

GENDERED MEDIATION OF CLINTON'S NONVERBAL IMMEDIACY

A “nasty woman”: Assessing the gendered mediation of Hillary Clinton’s nonverbal immediacy cues during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign

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**Abstract**

Hillary Clinton's defeat in the 2016 U.S. presidential election was a stunning upset that confounded pollsters, pundits, and journalists predicting a solid win by the former secretary of state and Democratic candidate against businessperson and reality television star Donald Trump. This Major Research Paper uses the theoretical lenses of gendered mediation and the double bind to investigate how U.S. media framed Clinton's credibility and likability as a female candidate during the last six weeks of the election campaign. Employing a qualitative thematic content analysis, the paper examines how two regional daily newspapers in traditionally red and blue states assessed Clinton's credibility and likability through her use of nonverbal immediacy cues. It finds that though Clinton was able to gain credibility through her use of immediacy behaviours, the portrayal of her likability was still confined by gender norms and depicted as a barrier to her viability as a presidential candidate.

*Keywords:* Female politicians, nonverbal immediacy, double bind, gendered mediation, likability, credibility, communication, qualitative content analysis

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**Dedication**

To my daughter, Quinn. May you grow up in a world where everything is possible.

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### Introduction

It is clear, says Hillary Clinton in her newest memoir, *What Happened*, that “sexism and misogyny played a role in the 2016 presidential election” (2017, p. 114). The most blatant example of this, she suggests, is the infamous recording of winning candidate and current U.S. President Donald Trump bragging about his sexual assaults of women, which still failed to sway many voters from choosing his name at the ballot box. “But Donald Trump didn’t invent sexism,” Clinton continues in her book, “and its impact on our politics goes far beyond this one election . . . sexism exerts its pull on our politics and our society every day, in ways both subtle and crystal clear” (2017, p. 114).

On November 7, 2016, Clinton – former secretary of state, senator, and first lady, a long-time public servant in the political sphere – appeared poised to make history and become the first female president of the United States. For many scholars, she has been the only truly viable female presidential candidate in U.S. political history to date (Jones, 2016). But the following day, Clinton lost the election to Trump, winning 232 electoral votes to his 306 (CNN, 2016). This astonishing upset defied the predictions of pollsters, pundits, and others who believed Clinton’s decades of government experience and political savvy would easily carry the day against Trump, a businessperson and reality-television star with no political experience to his name.

In the year since, members of the media, academics, and other experts have attempted to explain why she was unable to win the White House; even Clinton herself has joined the chorus with her aptly titled book. The e-mail scandal, Russia’s involvement in the election campaign, lower-than-anticipated turnout by young voters and those from minority groups, cynicism regarding career politicians, and Trump’s

groundswell of grassroots support and capitalization on economic anxiety and racism have all been posited as contributing factors (Ball, 2016; Clinton, 2017; Cooper, 2017; Klein, 2017; Marcotte, 2017).

In her memoir, Clinton (2017) ruminates that the skepticism she's encountered during her career is due in part to the visceral discomfort many feel about having a female politician in the Oval Office, a subconscious bias that has emerged out of the societal and historical norms that expect women to stay silent and submissive even on the political stage: "When a woman lands a political punch – and not even a particularly hard one – it's not read as the normal sparring that men do all the time in politics. It makes her a 'nasty woman'" (p. 121).

As academic literature continues to examine the outcomes and implications of Clinton's loss, one area that is still relatively unexplored is the mediated perception of Clinton's nonverbal immediacy cues (e.g., body position, facial and verbal expressions, gestures, etc.) as a female candidate during the 2016 election campaign, and the kinds of gendered media narratives that were communicated to American voters about her credibility and likability.

For the purposes of this paper, nonverbal immediacy cues will follow Wiener and Mehrabian's definition, in which they refer to the degree of closeness or separation between individuals that is expressed in their communication (Gottlieb et al., 1967). Discussions of nonverbal immediacy will also be mindful of the "principle of immediate communication", or the assumption that an individual's increased use of immediate behaviours (e.g., smiling, making eye contact, relaxed body posture) will mean that

others will like and prefer them more, while the less they are used the more others will dislike or reject them (Richmond et al., 2003, p. 505).

The definition of credibility will embody Page and Duffy's (2016) categorization of this trait as invoking expertise and trustworthiness. Expertise is defined as the perception of the candidate as competent, knowledgeable, strong, and experienced (e.g., physically active gestures like shaking hands or gesturing, versus a lack of gestures which can suggest a candidate is disengaged or unqualified). Trustworthiness focuses on the candidate's moral standing, such as their sincerity, honesty, and willingness to take a stand on an issue (e.g., relaxed clothing, happy and serious or caring facial expressions).

Likability, meanwhile, will be defined as the candidate's perceived level of warmth and approachability. This is based on Richmond et al.'s (2003) assertion that immediate communicators are frequently described as both, and Carpenter's argument that the "new language" of television communication potential – which could be extended to all mediated environments – features dimensions such as warmth, involvement, enthusiasm, and interest (Pfau, 2002, p. 254).

These definitions will also be rooted in Fiske et al.'s (2007) conceptualization of warmth (i.e., likability) and competence (i.e., credibility) as the two universal dimensions of social cognition. Warmth is considered to be a set of traits related to perceived intent such as friendliness, sincerity, and trustworthiness, while competence speaks to traits related to perceived ability such as intelligence, skill, and efficacy. Together, these dimensions are almost completely responsible for how individuals judge one another. In addition to positive or negative ratings on warmth and competence, individuals can also

be perceived ambivalently, in that they can be considered warm but incompetent or competent but cold and untrustworthy (Fiske et al., 2007).

Female politicians have long been subject to an uneven media playing field, where they generally receive less coverage than their male counterparts, are more likely to be paraphrased rather than directly quoted, and are more likely to be gendered and/or sexualized (Adcock, 2010; Bode & Hennings, 2012; Brooks, 2016; Ette, 2013; Falk, 2010; Gigengil & Everitt, 2003; Harp et al., 2017; Harp et al., 2016; Lawless, 2009; Meeks, 2012; Miller et al., 2010; Shepard, 2009; Trimble et al., 2014). Even before the coverage is printed, broadcasted, or uploaded, the media industry operates from a gendered framework where men are considered the political norm, and where narratives are driven and dominated by male newsmakers and gatekeepers (Burke et al., 2013; Ette, 2013; Gidengil & Everitt, 2003; Greenwood & Coker, 2016; Harp et al., 2017; Loke et al., 2017).

This masculine framework is revealed through the gendered characterization of women's speech (for example, in coverage that trades neutral verbs like 'said' for descriptions such as 'attacked') (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003), reliance on male sources (Burke et al., 2008), use of imagery and metaphor, often through war or sports themes, that paint women as outsiders (Burke et al., 2008; Gidengil & Everitt, 2003), the proliferation of stereotypes that privilege men over women and portray both genders in significantly different ways (Ette, 2013), and the focus on a woman's personality, temperament, or looks over her achievements or policies (Ette, 2013; Harp et al., 2017; Laher, 2014). Gendered mediation can also extend to coverage of a politician's nonverbal

cues, which can strongly influence the public's perception of candidates and their readiness to lead, and impact outcomes such as voting (Manusov & Harvey, 2011).

Not only must female politicians contend with gendered media coverage, they must also navigate the daily reality of the 'double bind' (Jamieson, 1995), a challenge facing women at large. The notion of the double bind has become a common term to describe the obstacles women encounter on a number of fronts, including those in positions of power. For example, women who assume more traditionally masculine traits in leadership roles are penalized for acting inappropriate or inauthentic, while those who embrace more feminine approaches are seen as less suitable or effective in their role (Jamieson, 1995). Clinton herself has been placed in a number of no-win situations as described by Jamieson's (1995) double bind theory; for example, her husband's political defeat in 1980 was blamed on her keeping her last name, but she was later criticized for giving up Rodham for Clinton (Jamieson, 1995).

This either/or proposition is one that confronts many women in politics, who must choose between performing masculine norms like assertiveness that align with leadership roles but contravene gender stereotypes, or feminine norms like agreeableness that conform to expectations of them as women but risk damaging their perceived political suitability (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003; Grebelsky-Lichtman, 2016; Jones, 2016): "If they are too masculine (Hillary Clinton), they are perceived as able but are disliked, whereas if they are too feminine (Sarah Palin), they are liked but are viewed as incompetent" (Grebelsky-Lichtman, 2016, p. 368). In the words of Clinton (2017): "Can you blame us for feeling like we can't win, no matter what we do?" (p. 123).

Looking at the landmark 2016 U.S. presidential election campaign, this Major Research Paper uses a qualitative thematic content analysis to examine how the American media, represented by two regional daily newspapers in traditionally red or blue states, assessed Clinton's credibility and likability as a female political candidate through her use of nonverbal immediacy cues during the final six weeks of the campaign. Specifically, this paper will examine non-news items (e.g., commentary, opinion pieces, editorials) published between September 23, 2016 and November 7, 2016 and attempt to address the question of how these media framed Clinton's credibility and likability based on her body position, facial expressions, gestures, and other nonverbal cues, through the theoretical lenses of gendered mediation and the double bind theory.

Based on previous literature and contemporary examples of female politicians such as Margaret Thatcher, Kim Campbell, Sarah Palin, Christine Lagarde, and Angela Merkel, it is anticipated that this investigation into Clinton's mediated portrayal leading up to the 2016 presidential election would uncover similar gendered coverage in a real-life illustration of Jamieson's (1995) femininity/competence bind, where Clinton's nonverbal immediacy cues – and subsequently her likability and credibility – would be framed in a way that leaves no space or possibility for success. The aim of this research is to supplement the current dearth of literature on the media portrayals of gendered nonverbal immediacy cues related to likability and credibility. More practically, this paper will contribute to the ongoing examination of mediated narratives around Clinton during the 2016 election and how the gendered presentation of her nonverbal cues – and what they were represented to say about her as a woman and a candidate – may have influenced American voters and her eventual loss.

First, this paper will present an overview of current and relevant literature on the underrepresentation of female politicians; media coverage of female politicians; media coverage of Clinton; and, nonverbal immediacy cues. Following that, it will elaborate its theoretical foundation by describing the concepts of Ette's (2013) interpretation of gendered mediation and Jamieson's (1995) double bind theory, as well as Entman's (2003) definition of framing, and how they are applicable to investigating the main research question. Next, this paper will detail the methodology that will underpin its qualitative thematic content analysis, providing a step-by-step explanation of the corpus development and how Attride-Stirling's (2001) model was used to identify the global themes that emerged from the texts. The paper's subsequent section will explore the global thematic networks created using this model and unpack the findings presented in them, using the lenses of Ette's (2013) gendered mediation and Jamieson's (1995) double bind theory. This section will also return to the research question and attempt to address it, based on what has been discovered through the content analysis. Finally, the paper will summarize the findings as they relate to the research question, and attempt to ground them in the broader context provided by the literature review. It will also expand on the theoretical and practical implications of the research, note any limitations, and provide suggestions for future areas of study on this topic.

### **Literature review**

In developing a contextual space to explore the research question, this paper will examine the current literature in four relevant areas: the underrepresentation of women in politics; media framing of female politicians; media framing of Hillary Clinton; and,

finally, nonverbal immediacy cues. The concepts of gendered mediation and the double bind will be further explored in the following section, which will expand on the paper's previously stated theoretical framework.

### **Underrepresentation of women in politics**

The roots of the underrepresentation of women in U.S. politics can be traced back to the founding of the American Constitution, when only white men with a certain level of wealth and property were considered appropriate representatives to hold public office. From that point, the political executive became associated with elite men and was modeled after the beliefs of the Constitution's founders, which included the idea that the presidency requires a "heroic man" (Duerst-Lahti, 2008, p. 733). This trend has continued throughout the centuries since, with presidential campaigns focused on presenting the kind of man who should preside over an office founded in masculinity (Duerst-Lahti, 2008). This "embedded masculinity" of the Oval Office presents a barrier for women to become viable candidates, even though "relatively few Americans have questioned the fiction that anyone could grow up to be president" (Duerst-Lahti, 2008, p. 733).

On a domestic and global scale, women continue to be significantly underrepresented in the highest offices of government (Brooks, 2011; Laher, 2014). Looking at the American example, since the first woman ran for president in 1872, only approximately 15 other women have received the presidential nomination from their parties. To this day, no woman has held the office of president or vice-president in the U.S. (Falk, 2010), no female candidates appeared in a presidential primary debate until 2004 (Greenwood & Coker, 2016), and no female politicians were considered a serious contender for presidency or vice-presidency until 2008 (Duerst-Lahti, 2008; Meeks,

2012; Sharrow et al., 2016). In the 2016 nomination race, Clinton was the only woman out of six candidates vying for the Democratic nomination, and Carly Fiorina was the only female Republican candidate out of a field of 17 (*New York Times*, 2016; Sharrow et al., 2016). This is especially troubling given that research has shown female politicians have a significant and important impact on the issues being discussed and their final policy outcomes when they are part of the decision-making process (Jones, 2016). In addition to this, multiple studies have demonstrated that female candidates win lower-level political positions just as often as men (Falk, 2010), which points to the specific challenge that women face once they ascend to higher levels of office.

Beyond its historical basis, this current lack of representation can be attributed to a number of factors including the pervasiveness of a gendered hierarchy within politics. The political sphere continues to be predicated on male norms and perspectives to which female candidates must adhere; it is a space where women must develop a self-presentation that embraces both masculine 'leadership' qualities and feminine stereotypes (Greenwood & Coker, 2016; Jones, 2016). This underrepresentation of women in politics may also be due to professional networks recruiting men more often than women (Jones, 2016) and gendered media coverage dissuading potential female candidates (Shepard, 2009). This final point appears to be one of the most salient when discussing the underrepresentation of women in politics, though gendered mediation as a concept will be explored in detail in the following section.

For example, a 1980s survey of college students on the qualities of a good president found that 61 per cent of the descriptions used by those surveyed were masculine in nature, and none of those surveyed used feminine descriptions to represent

their idea of a good president (Falk, 2010). In simulated elections, women receive more votes when they are evaluated higher on both stereotypical masculine and feminine traits, which does not carry for male candidates (Grebelsky & Lichtman, 2016).

These norms and stereotypes drive the belief that women lack the necessary agency to occupy powerful roles and are therefore ill-suited for them; for men, this linkage is not seen as problematic given that power and power-seeking are intrinsically tied to concepts of masculinity (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010). Seeking political office, therefore, is seen as a gross betrayal of the expectations of what it is to be a woman: “The intention to gain power may signal to others that [the female politician] is an aggressive and selfish woman who does not espouse prescribed feminine values of community” (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010, p. 925).

This can result in a backlash effect (i.e., social and economic punishments placed on individuals who violate stereotypes) including lack of support from voters (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). For example, female leaders are punished for having a more directive style over a participatory one, or for being more people-oriented versus task-oriented in their speaking (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). In their study, Rudman and Fairchild (2004) ran a series of experiments with men and women using computer game tasks related to knowledge considered either masculine (i.e., football) or feminine (i.e., children's developmental skills). They found that women were more often sabotaged if they were successful in perceived masculine domains versus feminine ones. Furthermore, the researchers concluded that individuals who undermine atypical men or women felt justified in doing so given that they are “deviants” acting in ways contrary to expected norms and perceptions of appropriate behaviour (Rudman &

Fairchild, 2004, pg. 159). In addition, they found that individuals who do not embody the typical feminine and masculine stereotypes are more likely to fail, and are subsequently less likely to influence the stereotypes held by others.

The inherent biases and subsequent penalizations felt by female politicians for violating cultural and traditional stereotypes may indeed discourage women from running for office (Lawless, 2009). Clinton, for example, experienced both bias and punishment during the 2008 campaign, when two men chanted, "Iron my shirt!" at a rally in New Hampshire (Lawless, 2009, p. 72). Women may also be penalized by being forced to work in a sexist environment (Lawless, 2009) or through lack of support and legitimacy with voters (Brooks, 2011; Jamieson, 1995; McThomas & Tesler, 2016). Seeing these repercussions play out, both in real-time and through media coverage, may signal to other women seeking to pursue politics that the challenges they would face are not worth the effort.

To add even further complexity to the gender-related challenges facing female politicians, women are expected to ignore or remain silent on the influence of traditional norms and sexism on politics; any insinuation that sexism may impact voter behaviour or election outcomes is seen as unfairly attempting to gain an advantage by playing the 'gender card' (Falk, 2010). This demonstrates Jamieson's (1995) double bind, where female politicians are penalized if they describe the context and confines they must operate within but are also expected to overcome.

In response to these realities, as previously noted, some female politicians have adopted more traditionally masculine traits in an attempt to present themselves as stronger and more viable candidates:

As interlopers to the political arena, the self-presentation of female politicians thus tends to be more calculated than that of their male colleagues, who, by the virtue of their gender, embody the dominant prototype of a political leader. Rarely do women act “like women” to achieve power and influence in politics. (Jones, 2016, p. 629)

Female politicians must fall in line with what is expected of them as women *and* as leaders, embracing the traits of their male counterparts to gain more legitimacy in the gendered hierarchy. Clinton, for example, was found to have typically used a masculine self-presentation during the 2008 campaign, though when her likability became a concern she temporarily shifted her self-presentation to show herself as a warmer, more feminine figure (Jones, 2016).

A significant part of this strategic self-presentation may include how female candidates handle displays of emotion. Falk (2010) suggests it has long been posited by feminist theorists that traditional philosophy associates men with thought and rationality and women with their bodies and irrationality. Traditionally, women have been seen as passive, submissive, and emotional, and men rational, active, and dominant (Trimble, 2014). Strong shows of emotion like crying have been branded as feminine, thereby framing them as an irrational act done by women (Curnalia & Mermer, 2014) who cannot be competent and rational by virtue of their femininity alone (Jamieson, 1995). In effect, strong emotion is irrational, because it deviates from the norm of what is expected in interpersonal communication, and women – who are assumed to be more irrational based on their gender – are seen to be inherently emotional. In the political realm, this is showcased when female candidates who display emotion are unfairly and

disproportionately questioned about their stability and ability to lead by voters and the media (Brooks, 2011; Harp et al. 2016).

Though this will be further examined later in this section, it is worth noting that how women politicians grapple with emotion is another example of Jamieson's (1995) double bind, where they cannot appear too unemotional (or else their womanliness will be questioned and lead to doubts about their legitimacy and authenticity) but must also curb any overly emotional display that could be used as evidence against their viability as leaders. As Jones (2016) puts it, "to be successful, they must cultivate an appropriate and effective self-presentation – one that reconciles symbolic attitudes toward gender with masculine prototypes of political leaders" (p. 626). Female politicians, therefore, must be able to demonstrate a perfect balance of deference to traditional norms about femininity (e.g., women are communal and pleasant) while also adhering to the traits that voters expect in their leaders, like strength and resilience. Erring too much on one side or the other in this impossible equation could lead to penalization by voters, which also continues to perpetuate the problematic stereotypes they themselves have encountered.

### **Media coverage of female politicians**

Demure. Perky. Hysterical. Grandmotherly. All of these adjectives have been used to describe female politicians in media coverage (Shepard, 2009). As previously discussed, a wealth of literature demonstrates that female politicians typically receive less coverage than their male counterparts (Bode & Hennings, 2012; Harp et al., 2017), are more likely to be paraphrased rather than directly quoted (Adcock, 2010), and are more likely to be gendered and/or sexualized (Ette, 2013; Gigengil & Everitt, 2003) (see also:

Brooks, 2016; Falk, 2010; Harp et al., 2016; Lawless, 2009; Meeks, 2012; Miller et al., 2010; Shepard, 2009; Trimble et al., 2014).

For example, in examining newspaper coverage of presidential candidates from 1872 to 2004, Falk (2010) found that male candidates received twice the number of articles as their female counterparts; had more substantive coverage (27 per cent of paragraphs in stories referencing men were about issues, versus 16 per cent for women); were described physically only 14 per cent of the time in comparison to 41 per cent of articles mentioning women; and, had three times more positive viability mentions (i.e., were portrayed as having a viable campaign) than female candidates (p. 185). These findings consistently demonstrate three arguments: that women are unnatural in politics (as their true place is in the home or raising children); that they are inherently incompetent as leaders (as seen in the double bind); and that they do not make viable candidates (because they will not be supported by the American electorate) (Falk, 2010).

Beyond the obvious implications, this gendered mediation is problematic given that the media helps create norms and expectations, and thus determines what is socially acceptable (Harp et al., 2017; Laher, 2014). In vying for higher levels of office, most of what voters learn about candidates comes from media coverage, with all of its limitations and biases. Subsequently, the presentations of these candidates are shaped and framed by the media and thus selectively cultivate a perception that is transmitted to the audience (Falk, 2010).

These narratives propagate the stereotype that female politicians are weak, overly emotional, and unable to make decisions, and prioritize less pertinent information, such

as their appearance or family life, over their policy platforms, damaging their credibility and authority (Ette, 2013; Miller et al., 2010; Shepard, 2009):

A man candidate would not be asked how as a “man candidate” he would handle world leaders. When women are asked such questions, reporters not only waste the precious time and column inches that the candidates could use for discussing substantive policy issues, but they also subtly cue the audience that doubt lingers about how women candidates would act on the world stage. (Falk, 2010, p. 86)

There are ample illustrations of how women are mediated in ways that delegitimize their political aspirations both in the U.S. and abroad. One-time Republican vice-presidential candidate Sarah Palin was constructed in media coverage as a “poseur” during her campaign race for adopting masculine behaviours but not masculine qualities (Perks & Johnson, 2014, p. 781). Palin was also objectified for her perceived attractive looks and self-presentation, which challenged her credibility as a candidate (Sharrow et al., 2016). Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi was described by the *New York Times* as “looking preternaturally fresh, with a wardrobe that, while still subdued and over-reliant on suits, has seldom spruced the halls of Congress” rather than reporting on her work (Lawless, 2009, p. 71). In 1984, vice-presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro was asked whether she felt the Soviets would take advantage of her because she was a woman, and if she was “strong enough to push the button” (Falk, 2010, p. 53). In addition to these examples, there are volumes of literature exploring how the media has portrayed Hillary Clinton, which will be further investigated in the following section.

Internationally, gendered media coverage has also been observed with the “iron ladies of Europe” (Laher, 2014, p. 108), Margaret Thatcher, Christine Lagarde, and

Angela Merkel. All three received the moniker for their perceived embodiment of masculine behavioural norms such as assertiveness, with the implicit assumption that feminine norms are in direct conflict with expectations of a political leader's traits (Jones, 2016; Laher, 2014).

Thatcher, for example, was encouraged by her advisors to speak like a man, lowering the pitch of her voice and speaking more slowly (Grebelsky-Lichtman, 2016; Sulieman & O'Connell, 2008). Thatcher was also one of the first British politicians who was required to revamp her appearance to that of an "unthreatening housewife" (Laher, 2014, p. 109) to appeal to a broader voter base. Merkel, meanwhile, was subject to critiques that she was "boring and provincial" (Laher, 2014, p. 109) during her first term in office thanks to her perceived dreary appearance, which was improved in her second term by more chic hairstyles and brighter colours in her wardrobe. Lagarde was criticized for investing too much into her own appearance due to her stylish, elegant fashion choices, creating media debate about "what is appropriate attire for a woman leader to wear rather than what is appropriate policy for the IMF to consider" (Laher, 2014, p. 110).

In her study of media coverage during the 1997 British General Election campaign, Adcock (2010) also found that coverage of female politicians frequently referenced their physical appearances, that their performances were "often characterized as excessive or out of place" (p. 144), and that the language used by media outlets was clearly gendered, including references to the politicians' voices, appearances, and first names.

In the Canadian context, between 1975 and 2012, female candidates in political party races were much more likely to be described with personalizing references (e.g., physical appearance, personal traits, etc.) (Trimble et al., 2013). In both the 1993 and 1997 Canadian elections, aggressive speech verbs (e.g., ‘attack’, ‘blast’, ‘lash out’, etc.) were used to describe the actions of female candidates much more often than men (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003). In addition, the speech verbs reported by media as being used by female candidates were less likely to be neutral (e.g., ‘say’, ‘tell’, ‘talk about’), meaning that the media felt the need to interpret and position how female politicians act (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003). This finding suggests that much like the delegitimization they may experience with voters for being women in the political sphere, media may similarly doubt and discredit the positions and statements of female politicians on account of their femininity and its perceived incompatibility with competence (Jamieson, 1995). Similarly, during the 1999 and 2005 New Zealand elections, media outlets regularly concentrated on the appearance and personality of former prime minister Helen Clark (Burke & Mazzarella, 2008), even describing her as a “political dominatrix” (Trimble et al., 2014, p. 674).

Multiple studies have shown that media coverage is influenced by gender stereotypes, and that voters rely on stereotypes of women and men’s expertise, characteristics, and platforms (see: Bode & Hennings, 2012; Ette, 2013; Gidengil & Everitt, 2003; Laher, 2014; Lawless, 2009; Miller et al., 2010; Trimble et al., 2014; Trimble et al., 2013). Beyond the impact this may have on individual campaigns, gendered mediation may also affect female politicians who wish to run in the future (Falk, 2010). As previously noted, seeing this type of coverage may deter women from

joining a political race given that it showcases the types of challenges and no-win situations they may encounter. This may lead them to judge politics as an impossible realm or one that is not worth the negative repercussions.

This “calls into question the American political system’s ability to produce elected representatives in a fair and democratic manner” (Bode & Hennings, 2012, p. 226). If mediated bias is pushing women away from politics, this further skews a playing field already made uneven by underrepresentation and impedes the democratic spirit of political office being open to any American (it should, however, be stated that in practice this has been shown to be a fallacy given the overwhelming representation of wealthy, white men in higher levels of U.S. politics). This means that American women cannot be properly and proportionally represented if there are systemic barriers to running for office. This empty seat at the table, subsequently, influences the issues and solutions being discussed and helps ensure that future generations of women will also be discouraged from participating.

### **Media framing of Hillary Clinton**

Though a significant amount of literature exists regarding media presentation of Hillary Clinton before and after the 2008 campaign, this paper focuses how she was portrayed during her Democratic nomination bid against eventual winner Barack Obama, given that it is the most relevant to the main topic and where much of the literature is located. In their exhaustive review of over 6,000 news articles and editorials from 25 leading American newspapers throughout the 2008 primaries and caucuses, Miller et al. (2010) found that Clinton received the most coverage of all Democratic candidates on every indicator (e.g., amount of column inches dedicated to her, being the primacy

subject of an article, highest rate of headline mentions), suggesting that she was indeed viewed as a serious and credible candidate. Her qualifications and policy platforms were also mentioned at rates similar to or higher than her counterparts. Finally, they noted that only 2.4 per cent of the articles mentioned Clinton's clothing and appearance, which was significantly higher than coverage of Obama but similar to other candidates. These findings suggest that Clinton's then-frontrunner status, well-known political career, and perceived viability as the first serious female contender for the Oval Office (Duerst-Lahti, 2008; Meeks, 2012; Sharrow et al., 2016) did make an impact on the media coverage, breaking from previous trends around women in politics (Miller et al., 2010).

Despite the initial impression that Clinton received equal and comparable coverage in relation to her male counterparts, however, the differences lay in *how* she was presented. Miller et al. (2010) found that Clinton was portrayed in a negative way disproportionate to the male candidates in the race, and was gendered by the coverage more often. Articles were nearly nine times more likely to reference Clinton's gender than Obama's, and when her gender was mentioned, her electability was questioned nearly five times as often. In terms of references to personality and image, Clinton was mentioned at a rate higher than other candidates but similar to Obama. Media also focused heavily on Clinton's voice, facial expressions, and laughter (McThomas & Tesler, 2016; Sharrow et al., 2016; Shepard, 2009), and her perceived use of masculine self-presentation (Jones, 2016; McThomas & Tesler, 2016).

Perhaps the most telling difference that emerged from Miller et al.'s (2010) study was that Clinton's positive traits were referenced significantly less than Obama's, and her negative traits discussed at a rate that was significantly higher than all of her rivals. It is

also meaningful that the majority of Obama's negative traits were job-related, while Clinton's were disproportionately character-related (p. 182): "[It] was also markedly personal ... whereas she was 'cold', 'secretive', and 'divisive' – arguably gender-based stereotypes – Obama was 'inexperienced'" (Miller et al., 2010, p. 192). From this, it appears that though Clinton was perhaps more visible in media coverage during part of the 2008 campaign, the reporting nonetheless positioned her as an outsider in the race and one who was inherently more problematic than her male colleagues.

Turning specifically to media coverage of Clinton's nonverbal immediacy cues during the 2008 campaign, one specific cue that received coverage was Clinton's laughter, which was eventually named "the Clinton cackle" (Romaniuk, 2016, p. 536). The Clinton cackle, through media presentation, was stripped of its original context (that is, as a common interactional practice used by male and female politicians during news interviews) and reframed with negative, gendered implications. This portrayal conjured up images of hens and witches, both clearly gendered references with strong negative connotations. Some media outlets went further, implicitly or explicitly depicting Clinton as the Wicked Witch of the West:

Clinton's laughter was evaluated in terms of a dominant, cultural script for powerful, competent women vying for leadership positions steeped in masculine hegemony – a script in which women are damned no matter what they do ... the media re-presentations helped to reinforce the ideological belief that Clinton's bid for the White House was also inappropriate. (Romaniuk, 2016, p. 547)

By mediating Clinton's laugh in this manner, her bid for the White House and her presence as a presidential candidate were further delegitimized, once again invoking the double bind to express that a woman does not belong in such a powerful political office.

A significant amount of literature has also been produced about Clinton's 'crying incident' in New Hampshire. During a 2008 appearance leading up to the Democratic primary, Clinton was asked about handling the pressure of a controversial campaign. In answering, Clinton paused and seemed to tear up (Falk, 2010; Lawless, 2009; Manusov & Harvey, 2011; Shepard, 2009): "Recounting the incident in which Senator Clinton became slightly choked up when discussing the humbling yet harrowing experience of running for president, [pundit and late-night host Bill] Maher said, 'The first thing a woman does, of course, is cry'" (Lawless, 2009, p. 72). Even with the legitimacy gained from her name recognition and long public service career, much of the media coverage of this moment reduced Clinton to 'simply' a woman in the most stereotypical terms, unable to control her emotions and hiding her vulnerability behind a thin veneer of competency.

Though media predicted her campaign would suffer another setback in the New Hampshire primary thanks to this incident, suggesting that a female candidate caught in a moment of stereotypical 'weakness' could implode her political aspirations, Clinton experienced a temporary uptick in support (Shepard, 2009). This may have been due to her crying moment counteracting her cold and distant 'ice queen' persona (Falk, 2010; Shepard, 2009); because of her tears, she was "transformed" and "humanized" from an ice queen to a "fragile female" (Manusov & Harvey, 2011, p. 290), confirming her femininity in a way that made her more relatable and appealing to voters. The subsequent intense media scrutiny around this incident may also point to the fact this behaviour

seemed to validate the social norm that women are indeed more emotional than men and, because of this, may have become more memorable and relevant for the reporters covering Clinton's campaign (Falk, 2010).

The same standard, however, does not appear to be in place for male politicians, who can exhibit their passionate, caring, empathetic nature by shedding a few tears (Shepard, 2009) but can also often avoid the same level of media coverage (Falk, 2010). For example, Bob Dole was seen crying several times during the 1990s but did not receive the same level of criticism as his female counterparts (Shepard, 2009) and former U.S. House Speaker John Boehner's "frequent crying episodes" prompted suggestions by pundits that female politicians would face much stiffer penalties for such displays (Brooks, 2011, p. 597). One exception to this trend appears to be former Democratic presidential candidate Ed Muskie, who while campaigning in 1972 choked up and wiped his face; Muskie later credited this incident with eroding his support and his eventual nomination loss (Shepard, 2009).

Nonetheless, coverage of the New Hampshire crying incident speaks to the tension between credibility and likability in media portrayal of female politicians, where gender norms are perpetually tied to both traits and place them in direct conflict with each other. In this instance, Clinton's competence as a leader was called into question by an act that made her more human (i.e., feminine) and therefore more likeable (Curnalia & Mermer, 2014; Falk, 2010; Manusov & Harvey, 2011).

Even the media skepticism surrounding the crying incident, and whether it was a strategic move on Clinton's part to gain more votes, offers clear evidence of the double bind. As Curnalia and Mermer (2014) suggest, the double bind "forces a female politician

to be either masculine, and therefore ridiculed as an 'ice queen', or feminine and therefore not viable" (p. 29). Throughout the campaign, Clinton was seen as attempting to "outmale" her opponents by demonstrating her strength and toughness (McThomas & Tesler, 2016, p. 28). As a woman, however, Clinton "was not being 'real' when she was cerebral and assertive" (Curnalia & Mermer, 2014, p. 31). This demonstrates that Clinton's authenticity as a political leader and a woman were under fire regardless of what self-presentation she used, and that accessing masculine *or* feminine traits was seen as calculated and false. Without the crying incident, it is likely that Clinton's reputation as a frigid woman would have continued unabated during the campaign; instead, her tears reminded voters of her feminine frailty and prompted them to question her political viability in a different way.

Women politicians, in effect, are placed in a no-win equation where they are eternally too much or not enough (Jamieson, 1995); within current norms, there will never be a measure of masculinity and femininity that satisfies all the requirements women must meet to be considered competent, which reinforces the belief that they do not belong in the political sphere in the first place.

### **Nonverbal immediacy cues**

As previously discussed, Richmond and McCroskey (2003) suggest that an individual's increased use of immediate behaviours (e.g., smiling, making eye contact, relaxed body posture) will mean that others will like and prefer them more. Nonverbal cues, including immediate behaviours, are "a constant source of information" (Davis, 1995, p. 208) that can be used by individuals to curate their own image and manage their social interactions (Patterson, 2014), and which may be more believable than verbal

messages (Jaworski & Galasinski, 2002). For example, cues such as facial expressions can communicate a range of emotions including anger, happiness, and fear (Stewart et al., 2017). Ekman (1993) emphasizes that it is critical to examine facial expressions and voice when exploring communications, given that verbal answers may not always accurately represent what an individual is truly feeling or thinking (or what they realize they are). Nonverbal cues can also demonstrate social power, by denoting the power differences between individuals during an interaction (Hecht & LaFrance, 1998). Linkages have also been found between the use of some nonverbal cues and increased likability and approachability; for example, a recent study on the act of nodding found that positive nodding can increase subjective likability by approximately 30 per cent and approachability by 40 per cent (Hokkaido University, 2017). These cues, therefore, can be used to convince or persuade, and become more likable to others.

In the political context, voters “make holistic judgments about candidates based on their presentational style” (Pfau, 2002, p. 253), including about who they are on a more personal level (Bucy & Newhagen, 1999; Pfau, 2002). This is critical for appealing to mass numbers of voters and garnering support. For example, politicians who focus on relational messages – that is, the verbal or nonverbal information they transmit during real or perceived contact – and use relational cues such as immediacy/affection (i.e., involvement, warmth, enthusiasm, an interest in the receiver) are seen to be more persuasive. Using these cues can help shape voter perceptions and influence other elements of a politician’s persona, including competence, over the long-term (Pfau, 2002). This suggests that by focusing on relational cues and messages, politicians can bolster their self-presentation and increase voter support by positively influencing public

perception. Nonverbal cues can also be used to confirm whether a candidate espouses a voter's own values, and can draw out emotional and evaluative reactions that create long-term feelings, attitudes, and political behaviours (Page & Duffy, 2016). In sum, voters evaluate candidates' traits, including their nonverbal communication, to come to conclusions about them and to determine their voting preferences (Seiter, 2001; Stewart et al., 2017).

In examining expectations for women in politics, female politicians are presumed to be warmer, most positive, and more community-focused than men – more likable, in effect (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004) – which is expressed in terms of nonverbal immediacy cues through more frequent smiling (Hecht & LaFrance, 1998; Jones, 2016). In general, women use cues such as nodding, laughter, smiling, and self-touch more often to “convey encouragement, intimacy, connectedness, and support” (Farley et al., 2010, p. 201). In their study, Richmond et al. (2003) also found that on self-report scales, women perceive themselves as much higher in nonverbal immediacy and believe they are more warm and approachable than their male counterparts.

In addition to actual use of nonverbal communication, perceptions of nonverbal immediacy cues are also interpreted along gendered lines. Clinton was the subject of controversy for drinking and celebrating with friends during the Summit of the Americas in Columbia (Laher, 2014), behaviour which arguably would not draw the same morally driven ire coming from a man, much like her tears in New Hampshire would have been a boon for a male politician looking to appear more caring (Brooks, 2011; Manusov & Harvey, 2011; Shepard, 2009).

In looking specifically at reactions to candidates' anger and tears, Brooks (2011) also found that male and female candidates can be penalized for outbursts of emotion in different ways. A female politician's personality or traits will be blamed if she cries rather than external factors perpetuating her behaviour, as this supports the stereotype that women are overly emotional. Male politicians, on the other hand, will be credited with facing a challenging situation and not be punished for a perceived act of personal weakness (Brooks, 2011).

Beyond how nonverbal cues can be performed by politicians and assessed by the public, these behaviours can also be used by the media to persuade. This is done by strategically reinterpreting facial expressions, gestures, and body movement in coverage, which helps to create impressions, impact voting behaviour, or support a newspaper's perception of an event (Jaworski & Galasinski, 2002; Manusov & Harvey, 2011). These representations are used by media outlets to illustrate their ideological positions or reinforce a particular agenda (Jaworski & Galasinski, 2002; Manusov & Harvey, 2011). For example, in studying newspaper coverage of Hillary's husband Bill Clinton and his nonverbal communication when discussing his marriage infidelities, Jaworski and Galasinski (2002) found that he was either praised and admired, or ridiculed and condemned, depending on what interests the newspaper represented.

This metapragmatic discourse, which refers to how the media talks about ambiguous nonverbal cues, provides a method for examining the media frames that embed meaning in those cues (Jaworski & Galasinski, 2002; Manusov & Harvey, 2011; Manusov & Milstein, 2005). For example, in looking at the publicly performed handshake between then-Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and then-Palestinian

Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat in 1993 and how it was framed and given meaning by the media, Manusov and Milstein (2005) found that nonverbal cues were used as representations of more global, abstract elements and imbued with significant meaning, such as peace/hope/optimism and authority/legitimacy. Therefore:

Not only do the media present an opportunity for their audiences to see and hear certain nonverbal cues; they also provide commentary on those cues, offering interpretations and judgments for their audiences that are designed to make sense of the behaviour in a certain way. (Manusov & Harvey, 2011, p. 284)

Whether it is a handshake or a tearful moment, media outlets have the power to persuade, define, and give additional meaning to the actions of the individuals they cover. By embedding their own meaning into these nonverbal cues, outlets can direct their audiences – and voters – on how to perceive and assess candidates. For women in politics, this becomes especially problematic when those embedded meanings also carry the gendered norms and stereotypes that can negatively impact their chances at seeking office.

Having provided an overview of relevant literature in the four areas, the following section will further expand on the concepts of Jamieson's (1995) double bind theory and Ette's (2013) interpretation of gendered mediation, as well as Entman's (2003) definition of framing. It will then discuss how these theories are applicable to investigating the main research question of how regional U.S. media assessed Clinton's credibility and likability as a female political candidate through her use of nonverbal immediacy cues during the final six weeks of the 2016 presidential campaign.

### **Theoretical framework**

This paper has employed two main theoretical lenses in looking at Clinton's bid for president and how media coverage assessed her likability and credibility via nonverbal immediacy cues: gendered mediation (Ette, 2013) and the double bind theory (Jamieson, 1995). It also examined Entman's (2003) conception of framing.

In Ette's (2013) view, gendered mediation operates from the standpoint that men are normative in areas of public life such as politics. These gendered media narratives emphasize social and cultural traditional standards for masculine and feminine roles, and highlight an individual's gender regardless of its relevance to the story. This is done by focusing on real or perceived gender differences, using particular language, and giving credibility to stereotypes that privilege men over women and portray both genders in significantly different ways. For example, women may be portrayed as either invisible or as simply a human interest story, where the emphasis on their personality and temperament detracts from focus on their achievements and contributions (Ette, 2013).

Gendered mediation is particularly insidious given that news production is presented as objective, but in reality still embodies the inherent biases created by framing that are typically defined through masculine norms (Ette, 2013). Traditionally, the top tier of the media has been dominated by men who serve as gatekeepers and instill the masculine norms, narratives, priorities, or approaches that are perpetuated throughout the industry (Burke & Mazzarella, 2008; Loke et al., 2017; Trimble, 2014). This gendered approach may not be a conscious effort but still influences how an audience understands and responds to the world around them (Falk, 2010). This is significant given that "what we watch on TV and read in the newspaper also count as experiences ... these are

collectively shared and therefore have the power to structure reality en masse” (Falk, 2010, p. 28).

These gendered media narratives can diminish the appeal of female politicians as they shift focus from the content of a message to how it is delivered (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003). When issue-based coverage is lacking and instead replaced by reporting that focuses on personality or personal circumstances, voters have no foundation for assessing whether a female candidate is suitable for office (Burke & Mazzarella, 2008). By focusing on their “sexed bodies”, women in politics continue to lose legitimacy and become further entrenched in the norm that men should be in public and women should remain at home (Trimble et al., 2014, p. 665): “The traditional news frames, in short, result in sex-differentiated coverage, and this hurts, not helps, women’s chances of electoral success” (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003, p. 228).

As suggested by Sreberny-Mohammi and Ross (1996), gendered mediation builds the political sphere as a place of masculine power and negotiation. Women are undermined by being more often portrayed as accusing or attacking – for example, through coverage that exaggerates confrontational behaviour that would be considered only assertive for male candidates – which is more likely to create a negative opinion with the audience (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003). Coverage can also use war- or sport-related metaphors to embrace and promote traditionally held beliefs about masculinity that are extended to politics (Burke & Mazzarella, 2008; Gidengil & Everitt, 2003; Trimble et al., 2014) and that “subtly ... reinforce the perception that women do not really belong” (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003, p. 211). Female politicians, therefore, may receive greater media attention and scrutiny because they are not typically contextualized within these

narratives; they are either seen as stepping outside the bounds of normal behaviour when they appear aggressive, or as lacking a critical trait because they are outsiders in a war- or sports-focused frame (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003).

Gendered mediation, and Ette's (2013) interpretation of it, appears to be a valuable theoretical perspective for studying the research question at hand. For example, in their study of gendered mediation in Internet news stories, Burke and Mazzarella (2008) found evidence that gendered mediation is a credible theoretical framework for examining the media's approach to gender across multiple platforms. In her examination of melodrama (i.e., a popular culture narrative that uses emotion to provide a clear distinction between good and evil) and gendered mediation in political television coverage, Trimble (2014) noted that political events are mediated as per the needs and conventions of television reporting such as excitement and immediacy. This may speak in part to why media coverage, including newspaper reporting, often focuses on portraying politicians' nonverbal cues. Gidengil and Everitt (2003) also found, in television coverage of Canadian election debates, that aggressive behaviour by female leaders was significantly exaggerated to emphasize the uniqueness of women engaging in political combat. Though these examples focus specifically on mediums beyond traditional newspapers (i.e., Internet, television), their findings suggest that gendered mediation is a suitable mechanism for exploring contemporary political coverage of female politicians.

Shifting to the second theoretical concept, the notion of the double bind has become a common term to describe the challenges facing women on a number of fronts, including those in positions of power. Gregory Bateson argued that a double bind involves the tension between social and institutional norms and a "vulnerable" group

such as women, in which two or more persons repeatedly experience a “primary negative injunction” conflicting with a second injunction at the risk of being punished and which the victim cannot escape (Jamieson, 1995, p. 13).

Specifically, this paper uses Jamieson’s (1995) femininity/competence double bind, which suggests that women are penalized whether they suppress or display their traditionally feminine qualities (e.g., a female politician with a tough persona will be criticized for acting unnaturally masculine or cold, while a leader who appears softer will be judged unfit for office): “By requiring both femininity and competence of women in the public sphere, and then defining femininity in a way that excludes competence, the bind creates unrealizable expectations. By this standard, women are bound to fail” (Jamieson, 1995, p. 18).

The femininity/competence bind provides women with “a concept of femininity that ensures that as a feminine creature she cannot be mature or decisive” (Jamieson, 1995, p. 120). In this framework, which operates from an either/or perspective of masculine versus feminine, the former is considered superior and the norm, making femininity the inferior deviation (Jamieson, 1995).

As per Jamieson (1995), studies have found that, in general, women are perceived to be less competent than men. For example, many high-profile women, including politicians, prize-winning journalists, and business executives, feel they must be more prepared than their male counterparts, continually prove their abilities and competence, and over-perform to win a similar level of respect. A man’s competence is assumed given that he embodies the norm for competence in society. This does not apply for women; they are likely to be penalized when trying to prove their competence, both for lacking

inherent masculine characteristics and for losing their feminine attributes by appearing competent. Jamieson (1995) also notes the common perception that female politicians become successful due to the actions of others, while male candidates win based on their competence; women, in effect, are only winners if men allow them to be, whether purposefully or not.

Much like the war and sports metaphors seen in gendered mediation, Campus (2013) suggests the double bind emphasizes political game frames, where the framing of media coverage primarily focuses on who wins and who loses. Female politicians are portrayed as aggressors in game frames, which positions them as masculine figures but does not dispel the challenges to their political credibility they encounter as women. Coverage of female politicians is also more likely to focus on their viability than their platforms, which strengthens the double bind and makes them more likely to come out on the losing end of a game frame (Curnalia & Mermer, 2014).

In addition to these two main theoretical frameworks, this paper has grounded its exploration of the research question in Entman's (2003) definition of framing, which posits that media frames can be used to garner support or create opposition in a political conflict. The general concept of media framing is the manner in which ideas, events or information are presented for audience consumption by the media (Burke & Mazzarella, 2008; Manusov & Harvey, 2011). This is particularly relevant when a story is new and the audience may be more likely to adopt a frame to help interpret the first-time event (Manusov & Harvey, 2011). Framing can help define social norms and lend support to institutional power structures, and can dictate what is relevant for an audience and how it is seen. This can also extend to guiding the audience in terms of actions that can be taken

based on the issues or events at hand (Harp et al., 2017; Manusov & Harvey, 2011; Manusov & Milstein, 2005).

News coverage, therefore, can help develop a reality for those who consume it (Manusov & Milstein, 2005): “It is the newspaper editors, journalists and invited experts who organize the field of professional vision for their readers in newspaper reports through their captions, headlines and articles” (Jaworski & Galasinski, 2002, p. 635). In particular, “these portrayals have consequences, as media influence individuals’ judgments of politicians’ competence and likeability” (Harp et al., 2017, p. 229).

As a theoretical concept, framing is a useful tool for examining the overarching narratives developed by media and identifying their construction of masculine and feminine, especially in complement to gendered mediation and the double bind. Framing is also relevant from a feminist paradigm as it allows us to look more critically at news coverage beyond the amount that women receive and whether it is positive or negative in tone (Burke & Mazzarella, 2008). Examining media framing of interpersonal or interactional behaviours can also be valuable to scholarship in terms of understanding the meaning that may be attached to nonverbal cues (Manusov & Milstein, 2005).

Having now looked at the paper’s theoretical foundations, and how they will be used to address the research question, the next section will discuss its design and methodology.

### **Research design and methodology**

Though a traditional medium in comparison to today’s expansive range of digital and multimedia news sources, daily newspapers in the U.S. still have an estimated

circulation rate of approximately 35 million (Pew Research Center, 2017) and one-third of Americans still prefer reading the news versus watching or listening to it (Mitchell, 2016). In terms of demographics, older adults (i.e., 50 years old and up) are much more likely than younger adults (i.e., 18 to 49) to get election news from their local daily papers, while their younger cohort is more likely to get political news from national daily outlets (Barthel & Gottfried, 2017). In their 2016 State of the Media Report, the Pew Research Center found that most of the newspaper websites included in their study saw increased traffic, especially mobile traffic, throughout the year (Pew Research Center, 2016).

This may signal that while the newspaper industry continues to shrink, the advent of online digital platforms has helped the medium stay somewhat relevant to voters seeking out news and political coverage. Newspapers may also provide fertile ground to explore mediated assessments of political leaders. The current media climate, which sustains a 24/7 news cycle and near-limitless digital sources including social media, blogs, and other mediums, has resulted in media storytelling can be more individualized, sensationalized, and trivialized (Trimble et al., 2013). Newspaper coverage can also provide a vantage point into what voters are reading during a campaign (Bode & Hennings, 2012), whether this is done through a traditional print source or its accompanying online platform (Manusov & Harvey, 2011).

This paper critically analysed media coverage over a six-week period from the *Boston Globe* in Massachusetts and the *Houston Chronicle* in Texas, two similar-sized daily newspapers in politically distinct states (i.e., one publicly recognized as traditionally leaning Democrat and one known for its Republican support) (Yeip,

Thompson, & Welch, 2016). In the 2017 election, 52.5 per cent of Texan voters supported Trump (versus 43.5 per cent for Clinton), while in Massachusetts, 61 per cent voted for Clinton and 33.3 per cent marked their ballots for Trump (CNN, 2016). The *Chronicle* has a circulation of 325,000 (Houston Chronicle Media Group, 2017) serving a population of 2.3 million (United States Census Bureau, 2016a), while the *Globe* goes to approximately 246,000 readers (CommonWealth, 2016) in a city of 673,000 (United States Census Bureau, 2016b). Though these cities differ significantly in terms of population, their circulation size is comparable and both outlets are the largest or second-largest daily newspaper in their state.

This approach was based in part on Miller et al. (2010), who suggested that tonal differences in coverage of Clinton and Obama during the 2008 campaign may have been partially attributed to newspapers attempting to respond to their markets. For example, they found that only five newspapers – in New York City, Arkansas, New Mexico, New Jersey, and Oklahoma – published coverage that tonally favoured Clinton over Obama, two of which are located in Clinton's hometowns, and the others where she won the Democratic nomination contests.

Specifically, this research paper looked at non-news items (defined as commentary, columns, opinion pieces, and editorials) published in the *Chronicle* and the *Globe* during the final six weeks before the U.S. election (September 23, 2016 to November 7, 2016) using a keyword search of "Hillary Clinton". The corpus does not include hard news items, following Entman's (2003) assertion that investigative journalists, pundits and editorial writers may aim to influence policy through their stories, or letters, which are representative of the opinions of individual citizens and not those of

media gatekeepers. The corpus is also based only on the texts of the articles, not multimedia images (e.g., photographs, videos, etc.) that may have accompanied them. This was predicated on the fact that previous literature focusing specifically on news imagery (e.g., Jaworski & Galasinski, 2002) has shown that a significant breadth of analysis can be produced on media assessment and selection of images alone; therefore, to keep the focus of this paper more precise, it looks only at what findings can be drawn from the texts themselves.

Between September 23 and November 7, 2016 (the last six weeks of the election campaign, which also included all three presidential debates), 813 articles with a mention of “Hillary Clinton” were published by the *Boston Globe*. These articles were selected by using the Factiva database, which provided an all-encompassing search of the *Globe*'s database. Out of those articles, which included duplicates, letters, hard news items, and coverage that did not address Clinton's nonverbal cues or any other related elements, 27 articles met the criteria for inclusion in the corpus.

Initially, this paper sought to find 15 articles from each outlet for analysis with the expectation that a corpus of 30 articles in total would produce more than ample content to dissect; however, coverage of Clinton in the *Houston Chronicle* was surprisingly slim and only 12 articles met the parameters for inclusion. Though these articles provided enough content for quality analysis, the threshold was lowered to 12 articles for each outlet to ensure a similar level of content. To achieve the required 12 articles per newspaper for analysis and ensure selection remained random, the first and last articles from the *Globe* corpus were selected, as well as every third article in between (ranging by date from oldest to newest). This totalled 10 articles. To produce the additional two articles needed,

the second newest and second oldest articles were also chosen. This ensured that the corpus selection remained objective and was not accidentally influenced by author preference.

During the same time period, 130 articles that included a mention of “Hillary Clinton” were published by the *Houston Chronicle*. This was done using the Eureka database and a manual search of the *Chronicle*'s website to ensure that all relevant articles were captured, given the low number that returned from the primary search (an additional three articles were found using this method, for the total of 130). This selection was also vetted for duplicates, non-relevant articles, and items that were originally published by other outlets and reprinted by the *Chronicle*. After review, 12 articles met the standards for the corpus. In total, 24 articles were included in the corpus – 12 from the *Globe* and 12 from the *Chronicle*.

After assembling the corpus, a novel coding framework was developed based on Richmond et al.'s (2003) Nonverbal Immediacy Scale, Page and Duffy's (2016) review of political social media visual messaging, and Davis's (1995) and Grebelsky-Lichtman's (2016) investigations of self-presentation during political debates, to assess the media coverage and explore its interpretation of Clinton's nonverbal cues for credibility and likability. This framework included 38 codes. Out of these codes, 22 can be linked to likability and 16 to credibility (positively or negatively) based on the corpus and the wider literature, though many codes could also be cross-applied. The below list maps out all 38 codes in the framework and whether they can be primarily associated with either likeability (positive/negative) or credibility (positive/negative):

Likability

- Aggressive/angry temperament or movements
- Choice of clothing
- Connection with receivers
- Description of verbal expression (positive)
- Description of verbal expression (negative)
- Emotional (e.g., teary/upset) facial expression
- Eye contact/movement
- Finger pointing
- Hand motions (supportive)
- Hand motions (challenging)
- Head shaking
- Inappropriate/unflattering behaviour
- Lack of connection with receivers
- Laughter/making jokes/references to humour
- Leaning towards
- Leaning away
- Negative (e.g., unhappy/concerned/bland/tired) facial expression
- Nodding in agreement
- Physical appearance (i.e., looks, attractiveness)
- Positive (e.g., happy/pleased) facial expression
- Smiling (specific references to)
- Tense/awkward/unnatural posture

Credibility

- Arms/hands at side or folded
- Body position (in relation to Trump)
- Dropped or hunched shoulders
- Ease of movement
- Freezing up
- General temperament (positive)
- General temperament (negative)
- Lack of ease of movement
- Neutral (e.g., serious/calm/serene/composed) facial expression
- References to physical health or stamina
- Relaxed body position
- Shaking hands
- Shoulder movement
- Sighing
- Steady and commanding presence
- Waving or raising arms/hands

An initial coding framework included 26 codes; however, the framework was refined upon review of the corpus, and 12 more codes were added to ensure that data was accurately captured (these codes are reflected in the above list). In particular, a number of the additional codes that were added focused on general temperament (as much of the coverage offered more abstract impressions of Clinton's nonverbal and immediacy cues rather providing a depiction of specific actions like nodding), descriptions of her verbal expressions (in line with Gidengil and Everitt's (2003) literature on aggressive speech verbs), and references to Clinton's connection or lack thereof with receivers (though not literal cues, this inclusion appeared to be appropriate given the coverage's emphasis on her inability to meaningfully engage with voters).

Surprisingly, a sizeable number of codes were not used at all in the media coverage from either outlet (these are noted in Annex A); this was especially unexpected, given that the coverage period included all three presidential debates. Interestingly, some of the coverage did delve into greater specifics and more nuanced details of Trump's nonverbal communication, while Clinton was typically described in broader terms (e.g., Trump's sniffing, grimacing, and looming versus Clinton's 'calm demeanour').

Using this coding framework, a qualitative thematic content analysis of the media coverage following Attride-Stirling's thematic networks model (2001) was completed. This entailed summarizing the main themes from the articles in a step-by-step manner in order to complete a thematic analysis and explore how the issues are understood rather than attempting to resolve different views on them (Attride-Stirling, 2001). This work was also completed in the tradition of Harp et al. (2017), by "focus[ing] on the process of sense-making through the narrative and discursive practices of the news media analyzed"

(p. 231) and following a comprehensive textual analysis of the coverage, which provides room to explore subtle meanings and context within the stories (Harp et al., 2017; Loke et al., 2017).

First, each article was reviewed and manually coded using a scheme that associated a number with each code in the framework. Relevant text fragments were highlighted and numerated according to the framework. Next, the codes were placed into a chart (Annex A) and the text segments distilled down to short sentences or words, then added to the chart according to their corresponding code (i.e., Issues Discussed). Then, reflecting on the groupings of sentences/words and their relationships to the codes, a series of themes was drawn out based on the common or particularly salient elements that emerged (i.e., Themes Identified). Finally, five thematic networks (see: Results and analysis section) with individual global themes were devised after condensing and reflecting on the high-level issues that unified them throughout the three distinct and subsequently more focused levels of analysis (i.e., Themes as Basic Themes, Organizing Themes, and Global Themes).

These findings were then investigated and analysed through Ette's (2013) gendered mediation and Jamieson's (1995) double-bind theory, as well as Entman's (2003) conception of framing, which allowed for a rich exploration of the media narratives drawn around Clinton as a female politician and how her credibility and likability were characterized via nonverbal immediacy cues during the 2016 election. To ensure the validity of the findings, the networks were verified and refined by reviewing the text segments for each initial theme and ensuring they were reflected in all three layers of each network.

In terms of limitations, the research was constrained by its specific regional scope, given that two newspapers in two individual states cannot be representative of mediated opinion across the country or even in other states with similar political leanings. Next, the broad search term, while required to ensure a fulsome range of quality texts were included, created an initial corpus that was overwhelming in volume. This also required the search timeline to be capped at six weeks, which left the majority of campaign coverage unexplored. In addition, this paper is limited by not taking an intersectional approach to exploring other factors that influenced the election outcome, including race. Finally, the focus on Clinton in this paper privileges the American experience over that of female politicians from other parts of the world, though international case studies were previously discussed in the literature review.

### **Results and analysis**

Looking at broad, overall results from the coverage, both the *Globe* and the *Chronicle* surprisingly provided official endorsements of Clinton. With a population of 2.3 million in Houston (United States Census Bureau, 2016a), it is perhaps not unexpected that an urban centre with a larger population would translate into a more diverse range of perspectives, but coverage was not nearly as critical as anticipated in the traditionally Republican state and most of the critiques unpacked in the coverage came from local voters and politicians featured in the articles rather than the *Chronicle's* writing staff. A more common thread amongst the newspaper's critical coverage was the description of both choices of candidate as unappealing: "This election is like the tagline for 2004's Alien Vs. Predator – Whoever wins, we lose" (Baddour, 2016).

In this case, Clinton was often positioned as the lesser of two evils. One editorial, for example, suggested that an election campaign between Clinton and most other early Republican candidates would have “spark[ed] a much-needed debate about the role of government and the nation’s future” (*Houston Chronicle*, 2016b). It appears that Trump was conceived as a candidate so terrible that the *Chronicle* broke its long-standing tradition of endorsing Republican candidates – only occurring once before in 52 years with Barack Obama in 2008 – and backed Clinton instead (*Houston Chronicle*, 2012). This also adheres to Fiske et al.’s (2007) model of social cognition, in that Clinton was generally perceived ambivalently (i.e., competent but cold and untrustworthy) or with a negative rating on warmth (i.e., likability), though this was sometimes strengthened by a more positive rating on competence (i.e., credibility).

The *Globe*, with slightly more than double the amount of relevant coverage, did provide a wider spectrum of opinions both negative and positive. Coverage was uniformly and virulently critical of Trump and ranged from grudgingly to glowingly supportive of Clinton, with all of the articles encouraging her candidacy to some degree. Generally, articles focused on the substance of the three debates as well as providing an overview of highlights (and low points) from the campaign as a whole. Again, following Fiske et al.’s (2007) model, Clinton did generally receive positive ratings on competence in most cases and warmth on occasion as well, by using immediacy cues to enhance her likability. In other *Globe* articles, however, her evaluations did border on or extend into ambivalence, in that her ability to embody ‘appropriate’ gendered self-presentation and behaviours determined how her competence was perceived.

In both papers, coverage of the debates addressed Trump and Clinton's performances and topics discussed by the candidates such as health care, terrorism, relations with Russia, energy – particularly important for Houston as a main industry in the city (City of Houston, 2017) – tax reform, and Trump's comments on sexual assault and Bill Clinton's previous history of assault accusations. Much of the coverage in both papers also touched on arguments in support of or against the candidates, including distrust around Clinton's establishment-politician status, Trump's charges of racism and sexism, the benefits of Trump's business background, and Clinton's political accomplishments and experience.

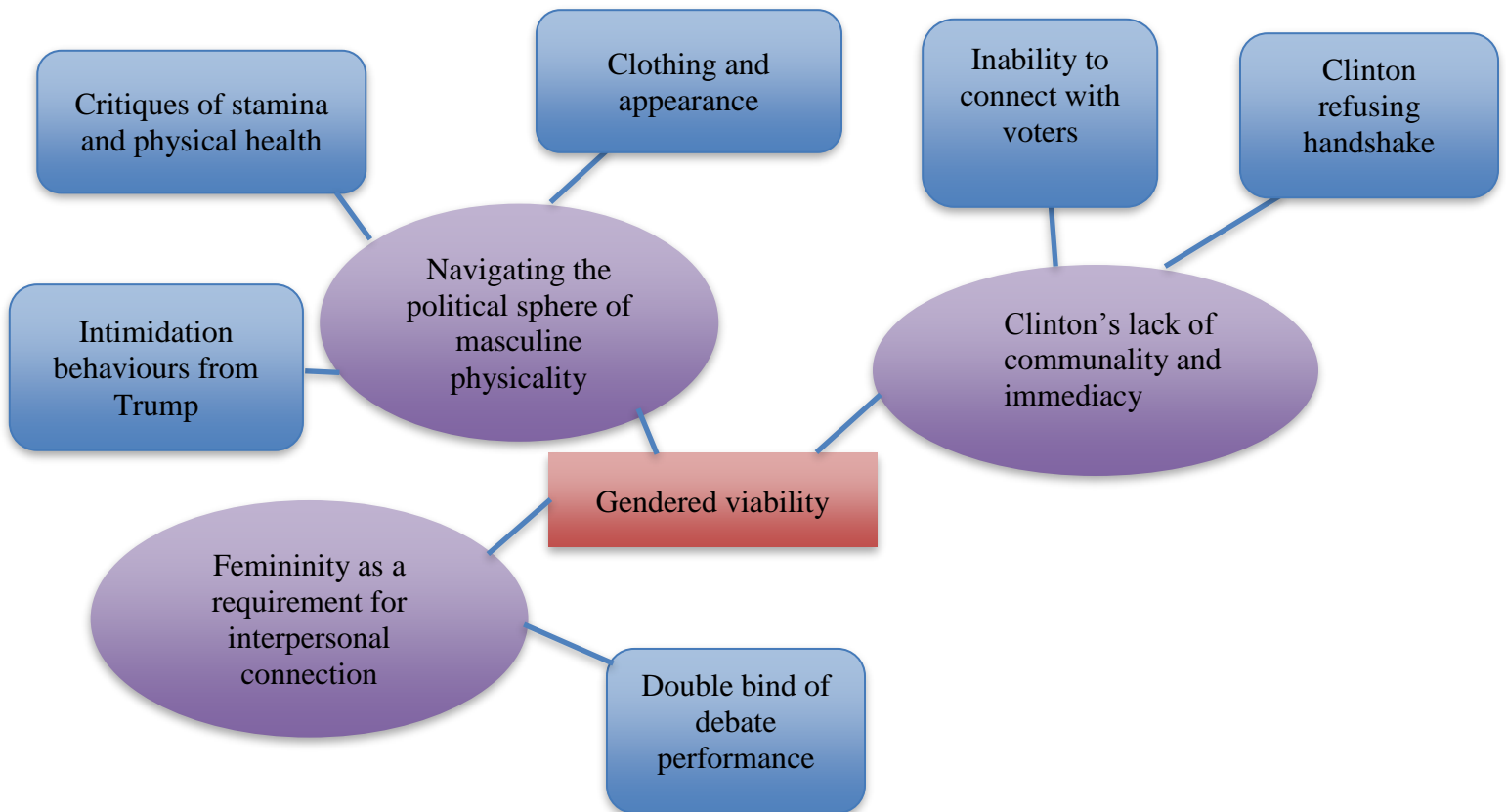
Without exception, every article in the corpus also referenced Trump, though he was not included in the search term. Though this is not surprising given the time period for the corpus, what was unexpected is that many of the articles appeared to dedicate more column inches to Trump over Clinton. In some cases, even though the article's focus was on Clinton, she appeared to be an afterthought in comparison to Trump's more bombastic actions. This supports the previously cited research that female politicians typically receive less coverage (Bode & Hennings, 2012; Harp et al., 2017).

As previously noted, five thematic networks were built out of the *Globe* and *Chronicle* coverage, providing five Global Themes with which to further explore the patterns that emerged. The first three networks are from the *Globe* and the final two networks from the *Chronicle*; each will provide detailed descriptions of the coverage and the findings and themes that developed from them using the coding framework described in the previous section.

### Global Theme: Gendered viability

The first Global Theme (Figure A) that emerged from the *Boston Globe* was how gendered perceptions of Clinton's likability and credibility impacted her viability as a presidential candidate. This network included six Basic Themes, which were then distilled into three Organizing Themes that will be explored in more depth below.

Figure A



**Organizing theme: Clinton's lack of communality and immediacy.** A sizeable amount of coverage referenced Clinton's inability to connect with Americans in a way that would translate into votes on Election Day. Her lack of connection with these receivers (i.e., voters, whether in person or mediated) was mentioned five times in the *Globe* articles, and her tense or awkward postures or 'freezing up' another twice apiece.

Though the number of references to Clinton in relaxed postures or connecting with receivers was similar (and greater if factoring in coverage that noted her positive general temperament), even in articles where Clinton was generally supported her Achilles' heel was often identified as her stiff, unnatural, and overly prepared self-presentation. In a similar vein, other articles credited her lack of connection to a sense of distrust from some voters, and others still noted that she and Trump were two of the most unpopular presidential candidates in history. Clinton was also penalized in the coverage for her refusal to shake Trump's hand before or after most debates, though Trump was equally condemned.

Clinton's performance (or lack thereof) of these immediacy behaviours and her inability to connect with voters were categorized in the coverage as having negative repercussions on her likeability and credibility, leading to doubts about whether she was viable as a candidate. Interestingly, this focus on Clinton's lack of warmth – one of the requisites for likability as per Richmond et al. (2003) and Fiske et al. (2007) – and communality, which is expected from women as a whole (Jamieson, 1995; Jones, 2016), did not appear to be applicable to Trump. Though this is not surprising, given the wealth of literature that has explored the ways in which coverage of female politicians is gendered, this is the first clear example of gendered mediation emerging from the corpus. This is also the first illustration of likability and credibility being aligned as complementary traits rather than in direct conflict with each other; in previous research, Clinton's credibility was often depicted as at odds with behaviours that made her more likable, such as the New Hampshire crying incident (Curnalia & Mermer, 2014; Falk,

2010; Manusov & Harvey, 2011). Fiske et al.'s model (2007) also speaks to the either/or proposition in likability and credibility, though that tension is not noted here.

**Organizing theme: Femininity as a requirement for interpersonal connection.**

The next theme expands on the finding that Clinton's likability and credibility were at least partly tied to her ability to garner meaningful support from voters, and that all of these traits were examined through a gendered lens. For example, though Trump's nonverbal communication was roundly criticized (as either being overbearing or unbecoming of a presidential candidate, for example), the coverage did not identify similar challenges in connecting with voters; indeed, one article suggested that the "potency" of his particular brand of politics helped incentivize his supporters and propel him to the front of the Republican candidates (Linksey & Viser, 2016).

Clinton's appearance of over-preparation for the debates, meanwhile, was depicted by her critics as another barrier to connecting with voters, even as the *Globe* coverage pointed out the irony that she was also expected to be a seasoned, champion debater (a skill level that would require significant preparation): "Expectations for you are astronomically high, because you are an accomplished debater, a policy wonk, and a woman ... they expect you to know absolutely everything. If you're stumped, even for a second, you're done for. But don't be a smartypants" (Abraham, 2016).

This aligns with the previously cited literature that shows female politicians are expected to be warmer, more positive, and more community-focused than men (Hecht & LaFrance, 1998; Jones, 2016). It also provides an explanation for why Clinton may have been evaluated much more stringently on likability via her immediacy behaviours, in particular her communality and ability to connect with voters. Finally, this coverage

offers the first example of the double bind within the corpus, where Clinton is evaluated based on the gendered requirement to appear warm and approachable to voters (i.e., feminine) while also maintaining a high level of competency (i.e., masculine), and is criticized for both.

**Organizing theme: Navigating the political sphere of masculine physicality.**

Though its inclusion in the coverage is not shocking given its prominence in Trump's talking points throughout the campaign, one of the most common themes to emerge from the *Globe* coverage was references to Clinton's stamina and physical health. Clinton's perceived lack of both – trumpeted by her opponent and referenced even in coverage that was otherwise overwhelming supportive – appeared nine times in the *Globe* articles, four of which were cited to Trump. In other articles, allusions to Clinton's health were used to frame and describe the election race; for example, that she was running a marathon and had to make it over the finish line (Vennoch, 2016b).

In all cases, the credibility underpinning Clinton's campaign for president was linked to the coverage's assessment of her physical form and nonverbal cues; if she appeared 'weak', it was posited that her viability as a candidate was undermined. This aligns with Curnalia and Mermer's (2014) previously referenced finding that coverage of female politicians is more likely to focus on their viability than their platforms. This also supports the notion of the double bind, where Clinton's inherent frailty as a woman was exposed, demonstrating that she could not be a credible presidential candidate.

Somewhat surprisingly, the *Globe* coverage did not heavily feature Clinton's physical appearance or clothing choices, as might have been expected in examples of gendered mediation. Those references were most often highlighted as criticism from

Trump; however, some of the coverage did engage with more gendered terms in this way, such as describing Clinton's jokes at a charity dinner as "dressed for the job", noting her appearance during the event, and quoting Clinton's self-deprecating jest that she considered tuxedos as "formal pantsuits" (Andor Brodeur, 2016). In addition to revealing some of the subtler uses of gendered mediation, the latter reference also highlights Clinton's willingness to lean into some of the female stereotypes and gendered talk surrounding her candidacy, embracing her almost-iconic symbol of pantsuits and poking fun at it. Trump, meanwhile, at least in the corpus of *Globe* coverage, did not receive any equivalent references.

Finally, one theme that emerged from the network that did not directly align with Clinton's use of immediacy cues was the nonverbal intimidation behaviours employed by Trump during the debates. This included reports of Trump "looming" (Cohen, 2016) behind Clinton as she spoke, and making faces and grimacing in the background of the televised coverage (Vennoch, 2016a). Though these references do not capture Clinton's behaviours, they provide an interesting counterpoint on what could be considered as Trump's anti-immediacy behaviours, following Richmond et al.'s (2003) assertion that the less immediacy cues are used the more others will dislike or reject an individual. In this way, Trump was perceived as taking purposeful actions to create a negative rapport with Clinton, though the larger motivation may have been to strengthen his relationship with anti-Clinton voters.

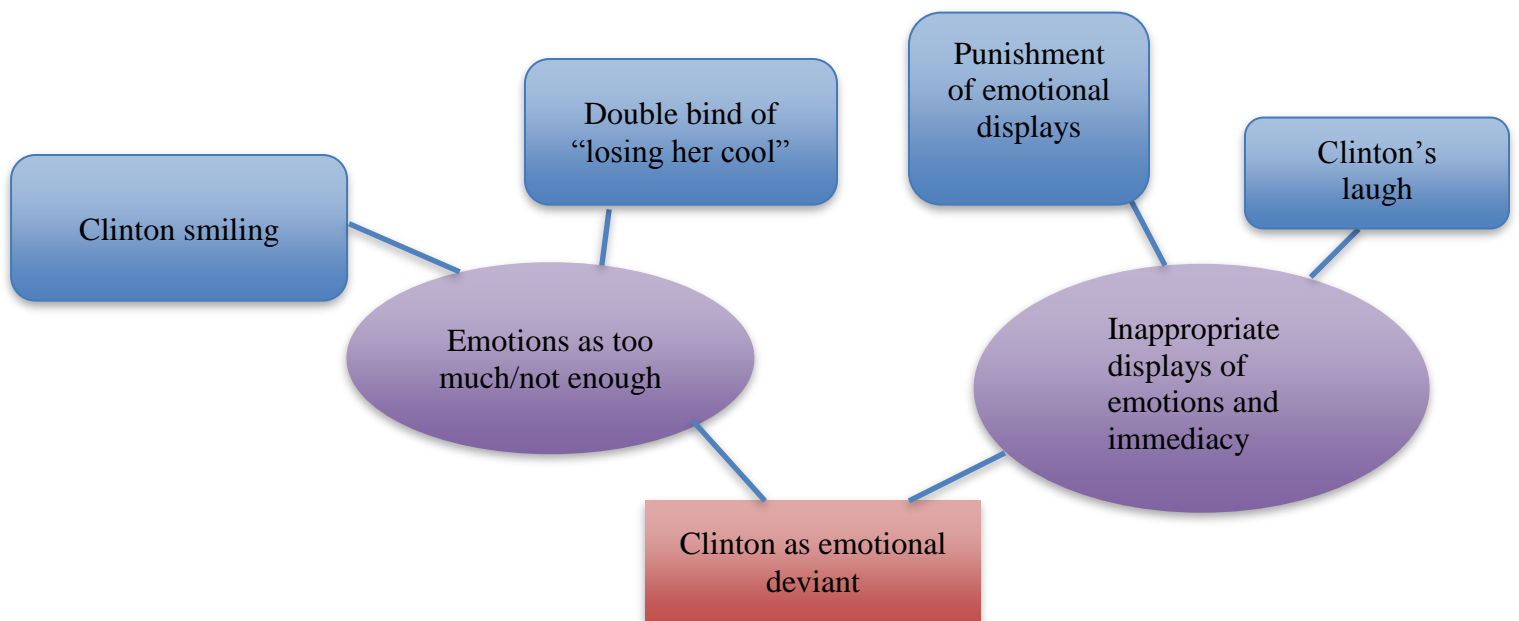
In summary, the findings from this network suggest that coverage of Clinton was mediated in a way that held her to specific, gendered standards regarding her credibility and likeability, and which cast doubt on the viability of her candidacy. Because Clinton

did not embody or appropriately perform the traits of warmth (Fiske et al., 2007) to the levels expected of her as a woman, she was not considered likeable and her credibility was negatively impacted. In failing to connect with voters and therefore meet the expected gender norms, she failed as both a woman and a candidate.

**Global Theme: Clinton as emotional deviant**

The second Global Theme (Figure B) that arose from the *Globe* coverage was the perception of Clinton as an emotional deviant. This network included four Basic Themes and two Organizing Themes. Much like the first network, there were significant linkages between the Organizing Themes, though both are worth exploring in more specific details.

Figure B



**Organizing theme: Inappropriate displays of emotions and immediacy.** This theme more generally explored the assertion that Clinton's displays of heightened emotion were seen as inappropriate; though her critics cited a range of reasons for this in

the coverage, it still evoked the double bind with the unspoken addendum of 'because she's a woman'. For example, it was clear that Clinton's laugh – which was examined by Romaniuk (2016) during the 2008 campaign – was still being used as a political weapon. References to Clinton's sense of humour and laughter were one of the codes featured most prominently in the *Globe* with eight references, and while the coverage was primarily positive, one column provided a tongue-in-cheek warning to Clinton not to use "that" laugh (Abraham, 2016) and other articles noted Trump's criticism of her laughter. The fact that Clinton's laugh is still being used by her critics in media coverage as a tool to undermine her credibility and likability by showcasing her 'inappropriate' behaviour is a more insidious example of gendered mediation at play.

Clinton was also penalized in the coverage for displays of emotion such as anger, coldness, and excitement, which were tied to her likability and credibility and the expectations of her as a female candidate. For example, one satirical column advised, "if you argue with [Trump], you will seem argumentative. Very unbecoming in a woman ... DO NOT RAISE YOUR VOICE. Speak so that pundits won't shake their heads and wonder how come you act like microphones haven't been invented yet" (Abraham, 2016). Another column, though mostly tongue-in-cheek, referenced Clinton's "shoulder shimmy" (Gilbert, 2016) and exclamation of "Who! OK!" from the debates, which became an online meme. By categorizing this movement as silly or absurd, Clinton's actions and emotions – in this case, her excitement – are framed as inappropriate, and a cue that could make Clinton more likable is now another point against her credibility.

**Organizing theme: Emotions as too much/not enough.** Though this theme was not as common as others, it provided an intriguing viewpoint into assessments of

Clinton's nonverbal cues and immediacy behaviours. In a similar vein to the previous theme, cues that should have encouraged likability were instead depicted in the coverage as inappropriate or negative, often on a 'too much/not enough' scale that Jamieson (1995) discussed with the double bind. For example, in one *Globe* article, the writer suggested that in the debates Clinton may "[need] to be more like Donald Trump – confident, snarky, spontaneous and passionate" (Pindell, 2016a). In a later piece by the same writer, she is lauded for keeping her cool during a debate and only succumbing to a sigh in frustration at Trump (Pindell, 2016b).

The latter article does also suggest that Trump could take lessons from Clinton in terms of temperament and preparation, but the point still stands that Clinton is often expected to perform a spectrum of sometimes conflicting communicative cues to increase her likeability (and therefore her credibility). She is criticized for her 'ice queen' persona, as seen in coverage of the 2008 campaign, while almost simultaneously being celebrated for it in the face of Trump's often-emotional outbursts during the 2016 election.

Smiling is an even more specific example of this. In the *Globe* coverage, Clinton is at various points lambasted by her critics for smiling too much, not smiling often enough, or smiling in an inappropriate way. One columnist pointed out the absurdity of this criticism, remarking that, "The Atlantic's David Frum was booed for complaining that she kept "smiling like she's at her granddaughter's birthday party." (This after Republican National Committee chairman Reince Priebus had criticized Clinton for not smiling enough during an NBC forum earlier in the month.)" (Burr, 2016). Though other coverage framed Clinton's smiling as a signal of her comfort level and presentation of 'presidentialness' (Andor Brodeur, 2016; Aucoin, 2016), there is still a gendered nuance

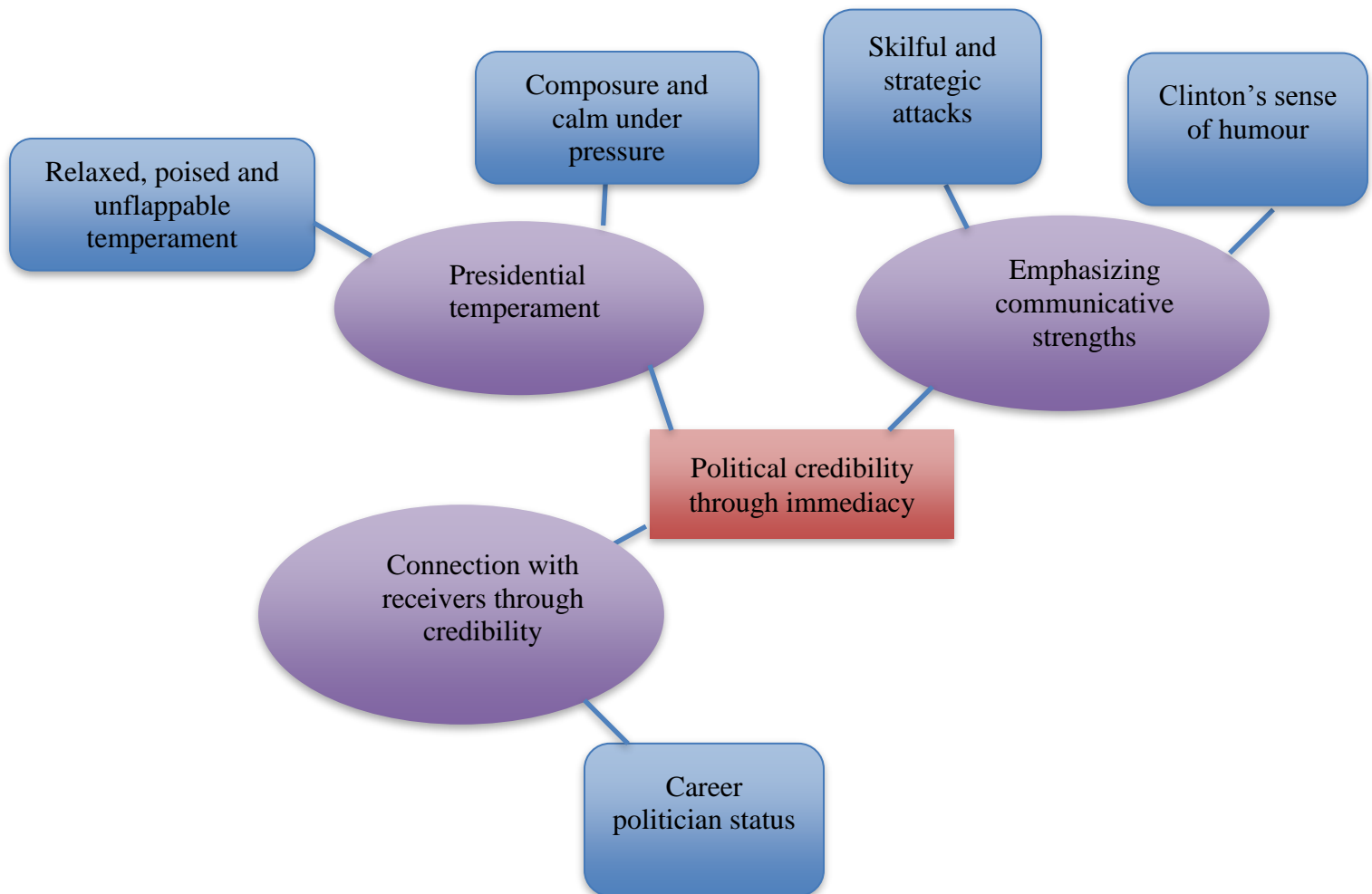
that cannot be ignored. As previously discussed, women are more likely to use smiling as a nonverbal immediacy cue (Hecht & LaFrance, 1998; Farley et al., 2010; Jones, 2016) and are expected to embody communal traits such as appearing agreeable and yielding (Jamieson, 1995; Jones, 2016).

In looking at the findings from this network, it can be posited that if women are expected to be warmer and more maternal (e.g., the reference to Clinton as a grandmother) even in the political realm – thereby increasing their likability by adhering to social norms but losing credibility by performing immediacy behaviours such as smiling that highlight their femininity – then Clinton is truly faced with the no-win situation described by Jamieson (1995). Unlike the previous network, which focused on the impact of likability on credibility, this network provides a more ‘traditional’ example of both the double bind and Fiske et al.’s (2007) model; in displaying her emotions in a ‘feminine’ way, Clinton deviated from what is expected of political leaders and was therefore penalized. Though Clinton may attempt to find an acceptable balance for using immediacy behaviours, this coverage illustrates that the double bind is alive and well in the political realm, and that gendered mediation continues to use subtle, though potentially well-meaning or subconscious, ways to support it.

**Global theme: Political credibility through immediacy**

The final Global Theme (Figure C) for the *Globe* coverage was much less bleak, exploring how Clinton gained political credibility through her use of immediacy behaviours. This network included five Basic Themes and three Organizing Themes, and often provided positive counterpoints to some of the more troubling findings that emerged in the previous two networks.

Figure C



**Organizing theme: Emphasizing communicative strengths.** References to Clinton's laugh and sense of humour were some of the most common in the *Globe* coverage. Though the articles that focused on her laugh sometimes included more negative connotations, mentions of Clinton's sense of humour were overwhelmingly positive. There were five different references to Clinton's appearance of being funny, clever, or self-deprecating, all of which were depicted as a valuable political skill and one that signalled her intelligence and wit. Some articles described her use of humour to dismiss or deflect Trump during the debates; in these cases, her laughter was framed as

an illustration of her perceived power and control over the dialogue, in direct contrast to more gendered, negative references. Interestingly, the coverage did not specifically frame Clinton's use of humour and laughter as a way to connect with voters, but instead linked it to improving her likability *through* her credibility.

Another way in which the *Globe* portrayed Clinton as enhancing her credibility through self-presentation was her attacks on Trump during the debates. Though some of this coverage focused on her verbal message, which is outside the parameters of this paper, it is still relevant to note this theme in regards to how those verbal expressions were described. In this case, though the coverage did show some examples of what Gidengil and Everitt (2003) discussed in terms of mediated use of aggressive speech verbs for female politicians, Clinton was more often characterized positively; for example, she “pivoted” and “pounced” (Linskey & Viser, 2016) on Trump during one of the debates, emerging victorious.

In another article, her strategic prowess was also illustrated through her verbal expressions, where she “politely picked at” Trump with winking one-liners during a charity dinner (Andor Brodeur, 2016). In this case, however, the presence of gendered mediation can once again be seen in the choice of ‘picked at’ as the verb expression, echoing the previous characterization of Clinton's laugh and its connotation of hens (Romaniuk, 2016). Even still, as a whole the coverage portrayed Clinton as a masterful politician who used nonverbal immediacy cues to her advantage and emphasized her communicative strengths to enhance her credibility and, by extension, her likability.

**Organizing theme: Connection with receivers through credibility.** Though this theme does link closely with the previous one, it is important to more thoroughly explore

given that Clinton's lack of connection with voters is a frequent criticism. This coverage focused on Clinton's attendance at a charity dinner, where "a candidate who's acknowledged her difficulty connecting with audiences suddenly owned the room" (Linksey & Viser, 2016). Clinton, as she was portrayed in the coverage, delivered a well-accepted speech and connected with power brokers including the political elite, CEOs, and heads of banks (Andor Brodeur, 2016; Linksey & Viser, 2016). Though this ability to connect was highlighted only with one specific set of receivers, perhaps speaking to the larger issue of Clinton being seen as an establishment politician, the coverage also noted that she appeared willing to use that power to benefit regular voters (Linksey & Viser, 2016). Another interesting element of this coverage is that, yet again, Clinton's credibility precedes and is directly linked to her likability; the more credible she appears, the more likable she is interpreted as being.

**Organizing theme: Presidential temperament.** The final theme of this network was the most prominent to emerge from the *Globe*, receiving 19 relevant mentions. Much of this coverage emphasized Clinton's composure, relaxed body position, and ability to maintain her calm when confronted by Trump. She was described as "unflappable" (Vennoch, 2016a), "disciplined" (Vennoch, 2016b), "poised" (Pindell, 2016a) and, in one memorable quote, that she "responded to [Trump's] blurts by calmly staring out at us in the audience, as if Jim on 'The Office' were reacting to Michael Scott jamming two feet and both hands into his mouth" (Burr, 2016). In this scenario, Clinton is framed as the antithesis to Trump, rising above the fray during the debates and often wordlessly stepping back to allow Trump to "serve as his own mop" (Burr, 2016).

In particular, the coverage appeared to link these cues and behaviours to a 'presidential'-like temperament, observing that Clinton was the candidate who conducted herself in a manner that most aligned with typical expectations of a president. This is provided as evidence of her credibility, also returning to the point that Clinton's likability is mainly accessible through that credibility. Interestingly, though this section of the coverage was uniformly positive, it again offered a lens into gendered mediation; Clinton is praised for behaviours that are considered presidential but also meet the norms expected of her as a woman (e.g., calm and composed, not aggressive or angry). Clinton, therefore, is behaving appropriately as both a woman and a presidential candidate, and is subsequently rewarded.

Overall, this network paints a more positive picture of mediated portrayals of Clinton during the campaign. Though previous networks depicted how her lack of connection with voters negatively impacted her viability as a candidate, this network does uncover at least one manner in which Clinton improved her connections (and in turn, credibility) through the eyes of the media. Coverage in this section also emphasized her ability to capitalize on her communicative strengths and immediacy behaviours, such as her wit and temperament, to further bolster her campaign. In addition, it also provided another example of the causal link being found between likability and credibility, where the latter was used to improve the former. This may be due to Clinton's positioning in the coverage as Trump's adversary; given that multiple articles focused on Trump's perceived lack of knowledge and preparation, the value of Clinton's credibility may have been driven higher and become a more compelling rationale to support (i.e., like) her. Finally, this network offered another illustration of the more elusive nature of gendered

mediation, aligning with Ette's (2013) contention that the emphasis on a female candidate's personality and temperament detracts from focus on their achievements and contributions.

Looking at how coverage from the *Boston Globe* addressed the main research question, it appears that while Clinton was perceived as gaining credibility through her use of immediacy behaviours (and subsequently increasing her likability by strengthening her credibility), her portrayal as a viable presidential candidate was still tempered by gender norms related to her self-presentation and behaviours, and how successful she was in embodying them. Overall, coverage of Clinton was fulsome and generally extremely supportive, which was in line with expectations for a newspaper in a typically Democratic state. What was surprising, however, was that while multiple articles explored the double standards and hypocrisy confronting Clinton as a female politician, some of the coverage did still give rise to subtler messages about how a woman in politics must behave.

As previously discussed, the coverage also emphasized the link between likability and credibility for female politicians in an interesting, if somewhat unexpected, way. In comparison to earlier coverage where Clinton's perceived credibility was undermined by behaviours and immediacy cues that typically increase likability (e.g., laughing, showing emotion, etc.), the *Globe* articles illustrated how her likability was fuelled *by* her credibility. This deviation may have been due to Trump, who was an abnormality himself in terms of traditional Republican candidates, and who may have forced greater significance on Clinton's credibility due to his perceived lack thereof. Finally, the coverage provided additional confirmation that the double bind – fuelled by enduring

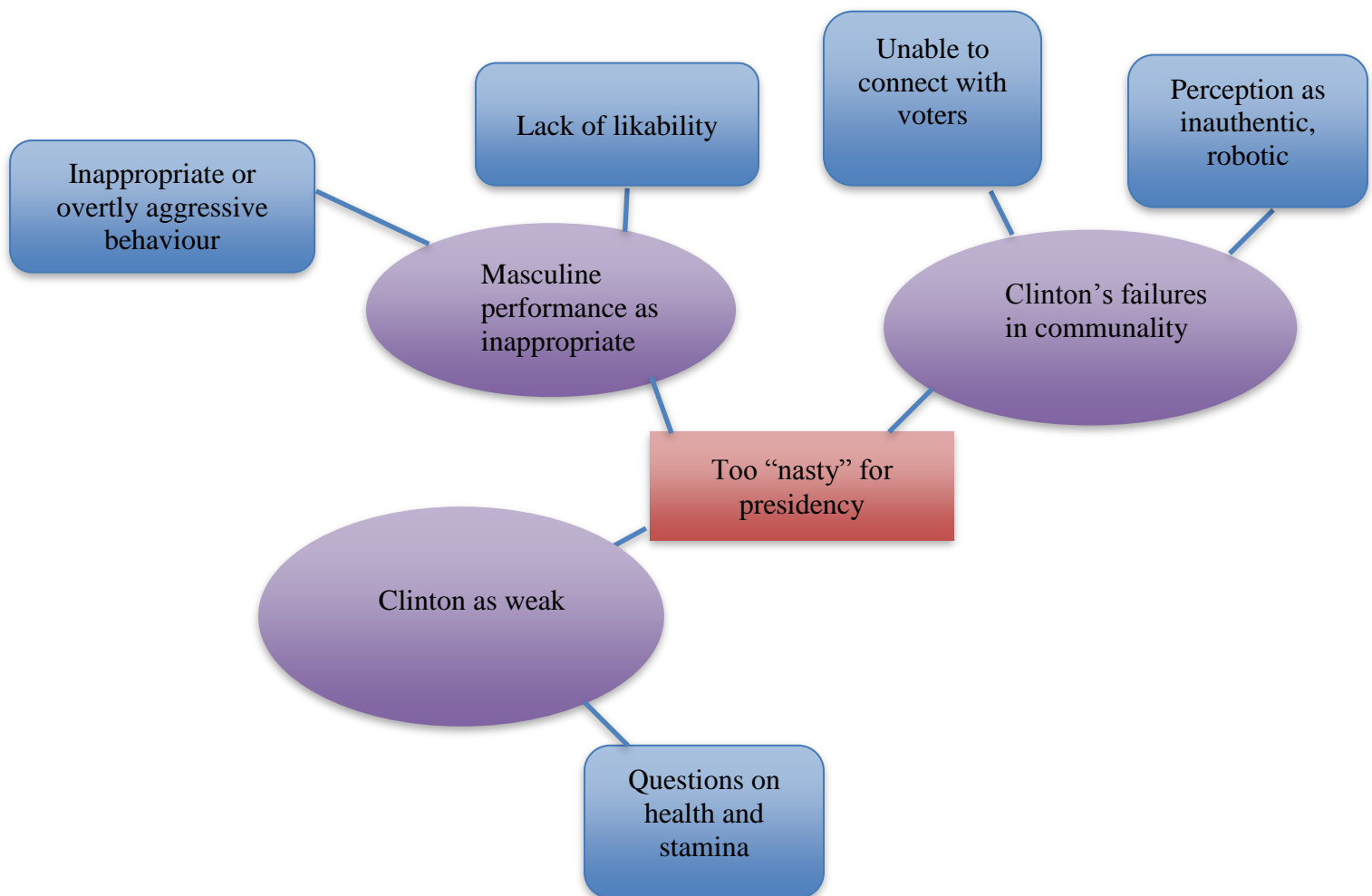
norms and stereotypes about women's self-presentation and behaviour – is something that continues to challenge female politicians, perpetuated by pundits, critics, voters, and the media.

Next, this paper will investigate the two Global Themes that emerged from the *Houston Chronicle* coverage. As previously noted, the *Chronicle* provided less ample coverage than the *Globe* and, unexpectedly, more supportive content than anticipated. Similar themes were observed in the coverage, though they included significantly more critiques and more broad conceptions of Clinton, as will be explored below.

**Global theme: Too “nasty” for presidency**

The first Global Theme (Figure D) for the *Chronicle* coverage was the perception of Clinton as too ‘nasty’ (i.e., unfeminine) to serve as president. This network included five Basic Themes and three Organizing Themes, and focused on more negative and critical elements within the coverage of Clinton.

Figure D



**Organizing theme: Clinton as weak.** Though Clinton's physical health and stamina were a fairly significant element of the *Globe's* coverage, her perceived weaknesses appeared to be more plainly stated in the *Chronicle's* coverage, though this opinion was not presented by *Chronicle* writers themselves. For example, critics questioned whether Clinton was able to defend herself and noted that she appeared "weak and reserved" in a debate (Baddour, 2016). Photos and videos were presented as evidence of her "failing health" (Christian, 2016). Memes about "drunk Hillary" circulated in the final weeks of the campaign, alleging to show Clinton after over-consuming alcohol, in

an attempt to undermine her fitness for presidency in terms of her masculine physical strength (Christian, 2016). Like the *Globe*, this coverage was linked to normative expectations of political leaders, who must appear strong (i.e., masculine) and viable (Falk, 2010; Jamieson, 1995; Jones, 2016; Laher, 2014). It also aligned with the notion of political game frames, which focus on a candidate's viability over their platform (Curnalia & Mermer, 2014). By highlighting concerns about Clinton's health and physical appearance in this coverage, her critics attempted to undercut her credibility and remind voters of her illegitimacy as a presidential candidate given that she is a woman.

**Organizing theme: Masculine performance as inappropriate.** In a similar vein, Clinton was also penalized for performing masculine behaviours during the campaign, in an illustration of the backlash effect where women are punished for acting in ways that fall outside feminine norms (Okitmoto & Brescoll, 2010; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). Clinton, for example, was characterized by a local voter in one article as an establishment politician who was no more than a “grumpy old white man with boobs and a vagina” (Kragie, 2016); other coverage observed her challenges in projecting personal warmth during the debates (Diaz, 2016). The *Chronicle* also cited Trump's assertion of his superior temperament and his oft-repeated criticism that Clinton was a “nasty woman” (O'Connor, 2016; Ward, 2016), though the articles included counterpoints to and critiques of his comments. Once again, this coverage appeared to imply that Clinton's lack of warmth, and her focus on more masculine behaviours, was detrimental to her likability as a candidate.

More provocatively, coverage within this theme also focused on Clinton's perceived aggressive or inappropriate behaviour. Negative descriptions of verbal

expressions were one of the most frequent categories to arise out of the *Chronicle* coverage, with Clinton's speech being described as attacking, accusatory, sparring, interrupting, pushing, and shouting almost as much as Trump. (Alternately, she was also accused of being too quiet during a debate, in another illustration of the double bind.) In addition, this coverage most aptly demonstrated the presence of war themes in gendered mediation (Trimble et al., 2014) and political game frames as an element of the double bind (Curnalia & Mermer, 2014). Clinton is depicted as an aggressor, in some cases on Trump's level, "slinging insults" at her opponent (Chen, 2016), "often on the offensive", and needing to "draw blood" (Diaz, 2016).

Overall, Clinton is positioned in the coverage as a woman who is not fulfilling the expected requirements of femininity in her bid for political office, and is therefore acting inappropriately. Though Trump was often criticized for the same behaviour, there is an implicit assumption that Clinton should have known or done better than her adversary, for whom the bar is already set low. This impacted both her credibility and likability, further delegitimizing her candidacy.

**Organizing theme: Clinton's failures in communality.** The final section of this network advances the same thematic thread, highlighting Clinton's failure to behave in an appropriately communal way. Though this theme was not as prominent as the previous ones, it is still significant given that it echoes similar findings from the *Globe*. Like the *Globe*, importance was placed on Clinton's ability to connect with voters and provide them with a perspective into her authentic self. The *Chronicle* coverage highlighted Clinton's weaknesses in this regard, noting that she was not as adept at connecting with crowds as her husband, Bill, and was not a natural campaigner or speaker. Some articles

represented her as mechanical or strained; one satirical column suggested that she was “played by the actor” Hillary Clinton in the one of the debates (Chen, 2016). Others perceived her as calculated or inauthentic.

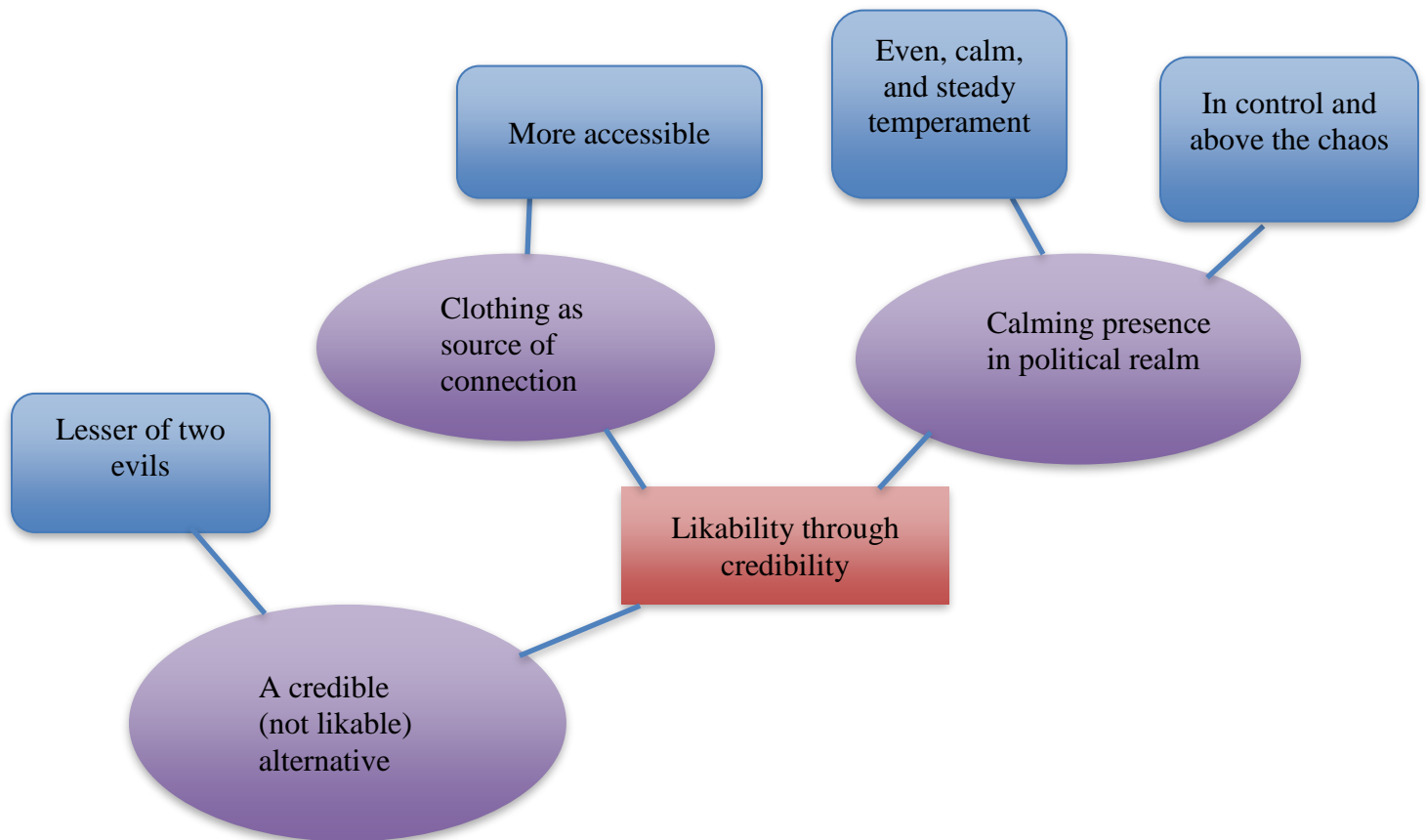
Notwithstanding the potential accuracy of these assertions, it is interesting to consider that all of these references are linked to the previously discussed expectations of warmth and likability for women and female politicians in particular. Because Clinton is perceived as not meeting the normative standard for immediacy cues and interpersonal communication and therefore given negative ratings on warmth, she is criticized in the coverage (and penalized simply by having those deviations mentioned in a more understated form of gendered mediation, which subsequently undermines her likability).

Overall, the findings from this network suggest that Clinton's self-presentation and behaviours were positioned in the coverage as incompatible with the presidency, impacting its assessment of her likability and credibility. Clinton was critiqued for failing as a woman by acting unnatural or not adequately communal, or by appearing too masculine in her aggression and other ‘nasty’ behaviours; ironically, however, she was also punished for being not masculine enough in her physical health. Like the ‘too much/not enough’ dichotomy discovered in the *Globe* coverage, this section of content from the *Chronicle* also demonstrated the double bind in action.

### **Global theme: Likability through credibility**

The second and final Global Theme (Figure E) for the *Chronicle* focused on a concept that first emerged in the *Globe* coverage – Clinton's credibility as a prerequisite for her likability. This network included four Basic Themes and three Organizing Themes, and presented more positive and neutral coverage of Clinton.

Figure E



**Organizing theme: Calming presence in political realm.** This grouping of codes (which included positive references to Clinton's general temperament and verbal expression, as well as relaxed body position) was the most prominent in the *Chronicle* coverage, with 14 mentions. Though the references were more general in nature, the coverage still provides insight into how Clinton's nonverbal and immediacy behaviours were interpreted by the newspaper. Like the *Globe*, Clinton was depicted by the *Chronicle* as sincere, disciplined, calm, and at ease, with a measured and steady self-presentation that helped to project a sense of control and power in the debate setting. She was even described as having won the last debate, in part, "on temperament" by one political scientist (Ward, 2016).

Especially in comparison to Trump, who is labelled as “temperamentally unfit to be commander in chief” (*Houston Chronicle*, Nov. 5), Clinton is presented in the coverage as the candidate with the disposition to serve as president. Though other articles from the *Chronicle* do recognize or explore her perceived weaknesses, in this section her likability is supported by the credibility gained from her composed demeanour. As previously discussed, this may be another indication of Clinton being rewarded for behaving appropriately as a female politician.

**Organizing theme: Clothing as source of connection.** One interesting element of the *Chronicle* coverage that was not as prominent in the *Globe* was clothing and physical appearance. Though Clinton’s looks and wardrobe choices were referenced a handful of times in the *Globe*, it was done abstractly; for example, in highlighting the connection between Clinton and pantsuits. The presence of clothing is more concrete in the *Chronicle*, where Clinton’s outfit – Republican red – (Chen, 2016) and “energetic coif” of hair are both referenced (*Houston Chronicle*, 2016d). In particular, one article described how Trump’s ‘nasty woman’ quote was reframed by individuals online into sartorial choices, such as dressing as a nasty woman for Halloween, wearing a nasty woman shirt while voting, or buying a pantsuit. The same article also noted that some companies were leveraging this trend into consumables, by offering ‘nasty’ necklaces, trucker hats, and t-shirts (O’Connor, 2016). Given the repeated criticism about Clinton’s lack of connection with voters, it is intriguing that some seemed to forge a connection – however temporary or fleeting – through the ‘nasty woman’ clothing trend and the symbol of her pantsuits, which are typically considered a feminine domain.

**Organizing theme: A credible (not likable) alternative.** Finally, the last theme of the *Chronicle* network examined the sometimes-grudging acceptance of Clinton as the best candidate for president. Though this theme was not directly linked to nonverbal immediacy cues, it derived from codes including Clinton's lack of connection with receivers and references to her tense/awkward/unnatural postures. It also provides a clear example of Fiske et al.'s (2007) assertion regarding ambivalent perception, given that Clinton was rated relatively highly on competence (i.e., credibility) but much lower on warmth (i.e., likability). Finally, this theme was particularly relevant given the political context; the *Chronicle* is located in a Republican state, with an editorial board that traditionally supports GOP candidates.

Though all four *Chronicle* editorials (*Houston Chronicle*, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c, 2016d) were unequivocal in their endorsement of Clinton, other coverage from the newspaper tempered this support with suggestions that its revulsion with Trump had a far greater impact than any wholehearted desire to see Clinton take the Oval Office. Other articles focused on voters' distrust of Clinton and her historically poor ratings in the polls, and one voter delegitimized pro-Clinton supporters by suggesting she would only receive their votes because she is a woman (Kragie, 2016). In presenting their bottom line, however – the fact that Clinton “isn't a threat to the Republic” (*Houston Chronicle*, 2016a) – the *Chronicle* appeared to determine that she was credible and that her (lack of) likability did not impede her viability as president. In this instance, Clinton's credibility and likability were kept separate; her candidacy was sustained only on its more masculine attributes (i.e., her competence) while her feminine attributes like warmth were judged to be less crucial.

Looking at this network as a whole, support for Clinton in the *Chronicle's* coverage appeared to be somewhat conditional, or at the very least dependent on external factors: Clinton's even-keeled temperament was lauded in comparison to Trump; one of the few specific connections Clinton made with voters was through clothing and physical appearance; and, Clinton was considered the only rational option and therefore the one that was chosen. Though the findings from this network are similar to those from the *Globe*, in that Clinton was able to achieve likability to a certain degree through her credibility (or that her credibility was deemed more important than her likability), and though the majority of the *Chronicle's* coverage was fairly supportive of Clinton, it appears that a different Republican candidate could have meant a very different metapragmatic discourse from the newspaper.

In once again returning to the research question and determining how it was addressed by the *Houston Chronicle's* coverage, it appears that Clinton's diminished likability as a woman, including her failings on some immediacy cues, was portrayed as a barrier to her viability as a presidential candidate, and was bolstered only by her self-presentation of credibility. Overall, the *Chronicle* coverage was clearly smaller in quantity than the *Globe's*. This may speak to Ette's (2013) assertion that gendered mediation can render women invisible, though in general the *Globe* did seem to produce content about the presidential race on a much greater scale. The *Chronicle's* coverage was also more general in terms of the nonverbal cues depicted (e.g., verbal expressions and temperament versus specific motions or actions). As previously noted, the coverage was surprisingly and primarily supportive of Clinton, though with some caveats. It also appeared to make a greater point of the perceived similarities or equivalencies between

both candidates, such as being historically disliked, voters finding neither option appealing, and use of negative behaviours during the debates. Given the newspaper's location and history, more critical coverage was anticipated; instead, coverage was relatively positive, though it still presented similar issues as with the *Globe* in terms of gendered mediation and examples of the double bind.

### Conclusion

In the closing pages of her book, *What Happened*, Hillary Clinton describes attending her alma mater, Wellesley College, to speak at their graduation ceremony in May 2017. Almost seven months after her defeat in the presidential election, she reflects on the victory speech she would have given the night of November 7th:

“I’m older now. I’m a mother and a grandmother,” I would have said. “But I still believe with all my heart that we can make the impossible, possible. Look at what we’re celebrating tonight.” But in the end, there was nothing to celebrate. The glass ceiling held. The impossible remained so. (Clinton, 2017, p. 462)

Much like the election results, the challenges and barriers discovered in previous literature on female politicians remained mostly in place through this exploration of the 2016 election. Clinton was still beset by gendered norms and stereotypes that dictate whether her presence in the political sphere is appropriate, and provide confines in which she must behave or else risk being penalized. Media coverage still gendered her candidacy in ways both obvious and subtle, reflecting her own experience in the 2008 campaign and those of her counterparts. Finally, as a woman, Clinton was still held to specific standards and expectations in her immediacy behaviours and nonverbal communication.

In completing a qualitative thematic content analysis of the 2016 presidential campaign to examine how regional U.S. media assessed Clinton's credibility and likability as a female political candidate through her use of nonverbal immediacy cues and the theoretical lenses of gendered mediation and the double bind theory, it was anticipated that this investigation would uncover similar gendered coverage, where Clinton would be framed in a way that left no space or possibility for success.

Looking at the coverage from the *Boston Globe* and *Houston Chronicle*, however, it appears that some space was indeed left for Clinton to succeed – both newspapers, in fact, surprisingly and enthusiastically endorsed her for president – but only within the confines of the norms and expectations available to her as a woman. For the *Globe*, while Clinton was perceived as gaining credibility through her use of immediacy behaviours (and subsequently increasing her likability), her portrayal as a viable presidential candidate was still tempered by gender norms related to her self-presentation and behaviours, and how successful she was in embodying them. For the *Chronicle*, Clinton's diminished likability as a woman, including her failings on some immediacy cues, was portrayed as a barrier to her viability as a presidential candidate, and was bolstered only by her self-presentation of credibility.

These findings confirm that the theories put forward by Ette (2013) and Jamieson (1995) to account for the challenges being faced by women both in media coverage and public life are unfortunately alive and well, and that the 2016 election coverage echoed, to some degree, the same problematic, gendered content as what Clinton experienced in 2008. Though this iteration of gendered election media coverage may not be as overt,

Clinton continued to be treated as a candidate whose gender was central to how her credibility and likability were portrayed.

Two outlets cannot be considered representative of U.S. newspaper coverage or even regionally based, Democratic- or Republican-leaning coverage; however, this paper still provides an illustrative example of how media continue to approach Clinton from a gendered perspective, albeit an often well-intentioned one. It also supports the assertions put forward by previous literature on media coverage of female politicians, with the noticeable distinction that Trump's candidacy may have altered the way that Clinton was portrayed, especially by traditionally Republican media. This would appear to indicate that the media industry's foundational issues, as previously identified by Ette (2013), have not yet been dismantled or altered in a meaningful way, at least in the realm of U.S. presidential campaign reporting, and that the gender norms and expectations that confront women in their day-to-day lives continue to be persistently legitimized and imbued with power by the media, even as the U.S. almost elected its first female president.

Though these findings were generally expected, they are also somewhat disheartening, especially given the previously discussed finding that negative media coverage of female candidates dissuades other women from joining politics (Lawless, 2009); however, much like Jamieson (1995) envisioned a more hopeful future in *Beyond the double bind*, where even greater numbers of women would overcome the no-win challenge put in their way, Clinton herself also issues a steadfastly optimistic call at the end of her book: "Things are going to be hard for a long time. But we are going to be okay. All of us. The rain was ending. It was my turn to speak. "What do we do now?" I said. There was only one answer: "Keep going." (2017, p. 464).

Moving forward, the aim of this research is to supplement the current dearth of literature on media portrayals of gendered nonverbal immediacy cues related to likability and credibility. More practically, this paper contributes to the ongoing examination of mediated narratives around Clinton during the 2016 election and how the gendered presentation of her nonverbal cues – and what they were represented to say about her as a woman and a candidate – may have influenced American voters and her eventual loss.

In terms of limitations, as previously indicated, the research was constrained by its specific regional scope and search timeline. In addition, this paper did not address other factors that influenced the election outcome, including race. This paper also touched on coverage of Trump only in a cursory manner, and therefore conclusions drawn about his portrayal in the media are superficial at best. Finally, the focus on Clinton in this paper privileged the American experience over that of female politicians from other parts of the world and provided only a narrow experience from which to draw conclusions.

Future directions for research in this area could look more closely at the use of nonverbal immediacy cues by other female politicians and how they reflect likability and credibility, given the lack of research in this area, including recently elected Canadian politicians such as Montreal mayor Valérie Plante. This paper could also provide an entry point into a broader regional investigation of 2016 election coverage of Clinton encompassing a greater geographical area. In addition, more comparative studies could be undertaken using this model; for example, examining media portrayals of both Trump and Clinton in the same articles to determine who was considered more credible and likable, or looking at differences in perceptions of likability and credibility amongst

politicians in different generations. Finally, approaching this topic from a more intersectional point of view could provide a much richer exploration of the election results and the U.S.'s current political context.

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ANNEX A

**BOSTON GLOBE (initial codes)**

Codes	Issues discussed	Themes identified
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Shaking hands (2)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Clinton and Trump refusing to shake hands (2)</li> <li>• No extension of hand (Clinton and Trump)</li> <li>• “Seinfeldian”</li> <li>• Symbol of civility, courtesy</li> <li>• Did shake at end of second debate, not before or after third debate (symbolic)</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Clinton refused to participate in a display of civility and unity by not shaking Trump’s hand before or after most debates.</li> </ol>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• References to physical health or stamina (9)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sign of weakness</li> <li>• Example of double bind (illness as weakness but working through also criticized)</li> <li>• Criticism from Trump (4)</li> <li>• Reference to Clinton’s internal monologue</li> <li>• Self-deprecating joke about health, nap schedule</li> <li>• Running an Iron Woman marathon</li> <li>• Needs to make it over the finish line</li> <li>• Win will be testament to stamina</li> <li>• Fighter</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Appearance of stamina and good physical health was a critical component for Clinton’s claim at credibility as a presidential candidate.</li> </ol>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tense/awkward/unnatural posture (2)</li> <li>• Freezing up (2)</li> <li>• Lack of connection with receivers (5)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Should be more natural</li> <li>• Over-prepared in debate</li> <li>• Must have all the answers</li> <li>• Too much/not enough (not too smart but have to have answers)</li> <li>• Too focused on policy to participate</li> <li>• One of most unpopular presidential nominees in American history (3)</li> <li>• Town hall debate as chance to improve likability</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. Clinton’s reputation for appearing over-rehearsed in debates is an example of the double bind, where she was criticized both for being over-prepared and unnatural (i.e., lacking communal, feminine warmth and likeability), but was also expected to perform at an exceeding high standard.</li> <li>4. Clinton’s perceived inability to connect with voters impedes her likability credibility as a presidential candidate.</li> </ol>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Weakened combatants”</li> <li>• Has difficulty connecting with audiences</li> <li>• Audiences don’t like it when Clinton is herself</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Laughter/making jokes/references to humour (8)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “That” laugh (recognizable in negative way)</li> <li>• Off-putting</li> <li>• Criticism from Trump about laugh</li> <li>• Likely reference to “Clinton cackle”</li> <li>• Rebuttal with a laugh or “whew”</li> <li>• Reveling</li> <li>• Jokes as “trim, tidy”</li> <li>• Funny, clever (2)</li> <li>• Self-deprecating (3)</li> <li>• Sense of humour as important for president (control, power)</li> <li>• Laughing off Trump’s criticism</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. Like the 2008 campaign, Clinton’s laugh is still reframed as a negative immediacy behaviour that impacts her credibility and likability.</li> <li>6. Clinton’s sense of humour, especially her wit and ability to be self-deprecating, improved her likability and were seen as a valuable political skill.</li> </ol>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Aggressive/angry temperament or movements</li> <li>• General temperament (negative) (4)</li> <li>• Description of verbal expression (negative) (2)</li> <li>• Sighing (2)</li> <li>• Shoulder movement</li> <li>• Body position (in relation to Trump)</li> <li>• Description of verbal expression (negative)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Female anger as inappropriate</li> <li>• No-win situation</li> <li>• Not “warm and fuzzy”</li> <li>• Losing cool during Benghazi hearing</li> <li>• Needs to be more confident, passionate</li> <li>• Punishment for raising voice</li> <li>• Temperament problem (criticism from Trump)</li> <li>• Extent of expressed frustration</li> <li>• Trump sighing at Clinton (“such a nasty woman” – 2)</li> <li>• “Shoulder shimmy” (became meme)</li> <li>• Trump “loomed over” Clinton</li> <li>• Attempts at intimidation</li> <li>• Standing directly behind her</li> <li>• “Whoo! OK!” (became meme)</li> <li>• Needs to be more snarky, spontaneous</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. Clinton’s emotional displays (e.g., anger, coldness, excitement) are still often penalized or framed as inappropriate, impacting her credibility and likability.</li> <li>8. In another example of the double bind, Clinton is criticized both for “losing her cool” and for not showcasing enough passion and spontaneity.</li> <li>9. Clinton was subjected to intimidation behaviours (as a counterpoint to immediacy) from Trump during the debates.</li> </ol>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relaxed body position (7)</li> <li>• Eye contact/movement</li> <li>• Steady and commanding presence</li> <li>• General temperament (positive) (10)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In her comfort zone at debate, foundation dinner</li> <li>• Above the chaos (2)</li> <li>• Composed, maintaining composure under pressure (3)</li> <li>• Looked relaxed on split-screen in debate</li> <li>• Calm, collected</li> <li>• Cool and rational</li> <li>• Poised</li> <li>• Calm staring</li> <li>• Imploring audience (breaking fourth wall)</li> <li>• Clinton as appearing in command</li> <li>• Representative of U.S.</li> <li>• Walked in alone at foundation dinner (impressive)</li> <li>• Found her feet</li> <li>• Prepared (2)</li> <li>• Seeming presidential (3)</li> <li>• Not challenged, relaxed</li> <li>• Self-discipline (in not “losing mind”)</li> <li>• Didn’t succumb to anger</li> <li>• Grace</li> <li>• Unflappable</li> <li>• Strength</li> <li>• Disciplined</li> <li>• Better temperament than Trump (2)</li> </ul>	<p>10. Even under pressure, Clinton maintains her composure and calm.</p> <p>11. By maintaining a relaxed, poised and unflappable temperament, Clinton emphasizes her credibility and her presidential appearance.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Smiling (specific references to) (3)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Criticism from the media (The Atlantic)</li> <li>• Too pleasant/easy-going of a smile</li> <li>• Criticism for not smiling enough</li> <li>• Double bind</li> <li>• Smiling often and relaxed</li> <li>• Important for president to be able to smile</li> </ul>	<p>12. Examples of Clinton smiling also illustrate the double bind, where she is criticized both for smiling “inappropriately” and not smiling enough.</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Description of verbal expression (positive)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Politely/not so politely “picked at” Trump</li> <li>• Pivoted</li> <li>• Pounced</li> </ul>	<p>13. Clinton skillfully and strategically attacked Trump during the presidential debates.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Connection with receivers (2)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Connected with audience</li> <li>• Owned the room, harness power</li> <li>• Influential</li> <li>• Familiarity with receivers</li> <li>• Know rules of game, will include outsiders</li> </ul>	<p>14. Clinton uses her career politician status to her positive advantage.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Choice of clothing (3)</li> <li>• Physical appearance (i.e., looks, attractiveness) (3)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jokes as “dressed for the job”</li> <li>• Tuxedos as “formal pantsuits”</li> <li>• Criticism from Trump</li> <li>• Appearance of a portrait</li> <li>• Doesn’t have “look” of president (criticism from Trump) (2)</li> </ul>	<p>15. Clinton’s clothing and appearance plays a somewhat prominent role in media coverage of her candidacy, her own image-building, and the criticism she received.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Waving or raising arms/hands</li> <li>• Arms/hands at side or folded</li> <li>• Negative (e.g., unhappy/concerned/bland/tired) facial expression</li> <li>• Neutral (e.g., serious/calm/serene/composed) facial expression</li> <li>• Positive (e.g., happy/pleased) facial expression</li> <li>• Nodding in agreement</li> <li>• Emotional facial expression (e.g., teary, upset, etc.)</li> <li>• Leaning towards</li> <li>• Leaning away</li> <li>• Hand motions (supportive)</li> <li>• Hand motions (challenging)</li> <li>• Head shaking</li> <li>• Finger pointing</li> <li>• Dropped or hunched shoulders</li> <li>• Ease of movement</li> <li>• Lack of ease of movement</li> </ul>	<p>N/A</p>	<p>N/A</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Inappropriate/unflattering behaviour</li> </ul>		
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<b>Themes as Basic Themes</b>	<b>Organizing Themes</b>	<b>Global Themes</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Clinton refused to participate in a display of civility and unity by not shaking Trump’s hand before or after most debates.</li> <li>• Clinton’s perceived inability to connect with voters impedes her likability and credibility as a presidential candidate.</li> <li>• Clinton’s reputation for appearing over-rehearsed in debates is an example of the double bind, where she was criticized both for being over-prepared and unnatural (i.e., lacking communal, feminine warmth and likeability), but was also expected to perform at an exceeding high standard.</li> <li>• Clinton’s clothing and appearance plays a somewhat prominent role in media coverage of her candidacy, her own image-building, and the criticism she received.</li> <li>• Appearance of stamina and good physical health was a critical component for Clinton’s claim at credibility as a presidential candidate.</li> <li>• Clinton was subjected to intimidation behaviours (as a counterpoint to immediacy) from Trump during the debates.</li> </ul>	<p>Clinton’s lack of communality and immediacy</p> <p>Femininity as a requirement for interpersonal connection</p> <p>Navigating the political sphere of masculine physicality</p>	<p>Gendered viability</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Like the 2008 campaign, Clinton’s laugh is still reframed as a negative immediacy behaviour that impacts her credibility and likability.</li> <li>• Clinton’s emotional displays (e.g., anger, coldness, excitement) are still often penalized or framed as inappropriate, impacting her credibility and likability.</li> <li>• In another example of the double bind, Clinton is criticized both for “losing her cool” and for not showcasing enough passion and spontaneity.</li> <li>• Examples of Clinton smiling also illustrate the double bind, where she is criticized both for smiling “inappropriately” and not smiling enough.</li> </ul>	<p>Inappropriate displays of emotions and immediacy</p> <p>Emotions as too much/not enough</p>	<p>Clinton as emotional deviant</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Clinton’s sense of humour, especially her wit and ability to be self-deprecating, improved her likability and were seen as a valuable political skill.</li> <li>• Clinton skilfully and strategically attacked Trump during the presidential debates.</li> </ul>	<p>Emphasizing communicative strengths</p>	<p>Political credibility through immediacy</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Clinton uses her career politician status to her positive advantage.</li><li>• Even under pressure, Clinton maintains her composure and calm.</li><li>• By maintaining a relaxed, poised and unflappable temperament, Clinton emphasizes her credibility and her presidential appearance.</li></ul>	Connection with receivers through credibility  Presidential temperament	
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**HOUSTON CHRONICLE (initial codes)**

<b>Codes</b>	<b>Issues discussed</b>	<b>Themes identified</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• General temperament (negative) (4)</li> <li>• Physical health/stamina (3)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Appearing weak and reserved</li> <li>• Not able to defend herself</li> <li>• “Grumpy old white man with boobs and a vagina”</li> <li>• “Nasty woman” (criticism from Trump)</li> <li>• Failing health</li> <li>• Fitness for presidency (i.e., physical strength, masculinity)</li> <li>• Trump having better, winning temperament</li> <li>• Challenge to project warmth</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Questions around Clinton’s health and stamina undermined the credibility of her bid for president.</li> <li>2. Clinton’s perceived lack of warmth and grumpy, nasty demeanour (i.e., likeability) were a challenge to her campaign.</li> </ol>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• General temperament (positive) (6)</li> <li>• Description of verbal expression (positive) (3)</li> <li>• Relaxed body position (5)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In control</li> <li>• Above the chaos</li> <li>• Won a debate on temperament</li> <li>• Disciplined</li> <li>• Sincere</li> <li>• Reject “cartoon Hillary”</li> <li>• Has temperament to be president</li> <li>• “Happy warrior”</li> <li>• Declare</li> <li>• Articulate</li> <li>• Acknowledged</li> <li>• Calm (2)</li> <li>• Steady (2)</li> <li>• Measured</li> <li>• Seemed at ease</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. Clinton’s ability to appear in control and above the chaos in the debate format was an important skill.</li> <li>4. Clinton projected an appearance of an even, calm and steady temperament during the campaign.</li> </ol>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of connection with receivers (4)</li> <li>• Tense/awkward/unnatural posture (4)</li> <li>• Connection to receivers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Distrust of Clinton</li> <li>• Supporters of Clinton because they are women</li> <li>• Not able to connect with crowds like Bill Clinton</li> <li>• Historically high negative rating in polls</li> <li>• Not a natural campaigner or speaker</li> <li>• Calculated, inauthentic (2)</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. Clinton was not able to connect with voters or improve her likability during the 2016 campaign.</li> <li>6. Clinton comes across as inauthentic and robotic to voters, making it difficult to connect with her and gain support.</li> <li>7. Clinton was positioned as the lesser of two evils in comparison to Trump, in the face of low support.</li> </ol>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Played by the actor”</li> <li>• Mechanical performance</li> <li>• Strained</li> <li>• Not a threat to country</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Choice of clothing (5)</li> <li>• Physical appearance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dressing up as “nasty woman for Halloween (2)</li> <li>• “Nasty” necklaces, hats, shirts</li> <li>• Pantsuits</li> <li>• Wearing red during debate</li> <li>• “Energetic coil” of hair</li> </ul>	<p>8. Clinton was perceived as more accessible through clothing during the campaign.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Description of verbal expressions (negative) (7)</li> <li>• Angry/aggressive</li> <li>• Inappropriate/unflattering behaviour</li> <li>• Negative (e.g., unhappy/concerned/bland/tired) facial expression</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Too quiet during debate (2)</li> <li>• Accused Trump (2)</li> <li>• Shouted (almost as much as Trump)</li> <li>• Slinging insults</li> <li>• Interrupting</li> <li>• Sparred</li> <li>• On the offensive (2)</li> <li>• “Gagging out” a phrase</li> <li>• Pushed</li> <li>• Aggressive behaviour during debate</li> <li>• Need to “draw blood” during debate</li> <li>• Attack</li> <li>• Photos of Clinton alleging she had drunk to excess</li> <li>• Unflattering photos</li> <li>• Grimaced</li> </ul>	<p>9. Clinton was believed to have behaved inappropriately or overtly aggressively at points during the campaign, and was compared to Trump in some cases.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Waving or raising arms/hands</li> <li>• Arms/hands at side or folded</li> <li>• Shaking hands</li> <li>• Smiling (specific references to)</li> <li>• Neutral (e.g., serious/calm/serene/composed) facial expression</li> <li>• Positive (e.g., happy/pleased) facial expression</li> <li>• Laughter/making jokes/references to humour</li> <li>• Nodding in agreement</li> </ul>	<p>N/A</p>	<p>N/A</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emotional facial expression (e.g., teary, upset, etc.)</li> <li>• Leaning towards</li> <li>• Leaning away</li> <li>• Hand motions (supportive)</li> <li>• Hand motions (challenging)</li> <li>• Head shaking</li> <li>• Finger pointing</li> <li>• Dropped or hunched shoulders</li> <li>• Shoulder movement</li> <li>• Ease of movement</li> <li>• Lack of ease of movement</li> <li>• Steady and commanding presence</li> <li>• Body position (in relation to Trump)</li> <li>• Eye contact/eye movement</li> <li>• Choice of clothing</li> <li>• Sighing</li> <li>• Freezing up</li> </ul>		
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<b>Themes as Basic Themes</b>	<b>Organizing Themes</b>	<b>Global Themes</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Questions around Clinton’s health and stamina undermined the credibility of her bid for president.</li> <li>• Clinton was believed to have behaved inappropriately or overtly aggressively at points during the campaign, and was compared to Trump in some cases.</li> <li>• Clinton’s perceived lack of warmth and grumpy, nasty demeanour (i.e., likeability) were a challenge to her campaign.</li> <li>• Clinton was not able to connect with voters or improve her likability during the 2016 campaign.</li> <li>• Clinton comes across as inauthentic and robotic to voters, making it difficult to connect with her and gain support.</li> </ul>	<p>Clinton as weak</p> <p>Masculine performance as inappropriate</p> <p>Clinton’s failures in communality</p>	<p>Too “nasty” for presidency</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Clinton’s ability to appear in control and above the chaos in the debate format was an important skill.</li> <li>• Clinton projected an appearance of an even, calm and steady temperament during the campaign.</li> <li>• Clinton was perceived as more accessible through clothing during the campaign.</li> </ul>	<p>Calming presence in political realm</p> <p>Clothing as source of connection</p>	<p>Likability through credibility</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Clinton was positioned as the lesser of two evils in comparison to Trump, in the face of low support.</li></ul>	A credible (not likable) alternative	
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