UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF SOCIAL, HUMAN AND MATHEMATICAL SCIENCES

Politics and International Relations

Gender and Press Coverage in 2015 and 2016 UK Political Campaigns

by

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<u>ABSTRACT</u>

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This thesis investigates the role of gender in the media coverage of selected political campaigns taking place in the UK in years 2015-2016. Although the literature on this topic is extensive, the findings of the existing studies are equivocal. While there dominates a perception of the existence of differences in volume and substance of coverage depicting men and women candidates, some studies challenge those findings. Moreover, in the UK, there is a deficiency of systematic studies on the subject, while the existing ones are limited when it comes to the media image of women candidates standing for higher political offices, as well as the role of local media.

This research accounts for both the national as well as local press, providing a new and unique perspective. It also explores the perception of the candidates during different types of election - from an election for MPs at local constituency level (2015 general election), to those for party leaders and prime ministerial office (2015 Labour leadership and 2016 Conservative leadership elections). To derive robust inferences, the study investigates both volume and substance of the press coverage collected from 37 digital press titles using a unique, computerised system developed for the sole purpose of this thesis. The data analysis involves elements of statistics, complemented with a qualitative investigation of articles, as well as interviews with parliamentary candidates, to provide a more in-depth interpretation of the quantitative findings.

This thesis concludes that in most cases the visibility of women candidates was not compromised. Furthermore, the analysis of coverage substance reveals that typically, albeit not universally, the press was gender-neutral. While it has been observed that in some isolated cases gender bias against women candidates still existed, these instances were rare and unsystematic, the amount of such coverage was inconsiderable, while in a few instances it was the men candidates who received gender-biased coverage. Therefore, this research argues that the perception of the omnipresent gender-bias against women might not be a true reflection of present reality. This work also suggests that the media scrutiny might not be reserved solely for women, and that candidates could introduce gender-related issues themselves as a part of a political campaign.

This PhD suggests that the biased media coverage of women political candidates does not seem to be the causal pathway to their under-representation in politics. Furthermore, it suggests that women themselves can, at least in part, control the content of their media coverage and thus steer the campaigns in the desired direction. While this thesis does not claim that sexism in the media is entirely absent, nor that it has not been a barrier to the world of politics in the past, it concludes that nowadays the media could be less gender-biased that it used to be thought. It is hoped that this positive result may encourage more women to enter the world of politics in the future.

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Beata Rek , declare that the thesis entitled *Gender and Press Coverage in 2015 and 2016 UK Political Campaigns* and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;

- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;

- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;

- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;

- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;

- parts of this work have been published as conference presentations and journal papers; for full list please see page 255.

Signed:..

Date:..

Acknowledgements

"The size of your dreams must always exceed your current capacity to achieve them. If your dreams do not scare you, they are not big enough."

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf [a]

[a]President of Liberia, first elected woman head of state in Africa

The three years I have spent on this project were the most challenging, yet the most exciting time of my life. My thanks go to all, who provided me with support and encouraged me to carry on with my plans. In the first place, my warm thoughts go to people who raised me, encouraging my curiosity and answering all the difficult questions a child could have - my family.

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Some people say that there is a life after a PhD. Well, I am about to test this theory...

Nomenclature

AIC	The Akaike information criterion
AWS	All-women shortlists
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BIC	The Bayesian information criterion
Cons.	The Conservative Party
DV	Dependent variable
EU	European Union
Eq.	Equation
HC	House of Commons
HCDeb	House of Commons Debates
HL	House of Lords
HLDeb	House of Lords Debates
IV	Independent variable
Lib.Dem.	Liberal Democrats
Max	Maximum
Min	Minimum
MP	Member of Parliament (House of Commons)
n	Number of observations
NHS	National Health Service
p	P-value
PC	Personal Computer
PM	Prime Minister
SD	Standard deviation
SNP	Scottish National Party
t	Time
UK	The United Kingdom
UKIP	UK Independence Party
US	United States (of America)
vol	Volume
$\bar{x}$	Mean
$\widetilde{x}$	Median
α	Intercept
β	Vector of covariates
ϵ	Error term

Chapter 1

Introduction

"Lady Astor was becomingly dressed in a plain black tailor-made costume, and a closefitting velvet toque. The roll-collar of her white silk blouse, with V-shaped neck, overhung her coat collar. The only jewellery she displayed were her wedding ring and a gold wristlet watch."

Aberdeen Daily Journal, December 2, 1919 [a]

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[a] As quoted in Pedersen (2016).

"While she is best known for her leopard-print kitten heels, her footwear obsession has seen her go to functions wearing some very bold choices. Last spring she joined the Queen, the Prime Minister and other dignitaries to welcome Mexico's President Enrique Pena Nieto, and chose to wear a pair of black patent leather, leopard-print over-the-knee boots."

The Sun, July 11, 2016 [a]

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[a] See Pettit (2016).

T he last century brought some significant changes to women's political participation, as the formal barriers which prevented them both from voting and standing as candidates, have vanished. Nonetheless, since the rules of 'political games' had been fixed long before women gained the right to participate in them, some researchers indicate they still seem not to be perceived as an equal part of the political environment (Holtz-Bacha, 2013).

For instance, women still remain under-represented in the Parliament. At the same time, studies found some evidence suggesting that gender-based stereotypes disseminated by the media might not only negatively affect voters' perception of women candidates, but

also discourage women from standing for election (Ross et al., 2013), being at least partially responsible for the state of their representation.

Furthermore, some researchers suggest that voters are more likely to learn about political candidates from the media, than from a direct experience (Blight et al., 2012). Therefore, it is believed that the news outlets play an important role in the relationship between the candidate and the voter. By selecting political stories to cover or deciding on their narration, they not only mirror the political landscape, but also shape it (George and Waldfogel, 2006; Kahn, 1994b).

Accordingly, most scholars acknowledge the fact that the way in which women are depicted could influence their political images (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996). It is worthy of note that there exists a widespread perception, supported by a number of studies, that women politicians face systematic gender bias in the media (Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991; Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1995; Gilmartin, 2001). Yet, some studies suggest the opposite (Hayes and Lawless, 2016b, 2015; Bystrom et al., 2001). Although the existence of such bias in the past cannot be ruled out, this work attempts to verify whether the current perception of media hostility against women politicians in the UK is a 'conventional wisdom' or the reality.

In particular, this work investigates news coverage from the 2015 and 2016 UK political campaigns and looks for evidence for systematic gender bias in the media towards women politicians. In addition to revisiting the problem, this work advances the existing body of research in a number of ways.

First, the scope of the existing studies in the UK remains limited when it comes to the analysis of how the media presents women candidates standing for higher political offices. While in the UK most research in the field focuses on MPs alone (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996; Ross et al., 2013), in countries such as US or Australia studies also encompass roles such as the Speaker (Dabbousa and Ladley, 2010), presidential candidates (Heldman et al., 2005; Aday and Devitt, 2001; Carlin and Winfrey, 2009) or prime ministerial candidates (Hall and Donaghue, 2013; Ross and Comrie, 2012). This study benefits from some unique circumstances occurring during the 2015 and 2016 election campaigns. In particular, it focuses on the 2015 general election, which for the first time featured televised debates with women leaders, the 2015 Labour leadership election featuring two women candidates, and the 2016 Conservative election, which resulted in the election of the second woman Prime Minister (PM) in the UK.

Secondly, the British research analysing the relationship between gender and the media seem to consistently overlook the importance of the local press. This thesis looks at how the men and women candidates were depicted by both local and national news outlets during one of the campaigns. The analysis of local media is particularly important considering that there is some evidence to suggest that local media may be more hostile towards women candidates.

Finally, even though in the recent years "journalism's platform is moving" (Brock, 2013), and readership of the digital editions often exceeds the reader's interest in the printed press, this transition was not reflected in the body of research. Hence, to account for the changing media environment, this study looks at the digital versions of the newspapers.

All this said, a number of hypotheses being in line with the dominant idea of gender bias in the media and perception of existing differences between local and national media outlets, have been formulated, and will be challenged in the following thesis:

H1: During campaigns for different political positions, women candidates receive less volume of press coverage, than men.

H2: During campaigns for different political positions, press coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames related to appearance/age, parenthood, partners as well as gender/novelty.

H3: Media coverage of candidates differs between local and national outlets with women receiving less volume of coverage in the local press.

H4: Media coverage of candidates differs between local and national outlets with women receiving more coverage referring to appearance/age, parenthood, partners as well as gender/novelty in the local press.

The thesis employs a quantitative analysis of collected articles. To complement the quantitative findings, this work additionally supports them with interviews with some candidates, as well as an analysis of the selected coverage extracts. Even though there is some evidence (including the fragments of the newspapers presented at the beginning of this Chapter) which might suggest that nothing has changed in the way the media covers women politicians, this thesis illustrates that the 'conventional wisdom' on gender bias in the media may only be the legacy of the previous studies.

It is believed that this thesis, apart from filling the gap in already-existing body of research, could contribute to increasing the level of women's political participation. Indeed, the results indicate that the media environment is less gender biased than it used to be thought. Although the analysed campaigns were not perfectly free from gender bias against women, this thesis shows that such cases are typically isolated and that men are also shown in similar contexts. Therefore, the sexism in the media cannot be perceived as a systematic gender bias, but rather sporadic deviation from the norm which is a gender-neutral journalism. It is hoped that this result will provide encouragement to the women considering their career in politics and that this may potentially result in an increased number of women candidates standing for election, closing the gender gap in political representation.

Overview of Chapters

Chapter 2: The role and history of women's political participation

In Chapter 2 the thesis looks at women's political participation from the perspective of historical electoral reforms. Apart from providing some historical foundations for this project, this Chapter also employs theoretical perspective to explain why women's presence in politics is of a great importance. By discussing the history of women's enfranchisement the author aims to promote activities associated with the Special Collections of the University of Southampton Library and the research scholarship she received.

Chapter 3: The media and the women politicians

This Chapter reviews the literature associated with studies on gender-bias in the media. In particular, it outlines the role of the media in politics and follows the perspective of the scholars perceiving newspapers as the most influential. Furthermore, potential areas of the coverage which could differ for men and women candidates are identified and their impact on women's candidacy is described. Finally, the gaps in the UK body of research are acknowledged and the ways this thesis will address them are discussed.

Chapter 4: Theory and hypotheses

This Chapter outlines the theory which aims for reconsidering the 'conventional wisdom' of the omnipresent gender-bias in the media. Based on the existing literature on the subject, four hypotheses concerning women's visibility and the way they are depicted in the media were formulated.

Chapter 5: Methodology

The Chapter details the methodology used to conduct this research. In particular it outlines the operation of a system which was used to collect the data for this study, describes how the newspapers have been coded and what statistical analyses were employed in order to derive robust inferences. In addition, the Chapter outlines methodology of conducting interviews with political candidates, which illustrate the quantitative findings.

Chapter 6: 2015 general election

This Chapter focuses on the press coverage of the 2015 general election. The primary focal point of this analysis was to find out whether gender of ordinary election candidates

had an influence on the volume and substance of their media coverage. Both local and national media outlets were investigated and the results between these two were compared. Finally, interviews conducted with the candidates standing for this particular election were used to provide a more in-depth interpretation of the quantitative findings.

Chapter 7: Labour leadership election

This Chapter investigates the media coverage collected during the 2015 Labour leadership election. Statistical analyses of the volume and substance of the coverage in relation to candidates' gender are supported with qualitative examples obtained from the articles depicting the candidates. The analyses presented in this Chapter allowed to test the derived hypotheses in different electoral environment - i.e. during election for the highest political office within the Labour Party.

Chapter 8: Conservative leadership election

This final empirical Chapter focuses on the press coverage of the 2016 Conservative leadership election, which has led to the subsequent selection of the second women Prime Minister in history. Similarly to Chapter 7, the statistical analyses of the volume and substance of collected articles are supplemented with the qualitative examples of the newspapers extracts. The results described in this Chapter allow to scrutinise how the gender of a candidate standing for the highest executive office in the country influenced their press coverage, further broadening the perspective of this research.

Chapter 9: Discussion and future work

The final Chapter reviews the empirical findings of the thesis and returns to the discussion of the significance of its findings. The conventional wisdom is that gender strongly shapes the reporting of political campaigns. This thesis challenges this view. Furthermore, this Chapter highlights contributions of this work to the existing body of research, and discusses possible limitations of this study, identifying the avenues for its future development.

Chapter 2

The role and history of women's political participation

2.1 Why should there be more women in politics

For many people the concept of political representation simply implies that political actors speak and act on behalf of the wider public. However, this idea has many dimensions. One of the most comprehensive discussions on the topic was provided by Pitkin (1967) who identified four different aspects of political representation: formalistic, descriptive, symbolic and substantive. This Section looks into the concept of women's political participation through the lens of the two aspects widely discussed in the literature - substantive and descriptive.

According to Pitkin (1967), representation should be substantive rather than descriptive – which means that 'standing for' is less important than 'acting for' (Celis and Childs, 2008). As explained by Sapiro (1981), the implication is that when the only power to

make any decisions belonged to men, women could be perceived as being represented. However, the idea that one group will protect another and take care of its interests has been labelled by some as a utopian vision with no reflection in reality (Sapiro, 1981).

Given that for Pitkin (1967) there was no connection between descriptive and substantive representation, she had no concerns about an all-male parliament, provided it was able to fairly represent both men and women interests. It should be underlined that during her times the parliamentary representatives were mostly men, and thus for many (including herself), this was a norm. Therefore, Pitkin (1967) did not even consider raising the issue of gender in her work. Some scholars perceived her views as justification for a domination of men in politics (Childs, 2004, p. 17).

Almost four decades later, Pikin's belief on the lack of connection between substantive and descriptive representation was challenged. According to Phillips (1995), one should expect there to be a link between the number of elected women and how well they are represented in politics. To her mind, without disputing the existence of differences between men and women in everyday life, the latter are better placed to campaign for women's interests as politicians, than men (Phillips, 1995).

The issue with this opinion lies with an observation that women are not a homogeneous group, as they may differ in terms of social background, sexuality or ethnicity (Squires, 2008). Thus, some doubts over the possibility of equal representation of interests of all women remain. Some scholars believe that 'a shared experience' is more valuable than 'visible characteristics' (Mansbridge, 1999, p. 635-636), thus, a shared experience should be enough to create a bond between those women who are representatives and those whom they represent. Phillips (1995, p. 52) also claims that an experience people have in common is more significant than shared ideas, as "the adequacy of the representation depended on the degree to which that experience was shared".

Indeed, when "after Pitkin no one regarded descriptive representation as important; after Phillips no one regarded it as unimportant" (Childs and Lovenduski, 2013, p. 491). Despite such widespread acceptance of the idea, it may be more complicated than some might think (Childs, 2006).

To continue, almost every discussion about women's political representation acknowledges the theory of critical mass. The roots of this concept can be found in nuclear physics as it "refers to the quantity needed to start a chain reaction, an irreversible take-off into a new situation or process" (Dahlerup, 1988, p. 275-276). The political interpretation of this theory suggests that when the specified amount of women politicians is elected, governance will be more responsive to women's issues (Grey, 2002).

From a sociological perspective, the proportions of different types of people are critical when it comes to the interactions within groups. Kanter (1977) identified four different

types of such groups. A *unified* group is when it contains just one type of people. A group is *skewed* when there are more than one type of people within it, but there is a larger proportion of one particular type. In a *tilted* group one type of people still dominates over another but to a lesser extent, while the last group with equal amount of type of people was labelled as *balanced*.[1] Accordingly, Dahlerup (1988) theorised that once the number of women politicians reaches a certain point, some changes could be expected. In her work, she indicated that the changes might include (but are not limited to): a shift in the perception of women politicians and their work, but also political culture, language and policy itself. She also believed that this might have a positive impact on women politicians' power and influence (Dahlerup, 1988).

In spite of being widely acknowledged, some scholars are sceptical about the concept of critical mass, indicating that representation is not only about the numbers (see Childs, 2006). Thus, a legitimacy of the assumption that once the number of women in Parliament constitutes some certain proportion it will be reflected in the political agenda, was questioned (see Childs and Krook, 2006; Grey, 2002; Lovenduski and Norris, 2003; Studlar and McAllister, 2002; Weldon, 2002). Another issue with the theory of critical mass is that for a long time the discussion about it was purely hypothetical (Grey, 2002). The numbers of elected women politicians were not high enough to enable the verification of the theory in practice. Things get even more complex given that defining a definitive threshold for the critical mass and for the 'chain reaction' to happen is near to impossible, and 10 - 35 per cent threshold defined by scholars is not accurate enough (Childs, 2006).

While many researchers propose an increased participation of women in politics, few of them explain the reasons behind this postulation. Phillips's (1995) arguments are related to a different styles of politics done by men and women. Norris (1996) suggests that from women one could expect kinder and gentler politics, with a tendency to cooperate rather than cause conflict, while Bochel and Briggs (2000) indicate that they are better at working as a team and more willing to listen to other people than men.

It was Phillips (1998) however, who provided some of the core arguments in the discussion about gender parity, by referring to aspects such as justice, issue of women's interests and the revitalisation of democracy. In terms of justice, Phillips (1998) believes that it is unfair for women, if men dominate politics. Accordingly, she claims that a balanced descriptive representation should be a compensation for the years when they were denied the right to participate in politics (Phillips, 1998). When it comes to women's interests, Phillips (1998) indicates that in a male-dominated parliament they might be overlooked. She also emphasizes that gaining equal right to vote is not enough, and that only true diversity among the elected representatives can make women voices heard. The last

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[1]As Kanter indicates, in a skewed group the ratio of types of people is approximately 85:15, in a tilted group's case it is 65:35, while a balanced group the proportions vary from 60:40 to 50:50 (Kanter, 1977, p. 966).

argument referred to the "revitalisation of democracy", which means that more diverse representation may have an influence on citizens' political participation as well as may contribute to perceiving democratic institution as more legitimate (Phillips, 1998).

Sawer (2002) holds a similar perspective to the issue of women representation supporting the idea of broadening representation of women in politics. She not only indicates that women have the right to participate in political life on an equal basis to men, but also reminds that their right to equal participation is secured by international organisations (see also Phillips, 1995). Building on the argument concerning justice, she mentions the issue of utility, which could be more convincing for those who hold the power of governance (Sawer, 2002). Specifically, she argues that women might have a positive influence on the image of parties in times of crisis as their presence could provide a desirable 'new look' for those struggling with their voters' support. Furthermore, from a more symbolic perspective, women's presence in politics might positively affect their position in society *per se*, as well as reinforce their equal status (Sawer, 2002). Accordingly, their engagement and, therefore, visibility on the political scene might have a positive impact on political socialisation of women, as they would serve as 'role models' (see also Elder, 2004; Hansen, 1997) and widen women's cultural choices (finally severing the inextricable link to domesticity).

Indeed, based on empirical research, it was found that men and women differ, not only in terms of policy priorities (Thomas and Welch, 1991; Campbell, 2004), but also in terms of perceiving their responsibility for representing women's interests. There are studies which indicate that there is a gap between the attitudes of men and women politicians towards concerns related to women (Childs and Withey, 2004; Lovenduski and Norris, 2003). Indeed, women Members of Parliament (MPs) tend to be more supportive of issues concerning women's rights, social policies and their own constituencies (see for example Campbell and Lovenduski, 2014). Thus, as Norris (1996) emphasises, it could be expected that raising the number of women in Westminster would bring something more meaningful than just a symbolic difference. Indeed, some researchers believe that women might bring a valuable fresh perspective to politics, given that they have different views and opinions on various matters (Bochel and Briggs, 2000).

Therefore, even though increasing the number of women in parliament does not automatically make them better represented, there are indications that descriptive representation is not without influence on substantive representation (Sawer, 2002). Therefore, one can say that nowadays "the politics of ideas is being challenged by an alternative politics of presence" (Phillips, 1995, p. 5), as the foundation of Pitkin's (1967) concept has been questioned. However, while nowadays the idea of all-male parliament is perceived as unfair to women, there were times when the concept of allowing for their political participation was unthinkable.

2.2 Participation of women in British politics - the past, the present and the role of media

> *"I do not wish them [women] to have power over men; but over themselves."*
>
> **Mary Wollstonecraft** [a]

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[a] See Wollstonecraft (1975).

To be able to analyse and understand the relations between women, politics and the media, one needs to delve into the roots of women's political participation and their efforts to get the access to the public sphere. For a long time women's voices were not only unheard in public, but also the idea that one day this might change, was ridiculed and perceived as a pure fantasy (Beard, 2014). This did not stop women from trying to free themselves from the control of men, both in private as well as in the public sphere. As stated by Mary Wollstonecraft, while women themselves should strive to become independent and knowledgeable, to make them fully human they also needed to be granted civil and political rights (Wollstonecraft, 1975). The analysis of how women gained the right to speak for themselves in politics will begin from the political act which allowed *demos* to enter into the political arena and, through this, start shaping the Western world as we know it – *the Great Reform Act 1832* (Trevelyan, 1937, p. 242).

The Reform Acts and the beginnings of representative democracy

While France was engulfed in the Revolution, Britain was perceived as a country with a strong economy, navy and, most importantly, a non-absolutist form of government (Ertman, 2010). However, the British political system was not without imperfections and the voices that the parliamentary reforms are of great need were heard since the mid-eighteenth-century (Ertman, 2010). Indeed, although the country was far from absolutist aspirations, the existing electoral system was neither representative nor balanced. The distribution of Parliamentary [2] seats was unequal and unfair, as only a limited population of men could participate in the election process (Butler, 1953).

In response to these issues, *the Great Reform Act 1832* was introduced, but it did not solve all the problems, as it did not go far enough in its resolutions. Phillips and Wetherell (1995) indicate that, although the electorate was almost doubled in number (from initial 366,000 to 650,000), the right to vote was given to only 18 per cent of the total adult-male population in England and Wales. Moreover, the Act confirmed women's exclusion from political activity by referring to 'male persons' as a group having the right to vote and

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[2] If not stated otherwise, in this work word 'Parliament' will refer to the House of Commons.

benefiting from the extended enfranchisement (The Representation of the People Act, 1832). Even though the new reform did not live up to the expectations, it introduced the idea of change. According to Ertman (2010, p. 1000), the Act "worked as both impetus and a model for future electoral expansions" - which had an impact upon future reforms and women's enfranchisement.

The year of 1832 also saw a first petition related to woman's suffrage presented in Parliament. In the petition, Mary Smith asked for the right to vote and for juries to consist of both men and women judges. She not only stated that, since she paid taxes, she should be able to have a voice in the elections, but also indicated that it was simply unfair that women were excluded from the social rights (HC Deb, 03 August 1832). On her behalf the document was introduced by Henry Hunt, one of the Members of Parliament. Despite the validity of Smith's arguments, the petition was a subject of jokes in the House of Commons, with one of the Members saying that "it would be rather awkward if a jury half men and half women were locked up together for a night, as now often happened with juries. This might lead to rather queer predicaments" (HC Deb, 03 August 1832).

It should be noted that women who fought for their political rights stepped out of the generally-accepted gender norms, and were challenging the way the society perceived them. Those who entered the public sphere broke with Victorian's ideal of a woman, characterised by her morality, domesticity and passivity (Smith-Rosenberg and Rosenberg, 1973). Moreover, "a woman speaking in public [and this is what women activists were doing] was (...) by definition not a woman" (Beard, 2014, p. 9). Their situation was not improved by the widespread belief that an "improper life-styles in parents would be transmitted through heredity". Accordingly, it was believed that a woman crossing boundaries by doing things like reading or studying too much, could damage not only her life but also the life of her children (Smith-Rosenberg and Rosenberg, 1973, p. 338). Hence, quite often, a woman stepping outside her domestic role was perceived as a threat to an established world order (Billington, 1982). As such, she was also an interesting subject for the newspapers. For example, Mary Smith and her petition were written about in *The Spectator*. In particular, Mrs Smith's petition was called "foolish", while the voting rights were described as "necessary evils" (The Spectator, 1832).

Despite the negative press of Mary Smith's petition, in 1866 the first mass women's suffrage petition was created and signed by more than 1500 people supporting women's enfranchisement. Presented before the House of Commons by John Stuart Mill,[3] it became a part of a broader debate in 1867. Mill proposed an amendment to the upcoming *Second Reform Bill* and suggested that a word "man" should be replaced by "person" in order to enable extending the right to vote to some women (see HC Deb, 20 May 1867). The press, making comments about Mill's amendment, suggested that women should not be given vote on the basis that even if a woman met the property qualification, she

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[3]John Stuart Mill was an English philosopher and advocate of women's political rights.

was unable to make independent decisions.[4] Even though his amendment was rejected, a scale of the support from some of the Parliamentary members (73 voted in favour of it) encouraged women activists to intensify their efforts in the future. Thus, petitions asking for votes for women became more often, while women's actions became more visible to the public in the following years.

For the time being, the introduction of *the Representation of the People Act 1867*, also known as *the Second Reform Act*, continued to enfranchise the population of men and neglect women. Although not all men were eligible to participate in the election, the Act again doubled the number of men voters, allowing a part of the men working class to cast their votes too. Some historians indicate that *the Second Reform Act* "transformed England into democracy" (Himmelfarb, 1966, p. 97), nonetheless, it needs to be remembered that while the new law expanded the male electorate, politicians still did not perceive women as equal part of the society and denied them their political rights.

After the disappointment caused by the previous reforms, in 1884 women had another chance to gain the right to vote. Some correspondence published in *the Times* revealed that during works on *the Representation of the People Bill 1884* women asked for a meeting with the Prime Minister in order to plead for granting some representation to women. The person writing on behalf of the Prime Minister refused, indicating that due to the time constrains any changes to the Bill were impossible, while Gladstone [5] himself was unable to receive a deputation of women due to his "physical inability" (The Times, 1884, p. 8).

Therefore, despite the efforts, the amendments prepared by women and presented before the House of Commons by William Woodall – one of the advocates of their case, have been rejected. Accordingly, the opinion of the Prime Minister was that any new matters should not be introduced to the bill as "the cargo which the vessel carries is, in our opinion, a cargo as large as she can safely carry" (HC Deb, 10 June 1884). Thus, while the number of men allowed to vote rose steeply and the distribution of Parliamentary seats was no longer a 'grotesque' (Butler, 1953), women were still dissatisfied with the electoral changes and felt that once again they were "thrown overboard" by the politicians (Millicent Fawcett as quoted in Van Wingerden, 1999).

One of the most colourful chapters to the history of electoral reforms

"*We believe that the capacity of women lies in other directions than in public life*"

Sir Charles Hobhouse, HC Deb (19 June 1917a)

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[4]One of the newspapers wrote: "the truth is, that at present, in nine cases out of ten, a woman, even if she has property of her own, asks some male friend to manage it (...)" (The Spectator, 1867, p. 6).

[5]William Ewart Gladstone was a Prime Minister in years 1868-1874, 1880-1885 and briefly in 1886.

The 20th century brought not only the expansion of women's suffrage societies but also intensification of their actions, opening one of the "most colourful chapters to the history of electoral reforms" (Butler, 1953). In 1905 Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney [6] were arrested for disrupting a meeting held by the Liberal Party in Manchester – which is considered to be the first act of suffrage militancy (Van Wingerden, 1999). The story was covered not only by the local titles but also by newspapers like *the Times* or *the Guardian*. Even though the women were not presented in favourable light, with *the Guardian* writing that their behaviour "was such as one was accustomed to attribute to women from the slums",[7] they finally got the attention of the public.

Believing that until then, women's struggle to gain political rights was largely ignored by the press, some women decided to give up peaceful measures in order to gain more publicity (Pankhurst, 1987; Chapman, 2013). Of course, due to their behaviour, women campaigning for their political rights were not described in positive light; for instance their mental health was questioned. In particular, they were sometimes called a "shrieking sisterhood" which was supposed to mock tone of their voices and point out the lack of logic in their actions (Pedersen, 2016). For example, *the Times* covering one of the demonstrations wrote that "during this process of ejection several of the excited women shrieked hysterically, and one or two who had to be carried out kicked with extreme vigour" (The Times, 1906, p. 11). In January 1906 the British readers for the first time learned the term 'suffragette', which was used by Charles E. Hands, a *Daily Mail* journalist, to describe the women protesters. From that moment, to distinguish the women who preferred militant actions from those who used peaceful methods, the press started calling the former suffragettes and the latter suffragists (Crawford, 2001).

Women fighting for their political rights were also frequently shown as as being 'unlady-like', and widely stereotyped as looking unfeminine. To disprove the accusations about their masculinity, women participating in the marches or militant actions paid particular attention to their appearance. By emphasizing their femininity through the way they were dressed, women activists were trying to discredit the accusations of not being 'real women'. Frequently journalists were quite often very surprised that they were not old, ugly and badly dressed, as commonly believed (for instance, *the Telegraph* interviewer's discovery that Christabel Pankhurst was in reality a "perfect little lady" come as an astonishment (Pedersen, 2016)).

Between 1905 and 1914 around 1,000 women and 40 men were arrested for suffrage-related militant actions (Van Wingerden, 1999). Although not all women activists were involved in this type of campaigning, in a strive to gain publicity, the more radical part of the suffrage movement moved from interrupting political meetings to window-smashing, arson as well as attacking politicians or even bombing (Rosen, 1974). Despite their

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[6]Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney were suffragettes and leading figures in Women's Social and Political Union - militant organisation campaigning for women's political rights.

[7]The course of action presented in the newspapers indicated that they were not only yelling and shrieking but also one of them spat the policeman (The Guardian, 1906).

efforts, women's issues remained on the side-lines of the political agenda, in part due to a global conflict which dominated political discussion for the next couple of years.

Similarly to the late nineteenth century, in the 1910s the electoral changes in Britain were mainly triggered by the global political situation. Specifically, the First World War resulted in the emancipation of the working class, who greatly contributed to Britain's victory. Along with the growth of their power, their appetite for the right to vote increased as well. In 1916 it was decided that, in order to resolve the issues related to the electoral reforms which arose over the years, the all-party conference would be set up.

The Speakers' Conference took place in January 1917. In it, the subject of women's suffrage seemed to bring some disagreement amongst the participants; nonetheless, after a free vote during one of the sittings, it was concluded that women should be enfranchised. Those recommendations formed foundations to *the Representation of the People Bill*, which was subsequently put forward to the Parliament. While a large part of the Bill was accepted without major debates, the issue of the women's political participation again raised some concerns among the Members of Parliament. For instance, one of the MPs argued that he opposed giving the right to vote to women as they were "(...) likely to be affected by guts and waves of sentiment (...)" while "(...) their emotional temperament makes them so liable to it (...)" (HC Deb, 19 June 1917b). The quote presented at the beginning of this Section, which comes from the same debate, illustrates the strong and widespread perception that women's place was in the private, rather than the public sphere.

Once again, in spite of the resistance, *the Representation of the People Act 1918* was passed with a large majority in the House of Commons (385 for to 55 against), and meant that for the first time some women had right to vote. As the Act was a form of compromise, it wasn't free of limitations - it only granted the vote to a limited number of women (Representation of the People Act, 1918).[8] It should also be emphasised that the success of women's case was influenced by a number of different factors. First, the right to vote was considered as a form of a 'reward' for women in tribute to their effort and commitment during the war time (HC Deb, 19 June 1917c). Furthermore, Members of Parliament hoped that this reform would delay more radical steps, such as giving men and women equal voting rights.

The decision to keep the number of women voters under control was influenced by a few aspects (see HC Deb, 19 June 1917c). First, concerns were raised that, if all women were granted the vote, they might outnumber the men voters. Furthermore, it was argued that it was unpredictable how women might use their new rights and which party would benefit from it, which might have affected the stability of the country. Scholars also

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[8]Only those women, who were over 30 and were owners or tenants of land or premises of certain value were able to cast their vote. Additionally, the franchise also encompassed those of them who were over 30 years old and married to men entitled to vote or were the university graduates themselves.

indicated that the militant actions employed by some women, could have also contributed to politicians' concerns about the appropriateness of their behaviour once granted the right to vote (Butler, 1953).

Although important, *the Representation of the People Act 1918* was not the only electoral reform made that year that consolidated position of women in politics. Indeed, by the end of the 1918 another Bill was passed through the Parliament, which gave women a new opportunity to participate in the political life. Specifically, *The Parliament (Qualification of Women) Act 1918* allowed them to stand as candidates and become members of the House of Commons themselves. At this point, it needs to be mentioned that even though they could stand for both county as well as borough councils from 1907, due to the lack of the Parliamentary vote they have not been considered as serious candidates (Hollis, 1987). Thus, in 1918 some of them not only gained the possibility to cast their vote, but also got a chance to become MPs. Moreover, given that *the Qualification of Women Act 1918* imposed no age census, women could stand for the election before they could actually vote.

All the changes aside, not all of the men politicians supported extending women's rights. Some of them believed that women were not interested in politics, and thus there was no point in introducing a new reform. Indeed, one of them stated that "(...) probably 90 per cent of the womanhood of this country, (...) have not the slightest desire to enter this House or to be ruled and guided by members of their sex in this House (...)" (HC Deb, 23 October 1918a). The nearest future showed that he was wrong as shortly after they have been granted the right to stand as candidates, 17 women decided to stand for the general election that took place later that year (Brookes, 1967).[9]

Yet, more of the men politicians argued that due to its specific culture, the Parliament was not the right place for women. Indeed, one of the Conservative MPs [10] not only indicated that they would be exposed to long working hours, which might be inappropriate (HC Deb, 23 October 1918b), but also that their pregnancy might cause some disruption to the work of Parliament (HC Deb, 04 November 1918c). He believed that women should stay at home, and focus on their family life rather than politics.[11] These atrocities aside, some Members were concerned that once women became MPs, no one would be able to stop them from asking for more and one day a House of Commons could even have a woman Speaker (HC Deb, 23 October 1918e).

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[9]Tellingly, when reporting on one of the Prime Minister's campaign meetings *the Times* wrote that Lloyd George "was obviously surprised at the crowd which flocked to his meeting at the Queen's Hall. He explained that he had heard from various parts of the country that women were taking no interest in the election, and did not mean to vote, and this seems to have been the general impression" (The Times, 1918a, p. 9).

[10]Admiral of the Fleet Hedworth Meux.

[11]In his speech he also said that "(...) the ambition of every right minded woman when she is married is to produce a beautiful child, a boy more beautiful than her husband or a girl more beautiful than herself (. . .)" (HC Deb, 04 November 1918d).

The first woman who decided to stand as a candidate was Nina Boyle from the Women's Freedom League.[12] She perceived her candidacy more as a test of the new rights and was prepared to take her case to the court if her candidacy was rejected (The Times, 1918b). In the end, although her name did appear on the nomination paper, her candidacy was withdrawn, as her qualification documents were found invalid. Nonetheless, as *the Times* wrote, "Miss Boyle claimed a moral triumph" as she confirmed that a woman could stand as a candidate (The Times, 1918c, p. 3). Moreover, she cleared the way for other women who stood for election held in December that year. Mary Macarthur was selected to stand as a Labour nominee for the Stourbridge seat, she became the first woman candidate adopted by a political party (The Times, 1918d, p. 5). While the first woman Member of Parliament was Constance Markievicz, the first woman who was elected and had accepted her seat in the House of Commons was Nancy Astor.[13]

The twentieth century also brought a development of something that is now known as modern journalism. The nineteenth century press was very factual, provided almost no interpretation of the described events and avoided editing texts sent by correspondents. In the twentieth century, the newspapers began transforming news into stories, providing their own interpretations and enriching the articles by adding pictures (Matheson, 2000). Accordingly, stories that were quite often written using very intricate language, were replaced by easier texts, oriented on lower-class audience, while the pictures made them more interesting for the readers. Indeed, while "Victorian news seems to have been able only to represent information (...) the modern news story was itself a piece of information" (Matheson, 2000, p. 566).

The change in narration did not immediately imply more positive press for women. For instance, the twentieth century women were quite often metaphorically referred to as piece of clothing (Rolley, 1990). The evidence of that can, for example, be found in one of the newspapers from that period referring to one of the suffragette demonstrations as 'a procession of petticoats' (Rolley, 1990). Furthermore, the change in narration meant that their appearance was highly scrutinised. For instance, when covering a moment when the first woman MP arrived to the Palace of Westminster, one of the newspapers did not hesitate from providing a detailed description of what she looked like. Specifically, the author wrote: "Lady Astor was becomingly dressed in a plain black tailor-made costume, and a closefitting velvet toque. The roll-collar of her white silk blouse, with V-shaped neck, overhung her coat collar. The only jewellery she displayed were her wedding ring and a gold wristlet watch." (*Aberdeen Daily Journal* as quoted in Pedersen, 2016, p.14).

Despite the press scrutiny, and many formal and cultural barriers, in the years 1918 - 1929, 194 women decided to stand as candidates and after the 1929 general election they

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[12]In April 1918 she stood as a candidate in a by-election in Keighley.

[13]Constance Markievicz was a member of Sinn Féin party. Thus, with accordance to its abstentionist policy she did not take her seat.

constituted 2 per cent of all Members of Parliament (Apostolova and Cracknell, 2017). Despite the concerns expressed by one of the Members of Parliament, the first woman Speaker had been elected more than 70 years later.[14]

The Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act 1928

> "*Since I have been able to vote at all, I have never felt the same enthusiasm because the vote was the consequence of possessing property rather than the consequence of being a human being.*"
>
> **Margaret Bondfield, HC Deb (29 Mar 1928a)**

Even though from 1918 women gained the right to vote and to stand as candidates in elections, their rights were still not equal to men. Thus, in March 1919 one of the Labour MPs introduced *the Women's Emancipation Bill*, which main role was to "remove certain restraints and disabilities imposed upon women" (HC Deb, 21 March 1919a). The three clauses included in this document concerned removing women's disqualifications in civil and judicial appointments, amending *the Representation of the People Act 1918* so that it guaranteed equal franchise for both men and women, as well as allowing the latter to sit and vote in the House of Lords (HC Deb, 04 April 1919b).

From the Government's perspective, those changes was very radical. Even though politicians supported further reforms in this matter, they wanted to make them on their own terms. Thus, they decided to introduce *the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Bill*, which was discussed alongside *the Women's Emancipation Bill* and in the end ousted the latter proposal despite support of the Labour Party (HL Deb, 22 July 1919). While *the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act 1919* removed the disqualification imposed upon women in civil and judicial appointments, it did not introduce any changes to the House of Lords; nor did it provide equal franchise for men and women (Great Britain, Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 1919). In spite of not being perfect, it was yet another step forward for women, as they were now allowed into the professional bodies which were previously unavailable to them. In particular, they could practice as barristers, sit in juries or pursue their university degrees.

As it is with most acts introducing major change, *the Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Bill* did not pass without any objections. Indeed, some men politicians once again expressed their concerns that once all women were enfranchised, they would become a group with an absolute supremacy at the polls, which could undermine the leading position of men (HC Deb, 29 Mar 1928b). On the other hand, others were emphasising the importance of those electoral changes saying that "this Bill (...) recognises that

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[14]It was Betty Boothroyd who served as a Speaker of the House of Commons in years 1992 - 2000.

women, like men, are human beings, that they share with men as equals their toil, their play, and their responsibility for the guardianship of the future of the race (...)" (HC Deb, 29 Mar 1928c). The second reading took place on 29 March 1928 and the same day the Bill was passed with a majority of 387 to 10 (HC Deb, 29 Mar 1928d). Its most crucial part for women stated that "(...) for the purpose of providing that the parliamentary franchise shall be the same for men and women (...)" (The Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act, 1928)

From 1928 women and men could cast their vote under the same conditions as men and, paraphrasing the words of Margaret Bondfield [15] the vote was no longer "the consequence of possessing the property" but "the consequence of being a human being" (HC Deb, 29 Mar 1928e). Nonetheless, there were still some areas of politics where certain restrictions were posed upon women's participation.

The Lords

> *"If we allow women into this House where will this emancipation end? Shall we in a few years time be referring to 'the noble and learned Lady, the Lady Chancellor?' I find that a horrifying thought."*
>
> **Earl Ferrers, HL Deb (3 December 1957a)**

Although it might seem that from 1928 women have been able to fully exercise their public functions on the same terms as men, it was not until 1958 that they could become Members of the House of Lords (Campbell, 1961). As the second chamber is not democratically electable, some may argue whether the absence of women really hindered their political status. Others questioned the importance of women's representation amongst the Lords. Nevertheless, as the House of Lords also participates in democratic processes, for the reason of justice women's presence amongst the Lords also remains crucial (Eason, 2009).

The first woman to claim a seat in the House of Lords was Viscountess Rhondda [16] and in 1922 her case was heard before the Lords Committee for Privileges. Although initially the Committee did not find any arguments against her claim [17] during the second hearing the Members decided to vote against it.[18] Despite the bid being ultimately unsuccessful, the Viscountess's case initiated a discussion on whether women should be

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[15] Margaret Bondfield was a Labour politician and women's rights activist. In the years 1929 to 1931 she served as a Minister of Labour, becoming Britain's first woman cabinet minister.

[16] The seat had belonged to her late father.

[17] See Minutes and Proceedings of the Committee for Privileges Hearing the Claim of Lady Rhondda Lords Papers, 1922, as quoted in Takayanagi (2008).

[18] Between the hearings Lord Chancellor, one of her opponents, persuaded the Members to reconsider their first decision while requesting that Viscountess Rhondda's case was heard in front of the Committee once again (HL Deb, 30 March 1922).

allowed in the House of Lords (Takayanagi, 2008). Sadly, as Takayanagi (2008) indicates, at that particular time women were more concerned about securing the right to sit in the House of Commons, than thinking about their place amongst the Lords, so the debate waned.

Back in 1922, in an article about the House of Lords, *the Guardian* wrote that "the best club in Europe [House of Commons] is now open for women" mentioning that even though Lord Birkenhead [19] was opposed to allowing women to the Lords, his victory was temporary and at the end "even the second best club [House of Lords] will certainly have to surrender" (The Guardian, 1922).

In 1957 the issue reappeared, as intense as that in the House of Commons over 30 years earlier when MPs were deliberating about the equal franchise for men and women. During one of the sittings the Earl of Glasgow, while expressing his satisfaction that the previous amendments were rejected, summed up the prevailing mood: "(...) Many of us do not want women in this House. We do not want to sit beside them on these Benches, nor do we want to meet them in the Library. This is a House of men, a House of Lords. We do not wish it to become a House of Lords and Ladies (...)" (HL Deb, 31 October 1957b).

It was not until a year later, that *the Life Peerages Act 1958* allowed women politicians to take their place in the Lord's benches. The first woman to do so was Baroness Swanborough.[20] Furthermore, *the Peerage Act of 1963* resolved the issue of seats for the hereditary women peers and allowed women to exercise their public functions on the same terms as men (Takayanagi, 2008). Until then "Britain was virtually the only enlightened western democracy which persisted in denying complete political equality to women" (Sutherland, 2000, p. 216). Moreover, as participation of women in politics was not equal to participation of men, for 10 years the UK was not able to sign *the Convention on the Political Rights of Women* prepared by the United Nations [21] (HC Deb, 28 March 1963).

In 2015 there were 199 women in the second Chamber, which means that they constituted 24 per cent of all Members. Throughout the years women peers took senior parliamentary positions – six of them were leaders, three Government Chief Whips and two Lord Speakers (Hughes, 2015). Nonetheless, it was not until 2014 when women were allowed to be consecrated as bishops, which opened for them the remaining twenty six places in the House of Lords previously reserved for men (Bishops and Priests (Consecration and Ordination of Women) Measure, 2014). In October 2015 the Right Reverend Rachel

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[19]British Conservative politician who as a judge opposed the idea of Viscountess Rhondda taking place amongst the Lords.

[20]She was known to the public as a founder of the Women's Royal Voluntary Service. She was the first to take her seat but the first woman peer created by letters patent was an expert of sociology and criminology, Baroness Wootton of Abinger.

[21]The Convention on the Political Rights of Women was adopted in 1953 while the UK was able to sign it in 1963.

Treweek, Bishop of Gloucester was the first woman to take her seat among Spiritual Peers.

The progress in achieving equal representation in both Houses is insufficient (Hughes, 2015). One possible reason for this being the case might be the low number of women within political parties, institutions and higher political offices (as the higher the level of women's political position, the higher the chance of them becoming appointed to the House of Lords (Eason, 2009)). At the same time, when it comes to the number of women politicians sitting in the House of Commons, some scholars suggest that poor press coverage may be a problem (in gaining publicity and support among voters). Indeed, as indicated in this Section, in the past the press played an active role in shaping people's opinions, including those concerning women's political rights.

The current state of women's parliamentary representation

Year 2018 is going to be marked by many round anniversaries related to changes in British politics which allowed women to participate in it.[22] There is no doubt that through the years the situation changed as the formal barriers which disabled women from both voting and standing as candidates, have vanished. Since women have been allowed to stand as candidates in general elections, 452 of them have been elected and become Members of the House of Commons (Keen and Cracknell, 2016). The 2015 general election, apart from the highest number of elected women (191), saw the record number of women candidates (1033) (Keen and Cracknell, 2016).

What has not changed through all those years is that women still seem to be perceived as an 'addition' to the political picture, rather than its equal part (Holtz-Bacha, 2013). The rules of the 'political games' had been fixed long before women gained the right to participate in it, and hence, now it is not so easy to find a space for them (Holtz-Bacha, 2013). The Inter-Parliamentary Union ranking countries in relation to the proportion of women in the lower (or single) House, placed the UK at 49th place (out of 193) (Keen and Cracknell, 2016). Moreover, the number of women MPs elected to-date (452) is lower than the number of men elected during every single election.[23] Despite many attempts, the need to increase the number of women in Westminster remains unfulfilled, while politics itself can still be perceived as a domain of men and summarised by the sentence - "manly men, doing manly things, in manly ways" (Duerst-Lahti, 2008).

As there exists the perception that the state of women's representation needs to be improved, in the past some of the parties decided to employ extraordinary measures to have more women amongst its members. Thus, in order to introduce more women

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[22]Amongst other, it will be 100th anniversary of *the Representation of the People Act 1918*, 60th anniversary of *the Life Peerages Act 1958*, 90th anniversary of *the Equal Franchise Act 1928* and 100th anniversary of *the Parliament (Qualification of Women) Act 1918*.

[23]In the 2015 general election the number of elected men MPs was equal to 459.

politicians into Parliament, the Labour Party selected candidates standing for the 1997 general election using all-women shortlists (AWS). According to those measures, in some constituencies, only women were allowed to stand as candidates. Consequently, the Labour Party committed itself to ensuring that in 1997, 50 per cent of so-called winnable seats and 50 per cent of vacant seats would be selected using AWS, which resulted in electing a record number of women MPs that year (Childs, 2004). Since this measure proved to be controversial and two men Labour members challenged the policy in court and won, the Labour Party had to abandon the idea of AWS, and were not allowed to use it again from the 2005 general election onwards.[24] (Childs, 2004)

Not all parties decided to adopt such extensive measures. Indeed, the Conservative Party, being "opposed to equality guarantees on the basis that such measures offend principles of meritocracy" (Childs et al., 2005, p. 32) decided to use a 'priority list' with women constituting at least 50 per cent of it during the 2010 general election (Kelly and White, 2016). This initiative remained unsuccessful (Ashe et al., 2010). At the same time, Liberal Democrats limited their actions to encouraging more women to become candidates (Kelly and White, 2016). On top of the individual efforts of each party, in 2010 the All-Party Parliamentary Group for Women in Parliament has been created in order to encourage women to participate in politics. Fulfilling one of its recommendations, in 2015 the Women and Equalities Committee was established (Kelly and White, 2016).

While the 2010 general election has been perceived as a great opportunity to significantly increase women's political representation in Westminster, this chance has been wasted as the number of women MPs rose only slightly giving them 142 seats instead of previous 128. Ashe et al. (2010) indicate that while at some point the parties have been competing over this issue, there was no significant breakthrough for women. Indeed, while the Labour's AWS proved to be effective, efforts of the other parties were less so, leaving the scholars worried about the future.

Even though the report prepared by Childs et al. (2005) indicates that the state of women's representation depends largely on the way in which British political system operates, some scholars suggest that the media could also play its role in women political under-representation (Ross et al., 2013).

2.3 Summary

The aim of this Chapter was to provide some historical background to this project, explaining why women's presence in politics is important. It also puts the analyses

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[24] *The Sex Discrimination (Election Candidates) Act 2002* allows to select candidates on the basis of their gender in order to increase women's representation. Back in 1996 the Party was found to breach its predecessor, *the Sex Discrimination Act 1975*.

conducted in this thesis in context, by describing the series of historical events which has led to abolishing the legal barriers to women's political participation. Furthermore, the media reporting of those events is presented.

The Chapter also emphasises that, even though those barriers have been removed, women still remain under-represented. It concludes that there exists a perception that the media may be a potential barrier to their equal representation. Therefore, a more thorough investigation of the existing body of research concerning this matter is presented in the following Chapter.

Chapter 3

The media and the women politicians

3.1 Women, media and modern politics

> "*One is not born, one is made a woman*"
>
> **Simone de Beauvoir** [a]

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[a]the French philosopher and novelist, see de Beauvoir (1997).

T he previous Chapter attempted to define the position of women in British politics. The brief overview of the past left no doubt that it is men-dominated. Since the media are the cornerstone institution of democracies and one of the main sources of information in modern societies (De Vreese, 2005), when they differentiate between men and women, they may substantially affect one or the other. There is little wonder then that some scholars regard gender bias occurring in the media as at least partially responsible for women political under-representation (Lovenduski, 1997). Accordingly, this Chapter will expand on the way women are presented in the media, first giving some background to theories of gender.

Indeed, Chapter 2 provides examples of perceiving women and their political capabilities, through the lens of biological determinism. Some sociologists have considered biological differences between men and women to make men more suited for politics than women (for example, they may be regarded as more energetic and passionate (Geddes and Thompson, 1889)). Based on this argument, they have perceived giving women political rights as unnecessary, arguing that their nature makes them uninterested in political matters.

Over the years this viewpoint has been displaced by more modern perceptions. While many consider terms sex and gender as synonymous, some feminist scholars indicate that sex should be distinguished from gender, [1] suggesting that differences between men and women are driven sociologically, rather than biologically. Indeed, they claim that "one is not born, one is made a woman" (de Beauvoir, 1997), and that observed behaviours are more likely to have roots in what people learn and observe. Furthermore, they explain that what may seemingly appear as lack of interest in politics among women, is a result of "social discrimination [that] produces in women moral and intellectual effects so profound that they appear to be caused by nature" (de Beauvoir, 1997, p.18).

Sex and gender started to function as two different categories after work of psychologists who studied transsexuality, and who investigated their patients from two perspectives: biological traits (sex) and feminine/masculine features (gender) (Stoller, 1994). This distinction proved to be popular among feminist scholars with some of them perceiving gender as being socially imposed by set of rules and expectations towards men and women (Rubin, 1975). Looking at gender from the perspective of being socially constructed, one could assume that masculinity and femininity have cultural, rather than biological foundations (Millett, 1971). Indeed, gender started to be perceived as "the sum total of the parents', the peers', and the culture's notions of what is appropriate to each gender by way of temperament, character, interests, status, worth, gesture, and expression" (Millett, 1971, p. 31). Such interpretation of gender implied that social roles of men and women are learned rather than permanently fixed. Accordingly, some feminists believed that the distinction into biological and sociological features may lead to social and political reforms and through this remove social constraints posed on women (Rubin, 1975). Following this stream of research, Haslanger (1995, p. 97) concluded that traits perceived as being characteristic for men or women are more likely to be "intended or unintended products of a social practice".

The gender theories evolved even further, when some scholars began to hypothesise not only that gender is socially constructed, but also that sex and gender are inseparable, and thus sex is also socially shaped. For instance Butler (1999, p. 10-11) stated that "if the immutable character of sex is contested, perhaps this construct called 'sex' is as culturally constructed as gender; indeed, perhaps it was always already gender, with the consequence that the distinction between sex and gender turns out to be no distinction at all". At the same time, it was suggested that, as classifying a person as a man or a woman entails not only descriptive but also normative values posed upon them, this classification will always be posing some sort of constraints on people (Butler, 1999).

These developments in the gender theory have important implications for women wanting to pursue a career (e.g. women politicians). For instance, this theory suggests that people's behaviour is a response to social norms existing around them, which are nothing

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[1]Given that some feminists object to the use of the word female, this work adopted men/women terminology.

else but "complex patterns of behaviour and practices that constitute what one ought to do in a situation given one's social position(s) and one's social context" Witt (2011, p. 82). At the same time, people have different roles to play in the society, and hence it might not be unusual for the norms to clash with each other. Consequently, this could pose pressure on a woman who wants to combine being a mother with professional career.

This phenomenon becomes particularly apparent when it comes to women's participation in politics. Except for pressures exerted on the women politicians, Paxton et al. (2007) also suggest that, in order to be politically active, a woman needs to have both interest and ambition as well as resources like time or education (which is commonly termed as 'supply-side theory'). Accordingly, the authors demonstrate, that women's availability for the political office is at least partly determined by gender socialisation (Paxton et al., 2007). At the same time, Campbell and Childs (2008) not only provide a confirmation of differences in level of political engagement between men and women, but also indicate that political activity could be different between women themselves.

It is worthy of note that media plays an important role in exerting pressure on women. In particular, it was suggested that, as men and women become feminine/masculine through learning their roles, media are amongst those who are responsible for setting and disseminating gender norms (Mead, 1950). Indeed, despite calls of some feminists to create "genderless society, in which one's sexual anatomy is irrelevant to who one is, what one does, and with whom one makes love" (Rubin, 1975, p. 204), the media seems to create and maintain gender stereotypes.

Already in 1980's there was awareness that media may be shaping the gender norms. For instance, Connell (1985, p. 263) wrote that "no-one who glances at the British popular press could doubt the existence of pervasive sexist stereotypes in the media". However, according to Cuklanz (2016), the beginning of the feminists' communication theory was marked by Tuchman (1978), who noticed symbolic annihilation of women in the mass media, and their lack of representation and power. Although Tuchman (1978) focused on women's invisibility in the media, Cuklanz (2016, p. 3) indicates "patterns of gendered mediation", pointing out that some studies also found differences in how men and women are presented. What is more, the media (as well as film industry) are characterised by objectification of women and present the news or stories from masculine perspective. As Cuklanz (2016, p. 9) indicates, frequently "men (. . .) want the woman in this sexualized image" while "women (. . .) want to be the woman". Given that the topic of the role of the media in the politics is very broad, it is explored to the greater depth in the following Section.

3.1.1   The role of the media in modern politics

"If we do not see a story in the newspaper... it effectively has not happened as far as we are concerned... The press might not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about"

Bernard Cohen [a]

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[a]See Cohen (1983).

The way in which political candidates are presented is increasingly important, given that nowadays knowledge about them is less frequently gained through the personal exposure; more commonly, it is acquired through the various news outlets (Blight et al., 2012). Therefore, where there is no possibility of direct contact with politicians, journalists play an important role in shaping the relationship between a candidate and a voter. The importance of the media and its contribution to democratic processes is especially noticeable during elections as "the effectiveness and durability of electoral accountability relies on the quality of information voters bring with them to the voting booth" (Fridkin and Kenney, 2014, p.1017).

As important as its mission is, the media do not just mirror the political landscape; instead, news outlets have the ability to shape and modify it (Kahn, 1994b). This can be achieved by selecting political stories to cover, deciding what to put on the front page, or in the story narration, all of which may influence the voting public (George and Waldfogel, 2006). Thus, some researchers indicate that rather than being affected by the censorship, as journalists often claim, the media acts as censors for the citizens selecting what information and in what form people receive (Ross, 2002). Paradoxically, even though the political institutions have control over its functions and decision-making, they are perceived as being largely shaped by the media, which demonstrates the level of mediatisation of politics (Mazzoleni and Schulz, 1999). Furthermore, it cannot be forgotten that, while politicians need publicity to guarantee themselves survival in politics, the media needs a good story to generate revenue (Ross, 2002). Thus, it can be assumed that the relationship between the media and political actors is inseparable, as neither of the sides is able to function properly without the other.

For Cohen (1983) the journalism *per se* is the story of the interactions between journalists and politicians or their representatives (see also Schudson, 2002). Thus, in order to understand the news, there is a need not only to understand that someone was the source of the information but also the way in which the journalists have dealt with their sources (Schudson, 2002).

Through the years, the way in which the media operates was a subject to various changes. In the twentieth century the newspapers began transforming news into stories for the first time, providing their own interpretations of events and through this laying the foundations for modern journalism (Matheson, 2000). However, recent years brought other changes, not only to how the media works but also how it is perceived by the society.

A study conducted by Lewis et al. (2008) revealed that it is now more common for the news content in local and national media to be shaped by public relations professionals and news agencies. The authors indicate different constraints[2] posed on journalist, which force them to rely on "pre-packed information". Consequently, they indicate that quality and independence of British journalism have been affected. This disrupts the journalistic independence, but also questions media's role as a fourth estate (Lewis et al., 2008). While it "takes two to tango" and it is hard to imagine the media (or politicians) working on their own, is also seems that "more often than not, sources do the leading" (Gans, 1980, p.116).

As politicians, their media advisers and spokespeople strive for favourable media coverage (for themselves or for people they are working for), some scholars perceive this group as "parajournalists" (Schudson, 2002). This may be a consequence of the fact that in the last years the public role in decision making has grown, with the simultaneous weakening of political parties and raise in aggressiveness of the media. Therefore, there was a need for politicians to place more attention on how they manage their media publicity (Schudson, 2002). In order to meet those demands, parties and politicians not only developed their own strategies to deal with the media interest, but also allocated more resources for this particular issue (Schudson, 2002).

Thus, in order to follow the electorate which became more mobile, there was a need for a "professionalisation of political publicity" (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999, p.214). In the times where voters were loyal to chosen political parties, communication between citizens and politicians was less important. However, in the light of more volatility in voters' decisions, the "party-dominated" political communication has now disappeared (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999). One of the characteristics of the modern (third) age of political communication is an increased pressure from the media (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999). Thus, "to politicians, the third-age media system must look like a hydra-headed beast, the many mouths of which are continually clamoring to be fed (...) when something happens, they are expected to tell the media what they are going to do about it well before they can be fully informed themselves" (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999, p.213). At the same time a multitude of available sources of information led to increased competitiveness between the journalists which could have an impact on the character of the news.

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[2]Lewis et al. (2008) mentioned in their work economic, institutional and organisational constraints.

McLachlan and Golding (2000) in their analysis of how the British press have been changing between 1952 and 1997, observed its tabloidisation, which was characterised by an increase in the number of the published pictures, decrease in the amount of text, increase of stories classified as 'entertaining' and reduction in political news as well as stories focusing on international issues. As further studies suggest, this trend is not only present in the printed newspapers, but also could be found in their digital editions (Karlsson, 2016). What is more, the boundaries between journalists serving as 'informers' and 'entertainers' as well as 'quality' and 'tabloid' approaches to political news become more blurred (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999).

At the same time, some scholars pinpoint that the relationship between the media, politics and public has changed owing to the introduction of the new channels of communication (e.g. internet). This has created new tensions and norms within the media system (Chadwick, 2013). Consequently, some scholars conclude that there is no division into the 'old' and 'new' media; instead there is a hybrid, which exhibits complexity of dynamic interactions between them Chadwick (2013). Indeed, as journalist or bloggers exchange information, they borrow from each other different types of content, which results in a blend of the 'old' and the 'new' media, but also contributes to the media growth.

What is more, political information cycle works like an arena where actors "create, tap, or steer information flows in ways that suit their goals and in ways that modify, enhance, or disable others' agency" (Chadwick, 2013, p.207). However, in the hybrid media system power still belongs to elites. While bloggers can freely post information online, if their information does not get picked by the more mainstream media, it will reach just a small audience, already converted to the idea (Chadwick, 2013).

The analysis of the media's influence on politics is important mainly because, as Thomas Jefferson claimed, people cannot be safely "trusted to hear everything true and false, and to form a correct judgement between them" (Lipscomb, 1903, p,33). Thus, currently, the news outlets are perceived by the researchers more as an influential channel of communication, which can change the views of millions, rather than just strengthen the existing opinions. While it remains a subject of dispute as to when this change in perception occurred, some researchers claim that the notion of the media only supporting people's political views, has always been a delusion (Harrop, 1987).

At the same time, citizens are insufficiently informed about politics (Eveland et al., 2006), do not trust politicians (Norris, 2011) and do not feel that they take part in the process of decision making (Karp and Banducci, 2008). Therefore, the media have a crucial role to play in the political world (Coleman et al., 2015). Indeed, in the time of decline of political participation and disengagement with those who rule, the media should not only keep the society informed (and hence more confident about their judgements), but also give the ordinary people a chance to express themselves (Coleman et al., 2015).

However, critics of the media indicate that, instead of encouraging people to participate in political life, media present political environment as a place full of cynicism, manipulations, scandals and conflicts, which might actually discourage them from any political activity (Barnett, 2002). On this basis some claim that media do not serve democracy. Nonetheless, researchers indicate that two things could change the relations between the media, public and politicians; one of them is the rise of the digital media, while the other is the expansion of what is considered as 'political' (Coleman et al., 2015). While the raise of the new media channels puts a stop to journalists and politicians being gatekeepers to the wider public, changes in political culture make political communication operate on different levels. Those two changes force the media to rethink its relationship with the audience but also put political communication "in flux, stuck awkwardly between known ways [of communication] that don't work and unknown ways that might" (Coleman et al., 2015, p.6)

It is noteworthy that not all types of the media seem to have the same level of impact. Some researchers consider newspapers as the medium with the largest influence on voters. This is because press carries high amounts of politically-related information, not only in terms of its quality, but also quantity (Kahn, 1994b; Gerber et al., 2009; Druckman, 2005). Moreover, studies suggest that reading a newspaper frequently mobilises citizens (Newton, 1999), while the ability to process information whenever they please makes it more efficiently remembered by the readers (Druckman, 2005). Thus, some scholars suggest that there is a direct link between political awareness and reading newspapers, believing that the press is more capable of creating an informed electorate than any other type of the media (see Druckman, 2005).

To add to the evidence, empirical studies reveal that when people actively seek information by themselves, they tend to choose newspapers over other available news outlets (Chaffee and Kanihan, 1997). This trend was illustrated in the experiment conducted by Atkin (1972), in which the author discovered that the increase in the intensity of political discussion is linked to the rise in the newspapers consumption. The study shows that reading newspapers had significantly more influence on the amount of political discussion than other predictors, like income or education.

This does not mean that other types of media, such as television, do not convey political messages. However, it has been found that they convey those messages differently. In particular, while press is considered as an active medium, i.e. used by self-motivated people who seek information, television conveys messages without involvement; therefore, it has been found that the latter is less likely to result in a change in political attitudes or opinions (Krugman, 1965). Furthermore, press offers its readers a greater depth of knowledge in comparison to television (Chaffee and Kanihan, 1997), as the news in the latter are frequently reduced to the absolute minimum, that does not exceed attention span of the viewer.

Another significant characteristic to be pointed out at this stage is that the press market does not consist only of the national newspapers, as the local news outlets also constitute considerable shares in it. Some scholars perceive them as 'the missing link' in the issue of political engagement, which might encourage political participation (see for example Hargreaves and Thomas, 2002). However, for some reason, even though the local press could offer a different perspective on political issues and may influence political campaigns in its own way, researchers seem to consistently overlook its existence. Indeed, local newspapers are not only neglected by the scholars, but also poorly understood, and their role in the election process is underestimated (Franklin and Richardson, 2002).

While newspapers are perceived as capable of enhancing political knowledge, some researchers call attention to the fact that in many Western countries, including the UK, the readership of printed press is in decline. This poses a question of what becomes a new source of daily news (Lauf, 2001). In response to the declining readership, almost all titles available on the UK market have decided to launch online editions. It is supposed that, in the time of recession, editors look for new technologies that may allow them to reach the lost readership (Thurman and Ben, 2008). Carlson (2003) also points out that making journalism more digital not only may result in new products that combine all the best features of the traditional media, but also help generate savings. Indeed, in order to survive the media need to adapt to the new circumstances. Brock (2013) pinpoints this by noting that journalism's platform is moving - not only in metaphorical but also in literal sense. There exist predictions that printed newspapers will "[run] out of daily readers late in the first quarter of 2043" (Meyer, 2004, p.16), and newspapers do respond to this risk. A recent example of the increased importance of the new digital platform is *the Independent* - the first British national newspaper which decided to cease printing and to go solely digital.

From the readers' perspective, digital newspapers are not only mostly free of charge, but also easily accessible and able to provide more up-to-date information than their printed versions (De Waal et al., 2005). Furthermore, online newspapers exhibit lack of geographical boundaries (Sparks, 2003). This not only opens up the newspapers to new markets, but also makes them accessible for the readers from almost every part of the world. Moreover, due to the fact that digital platforms have a different structure from traditional newspapers, information that is often lost or rejected due to the lack of space in the latter, has better chances to be included in the former (Tewksbury and Althaus, 2000). Given that online press is not limited by word-count, it might contribute to a more in-depth understanding of political information, and thus may be perceived as superior to the printed media (Dalrymple and Scheufele, 2007).

As the voters see politicians mainly "through the eyes of the news media" and through the media they gain their knowledge about the political candidates during campaigns (Kahn, 1994b, p.171), it is expected that the way they are depicted in the news could influence the election outcome. As the next Section reveals, by distinguishing between

men and women candidates and presenting them in different ways, the media could also be a potential barrier to women's political participation.

3.1.2 Media as a potential barrier to women's political participation

A substantial amount of evidence is available to demonstrate disparities between how men and women political candidates are presented in the media, and the following Sections provide a brief overview of the to-date findings on this topic. It should be noted that the existing theories of voting suggest that there are two aspects which are especially important when it comes to choosing between the candidates at the ballot box - recognition and positive evaluation, and both of these may be affected by the media coverage.

To begin with, candidates' visibility in the media may be related to their recognition, which is crucial for vote choice. Indeed, as public recognition is associated with candidates' electoral performance (Goldenberg and Traugott, 1984; Adcock, 2010), the lack of it might adversely affect their electoral chances (Kahn, 1992). The link between visibility and electability is so strong, that some even claim politicians would not exist without the media coverage (Braden, 1996). While the coverage volume provides the candidates with recognisability, the content of the articles determines what information about them is available to the voting public. Accordingly, coverage content is linked to candidates' evaluation. Thus, both the frequency of the candidates' appearance in the news, as well as the way in which they are depicted could be perceived as being crucial for electoral success.

Based on this perception, a number of studies have investigated the relationship between the gender of politicians and the quantity as well as quality of media coverage they receive (see for example Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991; Kahn, 1994b; Heldman et al., 2005; O'Neil et al., 2016). The years of research identified areas of the media coverage that may differ for men and women candidates and many suggest that the latter may be particularly disadvantaged. Some of the issues that women may face in the media coverage are presented in Figure 3.1. Accordingly, these issues are discussed to a greater extent in the upcoming Sections.

Invisibility

One of the main problems which women may experience in their relations with the media is their 'invisibility', caused by the under-reporting. Obviously, women candidates need to be noticed in order to be recognisable for the voters. Therefore, the lack of coverage could have severe consequences (O'Neil et al., 2016). This is particularly important for women, considering that studies suggest that political campaigns involving them
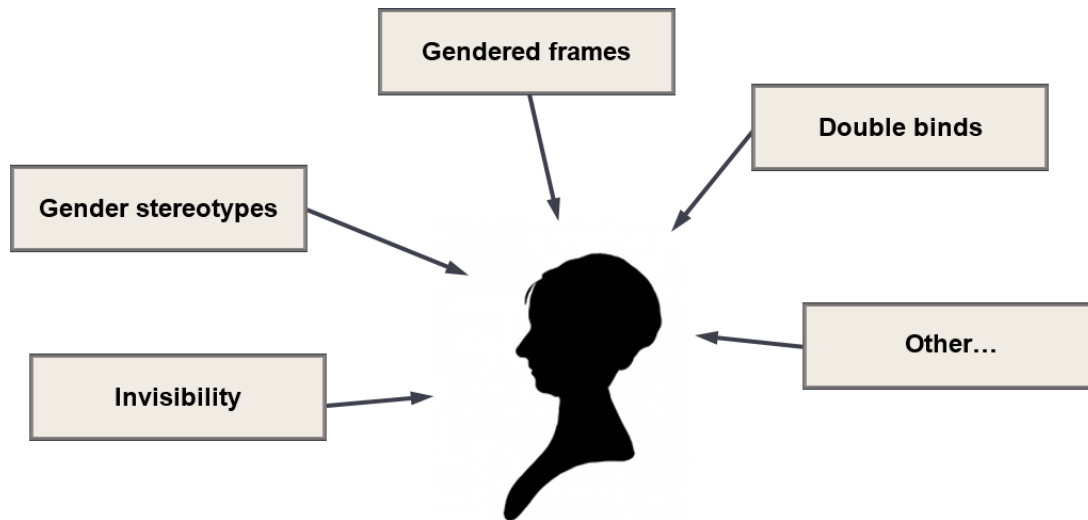
Figure 3.1: An overview of the issues faced by women politicians in the media.

typically draw less media attention than those where only men are involved (Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991).

To provide an example, the 1997 UK general election campaign was perceived by academics not only as almost entirely 'leadership - focused', but also characterised by the poor visibility of women in the media (Scammell and Harrop, 1997). Monitoring TV news during the period of the 1997 campaign, the Fawcett Society came to similar conclusions noting that, while men candidates on average appeared on air 169 times per week, women were visible only 8 times during the same period (as stated in Ross, 1997), which was disproportionate to the amount of candidates standing. According to Childs (2005), during the 2005 general election women's situation was very similar. Women candidates once again were almost entirely absent in the media, while in many cases their place was taken by the leaders' spouses. Moreover, the author indicates that, even when they were noticed, they served as "a nice bunch of flowers on the kitchen table - decorative, calming and silent" forming a background for the men politicians rather than being treated as their equal partners (Childs, 2005, p. 161). Similar research looking at the 2010 general election reveals that approximately 71 per cent of the articles released in the national press mentioned only men candidates, while merely 9 per cent were devoted purely to women politicians (Ross et al., 2013). The authors of the study also indicate that the general trend during the 2010 general election was to 'privilege men', rather than provide an equal coverage for everyone (Ross et al., 2013).[3]

Some scholars suggest that the under-reporting of women candidates may have severe consequences for their political success. In particular, this might reaffirm the masculinity of politics. Accordingly, the low number of visible, politically engaged women could

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[3]Some studies even suggest that media were more attracted by the politician's wives, than women standing as candidates (Campbell and Childs, 2010; Adcock, 2010).

contribute to their further under-representation Elder (2004). Researchers also indicate that small number of women MPs and visible politicians may negatively affect the number of girls wanting to participate in politics when they grow up (Wolbrecht and Campbell, 2007). The same study suggests that poor visibility of women might also discourage adult women wanting to get involved in politics (Wolbrecht and Campbell, 2007). In short, the lack of women politicians in the media has a negative impact on the women part of the electorate. Specifically, studies suggest that they may be less inclined to cast their vote (O'Neill and Savigny, 2014). Adding to the list of possible negative consequences, the insufficient amount of information about the candidate might result in voters relying on gender-based schemas when selecting their future representatives (Kahn, 1992). It is noteworthy that media may also create such schemas about women through the content of the coverage (Chang and Hitchon, 1997). This aspect of media coverage is presented in the following Sections.

Gender stereotypes

Hamilton and Trolier (1986, p. 133) define stereotypes as "cognitive structures that contain the perceiver's knowledge, beliefs and expectations about human groups". They allow to make certain judgements of people's behaviour or characteristics without knowing them, which are frequently untrue, and thus may be discriminatory (Brooks, 2013).

Since gender is perceived as one of the most influential factors when it comes to categorising people, stereotypes about men and women are widely widespread (Eagly and Karau, 2002). Gender stereotypes are not limited to the matter of how people *do* act, but also include the perception of how they *should* act (Brooks, 2013). Accordingly, while descriptive stereotypes include assumptions that women are compassionate and honest, men are perceived as competitive and ambitious. Moreover, such prescriptive stereotypes imply that men and women *should* or *should not* behave in certain ways (Brooks, 2013). Thus, people not only perceive women as *having* some certain traits, but also *expect* them to have those traits. Importantly, any violation of those expectations could be followed by sanctions (Prentice and Carranza, 2002).

Gender stereotypes are particularly important when combined with invisibility. Insufficient knowledge about politicians, caused by, for example, shortage of the media coverage, may encourage people to use gender, religion or ethnicity as so-called "low information shortcut" to evaluate the candidate (Popkin, 1994). Thus, voters might formulate their opinions about contenders drawing from the general knowledge about his/her gender or other characteristics, rather than from what they learned about that particular politician themselves (Kahn, 1994b). Selected types of gender stereotypes are discussed below.

Traits

One of the stereotypes states that men and women can be associated with different types of traits. Specifically, while women are often perceived as gentle, kind and passive, men are more likely to be seen as tough, aggressive and assertive (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993). This simplified way of formulating an opinion about the candidates could be especially damaging for women. This is because the stereotypical features associated with a woman might not fit into the traits required for a stereotypical politician (Kahn, 1992; Johns and Shephard, 2007).

The effect of woman's traits on her career is best presented by Ségolène Royal's bid for the French presidency in 2007. In her run, Royal was presented as possessing so-called 'feminine' traits, while the presidential position was commonly perceived as 'masculine'. Although it is impossible to identify a single reason for her defeat, some scholars suggest that presenting Royal as compassionate and empathetic reduced her chances of winning (Murray, 2010b). Specifically, emphasising her lack of toughness, the media questioned her abilities for the highest executive office (Murray, 2010b).

In view of the above observation, one could, therefore, conclude that women should emphasize their masculine traits, to avoid being perceived as inadequate for the political positions. However, as straightforward as the advice sounds, a comparison of the content of candidates' campaigns with the press coverage revealed that, even when women mention masculine traits, this is often not mirrored in the media (Kahn, 1996).

Issues

Similarly to trait-based-stereotypes, men and women candidates may be also perceived as being more concerned and experienced in handling different policy issues. For instance, women are seen as having more interest in education, healthcare and welfare, while men are more proficient in defence, economy and international issues (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; Jalalzai, 2006).

This division into 'men' and 'women' issues is related to the roles that men and women used to play in the past. Specifically, men used to be a part of a public sphere and hence, they needed to be rational. In contrast, women, who stayed at home and took care of children, were associated with emotions and mothering (Jamieson, 1995). Accordingly, while the latter are associated with soft and more domestic issues, the former are considered more competent with handling issues related to international relations, economy and security.

The above-mentioned stereotypes put women at a disadvantage during particular campaigns, as well as making certain political positions less approachable (Kahn, 1994a). The example of Ségolène Royal, shows that women candidates may be perceived as

less capable in certain political positions. During her presidential campaign, the media presented her as more knowledgeable about 'feminised policies', but inexperienced in economy or international relations. Due to media scrutiny, it was her, rather than her opponent, who was perceived as less experienced in 'manly' issues, despite their experience being comparable (Murray, 2010b). Another way of discriminating against women through issue-based-stereotypes, which has been reported in the past, is overlooking their stance on certain policies. This does not improve women's electoral chances, as lack of information could make them undistinguishable from other contenders, diminishing their chances for election (Dunaway et al., 2013; Aday and Devitt, 2001).

Gendered frames

The media has the freedom to shape the stories they present. Accordingly, framing refers to *how* media present the issues (rather than *what* is being presented) (De Vreese, 2005). Entman (1993, p. 52) defines frame as a linguistic procedure whereby one selects some aspects of reality and by promoting their definition, interpretation, evaluation and identification of weaknesses, makes those aspects more noticeable and meaningful. At the same time, a body of research indicates that men and women candidates could be framed in different ways, with women being more likely to be depicted in a gendered way (Kahn, 1996; Norris, 1997b). As "gendered news frames may combine and therefore reinforce a range of sex stereotypes" (Norris, 1997b, p. 8), this type of coverage could undermine their electoral chances.

A number of frames was reported to be used against women candidates in the past. In particular, paying attention to women's appearance, using their first names, presenting them as norm breakers, perceiving them as being more emotional than men and focusing more on their personal lives are most commonly listed (Murray, 2010a). Framing women's coverage around those issues while not doing so when writing about men could have negative electoral consequences for women candidates. In particular, those consequences may not be limited to reduced chances in political campaigns but also could make women more reluctant to stand as candidates in the future (Heldman et al., 2005; Falk, 2008).

Appearance

"*Lady Astor was becomingly dressed in a plain black tailor-made costume, and a closefitting velvet toque. The roll-collar of her white silk blouse, with V-shaped neck, overhung her coat collar. The only jewellery she displayed were her wedding ring and a gold wristlet watch.*"

Aberdeen Daily Journal, December 2, 1919 [a]

[a]As quoted in Pedersen (2016).

One of the examples of framed coverage that has been reported to be used against women in the past is paying particular attention to the candidate's appearance. For instance, an analysis of Elizabeth Doyle's campaign for presidential nomination has indicated that one in every six stories in which she was mentioned, made a reference to her appearance (Heldman et al., 2005). At the same time, scholars suggest that a disproportionate attention to clothes, hairstyles or shoes might not only trivialise women candidates, but also could make it harder for them to get their message across. This is because mentions of their clothing style reduce the amount of coverage that can be spent on discussing their political views (Murray, 2010a).

Importantly, women may be criticised for their look, regardless whether it is 'feminine' or 'manly'. For instance, during her run for vice-presidency Sarah Palin's adequacy for the job was questioned, due to her 'sexy' look (see for example Heflick and Goldenberg, 2011). In contrast, Hilary Clinton's dress code was frequently considered by the media as too 'manly' (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009). Indeed, many scholars indicate that women politicians are likely to be undermined as their appearance may be linked to their qualifications (Pedersen, 2016; Van Acker, 2003; Garcia-Blanco and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012; Heldman et al., 2005; Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996).

'First woman'

The so-called 'first woman' frame appears in the media when women run for or have been elected for a particular position (or run from certain constituency etc.) for the first time. On the one hand, it helps women candidates gain recognition, through attracting the media coverage driven by the demand for the information about her. On the other hand, highlighting woman's lack of experience may act against her (Falk, 2008). For instance, Norris (1997a) in her study on women head of states found that most of the news presented them as 'first women' - emphasising that their election was a ground-breaking moment for their gender.

While such coverage underlines the accomplishments of those women politicians, it also disregards the achievements of their predecessors by emphasising the 'masculinity' of the political environment. Some authors claim that unnecessary emphasis of women's novelty may lead to a situation in which each generation of women leaders "reinvents the wheel", having to prove their value all over again (Jamieson, 1995). Moreover, as Braden (1996, p. 2) wrote "(...) when the news media imply that women are anomalies in high public office, the public is likely to regard them as bench warmers rather than as an integral part of government".

All this considered, it should also be stated that not indicating the 'first time' women's achievements could be perceived as bad journalism. For example, when Elizabeth Doyle was presented as a 'first woman' when standing for presidential nomination, simultaneously she was shown as a serious contender. Therefore, in this specific case such frame

cannot be perceived as negative towards Doyle's bid (Heldman et al., 2005). Indeed, in some cases, this particular frame might be inevitable for women candidates, and may not immediately imply work to their disadvantage (Heldman et al., 2005).

First name

Another frame, which may adversely influence perceiving women as successful politicians is a frame termed 'first name' (Murray, 2010a). According to the existing studies, the media may be more inclined to present women using their first name, either alone or in conjunction with surname (Falk, 2008). This is unlike in case of men, who are more frequently referred to by a surname.

Doing so might have negative consequences for women politicians (Insenga, 2014). While referring to women using their first name might emphasise their warmth and familiarity, it also diminishes their authority. Furthermore, using both name and a surname could emphasize that as politicians they are relatively new and hence, inexperienced (Murray, 2010a; Insenga, 2014). By contrast, using only a surname or an official title (e.g. Home Secretary) accentuates the authority as well as indicating that that particular person is well known to the public.

Relationships

Studies suggest that women politicians could be seen through the lens of their relationships. It should be underlined that information about candidate's relationship status is not only irrelevant, but also may have a negative effect on the perception of women candidates (Ross, 2002). It could also undermine women's suitability for the office (Ross and Comrie, 2012).

Married women may be seen as having a 'liability' in the form of domestic duties, which, for the voters, could make them less devoted politicians. In contrast, a woman with some ties to a powerful politician could be presented as building her career on his achievements, and as an individual who is dependent on someone else (Insenga, 2014). Strangely, the same does not seem to apply to men. For instance, Murray (2010a, p. 231) indicates that "an influential wife might be seen as an asset, while a powerful husband might be seen as a liability, or as the true person seeking election". As for single women with no children, they may be perceived as insensitive or not knowing enough about family issues.

An example of the relationship frame may be found in Hillary Clinton's run for presidency. In particular, during the election she was questioned about the role of her husband in her campaign, as well as his influence over her stance on different policies (Bystorm,

2010). Some commentators even labelled them a "Clintonian package deal" indicating that due to *his* political mistakes, *she* might be unelectable (Healy, 2007).

Emotions

A widely held view is that women are more emotional than men. Studies reveal that more than 80 per cent of respondents believe that women cry more often that men, also indicating that this stereotype was as strong in 2001 as it was in 1981 (Lombardo et al., 2001). Another study suggests that people think women are more emotional than men, which provides a further confirmation of a strong correlation between the gender and emotions (Plant et al., 2000). This perception has its roots in the old gender norms, whereby women were the weaker gender, less able to control their feelings. Indeed, historically, emotionality of women candidates was one of the arguments against their political participation (Falk, 2008).

Scientists indicate that displaying tears and anger could be more penalising for women candidates than for men (Brooks, 2011). Indeed, while Hillary Clinton's emotional moment during her campaign in 2008 was widely covered by the media, Mitt Romney's tears were ignored (Falk, 2008). Such coverage may enforce the perception of crying as a stereotypical behaviour typical for women candidates. At the same time, displaying anger could be perceived as more appropriate for men, while women could be penalised for being too 'aggressive' (Prentice and Carranza, 2002). Thus, women may be in a particularly difficult situation - showing too masculine traits could present them as being unfeminine, while displaying emotions could make them perceived as less suitable for the office (Braden, 1996).

Gender markers

There exists a body of research suggesting that the media could treat gender of a woman politician as a part of her character, undermining women's role in politics (Falk, 2008). While men are presented simply as candidates, which puts them in a position of a norm, women contestants are more likely to have a gender label attached, being referred to as e.g. a woman politician, or a woman MP, what marks their abnormality (O'Neill and Savigny, 2014) and automatically puts them into a different category than men.

Moreover, as Falk (2008, p. 86) indicates "women are portrayed as though they are hampered by their gender, whereas men are portrayed as gender-free". Thus, while men are not asked how it is to be a man politician, some researchers indicate that journalists do not refrain from questioning women what is it like to be a woman in the office (Braden, 1996). In a study of US Senatorial races in 2000, it was found that gender was indicated in almost 13 per cent of the articles written about women, but it was never displayed in the coverage received by men (Bystrom et al., 2001).

Marking the gender of women candidates has several implications. It not only reinforces the perception of 'maleness' of political jobs but also emphasises that gender is important and that it may be a carrier of individuals' values. According to this schema, the public may derive information about candidates' credibility, competence or authority based on their gender (Falk, 2008; Kahn, 1996). In short, women could be presented as individuals whose gender affects the way they conduct, whereas for men such link does not exist. Indeed, the exceptional focus on gender of Elizabeth Doyle, implied that, in the eyes of the media, she was not a serious contender, but rather an anomaly (Heldman et al., 2005). Adding to the list of potential implications, gender marking could also prevent women from political participation (Falk, 2008).

Double binds

> "*A double bind is a rhetorical construct that posits two and only two alternatives, one or both for penalising the person being offered them. In the history of humans, such choices have been constructed to deny women access to power and, where individuals manage to slip past their constrains to undermine their exercise of whatever power they achieve. The strategy defines something "fundamental to women as incompatible with something woman seeks - be it education, the ballot, or access to the workplace"*"
>
> **Jamieson H. Kathleen** [a]

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[a]See Jamieson (1995, p. 14-15).

For the first time a double bind was observed by Spee (2003) during prosecution of women accused of witchcraft and further described by Jamieson (1995). Throughout the trial a test had to be made to determine whether a woman was a witch. Accordingly, a suspected individual was tossed into the water with both her hands and feet bound. If she drowned she was innocent, if she floated she was found a witch. Either way she ended up being dead. The hearings could also have one possible outcome, as both lack of and confession of guilt were attributed to complicity with Satan (Jamieson, 1995).

Persistent gender stereotyping may be perceived as a double bind and it is termed by some scholars as the 'lose-lose scenario' (Murray, 2010a), where women have no chance to be successful. Accordingly a number of double binds was identified and described below.[4]

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[4]Names of the double binds have been taken from Murray (2010a).

Too masculine/too feminine

Women entering masculine domain of politics must not only be competent and ambitious but also have to maintain a sufficient level of femininity (Hall and Donaghue, 2013). Finding a good balance between masculine and feminine traits could be an ultimate challenge for women (Murray, 2010a). On the one hand women candidates need to be seen as having enough credibility to be elected (i.e. be 'manly enough'), on the other however, they also need to remain within social expectations concerning their femininity.

For example, even though ambition is perceived as one of the features of a successful politician, an ambitious woman could be perceived differently from an ambitious man. Specifically, while an ambitious man candidate may be described as knowing what he wants (Jamieson, 1995), for a woman this trait may be more problematic. The analysis of the media coverage of Julia Gillard [5] reveals that while some sources evaluated her ambition in a positive way, others commented that she is overly ambitious for a woman, and thus is not what they would expect from a woman politician (Hall and Donaghue, 2013).

Another 'too masculine/feminine' double bind was observed during the already-mentioned cases of Sarah Palin and Hilary Clinton. This time, however, it was the appearance of the candidates that drew the attention of the media. While Hillary Clinton's mature image and political ambitions made her 'unladylike', Sarah Palin's attractive and feminine look made her appear incompetent (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009). Displaying emotions in public could also be another double bind. During Clinton's run, most of the time she was presented as not feminine enough. However, her "emotional moment" [6] was depicted by the media as the evidence that she was "cracking under pressure" and presented her as a less viable candidate in the eyes of the media (Curnalia and Mermer, 2014).

Too young/too old

The media interest in women's appearance could also create an age-related double bind. Indeed, women may be perceived as too old or too young for the position they stand for. Some researchers indicate that the time span during which a woman candidate can build her political career is very narrow. This is because older women could become 'invisible' for the media, while young women politicians might be perceived as inexperienced (Murray, 2010a).

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[5] Julia Gillard was the first and, until now, the only woman Prime Minister of Australia.

[6] Curnalia and Mermer (2014) describe the "emotional moment", writing that the day before the New Hampshire primary she had been asked "How do you do it?". When answering the question her voice trembled as she was about to cry.

Indeed, the younger women candidates may be criticised for having no children, or exhibiting inadequate experience for the job. All of these may pose a question about their suitability for the office (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009). In contrast, the invisibility of women of a 'certain age' may be reinforced by the culture of youth in the media. For instance, Jamieson (1995, p. 152) indicates that "as men age in commercial they become distinguishable: as women age they disappear". The candidacy of Hillary Clinton may exemplify this. During her run, one of the journalists asked the public whether their country wanted to watch a woman get older before their eyes.[7] This said, it also needs to be mentioned that in some cases the age double bind needs to be put in the cultural context (Murray, 2010a). For instance, in some countries a woman's seniority could be perceived as her advantage.

Connected/Independent

Labelling a woman as being connected or independent is directly related to the already-defined problem of perceiving women candidates through their relationships (see frame *Relationships*). Thus, women with political partners might be seen as dependent on (or as the name of this double bind suggests - connected to) them (Murray, 2010a).

Accordingly, by presenting women through the lens of their relationships, media may suggest that their political careers are build by partners, which undermines their credibility. In turn, women without any political connections (thus perceived as independent) could have difficulties with gaining visibility, which might also have negative consequences for their campaigns.

Experience/change

When standing for the office which has never been occupied by a woman, a woman candidate could be perceived by the media as an agent of change. While in some cases this perception could work as an advantage for her campaign, in others it might be a hindrance (Murray, 2010a).

Being linked to 'change' could give a woman an edge over men, as she might be regarded as a break from the past. This could work in her favour especially when her predecessor, who was a man, has not been positively evaluated. However, this association with being new, could also expose her lack of experience and negatively affect the perception of her candidacy. Trying to avoid this situation by emphasising her experience a woman candidate might no longer be identified with a change.

As opposed to women, men candidates may have more flexibility in this matter and could present themselves both as agents of change as well as emphasise their experience

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[7]This comment was made by Rush Limbaugh, as quoted in Carlin and Winfrey (2009).

without losing their credibility or being penalised by the media for representing the 'old order' (Murray, 2010a). A study of the media coverage of Irene Sáez's [8] presidential bid reveals that while she was framed as an agent of change she did not manage to persuade the voters or the journalists that she was experienced enough for the office (Hinojosa, 2010).

Silence/Shame

This double bind refers to the reaction of women to gender stereotyping, which may also put women in a double bind position. Indeed, both speaking up and drawing attention to the sexist way of depicting women candidates, as well as remaining silent about this issue, could have a negative influence on women's campaigns (Murray, 2010a).

For instance, a study of a Irene Sáez's presidential campaign reveals that she publicly complained about the way she was depicted in the media (Hinojosa, 2010). Her reaction resulted in further media hostility towards her. Furthermore, by placing herself in a position of a 'victim', she might have undermined her chances to be perceived as a serious candidate and to be elected (Hinojosa, 2010).

On the other hand, a candidate who remains silent about the sexism and decides not to challenge gendered coverage, might be perceived as giving consent to this kind of the media practice. Given such 'silent approval', media may continue being an obstacle in a woman's way to the office.

The "Mommy Problem"

The "mommy problem" is a complex matter combining both ideological and issue stereotyping with perceiving women as closer to the left side of the political scene (Murray, 2010a). While that ideological stereotyping is not so prevalent outside the US, in this thesis the main focus of this particular double bind is related to the maternal status of a woman candidate.

The issue of parenthood is constructed in the news outlets differently for men and women politicians. Specifically, while the image of men may benefit from having a family, for women it could be seen as a burden (Murray, 2010a). Thus, mothers who enter the world of politics could be portrayed as abandoning their children, or questioned about their ability to combine their careers with taking care of them. Indeed, Sarah Palin, as a mother of five, was widely criticised for her decision to run for the vice-presidency (Woodall et al., 2010). Journalists wrote that, once elected, she would either neglect her children or would not be able to focus on her duties. Those negative comments on her choices might have led to a negative perception of her as political candidate and could

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[8] She is a Venezuelan politician and a former presidential candidate.

have undermined her electoral chances. By contrast, Barrack Obama, a father of two, was never subjected to the same comments, despite running for the highest political office (Woodall et al., 2010). According to Smith (2018), while during the last years academics analysing British media observed an increased interest in fatherhood, they also came to a conclusion that in contrast to women, men have an "opt-out-clause". Thus, this means that while men standing for election can decide whether they want to politicise their families, women seem not to have much choice in this matter.

At the same time, childless women politicians could also be exposed to negative media coverage. For instance, a childless woman candidate may not be perceived as feminine and sensitive (Jamieson, 1995). Thus, she could be punished for being too masculine (see also *too masculine/to feminine* double bind). She could be seen as 'out of touch', as not being a mother herself may imply not being able to understand the needs of women with children (Devere and Davies, 2006). The example of woman Prime Minister of New Zealand, Helen Clarke, represents even more extreme consequences of entering a childless woman candidate in the elections. In particular, some journalists questioned her sexuality, suggesting that she is a lesbian and that her marriage is just a fiction (Devere and Davies, 2006). Thus, both being a mother as well as remaining childless may have negative implications for the media coverage of women and consequently their political careers.

3.2 Selected studies about women's presence in the media

As stated in the previous Section, voters are more likely to acquire their knowledge about politicians from the media, rather than gaining it through personal exposure (Blight et al., 2012). Thus, by selecting political stories to cover, deciding what to put on a front page, or in the story narration, the media could exert their influence over the voting public (George and Waldfogel, 2006). The previous Section also outlined that the media coverage of men and women politicians could differ in terms of its quantity (Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991; O'Neil et al., 2016), as well as quality (Aday and Devitt, 2001; Fowler and Lawless, 2009; Heldman et al., 2005), which might have an impact on the political campaigns of one or the other gender. The direction of this effect is not well established, as studies concerning the influence of candidates' gender on volume and substance of the coverage are not unambiguous. Table 3.1 presents a summary of the relevant publications in the field (please note that a more complete overview of the studies, including a description of a method and findings can be found in Appendix A). As follows from the Table, different studies suggest different effect of gender on the coverage quality and quantity. This Section reviews these studies looking at their methodologies, datasets and outcomes, and defines a gap in the UK literature, which this study aims to fill.

3.2.1   Studies in the US

Generally, a wide range of studies were conducted in the US - more than in any other country. Some of them reach far back in time. For example, one of the earliest works evaluated in this Section is Kahn's and Goldenberg's study of the news coverage of the Senate races (Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991, see Table 3.1). The results revealed that between 1982 and 1986 the women candidates received less press coverage, while the articles in which they were depicted were in general more negative. Additional analysis of the volume of coverage in relation to the type of the races reveals that the all-men races captured more press attention than those involving only women. Moreover, the information carried by the newspapers was more often focused on discussion of women's chances of winning, while emphasising their non-competitiveness. Such discussions were infrequent when men candidates were described. All those inequalities in the volume and substance of analysed articles could have negatively influenced women's chances of political success (Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991).

To further investigate the impact of the media coverage on political attitudes of the voters, Kahn (1992) investigated the effect of candidates' gender and press coverage on voters' decision making. She aimed to identify those campaign aspects, which increase women's chances of winning the election. In the experiment, participants were asked to assess various candidates based on fake news articles, which recreated certain news patters she previously found in real press coverage. Her findings unveiled that that women candidates were, indeed, more likely to be negatively affected by the unfavourable media reports. However, Kahn (1992) also suggests that some of the gender stereotypes seemed to actually work in favour of women candidates, as participants perceived them as honest and able to better deal with some policy issues than men.

In her next study Kahn (1994b, see Table 3.1) aims to analyse whether the press coverage of gubernatorial and senatorial candidates differed depending on the gender of the candidates as well as type of the office they ran for. Moreover, she investigated whether those differences were caused by media or the candidates themselves, by comparing the press coverage with candidates' campaign advertisements. The findings revealed that while media differentiated between men and women candidates, these differences were unobservable in the campaigns they ran. This may suggest that it was the media that may selectively have injected or ignored some of the policy issues and that they might have been more responsive to the issues raised by men candidates. Thus, Kahn (1994b) suggests that ignoring the campaign messages by the media could undermine the electoral chances of women candidates.

Kahn (1994a) employed an experimental method to observe whether gender differences in the media could influence voters' perception of candidates and if gender stereotypes drive their decision between men or women candidates. Analysis of the content of the selected newspapers again indicated differences in depicting men and women candidates. Next,

Table 3.1: Selected studies analysing coverage of men and women politicians in the media.

Year[*]	Reference	Country	Type of election	Source of data	Difference in volume[**]	Difference in substance[***]
1982-1986	Kahn and Goldenberg (1991)	US	Senatorial candidates	Newspapers	↗	↗
1982-1988	Kahn (1994b)	US	Senatorial and gubernatorial candidates	Newspapers and campaign advertisements	↗	↗
1993-1994	Carroll and Schreiber (1997)	US	Women Members of Congress	Newspapers	↗[a]	↗
1994	Smith (1997)	US	Senatorial and gubernatorial candidates	Newspapers	×	×
1994	Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi (1995)	UK	Candidates for a Labour leader	Newspapers	↗	↗
1997	Adcock (2010)	UK	Women politicians, politician's relatives and ordinary women	Newspapers	↗	↗
1998	Devitt (2002)	US	Gubernatorial candidates	Newspapers	×	↗
1992-2000	Jalalzai (2006)	US	Senatorial and gubernatorial candidates	Newspapers	×	×
1999	Heldman et al. (2005)	US	Candidates for presidential nomination	Newspapers	↗	↗[b]
1999	Aday and Devitt (2001)	US	Candidates for presidential nomination	Newspapers	×[c]	↗
1999	Gilmartin (2001)	US	Candidates for presidential nomination	Political cartoons	↗	↗
2000	Bystrom et al. (2001)	US	Primary races for senatorial and gubernatorial candidates	Newspapers	↘	↗[d]
2000	Bystrom et al. (2003)	US	Senatorial and gubernatorial candidates	Newspapers	↘	↗[e]
1999-2000	Everitt (2003)	Canada	Provincial elections	Newspapers	×	↗[f]

Year*	Reference	Country	Type of election	Source of data	Difference in volume**	Difference in substance***
2004-2006	Kittilson and Fridkin (2008)	Australia, Canada, US	Candidates in election to the Lower House	Newspapers	×	↗[g]
2006	Devere and Davies (2006)	New Zealand	Leaders of the two main parties	Televised news and newspapers	↘	↘
2008	Wasburn and Wasburn (2011)	US	Sarah Palin and her opponent Joe Biden	Newspapers	↘	↘
2006 and 2008	Dunaway et al. (2013)	US	Gubernatorial and senatorial elections	Newspapers	N/A	↗[h]
1984 and 2008	Heldman et al. (2009)	US	Sarah Palin and Geraldine Ferraro vice presidential campaigns	Newspapers and political blogs	↘	↘
2008	Ross and Comrie (2012)	New Zealand	Leaders of the Labour Party (Helen Clark) and National Party (John Key)	Newspapers and Television news	↗	↘
2010	Hayes and Lawless (2015)	US	House campaigns during midterms	Newspapers	×	×
2010	Mavin et al. (2010)	UK	Women MPs with particular focus on Harriet Harman and Theresa May	2010 general election coverage (newspapers, government and worldwide websites)	N/A	↘
2010	Ross et al. (2013)	UK	Men and women candidates (2010 GE)	Newspapers	↗	↘
1992, 2002, 2012	O'Neil et al. (2016)	UK	Men and women candidates	Newspapers	↗	↗[i]

*Year = Year of data collection. **Legend: ↗ signifies that women candidates received more coverage volume, while × signifies no difference found. ***Legend: ↘ signifies that women candidates received worse coverage substance, while × signifies no difference found. [a] First time elected women were more visible, but this trend decreased with time. [b] No difference was found when it comes to issues raised. [c] Less coverage than Bush, but more than remaining two. [d] Except for appearance and personality. [e] But they were similarly evaluated. [f] Only in terms of providing personal information and references to family. [g] Except for viability and family situation. [h] Women were presented through traits, men through issues. [i] Only occasionally.

the series of experiments revealed that disparities in the media coverage may influence the voters' opinions about the candidates. It is noteworthy that the voters were more likely to formulate an opinion about incumbent candidates. While differences in the media coverage were found disadvantageous for Senate women candidates, the public held such gender stereotypes that resulted in positive evaluation of women.

Overall, the studies by Kahn reveal that the gendered media environment could be more of a hindrance than help to political careers of women. However, with time, some scholars began to indicate that the way men and women candidates are depicted in the media is becoming more equal than it used to be thought. For instance, Carroll and Schreiber (1997, see Table 3.1) showed some signs of such change among the first-time elected members of Congress. In particular, during the campaign, women received more press coverage than men. This trend did not last long, decreased with time after the election, and the authors indicate that the press coverage of women candidates revolved predominantly around issues such as health or abortion, which by many are considered as stereotypically women's issues. Nonetheless, for the first time the omnipresent perception of bias and sexism in the media found only limited support, as in general the press coverage gave a positive impression of women.

A study conducted by Smith (1997, see Table 3.1) further reinforces these findings, indicating that in the late 1990's there were more 'signs of parity' in the media coverage of men and women candidates than there used to be in the past. In particular, his findings suggested that some gender-based patterns of coverage were still present during statewide campaigns of 1994, however they were not as prevailing as those found previously. Indeed, Smith's study reveals that, in general, women received comparable amount of coverage to men, including coverage related to their policy. Moreover, the press was also more likely to depict women in a more positive way than men. Although some of the findings might mirror the peculiarities of the 1994 campaigns, Smith's work is an indication that the press coverage of men and women candidates could be becoming more gender balanced than previously believed (Smith, 1997).

Jalalzai (2006, see Table 3.1) compared press coverage from different periods of time and verified whether the press coverage has changed over the years. In her study, she compared her results to those described by Kahn (1994b). She concluded that the media coverage of women politicians has gradually changed, as well as that there might be a link between this trend and the increase in a women representation of senators and governors. While some disparities were still present, in general Jalalzai (2006) did not find a confirmation that women continued to receive different type of coverage to men.

Despite this wave of studies suggesting that position of women politicians in the media might be changing, other studies showed that there are still gender gaps in the coverage of some elections. For instance, Devitt (2002, see Table 3.1) analysed how the stories about 1998 gubernatorial candidates were framed. He also looked at a correlation between the

type of coverage and gender of a journalist. In general, women candidates did not receive less press attention than men, although some differences were found in certain aspects of coverage. Specifically, it was found that women's stance on political issues was not covered to the same extent as it was in case of men politicians. Moreover, the media was more interested in women's personal lives than those of men, but as author indicates, those differences disappeared when races were analysed individually. Furthermore, men journalists were more likely to refer to personal issues of women candidates, but less to their policy. Given that men reporters wrote most of the stories, it could be assumed that they contributed to the discrepancies found in the press coverage of gubernatorial candidates (Devitt, 2002).

Nivena and Zilber (2001) investigated whether women members of the US House of Representatives could influence the way media present them. On the basis of interviews conducted with candidates' press secretaries and the analysis of the information provided on their websites, the authors concluded that the gender biased patterns in the media coverage of women members of Congress are independent of the politicians. Instead, the gender bias observed in the media is more likely to be the product of the media rather than women politicians themselves. Indeed, the interviews revealed that the press secretaries believed women members were defined by their gender rather than achievements, and that they received less fair coverage as compared to men collaborators. Moreover, it was unveiled that the media coverage did not reflect the content of the politicians' websites.

To provide a broader picture of the relationship between women in politics and the media, Bystrom et al. (2003, see Table 3.1) analysed newspaper coverage for longer period of time than other researchers. Specifically, she analysed newspaper coverage during the period when candidates ran for party nominations, as well as during the main election campaigns. Their results reveal that some disparities still existed, particularly when it came to issues such as candidates' gender, children, marital status, as well as policies traditionally linked to women's areas of interest. However, when compared with previous studies, it was revealed that the press coverage was more equal for women. For example, the number of articles in which women candidates were depicted outnumbered those capturing men during both primary and general elections. Moreover, men and women candidates were similarly evaluated by the newspapers and their viability was discussed to the same extent.

Gender gaps have also been revealed in the case of women running for high, executive offices. For instance, (Heldman et al., 2005, see Table 3.1) examined the presidential bid of Elizabeth Doyle by comparing her press coverage with that received by her men competitors. As the polls suggested she would come second, it was expected that she should receive less coverage than George W. Bush (first in polls) but more than John McCain (third). However, the findings indicated that Doyle was not only less visible than both of her men competitors but also that her coverage was more focused on her

personal traits and appearance rather than her policy. The press were also more likely to emphasize her difficulties with raising funds for the campaign. This said, even though the results illustrate that Doyle's media coverage was gendered, the authors indicate that it was difficult to assess what impact it had on her candidacy.[9] Heldman et al. (2005) acknowledge that it was more Bush's financial advantage, than gendered media, that contributed to her lack of success in obtaining a party nomination.

Aday and Devitt (2001, see Table 3.1) provide further assessment of Doyle's candidacy and reveal that her quality of coverage differed from those of the other men candidates. Indeed, the results of their study suggest that Doyle was less likely to have her policy mirrored in the media. By contrast, media drew disproportional attention to her appearance. However, this particular study does not confirm findings of Heldman et al. (2005), that she received less press coverage than than men. Indeed, while Doyle was mentioned less often than her main contender - George Bush - she was found to be more visible than the remaining two men standing for the nomination across all analysed newspapers. Additionally, Aday and Devitt (2001) examined the association between gender of the reporter and content of the news. The results reveal that, in general, men journalists wrote more than women, but also that they were more likely to focus on Doyle's personality traits rather than the substance of her campaign - which could explain the differences in terms of the type of press coverage she received.

While most of the researchers focused on text analysis, Gilmartin (2001, see Table 3.1) decided to look at how Elizabeth Doyle was depicted in political cartoons. Despite her high position in the polls, she remained invisible, as she appeared in 4 per cent of all of the analysed cartoons. Even when she was present in the cartoon, she was rarely the primary subject of them. Moreover, most of the time she was depicted in a way that might have undermined her political credibility. In particular, she was shown in a sexualised and domesticated context. Furthermore, the authors suggest that in most of the cartoons she also remained silent, which could have hindered her position of a serious candidate. Thus, the study concludes that the cartoons were gender biased. It is noteworthy that most of the cartoons have been drawn by men, which might explain the misogynist sense of humour.

Hilary Clinton's transformation from the First Lady to the Senate candidate seemed to be one of the most frequently studied political runs of the early 2000s. This case was particularly interesting considering that this transformation challenged the traditional role of a politician's wife, not only in the US but also in other countries (see Waugh, 2000). Accordingly, Scharrer (2002) analysed the press reaction to Clinton's decision to stand as a senatorial candidate from that angle. The author found that the more politically active she was, the more negative coverage she received. In contrast, more 'traditional' activities Clinton was involved in resulted in more positive media response. The observation remains valid, even though the authors note that data collected for this

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[9]Elizabeth Doyle prematurely terminated her presidential bid.

study does not allow to definitively indicate that her negative coverage was related to her gender.

Dabbousa and Ladley (2010) focused on the newspapers perception of the first woman Speaker of the House - Nancy Pelosi. Their study analyses the media approach during her tenure as the Speaker. Some scholars indicate that, in order to be elected, women needed to have a good balance of masculine and feminine traits (see Jamieson, 1995). Therefore, Dabbousa and Ladley (2010) decided to examine this theory. The results of the analysis indicate that the media presented the first woman Speaker as possessing both masculine and feminine traits, which did not differ from the general perception of women in the office identified by the previous studies. The study is on the whole not unambiguous, since the authors indicate that by emphasising her maternal side, Pelosi could have brought some gender-related issues to her campaign and through this 'activated' one of the gender labels.

Carlin and Winfrey (2009) performed an analysis of Hilary Clinton's and Sarah Palin's runs. They point out that, even though Clinton and Palin were different in many aspects, they both experienced sexism in the media coverage during their campaigns. While Palin was viewed as "too sexy" and not having enough experience for Vice-Presidential seat, Clinton was "too tough" and not feminine enough to get the presidential nomination. Thus, Carlin and Winfrey (2009) indicated that this double bind (i.e. women are criticised no matter whether they are too manly/too feminine) may prevent them from reaching top political offices.

Wasburn and Wasburn (2011, see Table 3.1) conducted another analysis of Sarah Palin's campaign. The results suggest that although her candidacy received much more press attention than that of her opponent, a man, in terms of both number of articles as well as pictures of her, the newspapers focused on more trivial topics while writing about her. The authors suggest that the consequences of such gendered coverage could not be classed as categorically negative. In particular, the 'curiosity' related to her candidacy implied that she was able to promote her image of political outsider which, for some, could make her a more convincing candidate.

In opposition to these findings, Heflick and Goldenberg (2009) conducted a sociological experiment, which showed that candidate's appearance may lead to her objectification which, in turn, could undermine voters' perception of her competence. Accordingly, in another work they looked into the media coverage during the 2008 presidential run and concluded that the media's focus on Palin's appearance could have contributed to her defeat (Heflick and Goldenberg, 2011). Heldman and Wade (2011) support these findings indicating that the media focus on appearance is more profound than ever before. In particular, the authors argue that the sexual objectification in the media is becoming more common with time; therefore the level of tolerance for this type of coverage is higher than it used to be. Palin's experience seems to illustrate such increased insensitivity.

Another study conducted in the US focused on the differences between the coverage of candidates of different gender in various types of the media (Heldman et al., 2009, see Table 3.1). The work analyses two women candidates standing for the vice presidential elections in 1984 (Geraldine Ferraro) and 2008 (Sarah Palin) and illustrates that while being a woman candidate was liked to greater visibility, it also increased the amount of coverage related to their appearance or family issues, as well as sexist comments. Moreover, the comparison of Palin's and Ferraro's coverage shows that the intensity of such references increased over time. Heldman et al. (2009) further found that political blogs - labelled by the authors as the 'New Media' - are more likely to cover women candidates in negative and misogynist ways than the 'Old Media' (newspapers). Thus, as the media environment is changing and new information technologies like blogs are gaining importance, the authors suggest that the situation of women candidates could be deteriorating rather than improving.

A study by Dunaway et al. (2013, see Table 3.1) differentiates between media references to candidates' traits and issues. In particular, the authors examined statewide gubernatorial and senatorial elections and showed that women were more likely to receive coverage focusing on their traits and less likely to have their issues mentioned in the newspapers than men. Moreover, the type of race women candidates were in also mattered, as these trends were more noticeable in gubernatorial campaigns. Interestingly, the authors indicate that the consequences of this coverage for women might be more complex, and that in some cases women could benefit from being perceived through the lens of their traits rather than issues.

Despite that substantial body of research suggesting gender bias in the media, Hayes and Lawless (2015, see Table 3.1) proposed that this just might be an issue of perception rather than reality. Specifically, they observed changes in America's political environment, including increasing number of women politicians, which might indicate that their media coverage has been transformed. Thus, the authors decided to examine how men and women candidates for US Congress in 2010 and 2014 were depicted in the newspapers and whether voter's attitudes differed between candidates of different gender. Their analysis of the quality as well as the quantity of the press coverage revealed that the gender of a candidate did not affect their visibility or the way they were depicted. Furthermore, Hayes and Lawless (2015) indicate that voters were more likely to be influenced by partisanship, ideology or incumbency rather than gender. Given that the authors did not reveal any systematic gender differences, they indicate that the media might not be the barrier for women political participation.

Following previous findings, in another work Hayes and Lawless (2016b) analysed how the candidates were depicted in the media, evaluated by the voters and how they presented themselves during campaigns. The results of their study reveal that both men and women candidates conveyed similar messages during the campaign. Furthermore, it was found that they were depicted in similar number of articles with the coverage substance carrying

little difference between men and women. It was found that candidates' gender did not influence voters' evaluation of their candidacy. Finally, the interviews with journalists suggest that the limited differences in coverage of candidates of different gender could be related to the fact that candidates put similar messages across, while journalists tended to echo these messages. Thus, Hayes and Lawless (2016b) conclude that the 'widespread perception' of the gender-bias in the media might not reflect the reality.

3.2.2   Studies in other countries

Except for studies covering US elections, there is a substantial body of research describing situation of women politicians in media in other countries. For instance, Kittilson and Fridkin (2008, see Table 3.1) provided a cross-country comparative analysis of the subject by analysing press coverage of women candidates from the US, Australia and Canada. The results reveal that similar trends were observed in all those countries. Specifically, in terms of attention to candidate's family and their viability to hold a political positions, there were no inter-gender differences found. Also, the issues which were classified as 'male', were more commonly covered in articles about male candidates while those labelled as 'female' appeared more often in press coverage of women candidates. The same trend was observed when it came to describing 'male' and 'female' traits. Overall, the results indicate that candidates were presented in long-standing gender stereotypes which are common across all three countries, but also suggest that higher number of women in office does not guarantee a more gender-neutral coverage.

Another study by Everitt (2003, see Table 3.1) aimed to examine whether the evidences that the national media coverage is fairer and less biased against women, are also present at the provincial and regional level. The study conducted in Canada reveals that, while some aspects of the coverage (amount of horse race coverage, references to their appearance or traits as well as assessment of their viability) did not differ between the candidates of different gender, and the amount of references to women's policy was higher than for the men contenders, women received more references to their families or personal information.

Ten years later, Hall and Donaghue (2013) conducted a study on the selection of Julia Gillard - the first woman Prime Minister of Australia. They note that for a woman to be successful in politics she needs to maintain the image of being competent and ambitious while also avoiding being perceiving as unfeminine. From that perspective, the case of Gillard, who openly demonstrated her political ambitions while being single and childless was very interesting from that perspective. As researchers discovered, the fact that she openly expressed her ambitions was problematic for the media. Although some perceived the way she behaved as 'refreshing', others were concerned that the voters could expect a woman to be 'kinder' and 'gentler'.

Devere and Davies (2006, see Table 3.1) examined media coverage of party leaders (one man and one woman) during the 2005 New Zealand general election and compared it with coverage from historical elections. The authors found that in 2005 women were more likely to be written about than men. Furthermore, the results showed that media had a tendency to perceive women candidates through the lens of their appearance, style, and motherhood/domestic duties reduced over the years. However, although women became more visible in the media with time, the authors note that some examples of gendered reporting could still be found in the articles depicting them. The authors make a noteworthy observation that it could be the party policy rather than the media themselves, responsible for introducing gender-related issues into the media agenda.

While most of the studies focus on the negative coverage received by the women politicians, a study by Lee (2004) analysed how the press in Hong-Kong maintain the picture of women politicians presenting them as perfect women. Indeed, Hong-Kong press tended to embrace both their femininity and masculinity: they were presented as competent politicians at work and caring mothers and wives at home. The author concludes that promoting the idealistic image of women did not help remove gender inequalities, which still persist. Thus, even though the number of women Hong-Kong officials is growing, this idealistic image reinforces the existing stereotypes.

In Bulgarian post-communist democracy, the way women politicians were depicted in the media during the 2005 parliamentary elections, mirrors the masculinity of democratic transitions which took place in this country (Ibroscheva and Raicheva-Stover, 2009). Accordingly, women were more likely to have their appearance or gender mentioned in the media, while their discussions of political issues were often trivialised. Overemphasising their 'male' qualities was likely to provoke hostility from the journalists. Furthermore, it was observed that the majority of articles about women politicians were written by women journalists; therefore, the authors conclude that women working in the media industry were also responsible for the gender-bias observed in the media. Ibroscheva and Raicheva-Stover (2009) indicate that those gendered ways of portraying women politicians could enhance sexism in society, affecting not only women's political participation but also other aspects of their lives.

Amongst the UK studies, research conducted by Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi (1995, see Table 3.1) provides a good insight into the 1994 Labour leadership election, which featured a woman candidate (Margaret Beckett) standing for a position of a party leader. The authors investigated the role of the press in framing political agenda and positioning the candidate during the campaign. The results indicate not only that the media favoured Tony Blair's candidacy, but also reveal that Margaret Beckett seemed to be more interesting for the press as a woman rather than a political candidate. She also did not avoid comparisons to Blair with positive/negative frames. For instance, while he was presented as young and fresh, she was presented as post-menopausal. Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi (1995) study also demonstrates the patriarchy within the media

and the Labour Party itself. Furthermore, it reveals that women journalists wrote more negative stories about Beckett. Thus, the results indicate that women in the newsroom do not necessarily counteract gender-bias in the media. The study concluded that a cultural shift in perceiving women politicians was needed to increase the number of women in politics (Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1995).

To gain deeper understanding of the relationship between women politicians and the media from the perspective of the former, Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross (1996) conducted a series of interviews with women MPs. When asked how the media may undermine their careers, women politicians mentioned a long list of complaints, including: ignoring them as source of information, focusing on their age or appearance, or writing about their family circumstances. Surprisingly, although many interviewees blamed the media for trivialising, neglecting or even bullying them, some women politicians associated these treatment with the public profile of their job *per se*, rather than their gender. Moreover, even though women seemed to be aware of the role of their public profiles in their careers, they found multiple excuses to explain why the media presented them in these unfavourable ways. Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross (1996) conclude that by disregarding and trivialising the problem, women MPs gave their consent to their further discrimination.

In response to a significant increase in the number of women in British Parliament after 1997 general election, Adcock (2010, see Table 3.1) conducted another study investigating whether the UK press presented political news in a gendered manner. Her study provides a very broad perspective, as the author analysed not only how women politicians were depicted in the press, but also how the media presented women voters and relatives of political candidates. The results indicate that women were largely ignored by the media, as they were featured in just over a third of collected articles, which was disproportionate to the amount of women running in the election. Furthermore, only in approximately half of those studies women were the key actors. Further analysis revealed that the press presented women in more domestic frame, while men's image was aligned with the public domain of politics (see also Sreberny and Van Zoonen, 2000). Women candidates were described using gendered language, and presented as irrational and having little knowledge about politics. Adcock (2010) concludes that the media may be the key to solving the problem with women under-representation in politics, and hence, she indicates that improving the way media depict women could positively influence their symbolic, substantive as well as cultural representation.

Studies suggest that gendered media coverage could not only adversely affect women's electability, but also diminish their acceptability, once they reach a given post. To verify this hypothesis, Mavin et al. (2010, see Table 3.1) captured the image of women political leaders in the media. The results indicate that acting as a party leader does not protect women from being trivialised or presented through the lens of their gender. The authors indicate that, even though the women leaders were able to display their femininity to

avoid being perceived as too masculine, they were presented as violating the norms. This is because the higher political offices are typically associated with men. The media questioned their suitability for the office and through this discredited their credibility for the leadership position (Mavin et al., 2010).

While televised debates are a common element of campaign landscape in the US, in the UK the first one was organised in 2010. It was not until the 2015 when the women politicians participated in them. Harmer et al. (2016) analysed the women's appearance in the 2015 ITV Leaders' Debate, and looked at their performance, as well as the fact that this kind of political event is typically presented as 'manly'. The results indicate that the press described the event in a masculine manner, using language which was more suitable to sport or military reporting (Harmer et al., 2016). At the same time, authors suggested that masculinity was the main criterion for the media evaluation of the politicians' performance. Thus, the success of women participants was measured considering their ability to emasculate men contenders. Accordingly, Harmer et al. (2016) came to a conclusion that the media showed men politicians as 'norm', while women were presented as abnormalities.

Language used when writing about politically active women was central to the study conducted by Insenga (2014). The author identified a set of frames which were found in women's media coverage in the past and examined whether they were present in articles depicting selected women politicians. She discovered that the media presented them 'always as women, sometimes as politicians', employing gender stereotypes to undermine their political contributions and trivialise their image. When the behaviour of a woman politician was perceived by the media as unfeminine (for example when she occupied a senior position or showed her 'tough' side), the press described her in a gender-stereotypical way to ensure that the she was presented as *a woman*. In her work, Insenga (2014) emphasised that the gendered coverage posed a challenge for political newcomers as well as for more experienced women politicians. Thus, she concluded that the way the media presented women politicians had to change, to achieve gender equality in the politics.

Ross et al. (2013, see Table 3.1) focused on gendered nature of the media coverage during political campaign leading to the 2010 general election. The analysis of the volume of coverage received by the candidates reveals that women politicians have been almost invisible across all analysed newspapers, when compared to the number of candidates. Moreover, when women candidates did appear in the news, it was their gender, rather than political potential which was the main focus of the story. The only women having high media profiles during this campaign were wives of men political leaders. Indeed, according to the authors, they received more press attention than prospective women MPs. Furthermore, Ross et al. (2013) found absence of women not only in the news, but also in the newsrooms, as most of the analysed articles were written by men. What is

more, they report that neither men nor women reporters preferred to write about women candidates (Ross et al., 2013).

Most recently, O'Neil et al. (2016, see Table 3.1) analysed whether any changes in the media reporting on women politicians could be seen over time. They compared the number of stories mentioning women with their share of representation in Parliament in different periods of time, discovering that the growing number of women MPs was not reflected in the quantity of coverage they received. Moreover, as women were less frequently quoted in the articles, the political language became more masculine. O'Neil et al. (2016) also indicated that women politicians were presented as 'others' and that their coverage did not mirror the diversity of their political interests, all of which might discourage women from political participation.

3.3   Gaps in the existing studies and their implications for this work

The overview of the existing literature shows that the issue of disparities in media reporting of candidates of different gender has been noted and investigated for a long time. However, the literature exhibits some limitations, particularly when it comes to studies in the UK. First, the body of research lacks in studies analysing the media coverage of women candidates standing for higher political positions in the UK. Secondly, the data used in the existing research is predominantly drawn from the national newspapers, while the existence of the local titles has been ignored. Thirdly, the rise of the digital news outlets also seems to be overlooked by the scholars. Finally, the number of systematic, quantitative analyses of the media coverage is insufficient.

And so: the UK studies concerning runs of women for executive offices are limited, particularly when compared to studies in other countries. In particular, in the US researchers examined the media coverage of candidates for gubernatorial and senatorial seats (Smith, 1997; Rausch et al., 1999), first woman Speaker (Dabbousa and Ladley, 2010), presidential candidates (Heldman et al., 2005; Aday and Devitt, 2001; Carlin and Winfrey, 2009) and First Ladies (Scharrer and Bissell, 2000), while in Australia and New Zealand they analysed the way women Prime Ministerial candidates had been covered (Hall and Donaghue, 2013; Ross and Comrie, 2012). In contrast, the body of the UK studies predominantly focuses on parliamentarians (see Ross et al., 2013; Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996). It is noteworthy that UK did not have too many women in executive offices, which might be the primary reason for this state of affairs. Benefiting from the election of the second British Prime Minister in 2016, this work will attempt to address this gap.

Moreover, most of the UK studies on the media coverage of men and women politicians focus on the national press, overlooking the existence of the local media outlets. Neither

the way local media present men and women candidates has been studied nor has the comparative analysis between the national and local media outlets been conducted. This over-reliance on national media might be a serious drawback in single-country studies. For instance, in the UK the prominent national newspapers have atypically large circulations and are predominantly centred around London. Thus, analysing local newspapers is not only a desirable strategy for increasing the number of available observations, but it may increase researchers' confidence in making generalisations across the geography and circulation size of various media outlets (Meeks, 2012). This is particularly important considering that some scholars indicate that the local and national media may differ in the issues they cover and how they cover those issues (Just et al., 1996; Negrine, 2005). To address the gap, this thesis investigates both local and national media outlets.

Despite a decline of conventional, printed newspapers and the increase in the readership of the online editions (Jackson, 2015; Brock, 2013), the digital newspapers were also overlooked by the researchers. The decision of *the Independent* to go entirely digital is the best example that the 'journalism's platform is moving' (Brock, 2013) and that the shift should not be ignored by the scholars. It is also noteworthy that the online media are more accessible and mostly free, which might further contribute to their increasing readership. Accordingly, to keep up with these changes, this work focuses on the online media outlets.

Finally, the review of the UK literature shows that only a few studies in this field involve systematic, quantitative methods of analysis of the media coverage. For instance, some studies describe the media coverage in a qualitative fashion, some rely on interviews and subjective opinions, while some works focus on women candidates only. This thesis attempts to analyse collected data in a more systematic, quantitative manner, employing statistical analyses. To reinforce the quantitative findings, they are complemented with interviews and extracts from newspapers.

Accordingly, in this study both volume and substance of the media coverage will be analysed. In particular, drawing from the existing literature, this work will measure volume in three different ways, by looking at: 1) the number of times the candidate have been mentioned in the articles, 2) the amount of words written about him/her and 3) the extent to which they were directly quoted in the press. Based on the literature reviewed in this Chapter, this work will focus on the following aspects of coverage substance: 1) appearance and age, 2) children, 3) partners and 4) gender and novelty of the candidacy.[10] It is believed that such subjective selection of gender-related issues ensures that they can be coded single-handedly and provides a good compromise between assessing the frequency they have been reported on in the past studies and their potential impact on women candidates.

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[10]In this thesis the author will be referring to those issues as 'frames'. Each frame has been defined in Table 5.2 in Chapter 5 in more detail.

3.4   Summary

This Chapter demonstrates that the media may be an important component of political landscape. Section 3.1.1 shows that this is because voters no longer have an opportunity to get to know election candidates in person. Instead, they source the information about them from the media. It is important to realise, though, that the media no longer mirror the reality; instead, news outlets have the ability to shape and modify it (Kahn, 1994b). By doing so, through both quality and quantity of their coverage the media have the power to manipulate and affect the voters decisions.

Section 3.1.2 indicates that in the past the media have been found to be a potential barrier to political participation of women. They have been reported to achieve this in a number of ways, which include: making women invisible in the media, presenting them through gender stereotypes, using gendered frames, double binds etc. This Section discusses these issues and identifies how they may be applied in the coverage. It shows that gender-based stereotypes disseminated by the media negatively affect voters' perception of women candidates. Furthermore women, who are anyway more likely to doubt in their political skills (Fox and Lawless, 2011), can be further discouraged by the media from standing for election (Ross et al., 2013). This is because women are less likely to become candidates when the political environment is perceived as gender biased (Dolan, 2000).

Section 3.2 lists and summarises selected studies concerning how men and women politicians are presented in the media. The literature review suggests that to-date studies are not unequivocal, with the dominant body of research suggesting that women are disadvantaged in the media, while other studies showing that there is no difference in coverage, or that women are, in fact, in a more advantageous position. Indeed, while some researchers indicate that the differences in volume (Kahn, 1994b; Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991) and substance (Aday and Devitt, 2001; Fowler and Lawless, 2009; Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1995) of the media coverage between men and women candidates exist, others challenge those findings (Jalalzai, 2006; Smith, 1997; Hayes and Lawless, 2015). This lack of agreement between the studies provided the momentum for this work, as there is a need to revisit the conventional wisdom about gender-biased media on the UK grounds.

Finally, Section 3.3 identifies gaps in the existing literature. In particular, it shows that in the UK the studies overlook the importance of local and online media outlets; that there are lacks in studies of candidates running for executive offices, and that there is a limited number of systematic, quantitative analyses in the field. This work attempts to address these limitations. In particular, taking advantage of elections which took place in British politics in years 2015 - 2016 this thesis intends to analyse how the press depicted men and women candidates standing for different political positions - from Members of Parliament to party leaders and Prime Minister. Moreover, in order to enhance the scope

of the analysis, this research project aims to examine the coverage of national and local media outlets.

As the next Chapter outlines, there exists a widespread perception that women politicians face systematic gender bias in the media. Yet, some studies suggest the opposite. Although the existence of such bias in the past cannot be ruled out, the next Chapter puts forward a hypothesis that the current perception of media hostility against women politicians might be more of a 'conventional wisdom' than the reality. The Chapter outlines a rationale for such hypothesis and indicates that the aim of this thesis is to challenge the existing perception about the gender-biased media.

Chapter 4

Theory and hypotheses

> *"It was designed by men for men, hundreds of years ago, and women are an afterthought within it. I think, in a way, that is a real problem for us. It is not really designed to bring out the best in us."*
>
> **Woman Conservative MP about Westminster** [a]

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[a]See APPG Women in Parliament (2014, p. 36).

A s follows from the preceding Chapters, British politics is perceived not only as dominated by men, but also biased against women. Indeed, such perception of bias emerges throughout the years from interviews with politicians, reports from various governmental and independent bodies, and academic research (Lewis, 2017; APPG Women in Parliament, 2014; Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996). This image of British politics as unapproachable for women is also reinforced by the state of their representation. In England women constitute 29 per cent of the House of Commons, 26 per cent of the House of Lords and 8 out of 22 ministers in the Cabinet, while in local governments only 32 per cent of councillors are women.[1] Moreover, until the summer of 2016 the UK had only one woman Prime Minister in its history. This not only placed the country in distant places in the rankings comparing women's political representations around the world, but also enhanced the perception that in Britain they still remained on the political sidelines. Based on the existing body of research, it can be seen that through the years the dominant perception was that women politicians were also discriminated against in the media, both in terms of the amount of their attention, but also in terms of the substance of coverage they were depicted in.

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[1]As stated in the briefing paper "Women in Parliament and Government" by Apostolova and Cracknell (2016) on a day of 13 December 2016.

National press

As follows from Chapter 3, among the UK studies a number of scholars have reported that, on average, in national press women politicians receive less coverage than men. For example, Ross et al. (2013) find that during the campaign leading to the 2010 general election articles depicting men candidates outnumbered those portraying women. Their analysis of the printed media outlets reveals that the national press devoted about 71 percent of their coverage to men politicians alone, while women were mentioned in no more than 8 per cent of the articles. Moreover, the authors indicate that the general trend observed during the 2010 general election was to 'privilege men', rather than to provide an equal coverage for all candidates (Ross et al., 2013).

A study conducted by Kahn (1994b) shows that in the US women senatorial candidates not only received less attention than men, but also that the media were more responsive to the messages issued by men candidates, with men's agenda being more likely to be mirrored in the news. Furthermore, Kahn and Goldenberg (1991) discovered that during elections for the US Senate, races with men candidates drew more media interest than those where only women were involved. The analysis of the press coverage of Members of the US 103rd Congress led to similar conclusion (Carroll and Schreiber, 1997). Although newly-elected women received more media attention than the first-time men members, an in-depth analysis revealed that women's coverage was in steep decline once the campaign was over. The researchers argued that the initial media interest in women politicians was most likely to be related to "The Year of The Woman",[2] rather than to a persistent change in the journalists' attitude (Carroll and Schreiber, 1997).

Similar observations have been made by other researchers. Campbell and Lovenduski (2005) found that during the 2005 UK general election both women candidates and women voters were pushed to the sidelines as soon as the campaign gained the momentum. Norris (1997a) observed analogous trend in a cross-sectional analysis of elections across the world, while Ashe et al. (2010) as well as Adcock (2010) suggested that the British media may pay more attention to women partners of a men politicians than to women standing as candidates. This perception of men-dominated media environment is also consistent with a study conducted by Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross (1996) which revealed that women politicians may have restricted access to journalists. Moreover, as O'Neil et al. (2016) indicate, apart from being less visible, women's voices are also less likely to be heard in the media since direct quotes are less likely to appear in the articles featuring women candidates.

The literature also suggests that the under-reporting of women may be present in elections at different levels, including runs for higher political offices. For instance, the

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[2]This label was related to electing number of women Senators during that year.

analysis of the 1999 race for the US presidential nomination revealed that the media discriminated against Elizabeth Doyle in this matter, favouring her men opponents (Heldman et al., 2005). Furthermore, during the 2008 general election in New Zealand, a woman leader of one of the main political parties was less visible in the media coverage than her man opponent, even despite being an incumbent and former Prime Minister. Similarly, the analysis of the presidential election in Liberia revealed that Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was depicted in a smaller number of articles than the man candidate she was competing with (Adams, 2010).

In terms of the substance of the coverage women candidates receive, the body of literature provides evidence suggesting that women are depicted in the media differently than men. For example, a study by Kahn and Goldenberg (1991) reveals that women candidates were more likely to receive coverage focusing on their viability, but less likely to have their candidacy discussed in terms of their issue position. Moreover, Devitt (2002) suggests not only that the media is less interested in their stance on policies when compared to men, but also that their personal lives are more likely to be featured in the news. A study analysing the media coverage of candidates standing for the presidential nominations in the Republican Party indicates that journalists were more focused on appearance, personality and gender of a woman competitor than men (Heldman et al., 2005). Moreover, even though the way candidates are evaluated might not differ for men and women, things like gender, family responsibilities (children) and marital status are more likely to appear in the coverage received by the latter (Bystrom et al., 2003). Apart from trivialising their professional status, studies suggest that the image of women politicians could be also sexualised and domesticated (Gilmartin, 2001).

Scholars indicate that a gender bias in the media might be caused by several factors. For instance, as some political campaigns tend to be leadership-focused, women as being less likely to be party leaders, may be under-reported by the news outlets (Lovenduski, 1997). Moreover, the media environment being dominated by men journalists and their way of construing their articles (with more focus paid on women's personal lives), could also affect the way in which women are presented in the media (Devitt, 2002; Gilmartin, 2001). Some interviews with women politicians revealed that they perceived journalists as being inaccessible for them (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996). Additionally, the media was not only found to be more responsive to the issues raised by men candidates (Kahn, 1994b), but also, according to Nivena and Zilber (2001), were less likely to mirror the image cultivated by women. Finally, some scholars signal that women themselves could bring gender-related issues to their press coverage, for example by emphasising their maternal side when campaigning for the office (Dabbousa and Ladley, 2010; Hayes and Lawless, 2016b).

Based on the existing literature, two hypotheses concerning women's visibility and the way they are depicted in the media could be formulated:

H1: During campaigns for different political positions, women candidates receive less volume of press coverage than men.

H2: During campaigns for different political positions, press coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames related to appearance/age, parenthood, partners as well as gender/novelty, than men.

While there is a widespread perception that the media are gender-biased, there are also some reasons to believe that the news outlets might not be as biased against women as it is generally thought. Thus, the aim of this thesis is to challenge the dominant idea about the media environment disadvantaging women politicians.

Even though the dominant perception is that women politicians are usually "not seen and not heard" in the media (O'Neil et al., 2016), some of the existing literature suggests not only there may be no difference in the volume of coverage between men and women, but also that the latter could be more visible during campaigns. For instance, the analysis of the US gubernatorial campaigns of 1998 conducted by Devitt (2002) demonstrates that gender of the candidate did not significantly affect the level of press interest. In a study of Illinois state legislative races Miller (2001) came to a similar conclusion, finding no significant differences in the coverage volume for candidates of different gender. Analogous results were found in research concerning senatorial and gubernatorial candidates, with men and women politicians receiving comparable amount of coverage. This trend was also confirmed during the 2010 congressional elections in two detailed studies (Hayes and Lawless, 2015, 2016a). Rausch et al. (1999) also did not identify any differences in the volume of coverage between men and women gubernatorial candidates. Additionally, despite discovering that gender mattered to the campaign coverage, they did not identify it as the leading factor (as the media perception of candidates reflected the quality of their campaigns and messages they have tried to convey, rather than their gender).

Another branch of studies analysing how the media depict men and women candidates indicates that the latter may actually be more visible. For instance, Bystrom et al. (2001) show that during primary races for senatorial and gubernatorial candidates, women candidates were depicted in a greater number of articles than men, and that this shift in media perception of women may be linked to the changes in gender norms. Jalalzai (2006) also demonstrated that the press coverage favoured women candidates during US senatorial and gubernatorial races in years 1992-2000. The author theorised that this new trend could be related to the growing number of women candidates, which may contribute to perceiving them as more prevalent which, in turn, could give them momentum for getting through to the media (Jalalzai, 2006).

The body of research is also unequivocal when it comes to differences in the substance of coverage received by men and women candidates. For instance, Hayes and Lawless (2015) in their study on the US congressional candidates found that women were not depicted in the press differently to men, and neither of these groups was more likely to receive

coverage related to their gender, family roles or appearance. They found that, rather than gender of the candidate, it was their incumbency status and partisanship which had an impact on what and how often a particular contender was written about. In another study, the authors focused not only on the press coverage *per se* but also on factors which influenced it (Hayes and Lawless, 2016b). Again, the impact of a candidate's gender on the volume and substance of the media coverage was found to be insignificant, while the interviews with journalists revealed that the lack of differences in the media coverage of men and women candidates was simply a reflection of their campaigns, which were run in a similar manner (Hayes and Lawless, 2016b).

Another study, conducted by Smith (1997), not only did not find any evidence suggesting that women are under-reported, but also established that the coverage on issue position remained comparable for both men and women candidates. Similarly, an analysis conducted by Jalalzai (2006) also do not provide any reasons to suggest that substance of the coverage in which women were depicted differed from those capturing men. Even though some of the studies indicated that certain differences in terms of how women candidates have been presented in the media could be found, the gender bias was either perceived as more episodic rather than a common issue (Ross and Comrie, 2012), or its aspects were limited. Thus, while in one of the studies women were found to receive more references to their families, the amount of coverage referring to their appearance was the same as it was for men (Everitt, 2003). In a similar study Kittilson and Fridkin (2008) found that even though a division on 'male' and 'female' issues could be observed, the journalists attention to politicians' family situation did not differ between men and women candidates.

This evidence being valid, it needs to be mentioned that Hayes and Lawless (2016b) identify certain circumstances which could lead to the situation in which gender might be playing a role in a political campaign. For instance, the authors theorise that gender of women candidates could have a more prominent role during elections in places where electing a woman is not a common political event and may be seen as a historical moment. Moreover, as women were historically less likely to occupy higher political positions, this particular environment could be perceived as more masculine than the rest of the field. Thus, it could be expected that the media will show more interest in elections for some particular offices, and that women's gender, as a rare and newsworthy issue, will make its way to the news in some particular circumstances. Furthermore, gender, as well as subjects related to it, could become a part of the political discussion if the candidate himself/herself draws the attention of the media to it. Accordingly, a woman who emphasises that she is campaigning as a mother in order to differentiate herself from her political opponents, could be deliberately making her gender a part of the campaign.

The authors whose findings did not fit into the perception of women as a disadvantaged gender in the media, indicate that the differences captured by their studies could be

caused by several factors. Firstly, it might be that a critical mass in terms of the number of women sitting in Parliament and working in newsrooms could have been achieved. This, according to Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi (1995), initiates a cultural shift in the way women candidates are perceived. Indeed, the recent years have seen a rapid increase in the number of women parliamentarians. Consequently, as the gender norms are changing, women in political offices may no longer be perceived as 'unnatural'. Moreover, Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi (1997) suggested that in order to raise their political profile women should learn how to overcome the media bias. This suggestion, together with the studies which indicate that the coverage of women politicians changes with time (Bystrom et al., 2001; Devere and Davies, 2006), provides reason to believe that while the media could have been biased in the past, women's coverage may have improved with time and with women learning how to manage their public profile. While Rausch et al. (1999) indicated that poor media coverage could be attributable to poorly run campaigns, it could be assumed that women also work towards improving their bids in elections, which may be mirrored in their press coverage.

Even though much of the research showing that women are not as disadvantaged as one might have previously thought has been conducted in the US, is not much reason to anticipate that the same trends would not be present in the UK. Thus, based on the empirical evidence depicted above, this thesis theorises that the existing perception of disadvantaged women politicians in the media is not a true reflection of reality and that hypotheses H1 and H2 should be challenged. This will be accomplished by drawing the evidence from the UK 2015 general election, 2015 Labour leadership election and 2016 Conservative leadership election.

Local press

As explained in the subsequent Chapters, the first analyses conducted on the national level did not provide any evidence to suggest that during the investigated elections women received less media attention, or that the coverage they were depicted in was gendered. In order to give justice to the dominant idea about the gender-biased media, as well as to fill the gap in the literature, this thesis will test the widespread perception of women's disadvantage in the media not only at the national but also at the local level. It is noteworthy that the existing literature (Chapter 3) contains a limited number of studies analysing the way press depicts women candidates in local media outlets. Some analyses of local media may be found in the American literature (see Appendix A), however a comprehensive comparison between local and national titles has not been identified. This is despite there being grounds to hypothesise that the local coverage might differ from the articles published in the national newspapers. Thus, this thesis looks at the possibility that under-reporting or framing women politicians in the local press, could confirm the widespread perception about gender-biased media.

When it comes to the visibility in the local media, there are some grounds to suggest that local press might be less interested in women's candidacy. For instance, while some researchers indicate that political incumbents are often disproportionally men (Schwindt-Bayer, 2005; Campbell and Childs, 2010), others suggest that local media outlets are more inclined to cover the incumbents (Negrine, 2005). Even though challengers were actively seeking to raise their political profile through the local media, incumbents were more likely to get their message across to the local community (Negrine, 2005). Consequently, it could be expected that, as women are less likely to have the incumbency status, they might be less visible than men in the local media.

In terms of coverage substance, some researchers found that articles in local and national press differ in their focus, with local newspapers being more likely to target a candidate 'per se', showing his/her more private profile (Franklin and Richardson, 2002). This could lead to personalisation of the candidate, by bringing the focus to those aspects of candidacy which are related to private, rather than political sphere (Franklin and Richardson, 2002). By contrast, the national newspapers predominantly wrap the stories around issues (Just et al., 1996). It is noteworthy that women are perceived as being more likely to be depicted in the media in relation to their personal life rather than their stance on policies. Thus, it could be expected that in the local titles their private profile will feature more often than in the national press.

Accordingly, based on those considerations, two final hypotheses concerning gender-bias in local and national press could be formulated:

H3: Media coverage of candidates differs between local and national outlets with women receiving less volume of coverage in the local press.

H4: Media coverage of candidates differs between local and national outlets with women receiving more coverage referring to appearance/age, parenthood, partners as well as gender/novelty in the local press.

Despite the fact that some evidence might suggest that local media is more hostile to women candidates, there are some factors that may contradict this supposition. In fact, other evidence might suggest that locally women could receive better media coverage in terms of its volume and substance than in the national media. Indeed, while the national newspapers try to address a broader audience by focusing on high-profile matters, the local press is more interested in events taking place within its community (Vinson and Moore, 2007). The different nature of issues raised in the local and national press is particularly relevant in the context of gendered coverage, as in general, women are perceived as more interested in local politics than men (Hayes and Bean, 1993). Research conducted by Campbell and Lovenduski (2014) confirms this supposition, demonstrating that women are more interested in local issues, not only as voters but also as politicians, suggesting that, regardless whether candidates or MPs, women might be expected to pay more attention to local community. Consequently, it could be then anticipated that

the local media, as more locally inclined, will be more interested in women's candidacy, than the national news outlets, which might be mirrored in the volume of their coverage making them more visible.

Moreover, local and national journalists also enjoy different work environments. Local journalists may have more independence in establishing the content and format of articles, relative to national journalists, for whom such decisions are made at a higher level (Negrine, 2005). If women candidates enjoy less access to journalists than men candidates Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross (1996), such a gender difference could be relatively exacerbated by the management styles of national media companies and relatively ameliorated by those of local newspaper companies. This current of research suggests that the difference between quantities of coverage for women candidates and men candidates may be greater (in favour of women) in local press relative to national press. Of course, it is highly unlikely that any journalists today, working for local or national media, would ever be explicitly encouraged or discouraged to cover candidates because of their gender. If such phenomenon functions, it is more an unspoken norm which may produce differential gender effects in local and national press. Indeed, a similar phenomenon has been reported before with women claiming that local press generally gives them better coverage than national titles (O'Neill and Savigny, 2014).

Based on these grounds this thesis theorises that the perception that local media may be more hostile towards women politicians is not a true reflection of reality, and that hypotheses H3 and H4 should be challenged. This will be conducted drawing the evidence from the UK 2015 general election.

The study design begins from outlining methodology employed in this work, as described in the following Chapter.

Chapter 5

Methodology

5.1 Overview of research activities

An overview of analyses encompassed in this thesis is summarised in a pictorial form in Figure 5.1. As follows, this work includes an analysis of three key elections which took place in the UK in years 2015-2016 — namely 2015 general election alongside 2015 Labour and 2016 Conservative leadership elections. Given that the to-date literature frequently focused on general elections, the analysis of the 2015 general election will permit comparisons with previous studies. At the same time, the analysis of the coverage of the two leadership elections will allow to fill the gap in the body of the UK research and provide some insight into how the media depicted women standing for higher political positions. The analyses presented in this work involve statistical calculus which, in some cases, is supported with qualitative extracts from interviews with candidates or fragments of collected articles, in order to better illustrate the quantitative findings. To adequately perform the analyses, manage quantitative data and present it in professional way, the author undertook a number of training courses, a full list of which is presented in Appendix B.

Chapter 6	Chapter 7	Chapter 8
Election 2015 general election	*Election* 2015 Labour leadership election	*Election* 2016 Conservative leadership election
Analysis The analysis investigates the volume and substance of coverage (with primary focus on the former) received by ordinary General election candidates. Coverage from local and national press is analysed separately.	*Analysis* The analysis investigates the volume and substance of coverage (with primary focus on the latter) in national press received by Labour leadership candidates.	*Analysis* The analysis investigates the volume and substance of coverage (with primary focus on the former) in national press received by Conservative leadership election candidates. The prominence of this election is that it has led to selection of the second female PM in British history.
Hypotheses addressed H1, H2, H3, H4	*Hypotheses addressed* H1, H2	*Hypotheses addressed* H1, H2

Figure 5.1: An overview of analyses encompassed within this work.

From Figure 5.1 it can be seen that Chapter 6 focuses on the press coverage of the 2015 general election. The primary focal point of this analysis is to find out whether gender of ordinary election candidates has an influence on the volume and substance of their media coverage. Both local and national media outlets are investigated and the results between these two are compared. The findings from the data collection are accompanied by the interviews with the candidates standing for that particular election. The analysis addresses hypotheses H1, H2, H3 and H4.

Chapter 7 investigates media coverage during the 2015 Labour leadership election. It is noteworthy that this election can be treated as an election for higher political office. This is because the winner would become the leader of the shadow cabinet and potentially a future Prime Minister, should Labour Party win next election. Statistical analyses of the volume and substance of the coverage (with particular emphasis on the latter) in relation to candidate gender are supported with qualitative examples of the press coverage. The analysis addresses hypotheses H1 and H2.

Chapter 8 investigates the media coverage during the 2016 Conservative leadership election, which has led to the subsequent selection of the second woman Prime Minister. Statistical analyses of the volume and substance of the coverage (with particular emphasis on the latter) in relation to candidate gender are supported with qualitative examples of the press coverage. The analysis addresses hypotheses H1 and H2.

The analyses presented in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 followed similar workflow and required analogous research activities. A typical workflow for each analysis, outlining individual stages of the work as well as analysis constituents is presented in Figure 5.2. The individual stages of work are described in the subsequent Sections of this Chapter, as specified in Figure 5.2.
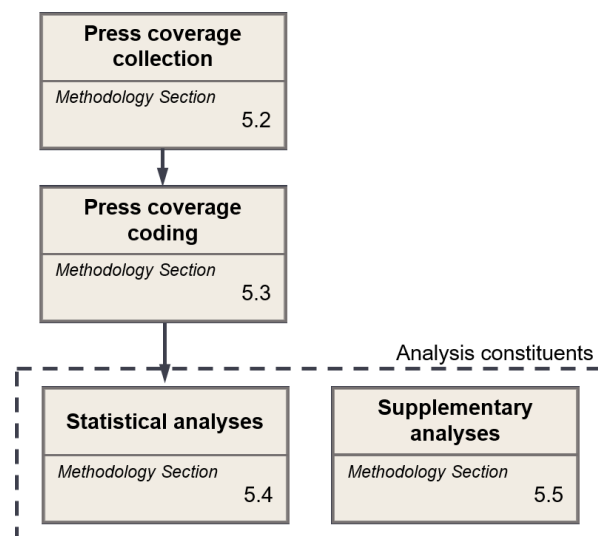
Figure 5.2: A typical workflow of analysis of the media coverage.

5.2 Press coverage collection

5.2.1 Selection of the media outlets

As indicated in Section 3.1.1, nowadays people less frequently gain their knowledge about politicians through the personal exposure. More commonly this is achieved through exposure to various news outlets (Blight et al., 2012). Moreover, the media not only mirror the world around us, but also play an active role in shaping it (Kahn, 1994b; George and Waldfogel, 2006). As previously outlined, of the information technologies constituting the modern mass media, newspapers are one of the most influential (Kahn, 1994b; Gerber et al., 2009). In part, this is because the press transmit a high volume of information, which is relatively easy to acquire by readers (Druckman, 2005). Accordingly, some researchers considered newspapers to be the medium with the largest impact on voters (see for example Kahn, 1994b; Gerber et al., 2009). Drawing from the existing literature, as well as considering large accessibility of the newspapers' content, it was decided to analyse press coverage as the most adequate media outlet for this research.

In particular, the data collected for the purpose of this study was obtained from the online editions of the newspapers. As indicated in Section 3.1.1, it is worthy of note that recent years have seen a decline in conventional, printed newspapers and increase in the readership of the online issues (see for example Jackson, 2015). Newspapers put more and more emphasis on digital issues, while some other decide to completely cease printing in favour of digital world, with *the Independent* being the most prominent example. Thurman and Ben (2008) put forward a supposition that in the time of recession, editors will focus on investing in new technologies, seeing them as the future of the press industry. Therefore, use of the online press for this research not only ensured its current timeliness, but also that it will remain relevant for longer. Moreover, it ensured access to more newspapers regardless of circulation size, or geographic localisation. Furthermore, it eliminated differences in formatting, so widely varying in paper editions, which not only accelerated the process of coding, but also made it more robust and consistent. Finally, the analysis of the online press also constituted one of the novelties of this research.

To fully address hypotheses defined in Chapter 4, a choice of national and local newspapers had to be made. In terms of the former, it was decided to select a sample of 6 national titles, a mixture of broadsheet, mid-market and tabloid press. Specifically, these were: *the Guardian, the Times, the Independent, the Sun, Mirror* and *Daily Express*, as well as their Sunday editions, if present.[1] The selection of newspapers was similar to that made by Ross et al. (2013), who argued that such mix of newspapers not only includes those titles exhibiting high circulation, but also ensures a good balance in

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[1] A full list of newspapers including their daily web traffic is available in Appendix C.

terms of addressed audience, as well as support for a range of political options.[2] Finally, the choice also ensured maximum comparability with research by Ross et al. (2013), who only recently studied the 2010 general election in the UK. The same national newspapers have been consistently analysed throughout this entire work, regardless of the election analysed.

By contrast, as follows from Figure 5.1, local press was only investigated during the 2015 general election analysis. This was since the remaining elections involved runs for higher political offices, and thus the analysis of the national press was concluded as more relevant. Yet, the importance of local media outlets in the 2015 general election should not be understated. Over-reliance on the national media outlets in any research might be misleading, as it naturally focuses on the most prominent politicians while providing little information about the average candidates (Everitt, 2003). Furthermore, using national press only may unnecessarily limit data availability, consequently negatively affecting the robustness of obtained results. Conversely, including the local press in the analysis is a desirable strategy for increasing the number of available observations, and increasing confidence in generalisations across the geography and circulation size of various media outlets (Meeks, 2012).

Given that during the 2015 general election there have been 650 constituencies and 3,971 candidates standing, monitoring of press coverage for them all single-handedly was an impossible task. Therefore, in order to conduct this study, it was necessary to select a sample of constituencies. Of the two possible selection methods, i.e. randomised and non-randomised, the latter was selected. This was because of the fear that a randomised design could lead to selection of constituencies where the political situation was highly unilateral (e.g. safe seat), consequently leading to biased coverage. In particular, political campaigns in constituencies perceived as 'safe seats' might be characterised by a high predictability of the results, and thus it may be anticipated that the media attention would focus on a single candidate. To avoid this, the constituencies for the 2015 general election analysis were selected from the pool of most marginal constituencies in the UK. It should be noted that marginal constituencies typically exhibit much higher uncertainty of the election outcomes. Therefore, it was anticipated that media in marginal constituencies would provide more balanced coverage, two-sidedness and high intensity of the campaigns, thus maximising the number of relevant observations in the sample.

At the same time, it is acknowledged that such selection of constituencies might have introduced a bias to the selected sample. Firstly, the sample may not represent the whole population of constituencies from the point of view of the party support, wealth, constituency size and other socioeconomic variables. Furthermore, the particular focus

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[2]Among the selected newspapers, during the 2015 general election campaign two supported Labour, one Conservative, two Conservative - Liberal Democrat coalition and one UKIP (see Deacon and Wring, 2016).

of the media on the candidates in marginal constituencies may not truly represent levels of media attention in other constituencies across the UK. Finally, in the analysis it was decided to focus on the two or three marginal candidates only, which further limits the generalisability of the findings. While all these issues are acknowledged as limitations of this approach, it is believed that it was the best compromise, given the need to collect, code and analyse all the media coverage singlehandedly.

To choose the constituencies for this work, the author began from selecting 50 of the most marginal constituencies in England, based on publicly available information about marginality established from the results of the 2010 general election (Hough, 2013). Then, those constituencies in which at least one of the two (or three, in case of three-way marginal constituencies) main candidates was a woman had been selected. This produced a list of 34 constituencies [3] with a total of 72 candidates standing.[4] Upon inspection, the sample provided a good balance in terms of party preference and geographical distribution (see Figure 5.3).
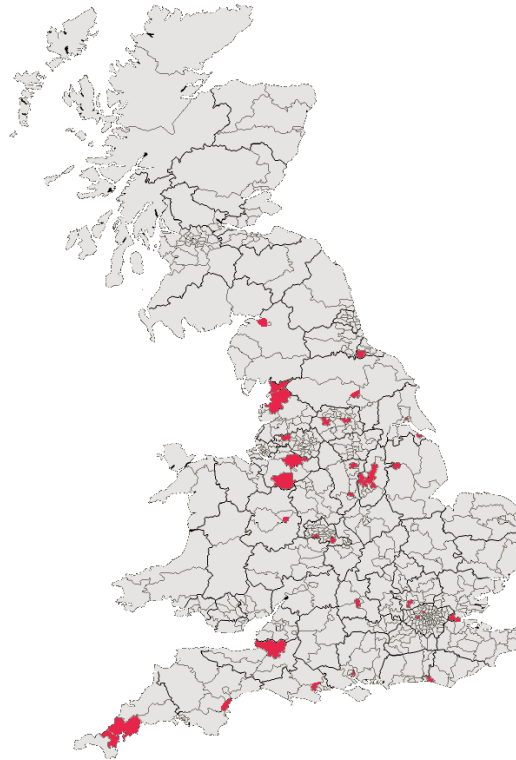
Figure 5.3: A map of constituencies in the UK. Constituencies analysed in this work are indicated in red.

To explore the coverage in the selected constituencies, in each of them the major local (or in absence of the former, regional) newspaper was identified. This was achieved by

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[3]Among those 34 selected constituencies there were 6 retirement seats, where the incumbent MP has stepped down: Hampsted and Killburn, Halifax, Mid Dorset & North Poole, Southampton Itchen, Great Grimsby and Brent Central.

[4]For the list of candidates and constituencies selected for this study please see Appendix H.

using publicly available information about the circulation, coverage area as well as the online availability.[5] In the majority of cases there was only one local newspaper within the constituency with a visible web presence; in unclear cases, local libraries and city councils were consulted. This gave a sample of 31 newspapers which was then used to obtain the data for this study.

5.2.2   Computerised press coverage collection system

Most common methods of the press coverage collection described in the to-date literature include use of the *LexisNexis* database, or collection of traditional paper copies of the newspapers. While widely available, it should be emphasised that such methods might exhibit certain limitations. In particular, *LexisNexis* overlooks some of the local newspapers, which could unnecessarily limit the constituency sample for this study, or even entirely prohibit the collection of coverage in local media outlets. Furthermore, as previously identified, both printed press and *LexisNexis* database could be difficult to search and code. Therefore, to permit convenient collection of media coverage from 37 media outlets, including 31 local newspapers, an online press coverage collection system was developed. The system was implemented on a stationary PC with a constant access to the internet. It was built around a few pieces of software, which have been integrated together. The software is further described in Table 5.1, while the operation of the system is depicted in Figure 5.4.

The timely operation and execution of specific tasks has been ensured by *Task Scheduler*. In particular, it initiated collection of articles three times a day (see block (1) in Figure 5.4). The data collection was governed by a *Matlab^{TM}* [6] script (2), which supervised all actions throughout the data collection. First, the script executed *WinHTTrack* (3) which, through spider-webbing (see Table 5.1 for more details), identified all articles available on the newspaper website at the time of data collection. Such list was created and stored on a PC (7) during each data collection. Subsequently, the *Matlab^{TM}* supervising script (2) compared that list (7) with a list of articles that have been collected previously (8), in search for new articles (4). Once new articles were identified, *WinHTTrack* was used to download the full content of the articles, including text and images (9). Eventually, the newly-collected articles were manipulated with *Scilab* (6) to extract pure text from them (10).

The *Task Scheduler* was also set up to run a backup routine every week (11). The backup (12) was governed with *Robocopy* software, which made a copy of all data stored locally to a remote location (13). All codes necessary to download an exemplary newspaper are enclosed in Appendix D, and have been made publicly available.[7]

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[5]A complete list of the newspaper titles and their corresponding circulations is provided in the Appendix C.

[6]Mathworks, Natick, Massachusetts, USA

[7]http://beatarek.net/2016/07/25/system-to-collect-electronic-editions-of-newspapers/

Table 5.1: Software employed in the press coverage collection system.

Software	Description
WinHTTrack	Designed to mirror websites/web portals through process termed 'spider-webbing'. *WinHTTrack*, when pointed to a specific website, not only downloads it, but also searches its content for links to other websites. Subsequently, it attempts to download content of those links and searches them for new links. In the press coverage collection system, the software was utilised as a key tool to download content of the newspaper websites. The software is free to use under General Public Licence (GNU).
Matlab^{TM}	Scientific software for numerical calculations. In the press coverage collection system, the software was used to supervise operation of the system constituents, including execution of *WinHTTrack*.
Scilab	Multi-purpose scripting environment. At the time the press coverage collection system was developed, *Matlab^{TM}* lacked in convenient methods for manipulating files in website-native format. Therefore, in the press coverage collection system, *Scilab* was used to automate extraction of the plain text of an article from website format.
Task scheduler	It is a tool built into Windows operating system. It permits automatic execution of programs at specified intervals.
Robocopy	A tool built into Windows operating system. It was designed to perform robust backup operations.
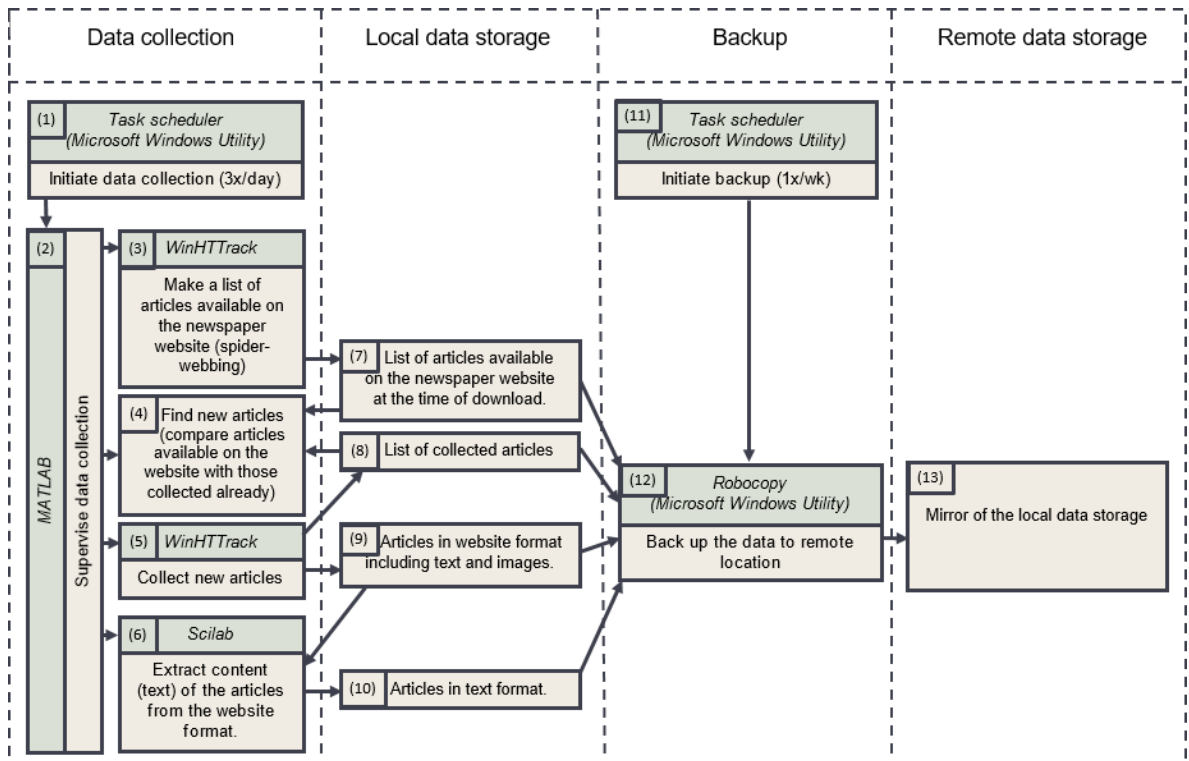
Figure 5.4: Operation of the press coverage collection system.

To ensure that the press coverage collection system downloads the articles reliably, it has been thoroughly validated. The initial implementation of the system has been finalised four months prior to the first collection of data used in this work. Throughout those four months, the operation of the system has been manually verified by comparing the number and content of the articles available on the newspaper's websites to the content downloaded by the system. The verification showed that no articles have been omitted and their content reflected the articles on the newspaper website. Furthermore, the performance of the system has been randomly cross-checked and monitored throughout the whole data collection period. Owing to the fact that the data collection was run 3 times a day, the system was insusceptible to software crashes or temporary internet outage. Even if an article has not been downloaded during a specific data collection, the system attempted to download it again next time it was executed, and it would carry on re-trying every 8 hours until it succeeded. It should also be noted that one of the major advantages of the system was that it was able to access websites that required authentication. In particular, *the Times* and *the Sun* websites required subscription, in order to access the full content of the articles. Accordingly, once the newspapers have been subscribed to, the system was appropriately configured to allow access to the paid content.

5.3 Press coverage coding

5.3.1 Coding process and framework

To enable analysis of the coverage substance, collected articles were pre-selected, analysed and coded. It is noteworthy, however, that the volume of collected data prohibited a solely manual coding. Instead, a mixed-method combining automatic and manual procedures was applied.

The process was split into two parts. First, a pre-selection of articles was conducted. To do so, a list of all downloaded sources, their titles and published dates was compiled to a form of a bibliography file [8] compatible with $NVivo^{TM}$ software.[9] This was achieved with a purposely-developed $Matlab^{TM}$ script (see Appendix D). After adding all collected articles to $NVivo^{TM}$, they were searched through with the built-in $NVivo^{TM}$ search engine for the names of candidates standing for each of the analysed elections.[10] A number of different search queries have been conducted, to find an optimal one. The challenge of designing an appropriate search query was striking a balance between finding as many articles mentioning the candidates as possible, as well as finding as few redundant articles

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[8] The file was created in line with format of RIS bibliography files.

[9] QSR International Pty Ltd, Daresbury, UK.

[10] A similar method of establishing a final dataset has been used by (Bystrom et al., 2003).

at the same time. Ultimately, it was found that the following $NVivo^{TM}$ search query produced satisfactory results:

Name* Surname* ~3

The query required appearance of both name and surname of the candidate in an article. Up to 3 words were allowed in between them, which accounted for any middle names, titles or nobiliary particles. Furthermore, to account for different declensions of the search terms, the names/surnames were truncated by up to one syllable and a wildcard character (*) was used. It is noteworthy that this text search resulted in inclusion of all references to the candidates regardless of the context of the article. In the past some researchers applied different strategies and restricted their studies to the articles solely related to the campaign, while rejecting others (e.g. "regular" political news) (see for example Ross et al., 2013). In contrast, this work followed the approach demonstrated by Hayes and Lawless (2015), who argued that any published information about candidates is relevant to the voters. Accordingly, the search constituted the pre-selection of the articles and allowed identification of 1142 articles for the general election dataset, 1166 articles for the Labour election dataset and 817 articles for the Conservative election dataset. It is worth noting that a careful inspection of the collected datasets revealed that a number of articles were reprinted in more than one newspaper. While this could have caused a bias in the dataset, it has been decided to keep the duplicated reprints in it. This decision was dictated by the fact that, regardless of whether reprinted or not, the articles had a potentially equal impact on the voters.

The so-identified articles were subsequently manually coded using $NVivo^{TM}$ software. The choice of the software was primarily driven by its versatility and wide acceptance across the scientific community. The coding focused on selected aspects of coverage, described in detail in the following Section.

5.3.2   Coding categories

There is a wide range of possible aspects of press coverage that could be coded and there are many exemplary coding schemes reported in the literature. However, in certain aspects this study differed from others. In particular, this work encompassed analysis of the gender bias in both volume and substance of the coverage, all of which had to be conducted single-handedly. Therefore, a custom code was developed for the purpose of this work. The coding schema was established taking advantage of the coding categories reported in the literature, however, it was adjusted to the focus and coding resource available for this study. The complete list of coded issues, as well as some examples of the code application could be found in Table 5.2.

The code was split into two distinct parts. The first part of coded categories endeavoured to provide different measures for assessment of candidate visibility during campaign (i.e.

coverage volume). One obvious measure of the coverage volume which did not require any coding was the number of articles mentioning each candidate. Such measure of a coverage volume has been reported in the literature before (see for example Smith, 1997). However, given that this measure may not be the most accurate reflection of media interest, in some cases the number of words written about the contender in that article, as well as the number of words directly quoting that candidate was coded as well. It is noteworthy that some previous studies used other units of measure, such as mean column inches or mean number of paragraphs (Kahn, 1994b). However, this measurement does not seem sufficiently rigorous, as column-inch could contain between 25 and 35 words, depending on newspaper formatting, which leaves a substantial margin for error and thus might bias the results. Furthermore, in some cases it may be debatable whether the entire paragraph or only its fraction relates to the candidate. Utility of word count as a measure of coverage volume avoids those issues and thus was employed in this work. Furthermore, measuring the number of words directly quoting the candidates allows to measure the extent to which the candidate's voice was heard during the election. It is worthy of note that similar codes have been employed before and the results suggest that women are less frequently quoted (Ross et al., 2013; O'Neil et al., 2016), which suggests that such coding scheme was accurate enough to identify women's disadvantage in the media.

The second part of the code schema involved measures of the coverage substance. Given that the aim of this study was to investigate the press coverage for gender bias, examples of codes identifying exactly that issue have been sought for in the literature and a few common types of gender bias were identified. As stated in Section 3.1.2, some researchers indicate that the media scrutiny with regard to age and appearance of the particular candidate is likely to be observed among women contenders. This disproportionate attention to clothes, hairstyles or age might trivialise them, give an impression that they are too old or inexperienced for political jobs, as well as make it harder for them to get their message across (Murray, 2010a).

Another common gender-related frame women are put into is accentuation of their gender. Indeed, while men are presented simply as election candidates, previous research suggests the media refer to women as 'female candidates' (Falk, 2013). Although this small detail might seem to be insignificant, it emphasises that only men politicians are within a widely accepted norm and are an inherent elements of politics (O'Neill and Savigny, 2014), which may put women in a disadvantaged position. The gender marker also emphasises women's novelty, which may suggest their lack of experience. In the view of many years of presence of women on political stage, emphasising their novelty may under-state the achievements of their predecessors, and consequently lead to the situation in which each generation of women politicians 'reinvents the wheel' in a vicious circle (Jamieson, 1995). It is noteworthy that some scholars argued that media reporting

Table 5.2: Coding categories (frames) and selected examples of code application.

Category/Frame	Description	Example
Total words written	All fragments referring to a particular candidate. If more than one candidate is depicted in the fragment then it is coded as mentioning all of them. This category is related to the issue of under-reporting outlined in Section 3.1.2.	"Watford MP Richard Harrington and Elected Mayor Dorothy Thornhill attended and Lord Salisbury chancellor of West Herts University unveiled the plaque."
Direct quotes	All direct quotes used in the articles. This category is related to the issue of under-reporting outlined in Section 3.1.2.	"But Ms Moran said: Heads are worried about further cuts but we would maintain the education budget in real terms while maintaining a stable economy."
Appearance and age	References to physical appearance, clothes, hair and make-up etc. as well as any mentions of candidates age both in form of numbers placed next to candidate's name as well as any other type of acknowledging a candidate's age. This category is related to the issue of appearance frame and a too old/too young double bind outlined in Section 3.1.2.	"At 66, Corbyn would be the oldest leader the Labour Party had elected since Michael Foot, who was a few months older and not as far out on the left."
Gender markers and novelty	References including explicit mentions of candidate being a man or a woman, and gender-specific roles alongside presenting candidate as 'first woman' or 'first man' or presenting their election as groundbreaking for their gender. This category is related to the issue of gender markers and a "first woman" frame outlined in Section 3.1.2.	"If Mrs May became Prime Minister, she would be the second woman in the role..."
Partners	References to candidates' relationships, both past and present, or suggesting romantic involvement etc. alongside presenting the candidate as a 'wife of', 'husband of' or 'partner of'. This category is related to the issue of relationship frame and the connected/independent double bind outlined in Section 3.1.2.	"Yvette Cooper, shadow Home Secretary and wife of former Shadow Chancellor Ed Balls..."
Parenthood	Any mentions of candidates children or lack of thereof. This category is related to the issue of the "mommy problem" double bind outlined in Section 3.1.2.	"The mother-of-three joins a growing list of contenders to replace David Cameron as Conservative leader."

of women as 'novelties' might help women contenders obtain recognition through generating the media coverage volume. This work avoids this issue, by studying the coverage volume and substance separately and thus, will be able to distinguish one effect from another.

Another code category derived from the literature involves references to candidate's relationship/marital status. In particular, some studies indicate that references to relationships of candidates present in their media coverage may have a negative effect on their perception, as their suitability for the office might be assessed on the basis of their partner (Ross and Comrie, 2012). This may be particularly harmful when the partner is also involved in politics. In such case, candidates might be presented more as a 'wife of' (or 'husband of', 'partner of') a politician rather than a politician herself/himself. Accordingly, achievements of such candidate could be diminished, as his/her career might be perceived as built on success of the partner (Murray, 2010a). Indeed, in the past, this has been reported as a burning issue for women candidates (Ross and Comrie, 2012).

The last coding category that will be included in this work relates to mentions of candidate's parenthood status. This category was found to pose a particular dilemma for women standing for the office, as they could be exposed to public attention both as mothers and for not having children on their own (see for example Jenkins, 2006). Indeed, studies suggest that raising a child by a woman poses a question about her ability to simultaneously handle childcare and a demanding political job. In contrast, childless women candidates might also be questioned (Jenkins, 2006).

It is noteworthy that while there is a wide range of other possible aspects of press coverage that could be coded, it was decided to focus on those of them which were able to be recognised and coded during a single-handed research project. For instance, in the past, researchers investigated which issues are brought up by men and women candidates (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; Jalalzai, 2006). While this is an interesting topic of study, some scholars indicate that this might be biased by the party policy rather than the candidate gender. Some studies also tried to establish how candidates of a different gender are evaluated by press.

Another interesting and highly valuable piece of information that could be extracted from the media coverage was the tone of the articles towards the candidates. In particular, it could be coded whether the articles presented the candidates in positive, negative or neutral way. Indeed, some researchers have reported similar variables in the past (e.g. Conroy et al., 2015; Smith, 1997). Understanding the attitude of the media towards the candidates is important, as it may unveil whether media have tendency to favour candidates of a specific gender. However, it is worthy of note that coding tone of the articles is not unambiguous, and it is typically based on the subjective perception of the researcher. Is a single sentence, paragraph or the whole article enough to say the piece

was positive/negative towards the candidate? It is also noteworthy that in some cases, to present the candidate in the positive/negative manner, it is enough that the press is 'selectively factual'. Therefore, the researcher would need to know full context of each article, to appropriately assess it. The difficulties with achieving reliable and consistent coding related to article tone have been reported in the past (Aday and Devitt, 2001). Given these potential problems, the article tone was not investigated, although it is acknowledged that this is a limitation of this work.

Overall, it is believed that such subjective selection of gender-related issues provides a good compromise between frequency it has been reported on in the past studies and its potential impact on women candidates.

Having established the coding categories, all articles which were pre-selected with automatic text search, as described in Section 5.3.1, were analysed. The articles were thoroughly read and whenever a fragment of an article was classified into one of the coded categories, they were assigned into different nodes.[11] So-created nodes, containing specific categories of code, were subsequently fed as an input to a matrix query. The query permitted formation of panel datasets, whereby number of occurrences of a specific code was assigned to a date and involved candidate. Based on the so-coded data, further statistical analyses were conducted as described in the following Section.

5.4 Statistical analyses

To derive robust inferences from the collected data, statistical analyses were conducted. *R* statistical language was used for the purpose of all analyses and *RStudio* software was used as an Integrated Development Environment. All statistical analyses as well as codes developed for this work are presented in Appendix E.

Of a range of different possible statistical analyses, this work mainly utilises regressions as an analytic tool. The general description of variables utilised in the analyses is presented in Section 5.4.1. Regressions employed in this work are discussed in Section 5.4.2. It is noteworthy that the regressions were subjected to thorough robustness checks, verifying their validity. These are described in Section 5.4.3.

Finally, to further support the statistical analyses, in a number of instances the regressions have been supported with qualitative case-studies. To avoid accusations of "cherry-picking", the selection of cases for the studies was conducted using analytical methods, as described in Section 5.4.4.

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[11] As code has been applied solely by the researcher there was no need to conduct the intercoder reliability test (North et al., 1963).

5.4.1   Modelled variables

Regression analysis is a numerical procedure that allows establishing the influence of one (or more) variable(s) on another. The former are termed independent variables (IVs), while the latter is termed a dependent variable (DV). This work studies multiple regressions, and thus multiple IVs and DVs were used. The decision as to what IVs and DVs to investigate was derived based on literature as well as coded categories described in Section 5.3.2.

In particular, a range of DVs have been utilised, depending on the purpose of the analysis. In general, the regressions have been used to evaluate how much the press wrote about a specific candidate or a specific issue, and how other variables might have affected this. Accordingly, in this study, the volume of the coverage was measured with: the number of articles mentioning a specific candidate, the number of words written about a specific candidate, and the number of words quoting a specific candidate. Furthermore, the substance of the coverage was assessed calculating the number of articles containing references to specific coded issues.[12] A complete list of DVs utilised in this study alongside their acronyms used throughout this work and their brief descriptions may be found in Table 5.3.

The IVs are used in the regression to evaluate their impact on the DVs. A complete list of IVs utilised in the regressions in this work is presented in Table 5.4. Given that the main focus of this study was to identify how candidate's gender impacts his/her press coverage, the key IV used in the regressions was gender (GEN), a binary variable taking a value of 1 if the candidate was a woman and 0 if the candidate was a man. To the best of author's knowledge, all candidates standing in the analysed elections had straightforwardly identifiable gender identities within the traditional binary.

In addition to gender, other confounders that might affect the coverage the candidates receive have been investigated. Previous reports indicate that media attention may vary throughout the time of the campaign, with press attention picking up closer to the Election Day (Deacon et al., 1998). This trend is particularly evident in the case of long campaigns, during which journalists might struggle to maintain the same level of interest throughout the entire period of an election campaign. As a result, the coverage build-up might occur towards the Election Day which, if not accounted for, could bias the results. Therefore, to exclude this candidate-invariant effect, time was accounted for as one of the control variables. In the case of the 2016 Conservative leadership election campaigns, time was expressed in days, as this election was very short. However, in the case of the 2015 general election as well as the 2015 Labour leadership election, the time was expressed in weeks. Otherwise, the dataset would suffer due to exceedingly high time resolution and would be sparse. Acronyms DAY and $WEEK$ will be used for time variable throughout this work (see Table 5.4).

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[12]See Section 5.3 for more details on coded issues.

Table 5.3: List of dependent variables used throughout this work.

Variable name	Variable type	Levels/units	Description
$ARTICLES_t$	count	# of articles	Number of articles within certain time unit, which mention the particular candidate.
$WORDS_t$	count	# of words	Number of words within certain time unit, which relate to the particular candidate. Variable used in the 2015 general election only.
$QUOTES_t$	count	# of words	Number of candidate's words quoted in the articles within certain time unit. Variable used in the 2015 general election only.
$FRAMES_t$	count	# of articles	Number of articles within certain time unit, containing references to all coded issues and relating to the particular candidate.
$APPEARANCEAGE_t$	count	# of articles	Number of articles within certain time unit, containing references to appearance and age of the particular candidate. Variable used in the 2015 Labour leadership election and the 2016 Conservative leadership elections only.
$PARENTHOOD_t$	count	# of articles	Number of articles within certain time unit, containing references to children, or lack thereof, of the particular candidate. Variable used in the 2015 Labour leadership election and the 2016 Conservative leadership elections only.
$PARTNER_t$	count	# of articles	Number of articles within certain time unit, containing references to partner of the particular candidate. Variable used in the 2015 Labour leadership election and the 2016 Conservative leadership elections only.
$GENDERNOVELTY_t$	count	# of articles	Number of articles within certain time unit, containing references to gender of the particular candidate as well as 'novelty' of his/hers campaign. Variable used in the 2015 Labour leadership election and the 2016 Conservative leadership elections only.

Table 5.4: List of independent variables used throughout this work.

Variable name	Variable type	Levels/units	Description
GEN	binary	0 - man 1 - woman	Candidate's gender.
$D.(CANDIDATE)$	binary	0 - absent 1 - present	Variable used to control for the effect each of the candidates had on the media coverage. Each of the candidates represented a dichotomous categorical variable which take the value 0 or 1 to indicate the absence or presence of the candidate effect that might be expected to shift the outcome. Variable used in the 2015 Labour and the 2016 Conservative leadership elections.
$WEEK$	continuous	campaign week	Week of the campaign. Variable used in the 2015 general election campaign and the 2015 Labour leadership election.
DAY	continuous	campaign day	Day of the campaign. Variable used in the 2016 Conservative leadership elections.
$PARTY$	categorical	0 - Labour party 1 - Conservative party 2 - Liberal Democratic party 3 - Green party	Candidate's party affiliation.
$TIMEASMP$	continuous	# of years as MP	Time (measured in years) which each candidate served as a Member of Parliament. Variable used in the 2015 Labour and 2016 Conservative leadership elections.
INC	categorical	0 - challenger 1 - incumbent 2 - no identifiable incumbent	Candidate's incumbency status. Variable used in all elections analysed in this study. For the 2015 Labour and the 2016 Conservative leadership elections the variable takes values: 0 - non incumbent and 1 - incumbent.
DV_{t-1}	count		Dependent variable lagged by one time unit. Typically used to guard against autocorrelation of time series data. The acronym of the variable will include the lagged variable and subscript $t-1$. For instance variable $COVER$ lagged by 1 week will be denoted $COVER_{t-1}$.

Furthermore, to control for the possibility that the party of a candidate affects their media coverage, a variable capturing the party of each candidate had been included ($PARTY$). The impact of the candidate's partisanship may be for instance determined by previous electoral fortunes. Indeed, it is a common wisdom that in the UK many voters tend to vote for the party rather than candidate himself/herself. In part, this may be due to the electoral system and the first-past-the-post voting principle, which makes the votes for the non-mainstream political parties likely to be ineffective.

Incumbency was selected as another control variable, as it was recognised as a major advantage for candidates (INC). Indeed, the to-date studies indicate that incumbents are much more likely to be well-recognised and thus their coverage quantity is expected to be higher than that of the challenger (Kahn, 1992). One possible reason why incumbents may hold advantage over the challengers is that they had an opportunity to present their capabilities in the previous electoral period. Furthermore, due to easier access to the media, they may be more recognisable.

In the case of some analyses, making inferences about the impact of variables, such as gender, or incumbency on the DV was difficult due to the small pool of candidates. Indeed, in the case of Labour and Conservative leadership elections, the number of candidates was 4 and 5, respectively. This made generalisations difficult. To be able to distinguish between the effect of gender and the individual candidate effect, in some regressions dichotomous dummy variables ($D.(CANDIDATE)$) were introduced.[13] Such variables were used to control for the effect each of the candidates has on the media coverage. In each case, $D.(CANDIDATE)$ represented a binary, categorical variable which took the value of 0 or 1, depending on the absence (or presence) of the candidate effect on a specific observation.

Moreover, in a number of regressions, lagged DVs (DV_{t-1}) have been used as another control variable. This was used as a guard against a phenomenon termed autocorrelation, which is a common 'issue' with the time series data. Autocorrelation occurs when the sample data is correlated with itself at different points of time, which may underestimate the standard errors on the regression coefficients and hence, if left unconsidered, it could lead to spurious inferences.[14]

As described in Section 5.3.2, the analysed datasets formed panel data, with one dimension being candidate and the other dimension being time. Specifically, in the Conservative leadership elections, the unit of analysis was a candidate-day, i.e. a single observation was a count of DV (e.g. articles or words referring to appearance) concerning a particular candidate and published on certain day. Similar panel datasets have been created for the

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[13]This variable was also used in one regression concerning the 2015 general election campaign. In one of the robustness checks a regression in which outliers were taken into account as dummy variables was run. For more details, see Chapter 6.2.

[14]More information on how it was controlled for the autocorrelation is provided in Section 5.4.3.

2015 Labour leadership election as well as the 2015 general election (in the two latter cases, however, the unit of analysis was candidate-week).

It should be noted that not all IVs had been utilised in every single regression; they have been used selectively, depending on the purpose of the analysis. Prior to every analysis described in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 full regression equation, as well as detailed rationale for using specific IVs and DVs is presented.

5.4.2   Regression models

The selection of the appropriate regression model is critical, as an inadequate model may not be able to approximate the distribution of the dependent variable, and thus may lead to spurious inferences. Since all DVs were count variables, similar regression models have been utilised across all analyses. It is noteworthy that count variables typically do not follow a normal distribution; in most cases they exhibit a positive skew, and thus they cannot be modelled with ordinary least squares. Count data, typically follows either a Poisson or negative binomial distributions, depending on the variable dispersion. If conditional variances of the DV are lower than the conditional means, then the Poisson distribution is appropriate. However, Poisson distributions do not fit well variables with over-dispersed distributions, i.e. whereby conditional variances are higher than conditional means. In such cases, negative binomial distribution model is more appropriate, as such model incorporates an additional parameter to explicitly model the dispersion.

Accordingly, throughout this work, prior to any regression analysis, the variance and mean of the dependent variable for each level of the main control variable have been investigated, to make a right choice of the regression model. Furthermore, prior to regression fitting, histograms of the dependent variables were plotted to qualitatively inspect the variable distribution.

While regression outputs in form of coefficients and p-values are a useful first step for assessment of the influence of IVs on DV, they are expressed in log counts and thus are not readily interpretable. Simulations can provide a better sense of the estimated effect sizes as well as account better for the uncertainty. Therefore, in order to visualise the effect of a specific IV on the DV, 1000 simulations of each model had been conducted. The simulations allowed for predicting the most likely value of DV for different levels of main IV, other terms equal. In simulation exercise, variable GEN was set first to *man* and then to *woman*, while holding the values of each covariate to their value or modal category.[15] All simulations and associated estimates were conducted with the R package *Zelig*.

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[15]In some cases variable $D.(CANDIDATE)$ was also used in simulations.

An exemplary result from the simulations is presented in Figure 5.5. The x-axis of the Figure corresponds to the magnitude of DV, while the y-axis of the Figure corresponds to the density of the simulation results. Of two presented distributions, one corresponds to men and one to women candidates. The interpretation of the figure is that the x-axis value corresponding to peak density relates to the most likely value of the DV for the candidates of the specific gender. Furthermore, the 'width' of the hump allows for evaluation of the variable dispersion. As one might see, the Figure permits convenient assessment of the impact of gender on the DV. It further permits quantification of mean value as well as dispersion of the DV for each investigated gender group.
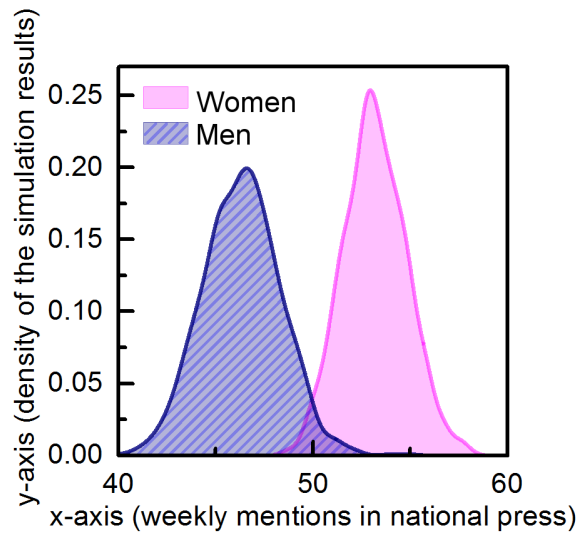
Figure 5.5: An example of a figure displaying simulation results.

5.4.3   Robustness checks

To confirm the robustness of the models and associated inferences several checks had been conducted. Some common problems associated with the time series data that have been looked into in this work include autocorrelation and unit root, and are now discussed.

Autocorrelation takes place when the residuals of the two observations in a regression model are correlated. It is frequent that an event occurring at a specific time period, which impacts the DV (positively or negatively), is likely to affect the DV at the next time period as well. Nonetheless, autocorrelation is both relatively straightforward to identify and to guard against. To verify whether the autocorrelation exists, a simplified OLS version of the models on the logged DV was conducted (logging data is a common technique for making count data amenable to OLS). Subsequently, Breusch-Godfrey test for panel models was conducted. It is noteworthy that other tests, such as Durbin-Watson test are more typically used for testing for autocorrelation; however, as opposed

to Breush-Godfrey test, Durbin-Watson test may lead to inconclusive results (Asteriou and Hall, 2016).

The typical guard against autocorrelation is to include the lag of the dependent variable among the IVs. One drawback of this approach is that the time series reduces by one time period. Therefore, while this technique was utilised in the case of the 2015 general election and the 2015 Labour leadership election, the lag was not added to the regression concerning the 2016 Conservative leadership election, as these time series were short. It is noteworthy that even the inclusion of a lagged dependent variable is not always sufficient to fully remove autocorrelation from the data. This is particularly common when the time series are short and the predictors are time-invariant. In such case, instead of presenting the data as a time series, to check for the possibility that the results are spurious artefacts of autocorrelation, cross-sectional models could be estimated, one for each time period.

The results of Breusch-Godfrey tests for every regression used in this work are presented in Appendix Q. The results are briefly described alongside each regression in individual results Sections.

Moreover, the time series models could be affected by the processes which evolve through time (non-stationarity). If the data is non-stationary, the regression outputs might be biased, thus leading to spurious inferences. Non-stationary data is caused by the presence of the unit root. In this work the unit root was detected with Augmented Dickey-Fuller test (see Dickey and Fuller, 1979). In most cases the data in this work did not exhibit unit root. However, in the few isolated cases when the unit root was found, cumulative models (i.e. such that consider the entire election as a single event) were estimated. The results of the tests are also reported in Appendix Q and briefly described alongside each regression result in individual results Sections.

5.4.4 Qualitative analysis of matched pairs

The statistical models have controlled for various factors other than the candidate gender, but if men and women candidates are systematically different with respect to the covariates, then the statistical results could be biased (Rosenbaum and Rubin, 1983). In particular, there may exist a variable that affects (confounds) both DV and IV. To explore this possibility, in certain analyses optimally-matched cases of men and women candidates have been compared. Case matching permitted to rule out the confounding effect of such variable, as matched pairs were maximally balanced on all variables but the one investigated.

To identify the pairs, and avoid 'cherry-picking' the results, a quantitative matching algorithm was utilised. In particular, the selection of the pairs was conducted using the

R package *caseMatch*. The Mahalanobis distance [16] was used as the distance measure to minimise between cases.[17] After identifying the pairs of cases that are maximally balanced on all observed covariates other than gender (party affiliation, incumbency status and candidates' final vote share), the levels of media coverage for each candidate within each matched pair have been examined.

If media coverage trends similar to those identified in the regressions were found, then it would increase the confidence in statistical findings. For instance, if the regression results did not provide any evidence for the claim that women candidates are less frequently depicted in the media than the men candidates, for those results to be supported a similar trend should be observed among the candidates in the identified pairs. Thus, it should be expected that a selected woman contender will receive the same or higher amount of coverage than her men counterparts in both local and national press.

It is noteworthy that the pair-matching was only conducted for the 2015 general election campaign. While case-matching in general may provide an in-depth analysis of the candidates' press coverage, conducting it on both Labour and Conservative leadership elections was impossible, due to the small pool of running candidates. Instead, analyses of these two elections focused more on qualitative description of the fragments extracted from articles, which were discussed alongside the outputs from regressions.

5.5   Supplementary analyses

5.5.1   Interviews with the election candidates

As outlined in preceding Sections, the core of the analyses in this work will rely on statistical analyses. However, to provide more in-depth interpretation of the quantitative findings it was decided to complement them with interviews with the politicians whose media coverage was analysed. It was hoped that the interviews with the candidates could add a new dimension to statistical work. While the quantitative methods are known to provide outcome-oriented information, interviews may contribute explanations of observed phenomena, making the quantitative findings more meaningful and putting them into perspective.

It should be noted that including the interviews in this work is also a response to Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross (1996) reflection on different pathways for exploration of the relationship between women, media and politics. The authors pointed out that, while existing research is strongly focused on the content of the media, giving candidates an opportunity to 'have their say', may provide a broader picture to the investigated matter.

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[16] A Mahalanobis distance is a statistical measure used to measure the distance between a chosen point and a distribution.

[17] The R-code used to do a quantitative analysis of matched pairs could be found in Appendix E.

Thus, it is hoped that the interviews will help understand the results of the quantitative analyses and highlight any views or issues which may have been missed.

The interviewees who were approached involved less prominent general election candidates, rather than politicians standing for party leadership elections. One of the reasons for this was the fact that this research seeks to capture the differences between the local and national news outlets. It was believed that an average candidate could be better positioned to provide a picture of their relations with local and national media. In contrast, it was anticipated that more prominent politicians could have rather weak links with the local media, and thus their opinions about it could be biased.

Moreover, one of the aims of this research is to provide an insight into the obstacles faced by most women candidates. Thus, conducting interviews with 'average' general election candidates was a desirable strategy, as their high profile did not make the journalists act differently towards them. Furthermore, the quantitative analyses encompassed only a few high profile candidates (in total there were 9 candidates analysed during the 2015 Labour and the 2016 Conservative leadership election). Therefore, to collect interview material sufficient to make robust inferences, an unrealistically high response rate would be required. Unfortunately, despite all endeavours, even the invitations for candidates standing for the 2015 general election met with low response rate.[18] Therefore, it was concluded that, given the high profile of politicians running for leadership races and their low quantity, trying to approach them would not be the right decision for this thesis. Instead, it was decided to focus on those politicians whose voices are less likely to be heard or are more likely to be lost under the opinions of more prominent colleagues.[19]

To ensure the widest possible sample of relevant interviews, it was decided to approach all of the 2015 general election candidates whose press coverage has been monitored. Since the interviews involved human participants, ethical approval was obtained from the Ethics Committee (for the approval confirmation please refer to Appendix F). The first candidates were contacted one month after the 2015 general election. The delay in sending the invitations was deliberate and aimed to allow the successful contenders to settle in their new offices. This was done with a view on increasing response rate. Letters of invitation were sent to 72 candidates and have been addressed to their offices in Westminster or, in case of unsuccessful candidates, to their campaign offices. Between June 2015 and January 2016 the participants have been contacted four times in writing. While invitations to the sitting MPs have always been sent via post, the unsuccessful contestants were also contacted via emails.[20]

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[18] This issue is described to a greater extent in Chapter 6.

[19] To compensate for the lack of interviews in the analyses of 2015 Labour and 2016 Conservative elections, more in-depth evaluations of the collected articles was provided.

[20] This decision was related to the fact that many of the unsuccessful candidates vacated their election offices which resulted in some letters being returned to the sender as undelivered. In many cases email was a form of contact with the candidate advised by the local party office. If email address could not be retrieved, a letter was posted to the local party office.

In appreciation of the participants' time, the interviews were scheduled to take around 30 minutes. Interview questions were developed to complement the quantitative analyses and provide more in-depth picture of a relationship between media and parliamentary candidates. Moreover, to give the participants more freedom to express themselves, rather than to operate in a strict framework it was decided that the interviews would have a semi-structured form. The questions have been developed on the basis of the existing studies that employed interviews to examine the possible role of the media in making the public sphere and politics gendered (see for example Ross, 2002; Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996). One of the main aims of the interviews was to provide candidates' own perspective on the influence of media on their political careers, but also to allow for making comparisons with findings from the newspaper coverage study. Finally, through the interviews, the main subjects of this study were able to speak out their concerns, hopes and opinions on the foregoing matter. The questions asked during the interviews are presented in Appendix S.

The interviews were audio-recorded and some written notes were made during the meetings. Based on the recordings and the notes, interview transcripts were produced following the interviews.[21] Two interview forms were offered to the participants - a face to face or over the telephone. Prior to any interview, participants were provided with an information sheet explaining that their participation was voluntary and they could withdraw their participation at any time during or even after the interview (for the information form please refer to Appendix G). They were also informed that due to the nature of this study (the interviews were conducted on a sample of highly prominent people with well-known record to the public) their anonymity could not be guaranteed. However, if at any point of the interview they decided to keep anything out of the record, such possibility was given to them. Furthermore, the participants were asked to sign a consent form [22] confirming that the aims of the research project had been explained to them, that they consented to taking part in this research and that they understood they were free to withdraw their participation at any stage.

5.5.2 Selected fragments of the press coverage

In order to perform a 'reality check' for the statistical analyses conducted for the Labour and Conservative leadership campaigns, fragments of articles have been selected and presented throughout the thesis alongside the statistical results. The aim of this activity was to ensure that the statistical analyses, reliant purely on numeric representation of the coverage content (i.e. frequency of frames related to parenthood, partners, clothes etc.), do not significantly deviate from the true content of the media coverage. It is

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[21] For the safety of the researcher, the interviews had to be conducted in public places (of participant's choice), such as cafeterias or tea rooms. The recording of the interviews provided a possibility to inspect the collected materials in case of mishearing or other confusion resulting from conducting an interview in a public place.

[22] For an example of a consent form please see Appendix G.

important, though, to emphasise that presentation of the selected coverage fragments, however systematic, does not stand as an analysis on its own - it rather supplements the quantitative work and puts it in context.

Due to the volume of the coverage related to investigated frames, presenting all related fragments was impossible and hence some selection criteria had to be adopted. To avoid 'cherry-picking', the fragments have been selected in a systematic manner. First, during coding of articles (as described in Section 5.3) all collected articles mentioning at least one of the investigated candidates have been read and scrutinised for mentions of certain frames (appearance and age, gender markers and novelty, partners and parenthood). Secondly, duplicates have been removed. This included articles that have been literally reprinted by two or more outlets, but also such, that mentioned the same issue in a very similar manner. Thirdly, from the pool of all remaining fragments within the specific frame category, only up to two fragments were selected per candidate, per article, which best represented their overall tone. Furthermore, those few fragments that were unrelated to the investigated election have been rejected as well. [23] Finally, the number of fragments has been restricted to 12 per person, per frame. In the few cases when this restriction applied, those fragments were chosen, that reflected the pluralism of different perspectives present in the media coverage.

The so-selected fragments have been subsequently presented in form of Tables (7.10, 7.13, 7.16 in Chapter 7 and 8.10, 8.13, 8.16 and 8.19 in Chapter 8). Next, they have been described, in the context of matters or events that happened during the election. The fragments have also been used in the discussion of statistical analyses; specifically, they aided verification whether the quantitative work significantly deviated from the content of the analysed coverage.

5.6   Summary

Overall, this Chapter presents the main research methodology employed in this work to test the hypotheses developed in Chapter 4. In particular, it outlines that this thesis will focus on quantitative analysis of coverage collected from online newspapers (both national and local). The method of collecting, coding and regressing the data was described. Moreover, to better illustrate the quantitative results, as well as to mitigate the inherent weaknesses of a sole statistical analysis, it was decided to complement it with some qualitative analysis. This included either interviews with investigated candidates, (see Chapter 6) or investigation of selected fragments of collected articles (see Chapters 7 and

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[23]It is noteworthy that the statistical analyses took into account all fragments mentioning the specific election candidate, regardless whether they concerned the investigated election or not. This followed the reasoning outlined by Hayes and Lawless (2016b), who stated that, any mention of the candidate may be a source of media presence.

8), depending on the election type. The next Chapter employs those methods for the analysis of the first of the three elections - the 2015 general election.

Chapter 6

2015 general election

6.1 Overview of the 2015 general election campaign

The statistical analyses presented in this Chapter have been conducted in cooperation with Dr Justin Murphy. His help and advice in developing the R-code is gratefully acknowledged. Parts of this Chapter have also been coined into a joint publication.

The 2015 general election was a unique campaign in many aspects. It was the first UK election, which date was known well in advance. Indeed, under the provisions of *the Fixed-term Parliaments Act 2011*, the election was scheduled for the 7 of May 2015. This gave political parties a lot of time to prepare their strategy for the upcoming campaign. Furthermore, the Act also defined time constraints on the date of the dissolution of Parliament,[1] which was scheduled for 30 March 2015. The period of time between the dissolution of Parliament and the election is frequently termed the 'short campaign' and will be the focus of the following Chapter.

The 2015 election followed five years of a coalition government. It was the first such government in the post-war Britain, and was formed by the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats. The coalition, a state infrequent in British governance, was described by some as a "long and winding road" (The Independent, 2010). Yet, five years later various polls indicated that the next election might also lead to a hung Parliament. Although both Conservative and Labour Party went head-to-head in polls, and thus they tried to outdistance each other with promises made in their manifestos in order to gain the electorate, none of the proposed policies were ground-breaking, or perceived as being able to influence the course of the campaign in a significant way. Instead, the political parties focused more on criticising their opponents, and unveiling a disastrous scenario which would follow, should the opponent win. Following this narrative, voters were to

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[1] *The Fixed-term Parliaments Act 2011* stated that the Parliament dissolution had to take place at least 5 weeks prior to the election day.

expect the Conservatives to destroy the NHS (Wintour, 2015a), and the Labour to put the economy at risk (Cameron, 2015).

From the perspective of women politicians, the election campaign could be perceived as ground-breaking in some aspects. For instance, this was the first election which featured women leaders participating in the televised debates. This was a result of a change in the debate formula, which for the first time involved leaders of smaller political parties. While in the 2010 general election, the debates took place between the leaders of the three main parties only - all of whom happened to be men - in 2015 the voters had an opportunity to see the leaders of Green Party (Natalie Bennett), Plaid Cymru (Leanne Wood), Scottish National Party (Nicola Sturgeon) and United Kingdom Independence Party (Nigel Farage) too. Figure 6.1 shows the timeline of the campaign and outlines some of its key events. As follows from the Figure, women were given the national platform for the very first time during *The ITV Leaders' Debate* and then in the *BBC Election Debate 2015*. Accordingly, they were not only placed alongside men politicians, but also were given more high-quality airtime than ever before to talk about politics. At one point (during the *BBC Election Debate 2015*) women politicians outnumbered men three to two in the discussion panel. All of this could not be without influence on the perception of their participation in politics.

Indeed, after a strong performance in a series of debates, Nicola Sturgeon became one of the most visible politicians during the campaign. Moreover, when the polls began to suggest that neither Conservatives nor Labour would win a majority, the Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP), which stood high in the polls, started to be perceived as a potential coalition partner in the next government. Some found the possible influence of the SNP on British politics undesirable. In particular, Conservatives made attempts to convince the electorate that voting for SNP could be disastrous.[2] It should be indicated that it is a common Conservative Party strategy to find a 'boogey man' (Cowley and Kavanagh, 2016) - i.e. someone they can use to scare the voters with. While initially it was Alex Salmond, after the *ITV Leaders' Debate* and strong performance of Nicola Sturgeon, the 'new' SNP leader was chosen to play the role.

The political parties had different strategies to reach out to women electorate. For instance, UKIP [3] suggested ceasing the tax on women's sanitary products. Conservatives revealed plans for a new parental leave system, while Labour released a separate manifesto for women and even ran their campaign in a 'pink bus'. This strong focus on the women electorate was a result of the tight polls. Parties looked for new supporters wherever they could, and with the election turnout among women being perceived as

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[2]It needs to be remembered that the SNP not only wanted to keep the Conservative Party out of government but also offered its support to the Labour Party. Even though the Labour politicians rejected the idea of forming a coalition with the SNP, this possibility has been broadly discussed during the campaign.

[3]The UK Independence Party.

typically lower than that of men, convincing them to vote was an important part of the 2015 general election campaign.

The 2015 general election did not bring a major break-through in terms of the running candidates, as still some 74 per cent of them were men. Nonetheless, the number of women standing for election increased in comparison to the 2010 election.[4] In particular, in 2015 they constituted 1033 out of 3971 of all candidates (Keen and Cracknell, 2016). Among the main parties, Labour had the highest number of women candidates (214) and was followed by Conservatives (166) and Liberal Democrats (166). However, the closer analysis reveals that the women candidates constituted the highest percentage in Green and SNP parties (38 per cent), followed by Labour (34 per cent) and Conservative as well as Liberal Democrats (26 per cent each) (Keen and Cracknell, 2016). Furthermore, the report analysing the output of 2015 general election suggested that the Labour Party placed women candidates in seats where they were more likely to win than any other party during this election (Hawkins et al., 2015).

While most political commentators anticipated that the 2015 general election was going to end up with another hung Parliament and coalition talks, the election outcome was "one of the most unexpected election victories" (Cowley and Kavanagh, 2016, p.2). Conservatives not only won the election but also, as a party, formed the first majority government since 1992. This implied a substantial change of balance of power in the Parliament. From the perspective of women politicians, the election was also historical, as the number of women MPs rose by 48 since the previous election. Out of 650 MPs elected in 2015, 191 (29 per cent) were women. Amongst them 99 were from Labour, 68 from Conservative, 20 from SNP and 4 from other parties (Hawkins et al., 2015). While those parties managed to increase the number of women in their benches, Liberal Democrats not only lost 49 of their seats but also all of their women MPs, becoming an all-men party. In accordance with a Conservative Party manifesto the election results opened the doors to the referendum on the UK membership in the EU. The consequences of some of the events which followed it are described and analysed in Chapter 8. At the same time, the defeat of the Labour Party resulted in the resignation of Ed Miliband as party leader and triggering the leadership election, described to a greater extent in Chapter 7.

To address the aims of this thesis, the following Chapter investigates the press coverage during the 2015 general election employing a quantitative approach supported by the interviews with selected candidates in order to illustrate the findings. First, in Sections 6.2 and 6.3 regression analyses are conducted on coverage collected during the election. Furthermore, this examination is complemented with qualitative descriptions of coverage received by optimally-matched candidate pairs. Finally, views from the candidates themselves are presented. The investigation of differences in the press reporting between

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[4]The number of women standing for election increased by 21 per cent.

men and women candidates begins from an analysis of the coverage volume, which is described in the following Section.

26 March	The formal end of the Parliamentary session. First of the televised debates, involving David Cameron and Ed Miliband takes place. During the *Cameron & Miliband: The Battle for Number 10* both leaders are first interviewed by Jeremy Paxman and then face the questions from the audience.
30 March	Dissolution of parliament - the general election campaign officially begins. The first day of data collection.
2 April	*The ITV Leaders' Debate* debate between seven party leaders featuring Nick Clegg, Natalie Bennett, Leanne Wood, Nigel Farage, Nicola Sturgeon, Ed Miliband and David Cameron.
9 April	Deadline for candidates to secure the nomination or to withdraw from the election.
16 April	*BBC Election Debate 2015* - a debate featuring leaders of the opposition parties (Ed Miliband, Nigel Farage, Natalie Bennett, Leanne Wood and Nicola Sturgeon) takes place.
20 April	Deadline for the voters to register their intent to vote.
30 April	Special edition of *Question Time* featuring David Cameron, Ed Miliband and Nick Clegg is broadcast.
7 May	Election day - polls open from 7am and close at 10pm. Exit polls released after the voting has finished suggest that Conservative Party is in lead. The last day of data collection.
8 May	Conservative Party wins 329 seats, David Cameron forms a Conservative majority government.

Figure 6.1: Timeline of the 2015 general election.

6.2 Effect of candidates' gender on coverage volume

6.2.1 Regression analysis

As outlined in Chapter 3, a candidate's visibility in the press is an important factor, which could influence not only the results of the election, but also might contribute to further under-representation of women in politics. Thus, this Section complements the existing body of research by investigating the candidates' gender effect on coverage volume in

the online press. Specifically, based on the example of the 2015 general election it will attempt to verify hypothesis H1, stating that: *women candidates receive less volume of coverage than men.*

As described in Chapter 5, the press coverage for the analysis of 2015 general election was gathered from both local as well as national news outlets,[5] while the study encompassed candidates and constituencies listed in Appendix H. In total approx. 330,000 articles were collected during the 2015 general election campaign, and after searching them for the names of the 72 candidates in $NVivo^{TM}$, 1142 (336 in local and 806 in national press) of them were found to mention at least one of the contenders investigated by this study. Subsequent coding identified approximately 146,000 (104,000 in local and 42,000 in national) words written about the election candidates, approximately 53,000 (41,500 in local and 11,500 in national) of them being their direct quotes. As outlined in Chapter 5, these three quantities (i.e. number of articles, aggregated number of words written about the candidates as well as count of words used in candidates' quotes) are used in the subsequent analysis as measures of coverage volume.

The analysis starts from considering the intensity of the media interest in the 2015 general election campaign. Deacon et al. (1998) observed that the media reporting might vary at different levels of the campaign maturity, as journalists could struggle to maintain the same level of interest throughout the entire period of an election campaign. Therefore, it was attempted to verify whether a similar phenomenon was present during the investigated election. As shown in Figure 6.2, the local newspapers tended to report on the candidates more frequently than the national press. This might be related to the fact that the attention of the national press was divided between all candidates standing for the election, with party leaders and front-bench politicians being the most newsworthy for the journalists at national level. In contrast, the local press tends to focus on the candidates from the nearest constituencies. This observation not only reinforces the validity of the decision to investigate local media outlets with a view to avoiding over-reliance on the national media but also indicates that local newspapers are necessary to show the complete picture of electoral environment.

As follows from Figure 6.2, generally, the intensity of coverage in local press declined with the time of the campaign (with a peak reporting during first and second campaign weeks).[6] By contrast the national press predominantly maintained a relatively steady level of reporting with a slight trough in week 4, which aligns well with the findings reported by Deacon et al. (1998). Furthermore, Figure 6.2 illustrates that the number of words both used to write about the candidates as well as quoting them, was lower in the national press. Additionally, most of the time the trends of the two word counts followed the intensity of coverage produced by both local and national press, with the

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[5]A full list of analysed newspapers could be found in Appendix C. For more information about methodology see Chapter 5.2.

[6]For the description of campaign's weeks please refer to Appendix R.

only differences being recorded in national press in weeks two and six. In particular, a decline in week two and a growth in week six in the number of published articles was not followed by a number of words, both written as well as quoted.

(a) Local press

(b) National press
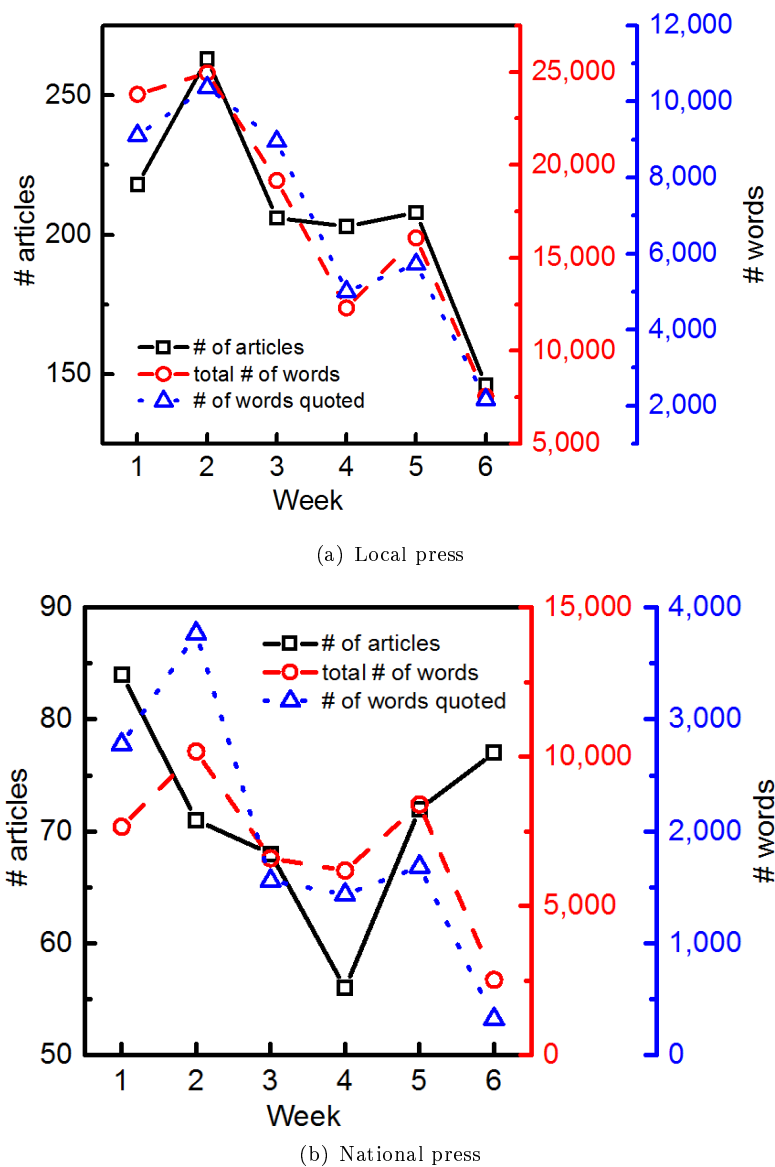
Figure 6.2: Number of articles, words written and words quoted in a given week by local and national newspapers during the 2015 general election.

A further analysis revealed that, among the political parties, the Conservative candidates were the most visible ones, and that this trend remained stable throughout the whole campaign. The average candidate within this party received 14 articles during 6 weeks. The Conservatives were followed by the Labour Party, where an average candidate was mentioned 12 times during the campaign, and the Liberal Democrats in the third place, with an average of 9 articles per candidate. This seems to confirm the subjective impressions of many political commentators that the campaign mainly revolved around the

Conservative and Labour parties, with Liberal Democrats being slightly pushed to the sidelines. The data further reveals that the incumbents were more likely to be depicted by the media than challengers in both local as well as national press. This stays in line with the assumption made by Kahn (1992) who wrote that candidates standing for re-election could have an advantage over political newcomers in terms of their visibility during the campaign.

To further investigate the coverage volume, it was regressed with a number of covariates (coverage volume was measured in three different ways). The covariates included: candidate's gender, time (expressed in campaign week), party affiliation, incumbency and lagged DV. Therefore, the following regression equations had been employed:[7]

$$ARTICLES_t = \alpha + \beta_1 GEN + \beta_2 WEEK + \beta_3 PARTY + \beta_4 INC + \beta_5 ARTICLES_{t-1} + \epsilon$$
$$(6.1)$$

$$WORDS_t = \alpha + \beta_1 GEN + \beta_2 WEEK + \beta_3 PARTY + \beta_4 INC + \beta_5 WORDS_{t-1} + \epsilon \quad (6.2)$$

$$QUOTES_t = \alpha + \beta_1 GEN + \beta_2 WEEK + \beta_3 PARTY + \beta_4 INC + \beta_5 QUOTES_{t-1} + \epsilon \quad (6.3)$$

where α is an intercept, β is a vector of covariates and ϵ is the error term.

Prior to running the regressions, the datasets were also inspected for unusual observations. The inspection revealed that the press was particularly interested in candidacies of Caroline Lucas and Ed Balls. They each received levels of press coverage exceeding the coverage of an average candidate by three standard deviations, both in terms of articles mentioning them, words written about them and direct quotes. This is not surprising, as Balls was the Shadow Chancellor at the time, while Lucas was a former party leader and the only representative of the Green Party in Parliament. Additionally, in the fourth week of the campaign, Graham Evans received an exceptionally large quantity of articles (more than two standard deviations greater than the mean). However, it needs to be mentioned that the same trend was not observed in words written or quotes. An inspection of the coverage content revealed that this abnormal press attention was associated with his participation in the London Marathon which was widely covered in the news.[8] Because these are unique and substantial sources of media salience exogenous to the particular electoral campaigns, the processes generating media attention for each of these

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[7]For the explanation of each variable please refer to Section 5.4.1.

[8]Graham Evans was a chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group for Running and is known for encouraging MPs to participate in the London Marathon.

candidates are plainly incomparable to those for the vast majority of other candidates. Thus, it was decided to drop all the observations for Caroline Lucas and Ed Balls in datasets for all three regressions (i.e. those described with Equations 6.1, 6.3 and 6.2). Additionally, in the dataset measuring coverage volume with number of articles (i.e. in regression described with Equation 6.1), the fourth week's observation for Graham Evans was dropped as well.

Removing those outliers resulted in the total number of 419, 420 and 420 observations for the datasets measuring volume through the analysis of articles, words and quotes, respectively (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2). The inspection of the distribution of the dependent variables, as described in Section 5.4.2, revealed over-dispersion, i.e. conditional variance was greater than conditional mean in all three cases.[9] Therefore, it was decided that negative binomial models would most accurately fit the collected data.

Table 6.1: Summary statistics for the numerical variables used in regressions estimating impact of candidates' gender on coverage volume during the 2015 general election.

Regression	Variable	n	Min	$\widetilde{x}$	$\bar{x}$	Max	SD
Eq. 6.1	$ARTICLES_t$ (Local)	419	0	1	2.0	13	2.4
	$ARTICLES_t$ (National)	419	0	0	0.3	3	0.6
	$WEEK$	419	1	3	3.5	6	1.7
Eq. 6.2	$WORDS_t$ (Local)	420	0	6.5	121.2	1590	220.5
	$WORDS_t$ (National)	420	0	0.0	24.6	1677	125.9
	$WEEK$	420	1	3.5	3.5	6	1.7
Eq. 6.3	$QUOTES_t$ (Local)	420	0	0.0	46.4	698	102.9
	$QUOTES_t$ (National)	420	0	0.0	7.7	1412	72.7
	$WEEK$	420	1	3.5	3.5	6	1.7

Table 6.3 contains the results for the regressions described with Equations 6.1, 6.3 and 6.2 - each conducted separately for local and national press. From the data presented in the Table, it follows that the coefficients associated with change of the gender variable from men to women (marked as GEN) is positive for all regressions. This observation is significant when coverage volume is measured using number of articles, with confidence levels of 90 per cent and 95 per cent in local and national press, respectively. While the remaining regressions (i.e. measuring coverage volume using words written and words in quotes) do not achieve statistically-significant levels, the sign of the predicted coefficients is consistent with the observation for a number of articles. All these considerations suggest that during the 2015 general election, women did not receive less press attention than men in both local as well as national media outlets. If any trend with candidate gender was present, the results suggest that women candidates might have received *more* press attention than their men counterparts in both local and national press. Thus, the

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[9]Histograms of all dependent variables are presented in Appendix T.

Table 6.2: Summary statistics for categorical variables used in regressions estimating impact of candidates' gender on coverage volume during the 2015 general election.

Regression:		Eq. 6.1		Eq. 6.2 & 6.3	
Variable	**Levels**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
INC	Challenger	186	44.4	186	44.3
	Incumbent	155	37.0	156	37.1
	Neither	78	18.6	78	18.6
	all	419	100.0	420	100
PARTY	Labour	150	35.8	150	35.7
	Conservative	179	42.7	180	42.9
	Lib.Dem.	90	21.5	90	21.4
	all	419	100.0	420	100
GEN	Men	191	45.6	192	45.7
	Women	228	54.4	228	54.3
	all	419	100.0	420	100

regression results falsify hypothesis H1 (i.e. *women candidates receive less volume of coverage than men*).

A few other observations that follow from Table 6.3 are also worth noting. In particular, no statistically significant trend was present with the party covariate. This may be related to press trying cover all candidates equally, to avoid accusation of taking sides. It is worthy of note that radio and television are regulated by Offcom,[10] to ensure that all parties receive equal amount of screen and air time. Although this does not apply to press, the newspapers may endeavour to match similar reporting standards by providing similar amount of coverage to different parties, even though some of them were quite openly supporting one particular party. Alternatively, this might suggest that the selection of the sample of national newspapers was, indeed, well-balanced on the party support. Furthermore, 5 out of 6 regressions suggest with statistical significance that incumbency positively affects press attention which is consistent with findings of other researchers indicating the possibility of such influence (see for example Kahn, 1992).

Robustness checks

To verify the robustness of the models and associated inferences, several checks were conducted. In particular, Breusch-Godfrey test for autocorrelation has been performed (see Chapter 5.4.3) and it suggested autocorrelation in all models, even despite the inclusion of lagged dependent variable. Due to the fact that the time series employed in the regression models were short, inclusion of additional lags of the dependent variable was not feasible. Therefore, to rule out the possibility that the results are spurious artefacts of autocorrelation, cross-sectional models were estimated - one for each week

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[10]Offcom is the communications regulator in the UK.

Table 6.3: Models of coverage volume in local and national press during the 2015 general election.

	Local coverage volume			National coverage volume		
	Eq. 6.1	Eq. 6.2	Eq. 6.3	Eq. 6.1	Eq. 6.2	Eq. 6.3
(Intercept)	0.39	4.49***	3.46***	−2.72***	3.58**	4.52*
	(0.25)	(0.56)	(0.78)	(0.46)	(1.22)	(2.12)
GEN (Women)	0.27†	0.34	0.41	0.57*	0.71	0.19
	(0.14)	(0.33)	(0.46)	(0.26)	(0.73)	(1.27)
$WEEK$	−0.09*	−0.14	−0.10	0.19*	−0.57*	−1.34***
	(0.04)	(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.08)	(0.22)	(0.39)
$PARTY$ (Cons.)	−0.01	0.00	0.19	−0.39	0.81	0.98
	(0.16)	(0.37)	(0.52)	(0.28)	(0.82)	(1.44)
$PARTY$ (Lib.Dem.)	−0.25	−0.39	−0.41	−0.09	−0.25	0.06
	(0.18)	(0.40)	(0.55)	(0.28)	(0.89)	(1.53)
INC (Incumbent)	0.44**	0.70*	0.23	0.54*	1.50*	2.28†
	(0.15)	(0.34)	(0.47)	(0.27)	(0.74)	(1.29)
INC (Neither)	0.20	0.27	−0.35	0.55†	1.63†	3.86*
	(0.18)	(0.40)	(0.55)	(0.29)	(0.86)	(1.52)
$ARTICLE_{t-1}$ (Local)	0.13***					
	(0.02)					
$ARTICLE_{t-1}$ (National)				0.38*		
				(0.15)		
$WORDS_{t-1}$ (Local)		0.00**				
		(0.00)				
$WORDS_{t-1}$ (National)					0.00	
					(0.00)	
$QUOTES_{t-1}$ (Local)			0.01**			
			(0.00)			
$QUOTES_{t-1}$ (National)						−0.06
						(0.04)
AIC	1301.07	3017.05	1948.71	459.24	2726.99	401.62
BIC	1331.91	3051.77	1983.43	490.08	2757.86	436.34
Log Likelihood	-642.54	-1499.52	-965.36	-221.62	-1355.50	-191.81
Deviance	324.63	334.18	227.85	222.42	2227.08	42.83
Num. obs.	349	350	350	349	350	350

***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, $^\dagger p < 0.1$

of the campaign. While detailed outcomes of the cross-sectional models are listed in the Appendix J, in general the cross-sectional models showed similar trends to those observed in Table 6.3. Specifically, in the vast majority of cases the direction of effect of gender of coverage volume suggested that women received *more* coverage than men. Furthermore, in the case of $ARTICLES_t$ variable, this observation was also significant in weeks 2 and 4 in local as well as 3, 5, 6 and Total in national press. For variable $WORDS_t$, the cross-sectional models showed similar trends and significance in week 3 in local and 1, 2, 5, 6 in national press. The variable $QUOTES_t$, also suggested that women candidates were quoted to a greater extent, which observation was significant in

weeks 1, 2 and Total in local press and week 2 and Total in national press.

Furthermore, some alternative ways of dealing with outliers were tested. In particular, rather than removing them from the dataset, the exceptional observations were included in the regressions, and dummy variables for the outlier candidates were added instead. The full regression results are presented in Appendix I. The results suggest that inclusion of dummy variables for outlier candidates does not produce results substantially different than those reported in Table 6.3.

A further analysis of the dataset also revealed that each of the local newspapers substantially differed in contribution to the overall pool of the investigated articles. For instance, three newspapers with highest intensity of articles included the *Lincolnshire Echo, Grimsby Telegraph* and *Thurrock Gazette* with 68, 91 and 77 articles published throughout the entire campaign, respectively. In contrast some of the less frequently reporting newspapers published 1, 2 and 6 articles (*Brent & Kilburn Times, Ham & High* and *Wirral Globe* respectively). The variability was predominantly dependent on newspaper circulation sizes and newspaper content focus. This suggests a possibility that the local press results reported in Table 6.3 could be biased by the local newspaper. This possibility was also investigated and constituency (a categorical variable) was added as an additional confounder. However, similarly as before, the results do not substantially differ from those reported in Table 6.3 (see Appendix K).

At the same time the results of the Augmented Dickey–Fuller test [11] (placed in Appendix Q) indicate that, as the data is stationary, the time series models have not been affected by the presence of the unit root.

Overall, after checking for various possibilities, the results are consistent with the data in Table 6.3, therefore confirming falsifiability of hypothesis H1, i.e. that during the 2015 general election *women candidates received less volume of coverage than men.*

6.2.2 Study of optimally-matched pairs

To further reinforce the findings from Section 6.2.1, the investigation of the candidates' gender effect on coverage volume is further supplemented by the qualitative case studies. This is to explore the possibility that men and women candidates receive systematically different coverage with respect to covariates accounted for in Section 6.2.1, which might bias the statistical results. Accordingly, a quantitative matching algorithm was used to identify paired cases of men and women candidates as similar as possible on key covariates.[12]

To make this within-case analysis as effective as possible, in addition to party affiliation and incumbency status, the author also balanced on candidates' final vote share, as

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[11]For more information about the test please refer to Chapter 5.4.3.
[12]The method behind the optimally-matched pairs has been explained in Chapter 5.4.4.

Table 6.4: Summary of the optimally-matched pairs.

| | Pair 1 | | Pair 2 | |
	Anna Soubry	**Mark Spencer**	**Nicola Blackwood**	**David Morris**
Party affiliation	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative
Elected for the first time	2010	2010	2010	2010
2015 Election result	42.5%	45.0%	45.5%	45.7%
Incumbency status	incumbent	incumbent	incumbent	incumbent

men or women candidates may receive more or less coverage because they are more or less likely to have public support. One example of this possibility is if men or women candidates are more or less likely to run for safe seats. In each case, the author would incorrectly infer that a candidate's gender shapes quantities of press coverage when in fact press coverage is a function of a candidate's likelihood of winning. By balancing on election results as well as incumbency status and party affiliation it was ensured that compared candidates of both genders were with similar chances of election. One drawback of this is the possibility that media coverage affects election results, in which case balancing on election results would not identify cases of similar underlying popularity, but rather cases with different levels of pre-media popularity. While this is a possibility, it was thought that any effect media coverage might have on candidate vote share would likely be smaller than the drastic differences in vote share within the sample (reflecting relatively large underlying differences in public support for competing candidates across constituencies). Therefore, even if media coverage affects vote share, balancing on vote share as a proxy for ex-ante public support should nonetheless provide more closely matched and less biased comparisons.

The first pair of identified cases includes Anna Soubry (woman) and Mark Spencer (man) while the second consists of David Morris (man) and Nicola Blackwood (woman). As shown in Table 6.4, within each pair, party affiliation, incumbency status, and election results are largely similar. Incidentally, not only each candidate in each pair also started their career in the same year, effectively ruling out candidate experience as a possible confounder not considered in the quantitative analyses, but also in one of the matched pairs, candidates' constituencies were covered by the same newspaper (*Nottingham Post*) which also rules out the influence of the news outlet.

The first pair of cases identified by the matching procedure included Anna Soubry (woman), the incumbent Conservative MP in Broxtowe who retained her seat with 45.2 per cent of the vote, and Mark Spencer (man), the incumbent Conservative MP in Sherwood who retained his seat with 45.0 per cent of the vote. Soubry and Spencer both

started their parliamentary careers by winning in Broxtowe and Sherwood in the 2010 general Election. During her first term in Parliament, Soubry served as a junior minister at the Ministry of Defence and then at the Department of Health. Spencer acted as a member of the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs Committee, the Backbench Business Committee and the Environmental Audit Committee. It is worthy of note that despite running from different constituencies, the local press coverage of both Soubry and Spencer was collected from the same newspaper (*Nottingham Post*).

The pair of cases identified as the second most similar included Nicola Blackwood (woman), the incumbent Conservative MP in Oxford West and Abingdon who retained her seat with 45.5 per cent of the vote, and David Morris (man) the incumbent Conservative MP in Morecambe and Lunesdale who retained his seat with 45.7 per cent of the vote. Each candidate started their career in 2010 by winning the seat for the first time. They both worked as parliamentary Select Committee members. No evidence was found that any particularly unique, remarkable or sensational issue appeared in the coverage of any of the candidates during their 2015 campaigns. In an informal review, each candidate's coverage appeared typical, consisting largely of reports about campaign activities and the likelihood each candidate to hold his/hers seat. In summary, there were no particularly striking differences between the candidates of each matched pair, other than gender.

Figures 6.3(a) and 6.3(b) plot the cumulative quantities of the media coverage received by each candidate identified by the matching procedure, measured with variable $ARTICLES_t$. Each line represents the number of articles received each week plus the number of all articles received prior to that week. In the left facet, it can be seen that Soubry received slightly more coverage than Spencer in the first two weeks, before maintaining a clear advantage in her total quantities of local and national coverage over the next four weeks. In particular, during week three, Soubry received a large spike in coverage relative to Spencer, followed by similar levels of coverage thereafter. For each type of coverage, the ultimate difference is substantial, with Soubry receiving six more local articles and five more national articles than Spencer. Considering Blackwood and Morris, Blackwood received more local and national coverage than Morris in the first week, and this advantage was maintained with only a few slight changes in the differential over the course of the campaigns. Ultimately Blackwood received six more local articles, and two more national articles, than Morris. These results, alongside those obtained from the regressions conducted in this Section once again illustrate not only that women did not receive less volume of coverage than their men opponents, but also indicate that during the 2015 general election campaign they were more visible than men in both local as well as national media outlets.

Figures 6.3(c) and 6.3(d) present analogous data, but for variable $WORDS_t$. In the left facet, it can be seen that, in total, more words have been written about Soubry than Spencer. In particular during week three, this woman candidate received a large spike
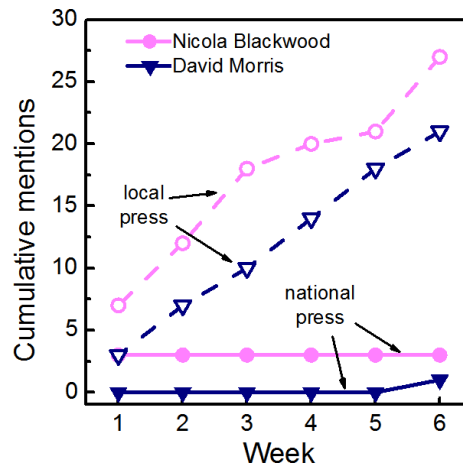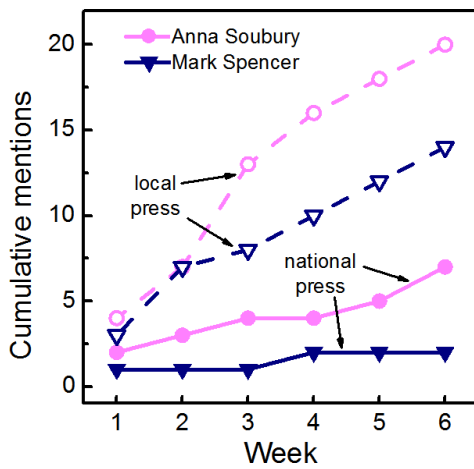
(a) Anna Soubry and Mark Spencer, DV: $ARTICLES_t$

(b) Nicola Blackwood and David Morris, DV: $ARTICLES_t$
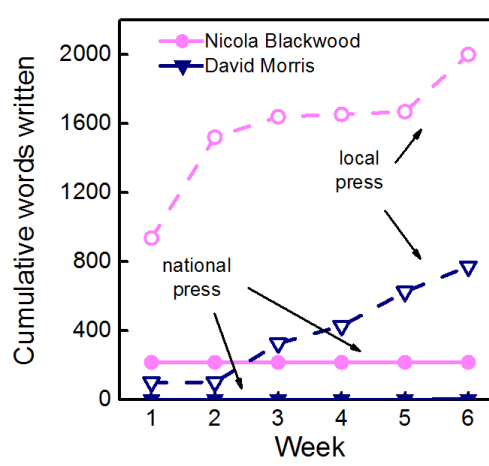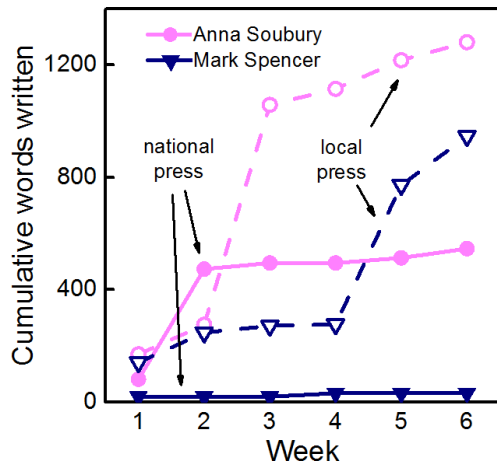
(c) Anna Soubry and Mark Spencer, DV: $WORDS_t$

(d) Nicola Blackwood and David Morris, DV: $WORDS_t$
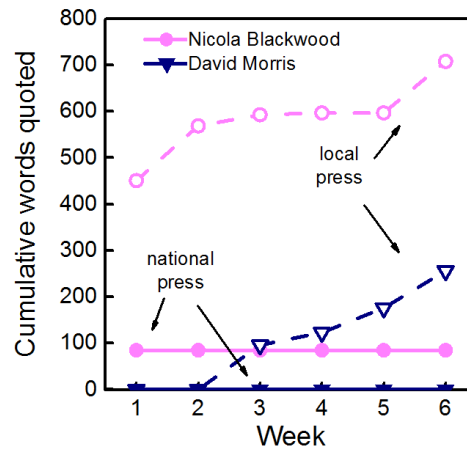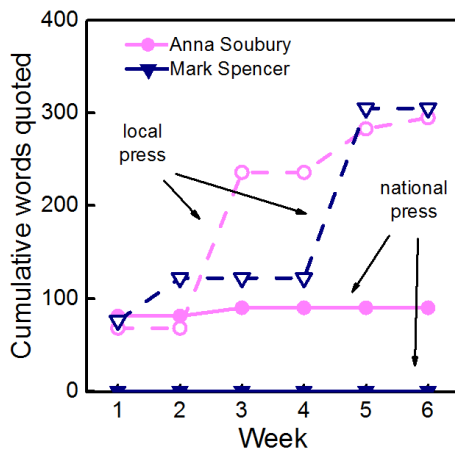
(e) Anna Soubry and Mark Spencer, DV: $QUOTES_t$

(f) Nicola Blackwood and David Morris, DV: $QUOTES_t$

Figure 6.3: Comparison of the press coverage quantity for paired cases of men and women candidates standing for the 2015 general election.

in coverage relative to her man counterpart, which remains in line with trend observed
in Table 6.3. For each type of press, the ultimate difference is quite substantial, with
Soubry receiving 335 and 48 more words written in local and national news outlets,
respectively. Surprisingly, however, a closer inspection of the articles revealed that the
published fragments concerning Soubry in the local media on average included 64 words,
while for Spencer this figure was 67. Moreover, the longest fragment written about the
woman candidate had 317 words while for Mark Spencer it was 249 words. This said, it
needs to be noted that more articles have been written about Soubry than about Spencer
and hence the arithmetic sum of words written is higher for the woman candidate. The
opposite phenomenon was present in the national press. In particular, Soubry was not
only depicted in the highest number of articles, but also an average article used a higher
number of words than it was a case for Spencer.[13]

Considering Blackwood and Morris, more words have been written about the former than
about the latter in both local and national media outlets (see Figure 6.3(d)). Substantial
differences between those two candidates' coverage volume could be observed from the
first week. Subsequently, Blackwood's advantage was maintained over the course of
the campaign. Ultimately over 1228 more words have been written about the woman
candidate in local articles, and 214 more in national articles. A closer inspection revealed
that an average article about the woman candidate published in the local press had 74
words, while for her man contender it was 37. The longest fragment written in the local
media about Blackwood had 512 words, while for Morris it was 147. Similar observations
have been made in the national press. In particular, an average article about Blackwood
contained 72 words versus only 2 for Morris.

Figures 6.3(e) and 6.3(f) present the cumulative quantities of the number of words di-
rectly quoting the candidates. In Figure 6.3(e) it could be seen that there is only a small
difference between Soubry and Spencer in terms of the local press. In total, the num-
ber of words in quotes in local press for Soubry was equal to 295 and 305 for Spencer.
However, the same figure also reveals that the woman candidate was quoted to a greater
extent in the national press when compared to the man contender. Specifically, 89 of
Soubry's words were quoted, versus 0 for Spencer. The main increase in the number of
quoted words was observed between weeks 2 and 3 in case of Soubry and week 4 and 5 in
case of Spencer. On average, more words quoted per article were published in the local
media outlets (the average cited article contained 14.7 words quoted from Soubry; for
Spencer it was 21.7). The longest Soubry's quote consisted of 100 words, while for Mark
Spencer it was 96 words. Some of Soubry's opinions which were cited by the press re-
ferred to issues like Britian's nuclear defence program and her disagreement with Nicola
Sturgeon's suggestion that it needs to be abandoned; as well as election campaign in her
constituency and her chances to be re-elected. Spencer was quoted in articles concerning
issues such as road safety in his constituency along with his impressions after watching

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[13]An average number of words per article written in the national press about Soubry was 78.0, while
for Spencer it was 15.5.

the leaders' debate. In the national press it was the woman candidate who received the highest number of words quoted (89) and had the highest average per article (12.7). By contrast, Spencer was only presented in the media twice (see 6.3(c)) and he was not quoted in any of these articles.

Considering the second of the identified pairs, it was observed that more words quoting the candidate were published for Blackwood than for Morris. In total, the number of words in quotes in local press for Blackwood was equal to 708 and for Spencer 256 while in the national press it was 85 and 0, respectively. Once again, local media outlets quoted both men and women candidates to the greater extent than the national ones. The main peaks in observations were recorded between week 2 and 3 for Morris and 1 and 2 as well as 5 and 6 for Blackwood. A closer inspection revealed that the average article about the woman candidate published in the local press had 26.2 words quoted, while in terms of her man contender it was 12.2. In the national press it was 12.7 words for Blackwood and 0.0 for Morris in an average article. The longest quoted fragment contained 103 words for Blackwood and 82 for Morris. They were both published in the local media outlets. Some of Blackwood's opinions cited by the press referred to hustings taking place in her constituency, organisation of her campaign, as well as her health conditions.[14] In terms of Morris, press cited his response to Labour claims over insufficient number of GPs, or his views about what improvements have been introduced in his area since he became an MP.

The above analysis of the matched pairs illustrates the differences in the coverage of selected men and women candidates. The dominant trend shows that women have been written about consistently more often, regardless of the coverage volume measure. This gives further support for rejecting hypothesis H1 stating that *women candidates receive less volume of coverage than men.* While these observations cannot alone verify the hypothesis, combined with results presented in Section 6.2.1 they complement the finding that visibility of women candidates has not been compromised during the 2015 general election.

6.2.3   Candidates' views

The analyses conducted in Sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 show findings that are different from what can be perceived as a mainstream perception of women politicians, as well as significant part of the existing body of research. While most of the UK-based studies give evidence for gender-bias in the media, suggesting that women's presence is compromised in comparison to men, the above analyses of the 2015 general election campaign present a different picture. Thus, to provide more in-depth interpretation of the quantitative findings it was decided to complement them with interviews with the politicians whose media coverage was analysed.

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[14]Blackwood herself revealed in one of the interviews that she suffers from a genetic mobility condition.

It is noteworthy that out of 72 candidates who have been approached, 22 responded, and only 8 accepted the invitation.[15] The sample contained 4 men and 4 women, and while the limited size of the sample needs to be acknowledged, it should be emphasised that the interviews only supplement statistical analyses.

In general, the outcomes of the interviews with the candidates seem in agreement with the statistical analyses. In terms of coverage volume, the contenders generally indicated that they have been treated by the press in similar manner. If anything, a slight edge might be given to women politicians during this campaign. For instance, one of the men interviewees, when asked whether he got coverage different from his woman opponent, said:

> *"No, you know, if anything, if anything, and this is no criticism of her at all, but if anything I think she got a better run, because as I have said, you know, I have been here for years and years (...) she with all the respect, not to her but to the newspapers, she is just a candidate (...) so I think if anything in their trying to be balanced that favoured her a little bit, that maybe she would not got that much coverage. But she is also quite good in trying get herself in, I am not suggesting that happened by accident, she is very competent. (...) One of the things parties do, is they, they tend to ask the sort of, you know, the celebrities (...) the well-known MPs, politicians to come down and support your campaign. I did not want that (...) But the newspapers get very nervous about it locally, because they wanted to be balanced, and they were obsessed about being balanced, and I do not think they were balanced frankly, they missed things I think were wrong. So for example we had an issue with the walk in centre which was in my ward and I am the chancellor, but they gave my opponent as much coverage as me, and I said, and I never complain to them (...) that cannot be right (...) I am the Chancellor for this ward, where this walk in centre is under threat and I am trying to represent my constituency, but yet they are bringing up the parliamentary candidate to show balance, because I happened to be a parliamentary candidate as well (...) so I think everyone was nervous about being seen to influence the outcome in any way, so I do not think the media was as good in this election as it has been at the others and that is not good for the people, because they want to see what is going on, do not they?"*

Interview: Man [06]

It is noteworthy that, although this statement was scented with resentment, the candidate not only acknowledged his opponent's competence, but also indicated that the media, in their attempt to be balanced, may have favoured the woman candidate, which is in line with the quantitative findings.

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[15]For more information about the methodology of the interviews please refer to Section5.5.1.

It should also be emphasised that it was not only men candidates who sensed some difference in the press attitudes to candidates of different gender in favour of women. For instance, one of the women candidates, when asked whether she was treated unfairly by the journalists because of her gender, not only denied that any of this took place during the campaign but also indicated that she actually benefited from being a woman:

> *"I did not sense any of that at all actually. Most of the journalists were, were very fair. I mean it might be also because in X the three major parties all had female candidates in their thirties and early forties, so all of us were women and I think that certainly made the difference. (...) I have been used quite a lot on television and things like that, because the party tries to put forward a positive face and so to have someone who is a women and young (...) So actually I benefited overall by being a women than not."*

Interview: Woman [05]

Some literature in the field that investigates the media coverage suggests that there exist variables other than candidates' gender that may affect the candidate's presence in the media. For instance, Hayes and Lawless (2015) reported that the coverage of candidates is most affected by partisanship, incumbency and ideology rather than gender. Statistical analyses presented in Section 6.2.1 indeed suggest that incumbency status is statistically related to the amount of coverage received by the candidates. While the regression analyses do not reveal significant effect of partisanship on the coverage, some politicians suggested such bias. For instance, one of the men candidates, when asked if his woman opponent was treated by the press differently from himself said:

> *"(...) Yes, very much so, not because necessarily she was a female, but because she was a Labour MP, so she got much more favourable treatment, in respect of, she could get in to the local press, practically any time she wished (...) and the coverage was always favourable. (...) It is difficult to say, I think you must ask them [the media] frankly, I do not believe so, I do not think it was about male - female, more about Labour - Conservative in terms of (...) attitude towards their coverage"*

Interview: Man [01]

It should be emphasised that the findings suggesting that gender has little effect on the coverage volume contradict the dominant idea about how the media covers men and women candidates. What is more, these observations may be related to the fact that, as the times have changed, the gender norms and perception of women has moved on. Indeed, some of the interviewees, especially those with longer parliamentary careers, recognise changes in women's political representation. In general, when asked about the

current status of women in politics, the interviewees acknowledged that the perception of women politicians has changed. For instance, one of them said:

"(...) for the constituency (...) you know the city I represent (...) having women in senior leadership position was not something they were used to and then that did create problems for me over the last 10 years... It has moved enormously, so for example now we have a chief constable who is a woman and we have actually the first woman bishop (...) but in 2005 I have not really appreciated it, (...) the city and, I think, people who were influential and powerful were not quite ready (...) It was hard..."

Interview: Woman [02]

This seems to confirm the recent observations indicating that the number of women in political positions and other public offices is on the rise. Further to that, the interviewees were able to recognise those changes, that they felt related to them, and that they gave them certain benefits. For instance, some participants revealed that with the increase in number of women, Westminster does not feel like a 'boys club' any more:

"(...) I think in terms of Westminster itself people will tell you that it is a bit of a boys club, but I think, particularly this time because there has been a new intake, slightly younger intake, there has been a lot more younger women elected this time (...) and I think that is a really positive step and I think some of the barriers have been brought down already with my intake, that I do not feel it is a boys club (...)"

Interview: Woman [04]

This indicates a significant shift in opinion, especially when compared to past studies which suggested that women not only felt intimidated but also pushed to the political sidelines (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996). The interviews presented in this Section also reveal one of the potential reasons for the increase of number of women politicians, as some of the interviewed women suggested that their preparation for handling the relationship with the news outlets has improved.

The interviews also revealed that women are aware that the media may be an obstacle in their political careers, which is in line with the perception presented in the existing literature. Further to that, some of the participants also uncovered that their run in the campaign involved long-standing preparations. They said that during that period they have been offered training, including that on handling the relationship with the media. Accordingly, one of the interviewees recalled the training she had through the Labour Women's Network and praised the support she got:

> *"I had a go in '97, before the '97 election, not really seriously I just dipped my toe in, so I had a go then and in 2001 I got selected and stood in unwinnable and then (...) I had a go in 2003. But I had been through training with Labour Women's Network, so I had, yeah I had encouragement from them as well. And there was a really good woman involved in Labour Women's Network who sadly died few years ago, but she was very encouraging."*

Interview: Woman [02]

Another candidate admitted that she had openly indicated that handling the media had been her 'area of weakness' during the selection process. The party responded to her request and allocated her training sessions to resolve this issue. Further to that she also admitted paying for an additional training as well. Another interesting learning outcome from the interviews was that many interviewees perceived their first runs as a learning experience and admitted that they had not been prepared for that. Indeed, the same woman candidate also said that during her early run she was passive towards the media but learned with time how to work with journalists and how to effectively get her message across:

> *"So before I ever stood I had highlighted the media as being the area of weakness and the area I did not have very much knowledge of, so I was scared of it, and of course I think it is, I do not know if this is woman or not a human nature, but you certainly feel scrutinised, how you look, how you came across, did I say something stupid, you know, you think about these things a lot (...) But party provided quite a lot of training, and I also paid for some extra training they had put me in touch with (...) So the first time, the first time I stood it was very much a learning experience and I was on the passive side of the media, you know, they were coming to me to ask for comments, that kind of things... But the second time I stood, where I stood with a real chance of winning (...) you have to work with the media quite often to get your local campaign going, and I am still, you know, good friends with journalists, and my attitude towards them changed a lot over the years. I now see them as, you know, we were partners in this, you know, we are, we are all interested in the local community (...) I actively try to find ways to make my stories interesting and accessible for them, because in the end if you do it right they will help your campaign and if something goes wrong in your campaign it also helps to have a close connection with them because you can advert any crisis early on (...) Even now, you know, people like ITV or a local newspaper (...) occasionally will contact me (...)"*

Interview: Woman [05]

The interviews also provided an insight into how the candidates themselves perceived local and national press. A few very interesting observations emerged. First of all, even though the importance of the local press could be sometimes questioned, mainly due to the reduction in the number of local titles observed over the years, a number of candidates recognised its significance in their campaigns. For instance, one of the candidates said:

> *"(...) Quite often the most important place to get any media coverage is the local newspapers and the regional news and part of our strategy for the campaign, there is the whole, we would had analysed and we had people (...) who would have done this for us, you know what the demographic is, the various media outlook in our area, which one you should be targeting, and what I found in the end was, it (...) helped my career (...)"*

Interview: Woman [05]

Moreover, some of the interviewed politicians did not believe that the national media could help them win. One of the candidates admitted that he deliberately decided to stay 'under the radar', maintaining low national profile, as he was aware that dealing with the interest of national media could be very difficult to handle. He suggested that in the national media issues concerning local community may quickly gain interest and equally rapidly become unimportant, depending on whether they are in line with the national issues currently being scrutinised:

> *"(...) I was contacted by Sky News and by BBC and Michael Craig from Channel 4 (...) and they were all very interested in this marginal (...) and then as all the polls came out and we were neck and neck or sometimes I was behind or whatever it was, they sort of lost interest, which absolutely suited me, because media, you know, is a double edge sword, you can do well or you can blow it (...) so it suited me from the national media point of view to be under the radar a little bit, my opponent did several interviews (...) but I tended not to, so I kept myself out of that (...) I did not have much to do with the nationals."*

Interview: Man [06]

Another candidate disclosed that while he was seeking the attention of the local media, and thus maintained some relations with the local journalists, which seemed to help him to raise his local media profile, he was not trying to get the coverage in the national news outlets as he was aware that the most newsworthy for them would be bigger, national stories.

> *"(...) National print media we did have some traction with, but not a massive amount, to be honest with you that was not a particular concern for me, so it was nice and interesting when it happened, but we were not particularly trying to push that angle (...) Clearly the national print media is working on national stories largely (...)"*

Interview: Man [07]

Similar statement was made by another interviewee, who said:

> *"(...) I am probably not a big enough fish in that sense to have much national coverage (...)"*

Interview: Man [08]

The interviews, the fragments of which have been presented in this Section, are in line with the quantitative analysis of the press coverage presented in Sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2. Specifically, they confirm rejection of hypothesis H1, stating that *women candidates receive less volume of coverage than men.* Furthermore, they provide some background to theorising not only that the political environment in the UK is changing, but also that it is becoming more and more accessible for women. Moreover, they suggest that of the local and national media outlets, their campaigns focused on the former, which further underlines the importance of their analysis. Accordingly, having investigated the relationship between the candidates' gender and press coverage during the 2015 general election, the analysis moves to comparing that effect in the local and national media outlets, as described in the following Section.

6.2.4   Comparison of gender effect on local versus national coverage

The investigation of differences in the press reporting between men and women candidates continues with the comparison of the observations found in Section 6.2.1 for local and national press. Specifically, the following Section attempts to verify the hypothesis H3 stating that *media coverage of candidates differs between local and national outlets with women receiving less volume of coverage in the local press.*

As described in Chapter 5.4.2, the analysis of coefficients and p-values listed in Table 6.3 allows for estimating the size of the effect of a predictor on the investigated variable. However, it is noteworthy that the coefficients are expressed in log counts and therefore they are not readily interpretable, limiting the inter-regression comparisons. To resolve this issue, it was decided to conduct simulations for each regression, as these can provide a

better sense of the estimated effect sizes and better account for uncertainty. Accordingly, to illustrate the effect of candidates' gender on visibility in local and national media outlets, 1000 simulations of each model had been conducted, following the procedure described in Chapter 5.4.2. Figure 6.4 presents the outcomes of the model simulations for both local and national press.

Based on Figure 6.4, conditional means and conditional standard deviations of the DVs were calculated for every model. Table 6.5 presents the outcomes of those calculations. To better explain the numerical values in the Table, the calculations will be exemplified based on DV $ARTICLES_t$. From Figure 6.4(a) it may be observed that in local press, the expected number of articles mentioning the candidate for a typical man is 1.37, with standard deviation (SD) of 0.20, whereas for an otherwise equivalent woman it is 1.8 (SD=0.3), a difference of 0.42 between men and women.

At the same time, from Figure 6.4(b) it follows that in national press, the expected number of articles mentioning the candidate for a typical man is 0.11 (SD=0.03), whereas for an equivalent woman it is 0.20 (SD=0.06), a difference of 0.09. It is noteworthy, though, that the differences between men and women candidates, as calculated above, cannot be directly compared. This is because the DV $ARTICLES_t$ exhibits distinctly different distribution for local and national press. In particular, the standard deviation in local coverage (SD=2.43) is much greater than in national coverage (SD=0.58). Therefore, to standardise (STD in Table 6.5) the estimated effects, they were divided by the standard deviations of the respective dependent variables. Specifically, a hypothetical change from man to woman of an otherwise equivalent candidate will be associated with an increase of local press mentions equal to 0.18 standard deviations, whereas the expected increase in national press mentions would be equivalent to 0.15 standard deviations. Similar calculations were conducted for variables $WORDS_t$ and $QUOTES_t$.

Table 6.5: Means, distributions and standardised mean effects of gender on coverage volume in the local and national press during the 2015 general election.

Variable	Total (SD)	Men mean (SD)	Women mean (SD)	Difference mean [STD]
$ARTICLES_t$, local press	(2.43)	1.37 (0.2)	1.80 (0.3)	0.43 [0.18]
$ARTICLES_t$, national press	(0.58)	0.11 (0.03)	0.20 (0.06)	0.09 [0.15]
$WORDS_t$, local press	(220)	70 (24)	100 (41)	30 [0.14]
$WORDS_t$, national press	(126)	11 (11)	27 (35)	16 [0.13]
$QUOTES_t$, local press	(103)	37 (18)	57 (35)	20 [0.20]
$QUOTES_t$, national press	(73)	1.6 (6.4)	2.4 (5.1)	0.73 [0.01]

Accordingly, as follows from Table 6.5, for every investigated measure of the coverage volume, statistical analyses showed that change from man to woman of an otherwise equivalent candidate will be associated with a greater increase in volume in local press than in national press. While the comparison of the effect sizes (as visualised in Figure 6.4 and Table 6.5) suggests that this difference is modest in the case of variables

(a) Local press, DV: $ARTICLES_t$ (Eq. 6.1)

(b) National press, DV: $ARTICLES_t$ (Eq. 6.1)

(c) Local press, DV: $WORDS_t$ (Eq. 6.2)

(d) National press, DV: $WORDS_t$ (Eq. 6.2)

(e) Local press, DV: $QUOTES_t$ (Eq. 6.3)

(f) National press, DV: $QUOTES_t$ (Eq. 6.3)
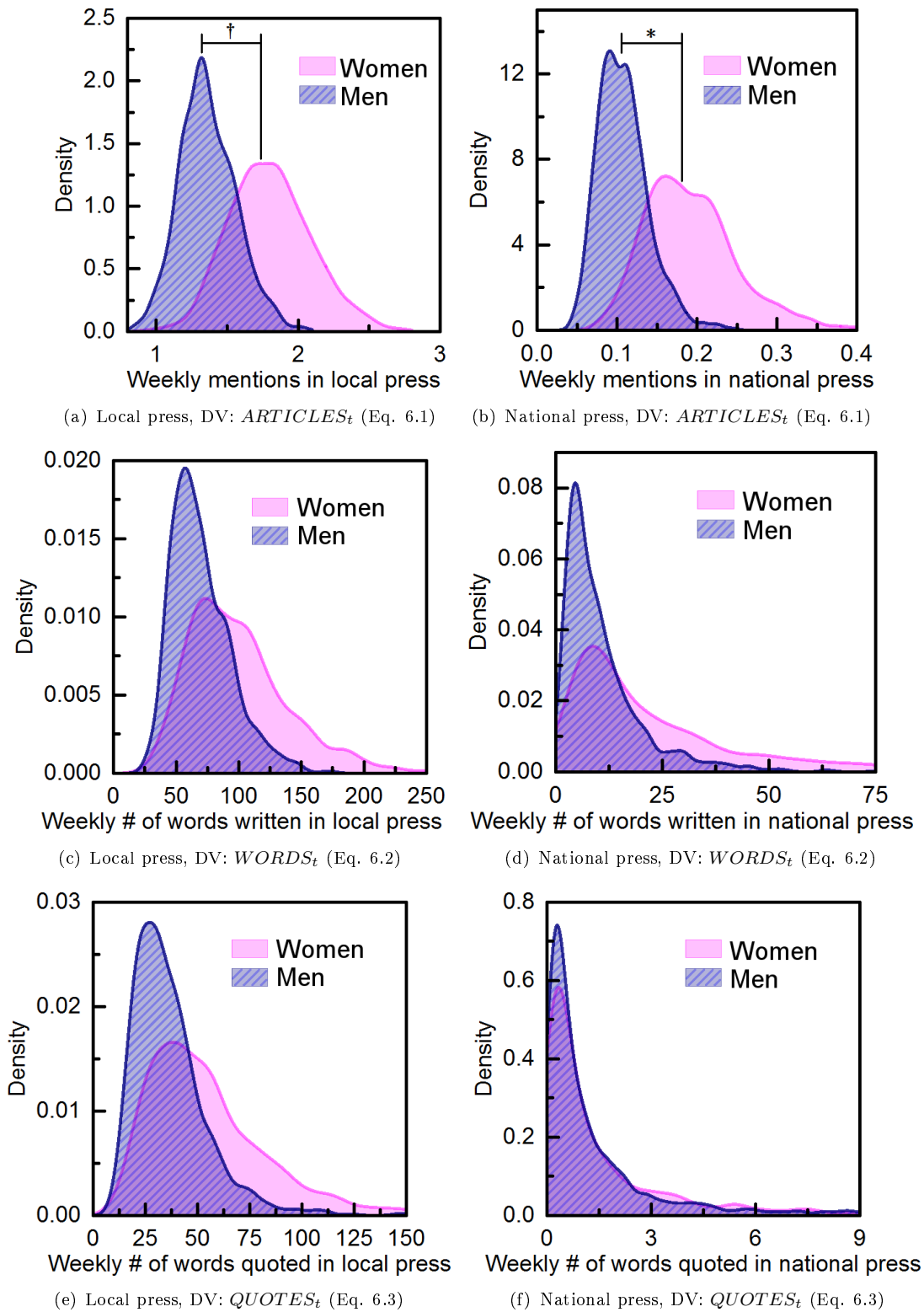
Figure 6.4: Simulations of the predicted effect of candidates' gender on coverage volume in local and national media during the 2015 general election. $^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^*p < 0.05$, $^\dagger p < 0.1$.

$ARTICLES_t$, and $WORDS_t$, the variable $QUOTES_t$ exhibits more substantial differences. Therefore, it may be concluded that the disparity between local and national press exists and, while in general women were more visible than men, this trend was stronger in the local press. Thus, the H3 stating that *media coverage of candidates differs between local and national outlets with women receiving less volume of coverage in the local press* is falsified.

The observed differences, rather than supporting the dominant idea about the gender-biased media are consistent with some of the theoretical considerations outlined in Chapter 4 stating that locally women could receive more media coverage than in the national media. Accordingly, it was anticipated that local and national press may give priority to different types of news (Negrine, 2005). In particular, local press could be perceived as more interested in the events taking place within the nearest constituency (Vinson and Moore, 2007). Those considerations proved to be in line with a qualitative assessment of the campaign coverage presented in this Chapter.

Indeed, a more in-depth analysis of collected material, both local and national, left an impression that local press focused mainly on the local matters (although it did not refrain from publishing information about high profile politicians and national issues). Given that women, in general, are perceived to be more interested in local politics than men (Hayes and Bean, 1993; Campbell and Lovenduski, 2014) it was expected that as candidates, they might have paid more attention to local issues. Thus, the explanation of the greater attention to women candidates observed in the local press might be related with the fact that the local media, as more locally inclined (Franklin and Richardson, 2002), could be more interested in their candidacy.

In addition to the above considerations, it is also worthy of note that Figure 6.4 is also in support of rejecting hypothesis H1 (stating that *women candidates receive less volume of coverage than men*). Indeed, the Figure reveals that during the 2015 general election, on average, women candidates were depicted in a higher number of press articles in both local and national press, in the bivariate and multivariate senses, with moderate difference in the effect in favour of local outlets. This further confirms the inferences made in Section 6.2.1.

It should be underlined, however, that the analysis of the coverage volume is insufficient to fully explore the relationship of women, media and politics. Indeed, the analysis has to be complemented with investigation of coverage quality, which is presented in the following Section.

6.3   Effect of candidates' gender on the amount of gender-biased frames in the coverage

While insufficient volume of coverage may be one of the barriers for the women candidates, a low quality of it may be at least equally damaging. Indeed, some of the studies suggest that the press coverage of electoral candidates could highlight certain features of women politicians, which might affect the way they are perceived by the voters (see for example Falk, 2008). Therefore, the following Section attempts to verify the hypothesis H2, stating that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames*. This is done by determining whether there exists a correlation between the candidate's gender and the frequency of use of specific gender-related frames, which have been reported in literature as undermining the image of the women politicians.

An informal inspection of coverage revealed that the national press predominantly focused on various scenarios of potential coalitions (see Morris, 2015; Kellner, 2014), opinion polls, party strategies, economy, taxation, standards, corruption, constitution and NHS (Deacon et al., 2015), while reporting about the local candidates was usually just 'an addition' to the articles, rather than its core. Local press was, in contrast, mainly focused on describing the local candidates' participation in communal events, or presenting their profile. The inspection did not reveal any apparent signs of discrimination of a particular gender, however, to perform an in-depth investigation, statistical analyses were employed.

To conduct the analyses, the articles collected throughout the 2015 general election campaign have been coded for evidences of framing election candidates in the context of their appearance, age, parenthood, partners as well as gender and novelty (see Chapter 5.3.2 for more details). In total, local and national press published 21 articles referring to candidates' appearance and age, 4 mentioning parenthood frame, 9 presenting candidates' partners and 1 underlining the novelty or gender of the candidate. Given that the results have been sparse, rather than investigating them as individual categories, the following Section focuses on a variable $FRAMES_t$ as a single measure of coverage substance, which is a total count of articles mentioning any of these frames. It is noteworthy that even after the consolidation of all the types of gender-frames, the instances when gender-bias was present in the media were rare. For instance, of the four candidates identified in pair matching as described in Section 6.2.2 (Anna Soubry, Mark Spencer, David Morris and Nicola Blackwood), only one of them received one gender-frame article throughout the entire campaign. Therefore, matched pairs will not be investigated for the purpose of assessment of coverage quality.

6.3.1 Regression analysis

Having selected an appropriate measure of coverage substance ($FRAMES_t$), this Section attempts to address its variation with candidates' gender and other covariates. Accordingly, it was regressed with respect to a number of variables. For consistency, the same regressors as those described in Section 6.2.1 were used. Accordingly, the regression equation investigated in this Section is:[16]

$$FRAMES_t = \alpha + \beta_1 GEN + \beta_2 TIME + \beta_3 PARTY + \beta_4 INC + \beta_5 FRAMES_{t-1} + \epsilon \quad (6.4)$$

where α is an intercept, β is a vector of covariates and ϵ is the error term.

To perform this regression analysis, panel datasets were created, with one dimension corresponding to the candidate and the other to time (in weeks). Accordingly, a single observation was the count of articles published within a specific campaign week and presenting a specific candidate in any of the investigated frames. The dataset was investigated for unusual observations and, accordingly, it was decided to remove Caroline Lucas and Ed Balls, as they deviated more than 2 standard deviations from the sample mean. This gave the total of 420 observations. Tables 6.6 and 6.7 present the summary statistics for all variables utilised in the analysis.

Table 6.6: Summary statistics for the numerical variables used in regressions estimating impact of candidates' gender on coverage substance during the 2015 general election.

Variable	n	Min	$\widetilde{x}$	$\bar{x}$	Max	SD
$FRAMES_t$ (Local)	420	0	0.0	0.0	3	0.3
$FRAMES_t$ (National)	420	0	0.0	0.0	2	0.2
$WEEK$	420	1	3.5	3.5	6	1.7

The inspection of the dispersion, (see Chapter 5.4.2 for more details) reveals that the conditional variances were greater than their conditional means for both local and national datasets.[17] Therefore, negative binomial models were found appropriate to approximate the data.[18]

Table 6.8 displays the outcomes of the regression analysis. As follows from the Table, the coefficient corresponding to the variable GEN is negative in the local media outlets, but

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[16]For the explanation of each variable please refer to Section 5.4.1.

[17]The variable for local weekly frames found in the coverage of men candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 0.047 and 0.31, respectively. The variable for local weekly mentions of frames in coverage of women candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 0.044 and 0.28, respectively. The variable for national weekly frames found in coverage received by men candidates had a a mean and standard deviation of 0.010 and 0.10, respectively. Finally, the variable for national weekly frames in coverage of women candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 0.039 and 0.0.25, respectively.

[18]Histograms of all dependent variables are presented in Appendix T.

Table 6.7: Summary statistics for the categorical variables used in regressions estimating impact of candidates' gender on coverage substance during the 2015 general election.

Variable	Levels	n	%
INC	(Challenger)	186	44.3
	(Incumbent)	156	37.1
	(Neither)	78	18.6
	all	420	100.0
PARTY	(Labour)	150	35.7
	(Conservative)	180	42.9
	(Lib.Dem.)	90	21.4
	all	420	100.0
GEN	(Men)	192	45.7
	(Women)	228	54.3
	all	420	100.0

positive in the national press. Nonetheless, none of the results proved to be statistically significant; the results suggest that H2 stating that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames than men* could be false.

A few other observations that follow from Table 6.8 are also worth noting. In particular, similarly to the analysis of the volume of the coverage (Section 6.2.1), the party covariate had no significant effect on the coverage. This suggests that the party affiliation is not related with the intensity of presenting candidates in gender-biased frames. At the same time, while the incumbency was found to positively affect the press attention (Section 6.2), its influence on the coverage substance has not been established. Furthermore, time (*WEEK*) seems to have influenced the way in which the candidates were presented in the national media. Specifically, the number of times one of the frames appeared in the national news declined with time, which is in line with the statistical analyses of the coverage volume (Section 6.2). This may be explained by the fact that the local candidates are not known to the broader public and hence, national media may need to introduce them at the onset of the campaign. Such introduction might also involve mentioning personal information about candidates. However, once introduced, the national press will lose interest in these issues and focus more on the candidates' policy and actions. Such phenomenon would not happen in the local media, as the local candidates might be known to the local communities.

Robustness checks

To verify the robustness of the findings reported in Table 6.8, several checks have been conducted, following guidelines outlined in Chapter 5.4.3. The Breusch-Godfrey test for panel models suggested autocorrelation even after inclusion of a lagged dependent variable (see Appendix Q). Since the time series are short and most of the predictors

Table 6.8: Models of coverage substance in local and national press during the 2015 general election.

	Local coverage substance	National coverage substance
(Intercept)	−3.68*	6.41
	(1.67)	(6.41)
GEN (Women)	−0.20	5.03
	(0.96)	(6.23)
WEEK	−0.10	−4.39***
	(0.30)	(0.72)
PARTY (Conservative)	−0.13	−3.46
	(1.09)	(4.31)
PARTY (Lib.Dem.)	−0.12	−7.12
	(1.22)	(4.64)
INC (Incumbent)	0.73	−0.76
	(1.03)	(0.92)
INC (Neither)	0.69	4.11
	(1.16)	(0.41)
$FRAMES_{t-1}$ (Local)	1.04	
	(0.84)	
$FRAMES_{t-1}$ (National)		−8.49
		(709.26)
AIC	96.04	83.02
BIC	130.76	113.88
Log Likelihood	-39.02	-33.51
Deviance	30.77	47.98
Num. obs.	350	350

***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, †$p < 0.1$

are time-invariant, including additional lags of the dependent variable was not feasible. To check for the possibility that the results are spurious artefacts of autocorrelation, as it was done in Section 6.2.1, cross-sectional models were conducted. Specifically, the dataset for the entire campaign has been split into individual weeks, and separate models were estimated for each week. The detailed outcomes from the cross-sectional models are presented in the Appendix J. The models have shown the direction of the effect consistent with Table 6.8, and they do not show significance in any of the weeks.

Furthermore, to test the influence of the alternative ways of treating outliers, additional regression models have been ran, as detailed in Appendix I. It is noteworthy that the models did not show any significant trend of the coverage substance with candidates' gender. Further to that, it was investigated whether using local media outlets as additional confounder affects the results found earlier (see Appendix K). The additional regression showed findings similar to those reported in Table 6.8.

At the same time the results of the Augmented Dickey–Fuller test [19] (placed in Appendix

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[19]For more information about the test please refer to Chapter 5.4.3.

Q) indicate that as the data is stationary, the time series models have not been affected by the presence of the unit root.

In summary, the results also do not confirm the hypothesis H2 stating that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames than men.* In fact, the regressions suggest that there is no difference between the amount of framed coverage received by men and women candidates. It is noteworthy as well, that the sample used for this analysis consisted of a substantial number of press outlets, election candidates and encompassed a wide time span, yet the number of instances when the analysed frames appeared was very low (35 in both local and national). These analyses not only suggest that the there was no substantial difference in the way men and women candidates were depicted, but also that the gender bias did not seem to be a problem in the 2015 general election campaign.

6.3.2   Candidates' views

To verify the significance of the findings from Section 6.3.1, they are confronted with the analysis of interviews with the selected candidates.

The interviews reveal that there exists a perception of the media environment as being less favourable towards women politicians, confirming the assumptions made in Chapter 4. For instance, the following remarks have been made on the press coverage substance by one of the women interviewees:

> *"(...) I think the journalists do treat females differently by being much harsher on them, you know they consider, what you dress, what you look like, what you weigh. I think there is a huge misogyny and sexism in the industry it is not just the media (...) I think I am too old and too cranky (...) to be bothered by it too much (...) However I do know it does affect you and it can be quite negative it can be quite difficult (...)"*

Interview: Woman [03]

Moreover, some of the interview participants also pointed out that there were particular issues scrutinised in the media coverage of women candidates only. It is noteworthy that the subjects mentioned by the candidates are well aligned with the frames investigated in this work. Furthermore, the candidates felt that the special manner of writing about women candidates could make their political career more difficult, mainly due to the fact that they operated under continuous inspection of various news outlets. What is more, the perception of women who engage with their political job and try to be effective in conveying their message is different to those of men, and quite often leads to

the media presenting behaviour of women politicians as something 'unnatural' for their gender:

> *"(...) I think how you look and whether you are married, and whether you have children, these are things that people have a view about, which I am always amazed about, because I am sure with men they really do not ever have a view about, really, how they look and what their marital status is... and I certainly think it is harder for women in politics, because you know, the words they use to describe you, you have either strived or you are bossy... those kind of words, when actually from man you would be seen to be, you know, setting up the case effectively, arguing your corner effectively... All those kind of things can be, I think, applied and that is not fair."*

Interview: Woman [02]

> *"It is difficult to operate in the arena when you are constantly scrutinised, and you are constantly scrutinised not because of what you achieve or what you think or your intellect, but because of what you look like or what you represent (...) It is very easy to be categorised around those things rather than what you are standing for politically."*

Interview: Woman [03]

It is noteworthy that the perception that women are written about differently by the media was also shared by some of the men interviewees. Importantly, they expressed a belief that this could make women's situation more difficult. However, they also anticipated that those discrepancies in the way politicians are presented could mirror a general social attitude towards women, rather than being a result of a bad practice in the media:

> *"(...) Inevitably, if you are a female candidate you do get more scrutiny on things like what you look like, what you wearing all this kind of stuff, which you never get if you are a man (...) I suspect that is a part of media reflecting what are the social attitude, which is, you know, more important to attach, you know, how women look and a perceive visually than what they are saying (...) So I do think that it is true that women do have a harder time, simply because of, you know, the nature of the gender."*

Interview: Man [07]

It is crucial to note at this point that, although both men and women interviewees perceived the media environment as gender biased and were able to pinpoint those particular areas where women are treated differently, they always talked about the examples of discrimination that were not directly related to them. When asked whether they have been an object of gender-biased coverage themselves, the candidates always admitted that they did not personally experience such situation. For instance, one woman participant, when asked whether she experienced any gendered coverage in the press said:

> "*For me not, because I am single, I do not have, there is no family and also the local party this time had wanted, as I say, to select diversely. But that is not always the case and there are certainly occasions where I have heard that women, particularly those with children, people asking them the question who is going to look after the children. Which is the question they would never ever ask a man. And women feel particular pressure I think.*"

> **Interview: Woman [05]**

Similarly, women participants also did not note any substantial coverage that would be related to their gender. For instance, one of them said the following about his coverage substance:

> "*More on the political stuff. I did not get any (...) reference to you know personal, tend to be more about political position etc. (...) that again may be more to do with the fact that, you know, some of the more high profile tend to get some attention (...) being devoted to their personal lives (...)*"

> **Interview: Man [08]**

Similar observation has been made in Section 6.2.3, whereby women admitted that they did not experience any discrimination in terms of the media interest during the 2015 general election. This may suggest that the perception of the press coverage as being full of references to gender-biased frames might be more of the 'conventional wisdom' (Hayes and Lawless, 2016b), rather than reality. However, it is noteworthy that these observations are made based on the sample of just 8 interviews. It is equally possible that the press outlets in the analysed constituencies exhibited exceptionally favourable attitude towards women, or that reporting of gender-related frames is a rare phenomenon and thus was not present in these constituencies. Furthermore, it could be the case that the interviewed participants were predominantly focused on their coverage in the local media outlets which, as follows from regressions presented in Section 6.3.1, do not exhibit significant gender bias.

Regardless of whether the regular gender-bias in coverage substance is a fact or just a widespread perception, the interviews showed that it might have an impact on the likelihood of the women to run, as they are concerned that it might influence their careers. This is consistent with the existing literature on the subject (see for example Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991), which suggests that women may be deterred from politics due to the discriminating press coverage of other women candidates. Indeed, one of the women MPs expressed her concerns and doubts she had while she was making the decision to stand as a candidate, pointing not only to the fact that women quite often need a 'nudge' to put themselves forward, but also indicating that she is still worried about her media coverage:

> *"(...) I think a lot of the best women, when you look around always needed that little nudge in the right direction, whereas men quite often do not, they nudge themselves (...)"*

<div align="right">**Interview: Woman [04]**</div>

> *"(...) You need to have very thick skin and you need to get thick skin very, very quickly. What I find really difficult is I can cope with it, but it is difficult when your family and friends and husband for example read some of the negative things about you, whether it is online, it is predominantly online, and I worry about that, I worry that one day I might, you know I will probably make mistakes, I will probably make political mistakes and when those days come (...) I do not want my family and friends and husband to read negative stories about me in the press and I do worry about that (...)"*

<div align="right">**Interview: Woman [04]**</div>

Furthermore, women indicated that they positively responded to the impact of role models. For instance, one of the women interviewees said that as a teenager she wanted to be an MP - even despite the fact that her role model (PM Margaret Thatcher) had views different from her and that none of her family members was politically involved. Although she saw being a politician as a really interesting job, she also wondered why there were so few women in the UK politics. Only her strong belief that this could be changed, and the example of Margaret Thatcher allowed her to pursue the career she thought about as a child. Even though later on she joined the Labour Party, in the interview she mentioned that she still held the first woman Prime Minister in high regard:

> "*Ever since I was in my teens I wanted to be an MP. I just thought it was a really
> interesting job and I thought there was so few women and why would there be so
> few women, there ought to be more and I just I had always wanted to do it (...) I
> grew up when Thatcher was Prime Minister and I just thought (...) you know I did
> not agree with her, but I just thought: wow, stand up and speak and represent
> people (...)"*

Interview: Woman [02]

This may suggest that women may be encouraged to participate in politics by various
stimuli and that the positive stimulus, such as having someone that can inspire you, can
constitute a very effective encouragement.

The interviews also allowed to gain some insight into the differences in the coverage
substance between the local and national press. For instance, some of the interviewed
politicians were able to identify the main areas of interest for local and national me-
dia. Many admitted that only prominent politicians and national issues can appear in
the national news outlets, which is consistent with the existing literature on this topic
(Vinson and Moore, 2007; Franklin and Richardson, 2002). Therefore, the focus of the
interviewed candidates was predominantly on local media, which further underlines their
importance in such analyses. For instance, this is what one of the candidates said when
asked about the differences in issues covered in the local and national press:

> "*At different level, different things. So in the local news, where I was getting
> extensive coverage it was mainly about the local issues and my background and
> image and all that barely came to the campaign at all, also television is very much
> issue-based, when the national print media tended to, if they said thing about me
> they gave superficial, superficial things about me, they would not talk about the local
> campaign (...) I think it depends on how much coverage you get. The more you get,
> the deeper they can get to know you.*"

Interview: Woman [05]

In summary, some of the interviewees indicated that women not only need to be en-
couraged to make a decision to stand for election but also that the media coverage they
receive may have some influence on their political career and family life. Indeed, most
of the interviewed candidates believed that the media coverage may differ between men
and women contenders while being more hostile towards the latter. However, none of the
interviewees indicated that they experienced the gender-biased framing in press coverage
personally. This is consistent with the supposition made in the theoretical Chapter 4,
that the widespread perception of gender-biased media might be more of a 'conventional

wisdom' than a reality. Indeed, statistical analyses support this, as both in local and national media outlets variation in gender-biased frames is not attributable to candidates' gender. To explore this possibility even further, the next Section describes the differences in coverage substance in the local and national press.

6.3.3 Comparison of gender effect on local versus national coverage

Results presented in Table 6.8 give some indication of the differences in the amount of gender-related framing in local and national press. Indeed, the regression coefficient in local press was negative, while in national press a coefficient with opposite sign was found. It is noteworthy that these differences were insignificant. To fully explore this, and get better sense of the variance of the regression outcomes, simulations were conducted. In particular, regressions outlined in Table 6.8 were used to predict the effect of gender on the number of articles containing gender-frames in local and national press.[20] Results from the simulations are presented in Figure 6.5.

<div style="text-align:center">(a) Local   (b) National</div>
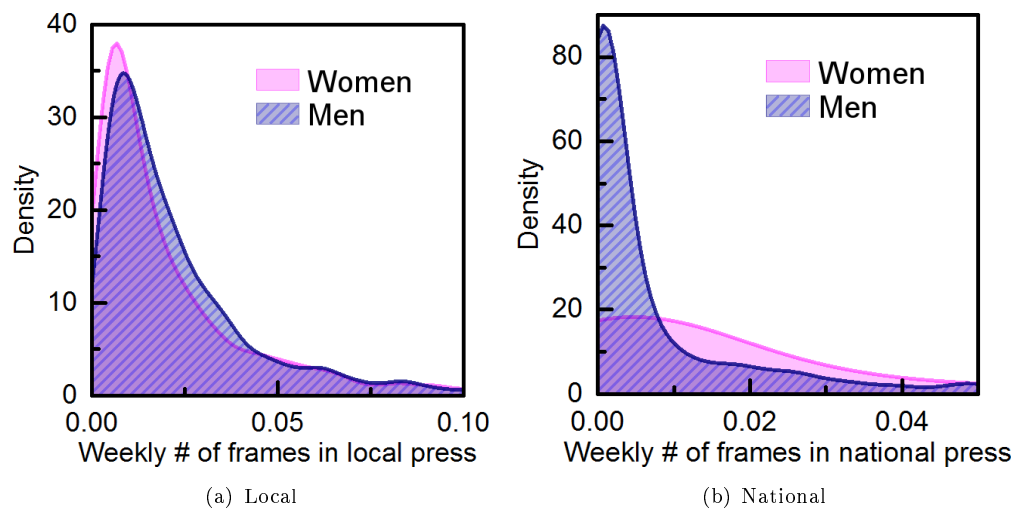
Figure 6.5: Simulations of the predicted effect of candidates' gender on the occurrence of the selected frames in local and national media during the 2015 general election. None of the differences are significant

Based on the simulations, the differences in a mean effect size for men and women candidates were standardised to the standard deviation for local and national press. The calculations were analogous to those presented in Section 6.2.4 and are summarised in Table 6.9. As follows from the Table, a hypothetical change from man to woman of an otherwise equivalent candidate will be associated with a decrease of gender-framing number of articles in local press equal to 0.009 standard deviations, whereas the expected increase in the number of articles containing frames in national press would be equivalent to 2.1 standard deviations.

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[20] For further explanation of simulations please refer to Chapter 5.4.2.

Table 6.9: Means, distributions and standardised mean effects of gender on amount of framed coverage in the local and national press during the 2015 general election.

Variable	Total (SD)	Men mean (SD)	Women mean (SD)	Difference mean [STD]
$FRAMES_t$, local press	(0.3)	0.026 (0.032)	0.029 (0.047)	0.003 [0.009]
$FRAMES_t$, national press	(0.2)	0.13 (1.1)	0.54 (3.8)	0.41 [2.1]

The comparison of the effect sizes, as visualised in Figure 6.5 suggests that there exists a difference in frequency of appearance of selected frames in local and national press. Accordingly, H4 stating that *media coverage of candidates differs between local and national outlets with women receiving more coverage referring to appearance/age, parenthood, partners as well as gender/novelty in the local press* needs to be rejected. As follows from the theoretical Chapter (4), this trend may be potentially explained by the fact that men-dominated editorial boards in national media outlets may prove more hostile to women. However, to fully explore this theory, more work would be required, and thus, this is recognised as essential future work.

6.4   Summary

This Chapter not only provides quantitative analysis of both volume as well as substance of the local and national press coverage received by the candidates standing in the 2015 general election, but also uses interviews with the candidates in order to provide more in-depth interpretation of the quantitative findings. In particular, the analyses conducted here tested the dominant idea about the gender-biased media expressed in the following hypotheses:

H1: During campaigns for different political positions, women candidates receive less volume of press coverage than men.

H2: During campaigns for different political positions, press coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames related to appearance/age, parenthood, partners as well as gender/novelty than men.

H3: Media coverage of candidates differs between local and national outlets with women receiving less volume of coverage in the local press.

H4: Media coverage of candidates differs between local and national outlets with women receiving more coverage referring to appearance/age, parenthood, partners as well as gender/novelty in the local press.

To examine the first hypothesis, candidates' visibility has been measured in three ways which complement each other. Specifically, this included the number of articles candidates were depicted in, number of words written about them and the length of their direct quotations. As described in the literature review, even though a host of studies suggest that for years women politicians have been largely ignored by the media (Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991; Heldman et al., 2005; Campbell and Childs, 2010; Adcock, 2010; Ross et al., 2013), the literature is not always equivocal as some scholars indicate that the press does not favour politicians of one gender in terms of their visibility (Rausch et al., 1999; Devitt, 2002). There are also studies which demonstrate that women can actually receive more coverage than men (Bystrom et al., 2001; Jalalzai, 2006; Atkeson and Krebs, 2008).

In this Chapter, the analysis of the number of articles mentioning the candidates alone revealed that women candidates were more likely to be depicted in the articles than their men counterparts. The results not only indicated the existence of this trend in both local and national press, but also found its confirmation in a qualitative analysis of matched pairs of politicians, where articles depicting women candidates also outnumbered those of men in both types of the media outlets.

In terms of the number of words written about the candidates, statistical analyses did not reveal any significant differences between men and women politicians, not only further confirming rejection of the hypothesis H1, but also remaining in agreement with findings described by Smith (1997). The qualitative analysis of matched pairs also supports falsifiability of the hypothesis H1; the analysed cases suggested that in both types of newspapers women candidates were described in more words than their men counterparts.

Finally, when it comes to the candidates' visibility, a measure of words men and women candidates were quoted with also confirms the above trends. To-date, many studies indicate that women politicians were less likely to be quoted than their men counterparts (see for example O'Neill and Savigny, 2014; Ross et al., 2013), which might not only undermine their visibility and profile as politicians, but could also give the media an opportunity to present their views and opinions on its own terms (O'Neil et al., 2016). For example, O'Neil et al. (2016) indicate that direct quotes are less likely to be misreported, and thus could be perceived as a good and reliable source of information about candidates. The outcomes of the analysis reveal that women's visibility measured in quoted words was not compromised as compared to men. This is confirmed by regression analysis in both local and national press and broadly by qualitative examination of the matched pairs.

To verify the second hypothesis (H2), all collected articles have been coded against

selected frames.[21] While the existence of those frames in women's coverage has been described in the literature in the past (see for example Conroy et al., 2015), the body of research is not unequivocal on that topic too. Indeed, some researchers did not find any gender differences in the quality of press coverage of men and women candidates. For instance Hayes and Lawless (2016b) report that they have found that women were not more likely to receive coverage focusing on their appearance, family or indicating their feminine traits. The here-presented analysis of the 2015 general election also does not support hypothesis H2. In particular, regression analyses show that both in local and national press there was no significant difference between men and women in the number of articles mentioning candidates in a framed context. The qualitative analyses of the matched pairs seem to support the theory about the lack of difference between the substance of men and women candidates' coverage, as none of the selected participants received such coverage. Finally, it should be underlined that the framed coverage was very rare in the case of ordinary candidates, as only 35 instances of such coverage were observed in the selected constituencies throughout the entire campaign.

Lastly, this Chapter looks into differences between local and national press. An informal comparison of coverage revealed that the local press wrote more often about all selected candidates, devoted to them more articles and words, as well as quoting them to a greater extent. This is despite the fact that, usually, one candidate received press attention from a single newspaper (dominant in the constituency). In contrast, there were 6 national titles. When it comes to the analysis of selected frames, some differences between the national and local media outlets were also found, with the former devoting slightly more attention to this kind of coverage. One of the reasons behind those differences could be the fact that, with a few exceptions, participants selected for this study were ordinary politicians. Thus, without having a high political profile it was more difficult for them to capture the interest of national media. In contrast, local press tended to focus on the candidates from the nearest constituencies.

Third and fourth hypotheses concern the differences between local and national press. Specifically, they theorised that local news outlets may generate coverage more hostile towards women, both in terms of volume and substance of coverage. Despite those existing presumptions the analyses conducted in this Chapter demonstrated that this is not the case. Statistical analyses not only suggest that women were more likely to be depicted in both local and national press, but also that the size of this effect was slightly stronger in the local media, particularly when measured in candidates' quotes. Furthermore, it has been revealed that local and national press differ in terms of frequency of using frames when writing about candidates of different gender. In particular, national press was found more likely to describe women candidates in that way than local press. Conducted

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[21] The articles have been coded against any mentions of candidates' gender and novelty of their candidacy, age and appearance, partners and relationships as well as children. For more information about the applied code please see Chapter 5.3.2.

simulations based on these regressions further confirm those findings. Accordingly, the conducted analyses lead to rejection of hypotheses H3 and H4.

First-hand narrations provide the final insight into what the media coverage looked like during the 2015 general election. This approach aimed to illustrate the results obtained during statistical analysis and to add depth to the quantitative research findings by explaining the discovered trends. The very first observation which emerges from the interviews is that there exists a perception of the media as gender-biased and less favourable towards women politicians. Some of the interviewees believed that women are treated differently in particular areas, even though they did not provide any evidence for those claims from their own experience. Moreover, the assumption that the media could work as a barrier for women political participation, and the perception that gender bias might make women question their ability to stand as a candidate, have also been found. Indeed, some of the candidates openly acknowledged this issue while being interviewed.

Furthermore, the interviews also confirmed that press coverage may vary between local and national titles, and shed some light on possible explanation of this phenomenon. A disparity in the number of articles depicting selected candidates could be explained not only by the fact that the main focus of the national media are the more prominent politicians, but also by the lack of interest of the candidates themselves in the national coverage. Indeed, some of the interviewees indicated that the most important place to get any media coverage was the local and regional newspapers (one candidate even admitted that knowing how difficult it is to maintain a good national media profile, he deliberately decided to keep himself away from it). Moreover, the interviews showed that it was easier for the candidates to develop some relations with local journalist. This might also explain why local press covered selected candidates for this study more often than the national titles.

Since the analyses presented in this Chapter show a different picture of press coverage of women candidates from that emerging from the existing body of the UK research, some explanation of those new trends needs to be offered. The interviews with the candidates provide some insight into that question. Indeed, the women interviewees indicated that their level of training and preparation to work alongside the media was constantly increasing. Furthermore, the qualitative analysis also shows that women need role models and thus the changes in women political status and increasing number of women holding public offices also helps them in their political runs. Finally, the changes in how the news outlets depict the candidates could also explain the trends observed during the 2015 general election.

As outlined in Chapter 4, the main focus of the majority of scholars in the field is on the national media. This results in the local newspapers being neglected and not being perceived as an important part of political campaigns. Nonetheless, the analyses presented in this Chapter give some indications as to why they should be taken into

consideration in the future research. First of all, the national media is mainly interested in the high-profile candidates, and thus the average politicians might be under-reported in the nationwide newspapers. Accordingly, analysis of different types of press could prevent obtaining biased results. This Chapter emphasizes that ignoring the local media, might deprive the researchers of substantial amounts of important data. Furthermore, the results obtained from the analysis of only one press type might not be appropriate foundation for generalisations. Thus, this study shows that the academics involved in similar research should be aware that only consideration of both local and national press gives a complete picture of the media environment.

While this Chapter predominantly focused on low-profile candidates standing for the 2015 general election, the following Chapters analyse more high-profile cases. In particular, the next Chapter will analyse the media coverage throughout the 2015 Labour leadership election.

Chapter 7

Labour leadership election

7.1 Overview of the 2015 Labour leadership election campaign: 'Corbynmania'

F ollowing the defeat of the Labour Party in the 2015 general election, Ed Miliband resigned as a party leader, triggering the party leadership election process. A day after his resignation, Liz Kendall [1] became the first person to declare her willingness to replace him. Within the next days more candidates decided to stand in the race for the leadership position, among them Yvette Cooper, Andy Burnham and Chuka Umunna.[2] While the latter dropped out just three days after announcing his decision - blaming the media for putting pressure on his family life - Kendal, Cooper and Burnham remained in the campaign to end. Apart from declaring their willingness to stand as contestants for the highest position within the party, the candidates had to secure the nominations of at least 35 members of Parliamentary Labour Party. As seen in Table 7.1, Monday 15 of June was the deadline to fulfil the requirement and enter the race.[3] It seems worth noting that on Monday morning there were just three candidates for the leadership positions, as Jeremy Corbyn [4] was placed on the ballot only minutes before the nominations closed. His late entrance to the campaign was caused by his initial problems with securing the required number of supporting nominations from fellow party members and the whole situation did not go unnoticed by the media.

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[1] Labour Party politician and MP for Leicester West since 2010.

[2] Labour Party politicians and MPs for: Normanton, Pontefract and Castleford (Yvette Cooper), Leigh (Andy Burnham) and Streatham (Chuka Umunna).

[3] This day was also the first day of the data collection. The analysis only included the coverage of the candidates who secured the nomination, i.e. Andy Burnham, Yvette Cooper, Liz Kendall and Jeremy Corbyn.

[4] Labour Party politician and MP for Islington North.

8 May	Ed Miliband resigns as a leader of the Labour Party - his resignation is a consequence of the result of the 2015 general election.
9 June	Nominations for candidates for the Labour leader open.
15 June	Nominations close - candidates who secured the nomination are: Andy Burnham, Yvette Cooper, Liz Kendall and Jeremy Corbyn. The first day of data collection.
12 August	Last day to join the Labour Party as a member, an affiliated supporter or a registered supporter, to be able to cast a vote in the leadership election.
14 August	Ballot papers sent out to those eligible to vote.
10 September	Ballot closes.
12 September	Jeremy Corbyn is announced a new leader of the Labour Party during a special party conference. The last day of the data collection.

Figure 7.1: Timeline of the 2015 Labour leadership election.

While some expected Corbyn to vanish among other candidates, he quite quickly proved to be the one to beat. During almost 13 weeks of the campaign,[5] from the articles discussing welfare cuts (Glaze, 2015), through those about migration (Wintour, 2015b), up to deliberations on the future of the Labour Party (Hawkes, 2015), Corbyn's movement from the outskirts of politics to the front pages of the national press could be observed. His candidacy became so widely described by the media, that one of the journalists even indicated that his decision to stand in the leadership race could be perceived along "with Calais migrants and Cecil the lion as the story of the summer of 2015" (Cadwalladr, 2015).

Considering the relations between the Labour Party and women, the statistics show that out of the 489 women elected as Members of the House of Commons since 1918, a significant majority of them (283/58 per cent) represented the Labour Party (Apostolova and Cracknell, 2017). What is more, as indicated in Chapter 2, straight after women have been allowed to stand as a Parliamentary candidates, Labour was the first party to adopt a woman politician and place her as an official party nominee for one of the seats.

Accordingly, in 1997, thanks to a landslide victory of the Labour Party in the 1997 general election the number of women MPs doubled, for the first time reaching the barrier of 18 per cent. Moreover, a number of the new cohort of Labour Members of Parliament

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[5]The coverage was gathered from Monday 15 June with Sunday 12 September as the last day, as specified in Figure 7.1.

have been selected thanks to all-women shortlists - a practice used to increase women's representation by allowing only women candidates to stand in some constituencies.

Despite having championed equal pay for men and women, supported working mothers and managing to have among their MPs the highest number of women (Orr, 2016), the party has never elected a woman leader. The only time when the party was led by a woman were the interim periods in 2010 and 2015 when Margaret Beckett and Harriet Harman acted as leaders until the new leader was elected. Furthermore, until the Labour leadership election in 2015, only two women candidates had ever stood for the leadership position - Margaret Becket in 1994 and Dianne Abbott in 2010.

In spite of the disparity being quite pronounced, it needs to be stressed that gender of the two women candidates standing for the 2015 Labour leadership election has not been made a key subject of articles published during the campaign. Furthermore, certain aspects of coverage, previously described as discriminating, were not present in this campaign at all. For instance, the analysis of the Labour leadership coverage revealed that frame related to gender markers and 'novelty' of the candidates (regardless of gender) were not observed (and thus they will not be analysed in this Chapter). This lack of media interest in the presence of women candidates in the race for the leadership could be related to the fact that the party has been perceived by the journalists as more open towards women, making their presence in the race not particularly newsworthy for the media.

Drawing from the theoretical foundations of this thesis (see Chapter 4), one might expect the frames which are commonly linked to gender bias in the media to be employed more frequently in campaigns for higher political offices. This work theorises that even though they may become apparent, their presence will be less prevalent than it was thought to be. Moreover, it is observed that even if present, they might not always be negative towards women candidates. In fact, they are occasionally employed by women themselves, embracing their gender to differentiate themselves from their political opponents.

7.2 Effect of candidates' gender on coverage volume

The analysis of the press coverage collected during the Labour leadership election aims at verifying hypothesis H1 stating that *women candidates receive less volume of coverage than men.* Although the analysis of the 2015 general election has already provided some evidence disproving the hypothesis (see Chapter 6), this run involved less candidates, had a higher stake (the winner would become a Shadow Prime Minister) and was broadly covered by the national media. This Chapter aims at verifying whether the observed trend will hold in these different circumstances.

7.2.1 Preliminary quantitative analysis

Throughout the duration of the Labour leadership election campaign, national media outlets were monitored;[6] local press was not accounted for in the analysis, as the main debate around this election took place on a national level.

Overall, over the 13 weeks [7] of the campaign, a total of approximately 26,000 articles were downloaded by the press coverage collection system. The stories were then subsequently searched with NVivo™ for the names of the candidates standing for the leadership election.[8] The search identified 1166 articles mentioning at least one of the Labour leadership contestants, which is substantially higher than the amount of articles published in the national press during the 2015 general election (428).[9] This serves to support the supposition outlined in Chapter 4, stating that newspapers with broader range predominantly focus on general and high-profile matters.

Preliminary data mining revealed that, when it comes to the volume of the press coverage, one of the candidates was particularly often depicted in the press. The unexpected nomination, radical political views and rise in popularity of Jeremy Corbyn resulted in substantial number of articles focusing on his candidacy. Indeed, of the 1166 articles covering the campaign Jeremy Corbyn had been commented on in 913 of them, Andy Burnham in 626, Yvette Cooper in 576 and Liz Kendall in 514 articles.[10] The share of the articles in which each of the candidates has been mentioned in the total number of articles collected for this campaign is presented in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1: Number of articles in which each of the 2015 Labour leadership candidates was depicted and their share of total coverage.

Candidate	Articles received (total)	Share of total coverage
Jeremy Corbyn	913	78.3%
Andy Burnham	626	53.7%
Yvette Cooper	576	49.4%
Liz Kendall	514	44.0%

Examination of the press coverage distribution throughout each week of the campaign followed the Labour leadership election as it slowly gained momentum with time (see Figure 7.2). After the nominations and presentation of the candidates in the first week of the campaign, a drop of interest was observed. Subsequently, until week 5 (inclusive), only moderate media interest was observed. In contrast, a peak in media attention

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[6] For the titles of collected national newspapers please refer to Appendix C.

[7] It needs to be noted that the last week of the campaign lasted for 6 days, as the results have been announced on Saturday.

[8] A broader description of how this search was conducted can be found in Chapter 5.3.

[9] In the 2015 general election the number of articles (per candidate per day) published in national press was equal to 0.15, while in the Labour leadership election was equal to 3.2.

[10] Please be aware that it is possible that more than one candidate has been mentioned in an article - which implies that adding together percentage of mentions for all of the candidates will not give 100 per cent.

occurred in week 6, when a *YouGov* poll (conducted for *the Times*) put Corbyn in the lead for the very first time (Coates, 2015a). This not only resulted in a rise of the media interest in the campaign itself but also significantly boosted the interest in his candidacy. Accordingly, as depicted in Figure 7.2, Corbyn remained the most visible contender until the end of the campaign (see for example an article by Cowburn, 2015). The quantities of coverage of the remaining candidates were smaller, and the differences between them were unsubstantial.
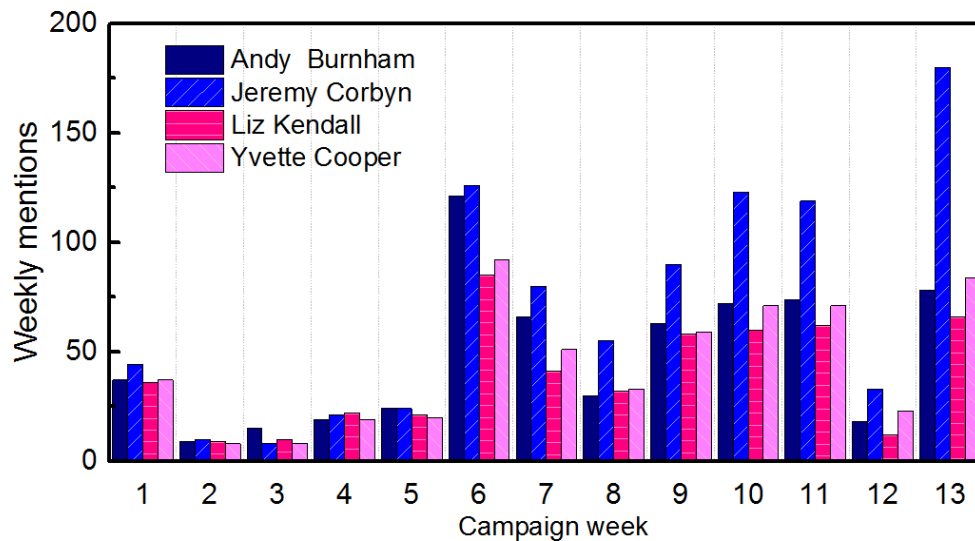
Figure 7.2: Variation in number of articles about each candidate running for the 2015 Labour leadership throughout the time of the campaign.

Although those simple statistics may serve as a superficial overview of the press coverage during the Labour leadership election, it needs to be stressed that this analysis did not account for confounders which could influence the results. Thus, to systematically analyse the impact of a host of variables on the coverage volume, regression analyses were conducted and they are presented in the upcoming Section.

7.2.2 Regression analysis controlling for multiple covariates

The data collected throughout the Labour leadership election campaign was manipulated to a form suitable for running regressions. First, the dataset containing a number of articles mentioning the election candidates was scrutinised for abnormal observations. While the investigation showed that Jeremy Corbyn received more coverage than other candidates, it was decided not to exclude him from the analysis, as the source of his coverage volume was not exogenous to the electoral campaign. Subsequently, the dataset was converted to a balanced panel of 52 observations (4 candidates over 13 weeks of the campaign). This meant that the unit of analysis was candidate-week, while a single observation was the number of articles mentioning a specific candidate within a specific week of the campaign.

Having established the measure of coverage volume, the analysis moved to selection of appropriate confounders. Similarly to the analysis of the 2015 general election, candidates' gender (GEN), time of the campaign ($WEEK$) and candidates' incumbency (INC) have been used. Additionally, to control for the varying experience of the candidates, a variable indicating the duration of the tenure in the office was added. Furthermore, to guard against autocorrelation, a lagged dependent variable was added.[11] Accordingly, the regression equation was:

$$ARTICLES_t = \alpha + \beta_1 GEN + \beta_2 INC + \beta_3 TIMEASMP + \beta_4 WEEK + \beta_5 ARTICLES_{t-1} + \epsilon$$

$$(7.1)$$

where α is an intercept, β is a vector of covariates and ϵ is the error term. Descriptive statistics for numerical and categorical variables for the variables involved in the regression are presented in Tables 7.2 and 7.3 respectively.

Table 7.2: Summary statistics for numerical variables used in regression estimating impact of candidates' gender on coverage volume during the 2015 Labour leadership election.

Variable	n	Min	$\widetilde{x}$	$\bar{x}$	Max	SD
$ARTICLES_t$	52	8	39	50.6	180	37.9
$WEEK$	52	1	7	7.0	13	3.8
$TIMEASMP$	52	5	16	17.2	32	9.8

Table 7.3: Summary statistics for categorical variables used in regression estimating impact of candidates' gender on coverage volume during the 2015 Labour leadership election.

Variable	Levels	n	%
GEN	(Men)	26	50.0
	(Women)	26	50.0
	all	52	100.0
INC	(Neither)	39	75.0
	(Incumbent)	13	25.0
	all	52	100.0

As an inspection of the distribution of the dependent variable did not suggest any signs of over-dispersion,[12] the regression models employed Poisson distribution.[13]

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[11]For the explanation of each of the used variables please refer to Chapter 5.4.1.

[12]Weekly references to women candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 42 and 26 respectively while the same variable for men candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 59 and 45 respectively. Histograms of the dependent variable plotted conditionally for each category of main independent variable are presented in Appendix T.

[13]For more information about selecting the appropriate statistical model for count variables as well as an explanation of each variable please refer to Chapter 5.4.2.

The regression results are presented in Table 7.4. As evident in the presentation, the coefficient for *GEN (Women)* is not only negative, but also statistically significant at 99 per cent confidence level. This suggests that during the Labour leadership election women candidates were less likely to attract media interest when compared to men, which observation offers support to the H1 stating that *women candidates receive less volume of coverage than men.*

As also evident in Table 7.4, the positive coefficient for variable *WEEK* and its significance at 99.9 per cent confidence level indicate that candidates chances to feature in the press increased throughout the time of the election. This result stays in line with the observations made earlier in this Chapter (see Figure 7.2) as the media interest in the election visibly increased with time.

Additionally, the regression suggests that the more experienced candidates (with experience measured in time spent as an MP) were also more likely to attract the media attention. This relationship between experience and volume of press coverage is expressed in the positive coefficient for variable *TIMEASMP* and its significance at 95 per cent confidence level. Looking at the time candidates spent as MPs it could be assumed that a contender with the highest visibility (Corbyn) was also the most experienced (32 years in Parliament), while the candidate with the lowest number of articles (Kendall) was also the least experienced one (5 years in Parliament).

At the same time, while the existing literature suggests that incumbency might positively influence candidates' visibility in the media, the results of the regression indicate that this was not the case in the Labour leadership election. In fact, the regression shows that the coefficient for variable *INC* was negative and statistically significant (at 95 per cent confidence level). This may be explained by the fact that the only candidate who stood previously in the leadership election was Andy Burnham,[14] who was among the candidates who received less media attention.

To better visualise the magnitude and dispersion of the regression results, simulations were employed.[15] To do so, variable *GEN* was first set to *Men* and then to *Women*, while holding the values of each covariate to their mean value or modal category. Accordingly, Figure 7.3 shows the distribution of predicted mentions for men and women candidates.

Figure 7.3 shows that the expected number of articles mentioning a typical man candidate was 59 with a standard deviation of 4.7, whereas for a typical woman candidate it was 41 with a standard deviation of 1.7. The difference between man and woman equals 18 (SD = 5.7). Thus, a comparison of the effect sizes as visualised in Figure 7.3 reveals that, on average, men candidates were more likely to be depicted in the articles than their women opponents. This supports hypothesis H1 (stating that *women candidates receive*

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[14] Burnham unsuccessfully stood as a candidate in the 2010 Labour leadership election.

[15] For more information about the simulations please refer to Chapter 5.4.2.

Table 7.4: Model of coverage volume during the 2015 Labour leadership election.

	Coverage volume
(Intercept)	3.04***
	(0.17)
GEN (Women)	−0.38***
	(0.11)
$WEEK$	0.13***
	(0.01)
INC (Incumbent)	−0.24*
	(0.10)
$TIMEASMP$	0.01*
	(0.00)
$ARTICLES_{t-1}$	−0.00*
	(0.00)
AIC	1083.62
BIC	1094.85
Log Likelihood	-535.81
Deviance	809.66
Num. obs.	48

***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, †$p < 0.1$
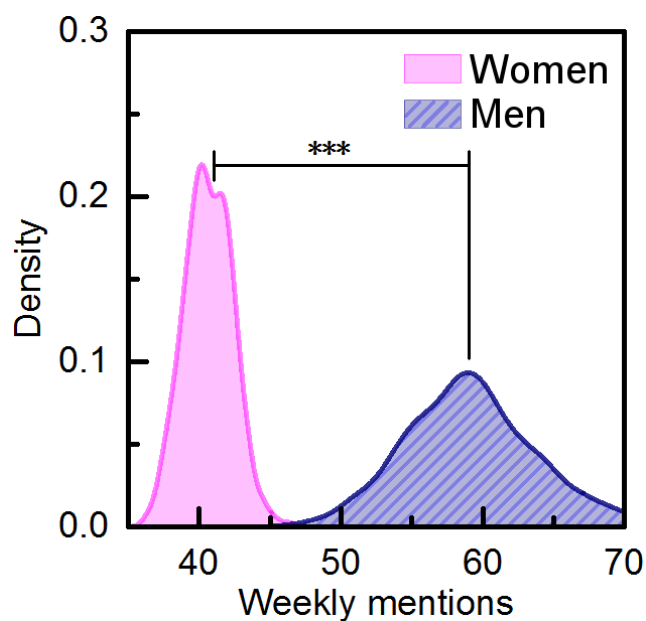
Figure 7.3: Simulations of the predicted effect of candidates' gender on coverage volume during the 2015 Labour leadership election. ***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, †$p < 0.1$.

less volume of coverage than men). This is in opposition to what was found during the 2015 general election.

It is worthy of note that making generalisations in regard to the influence of candidates' gender on the coverage is problematic when there are only a few of them running. Indeed, in the Labour leadership election the number of candidates standing for the leadership position was equal to n=4. Therefore, if there was a candidate that significantly differed from others in terms of the coverage volume, his/her influence may significantly affect the overall regression outcome. Given that there were some indications that this might be the case during the Labour leadership election, to rule out the possibility of a single candidate affecting the outcome of the analysis, an attempt was made to investigate the impact of individual candidates on the coverage quantity (as presented in the following Section).

7.2.3   Regression analysis controlling for individual candidates' effect

To find out the impact of the individual candidates on the coverage volume, another regression analysis was conducted. The analysis aimed at investigating whether any of the candidates contributed to the pool of articles more than others, and thus might have biased (in favour of one gender) the outcomes of the regressions presented in Section 7.2.2. To achieve the aim, instead of using a number of candidate-related confounders, the regression used dummy variables, one for each candidate. In particular, each of the candidates was represented with a dichotomous categorical variable ($D.CORBYN$, $D.BURNHAM$, $D.KENDALL$, $D.COOPER$).[16] This allowed for identification of how much individual candidates contributed to the overall pool of articles, when controlling for non-candidate-specific variable (*Week*). Descriptive statistics for the dummy variables used in the analysis are presented in Table 7.5.[17]

Two regressions were run; one used the dummy modal category set to Liz Kendall (Equation 7.2) while another used Yvette Cooper (Equation 7.3). Using the two women as reference permitted to meaningfully compare candidates' effects on the coverage volume. Accordingly, the regression models were as follows:

$$ARTICLES_t = \alpha + \beta_1 D.CORBYN + \beta_2 D.BURNHAM + \beta_3 D.COOPER + \beta_4 WEEK + \epsilon$$
$$(7.2)$$

and

$$ARTICLES_t = \alpha + \beta_1 D.CORBYN + \beta_2 D.BURNHAM + \beta_3 D.KENDALL + \beta_4 WEEK + \epsilon$$
$$(7.3)$$

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[16] For a further description of variables used in this Section please refer to Chapter 5.4.1.

[17] Summary statistics for numerical variables, can be found in Table 7.2 (Section 7.2.2).

Table 7.5: Summary statistics for categorical variables used in the regression investigating impact of individual candidates' effect on coverage volume during the 2015 Labour leadership election.

Variable	Levels	n	%
D.CORBYN	absent	39	75.0
	present	13	25.0
	all	52	100.0
D.BURNHAM	absent	39	75.0
	present	13	25.0
	all	52	100.0
D.KENDALL	absent	39	75.0
	present	13	25.0
	all	52	100.0
D.COOPER	absent	39	75.0
	present	13	25.0
	all	52	100.0

where α is an intercept, β is a vector of covariates and ϵ is the error term.

Since the dependent variable ($ARTICLES_t$) is a count variable and an inspection of its distribution did not suggest over-dispersion,[18] the models were approximated using a Poisson distribution. The results are displayed in Table 7.6. The left column shows the outcome of regression in which Liz Kendall was used as reference category (Equation 7.2). In contrast, the regression using Yvette Cooper as a baseline category (equation 7.3) is presented on the right.

Looking at the regression where Liz Kendall was used as a reference category, both men candidates (Jeremy Corbyn and Andy Burnham) received significantly more coverage than her (99 per cent confidence level). However in the case of the regression where Yvette Cooper was used as a baseline, only the coefficient for Jeremy Corbyn was positive and statistically significant (99 per cent confidence level). The regression did not indicate a significant difference between Cooper and Burnham. Therefore, the analyses do not unambiguously indicate that men candidates were more likely to be depicted in the press.

While coefficients and p-values are useful in understanding the individual candidates' effect on their coverage, log counts are not readily interpretable. To better visualise the regression results and provide a better sense of estimated effect sizes, five simulation exercises were conducted. Accordingly, the dummy variables were set to one for each of the studied candidates - *Jeremy Corbyn*, *Andy Burnham*, *Yvette Cooper* and *Liz Kendall*,

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[18]For means and standard deviations please refer to Table M.1 in Appendix M. The histograms of the dependent variable are presented in Appendix T.

while holding the values of each covariate to their mean value or modal category.[19] The simulation outcomes were presented on a density plot, as shown in Figure 7.4.

From the Figure, the predicted number of articles depicting each candidate can be estimated. The expected number of mentions for Jeremy Corbyn was 65 articles with a standard deviation of 2.2, while for the other man candidate — Andy Burnham the volume of received coverage was predicted at the level of 45 articles with a standard deviation of 1.8. At the same time, simulation results indicated that Yvette Cooper received 41 articles mentioning her candidacy, with a standard deviation of 1.7 while the remaining woman candidate — Liz Kendall was anticipated to receive the volume of coverage equal to 37 articles per week (SD=1.6).

The data presented in Figure 7.4 shows that Jeremy Corbyn received the largest coverage share which could at least partially be linked to his political views. Accordingly, his candidacy revolved around a number of controversies, strong left-winged convictions and 'eccentric' behaviour. Corbyn was, by far, the most unique candidate, who expressed the most radical political views. In particular, information about him breaking party discipline and presenting himself as anti-war and anti-nuclear democratic socialist could be frequently found in the media during the campaign. While statistical analyses in Section 7.2.2 suggest that men candidates received more coverage than women, this regression shows that this result might have been biased by his performance.

Even though the very first articles about Corbyn published during this campaign mentioned his difficulties with securing support for his candidacy, his leadership bid quickly gained the momentum and the media attention, "bringing excitement to what was otherwise shaping up as a dull campaign" (MacAskill, 2015). His radical views about pacifism, relations with Russia, Osama bin Laden's death as well as opinions on Hezbollah and Hamas not only resulted in calling him a "loony left Labour frontrunner" (Fawkes, 2015) but also overshadowed the visibility of other candidates.

While a lot of people seemed to be interested in knowing something more about Corbyn (one of the papers noted that his name was 'google-searched' more frequently than Jesus and hence called him "bigger than Jesus" (Bloom, 2015a)), some members of his own party had a strong opinion on his candidacy. For instance, press noted that Tony Blair perceived his supporters as needing a "head transplant" (Savage and Fisher, 2015) and Alaistair Campbell urged to vote for "anyone but Corbyn" (see Bloom, 2015b), which indicates the atmosphere within the party. Many Labour politicians as well as supporters questioned not only Corbyn's abilities to act as a potential leader and to unite the party, but also put in doubt his chances of becoming elected as a Prime Minister in the future.

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[19]All simulations and associated estimates were conducted with the R package *Zelig*, using the default of 1000 simulations, as described in Chapter 5.4.2.

Table 7.6: Models of coverage volume during the 2015 Labour leadership election - individual candidates' effect.

	Coverage volume [a]	Coverage volume [b]
(Intercept)	2.87***	2.98***
	(0.06)	(0.06)
$D.CORBYN$	0.57***	0.46***
	(0.06)	(0.05)
$D.BURNHAM$	0.20***	0.08
	(0.06)	(0.06)
$D.COOPER$	0.11[†]	
	(0.06)	
$D.KENDALL$		-0.11[†]
		(0.06)
$WEEK$	0.10***	0.10***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
AIC	1145.64	1145.64
BIC	1155.40	1155.40
Log Likelihood	-567.82	-567.82
Deviance	851.72	851.72
Num. obs.	52	52

***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, [†]$p < 0.1$, [a]Liz Kendall is a reference category, [b]Yvette Cooper is a reference category
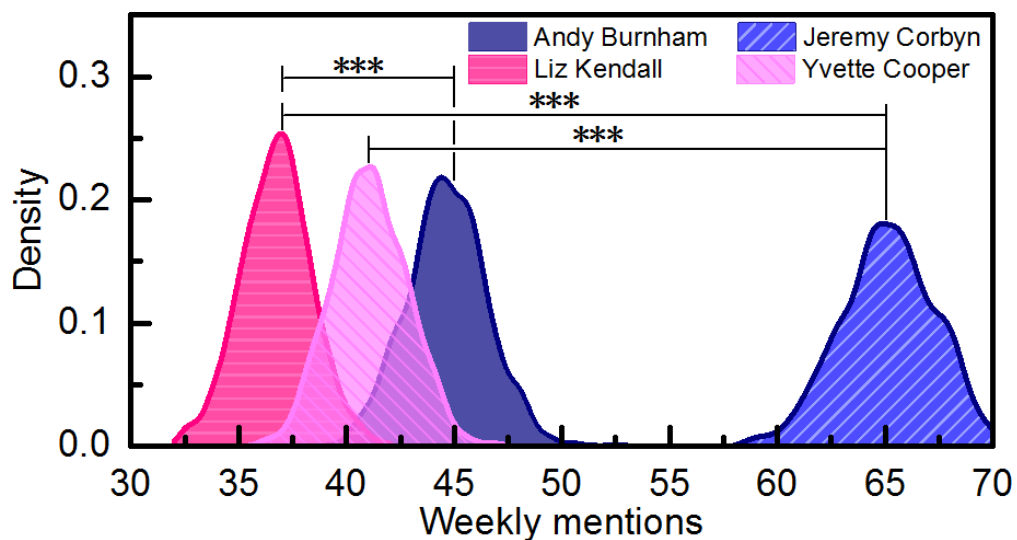
Figure 7.4: Simulations of the predicted effect of individual candidates on coverage volume during the 2015 Labour leadership election. ***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, [†]$p < 0.1$. Significance marked only for men-women pairs.

Additional anxiety was also caused by the new voting system, introduced by Ed Miliband, which might potentially have worked in favour of Jeremy Corbyn's candidacy. In particular, the Labour voting rules were loosened and anyone who registered as party supporter, paid £3 and declared to believe in Labour values could vote. Thus, the press coverage became dominated by articles in which some of the Labour members were expressing their fears over other parties efforts to sabotage the election (see for example the article by Bloom, 2015c). Calls were made for better verification of the newcomers to the party. At the same time, some made accusations that the calls were an attempt to suspend the elections by those opposing Corbyn's candidacy (Lemanski, 2015).

Overall, the analysis of the coverage suggests that the media attention towards Corbyn was not a result of his gender but rather the uniqueness of his candidacy. Thus, as the analysis of volume of press coverage received by the candidates during the 2015 Labour leadership election does not provide unequivocal results, so that falsity of the H1 stating that *women candidates receive less volume of coverage than men* cannot be completely ruled out.

7.2.4 Robustness checks

To verify the robustness of the models and associated inferences, several checks were conducted.[20] In particular, Breusch-Godfrey test for autocorrelation has been performed, and it suggested autocorrelation in all models, even despite the inclusion of lagged dependent variable (see Appendix Q).

Due to the fact that the time series employed in the regression models were short, inclusion of additional lags of the dependent variable was not feasible. Instead, cross-sectional models were estimated - one for each week of the campaign. While detailed outcomes of the cross-sectional models are presented in Appendix N, in general the models showed similar trends to those observed in Table 7.4. Specifically, the models revealed that in the vast majority of cases the direction of the effect of gender on coverage volume was the same (i.e. suggesting that women receive *less* coverage than men), and in some cases (week 13 and Total) that observation was statistically significant. Accordingly, the results of the cross-sectional models suggest that the main regression has not been affected by the autocorrelation.

At the same time the results of the Augmented Dickey-Fuller test, placed in Appendix Q, indicate that as the data is stationary, the time series model has not been affected by the presence of the unit root.

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[20]For more information about the conducted robustness checks, please refer to Section 5.4.3.

7.3   Effect of candidate's gender on the amount of gender-biased frames in the coverage

To understand the roots of the media interest as well as to investigate whether gender-bias existed in the press coverage, this Section will focus on analysing the substance of the collected coverage. Similarly to the dataset collected for the 2015 general election (see Section 6.3), the data was coded using the same methodology.[21] Specifically, the author coded: references to candidates' appearance and age, references to candidates' partners, as well as references to candidates' children. It is noteworthy that gender markers and novelty were also searched for, but such frames have not been observed during the 2015 Labour leadership campaign, and thus they are not analysed in the following Sections.

Based on the coded data panel datasets have been created, whereby each candidate-week was assigned a number of articles carrying the frames listed above. Table 7.7 presents the descriptive statistics of the so-created variables.

Furthermore, in the following Sections, the statistical analyses have been put in context using fragments of articles selected from the relevant coverage. This aided a 'reality check', i.e. aimed to verify whether the statistical analyses and the coverage content converge or significantly deviate from each other. The fragments, discussed alongside the quantitative analyses, have been selected following a systematic procedure described in Section 5.5.2.

Accordingly, different aspects of the coverage are now analysed one-by-one in the following Sections.

Table 7.7: Summary statistics for numerical variables used in regression estimating impact of candidates' gender on coverage substance during the 2015 Labour leadership election.

Variable	n	Min	$\widetilde{x}$	$\bar{x}$	Max	SD
$APPEARANCEAGE_t$	52	0	0	1.0	12	2.1
$PARENTHOOD_t$	52	0	0	0.6	4	1.1
$PARTNER_t$	52	0	0	0.8	6	1.2
$FRAMES_t$	52	0	1	2.3	14	2.8
$WEEK$	52	1	7	7.0	13	3.8
$TIMEASMP$	52	5	16	17.2	32	9.8

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[21] A more detailed description of the coding criteria is provided in Chapter 5.3.2.

7.3.1 Analysis of appearance and age frame

Regression analysis

The analysis of the coverage substance starts from examining those articles that mention candidate's appearance and age. First, a share of the stories mentioning those frames in the overall number of articles contenders received was assessed. Accordingly, Table 7.8 indicates that both men candidates got more coverage referring to their age and appearance than their women counterparts. Jeremy Corbyn has been depicted in 36 articles, which constituted 4 per cent of all coverage he received, while Andy Burnham, the second man candidate, received 10 articles and the total share of them was equal to 1.6 per cent. At the same time Liz Kendal's age and appearance had been mentioned in 7 stories, which constituted 1.4 per cent of the coverage she received. The analysis also revealed that Yvette Cooper, the second woman in the leadership race did not get any articles related to this frame.

Table 7.8: Number of articles mentioning age and appearance in which each of the 2015 Labour leadership candidates was depicted and their share of total coverage.

Candidate	Articles received	Share of those articles in coverage
Jeremy Corbyn	36	4.0%
Andy Burnham	10	1.6%
Yvette Cooper	0	0.0%
Liz Kendall	7	1.4%

Thus, the data presented in Table suggests that men might be the group receiving more press attention related to their age and appearance than women. However, to rule out the possibility of this observation being confounded by other variables, a regression model was employed. Firstly, articles mentioning age were converted to panel datasets with candidate-week as unit of analysis. This gave 52 observations (see Table 7.7 and 7.3). Subsequently, other regressors were selected, similar to those described in Section 7.2.2. The following regression was employed:[22]

$$APPEARANCEAGE_t = \alpha + \beta_1 GEN + \beta_2 TIMEASMP + \beta_3 WEEK +$$
$$\beta_4 APPEARANCEAGE_{t-1} + \epsilon \quad (7.4)$$

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[22]Each of the used variables have been described in Chapter 5.4.1.

Table 7.9: Model of coverage related to appearance and age during the 2015 Labour leadership election.

	Appearance- and age-related coverage
(Intercept)	−1.22
	(0.92)
GEN (Women)	−1.56*
	(0.66)
WEEK	0.11
	(0.07)
TIMEASMP	0.02
	(0.03)
$APPEARANCEAGE_{t-1}$	0.19
	(0.16)
AIC	120.10
BIC	129.45
Log Likelihood	-55.05
Deviance	35.26
Num. obs.	48

***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, †$p < 0.1$

where α is an intercept, β is a vector of covariates and ϵ is the error term.[23] Since an inspection of variability of the dependent variable suggested over-dispersion,[24] a negative binomial model was found appropriate.[25] The results of the regression are displayed in Table 7.9.

From the data contained in the Table it could be seen that the coefficient related to candidates' gender *GEN* (Women) is not only negative, but also significant at 95 per cent confidence level, thus the analysis suggests that men candidates were more likely to receive articles mentioning their age or appearance than their women contenders. Thus, the H2 stating that: *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames,* may be falsified when it comes to appearance and age.

Qualitative analysis

To provide a broader picture of the coverage related to candidates' age and appearance during the Labour leadership campaign, collected articles were analysed qualitatively. In particular, all coded references to candidates' age and appearance were evaluated in

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[23] Due to encountered numerical problems variable *INC* has been removed from the regression.

[24] For more information about selection the appropriate statistical model for count variables as well as explanation of each variable please refer to Chapter 5.4.

[25] For women, the variable for weekly references to age and appearance had a mean and standard deviation of 0.27 and 0.6 respectively, while the same variable for men candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 1.77 and 2.7 respectively. A histogram of the dependent variable may be found in Appendix T.

search for any specific patterns, with a view on differentiating that received by men and women. Some examples of the identified coverage are presented in Table 7.10.

Table 7.10: Examples of appearance-related and age-related press coverage received by candidates for the 2015 Labour leader.

Candidate	Newspaper date	Article fragment
Jeremy Corbyn	The Independent 22 Jun 2015	*At 66, Corbyn would be the oldest leader the Labour Party had elected since Michael Foot, who was a few months older and not as far out on the left.*
	The Times 18 Jul 2015	*It is not the state of his raggedy beard — which has always been more radical Seventies geography teacher than diehard Trot — that will bother him. The facial hair has won Westminster beard of the year no fewer than five times (surely proof to all the doubters that Jeremy is a winner).*
	The Sunday Times 19 Jul 2015	*Like much about the new Labour era, the emphasis on presentation — smart suits and sharp haircuts — passed him by. Corbyn sports a beard and is usually dressed in slacks and a jacket. He also been seen in sandals with socks.*
	Daily Mail 8 Aug 2015	*Women are queuing up to get close to "sexy" Jeremy Corbyn and his fetching white beard. The leftie MP has become an unlikely pin-up as "Corbynmania" grips Britain.*
	The Guardian 9 Aug 2015	*Corbyn is greeted like Mick Jagger... Jagger in a yellow shirt with vest peeping through and biros in his pocket (...)*
	The Guardian 12 Aug 2015	*From Preston to Croydon to Birmingham, the same scenes have been repeated across the country: huge crowds, rapturous receptions, and at their centre an unassuming, bearded 66-year-old dressed in shades of muddy beige, insisting he can lead Labour back to government on a policy platform more leftwing than anything since the 1980s.*
	Mirror Online 12 Sep 2015	*Looking smart in a new navy jacket – a gift from his sons to silence critics who had blasted his scruffy appearance – he insisted he was fit for No.10, even though he will be almost 70 at the next election in 2020.*

Candidate	Newspaper date	Article fragment
Andy Burnham	Mirror Online 5 Jul 2015	*But women still swoon over his boyish looks and girly eyelashes. Enemies put it about he uses mascara. Burnham produces a picture of himself as a nine month old baby. It proves he had the same long eyelashes then and mascara is not a necessity.*
	The Independent 12 Jul 2015	*The 45-year-old MP for Leigh grew up in Aintree, near Liverpool*
	The Sun 4 Aug 2015	*Andy Burnham has blown his "man of the ordinary people" image by admitting he adores Armani suits. The Labour leadership contender and shadow health secretary told style mag GQ he loves off the-peg designer clobber. Mr Burnham said he goes on Boxing Day to get two for the price of one in sales.*
	Mirror Online 14 Aug 2015	*In this telegenic age, who you are, where you are from, how you look and speak, even what you wear, matters. Andy wears a suit, a white shirt and a tie. He looks like a serious guy. He shaves every day. He doesn't offer Socialism In One Beard, a variant on Lenin's Socialism In One Country.*
Liz Kendall	The Times 25 Jul 2015	*Ms Kendall, who is 44, is trailing in fourth place with only 12 constituency party nominations, and the momentum is with the candidate of the hard left.*
	The Guardian 10 Aug 2015	*Kendall gives off plenty to suggest aspirational middle-class drive. She wears a smart Marc Jacobs watch, carries a funky green tote handbag and shops at John Lewis, Whistles and the upscale cologne and candle shop Jo Malone.*
	Mirror Online 17 Aug 2015	*This is the woman who looks like she works in a small claims department in Northampton.*
	The Guardian 12 Sep 2015	*Liz arrives in emerald green shoes, knowing that even ruby slippers could not save her.*

Yvette Cooper did not receive any appearance- and age- related coverage.

Firstly, an investigation of the age-related fragments revealed that Jeremy Corbyn was the most thoroughly scrutinised in this matter. For instance, as follows from the data in Table 7.10, some of the journalists suggested that he could be too old for the leadership position. In particular, one of them emphasised that, at the age of 66, Corbyn would be the oldest leader since the times of Michael Foot (see McSmith, 2015). In another article, published just after the election results have been announced, the author highlighted that at the next election in 2020 he will be almost 70 years old (Moss, 2015). That said, it needs to be indicated that even though his age has been mentioned the most often during the campaign, in the majority of the articles the nature of this acknowledgement was predominantly informative, rather than overly descriptive. Furthermore, it should be noted, that even when the media decided to make more extensive comments about this issue, not all of them were negative towards Corbyn. For instance, some of the journalists focused on the fact that despite his age, he speaks young people's language (Cadwalladr, 2015).

Corbyn's appearance was also under the media's scrutiny, which could be related to the fact that, as opposed to always 'impeccable-looking' Burnham, he did not seem to worry about what he looked like. This disparity between the two men candidates resulted in a number of comments from the press. One of the most profound examples was the media impression of Corbyns' speech after he was announced a new Labour leader. The journalists did not limit themselves to judging him for what he said, but added to that their comments. *The Guardian* wrote that Corbyn reminded of a geography teacher and noted that "he turned out (...) in the same tatty old jackets and pale yellow shirts without a tie that he had in his wardrobe for decades" (Helm and Boffey, 2015). What is more, just couple weeks earlier *the Sunday Times* reported that he had been spotted wearing sandals with socks (see Lyons, 2015), while *the Guardian* responded to that asking if the world was ready for a leader wearing sandals and socks together (see White, 2015). His beard was also in the centre of attention; it was described as "raggedy" (Helm and Boffey, 2015) while Corbyn himself was presented as the "five-time-winner of the title of the Parliamentary Beard of the Year".

Some of the newspapers also emphasised that the habit of taking care of one's personal appearance, nowadays commonly present among Labour politicians, seemed to be ignored by Corbyn. On the other hand, journalists also indicated that Corbyn's look might appeal to certain electorate groups. For instance, in an article titled *Corbynmania!*, the author described an enthusiastic reaction of the (predominantly women) crowd during one of Corbyn's election meetings (Long, 2015). The journalist also captured the contrast between the way newspapers perceived Corbyn and how the cheering women crowd did, as the group of women (who characterised themselves as "groupies"), described his jacket as "very sexy" while himself as "attractive in a world-weary sea-dog sort of a way" (Long, 2015). Those opinions have been contrasted with the author's perception of Corbyn as

wearing a "watery", "artfully crumpled" jacket, and having "anti-war, anti-nuclear energy, anti-meat, anti-money, anti-nice shoes, anti-everything" beliefs (Long, 2015).

Not all of the journalists in Corbyn's coverage were negative about his appearance. Indeed, some newspapers tried to support his style. For instance, one of the authors explained why she was having her 'Jeremy Corbyn moment', and referred to an old interview with the Labour frontrunner (Christie, 2015), in which he was not only able to stay calm during interviewer's raid on his hand-made jumper, but also managed to defend his choice and convincingly claim he was proud of it (Christie, 2015).

While most of the media attention towards candidates' appearance and age has focused on Jeremy Corbyn, his fellow man contender also received some coverage regarding those frames, even though his share of the articles from the pool of the entire coverage was much smaller than that of Corbyn (see Table 7.8). Interestingly, some of the press interest in Andy Burnham's fashion choices could have been influenced by his confession about expensive taste in clothes which he made in *GQ* magazine [26] (Burton, 2015), which was quickly picked up by other newspapers (see for example Bolton, 2015).[27]

While some of the voices were critical about his pricey fashion choices and claimed that he "has blown his man of the ordinary people image" (Schofield, 2015a) others were more liberal and justified his preferences quoting that he tends to buy his expensive suits during Christmas' sales and always chooses the cheaper versions (Bolton, 2015). *Mirror* went even further and in the article titled *Andy Burnham is the man best placed to get rid of the Tories in 2020* wrote that "in this telegenic age, who you are, where you are from, how you look and speak, even what you wear, matters. Andy wears a suit, a white shirt and a tie. He looks like a serious guy. He shaves every day" (Routledge, 2015). It was not only his suits which caught the media attention — his eyelashes were also mentioned a couple of times. *Mirror* not only called them "girly" and emphasised that they catch women's attention, but also claimed that at some point Burnham showed a picture from his childhood to defend accusations of using mascara (Nelson, 2015).

The women candidates received significantly less extensive age- and appearance- related coverage. The media seemed to completely ignore their age, while one of them did not receive any coverage related to her appearance at all. The only woman candidate who was depicted in the articles mentioning her look was Liz Kendall. However, it needs to be indicated that 5 out of 7 articles writing about her appearance referred to an interview for the *Mail on Sunday*.[28] During the interview Kendall was asked about her weight and her

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[26]This newspaper was not collected during this study, however it was decided to show this particular article as it was echoed in other titles.

[27]The analysis of the articles mentioning Burnham appearance over time revealed an increase in terms of the press interest in this issue in the week following the *GQ* interview.

[28]Although *Daily Mail* and *Mail on Sunday* (where the interview was published) were not collected in this study, it was decided to introduce this particular article to this study, as it was frequently referred to in other articles.

reaction was widely discussed in the press.[29] While the remaining newspapers emphasised the inappropriateness of the question and noted Kendall's reaction, the echoes of the interview could be found almost throughout the entire campaign coverage.

Kendall experienced some further scrutiny of her appearance, even though the amount of this type of coverage was not substantial. For instance, *the Guardian* informed its readers that Kendall wears a Marc Jacobs watch, has a taste for shopping in John Lewis and an "aspirational middle-class drive" style (Booth, 2015), while *Mirror* indicated that she "looks like she works in a small claims department in Northampton" (Boniface, 2015).

The above analysis leads to a few noteworthy observations. First, the age-related coverage constituted only a small fraction of the overall articles analysed in this Section. The politician whose age has been scrutinised to greater extent in relation to his suitability for the leadership position was a man candidate (Jeremy Corbyn). Furthermore, the analysis reveals that during the Labour leadership election, women candidates were not affected by the coverage related to their appearance and age more than men. This is not to say that the press entirely refrained from publishing appearance-related content, with Liz Kendall's interview questioning her weight being the most profound example.

However, in the grand scheme, the results of the statistical analysis as well as the coded fragments presented in this Section clearly indicate that during the Labour leadership election it was the men candidates who more often faced the media scrutiny in this matter. Liz Kendal has been depicted in 7 articles scrutinising her appearance, and such coverage was not found for Yvette Cooper. In contrast men received substantially more coverage related to their age and appearance.

The exceptional scrutiny of Jeremy Corbyn could be related to the fact that, when compared to Kendall, Cooper and Burnham, his views, personality and look greatly differed from a picture of a 'typical, contemporary politician'. Therefore, the qualitative analysis may suggest that the media interest and the coverage related to appearance may be more related to the uniqueness of the candidate, rather than his gender. This observation somewhat stands out from the mainstream literature in the field, which tends to give evidence for women being more written about in the appearance-related context purely because of their gender (see Chapter 3). This analysis shows that such 'common wisdom' may require a degree of reconsideration. This gives further support to rejecting hypothesis H2 stating that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames, than men.*

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[29] The journalist enquired about her weight, in order to compare Kendall's size with that of the Duchess of Cambridge, who seems to like the same fashion brands. In response, Kendall told him to "f*** off".

7.3.2   Analysis of parenthood frame

Regression analysis

The investigation of the presence of the gender-biased frames in the articles published during the 2015 Labour leadership campaign continues with an analysis of coverage referring to their parenthood status. Among the candidates Andy Burnham, Jeremy Corbyn and Yvette Cooper had three children each, while Liz Kendall was childless. As outlined in Chapter 3, the existing body of research suggests that the parenthood frame is constructed in the media differently for men and women politicians. While men could benefit from having a family, for women it could be seen as a burden. Furthermore, not having children could also be problematic for a woman politician. Given that in this election there were politicians with and without families, the theory that women's motherhood status attracts more media attention could be tested.

Table 7.11 presents the number of articles referring to parenthood-related frames the candidates received and their share in the overall pot of articles they featured in. The results suggest that during the Labour leadership election campaign women candidates received more coverage containing parenthood-related frame than their men counterparts. Accordingly, Yvette Cooper was depicted in this frame 11 times which constitutes 1.9 per cent of her total coverage while Liz Cooper 14 times which is equal to 2.7 per cent of articles she received during this campaign. At the same time, in articles mentioning Corbyn and Burnham, the issue of their fatherhood had been mentioned only twice for each of the men candidates.

Table 7.11: Number of articles mentioning parenthood frame in which each of the 2015 Labour leadership candidates was depicted and their share of total coverage.

Candidate	Articles received	Share of those articles in coverage
Jeremy Corbyn	2	0.2%
Andy Burnham	2	0.3%
Yvette Cooper	11	1.9%
Liz Kendall	14	2.7%

Subsequent analysis of how the volume of parenthood-related publications developed over time revealed that until certain point of the election campaign this frame was not discussed at all. Figure 7.5 clearly indicates that this particular subject started to appear in the coverage of Yvette Cooper and Liz Kendall in the fourth week of the Labour leadership campaign. From then on, the number of articles related to parenthood gradually declined. This may suggest that the parenthood-related frame has been brought up on an isolated occasion and this event propagated throughout the campaign. A qualitative analysis of the collected coverage, presented in the upcoming Section, will attempt to verify this supposition.
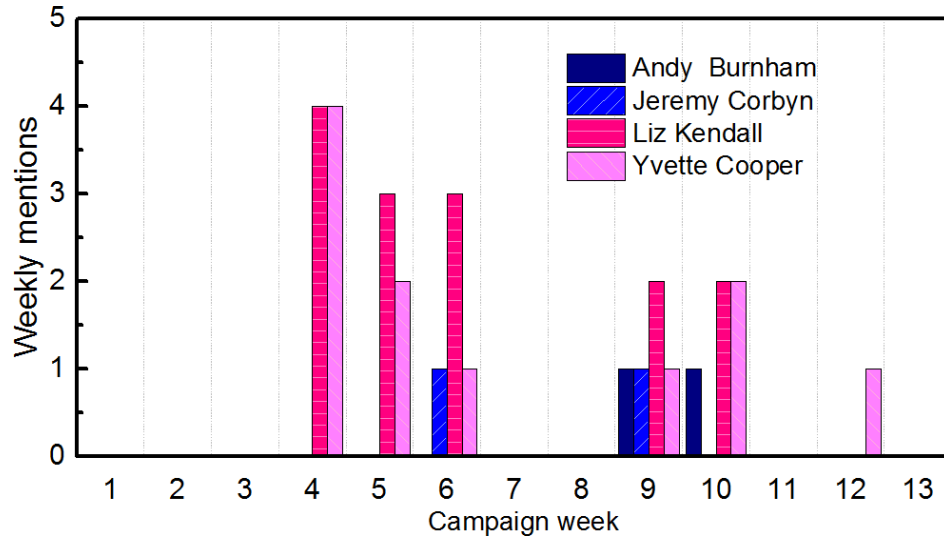
Figure 7.5: Variation in number of articles referring to parenthood-related frames for each candidate running for the 2015 Labour leadership throughout the time of the campaign.

Although the results of the basic analysis indicate that women might receive more press attention related to parenthood than men candidates, to rule out the possibility that this observation is confounded by other variables and test its significance, a regression analysis was conducted accounting for various covariates. Similarly to the analysis presented in Section 7.3.1, the number of articles mentioning the parenthood frame was regressed using the following regression equation:[30]

$$PARENTHOOD_t = \alpha + \beta_1 GEN + \beta_2 INC + \beta_3 TIMEASMP + \beta_4 WEEK$$
$$+ \beta_5 PARENTHOOD_{t-1} + \epsilon \quad (7.5)$$

where α is an intercept, β is a vector of covariates and ϵ is the error term. Descriptive statistics of the variables are presented in Table 7.7, placed in Section 7.3 and Table 7.3, placed in Section 7.2.2. An inspection of the dependent variable showed over-dispersion,[31] hence a negative binomial model was fitted.[32]

The regression results are presented in Table 7.12. They suggest that, even though the basic analysis presented in Table 7.11 indicated that women candidates received more parenthood-related press coverage than men, this observation is not statistically

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[30]Each of the used variables have been described in Chapter 5.4.1.

[31]For more information about selection the appropriate statistical model for count variables as well as explanation of each variable please refer to Chapter 5.4.

[32]From the distribution it follows that weekly references to women candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 0.96 and 1.34 respectively, while the same variable for men candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 0.15 and 0.37 respectively. Accordingly, histogram presenting distribution of the dependent variable is presented in Appendix T.

Table 7.12: Model of coverage related to parenthood during the 2015 Labour leadership election.

	Parenthood-related coverage
(Intercept)	−1.04
	(1.63)
GEN (Women)	1.39
	(1.18)
WEEK	−0.06
	(0.07)
INC (Incumbent)	−0.18
	(1.28)
TIMEASMP	−0.01
	(0.04)
$PARENTHOOD_{t-1}$	0.19
	(0.19)
AIC	101.10
BIC	112.33
Log Likelihood	-44.55
Deviance	35.41
Num. obs.	48

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

significant. Accordingly, the H2 stating that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames than men*, cannot be confirmed.

Given that the results of the quantitative analysis differ from those outlined in the existing body of research, the upcoming Section provides a more in-depth qualitative investigation of collected coverage to examine what could influence those observations.

Qualitative analysis

Subsequently to the regression, qualitative analysis of the collected coverage was conducted. Table 7.13 lists selected examples of the parenthood-related coverage.

Table 7.13: Examples of parenthood-related press coverage received by candidates for the 2015 Labour leader.

Candidate	Newspaper date	Article fragment
Jeremy Corbyn	The Times 18 Jul 2015	*The final straw for their 12-year union was a bitter dispute over whether their son Ben should go to one of Islington's under-par comprehensive schools or to a grammar school outside the borough. She told The Observer in 1999: "I couldn't send Ben to a school where I knew he wouldn't be happy. Whereas Jeremy was able to make one sort of decision, I wasn't." The couple remains committed and close to their three sons — Ben, a football coach, Seb, who works for John McDonnell MP, and Tommy, an electronics student at a university.*
	The Guardian 3 Aug 2015	*Corbyn, who has older children, reportedly suggested to Burnham and Cooper in a discussion in the "green room" at the conference centre that they would no doubt appreciate a break.*
Andy Burnham	The Guardian 22 Aug 2015	*His days, littered with hustings, meetings and media interviews across the country, regularly start in the early hours of the morning and end well past midnight. His wife and three children are currently on holiday in Mallorca and tease him with photographs of themselves having lots of fun in the sun.*
Yvette Cooper	The Sunday Times 19 Jul 2015	*Cooper, a mother of three, said Labour should "oppose the two-child policy" in the budget to limit child tax credits to the first two children, calling it "the judgmental approach". She refused to condemn Helen Goodman, an MP who says she is supporting Cooper because she is a mother — a comment that was seen as an attack on the childless Kendall.*
	The Sun 5 Sep 2015	*The mum-of-three has issued a last-ditch plea for support ahead of Thursday's voting deadline in the race to replace Ed Miliband.*
Liz Kendall	The Sunday Times 12 Jul 2015	*Kendall, who recently split from the comedian Greg Davies and has no children, hit back at Helen Goodman, a supporter of Cooper who said she was backing the shadow home secretary because she was a mother.*

Can-didate	Newspaper date	Article fragment
	Mirror Online 18 Jul 2015	*(...) significantly Kendall has neither husband nor children.*

As follows from the Table, all candidates received some parenthood-related coverage, however the parental circumstances of the two women (Yvette Cooper and Liz Kendall) have been compared against each other, which has generated a large share of their parenthood-related coverage.

Interestingly, the subject of the motherhood of women candidates has not been introduced to the campaign by the journalists themselves. Indeed, a closer investigation of the coverage revealed that the parenthood-related stories were sparked by a piece written by one of Cooper's supporters.[33] The article was published in the fourth week of the campaign, which explains the peak in parenthood-related coverage illustrated in Figure 7.5. It should be underlined that until week 4 the media did not show any interest in this issue, which further demonstrates that the subject has been artificially introduced to the campaign.

The article which began the discussion stated that its author supports Cooper because "as a working mum, she understands the pressures on modern family life" (Goodman, 2015). Goodman's statement implied that Kendall, as a childless candidate, might not be able to recognise the needs of people with children, and thus was not a good candidate for a Labour leader. The journalists quickly picked up on this story and shortly after the article was published, *the Guardian* wrote that Kendall's team accused Cooper of implying that a new Labour leader should be a parent (see Wintour, 2015c; Schofield, 2015b), while *Mirror* commented that at this point the Labour leadership race 'turned nasty' (Blanchard, 2015a). Cooper herself not only denied those accusations, but also argued that politicians may face difficulties regardless of having children or not. Furthermore, she also indicated that the issue of woman's motherhood might be used to divide women in a way men have never experienced (Brooks, 2015).

Soon after, the issue of motherhood was once again in the centre of attention after an article published in the *New Statement*.[34] The cover of the magazine, widely reprinted and commented on in other news outlets, showed childless women politicians, including Liz Kendall and Nicola Sturgeon, standing around a cot with a ballot box inside. Even though the article itself aimed at raising awareness of lack of equality for women politicians (both mothers as well as those childless), and was a response to Goodman's publication, the choice of cover was questionable. Accordingly, *the Guardian*, quoting

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[33]See Goodman Helen "Why as a parent I'm backing Yvette Cooper as Labour's next leader", published in *Huffington Post*, 06 July 2015

[34]Although the *New Statment* has not been collected for this study, as this particular article was widely commented by the other media it was decided to acknowledge its fragments in this Section.

the words of Nicola Sturgeon, wrote that while she appreciated the analysis presented in that article, she strongly criticised the cover (see Mason, 2015a). In contrast, the references to parenthood were less frequent for the men politicians. As follows from Table 7.13, they were mainly informative, rather than overly descriptive.

In summary, although the analysis may suggest that it was women who received more parenthood-related coverage, it should be repeated that the topic was not introduced by journalists. As follows from theory outlined in Chapter 4, in certain cases the media may pick up on topics that are introduced by someone else, whether the candidates themselves or their supporters. This was the case in the Labour leadership election. Accordingly, together with the qualitative analysis the findings suggest that hypothesis H2, stating that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames* cannot be confirmed in relation to parenthood-related frame.

7.3.3 Analysis of partners frame

Regression analysis

Following the analysis of the parenthood frame, similar investigation was conducted for the coverage which contained references to candidates' partners. Studies suggest that information about candidate's relationship status is not only irrelevant to the campaign, but also may have a negative effect on perception of women candidates. This is because their suitability for the office might be perceived through their relationships (Ross, 2002; Ross and Comrie, 2012). Therefore, the coverage was analysed to verify whether the candidates' marital status was an issue during the Labour leadership election campaign.

First, to asses a share of the stories mentioning those frames in the overall number of articles contenders received, a simple statistical analysis was conducted and its results are presented in Table 7.14. The analysis shows that, while all of the candidates received coverage related to their partners, Yvette Cooper seemed to be the one most often scrutinized by the media among them. Indeed, the press mentions of her relationship (n=22) constituted 3.8 per cent of the Cooper's coverage. Jeremy Corbyn received second highest count of articles mentioning this coverage aspect (n=8), however, this constituted only 0.8 per cent of all articles about him. Liz Kendall and Andy Burnham received 6 and 3 such articles respectively, which constituted 1.2 per cent and 0.5 per cent of their coverage, also respectively.

While the initial analysis (presented in Table 7.14) indicates that women might receive more press attention related to their partners than men candidates, to confirm this

Table 7.14: Number of articles mentioning partners in which each of the 2015 Labour leadership candidates was depicted and their share of total coverage.

Candidate	Articles received	Share of those articles in coverage
Jeremy Corbyn	8	0.8%
Andy Burnham	3	0.5%
Yvette Cooper	22	3.8%
Liz Kendall	6	1.2%

finding and test its significance, a regression model was run. As in Sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.2, an appropriate regression model was developed, taking the following form:[35]

$$PARTNER_t = \alpha + \beta_1 GEN + \beta_2 INC + \beta_3 TIMEASMP + \beta_4 WEEK + \beta_5 PARTNER_{t-1} + \epsilon$$
(7.6)

where α is an intercept, β is a vector of covariates and ϵ is the error term. Descriptive statistics of the variables are presented in Table 7.7 (Section 7.3) and Table 7.3 (Section 7.2.2). As an inspection of dependent variable distribution revealed over-dispersion,[36] a negative binomial model was employed.[37]

The results of the regression are displayed in Table 7.15, and the coefficient for *GEN* (Women) is not only positive, but also statistically significant at 95 per cent confidence level. Thus, the result suggests that, women received more coverage related to their partners than their men counterparts, and hence supports hypothesis H2 stating that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames than men.*

The other variable which also proved to be statistically significant is *TIMEASMP*. The positive coefficient, as well as its significance at the 95 per cent confidence level, indicates that the more experienced the candidate is, the greater the likelihood that he/she will receive press coverage related to relationships. Indeed, the two candidates who received most of the partner-related coverage (Yvette Cooper and Jeremy Corbyn) were also the two longest-serving Members of Parliament among the contenders.[38] The likely causal pathway for this observation is that those candidates that have been in politics longer, are more likely to have their partners involved as well, which may induce partner-related coverage.

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[35] Each of the used variables have been described in Chapter 5.4.1.

[36] For more information about selecting the appropriate statistical model for count variables as well as explanation of each variable please refer to Chapter 5.4.

[37] Variable for weekly references to women candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 1.8 and 1.44, respectively while the same variable for men candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 0.42 and 0.76 respectively. Accordingly, histogram presenting distribution of the dependent variable is presented in Appendix T.

[38] Yvette Cooper has been selected as an MP first for Pontefract and Castleford and then after change in constituency boundaries for Normanton, Pontefract and Castleford in 1997. Jeremy Corbyn has been selected as an MP for Islington North in 1983.

Table 7.15: Model of coverage related to candidates' partners during the 2015 Labour leadership election.

	Partners-related coverage
(Intercept)	-3.60^*
	(1.59)
GEN (Women)	2.46^*
	(1.05)
WEEK	-0.00
	(0.06)
INC (Incumbent)	0.81
	(1.09)
TIMEASMP	0.10^*
	(0.05)
$PARTNER_{t-1}$	-0.14
	(0.19)
AIC	117.73
BIC	128.96
Log Likelihood	-52.87
Deviance	36.53
Num. obs.	48

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^*p < 0.05$, $^\dagger p < 0.1$

In conclusion, while the results of the quantitative analyses presented throughout this Section indicate that women candidates were more likely to be depicted in the articles mentioning their partners or marital status, to verify whether any of those publications undermined their suitability for the office, an in-depth qualitative analysis have been conducted.

Qualitative analysis

Further investigation of the coverage concerning partner-related frame involved an analysis of its substance. Table 7.16 provides selected examples of the press scrutiny in this matter.

The more in-depth investigation of the coverage content revealed that Yvette Cooper was significantly scrutinised in terms of her relationship, which could be related to the fact that she is married to another Labour politician. Her husband is Ed Balls - who in the previous government served as a Shadow Chancellor but then after the 2015 general election lost his seat to the Conservative newcomer — Andrea Jenkyns. While studying the articles about Cooper, one could not shake the impression that some of the journalists perceived her through this relationship.

Table 7.16: Examples of partner-related press coverage received by candidates for the 2015 Labour leader.

Candidate	Newspaper date	Article fragment
Jeremy Corbyn	The Sunday Times 19 Jul 2015	*Corbyn's first marriage was forged in politics but fell apart when his wife, Jane Chapman, wanted, in her words, "to do other things — go to the cinema, go clubbing". He split with his second wife, Claudia Bracchitta, after she insisted on sending their son to a grammar school. The vegetarian MP's third wife, Laura Alvarez, imports Fairtrade coffee.*
	Mirror Online 25 Jul 2015	*Yet I had come to ask the three times married Labour leadership contender what shaped the man who wants to shape Britain.*
Andy Burnham	Mirror Online 4 Jul 2015	*Burnham has been married to Marie-France van Heel for 15 years, his Dutch girlfriend from university known to all as Frankie. But women still swoon over his boyish looks and girly eyelashes.*
	The Guardian 22 Aug 2015	*His days, littered with hustings, meetings and media interviews across the country, regularly start in the early hours of the morning and end well past midnight. His wife and three children are currently on holiday in Mallorca and tease him with photographs of themselves having lots of fun in the sun.*
Yvette Cooper	The Times 19 Jun 2015	*She spoke fluently on Labour's future, David Cameron's women problem, the referendum campaign, and Europe and the economy (I had forgotten that her husband, Ed Balls, is not the only economist in the family).*
	Mirror Online 16 Jul 2015	*Yet there are concerns that Ed Balls, whose defeat was the biggest shock of the General Election in a night of shocks for Labour, might influence his wife behind the scenes.*
	The Times 18 Jul 2015	*Yvette Cooper, the former pensions secretary and wife of ousted grandee Ed Balls, has 30 nominations, while Liz Kendall, the only Blairite candidate, is trailing in fourth place with five.*

Candidate	Newspaper date	Article fragment
	Daily Express 22 Jul 2015	*Yvette Cooper, shadow Home Secretary and wife of former Shadow Chancellor Ed Balls, comes in at third with 20 per cent. Liz Kendall, considered by many to be the Blairite candidate, is a distant fourth with 11 per cent.*
	The Guardian 13 Aug 2015	*With weary inevitability, questions have been raised about how much influence her newly redundant husband would exert over Cooper's party leadership. It is well known that the couple discussed the leadership in 2010, when Balls stood unsuccessfully against the Miliband brothers.*
Liz Kendall	The Times 8 Jul 2015	*Ms Cooper married Ed Balls, the former shadow chancellor, in 1998. The couple have three children together. Ms Kendall recently separated from Greg Davies, the comedian, after a relationship which is said to have lasted several years.*
	Mirror Online 18 Jul 2015	*(...) significantly Kendall has neither husband nor children.*
	The Times 25 Jul 2015	*With the word Blairite now used as an insult rather than a compliment, some in the party have accused her of being a closet Tory while others have suggested that her lack of a husband and children is a problem.*
	The Independent 8 Aug 2015	*John Woodcock, the MP for Barrow and Furness, said circulating claims that he and Ms Kendall are a couple were "not true, have never been true and would never be true". Speaking to the Telegraph, he said two journalists told him the rumours were being spread by aides campaigning for one of her rivals. Labour MP John Woodcock said claims he and Ms Kendall were in a relationship were untrue "People who are spreading these rumours about Liz and me need to remember how much damage these acts of smear can do," he told the newspaper.*

Indeed, *the Times* in one of its publications called Cooper "the shadow home secretary and wife of Ed Balls" (Coates, 2015b), while a couple of weeks earlier the same newspaper presented her as "the former pensions secretary and wife of ousted grandee Ed Balls" (Cowburn, 2015). *Daily Express* (see Maguire and Batchelor, 2015) and *Mirror* (Bloom, 2015e) presented her in a similar manner, and found it indispensable to mention her husband when writing about her. At the same time *the Guardian* not only indicated

that Cooper and Balls were the first married couple which sat in the cabinet together, but also posed the question about the influence which ex-Shadow Chancellor could have over Cooper if she became a new party leader (Brooks, 2015). Some questions were also asked about his possible role of a "political wife", while *Mirror* wrote that Cooper had to reject speculations that in the future he might take a Samantha Cameron's function (Blanchard, 2015b).

During her campaign, Cooper was also accused by her rivals of using tactics previously employed by her husband, and this issue was also picked up and commented on by one of the newspapers (see Mason, 2015b). Moreover, commentators suggested that endorsement of Cooper's candidacy might not have been directly related to her political position, but could be a result of Ed Balls' previous connections or influence. On some occasions, newspapers also pointed out that she was looking for the benefits of her husband's previous status. For instance, *the Guardian*, claimed that "Cooper's team had been hoping to win the endorsement of Brown. Her husband, the former shadow chancellor Ed Balls, was one of his closest advisers [...]" (Mason and Halliday, 2015).[39] Furthermore, *Mirror* pointed out that Cooper's campaign could be undermined by her husband's mistakes. In particular, they suggested that some businessman financially supported Andy Burnham's candidacy taking a revenge after Balls forgot to mention his support during his run in the 2015 general election (Bloom, 2015d).

At the same time, as a single woman, Liz Kendall had to face different types of comments from the press than Cooper. Articles that referred to her private life, not only mentioned that she recently ended up her relationship with comedian Greg Davies (Booth, 2015) but also compared her family status with the status of her woman rival (Lyons and Shipman, 2015). Moreover, Kendall was also questioned whether the break-up, which occurred just before the election, was related to her decision to stand in the Labour leadership election (Sylvester, 2015). On top of that, the politician had to face the rumours about her new relationship. The suppositions went so far that her campaign manager had to issue a statement explaining that they are not together (Dearden, 2015). Even though all those comments were irrelevant to her political bid, it should be noted that the press did not seem to imply that as an unmarried woman she might be less suitable for the leadership position.

The media interest in Corbyn's and Burnham's family life was rather moderate. Although their partners did not avoid being mentioned in some of the articles, most of the time their existence was only briefly acknowledged. Corbyn, who married three times, was more interesting for the journalists than Burnham, yet the press did not depict his marital status in a negative way. For instance, his divorce with Claudia Bracchitta was perceived as a result of his devotion to the left-wing values, as he objected to sending their son to a grammar school of her choice, which resulted in separation (Lyons and Shipman, 2015; O'Neill and Pitel, 2015). Another article quoted his first wife who said that their

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[39]Gordon Brown is a former Prime Minister.

breakup was caused by the fact that he always put politics before marriage. Thus, the press was making an impression that he is a very involved and hard-working politician (Shipman, 2015).

Burnham's family was also mentioned in one of the newspapers, but it was done in a way which emphasized his commitment to the campaign. The article informed that "his wife and three children are currently on holiday in Mallorca and tease him with photographs of themselves having lots of fun in the sun" (Boffey, 2015), while he has a busy schedule full of meetings. Given that these mentions were rather occasional and not filled with pejorative message, it may be concluded that both Burnham's and Corbyn's family was not presented as a burden; in fact it was usually used in their favour to emphasize some of their positive features.

Overall, this analysis shows that women candidates during the 2015 Labour leadership election were more likely to receive coverage related to their partners. Therefore, these results support hypothesis H2, stating that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames than men.*

7.3.4 Comparison between different gender-biased frames

The investigation of the differences in the press reporting on men and women candidates follows with the comparison of the observations found in Sections 7.3.1, 7.3.2 and 7.3.3. Specifically, the following Section attempts to verify whether any of the frames analysed in the previous Sections differed from others in terms of size, uncertainty, and direction of the effect of gender on the coverage predicted by the regressions.

To permit comparisons between the regressions 1000 simulations for each regression were conducted. The simulations were performed following the procedure described in Chapter 5.4.2. Figure 7.6 presents the outcomes of the model simulations and depicts the effect of gender on every aspect of the coverage substance analyses so far in this Chapter.

Looking at Figure 7.6(a) it can be seen that the expected number of articles mentioning a typical man candidate is 1.2 with a standard deviation (SD) of 0.37, whereas for a typical woman candidate it is 0.29 with a standard deviation of 0.15. The difference between men and women is 0.91 (SD = 0.08). Figure 7.6(b) shows that the expected number of articles mentioning parenthood received by a typical man candidate is 0.33 with a standard deviation of 0.35, whereas for a typical woman candidate it is 0.9 with a standard deviation of 0.35. The difference between man and woman is 0.57 (SD = 0.58). Finally, when it comes to articles mentioning partners of the candidates, Figure 7.6(c) illustrates that the expected number of articles mentioning this frame received by a typical man candidate is 0.2 with a standard deviation of 0.18, whereas for a typical woman candidate it is 1.8 with a standard deviation of 0.56. The difference between men and women is 1.6 (SD = 0.66).
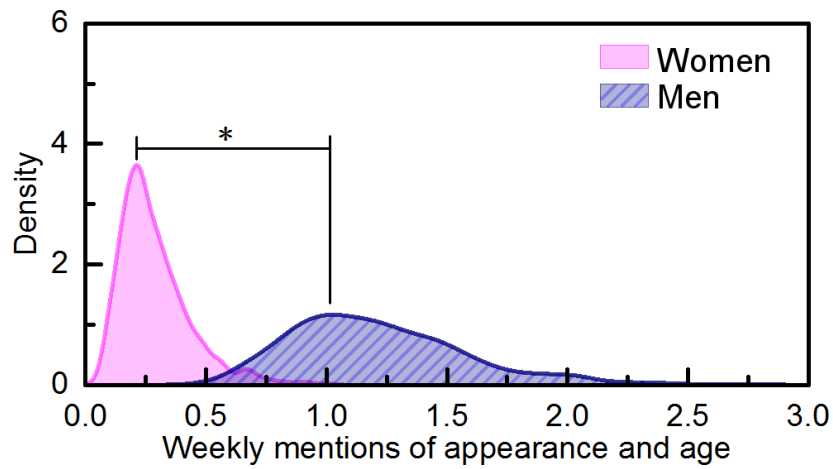
(a) Appearance and Age
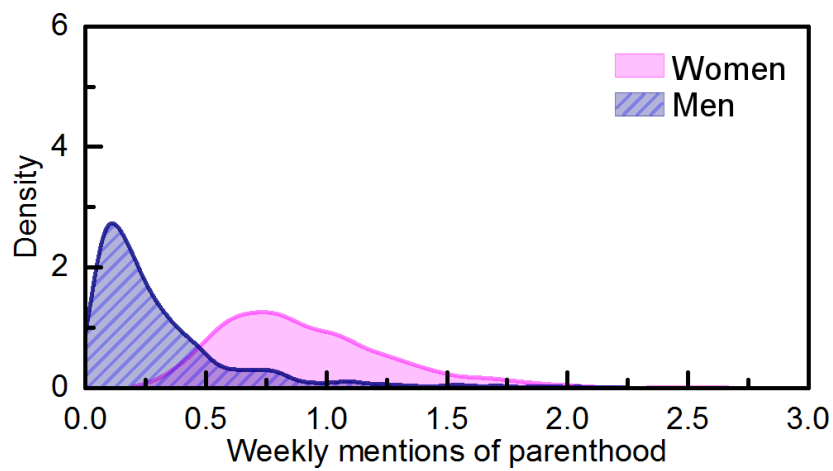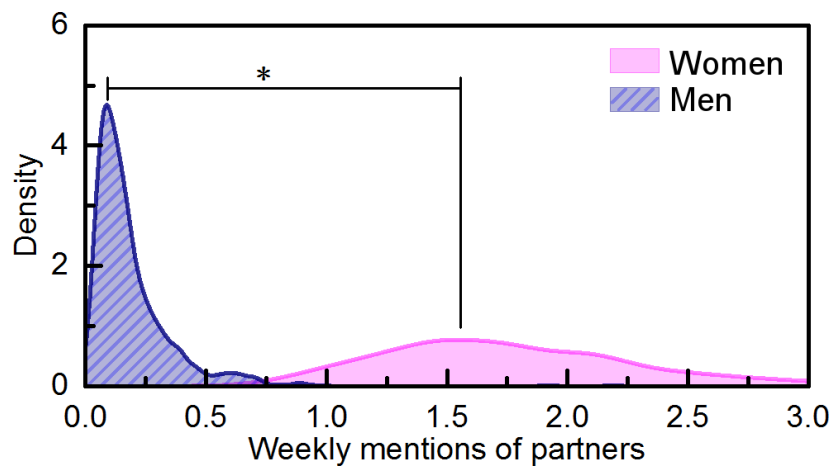
(b) Parenthood

(c) Partners

Figure 7.6: Simulations of the predicted effect of candidates' gender on the occurrence of appearance-, age-, parenthood- and partners-related frames during the 2015 Labour leadership election. $***p < 0.001$, $**p < 0.01$, $*p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$.

Accordingly, the results show that of all types of coverage, mentions related to candidates' partners constituted the biggest issue, as the men-women disparity was the highest in this frame. Furthermore, of all frames and genders, articles depicting women in the context of their relationships were the most frequent during the campaign.

Even though this analysis suggests that the most prevalent problem which women may encounter is being perceived through the lens of their relationships, this frame should be considered with a particular care, as this conclusion could be premature. In particular, it should be noted that the uncertainty of this estimate is the highest of all other estimates (see Figure 7.6(c). This may be explained by the fact that Yvette Cooper was the only candidate in the investigated sample, who was in relationship with a fellow politician. By contrast, the other woman politician - Liz Kendall - did not receive that much press attention related to this frame (Section 7.3.3), explaining the large spread of the predicted effect. Therefore, the author believes that the coverage collected during the Labour leadership campaign related to the issue of candidates' relationships does not allow to conclude that the observed trend was consistent and systematic. To provide a broader picture of this trend, this frame will be investigated further in the following Chapter.

7.3.5 Analysis of all gender-biased frames together

The results from Sections 7.3.1, 7.3.2 and 7.3.3 do not provide an unambiguous trend in the quantity of different coverage aspects with candidates' gender. In some instances, the results suggested a positive trend between being a woman and receiving certain type of coverage, in some cases the trend was opposite and in some, no trend was found at all. To determine the global picture of the prevalence of candidates' gender on framed coverage, all frames were combined together into a variable termed $FRAMES_t$. Summary statistics for the variables of interest are presented in Table 7.7, placed in Section 7.3 and Table 7.3, placed in Section 7.2.2. Accordingly, the following Section describes regression analyses using $FRAMES_t$ as the dependent variable.

Regression analysis controlling for multiple covariates

Similarly to Sections 7.3.1, 7.3.2 and 7.3.3, a regression model was developed, taking the following form:[40]

$$FRAMES_t = \alpha + \beta_1 GEN + \beta_2 INC + \beta_3 TIMEASMP + \beta_4 WEEK + \beta_5 FRAMES_{t-1} + \epsilon$$
$$(7.7)$$

[40]For more information about this variable please refer to Chapter 5.4.1.

Table 7.17: Model of coverage related to all analysed frames during the 2015 Labour leadership election.

	Coverage substance
(Intercept)	2.06
	(1.26)
GEN (Women)	−0.81
	(0.79)
WEEK	−0.05
	(0.06)
INC (Incumbent)	−1.26
	(0.86)
TIMEASMP	−0.00
	(0.04)
AIC	464.52
BIC	473.87
Log Likelihood	-227.26
Deviance	83.83
Num. obs.	32

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

where α is an intercept, β is a vector of covariates and ϵ is the error term. An inspection of variability of the dependent variable suggested over-dispersion,[41] hence, a negative binomial model was found appropriate.[42] The results of the regression are displayed in Table 7.17.

The data presented in the Table suggests that the coefficient related to candidates' gender *GEN* (Women) is not statistically significant. Therefore, the analysis suggests that none of the genders was significantly more likely to be depicted in the articles containing one of the analysed frames. This suggests that the H2 stating that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames* should be rejected. Moreover, the remaining coefficients also prove to be statistically insignificant, which means that none of them influence candidates' chances to receive the type of coverage in question.

To provide a better sense of estimated effect sizes and a better account for the uncertainty for each estimate, simulations were conducted based on the regression results and following methodology described in Section 5.4.2. Figure 7.7 shows the distribution of the predicted mentions for each gender. From the Figure it follows that the expected weekly number frames in coverage depicting a man is 3.3 with a standard deviation of

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[41] For more information about selection the appropriate statistical model for count variables as well as explanation of each variable please refer to Chapter 5.4.

[42] For women, the variable for a weekly references to age and appearance of women candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 2.3 and 2.3 respectively while the same variable for men candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 2.3 and 3.3 respectively. Accordingly, a histogram of the dependent variable can be found in Appendix T.

2.2, while for a woman the volume of frames is expected to be equal to 2.7 with a standard deviation of 0.84. This once again confirms that women candidates were not more likely to receive coverage containing gender-biased frames.
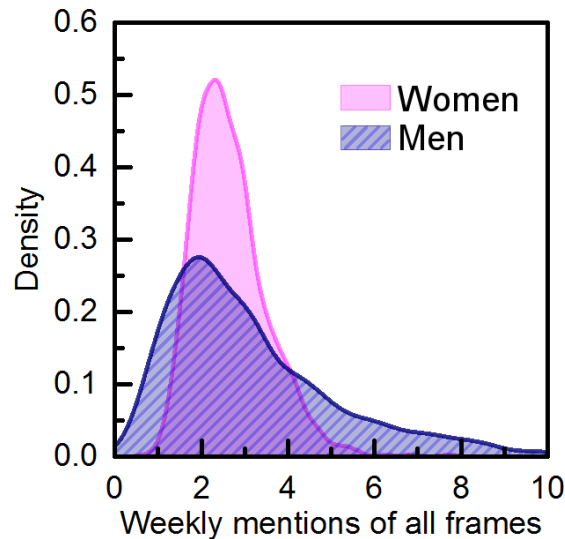
Figure 7.7: Simulations of the predicted effect of candidates' gender on the occurrence of the selected frames during the 2015 Labour leadership election. The difference is insignificant.

Overall, the results of the analyses do not unequivocally indicate that candidates of one particular gender were more likely to be depicted in the articles containing one of the analysed frames. To further investigate this issue, individual candidate effect on the amount of framed coverage was verified, as presented in the following Section.

Regression analysis controlling for candidates' effect

The analyses presented throughout this Chapter provide mixed observations regarding the substance of coverage of candidates running for the Labour leadership election. While the overall results suggest that the substance of collected articles was independent of candidate's gender, some earlier analyses showed that it could affect certain individual frames. Interestingly, there are indications suggesting that, rather than gender, the observed results may be biased by individualised candidates' effect.

To verify this, similarly to the analysis in Section 7.2.3, the effect of each candidate was investigated using dichotomous variables.[43] Two regression models were run - one used Liz Kendall (Equation 7.8) and the other Yvette Cooper (Equation 7.9) as the baseline category for the dichotomous variables. Accordingly, the models were as follows:

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[43]For a further description of variables used in this Section please refer to Chapter 5.4.1.

$$FRAMES_t = \alpha + \beta_1 D.CORBYN + \beta_2 D.BURNHAM + \beta_3 D.COOPER + \beta_4 WEEK + \epsilon$$
$$(7.8)$$

$$FRAMES_t = \alpha + \beta_1 D.CORBYN + \beta_2 D.BURNHAM + \beta_3 D.KENDAL + \beta_4 WEEK + \epsilon$$
$$(7.9)$$

where α is an intercept, β is a vector of covariates and ϵ is the error term. Summary statistics for the variables of interest may be found in Table 7.7 (Section 7.3) and Table 7.5 (Section 7.2.3). Accordingly, the distribution of the dependent variable has been inspected and as the over-dispersion was found, negative binomial models were employed in the subsequent analyses.[44]

The results of the two models are displayed in Table 7.18. The left column shows the outcome of regression in which Liz Kendall as reference (Equation 7.8), while the right one used Yvette Cooper as a baseline category (Equation 7.9). Looking at both regressions none of the candidates received significantly more or less coverage mentioning the analysed frames. This confirms outcomes of the previous regression (Table 7.17), suggesting that women were not more likely to receive press coverage containing gender-biased frames. This implies that hypothesis H2 stating that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames than men* should be rejected.

To provide a better sense of estimated effect sizes and account for the uncertainty for each estimate, simulations have been employed following the methodology described in Section 5.4.2. Figure 7.8 shows the distribution of the predicted mentions for each candidate. From the Figure it follows that the expected weekly number of articles containing frames for Jeremy Corbyn (man) was 3.5 with a standard deviation of 0.57, while for the other man candidate - Andy Burnham - it was equal to 1.2 with a standard deviation of 0.31. At the same time simulation results indicate that Yvette Cooper is expected to have received 2.5 articles mentioning any of the analysed frames, with a standard deviation of 0.44 while the remaining woman candidate - Liz Kendall is anticipated to have the volume of coverage equal to 2.1 (with a standard deviation of 0.42).

Accordingly, the results of the analyses once again do not unambiguously indicate that candidates of one particular gender were more likely to be depicted in the articles containing analysed frames. Not only none of the coefficients in both regressions proved to be statistically significant (see Table 7.18) but also the simulation results, presented in Figure 7.8 show that differences between the candidates are not substantial.

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[44]For means and standard deviations please refer to Appendix M. Furthermore, the histograms of the dependent variable can be found in Appendix T.

Table 7.18: Model of coverage related to all analysed frames during the 2015 Labour leadership election - individual candidates' effect.

	Coverage substance [a]	Coverage substance [b]
(Intercept)	0.45	0.65
	(0.46)	(0.45)
D.CORBYN	0.45	0.25
	(0.45)	(0.44)
D.BURNHAM	−0.61	−0.80
	(0.49)	(0.49)
D.COOPER	0.19	
	(0.46)	
WEEK	0.04	0.04
	(0.04)	(0.04)
D.KENDALL		−0.19
		(0.46)
AIC	215.43	215.43
BIC	225.19	225.19
Log Likelihood	-102.71	-102.71
Deviance	57.04	57.04
Num. obs.	52	52

***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, †$p < 0.1$, [a]Liz Kendall is a reference category, [b]Yvette Cooper is a reference category
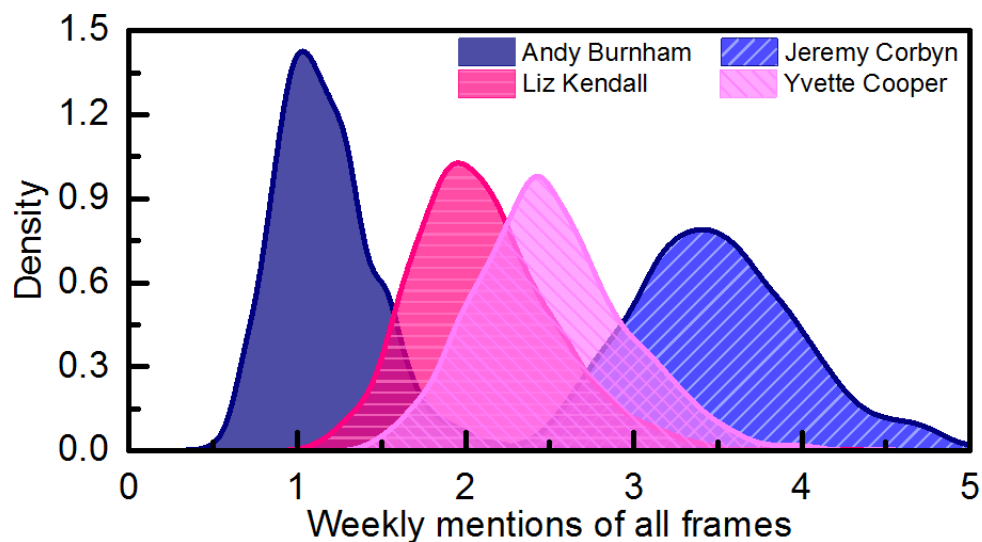
Figure 7.8: Simulations of the predicted effect of individual candidates on the occurrence of the selected frames during the 2015 Labour leadership election. None of the differences are significant.

Although in Sections 7.3.1, 7.3.2 and 7.3.3 it was found that, when analysed in isolation, some gender-biased frames may be more prevalent for women, while some other for men, overall it cannot be said that the press coverage during the 2015 Labour leadership election was more hostile to women in its substance. Moreover, even if the frames were present in candidates' coverage, the in-depth qualitative analyses presented in each Section did not indicate that they always showed candidates in a negative way. Hence, hypothesis H2 stating that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames than men* needs to be rejected.

7.3.6   Robustness checks

To ensure the inferences made in previous Sections are robust, several checks were conducted.[45] In particular, Breusch-Godfrey test for autocorrelation has been performed, and its results suggested autocorrelation in one of the models (Section 7.3.2), despite the inclusion of lagged dependent variable.[46]

Even though the time series employed in this regression model are longer than those in data collected during the 2015 general election, an inclusion of additional lags of the dependent variable was still not feasible. Therefore, to rule out the possibility that the results are just spurious artefacts of autocorrelation, cross-sectional models were estimated one for each week of the campaign. Detailed outcomes of the cross-sectional models are presented in Appendix N. The checks showed that in general, the results are similar to those observed in Table 7.17 in Section 7.3.5; in most weeks no difference between men and women candidates was observed. Only one cross-sectional model shows significant trend opposite to the findings in Table 7.17. Thus, it is concluded that the results were unaffected by the autocorrelation.

At the same time the results of the Augmented Dickey-Fuller test [47] (placed in Appendix Q) indicate that as the data is stationary, the time series models have not been affected by the presence of the unit root.

7.4   Summary

While the previous Chapter (6) focused on the press coverage received by the candidates standing in the 2015 general election, the focal point of this one was an analysis of how the media covered another political event - the 2015 Labour leadership election. It is believed that the analysis of a different campaign taking place within reasonably short period of time did not only increase the robustness of this study but also unveiled whether these trends could be observed in runs for different political levels.

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[45]For more information about the conducted robustness checks, please refer to Section 5.4.3.

[46]The results of all tests are presented in Appendix Q.

[47]For more information about the test please refer to Chapter 5.4.3.

In particular, analyses in this Chapter aimed at verifying the following hypotheses:

H1: During campaigns for different political positions, women candidates receive less volume of press coverage than men.

H2: During campaigns for different political positions, press coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames related to appearance/age, parenthood, partners as well as gender/novelty than men.

To examine the first hypothesis, candidates' visibility has been measured by taking into consideration the number of articles they were depicted in. Even though number of studies suggest that women politicians have been largely ignored by the media in the past (Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991; Heldman et al., 2005; Campbell and Childs, 2010; Adcock, 2010; Ross et al., 2013), the body of research was not always unequivocal in this matter (see Rausch et al., 1999; Devitt, 2002; Bystrom et al., 2001; Jalalzai, 2006; Atkeson and Krebs, 2008). The analysis of the 2015 general election campaign indicated that women were more likely to be depicted in the press coverage than men, which is against the so-called 'conventional wisdom'.

The data gathered from the period of the Labour leadership campaign seems, on the surface, to indicate an opposite trend as the initial statistical analysis reveals that men candidates were more visible than women during that particular political run. The results of the regression analysis confirmed that during that campaign men candidates were more likely to be depicted in the articles than their women counterparts. However, a closer inspection of the coverage volume involving investigation of individual candidates' effect shows that gender might have less influence on the results than the preliminary findings have suggested.

Indeed, while the candidate with the highest number of mentions was a man (Jeremy Corbyn), the differences between remaining contenders were not so prevalent (see Figure 7.4). Moreover, the reasons behind Corbyn's 'popularity' as a subject of press publications were explained by the content analysis of the collected data. Corbyn's candidacy caused a lot of the media interest, mainly due to the 'uniqueness' of his political views. Moreover, as with time various polls began to put him in a lead, his newsworthiness (and with it a number of articles he was depicted in) grew (see Figure 7.2). Thus, the incorrectness of the hypothesis H1 should not be ruled out, as some factors indicate that the press interest might be more related to things like candidate's personality rather than gender.

The second tested hypothesis stated that *press coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames related to appearance/age, parenthood, partners as well as gender/novelty.* Similarly to Chapter 6, to verify this, the author coded all collected articles against any mentions of candidates genders and novelty of their candidacy, age

and appearance, partners and relationships as well as children, i.e. frames which previous studies associated with gender-bias in the media (see Chapter 3).

The analysis of the coverage substance began from considering how the candidates' age and appearance have been scrutinised over the newspapers' pages. The primary analysis indicates that men might be the group receiving more press attention related to their age and appearance than women, and that Jeremy Corbyn once again raised the most interest amongst them. Accordingly, the employed statistical model indicated that the gender of a candidate could influence the media interest in this matter and revealed that men candidates were more likely to be depicted in articles mentioning their appearance and age than women. At this point it should be noted that, while the press was interested in the appearance of both men candidates, out of two women only one received this kind of coverage.

A closer inspection of the collected articles revealed why Corbyn's look and age was of journalist interest. *The Guardian* summarised this phenomenon by writing that "physically, he stands apart from his rivals – he is older and shabbier, face covered with a scrub of beard and shirt pocket rammed with an entire staffroom's worth of biros. Temperamentally, he's different, scowling his way through all manner of tetchy interviews while the others slip untroubled from buzzword to meaningless buzzword." (Heritage, 2015). It is anticipated that the interest of the press in his look was due to his 'otherness' rather than gender.

Another analysed frame was candidates' parental status. The analysis of the articles mentioning their children - or in some cases lack of them - revealed that while in general there was an impression that women candidates were more often scrutinised in this matter than men, a regression model did not indicate that this was statistically significant. What is more, an inspection of the articles content, as well as the analysis of the frequency of this topic in the publications over time (see Figure 7.5) revealed that this frame was not introduced to the campaign by the journalists themselves. Instead, what sparked the discussion was an article written by one of the supporters of Yvette Cooper's candidacy,[48] which was then picked up on by the rest of the media outlets.

The investigation of the press scrutiny of partners of the politicians running for the Labour leadership positions, showed that women candidates were more likely to receive coverage referring to their relationships. Among all the contenders, the most described in this matter was Yvette Cooper, as the fact that she was married to a politician who previously had a prominent position within a Labour Party and few years earlier stood as a candidate leader's position raised the media interest. Moreover, the analysis of Cooper's image in the newspapers showed some similarities to other women candidatures studied in the past. For instance, the attempt to present women through their relationships was also noticed during Elizabeth Dole's bid for presidency nomination in the US (Gilmartin,

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[48]See "Why as a parent I'm backing Yvette Cooper as Labour's next leader" by Helen Goodman, *Huffington Post*, 06 July 2015.

2001). Similarly to Cooper, Doyle was also married to a politician who was a former candidate for the same position she was running for.[49] Their suitability for the position they were running for was undermined through the media attempts to present them as dependent on their husbands. Thus, in this particular case the correctness of hypothesis H2 could not be ruled out.

Even though so far the results of the content analysis of the collected articles indicate that there might be some frames which are more likely to appear in the press coverage of women candidates, the observations were not unequivocal. Therefore, an analysis of all frames combined together was conducted to estimate the effect of gender on the substance of the press coverage. A statistical model showed that overall no significant difference between men and women was present. Similar observation was made when accounting for the influence of individual contenders *per se*.

Finally, a few other observations need to be made, as they also shed some light on the way the news outlets cover men and women candidates. First, even though the press mentioned frames related to candidates appearance, children and partners, it is difficult to conclude that those articles constituted a substantial share of total coverage received by those politicians. Indeed, the most noticeable subject the author coded for appearance of Jeremy Corbyn, which was found in 4 per cent of articles he was depicted in. Thus, it should be asked whether such amount of coverage is significant enough to make a difference in voters perception of the candidacies. Secondly, the observed patterns are not always consistent within the gender. For example, while Kendall received some appearance-related coverage, the media did not provide any mentions of Cooper's style. Having said that, the media coverage are also not entirely gender-neutral, as the analysis of the articles in which candidate's partners have been mentioned indicated that women were significantly more likely to receive this type of coverage. Yet again, however, it should be noted, that except for Yvette Cooper no other candidate had a high-profile politician (or ex-politician) as a partner.

Overall, even though the results are unequivocal and hence drawing far-reaching conclusions is limited, the results presented in this Chapter could offer some evidence that, while women did not escape being depicted in a gender-biased frames, they may not be the only ones depicted in this manner.

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[49]Ed Balls was a candidate for Labour leader in 2010 while Bob Doyle was a former presidential candidate.

Chapter 8

Conservative leadership election

8.1 Overview of the 2016 Conservative leadership election campaign

When the campaign leading to the 2015 general election had come to an end and when the new Labour leader had been selected, the British media picked up another topic - the upcoming EU referendum. After winning the majority, the Conservative Party was able to introduce and pass through the Parliament *the European Union Referendum Act 2015*. The Act made provisions for the referendum, giving the citizens the opportunity to express their opinion on whether the UK should remain within the European Union or leave its structures. In February 2016 it was revealed that the referendum would be held on 23 June that year.

During the campaign, politicians, as well as the nation, were divided into two groups: those preferring the UK to leave the EU and those who wanted to remain its part. The official cross-party group supporting the leave, named *Vote Leave*, was backed by politicians like Boris Johnson and Michael Gove from Conservative, and Gisela Stuart from Labour (Stewart, 2016). The second advocacy group — those who wanted to remain in the EU — chose a slogan *Britain stronger in Europe* to be their headword. This group was endorsed by the Conservative Prime Minister of the time (David Cameron) and as well as *Vote Leave* was cross-party, compromising of politicians like Caroline Lucas (Green Party), Peter Mandelson (Labour) and Damian Green (Conservative) (Sabur, 2016).

The results of the referendum were declared in the morning of 24 June. Soon after, following the success of the *Leave* campaign, David Cameron announced his resignation from the leadership role in the Conservative Party and consequently the prime ministerial post. His decision opened up preparations for the leadership contest (see Stevart et al., 2016; White, 2016). Although it was expected that he would remain a Prime Minister

until the Conservative Party selected a new leader in the autumn, in the end the campaign lasted shorter than it was originality anticipated.

Initially, there were five candidates for the new Conservative leader: Stephen Crabb, Michael Gove, Theresa May, Andrea Leadsom and Liam Fox. According to Conservative Party internal policy, the choice had to be narrowed down to two candidates prior to the final postal ballot. To achieve this, two rounds of voting were organised,[1] each of them eliminating one candidate. As a result of the first ballot, held on 5 July, Liam Fox left the race. On the same day Stephen Crabb decided to withdraw his candidacy after a poor ballot result. Two days later, the second ballot left Andrea Leadsom and Theresa May as the remaining two candidates. From this point onward, it has been clear that the next Prime Minister would be a woman. Soon after, as a result of Andrea Leadsom's unexpected withdrawal from the campaign, Theresa May was announced the new Conservative leader and a Prime Minister. The detailed timeline of this election may be found in Figure 8.1.

24 June	David Cameron resign as a leader of a Conservative Party and Prime Minister - his resignation is a consequence of the results of the EU Referendum.
30 June	Nominations close - nominated are Stephen Crabb, Liam Fox, Michael Gove, Andrea Leadsom and Theresa May. The first day of data collection.
5 July	First ballot - Liam Fox eliminated, Stephen Crabb withdraws.
7 July	Second ballot - Michael Gove eliminated, two remaining candidates are Theresa May and Andrea Leadsom.
9 July	The Times published an article titled "Being a mother gives me an edge over May - Leadsom".
11 July	Andrea Leadsom pulls out from the race, chair of the 1922 Committee confirms Theresa May as the new leader of the party. The last day of data collection.
12 July	David Camerons' final Cabinet meeting.
13 July	Theresa May accepts the Queen invitation to form a government and become Prime Minister.

Figure 8.1: Timeline of the 2016 Conservative leadership election.

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[1] The election process for selecting the leader requires using the ballot system in which the Conservative Members of Parliament choose two candidates. Subsequently, the winner is selected through the postal ballot in which all members of the Conservative Party can cast their votes.

As in the case of the Labour leadership election, some elements of the Conservative campaign attracted particular attention of the media. While Jeremy Corbyn's candidacy electrified the press in the summer of 2015, the news coverage during the early stages of this election was dominated by two people – Michael Gove and Boris Johnson. The unexpected candidacy of the former and the resignation of the latter, as well as personal relations between the two of them, were widely discussed. Other than Johnson and Gove the media also focused on evaluation of the candidates; particularly their capability for triggering 'Brexit'. This is not surprising, considering that in the short period of time after the referendum, a number of prominent politicians distanced themselves from taking responsibility for the future of the United Kingdom and its relations with the European Union.

Furthermore, it should be underlined that until 2016 only one woman has been elected as Conservative Party leader. Furthermore, from 1965 when the first formal election of this kind has been organised, only one woman candidate stood in the election.[2] Therefore, the Conservative leadership office is commonly perceived as highly masculine environment and the presence of two women candidates in the 2016 run did not go unnoticed in the media. This, alongside the rise in the number of women politicians taking offices around the world or standing as candidates for more prominent positions, has been perceived by the media as signs of change (although the newspapers did not refrain from indicating that women still face some difficulties on their way to the top).

Undoubtedly, the presence of women in the Conservative election created a truly unique opportunity for this research to verify how women politicians are handling runs for executive offices which are perceived as highly masculine environment. Accordingly, the analysis of the Conservative election coverage which follows in this Chapter explores the relationship between the gender of political candidates and the volume as well as some aspects of the substance of the press coverage they receive from that angle.

Some researchers suggest that in the exceptionally masculine environment which is the executive office, the media might be more likely to be less gender neutral (Hayes and Lawless, 2016b). For instance if a woman candidate standing for a particular position is something unusual, her gender could be perceived as novel, interesting and through this particularly newsworthy (Hayes and Lawless, 2016b). However, given recent trends followed by the theory outlined in Chapter 4 it was envisaged that the media environment will be still more levelled than it used to be believed.

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[2]That candidate was Margaret Thatcher who had stood for the leadership election in 1975.

8.2   Effect of candidates' gender on coverage volume

8.2.1   Preliminary quantitative analysis

The analysis of the coverage volume during the Conservative leadership election aims at verifying hypothesis H1 stating that *women candidates receive less volume of coverage than men*. To achieve this, the national media outlets were monitored throughout the duration of the 2016 Conservative leadership campaign (see Figure 8.1 for the exact dates), using the system described in Section 5.2.[3] It is worth pointing out, however, that due to the character of the Conservative election, as mentioned in the introductory Section of this Chapter, candidates remained in the campaign for different periods of time. Therefore, the coverage for each candidate was collected only for the duration of his/her presence in the political run.[4]

Overall, throughout the 12 days of the campaign, a total of approximately 5,200 articles were downloaded by the press coverage collection system. Subsequent searched with *NVivo^{TM}* identified 817 articles mentioning at least one of the Conservative leadership contestants.[5] This demonstrates that the election has been widely commented on the media. In comparison, analogous search during the 2015 general election campaign (72 candidates over the period of 6 weeks) identified 428 articles, while search during the 2015 Labour leadership election (4 candidates, 13 weeks of the campaign) found 1166 articles.

The analysis of the coverage volume begins with a preliminary data mining. Initial statistical analyses, presented in Table 8.1, reveal that the candidates received largely different media coverage in terms of its volume. In particular, Theresa May was mentioned in 738 articles, followed by Andrea Leadsom (584 articles), Michael Gove (455 articles), Stephen Crabb (138 articles) and Liam Fox (136 articles).[6]

It is quite obvious that some of those disparities in the coverage volume between the candidates might be related to the longevity of their candidacy (see Figure 8.1). Therefore, Table 8.1 also presents how much coverage each candidate received per day. Accordingly, from the data presented in the Table it follows that Theresa May received the highest rate of the volume of coverage per day (61.5 articles). She was followed by Michael Gove (56.9 articles), Andrea Leadsom (48.7 articles), Stephen Crabb (23.0 articles) and Liam Fox (22.7 articles). Therefore, these preliminary analyses suggest that, if anyone, it was a woman candidate who received more coverage volume (although no unambiguous trend was identified).

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[3]The reasons behind selecting newspapers used in this study have been outlined in Section 5.2 while the list of all analysed titles could be found in Appendix C.

[4]For the exact duration of the data collection for each candidate, please refer to Appendix R.

[5]More details on how this search was conducted could be found in Section 5.3.1

[6]Please note that it is possible that more than one candidate has been mentioned in a single article.

Table 8.1: Preliminary statistics for the number of articles per day received by each of the candidates during the 2016 Conservative leadership election.

Candidate	Articles received (total)	Share of total coverage	Campaign duration (days)	Articles per day
Theresa May	738	90.3%	12	61.5
Andrea Leadsom	584	71.5%	12	48.7
Michael Gove	455	55.7%	8	56.9
Stephen Crabb	138	16.9%	6	23.0
Liam Fox	136	16.6%	6	22.7

Figure 8.2 shows how the press interest in each candidate fluctuated throughout the period of the campaign. It seems clear that the first two days were dominated by Michael Gove and Theresa May. While Gove's coverage was devoted to the unexpectedness of his candidacy [7] (and the elimination of Boris Johnson), hers was driven by the necessity to describe a strong contender. The media interest in Andrea Leadsom also started to grow with time, as opinion polls began to present her as a 'dark horse' of this campaign. The coverage of Liam Fox and Stephen Crabb began to rise just prior to the first ballot, however, this was because media were expecting them to receive the lowest share of the votes. Indeed, on 5th July Liam fox was eliminated, while Stephen Crabb withdrew from the race. Finally, a peaking trend in coverage volume for both May and Leadsom was observed towards the end of the campaign, which was mostly related to one of Leadsom's interviews, which are later discussed in more detail. Some other frames, such as those related to parentood or candidates' appearance have been mentioned as well, and they are discussed in Sections 8.3.1, 8.3.2, 8.3.3 and 8.3.4.

While the above mentioned elementary statistics may provide a rough overview of the press coverage during the Labour leadership election, this analysis does not account for confounders which could influence its results. Thus, to systematically analyse the impact of a host of variables on the coverage volume, regression analyses were conducted, as described in the following Section.

8.2.2 Regression analysis controlling for multiple covariates

The regression analysis of the coverage volume begun with modification of the collected data to a regressible form. First, the articles were converted to an unbalanced panel data, whereby a single observation was a count of articles written about a single candidate within a specific day of the campaign. Accordingly, the sample consisted of 44

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[7]Most of the media interest in Gove's candidacy has been triggered by his unexpected change of sides during campaign. Prior to the campaign he worked as a campaign manager for Boris Johnson, but in the last moment he withdrew his support for him and announced his own bid. This dramatic course of actions was labelled by the press as the 'backstabbing', and contributed to the volume of Gove's coverage.
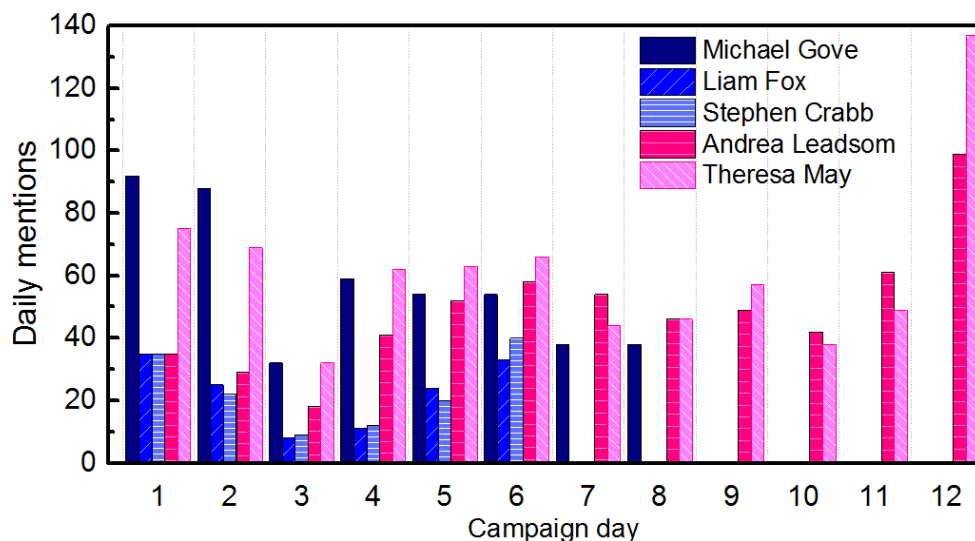
Figure 8.2: Variation in number of articles about each candidate running for the 2016 Conservative leadership throughout the time of the campaign.

observations of 5 candidates over various periods of times, depending on the longevity of their campaigns. Subsequently, a search for abnormal observations in the dataset containing number of articles mentioning the election candidates was performed. The search identified that no outliers were present in the dataset.

Once the dependent variable was determined, a list of possible covariates was made. To enable comparisons with other analyses in this thesis, the following regressors were selected: candidates' gender (GEN), time of the campaign (DAY), candidates' incumbency INC and MP tenure duration ($TIMEASMP$).[8] Accordingly, the regression equation was:

$$ARTICLES_t = \alpha + \beta_1 GEN + \beta_2 DAY + \beta_3 INC + \beta_4 TIMEASMP + \epsilon \qquad (8.1)$$

where α is an intercept, β is a vector of covariates and ϵ is the error term. Descriptive statistics for numerical and categorical variables for the variables involved in the regression are presented in Table 8.2 and 8.3 respectively.

Table 8.2: Summary statistics for numerical variables used in regression estimating impact of candidates' gender on coverage volume during the 2016 Conservative leadership election.

Variable	n	Min	$\widetilde{x}$	$\bar{x}$	Max	SD
$ARTICLES_t$	44	8	43	46.6	137	25.4
$TIMEASMP$	44	6	11	13.6	24	6.4
DAY	44	1	5	5.3	12	3.2

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[8]For more information about the modelled variables please refer to Section 5.4.1.

Table 8.3: Summary statistics for categorical variables used in regression estimating impact of candidates' gender on coverage volume during the 2016 Conservative leadership election.

Variable	Levels	n	%
GEN	(Men)	20	45.5
	(Women)	24	54.5
	all	44	100.0
INC	(Neither)	38	86.4
	(Incumbent)	6	13.6
	all	44	100.0

The analysis of the dispersion of the dependent variable revealed no over-dispersion of the data,[9] hence a Poisson model was employed for the regression.[10]

The results of the regression are displayed in Table 8.4. From the results it follows that the coefficient for *GEN* (women) is not only positive, but also statistically significant at 99 per cent confidence level. Thus, the regression outcome suggest that during the 2016 Conservative leadership election, women candidates were *more* visible, than their men counterparts. While those results differ from the observations made during the 2015 Labour leadership election (see Section 7.2), they stay in line with the findings from the analysis of the press coverage from the 2015 general election campaign (see Section 6.2).

As follows from Table 8.4, other variables also proved to be statistically significant providing noteworthy observations. First of all, positive coefficient for variable *DAY* and its significance at 99.9 per cent confidence level indicates that candidates' chances to be depicted in the press increased with time. This is in line with other elections analysed in this work, but could be especially accentuated by the character of the election, whereby candidates were consequently eliminated in voting ballots. This meant that the chances of the remaining candidates to win were increasing, thus they were becoming more and more interesting for the media. Furthermore, the regression suggests that the more experienced candidates, i.e. those who spent more years as Parliamentary members, were also more likely to attract the media attention. This positive relationship between experience and volume of press coverage is expressed in positive coefficient for variable *TIMEASMP* and its significance at 99.9 per cent confidence level. This observation could be due to numerous reasons. First, politicians with more established careers were able to develop better relationships with the media throughout the years they spent in parliamentary benches. Secondly, politicians with more experience could approach and

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[9]For more information about selecting the appropriate statistical model for count variables as well as an explanation of each variable please refer to Section 5.4.2.

[10]The mean and standard deviation for daily references to women candidates were 55 and 24 respectively, while the same variable for men candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 36 and 24, respectively. Histograms of the dependent variable plotted conditionally for each category of main independent variable are presented in Appendix T.

Table 8.4: Model of coverage volume during the 2016 Conservative leadership election.

	Coverage volume
(Intercept)	3.40***
	(0.07)
GEN (Women)	0.14**
	(0.05)
DAY	0.03***
	(0.01)
INC (Incumbent)	−0.84***
	(0.11)
TIMEASMP	0.02***
	(0.00)
AIC	654.20
BIC	663.12
Log Likelihood	-322.10
Deviance	401.09
Num. obs.	44

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

handle the journalists better. Thirdly, the journalists knew more about the politicians who have been in politics for longer and hence could write more about their background. At this point it needs to be mentioned that despite its significance, this trend is not exactly universal. For instance, the candidate with the most experience was Liam Fox (24 years), who was among the least visible contenders during this election. Most probably the coverage received by Theresa May (19 years as an MP) and Michael Gove (11 years) who were also most frequently commented on, influenced the final results. It should also be noted that being a candidate for a leadership position in the past does not necessarily give a head-start in terms of recognisability. The coefficient standing by variable *INC* (negative and statistically significant at 99.9 per cent confidence level) indicates that being previously involved in leadership runs had a negative effect during this campaign. Even though one could expect that this could raise the candidates' profile, it was not the case in the Conservative leadership run. Indeed, the only contender who took part in this election previously (in 2005) was Liam Fox, who also received the least amount of coverage during the campaign (see Section 8.2.1).

To visualise the outcomes of the regression and quantify the differences in coverage volume for different genders simulations [11] were employed, which outcomes were presented on a density plot, as shown in Figure 8.3.

From the data presented in Figure 8.3 it follows that the expected number of articles mentioning the typical man candidate was 46 with a standard deviation of 2, whereas

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[11] All simulations and associated estimates were conducted with the R package *Zelig*, using the default of 1000 simulations as described in Section 5.4.2.
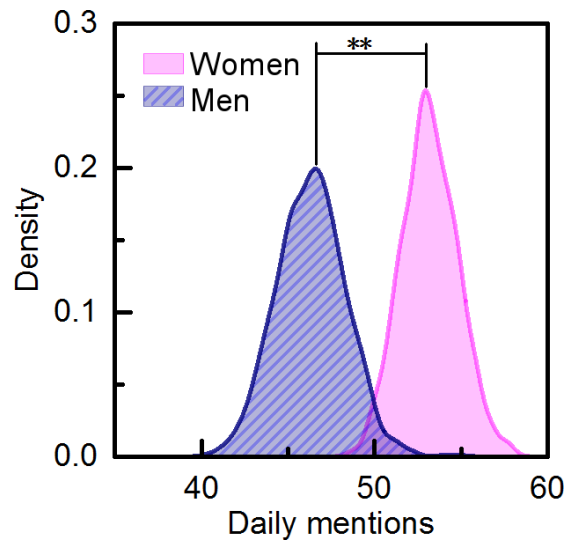
Figure 8.3: Simulations of the predicted effect of candidates' gender on coverage volume during the 2016 Conservative leadership election. $^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$.

for a typical woman candidate it is 53 with a standard deviation of 1.6. Therefore, the simulations suggest that during the 2016 Conservative election, the increase in the number of articles received per day of election due to being woman candidate is 6.8 (SD = 2.6).

Overall, the analysis of the coverage volume reveals that, on average, women candidates are more likely to receive press coverage than their men opponents, which further confirms the legitimacy of falsifying (and as a result of that rejecting) hypothesis H1, stating that *women candidates receive less volume of coverage than men.*

It needs to be noted, however, that making generalisations in regard to the influence of candidates' gender on the coverage is problematic when the number of candidates is very limited. This seems to be the case in the analysis of the 2016 Conservative leadership election as the number of candidates running in the election was equal to n=5. To enhance the analysis, individual candidates' influence on the coverage volume was therefore subsequently investigated, as described in the following Section.

8.2.3 Regression analysis controlling for individual candidates' effect

Although the analyses presented in Section 8.2.2 indicate that women candidates received higher coverage volume than their men opponents, if men and women candidates were systematically different with respect to covariates accounted for, or one candidate significantly differing from the others, the results may be biased. To rule out these possibilities, this Section attempts to investigate the impact of individual candidates on coverage volume.

To conduct the analysis, each of the candidates was represented with a dichotomous categorical variable ($D.CORBYN$, $D.BURNHAM$, $D.KENDALL$, $D.COOPER$).[12] This allowed for quantification of the individual candidates' contribution to the overall pool of articles, when controlling for a non-candidate-specific variable (DAY). Descriptive statistics for the variables used in the regressions are presented in Tables 8.5 and 8.2.

Table 8.5: Summary statistics for categorical variables used in the regression investigating impact of individual candidates' effect on coverage volume during the 2016 Conservative leadership election.

Variable	Levels	n	%
$D.LEADSOM$	absent	32	72.7
	present	12	27.3
	all	44	100.0
$D.FOX$	absent	38	86.4
	present	6	13.6
	all	44	100.0
$D.GOVE$	absent	36	81.8
	present	8	18.2
	all	44	100.0
$D.CRABB$	absent	38	86.4
	present	6	13.6
	all	44	100.0
$D.MAY$	absent	32	72.7
	present	12	27.3
	all	44	100.0

To meaningfully compare men and women candidates two separate regressions were run. In both of them one of the women contenders has been placed in the intercept (see Equation 8.2 for regression with Theresa May, and Equation 8.3 for regression with Andrea Leadsom as a baseline reference category).

The inspection of the distribution of the dependent variable [13] did not reveal any over-dispersion,[14] following, Poisson models were employed:[15]

$$ARTICLES_t = \alpha + \beta_1 D.LEADSOM + \beta_2 D.FOX + \beta_3 D.GOVE + \beta_4 D.CRABB + \beta_5 DAY + \epsilon$$

$$(8.2)$$

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[12]For a further description of those variables please refer to Section 5.4.1.

[13]For more information about selecting the appropriate statistical model for count variables as well as explanation of each variable please refer to Section 5.4.2.

[14]For means and standard deviations please refer to Appendix O. Histograms of the dependent variable plotted conditionally for each category of main independent variable are placed in Appendix T.

[15]For the explanation of each variable please refer to Section 5.4.1.

$$ARTICLES = \alpha + \beta_1 D.MAY + \beta_2 D.FOX + \beta_3 D.GOVE + \beta_4 D.CRABB + \beta_5 DAY + \epsilon \tag{8.3}$$

where α is an intercept, β is a vector of covariates and ϵ is the error term.

The outcomes from the two models are presented in Table 8.6; the left hand side column shows results for Theresa May being the reference category (Equation 8.2), while the right hand side one refers to the results where Andrea Leadsom is in the intercept (Equation 8.3). The results of the analyses do not unambiguously indicate that candidates of one particular gender were more likely to be depicted in the press, although the claim that women received more coverage than men gets some support. In the regression where Andrea Leadsom is used as a baseline reference category, two out of three men candidates received less media coverage than her and those observations are also statistically significant (at 99.9 per cent confidence level). At the same time, the coefficient for the third man candidate (Michael Gove) is positive (99.9 per cent statistical significance), which means that he was more likely to be depicted in the media than Andrea Leadsom during the campaign. The regression with Theresa May being a baseline category (Equation 8.2) suggests that all candidates — both men and women — were less likely to receive the press coverage than her. The coefficient for one of the men candidates (Michael Gove) is insignificant.

To provide a better visualisation the regression outcomes, simulation exercises were conducted.[16] Figure 8.4 shows the distribution of the predicted newspapers' mentions for each candidate. It could be seen that the expected number of mentions for Theresa May (woman) is 59.3 with a standard deviation of 2.3, while for the other woman candidate - Andrea Leadsom the volume of received coverage is expected to be equal to 46.8 with a standard deviation of 2.0. At the same time simulation results indicate that Michael Gove (man) is expected to receive 58 articles mentioning his candidacy, with a standard deviation of 2.7 while the remaining men candidates - Liam Fox and Stephen Crabb are anticipated to have the volume of coverage equal to 23.9 (SD=2.1) and 24.3 (SD=2.1) accordingly.

The results presented in Table 8.6 and Figure 8.4 provide further confirmation to the theory stating that the gender of women candidates does not negatively influence their visibility in the media during elections. After controlling for time (variable DAY), the analyses show that two out of three men candidates received less coverage than both women competitors. The only man candidate who received the coverage volume comparable, or higher, to those of women contenders was Michael Gove. Furthermore, of all possible men-women pairs, only one (Michael Gove and Andrea Leadsom) suggests that man candidate received more coverage than his woman counterpart. In contrast, 4 other

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[16]The simulations were following the procedure described in Section 5.4.2.

Table 8.6: Model of coverage volume during the 2016 Conservative leadership election - individual candidates' effect.

	Coverage volume ^{a}	Coverage volume ^{b}
(Intercept)	3.70***	3.93***
	(0.06)	(0.06)
D.FOX	−0.68***	−0.91***
	(0.10)	(0.10)
D.GOVE	0.22***	−0.02
	(0.06)	(0.06)
D.CRABB	−0.66***	−0.90***
	(0.10)	(0.10)
D.MAY	0.23***	
	(0.06)	
DAY	0.03***	0.03***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
D.LEADSOM		−0.23***
		(0.06)
AIC	563.96	563.96
BIC	574.66	574.66
Log Likelihood	-275.98	-275.98
Deviance	308.86	308.86
Num. obs.	44	44

***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, $^†p < 0.1$, ^{a}Andrea Leadsom is a reference category, ^{b}Theresa May is a reference category
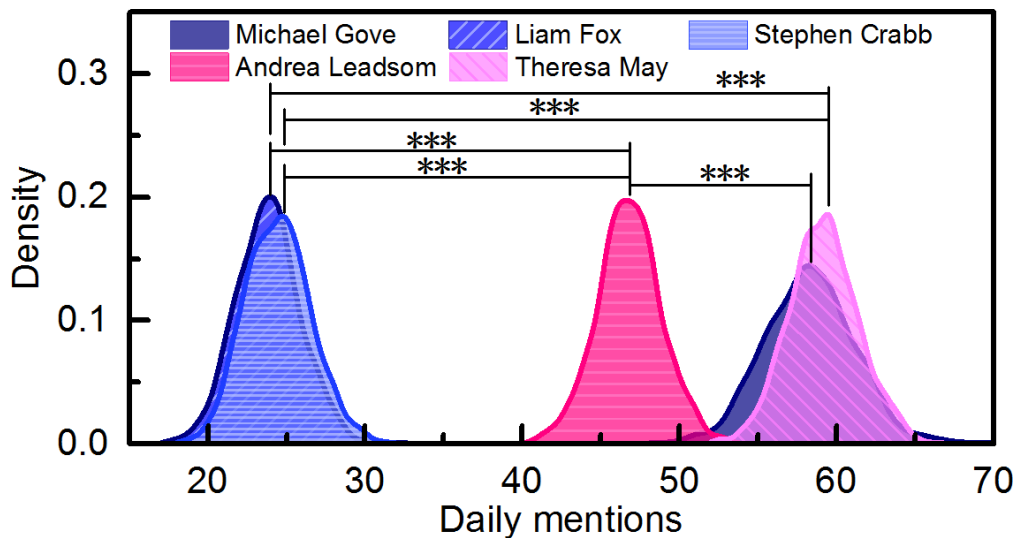
Figure 8.4: Simulations of the predicted effect of individual candidates on coverage volume during the 2016 Conservative leadership election. ***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, $^†p < 0.1$. Significance marked only for men-women pairs.

pairs suggest that women received more coverage and in 1 case the results suggest no significant difference. Thus, even though the results do not indicate that it is the gender of a candidate which influences his/hers visibility during the election, the regression

outcomes support rejection of the H1, stating that *women candidates receive less volume of coverage than men.*

8.2.4   Robustness checks

To check the robustness of the results, the Breusch-Godfrey tests for panel models were conducted [17] for the regression represented with Equation 8.1. Outcomes of this test are presented in Appendix Q.

The tests suggested autocorrelation in the model and to guard against it, one would normally include lags of the dependent variable. However, given that the time series during this election were short and that most of the predictors are time-invariant, this would not be feasible. Another method to rule out the possibility that the results are spurious artefacts of autocorrelation would be to estimate cross-sectional models for each time unit of the campaign, as was done in Chapters 6 and 7. Nonetheless, the fact that in different moments in the campaign the number of candidates remained between 5 — 2, the cross-sectional models encountered numerical problems and could not be run.

In the end, some alternative ways of dealing with an issue of auto-correlation have been employed. In particular, a model in which a single observation was the sum of all articles mentioning a particular candidate throughout the campaign was run. The results of this regression are presented in Appendix P and indicate that that women candidates are more likely to be depicted in the media, which observation is statistically significant (at 90 per cent significance level). This confirms the outcomes of regression presented in Table 8.4.

At the same time the results of the Augmented Dickey–Fuller test [18] (placed in Appendix Q) indicate that as the data is stationary, the time series model has not been affected by the presence of the unit root.

Overall, after checking for various possibilities, the outcomes of the robustness checks are consistent with Table 8.4, therefore confirming falsifiability of hypothesis H1, which states that during the 2016 Conservative leadership election *women candidates receive less volume of coverage than men.*

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[17]For more information about the robustness checks employed in this study please refer to Section 5.4.3.

[18]For more information about the test please refer to Section 5.4.3.

8.3   Effect of candidates' gender on the amount of gender-biased frames in the coverage

To understand what stood behind the coverage volume, as well as to investigate whether gender-biased frames were present in the coverage, the substance of the articles was investigated. The main aim behind the analyses presented in the upcoming Sections is to verify the H2 stating that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames*. In order to achieve this aim, the articles collected throughout the Conservative leadership campaign have been coded using the same methodology as in Sections 6.3 and 7.3, that is references to candidate's appearance and age, partners, children gender, as well as references to candidate being described as 'novel'.[19]

Based on the coded data, panel datasets have been created, whereby each candidate-day was assigned a number of articles mentioning one of the frames listed above. Tables 8.7 and 8.3 presents the descriptive statistics of the so-created variables.

To enhance the statistical analyses, and to put them in the context, in the following Sections, they are discussed alongside selected fragments from the news coverage. The fragments were chosen systematically, following procedure outlined in Section 5.5.2.

Different aspects of the coverage are now analysed one-by-one in the following Sections.

Table 8.7: Summary statistics for numerical variables used in regression estimating impact of candidates' gender on coverage volume during the 2016 Conservative leadership election.

Variable	n	Min	$\widetilde{x}$	$\bar{x}$	Max	SD
$APPEARANCEAGE_t$	44	0	0.5	1.1	8	1.7
$PARENTHOOD_t$	44	0	0	2.5	19	5.1
$PARTNER_t$	44	0	0	1.4	18	3.5
$GENDERNOVELTY_t$	44	0	1	2.4	15	3.5
$FRAMES_t$	44	0	4.5	7.4	47	9.0
$TIMEASMP$	44	6	11	13.6	24	6.4
DAY	44	1	5	5.3	12	3.2

8.3.1   Analysis of appearance and age frame

Regression analysis

The analysis of the coverage substance starts from an analysis of those articles that mention candidates' appearance and age, taking into consideration how the media wrote about politicians running for the position of a Labour leader.

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[19]Description of the coding criteria with some examples of its use could be found in Section 5.3.2.

First, a share of the stories mentioning candidates' age and appearance was assessed in the overall pot of articles depicting them was and the results are presented in Table 8.8. From the data in the Table it could be seen that women candidates got more coverage referring to their age and appearance than their men counterparts. However, even though there were two women candidates in the leadership race, the media attention to this particular frame was distributed unevenly amongst them. Indeed, Theresa May's appearance was scrutinised much more often than Andrea Leadsom (see Table 8.10). While references to May's age and appearance emerged in 33 articles, Leadsom's was mentioned in only 11 of them, even though they were in the race for the same amount of time. Table 8.8 also reveals that the highest share of the appearance and age-related articles had been observed for Theresa May — 4.5 per cent, followed by 1.9 per cent received by Andrea Leadsom, 1.5 per cent by Stephen Crabb and 0.9 per cent by Michael Gove. Liam Fox has not received any coverage on this particular subject.

Table 8.8: Number of articles mentioning appearance and age in which each of the 2016 Conservative leadership candidates was depicted and their share of total coverage.

Candidate	Articles mentioning appearance and age	Percentage of those articles
Theresa May	33	4.5%
Andrea Leadsom	11	1.9%
Michael Gove	4	0.9%
Stephen Crabb	2	1.5%
Liam Fox	0	0.0%

Even though Table 8.8 suggests that women might receive more press attention related to their age and appearance than men, a regression model was employed to provide some more robust estimation of the gender effect. Thus, the articles mentioning age were converted to a panel dataset with candidate-day as unit of analysis which gave 44 observations (see Table 8.3 and 8.7 in Section 8.3).

Subsequently, other regressors were selected, similar to those described in Section 8.2.2. An analysis of the dispersion of the dependent variable revealed that there was over-dispersion [20] thus, a negative binomial model was selected for the regression.[21] Accordingly, the following regression was employed:[22]

$$APPEARANCEAGE_t = \alpha + \beta_1 GEN + \beta_2 DAY + \beta_3 INC + \beta_4 TIMEASMP + \epsilon \quad (8.4)$$

[20]The mean and standard deviation for daily references to appearance of women candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 1.8 and 1.88 respectively while the same variable for men candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 0.3 and 0.73 respectively. Histograms of the dependent variable plotted conditionally for each category of main independent variable are presented in Appendix T.

[21]For more information about selecting the appropriate statistical model for count variables please refer to Section 5.4.2.

[22]Each of the used variables have been described in Section 5.4.1.

where α is an intercept, β is a vector of covariates and ϵ is the error term and the results of the model are displayed in Table 8.9.

Table 8.9: Model of coverage related to appearance and age during the 2016 Conservative leadership election.

	Appearance- and age-related coverage
(Intercept)	-2.01^{**}
	(0.58)
GEN (Women)	1.07^{*}
	(0.47)
DAY	0.05
	(0.06)
INC (Incumbent)	-19.03
	(2329.17)
$TIMEASMP$	0.09^{*}
	(0.03)
AIC	117.98
BIC	126.90
Log Likelihood	-53.99
Deviance	25.43
Num. obs.	44

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

From the results presented in the Table it may be observed that the coefficient for GEN (women) is not only positive but also statistically significant at 95 per cent confidence level. Accordingly, those results indicate that women candidates were more likely to have their appearance scrutinised than their men counterparts. Thus, in this case the H2 stating that: *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames than men*, is not rejected by this analysis.

Furthermore, when analysing the influence of candidates' gender on the substance of the press coverage they have been depicted in, some other observations have been made. First, another variable that proved to be statistically significant (at 95 per cent confidence level) is *TIMEASMP*. Thus, the more time the candidate spent as an MP the bigger the chances that his/hers appearance will be mentioned in the articles. This result is not unexpected, as the person whose appearance has been scrutinised most often was also a candidate with most experience as a Member of Parliament.[23]

While the statistical analysis could unveil whether gender of a candidate influences the intensity of the age and appearance related frames in the press, an in-depth, qualitative study of collected articles, as presented in the next Section, might provide some explanations of the findings.

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[23]That candidate was Theresa May who was first selected as an MP in 1997.

Qualitative analysis

Table 8.10 contains selected examples of coverage referring to candidates' appearance and age. One of the noteworthy observations was the almost complete lack of media interest in the age of the candidates. Indeed, if age was mentioned at all, the nature of such acknowledgement was predominantly informative, rather than overly descriptive. The only exception when this subject was scrutinised further was the article published in *the Independent*, where Stephen Crabb was described as "the youngest contenders of five candidates" (Rodionowa, 2016). It needs to be recognised that the occurrence of informative mentions of age in the press could be a result of the templates some of the newspapers use when writing the articles. Accordingly, providing the age of the people featured in the story could be a common practice in some editorial offices.

Table 8.10: Examples of appearance-related and age-related press coverage received by candidates for the 2016 Conservative leader.

Candidate	Newspaper Date	Article fragment
Stephen Crabb	The Independent 4 Jul 2016	*Crabb, 43, is the youngest contenders of five candidates - Theresa May, Michael Gove, Andrea Leadsom and Liam Fox - currently in the race to succeed to David Cameron after he decided to step down as Prime Minister in the wake of UK's vote to leave the EU.*
	The Sunday Times 4 Jul 2016	*Stephen Crabb seems a nice chap with his Welsh charm and neatly trimmed beard. He must also be clever because someone made him pensions secretary. He's not very good on the rugby scrum of politics though.*
Michael Gove	Daily Express 1 Jul 2016	*Mr Gove said he was now "asking for the chance to serve you, asking for the chance to change this country I love so much for the better". The 48-year-old told a central London audience he was the "candidate for change".*
	Daily Express 7 Jul 2016	*On the morning of the Tory leadership campaign launch Mr Gove, 48, announced that former London Mayor Mr Johnson, 52, was unfit for the job.*

Candidate	Newspaper Date	Article fragment
Theresa May	The Times 1 Jul 2016	*St Teresa of Avila was known for many things, but this weekend two of them raise a smile. Teresa was resolutely opposed to decorating her feet. She regarded shoes as decadent, the religious order she founded being known as the Shoeless Carmelites. And she was given to trance-like spells of spiritual contemplation. Theresa of Maidenhead is not in this mould. Mrs May is not given to drifting around in an otherworldly trance. Airy-fairy she is most emphatically not; but her shoes are fabulous. I do not really know Mrs May. I have dined with her, spoken for her in her Maidenhead constituency, and found her — contrary to rumour — friendly, warm and fun.*
	Mirror Online 1 Jul 2016	*If Mrs May became Prime Minister, she would be the second woman in the role – and photos from when she entered Parliament in 1997 suggested she was inspired by her political hero, Margaret Thatcher. Her blue suit was similar to the one worn by the Iron Lady as she swept into No10 in 1979.*
	The Guardian 2 Jul 2016	*Reserved and private, married to a fellow banker who avoids the limelight, she is the dull choice when set against Boris Johnson and even Gove, with whom she has clashed over policy and usually won. Her one indulgence seems to be flamboyant shoes, much loved by photographers.*
	The Sunday Times 3 Jul 2016	*When she is in her political persona, look at her accessories for clues to her real self. She communicates with subtle flourishes — leopard print kitten heels, thigh-high patent boots, a snappy Vivienne Westwood suit. Women know that is code for a certain kind of insouciant cool.*
	The Sun 5 Jul 2016	*A kitten-heeled ice maiden who will do whatever it takes to get to the top. No fan of Boris's, did she turn his favoured water cannon on him?*
	The Sun 5 Jul 2016	*Her big moment came in 2002, having been made the first female chair of the Conservatives she told its conference they are seen as the "nasty party" – while wearing a pair of now-famous leopard print kitten heels.*

Can-didate	Newspaper Date	Article fragment
	The Sun 5 Jul 2016	*Theresa May boobs with Aztec 'cleavage' patterned dress as she faces first round of Tory leader voting*
	The Sun 7 July 2016	*Let nobody be in any doubt... this kitten-heeled killer is a formidable political operator. Despite backing Remain, she managed subtly to show a glimpse of Brexit stocking.*
	The Sun 7 July 2016	*Shoe us what you're made of, Theresa, and reveal your plans for post-Brexit Britain*
	The Sun 11 Jul 2016	*The PM elect is well-known for her fashionable footwear and has been nicknamed the Imelda Marcos of British politics. While she is best known for her leopard-print kitten heels, her footwear obsession has seen her go to functions wearing some very bold choices. Last spring she joined the Queen, the Prime Minister and other dignitaries to welcome Mexico's President Enrique Pena Nieto, and chose to wear a pair of black patent leather, leopard-print over-the-knee boots. And at a party conference in Blackpool in 2007 she was pictured sporting some very bling gold hologram wellies (...)*
	Mirror Online 11 Jul 2016	*Her vast and eclectic shoe collection – patent over-the-knee boots she wore to greet the president of the Republic of Korea in 2013, definitely included – hint there might be more to May than meets the eye.*
	Mirror Online 11 Jul 2016	*Theresa May's passion for fashion will bring a touch of glamour to politics. Yes, it might be a certain kind of glamour... she reminds me of a batty old auntie who doesn't care what people think of what she wears. Her taste may not be for everyone, but if she likes it she going to wear it and to hell with you. Her wardrobe will most definitely shine through the never-ending sea of dull grey and navy suits during Prime Minister's Question Time. And while women in politics should never be judged by what they wear, it's refreshing to see a lady who has fun with her clothes. I love her quirky touch of style, from the tartan suit to her animal print kitten heels.*

Candidate	Newspaper Date	Article fragment
Andrea Leadsom	Daily Express 7 Jul 2016	*Now Mr Johnson has signalled he will stick to his guns on the UK's attempts to exit the EU by supporting 53-year-old Ms Leadsom who backed the Vote Leave campaign during the referendum.*
	The Sunday Times 10 Jul 2016	*(...) She had hair you could bounce rocks off. A star was born. Yet the shine is already coming off.*

Liam Fox did not receive any appearance and age related coverage.

The scarcity of mentions of age of the candidates is different from the Labour leadership campaign. Indeed, Corbyn's suitability for the leadership position was often questioned, as he was the oldest contestant. One of the reasons why this issue was not discussed to the same extent in the 2016 Conservative leadership campaign, might be the fact that the age difference between Conservative candidates was less noticeable than it was for the Labour contestants. Indeed, Jeremy Corbyn was 8 years older than Theresa May, which might also have influenced the way he was perceived by the media in terms of his age. Analogically, in case of the Conservative run, the reduced age differences might imply that the subject of candidates' age was less newsworthy for the journalists.

In terms of the candidates' appearance, the press predominantly focused on Theresa May and her fashion choices. Other candidates either did not receive such coverage at all, or those articles were very rare (see Table 8.10). The only article describing the appearance of a man candidate, which was published in the press during this campaign, concerned Stephen Crabb — who was described as "a nice chap with his Welsh charm and neatly trimmed beard" (Lea, 2016).

When the race narrowed down to two women only, one of the newspapers marked it by writing that "it's going to be a summer of scheming, schmoozing, statement jewellery, power suits and ferociously set hair we haven't seen since the heyday of Alexis Colby and Krystle Carrington" [24] (Philips, 2016). Nonetheless, among those two, only one, (i.e. Theresa May) drew a significant number of appearance-related press publications. It should be noted that media was interested in her fashion sense in the earlier years of her political career. For instance, back in 2013, after a party conference speech, *the Guardian* wrote extensively about her choice of footwear (see Fox, 2013).

Almost three years later the same newspaper, while praising May's ability to replace David Cameron, did not hesitate to mention that "her one indulgence seems to be flamboyant shoes, much loved by photographers" (White, 2016). While this was not an

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[24]Fictional characters on the TV series *Dynasty*.

isolated case, as May's appearance goes, it has to be acknowledged that, most of the time, this issue was not the main focus of the articles. Instead, her political achievements and views were usually put first. For example, one of the newspapers indicated that as "cool, calm and kitten-heeled" she is tough enough for the job (Mills, 2016) while in another she was presented as "the vicar's daughter in kitten heels" with a serious sense of duty (Retter, 2016). Even though *the Sun* labelled her as "a shoe fanatic", the newspaper also did not refrain from mentioning her "ruthless determination to get the job done" while indicating that she is a clear favourite to be the next Prime Minister (Fisk, 2016).

Once Andrea Leadsom withdrew her candidacy, Theresa May's move to 10 Downing Street also caused some of the media attention. Journalists were keen to report on how Cameron's family was moving out to "make way for Theresa May collection of kitten heel shoes", while reminding that she was once called "an Imelda Marcos [25] of British politics" (Pettit, 2016). It should be noted that Andrea Leadsom received little of such coverage. Given that only one of the women candidates received a substantial amount of the media attention towards her appearance, this poses a question whether May's coverage was caused by the fact that she was a woman, or was it because her style stood out from the remaining candidates?

This is similar to the observations made from the analysis of the media coverage of Labour leadership election (as presented in Section 7.3.1) which revealed that Jeremy Corbyn received significantly more appearance-related coverage than other candidates, both men and women. Both observations seems to confirm that the appearance-related coverage received by the candidates cannot be linked to their gender.

The intensiveness of media scrutiny of Theresa May's appearance, could indeed be enhanced by several factors. First, it should be noted that, in total, May received almost twice as much articles as Leadsom — hence, her chances for this particular frame to appear in her coverage were higher. Furthermore, May's clothing style differed significantly from Leadsom's. Fashion choices of the former Home Secretary were more 'eye-catching' which could make them a more newsworthy topic for discussion. While the focus of press on candidate's fashion choices rather than the policy should be condemned in general, the fact that May's clothing significantly differed from that of Leadsom, may suggest that gender was not the variable that caused this type of coverage. Another reason why May's appearance coverage was amplified could be the fact that during her political career she always kept her private life to herself. However, when it comes to fashion, May quite openly admitted to have an interest in it. Her appearance in one of the popular radio shows [26] and her choice of a lifetime subscription to *Vogue* as her preferred luxury item, were mentioned more than two years after the program has been recorded (Phillips

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[25]Imelda Marcos was a wife of Philippine dictator, known for her love for shoes and extravagance shopping.

[26]Theresa May appeared on *Desert Island Discs* back in 2014.

and Jones, 2016). Thus, it needs to be considered whether by expressing her interest in fashion, May did not steer the media interest towards her appearance.

Moreover, it should also be underlined that even the articles that described her fashion choices, predominantly focused on her adequacy for the job, or described her political career. Thus, the picture of the media interest in Theresa May's appearance does not exactly fit into the existing literature on the subject. Indeed, her coverage has not been used to present her as being less capable of doing her political job, like it was the case with Sarah Pallin during her run for vice-presidency in the US (see Heflick and Goldenberg, 2011).

There are some further indications that a gender-bias in the media could be less prevalent than it used to be thought, and as it may superficially seem. Namely, it should be noted that the press interest in candidates appearance is not solely focused on women candidates. Indeed, while one indication of this trend could be the type of a press coverage received by Jeremy Corbyn in Labour election (see Chapter 7.3.1), a more recent example might be the media impression of Boris Johnson when he was still considered as a potential candidate for the Leader of a Conservative Party. In one of the articles published before the official campaign started, *the Sun* had compared Boris Johnson and Theresa May to show the difference between those two "heavyweight" candidates. While May was described as "School headmistress. Grey bobbed hair, animal-print, kitten-heel shoes, smart trouser suits, power handbags and big necklaces" (Phillips and Jones, 2016), the way in which Johnston's was depicted was in no way better. According to *the Sun*, Johnson is an "absent-minded professor whose looks have been compared to Lips from *The Muppets*. Tousled blond hair, odd socks and scruffy clothing, even when wearing expensive suits. Will often top off formal wear with a lop-sided cycle helmet and clamp his trousers with cycle clips. Has been seen running in a skull-and-crossbones bandana and floral shorts" (Phillips and Jones, 2016). Moreover, in the past Johnson was also under the press scrutiny for his 'scruffy' appearance. One month before the election his stained jacket and too short jeans he wore while visiting a clothes factory during the EU Referendum campaign, have not gone unnoticed by the journalist (Glaze, 2016). Accordingly, it is hard to predict how the press coverage would look like if Boris Johnson was the main rival of Theresa May in this leadership bid and whether in those new circumstances she would remain the most scrutinised candidate in terms of her appearance.

Even though the regression results give some support to the H2 stating that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames than men*, it seems debatable whether the appearance-related coverage could be solely related to one particular gender. Instead, being a candidate who stands out from the remaining contenders, seems to be a better explanation of this phenomenon. The upcoming Section considers how gender of a candidate affected the frequency of appearance of another frame — that related to parenthood.

8.3.2   Analysis of parenthood frame

Regression analysis

The existing body of research indicates that men and women could be perceived differently according to their parenthood status. Specifically, women might be exposed to the ostracism of the public opinion for both being mothers as well as for not having children. Indeed, while having children might raise the question whether a woman would be able to simultaneously handle raising them and the demands of a political job (Jamieson, 1995), a childless woman candidate might not only be perceived as 'unnatural' but it could also be questioned whether she will adequately represent parents (Murray, 2010a).

As it was done in other parts of this thesis, at first instance, a share of the stories mentioning candidates' parenthood-related frames in the overall pool of articles they received was assessed (Table 8.11). From the data presented in the Table it follows that this particular frame has been present only in articles featuring women candidates. Moreover, both Andrea Leadsom and Theresa May received the same number of articles mentioning their motherhood (n=54), however this figure constituted different share of their coverage (7.3 per cent and 9.3 per cent for May and Leadsom, respectively). Since both the number, as well as the overall share of articles mentioning that subject were quite significant when compared to the other frames analysed in this Chapter, the issue will be looked into with particular attention to identifying its origins.

Table 8.11: Number of articles mentioning parenthood in which each of the 2016 Conservative leadership candidates was depicted and their share of total coverage.

Candidate	Articles mentioning parenthood	Percentage of those articles
Theresa May	54	7.3%
Andrea Leadsom	54	9.3%
Michael Gove	0	0.0%
Stephen Crabb	0	0.0%
Liam Fox	0	0.0%

Although at this point the basic analysis indicates that women might receive more press attention related to parenthood than men candidates, to reinforce this finding statistically, a regression analysis was conducted accounting for various covariates. Descriptive statistics of the confounding variables are presented in Tables 8.3 and 8.7 placed in Section 8.3. As the analysis of the dispersion of the dependent variable revealed that there was an over-dispersion,[27] a negative binomial model was employed.[28]

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[27] For more information about selecting the appropriate statistical model for count variables as well as explanation of each variable please refer to Chapter 5.4.2.

[28] Daily references to parenthood for women candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 4.5 and 6.2, respectively while the same variable for men candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 0.0

Thus, similarly to the analysis presented in Section 8.3.1, the number of articles mentioning the parenthood frame was regressed using the following regression equation:[29]

$$PARENTHOOD = \alpha + \beta_1 GEN + \beta_2 DAY + \beta_3 INC + \beta_4 TIMEASMP + \epsilon \quad (8.5)$$

where α is an intercept, β is a vector of covariates and ϵ is the error term. The results of the model are displayed in Table 8.12.

Table 8.12: Model of coverage related to parenthood frame during the 2016 Conservative leadership election.

	Parenthood-related coverage
(Intercept)	−22.21
	(2404.00)
GEN (Women)	20.81
	(2404.00)
DAY	0.34***
	(0.04)
INC (Incumbent)	0.23
	(4519.61)
$TIMEASMP$	−0.00
	(0.02)
AIC	111.16
BIC	120.08
Log Likelihood	-50.58
Deviance	15.85
Num. obs.	44

***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, †$p < 0.1$

Table 8.12 shows that regression analysis, which suggests that there is no significant difference between men and women candidates. It is noteworthy that the error on estimated coefficient for gender is very large. One possible explanation of this is that men, who did not receive any parenthood-related coverage, exhibited a highly skewed distribution. Therefore, the regression encountered issues fitting such distribution.

To better visualise the regression outcomes, simulations were run, as presented in Figure 8.5. As follows from the Figure, the distribution of received parenthood-related mentions for women suggests that the expected number of occurrences (i.e. peak of the bell curve) is approx. $\lambda \approx 6.8$. By contrast, the expected number of occurrences for men is $\lambda \approx 0.0$. To verify whether this difference is statistically significant, Poisson model was fitted to the distribution for women candidates. Accordingly, for $\lambda \approx 6.8$, probability that women

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and 0.0, respectively. Histograms of the dependent variable plotted conditionally for each category of main independent variable are presented in Appendix T.

[29]Each of the used variables have been described in Chapter 5.4.1.

received more coverage than men is 68 per cent, a value which is insignificant and is in line with what the regression suggests.
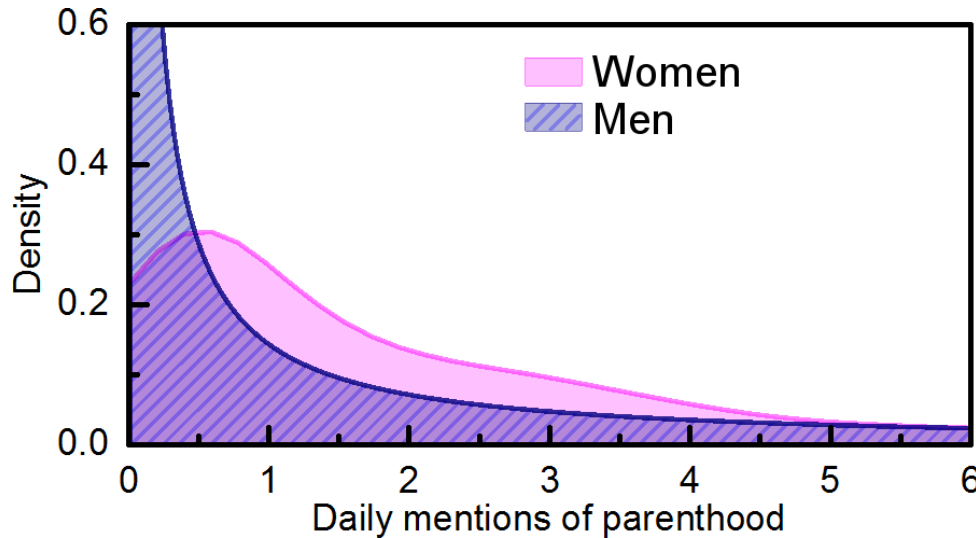
Figure 8.5: Simulations of the predicted effect of candidates' gender on the occurrence of parenthood-related frames during the 2016 Conservative leadership election. The difference is insignificant.

Therefore, the outcomes of the numerical analysis suggest that women did not receive more articles mentioning parenthood-related frames than their men counterparts, and hence these results reject H2 stating that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames than men*. Nonetheless, it is a fact that while men received no coverage referring to their parenthood, women received some. The next Section comprehensively analyses the received coverage qualitatively providing more in-depth analysis of this phenomenon.

Qualitative analysis

The parenthood-related coverage was clearly visible during the Conservative leadership campaign, particularly when it comes to women candidates. It is noteworthy, however that, as follows from Figure 8.6, the number of parenthood-related frames in the articles seemed to be scrutinised in press over certain periods of time only. The first noticeable increase in the media attention to this particular frame was observed between 3 and 6 of July. An in-depth analysis of the collected articles revealed that this intensification of publications referring to motherhood was caused by the interview with Theresa May which has been published in the *Daily Mail* [30] on the evening of 2nd of July. In the interview, labelled as "exclusive", May not only talked about her life outside the Westminster but also "has spoken for the first time about her and her husband Philip's heartbreak

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[30]This newspaper was not collected during this study, however it was decided to show this particular article as it was echoed in other titles as well.

at not being able to have children", mentioning that her childlessness is a result of a medical condition rather than the couple's own choice (Walters, 2016). Given that until then Theresa May carefully protected her privacy (she was even once described as "giving little away" (Ellis-Petersen, 2014)) the media could only speculate why she remained childless. The interview was picked up on by the remaining news outlets and received some commentary from other titles. At this point it needs to be underlined that at that time the media reaction was sympathetic towards May's situation and did not perceive her childlessness as something undermining her candidacy.
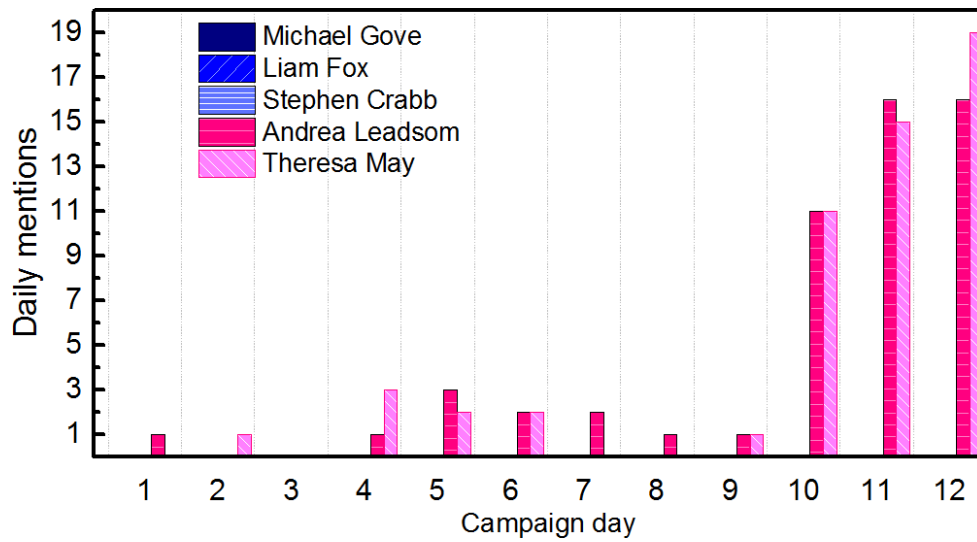
Figure 8.6: Variation in number of articles referring to parenthood-related frames for each candidate running for the 2016 Conservative leadership throughout the time of the campaign.

However, the other candidate, Andrea Leadsom, had a different opinion on this matter, and it was her comments about that subject which once again introduced the issue of motherhood into the media agenda. Indeed, as follows from the Figure 8.6, another increase in the number of articles mentioning the subject of parenthood was observed from 9 July. This 'burst' of the media interest was significantly more noticeable than the previous one, but the cause of it was similar - an interview with a woman candidate. Indeed, on 9 July *the Times* published an interview with Andrea Leadsom in which she said that being a mother gives her 'an edge' over childless May (Coates and Sylvester, 2016). This article not only almost immediately provoked another discussion about the issue of candidates' motherhood but also resulted in a growing number of voices criticising Leadsom's behaviour and a decline of support for her candidacy. Leadsom tried to respond to the negative publicity by claiming that her views were misinterpreted, however this only intensified the discussion. She made the situation even worse for herself, when she demanded for the transcript of the interview and the authenticity of the article, as well as her words quoted in the article were confirmed (Cowburn, 2016; Gore, 2016). Despite her claims that her withdrawal from the leadership race was caused

by insufficient support of Conservative members and uncertainty for business caused by a long leadership campaign, some commentators saw the scale of the response to her interview as a factor strongly influencing her decision (Asthana et al., 2016). Selected examples of the press coverage mentioning the parenthood frame for both candidates are presented in Table 8.13.

When Andrea Leadsom suggested that having a children "gives her an edge on May", she probably did not realise that her words would trigger a national discussion (Coates and Sylvester, 2016). From the day the interview appeared in the press, the analysis of the political views of both candidates was put aside, and was replaced by the discussion on whether being a mother could really make a woman a better Prime Minister. The press very quickly turned its attention to the subject, however, it is beyond any doubt that it was Andrea Leadsom who provoked the discussion about her maternity and did not handle it well when it ignited. Therefore, the criticism she received for her lack of compassion and claims that she is not ready to be the Prime Minster being unable to predict the outcome of her comments (as claimed by many newspapers) are not unprovoked.

Table 8.13: Examples of parenthood-related press coverage received by candidates for the 2016 Conservative leader.

Candidate	Newspaper date	Article fragment
Theresa May	The Guardian 9 Jul 2016	*Leadsom, 53, has two sons and a daughter. May, 59, is married, but has never had children. She has said little about this in public, but has made it clear that childlessness was not a choice. In her interview Leadsom acknowledged that this must be a difficult subject for her rival. "I am sure Theresa will be really sad she doesn't have children so I don't want this to be 'Andrea has children, Theresa hasn't' because I think that would be really horrible," she said.*
	The Independent 10 Jul 2016	*Just last week Ms May had spoken about how her and her husband, Philip, were affected by being unable to have children. Ms May told the Daily Telegraph she likes to keep her "personal life personal" but says that she and her husband "dealt with" the fact they couldn't have children and "moved on". "I hope nobody would think that mattered," she said. "I can still empathise, understand people and care about fairness and opportunity."*

Can-didate	Newspaper date	Article fragment
Andrea Leadsom	Daily Express 30 Jun 2016	*The mother-of-three joins a growing list of contenders to replace David Cameron as Conservative leader. The winning candidate will also automatically become Britain's new prime minister.*
	The Guardian 04 Jul 2016	*But Andrea Leadsom isn't just any old person. She's a mother. A mother with a strong interest in grandchildren. Even though she hasn't got any yet. (...) At her Conservative leadership launch, her eyes moistened and her voice became breathier every time she said "'children and grandchildren". Which was about once or twice a sentence. The message: "Anyone who doesn't have children is evil" was subliminally beamed on to the wall behind her. It's pure coincidence that Theresa May doesn't have children.*
	Mirror Online 5 Jul 2016	*Leading Brexiteer Mrs Leadsom was mocked during the EU referendum campaign for beginning her comments by saying: "Speaking as a mother." Her anti-regulation speech in the 2012 Queen's Speech risks undermining her pitch for the family vote in the race for the Conservative crown.*
	The Guardian 9 Jul 2016	*Leadsom, 53, has two sons and a daughter. May, 59, is married, but has never had children. She has said little about this in public, but has made it clear that childlessness was not a choice. In her interview Leadsom acknowledged that this must be a difficult subject for her rival. "I am sure Theresa will be really sad she doesn't have children so I don't want this to be 'Andrea has children, Theresa hasn't' because I think that would be really horrible," she said.*
	The Times 9 Jul 2016	*Mrs Leadsom, 53, who has two sons and a daughter with her husband, Ben, said that being a mother meant that the future of Britain was more important to her. "Genuinely I feel that being a mum means you have a very real stake in the future of our country, a tangible stake." Mrs Leadsom made clear that she intended to highlight the difference over children in the campaign. Asked to contrast herself with Mrs May, she said: "I see myself as one, an optimist, and two, a member of a huge family and that's important to me. My kids are a huge part of my life."*

Can-didate	Newspaper date	Article fragment
	Daily Express 10 Jul 2016	*Mrs Leadsom, a mother of three, sparked a furore after saying in an interview that having children gave her "a tangible stake" in the future of Britain. She said she thought her rival Theresa May was "really sad" to be childless, adding that although the Home Secretary "possibly has nieces and nephews", being a parent meant "you have a very real stake in the future of our country". (...) A total of 20 MPs are understood to have pledged to leave the Tory party should Mrs Leadsom become leader.*
	The Independent 11 Jul 2016	*It follows a torrid week for the Tory leadership contender who came under attack from senior Conservative colleagues for her incendiary comments on Theresa May's childlessness. In an interview this morning Ms Leadsom said that she felt she was "under attack, under enormous pressure".*
	The Guardian 11 Jul 2016	*Andrea Leadsom says she has apologised to her Tory leadership rival, Theresa May, over comments made to a Times journalist, in which she suggested that being a mother gave her more of a stake in the future than May, who does not have children. Leadsom, who told the Telegraph she was pressed into making the comparison, said after the story was made public she had felt "under attack, under enormous pressure... It has been shattering."*

Stephen Crabb, Liam Fox and Michael Gove did not receive any parenthood-related coverage.

From the very beginning of the leadership race, the two women candidates handled the issue of their motherhood, or lack of children, in a completely different way. Andrea Leadsom not only described herself as a mother. In the past she spoke publicly about her motherhood-related experiences, such as her episode of a postnatal depression. She did not refrain from describing her opinions as formed from a point of view of a parent, as well as expressing her interest in children-related issues, which quickly become commented on in the press. For instance, one of the articles published in *the Guardian* quite openly mocked her campaign launch, during which she expressed her interest in the future of children, writing that "her eyes moistened and her voice became breathier every time she said children and grandchildren" (Crace, 2016).

At the same time, Theresa May was more inclined to keep her private life away from the public. The one time she decided to speak up about her problems with having children,

was in an interview published by *Daily Mail*. Her decision to openly talk about this issue could be driven by the fact that she wanted to cease any speculations about her family circumstances or at least make the media more understanding of her situation.

Accordingly, the analysis of how the parenthood frame was constructed during the Conservative leadership election revealed an interesting observation. Despite the fact that all the parenthood-related coverage was received by the women candidates (see Table 8.11), the detailed investigation of those articles reveals that the issue has been introduced to the campaign by the candidates themselves (see Figure 8.6).

Moreover, some aspects of motherhood, which are commonly perceived as being an obstacle for women's political careers, have not been raised by the media. For instance, the fact that Leadsom was a mother of three was not perceived as a burden to her candidacy due to her possible childcare duties (although this might be related to the fact that the youngest of her children was in her teens). Conversely, May was not criticised for her childlessness, which was also frequently indicated in the literature as a reason for discrimination.

Overall, even though only women received the coverage related to this frame, the media were not the agenda setters, but rather tried to mirror the campaign and subjects raised by the candidates. Therefore this cannot be perceived as a barrier for women. On the whole, this specific frame demonstrates how powerful the media may be and how careful political candidates have to be in running their campaigns.

8.3.3 Analysis of partners frame

Regression analysis

The investigation of gender-biased frames continues with the analysis of the coverage referring to candidate's partners. The outcomes of a basic analysis of the press mentions of candidates' partners in the coverage of the 2016 Conservative leadership election are presented in Table 8.14. The results show that, although Theresa May and Andrea Leadsom did not avoid press publications mentioning this frame, it was a man candidate who was depicted in the highest number of the partner-related articles. Indeed, over the course of the eight days of the campaign,[31] Michael Gove received 44 articles mentioning his wife, which constituted over 9 per cent of his entire coverage. In comparison, the issue of Theresa May's marriage has been picked up on 13 times over the course of twelve days of her campaign which constituted less than 2 per cent of the coverage she received. Since the share of the articles mentioning partner frame was significant for one of the candidates, this frame will be looked into with particular attention.

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[31]Michael Gove has been eliminated after eight days of the campaign (see Figure 8.1).

Table 8.14: Number of articles mentioning partners in which each of the 2016 Conservative leadership candidates was depicted and their share of total coverage.

Candidate	Articles mentioning partners	Percentage of those articles
Theresa May	13	1.8%
Andrea Leadsom	6	1.0%
Michael Gove	44	9.7%
Stephen Crabb	0	0.0%
Liam Fox	0	0.0%

Even though the analysis conducted so far indicates that men might receive more press attention related to their relationships than women candidates, to test the significance of this observation a regression analysis was conducted accounting for various covariates. Descriptive statistics of the variables are presented in Tables 8.3 and 8.7 (Section 8.3). Analysis of the dispersion of the dependent variable revealed that as there was some over-dispersion,[32] a negative binomial model was employed.[33] Similarly to the analysis presented in Sections 8.3.1 and 8.3.2, the number of articles mentioning the relationship-related frame was regressed using the following regression equation:[34]

$$PARTNER_t = \alpha + \beta_1 GEN + \beta_2 DAY + \beta_3 INC + \beta_4 TIMEASMP + \epsilon \qquad (8.6)$$

where α is an intercept, β is a vector of covariates and ϵ is the error term. Table 8.15 displays the regression. From the Table it follows that the coefficient for GEN (women) is not only negative but also statistically significant at 95 per cent confidence level.

Accordingly, the results of the regression indicate that during this particular campaign men candidates were more likely to receive the media coverage mentioning their relationships, when compared with women contenders. Accordingly, the H2 suggesting that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames* should be rejected, as the regression suggests the existence of the opposite trend in this campaign.

Since the results of the quantitative analysis differ from those outlined in the existing body of research, the upcoming Section provides more in-depth investigation of the collected coverage to examine what had influenced those observations.

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[32]For more information about selecting the appropriate statistical model for count variables as well as explanation of each variable please refer to Chapter 5.4.2.

[33]The variable for daily references to partners of women candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 0.79 and 1.3, respectively, while the same variable for men candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 2.2 and 5.0, respectively. Histograms of the dependent variable plotted conditionally for each category of the main independent variable are presented in Appendix T.

[34]Each of the used variables have been described in Chapter 5.4.1.

Table 8.15: Model of coverage related to candidates' partner frame during the 2016 Conservative leadership election.

	Partner-related coverage
(Intercept)	0.55
	(0.81)
GEN (Women)	-1.44^*
	(0.58)
DAY	-0.02
	(0.09)
INC (Incumbent)	-19.69
	(2100.31)
$TIMEASMP$	0.06
	(0.06)
AIC	131.56
BIC	140.48
Log Likelihood	-60.78
Deviance	56.70
Num. obs.	44

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^*p < 0.05$, $^\dagger p < 0.1$

Qualitative analysis

Table 8.16 provides selected fragments from analysed newspapers. It should be noted that mentioning partners of the candidates can be done in a variety of different ways. Acknowledging that a politician is in a relationship in a purely informative way does not necessarily aim at undermine them. However, the nature of these statements could diverge beyond that and may impair the merit of the political discussion.

As outlined in Section 3.1.2, the media has the ability to construct an article in a way that undermines the candidate, by making the public perceive his/her candidacy through that relationship. The analysis of the collected coverage reveals that particularly in the case of Michael Gove's candidacy, his partner did not positively influence his electoral chances - at least not in the eyes of the media.

This media attention to Gove's spouse was the combined result of the style of his political campaign and his unexpected betrayal of Boris Johnson. An email leak revealed that his wife might have pushed him to stand for a leadership election, instead of backing Johnson's candidacy. This added another dimension to the turmoil around his candidacy. As a results of that, the couple was quickly labelled by the press as Lord and Lady Macbeth (White, 2016), while his wife herself was also compared to Claire Underwood (Glass, 2016) – a fictional character from a TV series *House of Cards* known for her ruthless character and appetite for power.

Table 8.16: Examples of partner-related press coverage received by candidates for the 2016 Conservative leader.

Can-didate	Newspaper date	Article fragment
Michael Gove	The Guardian 30 Jun 2016	*Then in walked Sarah Vine, Michael Gove's wife. Sarah wasn't at all happy. She didn't mind that her husband was copping off with someone else – hell, he'd been cheating on everyone in the Conservative Party for as long as she could remember. What really upset her was that Mikey was being so poorly rewarded for his infidelity. Her husband was selling his body far too cheaply. If he was going to sleep with Boris he should at least be guaranteed one of the great offices of state. The Treasury, for instance. So what if Mikey was hopeless at maths and couldn't even be trusted with the shopping?*
	The Sun 30 Jun 2016	*An article penned in the Daily Mail on Wednesday by Mr Gove's columnist wife Sarah Vine only worsened the distrust inside Boris's now chaotic operation. In what may have just been a slip of the tongue, she said the referendum result meant "we" now have to carry out the will of 17 million people. But the comment raised eyebrows among MPs. Later that day, an email Ms Vine she sent her husband and his top team of advisors leaked out, in which she spurred him on to get tough with Boris for "specific assurances" and urged Mr Gove to "be your stubborn best". Ms Vine is known to be very ambitious for Michael and has told friends in the past that she believes he would be a great Prime Minister.*
	Mirror Online 30 Jun 2016	*Gove was right when he admitted he "doesn't have what it takes" to be Prime Minister and the hand of the Tories' Lady Macbeth, his uber ambitious Daily Mail burbling wife Sarah Vine, inserted a backbone after her misdirected email revealed instructed weakling hubby to play rough with unreliable Bozo.*
	Mirror Online 1 Jul 2016	*Thankfully Boris – who can't find a decent barber, let alone an apology for the damage that unleashing his irresponsible ambition has had on the nation – abandoned his leadership quest because he, in a grotesque act of skullduggery, was knifed by Michael Gove and his Lady Macbeth wife, Sarah.*

Can-didate	Newspaper date	Article fragment
	The Independent 1 Jul 2016	*Michael Gove is a clever man with zero people skills, who always seems to be talking to us as if we are truculent school kids not paying attention. As Education Secretary his lack of diplomacy reduced almost the entire teaching profession to mutinous fury, yet at home things must be very different. This is a man nagged by his wife (weirdly, via email, rather than a chat over the breakfast table) to fight for his place at the top table. It hardly smacks of inner confidence.*
	The Guardian 2 Jul 2016	*As for the earnest and bespectacled Gove, with Rupert Murdoch's backing, he is now running hard for the top job he has repeatedly said he never wanted. Not so much a Hamlet as a Macbeth. His wife, the Fleet Street columnist Sarah Vine, even auditioned for Lady Macbeth when an email, helpfully setting out Johnson's leadership failings and written in her trenchant professional style, was accidentally sent to the wrong person and quickly appeared in the press. Well, well, bad luck.*
	The Guardian 4 Jul 2016	*UK citizens deserve to know that when they go to sleep at night their secrets and their nation's secrets aren't shared in the newspaper column of the prime minister's wife the next day, or traded away with newspaper proprietors over fine wine.*
Theresa May	The Guardian 2 Jul 2016	*Reserved and private, married to a fellow banker who avoids the limelight, she is the dull choice when set against Boris Johnson and even Gove, with whom she has clashed over policy and usually won.*
	Mirror Online 8 Jul 2016	*Theresa May and Andrea Leadsom are going head-to-head in the bid to become Britain's next Prime Minister But there is another burning question... who will be the new Denis to the next Iron Lady - Philip May or Ben Leadsom? We compare the two to see who would make the best Denis mark II...*

Can-didate	Newspaper date	Article fragment
	The Sun 11 Jul 2016	*He is the man who will support Britain's newest Prime Minister in his newest role of the so-called 'First Husband'. Theresa May has described him as her "rock" after the pair met while studying at Oxford University but he will now be more important than ever in his role to support the incoming Prime Minister (...) The pair are now taking on their biggest challenge yet after May was announced to be the next Prime Minister of Britain, taking up the mantle left by David Cameron. Mr May follows in the footsteps of Margaret Thatcher's husband, Denis Thatcher.*
Andrea Leadsom	Daily Express 6 Jul 2016	*Andrea Leadsom's campaign manager 'mystified' by claims they dated at university. A contemporary who also studied at Warwick University with the pair suggested they were old flames. The source told the Daily Mail: "They were an item at Warwick University in the Eighties."*
	The Sun 8 Jul 2016	*Theresa May and Andrea Leadsom might be Maggie mark 2 - but who will make the best Denis Thatcher? We compare the two Tory candidates husbands to determine who will make the best PM's husband*

Stephen Crabb and Liam Fox did not receive any partner related coverage.

Michael Gove himself had been presented more as a reluctant rather than calculating politician, while his wife was depicted as a "driving force behind his PM dream" (Martinson, 2016). Indeed, it should be noted that Sarah Vine differed from other political spouses present in this election, as she supported her husband very actively. While other partners of the election candidates worked behind the scenes and kept themselves out of the public eye, she was openly manifesting her engagement in her husband's campaign. This might be one of the reasons why Michael Gove's relationship was so heavily covered by the media.

Sarah Vine was described as ambitious, but some of the journalists went even further and dubbed her as "the puppet master", insinuating that Gove was only fulfilling his wife's orders (Barnes, 2016). One of the articles published by *the Guardian* (see Table 8.16) quite openly mocked the couple, emphasising the role of his wife.

From the Figure 8.7 one might observe that the intensity of the articles capturing Gove's marriage was the highest on the first day of the campaign. This aligns with the day when his candidacy (as well as Johnson's resignation) was announced. While May's

and Leadsom's spouses also did not avoid the media scrutiny at the beginning of the campaign, at that time most of the press attention was focused on Michael Gove. Having said that, it needs to be stated that the results presented in this Section should not be interpreted as an indication that one particular gender is more vulnerable to be perceived through the lenses of their relationship, as out of 3 men candidates standing for the election only one received this type of coverage.[35]

From the day Gove was eliminated in the second ballot, it became obvious that the new Prime Minister would be a woman, which triggered a number of comparisons with the first woman Prime Minister in the UK. The media was not only interested in the 'new Margaret Thatcher' but also in the 'new Dennis Thatcher'. *Mirror*, for instance, published an article in which the author compared husbands of both candidates to verify who "will make the best Dennis Thatcher" (Lubin, 2016). The partner-related coverage experienced a peak on the last day the campaign, when Leadsom withdrew her candidacy and it was confirmed that as Theresa May was going to be the next Prime Minister, her husband would "replace" Samantha Cameron in her role of a PM spouse.

Most of the articles that focused on Philip May, not only told the stories of how he met his wife but also presented him as a very dedicated supporter of her candidacy (Kennedy et al., 2016). This perception of Philip May as an advocate and mainstay of his wife's campaign seemed to be the main storyline for most of the articles in which he was depicted (see for example Vonow, 2016). Although Mr May was presented as her supporter, he was not perceived as a driving force of her career and a person to whom she owes her political achievements. Thus, when one of the newspapers compared him with the wife of a Michael Gove, he was praised for remaining in the shadows (Kavanagh, 2016).

As opposed to what existing literature claims about the partner frame, the coverage received by women candidates standing for the Conservative leadership election never linked their achievements and actions with their partners. Moreover, presenting women candidates as being less devoted politicians due to having liabilities in the form of household duties did not take place during this campaign either. One possible reason for that was the fact that both candidates' spouses had careers outside politics (Mr Leadsom was an investment banker and Mr May a pension fund manager). Also, both spouses preferred to maintain a low media profile, which might have also contributed to low number of relationship-related coverage received by their wives.

Overall, the analysis of the substance of collected materials unveils that, although both partners of the women Conservative candidates were depicted in the press at least once, the media did not undermine May's and Leadsom's competence for the office. Instead, they were perceived by the journalists as two women candidates with supporting husbands who have no political ambitions. Thus, none of the partner-related frames reported

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[35]Similar observations have been made in Section 8.3.1, when only one (out of two) women candidates received the press coverage related to her appearance.
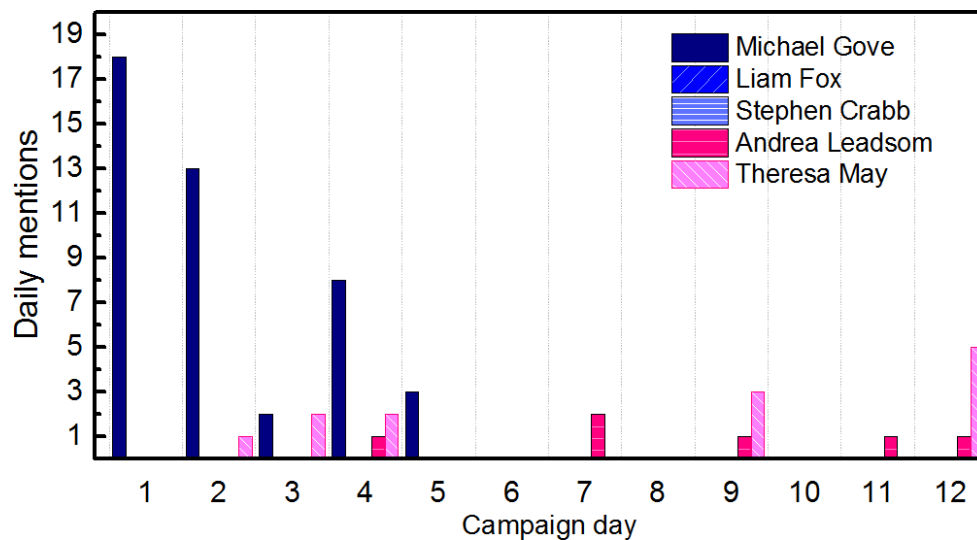
Figure 8.7: Variation in number of articles referring to partner-related frames for each candidate running for the 2016 Conservative leadership throughout the time of the campaign.

in the existing literature were confirmed. At the same time, both the regression analysis as well as the qualitative study of collected articles unveil that it was a man candidate who not only received the most media attention in this matter, but also had his competences for standing in the office undermined by the media. Accordingly, the results from this Section suggest that hypothesis H2 stating that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames* should be rejected.

Having investigated the issue of the partner frame, the next Section will attempt to verify whether the women candidates are shown in the media as novelty in politics.

8.3.4   Analysis of gender marker and novelty frame

Regression analysis

During the 2015 Labour leadership election the gender of the two women candidates was not especially acknowledged by the media.[36] However, throughout the Conservative leadership election, women's gender was frequently marked, and press was publishing articles mentioning how women are either getting, or are on their way to attain, some of the top political positions around the world.

Although most of those articles praised this new order whereby women are gaining more political power, they also accentuated how 'unusual' this situation is. The existing literature on the subject suggests that presenting women using such novelty frame might have

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[36] For the analysis of the 2015 Labour leadership election please refer to Chapter 7.

a twofold effect on their candidacy. On the one hand, it may help them gain recognition through generating the media coverage driven by the demand for information about them. On the other hand, it might also be used to indicate that they do not belong to politics (see Section 3.1.2). Thus, while this type of coverage has been observed during this particular campaign, the question remains whether it worked in favour or rather against women candidates.

Table 8.17 presents a basic analysis of the number of press articles depicting candidates in relation to their gender or the novelty of their candidacy. It could be observed that the women candidates received the highest amount of articles mentioning the novelty of their candidacy on Prime Ministerial position. For Leadsom and May the share of this type of articles was 7.0 per cent and 8.3 per cent of all coverage they received, respectively. Men candidates either did not get any mentions of their gender (like it was in case of Stephen Crabb and Liam Fox) or those situations were very rare (like it was for Michael Gove). This increased media interest in both gender as well as candidacy of women politicians can be related to the fact that until 2016 only one woman (Margaret Thatcher) has been elected as party leader and stood in the leadership race.

Table 8.17: Number of articles mentioning gender and novelty in which each of the 2016 Conservative leadership candidates was depicted and their share of total coverage.

Candidate	Articles mentioning gender/novelty	Percentage of all coverage
Theresa May	61	8.3%
Andrea Leadsom	41	7.0%
Michael Gove	2	0.4%
Stephen Crabb	0	0.0%
Liam Fox	0	0.0%

Even though the basic analysis indicates that women candidates have been depicted more often than men candidates in articles mentioning their gender and the novelty of their candidacy, a further regression analysis was conducted to account for other confounders. Accordingly, the dependent variable $GENDERNOVELTY_t$ was measured in the number of articles a candidate gender or novelty of their candidacy was mentioned over the period of one day of the campaign. Descriptive statistics of all of the variables used in the regression are presented in Tables 8.3 and 8.7 (Section 8.3).

As the analysis of the dispersion of the dependent variable revealed that there was an over-dispersion,[37] a negative binomial model was employed for the regression.[38] Thus, similarly to the analysis presented in Sections 8.3.1, 8.3.2 and 8.3.3, the number of articles

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[37] For more information about selecting the appropriate statistical model for count variables as well as explanation of each variable please refer to Chapter 5.4.2.

[38] An inspection of the distribution showed that the variable for daily references to women candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 4.2 and 3.90 respectively while the same variable for men candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 0.1 and 0.31 respectively. Histograms of the dependent

mentioning the gender and novelty frame was regressed using the following regression equation:[39]

$$GENDERNOVELTY_t = \alpha + \beta_1 GEN + \beta_2 DAY + \beta_3 INC + \beta_4 TIMEASMP + \epsilon \quad (8.7)$$

where α is an intercept, β is a vector of covariates and ϵ is the error term. The results, displayed in Table 8.18, indicate that the coefficient for GEN (women) is not only positive but also statistically significant (at 99.9 per cent confidence level).

Table 8.18: Model of coverage related to gender and novelty frame during the 2016 Conservative leadership election.

	Novelty- and gender-related coverage
(Intercept)	-2.70^{***}
	(0.71)
GEN (Women)	2.97^{***}
	(0.63)
DAY	0.11^{*}
	(0.05)
INC (Incumbent)	-17.16
	(2349.31)
$TIMEASMP$	0.03
	(0.03)
AIC	141.50
BIC	150.42
Log Likelihood	-65.75
Deviance	20.91
Num. obs.	44

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Accordingly, the results suggest that women candidates were more likely to receive the media coverage mentioning their gender and uniqueness of their candidacy than men. This is in line with the hypothesis H2 stating that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames.* Interestingly, the number of references to the novelty of the candidates increased with time of the campaign (coefficient for variable DAY is positive with 95 per cent confidence level). As it is further explained in the upcoming Section, this result did not come as a surprise since the number of women candidates remaining in the race systematically reduced with time, and it was becoming more obvious that the next Prime Minister was to be a woman. Thus, the issue of gender as well as the 'novelty' of this situation was more likely to be discussed in the media towards the end

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variable plotted conditionally for each category of main independent variable are presented in Appendix T.

[39]Each of the used variables have been described in Chapter 5.4.1.

of the campaign. While this Section suggests that women candidates were more likely to receive coverage related to the analysed frame, the next one unveils what the substance of the analysed coverage looked like.

Qualitative analysis

Selected examples of the press coverage related to women's gender or the novelty of their candidacy, which were coded by the author, are presented in Table 8.19. From the data presented in the Table it follows that even though the press indicated that for years the power in politics belonged to men, in general, most of the journalists also wrote about the feminisation of the world-order in a positive manner. Indeed, some articles did acknowledge the changes which were taking place around the world in the recent years. One of them [40] stated that "less than a century after they were given the right to be elected to British Parliament, women may well be running it" (Oakley, 2016). Similar in tone were also the articles published in *the Independent*, which pointed out that women raising to the political top around the world might be the best answer for the turbulent times, and indicated that they "have been training all their lives for this moment" (Street-Porter, 2016).

Even though the articles seemed to create a positive image of women politicians worldwide, it should be noted that their candidacy or positions they were holding were sometimes presented either as 'unusual' or as a possible consequence of the 'extraordinary' times. For instance, *the Guardian* indicated that "women are rising from the political ashes of men" and quoted another newspaper (*Die Welt*) stating that women leaders are "needed to clean the mess created by men" (Addley and Connolly, 2016). This type of coverage might undermine women's profiles as candidates able to win in every situation (by suggesting that their success might not be related to their abilities to succeed but rather the unusual political circumstances). It needs to be noted that perception of women politicians as 'cleaners' was frequently reprinted from the foreign newspapers.

Since the regression results presented in the previous Section indicate that the frequency of the articles mentioning candidates' gender and novelty of their candidacy rose with time, the author decided to take a closer look at this trend. Accordingly, Figure 8.8 shows the variation in intensity of the coverage containing gender marker and gender frames over time.

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[40] That article was titled "Who runs the world? Girls!" and borrowed its title from the pop star Beyonce Knowles' song title.

Table 8.19: Examples of novelty-related press coverage received by candidates for the 2016 Conservative leader.

Candidate	Newspaper date	Article fragment
Theresa May	The Guardian 2 Jul 2016	*But Angela Eagle is not the female candidate voters are as interested in as they might be if Labour was in better political shape when the governing Tories are in such trouble. That woman is Theresa May, 59, quietly competent home secretary in Cameron's cabinet since 2010.*
	Mirror Online 11 Jul 2016	*But there is no sign of Theresa May spelled with an "h", the woman who will take over from David Cameron imminently and is the daughter of a vicar.*
	The Independent 11 Jul 2016	*The longest serving Home Secretary in decades, Ms May will become Britain's second woman Prime Minister, following Margaret Thatcher.*
	The Guardian 11 Jul 2016	*For a woman on the verge of running the country, Theresa May has seemed almost preternaturally calm over the past few days.*
	The Independent 11 Jul 2016	*The new Prime Minister – only the second woman in Britain to hold that position – started her day thinking that she still had more than eight weeks gruelling campaigning ahead of her, to persuade paid up members of the Conservative Party to vote for her despite the fact that she supported the 'Remain' camp in last month's referendum.*
Andrea Leadsom & Theresa May	Mirror Online 1 Jul 2016	*Less than a century after they were given the right to be elected to British Parliament, women may well be running it (...)*
	The Independent 1 Jul 2016	*Let women run things. We'll cut to the chase, excise the peripheral and the extraneous crap. We already multi-task. We are highly skilled at achieving our goals and playing well in a team. Women have been training all their lives for this moment.*
	The Guardian 5 Jul 2016	*There is an increasingly widespread sense that strong female leaders are needed to 'clean up the mess created by men'*

Can-didate	Newspaper date	Article fragment
	Mirror Online 5 Jul 2016	*Of course we've had a woman Prime Minister before. But Mrs Thatcher was abnormal (in various ways). What we may be seeing here is the beginning of the normal.*
	The Independent 7 Jul 2016	*The Conservative Party used to oppose all-women shortlists, even when Labour used them successfully to boost the number of women in Parliament. Now Tory MPs have chosen a shortlist of two women to become party leader*
	The Times 7 Jul 2016	*Only two days ago, many in the Conservative Party were hopeful that they were about to close an ugly chapter in British politics and embark on a civilised midsummer contest between two women – Theresa May and Andrea Leadsom – for the job of leader and prime minister. A dignified race had been triggered to find the new Margaret Thatcher, a second Iron Lady able to deliver strong leadership in the most difficult of times.*
	The Times 7 Jul 2016	*Britain will have its first female prime minister in more than a quarter of a century as the final two contenders in the Tory leadership race were revealed this afternoon as Theresa May and Andrea Leadsom.(...) The two female MPs will now go forward to the ballot to be sent out to the entire party membership of about 150,000 people. The winner will accede to No 10 and become the first woman premier of the nation since Margaret Thatcher left office in 1990.*
	The Guardian 7 Jul 2016	*The next prime minister will be a woman - Apologies for stating the obvious, but the Conservative leader due to be announced on Friday 9 September will be only the second woman to serve as prime minister of the UK. The UK and Scottish governments and the Northern Ireland assembly will all have female leaders at the same time. And, if Hillary Clinton becomes US president, then, along with Germany's Angela Merkel, three of the G7 leaders will be women – another first.*

Can-didate	Newspaper date	Article fragment
	The Times 8 Jul 2016	*Britain will have a female prime minister for only the second time in its history after Andrea Leadsom surged from obscurity to enter a battle with Theresa May for the role. (...) The result ensures that Britain's second female prime minster, 26 years after Margaret Thatcher left office, will be another Conservative. Of the UK's four countries, only Wales will be led by a man, Carwyn Jones. Nicola Sturgeon is Scotland's first minister and Arlene Foster became Northern Ireland's first minister in January.*
	The Independent 8 Jul 2016	*The Conservative leadership race has boiled down to two women: Andrea Leadsom versus Theresa May. After years of being subjected to male rule, this is a fantastic moment to witness: at a time of political crisis we are seeing not one woman, but two, take the stand.*
	The Guardian 9 Jul 2016	*Only two days ago, many in the Conservative Party were hopeful that they were about to close an ugly chapter in British politics and embark on a civilised midsummer contest between two women – Theresa May and Andrea Leadsom – for the job of leader and prime minister. A dignified race had been triggered to find the new Margaret Thatcher, a second Iron Lady able to deliver strong leadership in the most difficult of times.*
	The Sun 11 Jul 2016	*The pair had been set to battle it out to become only the second ever female Prime Minister in the coming weeks.*

Stephen Crabb, Liam Fox and Michael Gove did not receive any gender and novelty related coverage.

As it could be seen, the media seemed to be especially interested in this issue around the periods of time when it was becoming obvious that the next Prime minister will be a woman - namely around the days the ballots were scheduled (5th and 7th July) and men candidates were systematically eliminated. However, the highest intensity of those articles was observed on the day when Andrea Leadsom withdrew from the campaign (11th July) and Theresa May was confirmed as the leader.

An analysis of the substance of coverage around those peaks unveiled that when Liam Fox has been eliminated and Stephen Crabb withdrew from the race, the media picked up on the topic of gender equality in UK politics. Some of the newspapers even presented
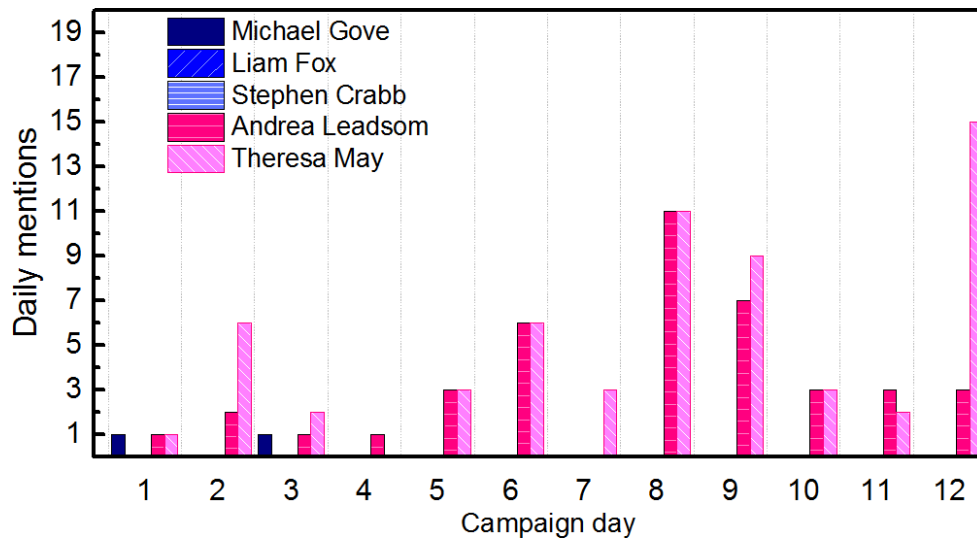
Figure 8.8: Variation in number of articles referring to gender and novelty frame for each candidate running for the 2016 Conservative leadership throughout the time of the campaign.

an imaginary vision of British politics dominated by women politicians and indicated that this dream might actually come true sooner than one might expect (Phillips, 2016). Another article claimed that May and Leadsom "stormed towards power" (Glaze and Bloom, 2016). After the last man candidate (Michael Gove) was eliminated (7th July, in 8 day of the campaign), the press started to emphasise how historical this moment was, not only because the next Prime Minister was going to be a woman but also because it was going to be the second woman politician in this position in history (Fisher, 2016; Elliott, 2016). The last, but also the highest peak in the press interest in gender and novelty of a woman politician has been observed when Andrea Leadsom withdrew from the race and Theresa May was confirmed as a next Prime Minister. Once the nomination became a fact, the rareness of this 'historic' situation and the shift of power was often accentuated by the phrase "only the second woman" (McSmith, 2016).

Even though both Theresa May and Andrea Leadsom were depicted in the press using the novelty frame, as well as gender markers, the influence of it against their candidacies remains debatable. While some researchers suggest that those particular frames may discredit women's input to politics (Falk, 2008), such deliberate actions seemed to be rather rare. When May became the Prime Minister, even though newspapers presented her as a second woman in this position, they also wrote about the experience she had gained serving as a Home Secretary. At the same time, Leadsom was also portrayed as a candidate with chances of winning. Thus, even though gender marking and mentioning the novelty of women's candidacy might have indirectly reinforced the perception of 'dominance of men' in politics, the media never directly assessed the women candidates from this angle in a negative manner.

Similarly, while mentioning the novelty of women candidates, the media did not directly highlight their lack of experience (Falk, 2008). Instead, during the 2016 Conservative leadership election the press indicated that the two women candidates were serious contenders and emphasised their experience. Indeed, throughout most of the campaign Andrea Leadsom was presented as a 'dark horse' of the campaign, while Theresa May was praised for her political experience. Moreover, as indicated by Heldman et al. (2005), it should be considered whether not mentioning that the country is on its way to have a second woman Prime Minister in its history would be perceived as a bad journalism. Thus, this frame may be inevitable for women candidates (Heldman et al., 2005), keeping in mind that this it does not necessarily imply a negative input on women.

8.3.5 Comparison between different gender-biased frames

The investigation of differences in the press reporting between men and women candidates follows with the comparison of the observations found in Sections 8.3.1, 8.3.2, 8.3.3 and 8.3.4. To illustrate the effect of candidates' gender on a number of aspects examined in the previous Sections, 1000 simulations of each model have been conducted, following the procedure described in Chapter 5.4.2. Figure 8.9 presents the outcomes of the simulations.

As follows from Figure 8.9(a), the expected number of articles mentioning an appearance and age related frames for typical men and women candidates could be seen. Accordingly, for a man the expected number of articles mentioning his appearance and age is equal to 0.63 (SD = 0.28) and for a typical woman candidate it is 1.7 (SD = 0.35). The difference between man and woman is 1.1 (SD = 0.47).

As follows from Figure 8.9(b) the simulations of parenthood-related frames suggest on average 4.25 mentions for women (SD = 10.47) and 1.08 mentions for men (SD = 1.10), a difference of 3.15 (SD = 9.37).

Figure 8.9(c) shows that the expected number of articles mentioning this frame for the typical man candidate is 9.6 (SD = 21), whereas for a typical woman candidate it is 2.4 (SD = 7.4). The difference between man and woman is 7.2 (SD = 16).

Finally, in terms of the use of the gender markers and the novelty frame, Figure 8.9(d) shows that the expected number of articles mentioning those frames for a man candidate is 0.24 (SD = 0.2), whereas for a typical woman candidate it is 3.5 (SD = 0.65).

Figure 8.9 shows that overall the frame that was mentioned most frequently during the campaign was gender and novelty followed by mentions of candidates' partners. In the former case women received significantly more press attention to this issue than men. However, in the later an opposite trend was observed. While parenthood and appearance frames were also present in the election, the simulations show that they were less significant.

(a) Appearance and Age

(b) Parenthood

(c) Partners

(d) Gender markers and Novelty
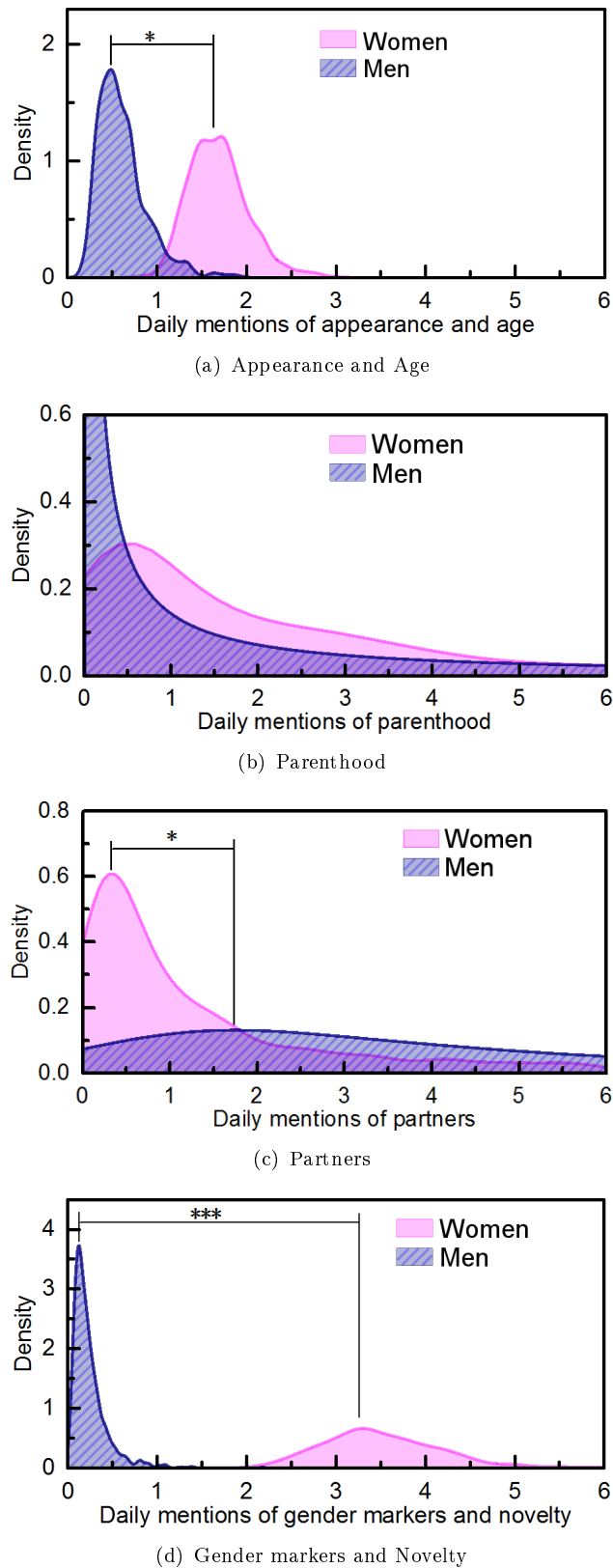
Figure 8.9: Simulations of the predicted effect of candidates' gender on the occurrence of appearance-, age-, parenthood-, partners- and novelty-related frames during the 2016 Conservative leadership election. $***p < 0.001$, $**p < 0.01$, $*p < 0.05$, $^\dagger p < 0.1$.

8.3.6   Analysis of all gender-biased frames together

As it was already indicated, the results from Sections 8.3.1, 8.3.2, 8.3.3 and 8.3.4 do not provide an unambiguous trend of quantity of different coverage aspects with candidate's gender. In some instances the results have been insignificant, while in others mixed trends have been observed. Therefore, to determine the global, big picture of the coverage substance, all analysed aspects have been combined together into a variable termed $FRAMES_t$.[41] The following Section describes regression analyses when used as the dependent variable.

Regression analysis controlling for multiple covariates

Variable $FRAMES_t$ was regressed controlling for the same confounders as all the regressions in Sections 8.3.1, 8.3.2, 8.3.3 and 8.3.4. Summary statistics for the variables of interest are presented Tables 8.3 and 8.7 (Section 8.3) while the histograms of the dependent variable plotted conditionally for each category of main independent variable are presented in Appendix T.

As the inspection of variability of the dependent variable suggested an over-dispersion, a negative binomial model was used as the most suitable one.[42] Accordingly, the following regression was employed:[43]

$$FRAMES_t = \alpha + b_1 GEN + b_2 INC + b_3 TIMEASMP + b_4 DAY + \epsilon \qquad (8.8)$$

where α is an intercept, β is a vector of covariates and ϵ is the error term. The results of the regression are displayed in Table 8.20. To visualise them, the model was simulated as presented in Figure 8.10. Overall, the results show that the coefficient for gender GEN (women) is not statistically significant. Although, as follows from Figure 8.10, the differences are close to significance threshold, the analysis does not suggest that candidates of either gender were significantly more likely to receive articles containing one of the analysed frames. According to the results presented in Table 8.20, the only confounder that significantly affected the appearance of the frames during the Conservative election was time (DAY), as the corresponding coefficient was found positive and statistically significant at 90 per cent significance level. This indicates that the likelihood of the candidates being depicted in the articles containing the frames increased with time. Given that the same coefficient was found significant in two out of four other regressions presented in this Chapter, these observations stays in line with the results obtained so far.

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[41] For more information about this and other variables please see Chapter 5.4.1.

[42] For women, the variable for a weekly references to age and appearance of women candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 11.4 and 9.5 respectively while the same variable for men candidates had a mean and standard deviation of 2.6 and 5.3 respectively. For more information on the selection of the appropriate statistical model for count variables please refer to Chapter 5.4.

[43] Each of the used variables have been described in Chapter 5.4.1.

Table 8.20: Model of coverage related to all analysed frames during the 2016 Conservative leadership election.

	Coverage substance
(Intercept)	0.69
	(0.54)
GEN (Woman)	0.54
	(0.40)
DAY	0.10†
	(0.06)
INC (Incumbent)	−20.58
	(2986.95)
TIMEASMP	0.03
	(0.03)
AIC	241.27
BIC	250.19
Log Likelihood	-115.64
Deviance	38.94
Num. obs.	44

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Figure 8.10: Simulations of the predicted effect of candidates' gender on the occurrence of the selected frames during the 2016 Conservative leadership election. The difference is insignificant.

Overall, although in Sections 8.3.1, 8.3.2, 8.3.3 and 8.3.4 it was found that some gender-biased frames, when analysed in isolation, may be more prevalent in coverage of women politicians, it cannot be said that the press coverage during the 2016 Conservative leadership election in its substance was more hostile towards women. Hence, the hypothesis H2 stating that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames* is falsified.

Regression analysis controlling for candidates' effect

To further reinforce the findings from the previous Section, another regression analysis was conducted, this time, however, controlling for the effect of each individual candidate. To do so, the candidates were represented by dichotomous variables [44] ($D.MAY$, $D.LEADSOM$, $D.GOVE$, $D.FOX$, $D.CRABB$). This allowed for identification of how much individual candidates contributed to the overall pool of articles, when controlling for non-candidate-specific variable (DAY). The analysis was aimed to investigate whether there have been candidates who contributed to the pool of articles more than others and thus might have biased the outcomes of the regressions. Descriptive statistics for the dummy variables used in the analysis are presented in Tables 8.7 (placed in Section 8.3) and 8.5 (placed in Section 8.2.3).

Two regressions were run; one used the dummy modal category set to Theresa May (Equation 8.9) while another used Andrea Leadsom (Equation 8.10). Using the two women as reference permitted to meaningfully compare the candidates' effect on the coverage volume.

As the inspection of the distribution of the dependent variable [45] revealed that there was some over-dispersion, negative binomial models were employed.[46] Accordingly, the regression models were as follows:[47]

$$FRAMES_t = \alpha + \beta_1 D.LEADSOM + \beta_2 D.FOX + \beta_3 D.GOVE + \beta_4 D.CRABB + \beta_5 DAY + \epsilon$$
(8.9)

$$FRAMES_t = \alpha + \beta_1 D.MAY + \beta_2 D.FOX + \beta_3 D.GOVE + \beta_4 D.CRABB + \beta_5 DAY + \epsilon$$
(8.10)

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[44] For more information about dichotomous variable please refer to Chapter 5.4.1.

[45] For more information about selecting the appropriate statistical model for count variables as well as explanation of each variable please refer to Chapter 5.4.2.

[46] For a means and standard deviations please refer to Table O.2 in Appendix O. Histograms of the dependent variable plotted conditionally for each category of main independent variable are presented in Appendix T.

[47] For the explanation of each variable please refer to Section 5.4.1.

where α is an intercept, β is a vector of covariates and ϵ is the error term. The results of the two models are displayed in Table 8.21 with the left column showing the outcome of regression with Andrea Leadsom as a reference point (Equation 8.10) and the right one with Theresa May as a baseline category (Equation 8.9).

The regressions results have been visualised using simulations.[48] Figure 8.11 shows the distributions of the predicted framed coverage for each of the candidates.

The results once again do not unambiguously indicate that candidates of one particular gender were more likely to receive framed coverage during the campaign. While both regressions suggest that Stephen Crabb has been less likely to be depicted in articles containing analysed frames than the two women standing for the position of a Conservative leader (with 99.9 per cent significance level), the differences between the two women candidates and remaining men contenders are insignificant. Indeed, as follows from Figure 8.11 Andrea Leadsom, Theresa May and Michael Gove all received a comparable amount of coverage. The large dispersion for Liam Fox does not permit to distinguish him from others either. Furthermore, the Figure shows that only Stephen Crabb received a consistent amount of framed coverage, while other candidates exhibited large variation in the results.

From the Table 8.21 it follows that time (expressed as DAY) displays a statistical significance (at 95 per cent confidence level) — which stays in line with the other findings presented in throughout this Chapter. It is noteworthy, however, that no other differences between the candidates are statistically significant, suggesting that there is no obvious, unambiguous trend regarding the coverage substance and candidates' gender. Thus, the results suggest that the H2 stating that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames* should be rejected.

In conclusion, the results from this Section do not permit to unequivocally determine that women candidates have received more coverage than their men counterparts, falsifying hypothesis H2, stating that *coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames than men.*

8.3.7   Robustness checks

To verify the robustness of the obtained results, some additional auxiliary analyses were conducted. Accordingly, the Breusch-Godfrey test for panel models as well as Augmented Dickey-Fuller test were employed.[49] The detailed outcomes of the tests may be found in Appendix Q.

While the tests suggested that in most of the models autocorrelation is not an issue, in a few cases, some problems have been encountered. In particular, in models utilising

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[48]The simulations were following the procedure described in Chapter 5.4.2.

[49]For more information about the conducted robustness checks please refer to Chapter 5.4.3.

Table 8.21: Model of coverage related to all analysed frames during the 2016 Conservative leadership election - individual candidates' effect.

	Coverage substance [a]	Coverage substance [b]
(Intercept)	1.16**	1.48***
	(0.35)	(0.34)
D.FOX	−20.36	−20.68
	(2054.76)	(2054.76)
D.GOVE	0.35	0.03
	(0.35)	(0.35)
D.CRABB	−2.32***	−2.64***
	(0.56)	(0.56)
D.MAY	0.32	
	(0.30)	
DAY	0.12**	0.12**
	(0.04)	(0.04)
D.LEADSOM		−0.32
		(0.30)
AIC	224.45	224.45
BIC	235.16	235.16
Log Likelihood	-106.23	-106.23
Deviance	24.08	24.08
Num. obs.	44	44

***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, †$p < 0.1$, [a] Andrea Leadsom is a reference category, [b] Theresa May is a reference category
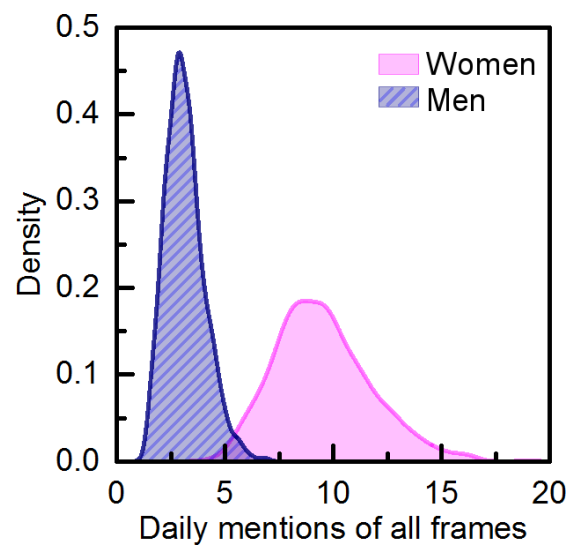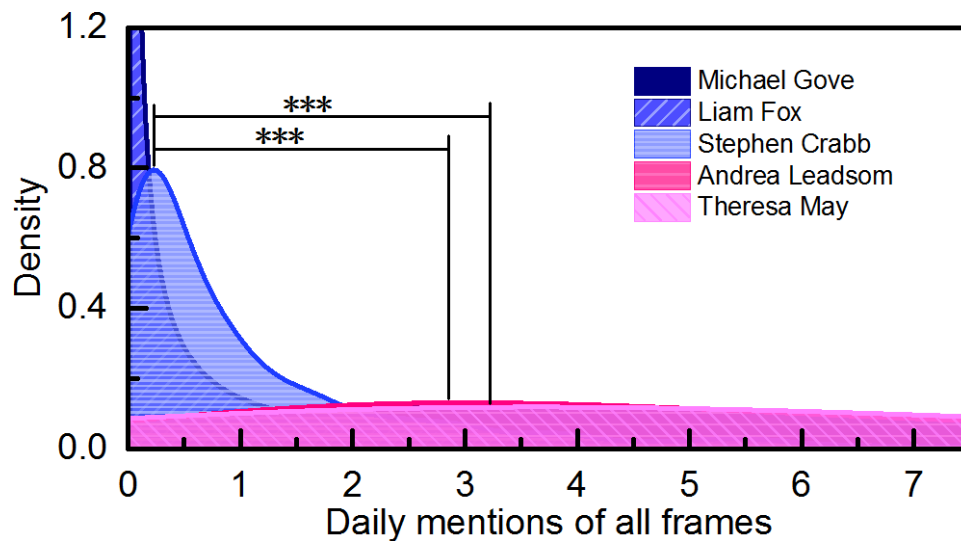

Figure 8.11: Simulations of the predicted effect of individual candidates on the occurrence of the selected frames during the 2016 Conservative leadership election. ***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, †$p < 0.1$. Significance marked only for men-women pairs.

$FRAMES_t$ as the dependent variable (Section 8.3.6), the Breusch-Godfrey test reveals that the data is autocorrelated. Furthermore, it has been found that regression utilising $PARTNER_t$ as dependent variable has been affected by the presence of the unit root.

The problem with the Conservative leadership election data was that the time series were short. Therefore, typical guards against the time series problems, such as inclusion of lag of the dependent variable on the right-hand side of the equation or cross-sectional models would not be feasible. Thus, utilising a cumulative count as a DV, a model excluding the effect of time on the regression results was run to examine whether the trends observed in the main models (Equation 8.8) could be confirmed. The results of the new regressions (excluding time), are consistent with the main regressions (see Tables 8.20 and 8.15).

8.4   Summary

This Chapter focused on both volume as well as substance of the press coverage received by four candidates standing in the 2016 Conservative leadership election. The collected articles were analysed not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively giving the reader an opportunity to see what the press wrote about men and women contenders looking at the selected fragments of their coverage. In relation to substance, particular attention was given to the selected frames and their occurrence in the coverage gathered during the campaign period. The main aim of the analyses conducted in this Chapter was to test the following hypotheses:

H1: During campaigns for different political positions, women candidates receive less volume of press coverage than men.

H2: During campaigns for different political positions, press coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames related to appearance/age, parenthood, partners as well as gender/novelty than men.

The first hypothesis has been examined through analysis of the number of articles depicting men and women candidates. Preliminary search identified 817 articles mentioning at least one of the Conservative leadership contestants. As this figure is much higher than that obtained during the two other elections analysed in this thesis, this demonstrates that the national press was highly interested in the Conservative run. The trend is in line with the theory outlined in Chapter 4 which suggests that the national media would be more interested in the high-profile candidates and political campaigns with more national profile.

In terms of the influence of the candidates' gender on the volume of the coverage they have received during Conservative campaign, the regression results revealed that women

candidates were more likely to be depicted in the articles than their men counterparts and this observation was statistically significant. Some auxiliary checks were conducted to confirm these findings. The impact of individual candidates on coverage quantity was investigated. The results indicated that there was no unambiguous trend showing that one of the genders would be more likely to be depicted in the articles.

Overall, all the results obtained while analysing candidates' visibility support rejection of the H1, stating that *during campaigns for different political positions, women candidates receive less volume of press coverage than men.* It should be noted that the number of candidates for this election is low and therefore the result cannot be generalised, however it should also be emphasised that a similar result has been obtained during the 2015 general election, which suggests that this is not an isolated event.

The second hypothesis tested (H2) was verified through analyses similar to those which were presented in Chapters 6 and 7. Namely, the articles collected during the Conservative leadership campaign were coded against frames previously identified as responsible for gender-bias in the media.[50] Coded data was then subsequently qualitatively assessed, while some of the coded fragments aided a more in-depth discussion about how men and women candidates have been presented during this campaign.

The results show that when it comes to the press attention to candidates' age, it was almost completely ignored. When it comes to appearance, women candidates were more likely to be depicted in the articles enclosing information about what they look like, suggesting that H2 is confirmed. Nonetheless, a more in-depth analysis of this frame lead to some interesting observations. First of all, even though there were two women candidates in the leadership race, the media attention to this particular issue focused only on one of them - Theresa May.[51] Similar results were found in Chapter 7, during the Labour leadership campaign, but for a man contender.

This could suggest that the intensity of the appearance-related coverage instead of being linked to one particular gender, might be associated with the fact that a candidate stands out from the remaining contenders. Furthermore, it also should be underlined that the media interest in Theresa May's appearance has not been used to present her as being less capable of doing her political job. It should also be noted that May herself quite openly admitted to have an interest in fashion. Thus, there is a possibility that her comments could have influenced the media curiosity in this matter.

When it comes to articles related to parenthood, neither men nor women were more likely to be depicted in this context, hence hypothesis H2 has been falsified. Furthermore, the qualitative analysis revealed that it was women candidates who were responsible for

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[50]The articles have been coded against any mentions of candidates' genders and novelty of their candidacy, age and appearance, partners and relationships as well as children. For more information about the applied code please refer to Chapter 5.3.

[51]References to May's age and appearance emerged in 33 articles, while Leadsom's was mentioned in only 11 of them.

introducing this issue to the campaign through the interviews they gave, while journalists only echoed this fact. Subsequently, similar observations regarding the same frame have been made while analysing the 2015 Labour leadership election (Chapter 7).

Another analysed frame was related to candidates' partners. The existing literature indicates that some women may not be perceived as having autonomous careers (Insenga, 2014; Murray, 2010a; Bystorm, 2010). While Yvette Copper standing for the Labour leadership had to face scrutiny linking her political ambitions to her husband (see Chapter 7), during Conservative leadership election it was a man (Michael Gove) who had to confront the media comments on this issue. Accordingly, both the statistical analysis as well as an in-depth study of collected material revealed not only that men were more likely to receive press coverage mentioning their partners, but also that a man could be perceived as being dependent and fulfilling political ambition of his wife.

Furthermore, the unusual presence (as for the Conservative leadership election) of two women candidates as well as their position of serious contenders drew the attention of the media. Accordingly, the regression results show that during this campaign women were significantly more likely to receive articles indicating their gender as well as emphasising that they have a chance to become the "second female Prime Minister" in history. However, even though most of the studies indicate that the presence of those two frames might have a negative consequences for women, it could not be stated that it was an issue during this particular campaign. It should be noted that Heldman et al. (2005), indicated that such frame may not undermine the position of women in politics, while its absence could be perceived as bad reporting.

Since the analyses of each of the frames individually did not show unambiguous trends, a further investigation was carried out. The analysis of the influence of candidates' gender on the amount of coverage containing at least one of the analysed frames did not indicate a clear trend connected to candidates' gender. Furthermore, the analysis of individual candidates' effect also shows that the amount of framed coverage received by all candidates is essentially similar. Overall, the analysis of the 2016 Conservative election provides more evidence to reject H2, than to support it.

Moreover, as it was done in Chapter 7, to provide a better and more reliable way of separating the effect of gender from the effect of the candidate himself/herself on the substance of the press coverage, a statistical model accounting for the influence of the contender *per se* has been employed. Subsequently, the results suggest that rather than the effect being tied to the particular gender, it is a so called 'candidate effect' that could be responsive for the way in which the media present the contender. Thus, on the basis of those results the H2 stating that *press coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames commonly perceived as gender-biased, than men* should be rejected as, overall, women were not more likely than men to receive this kind of coverage.

Chapter 9

Discussion and future work

9.1 Summary of completed work

The main aim of this thesis was to analyse the influence of candidates' gender on the volume and substance of press coverage published during political campaigns taking place in Britain in years 2015-2016. This was to challenge the omnipresent perception that women politicians are discriminated against in the media, since there is reason to believe that recently the state of matters may be changing. Indeed, the increase in the number of women Members of Parliament observed in the last couple of general elections, alongside the growing number of women in higher political offices, could all lead to a situation in which traditional gender norms are being challenged (Van Acker, 2003). One of the changes could be less gender bias in the media, and the study was designed and conducted to verify this idea. Given that the media has been perceived as creators and disseminators of gender norms, what could have influenced the perception of what a woman should or should not be (Connell, 1985; Mead, 1950) it is believed that the findings of this study could have important future implications in how the women's role are shaped nowadays. A number of research activities was conducted, as illustrated in a pictorial form in Figure 9.1. As follows from the Figure, all research activities which were undertaken could be divided into four phases: preparation, data collection, analysis and discussion.

In the preparation phase, a review of the literature on the subject (Chapters 2 and 3) was conducted. It revealed that, while research suggesting gender bias in the media is prevailing, studies are not entirely unequivocal. Indeed, recently emerging publications state that women may not be as disadvantaged as previously believed (Hayes and Lawless, 2016b, 2015; Bystrom et al., 2001).

Furthermore, gaps in the UK literature have been identified. Specifically, it was found that British research lacks more systematic analysis of the media coverage and the way it depicts electoral candidates. The existing studies also overlook the local newspapers and
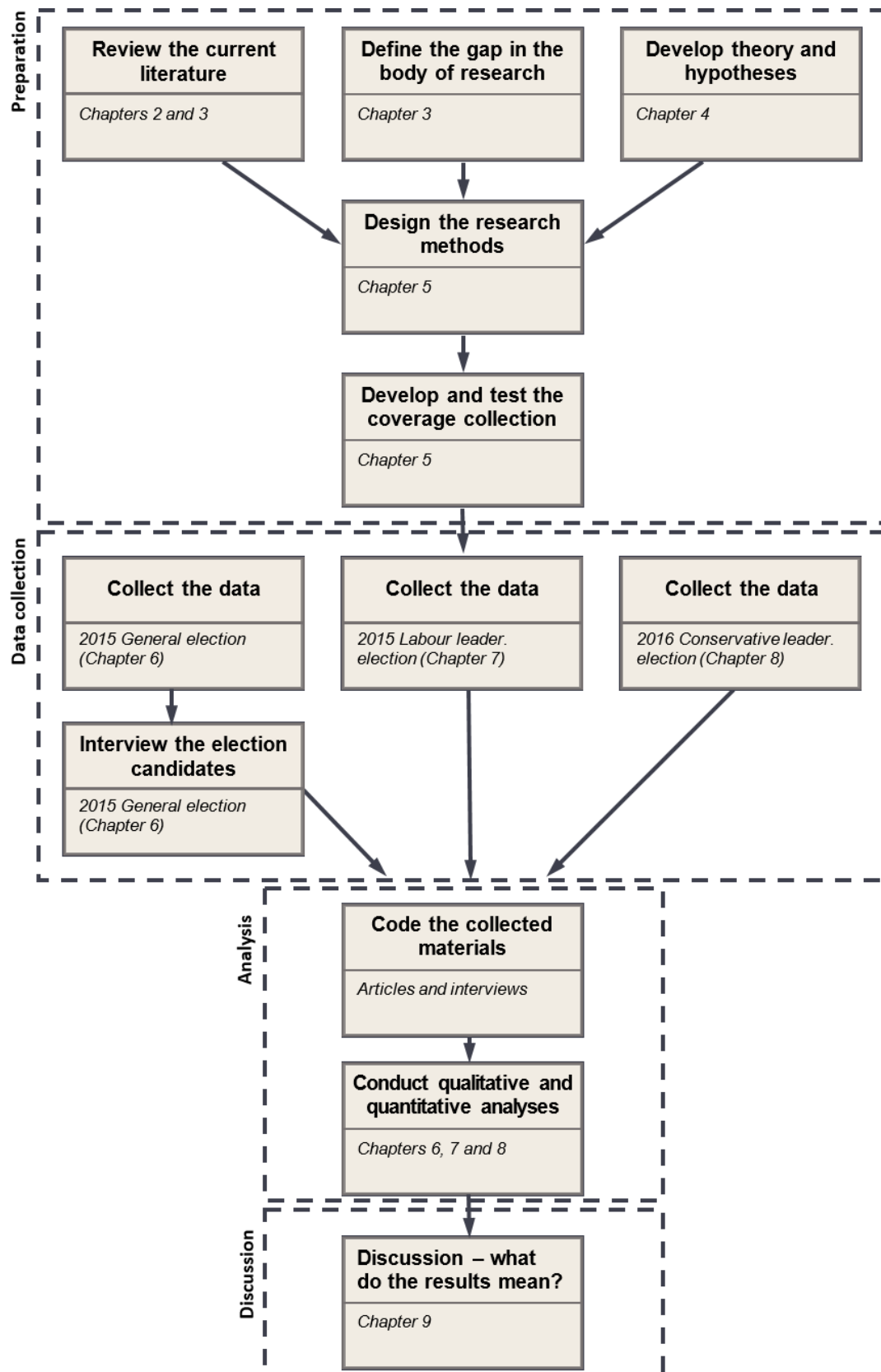
Figure 9.1: Overview of the research activities encompassed within this project.

their contribution to the election coverage. Additionally, a recent decline in readership of printed press in favour of digital media channels is not addressed. Finally, the UK studies predominantly focus on parliamentary candidates (see Harmer et al., 2016; Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1995), overlooking higher political offices (which is unlike the research in other parts of the world where the media coverage of candidates for gubernatorial and senatorial seats (Smith, 1997; Rausch et al., 1999), first woman Speaker (Dabbousa and Ladley, 2010), presidential candidates (Heldman et al., 2005; Aday and Devitt, 2001; Carlin and Winfrey, 2009) First Ladies (Scharrer and Bissell, 2000) (US) and prime ministerial candidates (Hall and Donaghue, 2013; Ross and Comrie, 2012) (Australia and New Zealand) were examined).

In response to the evidence of changing gender norms in the recent literature, and gaps in the existing research, four hypotheses have been derived (Chapter 4). Accordingly, the hypotheses were in line with the existing 'conventional wisdom', while this thesis attempted to challenge them.

Specifically, the hypotheses were:

H1: During campaigns for different political positions, women candidates receive less volume of press coverage than men.

H2: During campaigns for different political positions, press coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames related to appearance/age, parenthood, partners as well as gender/novelty than men.

H3: Media coverage of candidates differs between local and national outlets with women receiving less volume of coverage in the local press.

H4: Media coverage of candidates differs between local and national outlets with women receiving more coverage referring to appearance/age, parenthood, partners as well as gender/novelty in the local press.

Subsequently, to test the developed hypotheses, the study was designed and appropriate research methods were selected (see Chapter 5). It was decided to analyse the coverage during the 2015 general election, 2015 Labour leadership election and 2016 Conservative leadership election. Given the gaps in the existing body of research, it was concluded that the analysis of the digital versions of the local and national newspapers would be novel and relevant. Statistical analyses of the coverage were employed (for more details, see Section 5.4), as they were thought to robustly capture the differences in the way the news outlets depict men and women candidates during election campaigns. However, to avoid over-reliance on the quantitative methods, they were complemented with interviews with the 2015 general election candidates (Sections 6.2.3 and 6.3.2), as well as extracts from gathered newspapers.

During the data collection phase (see Figure 9.1), the content of the selected newspapers was gathered in the period of 6 weeks of the 2015 general election campaign, 13 weeks of the Labour and 12 days of the Conservative leadership campaigns. The newspapers were collected using a computerised system developed for the sole purpose of this work (Section 5.2). Built around several pieces of software, the system allowed the author to download the content of the articles on a daily basis and then to extract the text needed for the analysis. Collectively, throughout the three campaigns, around 361,200 articles were downloaded and 3125 of them were analysed. On top of this, once the 2015 general election campaign come to an end, the author conducted interviews with selected candidates.

The data collection phase was followed by the analysis phase, which consisted of coding the collected material against a coding frame developed on the basis of the existing studies (see Section 5.3) as well as statistical analyses (see Section 5.4). The analyses of the 2015 general election, 2015 Labour leadership election and 2016 Conservative leadership election are described in detail in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 respectively.

The final phase is presented in the following Sections. It looks at the outcomes of the analyses collectively and makes an attempt to address the defined hypotheses. While the outcomes of the analyses of each election in isolation have been discussed to some extent after each results Chapter in Sections 6.4, 7.4 and 8.4, the upcoming Section brings all those findings together.

9.2 Interpretation of findings

There exists a widespread perception that the media are more hostile to women than to men politicians. Indeed, evidence of such instances has been widely reported in literature in the past (Chapter 3). This is problematic, as it may negatively impact women's chances of winning elections and discourage other women from running (Ross et al., 2013; APPG Women in Parliament, 2014; Rigby, 2014).

This thesis confirms that such perception exists, as it was found among the election candidates themselves. Indeed, both the interviewed women as well as men perceived the media as being more hostile towards the former. The following short extracts from the interviews exemplify this perception:

"(...) if you are a female candidate you do get more scrutiny on things like what you look like, what you wearing all this kind of stuff, which you never get if you are a man (...)"

Interview: Man [07]

"(...) I think the journalists do treat females differently by being much harsher on them, you know they consider, what you dress, what you look like, what you weigh. I think there is a huge misogyny and sexism in the industry it is not just the media (...) I think I am too old and too cranky (...) to be bothered by it too much (...) However I do know it does affect you and it can be quite negative, it can be quite difficult (...)"

Interview: Woman [03]

It is noteworthy, however, that when asked about their personal experience with the media, none of the candidates were able to recall an instance when they were personally discriminated against due to their gender. This makes one wonder whether the notion of a widespread gender bias in the media is a true reflection of reality. Or is it, possibly, just a relic of the old times when media hostility towards women was much stronger, and which persists despite the fact that the world of media has moved on and accepted women as a part of political landscape?

9.2.1 Volume of coverage

This Section provides the interpretation of those findings in this thesis, which are related to hypothesis H1: "during campaigns for different political positions, women candidates receive less volume of press coverage than men".

One of the potential problems which a woman candidate could encounter during a political campaign is being made invisible in the media. This might negatively influence her electoral chances (O'Neil et al., 2016); could work towards reaffirming politics as a domain of men; and, consequently, might negatively impact the likelihood of other women standing as political candidates. With studies on this subject being equivocal (Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991; Ross et al., 2013; Hayes and Lawless, 2016b) and changing political situation being characterised by growing number of women politicians, this thesis revisits the issue.

Table 9.1 summarises the key analyses conducted in Sections 6.2, 7.2 and 8.2. As follows from the Table, during the 2015 general election campaign newspapers (both local and national) were more likely to write articles about women than men (Section 6.2.1). Additionally, national press were not only more likely to devote words to women, but also quoted them to a greater extent. In the local press, no statistically significant differences between genders were observed when it came to the number of words and quotes used. All these findings were confirmed by the study of optimally-matched pairs (Section 6.2.2) and robustness checks (Section 6.2.1). They were further validated by results from the

Table 9.1: Summary of the results of statistical analyses related to volume of coverage.

	Who received more coverage volume?		
	2015 general election	**2015 Labour leadership election**	**2016 Conservative leadership election**
# **Articles (national)**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**
# Words (national)	Women	N/A	N/A
# Quotes (national)	Women	N/A	N/A
# **Articles (local)**	**Women**	**N/A**	**N/A**
# Words (local)	No difference	N/A	N/A
# Quotes (local)	No difference	N/A	N/A

analysis of the Conservative leadership election (Section 8.2.2), which also suggested that women were more likely to be written about than their men counterparts.

On the other hand, results of the analysis of the Labour leadership election (Section 7.2.2) do not stand in line with the rest of the findings (Table 9.1). Instead, it was found that, during this particular campaign, men candidates were more likely to be depicted in the newspapers than women.

As this work reveals, elections featuring small number of high profile candidates are significantly different from the campaigns involving lower profile candidates. In particular, it has been found that the coverage during such elections is very much personality-driven. Indeed, the analyses suggest that candidates may receive substantially different levels of coverage (Sections 7.2.1 and 8.2.1), and therefore it is possible that their exceptional media salience may significantly affect the overall coverage.

To an extent, 2015 Labour and 2016 Conservative elections exemplify this phenomenon. Indeed, a closer inspection of the coverage volume of the former showed that there was one man candidate who received significantly more media attention than others (Jeremy Corbyn), while differences between the remaining men and women contenders were not substantial (see Figure 7.4). This could indicate that Corbyn's visibility during this campaign was not necessarily related to his gender, but rather to other personal traits. An informal examination of his coverage revealed that the factors that seemed to grasp the attention of the media were his personality and controversial viewpoints, rather than gender.

A similar analysis conducted during the Conservative campaign shows that, during the campaign, most of the press attention was focused on Theresa May. However, in the case of this election, both women candidates (Theresa May and Andrea Leadsom) received higher quantities of coverage than two other men candidates (Liam Fox and Stephen Crabb). Only the third man candidate (Michael Gove) received comparable (or higher,

when compared to Andrea Leadsom) press attention to the women candidates (see Figure 8.4).

Overall, these findings suggest that during the investigated elections women candidates were not disadvantaged due to their gender in terms of the volume of coverage they received. During the 2015 general election most analyses show that women were more likely to receive coverage than men. Furthermore, during runs for higher political offices (Labour and Conservative leadership elections) the coverage of men and women candidates was levelled, with slight advantage towards women. There were a few candidates who stood out from the crowd; however their coverage volume seemed to be driven by their personality rather than gender. The analyses show that at least in some of the high-profile elections women are not disadvantaged. This is also in line with the outcomes from the afore-mentioned interviews with the 2015 general election candidates who were not able to identify any personal experience of media discrimination due to their gender.

Therefore, a few concluding remarks can be made. First, the analyses conducted for this thesis did not find signs of systematic discrimination of visibility of women politicians in the online press during selected political campaigns of 2015 and 2016. If gender had any impact on the coverage volume, then it was women candidates who were more likely to receive coverage. Therefore, visibility of women in the press does not seem to be the causal pathway to the under-representation of women in British politics. Secondly, there are some indications suggesting that gender *per se* could have less impact on the volume of the coverage than it used to be thought, particularly in runs for high political offices. It seems that, the individual features of the candidates, such as personality, 'otherness', etc. can all influence the media coverage in a more substantial way.

Naturally, these results cannot be interpreted as a set of universal truths, as this study features some limitations, which are discussed further in this Chapter. **However, based on the evidence outlined above, this work rejects hypothesis H1 stating that: "during campaigns for different political positions, women candidates receive less volume of press coverage than men".**

9.2.2 Substance of coverage

This Section provides the interpretation of those findings in this thesis, which are related to hypothesis H2: "during campaigns for different political positions, press coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames related to appearance/age, parenthood, partners as well as gender/novelty than men".

The analysis of the coverage volume is insufficient in establishing whether the press is gender-biased. Another aspect of press coverage that may affect the politicians is the coverage substance. Newspapers, focusing on things like candidate's appearance, marital

Table 9.2: Summary of the results of statistical analyses related to substance of coverage.

	Who received more framed coverage?		
	2015 general election	**2015 Labour leadership election**	**2016 Conservative leadership election**
All frames (national)	**No difference**	**No difference**	**No difference**
All frames (local)	**No difference**	**N/A**	**N/A**
Appearance and age	N/A	Men	Women
Parenthood	N/A	No difference	No difference
Partners	N/A	Women	Men
Novelty	N/A	N/A	Women

status or family circumstances could make voters perceive them as less adequate for political job (Kahn, 1996; Norris, 1997b). This may also discourage women considering political careers; therefore, coverage quality may be equally damaging as the coverage quantity.

In this thesis the substance of the media coverage was analysed by looking at the frequency of selected frames which, according to the literature, were linked to the presence of the gender-bias in the news outlets in the past. These include: appearance, age, parenthood, partners as well as gender and novelty. Table 9.2 summarises outcomes of the regression results employed in this work to investigate the coverage substance and quantities of references to the individual frames.

Firstly, this work reveals that there are distinctive differences in the quality of coverage between low-profile and high-profile politicians. The low-profile (2015 general election) candidates generally received little coverage containing selected frames (Section 6.3). Indeed, coverage of 72 candidates collected from 6 national and 31 local newspapers, collected over 6 weeks of the campaign, included only 35 articles that contained at least one of the investigated frames. By contrast, the high profile candidates received much higher quantities of such coverage (in the order of a few hundreds articles).

Due to the low number of articles containing frames, coverage collected during the 2015 general election prohibited analysis of the individual frames in isolation. Accordingly, the cumulative count of all references to the investigated frames was examined (Section 6.3), and it was found that no significant differences were present between men and women candidates. A similar analysis conducted for the high-profile (Labour and Conservative) elections (Sections 7.3 and 8.3) yielded similar findings (Table 9.2). However, the high-profile runs featured more press scrutiny of investigated frames, and thus, to investigate them thoroughly, they were analysed in isolation.

The first analysed frame concerned candidates' appearance and age (Sections 7.3.1 and 8.3.1). As follows from Table 9.2, its presence in the candidates' coverage was not reserved

solely for women. Indeed, while women were more likely to be depicted in this particular frame during the Conservative leadership election, the data collected during the Labour election showed an opposite trend. It also needs to be emphasised that a presence of this particular frame was very uneven across coverage received by different candidates - some received a lot of it, and some did not at all. For instance, while this frame appeared in the coverage received by Liz Kendall, the second woman Labour leadership contestant did not experience any attention to her style or age. Similarly, while Theresa May's shoes caught the public eye, no mentions of such frame have been found in the stories concerning Andrea Leadsom. Similarly high variance was observed amongst men. For instance, while Jeremy Corbyn captured the media's interest in this matter, other men candidates did not. Therefore, it is difficult to conclude that gender was *the* factor that generated media scrutiny of the appearance and age.

At this point it should be emphasised that the press coverage was not found to be entirely bias free. For example, in an interview, Liz Kendal was asked about her weight, which is an episode that cannot be concealed. This incident was widely commented on during the campaign, which might have given an impression that this problem was more widespread. It should be noted, however, that it was an isolated incident, rather than a systematic bias.

The key issue with bringing up the appearance and age of women candidates is that it trivialises their candidacy (Murray, 2010a), and presents them as less capable for the job (Heflick and Goldenberg, 2011). However, a closer analysis of the coverage of women politicians revealed that this was not the case during the investigated elections. For instance, taking Theresa May coverage as an example, while the media did not refrain from scrutinising her fashion choices, she was also presented as one of the most competent candidates. In contrast, Jeremy's Corbyn appearance was covered in a way that could discredit him in the eyes of the electorate. Indeed, studies show that mentioning appearance or age itself does not necessarily negatively influence voters' perception about politicians (Hayes et al., 2014), only becoming a problem when it is mentioned in a negative context. Thus, considering the coverage of Corbyn and May, of the two, it is the former whose image might have been impaired by the appearance-related coverage.

The next analysed frame was related to the issue of candidates' parenthood (Sections 7.3.2 and 8.3.2). While this frame appeared both in Conservative and Labour leadership campaign, the further investigation reveals that neither men nor women were more likely to be depicted in this context (Table 9.2). Moreover, an informal review of the collected articles revealed that this particular frame could be introduced to the campaign by the candidates or their collaborators. For instance, a large portion of Yvette Cooper's parenthood-related coverage was caused by an article written by one of her supporters.[1]

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[1] See Goodman Helen "Why as a parent I'm backing Yvette Cooper as Labour's next leader" *Huffington Post*, 06 July 2015.

These particular findings question whether the presence of this particular frame in the coverage could be directly linked to the media activity.

As follows from Table 9.2, the analysis of the partner-related frame suggests that women received more of such mentions in the 2015 Labour leadership election (Section 7.3.3), while men received more in the 2016 Conservative leadership run (Section 8.3.3). During the former, it was Yvette Cooper's marriage to Ed Balls which raised questions about his influence on her political career. In the Conservative race the political ambitions of Michael Gove's wife were not less frequently discussed in the press. This is a particularly interesting observation, considering scholars hitherto theorising that while an influential husband may be a burden, an influential wife might be an asset (Murray, 2010a). The example of Labour and Conservative runs shows that a powerful partner could be problematic regardless of gender.

The final frame analysed in this thesis was related to gender and so called 'novelty' (Section 8.3.4). Previous studies suggest that emphasising, for instance, that a candidate will be 'the first woman' in a specific office may undermine her credibility (Falk, 2008). During the Labour leadership election no such coverage was identified. One potential reason for that could be that there have only been a few women candidates in the Labour party leadership contest in the past. In contrast, the Conservative run featured the 'novelty' frames, which might be related to the fact that in the history of the Conservative party leadership elections only one woman stood as a candidate. Furthermore, the future Conservative leader was supposed to hold prime ministerial seat which was previously held by a woman only once. This might have attracted the media attention to the gender of two women contenders. Indeed, the results indicate that during the Conservative run, women were more likely to be depicted as 'novel'.

An important question to ask is when the 'novelty' frame becomes harmful. Is every appearance of this frame an issue, or does it become problematic only once it is over-stressed? While addressing this question is beyond the scope of this work, the author's subjective view of the coverage content is that in vast majority of cases, not mentioning the fact that the winner of the Conservative election will become 'the second female Conservative leader' and 'the second female Prime Minister' could be perceived as bad news reporting (Heldman et al., 2005).

It is also worthy of note that overall, the amount of coverage containing the analysed frames did not exceed 10 per cent of the total pot of articles. To put things in context, Hayes et al. (2014, p. 1207) suggest that 7 per cent of the coverage mentioning appearance of Sarah Palin is "hardly enough to move public opinion in any meaningful measure".[2] Using this rough figure as a guideline, it seems questionable whether any of the frames analysed in this thesis were prevalent enough to have an influence on the British public.

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[2] In their work Hayes et al. (2014) made this comments about the findings described in Miller and Peake (2013) publication.

Overall, a few concluding remarks can be made. The global picture of the results presented in this thesis is that no systematic, prevailing gender bias in the media was found. Taking all frames together, there were no differences between men and women; taking frames in isolation, usually when some signs of media hostility towards women were found in one election, an opposite trend was found in another. In many cases the media interest in specific frames may also be explained by factors other than gender.

It should be noted that these findings do not imply that press was entirely gender-bias-free; however, sexist remarks were isolated instances rather than a systematic phenomenon. Whenever discriminatory articles appeared, other media condemned such acts, which might have left an impression that the bias is more widespread. Therefore this work suggests that, while 'name it and shame it' policy is ethically correct, it may sometimes have negative consequences as well.

As before, these results cannot be freely extrapolated to every other election. This study has its limitations, and with the current politics being highly dynamic, more research needs to be done to reaffirm these findings. **However, based on the evidence outlined above, this work rejects hypothesis H2 stating that: "during campaigns for different political positions, press coverage of women politicians contains more references to frames related to appearance/age, parenthood, partners as well as gender/novelty, than men".**

9.2.3   Local vs. national press

This Section provides the interpretation of those findings in this thesis, which are related to hypotheses H3: "media coverage of candidates differs between local and national outlets with women receiving less volume of coverage in the local press" and H4: "media coverage of candidates differs between local and national outlets with women receiving more coverage referring to appearance/age, parenthood, partners as well as gender/novelty in the local press".

Given that the first results from the analysis of the national press indicated that women may not be as disadvantaged as previously believed, to be extra thorough, this work also investigated local press. As explained in Chapter 4, there are some grounds to believe that local press may be particularly hostile towards women candidates, prompting formulation of hypotheses H3 and H4.

The analysis of local media has led to a few interesting findings. First, it should be underlined that outcomes of the interviews suggested that the local media may play a more important role in political campaigns than previously believed. Indeed, some candidates mentioned that they were more interested in developing their local profile than in going to the national media. For instance, the following fragments have been extracted from the interviews:

"(...) Quite often the most important place to get any media coverage is the local newspapers and the regional news (...)"

Interview: Woman [05]

"(...) it suited me from the national media point of view to be under the radar a little bit (...) I did not have much to do with the nationals."

Interview: Man [06]

Therefore, this study emphasises that local media should not be overlooked by the research in politics and the media.

Secondly, despite the suppositions that local media may be more hostile towards women (see hypotheses H3 and H4), in this work local press was not only found to follow similar trends as the national outlets, but also in some cases it was more favourable towards women. In particular, no differences in the likelihood of receiving gender-biased coverage between men and women was found in both local and national press (Figure 6.5). However, a comparison of the standardised effect sizes shows that, if anything, it was the local press that was less likely to depict women in a framed manner (Table 6.9). When it comes to coverage quantity, regressions suggested that women were more (or equally, depending on the volume measure) visible in the local news, which is in line with analysis of national press (Figure 6.4). However, as follows from the analysis of the standardised effect (Table 6.5), the local media were slightly more likely to depict women candidates.

The analysis of the coverage features some limitations, which are clearly stated in Section 9.4 of this Chapter, the most important being a single election analysis and a limited sample of local newspapers. **However, based on the evidence outlined above, this work rejects hypotheses H3 and H4 stating that: "media coverage of candidates differs between local and national outlets with women receiving less volume of coverage in the local press" and "media coverage of candidates differs between local and national outlets with women receiving more coverage referring to appearance/age, parenthood, partners as well as gender/novelty in the local press", respectively.**

9.2.4   Underlying causes and potential implications of the findings

The results of this study are not in line with what has been known so far about the British media environment. However, there are a few factors that could provide support

for those results and explain why the way the media presented candidates during the investigated elections may have turned out to be more levelled.

One way of explaining the findings of this study could be that the 2015 and 2016 elections featured peculiarities that caused bias in the media coverage. Furthermore, the use of the digital versions of the newspapers could have affected that study outcomes, as they may differ from the printed ones. Indeed, the structure of the digital platforms allows publishing more articles (these rejected for print may still be published online). While these possibilities cannot be dismissed, and the author is aware that since this work looks into a novel media channel, and encompasses only a limited number of elections, candidates, media outlets and gender-related issues, other possibilities also cannot be ruled out.

For instance, one of the factors making the media more levelled could be the changing political environment and, consequently, the changing gender norm. Indeed, not only the number of women Members of Parliament is increasing from one election to another,[3] but also their public profile is gaining more prominence.

The 2015 general election has seen a particular breakthrough in this matter, as for the first time three women leaders (Nicola Sturgeon, Natalie Bennett, and Leanne Wood) took part in televised debates alongside men. This event, watched by millions, must have reinforced women's status in politics as equal to men. Indeed, a comparison of the trajectories of the media interest in women during 2010 and 2015 general election campaigns reveals more sustained coverage in the case of the latter, probably due to the TV debates (Campbell and Childs, 2015). Therefore, with the gender norm changing and women becoming common elements of British politics, their gender may begin to play a more marginal role in election coverage. A reflection of this change may be the fact that in the recent years electability of women was higher than that of men.[4]

Furthermore, interviews with the candidates indicate that the media outlets could be more deliberate in covering men and women candidates in a similar manner. Indeed, the voices that the media is trying to be levelled came from both men and women candidates (Section 6.2.3, interviews: Man [06] and Woman[05]). Some of the interviewed women said that they have learned how to handle the media interest, which was a result of their growing political experience and various training courses provided by their parties. Hence, this work suggests that women are becoming better prepared not only to gain visibility but also to maintain their media profile.

It should be noted that the changes in political environment are not an implausible explanation of the observed trends. Similar conclusions have been drawn by recent

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[3]The number of women MPs is on the rise almost continuously from 1983 apart from a year of 2001.

[4]While in the past voters were more likely to vote for men, over the last two general elections (2010 and 2015), electability rate for women has been higher than that for men. Moreover, a study by Campbell and Heath (2017) did not find any evidence which could suggest that women candidates are discriminated against during voting.

studies in the US. For instance, Hayes and Lawless (2016b) revisited the perception that women candidates face gender discrimination on the campaign trail (labelling it a 'conventional wisdom'). They demonstrated that candidates' gender does not necessarily play as significant role as it was generally believed, indicating changes in the gender norms as one of the possible causes of this phenomenon.

The findings of this study may have some important implications. First, they show that the media coverage of low-profile and high-profile political runs in the UK may substantially differ. In particular, the latter seem more personality-driven. With the existing UK studies focusing predominantly on parliamentary candidates, this study indicates a niche for future research in this topic. Secondly, local media were found to play an important role in local political campaigns. It was found that local press write more about the local constituency candidates than the national media, and that the candidates themselves prefer to run their campaigns in the local press. Therefore, the future studies in the field should include the local media not only due to the fact that they increase the number of observations and permit geographical generalisations, but also because they may be a more relevant and more reliable source of information about the local candidates.

Finally, the findings suggest that during the selected 2015 and 2016 election campaigns, women candidates were not disadvantaged in the press. These results may have implications on the debate on the causes of the under-representation of women it British politics. It is also anticipated that they may contribute to the change in the perception of the media attitude to politicians. In particular, it is expected to influence the widespread notion that the media are gender-biased, often put forward as one of the reasons for women not willing to become politicians. Indeed, in the light of the 'gender socialisation' theory, women are made rather than born. The results presented in this work, the lack of under-reporting and qualitative bias in the media may imply that politics will no longer be perceived as all-man environment. In the future, this may result in generations of women for whom being a politician is a norm, who may feel confident standing up to the challenge of being a politician on equal terms with men. Consequently, this may also fix the problem of lack of supply of women interested in politics, so profound in the modern days. The shift in the media coverage of women politicians may also potentially make the 'woman-politician' norm coexist with a 'woman-mother' norm in a conflictless manner. This will give women choice, free of sociological pressures in regards to who they want to become.

Of course, "one swallow does not make a summer". All the above-mentioned implications may only come true if the results presented in this work will hold in the future and remain a long-term trend. This is more thoroughly described in Section 9.4. There are, however, certain signs that the results presented here are not an exception from the rule, but rather an indication of a wider trend. For instance, similar observations have been recently made by Hayes and Lawless (2016b) in the US. Currently, in the times of the

internet, the media exhibit dynamic interactions (Chadwick, 2013); news are 'borrowed', 'blended' and 'modified', and hence it is not unlikely that trends observed in one place of the globe may quickly spread elsewhere. It is, therefore, not impossible that the trends in the US media have been adopted on the UK grounds. Nonetheless, it should not be forgotten that the dynamism of the media may also imply that the current trends may be soon displaced by other, and therefore it is difficult to predict the longevity of the results presented in this work. Yet, if the results shown here become a norm, this would be a positive contribution to the current political status of women.

9.3   Contribution to the field

This study contributes to the research on gender, media and politics in a number of ways.

First, the development of the computerised press coverage collection system represents a significant contribution itself, as it could be replicated and used in the future research. The system, which has been created for the purpose of this study, proved to be a reliable method of obtaining data as no significant problems have been encountered while running the article collection for the duration of this project. Moreover, it has been established that the newspaper collection system was also able to collect newspapers that featured paid content.

Furthermore, the system allows to overcome many barriers. For instance, in this study, it permitted to collect newspapers available locally in various parts of England. Accordingly, there is no technological barrier preventing from using it for the newspapers published in other counties, which may not only broaden the research possibilities but also reduce its costs. Moreover, while the focus of this study was the text analysis, the system permits to collect pictures featured in articles, which aids enhancement of future research in this and many other areas. Finally, the data collected in digital form are easier to automatically search and code than in the case of traditional printed copies of the newspapers. Accordingly, the system is both time- and cost-effective.

Another significant contribution is the inclusion of local press, which fills the gap in the existing literature on the subject. The review of the existing study unveiled that while the local press has been examined to some extent in America, neither comprehensive comparison between local and national press in this matter has been made, nor could any extensive literature on the subject be found in the UK (see Appendix A). It should be noted that using newspapers which vary not only geographically but also in circulation sizes could not only add another angle to the analysis, but also enhance the robustness of the results (Meeks, 2012). Thus, the contribution of this thesis to the existing body of research is twofold. Firstly, this thesis describes the coverage of men and women candidates in the local and national press, and hence it fills the gap in the existing literature

in the UK. Secondly, by showing that the local media could provide a very substantial amount of data about the candidates for parliamentary seats, this work provides evidence to suggest that the local media may be a valuable source of information and should not be overlooked in the future projects.

In addition to that, this research follows the moving journalism platform, by using data obtained from digital versions of the newspapers. The analysis of the online newspapers is a response to a decline in the readership of the printed press observed in the UK in recent years. It should be noted that the emergence of online journalism is an attempt of the media to adapt to the new conditions in the time of recession (see Chapter 3.1.1). The best example of such transition was the decision of one of the leading British newspapers, *the Independent*, to go entirely digital. Thus, by analysing the digitalised editions of the newspapers this thesis sets new paths for the future researchers and follows the evolving media environment.

A further contribution involves providing one of the first analyses of the media coverage of candidates standing for higher political offices in the UK. Indeed, the body of the UK studies predominantly focused on parliamentary candidates. This is as opposed to studies in other parts of the world where politicians running for different political positions, including those executive, were analysed. Thus, except for analysing coverage of candidates campaigning for Westminster seats, this work fills the gap by examining the coverage of candidates for party leaders and prime-ministerial office. This not only supplements the UK body of research but also enhances the current understanding of the media attitude towards politicians at different levels. In particular, the findings of this work suggest that the media coverage of high-profile politicians is more personality-driven.

Last but not least, the results of this thesis indicate that the media environment might be less gender-biased against women politicians than it used to be thought. Indeed, a systematic examination of the selected campaigns reveals that, in general, women are not disadvantaged over men in the media coverage. Although occasional examples of sexist behaviour have been identified, no signs of a more systematic bias were found. The contribution of this result is twofold. First, it gives the debates on the under-representation of women in the media a new angle. Second, it may, potentially, work towards closing the gender gap in British politics. Indeed, it is believed that the evidence showing that media are not hostile towards women may encourage them to become politicians and stand for elections.

9.4 Limitations of the study

This work, like every other, inherently features some limitations, which should not be understated, when interpreting its findings.

One of the key limitations of this study is the selection of constituencies analysed during the 2015 general election. For this particular election, press coverage was obtained from a selected sample, rather than all 650 constituencies. The decision to collect a sample rather than to analyse the entire population of the constituencies was driven by the need to collect and code the data single-handedly. Accordingly, a sample of most marginal newspapers in England was chosen. Targeting constituencies was preferred over random selection, as the latter could lead to choice of seats with strongly unilateral political situation (e.g. safe seat). Although the sample was geographically diverse (see Section 5.2 and Figure 5.3), and ensured two-sidedness and high intensity of the campaigns, such approach had certain drawbacks. For instance, all-men constituencies were rejected, while the number of constituencies accounted for constituted approx 5 per cent of all constituencies in the election. Moreover, only 2 (or 3 in the case of 3-way marginal) candidates were analysed from each constituency. All these factors could have affected the outcomes of this work, which limitation is here acknowledged.

Throughout this work, statistical analyses have been supplemented with fragments of the coverage. This was to put the quantitative analyses in context of matters or events occurring during the analysed election. However, showing all relevant fragments was unattainable, and hence selection criteria had to be employed, which process was not without limitations. [5] For instance, where many fragments described the same issue, a few that were the most representative of the overall tone of the entire pool of fragments had to be selected, based on subjective views of the researcher. Although efforts were made to select most representative fragments, there is a risk that some, potentially relevant fragments, may have been missed.

Furthermore, even though this thesis analysed multiple UK political elections which took place within the time-span of the author's PhD programme (2014-2017), they provide only a snapshot of the situation of women in the short period of time. Thus, it needs to be underlined that both the results presented in this thesis as well as arguments related to them are restricted to the particular time and place and they cannot be generalised. Indeed, data analysed in this project comes from 2015 general election, 2015 Labour and 2016 Conservative leadership elections, sourced the coverage from selected UK newspapers and focused on limited number of political candidates. It is noteworthy that the investigated period of time exhibits high dynamics in the media system, and volatility of voters' opinions. Changes to this dynamics may result in overturning the observations made in this work. Therefore, analyses of more widely timed elections might be required in order to make more meaningful generalisations and confirm the observed trends. Thus, to support or overturn findings presented in this thesis, future studies encompassing other elections on this subject are highly recommended.

Adding to the list of potential limitations, the inherent nature of the elections implies that the type of data collected for the purpose of this thesis was in time-series format,

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[5]The process of selection of the fragments has been described in Section 5.5.2.

i.e. the observations were made through repeated measurements over time. The longest time series was found in the case of Labour leadership campaign (13 weeks), while the shortest for Conservative leadership campaign (12 days). It is noteworthy that these time series might have been too short to uncover all of the existing trends, and therefore a longer time span of the analysis may be required to observe trends which might have developed, had the campaign lasted longer.

Furthermore, in the case of some analyses, the number of contenders was limited. While in the case of the 2015 general election (Chapter 6) a sample of 72 candidates was analysed, the number of contenders for the leadership positions was much smaller. Therefore, the results obtained in Chapters 7 (Labour leadership election) and 8, (Conservative leadership election), suffered from the small-N problem and cannot be easily generalised.

The qualitative analysis of interviews (Chapters 6.2.3 and 6.3.2) suffers from a similar problem. Indeed, due to low response rate, only 8 interviews have been conducted. This proved problematic for drawing more meaningful conclusions from collected interview material. Although some claims have been repeated by almost all interviewees, which gave the author some confidence in the inferences made, the interviews should be treated more as work complementing the quantitative analysis and cannot stand on its own.

Moreover, it needs to be mentioned that not all aspects of coverage considered in the past as gender-biased (see Section 3.2) have been considered in this thesis. Indeed, it was decided to limit the analysed aspects of the media coverage to those related to appearance, age, parenthood, partners and novelty. It is believed that this subjective selection of analysed issues may offer a good compromise between frequency of past reporting and potential impact, and offers possibility of singlehandedly coding the coverage. However, it is noteworthy that other codes and coding categories could be employed, for example such, that enabled assessment of the article tone towards specific candidates. It is acknowledged that understanding whether the media are more positively or negatively inclined towards the candidates of specific gender would be valuable, and its lack is a limitation, due to which this thesis offers only a partial assessment of coverage quality.

This work looks at the range of confounding variables, which have been reported in the past to impact the volume and substance of coverage. It is noteworthy, though, that the number of all possible factors that may affect coverage is almost inconceivable. For this reason, it is possible that some confounding factor might have been missed in the statistical analyses. At the same time, because there are so many possible confounders, accounting for all of them is close to impossible.

The design of this study makes it difficult to differentiate whether reporting on the candidates was a result of media hostility, or a true reflection of the candidates' stance.

Some studies suggest that newspapers, rather than setting their own agenda, try to mirror candidates' campaigns (Hayes and Lawless, 2016b). Some signs a similar phenomenon in the British press were also found during this study; for example the issue of candidates' motherhood during Conservative election was clearly covered once the women candidates themselves either decided to bring it into the discussion. However, it would be very insightful if it was possible to compare what candidates actually say with how they are depicted in the press.

Even though this thesis features some limitations, it is hoped that it will add a new dimension to the discussion about the role of media in under-representation of women in British politics and will constitute an impetus for future research, which will address those limitations. Accordingly, the avenues for the future research and presented in the next Section.

9.5   Future work

Although this study fills gaps in the existing literature, there is a number of possible pathways for the expansion of this work in the future.

First, given that some of the results differ from the mainstream body of research in the past, it needs to be considered whether the relationship between candidates' gender and the press coverage has been misunderstood, or whether it has changed over time. Or, whether the atypical conditions of the analysed elections contributed to the results suggesting a more favourable press coverage towards women. To address these questions, it is proposed that similar analyses to the one presented here should be continued over the wider span of elections (with the 2017 general election being a good comparison point). Moreover, future research might also consider non-electoral periods, as well as using additional control variables such as candidates' chances of winning (e.g. measured in election outcome) or age, to evaluate their impact on the substance and volume of the media coverage.

The findings of the study could be further reinforced if a more thorough look was taken at other gender-biased frames and issues in the coverage content. For example, the type of candidates' traits mentioned in the articles, or differences in terms of subjects candidates have been asked about (or have brought up) might also prove an insightful way of expanding the existing study.

Moreover, the interviews with candidates should also be considered as one of the potential pathways to expanding this study. It is noteworthy that in this work interviews are treated as secondary evidence, due to the fact that a low response rate was faced. Nonetheless, the 8 interviews conducted for the purpose of this work proved extremely

useful and it is believed that this pathway exhibits potential for future expansion. In particular, the future studies could approach more politicians. Additionally, the interview invitations could also include local politicians who are planning to stand as candidates, to seek for gender bias in the process of selection of election candidates by the parties. Moreover, interviews with voters could also bring a new perspective. In particular, such research could disclose what influence the news outlets have on their readers and whether voters' opinion about the candidate could change when they are confronted with particular type of news.

Furthermore, the theory of socialisation implies that women could learn their role in the society and that masculinity and femininity have cultural, rather than biological foundations (see for example Millett, 1971). In the future work, it would be interesting to see not only how exactly the media influence the way women perceive their role in the society, but also how strong is their influence on whether they are inclined to become politicians. Perhaps the times have changed, and the role of the media in "making women" [6] is overestimated? Or, perhaps it is still influential determinant of what the role of women in the society should be?

Finally, future studies on the subject of gender, media and politics should also investigate the ways in which candidates themselves shape their media coverage. Hence, differences between how the candidates are running their campaigns and how they are presented in the press should be accounted for. In order to do this, researchers could replicate method presented by Hayes and Lawless (2016b), who interviewed journalists writing about the candidates and asked them how they selected the topics for their articles. Alternatively, the media coverage could be compared with the information sources that candidates may control. For example, researchers could look into the social media (Facebook/Tweeter) accounts of the politicians. Data from such sources could confirm whether the stereotypes considering the division into feminine (e.g. health care, childcare, education) and masculine (e.g. defence, international affairs) issues still hold, and to what extent they are reflected in the media. Such research could enhance the current understanding whether, and if so - how, men and women politicians could control their image in the media by employing different social media strategies. This may ultimately allow them to be in the driving seat of their campaign image and to actively participate in shaping it.

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[6]According to de Beauvoir (1997) "one is not born, one is made a woman".

List of publications and conference papers

Journal publications

1. Murphy, J. and Rek, B. **Candidate Gender and Media Attention in the 2015 UK General Election**, *Parliamentary Affairs*, manuscript in press.

Papers presented at conferences

1. Rek, B. **5th European Conference on Politics and Gender in Lausanne** *Candidate Gender and the Online Media Coverage in the UK Political Campaigns of 2015 and 2016*

2. Rek, B. **67th Political Studies Association Annual International Conference in Glasgow** *The Media Coverage of the 2016 Conservative Leadership Election - Was There a Gender Bias Against Female Candidates?*

3. Rek, B. **Political Studies Association Postgraduate Network Conference in Brighton** *Male and Female Candidates in the News: Introducing a New Dataset on Gender, Politics and the Media*

4. Rek, B. and Murphy, J. **66th Political Studies Association Annual International Conference in Brighton** *Candidate Gender and Quantities of Media Coverage in the 2015 General Election*

Appendix A

Selected studies on how the media covers men and women candidates

The list starts on the next page.

Table A.1: Descriptions of studies analysing coverage of men and women politicians in the media.

Reference	YoD*	Country	Politicians studied	Source of data	Findings
Kahn and Goldenberg (1991)	1982-1986	US	Senatorial candidates	Newspapers with the largest circulation in each state	The results of the study show that women candidates are treated differently by the press. Women candidates receive less news coverage and the coverage they do receive concentrates more on their viability and less on their issue positions. Furthermore, viability of women candidates is more negative than that of their men counterparts.
Kahn (1992)	1982-1986	US	Senatorial candidates	Newspapers with the largest circulation in each state	Results of the experiment suggest that the gender differences could disadvantage chances of women candidates. However, when information received by participants was insufficient and they had to rely on gender schemas they developed, sex stereotypes favoured women candidates, as they viewed women as more honest and able to deal with some issues than men.
Kahn (1994b)	1982-1988	US	Senatorial and gubernatorial candidates	Newspapers with the largest circulation in each state and candidates' own campaign advertisements	Results show gender differences in press coverage with women being less visible and presented as less likely to win in most of the cases. What is more, the study reveals that those differences in presenting men and women rather than being a result of campaigns run by each candidate, are caused by the media being more responsive to the issues raised by the men politicians.
Kahn (1994a)	1984-1988	US	Senatorial and gubernatorial candidates	Newspapers with the largest circulation in each state and prepared by the author articles for experiments	While differences in the media pattern disadvantaged women candidates for Senate, gender stereotypes held by participants produced more positive evaluation of women. However, as the political issues in which women are perceived as more competent are not always on top of political agenda during election, women candidates might have advantage in some campaigns while being disadvantaged in the others.

Reference	YoD*	Country	Politicians studied	Source of data	Findings
Carroll and Schreiber (1997)	1993-1994	US	Women Members of Congress during the 103rd Congress	Articles focusing on members of the 103rd Congress published in 27 major newspapers	While the analysis of the press coverage indicates that among the first-time elected members of Congress women received more press coverage than men, this trend decreased with time. Furthermore, even though most of the stories were written by men which were more likely to be published on the front page. The authors also indicate that the press coverage women candidates received have suggested that their work is mostly related to issues like health or abortion, which by many are classified as women's issues, rather than those which could be perceived as more significant - like foreign affairs. All of this gives a perception of women politicians not being important political players. Nonetheless, the theory about bias and sexism of the media received limited support as in general the the press coverage gave a positive impression of women.
Smith (1997)	1994	US	Senatorial and gubernatorial candidates	Newspapers with the largest circulation in the state that covered the campaign	The analyses indicate that women receive comparable amount of coverage to men and roughly the same coverage of their issue position. Moreover, in general the press depicted them in a more favourable way than their men opponents as the overall tone of the coverage was more positive towards women.
Rausch et al. (1999)	1993 and 1996	US	Gubernatorial candidates	Local newspapers	This study examines and analyses press coverage of two campaigns where the voters had their first opportunities to elect women governors. The results indicate that little evidence exists to suggest that the negative media coverage towards women candidates was caused by their gender. Authors suggest that more explanatory factors were the quality of the campaigns as well as issues addressed. For instance, one of the women candidates did not have a clear message to convey, while the other waited too long to announce her candidacy.
Devitt (2002)	1998	US	Gubernatorial candidates	Daily newspapers from the area of studied races	While the results show that there is no gender bias in terms of the quantity of the press coverage, some differences in the quality of it were observed. Women candidates were not covered to the same extent as men politicians in terms of their stance on political issues, while the media was more interested in their personal lives than those of men. The author indicates that the way men and women journalist constructed their stories also differed, with men more likely to refer to personal issues of women candidates but less on their their stance on policy issues.

Reference	YoD*	Country	Politicians studied	Source of data	Findings
Nivena and Zilber (2001)	1998	US	Members of Congress	Interviews with press secretaries to House members and the office's websites	Overall, the interviews reveal that press secretaries believe that the media pay attention to women's gender and that the patterns of the media coverage did not mirror the image cultivated by the women. The same was later confirmed in the analysis of politicians' websites. Authors conclusion was that the coverage of women in Congress and the gender biased patterns of it was more the product of the media rather than women themselves.
Jalalzai (2006)	1992-2000	US	Senatorial and gubernatorial candidates	Newspapers with the highest circulation in the state where the election was held	While some disparities were still present, in general, the author did not find any evidence that women received less press attention than men during both senatorial and gubernatorial races, or that the substance of thereof differed between men and women candidates. What is more, in general some of the women candidates received even more coverage than men.
Heldman et al. (2005)	1999	US	Candidates for the Republican presidential nomination	Daily newspapers from across the nation	Although not every measure in this analysis indicates differences between Doyle and her men opponents, as the amount and type of the issue coverage remains the same for all of them, some considerable gender differences were acknowledged. A woman candidate not only received less media attention than Bush and McCain but also more attention has been paid to her appearance, personality and gender. She was also more likely to be negatively evaluated by the press in terms of her fund-raising abilities and chances of getting the nomination. Nonetheless, the authors indicate that the impact of gendered coverage on her candidacy is not as clear as one might think and her failure to obtain a party nomination could be influenced by some other factors.
Aday and Devitt (2001)	1999	US	Candidates for the Republican presidential nomination	National daily newspapers	A comparison of Doyle and her three men competitors unveils that the quality of her coverage differed from those of men, as Doyle was less likely to have her stance on issues recorded, while her appearance was more often scrutinised than those of the men candidates. However, she did not receive less press coverage as it was expected. While she was mentioned less often than her main man contender - George Bush, she was more popular than the remaining two men candidates across all analysed newspapers. Discrepancies in press coverage could be caused by the fact that men journalists, who wrote most of the articles, had the tendency to focus more on Doyle personal traits rather than substance of her campaign. At the same time, authors indicate that it was not gender-biased coverage itself what diminish the chances of woman candidate for party nomination. Indeed, Doyle herself mentioned Bush financial advantage as one of the reasons for her failure.

Reference	YoD*	Country	Politicians studied	Source of data	Findings
Gilmartin (2001)	1999	US	Candidates for the Republican presidential nomination	Political cartoons	The author perceives political cartoons to be very effective communicators capable of conveying their message to millions of people and easier to acquire than text. Results indicate that Doyle was under-represented in political cartoons as she featured in only 4% of them, despite her high position in polls. They also tend to focus on her personality, while trivialising her professional status, as well as did not present her as independent person but focused on her role of a Robert Doyle's wife. Moreover, most of the time her image was sexualised and domesticated, as the place where she was most often depicted was her home, while the role she was frequently given was that of her husband's sexual object. The author indicates that this misogynist sense of humour presented in the cartoons could be related with the fact that most of them had men authors.
Bystrom et al. (2001)	2000	US	Primary races for senatorial and gubernatorial candidates	Major national and regional newspapers	The study reveals that some gender biases still exist and women were described more often in terms of their sex, marital status and children. However, the results also indicate that men and women were treated more equally when compared with campaigns in previous years. What is more, no more attention has been paid to women's appearance or personality when compared to men. The viability of their candidacy remained equal too. Authors also demonstrate that women were depicted in greater number of articles than men.
Bystrom et al. (2003)	2000	US	Women gubernatorial and senatorial candidates during primary stage and the general election	Newspapers chosen based on circulation and online availability	While one of the aims of this study is to compare the coverage received by men and women candidates, comparison thereof during primary and general elections adds another level of analysis to this publication. Although the results indicate that women candidates were covered more equally when compared with results of previous studies, some disparities between the media perception of men and women still remained. Even though more articles captured women candidates than men and the way candidates were evaluated did not differ, issues like candidates' gender, children, and marital status alongside some of the policies traditionally linked to women's areas of interest were more likely to appear in the coverage of women candidates. In conclusion, the authors indicate that there is a need to continue the press analysis through the years to be able to see which differences are related to the gender and which to the election year.

Reference	YoD*	Country	Politicians studied	Source of data	Findings
Dabbousa and Ladley (2010)	2006-2007	US	First woman Speaker of the House	Five major daily national newspapers	Previous findings indicated that, to be elected, women needed to have a good balance of masculine and feminine traits. Thus, taking advantage of the opportunity given by the election of the first woman Speaker, researchers wanted to examine this theory by analysing how her election and first 100 hours in the office were framed by the press. The results revealed that the coverage received by Nancy Pelosi fitted into the perception of women in the office identified by the previous studies as the media presented her as a person with a "spine of steel" but also with a "heart of gold". Nonetheless, the authors indicate that Pelosi herself brought some gender-related issues to her press coverage by emphasising her maternal side.
Kittilson and Fridkin (2008)	2004-2006	Australia, Canada, and the United States	Men and women candidates in the 2006 Canadian, 2004 Australian, and 2006 U.S. elections	One high-circulation broadsheet newspaper per each country	A comparative analysis reveals that in each of the countries the amount and prominence of press attention together with viability or family situation of candidates standing did not differ between men and women contenders across all three countries. Nonetheless, results indicate that candidates are presented in long-standing gender stereotypes as the media tend to assign 'male' traits and 'male' political issues to men candidates. The authors came to a conclusion that higher proportion of women in elected offices is not associated with more gender-neutral press coverage. Indeed, while the countries selected for this study differ in terms of women's political representation (with Australia and Canada having the highest representation), the patterns of gendered coverage remain the same for all three countries.
Everitt (2003)	1999-2000	Canada	1999 provincial elections in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and the 2000 provincial election in Prince Edward Island	Maritime regional newspapers	The average men and women candidates received the same proportion of news coverage. They also did not differ in terms of the amount of horse race coverage, references to their appearance or traits as well as assessment of their viability. However, it was women candidates who received more references to their families and personal information. Nonetheless, the author indicates that as the press focused mostly on the party leaders more studies are needed to confirm the findings due to the limited number of articles focusing on average candidates.

Reference	YoD*	Country	Politicians studied	Source of data	Findings
Lee (2004)	1998-2001	China	Women officials in Hong Kong	Articles about women officials published in two Hong-Kong papers - *Ming Pao* and *Apple Daily*	This study analyses how the press deals with gender of women politicians in Hong Kong. While in many places women entering the men-dominated area of high levels of politics could face the 'double-bind' problem, in Hong-Kong the media coverage of women politicians seem to present them as perfect women - masters of balancing the right levels of femininity and masculinity. Nonetheless, as author indicates, women politicians do not change the existing gender norm or challenge the traditional way in which women are perceived but rather play by these rules. Thus, even though the number of women Hong-Kong officials is growing, this almost mythical perception of how they should perform their duties - both at home and at work - is not going to change the existing gender inequalities.
Devere and Davies (2006)	2006	New Zealand	Leaders of the two main parties - Helen Clarke and Don Brash	Election coverage on television and in the print media	The study looks at how the media depicted two party leaders in terms of gender-framing during the campaign leading to the 2005 general election. Comparing the results with observations made during the 1999 elections they wanted to see whether the way in which the candidates are presented changed through the years. While they discovered that women are more visible in the media than they used to be, some examples of gendered reporting could still be found. However, while the media itself is responsible for most of it, the authors claim that there is some evidence that the party could also be responsible for introducing gender into the agenda.
Hall and Donaghue (2013)	2010	Australia	First woman prime minister of Australia	Articles published in the mainstream press during first 5 days in the office	Being an unmarried woman with no children, Julia Gillard was not a typical politician. Therefore, Hall and Donaghue (2013) decided to analyse how press depicted her political ambitions just days after she became a PM. Women politicians need to maintain the right image - being competent enough to hold the 'masculine' position but without being perceived as unfeminine. Although some newspapers perceived the way she behaved as 'refreshing', the majority expressed the concerns that the voters could expect that a woman in this role will be 'kinder' and 'gentler'. However, the authors note that if a woman softens her 'masculine characteristics' or highlights that her ambitions are in fact ambitions of a broader collective, then her style might be accepted. Nonetheless, Hall and Donaghue (2013) believe that gender could shape the way women's aspirations are presented in the media.

Reference	YoD*	Country	Politicians studied	Source of data	Findings
Deutchman and Ellison (1999)	1996	Australia	Woman MP Pauline Hanson (Prime Minister and another female MP used as benchmark)	Major metropolitan and national newspapers	The unexpected rise of Pauline Hanson from an independent backbencher to one of the most talked about politician in the media resulted in a study analysing how this woman politician was covered in the media. She contradicted stereotypes about women in politics not only through demonstrating her ambitions but also by her political beliefs. Her views, which could be associated with 'angry white man' gave her the media attention, but also exposed her to gendered coverage. Therefore, she was patronised by the journalists, and her capabilities of handling a political job were questioned. Nevertheless, even though the coverage she received was unfavourable and highly gendered, Hanson was able to capitalise the media interest and create her own political party.
Sheeler Horn (2010)	1998-2001	US	Jennifer Granholm's gubernatorial campaign	Local Michigan press, internet news sites, news magazines	This study apart from illustrating challenges which women face when running for the executive position shows how they could confront them. Although Jennifer Granholm's candidacy for Attorney General did not sparkle much of a dispute, her later aspirations to become the first woman Governor of Michigan resulted in gendered criticism from the media. She was presented in the frame of a beauty queen, through direct language and focus on propagating her political plans among the voters. Despite that, she was able to present herself as a competent leader and win the election. The author indicates that until there is more women in the executive-level politics, they will need to be prepared to challenge social assumptions about their gender, and so they could face gendered criticism. However, she also suggests that with role models like Granholm, the future looks promising.
Ross and Comrie (2012)	2000-2007	New Zealand	Helen Clark third term as PM	Major newspapers and magazines along with televised TVNZ's One News and TV3's Three News	The authors claim that despite spending 8 years in the office, Helen Clarke was portrayed in a gendered manner when she faced a man opponent. However, Comrie also indicates that this gender-bias is more episodic rather than persistent. Nonetheless, the way Helen Clark was depicted demonstrates that women are often victims of 'the Catch 22', as they could be, for example, too young, or too old for the office, while similar concerns do not apply to men contenders. Thus, as political candidates, women could be disadvantaged by the media.

Reference	YoD*	Country	Politicians studied	Source of data	Findings
Gardetto (1997)	January-November 1992	US	(potential) First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton	The 1992 presidential campaign coverage published by the *New York Times*	During the presidential campaign of 1992 not only Bill Clinton was in the centre of attention but also a potential first lady - Hillary Clinton. Press coverage she received focused on the issue of her breaking with the stereotypical image of a presidential wife and presenting herself as a modern middle-class woman with her own career. Thus, she was often depicted as a threat to a traditional family values and sometimes as being 'too strong and too intelligent' for Bill Clinton's presidency. While the author indicates that the controversy around Hillary could be caused by the lack of public knowledge about the lives of previous first ladies, Gardetto claims that there is a time for a new title for the presidential spouse, that will reflect the changes in society and symbolise equality between men and women.
Scharrer and Bissell (2000)	1981-1982 Reagan, 1989-1990 Bush, 1993-1994 Clinton	US	First Ladies: Nancy Reagan, Barbara Bush, and Hillary Clinton	Articles in *the New York Times* and *Washington Post* alongside photographs in *Time* magazine	The authors decided to focus on how the press coverage of the American first ladies changed through the years, to see whether their political activity and attempts to 'overcome the traditional boundaries' set for the presidential wives may have affected the way they were depicted in the media. Among the analysed women, Clinton was the most involved in political activity, Regan was also influential but in a less extensive way, and finally Bush was the most traditional first lady in this group. From the results it could be seen that, while in the textual coverage, higher level of political activity was related to the more negative description, in terms of the photographic coverage it resulted in less stereotypical pictures.
Gidengil and Everitt (1999)	1993	Canada	Men and women leaders taking part in leader's debates during the 1993 Canadian federal elections	Television coverage of the debates	Gidengil and Everitt (1999) in their study looked at the consequences of adopting the so called 'masculine narrative' by women politicians. While the authors' measurements did not indicate that women were the most aggressive participants, they were acting differently to the widespread perception of how women *should* behave. Thus, the comments which appeared after the debates not only emphasised that politics is a men-dominated environment (as the debate was compared to battles), but also presented women candidates in a much more aggressive way than their men opponents. Moreover, even though men acted in a more combative manner, it was one of the women who was attacked by the media for her behaviour. Those results indicate that the assumption that women could be tough and in the same time still be perceived as feminine should be revisited.

Reference	YoD*	Country	Politicians studied	Source of data	Findings
Anderson (2002)	2000	US	Hillary Clinton and Elizabeth Doyle presidential nomination campaign	Print and broadcast news stories produced by major national news outlets	Hillary Clinton and Elizabeth Doyle were the first political wives who challenged the widespread perception, and became political candidates themselves. Nonetheless, while Clinton's campaign was successful and she won the elective office as the first presidential wife in history, Doyle, despite her popularity, did not manage to secure a presidential nomination. The results indicate that, while women made some progress in terms of their political participation, the highest executive office still remained a "bastion of masculinity". Indeed, although Clinton's candidacy was not undermined by gender stereotypes, as it was her men opponents who were undermined by gender related issues, Doyle's media coverage was gendered, making it difficult to imagine her as a future US president.
Scharrer (2002)	1999-2000	US	Hillary Clinton and Rudolph Giuliani (as comparison) Senatorial bids	A sample of 29 from all US-based newspapers	Taking into consideration the media reaction to any attempts to challenge the traditional role of a politician's wife, Scharrer (2002) analysed the press coverage of a Clinton's decision to stand for the senatorial office. The author found that the more politically active she was, the more negative and scrutinising was the tone of the articles about her. Accordingly, 'traditional' activities Clinton has been involved in resulted in more positive media response. Nonetheless, even though the articles about Clinton's decision were compared to those concerning Rudolph Giuliani's bid for the same office, data collected for this study does not allow to rule out the possibility that the media coverage of her decision to enter the political race was "politics as usual", rather than related to her gender.
Kropf and Boiney (2001)	1988-1992	US	Senate races of 21 women candidates	Data from the 1988-92 American National Election Study (ANES)	The authors puzzled by the poor performance of women Senate candidates, analyse how the media cover women candidates and whether it is likely that the way they are depicted in the news coverage could disadvantage their electoral chances. The results of the analysis, which focused at the respondent's media exposure and their ability to recognise a candidate and recall some information about him/her, indicate that viability of women senatorial candidates could be diminished by the media coverage they receive.

Reference	YoD*	Country	Politicians studied	Source of data	Findings
Carlin and Winfrey (2009)	2008	US	Sarah Palin Vice Presidential campaign and Hillary Clinton campaign for presidential nomination	Printed and broadcast media coverage	The primary race for the 2008 presidential campaign for Hillary Clinton was another opportunity to raise the bar for the politicians' wives and another attempt to overcome traditional gender boundaries. For Republicans that year was also unusual as their nominated vice presidential candidate was a woman. Both candidates were victims of sexist media coverage and for both of them their gender was made a part of their campaigns. Although Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin made cracks in the so-called 'glass ceiling', they were not able to smash it completely. Moreover, authors indicate that until gendered language and the way the media treat women candidate does not change, top political offices are will not see a woman in charge.
Heflick and Goldenberg (2011)	2008	US	Sarah Palin Vice Presidential campaign	Experiment	The authors indicate that the media focus on Palin's appearance alongside her objectification could contribute to the defeat of Republican party in the presidential election of 2008. This excessive interest in her look not only is some sense 'dehumanised' her, but also reduced voters' perception of her competence. Moreover Heflick and Goldenberg (2011) speculated that by presenting Palin mainly through the lens of her appearance, the media could lead to the situation in which she increased her own focus on the way she looked and thus further undermined the competence of her political performances. At the same time, they found no evidence that men could be exposed to similar media coverage.
Wasburn and Wasburn (2011)	2008	US	Sarah Palin and her opponent Joe Biden (as comparison)	Articles from *Newsweek* and *Time*	As several patterns of the gendered-media coverage have been found by the previous researchers, the authors wanted to examine whether the same could be observed in the reports about Sarah Palin's campaign. Her candidacy received much more press attention than that of her men opponent in terms of both number of articles written, as well as pictures of her which were published. However, the newspaper focused on more trivial topics, focusing more on her personal life than political opinions. Nonetheless, Wasburn and Wasburn (2011) suggest that the consequences of gendered coverage are not equivocal and might not lead to diminishing her electoral chances. The 'curiosity' of her campaign was that she was able to promote her image of political outsider and made more convincing appeals to some group of voters. Given that what for some women candidates could be destructive, for other might work in their favour, the authors indicate that in the future, research about the consequences of gender bias in the media should take into account characteristics of women candidates and their campaigns.

Reference	YoD*	Country	Politicians studied	Source of data	Findings
Heldman et al. (2009)	1984 and 2008	US	Sarah Palin and Geraldine Ferraro vice presidential campaigns	57 top circulated newspapers (Old Media) and five political blogs (New Media)	The authors looked for gender differences (the amount, type, tone, and content) in the media coverage of two women standing as vice-presidential candidates. While women candidates were more likely to be depicted in the media outlets when compared to their men counterparts, the coverage they received was also gendered. Moreover, the intensity of it increased with time, as Palin in 2008 received more sexist coverage than Ferraro in 1984. Comparing the Old Media and New Media reveals, that the latter are more likely to be more negative an gender-biased towards women. The decrease in newspaper's readership and expansion of political blogs prompted the authors to suggest that with time women's situation instead of improving could actually be getting worse.
Hayes and Lawless (2015)	2010	US	350 US House campaigns during the 2010 midterms	Local newspaper coverage from 350 U.S. House districts	The analysis of the press coverage alongside connecting it to voter's candidate evaluation brought some interesting observations. First of all, the authors found no evidence that the candidate gender affected both volume as well as quality of received coverage. Thus, women were neither less visible, nor presented in more gendered way than men candidates. Moreover, the study of the way voters evaluated the candidates reveals that things like partisanship, ideology and incumbency are more likely to influence their choice than gender of their potential political representatives. As the study did not find any systematic gender differences, the authors suggest that nowadays the electoral landscape does not differ between men and women candidates.
Fowler and Lawless (2009)	1990-1997	US	Men and women candidates in 27 gubernatorial races	Most widely distributed newspaper in each analysed state	The analysis of collected articles proved that the media coverage is biased. While women were more likely to be described as position-takers, coverage of men candidates focused on their actions. Nonetheless, the style in which women run their campaigns, as well as the newspapers that cover them could also influence the quality of the media reporting. The authors indicate that the significance of gender might not be enough to make meaningful conclusions and other factors could influence women's political participation (e.g. the structural roots of gender differences).
Dunaway et al. (2013)	2006 and 2008	US	Men and women candidates in statewide elections (gubernatorial and U.S. Senate)	Local newspapers from each analysed state	The results reveal that women were more likely to receive coverage focusing on their traits and less likely to have their issues mentioned in the newspapers than men. Moreover, the type of the race women candidates are in also matters, as gubernatorial campaigns featured more noticeable trends. However, the authors indicate that the consequences of this coverage for women might be more complicated than we used to think, as in some cases they could benefit from being perceived through the lens of their traits, rather than issues.

Reference	YoD*	Country	Politicians studied	Source of data	Findings
Ross and Comrie (2012)	2008	New Zealand	Leaders of the Labour Party (Helen Clark) and National Party (John Key)	Articles from the three major newspapers and news items from the two major TV channels' news programmes	The idea behind Ross and Comrie's (2012) analysis was to test what role in the media coverage play gender of the candidate and the incumbency status. Looking at how two party leaders, Helen Clarke and John Key, were depicted during the 2008 New Zealand election, they discovered a bias against the long-serving woman candidate in favour of the man political newcomer. She was not only less visible than her man opponent but also the coverage she received was focused on her personal attributes, such as gender or age. Ross and Comrie's (2012) findings are especially valuable, as they indicate that the gendered media coverage could undermine the electoral chances not only of inexperienced women candidates, but also those of them, who were perceived as competent and who had years of experience.
Ibroscheva and Raicheva-Stover (2009)	2005	Bulgaria	Women candidates standing in the 2005 parliamentary elections	*Trud* the highest-circulation daily newspaper in Bulgaria	The results of this study indicate that the press coverage of women candidates standing for the 2005 parliamentary elections was gendered, presenting them as 'political novelties', trivialising their opinions, as well as using gender-related frames. The authors indicate that with democratic transitions in the post-communist Bulgaria, position of women in politics decreased due to the "masculinity" of democracy. Ibroscheva and Raicheva-Stover (2009) conclude that gendered ways of portraying women politicians could not only affect women's political participation but also enhance sexism in the society and affect other aspects of their lives as well.
Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross (1996)	1996	UK	Sitting women MPs	Interviews	To gain understanding of how women parliamentarians perceived their own coverage in both the printed and the broadcasted media, authors conducted a series of interviews with the women MPs. The interviews revealed a picture of the selectively-informed media, which functioned, as 'the old boy-network', which was established by the men journalists and politicians educated at elite universities and was perceived by the women as a hermetically sealed with limited accessibility. Even though women are aware of the hostile media treatment, they did not link it with their gender but rather public profile of their job.

Reference	YoD*	Country	Politicians studied	Source of data	Findings
Adcock (2010)	1997	UK	Three groups of women featured in the election coverage: women politicians, politician's relatives and ordinary women	Five national daily newspapers	A study conducted by Adcock (2010) focused on women's media(ted) representation by analysing three categories in which they appeared in the media: politicians, voters and politician's relatives. The results reveal that in general women were largely ignored by the press, as they appeared in just over a third of collected material, being key actors in just over half of the all articles. Moreover, women were not only presented as uninformed, irrational and having little knowledge about politics, but they were also aligned with the 'private sphere'. Knowing how important media is, Adcock argues that the key to improving women's political representation is to improve the way they are depicted in the media.
Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi (1997)	1997	UK	Sitting women MPs	Interviews and questionnaires	This research looked not only at how women politicians were framed in the media, but also how women experienced the ways they are covered by the news outlets. Interviews revealed that most of the time, gender was a primary descriptor. Furthermore, news agenda was mostly men-orientated, while the language used to describe women differed form that used for men. The authors indicated that women need to learn how to overcome the media bias, and to do so, they should focus on developing new competences and skills in so-called 'male areas', to be able to raise their political profile.
Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi (1995)	1994	UK	Candidates for Labour leader in 1994 election	Articles published in 5 national newspapers	During the 1994 Labour leadership election, the press was more interested in Margaret Beckett as a woman, rather than as someone running for the highest position in the party. Moreover, while she was framed as post-menopausal, her man opponent received more favourable coverage. At the same time the author indicates that women journalists were more hostile towards Beckett candidacy, which could undermine the assumption that women in newsroom could ease gender bias in the media. The authors conclude that the only way to achieve a cultural shift in perceiving women politicians is to work towards reaching a critical mass, both in journalism industry and in Parliament.
Mavin et al. (2010)	2010	UK	Women MPs with particular focus on Harriet Harman and Theresa May	Media coverage related to the UK 2010 government election (newspapers, government and worldwide websites)	The authors illustrate how the media constructed women political leaders. They discovered that the way Harriet Harman and Theresa May have been depicted not only trivialised them and ignored their contribution, but also emphasised how 'unnatural' it is to having a woman in a leadership position. All of this could discredit women's their credibility.

Reference	YoD*	Country	Politicians studied	Source of data	Findings
Harmer et al. (2016)	2015	UK	Leaders featured in the 2015 general election leadership debate	Sample all of the UK national newspapers from the 2 days following the debate	Harmer et al. (2016) focused on how the media covered the 2015 general election leadership debate and how the performance of women leaders and their success have been constructed in the press. They discovered that the debate was depicted as a masculine activity, while the strengths of women contenders were measured in their abilities to emasculate men rivals. Language used in the articles, which were associated with battlefield rather than political reporting, enforced the perception that this was a 'manly' event.
O'Neill and Savigny (2014)	1992, 2002, 2012, 2014	UK	Sitting women MPs	Samples of articles from seven UK national newspapers	The authors not only looked at the ways women politicians are depicted in the press, but also carried out interviews, to learn about women's perception about this issue. The results show that women are presented as differing from the 'male norm', while their absence from the news is caused both by their gender, as well as partisanship of the media outlets. At the same time, the interviewed women mentioned media coverage as an area they are concerned about. The authors emphasised that negative presentation of women politicians by the press could not only negatively influence women's willingness to become candidates but also to participate in politics as voters.
Garcia-Blanco and Wahl-Jorgensen (2012)	2008	France, Italy, Spain, UK	First women majority cabinet in Spain	Three main national newspapers from each country	The analysis of how the media depicted the appointment of the first women majority cabinet revealed that, although the press support praised the efforts for more gender-balanced representation, gendered press coverage was still present. Women were constructed as 'othered' from the 'male norm' and some mentions of their appearance could also be found in the articles. Some differences in the press coverage of women politicians between the counties were also noticed by the authors.
Higgins and McKay (2016)	2004-2014	UK	Nicola Sturgeon	Scottish national newspapers, major Glasgow city paper and the Scottish editions of UK papers	This research looked at how the press presented Nicola Sturgeon at different stages of her political career, from her appointment as a deputy leader in 2004 to 2014, when she became a Scottish First Minister. The authors indicate that while the media image of women politicians could change, as Sturgeons' image has softened, they could still be objectified.

Reference	YoD*	Country	Politicians studied	Source of data	Findings
Pedersen (2016)	early twentieth century - 2015	UK	Nicola Sturgeon, Kezia Dugdale, Ruth Davidson and suffragettes	Various Scottish newspapers	Comparing how the press depicted suffragettes in early twentieth century with the way three contemporary women politicians are covered in the media, the author discovered that the focus of those reports remains almost unchanged with attention to women's appearance, clothes and private lives. However, Pedersen (2016) indicates that suffragists themselves could be responsible for how women are perceived nowadays. Indeed, while for example 'othering' themselves from men politicians could have helped women in getting the right to vote, these days this 'legacy' could have some side-effects.
Insenga (2014)	2012	UK	Theresa May, Caroline Spelman and Louise Mensch (Conservative) and Yvette Cooper, Harriet Harman and Rachel Reeves (Labour)	The Telegraph, The Guardian, The Sun, The Mirror	The author analysed the language used to write about women politicians, and came to a conclusion that gender-related framing is used when depicting them. This applied not only to average MPs, but also to those women, who have achieved senior positions. Moreover, stereotypes disseminated by the press presented them "always as women, sometimes as politicians", which could work against the efforts to increase women's representation in the Parliament.
Ross et al. (2013)	2010	UK	Men and women candidates (2010 GE)	Sample of 6 national newspapers	The analysis of candidates visibility in the coverage reveals that all titles were gender biased in favour of men politicians. At the same time, party leaders (men) dominated the news, while their wives received more press attention than prospective women MPs. During the campaigns, articles were written mostly by men journalists and, although they were more likely to cover men candidates, women journalists were not so inclined to provide coverage for women politicians either. Moreover, when women did appear in the news, it was their gender, rather than political potential, which was the main focus of the story.

Reference	YoD*	Country	Politicians studied	Source of data	Findings
O'Neil et al. (2016)	1992, 2002, 2012	UK	Men and women candidates	Sample of 7 national newspapers	The main focus of this study was women's visibility in the media, as authors believed that, in order to be recognisable (and successful), women politicians need to be seen. Data showed that the growing number of women MPs was not reflected in the quantity of coverage they received. Apart from being less visible, women were also less likely to be heard with direct quotes. Thus, the authors concluded women were less visible in the media and this might deter them from taking part in politics. What is more, they also indicated that women politicians were still presented as 'other', and that the coverage did not mirror diversity of their political interests.
Hinojosa (2010)	1998	Venezuela	Irene Sáez's presidential bid (and two men candidates as comparison)	Major Venezuelan newspaper *El Universal*	Sáez's candidacy was presented through a gendered lens, and the fact that she was a former beauty queen resulted in articles focused on her appearance. However, a quantitative analysis reveals that she did not receive less media attention than the remaining two men candidates. The study indicates that while she started as a strong candidate, she finished last and that this drop in support could be partially attributed to the hostile media coverage, which could suggest that the quality of the media coverage is as important as the quantity of it.
Murray (2010b)	2007	France	Ségolène Royal and Nicolas Sarkozy presidential bid	Press coverage of televised debates (all French newspapers)	According to the author, the coverage received by Royal was a classic illustration of gender stereotyping in the media. She started as a strong candidate and in the early stages of her campaign, sexist comments from her opponents only boosted her popularity. Nonetheless with time, support for her candidacy declined. Media coverage undermined her credibility, by presenting her as incompetent (which was not true) and employing gender stereotypes. Although Murray (2010b) indicated that gender-bias in the media was not the main reason for her defeat, the way she was depicted by the press illustrates how difficult it is to accept a woman in an executive office.
Piscopo (2010)	2007	Argentina	Christina Fernández de Kirchner presidential bid	Three main national daily newspapers	Although in Argentina presence of women in politics was nothing extraordinary (even in the positions of power), the press coverage of woman presidential candidate was gender-biased. The author indicates that she was attacked for being too masculine, her marriage with a former president was shown as a liability, while her status of a serious politician was undermined. While the media did not affect her chances of winning, as the political situation and Kircheners' popularity placed her in a winnable position, her decision to stand as a candidate was constantly questioned.

*YoD = Year of data collection.

Appendix B

Training undertaken during the PhD course

Statistical Programming in R (13/04/16 - 15/04/16)

This three-day course focused on extending my skills in statistical analysis of data in quantitative research. During the course I learned how to visualise the data, manipulate it as well as implement and chose adequate statistical procedures. Owing to this course, all statistical analyses from this study were done using R statistical software - which demonstrates usefulness of this training.

LaTex crash course (17/02/16)

The main aim of this course was to introduce a typographic software which is used to put together this thesis. Students learned how to create documents with extensive bibliographies in BiBTeX, add figures, as well as where to look for further information or help.

Presenting research through posters and conference papers (02/12/2015)

This session covered some basic information about how to present research at conferences (what to cover, how to structure it, how to handle questions from the audience). Students learned not only how to create an effective poster or research paper, but also what are the rules and protocols of an academic presentation.

RESM6004 Quantitative Methods I (semester 1, academic year 2015-2016)

This module is one of the ESRC DTC's research methods modules. The aim of it was to provide an introduction to the use of statistical methods for the analysis of quantitative data, and their application in a range of disciplinary contexts. This includes both descriptive statistics and elementary inferential statistics. The emphasis was on the practical application of statistical methods and the interpretation of results using the

statistical computer software (SPSS). The module used a range of international and UK data sources. Little previous knowledge of statistics and no previous knowledge of SPSS were assumed.

RESM 6007 Quantitative Methods II (semester 2, academic year 2015-2016)

Continuation of RESM6004

Introduction to Research Data Management (08/12/14)

The workshop provided the knowledge in the following areas:

- An overview of research data management and how it links to good research practice;

- General principles of how to manage the research data, and discuss the possible implications related to the choice of software, storage locations, file formats etc;

- Options for depositing the data, its dissemination and sharing, and making reference to the University of Southampton Research Data Management Policy;

- Benefits of establishing good research data handling skills as early as possible.

ITSPG – Demonstrators Part 1 (15/12/14)

This course described how to lead tutorials or lectures at the University of Southampton as well as explained:

- How to locate the relevant sources of information and advice to support your role;

- Key elements in the planning and preparation of delivering/facilitating sessions;

- How to develop ways of dealing with some challenging teaching matters.

EndNote (bibliographic software) - Basic Level (19/02/15)

The course introduced me to basic use of EndNote software. In particular, the course taught me:

- How to create and use personal libraries;

- How to download bibliographic information from a wide range of databases and libraries;

- How to create automatic citations and bibliographies in a chosen reference style.

EndNote (bibliographic software) - Advanced Level (05/03/15)

This course was a continuation of a basic level and covered more detailed aspects of EndNote features and functions, as well as showing how to customise the program to specific needs.

Whose work? Accurate referencing, confident writing (13/04/15)

The focus of this session was referencing and good writing practice, which provided me with the knowledge about:

- Different ways of using resources to show own ideas;

- How to use resources to write more confidently;

- How to avoid plagiarism.

Managing Your Supervisors (05/05/15)

This course provided a brief guide to the formal aspects of the supervisor-student relationship, as well as the roles and responsibilities of the academic unit. What is more, it also covered the topics related with:

- My rights and responsibilities as a postgraduate student;

- Where to look for help or advice.

Using NVivo^{TM} to manage and analyse qualitative and mixed data (19/05/15 - 20/05/15)

This two-day course was particularly helpful due to the nature of my study. The course focused on the ways in which NVivo^{TM} can be used to undertake data analysis. It provided me with the information on how to prepare my data, how to work with it and suggested different approaches to my research.

RESM6003 - Qualitative Methods I (semester 2, academic year 2014-2015)

This module provided me with understanding of the role and application of qualitative methods within social science research, as well as:

- Helped me to choose and use an appropriate qualitative data collection and analysis methods;

- Showed me how to effectively read and summarise literature on qualitative research methods and construct my arguments.

RESM6006 - Qualitative Methods II (semester 2, academic year 2014-2015)

This module provided me with understanding of the role and application of advanced qualitative methods within social science research, as well as:

- How to assess what kind of specialist qualitative techniques I should use;

- How to analyse the practical and ethical challenges in advanced qualitative research.

Appendix C

Lists of collected newspapers with daily web traffic

List of collected national newspapers [1]

1. The Times (89,000)

2. The Guardian (1,242,000)

3. The Independent (397,000)

4. Daily Express (371,000)

5. The Sun (281,000)

6. Mirror (477,000)

List of collected local newspapers [2]

1. Ham and High - Hampstead and Killburn (4,357)

2. West Briton - Camborne and Redruth (31,139)

3. Bolton News - Bolton West (27,504)

4. Thurrock Gazette - Thurrock (3,514)

5. Solihull News - Solihull (54)

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[1]Data collected by National Readership Survey between January and December 2016 (available at: http://www.nrs.co.uk/latest-results/nrs-padd-results/newsbrands-printpc/).

[2]Since the publicly available data on the online circulation of the local newspapers is not uniform the authors made estimates of circulation using a web traffic monitoring tool (Similar Web).

6. Oxford Mail - Oxford West and Abingdon (20,843)

7. Chad - Ashfield (5,211)

8. Daily Echo - Southampton Itchen (39,286)

9. Nottingham Post - Sherwood and Broxtowe (82,143)

10. Dorset Echo - Mid Dorset and North Poole (13,043)

11. Stockton Evening Gazette - Stockton South (31,996)

12. Lancaster Guardian - Lancaster and Fleetwood (2,407)

13. Western Morning News - Truro and Falmouth (71,429)

14. Torquay Herald Express - Newton Abbot (71,429)

15. Wirral Globe - Wirral South (8,250)

16. Derbyshire Times - Chesterfield (11,700)

17. Derby Telegraph - Derby North (46,429)

18. Hull Daily Mail - Hull North (78,571)

19. Grimsby Telegraph - Great Grimsby (33,418)

20. Wells Journal - Wells (39,286)

21. Westmorland Gazette - Carlisle (6,311)

22. Lancashire Evening Post - Morecambe and Lunesdale (13,361)

23. Shropshire Star - Telford (21,979)

24. Chester Chronicle - Weaver Vale (10,032)

25. Yorkshire Post - Harrogate and Knaresborough and Morley and Outwood (21,496)

26. Lincolnshire Echo - Lincoln (26,129)

27. The Argus - Brighton Pavilion and Brighton Kemptown (42,857)

28. Birmingham Mail - Birmingham Edgbaston (182,143)

29. Brent and Killburn Times - Brent Central (2,382)

30. Watford Observer - Watford (10,846)

31. Halifax Courier - Halifax (7,082)

Appendix D

Computerised press coverage collection system

An example of code used to collect *Daily Echo*

```
clear all

newspaper = 'DailyEcho'; %define newspaper name
website_address = 'www.dailyecho.co.uk'; %define website address

currently = now(); %get current time and date
start_time = datestr(currently,'HH-MM-SS'); %format time string
start_date = datestr(currently,'yyyy-mm-dd'); %format date string

%format string with URL-file location
filepath = sprintf('D:/My Websites/2015GE Project/%sURLs.txt',newspaper);
%URL file contains URL that point to websites which HTTrack should download.
fp = fopen(filepath,'wt+'); %Open the URL file.

yesterday = currently - 1; %yesterday is now less one day
tomorrow = currently + 1; %tomorrow is now plus one day

%save the following lines to URL file:
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/\n');
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/district/\n');
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/district/southampton/\n');
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/district/eastleigh/\n');
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/district/fareham/\n');
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/district/newforest/\n');
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/district/newforest/\n');
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/district/winchester/\n');
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/crime/\n');
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/education/\n');
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/shipping/\n');
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/environment/\n');
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/politics/\n');
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/health/\n');
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/charity/\n');
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/business/\n');
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/travel/\n');
```

```
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/briefing/\n');
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/strange/\n');

%also place day-dependent urls to archives:
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/archive/%s/%s/%s/\n',
datestr(yesterday,'yyyy'),
datestr(yesterday,'mm'),
datestr(yesterday,'dd'));
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/archive/%s/%s/%s/1/\n',
datestr(yesterday,'yyyy'),datestr(yesterday,'mm'),
datestr(yesterday,'dd'));
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/archive/%s/%s/%s/2/\n',
datestr(yesterday,'yyyy'),datestr(yesterday,'mm'),
datestr(yesterday,'dd'));

fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/archive/%s/%s/%s/\n',
datestr(currently,'yyyy'),datestr(currently,'mm'),
datestr(currently,'dd'));
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/archive/%s/%s/%s/1/\n',
datestr(currently,'yyyy'),datestr(currently,'mm'),
datestr(currently,'dd'));
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/archive/%s/%s/%s/2/\n',
datestr(currently,'yyyy'),datestr(currently,'mm'),
datestr(currently,'dd'));

fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/archive/%s/%s/%s/\n',
datestr(tomorrow,'yyyy'),datestr(tomorrow,'mm'),
datestr(tomorrow,'dd'));
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/archive/%s/%s/%s/1/\n'
,datestr(tomorrow,'yyyy'),datestr(tomorrow,'mm'),
datestr(tomorrow,'dd'));
fprintf(fp,'http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/archive/%s/%s/%s/2/\n',
datestr(tomorrow,'yyyy'),datestr(tomorrow,'mm'),
datestr(tomorrow,'dd'));

fclose('all'); %close the file

LOGdir = sprintf('D:/My Websites/2015GE Project/Logs/%s/%s',
newspaper,start_date); %create string to the directory with all logs
deepLOGdir = sprintf('%s/%s',LOGdir,start_time); %same as above, but more thorough log
mkdir(LOGdir); %create those directories (if they  do not exist yet)
mkdir(deepLOGdir); %create those directories (if they  do not exist yet)

LFname_short = sprintf('D:/My Websites/2015GE Project/Logs/%s/%s/
%s-short_log.txt',newspaper,start_date,start_time); %create a string with a short log file path
LFname = sprintf('D:/My Websites/2015GE Project/Logs/%s/%s/
%s/main_log.txt',newspaper,start_date,start_time); %create a string with a long log file path
fp_short = fopen(LFname_short,'wt+'); %Open the short log file
fp = fopen(LFname,'wt+'); %Open the long log file

%report to logs
fprintf(fp,'%s: System started.\n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
fprintf(fp_short,'%s: System started.\n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));

filepath = sprintf('%sFilters.txt',newspaper); %create string with filters
flt = fileread(filepath); %read filters file
%condition the filters file content and replace each carriage return with space
flt_new = regexprep(flt,'\n',' ');
%create string with command to run httrack with appropriate parameters
```

```
com = sprintf('httrack -%%L "D:/My Websites/2015GE Project/
%sURLs.txt" -w -q -r2 -p1 -O "D:/My Websites/2015GE Project/
Initial Download/%s/%s %s" -c2 -F "Mozilla/5.0
(Windows NT 6.1; WOW64) AppleWebKit/
537.36 (KHTML, like Gecko) Chrome/39.0.2171.71 Safari/537.36" %s', newspaper,
newspaper, start_date, start_time, flt_new);


%report to logs
fprintf(fp,'%s: Started HTTrack with the following parameters:
\n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
fprintf(fp,'%s\n',com);
out = system(com); %run httrack
fprintf(fp,'%s: Downloading data finished.\n',
datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
fprintf(fp_short,'%s: Downloading data finished.\n'
,datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
fprintf(fp,'%s: HTTrack returned the following value:
%d.\n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'),out);


fprintf(fp,'%s: Copying logs.\n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
InitDir = sprintf('D:/My Websites/2015GE Project/
Initial Download/%s/%s %s',newspaper,start_date, start_time); %create string with initial download path
InitLOG = sprintf('%s/hts-log.txt',InitDir); %create string with path to httrack log file
out = copyfile(InitLOG,deepLOGdir); %copy httrack logfile to log directory
%report to logs
fprintf(fp,'%s: Copying finished with the following
exit code: %d.\n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'),out);


fprintf(fp,'%s: Searching for .html files.\n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
com = sprintf('dir "D:\\My Websites\\2015GE Project\\
Initial Download\\%s\\%s %s\\%s\\*.html" /s/b',
%create string with dir command, searching for all html files
newspaper,start_date, start_time,website_address);
[out, directory] = system(com); %run the dir command
%report to logs
fprintf(fp,'%s: Search terminated with exit code: %d.\n'
,datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'),out);
if length(directory) <= 1 %if no html files found:
  %report to logs
  fprintf(fp,'%s: I found 0 .html files.\n',datestr(now(),
  'HH:MM:SS'));
  fprintf(fp,'%s: WARNING! MOST PROBABLY THIS MEANS
  THERE IS ERROR SOMEWHERE!.\n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
  fprintf(fp,'%s: System finished execution.\n',datestr(now(),
  'HH:MM:SS'));
  fprintf(fp_short,'%s: I found 0 .html files.\n',datestr(now()
  ,'HH:MM:SS'));
  fprintf(fp_short,'%s: System finished execution.\n',datestr(now()
  ,'HH:MM:SS'));
else %if some html files found:
  fprintf(fp,'%s: Extracting article IDs from .html file paths.\n',
  datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
  dire = strsplit(directory,'\n'); %condition the list of identified html files
  for i=1:length(dire)-1 %for every html file, perform the following
    [redundant1, articles{i}, redundant2] = fileparts(dire{i}); %find article path
    parts_of_path = strsplit(redundant1,{'/','\'}); %split the path to extract file names
  %check if the filename contains term 'index'
    DB_articles{i} = sprintf('%s%s',parts_of_path{length(parts_of_path)},'index');
  end
```

```
%report to logs
fprintf(fp,'%s: I found %d .html files.\n',datestr(now(),
'HH:MM:SS'),length(dire)-1);
fprintf(fp_short,'%s: I found %d .html files.\n',datestr(now()
,'HH:MM:SS'),length(dire)-1);
for i=1:(length(articles))
  fprintf(fp,'%s: %s\n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'),articles{i});
end

fprintf(fp,'%s: Verifying if article database exists.\n',
datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
path = sprintf('D:/My Websites/2015GE Project/Article
Databases/%s/database.txt',newspaper); %create string with database path
if exist(path, 'file') == 0 %if the database does not exist:
 fprintf(fp,'%s: Article database does not exist.\n'
 ,datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
 fprintf(fp,'%s: Creating appropriate folder.\n',
datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
DBdir = sprintf('D:/My Websites/2015GE Project/
Article Databases/%s',newspaper);
mkdir(DBdir); %create appropriate folder
fprintf(fp,'%s: Creating new database: opening file.\n'
,datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
fileID = fopen(path,'w+'); %and create database file
fprintf(fp,'%s: Creating new database: saving data.\n'
,datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
for i=1:length(DB_articles) %for each file found by httrack:
fprintf(fileID, ' %s,', DB_articles{i}); %save the html file names in the database
end
%report to log
fprintf(fp,'%s: Saving finished.\n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
fclose(fileID);
fprintf(fp,'%s: Database closed.\n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
fprintf(fp,'%s: System finished execution.\n',datestr(now(),
'HH:MM:SS'));
fprintf(fp_short,'%s: System created new database.\n',
datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
fprintf(fp_short,'%s: System finished execution.\n',
    datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
  else %if the database exists:
    %report to log
    fprintf(fp,'%s: Article database exists.\n',datestr(now(),
    'HH:MM:SS'));
    fprintf(fp,'%s: Opening database.\n',datestr(now(),
    'HH:MM:SS'));
    fileID = fopen(path,'r');
    fprintf(fp,'%s: Reading article database.\n',datestr(now()
    ,'HH:MM:SS'));
    search_terms = textscan(fileID,'%s','Delimiter',','); %read the database
    fclose(fileID); %close the database
    for i=1:length(search_terms{1,1})
      %parse the articles in the database
      old_articles{i} = sprintf('%s',search_terms{1,1}{i,1});
    end

    fprintf(fp,'%s: Looking for new articles.\n',datestr(now(),
    'HH:MM:SS'));
    counter = 0;
    for i=1:length(articles)%for each new article:
```

```
      found = 0;
      for j=1:length(old_articles)%for each old article
        %check if new article is the same as new article
        if strcmp( DB_articles{i}, old_articles{j} ) == 1
          found = 1; %set flag if article exists in database already
        end
      end
      if found == 0 %if the article does not exist in the database:
        counter = counter + 1; %count it and make record of it
        DB_new_articles{counter} = DB_articles{i};
        new_articles{counter} = articles{i};
        aID(counter) = i;
      end
  end
  %report to logs
  fprintf(fp,'%s: %d new articles were found.\n',
  datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'), counter);
  fprintf(fp_short,'%s: %d new articles were found.\n',
  datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'), counter);

  if counter == 0 %if no new articles found:
    fprintf(fp_short,'%s: System finished execution.\n',
    datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
    fprintf(fp,'%s: System finished execution.\n',
    datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
  else %if new articles found:
    %report to logs
    for i=1:length(new_articles)
      fprintf(fp,'%s: %s\n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS')
      , DB_new_articles{i});
    end
    fprintf(fp,'%s: Opening database.\n',datestr(now()
    ,'HH:MM:SS'));
    fileID = fopen(path,'at+'); %open the database
    fprintf(fp,'%s: Downloading new articles.\n',
    datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
    for i=1:length(new_articles) %for each new article:
      k=strfind(dire{aID(i)},'www');
      webAddress = dire{aID(i)}(k(1):length(dire{aID(i)})-5);
      %create string with command to download the article
      com = sprintf('httrack "%s" -w -q -n -N1 -r1 -O
      "D:/My Websites/2015GE Project/Temp Download/%s-%s-%s"
      -c2 -F "Mozilla/5.0 (Windows NT 6.1; WOW64) AppleWebKit/537.36
      (KHTML, like Gecko) Chrome/39.0.2171.71
      Safari/537.36" -s0 "+*.png" "+*.gif" "+*.jpg"
      "+*.jpeg" "+*.css" "+*.js" "-ad.doubleclick.net/*"
      "-mime:application/foobar"', webAddress, start_date,
      start_time, DB_new_articles{i}(1:min(25,length(DB_new_articles{i}))));
      fprintf(fp,'%s: HTTrack started with the following parameters:
      \n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
      fprintf(fp,'%s\n',com);
      out = system(com); %run httrack
      %report to log
      fprintf(fp,'%s: HTTrack returned the following value: %d\n',
      datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'),out);
      fprintf(fp,'%s: Verifying whether the article downloaded properly.
      \n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
      path = sprintf('D:/My Websites/2015GE Project/
      Temp Download/
```

```
        %s-%s-%s/web/index.html',
        start_date, start_time,
        DB_new_articles{i}(1:min(25,length(DB_new_articles{i})))));
        if exist(path, 'file') == 0 %if the article did not download correctly:
          %report to log
          fprintf(fp,'%s:
          There was a problem with downloading the following article:
          \n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
          fprintf(fp,'%s: %s\n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'),webAddress);
          fprintf(fp_short,'%s: There was a problem
          with downloading the following article:\n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
          fprintf(fp_short,'%s: %s\n',datestr(now(),
          'HH:MM:SS'),DB_new_articles{i});
        else %if the article downloaded correctly:
%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%
          rep_flag = 0;
          if i > 1 %if at least 1 new article was saved:
            for j=1:i-1 %make sure it was not save previously in this download
              if max(1,min(length(DB_new_articles{i})
              -10,length(DB_new_articles{j})-10)) > 5
                if DB_new_articles{i}(1:max(1,min(length
                (DB_new_articles{i})-10,
                length(DB_new_articles{j})
                -10))) == DB_new_articles{j}
                (1:max(1,min(length(DB_new_articles{i})-10,length
                (DB_new_articles{j})
                -10)))
                  rep_flag = 1;
                end
              end
            end
          end
          if rep_flag == 1 %if the article was saved already in this download
            %report to log
            fprintf(fp,'%s: Such article exists!
            I will add it to the database, but will
            not create a duplicate in Final Downloads.\n',
            datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
            fprintf(fp_short,'%s: Article duplicate found:
            \n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
            fprintf(fp_short,'%s: %s\n',datestr(now(),
            'HH:MM:SS'),DB_new_articles{i});
            fprintf(fileID,' %s,',DB_new_articles{i});
          else %if the article is new
%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%
            fprintf(fp,'%s: Copying article to Final Downloads\n',
            datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
            %copy the article from temp download folder to proper folder
            DOWNLOADEDdir = sprintf('D:/My Websites/2015GE Project/
            Final Downloads/%s/%s/%s',newspaper,start_date,
            DB_new_articles{i}(1:min(25,length(DB_new_articles{i}))));
            mkdir(DOWNLOADEDdir);
            path = sprintf('D:/My Websites/2015GE Project/Temp Download/
            %s-%s-%s/web', start_date, start_time,
            DB_new_articles{i}(1:min(25,length(DB_new_articles{i}))));
            out = copyfile(path,DOWNLOADEDdir);
            if out == 0 %if copying was unsuccessful:
              %report to logs
              fprintf(fp,'%s: Copying failed.\n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
```

```
                fprintf(fp_short,'%s: Copying the
                following article failed:
                \n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
                fprintf(fp_short,'%s: %s\n',datestr(now(),
                'HH:MM:SS'),
                DB_new_articles{i});
            else %if copying was successful:
                %report to logs
                fprintf(fp,'%s: Article successfully added to Final Downloads folder\n',
                datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
                fprintf(fp_short,'%s: Article successfully
                added to Final Downloads folder:\n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'));
                fprintf(fp_short,'%s: %s\n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'),DB_new_articles{i});
%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%
                convpath = sprintf('D:/My Websites/2015GE Project/
                Converted Articles/To convert list/%s.txt',newspaper);
                fconv = fopen(convpath,'at+');
                fprintf(fconv,'D:/My Websites/2015GE Project/
                Final Downloads/%s/%s/%s/index.html\n',newspaper,
                start_date,DB_new_articles{i}(1:min(25,length
                (DB_new_articles{i}))));
                fclose(fconv);
%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%
                path = sprintf('D:/My Websites/2015GE Project/Temp
                Download/%s-%s-%s', start_date, start_time, DB_new_articles{i}
                (1:min(25,length(DB_new_articles{i}))));
                out = rmdir(path,'s'); %delete temp download folder
                fprintf(fp,'%s: Deleting Temp Download folder
                finished with exit code: %d.\n',datestr(now(),'HH:MM:SS'),out);

                fprintf(fileID,' %s,',DB_new_articles{i}); %save the arrticle in database
            end
        end
    end

end
fclose(fileID); %close database
end


end
end
fclose(fp); %close long log file
fclose(fp_short); %close short log file
```

Daily Echo URLs

```
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/district/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/district/southampton/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/district/eastleigh/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/district/fareham/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/district/newforest/
```

```
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/district/newforest/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/district/winchester/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/crime/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/education/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/shipping/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/environment/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/politics/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/health/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/charity/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/business/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/travel/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/briefing/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/strange/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/archive/2015/03/11/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/archive/2015/03/11/1/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/archive/2015/03/11/2/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/archive/2015/03/12/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/archive/2015/03/12/1/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/archive/2015/03/12/2/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/archive/2015/03/13/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/archive/2015/03/13/1/
http://www.dailyecho.co.uk/archive/2015/03/13/2/
```

Daily Echo Filters

```
"-www.dailyecho.co.uk/*"
"+www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/*"
"+www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/*/*"
"+www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/*/*/*"
"+www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/*/*/*/*"
"+www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/*/*/*/*/*"
```

Appendix E

Source code used for statistical analyses

An example R-code used in analysis of number of candidate mentions during the 2015 general election campaign

```
############ INITIALISE #####################

# Clear the workspace
rm(list = ls(all = TRUE))

# Global settings
options(xtable.comment = FALSE)
options(digits = 3)
set.seed(345)

# Set working directory
setwd("C:/RStudio/RStudio-projects/2017-03-13 THESIS-REGR-2015GE/
Regression-number-of-mentions-WITHOUT-outliers")

# Add required packages
x<-c("Zelig", "ggplot2", "magrittr", "reporttools",
     "xlsx", "MASS", "pscl",  "plyr", "dplyr", "texreg",
     "lmtest", "plm", "tseries", "pglm", "caseMatch", "reshape2","glm2")
lapply(x, require, character.only = TRUE)


################## IMPORT DATA #####################

#### Import dataset ####
df.full<-read.xlsx(file="./data/QuantQualGEcampaign.xlsx", sheetIndex=1)

#### Define categorical variables ####
df.full$Chal.inc<-as.factor(df.full$Chal.inc)
df.full$Party.affiliation<-as.factor(df.full$Party.affiliation)
df.full$Gender<-as.factor(df.full$Gender)
```

```
df.full <-
  df.full %>%
  group_by(Candidate.ID) %>%
  mutate(l.loc.mentions = lag(loc.mentions, 1),
         l2.loc.mentions = lag(loc.mentions, 2))

df.full <-
  df.full %>%
  group_by(Candidate.ID) %>%
  mutate(l.nat.mentions = lag(nat.mentions, 1),
         l2.nat.mentions = lag(nat.mentions, 2))

df.full<-as.data.frame(df.full)



#### Remove outliers: Ed Balls and Caroline Lucas + Graham Evans week 3 ####
df.loc<-filter(df.full,
               Candidate.ID != "59",
               Candidate.ID != "57",
               loc.mentions<=20)

df.nat<-filter(df.full,
               Candidate.ID != "59",
               Candidate.ID != "57",
               loc.mentions<=20)



mainvarsloc=c("loc.mentions", "Week", "Chal.inc", "Party.affiliation", "Gender")

mainvarsnat=c("nat.mentions", "Week", "Chal.inc", "Party.affiliation", "Gender")

mainvars.df.loc<-df.loc[mainvarsloc]
mainvars.df.nat<-df.nat[mainvarsnat]



#### Summary Statistics Tables ####
tableContinuous(mainvars.df.loc[,sapply(mainvars.df.loc, is.numeric)],
                stats = c("n", "min", "median", "mean", "max", "s"),
                cap="Summary Statistics for Numerical Variables Local",
                lab="Summary Statistics for Numerical VariablesLocal",
                caption.placement = "bottom",
                longtable=FALSE)

tableNominal(mainvars.df.loc[,!sapply(mainvars.df.loc, is.numeric)],
             stats = c("n", "min", "median", "mean", "max", "s"),
             cap="Summary Statistics for Categorical Variables Local",
             lab="Summary Statistics for Categorical Variables Local",
             caption.placement = "bottom",
             cumsum=FALSE,
             longtable=FALSE)

tableContinuous(mainvars.df.nat[,sapply(mainvars.df.nat, is.numeric)],
                stats = c("n", "min", "median", "mean", "max", "s"),
                cap="Summary Statistics for Numerical Variables National",
                lab="Summary Statistics for Numerical Variables National",
                caption.placement = "bottom",
                longtable=FALSE)

tableNominal(mainvars.df.nat[,!sapply(mainvars.df.nat, is.numeric)],
```

```
                    stats = c("n", "min", "median", "mean", "max", "s"),
                    cap="Summary Statistics for Categorical Variables National",
                    lab="Summary Statistics for Categorical Variables National",
                    caption.placement = "bottom",
                    cumsum=FALSE,
                    longtable=FALSE)



################ HISTOGRAMS ####################

#### Produce histogram of mentions in local press ####

cdat <- ddply(df.loc, "Gender", summarise, mean.loc.mentions=mean(loc.mentions))

ggplot(df.loc, aes(x=loc.mentions, fill=Gender)) +
  geom_histogram(breaks = seq(0,20,by = 1), alpha=.5, position="identity") +
  geom_vline(data=cdat, aes(xintercept=mean.loc.mentions,  colour=Gender),
              linetype=c("dotted", "dashed"), size=.5) +
  xlim(0, 20) +
  labs(y="Count", x="Weekly mentions in local press",
  title="Weekly mentions in local press") +
  theme_bw()



#### Produce histogram of mentions in national press ####

cdat <- ddply(df.nat, "Gender", summarise, mean.nat.mentions=mean(nat.mentions))

ggplot(df.nat, aes(x=nat.mentions, fill=Gender)) +
  geom_histogram(breaks = seq(0,5,by = 1), alpha=.5, position="identity") +
  geom_vline(data=cdat, aes(xintercept=mean.nat.mentions,  colour=Gender),
              linetype=c("dotted", "dashed"), size=.5) +
  xlim(0, 5) +
  labs(y="Count", x="Weekly mentions in national press",
  title="Weekly mentions in national press") +
  theme_bw()



#### Produce basic statistics of dependent variables to assess dispersion ####

dv.loc.mean <- as.data.frame(tapply(df.loc$loc.mentions, df.loc$Gender, mean))
dv.loc.sd <- as.data.frame(tapply(df.loc$loc.mentions, df.loc$Gender, sd))

dv.nat.mean <- as.data.frame(tapply(df.nat$nat.mentions, df.nat$Gender, mean))
dv.nat.sd <- as.data.frame(tapply(df.nat$nat.mentions, df.nat$Gender, sd))



############## REGRESSION ####################

#### Local press ####
lmod.nb.tot.1<-glm2(loc.mentions
                    ~ Gender+Week+Party.affiliation+Chal.inc+l.loc.mentions,
                    family=negative.binomial(1),
                    data=df.loc)
summary(lmod.nb.tot.1)

texreg(l = list(lmod.nb.tot.1),
        custom.model.names=c("Local model"),
        caption = "Temporal models of local coverage",
```

```
        caption.above = TRUE,
        stars = c(0.001, 0.01, 0.05, .1),
        symbol="\\dagger",
        longtable=F)


##### National press ####
nmod.nb.tot.2<-glm2(nat.mentions
                    ~ Gender+Week+Party.affiliation+Chal.inc+l.nat.mentions,
                    family=negative.binomial(2),
                    data=df.nat)
summary(nmod.nb.tot.2)


texreg(l = list(nmod.nb.tot.2),
       custom.model.names=c("National model"),
       caption = "Temporal models of national coverage",
       caption.above = TRUE,
       stars = c(0.001, 0.01, 0.05, .1),
       symbol="\\dagger",
       longtable=F)


#### Output of both models in one Latex table ####

texreg(l = list(lmod.nb.tot.1,nmod.nb.tot.2),
       custom.model.names=c("Local", "National"),
       caption = "Temporal models of local and national coverage",
       caption.above = TRUE,
       stars = c(0.001, 0.01, 0.05, .1),
       symbol="\\dagger",
       longtable=F)



############### SIMULATIONS #######################

#### Local press ####
lmod.z<-zelig(loc.mentions~Gender+Week+Party.affiliation+
              Chal.inc+l.loc.mentions, model = "negbin", data = df.loc, cite=F)


l.x.out.male <- setx(lmod.z, Gender=0)
l.x.out.female <- setx(lmod.z, Gender=1)
l.s.out <- sim(lmod.z, x = l.x.out.male, x1 = l.x.out.female)

ev.local.male <- l.s.out$getqi(qi="ev", xvalue="x")
loc.male.mean <- mean(ev.local.male)
loc.male.sd <- sd(ev.local.male)
#sd(ev.local.male)

ev.local.female <- l.s.out$getqi(qi="ev", xvalue="x1")
loc.female.mean <- mean(ev.local.female)
loc.female.sd <- sd(ev.local.female)
#sd(ev.local.female)

fd.local <- l.s.out$getqi(qi="fd", xvalue="x1")
fd.local.mean <- mean(fd.local)
fd.local.sd <- sd(fd.local)
#mean(fd.local)

z.score.loc <- fd.local.mean/fd.local.sd

effect.df.loc<-as.data.frame(cbind(ev.local.male, ev.local.female))
```

```
ggplot(effect.df.loc) +
  geom_density(aes(x=V1, fill="Male"), alpha=.5) +
  geom_density(aes(x=V2, fill="Female"), alpha=.5) +
  scale_fill_discrete(name="Values") +
  theme_bw() +
  labs(x="Local mentions", y="Density",
  title="Predicted Effect of Gender on number of mentions in local press")

print(summary(effect.df.loc))



#### Data from simulations for figures in Orgin ####
df.simulations.save <- data.frame(ev.local.female, ev.local.male)
write.csv(df.simulations.save,"simulation_data_local.csv")

#### National Press ####
nmod.z<-zelig(nat.mentions~Gender+Week+Party.affiliation+
                 Chal.inc+l.nat.mentions, model = "negbin", data = df.nat, cite=F)



n.x.out.male <- setx(nmod.z, Gender=0)
n.x.out.female <- setx(nmod.z, Gender=1)
n.s.out <- sim(nmod.z, x = n.x.out.male, x1 = n.x.out.female)

ev.nat.male <- n.s.out$getqi(qi="ev", xvalue="x")
nat.male.mean <- mean(ev.nat.male)
nat.male.sd <-sd(ev.nat.male)
# sd(ev.local.male)

ev.nat.female <- n.s.out$getqi(qi="ev", xvalue="x1")
nat.female.mean <- mean(ev.nat.female)
nat.female.sd <-sd(ev.nat.female)
# sd(ev.local.female)

fd.nat <- n.s.out$getqi(qi="fd", xvalue="x1")
fd.nat.mean <-mean(fd.nat)
fd.nat.sd <-sd(fd.nat)
# mean(fd.local)

z.score.nat <- fd.nat.mean/fd.nat.sd

effect.df.nat<-as.data.frame(cbind(ev.nat.male, ev.nat.female))
ggplot(effect.df.nat) +
  geom_density(aes(x=V1, fill="Male"), alpha=.5) +
  geom_density(aes(x=V2, fill="Female"), alpha=.5) +
  scale_fill_discrete(name="Values") +
  theme_bw() +
  labs(x="National number of mentions", y="Density",
  title="Predicted Effect of Gender on number of mentions in national press")

print(summary(effect.df.nat))

#### Data from simulations for figures in Orgin ####
df.simulations.save <- data.frame(ev.nat.female, ev.nat.male)

write.csv(df.simulations.save,"simulation_data_national.csv")


#### Print z-scores for local and national ####
```

```
print(sprintf("female local:  %f (%f) / mean (SD)",loc.female.mean,loc.female.sd))
print(sprintf("male local:  %f (%f) / mean (SD)",loc.male.mean,loc.male.sd))
print(sprintf("difference local:  %f (%f) / mean (SD)",fd.local.mean,fd.local.sd))
print(sprintf("z score local% f",z.score.loc))

print(sprintf("female national:  %f (%f) / mean (SD)",nat.female.mean,nat.female.sd))
print(sprintf("male national:  %f (%f) / mean (SD)",nat.male.mean,nat.male.sd))
print(sprintf("difference local:  %f (%f) / mean (SD)",fd.nat.mean,fd.nat.sd))
print(sprintf("z score national% f",z.score.nat))

mean(ev.local.male)
sd(ev.local.male)
mean(ev.local.female)
sd(ev.local.female)
mean(fd.local)
sd(fd.local)

mean(ev.nat.male)
sd(ev.nat.male)
mean(ev.nat.female)
sd(ev.nat.female)
mean(fd.nat)
sd(fd.nat)
sd(df.loc$loc.mentions)
sd(df.nat$nat.mentions)

mean(fd.nat)/sd(df.nat$nat.mentions)
mean(fd.local)/sd(df.loc$loc.mentions)


############## Matching #################

#### Create dataset #####

df<-filter(df.full,
           Candidate.ID != "59",
           Candidate.ID != "57")

#### Matching for local and national press ####
match.df<-subset(df, select=c("Candidate","Gender","Party.affiliation","Chal.inc",
"loc.mentions.cum","Week", "Election.results.2015"))
match.df$Gender<-as.numeric(match.df$Gender)
match.df$Party.affiliation<-as.numeric(match.df$Party.affiliation)
match.df$Chal.inc<-as.numeric(match.df$Chal.inc)

dropvars<-c("Week")

match.loc <- case.match(data=subset(match.df, Week==6),
                        id.var="Candidate",
                        leaveout.vars=dropvars,
                        distance="mahalanobis", case.N=2,
                        number.of.matches.to.return=5,
                        treatment.var="Gender",
                        outcome.var="loc.mentions.cum")


df$Local<- df$loc.mentions.cum
df$National<- df$nat.mentions.cum
```

```
match.loc.df.1 <- subset(df, Candidate=="Anna Soubry (W)" |
                             Candidate=="Mark Spencer (W)",
                         select=c("Candidate", "Week", "Local", "National"))

molten<-melt(match.loc.df.1, id.var=c("Candidate", "Week"))

ggplot(molten, aes(x=Week, y=value)) +
  geom_line(aes(linetype=variable, color=variable)) +
  labs(y="Cumulative number of mention") +
  theme_bw() +
  scale_color_discrete(name="Variable") +
  scale_linetype_discrete(name="Variable") +
  facet_wrap(~Candidate)



match.loc.df.2 <- subset(df, Candidate=="Nicola Blackwood (W)" |
                             Candidate=="David Morris (W)",
                         select=c("Candidate", "Week", "Local", "National"))

molten<-melt(match.loc.df.2, id.var=c("Candidate", "Week"))

ggplot(molten, aes(x=Week, y=value)) +
  geom_line(aes(linetype=variable, color=variable)) +
  labs(y="Cumulative number of mentions") +
  theme_bw() +
  scale_color_discrete(name="Variable") +
  scale_linetype_discrete(name="Variable") +
  facet_wrap(~Candidate)
```

Appendix F

ERGO ethics application

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This version updated December 2013

SSEGM ETHICS SUB-COMMITTEE APPLICATION FORM

Please note:

- *You must not begin data collection for your study until ethical approval has been obtained.*
- *It is your responsibility to follow the University of Southampton's Ethics Policy and any relevant academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of your study. This includes providing appropriate information sheets and consent forms, and ensuring confidentiality in the storage and use of data.*
- *It is also your responsibility to provide full and accurate information in completing this form.*

1.   **Name(s):** Beata Rek

2.   **Current Position** MPhil/PhD full time student, Year 1

3.   **Contact Details:**
   Division/School: Politics/ School of Social Science
   Email: br1g11@soton.ac.uk
   Phone: 07432832972

4.   **Is your study being conducted as part of an education qualification?**
   Yes   x☐   No   ☐

5.   **If Yes, please give the name of your supervisor**
   Dr Alexandra Kelso and Dr Justin Murphy

6.   **Title of your project:**
   2015 General Elections in the context of gender: political campaigns of male and female candidates at constituency level.

7.   **Briefly describe the rationale, study aims and the relevant research questions of your study**

This research attempts to address the problem of women political participation, a live issue in British politics.

Despite the fact that 80 years have passed since women gained the right to vote, and it has been 40 years since Sex Discrimination Act was introduced in Britain, women still struggle in their run for MP

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seats. They constitute approximately 23% of all MP's, which makes Britain the fourth from last country in Europe and at the tail end in the world (Duckworth et al., 2014). Countries like Spain, Andorra, Ecuador, Zimbabwe, Iceland, Mozambique, Rwanda, Senegal, as well as many other, have already reduced their gender gap, counting on female politicians to improve the quality of their politics by bringing values such as transparency or ability to compromise; and to serve as an example of gender equality for other institutions.

Although, the problem of gender gap in British politics has long been under investigation, a need to increase the number of women in Westminster Parliament remains unfulfilled. I intend to revisit the issue by taking into consideration the dynamic role of media in modern politics; and to give male and female candidates an opportunity to share their opinions about the problem.

Media are no longer simply a mirror of the political world; instead, they have ability to shape and modify the political landscape (Kahn 1994). Existing studies on media impact document their ability to shape voters' opinions and to make candidates more distinguishable (Kim, Scheufele & Shanahan 2005). They have the power to influence the recipients through the news programmes, but also by selecting political stories covered, effectively distinguishing between those more and less important (George and Waldfogel 2006). It is worth noticing that media can therefore strongly affect the gender equality of the outcomes of political races, being able to promote progress or supporting the 'glass ceiling' for female politicians.

In order to gain better understanding of the relationship between media and gender of political candidates I will attempt to conduct a study of a twofold nature. Firstly, benefitting from the unique opportunity to observe 2015 General Election, I plan to conduct a press coverage study focusing on a small group of local constituencies and assessing how local media present Parliamentary candidates of both genders. Secondly, immediately after the General Election, I would like to perform a series of interviews with the candidates to investigate not only the female, but also the male experience in this matter. The combination of press coverage and interviews will allow me to analyse political campaigns from the angle of media as well as candidates themselves, which approach constitutes one of the innovations of this project.

Through this research I will attempt to answer the following research questions:

1. Do local media present candidates of opposite gender in different ways?
2. Does the policy focus differ between male and female candidates?
3. Are candidates themselves aware of any variations in media coverage between the two genders?
4. Can they see any practical solutions to the existing inequalities?

To address the first two research questions, I will perform a thorough analysis of news from local newspapers. In particular, I will investigate how male and female candidates are presented by the press. I will attempt to address the 3rd and the 4th research questions through the interviews with Parliamentary candidates. The interviews will provide the candidates' own perspective on the influence of media, but also will allow for making comparisons with findings from the newspaper coverage study. Finally, through the interviews, the main subjects of this study will be able to speak out their concerns, hopes and opinions on the foregoing matter.

Aim of the Study

The global aim of this study is to provide a better understanding of a relationship between media, politics and candidate's gender, which may in the future lead to a reduction of inequalities between Parliamentary candidates of different genders. This is particularly important, considering that the majority of citizens do not have a chance to receive political information first hand (that is straight from candidates) and hence are reliant on media.

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This aim is to be achieved upon the completion of a number of objectives. Firstly, it is planned to investigate how candidates of different gender are presented at the constituency level by local newspapers. Secondly, the candidates of different gender will be compared regarding their policy focus. The policy focus presented by press will be further confronted with what candidates indicate during the interviews. Furthermore, candidate's awareness on the issues related to gender inequality will be verified. Eventually, it will be investigated whether candidates themselves have any ideas regarding ways to close the gender gap in British politics.

Having been established the outcomes of female politicians' campaigns are significantly affected by inequalities present in press coverage (Holtz-Bacha 2013), in the long-term the study aims to contribute to the elimination of a negative influence of media on public perception of female politicians.

8.   Describe the design of your study

This research will combine qualitative and quantitative research methods.

First stage of my study will be based on collecting and then analysing articles obtained from online editions of newspapers, both national as well as local. This will enable me to verify whether there are any differences in ways media present selected male and female candidates.

During the second part of my research I will be interviewing candidates from selected marginal constituencies. It is anticipated that this will help me to understand the differences in awareness regarding media coverage among male and female candidates.

There is a vast array of literature around the issue of inequality in press coverage of candidates of different gender, in the UK and overseas. I will be using it in order to illustrate the journey this area of study has undertaken.

9.   Who are the research participants?

The research participants in qualitative interviews will be selected from among the male and female candidates seeking for being elected in 10-15 constituencies identified for the purpose of this research, as one of 50 the most marginal seats in England.

10.   If you are going to analyse secondary data, from where are you obtaining it?

None

11.   If you are collecting primary data, how will you identify and approach the participants to recruit them to your study?

I have identified the 50 most marginal constituencies in England. This has been created through an analysis of the list of UK Parliament marginal seats, published by the House of Commons Library, and based on the results of the 2010 General Election.

From the list of 50 most marginal constituencies, I will select a sub-group of approximately 10-15 constituencies. The selection criteria will include: diversity of candidate's gender and availability of collectable data in local press, etc.

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Subsequently, for the interviews I will invite two candidates whose parties scored two best results in the 2010 General Election within the selected constituency.

I will invite the candidates in writing, asking them if they are willing to participate in the research. They will also be informed that due to the nature of this study as well as public profile of being an MP or standing as a candidate, their anonymity cannot be guaranteed. When using data collected during the press coverage study, I will be referring to candidates by name. However in case of interview materials there could be instances when it may be more appropriate to use labels such as male/female. Moreover if during the interview the candidates would like to keep anything out of the record, such possibility will be given to them.

Please upload a copy of the information sheet if you are using one – or if you are not using one please explain why.

Please see attached information sheets.

12.   Will participants be taking part in your study without their knowledge and consent at the time (e.g. covert observation of people)? If yes, please explain why this is necessary.

No

13.   If you answered 'no' to question 13, how will you obtain the consent of participants?

Potential participants will be given an information sheet (enclosed) explaining that their participation is voluntary. Moreover, they will be informed that due to the nature of this study their anonymity cannot be guaranteed. Furthermore, it will be explained to the candidates that in some cases I might use labels such as male/female when referring to them. However if during the interview they would like to keep anything out of the record, such possibility will be given to them.

The information sheet will also explain that the participants can withdraw their participation at any time during or after the interview without their legal rights being affected. If they agree to participate they will be asked to sign a consent form (enclosed) confirming that the research project has been explained to them, that they consent to taking part in this research and that they understand they are free to withdraw their participation at any stage. Participants will also be given a copy of a consent form.

To provide confidentiality, participant's responses in the form of audio-recordings and their transcriptions will be kept securely on a password protected computer. In case of a withdraw both recorded as well as transcribed data will be damaged.

Please upload a copy of the consent form if you are using one – or if you are not using one please explain why.

Please see attached copy of the consent form.

14.   Is there any reason to believe participants may not be able to give full informed consent? If yes, what steps do you propose to take to safeguard their interests?

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No

15. If participants are under the responsibility or care of others (such as parents/carers, teachers or medical staff) what plans do you have to obtain permission to approach the participants to take part in the study?

N/A

16. Describe what participation in your study will involve for study participants. Please attach copies of any questionnaires and/or interview schedules and/or observation topic list to be used

Participation in the study will involve one-to-one, face-to-face, semi-structured interviews which will be conducted by me. The enclosed interview schedule covers key questions and topics covered during the interviews. Given the nature of a semi-structured qualitative interviewing some questions may vary from those in the interview schedule as well as some additional questions may appear in response to information given during the interview. However, they will not deviate from both subjects and topics set out in the schedules.

It is anticipated that an interview will take up to 30 minutes. If there occurs a situation in which they will not be completed by that time, participants will be given the option of whether to continue beyond that 30 minutes.

If a participant has no objections, the interview will be audio-recorded and some written notes will be made as well.

17. How will you make it clear to participants that they may withdraw consent to participate at any point during the research without penalty?

The attached information sheet outlines participants' right to withdraw at any time during the interview. The consent form (attached as well) requires participants to confirm that they understand this rule. However, to fully ensure that they are aware of this, at the start of each interview I will verbally reiterate their right to withdraw.

18. Detail any possible distress, discomfort, inconvenience or other adverse effects the participants may experience, including after the study, and you will deal with this.

Before the start of the interview, I will ensure that participants are comfortable. To minimise the inconvenience to the participants, the interviews will be arranged at a time and location which suits the participants. There will be no travel expenses for participants, as I will be the side responsible for commuting to the place of the interview.

If during the interviews there is a suspicion that my actions may cause the participants any distress, the interview will be halted while participants themselves will be given an opportunity to withdraw or continue without asking further questions on the sensitive subject.

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19. How will you maintain participant anonymity and confidentiality in collecting, analysing and writing up your data?

Due to the nature of the study as well as public profile of being an MP or standing as a candidate, interviewees' anonymity cannot be guaranteed. However, no information that is attributable to an individual will be passed to the third parties.

When using data collected during the press coverage study, I will be referring to candidates by name, however in case of interview materials there could be instances when it may be more appropriate to use labels such as 'male/female'.

Participants will also have an opportunity to decide whether they would like to take part in the research without a guarantee of anonymity.

Despite the fact that this research will not ensure participants anonymity, the following measures need to be taken:

1) All information attained as part of the interview will be in accordance and in compliance with the University of Southampton's Data Protection Act/University Ethics Policy.

2) All individually recorded interviews and transcripts of those interviews will be stored on a password protected computer. Any hard copies of data will be kept in a locked filling cabinet.

20. How will you store your data securely during and after the study?

Recorded interviews, transcriptions of interviews and volunteer survey data will be stored on a password protected computer. Any hard copies of data will be kept in a locked filling cabinet.

The University of Southampton has a Research Data Management Policy, including for data retention. The Policy can be consulted at http://www.calendar.soton.ac.uk/sectionIV/research-data-management.html

21. Describe any plans you have for feeding back the findings of the study to participants.

Participants will be given an option of receiving a summary of the research findings on the consent form (see attachment). If they indicate that they are interested in this, they will be sent the summary of the findings.

22. What are the main ethical issues raised by your research and how do you intend to manage these?

One of the main ethical issues is to ensure that individuals who agreed to take part in the study are aware of the fact that due to the nature of the research they may not remain anonymous and could be identified in the research outputs.

Another ethical issue will be to provide confidentially. To ensure this, participant's responses in form of audio-recordings and their transcriptions will be kept securely on a password protected computer. In case of a withdrawal both recorded as well as transcribed data will be damaged.

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23.   **Please outline any other information you feel may be relevant to this submission.**

None

Additional information: On the 21/10/2015 the ERGO application has been extended until 30/09/2017.

Appendix G

Interview information sheet and consent form

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Participant Information Sheet - Parliamentary Candidates

Study Title: 2015 General Elections in the context of gender: political campaigns of male and female candidates at constituency level

Researcher: Beata Rek   **Ethics number:** 13520

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

This research seeks to develop our understanding of the impact of the media on the electoral campaigns of Westminster parliamentary candidates. This study is independent and funded by the John Henry Hansard Research Studentship.

The research is conducted by a PhD student, Beata Rek, and under a supervision of Dr Alexandra Kelso, Associate Professor of British Politics at the University of Southampton. The study subject was chosen due to personal interest of the researchers as well as their previous work in this topic.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been selected to part take in this research because you were a candidate for Parliament in 2015 General Election. By consenting to take part in this interview you will greatly contribute to our understandings of the experiences of parliamentary candidates, which may benefit future political candidates and contribute to our knowledge of how the media impacts on candidate's campaigns.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You would take part in a face to face, semi-structured interview, conducted by me, Beata Rek. I understand the limitations on your time, and the interview will be conducted at a time and location to best suit you, and will last no more than 30 minutes. The interview will be audio-recorded to enable its transcription.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

Taking part in the study provides you with an opportunity to share your experiences and thoughts. Thus, it is also an opportunity to shape research outcomes and practical implications for future Parliamentary candidates.

Are there any risks involved?

There are no risks involved in taking part in this study.

Will my participation be confidential?

To ensure confidentiality and that content of the interviews will not be disclosed to any third parties, I will store all recorded interviews and transcripts on a password protected computer. Any hard copies of data will be kept in a locked filing cabinet.

Due to the nature of this study, as well as your public profile as a parliamentary candidate, , your anonymity cannot be guaranteed and, as the research will draw on public media sources which have reported on your campaign, you can be identified in the research outputs. However, if during the interview you would like to say something on a non-attributable basis, you will be able to indicate this to the interviewer.

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All information attained as a part of the interview will be in accordance and in compliance with the University of Southampton's Data Protection Act and the University's Ethics Policy.

What happens if I change my mind?

You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time during or after the interview.

What happens if something goes wrong?

If you have any concerns about the research, you have the right to make a formal complaint to Head of Research Governance (02380 595058, rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk).

Where can I get more information?
If you have any queries about this research, please contact me on: b.rek@soton.ac.uk or my supervisor, Dr Alexandra Kelso on a.kelso@soton.ac.uk

Thank you for your interest in this research

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CONSENT FORM

Study title: 2015 General Elections in the context of gender: political campaigns of male and female candidates at constituency level.

Researcher name: Beata Rek

Ethics reference: 13520

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet (Version 1, 12 January 2015) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be recorded and used for the purpose of this study.

I consent to having my responses identified personally with me in reports of the research. I understand that, where appropriate, I may be referred to through a label (e.g. male/female), rather than name. If I want to say something during the interview on a non-attributable basis, I will indicate this to the interviewer at the time.

I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time without my legal rights being affected.

Data Protection

I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study.

Name of participant (print name)...

Signature of participant..

Date...

Appendix H

List of selected constituencies and candidates standing for the 2015 general election

Table H.1: List of selected constituencies and candidates standing for the 2015 general election.

Constituency	Candidates
Hampstead and Kilburn	Tulip Siddiq (Labour)
	Simon Marcus (Cons.)
	Maajid Nawaz (Lib. Dem.)
Camborne and Redruth	George Eustice (Cons.)
	Julia Goldsworthy (Lib. Dem.)
Bolton West	Julie Hilling (Labour)
	Christopher Green (Cons.)
Thurrock	Jackie Doyle - Price (Cons.)
	Polly Billington (Labour)
Solihull	Lorely Burt (Lib. Dem.)
	Julian Knight (Cons.)
Oxford West and Abingdon	Nicola Blackwood (Cons.)
	Layla Moran (Lib. Dem.)
Ashfield	Gloria De Piero (Labour)
	Philip Smith (Lib. Dem)
Southampton Itchen	Rowenna Davis (Labour)
	Royston Smith (Cons.)
Sherwood	Mark Spencer (Cons.)
	Leonie Mathers (Labour)
Mid Dorset and North Poole	Vikki Slade (Lib. Dem.)

	Michael Tomlinson (Cons.)
Stockton South	James Wharton (Cons.)
	Louise Baldock (Labour)
Lancaster and Fleetwood	Eric Ollerenshaw (Cons.)
	Cat Smith (Labour)
Broxtowe	Anna Soubry (Cons.)
	Nick Palmer (Labour)
Truro and Falmouth	Sarah Newton (Cons.)
	Simon Rix (Lib. Dem.)
Newton Abbot	Anne Marie Morris (Cons.)
	Richard Younger Ross (Lib. Dem.)
Wirral South	Alison McGovern (Labour)
	John Bell (Cons.)
Chesterfield	Toby Perkins (Labour)
	Julia Cambridge (Lib. Dem.)
Derby North	Chris Williamson (Labour)
	Amanda Solloway (Cons.)
	Lucy Care (Lib. Dem.)
Hull North	Diana Johnson (Labour)
	Mike Ross (Lib. Dem.)
Great Grimsby	Melanie Onn (Labour)
	Marc Jones (Cons.)
Wells	Tessa Munt (Lib. Dem.)
	James Heappey (Cons.)
Carlisle	John Stevenson (Cons.)
	Lee Sherriff (Labour)
Morecambe and Lunesdale	David Morris (Cons.)
	Amina Lone (Labour)
Telford	David Wright (Labour)
	Lucy Allan (Cons.)
Weaver Vale	Graham Evans (Cons.)
	Julia Tickridge (Labour)
Harrogate and Knaresborough	Andrew Jones (Cons.)
	Helen Flynn (Lib. Dem.)
Lincoln	Karl McCartney (Cons.)
	Lucy Rigby (Labour)
Morley and Outwood	Ed Balls (Labour)
	Andrea Jenkyns (Cons.)
Brighton Pavilion	Caroline Lucas (Green)
	Purna Sen (Labour)
	Clarence Mitchell (Cons.)

Birmingham Edgbaston	Gisela Stuart (Labour)
	Luke Evans (Cons.)
Brighton Kemptown	Simon Kirby (Cons.)
	Nancy Platts (Labour)
Brent Central	Lauren Keith (Lib. Dem.)
	Dawn Butler (Labour)
Watford	Richard Harrington (Cons.)
	Dorothy Thornhill (Lib. Dem.)
	Matthew Turmaine (Labour)
Halifax	Holly Walker-Lynch (Labour)
	Philip Allott (Cons.)

Appendix I

Regression models with dummy variables for outlier candidates - the 2015 general election

The regression tables are placed on the next page.

Volume of coverage - number of mentions

As Caroline Lucas is the only Green Party candidate in the sample, the Green Party category for the party affiliation variable controls for Caroline Lucas.

Table I.1: Models of coverage volume (measured in number of articles) in the local and national press - the 2015 general election.

	Local coverage volume	National coverage volume
(Intercept)	0.52^*	-2.57^{***}
	(0.24)	(0.44)
GEN (Women)	0.32^*	0.64^*
	(0.14)	(0.26)
$WEEK$	-0.09^*	(0.26)
	(0.04)	(0.07)
$PARTY$ (Cons.)	0.02	-0.38
	(0.16)	(0.28)
$PARTY$ (Lib.Dem)	$-0.32^{\dagger}$	-0.03
	(0.18)	(0.28)
$PARTY$ (Green)	$0.90^{\dagger}$	2.66^{***}
	(0.50)	(0.58)
INC (Incumbent)	0.51^{***}	0.72^{**}
	(0.15)	(0.26)
INC (Neither)	0.24	0.64^*
	(0.17)	(0.29)
$ARTICLES_{t-1}$ (Local)	0.06^{***}	
	(0.01)	
$ARTICLES_{t-1}$ (National)		0.01
		(0.04)
$D.BALLS$	0.53	4.61^*
	(0.96)	(1.83)
$D.EVANS$	1.04^*	1.09
	(0.49)	(0.72)
AIC	1454.93	571.10
BIC	1497.67	613.85
Log Likelihood	-716.46	-274.55
Deviance	263.53	200.15
Num. obs.	360	360

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^*p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Substance of coverage

As Caroline Lucas is the only Green Party candidate in the sample, the Green Party category for the party affiliation variable controls for Caroline Lucas.

Table I.2: Models of coverage substance (measured in number of articles mentioning analysed frames) in the local and national press - the 2015 general election.

	Local coverage substance	National coverage substance
(Intercept)	-4.24^{*}	$-3.22^{\dagger}$
	(1.71)	(1.92)
GEN (Women)	0.04	$2.35^{\dagger}$
	(1.01)	(1.40)
$WEEK$	0.04	-0.82^{*}
	(0.30)	(0.34)
$PARTY$ (Cons.)	-0.46	0.63
	(1.17)	(1.09)
$PARTY$ (Lib.Dem)	-0.16	-0.84
	(1.14)	(1.24)
$PARTY$ (Green)	-33.18	-14.94
	(30011996.36)	(3409.43)
INC (Incumbent)	0.18	-0.17
	(1.08)	(1.09)
INC (Neither)	0.66	1.43
	(1.07)	(0.95)
$ARTICLES_{t-1}$ (Local)	$1.16^{\dagger}$	
	(0.67)	
$ARTICLES_{t-1}$ (National)		-0.01
		(0.68)
$D.BALLS$	-33.37	5.81^{**}
	(30011996.36)	(2.16)
$D.EVANS$	$3.43^{\dagger}$	-13.21
	(1.80)	(3409.43)
AIC	98.04	98.95
BIC	144.67	141.69
Log Likelihood	-37.02	-38.47
Deviance	33.81	50.55
Num. obs.	360	360

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Appendix J

Cross-sectional regression models - the 2015 general election

The regression tables are placed on the next page.

Volume of coverage - number of mentions

Table J.1: Cross-sectional models of coverage volume (measured in number of articles) in local press - the 2015 general election.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
(Intercept)	−0.04	0.46	0.25	−0.04	0.49	0.13	2.01***
	(0.45)	(0.34)	(0.37)	(0.43)	(0.37)	(0.44)	(0.29)
GEN (Women)	0.57	0.48†	0.41	0.62†	−0.03	0.33	0.39
	(0.37)	(0.28)	(0.30)	(0.36)	(0.31)	(0.37)	(0.24)
PARTY (Cons.)	0.47	0.08	0.10	0.04	−0.10	0.07	0.12
	(0.42)	(0.31)	(0.34)	(0.40)	(0.34)	(0.40)	(0.27)
PARTY (Lib.Dem.)	0.15	−0.50	−0.17	−0.27	−0.56	−0.42	−0.30
	(0.45)	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.43)	(0.41)	(0.46)	(0.29)
INC (Incumbent)	0.29	0.55†	0.19	0.52	0.71*	0.63†	0.56*
	(0.37)	(0.28)	(0.31)	(0.36)	(0.31)	(0.37)	(0.25)
INC (Neither)	−0.27	−0.10	1.07**	0.19	−0.44	−0.02	0.21
	(0.47)	(0.35)	(0.34)	(0.43)	(0.42)	(0.46)	(0.29)
AIC	265.55	296.78	287.84	253.80	259.85	257.73	502.80
BIC	279.04	310.27	301.33	267.21	273.34	271.22	516.29
Log Likelihood	-126.77	-142.39	-137.92	-120.90	-123.92	-122.87	-245.40
Deviance	80.82	58.10	70.70	73.90	61.96	70.91	62.60
Num. obs.	70	70	70	69	70	70	70

***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, $^\dagger p < 0.1$

Table J.2: Cross-sectional models of coverage volume (measured in number of articles) in national press - the 2015 general election.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
(Intercept)	-2.10***	-1.83*	-3.17***	-1.44*	-3.89***	-1.30**	-0.12
	(0.58)	(0.84)	(0.88)	(0.66)	(1.08)	(0.46)	(0.31)
GEN (Women)	0.71	0.13	1.15†	0.19	1.36†	1.03*	0.64*
	(0.45)	(0.69)	(0.69)	(0.54)	(0.79)	(0.40)	(0.25)
PARTY (Cons.)	-0.16	-0.32	0.12	-0.32	0.66	-1.18**	-0.29
	(0.49)	(0.78)	(0.69)	(0.61)	(0.85)	(0.43)	(0.28)
PARTY (Lib.Dem.)	0.49	0.07	-0.17	0.15	1.01	-0.51	0.01
	(0.52)	(0.78)	(0.80)	(0.62)	(0.78)	(0.40)	(0.30)
INC (Incumbent)	1.53**	0.59	1.13†	0.66	1.09	0.64†	0.88**
	(0.47)	(0.72)	(0.67)	(0.56)	(0.79)	(0.37)	(0.26)
INC (Neither)	0.08	0.91	0.58	0.46	1.43†	0.35	0.52†
	(0.66)	(0.76)	(0.84)	(0.65)	(0.82)	(0.42)	(0.30)
AIC	125.92	95.87	75.63	116.11	79.87	130.39	264.05
BIC	139.42	109.36	89.12	129.51	93.36	143.88	277.54
Log Likelihood	-56.96	-41.93	-31.81	-52.05	-33.94	-59.20	-126.03
Deviance	37.65	43.64	30.36	48.29	32.88	31.03	43.12
Num. obs.	70	70	70	69	70	70	70

***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, †$p < 0.1$

Volume of coverage - words written

Table J.3: Cross-sectional models of coverage volume (measured in number of words) in local press - the 2015 general election.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
(Intercept)	3.51***	3.84***	3.66***	5.02***	3.78***	3.23***	5.87***
	(0.65)	(0.63)	(0.50)	(0.58)	(0.56)	(0.83)	(0.38)
GEN (Women)	0.83	0.88	0.75†	0.02	0.74	0.44	0.52
	(0.55)	(0.53)	(0.42)	(0.49)	(0.47)	(0.70)	(0.32)
PARTY (Cons.)	0.15	0.94	−0.29	−0.53	0.75	0.16	0.12
	(0.63)	(0.60)	(0.48)	(0.55)	(0.53)	(0.79)	(0.36)
PARTY (Lib.Dem.)	0.31	−0.04	0.35	−2.20***	−0.49	−1.66†	−0.43
	(0.66)	(0.64)	(0.51)	(0.60)	(0.57)	(0.86)	(0.39)
INC (Incumbent)	1.18*	0.40	0.90*	0.42	0.79	2.06**	0.78*
	(0.56)	(0.54)	(0.43)	(0.50)	(0.48)	(0.71)	(0.33)
INC (Neither)	0.67	−0.12	1.67**	0.00	0.09	0.35	0.47
	(0.66)	(0.64)	(0.50)	(0.59)	(0.56)	(0.84)	(0.38)
AIC	803.56	830.64	805.47	780.99	811.71	715.45	1061.20
BIC	817.05	844.13	818.96	794.48	825.20	728.95	1074.69
Log Likelihood	-395.78	-409.32	-396.74	-384.49	-399.86	-351.73	-524.60
Deviance	431.27	343.68	316.75	350.25	333.19	361.88	185.92
Num. obs.	70	70	70	70	70	70	70

*** p < 0.001, ** p < 0.01, * p < 0.05, † p < 0.1

Table J.4: Cross-sectional models of coverage volume (measured in number of words) in national press - the 2015 general election.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
(Intercept)	-2.63^{*}	-7.10^{***}	-1.27	4.77^{***}	$-5.52^{\dagger}$	$-2.60^{\dagger}$	2.87^{***}
	(1.24)	(1.43)	(1.34)	(1.07)	(3.07)	(1.37)	(0.77)
GEN (Women)	$1.53^{\dagger}$	6.66^{***}	0.11	-2.65^{**}	4.90^{*}	2.40^{*}	0.81
	(0.82)	(1.01)	(0.93)	(0.92)	(2.15)	(1.06)	(0.65)
PARTY (Cons.)	0.98	5.00^{***}	0.03	-1.21	3.51	0.92	1.19
	(0.98)	(1.02)	(1.11)	(1.05)	(2.14)	(1.10)	(0.74)
PARTY (Lib.Dem.)	4.65^{***}	4.80^{***}	3.12^{*}	-0.18	1.56	1.16	0.74
	(1.05)	(0.94)	(1.19)	(1.11)	(2.05)	(1.14)	(0.78)
INC (Incumbent)	3.84^{***}	1.84^{*}	4.29^{***}	0.39	1.87	2.06^{*}	1.34^{*}
	(1.01)	(0.88)	(1.16)	(0.93)	(1.87)	(0.99)	(0.66)
INC (Neither)	3.48^{**}	6.20^{***}	3.20^{*}	-0.50	4.95^{*}	-0.42	$1.46^{\dagger}$
	(1.06)	(0.95)	(1.22)	(1.11)	(2.04)	(1.47)	(0.78)
AIC	425.76	458.92	418.20	553.26	355.92	230.77	817.74
BIC	439.25	472.41	431.69	566.75	369.42	244.26	831.23
Log Likelihood	-206.88	-223.46	-203.10	-270.63	-171.96	-109.38	-402.87
Deviance	318.38	316.54	307.03	427.81	268.30	153.48	426.03
Num. obs.	70	70	70	70	70	70	70

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Volume of coverage - words quoted

Table J.5: Cross-sectional models of coverage volume (measured in number of words quoted) in local press - the 2015 general election.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
(Intercept)	1.74*	2.35**	3.21***	4.93***	2.43***	2.27*	4.94***
	(0.82)	(0.86)	(0.62)	(0.62)	(0.60)	(0.98)	(0.49)
GEN (Women)	1.78*	1.61*	0.49	−0.39	0.71	0.11	0.68†
	(0.67)	(0.71)	(0.52)	(0.53)	(0.50)	(0.80)	(0.41)
PARTY (Cons.)	1.29†	1.23	−0.36	−0.44	1.25*	0.97	0.50
	(0.76)	(0.81)	(0.60)	(0.58)	(0.56)	(0.88)	(0.46)
PARTY (Lib.Dem.)	0.73	0.53	0.36	−2.26**	−0.22	−0.34	−0.33
	(0.79)	(0.84)	(0.62)	(0.69)	(0.62)	(1.12)	(0.49)
INC (Incumbent)	0.19	−0.35	0.37	−0.75	0.72	1.14	0.22
	(0.67)	(0.71)	(0.54)	(0.54)	(0.50)	(0.79)	(0.42)
INC (Neither)	1.09	0.29	1.23†	−0.65	0.06	−0.61	0.20
	(0.77)	(0.83)	(0.62)	(0.64)	(0.60)	(1.14)	(0.49)
AIC	1417.68	1414.71	1334.61	1277.08	1192.03	1798.56	1441.01
BIC	1431.17	1428.20	1348.10	1290.57	1205.52	1812.06	1454.50
Log Likelihood	-702.84	-701.36	-661.30	-632.54	-590.01	-893.28	-714.50
Deviance	1214.57	1189.42	1081.45	1023.36	918.03	1646.72	850.18
Num. obs.	70	70	70	70	70	70	70

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table J.6: Cross-sectional models of coverage volume (measured in number of words quoted) in national press - the 2015 general election.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
(Intercept)	−21.24	−4.89***	−1.24	2.58*	−40.54	−26.79***	1.15
	(9461.76)	(1.54)	(2.04)	(1.15)	(4076.90)	(0.34)	(1.07)
GEN (Women)	2.11	4.52***	1.90	−2.67*	22.12	−0.00	1.31†
	(1.53)	(0.96)	(1.71)	(1.31)	(2504.02)	(0.29)	(0.76)
PARTY (Cons.)	20.53	3.85***	0.25	−0.49	2.50†	−0.00	0.77
	(9461.76)	(0.99)	(1.69)	(1.09)	(1.34)	(0.33)	(0.86)
PARTY (Lib.Dem.)	19.95	3.55***	1.09	−0.36	−2.12	−0.00	1.37
	(9461.76)	(0.91)	(1.19)	(1.50)	(1.31)	(0.35)	(0.82)
INC (Incumbent)	1.52	1.92*	−0.28	0.77	19.05	0.00	1.47†
	(1.57)	(0.79)	(1.49)	(1.04)	(3217.29)	(0.29)	(0.80)
INC (Neither)	−16.76	3.55***	1.18	0.21	22.28	−0.00	1.53†
	(6314.01)	(0.90)	(1.20)	(1.32)	(3217.29)	(0.35)	(0.86)
AIC	478.55	1777.14	643.25	1195.92	540.14	12.00	5097.66
BIC	492.04	1790.63	656.74	1209.41	553.63	25.49	5111.15
Log Likelihood	−233.27	−882.57	−315.63	−591.96	−264.07	−0.00	−2542.83
Deviance	444.29	1703.03	605.65	1142.92	504.59	0.00	4954.45
Num. obs.	70	70	70	70	70	70	70

***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, †$p < 0.1$

Substance of coverage - all frames

Table J.7: Cross-sectional models of coverage substance (measured in number of articles mentioning analysed frames) in local press - the 2015 general election.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
(Intercept)	$-2.47^{\dagger}$	$-1.36^{\dagger}$	-20.03	-26.79^{***}	-42.09	-41.48	-1.41
	(1.34)	(0.77)	(3288.14)	(0.34)	(5336.76)	(6996.87)	(1.00)
GEN (Women)	0.16	$-1.55^{\dagger}$	-0.15	-0.00	19.45	-19.75	-0.33
	(1.11)	(0.82)	(1.36)	(0.29)	(3289.98)	(4225.25)	(0.83)
PARTY (Cons.)	-0.82	-19.60	-0.39	0.00	1.67	19.42	-0.59
	(1.37)	(5121.24)	(1.36)	(0.33)	(5361.43)	(4791.68)	(0.99)
PARTY (Lib.Dem.)	0.46	0.35	-17.64	0.00	20.85	18.49	0.48
	(1.10)	(0.82)	(4246.92)	(0.35)	(4202.02)	(9387.55)	(0.92)
INC (Incumbent)	0.61	-19.42	17.86	-0.00	-18.91	20.35	0.57
	(1.18)	(5584.08)	(3288.14)	(0.29)	(3556.76)	(5098.64)	(0.90)
INC (Neither)	1.00	-19.79	18.68	-0.00	-19.69	-0.58	0.73
	(1.16)	(8284.87)	(3288.14)	(0.35)	(5249.42)	(9094.40)	(0.95)
AIC	66.40	28.70	37.39	12.00	17.69	23.05	104.52
BIC	79.89	42.19	50.88	25.49	31.18	36.54	118.01
Log Likelihood	-27.20	-8.35	-12.69	-0.00	-2.85	-5.53	-46.26
Deviance	38.41	10.62	18.34	0.00	3.14	5.94	61.05
Num. obs.	70	70	70	70	70	70	70

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table J.8: Cross-sectional models of coverage substance (measured in number of articles mentioning analysed frames) in national press - the 2015 general election.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
(Intercept)	−21.74	−6.14*	−26.79***	−42.19	−25.16	−26.79***	−3.42*
	(4412.73)	(2.39)	(0.34)	(5546.46)	(13647.79)	(0.34)	(1.34)
GEN (Women)	−0.01	3.03†	−0.00	19.88	2.72	−0.00	1.62
	(1.11)	(1.64)	(0.29)	(3616.00)	(13409.70)	(0.29)	(1.09)
PARTY (Cons.)	18.13	2.53†	0.00	−20.58	−17.35	0.00	0.53
	(4412.73)	(1.47)	(0.33)	(3965.90)	(13799.18)	(0.33)	(1.03)
PARTY (Lib.Dem.)	19.16	0.28	0.00	−20.32	−19.80	0.00	−0.10
	(4412.73)	(1.30)	(0.35)	(5515.70)	(4445.22)	(0.35)	(1.01)
INC (Incumbent)	0.56	−18.46	−0.00	21.39	0.51	−0.00	−0.08
	(1.19)	(3376.66)	(0.29)	(4205.68)	(4909.41)	(0.29)	(0.98)
INC (Neither)	−18.03	1.88	−0.00	−0.17	20.82	−0.00	1.04
	(5831.89)	(1.20)	(0.35)	(7719.29)	(3333.47)	(0.35)	(0.91)
AIC	27.38	42.27	12.00	20.52	17.35	12.00	71.30
BIC	40.87	55.76	25.49	34.01	30.84	25.49	84.79
Log Likelihood	−7.69	−15.14	−0.00	−4.26	−2.67	−0.00	−29.65
Deviance	10.27	18.12	0.00	5.00	2.79	0.00	35.96
Num. obs.	70	70	70	70	70	70	70

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{†}p < 0.1$

Appendix K

Regression models with local newspapers as additional confounders - the 2015 general election

Legend

1. *Ham and High*

2. *West Briton*

3. *Bolton News*

4. *Thurrock Gazette*

5. *Solihull News*

6. *Oxford Mail*

7. *Chad*

8. *Daily Echo*

9. *Nottingham Post*

10. *Dorset Echo*

11. *Stockton Evening Gazette*

12. *Lancaster Guardian*

13. *Western Morning News*

14. *Torquay Herald Express*

15. *Wirral Globe*

16. *Derbyshire Times*

17. *Derby Telegraph*

18. *Hull Daily Mail*

19. *Grimsby Telegraph*

20. *Wells Journal*

21. *Westmorland Gazette*

22. *Lancashire Evening Post*

23. *Shropshire Star*

24. *Chester Chronicle*

25. *Yorkshire Post*

26. *Lincolnshire Echo*

27. *The Argus*

28. *Birmingham Mail*

29. *Brent and Kilburn Times*

30. *Watford Observer*

31. *Halifax Courier*

Volume of coverage - number of mentions

Table K.1: Models of coverage volume (measured in number of articles, words written, and words quoted), as well as substance (measured in number of articles using one of the analysed frames) in the local press, controlling for newspaper - the 2015 general election. Note that in some cases singularities were encountered, and incumbency had to be removed from the regression.

	Volume: # of articles	Volume: # of words	Volume: # of words in quotes	Substance: # of frames articles
(Intercept)	0.51	5.90***	−14.57	−39.42
	(0.35)	(0.76)	(1742.15)	(5986.32)
GEN (Women)	0.25†	0.09	0.10	−0.22
	(0.15)	(0.32)	(0.24)	(3159.90)
$WEEK$	−0.11**	−0.28**	−0.10	−0.19
	(0.04)	(0.09)	(0.06)	(0.12)
$PARTY$ (Cons.)	0.17	−0.27	0.16	0.16
	(0.16)	(0.37)	(0.25)	(3159.90)
$PARTY$ (Lib. Dem.)	−0.09	−0.18	0.34	18.72
	(0.20)	(0.44)	(0.35)	(2377.71)
INC (Incumbent)		1.32***		
		(0.32)		
INC (Neither)		−1.40†		

	Volume: # of articles	Volume: # of words	Volume: # of words in quotes	Substance: # of frames articles
		(0.85)		
Local.paper.ID2	0.24	−0.14	18.07	20.06
	(0.43)	(0.95)	(1742.15)	(6337.78)
Local.paper.ID3	0.36	−0.42	18.97	17.38
	(0.43)	(0.95)	(1742.15)	(9777.92)
Local.paper.ID4	1.12**	0.95	20.09	17.48
	(0.42)	(1.02)	(1742.15)	(10236.75)
Local.paper.ID5	0.75†	−0.99	18.27	−0.27
	(0.42)	(0.95)	(1742.15)	(9434.70)
Local.paper.ID6	0.51	−0.78	18.08	−0.25
	(0.43)	(0.98)	(1742.15)	(9398.92)
Local.paper.ID7	−0.16	−1.62†	16.81	20.09
	(0.46)	(0.95)	(1742.15)	(5493.86)
Local.paper.ID8	0.66	1.97*	18.40	17.38
	(0.42)	(0.96)	(1742.15)	(9777.92)
Local.paper.ID9	0.26	−0.86	18.24	17.39
	(0.37)	(0.80)	(1742.15)	(8153.78)
Local.paper.ID10	−0.65	−0.44	−0.13	−0.27
	(0.50)	(0.95)	(2772.87)	(9434.70)
Local.paper.ID11	0.48	−0.72	17.98	37.88
	(0.42)	(0.95)	(1742.15)	(6126.35)
Local.paper.ID12	0.32	−0.70	18.74	37.88
	(0.43)	(0.95)	(1742.15)	(6126.35)
Local.paper.ID13	−1.45*	−1.94*	17.26	−0.48
	(0.60)	(0.96)	(1742.15)	(8894.88)
Local.paper.ID14	−0.21	−1.58†	18.10	−0.48
	(0.46)	(0.96)	(1742.15)	(8894.88)
Local.paper.ID15	−0.53	−1.81†	16.61	17.38
	(0.48)	(0.96)	(1742.15)	(9777.92)
Local.paper.ID16	−0.38	−3.81***	−0.06	−0.27
	(0.48)	(0.97)	(2770.04)	(9443.41)
Local.paper.ID17	0.77*	−0.47	18.58	0.21
	(0.38)	(0.85)	(1742.15)	(8392.89)
Local.paper.ID18	0.08	−2.43*	16.51	−0.47
	(0.45)	(0.96)	(1742.15)	(8856.04)
Local.paper.ID19	1.49***	3.03**	20.09	17.38
	(0.42)	(1.02)	(1742.15)	(9777.92)
Local.paper.ID20	1.09**	0.50	19.53	−0.27

	Volume: # of articles	Volume: # of words	Volume: # of words in quotes	Substance: # of frames articles
	(0.41)	(0.95)	(1742.15)	(9434.70)
Local.paper.ID21	−17.07	−42.38	0.06	17.38
	(681.82)	(21173607.68)	(2766.86)	(9777.92)
Local.paper.ID22	0.92*	−0.63	18.50	37.83
	(0.41)	(0.95)	(1742.15)	(6126.35)
Local.paper.ID23	0.24	−1.38	17.66	17.39
	(0.43)	(0.95)	(1742.15)	(9776.53)
Local.paper.ID24	0.81†	0.02	19.15	38.47
	(0.44)	(0.95)	(1742.15)	(6126.35)
Local.paper.ID25	−2.32***	−42.08	−0.10	0.22
	(0.67)	(17051539.46)	(2474.27)	(8387.64)
Local.paper.ID26	1.64***	1.03	20.08	17.38
	(0.42)	(0.97)	(1742.15)	(9777.92)
Local.paper.ID27	0.44	−0.90	18.05	17.38
	(0.36)	(0.80)	(1742.15)	(8159.04)
Local.paper.ID28	−0.52	−0.82	17.73	17.38
	(0.48)	(0.95)	(1742.15)	(9777.92)
Local.paper.ID29	−2.60**	−1.92*	−0.09	−0.27
	(0.90)	(0.97)	(2762.45)	(9441.63)
Local.paper.ID30	0.24		18.69	0.21
	(0.39)		(1742.15)	(8390.29)
Local.paper.ID31	0.04	1.21	18.47	38.48
	(0.44)	(0.96)	(1742.15)	(6126.35)
$ARTICLES_{t-1}$	0.01			
	(0.02)			
$WORDS_{t-1}$		−0.00		
		(0.00)		
$QUOTES_{t-1}$			0.00	
			(0.00)	
$FRAMES_{t-1}$				0.18
				(0.20)
AIC	1258.44	2984.02	13628.76	126.42
BIC	1397.22	3130.62	13767.65	265.31
Log Likelihood	-593.22	-1454.01	-6778.38	-27.21
Deviance	226.00	327.66	12686.36	31.88
Num. obs.	349	350	350	350

***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, $^\dagger p < 0.1$

Appendix L

Lists of candidates standing for the 2015 Labour and the 2016 Conservative leadership elections

Candidates standing for the 2015 Labour leadership election

1. Jeremy Bernard Corbyn

2. Andrew Murray Burnham

3. Yvette Cooper

4. Elizabeth Louise Kendall

Candidates standing for the 2016 Conservative leadership election

1. Theresa Mary May

2. Andrea Jacqueline Leadsom

3. Michael Andrew Gove

4. Stephen Crabb

5. Liam Fox

Appendix M

Assessment of dispersion - the 2015 Labour leadership election

Volume of coverage with dummy variable

Table M.1: Means and standard deviations of volume of coverage for candidates standing for the 2015 Labour leadership.

Variable for daily references to:	Means	Standard deviations
Jeremy Corbyn	44 and 70	29 and 54
Andy Burnham	51 and 48	40 and 33
Liz Kendall	54 and 40	41 and 25
Yvette Cooper	53 and 44	41 and 29

Substance of coverage with dummy variable

Table M.2: Means and standard deviations of articles mentioning analysed frames for candidates standing for the 2015 Labour leadership.

Variable for daily framed coverage received by:	Means	Standard deviations
Jeremy Corbyn	1.9 and 3.5	2.2 and 4.1
Andy Burnham	2.7 and 1.2	3.0 and 1.9
Liz Kendall	2.4 and 1.2	3.0 and 2.3
Yvette Cooper	2.3 and 2.5	3.0 and 2.4

Appendix N

Cross-sectional regression models - the 2015 Labour leadership election

The regression tables are placed on the next page.

Volume of coverage - number of mentions

Table N.1: Cross-sectional models of coverage volume (number of articles) in national press - the 2015 Labour leadership election.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Total
(Intercept)	3.72***	2.59*	2.63*	3.41***	3.30***	4.64***	3.84***	3.93***	4.46***	4.40***	4.45***	1.90*	4.60***	6.54***
	(0.60)	(1.24)	(1.22)	(0.80)	(0.80)	(0.38)	(0.53)	(0.63)	(0.47)	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.89)	(0.41)	(0.15)
GEN (Women)	−0.14	−0.35	−0.24	−0.26	−0.23	−0.23	−0.22	−0.48	−0.40	−0.37	−0.37	0.34	−0.50†	−0.34**
	(0.41)	(0.88)	(0.88)	(0.57)	(0.56)	(0.26)	(0.35)	(0.43)	(0.32)	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.56)	(0.27)	(0.10)
INC (Incumbent)	−0.14	−0.27	0.32	−0.30	−0.07	0.07	0.11	−0.56	−0.33	−0.30	−0.29	0.29	−0.50†	−0.22*
	(0.39)	(0.81)	(0.79)	(0.54)	(0.52)	(0.24)	(0.33)	(0.41)	(0.30)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.57)	(0.27)	(0.10)
$TIMEASMP$	0.00	−0.01	−0.02	−0.01	−0.00	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.05†	0.02	0.01†
	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.00)
AIC	29.96	24.20	24.59	27.41	27.78	33.95	31.58	29.74	32.14	32.81	32.83	27.39	33.53	41.21
BIC	27.50	21.75	22.14	24.95	25.32	31.50	29.13	27.29	29.69	30.35	30.38	24.94	31.07	38.75
Log Likelihood	-10.98	-8.10	-8.30	-9.70	-9.89	-12.98	-11.79	-10.87	-12.07	-12.40	-12.42	-9.70	-12.76	-16.60
Deviance	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00
Num. obs.	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{†}p < 0.1$

Substance of coverage - number of articles with parenthood frame

As from the Figure 7.5 presented in Chapter 7.3.2 it could be seen that not in every week observations for both men and women candidates have been recorded, the author has decided to use in the cross-sectional models those weeks in which they are recorded data for both men and women.

Table N.2: Cross-sectional models of coverage substance (measured in articles mentioning parenthood frame) in national press - the 2015 Labour leadership election.

	6	**9**	**10**	**Total**
(Intercept)	-1.15	0.46	0.47	0.87
	(2.61)	(0.64)	(1.65)	(0.23)
GEN (Women)	1.68	0.15	0.95	$1.74^{\dagger}$
	(1.91)	(0.49)	(1.25)	(0.18)
TIMEASMP	0.02	-0.02	-0.06	-0.01
	(0.10)	(0.03)	(0.07)	(0.01)
AIC	17.43	18.22	17.10	27.89
BIC	15.59	16.38	15.26	26.04
Log Likelihood	-5.71	-6.11	-5.55	-10.94
Deviance	1.38	0.09	0.69	0.02
Num. obs.	4	4	4	4

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Appendix O

Assessment of dispersion - the 2016 Conservative leadership election

Volume of coverage

Table O.1: Means and standard deviations of volume of coverage for candidates standing for the 2016 Conservative leadership.

Variable for daily references to:	Means	Standard deviations
Theresa May	41 and 62	23 and 27
Andrea Leadsom	46 and 49	27 and 20
Michael Gove	44 and 57	26 and 23
Stephen Crabb	50 and 23	25 and 12
Liam Fox	50 and 23	25 and 11

Substance of coverage

Table O.2: Means and standard deviations of articles mentioning analysed frames for candidates standing for the 2016 Conservative leadership.

Variable for daily references to p.issues of:	Means	Standard deviations
Theresa May	4.8 and 10.9	6.3 and 8.6
Andrea Leadsom	5.7 and 8.4	7.7 and 6.4
Michael Gove	6.5 and 6.1	7.6 and 7.0
Stephen Crabb	7.4 and 0.5	7.55 and 0.84
Liam Fox	7.5 and 0.0	7.5 and 0.0

Appendix P

Regression models without time - the 2016 Conservative leadership election

Table P.1: Models of coverage volume (measured in number of articles) and substance (measured in number of articles mentioning all analysed frames) - the 2016 Conservative leadership election.

	Coverage volume	Coverage substance
(Intercept)	3.49^{***}	0.88
	(0.20)	(1.66)
GEN (Women)	$0.29^{\dagger}$	1.18
	(0.15)	(1.23)
INC (Incumbent)	-0.80^{**}	-20.35
	(0.31)	(8127.79)
$TIMEASMP$	0.02	0.03
	(0.01)	(0.13)
AIC	30.23	31.16
BIC	28.67	29.59
Log Likelihood	-10.44	-11.58
Deviance	14.83	2.74
Num. obs.	5	5

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Appendix Q

Results of Breush-Geodfrey tests and Dickey-Fuller tests for all elections

The tables are placed on the next page.

Table Q.1: Summary of robustness checks - coverage volume.

		Coverage volume		
	Variable	Breush - Geodfrey	Dickey - Fuller	Action taken
2015 GE - National press	# Articles	✗	✓	estimated cross - sectional models
	# Quotes	✗	✓	estimated cross - sectional models
	# Words	✗	✓	estimated cross - sectional models
2015 GE - Local press	# Articles	✗	✓	estimated cross - sectional models
	# Quotes	✗	✓	estimated cross - sectional models
	# Words	✗	✓	estimated cross - sectional models
2015 Labour election	# Articles	✗	✓	estimated cross - sectional models
	# Quotes	N/A	N/A	N/A
	# Words	N/A	N/A	N/A
2016 Conservative election	# Articles	✗	✓	estimated model without time
	# Quotes	N/A	N/A	N/A
	# Words	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table Q.2: Summary of robustness checks - coverage substance.

Variable	Coverage substance		Action taken
	Breush - Geodfrey	Dickey - Fuller	
2015 GE - Local press			
All frames	✗	✓	estimated cross - sectional models
Appearance and age	N/A	N/A	N/A
Parenthood	N/A	N/A	N/A
Spouses	N/A	N/A	N/A
Novelty and Gender	N/A	N/A	N/A
2015 GE - National press			
All frames	✗	✓	estimated cross - sectional models
Appearance and age	N/A	N/A	N/A
Parenthood	N/A	N/A	N/A
Spouses	N/A	N/A	N/A
Novelty and Gender	N/A	N/A	N/A
2015 Labour election			
All frames	✓	✓	N/A
Appearance and age	✓	✓	N/A
Parenthood	✗	✓	estimated cross - sectional models
Spouses	✓	✓	N/A
Novelty and Gender	N/A	N/A	N/A
2016 Conservative election			
All frames	✗	✗	estimated model without time
Appearance and age	✓	✓	N/A
Parenthood	✓	✗	estimated model without time
Spouses	✓	✓	N/A
Novelty and Gender	✓	✓	N/A

Appendix R

Time frames of the analysed elections

2015 General election campaign

Table R.1: Weeks leading to the 2015 general election analysed in this work.

	First week	Last week
Week 1	30/03	05/04
Week 2	06/04	12/04
Week 3	13/04	19/04
Week 4	20/04	26/04
Week 5	27/04	03/05
Week 6	04/05	07/05

2016 Conservative leadership election campaign

Table R.2: Days leading to the 2016 Conservative leadership election analysed in this work.

Candidate	First day	Last day	Campaign (in days)
Theresa May	30 June	11 July	12
Andrea Leadsom	30 June	11 July	12
Michael Gove	30 June	7 July	8
Stephen Crabb	30 June	5 July	6
Liam Fox	30 June	5 July	6

2015 Labour leadership campaign

Table R.3: Weeks leading to the 2015 Labour leadership election analysed in this work.

	First week	Last week
Week 1	15/06	21/06
Week 2	22/06	28/06
Week 3	29/06	05/07
Week 4	06/07	12/07
Week 5	13/07	19/07
Week 6	20/07	26/07
Week 7	27/07	02/08
Week 8	03/08	09/08
Week 9	10/08	16/08
Week 10	17/08	23/08
Week 11	24/08	30/08
Week 12	31/08	06/09
Week 13	07/09	13/09

Appendix S

Questions asked during interviews with candidates standing for the 2015 general election

1. What was your experience on getting nominated as a candidate for your party?

2. (*Question for female candidate*) Do you think being a women made this harder for you? (*Question for male candidate*) Do you think that as a male candidate you might experience this process differently from a female?

3. What was your experience of the media as a candidate, and was it what you were expecting?

4. Do you think that the media's coverage you received as a candidate/MP had an effect on your career? Why?

5. Did you follow what newspapers wrote about you or the other people you were fighting against? Were you surprised by anything you found in the press about yourself?

6. Did the newspapers really reflect the issues you wanted to campaign about?

7. (*Question for female candidate*) Do you feel that you were treated differently by journalists because you were female a candidate? (*Question for male candidate*) Do you think that your female opponents were treated differently to male candidates?

8. (*Question will be asked only if the answer for No7 was affirmative one.*) Can you think of any practical solution for the existing inequalities?

9. (*Question for female candidate*) Do you think that there were different expectations of you as a female candidate compare to male? Do you have a particular examples?

(*Question for male candidate*) Do you think there were different expectations of you as a male candidate compare to female? Do you have any particular examples?

10. Do you think that the press focuses more on your personal characteristics (like your image or your private live) or your political work? Do you have any strategies on how to deal with them when their attention becomes too excessive?

11. Can you tell me why you decided to stand as a candidate? What were you most concerned about when making the decision?

12. I have no further questions. Do you have anything more you want to bring up or ask before we finish the interview?

Appendix T

Histograms of all dependent variables

The 2015 general election - volume of coverage - number of mentions

(a) Local press
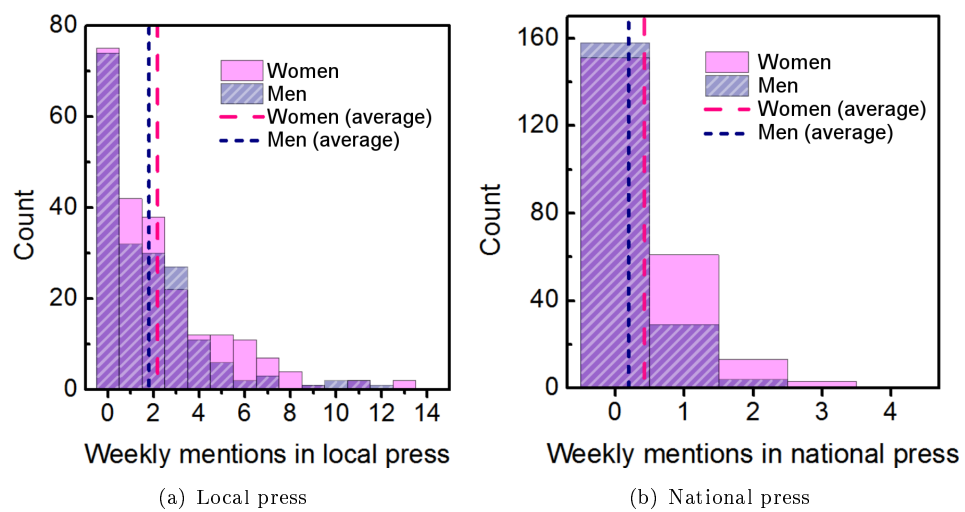
(b) National press

Figure T.1: The distribution of press mentions for men and women candidates in local and national press during the 2015 general election. Vertical lines correspond to sample the means.

The 2015 general election - volume of coverage - words written
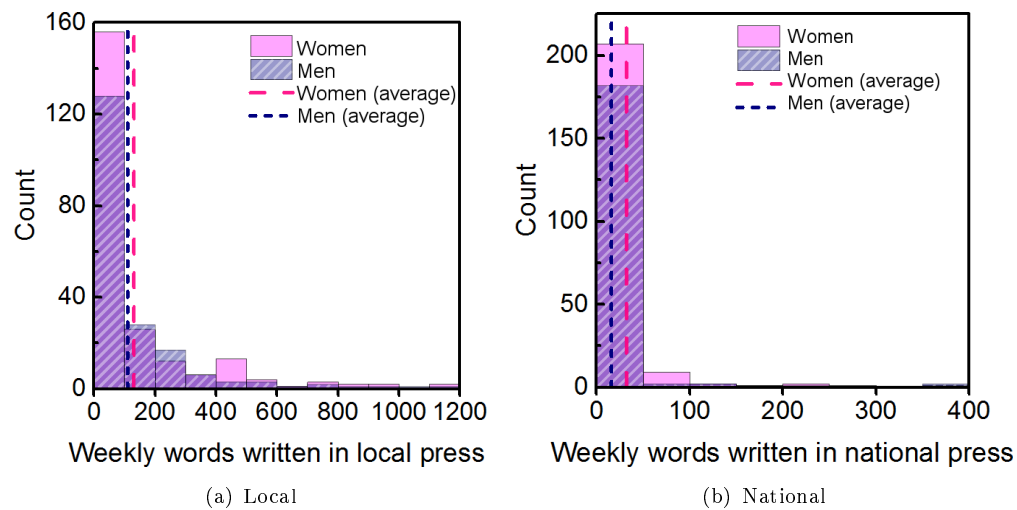
(a) Local

(b) National

Figure T.2: The distribution of words written about men and women candidates in local and national press during the 2015 general election. Vertical lines correspond to sample the means.

The 2015 general election - volume of coverage - words quoted
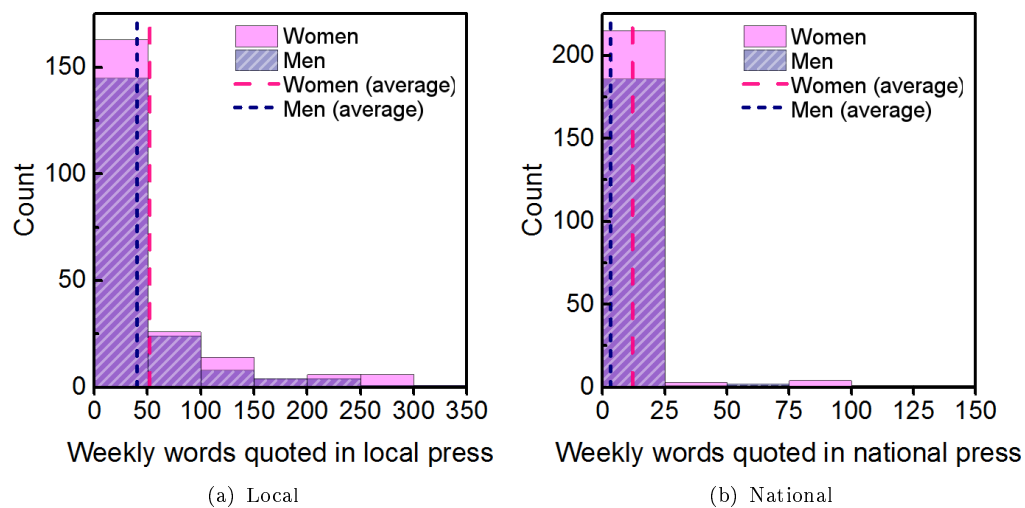
(a) Local

(b) National

Figure T.3: The distribution of words quoting men and women candidates in local and national press during the 2015 general election. Vertical lines correspond to sample the means.

The 2015 general election - substance of coverage - mentions of frames
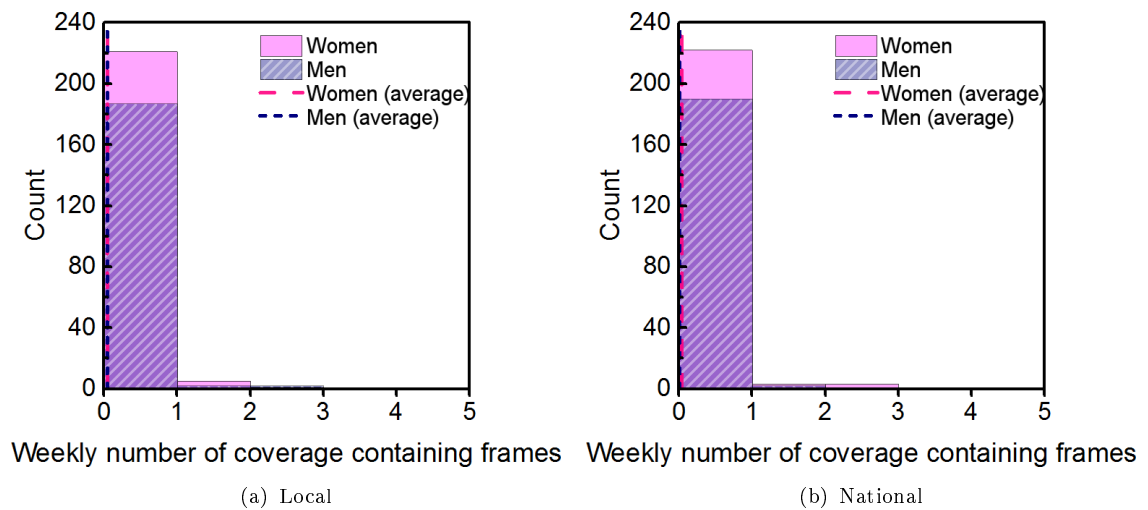
(a) Local

(b) National

Figure T.4: The distribution of articles depicting men and women candidates in local and national press using one of the analysed frames during the 2015 general election. Vertical lines correspond to sample the means.

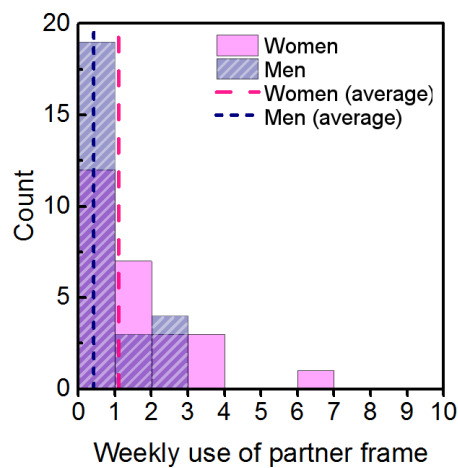**The 2015 Labour leadership election - volume of coverage - number of mentions**
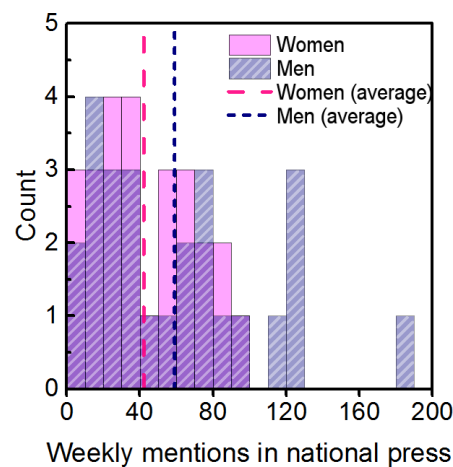
Figure T.5: The distribution of press mentions for men and women candidates during the 2015 Labour leadership election. Vertical lines correspond to sample the means.

The 2015 Labour leadership election - volume of coverage - number of mentions controlling for candidates' effect
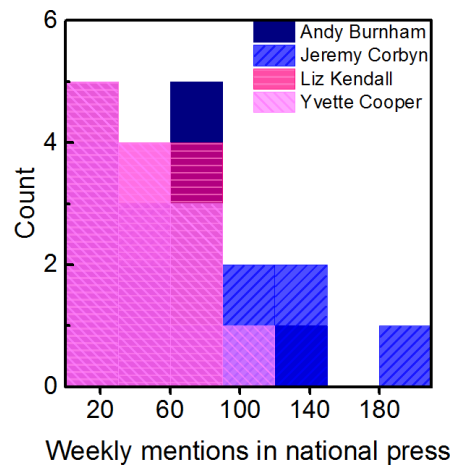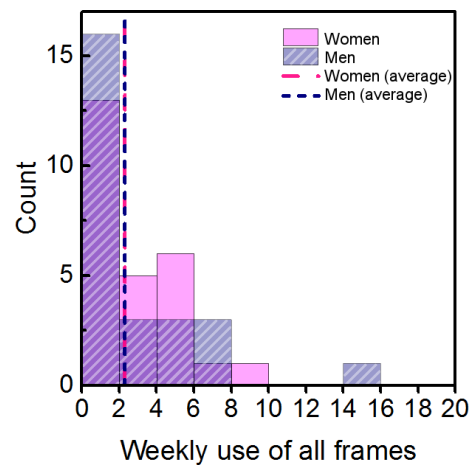

Figure T.6: The distribution of press mentions for men and women candidates during the 2015 Labour leadership election - controlling for candidates' effect.

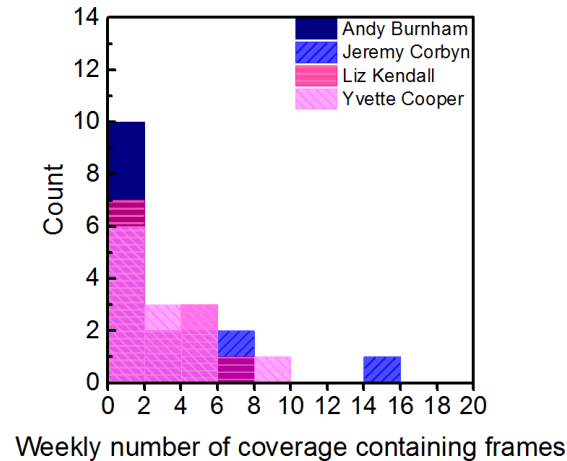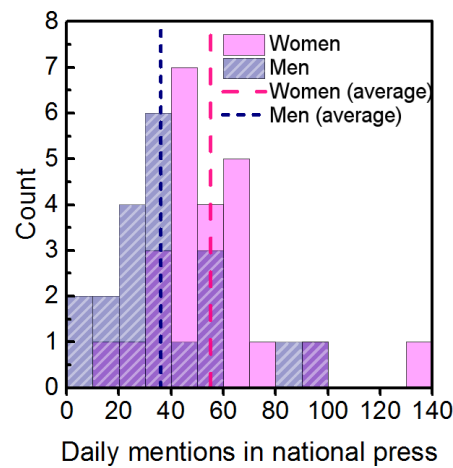## The 2015 Labour leadership election - substance of coverage - appearance and age frame
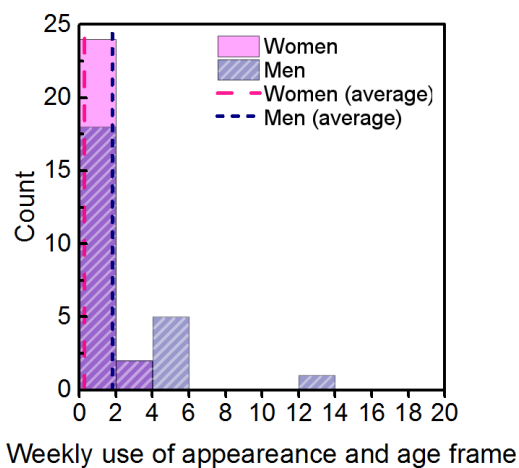
Figure T.7: The distribution of articles depicting men and women candidates using appearance and age frame during the 2015 Labour leadership election. Vertical lines correspond to sample the means.

The 2015 Labour leadership election - substance of coverage - parenthood frame
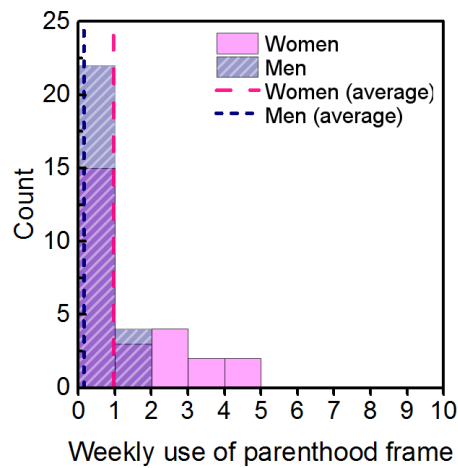
Figure T.8: The distribution of articles depicting men and women candidates using parenthood frame during the 2015 Labour leadership election. Vertical lines correspond to sample the means.

The 2015 Labour leadership election - substance of coverage - partners frame

Figure T.9: The distribution of articles depicting men and women candidates using partner frame during the 2015 Labour leadership election. Vertical lines correspond to sample the means.

The 2015 Labour leadership election - substance of coverage - all frames

Figure T.10: The distribution of articles depicting men and women candidates using one of the analysed frames during the 2015 Labour leadership election. Vertical lines correspond to sample the means.

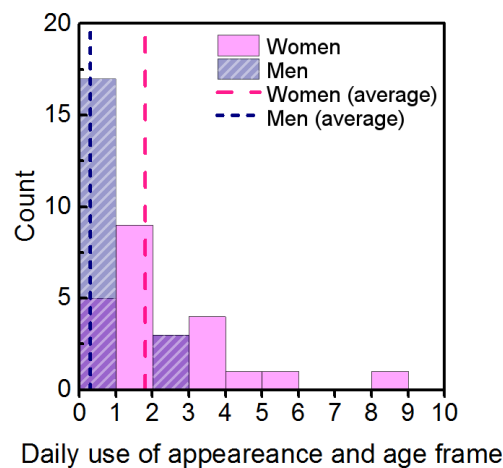**The 2015 Labour leadership election - substance of coverage - all frames controlling for candidates' effect**

Figure T.11: The distribution of articles depicting men and women candidates using one of the analysed frames during the 2015 Labour leadership election - controlling for the candidates' effect.

The 2016 Conservative leadership election - volume of coverage - number of mentions

Figure T.12: The distribution of press mentions for men and women candidates during the 2016 Conservative leadership election. Vertical lines correspond to sample the means.

The 2016 Conservative leadership election - volume of coverage - number of mentions controlling for candidates' effect
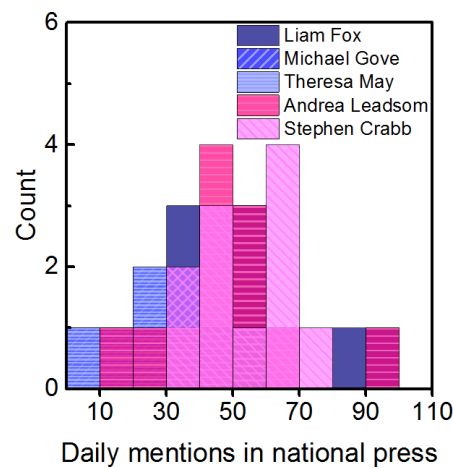
Figure T.13: The distribution of press mentions for men and women candidates during the 2016 Conservative leadership election - controlling for candidates' effect.

The 2016 Conservative leadership election - substance of coverage - appearance and age frame

Figure T.14: The distribution of articles depicting men and women candidates using appearance and age frame during the 2016 Conservative leadership election. Vertical lines correspond to sample the means.

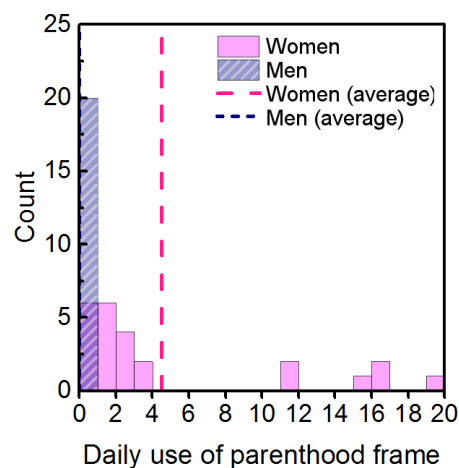## The 2016 Conservative leadership election - substance of coverage - parenthood frame

Figure T.15: The distribution of articles depicting men and women candidates using parenthood frame during the 2016 Conservative leadership election. Vertical lines correspond to sample the means.

The 2016 Conservative leadership election - substance of coverage - partners frame
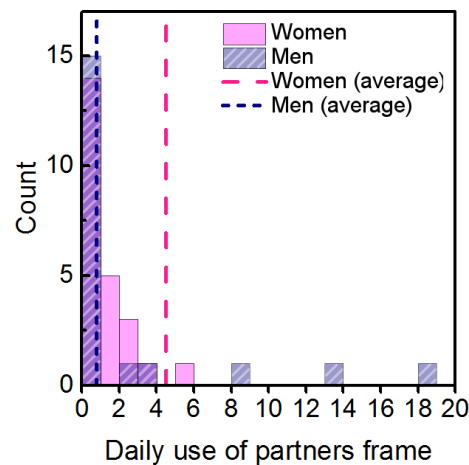

Figure T.16: The distribution of articles depicting men and women candidates using partner frame during the 2016 Conservative leadership election. Vertical lines correspond to sample the means.

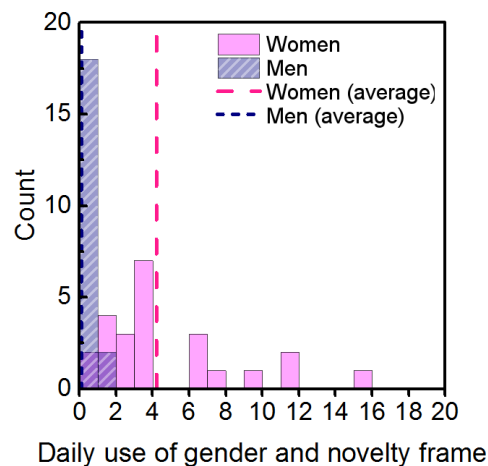## The 2016 Conservative leadership election - substance of coverage - novelty and gender frame

Figure T.17: The distribution of articles depicting men and women candidates using novelty frame during the 2016 Conservative leadership election. Vertical lines correspond to sample the means.

The 2016 Conservative leadership election - substance of coverage - all frames
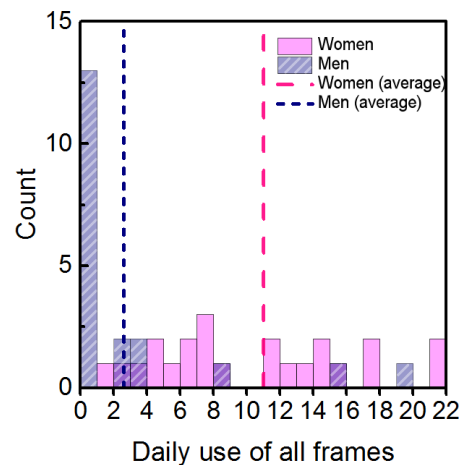

Figure T.18: The distribution of articles depicting men and women candidates using one of the analysed frames during the 2016 Conservative leadership election. Vertical lines correspond to sample the means.

The 2016 Conservative leadership election - substance of coverage - all frames controlling for candidates' effect
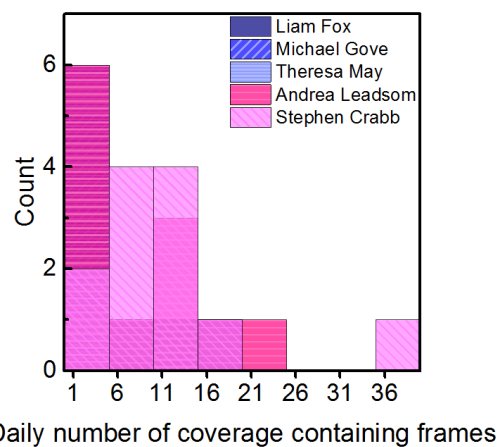

Figure T.19: The distribution of articles depicting men and women candidates using one of the analysed frames during the 2016 Conservative leadership election - controlling for the candidates' effect.

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