Political handbags. The representation of women politicians.

A case study of the websites and newspaper coverage of the women candidates in the Labour Party Deputy Leadership election.

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ABSTRACT

Media's representation of women politicians is seen as an one of the obstacles to achieving equal representation. Previous research has focused on comparisons between how men and women politicians are covered in media, but to what extent does women politicians themselves challenge the unfavourable media coverage? The increasing use of candidate websites makes a considerable amount of data available to research candidates' self-presentation, but no previous research has used this resource to compare it with the media representation for the same candidates. This is what this dissertation sets out to do.

The theoretical underpinning is provided by Yvonne Hirdman's (1987, 1988, 1990) theories of the two logics of the gender system, differentiation and hierarchy, and Graham Murdock's (1999) idea about how the different aspects of representation, in numbers and in image, are interconnected. The research model is based on a content analysis inspired by Bystrom, Kaid, Robertson and Banwart's (2004) concept of webstyle (looking at the gender specifics of candidates websites) and newsstyle (looking at the gender specifics of media coverage).

The research in this dissertation uses the case study of the Labour Party Deputy Leadership election in 2007 and examines similarities and differences between the website texts and newspaper coverage of the two women candidates, Hazel Blears and Harriet Harman. The findings show that there are few differences between the website texts and newspaper articles in terms of focus, but that the presentation of the candidates as individuals is often unfavourable in media. The conclusion indicates that the research model needs to be expanded to include interviews with politicians, advisors and journalists, and conduct a more qualitative discourse analysis.

1. Introduction

The cost of women politicians' handbags became the subject of one of the more memorable debates in the media coverage of the Labour Party Deputy Leadership election in 2007. The debate started when Harriet Harman expressed concern about Britain becoming a 'divided society' "where many people struggle to make ends meet while others spend £10 000 on a handbag" (Brown, The Independent, 2nd June 2007). Hazel Blears, commented on this by saying that she did not think it is the job of politicians to tell people what they should spend their money on. This disagreement was followed by reports about the price of the handbags used by Blears, Harman and other women politicians. This is an illustrative example of how media focuses on things that make women politicians different from the dominant group - men, often in a way that does not reflect on the policy priorities of the women candidates and instead concentrates on their character and appearance.

Despite the legal barriers for the political representation of women having been removed, British politics is still far from achieving equal representation of the genders.[1] Previous research highlights how media representation is one of the important impediments for achieving parity (Braden, 1996; Bystrom et al., 2004; Dolan, 2004; Khan, 1996; Norris, 1997; Ross, 2002). Media spends less time describing policy priorities of female candidates and more time discussing viability, character traits and appearance than for male candidates (Khan 1996). In addition media describes men and women politicians' policy interests and character traits differently (Bystrom et al. 2004).

Karen Ross (1995) researched the media coverage of the Labour Party leadership election in 1994. These studies showed that Margaret Beckett, who was the only female suffered from systematically biased media coverage. As the incumbent Deputy Leader, and hence acting leader of the party after John Smith's death, her candidacy was nevertheless seen as a hopeless case and the focus was on Tony Blair as the favourite and John Prescott as the challenger. In the Labour Leadership election 13 years later, the subject of this dissertation, the context is different. Women representation has improved in parliament and gender was a contested issue in the campaign. Additionally, personal campaign websites played an important role for the candidates as a way to present themselves. But has this changed the media coverage of women politicians?

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[1] Since the General Election in 2005, 19.8 percent of the members of the British House of Commons are women. (IDEA, 2006)

The rising importance of candidates' websites gives researchers access to more data on how the candidates wish to present themselves. Research by Banwart (2002), Dolan (2004) and Niven and Zilber (2001) has compared women and men politicians' websites. In this research there are expectations about how candidate websites could challenge the traditional media representation problem. Dolan writes that "employing websites gives candidates an almost unlimited ability to introduce themselves and their issue positions to voters" (Dolan 2005; 33). However, there has been no attempt in previous research to compare the self-presentation on websites with the media coverage of the same candidates, to analyse whether the self-presentation challenges or reflects the media representation. This is therefore the central question in this dissertation.

The findings of the research in this dissertation indicate that the potential for self-presentation on websites might be overestimated; after all self-presentation reflects the same societal structures as media representation. The main focus of the majority of the website texts is campaign coverage rather than policy issues and policy areas associated with women are dominant in both the website texts and the newspaper articles.

There are however differences between the websites and the newspaper articles when looking at how the candidates are presented as individuals, something which in the newspaper coverage often has a negative slant. The newspaper coverage also contributes to the differentiation of women and men by explicitly mentioning the candidates' sex and grouping the two women candidates together and separating them from the male candidates, as shown by the handbag debate.

2. Theory, previous research and background to the case

"One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman."
(Simone de Beauvoir, 1949, p. 281)

Simone de Beauvoir's famous quote highlights the underlying idea behind the theoretical assumption of this dissertation: women's role in politics is restricted not by their biological sex but by their gender, constructed through the representation of women in the public discourse. If the aim is equal representation, it is of vital importance to analyse and understand how gender is represented in political communication.

2.1 Feminism and gender system

Feminism can be defined as "those ideologies, activities and policies whose goal it is to remove discrimination against women and to break down male domination of society" (Dahlerup quoted in Lovenduski and Norris, 1996, p.4). The feminist movements have over time had different focus, such as the legal rights of women, economic and structural barriers, and more recently the everyday construction of gender in social relations (Baxter, 2003). This dissertation is theoretically grounded in the more recent feminist debate, identifying cultural representation and discourse as important carriers of the gender system.

The gender system concept is central to feminist theory. Gayle Rubin coined the term sex/gender system and defines it as "the set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity, and in which these transformed sexual needs are satisfied" (Rubin, 1975; 159). According to Yvonne Hirdman[2] (Hirdman 1987, 1988,1990) the gender system is built on two logical assumptions. The first is the separation of the sexes (difference) and the second is the male dominance or norm (hierarchy).These logics are then upheld by what Hirdman metaphorically calls the gender contract, stating that women and men are born into and formed by the gender system (Norlander, 2003).

There is a problem of terminology in the debate about how gender differences in media representation should be described. Khan uses the concept 'sex stereotypes' which she defines as "a cognitive structure of inferential relations that ink personal attributes, behaviours and beliefs to the social categories male and female" (Khan 1996; 6). Norris use

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[2] Unfortunately Yvonne Hirdman's theories of gender are not very well known internationally, even though they have played an important role in Scandinavian social studies, and are therefore not translated.

the concept 'gender frames' to describe how journalists make use of the conventional context to "simplify, prioritise, and structure the narrative flow of events when covering women and men in public life" (Norris, 1997, p.6). Chang and Hitchon develop the idea of 'gender schemas' to refer to the conceptual cognitive structure people use to understand "traits, activities and behaviours traditionally associated with men or women" (Chang and Hitchon 1997, p. 35).

All these concepts are useful in different ways; 'stereotypes' can be used to describe the social categories male and female, 'frames' better describes how journalists and media make use of these categories, and 'schemas' is useful to understand how the individual builds up an understanding of male and female. However, all of these concepts fit into the logics of differences and hierarchy. Hirdman's gender system theory can therefore be seen as a holistic framework that overcomes some of the problem of terminology.

The feminist theory of gender system is contrary to the western liberal paradigm of representative politics. The traditional liberal assumption is that representatives should be elected on the basis of their ideas and not who they are. From the feminist perspective the systematic under-representation of women in the political system undermines this liberal notion of blindness to the structural differences and exclusion of women. (Childs, 2004) Acknowledging the prevailing logics of the gender system means that the concept of representation must be analysed in terms of difference and hierarchy.

2.2 The interconnected aspects of representation

Murdock (1999) identifies a double meaning of the idea of representation; firstly, the rhetorical and ideological process of how something is described and how something appears and, secondly, the concrete action of representing someone by speaking on behalf of a person or a group. The focus in this dissertation is on the first aspect; asking how women politicians are represented in media and on their own websites. However, the two aspects are closely interdependent and it is important to look at how women in politics are represented in media and on their websites due to the lack of numerical representativeness in Murdock's second aspect of representation.

From a feminist perspective the under-representation of women in politics is a societal problem. A male dominated political system cannot represent the experiences of women and

therefore upholds male dominance (Phillips, 1994). Lovenduski and Norris (1996) identify three manifestations of how the dominance of men in decision making positions has gender effects: women can be disadvantaged by policies, initiatives to redress inequalities experienced by women are at a financial disadvantage and are less prestigious, and such issues are seen as marginal or are even absent from the policy agenda.

Several studies have attempted to identify the reasons for under-representation. Chang and Hitchon (1997) identify four factors from the literature in the field of women and political representation:

- Socialisation in terms of how upbringing and surroundings encourage girls/women less when it comes to political interest
- Professional preparation shows that women, by having a different career path, often face barriers to a political career
- Structural constrains meaning that the political institutions are shaped in a way that benefits men
- Mass-media's effect on voter response

All of these factors obviously co-exist and interplay with each other. However the representation of women politicians in mass-media is different in the sense that it can have a direct impact on the likelihood of a woman candidate being elected.

There are many accounts for how female and male politicians are represented differently. Common themes are that women politicians get less news coverage then men, that women get less issue coverage and more 'horse-race coverage'[3], and that the coverage is more likely to focus on what is typically seen as female character traits and women issues (Chang and Hitchon 1997, Khan, 1996, Norris 1997). Even though most of these studies have focused on the USA, Karen Ross's research (1995, 2002) has documented similar trends in the UK.

These gender specific differences in news coverage are of immense importance in shaping voters' expectations about candidates. Khan (1996) argues that stereotypical news coverage is an obstacle for women candidates, but points out how the context of the election is of decisive importance for how the gender stereotyping of women politicians affect their likelihood of being elected. However, as Chang and Hitchon (1997) argue the media

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[3] Cappella and Jamieson describes this kind of coverage as "stories that emphasize which candidates are ahead and behind and the strategies and tactics of campaigning necessary to position a candidate to get ahead or to stay ahead." (Cappella and Jamieson, 1996;74)

coverage sustains structural factors that are already far more restrictive for women than for men.

Due to these obstacles posed by gender specific media representation it is obviously essential for female candidates to strategically define their own image or their "self-presentation". (Bystrom et al. 2004 p.9). It is however important to understand that self-presentation is entangled with the cultural representation of the group one belongs to.

The sociologist Erving Goffman (1973) describes self-presentation as a theatre where people are actors who try to convey an impression to others which is in their interest to get across. However, the act is limited by what the audience think is real and honest. This can be related to Chang and Hitchon's (1997) gender schema theory; there are expectations and attributes connected to a person's gender, and when the performance of the person matches these expectations it will be more likely to have an impact on the audience. Chang and Hitchon give the example of the experimental study that illustrates this phenomenon where the same speech is given to two different groups:

> "For one group the candidate was identified as Joan Leed; for another group the candidate was identified as John Leed. After they read the speech, subjects were asked about the policy competence of the candidates […] In three areas, "improving our education system, " maintaining honesty and integrity in government," and "dealing with health problems," Joan was evaluated as more competent than John; in other areas, such as dealing with urban crime and farm issues, Joan was seen as less competent than John." (Chang and Hitchon, 1997, p. 40)

The different aspects of representation of gender in politics, numerical representation, representation in terms of media coverage, and self-presentation, are closely related as argued above. To deal with the question of equal representation we therefore need to analyse the role of gender in political communication.

2.3 Previous research on media coverage, websites and gender

The majority of previous studies of women politicians and communication have focused on comparisons between the genders (Khan 1996, Norris 1997). The research on media coverage has of course been more extensive than the more recent communication medium of websites. Significant differences have been found between the coverage of women and men politicians in mass-media, whereas the research that has been done to date comparing websites sees more similarities than differences between the genders when it comes to issue coverage and strategic use of websites (Dolan, 2005). However, there has been no previous attempt to compare how the same candidates are presented in the two different mediums.

The most important studies of media coverage of women politicians are conducted by Kim Fridkin Khan (1991, 1992, 1996, 1997). Her studies show that women get less coverage, women candidates' sex, martial status and appearance are mentioned more often, male and female candidates are linked to different issues, and media spends more time discussing viability and personal characteristics and less time presenting the policy proposals for female candidates. Even if there are some signs of that media coverage of women candidates might be improving many other studies confirm her findings (as listed by Bystrom et al 2004).

There are also a number of studies which show that media coverage is often in line with voters' perceptions of men and women politicians. Voters see women candidates as more compassionate and honest and men as better decision-makers. Women are thought to be more interested in policy areas that affect women and children, education and health questions , and less preoccupied with issues such as business, the economy and foreign affairs (Dolan 2004). Clearly this follows the logic of the gender system; men and women politicians are presented and perceived differently, and the traits and issues that are connected with male politicians are often seen as more important.

To what extent the candidates themselves contribute to gender specific representation is less researched (Dolan, 2005). The increasing prevalence and importance of personal candidate websites means more data is available to be able to conduct research on self-presentation. Politicians themselves often express high expectations on the use of new media as an unmediated, direct channel to the voters that can open up possibilities for a somehow more qualitative political debate (Ward and Gibson, 2003). These expectations should be approached with some scepticism. After all, online activities take place in the same social and cultural framework as offline communications. For example sexist comments are

common in online discussion forums and blog comments (Dahlberg, 2001). Having said that, websites still provide a unique source for studying self-presentation, even if we should be aware that they obviously exist within the same cultural framework and gender system as the traditional media coverage and voters' response.

Banwart (2002), Dolan (2005) and Niven and Zilber (2001) have examined the differences between websites of men and women in the USA. They all tend to find that the distinctive gender differences seen in traditional media coverage (see discussion above) cannot be found on websites. From this finding it is argued that women politicians do not themselves contribute to the gender-specific representation of women politicians (Dolan, 2005). However, since the previous research has not directly compared media coverage with website coverage that statement must be examined more closely.

In the book *Gender and Candidate Communication* Bystrom et al. (2004) have analysed both how men and women candidates present themselves through candidate-controlled mediums, including websites (webstyle), and also how they are presented in media (newsstyle). Although they look at the differences between the genders for each medium, it is a useful framework to adapt for the research in this dissertation that instead compares the newsstyle and the webstyle for the same candidates.

The webstyle concept was developed by Banwart (2002). She analyses textual content in terms of issue coverage, character traits, appeal strategies and non-textual content such as photos and graphics and also looks at the interactive content. Her conclusion of the study of men and women candidates' websites in the 2000 elections in the Untied States is that they are generally similar. Banwart has subsequently used webstyle to analyse later elections and drew similar conclusions (Bystrom, 2004, Banwart 2006). Her findings suggest that strategies employed by candidates on their websites are more responsive to what is expected by politicians as candidates than socialized gender expectations, and that for women candidates websites can offer "the most ungendered of expectations and requirements of any venue on the campaign trail" (Banwart 2006;53).

The concept newsstyle is developed by Bystrom et al (2004) on the basis of Kahn's studies of newspaper coverage of women candidates. They look at the quantity of news coverage, and its quality in terms of positive or negative slant, viability, references to appearance, gender and marital status, issue coverage and image coverage. They find that women and men candidates seem to get reasonably equitable media coverage in terms of quantity. Although,

in terms of quality women politicians are however restricted by gendered coverage in terms of image traits and marital status and family.

Since Bystrom et al. (2004) and most other researchers, study election campaigns in the USA, one could argue that the political landscape is different from the UK. For example the division of male and female issues is not exactly the same, and the family of a candidate play a less important role in campaigning in the UK. On the other hand Ross's research (1995, 2002) shows similar findings in a UK environment. While it is interesting to speculate whether Bystrom et al.'s conclusions hold true for a UK environment, it is not vital since it is their framework, rather than their conclusions, that have been adapted for this study.

There are obviously some categories in the webstyle and newsstyle construct that are specific for the medium, such as interactive content for websites. To be able to make a comparison between the mediums in this dissertation the categories have therefore been adjusted from Bystrom et al's models (discussed in chapter 3).

2.4 The 2007 Labour Party Deputy Leadership Election

The Labour Party Deputy Leadership election campaign in 2007 can be said to have been more important in itself than the post that was actually contested. Since it was expected that Gordon Brown would be elected without a opposition to take over the leadership of the Labour Party, the Deputy Leadership election became the only chance for the party and its members to debate, and in some way vote on, the future direction of the party. Six candidates (Hilary Benn, Hazel Blears, Jon Cruddas, Peter Hain, Harriet Harman and Alan Johnson) announced their candidacy in spring 2007 and received enough nominations from the Parliamentary Labour Party to make it onto the ballot paper.

New media played an important role in the campaigns and the election was clearly a test of new media techniques in the political arena. All of the candidates had personal websites and blogs written either by themselves or their campaign teams. Other new web tools such as Facebook, Google Maps and video meetings via Skype were also used. Previously Ward and Gibson's study of UK politicians' websites indicated that the websites then often "acted as little more than on-line leaflets" (Ward and Gibson, 2003;199). So, even if campaign websites have now been around for a while, it must be said that the web technology was more advanced and more central to the deputy leadership campaigns in 2007 than it has been in similar contests before.

There are several reasons why the website and internet strategies were more refined in this Deputy Leadership election than in previous UK campaigns. First, the development of web 2.0 technology, with easy-to-use blogging tools, social-networking sites etc, has made it easier even for the less IT-savvy to use the web in interesting ways, and also made it more important to go beyond static on-line leaflets. Secondly, the Deputy Leadership election campaigns had some features that made on-line campaigning vital. The target audience was relatively small and limited to Labour Party and Trade Union members, meaning that traditional mass-media is an imprecise channel to the target group, and that it might also be hard to generate coverage there. The target audience was also geographically spread which meant that traditional direct communication, such as canvassing, was difficult, expensive and time-consuming. Internet campaigning therefore became an important way of providing the voters with information. It also served as a way for the candidates to show that they were on top of the new technology, that they were somehow 'modern'.

Gender issues were also a salient part of the campaign. Harriet Harman, who in the end won the election, was campaigning with the core message that a woman was needed in the Labour Party leadership team. The other woman candidate, Hazel Blears, was more careful when stating that the deputy leader needed to be a woman, saying that "it is important that women take their proper place in […] politics [but] above all I am Labour Party". (Taylor, The Guardian, 22nd June 2007)

The fact that both gender aspects and the use of websites were central to the strategic choices makes this election an interesting example to study. The women candidates were aware both of how they wanted to come across in terms of gender and how they wanted to use their websites. It is therefore interesting to see how this is different from how media represents them.

2.5 Research Question

This dissertation aims to answer the following research question:

> What differences and similarities are there between the self-presentation of female candidates in the Labour Party Deputy Leadership election on their websites, and the national UK newspapers' representation of the same candidates?

The differences that will be explored are **main focus/issue coverage**, **strategic appeal**, presentation of **character traits**, **appearance**, **sex**, **marital status** and **candidates' backgrounds**, and **positive or negative slant of the coverage.**[4]

The objective of this research is to contribute to and connect the academic discussions about media representation of female politicians and the use of websites for self-presentation. This is important, since no previous research[5] has made a comparison between mass-media presentation and self-presentation on personal websites for the same candidates.

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[4] These topics are developed from the research on webstyle and newsstyle conducted in Bystrom et al.

[5] Except my own extensive literature review I have been in contact via e-mail with Professor Banwart, who has compared female and male politicians' webstyle, and she sated that she is not aware of any comparisons between webstyle and media coverage for the same candidates either.

3. Research Design

3.1 Research Strategy and Rationale for Methodology

The choice of studying texts has a theoretical justification. The gender system is constantly shaped through cultural representation. Simultaneously cultural products, such as newspaper articles and website texts, can be used to understand the gender system. Rose Weitz is one of the feminist researchers who extols the value of studying cultural products. According to Weitz "the cultural products of any given society at any given time reverberate with the themes of that society and that era" (Weitz, quoted in Reinharz 1992;145).

The alternative strategy of conducting interviews was considered during the research process. Even if it would be a good way to develop the research conducted in this dissertation, interviews would not answer the research question, as this dissertation sets out to compare, describe and discuss mass-media representation and self-representation on websites. There are also clear benefits to analysing texts. Reinharz (1992) identifies two characteristics of using texts as research object. Firstly, they are not created for the purpose of study, and they exist to be studied again and again. Secondly, they are non-interactive, which means that they are not affected and do not react to being studied and do not require an interaction between the researcher and the producer of the texts. This gives a higher reliability compared to an interview where the interaction always affects the outcome of the interview.

There are essentially two choices of method for studying texts: quantitative content analysis or qualitative discourse analysis. Whereas content analysis has the benefit of making it possible to research and summarise a large amount of material, discourse analysis allows more detailed and contextual examination of the language. The risk however with using discourse analysis in a research project of this small scale is that the result is an anecdotal argument to support already preconceived notions. To be able to give a full overview of the mass-media representation and web-site presentation in this case, the decision was therefore made to use a detailed content analysis.

According to Deacon et al. "the purpose of content analysis is to quantify and manifest features of a large number of texts, and the statistics are used to make broad inferences about the processes of representation." (Deacon et al, 1999, p. 116). This quantitative and systematic approach to identify characteristics of texts has obvious benefits when making

comparisons (Bauer, 2000). It is important to note that even if content analysis has a quantitative and systematic approach, it is still subjective. One has to be aware that there are several choices and interpretations behind the statistical analysis.

A difficulty for the design of this research has been how to be able to make viable comparisons between newspapers articles and website texts. Is a mention of a policy issue in a blog entry worth as much as in a newspaper article? Also the different kinds of texts on websites have different functions and might therefore not be equal units for comparison. While this is a statistical problem the comparison of how often certain features occur in a text on websites and in the newspaper articles still serves as an important indication of the differences and similarities. Although, because of this difficulty, statistical inferences are always carefully discussed in the context of previous research.

It should also be noted that I had particular insights to Harman's campaign having been a volunteer helping out with design and technical support for the campaign website. While this provided a useful understanding of and interest in the case, it should be noted that I had no influence over the texts that are analysed in this dissertation.

3.2 Methodological procedures

3.2.1 Sampling and Population[6]

Since the research question sets out to compare newspaper coverage and website texts for two different candidates there are four different groups within the population:

- Newspaper articles about Hazel Blears
- Newspaper articles about Harriet Harman
- Website texts from Hazel Blears's website
- Website texts from Harriet Harman's website

The newspaper coverage was limited to UK national newspapers between 14th May 2007, when the nominations opened and 22nd June, when the election ended. Regional newspapers were excluded to narrow down the sample, but also because national newspapers have a predominant role setting the agenda and image of a candidate across the whole of the UK.

A search in LexisNexis for all occurrences of Harriet Harman and Deputy Leader gives 245 hits. The same search for Hazel Blears gives 247 hits. Since this population would be too large for the scope of this dissertation the sample was narrowed down further. With a random sample there would be a risk that many of the articles would be brief mentions of the candidates' names and not actually focus on the candidate. Therefore the LexisNexis search function "major mention" was used to select articles where the candidate is mentioned in the headline, lead paragraph or indexing. Some articles that mention both Harman and Blears occur in both samples. This is not a problem since we are comparing the media coverage and website presentation for each candidate individually, and not each candidate head-to-head. For example a newspaper article that mentions both the candidates will be analysed for each of them separately and shall count for each candidate's total.

All the static texts on the websites have been analysed, but to narrow down the sample only news stories and blog entries that were published during the same period as the newspaper coverage (between 14th May and 22nd June).

3.2.2 Coding

The coding schedule and coding book can be found in appendix 3 and 4. A challenge in this research has been to design variables and values that were functional for both the newspaper articles and the different kinds of website texts. This has led to the decision that some categories used in Banwart's webstyle research, such as interactive content and non-textual content, have not been used in this research. Some of the categories used are also more relevant for the newspaper articles than for the website texts and vice versa. For example positive and negative slant is more relevant in the media coverage, and strategic appeal is more relevant for the websites. An alternative would have been to use different coding frames for the different kind of texts although this would have made the comparative analysis more difficult.

The coding schedule was constructed using an open coding method. All articles were read and all the possible values for each variable were collected in a spreadsheet. Thereafter the values were grouped together and named. Since character traits turned out to be complicated to group into a reasonable number of values the decision was taken to only identify if character traits were described or not. This gives a higher reliability, and for a

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[6] Information about the sampling procedure and size of the sample can be found in appendix 1

more detailed discussion about how character traits are described all words that are used to describe character traits will be presented in a table for each group of texts.

During the research process one variable was added to measure how often the candidates were mentioned alone, with each other or with all other candidates. This was done since the open coding process indicated that the media often groups together the two women candidates.

To ensure reliability, a second coder coded 10 per cent of the texts in each of the four groups of texts. The overall intercoder reliability was 95.5 per cent, and for each of the four groups of the population the intercoder reliability was over 90 per cent. All variables except strategic appeal had also over 90 per cent and strategic appeal had an intercoder reliability of 85 per cent. This variable was also expected to be more difficult, since it measures a non-explicit characteristic of the text. In short, the second-coding shows a strong reliability.

3.2.3 Analysis

Even if the systematic and quantitative approach of content analysis research is a benefit when analysing a large amount of material, it is important to be careful when drawing statistical conclusions. Analysis was first conducted for each variable separately and in cross tables showing the frequency of each value in the website texts and in the newspaper coverage for each candidate. It is of course impossible to deduce too much from this process since the website texts and newspaper articles cannot easily be seen as equal units. Hence additional statistical tools, such as significance testing, have not been used as results will at best be of questionable importance, and at worst be misleading.

To overcome this difficulty each sample group is instead analysed and presented individually. First the findings from Blears's website texts will be discussed, and thereafter these will be discussed in relation to the findings in the newspaper coverage about Blears and subsequently Harman's website and newspaper coverage will be discussed. The result from the open coding, where all words and expressions describing character-traits and appearance were collected, will also be used in the analysis and individual texts will sometimes be discussed more closely.

5. Results and interpretation[7]

5.1 Blears's website

Most of the texts on Hazel Blears website (52.5 percent) focus mainly on the campaign itself; reporting from hustings and campaign activities or stating endorsements. 15 per cent of the texts have a clear policy focus; these are mainly the texts in the debate section and two from the news section. Notably the blog entries almost always focus on campaign coverage. Some of the texts focus on the collapse of the office building where Blears's headquarters was situated; these are coded as other/not possible to say. Blears's focus in the website texts are also relatively often on the Labour Party (writing about how to win next election or future direction of the Labour Party).

Table 1 Main focus of texts on Blears's website

Hazel Blears's Website	Campaign coverage	Labour Party	Policy Issues	More than one these	Other/not possible to say
Count	21	5	6	3	5
Per cent	52.5%	12.5%	15.0%	7.5%	12.5%

The analysis of what policy issues are mentioned, if any policy issue is mentioned at all, indicates that a slight majority of the texts (57.5 per cent) at least mention a policy issue. The policy issues that are covered are social issues, women and family issues, crime and anti-social behaviour, democracy and government, and environment.[8] Previous research shows that social issues and women and family issues are associated with women (Khan, 1996), whereas the other policy areas mentioned have no clear gender association according to previous research.

Considering how Blears as a person is presented, different character traits are mentioned in eight of the texts. The words that are used to describe Blears's traits on the website are listed in table 2. The most frequently used descriptions are energy and drive. When looking

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[7] The output of the content analysis that is the basis of the findings discussed in this chapter can be found in appendix 5.
[8] See table in appendix 5. Environment was coded as other, but since it was only one text covering other issues, it was easy to identify which issue this was.

at previous research on what character traits are normally associated with women according to Khan (1996), such as emotional, understanding, warm, compassionate, there is no indication that these kinds of traits are the ones Blears's own website uses to describe her; energy and drive is more likely to be associated with men if looking at Khan's research (1996).

Table 2 Character Traits on Blears's Website

Committed
Keen to speak to local activists
Decisive
Inspires
Drive
Energy
Passionate
Courageous
Enthusiasm
Hard working
In touch with members
Feet firmly on the ground
Tough
Wants to answer questions
Positive
Engaging
Upbeat

When looking at other ways Blears is presented as a person on her website, she herself does not state her sex explicitly anywhere on her website. It is only mentioned in the endorsements that it would be preferable to have a woman as Deputy Leader. In two of the texts (the "About Hazel" section and in one blog entry) she mentions her husband. When describing her background she most often mentions her professional background within politics, but in the "About Hazel" section she also emphasises her working-class upbringing.

The analysis indicates that Blears's strategic appeal is sometimes directed towards trade union members. However, more often she makes statements in the internal Labour debate about the legacy of Tony Blair and the future of the Labour Party. Blears never use the word "Blairite" to state her support for Tony Blair and underline that no major change of the direction of the party is needed. This is not very surprising since few people use the media labels "Blairite" and "Brownite" themselves, although "Blairite" is one of the most common descriptions of Blears in the newspaper articles.

5.2 Newspaper articles about Blears

A notable difference between the newspapers articles and the website texts is the coverage of what in this dissertation is called the handbag debate. Five of the articles about Blears focus on this debate whereas it is not the main focus in any of the website texts. Blears mentions it once on her website with the comment "I never believed that my handbag would become headline news" (Blears, 2007, "Report from the weekend" 4th June) in a blog entry that covers other things as well.

In general most newspaper articles focus on campaign coverage by reporting from and commenting on campaign activities, discussing who is supporting who, and analysing the odds for the candidates to be elected. The large number of articles in the category "other/impossible to say" report about the office building collapse that was mentioned above.

Table 3 Main Focus of Newspaper Coverage of Hazel Blears

	Campaign coverage	Labour Party	Policy Issues	Handbag Debate	Other/Impossible to say	Total
Count	37	2	8	5	11	63
percent	58.7%	3.2%	12.7%	7.9%	17.5%	100.0%

Although both a majority of the website texts and newspaper articles focus on campaign coverage there is a significant difference in how often policy issues are mentioned. Only 18 of the newspaper articles[9] about Blears mention any policy issues. Even if we should be careful when comparing the numbers straight off, Blears at least mentions policy issues in a majority of the texts on the website.

In the few articles that do mention policy issues, most of them focus on issues that, according to Khan's research (1996) are associated with women, although, the issue that is most often in focus, immigration (in 5 articles) - is not necessarily associated with either men or women. These articles cover comments from Blears stating that immigrants cause all kinds of problems and the criticism she received for these comments. This is interesting since Blears does not mention immigration at all on her website.

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[9] 18 of the texts mention a policy issue, whereas only 8 have policy issues as the main focus, this explains the differences between the table and the text, for more information see appendix 3 and 4 for coding schedule and coding book.

The analysis of how Blears is presented in the newspaper articles shows that 16 of the articles describe different character traits. Table 4 lists the different words and phrases used. There are obvious differences between how Blears's character is described on her own website and in the newspaper coverage; a majority of the character traits can be described as either negative or patronising in the newspaper coverage. Politicians of course have to accept sometimes being ridiculed in the media and only ten of the articles has an obvious negative slant. Most of them are ironic or sarcastic about Blears's character rather than criticising her as a politician.

Table 4 Character traits describing Hazel Blears in newspaper articles

Keeper of the eternal smile
giggler
rare self-awareness
of extreme complacency
speed-queen
aspirational
on message candidate
intensely irritating
angry
empathic
straight-talking
loyal
Little-dynamo
energetic
tough operator
optimist

Eleven of the articles also refer to Blears's appearance, something that is never mentioned on her website. Most commonly she is described as diminutive and sometimes there are comments on the colour of her hair. Also clothing is mentioned - most often her handbag as a part of "the handbag debate".

Blears personal background is mentioned in six articles and it is always her working-class upbringing in Salford that comes up. It is notable that two articles almost give exactly the same story about her childhood as she describes on her website, whereas no article questions or gives an alternative background to who she is as a person. A couple of times Blears's interest in riding motorbikes is mentioned. Even if this might be associated with male behaviour, it is also the fact that this becomes more interesting because she is a woman; in one article it is described that she enjoys riding the motorbike with her husband.

Nine of the articles mention Blears together with Harman without mentioning any of the other candidates. This is notable since on the website there is no indication of Harman being either a main opponent that is criticised or someone that is in any way more interesting for Blears's campaign than the other candidates.

5.3 Harman's website

The texts on Harman's website have a predominant focus on the campaign itself. In addition to the same kind of coverage that Blears's website has of activities and endorsements, there are also presentations of and references to opinion polls that her campaign team has commissioned. The polls are said to show that the Brown-Harman combination can attract most swing voters and that Harman is seen as the most trustworthy candidate.

Although the main focus of a majority of the texts is the campaign itself, often Harman relates this to policy issues (in 64 per cent of the texts). The policy issues mentioned most often are predominantly ones that Khan's research (1996) has found as being most associated with women. Eight of the texts mention more than one policy issue, which has been a problem in the coding, as it has not been possible to separate these issues in the analysis. But when looking more closely at the individual texts it is possible to identify that they almost always mention issues that are associated with women.

In terms of presenting Harman as a person, the long list of endorsements (which are analysed as one text) mentions a lot of different character traits. In the presentation of the poll and in one blog entry Harman is described as trustworthy and "in touch with ordinary family life" (Harman, 2007, "Ballot paper for deputy leader going out today" 6th June). One of the endorsements also contains a comment on Harman's appearance as "tall stature and confident look" (Patil, 2007, www.harrietharman.org)

Table 5 Descriptions of Character traits on Harman's website

trustworthy
listens
in touch with ordinary family life
when she has got the bit between her teeth there is nothing
stopping her
committed
communicator
good friend
loyal
drive
integrity
enthusiastic
inspiring
dynamic
strong woman
approachable
capable
intelligent
good orator

Harman is more careful than Blears when describing her private background in the "about" section and instead outlines her career on the basis of policy issues she has worked with. She mentions her husband once in a downloadable leaflet which was also the main campaign leaflet, sent out to the Constituency Labour Parties. The leaflet mentions that her husband is the Deputy General Secretary of the Transports and General Workers' Union.

In contrast to Blears, Harman states her sex in four texts, saying that it is important that a woman is elected. It is obvious from the analysis of the website that Harman puts far more emphasis on strategically appealing to women, and although this analysis is of the textual element, the non-textual impressions of the websites also reflects this difference. Whereas Harman uses lilac and a font that is chosen to resemble covers of chic lit novel (Duff, 2007). Blears's website use traditional Labour colours (red and yellow) and uses a badge logo that is easily associated with American election campaigns (see images on title page).

5.4 Newspaper articles about Harman

Of the 55 newspaper articles about Harman that were analysed, a majority had the campaign coverage as main focus. A difference between the newspaper articles and website texts is the coverage of the handbag debate. Seven of the newspaper articles about Harman are about the handbag debate whereas it is not mentioned at all on her website. In the analysis (section 5.5) it will be discussed more closely how this difference can be understood.

Table 6 Main focus in newspaper articles about Harman

	Campaign Coverage	Labour Party	Policy Issues	Handbag debate	Other/not possible to day	Total
Count	31	4	12	7	1	55
percent	56.4%	7.3%	21.8%	12.7%	1.8%	100.0%

Although policy issues are the main focus of only 12 of the articles, in total 30 of the articles make at least some mention of policy. As in the website texts the most common policy focus is women and family issues. A difference though is that the Iraq war (coded as international politics) is the main focus of four of the newspaper articles and is only mentioned once in a blog entry on the website. On the other hand three texts on the website focused on diversity and tolerance, something that does not get any coverage in the newspaper articles.

Every fifth article in the sample describes character traits of Harman. Similar to Blears, a large part of these have a negative or patronising connotation (see table 9). It should be noted that the character traits are sometimes presented in quotes (often by anonymous sources) or mentioned not as the journalists' own opinions. These are still counted since it must be seen as a deliberate choice to include them, and that this still reflects the public discourse.

Table 7 Character traits describing Harman in newspaper coverage

sensible
dripping superiority
questionable intelligence
no bright-eyed political ingenue
enduring
crap
desperate
bloody incompetent
"Radio 2"[10]
deeply anxious
hypocrite
knows   best   about   absolutely
everything
fairly bright
independent lady
very 21st century lady
trustworthy
wily power-seeker
zealous
lacklustre
anger and frustration

In nine of the articles Harman's appearance is mentioned or discussed. Some of these references are a part of the handbag debate mentioning what kind of handbag Harman uses. There are a few words such as "coy smile", "polished appearance" and "smiling in a plastic manner" that describe appearance but could be said to insinuate more of a character trait of being a bit distant or even fake.

Table 8 Descriptions of Harman's appearance

looking sensible
waddles in
smiling in plastic manner
oozing all the charm of a cold pebble
coy smile
polished appearance
ill-fitting, boxy beige suit
waistcoat made out of used teabags
beige handbag
beautifully cut ivory jacket
1980s shoulder pads
never spent more than £50 on a handbag

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[10] In two articles a quote from Harman is used where she sys that Gordon Brown is more like "Radio 4" and she is like "Radio 2"

The fact that Harman is a woman is mentioned explicitly more often than it is for Blears. This could possibly be explained by the fact that her own strategic appeal towards women is reported or commented on in a number of the articles. She is less often referred to in terms of the internal Labour debate, although three articles discuss her as being "Brownite".

Harman's marital status and private background is more important in the news coverage than on her website, although it is covered in a political context. Four of the articles mention her husband and the fact that he is treasurer[11] of the Labour Party. In three articles the fact that her son went to a grammar school was mentioned. This issue was a scandal that partly explained why she left the cabinet in the late nineties. Different from Hazel Blears description of her background that Harman gives on her website (about her professional career) is not covered in the newspaper articles.

5.5 Discussion

This section aims to discuss what the analysis of the website and newspaper articles presented above says about the research question stated in section 2.5. What similarities and differences are there between self-presentation on websites and the newspapers' representation of the two candidates?

Five important findings will be discussed:

1. The campaign as the main focus on both websites and in newspaper articles.
2. The fact that the handbag debate receives considerable newspaper coverage but is barely mentioned on the websites.
3. The dominance of policy issues that, according to previous research, are associated with women on both websites and in newspaper articles.
4. The negative descriptions of the two candidates' as individuals in the newspaper coverage.
5. Media's tendency to group together the two women candidates.

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[11] Harman's husband, Jack Dromey, is both Labour treasurer and Deputy General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union

5.5.1 Campaign in focus

One of the criticisms against mass-media coverage of politics is the predominant focus on horse-race coverage (Cappella and Jamieson, 1996). Khan (1996) points out that this is even more of an obstacle for women politicians than for men and she advises women politicians to focus more on their policy priorities. The findings in this dissertation indicate that the expectations that websites could be a tool to do so (as expressed by Dolan, 2005 and Ward and Gibson, 2003) might be over estimated.

While policy issues are at least mentioned in a majority of the website texts of both the candidates, the women candidates in the Labour Party Deputy Leadership election makes a fairly limited attempt to shift the focus away from the campaign itself. Most texts, especially in the blogs and news sections, mainly focus on the latest developments in the campaign rather than policy issues. This could be regarded as an indication of campaign websites being more responsive to the media coverage, rather than the other way around.

5.5.2 The handbag debate

The actual political disagreement in the handbag debate can be said to be substantial: whether the Labour Party should view it as a problem that some people in the UK are extremely rich. This links into questions about the taxation system and the party's approach towards equality. However, this political discussion would not have received as much attention if Harman had not used the example of expensive handbags, allowing the majority of the newspaper coverage to focus on the cost of women politicians' handbags rather than the substantial political question behind the issue. On the websites this question was not discussed at all.

Women politicians' handbags a familiar theme; Margaret Thatcher's handbag became a symbolical metaphor of her style of leadership. The use of the handbag in connection to Thatcher has become so much a part of the British political discourse that the verb *to handbag* has made it into the Oxford English Dictionary, with a reference to Thatcher. (Oxford English Dictionary)

The important question to ask is why the handbag symbol became so interesting for the journalists to write about, and gender is an important part of the answer. The handbag, and clothing, is one of the visible things that separates women politicians from the suit-uniformed

men politicians. The attention to women politicians' handbags can be seen as a statement of the differentiation logic in the gender system. It also serves to uphold the male politician as the norm; when women politicians have to answer questions from journalists about the cost of their handbag it takes attention away from their political ideas and priorities. Only in one of the articles does the journalist mention the men candidates, but also states that they are not that bothered. (Hall, 2007, The Express 2nd of June)

One could argue that Harman herself started the debate by using a typical feminine consumption good as metaphor. However, the cost of handbags was in itself not a very important question for her as this is something she does not even mention on her website. And the reason Blears, and none of the other candidates, gets involved in the debate is most likely because of her sex. Harman herself acknowledges that using handbags as an example was not a deliberate plan. She says it was the first thing that came to mind.[12]

5.5.3 Media agenda and women issues dominate policy reports

Of the few texts that discuss policy issues there are indications that both newspaper articles and website texts focus more often on issues that, according to Khan's research (1996), are associated with women; social issues, women and family issues, health care and education. Of the other issues mentioned in the sample for this research, only international politics and taxes can be said to be associated more with male candidates, according to Khan. Immigration, crime and anti-social behaviour, democracy and government, and diversity and tolerance are not possible to categorise according to Khan's research, since these issues are more specific to a UK environment.[13]

This finding indicates that the self-presentation and newspaper representation in terms of policy interest is not divergent. However, it is necessary to ask the question why these women candidates choose to focus on policy areas that are traditionally associated with women. This can be seen in light of Goffman's theory of self-presentation as an act. To make the audience believe in the performance it must build on the audience's preconceived knowledge and beliefs and the actor therefore must adjust accordingly (Goffman, 1973). In

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[12] Even though no interviews were conducted, this one issue was checked with Harman at a meeting on 30th of August 2007.

[13] In table twelve in appendix 5, where the issues have been grouped together according to Khan's categorisation, we can see that women's issues are in focus far more often in both the news articles and website texts for both the candidates, and more so for Harman than Blears.

this way women, as well as men, uphold the gender system by preserving the differences and not challenging the hierarchy.

There are however two interesting findings in the newspaper articles that break the gender pattern and that cannot be traced to the websites. Blears has substantial newspaper coverage about immigration and Harman gets coverage about the Iraq war. A possible explanation is that these are both questions that are high on the UK media agenda. This would support Norris's (1997) model of media frames, that the media uses a conventional framework on which to peg stories. Gender is one of the most important frames through which these candidates are presented in the newspaper articles analysed here, but other frames that are currently strong in the mass-media agenda, such as immigration problems (which also fits in to Blears responsibilities as a former Home Office Minister), and the internal Labour discussion about the Iraq war are also used.

5.5.4 The newspapers' negative presentation of personality

Khan (1996) and Bystrom et al. (1997) both find that the presentation of traits, appearance, sex, marital status and background is often an obstacle for women politicians. The analysis in this dissertation of how the candidates are presented as individuals shows that the presentation in the newspaper articles sometimes can be directly traced from the website. The reports about Harman's opinion poll showing that she is trustworthy is one example, but the presentation of Blears's working class background and upbringing in Salford shows an even closer correlation between self-presentation on the website and some of the newspaper articles. Blears manages, by giving away a story about her family upbringing, to get uncritical newspaper articles that reflect her own story. Harman, on the other hand, describes her own background in professional terms, whereas the newspaper articles more often mention her upper class background, the Labour Treasurer husband or the choice of school for her son. One could argue that the reason Harman has more of a problem 'controlling' the description of her background is that the way she describes her background does not fit into the media frame for a woman or Labour politician. When Harman describe herself as trustworthy, which according to Khan is a character trait associated with women, it fits in to the gender-logic of the media and therefore also is interesting for media to write about.

But even if the candidates' personal presentation in media sometimes can be traced from the websites, the most striking feature of the newspaper articles is how often the candidates as individuals are described in a negative and patronising way. The disadvantage of the content analysis method is that it cannot give a full and fair view of how the words to describe character traits, appearance and background are actually used. The quotations below give some examples of how the negative and patronising framing can look.

> *"The only hitch is that the lady pitching for a high-profile role on Team Gordon is no bright-eyed political ingénue but Harriet Harman –one of the party's most enduring figures who has spent decades campaigning for women's rights. And while there is no doubt about her polished appearance, like most women of her age, the would-be new deputy leader of the Labour Party has a past. […] 'Crap', 'desperate' and 'bloody incompetent' are just some of the words that certain colleagues privately use to describe her."* (Sunday Times, 20th May 2007)

> *"The home office minister [Blears], "a little dynamo" according to one heightist male delegate, rattled off her answers without punctuation or pause for breath. It mattered little that she sometimes made no sense at all."* (Guthrie, Financial Times 21st May 2007)

Karen Ross's research (1995, 2002) of the Labour leadership campaigns in 1994 shows similar findings; Margaret Beckett who then lost the Deputy Leadership election against John Prescott was described in a systematically negative way. From the findings in this, and other research listed by Ross (2002), it can be said that the second logic of the gender-system, the male norm, seems to be upheld in the newspaper coverage by the description of women who are challenging the norm by having influential positions.

5.5.5 The grouping of the women candidates

The first logic of the gender system, differentiation, is also clearly visible in the presentation of the candidates in the newspaper coverage. Harman has more of a gender specific strategic appeal than Blears, and the fact that Harman is a woman is also more often discussed in the newspaper coverage of her. However, there is also another strong indication that both Harman's and Blears's sex plays an important role in how the newspapers report about them. Even though there are no signs in the website texts that Harman and Blears would see each other as main rivals or give each other any support, they are nevertheless often grouped together in the newspaper articles. This occurs regularly in the articles about

the handbag debate, but other articles (deliberately or not) also focus on only on the two women candidates, for example in an article in the Guardian from 22nd June with the headline "First Ladies". (Taylor, The Guardian, 22nd June 2007)

6. Conclusion

This dissertation argues that the numerical under-representation of women in politics is interconnected with the media representation and self-presentation of women politicians. To achieve equal representation, political communication needs to be analysed from a gender perspective, studying how the logics of the gender system (differentiation and hierarchy) are upheld in the political arena.

While previous research has shown how media's representation is an important obstacle for women politicians, little research has looked at how women's self-presentation challenges or contributes to this representation. This dissertation has developed a framework for how such research can be conducted through content analysis of websites and newspaper coverage.

The findings in this dissertation indicate that the women candidates in the Labour Party Deputy Leadership election 2007 did not use their websites to shift the focus away from campaign matters and more towards their policy priorities. This should be seen in the light of Kim Fridkin Khan's research which indicates that the predominance of campaign focus in media coverage is one of the most important obstacles for women politicians (Khan, 1996). In addition, a focus on policy areas that are associated with women can also be found both in the media coverage and on the candidates' websites.

Having said that there are still important differences between the newspaper coverage and what is covered in the website texts. The debate about the cost of Blears's, Harman's and other women politicians' handbags clearly illustrates how the logic of the gender-system is upheld by media, while this issue was barely covered on the candidates' websites. Handbags are clearly something that differentiates women politicians from men and the focus on this attribute stands in the way of substantial policy coverage.

In addition the analysis in this dissertation confirms Ross's findings in her research of the media coverage of the Labour Leadership elections in 1994. When women candidates are presented as individuals it is often with a negative and patronising slant, although the way Blears managed to somehow control the image of her background about her upbringing by giving away a story that fits the media logic is an important counter-example.

The findings in this research could be useful advice for women candidates in the future. Website strategies need to focus more on challenging negative newspaper presentation by

having a relentless focus on policy issues, but framed in a way that suits the media coverage. The potential for self-presentation should not be over-estimated in the short term as even this is conditioned by the gender system that the general public, the media, and the candidates themselves are accustomed.

It is a point of fact that women candidates will be treated differently in media. Hence continued research into the relations between self-presentation and media representation is necessary. This dissertation shows how research of candidate websites can be an important tool to do this, but an expansion of the methodological framework including interviews with politicians, advisers, and journalists, and more qualitative discourse analysis is needed to further develop this analysis.

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Appendix 1 Sampling procedures

Newspaper articles
LexisNexis search for Harriet Harman, major mention and deputy leader or deputy leadership between 14th May and 22nd June gives 55 results (taking away when the same articles occur twice)
LexisNexis search for Hazel Blears major mention and deputy leader or deputy leadership between 14th May and 22nd June gives 63 results (taking away when the same articles occur twice)

Website texts
Websites were saved with a special software on the 27th June.
Hazel Blears 44 texts in six sections

- Hazel

- The job, Challenges ahead, Tomorrow's party

- Campaign News (between 14th May and 22nd June) (except news that just links to mass-media coverage)

- Debate

- Blog entries (between 14th May and 22nd June)

- We are backing Hazel (20 endorsements, counted as one text)

Harriet Harman 33 texts in five sections

- About Harriet

- List of endorsements (96 endorsements, counted as one text)

- Latest News (between 14th May and 22nd June) (except news that just links to mass-media coverage)

- Campaign Leaflet and Campaign Postcard

- Blog Entries (between 14th May and 22nd June)

Appendix 2 Index of Documents

	Name	Newspaper /Website	Headline	Newspaper or website section	Date
1	Harriet Harman	News	G2: Women: First ladies: they both claim to be feminists.	The Guardian	22/6/07
2	Harriet Harman	News	You can bank on Harriet: Pandora	The Independent	19/6/07
3	Harriet Harman	News	Harriet Harman	The Sun	19/6/07
4	Harriet Harman	News	I was 'dead meat' and my 30/career was over. Why? I wouldn't lie for Harriet Harman	Mail on Sunday	17/6/07
5	Harriet Harman	News	Harman Blasts US in Debate	The Mirror	15/6/07
6	Harriet Harman	News	Second Opinion	The Times	14/6/07
7	Harriet Harman	News	How can wily power-seeker;	Daily Mail	12/6/07
8	Harriet Harman	News	Women's wage bid	The Mirror	12/6/07
9	Harriet Harman	News	Harman demands law to curb CIA flights	Daily Mail	11/6/07
10	Harriet Harman	News	National: 'Remember, Labour was radical in 1997': Interview Harriet Harman	The Guardian	9/6/07
11	Harriet Harman	News	Model supporter; Pandora	The Independent	7/6/07
12	Harriet Harman	News	Notebook Why I'd never 'aspire' to a pounds 10,000 bag	The Daily Telegraph	5/6/07
13	Harriet Harman	News	Harman backs junk-food ads ban News Digest	Financial Times	5/6/07
14	Harriet Harman	News	Harriet Harman	The Times	5/6/07
15	Harriet Harman	News	Rivals split over Labour's new direction	The Times	5/6/07
16	Harriet Harman	News	Labour candidates rely on second-choice votes	The Independent on Sunday	3/6/07
17	Harriet Harman	News	7 DAYS: A GOOD WEEK FOR	The Observer	3/6/07
18	Harriet Harman	News	Handbags at dawn for Blears and Harman	The Daily Telegraph	2/6/07
19	Harriet Harman	News	Great handbag debate; Is it ever right to spend GBP 10,000 on one, ask Labour ministers	The Express	2/6/07
20	Harriet Harman	News	Handbags at dawn among the labour women	The Independent	2/6/07
21	Harriet Harman	News	TK Maxx or Oral Kiel? It's the battle of the bags	The Times	2/6/07
22	Harriet Harman	News	Labour about to lurch Left, say Tories Rivals for deputy's job criticise Iraq war and call for redistribution's wealth	The Daily Telegraph	31/5/07
23	Harriet Harman	News	It's the 'coping classes' who really count	The Daily Telegraph	31/5/07
24	Harriet Harman	News	THE chillingly superior Jeremy Paxman	Daily Mail	31/5/07
25	Harriet Harman	News	Costly arm candy Observer	Financial Times	31/5/07
26	Harriet Harman	News	Labour deputy candidate calls for Iraq apology	The Independent	30/5/07
27	Harriet Harman	News	HARMAN: IRAQ WAS MISTAKE	The Mirror	30/5/07
28	Harriet Harman	News	Tax level for rich reveals split in rivals for deputy leadership	The Times	30/5/07
29	Harriet Harman	News	Reply Letters and emails: Using McJobs to beef up citizens rights	The Guardian	29/5/07
30	Harriet Harman	News	Spin on new stop powers 'divisive'	The Times	29/5/07

31	Harriet Harman	News	Hat fits for Gord	The News of the World	27/5/07
32	Harriet Harman	News	Opinion: Don't rob the rich - just let them give it away	The Observer	27/5/07
33	Harriet Harman	News	Harman warns of £3bn equal pay timebomb facing councils	The Guardian	26/5/07
34	Harriet Harman	News	Biggest public sector union backs Cruddas in deputy leader contest	The Independent	25/5/07
35	Harriet Harman	News	A commendable pledge from the blog of Harriet Harman	The Times	25/5/07
36	Harriet Harman	News	IT'S THE GREAT DAILY MIRROR DEPUTY LEADER QUIZ;	The Mirror	24/5/07
37	Harriet Harman	News	There's only one thing Harriet won't pontificate about	The Daily Telegraph	23/5/07
38	Harriet Harman	News	Ministers 'should give up grace-and-favour homes'	Daily Mail	21/5/07
39	Harriet Harman	News	Al 'best as No'	The News of the World	20/5/07
40	Harriet Harman	News	Because I'll make Gordon look good	Sunday Times	20/5/07
41	Harriet Harman	News	INTERVIEW The coy smile to match Brown's frown Labour's rising star, Harriet Harman, says Number 10 needs a change of style	The Daily Telegraph	19/5/07
42	Harriet Harman	News	Six-way fight to be deputy	The Daily Telegraph	18/5/07
43	Harriet Harman	News	Half dozen in bid to be new deputy	The Express	18/5/07
44	Harriet Harman	News	Comment & Debate: Comment is free: Harman's choice marked the moment the rot set in	The Guardian	17/5/07
45	Harriet Harman	News	Education and quest for unity dominate hustings	The Guardian	17/5/07
46	Harriet Harman	News	Hain calls for unity during campaign	The Independent	17/5/07
47	Harriet Harman	News	A Dog-owner source informs The Whip	The Sun	17/5/07
48	Harriet Harman	News	Brown heading for coronation	The Daily Telegraph	16/5/07
49	Harriet Harman	News	Johnson leads race to be deputy as Benn struggles to make start line	The Times	16/5/07
50	Harriet Harman	News	It turned out Granny Meacher was the one biting the dust; Yesterday in Parliament	Daily Mail	15/5/07
51	Harriet Harman	News	Politics: Simon Hoggart's sketch: Stormin' Harriet launches and leaves	The Guardian	15/5/07
52	Harriet Harman	News	Boost for Harman as Benn deputy bid suffers setback	The Independent	15/5/07
53	Harriet Harman	News	John 'if' McDonnell may have legs. If only his numbers stacked up	The Independent	15/5/07
54	Harriet Harman	News	Sir Walter Raleigh moment fails to make a big splash	The Times	15/5/07
55	Harriet Harman	News	Interest rate rises as Harman funds her bid with loan	The Times	15/5/07
56	Hazel Blears	News	G2: Women: First ladies: they both claim to be feminists.	The Guardian	22/6/07

57	Hazel Blears	News	We are as bored as you with stories about a) Facebook and b) the Labour deputy leadership	The Times	22/6/07
58	Hazel Blears	News	Dave saved NOTEBOOK - BRIAN GROOM	Financial Times	19/6/07
59	Hazel Blears	News	Blears' beers; Pandora	The Independent	19/6/07
60	Hazel Blears	News	CHERIE'S BOOB AS SHE BACKS HAZEL; EXCLUSIVE	Sunday Mirror	17/6/07
61	Hazel Blears	News	Blears 'gives up hope' of victory	The Daily Telegraph	16/6/07
62	Hazel Blears	News	Hazel Blears shows rare self-awareness for a politician	The Sun	15/6/07
63	Hazel Blears	News	In the deputy race, only one dares speak truth to power: Five of six candidates would do a decent job, but Jon Cruddas is by far the best placed to re-engage with Labour's grassroots.	The Guardian	14/6/07
64	Hazel Blears	News	Trapped builder's on mend	The Sun	14/6/07
65	Hazel Blears	News	Second Opinion	The Times	14/6/07
66	Hazel Blears	News	Worker is trapped in collapsed building	The Daily Telegraph	13/6/07
67	Hazel Blears	News	Minister escapes office-block collapse	The Express	13/6/07
68	Hazel Blears	News	People	The Guardian	13/6/07
69	Hazel Blears	News	Building collapse Workers evacuated	The Guardian	13/6/07
70	Hazel Blears	News	Man freed from the rubble after part of Blears's office collapses	The Times	13/6/07
71	Hazel Blears	News	Point of disorder	The Mirror	13/6/07
72	Hazel Blears	News	Man trapped in rubble as Blears' London office building collapses	The Independent	13/6/07
73	Hazel Blears	News	Education: Notebook	The Guardian	13/6/07
74	Hazel Blears	News	Blears in row over immigrants	The Daily Telegraph	11/6/07
75	Hazel Blears	News	Blears is under fire for calling them anti-social	Daily Mail	11/6/07
76	Hazel Blears	News	MP LAYS INTO IMMIGRANTS; Blears: Brits want fair play	Daily Star	11/6/07
77	Hazel Blears	News	Blears sparks race row over immigrants 'undercutting wages': Candidate for Labour deputy leadership accused of pandering to the far right with controversial remarks in jobs and housing	The Independent	10/6/07
78	Hazel Blears	News	Reply Letters and emails: Option to strengthen union-Labour links	The Guardian	7/6/07
79	Hazel Blears	News	Jon Cruddas has secured the backing of the transport workers' union and Amicus	The Sun	7/6/07
80	Hazel Blears	News	Comment & Debate: Diary	The Guardian	6/6/07
81	Hazel Blears	News	Notebook. Why I never 'aspire' to a pounds 10,000 bag	The Daily Telegraph	5/6/07
82	Hazel Blears	News	Harriet Harman	The Times	5/6/07
83	Hazel Blears	News	Rivals split over Labour's new direction	The Times	5/6/07
84	Hazel Blears	News	Reply: Letters and emails: Back to politics of the 70s or 80s?	The Guardian	4/6/07

85	Hazel Blears	News	Blears insists Labour can increase majority: YouGov poll is gloomy reading for party chair Deputy leader candidates wary of higher top tax rates	The Guardian	4/6/07
86	Hazel Blears	News	Labour: 'Brown bounce' can win us more seats, says Blears	The Guardian	4/6/07
87	Hazel Blears	News	Stand up for ginger rights	The Independent	4/6/07
88	Hazel Blears	News	Labour candidates rely on second-choice votes	The Independent on Sunday	3/6/07
89	Hazel Blears	News	7 DAYS: A GOOD WEEK FOR	The Observer	3/6/07
90	Hazel Blears	News	CHOICE LOT FOR DEPUTY	Sunday Mirror	3/6/07
91	Hazel Blears	News	Handbags at dawn for Blears and Harman	The Daily Telegraph	2/6/07
92	Hazel Blears	News	The race to be number two	The Daily Telegraph	2/6/07
93	Hazel Blears	News	Great handbag debate; Is it ever right to spend GBP 10,000 on one, ask Labour ministers	The Express	2/6/07
94	Hazel Blears	News	TK Maxx or Orla Kiely? It's the battle of the bags	The Times	2/6/07
95	Hazel Blears	News	Can we bin the mush of the Blair years	The Daily Telegraph	1/6/07
96	Hazel Blears	News	Blears warns against Labour lurch to politics of the 70s: Move to left 'would make party unelectable': Benn and Cruddas defend tone of their campaigns	The Guardian	1/6/07
97	Hazel Blears	News	It's the 'coping classes' who really count	The Daily Telegraph	31/5/07
98	Hazel Blears	News	THE chillingly superior Jeremy Paxman	Daily Mail	31/5/07
99	Hazel Blears	News	Give rich donors tax breaks sys Blears	Financial Times	31/5/07
100	Hazel Blears	News	Here's Hazel!; Pandora	The Independent	31/5/07
101	Hazel Blears	News	Labour's deputy leadership campaign	The Times	31/5/07
102	Hazel Blears	News	From Salford semi to the Cabinet table - the Blears rout to the top	The Times	30/5/07
103	Hazel Blears	News	Tax level for rich reveals split in rivals for deputy leadership	The Times	30/5/07
104	Hazel Blears	News	Spin on new stop powers 'divisive'	The Times	29/5/07
105	Hazel Blears	News	National: Brown urged to improve relations with NHS staff: Interview Hazel Blears	The Guardian	28/5/07
106	Hazel Blears	News	A taste of Hazel; Hazel Blears, aged five, making her debut... as a street urchin	Mail on Sunday	27/5/07
107	Hazel Blears	News	Little Dynamo' powers her way through party's panel game	Financial Times	21/5/07
108	Hazel Blears	News	Brown backers unite to crush Blairite in deputy leadership race	The Independent	20/5/07
109	Hazel Blears	News	Al 'best as No'	The News of the World	20/5/07
110	Hazel Blears	News	Six-way fight to be deputy	The Daily Telegraph	18/5/07
111	Hazel Blears	News	Half dozen in bid to be new deputy	The Express	18/5/07
112	Hazel Blears	News	Hain calls for unity during campaign	The Independent	17/5/07
113	Hazel Blears	News	A Dog-owner source informs The Whip	The Sun	17/5/07

114	Hazel Blears	News	Brown heading for coronation	The Daily Telegraph	16/5/07
115	Hazel Blears	News	Politics: Deputy Leadership: How the Support lines up	The Guardian	16/5/07
116	Hazel Blears	News	It turned out Granny Meacher was the one biting the dust; Yesterday in Parliament	Daily Mail	15/5/07
117	Hazel Blears	News	John 'if' McDonnell may have legs. If only his numbers stacked up	The Independent	15/5/07
118	Hazel Blears	News	Sir Walter Raleigh moment fails to make a big splash	The Times	15/5/07
119	Hazel Blears	Website	Tomorrow's Politics, Tomorrows Party	Tomorrow's Politics, Tomorrows Party	
120	Hazel Blears	Website	The job	The job	
121	Hazel Blears	Website	Challenges Ahead	Challenges Ahead	
122	Hazel Blears	Website	Hazel	Hazel	
123	Hazel Blears	Website	I'm in it to win it. No truth in pulling out story	Campaign News	15/6/07
124	Hazel Blears	Website	Latest on building collapse	Campaign News	13/6/07
125	Hazel Blears	Website	Young People Back Blears	Campaign News	12/6/07
126	Hazel Blears	Website	Hazel Express concern for those injured	Campaign News	12/6/07
127	Hazel Blears	Website	Pete Postlethwaite backs Blears	Campaign News	11/6/07
128	Hazel Blears	Website	Blears calls for extension of right to request flexible working	Campaign News	6/6/07
129	Hazel Blears	Website	Blears target Tory and Lib Dem Seats	Campaign News	4/6/07
130	Hazel Blears	Website	75 young members back Blears	Campaign News	1/6/07
131	Hazel Blears	Website	Praise for Hazel at CSM Hustings	Campaign News	23/5/07
132	Hazel Blears	Website	USDAW backs Hazel for Deputy	Campaign News	21/5/07
133	Hazel Blears	Website	Hazel's page on Unions Together goes Alive	Campaign News	18/5/07
134	Hazel Blears	Website	Flexible Working	Debate	8/6/07
135	Hazel Blears	Website	Youth Debate	Debate	4/6/07
136	Hazel Blears	Website	Renewing our Democracy	Debate	26/5/07
137	Hazel Blears	Website	Safeguarding the climate	Debate	21/5/07
138	Hazel Blears	Website	Only a strong society can stop gun culture	Debate	15/3/07
139	Hazel Blears	Website	The role of deputy leader	Debate	23/2/07
140	Hazel Blears	Website	Question Time	Blog	15/6/07
141	Hazel Blears	Website	And the campaign continues	Blog	15/6/07
142	Hazel Blears	Website	Women's hustings	Blog	12/6/07
143	Hazel Blears	Website	Weekend on the move	Blog	11/6/07
144	Hazel Blears	Website	A brief update	Blog	8/6/07
145	Hazel Blears	Website	On the move	Blog	7/6/07
146	Hazel Blears	Website	Stop the press	Blog	6/6/07
147	Hazel Blears	Website	Busy day	Blog	6/6/07
148	Hazel Blears	Website	Report from the weekend	Blog	4/6/07
149	Hazel Blears	Website	An Afternoon with Becks	Blog	1/6/07
150	Hazel Blears	Website	News for the Road	Blog	31/5/07
151	Hazel Blears	Website	Checking in	Blog	1/5/31
152	Hazel Blears	Website	Back in Manchester	Blog	1/5/28
153	Hazel Blears	Website	Greetings from Bristol	Blog	26/5/07
154	Hazel Blears	Website	Out And About	Blog	25/5/07

155	Hazel Blears	Website	Thank you to all my supporters	Blog	24/5/07
156	Hazel Blears	Website	CSM Hustings	Blog	23/5/07
157	Hazel Blears	Website	Oh what a (first) week!	Blog	22/5/07
158	Hazel Blears	Website	We are backing Hazel	We are backing Hazel	
159	Harriet Harman	Website	About Harriet	About	
160	Harriet Harman	Website	Harriet: Families need rights not favours from the boss	Latest News	18/6/07
161	Harriet Harman	Website	Harriet scores well in Amnesty International Question Time Hustings	Latest News	14/6/07
162	Harriet Harman	Website	A Gift from Tony Banks for Harriet	Latest News	13/6/07
163	Harriet Harman	Website	Harriet is the most trustworthy candidate	Latest News	5/6/07
164	Harriet Harman	Website	Poll makes Harman most popular choice for Deputy Labour Party	Latest News	4/6/07
165	Harriet Harman	Website	Press release: Harman launches pilot to enable community groups to have a say in offenders' work	Latest News	4/6/07
166	Harriet Harman	Website	Harriet makes BAME pledges to the Black Socialist Society	Latest News	31/5/07
167	Harriet Harman	Website	Harriet pledges to be equal pay champion	Latest News	31/5/07
168	Harriet Harman	Website	Harriet to give details of her Environmental Protection Bill to Stroud CLP	Latest News	25/5/07
169	Harriet Harman	Website	Harriet receives support from Southwark Credit Union	Latest News	22/5/07
170	Harriet Harman	Website	Harriet Joins Jemima Khan at the Launch of The Breastfeeding Manifesto	Latest News	16/5/07
171	Harriet Harman	Website	Urban Concepts supports Harriet's bid for the Deputy Leadership	Latest News	15/5/07
172	Harriet Harman	Website	Harriet announces 60 nominations for Deputy Leadership	Latest News	14/5/07
173	Harriet Harman	Website	Leaflet	Leaflet	
174	Harriet Harman	Website	Postcard	Postcard	
175	Harriet Harman	Website	A cliff hanger result	Blog	22/6/07
176	Harriet Harman	Website	Final Husting: London	Blog	16/6/07
177	Harriet Harman	Website	Cardiff Hustings	Blog	9/6/07
178	Harriet Harman	Website	BMV Oxford: Equal Pay Audits	Blog	8/6/07
179	Harriet Harman	Website	Ballot papers for deputy leader going out today	Blog	6/6/07
180	Harriet Harman	Website	Newcastle friendliest city in Britain	Blog	3/6/07
181	Harriet Harman	Website	Shaping our own future -no advice needed fro the Tories	Blog	31/5/07
182	Harriet Harman	Website	News night deputy leader hustings	Blog	1/5/30
183	Harriet Harman	Website	Iraq answering the question in sheffield Husting	Blog	1/5/27
184	Harriet Harman	Website	The Bristol effect- spotlight on care of the elderly	Blog	1/5/26
185	Harriet Harman	Website	Islington north CLP	Blog	1/5/24
186	Harriet Harman	Website	Deputy leader hustings: 10 down 11 to go!	Blog	1/5/23
187	Harriet Harman	Website	Coventry deputy leader hustings	Blog	1/5/20

188	Harriet Harman	Website	More power to black and Asian members	Blog	16/5/07
189	Harriet Harman	Website	Gwyneth Dunwoody MP	Blog	14/5/07
190	Harriet Harman	Website	Candidate for the deputy leader of the labour party	Blog	
191	Harriet Harman	Website	Endorsements	Endorsements	

1. Appendix 3 Coding Schedule

1. What is the main focus of the text?
    1. ☐ Campaign Coverage
    2. ☐ The Labour Party
    3. ☐ Policy Issues
    4. ☐ Handbag debate
    5. ☐ More than one of above
    6. ☐ Other, not possible to say (incl. building collapse)

2. What policy issues are discussed?
    1. ☐ Social issues
    2. ☐ Women and family issues
    3. ☐ International politics
    4. ☐ Crime and anti social behaviour
    5. ☐ Immigration
    6. ☐ Democracy and government issues
    7. ☐ Healthcare
    8. ☐ Education
    9. ☐ Diversity and tolerance
    10. ☐ Taxes
    11. ☐ More than one of the above
    12. ☐ Other
    13. ☐ No policy issue mentioned

3. Does the text discuss or refer to the candidate's character traits?
    1. ☐ Yes
    2. ☐ No
    3. ☐ Ambiguous

4. Are there words or expressions in the text that refer to the candidate's appearance?
    1. ☐ Yes
    2. ☐ No
    3. ☐ Ambiguous

5. Does the text explicitly mention the candidate's sex?
    1. ☐ Yes
    2. ☐ No
    3. ☐ Ambiguous

6. Does the text make the candidates marital status clear?
    1. ☐ Yes
    2. ☐ No
    3. ☐ Ambiguous

7. What strategic appeal of the candidate is mentioned or is pursued in the text?
    1. ☐ Appealing to women
    2. ☐ Appealing to trade unions
    3. ☐ Internal Labour (Blarite/Brownite/left/right)
    4. ☐ Appeal to young members or voters
    5. ☐ More than one of above
    6. ☐ No obvious strategic appeal
    7. ☐ Other/impossible to say

8. How is the candidate's background described?
    1. ☐ Professional background
    2. ☐ Private background
    3. ☐ Both 1 and 2

4. ☐ Background is not described

5 ☐ Other/Impossible to say

9. Does the text take a positive or negative slant on the candidate?

1. ☐ Positive

2. ☐ Negative

3. ☐ Neutral

4. ☐ Ambiguous /impossible to say

10. Are the other candidates mentioned?

1. ☐ Yes all other candidates are mentioned

2. ☐ Yes, only Blears/Harman is mentioned

3. ☐ Yes, one or more of the male candidates are mentioned

4. ☐ No other candidate is mentioned

2. Appendix 4 Coding Book

1. Main focus
1. Campaign Coverage refers to:
   Reports from hustings, launches and campaign activities, use of internet and new media in campaign horse-race reporting, campaign funding, the job as Deputy, pulling out of race, celebrity support and endorsement, betting odds.
2. Labour Party refers to:
   Debate about party renewal, party future, party organization, modernisation, party strategy for next general election.
3. Policy issues:
   Includes all other policy issues
4. Handbag debate refers to:
   The debate about spending on handbags.
5. Other/not possible to say (includes building collapse)

2. Policy issues
What policy issues are discussed, if any? Even if the main focus of the article is something else, there might be policy issues mentioned.
1. Social issues: Social inequality, housing, divided society, youth issues, pensions, social services, youth service, deprivation, homelessness, sexual health, junk-food-ban.
2. Women and family issues: suffragettes, domestic violence, gender pay gap, women representation, all women short-lists, sex discrimination, women's rights, breast feeding, child care, work-life balance, flexible working, parental leave, family policy, lone parents.
3. International politics: Iraq, anti-terrorism, foreign policy, international development, third world debt
4. Crime: criminality, gun-culture, homicide victims, prisoners rights, victims of crime, trafficking, anti-social behaviour orders
5. Democracy and government issues: spin, parliamentary scrutiny, DCA, constitutional issues, local government.
6. Immigration: Both migration and integrations of immigrants in British society.
7. Health care: NHS and elderly care
8. Education: Schools, universities
9. Diversity and Tolerance: Ethnic minorities, BME issues, BAME.
12. Other: includes ID cards, nuclear power, credit union, public transport.

3. Character Traits
Answers if the text describes or comments on the candidate's character traits. Character traits are here referred to as words and expressions that are used to describe the qualities or characteristics of the candidate. For example lacklustre, trustworthy, Duracell bunny, ambitious, listener, leader etc. Ambiguous is if the text insinuates but does not explicitly mention a character trait.

4. Appearances
Answers if the text includes word or expressions that refer to the candidate's appearance. For example diminutive, short, ginger, flame-haired, photogenic. Description of clothes and references to spending on handbags are also coded as a reference to the candidate's appearance.

5. Sex
Does the text explicitly mention the candidates sex by saying woman where it could have been avoided? Also when it is mentioned that a woman is needed as a Deputy Leader it is coded as explicitly mentioning the sex.

6. Marital status
Looks at whether the text tells us about the candidate's marital status by mentioning the husband. The use of the title Mrs is not coded as explicitly mentioning marital status.

7. Strategic Appeals
Looks at what group is the most likely target of the message and what arguments that are mentioned in the text.
1. Appealing to women or appeal as a woman
   Message is clearly directed to women or the fact that the candidate is a woman is mentioned as an argument. Mentions support from high-profile women.
2. Appealing to trade unions
   Message is clearly directed to trade union members or a trade-union background or support is highlighted.
3. Internal Labour Party
   The candidates stand in a Blairite-Brownite debate is mentioned or there is a clear appeal to a certain part of the party.
4. Appeal to young members/voters
   Message is clearly directed to young members or voters or support from young members is highlighted.

8. Positive/Negative Slant
Looks at whether the text deliberately give a positive or negative image of the candidate and/or her campaign? Negative slant also include stories that are apparently harmful for campaign and published because of that as in the case of the story from the times about a mass e-mail sent without Bcc. Neutral refers to news-reporting texts that does not take a position.

9. Candidate Background
Looks at how the candidate's background is described.
1. Professional and political background
   Such as ministerial posts, campaigns and education and previous jobs,
2. Private background
   Such as being a parent, having been a child actor, up-bringing, working-class or upper-class background.
3. Other (includes geographical background)

10. Candidates Mentioned
Looks at whether the two female candidates are mentioned together, on their own or together with other candidates.

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