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Cover Page Footnote

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Congressional Candidates' Photo Presentation on their Campaign Websites

The internet is a major source of information for voters and an effective campaign tool for Congressional candidates.¹ Most candidates running for Congress have a campaign website; they use “photos” on these websites to present themselves to the public. The character they chose to portray in their photos has a lot to say about how they intend to be perceived. In other words, the way they dress, their mannerisms, the setting (background and persons included in their photos), and overall photo presentation sends a message about the impression they want the public to have of them.²

According to gender role theory, men and women perform different roles in society because they are biologically different. The theory suggests that men are naturally masculine, meaning tough, decisive, and ambitious, while women are feminine, meaning sympathetic, caring, and dependent.³ Moreover, research shows that even today, the public often views aspiring politicians through the lens of gender stereotype embodied in gender role theory; men are considered to be better decision makers and leaders, while women are usually considered to be empathetic to the needs of society.⁴ As a result, Congressmen, and particularly Congresswomen, are aware of how they reinforce public masculine and female characteristics (“gender stereotypes”) during their campaign.⁵ In the case of Congress, they are working to be elected into a leadership role, and leadership is considered a masculine role according to gender role theory. Hence the implication that men are better suited than women at performing this role. It also implies that the dress code for Congress is a masculine version of business attire. Consequently, the research question is, “do Congressmen and women appear masculine (i.e. wearing business suits) at different rates?” This means that the main aim of this paper is to test for the difference in the rate at which men and women candidates appear dressed in business attire (i.e. appear in suits) on their campaign website photos.

There are a number of journal articles that have analyzed the content, resources, and features found on the campaign sites of candidates running for Congress and the official sites of incumbent members of Congress.⁶ However, there are few studies that study the way Congressmen and women present themselves in their campaign website photos. There are only two known studies in this particular area of research, Girish J. Gulati's 2004 "*Members of Congress and Presentation of Self on the World Wide Web*" and Girish J. Gulati and Sarah A. Treul's 2004 "*Gender and Presentation of Self in the 2002 Congressional Election.*" These studies show that Congressmen and women do indeed appear in their photos wearing business attire. They also appear with their family and constituents at comparable but different rates. The difference in the way men and women appear were not very meaningful. However, the most significant findings of both papers indicate that Republican women dress more in business attire than Democrat women. Given these findings, this paper will also test for the difference in the rate at which Republican women and Democrat women appear dressed in suits on their campaign website photos.

Although this area of research is not developed, it is important because appearance has been demonstrated to have a significant influence on voter behavior.⁷ A substantial number of political science studies have used pictures of politicians to determine perceptions of competence for office and to forecast election results, indicating a positive correlation between competence ratings and electoral success or demise for both male and female political candidates.⁸ For instance, Rodrigo Priano, Daniel Stockemer, and James Ratis found in their 2014 study that candidates who were rated high in competence for office by the participants were most likely the ones who had won the elections in 2008.⁹

This paper will analyze the pictures of Congressmen and women. A total of 100 House of Representatives candidates' (50 men and 50 women candidates) campaign websites from the 2008, 2010, 2012 and 2014 Congress elections were used for this study. Candidates

are categorised based on their gender (male and female); political party (Republican and Democrat); and region in the country (North and South). These categories (independent variables) were used to determine whether party identification, region, and particularly, gender correlates with the way candidates chose to display themselves on their campaign photos. The next section expands on the literature for this research.

Presentation-of-Self and Appearance

Members of Congress are greatly concerned with how they should present themselves to voters and engage in presentation of self.¹⁰ Presentation-of-self can be described as a performance whereby an individual (in this case a Congressional candidate) presents himself or herself and his or her behavior in a social setting to the public and attempts to guide the impressions they make of him or her to the public with the intention to guide the public's impression of him or her. It consists of appearance (candidates' clothing, insignia of office or rank, sex, and age), mannerism (how candidates portray themselves), and setting (the physical layout and other background items and or persons that help create the scenery). Altogether, the way a candidate appears, his or her mannerism, and the setting used in a picture for "presentation-of-self" provides a significant amount of information about that candidate to the public."¹¹ The overall presentation style of Congress members is important because it can influence the public's impression of them.

However, appearance is specifically important for candidates' presentation as appearance has a high tendency to colour voter's perception of them, and research reports that appearance plays a significant role in influencing voting behavior.¹² According to Milton Lodge and Charles Taber, appearance serves as the first source of information and triggers people's assumptions or impressions about an individual's character, attitudes and behavior.¹³ Markus Koppensteiner and Pia Stephan argue that appearance became important in influencing voting decisions in popular US elections since the famous televised debates

between John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon.¹⁴ A number of researchers suggest Kennedy's appearance as one of the decisive factors that helped to provide him with the final narrow margin of victory over Nixon.¹⁵ This is a growing area of research and is contrary to conventional political science research on voting behavior. In conventional political science, the appearance of political candidates plays a very marginal role in influencing vote behavior. People are understood to be rational voters that are willing and capable of voting in democratic elections; their vote decision is influenced by the evaluation of policy programmes in view of their own preferences; assessment of past performance of incumbent parties and relevant information about political candidates.¹⁶

This conventional rational voter model is inconsistent with reality and has been the subject of much debate. It does not take into account the limits of voter's capacity or their lack of willingness to process considerable amounts of political information.¹⁷ In psychology, there are real-time limitations on human conscious processing, but to compensate for this, humans have evolved a likeability heuristic as a cognitive shortcut, to easily make decisions without conscious effort.¹⁸ Also, some contemporary studies show that over the years, voters have been spending a considerable less amount of time and effort to gather information about political candidates.¹⁹ According to Robs Johns and Mark Shepherd's 2011 study, voters know very little about parties, candidates, or even about politics in general; only a few voters base their choice on complex political considerations.²⁰ In short, many voters are rarely rational in their voting decisions; who they cast a ballot for is based on limited information, and this has been demonstrated to be particularly significant for American voters.²¹ Political science research indicates that voters are now relying on the appearance of political candidates as a heuristic to guide their vote choice.²²

The Significance of Campaign Websites and Campaign Photos

Campaign-produced and packaged information is the primary vehicle candidates use to present a particular image to the public (presentation-of-self). They use it to send a particular message about their experiences, strengths, and interests; to advertise their accomplishments and policy goals; to improve their standing among the public and their prospects for election and re-election.²³

There are various media used for campaign advertisement. This includes the traditional ones such as television, radio, newspapers, and increasingly, new media, namely, the internet. The internet has become an important campaigning tool with which members of Congress communicate with electorates. A 2012 study by Aaron Smith and Maeve Duggan from Pew Research Centre showed that some 66 percent of registered voters use the internet and 55 percent of *all* registered voters went online during the 2012 election season to watch videos related to the election campaign or political issues.²⁴ Their study further demonstrated that the number of voters who use the internet as their source of political information has increased over the years. Likewise, by the turn of the twenty-first century, candidates running for Congress were encouraged to use campaign websites in the same fashion that they used direct mail and television advertising.²⁵ At present, most members of Congress have a campaign and/ or official website.²⁶

What is significant about campaign websites is that members of Congress can exercise full control over their image, message presentation, and overall content on their website. The content of a campaign website, and in particular, the pictures, is an important element in the presentation of self.²⁷ Pictures contain information about the appearance, mannerism, and setting used for presentation, and in most cases will serve as the primary source of information on the website about the member of Congress.²⁸ Moreover, the analysis of a candidate's appearance, mannerisms and image setting preferences in a picture allows

political scientists to better comprehend the constructed image a candidate creates for him or herself. According to Gulati, the picture not only helps form a first impression of the candidate, but also influences the user's decision on whether to continue to navigate the site.²⁹ The choice of images candidates use can influence how the public perceive them because voters do depend on appearance as a factor for making their vote decision as discussed in the previous section. A positive first impression can create confidence in and increase favourability ratings for the candidate. However, what creates a positive image can depend on the gender of the candidate. For instance, if a male candidate uses a traditional family photo on his campaign website of him looking straight at the camera, while his wife and children gaze adoringly at him, this will be considered an effective campaign image.³⁰ However, if a female candidate on her campaign website uses a photo of her looking at the camera with her husband gazing downward at her, the unintended message to the public suggests that she is a dominating woman with a "wimp" for a husband, which is a negative impression that can turn off potential voters.³¹

According to Kathleen Dolan the major consideration is whether to consciously reinforce gender stereotypes or to challenge them by presenting an image that counters these stereotypes.³² For men, this can take the form of campaigning as "a man" by emphasizing leadership style and their expertise on perceived male issues such as security, the economy, and taxes. Similarly, for women it can take the form of campaigning as "a woman" by focusing on perceived women's issues such as welfare, education, and healthcare, as will be expounded in the following section.³³

Gender Role Theory

According to gender role theory, men and women are biologically different. Men are naturally masculine, implying tough, decisive, and ambitious, while women are feminine, implying sympathetic, caring, and dependent. Gender role theory implies that both genders

perform different roles in society based on these traits.³⁴ Leadership is considered a masculine role rather than a feminine one, and Congress is a leadership role.³⁵ Hence, gender role theory implies that men, not women, are best suited to serve in Congress.

Since leadership is stereotyped as a masculine role, it is expected that both men and women candidates will adopt a masculine approach in their campaign which includes dressing in a suit. However research show that while dressing in business attire is the order of the day, candidates running for Congress still appear in casual clothing with their families and communities in photos on their campaign website, although at a much lesser rate than they appear dressed formally in suits. Gulati and Treul found that female candidates dressed more formally than men. They also appeared with members of the community, but were less likely than men to be seen with family members in their campaign photographs.³⁶ Other research found that that Republican Congresswomen dressed more formally than Democrat Congresswomen on their official website photographs.³⁷ This is important because Democrat Congresswomen were most likely to present themselves as outsiders (appeared with constituents), while Republican women were most likely to present themselves as insiders (dressed in business attire).

Conversely, studies that did not analyze campaign photos but instead examined the content and features of Congressional campaign websites show that female and male candidates tend to campaign on the same issues with few exceptions.³⁸ For instance, in her study, Dolan found that on several issues for which there are fairly clear gendered expectations, such as the economy, the environment, crime, family issues, taxes, and social security/Medicare, there were small differences in the degree to which women and men included these in their campaigns.³⁹

Despite Dolan's findings, some research suggests that women and men have different issue priorities based on gender concerns and they present their public images accordingly.⁴⁰

For instance, Paul Herrnson, Celeste Lay, and Atiya Stokes' research shows that women vying for office stress issues that voters associate favourably with female candidates, suggesting that women gain a strategic advantage when they embody female characteristics in their campaign as opposed to masculine characteristics.⁴¹ It is therefore important to examine the differences and similarities in the campaign presentation of men and women.

Hypotheses

The main question of this study is “do Congressmen and women in their campaign website photographs appear dressed in suits at different rates?” The research hypothesis H_1 postulates that: “male candidates will more likely appear in suits than female candidates” (H_1 : Men > Women). The dependent variable is used to test H_1 . However, this paper will run a second regression with the same dependent variable but with only party and region as independent variables to test the second hypothesis H_2 for the question “do Republican women appear more often in a suit than Democrat women?” H_2 postulates that: “Republican women will more likely appear in a suit than Democrat women” (H_2 : Rep women > Dem women).

Data and Methods

The unit of analysis was limited to the photo on the homepage of the campaign website of one hundred House of Representative candidates and the about page for candidates with multiple home page pictures and/or without a home page picture. Campaign websites from the 2008, 2010, 2012, and 2014 elections were examined. The campaign websites were used as the main source for collecting the picture data, while the Library of Congress, Ballotpedia, and Centre for American Women and Politics archives were used for collecting campaign website data. The number of Republicans and Democrats as well as the number of Northerners and Southerners were roughly equal for both male and female candidates.

Multivariate logistic regression was utilized for analysing the data because the dependent variable was binary and there were three independent variables. The regression model was conducted on Stata. Although not the main model, a contingency table was conducted on Stata and the chi-square for the contingency table was calculated to analyze the data in order make better sense of the results of the multivariate logistic regression.

The dependent variable and coding:

1. Appear in photo dressed in suit: dressed in suit = 1, Not dressed in suit= 0

The three independent variables and coding:

1. **Gender:** gender can be associated with the way they appear on their campaign website photographs and is the main independent variable. Gender: Male = 0, Female = 1
2. **Party identification:** party affiliation can be associated with the way Congressmen and women present themselves, particularly because the main political parties (Republicans and Democrats) have opposing political ideologies. Also, research findings show that both parties are increasingly polarized along the political ideology spectrum with Republican shifting towards the conservative right and Democrats to the liberal left.⁴² The 2015 Gallup study by Lydia Saad found that for over the past twenty-two years, the number of moderates has waned while Democrats are becoming more liberal and Republican more conservatives, indicating a steady increase in polarization.⁴³

Also, studies analysing the campaign photographs of candidates' websites show significant difference among women from both parties. The findings in Gulati's research show that the most significant difference in the official website photographs of members of Congress was between Democrat women and Republican women. Similarly Gulati and Treul's research found that Republican women dressed more frequently in business attire, while there was more variation among Democrat women with little more than a third presented themselves wearing casual clothing. Conversely, there was no significant

difference between men from both parties. Therefore, it can be assumed that candidates from opposing parties will appear differently. In other words, party can be said to be associated with the way candidates, especially female candidates, appear on their campaign website photographs. Party Identification: Republican = 0, Democrat = 1

- 3. Region:** constituent political ideology or region can also be associated with the way Congress men and women present themselves. This is because there is a high and increasing conservative electorate in the South. According to Hayes and Mckee, the South has transformed into a conservative region with the Republican Party securing most of the political seats and replacing moderate and conservative Democrats in the South.⁴⁴ Likewise, it is widely believed that the North is less conservative than the South. It is worth mentioning that there are exceptions to this rule, and there are some states, such as Idaho, Wyoming, and North Dakota that are located in the West but share similar conservative ideology with South.⁴⁵ Also, states such as Delaware, Arizona and Florida located in the South are considered to have a moderate ideology.⁴⁶ However, for this paper all states in the North are categorised as sharing a liberal ideology while those in the South are treated as conservatives. Therefore, it can be assumed that because of the opposing ideologies, candidates from the North will appear differently from those from the South. In other words, it can be said that region can be associated with the way candidates appear on their campaign website photographs. Region: North State = 0, South State = 1

Results and Discussion

The results show that out of the 100 sample size, 43 percent (43) of the candidates were dressed in a suit (see fig 1 for pie chart illustrating the percentage of candidates dressed in suit and not in suit). Of the remaining 57 percent (57), 20 percent (20) appeared with family, 21 percent (21) appeared with community, and the remaining 16 percent (16) were

dressed casually, without family and community.⁴⁷ This implies that most candidates appear dressed in business attire as expected because Congress is considered to be a masculine role. Of the 43 percent of candidates dressed in suit, 60 percent (26) included items that displayed the formality of Congress, such as the American flag, President Obama, and Capitol Hill. Fifty percent (13) of the candidates appeared with the American flag, 8 percent (2) appeared with President Obama and another 8 percent (2) appeared with Capitol Hill in the background. Also, of the 16 percent of candidates that were dressed casually without family or community, 31 percent (5) appeared with the American flag.

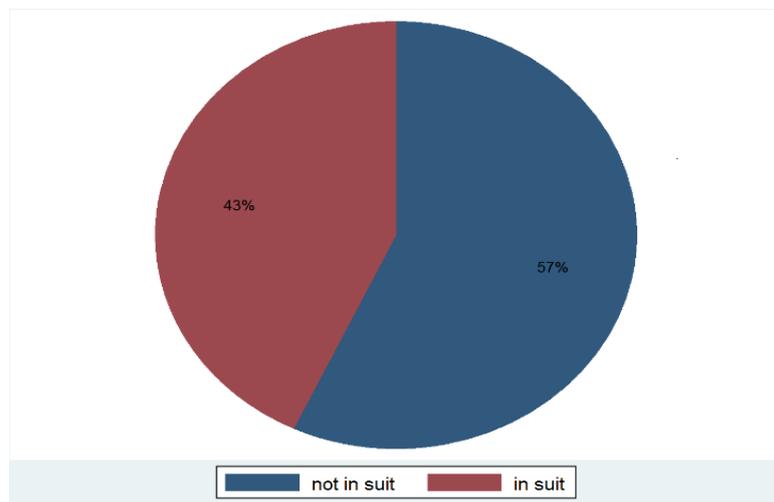


Figure 1. Percentage of men and women dressed in a suit and not dressed in a suit, N=100

However in order to answer the research question, among the 43 percent candidates that appeared in suits, 63 percent (27) were men and 37 percent (16) were women as shown in Table 1. It shows that men appear in suits more than female candidates in their campaign website photos and the percentage difference of 26 percent is considered to be meaningful in this context.

Table 1: Male and female candidates that appear dressed in a suit on their campaign web photo

Dressed in a Suit	Men	Women	Total
Not in a suit	23(40%)	34 (60%)	57
In a Suit	27(63%)	16 (37%)	43
Total	50	50	100

Contingency Table Output from Stata

For this dependent variable (appear in a suit), gender, which is the main independent variable, was found to be statistically significant .026 ($p < 0.05$) on the multivariate regression as shown in Table 2. Therefore, with confidence in this case it can be inferred that the impact of gender in the way Congressmen and women appear on their campaign website photos is real. In other words, there is a correlation between appearance in suits (dependent variable) and gender (independent variable) for men and women. Also, the calculated chi-square for only the gender variable based on the contingency table 1 was 4.9368 and is greater than the critical chi-square 3.841 on a 0.05 significance level.⁴⁸ Therefore, we fail to reject H_1 . However, out of the three independent variables, region had the largest explanatory power (2.0036) for the likelihood of men and women appearing in suits (refer to Stata output).

Table 2: Male and female candidates that appear dressed in a suit in their campaign web photo

Variables	Coefficient (b)	Standard Error	Significance $P < 0.05 ^{**}$	Explanatory Power
Gender	-0.940	.424	0.026**	0.3902
Party	-0.289	.422	0.493	0.7488
Region	0.695	.424	0.101	2.0036
Pseudo R^2	0.0592(5.92%)			

Regression Correlation Coefficient Output from Stata

The coefficient correlation results in Table 2 indicate that when gender is 1 (woman), it decreases the odds of appearing in a suit, when party is 1 (Democrat) it decreases the odds of appearing in a suit, and when region is 1 (South) it increases the odds of appearing in a suit (refer to Stata output). This means that being a woman and/or a Democrat reduces the likelihood of candidates appearing in suits on their campaign website photograph, whereas being from the South increases the likelihood of candidates appearing in a suit.

The probability results in Table 3 show that when gender is 1 (woman) the probability of appearing in a suit is 32 percent, and when gender is 0 (man) the probability of appearing in a suit is 54 percent. This means that there is a higher likelihood for a male candidate than a female candidate to appear in suit on their campaign website photograph. When region is 1 (South) the probability of appearing in a suit is 51 percent, and when region is 0 (North) the probability of appearing in a suit is 35 percent. This means that that there is a higher likelihood for a candidate from the South than a candidate from the North to appear in a suit in their campaign website photograph. The Pseudo R² value is very low, about 5.92 percent. It means that only 5.92 percent of the variation of appearing in suits (dependent variable) is explained by the regression model (refer to Table 2).

Table 3 Men and Women Candidates that Appear Dressed in a Suit in their Campaign Web Photo

Variables	Percentage Dressed in a Suit
Gender is man (1)	31%
Gender is woman (0)	54%
Region is North (1)	52%
Region is South (0)	35%

Probability Output from Stata

Furthermore, out of the 63 percent of men in suits, a majority were Democrats, 59 percent (16), and 41 percent (11) were Republicans. Among the 37 percent of women in suits, a majority were Republicans (69 percent) 11, and 5 (31 percent) were Democrats (see fig. 2). The difference 38 percent (6) in the rate at which Republican women and Democrat women appear in suit is considered meaningful in this context, hence we fail to reject H2.

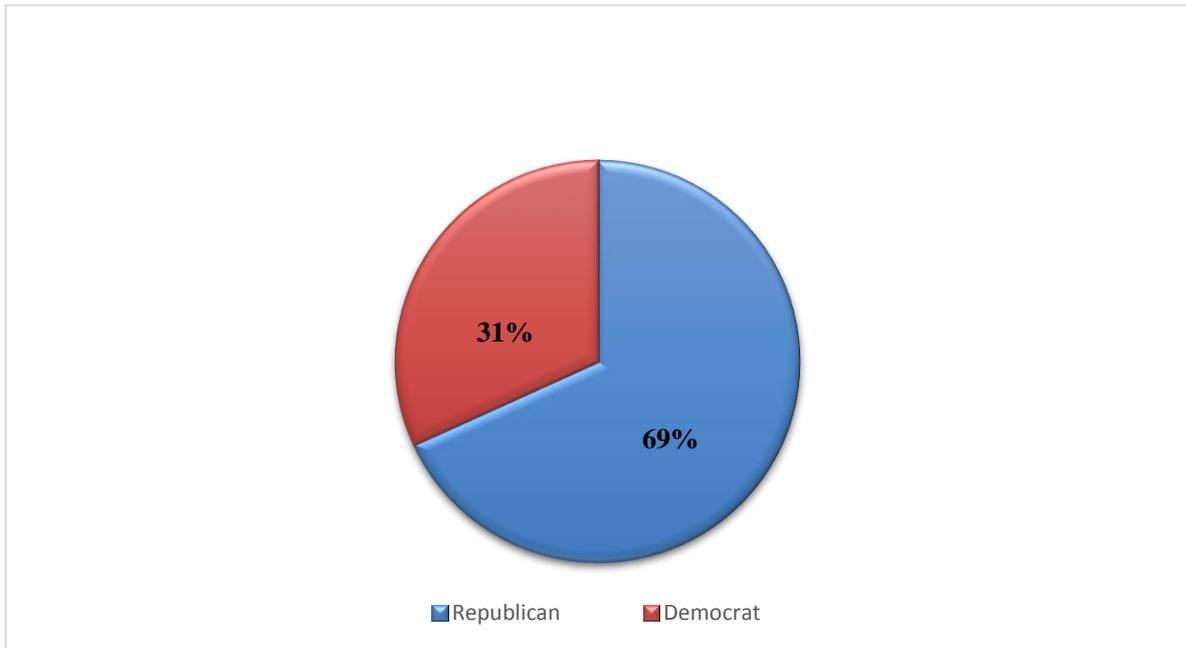


Figure 2. Percentage of Republican women and Democrat women dressed in suits, N= 16

Also, party was found to be statistically significant .015 ($p < 0.05$) as shown in Table 4. Therefore, with confidence in this case, it can be inferred that the impact of party in the way Republican women and Democrat women appear on their campaign website photo is real. In other words, there is a correlation between appearance in suits (dependent variable) and party (independent variable) for Republican women and Democrat women. Yet again as in the case between men and women, region had the largest explanatory power (2.9607) for the likelihood of Republican women and Democrat women appearing in suits (refer to Table 4).

Table 4 Republican women and Democrat
Women that Appear Dressed in a Suit

Variables	Coefficient (b)	Standard Error	Significance P> 0.05	Explanatory Power
Party	-1.672	.687	0.015**	0.1879
Region	1.085	.684	0.113	2.9607
Pseudo R ²	0.1368(13.68%)			

Regression correlation Coefficient Output from Stata

For Republican and Democrat women the coefficient results in Table 4 show that when party is 1 (Democrat) it decreases the odds of appearing in a suit, and when region is 1 (South) it increases the odds of appearing in a suit. This means that being a Democrat woman reduces the likelihood of women candidates appearing in suits on their campaign website photograph, whereas being from the South region increases the likelihood of women candidates appearing in a suit.

The probability results in Table 5 show that when party is 1 (Democrat), the probability of appearing in a suit is 16 percent and when party is 0 (Republican) the probability of appearing in a suit is 51 percent (refer to Stata output). This means that there is a higher likelihood for a Republican woman than a Democrat woman to appear in a suit on their campaign website photograph. The Pseudo R² value as shown in Table 4 is very low, about 13.7 percent. It means that only 13.7 percent of the variation between Democrat and Republican women (dependent variable) is explained by the regression model.

Table 5 Republican women and Democrat women that appear dressed in a suit

Party Variable	Percentage Dressed in a Suit
Party is Democrat (1)	16%
Party is Republican (0)	51%

Probability Output from Stata

Finally, the probability figures from SPSS is used to predict the following different scenarios. Please note that though statistics are useful for making future predictions, the predictions are probability estimates and may not be true in reality. The probability of being a woman, from the South and a Republican appearing in a suit is 44 percent, while the probability of being a woman, from the North and a Republican appearing in a suit is 28 percent. Also, the probability of being a woman, from the South and a Democrat appearing in a suit is 37 percent. The probability of being a woman, from the North and a Democrat appearing in a suit is 23 percent. The probability of being a man, from the South and a Republican appearing in a suit is 67 percent, while the probability of being a man, from the North and a Republican appearing in a suit is 50 percent. The probability of being a man, from the South and a Democrat appearing in a suit is 60 percent, and the probability of being a man, from the North and a Democrat appearing in a suit is 43 percent.

Conclusion

The influence of gender on the presentation of Congressmen and women is a relatively undeveloped area of research that merits academic attention, particularly because appearance has been demonstrated to impact vote behavior. A number of research studies have analyzed the content of campaign websites of Congressional candidates, such as the

issues that they emphasize on their websites. However, there are few studies that examine photographs on the campaign websites of candidates. The few studies that have examined the campaign website photos of candidates found that most candidates dress in business attire, with Republican women appearing more formally dressed than Democrat women. However in one of the studies, women were found to dress more formally than men.⁴⁹ This is a surprising finding, because according to gender role theory, men are masculine and thus should present themselves in business attire more frequently than their female equivalents. However, it is also expected that women, although feminine, would present themselves in business attire because Congress is a leadership role and as such is perceived as a masculine role.

This research paper set out to analyze the campaign website photographs of one hundred House of Representative candidates posted during Congressional elections between 2008 and 2014, and to answer the question “do male and female Congressional candidates appear dressed in suits at different rates on their campaign website photographs?” The results indicate that approximately 43 percent of candidates running for Congress appeared in suits, while the remaining dressed more casually; this includes the 20 percent with family and the 20 percent with community, and the 16 percent without family and community. Of the 43 percent that were dressed in suits on their campaign websites, 63 percent were men and 37 percent were women, indicating that men dress more in suits than women, as is expected because of their gender differences. Nevertheless, there were interesting findings, 50 percent of the candidates dressed in a suit, included items that displayed the formality of Congress such as the American flag, President Obama, and Capitol Hill. Furthermore, gender, which was the main independent variable, as expected had a statistically significant impact (real correlation) on the differences in the rate at which male and female congressional candidates appeared in suits. Surprisingly, region provided the largest explanation for the difference in

the rate at which men and women appear dressed in suits on their campaign website photos. This could be due to ideological differences between the North and the South.

Conversely, this research only analyzed photographs of one hundred House of Representatives candidates, which might be different from those of the Senate. The study by Gulati and Treul analyzed the campaign website photographs of candidates of both Houses of Congress; they had a larger sample size of about 557, including 259 Republican men, 35 Republican women, 57 Democratic women, and 206 Democratic men from the same Congressional election year 2002. For this research, the number of men and women were equal (50 men and 50 women), likewise the number of Republicans and Democrats (49 Republicans and 51 Democrats). Also, all data were equally collected from different election years 2008, 2010, 2012 and 2014, with 25 candidates from each year, likewise the number of Republicans and Democrats were equally selected from each year (12 Republicans and 13 Democrats from 2008, 2010 and 2014, and 13 Republicans and 12 Democrats from 2012). The differences in sample size and selection may be the reasons for the differences in the findings and suggest that further research that analyse the campaign website photographs of candidates should be conducted.

ENDNOTES

¹ Mary C. Banwart and Kelly L. Winfrey, "Running on the Web: Online Self-Presentation Strategies in Mixed-Gender Races," *Social Science Computer Review* 31, no. 5 (2014): 614-24.

² Girish J. Gulati, "Members of Congress and Presentation of Self on the World Wide Web," *Press/Politics* 9, no. 1 (2004): 1-40. In this study Girish provides a content analysis of the images displayed on the home pages of 100 senators and 244 House members who served in the 107th Congress. The study reveals two distinct presentations: an "insider" style (i.e. formal style) and an "outsider" style (i.e. with constituents). The results vary, moreover, by chamber, seniority, gender, and race. Within each party, the most significant differences were by gender, with Democratic women the most likely to present themselves as outsiders and

Republican women the most likely to present themselves as insiders. Also Congressmen from both party were most likely to present themselves as insiders.

³ Toni Bernay and Dorthy Cantor, *Women in Power: The Secrets of Leadership* (New York, NY: Library of Congress, 1992), 35.

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⁹ Rodrigo Priano, Daniel Stockemer and James Ratis, "Looking Good or Looking Competent? Physical Appearance and Electoral Success in the 2008 Congressional Elections," *American Politics Research* 42, no. 6 (2014): 1096 –117.

¹⁰ Richard R. Fenno, *Home Style: House Members in Their Districts* (Boston: Little-Brown, 1978).

¹¹ Girish J. Gulati and Sarah A. Treul, "Gender and Presentation of Self in the 2002 Congressional Election," Conference Paper, *Midwest Political Science Association*, (2004): 1-23, 2-3. Gulati and Treul, conducted an extensive content analysis of every campaign website that was launched for the 2002 Congress elections. The results showed that there

were significant differences in the characteristics of the pictures displayed on the home page of candidate's websites; 66 percent of Republican women and 57 percent of Democratic women presented themselves only in business attire, while 49 percent of Democratic men and 46 percent of Republican men presented themselves only in business attire. Also, men were slightly more likely than female candidates to include family members on their homepage, while women candidates (36 percent) were more likely than men (28 percent) to use pictures depicting them with their constituents, although not by a significant amount.

¹² Hibbing, Smith and Alford.

¹³ Lodge and Taber, 8.

¹⁴ Markus Koppensteiner and Pia Stephan, "Voting For a Personality: Do First Impressions and Self-Evaluations Affect Voting Decisions?" *Journal of Research Personality* 51, (2014): 62-8, 62.

¹⁵ Efrain and Patterson, 353; Gordon; & Rosenberg et al.

¹⁶ Georg Lutz, "The Electoral Success of Beauties and Beasts," *Swiss Political Science Review* 6, no. 3 (2010).

¹⁷ Hibbing, Smith and Alford.

¹⁸ Lodge and Taber, 2.

¹⁹ Chappell Lawson et al, "Looking Like a Winner Candidate Appearance and Electoral Success in New Democracies," *World Politics* 62, no. 4 (2010): 561-93; & Amy King and Andrew Leigh, "Beautiful Politicians," *KYKLOS* 62, no. 4 (2009): 579-93.

²⁰ Robs Johns and Mark Shephard, "Facing the Voters; the Potential Impact of Ballot Paper Photographs in British Elections," *Political Studies* 59 (2011): 636-58.

²¹ Priano, Stockemer and Ratis.

²² Armstrong et al; Niclas Berggren, Henrik Jordahlb and Panu Poutvaarac, P, "The Looks of a Winner: Beauty and Electoral Success," *Journal of Public Economics* 9, (2009): 8-15; & Rosar, Klien and Beckers; Herrick et al.

²³ Dolan, "Women Candidates in American Politics," 18.

²⁴ Aaron Smith and Maeve Duggan, "Online Political Video and Campaign Issues 2012," *Pew Research Centre's Internet and American life Project*, (2 November 2012): 1-17.

²⁵ Banwart and Winfrey.

²⁶ Gulati, "Members of Congress," 23; & Ballotpedia, "United States Congress Elections," *Interactive Almanac of U.S. Politics* <http://ballotpedia.org/> (accessed March 17, 2015); Library of Congress, "Members of the U.S. Congress," *The official Website for U.S. Federal Legislative Information* <https://www.Congress.gov/members> (accessed March 17, 2015).

²⁷ Gulati and Treul, "Gender and Presentation of Self."

²⁸ Lawson et al.

²⁹ Gulati, "Members of Congress," 24.

³⁰ Bernay and Cantor, 77.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Dolan, Women Candidates in American Politics," 19.

³³ Paul S. Herrnson, Celeste J. Lay and Atiya K. Stokes, Women Running as Women: Candidate Gender, Campaign Issues, and Voter-Targeting Strategies," *The Journal of Politics*, (2003): 244-255 245; & Dolan, "Gender Stereotypes."

- ³⁴ Bernay and Cantor, *Women in Power*, 35.
- ³⁵ Dolan, “Do Women Candidates Play to Gender Stereotypes?”
- ³⁶ Gulati and Treul, “Gender and Presentation of Self.”
- ³⁷ Gulati, “Members of Congress.”
- ³⁸ Dolan, “Women Candidates in American Politics”; Richard L. Fox and Zoe M. Oxley, “Gender Stereotyping in State Executive Elections: Candidate Selection and Success,” *The Journal of Politics* 65, no. 3 (2003): 833–50; Lee; Niven and Zibler, & Banwart and Winfrey.
- ³⁹ Dolan, “Gender Stereotypes,” 36.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.
- ⁴¹ Herrnson, Lay and Stokes.
- ⁴² Keith T. Poole, “The Decline and Rise of Party Polarization in Congress during the Twentieth Century,” *CarlAlbert Congressional Research and Studies Centre*, (2005): 1-12.
- ⁴³ Lydia Saad, “Gallup Poll Social Series: U.S. Liberals at Record 24%, but Still Trail Conservatives,” January 9, 2015. www.gallup.com (accessed April 18 2015).
- ⁴⁴ Danny Hayes and Seth C. McKee, "Toward a One-Party South?" *American Politics Research*, 36, no. 1 (2008): 3-32.
- ⁴⁵ Frank Newport, “State of the States: Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana Most Conservative States,” *Gallup* <https://www.gallup.com> (accessed April 18, 2015).
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁷ Of the 20 percent with family, 55 percent (11) were women and 45 percent (9) were men and of the 21 percent with community 57 percent (12) were women and 43 percent (9) were men. Also of the 16 percent that were dressed in casual without family and community 69 percent (11) were women and 31 percent (5) were men.
- ⁴⁸

Calculated Chi-square	Chi-square Critical on Significance P< 0.05
4.9368	3.841

Chi-square Table

- ⁴⁹ Gulati and Truel.