

COMMUNICATIONAL PROFILES OF THE WOMEN CANDIDATES RUNNING
FOR SÃO PAULO AND RIO DE JANEIRO MAYORSHIPS: AN ANALYSIS OF 2020
ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS

*PERFIS COMUNICACIONAIS DAS CANDIDATAS ÀS PREFEITURAS DE SÃO
PAULO E RIO DE JANEIRO: UMA ANÁLISE DAS CAMPANHAS ELEITORAIS EM
2020*

*PERFILES COMUNICACIONALES DE LAS CANDIDATAS A ALCALDES DE SÃO
PAULO Y RÍO DE JANEIRO: UN ANÁLISIS DE LAS CAMPAÑAS ELECTORALES DE
2020*



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ABSTRACT: This article aims to identify the communication profiles of women candidates for mayor in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil's two largest electoral districts, during the 2020 municipal elections, through their radio and television programs in the Free Electoral Propaganda Schedule (HGPE). In São Paulo, three women ran in the election: Joice Hasselmann (PSL), Marina Helou (REDE), and Vera (PSTU). However, according to electoral legislation, only Joice Hasselmann had radio and TV time. In the case of Rio de Janeiro, six women launched their candidacies for mayor: Benedita da Silva (PT), Clarissa Garotinho (PROS), Police Officer Martha Rocha (PDT), Glória Heloiza (PSC), Renata Souza (PSOL), and Suêd Haidar (PMB), with the latter being the only one who did not have programs aired in the HGPE. That year, in both capitals, no female candidacy advanced to the second round, a situation similar to that registered in other municipalities in the country. Among the theoretical foundations used in this research, the studies on gender, women in politics, and public image stand out, based on authors such as Bourdieu (2012), Biroli (2018), Panke (2011, 2016, 2020, 2021), Weber (2004), and Lipovetsky (2007). The empirical phase consisted of exploratory research of the programs aired in the HGPE, a space guaranteed by Brazilian electoral legislation for political parties to promote their candidates and platforms. The objective of this phase was to understand how the candidates presented themselves to the electorate, using the typologies proposed by Panke (2016) for the analysis of female electoral campaigns. According to the author, the three predominant female archetypes in electoral disputes — Warrior, Maternal, and Professional — are distinguished by specific attributes, which can be identified in the videos and classified based on the principles of Content Analysis.

KEYWORDS: Women in politics. Women's electoral campaigns. Public image. 2020 elections. State Sponsored Electoral Broadcast Time.

RESUMO: Este artigo visa identificar os perfis de comunicação das mulheres candidatas às prefeituras de São Paulo e Rio de Janeiro, os dois maiores colégios eleitorais do Brasil, durante as eleições municipais de 2020, por meio de seus programas de rádio e televisão no Horário Gratuito de Propaganda Eleitoral (HGPE). Em São Paulo, três mulheres concorreram no pleito: Joice Hasselmann (PSL), Marina Helou (REDE) e Vera (PSTU). No entanto, apenas Joice Hasselmann teve tempo de rádio e TV, de acordo com a legislação eleitoral. No caso do Rio de Janeiro, seis mulheres lançaram suas candidaturas para a prefeitura: Benedita da Silva (PT), Clarissa Garotinho (PROS), Delegada Martha Rocha (PDT), Glória Heloiza (PSC), Renata Souza (PSOL) e Suêd Haidar (PMB), sendo esta última a única que não teve programas veiculados no HGPE. Naquele ano, em ambas as capitais, nenhuma candidatura feminina conseguiu avançar para o segundo turno, situação semelhante à registrada nos demais municípios do país. Entre os fundamentos teóricos utilizados nesta pesquisa, destacam-se os estudos sobre gênero, mulheres na política e imagem pública, embasados em autores como Bourdieu (2012), Biroli (2018), Panke (2011, 2016, 2020, 2021), Weber (2004) e Lipovetsky (2007). A fase empírica consistiu em uma pesquisa exploratória dos programas veiculados no HGPE, um espaço garantido pela legislação eleitoral brasileira para os partidos políticos divulgarem seus candidatos e plataformas. O objetivo dessa fase foi compreender como as postulantes se apresentaram ao eleitorado, utilizando as tipologias propostas por Panke (2016) para a análise de campanhas eleitorais femininas. Segundo a autora, os três arquétipos femininos predominantes nas disputas eleitorais — Guerreira, Maternal e Profissional — se distinguem por atributos específicos, que podem ser identificados nos vídeos e classificados com base nos princípios da Análise de Conteúdo.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Mulheres na política. Campanhas eleitorais femininas. Imagem pública. Eleições 2020. Horário Eleitoral Gratuito.*

RESUMEN: *El objetivo de este artículo es identificar los perfiles comunicacionales de las mujeres candidatas a las alcaldías de São Paulo y Río de Janeiro, los dos más grandes colegios electorales de Brasil, en las elecciones municipales de 2020, en sus programas de radio y televisión, en lo Horário Gratuito de Propaganda Eleitoral. En São Paulo, tres mujeres compitieron en la elección: Joice Hasselmann (PSL), Marina Helou (REDE) y Vera (PSTU). Sin embargo, solo Joice Hasselman tenía tiempo de radio y televisión, según la legislación electoral. En el caso de Río de Janeiro, seis mujeres se postularon para la alcaldía: Benedita da Silva (PT), Clarissa Garotinho (PROS), Delegada Martha Rocha (PDT), Glória Heloiza (PSC), Renata Souza (PSOL) y Suêd Haidar (PMB), siendo esta última la única que no contó con programas emitidos en el HGPE. Ese año, en ambas capitales, ninguna candidatura femenina logró avanzar a la segunda vuelta, situación similar a la registrada en otros municipios del país. Entre los operadores teóricos presentes en esta investigación, destacamos los estudios de género, sobre mujeres en la política e imagen pública, temas sustentados por autores como Bourdieu (2012), Biroli (2018), Panke (2011, 2016, 2020, 2021), Weber (2004), Lipovetsky (2007). La fase empírica, una investigación exploratoria sobre los programas emitidos en el HGPE, espacio proporcionado por la legislación electoral brasileña a los partidos políticos para la difusión de sus candidatos y plataformas, buscó comprender cómo los candidatos se presentaban ante el electorado según las tipologías de Panke (2016) para el análisis de las campañas electorales de las mujeres. Según la autora, los tres arquetipos femeninos predominantes en las disputas electivas — Guerrera, Materna y Profesional — se distinguen por atributos específicos, que pueden ser identificados en los videos y clasificados a partir de los supuestos del Análisis de Contenido.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Mujeres en la política. Campañas electorales de mujeres. Imagen pública. Elecciones 2020. HGPE.*

1. Introduction

Brazil has over 156.4 million eligible voters, of which 82.3 million are women, representing 53% of the electorate, according to data from the Superior Electoral Court of 2022 (BRASIL, [21--]). However, despite being the majority, women do not have the exact political representation. In the Legislative branch, only 15% of the seats in the Federal Chamber are occupied by women, while in the Senate, this number is 14%. In the 2020 municipal elections, only 12.1% of the 5,568 Brazilian municipalities elected women as mayors. This inequality was even more evident in the capital cities in 2020, with only one elected female candidate — in Palmas, Tocantins — among the 26 Brazilian states (BRASIL, 2020a).

In the two largest electoral districts in Brazil, São Paulo (9,314,259 voters) and Rio de Janeiro (5,002,621 votes), the number of women candidates for mayor increased in 2020 compared to 2016 (BRASIL, 2020a). In São Paulo, there were three candidates in 2020, one more than in 2016, and in Rio de Janeiro, there were six female candidates in 2020, double the number compared to 2016. However, despite the increase in female candidacies, no woman made it to these cities' second round of the electoral competition.

In this context, it is essential to investigate the measures that encourage women's participation in representative politics to understand the challenges they face in reaching positions of decision-making power and how they communicate with the electorate in their campaigns. In politics, relationships between men and women are still highly unequal compared to other spheres of activity, such as business. This dynamic, mediated by symbols and meanings that situate women and men in different fields of social action, resulting in the subordination of women, becomes naturalized in social practices and is sometimes seen as inevitable (BOURDIEU, 2012). According to Lipovetsky (2007, p. 258, our translation), "as demands for freedom and equality expand, the social division of the sexes is recomposed, updated with new resources," making existing inequalities less evident. These institutional spaces of power "is the history of accommodating the ideal of universality to the exclusion and marginalization of women and other subaltern social groups" (BIROLI, 2018, p. 172, our translation).

Therefore, the present study aims to identify how candidates from the two largest electoral districts in Brazil were portrayed in their electoral campaigns, especially in the videos aired during the Free Electoral Propaganda Time (FEPT), classifying them according to the typologies defined by Panke (2016), which categorize women's images into warrior, maternal, and professional profiles. As political actors, women employ various communication strategies to position themselves during their campaigns, seeking to build an image that corresponds to the expectations of their potential voters. This process is crucial to give visibility and recognition to a candidacy. Visual and mental representations of candidates form Public Image, and its construction occurs in a game of "constructions and deconstructions of truths, realities, and legitimacy" (WEBER, 2004, p. 60, our translation).

In 2020, the electoral campaign period on radio and television took place from October 9th to November 12th. The FEPT is a mandatory space provided by radio and television broadcasters during a period determined by the Electoral Court, in which parties present their candidates and proposals. The programs are broadcasted simultaneously by all broadcasters in

two daily periods, and the allocated time for each party or coalition varies according to its representation in the Federal Chamber.

Due to this rule, out of the three women running for mayor of São Paulo in 2020, only Joice Hasselmann (PSL) participated in the FEPT. Candidates Marina Helou (REDE) and Vera (PSTU) did not have time for radio and television. In Rio de Janeiro, six women launched their candidacies for mayor, and five of them had space in the electoral propaganda: Benedita da Silva (PT), Clarissa Garotinho (PROS), Delegate Martha Rocha (PDT), Glória Heloíza (PSC), and Renata Souza (PSOL). Candidate Suêd Haidar (PMB) did not participate in the FEPT.

2. Methodology

To achieve the proposed results in this study, three videos from the FEPT were selected for each candidate at different moments of the electoral campaign. These videos were transcribed, and the resulting material underwent Content Analysis (BARDIN, 2016), through which it was possible to infer the predominant typologies of profiles throughout the entire period of electoral propaganda. This analysis can be defined as a "process that consists of classifying and reducing the content of a set of documents and records to allow inferences to be made" (LIMA, 2017, p. 56); the textual content is divided into thematic units, from which the analysis is conducted.

The corpus of this study consists of 18 videos - the materials are available for consultation on the Panke Channel⁴ on YouTube. Initially, a manual search was conducted for the videos produced by the candidates in 2020, identifying the campaign materials aired during the FEPT, and then the videos were transcribed. Based on this material, it was possible to apply the methodology developed by Panke (2016, p. 89) to identify the communicative profile of the candidates according to the audiovisual codes presented in the electoral campaigns.

Table 1 - Audiovisual codes in the candidates' archetypes

	WARRIOR	MATERNAL	PROFESSIONAL
Iconic Code	Intense colors, supporters nearby, flags, and other signs of support. Pointing fingers, serious and victorious facial	Neutral and pink-colored clothing, delicate accessories, and use of stereotypical symbols of femininity such as "heart,"	Attire related to executive roles, such as suits and more formal clothing. Pearl necklaces and similar accessories. Use of shirts. Organized work location and

⁴ Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/c/CanalPanke>. Accessed in: 19 aug. 2022.

	expressions, raised and moving arms. The editing can include sharp cuts and shorter takes. Scenes with dramatic settings.	"flowers," and "children." Scenes in domestic settings, gardens, schools, and environments recognized as "for women," scenes with family or rooted in household chores.	office related to management and leadership. Alongside works, in the position of meeting leaders or exercising their original profession.
Linguistic Code	Propositive, attacking and denouncing speeches. Problem versus solution. Disqualifying arguments.	References to caring for people and biological children. More conciliatory speech. Conveys attentive listening.	Emphasizes professional preparation and experience, career, and background. Demonstration of capability. Accountability.
Sound Code	Energetic soundtrack and assertive voice. Ambientation can be either silent (drama) or noisy (action).	Soft soundtrack, reconciling and welcoming voice.	The soundtrack of overcoming, victory, and assertive voice.

Source: Panke (2021a, p. 455)

In addition to the set of communicative, verbal, and visual attributes, the analysis also takes into consideration non-verbal, auditory, and graphic elements, such as soundtracks, lighting, and colors used in the campaign, as well as meta-campaign information (such as ballot number, website address, and social media of the candidate). To classify the candidates into typologies that Panke (2016) developed, it is necessary to consider the following characteristics.

The profile of the **Warrior Woman** proposed by the author stands out for taking the initiative, breaking the rules, and seeking to be in politics to promote social changes. According to Panke (2016, p. 122), all women who engage in representative politics can be considered Warriors to some degree, "as they dared to face prejudices and various obstacles to work with politics." However, candidates who predominantly exhibit these characteristics fall into this archetype.

The figure of the **Maternal Woman** emerges when the role of caregiver is emphasized during the electoral campaign. This phenomenon occurs when the candidate is depicted dedicating herself to the care of her children, as well as other individuals in vulnerable situations, such as older people and children, consistently demonstrating special attention to the needs of others. According to Panke (2016), this perception of being a nurturing mother can also be expressed through the candidate's soft tone of voice, linguistic discourse, way of speaking and gesturing, and direct eye contact with the camera, as if having a "face-to-face" conversation with the population, even if mediated. In electoral communication, soft lighting,

tranquil soundtracks, images of landscapes, and colors associated with femininity are also employed to convey sensitivity.

The third typology proposed by Panke (2016, p. 148) is that of the **Professional Woman**, who stands out mainly for her ability to generate results and her willingness to improve the local reality. She appears when it becomes evident that the candidate has the skills and energy to perform the tasks required by the position.

3. Analysis

3.1 Benedita da Silva

Benedita da Silva, the candidate with the longest free electoral advertising time among all the women analyzed - with 1 minute and 15 seconds - ran for the Mayor of Rio de Janeiro for the Partido dos Trabalhadores na Coligação "It's the People's Turn," formed by the PT and PCdoB.

Born in the Praia do Pinto favela, which was extinguished after a significant fire, Benedita lived in the Chapéu Mangueira hill for almost six decades, where she began her political career. She is known as Bené and has an extensive trajectory in the political field, being the first black Brazilian woman elected to legislative and executive positions. In the 2020 elections, she did not advance to the second round and finished the race in fourth place, with 11.27% of the votes, according to data from the TSE (BRASIL, 2020b).

Analyzing her campaign, we can infer that her life journey was marked by moments of overcoming, and her engagement with social issues was a valued aspect. These characteristics are aligned with a determined leadership profile. As a veteran politician, the PT candidate did not engage in direct attacks against her competitors, although she criticized the situation of the city of Rio. Overall, the tone of her discourse was proactive and unifying, with linguistic characteristics associated with the Warrior figure. The following excerpt illustrates the narrative used by the candidate: "I want to be elected mayor to make Rio a place for everyone, with the right to health, education, leisure, and work, and also an anti-racist city. I will do what others haven't done!" (BENEDITA DA SILVA, 2020, HGPE, our translation).

The campaign also highlighted the attributes of this archetype in the program dedicated to her vice, nurse Rejane. It can be observed that body language was used to reinforce the typology. A scene of the two with raised clenched fists, an apparent reference to feminism and the black movement, supports the following statement by Benedita:

On November 15th, you have the chance to elect two black women as mayors of Rio, two women who intimately know the city's problems and the needs of the people who have always been abandoned by the government (BENEDITA DA SILVA, 2020, HGPE, our translation).

Furthermore, the images captured in the communities and during visits to street vendors show the duo's interaction with their supporters. Through close dialogues with the population, they demonstrate knowledge of local issues and position themselves as representatives of the people. It is worth noting that Silva was the only candidate for mayor of the capital of Rio de Janeiro to include excerpts of her campaign with the community in her videos. As highlighted by Panke (2016), direct contact actions are essential to bring the candidacy closer to the daily lives of voters and contribute to the engagement of the team and activists, considered "the infantry" of communication campaigns" (BUJEDO, 2012, p. 253 apud PANKE, 2016, p. 99, our translation).

The second most highlighted typology, the Professional Woman, emerges when the candidate refers to her curriculum. This strategy aims to validate and differentiate her candidacy to the electorate, emphasizing her competence and experience in the public sphere. An example is the following statement: "I have been a councilwoman, federal deputy, senator, minister, and governor. I could retire, but I want to use all this experience to improve Rio de Janeiro, the city that I love and that has made me recognized in Brazil and around the world" (BENEDITA DA SILVA, 2020, HGPE, our translation).

Figure 1 - Nurse Rejane and Benedita da Silva



Source: Panke Channel (2021a)

The profile with the lowest incidence, the Maternal, is briefly manifested in the debut program. "I am a mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother, and a woman of faith" (SILVA, 2020, HGPE, our translation), she states while recounting other aspects of her biography. There are no other references to the mother typology in the speeches of the other inserts, although the candidate uses maternal symbols to show concern and empathy for the population. As Panke (2021b, p. 234, our translation) states, "the sacralization of motherhood, relating it to an unquestionable function, adds a series of attributes to the candidates, such as the one who cares, for example."

In summary, the Partido dos Trabalhadores candidate programs emphasized social leadership, solidarity, the promotion of equality, and the fight against racism. The joyful narrative, which conveyed confidence in change, contrasting with attacks on opponents, another expression of the Warrior archetype, was consistent in Benedita's materials. Even when addressing social problems such as poverty and racism, she sought to awaken a sense of transformation, unity, and hope in voters. The video clip of her *jingle*, which featured renowned stars of Brazilian popular music such as Chico Buarque, Martinho da Vila, and Leci Brandão, was simple and aligned with the proposal to evoke positive emotions: its refrain repeated only the phrase "It's Bené, it's Bené, it's Benedita." The presence of established personalities from the music world indicated the candidate's support and connection with the art class. Finally, by

prioritizing the favelas as the backdrop for her inserts, she made it clear to the electorate which segment of the population her government aimed to reach.

3.2 Renata Souza

Journalist and Ph.D. in Communication Renata Souza ran for the Mayor of Rio de Janeiro under the coalition "Um Rio de Esperança" (PSOL). Born and raised in the Maré favela, the same community as Marielle Franco, the candidate has experience in political life, having been elected to the State Legislative Assembly in 2018. During her term, she assumed the presidency of the Commission for Human Rights and Citizenship of the ALERJ, becoming the first black woman to hold this position. In the free electoral time, she had 16 seconds. At the end of the first round, she finished her campaign in sixth place, with 3.24% of the votes.

In the three analyzed programs, the candidate projected herself to the electorate, highlighting only characteristics of the Warrior archetype. According to Panke (2016), the preference for this profile is more common in progressive left-wing parties, which tend to present more challenging female candidates.

In observing her videos, we find that in the debut program, her speeches were directed toward presenting her life story. The candidate exposed herself to viewers as a woman of humble origin, born and raised in the favela, who faced all the city's problems personally. Her posture is firm and determined, without references to meritocratic judgments. According to Lima (2017, p. 63), candidates can be classified as Warriors "when they present themselves as fighters, who have overcome adversities, which are not afraid and 'have succeeded in life'; they have suffered and recovered; they have challenged reality".

In another segment, Souza directs the narrative towards promoting her proposals, with the projects highlighted on the screen through *lettering*. The candidate looks directly at the camera and states: "My first act as mayor will be to create a major public works program, focusing on sanitation and housing. This way, we will generate jobs by hiring workers who live in the benefited neighborhoods" (RENATA SOUZA, 2020, HGPE, our translation). Panke (2016, p. 142, our translation) clarified that this strategy aims to bring the candidate closer to the voter and "reinforces the importance of the contact established by iridological language, valuing the 'eye-to-eye' contact, even if mediated."

Figure 2 – Renata Souza



Source: Canal Panke (2021b)

On the other hand, the Warrior Leader gives way to the Tough Warrior in the final stretch of the campaign. In the last analyzed program, direct criticisms made against opponents stand out, as can be seen in the following excerpt: "It's time for us to look to the future and write a new story. Without the Cabral team, the Garotinho team, and without Bolsonaro's guardians. A Rio free from corruption and disregard for life" (RENATA SOUZA, 2020, HGPE, our translation). Headlines that disqualify opponents appear on the screen as a complementary resource for deconstructing the public image of other candidates. Confrontation, as well as allegations, are expected strategies in opposition campaigns. "In political discourse, the disqualification of adversaries also serves as a means of projecting the Warrior, considering that one of her characteristics is a predisposition to confrontation" (CUNHA, 2021, p. 116, our translation).

Furthermore, it is observed that none of the analyzed videos were recorded in a studio. The candidate appears on the street in all shots, seemingly in peripheral regions. The choice of these locations suggests familiarity with the population's everyday life and a style of doing politics outside of offices and institutional environments. This approach also refers to the origin of the candidate, who presents herself as someone who will govern for the people. It is worth noting that the electoral campaign of the murdered councilwoman Marielle Franco used very similar *mise-en-scène* elements.

Regarding her fashion style, we can infer, through the observation of the videos, that the clothing pieces she wears highlight her personality and resonate with the more progressive electorate. The clothes are colorful, the hair is natural, and the accessories are *maxi*, with elements that evoke Afro culture. The candidate's aesthetic composition presents her as an empowered woman, an expected attitude of the Warrior. Even in the segments dedicated to criticizing other politicians, the soundtrack evokes Brazilian culture, reinforcing the campaign's identity-driven nature.

Overall, Renata's demeanor is friendly, as is her tone of voice. All these aspects contribute to the predominance of the leader typology, the representative who speaks on behalf of a group. "The Warrior is the candidate who stands out for her fighting spirit and leadership. She is the woman who can rally supporters around a cause, the 'leader' who takes the initiative, the motivator, the strong one" (PANKE, 2016, p. 197, our translation).

It is worth noting that, despite their limited airtime in the free electoral broadcasting, Marcelo Freixo and Chico Alencar participated in the programs in an attempt to associate and transfer their political capital as lawmakers to Souza's candidacy.

3.3 Delegate Martha Rocha

Martha Mesquita da Rocha, who placed third in the municipal elections in Rio de Janeiro, is a state deputy and former police delegate. In 1993, she became the first woman to head the General Department of Specialized Police and was a pioneer in leading the Civil Police and creating Specialized Women's Assistance Police Stations. Born in Penha, a neighborhood in the Rio de Janeiro suburbs, she ran for Mayor as part of the Coalition United for Rio (PDT / PSB) and had 1 minute and 11 seconds of airtime in the Free Electoral Broadcasting.

In the analysis of the three videos, it was possible to observe the candidate's preference for projecting the Professional archetype over other typologies. The strategy of highlighting her work emerges right from the first program. Panke (2016) asserts that professional qualities become evident at this stage of the campaign. "The positioning of the candidates themselves initially explains this: there is no way to advocate for a candidacy without demonstrating the candidate's managerial capacity" (PANKE, 2016, p. 150, our translation).

In the video above, the candidate attributes her professional success to her family, who has always valued knowledge. The spoken text is accompanied by archival footage. Words that refer to milestones in her history are highlighted by cursive *lettering*. The instrumental

soundtrack is calm and matches the setting: the candidate is positioned in an indoor environment, with predominant colors of white and lilac, associated with peace and femininity. She wears a thin orange blouse, her hair is loose, and the golden accessories are small and delicate. At this moment, the presence of scenic and auditory elements consistent with the Maternal profile can be noticed. It is worth noting that in Brazil, careers in the police force are culturally associated with the male domain, and therefore, resorting to elements that accentuate stereotypes related to women may be an attempt by the campaign to soften her image and make her more appealing to the electorate.

Figure 3 – Delegate Martha Rocha



Source: Canal Panke (2021c)

It is possible to observe in the narrative the choice to emphasize work, portraying the candidate as a hardworking and determined individual. However, there is no mention of her political involvement, as stated in the following excerpt:

We are the first generation that had the opportunity to attend college, and like all women of my age, I started as a primary school teacher. Then, I attended the National Law School, and when I was finishing, I took a public exam for the position of police clerk. That was in 1983. In truth, the police show us life as it is, and after seven years, I became a police delegate. From then on, I worked hard until I concluded my career in the Civil Police after 31 years as the chief of the Civil Police (MARTHA ROCHA, 2020, HGPE, our translation).

It is important to note that the projection of the candidate as a Professional is more related to her willingness to work than her resume or professional background (PANKE, 2016). In the words of Panke (2016, p. 152, our translation):

The worker positions herself, especially through her ability to generate results and her willingness to create a better world for everyone. She is an optimistic woman who demonstrates through her work that she has the capacity and energy to carry out the necessary tasks in government.

As the first round of elections approaches, there are changes in the campaign style. In the second analyzed segment, Martha briefly discusses her career and prioritizes the presentation of her projects. At this moment, she portrays herself as a Warrior by proposing solutions to problems, a characteristic associated with this archetype. Unlike the material aired in the debut, the setting now resembles a work environment, possibly an office or government office. The typography of the text reflects these changes, becoming bolder and without serifs, and the lighting becomes darker. At the end of the program, a testimonial from an ordinary person mentions one of the initiatives that the candidate plans to resume. The video composition indicates the option to position her as a leader who takes action. Outside the domestic environment, the setting suggests that Martha will develop projects and act as a manager in that location.

In contrast to the previous segments, the final video prioritizes attacks on opponents. The editing also changes and adopts the visual aesthetics of internet memes. There is an increase in the script's intensity, with more incisive criticisms of previous administrations. On the opening screen, newspaper headlines highlight accusations against Eduardo Paes and also against Crivella. Martha presents herself as an alternative to the two leading candidates in the polls, a strategy emphasized by the highlighted text on the screen: "Neither one nor the other. For a change, it's Martha!"

The soundtrack also creates an urgent atmosphere, evoking a sense of suspense and tension. Throughout the program, the font used for the text is changed to typography with references to graffiti and urban art. The editing of the scenes uses the repetition technique to emphasize parts of the candidate's speech, with an increase in the volume of her voice.

Our city could have become a healthcare, education, or mobility reference. And why not in all of these sectors? But that didn't happen. The river of money ended up in the hands of crooks. The same ones who are there again, asking for your vote. Enough of incompetence. Enough of crooks. I am Martha Rocha, a candidate for mayor of Rio, and I dare to do things differently (MARTHA ROCHA, 2020, HGPE, our translation).

The use of disqualification as a discursive strategy, associated with the figure of the Tough Warrior, may have been adopted by Martha's team to differentiate her from the favorites in the election and portray them as corrupt. Cunha (2021, p. 66, our translation) addresses this theme in her study.

The objective of the language is to lead the audience to believe that the opponent lacks the necessary competence to assume the position. Therefore, beyond the public, the opponent is one of the primary recipients of the political discourse. In other words, the other is disqualified while the self is projected in a constant back-and-forth that oscillates between processes of construction and destruction, often associated with the use of linguistic resources such as irony and metaphors.

In this context, by highlighting the failures of her opponents, Martha indirectly evokes positive attributes for herself. The final sentence - "courage to do things differently" - summarizes the program's spirit, where the narrative first exposes all possible problems and then presents the solution: the election of the delegate.

3.4 Glória Heloiza

As a newcomer to electoral politics, Glória Heloiza ran for mayor of Rio de Janeiro under the Partido Social Cristão (PSC). The former judge, hailing from the Jacarepaguá neighborhood, gained prominence for her work in the judiciary defending the rights of children and youth and her commitment to accessibility and inclusion. In the free electoral broadcasting, she had 14 seconds of airtime. At the end of the first round, she ranked 10th with 0.52% of the votes.

Regarding the projection of archetypes, the unusual strategy employed in her campaign is noteworthy. In her first program, the candidate aimed to pique the curiosity of the electorate. No proposals were presented, nor were there any attacks on opponents or information about her career. "Who is Glória? Where does she come from? Who is Glória? What does she have? Who is Glória? Why is she here? Glória has arrived!" says the text narrated by a speaker. However, the use of colors associated with femininity, such as pink and lilac, the *slogan* "Love for Rio," and the logo - a pink heart with the Christ the Redeemer statue - indirectly evoke the archetype of the Mother. Panke (2016, p. 145, our translation) explains: "In electoral communication, constant musicalization in *spots*, images of nature, children, soft lighting, clothing colors associated with femininity are examples of how to demonstrate sensitivity," one of the main

characteristics of the Mother profile. Among the candidates examined in this research, Glória was the one who made the most use of these characteristics.

In the second segment, recorded in a studio, the candidate finally has the opportunity to speak. Dressed informally, wearing jeans and sneakers, she delivers the following speech: "There are candidates from Lula, Ciro, Boulos, but do you know who the mayor who will work in partnership with President Bolsonaro? Of course, it's me, Glória" (GLÓRIA HELOIZA, 2020, HGPE, our translation). By establishing alliances and demonstrating her political articulation skills, Glória seeks to present herself to the electorate as a leader, one of the subtypes of the Warrior archetype. Her body language reinforces this image - in the video's final seconds, Glória's face is emphasized: she appears in profile, with her arms raised, in a gesture that conveys strength, hope, and courage.

Figure 4 – Glória Heloiza



Source: Canal Panke (2021d)

Dedicated to presenting proposals, the final program follows the same aesthetic as the previous ones and prioritizes using light colors in the set design. The candidate's visual language adopts a more subdued approach: the shades of pink are retained, but the casual look gives way to a blazer and trousers ensemble. Once again, there is a predominance of attributes related to leadership, especially in using the problem-solution formula: "Rio is one. And one side needs to take good care of the other. Instead of the armored police vehicle, the best schools, instead of stray bullets, transformative sports. The communities deserve respect and opportunities"

(GLÓRIA HELOIZA, 2020, HGPE, our translation). Although the narrative is proactive, it contains many linguistic elements associated with the Maternal archetype, such as the presence of the verb "care" - a symbiosis that is perceived throughout all the programs. "In this sense, the images of the warrior and the mother converge" (PANKE, 2016, p. 133, our translation).

3.5 Clarissa Garotinho

Candidate for the mayoralty of Rio de Janeiro from the Partido Republicano da Ordem Social (PROS), Clarissa Garotinho, is the daughter of former governors Anthony and Rosinha. As a state deputy since 2015, she had a 14-second time slot in the electoral campaign 2020 and finished in 11th place in the race for the municipal executive.

Of the three segments of the candidate analyzed in this research, two were identical: the debut program and the video extracted from the middle of the campaign. The repetition may have influenced the outcome of the analysis, which indicated the most frequently used archetype in the programs as the Warrior. In both materials, the initial screen presents the following text: "Clarissa Garotinho for mayor of Rio? How crazy!" Then, the candidate appears on the scene. She appears to be at a work desk, with highlighted objects like paper, a pen, and a computer. Wearing a white blazer, her hair down, her facial expression and gestures are gentle. In a concise speech, she responds to the question posed by the narrator: "The craziness is to keep voting for what's already there and expect a different result. Let's put into action what isn't working!" (CLARISSA GAROTINHO, 2020, HGPE, our translation). The verbal language alludes to a combative profile, although the scenic elements can also be associated with the image of the Professional. What predominates in the advertisement is the projection of the candidate as a leader and an achiever. According to Panke (2016, p. 122, our translation), the Warrior "stands out for taking initiatives and acting politically for social changes".

Figure 5 – Clarissa Garotinho



Source: Canal Panke (2021e)

Focused on accountability, the final program begins with Anthony Garotinho endorsing his daughter's candidacy. With the same purpose, he reappears in the video at the last moment. His participation may be related to the possibility of validating and associating political capital, as the family has a long history in public life. With a more elaborate approach and enhanced audiovisual resources, the insertion at the end of the campaign seeks to highlight Clarissa's activities as a legislator. In this context, the projection of the Professional archetype is observed, as the speeches of this typology aim to emphasize experience, *know-how*, and political trajectory (CUNHA, 2021).

By recalling the activities of her mandate, the aim is to position Clarissa before the electorate as an active and competent congresswoman who works to expand the rights of the people. While describing her main achievements in politics - "I passed the law on first employment, reopened popular restaurants, fought to decrease the salary of deputies and bring more resources to Rio" (CLARISSA GAROTINHO, 2020, HGPE, our translation) - the images illustrate her projects. A stamp with the inscription "Clarissa Gets Things Done" highlights her accomplishments.

Other elements, such as the location, seemingly an office, the blue dress shirt she is wearing, discreet accessories, and hand movements emphasizing the projects, reinforce the profile of a diligent worker.

3.6 Joice Hasselmann

The only female candidate for the Mayor of São Paulo who had time in the HGPE, with 1 minute and 4 seconds, is Joice Cristina Hasselmann, a journalist and federal deputy, the most-voted congresswoman in the history of Brazil. In the race for the Chief Executive of the city of São Paulo, she ran as part of the SP Merece Mais coalition (DC/PSL), obtained 1.84% of the votes, and finished the election in seventh place, according to data from the TSE (BRASIL, 2020c).

In her debut in the electoral campaign, she appears in various locations in the city. The video editing is dynamic, seeking to establish a consistent pattern for the candidate's image, as well as the speech: "Well, folks, everyone can see, São Paulo has a different rhythm, a different energy. The only thing that is not in sync with São Paulo is this right here, the city hall" (JOICE HASSELMANN, 2020, HGPE, our translation). Then, a screen with the inscription "Joice's Quiz," following the aesthetics of question-and-answer programs shown on television, questions the electorate: "When was the last time São Paulo had a mayor who wanted to be a mayor?" When the countdown ends, the candidate returns to the video and is seen walking in a fair, interacting with her supporters. In her speech, there is a predominance of traits from the Warrior archetype, as can be observed in the following example: "It's not just time that has run out, it's patience too. My patience, your patience, change is necessary, and that's why I decided to run for mayor of São Paulo" (JOICE HASSELMANN, 2020, HGPE, our translation).

Next, aspects of the Professional archetype emerge when her accomplishments in public life begin to be highlighted. Archive footage of her parliamentary activity, in protests, and alongside political leaders such as Sérgio Moro, are interspersed. "Hello, a pleasure to meet you; I'm Joice. Mother, journalist, writer, and the most voted federal deputy in the history of Brazil. And the only woman to become the government leader in the first term in history" (JOICE HASSELMANN, 2020, HGPE, our translation).

Throughout the program, the language used is informal. In the final moments, black *lettering* with a white background appears with the phrases: "Joice is powerful! Joice is

determined! Joice is amazing!". Explicitly, the text incorporates elements of the Warrior archetype, which is predominant in this first segment.

Figure 6 – Joice Hasselmann



Source: Canal Panke (2021f)

The second program begins with images of protests, followed by Joice appearing in an outdoor, wooded environment, while static and moving images highlight the problems faced by the city. The speech uses an accusatory tone, indirectly focusing on disqualifying political groups that previously governed the city without mentioning names. The following excerpt exemplifies the narrative used:

To truly change things, we must kick out the mafias that have taken control of São Paulo for many years. There's a mafia in transportation, that's why fares are so expensive, and buses are so bad, so enough is enough! There's a mafia in healthcare; that's why there are no doctors; enough is enough! There's a mafia everywhere, and that's why your property tax is so high because the mafias take a cut of the money you pay. So enough is enough! (JOICE HASSELMANN, 2020, HGPE, our translation).

The *lettering* emphasizes the text, highlighting each of the organizations mentioned by the candidate. At this point, the strategy of problem *versus* solution is observed as the program

takes on a more proactive tone, in which the candidate declares that she will implement the "São Paulo Lava Jato" to solve the issues raised.

In the last segment examined, there is an alternation between studio scenes and campaign footage on the ground, showing Joice interacting with her supporters, embracing them, among other gestures. On the screen, words like "faith," "love," and "sparkle in the eyes" stand out, while aerial images of São Paulo highlight the grandeur of the city. Both in the speech and the images, the attributes of the Warrior and Maternal archetypes intertwine, as can be seen in the following excerpt:

For me, this campaign is more than just asking for votes; it is about finding faith where there is disillusionment, finding love where there is neglect, and finding a sparkle in the eyes where there are reasons to doubt. In the face of those who lack opportunity, São Paulo is hope; in the front of those fighting for respect, São Paulo is freedom. My heart belongs to São Paulo, and my work is for São Paulo (JOICE HASSELMANN, 2020, HGPE, our translation).

The image of the candidate as a Warrior is once again privileged by the campaign when she argues that she has the power to transform the lives of the voters and the city, possessing "courage and strength to accomplish what needs to be done!" (JOICE HASSELMANN, 2020, HGPE).

Concisely, the analysis of the three selected programs of this candidate in this study allows us to infer that she presented herself to the electorate primarily as a combative and determined political leader - evidenced by images of her participation in events and protests, emphasizing her pioneering spirit and a tendency towards confrontation highlighted by the script, which employed strategies of disqualification on more than one occasion. At the same time, Joice also presents herself as nurturing and empathetic, demonstrating closeness and care for the population through frequent images in the videos, as well as exalting emotions and sentiments such as love. With a seemingly more elaborate campaign that utilized a greater variety of audiovisual resources compared to the other candidates analyzed here, we observe a certain balance in the presentation of these archetypes, as the image of the candidate as a Professional also received significant valorization.

4. Final Considerations

The women running for the highest executive position in the two largest Brazilian cities analyzed in this investigation bring to light, through their campaign communication, the low representation of women in politics. Regardless of their political positions on the ideological spectrum, they highlight this lack of representation and argue in favor of the potential renewal that more women in power can bring due to their different perspectives and their subordinate condition as a social group. Even candidates who do not come from modest backgrounds or families with a political tradition use this argument, as women as a class face gender restrictions, regardless of other privileges they may have in different social spheres.

Based on their life stories and personal trajectories, the candidates for the mayoralties of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro primarily assume the role of Warriors and validate this image through the archetype of the Professional: it is the competence of the latter that qualifies and values the performance of the former. However, while the profile of the Professional is more common and may be related to the management and administrative skills of candidates, both men, and women, the Warrior archetype imbues women who adopt it with a boldness that is traditionally discouraged or even punished in them. This explains why these two profiles often appear intertwined in our analysis. On the other hand, the Maternal archetype—perhaps the only one of the three profiles that refer to an attribute exclusive to women and, precisely for this reason, is often socially devalued, limited, or even romanticized—is one that most candidates do not seek to associate themselves with directly, or they do in an attempt to mitigate the characteristics of the Warrior. It would be interesting to investigate in future research whether this is a characteristic of campaigns by younger women or if other factors influence the adoption or rejection of this archetype.

Another relevant factor to mention in the analyzed campaigns is the importance of attire in constructing women's Public Image. While men's clothing tends to vary little, usually only differing in the formality of their dress, the clothes and accessories worn by women make their images less uniform than men's. This adds a layer of complexity to women's political communication and reflects the greater demand imposed on their appearance.

As women's participation in Brazilian public life expands through incentives, direct public policies, or their desire to participate politically and contribute to transforming their personal and collective reality, research such as that outlined in this study can shed light on this process. As women seek their emancipation by engaging in politics, whether or not they are on electoral platforms and bringing it into everyday spheres, their presence in institutional politics

has a high potential for transformation. Therefore, this article's results articulate theoretical and methodological categories to understand and document this phenomenon.

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Data and material availability: The data and materials used in this study are readily available and accessible through the Panke Channel, which serves as the audiovisual repository of the Electoral Communication Research Group at the Federal University of Paraná (CEL-UFPR). All analyzed videos, integrated into the research findings, are openly and publicly accessible. This availability ensures transparency and enables replication and further investigation of the study by researchers and stakeholders.

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