Title

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***Death Penalty: How Newspaper Coverage Has Perpetuated Negative
Stereotypes about Female Violence & Gender Roles***

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Abstract

On July 5, 1934, Nellie Madison was sentenced to death by the state of California for first-degree murder, becoming the first woman in the state to receive the death sentence. Her trial sparked a media frenzy. Being married five times and rejecting her Irish-Catholic background posed a threat to the status quo. This was reflected by newspaper coverage of the case. The *Los Angeles Times* reported on her "matrimonial adventures" and presented a negative view of her unconventionality. Much of their "reporting" focused on Nellie's past relationships, looks, demeanor, and non-traditional female role. None of this had to do with the charge of murdering her husband. In the years and decades that followed, other women in the state of California were charged with murder and sentenced to death. The press coverage of these women often focused on aspects not related to the crime. Instead, their coverage focused on their past, sexual promiscuity, physical appearance and non traditional role as women. This paper will examine six female death penalty cases (spanning from 1934-2004) in the state of California, as covered by the *Los Angeles Times*. This examination will expose how the newspaper's coverage of these cases has not changed largely overtime, hence perpetuating negative stereotypes about female violence and gender roles. It will also demonstrate that society tends to assign unattractive and negative traits to females who commit acts of violence, in order to rationalize the use of the death penalty. This paper will integrate content analysis in its discussion.

Introduction:

Chimene Keitner argues that, "the uncritical resort to sex-role stereotypes pervades the trials, sentencings, and media reactions to women who receive the death penalty" (Keitner, 2002, p. 2). Often, women who face the death penalty are portrayed in a negative light (for example they are portrayed as deviant and/or unwomanly) by the media. The media tends to focus on gender stereotypes (such as the notion that women are and should be having more virtuously than men) and aspects that are not related to the crime and/or charge. In doing this, the media reinforces negative images of women and female violence. Since society and the media have difficulty understanding women who commit violent acts, they tend to emphasize certain characteristics of these women in order to dehumanize them. Under this mind set, society (and the media/press) is essentially arguing that normal women, who fit into traditional female gender roles, do not commit violent acts; and therefore, those who do are "unwomanly" or somehow "deviant." As a result, the females that do commit violent acts are viewed negatively and the only way to understand their behavior is to cast them to the periphery of society and expose everything about them that goes against the status quo (such as their multiple relationships/marriages or perceived deviant activity).. As Keitner further states, "On a general level, the condemnation of women who, in addition to committing criminal acts, also transgress other sex-role stereotypes, reinforces ideas of deviance and normalcy that can confine women to traditional roles of passivity and helplessness" (Keitner, 2002, p. 13).

Research Questions

This examination will look at six death penalty cases in the state of California, spanning from 1934-2004. Utilizing content analysis, this paper will examine how females facing the death penalty have been negatively portrayed by the media (specifically the *Los Angeles Times)*. In doing this, I argue that the *Los Angeles Times* coverage of female death penalty cases has not changed over the seventy period examined, and in their portrayals of these women, they've often focused on aspects not necessarily related to the crime and/or charge. Instead, their coverage of these cases has focused on the women's past

relationships and activities, sexual promiscuity, physical appearance, demeanor and non traditional role as females in society. Therefore, this paper examines the following research questions:

- *How has the Los Angeles Times coverage of female murder defendants facing the death penalty in the state of California changed or not changed over time?*
- *Is what the Los Angeles Times covered about the defendants relative to the case?*
- *Has the Los Angeles Times coverage of these cases perpetuated negative stereotypes about female violence and gender roles?*

These research questions have important implications. For example, if the *Los Angeles Times* coverage of these cases has not changed over time and is still representing women who commit violent acts in a negative light, then stereotypes about female violence and women's perceived gender roles are and will continue to be perpetuated. Moreover, women who commit violent crimes have the potential to be "othered"[1] by society in such a way that justifies sentencing them to death (this can be seen in the case of Cynthia Coffman as addressed in the discussion portion of this paper). If this continues, more females who commit violent crimes have the potential of facing the death penalty (Keitner, 2002, p. 13). Also, if aspects of the crime that are not related to the case continue to be a focus, then trying to understand the motive behind the crime itself and the origins and implications of female violence becomes secondary. Overall, if the press continues to "other" and reinforces negative stereotypes about women in their coverage, then women are tried in the court of public opinion and gender stereotypes will continue to win these court cases.

Literature

Several authors have researched how the media portrays female violence and in doing so, perpetuates negative and gender stereotypes in their coverage. For example, Marlin Shipman in his work, "The Penalty is Death," U.S. Newspaper Coverage of Women's Executions, argues that women have been stereotyped in newspaper press for over a century and a half. Regarding execution cases, Shipman states that these incidences do fulfill the "journalistic news value of unusualness;" however, Shipman poses that often times the coverage focuses more on the social stereotype that women should be more

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[1] Keitner (2002) argues that society places women who commit violence in a negative category, due to their perceived "unwomanly" behavior. This is discussed in the literature review section of this paper.

virtuous than men. Shipman states that this stereotype articulates that, "Women were (and are) expected to be good wives and good mothers, and when they breached those expectations by being involved in love affairs that led to murder, or by killing children or spouses, that increased the news value" (Shipman, 2002, p.6). Shipman also notes that another common belief (stereotype) held by society and articulated through press coverage is the image of women as gentle, caring and motherly. Shipman states that these images have made executions of women more difficult for society to deal with than executions of men. Shipman further argues that "During most of the country's history, women were expected to be subservient to men and especially their husbands. Women who killed husbands not only committed crimes but also violated deeply held norms about how women should behave" (Shipman, 2002, p.6). Overall, Shipman's work identifies that press coverage highlights stereotypes of criminal defendants and perpetuates them.

In No Angels, the contributors focus on women who commit violence and the national media coverage they receive. Even though this work tends to focus more on television coverage of female violence, it offers insight on how society and media/press coverage continues to stereotype and "other" women who commit acts of violence. Wight and Myers argue that,

> "When a woman commits an act of criminal violence her sex is the lens through which all her actions are seen and understood; her sex is the primary 'explanation' or mitigating factor offered up in any attempt to understand her crime…The excessive storytelling about women's violence-in court, the press and in docu-drama and fiction-can be seen as a symptom of social anxiety about women's roles and the perceived abandonment of traditional femininity. When a woman transgresses the bounds of her prescribed gender role, her actions are translated in less threatening terms. The 'abnormality' of her 'unwomanly' behavior is explained away: she is either mad (hysterical, suffering from pre-menstrual tension or Battered Woman Syndrome) or bad (the inadequate mother, the lesbian, the just plain evil)" (Myers and Wight, 1996, p. xiii).

The argument presented in the quote above runs parallel to the type of press coverage that is examined in this research. It demonstrates that the stereotype of the "traditional" female role is often used by the press in cases of female violence, particularly those involving the death sentence.

Furthermore, Christine Holmulnd examines Hollywood's fascination with the "femme fatale" character and how it has influenced society's perception of females and violence. Even though Holmulnd's analysis focuses on the portrayal of female violence in film, it provides insight into some of

the myths and stereotypes associated with females who commit violent acts. For example, Holmulnd discusses how the "femme fatale" character is usually portrayed as a highly sexualized image, in which the subjects' previous relationships and appearance/level of attractiveness is emphasized (Holmlund, 1993, p.127-28). This characterization was similarly used in the newspaper coverage of Nellie Madison, Barbara Graham and Cynthia Coffman. All three women were convicted of murder and sentenced to death in the state of California. The coverage of these cases tended to focused more on their previous relationships and physical appearance.

As previously mentioned, Chimene Keitner in *Victim or Vamp? Images of Violent Women in the Criminal Justice System,* argues that use of sex-role stereotypes by the media "pervades" all aspects of the trial and sentencing phase of women who receive the death penalty. Keitner argues that the idea of "sex-appropriate" behavior influences many aspects of social relations and the criminal justice system in a negative way, especially when it comes to women and the death penalty. For example, women who commit violent acts and face the death penalty are often viewed as "doubly deviant" and "doubly dammed." This is because not only did these women commit a crime, but their behavior and the nature of the crime went against the traditional norms society has about women. Keitner also argues that this societal mindset "others" women into a negative category, where they are thought to be "unwomanly" due to their violent behavior (Keitner, 2002, p. 2, 13). This work reinforces existing claims that women who face the death penalty and/or commit violent acts are portrayed by the media/press in a negative way, which continues the use and application of gender stereotypes in society.

Lastly, Richard J. Lundman, in *The Newsworthiness and Selection of Bias in News about Murder: Comparative and Relative Effects of Novelty and Race and Gender Typifications on Newspaper Coverage of Homicide*, argues that journalists assess the "newsworthiness" of murder occurrences using the frequency of particular kinds of murders and how well they relate to certain stereotypes about race and gender typifications. Lundman states,

> "Scholars also agree that an extremely wide range of factors…affect…newsworthiness and that newsworthiness is perceived and negotiated by journalists on a day-today basis, using relatively well-understood and articulated criteria such as relative frequency and less well-understood and

frequently unspoken criteria including commonsense understandings grounded in race and gender stereotypes and typifications"(Lundman, 2003, p. 359).

Lundan's work reinforces the fact that the media/press uses gender biases and stereotypes to heighten the "newsworthiness" of a story. This further points to the lack of social responsibility the media/press exercises when they focus on gender stereotypes. It becomes apparent that their use of gender typifications perpetuates the negative stereotypes that exist about female violence.

Overall, this literature indicates that the media/press does use gender and negative stereotypes when covering cases of female violence. This body of literature has examined newspaper articles, docu-dramas and movies in its analysis. What distinguishes the research discussed in this paper from those mentioned above is that it utilizes content analysis to identify specific categories that are used by the media/press in covering cases of female violence (specifically those involving the death penalty). This paper demonstrates that the coverage of these cases cast a negative and stereotypic light on female violence. The specific steps that were used in conducting this research are discussed in the methodology section of this paper.

Methodology

As previously noted, this paper will analyze the extent to which newspaper press coverage has perpetuated negative stereotypes of female violence and gender, by examining six female death penalty cases in the state of California. This research will examine whether newspaper coverage focuses and/or sensationalizes aspects of female defendants that have little to do with the crime itself. This research is unique in that much of the current literature has not implemented content analysis to identify specific categories that the media/press uses to emphasize negative and gender stereotypes about female violence. Also, no prior research has looked at a specific newspaper and their coverage of these types of cases in order to identify patterns and forecast implications.

Therefore, this research examines female defendant death penalty cases in the state of California through the press coverage of the *Los Angeles Times*. This newspaper was chosen since it is one of the state's premier newspapers, with an extensive archival history, where primary data can be accessed and

analyzed. This research will examine the death penalty cases of Nellie May Madison, Ethel Juanita Spinelli, Barbara Graham, Elizabeth Duncan, Cynthia Coffman and Angelina Rodriguez (see appendix 1).

As discussed, this research integrates content analysis in its examination of the *Los Angeles Times* coverage of these cases. As defined by the *Research Writing Center at Colorado State University*,

> "Content analysis is a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within texts or sets of texts. Researchers quantify and analyze the presence, meanings and relationships of such words and concepts, then make inferences about the messages within the texts, the writer(s), the audience, and even the culture and time of which these are a part"(Bush, DeMaret, Flynn, Kellum, Le, Meyers, Saunders, White and Palmquist, 2005).

This research implemented content analysis by selecting statements and/or phrases in *Los Angeles Times* newspaper articles that were relative to the six cases noted above (also see appendix 1), in order to identify negative and gender stereotypes about female violence. Moreover, the examination utilized *conceptual content analysis*, which begins by identifying research questions (as noted above) and choosing a sample. Once the sample text (twenty-one *Los Angeles Times* articles relevant to the six cases being analyzed) was chosen, the process of coding was done on the basis of selective reduction, in which the sets of words/phrases and statements were categorized in order to identify patterns, draw inferences and possible implications (Bush, De Maret, Flynn, Kellum, Le, Meyers, Saunders, White and Palmquist, 2005).

In order to make this analysis more systematic, eight category coding steps were implemented as indicated by the *Research Writing Center at Colorado State University* (see appendix 2). These eight steps consisted of incorporating and making decisions on the following elements: (1) the level of analysis; (2) concepts to code for; (3) whether to code for frequency or the existence of a concept; (4) how to make distinctions among concepts; (5) develop rules for coding; (6) decide what to do with irrelevant information; (7) code the text; (8) analyze results. All eight steps were incorporated in the design of this research and decisions were made about how to proceed with all levels of analysis. Through this decision process of all eight steps, rules for coding and conducting this research where designed (see appendix 3) (Bush, De Maret, Flynn, Kellum, Le, Meyers, Saunders, White and Palmquist, 2005).

As another result of this process, the following categories where developed and coded for: (a) past relationships/activities; (b) appearance; (c) demeanor; (d) gender stereotypes and (e) irrelevant. These categories were developed through reading the articles and identifying the most common themes and references made to the six females in these cases. As a result, I argue that references to these categories by the *Los Angeles Times* perpetuated overall unfavorable stereotypes about female violence and gender roles and had nothing to do with the cases and/or charges themselves. In order to determine whether or not the press focused on this aspect and if so, how heavily, the frequency of these categories were counted and are discussed in the results section of this paper.

For example, the category labeled "past relationships/activities," applied to any set of words/phrases and statements that referred to the subjects' previous marriages, relationships and/or activities. For instance, in an article discussing criminal defendant Elizabeth Duncan, the *Los Angeles Times* referred to her as being "much married" (Blake, 1956). Essentially, I argue that references such as this had nothing to do with the crime of murder; and hence it was then used as a category, in order to determine whether or not the press focused on this aspect of the defendant and if so, how heavily.

The category labeled "appearance," applied to any set of words/phrases and statement that referred to the subjects' physical appearance and/or clothing. For example, in an article about defendant Barbara Graham, the *Los Angeles Times* made reference to her "drab jail attire" ("Press Besieges Barbara Graham," 1953).

The third category labeled "demeanor," applied to any set of words/phrases and statements that referred to the subjects' mood, attitude and/or body language. For instance, in reference to Nellie Madison, the *Los Angeles Times* described her demeanor as "poised and apparently unworried" ("Police Question Madison Widow", 1934).

Furthermore, the fourth category labeled "gender stereotypes," was utilized in a more complex way. Since gender stereotyping can take on various forms, sub-categories were constructed to account for this. Therefore, if a masculine reference was made (perhaps the assignment of socially perceived masculine traits to the female defendant, such as an activity) then it was coded under the category of

"gender stereotype," within the "masculine" sub-category. On the other hand, if the press made reference to a socially perceived "feminine" gender stereotype, such as women being gentle, motherly or grandmotherly, then it was coded under the category of "gender stereotype," within the "feminine" sub-category. For instance, at the execution of Juanita Spinelli, the *Los Angeles Times* discussed a softer side of the convicted felon by describing how she had since became a grandmother and taped pictures of her grandchildren on her heart to take with her to the gas chamber (Cameron, 1941). Lastly, if the press made reference to a socially perceived "negative" stereotype about female violence, it was coded under the reference category of "gender stereotype," within the "negative" sub-category. For example, it has been discussed in the literature review that scholars argue that society looks negatively at females who commit violent acts. Therefore, references such as, "violence seems intolerable or unbelievable where women are concerned" (Callan, 1955) were coded under the category of "gender stereotypes," within the "negative" sub-category.

The final category labeled "irrelevant," was utilized to account for any information that was editorialized, dramatically referenced or blatantly not related to the case. Each of these three items comprised a sub-category within the category labeled "irrelevant." For example, a *Los Angeles Times* article discussing Nellie Madison, made reference to two other shooting episodes she was involved in. Therefore, this reference was labeled under the "not related" sub-category ("Widow Veils Death Tale," 1934). Moreover, statements by the *Los Angeles Times* such as, "mystery women" used to describe Nellie Madison were coded under the sub-category of "dramatic reference." Lastly, value judgments and/or opinions made by the author of the article where coded under the sub-category "editorializing." For example, in another article regarding the execution of Juanita Spinelli, the *Los Angeles Times* argued that "even squeamish Governor Olson could find no extenuation for the deliberate murder of which Mrs. Spinelli was duly convicted"("Good Riddance", 1941).

Once these categories were determined, a coding sheet was developed (please note that one coding sheet was used per article, for a total of twenty-one coding sheets). The development of this coding sheet was based on the work of Janet Buttolph Johnson and Richard A. Josyln (1995) in *Political*

10

Science Research Methods. In their work, Buttolph Johnson and Josyln devise a content analysis coding

sheet ("Hypothetical Content Analysis of Coverage of Presidential Campaign Coverage"), which

identifies the material selected for sampling, defines categories for analysis and coding, records the unit

of analysis, provides for a system of enumeration, and notes the overall focus on the sample item. These

elements were implemented in the design of coding sheet(s) for this research (see appendix 4). As stated

above, statements and phrases were coded according to which of the five categories they corresponded to

(please see appendix 5, for a listing of the specific statements and phrases that were noted in the articles).

Results

As mentioned, twenty-one articles from the *Los Angeles Times* were analyzed and coded for on

the basis of the five categories (past relationships/activities, appearance, demeanor, gender stereotypes

and irrelevant information). These were the only articles that could be found in the *Los Angeles Times*

Historical Data Base that dealt with the six cases (see appendix 1) and referenced to the five categories

developed (the total count of referenced categories is noted in appendix 6).

Out of these categories, 42.5% (fifty-one in count) made reference to the past

relationships/activities of the females involved in these cases. Overall, this was the category most

referenced/noted by the *Los Angeles Times*. Out of the total references made to past

relationships/activities, twenty-eight (or 55%) were about past relationships (i.e. marriages) and twenty-

three (or 45%) were about past behaviors (i.e. drug use, sexual promiscuity, etc).

The second most referenced category was the one labeled "irrelevant." The *Los Angeles Times*

referenced irrelevant information 19% of the time (or 23 times in total). The sub-category labeled

"dramatic reference" was noted 11 times, which were 48% of the total references made to the category

specifically labeled "irrelevant." This was the largest amount of references for this particular category.

The sub-category labeled "editorializing" was noted 8 times or (35% of time) for this category. Lastly,

the sub-category "non-related" was referenced 4 times (or 17%) out of this reference category.

The third most referenced category, "demeanor" was noted 19 times, and was 16% of the 120

total references found. Moreover, "appearance" was the fourth most noted category, which was comprised

12.5% of the total references found. Finally, the fifth most referenced category was gender stereotypes. There were 12 references to gender stereotypes, which meant it was mentioned 10% of the time. Out of the 12 references to gender stereotypes, 58% (or 7) of them were negative, none of them were noted as masculine and 42% (or 5) were noted as feminine.

Furthermore, a basic analysis was done for each case (see appendix 7), which breaks down the number of times each category was referenced. From this, a table was constructed that lists each defendant and the categories coded for. This table identifies which category was referenced the most for each of the defendants (see appendix 8). From this information, it could be identified that the category of "past relationships/activities" was most referenced for Nellie Madison, Cynthia Coffman and Angelina Rodriguez. For Juanita Spinelli, "irrelevant information" was the most referenced category. Appearance and irrelevant information were the categories most referenced for Elizabeth Duncan, with both being referenced three times.

Discussion

Possible implications and suggestions can be made from these results. For example, the data suggests that the *Los Angeles Times* focused most heavily on the past relationships/activities of these women. This can imply that since society tends to look down on women with multiple marriages or relationships (i.e. viewing them as promiscuous or not as a traditional woman who marries once and has a family) and that the press focused on this as a way to further demonize and "other" the females in these cases. For example, as Cairn states in the case of Nellie May Madison, the press labeled her as a "femme fatal, the real-life embodiment of the mysterious and diabolical seductress…her 'matrimonial adventures,' as the *Los Angeles Times* dubbed them, provided the building blocks for this archetype, as did her continuing refusal to behave in stereotypically 'female' ways (Cairns, 2007, p.62). As this research shows, articles about Nellie May Madison, Cynthia Coffman and Angelina Rodriguez had the most references to past relationships and activities. This can possibly suggest that the *Los Angeles Times*, has not changed the manner in which they cover these types of cases and therefore, continued to focus on past

relationships/activities of female criminal defendants facing the death penalty; hence perpetuating negative stereotypes about these women and female violence in general.

Furthermore, as stated in the results section, irrelevant information comprised 19% of the total references made (120 in count). The most common use of irrelevant information was within the sub-category labeled "dramatic reference," (which comprised 48% of the references made to this category) and "editorializing," (which was noted 35% of time within this category). This may suggest that the *Los Angeles Times* used methods of exaggeration and opinion/value judgments on behalf of their reporters, in order to heighten the "newsworthiness" of the cases at the expense of the female defendants, especially those facing the death penalty. As noted in the literature review, Lundman argues that journalists negotiate the meaning of newsworthiness on a daily basis and therefore, have the deciding factor on what is covered and how it's covered (Lundman, 2003, p.359). For example, in its' article depicting the execution of Juanita Spinelli, the *Los Angeles Times* spared no dramatic references when it wrote, "The cue had come for the desperate drama-a grim performance that almost everyone but the Duchess herself seemed to hope would somehow be prevented before the curtain could rise" (Cameron, 1941). References such as this can become problematic in that they focus society's attention on the drama, rather than the substance of the crime, almost treating women who commit violence as unworthy of fair and substantive press coverage. This type of coverage may run the danger of perpetuating negative stereotypes about female violence and gender in general.

Additionally, the comments about the subjects' demeanor also received attention and as stated, comprised 16% of the total references made. Most of these comments by the *Los Angeles Times* focused on the defendants' lack of emotion or silence (a few comments did make reference to the defendants' perceived look of confidence, see appendix 5). For example, the *Los Angeles Times* described the demeanor of Nellie May Madison as "without a sign of emotion…close watchers could not detect even the tremor of an eyelash" ("Widow Doomed to Face Hangman," 1934). In an interview with Angelina Rodriguez, the *Los Angeles Times* noted that when she discussed the death of her daughter, which was not related the charge of her killing her husband, "she shed no tears" (Piccalo, 2005). And, when covering

the case of Cynthia Coffman, the *Los Angeles Times* stated that "her quiet demeanor contrasted sharply with images presented by the prosecutor Monday of her participation in the killings of two young women 2 years ago" (Hicks, 1989). It is possible, that in noting these statements, the press runs the risks of stereotyping females that commit violence as being devoid of emotion and possibly "othering" them into an "unwomanly" category, as discussed by Keitner (2002) in the literature review. Moreover, one could also argue that the defendants' demeanor can have little to do with the crime and/or charge. Furthermore, who knows how their legal counsel has advised their clients to behave during the trial, which may affect their demeanor and perceived disposition.

Also, as briefly mentioned in the results section, references to the defendants' appearance were noted 15 times, which was 12.5% of the total references made (see appendix 6). This is also worth discussing, in that evidence shows that references to this category tended to have nothing to do with the crime and/or charge. For example, in discussing the trial and an interview with Cynthia Coffman, the *Los Angeles Times* stated the following about her appearance, "Slim and pretty with brown hair spilling down her back, Coffman wore lipstick and mascara" (Wride, 1992). Moreover, in an article about Barbara Graham, the *Los Angeles Times* made reference to her "blonde hair" ("Trap Net 3 Suspects in Slaying at Burbank," 1953) and in writing about the case of Elizabeth Duncan, the newspaper stated that at the trial she "wore a plain black dress and no jewelry" (Blake, 1956). It can be argued that the references made to the defendants' hair, clothing and makeup perpetuate gender stereotypes by demonstrating that woman are highly scrutinized with respect to their looks and appearance, even when on trial for something as serious as murder. Again, the concentration on these items takes focus away from the crime/charge and motive. By focusing on appearance, the press and society run the possible risk of perpetuating the stereotype that women should be judged on their looks and attire.

Lastly, despite the fact that the category specifically labeled "gender stereotypes" was referenced the least amount of times (10% or 12 times in total); it still provides insight as to how the coverage of these cases continues to showcase stereotypes about female violence and gender. For example, more than half of the references made to gender stereotypes (58%) were negative. An example of this can be seen in

the *Los Angeles Times* coverage of Cynthia Coffman. The newspaper quoted highly negative comments about Coffman, which were made by the Deputy District Attorney of San Bernardino, Raymond Haight. These printed comments stated, "She is very manipulative…she reeks of sexuality. Oh! you wouldn't believe! The jury could see that manipulation, and the women jurors were more against her than the men." Furthermore, in the same article, the *Los Angeles Times* quoted Coffman's attorney in a statement that shows how female violence is considered "taboo" by society. Her attorney stated, "Women are almost more harshly judged, because men are sometimes excused to a degree for having a beastly side. So I think it can actually work against you to be representing a woman in a death penalty case" (Wride, 1992).

Again, these negative comments and references in the press coverage of these cases have the propensity to stereotype gender roles and women who commit violence. For example, as stated in the literature review, Shipman argues that society holds that women should behave in a gentle, motherly and nurturing manner. Therefore, women who commit violence violate deeply held norms society possesses about women and their societal role (Shipman, 2002, p.6-7). Furthermore, Keitner (2002) argues that women who commit violence are "othered" into a negative realm and considered "unwomanly." The findings in this research are consistent with those discussed in the literature review and possibly reinforce Keitner's and Shipman's findings.

Moreover, the use of feminine stereotypes by the *Los Angeles Times* was noted 5 times (or 42%) out of 12 references to gender stereotypes. An example of this can be seen in the case of Elizabeth Duncan. When covering her execution, the *Los Angeles Times* stated, "Like a proud woman who had achieved the ultimate in poise and dignity, Mrs. Duncan entered the chamber" (Hertel, 1962). One could argue that this commentary attempts to portray a softer, more gentle and womanly side to Elizabeth Duncan, and in doing so, almost justifies her execution, by suggesting that without the death penalty, perhaps she would've been able to be redeemed as a "proud woman" who had achieved "poise and dignity." This argument is consistent with Shipman's observations of newspaper coverage of these cases. Shipman states, "News stories also more often portrayed condemned women as hard, unfeeling, or

demonic in early stories, but as more 'womanly' and gentle in stories that near the execution" (Shipman, 2002, p. 6).

Lastly, out of the category "irrelevant," 17% (or 4) of the references were made to the sub-category labeled "non-related information." These were references regarding what the inmate ate or a previous charge, etc. There were no gender stereotypes mentioned by the newspaper that could be coded as masculine; however, the references to negative and feminine stereotypes still make a strong case that the *Los Angeles Times* used and continues to use gender stereotypes when covering cases of female violence, specifically those involving the death penalty.

Conclusion

Overall, this research is consistent with the arguments presented by scholars in the literature review. In utilizing content analysis, categories were developed on the basis of the most common themes/concepts that appeared to be used to emphasize and perpetuate negative stereotypes about female violence and gender roles. In coding and gathering this data it was found that the most referenced category was past relationships/activities. However, examples could be found throughout the samples (21 articles) to show that all categories were referenced to by the *Los Angeles Times*. This being said, one can argue that all five categories (past relationships/activities, appearance, demeanor, gender stereotypes and irrelevant information) can be utilized by the press to perpetuate negative stereotypes about female violence and gender roles. This research also suggests that the *Los Angeles Times* has not necessarily changed the way it cover cases of female defendants who face the death penalty. Throughout the seventy year period (1934-2004), the newspaper continued to make references to all five categories stated above and all the articles depicted the subjects/defendants in a negative tone[2].

Again, this research is different from previous works noted in the literature review in that it implemented content analysis in order to identify specific categories used/referenced to that perpetuate

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[2] Note that if at least one statement/phrase and/or term was noted in an article (out of the 21 that comprised the sample text) and corresponded with the categories (past relationships/activities, appearance, demeanor, gender stereotypes and irrelevant information), then the entire article was considered "negative" in its' tone about the subject/defendant.

negative stereotypes about female violence and gender roles. This research is unique in that it specifically examined six female death penalty cases in the State of California. Furthermore, this research analyzed only one form of the media, the press and one newspaper, the *Los Angeles Times*. In constructing the scope of the research design in this way, I was able to examine how the states' premier and influential newspaper covered these cases. For future research of this topic, I would recommend looking at other premier newspapers in the country to see if coverage varies by region or if any other categories could be identified that possibly perpetuate negative stereotypes about female violence and gender roles.

Appendix 1

Cases Selected for Research

Cases	Why Chosen	Details/Additional Information
Nellie May Madison: Sentenced July 5, 1934. Killed her husband. (Cairns, 2007, p.156).	First women in the state of California to be sentenced to death.	Sentence was commuted by Governor Merriam, on Monday, September 16, 1935 to life in prison (Cairns, 2007, p.217). Subsequently, she fought for a pardon and received in on March 24, 1943 and was released from prison (Cairns, 2007, p.238).
Ethel Juanita Spinelli: Executed November 21, 1941. Lead criminal gang and paid for a murder of former gang member (Cameron, 1941).	First women in the state of California to die in the gas chamber.	Sentence was not commuted, died in the gas chamber on November 21, 1941 (Cameron, 1941).
Barbara Graham: Executed June 3, 1955. Involved in robbery and murder. (Shipman, 2002, p. 194)	High profile case, well covered by the *Los Angeles Times.*	Sentence was not commuted, died in the gas chamber on June 3, 1955 (Shipman, 2002, p. 194).
Elizabeth Duncan: Executed August 8, 1962. Paid for the murder of her daughter-in-law (Shipman, 2002, p. 193).	To date the last woman to die by execution in the state of California.	Sentence was not commuted, died in the gas chamber (Shipman, 2002, p. 193).
Cynthia Coffman: Sentenced August 31, 1989 (*Case Summaries for Current Female Death Row Inmates*, http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org)	At the time was the first female to be sentenced to death in the state since it was reinstated in 1977.	Was charged for two murders. Sentenced to death for the 1986 murder of Corinna Novis (Wride, 1992). Sentence to life in prison for the 1986 murder of Lynel Murray (Lait, 1992). Currently on death row (*Case Summaries for Current Female Death Row Inmates*, http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org).
Angelina Rodriguez: Sentenced January 12, 2004 (*Case Summaries for Current Female Death Row Inmates*, http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org)	The latest female to receive the death penalty in the state of California that was covered by the Los Angeles Time (based on this research).	Currently on death row (*Case Summaries for Current Female Death Row Inmates*, http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org).

*Note nearly one case per decade, since the first death sentence of a female criminal defendant to the last one covered by the *Los Angeles Times* is being analyzed. Please note the following: From 1972-1976 the death penalty was in effect repealed in the state of California. In 1977, the California State Legislature enacted the death penalty. This information represents why there is no female death penalty cases listed below that occurred throughout the 1970s (*History of Capital Punishment in California*, http://www.cdcr.ca.gov/Reports_Research/historyCapital.html)

Appendix 2

Full Description of the Eight Coding Steps
*Based on the *Research Writing Center at Colorado State University*
(Bush, De Maret, Flynn, Kellum, Le, Meyers, Saunders, White and Palmquist, 2005).

Step	Element of Conceptual Analysis	Description
1	Decide level of analysis[1]	Researcher must decide whether to code for a single word or set of words/phrases
2	Decide how many concepts to code for	Researcher must decide how many different concepts to code for
3	Decide whether to code for existence or frequency of a concept	Researcher must decide whether to code for existence of the category/concept or its frequency
4	Decide on how you will distinguish among concepts	The researcher must decide on the level of generalization, (i.e. whether concepts should be coded exactly as they appear or if they can be recorded as they same even if they appear in different forms
5	Develop rules for coding your texts	Researcher will need to develop translation rules to streamline and organize the coding process
6	Decide what to do with irrelevant information	Researcher needs to decide if irrelevant information (i.e. other words and non-related concept/phrases) should be ignored
7	Code the texts	Code text by hand (manually writing down concept/category occurrences) or by various computer programs
8	Analyze your results	Researcher examines the data and attempts to draw whatever conclusions and generalizations are possible.

Appendix 3

Rules and Research Decisions Made on the 8 Steps of Conceptual Content Analysis

1)   Level of analysis: Set of words, phrases and/or statements

2)   Concepts to Code: Interactive-based on coding for sets of words that are relevant to the research topic/questions.

3)   Coding: Frequency

4)   Level of generalization: Similar concepts will be generalized/collapsed together

5)   Rules for Coding: Terms will be coded to related words, phrases and/or statements that correspond to 5 reference categories

6)   Irrelevant Information: Words/phrases not related to the 5 referenced categories will be ignored. However, a reference that is unrelated to the case (i.e. what the defendant ate in jail or reference to another charge will be coded under the category "irrelevant" within the sub-category "not related" (please see the methodology section for full explanation and appendix 4).

7)   Code Text: In all the articles, each set of word that references the categories above will be noted by hand

8)   Analyze: Will analyze which category was most frequently used and draw inferences and implications on how it relates to negative stereotypes of female violence.

Coding Sheet

Los Angeles Times Article:_____
Date:_____
Individual/Subject: _____

Categories

Past Relationships/Activities	Appearance	Demeanor	Gender Stereotypes	Irrelevant
			a) Masculine_____	a). editorializing_____
			b) Feminine_____	b). dramatic reference_____
			c) Negative_____	c). not related_____

Total:_____   **Total:_____**   **Total:_____**   **Total:_____**   **Total:_____**

Overall focus of article:_____

Tone:
Negative:_____
Positive:_____

Appendix 5

Specific References to Categories

*The following are the specific statements/phrases that were coded to the five corresponding categories of: past relationships/activities, appearance, demeanor, gender stereotypes and irrelevant information.

Past Relationships/Activities (51 Total):
1) "Questions relating to her past life, were readily answered by the women" ("Police Question Madison's Widow," 1934).
2) "She had been married at least three times before Madison" ("Police Question Madison's Widow," 1934)
3) "Four matrimonial marriages preceded the detention of Mrs. Nellie Madison…"("Four Marriages Told by Mrs. Nellie Madison," 1934).
4) "She eloped to Ogden, Utah, when she was 16 with a man whose last name was Brothers" ("Four Marriages Told by Mrs. Nellie Madison," 1934).
5) "Married Earl Trask at Vale, Or. May 17, 1917" ("Four Marriages Told by Mrs. Nellie Madison," 1934).
6) "Their marriage lasted less than 4 years" ("Four Marriages Told by Mrs. Nellie Madison," 1934).
7) "Thirteen months later she was wed to William J. Brown" ("Four Marriages Told by Mrs. Nellie Madison," 1934).
8) "Brown admitted tearing up the marriage certificate" ("Four Marriages Told by Mrs. Nellie Madison," 1934).
9) "Brown, in his complaint, also charged that this his wife had falsely sworn to a complaint against him in Municipal Court" ("Four Marriages Told by Mrs. Nellie Madison," 1934).
10) "Brown asserted she became enraged because he refused to return to her" (Four Marriages Told by Mrs. Nellie Madison, 1934).
11) "Her marriage to Eric D. Madison was the fourth marital venture of Mrs. Nellie Madison" (Woman's Career Traced by County Authorities," 1934).
12) "Court records of previous marital activities of Mrs. Madison…were produced last night" ("Woman's Career Traced by County Authorities," 1934).
13) "According to Brown, her first marriage occurred when she was 17"("Woman's Career Traced by County Authorities," 1934).
14) "According to court records she married Wilbert E. Trask in Vale, Or., May 17, 1917"("Woman's Career Traced by County Authorities," 1934).
15) "She married Brown, a local attorney…" ("Woman's Career Traced by County Authorities," 1934).
16) "The romance leading up to her marriage to Madison had its origins in Palm Springs" ("Woman's Career Traced by County Authorities," 1934).
17) "The Madisons were married last summer and went to Portland for a short stay…" ("Woman's Career Traced by County Authorities," 1934).
18) "In filing a cross-complaint to his wife's suit for divorce at the time, Brown asserted she once shot at him" ("Widow Veils Death Tale: Defense Perfect, Says Counsel," 1934).
19) "She was in a state reformatory for delinquent girls at age 14 (Blake, 1955).
20) "She was arrested for prostitution and petty theft charges in San Diego" (Blake, 1955).
21) "She was an admitted user of narcotics on occasion" (Blake, 1955).
22) "She was married three times and had three children" (Blake, 1955).
23) "She and her husband had been separated for some time" ("Trap Net 3 Suspects in Slaying at Burbank," 1953).

Specific References to Categories

Past Relationships/Activities (51 Total):
24) "Much married…" (Blake, 1956).
25) "Last June, a jury convicted the 30-year old former cocktail waitress…" (Lait, 1992).
26) "A Missouri Catholic girl divorced and looking for a new life out West…" (Wride, 1992).
27) "Raised in lower-middle class apartments of St. Louis, her father was out of her life by the time she was 6" (Wride, 1992).
28) "She was in psychotherapy by the first grade…" (Wride, 1992).
29) "They point to the remarriage of her mother…" (Wride, 1992).
30) "The spring of her sophomore year, she smoked her first marijuana joint" (Wride, 1992).
31) "She graduate from high school pregnant and was a married mother at 18" (Wride, 1992).
32) "After a little more than a year, the marriage unraveled" (Wride, 1992).
33) "Sizing up her dead end job…she decided to travel with a girlfriend and start over" (Wride, 1992).
34) "The truth is Cindy always had a guy around" (Wride, 1992).
35) "Within a month she had found one [a guy]; his name was Doug Huntley" (Wride, 1992).
36) "Coffman recalled, a man showed up at the apartment she had shared with Huntley to tell her that her boyfriend had been moved to a different jail" (Wride, 1992).
37) "Coffman and Marlow camped outside, slept in a car and were unofficially married atop a motorcycle…" (Wride, 1992).
38) "Wife, mother: Rodriguez, who was married four times…"(Piccalo, 2005).
39) "Many jobs…"(Piccalo, 2005).
40) "She killed her toddler daughter by shoving a piece of pacifier down her throat, then successfully sued the manufacturer for its "fault" product" (Piccalo, 2005).
41) "Never without a boyfriend…" (Piccalo, 2005).
42) "Married four times and engaged twice…" (Piccalo, 2005).
43) "She grew up in a working class neighborhood…the younger of and more troublesome of two daughters" (Piccalo, 2005).
44) "When their grandfather baby-sat, Rodriguez and her sister say, he molested her" (Piccalo, 2005).
45) "She attempted suicide at age 8…" (Piccalo, 2005).
46) "She married and divorced a neighborhood boy named Hector Gonzalez" (Piccalo, 2005).
47) "She fell in love with Tom Fuller…within three months she was pregnant" (Piccalo, 2005).
48) "Weeks later, Fuller learned that Rodriguez had purchased a $50,000 life insurance policy for the child" (Piccalo, 2005).
49) "Married a trucker named Don Combs and then divorced him a few months later…" (Piccalo, 2005).
50) "She joined the National Guard, fell in love with another man…" (Piccalo, 2005).
51) "Rodriguez has been diagnosed with depression and anxiety disorders several times since childhood" (Piccalo, 2005).

Specific References to Categories

Appearance (15 Total):
1) "Two men and blond arrested" ("Trap Net 3 Suspects in Slaying at Burbank," 1953).
2) "Mrs. Spinelli, a tall lank and homely women…" (Cameron, 1941).
3) "Her black low-heeled pumps, adorned with leather bows, dangled three inches from the floor" (Hertel, 1962).
4) "Her graying hair, with streaks of black and brown, was tied nearly in a bun…" (Hertel, 1962).
5) "Cynthia Lynn Coffman's court appearance in a plain skirt and blouse…" (Hicks, 1989).
6) "The coat rack holds her plainly modest courtroom attire-a prim pink sweater, a colorful blue dress-the wardrobe for her second murder trial…"(Wride, 1992).
7) "Slim and pretty with brown hair spilling down her back, Coffman wore lipstick and mascara…" (Wride, 1992).
8) "It's still very difficult for judges and juries to vote death for an attractive young woman" (Wride, 1992).
9) "The tall, attractive 39-year woman…"("Police Question Madison's Widow," 1934).
10) "She wore the same black dress and hat which comprised her attire most of the time at the trial…" ("Widow Doomed to Face Hangman," 1934).
11) "Monahan case's convicted slayer, in drab jail attire…" ("Press Besieges Barbara Graham," 1953).
12) "The star of the show was shorn of the glamorous appearance she presented throughout the Mabel Monahan murder trial…" ("Press Besieges Barbara Graham," 1953).
13) "Mrs. Graham was drab in her blue denim jail smock…"("Press Besieges Barbara Graham," 1953).
14) "Her reddish-blonde hair had been draw up in back in a sort of pony tail…." ("Press Besieges Barbara Graham," 1953).
15) "Mrs. Duncan wore a plain black dress and no jewelry…" (Blake, 1959).

Demeanor (19 Total):
1) "Poised and apparently unworried" ("Police Question Madison's Widow," 1934).
2) "The woman no attempt to resist the officers but immediately assumed the guise of poised serenity…" ("Police Question Madison's Widow," 1934).
3) "Mrs. Madison to the outside world retained the stony silence…" ("Widow Veils Death Tale," 1934).
4) "Without a sign of emotion…" ("Widow Doomed to Face Hangman," 1934).
5) "Close watchers would not detect even the tremor of an eyelash as she listened" ("Widow Doomed to Face Hangman," 1934).
6) "Never seen a colder heart…" (Gorman, 2003).
7) "She's a remorseless, cold blooded killer…" (Gorman, 2003).
8) "Several said they had been swayed by Rodriguez's apparent lack of remorse" (Gorman, 2003).
9) "Her hands over her eyes, smearing her mascara…" (Piccalo, 2005).
10) "Rodriguez shed no tears as she recalled her daughter's death…" (Piccalo, 2005).
11) "Her tone was tendered" (Piccalo, 2005).
12) "Angelina looked relaxed, even content" (Piccalo, 2005).
13) "As Angelina recalls Frank's last days now, there are no signs of grief" (Piccalo, 2005).

Specific References to Categories

Demeanor (19 Total):
   14) "Dist. Atty. Roy Gustafson has indicated he will demand the death penalty for the…mild-mannered Santa Barbara matron" (Blake, 1959).
   15) "Smiling and confident…" (Blake, 1959).
   16) "Coffman…appeared in good spirits, smiling often, laughing with ease…" (Wride, 1992).
   17) "She is manipulative…" (Wride, 1992).
   18) "Her quiet demeanor contrasted sharply with the images presented by the prosecutor…(Hicks, 1989).
   19) "Her hands clasped and head down, the thin, diminutive 26-year-old listened calmly…"(Hicks, 1989).

Gender Stereotypes (12Total):
A) Feminine
   1) "Mrs. Spinelli…who had become a grandmother since her last reprieve from chamber…" (Cameron, 1941).
   2) "Died with the photographs of her three children and grandson taped over her heart…" (Cameron, 1941).
   3) "Mrs. Elizabeth Ann Duncan…died with impassive dignity in the cyanide gas chamber…"(Hertel, 1962).
   4) "Like a proud women who had achieved the ultimate in poise and dignity…" (Hertel, 1962).
   5) "She isn't the innocent little victim under his influence she'd have you believe" (Hicks, 1989).
B) Masculine (non-noted)
C) Negative
   1) "Acts of violence seem intolerable or unbelievable where women are concerned" (Callan, 1955).
   2) "…gentleness of womanhood into a monster of hate and torture" (Callan, 1955).
   3) "She is very manipulative…"(Wride, 1992).
   4) "Women are almost always more harshly judged…." (Wride, 1992).
   5) "It can actually work against you to be representing a woman in a death penalty case" (Wride, 1992).
   6) "…weaker sex…" ("Good Riddance, 1941).
   7) "The knowledge that women are not exempt from the penalties of law…" ("Good Riddance, 1941).

Irrelevant Information (23 Total):
A) Editorializing
   1) "She went to her doom with an apparent resignation that came from…a revitalized faith in the mercy of the maker whose Sixth Commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," she had flouted" (Cameron, 1941).
   2) "…a possessively jealous mother who shopped around for killer…(Blake, 1959).
   3) "…jurors admit they already believe her guilty…" (Blake, 1959).
   4) "Here we are in "the Cindy Room" surrounded by remnants of her violent past and, possibly, her deadly future" (Wride, 1992).

Specific References to Categories

Irrelevant Information (23 Total):
A) Editorializing
    5) "Even squeamish Governor Olson could find no extenuation for the deliberate murder of which Mrs. Spinelli duly convicted" ("Good Riddance", 1941 November 22).
    6) "The knowledge that woman are not exempt from the penalties of law in this State comes tardily, but not too late, perhaps, to prove a deterrent" ("Good Riddance, 1941 November 22).
    7) "Her role consistent in every one of them—the victim" (Piccalo, 2005).
    8) "Deception was a way of life" (Piccalo, 2005).
B) Dramatic Reference
    1) "…amazing testimony" ("Doubt Cast on Identity," 1934).
    2) "…bizarre situation in a trial already shot full of the weird, unusual and sensational" ("Doubt Cast on Identity," 1934).
    3) "…another mystifying element was injected through the testimony…" ("Doubt Cast on Identity," 1934).
    4) "Mystery woman"("Doubt Cast on Identity, 1934).
    5) "…with all the aplomb of a movie queen starring in a colossal production…" ("Press Besieges Barbara Graham, 1953).
    6) "Only one thing was lacking…the star of the show…" ("Press Besieges Barbara Graham," 1953).
    7) "The cue had come for the desperate dram—a grim performance…" (Cameron, 1941).
    8) "before the curtain could rise…"(Cameron, 1941).
    9) "It was a sensational crime, the stuff of pulp fiction" (Piccalo, 2005).
    10) "Court TV recently memorialized it with a moody reenactment titled, "The Persistent Wife" (Piccalo, 2005).
    11) "She had been talking for hours, the drama of her stories escalating with every telling…" (Piccalo, 2005).
D) Not Related
    1) "…says she never trusted her impulsive friend. She wouldn't leave her husband alone with Rodriguez because she suspected her neighbor might try to seduce him" (Piccalo, 2005).
    2) "…admitting she is taking sleeping pills under a doctor's prescription…" (Blake, 1959,).
    3) "Capt. Bright disclosed yesterday that court records show Mrs. Madison was involved in two other shooting episodes…" ("Widow Veils Death Tale," 1934).
    4) "…she calmly partook of a hearty mid-day meal in the County Jail, apparently relishing a large piece of roast beef, potatoes and vegetables" ("Widow Doomed to Face Hangman," 1934).

Total Count and Percentage of each Category Referenced

Reference Categories	Total Times Used
1). Past Relations/Activities	
a). Previous Relationships or Marriages	**28 or 55%**
b). Past Activities or Behaviors	**23 or 45%**
Total:	**51**
2). Appearance	
Total:	**15**
3). Demeanor	
Total:	**19**
4). Gender Stereotypes	
a). Feminine	**5 or 42%**
b). Masculine	**0**
c). Negative	**7 or 58%**
Total:	**12**
5). Irrelevant	
a). Editorializing	**8 or 35%**
b). Dramatic Reference	**11 or 48%**
c). Not Related	**4 or 17%**
Total	**23**
Total References	**120**

Categories	Total Percentage Referenced
Past Relationships/Activities	42.5%
Appearance	12.5%
Demeanor	16%
Gender Stereotypes	10%
Irrelevant	19%

Appendix 7

Overall Analysis for articles on Nellie Madison

Reference Categories	How Many Times Used (Out of all Articles)
Past Relationships/Activities	18
Appearance	2
Demeanor	5
Gender Stereotypes	0
Irrelevant	6

Total # of articles examined: **6**
Total # Positive in Tone: **0**
Total # Negative in Tone: **6**
Greatest/overall focus: **Past relationships, especially Nellie's multiple marriages**

Overall Analysis for articles on Evileta Juanita Spinelli

Reference Categories	How Many Times Used (Out of all Articles)
Past Relationships/Activities	0
Appearance	1
Demeanor	0
Gender Stereotypes	4
Irrelevant	5

Total # of articles examined: **2**
Total # Positive in Tone: **0**
Total # Negative in Tone: **2**
Greatest/overall focus: **Editorializing, writer making either value judgment on death sentence**

Overall Analysis for articles on Barbara Graham

Reference Categories	How Many Times Used (Out of all Articles)
Past Relationships/Activities	5
Appearance	5
Demeanor	0
Gender Stereotypes	2
Irrelevant	2

Total # of articles examined: **4**
Total # Positive in Tone: **0**
Total # Negative in Tone: **4**
Greatest/overall focus: **Past relationships and appearance.**

Overall Analysis for articles on Elizabeth Duncan

Reference Categories	How Many Times Used (Out of all Articles)
Past Relationships/Activities	1
Appearance	3
Demeanor	2
Gender Stereotypes	2
Irrelevant	3

Total # of articles examined: **3**
Total # Positive in Tone: **1**
Total # Negative in Tone: **2**
Greatest/overall focus: **Appearance/Irrelevant information and appearance/gender stereotypes**

Overall Analysis for articles on Cynthia Coffman

Reference Categories	How Many Times Used (Out of all Articles)
Past Relationships/Activities	13
Appearance	4
Demeanor	4
Gender Stereotypes	4
Irrelevant	1

Total # of articles examined: **3**
Total # Positive in Tone: **0**
Total # Negative in Tone: **3**
Greatest/overall focus: **Past relationships**

Overall Analysis for articles on Angelina Rodriguez

Reference Categories	How Many Times Used (Out of all Articles)
Past Relationships/Activities	14
Appearance	0
Demeanor	8
Gender Stereotypes	0
Irrelevant	6

Total # of articles examined: **3**
Total # Positive in Tone: **0**
Total # Negative in Tone: **3**
Greatest/overall focus: **Past relationships and demeanor**

	Relationships/ Activities	Appearance	Demeanor	Gender Stereotypes	Irrelevant
Madison	18	2	5	0	6
Spinelli	0	1	0	4	5
Graham	5	5	0	2	2
Duncan	1	3	2	2	3
Coffman	13	4	4	4	1
Rodriguez	14	0	8	0	6

Madison: Past Relastionships/Activities most referenced
Spinelli: Irrelevant information most referenced
Graham: Past Relationships/Activities most referenced
Duncan: Appearance and Irrelevant information most referenced
Coffman: Past Relationships/Activities most referenced
Rodriguez: Past Relationships/Activities most referenced

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