campaign¹³⁰ was also interesting in regards to the coverage of the personal life of Hillary Rodham Clinton. Indeed, it was clear that her personal life was referred in the article. The article was written during Hillary Clinton’s campaign in 2016, just before she went through the New Hampshire primaries. However, the focus was on her husband’s campaign in 1992. Furthermore, her relation to Bill Clinton was underlined such as in “She wasn’t going to let her husband’s message be defined by this kind of stuff.”¹³¹ This article was more focused on the fact that she was the wife of a candidate during the 1992 presidential race rather than a Democrat candidate for the 2016 presidential election. Furthermore, since the article was written on February 9, 2016, it can be said that Mr. Healy focused his text on her personal life rather than on her campaign. This pattern of pointing out the fact that Hillary Rodham Clinton was the wife of Bill Clinton can be found in several articles such as in “Trump and Sanders Win Resoundingly in New Hampshire.”¹³² However, it was not done for her male counterparts. Mrs. Dolan’s hypothesis that the personal life of female candidates is more emphasized than males’ candidates is thus true in regards to family ties.

¹²⁷ Chozick, Amy. *op. cit.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Healy, Patrick. *op. cit.*

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Healy, Patrick and Jonathan Martin. *op. cit.*

3.6. Qualities of the candidates

In all the fifteen articles selected for this study, only six described the Democratic candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton's qualities.

One single trait of Mrs. Clinton was described in three different articles, which was half of the articles that covered this topic. Indeed, the journalists who wrote these articles all decided to talk about the experience of the candidate. However, the way they portrayed it was different. It was seen as something positive in some and as something negative in others.

Ashley Parker's "The Undecided Hint at Reason Race Is So Fluid" quoted Mr. Farr, an undeclared voter of New Hampshire: "So, on Tuesday, after careful deliberation, Mr. Farr plans to take a Democratic ballot and vote for Mrs. Clinton, who he said had 'proven leadership experiences, gets things done and builds consensus and compromise.'"¹³³ Here, Hillary Clinton's experience was seen as something positive since it was one of the reasons that this undecided voter from New Hampshire decided to vote for the Democratic candidate.

The experience of Mrs. Clinton was also portrayed as positive in "Trump and Sanders Win Resoundingly in New Hampshire"¹³⁴. Here, the mention of Hillary Clinton's experience did not come directly from a quote. However, the journalists attributed it to the leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties where they wrote, "While Mr. Sanders led New Hampshire polls for the last month, and Mr. Trump was ahead here since July, the wave of support for both men was nonetheless stunning to leaders of both parties who believed that in the end, voters would embrace more experienced candidates like Mrs. Clinton or one of the Republican governors in the race."¹³⁵ Another difference that could be seen between all three articles was that a comparison was made in Mr. Healy and Mr. Martin's article. Mrs. Clinton was portrayed as more experienced than the Republican Donald Trump and the Democrat Bernie Sanders. The journalists also wrote that "the Republican governors in the race" were also more experienced than Mr. Trump and Mr. Sanders.¹³⁶ However, it was not stated whether Mrs. Clinton was as experienced as them.

David E. Sanger's article, which is the last article mentioning literally Hillary Clinton's experience, represented it as something more negative than the other two.¹³⁷ Indeed, Mr.

¹³³ Parker, Ashley. *op. cit.*

¹³⁴ Healy, Patrick and Jonathan Martin. *op. cit.*

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ Sanger, David E. *op. cit.*

Sanger wrote that Bernie Sanders “raises Mrs. Clinton’s vote on the Iraq war largely to underscore that judgment remains more important than experience.”¹³⁸ Thus, David. E. Sanger attributed this belief that experience was less valuable than judgment to Mr. Sanders; however, nothing showed if it was in fact what the Senator of Vermont wanted to express or if it was Mr. Sanger’s own interpretation.

Finally, Hillary Clinton’s experience was also mentioned in the article “Harsh Tone in Campaigns Bodes Ill for Governing” in a more subtle way¹³⁹. Republicans are quoted as saying that: “Mrs. Clinton was a failed secretary of state with lots of political baggage.”¹⁴⁰

Out of the six articles containing qualities to describe Hillary Rodham Clinton, Albert R. Hunt’s “Harsh Tone in Campaigns Bodes Ill for Governing”¹⁴¹ was particularly interesting. Indeed, the article did not focus on one particular candidate. Albert R. Hunt started his article by writing about the race and the candidates leading it. He then wrote about what candidates said about themselves and about their competitors. However, the two politicians most described were Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. Regarding Mrs. Clinton, I observed that she was mostly described in a negative way. The first quality attributed to her, however, was positive. Mr. Hunt stated that her “central case against her liberal opponent, Mr. Sanders, is that she could get things done.”¹⁴² This showed that she had a quality needed to lead and, furthermore, that she did it better than the other Democratic candidate, Bernie Sanders. However, it was important to note that the journalist previously wrote, “Both claim that they could govern effectively.”¹⁴³ while talking about Mrs. Clinton and the Republican Marco Rubio. The next sentence containing qualities used to describe Mrs. Clinton came from the rephrasing of Mr. Rubio’s quote: “Mrs. Clinton, he says, is ‘disqualified’ because she allowed highly sensitive and classified material to be transferred to her private email server ‘knowing it would expose it to foreign intelligence agencies’ and that she ‘lied’ about the attack on an American mission in Benghazi, Libya, in which four Americans were killed.”¹⁴⁴ In this sentence, two faults were attributed to Mrs. Clinton. According to Mr. Rubio, she was not qualified and a liar. This last quality was also used a second time by Mr. Rubio to describe Hillary Clinton. Indeed, Mr. Hunt wrote that Mr. Rubio “came close to calling Mr. Obama

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Hunt, Albert R. and Bloomberg view. *op. cit.*

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

anti-American and Mrs. Clinton a crook and a liar.”¹⁴⁵ These descriptions of Hillary Clinton were both attributed to the Republican candidate, Mr. Rubio. After these quotes, Mr. Hunt explained that Mrs. Clinton was “almost as harsh in denouncing Republicans”¹⁴⁶ and he added that “her attacks have been sharper than those waged by Mr. Obama eight years ago or Bill Clinton before that.”¹⁴⁷ Here, two comparisons could be seen between a female candidate and male candidates. Both comparisons were on the same topic; however, in one comparison, Mrs. Clinton was compared to Republican candidates in the 2016 race, and in the other, she was compared to Democrat candidates from previous race who were appointed president of the United States of America. It was interesting to note that in the first comparison, Hillary Clinton was portrayed as less harsh than the Republican candidates and in the other as more harsh than Barack Obama and Bill Clinton. Next, Albert R. Hunt wrote that many Republicans resented Mrs. Clinton since they thought that she “plays by different rules.”¹⁴⁸ Even if it was not a quality that described Mrs. Clinton, this statement was important to point out as it might influence the image of the candidate negatively as it was a characteristic resented by many Republicans. Finally, the last sentence that could be seen as describing the qualities of Mrs. Clinton was “Mrs. Clinton does talk some about searching for governing consensus, as do several Republicans.”¹⁴⁹ This could be seen as one of her qualities, since it corresponded to the qualities valued by voters and also expressed in the article when John R. Kasich was quoted saying that some issues needed to be treated by both parties in order to be solved.¹⁵⁰

3.7. “Masculine” issues for male candidates and “feminine” issues for female candidates?

During the analysis of the different articles on the New Hampshire primary, I observed that not a lot of issues were discussed regardless of the topic even if ten out of the fifteen articles did mention some. In fact, issues were often mentioned but not really discussed. For example, in the article “As Trump Wins, the Mainstream G.O.P. Is Left to Muddle On”, Mr. Burns

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

wrote, “Hillary Clinton lost by a lopsided margin to Bernie Sanders, the Vermont senator running on a hard-edge message of economic populism”¹⁵¹. Bernie Sanders’ views of the economy and his message were not further developed in the article. Moreover, it was the only issue mentioned in the article. This pattern of citing one issue without going deeper into the subject could be seen in different articles such as Jeremy W. Peters and Jonathan Martin’s article¹⁵². They wrote about a female voter in New Hampshire who “nodded along as Mr. Rubio spoke of strengthening the military”¹⁵³. However, the subject was not elaborated on.

In addition to the little coverage of issues, I observed that even fewer issues were linked with women. As mentioned above, Jeremy W. Peters and Jonathan Martin reported that a female voter “nodded” while Mr. Rubio talked about his view on the military.¹⁵⁴ Even if it showed that this issue, which is generally considered as a “masculine” issue¹⁵⁵, grabbed the attention of a woman, the issue was more associated with Mr. Rubio, thus a male association. Regarding the attribution of certain kinds of issues to a certain gender, the article “The Undecided Hint at Reason Race Is So Fluid”¹⁵⁶ associated a female and a male voter from New Hampshire with certain issues. By comparing both, I could observe that “masculine” issues were not a concern only for men and that “female” issues also had importance for men. The article quoted Ms. Wilson who “supports stricter gun laws”¹⁵⁷ and “also worries about the economy and Social Security”¹⁵⁸. Social Security concerns the health care, which is a topic considered as “feminine” and thus more generally attributed to women as stated in Justin S. Vaughn and Lilly J. Goren’s work¹⁵⁹. However, the economy and security are more generally attributed to men. The journalist also talked about Mr. Farr, another voter from New Hampshire, who “had listed the issues he cares most about - - immigration, climate change, income inequality, term limits.”¹⁶⁰ Some of these issues could be considered “masculine” and thus, the fact that they were of importance for him corresponds to the belief that some kinds of issues are more attributed to a specific gender.¹⁶¹

¹⁵¹ Burns, Alexander. “As Trump Wins, the Mainstream G.O.P. Is Left to Muddle On.”, *op. cit.*

¹⁵² Peters, Jeremy W. and Jonathan Martin. *op. cit.*

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Carroll, Susan J. and Fox, Richard Logan. *op. cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁵⁶ Parker, Ashley. *op. cit.*

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Vaughn, Justin S. and Goren, Lilly J. *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁶⁰ Parker, Ashley. *op. cit.*

¹⁶¹ Carroll, Susan J. and Fox, Richard Logan. *op. cit.*, p. 6.

In “The Undecided Hint at Reason Race Is So Fluid”¹⁶², the different issues were directly attributed to a specific person but were not really elaborated upon. In David E. Sanger’s article¹⁶³, I noted that the different issues were more elaborated. The main topic of the article was foreign policy, more precisely the military and the economy, and the main subject was the Democrat Bernie Sanders. This reinforced the statement that “masculine” issues are more attributed to men.¹⁶⁴ However, several references to Hillary Clinton on these topics were made as well. Thus, the “masculine” issues of the military and the economy were connected to a woman.

The same pattern but opposite could be found in Amy Chozick’s article¹⁶⁵. This article focused on the water problem in Flint, Michigan, which was a health crisis. Moreover, the main subject of the article was the female candidate, Hillary Clinton. Thus, the health issue that is considered as a “feminine” issue was associated to a female candidate. This reinforced the argument that “feminine” issues are more associated with female candidates. However, Ms. Chozick also mentioned Ted Cruz and Bernie Sanders’s views on that topic. Thus, the “feminine” issue was associated to male candidates.

¹⁶² Parker, Ashley. *op. cit.*

¹⁶³ Sanger, David E. *op. cit.*

¹⁶⁴ Carroll, Susan J. and Fox, Richard Logan. *op. cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁶⁵ Chozick, Amy. *op. cit.*

4. Super Tuesday

Super Tuesday is one of the key events in the race towards a party nomination. According to Thomas E. Patterson, Super Tuesday “brings the nominations races to a conclusion”¹⁶⁶. Indeed, many states¹⁶⁷ organize their caucuses or primaries that day and the candidate who dominates on Super Tuesday is usually the one who will be nominated by their party.¹⁶⁸ In regard to the importance of that event, the analysis of its coverage was crucial for my thesis.

4.1. Presence of Hillary Rodham Clinton in the *New York Times*

In order to analyze the coverage of Hillary Rodham Clinton on Super Tuesday in the *New York Times*, I first looked at the number of articles that focused on her.

Out of all the twenty-five articles that corresponded to the selection criteria of this study, five were principally focused on Mrs. Clinton. That was more numerous than other candidates such as Marco Rubio who only had one article written on him¹⁶⁹. However, five articles out of the twenty-five were mainly focused on the Republican candidate, Donald J. Trump. Moreover another article, “Christie Splits With His Past in Backing Trump”¹⁷⁰ was particularly interesting. Indeed, the main subject of the article was the Republican candidate, Chris Christie. However, I could see that the article focused more on Mr. Trump than Mr. Christie as most of the information was linked to Mr. Trump. The same pattern could be seen in the article “Slight, Gags and Vitriol as Rivals Target Trump”¹⁷¹.

Furthermore, two articles published in the *New York Times* were interesting to compare in order to analyze the coverage of Mrs. Clinton. These articles were “Why They Voted for Clinton”¹⁷² and “Why They Voted for Trump”¹⁷³. The articles followed the same structure as

¹⁶⁶ Smith, Steven S. and Melanie J. Springer. *Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2009, p. 48.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Super Tuesday states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

¹⁶⁸ Smith, Steven S. and Melanie J. Springer. *op. cit.*

¹⁶⁹ Cohn, Nate. “States Where Rubio Might Have a Chance.” *New York Times*. March 1, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

¹⁷⁰ Burns, Alexander and Jonathan Martin. “Christie Splits With His Past in Backing Trump.” *New York Times*. February 29, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

¹⁷¹ Haberman, Maggie and Jeremy W. Peters. “Slight, Gags and Vitriol as Rivals Target Trump.” *New York Times*. March 1, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

¹⁷² “Why They Voted for Clinton.” *New York Times*. March 2, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

they both consisted of short quotes from people who voted for the candidate focused on in the article. In “Why They Voted for Clinton”¹⁷⁴, seven people gave their views while in “Why They Voted for Trump”¹⁷⁵, only one person explained themselves. I could thus conclude that Mrs. Clinton received more coverage than Mr. Trump.

Then, I analyzed the numbers of times each candidate’s name was written in all the articles, which were gathered in the Table 2 that can be found in the Appendix. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, articles focusing on one specific candidate often did refer to other candidates. Moreover, several articles on Super Tuesday focused on several candidates such as the article “Democrats Fight for Young Voters in Massachusetts”¹⁷⁶ which focused on both Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders.

Out of twenty-five articles, seven did not contain the name of the Democratic candidate, Hillary Clinton. In comparison with her Democratic counterpart, Bernie Sanders, Mrs. Clinton appeared in more articles since Mr. Sanders’s name was not mentioned in nine articles. Regarding the Republican candidates, the table shows that Mrs. Clinton’s name was mentioned in more articles than all the Republican candidates’ name except for Donald J. Trump. Indeed, Mr. Trump was absent from only three articles.

Furthermore, in the articles mentioning Hillary Clinton, “Democrats Prepare a Trump Battle Plan”¹⁷⁷ was the one with most mentions. Indeed, her name was written thirty-seven times. However, I observed that Donald Trump’s name was mentioned even more at forty-six times. This observation was particularly interesting considering the main subject of the article. Indeed, the article was focused on Hillary Clinton and what she could do to win the election against Donald Trump. The presence of Mr. Trump’s name so many times was thus surprising. Most surprising was the fact that Amy Chozick and Patrick Healy’s article focusing on Hillary Clinton was also the one with the most mentions of Donald Trump.

Other articles did not follow that pattern as I observed great differences between the number of times candidates’ names were mentioned. In Jason Horowitz’s article “Voters Turn to

¹⁷³ “Why They Voted for Trump.” *New York Times*. March 2, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

¹⁷⁴ “Why They Voted for Clinton.”, *op. cit.*

¹⁷⁵ “Why They Voted for Trump.”, *op. cit.*

¹⁷⁶ Seelye, Katharine Q. “Democrats Fight for Young Voters in Massachusetts.” *New York Times*. February 29, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

¹⁷⁷ Chozick, Amy and Patrick Healy. “Democrats Prepare a Trump Battle Plan.” *New York Times*. March 1, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

Clinton After Flirting With Sanders”¹⁷⁸, Hillary Clinton was mentioned thirty-three times while the name of the other candidates, Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump, were mentioned thirteen and five times respectively.

Finally, I observed great differences between the candidates in regards to the totals presented in Table 2. The candidate with the biggest total was Donald Trump with his name mentioned two hundred eighty-nine times while the candidate with the smallest total was John R. Kasich with only twenty-seven mentions. Hillary Clinton came in second with two hundred and six mentions, which was considerable compared to Bernie Sanders who had his name written one hundred and forty-three times.

4.2. The image of Hillary Rodham Clinton in the media, positive or negative?

To determine if the image of Hillary Rodham Clinton in the media was positive or negative, I first analyzed the articles focused on Hillary Clinton.

The article “Why They Voted for Clinton”¹⁷⁹ was particularly interesting, as it was not written by a journalist but was composed of a selection of voters’ views on the candidate. Since the voters interviewed were going to vote for her, it was expected that they were going to say positive things about her. However, some remarks could be seen as negative. Indeed, Sherri Williams, a voter from Leesburg in Virginia said, “I’ll vote for Hillary, but you can be sure I’m dragging my toes. I just have this edge about a Clinton back in the White House. I liked Bill, but having another Clinton is not what America is about.”¹⁸⁰ Moreover, Mitchell Westall, another voter from Virginia stated, “Stopping Donald Trump is something that’s definitely on my mind, as he is getting lot of support. If it comes down to him and Hillary, there is almost no choice but to vote for Hillary there.”¹⁸¹ This quote implied that Mr. Westall did not intend to vote for Mrs. Clinton because of her qualities or ideas but only to prevent Donald Trump from winning the election. Mrs. Clinton was thus portrayed as the lesser evil.

¹⁷⁸ Horowitz, Jason. “Voters Turn to Clinton After Flirting With Sanders.” *New York Times*. March 2, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

¹⁷⁹ “Why They Voted for Clinton.”, *op. cit.*

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

The representation of Hillary Clinton as the only candidate capable of competing against the Republican Donald Trump could be seen in other articles such as Jason Horowitz's "Voters Turn to Clinton After Flirting With Sanders"¹⁸². Mr. Horowitz wrote, "Seeing Donald J. Trump as an existential threat to American values, many Democrats said in interviews that they were ready to eschew the dreamy Sanders revolution for the heavy artillery of Mrs. Clinton and her battle-tested campaign machine."¹⁸³ Moreover, the journalist reported several comments from people who supported Mrs. Clinton, one of which stated that he would vote for her in order to go against Mr. Trump.¹⁸⁴ However, I noticed that these comments were the same as the one selected for the article "Why They Voted for Clinton"¹⁸⁵.

Another article that focused on Hillary Clinton was especially interesting in regards to the representation of the Democratic candidate. This article was "Hillary Clinton's Moment" written by Frank Bruni.¹⁸⁶ Mr. Bruni started his article with negative remarks on Mrs. Clinton and then reinforced those remarks by writing "That's a legitimate perspective. She's a deeply flawed politician."¹⁸⁷ Based on the opening paragraphs, the readers could assume the article would not support Mrs. Clinton. However, Mr. Bruni began his third paragraph with "But she's also a preternaturally determined, resourceful and patient one."¹⁸⁸ which offered a more positive representation of Hillary Clinton. Throughout the article, Mr. Bruni continued to alternate by writing negative and positive remarks on Mrs. Clinton. However, he ended his article with "Clinton has the toughness to engage in - - and survive - - a brutally ugly contest. She also has the smarts to know the cost of it. Has she honed the character and nimbleness to prevail in a more inspiring, unifying way? As well as we know her, this is yet to be revealed."¹⁸⁹ This last paragraph reflected the pattern used by Mr. Bruni to offer to the readers both positive and negative views on the candidate. However, the fact that Mr. Bruni chose to end his article with a more negative remark indicates that he favors a more negative representation of Mrs. Clinton.

I then analyzed the articles in which Hillary Clinton was not the main focus.

¹⁸² Horowitz, Jason. *op. cit.*

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ "Why They Voted for Clinton.", *op. cit.*

¹⁸⁶ Bruni, Frank. "Hillary Clinton's Moment." *New York Times*. March 2, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

I observed a similar pattern. In Yonette Joseph's "Super Tuesday: Big Night for Trump and Clinton as Rivals Hold On"¹⁹⁰, the focus was on the results of the Republican and Democratic candidates from Super Tuesday. The depiction of each candidate could be seen as neutral as the journalist only stated facts. However, Ms. Yonette wrote that Mrs. Clinton had won several states at the time the article was written and added that, "Her victories, some by big margins, put pressure on her rival, Senator Bernie Sanders, to show he could win outside the Northeast."¹⁹¹ Pointing out the Clinton's victory margins reinforced the image of Hillary Clinton as better than her Democratic counterpart, Bernie Sanders.

In articles more focused on Republican candidates, little information was given about Hillary Clinton. However, these articles could still give a positive or negative image of the Democratic candidate. In "Texas Voters Are Mellow Than the Candidate"¹⁹², Mrs. Clinton was only mentioned once. Indeed, the journalist wrote, "A white man I met in a flea market there said he had voted early for Mr. Trump because he fears Hillary Clinton."¹⁹³ The journalist reinforced his statement by quoting the man, "I'm afraid it's gonna happen - - I'm afraid if she gets in we are going to be in deep, deep, deep manure."¹⁹⁴ The article did not offer more information about the reasons behind these statements. However, the negative image of Mrs. Clinton was rather obvious.

4.3. Hillary Clinton, a viable candidate?

To answer this question, I first analyzed the articles focusing on Hillary Rodham Clinton. The first article that stood out was "Why They Voted for Clinton"¹⁹⁵. The title in itself showed that Mrs. Clinton was seen as a viable candidate since people voted for her. Indeed, if people voted for Mrs. Clinton, they had to see her as meeting the requirements to become president. Then, when I analyzed the comments from voters, I gathered more information on Hillary Clinton's viability. One voter, Elizabeth Maffei from Massachusetts stated that "On

¹⁹⁰ Joseph, Yonette. "Super Tuesday: Big Night for Trump and Clinton as Rivals Hold On." *New York Times*. March 2, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² Downes, Lawrence. "Texas Voters Are Mellow Than the Candidates." *New York Times*. March 1, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ "Why They Voted for Clinton.", *op. cit.*

foreign policy, [Clinton's] stronger than Bernie would be."¹⁹⁶ This statement indicated that Mrs. Clinton was a viable candidate due to her program. Another voter, Dana Calleja from Georgia was quoted as saying, "But it all came down to qualifications."¹⁹⁷ showing that candidates needed to be qualified to become president and that Mrs. Clinton met that requirement.

The indication that Mrs. Clinton was a viable candidate since she won primaries and caucuses could be applied to the several articles that only stated facts or predictions about the results of Super Tuesday.

Furthermore, the article "Hillary Clinton's Moments"¹⁹⁸ was particularly interesting regarding the viability of Hillary Clinton. Indeed, the article stated that Mrs. Clinton was a viable candidate but that she might not have been viable enough to win the election. The journalist, Frank Bruni, wrote, "She turned a blind eye to all her scars. Her ability to do that may reflect unrestrained ambition, a sturdy confidence in her mission or - - more likely - - an intricate cat's cradle of both. Whichever the case, it demonstrates a grit that could be her greatest asset in general election. But grit won't be enough."¹⁹⁹, showing that Mrs. Clinton was a viable candidate but maybe not viable enough to win the election.

In the articles about Super Tuesday, I observed that several journalists chose to compare the candidates' viability. This comparison appeared in Jennifer Steinhauer's article "Sanders Stands Alone as Senate Colleagues Line Up Behind Clinton"²⁰⁰. Indeed, this article focused on the fact that many Democrats endorsed Mrs. Clinton rather than Mr. Sanders; "Democrats say they find Mrs. Clinton --[...]-- simply more qualified and more electable."²⁰¹ In addition to the comparison between the two Democratic candidates, the viability of Mrs. Clinton was also compared to the viability of Republican candidates: "But most senators have a broad view that Mrs. Clinton would be the stronger contender against any Republican who won the party's nomination, even though early polling shows various results."²⁰² Moreover, several comments directly addressed the viability of Hillary Clinton. According to Senator Chris Coons of Delaware, "I just think that Secretary Clinton has a unique set of experiences and

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ Bruni, Frank. *op. cit.*

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ Steinhauer, Jennifer. "Sanders Stands Alone as Senate Colleagues Line Up Behind Clinton." *New York Times*. February 29, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² *Ibid.*

insights to be the next president.”²⁰³ This clearly indicated that Mrs. Clinton was viewed as qualified to be the next president of the United States of America. Furthermore, Senator Benjamin L. Cardin from Maryland was interviewed about his endorsement of Hillary Clinton saying, “She is so uniquely qualified to be president.”²⁰⁴

4.4. Politics: a field for sports and war references

Out of all twenty-five articles written on Super Tuesday under analysis, only two articles did not contain any references or metaphors on sports and war. This number in itself indicates that Jackson Katz²⁰⁵, Susan J. Carroll and Richard Logan Fox²⁰⁶ are correct when they argue that the language of sports and war is common in politics. Furthermore, the two articles that did not use such languages was “Why They Voted for Hillary”²⁰⁷ and “Why They Voted for Trump”²⁰⁸. These two articles were not written by journalists but were a selection of comments from voters. This difference with the other articles reinforces the argument that both types of language were used by journalists in the media.

Three articles are good examples of the use of such language.

First, the article “Politics Edge Onto the Greens at a Course Owned by Trump”²⁰⁹ stood out. While this article did not contain many metaphors and references to the language of sports and war, it was interesting due to its content. Indeed, the article talked about sports, most particularly golf and Nascar, and how the politics of Donald Trump could have an impact on them.²¹⁰ That showed the link between politics and sports. Furthermore, the main subject of the article was Mr. Trump, which reaffirms that sports are more often associated with men than women.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ Katz, Jackson. *op. cit.*, p. 50.

²⁰⁶ Carroll, Susan J. and Fox, Richard Logan. *op. cit.*, p. 6.

²⁰⁷ “Why They Voted for Clinton.”, *op. cit.*

²⁰⁸ “Why They Voted for Trump.”, *op. cit.*

²⁰⁹ Crouse, Karen. “Politics Edge Onto the Greens at a Course Owned by Trump.” *New York Times*. March 2, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

I then analyzed the article, “Trump’s Victories Span Regions; Cruz Takes Texas and Oklahoma”²¹¹ as it was the one with the most words from the lexical field of sports and the lexical field of war. I observed that none of those words were used to speak about politics in general. Indeed, they were all used while talking about one or several candidates.

Furthermore, I remarked that both languages were used in the article. For example, “Mr. Rubio’s backers have urged other candidates to stand down and allow him a clean shot at Mr. Trump”²¹². Indeed, the word “shot” is clearly from the lexical field of weapons and thus, is also part of the lexical field of war. The language of sports was even more present than the language of war in the article. For example, “Though Mr. Rubio handily won the Minnesota caucuses, his otherwise limp finish may have cost him any leverage he had to demand that other candidates defer to him.”²¹³ In that sentence, there are sports metaphors and more particularly to running in “limp finish”.

Then, I looked at the candidates for whom those references were used. I remarked that most of the Republican candidates were associated with at least one sports or war reference. The journalists wrote that Senator Ted Cruz “fends off questions about his viability.”²¹⁴ The journalists associated a sports metaphor not only to Mr. Rubio but also to Donald Trump when writing that only Mr. Rubio “has the political standing to compete with Mr. Trump in a head-to-head race.”²¹⁵ In addition, several words from both lexical fields were associated with Donald J. Trump such as “Mr. Trump hopes that by winning both, he can drive his opponents out of the race.”²¹⁶ The last Republican candidate for whom such references were used was Mr. Kasich, the governor of Ohio: “While Mr. Kasich ran close to Mr. Trump in Vermont, he will have to enter a third contest he has targeted, Michigan’s primary on March 8, with no particular improvement in his fortune.”²¹⁷ In that sentence, I could observe a metaphor in the verb “target” which is often used in the military.

Thus, I concluded that the article with the most numerous uses of the language of sports and war was an article focusing only on male candidates.

²¹¹ Burns, Alexander and Jonathan Martin. “Trump’s Victories Span Regions; Cruz Takes Texas and Oklahoma.”, *op. cit.*

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

The third article I examined in depth was an article whose main subject was Hillary Clinton in order to analyze whether both languages were used with a female candidate. I chose Amy Chozick and Patrick Healy's article "Democrats Prepare a Trump Battle Plan"²¹⁸ due to its numerous uses of both types of language. Furthermore, this article focused on Hillary Clinton; however, as shown in Table 2, Donald Trump was also frequently referred, thus facilitating the comparison between the use of both types of languages for female and male candidates.

I noticed that words from both lexical fields were used in describing Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. An example could be found in "The greatest weapon against Mr. Trump, the Clintons believe, is his tendency to make outrageous, even hateful comments that can come across as unpresidential."²¹⁹

Some metaphors and references were used only with the Democratic candidate, Mrs. Clinton. Indeed, Matthew Dowd, an independent chief strategist, was quoted as saying, "Hillary has built a large tanker ship, and she's about to confront Somali pirates"²²⁰. In addition, the authors went on to write, "The strategy highlights a concern among Mrs. Clinton's allies"²²¹. In that segment, I associated two words with the military lexical field: "strategy" and "allies". However, words from the sports lexical field were associated with only one candidate, the Republican Donald Trump. Those words were "opponent" and "champion".²²²

Overall, few words came from the sports lexical field. One could be found in "Publicly, the Clinton operation is letting the Republicans slug it out."²²³ All the other references and metaphors were associated with the language of war.

Based on my analysis, I can conclude that both types of language were used almost equivalently for female and male candidates. Furthermore, some of the references were used to talk about both candidates, Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Trump, at the same time. However, I observed journalists used the language of war rather than sports when discussing Hillary Clinton.

²¹⁸ Chozick, Amy and Patrick Healy. "Democrats Prepare a Trump Battle Plan.", *op. cit.*

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ *Ibid.*

4.5. Personal issues and personal life, a woman's issue?

In order to answer this question, I analyzed all the references to the personal issues and personal lives of candidates mentioned in the articles.

Out of the twenty-five articles selected for the thesis, twelve articles mentioned personal information.

First, I analyzed the information about Hillary Rodham Clinton. In total, seven articles provided information about her personal life. However, they all mentioned the same information, which was regarding her marital status. Indeed, all seven articles mentioned that she was a wife, some even specifying that she was the wife of Bill Clinton. However, I noticed several approaches were used by the journalists to share that information. In the article "Hillary Clinton's Moment", Mr. Burns simply stated her marital status: "her talents pale beside her husband's"²²⁴. In addition to singling out her personal life, it was used to represent her negatively. Similarly, Karen Crouse also defined Hillary Rodham Clinton through her role as Bill Clinton's wife.²²⁵

In other articles, the information about her marital status was subtler. Yonette Joseph's article mentioned that Hillary Clinton won several states including Arkansas "where she had been first lady."²²⁶ This was a reference to her experience, nevertheless, it was also a reminder of the fact that she was the wife of Bill Clinton and thus, of her marital status.

Lastly, I realized that journalists were not the only ones who referred to personal information to talk about Mrs. Clinton. In two articles, I found quotes from voters who mentioned the marital status of Mrs. Clinton. For example, Jason Horowitz quoted a voter named Walter Clark as saying, "I'm comfortable because her husband was president"²²⁷.

Out of all the references to the personal life of other candidates, I only found one that also referred to their marital status. In the article "Ted Cruz's Not So Super Tuesday", the journalist, Mimi Swartz, talked about Governor Dan Patrick and how "He managed to stay on camera a lot longer than Mr. Cruz's wife, Heidi, who was dressed in red-state scarlett."²²⁸ In addition to the information about the personal life of the Republican candidate Ted Cruz, this

²²⁴ Bruni, Frank. *op. cit.*

²²⁵ Crouse, Karen. *op. cit.*

²²⁶ Joseph, Yonette. *op. cit.*

²²⁷ Horowitz, Jason. *op. cit.*

²²⁸ Swartz, Mimi. "Ted Cruz's Not So Super Tuesday." *New York Times*. March 2, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

statement also referred to the physical appearance of Mr. Cruz's wife and thus to the personal issue of a woman.

Then, I looked into all the remaining sentences referring to the personal life or personal issues of candidates. I noticed a similarity in all those references as they all concerned Donald Trump. More precisely, they all concerned the physical appearance of the Republican candidate. For example, in Emma Roller's article, the voter Brockman Wallace from Virginia and who voted for Mrs. Clinton said Mr. Trump, "walks around [...] dressed to the heels"²²⁹. Furthermore, two remarks were made regarding his tan, which was also a reference to his physical appearance. Contrary to Emma Roller's quote, both remarks were not made by a voter but by candidates. Indeed, the first remark was made by Mr. Rubio and retold in Trip Gabriel's article.²³⁰ The journalist wrote, "For Senator Marco Rubio of Florida, who ferociously challenged Mr. Trump last week in a debate and on the stump, mocking the real estate mogul's 'spray tan' and calling him a 'con man', the path forward is narrowing."²³¹ The second reference to Donald Trump's tan was also attributed to Mr. Rubio. In the article "G.O.P. Race Grows Cruder and More Aggressive", Mr. Harris, an adviser of Mr. Rubio explained that "Mr. Rubio's speeches were now being carried live on television. And if the price of admission, he added, was talking about 'how Trump is a con man, with a bad spray tan,' so be it."²³² This remark focused on the physical appearance of Donald Trump. Furthermore, the sentence highlighted the importance of this topic in the media since Mr. Harris hinted that it was necessary to talk about it in order to be broadcasted on television. A last reference to Donald Trump's appearance was made in Maggie Haberman and Jeremy W. Peters's article.²³³ The comment was again attributed to Marco Rubio who was reported as making "fun of Mr. Trump's ruddy complexion and the size of his hands, in an apparent attack on his manhood."²³⁴ I observed two comments on the physical appearance of Donald Trump, which showed that journalists did not only refer to the physical appearance of female candidates.

²²⁹ Roller, Emma. "Trump, or Anyone but Trump." *New York Times*. March 2, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

²³⁰ Gabriel, Trip. "G.O.P.'s Delegate Selection Rules Could Backfire." *New York Times*. March 1, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

²³¹ *Ibid.*

²³² Peters, Jeremy W. and Ashley Parker. "G.O.P. Race Grows Cruder and More Aggressive." *New York Times*. February 29, 2016. Accessed May 17, 2017.

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

In all these references, I noticed that journalists only talked about the personal life of Hillary Clinton while referring to her role as a wife. However, Mrs. Clinton was not the only candidate whose marital status was mentioned as it was also mentioned for Ted Cruz. Furthermore, I observed that several references were made about the physical appearance of one specific candidate, Donald Trump. I concluded that Kathleen A. Dolan's argument that journalists tended to talk more about the personal life and personal issues of female candidates did not apply in this case.

4.6. Qualities of the candidates

Out of the twenty-five articles analyzed, only four articles described Hillary Rodham Clinton's qualities.

In three of the four articles, journalists described the same trait of the Democratic candidate, Hillary Clinton. Indeed, she was portrayed as qualified. For example, Jason Horowitz wrote in his article, "One thing nearly all of Mrs. Clinton's supporters agree on is that her résumé is without compare in the primary contest."²³⁵ This reference to her résumé suggests that she is the most qualified candidate.

Similarly, in "Sanders Stands Alone as Senate Colleagues Line Up Behind Clinton", Jennifer Steinhauer wrote, "Democrats say they find Mrs. Clinton -- the former first lady, senator from New York and secretary of state, who has raised millions of dollars for them over the years -- simply more qualified and more electable."²³⁶ However, Mrs. Clinton's experience was expressed more negatively in the article, "Hillary Clinton's Moments"²³⁷. Frank Bruni wrote that Mrs. Clinton was "cast in supporting roles: the first lady, the secretary of state."²³⁸ Here, the experience of Mrs. Clinton was expressed in more negative way as it was specified that her roles were supportive.

Furthermore, journalists were not the only ones who used the word "qualified" to describe Mrs. Clinton. In the article "Why They Voted for Clinton", Dana Calleja, a voter from Georgia, stated, "I wish there weren't all the questions around the emails and Benghazi. But it

²³⁵ Horowitz, Jason. *op. cit.*

²³⁶ Steinhauer, Jennifer. *op. cit.*

²³⁷ Bruni, Frank. *op. cit.*

²³⁸ *Ibid.*

all came down to qualifications.”²³⁹ Here, Ms. Calleja implied that Mrs. Clinton was qualified and that it was the most important requirement to be elected.

In addition to those two qualities: qualified and experienced, several traits of Mrs. Clinton were described in Frank Bruni’s article “Hillary Clinton’s Moment”²⁴⁰. Frank Bruni stated, “She’s a deeply flawed politician. But she’s also a preternaturally determined, resourceful and patient one.”²⁴¹ Here, Mrs. Clinton was described as having both negative and positive qualities. Mr. Bruni mentioned both negative and positive qualities later in the article when he wrote, “We were seeing the vindication of a fortitude and fierceness that warrant as much notice as her less savory qualities.”²⁴² However, Mr. Bruni also focused on only positive traits when he wrote, “Clinton has the toughness to engage in -- and survive -- a brutally ugly contest.”²⁴³ This sentence was particularly interesting for my analysis as it attributed a trait often look for by voters while choosing their president, toughness²⁴⁴.

In comparison to the coverage of Mrs. Clinton’s qualities, I observed that Mr. Trump’s qualities were covered even more in the media during Super Tuesday. Indeed, out of the twenty-five articles, eight contained information about the qualities of the Republican candidate. However, the traits described were essentially negative.

One quality that appeared in several articles was “dishonesty”. This trait was shared in “Christie Splits With His Past in Backing Trump” when the journalist quoted Ms. Whitman, a surrogate of Mr. Christie, describing Mr. Trump as “a dishonest demagogue who plays to our worst fears.”²⁴⁵ In other articles, this trait was more implied. In Alexander Burns and Jonathan Martin’s article, Mr. Rubio was quoted as saying, “Do not give in the fear, do not give in to anger, do not give in to sham artists and con artists who try to take advantage of your suffering”²⁴⁶. By implying that Donald Trump was a “sham artist” and a “con artist”, Mr. Rubio suggested that Mr. Trump was dishonest.

In addition to these negative qualities, some positive qualities were attributed to Donald Trump. For example, in Yonette Joseph’s article, Ms. Joseph reported that Mr. Christie

²³⁹ “Why They Voted for Clinton.”, *op. cit.*

²⁴⁰ Bruni, Frank. *op. cit.*

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² *Ibid.*

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ Carroll, Susan J. and Fox, Richard Logan. *op. cit.*

²⁴⁵ Burns, Alexander and Jonathan Martin. “Christie Splits With His Past in Backing Trump.”, *op. cit.*

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

“praised the candidate as ‘tough’, ‘strong’ and ‘bold’.”²⁴⁷ According to Susan J. Carroll and Richard L. Fox, these traits are often looked for in American leaders.²⁴⁸ Furthermore, these traits are mostly attributed to men.²⁴⁹ I thus concluded that Susan J. Carroll and Richard L. Fox’s argument was illustrated in that article.

4.7. “Masculine” issues for male candidates and “feminine” issues for female candidates?

Out of the twenty-five articles, seventeen mentioned at least one issue. Considering the number of articles, I focused my analysis on the sample article “Voters Turn to Clinton After Flirting With Sanders”²⁵⁰ by Jason Horowitz. I chose that article as I could make a relevant comparison between a female candidate, Hillary Clinton, and a male candidate, Bernie Sanders. Indeed, they were the two main subjects of the article and they belonged to the same party.

I first noticed a traditionally “masculine” issue associated with Mrs. Clinton through a quote from Ms. Hermer, a teacher who supported Mrs. Clinton. Mr. Horowitz wrote “Through such a pragmatic frame, Ms. Hermer saw a silver lining to Mrs. Clinton’s ties to Wall Street, which Mr. Sanders has assailed as emblematic of a rigged campaign finance system: ‘She knows how to earn money and keep her campaign running,’ Ms. Hermer said.”²⁵¹ The sentence focused on finance and more specifically on Mrs. Clinton’s links to it. Finance and economy are generally considered as a “masculine” issue.

The economy was also mentioned while talking about Bernie Sanders. Mr. Horowitz wrote about a voter who was “tempted by Mr. Sanders’s demand for a radical fix to income inequality”²⁵². Here the “masculine” issue of economics was here associated with a male candidate.

Another topic was approached in that article. Mr. Horowitz rephrased a voter when he wrote, “She said she hoped Mrs. Clinton would build on President Obama’s record and protect

²⁴⁷ Joseph, Yonette. *op. cit.*

²⁴⁸ Carroll, Susan J. and Fox, Richard Logan. *op. cit.*, p. 6.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁰ Horowitz, Jason. *op. cit.*

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² *Ibid.*

abortion rights.”²⁵³ Abortion is considered a “feminine” issue as it concerns health and family. Thus, here a feminine issue was associated with Mrs. Clinton, a female candidate. This article provided some evidence for the argument that “masculine” issues were more often associated with male candidates and that “feminine” issues were more associated with female candidates. Indeed, only one “masculine” issue was associated to Hillary Clinton and no “feminine” issues were linked to Bernie Sanders.

I observed the same pattern in the article “Democrats Prepare a Trump Battle Plan”²⁵⁴. Almost all the issues discussed in that article were associated with the Republican candidate, Donald Trump. Many of those issues were generally considered as “masculine” issues. For example, “Mrs. Clinton’s uneven performance with male voters so far, especially white men, could create an opening for Mr. Trump to attract Democrats and independents who are socially and culturally moderate and open to his call for a strong military, fearless foreign policy and businessman’s approach to the economy.”²⁵⁵ In contrast, Hillary Clinton was said to “bring up equal pay for women and abortion rights”²⁵⁶. Thus, this article links both candidates to masculine issues (the economy) as well as Mrs. Clinton to “feminine” issues (abortion and feminism).

Thus, I observed that “feminine” issues were mainly associated to female candidates, which corresponds to Erika Falk’s argument²⁵⁷. However, some “masculine” issues were associated to both female and male candidates. This contradicts the argument that “masculine” issues are mainly associated to male candidates.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁴ Chozick, Amy and Patrick Healy. “Democrats Prepare a Trump Battle Plan.”, *op. cit.*

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ Falk, Erika. *op. cit.*, p. 101.

5. Analysis

To conduct this research, I decided to analyze the coverage of the Iowa caucus, the New Hampshire primary and Super Tuesday. I selected those events due to the importance they have in the race towards the nomination for the presidential elections. I observed that the presence of Hillary Rodham Clinton in the articles, when compared to male candidates' presence, was not extremely different. In regards to the image of Hillary Clinton, I noticed that it varied greatly in the different articles. Furthermore, I observed an evolution of Mrs. Clinton's viability in the coverage of the Iowa caucus, the New Hampshire primary and Super Tuesday. Regarding the usage of sports and war metaphors, I noted that the metaphors were used for both male and female candidates. However, I noticed that journalists used more the lexical field of war than the lexical field of sports to talk about Hillary Clinton. Then, I observed that the personal life of Mrs. Clinton was mentioned in numerous articles. However, I noted that references to physical appearances were only used to talk about male candidates. Furthermore, I saw that few qualities were used to describe the candidates and that one same quality was often associated to Hillary Clinton. Finally, I noticed that "feminine" issues were not only associated to female candidates but also to male candidates and "masculine" issues were used with both male and female candidates.

However, these findings need to be further analyzed.

5.1. Presence of Hillary Rodham Clinton in the *New York Times*

In order to determine the presence of Hillary Rodham Clinton in the *New York Times*, I looked at the number of articles focused on the Democratic candidate. I noticed differences regarding the coverage in the various articles. Indeed, as shown in Table 3, none of the Iowa caucus articles had Mrs. Clinton as the main focus. However, six of the articles on Super Tuesday focused on her. The difference between the two was considerable. However, this difference could be due to the number of articles on each event. Indeed, the Iowa caucus had only three articles written on it while twenty-five articles were written on Super Tuesday.

I also compared the number of articles focused on Mrs. Clinton with the number of articles focused on other candidates. I observed that the differences between Mrs. Clinton and other candidates were not really noticeable. During the coverage of the Iowa caucus, Bernie

Sanders also had no articles focused on him. Moreover, both were the main subject of one article during the New Hampshire coverage. Nevertheless, I noted that slightly more articles focused on the Republican candidate, Donald Trump for all events.

Furthermore, many articles did not only mention one specific candidate. Indeed, even the articles focusing on one specific candidate cited other candidates. Thus, analyzing the number of times each candidate's name was cited was crucial to this study. In total, Hillary Clinton was more cited than the other candidates such as Bernie Sanders and Ted Cruz. Mrs. Clinton was even the most cited of all candidates during the coverage of the New Hampshire primary. This evidence partially supports Erika Falk's argument that women candidates received less coverage than their male candidates. Indeed, Hillary Clinton received less coverage than male candidates since she had fewer articles focused on her than Donald Trump. However, Mrs. Clinton was the main focus of more articles, as well as more cited, than other candidates such as Bernie Sanders or Ted Cruz. This observation was particularly striking as there were six male candidates in the race and she was the only female candidate. Mrs. Clinton was thus more reported on than the majority of her male counterparts. Many different reasons could explain this phenomenon. Thus, further studies should be conducted in order to determine if the gender of Mrs. Clinton had an impact on her volume of coverage in the media or if it was mainly due to other reasons.

5.2. The image of Hillary Rodham Clinton in the media, positive or negative?

In my analysis of the image of Hillary Rodham Clinton in the different articles, I observed that her image varied greatly in the coverage of different events as well as in the articles of the same event.

Regarding the Iowa caucus, the image of Hillary Clinton was globally more negative as she came up short when she was compared to other male candidates. In addition, some information about her victories was given. However, that information was more factual and thus more neutral.

In the coverage of the New Hampshire primary and Super Tuesday, I found other articles mentioning predictions and results of caucuses and primaries. In the case of the Iowa caucus,

these mentions were facts, and thus, the image of Mrs. Clinton was neutral. However, as highlighted in Table 3, Hillary Clinton was represented in a more negative way in an article focused on Bernie Sanders during the New Hampshire primary coverage. As they were both from the same political party, future research could explore why Mrs. Clinton was portrayed in a negative way and how Mr. Sanders was represented in order to determine if the difference in their representation was due to their views on different issues or due to their gender.

In the coverage of Super Tuesday, Mrs. Clinton was portrayed positively in several articles. Indeed, Hillary Clinton was compared to other male candidates and was portrayed as better than them. I thus observed positive progress in Hillary Clinton's representation when compared to other male candidates between the coverage of the Iowa caucus to the coverage of Super Tuesday. In order to establish the reasons behind this evolution, additional research should be carried out. Indeed, the evolution might be due to events happening during the time between the Iowa caucus and Super Tuesday. It might also be due to the fact that the comparisons were made by different journalists who might not see the candidates similarly.

5.3. Hillary Clinton, a viable candidate?

While analyzing how the viability of Mrs. Clinton was expressed in the different articles, I noticed that many journalists chose to portray Hillary Clinton's viability by comparing her to other candidates. That pattern was used in articles from all three events.

First, I observed that the coverage of the Iowa caucus was the most negative on the viability of Hillary Clinton. Indeed, journalists compared her to other candidates and portrayed her as coming up short. Furthermore, there was no other mention of her viability. Given the little coverage of Mrs. Clinton, one view on her viability was expressed during the coverage of the caucuses.

Similarly, during the New Hampshire primary, Mrs. Clinton was also compared to other candidates and also came up short. However, while Hillary Clinton was portrayed as less viable than other candidates in both the Iowa caucus and the New Hampshire primary, she was described as having the qualities necessary to become the president of the United States of America, thus giving the reader the impression that she was in fact viable.

Finally, I observed an evolution in the portrayal of Hillary Clinton's viability. In the coverage of Super Tuesday, Mrs. Clinton was mainly portrayed as the most viable Democratic candidate. Furthermore, she was described as the best candidate to beat the Republican candidate, Donald Trump. I thus noticed a change in the representation of the viability of Mrs. Clinton when compared to other candidates. Indeed, during the Iowa caucus and the New Hampshire primary, Mrs. Clinton was portrayed as less viable than other male politicians. During Super Tuesday, Hillary Clinton was portrayed as more viable than Bernie Sanders and other candidates. It might be interesting to research the reasons behind this evolution of her viability. For example, it could be interesting to analyze if the fact that Mrs. Clinton was on a winning streak had an impact on the evolution of her viability.

5.4. Politics: a field for sports and war references

In order to confirm or refute the arguments that many sports and war references and metaphors were used to talk about politics in the media, I analyzed all the sports and war references in all the articles under analysis.

I detected numerous uses of both languages in the articles of the three events. I noticed that the usage was used to talk about politics in general. Furthermore, both languages were used to talk about one specific candidate or several candidates.

I was surprised to find numerous examples in the coverage of the Iowa caucus. Indeed, lots of sports and war vocabulary were used to describe Ted Cruz. However, none were associated with Hillary Clinton. This observation reinforced the argument that sports and war are masculine fields and thus, more associated with male candidates. Nevertheless, the little coverage of Mrs. Clinton during the Iowa could also explain why none of those two languages were used to talk about her.

During the New Hampshire primary, Hillary Clinton received more coverage. However, she was rarely discussed in the language of sports and the language of war. This observation indicates that female candidates are not described with stereotypical masculine vocabulary.

Moreover, few references used for Hillary Clinton, many contained the same word. That word was attributed to both sports and war lexical fields. However, I noticed that war metaphors were used the most when talking about Mrs. Clinton during the coverage of the New

Hampshire primary and Super Tuesday. Further research would provide insight into this phenomenon.

I can make the same observation about the articles on Super Tuesday. Indeed, many references pertaining to Mrs. Clinton belonged to the military lexical field. The coverage of Super Tuesday was particularly interesting as only two articles did not contain any references. I also noticed that the article with the most references from both fields was an article that focused on Republican candidates and that none of the references contained in the article pertained to a female candidate. Thus, I concluded that both types of language were used more with male candidates than female candidates. However, this difference might be due to the fact that the coverage of male candidates was more considerable than the coverage of the female candidate.

5.5. Personal issues and personal life, a woman's issue?

As shown in Table 3, the personal issues and personal life of candidates were most covered during Super Tuesday and less covered during the Iowa caucus. This difference could be due to the number of articles written about each event. Indeed, twenty-five articles were dedicated to Super Tuesday while only three articles were written about the Iowa caucus.

Furthermore, I observed that the same information about the personal life of Hillary Clinton was repeated in different articles about both the New Hampshire primary and Super Tuesday. Indeed, the marital status of the Democratic candidate was mentioned in numerous articles. However, Mrs. Clinton was not the only candidate whose marital status was mentioned. Indeed, a single reference was made to Ted Cruz's wife. Nevertheless, I observed a huge difference between the number of times Mrs. Clinton's marital status was mentioned in comparison with other candidates. This difference was even more notable considering the number of married male candidates present in the 2016 presidential race. Nevertheless, Mrs. Clinton is married to Bill Clinton, a former president of the United States. Thus, the notoriety of Mr. Clinton could explain this difference with other candidates.

Moreover, I was surprised to find that all statements made about physical appearance were associated with male candidates. Indeed, there was no information about the physical

appearance of Hillary Rodham Clinton in all the articles analyzed. This contradicts Kathleen A. Dolan's argument that the physical appearance of women in politics is more described than the physical appearance of men.

5.6. Qualities of the candidates

As seen in Table 3, few articles discussed the qualities of candidates and even fewer talked about Hillary Clinton's qualities. The few qualities attributed to Mrs. Clinton were both negative and positive. Some articles attributed qualities to her that are often looked for in a president by voters. In comparison to other candidates, I noticed that Mrs. Clinton's qualities were more positive than Donald Trump's qualities. However, in some articles, the Republican candidate also had some qualities required to become president attributed to him. I concluded that the qualities that many voters look for in a president are not only attributed to male candidates but to female candidates as well.

Furthermore, among the qualities attributed to Hillary Rodham Clinton, she was most often described as experienced. This characteristic was particularly interesting as Mrs. Clinton was the only one whose experience was highlighted to such an extent. However, it could be questioned if gender played a role here. It can also be argued that this difference between the candidates was due to the actual experience of the Democratic candidate, Hillary Clinton. Indeed, Mrs. Clinton was unique in comparison to others as she was First Lady of the United States of America and then, Secretary of State.

5.7. "Masculine" issues for male candidates and "feminine" issues for female candidates?

The same pattern in the usage of "masculine" issues and "feminine" issues could be found in the coverage of two events (see Table 3). Indeed, coverage of the Iowa caucus and Super Tuesday, shows that some "masculine" issues were associated with both female candidates and male candidates. The coverage of the Iowa caucus also showed that some "feminine" issues were associated with a male candidate. Thus refutes the argument that "masculine"

issues are more often linked with male candidates and that “feminine” issues are more often linked with female candidates. However, the articles of all three events did not offer a lot of coverage about both types of issues, rather they were mentioned in passing. I wondered what the reasons were behind this pattern and why some issues were discussed and not others. Thus, in order to establish if “masculine” issues are more often associated with men and “feminine” issues are more often associated with women, more in depth research is necessary.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I analyzed the media representation of women in politics by focusing on Hillary Rodham Clinton's run for president in 2016. Specifically, I analyzed Mrs. Clinton's representation in the *New York Times* articles written on the Iowa caucus, the New Hampshire primary and Super Tuesday. I observed that Hillary Clinton was not underrepresented in the media in comparison to male candidates. Furthermore, I noticed that Mrs. Clinton's portrayal, as well as her viability, varied greatly in the articles.

This analysis led to a number of conclusions. First, I noticed that the coverage of Hillary Rodham Clinton in Iowa, New Hampshire and Super Tuesday did not support the arguments made about the representation of female politicians in the media. Indeed, Mrs. Clinton's coverage, when compared with male candidates' coverage, was similar to that of male candidates. However, I observed that the same information was often repeated in different articles. Thus, even if the coverage of Hillary Clinton was consequential compared to other candidates, not a lot of new information was shared with readers. Furthermore, I wondered why journalists decided to focus on this. It might thus be thought-provoking to analyze it in more depth as well as the impact that such information has on readers, and compare it with the information shared about male candidates in order to determine gender-related differences.

Furthermore, I noticed that Mrs. Clinton was not just a female candidate in a presidential race. Indeed, being married to Bill Clinton could have had an impact, positive or negative, on Mrs. Clinton's representation in the media. Furthermore, Mrs. Clinton acquired, through her role as the wife of a former president and through her career as a politician, a level of experience that many other candidates will never have. That experience and notoriety were often mentioned in the articles by journalists as well as voters and other politicians. Thus, I concluded that the personality and personal life of a female candidate could have an impact on their portrayal in the media. However, no male candidate had the same notoriety and experience as Mrs. Clinton. It was thus impossible to determine if these characteristics had the same impact for men.

In order to compare the representation of female candidates in the media to male candidates, a study should be conducted comparing similar candidates, such as two female candidates.

However, few female politicians chose to run for higher posts such as president. Indeed, in the 2016 presidential campaign, only one female candidate ran for the nomination of one of the main political parties. The fewer female candidates there are, the less coverage women will receive. Moreover, if people do not hear about a candidate in the media, they might not know about them and thus, not vote for them. As Erika Falk showed in her study, this consequence might dissuade women from entering the world of politics, as it is considered as unusual. I concluded that there is a vicious circle regarding women in politics. Thus, studies should be conducted to analyze this circle in order to end it and normalize the presence of women in politics.

One topic that was repeatedly discussed was Hillary Clinton's email scandal. This portrayed the Democratic candidate, Hillary Clinton, in a negative way. Furthermore, the scandal could be a reason to give more coverage to Mrs. Clinton than other candidates.

The coverage of the email scandal raised another concern regarding the role of the media in politics. Indeed, emails had many consequences during the 2016 presidential campaign. As Mrs. Clinton stated about the emails scandal, "cybersecurity experts and U.S. intelligence officials were confident that the Russians were behind the hack. There still wasn't official consensus about whether their goal was to undermine public confidence in America's democratic institutions or if Putin was actively trying to derail my candidacy and help elect Trump."²⁵⁸ This story did not only show that the media could impact negatively or positively the campaign of a candidate, it also showed how foreign government could use the media to interfere in the democracy of a country.

Hillary Clinton also explained how the 2016 presidential campaign was impacted by the phenomenon of fake news.²⁵⁹ This phenomenon took predominantly place on the web. However, it also had an impact on traditional media such as newspaper. Indeed, Mrs. Clinton explained that newspapers such as the *New York Post* wrote about fake news even with the lack of evidence supporting these news, and thus, gave it more circulation.²⁶⁰ This showed the growing influence of the Internet on voters and thus, in politics. It might be instructional to research the impact that fake news had during the presidential campaign and the importance they had in comparison with traditional media in order to determine which channel is the most influencing nowadays.

²⁵⁸ Rodham Clinton, Hillary. *op. cit.*, p. 341.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

The 2016 presidential campaign was exceptional due to the personalities of the candidates and the different scandals that were linked to them. Furthermore, the campaign was historic as the Democratic candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton became the first woman to be nominated by one of the major political parties. This victory represents a new milestone in the history of women and politics. Moreover, if the portrayal of Mrs. Clinton in the *New York Times* is a representation of how female candidates will be portrayed in the future, there is hope that the role of women in politics will improve. I believed that the presence of women in politics is already changing. Moreover, Mrs. Clinton wrote, “I am heartened that a wave of women across America have expressed more willingness to run for office after this election, not less. I’ll admit, I was worried that it would go the other way. And I will always do my part to encourage more women to run and to send the message to little girl, teenagers, and young women that their dreams and ambitions are worth chasing.”²⁶¹

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

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Appendix

Table 1: The number of times each candidate's name appeared in the articles about the New Hampshire primary

	Hillary Clinton	Bernie Sanders	Donald Trump	Ted Cruz	Marco Rubio	Chris Christie	John R. Kasich
Burns, Alexander: "Third Party; Bloomberg Confirms He's Weighing an Independent Run for President."	/	1	1	1	/	/	/
Burns, Alexander: "As Trump Wins, the Mainstream G.O.P. Is Left to Muddle On."	4	1	13	7	5	4	3
Burns, Alexander: "Our Man in New Hampshire: Voting Starts in a State Built for Surprises."	8	5	6	1	2	/	2
Burns, Alexander: "Trump Finds Next Voters Are Unruffled by Bluster."	1	1	38	7	/	/	1
Chozick, Amy. "In Flint, Clinton Prods Congress and Calls Response to Crisis 'Immoral'."	25	4	/	2	/	/	/
Cohn, Nate: "New Hampshire, the Primary That Clarifies."	3	12	8	4	6	2	5
Confessore, Nicholas. "'Vote Shaming', Mailing That Drew Fire in Iowa Shows Up in New Hampshire."	/	/	/	2	/	/	/
Flegenheimer, Matt and Michael Barbaro. "New Hampshire Voters Ask: Is It Over Yet?"	2	3	3	1	8	3	/
Healy, Patrick: "Bill Clinton's 1992 Make-or-Break Stand in New Hampshire."	12	/	/	/	/	/	/
Healy, Patrick and Jonathan Martin. "Trump and Sanders Win Resoundingly in New Hampshire."	18	18	14	2	5	2	6
Hunt, Albert R. and Bloomberg view. "Harsh Tone in Campaigns Bodes Ill for Governing."	8	3	2	3	4	/	2

Parker, Ashley. "The Undecided Hint at Reason Race Is So Fluid."	5	5	3	3	2	3	5
Peters, Jeremy W. and Jonathan Martin. "Rubio Is Tested as Rivals Sense Vulnerabilities."	2	/	3	2	32	9	/
Sanger, David E. "Questions on Foreign Policy Are Pushing Sanders Outside His Comfort Zone."	11	17	/	/	/	/	/
Scheiber, Noam. "A Budget Nod to the Reality for Workers."	/	3	/	/	/	/	/
Total	99	73	91	35	64	23	24

Table 2: The number of times each candidate's name appeared in articles about Super Tuesday

Bruni, Frank. "Hillary Clinton's Moment."	Hillary Clinton	Bernie Sanders	Donald Trump	Ted Cruz	Marco Rubio	Chris Christie	John R. Kasich
	8	2	6	/	/	/	/
Burns, Alexander and Jonathan Martin. "Trump's Victories Span Regions; Cruz Takes Texas and Oklahoma."	1	/	36	10	13	/	7
Choizick, Amy and Patrick Healy. "Democrats Prepare a Trump Battle Plan."	37	/	46	1	/	/	/
Cohn, Nate. "States Where Rubio Might Have a Chance."	/	/	10	2	27	/	5
Crouse, Karen. "Politics Edge Onto the Greens at a Course Owned by Trump."	1	28	/	/	/	/	/
Downes, Lawrence. "Texas Voters Are Mellow Than the Candidates."	1	3	5	5	/	/	/
Edsall, Thomas B. "Why Trump Now?."	/	/	6	1	1	/	/
Gabriel, Trip. "G.O.P.'s Delegate Selection Rules Could Backfire."	/	/	14	9	12	/	2
Haberman, Maggie and Jeremy W. Peters. "Slight, Gags and Vitriol as Rivals Target Trump."	/	/	21	8	7	/	2
Healy, Patrick and Amy Choizick. "Minority Voters Help Push Clinton to Triumphs in Democratic Race."	31	22	5	/	/	/	/
Horowitz, Jason. "Voters Turn to Clinton After Flirting With Sanders."	33	13	5	/	/	/	/
Joseph, Yonette. "Super Tuesday: Big Night for Trump and Clinton as Rivals Hold On."	6	2	10	6	3	4	1
Martin, Jonathan and Alexander Burns. "Christie Splits With His Past in Backing Trump."	/	/	28	1	2	29	1

Martin, Jonathan and Nate Cohn. "Super Tuesday: What to Watch For."	8	7	15	9	7	/	/
Peters, Jeremy W. and Ashley Parker. "G.O.P. Race Grows Cruder and More Aggressive."	9	8	26	6	16	/	7
Roller, Emma. "Trump, or Anyone but Trump."	2	5	19	2	4	/	/
Seelye, Katharine Q. "Democrats Fight for Young Voters in Massachusetts."	22	18	/	/	/	/	/
Steinhauer, Jennifer. "Sanders Stands Alone as Senate Colleagues Line Up Behind Clinton."	24	18	1	1	1	/	/
Swartz, Mimi. "Ted Cruz's Not So Super Tuesday."	/	/	5	13	2	/	/
The Editorial Board. "Big Campaign Money Will Be Back."	3	1	3	/	/	1	/
The Editorial Board. "The Party of Trump and the Path Ahead."	3	2	12	1	2	/	/
"As Clinton and Trump Take Clear Leads, Rivals Plan Next Moves."	5	9	12	16	14	/	2
"How the Candidates Fared in Georgia, Massachusetts, Texas and Virginia."	4	2	/	/	/	/	/
"Why They Voted for Clinton"	8	3	3	/	/	/	/
"Why They Voted for Trump"	/	/	1	/	/	/	/
Total	206	143	289	91	111	34	27

Table 3: Summary of the analysis of the articles of the Iowa caucus, the New Hampshire primary and Super Tuesday

	Iowa caucus	New Hampshire primary	Super Tuesday
<p>Portrayal of Hillary Rodham Clinton in the <i>New York Times</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 0 focused on Hillary Clinton. 2/3 mentioned Hillary Clinton. 1/3 focused on Ted Cruz. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1/15 focused on Hillary Clinton. 1/15 focused on Bernie Sanders. 2/15 focused on Donald Trump. 3/15 did not mention Hillary Clinton. 5/15 did not mention Donald Trump. In total: Hillary Clinton was the most cited. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5/25 focused on Hillary Clinton. 5/25 focused on Donald Trump. 7/25 did not mention Hillary Clinton. 3/25 did not mention Donald Trump. 9/25 did not mention Bernie Sanders. In total: Donald Trump was the most cited, Hillary Clinton was second.
<p>The image of Hillary Rodham Clinton in the media, positive or negative?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mostly negative: coming up short when compared to male politicians. Neutral: only facts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mainly positive in the article focused on Mrs. Clinton, even if there were some negative remarks. Varied: in articles focusing on another candidate or no specific candidate. Mostly negative: in the article focused on Bernie Sanders. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Positive: in several articles; portrayed as the only candidate capable of competing against Donald Trump. Neutral: in articles on the predictions and results of Super Tuesday. Negative: in some articles through Republican voters' comments or journalists.
<p>Hillary Clinton, a viable candidate?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Less viable than other candidates: came up short 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Less viable than other candidates: came up short 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Viable: Mrs. Clinton portrayed as having the

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> when compared to other candidates. Viable: an article hinted that Mrs. Clinton was going to win the election. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> when compared to other candidates. More viable than Bernie Sanders. Viable: some articles attributed to Mrs. Clinton qualities required to become president. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> qualities required and as the only candidate capable of competing against Donald Trump. Viable but not enough: an article portrayed her as a viable candidate but not enough to win the election.
Politics: a field for sports and war references	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Many sports and war metaphors. Often associated to Ted Cruz. None used with Hillary Clinton. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4/15 did not contain sports and war metaphors. Few metaphors used with Mrs. Clinton. “Fight”, from both the lexical field of sports and war, was often associated with Mrs. Clinton. Language of war more used with Hillary Clinton than language of sports. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2/25 did not contain sports and war metaphors. Articles that did not contain sports and war references were not written by journalists. The article with the most metaphors was focused on Republican candidates and no references were used for female candidates. Many references to talk about both female and male candidates. Language of war more used with Hillary Clinton than the language of sports. 	
Personal issues and personal life, a women issue?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not addressed. Mention of Ted Cruz’s father and Mr. Cruz’s faith. Mention of Jeb Bush’s eating habits. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5/15 articles contained information about the personal issues and personal life of candidates. Personal life of Hillary 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12/25 articles contained information about the personal issues and personal life of candidates. Information on marital 	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No mentions about the personal issues and personal life of Hillary Clinton. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Clinton: marital status, family, and religion. Physical appearance of Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump was mentioned. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> status: mostly Hillary Clinton but once mentioned for Ted Cruz. Physical appearance: only Donald Trump.
Qualities of the candidates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Few qualities in the articles. No qualities used to talk about Hillary Clinton. Positive qualities including qualities required to become president were mentioned. Negative qualities were also attributed to candidates. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 6/15 articles mentioned qualities. Both positive and negative qualities attributed to Hillary Clinton. Experienced was the quality most attributed to Mrs. Clinton. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4/25 articles mentioned qualities of Mrs. Clinton. Qualified and experienced were the most used to talk about Mrs. Clinton. Both negative and positive qualities associated with Hillary Clinton. Many qualities attributed to Donald Trump.
“Masculine” issues for male candidates and “feminine” issues for female candidates?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No “masculine” and “feminine” issues were associated to female candidates. Some “feminine” issues were associated with male candidates. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some “masculine” issues were associated with both female and male candidates. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Many “masculine” issues were associated with both female and male candidates. Most “feminine” issues were more associated with female candidates than male candidates.

