Université de Montréal

There's a gendered elephant in the room:
Canadian mayors online

Par

Katherine V.R. Sullivan

Département de science politique

Faculté des arts et des sciences

Thèse présentée en vue de l'obtention du grade de

Philosophiae Doctor (Ph. D.)

en Science politique

Août 2023

Université de Montréal

Faculté des études supérieures et postdoctorales

Cette thèse intitulée

There's a gendered elephant in the room:
Canadian mayors online

Présentée par

Katherine V.R. Sullivan

A été évaluée par un jury composé des personnes suivantes :

Présidente: Pascale Devette

Directeur : Frédérick Bastien

Membre du jury : Simon Thibault

Examinatrice externe : Linda Trimble

Résumé

Le système politique canadien monogenre (Tremblay et Everitt, 2020) a créé une philosophie politique où les hommes sont perçus comment étant l'option par défaut et les femmes, exceptionnelles (Trimble, 2017). En effet, il existe toujours au Canada une croyance répandue selon laquelle les hommes seraient de meilleurs *leaders* politiques que les femmes (Chen et al., 2023). Ceci est un exemple parmi tant d'autres de l'existence de rôles genrés dans la société canadienne où la présence des femmes au sein d'institutions politiques demeure incongruente (Schneider et Bos, 2019). La science politique canadienne a également longtemps ignoré la participation politique des femmes, car Brodie (1977) et Vickers (1978) ont mené certaines des premières études empiriques sur la candidature et l'élection des femmes à divers paliers gouvernementaux. Depuis ces études, le genre est demeuré un concept complexe et peu étudié (Vickers, 2016), comme en témoigne le débat sur l'accessibilité de la politique municipale aux femmes. Afin de combler ces lacunes, cette thèse se concentre sur les maire.sse.s canadien.ne.s, avec un intérêt particulier pour le genre, autant au niveau de la variation dans l'utilisation active d'une page Facebook, d'un compte Twitter et d'un compte Instagram, de leurs motivations à utiliser ces plateformes, que de leur performance visuelle genrée numérique.

Des données primaires révèlent un écart positif entre les maires et les mairesses au niveau de l'utilisation active des médias sociaux hors d'une campagne électorale. Des entretiens semi-dirigés auprès de maire.sse.s qui utilisent activement ces trois plateformes démontrent que le genre continue de jouer un rôle important en politique, notamment au niveau des motivations des maire.sse.s à utiliser les médias sociaux et des barrières genrées limitant la participation des femmes. Certaines mairesses ont partagé, lors de ces entrevues, avoir vécu du harcèlement en ligne, reçu des commentaires indésirés au sujet de leur apparence ou de leur mode de vie, ainsi que de devoir gérer une plus grande charge mentale. De plus, les résultats d'une analyse de contenu de leurs publications numériques visuelles suggèrent un plus haut niveau d'interactivité numérique chez les mairesses, et tandis qu'elles ont tendance à préférer une performance genrée congruente, mixte, voire d'évitement, les maires – qui démontrent également des performances mixtes – semblent pouvoir explorer des performances congruentes et incongruentes plus librement.

À la lumière de ces résultats, il est recommandé que les praticien.ne.s, tels que les politicien.ne.s et les médias, adoptent un langage non genré, développent et intègrent une étiquette

numérique pour réduire le *gender trolling* et visent à changer la philosophie politique, notamment par le biais d'opportunités de formation visant un accès égal et inclusif aux rôles politiques.

Enfin, la science politique canadienne gagnerait à sortir des sentiers battus pour s'intéresser à la charge mentale vécue par les politiciennes, à la conception socialement construite et genrée d'une carrière politique et à s'efforcer de maintenir des données accessibles, fiables et à jour sur l'ensemble des acteurs politiques à l'échelle municipale. Pour faire suite aux propos de Collier (2022) sur l'absence de recherche sur la violence genrée en science politique canadienne, une discipline qui prétend se concentrer sur le pouvoir (780) se doit d'enfin confronter l'éléphant genré dans la pièce.

Mots-clés : Politique canadienne, politique municipale, médias sociaux, genre, performance du genre

Abstract

Canada's mono-gendered political system (Tremblay and Everitt, 2020) has created a political ethos where men continue to be seen as the default option, and women as exceptional (Trimble, 2017). Indeed, there continues to be a widespread belief in Canada that men are "naturally better" leaders than women (Chen et al., 2023), which echoes constructed social roles which label women politicians as incongruent (Schneider and Bos, 2019). Canadian political science research itself has long ignored women's political participation, as Brodie (1977) and Vickers (1978) conducted some of the first empirical studies on women's candidacy and election in various levels of government. Since these seminal works, gender has remained a complex and under-researched concept (Vickers, 2016). Such gaps are evident in the existence of a debate on the accessibility of politics to women, especially regarding municipal politics.

In order to fill these gaps, this dissertation focuses on Canadian mayors through a gender lens by examining the gendered variation in mayors' active use of a Facebook page, Twitter account and Instagram account, their motivations to use social media and their digital political gender performance.

Using primary data, results show a positive gender gap in mayors' active use of social media outside of an electoral campaign. Semi-structured interviews with digitally active mayors demonstrate that gender continues to play an important role in politics, as much in relation to mayors' motivations to use social media to gendered barriers limiting women's participation. Women mayors shared experiences of gender trolling online, unsolicited comments on their appearance or lifestyle, as well as a greater mental load. A content analysis of their visual social media publications shows a greater level of digital interactivity among women mayors, and while women mayors tend to gravitate toward congruent, mixed gendered performances and avoidance strategies, men mayors – who also display mixed performances of their gender – more freely explore congruent and incongruent approaches to gendered stereotypes.

In light of these findings, it is recommended that practitioners, such as legislatures and news media, adopt gender-neutral language, develop and integrate a digital etiquette to reduce gender-trolling and aim to change our political ethos, namely through political training opportunities aimed toward hegemonic men, rather than blame women for their underrepresentation.

Finally, Canadian political science would gain to stray from the beaten path to focus on the mental load experienced by women politicians, the socially constructed and gendered conception of a political career and to strive to maintain accessible, reliable and current data on all Canadian local political actors. To echo Collier's (2022) call to action on gender-based violence research in Canadian political science, for a discipline that claims to center itself on power (780), it has long skirted the gendered elephant in the room.

Keywords: Canadian politics, municipal politics, social media, gender, gender performance

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

Chapter 1- Introduction

On January 19th, 2023, in the wake of Jacinda Ardern's announcement that she would be stepping down as Prime Minister of New Zealand, the BBC published an article titled "Jacinda Ardern resigns: Can women really have it all?". The title was quickly amended in reaction to the online backlash, but the gendered content remained, mainly focusing on Ardern's personal life. In addition to providing an example of media sexism, it also serves as a reminder that our society remains deeply gendered. Indeed, the title suggests that women are still struggling to achieve the same work-life balance and career as men. It also suggests that "having it all" – for women – involves a career and raising a family. These gendered stereotypes can seem antiquated, but continue to affect many spheres of public life, including politics.

This is due in large part to the "masculine blueprint" with which our political institutions have been created and that continues to legitimize men's place in politics (Galea and Gaweda, 2018). However, the androcentric nature of society did not come naturally, but rather is based on constructed social roles: "gender is an act which has been rehearsed, much as a script survives the particular actors who make use of it, but which requires individual actors to be actualized and reproduced as reality once again" (Butler, 1988: 526).

This dissertation delves into gendered variations among Canadian mayors regarding their active use of Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, in addition to their mayoral duties, their motivation to use social media, as well as their digital political gender performance. Using primary data, this dissertation demonstrates a "positive gender gap" in the active use of social media by Canadian mayors despite the fact that only a fifth of Canadian mayors are women. Semi-structured interviews with mayors who actively use a Facebook page, Twitter account and Instagram account suggest that gender continues to have an important influence on women mayors' professional lives. For instance, results suggest that underlying motivations to get involved in local politics and to use social media are gendered and that many barriers limiting women's active participation in Canadian politics remain. Some women mayors shared their experience of gendertrolling, comments on their appearance and lifestyle choices, and a generally greater cognitive workload from managing invisible and intangible labour, also known as a mental load. A content analysis of Canadian mayors' visual social media publications suggest a higher level of online interactivity among women mayors, as well as very different gendered performances. Indeed, while women

mayors tend to gravitate toward congruent, mixed gendered performances and avoidance strategies, men mayors – who also display mixed performances of their gender – more freely explore congruent and incongruent approaches to gendered stereotypes. Overall, these results confirm that women politicians *can* "have it all" – for a price – when compared to men politicians.

1.1. Gendered politics

To begin, the role and responsibilities of Canadian mayors – or that of elected heads of municipal governments for that matter, as there are also chiefs, reeves, and heads of council, to name but a few – remains elusive, namely as it varies across municipalities and provinces. Chapter 3 sheds some light on the realities of the position across municipalities of varying sizes, revealing that all mayors do not work in equal settings. This echoes findings by Graham (2018) whose research represents one of the first comprehensive looks at Canadian mayors' mandates and roles within their municipalities.

Similarly, although political science research has made great strides in studying women's political participation in Canada since the 1970s, there lacks a consensus on the accessibility of municipal politics to women. In addition, some research on the issue views women as mothers, rather than community members. For example, a common argument is that municipal politics are easier to reconcile with family life (Brodie, 1985). However, at any political level, parenthood is not the only barrier.

According to Briggs (2000), the most critical barriers hindering the participation of women in local government in Canada and the United Kingdom are sexism and the lack of role models, which echoes Farrell and Titcombe's (2016) findings that women councillors are forced to deal with a culture of sexism and bullying. Such a culture generally stems from misogyny and aims to punish women who are perceived as violating appropriate gender roles (Manne, 2018). Such misogynist gaslighting has serious implications, as "[s]exist attitudes, whether they are manifested in words or gestures or, in a more general way, in the expression of cultural values, not only denigrate women's ideas and identity, but influence women's self-esteem" (Tremblay, 1996: 36).

Trimble and Arscott (2003) argue that women politicians are usually on the sidelines when it comes to positions of power, such as party leader, premier and prime minister. They are usually chosen to lead a party in times of crisis and remain in power for less than two years. Similarly,

O'Neill and Stewart (2009) compared the experiences of men and women party leaders at the provincial and federal levels in Canada between 1980 and 2005. Their results reveal that major parties are less likely to elect women as their leaders, while parties on the ideological left are more likely than other parties to select women. Additionally, men politicians enjoy longer tenures as leaders and often find greater electoral success. Finally, Tolley (2011) examined the electoral presence of women in federal, provincial and municipal governments and found an important underrepresentation of women in mayoral positions and other positions of power at the federal and provincial levels.

There has also been a steady rise in the reports of assault, intimidation and abuse directed at women politicians in recent years (Krook, 2018). According to Bradley-Gesit, Rivera and Geringer (2015), experiences of ambient sexism decrease the self-esteem – which includes the sense of self-efficacy and career aspirations – of bystanders by reinforcing traditional gender roles, and women are more affected by the bystander effect than men. The bystander effect refers to an indirect exposure to sexism leading to a reduced share of women candidates for parliament (Haraldsson and Wängnerud, 2019). Moreover, there are patterns of sexual harassment (Collier and Raney, 2018) and gendered violence (Krook, 2020) in Canadian politics when it comes to gendered expectations about women's appropriate place in the public sphere. This is not to say that men politicians are not also victims of violence. The difference lies in the fact that men politicians are more often victims of physical violence, whereas women are more likely to face psychological violence (Bardall, 2011), which entails a violation of both their electoral and personal integrity (Bjärnegard, 2018).

As previously stated, gender stereotype transgressions can face pushback and even lead to gender role enforcement – generally through incivility towards women (Krook and Sanin, 2016: 466; Wagner, 2022). Within the digital public sphere, this may take the form of gender trolling, or gendered online harassment, which heavily relies on sexist or misogynist remarks based on a person's gender or sexuality (Chen et al., 2018), and a conservative gender ideology (Mantilla, 2015). These gender trolls engage in harassing and threatening behaviours—often using graphic sexualized and gender-based insults—to inspire fear and drive women to withdraw from online discourse (Mantilla, 2015). It is important to note that maligning a woman's character has been a recurring strategy historically to discredit women's ideas and inhibit their participation in traditionally male-dominated spaces (Spender, 1982).

This gender trolling essentially polices women politicians' appearance and behaviour by adhering to a rigid concept of political leadership that rejects feminine traits (Nee and De Maio, 2019), and tends to target a greater number of women politicians, when compared to men politicians (Banet-Weiser and Miltern, 2016; Rheault et al., 2019). In Canada, Wagner (2022) found that women politicians are far more aware of online harassment than men, which ultimately creates a hostile working environment reinforcing women's outsider status (Fox et al., 2015). Some women political actors have preferred to leave politics, rather than continue to face such harassment (Perraudin, 2019).

Furthermore, Chen et al. (2023) documented the extent to which negative beliefs about women's capacity to hold public office are widespread in Canada. Results demonstrate that approximately one in five Canadians think that men are "naturally better" leaders than women and that women are "too emotional", and "too nice" for politics. Chen et al. interpret this as Canadian politics remaining robustly sexist. Hence, men are seen as driven leaders (Schneider and Bos, 2014), excellent debaters and warriors (Bashevkin, 2009), while women are stereotyped as caring and mothering (Carpinella and Bauer, 2021) with more skills in collaboration than winning conflicts (Bashevkin, 2009). Similarly, Bashevkin (2010) has argued that "[t]he association of strong, articulate men with the public domain of the polis, on one side, and weaker, quieter women with a lesser private sphere of home and family, on the other, underpins traditional views of women as partial or impaired citizens" (14). These constructed social roles have led to gendered stereotypes which label women politicians as incongruent (Schneider and Bos, 2019) and can give men an advantage as they are seen as natural leaders. Feminine traits are seen as obstructing political competence (Rheault et al., 2019: 2) and woman politicians can be penalized when deviating from their assigned gender role (Dolan and Lynch, 2016; Eagly and Karau, 2002). This is evident when looking closely at the distribution of women elected locally, as women are often seen as good candidates for a municipal council position, but not so much as mayor (Crowder-Meyer et al. 2015).

1.2. Gendered politics, political science, and media

According to the Constitutional Act of 1791, women were technically allowed to vote in Upper and Lower Canada. The following year, Mary Wollstonecraft, a British writer and feminist,

published *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) in which she argued that women are not naturally inferior to men and that both genders should be treated as rational beings. Unfortunately, John Locke had already published "Two Treatises" in 1690, establishing core assumptions of politics by separating the public and private spheres, where women and children belonged to the latter.

Women's right to vote in Canada was slowly stripped away throughout the 19th century, and it took the suffrage movement nearly 50 years for *some* women in Canada to be able to vote in federal elections. Indeed, in 1918, women citizens over the age of 21 were able to vote in federal elections. However, First Nations women were only allowed to vote in a federal election if they gave up their status and treaty rights. Thirty years later, Japanese Canadians were enfranchised, but it was only in 1960 that all Canadian women gained the right to vote federally without losing their rights.

In 1919, Canadian women received the right to run for office in the House of Commons – the Senate would only become accessible to women in 1929 following the Persons Case – and Agnes MacPhail was the first woman to be elected to Parliament in 1921, despite her party – the Progressive Party of Canada – getting cold feet during the electoral campaign. It however took an additional 32 years for there to be more than one woman sitting in the House of Commons, as Margaret Aitken, Sybil Bennett and Ann Shipley were elected during the 1953 federal election.

It is important to note that women have had to organize to demand their rights in nearly every country (Htun and Weldon, 2012). As recently as in the mid-1990s, there have been clear examples of sexist attitudes and attempts to discourage women from participating in politics, such as the British Conservative Party candidate selection committee accusing women aspiring to run of neglecting their homes and husbands (Lovenduski and Norris, 1995).

As a result, women remained largely excluded from politics and Canadian political science research until the 1970s. Trimble, Arscott and Tremblay (2013) mapped the evolution of political science into three distinct periods, mirroring Sue Thomas' (1994) division of works on women in politics in the United States.

This first period of research was motivated by the election of women in various levels of government. Brodie (1977) and Vickers (1978) conducted some of the first empirical studies on the patterns of candidacy and election of women to public office in the 1970s. While very few studied women's political participation in Canada, some academics laid the groundwork for others to build upon, such as Bashevkin (1983), Cochrane (1977), Vickers and Brodie (1981) and Kohn

(1984) to name but a few. The focus remained on comparing women and men politicians with an interest in socio-demographic variables to better grasp the underrepresentation of women in Canadian politics. Some explanations centred on political parties' selection of women candidates (Brodie and Vickers, 1981, 1982), the media's division of the private and public spheres (Archibald et al., 1980) or gendered social roles and socialization.

The second period began in the early 1980s and mostly focused on two aspects of gender in politics in Canada. The first was substantive representation, or to what extent women are more likely to support feminist ideas and policies (Bashevkin, 1985a; Erickson, 1997). The second aspect was "barriers research", addressing obstacles to women's success. This research was inspired by Norris' (1996) model, which viewed the process of reaching political power as similar to a hiring process and is divided into four steps: eligibility, recruitment, selection and election. Subsequent research aimed to understand the underrepresentation of women, which cannot be explained by eligibility alone. According to Tahon (1977), motherhood explained the exclusion of women from politics, while MacIvor (1996) identified three factors linked to recruitment: the societal split between the public and private spheres, the gendered divisions of labour in the home and workplace, as well the negative impacts of parenthood. This is in line with the discriminatory selection process which tends to rely on masculine traits and roles (Erickson, 1993). In addition, when women are selected by a political party, they tend to hold less prestigious positions, as is summarized by Bashevkin (1985b) as "the higher the fewer". Finally, the last step, election, can also be difficult because of the voting system (MacIvor, 2003), a lack of funding (Brodie, 1991) and the media coverage (Gingras, 1995; Robinson and Saint-Jean, 1995; Sampert and Trimble, 2003).

The third period of research on women in politics continued to analyze barriers, but went further by also examining opportunities for enhancing women's representation in political life (Gauvreau, 2011; Kerby, 2009), challenging the homogenous category of "women" (Arendt and Chandler, 1996; Black and Erickson, 2000, 2003) and went beyond descriptive representation to answer the question "do women change politics?" (Tremblay, 1998; Trimble, 1993, 1997). Some research found that a small number of women within political institutions can make a difference (Lore, 2008; Trimble, 1993, 1997).

Meanwhile, the concepts of sex and gender have long been intertwined and sometimes synonymous. In 2015, Jill Vickers gave a presidential address to the Canadian Political Science

Association in which she shares that there continues to exist resistance to change. To achieve "transformational change", successful mainstreaming of gender-focused knowledge and the use of "gender" as a category of analysis is needed. This would mean incorporating feminist concepts and analysis in Canadian political science. Waylen et al. (2013) argue that gender is centrally important to politics and that inequalities are embedded in both the study and practice of politics (3).

As of the 1980s, some scholars attempted to deconstruct the category of gender (Butler, 1990). Scholars, using the feminist strategy of displacement, argued that gendered categories and concepts must be completely revised, as they legitimate the exclusion of women (Lister, 1997; Yuval-Davis, 1997). Hence, the focus went from counting women in institutions to better grasping gendered structures and how to transform them, as they are gendered and gendering.

Among these gendered and gendering structures are the news media, which not only offer a reflection of society, but "[t]he (re)production of societal sexism through under- and misrepresentation of women in media, leading to a false portrayal of society through a gendered lens" (Haralsson and Wängnerud, 2019: 524). Van der Pas and Aaldering (2020) performed a meta-analysis of 90 studies covering over 25 000 politicians in 750 000 media stories and found that overall, women politicians receive more attention to their appearance and personal life, more negative viability coverage and stereotypical issue and trait coverage. The common thread in gendered media coverage is the gender marking of women politicians, where a politician's gender is explicitly signified, which, in the case of anyone who differs from the status quo, politicizes their gender by underlining the uniqueness of women in politics, reinforcing the idea that politics are meant for men and limiting a woman's ability to lead to her body (Falk 2010; 2013, 196; Langer, 2010; Meeks 2012; Trimble 2017). When news media do cover a women politicians' leadership skills, these politicians tend to be treated as less competent or experienced than men politicians (Wagner et al., 2019).

Although reporting on the novelty of a woman politician being elected may seem like a positive practice, this exceptionalism generally leads to news personalisation, where a woman politician's personal life is seen as newsworthy. This gender novelty was examined by Trimble et al. (2019) through the frequency and intensity of new personalisation in the newspaper coverage of 20 Australian and Canadian subnational government leaders, or premiers. Results suggest that levels of personalisation were higher for women than men, especially when they are the first to

attain that role. However, women following in their footsteps receive fewer references to their personal lives.

Such gendered reporting underlines the role incongruity of women in politics (Koenig et al., 2011) by linking women to the private realm (van Zoonen, 1994), in opposition to the public sphere. Haralsson and Wängnerud (2019) conducted one of the first global studies on the relationship between media sexism and the proportion of women candidates in the lower chamber of national parliaments. Their results show a significant relationship between media sexism and the share of women candidates, meaning that the higher the media sexism, the lower the share of women candidates. Gendered political media coverage can also lead to a strengthening of the glass ceiling (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009), a negative impact on self-esteem (Bradley-Geist, Rivera and Geringer, 2015), and a bystander effect (Haraldsson and Wängnerud, 2019; Simon and Hoyt, 2012; Wasburn and Wasburn, 2011). Trimble, Raphael, Sampert, Wagner and Gerrits (2015) examined the newspaper coverage of Canadian political party leadership candidates and found that reporters continue to uphold cultural norms in their analysis of political candidates' suitability for leadership, especially regarding their appearance.

Furthermore, a number of feminist scholars believe that our scientific knowledge may be skewed by "[…] the epistemology of the fathers" (Sprague and Kobryoniwzc, 2006: 26), as the tradition of Western science relies widely on positivism. Some issues with positivism include the lack of context provided by quantitative approaches, the exclusion of meanings and purposes, the inapplicability of generalizations at the individual level and the normativity of quantitative methodology (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). According to Langton (2000), traditional "norms of knowledge" have left women out with the result of objectifying them through the assumption that knowledge may be gained without their participation. Hence, political science may gain to examine its practices and inherent hegemonic masculinity. The latter is defined by Connell (1995) as "the configuration of a gender practice which embodies the currently accepted problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (77). Indeed, hegemonic masculinity in research serves to silence women – and other marginalized communities – and to transform their lived experiences into a series of disconnected variables (Naples, 2007). Eduards (2002) studied women's collective political organizing in Sweden and believes that it has become a "forbidden act" to name men as a political category, rather than a norm. Similarly, Hirdman (1990) argues that the gender system

is both maintained and reproduced through 2 mechanisms: normative masculinity and the separation between private and public spheres.

Alternatively, feminist epistemologies demonstrate that gender is pertinent in the research process (Moloney, 1996) and feminist researchers seek to formulate new understandings that transform the existing practices based on the contributions, values and experiences of women (Huirem et al., 2020). Feminist standpoint theory, more specifically, challenges conventional scientific practices and emphasizes women's knowledge (Harding, 1986). Steckle (2018) argues that standpoint not only seeks to create alternative representations but also aims to "[…] create spaces of critical tension with dominant uncritically accepted scientific theory and practice" (iv). According to Sandra Harding (1993), the marginalized feminist perspective can guarantee a more accurate and less distorted view of the world.

1.3. Research questions

Hence, marginalized political actors can face additional structural barriers within political news coverage and may choose to circumvent traditional news media in favour of social media platforms. This disintermediation has the potential of offering politicians greater control of the framing of their message than they would through traditional media (Pamelee and Bichard, 2012). In addition, the disappearance of local news outlets across Canada (Lindgren and Corbett, 2016) has, in some cases, led to politicians and municipalities having to expend additional time and resources in disseminating local information (Lindgren, 2019; Watson, 2018).

However, very little is known of local political actors' use of social media outside of an electoral campaign in Canada. Some former mayors, such as Naheed Nenshi, have garnered scholarly interest from their use of Twitter during the 2010 municipal election in Calgary (Gruzd and Roy, 2016); Stefan, 2017). However, Nenshi was known, at the time, as Canada's "social media mayor", meaning that his social media campaign cannot be generalized to all mayors.

Thus, this dissertation aimed to fill this gap by first examining Canadian mayors' active use of social media on a daily basis, but aiming to address the following questions:

What is Canadian mayors' social media adoption rate? How many mayors who have a Facebook page, a Twitter account and/or an Instagram account actively use them? To what extent

does the adoption and active use of social media platforms vary according to mayors' gender? To what extent does the active use of social media platforms vary at the intersection of mayors' gender and their municipality's population size?

Then, the literature on politicians' use of social media suggests gendered differences in the adoption rate of digital platforms (Evans et al., 2014; Evans and Clark, 2016) and communication styles (Meeks, 2016; Volden et al., 2013). I sought to understand what led mayors with varying resources and support to adopt a social media strategy on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram in addition to their duties:

What motivates Canadian mayors to use social media? To what extent do these motivations vary according to their gender?

Finally, in light of the fact that social media has been increasingly used for political image-making (Lalancette and Tourigny-Koné, 2017) and that gender is a performative act (Butler, 1990), this dissertation also aimed to address the following question:

How do Canadian mayors perform gender through their professional Facebook page, Twitter account and Instagram account? In what context does this gendered performance arise?

1.4. Methodology

In order to examine the gendered variation in the active use of social media, the motivations to adopt these platforms and mayors' digital political gender performance and drawing from feminist standpoint theory, I adopted a mixed-method approach relying on descriptive data, semi-structured interviews and visual social media content analysis.

1.4.1. Database

Data on Canadian mayors was scarce at the time of data collection for this dissertation. The Federation of Canadian Municipalities had previously offered verified data, but it ended in 2015. Since the inception of my database of Canadian mayors, the Canadian Municipal Elections Database (CMED) was created and now provides a dataset of more than 24 000 municipal elections across 1 843 municipalities in Canada (Lucas et al., 2021). Unlike my database, municipalities with a population of less than 9 000 were not included.

Hence, in the absence of up-to-date data on Canadian mayors at the time, and especially regarding their social media accounts, a database of 3,525 mayors was first created using Statistics Canada's 2016 census, electoral results and data from Facebook pages, Twitter and Instagram accounts. This data collection began in mid-November 2018 and ended in mid-January 2019 and acted as the foundation for the rest of the dissertation.

1.4.2. Interviews

The original sample of 3,525 mayors was severely narrowed down for Chapters 3 and 4 which focus on mayors who actively used a professional Facebook page, Twitter account and Instagram account between December 1st, 2018 and January 12th, 2019. An account was identified as being "active" if the mayor published at least once in that timeframe, which followed municipal elections in several provinces and territories.

Once these digitally active mayors or "super users" were identified, invitations were sent by email. Among the 21 mayors contacted twice, 9 accepted the invitation[1]. The interviews were conducted over Skype, Facetime and Facebook Messenger and mayors were asked a dozen open-ended questions. In order to respect some respondents' desire to remain anonymous, all respondents referred to in this manuscript were anonymized, becoming Woman Mayor 1 (WM1), Man Mayor 1 (MM1), and so on. Also, to protect mayors' privacy, this dissertation disregarded

---

[1] This project was approved by the ethics committee for research in arts and humanities at l'Université de Montréal, certificate number CHERAH-2019–058-D

Facebook profiles to focus on Facebook pages, as some profiles play hybrid roles, blurring the lines between a politician's private and public lives.

Introductory questions aimed to better understand mayors' political careers, responsibilities and social media use. Then, questions were crafted to gain insight into their motivations to use social media, as well as the resources that have been available to them, such as social media training, and access to a communications team. Questions further moved on to mayors' digital political image, asking them to describe the type of image they try to project and how it may vary depending on the platform or intended public. Finally, mayors were asked to share their opinion on the political media coverage of their municipality and on the studies that suggest that the media tend to treat women politicians differently. They were also asked if they had ever modified or been encouraged to modify their communications strategy or their appearance because of their appearance.

Interviews were recorded, transcribed and later analysed using the constant comparison method (CCM). Although CCM has roots in Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), it has since become an approach to analyze and explore qualitative data in depth. Indeed, comparison has been deemed an efficient way for researchers to create and refine categories and analytic themes (Tesch, 1990), namely because all data produced will be examined (O'Connor et al., 2008). Although Glaser (1965) originally suggested 4 stages for the comparison coding process, other studies have proposed variations. For example, Strauss and Corbin (1990; 1998) proposed to conduct their analysis in 3 steps: open coding, axial coding and selective coding. This dissertation's approach to using CCM as a method is closer to Boeije's (2002) application for analyzing interviews. It is important to note that Boeije (2002) argues that the literature "[…] does not make clear how one should 'go about' constant comparison […] (393).

Hence, once the interviews were completed, they were transcribed to first reduce the collected data. This process, in the context of semi-structured interviews, is also useful to familiarize oneself with the material (Halperin & Heath, 2012). The transcripts were then broken down into thematic categories while using the research questions as a guide. This was a circular process which required constant comparison to better develop categories and codes. Interview data was analysed in three steps: comparison within a single interview (open coding), comparison between interviews within the same group, in this case, gender (axial coding), and comparison of interviews from different groups (triangulation).

Drawing on feminist standpoint theory, which focuses on the lived experiences of women and how they structure their social understanding (Harding, 2012), I wanted to understand how women mayors "fit" themselves in municipal politics. Smith (1987) believes that it is necessary to start research from women's lives to identify the gaps when women attempt to find space within the hegemonic culture's conceptualization of their reality. This required a creative approach to coding which combined the current literature on gender in politics with inferences on respondents' gendered lived experiences. This avoids constructing women as "objects of knowledge not as authorized knowers" (Tuana, 2006: 9). This also aims to avoid past omissions in traditional "norms of knowledge" that have marginalized women (Langton, 2000). In this sense, feminist approaches seek to give voice to women to express their experiences in *their* words (McCall & Wittner, 1989).

By also analyzing how men experience gendered norms in municipal politics, it was possible to paint a clearer picture of the environment and context of mayors. Gatrell (2006) believes it is important to include men as participants in feminist studies. Indeed, I chose to include men mayors as their perspective provided a hegemonic baseline and highlighted the gaps in women mayors' experiences. Thus, under general themes, such as "motivation to use social media", "appearance" and "barriers" emerged more specific codes that were only applicable to women mayors. For example, while coding mayors' narratives on their appearance, categories, such as "comments", "changes" and "awareness" were not used among men mayors. Saturation was reached through code meaning (Hennink, Kaiser and Marconi, 2017) once I felt issues had become clear and additional insights were no longer needed.

The decision to speak directly with mayors stemmed from a desire to better understand the gendered nature of their role and offer the flexibility to explore some topics further. I also wished to offer mayors – and particularly women mayors – a space to share their experience in municipal politics and to go beyond the existing studies on women in Canadian politics. As Eyles (1988) has stated, interviews are a "conversation with a purpose". Although this dissertation does not aim to generalize these personal stories to all Canadian mayors, I do believe that the fact that all women mayors shared at least one gendered barrier or instance in their mayoral career is indicative of a bigger issue at hand.

An alternative to interviews could have been to send a link to an online survey to all mayors in the database created for Chapter 2. However, surveys often offer a rigid set of answers, unlike

interviews which allow more nuance and for respondents to provide more details of an experience (Valentine, 1997).

One limitation of this dissertation is linked to the size of the sample in Chapters 3 and 4. This can be explained by both the small number of mayors actively using Twitter, Facebook and Instagram, as well as the low response rate. We could interview mayors who had actively used only one or two of these platforms to broaden the sample, but we did want to target those who used multiple platforms in order to assess whether motivations and gender performances vary according to specific platforms. Furthermore, while the number of interviewees is small, our data collection is augmented by a comprehensive content analysis of more than 2200 visual posts of these mayors through their social media accounts.

Cole and Steward (2012) examined feminist multiple methods research and noted a strategy where quantitative indicators are used to construct a qualitative analysis by focusing on a sample of people who score particularly high on some dimension. This strategy was used by Helson, Mitchell and Hart (1985) who conducted a group "case study" by selecting seven women who had scored on a measure of ego development at middle age. Similarly, the selected mayors represent outliers among their colleagues regarding their social media use. In this sense, it may be more akin to an illustrative sample which sheds light on a phenomenon. According to King, Keohane and Verba (1994), a small number of cases in qualitative research can generate many numbers of observations. This ties in with Malterud, Siersma and Guassora's (2016) concept of information power guiding adequate sample size for qualitative studies where "the more information the sample holds, relevant for the actual study, the lower amount of participants is needed" (1753). The authors identify items that impact the information power of a sample, including the study aim, sample specificity, quality of dialogue and analysis strategy. As this study aim is narrow, focusing on mayors who actively use three social media platforms, it requires fewer respondents.

It's also important to note that recruiting and interviewing politicians presents its own set of challenges. Indeed, Halpering and Heath (2012) agree that one of the biggest challenges can be to have a selected political actor agree to an interview. Indeed, recruitment of digitally active mayors was limited by the lack of response to email invitations, despite follow-up emails.

1.4.3. Content analysis

Hence, this dissertation relied on a mixed design in an effort to approach the research puzzle from different angles and expand the scope of the study (McNabb, 2020). Indeed, descriptive statistics and statistical analyses in Chapter 2 illustrated a positive gender gap in mayors' active social media use, but lacked explanations going beyond traditional variables, such as gender and municipality size. The content analysis and interviews allowed me to expand on these exploratory findings and complemented each other. Furthermore, in order to avoid subsequent bias, a preliminary content analysis of a mayor's visual social media publications was completed before an interview took place.

As previously mentioned, this dissertation solely focused on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram images and videos, which were manually coded. The framework was first developed relying on Schneider's (2014) modified typology of the uses of gender stereotypes in politicians' political communication. In order to ascertain how mayors are performing their gender online – the extent to which their self-presentation is congruent with stereotypes, incongruent, mixed or avoids any reference to gender – five dimensions were developed. Hence, visual posts were coded according to a mayor's facial expression, a mayor's physical appearance, the presence of other people, events, as well as the level of intimization.

The first dimension, facial expressions, reflects the emotional labour that women have long been expected to do, especially in social settings (LaFrance, 2000; LaFrance and Hetch, 2000; Fischer and Lafrance, 2015). The second dimension, physical appearance, is composed of feminine, neutral and masculine indicators borrowing from past work and an inductive approach during coding. This was particularly necessary when developing neutral indicators, as many past studies relied on binary approaches. The third and fourth dimensions, the presence of other people and events, were divided into feminine and masculine categories, where the former relied on a more stereotypically gendered division. For example, the feminine subgroup for events included indicators of community events, learning settings and arts and cultures. Finally, the fifth dimension, the level of intimization, was examined through a mayor's propensity to share details of their private life, such as their home, their friends and family.

Content analyses have been particularly used in the field of gender studies (Neuendorf, 2002) to portray gender roles, relationships, as well as goals and aspirations. It is important to note that

the history of this method is parallel to that of scholarly interest in gender equality (Rudy, Popova and Linz, 2010), as illustrated by Stern (1999): "The major task of early feminist researchers across disciplines was to document the assertion that images of women in Western culture have generally been created from the male perspective" (2). Some of the earliest gender-roles content analyses examined comic strips (Saenger, 1955; Spiegelman et al., 1953). Findings not only shed light on the overrepresentation of men characters (Spiegelman et al., 1953), but also on the inner motivations of the characters. For example, Spiegelman et al. (1953) found that men characters sought to achieve power and justice, while women characters desired romantic love and domestic comfort. Goffman (1979) analysed over 500 photographic advertisements and found that women were generally portrayed as subordinate to men who treated them as children. According to Rudy et al., 2010), there are 4 potential research objectives for producing gender-related content analysis, and this dissertation mainly focused on two: "To support feminist claims about gender-based inequities" and "to examine the equivalence (or lack thereof) between reality and its media representations" (707).

Although content analyses emerged after the development of mass media, visual content analysis remained less popular, and Goffman did originally pave the way with his analysis of women in advertisements (1979). In Canada, Lalancette and Raynauld (2020) examined how Trudeau used Instagram to build his image through visual framing. Although it represents an important contribution to the field of visual political communication, it doesn't include an explicit analysis of the Prime Minister's gender performance.

Combined with interviews and statistical analyses, the aim was to approach gendered variations in mayors' social media use, motivations and experiences from many viewpoints. "Its central premise is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches, in combination, provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone" (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007: 5). In Chapters 3 and 4, interview data and social media visual content analysis data are used to analyse the same phenomenon, while revealing different dimensions. Suzanne Hodgkin (2008) noted that there were few published feminist studies using mixed methods despite the numerous advantages, such as amplifying women's experience (Brannen, 1992) and the variety of sources can increase the reliability of results (Shapiro et al., 2003).

1.5. Major contributions

This dissertation proved to be an ambitious undertaking and has, in the process, made important contributions to the fields of political science, political communication and gender studies.

Indeed, the creation of the Canadian mayor database had not been planned, originally, but became a necessity in the absence of up-to-date and comprehensive data about municipal actors. This database has since been made publicly available online[2] and has attracted interest from students and Statistics Canada. Its creation was painstakingly slow, as municipal directories are not available on all provincial and municipal websites. It required a triangulation of Statistics Canada's database of municipalities, electoral results and lengthy searches on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram to identify mayors' professional accounts. I hope fellow researchers may build upon it to create a collaborative database of Canadian mayors, which should make municipal politics somewhat more accessible for future research.

This dissertation also relied on multiple methods of data collection and analysis, which I believe only strengthens its findings. Mixed methods have increasingly become more popular, especially since research is becoming more and more interdisciplinary, complex and dynamic (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004: 15). It can be particularly when conducting research on – or on behalf of – women whose voices and experiences have been devalued throughout the years (Hesse-Biber, 2010: 138). Although some feminist researchers have argued that qualitative methods are more apt to fully understand women's lived experiences, some have gone as far as to say that quantitative methods reinforce the status quo (Lorde, 1984). According to Hesse-Biber (2010), a feminist approach to research may be less about a choice of method, rather than a research standpoint. Indeed, it requires attention to axiological practice, or recognizing our values, attitudes and biases, and how this may affect the research design. Similarly to Brenda O'Neill's (2009) research on the gender gap in public opinion in Canada, the lack of available data made it difficult – at first – to perform mixed methods research. O'Neill had to gather her own data to examine women's opinions, relying on focus groups and a telephone survey while developing a new measurement of political opinion to avoid the male bias. This dissertation strove to apply a feminist

---

[2] Sullivan, K. (2021). "Canadian mayors on social media". https://doi.org/10.5683/SP2/YCGAJC, Scholars Portal Dataverse.

praxis of mixed methods while putting "[…] emphasis on the socially constructed nature of sex/gender category and a high awareness of differences within the research process" (Hesse-Biber, 2010: 187).

As previously mentioned, research on gender in politics is fairly recent, as much Canadian political science research prior to the 1970s excluded women. This may explain the practice of relying on gender indicators that reflect a binary approach, meaning that a politician's appearance would be coded as being either feminine or masculine, with no in-between. This may be the result of positivism's tendency toward dualisms. However, with the evolution of fashion and self-expression, many of these indicators are no longer reliable or accurate. According to Lovenduski (1998): "In good research gender is always relational and is most simply measured on a continuum" (340). The indicators developed in Chapter 4 aimed to capture these nuances while highlighting cultural gender stereotypes. In addition to these new indicators of gender performance, findings in Chapter 4 also confirm that mayors in this sample express their gender on a continuum. This finding suggests that knowledge of gender in Canadian politics is skewed, particularly regarding its dichotomous approach to gender and public-private spheres, and that political science requires new approaches to examine gendered bodies. For example, in gender studies, analyzing bodies can reveal "[…] the power relationships that regulate, denigrate, define, or produce it as well as to identify the ways different bodies are located and constructed" (Coole, 2013: 166).

Mayors in the sample were also asked to talk about their careers in politics, which uncovered some important motivations for running for mayor, especially among the women mayors. This question had originally meant to provide some background information on the mayors and break the ice but, combined with answers to a question regarding their motivation to use social media, it revealed important gendered differences in the intentions behind a mayor's mayorship. While many studies look at political leadership styles, namely by gender, I believe that understanding what pushed – in some cases – ordinary citizens to throw their hat in the ring and take on sizeable responsibilities, reveals a lot about a person's subsequent leadership style.

Finally, interview data revealed that women mayors bear a much heavier cognitive workload from managing invisible and intangible labour, when compared to men mayors, from having to curate their physical appearance and navigate perduring workplace stereotypes and gender trolls online. As there appears to be a gap in political science literature about this mental load, this is an

avenue that warrants much further research. This echoes Lovenduski's (1998) belief that the overrepresentation of men in research on politics and institutions is "bad science" (6).

1.6. Organisation of the dissertation

The three following chapters address questions on 1) the gendered variation in Canadian mayors' active social media use, 2) the motivations behind the active use, and 3) their digital gender performance.

Chapter 2 uses novel data to examine the gendered variation in social media adoption and active use by Canadian mayors outside of an electoral campaign. The gender bias in political news coverage and social media's potential for disintermediation led to the hypothesis that mayors – and especially women mayors – would be part of a municipal "digital turn". This is consistent with findings that political actors who are normally marginalized by the news media have found an alternative outlet online (Ross, 2016). Results illustrate a positive gender gap in terms of active use of a Facebook page, Twitter account and Instagram account. Indeed, results from an OLS regression show that, on average, women mayors actively use 0.9 more social media platforms than men mayors.

Chapter 3 focuses on mayors' motivations to use social media in addition to their mayoral duties. In light of the disappearance of local media outlets (Lindgren and Corbett, 2016), some politicians and municipalities have had to fill the gaps to make sure their constituents remain informed (Lindgren, 2019; Watson, 2018). As political workplaces remain highly gendered, it is possible that women politicians feel pressure to conform and to rely on democratic and participative leadership styles (Eagly, 2020). This is also evident in research on gendered social media use by politicians, with results suggesting that women politicians are more likely to use Instagram (O'Connell, 2018) and Twitter (Wagner et al., 2017), than men politicians, as well as adopt gendered communicational strategies (Bailey and Nawara, 2018; Lee and Lim, 2016). Semi-structured interviews reveal that mayors mainly adopt mixed leadership strategies by displaying both agentic and communal attributes, but that motivations and barriers to using social media are gendered. Indeed, although nearly all mayors reported that social media was a great tool to reach citizens, share information and seek input, some women mayors explained that they were

motivated to run for mayor to increase women's representation. Also, our content analysis demonstrates that women mayors interact more online than men mayors.

Chapter 4 examines Canadian mayors' digital political gender performance on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, through a content analysis of their visual publications and semi-structured interviews. More specifically, I sought to identify the gender performance strategies (Schneider, 2014a) used by mayors: reinforcing stereotypes (congruent), mixing stereotypes (mixed), overturning stereotypes (incongruent) or avoiding gender stereotypes (avoidance). Results confirm that mayors express their gender on a continuum, more precisely that women mayors gravitate toward congruent, mixed gendered performances and avoidance strategies, whereas men mayors also display mixed performance of their gender, while more freely exploring congruent and incongruent approaches to gendered stereotypes. The discrepancy between men and women mayors' digital gendered performances is evident in the fact that women mayors were found to smile more than men mayors, and the latter, unlike women mayors, did not report receiving any comments about their appearance. Additionally, semi-structured interviews with these mayors show that women mayors must not only navigate a gendered political role, but also carry a heavier mental load consequently.

Finally, Chapter 5 concludes the dissertation with a discussion of the main findings and contributions. It also makes recommendations for practitioners focused on tangible change, such as the adoption of gender-neutral language, the integration of a digital etiquette and an approach to political training opportunities centred on equal and inclusive access to political roles. These recommendations are rooted in feminist institutionalism, which recognizes that formal and informal institutions are gendered and seeks to understand informal rules and norms. In addition, some topics that have been broached in this dissertation would warrant further research, such as the mental load experienced by women mayors, the normative and antiquated conception of a political career and the data gaps on Canada's local political actors.

Chapter 2 –The gendered digital turn: Canadian mayors on social media

Abstract

Women continue to occupy lesser positions of power at all political levels in Canada, although scholars still argue about the accessibility of municipal politics to women. However, no previous study has systematically examined the gender ratio of mayors across Canada, as well as their (active) use of social media platforms in a professional capacity. Using novel data, this study examines the variation in social media adoption and active use by gender outside of an electoral campaign. Results show that there is a higher proportion of women mayors who have a Facebook page, as well as Twitter and Instagram accounts and who actively use them outside of electoral campaigns, when compared with men mayors' social media practices.

Keywords: Canadian politics, municipal politics, social media, representation, gender

2.1. Introduction

There is still little research on municipal politics in Canada, as it is often overlooked by researchers, who prefer to focus on the provincial and federal levels, as they obviously attract more media and citizen attention. Although Canadian local politics are often believed to be more accessible to women seeking to participate in politics (Brodie, 1985), gender parity has not yet been reached. This is also true for local governments in the United States (Holman, 2017) and in Europe (Johansson, 2006; Steyvers and Medir, 2017). However, although the greater accessibility holds true to some extent in Canada (Tremblay and Mévellec, 2013), it only applies to council positions, rather than mayorships (Tolley, 2011). Among the obstacles limiting the number of women in positions of political power are stereotypical perceptions of gendered roles (Thomas, 2013) and explicit sexism (SCSW, 2018), but also the gendered media bias towards women political actors (Goodyear-Grant, 2013). The latter refers to the news media's propensity to rely

on sexist stereotypes when speaking of women politicians and the lack of attention given to their political competence and policies (Ross, 2010).

Alternatively, social media has become an important political tool in order to broadcast information, exchange with citizens and to circumvent traditional communication channels (Enli, 2017). Indeed, results from interviews with women in positions of power show that social media platforms are found to be useful to connect with constituents and share their message without traditional new media's intermediation (Di Meco, 2019: p. 25). Hence, this study aims to examine the social media adoption rate by Canadian mayors, and particularly by women mayors, outside of electoral campaigns and to answer the following research questions: What is Canadian mayors' social media adoption rate? How many mayors who have a Facebook page, a Twitter account and/or an Instagram account actively use them? To what extent does the adoption and active use of social media platforms vary according to mayors' gender? Finally, to what extent does the active use of social media platforms vary at the intersection of mayors' gender and their municipality's population size?

It is done by creating a database of all Canadian mayors and takes account of their presence and active use of 3 social media platforms: Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. Analyses focus on the variation of social media adoption and active use according to the gender of mayors across Canada, as well as by municipality population size. Unlike other research on municipal governments, this study examines all Canadian mayors by merging data from Statistics Canada's 2016 census, provincial municipal directories, and social media accounts identified on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram.

Results show that women mayors are more inclined than men mayors to use social media. Additionally, a higher proportion of women mayors both have and actively use a Facebook page, as well as a Twitter and an Instagram account, than their male counterparts. Finally, a greater proportion of Canadian women mayors than men mayors are actively using multiple social media platforms. Similar trends emerge when looking at results from binary logistic regressions and an OLS regression. These findings aim to contribute to the limited literature on the distribution of Canadian women mayors, as well as the gendered variation in digital communication strategies.

2.2. Background and theoretical concepts

2.2.1. Municipal politics in Canada

Canada is a vast country composed of 10 provinces and 3 territories. The federal government has a national mandate and, like the provinces, operates from a parliament. Although the relationship between federal and provincial governments is often perceived as being equal, the municipal governments occupy a subordinate status (Tolley, 2011: 574). These municipal governments are entirely under the legislative control of the provincial or territorial government (Lightbody, 2006: 17) who delegates local responsibilities, such as local parks, libraries and police. Unlike the provincial or federal levels of government, political parties within a municipal government – which can be a village, town, village or metropolitan municipality – are scarcer.

This study thus focuses on political actors at the municipal level, as they are often overlooked by researchers. Indeed, Larsson and Svensson (2014) note in their article focusing on the literature on the use of digital tools by political actors that political communication scholars need to devote greater attention to regional or local politics, in order to balance the amount of work at the national level: "[. . .] as political communication research has typically focused on national or international levels of study, scholars within the field should also make efforts to contribute to our knowledge of online practices at the hands of politicians at regional and local levels" (Larsson and Svensson, 2014). Additionally, Raynauld and Greenberg (2014), note that "much attention has been devoted to provincial and national politics, particularly during key moments, such as elections or intense debates relating to contentious policy issues or political controversies, while local or community-based political contexts have been largely overlooked" (412). Accordingly, political communication researchers are beginning to take an interest in this level of government, particularly in light of the fact that "[. . .] many local governments rival their provincial and federal counterparts in terms of social media deployment and usage, particularly for engagement-oriented pursuits [. . .]" (Gruzd and Roy, 2016: p. 80). In fact, there have been studies on the role of social networking platforms in the formation of local electoral dynamics during the municipal election in Ottawa in 2010 (Raynauld and Greenberg, 2014), the potential of social media as an election tool during the 2010 Niagara election (Hagar, 2014), as well as on the use of Facebook by municipalities (Lev-On and Steinfeld, 2015).

Internationally, social media is increasingly used by municipal governments and political actors. Among the 75 largest cities in the United States, the use of Facebook by municipalities between 2009 and 2011 went from 13% to 87%, and the use of Twitter increased from 25% to 87% (Mossberger and al., 2013). Within 217 Italian and Spanish local governments, a higher level of Facebook use has been associated with a greater governmental transparency (Guillamon et al., 2016). Facebook is also considered as being almost as important as emails by Scandinavian local and regional politicians, whereas Twitter is perceived as a platform for the urban elite (Larsson and Skogerbo, 2018).

However, little is known about Canadian mayors, especially outside of electoral campaigns. As is shown in Kate Graham's thesis (2018), mayors' role and power remain largely undefined in Canada. Indeed, Graham demonstrates that, in practice, a mayor's type of leadership is more important than institutional variables. Unlike federal and provincial elected positions, a mayoral position varies greatly across municipalities, meaning that the salary and type of position (full-time or part-time), as well as access to resources, are not standardized. Hence, the decision to actively use multiple social media platforms outside of an electoral campaign – especially by mayors in smaller municipalities – can hint at a mayor's leadership style.

Thus, the municipal level is of great interest to study gendered social media adoption rates. Mayors are, after all, political actors who are found in large numbers in Canada and because of their leadership position, they are likely to be subjected to significant media coverage in their local community, unlike most elected at the federal and provincial levels. In this sense, this study aims to offer new insights, not only on local politics' social media practices, but also on the role of gender, by going beyond Gruzd and Roy's (2016) critical examination of social media usage by municipal governments. Although their study is one of the rare few to focus on municipalities in multiple provinces, by examining municipal governments in Calgary, Ottawa, Regina, and Halifax, this study goes further by looking at all Canadian mayors.

The municipal level is often considered as being more accessible for women, mainly because it is easier to reconcile with family life (Brodie, 1985) and deals with more policies that directly affect daily lives (Trimble, 1995). This is consistent with results from Tremblay and Mévellec's (2013) work on the feminization rate at the municipal level. They compared women's representation in city halls to that in the Canadian legislature. Their results are promising, as they show that the feminization rate is higher at the municipal level, namely of 21% in 2002 and 26%

in 2009, compared to 19% in 2002 and 21% in 2009 at the provincial and federal level. This is consistent with work by Blais and Gidengil (1991), as well as Brodie (1985), who reach the conclusion that women find greater electoral success at the municipal level. However, this feminization rate combines both women councillors and women mayors. Although these results suggest a greater accessibility for women in politics, it could also be hiding an unequal distribution of positions of power. For example, the first and only woman Prime minister of Canada was Kim Campbell in 1993 when Brian Mulroney retired from politics. At the time of writing, out of the 10 provinces and 3 territories, there is 1 woman Premier: Caroline Cochrane, Premier of the Northwest Territories. According to Trimble and Arscott (2003), women politicians are usually on the sidelines when it comes to positions of power, such as party leader, premier and prime minister. They are usually chosen to lead a party in times of crisis and remain in power for less than 2 years. Similarly, O'Neill and Stewart (2009) compared the experiences of men and women party leaders at the provincial and federal levels in Canada between 1980 and 2005. Their results reveal that major parties are less likely to elect women as their leaders, while parties on the ideological left are more likely than other parties to select women. Additionally, men politicians enjoy longer tenures as leaders and often find greater electoral success. Finally, Tolley (2011) examined the electoral presence of women in federal, provincial and municipal governments and found an important underrepresentation of women in mayoral positions, but also in other positions of power at the federal and provincial level.

2.2.2. The gender bias

In addition to the lack of women in positions of power in Canadian politics, research shows the existence of a gender bias towards women politicians in the media (Goodyear-Grant, 2013; Robinson and St-Jean, 1995; Tremblay and Bélanger, 1997). In fact, Goodyear-Grant (2013) argues that women in politics often receive less visibility in the media than their male counterparts, which can affect voters' perceptions of candidates as visibility can be interpreted as a guarantee of the quality of a candidate. Women politicians are also often represented by gendered personality traits and are more heavily criticized (Robinson and St-Jean, 1995; Tremblay and Bélanger, 1997). Hence, the news media's propensity to rely on sexist stereotypes to report on women politicians also overshadows their political competence (Ross, 2010).

Shor et al. (2015) analyzed the coverage of women politicians in newspaper articles and their findings suggest that sexism is commonplace and operates in ways that minimize women's political abilities in order to focus on stereotypes and their appearance. Similarly, the private life of women politicians can also negatively affect their mediatized political image. Indeed, according to a qualitative analysis of journalistic discourse of news stories, editorials and articles published in the printed media in Quebec during 4 leadership races, women politicians' personal lives can negatively affect their mediatized political image (Lalancette and Lemarier-Saulnier, 2013). Thomas and Bittner (2017), for their part, examined parental status in politics, with a particular interest for its effect on women politicians. Their results suggest that a man politician with a family is perceived much more favorably than his female counterpart with children.

Furthermore, according to the thesis of gendered mediation, the news media reflects the dominant culture and is thus often dominated by a male narrative (Goodyear-Grant, 2013). Hence, there is often a double standard when analyzing a political candidate's competence (Braden, 1996). Finally, recent studies show that the mass media prove to be an obstacle stopping women from participating in politics in the province of Quebec and that the newspaper coverage during municipal elections is still biased towards men candidates (Théberge-Guyon et al., 2018).

2.2.3. Research questions

Therefore, this study seeks to shed light on the social media adoption rate of Canadian mayors, particularly by women mayors, by creating a repertory of all mayors across the country, as well as their social media presence and active use of Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. Hence this study aims to answer the following research questions:

What is Canadian mayors' social media adoption rate? How many mayors who have a Facebook page, a Twitter account and/or an Instagram account actively use them? To what extent does the adoption and active use of social media platforms vary according to mayors' gender? Finally, to what extent does the active use of social media platforms vary at the intersection of mayors' gender and their municipality's population size?

2.3. Gendered social media adoption

Social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, could help political actors – as well as their communication teams – bypass the news media by directly addressing interested citizens. Indeed, digital media could allow political actors to disseminate information autonomously (Parisi and Regra, 2007) without having to respect news media's standards or framing (Parmelee and Bichard, 2012). This "disintermediation" is the circumvention of the media by direct representation and was first introduced to communication research by Katz and Dayan (1992) who looked at whether media events influenced television reporting. They were interested in television events that acted as a break from the media routine and as a national gathering. According to Thomas and Bittner (2017), "even the most cautious communication strategy cannot fully control the way in which the media report, frame and analyze women in politics" (11). It is therefore not surprising that politicians avoid having to rely solely on traditional communication channels (Broersma and Graham, 2012).

Whereas it has been found that experienced men politicians have higher "media capital" or an easier access to news media, interviews with 85 women leaders in politics, civil society, television, journalism and technology show that traditional media remain an obstacle for women's political ambitions (Di Meco, 2019). Indeed, according to Di Meco (2019), news media coverage remains heavily biased, both in quality and quantity, and act as a form of disinformation about women politicians. This negatively impacts their viability as candidates, as well as societal expectations of women in positions of power. Additionally, respondents reported finding social media useful for mobilizing their constituency, denouncing sexism and controlling their political discourse despite the ubiquity of online trolls. Indeed, political actors who are routinely marginalized by traditional media are found to be able to express themselves online (Ross, 2016). This is consistent with results from a 2016 survey of women parliamentarians in 107 countries that show that 85% of respondents use social media, particularly Facebook, in a professional capacity (Patterson, 2016). Larsson and Skogerbo (2018) also found that Scandinavian women, as well as less experienced, local and regional politicians are online enthusiasts and view social media as an alternative to traditional news media.

Within the Canadian population, 94% of Canadian adults have an account on at least one social media platform, making Canada one of the most connected countries in the world (Grudz and Mai, 2020). There also exists a gendered adoption of social media platforms among the general population. For example, Facebook remains the dominant social media platform in Canada, and is used slightly more by Canadian women (86%), than men (81%), whereas Instagram attracts more women users (59%) than men users (43%). Alternatively, the gender gap is smaller on Twitter, where men (43%) and women (41%) show similar adoption rates.

Alternatively, this hypothesized "digital turn" may also be due to other factors, such as a municipality's population size and media coverage (or lack thereof). Lindgren, Corbett and Hodson (2016) examined the disappearance of many local newsrooms and its effects on citizens' political knowledge of local current affairs. Their results suggest that the growing disappearance of local newsrooms has led to a "local news poverty", meaning that crucial local information becomes inaccessible in certain municipalities. In response, a smaller municipality's local government may take up the role of local information broadcaster. However, according to Grudz and Roy (2016), local governments haven't yet embraced social media platforms as tools for regular information broadcasting, but rather to share unusual updates and service availability (85). The lack of organized news broadcasters, as well as internalized gender roles, could in turn influence a mayor's decision to adopt social media platforms, rather than a hypothetical gendered local news coverage.

Additionally, traditional definitions of (men) political leaders tend to rely on agentic attributes, whereas women politicians are often perceived as being more communally motivated (Diekman et al., 2010). These communal attributes, in addition to the fact that women are two to three times more likely to accept non-promotable tasks in response to volunteer requests (Versterlund et al., 2015), suggest that there could be a gendered variation in social media adoption rates among Canadian mayors.

Hence, it is hypothesized that a greater number of women mayors will adopt and actively use social media platforms across the country.

H1: A greater number of Canadian women mayors, when compared to men mayors, will adopt and actively use social media platforms.

Furthermore, it is also expected that the gendered variation will be greater in municipalities with a population size of 200 000 or more, namely because of the potentially increased gendered media coverage.

H2: The gendered variation in social media adoption and active use will be greater within Canadian municipalities with a population size of 200 000 or more.

2.4. Methods

2.4.1. Data collection

To examine Canadian mayors' social media adoption rate and active use according to their gender, it was necessary to first create a database. As municipal politics is under provincial jurisdiction, it is difficult to come upon complete aggregate information about Canadian mayors, especially because no official data currently exists on all Canadian mayors, as the Federation of Canadian municipalities does not have verified data for the entire country after 2015. Data collection began in mid-November 2018, once municipal elections in Ontario, Yukon, Northwest Territories, British Columbia, New Brunswick, Manitoba and Prince Edward Island were over and official results were available, and it ended in mid- January 2019.

The first step in creating the database[3] was identifying every municipality within each of the 10 provinces and 3 territories. Population size was also identified by using data from Statistics Canada's 2016 census. It was then possible to use election results or municipal directories to identify mayors and their gender. When not specified, the latter was verified by examining pictures and pronouns used, either in newspaper articles or on the municipality's website.

However, mayors are not the only elected heads of municipal governments across the country, as there are also chiefs, reeves and heads of council, to name but a few. The Government of Alberta (2019) refers to the municipal head of council as a Chief Elected Official (CEO) that can be a mayor, reeve or chairperson and the Government of Northwest Territories (2019) defines the CEO as either mayor or chief and as having the same responsibilities. As their role is similar – if not identical – to that of mayor, this study includes them and will refer to all heads of municipal

---

[3] Sullivan, K. (2021). "Canadian mayors on social media". https://doi.org/10.5683/SP2/YCGAJC, Scholars Portal Dataverse.

governments – or CEOs – as "mayors". Also, some municipalities were excluded during the data collection when mayoral positions had not been filled for various reasons. For example, this is the case for four municipalities in New Brunswick: Aroostook, Oakwood, Hanwell and Shediac.

The second step was identifying mayors on three social media platforms: Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. These platforms were selected for multiple reasons, including the accessibility of public data and the visual nature of publications. A mayor was deemed as "having" an account or page, even if only as a placeholder, when it existed and made some reference to their position as mayor. Thus, rather than examine the content of mayors' publications, the existence of a professional page or account was coded as 1 and the absence, as 0. This was done for all 3 platforms.

The goal was to calculate Canadian mayors' social media adoption rate, or the proportion of mayors who have a Facebook page, a public Twitter account, as well as a public Instagram account. The decision to focus solely on Facebook *pages* arose when noticing that some mayors used Facebook *profiles* to share information about their municipality. However, although some used their profile in a professional capacity, others had a more hybrid approach, by mixing both their professional and personal lives. This can be an ethical issue, as "one of the biggest areas of concern with social media data is the extent to whether such data should be considered public or private data" (Townsend and Wallace, 2016: 5). Larsson (2015) also stresses the importance of considering the open or closed nature of data. Fortunately, Facebook has diversified its functionalities by allowing users the possibility of creating a profile, which is usually preferred for personal use, or a page, which is preferred by professionals hoping to gain insight into their followers by using the promotion tools and analytics. This decision was also made in light of the fact that it is nearly impossible to identify a clear list of requirements for a Facebook profile to be deemed "professional" without doing an entire content analysis of said profile beforehand. Also, when multiple accounts for one mayor were found, which was often the case on Twitter, the one most recently used was selected. It is also important to note that this study does not look at the content of Canadian mayors' publications, rather their presence on Twitter, Facebook and Instagram, as well as their active use. In this sense, many ethical considerations may be foregone. Also, ethics concerning using social media data are still lagging in political communication. According to Williams, Burnap and Sloan (2017), Twitter's terms of service specifically state that

users' posts that are public will be made available to third parties. Researchers must then take a more reflexive approach to interpret these commercially motivated terms of service (1150).

Once the accounts were identified, a certain level of post-electoral social media activity was verified in the beginning of the month of January 2019. It seemed reasonable to believe that an active account would publish at least one post between December 1st and January 12th, if only to announce the municipality's Holiday Season schedule or to share good wishes for the New Year. This verification helped to weed out campaign-centric accounts. Hence, if a mayor published at least one post on an account or page between December 1st, 2018 and January 12th 2019, they were coded 1, as an active account. This was done for all 3 platforms.

2.4.2. Data analysis

Once the database was completed and verified, the proportion of women mayors across provinces and territories was calculated, as well as compared by population size. To facilitate the analysis, municipalities' population size was divided into 5 categories: (1) 200,000 or more; (2) 100,000 – 199,999; (3) 50,000 – 99,999; (4) 10,000 – 49,999; and (5) 9,999 or less.[4]Social media presence and active use was then analyzed on a comparative basis according to gender on the national level and then by population size. The proportion of mayors who are present on multiple platforms and who actively use them was also compared between women and men mayors across Canada and by population size.

The gendered variation in the active use of social media platforms was also examined by performing multivariate regressions. The gender variable was coded as 1 for women mayors and 0 for men mayors. The municipality population size was also coded from 0 to 1, where the largest cities were coded 1 and the smallest, 0. In order to answer the final research question pertaining to the gendered variation in regard to municipalities' population size, an interaction variable was

---

[4] These categories were created by following Statistics Canada's example of selected population size groups for urban areas (Puderer, 2009), where the population size was divided into 8 groups: (1) 1, 000, 000 and over; (2) 500, 000 to 999, 999; (3) 100,000 to 499, 999; (4) 50,000 to 99, 999; (5) 10,000 to 49, 999; (6) 5,000 to 9,999; (7) 2,500 to 4,999; (8)1,000 to 2,499. In this study, smaller municipalities were combined into one category, as were the more populated municipalities.

created by combining the dummy gender variable and the categorial municipality population size variable.

Finally, the tables of results in the following section do not include results from tests of independence as this study examines the entire population of Canadian mayors.

2.5. Results

This section presents descriptive statistics, as well as cross-tabulations which allows the comparison of results by gender. It will first summarize the proportion of women mayors in Canada, then examine Canadian mayors' social media presence and active use nationwide. Finally, results from multivariate regressions will be presented in order to better understand the gendered variation in the active use of Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, as well as the interaction between gender and municipality population size on social media active use.

In a general perspective, results reveal that women mayors are still a minority in Canada. Indeed, among the 3525 mayors included in the database, 19.4% of mayoral positions are held by women. Additionally, smaller municipalities may be more accessible to women running for mayor, as the highest proportions are found in municipalities with a population of 10,000 to 49,999 residents (22.4%) and of 9,999 or less (19.3%), whereas smaller proportions are found in municipalities with a population of 100,000 to 199,999 residents (12.0%) and of 200,000 or greater (15.0%).

When examining mayors' social media adoption and active use, results in Table 2.1 show that very few mayors have a social media account, and that even less – nearly half – actively use it. A greater proportion of mayors actively use Facebook (7.3%) and Twitter (6.6%), but very few actively use Instagram (2.3%).

Table 2.1: Proportion of Canadian mayors who have a social media account or page, as well as those who actively use them

Social media platform	Proportion of mayors who have an account or page	Proportion of mayors who actively use account or page
Facebook page	12.2.%	7.3%
Twitter account	11.6%	6.6%
Instagram account	5.8%	2.3%
N	3525	3525

Results in Table 2.2 reveal that, not only are there more women mayors who have a Facebook page (18.2% compared with 10.8% for their male colleagues), there are also more women mayors who actively use their page (12.1%) when compared to men mayors (6.2%). This greater digital presence is maintained for Twitter (16.9%) and Instagram (9.5%), although the – positive – gender gap in the active use is somewhat smaller.

Table 2.2: Proportion of Canadian mayors with a social media presence and who actively use social media
platforms according to gender

Social media platform	Proportion of mayors who have an account or page		Proportion of mayors who actively use account or page	
	Men mayors	Women mayors	Men mayors	Women mayors
Facebook page	10,8%	18,2%	6,2%	12,1%
Twitter account	10,3%	16,9%	5,9%	9,5%
Instagram account	4,9%	9,5%	2,1%	3,2%
N	2840	685	2840	685

Overall, the gendered variation in social media adoption and active use is also present in the number of platforms used by Canadian mayors. Table 2.3 shows that there is a higher proportion of women mayors who are present on multiple platforms and actively use them. Indeed, there are more women mayors than their male counterparts – a gap of 5.7 percentage points – who are present on multiple social media platforms. Similar results emerge when looking at their active use, as there is a positive gender gap of 2.6 percentage points.

Table 2.3: Proportion of Canadian mayors who actively use social media platforms according to gender

Number of platforms	Proportion of mayors by number of social media platforms		Proportion of mayors by number of social media platforms actively used	
	Men mayors	Women mayors	Men mayors	Women mayors
None	83,7%	73,4%	90,2%	82,8%
1 platform	9,2%	13,7%	6,6%	11,4%
2 platforms	4,7%	7,6%	2,1%	3,9%
3 platforms	2,5%	5,3%	1,1%	1,9%
N	2840	685	2840	685

Gendered variations in mayors' active use of social media platforms is further examined by municipality population size. As there is a greater number of smaller municipalities in Canada, the greatest proportion of mayors (3101/3525) is found within municipalities with a population size of 9,999 or less. Furthermore, there are 313 mayors in municipalities with a population size of 10,000 to 49,999, 50 mayors in municipalities with a population size of 50,000 to 99,999, 34 mayors in municipalities with a population size of 100,000 to 199,999 and 27 mayors in municipalities with a population size of 200,000 or greater.

Table 2.4 shows results of binary logistic regressions and of an OLS regression. Results from the latter generally demonstrate that being a woman mayor increases one's tendency to actively use multiple social media platforms, especially in municipalities with a greater population size. More specifically, results from the OLS regression show that, on average, women mayors actively use 0.9 more social media platforms than their male colleagues. Furthermore, women mayors in the biggest municipalities actively use 0.65 more social media platforms than women mayors in the smallest municipalities, in addition to the effect observed for the gender variable. The interaction term, however, is not statistically significant when looking at Facebook and Instagram.

Table 2.4 - Mayors' active use of social media platforms by gender, municipality population size and an interaction between gender and population size

	Facebook		Twitter		Instagram		Number of active accounts
	B	**Exp(B)**	**B**	**Exp(B)**	**B**	**Exp(B)**	**B**
Gender	0.783*** (0.172)	2.188	0.532*** (0.198)	1.703	0.832** (0.337)	2.298	0.085*** (0.020)
Municipality population size	4.852*** (0.347)	128.009	5.367*** (0.368)	214.225	5.524*** (0.411)	250.592	1.796*** (0.057)
Women mayors x municipality population size	1.101 (0.9842)	3.007	1.963* (1.047)	7.117	-0.409 (0.960)	0.665	0.652*** (0.142)
Constant	-3.158*** (0.096)	0.043	-3.311*** (0.102)	0.036	-4.748*** (0.197)	0.009	0.067*** (0.009)
N	3525		3525		3525		3525
R2	0.082		0.093		0.058		0.280

Note : R^2 is the Cox & Snell Pseudo R^2 for logistic regressions (columns 1, 2, and 3); and adjusted R^2 for OLS regression (column 4).

Odds ratio (exp^B) from the binary logistic regressions show that women mayors are – more or less – twice as likely to actively use Facebook, Twitter and Instagram as men mayors. Although both the gender and municipality population size influence the probability of actively using social media platforms, a municipality's population size has a greater effect. Also, women mayors in the biggest municipalities are seven times more likely to actively use Twitter than women mayors in the smallest municipalities, even when controlling for municipality size and gender. The interaction term, however, is not statistically significant when looking at Facebook and Instagram. Overall, these results partially support the hypothesis that women mayors in municipalities with the greatest population sizes are more inclined than their male colleagues to actively use multiple social media platforms.

2.6. Discussion

This study's aim was to examine the positive gender gap in social media adoption and active use among Canadian mayors. These results offer a first glimpse into gendered variations in the adoption rate and active use of social media platforms by mayors in Canada. Results thus confirm the necessity to stratify political roles at the municipal level when reporting feminization rates. As previously mentioned, studies indicating a greater accessibility to municipal politics for women generally tend to look at both council and mayoral positions as whole, thus amplifying feminization rates as positions of power are generally held by men (Trimble and Arscott, 2003).

Even though women hold 19.4% – or a fifth – of all mayoral positions in the country and are mostly found in municipalities with smaller population sizes, results show that, nationally, there is a higher proportion of women mayors online who actively use a Facebook page, Twitter account and/or Instagram account. These results are unprecedented in the political communication literature.

Also, it appears that Facebook is the most actively used platform by both women and men mayors, whereas Instagram is the least popular. This is consistent with results from a social media report by Gruzd et al. (2018), which states that Facebook is the most popular platform in Canada and attracts the most varied user base. Furthermore, unlike Twitter, which can often be perceived as being a much more political sphere, Facebook can act as a sphere for political interaction among average citizens (Larsson and Enli, 2017). Additionally, according to Gruzd and Roy (2016), Facebook is useful in community building and encouraging participative forms of engagement.

There is also a sizeable gap between mayors who are *present* on social media platforms and those who are *active*, which may be the result of campaign-centric communication strategies or of placeholder accounts. According to results from Wagner's (2015) study on information and communication technologies (ICTs) use in Canadian municipal elections, half of Canadian municipal candidates campaign online, using digital platforms to reach out to voters, promoting themselves and sharing their views on key goals (86).

As previously mentioned, this study focuses on mayors as political actors who have an important role to play in citizens' daily life. It thus appears important to avoid electoral campaigns, as they are exceptional political periods that do not reflect daily communication practices (Van Aeslt and De Swert, 2009). Results in Table 2.1 show that nearly half of all mayors who are present

on social media platforms are actively using them. Additionally, when adding the comparison by gender (Table 2.2), the gap between presence and activity tends to be larger for men mayors when looking at Facebook, as 10.8% of men mayors have a Facebook page, but only 6.2% actively use it, whereas 18.2% of women mayors are present and 12.1% are active. Table 2.3 confirms this by showing that 9.8% of men mayors are active on at least one platform and 17.2% of women mayors are active on at least one platform. Hence, results indicate that women mayors are most active on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram outside of an electoral campaign, when compared to men mayors.

This positive gender gap, as has been previously mentioned, also exists within the Canadian population, which is among the most connected in the world (Grudz and Mai, 2020). Indeed, Canadian women are more numerous than men on Facebook and Instagram, but not Twitter. This discrepancy between women mayors and women in the general population could be explained by the focus of this study, which is on their *professional* use of Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, rather than their *personal* use. These results are particularly interesting in light of the fact that Twitter does not seem to be a welcoming digital space for women to speak of politics. Indeed, posting about political issues on Twitter increases the likelihood of women reporting having experienced mansplaining (Koc-Michalska et al., 2019).

Furthermore, it could also be hypothesized that men mayors tend to have a longer incumbency than women mayors, hence leading to a decreased need to use social media. Although this could be true in some cases, municipal politics are often much less competitive, especially outside of the more populated municipalities, limiting the need for a permanent campaign online. In addition, there exists little research on the content of mayors' social media posts, but local governments generally use digital platforms to broadcast information, respond to service requests and provide issues management (Evans et al., 2018). Gao and Lee (2017) also found that small local governments use Twitter and Facebook to broadcast information, but also to invite citizens to participate.

When looking at the effect of municipality population size on active social media adoption, results (Table 2.4) show that there is strong relationship between active social media use among women mayors and population size. Indeed, women mayors in bigger municipalities actively use 0.65 more social media accounts and are seven times more likely to actively use Twitter than women mayors in smaller municipalities, even when controlling for municipality size and gender.

According to literature on media coverage of women in politics, this could be a way to bypass a biased media coverage of local politics.

It is important to note that although social media platforms offer advantageous uses for politicians who are generally marginalized from traditional media, they are not a panacea. For example, women politicians face disproportionate gender trolling online (Fichman and McClelland, 2020) and algorithms have increasing agency in delivering and mediating rhetoric online (Dillet, 2020). Hybridity between traditional and social media is often viewed as an effective approach to political communication (Chadwick, 2013). However, this can be true in a national campaign, but difficult to achieve within weak local media ecosystems.

Finally, creating the database used herein highlighted many limitations and challenges, as municipal level political information can be difficult to come by. It was impossible to validate collected data, as the Federation of Canadian municipalities does not have verified data for the entire country after 2015. Furthermore, some provincial and municipal federation websites, such as Ontario, do not offer municipal directories, but rather municipal election results. Consulting electoral results online can be very time consuming and can sometimes facilitate oversights. Indeed, some mayors may resign during data collection. Furthermore, once the mayors were identified following Statistics Canada's database of municipalities, it was challenging to identify them on social media platforms for multiple reasons: some have multiple Twitter accounts, having abandoned accounts from past electoral campaigns, others go by nicknames or middle names. Therefore, one can spend hours looking for a (fictional) William B. Timmins, but need be looking for Bill Timmins, or even Bob Timmins. The most difficult platform to use for research purposes, however, is Instagram. Facebook and Twitter allow users to narrow a search according to name and peruse a list, which includes a picture and a few details. However, Instagram only allows users to search each other using a drop-down menu. It is then necessary to squint at the miniscule profile picture and cross-reference images and usernames with Twitter profiles. When trying to compare numbers from this study to those from official sources, it was noticed that it had to be done provincially, but that there does not seem to be a public record of the distribution of mayors across the country.

2.7. Conclusion and future research

This study's aim was to shed light on Canadian mayors' adoption and active use of social media, with a particular interest for women mayors. To this end, a database of Canadian mayors was created which included their gender, the existence of a Facebook page, Instagram account and Twitter account, their active use of these platforms, as well as the population size of their municipality.

The goal was not only to assess the proportion of Canadian mayors actively using these platforms, but ultimately to examine the gender variation in the adoption and active use of social media, as well as the extent to which the active use of social media platforms varies at the intersection of mayors' gender and their municipality's population size.

Results show that women mayors are more inclined than men mayors to use a Facebook page, as well as an Instagram and Twitter account in a professional capacity. Additionally, a greater number of women mayors tend to both have and actively use these platforms separately and all three platforms combined when compared with men mayors. Results also demonstrate that although women mayors in bigger municipalities are rarer, they also actively use 0.65 more social media accounts than women mayors in smaller municipalities.

Finally, it is important to note that this study provides the empirical foundations to a much larger research project focusing on mayors' leadership styles and digital content. Hence this study aimed to act as a springboard to understand women mayors' motivations to use social media (or not) in a professional capacity, as well as the impact of gender on their communication strategies. As no publicly available repertoire exists, it seemed necessary to create one so that future research may build upon it. This aim has been met.

Chapter 3 – Women Mayors in a Changing Media Landscape: Leadership Styles, Motivations and Trolls

Abstract

Political leadership has long been conveyed as a masculine purview (Fiske et al. 2002) and, within Canadian municipal politics, women continue to be perceived as good potential councillors, but not mayors (Crowder-Meyer et al. 2015). And yet, there is a higher proportion of Canadian women mayors who actively use social media, when compared to men mayors (Sullivan 2021). Building on Sullivan's findings on the gender gap in local politics in Canada, as well as research on gendered social media use (Evans et al. 2014; 2018; O'Connell 2018) and gendered leadership (Eagly and Karau 2002; Meeks 2016), this study aims to examine Canadian mayors' motivations to use social media in addition to their mayoral duties. Overall, semi-structured interviews with Canadian mayors who actively use a Facebook page, Twitter account and Instagram account suggest that, although mayors of both genders may be adopting mixed leadership strategies – by displaying both agentic and communal attributes – the underlying motivations to use social media remain gendered. Furthermore, results from a content analysis show that a greater number of women mayors consistently interact online, when compared to men mayors. Finally, gendered barriers to using social media, such as online and offline harassment and a lack of support, mostly affect women mayors.

Keywords: motivation, gendered leadership style, harassment, trolls, social media

3.1. Introduction

Traditionally, political leadership has been conveyed as being a masculine trait relying on agentic attributes (Eagly and Mladinic 1989; Fiske et al. 2002; Lovenduski 2005). Although many

gains have been made to reach parity in politics, women remain underrepresented in Canadian political institutions, particularly in positions of power. For example, at the local level, women continue to be perceived as good candidates for a municipal council position, but not that of mayor (Crowder-Meyer, Garian and Trounstine 2015) and in 2019, a fifth of mayoral positions were held by women in Canada (Sullivan 2021). Canadian women mayors are more likely than men mayors to actively use a Facebook page as well as Twitter and Instagram accounts outside of electoral campaign (Sullivan, 2021) despite their underrepresentation in positions of power.

With the dwindling of local political reporting (Lindgren and Corbett, 2016; Waddell 2012), local media outlets have been turning to social media to find interesting leads (e.g. Bane 2019; Skogerbø and Krumsvik 2015; Vis 2013). Similarly, some municipalities have increased their communications staff in hopes of establishing a bigger digital presence (Watson 2018). As Canadian municipalities continue to operate with varying resources, some mayors have taken it upon themselves to establish digital channels of communication with their community.

Hence, this study aims to build on Sullivan's (2021) findings on the gender gap in local politics in Canada, as well as research on gendered social media use (Evans et al. 2014; 2016; 2018; O'Connell, 2018) and gendered leadership (Eagly and Karau 2002; Meeks 2016) to examine Canadian mayors' motivations to use social media, as well the possible barriers they face. I pose the following research questions: *What motivates Canadian mayors to use social media? To what extent do these motivations vary according to their gender?*

Overall, semi-structured interviews with Canadian mayors who actively use all three platforms and a comprehensive content analysis of their visual publications reveal underlying gendered motivations and uses. Although mayors of both genders may be adopting mixed leadership strategies, results suggest that women mayors favour online interactions more than men mayors. Finally, gendered barriers to using social media, such as online and offline harassment and a lack of support mostly affect women mayors.

3.2. Local Politics in Canada

3.2.1. Women in Local Politics

The literature on women in Canadian politics, like research on politics in general, shows an unequal distribution across levels of government. Indeed, the limited work focusing on local

politics draws varying conclusions on its accessibility to women. On one hand, some research suggests that women find greater electoral success at the municipal level (Blais and Gidengil 1991; Brodie 1985; Tremblay and Mévellec 2013). For example, Tremblay and Mévellec (2013) examined the feminization rate in local, provincial and federal politics between 2002 and 2009, and found that the feminization rate was higher at the municipal level, when compared to the provincial and federal ones.

On the other hand, even though these results may seem to confirm women's municipal advantage, they combine data on both women mayors and women councillors. Sullivan (2021), using an original dataset, found that only a fifth of mayoral positions were held by women in the fall of 2018. In addition, Tolley's (2011) work challenged the "municipal advantage" and suggests that women experience nearly equal levels of underrepresentation at all three levels of government, namely by showing that any municipal advantage is limited, as women tend to be councillors and not mayors.

3.2.2. Local Media and Digital Turn

Local politics in Canada are also impacted by dwindling political reporting (Waddell, 2012). Although national news services have survived ongoing cuts since the 1990s, they are now struggling to include local examples in national political stories (111). Lindgren and Corbett (2016) launched an investigation into "local news poverty" and created a crowd-sourced digital map to track changes to local news media. The most recent results at the time of writing show that 336 local news outlets have closed within 236 communities since 2008, with the provinces of Prince Edward Island and British Columbia having the most closings (Lindgren and Corbett 2016). Alternatively, there are 129 newly launched local news outlets within 94 communities since 2008. As a result, local media outlets often rely on small teams, and even national news outlets have had to speed up their news production to keep up with the ubiquity of social media. Journalists have thus turned to social media – and particularly Twitter – to find interesting leads (e.g. Bane 2017; Skogerbo and Krumsvik 2015; Vis 2013).

Interviews with Canadian politicians show that some are "doing the work of journalists" by adding local insights into press releases, spending more to distribute flyers or reaching citizens through the mail and relying heavily on social media (Lindgren 2019). The lack of local political

media coverage can represent an additional challenge, as it makes political knowledge of local current affairs much less accessible to citizens (Lindgren and Corbett 2016). Hence, some municipalities are attempting to fill the gaps in local reporting by increasing their communications staff and digital presence (Watson 2018). However, replacing local news outlets comes at a cost that smaller municipalities cannot afford.

Additionally, there is very little research on Canadian municipal politicians' use of social media *outside* of electoral campaigns. Sullivan (2021) examined the proportion of Canadian mayors actively using social media and results show that municipality size can be an important predictor of social media adoption and active use. A study of Israeli municipalities' Facebook use shows that larger cities have much more active Facebook pages (Lev-On and Steinfeld, 2015). Similarly, Mossberger et al. (2013) show that social media adoption has skyrocketed within the United States' 75 largest cities between 2009 and 2011. Even so, local governments do not appear to have yet embraced all social media functions, relying mostly on top-down communication strategies to broadcast information, service availability and updates on unusual situations (Gruzd and Roy 2016; Evans et al. 2017).

With the disappearance of numerous local media outlets, social media is an efficient tool for local governments to control their message (Graham 2014). However, maintaining and monitoring multiple accounts requires time, staff (Silva et al. 2019) and most importantly, funding (Wagner 2015).

3.3. Gendered Politics

Traditionally, political leadership has been conveyed as being a masculine trait relying on agentic attributes (Eagly and Mladinic 1989; Fiske et al. 2002; Lovenduski 2005) and politics as a masculine-stereotyped field (Thomas, 2013). This hegemonic masculinity is so deeply ingrained that a study by Koenig et al. (2011) shows that individuals tend to imagine a man when asked to picture a manager. Similarly, women are often seen as good candidates for a municipal council position (Crowder-Meyer et al. 2015), rather than the mayorship.

This can give men politicians an advantage as they are seen as natural leaders and negatively affect women politicians' evaluation, as feminine qualities remain inconsistent with the masculine traits associated with leadership positions (Koenig et al. 2011). And yet, women

politicians are also penalized when adopting masculine traits for deviating from their assigned gender role (Eagly and Karau 2002; Dolan and Lynch 2016).

Hence, women politicians must navigate a work environment characterized by gendered evaluation standards, as their feminine traits are seen as obstructing political competence (Rheault et al. 2019: 2). According to Eagly (2020), pressure to conform may contribute to women politicians relying on democratic and participative leadership styles. Indeed, communal leadership is often community-driven, with an emphasis on a concern for others and interpersonal sensitivity, while an agentic leader can be described as self-asserted and independent (Carli et al. 2016). This duality in leadership styles may be because men have long been ascribed to the public sphere and women to the private spheres of society. While men politicians are meant to be outspoken, decisive and aggressive, women politicians are meant to be warm, nurturing and sensitive (Eagly and Karau 2002).

According to Rinfret *et al.* (2014), women who are very involved in politics describe themselves using stereotypically masculine words and show resilience in the face of adversity. Montigny and Morency (2014) show that while Quebec MPs are mostly concerned with their responsibility as representatives of the people, there are gendered differences. Women parliamentarians more likely to see themselves as social workers in their communities, while men parliamentarians view themselves as development agents.

3.3.1. Gaps in the Literature

According to Vesterlund (2015), women in the workplace tend to volunteer and to accept non-promotable tasks more frequently than men. This can be particularly disadvantageous for one's career and lead to vertical gender segregation. It is possible that a similar situation is emerging in Canadian local politics. With the disappearance of local news media, there is an increasing gap in local political news and some political actors have turned to social media to keep their constituency apprised of current events on a voluntary basis.

Research on the use of social media by politicians has begun to adopt a gender lens but often remains focused on electoral campaigns and displays of gendered uses of social media. Indeed, studies have focused on politicians' gendered language on social media (Beltran et al. 2021; Proctor 2017), the types of issues discussed (Bailey and Nawara 2018; Evans and Clark

2016), the tone (Bailey and Nawara 2018), as well as on digital gendered self-presentation (Lee and Lim 2016). For example, Beltran *et al.* (2021) found that Spanish politicians reproduce gender stereotypes on Twitter, both in content and style. These studies are necessary and are paving the way toward a better understanding of gender in political communication.

There is however a lack of scholarly knowledge on mayors' motivation to actively use social media outside of an electoral campaign, especially those in small communities. They often lack the proper training, support and resources as mayors in bigger municipalities. That is why this exploratory study aims to uncover what motivates Canadian mayors to engage with citizens online, especially in small municipalities where waging a permanent campaign is not necessary As women politicians tend to show open and inclusive leadership traits and are more likely than men politicians to use social media, this study aims to examine Canadian mayors' motivations to use social media by answering the following research question:

What motivates Canadian mayors to use social media?
To what extent do these motivations vary according to their gender?

3.4. Mayors in a changing media landscape

3.4.1. Mayors

In general, the purpose of municipal government is to decentralize power to govern on a territorial basis and to provide services (Cameron, 1980). Within these governments, mayors represent the highest officials and are elected by popular vote, although they legally have one vote in the city council, alike councillors.

Municipal governments are not under the Crown's purview, as they are the responsibility of provinces. Local governments hence operate differently from federal and provincial ones. For example, although there are political parties in the largest cities of the provinces of Quebec and British Columbia, municipal elections in Canada tend to be nonpartisan.

In addition to these particularities, "[…] the role of the mayor is confused and misunderstood; simultaneously underestimated and overestimated" (Graham, 2018: 11). Mayors must fulfill three roles: political leader, executive leader and community leader. As political leader, they work with an elected council and officials in other orders of government and sometimes within a local

political party. As an executive leader, they work with senior administration, local boards and other organizations responsible for the delivery of services. As community leader, they are the chief representatives of the community and are responsible for working with a large network of people and organizations (Graham, 2018).

Finally, the mayor's role varies greatly across the country, as some are full-time, while others are part-time. There is also a great variation in the available resources, which may influence communication activities, including the use of social media.

3.4.2. Mayors Online

As previously mentioned, there is a lack of research on why politicians choose to use social media outside of an electoral campaign. Some research suggests that it may be a response to citizens' expectations and demands. Tromble (2018) analysed the role of citizen demand on politicians' Twitter use in the Netherlands, United Kingdom and the United States and found that it plays a crucial role in determining the presence – and extent – of politicians' reciprocal engagement with members of the public. Alternatively, Kelm (2020), using survey data, found that German politicians' digital communications mirror perceptions of their audiences' expectations. While national German politicians publish information about their work online, local German councillors share more details about their daily lives.

In addition to citizens' expectations, available resources and staff, social media adoption and active use by mayors may vary by gender. Some studies show that women politicians are substantially more active on social media than men politicians (Evans et al. 2014; Evans and Clark, 2016; Sullivan, 2021). For example, O'Connell (2018) found that American women politicians are more likely to have an Instagram account and Wagner et al. (2017) show that women congressional candidates were more likely than men congressional candidates to integrate Twitter into their campaign. Evans and Clark (2016) found that women congressional candidates tend to tweet a lot more than men candidates during the campaign and tweet more attack-style messages about issues and mobilisation. According to Wagner *et al*. (2017), this positive gender gap online may be because disadvantaged political candidates are more likely to innovate and adapt to overcome any perceived disadvantage. To this end, Twitter can be viewed as a means to level the political playing field. Wagner et al. (2017) show that American women politicians do tweet at a greater frequency

than men politicians, and hypothesize that women may rely on negative campaigning, a stereotypically masculine practice, to convince voters of their leadership ability.

More specifically, gendered communication strategies remain understudied, but some scholars have made considerable gains. According to Campbell (1989), a feminine communication style is very personal, being grounded in personal experiences, and encouraging audience participation. Similarly, Davisson (2009) believes the gendered divide in communication strategies is rooted in the historical division between society's private and public spheres. As women have traditionally occupied the private sphere, the expectation is that they communicate in a more intimate and conversational fashion. The public sphere, associated with a masculine style, is characterized by an impersonal, straightforward, factual and analytical approach (Campbell. 1989; Davisson, 2009; Jamieson, 1988). These communicational differences have been identified in studies focusing on Donald Trump's and Hillary Clinton's digital communication strategies. Indeed, Hillary Clinton emphasized her feminine traits and spoke on stereotypically feminine issues while Donald Trump focused on masculine issues without emphasizing his gendered traits (Bailey and Nawara, 2018; Lee and Lim, 2016). Regarding the tone of social media publications, Just and Crigler (2014) find that women candidates tend to show more hope and enthusiasm, while men candidates convey disgust and anger online.

3.4.3. Digital Interactivity

In addition, a stereotypically feminine communication style emphasizes collaboration (Campbell, 1989) and some scholars suggest that interactivity may be a more feminine practice (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; Volden et al. 2013). In a digital environment such as Twitter, this involves using functions like mentions, replies, retweets and quote retweets. This is consistent with Evans et al. (2014) who found that women U.S. House candidates were more likely to use the @reply function than men candidates. Similarly, Meeks (2016) also found prominent interactivity among women U.S. Senate candidates' tweets during the 2012 election cycle. Interactivity was present in almost 75% of women's tweets and 61% of men's tweets. Indeed, within tweets including interactivity, women were three times more likely than men to include @replies, retweets and quote retweets.

3.4.4. Online and Offline Harassment

Gender stereotype transgressions, such as women occupying positions traditionally held by men, can create some resistance (Eagly and Karau, 2002) and even lead to forms of gender role enforcement through incivility towards women (Krook and Sanin, 2016: 466; Wagner, 2022). This can take the form of gendertrolling – gendered online harassment – which is characterised by sexist or misogynist remarks targeting a person based on their gender or sexuality (Chen et al. 2018) while upholding a conservative gender ideology (Mantilla, 2015). According to Aaldering and Van Der Pas (2018), this gender trolling is the result of a set of gendered leadership stereotypes that assign rules and regulations to women politicians by maintaining a rigid conception of leadership that rejects feminine traits (Nee and De Maio, 2019: 308). While trolling is a disruptive practice that generally involves posting incendiary comments or derogatory rhetorical questions in an online discussion to create strong emotional responses from target audiences (Phillips, 2011), gender trolling is a subset of trolling that focuses on a person's physical or sexual identity (Mantilla, 2013: 564).

This digital trolling is most common on Twitter (Akhtar and Morrison, 2019; Ringrose 2018) and women politicians are more likely than men politicians to be targeted (Banet-Weiser and Miltner, 2016; Rheault et al. 2019). For example, a study on subtle forms of incivility online found that, among tweets received by UK MPs over two weeks, women MPs were more likely to receive uncivil tweets and tweets questioning their position as politicians. In the United States, Hillary Clinton received nearly twice as many abusive tweets as Bernie Sanders during the 2016 Democratic primaries (Hunt et al. 2016).

In Canada, Wagner (2022) examined Canadian politicians' perception of online harassment. Results show that women are far more aware of online harassment than men. In addition, it shapes politicians' experiences by fostering a hostile working environment, which demonstrates that social media has a gendered impact on democratic participation in Canada. This echoes Seiferling's (2016) findings on gendered barriers in local politics. Results show that the main barrier for women in municipal politics is a negative political environment, such as gendered assumptions and sexist comments. Online harassment can create a hostile environment where women feel they do not belong, as it often focuses on reinforcing their outsider status (Fox et al. 2015), thus excluding women from politics and digital participation (Banet-Weiser and Miltner

2016). Indeed, some women politicians have chosen to leave politics because of harassment (Perraudin, 2019).

3.5. Methods

3.5.1. Sample

A database of 3525 Canadian mayors was first created using Statistics Canada's 2016 census, electoral results and data from Facebook pages, Twitter and Instagram accounts. This data collection began in mid-November 2018 and ended in mid-January 2019.

Then, mayors were selected according to their active use of a professional Facebook page, Twitter account and Instagram account in the Fall of 2018, as municipal elections occurred in several provinces and territories. An account was deemed as being "active" if a mayor published at least one post on an account or page between December 1st, 2018 and January 12th, 2019. This verification helped to weed out campaign-centric accounts. This sampling strategy aimed to focus on "super users", or outliers, within the database. Helson et al. (1985) used a similar method to conduct a group "case study". Although the sample may be small, the observations gathered from their social media accounts were numerous which, following Malterud et al.'s (2016) concept of information power, justifies fewer respondents. These mayors were invited, by email, to participate in a 30- to 45-minute-long semi-structured interview. Out of the 21 mayors contacted twice, 9 accepted the invitation.

As indicated in Table 3.1, mayors in the sample come from small- to medium-sized municipalities across several provinces. This limits the level of professionalization of their digital communications and can lead to a more authentic digital communication strategy. Finally, to respect mayors' anonymity, women mayors will be referred to as Woman Mayor X (or WMX) and men mayors as Man Mayor X (or MMX).

It is important to note that this exploratory study approaches gender as a binary, where men are compared to women, although gender is a continuum of attributes ranging from femininity to masculinity (Goodyear-Grant 2019) and is performative (Butler, 1988). Although many researchers continue to use a binary measure of sex as a proxy for gender, particularly in survey instruments, Bittner and Goodyear-Grant (2017) have demonstrated this not only "fails to capture

the reality of gender, and it also reinforces societal views" (1026), but that measuring gender on a scale is much more nuanced and inclusive.

Table 3.1: Sample of Canadian mayors

Mayor	Gender	Population size
WM1	W	9,999 or less
WM2	W	9,999 or less
WM3	W	10,000 – 49,999
WM4	W	10,000 – 49,999
WM5	W	50,000 – 99,999
MM1	M	10,000 – 49,999
MM2	M	9,999 or less
MM3	M	10,000 – 49,999
MM4	M	100,000 – 199,999

3.5.2. Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to enable participants to identify underlying motivations to use social media and give them the freedom to speak of other workplace issues. More specifically, mayors were asked half a dozen open-ended questions about their experience in local politics, their motivation to use social media, their digital political image, and their perception of local news media[5]. Interviews took place from July to November 2019 on Skype, FaceTime and Facebook Messenger.

Interviews were recorded, transcribed and later analysed using the constant comparison method (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) in 3 steps: comparison within a single interview, comparison within a gender group, and finally comparison by gender. Drawing on feminist standpoint theory, where epistemic privilege is accorded to marginalized individuals' – in this case, women – perspective (Haraway, 1993), circular thematic coding was used to examine how women mayors find space in municipal politics. The inclusion of men in the analysis provided a juxtaposition to women mayors' perspectives and in some cases, highlighted gaps. For example, general themes, such as "motivation to run for office" and "motivation to use social media" were broken down into much more specific categories following traditional gendered leadership styles, as well as gendered barriers, responsibilities and motivations.

---

[5] The questionnaire can be found in Appendix A – Appendix to Chapter 3

3.5.3. Content Analysis

Interviewed mayors' Facebook, Twitter and Instagram posts from December 1st, 2018, until May 31st, 2019, were manually collected. This six-month period followed municipal elections in several provinces and gave a glimpse of some mayors' first months in office.

In the case of Facebook posts, this study focuses on Facebook *pages*, rather than Facebook *profiles*, for ethical reasons. Some mayors have a hybrid approach to their profiles, mixing their professional and personal lives, making it difficult to pinpoint what is meant for public consumption. Additionally, Instagram data was excluded during analyses, as the interactive functions differ too greatly from Facebook and Twitter.

For this study, only publications including visual content, such as images and videos were considered, while uniquely textual publications were disregarded. These visual publications were then coded according to their interactive function: share without comment, share with comment, and reply. It is important to note that replies were only considered for Twitter, as they represent a tweet.

3.6. Results
3.6.1. Training and resources

Results from semi-structured interviews reveal that mayors in the sample did not receive equal formal training opportunities in their workplace. Rather, some shared that they learned the most about social media during conferences and workshops outside of their municipality or are self-taught.

Table 3.2: Mayors' social media (sm) training and experience

	Social media training (as mayor)	Previous SM experience
WM1	Some	No
WM2	A little	Yes
WM3	No	Some
WM4	No	No
WM5	No	Yes
MM1	No	Yes
MM2	Some	Some
MM3	Yes	Some
MM4	No	Some

In addition, mayors in the sample have varying levels of professional help and resources. For example, two women mayors occupy full-time mayor positions and three occupy part-time mayor positions, and among these three, two also have another career. As shown in Table 3.3, most mayors work alongside their municipality's communication team, but create their own content on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram and may receive help with other tasks, such as public relations and official speeches.

Table 3.3: Mayors' position and staff

	Position	**Other job**	**Comms team**	**Help with SM content**
WM1	Part-time	Yes	No	No
WM2	Part-time	Yes	No	No
WM3	Full-time	No	Municipality	No
WM4	Full-time	No	Municipality	No
WM5	Part-time	No	Municipality	No
MM1	Full-time	No	Municipality	No
MM2	Part-time	No	Municipality	Combination
MM3	Full-time	No	Municipality	No
MM4	Full-time	No	Municipality	No

3.6.2. Motivations

3.6.2.1. Motivation to Run

The interview questionnaire does not contain an explicit question about participants' motivation to run for office, and yet it came up naturally among 5 out of the 9 mayors. It also revealed different gendered experiences in navigating local politics. These motivations to run offer some insight into their style of leadership, as well as their sense of internal efficacy.

Two women mayors openly spoke of representation as a motivation to throw their hat into the ring: "We'll never get more women if we don't run" (WM4). This representation is also a way of ensuring additional voices for women's rights, as WM5 stated that considering current events at the time of the interview, she believed it was important to ensure women's voices were heard.

Men mayors who spoke of their motivation to run mostly shared their desire to make a difference in their community. MM2 aimed to make a difference by being in a position of power to "[…] get things done for the town that I think need to be done." He also viewed it as a job for which he was best qualified, having served on the city council for some years. MM4 was tired of fake politicians, which motivated him to get into politics and felt his community needed a change. In addition, members of the community reached out, during his term as city councillor,

encouraging him to run for mayor. For MM1, the mayorship was more akin to a natural career progression, although he was particularly spurred to get involved in municipal politics after seeing the disappearance of important tourist attractions in his community.

Hence, whereas men mayors appear to view the mayorship as an opportunity to continue their work in their communities, some women mayors, such as WM5 hadn't even considered running for mayor until they realised there was a need for more women in positions of power. Indeed, MM1, MM2 and MM4 spoke of their qualifications and support from the community as motivations to pursue the mayorship.

3.6.2.2 Motivation to Use Social Media

Social media is increasingly perceived as being unavoidable and necessary to reach citizens. This is something that was brought up by WM3 and WM5 who spoke of needing to keep up with the times and the necessity to share some information quickly to reach those who don't typically consult traditional media.

Three mayors particularly enjoy the reach social media provides. MM1 believes it allows him to be ubiquitous in community members' lives by maximizing his reach through traditional and social media. MM3 shared similar feelings, as there are "[…] too many channels out there not to kind of pick one, you pretty much have to go after all of them in order to have a bigger reach […]". As for WM3, social media was originally a way to reach younger voters during the municipal election and she chose to remain online.

Some mayors from smaller municipalities see it as an "opportunity to spend very little money, but to be able to communicate with people" (WM2). Informing citizens and receiving feedback were the two most common motivations to use social media. Nearly all mayors spoke of wanting to inform or educate citizens, while four shared that they enjoyed the feedback. WM5 publishes short videos that recap the week and every public meeting to keep her community apprised of local politics. This is her way of educating citizens and informing them of how they can get involved and have a conversation. WM4 believes that social media has become an important source of information and uses social media to share daily updates and to have conversations, a sentiment that was echoed by WM2.

MM2 sees it as a political responsibility to keep people informed and to seek input on major issues. MM4 shares this feeling, especially since the disappearance of a local newspaper: "I find

it's the best way of getting your message across unfiltered […] and of taking what I call a pulse check of the community based on the issues that are coming from city hall."

Three mayors report using the informational and interactive aspects of social media to ensure good governance. Both WM5 and WM2 find it important to have a space to provide transparency about the political process and decision-making. MM2, as was mentioned above, believes local political actors have a responsibility to inform their constituents and likes using social media to "mobilise the resources that we have, volunteers and otherwise within the town to make the best use of those resources. It's a way to better serve people, deliver services and programs."

Participating mayors' Facebook page and Twitter accounts were also analysed to examine their level of interactivity online within their visual publications. Results in Table 3.4 suggest that all women mayors shared other users' visual publications with and without comment. Alternatively, MM3 was the least interactive mayor overall. Results also show that women mayors shared more content with a comment, than men mayors, especially on Facebook. Finally, the proportion of replies was also analysed, a function only applicable on Twitter where they represent a tweet, as they would constitute comments on Facebook. MM4 is considered an outlier with 26% of his tweets being replies, while every mayor in the sample responded to tweets from other users and over half of women mayors in the sample dedicated at least a tenth of their tweets to replies. Among the men mayors, half dedicated at least a tenth of their tweets to replies.

Table 3.4: Proportion of mayors' visual interactive posts

	shares without comment (%)		shares with comment (%)		reply (%)	Total number of posts	
	F	T	F	T	T	F	T
WM1	8	9	49	47	17	**91**	**91**
WM2	4	79	34	16	5	**164**	**38**
WM3	9	84	18	8	0,2	**34**	**419**
WM4	12	83	36	13	14	**58**	**54**
WM5	23	42	15	26	11	**118**	**31**
MM1	19	9	16	74	12	**452**	**302**
MM2	0	59	7	5	6	**41**	**109**
MM3	0	40	0	0	3	**4**	**820**
MM4	0	30	17	16	26	**18**	**2128**

F = Facebook, T = Twitter

3.6.3. Barriers to Using Social Media

Mayors were also invited to share their experience using social media and some voiced some difficulties in providing this additional service to their community.

WM1 had to personally invest in equipment to offer adequate content and other women mayors shared difficulties regarding the lack of support. WM2 underlined the necessity to have a social media policy for the entire council, as she is very careful about what she posts online, but this is not a shared practice. WM1 admits that "they're not requiring me to do it, I just feel like for our community, even if you're small, you have to be a leader." This self-imposed digital leadership does come at a personal toll. "I would be totally open to having a team because it's a lot of work" (WM1). Both WM1 and WM2 fulfill their mayoral duties on a part-time basis and do not receive any support from a communications team. The only man mayor who spoke of a lack of support is MM4 who believes in good customer service and responding quickly to users online. "I've always

tried to bring that into the service I'm giving to the public." (MM4). He shared that he was reaching a breaking point, as this was in addition to his work as mayor.

Also, online (and offline) trolls are a very real issue for women mayors, as this topic came up during interviews with three women mayors. WM2 has received hate mail, while WM3 has had to involve the local police after receiving death threats. WM3 also believes that many forget that they are speaking to a person, which can lead to hurtful comments. Some, in her opinion, are attempting to voice true frustrations about local issues, but can be overlooked because of the insults. Hence, it can be an occasion for educating citizens and, according to WM3, other online users tend to regulate online discussions. Nevertheless, these women mayors, as well as WM4, do not believe in blocking users, as it is important to hear dissent, even if communicated in an insulting manner. Finally, MM4 has also dealt with his fair share of trolls.

3.7. Discussion and Conclusion

This study examined Canadian mayors' motivation to use social media outside of electoral campaigns in addition to their mayoral duties by shedding light on the available training and resources, their motivation to run for mayor and to use social media, as well as the barriers they have met. Overall, results show a gendered difference in mayors' motivation to run for office, their motivation to use social media, and the barriers to using social media.

Interviewed mayors spoke at length about social media's informational and interactive components, as they feel a responsibility to inform their citizens. It is important to note that while nearly all mayors shared the importance of keeping their community abreast of local politics, WM5 goes over and beyond with online reports and recaps of the week. In addition, three mayors stood out with a particularly communal approach to social media: WM2, WM5 and MM2, who shared the importance of transparency, mobilising a community and its resources. Other mayors, such as MM1, MM3 and WM3 spoke of more strategic uses of social media, such as being able to reach as many people as possible. Overall, mayors in the sample appear to show rather communal motivations to use social media, often spurred by the disappearance of local news media. The nature of interviews – unlike surveys – allowed respondents to expand on their answers, and MM4, MM2, WM5, WM4 and WM2 offered the most details of how their motivations became concrete communal practices in their daily social media activities.

Hence, this study demonstrates the importance of going beyond interview data to examine the application of mayors' digital communication practices and interactivity, which is generally considered to be a sign of communal leadership (Evans et al., 2014; Meeks, 2016). Consistent with the literature, Table 3.4 shows that a greater number of women mayors shared publications with and without comments. Women mayors were also, on average, more interactive in general, except for MM4, who actively replied to constituents' tweets.

Although this study focuses on mayors' motivations to use social media, it quickly became evident that it was necessary to first examine their motivation to run for mayor. Semi-structured interviews revealed very different motivations among Canadian mayors and the fact that men and women mayors do not operate within the same boundaries. Women mayors who brought up the topic displayed stereotypically feminine traits when they spoke of the importance of representation in politics to have more women decision-makers in positions of power and to build a better future. This is not to say that men mayors have no ambition to better their community. In a typical mixed strategy – where a political actor shows both agentic and communal leadership – two men mayors spoke of making a difference in their community as being an important factor in their decision to run for mayor. The interesting difference in these apparent communal motivations is that for women mayors, especially WM5, a career in local politics was not on the radar until witnessing the importance of having women in politics.

Alternatively, men mayors who spoke of wanting to make a difference shared that they were already respected councillors. MM2 mentioned that he felt he was best qualified for the job which hints at a high internal efficacy and is less present among women respondents. Similarly, MM4 received community support to run for mayor and MM1 was easily elected mayor after a long career in politics. This suggests that although one of the aspects of their desire to run for office was outwardly communal, the position was already within their reach. Hence, men mayors' motivations to run are deemed mixed, as there remain strategic to advance their political careers. This underlines the importance of studying politicians' motivations, as agentic motivations can be found underneath outwardly communal leadership traits.

Regarding barriers to using social media in addition to their mayoral duties, women mayors spoke of a lack of support and hinted at a considerable amount of free labour. This is similar to Vesterlund's (2015) research on non-promotable tasks, where women will accept additional tasks

and responsabilities that must be done, without receiving any additional compensation or recognition. This did not come up among men mayors, except for MM4 who believes in good customer service. Barriers to using social media appear to be gendered, as it is a topic that came up a lot more with women than men. Three women mayors spoke of dealing with trolls online and offline, while only one man mayor spoke of dealing with unpleasant users and inappropriate trolls. Overall, this confirms the gender trolling theory (Chen et al. 2018; Mantilla 2015) according to which users will use intimidation to continue to promote conservative views of gendered roles in society.

Finally, this exploratory study was meant to take a closer look at Canadian mayors' gendered motivations to use social media, while considering other factors that are often overlooked, such as their perception of personal risk online, their motivation to run for office and the gendered nature of Canadian politics. As only visual publications were examined, further research could gain from also examining textual publications and captions. This would allow to encapsulate other interactive functions can be identified, such as the use of pertinent hashtags, tagging other users and providing helpful links. In addition, this study confirms that women and men mayors operate under different constraints, and it would be worthwhile to further analyse the extent to which women mayors may be offering free labour, especially in smaller municipalities with fewer resources.

Chapter 4 –"Don't put colour in your hair, don't do this, don't do that": Canadian mayors' mixed gender performance on social media

A previous version of this paper has been published in *Politics & Gender.*

Abstract

Although mayors can have important impacts on citizens' daily lives, local politics remains understudied, especially compared with national and regional politics. This study focuses on Canadian mayors' digital political gender performance—or self-presentation—on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram and the context in which this gendered performance arises. Overall, results confirm that mayors' gendered performances are on a continuum rather than binary. Results from a visual content analysis of nine Canadian mayors' social media accounts show that, broadly speaking, women mayors gravitate toward congruent, mixed gendered performances and avoidance strategies, whereas men mayors also display mixed performance of their gender, while more freely exploring congruent and incongruent approaches to gendered stereotypes. Additionally, semistructured interviews with these mayors show that women mayors still work under added constraints because of their gender, which translates into comments on their appearance, attitude, and lifestyle choices; increased aggression and lack of respect; and a generally greater mental load.

Keywords: gender; municipal politics; social media; image production; gender performance

4.1 Introduction

Canadian politics remains a male-dominated field, and although a (false) belief persists that municipal politics is closer to reaching gender parity, only a fifth of Canadian mayors are women (see Chapter 2) Despite the underrepresentation of women in mayoral positions across Canada, a higher proportion of women mayors have Facebook pages as well as Twitter and Instagram accounts and actively use them outside of electoral campaigns compared with men

mayors (see Chapter 2). In addition, the visual communication literature shows the importance of politicians' digital image production in maintaining and reinforcing positive political attitudes and influencing political decision-making (Strachan and Kendall 2004). Although some scholars have studied well-known politicians' image production strategies, such as Justin Trudeau's Instagram posts or Angela Merkel's appearance, little work has been done on mayors (Flicker 2013; Lalancette and Raynauld, 2017).

This study thus examines Canadian mayors' gender performance on their professional Facebook pages, Twitter accounts, and Instagram accounts through a visual content analysis of their posts. Semi-structured interviews also gave some insights into the context in which the gender performance arises. The following research questions are explored: How do Canadian mayors perform gender through their professional Facebook pages, Twitter accounts, and Instagram accounts? In what context does this gendered performance arise?

Results from a visual content analysis of nine Canadian mayors' social media accounts show that, broadly speaking, mayors demonstrate mixed gender performance, regardless of their gender, although women mayors also tend to adopt avoidance strategies when they are not favoring a congruent approach. Additionally, interviews highlight a context in which women mayors face comments on their appearance, attitude, and lifestyle choices. This can—and in certain cases, does—impact their appearance, whereas men mayors do not report such comments, and results from content analyses suggest that men have greater freedom to explore congruent and incongruent approaches to gender stereotypes. Results also confirm that mayors' gendered performances are on a continuum rather than binary.

This study shies away from mayors of big cities to focus on the realities of local government outside the limelight. Its methodology relies on a collection of gender performance indicators on a continuum ranging from feminine to masculine and encompassing many facets of gendered visual cues, from their facial expressions to the events they attended. Hence, it offers an intimate glimpse into these mayors' daily lives through semistructured interviews and an in-depth analysis of their digital political image, thus contributing to limited research on Canadian mayors, the role of gender in local political actors' digital communications, and the mental load it entails.

4.2. Social Media and Municipal Politics in Canada

Canadian mayors' work has important impacts on citizens' daily lives, and yet we know very little about their responsibilities, as shown in Graham's (2018) research on urban Canadian mayors. Despite this, scholars often forget local politics, preferring federal and provincial politics, which attract a greater deal of attention. Larsson and Svensson (2014), who examined the literature on the use of digital tools by politicians, noted the importance of studying local politics to balance the number of studies on the national level requires greater scientific attention in political communication.

Although the literature on Canadian municipal politics has mostly focused on electoral behavior, digital political communication scholars are beginning to take an interest in local politics, particularly because "many local governments rival their provincial and federal counterparts in terms of social media deployment and usage" (Gruzd and Roy 2016, 80; see also Cutler and Matthews, 2005; Riarh and Roy, 2014). There are now studies on the role of social networks in the formation of local electoral dynamics during the municipal election in Ottawa in 2010 (Raynauld and Greenberg, 2014) and social media's potential as a tool in the 2010 Niagara elections (Hagar, 2014).

However, little attention has been devoted to social media platforms outside of these extraordinary situations. Indeed, it has been established that politicians participate in a permanent campaign, and yet a great deal of research continues to focus on electoral campaigns that do not reflect daily political digital practices (Cutler and Matthews, 2005; Dumitrica, 2014; Hagar, 2014; Marland, Giasson, and Esselment, 2017; Raynauld and Greenberg, 2014). Van Aelst and Swert (2009) demonstrated that reporters work under different legal conditions and are confronted by more active politicians and a particularly attentive public during elections. This preference for electoral campaigns can be explained by two trends: research tradition and access to digital data (Van Aelst and Swert, 2009).

Hence, this study aims to fill this gap in the literature by focusing on Canadian mayors' daily social media practices on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram outside electoral campaigns by answering the following research questions: How do Canadian mayors perform gender through their professional Facebook pages, Twitter accounts, and Instagram accounts? In what context does this gendered performance arise?

As the position of mayor varies greatly across the country, going from a fulltime to a part-time position, the level of professionalization may vary greatly. However, as local media are increasingly disappearing and social media platforms gain in popularity to share information, mayors may be motivated to use these free tools (Enli 2017). Additionally, it is possible that mayors' gender performance may matter more than that of national and provincial political actors, especially in municipalities where local politics is nonpartisan. Indeed, such constituencies may allow local political actors to be "closest to the people," thereby focusing on their needs and concerns (Oliver, 2012). Lucas, McGregor, and Tuxhorn (2022, 189) find that in large nonpartisan cities, the personal vote—or a personal connection—is very strong.

Considering the importance of a mayor's role in a community, as well as the normalization of social media as a local information broadcasting tool, these political actors are an interesting population case to examine digital political gender performances.

4.3. A theoretical framework on digital gender performance

Gender is viewed as a continuum of attributes ranging from femininity to masculinity, rather than a binary social construct (Goodyear-Grant, 2019). It is instead constitutive and performative and created by personal behaviors, such as grooming and body movements, publicized interactions, and staged photographs (Butler, 1990; Wagner and Everitt, 2019). The performative nature of gender comes from the repetition of words and actions in an endogenous cycle, where it is unclear whether one acts a certain way because of one's gender, or whether said act contributes to reinforcing gender (Butler 1990). According to Butler (1988, 526), "gender is an act which has been rehearsed, much as a script survives the particular actors who make use of it, but which requires individual actors to be actualized and reproduced as reality once again."

This political gendered self-presentation can be influenced by many factors, including incumbency, public opinion, and the media. The last often prioritizes a male gaze when covering politics—for example, by using sports and war metaphors—in line with hegemonic masculinity, which ritualizes, naturalizes, and reproduces dominant forms of masculinity (Sabin and Kirkup, 2019, 47; Trimble and Sampert, 2004). Hence, gender stereotypes—the traits individuals are believed to possess by virtue of their specific gender—still guide what society views as acceptable behavior (Wagner and Everitt, 2019). According to the gendered mediation thesis, news media

uphold the gender binary by reinforcing the notion that women are an anomaly in politics and belong to the private spheres of life (Ross and Comrie, 2012).

By explicitly signifying the gender of politicians, news media are practicing "gender marking," which politicizes gender by underlining the uniqueness of women in politics, reinforcing the understanding that politicians should be men, constructing a woman's ability to lead as being limited by her body, and asserting that women politicians may use the "gender card" for political gain (Falk 2010; Falk 2013, 196; Meeks 2012; Nicholson 1994, 81; Trimble 2017). Hence, gender marking can harm women politicians' political viability, as their appearance is used to evaluate whether they are performing their gender correctly and make them seem less competent (Falk 2010; Mandziuk 2008).

This gender marking can be particularly prevalent given the rise of personalization by the media and by politicians themselves (Strömbäck 2008; Van Zoonen 2005). This intimization, or the publicizing of information and imagery of the politician as a person, their family life, as well as their personal spaces, may affect politicians differently according to their gender (Stanyer 2013).

4.3.1. Gender Stereotypes

Schneider's (2014a) typology of the uses of gender stereotypes in politicians' political communication focuses on four strategies: reinforcing gender stereotypes (congruent), overturning stereotypes (incongruent), mixing stereotypes (mixed), and avoiding gender stereotypes (avoidance). Goodyear-Grant (2019) explored how Schneider's typology fits with current and future research on self-presentation of gendered identities and noted that "overturning" is a hefty order. Hence, the extent to which gendered self-presentation is congruent with stereotypes, incongruent, mixed, or completely avoids any reference to gender will be examined. It is also important to note that research on gendered mediation tends to reinforce gender dualism, which, in turn, reinforces hegemonic gender schemas (Lünenborg and Maier, 2015, 183). This generally happens when quantifying news stories referring to politicians according to feminine and masculine characteristics, behaviors, and policy issues, as there needs to be room for performances that go beyond the heteronormative binary (Trimble, 2017). Thus, Schneider's (2014a) typology was selected to take a more comprehensive and flexible approach to gender performance.

4.3.1.1. Reinforcing Gender Stereotypes (Congruent)

Schneider (2014b) analyzed communication strategies based on gender stereotypes and hypothesized that a politician may either reinforce or bend a gender stereotype. This is consistent with strategic stereotype theory, according to which politicians capitalize on gender stereotypes that benefit their political aims while attempting to counteract potentially damaging gender stereotypes (Fridkin and Kenney 2014).

For example, gendered frames in political news coverage may refer to women politicians by reinforcing gender stereotypes as "girly moms" and to men by reinforcing their gender as "alpha males" (Lemarier-Saulnier and Giasson 2019). Such framing reinforces preexisting stereotypes— for example, that women politicians are better at handling issues like education, health care, elder care, and "women's interests," whereas men politicians are more competent when dealing with issues such as defense, business, and crime (Lawless 2004; Schneider 2014a).

Chen, Park, and Joo (2020) examined the role of visual self-presentation on social media in gender stereotypes during the 2018 U.S. general election. Results show that highly feminine candidates displayed a friendly, attractive, and maternal personality, often smiling and appearing with family. Highly masculine candidates were found to share photos of strong and authoritative activities, such as visiting construction sites, shaking hands, and sharing work-related achievements. Prediction experiments also found that these masculine traits were predictive factors for winning elections (Chen, Park, and Joo 2020). Hence, some issues are traditionally seen as feminine, such as education, arts and culture, health care, seniors, addiction, the environment, and women's rights, whereas the economy, law enforcement, business, and criminal justice are seen as agentic (Brands, Kruikemeier, and Trilling, 2021; Dolan, 2005).

During the 2015 Canadian federal election, Stephen Harper fit the "alpha male" criteria, having interpreted a traditional form of masculinity by embodying a stoic, desexualized, and managerial persona, or a "typical 1950s suburban dad" (Sabin and Kirkup 2019). Canadian men politicians favor suits in formal settings, and some, like Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, prefer a dress shirt with rolled-up sleeves and a tie in casual settings (Lalancette and Raynauld 2017; Mattan and Small, 2021).

Additionally, women are expected to make others feel comfortable through emotional displays, such as smiling, and do so more than men (Fischer and LaFrance 2015). However,

smiling can be a social act, especially when interacting with others (LaFrance 2011; LaFrance and Hecht, 2011). This has been clear on the campaign trail, as Hillary Clinton performed far more intense smile displays than Donald Trump during the 2016 presidential debates, and Representative Madeleine Dean reported having an aide hold a sign during campaign events to remind her to smile (Astor 2019; Senior, Ridout, and Stewart 2019).

4.3.1.2. Overturning Stereotypes (Incongruent)

According to Goodyear-Grant (2019), while men politicians tend to prefer a reinforcement strategy, women politicians often attempt to cue masculine stereotypes. By doing so, some women politicians are described as "iron ladies" and seen as rigorous, ambitious, competent, and independent. An iron lady often focuses on public work, business, and law and displays agentic leadership while valuing a successful career (Lemarier-Saulnier and Giasson, 2019). Margaret Thatcher gained the epithet after defying expectations of how women should behave (Pullen and Taksa, 2016). Cueing masculine stereotypes can improve a woman politician's evaluation, but it can also lead to critiques of toughness, failed femininity, or even masculine mimicry (Bauer 2017). Indeed, women are judged on their ability to "perform" their gender by being self-effacing, compliant, submissive, and cooperative, which is communicated by their appearance and clothing choices (Eagly and Karay, 2002; Mandziuk 2008).

It is important to note that gendered performances can be difficult for both men and women, as the former must navigate between hegemonic and subordinate masculinity (Sabin and Kirkup, 2019). Masculine nonconformity can be punishing for men politicians and is commonly experienced by gay men, racialized men, and men who publicly express emotions or behaviours associated with femininity (Cooper, 2009; Everitt, Best, and Gaudet 2016; Golebiowska 2002). This overturning of the masculine stereotype is associated with traits such as indecision, passiveness, weakness, and emotiveness (Conroy 2015). After becoming Liberal Party leader in 2013, Justin Trudeau was attacked by his opponents with implicit and explicit connections between his masculinity and his fitness for government. This was further shown by Trudeau's attempts to recuperate his masculinity by accentuating his physicality—which could be seen as a mixed strategy (Sabin and Kirkup 2019).

4.3.1.3. Mixing Stereotypes (Mixed)

Women politicians are now expected to display agentic behaviour and penalized if they do not (Bongiorno, Bain, and David, 2014). Likewise, men politicians are expected to possess more traditionally communal—or feminine—qualities (Everitt, Best, and Gaudet, 2019). Hence, some men politicians emphasize traits such as empathy, loyalty, and dependability by appearing with family members, children, and babies (Goodyear-Grant, 2019). Thomas Mulcair, then leader of the New Democratic Party, attempted to reframe his gendered performance by recasting his masculinity ("angry Tom") in friendlier terms before the 2015 federal elections but failed from lack of authenticity (Sabin and Kirkup 2019). Racialized men candidates may also choose a mixed strategy to avoid triggering negative stereotypes. Barack Obama faced a double bind during his campaign, and a careful balance had to be struck as masculinity could easily lead to the "bad Black man" image and femininity would not be seen as presidential (Cooper, 2009, 637).

However, a double bind may still exist, according to role congruity theory (Eagly and Karau, 2002). Butler and Geis (1990) show that competent, assertive women speakers elicit more negative facial expressions than do equally competent, assertive men. According to Flicker (2013), women in political leadership positions must walk a fine line. When they perform and dress femininely, they may be perceived as deficient, but when they refuse typical feminine looks in favor of male dress codes, they are perceived as conspicuous, further "othering" women in politics.

Similarly, motherhood can accentuate the conflict between women's public and private roles, leading to doubts about their capacity to balance politics with family. Indeed, mothers can be viewed as selfish for pursuing their professional ambitions (Van Zoonen 2005). The "intensive mothering" ideology portrays women as self-sacrificing and child-absorbed primary caregivers for their children (Hays 1996). A great example of a mixed strategy is Sarah Palin's "Mama Grizzly" frame, which combined motherhood with aggressive masculinity (Goodyear-Grant, 2019). Indeed, during her nomination as the Republican vice presidential candidate, Palin's political career was framed as a mother's quest to ensure her children's well-being, rather than to further her career.

4.3.1.4. Avoiding Stereotypes (Avoidance)

Finally, practical examples of gender avoidance are less common, but Flicker's (2013) analysis of Angela Merkel's fashion choices shows that the German chancellor avoided any reference to her femininity, preferring a generic haircut, a pantsuit with blazer, and minimal makeup and jewelry. Merkel also refused to have her handbag included in any photograph (Flicker 2013).

Additionally, studies on the inclusion of politicians' children on U.S. congressional websites show that mothers tend to de-emphasize their children online, whereas fathers tend to include their family (Meeks 2016; Stalsburg and Kleinberg 2016). The presence of children in women politicians' pictures may negatively accentuate communal traits and highlight their worklife balance. For men politicians, including children in photos is generally a reinforcement strategy and is received positively: it softens their "agentic" characteristics.

4.3.2. Image Production

According to Schneider's (2014a) typology of the uses of gender stereotypes, politicians alter their appearance, the values they champion, and the people they surround themselves with to better perform their gendered political communication strategy. Although visual communication remains an emerging field, scholars are increasingly showing interest in the importance of visuals in the construction of political images, as they represent the dominant mode of learning (Barry 2005; Filiminov, Russman, and Svensson 2016; Schill 2012). Indeed, a single image can impact citizens' assessment of politicians' competence, agreeability, leadership, and integrity (Rosenberg et al. 1986). In addition, when verbal and visual messages conflict, individuals tend to retain visual information (Lang 1995; Shea and Burton 2001). More importantly, visual communication is a social process that considers the target audience (Kenney 2009). Therefore, in this study, in line with Hall (1973) and Barthes (1964), images are viewed as containing signs—or codes—to be deciphered by receivers.

This image production, which stems from the professionalization of political communication, can be achieved by creating a simple message, saturating communication channels to increase its salience, leveraging the support of well-known personalities, and

convincingly delivering the message (Bennett 2014; Schill 2012). This can help reach the audience, both intellectually and emotionally, to maintain and reinforce positive perceptions in order to influence personal political attitudes as well as political decision-making (Lalancette and Raynauld 2017; Lalancette and Tourigny-Koné 2017; Strachan and Kendall 2004).

Hence, as both men and women politicians are increasingly expected to perform their roles by adopting some traits from the opposing gender while maintaining normative gender stereotypes, it is expected that mayors will tend to adopt a mixed approach to gender stereotypes (Bongiorno, Bain, and David 2014).

H1: Both women mayors and men mayors will tend to adopt a mixed approach to gender stereotypes in their visual social media publications.

However, as some politicians are punished for transgressing stereotypical gender roles, it is also expected that women mayors who do not adopt a mixed strategy will avoid stereotypes altogether, whereas men mayors who do not adopt a mixed strategy will reinforce gender stereotypes.

H2: Women mayors who do not adopt a mixed strategy will tend to avoid stereotypes in their visual social media publications.

H3: Men mayors who do not adopt a mixed strategy will tend to reinforce gender stereotypes in their visual social media publications.

The COVID-19 pandemic shed much light on the invisible work that women do within and outside the home. This "mental load" refers to the cognitive workload associated with maintaining every aspect of daily life, which includes doing household chores, having a career, and performing gender roles (Robertson 2017: Robertson et al. 2019). Occhiuto (2021, 3) defines it as "the mental effort and processes involved in the optimal daily and generational reproduction of the household, family and the self." According to Weeks (2011), individuals also perform their gender in the workplace. This is in line with Dean, Churchill, and Ruppanner (2022, 14), who argue that the mental load is both cognitive and emotional labor and operates at home and in society according

to three characteristics: it is invisible, boundaryless, and enduring. Similarly, a political actor's gender performance may be experienced as an additional mental load, especially if, and when, it requires reflection and planning, and when it is compounded with news coverage practicing gender marking.

4.4. Methods

4.4.1. Sample Selection

The sample for this study was selected from a database (Sullivan 2021) of 3,525 Canadian mayors that was created using Statistics Canada's 2016 census, electoral results, as well as data from Facebook pages and Twitter and Instagram accounts. This original method of data collection began in mid-November 2018 and ended in mid-January 2019.

Mayors who used all three social media platforms between December 1, 2018, and January 12, 2019, were identified, and more than half of them were invited by email to participate in a 30- to 45-minute semistructured interview[6]. Out of the 21 mayors contacted twice, 9 accepted the invitation. The small size of the sample is attributable to the few mayors who fit the criteria and had the availability or desire to participate in the study. These 9 mayors, however, published a great quantity of social media posts, generating a large digital data set. Indeed, these mayors were selected from the database presented in Chapter 2 and were identified as "super users". This sampling strategy has been used by Helson et al. (1985) to conduct a group "case study". Furthermore, this sample of respondents generated many observations for the social media content analysis. Hence, following Malterud et al. (2016)'s concept of information power, as this sample offers a large amount of information, it requires fewer respondents.

As indicated in Table 4.1, the mayors in the sample came from small- to medium-sized municipalities in the provinces of Ontario, British Columbia, Quebec, Northwest Territories, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Alberta and, for the most part, fulfilled their duties on a part-time basis. This limited the level of professionalization of their digital communications, suggesting a more authentic digital communication strategy.

---

[6] This project was approved by the ethics committee for research in arts and humanities at l'Université de Montréal, certificate number CHERAH-2019–058-D.

Finally, to respect the mayors' anonymity, women mayors are referred to as Woman Mayor "x" (or WMx) and men mayors as Man Mayor "x" (or MMx).

Table 4.1: Sample of Canadian mayors

Mayor	Gender	Population size
WM1	W	9,999 or less
WM2	W	9,999 or less
WM3	W	10,000 – 49,999
WM4	W	10,000 – 49,999
WM5	W	50,000 – 99,999
MM1	M	10,000 – 49,999
MM2	M	9,999 or less
MM3	M	10,000 – 49,999
MM4	M	100,000 – 199,999

4.4.1.1. Content Analysis

Mayors' posts from December 1, 2018, until May 31, 2019, were collected manually. This six-month period followed municipal elections in Ontario, Yukon, Northwest Territories, British Columbia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, and Prince Edward Island, offering a glimpse into some of these mayors' first months in office. An overview of the mayors' social media activity can be found in Table 4.2. It is important to note that this study focuses on Facebook pages, rather than Facebook profiles, for ethical reasons. Some mayors had hybrid profiles, mixing their professional and personal lives. It was thus difficult to pinpoint what is meant for public consumption and what is meant for family and friends.

Table 4.2:Overview of mayors' number of social media posts

	Total number of posts			Visual posts		
	Facebook	**Twitter**	**Instagram**	**Facebook**	**Twitter**	**Instagram**
WM1	91	91	22	42	38	22
WM2	164	38	49	115	24	19
WM3	34	419	8	28	190	8
WM4	58	54	107	51	37	95
WM5	118	31	29	79	24	25
MM1	452	302	26	202	144	25
MM2	41	109	13	34	60	12
MM3	4	820	12	4	157	12
MM4	18	2128	55	12	764	49
N	**980**	**3992**	**321**	**567**	**1438**	**267**

4.4.1.2. Interviews

The mayors were invited to discuss their digital communication practices and their experiences in local politics during 30- to 45-minute interviews[7]. Once the invitation was accepted, the content analysis of their social media posts was conducted. The goal was to complete preliminary content analyses before speaking with the mayors to avoid subsequent bias. Interviews took place on Skype, FaceTime, and Facebook Messenger as the mayors in the sample were spread across the country, and this strategy offered greater accessibility and flexibility.

4.4.2. Data Analysis

4.4.2.1. Content Analysis

Schneider's modified typology (2014a) was operationalized to examine mayors' visual gender performance. Only posts containing at least one image were analyzed, and images containing mostly text were excluded. Posts were then manually coded according to their nature;

---

[7] The questionnaire can be found in Appendix B – Appendix to Chapter 4

the mayor's presence, facial expression, and physical appearance; the presence of other individuals; and indicators of intimization. To narrow down pertinent posts, most of the proportions presented in the tables were calculated based on the number of visual publications (image or video), or the number in which the mayor was present, as presented in Table 4.2.

The framework is composed of five dimensions. The first examines mayors' facial expressions according to three categories: (1) smiling, (2) focused, and (3) other. The second dimension focuses on mayors' physical appearance, divided into three components: (1) feminine, (2) neutral and (3) masculine. The feminine subgroup includes indicators such as makeup, hairstyle, the presence of a handbag and jewelry, as well as clothing, such as a skirt or dress. The neutral subgroup contains a selection of casual attire, outerwear, and holiday accessories. Finally, the masculine subgroup contains indicators such as sportswear, (pant)suits, and hockey jerseys.

The third dimension is the presence of other people in visual publications. This dimension is divided into two components: (1) feminine and (2) masculine. The feminine subgroup includes indicators such as artists, children, seniors, health professionals, and educators. The masculine subgroup includes indicators such as businesspeople, law enforcement, athletes, and blue-collar workers.

The fourth dimension focuses on events, which are divided into two components: (1) feminine and (2) masculine. The feminine subgroup includes indicators of learning settings, community events, and arts and culture, whereas the masculine subgroup is composed of indicators such as public relations, meetings, and sports.

Finally, the level of intimization, the fifth dimension, was examined by identifying the proportion of posts containing an image in which a partner, friend, and/or children were easily identifiable, as well as activities at home or out of a mayor's public function.

The protocol was tested on three mayors' social media accounts before it was applied to all mayors. Also, the coding categories are not mutually exclusive. For example, an image of an event can include both politicians and teachers.

4.4.2.2. Interviews

Mayors were asked to answer a dozen open-ended questions about their experience in local politics, their digital political image, and the context in which they perform their mayoral duties.

Interviews were recorded, transcribed, and then analyzed to identify general themes, such as their preferred appearance, external pressures to conform, gender biases, and social media strategies.

The interviews were recorded, then transcribed and analysed using the constant comparison method (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) borrowing from Boeije's (2002) modified application of CCM. Transcripts were thus analysed in three stages: first individually, then compared within the same gender group, and finally compared by gender groups. This dissertation also draws from feminist standpoint theory, which focuses on marginalized individuals' perspectives (Haraway, 1993). This strategy aimed to identify gaps and silences in women mayors' narratives, particularly in comparison with men mayors' accounts.

Hence, the analysis began with broad themes, such as "social media", "appearance" and "barriers" and specific codes progressively emerged. Some did not apply to both gender groups, as codes such as "comments", "changes" and "awareness" were only applicable within women mayors' narratives. Saturation was reached through code meaning (Hennink, Kaiser and Marconi, 2017) once issues had become clear and additional insights were no longer needed.

4.5. Results

This section presents results from the visual content analysis and interviews. It first offers a glimpse of mayors' positions on the gendered performance axis, then focuses on aggregate results of mayors' facial expressions, physical appearance, people who appear in their visual publications, general trends in events and the level of intimization, followed by mayors' experiences navigating gendered performances as mayors.

4.5.1. Gendered Performance Overview

To begin, every mayor in the sample was placed on the gendered performance axis (Figure 4.1) to offer a visual representation of results. Mayors on the left of the figure displayed the most incongruent gendered performance stereotypes, mayors in the bottom center presented an image of themselves that mixes gender stereotypes, mayors in the upper center avoided any reference to gender, and mayors on the right shared a political digital image in line with their gender's stereotypes. Mayors appear in Figure 1 according to their individual results, from both the content

analysis and interviews. This overview has no pretention to be a formal gradation, but rather acts as a visual aid. Hence, Figure 1 offers a simplified placement of mayors, according to their gendered performance on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, as well as their responses during interviews, on an axis based on Schneider's (2014a) typology. For example, WM5's gendered performance was somewhat congruent with her gender but also showed a lot of avoidance.

Figure 4.1.: Gendered performance overview
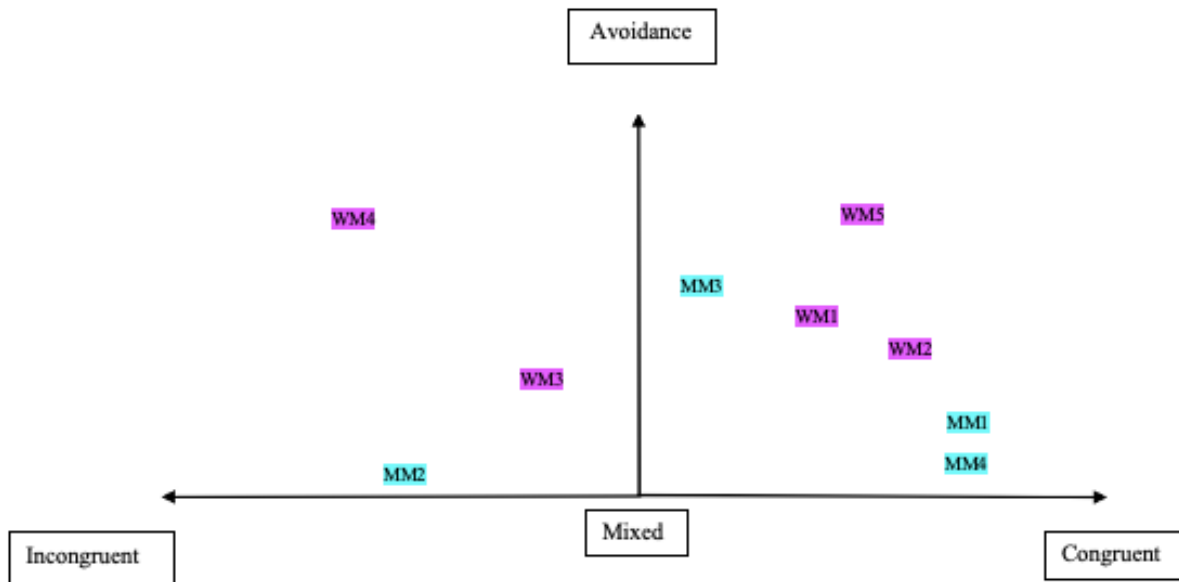
4.5.2. Aggregate Results

4.5.2.1. Facial Expression

Results in Table 4.3 demonstrate that most mayors, regardless of gender, tend to smile in most of their visual publications that include their facial expressions, particularly on Instagram. WM3 was the woman mayor who published the most pictures in which she looked focused, both on Facebook (29%) and Twitter (46%). Men mayors tend to appear more focused than women mayors, except for WM3.

Table 4.3: Percentage of posts containing facial expressions per social media platform

	Smiling			Focused			Other			N. posts with facial expression		
	F	**T**	**I**	**F**	**T**	**I**	**F**	**T**	**I**	**F**	**T**	**I**
WM1	100	100	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	**10**	**5**	**9**
WM2	100	100	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	**21**	**2**	**9**
WM3	71	54	100	29	46	0	0	0	0	**24**	**80**	**5**
WM4	60	90	96	20	5	2	20	50	2	**10**	**19**	**41**
WM5	94	100	86	6	0	14	0	0	0	**31**	**7**	**7**
MM1	82	86	88	15	9	12	3	5	0	**34**	**22**	**16**
MM2	100	100	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	**18**	**16**	**9**
MM3	0	73	100	0	27	0	0	0	0	**0**	**26**	**5**
MM4	60	81	96	30	16	0	10	3	0	**9**	**83**	**26**

F = Facebook, T = Twitter, I = Instagram

4.5.2.2. Physical Appearance

Table 4.4 presents results regarding mayors' gendered appearance. Results for each platform represent an average number of gendered indicators by visual publication, focusing solely on publications in which mayors are present.

Table 4.4: Average of feminine, neutral and masculine indicators of physical appearance by visual publication in which mayor is present

	Feminine			Neutral			Masculine			Total # of posts mayor present		
	F	**T**	**I**	**F**	**T**	**I**	**F**	**T**	**I**	**F**	**T**	**I**
WM1	1,73	2,20	1,44	0,45	0,00	0,67	0,64	0,80	0,44	**11**	**5**	**9**
WM2	3,05	2,50	3,2	0,86	0,50	0,80	0,43	1,00	0,20	**21**	**2**	**10**
WM3	3,54	2,70	3,00	0,33	0,14	0,60	0,63	0,90	0,60	**24**	**90**	**5**
WM4	0,50	0,78	0,71	0,58	0,64	0,90	0,92	0,91	0,81	**12**	**22**	**42**
WM5	3,61	3,57	3,00	0,23	0,43	0,38	0,68	0,71	0,63	**31**	**7**	**7**
MM1	0,92	0,77	0,88	0,26	0,23	0,50	1,82	2,58	1,75	**39**	**26**	**16**
MM2	0,56	0,41	0,00	1,00	1,24	0,78	1,61	1,24	1,44	**18**	**17**	**9**
MM3	0,00	0,90	0,29	0,00	0,25	0,14	0,00	1,41	0,86	**0**	**32**	**6**
MM4	0,25	0,34	0,03	0,00	0,30	0,50	1,92	1,54	1,22	**12**	**98**	**32**

F = Facebook, T = Twitter, I = Instagram

Results confirm that mayors' gendered performances are on a continuum rather than binary. For example, WM4 did not display many gendered traits online. On Instagram, her gendered performance was slightly more neutral (0.90) than feminine (0.71) or masculine (0.81). Also, all mayors displayed a mix of feminine, masculine, and neutral traits to different extents. Results vary greatly among mayors of the same gender and across social media platforms.

The highest numbers of gendered traits correspond with the feminine indicators for women mayors and masculine indicators for men mayors. The more pronounced congruent gendered performances can be found among women mayors, especially WM2, WM3, and WM5 across all three platforms, and MM1 on Twitter. Overall, despite low averages of neutral indicators, women mayors appear to avoid references to gender in their appearance more than men mayors. Indeed, whereas most men mayors seem to prefer a mixed or congruent approach, results suggest that when women mayors prefer to avoid references to their gender, they will adopt both neutral and masculine traits to a greater extent.

4.5.2.3. People in the Frame

Furthermore, other individuals making appearances in mayors' visual publications were identified to shed some light on issues and target groups. Results from Table 4.5 demonstrate, overall, low averages of gendered indicators by publication when considering other individuals in the frame.

Table 4.5: Average of feminine and masculine indicators of other people in the frame by visual publication

	Feminine			Masculine			Total # of visual posts		
	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I
WM1	0.24	0.03	0,09	0.10	0.03	0.00	**42**	**38**	**22**
WM2	0.22	0.04	0.21	0.17	0.04	0.05	**115**	**24**	**19**
WM3	0.04	0.21	0.00	0.04	0.53	0.25	**28**	**190**	**8**
WM4	0.02	0.22	0.35	0.06	0.62	0.42	**51**	**37**	**95**
WM5	0.15	0.13	0.16	0.15	0.33	0.12	**79**	**24**	**25**
MM1	0.10	0.07	0.25	0.12	0.10	0.00	**202**	**144**	**25**
MM2	0.21	0.26	0.50	0.29	0.16	0.25	**34**	**60**	**12**
MM3	0.00	0.15	0.17	0,50	0.40	0.25	**4**	**157**	**12**
MM4	0.08	0.08	0.06	0.00	0.17	0.10	**12**	**764**	**49**

*F = Facebook, T = Twitter, I = Instagram*Among women mayors, there were three published images in which they find themselves in the company of stereotypically masculine people, such as businesspeople, athletes, and law enforcement. Indeed, WM3 (0.53), WM4 (0.62) and WM5 (0.33) seem to have favored Twitter to share such images. Among men mayors, MM2 also displayed an incongruent approach, especially on Instagram (0.50), where he showcased individuals who signal a more feminine gendered performance, with images of health care professionals, educators, children, artists, and seniors. In addition, whereas WM3, WM4, and WM5 used Twitter for an incongruent approach, WM1 and WM2 preferred Facebook, and men mayors, Instagram.

4.5.2.4. Types of Events

The types of events featured in mayors' visual publications were also analyzed. Results are presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Average of feminine and masculine indicators of events by visual publication

	Feminine			Masculine			Total # visual posts		
	F	**T**	**I**	**F**	**T**	**I**	**F**	**T**	**I**
WM1	0.45	0.54	0.68	0.14	0.16	0.05	**42**	**38**	**22**
WM2	0.43	0.04	0.37	0.11	0.00	0.16	**115**	**24**	**19**
WM3	0.32	0.21	0.13	0.61	0.53	0.25	**28**	**190**	**8**
WM4	0.37	0.22	0.35	0.49	0.62	0.42	**51**	**37**	**95**
WM5	0.14	0.25	0.24	0.19	0.33	0.16	**79**	**24**	**25**
MM1	0.16	0.18	0.28	0.30	0.33	0.16	**202**	**144**	**25**
MM2	0.71	0.47	0.75	0.21	0.17	0.08	**34**	**60**	**12**
MM3	0.25	0.35	0.75	1,00	0.79	0.25	**4**	**157**	**12**
MM4	0.08	0.08	0.24	0.92	0.27	0.27	**12**	**764**	**49**

F = Facebook, T = Twitter, I = Instagram

Results suggest that, broadly speaking, mayors did not show highly stereotypical displays of gender in their choice of events. As expected, both men and women mayors showed a mixed strategy. However, on average and across all three platforms, women mayors displayed the most congruent approach to their visual gender performance.

Among the women mayors, WM4 (0.37; 0.22; 0.35) and WM3 (0.32; 0.21; 0.13) displayed the most incongruent approach, whereas MM2 (0.71; 0.47; 0.75) was the man mayor who shared the most images of stereotypically feminine events.

In addition, Instagram appears to represent an outlet for more feminine gender performances among men mayors, similarly to results in Table 4.5. Twitter may represent women mayors' digital space for an incongruent approach, although results are less pronounced.

4.5.2.5. Intimization

Table 4.7: Proportion of visual posts containing an indicator of intimization

| | Significant others | | | | | | | | | Life space | | | | | | N. visual posts | | |
| | Partner (%) | | | Friends (%) | | | Children (%) | | | Home (%) | | | Out of public function (%) | | | | | |
	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I
WM1	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	42	38	22
WM2	1	0	0	1	4	11	0	0	0	2	0	5	0	4	11	115	24	19
WM3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	13	0	0	25	28	190	8
WM4	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	3	51	37	95
WM5	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	81	25	25
MM1	1	0	12	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	16	0	0	28	202	144	25
MM2	12	3	25	0	0	8	3	2	17	0	0	8	3	2	0	34	60	12
MM3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	157	12
MM4	0	1	10	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	1	27	0	3	31	12	764	49

Results in Table 4.7 show that very few mayors included their partner in their posts, especially among women mayors. Indeed, they made appearances in 1% of WM2's Facebook posts and 4% of WM5's Instagram posts. Aside from MM3, all men mayors shared images of their partner to some extent, especially on Instagram. This platform appears to offer a more intimate look into mayors' lives, as most mayors shared a good number of images of their life space, either

at home or outside of their work. However, images of children remain scarce, as only WM1, WM3, MM2, and MM4 shared one or two visual publications of their little ones.

4.5.2. Interviews

This section offers a glimpse into Canadian mayors' experiences in local politics by focusing particularly on the context in which their gendered performance arises. To begin, when discussing gender in politics, especially regarding the news coverage, all women mayors perceived a difference in the coverage of women and men politicians, citing examples such as Christy Clark. One shared that, during the electoral campaign, journalists had inquired about her marital status. Alternatively, responses were mixed coming from men mayors. While MM1 had not noticed a gendered difference in the news coverage, he did note that women do not speak to him the same way a man would, the latter being much more aggressive and impolite.

When asked about the image they aimed to project online, it became clear that women mayors had already put some thought into their digital persona. Nearly half spoke of the importance of authenticity online, while the other half shared that they tended to avoid posting images of themselves. For WM5, this was motivated by the impression that it is a feminine practice. This is not to say that men mayors did not speak of authenticity, but they shared less on their personal image and more about representing their community, a motivation shared by WM3.

Similarly, on the topic of their physical appearance, whereas nearly all women mayors stated that they either had received unsolicited comments on their appearance or had been asked to modify how they dress, none of the men mayors reported anything similar. In MM3's case, he had received suggestions on the content he shares online related to his work as mayor, but nothing about his appearance.

There also appears to be a consensus among women mayors that there is pressure to conform. For example, WM2 was told by her team, during the municipal election, how to present herself—or rather, how not to present herself—by staying away from her usual forms of self-expression. This is a topic that recurred during discussions with other women mayors, as both WM3 and WM5 chose to change certain aspects of their physical appearance to limit unpleasant comments and for self-preservation. Even things such as their smile or their emotions had been the topic of discussion from citizens and colleagues alike: "I've had 'don't be so emotional'" (WM2).

This sparked discussions on gendered double standards, as these comments, according to the women mayors, are rarely directed toward men politicians. "I never hear that with men. I don't hear 'that your chest hair is showing, or I think those shoes are a little too flashy for your job'" (WM2). MM2 agreed that there exists a double standard and that nobody would comment on a man's appearance.

In addition to the pressure to appear a certain way, or rather to not appear too feminine, women mayors brought up other difficulties, such as a lack of respect on behalf of men colleagues, either at conferences or even the council chamber. WM1 did rationalize this difficult work environment by pointing out that, as a woman mayor, she is now in a field created by men for men, making it easier for them to navigate. Hence, WM1 recounted that at first, her different approach "definitely got under people's skin."

This lack of respect can border on inappropriate behavior at work, as WM4 had faced aggression from colleagues during professional disagreements and condescending comments, which echoes WM5's experience with men colleagues acting aggressively toward her and her staff members. This can certainly affect a woman politician's experience, as WM2 received inappropriate comments on her appearance from a man colleague during a professional event. Unfortunately, as some women mayors pointed out, sexism in the workplace can be subtle but just as harmful. Citizens also contribute to creating a hostile working environment for some women mayors. Indeed, both WM3 and WM5 reported having members of the community openly criticize their appearance according to their preferences or commenting on their choice to pursue a career in local politics.

Finally, regarding sharing details of their private life online, mayors did not all speak on the topic, but those who did, including WM1, WM5, MM3, and MM4, shared that it was a conscious decision. For some, such as WM1 and MM3, they lived and worked in small communities where they were well known and chose to keep their private life separate online. In some cases, as for WM5, this involved asking loved ones to avoid engaging with trolls online, even if it could be difficult to watch. As for MM4, sharing some aspects of his private life was a way of humanizing himself by showing that he is a husband and a father.

4.6. Discussion and Conclusion

This study examined Canadian mayors' gender performance on their professional Facebook pages, Twitter accounts, and Instagram accounts through a visual content analysis of their posts, as well as the context in which gender performance arises through semi-structured interviews. I sought to answer the following research questions: How do Canadian mayors perform gender through their professional Facebook pages, Twitter accounts, and Instagram accounts? In what context does this gendered performance arise?

Results show that, overall, women mayors continue to perform a stereotypical congruent version of their gender, while men mayors show a wider range of approaches. The restrictiveness of women mayors' gender performance is demonstrated in both the content analyses and the semi-structured interviews.

For example, although most mayors smile in their social media posts, men mayors appear more focused compared with women mayors. This is consistent with research showing that women continue to be expected to make others feel comfortable through emotional displays, such as smiling (Fischer and LaFrance 2015).

Similarly, women mayors revealed during interviews that they feel a definite pressure to conform and, in some cases, modify their appearance, and they expressed frustration about the existence of a gendered double standard in politics. This pressure was not expressed by men mayors, as shown in their greater use of incongruent gender performances in regard to their physical appearance. Indeed, while both genders showed an inclination toward mixed gender performance, women mayors showed a greater congruent approach on all levels, including their appearance, as the people in their published images and the events they attended.

Results also illustrate a gendered use of social media platforms for visual self-presentation. Whereas women mayors appear to prefer Twitter to embrace an incongruent gender performance, men mayors preferred Instagram. This platform appears to represent a more intimate digital space, as mayors who chose to share details of their private life online, mostly used Instagram to offer a glimpse into their world outside of work.

It is also important to note that the broad collection of gender performance indicators used in this study allowed to examine mayors' gender performance in detail by going beyond the usual binary operationalizations. This made it possible to capture nuances better examined on a

continuum. Indeed, mayors' physical appearance results reveal that rather than being binary, mayors' gendered performances are instead on a continuum. Beyond these empirical results, this study makes theoretical and conceptual contributions—namely, by exploring the gendered differences in digital self-presentation practices among political actors who often operate in nonpartisan environments, while creating strong bonds with constituents.

One aspect of this study that would warrant further research is the mental load experienced by women mayors, as well as mayors who fall outside the current political norm. The term "mental load" was never explicitly used in interviews, but a majority of women mayors detailed the thought process behind their current appearance, the changes they had made to appease the angry comments, and, in some cases, their self-censorship online to avoid cueing their femininity. These additional cognitive gymnastics were not mentioned by men mayors.

In addition, semi-structured interviews revealed that women and men mayors describe different working environments and constraints. Discussions about gender biases in politics, as much in the council chamber as in the media coverage, highlighted women mayors' experiences of exclusion, disrespect, and othering.

All women mayors—except one—had received unsolicited comments on their appearance, and many had modified how they dress and present themselves. None of the men mayors had received unsolicited feedback on their appearance. Instead, comments tended to be about the content they shared online. Women mayors also reported facing aggression and subtle sexism in their workplace. Altogether, this suggests that invisible gendered barriers still exist in local politics.

Thus, this study shows the importance of analyzing politicians in context, rather than simply focusing on their appearance, as it can be misleading when other aspects, such as the type of events they attend or the people they showcase, can either emphasize a gendered performance or subdue it. Hence, a woman mayor can wear dresses and a lot of makeup but still present herself as a more stereotypically masculine politician.

This study did not control for mayors' age, the size of their municipality, or the number of years spent in politics. The aim was not to generalize these results to all Canadian mayors, but to offer a glimpse of gendered performances of local politicians who actively used Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram to share information with their constituents. Its operationalization was also fraught

with difficulties, as coding had to be done by relying on the description (or lack thereof) of images by mayors, tagged users, and recognizing recurring individuals and spaces. As images only offer a partial view of an event, certain elements of a mayor's appearance, such as their shoes or even a skirt, were difficult to identify when images were cut at the waist.

Finally, such a study has never been done on local politicians' digital gender performance. Those that do focus on political gender performance tend to examine the national level and rely on limited and binary gender indicators. Federal politicians, however, usually work under different circumstances, such as greater budgets and communication teams, as well as greater media scrutiny. The mayors in this study are much more relatable, often having been part of their community their whole lives, meaning that both their professional and private lives are intertwined. Hence, this study aimed to examine how citizens with ambitions for their community and varying levels of resources present themselves and to widen the lens with which visual gender performance may be examined. A future study could gain tremendously by including an ethnographic element, thereby avoiding crafted answers during interviews.

Chapter 5 – Conclusion

This dissertation aimed to better understand the role played by gender in Canadian mayorships. I analyzed mayors' use of social media, motivation to use social media and their digital political gender performances. While some argue that municipal politics are more accessible to women (Blais and Gidengil, 1991), others have found that mitigating factors exist, such as the sought political office. Indeed, women continue to be underrepresented in leadership positions (O'Neill and Stewart, 2009; Tolley, 2011; Trimble and Arscott, 2003), or in this case, mayorships, and rather find themselves elected as councillors. However, it is difficult to advance this debate without recent data on mayors, reeves, and chiefs. Furthermore, Canadian scholars have yet to thoroughly grasp the performative nature of gender, within and outside of political institutions. With the ubiquity of social media, this performance has gained much scrutiny and criticism, and yet many politicians continue to use these platforms to share their work, updates and respond to constituents. Hence, in order to first establish the level of feminisation among mayors, as well as the digital gender gap in active social media use, this dissertation aimed to answer the following research questions:

What is Canadian mayors' social media adoption rate? How many mayors who have a Facebook page, a Twitter account and/or an Instagram account actively use them? To what extent does the adoption and active use of social media platforms vary according to mayors' gender? To what extent does the active use of social media platforms vary at the intersection of mayors' gender and their municipality's population size?

Then, I examined the literature on gendered leadership to better grasp underlying motivations that encouraged mayors, who already manage a heavy workload, to adopt a digital strategy on a Facebook page, a Twitter account and an Instagram account. This led to a few more questions:

What motivates Canadian mayors to use social media? To what extent do these motivations vary according to their gender?

Finally, I also wished to study their digital political gender performance outside of the confines of the usual binary indicators and to shed light on outside factors that may influence how they present themselves visually online:

How do Canadian mayors perform gender through their professional Facebook page, Twitter account and Instagram account? In what context does this gendered performance arise?

To answer these questions, I created a database of 3,525 Canadian mayors, identified their Facebook page, Twitter account and Instagram account as well as their level of active use. I then invited those who were active on all three platforms in the Fall of 2018 participate in a 30- to 45-minute interview. Before conducting the interviews, I also completed a preliminary visual content analysis of their social media images and videos to examine their digital gender performance. The following section discusses this dissertation's main findings and scientific contributions, its limitations, its implications for practitioners, and future research.

5.1. Discussion of main findings and contributions

This dissertation proved to be an ambitious undertaking and has, in the process, uncovered contributions to political science, political communication and gender studies. Chapter 2 – *The gendered digital turn: Canadian mayors on social media* – examined the feminization rate among mayoral positions across the country, as well as the gendered variation in the active use of Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. It aimed to answer research questions on the gendered variation in Canadian mayors' social media adoption rate and active use. Some scholars have examined the use of social media during municipal elections (Hagar, 2014); Raynauld and Greenberg, 2014) but not on such a scale or outside of an electoral campaign. Using primary data – the Canadian mayors database – I found that women mayors actively use 0.9 more social media platforms than men mayors. Among all three platforms, Facebook is the most used among mayors, and Instagram is the least popular.

Results in Chapter 2 also demonstrated that a greater proportion of women mayors are found in municipalities with under 50,000 residents. As a greater number of mayorships are on a part-

time basis in smaller municipalities, often necessitating mayors to find a second form of employment, Chapter 3– *Women mayors in a changing media landscape: leadership styles, motivations and trolls* – sought to understand what motivates mayors to actively use Facebook, Twitter and Facebook in addition to their professional responsibilities with varying levels of support and resources. Interviews revealed that generally, respondents used social media to fulfill communal motivations, such as informing, interacting with, and receiving direct feedback from citizens, although three mayors reported more strategic motivations. Content analyses demonstrate that women mayors consistently used the platforms' interactive features. Interviews also revealed different motivations to run for mayor. While nearly half of women mayors spoke of the importance of representation, men mayors appeared to view it as a career progression. In addition, women mayors spoke of barriers to using social media, such as a lack of support and gender trolls.

Hence, Chapter 4 – *"Don't put colour in your hair, don't do this, don't do that": Canadian Mayors' mixed gender performance on social media* – is the final building block in understanding the continued prevalence of gendered norms in municipal politics. This final article focused on mayors' gender performance online, as well as their experience of maintaining their digital political image by exploring research questions regarding the Canadian mayors' gender performance online and the context in which it arises. Content analysis of mayors' visual social media posts confirmed that their gendered performances are on a continuum, rather than a binary. This was evident in the fact that all mayors displayed different degrees of mixed gender performances. However, women mayors were found to perform more congruent versions of their gender, namely by smiling more, while men mayors appear to experience greater flexibility in their displayed gender stereotypes. The framework for the content analysis relied on a broad collection of gender performance indicators to capture as much nuance as possible. Interviews revealed that women mayors operate under added (gendered) constraints that were not mentioned by the men mayors in this sample. For instance, women mayors explained that they felt a pressure to conform, and, unlike men mayors, reported receiving comments on their appearance, their attitude and their lifestyle. In some cases, this unsolicited feedback led to tangible changes in their appearance or social media practices. This undoubtedly contributes to feelings of exclusion and othering that women mayors reported, especially in contexts of aggressive behaviour and subtle sexism in the workplace. Although the term was not used, women mayors, when discussing their experiences in politics hinted at shouldering a greater mental load.

5.2. Limitations

This dissertation also contains a few limitations, such as the fact that results are not meant to be generalized and the focus on gender did not permit an intersectional approach. One of the main limitations of this dissertation is that results in Chapters 3 and 4 are not meant to be generalized to all Canadian mayors. This can be explained by the fact that, as illustrated in Chapter 2, very few mayors have a social media account and even fewer actively use it. Indeed, Table 2.3 shows that only 1.1% of men mayors and 1.9% of women mayors actively use a Facebook page, a Twitter account and an Instagram account. Hence, the 9 mayors in the sample could be deemed as being "super users" when compared to their colleagues across the country. This does not diminish the value of results found in Chapters 3 and 4. Although the sample of respondents was small, the data were plentiful, as interviews were preceded by a content analysis of their visual social media publications, with a total of nearly 2 500 visual posts. Furthermore, the wealth of information gained through interviews and visual social media content analysis justify a smaller sample size in favour of information power (Malterud et al., 2016). The sample remains heterogenous, but discursive findings did suggest that gendered barriers and difficulties are experienced by women mayors, regardless of the size of their municipality, their age or their career path. As this dissertation was written through a gender and feminist lens, it does not subscribe to the tenet of generalization, which in this context, would view local political actors as a monolith.

Hennink and Kaiser (2022) also reviewed empirical studies that assess saturation in qualitative research and found that small sample sizes can be effective. Rather than rely on a large sample of code frequency counts, saturation was instead achieved through code meaning (Hennink, Kaiser & Marconi, 2017). The constant comparison method was a very useful way to identify gendered themes and categories. For example, within "physical appearance", a number of additional categories were created for interview transcripts with women mayors, such as "comments", "changes" and "awareness". A bigger sample, alternatively, could undoubtedly have provided more details and variation within these gendered experiences, but I don't believe it minimizes or disproves the current findings. Indeed, feminist standpoint theory does provide what Sandra Harding (1992) refers to as "strong objectivity" where the marginalized feminist perspective can create a more objective account of the world. This requires acknowledging the role that power and social location play in the knowledge production process (Harding, 1991) and can contribute to

more ethical and transparent findings (Naples & Gurr, 2013). Hence, it is believed that this only reinforces my findings' credibility, as feminist standpoint theory flips the narrative to fill in gaps and silences.

With much greater resources[8], it would have been interesting to speak with mayors who do not actively use social media to grasp their use of traditional media and their preference to avoid digital tools, but this was not the aim of the dissertation. Hence, this dissertation's greatest limit is the product of the underuse of social media by mayors. However, there is an argument to be made against generalizing individual results to all Canadian mayors. This dissertation focuses on gender in municipal politics as a way to examine larger social hegemony in Canada. In addition, it is not believed that the absence of generalization affects the credibility of findings, as the burden of performing one's gender appears to be widespread. For instance, Finland's Prime Minister Sanna Marin has explained that she chooses to wear a set type of clothing and maintain a similar hairstyle to avoid discussions about her appearance (Odom, 2020). Jacinda Ardern, former Prime Minister of New Zealand has stated that she wishes to be remembered as a "good leader, not a good lady leader" and that she doesn't "want to be known simply as the woman who gave birth" (Dowd, 2018). This is undoubtedly more common than we are led to believe.

This dissertation is also limited in its scope from solely focusing on gender, without considering other variables, such as age, sexual orientation, gender identity or race. It would have been ideal to be able to examine a greater variety of sociodemographic factors, but it would have been difficult to accomplish, and it did not come up during interviews. Despite this, I must stress how important intersectionality is when conducting research. This is particularly true when focusing on gender inequalities in Canada considering that Indigenous women have been heavily impacted by the European model of the patriarchal family and its low valuation of women (Green, 1992: 112). Indigenous women were also excluded from the suffragette movement and were only granted the right to vote in federal elections in 1960, 42 years after white Canadian women. In the United States, research has been emerging about Black women politicians' appearance and more specifically how they must navigate the politics of appearance differently, especially regarding their hair and skin tone (Brown, 2014).

---

[8] The lack of resources also explains the absence of intercoder reliability tests, which in no way diminishes the contribution that represent the gendered performance framework.

I would also like to specify that gender hegemony does not only harm women in politics, but society as a whole, which is why this dissertation focuses on gender, rather than women in politics. It is agreed that while *some* profit from gender hierarchies, many who perpetuate them ultimately do not (e.g. Frankenberg, 1993). This is particularly clear when looking at Canada's Prime Ministers, who were all, with one exception, white men. Allan G. Johnson argued in 1997 that patriarchy is a system which shapes one's life and living in such a society offers the opportunity to either perpetuate or change it (26). "If a society is oppressive, then people who grow up and live in it will tend to accept, identify with, and participate in it as 'normal' and remarkable life" (26). The culture that stems from it views manhood and masculinity as being associated with being human, and womanhood and femininity as the "other" (Johnson, 1997: 29). However, this in no way means that all men benefit from gender hegemony. As mentioned in Chapter 4, racialized men may struggle with their performance of masculinity (Cooper, 2009).

5.3. Key points for practitioners

This dissertation also uncovered some practical aspects that would merit tangible change. Hence, it is recommended that practitioners reflect on adopting gender-neutral language, put in place educational material on digital etiquette and review their approach to encourage women to actively participate in politics.

5.3.1. Gender-neutral language

First and foremost, since gender is a social construct that greatly impacts everyone daily, and which can – and has – been weaponized, I recommend the adoption of gender-neutral language by legislatures and especially by news media. Most citizens turn to news media for information on current events, but also to form their own opinions of the world. By gender marking, reporters signal to their readers that this is an important variable. According to Haralsson and Wängnerud (2019: 524), mis- and underrepresentation of women in the media leads to a false portrayal of society through a gendered lens. They have demonstrated that media sexism leads to a smaller number of women candidates.

To better illustrate the constructed nature of gender, Tolley and Paquet (2021) studied the election of Valérie Plante as Montreal's first woman mayor and showed that gender was not a salient factor in vote choice. They also suggest that a political campaign can be a greatly different experience for men and women, as the latter must overcome stereotypes. One way of doing so is by degendering, or ignoring one's gender, framing proposals in gender-neutral terms and avoiding explicit appeals to women's interests (46). To be clear, this is not a complete erasure of gender, but rather a way to communicate that womanhood is no longer directly linked with femininity.

To this end, the Canadian federal government has made symbolic gains regarding gender-neutral language in legislative drafting, having established a list of recommendations to avoid gender-specific language. Yet, this is only a suggestion for drafters and there are fundamental problems with the recommendations (Government of Canada, 2023). For example, "Laws that exclude references to the female gender do not promote gender equality". Although the intention is positive, it also demonstrates a lack of understanding of the very core of the concept of gender. If it were legislation, it could have a greater impact, especially if combined with a systematic application of a gender-based analysis plus (GBA+), which seeks to assess how Canadians of different backgrounds may experience policies, programs and initiatives.

As such initiatives can be time-consuming, researchers Fischer-Hwang, Grosz, Hu, Karthik and Yank (2020) designed "Disarming Loaded Words", a computational tool that identifies potentially biased words in a document and provides feedback and context surrounding the problematic word in political news articles. This user-friendly tool is meant to help journalists adopt gender-neutral writing practices. In fact, Taits and Pérez (2019) conducted 3 large-scale experiments in Sweden incorporating a gender-neutral pronoun alongside established gendered pronouns. Results show that compared with masculine pronouns, the use of gender-neutral pronouns decreases the mental salience of men and is associated with individuals expressing less bias in favour of traditional gender roles and categories. Indeed, "Three experiments suggest that language is meaningfully associated with the construction and maintenance of attitudes toward gender roles and categories" (Tavits and Pérez, 2019: 16 785).

5.3.2. Digital etiquette

Similarly, communication practices have greatly changed with the ubiquity of social media and devices, particularly since the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic. However, we would gain, as a society, to put in place a digital etiquette (or netiquette) considering the growing harassment of politicians, reporters and citizens alike. In 2021, CBC ran an experiment in which it turned off comments on its Facebook page for a month, citing a degradation in online discourse and the presence of hateful and xenophobic comments. Although this sparked a large debate on free speech and the option to contribute to a news piece, solutions appear to be very few and far between. Indeed, moderating comments can seem like a possible solution, but involves exposing someone to hateful content (Alang, 2021). As a largely unrestricted public space, social media platforms – along with their algorithms – can amplify hateful comments.

This recommendation stems from research and interview data regarding the amount of digital incivility political actors experience while using social media platforms. As it is widespread, greater education on digital etiquette seems necessary, if only to remind users that something posted online anonymously can have very real consequences. I also recommend digital anti-hate speech legislation, as the current threshold for prosecution in Canada is very high and the lack of consequences only serves to normalise this practice. As with Bill C-18, *An Act respecting online communications platforms that make news content available to persons in Canada*, we are beginning to experience struggles between a country's democratic values and companies' own agenda. Google and Meta's reaction to C-18 has demonstrated that their priorities do not lie in the well-being of their users. As this online bullying can easily turn into physical violence, it seems urgent to put an end to gender trolling.

5.3.3. Political training opportunities

While social media users lack education and guidelines, there have been some initiatives aiming to encourage women to participate in politics. For example, the Union des municipalités du Québec (UMQ) and the Secrétariat à la condition féminine du Québec created a campaign entitled "D'Elles à Élues" aiming to increase women's self-confidence in hopes that they will run in the next municipal elections. The campaign involved inspirational tales of successful local

women politicians. During the 2021 municipal elections, the UMQ launched an initiative "As-tu pensé te présenter?" in which citizens were encouraged to tell women they know that they would make excellent candidates. This initiative demonstrates a desire to encourage women to run in municipal elections, but workshops are not the panacea to women's equal participation in politics without fundamental changes. This is similar to prior initiatives, such as "Ready for Her" or "She Leads." According to Melanee Thomas (2019), a common thread in these initiatives is that women continue to be blamed for their under-representation in politics: "If women are to blame for their under-representation in Canadian politics, we should be able to solve it by personally training every woman how to campaign or by telling each woman to be more confident". Thomas thus advances that successful examples of gender parity in politics – such as Sweden implementing a voluntary gender quota in 1974 – involve a change in ethos where we collectively believe that women belong in politics. Chen, Thomas, Harell and Gosselin (2023) have demonstrated that Canada has not yet reached this collective belief. Their results show that about one in five Canadians think that men are "naturally better" leaders than women, and that women are "too emotional" and "too nice" for politics. Chen et al. interpret this as sexist stereotypes remaining strong in Canadian politics. In addition, Tolley, Lawlor and Fortier-Chouinard (2023) used survey data to establish that women mayoral candidates continue to be disadvantaged by the conception of political leadership as being a masculine role. To further illustrate my point, at the time of writing, the Réseau femmes et politique de la Capitale-Nationale is pushing the City of Quebec to put in place parental leave and an adapted schedule for municipal elected positions (2023). As scholars have already established that parental duties can limit a person's career, such basic accommodations would surely have a bigger impact on women's political participation.

This dissertation is not formally rooted in feminist institutionalism – which applies a gendered lens to the study of the political rules of the game – but its recommendations to practitioners are. It is of the utmost importance to understand the historical legitimization of gendered exclusion and hierarchies to privilege men (Mackay, Monro and Waylen, 2009: 257). Results from interviews with Canadian mayors shed light on many aspects of gendered barriers in politics that are often ignored. In line with Thomas (2019), the barriers that were brought up touched upon the patriarchal culture, online and offline incivility, and continued harmful expectations thrust upon women. Indeed, Johnson (1997) explains that many tend to see sexism as a result of poor socializing but

fail to understand the systems that create these imbalances. He compares this view of sexism to explaining war "[…] as simply the result of training men to be warlike, without looking at economic systems that equip armies at huge profits and political systems that organize and hurl armies at one another" (28). Hence, I would like to suggest that any workshops or training opportunities should be made available to any aspiring politician, regardless of their gender, as a marginalised group is not as able to change the political ethos as are those who are in power. Women politicians need their men colleagues to act as true allies and face the discomfort of upholding an accessible and equitable environment. Thus, practitioners could play an important part in making Canadian politics – and society – accessible and inclusive, regardless of one's gender, by adopting gender-neutral language, developing a digital etiquette that would also be taught in classrooms, as well as political training opportunities aimed at changing the current political ethos.

5.4. Future research

Furthermore, although this dissertation has made some notable contributions, many aspects would gain to be studied further, such as the mental load experienced by women mayors, the gendered motivations to run and the Canadian mayors' database.

5.4.1. Mental load

The Covid-19 pandemic highlighted and exacerbated some societal issues and inequalities, such as a gendered division of unpaid labour (Hjálmsdóttir and Bjarnadóttir, 2020). Indeed, women and girls are responsible for 75% of unpaid care and domestic work (Moreira da Silva, 2019). According to the International Labour Organisation, women perform on average 4 hours and 25 minutes of unpaid care work daily, whereas men perform 1 hour and 23 minutes (Pozzan and Cattaneo, 2020). This has been referred to as the "third shift" by feminist economists, by which they mean the undervalued and unpaid emotional labour mostly done by women.

Considering this, I found it surprising to see an obvious gap in political science literature on women politicians and the mental load. Ana Catalano Weeks stated in 2022 that "the topic has yet to be studied in political science research" (1) in her work on its effect on political engagement.

Survey data suggests that women report being mostly responsible for 70% of cognitive household labour, and men, 30%. In addition to the 40% gap being twice as large as the gender gap in physical household labour, Weeks (2022) finds that the mental load moderates the relationship between gender and political interest among women, but not men. Hence, the greater mental load experienced by women contributes to limiting their political involvement. Similarly, Naurin, Stolle and Markstedt (2023) found that pregnancy has a demobilizing effect on future mother's political engagement, particularly in regard to political participation and seeking political news.

In Chapter 4, I noted that while women mayors never explicitly used the term "mental load" during interviews, the amount of additional cognitive labour described in relation to fulfilling their mayoral duties as women hinted at a greater mental load when compared to men mayors. This was apparent during exchanges about strategizing their appearance, their leadership during council meetings and how they present themselves online. Women mayors also spoke of the aggression and subtle sexism they sometimes experienced at work, which I believe also requires more work to process and deal with professionally. This finding is crucial to understanding that gender parity is not only a question of bodies in a legislature but also about making it accessible and a safe environment. Raney and Ashe (2023) recently wrote on the urgent need for more equitable, inclusive parliaments with safe workplace conditions. According to the authors, Canada's House of Commons is a highly gendered environment with adversarial parliamentary debates and continued issues of sexism and sexual harassment, to note but a few issues. They further quote former MP Mumilaaq Qaqqaq's farewell speech in which she referred to the House of Commons as a "colonial house on fire".

It thus appears critical for political science to examine the ramifications of our gendered democratic institutions that set women up to fail. As I mentioned in the key points to practitioners, Thomas (2019) has argued that women are not to blame for their underrepresentation in politics and Weeks' (2022) findings demonstrate a much larger institutional and societal problem. This is particularly pertinent since institutional power can operate through performative acts (Rai and Johnson, 2014). Indeed, this dissertation lifted the curtain on gendered political institutions (Crawford and Pini, 2011; Lovenduski, 2005) and how they can mediate and constrain politicians' behaviour (Childs, 2008; Childs and Krook, 2006). Canadian political science would gain to further explore feminist institutionalism, which aims to map networks, conventions, rules and

norms of institutions and how they differently impact political actors according to their gender and race (Grace, 2010; Hawkesworth, 2003), as well as the process leading to these differences (Lovenduski, 2010). Indeed, Collier (2022) has identified a similar issue in regard to political science research on gender-based violence. It similarly aims to control and exert power over those who are not hegemonic men. Collier also highlighted the fact that important research on gender is too often found in specialized gender-based journals, rather than mainstream political science journals. "Gender-based violence, sexual harassment and sexual assault are all about power, and the study of power is supposed to be what we do at the core of political science" (775). According to Krook (2020), violence against women in politics, whether physical, psychological, sexual, economic or semiotic, tends to be normalized and hidden, as it is part of the political game and perceived as a "cost" for political participation.

I believe political science would greatly gain from examining how the mental load affects women politicians' work and well-being across federal, provincial and municipal politics. This could be achieved by studying the ceremony and rituals in political institutions, as they can provide a better understanding of how political actors negotiate and manage their gender identity with the institutions (Malley, 2009: 15).

5.4.2. Gendered motivation to run for office

Similarly, Chapter 3 uncovered, somewhat by happenstance, that mayors in the sample displayed varying motivations to run for mayor in their community. Although not *all* women mayors reported gendered motivations, none of the men mayors cited representation as an impetus to throw their hat in the ring. According to LaMarsh (1969), "Women understand that men must often be kept from soiling themselves with the dirty details of life in order to accomplish the big shiny jobs unimpeded. And women in politics have generally accepted this role – to do all the hum-drum, tedious, must-be-done jobs" (36). As such, LaMarsh identified, in 1969, an issue that was raised during interviews with women mayors. While some cited a motivation to increase women's representation in municipal politics, others explained that it was work that needed to be done for the well-being of their community.

In 1970, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (RCSW) published a report in which they call for legislative and attitudinal changes in order to reach gender equality in

society and in politics. The RCSW held public hearings and studied written briefs and their findings are still pertinent today. For example, they found that Canadian women's sense of personal dignity was not being respected: "It may not be the loss of dollars that bothers as much as the lack of dignity in not receiving recognition for labour willingly done" (3). This echoes contemporary research on women's invisible labour in the workplace (Kaplan, 2022). In the previous recommendation, I already touched on women politicians' greater mental load. I believe the gendered motivation to run for mayor is, in some cases, tied to invisible work often done by women. This is however not the type of labour that generally leads to promotions and notoriety.

Some women mayors in Chapter 3 shared that representation matters. This was already the case in 1970, as illustrated by the RCSW's report: "The stereotype of the ideal woman has its effect upon Canadian women. It appears that many women have accepted as truths the social constraints and the mental images that society has prescribed and have made these constraints and images part of themselves as guides for living" (47). Schneider, Sweet-Cushman and Gordon (2023) found that attainable role models are more likely to inspire women's political ambition. This may have to do with a lack of a sense of belonging, which, according to Walton and Cohen (2011), can act as a psychological lever where targeted interventions can have broad consequences that lessen inequalities. At the time of writing, there are currently 103 women members of Parliament (and 234 men MPs) in the Canadian Parliament and 1 woman (co-)leader of a federal party, Elizabeth May. Within the Red Chamber, there are 49 women senators out of a total of 105 senators. At the provincial and territorial level, there are 3 women Premiers.

Overall, this seems to point to more systemic and attitudinal barriers to having substantively more women in politics. Hence, it would be pertinent to go beyond descriptive data on the (lack of) gender parity in Canadian politics and understand what led elected officials to pursue a political career. It may also provide insights into our conception of what it means to be a qualified political representative. Indeed, Schneider, Holman, Diekman and McAndrew (2016) demonstrate across three studies that political careers are viewed as fulfilling power-related goals, such as self-promotion and competition, rather than communal goals. They found that framing a political career as aiming for communal goals reduces the ambition gap between men and women. This begs the question if it is not time to review the necessary qualifications for elected office and the goal of pursuing such a career path.

5.4.3. Database

Finally, I hope that my database of Canadian mayors[9] online will serve as a springboard for future research on municipal politics and accountability. I believe this to be particularly important as contrary to the gendered division of mayoral positions I found in Chapter 2, the news reports greatly exaggerated the proportion of women elected to municipal office and reported record numbers. Although it may have been true at the time, it can lull readers into a false sense of gender parity, which we have not yet reached. By updating this database, we can finally have a tangible tool to assess our progress. Since many discussions now take place in a hybrid format, it would be a formidable resource for citizens – and researchers – to have access to their representatives' social media accounts, especially considering that it can be difficult to keep up with the rise and fall of various platforms, as was recently illustrated by the creation of Threads.

Overall, Canadian political science would greatly gain to stray from the (overly) beaten path to explore the impact of the gendered mental load on women's political participation, reimagine our conception of a political career and, maintain a reliable and publicly accessible register of our local political actors. This dissertation originally aimed to understand gendered variations among digitally active Canadian mayors, from their decision to use social media to how they perform their gender through images. The combination of descriptive data on the feminisation among mayorships and the positive gender gap in social media use, content analyses of visual social media publications and interviews, however, led to much broader findings on the persisting gaps in political science literature and our mono-gendered society. Indeed, my findings suggest that our (formal and informal) institutions continue to be rigged in favour of hegemonic men, and that further examining women's shortcomings in politics only serves to maintain the status quo. In order for women to finally "have it all", we must first accept that women also *deserve* to have it all.

---

[9] Available here: https://borealisdata.ca/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.5683/SP2/YCGAJC

Bibliography

Aaldering, L. and Van Der Pas, J. D. (2020). Political Leadership in the Media: Gender Bias in Leader Stereotypes during Campaign and Routine Times. *British Journal of Political Science* 50 (3). Cambridge University Press: 911-31. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2019.05.015

Affaires municipales et habitation Québec (N.d). *Répertoire des municipalités*. December 2. https://www.mamh.gouv.qc.ca/ recherche-avancee/fiche/municipalite/.

Alang, N. (2021). *Why the publicly funded CBC has turned off public commenting on its Facebook page…and why this is a good idea*. Toronto Start. https://www.thestar.com/business/opinion/2021/06/17/why-the-publicly-funded-cbc-has-turned-off-public-commenting-on-its-facebook-page-and-why-this-is-a-good-idea.html

Archibald, L., Christian, L., Deterding, K. & Hendrick, D. (1980). Sex biases in newspaper reporting: press treatment of municipal candidates. *Atlantis, 5*(2), 177-84.

Arend, S. and Chandler, C. (1996). Which distinctiveness? Major cleavages and the career paths of Canadian female and male politicians. *Women and Politics, 16*(1), 1-29.

Association of Manitoba Municipalities (2018). *Municipal Directory*. December 4. http:www.amm.mb.ca/members/municipal- directory/.

Astor, M. (2019). "'A Woman, Just Not That Woman': How Sexism Plays Out on the Trail." New York Times, February 11. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/11/us/politics/sexism-double-standard2020.html (accessed December 3, 2020).

Bailey, M. B. and Nawara, S. P. (2018). Addressing Women and Minorities on Social Media by the 2016 U.S. Presidential Candidates. *Social Science Computer Review*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439318779342.

Bane, K. C. (2019). Tweeting the Agenda. *Journalism Practice* 13(2), 191-205, DOI: 10.1080/17512786.2017.1413587

Banet-Weiser, S. and Miltner, K. M. (2016). #MasculinitySoFragile: culture, structure, and networked misogyny. *Feminist Media Studies, 16*, 171 - 174.

Barry, A. M. (2005). "Perception Theory." In Handbook of Visual Communication, eds. Kenneth L. Smith, Sandra Moriarty, Keith Kenney, and Gretchen Barbatsis. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 44–62.

Barthes, R. (1964). Rhétorique de l'image. *Recherches sémiologiques*, 4, 40–51.

Bashevkin, S. (1983). Social background and political experience: gender differences among Ontario provincial party elites, 1982. *Atlantis, 9(*1), 1-12.

Bashevkin, S. (1985a). Political participation, ambition and feminism : women in the Ontario party elites. *American Review of Canadian Studies, 15*(4), 405-19.

Bashevkin, S. (1985b). *Toeing the lines : women and party politics in English Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Bashevkin, S. (2009). Women, power, politics: The Hidden Story of Canada's unfinished democracy. Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

Bashevkin, S. (2010). When do outsiders break in? Institutional circumstances of party leadership victories by women in Canada. *Commonwealth and comparative politics, 48*(1), 72-90.

Bauer, N. M. (2017). The effects of counterstereotypic gender strategies on candidate evaluations. *Political Psychology,* 38(2), 279-295.

Baxter, J. (2018). *Women Leaders and Gender Stereotyping in the UK Press*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Beltran, J., Gallego, A., Huidobro, A., Romero, E. and Padró.L. (2021). Male and female politicians on Twitter: A machine learning approach. *European Journal of Political Research* 60: 239-251. https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12392

Bennett, A. (2014). "Body and Identity." In The *Sage Handbook of Popular Music*, eds. Andy Bennett and Steve Waksman. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 361.

Bittner, A. and Goodyear-Grant, E. (2017). Sex isn't Gender: Reforming Concepts and Measurements in the Study of Public Opinion. *Political Behavior*, *39*(4), 1019–1041. https://www.jstor.org/stable/48693906

Bjarnegård, E. (2018). Making Gender Visible in Election Violence, *Politics and Gender, 13*(4), 690-95. 10.1017/S1743923X18000624

Black, J. H. and Erickson, L. (2000). Similarity, compensation or difference? A comparison of female and male office-seekers. *Women and politics, 21*(4), 1-38.

Black, J. H. and Erickson, L. (2003).Women candidates and voter bias: do women politicians need to be better? *Electoral studies, 22*(1), 81-100.

Blais, A. and Gidengil, E. (1991). *Making representative democracy work: the view of Canadians*, Toronto: Dundurn.

Boeije, H. (2002). A purposeful approach to the constant comparative method in the analysis of qualitative interviews. *Quality and quantity*, *36*, 391-409.

Bongiorno, R., Bain, P. and David, B. (2014). If You're Going to Be a Leader, at Least Act Like It! Prejudice towards Women Who Are Tentative in Leader Roles. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 53* (2): 217–34. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12032.

Braden, M. (1996). *Women Politicians and the Media*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
Bradley-Geist, Jill C., Rivera, IIvy, and Geringer, Susan D. (2015). The collateral damage of ambient sexism: Observing sexism impacts bystander self-esteem and career aspirations. *Sex Roles*, *73*, 29-42.

Brands, C., Kruikemeier, S. and Trilling, D. (2021) Insta(nt)famous? Visual self-presentation and the use of masculine and feminine issues by female politicians on Instagram. *Information, Communication and Society*, 24(14), 2016-2036, DOI: 10.1080/1369118X.2021.1962942

Brannen, J. (1992). *Mixing methods: qualitative and quantitative research*. Aldershot, UK and Brookfield, VT: Avebury.

Brants, K., and Voltmer, K. (2011). *Political communication in postmodern Democracy: challenging the primacy of politics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Briggs, J. (2000). "What's in it for Women?" The Motivations, Expectations and Experiences of Female Local Councillors in Montreal, Canada and Hull, England. *Local Government Studies, 26*(4), 71: 84.

Brodie, J. (1985). *Women in Politics in Canada*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.

Brodie, J. (1977). The recruitment of Canadian provincial women legislators, 1950-1075. *Atlantis, 2*(2) (Part 1), 6-17.

Brodie, J., with the assistance of Celia Chandler. (1991). Women and the electoral process in Canada. In Kathy Megyery, ed., *Women in Canadian politics: Toward equity in representation*.

Research studies, Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing, vol. 6, 3-59, Toronto: Dundurn Press.

Brodie, J. and Vickers, J. (1981). "The more things change…women in the 1979 Federal campaign." In Howard R. Penniman, ed., *Canada at the Polls, 1979 and 1980: a Study of the General Elections*, 322-36. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Brodie, J. and Vickers, J. (1982). *Canadian women in politics: an overview.* Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women Paper 2. Ottawa: Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women.

Broersma, M., and Graham, T. (2012). Social media as beat. Tweets as a news source during the 2010 British and Dutch elections. *Journalism Practice*, *3*(6), 403-419.

Brown, N. (2014). "It's more than hair … that's why you should care": the politics of appearance for Black women state legislators. *Politics, Groups, and Identities, 2*. 295-312. 10.1080/21565503.2014.925816.

Butler, D. and Geis, F.L. (1990). Nonverbal Affect Responses to Male and Female Leaders: Implications for Leadership Evaluations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 58* (1): 48–59. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022–3514.58.1.48.

Butler, J. (1988). Performative acts and gender constitution: an essay in phenomenology and feminist theory. *Theatre Journal* 40(4): 519-531.

Butler J. (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge Carroll SJ.

Cameron, D. M. (1980). Provincial responsibilities or municipal government. *Canadian Public Administration* 13: 220–235.

Cameron, J. J. and Stinson, D. A. (2019). Gender (mis)measurement: guidelines for respecting gender diversity in psychological research. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass, 13*(11). https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12506

Campbell, K. K. (1989). *Man cannot speak for her.* New York, NY: Greenwood Press.

Carli, L. L., Alawa, L., Lee, Y., Zhao, B., and Kim, E. (2016). Stereotypes About Gender and Science. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684315622645.

Carlin, D. B., and Winfrey, K. L. (2009). Have you come a long way, baby? Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and sexism in 2008 campaign coverage. *Communication Studies*, *60*(4), 326-343.

Chen, D., Park, K. and Joo, J. (2020). "Understanding Gender Stereotypes and Electoral Success from Visual Self-Presentations of Politicians in Social Media." Presented at ATQM/MAST'20: Joint Workshop on Aesthetic and Technical Quality Assessment of Multimedia and Media Analytics for Societal Trends, October 12–16, Seattle, WA.

Chen, G. M., Pain, P., Chen, V. Y., Mekelburg, M., Springer, N., and Troger, F. (2018). You really have to have a thick skin: A cross-cultural perspective on how online harassment influences female journalists. *Journalism*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918768500.

Chen, P., Thomas, M., Harell, A. and Gosselin, T. (2023). Explicit Gender Stereotyping in Canadian Politics. *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique*, 1-13.

Childs, S. (2014). Negotiating Gendered Institutions: Women's Parliamentary Friendships at Westminster. In: Rai, S.M., Johnson, R.E. (eds) Democracy in Practice. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137361912_4

Cmecia, C., and Patrut, M. (2014). "The visual framing of Romanian women politicians in personal campaign blogs during the 2012 Romanian Parliamentary elections". In Raicheva-Stover, M., and Ibroschea, E. (eds), Women in politics and media: perspectives from nations in Transition. New York, London: Bloomsbury.

Cochrane, J. (1977). *Women in Canadian Politics.* Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside.

Conroy, M. (2015). *Masculinity, Media, and the American Presidency*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cole, E. R., & Stewart, A. J. (2012). Narratives and numbers: Feminist multiple methods research. *The handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis*, 368-387.

Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Coole, D. (2013). The body and politics. In *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics* (pp. 165-188). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Corbin, J. M., & Strauss, A. (1990). Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria. *Qualitative sociology*, *13*(1), 3-21.

Cooper, F.R, (2009). Our first unisex president? Black masculinity and Obama's feminine side. *Denver University Law Review*, 86, 633-661.

Crawford, M. and Pini, B. (2011). 'The Australian Parliament, a Gendered Organization', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 64(1): 82–105.

Creswell, J. and Plano Clark, V. (2007). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Crowder-Meyer, M., Gadarian, S.G. and Trounstine, J. (2015). Electoral institutions, gender stereotypes, and women's local representation. *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 3:2: 318-334, DOI: 10.1080/21565503.2015.1031803

Cutler, F. and Matthews, S. (2005). The Challenge of Municipal Voting: Vancouver 2002. *Canadian Journal of Political Science, 38*(2): 359–82.

Davis, A. (2010). *Political Communication and Social Theory*. Hoboken, NJ: Taylor & Francis.

Davisson, Amber. 2009. "'I'm in!': Hillary Clinton's 2008 democratic primary campaign on YouTube". *Journal of Visual Literacy* 28: 70–91. DOI: 10.1080/23796529.2009.11674660

Dean, L., Churchill, B. and Ruppanner, L. (2022). The Mental Load: Building a Deeper Theoretical Understanding of How Cognitive and Emotional Labor Overload Women and Mothers. Community, Work & Family, 25 (1): 13–29. https://doi.org/10.1080/13668803.2021.2002813.

Dewing, M. (2006). Municipalities, the constitution, and the Canadian federal system. Parliamentary Information and Research Service.

Dolan, K. (2005). Do Women Candidates Play to Gender Stereotypes? Do Men Candidates Play to Women? Candidate Sex and Issues Priorities on Campaign Websites. *Political Research Quarterly, 58* (1): 31–44. https://doi.org/3595593.

Dolan, K. and Lynch, T. (2016). The Impact of Gender Stereotypes on Voting for Women Candidates by Level and Type of Office. *Politics and Gender* 12(3), 573–95. Doi:10.1017/S1743923X16000246.

Dowd, M. (2018). Lady of the Rings: Jacinda Rules. New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/08/opinion/sunday/jacinda-ardern-new-zealand-prime-minister.html?smtyp=cur&smid=tw-nytopinion

Dumitrica, D. (2014). Politics as 'Customer Relations': Social Media and Political Authenticity in the 2010 Municipal Elections in Calgary, Canada. *Javnost: The Public, 21* (1): 53–70.

Eagly, A. H. and Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review, 109*(3), 573-598.

Eagly, A.H., and Mladinic, A. (1989). Gender stereotypes and attitudes toward women and men. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin,* 15, 543–558.

Eagly, A. H., Johannesen-Schmidt, M. C., and van Engen, M. L. (2003). Transformational, transactional, and laissez-faire leadership styles: A meta-analysis comparing women and men. *Psychological Bulletin* 129: 569 –591. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.129.4.569

Eagly, A. H. and Johannesen-Schmidt, M. C. (2001). The leadership styles of women and men. *Journal of Social Issues* 57: 781–797.

Eduards, M. (2002). *Förbjuden handling: om kvinnors organsiering och feministisk teori*. Liber ekonomi.

Ellison, N., and Hardey, M. (2013). Social media and local government: citizenship, consumption and democracy. *Local Government Studies*, *40*(1), 21-40.

Enli, G. (2017). Twitter as arena for the authentic outsider: exploring the social media campaigns of Trump and Clinton in the 2016 US presidential election. *European Journal of Communication*, *32*(1), 50-61.

Erickson, L. (1997). Might more women make a difference? Gender, party and ideology among Canada's Parliamentary Candidates. *Canadian Journal of Political Science, 30*(4), 663-88.

Erickson, L. (1993). "Making her way in: women, parties and candidacies in Canada". In Joni Lovenduski and Pippa Norris, eds., *Gender and Party Politics,* 60-85. London: Sage.

Evans, H. K., and Clark, J.H. (2015). ""You Tweet Like a Girl!"." *American Politics Research*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X15597747.

Evans, L., Franks, P. and Chen, H.M. (2018). Voices in the cloud: social media and trust in Canadian and US local governments. <u>*Records Management Journal*</u>, 28(1): 18-46. https://doi.org/10.1108/RMJ-11-2016-0041

Evans, H. K., Cordova, V. and Sipole, S. (2014). Twitter Style: An Analysis of How House Candidates Used Twitter in Their 2012 Campaigns. *PS: Political Science and Politics 47*(2): 454-462. Doi: 10.1017/S1049096514000389

Evans, L., Franks, P., and Chen, H.M. (2018). Voices in the cloud: social media and trust in Canadian and US local governments. *Records Management Journal*, *28*(1), 18-46. doi: 10.1108/RMJ-11-2016-0041.

Everitt, J., Best, L. and Gaudet, D. (2016). Candidate Gender, Behavioral Style, and Willingness to Vote: Support for Female Candidates Depends on Conformity to Gender Norms. *American Behavioral Scientist, 60* (14): 1737–55.

Everitt, J., Best, L. and Gaudet, D. (2019). "Exploring Viewer Reactions to Media Coverage of Female Politicians." In Gendered Mediation: Identity and Image Making in Canadian Politics, eds. Angelia Wagner and Joanna Everitt. Vancouver: UBC Press, 226–46.

Eyles, J. (1988). *Research in Human Geography*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Falk, E. (2010). *Women for President: Media Bias in Nine Campaigns*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Falk, E. (2013). Clinton and the Playing-the-Gender-Card Metaphor in Campaign News. *Feminist Media Studies, 13* (2): 192–207.

Farrell, C. and Titcombe, S. (2016). Gender and the experiences of local elected members – a focus on Wales, *Local Government Studies, 42*(6), 867-884. DOI: <u>10.1080/03003930.2016.1207629</u>

Fichman, P., and McClelland, M.W. (2020). The impact of gender and political affiliation on trolling. *First Monday*, *26*(1). doi: 10.5210/fm.v26i1.11061.

Filiminov, K., Russman, U. and Svensson, J. (2016). Picturing the Party: Instagram and Party Campaigning in the 2014 Swedish Elections. *Social Media þ Society*, 2(3), 1–11.

Fischer-Hwang, R. Groz, D. Hu, X.E., Karthik, A. and Yang, V. (2020). Disarming loaded words: addressing gender bias in political reporting. Computation + Journalism '20, March 20-21, Boston, MA.

Fischer, A. H., and LaFrance, M. (2015). What Drives the Smile and the Tear: Why Women Are More Emotionally Expressive than Men. *Emotion Review*, 7 (1), 22–29.

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., and Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology, 82*, 878–902. doi:<u>10.1037//0022-3514.82.6.878</u>.

Flicker, E. (2013). Fashionable (Dis-)order in Politics: Gender, Power and the Dilemma of the Suit. *International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics, 9* (2), 183–201.

Frankenberg, R. (1993). *White women, race matters: The social construction of whiteness*. London: Routledge.

Fridkin, K. L., and Kenney, P.J. (2014). *The Changing Face of Representation: The Gender of U.S. Senators and Constituent Communications*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Fox, J., Cruz, C., and Lee, J.Y. "Perpetuating online sexism offline: Anonymity, interactivity, and the effects of sexist hashtags on social media." *Computers in Human Behavior 52*, (2015): 436-442. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2015.06.024.

Galea, N. and Gaweda, B. (2018). (De)constructing the masculine blueprint : The institutional and discursive consequences of male political dominance. *Politics & Gender*, 14(2), 276-282. Cambridge University Press.

Gao, X., and Lee, J. (2017). E-government services and social media adoption: experience of small local governments in Nebraska state, *Government Information Quarterly*, *34*(4), 627-634.

Gatrell, C. (2006). Interviewing fathers: Feminist dilemmas in fieldwork. *Journal of Gender Studies*, *15*(3), 237-251.

Gauvreau, M. (2011). The nomination of women in the 2010 New Brunswick Election. *Canadian Parliamentary Review, 34*(2), 43-47.

Gingras, F-P. (1995). "Daily male delivery: women and politics in the daily newspapers." In François-Pierre Gingras, ed., *Gender and Politics in Contemporary Canada*, 191-207. Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

Glaser, B. G. (1965). The constant comparative method of qualitative analysis. *Social problems*, *12*(4), 436-445.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. Chicago, IL: Aldine.

GmbH, D. (n.d). *Datawrapper*, s.l.: s.n.

Goffman, E. (1979). *Gender Advertisements*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Golebiowska, E. A. (2002). Political Implications of Group Stereotypes: Campaign Experiences of Openly Gay Political Candidates. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 32* (3): 590–607.

Goodyear-Grant, E. (2019). Self-presentation strategies: Filling in the Gaps. In Wagner and Everitt, Gendered mediation: Identity and image making in Canadian politics. Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press.

Goodyear-Grant, E. (2013). *Gendered news: media coverage and electoral politics in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press. Government of Alberta (2019). *Alberta Municipal Officials Directory*. November 29. https://open.alberta.ca/opendata/alberta- municipal-officials-directory.

Government of Alberta (2019). *Roles and responsibilities of municipal officials*. December 5. https://www.alberta.ca/roles-and- responsibilities-of-municipal-officials.aspx.

Government of British Columbia (2018). *Municipalities*. November 29. https://www.civicinfo.bc.ca/municipalities [Accessed 29 November 2018].

Government of Newfoundland and Labrador (2018). *Municipal Directory*. November 27. https://www.mae.gov.nl.ca/municipal _directory/.

Government of Northwest Territories (2019). Roles and Responsibilities. December 5. https://www.maca.gov.nt.ca/en/services/ municipal-elections/roles-and-responsibilities.

Governement of Northwest Territories (2018). *Municipal elections*. December 2. https://www.maca.gov.nt.ca/en/services/municipal-elections.

Government of Prince Edward Island (2018). *Municipal DIrectory*. November 23. https://www.princeedwardisland.ca/en/publication/municipal-directory.

Governement of Saskatchewan (2018). *Municipal directory*. December 4. https://www.saskatchewan.ca/government/municipal- administration/municipal-directory.

Grace, J. (2010). 'Gender and Institutions of Multi-level Governance', in Mona Lena Rrook and Fiona Mackay (eds.) *Gender, Politics and Institutions*. Basingstoke: Palgrave: 95–111.

Graham, K. (2018). *Leading Canada's cities? A study of urban mayors*. Electronic thesis and dissertation repository, Western University.

Graham, M. W. (2014). Government communication in the digital age: Social media's effect on local government public relations. *Public Relations Inquiry*, (2014). https://doi.org/10.1177/2046147X14545371

Green, J. (1992). Constitutionalizing the patriarchy: Aboriginal women and Aboriginal government. *Constitutional Forum, 4*(1-4), 110-120.

Gruzd, A. and Jeffrey, R. (2016). "Social Media and Local Government in Canada: An Examination of Presence and Purpose." *Public Administration and Information Technology*, in: Mehmet Sobaci (ed.), In *Social Media and Local Governments*, edition 127, pages 79-94, Springer. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-319-17722-9_5.

Gruzd, A., and Mai, P. (2020). The State of Social Media in Canada 2020. *Ryerson University Social Media Lab*. Version 5. doi: 10.5683/SP2/XIW8EW.

Grudz, A., Jacobson, J., Mai, P., and Dubois, E. (2018). *The state of social media in Canada 2018*, s.l.: Scholars Portal Dataverse.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. *Handbook of qualitative research*, *2*(163-194), 105.

Hagar, D. (2014). Campaigning Online: Social Media in the 2010 Niagara Municipal Elections. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 1 (23), 74–98.

Halperin, S., & Heath, O. (2020). *Political research: methods and practical skills*. Oxford University Press, USA.

Haralsson, A. and Wängnerud, L. (2019). The effect of media on women's political ambition: evidence from worldwide study. *Feminist Media Studies, 19*(4), 525-541. DOI: 10.1080/14680777.2018.1468797

Hall, S. (1973). Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse. Birmingham: Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham. Hays, Sharon. 1996. The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Harding, S. G. (1993). "Rethinking Standpoint Epistemology: What is Strong Objectivity?" *Feminist Epistemologies*, Linda Alcoff and Elizabeth Potter (eds.), New York: Routledge, 49-82.

Harding, S. G. (1986). *The science question in feminism*. Cornell University Press.

Hawkesworth, M. (2003). Congressional Enactments of Race-Gender: Toward a Theory of Raced-Gendered Institutions, *American Political Science Review*, 97(4): 529–550.

Helson, R., Mitchell, V., & Hart, B. (1985). Lives of women who became autonomous. *Journal of Personality*, *53*(2), 257-285.

Hennink, M. M., Kaiser, B. N., & Marconi, V. C. (2017). Code saturation versus meaning saturation: how many interviews are enough?. *Qualitative health research*, *27*(4), 591-608.

Hirdman, Y. (1990). *The gender system: theoretical reflections on the social subordination of women*. Maktutredningen.

Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2010). *Feminist approaches to mixed methods research: Linking theory and praxis1*. SAGE Publications, Inc., https://doi.org/10.4135/9781506335193

Hjálmsdóttir, A., and Bjarnadóttir, V. S. (2021). "I have turned into a foreman here at home": Families and work–life balance in times of COVID-19 in a gender equality paradise. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *28*(1), 268-283. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12552

Hodgkin, S. (2008). Telling it all: a story of women's social capital using a mixed methods approach. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 2* (4), 296-316.

Holman, M.R. (2017). Women in local government: what we know and where we go from here. *State and Local Government Review*, *49*(4), 285-296.

Huddy, L. and Terkildsen, N. (1993). Gender stereotypes and the perception of male and female candidates. *American Journal of Political Science*, 37(1): 119–147. doi:10.2307/ 2111526.

Huirem, R., Loganathan, K., & Patowari, P. (2020). Feminist standpoint theory and its importance in feminist research. *Journal of Social Work Education and Practice*, *5*(2), 46-55.

Hunt, E., Evershed, N. and Liu, R. (2016). From Julia Gillard to Hillary Clinton: Online Abuse of Politicians around the World. The Guardian, June 27. Accessed 20 March 2018. https://www. theguardian.com/technology/datablog/ng-interactive/2016/jun/27/from-julia-gillard-to-hillaryclinton-online-abuse-of-politicians-around-the-world

Inglehart, R., and Norris, P., eds. (2003). *Rising tide: gender equality and cultural change around the world.* Cambridge University Press: New York.

Johansson, V. (2006). "Gendered Roads to Mayorship in Different Welfare States." In *The European Mayor*, eds. H. Bäck, H. Heinelt and A. Magnier A. The European Mayor. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Johnson, A. G. (1997). *Gender knot: unraveling our patriarchal legacy*. Temple University Press: Philadelphia.

Johnson, R., and Onwuegbuzie, Aé J. (2004). Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm Whose Time Has Come. *Educational Researcher, 33*(7), 14–26. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X033007014

Just, M. R. and Crigler, A.N. (). "Gender and self-presentation in social media: An analysis of the 10 most competitive 2012 U.S. senate races." *APSA 2014 Annual Meeting Paper*. Available at: https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2453741

Kalsnes, B., Larsson, A., and Enli, G. (2017). The social media logic of political interaction: exploring citizens' and politicians' relationship on Facebook and Twitter. *Peer-reviewed Journal on the Internet*, *2*(22).

Kaplan, A. (2022). "Just Let it Pass by and it Will Fall on Some Woman": Invisible Work in the Labor Market. *Gender & Society*, *36*(6), 838–868. https://doi.org/10.1177/08912432221128544

Katz, E., and Dayan, E. (1992). *Media events: the live broadcasting of history*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Kelm, O. (2020). Why do politicians use Facebook and Twitter the way they do? The influence of perceived audience expectations. *Studies in Communication and Media* 9: 8-34. 10.5771/2192-4007-2020-1-8.

Kenney, K. (2009). *Visual Communication Research Designs.* New York: Routledge.

Kerby, M. (2009). Worth the wait: determinants of ministerial appointment in Canada, 1935-2008. *Canadian Journal of Politics Science, 42*(3), 593-611.

King, G., Keohane, R. O., & Verba, S. (2021). *Designing social inquiry: Scientific inference in qualitative research*. Princeton university press.

Kitchen, H.M., and McMillan, M.L. (1985). "Local government and Canadian federalism", in Simeon, R. (ed.), Intergovernmental Relations, Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada, No. 63, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Koc-Michalska, K., Schiffrin, A., Lopez, A., Boulianne, S., and Bimber, B. (2019). From Online Political Posting to Mansplaining: The Gender Gap and Social Media in Political Discussion. *Social S*

Koenig, A., M., Eagly, Alice. H., Mitchell, Abigail. A., and Ristikari, T. (2011). Are leader stereotypes masculine? A meta-analysis of three research paradigms. *Psychological bulletin*, *137*(4), 616.

Kohn, W.S.G. (1984). Women in the Canadian House of Commons. *American Review of Canadian Studies, 14*(3), 298-311.

Koskinen-Koivisto, E., Turunen, A., and Steel, T. (2021). Politics of Dress and Appearance. *Ethnologia Fennica, 48*(2), 1-4. https://doi.org/10.23991/ef.v48i2.112692

Krook, M.L. (2018). Violence against Women in Politics: A Rising Global Trend. *Politics & Gender, 14*(3), 1–3.10.1017/S1743923X18000582

Krook, M.L. and Sanin, R.J. (2020). The Cost of Doing Politics? Analyzing violence and harassment against female politicians. *Perspectives on Politics,* 18(3), 740-755.

Krook, M. L. and Sanin, J.R. (2016). "Violence against women in politics. A defense of the concept." *Política y gobierno* 23: 459–490.

LaFrance, M., and Hecht, M.A. (2011). "Gender and Smiling: A Meta-Analysis." In Gender and Emotion: Social Psychological Perspectives, ed. Agneta H. Fischer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 118–42.

LaFrance, M. (2011). *Why Smile: The Science Behind Facial Expression*s. New York: W. W. Norton.

Lalancette, M., and Lemarier-Saulnier, C. (2013). "Gender and political evaluation in leadership races." In *Mind the Gaps: Canadian perspectives on gender and politics*, eds. T. Small and R. Lexier. Halifax: Fernwood Press.

Lalancette, M. and Raynauld, V. (2017). The power of political image: Justin Trudeau, Instagram, and celebrity politics. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 1-37.

Lalancette, M., and Tourigny-Koné, S. (2017). "24 Seven Videostyle: Blurring the Lines and Building Strong Leaders." In Permanent Campaigning in Canada, eds. Alex Marland, Thierry Giasson, and Anne Lennonx Esselment. Vancouver: UBC Press, 259–77.

LaMarsh, J. (1969). *Bird in a Gilded Cage*. Toronto, McClelland and Stewart.

Lang, A. (1995). Defining Audio/Video Redundancy from a Limited-Capacity Information Processing Perspective. Communication Research

Langer, A. I. (2010). The Politicization of Private Persona: Exceptional leaders or the new rule?, *The International Journal of Press/Politics,* 15(1): 60–76.

Larsson, A.O. (2015). "Studying Big Data – ethical and methodological considerations." In *Internet Research Ethics*, eds. H. Fossheim and H. Ingierd. Ceppelen Damm Akademisk.

Langton, R. (2000). Feminism in epistemology: Exclusion and objectification. *The Cambridge companion to feminism in philosophy*, 127-45.

Larsson, A.O., and Skogerbø, E. (2018). Out with the old, in with the new? Perceptions of social (and other) media by local and regional Norwegian politicians. *New Media & Society*, *20*(1), 219-236. doi: 10.1177/1461444816661549.

Larsson, A.O., and Svensson, J. (2014). Politcians Online—Identifying Current Research Opportunities. *First Monday, 19* (4). https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v19i4.4897.

Larsson, A., and Svensson, J. (2017). Top users and long tails: Twitter and Instagram use during the 2015 Norwegian elections. *Social Media + Society*, *2*(3).

Lawless, J. L. (2004). Women, War, and Winning Elections: Gender Stereotyping in the Post–September 11th Era. *Political Research Quarterly, 57* (3): 479–90.

Lee, J. and Lim, Y.-S. (2016). Gendered campaign tweets: The cases of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. *Public Relations Review* 42(5): 849-85. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2016.07.004.

Lee, E-J and Shin, S. Y. (2012). Are they talking to me? Cognitive and affective effects of interactivity in politicians' Twitter communication. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking, Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking,* 15, 10: 515–520. doi:10.1089/cyber

Lemarier-Saulnier, C. and Lalancette, M. (2012). La Dame de fer, la Bonne Mère et les autres : une analyse du cadrage de la couverture médiatique de certaines politiciennes québécoises et canadiennes. *Canadian journal of communication, 37*.

Lightbody, J. (2006). "*City Politics, Canada*." Peterborough: Broadview Press.

Lindgren, A., Corbett, J. and Hodson, J. (2020). Mapping Change in Canada's Local News Landscape: An Investigation of Research Impact on Public Policy. *Digital Journalism,* 8(6): 758-779. DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2020.1724516

Lindgren, A. (2019, April 24). What the death of local news means for the federal election. *The Walrus*. Available from https://thewalrus.ca/what-the-death-of-local-news-means-for-the-federal-election/

Lindgren, A. and Corbett, J. (2016, June 14). *The Local News Map: Tell us what is happening to local news in your community. Available from* https://localnewsmap.geolive.ca/

Lister, R. (1997). Citizenship: Towards a Feminist Synthesis. *Feminist Review*, *57*(1), 28–48. https://doi.org/10.1080/014177897339641

Locke, J. (1690). *Two Treatises of Government*. Awnsham Churchill

Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister outsider: Essays and speeches*. Berkeley, CA: The Crossing Press.

Lovenduski, J. (2014). The Institutionalisation of Sexism in Politics. *Political Insight, 5*(2), 16–19. https://doi.org/10.1111/2041-9066.12056.

Lovenduski, J. (2005). *Feminizing politics*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Lovenduski, J. (1998). Gendering research in political science. *Annual Review of Political Science, 1*(1), 333-356.

Lovenduski, J. and Norris, P. (1995). *Political recruitment: Gender, race and class in British parliament*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lucas, J., McGregor, R.M. and Tuxhorn, K.-L. (2022). Closest to the People? Incumbency Advantage and the Personal Vote in Non-Partisan Elections. *Political Research Quarterly, 75*(1): 188–202.

Lucas, J., Merrill, R., Blidook, K., Breux, S., Conrad, L., Eidelman, G., Koop, R., et al. (2021). Women's Municipal Electoral Performance: An Introduction to the Canadian Municipal Elections Database. *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique*, *54*(1), 125–133. Cambridge University Press.

Lünenborg, M. and Maier, T. (2015). 'Power Politician' or'Fighting Bureaucrat': Gender and Power in German Political Coverage. *Media, Culture & Society, 37* (2): 180–96.

MacIvor, H. (2003). "Women and the Canadian Electoral System." In Manon Tremblay and Linda Trimble, eds., *Women and Electoral Politics in Canada*, 22-36. Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

MacIvor, H. (1996). *Women and Politics in Canada*. Peterborough: Broadview Press.

Mackay, F., Monro, S. and Waylen, G. (2009). The Feminist Potential of Sociological Institutionalism. *Politics & Gender*, 5, 253 - 262. 10.1017/S1743923X09000208.

Malley, R. (2009). *Gendered Institutions*. Ph.D/M.Phil. upgrade paper University of Bristol.

Malterud, K., Siersma, V. D., & Guassora, A. D. (2016). Sample size in qualitative interview studies: guided by information power. *Qualitative health research*, *26*(13), 1753-1760.

Mandziuk, R. M. (2008). Dressing Down Hillary. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 5 (3), 312–16.

Mantilla, K. (2015). *Gendertrolling: How Misogyny Went Vi*ral. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

Mantilla. K. 2013. Gendertrolling: Misogyny Adapts to New Media, *Feminist Studies*, 39(2), 563-570.

Marland, A., Giasson, T. and Esselment, A.L. eds. (2017). Permanent Campaigning in Canada. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Mattan, A. J. A. and Small, T. A. (2021). Worth a Thousand Words: The Study of Visual Gendered Self-Presentation on Twitter. *Canadian Journal of Political Science, 54*, 477-490. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423921000032

McCall, M. & Wittner, J. (1989). The good news about life histories. In H. Backer & Michael McCall (eds), Cultural studies and symbolic interaction. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McNabb, D. E. (2020). Research Methods for Political Science: Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed Method Approaches (3rd ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003103141

Meeks, L. (2012). Is she "man enough"? Women candidates, executive political offices, and news coverage. *Journal of communication*, *62*(1), 175-193.

Meeks, L. (2016). Gendered Styles, Gendered Differences: Candidates' Use of Personalization and Interactivity on Twitter. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics, 13* (4): 295–310

Montigny, E. and Morency, R. (2014). Le député québécois en circonscription : évolution, rôle et réalités. *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue Canadienne de Science Politique 47*(1) : 71–92. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43298178

Mossberger, K., Wu, Y. and Crawford, J. (2013). Connecting citizens and local governments? Social media and interactivity in major U.S. cities. *Government Information Quarterly,* 30(4): 351-358

Nee, R. C. and De Maio, M. (2019). "A presidential look"? An analysis of gender framing in 2016 persuasive memes of Hillary Clinton." *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media,* 63(2): 304-321.

Neuendorf, K.A. (2002). *The content analysis guidebook*. Thousand Oaks: Sage. https://www2.gnb.ca/content/gnb/en/departments/elg/local_government/content/community_profiles/list.html.

Nicholson, L. (1994). Interpreting Gender. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 20 (1): 79–105.

Norris, P. (1996). "Legislative Recruitment" In Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi and Pippa Norris, eds., *Comparing democracies: elections and voting in global perspective*, 184-215. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Nunavut Municipal Training Organization (2019). *Municipal Links*. December 1. https://www.nmto.ca/governance/municipal-links.

Occhiuto, A.-M. (2021). "The Invisible Shift: The Mental Load of Motherhood." Master's thesis, Concordia

O'Connell, D. (2018). #Selfie: Instagram and the United States Congress. *Social Media and Society,* 4(4). https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2056305118813373

O'Connor, M. K., Netting, F. E., & Thomas, M. L. (2008). Grounded theory: Managing the challenge for those facing institutional review board oversight. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *14*(1), 28-45.

Odom, M.B. (2020). PM Marin's supporters turn tables on glamour photo backlash. YLE News. October 13, 2020. https://yle.fi/a/3-11593037

Oliver, J. E. (2012). *Local Elections and Politics of Small-Scale Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago

O'Neill, B., and Stewart, D.K. (2009). Gender and political party leadership in Canada. *Party Politics*, *6*(15), 737-757.

Ontario Municipal Elections (2018). *Elections.amo.on.ca*. December 3. https://elections.amo.on.ca/web/en/home.

Ontario Municipal Elections (2018). *Ontario Municipal Elections*. December 3. https://elections.amo.on.ca/web/en/home.

Parisi, L., and Regra, R. (2007). *Disintermediation in political communication: chance or missed opportunity*. CMCS Working Paper.

Parmelee, J., and Bichard, S. (2012). *Politics and the Twitter revolution: how tweets influence the relationship between political leaders and the public*. Langam: Lexington Books.

Patterson, T. (2016). Social Media: Advancing Women in Politics?, Women in Parliaments Global Forum

Perraudin, F. (2019). "Alarm over Number of Female MPs Stepping down after Abuse." *The Guardian*, October 31. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/oct/31/alarm-over-number-female-mps-stepping-down-after-abuse

Phillips, W. (2012). *This is why we can't have nice things: The origins, evolution and cultural embeddedness of online trolling* (Order No. 3544972). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global. (1237277556). https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/this-is-why-we-cant-have-nice-things-origins/docview/1237277556/se-2?accountid=12543

Pozzan, E., and Cattaneo, U. (2020). *Women Health Workers: Working Relentlessly in Hospitals and at Home*. Geneva: International Labour Organisation. https://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_741060/lang--en/index.htm

Proctor, D. (2017). "Bold Tweets: Female Politicians Shed Classical Language Norms" http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3294793

Puderer, H.A. (2009). *Urban perspectives and measurements*. Geography Working Paper Series, Statistics Canada

Pullen, A. and Taksa, L. (2016). "In the Name of the Other." In Gender, Media, and Organization: Challenging Mis(s)representations of Women Leaders and Managers, eds. Carole Elliott, Valerie Stead, Sharon Mavin, and Jannine William. Charlotte, NC: Information Age, 111–32.

Rai, S. M. and Johnson, R. E. (2014). *Democracy in Practice. Ceremony and Ritual in Parliament*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Raney, T. and Ashe, J. (2023). More inclusive parliaments start with better workplace conditions. Politcy Options. https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/march-2023/inclusive-parliaments-workplace-conditions/

Raynauld, V. and Greenberg, J. (2014). Tweet, Click, Vote: Twitter and the 2010 Ottawa Municipal Election. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 4 (11): 412–34.

Rheault, L., Rayment, E. and Musulan, A. (2019). Politicians in the line of fire: Incivility and the treatment of women on social media. *Research and Politics,* 6. https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168018816228

Riarh, K. and Roy, J. (2014). The impacts of social media on government and democracy: An examination of municipal Usage in nova scotia, Canada. Public Administration and Information Technology, Open Government, 4:85–99.

Rinfret, N., Tougas, F., Laplante, J. and Beaton, A.M. (2014). « Être ou ne pas être en politique : quelques déterminants de l'implication des femmes. » *Politique et Sociétés, 33*(2) : 3–22. https://doi.org/10.7202/1026662ar

Ringrose, J. (2018). Digital feminist pedagogy and post-truth misogyny. *Teaching in Higher Education,* 23(5): 647–656.

Robertson, L. G. (2017). "Mothers and Mental Labor: A Phenomenological Focus Group Study of the Thinking Work Involved in Parenting and Household Management." PhD diss., Biola University. https://www.proquest.com/docview/1916817747?%20accountid=8624 (accessed February 1, 2023).

Robertson, L.G., Anderson, T.L., Lewis Hall, M.E. and Kim, C.L. (2019). Mothers and Mental Labor: A Phenomenological Focus Group Study of Family-Related Thinking Work. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 43* (2): 184–200.

Robinson, G., and St-Jean, A. (1995). "The portrayal of women politicians in the media: political implications." In *Gender and politics in contermporary Canada*, ed. J. Gringras. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Rosenberg, S. W., Bohan, L., McCafferty, P. and Harris, K. (1986). The Image and the Vote: The Effect of Candidate Presentation on Voter Preference. *American Journal of Political Science, 30* (1): 108–27.

Ross, K. (2017). *Gender, Politics, News: A Game of Three Sides*. John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated.

Ross, K. (2010). *Gendered media: women, men and identity politics*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Ross, K., and Comrie, M. (2012). The Rules of the (Leadership) Game: Gender, Politics and News. *Journalism, 13* (8): 969–84. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884911433255

Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (1970). Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada. http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/301/pco-bcp/commissions-ef/bird1970-eng/bird1970-eng.htm

Rudy, R. M., Popova, L., and Linz, D. G. (2010). The Context of Current Content Analysis of Gender Roles: An Introduction to a Special Issue. *Sex roles*, *62*(11-12), 705–720. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9807-1

Sabin, J. and Kirkup, K. (2019). "Competing Masculinities and Political Campaigns." In Gendered Mediation: Identity and Image Making in Canadian Politics, eds. Angelia Wagner and Joanna Everitt. Vancouver: UBC Press, 44–63.

Saenger, G. (1955). Male and female relations in the American comic strip. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 19, 195-205.

Sampert, S. and Trimble, L. (2003). « Wham, Bam, No thank you Ma'am': gender and the game frame in the national newspaper coverage of Election 2000." In Manon Tremblay and Linda Trimble, eds., *Women and electoral politics in Canada*, 211-16. Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

Schill, D. (2012). The Visual Image and the Political Image: A Review of Visual Communication Research in the Field of Political Communication. *Review of Communication,* 12: 118–42.

Schneider, M.C., Holman, M.R., Diekman, A.B. and McAndrew, T. (2016), Power, Conflict, and Community: How Gendered Views of Political Power Influence Women's Political Ambition. *Political Psychology*, 37, 515-531. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12268

Schneider, M. C. (2014a). The effects of gender-bending on candidate evaluations. *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy, 35*(1), 55-77.

Schneider, M. C. (2014b). Gender-based strategies on candidate websites. *Journal of Political Marketing, 13*(4), 264-290.

Schneider, M.C., Sweet-Cushman, J. and Gordon, T. (2023). Role Model Do No HARM: Modeling Achievable Success Inspires Social Belonging and Women's Candidate Emergence, *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy, 44*(1), 105-120, DOI: 10.1080/1554477X.2023.2155775

Seiferling, H. K. (2016). *Running in Place: Overcoming Barriers for Women in Canadian Municipal Politics*, MPP Thesis, Simon Fraser University School of Public Policy.

Senior, C., Ridout, N. and Stewart, P.A. (2019). "Smiles of Affiliation and Dominance When Competing for Leadership: The Effect of Gender in the 2016 US Presidential Debates." PsyArXiv, January 3. https://doi.org/10.31234/osf.io/azdu7.

Shapiro, M., Setterlund, D. and Cragg, C. (2003). Capturing the complexity of women's experiences: a mixed-method approach to studying incontinence in older women. *Affilia, 18*, 21-33.

Shea, D. M., and Burton, M.J. (2001). *Campaign Craft: The Strategies, Tactics, and Art of Political Campaign Management.* Westport, CT: Praeger.

Shor, E., de Rijt, A.V., Miltsov, A., Kulkarni, V., and Skiena, S. (2015). A paper ceiling: explaining the persistent underrepresentation of women in printed news. *American Sociological Review*, *5*(80), 960-84.

Silva, P. D da, Tavares, A.F., Silva, T. and Lameiras, M. (2019). The good, the bad and the ugly: Three faces of social media usage by local governments. *Government Information Quarterly*, 36(3): 469-479. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.giq.2019.05.006.

Simon, S. and Hoyt, C.L. (2012). Exploring the Effect of Media Images on Women's Leadership Self-Perceptions and Aspirations. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations,* 16 (2): 232–245.

Skogerbø, E. and Krumsvik, A.H. (2015). Newspapers, Facebook and Twitter. *Journalism Practice,* 9(3): 350-366. DOI: 10.1080/17512786.2014.950471

Smith, D. E. (1987). *The everyday world as problematic: A feminist sociology*. University of Toronto Press.

Spiegelman, M., Terwilliger, C. and Fearing, F. (1953). The content of comics: goals and means to goals of comic strip characters. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 37*, 189-203.

Sprague, J., & Kobrynowicz, D. (2006). A feminist epistemology. *Handbook of the sociology of gender*, 25-43.

Standing Committee on the Status of Women (2018). FEWO 108, House of Commons. Steyvers, K., and Medir, L. (2018). "From the Few Are Still Chosen the Few? Continuity and Change in the Social Background of European Mayors." In *Political Leaders and Changing Local Democracy*, eds. H. Heinelt, A. Magnier, M. Cabria and H. Reynaert. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Stalsburg, B. L. and Kleinberg, M.S. (2016). "A Mom First and a Candidate Second": Gender Differences in Candidates' Self-Presentation of Family." Jo*urnal of Political Marketing, 15*(4): 285–310.

Stanyer, J. (2013). *Intimate Politics: Publicity, Privacy and the Personal Lives of Politicians in Media Saturated Democracies*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Steckle, M. (2018). *Situating feminist standpoint theory: Toward a critical ontology of knowledge*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Windsor, Ontario.

Stern, B.B. (1999). Gender and multicultural issues in advertising: stages on the research highway. *Journal of Advertising, 28*, 1-9.

Strachan, J. C. and Kendall, K.E. (2004). "Political Candidates' Convention Films: Finding the Perfect Image—An Overview of Political Image Making." In Defining Visual Rhetorics, eds. Charles A. Hill and Marguerite Helmers. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 135–54.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). Basics of qualitative research techniques.

Strömbäck, J. (2008). Four Phases of Mediatization: An Analysis of the Mediatization of Politics. *International Journal of Press/Politics, 13*(3): 228–46.

Sullivan, K. V. R. (2021). "Canadian Mayors on Social Media." Borealis, V1. https://doi.org/10.5683/SP2/YCGAJC.

Tahon, M.-B. (1977). "La maternité comme opérateur de l'exclusion politique des femmes." In Manon Tremblay and Caroline Andrew, eds. *Femmes et représentation politique au Québec et au Canada*, 19-31. Montréal : Remue-ménage.

Tesch, R. (1990). *Qualitative Research. Analysis Types and Software.* London: Falmer press.

Tavits, M., and Pérez, E. O. (2019). Language influences mass opinion toward gender and LGBT equality. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *116*(34), 16781-16786. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1908156116

Théberge-Guyon, M., Bourassa-Dansereau, C., Morin, L., and Table de concertation de groupes de femmes de la Montérégie

Thomas, M. (2019). We need to stop blaming women for their under-representation. Policy Options. https://policyoptions.irpp.org/fr/magazines/march-2019/need-stop-blaming-women-representation/

Thomas, S. (1994). *How women legislate*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Tolley, E. (2011). Do women 'do better' in municipal politics? Electoral representation across three levels of government. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *44*(3), 573-594.

Tolley, E., Lawlor, A., and Fortier-Chouinard, A. (2023). 'Whiny, Fake, and I Don't Like Her Hair': Gendered Assessments of Mayoral Candidates. *Urban Affairs Review, 59*(4). https://doi.org/10.1177/10780874221090874

Tolley, E. and Paquet, M. (2021). Gender, municipal party politics, and Montreal's first woman mayor. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 30(1): 40-52, http://cjur.uwinnipeg.ca/index.php/cjur/article/view/323

Tremblay, M. and Joanna, E. (2020). *The Palgrave handbook of gender, sexuality and Canadian politics.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Tremblay, M. and Mévellec, A. (2013). "Truly more accessible to women than the legislature? Women in municipal politics." In *Stalled. The Representation of Women in Canadian Governements*, eds. Linda Trimble, Jane Arscott and Manon Tremblay. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Trimble, L. (1995). "Politics where we live: women and cities." In *Canadian Metropolitics: Governing our own cities*, ed. J. Lightbody. Toronto: Copp Clark.

Trimble, L. (2017). *Ms. Prime Minister: Gender, media, and Leadership*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Trimble, L. and Arscott, J. (2003). *Still counting: Women in politics across Canada*. University of Toronto Press.

Trimble, L., Arscott, J. and Tremblay, M. (2013). *Stalled the representation of women in canadian governments*. UBC Press.

Trimble, L.., Curtin, J., Wagner, A., Auer, M., Woodman, V. K. G., and Owens, B. (2019). Gender novelty and personalized news coverage in Australia and Canada. *International Political Science Review*, *42*(2), 164-178.

Trimble, L., Raphael, D., Sampert, S., Wagner, A., & Gerrits, B. (2015). Politicizing bodies: Hegemonic masculinity, heteronormativity, and racism in news representations of Canadian political party leadership candidates. *Women's Studies in Communication*, *38*(3), 314-330.

Trimble, L., and Sampert, S. (2004). Who's in the Game? The Framing of the Canadian Election 2000 by the Globe and Mail and The National Post. *Canadian Journal of Political Science, 37* (1): 51–71.

Tromble, R. (2018). Thanks for (actually) responding!" How citizen demand shapes politicians' interactive practices on Twitter. *New Media and Society 20*(2): 676–697. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444816669158

Tuana, N. (2006). The speculum of ignorance: The women's health movement and epistemologies of ignorance. *Hypatia*, *21*(3), 1-19.

Valentine, G. (1997). "Tell me about…: using interviews as a research methodology". In *Methods in Human Geography,* eds Flowerdew, Robin & Martin, David, M. London, Routledge.

Van Aelst, P. and De Swert, K. (2009). Politics in the News: Do Campaigns Matter? A Comparison of Political News during Election Periods and Routine Periods in Flanders (Belgium). *Communications, 34* (2): 149–68.

Van der Pas, D. J. and Aaldering, L. (2020). Gender differences in political media coverage: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Communication*, *70*(1), 114-143.

Van Zoonen, L. (2005). *Entertaining the Citizen: When Politics and Popular Culture Converge*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Vesterlund, L. (2015). Breaking the Glass Ceiling with "No": Gender Differences in Accepting and Receiving Requests for Non-Promotable Tasks. Working paper 5663, Department of Economics, University of Pittsburgh.

Vickers, J. (2015). Can We Change How Political Science Thinks? "Gender Mainstreaming" in a Resistant Discipline: Presidential Address delivered to the Canadian Political Science Association,

Ottawa, June 2, 2015. *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue Canadienne de Science Politique, 48*(4), 747–770. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24810960

Vickers, J. (1978). Where are the women in Canadian politics?, *Atlantis, 3*(2) (Part 2), 40-51.

Vickers, J. and Brodie, J. M. (1981). "Canada" in Joni Lovenduski and Jill Hills, eds., The Politics of the Second Electorate: women and public participation, 52-79. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Vis, F. (2013). Twitter as a reporting tool for breaking news: Journalists tweeting the 2011 UK riots. *Digital Journalism, 1*(1), 27-47. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2012.741316

Volden, C., Wiseman, A.E. and Wittmer, D.E. (2013.) When are women more effective lawmakers than men? *American Journal of Political Science,* 57: 326–341. doi:10.1111/ ajps.12010

Waddell, C. (2012). "Berry'd Alive: The Media, Technology, and the Death of Political Coverage". In How Canadians Communicate IV: Media and Politics, edited by David Taras and Christopher

Wagner, A. (2015). "Candidate orientation to ITCs in Canadian Municipal Elections," in *Citizen Participation and Political Communication in a Digital World*, ed. Alex Frame and Gilles Bachotte. Routledge.

Wagner, A. (2022). "Tolerating the trolls? Gendered perceptions of online harassment of politicians in Canada." *Feminist Media Studies* 22: 32-47. DOI: 10.1080/14680777.2020.1749691

Wagner, A. and Everitt, J. (2019). *Gendered Mediation: Identity and Image Making in Canadian Politics*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Wagner, K. M., Gainous, J. and Holman, M.R. (2017). I Am Woman, Hear Me Tweet! Gender Differences in Twitter Use among Congressional Candidates. *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy* 38(4): 430-455. DOI: 10.1080/1554477X.2016.1268871

Wagner, A.., Trimble, L.., and Sampert, S. (2019). One smart politician: gendered media discourses of political leadership in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique*, *52*(1), 141-162.

Wasburn, P. C., and Wasburn, M.H. (2011). Media Coverage of Women in Politics: The Curious Case of Sarah Palin. *Media, Culture & Society,* 33 (7): 1027–1041.10.1177/0163443711415744

Watson, H. G. (2018). As Local Media Outlets Close, Ontario Mayors Struggle with How to Get Information to the Public. *J-Source: The Canadian Journalism Project*. https://j-source.ca/article/local-media-outlets-close-ontario-mayors-struggle-get-information-public/

Weeks, A. C. (2022). *The Political Consequences of the Mental Load* (pp. 1-29). Working Paper.

Wollstonecraft, M. (1792). *A vindication of the rights of woman: with strictures on moral and political subjects*. Philadelphia: Printed by William Gibbons.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. (1997). Women, Citizenship and Difference. *Feminist Review*, *57*, 4–27. http://www.jstor.org/stable

Appendix A – Appendix to Chapter 3

A.1. Interview questionnaire

First, could you walk me through your political career a little bit? Also, is this a full-time job for you? I'm aware the position of mayor varies a lot across the country.

Could you also tell me a little bit about your political use of social media? How did you get into using social media with your career?

What motivated you to use social media platforms for your political work?

In a much more practical sense, do you write your own publications? If so, have you received training and/or do you get help from a communications team? If not, how do you contribute to posts?

Changing subjects, a little bit, what do you think of the political media coverage of your municipality?

Also, many studies suggest that the media tend to treat female politicians differently. What do you think?

Appendix B – Appendix to Chapter 4

B.1. Interview questionnaire

[…] what image do you try to project with the help of social media? Does it change depending on the platform or the aimed public?

Also, many studies suggest that the media tend to treat female politicians differently. What do you think?

Have you ever modified, or have you been encouraged to modify your communications strategy because of your gender? What about your appearance?

B.2. Physical appearance

Table B.2.1.: Proportion (%) of posts containing feminine indicators within posts in which mayor is present

	Makeup (%)			Hair (%)			Heels (%)			Handbag (%)			N. posts mayor present		
	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I
WM1	27	20	22	64	100	56	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	5	9
WM2	95	100	00	67	100	80	29	0	10	0	50	0	21	2	10
WM3	88	86	60	79	83	40	29	1	0	8	3	60	24	90	5
WM4	0	5	19	50	55	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	22	42
WM5	84	86	43	97	100	100	13	57	57	0	0	14	31	7	7
MM1	0	0	0	90	77	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	39	26	16
MM2	0	0	0	55	41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	17	9
MM3	0	0	0	0	84	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	32	6
MM4	0	0	0	27	33	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	98	32

	Skirt (%)			Dress (%)			Apron (%)			Jewelry (%)			Pashmina			N. posts mayor present		
	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I
WM1	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	73	100	67	0	0	0	11	5	9
WM2	0	0	0	57	0	80	0	0	0	57	50	60	0	0	0	21	2	10
WM3	4	1	20	50	29	60	0	0	0	96	67	60	0	0	0	24	90	5
WM4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	19	0	0	0	12	22	42
WM5	0	0	14	94	100	86	0	0	0	74	14	29	0	0	0	31	7	7
MM1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	39	26	16
MM2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	17	9
MM3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	32	6
MM4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	98	32

Table B.2.2: Proportion (%) of posts containing neutral indicators within posts in which mayor is present

	Hoodie			Casual wear			Unremarquable professional attire			T-shirt			N. posts mayor present		
	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I
WM1	0	0	11	0	0	33	9	0	33	9	0	0	11	5	9
WM2	14	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	10	5	0	0	21	2	10
WM3	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	24	90	5
WM4	0	0	7	0	0	0	8	5	12	0	5	2	12	22	42
WM5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	31	7	7
MM1	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39	26	16
MM2	0	0	0	17	24	11	6	6	11	0	0	0	18	17	9
MM3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	0	32	6
MM4	0	10	19	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	16	12	98	32

	Jeans			Outerwear			Scarf			Cardigan			Holiday			N. posts mayor present		
	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I
WM1	0	0	0	9	0	0	9	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	11	5	9
WM2	0	0	0	29	0	20	33	50	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	2	10
WM3	0	0	0	8	6	0	4	0	40	13	6	20	0	0	5	24	90	5
WM4	8	0	19	25	23	24	8	18	12	8	14	10	0	0	5	12	22	42
WM5	0	0	0	6	29	14	3	0	0	3	0	14	6	14	14	31	7	7
MM1	5	0	0	13	15	25	8	8	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	39	26	16
MM2	0	24	11	78	71	44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	17	9
MM3	0	8	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	17	0	32	6
MM4	0	8	13	0	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	98	32

Table B.2.3: Proportion (%) of posts containing masculine indicators within posts in which mayor is present

	Dress shirt			Hockey jersey			(Pant)suit			Baseball hat			N. posts mayor present		
	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I
WM1	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	5	9
WM2	5	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	2	10
WM3	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	0	0	0	24	90	5
WM4	17	5	17	17	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	22	42
WM5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31	7	7
MM1	14	81	100	0	0	0	56	4	56	0	0	0	39	26	16
MM2	47	29	22	0	0	0	17	12	33	0	0	0	18	17	9
MM3	0	25	33	0	25	17	0	25	33	0	0	0	0	32	6
MM4	33	8	16	16	12	6	50	64	28	17	14	34	12	98	32

	Clean pants			Blazer			Tie			Mayor's chain			Dress pants			N. posts mayor present		
	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I
WM1	9	0	0	45	80	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	5	9
WM2	14	0	0	24	50	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	2	10
WM3	13	13	0	33	64	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	90	5
WM4	33	36	29	25	50	29	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	12	22	42
WM5	0	0	0	68	71	71	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31	7	7
MM1	3	4	13	26	77	13	66	69	69	0	0	0	3	4	0	39	26	16
MM2	61	29	44	0	12	0	17	12	33	0	0	0	0	6	0	18	17	9
MM3	0	6	0	0	25	17	0	25	0	0	25	0	0	6	0	0	32	6
MM4	0	3	0	33	7	13	42	52	22	0	0	3	0	0	0	12	98	32

B.3. People in the frame

Table B.3.1.: Proportion (%) of posts containing feminine indicators of other people in the frame within visual posts

FEM	Visual posts			education (teacher/student /educator)			seniors			health (nurse/1st resp)			arts			children		
	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I
WM1	42	38	22	14	16	0	0	5	5	5	0	0	7	8	5	7	3	0
WM2	115	24	19	10	0	16	2	0	5	4	0	0	5	0	0	1	4	0
WM3	28	190	8	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	1	0
WM4	24	37	94	0	14	3	0	0	13	2	0	5	0	5	7	0	0	9
WM5	81	24	25	4	4	0	0	0	0	1	4	25	5	4	8	5	0	4
MM1	201	144	25	3	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	6	3	4	0	0	0
MM2	34	64	12	3	13	0	3	16	8	0	0	0	12	2	25	3	14	17
MM3	4	157	12	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	4	8	0	4	8	0	0	0
MM4	12	764	49	0	3	0	0	0	0	8	3	0	0	2	4	0	0	2

Table B.3.2: Proportion (%) of posts containing masculine indicators of other people in the frame within visual posts

MASC	Visual posts			Business (person/local/gen)			law enforcement (police, RCMP)			military (forces, vets, cadet)			sports (athlete/team)			blue collar worker		
	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I
WM1	42	38	22	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	3	0	0	0	0
WM2	115	24	19	0	0	0	2	0	0	9	0	0	6	0	5	3	4	0
WM3	28	190	8	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
WM4	24	37	94	4	11	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	8	9	0	0	1
WM5	81	27	25	4	13	1	23	0	0	0	0	0	2	21	0	4	0	0
MM1	201	1144	25	9	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	3	0
MM2	34	64	12	15	8	17	0	3	0	9	3	8	3	3	0	0	0	0
MM3	4	157	12	0	8	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	50	31	0	0	1	1
MM4	12	764	49	0	4	8	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	11	2	0	0	0

B.4. Events

Table B.4.1: Proportion (%) of posts containing feminine indicators of events within visual posts

FEM	Visual posts			COMMUNITY (opening, fundraiser, award, holiday)			LEARNING (conference, forum, convention)			ARTS & CULTURE (concert, art, fashion)		
	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I
WM1	42	38	22	10	3	9	26	47	59	10	3	0
WM2	115	24	19	31	0	16	8	4	11	3	0	11
WM3	28	190	8	13	4	13	0	16	0	0	2	0
WM4	51	37	95	35	14	25	0	8	6	0	0	3
WM5	79	24	25	10	4	16	0	21	4	4	0	4
MM1	202	144	25	9	9	16	4	8	4	2	1	8
MM2	34	60	12	65	42	67	6	5	0	0	0	8
MM3	4	157	25	25	15	67	0	17	0	0	3	8
MM4	12	764	49	0	6	6	8	1	14	0	1	6

Table B.4.2.: Proportion (%) of posts containing masculine indicators of events within visual posts

MASC	Visual posts			PR (press conf, speech, interview, announcement)			MEETING (council and meetings)			SPORTS		
	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I	F	T	I
WM1	42	38	22	2	3	5	5	8	0	7	5	0
WM2	115	24	19	3	0	11	3	0	0	6	0	5
WM3	28	226	8	32	32	13	29	21	13	0	1	0
WM4	51	37	95	4	19	7	45	24	13	0	19	13
WM5	79	24	25	11	0	4	5	13	8	3	21	0
MM1	202	144	25	2	8	8	4	8	8	6	8	0
MM2	34	60	12	6	7	8	6	5	0	9	5	0
MM3	4	157	12	0	5	0	0	7	0	100	67	100
MM4	12	764	49	25	8	14	42	4	4	25	0	12