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HONORS THESIS

Female Politicians and the Way That Gender Stereotypes and the Male- Dominated Power Structure Influence the Way They Run Their Campaigns

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ABSTRACT

Women only make up 28.5% of Congress even though they make up 50.5% of the population of the United States. This disparity indicates that there are significant barriers that female politicians face when they are running for office. To look for why, I conduct an extensive literature review that gave context about the gender stereotypes that female candidates face and how they navigate the male template of power. I use the material from the literature review to analyze the campaigns of three women and three men who won their election in the recent 2022 midterms. I then compare the candidates' campaigns. I find that gender played a role in the way the candidates ran their campaigns. I discover that women try to simultaneously exhibit both masculine and feminine traits. I also observe that political party plays a role as the Republican women I analyze tried to look more conservative while the Democratic woman emphasized bipartisanship. I find that male candidates have more freedom to run their campaigns as they please because they do not have to prove their toughness because they have automatic credibility from being a man. I argue that the way power is viewed needs to be changed. Furthermore, I assert that regardless of one's gender, everyone is limited by its constraints as it influences the way others see them.

INTRODUCTION

The field of American politics has historically been dominated by men. It was a system that was created by men that women are just starting to enter. As of 2023, the 118th Congress will have 124 women serving in the House of Representatives and 25 in the Senate (Center for American Women and Politics 2022). Therefore, women make up 28.5% of the U.S. Congress even though, they account for 50.5% of the population (United States Census (2022)). This disparity demonstrates that women are vastly underrepresented in Congress. The gender stereotypes that women must negotiate every day may help explain why. Some common female stereotypes include being too emotional, weak, bossy, and more. When women run for public office, they are judged against these stereotypes and put under a microscope. In response, women candidate adjust their campaign strategy to try and overcome these gender stereotypes, defy them, or even use them to their advantage. Additionally, women politicians must navigate a political system that was created and is maintained by men. Our templates for power and leadership are typically masculinist; if a woman wants to rise to a position of power, she typically must conform to masculine standards. It is important to understand the nature of the male-dominated power hierarchy as it is crucial in the evaluation of how female politicians present themselves on the campaign trail.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In a combination of my major and concentration, I examine the way that female candidates campaigned in the 2022 midterm elections. I ask what gender stereotypes female politicians face and what the environment they run their elections is like? I analyze the way that female politicians present themselves and tie it to cultural texts and phenomena. I look at the way that women politicians try to gain power in a historically male-dominated field and the way that they are trying to change how we define power.

There is a decent amount of material regarding female politicians and their experiences trying to win public office. However, I focus my thesis specifically on how they represent themselves in a wider cultural context that relates to themes regarding gender presentation. Our current system of power is grounded in male identity, and this presents certain barriers

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for women campaigning. Therefore, I focus specifically on how female candidates respond to this fact concerning cultural gender norms. I expect that in the 2022 midterm female candidates that I examine, I will see influences of the male power structure and gender stereotypes.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

I conduct an extensive literature review in the first step of my research process. I research gender stereotypes that women face and how these apply to female politicians. I look at the different ways that men and women communicate and how that influences female politicians. This gives me tools to analyze the candidate’s campaigns as I now understand the specific gender stereotypes they face. I also research the media since they play such a big role in the campaign process. I use multiple textbooks that have done extensive surveys of the way that the media covers female politicians. I look at the way media outlets change their reporting based on a candidate’s gender because it helps inform the way that women conduct their campaigns. Furthermore, I conduct research that discusses how female politicians differ in their campaigns from men. This helps me understand the obstacles that female candidates are up against that their male counterparts do not experience. I also examine how women try to overcome gendered stereotypes in their campaigns. This helps me comprehend why women may be behaving a certain way when I analyze their campaigns. I approach my research with an intersectional lens that acknowledges that not all women’s experiences are the same. A female candidate’s experience can be greatly changed due to her race, sexuality, gender identity, economic status, etc. Being aware of this fact is necessary to understand the reasoning behind a candidate’s strategy as multiple aspects of their identity influence the way they portray themselves. In my literature review, I use a mix of academic journals, textbooks, and books for my research. I use these resources to complete my analysis of the female candidate’s campaigns. I choose three female candidates and three male candidates that all won their elections in the 2022 midterms. I choose winning candidates because it proves that their campaign strategy was effective. I then compare the female candidates to the male candidates to examine the general way that gender stereotypes affect candidates’ campaigns. I then compare the two Republican women and the Democratic woman’s campaigns. I explore

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how political party identity can have an impact on a candidate’s representation. Next, I examine the two Republican women’s campaigns with the Republican’s man’s campaign. This helps me narrowly look at the influence of gender as all three candidates have similar policy platforms. Lastly, I compare all three Democratic candidates to each other because their gender, race, and sexual orientation play a large role in how they express emotion. I examine the way that their intersectional identities influence their strategy when it comes to what emotions they choose to share with voters.

The female candidates that I examine include Anna Paulina Luna who represents the 13th District of Florida in the House of Representatives, Katie Britt who represents Alabama in the Senate, and Emilia Sykes who represents the 13th District of Ohio in the House of Representatives. The male candidates that I examine include Juan Ciscomani who represents Arizona’s 6th District in the House of Representatives, John Fetterman who represents Pennsylvania in the Senate, and Robert Garcia who represents California’s 42nd District. To compare these candidates, I look at their campaign websites, television and video advertisements, and social media platforms. I chose these specific candidates because they won their elections, and they are all freshman candidates. They also come from diverse backgrounds and from all over the country. For instance, Emilia Sykes is African American and Robert Garcia is gay and immigrated from Peru. Moreover, Robert Garcia, Juan Ciscomani, and Anna Paulina Luna are all Hispanic. It is important to mention that John Fetterman’s wife is also Hispanic, so his children are biracial. Having a diverse group of candidates will help me complete an intersectional analysis and give me a look at how race can influence a candidate’s campaign.

LITERATURE REVIEW:

Introduction:

The 2020 election was an important historical event because the first woman was elected vice president. Not only did Kamala Harris break barriers as the first woman, but she was also the first African American and South Asian woman. Despite this breakthrough, female politicians are not on an equal playing field when it comes to trying to win campaigns in a male-

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dominated arena. There is no historical representation of female power as these templates are typically masculine. Women are consistently excluded from the public sphere and their voices are silenced. Additionally, female politicians face the same stereotypes that women face on a daily basis. Yet, these stereotypes take on a more intense form as women enter the public eye. These stereotypes influence the way that the electorate views women politicians, often negatively. The media is often the perpetrator as they paint women in a set of gendered frames that disadvantage them compared to their male counterparts. Female politicians recognize this reality, and, in their campaigns, they try to counteract these gendered lenses or even use them to their advantage. Additionally, female candidates often try to masculinize themselves to gain legitimacy. Finally, it is important to acknowledge that not all women politicians share the same experience. Their experience is often shaped by intersections of their race and their gender identity which can create more intense barriers to power.

The Silencing and Excluding of Women from Positions of Power:

In her manifesto, *Women and Power*, Mary Beard starts near the beginning of Western literature and its first example of men silencing women. Beard gives the example of Penelope and Odysseus’s son Telemachus from the *Odyssey* that Homer authored. In the story, Penelope asks her son to choose some happier music. In response, Telemachus tells her to go back to her quarters as “speech will be the business of men, all men, and me most of all; for mine is the power in this household.” (Beard 2017, 17). This story was the norm in classic literature as women were constantly silenced and faced consequences when they refused. There were only two exceptions. Women were allowed to speak out as victims and martyrs, usually before their death. They also were occasionally allowed to defend their homes, husbands, children, or other women. However, they were never allowed to speak for other men. This concept was unthinkable. In these examples, Beard is demonstrating how from the start, women’s voices were silenced. This created a society where “Public speech was a – if not *the* – defining attribute of maleness (Beard 2017, 17). It went even further as women who spoke out in classic literature were no longer seen as women. Thus, a woman speaking in public was in most circumstances, by definition, not a woman (Beard 2017, 17). Women who did claim their voices have always been treated like freaks. Think of Medusa as an example where her head was cut off after she asserted her voice (Beard 2017, 73). Furthermore, in

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classic literature, female voices are constantly contrasted to men’s where it is repeatedly stressed that they are the voices of authority (Beard 2017, 19). The emphasis on low-pitched male voices versus high-pitched female ones is a normal theme in literature. Additionally, women’s voices have been referred to as whining, barking, and whinnying. The reference to animal-like qualities reinforces the idea that women who speak up are seen as non-women.

Although it is much later in history than classic times, “it remains the fact that our own traditions of debate and public speaking, their conventions and rules, still lie very much in the shadow of the classical world” (Beard 2017, 20). Modern rhetoric was built off the back of the classical world. Therefore, women today are still silenced and suffer consequences when they use their voices in the public sphere. For instance, internet trolls are mostly men that attack women (Beard 2017, 35). Whenever women enter a male-dominated area, abuse always occurs (Beard 2017, 35). Moreover, when women take controversial stands, people attribute their views to them being stupid. Beard (2017, 33) writes “It is not that you disagree, it is that *she* is stupid.” The parallels to the ideas around women’s public voices today and in the classical world demonstrate that these attitudes are hard-wired into us. There is no neurological reason that people attribute authority to low-pitched voices. Instead, it has been from years of conditioning from “our culture, our language and millennia of our history” (Beard 2017, 33).

Female politicians are especially affected by this reality as it has created a situation where women are forced to conform to a template of male power. For example, Beard (2017, 39) shares that Margaret Thatcher took voice lessons in an attempt to lower her voice. This was in an effort to sound more authoritative. Another example is in the attire that female politicians often dress in. The power suits that Angela Merkel and Hillary Clinton often dress in are another way that female politicians try to make themselves appear more masculine (Beard 2017, 54). Power is seen as something that women are outside of can be seen by terms like “glass ceiling” (Beard 2017, 56). Female politicians are especially crucified as it is a position that they are using their voices in a public setting. The treatment of Hillary Clinton when she ran against Donald Trump in 2016 makes this extremely evident. The image of Clinton as Medusa became widespread. This has a deeper meaning as Beard (2017, 75) states that the

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image of Perseus cutting off Medusa’s head “remains even now a cultural symbol of opposition to women’s power (Beard 2017, 75). There were even images of Trump as Perseus standing with the cut-off, oozing head of Clinton as Medusa (Beard 2017, 76). There was no accountability for these offensive images. However, when one comedian featured a fake severed Trump head on television she was fired (Beard 2017, 76). The disparity in these consequences further demonstrates how women are vilified when they run for public office.

Beard’s manifesto is extremely important for my analysis of the political candidates I am examining. The historical background and social conditioning that she explains informs the way that politicians express themselves. The fact that the template for power is male and something that women are excluded from forces female politicians to try and conform to that template or to reject it entirely. Regardless, the backlash against women using their voices in the public sphere and trying to gain power is something that no woman running their campaign is immune from.

Stereotypes that Female Politicians Face:

When a woman decides to run for office, the gender stereotypes that she faces in her day-to-day life do not go away. Instead, they are heightened and take on new strength. Dolan et al. (2018, 127) discuss how most citizens take very little time to educate themselves on the candidates of the races they are voting in. Instead, they rely on cues like party identification and incumbency to make their decision. An additional shortcut that voters use when trying to make their minds up about a candidate is gender. Especially in elections for lower-level offices, voters use gender stereotypes and apply them to particular candidates even if the candidate individually does not fit the stereotypes. For voters, generic female and male candidates symbolize different things (Dolan et al. 2018, 127). However, there are general characteristics that people are more likely to ascribe to men, and some they frequently assign to women. For starters, Rogers and Sanbonmatsu found in their 2022 look at gender’s persistence in campaigns and elections that people associate more agentic traits with men and more communicative traits with women. Therefore, voters often view male candidates as tougher, better able to handle crises, more qualified, and more decisive than women (Dolan et al. 2018, 127). In contrast, female candidates are presumed to be more compassionate, moral,

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honest, and ethical than men. If both sets of qualities were equally valued by voters, then male and female candidates would be on a more equal playing field (Dolan et al. 2018, 127). Yet, these stereotypes hurt women politicians more than they help them as stereotypical masculine traits are associated with leadership (Rogers and Sanbonmatsu, 2022). In other words, female politicians appear to lack positive masculine stereotypes, but they are harmed by the negative feminine ones. Furthermore, these gender stereotypes tend to have an indirect effect on voter choice rather than a direct one. One example is in debates where when a female candidate slips up, she is judged harshly while a male candidate doing the same thing is given the benefit of the doubt (Rogers and Sanbonmatsu, 2022).

Voters tend to make assumptions about what issues candidates are more competent in based on their gender. Dolan et al. (2018, 128) state that voters assume that women are more qualified in dealing with issues like health care, social security, and education. Men on the other hand are seen as better able to handle the economy, taxes, the military, and crime. This creates a phenomenon where depending on the political climate and the issues that are more important to voters, these beliefs could either hinder or benefit a female candidate’s chance of winning based on the election year (Dolan et al. 2018, 127). For example, in the aftermath of September 11, 2001, voters were looking for strong, masculine candidates. In that year, only seven new women were elected to the House of Representatives (Dolan et al. 2018, 127-128). This assumption does not stop after women are elected. In Liu’s (2019) examination of barriers that female politicians face, she discusses how women are often assigned to committees on issues that are seen as feminine. They are expected to stay there and not stray over to what are seen as “male issues.”

Voters often overestimate how liberal female candidates are. This is especially problematic for Republican candidates who are trying to win in conservative areas. It gives their male counterparts a head start, especially in primaries. Even for women running for lower-level offices in conservative areas, voters may choose whoever they are running against just because they assume they are more liberal because of their gender. (Dolan et al. 2018, 128).

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One of the most difficult issues that female candidates face is the double bind. This is a catch-22 situation where women are supposed to simultaneously exhibit both masculine and feminine traits (Dolan et al. 2018, 128-129). This is not an issue that male candidates have to deal with. When women embody the characteristics that male leaders are praised for, like being ambitious, directive, tough, and independent, they are criticized (Liu, 2019). In turn, voters perceive these female candidates as cold and aggressive. Therefore, female politicians are often considered unlikable. Fixmer-Oraiz and Wood (2019, 199) explain how this is a gender stereotype and that the women who are affected are referred to as “iron maidens.”. Hillary Clinton is an example of a female candidate who was extremely affected by this paradox. Voters who were polled saw her as aggressive and emotionally cool even though they also saw her as competent and experienced. This caused many people to strongly dislike her. There was even a political commentator who said she was not a “proper” woman because she was not emotional enough (Fixmer-Oraiz and Wood 2019, 199). Clinton’s surprising loss in the 2020 presidential election is an indication that this catch-22 situation profoundly harms female politicians.

Media Coverage:

One of the bridges that connect political candidates to the electorate is the media. The media plays a critical role in the success of political candidates. The nature of media coverage can make or break a candidate’s campaign. This is why it is important that the way that the media covers female politicians should be examined thoroughly as the media is a source of bias against women (Liu, 2019).

The media coverage of female candidates is sometimes blatantly sexist, but it is also discriminatory in a more subtle fashion (Liu, 2019). Both print and broadcast media often perpetuate and assign gender stereotypes against female politicians in their reporting. This is problematic because it can influence and skew the way that the public views their political abilities (Liu, 2019). Dolan et al. (2018, 132) focus on four gender frames that the media frequently paints women politicians in. These include the mother, the child or pet, the seductress, and the iron maiden. All of these gendered frames can harm women’s candidacies as they are not flattering lights (Dolan et al. 2018, 132).

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The mother frame has advantages as it paints female candidates as nurturing and compassionate. However, it also implies that the candidate will have problems balancing their public leadership with their maternal duties. Female candidates are often badgered with questions about their children and less about their policy issues (Dolan et al. 2018, 132). One former Senate candidate from Minnesota, Joan Growe, stated that even when she was talking about topics such as arms control, reporters would still steer back to questions about her children (Dolan et al. 2018, 133). The repetition of the media ultra-focusing on female candidates’ maternal roles has larger-ranging effects. This pattern creates a situation where voters may get the impression that female candidates are incapable of balancing being a mother and holding office while also not having detailed policy proposals (Dolan et al. 2018, 133). Although Rogers and Sanbonmatsu (2022) mention how women without children are also penalized, creating a no-win situation.

The second gendered frame that women are often painted in is as a seductress or a sex object (Dolan et al. 2018, 133). This refers to when their physical appearance, attributes, and feminine characteristics are the subject of reporting. Many reports about a female candidate involve some mention of her appearance, and it is a frequent topic for political commentators. During the 2008 election, John McCain’s running mate, Sarah Palin was subject to many remarks about her appearance, especially harping on the fact that she used to compete in beauty pageants. Additionally, the Democratic candidate for the Michigan gubernatorial race in 2002 was constantly referred to as “Barbie” due to her blond hair and slim stature (Dolan et al. 2018, 133). These constant comments on female candidates’ appearances are harmful because they distract from their messages. It objectifies them and hurts their credibility. Lastly, it can be implied that if a woman is too attractive, she cannot be taken seriously as a presidential candidate (Dolan et al. 2018, 133).

Women politicians are often cast in a child or pet frame. This suggests that the individual does not have the ability or agency to get things done (Dolan et al. 2018, 134). This stereotype likens female candidates to children as it assumes that they must rely on others to guide them through unfamiliar waters. It assumes that she does not have the knowledge or experience to accomplish things on her own (Dolan et al. 2018, 134). An example here is Elizabeth Dole

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who ran for the Republican presidential nomination in 2000. The media constantly drew connections to her husband who was a former senator and presidential candidate. They painted an image that she was not self-sufficient and instead relied on her spouse to make her decisions (Dolan et al. 2018, 134). This gendered frame is especially demeaning as it goes right to the question of whether a female candidate is capable of holding the position she is running for. When shown in this light, it appears as if she is not independent nor strong enough to effectively serve public office.

Returning to the iron maiden label, Dolan et al. (2018, 133) explain how the media often portrays female candidates as being so masculine that they are not in tune with their feminine side. If women politicians demonstrate the same masculine leadership qualities as men, they are often critiqued and labeled as unlikeable by political commentators and journalists alike. This message is picked up by the voters who in turn are more likely to see strong, female candidates as “unlikeable” (Dolan et al. 2018, 134).

All four gendered frames can be detrimental to female candidates. In addition to being painted in these unflattering lenses, female candidates running for higher-level officials receive less media attention but more negative reporting than their male counterparts (Dolan et al. 2018, 135). This makes it more difficult for them to get their message out to the electorate. While examining the campaigns that female candidates run, it is important to recognize these gendered frames as they influence the way that women politicians portray themselves.

How Female Candidates Present Themselves in Political Campaigns

Female candidates are forced to be aware of gender stereotypes and in turn, they strategically respond to them (Rogers and Sanbonmatsu, 2022). Women politicians also recognize that certain implicit biases put them behind men. One example is voice. In an interview she gave with the Washington Post in 2019, Dr. Kelly Dittmar discussed that when people imagine what someone in an authority position should sound like, they hear men’s voices. Men naturally have deeper voices than women but Fixmer-Oraiz and Wood (2019, 124), state that this is not all biological, some of it is psychological. Deeper voices are received better which is why female politicians are often described as having annoying, naggy, or shrill voices. In her 2017 manifesto, *Women and Power*, Mary Beard provides emphasis on how women are

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often described as whining when they use their voices in a public manner. This fact is recognized by female politicians, and they make concerted efforts to lower the pitch of their voices. Some, like Margaret Thatcher, the first female prime minister of England who is one of the most powerful women to ever live, underwent vocal training to lower the timbre of her voice (Beard, 2017). Beard (2017) also points out how women have mimicked the regulation trouser suits that men wear to gain legitimacy. All of this indicates that in attempts to gain command, women try to “masculinize” themselves. To break the glass ceiling, women feel like they have to play up their masculine qualities and downplay their feminine ones. Yet again, they still need to walk a fine line to not fall into the iron maiden stereotype.

The way female candidates present themselves can vary depending on what political party they are in (Dolan et al. 2018, 128). Democratic women sometimes use their gender as an incentive and reason to vote for them. This has been much more successful for them than for Republican women who are usually harmed by overemphasizing their gender (Dolan et al. 2018, 128). Instead of discussing gender explicitly, female Republican candidates often draw on strong symbols of motherhood to highlight their femininity coupled with attempts to masculinize themselves. One example is in Republican Joni Ernst’s senate campaign where she mixed advertisements of her children with one’s where she is using guns and discussing her military experience (Dolan et al. 2018, 129). Moreover, many Republican female candidates emphasize and repeat the word “conservative” to try and overcome the stereotypes that they are more liberal than their male counterparts because they are women (Dolan et al. 2018, 129).

One of the best ways to examine how female candidates portray themselves in campaigns is by looking at political advertisements. In their examination of gender and elections, Carroll et al. (2022, 301) studied political advertisements of male and female candidates over time and found consistent trends. One of their discoveries was that in advertising, female candidates were more likely to emphasize social issues like education, health care, and reproductive rights (Carroll et al. 2022, 302). In contrast, male candidates tended to focus more on economic issues like budget and government spending coupled with more advertisements surrounding defense and security (Carroll et al. 2022, 302). This is consistent with what issues

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the electorate assumes women and men are more competent in. Another one of Carroll et al. (2022, 303) findings was that women were more likely to criticize opponents’ personal characteristics and call them names using an anonymous announcer. This strategy has mixed results as it sometimes makes a woman appear tough and strong while sometimes voters perceive it as a sign of aggression (Carroll et al. 2022, 303). However, this difference can be partially explained by men being wary of attacking female opponents in negative ways as they are afraid that it will make them come off as bullies (Carroll et al. 2022, 303). Another thing that Carroll et al. (2022, 304) observed was that women tended to smile more in their campaign advertisements. This can be explained by the fact that women are socialized to smile more than men are and that it is a more common way that women communicate (Fixmer-Oraiz and Wood 2019, 118). Moreover, women dress more often in business attire than men do in their political advertisements (Carroll et al. 2022, 303). This could be attributed to trying to gain legitimacy in a male-dominated field while also trying to masculinize themselves. A woman wearing casual clothes would come off a lot differently than a man as women are likely to be objectified. Finally, female candidates are less likely to use family photos in advertisements than men (Carroll et al. 2022, 304). Voters tend to appreciate seeing photos of a man’s family but when they see a woman’s they often question whether she can balance her family and hold public office.

The Intersection of Gender and Race:

The term intersectionality was coined by scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw. In her 2016, TED talk, Crenshaw uses intersectionality “to deal with the fact that many of our social justice problems like racism and sexism are often overlapping, creating multiple levels of social injustice.” Intersectionality is a reminder that when analyzing female politicians and the barriers they face, it is important to remember that their experiences are not uniform. Rogers and Sanbonmatsu (2022) state that when examining female politicians, women cannot just be treated as a monolithic group as the experiences of women candidates change greatly based on race. Dolan et al. (2018, 225) discuss how this fact is not recognized enough as the default race for political power has always been white and the default gender has always been male.

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In Santia and Bauer’s 2022 study regarding Latina politicians, they found that while minority voters see Latina women as more competent in social issues, Latina candidates are seen as less competent by white voters on “feminine” issues than white female candidates. However, Santia and Bauer (2022) also found in their study that the intersection of Latina candidates’ race, and gender does not always translate into a double disadvantage. Sometimes their identity can even further motivate voters. Santia and Bauer (2022) encourage more scholarship on the matter considering that Latina candidates are running and being elected at higher rates.

African American women are underrepresented in holding public office at all levels (Carroll et al. 2022, 209). However, the number of African American women running for office is increasing. Yet, they face significant obstacles on their road to power (Carroll et al. 2022, 214). One obstacle is the way that Black women are covered by the media (Dolan et al. 2018, 135). The media tends to perpetuate the same stereotypes about Black women that the general public does. They are often framed narrowly; as mummies, jezebels, or sapphires (Dolan et al. 2018, 135). The mammy frame is similar to the mother frame as it emphasizes Black women’s nurturing and caretaking roles, but mummies are instead self-sacrificing. Mummies are portrayed as being content living under discrimination and stifling workloads (Dolan et al. 2018, 135). Secondly, jezebels are alike to the sex object frame but instead, the characteristics of promiscuity and immorality are added. It even suggests that sexual violence against Black women is welcome and not a problem (Dolan et al. 2018, 135). Thirdly, the sapphire is comparable to the iron maiden frame but is more overbearing and aggressive. Sapphires are emasculating and dominate men (Dolan et al. 2018, 135). Finally, the angry, black woman is a part of the sapphire stereotype. Black women have to be extremely cautious of displays of anger as they are immediately cast in this spotlight. Many conservative commentators cast Michelle Obama in this frame in both of her husband’s elections (Dolan et al. 2018, 135). These frames are detrimental and damaging to Black woman’s campaigns. This also means they have more barriers to overcome than their white counterparts. Again, Dolan et al. (2018, 135) stress the need for more scholarship on the topic as it has not been examined enough.

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Conclusion:

Female candidates have a long way to go until they will be similarly advantaged when they are running for public office. To succeed, women politicians must navigate a playing field filled with gendered stereotypes that voters use as shortcuts when trying to decide who to vote for. Moreover, female candidates deal with biased reporting that often paints them in gendered frames that harm their candidacy. Additionally, these stereotypes are heightened for women of color, especially Black women, who undergo further attacks due to the intersection of their race and gender. Influenced by these obstacles, women have shifted their campaign strategies to try and overcome them.

ANNA PAULINA LUNA:

Background:

Anna Paulina Luna represents Florida’s 13th District in the House of Representatives. It was Anna Paulina Luna’s second campaign when she won a seat in the House of Representatives for Florida’s 13th District during the November 2022 midterms (Wilson 2022). Her first campaign was unsuccessful as she lost to Democrat Charlie Christ. Luna is a 33-year-old Republican, and she grew up in Southern California (Alemany and Crites 2023). She identifies as being mixed-race, both Hispanic and white (Anna Paulina Luna). She has served in the Air Force and worked for Turning Point USA as the National Director for Hispanic Engagement.

Campaign Analysis:

To analyze Anna Paulina Luna’s campaign, I looked at her campaign website, her campaign video advertisements, and her Instagram account.

Video Advertisements:

The first video that I analyzed is her longest one and is also featured on her campaign website. It is 3:34 seconds long. Throughout the entire video, ominous and menacing are featured. Her voice plays over the music and in the background are bold, capital letters that feature the headline of what is saying at the moment. The backdrop is mostly blue and white, and it is very militaristic. Every time the word American is said, it is in the pattern of the American

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flag. Luna is wearing tan cargo pants, a white button-up, a black vest that is partially zipped up, and brown hiking boots. She also has her hair curled and is wearing full makeup.

The video starts with her saying that “You are being lied to” by the media, big tech, the government, and globalist bureaucrats. She goes on to claim that Americans are at risk of losing their freedom of speech from big tech, that the government takes their money and gives them to immigrants, and that American elections are not secure. All of this she blames on the current Democratic leaders. She again reinforces that politicians, the media, and big tech are trying to silence Americans like her. She then goes on to talk about her background as a woman who is Hispanic and serves in the Air Force. She says that because of her ethnicity and gender, people think that she does not exist and must think a certain way. Next, she goes back to talking about how both the border and elections need to be reinforced. She says that it is not racist to call for an end to illegal immigration because illegal is not a race. Instead, she says that it is humanitarian to call for an end to open borders as it enables human trafficking, drug abuse, organized crime, and drug running. Instead of giving immigrants “hand-outs” that the money should be used to protect election integrity and the abridgment of the First Amendment by Silicon Valley. She goes on to criticize the media and politicians for only seeing minorities for their skin color and their vote. Luna says that everyone is American first with their skin color being second. She states that America is not a racist country but one that is diverse in ideas. She ends the video by calling for people to start electing more patriots so that “we can take back our house.”

In this advertisement, it is apparent that Luna is trying to navigate many of the common problems that female politicians face. First off, Luna’s presentation in this video reinforces Beard’s thesis that the template for power is male and that in an order to try and achieve power, female politicians often try to masculinize themselves to gain legitimacy. This phenomenon is seen here as she is dressed in masculine clothing. Furthermore, Luna is trying multiple tactics to come across strong. For instance, she uses capital letters in a bold font coupled with a very militaristic background. The music in the back is also extremely menacing. The whole video is playing into the male-power structure as she is trying to make herself look like she is someone not to be messed with and tough enough for the job. She is

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making sure she does not come across weak to the voters. In this specific video, she plays down her feminine qualities and emphasizes her more masculine ones.

This advertisement is consistent with Dolan et al. (2018, 128) claim that Republican women are less likely to use their gender as a reason to vote for them. At one point in the video Luna even says that being a woman has no impact on the way she thinks. She openly defies the notion that being a woman has played a role in her character development and it could have something to do with making sure to show that she is seen as conservative. Luna takes the same approach to emphasize that her ethnicity will not make her lean to the left. Luna makes sure to emphasize multiple far-right ideas. For example, she says that elections need to be more secure, the border is dangerous, and that the media and big tech are lying. Luna is trying to prove to voters that she is not less conservative because she is a woman which is a problem that Dolan et al. (2018, 128) say that Republican women often face.

Luna does contrast some of the norms that Carroll et al. (2022) saw in their examination of female political candidates. For starters, Luna does not emphasize social issues that people tend to see more women as more competent in. Instead, Luna mostly talks about election integrity and border security. Furthermore, she does not smile at all in the video which is something that Carroll et al. (2022, 304) found that women often do in their political advertisements.

This second advertisement has soft music playing that gets louder towards the end of the video. When it is just her in the frame, the background is a blurred-out kitchen. In this video, she is wearing a tight-fitting, red dress and has her hair curled. The letters in this video are still all capital letters but it is less bold than in the last video. The video starts with images of her family and childhood. She talks about how her mom chose life over abortion and how her family struggled with substance abuse. Luna then talks about how she survived an armed robbery and a gang shooting. She uses these examples to say that she was able to overcome all these odds because she lived in the United States which she calls the “best country on Earth.” She proceeds to detail her military service and how she saved her dad from homelessness and drug abuse. Another highlight is her focus on trying to stop human

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trafficking. Luna ends the video by asserting that she is not a politician but instead a veteran. She says that if you do not want more of the same that you should vote for her.

This video is very different than the one before. It is a much softer video than the previous one. For instance, she is in a dress, the music is less intense, and she talks more about her family than about policy. She alludes to the fact that she is pro-life and when the camera is on her, the background is blurred but you can tell that she is in the kitchen. Luna is clearly negotiating the double bind of gender representation as she emphasizes her femininity and softer side in this video. In the other campaign advertisement, she appears more masculine to show that she is tough and able to handle the job. In putting these two videos together, Luna is attempting to escape the catch-22 that many women running for public office find themselves in. This is the no-win situation that female politicians find themselves in when they are trying to prove they are strong enough to handle the job but at the same time likable enough (Dolan et al. 2018 (128-129). Having two starkly different advertisements, Luna is demonstrating that she is strong but that she also has a human side. Thus, she is making sure that she does not get labeled an iron maiden.

In this attack advertisement, a man with a deep voice plays over pictures of Luna’s opponent, Eric Lynn. Most of the pictures are of him with President Biden and there is one of him and President Obama. The man narrating the video calls him a career insider who supports Biden’s radical spending. He says that it’s time for him to go and menacing music plays in the background. Then the video shifts to talking about Luna. When it switches to her, the music becomes lighter, and the font becomes brighter. He introduces her as an Air Force Veteran and the video shifts to Luna talking about how she would stop the radical spending. She is in a blue dress with an Air Force Pin on the front. The video ends with a picture of her in the same blue dress, smiling widely.

Luna never talks negatively about Lynn in this video. Instead, the narrator is the one who is calling his names and attacking him. The video becomes more positive when it switches to talking about Luna. Carroll et al. (2022, 303) state that female politicians have mixed results when they criticize their opponents, especially when they are men. Sometimes voters see it as

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a sign of aggression, but others see it as an example of them being strong. Luna is using the the narrator in the background to do her attacking so she can be seen as strong but not aggressive.

Instagram Account:

Anna Paulina Luna has two Instagram accounts, one is her personal one with 525k followers and the other is her campaign account with 15k followers. Both accounts have similar content. For example, both accounts highlight her connection to President Trump and denounce Biden. Both accounts feature her pictured with prominent figures in the GOP and Fox News commentators. In both accounts, she posts articles that she finds to be ridiculous and highlights some of her policy platforms. There are several posts detailing how she is pro-life and how she wants government spending and taxation to be curtailed. However, one thing that I noticed in her personal Instagram was that it had more photos of her in dresses, more selfies, and some of her posts had pink cursive captions.

Both of her Instagram accounts are consistent with trends that we saw in her campaign advertisements. They are less polished due to the nature of social media, but they still try and get the same message across. For instance, her effort to make sure that people see her as conservative is apparent. She repeatedly denounces articles that say that Hispanic and women should be more left-leaning because of those characteristics. She calls them “fake” and “ridiculous. This ensures that voters do not mistake her for being less conservative because of her identity as a Hispanic woman. Moreover, the issues highlighted on her account are huge conservative talking points. She emphasizes that Trump won the 2020 election and that the border is not secure. This is also to convince voters that she is conservative. Additionally, Luna has guns all over her Instagram. There are many pictures of her holding or shooting large firearms. She is also wearing camouflage in a lot of posts. Luna is clearly trying overcome the stereotype that women are weak. On the other hand, the images of her dressed up are purposeful as they feminize her. In these pictures, she is often featured with her husband which is another strategy to show her feminine side.

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Campaign Website:

When you first click on Luna’s campaign website, the first image that you will see is a picture of her in a blue dress. Her hair is curled, she is smiling, and she is not looking directly at the camera. If you scroll down on this page, you can see her campaign video advertisements. The first and second videos are the ones I analyzed above. The third video on that page is a video montage of her time on the campaign trail with rock music playing in the background.

The next tab on the website is titled “Meet Anna.” The first thing on this page is a video of her talking about how her husband was shot in Afghanistan and his recovery. She is crying in this video as she talks about it. When you scroll there is her biography which is written in the third person. In the middle of the page are three pictures of her. The first is one of her and her mom when she was a child. The second is of her and her husband. She is in a dress, and he has a military dress suit. There is a cross in the background. The third is her crouched next to a blond, young girl. The second half of her biography is after these pictures. The last thing in this section are two pictures of her in the hospital after her husband was shot and when she was rushing to the hospital with him.

The third section outlines her policy platforms. The next section gives information on how to sign-up and volunteer with her campaign. The fifth has links to recent news articles about her. Most of these articles are from conservative news platforms. The fifth section talks about her upcoming campaign events. Next is a section with her endorsements. These are very organized with a picture of the candidate and what they said about her on the left. The one that is the largest and right at the top is from President Trump. The next section is titled “Media” and it features two Fox News segments she was on and her longest video advertisement. The final section is a link to how to contact her campaign.

Luna’s campaign website paints a well-rounded image of the candidate and avoids potential stereotypes that she could face. For instance, she features images of both her dressed up but also in formal attire. She also has video advertisements that show her in both lights too. For instance, she the longer advertisement is much more intense and fearmongering, while she also has a gentler campaign advertisement. Additionally, she has a video where she is vulnerable about her feelings when her husband was injured in combat. Luna is attempting to

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avoid being labeled an iron maiden but at the same time she is making sure that she looks strong enough to handle the position.

Luna is smiling in most of the pictures featured on her campaign site. This is something that (Carroll et al. 2022, 303) found when evaluating female candidates. They found that women tend to smile more in their campaign advertisements than male politicians. I also found it interesting that Luna is not looking directly at the camera in a lot of these pictures. This is another effort to show her feminine side because direct eye contact is seen as more masculine (Fixmer-Oraiz and Wood 2019, 124).

KATIE BRITT:

Katie Britt represents Alabama in the Senate. Katie Britt is a Republican who won in the 2022 midterms against Democrat Will Boyd. She earned her undergraduate and law degrees from the University of Alabama where she lived her whole life. Her career experience includes working as the CEO of the Alabama Business Council, campaign manager and chief of staff for U.S. Senator Richard Shelby, and as an attorney at the firm Butler Snow LLP (Ballotpedia 2023). Britt is forty-one years old and is white. She is married with two children (Katie Britt 2022).

Analysis of Katie Britt’s Campaign:

To analyze Katie Britt’s campaign, I looked at her video advertisements, Twitter account, and her campaign website.

Video Advertisements:

The first video advertisement that I watched was titled “Toughness” and it was 31 seconds long.

The video opens up with a shot of her husband in a pink button-up under a red, quarter zip. On both sides of his head are blue, uppercase letters that spell his name, Wesly Britt. He is holding a football. While electric music is playing, he says since he was the captain of the University of Alabama football team, he knows about toughness. The next portion of the video is pictures of him playing football. In the background, he talks about how he played with the “toughest dudes” in the SCC and the NFL. He says besides this, the toughest person

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he knows “only stands 5’4.” The video then shifts to a video clip of them side-by-side with measuring tapes behind them with his saying 6’8.” Katie Britt is dressed in jeans, flats, a black T-shirt, and has a large, silver cross around her neck. Her hair is down and she has simple makeup on. He says that his wife does not have an “ounce of quit in her.” The camera then zooms to a close-up shot of her with her name in blue, all-capital letters behind her. Wesley then tosses her the football and says that she is ready to take it “to Biden and his crew.” Speaking for the first time, Katie Britt says how she approves this message because “she has had enough.” She looks at her husband as she says it then back to looking straight at the camera. She then smacks the football and says that the “liberals in Washington are going to hear about that.” The video ends with Katie tossing the football back to Wesley then her campaign slogan and symbol coming onto the screen.

Katie Britt puts herself into the child frame in this advertisement. She ties herself to her husband and he is the one qualifying that she is tough enough for the job. Gender roles are exaggerated here as he is talking about being huge, playing the manly sport of football, and playing against the “toughest dudes.” She even does a visual comparison of how small she is compared to him. Britt is trying to win voters over by getting a big, strong man to give her approval. She shows that she knows her place as a woman and gets her husband’s approval to run for office. In the video, Britt is always making sure to give her attention to him. Even when she is speaking, she is looking over at him but when he is speaking, he is looking at the camera. This signals to voters that just because she is a woman does not mean that she thinks a certain way. It is important to note that she is dressed more casually in this advertisement and wearing form, fitting feminine clothing. This is contrary to Carroll et al.’s (2022, 303) finding that women often dress more formally in their campaign advertisements. However, this does seem to fit into the theme of the advertisement where gender roles are apparent. The second video advertisement I examined was thirty seconds long and it was titled “Man Up.”

The video starts with Katie Britt in an empty classroom. She is wearing a maroon top with three-quarter-length sleeves. She is wearing the same silver cross, her straight hair is down, and she is wearing simple make-up. Her name is in white, all capital letters, in the bottom-right corner. In the background, soft but upbeat music plays. She starts the video by saying

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that this empty classroom is what “liberals want every classroom to look like.” She goes on to say that Biden and Fauci want to shut everything down and shows pictures of empty stores and airports. Then the video shifts to clips of Biden and Fauci where she says they want to “steal our freedoms and lecture us about right and wrong.” Next, the camera goes back to her where she talks about how when she was on Alabama’s Business Council, she told Fauci to stay out of Alabama. Then, in the focal point of the advertisement, Britt looks right at the camera and says “And in the Senate, “I’ll tell all those boys in Washington to man up.” Then the video shifts to her on the campaign trail where she says she will get the economy going and get kids and God back into the classroom. After this last remark, the video shifts to white children praying in a classroom. The final shot is of her again looking right and the camera and saying that she approves of this message because she wants to “protect our freedoms.” This advertisement again plays on gender dynamics. The main focus of the advertisement is saying that the men in Washington need to man up. Britt is using her identity as a woman to point out how weak they are. If a woman is telling them that they are being weak it must be even more true. I find it interesting that as a woman, she is still defining strength as being male. It shows that Britt is trying to navigate the double-bind here. She demonstrates that she is tough enough to handle the job but at the same time, she is still indicating that she is a woman by engaging in language that paints men as the ones who are more powerful. Furthermore, in this campaign advertisement, she focuses a lot on education which voters tend to see as an issue that women are more competent. This could work to her advantage, especially in a cycle where voters are very focused on what is happening in schools. Britt also is playing into gender stereotypes as voters tend to see women and more moral. She is appealing to voters on moral issues, especially when it comes to children being in school and being taught in a Christian manner.

Campaign Website:

When you click on her website, the focal point at the top of the screen is video clips of her. There is the gold eagle on the top of the flag, there are pictures of her at the Southern border, and shaking hands or hugging constituents on the campaign trail. Under that are links and snapshots of her Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook accounts. You can even scroll through a lot of her posts.

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The next section is a very short biography. It has a headshot of her in a red blazer on the left. On the right is a written biography that leads with her work experience. The last two paragraphs which are the shortest talk about her family and her Christian values. It also includes that she is passionate about protecting the country’s children.

The third section is related to her current Senate work. The fourth is her media section which has links to news articles and press releases that she is featured in. The last section is her contact information.

Britt’s website is without fluff and very to the point. It only has the necessary information. This portrays to voters that she is decisive and fight against the stereotype that men are more decisive. When it comes to the video clips, those were purposefully chosen. For instance, she is shaking hands with men on the campaign trail and hugging women. This makes her appear tough but also likable. It demonstrates that she can be competent and talk policy but also has a softer side. She is also showing herself, not smiling and looking serious at the Southern border. This defends against the notion that men are better able to handle security issues. She is illustrating that she can handle this part of the job too. Moreover, this is contrary to Carroll et al.’s (2022, 303) finding that women tend to smile more in their campaign advertisements. The only image of her smiling fully on her website is in the photo in her biography.

Social Media Presence:

Katie Britt’s campaign Twitter and Instagram mostly highlight her visits with potential voters and people/organizations that are endorsing her. These are what most of her photos are of and her captions are what highlight her policy issues. Many of her captions discuss what she talked about with the people in the picture. Many of her policies deal with education. Occasionally, she will post one of her campaign advertisements or attack Biden. The way she dresses varies. Sometimes she is in jeans and a button-up or sometimes she is in a dress. She is sometimes dressed in a paint suit although they are often bright colors. Unlike her campaign website, she is smiling in most of her pictures.

When it comes to her social media presence, her presentation is consistent with Carroll et al.’s (2022, 303) finding that women tend to smile more in their campaigns. She also plays more

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on “female” issues with her consistent emphasis on education and “parent’s rights.” Britt is obviously aware of the Catch-22 when presenting herself on social media. For instance, she dresses both feminine and masculine. She always switches it up and has her hair down which expresses femininity. Intertwining photos of things like her shooting a gun but also wedding photos fights against this double standard.

EMILIA SYKES:

Biography:

Emilia Sykes represents Ohio’s 13th Congressional District in the House of Representatives. Emilia Sykes is a Democrat, thirty-seven-years-old and she was formerly a representative in the Ohio State House. From 2019-2021 she was the Ohio House minority leader. She got her bachelor’s degree from Kent State University and her J.D. and Master of Public Health from the University of Florida (Ballotpedia). She is Black, recently married to a man, and has no children. Sykes is thirty-seven years old. She won against Madison Gesiotto Gilbert in the 2022 Midterms.

Analysis of Emilia Sykes’ Campaign:

To analyze Emilia Sykes’ Campaign, I will look at her video advertisements, campaign websites, and her Instagram account.

Video Advertisements:

The first video I watched was thirty seconds long and did not appear to be titled. The advertisement starts with a full-body frame of Sykes in a long, business-style dress. It is black with white polka dots, and she pairs it with pink glasses. She has her hair in soft curls and is wearing earrings and a pearl necklace. She is standing up very straight and clasps her hands in front of her. As she speaks, she will sometimes move them. Sykes is smiling throughout the entire video. In the background, upbeat music plays. Behind Sykes is a gymnastics gym. She starts by saying “You know the routine,” and talks about how her opponents are making up lies about her. Sykes states that they are hoping that voters forget that she worked with both parties to raise pay, keep them safe, and cut taxes. While she is saying this the video switches to her in a black jumpsuit and a bright orange blazer. She is shown walking in the middle of a

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white older woman and a Black younger woman. Then the image shifts to her wearing a long, bright-colored skirt, white shirt, and a jean jacket at a birthday party where she is smiling and interacting with voters. Next, while Sykes is talking in the background about lowering costs, she is shown wearing construction gear and meeting with construction workers. Then, the video switches back to the gym where she is wearing a navy blue leotard under blue and pink sweatpants. She now has her hair tied up and a small silver cross around her neck. She looks directly at the camera and talks about how her opponents will do anything to scare you. While Sykes says that nothing they say will stick, she flips off the balance beam and sticks the landing. She ends by looking at the camera and approving the message.

Sykes changed what she was wearing throughout the video. There were at least five outfit changes. This is extremely different than the male candidates I looked at who would mostly keep their clothing the same throughout the entirety of the video or even across multiple videos. Like the rest of the campaign materials, Sykes is mostly in business attire. However, she dresses more casually in one shot which is rare for her advertisements. She also smiles a lot which avoids her being stereotyped as an angry Black woman which is something that happens to many Black, female politicians (Dolan et al. 2018, 135). This explains why she focuses on cooperation so much in her advertisement. Moreover, in this video Sykes mostly focuses on “masculine issues” like the economy and safety. Lastly, her flipping on the gymnastics beam is interesting. For starters, gymnastics is seen as more of a feminine sport. She does not pair it in this advertisement with more “masculine” activities which is different than the other female candidates I analyzed. This is to fight against the iron maiden frame. Dolan et al. (2018, 135) also discuss how Black women are often seen as sapphires which is a specific derogatory term for Black women that paints them as masculine and overbearing. Doing a flip off the beam combats this racist stereotype.

The second video advertisement I looked at was also untitled and thirty seconds long. It starts with upbeat music as images of her community are shown. As Sykes starts speaking in the background about how her community raised her, headshots of a varied group of people are shown. Sykes goes on to talk about how these people are the reason she is putting aside party politics while the screen simultaneously shows her hugging a white, older woman at a

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birthday party. She is wearing the same bright skirt, white shirt, and jean jacket that she was wearing in the former advertisement I analyzed. Then Sykes discusses how she will use collaboration to cut taxes, raise wages, lower costs, create good-paying jobs, and put money back in constituent’s pockets if she was elected. All the while she is mingling with people at the party and lets a baby eat off her plate. The scene shifts to the same older white woman and younger Black woman that were in the last video. She appears to be talking with them and then she stops and puts her arm around the older white woman while looking straight at her. The video ends with her sitting on the steps in a navy-blue business dress with a married white couple. They are talking while they watch the couple’s three boys playing in the yard. The final clip focuses on the boys’ faces with the background blurred but you can still see that Sykes starts to smile near the end of it.

This advertisement had similar themes as the last one. She smiles a lot, and she stresses cooperation. She also only talks about economic issues which are thought to be a more “masculine” issues (Dolan et al. 2018, 128). However, something different about this one is all the children in the video. There are a lot of shots of families and their children. Sykes smiles at them and even lets one eat off her plate. This portrays her as compassionate without painting her in the mother frame. She is never seen holding any of the children, but she still shows that she is fond and kind towards them. The shots of her hugging the two older white women are purposeful as it sends the message that she will consider everyone’s needs. This is also why she was pictured between the Black and white woman in the video.

This advertisement is an attack ad that is aimed at Emilia Sykes’ opponent, and it is thirty seconds long. It starts with the shot that ended the last video of Sykes watching the children playing when she sits on the step, and she approves the message. This is when menacing music starts playing in the background. A picture of her opponent flashes on the screen and an unknown woman starts narrating. Gilbert is in a pink pantsuit with her hair up and she is posing for the camera in a way that people share photos of themselves on social media. Next to her in bold, capital letters it talks about how she has made up lies about Sykes. When sirens play in the background, the camera zooms in on police tape and capital letters explain how Gilbert would try to prohibit abortion even for victims of rape and incest. Then a young, white

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girl is shown next to a news article about how a ten-year-old girl from Ohio had to travel out of state to get an abortion after she was raped. Then the narrator talks about how Gilbert would try to cut taxes for millionaires like herself while raising them for the middle class. The next image is of Gilbert with a fur coat and large diamond earrings. The last shot is a picture of Gilbert in a silver dress with an evil smile on her face. The caption next to her reads “MADISON GEISOTTO GILBERT TOO DANGEROUS FOR OHIO.”

The image selection of Gilbert is purposeful. Gilbert is shown in feminine outfits and is posing in a feminine way. In all the photos she is never smiling with her teeth and instead has an evil grin on her face. Furthermore, the music is menacing and contrasts the calm that appears at the beginning of the video when Sykes’ is shown. This makes it even more dramatic. Using the unknown woman as a narrator also gives the sense that someone else is doing the attack, not Sykes. While this is a normal tactic it does help Sykes not appear aggressive or combative. Moreover, it is noteworthy that this is the only video advertisement that Sykes has that talks about abortion. In her other advertisements, she only mentions economic or security issues. This is something that is seen as a more “feminine” issue, and this shows her stance, but she never has to share it herself. The advertisement also features the more intense abortion bans without exceptions. This could be for the people who may not like abortion but see total bans as too intense. Thus, they will associate the extremeness, but Sykes is not actively campaigning for abortion. Pairing this statement with the young white child on the screen intensifies this statement. Finally, this advertisement paints Gilbert as so frightening that Sykes looks much tamer compared to her. Paired with the rest of her campaign where Sykes is smiling and wearing bright colors, Gilbert appears much more divisive.

Instagram Account:

Emilia Sykes has about 5,000 followers on Instagram. She has a mix of different posts on Instagram. Many are of her posed and smiling. When she posts about specific issues, they are on a blue background. Her account has a royal blue theme. The issue she emphasizes the most is reproductive freedom. She also has photos of her meeting with voters. She is dressed formally in most of her photos. However, they are all mostly bright colors and are varied. She also features her campaign endorsements on her account like from Senator Cory Booker from New Jersey. Finally, some of her posts mention racial justice and celebrate holidays like Juneteenth and Martin Luther King Day.

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Sykes smiled frequently and dressed formally in almost all her Instagram posts. This fits in with Carroll et al.’s (2022, 303) assessment that women smile more in their campaigns and tend to dress more formally. Furthermore, her emphasis on reproductive rights for women is consistent with what Carroll et al. found more common in female candidates’ advertisements versus men’s.

Campaign Website:

The color scheme of Sykes’ website is purple, yellow, and white. The first image that is seen when you click on the website is a headshot of her. She has her hands on her hips and she is smiling directly at the camera. She has a black blazer with white stripes on it and a white dress shirt underneath. She is wearing large, pink-rimmed glasses that match her lipstick. She has on a pearl necklace, earrings, and her hair is curled around her shoulders. This headshot is against a purple background next to where you can sign up to volunteer for her campaign. When you scroll down a little there is an image of her drinking coffee with three white men. She is in a professional dress, and they all have clothes that look like they are meant for manual labor. Next to this picture is a short biography about her. Under this picture are amounts that could be donated.

The next section of her website is her biography. The picture on the top is of her in a red pantsuit with a white shirt underneath. She is behind a podium and there is an American flag in the background. She is smiling but not looking directly at the camera. She has black glasses on and her hair is down. The content of her biography talks about her childhood and how she competed in ballet and gymnastics. It then goes on to discuss her education and her work in the Ohio legislature. One thing she stresses repeatedly is how she wants to bridge the divide between Republicans and Democrats. She talks about how she has experience working across the aisle and how Ohio needs someone willing to work with both parties.

The next section is about her stance on policy issues. The top picture is her in a yellow blazer and she appears to be laughing/smiling when she is talking to a white man across the table. Listed under purple headings are descriptions of her policy stances. The third section is information about Ohio’s thirteenth district since it was recently redrawn. The picture at the

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top of this section is the only one where she is not dressed in business attire. The last section is her media section which has her campaign videos.

Sykes website emphasizes her bipartisanship. Her biography stresses how she can communicate and is willing to work with Republicans as well as Democrats. This correlates with female gender stereotypes such as they are more communicative and less aggressive. If a voter is looking for someone to cooperate with the other party, they would see this as an advantage that Sykes has. However, since men are seen as more agentic, this could hurt her with voters who are looking for someone who is going to go to war with the other party. Sykes was smiling in every single photo on her website which fits with Carroll et al.'s (2022, 303) finding that female candidates smile more. Moreover, she is almost always dressed formally in blazers and pantsuits. However, she puts her spin on it where they are different colors. They are bright and it is a way of trying to appear professional but also demonstrates her feminine side.

JUAN CISCOMANI:

Background:

Juan Ciscomani represents Arizona's 6th District in the House of Representatives. Juan Ciscomani is a Republican who ran and won against Democrat Kirsten Engel in the race for Arizona's 6th District in the House of Representatives. Ciscomani has degrees from both Pima Community College and the University of Arizona. He was formerly a senior advisor for Arizona Governor, Doug Ducey. He was also the vice chair of the Arizona-Mexico Commission (Ballotpedia). He is Hispanic, married, and has six, young children.

Campaign Analysis:

To analyze Juan Ciscomani's campaign I will look at his video advertisements, his campaign websites, and his Twitter account.

Video Advertisements:

The first video I analyzed is the one that is most prominently featured on his campaign website. It was titled “Enough.” It is thirty seconds long.

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The video starts with a clear shot of Ciscomani from the middle of his chest to his head. He is dressed in a blue and white, plaid, button-up shirt. He is looking directly at the camera. In the bottom left corner, his name is written in white, uppercase letters, and underneath in smaller letters with regular capitalization it reads “Republican for U.S. Congress.” The background behind him is blurred but it appears there are green trees in the back. Menacing music plays in the background. About four seconds in, a black-and-white clip of someone running across the Southern border is played. It then suddenly switches to a clip of gas pumping and people shopping in the stores. In the background, Ciscomani is talking about how the border is being overrun and how inflation has skyrocketed. The screen then shifts to unflattering videos of Kamala Harris, Joe Biden, and Nancy Pelosi laughing. He uses this to say they only laugh about the problems Americans are facing. He says, “Like you, I’ve had enough.” He then shows a candid clip of his family and mentions that he has six kids. He then says this shows him why he would fire Nancy Pelosi and how he will not vote for any budget that does not fund the border wall. He ends the video back with a shot of him saying that he approves of this message because “it’s time to take back our country.” This last clip has his campaign logo and a white box that says he was endorsed by the National Border Control Council.

In this video, Ciscomani puts a lot of emphasis on border security and the economy. This is consistent with Carroll et al.’s observation that men tend to emphasize issues like defense and security because voters tend to see men as more competent in these areas. It is important to note that Ciscomani was running against a woman so emphasizing these issues was purposeful since they are considered masculine. Secondly, Ciscomani is not fully dressed up in this advertisement. In a couple of clips, he is even wearing a t-shirt. This supports Carroll et al.’s (2022, 304) claim that men tend to dress up less in their advertisements. Furthermore, even in this advertisement focused on border security and the issues, Ciscomani still mentions his family which illustrates Carroll et al.’s (2022, 304) claim that men tend to share their family more as voters like to see that side of them. The music is also incidental and makes him seem strong and able to handle these scary times.

The second video I watched was 2:21 minutes long and was titled “My American Dream.”

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This video has much softer, more uplifting music than the last one. It opens with a beautiful image of the Arizona landscape and then transitions to a clip of Ciscomani in a light blue button-up shirt. It appears that he is sitting in his kitchen. The words on the screen read “Conservative Republican” and underneath is his name in white, all capital letters. He then goes on to talk about how his family came to the United States as a young boy and how his parents always told them that they were there to be true Americans. Ciscomani then discusses how one of the proudest days of his life was when he became an American citizen. The video in the background of this portion shares pictures of him and his family when he was younger. The scene then shifts to a video of him and his wife running with the Arizona landscape behind them. It then shifts to videos of his children are his motivation for running for office. In the background of these words is a video of him feeding and sitting at the kitchen table with his children. He then goes on to talk about how the “Biden, Harris, Pelosi gang is leaving the border unsafe and how Trump had the right approach. The images running at the same time are videos of people crossing the border and then him at the Southern border. He then goes on to state that he does not think that the Biden administration is doing anything well right now. He says the United States is projecting weakness across the wall and shows images of Afghanistan as proof. The next portion of the video talks about how he wants to make sure that elections are safe. He also touches on how he doesn’t want critical race theory taught in school or any theory that teaches that America is a racist country that oppresses people because the United States is not one. Next, Ciscomani talks about how he worked with Arizona’s governor on issues like trade policy, border security, and immigration. In this part there are pictures of him out on the campaign trail in more casual clothing and talking to constituents. He ends the video by switching between shots of him and his wife, his children, and him at his kitchen table again. He asks people to vote for him because “The American Dream is a dream worth fighting for.” The last shot is a picture of his campaign slogan.

This video hit many more conservative talking points than the rest of his campaign portrayal. This is the only mention I saw in my analysis of President Trump, election fraud, and critical race theory. At the same time, he shows many pictures of his family again. He also mentions his immigrant family and how he was not born a United States citizen. However, later in the video, he caveats this by saying he does not want it taught in school that America is racist

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because he finds this untrue. By saying this, Ciscomani sets himself apart from his race so voters who may doubt him because of his race are convinced of his conservatism. He also talks a lot about how the border needs to be secured which proves that he is not more liberal on this issue even though he is Hispanic. This is also consistent with Carrol et al.’s (2022, 304) finding that men tend to emphasize issues like security because voters think male candidates are more competent in these issues. Again, he is not dressed up super formally in this advertisement which is consistent too with Carroll et al.’s (2022, 303) findings.

Twitter Account:

I looked at Juan Ciscomani’s Twitter presence when he was running for his congressional seat. He has 10.9k followers on Twitter. Throughout his account, Ciscomani tweets in both Spanish and English. Sometimes he has identical tweets in both languages or he has certain tweets that are just in Spanish or just in English. Most of his tweets include pictures of his wife and children and pictures of him campaigning in person with voters. He has many pictures of him at multiple types of campaign events with a diverse group of people. He does not focus on policy in most of his tweets. Some of his tweets do mention that he is endorsed by the police or that he wants to support military veterans. He also has a few that are aimed negatively at President Biden and Speaker Pelosi’s policies. Many of these tweets are aimed at how they are managing inflation. However, he does emphasize the importance of being bipartisan and says that if he is elected, he will work across the aisle because results are what matter. He also does not take aim at the media and even retweets CNN articles. Furthermore, he mostly attacks his opponent, Kirsten Engel for being partisan, not acknowledging the border crisis, and trying to defund law enforcement. He calls her “extreme” in many of his tweets. Ciscomani also includes all the endorsements he gets on his account. Ciscomani also makes sure to highlight his Christian faith.

Ciscomani’s Twitter account is consistent with what Carroll et al. (2022) discussed in their comparison of female and male candidates. For example, Ciscomani shares many pictures of his family. Carroll et al. (2022, 304) explains how voters tend to appreciate seeing pictures of a male candidate’s family. However, when a woman shows a photo of her family, they often doubt her ability to balance her family and work. In a *New York Times* article, Phillip Maciak

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(2023) writes about how being a dad can be an advantage in politics. Maciak demonstrates how public acts of fatherhood tend to attract positive attention, even when they are very small. A father just taking care of his child elicits an immense amount of praise and respect. This does not apply to mothers as it is expected of them. This explains why Ciscomani highlights his family so much on his Twitter account and campaign in general. It is a tactic he uses to garner support.

Ciscomani attacks his opponent, Kirsten Engle who is a woman, on his account many times. However, he never calls her weak or attacks her personal life. This prevents him from being seen as a bully which is something that male candidates need to be aware of when running against female candidates (Carroll et al. 2022, 303).

On his Twitter account, Ciscomani wears a large variety of clothing. He does have many pictures of himself dressed in business attire, but he also has many of him in plain clothes. For instance, he is wearing a t-shirt and jeans in many of his photos. This aligns with what Carroll et al. (2022, 303) noticed when comparing what female and male politicians wore in their presentations on their campaigns. They state that women tend to dress in formal attire much more than men. Ciscomani is an example where this is true as he does share many pictures in casual clothing.

Campaign Website:

The first thing that shows up when you first click on Ciscomani’s website is a photo of his family. They are all wearing casual clothes, including him. On that page, he has an introductory video and links to his biography and stance on the issues. He also states on his page that he is willing to work with both Democrats and Republicans. His campaign color scheme is red, white, and blue. His logo is a red, American flag silhouette with the outline of Arizona replacing the fifty stars.

The first section of the website is titled “Meet Juan” and the first thing that you see on this page is a picture of his family. In this photo, all eight of them are dressed up. He starts his bio in a letter form and addresses it to “friends. His first paragraph mentions his love for his family and state. He also emphasizes the importance of the American Dream. He then goes on

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to talk about how the Republicans need to flip the House so they can combat President Biden’s bad policies. This letter section includes a downloadable headshot where he is smiling widely. Ciscomani then has a more formal biographies section that follows his life, career, and his values. This section again mentions the American Dream many times. It ends with another photo of his family, dressed up.

In the second section, Ciscomani takes a different tactic. The first thing that you see in this section is a picture of him at the border with a man in a cowboy hat. Ciscomani is dressed in a button-up and jeans. The title of the sections of issues he talks about are in red, capital letters with a short caption underneath explaining his stance further. He again, mentions the American Dream near the bottom of this section.

The third section of his website lists all his endorsements and they are placed on a bright, red background. The next section has links to news articles, most are ones highlighting his new campaign advertisements and are on a white background. His fifth section is titled “media kit” and features a lot of different photographs. Some of these photographs feature posed pictures of his family smiling while others are of him as a dad in action. Some are pictures of him meeting with voters while others are solo shots. At the end of this section are five campaign video advertisements. His last section has his contact information and next to it are links to all his social media accounts. There is also a place to donate to his campaign which is in bright red.

Ciscomani’s campaign website has his identity as a father and a family man as the focal point. His family is constantly pictured everywhere on his website. It is even the first thing that shows up when you click on his website. This matches what Carroll et al. (2022, 304) found when looking at male versus female candidates. Men are more likely to share photos of their family and instead of being penalized like women are when they share images of their children, they often even benefit. Maciak (2023) describes how men are praised disproportionately when they do even the most minuscule things regarding their children. Women do not receive this same treatment at all. While his family could be a very important part of Ciscomani’s life, the prevalence of his children throughout the website is deliberate.

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For starters, he may get sympathy and support from people who like how involved he is with his children. Additionally, as a Hispanic man, there are certain racial stereotypes that he has to try and overcome. This mitigates these stereotypes and shows voters that he does not fit into the negative stereotypes that infiltrate our culture when it comes to Hispanic men.

Furthermore, I noticed that the placement of the family photos as he as in his policy section there are no pictures of his family.

JOHN FETTERMAN:

Biography:

Analysis of John Fetterman’s campaign who represents Pennsylvania in the United States Senate. John Fetterman is the former lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania. He first ran for the Senate in 2016 but was defeated in the primary. He ran again in 2022 against Dr. Oz and won (Ballotpedia 2023). Fetterman is white and is fifty-three years old. Fetterman’s wife is Latina and was originally an undocumented immigrant. Together, they have three children (Fetterman 2022).

Analysis of John Fetterman’s Campaign:

To analyze John Fetterman's campaign I will examine his campaign website, video advertisements, and his Twitter account.

Video Advertisements:

The first video I watched was called “Fighting for PA” and it was a minute 1:12 long. The video starts with faint music that features John Fetterman speaking at an event in Harrisburg. He had on a black sweatshirt and jeans. He is speaking about how he had a stroke, and it reaffirmed his belief that healthcare is critical and needs to be expanded. The scene then moves to him talking in Philadelphia to a different crowd but in the same outfit. He is talking about how the opposition has spent \$100 million on attacking him. He again mentions his stroke and how it knocked him down but how he got back up. In this shot, he gets emotional and tears up. All the while the crowd is clapping and cheering for him. The final scene is in Bucks County where he is still wearing the same clothes. Here he tells the crowd how his campaign is for people who were either left behind or got knocked down too. The last shot is of his campaign logo and people are cheering in the background.

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Fetterman was wearing the same outfit in each shot. He was already dressed much more casually than most candidates dress, but he did not even switch it up. Voters tend to focus less on what male candidates are wearing so people may not even notice. I do think that it is not something that a female candidate could do, especially with the sweatshirt and jeans. If a female candidate wore just jeans or a hoodie, voters would scorn her a lot more. Secondly, it is significant that Fetterman cries in this advertisement. Since he already has the credibility of being tough enough for the job because he is a big, strong man, he can show this emotion and voters may like to see it as it humanizes him. He is also showing vulnerability by talking about his stroke. This is something that could cause voters to see him as weak because they might not think he is strong enough to handle the job. Again, if Fetterman was not a straight, white man he may not have been able to be as vulnerable. If a woman cried, a voter might see her as hysterical, and it confirms their bias of women being more emotional. Yet here, Fetterman may get credit for showing his softer side that he can show because of his identity.

The second advertisement I watched was titled “Matters” and it was thirty seconds long. The advertisement starts with faint music and a clip from a newsreel that announces that Fetterman had just been released from the hospital after suffering a stroke. Fetterman is narrating the advertisement and he talks about how he was so happy to see his wife and children after coming home. On the screen, Fetterman is on a couch next to his wife with his children playing behind them. They are all laughing. Fetterman is wearing a black sweatshirt and his wife has on a green dress. The video then switches to Fetterman in a white sweatshirt from his chest up. There is a plain green background behind him. He says that he is always seeing families who do not have enough time to spend together. There are then clips of different families and while Fetterman says people are struggling. The frame switches back to him and he talks about how politicians do not care about the things that do not matter. There is then a brief clip of a candid shot of his family. Next Fetterman says that he will focus on things that matter like healthcare, lower costs, and good jobs so that people can spend more time with the people they love. The last clip is a picture of him and his family where one of his kids is giving him bunny ears.

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The emphasis on family is consistent with Carroll et al.’s (2022, 304) findings that male candidates were more likely to show pictures of their families. In this advertisement, Fetterman’s wife and children are the focus of the advertisement. One thing that stands out about this advertisement is that Fetterman is talking about family issues. This is something that female candidates often focus on in their campaigns as it is seen as a “feminine” issue. However, you can see Fetterman balancing this by also incorporating things that are seen as more “masculine” issues like the economy and strengthening jobs.

Twitter Account:

I could not find one photo of John Fetterman dressed up on his Twitter account. In most photos, he is in a black Carhart sweatshirt and jeans. Even when he is in formal settings, he is still wearing this outfit. He even has his sleeves pulled up in most photos, showing off his large tattoos. Many of his posts feature endorsements by prominent political figures and celebrities. He highlights Obama and Oprah’s endorsements frequently. There are also endorsements from other big names like Kerry Washington and Billie Eilish. Other posts are highlights of him speaking at rallies or other campaign events. His Twitter is very color coordinated with almost everything being yellow, gray, and black. Many of his posts are also attacks aimed at his opponent, Dr. Oz.

Fetterman is always dressed casually. This is unique as he is the only candidate, male or female who dresses down to this extent. It fits with his common-man aura and his branding of being a normal guy. He is very unorthodox in this sense, so this does not fit with much of the literature surrounding how male and female politicians dress. A woman may not have been able to get away with this because voters tend to pay much more attention and care more about what female candidates wear. Additionally, Fetterman does not emphasize “masculine issues.” Instead, much of the policy he depicts on his social media is about health care which is often seen as a “female issue.” For instance, he consistently brings up abortion. While it is a unique election cycle where abortion was highlighted more because of the decision in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization*, it is a significant take-away.

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Campaign Website:

The first thing seen when you click on the website is a picture (with a link to a video) of Fetterman with his fist in the air and a black, button-up t-shirt. He is speaking into a microphone and not looking at the camera. Next to this photo is the slogan “Every County, Every Vote” and links to sign up to help his campaign. When you scroll down you see another picture of Fetterman where he says that he is a “different kind of Democrat” with a link to his biography. Under this are links to voter information. Farther down is a picture of his wife, three kids, and dog with a link to his issue stance. At the bottom of the page is a picture of his dogs, encouraging a donation to his campaign.

John Fetterman’s biography is different than many other candidates. There are three biographies you can read. The first is his, the second is his wife’s, and the third is his dog. He is dressed in a puffer coat and jeans and his wife is in a purple dress.

John Fetterman’s biography details his entire life and emphasizes how he is different than other politicians. The theme of his biography is giving back to the community and not capitalizing on his power. He highlights the ways he has given back to the community through his career as mayor and lieutenant governor. He demonstrates how community building is a large part of his platform. At the top of the page is a picture of him not smiling and dressed casually. He is also looking right at the camera. Near the middle of the page are more photos. There are pictures of him and his family, him with voters on the campaign trail, his family at a pride parade, and pictures of Pennsylvania scenery.

His wife’s biography, Gisele Fetterman, is shorter. At the top is a picture of her in a purple dress, partially smiling. Her biography discusses how she was once an undocumented immigrant from Brazil and the struggles she had as an immigrant in the United States. Her story also features her work in the Pennsylvania community, especially her Free Store which gives out household goods, baby items, and bicycles to those who need them. Near the bottom of the page are more pictures. Some are of her doing work in the community and some of are her children and family. In one of the final sentences, the biography even shares that as an advocate for fully legalizing marijuana, she is a medical marijuana user.

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The last biography is very short and features Levi, the family dog. It highlights how Levi was rescued from a Foster Farm and they call him the official dog of Pennsylvania.

The second section on the website is where Fetterman highlights his issues. At the top of the screen is a dark image of a bridge and there are no pictures of him in this section. At the bottom of the page in organized sections, are more detailed descriptions of his stance on certain policies. He also has a link to a more in-depth plan on what he wants to do if elected. However, there is a small box where he sums up his policy agenda in a few lines. He highlights how he wants Washington to be more accountable. This would involve prohibiting Congress from buying trading stocks. In this box he also talks about reforming health care. His other three points involve economic issues like cutting taxes, ending price gouging, and “making more sh*t in America.”

The third section is all about registering to vote and the different ways to cast your ballot. The fourth section has volunteer information and the next is a link to his merchandise. The fifth section has political event information, and the final has links to how to donate to his campaign.

Fetterman’s colors of black and yellow seem purposeful and are consistent throughout his presentation. Again, on the website, there are no images of him formally dressed. While Carroll et al. (2022, 304) discuss how women are more likely to be dressed up than men in their campaign, he never dresses formally. There is also the theme of how he is just another American. For instance, he mostly highlights his contributions to the community in his biography. His education at Harvard is not emphasized. He even uses profanity in his issues section. Another thing I noticed is how he has a balance of “male and female issues” highlighted. While he mentions health care, he also mentions the economy. Furthermore, while Fetterman shares images of his children, they are not all over his website like Juan Ciscomani.

ROBERT GARCIA:

Biography:

Robert Garcia represents California’s 42nd District in the House of Representatives. Robert Garcia is forty-five years old and before being elected he was the mayor of Long Beach, California. He is a Democrat and beat out Republican John Briscoe for the seat. He was born in Peru and got his B.A. and E.D. from California State University at Long Beach and his M.A. in communication from the University of Southern California. He also used to be a professor at the California State University at Long Beach. He is Hispanic, married to Matthew Mendez, and has no children.

Campaign Analysis:

To analyze Robert Garcia’s campaign, I looked at his campaign website, his video advertisements, and his Twitter account.

Video Advertisements:

The first advertisement I watched was titled, “Bringing Us Together” and it was thirty seconds long. The advertisement starts with upbeat music, and it is panning around the photos that are featured on his campaign website. The photos shown here are mostly of him and his late mom and stepfather. An unknown woman is narrating the advertisement and she explains how Garcia lost both of his parents to Covid-19. Red flickering shows up on the screen when she says they are no longer alive. Next, the narrator says how Garcia is working to save others from his pain and the next clip is a video of him working on his MacBook with an intense look on his face. The video then switches to a photo of him in a suit with his arms crossed and smiling at the camera. The next clip moves fast where first he is fist-bumping a cashier. Then it switches to a picture of a masked child where the narrator says as the mayor of Long Beach, he helped get people vaccinated. Then two children are unmasked, and she is talking about schools’ reopening. The next photo is of a middle-aged couple hugging in a store where she talks about how Garcia helped lead Long Beach to economic recovery. Next, the voice switches briefly to a man who is saying that Garcia is doing everything right. It then switches back to the woman narrator who talks about in Congress Garcia would lead efforts to fight homelessness, reduce inflation, and protect the environment. On the screen, we again see

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photos from his gallery but instead, these are ones of him meeting with constituents. The last shot is a photo of him smiling next to his campaign logo. On the screen it reads, “Bringing Us Together, Delivering Results.” Then Robert Garcia approves the message which is the only time we hear him talk throughout the whole advertisement.

In this advertisement, Garcia is pushing a message of unity. He talks about how he brought his community together and could do the same in Congress. He does not mention fighting against Republicans at all. This is purposeful and could be the reason that a woman is used as the voice of the advertisement as women think of women as being more collaborative than men (Dolan et al. 2018, 252). He also uses bright colors which also makes him seem more approachable. Moreover, in this advertisement, he is always shown in action. Additionally, in the clips of him moving, he is rarely smiling.

The second advertisement I watched was called “Robert Garcia for Congress” and it was 2:40 minutes long. The advertisement starts with pictures of Long Beach at dawn. Calm music is playing in the background. The next clip is of him dressed in khakis and a blazer while he gets in his car to go to work. The video goes back to more clips of Long Beach but now the sun has just come up. The screen then pans to Garcia driving his car and this is when he first starts speaking. He talks about how his mother and her “determination, compassion, dedication to her family and community” are always with him. He then shows a clip of a church and then photos of his mother. He also talks about how she risked everything to bring him to the United States so that he could become an American. The video then shifts to a video of him and his husband kissing each other on the cheek in their kitchen. He talks about how his mother always accepted him for who he was and made him into who he is today. He then shows a headline that says how he was the first Latino and openly gay mayor elected to serve Long Beach. Next are pictures of a diverse group of voters but the clip ends with a photo of a graveyard where he acknowledges that lots of people have suffered lots unthinkable losses recently. He then shows a news anchor announcing that his mother has passed away from the Coronavirus. The next clip is him swiping through photos of her on his phone and saying that he made a promise after he lost her that he would work harder than ever to make sure other families did not have to experience this either. At this part, there is a clip of him working on

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his computer with an intense look on his face. He then shows a series of news clips and headlines talking about how he did a great job handling the pandemic and rolling out vaccines in Long Beach. He then shows pictures of people in masks and talks about how Long Beach residents did a great job taking care of each other during the pandemic. He then critiques “politicians who chant America first” who watched the virus tear through the country. He also passionately says how it does not sit right with him that these same people vilify immigrants like his mother. At the end of this sentence is a picture of him with his arms crossed and an intense expression on his face. He is staring right at the camera. He then shows more pictures of Long Beach and talks about how he loves this country and how patriotism in Long Beach is practiced in places like vaccine clinics and food banks. The music is now becoming faster as he talks about how people of all races and backgrounds have come together during this tough time. He ends the video by holding up a photo of his mother and saying that he is fighting to give all children what America gave for him and how is carrying his mom with him.

Garcia’s late mother is the focus of the advertisement. However, he is not pictured crying once. Instead, he shows himself in action and working to make her proud. He talks about how he tries to follow her example and demonstrates his respect for her and other women. I did notice that unlike other candidates who put their spouse as the focal point of their advertisements, Garcia only shows a short clip of him. Instead, he mostly talks about his mom. He uses her as an example to criticize other politicians who vilify immigrants and made light of the pandemic. While he does not name them explicitly it appears he is talking about Republicans. His voice gets more intense when he talks about them. There are also many shots of him having a stern, focused expression on his face. This is different than his campaign website which mostly features pictures of him smiling. He is dressed formally throughout most of this video.

The third campaign advertisement I watched was an attack advertisement titled “Obstruction of Justice- Vote Robert Garcia for Congress” and it was thirty seconds long. The advertisement starts with cheery music and a man with a deep voice is saying how Robert Garcia was a proud immigrant who upon getting his citizenship, pledged to defend the United States against all enemies. The advertisement first shows photos of him smiling but when the

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narrator says enemies, they show a picture of him with a stern look on his face with his arms crossed as he looks straight into the camera. The next part of the video shows a picture of Donald Trump and how Garcia is going to hold him accountable for the capitol insurrection. This is where the advertisement shifts and attacks his opponent, John Briscoe. The music now gets a lot more intense as an unflattering picture of Briscoe flashes on the screen. In menacing, all capital letters read his name. The narrator talks about how Briscoe supported January Sixth and stands with Trump. He talks about how this would cause Briscoe to not vote for a congressional investigation and would obstruct justice. The final attack at him features flashing red lights and another close-up of Briscoe’s face. It ends with a photo of Robert Garcia smiling and him saying that he approves of the advertisement.

The color choice in this advertisement is purposeful as the flashing red starts as soon as the narrator starts talking about Trump and Briscoe. It is blue when talking about Garcia. The narrator being a man with a deep voice is purposeful as we tend to think of male voices as ones of authority (Fixmer-Oraiz and Wood 2019, 124). Having a man being the one who is saying bad things about your opponent gives it more legitimacy.

Campaign Website:

The color scheme of Garcia’s campaign website is yellow, dark blue, light blue, white, and red. The first thing that you see when you click on the website is Garcia calling on a student in class, but it also looks like he is pointing to the camera. He is smiling and wearing a blue sweater over a light blue button-up. This picture is right next to a place where you can sign up to volunteer for his campaign. If you scroll down the page there is a link to his biography and a link to one of his campaign videos.

The next section of his website is his biography. Here he only has one picture at the top where he is dressed formally in a black suit with a white button-up. He is smiling and in the act of walking. He is also not looking at the camera. At the top is a short blurb behind a blue background that talks about how he is an immigrant and is proud of eventually becoming an American citizen. He then talks about how he was the mayor of Long Beach California during the pandemic. The rest of his biography is behind a white background and talks about his

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mom and stepfather who passed away due to Covid during the pandemic. He also talks about the actions he took when he was mayor and ends with talking about his husband.

The third section is the issue section. This section has no pictures. The header is dark blue with white letters that say, “What I’m Fighting For.” The rest is on a white background with black lettering. He starts with a blurb about how legislation allowed him to be able to create a life in America as a young immigrant. The rest of this section is broken up into sections based on the specific policy issue he is talking about.

The next section is the endorsements section which has no pictures and just a list of the people that endorsed him. The fifth section is his media section. It features four video campaign advertisements then lots of pictures. The pictures vary as in some of them he is meeting with voters. The others are of him and his husband or him and his late parents. He even has some pictures of him as a child. His style of dress varies in these photos. In some of his photos he is dressed up in a full suit while others are a bit more casual as he just has a button-up. However, he is never dressed less casually than that. He is also wearing a mask in some of his photos. The next section has campaign merchandise, and the last section is his contact information.

The color choice of this website is very purposeful. For starters, the home page and the About section are a mix of all the main theme colors. However, the issues and endorsements sections are only dark blue, and the writing is in black and white. Therefore, when he is talking about the substance and more serious parts of his campaign, he uses dark colors. I also noticed he does not use any pictures in these two sections either. This is consistent with the other male candidates. He is not dressed formally in all his photos on his website. However, he is never dressed super down and is often pictured wearing business casual. One thing that separated him from other male candidates was how frequently he smiled. He is smiling in almost all the photos on his website with his teeth. Even when he is talking to someone he is smiling.

Twitter Account:

Robert Garcia has 103.4 thousand followers on Twitter. Garcia tweeted frequently throughout his campaign. In many of his tweets, he is on the campaign trail, either for himself or others. Many of his posts show him campaigning for other people who were also running for office.

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He is dressed down in many of these posts. Usually, he is in a button-up short-sleeve or a polo shirt paired with dress shorts. In some photos, he was smiling and in some, he looked more serious. Garcia also references other Democrats who are running for offices across the country. For example, he talks a lot about Becca Balint who was running for Vermont’s seat in the House of Representatives and is also part of the LGBTQ+ community. Garcia also mentions President Biden and Vice-President Harris a lot. Garcia also incorporates modern memes and references throughout his page. Sometimes he uses them to talk about policy, sometimes current events, or to be critical of prominent Republicans. One person he mentions a lot is Marjorie Taylor Greene from Georgia. He makes sure to allow his personality to come out on the page and will sometimes just talk about things that interest him like superheroes. Throughout his whole account during the election, he does not feature his husband at all and he is not in any of his pictures. He also does not mention his mother either.

Garcia is much more expressive and less polished on Twitter than he is in the rest of his campaign materials. He posts a lot and is more open about his thoughts. He is all over the place on social media while his videos and campaign website are much more focused. He is also dressed much more casually on his Twitter as it is the only place you see him in a short-sleeved shirt or shorts. This supports Carroll et al.’s (2022, 303) finding that women are more likely to dress in business attire in their campaign promotions than men. I also find it significant that he does not ever talk about his husband or mother on his Twitter. He shows less serious emotions on his Twitter so that could be part of it. He appears more fun on his Twitter to a younger crowd and then more professional to the older crowd who may be watching his advertisements on television.

FINAL ANALYSIS:

Comparison of Men and Women Candidates:

Many of the observations I made about the way that female and male candidates presented themselves in their campaigns were consistent with what I found in my literature review. For starters, the men were more likely to dress casually than the women in their campaign advertisements. For example, John Fetterman is never dressed up at all in any of his campaign

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materials while Emilia Sykes is almost always dressed in business attire. Similarly, Juan Ciscomani and Robert Garcia often dress more casually when meeting with voters while the female candidates still wore business attire. The men were also more likely to show their children in their campaign advertisements than the female candidates. For instance, Juan Ciscomani has his children at the front and center of his campaign. They are in most of his campaign advertisements and his photos. Fetterman also shows lots of photos of his children. Katie Britt on the other hand does not share her children nearly as much. Sometimes she will mention that she is a mother and that causes her to support a certain policy, but they are not in most of her advertisements or photos. The male candidates were also more likely to highlight “masculine” issues like the economy and security. The only female candidate that had the economy as her focus was Emilia Sykes. The other women did not mention the economy as much. Lastly, the male candidates were more likely to show themselves in action which corresponds with the male stereotype that men are seen as more likely to take initiative. The male candidates were more likely to show themselves out talking to voters or in the motion of walking. The female candidates were often more posed and sedentary in their advertisements.

Female candidates were more likely to do a variety of things that could correspond to gendered expectations. For example, the female candidates tended to smile much more than the male candidates which makes sense as women are socialized to smile more in general. Emilia Sykes almost has no photos where she is not smiling. Secondly, the women tended to dress more formally and were often pictured in business attire. This could be taken more seriously and appear professional. The women also switched between doing “masculine” and “feminine” activities. For instance, Anna Paulina Luna and Katie Britt showed themselves shooting guns a lot. However, they would also share pictures dressed up with their husbands to counter that image. This could be to try and navigate the double bind. They show that they can engage in masculine activities and be tough enough for the job but at the same time, they are still women. On the other hand, male candidates did not show pictures of themselves shooting guns. This was not necessary for them though as they already had the credibility of being tough enough just by being men.

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Comparison of Republican Women and the Democratic Woman:

There were many similarities and differences between the way that the two Republican women, Anna Paulina Luna and Katie Britt, presented themselves versus how Emilia Sykes the Democrat ran her campaign. Starting with the similarities, all three candidates never explicitly mentioned their gender. It was never acknowledged except for Anna Paulina Luna half referencing it when she said people think that she will think a certain way because she’s a woman which she adamantly refuses. This did not surprise me as Republican women tend to be hurt by their gender amongst Republican voters because they assume that women are less conservative. However, some Democrat voters tend to see being a woman as a plus, but Sykes never mentioned it. Perhaps her campaign did not feel that this was the case in her district.

All three women also frequently smiled throughout their campaign. This is in line with the socialization that all women get to smile more. Yet, it was interesting to see this play out in their advertisements because it became apparent that they were making an effort to smile. Especially Emilia Sykes who is almost always smiling. Furthermore, all three of the candidates were dressed often dressed in business attire on the campaign trail. Dolan et al. found this in their research, and it was apparent here.

There were some stark differences between the way that the Republican women ran their campaigns compared to Emilia Sykes. For instance, the Republican women tended to emphasize how conservative they were while Sykes focused on collaboration. This checks out with the struggle that Republican women face when voters doubt they are conservative because they are women. Thus, it makes sense that they would try to emphasize their partisanship and make sure to hit the mainstream conservative talking points. Syke’s message of unity also could have been her trying to not come across as an angry Black woman which is a frame that Black female politicians are often cast in. It also could have something to do with her voting district. Yet, the difference between them in their messages is still worth paying attention to despite the nuance.

The Republican women were also more likely to show themselves doing a mix of “masculine” and feminine activities and wearing more masculine clothing. Luna and Britt

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showed advertisements of themselves shooting large guns and pictures of themselves wearing masculine clothes. Britt also had a lot of photos of her fishing. They paired this with showing pictures of them with young children on the campaign trail or dressed up next to their husbands. Sykes on the other hand never showed herself wearing any masculine clothing. She also did not show herself doing masculine activities. In juxtaposition, she only showed herself doing things that people consider more feminine like gymnastics.

The Republican women featured their husbands a lot in their campaigns. Both Britt and Luna have advertisements where their husband is the main focus and they are in a lot of their photos. This could have been to try and show their more feminine side and illustrate that they still “knew their place” as a woman. Sykes never shared photos of her husband at all and he was not in any of their advertisements. I did not even know that she was married until I did outside research. I wonder if this could have been in an attempt to avoid being cast in the child/pet frame.

Finally, the Republican women tied themselves more to powerful men. Both Luna and Britt mention President Trump a lot. They talk about his policies and share pictures or his name. Sykes never talked about President Biden at all, and he was nonexistent in her advertisements and photos.

Comparison of the Republican Man and Republican Women:

There were many differences between the male Republican candidate’s campaign that I analyzed, Juan Ciscomani, and the two female Republican candidates’ campaigns that I looked at, Katie Britt and Anna Paulina Luna. For starters, both Luna and Britt show themselves dressed in more masculine and feminine clothing. This is coupled by showing themselves doing a mix of masculine and feminine activities. For instance, both Britt and Luna have images of themselves shooting guns. This is paired with photos of them next to their husbands while dressed femininely. This combination could be to try and avoid the catch-22. By showing themselves doing both feminine and masculine activities, they try to show that they are tough enough to handle the job but also that they did not lose their womanhood in this pursuit. Ciscomani does not have to worry about this as he already has credibility from being male. Consequently, he does not share any photos of him using guns.

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All the candidates feature their spouses in their campaign advertisements. However, Ciscomani’s portrayal of his wife is much different than how Luna and Britt show their husbands. For example, when Britt and Luna share photos or have their husbands in their advertisements, they are often looking right at him instead of looking into the camera. Yet with Ciscomani, the roles are reversed where she is looking at him. Britt and Luna also emphasize how tough their husbands and their professions are while Ciscomani often talks about how good of a mom she is. This difference could be explained by Britt and Luna trying to show that they know their place. Even though they are looking to hold powerful positions, they illustrate that at the end of the day, they will still submit to their husbands. Ciscomani instead makes it evident that his wife has her own position as a mom and will not be stepping into his. This sends voters a traditional message and for Britt and Luna, could help them with voters who are worried about the gains that women are making in terms of equality. This fear can be quenched if voters think they are voting for female candidates that understand the status quo.

Since Luna does not have children, this part of the comparison only applies to Ciscomani and Britt. Ciscomani’s children are the focal point of his campaign. They are in many of his pictures, all over his campaign website, and in almost all of his video advertisements. Britt on the other hand features her children a lot less. There are glimpses of them in her video advertisements, but she usually only talks about them in reference when she is talking about education. Britt also barely has any photos of them on her social media and they are not pictured on her website. This is consistent with Fixmer’s statement about how voters like to see male candidates’ children but then doubt if a female candidate can balance being a woman and holding the position. Both Ciscomani and Britt seem aware of this fact by the way they use their children in their campaign strategy.

Dolan et al. (2018, 128) discuss how Republican women often are at a disadvantage, especially in conservative areas, because Republican voters tend to assume women are more liberal due to their gender. Therefore, many Republican female candidates overemphasize how conservative they are. Both Britt and Luna do this as they hit all the far-right talking points. Luna even explicitly points out that her race and her gender have nothing to do with

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how she thinks. By saying this, she separates herself from both of those identities. In juxtaposition, Ciscomani appears much more moderate and mostly sticks to issues like the economy and the Southern border in his advertisements.

Finally, Luna and Britt mention President Trump much more than Ciscomani. Luna especially ties herself to him and has multiple photographs of them together. There was only one reference to President Trump that I found in Ciscomani’s campaign materials. This ties to Fixmer’s child/pet frame where voters tend to tie female candidates to other men. In talking about President Trump, Britt and Luna choose who they want the voters to tie their campaigns to.

Differences Between the Democratic Candidates:

Many of the differences between the female candidate, Emilia Sykes, and the male candidates, John Fetterman and Robert Garcia, were similar to the general variances between male and female candidates. Sykes was more likely to dress formally and smile than the two male candidates. She also uses more “feminine” colors and fonts in her campaign logos. However, the thing I found the most interesting was the degree to which all the candidates shared their emotions.

John Fetterman was very open about his emotions, and he shared his experience when he suffered a stroke a few months before the election. He is even crying in one of his video advertisements. This is very different than Robert Garcia who does not cry or get emotional when he talks about how both his mother and stepfather died of the Coronavirus during the pandemic. This is also unlike Emilia Sykes who only really does not share any strong emotions. She is always smiling and appearing happy. This makes sense considering that Fetterman is a straight, white man. He is also a very large, strong, masculine-looking one. He can show that vulnerability because it is not going to make voters doubt his strength or maleness. Garcia on the other hand is gay so if he showed himself crying, he could be penalized because voters might perceive him as weak. Furthermore, Sykes could be deliberately showing herself always looking happy, so she does not get painted as an angry, Black woman. Dolan et al. (2018, 135) found that this is something that Black, female candidates often get framed in so this could be the reason she appears so cheerful.

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This comparison between the Democratic candidates indicates how people’s intersecting identities influence their campaigns. For instance, even though Garcia has male privilege, he does not have it to the same extent as Fetterman because of his sexual orientation. Moreover, Sykes has to navigate the frames that come from her gender and her race intersecting.

CONCLUSION:

This analysis coupled with the underrepresentation of women in politics demonstrates that we need change. While women are making progress it is painstakingly slow and indicates that something structural is the problem. One of the problems is the male template that exists for power. One of the ways we can fix this is by changing the way we define power. Beard (2017, 45) thinks that society could use “some old fashioned consciousness-raising about what we mean by the voice of authority’ and how we’ve come to construct it.” She emphasizes how difficult it is to try and fit women into a structure that has already been coded as male (Beard 2017, 86-87). This is why Beard calls for changing the structure all together. To achieve this, Beard calls for a total redefinition of what power means. Currently, power is treated as something that is elite and it is coupled with public prestige. Meaning often when people have power, there is a degree of celebrity that they get with it (Beard 2017, 86). In the existing system, power is something that is treated as a possession. It is one that is closely guarded as only a few can have it. The people that wield this power are mostly men. While there are some individual women that have it, women as a group are excluded by definition because of their gender. Men are the ones who are supposed to be in power because the system is made by and for them. For women to truly have power, you need to change the structure (Beard 2017, 86). Furthermore, Beard (2017, 87) argues that power needs to be decouple from public prestige. This would involve thinking collaboratively and believing in the power of followers and not just leaders. This means that power would be thought of as a verb or an attribute instead of something that something owns. For example, it would be “to power” (Beard 2017, 87). Beard thinks that thinking of power in this way would be more effective to make real world change because women would be taken seriously together and as an individual.

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I fully agree with Beard’s assertion that we need to change the way we think about power. In its current form, it is only serving, white, straight men. Power is something that women, people of color, and the LGBTQ+ community have a hard time attaining because they are forced to fit into a system that was not made for them. In the present system, these groups also must conform to the ideals of the dominant group. This not only excludes them from having real influence, but it also hurts everyone as the needs of everyone are not valued. Instead, only what serves the dominant group actually gets done. However, I am not sure how we realistically change the definition of power. Beard (2017, 88) gives the example of the group Black Lives Matter that was founded by three Black women named Alicia Garza, Patrice Cullors, and Opal Tometti. Beard points out that while the group itself has become powerful, the leaders are not as well known. Beard sees this as a positive thing because it is an example of how power can be wielded in a more collaborative way. While I think this is a great trend and is a template, I hope other grassroots movements follow, it does not solve the issue when it comes to political representation. I feel like this means that we need to fix our political system as well. In our current system, it occurs quite frequently that the president does not even win the popular vote. There is no incentive for the person with the most power in this country to think collaboratively, especially when they do not even receive a mandate from the voters. Fixing the electoral system is something that could be a step in the right direction. I also believe that we need to fix the structure of Congress. Levitsky and Ziblatt (2019) discuss how the Senate is not representative of the population of the United States. Someone in California has less representation than someone living in Vermont because both states have two senators even though California has a population with millions of people versus Vermont that does not even have a million. This inherently leads to a system that is not collaborative as some senators are responsible for more people than others. This causes a power imbalance as it results in some senators wielding more power than others. Changing the political system is a step I think we need to take so we can take steps to redefine power like Beard discussed.

There needs to be a greater awareness of what people want women in power for. Often people elect women to tackle policy involving things like childcare and domestic violence as they are seen as “women issues” (Beard 2017, 84). Beard (2017, 87) states that these should not just be seen as women’s issues and that women’s expertise is needed for all sorts of problems. In my

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analysis, I saw that both the male and female candidates were aware of the issues that voters saw as more masculine versus the ones they saw as more feminine. Both the men and women tried to use this to their advantage. However, it appeared easier for the men to convince others that they cared about “women’s issues” versus the women trying to prove they were tough enough to handle the “masculine ones.” For example, Juan Ciscomani used his identity as a father to point out why he cared about family issues like education. Yet for the two Republican women, Katie Britt and Anna Paulina Luna, they used guns and dressing more masculine to prove that they could handle issues like security. Both Britt and Luna had to spend a lot more time trying to prove their toughness than Ciscomani did to prove his softer side. This is something that needs to enter the discussion when it comes to female power. Like Beard (2017, 84) explained, we often do not realize that we want women in power for this reason. Becoming more aware of the issue is necessary so we can stop expecting certain things from female elected officials just because they’re a certain gender.

Another thing that I found was that we need to value intersectional identities instead of punishing people for them. Many of the candidates I analyzed had intersectional identities that influenced the way that they ran their campaigns. They navigated stereotypes due to their race, gender, or sexual orientation. It was clear that these candidates were aware of these stereotypes and did their best to ward off their negative effects. If the different aspects of these candidates’ identities were valued instead of criticized, then they would not have to walk on eggshells. We would all be better off if we recognized that their experiences are advantages as they will be better able to represent all their constituents. Especially in a political system where minority voices are often silenced, electing candidates that had experiences that aligned with these identities could make all the difference.

Finally, thing that was apparent is that all the candidates, male and female, were all aware of their gender. All six had to navigate gender stereotypes as people expected them to act a certain way based on their assigned gender. A quote by Gayle Rubin explains their view of their take on what their ideal world would look like. It reads,

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“But we are not only oppressed *as* women, we are oppressed by having to *be* women, or men as the case may be. I personally feel that the feminist movement must dream of even more than the elimination of the oppression of women. It must dream of the elimination of obligatory sexualities and sex roles. The dream I find most compelling is one of an androgynous and genderless (though not sexless) society, in which one's sexual anatomy is irrelevant to who one is, what one does, and with whom one makes love” (Rubin, 204).

This quote emphasizes how gender norms are a burden to us all because we are all expected to act in a certain way in accordance with our gender. It strips us of the freedom to act on our own accord and how we want. If gender stereotypes were not engrained in every interaction and decision, then we would get more genuine campaigns and genuine leadership. It could, in turn, create a more just society and one where everyone's ideas are valued. I believe that eradicating gendered expectations, as lofty as a goal as it may seem, is something that we should all push for as it could lead to a more equitable world. Yet, following feminist modes of leadership is a good start. This would involve focusing on collaboration and trying to imagine new ways to lead (Zeigler). Another important aspect is the understanding that gender is a social construct so being aware that people only act in a certain way because they have been socialized too and that it is not something they are genetically predisposed to. When we can start breaking free from essentialist notions that we are trained to believe, we can start seeing people for who they really are regardless of their race, gender, sexual orientation, etc. In turn, this could result in a more equitable distribution of power where we elect people to office based on their merits and not their identity.

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APPENDICES

Anna Paulina Luna’s Campaign materials:



Figure 1.1: "You're Being Lied Too"



Figure 1.2: "Ditch"



Figure 1.3: "Eric Lynn will just keep spending...Anna Paulina Luna will get inflation under control."



Figure 1.4: Anna Paulina Luna's Campaign Logo

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Figure 1.5: Anna Paulina Shooting a Gun in a Campaign Advertisement



Figure 1.6: Anna Paulina Luna with Donald Trump



Figure 1.7: Anna Paulina Luna with her Husband

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Juan Ciscomani’s Campaign Materials:



Figure 2.1: “Enough”



Figure 2.2: “My American Dream”



Figure 2.3: Juan Ciscomani and his Family



Figure 2.4: Juan Ciscomani and Family



Figure 2.5: Juan Ciscomani’s Campaign Logo



Figure 2.6: Juan Ciscomani at the Southern Border

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Katie Britt’s Campaign Materials:



Figure 3.1: “Toughness”



Figure 3.2: “Man Up”



Figure 3.3: Katie Britt and Husband in Video “Toughness”



Figure 3.4: Katie Britt’s Campaign Logo

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Figure 3.5: Katie Britt in Campaign Video



Figure 3.6: Katie Britt at Southern Border



Figure 3.7: Katie Britt in “Man Up” Video

John Fetterman’s Campaign Materials:



Figure 4.1: “Fighting for PA”

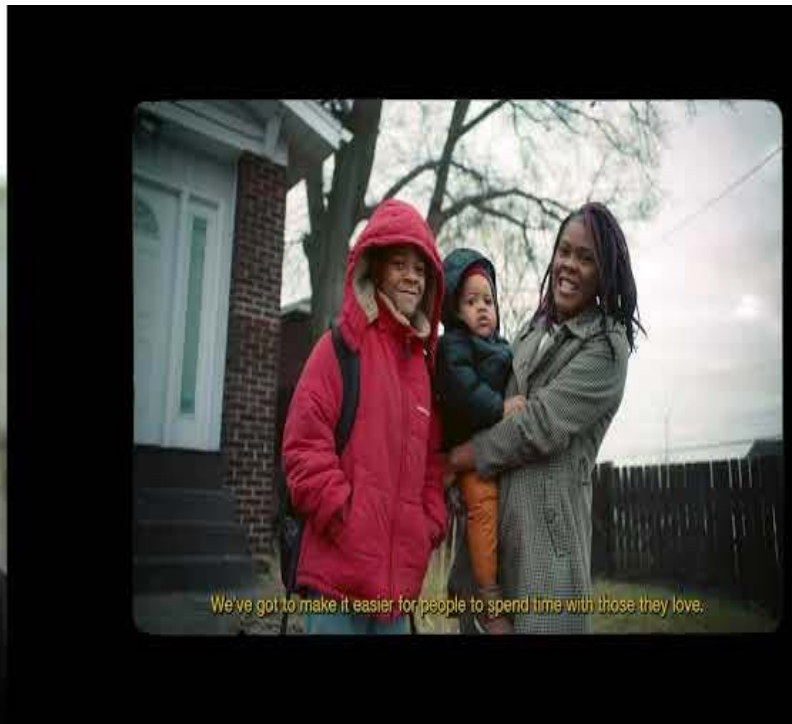


Figure 4.2 “Matters”

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Figure 4.3 Fetterman's Campaign Logo



Figure 4.4 Fetterman and Family



Figure 4.5 Fetterman Speaking at Campaign Event



Figure 4.6 Fetterman in "Fighting for PA"

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Emilia Sykes Campaign Materials:



Figure 5.1 Emilia Sykes' First Campaign Video



Figure 5.2: Emilia Sykes' Second Campaign Video



Figure 5.3 Emilia Sykes' Attack Advertisement



Figure 5.4 Emilia Sykes' Campaign Logo

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Figure 5.5: Emilia Sykes Talking with Voters



Figure 5.6: Emilia Sykes in First Video Advertisement



Figure 5.7 Emilia Sykes Headshot



Figure 5.8 Emilia Sykes at Podium

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Figure 5.9: Emilia Sykes in Second Video Advertisement

Robert Garcia’s Campaign Materials:



Figure 6.1: “Bringing Us Together”



Figure 6.2: “Robert Garcia for Congress”



Figure 6.3: “Obstruction of Justice”



Figure 6.4: Robert Garcia’s Campaign Logo

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Figure 6.5: Robert Garcia Teaching Students



Figure 6.6: Robert Garcia High-fiving Children



Figure 6.7: Robert Garcia and his Mother



Figure 6.8: Robert Garcia and his Husband

ILLUSTRATIONS:

Figure 1.1: Anna Paulina Luna. “Anna Paulina Luna for Congress,” n.d.

<https://www.voteannapaulina.com/>.

Figure 1.2: Anna Paulina Luna for Congress. “Anna Paulina Luna Ad: ‘Ditch,’” June 14,

2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QKSWxB-sQts>.

Figure 1.3: Anna Paulina Luna for Congress. “Eric Lynn Will Just Keep Spending...Anna

Paulina Luna Will Get Inflation under Control.,” October 6, 2022.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z5-jIfa8k0Q>.

Figure: 1.4: Anna Paulina Luna. “Anna Paulina Luna for Congress,” n.d.

<https://www.voteannapaulina.com/>.

Figure: 1.5: YouTube. “Florida Election Preview: Charlie Crist vs. Ana Paulina Luna for the Congressional District 13,” n.d.

https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.youtube.com%2Fwatch%3Fv%3D7eKJ3o_sQ3c&psig=AOvVaw2B2lTnhEgi7MpWDQLu57Dg&ust=1682474724884000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=2ahUKEwjQvurz-MP-AhUxNlkFHTdhCD0Qr4kDegUIARDTAQ.

Figure: 1.6: Anna Paulina Luna’s Instagram Account

Figure: 1.7: Anna Paulina Luna. “Anna Paulina Luna for Congress,” n.d.

<https://www.voteannapaulina.com/>.

Figure: 2.1: Ciscomani for Congress. “Ciscomani for Congress,” n.d.

<https://www.juanciscomani.com/>.

Figure: 2.2: Ciscomani for Congress. “Ciscomani for Congress,” n.d.

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Figure: 2.3: Ciscomani for Congress. “Ciscomani for Congress,” n.d.

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