APPENDIX: EXPLANATION OF CODING SCHEME

This appendix provides additional descriptions of the coding used in the content analysis of this chapter. I coded the variables as follows:

- **FLOTUS Contrast**: Does the article mention other first ladies or presidential or vice-presidential candidates’ spouses? Usually, the other spouses are mentioned as a point of comparison. Contrasting consorts can include foreign first spouses (The most common comparisons include Cherie Blair of the UK and Carla Bruni-Sarkozy of France). In the case of Hillary Clinton, I took care to distinguish between discussions mentioning Hillary Clinton the First Lady versus Hillary Clinton the political candidate. I do not count a mention of Clinton as a contrast if she was being discussed as a senate or presidential candidate.

- **Policy Advocate**: Does the article describe the first lady engaging in a policy discussion? This could come in a number of different forms. She could specify policy preferences in the context of campaigning for her husband. She might also be lobbying for legislative or policy changes which relate to her service platform. Being coded as a policy advocate does not preclude being also coded as a campaigner or consort for the same article.

- **Campaigner**: Is the first lady participating in campaign activities? This could include appearing at rallies, speaking on behalf of her husband’s campaign, making speeches at political conventions or engaging in pre-election activities that one could reasonably interpret as a campaign activity.

- **Scandal Context**: Does the article mention a scandal that involves the first lady or her husband? The scandals vary for each president and first lady. Notable Clinton scandals, for instance, include the Gennifer Flowers affair (Bill Clinton allegedly had an affair with her while he was
Governor of Arkansas) and what became the Whitewater Scandal. News coverage also talked about George W. Bush’s excessive drinking and alleged drug use. News coverage also commented on the fact that Laura Bush was in a car accident as a teenager in which she killed a classmate. Gossip author Kitty Kelley even alleged that Mrs. Bush had dealt marijuana as a college student. Relevant scandals for Barack and Michelle Obama include the Jeremiah Wright scandal, where news reports focused on their pastor’s incendiary sermons about race relations. I also code Mrs. Obama’s controversial comments about being proud of her country for the first time as being perceived as scandalous.

- **Emasculating FLOTUS**: Does the article portray the first lady as being domineering toward her husband?

- **Influential/Ambitious FLOTUS**: Does the article portray the first lady as seeking to influence her husband’s administration? This portrayal can take different forms, from the first lady being an ambitious policy advisor to her vying with senior administration officials for influence, to explicit comparisons to Lady Macbeth.

- **Complementarian FLOTUS**: Does the article portray the first lady as being a complement to her husband? Does it say that the first lady completes the president or that she is his conscience? Laura Bush is the inspiration for this variable, as she has often been described as influential in helping her husband calm down and get sober.

- **Good Marriage**: This variable queries whether news reports explicitly describe the president and first lady’s marriage as healthy. Here, I’m looking for phrases like, “they love each other” or “they’re faithful to each other.” Since the Clintons’ marriage difficulties were well documented, we might find that articles about the Bushes and Obamas might try to highlight their seemingly more stable marriages as a contrast.
- **Mother:** Does the article mention the president and first lady’s children or refer to the first lady as a mother?

- **Homemaker:** Does the article depict the first lady engaging in reproductive work separate from rearing her own children? This could include activities such as baking cookies (The election year cookie bake-off is coded as both a domestic and a campaign activity), moving or decorating her house, hosting informal (i.e. not state) meals or working with other people’s children (one article mentioned that Hillary Clinton had been a babysitter, for instance).

- **Consort Activities:** Does the article depict the first lady as engaging in activities that we consider traditional first lady activities? These activities would include accompanying her husband to state dinners or on diplomatic trips, having a philanthropic platform, organizing cultural events, visiting schools, etc. Some campaign activities can simultaneously be considered consort activities.

- **FLOTUS as Regular Person:** Does the article depict the first lady engaging in regular activities? These can include shopping, discussing favorite foods, going to plays, going to museums, etc.

- **FLOTUS as Role Model:** Does the article imply that the first lady is or should be a role model for a particular group (it could be young, people, women or Blacks)? Or, do other people claim the first lady as a role model in third party interviews?

- **Education:** Does the article discuss the first lady’s educational background? While this usually means discussing where she attended college or graduate school and earned degrees, this can include discussions of her as a primary and secondary school student.

- **FLOTUS as Professional:** Does the article talk about the first lady’s professional career?
- **FLOTUS as Feminist:** Does the article describe the first lady as a feminist? While articles might explicitly use the term “feminist,” this category also includes adjectives like “outspoken” or “opinionated.”

- **FLOTUS Appears Before Women:** This variable captures instances where news articles depict the first lady appearing to primarily female audiences. Speeches before women’s audiences or appearance on daytime talk shows (which have largely female audiences) count. Also, if an appearance is characterized as targeting female constituents, I code it as 1 here.

- **FLOTUS as Black:** Does the article mention that Michelle Obama is Black?

- **FLOTUS Appears Before Minorities:** Does the article depict the first lady appearing before a minority audience or working in a minority space? This variable will be coded 1 if the first lady is speaking before a largely Black, Latino, Asian or Native American audience or if she is depicting working (either professionally or charitably) in spaces where minorities constitute a numerical majority.

- **FLOTUS Appears Before Blacks:** Similar to the previous variable, this variable is coded 1 if the first lady is depicted appearing before or working with a largely African American constituency.

- **Angry FLOTUS:** This variable is coded 1 if the first lady is described or depicted as angry in the article.

- **Middle Class FLOTUS:** This variable is coded as 1 if the article claims that the first lady has a middle class or small town (i.e. middle America) background.

- **Working Class FLOTUS:** This variable is coded as 1 if the article claims that the first lady pulled herself up from a working class background.
- **Fashionable FLOTUS**: This variable is coded as 1 if the article mentions the first lady’s clothing or describes her physical bearing or beauty. This variable is further divided into two variables, one which considers whether the fashion references are positive and one which considers whether the fashion references are negative.