

# **Mothers and Whores: The Relationship between Popular Culture and Women in Politics**

Sydney White

## **Abstract**

This research paper argues that the intimate link between popular culture stereotypes and the media manifests in, and influences, the experience of women in politics. It analyses two major stereotypes and applies these themes to the 2008 campaign coverage of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin. These examples are used to support the argument that female politicians receive asymmetrical media treatment relative to their male peers as a result of popular culture stereotyping.

It is the golden age of technology, where information travels and it travels fast. The media is an omnipresent force responsible for informing and educating the public in universal and readily digestible formats; its pervasiveness ensures that it is a driving force of popular culture and politics. The significance of the media's critical role is its ability to establish and perpetuate gender roles through stereotypes and biases which ultimately manifest in other arenas such as high politics. This research essay argues that the media's conceptualization of women is informed by popular culture which inevitably influences the experience of women in politics. In order to establish this assertion, the images of women preserved in popular culture, media biases in their depiction of women according to these stereotypes, and their conjoined effect on women within and without the political realm will be examined. Furthermore, the media coverage experiences of both Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin in the 2008 presidential campaign will be used to establish the implications of the intimate link between media and sex stereotypes. When discussing a link as subjective as that of women, culture and politics, certain questions must be addressed: What are the important concepts in regards to the media's processes and practices? How are women in popular culture depicted and can these images be described categorically? Is the nature of the relationship significant? Can the conception of women in media and popular culture be reconciled with that of the political realm? In essence, women in politics are challenged not only by who they are, but who they are perceived to be.

## **Buzzword: A Definition of Concepts in Media**

First and foremost, media and the concepts pertaining to its study are highly contentious in nature. As such, it is necessary to outline and define the "buzzword" terms associated with the interpretation of media and politics. The most important conceptual definition is that of media, and what the term media includes. Henceforth, media will refer to the creation, dissemination and interpretation of mass communication (McNair, 2011). The significance of media will be discussed; however, it is important to note that this definition implies a large degree of media control over the messages received by the public en masse. Furthermore, as media bias and its perpetuation of popular culture stereotypes are of concern, it is necessary to define the "frame" in which information is distributed. The frame refers to the context in which a media communication is interpreted (McNair, 2011). It can include aspects such as journalists and the way in which information is delivered to the public, the television for example.

This paper will focus on the representation of women in the medium of television and film. This medium can be found in nearly every home; as a result, the framing of women in

television has a wide and diverse audience ensuring stereotypes of women are inculcated in the personal sphere. The importance of media frames its ability to influence the way information is understood; in essence, the medium is the message (McNair, 2011). Media in the modern day is most often filtered through technology, becoming mediated communication. It is readily accessible and instantaneous. This real-time delivery of information has ensured that the media has become synonymous with not only popular culture, but also politics. This inextricable link delineates the influence that media holds on the public, the public agenda and politics through the manner in which human participants within the media choose to portray information.

### **Mary versus Eve: Popular Culture's Conception of Women**

As a society dependent on the media and its ability to deliver information quickly and easily, the definition of these concepts is clearly indicative of the power of mediated communication. As such, the media has the platform to internalize popular culture and perpetuate stereotypes of women through mass communication. Popular culture and the media have become inextricably linked in the sense that "electronic media have fully colonized culture and that television at the forefront of this colonization has become an intimate part of everyday life" (Boozer, 2006: 140). The depiction of women in "televisual"<sup>1</sup> communications, such as television and film, serve as indicators of the conceptualization of women in popular culture. The two most pertinent and common themes concerning the depiction of women in popular culture are pervasive and contradictory. These conflicting conceptions of women have a long-standing history in western culture, originating in medieval Church dogma (Power, 1975). These images refer to the Mary-Eve complex and have evolved into the modern "Madonna-Whore dichotomy," referring to "the tendency to categorize women in terms of two polar opposites" (Tumanov, 2011: 507). In essence, these images refer to the idea of woman as a mother and woman as a sexual and sexualised being. The former is viewed as the virtuous of the pair, whereas the whore is a double-edged sword: simultaneously attractive and "evil." The dichotomous paradigms persist to this day and are perpetuated by the media and in the gender roles assigned to women.

The conflicting conceptions of women as both mothers and whores manifests in the fictional representation of women in popular culture, resulting in the perpetuation of sex stereotypes. Sex-stereotyping "occur[s] when women are treated, not as individuals, but as a social group that shares certain characteristics" (Cardo, 2011: 317). Television and film portrayals of women subscribe to the idea that women occupy a limited role ascribed to them based on their gender; woman as mother is depicted as the ideal role. For example, this search for the ideal, marriageable woman formulates the entire premise for the television series *How I Met Your Mother*. Ted, the male protagonist, is consumed with his search for this mythical mother archetype. Interestingly, the series is in the midst of its sixth season and the "perfect woman" has not yet been found, alluding to the idea that a woman who possesses both sexual attractiveness and the qualities befitting a mother is a rare breed indeed. Conversely, Ted dates a laundry list of women who are the exact opposite of this ideal and are often depicted as terminally flawed, "crazy," or emotionally unavailable. *How I Met Your Mother* does contain a character who is representative of the mother ideal; Lily is both attractive and nurturing. However, her character who prescribed to feminist ideology in college (Lily confessed to spelling woman with a "y" in college), has since abandoned her inclinations and is essentially non-existent and unimportant outside the confines of her relationship. While the entertainment television frame of these images

---

<sup>1</sup> Term coined by Jack Boozer in *Killing Women* (2006).

might suggest a benign nature, the perpetuation of such stereotypes act as an agent of socialization with consequences on women in society and in politics.

The stereotype of woman as mother in television typically identifies the character as the personification of “motherhood and purity” (Tumanov, 2011: 512). As such, women who are represented according to this paradigm are typically dependent and deferent to their husbands. By extension, men in television and film are much more likely to assume dominant roles; male characters are dramatically more likely to exhibit power and dominance, particularly in verbal communication, by interrupting female characters and issuing commands (Lauzen and Dozier, 1999). Women in these roles “largely conform to the values of normative femininity” and inevitably experience a “‘rescue scene’ in which the heroine is saved from...single life/workaholism/single parenthood /dead end job by a man” (Kehily and Nayak, 2008: 333). Interestingly, a study of American prime-time television found that only 17.7% of major characters in television series were women and 69.2% of them were in domestic comedies; even in television, the expectations of women’s roles are asymmetrically concentrated in the personal and domestic spheres (Elasmar, Hasegawa and Brain, 1999: 30). In essence, women who are represented in television and film as “the mother” are deferent, dominated, and portrayed as incomplete until she is lucky enough to find a man and fulfill her destiny as mother and wife.

While popular culture’s conception of woman as mother is portrayed as an ideal for women and young girls to strive for, its antithesis is that of woman as whore. This perspective is epitomized in the story of Eve, the originator of female sexuality and female sexual choice, and manifests itself in the modern abstraction of women who do not follow the path of their virtuous counterparts (Tumanov, 2011). Popular culture, as indicated through television and film, perpetuates the idea that women must occupy their allotted “place” administered to them by virtue of their sex. Any woman who does not fall into the former category is absorbed by the latter. This is a broad category; “whores” can be typified in a number of ways, including but not limited to the female character that is unintelligent, attractive yet unmarriageable, and the woman who actively seeks to transcend stereotypes and gain equality relative to men (UNESCO, 1980). In essence, any female character that is cast according to this stereotype is portrayed negatively, be it for the characteristics she possesses or lacks. Notably, women who fall into this category are not necessarily sexually promiscuous; the term “whore” itself carries negative connotation and undermines women with the weight of its meaning alone.

Women as whores can be labelled and projected as such simply for embracing their own sexuality and femininity, as well as challenging the (patriarchal) status quo. In continuation of the example previously provided by the series *How I Met Your Mother*, the show also contains women of this “tainted” status. While some might argue that the other major female character in the series, Robin, is progressive and feminist for her decision to abstain from motherhood, she is preceded by a subliminal negativity. In fact, season six dedicates an entire show to depicting the loneliness and depression she succumbs to upon realizing that, despite it being her choice, she is physically incapable of bearing children at all. The UNESCO inquiry into the participation of women in the media (1980: 57) concerns itself with a new image of women in the media: “the middle-class working woman who seeks to free herself from...stereotypes and who seeks through her work to reach parity with the male. This newly emergent type of woman is continually put in her place by the media who frequently identify her as domineering, sharp-tongued, unattractive and castrating.” Indeed, Robin fits this description perfectly and is subtly identified as heartless and emotionally unavailable. Furthermore, her loneliness acts as a form of punishment for stepping outside of the confines of rigid social expectations and stereotypes. This is indicative of a trend of media backlash facing women who transcend narrowly defined stereotypes and

behaviour; the media as engineer of social attitudes has successfully cloaked this type of woman in negativity and women everywhere are hyperaware of their biological clocks and domestic expectations (Faludi, 1991).

Clearly, women as mothers and whores are “man-made images which do not resemble real women,” (UNESCO, 1980: 52). However, the twenty-first century is a consumer culture: society consumes information by way of media, and it consumes *a lot*. It would be difficult to argue that the popular culture depictions of women in media do not have serious implications for women in politics and society as a whole. Moreover, it is becoming increasingly clear that the media is functioning as a tool for socialization; studies show that young women are internalizing media and utilizing it as a blueprint to guide their own interpersonal relationships, particularly with the opposite sex (Kehily and Nayak, 2008). For women, the personal is the political and so it is only natural that the narrow portrayal of women in popular culture would manifest itself in these two realms. Women are socialized to accept their “appropriate place” in society, strive to adhere to the ideal of normative femininity and “fail” if they do not.

### **Mothers and Whores and Politicians?**

Popular culture has established two polar views of women, that of mothers and whores. Conspicuously, woman as a politician does not fit easily into either one of these narrow categories; politics is largely perceived as a man’s game. The media acts as the medium through which societal paradigms are interpreted and magnified to a broader audience. As such, the media is the vehicle through which stereotypes are encouraged and perpetuated. The media, as an element of the political communication process, functions “both as transmitters of political communication...and as senders of political messages constructed by [the media itself.]” (McNair, 2011: 11). Female politicians are held to a different standard than that of their male counterparts. Women are stereotyped by media and popular culture and are expected to reconcile the duality of the morally pure and virginal with the sexual object. As such, when an individual must juggle their role as a politician *and* a woman, they face obstacles male politicians otherwise would not. Karen Ross sums this up by saying women are “mundanely framed as women first and then, maybe, as politicians,” (2002: 81).

This power to manipulate and construct political messages ensures that the media is itself a political actor. It has become increasingly accepted that the media is no longer an objective and impartial observer, external to the political process. Rather, through its mediation of, and therefore interference in, politics it influences the political environment. As a result of the intimate relationship between popular culture and the media, sex stereotypes within popular culture are manifested in political communication. In order to establish this relationship, the effects of stereotypes on women in politics will be examined through the Clinton and Palin experience of media coverage and political campaigning during the 2008 American election. Furthermore, this effect will be linked to the dominant dichotomous abstracts of women in political culture, reconciling the mother, the whore and the politician.

Stereotyping is believed to be a cognitive tool used to simplify our complex social environments; society and the media observe a trait about a candidate and use it to infer “membership in a particular group (e.g. women), and they complete the picture by means of stereotypes they carry in their head” (Kahn, 1996: 3). The process of stereotyping has two components: it encourages people to prescribe to pre-existing stereotypes, as well as use any new information regarding the individual to reinforce and support this initial belief (Kahn, 1996). The media is no stranger to the use of stereotyping; it is not only responsible for informing the public on who the candidates are, but for the conceptions of them (Falk, 2010). Naturally, the

stereotypes most typically projected onto candidates are those previously discussed, which have been internalized by the media via popular culture.

The stereotypes of women in entertainment television are over-simplistic and archetypal, ensuring the characters adhere to the one-dimensional path ascribed to them by way of these narrow images. However, the reality for women in politics is neither so clinical nor scripted. While the stereotypes applied to both Clinton and Palin in the 2008 presidential campaign cut many ways and were applied to each candidate in their own right, two main trends surfaced. Hillary Clinton has largely been cast into the “mother” mold. This stereotype as applied to female politicians has its advantages and disadvantages. The mother role in politics manifests in a number of ways: the individual is seen as more caring and compassionate, or her capabilities are questioned because of her alternative role as a mother to her own children, or she is viewed as critical, punishing and “shrewish” like a nagging wife and mother (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009: 328). While the mother stereotype comes with positive and negative connotations, Clinton was not necessarily its benefactor. She was often described as a mother, campaigning as if she were talking down to children, and a woman who had taken advantage of this role by “pimping” out her relationship with her daughter (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009: 335). While popular culture holds that the mother role is an ideal, the negative side arises when the mother in question oversteps the limitations of this stereotype; the negative portrayal of Hillary Clinton was amplified upon her decision to pursue a position in the Senate (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009).

The mother role is often characterized as being deferent to men, whereas Hillary Clinton is portrayed as strong-willed and a “ball buster” (Faludi, 2008). Furthermore, Clinton attempted to cultivate an image by combining the mother role with that of a tough and capable politician; she was seen as the mother and mentor to her relatively politically unseasoned adversary, Obama. Unfortunately, this strategy of simultaneously embracing the sex stereotype assigned to her and adjusting it to suit her needs was not perceived or portrayed positively by the media and had the opposite of the desired effect (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009). This discrepancy between the ideal and the behaviour resulted in the situation where the media had to reconcile the two. It did so by focusing on her apparent lack of sexiness relative to Palin, and the fact that she was perceived as able to run only because her husband had cheated on her and so allowed her to pursue it (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009).

Hillary Clinton has been framed both positively and negatively in her transition from First Lady to Presidential candidate. It has been found that during her time as First Lady she was represented in the media as a wife and mother in an overall positive light. Interestingly enough, the negative focus on her within the media originated and increased when she began to test the political waters. In essence, she stepped outside of the limited expectations placed upon the behaviour of the First Lady when she decided to run for Senate; this decision put her behaviour at odds with expectations assigned to her by sex stereotypes (Scharrer, 2010). The result was a form of media backlash which began to represent her according to the mother stereotype, albeit in a decidedly negative light.

Conversely, Sarah Palin in her bid for the vice-Presidency was framed by the media in another popular culture stereotype of women: that of a sexual object. To reiterate, the popular culture conception of the whore is one in which the individual is sexualised and the focus is primarily on her appearance and the negative connotations associated with her physical attractiveness. Palin was perceived as Hillary Clinton’s antithesis and the focus was no less negative. Women who are sexualised and typified according to this stereotype are shown to be less competent and intelligent than men and women categorised according to the opposite stereotype (Heldman and Wade, 2011). Studies show that Sarah Palin received more media

coverage than her running mate, John McCain. However, the coverage she received does not parallel that of McCain's. Studies show that a large percentage, 58.2%, of Palin's media coverage was focused on things such as her physical appearance and personality traits whereas 11.9% was concerned with aspects of her political campaign and competencies (Wasburn and Wasburn, 2011: 1032).

The focus on Palin as a sex object is the aspect by which the media coverage of her and Clinton's campaign differed most. Emphasis was put on Palin's youthful appearance and her beauty pageant background. Furthermore, she was often filmed from behind or in ways which emphasized her sexuality, such as focusing on her peep-toed pumps (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009). Her physical attractiveness led the media to portray her as less intelligent and capable than McCain, as well as representing her as a political liability, where she offered "opportunities for trouble to a man who expresses appreciation for attractive women in ways that overstep political correctness" (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009: 330). In sum, Sarah Palin was largely constructed by the media according to the stereotype of the "whore"; a woman who is sexually attractive—an attribute which is perceived as operating as an overcompensation for a lack of intelligence and competency, and which translates into a threat rather than a virtue. In fact, the only beneficiaries of the sexualisation of Sarah Palin in the media are arguably her political opponents and the company which manufactured her blow-up doll doppelganger (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009).

While Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin have been the victims of both the mother and the whore popular culture stereotype, the media coverage of their respective campaigns coalesced into two main trends. Clinton's campaign coverage most closely follows that of the mother stereotype. Although this sex stereotype is decidedly more positive than that of the whore, it was not an image from which Clinton benefitted. The media could not reconcile the discrepancy between the deferent mother, incomplete and irrelevant without her husband, with the headstrong and capable behaviour exhibited by Clinton. As such, her transgression beyond the strict limitations of her assigned sex role ensured the coverage of her campaign assumed a decidedly negative shade; that of a wife and mother who overstepped her boundaries, was unattractive and "shrewish." Alternately, Sarah Palin attempted to cultivate the mother image yet this was overshadowed by the emphasis on her physical appearance. Palin, through her more youthful appearance and obvious femininity, was undermined by the media through her representation as a less intelligent and incapable woman with no business in high politics. It is overly simplistic to infer that sex stereotypes alone contributed to the failure of their campaigns. However, society's reliance on popular culture stereotypes allowed the media coverage of these two women to assume the weight of truth.

### **You've Come a Long Way, Baby (Not)**

It is clear that the media coverage of both Clinton and Palin was heavily gendered and saturated with popular culture stereotypes of women. The overabundance of blatant sexist media representation of each woman's campaign holds serious implications for the success, and failure, of the candidates. The media's interpretation and perpetuation of popular culture stereotypes begs the question: What effect does the gendered media representation of political candidates have on the success of their campaigns? Television has become the source of entertainment and information for the public, the nexus of both popular culture and politics which "greatly affects who becomes President of the United States of America," (Horwitz and Swyers, 2009: 116). Televisual representation of political candidates such as Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy played a crucial role in the outcome of the campaign; by this same token, the representation of women in television also has a significant impact on the success of their campaigns.

Firstly, sex stereotypes ensure that the public already has a preconceived notion of who the candidate is. The media as the barometer of popular culture and public opinion perpetuates this conception through its adherence to sex stereotypes. The phenomenon of a candidate's perceived image is the outcome of the "interaction between the message, the audience evaluations of the messengers and resonance with personal values and experience," (Kern and Just, 1997: 129). The form in which this information is delivered to the public, the news media, adds an air of truth and authority to the message; the medium is the message. Combined with popular culture's conception of women, the representation of female candidates in the media is taken by the public as truth. As such, it is logical to infer that the way in which female candidates are portrayed in the media has an effect on their campaigns.

Objectification theory posits that strong emphasis placed on physical appearance encourages the individual and the public to internalize this importance and evaluate the individual most heavily based on this criterion (Heldman and Wade, 2011). The media's focus on a woman's physical appearance is the manifestation of the popular culture's conception of woman as a sexual object; as such, the candidate's competency and viability as a leader is intimately related to the media and the public's evaluation of her physical appearance. As previously discussed, this valuation scheme comes with positive and negative connotations; however, the effect on female candidates is overwhelmingly negative. Furthermore, popular culture media such as entertainment television have inculcated the notion that women are less capable leaders, unable to make tough decisions and lack critical masculine leadership skills (Horwitz and Swyers, 2009). This has certainly translated into the public's perception of female candidates; a study shows that 79% of Americans agree that the United States is simply not ready for a female president (Banwart, 2010: 268).

The popular culture conception of the mother is largely that of a compassionate and nurturing individual whose primary sphere of influence is the home and whose responsibilities irrevocably revolve around the domestic. Sex stereotypes frame these qualities as virtuous or vicious depending on the context. In campaign settings where "women's issues" are at the forefront, the media portrays women in a more favourable light; the opposite is true when "masculine" issues such as war and crime are on the agenda (Kahn, 1996). This phenomenon offers another explanation for the negative media coverage experienced by Clinton and Palin in the 2008 election.

Both women, conceived largely according to two main themes, were disadvantaged not only by their gender, but by the fact that their "gender strengths" were irrelevant during that particular campaign. Despite the fact that Clinton attempted to water down the saliency of her sex through the display of more masculine, politically "appropriate" traits and behaviours – a practice called "double binding," (Banwart, 2010: 269) this strategy proved to be inefficient because her "womanly strengths" became her weaknesses. Moreover, studies have shown that voters feel positively about parties when exposed to positive advertising and negatively when the advertising is adverse (Ross, 2002). It is therefore logical to assume that the same phenomenon is expected, even magnified, when the media coverage is of an individual. In sum, the deck is stacked overwhelmingly against women. Sex stereotypes are applied to female candidates which illicit the public's preconceived notions of their character and capability. These stereotypes place narrow limitations on expected and acceptable behaviour of female candidates; however, their actual behaviour matters marginally. The fact is that stereotypes fill the gaps between who a candidate is and who they are perceived to be. Female candidates shoulder a heavier load than their male counterparts in this sense, necessitating the reconciliation between their gender and

their profession. All in all, they are damned if they do and damned if they do not because the weight of sex stereotypes in popular culture and politics is an unreasonably heavy burden.

As the media and popular culture sex stereotypes are pervasive and omnipresent forces in society today, is it possible for a woman to successfully reconcile the personal with the political and transcend these constraints? Popular culture, the media and politics converge into what some scholars call “politainment” and have given rise to the politician as celebrity, one who embraces the media and its relationship to politics (Van Zoonen, 2006: 289). This phenomenon is its own distinct brand of twenty-first century politics which has provided new opportunities and limitations for women seeking positions in high public office. Television encourages the celebrity nature of politics. Van Zoonen (2006) argues that it has been historically difficult for women to achieve fame or cult of personality because of their traditional exclusion from the public sphere. The media offers female candidates the opportunity to transcend the private sphere and enter the homes of the public through the television. Undoubtedly, the media allows female candidates greater access to the public and vice versa; however, the adage “there is no such thing as bad press,” is not necessarily applicable to women in politics. For example, Tarja Halonen was the first Finnish female president. Notably, the nature of Halonen’s press coverage coalesced along two main trends: her role as “mother” of Finland and her lack of physical attractiveness (Van Zoonen, 2006). Arguably, it seems that the prevalence of sex stereotypes in popular culture, the media and politics become a veritable minefield for a female politician. Campaign conditions, political agendas, media coverage and public perceptions must be perfect in order to allow for a female politician to transcend the limitations of her sex. Even then, popular culture sex stereotypes are extensive to such a degree that even electoral success does not loosen the binds imposed by them.

### **Concluding Thoughts**

Popular culture, the media and politics are undeniable aspects of modern life; they are featured so prominently in our daily lives they have converged into a nexus where changes in one are reflected in the others. Popular culture configures representations of individuals which are simplified into trends as portrayed by the media. Women in particular are conceived according to pervasive sex stereotypes, not least of which include the image of the mother and the whore. The media interprets these images and projects them onto women through mediums such as television and film, perpetuating the stereotypes. The media is not only concerned with entertainment, but politics as well. These archetypes of women are manifested in the media’s conception of women in politics. This essay has argued that popular culture stereotypes are internalised by the media and then depicted in its display of female politicians. While stereotypes function as a cognitive tool through which to simplify complex human relationships, they negatively impact women in politics more often than not. The image of the mother and the whore are not conducive to the perceived androcentric nature of the political game; in essence, the stereotypes of women are irreconcilable with politics according to the media. Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin are prime examples of two female candidates whose political success was heavily influenced by the media’s gendered representation of them. It is abundantly clear that women carry a heavier burden in the age of popular politics; they must strike a balance between their sex and their profession in order to be successful. While the 2008 election year was seen to have put a few more cracks in the glass ceiling for women in politics, the influence held by the fourth estate is so pertinent as to form yet another threshold for female politicians to contend with. Not only must women in politics defend who they are, but combat who they are portrayed to be.

## References

- Banwart, Mary Christine. 2010. "Gender and Candidate Communication: Effects of Stereotypes in the 2008 Election." *American Behavioural Scientist* 54. 265-283.
- Boozer, Jack. 2006. "Women and Murder in the Televirtuality Film," In *Killing Women: The Visual Culture of Gender and Violence*, ed. Susan Lord and Annette Burfoot. Waterloo, Ont: Wilfred Laurier University Press.
- Cardo, Valentina. 2011. "The Amazing Mrs Politician: Television Entertainment and Women in Politics." *Parliamentary Affairs* 64. 311-325.
- Carlin, Diana B. and Kelly Winfrey. 2009. "Have You Come a Long Way, Baby? Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and Sexism in 2008 Campaign Coverage." *Communication Studies* 60. 326-343.
- Elasmar, Michael, Kazumi Hasegawa and Mary Brain. 1999. "The Portrayal of Women in U.S. Prime Time Television." *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 44. 20-34.
- Falk, Erika. 2010. *Women for President: Media Bias in Nine Campaigns*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Faludi, Susan. 1991. *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women*. New York: Crown Publishers Inc.
- Faludi, Susan. 2008. "The Correct Hillary Stereotype: Competence." *Huffington Post*. <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/susan-faludi/the-correct-hillary-stere b 81819.html>. (March 30, 2012).
- Kahn, Kim Fridkin. 1996. *The Political Consequences of Being a Woman: How Stereotypes Influence the Conduct and Consequences of Political Campaigns*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kehily, Mary Jane and Anoop Nayak. 2008. "Global Femininities: Consumption, Culture and the Significance of Place." *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 29. 325-342.
- Kern, Montague and Marion Just. 1997. "How Voters Construct Images of Political Candidates." In *Politics and the Press: The News Media and Their Influences*. Ed. Pippa Norris. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Heldman, Caroline and Lisa Wade. 2011. "Sexualising Sarah Palin: The Social and Political Context of the Sexual Objectification of Female Candidates." *Sex Roles* 65. 156-164.

- Horwitz, Linda and Holly Swyers. 2009. "Why Are All the Presidents Men? Televisual Presidents and Patriarchy." In *You've Come A Long Way, Baby: Women, Politics, and Popular Culture*. Ed. Lily J. Goren. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.
- Lauzen, Martha and David Dozier. 2000. "The Role of Women on Screen and Behind the Scenes in the Television and Film Industries: Review of a Program of Research." *Communication Abstracts* 23. 355-373.
- McNair, Brian. 2011. *An Introduction to Political Communication*. New York: Routledge.
- Power, Eileen. 1975. *Medieval Women*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Ross, Karen. 2002. *Women, Politics, Media: Uneasy Relations in Comparative Perspective*. Cresskill, N.J: Hampton Press.
- Scharrer, Erica. 2010. "An "Improbable Leap": A Content Analysis of Newspaper Coverage of Hillary Clinton's Transition from First Lady to Senate Candidate." *Journalism Studies* 3. 393-406.
- Tumanov, Vladimir. 2011. "Mary Versus Eve: Paternal Uncertainty and the Christian View of Women." *Neophilologus* 95. 507-521.
- UNESCO. 1980. *Inquiry on Participation of Women in the Media*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Van Zoonen, Liesbet. 2006. "The Personal, the Political, and the Popular: A Woman's Guide to Celebrity Politics." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 9. 287-309.
- Wasburn, Philo C. and Mara Wasburn. 2011. "Media Coverage of Women in Politics: The Curious Case of Sarah Palin." *Media Culture Society* 33. 1027-10

