

The Uphill Battle of Female Leaders: The Media Presentation of Female Political Leaders

by

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for the degree of Master of Science in the School of Communication

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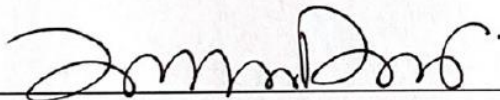
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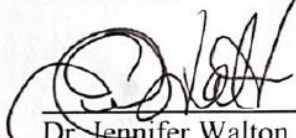
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Abstract

The object of this study was to first identify how American female politicians are framed on social media platforms, specifically on Twitter. Then the study further investigated the general public's perception of female political leaders and whether public perceptions are consistent with the findings on Twitter. To do this, social media analysis was performed and a survey was distributed. The study found that the female politicians were talked about negatively online but public's perception about female political leaders was generally positive.

Keywords: Twitter, social media, female, woman, politician, perception

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to all of the faculty at Radford University who have supported me socially and academically during my tenure here. I would especially like to dedicate this thesis to my late grandfather, George Stone, who was always my number one fan and encouraged me in everything I do. Furthermore, I would also like to thank my supportive friends and family that have cheered me on during this adventure.

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Introduction

In recent years, great strides have been made for women in government, with numbers of women in political office growing dramatically throughout the last several decades. In fact, in the year 2021, the number of female members in Congress reached a record high in American History (Blazina & DeSilver, 2021). Although this is a massive feat for women's representation in American national politics, women still only make up 27% of Congress, leaving roughly two-thirds of seats filled by men (Blazina & DeSilver, 2021). There is still a lot of work needed to advance women further in the political realm.

Research about women and leadership has long discovered that there are many barriers for women to be advanced to high-ranking positions, positions of authority, and leadership (Hill et al., 2016). It is one of the main reasons that women are underrepresented in the upper echelons of American corporations and government (Northouse et al., 2018). In a framework known as the Leadership Labyrinth, Eagly and Carli (2018) pointed out that for women to attain a leadership position, they have to go through routes that are "full of twists and turns, both expected or unexpected" (p. 2). Women are not underqualified for such positions; in fact, they just have more obstacles to achieving these positions. However, women carry the burden of societal expectations, stereotypes, gender roles, childbearing, domestic duties, antiquated workplace norms, prejudice, and other career interruptions when climbing the ladder to success (Northouse et al., 2018). Northouse et al. (2018) wrote that women have leadership abilities that their male counterparts do not. Women's leadership is also effective in modern society because where men are seen as rational and decisive, women are more democratic and transformational in the workplace (Northouse et al., 2018).

The fact that women are underrepresented in the political realm becomes a concern of the general public. As of 2017, Democrats are dissatisfied with women's advancement in American society with 69% of them saying the country has more work to do as far as gender equality, whereas approximately 26% of Republicans feel the same way (Horowitz et al., 2017). In general, Barroso (2020) denoted that 57% of American adults think the United States has not done enough work towards women's equality.

Although more work is needed to increase women's equality in society, we have to acknowledge the fact that women are better represented in the workplace and politics in recent years, as compared to the past. Scholars have observed, accompanying the increasing engagement of women in the political realm, that media representation of female politicians also has gradually changed over time (Byerly & Ross, 2006). Bligh and colleagues (2011) found that how female politicians are portrayed in media can be directly related to the individual and societal perception of female politicians. However, with the rapidly expanding social media platform, more research is needed to explore the relationship between media portrayal of female politicians and societal expectations.

Traditional media used to rule the news cycle, but social media have changed the horizon of how information is circulated in society; for example, social media have changed how campaigns of female politicians are promoted, how potential voters obtain information, and the general perception of female political leaders in the society. Scholarship is crucial in exploring the relationship between the representations of female political leaders on social media platforms and the public perception of female politicians. Communication theories including muted group theory, which posits women as being silenced in a society in the United States and striving to survive by adopting male-dominated language systems; and framing theory, which focuses on

how media filter the reality and change the media users' views about societal issues, are used as the theoretical framework for the current research.

In this research, it is important to distinguish the difference between the words *woman* and *female*. According to Webster's Dictionary, these words started off somewhat interchangeably. However, one excerpt says that "Female is an adjective, woman is not" (Webster's Dictionary, n.d.). For the purposes of this paper, "female" is used as an adjective to describe gender, and "woman" is a word used to denote gender as a noun. This study focuses on six cisgender women, but it is important to note that not all women are cisgender and there are multiple gender identities that both women and females can identify as.

This research intends to examine the relationship between how female politicians are manifested in the modern media landscape and how women are perceived on a larger societal scale. This research will be structured as follows: an explanation of the theoretical frameworks used, a comprehensive literature review, a walk-through of the methods used in the research, a presentation of results and a subsequent discussion, and finally the conclusion.

Muted Group Theory

The Development of Muted Group Theory

Ardener (2005) outlined how muted group theory came to be. Edwin Ardener has studied women's perception of the world since 1968, and how that could be articulated. Throughout his studies, Ardener emphasized that women were not the only group that could be studied using this theory, even citing his own experience as a less masculine man as a subgroup that could be evaluated using this paradigm. This theory was never based in biological differences between men and women, or even the differences in what men and women say; in fact, it is based on how each group is saying it (Ardener, 2005).

Ardener stressed that a personal form of expression will not work to be heard and listened to in society unless one conforms to the dominant form of speech (Wall & Gannon-Leary, 1999). This theory was created by Ardener when he was setting out to study Cameroonian women but was quickly expanded to study the anthropological status of women's communication in general. This theory was not originally expanded to its fullest potential given that women may have more veiled communication than men, and men were not looking to study women as a key component of our language in general. Thus, women have a harder time communicating in a language system they are not dominant in, and it is hard for male researchers to understand that (Wall & Gannon-Leary, 1999).

Kramarae (1981) further examined the subjugation of women by the larger cultural groups in society, in this case, men. She outlines that when women or any other non-dominant group in society speaks, they have less influence and speaking rights than their dominant counterparts. Thus, the way that subordinate groups can express themselves is severely limited, since the language system they exist in was not created by them. Since women are forced to speak in a language that has been coded by men, men either have a hard time understanding women, or women are constrained in their speaking and self-expression. This suppression is not only shown in our daily life but also displayed on digital media.

Kramarae identified a litany of examples of ways that women are muted in society. According to Houston and Kramarae (1991), women are muted by society in so many ways, that they do not even realize it, and it becomes second nature in society. The first way they identify is excluding women from public forums. However, silencing can go beyond not permitting women to speak but controlling the way they may want to express themselves. Houston and Kramarae (1991) described a non-exhaustive list of ways women are silenced in society. The first of these

categories is ridicule, or the judgment or trivialization of how women communicate . Women are also held to many family hierarchies, in which they are expected to keep traditions while being dismissed by men. Furthermore, as women enter the workplace, they are still expected to take the full load of family responsibility, which discourages time spent advocating for social change. Houston and Kramarae (1991) went on to talk about how educational policies are set up against women, women's bodies are politicized, they are harassed in the street, sexually assaulted, and the subject of global male violence. These factors are made worse by other types of oppression, such as racism and homophobia, preventing the creation of language to describe life experiences for marginalized groups, or judgment of the words that marginalized groups use that have not entered the White, straight, and male lexicon. All of these silencing situations can be found described in women's art and writings, or at least what is left of it since it has historically been destroyed by those who do not value the messages within. Seeing that men control language and language changes, they also control the media. While women have some of their own focused media, regular media often does not include coverage of women's topics, issues, or women in general. What makes this even worse for women, is when they do breakthrough into our mass-media-centered society, they are opened up to all types of harassment.

Women's Harassment on the Internet

In the world of the internet, women are faced with similar trials and tribulations. Men experience the most online harassment, due to their willingness to share opinions online (Nadim & Fladmoe, 2019). However, it is known that high-profile women are more likely to experience harassment than high-profile men. Even with women getting harassed less online because they are less outspoken on the internet, they are more likely to be harassed on account of their gender. Parallel with the beliefs set up in muted group theory, women are more likely than men to be

silenced by online harassment (Nadim & Fladmoe, 2019). Therefore, this study is prudent to the current times and in considering how social media can influence public perception of female politicians.

Online, women can find spaces to share their ideas, showing that there are blips of representation on the radar; however, women still face more challenges in posting their opinions than do men on the platform (Szostak, 2014). Women are likely to get harassed and victimized due to provocative posts online (Winkelman et al., 2015). This virtual harassment mirrors the harassment women receive in public places in real life (Houston & Kramarae, 1991).

Muted Group Theory and Marginalized Groups

The muted group theory proposes that women tend to be more constrained than men in what, when, and how they speak (Kramarae, 2005). Language and language norms are largely constructed by men in order to vocalize their thoughts, making women the muted group. This theory also suggests that it is not that these marginalized groups, such as women, do not have anything to say, more that the power structure does not allow them to say it confidently or without repercussions. The dominant in society, as far as this theory concerns, men, and other privileged groups of people overlook the voices of those who are in the non-dominant group. For women and other marginalized groups, “their knowledge is not considered sufficient for public decision-making or policy-making processes of that culture; their experiences are interpreted for them by others; and they are encouraged to see themselves as represented in the dominant discourse” (Kramarae, 2005, p. 55). With this, the dominant group will continue to belittle and reduce the speech of those that are already not celebrated to ensure that they never fall from privilege.

This theory also focuses on how sub-groups or minority subjugated groups in society (mainly women) experience the world and communication differently than the majority or dominant groups do (Barkman, 2018). Women are also less accepted and respected in these communications and world experiences than are men. The main tenants of muted group theory include dominance, acceptability, subordination, and resistance and change. Dominance refers to the dominant group in society defining language, acceptability explains that the subordinate group has a less acceptable form of communication than does the dominate group, subordination refers to the muted group needing to conform to the dominant language structure, and resistance and change reminds us that change is possible if we work towards it. Barkman (2018) went on to test these assertions in a study of women in the California prison system. It was found that Christian ministers in prison have a muting effect and an unequal relationship with women in the prison system, who may belong to one or more subgroups (Barkman, 2018).

Muted group theory has also been studied in other communities in society besides women, where it is also applicable. Muted group theory has also been applied to non-binary people, the LGBTQ+ community, immigrants, and American third-party candidates (Bertulfo, n.d.; Forst, 2015; Martorana, 2020; Prentice, 2005). Prentice (2005) explored American third-party candidates, and how while they are invited to participate, they are not taken seriously as contenders in American elections; therefore they cannot fully be included in conjecture around political issues. Forst (2015) focused their research on reframing spaces for LGBTQ+ people to freely communicate in the southern United States. Martorana (2020) showed us advances in pedagogy that can be made by being inclusive and practiced by creating a video project from older immigrant students for much younger immigrant students. Finally, Bertulfo (n.d.) showed us the importance of modifying language to accommodate the non-binary community and their

preferred pronouns. These studies are important in finding that regardless of what subjugated group an individual belongs to, they have to modify their language to be accepted, or they do not have language that represents them in certain areas of society altogether. Muted group theory can be expanded beyond women and certainly into multiple intersections of a woman's life.

It is important to note that marginalized groups also include socioeconomic status and occupation in many instances. For the purpose of this study, female politicians are muted in the American political arena. Meaning, they are certainly afforded privileges that many women in America and across the world are not due to their status.

Muted Group Theory in the Political Realm

Politics is considered a man's game (Pew Research Center, 2008). Even though the public views women as great leaders, sometimes better than men based on leadership traits, women in politics are often hindered by stereotypes and men dominating the political arena (Pew Research Center, 2008). Reasons that lead to gender disparity are perceived differently among women and men with nearly 60% of women believing that gender discrimination is holding them back as compared to only 36% of men agreeing with the same idea (Horowitz et al., 2018). Hoyt and Murphy (2016) highlighted leadership is extremely gendered, showing that leadership stereotypes are strongly masculine. Skingel's (2013) research is consistent with the premises laid out in muted group theory; women are held to a different standard than men due to the language structure. Furthermore, women have to adjust their language system to create a society where women not only run for office, but have equal say in office, and are encouraged to run for office (Skingel, 2013). Women's talk is often trivialized by society and women's opinions are considered not important. The societal expectation regarding women is a result of how

women are framed by the media, on top of the leadership stereotypes discussed in the introduction (Nee & DeMaio, 2019).

Consequentially, female political leaders have to adopt the male language system when promoting their campaigns. For example, Fridkin and Kenney (2014) found that women emphasize policy standpoints and how decisive they were as leaders, while men were able to emphasize parts of their personality like empathy. It is also shown by Dolan's (2005) research that women in fact do not campaign on what would be considered women's issues; instead, women try to model their campaigns much like a man would, hitting on the same policy issues. That is to say, women must downplay factors associated with their gender or be like a "man" when they aim to enter the political realm. This extends to social media platforms. McGregor and Mourão (2016) pointed out that although female politicians dominate the conversation on Twitter, that may not be beneficial to them. In fact, although women are spoken more about on Twitter, they do not control the rhetoric of their candidacy or campaign like men do, meaning that men get to control discourse about them online, despite women being talked more about. Therefore, women have more comments made about them and the web of comments is spun by others, not them.

The problem is that even when women adopt the male language system and model their campaigns to be like their male counterparts, the evaluation of female political leaders in society is still different from how the public evaluates male politicians. Bauer (2016) examined how women benefit from emphasizing masculine traits and minimizing feminine traits. Voters will often assume that women have less of the valued leadership traits that go into being a politician than do men. Bauer (2020) further expanded on this topic, explaining how female politicians are held to a higher and more strenuous standard than male politicians.

This disparity can be a result of how the images of female politicians are manifested in media. For example, Ross and Byerly's (2004) research identified multiple ways female politicians are framed by news on media. The researchers used the term "news" in a general sense, referring to anything that is covered by the news media. In fact, news on media is "a highly gendered, male-ordered paradigm of social and economic control," which furthers the patriarchal standards that women are held to (Ross & Byerly, 2004, p. 62). This overall framing of women in the media tells people, if even sometimes subtly, that there are certain ways women should act, their lives should be led, and there are different standards for them in society as compared to men (Ross & Byerly, 2004). One common trope is that women do not deserve political power and that they have used sexual relationships to gain success, rather than their own competency. Women being framed as less worthy of political offices, or as a stereotype, is a problem for democracy. This is because when people are pedaled with information about women in politics, it becomes their reality of the political process, which discourages women to run for political office, even if they are more qualified; it also creates a skewed societal perception that women are not good candidates in the political world (Ross & Byerly, 2004).

Framing Theory

According to McCombs (2006), framing is the way media influences public thought on major issues. In other words, the media will make issues salient, but moreover, the media will promote a lens through which the public should think about an issue. Scheufele (1999) further explained that the media selects information we see and then will frame it, or place it in a certain light or context; therefore, whatever context they present the information in is likely how we will grow to feel about the topic. Framing can happen by media selecting what news to show the public, emphasizing the news they think is important, excluding news they deem as not

important, and elaborating or explaining the news using certain rhetorical choices (Hendrickson & Tankard, 1996). Individuals also have frames or a schema through which they process the information presented to them (Scheufele, 1999).

When framing is enacted, it will promote “problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993, p. 4). To elaborate, Entman (1993) meant that frames measure what is causing issues, show what factors are creating a given problem, judge those factors to make a moral judgment, then suggest remedies to issues being covered by the frames. With this, framing does not only suggest to us what to think, but it also constructs our reality (Hallahan, 1999). Chong and Druckman (2007) said people will usually have a collection of feelings or vague notions about a topic that will lead them to a conclusion. Our own frames and framing presented to us affect the way we think about politicians and political issues (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

Framing will emphasize what issues, and what about those issues, the public needs to notice. According to Park et al. (2012), framing theory lends to emphasizing race, even when that is not the main topic at hand. Framing has also been seen to affect news coverage of women, particularly women who work in the news as studied by Kern and Mishra (2014). Depending on how a woman is framed, she can be perceived differently by different audiences, highlighting how depending on the news network or source that is doing the reporting, women will be treated differently by the public and other news outlets (Kern & Mishra, 2014). This can be seen across the world. Female politicians in Kenya hardly make headlines, and if they do, it is because they are being associated with some type of controversy (Thuo, 2012). In New Zealand, women are seeing increased coverage like they are around the world; however, this increase in coverage is not necessarily a good thing (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Fountaine and McGregor’s (2002)

research outlined that more media coverage creates a segue for more sexist media tropes to be reported on.

In leadership contexts, women were seen as less powerful than men and were often stereotyped due to framing (Bruckmüller et al., 2011). Framing can happen more than in politics or in the media. Allan and colleagues (2009) proved that even women who have legitimate titles of leadership can suffer in their evaluations due to male-constructed views of leadership. Clark (2019) illuminated the fact that even fictional women are portrayed according to gendered expectations of leadership.

Women in Media

Over time, like women's involvement in media, women's representation in media has shifted. As early as the 1970s, we see reports of women in media as commodity objects that are hypersexualized (Butcher et al., 1974). Hoyt and colleagues (2010) pointed out that female leaders are affected by being portrayed using stereotypes and that it negatively affects their self-esteem and performance.

Female politicians are subject to a lot of media coverage given the nature of their profession, and it too is unequal to men's representation. Kahn and Goldenberg (1991) found that female politicians are generally covered in the news based on their viability as candidates and not on their policy positions. In conjunction with that, female politicians are usually displayed as less viable. It is also known that female politicians are seen as different than women in general, or seen as a subtype of woman, generally defined more by their deficits than are men (Schneider & Bos, 2013). Consistent with framing theory, women in politics may suffer as a consequence of their media coverage (Kahn, 1994). Again, Kahn (1994) outlined that women get less issue coverage than men in politics as well as more negative coverage and coverage emphasizing the

odds that a woman must overcome to win their election. Consistent with muted group theory, media outlets are more likely to be responsive to messages from male candidates, potentially muting female politicians, and driving them to adopt alternate campaign strategies (Kahn, 1994). Much of the research in this area is dated and only includes traditional media, so it is important for this study to focus on social media and its impact on the premises laid out above.

Women have a storied history in media, with many times they were excluded from media altogether and other times women improved media (Friedman et al., 2009). Many women's issues, like voting rights and healthcare, were also excluded from mainstream media, causing women and feminists to create their own media outlets to express their ideas (Sedgwick, 2020). Women politicians are no stranger to unfair media coverage. Throughout time, female vice-presidential candidates have been treated poorly, by overtly or covertly sexist messaging from the mainstream media (Tarte, 2021).

Tarte (2021) also explained that over time, progress has seemed to flatline. Furthermore, the introduction of the 24-hour news cycle has made the sexist messaging more overwhelming for female politicians, and could even effect election results (Tarte, 2021). Desai and colleagues (2014) found that working women, in general, are also generally viewed negatively by conventionally married men, who will assume companies run by women are operating inefficiently, view them as unattractive, and even deny qualified women promotion opportunities.

Women's Political Representation in the Media

In a cross-national study focusing on gender disparities in press coverage for male and female politicians, it was found that America has huge disparities based on gender in press coverage due to our lack of women in Congress (Kittilson & Fridkin, 2008). This study shows us

that even in traditional media, specifically newspapers, across the world, regardless of women's representation in a democracy, women will be portrayed in media with gender bias and stereotypes. This is a long-storied history with traditional media. Another systematic analysis of different studies on newspapers shows us that men in politics get more media attention overall (Van der Pas & Aaldering, 2020). Furthermore, women in politics get more media attention about their home life, appearance, and other domestic topics than do men. This study also goes on to note that women do not benefit from being part of a democratic or majorant government system; in fact, they are in many ways disadvantaged by it.

Schreiber (2010) displayed that especially liberal women are known for being covered as the ultimate authority on women's issues; this can create a narrow perspective about their overall policy knowledge. Tethering women to women's issues also presents a partisan issue (Schreiber, 2010). Conservative women and feminist women will only get media representation about certain issues (for feminists, reproductive rights, for example) and not about the issues that the media will deem outside of their normal lexicon. Feminists are usually seen as the paramount speakers for all women's issues and conservatives are classified by their political beliefs, not by their feelings about women's rights. Therefore, the media fails both sides of the aisle and the two sides are rarely mentioned in the same articles (Schreiber, 2010).

Those who work with female politicians report that female politicians are treated more unfairly by the media than their male counterparts (Niven & Zilber, 2001). They tend to be viewed as firstly a female, then a politician. Niven and Zilber (2001) also agreed that women politicians' interests and positions are overshadowed by their sex and the media's expectation of them to focus on women's rights issues. The marginalization and stereotyping of women or

painting them as less serious contenders in the political arena by the media hurts their chances of being taken seriously by the public (Niven & Zilber, 2001).

Okimoto and Brescoll (2010) presented that women in politics are held to different interpersonal standards than men. Women who are deemed as power-seeking are penalized as far as voter intention, whereas men are not. Moreover, when female candidates are seen as power-seeking, they are labeled as less caring than a female candidate who is not typed as power-seeking. Consistent with female leaders all around the professional world, there are standards and biases applied to women that are not applied to men. However, women do not only receive backlash as far as voter favorability. Krook (2017) displayed that there is, to this day, violence and intimidation towards female politicians, or women working in political media, all around the world.

It goes to show that women online and women politicians are harassed, but how are female politicians harassed specifically online? On social media, women are at the brunt of many forms of disparaging messages (Rheault et al., 2019). This study shows that highly visible women in politics are more likely to receive uncivil messages on social media than are male politicians. According to Rheault and colleagues (2019), as a woman in politics grows more relevant and powerful, so does the vitriol she is exposed to online.

The media is just as good at stereotyping female politicians as the electorate is (Meeks, 2012). News coverage focuses more on the novelty of female candidates than of male candidates, whereas female candidates also received more character judgment than male candidates. When looking at women in leadership positions, the gender gaps were also higher as the level of political office got higher. Meeks and Domke (2016) proved that partisans also react to the way

women are portrayed by the media. Democrats prefer more feminine candidates over more masculine candidates, while Republicans generally preferred the more masculine candidates.

Women are also held to different standards non-verbally (Everitt et al., 2016). When male candidates display their perceived self-power, they appear more powerful and in control, but, when women do the same, they are perceived as less powerful (Everitt et al., 2016). Barnes and Cassese (2016) illustrated that women experience less of a gendered difference in the electorate when the electorate is highly involved and politically literate.

Biases towards women, in general, have a negative impact on voters' likelihood to choose them (Mo, 2014). Meaning that as attitudes against female leaders decrease, the likelihood they will be chosen increases. However, people who remain undecided tend to rely on their implicit biases and preferences to make a vote choice, meaning they lean often into negative stereotypes about women (Mo, 2014). Voter implicit biases can be overcome when it comes to voting when alongside other important variables, but it still poses an issue for female politicians (Dolan & Lynch, 2013; Mo, 2014).

The effects of attitudes towards women and media effects on women do not just appear in surveys and polls; it can be seen in real life. According to Harp et al. (2016), even a seasoned and experienced political leader like Hillary Clinton cannot shake all of the gendered effects of media coverage. In fact, even with the successes of someone with decades of work in the political arena, Clinton is still covered based on her emotions. Harp et al. (2016) showed us that competency and femininity seem to be mutually exclusive for women politicians, as far as the media is concerned. When women show emotion, as Hillary Clinton did during the Benghazi trial, they are covered again as a "womb-holding-thus-brainless" women who are incapable of holding office (Harp et al., p. 205)

Rationale for Research Questions

Entman and Usher (2018) stated that since traditional media is now less popular than social media, it must be considered how people are affected by framing online. Entman and Usher (2018) also posited that some framing effects on social media are altered, because where before traditional media were seen as gatekeepers, now political and media elites can bypass networks and say exactly what they want to on the internet. This could affect the tenants of framing in many ways. For example, studies have shown that people who get most of their news from social media are generally less knowledgeable about major issues and elections (Mitchell et al., 2020). Framing effect may be more prominent in the context of social media.

One important social media platform to study is Twitter. According to Hughes and Wojcik (2019) from Pew Research Center, around 22% of U.S. adults use Twitter. Forty-two percent of adults ages 18 to 29 use Twitter, their biggest age demographic (Statista, 2021). Most Twitter users are men, with 61.6% of the platform's population being men, as compared to only 38.4% of users who are women. Twitter is the most popular social media network for news consumption, with 52% of users consuming news on the site. Most tweets come from the most popular tweeters, meaning high profile accounts control 80% of the discourse on Twitter (Hughes & Wojcik, 2019). Politicians have a large following on the platform and that can have some correlation with whether or not the user is favorable of them (Hughes & Wojcik, 2019). The current study will focus on social media, specifically Twitter, and how female political leaders are framed by Twitter users.

With the seemingly ever-expanding social media universe, some feminists and women's rights activists can find places online where they are surrounded by like-minded people. It can also provide more platforms for those who disagree with women's rights and continue to

contribute to the muting of and framing of women. For this study, the focus will be Twitter. As far as politics, muted group theory has seldom been discussed. It is normally used to describe the trials and tribulations of third-party candidates, which is important research in a two-party system. Framing is normally discussed in the context of traditional media, hence why this study is focusing on female political leaders on social media. However, the chief concern of this study is specifically social media and its relationship to female politicians, not political parties and their platforms.

This study seeks to bring all the aforementioned topics into one study. There has been research done about women's portrayal in traditional media and research done about women's harassment online. There has also been research done about female leaders, and women in politics. However, a lacking area of research is how women are portrayed by users on social media, and how this can affect how they are viewed by society in general. By conducting a sentiment and content analysis of tweets about six prominent female politicians, how women are framed on social media can be studied. This research will also employ the use of a survey to answer the question of how this social media framing affects attitudes about women in real life.

Research Questions

This research explores the media images of female political leaders and the societal perceptions of female political leaders. Three research questions are proposed:

RQ1: How are the images of female political leaders manifested on social media platforms, specifically Twitter?

RQ2: How does the general public perceive female political leaders?

RQ3: Is the general public's view of female political leaders consistent with the social media representation of female political leaders?

Methods

Method 1: Social Media Content Analysis

Content analysis classically has been finding and identifying characteristics of messages (Lai & To, 2015). This method used to be done manually, with researchers coming up with their own code and sifting through content. However, with advances in technology, this is no longer necessary in some cases. One of those cases is social media analysis. Due to the enormous amount of information and data that can be extracted from social media, using data analysis programs is prudent. Computer-aided lexical software is one of the areas of technology that can produce word counts and what this study relies on (Lai & To, 2015).

Lai and To (2015) proposed a four phrase “social-media-to-concept” approach to guide the social media analysis, detailing how a social media analysis can be done with the help of the software (p. 141). According to Lai and To (2015), scholars who desire to conduct social media analysis can start by identifying the goal and the scope of their study. Second, the researchers go through the data collection stage, such as identifying the online sources where data should be drawn, the sample size, and the data retrieval. The third stage is what Lai and To (2015) labeled as “data transformation” (p. 141), using software to identify the word counts and frequency and conduct exploratory factor analysis to reveal the underlying dimensions. Lastly, researchers interpret their findings.

Data Collection

Inspired by Lai and To (2015), the current research adopted the four-phase “social-media-to-concept” approach to examine social media content related to female political leaders, which provides an answer to the first research question. As laid out in the literature review and research method section, the social media platform examined in the current research is Twitter.

To withdraw tweets, the researcher relied on NodeXL, a program that is designed to pull social media data. The tweets were pulled using a key word search, the key words being the names of the six female politicians focused on in the study. The six prominent female political leaders included in the search included Liz Cheney, Hillary Clinton, Nikki Haley, Kyrsten Sinema, Kamala Harris, and Nancy Pelosi. Those politicians were selected based not only on their ability to make history or headlines, but also on party affiliation, as it was important to have some Democrats and some Republicans, as well as politicians who are more partisan, and those who are more moderate in their political views. The key word search of their name allowed for tweets to be pulled no matter where they appear on Twitter, whether that was in a reply, a quoted tweet, or an original tweet. If this study had relied on a Twitter-user search, the data would have been more limited to replies in threads of the political leader's tweets.

The raw data for these six politicians were collected from November 8, 2021, to November 12, 2021. For each female political leader, tweets withdrawn within the time frame ranged from 5,000 to 15,000. In total, NodeXL pulled 73,284 tweets. An initial examination of the tweets found that there are many repetitions within the data and tweets in different languages.

Data Cleaning

Therefore, data cleanup is necessary. Data cleaning first included deleting all repetitive tweets using the data function in Microsoft Excel. The object of removing repeat tweets was so that word frequency was disturbed by the same tweet being counted more than once. Then, tweets in languages other than English were put into Google Translate. After data cleaning, each politician was left with anywhere from just over 2,000 tweets to just over 4,400 tweets.

Clean data for each female politician were saved into a separate Excel spreadsheet and imported into NVivo to identify the most frequently used words associated with each female

political leader. After the data was imported into NVivo, the word frequency query was used to generate a list of the most frequently used words in tweets. The default in the program was set to first identify the top 5,000 words. So, out of the tweets collected, the top 5,000 words most used in the conversation surrounding each of the six politicians were generated. After running the query, the researcher examined the list and eliminated irrelevant or nonsense words.

For example, if the word was a part of speech that did not have meaning out of context, it was eliminated. Alternatively, if a word was topical to something happening at the time the tweets were collected and was determined to not be a good indicator of the feelings about a politician in general, it was deleted. If two different words, for instance, a first and last name, were both rendering the same results, the less popular result was eliminated. Many other words like “amp,” “numbers,” or “https” were also eliminated since they have no stand-alone meaning.

Any word that could not be interpreted as lending to the image of a politician was removed by the researcher. After the initial data cleaning, there was left a list of words that all had a meaning that could be attached to the politician. These words were then clicked on to reveal all of the tweets associated with them. After combing through the results under each word, there was another round of eliminations. The researcher would judge the words based on whether or not they were contextual enough to convey meaning about the politician. This process was repeated until there was a definite list of 30 words most closely related to each politician. In general, the initial word query was cleaned a minimum of 10 times before the words were looked at more closely. After that spot-check was done, the cleaning would go on until a list of 30 relevant words was leftover. Sometimes this process would happen dozens of times. The list of

words that were taken out of consideration for each politician, or the “stop words,” can be found in Appendix B and the results can be found in Appendix C.

Data Analysis

In addition to identifying the most frequently used words in tweets, the research also used the NVivo auto codes feature to identify general themes and sentiment, which provides a sense of whether the tweets regarding each female political leader are positive, negative, or neutral. This measure can help the researchers understand the general sentiment towards female political leaders on social media platforms.

Lai and To's (2015) four-phase “social media-to-concept” approach used exploratory factor analysis to identify the underlying factor structure on social media content. The current research took a slightly different approach, inspired by Shahin and Dai's (2019) research on Twitter. The research used NodeXL and NVivo to gain information about general attitudes towards female political leaders. However, social media analysis does not yield much content-related information on Twitter. The first research question concerns how female political leaders are manifested on social media. Although NVivo provided a general idea, topics and themes related to female politicians could not be identified. To understand further how Twitter users talk about female politicians, a content analysis was conducted.

One hundred fifty randomly sampled tweets from each of the female political leaders were drawn from the clean data set, using functions in Excel. The random sample was collected by creating a chart, numbering it, copying it into a new sheet, and then using the ROWS function to copy the information. Then using the RAND function, the numbered tweets were randomly pulled into the new sheet. Using the LOOKUP function, the tweets were then displayed

according to what random numbers were pulled. Using Glaser and Strauss's (1967) grounded theory, the researcher conducted open coding to generate reoccurring themes on Twitter.

Connecting all three research questions relied on comparing the findings of the Twitter analysis with public perception of female political leaders in the United States to see if the findings were consistent a survey was sent out.

Method 2: Survey

Participants

To understand the general public's perception of female political leaders, an online survey was administered in March 2022. The data collection lasted for about a week. The survey was approved by the Institutional Review Board office in a mid-sized public university in Virginia. Although the survey was open to anyone who had access to the survey link, the majority of the participants were college students at a Virginia public university. The researcher recruited participants through two methods: 1) The researcher posted the survey link on her social media accounts (e.g. Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, and Twitter), and invited people to participate in the survey. 2) The researcher visited college classrooms, especially introductory communication classes, to invite students to participate in the survey at the start of class. No compensation was offered to participants who completed the survey, but they were all informed of the potential benefits of conducting this research.

A total of 304 people participated in the survey ($N = 304$). In terms of age, most of participants are young: 85.9% of participants are 18 to 20 years old ($n = 243$), followed by 8% between 30 and 49 ($n = 22$), 4.7% between 50 to 64 ($n = 14$), and 1.4% being 65 and older ($n = 4$). For ethnicity, the majority of the participants considered themselves as White (73.6%, $n = 208$), followed by 11.2% Black or African American ($n = 33$), 0.35% of participants were

American Indian or Alaska Native ($n = 1$), 3.6% Asian ($n = 10$), 1.1% Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander ($n = 3$), 6.5% of participants perceived themselves as multi-racial ($n = 18$), and 3.6% belonged to the category of “other” ($n = 10$).

In terms of gender, 60.7% of participants were females ($n = 173$), 37.8% male ($n = 105$), 0.7% of respondents reported they were non-binary ($n = 2$), with the last 0.7% reporting they were some other gender ($n = 2$). The survey also measured participants’ political affiliation: 46.2% of participants reported as Democrats ($n = 131$), with 23.3% Republicans ($n = 65$); 30.5% of participants selected “other” in their answers ($n = 86$).

Most people completing this survey had a bachelor’s degree, denoted by 38.8% of those who answered the question ($n = 111$), 29.9% had some college but no degree ($n = 82$), 13.4% had a high school diploma or equivalent ($n = 38$), 13.4% had their graduate degree ($n = 37$), 5.1% had their associate degree ($n = 14$), and 0.4% of those reporting had less than a high school degree or equivalent ($n = 1$).

Lastly, most of those who took part in this study are affiliated with the university where the study was conducted (69.3%, $n = 196$). This is followed by 30.4% of those reporting no affiliation with the university ($n = 87$). Of those affiliated with the university, current students ranked at 46% ($n = 130$), 17% had previously graduated from the university ($n = 48$), and 5.8% had formerly been a student at the university ($n = 18$).

Materials

The survey began by asking for the participant’s consent to be included in the research. If they responded that they did not consent, the survey ended. The consent forms provided participants with information about the benefits and risks of the research, a general description of

the purpose of the research, the benefit of the research, who could participate in the research, and contact information for the researchers.

Design

To examine RQ2 and RQ3, a survey was designed to understand the general societal perception of female politicians. The survey was distributed online, using a link created on Qualtrics. The study was approved by the Research Compliance Office in the university where the study was conducted.

The survey included three sections. The first section focused on demographic information and participants' usage of social media. Basic demographic information was collected, such as age, ethnicity, gender, and education level. To understand participants' social media usage, the survey asked participants to identify their top three most used social media platforms and select all the social media platforms they often use. The survey also tried to learn the influence of social media on the participants' knowledge of news by asking "How much of your news do you get from social media?" On a sliding scale, participants could represent that value on a sliding scale valued 0 (lowest) to 100 (highest). They could answer on two scales, one for political news and one for entertainment news.

The second section included questions about female political leaders in general. Participants were asked to list the top three political leaders they could think of, and then list three adjectives that came to mind when thinking about political leaders.

The third section of the survey targeted participants' perceptions regarding female political leaders. Adapted from Dumaru and Pene (2014) and Horowitz et al. (2018), a list of 30 words that reflect leadership qualities were included in the survey. Participants were asked to indicate whether they agree that female political leaders possess each quality on a 5-point Likert

Scale, where 1 means “strongly agree” and 5 means “strongly disagree.” The scale was highly reliable, $\alpha = .92$.

Subsequently, respondents were asked to list leadership qualities that they believe female leaders possess but were not listed. Respondents were asked to show their preference for the next President of the United States. Again, they could represent their chosen value on a sliding scale valued 0 (lowest) to 100 (highest) for both men and women. Lastly, respondents were asked to what extent they agree that “Generally, men are better political leaders than women.” This question was asked using a 5-point Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

The full survey can be found in Appendix A.

Results

Results from this study come in two parts. The first part is analyzing the Twitter data, including using NVivo to conduct social media content analysis and manual open coding of the randomly selected tweets about the six female political leaders. Glaser and Strauss’s (1967) grounded theory guided the process of open coding.

The second part of the results comes from the survey. SPSS was used to analyze the survey data. Descriptive statistics and principal component factor analysis were conducted to yield the results from the survey. Although a total of 304 people participated in the survey, only 203 completed the survey questions. Pairwise deletion was used for missing values.

Social Media Content Analysis (Part I: NVivo analysis)

Female Presentation

After analyzing the data, the six female political leaders shared some commonalities in how they were presented online. All of the female political leaders were talked about in the context of male political leaders. This could have been comparatively, in conjunction with, or

just relative to the male political leaders. The male political leaders most often mentioned were Joe Biden, Donald Trump, Bernie Sanders, Barack Obama, Terry McAuliffe, Al Sharpton, Mitt Romney, Chuck Schumer, Joe Manchin, Ron DeSantis, Tim Scott, and Mike Pence. The amount these male politicians were mentioned can be contrasted with the amount of time female politicians were mentioned. Compared to the 12 male politicians mentioned, only Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Winsome Sears, and Kamala Harris were used in conversations about the six original female political leaders.

Otherwise, there were often mentions of political parties, things the politicians are or were involved with, and some negative words. Most of the female politicians were talked about using words like *bad*, *hate*, or *never*. However, this can be hard to understand without knowing the sentiment behind the tweets. Word frequency can be found in Appendix C.

After looking at the sentiment analysis the following chart was created to understand the general attitude of the tweets we collected. The tweets were coded as follows:

Sentiment Analysis Percentages						
	Hillary Clinton	Kamala Harris	Liz Cheney	Nikki Haley	Nancy Pelosi	Kyrsten Sinema
Very Negative	(24.8%)	(28.8%)	(31.2%)	(30.2%)	(28.2%)	(33%)
Moderately Negative	(47.6%)	(36.1%)	(42.7%)	(40.6%)	(41.3%)	(42.3%)
Moderately Positive	(17.4%)	(24%)	(17.4%)	(20.3%)	(20.8%)	(17.7%)
Very Positive	(10.2%)	(11.1%)	(8.7%)	(8.9%)	(9.7%)	(7%)

Seeing the numbers, it is telling of how negative the tweets about these women are. Nearly 30% of all tweets about these six female politicians were coded as “Very Negative.” Just over 41% of the total tweets were coded as “Moderately Negative,” which is the largest

proportion of the tweets overall. Combine these two percentages and it works out that around 70% of the tweets surrounding these female politicians were coded as negative in some way.

Social Media Content Analysis (Part II: Open Coding)

A total of 600 randomly selected tweets were analyzed using Glaser and Strauss's (1967) grounded theory to understand how female political leaders were talked about on social media platforms. Seven themes emerged through opening coding, including sarcasm, appearance, competence, hatred, male-centeredness, positive attributes, and sexual comments.

Sarcasm

Out of the 600 tweets analyzed, many tweets could be considered sarcastic, if not backhanded. For example, this sarcastic tweet thanking Hillary Clinton for a failure: “@SenGillibrand @HillaryClinton Happy birthday, Hillary Clinton. Thank you for never being president.” Another reads, “Sorry, we’re out of Kamala Harris yard signs, but I’ve got something just as good <https://t.co/VOtHVk1AOs>.” The signs referenced show one sign reading “Back the Blue” juxtaposed with another sign that says “Black Lives Matter” amongst other progressive social stance taglines like, “Love is Love.” These tweets all take a humor-based jab at one of the six politicians being studied.

Appearance

This theme is defined by mostly comments about the female political leader's wardrobe. This theme was heavily focused on Kyrsten Sinema. For example, one tweet reads, “Remember the other day when Kyrsten Sinema made Forever 21 trend on Twitter because she's 45 yrs old and dresses like inappropriate shit?” Another tweet directed toward Sinema says, “Don't dress as Kyrsten Sinema for Halloween kids. It may be hard to see you crossing the street if you're wearing a black t-shirt and a denim vest.” Some tweets in this section could also be considered to

be sarcastic in nature like the category above. For example, “an ex-Mormon wearing ugly outfits and bad wigs while being a psychotic girlboss..... I just realized Kyrsten Sinema is in the US Senate because Bravo wouldn’t hire her be a Real Housewife of Salt Lake City as always, our country’s pathologies are Andy Cohen’s fault.” Although the emphasis of these tweets is to disparage appearance, they often succeed as an avenue for other types of negative comments.

Competency

Another theme that emerged from the content analysis is about women’s state of mind or ability to hold office. Some of these tweets are centered around general behavior, while some are focused on age, past legislative actions, and habits. One tweet about Nancy Pelosi reads, “I’m watching Nancy Pelosi at her presser and she is so beside herself and dancing around. I’ve watched her for years and used to say she was made of steel but I think the squad has destroyed her.” Another tweet aimed at Pelosi reads, “Never ceases to amaze me how old key politicians, bureaucrats, public servants (particularly in highly technical fields) in the states are: Nancy Pelosi - 81 years old, Anthony Fauci - 80 years old, Mitch McConnell - 79 years old, Alan Greenspan - 79 years old (at retirement).” Finally, another Nancy Pelosi tweet asks, “Is Nancy Pelosi an alcoholic?” All of these tweets call into question some action while leading or her overall ability to lead, not always based on merit. Some of these tweets are of more substance, such as this tweet about Kamala Harris: “Never forget... Kamala Harris touted her plans to be a ‘prosecutor president,’ but as Tulsi Gabbard pointed out, during her time as a prosecutor, she had a record of targeting nonviolent offenders, poor minorities and using prison labor for profit.”

Hatred

This theme is full of tweets that are simply vulgar, usually laden with profane words or lewd comments. An example of this could be seen in a tweet just using curse words: “F*ck Nikki

Haley F*ck Claudia Tenney <https://t.co/zReoJiuyE>.” Sometimes these tweets have a context like seen here: “Fuck Joe Manchin. Fuck Kyrsten Sinema. Fuck the GOP. Fuck white supremacists. Fuck everybody who doesn’t give a shit about the poor, minorities, and women.” And sometimes they have less context like seen here: “@Qturmp17MAGA @Z73Xo Fuck Nancy Pelosi.”

Positive Attributes

Most tweets are negative in some ways, but some tweets celebrate or champion the female political leaders. This is a relatively small margin of tweets overall. Some of them are more aggressive in nature like this one: “-Liz ‘Liz Cheney Lashes Out at Fox News for Airing Tucker Carlson’s ‘Lies’ About Capitol Riot <https://t.co/qJWuEzRrXt> via @Yahoo I ADMIRE CHENEY’S SANITY AND THAT SHE PULLS THOSE FUCKING IDIOTS ON THE CARPET FROM FAUX NOISE AND THE REPUBLICUNT PARTY WHO ARE LYING OR TOTAL TRAITORS!” Some others are more pleasant and show support for the female political leaders’ work: “@Liz_Cheney @FoxNews @TuckerCarlson @rupertmurdoch @jayawallace @Suzannescott @SpeakerRyan Keep up the good work Liz. Don’t let them break your spirit. Your efforts will not be for naught.”

Male-Centeredness

This theme is consistent with what the research has found using NodeXL and NVivo: Hillary Clinton-centered tweets often mentioned Joe Biden, Donald Trump, Barack Obama, and Bernie Sanders. Tweets regarding Kamala Harris were tied to Donald Trump, Joe Biden, and Al Sharpton. Kyrsten Sinema focused tweets roped in Joe Manchin, Mitt Romney, and Joe Biden. The tweets surrounding Liz Cheney were focused on Donald Trump. Finally, the tweets surrounding Nikki Haley were laden with mentions of Glenn Youngkin, Ron DeSantis, and Joe Biden. Seeing as most politicians in the United States are male, this is to be somewhat expected.

However, it is jarring that out of any words that could possibly be used in conjunction with female political leaders, many of the comments about these women were contextualized using male political leaders.

Sexual Comments

Tweets in this theme imply some sexual meaning toward the female politicians. These tweets were not well reflected in the random sampling, however, were very prominent during method one, so it is still important to include the category. For example, “Kamala: Can we call Kamala Harris 🗨️ she is expert on when comes to swallowing 😋 🗨️ <https://t.co/V9Vwx9C2Fl>.” Some of these tweets could also be categorized as about wardrobe, but are sexual jokes. An example of this comes from a tweet about Liz Cheney: “@hungus14 @TheOGpianoGeek Kyrsten Sinema wearing that dress at what I presume is an official function in the Senate brings to mind an entirely different line of work!”

RQ1 asks how the images of female political leaders are manifested on social media platforms, specifically in this study, Twitter. Based on the social media content analysis and the open coding of randomly selected tweets, generally, Twitter users were tweeting negatively about the female politicians. These tweets were sorted into categories: sarcasm, appearance, competency, hatred, positive attributes, male-centeredness, and sexual comments.

Survey Results

RQ2 explores the general public’s views of female political leaders. To answer the second research question, the researcher first conducted an exploratory factor analysis on a scale that measured participants’ perceptions of female political leaders’ qualities. Descriptive statistics were then conducted on measures of participants’ preference for future leaders. The

researcher also conducted quantitative coding on the list of adjectives participants used to describe female political leaders.

Exploratory Factor Analysis Results

Participants were asked to indicate whether they agree that female political leaders possess each of 30 qualifications on a 5-point Likert Scale. Using principal component analysis, five components were generated with eigenvalues larger than 1. After carefully examining the items in each component, the researcher believed four distinctive components should be extracted based on the data.

Firstly, positive attributes were extracted. This component includes all the qualifications that are considered to be positive characteristics female political leaders possess. Twenty-four out of 30 qualifications in the scale loaded heavily on this specific component, including intelligence, honesty, decisiveness, ambition, and innovativeness. To understand the general perception the participants had of this component, an average of all 24 items were computed using SPSS and the mean score was 1.95, which indicates that participants agreed that female politicians possessed these positive traits.

Second, negative attributes were extracted. The second group is comprised of three qualities: aggressiveness, stubbornness, and arrogance. Again, an average of the three items was computed and the mean score of the component was 2.75. A score of 1 in the Likert scale indicates the participants strongly agree with the qualities, while 5 means strongly disagree. A score of 3 is a neutral stance. So, the mean score of this component indicates participants neither agreed nor disagreed that female political leaders possess those negative attributes.

The third component is religiousness. This component includes two items: religiousness and submissiveness. The same procedure was conducted on this component and yielded a mean

score of 3.30, which means participants slightly disagreed that female political leaders are religious or submissive.

The last component only includes one item: physical attractiveness. The mean score of the component was 2.70, meaning participants were neutral on the topic.

The factor analysis showed that generally, participants felt that female politicians possessed positive qualities. This belief was confirmed when examining participants' preference for the next President of the United States. At the end of the survey, participants were asked about their preference for the next president in terms of gender, using a 0%-100% scale. The mean preference score for a male president was 52.32, while the mean preference for a female president was 59.45. The participants slightly preferred females to be the next President of the United States.

But there was a gender difference. When only examining male participants' preferences, the answer was the opposite. Male participants in this study preferred a male president with a mean score of 57.13, while their mean preference score for a female president was down to 49.46. On the other hand, the female participants favored a female president with a mean score of 65.00 and only a mean preference score of 49.02 for a male president.

There is a divide between men and women regarding whom they would prefer to see as the Commander in Chief of the United States next election cycle, with women preferring a female president, and men preferring a male president. Given the fact that more women completed the survey than men, it's not hard to understand why overall the survey data showed a female preference.

Quantitative Coding (Top Female Political Leaders)

The survey asked participants to name the top three female political leaders in the United States, as a way to see whether the six female leaders studied in the social media content analysis were similar to the list generated by the survey participants. Overall, the list generated in the survey was highly consistent with the six female political leaders studied in the social media content analysis.

The top female politician listed overall was Vice President of the United States, Kamala Harris. Vice President Harris led the pack with 153 mentions with Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi following her at 104 mentions. Considering there were only 304 respondents, there was a significant number of people who listed these two women. The third most common answer was Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, followed by Hillary Clinton, who was then followed by Michelle Obama. The complete list of female political leaders can be found in Appendix D.

Quantitative Coding (Description of Female Political Leaders)

Participants were asked to write down three adjectives when thinking of female political leaders. After sorting through every response, a list of the 10 most frequently used words to describe female political leaders was generated.

The top words used to describe female political leaders were *strong* with 81 mentions, *powerful* with 29 mentions, *smart* with 21 mentions, *determined* with 20 mentions, *intelligent* with 19 mentions, *independent* with 16 mentions, *brave* with 14 mentions, *hardworking* and *confident* tied with 12 mentions, *passionate* with 11 mentions, and *resilient* with nine mentions. Nearly 27% of respondents used the word *powerful* to describe female political leaders. All of the top 10 words listed are positive words to describe female politicians. In general, the participants in this study think about female political leaders positively.

But, there is no shortage of negative descriptions regarding the female political leaders. Those words include *overcompensating*, *absent*, *uneducated*, *rude*, *demanding*, *corrupt*, *biased*, *loud*, and *reactionary*. The full list of the descriptions can be found in Appendix E. These negative words were listed 42 times in total as a part of several respondents' answers. Many of these answers would come from the same people, who listed only negative adjectives when describing female politicians.

RQ2 asked how the general public perceives female political leaders. The survey data showed that participants generally perceive female political leaders in a positive light. They believed that female political leaders possess many positive traits to be a leader and they also prefer the next President of the United States to be a female.

The last research question is about whether the social media presentation of female political leaders is consistent with the general public's views. As shown in the social media content analysis, generally female political leaders were talked about negatively and whenever they were mentioned; they were either associated with another male politician or associated with some negative terms. So, the image of female political leaders was negative on social media platforms. However, the general public perceives female political leaders positively based on the survey data. There is an inconsistency between what's shown on social media and the general public perceptions of female political leaders.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to 1) investigate how female politicians are presented and discussed online, 2) understand how the general public feels about female politicians, and 3) examine whether the online representation of female leaders and the general public's view of them were consistent with one another.

Using the social media content analysis of Twitter, the researcher was able to find common words and themes about six female political leaders. The study included an analysis of tweets about Kamala Harris, Nancy Pelosi, Kyrsten Sinema, Liz Cheney, Nikki Haley, and Hillary Clinton. Social media content analysis demonstrated that tweets about those female political leaders are generally in negative tones. To further understand the semantics of the tweets, the researcher used open coding to generate a list of themes that emerged from the tweets about female political leaders. Although there are tweets praising female political leaders' positive attributes, the majority of them are negatively worded.

One of the most interesting findings in the social media content analysis is the idea of male-centeredness: Whenever a female political leader was mentioned on Twitter, she was always talked about in the context of a male politician. This is a perfect example of muted group theory in the era of social media. Kramarae (2005) said, “[Women’s] knowledge is not considered sufficient for public decision-making or policy-making processes of that culture; their experiences are interpreted for them by others; and they are encouraged to see themselves as represented in the dominant discourse” (p. 55). As the muted group, women are not able to communicate themselves in the way men can, because the language system in society itself was built by men. It is no shock that online a woman’s ability to lead would come into question. It is also no shock that female politicians are consistently talked about in the context of men as if without mentioning male politicians, female political leaders could independently exist. It is ironic that after so many years of promoting gender equality in society, when females, especially important and powerful females, are talked about on social media platforms, they are still seen as attachments to other important and powerful males.

The language used to describe female political leaders on social media platforms is negatively framing the images or meanings associated with them. The current study has shown that the female political leaders were talked about mostly negatively. Around 70% of all of the tweets collected were coded to be either “Very Negative” or “Somewhat Negative.” Female political leaders are negatively framed on social media.

Chong and Druckman (2007) pointed out that our reality is largely constructed by frames, whether they are our own personal frames or they are frames presented to us. Largely, the process of framing is studied through a more traditional media lens, focusing on broadcast news. Social media is slightly different because it is individual people who are taking stances on issues, but many people who create trends and discourse about topics. In the context of the female politicians, issues surrounding them were addressed, but that does not make anyone person tweeting a thought leader or influencer on the issue. Also, the survey part of the current study was mostly completed by young college-educated women. These placements can have a major effect on the personal frames the respondents were bringing into the study, thus affecting their answers. Around the world, female politicians are known to be mentioned in the media when there is a controversy, making much of their attention negative attention (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Thuo, 2012). Apply this concept to Twitter, and it makes sense as to why users often comment on controversial things and pedal out negative opinions about women.

Although the social media content analysis showed that female political leaders were framed negatively on social media, what’s found in the survey was surprising. Generally, the public perceives female political leaders in a positive light and would prefer to have a female president for the future. Framing theory states that media tell people how to think about certain

issues. What the researcher found in this study seems to be contradictory to the premises in the framing theory. There may be two reasons explaining this discrepancy.

First, the majority of the survey participants were females. It is not hard to imagine that they are more open to having a female leader and are more lenient towards other females. This is confirmed by the gender divide in the survey: Males prefer their next president to be of the same gender, but females would like to have a female president in the future. Although there was no gender information in the social media content analysis, based on a report on Twitter users, overall there are more male Twitter users (56.4%) than female users (43.6%) (Statista, 2022).

Second, this discrepancy can also be explained by age differences between survey takers and Twitter users. Twitter users are comparatively older than the participants in the survey. The majority of the survey takers are college students, between 18 and 20. However, the largest age group of Twitter users are 25-34 years old (38.5%), followed by the age group of 35-49 (21%) (Statista, 2022). Young college students are more democratic and open to gender equality, compared to older generations.

This research is important in several ways. First, it provides more data to understand how female politicians are manifested on social media platforms. Not only are females suppressed and muted in the traditional media, but they also are silenced on social media. It contributes more knowledge to media and leadership research. Second, it has practical implications as well. Female political leaders now understand the limits and restrictions of social media on their images; they can explore ways to change those images and be more vocal on social media. Their future campaigns should also focus more on younger generations, who have shown more positive and open attitudes towards female leaders.

Limitations, Future Studies, and Conclusions

There are a few limitations of the study. The first is the time frame. Tweets collected are from a specific period in time, meaning many of the things these talked about were time oriented. Tweets collected during a certain time frame can easily be influenced by events in society. For example, talk surrounding the Build Back Better campaign was extremely high. Individually there may have been events affecting how the women were talked about, like Hillary Clinton's birthday. Future studies may consider collecting data in different phases to avoid historical effects on the data.

The second limitation is related to the participants in the survey. A convenient sample was used to recruit participants for this study. That means, most of the participants were either current undergraduate students or those who recently graduated. And many of them are females. Generally, there are more Democrats in colleges, who are more open to having females as leaders. This can be seen when looking at a voting map of Southwest Virginia, and seeing that only college towns end up blue, while every surrounding area is red. That can explain why the survey results indicate a positive attitude towards female political leaders. Future studies should consider using a random sampling method and obtain a more representative sample for the survey research.

Another limitation is that we do not know the gender identity of those whose tweets we collected. In future studies, this would be information to collect so that there could be a more specific comparison between the gender of the users on Twitter and the gender of those who took the survey.

Future studies could also use NodeXL to do more Twitter network analysis. This could be helpful in finding users that are central to the network of tweets collected and the comparison between the political parties of those authoring the tweets.

This study focused on social media data extraction and interpretation as well as a survey. The social media analysis showed that female politicians were talked about negatively online. However, the survey indicated that respondents, especially female respondents, had a favorable view of female politicians and leaders.

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[gender/#:~:text=Overall%2C%2043.6%20percent%20of%20Twitter,remaining%2056.4%20percent%20were%20male](https://www.statista.com/statistics/828092/distribution-of-users-on-twitter-worldwide-gender/#:~:text=Overall%2C%2043.6%20percent%20of%20Twitter,remaining%2056.4%20percent%20were%20male)

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Appendix A: Full Survey

Consent Acknowledgement

Radford University Cover Letter for Internet Research

You are invited to participate in a research survey, entitled “The Uphill Battle of Female Leaders: The Media”. The study is being conducted by Dr. Shuo Yao and Colleen McNickle, Radford University School of Communication (Radford University, Hemphill Hall, Office #2111, PO Box 6932, Radford, VA 2414). The school of communication can be reached by phone at 540-831-6553 or by email at comm@radford.edu. Ms. McNickle can be directly contacted at cmcnickle@radford.edu.

The purpose of this study is to examine how social media portrays female political leaders. Your participation in the survey will contribute to a better understanding of your use of social media and your views on women in leadership roles. We estimate that it will take no more than 10 minutes of your time to complete the questionnaire. You are free to contact the investigator at the above address and phone number to discuss the survey.

This study has no more risk than you may find in daily life. There are no anticipated risks from participating in this research. We will collect no identifying information about you and your responses will be anonymous. Your IP address will not be collected. To participate in this research you must be and frequently use social media to read news.

The research team will work to protect your data to the extent permitted by technology. It is possible, although unlikely, that an unauthorized individual could gain access to your responses because you are responding online. This risk is similar to your everyday use of the internet.

Your participation in this survey is voluntary. You may decline to answer any question and you have the right to withdraw from participation at any time without penalty.

The value of participating in this research is profound. Not only will you be aiding research in leadership and women’s representation issues, but you will be illuminating research in the rapidly expanding domain of social media. This will promote discoveries now and inspire another generation of researchers.

If you have any questions, please send an email to cmcnickle@radford.edu. You may also request a hard copy of the survey from the contact information above.

This study was approved by the Radford University Committee for the Review of Human Subjects Research. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research subject or have complaints about this study, you should contact Dr. Jeanne Mekolichick, Institutional Official and Associate Provost for Research, Faculty Success, and Strategic Initiatives, jmekolic@radford.edu, 540-831-5114.

If you agree to participate, please answer this question field with “I consent.” If you do not consent, the survey will end.

Thank you!

Do you consent to participating in this research?

- I consent
- I do not consent

Demographic Information

Do you use social media?

- Yes
- No

What are the top three social media platforms you are currently using?

Check all the social media platforms if you use them to access information regarding politics

- Twitter
- Instagram
- Facebook
- TikTok
- Snapchat
- Tumblr
- Others (Please list)

- I don't use social media to access political views

What is your age

- 17 and younger
- 18 to 29
- 30 to 49
- 50 to 64
- 65 and older

Check the category that best matches your race

- White
- Black or African American
- American Indian or Alaska Native

- Asian
- Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
- From multiple races (Please specify)

- Some other race (please specify)

What is your gender identity?

- Male
- Female
- Non-binary
- Other (please specify)

What is your political affiliation?

- Republican
- Democrat
- Other (please specify)

What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

- Less than high school degree
- High school degree or equivalent (e.g., GED)
- Some college but no degree
- Associate degree
- Bachelor degree
- Graduate degree

Are you a Radford University student?

- Yes, currently
- I have been in the past
- I have graduated from Radford University
- I am not and never have been

Social Media

How much of your news do you get from social media?

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

news regarding
politics
entertainment
news

Women in Politics

Name the top three female political leaders in the United States

When thinking of female political leaders, write down three adjectives come to your mind:

Leadership

When thinking about female political leaders in the U.S., to what extent do you agree or disagree that they possess each of the following qualities?

Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat disagree | strongly disagree

Intelligence

Honesty

Decisiveness

Ambition

Innovativeness

Compassion

Organization

Empathy

Serving as a role model for children

Willing to compromise

Being ethical

Respectful

Civil

Standing up for what you believe in

Persuasiveness

Working well under pressure

- Risk taker
- Assertiveness
- Approachability
- Physical Attractiveness
- Showing emotion
- Creativity
- Aggressiveness
- Stubbornness
- Submissiveness
- Arrogance
- Humility
- Articulation
- Working hard
- Religiousness

Please list leadership qualities you value that were not already listed.

What's your preference for the next President of the United States?

Man

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Woman

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

To what extent do you agree with the following statement.

Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat disagree | strongly disagree

Generally men are better political leaders than women.

Appendix B: Stop Words Lists

B.1. Hillary Clinton

#acsimpeachment @gatewaypundit @hillaryclinton @humaabedin @oxforddiplomat @potus @westjournalism 2016 a abedin about above actually after again against ago aide all alleges also always am america amp an and another anthony any anyone anything are aren't aren't as ask assange assault assaulted at back baker be because been before being below better between big birthday book both brett buried but by call called campaign can can't cannot can't case claims could couldn't couldn't day death democrats describes did didn't didn't difference dinner do does doesn't doesn't doing don't donald don't down durham during each edie elected even ever every everyone everything facilitators fact falco feel few first for former from further garland general get going got had hadn't hadn't happened happy has hasn't hasn't have haven't haven't having he he'd he'll he's he'd he'll help her here here's here's hers herself he's him himself his how how's how's https huma i i'd i'll i'm i've i'd if i'll i'm impeachment in information into is isn't isn't it it's its it's itself i've james joe john just kavanaugh keep know last lawyer lead let let's let's life like literally lives long longtime look lot made make many may maybe me memoir memory michael more most much must mustn't mustn't my myself name need never new no nor not nothing now of off old on once one only or other ought our ours ourselves out over own people person por put que read real really remember reminds replace report resurfaced right rights said same saving say saying says secretary see seen sell senador senator sexual sexually shall shan't shan't she she'd she'll she's she'd she'll she's should shouldn't shouldn't so some still such sussmann take tell testify than that that's that's the their theirs them themselves then there there's there's these they they'd they'll they're they've they'd they'll they're they've thing think this those thought through time times to today too top true tweet under until up upon us usa use used very

via waiting want was wasn't wasn't way we we'd we'll we're we've we'd well we'll were we're weren't weren't we've what what's what's when when's when's where where's where's which while who who's whole whom who's whose why why's why's will with without won't won't working world would wouldn't wouldn't year years yes yet you you'd you'll you're you've you'd you'll your you're yours yourself yourselves you've

B.2. Kamala Harris

@kamalaharris @vp @youtube 2022 2024 25th a about above after again against all also an amendment america amid amp an and any are aren't aren't as asked at back be because been before being below better between border both but by campaign can can't cannot can't clinton could couldn't couldn't day determine did didn't didn't diwali do does doesn't doesn't doing don't done don't down during each elected enough even event every few for from further get give going got had hadn't hadn't happens harris' harris' has hasn't hasn't have haven't haven't having he he'd he'll he's he'd he'll her here here's here's hers herself he's him himself his how how's how's https i i'd i'll i'm i've i'd if i'll i'm in into is isn't isn't issues it it's its it's itself i've jan jill joe just know large last let let's let's like look make me meeting more most much multiple must mustn't mustn't my myself need new news next no nor not now of off on once one only or other ought our ours ourselves out over own paris part people que really remember rid right said same say saying says see seen shall shan't shan't she she'd she'll she's she'd she'll she's should shouldn't shouldn't since so some still such take terry than that that's that's the their theirs them themselves then there there's there's these they they'd they'll they're they've they'd they'll they're they've thing think this those through to too trying under until up upon us using very via vice video virginia visit vote want was wasn't wasn't watch way we we'd we'll we're we've we'd well we'll were we're weren't weren't we've what what's what's when when's when's where

where's where's which while white who who's whom who's whose why why's why's will
winsome with won't won't would wouldn't wouldn't year you you'd you'll you're you've you'd
you'll your you're yours yourself yourselves you've

B.3. Kyrsten Sinema

#smartnews @kirstensinema @senatorsinema 202 224 a about above after again against all also
am amp an and any are aren't aren't as at average back be because been before being below
better between big both but by call can can't cannot can't cash choosing could couldn't couldn't
cutting democrat did didn't didn't do does doesn't doesn't doing don't don't down drug during
each even family feel few fight for fought from further get good had hadn't hadn't halloween
happened has hasn't hasn't have haven't haven't having he he'd he'll he's healthcare he'd he'll
her here here's here's hers herself he's him himself his hometown how how's how's https i i'd i'll
i'm i've i'd if i'll i'm in into is isn't isn't it it's its it's itself i've joe just kill know krysten labor
lasso legs let let's let's lieberman like lower me measure minimum mitt mlms more most mustn't
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our ours ourselves out over own pass pharma plan please prescription raise raking really
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where's which while who who's whom who's whose why why's why's will with won't won't

would wouldn't wouldn't you you'd you'll you're you've you'd you'll your you're yours yourself
yourselves you've

B.4. Liz Cheney

@adamkinzinger @bennieghompson @billkristol @blurb40390132 @carolho93444463
@cernovich @foxnews @gtconway3d @jayawallace @liz @repadamschiff @repraskin
@rupertmurdoch @seattlenorth @speakerryan @suzannescott @theanuhart @tuckercarlson
@whitepatrick 6th a about above after again against all also am american amp an and any are
aren't aren't as at back be because been before being below between both but by call can can't
cannot can't capitol carlson committee could couldn't couldn't day did didn't didn't do does
doesn't doesn't doing don't don't down during each even every few first for free from further get
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needs news no nor not nothing now of off on once one only or other ought our ours ourselves out
over own please really rep republicans riot said same say says see shall shan't shan't she she'd
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time to too trying tucker under until up upon us very via video want was wasn't wasn't watch
way we we'd we'll we're we've we'd well we'll were we're weren't weren't we've what what's
what's when when's when's where where's where's which while who who's whom who's whose

why why's why's will with won't won't would wouldn't wouldn't you you'd you'll you're you've
you'd you'll your you're yours yourself yourselves you've

B.5. Nancy Pelosi

@speakerpelosi @youtube 000 6th a about above act after again against all along also am
america amp an and any are aren't aren't as at attack attorney back bannon be because been
before being below better between bill both build but by called calling calls can can't cannot
can't capital capitol chuck congress could couldn't couldn't country day dems did didn't didn't do
does doesn't doesn't doing don't don't down during each even every few find for from further get
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much mustn't mustn't my myself need net new news next no nor not now of off officially on
once one only or other ought our ours ourselves out over own pass people plan president really
republicans right said same say says see shall shan't shan't she she'd she'll she's she'd she'll she's
should shouldn't shouldn't so some speaker spending still stock subpoena such take tell than that
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they're they've they'd they'll they're they've things think this those through time to today told too
trading under until up upon us very via vote want was wasn't wasn't watch way we we'd we'll
we're we've we'd well we'll were we're weren't weren't we've what what's what's when when's
when's where where's where's which while who who's whom who's whose why why's why's
will with won't won't worth would wouldn't wouldn't year years you you'd you'll you're you've
you'd you'll your you're yours yourself yourselves you've

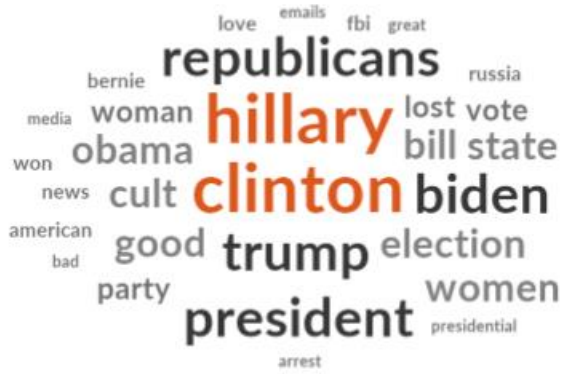
B.6. Nikki Haley

@emperoreagan @itsmatthew124 @jessehlmstan @logan @nikkihaley @nikkihaleyfan93

@thehill 2024 a about above after again against age all also am amp an and any anyone are aren't aren't as at be because been before being below between both but by calls can can't candidates cannot can't certain china cognitive could couldn't couldn't cruz did didn't didn't do does doesn't doesn't doing don't donald don't down during each even few first for former from further get going had hadn't hadn't has hasn't hasn't have haven't haven't having he he'd he'll he's he'd he'll her here here's here's hers herself he's him himself his house how how's how's https i i'd i'll i'm i've i'd if i'll i'm in into is isn't isn't it it's its it's itself i've just knew know let let's let's like marco maybe me mike more most mustn't mustn't my myself need needs no nor not of off office older on once one only or other ought our ours ourselves out over own politicians pompeo position power republicans richard ron rubio running said same say says see senate shall shan't shan't she she'd she'll she's she'd she'll she's should shouldn't shouldn't show so socialism some sort still such take tax ted test than that that's that's the their theirs them themselves then there there's there's these they they'd they'll they're they've they'd they'll they're they've think this those through to too under until up upon us uufywclduc very via vice want was wasn't wasn't we we'd we'll we're we've we'd well we'll were we're weren't weren't we've what what's what's when when's when's where where's where's whether which while who who's whom who's whose why why's why's will with wmxs8trvm6 won't won't would wouldn't wouldn't you you'd you'll you're you've you'd you'll your you're yours yourself yourselves you've

Appendix C: Results Word Frequency

C.1. Hillary Clinton



C.2. Kamala Harris



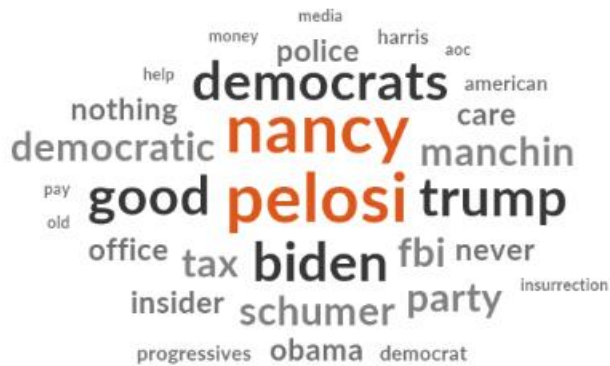
C.3. Kyrsten Sinema



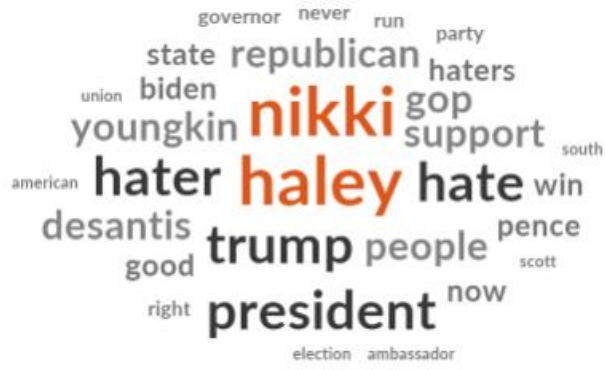
C.4. Liz Cheney



C.5. Nancy Pelosi



C.6. Nikki Haley



Appendix D: Survey Manual Coding**D.1. Survey Question 11**

Name:	Count:
Kamala Harris	153
Nancy Pelosi	104
Hillary Clinton	39
Tulsi Gabbard	2
Marsha Blackburn	2
Susan Rice	1
Kristen Clark	1
Ruth Bader Ginsberg	10
AOC	79
Elizabeth Warren	12
Jill Biden	7
Kristi Noem	2
Elise Stefanik	3
Nikki Haley	10
Janet Yellen	3
IDK	16
There are none	1
Gretchen Whitmer	1
Stacey Abrams	7
N/A	4
Sarah Palin	4
Rashida Tlaib	2
Liz Cheney	5
The system is corrupt	1
Malala	1
Greta Thunberg	1
Emma Watson	1
Ilhan Omar	2
Alma Adams	1
Sarah McBride	2
Kyrsten Sinema	1
Winsome Sears	2
Lisa Murkowski	1
Michelle Obama	22
Loretta Lynch	1
Park Geun-hye	1
Tsai Ing-wen	1
Amy Klobuchar	1
Maxine Waters	3
Cori Bush	1

Jen Psaki	1
Judy Smith	1
They all suck	1
Joni Ernst	2
Candace Owens	7
Sonia Sotomayor	1
Lindy	1
Colleen McNickle	1
Suzanne Youngkin	1
Susan B. Anthony	1
Marjorie Taylor Green	1
Jacinda Ardern	2
Queen Elizabeth	2
Rachel Levine	1
Miranda Devine	1
Shelley M. Capito	1
Ronna R. McDaniel	1
Bethany White	1
Amy Coney Barrett	1
Dianne Feinstein	1
Madonna	1
Beyoncé	1
Jane Addams	1
That other democrat that everyone hates	1
Alexis Texas	1
Kirsten Gillibrand	1
Melania Trump	1
Blank	86

D.2. Survey Question 12

Leadership Adjective	Count/ Frequency
Stable	1
Concerned	1
Conscious	1
Strong	81
Intelligent	19
Resilient	9
Driven	7
Determined	20
Visionary	1
Influential	2
Active	1
Objectified	1

Independent	16
Pantsuit	2
Firm	1
Hardworking	12
Tense	1
Overcompensating	1
Smart	21
Overlooked	5
Capable	5
Necessary	1

Brave	14
-------	----

Intuitive	1
Organized	2
Shark	1
Powerful	29
Educated	5
Rich	1
Gotta be a trick question, Sarah Palin	1
Fearless	3
Underestimated	4
Dedicated	4
Equality	3
Liberal	5
Progressive	2
Absent	1
Dutiful	1
Passionate	11
Outspoken	7
Empowerment	8
Leadership/ Leader	7
Verbose	1
Opinionated	3
Uneducated	1
Competent	2
Confident	12
Rude	1
Demanding	1
Double Standards	2
Socialism	2
Corrupt	1
Biased	1
Thick Skinned	1

Loud	3
Democrat	2
Representative	1
Unstoppable	1
Underappreciated	2
Well Spoken	3
Collected	1
Old (Pelosi)	1
Low key Bad (kamala)	1
Bad ASF (AOC)	1
The system is corrupt	1
Eager	1
Ambitious	6
Trailblazing	2
Rightful speaking	1
Persistent	4
Reactionary	1
Extreme	1
Decisive	1
Money	1
Power	1
Controversy/ controversial	4
Impactful	1
Normal	1
Dominant	1
Compassionate	8
Focused	1
Careerist	1
Overcomer	1
Neglected	1
Irritating	1
Bitchy	1
Weak minded	1
Targeted	1
Catty	1
Inclusive	2
Accountable	1
Bold	8
Rare	1
Connected	1
Quoted	1
Compromised	1
Purposeful	1
Empathetic	2
Political	3

Indifference	1
People	1
Fierce	4
Old	4
Even-keeled	1
Inspirational	7
uplifting	1
Courageous	8
Aggressive	2
Head strong	1
Cooperative	1
Resourceful	1
Rememberable	1
Forthright	1
Assertive	5
Awesome	1
Direct	1
Condescending	1
Groundbreaking	1
Strongminded	2
Activist	1
Proactive	1
Qualified	3
Insightful	1
Presidency	1
Supportive	1
Charismatic	1
Unappreciated	1
Magical	1
Beautiful	1
Scandalous	1
Mocked	1
Devalued	1
Minority	1
Defeated	1
Committed	2
Scrutinized	1
Uptight	1
Obnoxious	1
Bewildered (crazy eyes)/ crazy	3
Strong convictions	1
Knowledgeable	2
Idk	2
Tough	1
Always looks nice	1

Quiet	2
Older white woman	1
Integrity	1
Adamant	1
Vocal	2
Sparse	1
Honest	2
Valuable	1
Embattled	1
Leading	1
Feminine	1
Understated	1
Professional	3
Forward thinking	2
Misrepresented	1
Poised	1
Undermined	1
Conflicted	1
Criticized	1
Preserving	1
Important	2
Marginalized	1
Balanced	1
Impulsive	1
Creative	1
Innovative	2
Boss	1
Listens to the people	1
Informative	1
Cool	2
Dope	1
Interesting	1
Understanding	1
Open minded	1
Daring	1
Caring	2
Persuasive	3
Drama	1
Motivated	2
Unliked	1
Extreme	1
Proud	1
Hopeful	1
Respectful	1
Outnumbered	1

Modern	1
Exciting	1
Perceptive	1
Sanctimonious	1
Maligned	1
Strong willed	5
Outgoing	2
Helpful	1
Role model	1
Alright	1
Stern	2
Diligent	1
Petty	1
Equal	1
Wrong precession	1
Change	1
Women's rights	1
Under valued	2
Diverse	1
Hated	1
Discriminated against	1
Complicit	1
Articulate	1
Female	2
Spoken over	1
Empathy	1
Restraint	1
Substance	1
Cunning	1
Intellectual	1
Persevering	1
Affirmative	1
Popularity	1
Overshadowed	1
Ignorant	1
Unrealistic	1
Wrong	1
No affection	1
Temperamental	1
Worthy	1
The right of woman	1
Gender equal	1
Positive for single mothers	1