

# OFF WITH HER HEAD

THREE THOUSAND YEARS OF  
DEMONIZING  
WOMEN IN POWER

ELEANOR HERMAN



WILLIAM MORROW

*An Imprint of HarperCollins Publishers*

OFF WITH HER HEAD. Copyright © 2022 by Eleanor Herman. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews. For information, address HarperCollins Publishers, 195 Broadway, New York, NY 10007.

HarperCollins books may be purchased for educational, business, or sales promotional use. For information, please email the Special Markets Department at [SPsales@harpercollins.com](mailto:SPsales@harpercollins.com).

FIRST EDITION

*Designed by Nancy Singer*

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data has been applied for.

ISBN 978-0-06-309567-0

22 23 24 25 26 LSC 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To my editor at William Morrow, Lucia Macro, many thanks for your support through so many books. We have come a long way since you were my first US book editor back in 2003 for *Sex with Kings*. It is always such a pleasure to work with you, and I have enjoyed laughing with you about the strange foibles of life, liberty, and the pursuit of publishing.

To my agent Stephen Barbara at InkWell Management, I cherish your calm, reliable manner and incisive literary expertise. We have some weird and wonderful adventures on this journey. Here's to many more!

I have had a tremendous support group who kept me upbeat in the bizarre time of COVID: my ever-patient husband, Michael (though I sometimes feel I should call him "Job") Dymant; my stepsons, Phil and Sam Dymant; their SOs, Crisy Dymant and Marissa Goldberg; and my fabulous coterie of friends: Susanne Spencer, Elise Kress, Leslie Harris, Adrienne Harris, Shirley Ginwright, Helen Randolph, King Peggy, Emily Heddleson, Kelly

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Ghaisar, and Tim Kime. Special thanks to Rev. Sylvia Sumter, Senior Minister of Unity of Washington, DC, for the joyful light of her wisdom. Thanks to all of you for buoying me up, laughing at my jokes, and keeping me from sliding into irreversible pandemic brain fog.

My friends' love, laughter, and support have been particularly helpful during the pandemic. A time when, instead of lecturing at book events, and going to TV and radio stations for interviews, and meeting fans, and signing their books, I do all my publicity on Zoom with my butt in the exact same chair where I have been sitting for two years writing. Sometimes I feel like a fly stuck on sticky paper. *Help! I am stuck in this chair, and I can't get up!* I so miss live events where the air sizzles and crackles with excitement and expectation, where energy becomes synergy, and ideas are exchanged, and emotions spark, and every one of us in that room contributes to creating something completely new.

I sincerely hope, with this book, things will be different, and I will get to meet many of you (and get my butt out of this chair). Fingers crossed!

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## VIDEOS YOU ABSOLUTELY MUST WATCH

Hillary Clinton told NBC News that “the more a woman is in service to someone else”: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4r4XG-IytVw>

Australian prime minister Julia Gillard’s Misogyny Speech: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fCNuPcf8L00>

European Commission president Ursula von der Leyen denied a seat by President Erdoğan of Turkey: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4OEm\\_gUi8gY](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4OEm_gUi8gY)

Ursula von der Leyen’s reaction to Sofagate: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YPd6dn9mkaw>

Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez responds to Representative Ted Yoho calling her a bitch: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tSZcdMCHn2o>

Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez responds to Representative Paul Gosar’s photoshopped anime tweet in which he kills her: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wcCD3RI2vMg>

Maxine Waters stands up for women in Congress: <https://www.c-span.org/video/?59115-1/whitewater-controversy-house-floor>

Kamala Harris grills Attorney General Bill Barr: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wcvcj\\_VuywA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wcvcj_VuywA)

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Trevor Noah lambastes those who say Kamala Harris isn't Black enough:  
<https://www.thedailybeast.com/trevor-noah-tears-into-fox-news-for-saying-kamala-harris-isnt-black-enough>

### BOOKS

Adams, Tracy. *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010.

Aitken, Jonathan. *Margaret Thatcher: Power and Personality*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2013.

Andrews-Dyer, Helena, and R. Eric Thomas. *Reclaiming Her Time: The Power of Maxine Waters*. New York: Dey Street, 2020.

Anonymous. *A Mervaylous Discourse upon the Lyfe, Deeds, and Behaviours of Katherine de Medicis, Queen Mother: wherein are displayed the meanes which she had practised to attain unto the usurping of the Kingedome of France, and to the bringing of the estate of the same unto utter ruine and destruction*. Publisher unknown. Heidelberg, 1575.

Asimov, Isaac. *Guide to the Bible*. New York: Wings Books, 1968.

Ball, Molly. *Pelosi*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2020.

Beard, Mary. *Women & Power: A Manifesto*. London: Profile Books, 2018.

Beauvoir, Simone de. *The Second Sex*. New York: Vintage Books, 1989.

Bhutto, Benazir. *Daughter of Destiny: An Autobiography*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1989.

Bordo, Susan. *The Creation of Anne Boleyn: In Search of the Tudors' Most Notorious Queen*. London: Oneworld Publications, 2018.

Bordo, Susan. *The Destruction of Hillary Clinton*. Brooklyn: Melville House, 2017.

Bordo, Susan. *Imagine Bernie Sanders as a Woman*. Denver: Outskirts Press, 2020.

Bourdeille, Pierre de, abbé de Brantôme, *Book of the Illustrious Dames*. Freiburg, Germany: Outlook Verlag, 2020.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bradford, Sarah. *Lucrezia Borgia*. New York: Viking, 2004.
- Bridge, Antony. *Theodora: Portrait in a Byzantine Landscape*. Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 1993.
- Bulfinch, Thomas. *Bulfinch's Mythology*. New York: Viking Press, 1979.
- Bunce, Robin, and Samara Linton. *Diane Abbott: The Authorised Biography*. London: Biteback Publishing, 2020.
- Burkett, Elinor. *Golda Meir & The Birth of Israel*. London: Gibbon Square, 2017.
- Chisholm, Shirley. *Unbought & Unbossed*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970.
- Clinton, Hillary Rodham. *What Happened*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2017.
- Cook, Blanche Wiesen. *Eleanor Roosevelt, Volume 1: The Early Years, 1884–1933*. New York: Penguin, 1992.
- Cooney, Kara. *When Women Ruled the World: Six Queens of Egypt*. Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2018.
- Cooper, Helene. *Madame President: The Extraordinary Journey of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2017.
- Crankshaw, Edward. *Maria Theresa*. New York: Viking Press, 1969.
- de Hart, Jane Sherron. *Ruth Bader Ginsburg: A Life*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2018.
- Dolan, Julie, Melissa Deckman, and Michele L. Swers. *Women and Politics: Paths to Power and Political Influence*. Boston: Longman, 2011.
- Doyle, Sady. *Dead Blondes and Bad Mothers: Monstrosity, Patriarchy, and the Fear of Female Power*. Brooklyn: Melville House, 2019.
- Doyle, Sady. *Trainwreck: The Women We Love to Hate, Mock, and Fear . . . and Why*. Brooklyn: Melville House, 2016.
- Enloe, Cynthia. *The Curious Feminist*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- Erickson, Carolly. *Great Catherine: The Life of Catherine the Great, Empress of Russia*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1994.
- Ferraro, Geraldine. *My Story*. New York: Bantam Books, 1985.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Fitzpatrick, Ellen. *The Highest Glass Ceiling: Women's Quest for the American Presidency*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2016.
- Frank, Katherine. *Indira: The Life of Indira Nehru Gandhi*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2002.
- Fraser, Antonia. *Marie Antoinette: The Journey*. New York: Anchor Books, 2001.
- Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997.
- Gillard, Julia. *My Story*. Sydney, Australia: Vintage Books, 2015.
- Gillard, Julia, and Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala. *Women and Leadership: Real Lives, Real Lessons*. Sydney, Australia: Penguin Random House Australia, 2020.
- Gordon, Mary. *Joan of Arc*. New York: Viking Press, 2000.
- Grant, Michael. *Cleopatra: A Biography*. New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1995.
- Han, Lori Cox, and Caroline Heldman, editors. *Rethinking Madam President*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishing, 2007.
- Holland, Jack. *A Brief History of Misogyny: The World's Oldest Prejudice*. London: Robinson, 2006.
- Jamieson, Kathleen Hall. *Beyond the Double Bind: Women and Leadership*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Jansen, Sharon L., trans. *Anne of France: Lessons for My Daughter*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004.
- Kingdon, Robert M. *Myths about the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres, 1572–1576*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Knecht, R. J. *Catherine de' Medici*. London: Longman, 1988.
- Knox, John. *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*. Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1558.
- Komisar, Lucy. *Corazon Aquino: The Story of a Revolution*. New York: George Braziller, 1987.
- Krook, Mona Lena. *Violence Against Women in Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Lampitt, Dinah. *The King's Women*. New York: Signet Books, 1992.
- Lowry, Joan A. *Pat Schroeder: A Woman of the House*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003.
- Mahoney, Irene. *Madam Catherine*. New York: Coward, McGann & George, Inc., 1975.
- Manne, Kate. *Down Girl: The Logic of Misogyny*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Manne, Kate. *Entitled: How Male Privilege Hurts Women*. New York: Crown, 2020.
- Morain, Dan. *Kamala's Way: An American Life*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2021.
- Murray, Rainbow, ed. *Cracking the Highest Glass Ceiling: A Global Comparison of Women's Campaigns for Executive Office*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2010.
- Nolan, Hayley. *Anne Boleyn: 500 Years of Lies*. New York: Little A, 2019.
- Paglia, Emile. *Sexual Personae: Art and Decadence from Nefertiti to Emily Dickinson*. New York: Vintage, 1991.
- Phillips, Jess. *Everywoman: One Woman's Truth about Speaking the Truth*. London: Windmill Books, 2017.
- Plowden, Alison. *Marriage with My Kingdom: The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth I*. New York: Stein and Day, 1977.
- Prince, Rosa. *Theresa May: The Enigmatic Prime Minister*. London: Bite-back Publishing, 2017.
- Procopius. *The Secret History*. New York: Penguin, 1966.
- Qvortrup, Matthew. *Angela Merkel: Europe's Most Influential Leader*. New York: Overlook Duckworth, 2017.
- Reeves, Rachel. *Women of Westminster: The MPs Who Changed Politics*. London: I.B. Taurus, 2019.
- Sandberg, Sheryl. *Lean In: Women, Work, and the Will to Lead*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013.
- Schiff, Stacy. *Cleopatra: A Life*. New York: Little, Brown & Co., 2010.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Schroeder, Pat. *24 Years of House Work . . . and the Place Is Still a Mess: My Life in Politics*. Kansas City: Andrew McNeel Publishing, 1998.
- Sloan, Susan. *A Seat at the Table: Women, Diplomacy, and Lessons for the World*. Potomac, MD: New Degree Press, 2020.
- Starkey, David. *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*. New York: Harper-Collins, 2003.
- Steinberg, Blema S. *Women in Power: The Personalities and Leadership Styles of Indira Gandhi, Golda Meir, and Margaret Thatcher*. Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2008.
- Suvorova, Anna. *Benazir Bhutto: A Multidimensional Portrait*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Thomas, Chantal. *The Wicked Queen: The Origins of the Myth of Marie Antoinette*. New York: Zone Books, 2001.
- Thomas, Evan. *First: Sandra Day O'Connor, An Intimate Portrait of the First Woman Supreme Court Justice*. New York: Random House, 2019.
- Trimble, Linda. *Ms. Prime Minister: Gender, Media, and Leadership*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017.
- Tyldesley, Joyce. *Hatshepsut: The Female Pharaoh*. New York: Penguin Books, 1998.
- Verdon, Jean. *Isabeau de Bavière*. Paris: J. Tallendier, 1981.
- Weir, Alison. *The Life of Elizabeth I*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1998.
- Williamson, Hugh Ross. *Catherine de' Medici*. London: Michael Joseph, Ltd., 1973.

## WEB ARTICLES AND SCHOLARLY PAPERS

- Aalberg, Toril, and Anders Todal Jenssen. "Gender Stereotyping of Political Candidates, An Experimental Study of Political Communication." *Nordicom Review* 28, no. 1 (2007): 17–32.
- Abend, Lisa. "'The Idea of Denmark as a Gender Paradise Is a Myth.'

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- #MeToo Finally Came to Denmark—And the Reckoning Is Only Just Beginning.” *Time*, November 2, 2020.
- Adams, Tim. “Testosterone and High Finance Do Not Mix: So Bring on the Women.” *Guardian*, June 11, 2011.
- Adams, Tracy, and Glenn Rechtschaffen. “The Reputation of the Queen and Public Opinion: The Case of Isabeau of Bavaria.” *Medieval Feminist Forum* 47, no. 1 (2011).
- Akutekha, Esther. “What Kamala Harris’ Style Choices Say about Her Politics.” *HuffPost*, October 7, 2020.
- Allen, Jonathan. “Confessions of a Clinton Reporter: The Media’s 5 Unspoken Rules for Covering Hillary.” *Vox*, July 6, 2015.
- Allsop, John, Kelsey Ables, and Denise Southwood. “Who’s the Boss?” *Columbia Journalism Review* (Spring/Summer 2018).
- Atir, Stav, and Melissa J. Ferguson. “How Gender Determines the Way We Speak about Professionals.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States* 115, no. 28 (July 2018): 7278–7283.
- Atwell, Ashleigh. “Mayor of Virginia Town Refuses to Resign, Defends Meme of Aunt Jemima as Biden’s VP: ‘I Took It to Be Humorous.’” *Atlanta Black Star*, August 6, 2020.
- Bigio, Jamille. “Women, Peace, and Security.” <https://www.cfr.org/conference-calls/women-peace-and-security>.
- Boboltz, Sarah. “Jill Biden Spokesman Snaps Back at *Wall Street Journal* for Editorial on ‘Dr.’ Title.” *HuffPost*, December 12, 2020.
- Burnett, Sara. “Democrats See Racism in GOP Mispronunciations of ‘Kamala.’” Associated Press, August 22, 2020.
- Cadelego, Christopher, and Natasha Korecki. “Karen Bass Rises as a Sleeper Pick to be Biden’s VP.” *Politico.com*. July 24, 2020.
- Cardy, Meghan. “Lock Her Up: Harassment and Violence Against Women in Alberta Politics.” *Political Science Undergraduate Review* 3, no. 1 (January 2017).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Carlin, Diana B., and Kelly L. Winfrey. "Have You Come a Long Way, Baby? Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and Sexism in 2008 Campaign Coverage." *Communication Studies* 60, no. 4 (September–October 2009).
- Carr, Glynda C. "A Black Woman Was Speaking and the World Listened." *The Crisis Magazine*, October 10, 2020.
- Catanese, David. "The Authenticity Test." *USNews.com*. January 10, 2019.
- Chemaly, Soraya. "Bernie Sanders Isn't Sexist. The Whole System Is." *Washington Post*, January 23, 2020.
- Cheng, William. "The Long, Sexist History of 'Shrill' Women." *Time*, March 23, 2016.
- Cooper, Marianne. "For Women Leaders, Likability and Success Hardly Go Hand-in-Hand." *Harvard Business Review*, April 30, 2013.
- Devere, Heather. "The Don and Helen New Zealand Election 2005: A Media A-gender?" *Pacific Journalism Review*, December 2006.
- Di Meco, Lucina. "Women, Politics & Power in the New Media World." *She-Persisted.org*, November 5, 2019.
- Doyle, Sady. "Why Do Successful Women Like Hillary Clinton Get Under So Many People's Skin?" *Guardian*, November 6, 2016.
- Evans, Jon, and Jerel Slaughter. "Gender and the Evaluation of Humor at Work." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 104, no. 8 (February 7, 2019): 1077–1087.
- Fang, Marina. "Like Clockwork, Kamala Harris Criticized as 'Unlikeable' Because She's a Woman in Politics." *HuffPost*, October 8, 2020.
- Frenkel, Dean. "Drop the Gillard Twang: It's Beginning to Annoy." *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 21, 2011.
- Friedman, Avery. "Michelle Obama Addresses the Racism She Faced as First Lady." *Global Citizen*, July 26, 2017.
- Friedman, Vanessa. "Boris Johnson and the Rise of Silly Style." *New York Times*, July 23, 2019.
- Friedman, Vanessa. "Why Covering Nancy Pelosi's Hot Pink Dress Isn't Sexist." *New York Times*, January 10, 2019.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Gaines, Janet Howe. "How Bad Was Jezebel?" *Bible Review*, October 2000.
- Gaines, Janet Howe. "Lilith: Seductress, Heroine, or Murderer?" *Bible Review*, October 2001.
- Gibbons, Rachel. "Isabeau of Bavaria, Queen of France (1385–1422): The Creation of an Historical Villainess." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 (1996): 51–73.
- Givhan, Robin. "Hillary Clinton's Tentative Dip Into New Neckline Territory." *Washington Post*, July 20, 2007.
- Goldberg, Emma. "Fake Nudes and Real Threats: How Online Abuse Holds Back Women in Politics." *New York Times*, June 3, 2021.
- Gothreau, Claire. "The Objectification of Women in Politics and Why It Matters." *Center for American Women in Politics*, August 31, 2020.
- Gray, Emma. "'F\*\*king Bitch' and the Everyday Terror Men Feel about Powerful Women." *HuffPost*, July 23, 2020.
- Guerin, Cecile, and Eisha Maharasingam-Shah. "Public Figures, Public Rage: Candidate Abuse on Social Media." *The Institute for Strategic Dialogue*, October 5, 2020.
- Gupta, Boshika. "Here's What Made Cleopatra So Different from Other Egyptian Rulers." *Grunge.com*, September 16, 2020.
- Hall, Lauren, J., and Ngaire Donaghue. "'Nice Girls Don't Carry Knives': Constructions of Ambition in Media Coverage of Australia's First Female Prime Minister." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 52, no. 4 (August 2012).
- Hampton, Janie. "The Taboo of Menstruation." *Aeon.com*, May 2, 2017.
- Hao, Karen. "Deepfakes Have Got Congress Panicking. This Is What It Needs to Do." *MIT Technology Review*, June 12, 2019.
- Harris, John F., and Peter Baker. "Terry Ties Allen to Attacks." *Washington Post*, October 13, 1993.
- Harvey, Josephine. "'Like A Boss': Twitter Users Are Raving about Kamala Harris' Campaign Trail Shoes." *HuffPost*, September 8, 2020.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Hattersley, Giles. “‘I’m Just Trying To Constantly Remind People, ‘Don’t Forget Women’ — Labour MP Jess Phillips.” *British Vogue*, August 2019.
- Heilweil, Rebecca. “What Women in Congress Want from Facebook.” *Vox*, August 7, 2020.
- Hesse, Monica. “The *Wall Street Journal* Column about Jill Biden Is Worse Than You Thought.” *Washington Post*, December 13, 2020.
- Hosack, Kristen. “Can One Believe the Ancient Sources That Describe Messalina?” *Constructing the Past* 12, no. 1 (2011).
- Howey, Catherine L. “Dressing a Virgin Queen: Court Women, Dress, and Fashioning the Image of England’s Queen Elizabeth I.” *Early Modern Women* 4 (Fall 2009): 201–208.
- Howze, Candace. “If You Think Calling Us ‘Angry Black Women’ Is an Insult, You’d Better Think Again.” *HuffPost*, August 21, 2020.
- Janes, Chelsea. “Kamala Harris Could Be Quietly on the Brink of a Historic Leap.” *Washington Post*, November 1, 2020.
- Kendall, Mikki. “22 Times Michelle Obama Endured Rude, Racist, Sexist or Plain Ridiculous Attacks.” *Washington Post*, November 16, 2016.
- Kim, Eun Kyung. “Obama Apologizes to Kamala Harris for ‘Best-looking Attorney General’ Comment.” *Today.com*, April 5, 2013.
- Korecki, Natasha, Christopher Cadelago, and Marc Caputo. “She had no Remorse. Why Kamala Harris isn’t a Lock for VP.” *Politico.com*, July 27, 2020.
- Kranish, Michael. “In Her First Race, Kamala Harris Learned How to Become a Political Brawler.” *Washington Post*, October 5, 2020.
- Krook, Mona Lena. “How Sexist Abuse of Women in Congress Amounts to Political Violence—and Undermines American Democracy.” *The Conversation*, October 21, 2020.
- Leader, Lauren. “The Role We ALL Play in Keeping Sexism Out of Presidential Politics.” *NBC News.com*, August 11, 2020.
- Lester, Amelia. “Ladylike: Julia Gillard’s Misogyny Speech.” *New Yorker*, October 9, 2012.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Lewis, Michael. "Obama's Way." *Vanity Fair*, September 11, 2012.
- Linskey, Annie, and Isaac Stanley-Becker. "Biden Campaign, Women's Groups Are Working to Blunt Sexist Attacks on His Vice Presidential Pick." *Washington Post*, August 8, 2020.
- Manns, Keydra. "Michigan Deputy Fired after Sharing Racist Photo of Kamala Harris Watermelon Jack-O'-Lantern." *Yahoo.com*, November 19, 2020.
- Marcus, Ruth. "The Politics of Hair Is Fraught. And Hell Hath No Fury Like a Woman Filmed at Her Salon." *Washington Post*, September 4, 2020.
- Martin, Jonathan, Alexander Burns, and Katie Glueck. "Lobbying Intensifies Among V.P. Candidates as Biden's Search Nears an End." *New York Times*, August 10, 2020.
- Mazza, Ed. "Trump Slammed after Firing Off Outrageous New Insults at Kamala Harris." *HuffPost UK*, September 9, 2020.
- McCarthy, Ellen. "For Female Leaders, Humor Is a Blessing. Unless It's a Curse." *Washington Post*, January 16, 2020.
- McIlvanna, Una. "'A Stable of Whores?' The 'Flying Squadron' of Catherine de Medici," in *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-waiting across Early Modern Europe*, eds. Nadine Akkerman and Brigid Houben. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Milligan, Susan. "Women Candidates Still Tagged as Too 'Emotional' to Hold Office." *USNews.com*, April 16, 2019.
- Moore, Martha T. "Focus on Hillary Clinton's Appearance Sparks Criticism." *USA Today*, May 9, 2012.
- Murray, Rainbow. "Nicola Sturgeon Has Triumphed over Britain's Sexist Press—and That's Good for All Women." *The Conversation*, May 6, 2015.
- Newton-Small, Jay. "How Hillary Clinton Is Trying to Avoid Being 'Shrill.'" *Time.com*, February 3, 2016.
- Okimoto, Tyler G., and Victoria L. Brescoll. "The Price of Power: Power

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Seeking and Backlash Against Female Politicians.” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, June 2, 2010.
- Papenfuss, Mary. “Michigan Gov. Lashes Trump for Endangering Her Life after Rally ‘Lock Her Up’ Chant.” *HuffPost*, October 17, 2020.
- Pardes, Arielle. “The Evolution of the Bitch.” *Vice.com*, September 9, 2014.
- Paresys, Isabelle. “Dressing the Queen at the French Renaissance Court: Sartorial Politics,” in *Sartorial Politics in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Erin Griffey. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019.
- Petri, Alexandra. “Team Biden Wishes It Had Known Something Was Slightly Wrong with Every Woman Before Promising a Female VP.” *Washington Post*, August 11, 2020.
- Plott, Elaina. “Why Donald Trump’s Hateful Rhetoric Against Women Is Working.” *Harper’s Bazaar*, July 27, 2016.
- Reese, Diana. “News Coverage of Female Candidate’s Appearance Damages Her Chance of Winning.” *She The People*, April 8, 2013.
- Reeves, Rachel. “Power Dressing: Why Female MPs Have Faced a Century of Scrutiny.” *Guardian*, March 2, 2019.
- Rucker, Philip, and Isaac Stanley-Becker. “Trump and Allies Struggle to Find a Focused Attack on Harris.” *Washington Post*, August 12, 2020.
- Ryzik, Melena, Reggie Ugwu, Maya Phillips, and Julia Jacobs. “When Trump Calls a Black Woman ‘Angry,’ He Feeds This Racist Trope.” *New York Times*, August 14, 2020.
- Schaberg, Jane. “How Mary Magdalene Became a Whore.” *Bible Review*, October 1992.
- Scott, Eugene. “In Accusations of Being Too Ambitious, Some Black Women See a Double Standard.” *The Fix*, August 3, 2020.
- Seo, Diane. “Reigning Women: ‘Year of the Woman’? In Central L.A. They’ve Wielded Political Clout for Years—and More Are on the Way.” *Los Angeles Times*, November 29, 1992.
- Sheridan, Chris. “Why Bernie Sanders Won’t Brush His Hair.” *Al Jazeera*, November 19, 2015.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Sheridan, Mary Beth. "Mexico's Bold Break with Machismo: Congress Is Now Half Female, and Gender Parity Is the Law." *Washington Post*, September 9, 2021.
- Smith, David. "We Still Have a Problem with Female Authority: How Politics Sets a Trap for American Women." *Guardian*, March 6, 2020.
- Solender, Andrew. "Trump Calls Harris 'Mad Woman' as Top Campaign Advisor Questions Her VP Eligibility." *Forbes*, August 13, 2020.
- Specia, Megan. "Threats and Abuse Prompt Female Lawmakers to Leave U.K. Parliament." *New York Times*, November 1, 2019.
- Spring, Mariana, and Lucy Webster. "A Web of Abuse: How the Far Right Disproportionately Targets Female Politicians." *BBC Newsnight*, July 15, 2019.
- Sreberny-Mohammadi, Annabelle, and Karen Ross. "Women MPs and the Media: Representing the Body Politic." *Parliamentary Affairs* 49, issue 1 (January 1996): 103–115.
- Stavis-Gridneff, Matina, and Carlotta Gall. "Two Presidents Visited Turkey. Only the Man Was Offered a Chair." *New York Times*, April 7, 2021.
- Stewart, Emily. "The Attacks on Ilhan Omar Reveal a Disturbing Truth about Racism in America." *Vox*, December 4, 2019.
- Sullivan, Margaret. "Tucker Carlson's Mangling of Kamala Harris's Name Was All About Disrespect." *Washington Post*, August 12, 2020.
- Sullivan, Margaret. "With Biden Likely to Pick a Black Woman as VP, Here's How the Media Can Avoid Playing into Sexist and Racist Tropes." *Washington Post*, August 10, 2020.
- Sullivan, Patricia. "Local Virginia GOP Leader Posts Sexist Meme about Kamala Harris on Party's Online Page." *Washington Post*, August 14, 2020.
- Sutherland, N. M. "Catherine de Medici: The Legend of the Wicked Italian Queen." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 9, no. 2 (July 1978).
- Taylor-Smith, Larissa J. "Elizabeth I: A Psychological Profile." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1984).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Traister, Rebecca. “‘It Was No Accident.’ Congresswoman Pramila Jayapal on Surviving the Siege.” *The Cut*, January 8, 2021.
- Traister, Rebecca. “The Ugly Truth About the RNC: Donald Trump is Not an Outlier.” *New York* magazine, July 20, 2016.
- Tumulty, Karen, Kate Woodsome, and Sergio Peçanha. “How Sexist, Racist Attacks on Kamala Harris Have Spread Online—a Case Study.” *Timesupnow.org*, October 7, 2020.
- Uscinski, Joseph E., and Lilly J. Goren. “What’s in a Name? Coverage of Senator Hillary Clinton during the 2008 Democratic Primary.” *Political Research Quarterly*, published online September 22, 2010.
- Vartan, Starre. “Why Do Men Tell Women to Smile?” *Mnn.com*, September 17, 2017.
- Verveer, Melanne, and Lucina Di Meco. “Gendered Disinformation, Democracy, and the Need for a New Digital Social Contract.” *The Council Foreign Relations*, May 6, 2021.
- Vogelstein, Rachel B., and Alexandra Bro. “Women’s Power Index,” Council on Foreign Relations, March 21, 2021.
- Walsh, Joan. “In 2020, Double Standards Are Still Dogging Elizabeth Warren—and All the Women Candidates.” *The Nation*, January 21, 2020.
- Williams, Blair. “From Tightrope to Gendered Trope: A Comparative Study of the Print Mediation of Women Prime Ministers.” Doctoral dissertation, Australian National University, School of Politics and National Relations, September 19, 2019.
- Woodward, Marian. “Ditch the Witch: Julia Gillard and Gender in Australian Public Discourse.” Thesis, Department of Gender and Cultural Studies, University of Sydney, 2013.
- Worth, Anna, Augoustinos Martha, Brianne Hastie. “‘Playing the Gender Card’: Media Representations of Julia Gillard’s Sexism and Misogyny Speech.” *Feminism & Psychology* 26, issue 1 (October 2015): 52–72.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Yakas, Ben. "Hot-And-Bothered *NY Post* Columnist Slut-Shames Danish Prime Minister." [www.gothamist.com](http://www.gothamist.com), December 12, 2013.
- Zhouli, Li. "Use of the Word 'Bitch' Surged after Women's Suffrage." *Vox*, August 19, 2020.
- Zitser, Joshua. "Trump Supporter Furious after Being Banned from Fox News for 'Misogynistic' Attack on Kamala Harris." *Indy100.com*, October 9, 2020.
- Zoonen, Liesbet van. "The Personal, the Political and the Popular: A Woman's Guide to Celebrity Politics." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 9, issue 3 (August 2006): 287–301.

### NO AUTHOR NAMED, WEBSITES

- "Fairmont Councilman Retracts Use of 'Hoe' from Harris Statement." *WDTV*, August 13, 2020.
- "Intimidation in Public Life: A Review by the Committee on Standards in Public Life Presented to Parliament by the Prime Minister by Command of Her Majesty." <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/intimidation-in-public-life> (December 2017).
- "Media Guide to Gender Neutral Coverage of Women Candidates + Politicians." [NameItChangeIt.org](http://NameItChangeIt.org), 2012.
- "Reporting in an Era of Disinformation: Fairness Guide for Covering Women and People of Color in Politics." *UltraViolet*, 2020.
- "Staying Power: Strategies for Women Incumbents." The Barbara Lee Family Foundation, June 2021.
- "The Status of Women of Color in the U.S. News Media 2018." The Women's Media Center, March 6, 2018.
- "Time's Up on Sexism in Politics." [Timesupnow.org](http://Timesupnow.org), August 7, 2020.
- "Trudeau Family's Attire Too Flashy Even for an Indian?" *Outlook India*, February 21, 2018.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

“Von der Leyen sollte zunächst nicht mit aufs Foto.” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 8, 2021.

“When Women Run.” FiveThirtyEight.com, 2020.

“Women’s Participation in Peace Processes.” Council on Foreign Relations, cfr.org, 2019.

## SPEECHES

Summers, Anne, Ph.D. “The Political Persecution of Australia’s First Female Prime Minister (Vanilla Version).” 2012 Human Rights and Social Justice Lecture, University of Newcastle, August 31, 2012.