

GENDER, MEDIA AND THE SCANDINAVIAN FAR RIGHT

by

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(Under the Direction of Cas Mudde)

ABSTRACT

This piece engages in qualitative research in order to better understand the relationship between far right politics, gender and the media. Print media sources in Norway and Denmark are used as the case studies for this article. The findings from this piece suggest that the far right may provide a unique space for female politicians, where they are not subjected to typical media biases.

INDEX WORDS: Far Right, media, gender, Denmark, Norway

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this Thesis project to my parents, William G. Ambrose and Kirsti A. Sandøy, whose support and love never wavers. Thank you.

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Introduction

Scandinavia has long been bucking the trend of male dominated politics. The region has boasted high inclusion rates for female politicians at both local and national levels. For the past several decades a third to a quarter of Scandinavian Parliaments have been composed of female politicians¹. Despite the prevalence of female politicians in these countries' and their long, well-touted tradition of gender equality, female politicians are frequently subjected to biased treatment from media outlets, making Scandinavian countries part of the global trend of gender biased media treatment. This trend exists across countries, including Scandinavian. There is little information, however, regarding the treatment of women in more fringe political parties, particularly the parties of the far right in Norway and Denmark. Both Fremskrittspartiet (FrP) and the Dansk Folkeparti (DF) have established and popular female politicians and at some time over the last decade placed a female leader at the helm. This study examines the treatment of far right female politicians compared to their male counterparts in order to assess if the gender dynamics that exist between the media and mainstream parties can also be found in the far right.

Ultimately, this study finds that media treatment of far right female politicians differs significantly from coverage of more mainstream female politicians. In fact, this investigation also reveals that far right female politicians are treated in a serious and unbiased light, and in certain instances with even more import and reverence than their male peers. In the case of Norway I find, for example, that the current FrP leader, Siv Jensen, is treated as a serious and influential politician while the coverage of her predecessor, Carl I. Hagen paints him as a politically impotent monkey. In Denmark a similar esteem is afforded to the former DF leader, Pia Kjaersgaard while his successor receives little substantive media attention. Rarely do we see Kjaersgaard or Jensen treated with the frames, language or issue-linkage that characterizes the media's handling of female politicians not just in Scandinavia but world-over. This aberration has potential to help us better understand not just the relationship between the far right and the media but also inter-party strategy. The results suggest that the far right provides a unique

¹Dahlerup, Drude. "From a small to a large minority: women in Scandinavian politics." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 11.4 (1988): 275-298.

political space for female politicians where they are not subjected to the same media treatment as females in other more mainstream parties.

Theory and Literature Review

This study draws on several different bodies of literature in order to develop and justify the scope and direction of this project. Through the comparative method this study seeks to make a contribution to several different lines of inquiry within the discipline of Comparative Politics. The two main literatures this study relies on are the existing texts on gender and media as well as the canon of works regarding the far right's relationship with mass media. It is these two bodies of literature that inform the theory and methodology for this piece. The relationship between female politicians and the media has garnered much attention within several different academic fields. The existing corpus of literature within political science on this topic, however, all arrive at similar conclusions regarding this issue.

The first unanimous finding of these works is that women receive less coverage than their male counter parts in similar or equivalent political positions². These studies examine a variety of political offices in numerous countries and discover, in no uncertain terms, male politicians receive far more media attention, both positive and negative, than do their female counterparts. The second dimension along which this literature is united pertains to the type of coverage women receive from the media. The issue area with which politicians are linked is strongly related to their gender. When discussing issue areas relevant to a male leader the coverage tends

² Devitt, James. "Framing gender on the campaign trail: Female gubernatorial candidates and the press." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 79.2 (2002): 445-463.; Gidengil, Elisabeth, and Joanna Everitt. "Talking tough: Gender and reported speech in campaign news coverage." *Political Communication* 20.3 (2003): 209-232.; Lawless, Jennifer L. "Sexism and gender bias in election 2008: A more complex path for women in politics." *Politics & Gender* 5.01 (2009): 70-80.

to focus on “hard” policies such as the economy or foreign policy³. In contrast, female leaders are usually associated with more traditional or “soft” issue areas, those that are considered more domestic and feminine. Such issue areas include topics like welfare, abortion, education or family leave⁴. There is a strong consensus regarding a difference in framing of male and female politicians. Framing refers to language utilized by the author (usually consciously) to further meaning within a piece or to tie the piece into a larger narrative⁵. This concept is related to the previous idea but is furthered not only through the obvious focus of the article but through the use of more subtle linguistic instruments. Coverage of men, for example, may be more likely to use diction that illustrates the more powerful and political aspects of their persona whereas when writing about female politicians the language used in the article will highlight more personal and expressive characteristics. Additionally, it has been noted, articles about male leaders have a much higher propensity to reference their professional history. Those about female leaders are more likely to allude to personal and familial histories and details⁶.

I use the findings of literature within this field to develop a framework with which to analyze source material from a variety of newspapers in both Norway and Denmark. According to Boggs there exist three approaches scholars should take when assessing the frame of news stories. This study applies his second approach; “framing as a multidimensional concept”(99)⁷. This approach seeks to assess news material using set of common dimensions in order to understand the approach an article takes. The components that allow us to determine the

³ Devitt, James. "Framing gender on the campaign trail: Female gubernatorial candidates and the press." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 79.2 (2002): 445-463.; Scharrer, Erica, and Kim Bissell. "Overcoming traditional boundaries: The role of political activity in media coverage of first ladies." *Women & Politics* 21.1 (2000): 55-83.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Huddy, Leonie, and Tony E. Carey. "Group politics redux: Race and gender in the 2008 Democratic presidential primaries." *Politics & Gender* 5.01 (2009): 81-96.

⁶ Devitt, James. "Framing gender on the campaign trail: Female gubernatorial candidates and the press." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 79.2 (2002): 445-463.; Niven, David, and Jeremy Zilber. "Do women and men in Congress cultivate different images? Evidence from congressional web sites." *Political Communication* 18.4 (2001): 395-405.

⁷ Boggs, Lee. *A study of gender stereotypes in the news coverage of the 1984 and 2008 vice-presidential campaigns*. Diss. University of Missouri--Columbia, 2010.

emphasis of the article will comprise our framework and will be the dimension on which this study collects data. This framework is suggested by the existing literature discussed above.

There will be six aspects with which all newspaper articles can be evaluated. Firstly, leaders will be assessed on the issue area with which they are linked and if this topic may be classified as a “hard” or “soft” policy area. Secondly, we will note the background information provided about the leader and if it pertains more to their professional or their personal life. Thirdly, the language used to describe personality traits will be recorded, that is if the language used reflects the qualifications, power and stature of the politicians or if descriptions reflect a more emotional bent. Attention to appearance will also be logged, that is if dress, hairstyle, makeup, etc. received any mention within the article. Note will also be taken if the article referred to any element of the politicians family life. Finally, we will chronicle whether or not the piece was an account of the politician as a member of their political party and the general political arena or if the piece focused largely on them as a public figure with little mention of their political party. These criteria will be employed to assemble a dataset regarding media coverage of far right party leaders in both Norway and Denmark. The number of articles pertaining to each politician will also be catalogued.

There are numerous reasons this study looks to Norway and Denmark and their far right parties to better understand the relationship between the media, gender and far right politics. Academic studies regarding gender and the media tend to focus on North America, East Asian countries or central Europe⁸. Scandinavian countries present a compelling setting for a study regarding gender and the mass media. Scandinavia has a very high proportion of elected female officials and politicians on both the national and local level. Despite the pervasiveness of women in elected office a clear bias has been identified in the treatment of female politicians by the media. Even in a society routinely touted for its gender equality and equitable workplace

⁸ Franco, Judith. "Extreme makeover: The politics of gender, class, and cultural identity." *Television & New Media* (2008).;

Franco, Judith. "Extreme makeover: The politics of gender, class, and cultural identity." *Television & New Media* (2008).;

Gidengil, Elisabeth, and Joanna Everitt. "Talking tough: Gender and reported speech in campaign news coverage." *Political Communication* 20.3 (2003): 209-232.

policies, it appears that the media within these countries exhibits the same patterns identified above in coverage of female politicians and leaders. In fact, in a survey of female politicians in Scandinavia, a negligible number reported that they perceived the treatment of female politicians in the media as equitable⁹. A study from one of Norway's leading institutes for social science research, Kilden, finds that both descriptions and images of women are routinely more unflattering and gender biased than those of male politicians¹⁰. The article in fact states, "Siv Jensen and Erna Solberg may be exempt from this rule," but the piece calls for further research on this area, claiming that most research in this area is based in North America or central Europe¹¹. Other studies have found similar results in Denmark, which, like Norway, has a strong presence of female parliament members¹². The fact that the media coverage of women in this region appears to follow the global trend runs contrary to the ideas and climate of social equality Scandinavia has been working for decades to cultivate. As these studies are eager to note, however, in a comparative perspective Scandinavia does quite well both in terms of female representation and also the media's treatment of female politicians. In spite of this, these works still confirm a definite bias towards most female politicians, in the case of these works, members of parliament.

While the above may be true in regards to long standing, mainstream parties in Scandinavia, it is unclear if this trend persists for more recently developed parties, particularly those of the far right. The relationship between far right parties and the media varies significantly across Europe, even within Nordic countries. In both Sweden and especially Finland there has been a stigma attached to reporters and newspapers that decide to feature stories about the far right and far right politicians. An unspoken code of ethics took hold when far right activities began to emerge around Europe and many Swedish and Finnish publications

⁹ Dahlerup, Drude. "From a small to a large minority: women in Scandinavian politics." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 11.4 (1988): 275-298.; Hallberg, Nina C. "Kvinner i norsk topp-politikk 1945-2002." *En studie av kjønnsesifikke rekrutteringsmønstre i Storting og Regjering* (2003): 1945-2002.; Frækhaug, Ingelin Moltu. "I krig og kjærlighet. En analyse av representasjonen av mannlige og kvinnelige toppolitikere på norske avisforsider i perioden rundt Stortingsvalget 2013." (2014).

¹⁰ <http://forskning.no/kjonn-og-samfunn-mediavitenskap-politikk/2013/10/kvinnelige-politikere-behandles-stadig-verre-I;>

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Bakke, Marit. "Kvinner som politiske aktører*." *Politica* 4 (2012).; Rennison, Betina Wolfgang. *Knæk kønnets koder: Kvinder i ledelse*. Gyldendal A/S, 2012.

opted not add fuel to the fire by covering any activity by the far right, political or otherwise. Some scholars hypothesize this is why far right parties have been slow to develop and gather support in both Sweden and Finland¹³.

Norway and Denmark, on the other hand, have not shied away from coverage of far right parties. Danish newspapers are by far the most accommodating and publications such as *Jyllands-Posten* even afford DF opportunities to publish serial op-ed columns¹⁴. Norwegian newspapers, while historically less accommodating of far right politics and politicians, often exhibit a clear agenda in attempts to display far right politicians as fascists or even Nazis¹⁵. Unlike Finland and Sweden, however, they often cover far right politics and politicians. These accounts of the media demonstrate firstly that media within this region (as within most areas) is informed, partially, by political agendas and some code of ethics, well intentioned or otherwise. Secondly, it appears that the media may act as a form of gatekeeper for the far right and other less established parties¹⁶. While success of the smaller, far right parties is not entirely dependent on media coverage it is an essential component of information dissemination and bolstering support and legitimacy. If media outlets act as gatekeepers and also perceive themselves as such, this adds another level of interest and complexity to this study. Not only do we seek to understand the relationship media has with female politicians in societies with high gender equality but this investigation can also reveal important truths about the relationship of the media and the far right.

Methodology

Norway and Denmark provide the perfect microcosm in which to execute a comparative study regarding gender, the treatment of far right politicians and the media. Norway and Denmark both have successful far right parties. The cultural and political situation in Norway

¹³ Rydgren, Jens. "The sociology of the radical right." *Annu. Rev. Sociol.* 33 (2007): 241-262.

¹⁴ Rydgren, Jens. "Is extreme right-wing populism contagious? Explaining the emergence of a new party family." *European Journal of Political Research* 44.3 (2005): 413-437.

¹⁵ Widfeldt, Anders. "Scandinavia: mixed success for the populist right." *Parliamentary Affairs* 53.3 (2000): 486-500.

¹⁶ Rydgren, Jens. "The sociology of the radical right." *Annu. Rev. Sociol.* 33 (2007): 241-262.

and Denmark allow for a most similar systems research design. In terms of culture, history, political systems, national wealth, size, language and international relations Norway and Denmark are strikingly similar. This allows the study to control for a number of explanatory factors that might otherwise influence the results. Norway and Denmark also have established far right political movements. The leadership of the Norwegian Progress Party (FrP) and the Danish People's Party (DF) underwent shifts fairly recently in which the FrP changed from male to female leadership and the DF leadership shifted from female to male. This allows for an easy cross-country comparison, especially with so many societal and political factors held constant. Scandinavia is perhaps the closest scholars can come to a natural laboratory and the fact that the gender of far right leadership was recently switched in both countries only heightens the value of this region for conducting comparative research.

This study relies heavily on the qualitative method of textual analysis. Four newspapers are going to be surveyed in this study and articles from the specified time period will be analyzed. The main broadsheets from Norway and Denmark are *Aftenposten* and *Jyllands-Posten*, respectively. These are the broadsheets with the widest distribution in both countries so they are the ideal choice for analysis because they have the widest readership and are the most esteemed national publication. In addition to broadsheets this study will survey two tabloid newspapers, also with the highest distribution. *Verdens Gang (VG)* will be the selection for Norway and on the Danish side we will use *Ekstra-Bladet*. These distribution and coverage of these publications far outstrip that of other newspapers in the region making them the obvious choice for analysis.

As discussed above, framing will be approached as a “multidimensional concept”, meaning that a coding scheme has been established that can help determine the structure and underlying narrative of the article (exact coding scheme can be found in the appendix). This framework will, for starters, help determine if the article treats female leaders in the typical manner, as purveyors of more traditional, “softer” policy programs as defined in the theory section. The literature and theory section also suggest that females will be subject to more human-interest pieces that are concerned with their private rather than their political life. The type of language used, as discussed above, may also determine the frame of an article. Typically more expressive language is employed in reference to female politicians and more active or instrumental language

This coding scheme will provide data regarding the frequency with which a certain frame is used by the media (typically female or masculine). To determine this six dimensions of an article are assessed; the focus (persona vs. politician), issue linkage (hard vs. soft), appearance, description of family life, description of professional life and language (emotive vs. instrumental). In addition to coding, this project also seeks to engage in a critical analysis and comparison of relevant passages, diction and article placement. The hope is that close readings will provide insights not just into what the author and media organization intended of the article but also some insight into the hand politicians or political parties have in constructing their own political persona.

I examine a four-year period in both Norway and Denmark. This interval will cover the last two years of outgoing party leadership and the first two years of the most recent incoming leadership. This is enough time to account for a change of media treatment based on the status of either an outgoing, irrelevant leader or a political novice. In Norway the last two years of Carl Hagen's leadership of the FrP and the first two years of Siv Jensen's will be analyzed (2004-2008). For the DPP we will examine the last two years of Pia Kjærsgaard leadership and the first two of Kristian Dahl, the current leader of the DDP (2010-2014). All articles regarding these politicians within this time period from the selected newspapers will be coded and their content analyzed (Table 1).

Table 1: Breakdown of Time Period and Publications Assessed

Politician	Years Analyzed	Broadsheet Publication	Tabloid Publication
Carl I. Hagen (Norway)	2004-2006	<i>Aftenposten</i>	<i>Verdens Gang</i>
Siv Jensen (Norway)	2006-2008	<i>Aftenposten</i>	<i>Verdens Gang</i>
Pia Kjærsgaard (Denmark)	2010-2012	<i>Jyllands-Posten</i>	<i>Ekstra-Bladet</i>
Krisian Dahl (Denmark)	2012-2014	<i>Jyllands-Posten</i>	<i>Ekstra-Bladet</i>

Results

Table 2: Results of coding for Article Focus, Issue Linkage and Language

Article Focus Coding Results

	Hagen Aftenposten	Hagen VG	Jensen Aftenposten	Jensen VG	Kjærsgaard JP	Kjærsgaard Ekstra	Dahl JP	Dahl Ekstra
Leader	68%	74%	78%	48%	57%	82%	32%	28%
Party	32%	26%	22%	52%	43%	17%	68%	72%

Issue Linkage Coding Results

	Hagen Aftenposten	Hagen VG	Jensen Aftenposten	Jensen VG	Kjærsgaard JP	Kjærsgaard Ekstra	Dahl JP	Dahl Ekstra
Hard	77%	90%	91%	73%	80%	53%	82%	78%
Soft	23%	10%	9%	21%	9%	47%	18%	22%
Both	0%	0%	0%	6%	13%	0%	0%	0%

Language Coding Results

	Hagen Aftenposten	Hagen VG	Jensen Aftenposten	Jensen VG	Kjærsgaard JP	Kjærsgaard Ekstra	Dahl JP	Dahl Ekstra
Expressive	3%	9%	2%	6%	17%	25%	7%	9%
Instrumental	68%	62%	44%	48%	25%	20%	38%	30%
Both	3%	0%	0%	12%	8%	10%	2%	0%
Neither	26%	31%	54%	34%	50%	24%	53%	61%

Table 2: Only these three dimensions are expressed in tabular form because there was little to no variation along the other three dimensions coded for.

Carl I. Hagen in Aftenposten

From a cursory assessment, coverage of Hagen in both years did not offer any particularly surprising results. Literature and theory on the subject of gender in the media suggests that male politicians will typically be described with instrumental language, their appearance and families are rarely discussed while their professional life is the main object of scrutiny. Based on the coding data, these assumptions hold true for Hagen in both *VG* and *Aftenposten*. In both publications, Hagen's appearance is virtually never mentioned along with his family life. The exception is an article discussing his rapid weight loss and general cardiovascular health. The traits associated with Hagen are largely instrumental, following the conventional wisdom regarding framing of men in the media. If the article is effusive enough to include adjectives and verbs regarding Hagen and his actions, the language used is far more instrumental than expressive. Both articles make most use of terms such as "krav" (demand), "hevder" (claim), "offensive" (attack), "hardt" (hard) etc. when discussing Hagen's actions, both

political and otherwise. This choice in diction speaks directly to the use of a more masculine frame, one that portrays power, decisiveness, and action.

The results for issue linkage and article focus are more interesting but do not necessarily veer from the conventional wisdom either. Hagen is rarely linked to any of the “softer” issues discussed earlier in this article but he is also not often discussed in reference to very salient political issues either. Frequently, roughly 25% of the time, *Aftenposten* articles focus on the political theatre that Hagen is involved in and not his position or actions regarding certain policy area. Such articles include discussions about lawsuits Hagen is involved in, verbal and written disputes with other politicians or personal political vendettas or missions. A significant portion of the time, then, Hagen is not really discussed in the context of political action but rather as a public figure, almost with celebrity status. Additionally, *Aftenposten* did not shy away from publishing controversial quotes from Hagen or his rivals. In an article regarding Norway’s potential EU bid, Hagen was quoted as saying,

“When these challenging questions emerge, it is like what I say to my wife and secretary: Don’t worry your pretty little head about it. I have so much else to think about that I don’t want to worry my head with the EU.”

There are numerous other articles quoting similarly controversial sentiments from Hagen or quoting his critics, comparing him to Hitler, calling him a fascist or simply unfit to rule. Few of these comments have a political context.

Finally, *Aftenposten*’s articles only refer about 25% of the time to Hagen as the leader of FrP. The results from coding the articles demonstrate that well over half the time an article featuring Hagen focused much more on his individual politics, policy or life than the effect he had within the FrP and his relationship to that party. In many of the articles, in fact, Hagen was not even referenced as a member much less leader of the FrP. The articles in which he featured often had very little to do with party politics and hinged much more on his personal political battles, vendettas and faux pas.

Carl I. Hagen in Verdens Gang (VG)

The results in *VG* mirror closely those in *Aftenposten*. In terms of mention of appearance and family, these articles make no significant reference of either. In fact, where we see a very

few number of articles mentioning Hagen's family life in *Aftenposten* we see no mention of his family, despite the fact that Eli Hagen, his wife, is a well known Norwegian TV personality. Hagen's past professional life and even his current political career are not often discussed.

The descriptive language used in *VG* is more neutral than that employed in *Aftenposten*. There is far less descriptive language used in *VG*, although what is used tends to favor a more active and powerful word profile. In terms of issue linkage, *VG* also does not have as many policy pieces on Hagen as expected. There is a significant number of human interest pieces on Hagen in *VG*. When a policy issue was discussed it tended to be a hard policy area, such as immigration legislation and European Union membership. Compared to *Aftenposten*, *VG* focused even more, on the interpersonal relationships between Hagen and other members of the political elite. *VG* also published a number of speculative pieces regarding a potential bid from Hagen for Prime Minister. The link between Hagen and the policy area, however, tended to be somewhat tenuous and often quotes from Hagen and other politicians dominated the article. Much like *Aftenposten* the focus of the articles was on Hagen as an individual public figure, not so much as an integral cog within the FrP.

Siv Jensen in Aftenposten

The focus of articles of Jensen in *Aftenposten* tend much more towards examining her as FrP's leader, not so much as a figure of public interest. While the human-interest pieces do exist, there are not many of them. Furthermore, the focus is not on Jensen's personal relationships and strange political projects but on her actions as a political leader. There is barely an article that does not mention her political position and how her activities relate to or impact FrP.

While in the context of our literature review this is not particularly notable, the rest of the results are. Unlike what the existing literature suggests, we see virtually no reference to Jensen's appearance and no mention of her family life. While Jensen was single and childless (unlike Hagen) at the time these articles ran she had a number of siblings, nieces and nephews and other close family members, some of note. Jensen's weight is mentioned a handful of times in conjunction with a scandal regarding her use of government funds to pay for a personal trainer but not beyond this. The language used to describe Jensen does not reflect the assumptions of the existing literature either. In fact, the descriptive language prevalent in articles about Jensen is just as instrumental as that associated with Hagen's articles. There is more neutral language used

when discussing Jensen, that is there is a propensity to shy away from using any sort of loaded terminology, but when descriptive language is used it does not favor the overall trends in this area.

Jensen in VG

Again, in *VG* as in *Aftenposten*, Jensen's family life and appearance are not an object of serious scrutiny. There is a short piece that includes details about Jensen's family home and childhood. Additionally, a handful of articles reference Jensen's weight and one makes brief note of the politician's androgynous haircut and sexual orientation but beyond this her clothing, makeup, hair and body are not noted with any regularity. This trend runs counter to the pattern scholars have identified in the media's treatment of female politicians. Studies have repeatedly demonstrated the propensity of media sources to routinely remark on a female politician's wardrobe or appearance while habitually ignoring such details in male politicians. This inclination, however, seems absent in the treatment of Jensen by Norway's press.

Continuing to resist the general trend, Jensen is typically linked with hard policy issues. There are some articles that discuss her position and actions on softer policy areas such as welfare, education and rape prevention but these pieces are limited. There are some human-interest stories but largely the issues Jensen is linked with are hard policy areas. Close to three quarters of the pieces fall into this category. Much like in *Aftenposten* Jensen as the politician is the focus of these articles rather than Jensen the public figure. Almost a year before Jensen took over the reigns from Hagen, she was hailed as the savior of the FrP. This fact was not only reflected in the political rhetoric of her contemporaries but in the stories written in *VG* hailing her as the new face of the FrP. The FrP is routinely referred to as "her" party. This was a prevailing pattern among stories regarding Jensen in *Aftenposten* as well. It is unsurprising that both news outlets seemed to latch on to the trope of Jensen as the "new face" of the FrP as this seemed to be a narrative pushed heavily by the Norwegian far right and their supporters. Finally, we do not see more emotive language in reference to Jensen. If descriptive language is used, it is forceful and active. Often times, however, the article simply lacks any descriptive language.

Pia Kjærsgaard in Jyllands-Posten (JP)

Pia K's coverage in *JP* focused chiefly on her as a public political figure and less on her as an integral component of DF. These articles relied heavily on quotes, with little interpretation or elaboration from the authors. Issue linkage is also split between coverage of soft and hard policy arenas. The literature regarding issue linkage and female politicians leads us to believe that woman politicians are more often associated with these "softer" more domestic issues. This literature makes the assumption that this is partially because female politicians are interested in increasing services in these sectors. It should be noted that while Pia K is often associated with these topics it is not always because she is attempting to enhance them, often times she is demanding a cut in funding or services.

Kjærsgaard's appearance, family life and professional past are never a subject of much media scrutiny. Kjærsgaard has a large family and a long career with DF but media attention rarely reflects this. While the politician's appearance is never referenced nearly every article does appear with a picture of Kjærsgaard. These pictures are rarely posed and often extremely unflattering, frequently showing Kjærsgaard yelling or wagging a finger across a podium. Often times the same photos was used repeatedly over the course of a week.

There was a surprising paucity of descriptive language in these pieces. The language employed is typically neutral or lacks adjectives or verbs that might reveal a certain frame. In a majority of the articles, in fact, Pia's actions and reactions are not depicted, she is usually simply quoted. If descriptive language is used, it is never expressive, as one might expect. Phrases such as, "tager stærkt afstan" (taking a strong stand) only occasionally appear in reference to Kjærsgaard's activities.

Pia Kjærsgaard in Ekstra-Bladet

Much like in *JP*, the articles in *Ekstra* oscillate between a focus on Kjærsgaard as a party leader and her as an individual of public interest. In this coverage from *Ekstra* hard and soft issues are both linked to Kjærsgaard's political activities although there is a tendency to also publish more human interest stories than *JP*. These human-interest type pieces touch on a variety of lawsuits and legal actions Kjærsgaard was involved in at the time. Much like *JP* there are no

references to the politician's family life or her appearance. The photographic data was not available in *Ekstra* although a comparison along these dimensions would likely prove interesting.

The results for personality traits in *Ekstra* are not consistent. The data reflects that expressive, instrumental and neutral language are all used to discuss Kjærsgaard in roughly equal parts. Sometimes her activities are framed in softer, more feminine terms, other times she appears to strong confidant politician and at times both types of frames are present within the same article. As in *JP*, however, about a quarter of the articles lack any kind of gendered language and do not convey a strong frame.

Kristian Dahl in JP

Dahl's results in *JP* are unsurprising and largely follow the conventional wisdom. Dahl's appearance and family life are not subjects of any interest, like every other politician analyzed in this study. Additionally, Dahl's professional life is not analyzed or often mentioned. This is surprising in that this analysis takes place in the first two years of his leadership. Furthermore, he did not receive the media attention Jensen did before her ascension to leader of the FrP. Dahl received very little press prior to assuming his position and the relationship between Dahl and Kjærsgaard garnered no attention, unlike the rapport between Jensen and Hagen. Despite a lack of focus on Dahl's professional history and status he is usually touted as the DF leader and the articles focus little on him as an object of public interest.

In terms of issue linkage, Dahl is usually linked to hard issues or internal politics with the *DF* or other far right political groups. We do not see him tied to softer issues as with Kjærsgaard nor do we see a strong human-interest focus on Dahl from *JP*. Personality traits for Dahl are largely instrumental if there is any expressive language. Much of the language, however, is largely neutral and Dahl's name is over fifty percent of the time, mentioned simply in context of a quotation. As with Kjærsgaard, however, there is often a photograph accompanying the article. Interestingly, these photographs are more often posed affairs and far more flattering than Kjærsgaard's.

Kristian Dahl in Exstra

The focus of *Exstra* articles remains similar to that of *JP*'s in regards to Dahl. Again, the emphasis is on Dahl as an essential component of DF and not a person of particular interest

outside this arena. This being said there were more human interest pieces on Dahl in *Exstra* than in *JP* but only by about a 5% margin, not terribly significant. There was no attention paid to Dahl's family life or his appearance. Additionally, no notice was paid to his past career exploits.

The dimensions of issue linkage and traits follow closely *JP*'s trends. The language is largely neutral although when descriptive language is employed it is not expressive and words like "hard" "demand" and "strong" are typically used. Over fifty percent of the time, however, there is no descriptive language in the article. Issue linkage, as expected, is typically hard. More so than any other politician included in this study, the focus remains on Dahl and his place and policies within DF.

Analysis

Over five hundred articles were surveyed for this project, providing a significant amount of data for analysis. The results presented above clearly diverge significantly from other studies regarding gender and the media. The fact that media sources in both Denmark and Norway defy global trends, and even contradict regional scholarship, regarding the gendered treatment of politicians in the media is interesting in and of itself. The unusual treatment of female politicians of the far right has the potential to inform studies not just about far right politics but also scholarship regarding the intersection of politics, gender and media relations. Specifically, this study finds that the far right might provide a unique space for female politicians, one that is free from the type of media coverage and frames typically applied to female politicians. As I discuss below, this is likely a result of various forces and strategies originating from both far right parties and media outlets. This section explores the dynamics that are potentially at play producing this outcome. This research is exploratory. This piece is a cursory look into this topic, a subject that ultimately mandates more systematic and in depth research in order to suss out some of the explanatory factors discussed in this section. This analysis is broken up into four parts, two inter-country comparisons and two cross-country comparisons.

Hagen and Kjærsgaard

The results presented above demonstrate that both Hagen and Kjærsgaard received very similar coverage in both broadsheet and tabloid publications. In terms of issue linkage, the use of more potent and dynamic language and inclusion of observations about appearance and family, Hagen and Kjærsgaard's results did not differ significantly. Some might try to explain this result

away using the narrative of pervasive Scandinavian gender equality. As demonstrated in the literature review, however, the gender equality Norway and Denmark are so both renowned for does not normally extend into the world of print media. What then, can explain the largely parallel coverage of Hagen and Kjærsgaard?

We posit here that the answer is tied to the importance of charismatic leadership within far right parties, and gender dynamics. Both Kjærsgaard and Hagen are strong, charismatic leaders of their respective parties¹⁷. Furthermore, Hagen and Kjærsgaard have been essential in the establishment and the growth of their parties. Hagen was elected to Parliament as a member of the FrP not long after its genesis and Kjærsgaard is considered a co-founder of the DF, which splintered from the Danish FrP in the 1970's¹⁸. Hagen and Kjærsgaard's political careers with their party spanned decades and the novelty of their party's platform as well as their penchant for political theatre elevated both politicians to the status of public personalities. Far right parties and politicians draw serious media attention throughout Europe. Even within Scandinavia, there is an intense fascination among the public and media with the personalities and perpetrators of far right politics¹⁹. In the case of Kjærsgaard it is possible that the novelty and captivation of the media and public stems not from her gender but from her long tenure with far right politics.

In the time period this study examines, Hagen and Kjærsgaard are in the declining years of their political career, and their parties in the throes of major transitions. Along most dimensions, Hagen's data reads as one might expect, it is Kjærsgaard's results that are shocking, in that they so closely mirror her male political equivalent in Norway. One reason we see this result might be attributed to the significance of Hagen and Kjærsgaard to their respective parties. As the article *From Progress Party to Danish People's Party* by Karina Pedersen and Jens

¹⁷ Midtbø, Tor. "The electoral effect of party leader approval in Norway." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 20.2 (1997): 135-158.; Pedersen, Karina, and Jens Ringsmose. "From the Progress Party to the Danish Peoples Party—from Protest Party to Government Supporting Party." *workshop 'Effects on Incumbency on Organization of Radical Rightwing Parties' at the ECPR Joint Session of Workshops*. Vol. 13. 2004.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Van der Brug, Wouter, and Meindert Fennema. "Causes of voting for the radical right." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 19.4 (2007): 474-87.

Rydgren, Jens. "Radical right populism in Sweden: Still a failure, but for how long?." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 25.1 (2002): 27-56.

Rigmose suggests Kjærsgaard and the DF are more or less synonymous terms²⁰. Pedersen and Rigmose write,

Pia Kjærsgaard was the charismatic leader creating the party and has undisputedly been the party leader since. She is ‘the party owner’ just as Mogens Glistrup was in the first years after creating the Progress Party²¹.

As discussed in the literature review, part of the disparity in the media’s treatment of male and female politicians is related to the novelty of the female politician. By 2010, Pia Kjærsgaard is no longer a novelty. Not only had her political career spanned over three decades, but also she was instrumental in the foundation and growth of Denmark’s principal far right party. While at the time of DF’s splinter from the Danish FrP Kjærsgaard may have been an anomaly, she was key in the party’s development and institutionalization within Danish politics. A strong, charismatic leader is essential to the institutionalization of less mainstream parties, in particular the radical right. The treatment of Kjærsgaard suggests, however, that leaders can also become entrenched in similar ways. Because Kjærsgaard’s name and character are so closely linked to her party this may have prevented media sources from treating her as a novelty and utilizing the frame that is so commonly applied to female politicians, even in Scandinavia. What makes female politicians subject to certain gendered treatment by the media is, in part, the uniqueness of a female succeeding in and even challenging the more masculine aspects of the political environment. In Kjærsgaard’s case, however, she has been a key player in defining Denmark’s contemporary political landscape. Her long-term, role in building the DF detracts from the sensationalism of a prominent female leader. Other female politicians who rise to prominence in more mainstream, mature parties may be considered unique for their ability to break-in, but in Kjærsgaard’s case, she is a familiar fixture in Danish politics. The coverage of Kjærsgaard, however, is extensive, with close to three hundred pieces between *Ekstra* and *JP*. This suggests that there is a fascination with Kjærsgaard that does not necessary stem from her gender alone.

²⁰ Pedersen, Karina, and Jens Rigmose. "From the Progress Party to the Danish Peoples Party—from Protest Party to Government Supporting Party." *workshop ‘Effects on Incumbency on Organization of Radical Rightwing Parties’ at the ECPR Joint Session of Workshops*. Vol. 13. 2004.

²¹ *Ibid.*; 12.

Considering that the coverage of Hagen and Kjærsgaard is so similar in nearly every aspect, particularly those existing literature suggests should differ, it is interesting that the only dimension where coverage differs is in article focus (see *Figure 1*). This is equally puzzling when we consider that Hagen's and Kjærsgaard's career trajectories and involvement in far right politics seems ostensibly very similar²². This fact does not necessarily tell us much about the importance of gender within the DF and FrP but it may speak to subtle differences in the relationship between the media and the far right in Denmark and Norway.

Jens Rydgren posits that media organizations in Scandinavia act, to varying degrees, as gatekeepers of the political arena²³. Rydgren claims that this phenomenon is most present in Finland and Sweden where far right parties (until recently) have garnered very little electoral success or popular support. That is, due to an informal agreement among media circuits to withhold stories about far right parties, these organizations have been unable to thrive electorally. Denmark and Norway, Rydgren claims, are historically not as stingy with their coverage of far right parties and movements. Norwegian press, however, has been chronically more critical of the far right than Danish press organizations, and they have maintained a more tenuous relationship with far right politics and politicians²⁴.

The stories published by both *VG* and *Aftenposten*, while typically professional, tended to focus less on Hagen as a serious political player and seemed to relish making him into a caricature of himself. A significant number of stories had little to do with Hagen's political career and focused more on the numerous lawsuits he was involved in, the scathing letters he penned to a fellow politician, the numerous and varying slights from other political parties and his seemingly boundless repertoire of xenophobic commentary. Hagen appears less the politician and much more the farce.

²² Jungar, Ann-Cathrine, and Anders Ravik Jupskås. "Populist Radical Right Parties in the Nordic Region: A New and Distinct Party Family?." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 37.3 (2014): 215-238.

Rydgren, Jens. "Is extreme right-wing populism contagious? Explaining the emergence of a new party family." *European Journal of Political Research* 44.3 (2005): 413-437.

²³ Rydgren, Jens. "Is extreme right-wing populism contagious? Explaining the emergence of a new party family." *European Journal of Political Research* 44.3 (2005): 413-437.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

While the coverage of Kjærsgaard in *Ekstra* and *JP* is not exactly flattering, there appears to be no attempt in either publication to turn her into a farcical public figure. This conjecture is furthered by the fact that in most of the articles very little descriptive language is used in regards to Kjærsgaard. More often than not, she is simply quoted. In addition to this the focus of the articles and their headlines frequently spoke to Kjærsgaard's prominent position within the DF and the significance her actions have on the party.

This difference may reinforce Rydgren's thesis; that Norway's press while not actively excluding the far right from coverage may be exerting a more subtle pressure, that is selectively publishing stories that portray Hagen in unflattering light that accentuate his absurdity and increasing irrelevance. Danish newspapers, on the other hand, do not afford this kind of treatment to either Kjærsgaard or Dahl. Others have found a similar dynamic present in coverage of Norway's FrP, as Hagelund writes of FrP members

"The mass media were critical, but devoted much space to the pair, frequently referring to them in a vocabulary drawn from showbiz – show, circus, tour and so forth. In this sense they were ridiculed and not taken seriously as politicians and members of the Storting, but at the same time their behaviour was seen as highly troubling in a moral sense."²⁵

Coverage of Hagen appears to perfectly exemplify this dynamic. It is also possible that a male spouting radical theories is more threatening to the public and the media than his female equivalent. While the press seeks to neuter Hagen through making him ridiculous there may be some value in empowering a female leader. This makes her stand apart, an interesting object of scrutiny, and if female far right politicians do not appear threatening then the press is under no potential moral obligation to temper their coverage.

Jensen and Hagen

Jensen does not receive the stereotypical coverage from the media but her treatment does differ from Hagen's. Jensen is linked more routinely to hard issues and there are more articles that focus less on her as a personality and more on her as a political asset and foundation to her

²⁵ Hagelund, Anniken. "A matter of decency? The Progress Party in Norwegian immigration politics." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 29.1 (2003): 47-65.

party (See Figure 2). As a *VG* article writes, “Siv Jensen will build bridges. While Hagen made the seas high, Siv seeks to calm the waters.” An easy explanation of this disparity might lie in Jensen’s freshness and the inherent interest of the press in Jensen as the first new FrP leader in several decades. Considering the lack of reverence afforded to Hagen and other members of the FrP, however, this answer may not be complete. Even from the articles surveyed in this two-year period, it is evident that Jensen’s relationship to the press is distinct from Hagen’s. She grants more one-on-one interviews to both newspapers and she is even afforded spots in both papers, more often *VG* than *Aftenposten*, to write opinion pieces or disseminate information regarding a certain policy platform. It seems plausible that this increased reverence from Jensen comes from the openness she has maintained towards the mass media since day one, the access she affords them to her political life and opinions and the manner in which she interacts with them, often using social media outlets to make comments and enter into discussions with journalists²⁶. Jensen has clearly taken pains to foster a relationship between herself and the press that is mutually beneficial and more transparent. This in turn may have helped shift the overall journalistic approach from one that treated FrP like a spectacle to one that treats them, or at least their leader, in a more serious and reverent manner.

While Kjærsgaard’s legacy and institutionalization may explain in part the un-gendered treatment she received from broadsheets and tabloids this does not help explain why Jensen’s treatment appears similarly impartial. This is especially puzzling in light of the gender bias that is still apparent in Norwegian print media concerning male and female politicians²⁷. In fact, in Aalberg and Strömbäck’s comparison of Norwegian and Swedish coverage of MP’s, the author finds that in print media, “the gender gap is more pronounced in the Norwegian case²⁸.” As a young female politician with relatively little experience, Jensen’s was certainly susceptible to this kind of treatment upon assuming her position as party leader with the FrP. Of course, her public figure was subjected to a few pieces of journalistic scrutiny regarding her personal life, such a *VG* article questioning Jensen’s sexual orientation and an *Aftenposten* piece assuring their

²⁶Larsson, Anders Olof, and Øyvind Ihlen. "Birds Of A Feather Flock Together? Party Leaders On Twitter During The 2013 Norwegian Elections."

²⁷ Aalberg, Toril, and Jesper Strömbäck. "Media-driven Men and Media-critical Women? An Empirical Study of Gender and MPs' Relationships with the Media in Norway and Sweden." *International Political Science Review* 32.2 (2011): 167-187.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 182

readership Jensen does want a husband and children, just like any regular woman. As one article writes,

“Jensen is not a lesbian and yes she does wish for both a husband and children. But it is important to find the right fit.”

One might expect a constant stream of articles of this nature, yet between *Aftenposten* and *VG* there are only three that mention aspects of Jensen’s private life.

With the exceptions mentioned above, neither the *VG* or *Aftenposten* articles dwell overmuch on Jensen’s private life or appearance. The language used to describe her is usually direct and strong (Figure 3). The issues routinely linked to Jensen are considered “hard” policy areas, in fact there are about 10% more articles concerning Jensen’s involvement in policy than about Hagen’s endeavors in these policy arenas. There may be multiple phenomena contributing to this unusual dynamic.

As Rydgren elucidates, when we read pieces about politicians the information readers receive filters through multiple different frames, most importantly the ones constructed by news source and the ones promoted by politicians and parties²⁹. In this case the reason Jensen’s portrayal lacks the stereotypical treatment afforded to women in the press may pertain to the efforts of the FrP. The FrP, as with most other European far right parties, draws its support from a largely male voting bloc³⁰. Typically, far right voters hold relatively conservative views on issues of feminism and women’s rights, even in the more socially progressive Scandinavian countries³¹. The fact that Jensen’s attributes and actions as a politician and not as a woman are emphasized in the press may indicate an attempt by the FrP to ease the transition from male to female leadership. The issues Jensen associates with, her own statements and quotes from other members of the FrP all highlight her ability as a politician. Jensen’s gender is never under

²⁹ Rydgren, Jens. "Radical right-wing populism in Denmark and Sweden: explaining party system change and stability." *SAIS Review of International Affairs* 30.1 (2010): 57-71.

³⁰ Siim, Birte, and Monika Mokre, eds. *Negotiating gender and diversity in an emergent European public sphere*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Givens, Terri E. *Voting radical right in Western Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

discussion. Portraying Jensen as a strong and capable political force instead of playing up her feminine side might have been a strategy enacted by FrP to quell uneasiness or potential criticisms among voters regarding a female politician taking the helm.

This conjecture is further supported by the one chief difference between the coverage of Hagen and Jensen's careers. Most press both in *VG* and *Aftenposten* concentrated on Hagen as an individual politician. His career was rarely discussed in the context of FrP and he was routinely portrayed as a politician often paddling upstream against other politicians, public figures, and sometimes other members of his party. Upon Jensen's accession to FrP's party leader, the focus of the articles shifted drastically (Figure 4). The majority of published pieces focused on what Jensen's activities and efforts within the party and the FrP is commonly cited as "her" party. Her perceived degree of centrality to her party and her robust public image may have helped shore up Jensen's popularity as she assumed control of FrP. It seems likely that the cultivation of this image may have, in part, been party strategy. Since her rise to party leader, Jensen has been widely successful among far right supporters, and she even made a serious bid for Prime Minister.

Whether or not Jensen's image is due entirely or only in part to political strategy, it does provide some information about the role women have to play in far right parties throughout Europe. Politics was, until recently, an entirely male dominated profession, and the far right especially does not foster the most hospitable professional environment for women. Female politicians, as discussed previously and as we can daily witness, are subjected to biased treatment from the media, public and from their peers. Furthermore, far right parties and their voters do not espouse the most tolerant views on issues of gender and women's rights, yet a number of far right female politicians garnered substantial support over the past decade. We suggest here that far right parties may provide a unique political space for female politicians to rise to prominence. With a voting population that might easily exploit or condemn a female politician for any exhibitions of weakness, female politicians in the far right are not necessarily forced to appeal to their voting bloc through linkage with softer issues or playing up their femininity. Instead, their success depends on exhibiting a united and forceful front demonstrating an aptitude and assurance male politicians are usually awarded simply by virtue of their gender. Especially in far right parties that rely heavily on cults of personalities, there is little room for a weak or wavering leadership. At the same time, elevating younger, female politicians into positions of power might

enable far right parties like FrP to appeal to a wider segment of the population, namely the youth and the female vote.

Jensen and Dahl

The coverage of Kristian Dahl, as we see in the results, is somewhat unremarkable. He does receive far less coverage than any other subject in this study but beyond this there is nothing unexpected in his treatment. Articles about Dahl focus chiefly on him as a member of the party and he does not garner the types of human-interest pieces as Hagen and Jensen. He is linked mostly with hard policy issues with little to no mention of his appearance, family or private life. In this regard, Jensen and Dahl's coverage is quite similar. Siv Jensen, however, receives almost twice the amount of coverage in *Aftenposten* and *VG* than Kristian Dahl did in either Danish publication. This trend is apparent even before either assumes office. In *Aftenposten* as soon as we begin our analysis of Hagen's articles, Siv Jensen's name begins appearing routinely, on a monthly basis at least. Less than a year into the survey, we see Jensen's name frequently linked to Hagen's and the indication that she will be Hagen's successor becomes increasingly strong. This relationship and her place in the party was so established that there was no news article about the actual hand over from Hagen to Jensen. The transition was so seamless in the press that one day Hagen had the title of "forman" (leader) and the next it was applied to Jensen. No such dynamic existed between Dahl and Kjærsgaard. Dahl's name almost never appeared until the fleeting months before he commenced leadership of the DF. Kjærsgaard and Dahl were rarely referenced in the same article and there is no sense of an established working partnership.

Additionally, after both politicians undertook party leadership roles their coverage differed significantly. In both Norwegian publications roughly 45% more articles were published about Jensen than Dahl. Furthermore, these articles were longer, included more information than those about Dahl (that is more than just quotes) and often portrayed Jensen as the metaphorical glue holding various factions of her party together. She appears strong, competent and absolutely essential. Dahl, on the other hand, received no such treatment. Articles about him are often short, not elaborate and give no sense of his informal status within the DF.

This phenomenon can be accounted for in one of two ways, both of which support our previous deductions. Firstly, this trend could support the conclusion that Jensen's relationship

with the press is an uncommonly positive one for a far right politician, particularly in Scandinavia. It might also support the idea that because of her gender, Jensen and FrP worked to foster a strong image and public persona within the media to situate her as unequivocal choice for Hagen's replacement. This would certainly explain the immense amount of press Jensen received in the lead up to the transition. This supports the general idea that because of the radical right's ideology and makeup women are constrained by certain factors and therefore not subjected the standard treatment. Considering how popular the far right is within the media and the extensive attention far right leaders receive in both Denmark and Norway it is puzzling why Dahl's treatment remained so staid. The results also support the idea of the press as a moral arbiter. It is possible, as with Hagen, the media strives to moderate coverage of male far right politicians while allowing significant coverage of females because the fact of their gender makes them appear less menacing.

Kjærsgaard and Dahl

As discussed, Dahl receives substantially less coverage than his predecessor and the coverage he does garner focuses mostly on quotes by the politician or mentions him in the context of party politics or happenings. Where the emphasis of Kjærsgaard's coverage is split between her persona and her activities in the context of the DF, Dahl is portrayed only as a cog of the DF, we see very little personality emerge in any of the pieces by either *Ekstra* or *JP* (Figure 5). While this could be because Dahl is a characterless political drone a more convincing explanation of this trend may come from what we already know about women in politics.

It is possible that with the retirement of Kjærsgaard as party leader, the DF lost some of its newsworthiness. While the focus of coverage was never Kjærsgaard's gender, there is something sensational about a female politician touting relatively radical politics, challenging, critiquing and at times cussing out prominent male politicians. Both Jensen and Dahl are billed as party reformers. In Jensen's case, there is something noteworthy about a younger female assuming responsibility for a party so long steered by an older conservative male. Several newspaper articles discuss the "breath of fresh air" Jensen lends to the FrP. Ostensibly, there is little remarkable about Dahl, a white, middle-aged male, assuming responsibility for DF's leadership. While Dahl has had a reformatory and positive (depending on your perspective) effect on the DF, his image does not speak of change in the same way Jensen's does. This may be an

indication of why far right parties in Europe are experiencing higher inclusion rates for female politicians. There is something jarring about a strong female leader in a political environment dominated by men. There is something shocking about a female politician arguing against social welfare provisions, restrictions on refugees and extensive tax reforms and cuts. These are not values that we typically associate with women or female politicians in general. In order for a strategy involving female politicians to be successful, far right parties must depend on the media to sensationalize this dynamic, finding the novelty not in a female politicians but in a female leader espousing far right political values. If the amount of press surveyed simply for this study is any indication, the attention of the media is more or less assured.

Conclusion

The data collected for this project is a wealth of information, which can still be mined further. The conclusions of this article pertain mainly to the juncture of politics and gender, specifically within the far right political environment. Using a most similar systems design this paper makes comparisons between male and female leaders of far right parties in both Norway and Denmark. These comparisons led to two substantial conclusions.

The comparisons between Hagen and Kjærsgaard and Jensen and Dahl help to clarify why there has been a rise in female politicians in far right parties and also why inclusion of women in these parties may be a very sound strategy. Far right parties may turn increasingly towards female leaders and politicians to appeal to wider segments of the population. At the same time, however, the staunch supporters of these parties are typically older, blue-collar white men. Given this voting base, there is little room for female leaders to exhibit any weakness or stereotypically “feminine” qualities, lest party support begin to dwindle. Females like Jensen and Kjærsgaard are treated more like their male counterparts because this, in part, is the image they need to foster. In addition to this, it is perhaps beneficial from a communications and media standpoint to not cast these politicians in a typically female light. There exists a disconnect between a female politician and the politics of far right parties. This is, I believe, a dynamic the media can and does play upon, sensationalizing the idea of a female politician with staunchly conservative or even radical values. Finally, although this is largely conjecture, the press may have few qualms about affording female far right politicians extensive coverage because they are not perceived as a substantial threat to a progressive and liberal society. Female inclusion in

government is in fact a liberal value. The nature of coverage of Hagen and Dahl while different did little to improve the image of either politician. Kjærsgaard and Jensen's treatment, however, elevated each to the status of a male counterpart.

These findings have interesting implications not just for the study of gender and politics but also for the examination of far right politics. The behavior that female politicians exhibit and their coverage suggest that they exist in a space free from the typical constraints that other, more mainstream female politicians face and, indeed, that their male peers face. Due partially to the makeup of their voter bloc far right female politicians are unable to allow their gender to play a significant part in their public or political image. On the other side of this equation is the media who appear all too happy to cover these female politicians in a more stereotypically masculine frame. In the case of far right female politicians a gendered frame is not used perhaps because its exclusions creates a more stimulating narrative.

Figure 1: Comparison of Article Focus for Hagen and Kjærsgaard

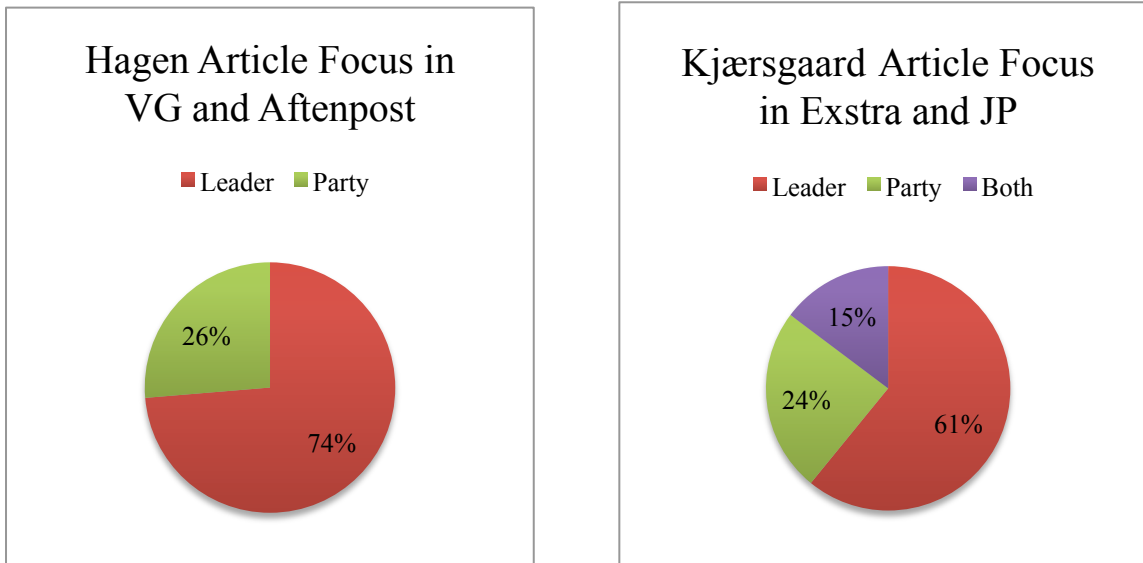


Figure 2: Comparison of Issue Linkage for Jensen and Hagen

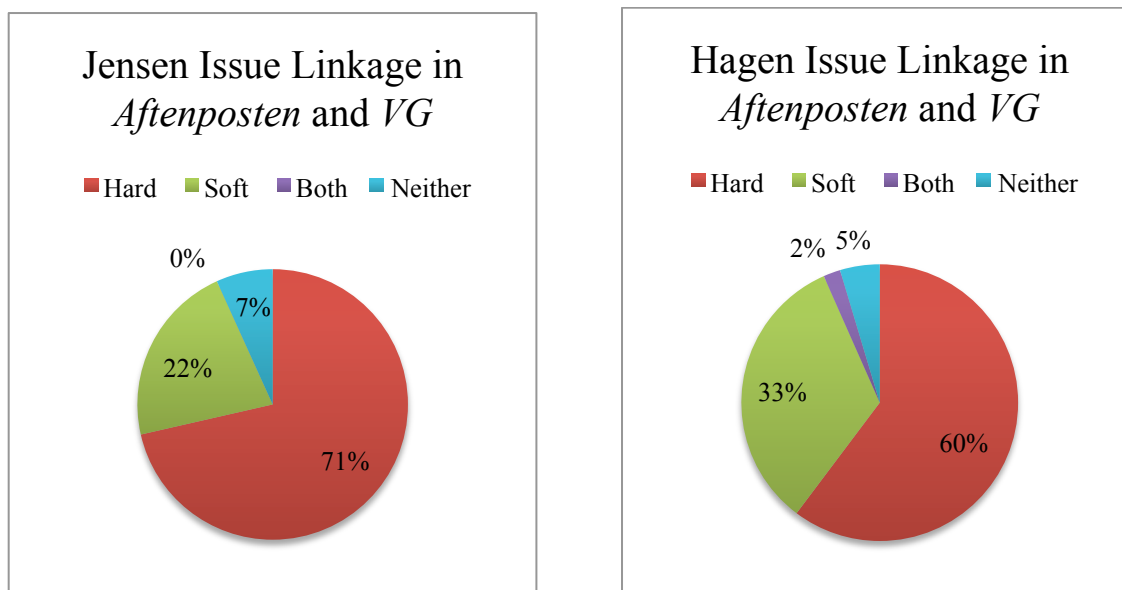


Figure 3: Comparison of Emotive vs. Instrumental Language in Coverage of Hagen and Jensen

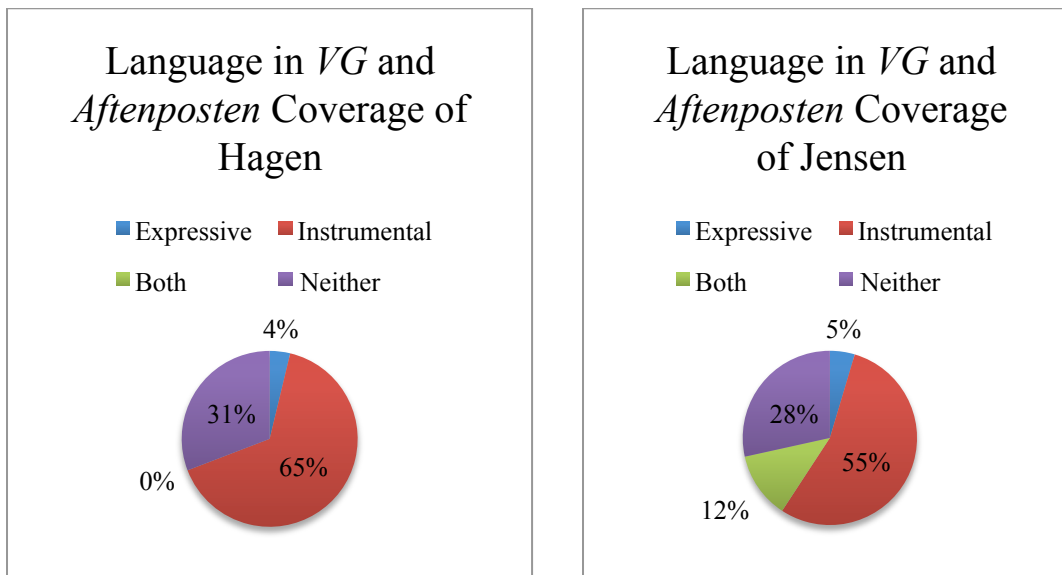
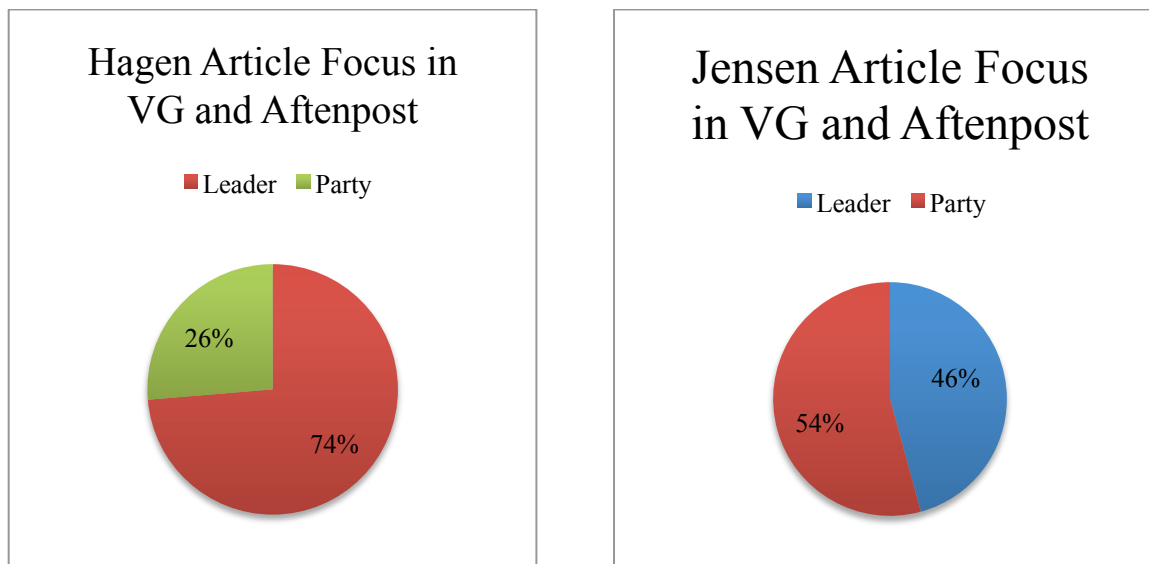


Figure 4: Comparison of Article Focus for Hagen and Jensen



A. Coding Framework

Element	Definition	Example
<i>Article Focus</i>	This element seeks to measure if the article is primarily about the leader or about the party 1=about leaders of the party 2=about the party 3=both	This can be determined by headline, associated photographs, quotes and the over all theme/message of the piece
<i>Issue linkage</i>	Measures which issues and policies the politician is associated with and if it is a “hard” or “soft” issue. 1=hard 2=soft 3=both 4= neither	Soft issues are those considered more domestic and feminine (these include welfare, family leave, abortion, childcare, healthcare). Harder issues are those that have a bent that is not associated with the realm of the female but rather the more pressing domestic and international issues (defense, immigration, economy, foreign policy)
<i>Appearance</i>	Indicates if the appearance of the politician is described 1=described 2=not described	Appearance will include color of hair, skin, presence of makeup, dress etc. This does <i>not</i> include a person’s physical reaction to a comment or event.
<i>Family Life</i>	This looks at if the politician’s family life is mentioned in the article 1=mentioned 2=not mentioned	This includes relationship/marital status, children, other important/notable family members
<i>Professional Life</i>	This examines if aspects of the politician’s professional life (past or present) is mentioned 1=mentioned 2=not mentioned	This includes past professions, current professional achievements or accolades
<i>Personality Traits</i>	This measures the type of language that is used to describe the politician 1=expressive 2=instrumental 3=both 4= not mentioned	Here we seek to understand if the language used in the article underlines the politician’s emotional side (i.e. sympathy, kind, compassionate, understanding) or if it underlines their professional/powerful side (i.e. aggressive, power, forcefully, ambitious, knowledge).