RESEARCH ARTICLE

Differences in Male and Female Political Communication
A Literature Review on the Specifics of Nonverbal Communication of Women in Politics

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Abstract

In the following lines, we review the literature on nonverbal communication of women in politics, analyzing studies published between 2005 and 2023. The analysis shows that the most frequently analyzed materials are video recordings or photographs from real speeches and debates of local or world politicians. It is also evident that there are differences in the nonverbal communication of men and women in politics, and that female politicians use a specific type of communication, the so-called mixed communication model, which includes "female" nonverbal and "male" verbal communication. This result is likely related to the stereotypes experienced by both politicians and voters, that women are more emotional and sensitive in communication compared to men. It also emerged that appearance is a significant element of nonverbal communication in politics for both women and men.

Introduction

 The following text focuses on a literature review in the field of specifics of nonverbal communication of women in politics and comparison with men in politics. The aim of this article is to gather the most significant current theoretical and methodological trends and information on the nonverbal communication of female politicians, describe its most important specifics, and compare it with the nonverbal communication of male politicians.
 The reason for examining this topic is mainly the social and political development we are witnessing. Until relatively recently, politics was mainly a male domain, but now there are more and more women in politics. As a result, politicians are forced to address gender-related issues within their agendas and election campaigns. At the same time, they themselves become active agents of this issue, and thus these topics and the gender of politicians are reflected in how they present themselves, conduct election campaigns, and interact with voters. Politics and its actors are also increasingly visible to voters due to the rapid development of technology, even in situations that were previously completely hidden from voters or reached them only in the form of text in newspapers or radio. Now we have video recordings that can be seen live by thousands of people, increasing the importance of nonverbal communication and its influence on voters. Given this development, it is appropriate to address both of these factors and observe how they influence each other. Therefore, it is important to address the issue of nonverbal communication and the role of gender in politics. First, it is appropriate to deal with the specifics of nonverbal communication of female politicians and the differences between

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men and women in politics. Then, it is possible to discuss and further examine how these factors relate to gender stereotypes on the part of political actors and voters and how they influence voter behavior and preferences.

The existence of differences in nonverbal communication between men and women has been studied for some time, but in relation to politics, it is a relatively new topic, highlighted by relatively recent research on election campaigns before the US presidential elections, where D. Trump and H. Clinton competed, some of which are mentioned below.

The need for discussion and further research on these topics and subsequent monitoring of their impact on voters is indicated by some studies focused on how voters are influenced by their own stereotypical thinking about genders. For example, the research by Coulomb-Guly (2009) dealt with how stereotypical thinking of voters can influence voting behavior and results. One of the key findings of this study was that the appearance and attractiveness of a candidate is an important criterion for voters, with this element of communication having different weights for female and male politicians. Although these influences are relatively small, in politics, there is a tendency for voters to rely on gender stereotypes, even though the candidate's gender itself does not have a significant impact on their success, fulfilling these stereotypes can be related to the candidate's success.

This review will compare and summarize the results of existing research in the field of nonverbal communication, focusing on differences in communication of politicians depending on gender, with a particular focus on the specifics of nonverbal communication of women. Its aim will be to map the current state of knowledge in this area and provide theoretical and methodological foundations for further research. We will focus on the results and methodology of selected studies, as well as the existence of certain research directions in this area. In particular, we will focus on whether there are differences in nonverbal communication between men and women in politics and whether there are specific elements of nonverbal communication in the nonverbal communication of female politicians. In the discussion, we will touch on the topic of the aforementioned gender stereotypes and how nonverbal communication influences voter behavior and preferences, as well as the topic of campaign professionalization.

General Direction of Current Research and Definition of Important Terms

In the following lines, we briefly define important terms and theories associated with this topic and outline trends in current research. This text is therefore introduced with a brief synthesis of existing knowledge in the field of nonverbal communication and its specifics in politics, as well as the specifics of nonverbal communication of women and men. We also briefly discuss existing findings that connect both topics, similar to the aim of this review.

Nonverbal communication

Nonverbal communication, sometimes referred to as "body language", constitutes a significant part of all communication (Ekman & Friesen, 2003; Knapp et al., 2014). Nonverbal communication includes all communication that does not occur through verbal messages. It involves vocal, but not verbal, communication and communication through body position or its parts. Nonverbal communication can be further divided into many subgroups according to the part of the body being observed or the meaning of the communication. The main division is into all body movements, which we refer to as nonverbal communication, and vocal means, but not verbal, which we refer to as paralinguistic communication. Verbal communication is then communication through words. We usually use all these forms of communication simultaneously, but this is not always the case. In relation to verbal communication, nonverbal communication has

several functions. The substitution function can completely replace verbal communication, e.g., nodding instead of agreeing. Then there is the complementary function, which can emphasize and complement verbal communication, e.g., a smile and a thumbs-up can emphasize a verbally conveyed compliment. However, it can also contradict verbal communication. In such a case, we speak of a double bind, which is a type of communication in which an individual sends two incompatible messages simultaneously. This can be accompanied by unpleasant feelings on the part of the listener, who may then perceive the speaker as less credible. Nonverbal communication can also change verbal communication, as in the case of irony (Ekman & Friesen, 2003).

Nonverbal communication can be intentional, meaning the speaker is aware of it, and the form of this nonverbal message is in line with their intentions, which is more common in the case of substitution or complementary communication. On the other hand, nonverbal communication can be and often is unintentional, which is more common in the case of contradictory or modifying nonverbal communication. Unintentional nonverbal communication can help us estimate the actual emotions or hidden intentions of the speaker, which can be very interesting in relation to politics (Ekman & Friesen, 2003; Knapp et al., 2014).

Nonverbal communication can be further divided into several types of nonverbal communication, although this division is not always consistent, and some authors combine, omit, or add certain types. However, we can usually find the following types of nonverbal communication in the literature. These are facial and eye signals, i.e., facial expressions and eye contact. Another group is body signals, which include communication through intentional or unintentional movements of hands and limbs, body posture, and appearance, which includes gestures, kinesics, and posturics. Then there is communication through appearance, i.e., production. Another is communication through touch, i.e., haptics. Finally, communication through time and space, i.e., chronemics and proxemics, and territoriality (Gibson, 1992; Knapp & Hall 1996 in DeVito; Ekman & Friesen, 2003; Ekman, Friesen & Fadrný, 2015). From this list, it is clear that in research focused on nonverbal communication in politics, not all these types will appear. I believe this is due to several factors, the first being that some of these types of communication are often not influenced by the political actors themselves, and their research is therefore not as significant. For example, in a pre-election debate, the environment, i.e., proxemics and territoriality, is defined by how the studio is set up, and the appearance of politicians, i.e., production, can be significantly influenced by the intervention of an advisor or makeup artist. For the research of some other types of nonverbal communication, suitable research tools are not available. Outside of laboratory conditions, it can be difficult to observe them, precisely define their individual elements, and then code them, making their research challenging, such as kinesics, posturics, or haptics.

Nonverbal communication in Politics

In politics, nonverbal communication has an irreplaceable place. The importance of visual signals, and thus nonverbal communication, began to increase significantly after 2000, when television and later the internet and social networks became the main communication channels between politicians and voters. As mentioned above, politicians are aware of the importance of their image and that thanks to modern technologies, they are much more visible to voters than before and try to adapt their behavior accordingly (Schill, 2012; McNair, 2018).

Compared to nonverbal communication in a regular conversation, nonverbal communication in politics has some specific features. These arise mainly from the fact that the goal of politicians is not only to simply convey information to voters but also to

influence voters to give them their votes. In addition to descriptive studies that focus on a specific type of nonverbal communication or a particular politician or campaign, there are also studies that examine the impact of nonverbal communication on voters and their preferences. These studies often conclude that nonverbal communication, which is rated most favorably by voters, is characterized mainly by open gestures and facial expressions, frequent smiles, and high displayed confidence.

For example, the study by Haumer and Donsbach (2009) concluded that active and expressive nonverbal communication by a politician leads to a higher perceived level of leadership abilities among voters, while more passive and less expressive nonverbal communication gives voters the impression of generally lower personal qualities. Another study by Dumitrescu et al. (2016) states that nonverbal displays of confidence (such as an upright posture, expressive gestures, etc.), which largely coincide with the aforementioned active and expressive nonverbal communication, are perceived by voters as indicators of high political qualities and have a significant impact on their voting preferences. D'Errico (2019) confirmed the second part of this theory in his study, namely that more passive and less expressive nonverbal communication, which was associated with displays of humility on the part of the politician, led voters to perceive the politician as less capable. This is despite the fact that most people generally view humility as a good quality.

The research designs that studies most often choose correspond to this focus. Studies often focus on describing a specific nonverbal behavior of politicians and how voters perceive and evaluate this behavior and how it influences their preferences. Most often, facial expressions, gestures of politicians, and appearance are examined, less often other types of nonverbal communication. The research often uses real politicians and election campaigns, less often various experimental designs and fictional politicians (McNair, 2018).

Differences in Nonverbal Communication Between Genders

Although nonverbal communication is older and more primitive than verbal communication, it is not nearly as universal as it might seem at first glance. While some nonverbal expressions, especially facial expressions, are common to all people in the world, there are differences in many other nonverbal expressions between different cultures, individuals, and genders. The differences between genders are most noticeable in facial expressions, i.e., communication through facial expressions, in haptics, i.e., communication through touch, in proxemics, i.e., communication through distance, and in production, i.e., communication through appearance. Female facial expressions are characterized by a higher degree of eye contact, more expressive facial expressions, and more frequent smiles compared to male facial expressions. In haptics, women exhibit a higher degree of touch than men, both self-touch and touch of their communication partner. The most noticeable differences are in clothing, where women generally have more options, but they use them less in situations where they want to take a leadership position (Kaid, 2002; Machová & Švěhlová, 1996).

These findings are repeatedly confirmed and examined in more detail by a number of studies, but it also shows that the issue is more complex than it might seem at first glance. Generally, many studies conclude that women smile and nod more often, maintain a smaller distance, and use more gestures. However, it should be added that in some areas of nonverbal communication, the differences between genders practically do not exist or are strongly influenced by the social context. For many of these differences, there is no real explanation, and we must rely only on theoretical frameworks (Hall & Gunnery, 2013).

The differences between genders are not only in nonverbal expressions but also in their reading. Lewis (1995 in Ekman & Friesen 2003) states that women are more sensitive to

nonverbal signals than men, and this is probably because they are usually the primary caregivers of young children, with whom they cannot communicate verbally yet.

It seems, therefore, that differences in nonverbal communication between genders do exist, but their context and reason often remain questionable. The study by Miller (2011) brings an interesting reflection on this topic. Previous research essentially confirms what has already been mentioned, namely that women produce and read nonverbal signals associated with immediacy of contact, such as smiles, physical proximity, gestures, touches, etc., more and better. At the same time, they often associate this difference between genders with low performance and strength in social situations. Miller's study focuses on whether women actually behave differently than men or whether this difference arises from the fact that women and men are in different social situations and positions. The research confirmed that women indeed use some elements of immediate nonverbal communication more often and are better at reading them, but only in social situations where it is advantageous and where women are not in a position of power. In situations where women were in a superior position, their nonverbal expressions did not differ from those of men in the same social situation. Perhaps surprisingly, the research also revealed that the differences between men and women are probably significantly culturally conditioned. It was found that more and more pronounced differences between genders were in the USA, while in Brazil, these differences practically did not exist. The summary of this study then points out that women and men communicate differently only sometimes, and a possible explanation is that women are more flexible in communication and adapt their nonverbal communication more to the role they are in, while men are more consistent in nonverbal communication across social situations.

The Role of Gender in Nonverbal Communication in Politics

Here we come to the core of the theoretical framework of this review and the reasons why it seems necessary, namely that finding a more comprehensive and coherent theory on this topic is quite problematic.

Social development suggests that female politicians may sometimes suffer from excessive media focus on appearance. This is confirmed by the research of Hayes and Lawless (2014), which revealed that voters tend to adhere to traditional gender stereotypes and take them into account in their choice. The research by Grebelsky-Lichtman (2017) then suggests that women in politics work with this assumption and use a unique communication pattern that includes typically male and female traits in both verbal and nonverbal communication. In verbal communication, they apply typically male expressions, while in nonverbal communication, they use more typically female expressions.

Methodology
Selection of Time Range

We are conducting a literature review of studies in the field of nonverbal communication, focusing on women in politics. For accuracy, the review includes studies published from January 2005 to December 2023. The year 2005 was chosen as a cutoff because some studies published before this year reached different conclusions than studies published after this year, likely due to numerous social changes leading to a certain shift in thinking, as mentioned above. The first important factor in this shift is probably the significant development of digital technologies, including the internet and social networks, which began in the 1990s and culminated in the early 21st century, becoming a common part of the lives of most politicians and their voters. Thanks to the availability of television and the internet, the nonverbal communication of political actors became easily accessible to

the masses and thus gained importance in political campaigns (Schill, 2012; McNair, 2018). The second important factor is the increase in the number of women in politics. The beginning of this trend can again be traced back to the 1990s, but it became more pronounced in the early 21st century. For example, research by Deloitte and Touche (2000 in Bystrom et al., 2004) found that women in politics still have to overcome stereotypes and face the perception by some voters that they are less qualified or suitable for politics than men. However, later research showed that despite the persistent influence of stereotypes, change is occurring, especially due to the active efforts of many countries to increase gender equality (Rose 2012 in Novelli, 2022). In the field of politics, we can observe this change around 2005, when many European Union countries introduced gender equality quotas, significantly increasing the number of women in politics and making the issue of differences between men and women in politics and the impact of their behavior on voters more important (Lünenborg & Maier, 2014; Ross et al., 2020). The year 2023 was chosen as the cutoff to include the most recent studies.

Selection of Database

To ensure sufficient quality and academic level of the reviewed studies, the studies were selected from the Scopus database. This database was chosen based on a comparison of results using the same search procedure in the Scopus, Web of Science, Google Scholar, and Proquest databases. The databases generated a similar number of results, with a large overlap. However, Scopus generated the most results, so it was chosen for the review. The most suitable approach would be to use the same procedure in all the mentioned databases, but this approach would generate thousands of results, making it technically and time-consuming to go through them, and due to numerous duplicates, it would almost not increase the number of studies relevant to this review.

Procedure for Selecting Studies for the Review

Since some articles do not contain a list of keywords, it was necessary to search and select them in four steps. Only articles published in English were included. In the first step, articles were searched based on whether the words politician, political, woman, female, gender, nonverbal, appearance, communication difference, body language, and their combinations appeared in the title, abstract, or keyword list, as shown in the following table. These words and their combinations were chosen to always include a reference to politics, a reference to gender in general or women, and a reference to nonverbal communication. The names of individual types of nonverbal communication (such as facial expressions, haptics, etc.) were not included because these combinations did not generate any results or results that were not related to the topic. This is probably due to excessive specificity, with many authors using more general keywords to make their work easier to find in various databases. However, including all three areas being monitored was important because omitting any of them disproportionately increased the number of articles that would need to be reviewed, without bringing new articles beneficial to the review. Omitting words related to politics led to generating articles about general differences in communication between men and women. Omitting words related to gender led to generating articles about political communication and nonverbal communication in politics in general. Omitting words related to behavior and nonverbal communication led to generating articles about differences between men and women in politics in general but in areas unrelated to nonverbal communication.

The search time range was set to the years 2005-2023 (inclusive).

Since the aim of the review was to monitor the specifics of nonverbal communication of female politicians and compare them with male politicians, and not the impact of these

specifics and differences on voter preferences or interaction with gender stereotypes, keywords such as stereotype, voter, voting behavior, voting preferences, influence, etc., were not used.

In the second step, the retrieved studies were sorted again according to the criterion of the three monitored areas. The second step was necessary because entering the above words into the database search engine also retrieved studies that were related to the topic but dealt with only one or two of the three mentioned areas we are monitoring. Many of the retrieved studies also aimed at other goals, such as the impact of certain communication on voters, gender stereotypes in politics, the politician's presence on social networks, or how the media present them.

Therefore, from the studies retrieved in the first step, only those that contained words related to politics, such as politician, female politician, politics, campaign, debate, etc., in the keyword list or abstract (if keywords were not available), were selected for the review. Further, words related to gender, such as man, woman, gentleman, lady, gender, sex, names of specific politicians, etc., and words related to nonverbal communication, such as nonverbal communication, nonverbal behavior, appearance, beauty, representation, or image, and the name of a type or element of nonverbal communication, such as facial expressions or smile. For inclusion in the review, it did not matter whether the keywords exactly matched the wording and number of words listed in the table.

In the third step, it was necessary to exclude from the articles sorted in the second step those that were duplicated when searched by different words.

In the fourth step, the studies were read in detail, and those that did not fit the topic because they did not monitor all three required areas simultaneously (politics, gender, nonverbal communication) were excluded.

Following table shows the search process in the first three steps, where in the "combination of words" column, we see the words used for the search in the first step. The procedure was always "politician and woman" and the rows below, then "politician and female" and the rows below, "politician and gender" and the rows below, then followed by the combination "political and woman" and the rows below, "political and female" and the rows below, and "politician and gender" and the rows below. In the "step 1" column, we see the number of results found this way. In the "step 2" and "step 3" columns, we see the number of articles after the reduction made in these steps. "Step 4" is described in more detail below, along with explanations for specific excluded studies. The search for given word combinations was terminated when the combinations stopped generating new results (i.e., when step 3 brought 0 usable results). A total of 24 results were found in step 3 for all used combinations.

Table 1. Search Procedure and Number of Studies Retrieved for the Review

Combination of words	St. 1	St. 2	St. 3	Combination of words	St. 1	St. 2	St. 3	Combination of words	St. 1	St. 2	St. 3
politician AND woman	**/**	**/**	**/**	**politician AND female**	**/**	**/**	**/**	**politician AND gender**	**/**	**/**	**/**
AND nonverbal	/	/	/	AND nonverbal	/	/	/	AND nonverbal	/	/	/
	4	3	3		12	5	3		10	7	2
appearance	54	4	4	appearance	49	4	2	appearance	52	6	3
communi-cation difference	31	2	2	communi-cation difference	34	3	2	communi-cation difference	53	4	1
body language	17	1	1	body language	10	1	0	body language	14	0	0
political AND woman	**/**	**/**	**/**	**political AND female**	**/**	**/**	**/**	**political AND gender**	**/**	**/**	**/**
AND nonverbal	/	/	/	AND nonverbal	/	/	/	AND nonverbal	/	/	/
	15	5	1		30	2	0		24	7	0

Analysis of Methodology and Study Designs
Table 2. Comparative Overview of Studies (Alphabetically by Study Title)

Title	Author	Year of Publication	Observed Area of Nonverbal Communication	Study Method	Study Objective	Step 4
A "nasty woman": assessing the gendered mediation of Hillary Clinton's nonverbal immediacy cues during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign	Laura Cummings, Jenepher Lennox Terrion	2020	Facial Expressions, Gestures, Posture	Analysis of newspaper articles on the nonverbal communication of real politicians from Massachusetts and Texas. It was assessed whether the nonverbal communication was positive or negative using facial expressions, gestures, or posture.	To observe the influence of gender on how voters perceive the trustworthiness and likability of H. Clinton in comparison to D. Trump.	Examines media discourse regarding stereotypes
Appearance-based politics: Sex-typed facial cues communicate political party affiliation	Colleen M. Carpinella, Kerri L. Johnson	2012	Appearance - Femininity/ Masculinity of the Face	Electronic measurement of the gender typicality of the faces of real politicians and comparison with party affiliation. Subsequently, respondents estimated party affiliation based on photographs.	To observe differences in features according to affiliation with Republicans/Conservatives or Democrats/Liberals. Examines gender traits and party affiliation.	Examines gender traits and party affiliation.
Beautiful Politicians	Amy King, Andrew Leigh	2009	Appearance - Physical Attractiveness	Comparison of election results of real politicians with their physical attractiveness. Attractiveness was assessed based on photographs by independent respondents.	To observe the relationship between the physical attractiveness of politicians and their electoral success and compare differences between genders.	/

Title	Authors	Year	Focus	Description	Objective
Beauty Contest Revisited: The Effects of Perceived Attractiveness, Competence, and Likability on the Electoral Success of German MPs	Sebastian Jäckle, Thomas Metz	2017	Appearance - Physical Attractiveness	Assessment of photographs of real politicians. Respondents evaluated competence, likability, and attractiveness, and the influence of gender, age, and the position of the politician was also assessed.	To observe the influence of physical attractiveness on perceived competence and election results.
Bumps and Tears on the Road to the Presidency: Media Framing of Key Nonverbal Events in the 2008 Democratic Election	Valerie Manusov, Jessica Harvey	2011	Discourse	Analysis of 110 articles and assessment of how the nonverbal communication of H. Clinton and the Obamas is described and how often the words "fist" and "tears" appeared in the text.	To observe how the media used the words "tears" and "fists" when presenting H. Clinton and regarding the description of nonverbal communication. Examines media discourse / nonverbal communication.
Candidate Gender, Behavioral Style, and Willingness to Vote: Support for Female Candidates Depends on Conformity to Gender Norms	Joanna Everitt, Lisa A. Best, Derek Gaudet	2016	Gestures	Assessment of how respondents perceive the nonverbal communication from video recordings of real politicians played without sound. Subsequent evaluation of the personality traits of the politician by respondents, considering the gender of both the politician and the respondent.	To observe the influence / communication of men and women in politics on voter evaluations.

Title	Author(s)	Year	Focus	Description	Aim
Cultural Differences in Face-ism: Male Politicians Have Bigger Heads in More Gender-Equal Cultures	Sara Konrath, Josephine Au, Laura R. Ramsey	2012	Discourse	Assessment by respondents from 25 different cultures of how they rate photographs of politicians and subsequent assessment of the level of individual and institutionalized sexism in the given culture and comparison of the results of these cultures. (how "face-ism" and gender inequality in politics.)	To observe the relationship between media discourse regarding gender stereotypes and appearance. Examines media discourse regarding gender stereotypes and appearance.
Emotional woman – rational man? Gender stereotypical emotional expressivity of German politicians in news broadcasts	Anna-Maria Renner, Lena Masch	2018	Expression of Emotions	Analysis of video recordings from news broadcasts with real female and male politicians and assessment of whether and how emotions are expressed in their nonverbal communication and whether there are differences between men and women.	To observe differences in the nonverbal expressions of emotions between male and female politicians.
Fashion in politics: what makes Korean female politicians wear the suit' not ' a dress?	Youri Oh	2019	Appearance - Clothing	Content analysis of the appearance (clothing, accessories, hairstyle, etc.) of M. Thatcher and H. Clinton and assessment of how this influenced the current dressing of real Korean female politicians.	To observe the influence of gender stereotypes and imperialism on the clothing of Korean female politicians.

Title	Author	Year	Keywords	Description	Aim
Female politicians: a mixed political communication model	Tsfira Grebelsky-Lichtman	2017	Facial Expressions, Gestures, Paralingui-stics	Analysis of speeches by real politicians and assessment of their communication – facial expressions, gestures, and paralinguistics.	To observe the existing communication patterns of female politicians based on speeches and articles about verbal and nonverbal communication of female politicians.
Gender Elect on Political Leaders' Nonverbal Communicative Structure during the COVID-19 Crisis	Tsfira Grebelsky-Lichtman, Roy Katz	2020	Facial Expressions, Gestures, Paralinguistics, Posture	Comparison of the appearances of real politicians during the COVID-19 pandemic and comparison of their nonverbal expressions and subsequent comparison with the number of severe cases and deaths due to the pandemic.	To observe the influence of the gender of NCS leaders on the outcomes of the COVID-19 pandemic (deaths and severe cases).
Gender politics online? Political women and social media at election time in the United Kingdom, the United States and New Zealand	Valentina Cardo	2021	Social Media	Comparison of the political communication of T. May, H. Clinton, and J. Ardern on social media and to observe the use of digital technologies to feminize their campaigns.	To compare the political communication of T. May, communi-cation on media. Examines political communication of T. May, H. Clinton, and J. Ardern on social media and to observe the use of social digital technologies to media.

Title	Authors	Year	Variables	Description	Aim
Gender, Candidate Emotional Expression, and Voter Reactions During Televised Debates	Boussalis, Constantine G. Coan, Travis G. Holman, Mirya R. Müller, Steffan	2021	Facial Expressions, Paralinguistics, Expression of Emotions	Analysis of video recordings from debates observing facial expressions, voice, and verbal expression and observing differences between politicians of different genders.	To observe differences in facial, vocal, and textual communication depending on the gender of the politician and to observe the impact this has on voters.
Gender, Nonverbal Communication, and Televised Debates: A Case Study Analysis of Clinton and Trump's Nonverbal Language During the 2016 Town Hall Debate	Ben Wasike	2019	Facial Expressions, Posture, Distance	Analysis of the video recording of the debate between H. Clinton and D. Trump. Individual "frozen frames" from the video were assessed, evaluating facial expressions, posture, and distance, and the results were subsequently compared by gender.	To observe the facial expressions, posture, and distance of H. Clinton and D. Trump during the pre-election debate.
Humility Expression and its Effects on Moral Suasion: An Empirical Study of Lamponi Ocasio-Cortez's Communication.	Francesca D'Errico, Peter Bull, Ernestina Giovanna, Leone Ocasio-Cortez	2021	Facial Expressions, Expression of Emotions	Assessment of how respondents rate the humble demeanor of A. Ocasio-Cortez (based on facial expressions of joy, calm, sadness, or anger) during a discussion on migrants.	To observe the influence of humility expressed in the facial expressions of politicians on perceived competence.

Title	Author	Year	Theme	Method / Description	Aim	Examines
Looks Good, You're Hired? Evidence from Extra-Parliamentary Activities of German Parliamentarians*	Benny Geys	2013	Appearance - Physical Attractiveness	Comparison of electoral success and success in non-political activities with the physical attractiveness of real politicians. Attractiveness was assessed based on photographs by independent respondents.	To observe the relationship between the physical attractiveness of political politicians and their success in non-political activities.	Examines the non-political activities.
Marketing the female politician: an exploration of gender and appearance	Minita Sanghvi, Nancy Hodges	2015	Appearance - Physical Attractiveness	Interviews with female politicians and people involved in campaigns and subsequent focus groups with voters to assess the specifics of political marketing for women in politics.	To observe the relationship between appearance and gender in the political marketing of female politicians using Goffman's theory..	Examines political marketing.
Politics of the face: The role of sex-typicality in trait assessments of politicians.	Colleen M. Carpinella, Kerri L. Johnson	2013	Appearance - Femininity/ Masculinity of the Face	Assessment of the "warmth" and "competence" of real politicians by respondents. Subsequent electronic assessment of gender typicality and comparison with party affiliation.	To observe the relationship between gender facial traits and the assessment of warmth and competence in politicians.	Examines the relationship between gender traits and perceived characteristics.

Title	Author	Year	Keywords	Description	Objective	
Talk like a man, walk like a woman: an advanced political communication framework for female politicians	Tsfira Grebelsky-Bdolach	2017	Facial Expressions, Gestures, Paralingui-stics	Analysis of speeches by 12 real female politicians in high political positions of women in politics.	To observe communication patterns and comparison of their nonverbal expressions.	/
The Political Gender Gap: Gender Bias in Facial Inferences that Predict Voting Behavior	Joan Y. Chiao, Nicholas E. Bowman, Harleen Gill	2008	Physical Attractive-ness	Appearance Assessment of how respondents rate the competence, dominance, attractiveness, and approachability of real politicians based on facial appearance. Subsequent selection from pairs of candidates in hypothetical elections.	To observe the influence of the gender of the voter and the politician on the assessment of physical attractiveness of politicians and on voting behavior.	/
The Relationship of Verbal and Nonverbal Behavior to Political Stature: The Political Interviews of Israel's Prime Minister Ariel	Tsfira Grebelsky-Lichtman	2010	Facial Expressions, Gestures, Paralingui-stics, Posture	Analysis of transcripts of interviews with A. Sharon over the past 20 years by topic and subsequent analysis of gestures, facial expressions, and postures	To observe the relationship between verbal and nonverbal communication of female politicians and its impact on their performance.	/

Title	Authors	Year	Type	Description	Purpose	
Visual Gender Stereotyping in Campaign Communication: Evidence on Female and Male Candidate Imagery in 28 Countries	Marc Jungblut, Mario Haim	2021	Discourse	Analysis of photographs from media and social networks of real politicians using Face++. This involves automatic classification of facial expressions and stereotypes. The results of male and female politicians were subsequently compared.	To compare the visual self-representation of politicians from the European Union in the media and how the media use gender associated emotions. .	Examines media discourse in relation to gender stereotypes
When a man debates a woman: Trump vs. Clinton in the first mixed gender presidential debates	Tsfira Grebelsky-Lichtmana, Roy Katz	2019	Facial Expressions, Gestures, Paralinguistics	Analysis of 3 television debates between D. Trump and H. Clinton and their behavior corresponds to the respective gender structures. Both verbal and nonverbal communication - facial expressions, gestures, ...	To observe the influence / of gender on the verbal communication structures of politicians H. Clinton and D. Trump and their behavior in the pre-election campaign.	
Who Cares What They Wear? Media, Gender, and the Influence of Candidate Appearance*	Danny Hayes, Jennifer L. Lawless, Gail Baitinger	2014	Appearance - Clothing	Assessment of texts about fictional politicians by independent respondents. The text included a description of the candidate's appearance, either positive, neutral, or negative, and the candidate's gender.	To observe the influence / clothing on election results, and if so, whether the effect depends on the gender of the politician.	

In this table, we can observe a range of information and trends. In the last column, we also find the addition of the 4th step of selecting studies for the review. In this column, we can see that out of the 24 studies found using the above-mentioned procedure, 9 had to be excluded because they did not deal with nonverbal communication of politicians in the sense we defined in the introduction. The most common reason was that the study did not focus on the type of nonverbal communication politicians use but on how the media write about it. Another common reason was that the study dealt more with sexual dimorphism than with appearance itself or primarily examined gender stereotypes rather than differences in communication between men and women in politics. For the subsequent analysis, 15 studies remained, which we discuss in more detail in the chapter on the analysis of study results.

In the first column, we can see the title of the study, and in the second column, its authors, where we see that one name appears quite frequently. This is Tsfira Grebelsky-Lichtman, who is the author or co-author of 5 articles. In the third column, we see the year of publication of the study, where it is evident that this topic is being studied quite continuously. However, we see an increase in the number of studies (8 studies) around 2018-2021 (inclusive), which, given the topics of the studies, could be related to the US presidential elections and the globally increased interest in political events. The other studies (8 studies) were published before this period, i.e., in the years 2005-2017 (inclusive). The chosen search procedure did not find any relevant studies published after 2021.

In the fourth column, we see the areas of nonverbal communication studied, where it is evident that the studies focus mainly on those forms of nonverbal communication that involve mainly the hands and face. This is probably related to the fact that facial expressions, gestures, and appearance, i.e., physical attractiveness/production, are the components of nonverbal communication that are well visible in situations where a politician appears in the media – that is, when the camera captures their portrait.

The fifth column briefly describes the methodological framework of the studies. Here we can see that only one study used fictional politicians, while the others used real local or globally known politicians. In the methodological procedures of the studies, we can observe several interesting trends. Some studies, especially those that examined only the appearance of politicians, used photographs as stimulus material, while studies examining facial expressions, gestures, and other forms of nonverbal communication used either video recordings or text, usually created for media purposes. Studies focused on paralinguistics, of course, could not do without audio recordings (usually in combination with video recordings). These stimulus materials were usually either compared with election results or assessed and evaluated by independent respondents. A wide range of things was assessed, especially whether respondents perceive the politician positively or negatively, what competencies they perceive in them, etc. There were very few studies that used electronic analysis using software designed for "reading" nonverbal communication, which may be related to the use of real politicians and their media appearances – most software is effective only when fairly strict criteria for the quality and method of capturing video recordings are met, and using it on an existing recording created for another purpose may be less effective. Some studies primarily dealt with the difference between genders, others examined this only as one of several variables, and some focused mainly on the specifics of female politicians without aiming to compare both genders. The topic of gender stereotypes and how these stereotypes affect the evaluation of politicians by respondents or how these stereotypes affect the nonverbal expressions of politicians themselves – that is, how gender stereotypes influence voters and political actors – also appeared very often.

In the sixth column, we see the goals of the studies, with the most common goal being to find the impact of a certain form of nonverbal communication on how respondents or voters evaluate politicians and whether the gender of the politician plays a role in this evaluation. A common research goal is also to reveal the relationships between the above-mentioned variables. Less often, studies focused directly on describing a certain form of nonverbal communication or describing differences between men and women in politics, which was the primary interest of this review.

Analysis of Study Results

In the following chapter, we summarize the most significant findings from the above-mentioned studies on the topic of nonverbal communication of women in politics, their specifics, and differences compared to the nonverbal communication of men in politics.

The studies can be divided into three groups based on what they found. The first group is studies that showed that there is a specific communication pattern for female politicians and also showed that the nonverbal communication of female and male politicians differs significantly. The second group is studies that show that an important part of the nonverbal communication of female politicians is not only body movements or facial expressions but also the often overlooked element of nonverbal communication, namely appearance. The third group is studies that focus on certain specifics of nonverbal communication and their connection with emotions.

Mixed Communication Model of Women in Politics

The most comprehensive findings are brought by Grebelsky-Lichtman in her studies. In her 2010 study, she revealed the existence of a specific communication pattern for women in politics, which she further complements and develops in her subsequent studies. This model examines the verbal and nonverbal expressions of female politicians and the relationship between these two communication channels.

In the 2010 study, Grebelsky-Lichtman attempted to find the relationship between the political position of a politician and the degree of congruence or incongruence between the verbal and nonverbal communication channels. She found that the degree of incongruence is higher in periods when the given politician has a higher position. In this study, the author describes the typical communication model of women in politics, which she further elaborates in subsequent studies.

According to the study by Grebelsky-Lichtman (2017) and the study by Grebelsky-Lichtman and Bdolach (2017), the nonverbal communication (including appearance) of female politicians is usually very feminine, in the traditional sense of the word. Their hair, clothing, makeup, and nails usually correspond to the overall feminine communication style they used when speaking. An example of this style, or its elements, is frequent eye contact and a smile when communicating with voters. Another element in feminine nonverbal communication is small hand movements close to the body, which female politicians use to accompany their speech, compared to larger and more expansive gestures of male politicians. Femininity is also evident in the paralinguistic component of communication, where female politicians largely support established stereotypes and use something that can be described as an "expressive voice", with pronounced intonation and easily readable emotions, which we do not find in male politicians. However, it turns out that the nonverbal communication of female politicians, especially gestures, also contains many male elements. These are mainly sharp and assertive hand movements that accompany some more significant verbal statements. A typically male communication element that female politicians exhibit in this area is, for example, clenched fists.

It is therefore evident that female politicians use a full spectrum of nonverbal communication patterns regardless of gender predisposition. The author thus reveals a kind of mixed model of political communication for female politicians. This model includes a combination of male and female nonverbal communication elements. It also shows that this mixing of both gender roles is reflected in the comparison of verbal and nonverbal communication. Female politicians use more feminine elements in the nonverbal component of communication and only rarely use masculine elements, but in the verbal component, they lean more towards masculine elements. These studies conclude that for female politicians to be successful, they need to avoid being too "masculine" but also not appear too weak. Therefore, they need to use this specific combined pattern, which allows them to balance communication in a way that is pleasant for voters and positively evaluated. The discrepancy between verbal and nonverbal communication is usually perceived very negatively, but here it is adaptive and likely allows female politicians to appear assertive, constructive, and specific thanks to typically masculine verbal communication, yet kind and non-threatening thanks to typically feminine nonverbal communication (Grebelsky-Lichtman, 2017; Grebelsky-Lichtman & Bdolach, 2017).

Fairclough (2000 in Grebelsky-Lichtman & Bdolach, 2017) encountered similar behavior earlier, and his explanation still seems valid for this new communication model. For successful communication with voters, female politicians must act as leaders and exhibit masculine communication patterns that people usually associate with a good leader, but at the same time, they must behave like women and exhibit feminine communication patterns so that their appearance and behavior align with voters' expectations. Contrary to assumptions, a woman in politics does not need to be "more masculine" than men to succeed in their competition. On the contrary, it is more advantageous if she uses predominantly typically feminine expressions in the nonverbal component of communication. I believe this communication model also fits very well with current trends of emotionalization and personalization in politics. It allows female politicians to express more emotions with which voters can identify and further allows them to express more of their own personality, thus bringing them even closer to voters.

While previous research examined female politicians and their communication during campaigns, in a 2020 study, Grebelsky-Lichtman and Katz examined female politicians and their communication during a crisis. In this study, the authors explore how gender influences nonverbal and verbal communication during a crisis and how this communication then affects voter behavior and, consequently, the outcome of the crisis (number of deaths and severe cases during the COVID-19 pandemic). The study shows that female politicians use more flexible facial expressions and eye contact in nonverbal communication, and overall, their nonverbal communication features empathy and optimism, while male politicians are characterized by nonverbal communication based on competitiveness and fear-mongering, with typical illustrative gestures that show their tension. Compared to previous studies, female politicians do not use typically masculine communication elements, thus not showing such pronounced differences between verbal and nonverbal communication. On the contrary, both communication channels are consistent, using those communication elements traditionally attributed to women. Regarding the development of the pandemic, the conclusions suggest that female politicians had lower numbers of deaths and severe cases in their countries.

The Importance of Appearance in Nonverbal Communication of Women in Politics

Previous models suggest the importance of appearance in communication but do not describe it in much detail. The results of our search suggest that appearance is one of the

most significant elements of nonverbal communication for politicians, especially female politicians.

King and Leigh (2009) examined whether the beauty of Australian politicians affects their electoral success and whether there is a difference in this effect between genders. The authors found a strong positive relationship between the assessment of the beauty of political actors and the share of votes they received in elections. The impact of beauty seems to be greater for male politicians. In their analysis, the authors acknowledge that the results may be influenced by the cultural background of the politicians and the evaluators. They further consider why the effect is greater for men than for women, even though they expected the opposite. According to the authors, the role may be that beauty in women can also carry some negative connotations, such as lower intelligence. The authors also found that this effect is higher for challengers than for incumbent elected politicians. The study also found that the effect is higher for undecided voters (King & Leigh, 2009).

Jäckle and Metz (2017) also tested the impact of physical appearance on the electoral results of politicians in Germany. They largely confirmed the findings of the previous study, namely that less attractive candidates are perceived as less competent and have lower chances of winning a mandate. However, the candidates were not assessed only based on attractiveness but also on perceived competence and likability. It was found that young candidates are more likely to be rated as more attractive, candidates who wear glasses as more competent, and male candidates with beards as more likable. The study results show that the impact on the number of votes received is influenced by the assessment of attractiveness and competence, while likability does not have a significant impact. Unlike the previous study, it was not convincingly proven that there is a difference in these effects depending on the gender of the political actors.

Another study considered both the gender of the candidates and the voters. They assessed a range of male and female political candidates from the USA based on how competent, dominant, attractive, and approachable they appeared based on their facial appearance. The results suggest that both the gender of the voter and the candidate influence how the politician's face is perceived and what results they achieve in elections. It was found that all voters are likely to vote for candidates who appear more competent. Regarding perceived approachability, it increases the chances of male candidates, especially among female voters, and attractiveness increases the chances of female candidates, especially among male voters. It was also found that male candidates are generally perceived as more competent, which contributes to gender differences in politics and makes it more difficult for female politicians to succeed in elections. The first possible explanation, according to the authors, is that men are indeed more competent than women; however, the authors themselves reject this as unlikely based on other studies that compared the competencies of politicians worldwide. An alternative explanation is that some political functions, especially high ones, are associated by voters with male politicians. In summary, two psychological attributes of voters were identified that likely contribute to the political gap between genders. First, gender stereotypes may lead voters to value male politicians simply because they have facial features associated with competence. The second factor is the possibility that voters use the same intuitively used heuristic when choosing a politician as when choosing a partner, namely that men prefer attractive women and women prefer socially high-status men. While the ideal personal qualities of a good political leader are largely different from those expected of a good partner, cognitive remnants of our evolutionary history may predispose us to use heuristics involving gender biases that are at odds with modern ideals of gender equality in political representation (Chiao et al., 2008).

The importance of appearance was also examined by Hayes et al. (2014), who investigated whether the neatness of appearance affects how voters perceive political actors and whether there are differences between men and women in politics. The study concluded that a sloppy and unkempt appearance negatively affects voters' evaluations. Surprisingly, it was found that there is not a significant difference between men and women, and therefore, it cannot be said that appearance has a greater importance for female politicians than for male politicians.

We can see that although the topic of appearance in political communication plays a role, studies do not primarily focus on the specifics of appearance in female politicians and the differences compared to male politicians. Studies are more concerned with the impact of appearance on election results, and the difference between the genders of candidates is used more as one of the factors. The study by Oh (2019) deviates from this trend in research and instead focuses very closely on the specifics of appearance, specifically the clothing of female politicians. An interesting aspect that this study brings is also cross-cultural comparison, as it dealt with female politicians in South Korea. It was found that the fashion of Korean female politicians has been adopting certain patterns from Western female politicians in recent years. However, the desired image of a Korean female politician varies greatly according to the age of the voters. It is evident that voters in this country appreciate when a female politician's clothing shows intellect, femininity, and honesty, with younger voters preferring femininity and older voters the other two qualities. This is probably because younger generations have fewer prejudices against the gender of female politicians than older generations, and therefore do not evaluate femininity in clothing as negatively. There are no significant differences in the clothing of Korean and Western female politicians, but there is a noticeable shift in the colorfulness of the clothing. Previously, Korean female politicians chose muted colors, but now more vibrant and lively colors are increasingly appearing in their clothing.

Differences in the Importance of Emotions in Nonverbal Communication of Men and Women in Politics

The study by Renner and Masch (2019) focused on the differences in nonverbal communication of men and women in politics without trying to fit them into a model or pattern that would precisely describe how the genders communicate. The results show that in German television news, there are significant differences between male and female emotionality expressed in nonverbal communication. The findings of this study are again in line with the stereotype of the "emotional woman". It was found that women not only generally express more emotions than men but also more positive emotions than men. This is especially evident in live television formats, such as talk shows, where moderators are not very able to influence the visibility of politicians' emotions by selecting certain shots. Such differences in self-presentation and emotionality could therefore indicate that female politicians are aware of this stereotype and try to choose a communication strategy that meets these expectations. Fulfilling expected stereotypes is probably advantageous because it is assumed that "male" negativity in election campaigns often reduces trust in political actors. From this perspective, a woman who uses a positive communication style strengthens citizens' trust (Lau et al., 2007 in Renner & Masch, 2019).

An earlier study by Everitt et al. (2016) also dealt with the nonverbal communication of men and women in politics and how this communication affects voters. This study also confirmed to some extent that female politicians achieve greater success when their communication aligns with the stereotypes that voters have about women. It was found that women who use assertive dominant gestures appear less feminine, and voters are

less likely to vote for them than when they are more restrained and "feminine" in their gestures.

Another study shows that voters evaluate politicians not only based on what they say but also on how they say it through facial expressions and paralinguistic means. The characteristics of a candidate can shape the way leaders use and how voters perceive the nonverbal communication of politicians. The study examined how these forms of communication differ among politicians and whether this difference is related to the gender of the politician. It was found that compared to male candidates, A. Merkel expresses less anger, but regarding other emotions, her expression is comparable to men. From the voters' evaluations, it is evident that expressions of anger in A. Merkel are perceived negatively, while expressions of happiness are perceived positively. Interestingly, this effect only leads to a reduction in expressions of anger, not an increase in expressions of happiness. However, when comparing the frequency of expressions of both these emotions, it means that A. Merkel expresses happiness significantly more often than anger in debates (Boussalis et al., 2021).

The study by D'Errico et al. (2021) examined the expressed humility of politicians and, compared to the previous study from 2019, added the gender factor to the research. While the first study showed that expressing humility in a male politician may not have a positive impact on voters' evaluations, this study provides findings on how humility is perceived in female politicians. It was found that, in general, positive emotions expressed by a female politician increased positive evaluations in terms of competence and benevolence, and this result is consistent with the fact that society expects higher emotionality from women.

Some other interesting studies focus on the communication of H. Clinton during her recent political campaign.

One of these studies focused on specific communication patterns that both candidates use in relation to their gender. The findings of this study suggested that during mixed debates, the candidates present themselves according to patterns that correspond to their gender, especially in the area of nonverbal communication, where gender patterns are most applied. H. Clinton smiled significantly more when she spoke, but also when she was just listening to what D. Trump was saying. Eye contact with D. Trump was also more frequent. Another feminine nonverbal communication pattern in H. Clinton's behavior included expressive facial expressions that revealed her emotions (Grebelsky-Lichtman & Katz, 2019).

Another study is the analysis of the nonverbal expressions of H. Clinton and D. Trump during the 2016 debate. Body posture, facial expressions, and proxemics were evaluated. The analysis showed that H. Clinton maintains eye contact more and adopts more expansive postures, and her nonverbal communication is generally rated as friendlier than D. Trump's. Thus, in terms of facial expressions, her expressions largely correspond to gender expectations, but in terms of proxemics, it is rather the opposite, as she tries to maintain a greater distance, and in terms of gestures, the mentioned expansiveness is associated with dominance, which is usually attributed more to men. The authors explain this discrepancy by the influence of debate preparation and overall higher experience with political debates compared to D. Trump (Wasike, 2019).

Discussion

From Table 2 and the analysis of the study results, several questions arise for reflection and discussion, particularly related to the topic of gender stereotypes. This topic has proven to be inextricably linked with the nonverbal communication of female politicians. There is also the question of the professionalization of election campaigns, which

influences certain forms or areas of nonverbal communication of both male and female politicians.

From a psychological perspective, the most interesting reflection is on the mixed communication model of female politicians, specifically why the discrepancy between nonverbal and verbal communication in female politicians can be desirable and appreciated by voters, while in almost any other sphere of communication, this dissonance is perceived very negatively and evokes unpleasant emotions and distrust towards the speaker. This is confirmed, for example, by a 2021 study (Belanche et al.), which confirmed the positive effect of high congruence between the influencer, the product, and the customer in the sale of certain products. In essence, a politician in an election campaign is a product that wants to convince as many customers, i.e., voters, as possible to "buy" or vote for them.

To some extent, this may be related to the fact that gender stereotypes, despite the negative connotation this term has gained recently, are very effective tools for grasping reality, and people feel certain and safe when these stereotypes are fulfilled by their surroundings. This makes people feel secure in their world and their construction of reality. This sense of security and certainty likely has more weight for an individual than the feeling of uncertainty brought about by the emotional incongruence caused by watching a politician with slightly conflicting verbal and nonverbal communication. However, further research is needed to address this question.

Although there is no research in political science that reliably verifies this assumption, we can find studies that deal with the issue of cognitive dissonance and the use of gender stereotypes in medicine, advertising, IT, etc., which can be somewhat applied to our issue.

For example, a study by Koo (2022) confirms to some extent that if certain elements of female politicians' nonverbal communication correspond to gender stereotypes, it positively affects the election result. It was found that if female politicians smile, thereby fulfilling the stereotype that women should spread good cheer and ensure that others feel comfortable, they achieve better election results under certain circumstances. However, it should be added that a smile is positively evaluated purely because it is a positive emotion, regardless of gender.

A study by Kray et al. (2001) examined how gender stereotypes affect performance in negotiations. According to this study, it seems that men and women confirm gender stereotypes when they are activated implicitly, but when stereotypes are activated explicitly, people tend to behave in a way that contradicts the stereotype. This means that on a subconscious level, people try to adapt their behavior to gender stereotypes.

This is somewhat supported by research by Bryant et al. (2020), which dealt with attributing human characteristics to humanoid robots, particularly "gendering", which is common practice in this field. The study showed that the technical parameters of the robot are significantly more important to the customer when purchasing than the robot's gender. This, however, is not so significant for our study. What is interesting is the fact that manufacturers tend to attribute gender characteristics to a piece of electronics that inherently does not exhibit these characteristics and which are not very important to the target customers. This suggests, in my opinion, that a certain degree of gender stereotyping is very close to people, and they tend to use it subconsciously, even in fields where it is not expected and is not important.

A slightly different perspective on the reasons for using masculine verbal communication by women can be brought by a study by Einarsdottir et al. (2018), which suggests that the reason for using some masculine elements in female communication is the internal experience of societal pressure by women, not societal pressure itself. This study found that women in leadership positions typically face these obstacles: Women perceive top

management as a network that is closed to them. Work in top management seems tailored to men and requires women to take on disproportionate responsibility. Women feel undervalued. This ultimately leads to a comparison with men in similar positions and the finding that they do not fit the stereotype of a male manager. Women in these positions, therefore, feel pressured to adapt to the role of the male gender. It can be expected that in politics, which is somewhat similar to corporate management, similar principles will apply, and some female politicians will experience similar feelings.

Another interesting question, in my opinion, is how the presence of women in politics and their specific communication patterns affect their male colleagues. This question was addressed by Maier and Renner (2018). Their main argument is that male candidates find themselves in conflict with themselves when facing a female opponent. On one hand, they are expected to act according to their role as political leaders. On the other hand, they are expected to behave like gentlemen and treat the female politician with respect.

The authors of the study expected that male candidates would attack their opponents just as much in mixed-gender debates as in single-gender debates but would maintain greater politeness. Therefore, less rudeness should be seen in mixed-gender debates than in single-gender debates. It was found that men attack women just as often as male competitors but indeed show a lower level of intransigence towards women than towards men. Female politicians thus gain certain advantages in mixed-gender debates thanks to stereotypes (Maier & Renner, 2018). However, there is also evidence that different treatment of opponents based on gender decreases over time, both during the debate and over the time women can enter politics. A possible explanation is that women are gaining more ground in politics, their scope of influence is expanding, and voters and opponents increasingly see them as leaders rather than just women (Brooks, 2013 in Maier & Renner, 2018). The question is how this will develop in the coming years. More and more countries are introducing quotas for the number of women in politics, so it can be expected that the number of women in politics will continue to increase. The question is whether this effect of politeness towards women will gradually diminish as male politicians get used to the increasingly frequent presence of women in a previously purely male field.

The results of the research by Cummings and Lennox Terrion (2020) also suggest that the evaluation of whether adherence to expected gender stereotypes is positively assessed by voters and thus advantageous for female politicians is related to voter preferences. The first question this research raises is whether certain voter preferences are related to what behavior voters expect from a female politician or not. The second question is to what extent previous voter preferences influence the outcome of the study itself and whether, for example, the assessment of H. Clinton's very "feminine" nonverbal behavior would be different in the two examined articles/newspapers if H. Clinton were a Republican and not a Democrat.

Another important topic that emerged in the results was the issue of appearance. In my opinion, an interesting question is whether this form of communication is more significant for women than for men, and because of this, a relatively large number of studies focused on this specific form of nonverbal communication were found, while the names of other areas of nonverbal communication, such as "facial expressions", did not yield as many results. Or is it the opposite, namely that due to gender or other stereotypes, it is only more researched in women than in men, and in reality, this form of communication has the same impact on both genders.

The last topic is the emotions expressed in the nonverbal communication of politicians. Research brings interesting results, but quite often relies on voter evaluations or media discourse, and therefore, in my opinion, can easily deviate from an objective description of the reality of nonverbal communication of politicians.

From the analysis of the study results, it is evident, in my opinion, that gender stereotypes and the topic of the influence of nonverbal communication on voters and media discourse significantly affect the direction and, mainly, the way the topic of nonverbal communication of female politicians is researched. I believe that the consequence of this overlap is a surprisingly low number of results that would precisely correspond to the area of interest of this review, namely the description of nonverbal communication and its specifics in women in politics. I think we can also see this in Table 2, if we focus on the studies excluded in the 4th step of the study selection for the review, we can see that a large part of them examined stereotypes or media discourse, or the presentation of a politician on social media, or a combination of these topics, but dealt with nonverbal communication only marginally or not at all.

Many studies then only report differences between male and female politicians in the area that is largely influenced by the politician's team and not necessarily created by the politician themselves. However, there is a lack of greater awareness of the differences in behavior and demeanor that are less learned and influenced by people around the politician and that more reflect the true emotions and intentions of the politician. Therefore, I see this topic as interesting for further research, especially considering that the number and influence of women in politics are still growing.

In connection with this statement, it is necessary to consider the level of professionalization of campaigns in different countries and levels of politics, the influence of consultants on social media management. It is clear that in some countries and higher levels of politics, it is common for politicians to employ a number of consultants who take care of content production for social media. However, in some countries or levels of politics, professionalization is gradually penetrating, and not every politician uses these services. It is also evident that in the first case, social media do not really reflect the politician as such, while in the second case, they do to some extent. However, even in the second case, the technical proficiency of the politicians probably plays a role, and therefore some studies on politicians' social media may be slightly questionable.

It can be argued that many politicians also have consultants for public appearances and image creation, and therefore their nonverbal communication is also learned and essentially artificially created and thus does not reflect their personality. To some extent, this may be true, for example, a politician's clothing or hairstyle may be entirely influenced by their advisor's recommendations. Likewise, their body language may be somewhat learned, but given that most elements of nonverbal communication are subconscious and very complex to be learned (unlike a speech, for example), I believe it can have significant value in reflecting the politician as such. And although politicians often use some obviously learned gestures or smiles, most other nonverbal communication remains natural. This is mainly because it involves too many parts of the body and face, complex timing, range, and duration of individual elements to be constantly consciously controlled. Furthermore, this control is negatively affected by the direct connection of this type of communication to the individual's emotional experience, which often prevails over rational thinking and often reveals what the speaker did not want to disclose. This idea that nonverbal communication can only be trained to a limited extent and that nonverbal communication can reveal the true emotions and motives of the speaker is shared by many researchers in this field (e.g., Ekman & Friesen 2003; Knapp et al., 2013).

Despite the possible influence of consultants, another interesting topic for the future is clothing, especially because women's social attire offers more options than men's. It would be interesting to find out how different types and colors of clothing affect voters and whether there are differences in the significance of appearance between men and

women in politics. Existing research also mainly deals with clothing, but appearance also includes hair styling, beards, makeup, and much more that would also be worth researching.

Conclusion

In this study, I focused on a review of the existing literature and findings in the field of nonverbal communication of female politicians. The aim was to find out what specifics nonverbal communication of women in politics has and compare them with the specifics of nonverbal communication of men in politics. Another aim was to find out what research designs are most commonly used in this area and what the research trends and findings in this area are.

It turned out that there are not many studies that would precisely match our interest, and that most studies on the topic of nonverbal communication of women in politics are closely related to the topic of gender stereotypes or deal more with the impact of this form of communication on voters rather than just its definition and description. We also often find studies that do not examine nonverbal communication itself but how certain media or social networks describe it. Therefore, we discuss these topics in detail. This brings us to another interesting point that studies usually consider very little, but which is very significant for this topic and future studies should definitely address. It is the influence of the advancing professionalization of political campaigns, where we increasingly encounter various PR or psychology advisors in campaigns who can influence the nonverbal communication of politicians.

The review itself still brought several interesting studies and findings on the selected topic. We introduced the mixed communication model that women in politics often use. From the above studies, it is evident that there are differences in the nonverbal communication of men and women in politics. However, there are not only differences between men and women in politics but also between female politicians and non-politician women. This mixed model includes a combination of elements of male verbal and female nonverbal communication. It also turned out that an important component of nonverbal communication of women in politics is physical appearance and also emotions expressed through nonverbal communication.

Regarding research trends and methodology, it turned out that in some designs, female politicians and male politicians are compared, while some designs focus only on women. The most common method is the analysis of existing video recordings or photographs of real local or world politicians. Usually, appearance, facial expressions, gestures, and paralinguistics are analyzed.

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Transparency on the use of generative Artificial Intelligence
No generative AI tools were used to enhance the quality and readability of the article.

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