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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism

Department of Marketing Communication and Public Relations

Bachelor's Thesis

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**Social Media and Gender in Political Campaigns:
The Role of Candidate's Spouses in the Czech Republic**

Bachelor's Thesis

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Year of the defence: 2019

Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.
3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

In Prague on May 10, 2019

Iva Gejdošová

References

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Title

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Abstract

This bachelor thesis titled 'Social Media and Gender in Political Campaigns: The Role of Candidate's Spouses in the Czech Republic' is an exploratory work which analyses how potential first ladies were portrayed on Facebook whilst their husbands, candidates in the 2018 Czech presidential election, ran their official campaigns. The objective was to uncover the role assigned to female spouses during the campaigns, how the women were constrained by traditionally feminine roles and to whom is their presence affecting. This thesis utilises the method of content analysis, which is employed not only as a mere data gathering tool to detect the textual side of posts, but also applied visually. A coding instrument which used Goffman's (1979) Gender displays was employed to detect the visual frames of the First lady. The textual portion of Facebook communication was sorted based on the mentioning of a spouse and then further examined using a coding sheet consisting of a total of 13 variables. By analysing Facebook posts published by each candidate during the official campaign, the thesis aims to depict how potential first ladies were depicted in traditional female roles, constrained by norms, and with no further role in the political process. The practical assessment of the paper crucially demonstrates the analogies among the portrayals of the first ladies. This paper illustrates how spouses are portrayed and the power over female bodies and their roles in political communication and beyond.

Key words

First lady, gender, spouse, election campaigns, presidential candidates, presidential election, 2018 Czech presidential election

Název práce

Sociální média a gender během politických kampaní: Role partnerů v českém prostředí

Abstrakt

Tato bakalářská práce s názvem „Sociální média a gender během politických kampaní: Role partnerů v českém prostředí“ je průzkumnou prací, která analyzuje, jak byly potenciální první dámy zobrazeny svými manžely či partnery, kandidáty v českých prezidentských volbách v roce 2018, během jejich oficiálních kampaní na Facebooku. Cílem je odhalit, jakou roli v kampaních manželky/partnerky měly, jak byly omezeny tradičně ženskými rolemi a jakou reakci jejich přítomnost přinesla. Metodou této práce je obsahová analýza, která je používána nejen jako pouhý nástroj pro sběr dat, který detekuje textovou stránku příspěvků, ale také je aplikována na jejich vizuální stranu. K detekci vizuálních snímků byl použit kódovací nástroj používající Goffmanovu metodu (1979) zobrazování genderu. Textová část komunikace uveřejňované na Facebooku byla tříděna na základě zmínky o manželce/partnerce a dále zkoumána v kódovacím listu složeném celkem z 13 proměnných. Práce analyzuje příspěvky publikované každým kandidátem během oficiální kampaně na jeho facebookové stránce a jejím cílem je ukázat, jak byly potenciální první dámy jako tradiční modelové role, omezené normami a bez další úlohy v politickém procesu. V praktické části práce byly zjištěny analogie mezi přístupy, tématy a celkovým zobrazením potenciálních prvních žen z pohledu jednotlivých kandidátů. Tato práce upozorňuje na důraz kladený na ženské tělo a sleduje, jak jsou partnerky kandidátů zobrazovány a jaká je jejich role v politické komunikaci i mimo ni.

Klíčová slova

První dáma, gender, manželka, volební kampaň, kandidát na prezidenta, prezidentské volby, prezidentské volby 2018

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	INTRODUCTION	3
2	THEORETICAL PART	6
2.1	The role of social media in politics.....	8
2.2	Gender and online political communication.....	9
2.3	The role of spouses	10
2.3.1	The problematics of the First Lady position.....	11
2.3.2	Typology of the First ladyship.....	13
2.3.3	Stereotypes associated with the First Lady role.....	14
2.3.4	Becoming a celebrity: The route to becoming the First Lady.....	16
2.3.5	Visual anchoring of the studied topic	18
2.3.6	Feminist anchoring of the studied topic.....	19
3	METHODOLOGY	21
3.1	Research Design and Methods.....	21
3.2	Data Collection	22
3.2.1	Content analysis on Facebook	22
3.3	Limits of the Research Design and Methods	24
4	PRACTICAL PART	25
4.1	Candidates communicating families in the first place	25
4.1.1	Jiří Drahoš: She is here to support	25
4.1.2	Pavel Fischer: This is my wife.....	26
4.1.3	Petr Hannig.....	26
4.1.4	Marek Hilšer: The master of the moment.....	26
4.1.5	Michal Horáček: She is my trump	27
4.1.6	Jiří Hynek: The family man.....	27
4.1.7	Vratislav Kulháněk: My pretty partner	27
4.1.8	Mírek Topolánek: The story of two politicians	27
4.1.9	Miloš Zeman: My lady	28
4.2	Findings and Discussion	28

4.2.1	What is a First Lady?.....	28
4.2.2	Umbrella girls, women in supporting roles	29
4.2.3	The voice of public	30
4.2.4	Body as a source of power.....	34
5	CONCLUSION	38
	SUMMARY.....	40
	LIST OF REFERENCES.....	41
	LIST OF APPENDICES.....	46

1 INTRODUCTION

The 21st century made us rethink the way we study and research political communication in the context of new media. Street (2010) named a new phenomenon that had arisen from new trends in political communication: the emergence of the celebrity politician. The leader and their personality are at the centre of political focus. The challenge this paper is exploring is: it is analysing the impact of the new media landscape within the political communication with regard to gender.

Male confidence in their online skills may have an obvious impact on their use of online platforms, increasing their general usage and participation. The Global Media Monitoring Project 2010 indicated that every third time a woman was reported in a newspaper, coverage was due to her relationship with a man (Ross and Carter in Harmer, 2015). Furthermore, women are three times more likely to be described in reference to their family status. Thereby, presidential spouses, especially during campaigns, receive high levels of attention simply due to their connections.

Over the last decade, social media has played an ever-increasing role in political campaigns, meaning that active and correct use is imperative. We must therefore not only consider the perspective of online participants who use social media as a source of information, but also those who create the information. Social media is a user-friendly platform offering accessible format on a daily basis, and this frequent expression of political opinion enables increased political consciousness. People's intentions to go online differ, although in general women go online in order to establish and maintain relationships or to communicate, whereas men go online to gain access to information (Abraham, Morn and Vollman, 2010).

This thesis seeks to investigate not only the formal political actors (women politicians), but the spouses of presidential candidates who, despite having no role in the political process are given, vast amounts of attention and expected to, to some extent, have political ambitions. The first lady takes part in creating trustworthy image of her spouse (Hejlová, 2012) and is at her political maximum during election campaign (O'Connor, Nye and Van Assendelft, 1996). Winfield (cited in Harmer, 2015, p. 31), describes how first ladies are framed based on historical development: "*Firstly, they are expected to fulfil the role of loyal escort, accompanying their husband but not having an independent function. Secondly, they*

are expected to perform a protocol role, acting as hostess for visiting dignitaries and attending social, ceremonial and diplomatic events.” Further he describes third role, originated during the 21st century and emphasises their role as volunteer and worker for charitable causes. And lastly, the role as an advisor. Hejlová (2012) considers the roles and traditions in Czech environment and labels wives of Czech top politicians, unlike the male partners she notes, “umbrella girls”.

The First Lady is at her political maximum during the campaign period, becoming The Political/Representative First Lady (O’Connor, Nye and Van Assendelft, 1996). During this period of time, her duties as political figure include appearances, as well as campaigning and speaking for administration policies and promoting her husband’s agenda. To understand why the roles spouses and potential First ladies play during elections and are portrayed as traditional, we need to analyse how women involved in politics are generally respected, portrayed, oppressed and supported by political actors, candidates, the media, voters and themselves. By disclosing feminist theories, this will allow the issue to be addressed.

Furthermore, the aim of this thesis is to create a consciousness around the inferior and neglected position of the first lady in the Czech Republic. It is an unselected position with a considerable amount of power and influence within the political environment. A private citizen, who happens to be married to a president, gains a vital role in the country. Although marriage between the First Lady and the president implies an informal relationship, the First Lady is obliged to cooperate. Since the extent of cooperation is never specified and The First Lady has no formal rights or duties, this could be interpreted as wished. Whilst, in some respects, the literature is rich in scope, analysing the First Lady in detail and the role she plays during presidency, in other ways the literature is limited. This is because not only has almost none study yet analysed how spouses are portrayed during a campaign, the majority of texts are also written in connection to America. Therefore, the literature employed here to describe, define or compare the issues within the Czech Republic is mostly written by foreign authors.

The central objective of this study, through content analysis, is to examine typical patterns of presidential candidates. We would like to answer following research questions:

RQ: *How spouses of presidential candidates in 2018 Czech elections were represented and portrayed on Facebook?*

RsQ1: If a spouse is mentioned in a Facebook post, does it have a direct influence on audience reactions?

RsQ2: Does frequency of Facebook posts that include information about a spouse differ in the analysed election campaign period?

RQ1 will be compared to average audience reaction onto Facebook posts comprising of no mention.

The overall structure of this work is following: Firstly, this paper describes political communication from a general point of view. It discusses the effects of social media and depicts new ways in political communication. Secondly, a large body of literature has explored issues regarding first ladies, politics and gender. Subsequently uses feminist perspective in order to investigate how women are portrayed and perceived. In the fourth place is described methodology and developed coding sheet, as a mixed research design of visual and textual content analysis, afterwards are discussed findings and all data is summarized in the last chapter.

As opposed to intended analysis of online content of both, the candidates and their spouses, we have decided to perform the analysis only of the candidates. None of the spouses owned a personal Facebook account; only two used Instagram accounts during the election. Nevertheless, one was hacked, thus there was no data to collect and comparison of data was compromised. Therefore, decision to withdraw spouse perspective was made. And emphasis was laid on analysing candidates' content on Facebook and two research sub questions were added. Question raised in thesis proposal, whether are potential first ladies perceived as a marketing tool or individuality is respected, is explained through feminist outlook. While my thesis proposal outlined exploring the work focusing on role and image of spouses during elections, due to absent coverage of this topic, the literature reviewed was focused on First ladyship. We have decided to enclose discussion to Practical part, and instead of presenting

outcomes in Analysis section, data is described in Findings and Discussion, as we believe these chapters will have greater significance combined. What is more instead of “Introducing candidates and spouses,” we offer summary of communication of candidate’s Facebook profile.

2 THEORETICAL PART

The traditional mass media is increasingly facing challenges. The audience is ever-shifting and inconsistent, and is constantly decreasing in size. The post-modern era challenges previous norms, changing the perception of roles, and thereby becoming a process of change. Some authors consider this era as inspiration for change, whilst others focus on its unfavourable effects (Brants a Voltmer, 2011, p. 2).

Brants and Voltmer (2011) claim that, in the process of adaptation and innovation, to convey one’s message and thus participate in public life, an awareness of the evolving audience which has the tendency to actively change its mind or abandon is essential, as is adapting to new communication technologies. So how does the social media really change political communication and to what extend has it increased accessibility to the public?

Brants and Voltmer (2011) present a model that is responsible for fundamental changes in contemporary political communication. It contains two interconnected and interrelated dimensions, depicted in a triangular relationship. The horizontal dimension describes the political elites and the cooperation and competition among politicians and the media, with the aim to create and spread a political message for mass consumption. The vertical dimension, on the other hand, describes the message from the elites which ought to be delivered to the audience which is, in effect, the citizen or the voter. In each dimension a product is developed, in previous order mediatization and de-centralization.

The authors also discuss, whether within the horizontal dimension the politicians or the media have more power, and come to the conclusion that the degree of control is linked to a variety of factors, such as damaging or favourable events, cultural or political context and importantly the introduction of new communication technologies.

Particularly during elections, political actors attempt to have a greater impact in the communication process, specifically by assimilating media values to operational logic in order to approach situations. It is obvious that medialization had incorporated “media logic” into everyday politics. Patterson (1993) summarized the outcomes of professionalization

which occurs during campaigns and political communication, the core elements are: the candidate, stress on differentiation and magnitude; images rather than issues and ideology. Brants and Voltmer (2011) recognize several effects of medialization, such as increased importance of the ability of political parties to handle media compared with handling cooperation with potential alliances, and the involvement of spin doctors¹ causing growing mistrust in the politician-media relationship. An example of this is the way in which market-driven journalism leads to de-politicization of political coverage and formation of new branches – infotainment, politainment or political talkshows. Building on from the idea summarized by Pattersons (1993), de-centralization also had an impact on the disappearance of boundaries between “high” political representation and “low” mass entertainment. On the other hand, Papathanassopoulos, S., R. Negrine, P. Mancini A C. Holtz-Bacha (2007) describe professionalism as mutual development and changes, not contradictory, and the close relationship between media industry and politics. Wolfsteld (2013) presents a similar approach; he describes it in a framework called Politics-Media-Politics (PMP). The principle is based on two claims: first, it is a cycle with each influencing the other in an ongoing process; second, media has the ability to turn politics into stories, thereby impacting on political outcomes.

However, not only the journalist, the internet and the public are also threats to communicational strategies produced by political opinion leaders (Brants and Voltmer, 2011). Furthermore, citizens also challenge the traditional media institutions. The best opportunity to do so is to utilise the internet, where people can share their concerns with a wide audience, and where distance is no matter. Scammell (2000, p. 352) views the citizen in one way as being informed and interested in politics, and in another as a consumer, self-interested and isolated. She further emphasizes that: *“We, as consumers, are increasingly aware of our political power and increasingly willing to use it.”*

On the contrary, Tony Clark (cited in Naomi Klein, 1999) does not see the politicians as setting the agenda of globalization, but rather the corporates. On that note, Naomi Klein (1999, p. 340) writes: *“Consumer activism is a response to the corporate hijacking of political power and to the brands’ cultural looting of public and mental space.”* Scammell (2000) continues and defines the internet as a completely new opportunity for the consumer-citizen. This suggests that the internet allows for bottom-up conversation; an interactive

¹ Person responsible for explaining certain point in a certain (desirable) way (Halada, 2015).

platform for people to share their concerns, fears or desires, as well as to amplify stereotypes. The power is shifted to citizen-consumer.

Another angle suggests that: *“Even though forms of de-centred politics provide new opportunities for political debate and participation, it remains an open question as to whether they have actually engaged otherwise detached and passive citizens.”* Therefore, previously active citizens have yet another opportunity to share, whilst unengaged individuals remain in their comfort zone, allowing the gap between them to widen (Brants and Volmer, 2011, p. 10). Yet another form of citizenship could emerge from use of social media (Gil de Zúñiga, Molyneux and Pei Zheng, 2014, p. 612), and is now accepted as part of the political engagement definition. Therefore, it will continue to be explored.

2.1 The role of social media in politics

Newly emerged expressive citizenship models arose on social media, causing people to unconsciously engage in various interactions, creating a pathway to political participation (Gil de Zúñiga, Molyneux and Pei Zheng, 2014, p. 613). The consumer-citizen is given the power, as suggested by Scammel (2000). This enables more active and easy participation, allowing relationships to form with official institutions. The conversation is triggered from the bottom-up: *“The Internet and social media in particular thus provide new forms of media consumption as well as new forms of political participation. We therefore expect that using social media for news will be positively associated to both offline and online political participation.”* (Gil de Zúñiga, Molyneux and Pei Zheng, 2014, p. 613) Patterson (2016, p. 10) in key findings summarizes that members of opposition or a smaller party were more active on social media; he stated that social media serves as equalizer, due to low cost and role, and personal initiative. He supports previous statement by fact, that poorly funded candidates were as active on social media as those well-funded. Van Zoonen in *The Politics of Being a Woman* (2015, p. xiii) writes: *“Some even claim social media is offering the means for a fourth wave of feminism.”* Therefore, in the following chapter, the thesis will explore whether social media contribute to the equalization of genders in politics.

2.2 Gender and online political communication

The current debate on social media in political communication identifies an interesting viewpoint on patriarchal discourse. Demirhan and C  akır-Demirhan (2014, p. 308) claim: “*It encourages the hegemonic discourses and traditional power relations in society.*” However, this debate can be viewed from another angle, as presented by Bode (2017, p. 598): “*Gender differences seem much less pervasive in political engagement on social media than might have been expected.*” Furthermore, in study conducted by Thomas E. Patterson (2016, p. 3), for Woman in Parliaments Global Forum, is stated: “*This study confirms that social media are a political equaliser.*” As social media is, according to him, a resource with incredible impact while having a low entry cost.

Bode (2017, p. 590) explores why women are less likely to engage in politics. She summarizes that women are: less likely to run for office, less likely be asked to run for office, less likely consider themselves as qualified to run for office, and have lower political ambition. She offers some explanations, such as reduced confidence, as well as the tendency to avoid conflict and cherish relations. The confidence gap between men and women was confirmed by Li and Kirkup (2007, p. 312) during their research in which survey questionnaires were given to students in the UK and China. It was confirmed in both countries that even though women and men have comparable online abilities, women tend to underestimate themselves. Also, important to consider when illustrating the online-behaviour of women, which is changing our perception of how people use and gain political information in the new media age, is that women strategically engage in less visible and less offensive behaviour (Bode, 2017). For instance, women are more likely to like or comment rather than creating new content, and they are more likely to unfriend for political reasons, rather than opening a debate² that could ultimately offend their social relationships.

Men are more likely to express their political opinion on social media (Vochocka et al., 2016), to post about politics (Bode, 2017), are considered more politically effective (Vr abl ikova, 2019) and are more willing to damage their social relationships while doing so (Bode, 2017). Ultimately, both women and men consider social media as an important political channel.

² They avoid confrontation. The social element plays a key role.

As of 2018, women on average comprise 24,3 %³ of national parliaments around the world. In the Czech Republic, it is 20,9 %. (Inter-Parliamentary Union, IPU) These women are often regarded as “liberal,” and interested in “female topics” (Dolan, 2005). A similar line of thought was presented by Caul and Matland (in Paxton, Kunovich and Hughes, 2007, p. 270): “*The characteristics of political parties therefore matter for women. Parties that are further left in their political leanings tend to espouse egalitarian ideals and are more likely to promote traditionally underrepresented groups such as women.*” To further understand the importance of parties, gatekeepers, and women’s participation, Patterson (2016) stated that women are 35 % more active on social media, when treated equally within a party. Dolan (2005) suggests that what appears to be gender-based bias is often party-based stereotype, ultimately overlapping the gender/sex stereotype.

Eksterowitz and Roberts (2004, p. 415) introduced the importance of spouses in their paper: “*The 2000 presidential election demonstrated the growing use of presidential campaigns using the wives of presidential candidates to appeal to key voting blocks.*” Therefore, let’s explore the political engagement of spouses.

2.3 The role of spouses

The Republican National Committee in 1960 (Watson, 2000, p. 499) claimed in a press release: “*When you elect a President you are also electing a First Lady.*” A couple of decades later, Bill Clinton claimed during his campaign: “*And you get two for the price of one,*” (Cornwell, 1994, n.p.). The “second one for free”, however, despite being an unpaid position with no official role in the political process, and notwithstanding the spouse gains popularity and pressure.

The increasing role of spouses during presidential campaigns, and the benefits of their increasing presence during campaigns was demonstrated in the United States of America during the 1992, 1996, 2000⁴ and succeeding presidential campaigns.

Watson (2000) emphasized that both the public and scholars do not realize enough the extent the First Lady influences presidential decisions, and stresses the potential consequences

³ As of January, 1st 2019 and both houses combined; in Europe it is on average 27,4 %.

⁴ For example, Laura Bush helped to persuade the public about school systems and student’s performance and differentiation from activism of previous First Lady, Hillary Clinton. Thus, putting family values over personal ambitions (Eksterowitz and Roberts, 2004).

which originate from the power held by the spouse. O'Connor, Nye and Van Assendelft (1996) studied the neglected political role of women and how they indirectly influence their husband's government policies. In a Table 'The New York Times's Mention of Vice Presidents and First Ladies', they presented a comparison of their respective first year of new administration in office which demonstrated that the First Lady is in the spotlight as much or more than the vice-president during this time. Watson (1997, p. 814) agrees: "*It is becoming the rule and not the exception that the first lady has surpassed the vice president and even the most senior advisers and cabinet secretaries in terms of visibility and perhaps even power and influence both in and out of the White House.*" Walter (cited in Higgins and Smith, 2013, p. 199) continues based on the political situation: "*Reassuring first wives Sarah Brown and Michelle Obama, who have decided to give up paid work [and] ... receive admiration not for their incisive intelligence and active careers, but for their toned arms and great clothes.*"

However, unlike the vice-president, wives have been constrained by norms and are required to act with appropriate behaviour. Such behaviour is expected not from the first day in office, but from the time of campaign for office. Indeed, must be mentioned extend of support in "interpersonal contact and personal sale" which spouses have during pre-election (or permanent) political campaign. (Hejlová, 2012) Therefore, this paper develops the traits and constrictions of the First Lady, because those are the foundations which shape her role during the campaign.

2.3.1 The problematics of the First Lady position

The life of the First Ladies is clouded by variables, that have an impact on their power, influence, personal⁵ and administrative⁶. These variables all affect her performance⁷, namely the unconstitutional nature of the position and the private-public divide (Eksterowitz and Roberts, 2004). These divides overlap one another; the first lady is not allowed to hold private opinion, and as a result of becoming a public figure she must mingle privately and publicly (Burell, 2001).

⁵ Those could be: their background (personal, professional, educational), ambition, vision, ideology (moral, political, religious) (Eksterowitz and Roberts, 2004).

⁶ Those could be: resources – staff, budget, location of office, integration to presidents' office (Eksterowitz and Roberts, 2004).

⁷ In this case is performance meant as their activity with aim to affect public policy (Eksterowitz and Roberts, 2004).

In the United States, the role of the First Lady has an unconstitutional nature: her responsibilities, duties and limits are not defined, and she is not subjected to laws and regulations as the presidential advisors are (Eksterowitz and Roberts, 2004). The job of the First lady is unpaid, although unlike the other advisors she cannot be fired (Burell, 2001). Nevertheless, she has her own office⁸ and budget⁹, and she hires her own personal staff (Watson, 1997). To further explain the issue of budgeting, Eksterowitz and Roberts (2004, p. 413) say: *“The present situation of spending public funds to support the activities of a private citizen, albeit the spouse of the president, is inconsistent with fundamental principles of accountability.”*

As regards to the position being unpaid, a possible explanation is that public officials, the president included, are forbidden from appointing or employing a relative¹⁰ (Burell, 2001; Eksterowitz and Roberts, 2004). The law is known as the “Bobby Kennedy law”, and was passed by Congress in 1978¹¹ (O’Connor, Nye and Van Assendelft, 1996).

This section provides an opportunity to clarify the status and constitutional anchoring of the first lady in the Czech Republic. The constitution clearly defines the president’s role, but remains silent on the roles and responsibilities of the First Lady. The role is stereotyped, shaped by socialization and thus Czech citizens hold expectations about it. The role has no official definition, function, budget or salary. In fact she has her own office, belonging to Office of the President of the Republic. Vaněčková (2017) found out that Ivana Zemanová currently has one assistant¹² who simultaneously assists and answers to president Miloš Zeman, so it is assumed he or she is paid from his office’s budget. As well as her wardrobe, hairdresser must be paid from his salary and she is paying for social and health insurance, as she is not employed (Vaněčková, 2017).

In contrast to the evidence which suggests that the American First Lady has a prominent public role, evidence from the Czech Republic suggests that the First Lady prefers to remain in the private sphere, with possible exceptions such as charity activities which ought to

⁸ Therefore her office is recognized as a formal centre of activity. And what is more, the first ladies had received such comfort earlier than vice-president (O’Connor, Nye and Van Assendelft, 1996).

⁹ The Budget is not public; and the money ought to be paid from departments, that are involved (Jelínková, cited in Vaněčková 2017).

¹⁰ In agenda he has under control.

¹¹ The act also provides First Ladies with funds to exercise her activities. And actually, confirming her status and employment.

¹² Vaněčková (2017) stated that Livia Klausová had two employees, an assistant and secretary. For instance, Laura Bush’s team had sixteen members, Michelle Obama’s twenty-two, each position having agenda and specialization.

contribute to the positive image of her and her husband. They are not only constrained as a symbol of national identity, but also feminine (patriarchal) model (Vaněčková, 2017). Czech potential first ladies and the First lady herself are expected to advocate social causes, and subsequently develop her own project. These projects are socially oriented, yet politically safe.

Previously mentioned is summarized and defined by Hejlová (2012) into five areas in which professionalization of political communication is revealed on the example of structured presentation of politicians' private life:

- Adapting a social role of women to the partner's political activity
- Engaging in charity as a form of corporate social responsibility
- Professionalization of communication with the media - own advisors, spokespersons
- PR activities for family or love life events
- Public support and image creation of a partner's credibility in media and political opportunities (election campaigns, crisis communication)

2.3.2 Typology of the First ladyship

O'Connor, Nye and Van Assendelft (1996) define three major milestones in the Evolution of the Office and Duties of First Lady. The duties in each phase are:

- Phase 1: The Ceremonial First Lady
 - Entertaining
 - Stand-in at official functions
 - Commissioner
- Phase 2: The Political First Lady
 - Appearance at Nominating Convention
 - Campaigning for office
 - Spokesperson for Administration Policies
- Phase 3: The Policy First Lady
 - Personal Confidant
 - Attendee at policy meetings
 - Senior Adviser

These milestones¹³ are complemented by Eksterowitz and Roberts's (2004) list of major problems, among them being the management of overlapping public-private spheres. Each of the duties listed above require great balance between two.

Watson (1997, p. 809), professor and political commentator, developed a model with three concepts:

- Historical development of the institution of the first lady
- The nature of the first ladies' political activity
- The influence which first ladies can have on the presidency and American political system.

He conceptualizes and develops the three previously mentioned topics. The historical development explains six ranges, mapping the development of the Institution of First Lady in regards to historical timeline. He considers the media era as a breakthrough. The other two concepts have a social context and look at source of influence¹⁴ and form of political activism¹⁵.

2.3.3 Stereotypes associated with the First Lady role

Barbara Bush declared, *"I think the person who has the courage to run for the office is the one you should hear, not the wife or the husband"* (CNN, 2018). Her testimony reflects what Robert P. Watson (2000) stated; that the first ladies are unelected, unappointed and hold no official program. Thus, they have nothing to offer the voters, except their support of their husbands. Clift (1992, n.p.) added that whilst no one actually votes based on who will become First Lady, the wives become a model role for women during their husbands time in office. Additionally, since social media has the potential to intensify the impact of one's thoughts, the outreach is much larger and occurs quickly (Gil de Zúñiga, Molyneux and Pei Zheng, 2014, p. 614).

Bode (2017) labels socialization as the villain: women are raised in such a way that relationships are at the core of their life. They are expected to be associated with a specific range of characteristics; women must be nice, polite, and behave such that the emotions of others are spared. She is trying to explain the gender-based participation gap and claims that in order to maintain social relationships, women tend not to post about politics. As leadership

¹³ They also mention Phase 0: The Training function - Formal training for acting on behalf of the president.

¹⁴ Political, "pillow" and public.

¹⁵ Pet projects, substantive policy issues, political support, ceremonial and social functions; socially oriented.

is widely regarded as a masculine characteristic, women face prejudice regards this matter (Paxton, Kunovich and Huges, 2007, p. 271). Meeks (2016) looked at the specific characteristics assigned to genders and studied whether candidates¹⁶ implemented gendered communicational styles, incorporating, for example, personalisation and interactivity, regarded as a “feminine communication style¹⁷”, in their digital campaigning. She confirmed that candidates embrace a feminine communication style in order to gain electoral success. Bystrom, Robertson, Banwart, and Kaid (2004, p. 35) also looked at strategies outlined by Campbell and found similar features: “*Otherwise, their ads made similar use of the feminine style strategies of personal tone, addressing viewers as peers, relying on personal experiences, identifying with the experiences of others, and inviting participation and action; they were also similar in use of the masculine strategy of employing expert authorities.*” As summarized by Kahn (cited in Paxton, Kunovich and Huges, 2007, p. 272): “*Male candidates are considered better able to deal with foreign policy, the economy, defense spending, arms control, foreign trade, and farm issues; female candidates are considered better able to deal with day care, poverty, education, health care, civil rights, drug abuse, and the environment.*” Paxton, Kunovich and Huges (2007, p. 271) labeled cited agenda as “stereotypes working in women’s favor,” whereas Dolan (2005) concluded that even though the public has different expectations of men and women, the issues women and men candidates regard as priorities are pretty much identical, and so even though women are associated with certain issues, this doesn’t often benefit them, as their expertise may lie in other fields. Meeks (2016) described such strategies, perceived as gendered communication strategies, with the “performance of gender” as the main component.

Another line of thought Barbara Bush’s testimony demonstrates is that due to socialization, she expected the First Lady to exhibit the same behaviour as well as women do from society. Eksterowitz and Roberts (2004) define public expectations, based on historic duties and role, as one of the possible variables which influences first ladies’ performances. This can be easily illustrated. For example, Scharrer and Bissell (Cited in Harmer 2015) compared media coverage of the three first ladies¹⁸, and found that the more she was seen as being politically

¹⁶ She did content analysis of 24 U. S. Senate candidate’s campaigns on Twitter during 2012 general election.

¹⁷ Campbell (cited in Meeks, 2016) characterized a feminine communicational style as following: “displays a personal tone, uses personal experiences, anecdotes and examples as evidence, exhibits inductive structure, emphasizes audience participation, and encourages identification between speaker and audience”. Whereas masculinized style is considered to be as more impersonal, factual, analytical.

¹⁸ Nancy Reagan, Barbara Bush and Hillary Clinton.

active, the more negative coverage she received¹⁹. It is evident that politics is still defined as masculine, and women are expected to engage in politics through their familial role. Eksterowitz and Roberts (2004, p. 415) raised a question, asking where the most media coverage on first ladyship is found: *“The answer is in the style section of newspapers and in magazines such as Good Housekeeping. Such coverage can lead to simplistic public assessments of the first lady and her office, which in turn can affect the first ladies’ performance.”* Confirming that she has to struggle between private and public spheres, while being assigned a roles from private.

2.3.4 Becoming a celebrity: The route to becoming the First Lady

This chapter also could be named potential first ladies as political women or The Political First Lady. A new “currency” of popular culture and political representation has emerged (Hejlová, 2012) in which rhetoric, emotion and social media use had become a key bargain tools (Wheeler, 2011; Lilleker, 2016) and focus is significantly aimed on personalities (Lilleker, 2006; Van Zoonen, 2006). Besides personalization, it is popularization who constructs “celebrity politics”, as indicates Van Zoonen (2006). She (2006, p. 290) also defines the terms: *„‘Celebrity’ is a product of the publicity produced by the 20th and 21st century mass media, whereas ‘fame’ has a longer history as the typification resulting from outstanding and publicly recognized achievements.”* On those basis Liesbet van Zoonen (2006) suggests, that fame was a privilege of men. John Street (2004) distinguishes two variants of the phenomenon:

- a) A traditional politician who, in order to promote his or her ideology and to gain an advantage, uses elements of the phenomenon. A politician uses techniques such as staged photo opportunities, (mis)use of non-traditional platforms and formats, and he takes advice from media consultants who normally work for stars, thereby adopting their techniques, with the aim to improve their image and to better communicate their message.
- b) The people that are well noticeable in mass media, the stars of pop-culture, reacting to popular opinion (Street, 2004). They use their status as a foundation to speak up on a specific issue and use media within their work, as well as utilising platforms they have access to in order to underline their perspective. The second type of celebrity politicians, the stars, are

¹⁹ Clift (1992, n.p.) in his article for CNN.com wrote: “Two years ago Barbara Bush was criticized by Wellesley students for living in her husband's shadow. Now Hillary, a Wellesley graduate, is being criticized for overshadowing her husband.”

taken seriously when the following points are fulfilled: the agenda of the media is focused on their policy rather than their art, the politicians respect them as partners and discuss issues with them, and audience engagement results in actions beyond just being “a fan”.

Politics is becoming a show in which well-prepared performers are eager to spread their message and improve their image. Simply, the goal is a profit, which we can label as a vote. The reason why celebritization is mentioned is that most spouses are unknown before elections, and since the traits are very similar to celebrity engagement, this must be considered as part of a strategically constructed plan to win the elections. Emily Harmer (2015, p. 27) confirms this assumption: “...*the newspaper coverage of the 2010 election*²⁰ *served to cast them as political celebrities who were intended to appeal to women voters*”. Higgins and Smith (2013, p. 198) came to similar conclusion, labelling Samantha Cameron, Sarah Brown and Míriam González Durantez as: “...*prominent elements of the discourse around their parties’ campaigns*.” However, their position of “decorative spouse” is expected to be rather passive and reassuring, while their career and status become secondary to their husbands’ goal to win the election. Emergence of this type of celebrity politician has opened up discussion regarding the consequences for democracy (Street, 2004; Street, 2010). Meeks (2016, p. 302) identifies that in digital campaigning, men refer to their family twice as often as women. These references were predominantly via text or photo. Bystrom, Robertson, Banwart, and Kaid (2004, p. 58) hold a similar outlook, obtained on account of a study into how female and male candidates create messages and present themselves to potential voters. They found out that men were more likely to include their family. Consequently, we can assume that male politicians create a greater pressure on their female spouses in their bid for a successful election. The spouses are unelected, yet receive a great proportion of electoral coverage. Meeks (2016), as mentioned earlier, arrogates the trait of increased female portrayal to personalization and the increased use of a “feminine communication style”. Furthermore, Stanyer and Wring (2004) argue that the increased visibility of women (wives and families) is the result of personalisation of political communication.

It was not until the 1960s that a first lady travelled on her husband’s behalf for political purposes. The role of a first lady became more public and the spouses experienced a new public dimension of the presidency. Watson (1997, p. 813) writes: “*As such, the first ladies*

²⁰ 2010 UK General election.

became a part of the public element of the modern presidency and campaigning in America. “ At the beginning of the new media age, when Richard Nixon and John Fitzgerald Kennedy ran for president, their wives were expected to campaign for them. When Betty Ford campaigned at her husband’s side, she gained more votes for her husband than her husband did for himself, and “Betty’s Husband For President” became a slogan (O’Connor, Nye and Van Assendelft, 1996). The leader’s “personality” ought to be voter-friendly, the spouse has become a vital element of this voter-friendly image (Street, 2010). Hejlová (2012, p. 48) summarized two outcomes caused from presenting personal details: politics become “one of us,” also they have troubles and people talk about them as acquaintance; for the unknown person one can develop fondness, resulting in a vote.

2.3.5 Visual anchoring of the studied topic

The phenomenon of celebritization seems have heightened the importance of appearance, which appears to be crucial for potential first ladies. Visual appeal is given high priority, often at the price of other issues. Postman (2006) expressed concern that the line between trivial and serious, or essentially between entertainment and politics, has been vanishing. What is more, he warns that appearance and image are dominating politics, and that effectively entertainment has the upper hand over serious politics, and images are undermining forms of communication. Thus, image construction and communication have become the core of professional political communication. Aspects of a candidate’s character, formerly seen as private or unimportant, are now promoted (Lilleker, 2006). This is an outcome of professionalism (Patterson, 1993), a topic introduced in the previous part of this paper.

Gill (cited in Harmer, 2015) argues that women are required to be perceived as feminine²¹, thereby becoming a valuable object utilized to gain greater media attention. Unfortunately, among the outstanding qualities, appearance must be included: “*Appearance is never “merely an appearance”, it profoundly affects the actual sociosymbolic position of those concerned.*” (Žižek, 1997, p. 5). Under these circumstances, wardrobe choices can also be exploited as a strategical political exercise.

Emily Harmer (2015, p. 37) confirms this in her content analysis of five UK newspapers, in which she concluded that all of them had assessed visual representation when discussing

²¹ In other words, constantly paying attention to their looks.

leaders' wives. This was a major part of the articles included in analysis, and each article was accompanied by a photograph of them in various campaign setting. Thus, she (p. 37) is suggesting that: "...their visual appeal is perhaps the predominant reason for featuring them in newspaper coverage". What is more, she found out that in 46,4 % of cases, a spouse's appearance or clothing was commented on.

As a result, visual representation is a part of political communication. Goffman (1997, p. 11) wrote: "*Finally, there are personal publicity pictures, ones designed to bring before the public a flattering portrait of some luminary, whether political, religious, military, sporting, theatrical, literary, or – where a class elite still functions and is publicized-social*". Factors playing a role, for instance, are presumed versus actual leadership, a notion of hierarchy and values which are assumed from a society. Hence, study of visual portrayal could be studied either based on environmental context or visual cues, as body language and relations to another. Images shared directly by the candidate provide opportunities to share images with "official" framing, rather than press framing. Thus, content creators have recently emerged who can interpret the First Lady's activities differently, and attribute them to more preferable contextual roles (Mortensen, 2015).

2.3.6 Feminist anchoring of the studied topic

Without a defined role, the First Ladies had been expected to act based on the role enacted by their ancestors, accepted by the society. Therefore, they are judged upon how the "traditional" role is fulfilled.

Upon becoming the First Lady, most women give up their job, as their new activities become time consuming: they must engage in public activities and begin to serve the state. The issue is, that although it is the husband who decided to run for presidency, the wife is expected to assume a role as well (Vaněčková, 2017). Another aspect which illustrates the inferior position of the First Lady is her dependency for money. She serves the state, but does not receive a salary, and as a result is dependent on husband's income. In view of Simone de Beauvoir's work presented in *The Second Sex*, initially published in 1949, women are dependent on men until they become financially independent: "*Work alone can guarantee her concrete freedom*" (Beauvoir 2011, p. 721). Women who do not have such freedom are "The Other".

The concept of The Other is a driver of Beauvoir's analysis, used to analyze the oppression of exploited people. She uses two main terms: firstly, the Subject – the absolute, and

secondly The Other – the inessential (Beauvoir, 2011). Equally important is her outlook on the social constructions of femininity. By appropriating and performing the characteristics attributed to certain gender identities, this ultimately shapes the role women play in society. Specifically, she mentions the role of culture, norms and expectations.

Judith Butler (2007) introduced the notion that gender is what you do, rather than what you are. A constructed identity is entrenched due to the repetition of stylized performative acts. The consequence is that society labels certain roles as male or female, and certain attributes are assigned as masculine or feminine (Butler, 2007). A similar standpoint was brought up by Bode (2017) earlier in the essay. Beauvoir (2011) points out that equality does not mean sameness, and further discusses additional points, as summed up in Savigny and Warner (2015, p. 14): *“That women had still not achieved full ‘equality’ with men, or emancipation, the freedom to be independent, autonomous, different to and not be defined by or in relation to men, was a key feature of the second wave. And it was this debate between equality and liberty that formed one of the touchstones of debate.”*

Under current circumstances, postfeminism must be remarked upon. This is a concept which assumes that differences between genders no longer exist because feminism has achieved set goals, and is therefore simply dead. At the same time, postfeminist marks an urgent notion, that feminisms ought to be re-established. On that note, Savigny and Warner (2015, p. 15) wrote: *“And to make sense of these two competing positions we argue the media have played a crucial role in situating feminism culturally”*. Media has become a space where political and cultural values are constructed, and feminism is both constructed and deconstructed (Savigny and Warner, 2015).

In a similar manner, Rosalind Gill (in Harmer, 2015) argues that postfeminist media culture is obsessed with women’s bodies, and the concept has assigned femininity as a bodily property, resulting in women’s sense of identity being based on having an attractive body. The body is the main source of her power. Gill (in Harmer, 2015) claims that portrayal of party leaders’ wives in offline media is an example of the enduring construct of beauty ideals, and this is a demonstration of postfeminist culture, namely the obsession with women’s bodies. *“One is not born, but rather becomes, woman,”* Beauvoir’s (2011, p. 283) words complement this statement and enhance Butler’s understanding of gender as intentional and a performative act (Butler, 2007).

3 METHODOLOGY

This thesis develops a mixed research design tailored to the complex analysis of the studied subjects. Visual coding inspired by Goffman's gender displays will measure the portrayed roles of the female spouses. The determinants of body language and relationship to candidate will be analysed.

This thesis will examine the candidates' Facebook content using the methods referred to above. Content analysis sampled whole online communication produced by presidential candidates. Items selected for more comprehensive analysis were selected on basis that spouses or women were directly mentioned in the text. Posts were coded through variables to determine the main roles portrayed.

Goffman (1979) studied how are women framed in the media by measuring their relative size²², function ranking, the ritualization of subordination, licensed withdrawal²³, feminine touch²⁴, the family. And concludes that gender displays teach women how they ought to be; and as a result, societal order is maintained (Goffman, 1979, p. 14). We have, however, decided to consider only a section of them. The most applicable of Goffman's research to this thesis, are function ranking and ritualization of subordination. Likewise, Harmer's study (2015) demonstrates the difference between how female politicians, voters or relatives were featured. By dividing the women into categories, she demonstrates the share of media coverage spouses received before the election, furthermore she qualifies whether appearance was mentioned; and this technique will be used as a point of reference.

3.1 Research Design and Methods

The paper has focused on studying content created by candidates in 2018 Czech presidential election on Facebook. Qualitative content analysis has been used, visual and textual, to inspect how the candidates portray their spouses. The analysis will focus on how spouses were received by the public, how their presence resulted in more engagement, and how

²² A form of expression of authority and rank in social situations. The male superiority of status will be expressed by his greater height or size. It is assumed that size correlates with social weight in order to ease decoding of an image on first glance (Goffman, 1979).

²³ Women psychologically removing from a situation, dependent on others to help. Thus hiding behind a person, touching fingers, covering faces (Goffman, 1979).

²⁴ Women are portrayed using their hands or fingers to outline an object and are to be distinguished as ritualistic from „ordinary“ holding or manipulating (Goffman, 1979).

frequently they were mentioned during the campaign to demonstrate the patterns across different candidates and their online communication (Facebook profiles).

The visual domain is a significant part of fields like marketing or political communication. Perception and preference of visual messages are crucial to visual strategies and communication (Schroeder, 2006). Jonathan Schroeder argued that “*Then research methods in marketing must be capable of addressing issues that such images signify,*” and stresses the importance of qualitative method to study images (2006, p. 303). Simultaneously is done content analysis consisting of measuring variables. The core of each variable is a range of specifications, which are mutually exclusive and cover an entire range of options (Trampota and Vojtěchovská, 2010). This study combines the methodology put forward by Goffman and Harmed together with original variables to determine the thesis.

3.2 Data Collection

The data collection took place from August 28, 2017, the first day of the official campaigns, until the first round of elections, January 11, 2018; and analysed was content created on 8 Facebook profiles. Data was extracted from Facebook with tool Netvizz, application designed to extract databases from Facebook for research purposes.

Analysed profiles:

Jiří Drahoš, <https://www.facebook.com/drahosjiri/>

Pavel Fischer, <https://www.facebook.com/PavelFischerOfficial/>

Petr Hanning, <https://www.facebook.com/budmehrdi/>

Marek Hilšer, <https://www.facebook.com/MarekdoSenatu/>

Michal Horáček, <https://www.facebook.com/mhmamenavic/>

Jiří Hynek 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/hynek2018/>

Vratislav Kulháněk, <https://www.facebook.com/kulhaneknhrad/>

Mirek Topolánek, <https://www.facebook.com/MirekTopolanek.cz/>

Miloš Zeman: prezident České republiky, <https://www.facebook.com/prezidentcr/>

3.2.1 Content analysis on Facebook

Specifically, the analysis coding sheet consisted of 13 variables and examined how the candidates' Facebook statuses portrayed the spouses. Coding sheet was divided into two parts: textual and visual. All posts (2104 in total) were filtered by the first variable "spouse mentioned" and therefore only a section of all posts was analysed under the rest of the

variables. Thus, the thesis proves the use of a new coding system that effectively studies the presentation of spouses on social media.

Coded parameters – textual section:

- **Spouse mentioned** – the core filter and distinction, creating set of posts further examined
- **Date**
- **Nature of post**
 - Political program** – to state agenda, or a point
 - Political event** – trips during the campaign, visits
 - Celebrity endorsement** / grassroots
 - Socio-cultural values** – religion, national holidays
 - Personal activity** – family lunch, sport, grandchildren
 - Other**
- **Appearance** (her looks) mentioned – supporting postfeminist theory of body obsession
- **Referred to as** – based on Harmer’s classification and updated with more fitting categories:
 - Politician** – campaign team member
 - Voter** – she votes for me because
 - Spouse** – family issues
 - Gender** – referring to women in general
- **Context:**
 - Supporter** –actively contributing to his image
 - Family** – taking care of children or family issues
 - Co-creator of program** – taking in account her opinion in formulation of program
 - Setting her agenda** – what will she focus on as a First Lady
 - Content co-creator** – the text is written in plural, expressing concerns of both, candidate and a spouse (my/já)
 - Author of a message** – a message from the spouse directed to the public through husband’s channel
 - Political campaign** – parts of campaign (professional photoshoot, campaign trail visit, etc.)
- **Accompanied by a photograph** – a filter, based on which visual analysis was performed

Coded parameters – visual section:

If a post was accompanied by a photograph, following were analysed:

- **Function ranking** – If and how; Focuses on situations when spouse and candidate collaborate, and a fact that men are more likely to perform executive role, whereas women plays supportive role (Goffman, 1979).
- **Ritualization of relation to the candidate** – If and how; Two factors combined: ritualization of subordination and relative size. Firstly, physical lowering oneself, as a stereotype of defence or as a sign of physical subordination. Furthermore, holding arm or shoulder, bending down, signifies categorically needed protection or marking a social property (Goffman, 1979). Subsequently, size – hierarchical patterns to be depicted in location (higher in image) and size (bigger, higher) – the higher/bigger, the higher social place. Behavioural arrangements of a pair could also be recognized²⁵.
- **Appearance** – choice of clothing could be a political manoeuvre, therefore clothes, makeup and other visual surface parameters are considered
 - First Lady** – official, may be chosen by a specialist
 - I'm one of you** – clothes as a link to voters
 - Neutral** – notion was not detected
- **Emotion** – for instance, smiles could be depicted as ritualistic mollifiers and a defence mechanism to an aggressor to offer understanding and appreciation (Goffman, 1979). He also writes, when pictured in a euphoric state, women's expression is more expansive.

3.3 Limits of the Research Design and Methods

Drawing upon aspects detailed by Harmer (2015) and Goffman (1979) we compiled a new method, as insights emerged would be difficult to generate with other method. Although this method usefully analyses the signs objects present, one must consider that they may produce a false representation of the relationship between the sexes. Further limitation of chosen research method lies in the choice of variables, as it might limit the scope of the research. The comparison of the images and the notions that they embodied we sought to demonstrate the different cultural values presented. As well as distinction of photographs posed or “caught”. Goffman (1979, p. 13) about candid photography says: “*Such pictures show objects and events as they are in regard to some matters other than photograph.*” We as

²⁵ Standing or sitting next to each other, not touching – no differentiation of role. Secondly, „Alarm clock“ not necessarily submissive position, however, women are still receiving support and are under men's protective custody. Followed by "the shoulder hold," conducted by a higher person, now permitting direction and pace. And finally hand-holding, a mark of a relationship. Back of men's hand is likely to be facing and symbolizes protectiveness, as it is ready to act quickly should an emergency arise (Goffman, 1979).

such “matter” consider relationship and political campaign. Simultaneously, the scope of this study is limited due to absent consideration of paid content and its influence.

4 PRACTICAL PART

As implied, practical part will attempt to uncover patterns of how spouses of presidential candidates in 2018 Czech elections were represented and portrayed on Facebook. The results show how each candidate presented their spouses online, and the contingencies or similarities between them. A process of coding via parameters listed in methodology chapter made several topics apparent. Granted that, the analytical part will discuss individual campaigns and overall patterns.

4.1 Candidates communicating families in the first place

The way the heterosexual candidates communicated and presented their wives (except Hannig who is a widower) throughout their campaign is the focus of the research. This summary is completing the outlook of how their spouses were portrayed in online communication and what patterns within individual communication aroused.

4.1.1 Jiří Drahoš: She is here to support

Eva Drahošová was there for Jiří Drahoš the whole time, she accompanied him from the beginning of the campaign, as she is included in posts meeting electorate since summer 2017. She was in most posts addressed "My Eva" and only two posts were directed only to her, thanking her that she is with him on the journey to presidency. Which in comparison to the rest of candidates, is the highest number. In first the first he writes, that she smiles a lot. This attribute of hers, is also visible in the photographs used to accompany other posts, as she is almost always smiling, even when he is not. On this subject, Goffman argues (1979) that women in our society are illustrated as those who smiles more. He takes the point even further when he compares pictures of women to children, which is supported by number of images where Eva's hand is being held (in total she is ritualized or ranked in 60 %). She needs a support and protection. In the second one, in order to construct him as a great family man the copy depicts what Eva's capacities. However, we learn only what a great man Jiří Drahoš is. It was also the only occasion #drahosovinhrad (#drahosfamilystocastle) was used instead of #drahosnhrad (#drahostocastle).

Although Jiří Drahoš expressed that she had had concerns about his decision to become a president, at the beginning of his campaign, further he specifies she did not say a word of dissatisfaction. The contrasting presentation of Eva is clear: she is there but has no valid opinion. In some cases, she is mentioned in a video or post, but does not appear in the visuals. Her looks are always very neat, a well-known First Lady position. She only wears a skirt suit and always has makeup on.

4.1.2 Pavel Fischer: This is my wife

In the beginning, the reason for posts devoted to his wife was to share a link of Klára Fischerová interview, which shortly turned into videos about her. Pavel Fischer and his team tried to introduce his wife to the public: there were two videos about her hobbies. In these videos, she represents only herself and is the author of the message, no signs of the spouse-supporter present, as for example in the video “about” Lucie Talmanová.

In the above mentioned videos she introduced her devotion to charity and ongoing charitable activities based on family history. She didn't talk in the first person, even though, she is in the video without her husband. Another video about Klára was about her hobby, sewing princess dresses because she wanted such a dress when child, and now she is making dreams of others come true.

Klára, apart from professional photoshoot and the national holiday, did not seem to care about her wardrobe or makeup. Wives of ambassadors are forbidden to work by law. Thus, role and behavioural traits of Klára Fischerová could be quite marked down by this fact.

4.1.3 Petr Hannig

Petr Hannig has shared no content related to his deceased wife or any partner.

4.1.4 Marek Hilšer: The master of the moment

A contradictory point of view offers online communication of Marek Hilšer, although he was the only one to state a feminist nature of his program and perception of presidents' role, he did not mention Monika Hilšerová until December 12, 2017. From that day he mentioned her altogether 9 times. Interestingly, he was the only candidate to post selfies with his spouse (2 in total).

4.1.5 Michal Horáček: She is my trump

As well as Fischer, the only reasons Michaela Horáčková Hořejší was mentioned in a post was to share a web link to her public appearance (interview). There were no efforts to present her agenda or content. His content was created only on the bases of article or interview being published. However, interestingly, he proudly presents his wife as a feminist, owner of own political opinion and vision for the first lady position. In a post from November 27, 2017, he says she has her own vision of the First lady role, however, none of her visions were ever directly mentioned or introduced within his online communication. More than a month later, she is mentioned again, this time she is labelled as the greatest trump of his campaign.

4.1.6 Jiří Hynek: The family man

Jiří Hynek's main focus was family, a unity between him and his two sons was symbolized in many posts. In his posts, he talked about his family, rather than his wife, Eliška Hynková. Traditional roles in the family have been presented in posts in a textual and visual manner: she cooks, he hunts meat for dinner.

4.1.7 Vratislav Kulháněk: My pretty partner

Whilst Fischer presented his wife in videos, Kulháněk posted on January 1, 2018 text "Get to know Vratislav Kulháněk's partner Bohumila Bračíková," this was a second mention ever and the text contains very basic information (date and location of birth, profession, etc.). This post, however, does not state any of her agenda or interests, she stressed positives about Kulháněk himself. What is more, on this occasion was published the only professional solo image of a spouse among all candidates. Kulháněk when addressing all possible First Ladies (sharing links to reportage and debate), in both cases, argued that his was the prettiest one.

4.1.8 Mirek Topolánek: The story of two politicians

Given, Hejlová (2012, p. 129) analysis in which 97,3 % articles written²⁶ about Lucie Talmanová included refence to Mirek Topolánek, it is quite surprising that her role as former political figure, was not further rooted in his presidential campaign. In his campaign, she was mostly mentioned in posts with socio-cultural values. Lucie Talmanová highlights family values over personal ambitions. Nevertheless, the life of the potential

²⁶ Time perioad after Jiří Paroubek annouced his relationship with Petra Kováčová (30. 6.- 30. 8. 2007). Total 389 articles mentioned Lucie Talmanová, Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies at that time.

first ladies, as well as First Ladies, is directly influenced by variables, such in case of Lucie Talmová could be political background (Eksterowitz and Roberts, 2004). Also Hejlová (2012, p. 140) raised a question, if spouse is a politician, what impact it has in media discourse on representations of private life of top politicians. During the analysis we had not discovered any variables benefiting from her political past.

4.1.9 Miloš Zeman: My lady

The posts published on the Facebook page of Miloš Zeman – prezident České republiky (in translation: president of Czech Republic), are in harmony with his promise made on March 10, 2017 at a press release: *“Finally, I would like to say that I decided not to lead any personal presidential campaign on the next candidacy. I will fulfill all my presidential duties until the last moment,…”* The posts are usually constructed to map events taking place at the Prague Castle and the duties performed by Ivana Zemanová as the First Lady. All photographs are professionally taken, and in all cases, Ivana Zemanová is smartly dressed and wearing make-up. During the time period tracked, she was mentioned 42 times. The majority posts reflected visits she made alone in Czech regions and were very blunt, however, secured once so many reactions. Miloš Zeman was present in four images only. In all posts she was referred to as “My lady” and contributed to positive image of her husband by fulfilling her role as the First Lady.

4.2 Findings and Discussion

In this chapter, we shall present the results of data gathering. We demonstrate the patterns found between the presentation of the spouses on Facebook during the Czech presidential elections 2018. Furthermore, theoretical literature completed the results gathered. Main theories included the consequences of personalisation and the popularisation of first ladies themselves. What is more, feminist theories support our findings that women are still oppressed and constrained in media representations and political representations.

4.2.1 What is a First Lady?

"What is a Woman," is an opening phrase from Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (2011, p. 5), this paper tried to uncover what is the first lady and what is the role of a spouse on a journey of becoming the First Lady. The constitution mentions no assignments, yet she gained a prominent part in the presidency and specific role in the country. Aside from being a symbol, First ladies are a vital part of the image and receive attention and electoral coverage due to

their connection, not primarily a choice. The thesis has confirmed that spouses during the campaign were an irreplaceable part of campaigns. Beside professionalization of candidates' communication, celebrity politicians are formatted by interactions with media, oriented on their personality. That ought to be associated with a carefully constructed image, including a familial depiction of a spouse, now political celebrity herself.

4.2.2 Umbrella girls, women in supporting roles

In the face of Hejlová (2012, p. 162) statement, that the role of wives of top Czech politicians is "umbrella girls," newly emerged data have brought new examples in a number of ways. Hence Bode (2017) detailed gender-based participation gap, stating women are less likely to create content online and to be interested or participate in politics. Such expectation could be seen in the Figure 1 of how spouses were referred to as. Miloš Zeman has referred to Ivana Zemanová in 100 % cases as a spouse, yet the context of the message is political, as she was accomplishing her agenda; she is not included in the Figure 1.

		Drahoš	Fischer	Hannig	Hilšer	Horáček	Hynek	Kulháněk	Topolánek
Referred to as	Politician	1	0	0	3	3	0	1	0
	Voter	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Spouse	18	7	0	5	3	8	3	6
	Gender	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

Figure 1: An overview of results how were spouses referred to as

The items about reference fell into four categories. In 83 % they were referred to as a spouse, with couple exceptions, such as politician – setting own program, in this case, participation in First lady debate; gender – what is the role of women in Hilšers' perspective; Voter – stating why they would vote for their partners. They are portrayed in a supportive role. Historical duties and roles, although nowhere specified, have a direct influence on the perception of first ladies and also in the result of their performance. For that reason, emphasis was rather laid on “spouse” than politicians, and spouses were associated with supportive and domestic attributes. In light of Beauvoir’s work (2011), she ultimately shapes the role women play in society by performing characteristic attributed to certain gender. And is The Other. In view of Scharrer and Bissell (Cited in Harmer 2015) media comparison, the familial role is a safer path to prevent negative coverage. On the other hand, it's defining politics as a masculine domain. Which is quite problematic because, firstly, the distinction of private-public is now gendered based on labour division and inscribes women

to the private section; yet expects them to be active in the public. And secondly, those in power loose ability to communicate with those they are also supposed to represent, women (Kees Brants and Katrin Voltmer, 2011; Harmer, 2015).

Subsequently, the gendered representation of spheres was obvious in the topic distribution. Women were associated with cherishing families and relationships or protecting families from media pressure. In compliance with Harmer (2015) findings, the roles of women were constructed in traditionally feminine roles: although not making formal political statements, they perform their husband’s political values. Hejlová (2012) introduced the main characters of professionalism of political communication, apart from loving and supporting wife, it is an engagement in charity. The aim is to create a positive image for both.

What is more, as professionalism grew vital of a politician's life, new expectations emerged: spouses are assisting in campaigns, engaging in photo opportunities. On average spouses appeared in 7,38 % of all images posted by candidates (see Figure 6 for complete overview or Figure 2 for individual shares).

	Number of posts	Spouse mentioned	Spouse in image (not mentioned in copy)	Spouse featured in total	Spouse featured in total (in %)
Drahoš	266	19	24	43	16,17 %
Fischer	222	7	7	14	6,31 %
Hannig	209	0	0	0	0,00 %
Hilšer	256	9	3	12	4,69 %
Horáček	228	6	1	7	3,07 %
Hynek	283	8	2	10	3,53 %
Kulhánek	184	5	4	9	4,89 %
Topolánek	186	7	1	8	4,30 %
Zeman	199	42	3	45	22,61 %

Figure 2: Number of posts spouses were included in

4.2.3 The voice of public

The position of the public has been fundamentally shifted from consuming end to active citizenship. Hejlová (2012) further disclosed that public judges, how well have spouses in the role of supporting loving wife succeeded and according to their happiness reacts. Another key point was presented by Scharrer and Bissell (Cited in Harmer 2015), the more active a

spouse was, the more negative coverage she received. That supports the distribution of roles and assigning politics to males. We, therefore, considered candidates who referred to their partners more than 1 time as a politician and compared the number of reactions with a number of reactions when referred to as a spouse. Figure 3 reveals that in both cases, interestingly, were reached higher scores of reactions when a spouse was referred to a politician.

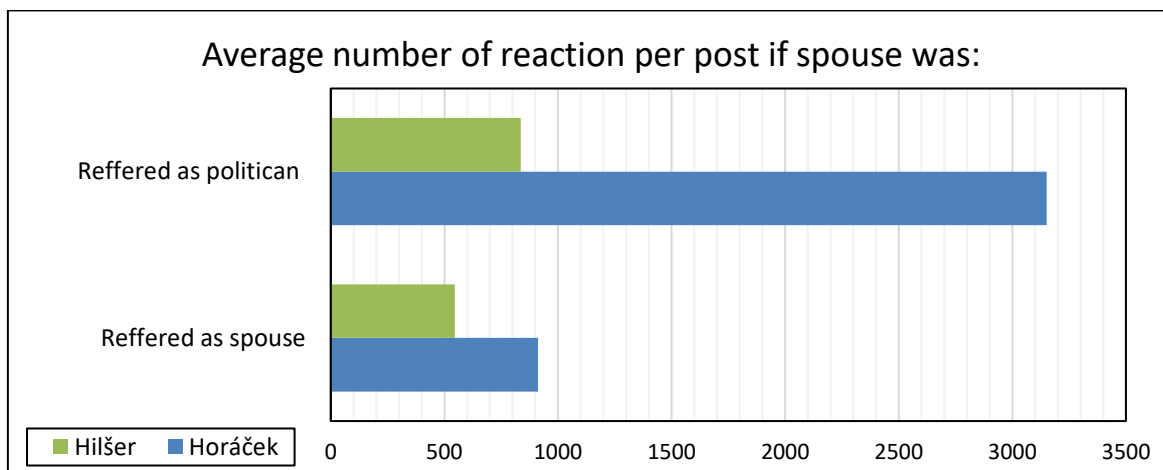


Figure 3: Average number of reaction if the spouse was referred as spouse or politician (likes, reactions, comments and shares combined)

Spouse's presence as politician has positive affect, as shown in the Figure 3. Under those circumstances, we shall answer RsQ1: If a spouse is mentioned in a Facebook post, does it have a direct influence on audience reactions? The overview consists of nine candidates and a percentage of reactions change (likes, reactions, comments and shares combined). It was revealed that in 7 out of 9 cases the number of reactions improved (see Figure 4). It is matter of further questioning, whether the reason behind was purely her existence or unforeseen change of tone of communication on the profile.

Drahoš	32 %
Fischer	47 %
Hannig	—
Hilšer	420 %
Horáček	14 %
Hynek	32 %
Kulhánek	-46 %
Topolánek	-9 %
Zeman	101 %

Figure 4: The change of reactions (likes, reactions, comments and shares combined), if spouse mentioned

Although in the USA tradition spouses helped to communicate certain topics, such as education (Eksterowitz and Roberts, 2004), in the Czech context, none persuaded the public about a certain topic from their husbands' program. Figure 5 uncovers the key problem, which is the lack of their own program communication, at the expense of the role as a family member and supporter. While Ivana Zemanová was mentioned only in context of her role as a First Lady, possible First Ladies were mostly portrayed as a part of the campaign, taking part in a photo shoot, being interviewed (links shared with the article) or taking part in the campaign trail. Indeed, it is disputable, whether program of Ivana Zemanová was part of campaign trail as well. Furthermore, the politicians were actively using feminine communication style (Campbell, cited in Meeks 2016), to be precise: encouraging identification between speaker and audience, engaging audience, using personal stories. These posts were of nature (see Figure 5): political program (19), political event (16), social-cultural values (14), personal activity (8) or other (6).

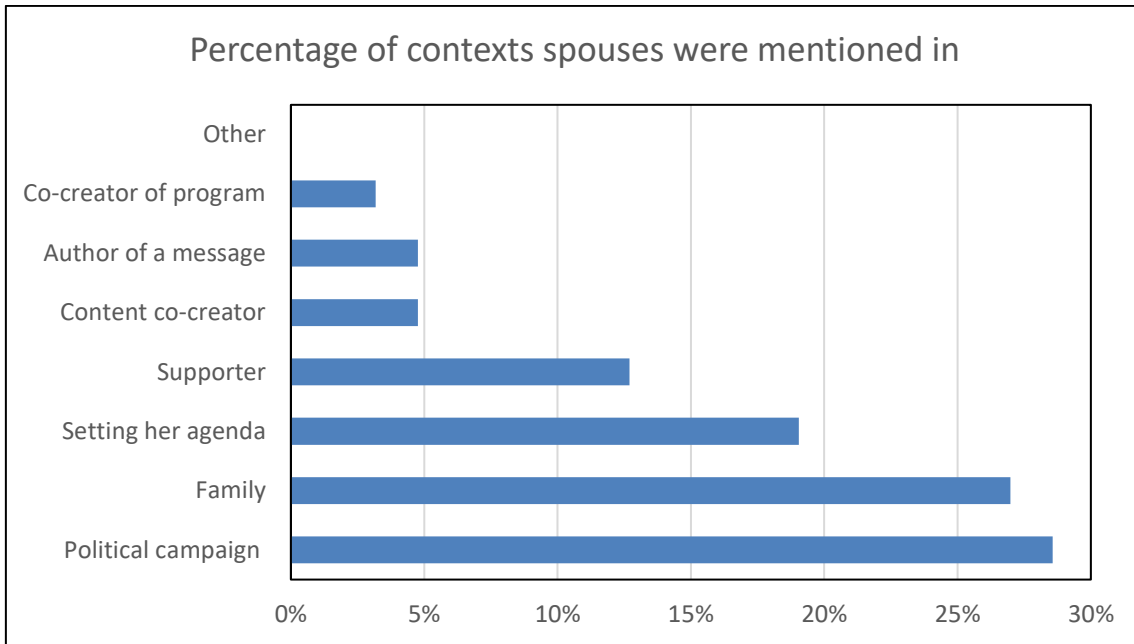


Figure 5: An overview of percentage of contexts potential First Ladies were mentioned in

Patterson (2015, p. 10) in key findings summarizes that members of opposition or a smaller party were more active on social media; he stated that social media serves as equalizer, due to low cost and its role, and personal initiative playing in its use. Notably, new candidates with lowest budgets, Petr Hannig and Jiří Hynek (Transparentní volby, 2019), were not limited on social media and thus in this matter, the platform worked as equalizer (see figure 6). Figure 6 at the same time reveals, what share of posts included positive variable “spouse mentioned”.

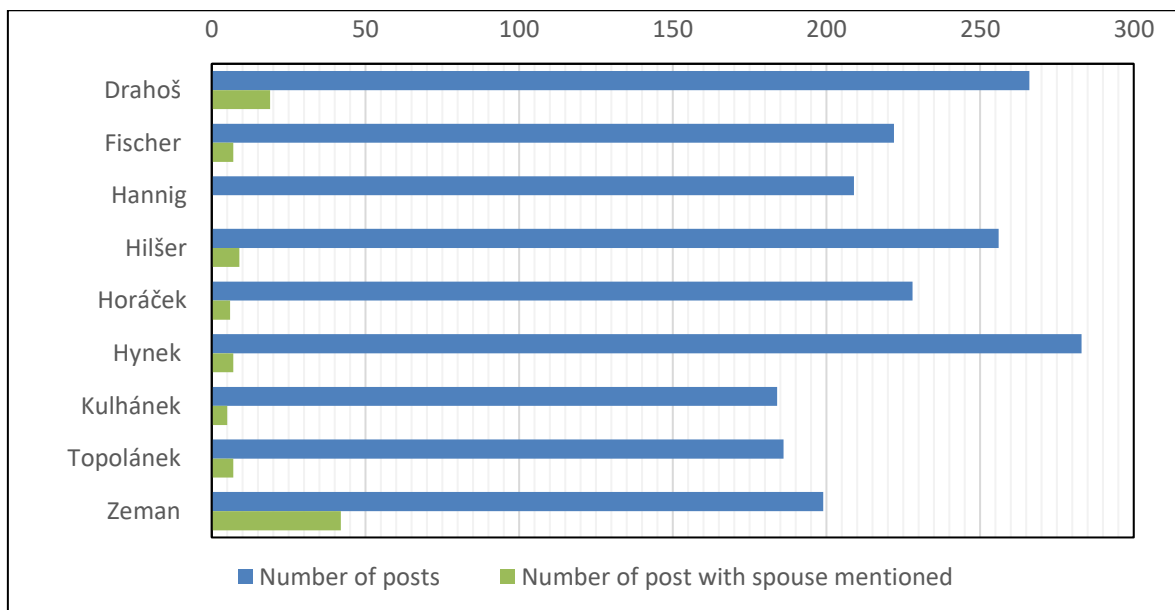


Figure 6: Overview of all posts shared and posts including spouse mentioned

4.2.4 Body as a source of power

A comparison of perspectives on the First lady as a politician could be seen on posts produced in the occasion of debate for potential First ladies, first ever of such kind, which was held on January 5, 2018, and organized by Asociace společenské odpovědnosti, o.p.s. All spouses, but Ivana Zemanová, were present and variety of approaches aroused on Facebook:

- **Marek Hilšer** – commented on the event in three posts, firstly he shared the live stream, secondly shared an album "I have accompanied Monika to the First Ladies debate today" and thirdly he shared a video of Monika's answer to a question, whether she is ready to leave her job as a doctor.
- **Michal Horáček** – the only image ever posted of his wife was after the debate, related text was about her appearance on the event as well as her part in his campaign. In the image, there is no mark of ritualization nor function ranking. Unfortunately, not long after he shared an article discussing outfits of ladies present.
- **Jiří Hynek** – at first he informed about the event taking place, what is more, the day after he shared an article discussing best dress code worn by a spouse on the event. He opposed the "fashion guru", that his wife was beautiful, and the best part was her smile. What is more, Eliška Hynková herself shared a post with similar defence to her personal Instagram.
- **Vladimír Kulhánek** – Vladimír had shared two kinds of information, at first he stated his partner was the prettiest one, followed by a post reflecting on Bohumila's words in debate, where she stated her agenda.
- **Mirek Topolánek** – shared a link with a live stream from the debate.
- **No mentions** – Fischer, Drahoš

In many cases, this was the only time the spouses got an opportunity to set their agendas. However, it was not their agenda that was covered by media, but appearance. Clothing choices of potential first ladies were used by a number of media to examine, for instance, Blesk.cz (2018, n.p.) or OnaDnes.cz (2018, n.p.). Allegation by Eksterowitz and Roberts (2004) that the most media coverage on the first ladyship, are in style section and in very specific type of magazines, has not been proved nor disproved, as it was not the studied subject, however in light of the debate, published articles focused on their charitable

activities as well as wardrobe choices. Hejlová (2012) sees it as a result of celebrityization, due to medialization of private details and as an opportunity to engage new recipients, as it is published in media intended for women.

What is more, on the occasion, three candidates commented on the beauty of their spouse. Under those circumstances, it is obvious, that fascination with the body, as a postfeminist indicator, was discovered. Rosalind Gills' (in Harmer, 2015) statement, that body is the main source of power and women's sense of identity is based on having an attractive body, was detected. By such actions, spouse is becoming a valuable object receiving media attention. Indeed, that contributes to enduring construct of beauty ideals. Such claim could be supported by reactions of Eliška Hynková and Jiří Hynek. Negative comments of her wardrobe both discussed on their channels, and Michal Horáček encouraged his followers to vote for his spouses' outfit. What is more, it supports the beauty ideals spouses of top politicians must represent. The notion of the body was present in more posts by candidates, in total was appearance mentioned in 16 % of all posts (see figure 7). Figure 8 uncovers the candidate with the highest share of appearance mentions was Vratislav Kulháněk, he mentioned Bohuslava Bračková's appearance every time when he was addressing an event including all spouses.

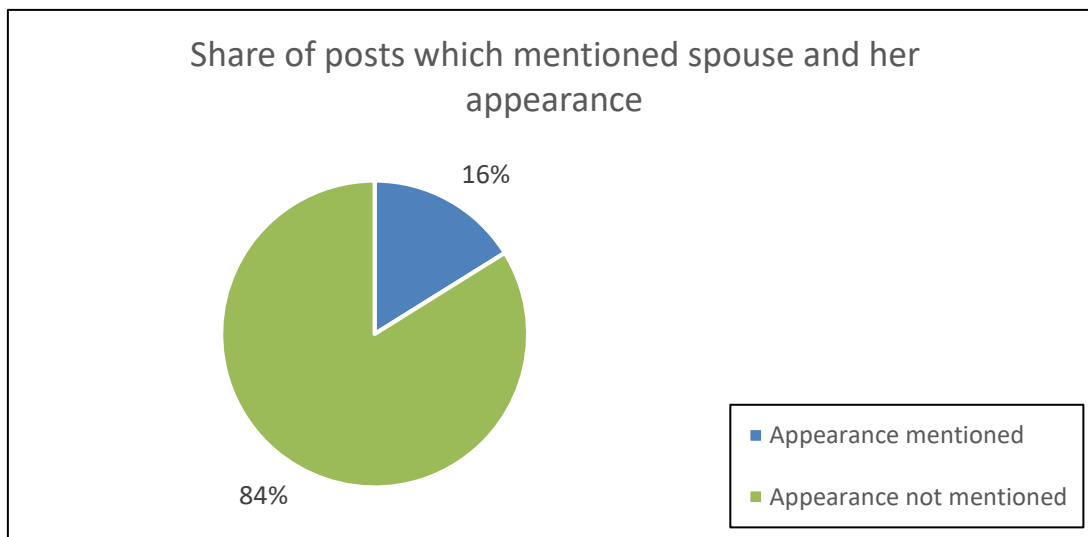


Figure 7: The number of appearances mentions in posts among all candidates

	Drahoš	Fischer	Hannig	Hilšer	Horáček	Hynek	Kulháněk	Topolánek	Zeman
Appearance mentioned in:	11 %	29 %	0 %	0 %	33 %	14 %	40 %	0 %	0 %

Figure 8: Share of posts including information about the appearance

On the other hand, postfeminist express femininity as bodily property and her body as central to her sense of identity (Gill in Harmer, 2015) that being the case, style choices could be considered a calculated political practice and present humanizing element in a sense that their wives shop at the same store as the voters. If the level of comfort among voters is not reached, they may feel as their concerns are not met and needs not addressed. Conversely, they are expected to dress and act as a role model in society. Ivana Zemanová in all posts had look tailored to the role and confirmed the expectation. Figure 9 shows how variable “appearance” was interpreted based on style choice, supporting the bodily obsession statement, in most cases it was not distinguishable, followed by a flawless look of the First Lady. Speaking about the importance of appearance brings us back to body obsession and to example by Walter (2010) that first ladies receive admiration for great clothes in place of bright intelligence.

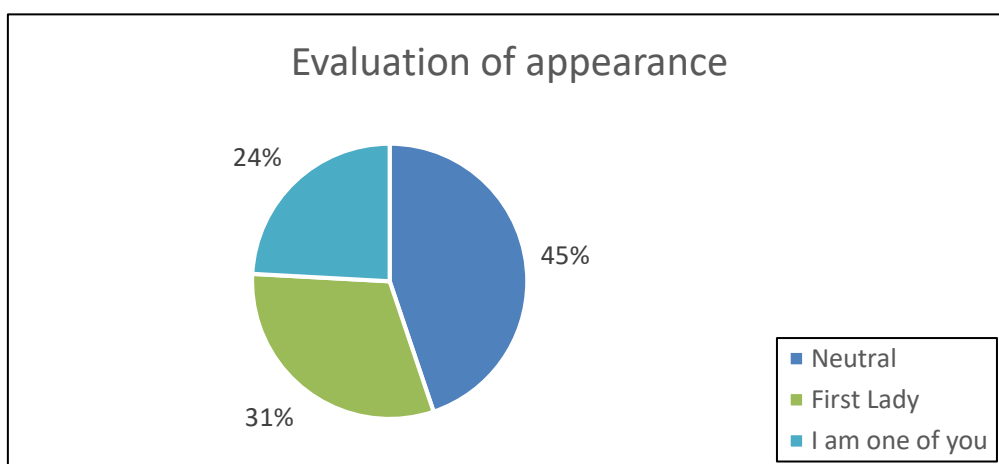


Figure 9: Appearance of potential First Ladies evaluated as

To look at the bodily property and social roles from a different point of view, we analysed two parameters based on Goffman's (1979) Gender Advertisements – Function ranking and ritualization of relation to candidate. Function ranking was coded as positive when: the article mentioned her, but the spouse was not in the image; when she is being instructed, represents a non-executive job or assigned to the traditionally feminine activity. Of the 45 statuses from the total sample that mentioned spouse and included an image, in 22 cases function ranking was present. The man was in 48,89 % in an executive role, what might have

been expected, as he is the candidate, and she is only a part of his image. Formerly private aspect, now important to promote as a part of the candidate's character (Lilleker, 2006).

In 47 % cases women were ritualized to a candidate in photographs, coded as if: she was physically lowering herself, positioned as child (hidden, protected, held), asymmetric signs present (arm lock, shoulder hold), or pictured smaller. In like manner were analysed images of Michelle Obama by the White House, the proportion of function ranking and ritualization of subordination, in her case was 19 % of photos (Mortensen, 2015). Just under half of the images contained traditional instances, answering the main objective (RQ), portrayal of spouses in Czech environment negatively contributes to stereotypization of genders and spouses are used as a part of campaign in a sense of improving ones image. As a result, in this context, social media does not work as gender equaliser. Important to realize, these traditional portrayals now function to reaffirm basic social arrangements and believes (Goffman,1979). What is more, it teaches women how ought to be, confirming Beauvoir (2011, p. 283) words: *“One is not born, but rather becomes, woman.”*

The RsQ2 asked: Does frequency of Facebook posts that include information about a spouse differ in the analysed election campaign period? As Figure 10 shows, the peak, of using a spouse as a part of image, was at the end of campaigns. Besides, the number of posts with mention was demonstrated in Figure 6, to sum up, on average spouse was mentioned 11,33 times, which is 5 % of all posts.

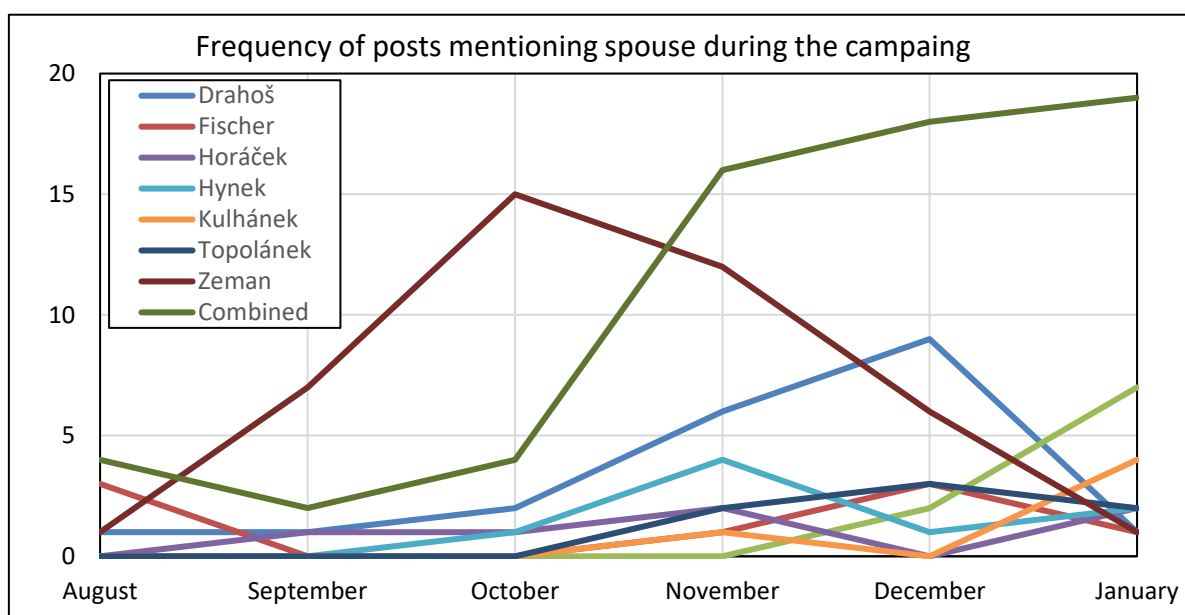


Figure 10: Frequency of spouse mentions over studied period of time vs timeline all candidates combined

5 CONCLUSION

Social media powerfully influenced the way political actors (elected or campaigning) communicated with the electorate and thus changed the political landscape. This thesis was designed to analyse how candidates portray their spouses on highly accessible online platform, Facebook, and has shown patterns of online behaviour of candidates in the 2018 Czech presidential election.

Although Patterson (2016, p. 13) concluded: *“Whereas traditional news media exhibit many of the gender biases found in the broader society, social media are as available to women as they are to men.”* Analysis has demonstrated that spouses of political candidates suffer from gender biases and labelling. Considering all data, these women were portrayed as being secondary to male political power. In this research spouses were mainly portrayed as spouses (83 %), and were usually mentioned in the context of their family during the political campaign, as well as the exceedingly high share of Ritualization of their relation to the candidate and Function ranking (both almost 50 %). We can conclude that they were not ultimately free to pursue their own agendas nor their own perception of the First lady. Society and the candidate (3 % of all posts on average included spouse) has confined them to the social roles associated with the First Lady position. Another key point regards the obsession with the body, which is seen as a main source of female power and sense of identity. Appearance was mentioned in 16 % of all posts and clothing choices became a topic of examination throughout the media. Nevertheless, Postman (2006) pointed out the line between triviality and seriousness, when appearance and image dominate politics, this undermines forms of communication.

It is important to realize the influence the spouse’s presence has on interaction of fans. In posts where spouses were mentioned directly, the engagement of fans (likes, reactions, comments and shares combined) increased in seven cases, in average by 74 %. We further analysed whether referring to a spouse as a politician would reduce engagement. On the contrary, the reaction increased; reaction to Hilšer’s and Horáček’s posts (likes, reactions, comments and shares combined) both increased. Nevertheless, all things considered, Czech spouses of top politicians were on Facebook embodying family rather than their own visions and program. As Hejlová (2012) said, they were “umbrella girls”. Hence, The Other.

As a final point, we would like to state that #drahosovinahrad is the future and no side-lining as political actors. The First Lady ought not be an unpaid position with no role or access to

the political process, constrained by norms. On the contrary, their position should be defined, paid and respected, enabling them to be politicians free to pursue own agenda.

SUMMARY

As new trends of political communication arise, there are more reason to explore it. This bachelor thesis has explored how were spouses of presidential candidates in 2018 Czech elections represented and portrayed on social media. By outlining political communication development and impact of social media within, as well as delineating visual and feminists' concepts, the text introduced major concepts and classifications required to carry out the analysis. The objective was to analyse how are spouses presented and portrayed on social media during campaigns. Through content analysis employed to detect textual and visuals side, have been examined all posts created by candidates on Facebook (in total 2104 posts) during official campaign. Only posts directly mentioning spouse (3 %) were further examined. In the practical part is further explained mixed research design used to analyse the obtained data. This bachelor thesis has shown that spouses are taking part in creating trustworthy image of the candidate, due to applying personalization of political communication. Furthermore, number of patterns was discovered: the appearance of spouse was mentioned in one sixth of posts, confirming postfeminist theory of body obsession, believing body to be the main source of women (spouse's) power. Correspondingly in almost 50 % examined posts were spouses pictured as ritualized to the candidate and having lower position in hierarchy of functions. Presently, the number of reactions (likes, reactions, comments and shares combined) was improved by 74 % if spouse mentioned and interestingly if she was referred to as politician, instead of spouse, the number was even higher. Another finding is that the number of posts including spouse has been increasing through of the whole campaign, being at peek at the very end. To summarize, although spouses are given great amount of media coverage and are counted upon within the campaign, their role is familial, relying on roles traditionally assigned to women.

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**Institut komunikačních studií a žurnalistiky FSV UK
Teze BAKALÁŘSKÉ diplomové práce**

TUTO ČÁST VYPLŇUJE STUDENT/KA:

Příjmení a jméno diplomantky/diplomanta:
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Imatrikulační ročník diplomantky/diplomanta:
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Marketingová komunikace a PR, prezenční

Razítko podatelny:

Univerzita Karlova Fakulta sociálních věd	
Došlo dne:	25-05-2018 -1-
Čj:	1896 Příloh:
Přiděleno:	

Předpokládaný název práce v češtině:
Sociální média a gender během politických kampaní: Role partnerů v českém prostředí

Předpokládaný název práce v angličtině:
Social Media and Gender in Political Campaigns: The Role of Candidate Spouses in the Czech Republic

Předpokládaný termín dokončení (semestr, akademický rok – vzor: ZS 2012/2013):
(diplomovou práci je možné odevzdat nejdříve po dvou semestrech od schválení tezí)
LS 2018/2019

Základní charakteristika tématu a předpokládaný cíl práce (max. 1000 znaků):
The aim of this research is to analyze the role of spouses during presidential elections, precisely how these spouses are used in political campaigns in social media. My hypothesis is that the created images of the spouses negatively contribute to the stereotypization of genders and that the proved perspective of social media as a gender equalizer, as Patterson (2016) notes, does not apply in this case. I would like to question whether the spouses are respected as individuals or rather used as a marketing tool.
It has become the status quo in the Czech Republic to have white married male candidates in the presidential elections, hence the role and "use" of spouses, therefore women, in such situations being inevitable components of their campaigns.

Předpokládaná struktura práce (rozdělení do jednotlivých kapitol a podkapitol se stručnou charakteristikou jejich obsahu):

1. Introduction
2. Theoretical part
 - 2.1. The role of social media in politics
 - 2.2. Gender and online political communication
 - 2.3. The role of spouses
3. Methodology
4. Practical part
 - 3.1. Introducing candidates and spouses
 - 3.2. Analysis
5. Discussion
6. Conclusion
6. Literature

Vymezení zpracovávaného materiálu (např. konkrétní titul periodika a období jeho analýzy):

Primary sources:

Online communication produced by spouses and candidates in order to win the presidential elections 2018

Secondary sources:

Scholarly articles and books focusing on social media, gender and political communication, followed by texts analyzing the role and image of spouses during elections

Postup (technika) při zpracování materiálu:

Qualitative content analysis

Základní literatura (nejméně 5 nejdůležitějších titulů k tématu a způsobu jeho zpracování; u všech titulů je nutné uvést stručnou anotaci na 2-5 řádků):

BEAUVOIR, Simone de, Constance Borde, and Sheila Malovany-Chevallier. 2011. The Second Sex. New York

The theory of the Other fits in the scheme of the understanding of the status of the first lady in the Czech environment.

BODE, Leticia. Closing the gap: gender parity in political engagement on social media. INFORMATION, COMMUNICATION & SOCIETY [online]. 2017, 20(4). Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1202302>

A text expanding and exploring the idea of gender differences in political engagement and online content creation and traits resulting from such behavior.

DOLAN, Kathleen. Do Women Candidates Play to Gender Stereotypes? Do Men Candidates Play to Women? Candidate Sex and Issues Priorities on Campaign Websites. Political Research Quarterly [online]. 2005, 58(1)

Dolan's text is concerned with analysis of gender-biased stereotypes within the online political communication.

PATTERSON, Thomas. Social Media: Advancing Women in Politics?. Women in Parliaments Global Forum (WIP), 2016.

Publication about the current online participation of women in parliaments across the world.

VOCHOCOVA, L., STETKA, V. and MAZAK, J., 2016. Good girls don't comment on politics? Gendered character of online political participation in the Czech Republic. Information Communication and Society, 19 (10), pp.1321-1339.

Research focused on the communication of certain Facebook profiles during Czech Parliamentary elections in 2013, uncovering significant distinctions between men and women.

VRÁBLÍKOVÁ, Kateřina. Politická participace a její determinanty v postkomunistických zemích. Sociologický časopis/Czech Sociological Review [online]. 2009

Study of political participation in regard to the history of the country and other factors, such as gender.

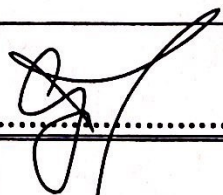
Diplomové práce k tématu (seznam bakalářských, magisterských a doktorských prací, které byly k tématu obhájeny na UK, případně dalších oborově blízkých fakultách či vysokých školách za posledních pět let)

JELÍNKOVÁ, Petra. Office of the U.S. First Lady. Prague, 2014. Charles University in Prague

MĚŠŤANOVÁ, Kateřina. The role of the first lady in the context of public and private spheres: the analysis of media image of Ivana Zemanová. Prague, 2017. Charles University in Prague.

Datum / Podpis studenta/ky

24. 5. 2018

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TUTO ČÁST VYPLŇUJE PEDAGOG/PEDAGOŽKA:

Doporučení k tématu, struktuře a technice zpracování materiálu:

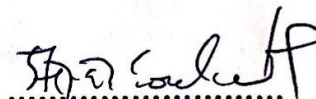
Případné doporučení dalších titulů literatury předepsané ke zpracování tématu:

Potvrzuji, že výše uvedené teze jsem s jejich autorem/kou konzultoval(a) a že téma odpovídá mému oborovému zaměření a oblasti odborné práce, kterou na FSV UK vykonávám.

Souhlasím s tím, že budu vedoucí(m) této práce.

SOUKENÍK ŠTEPÁN

25.5.2018



Příjmení a jméno pedagožky/pedagoga

Datum / Podpis pedagožky/pedagoga

TEZE JE NUTNO ODEVZDAT VYTIŠTĚNÉ, PODEPSANÉ A VE DVOU VYHOTOVENÍCH DO TERMÍNU UVEDENÉHO V HARMONOGRAMU PŘÍSLUŠNÉHO AKADEMICKÉHO ROKU, A TO PROSTŘEDNICTVÍM PODATELNÝ FSV UK. PŘIJATÉ TEZE JE NUTNÉ SI VYZVEDNOUT V SEKRETARIÁTU PŘÍSLUŠNÉ KATEDRY A NECHAT VEVÁZAT DO OBOU VÝTISKU DIPLOMOVÉ PRÁCE.

TEZE SCHVALUJE GARANT PŘÍSLUŠNÉHO STUDIJNÍHO PROGRAMU/OBORU.

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix no. 1: *An overview of results how were spouses referred to as (table)*

Appendix no. 2: *Number of posts spouses were included in (table)*

Appendix no. 3: *Average number of reaction if the spouse was referred as spouse or politician (likes, reactions, comments and shares combined) (table)*

Appendix no. 4: *The change of reactions (likes, reactions, comments and shares combined), if spouse mentioned (table)*

Appendix no. 5: *An overview of percentage of contexts potential First Ladies were mentioned in (graph)*

Appendix no. 6: *Overview of all posts shared and posts including spouse mention (graph)*

Appendix no. 7: *The number of appearances mentions in posts among all candidates (graph)*

Appendix no. 8: *Share of posts including information about the appearance (table)*

Appendix no. 9: *Appearance of potential First Ladies evaluated as (graph)*

Appendix no. 10: *Frequency of spouse mentions over studied period of time vs timeline all candidates combined (graph)*