

# UC Irvine

## UC Irvine Electronic Theses and Dissertations

### Title

Talk "Like a Man": Feminine Style in the Pursuit of Political Power

### Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/31k6q9tb>

### Author

Jones, Jennifer Jean

### Publication Date

2017

### Copyright Information

This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution License, available at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,  
IRVINE

Talk “Like a Man”: Feminine Style in the Pursuit of Political Power

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Political Science

by

Jennifer J. Jones

Dissertation Committee:  
Professor Kristen Monroe, Chair  
Professor Marty Wattenberg  
Professor Michael Tesler

2017



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>CURRICULUM VITAE</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2 Theoretical Framework and Literature Review</b>	<b>5</b>
2.1 Social Identity and Its Effect on Social Cognition . . . . .	6
2.1.1 Stereotypes and Expectations . . . . .	9
2.1.2 Conceptualizing Gender in US Politics . . . . .	13
2.2 Gender and Self-Presentation in US Politics . . . . .	16
2.2.1 Masculine Norms of Interaction in Institutional Settings . . . . .	16
2.2.2 Political Stereotypes and Leadership Prototypes . . . . .	18
2.3 The Impact of Political Communication in Electoral Politics . . . . .	22
2.4 Do Women Have to Talk Like Men to Be Considered Viable Leaders? . . . . .	27
<b>3 Methods: Words are Data</b>	<b>29</b>
3.1 Approaches to Studying Language . . . . .	30
3.2 Analyzing Linguistic Style . . . . .	34
3.2.1 Gendered Communication and the Feminine/Masculine Ratio . . . . .	37
3.2.2 Comparison with Other Coding Schemes . . . . .	39
3.3 Approaches to Studying Social Perception and Attitudes . . . . .	40
3.3.1 The Link Between Linguistic Style and Implicit Associations . . . . .	42
<b>4 The Linguistic Styles of Hillary Clinton, 1992–2013</b>	<b>45</b>
4.1 The Case of Hillary Clinton . . . . .	46
4.2 Data and Analysis of the Hillary Clinton Corpus . . . . .	50
4.3 How Clinton’s Language Reveals a Gendered Self-presentation . . . . .	51
4.4 Chapter 4 Discussion of Results . . . . .	61

<b>5</b>	<b>Gendered Styles of Political Leadership</b>	<b>64</b>
5.1	Expectations . . . . .	65
5.2	The Political Leader Corpus . . . . .	66
5.2.1	Descriptive Statistics . . . . .	68
5.2.2	Wives of Political Leaders Mini-Corpus . . . . .	71
5.2.3	Data Processing . . . . .	73
5.3	Feminine/Masculine Ratio Results from the Political Leader Corpus . . . . .	74
5.3.1	Trends Over Time . . . . .	78
5.3.2	Individual Leaders . . . . .	81
5.3.3	Dimensions of the Feminine/Masculine Ratio . . . . .	86
5.4	Statistical Analysis . . . . .	100
5.5	Discussion . . . . .	102
<b>6</b>	<b>Implicit Gender Cues in Candidate Communication</b>	<b>105</b>
6.1	Research Design and Candidate Statement Styles . . . . .	106
6.2	Study 1 . . . . .	108
6.2.1	Procedure . . . . .	108
6.2.2	Participants . . . . .	109
6.2.3	Study 1 Results . . . . .	109
6.2.4	Discussion . . . . .	112
6.3	Study 2 . . . . .	114
6.3.1	Procedure . . . . .	116
6.3.2	Participants . . . . .	117
6.3.3	Study 2 Results . . . . .	118
6.3.4	Discussion . . . . .	126
<b>7</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>128</b>
7.0.1	Summary of Findings and Contributions to Prior Research . . . . .	129
7.0.2	Unanswered Questions and Directions for Future Research . . . . .	134
	<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>139</b>
	<b>Appendices</b>	<b>152</b>
A	Appendix for Chapter 5 . . . . .	152
B	Appendix for Chapter 6 . . . . .	158

## LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
4.1 Ratio of Feminine to Masculine Styles Over Time . . . . .	52
4.2 Ratio of Feminine to Masculine Styles for Clinton’s Interviews and Debates in 2007–2008 . . . . .	60
5.1 Interview Transcripts by Network . . . . .	68
5.2 Interview Transcripts by Year . . . . .	72
5.3 Feminine/Masculine Ratio Comparison with Candidate Wives by Gender and Party - All transcripts (weighted mean) . . . . .	75
5.4 Feminine/Masculine Ratio by Party and Gender in Interviews (weighted mean)	76
5.5 Feminine/Masculine Ratio by Party and Gender in Debates (weighted mean)	76
5.6 Feminine/Masculine Ratio by Party, Gender & Role in Interviews (weighted mean) . . . . .	77
5.7 Feminine/Masculine Ratio Trends over Time . . . . .	79
5.8 Feminine/Masculine Ratio Over Time - Sample of Men . . . . .	79
5.9 Feminine/Masculine Ratio Over Time - Sample of Women . . . . .	80
5.10 Presidential Candidate Wives - Feminine/Masculine Ratio Means and Stan- dard Errors . . . . .	81
5.11 Feminine/Masculine Ratio Means and Standard Errors for Female Leaders - Interviews . . . . .	82
5.12 Feminine/Masculine Ratio Means and Standard Errors for Male Presidential Candidates - Interviews . . . . .	83
5.13 Feminine/Masculine Ratio Means and Standard Errors for Male Governors - Interviews . . . . .	84
5.14 Feminine/Masculine Ratio Means and Standard Errors for Male Party Leaders - Interviews . . . . .	85
5.15 Feminine/Masculine Ratio Means and Standard Errors for Presidential Can- didates - Debates . . . . .	87
5.16 Feminine and Masculine Language in Presidential Debates (Normalized values - Scaled and Centered) . . . . .	88
5.17 I vs. We: First-Person Singular and First-Person Plural in Presidential Debates	89
5.18 Positive vs. Negative Emotion in Presidential Debates . . . . .	90
5.19 Social References and Negative Emotion in Presidential Debates . . . . .	91
5.20 Big Words and Emotional Reactivity in Presidential Debates . . . . .	92
5.21 Past vs. Present Tense Verbs in Interviews with Presidential Candidates . . .	93

5.22	Femininity vs. Masculinity in Interviews with Party Leaders and Governors .	96
5.23	I vs. We: First-Person Singular and First-Person Plural in Interviews with Party Leaders and Governors . . . . .	97
5.24	Positive vs. Negative Emotion in Interviews with Party Leaders and Governors	98
5.25	Past vs. Present Tense Verbs in Interviews with Party Leaders and Governors	99
6.1	Overall Association Between Gender and Candidate Statement Style (N=448)	110
6.2	Gender Identifications by Candidate Statement . . . . .	110
6.3	Overall Association Between Party and Candidate Statement Style (N=448)	111
6.4	Party Identifications by Candidate Statement . . . . .	112
6.5	Candidate Warmth Ratings by Group . . . . .	118
6.6	Feeling Thermometer Ratings by Group (N=557) . . . . .	120
6.7	Interaction Between Participant Gender and Statement Style on Warmth Ratings . . . . .	121
6.8	Competence Ratings by Group . . . . .	122
6.9	Interaction Between Participant Gender and Statement Style on Competence Ratings . . . . .	124

# LIST OF TABLES

	Page
3.1 Linguistic Style Differences Between Men and Women . . . . .	38
4.1 Generalized Linear Model Results of the Feminine/Masculine Ratio Over Time	54
4.2 Weighted Average For All Linguistic Markers (%) . . . . .	56
5.1 Overview of the Political Leader Corpus . . . . .	69
5.2 Leader Corpus - Gender by Party . . . . .	70
5.3 Leader Corpus - Gender by Role . . . . .	70
5.4 Leader Corpus - Party by Role . . . . .	70
5.5 Wives of Political Leaders Mini-Corpus - Description of Sample . . . . .	73
5.6 Generalized Linear Model Results for the Feminine/Masculine Ratio . . . . .	101
6.1 Warmth Ratings by Group (N=557) . . . . .	119
6.2 Competence Ratings by Group (N=557) . . . . .	123
6.3 Comparisons Between Candidates with Contrasting Statement Styles By Group (%, N=557) . . . . .	125
6.4 Combined Comparisons Between Candidates with Contrasting Statement Styles (% N=557) . . . . .	125



# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation could not have been completed without those who have supported me along the way.

First and foremost, I would like to thank the members of my dissertation committee, Professors Kristi Monroe, Marty Wattenberg, and Michael Tesler. To each, thank you for your invaluable advice and unwavering support throughout my coursework, teaching assignments, dissertation research, and job search. I am truly grateful for and humbled by your patience, enthusiasm, and genuine interest in my work. It is an honor to associate your names with my dissertation.

To Kristi, I owe special thanks. You stood by me throughout my graduate career and have done so much to make my success possible. I have been blessed to have an advisor who is as smart, honest, compassionate, and dedicated as you are. You inspire me not only as a scholar and teacher, but as a human being. I will be forever be grateful for your friendship and guidance.

To Greg, I thought you were too good to be true. I was wrong. You are my best friend and I am so thankful to have you in my life. Thank you for entertaining and listening to me, for copy-editing my papers, for cheering on the sidelines of my beach football games, and for always keeping me company even if it meant traveling to Las Vegas and back in one day. Most of all, thank you for the conversations. I never want them to end.

To mom, dad, Brad, Cathy, Alun, Elizabeth, Jeff, Samantha, Maurice, Abby, Bonnie, Linda, Rob, Frank, and Grandma Jean—I cannot begin to list the countless way you all have supported me. Thank you for allowing my intellectual curiosity to grow, for exposing me to politics and cultivating my debate skills. Rest in Peace Pop-Pop, Salty, and Jersh. To mom and dad, Tom and Toni Jones, I owe special thanks for always being there for me when I needed it and for buying the computer that this dissertation was written on.

To all of my teachers, thank you.

Thanks to the American Political Science Association and Cambridge University Press for permission to incorporate work previously published in: Jones, Jennifer J. 2016. “Talk ‘Like a Man.’ The Linguistic Styles of Hillary Clinton, 1992–2013.” *Perspectives on Politics* 14 (3): 625–42.

# CURRICULUM VITAE

Jennifer J. Jones

## EDUCATION

---

- Ph.D. in Political Science – Political Psychology** 2017  
University of California, Irvine *Irvine, CA*
- B.A. in Government and Politics** 2010  
University of Maryland *College Park, MD*

## PUBLICATIONS

---

- Jones, Jennifer J. “Talk ‘Like a Man.’ The Linguistic Styles of Hillary Clinton, 1992–2013” 2016  
*Perspectives on Politics*, 14(3): 625–642.
- Haste, Helen, Jennifer J. Jones and Kristen Monroe. “Political Psychology as an Interpretive Field.” 2015  
*The Routledge Handbook of Interpretive Political Science*. New York: Routledge.
- Al-Ani, Ban, Gloria Mark, Justin Chung and Jennifer J. Jones. “The Egyptian Blogosphere: A Counter-Narrative of the Revolution” 2012  
*Proceedings of the Association for Computing Machinery Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW 2012)*. Seattle, WA. pp. 17–26.
- Jones, Jennifer J. “The Rationalizing Voter by Milton Lodge and Charles S. Taber.” 2013  
*Political Psychology*, 36(1): 137–40. (Book Review)

## HONORS AND AWARDS

---

- UCI Vaughen Teaching Fellow** 2016  
UCI Interdisciplinary Center for Ethics and Morality
- Doris Graber Scholar** 2013–2016  
International Society of Political Psychology
- Harry Eckstein Scholar Award for Distinguished Graduate Student** 2015  
UCI Department of Political Science
- Francisco Ayala Scholar for Mentoring Excellence** 2014–2015  
UCI Interdisciplinary Center for Ethics and Morality

**Order of Merit for Outstanding Service** 2013  
UCI School of Social Sciences

**Honorable Mention for Best Paper** 2012  
ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work

### CONFERENCE PAPERS

---

“Implicit Gender Cues in Candidate Communication.” 2016  
*Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.*

“It’s Who You Are and How You Say It: The Psychology of Gender in Attorney Success at the Supreme Court” (with Shane Gleason and Jessica Rae McBean) 2016  
*Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association*

“Words are data. Systematic Approaches for Analyzing Qualitative and Narrative Data” 2015  
*International Society of Political Psychology Mini-Conference on Narrative, International Politics and Psychology*

“Talk ‘Like a Man.’ The Linguistic Appeal of Hillary Rodham Clinton” 2015  
*Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association and Annual Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology.*

“Framing Moral Intuitions? The Evolution of Same-Sex Marriage in News Media” 2014  
*Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association*

“The Egyptian Blogosphere: A Counter-narrative of the Revolution” (with Ban Al-Ani, Gloria Mark and Justin Chung) 2012  
*Association for Computing Machinery Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW 2012)*

### ADVANCED SKILLS & TRAINING

---

**Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (IQMR)** 2013  
*Syracuse, NY*

**The R Statistical Computing Environment** 2012  
Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) *Berkeley, CA*

**Software & Programming**  
R, STATA, Inquisit, Qualtrics, zTree, HTML, RegEx, T<sub>E</sub>X

**Languages**  
Conversational Spanish

## TEACHING EXPERIENCE

---

<b>Instructor</b> Loyola Marymount University	<b>2015-current</b> <i>Los Angeles, CA</i>
<b>Teaching Assistant</b> University of California, Irvine	<b>2010-2015</b> <i>Irvine, CA</i>

## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

---

<b>Webmaster</b> Women's Caucus for Political Science	<b>2014-2016</b>
<b>Editorial Assistant for the <i>Political Psychology</i> Book Review</b> International Society of Political Psychology	<b>2014-2015</b>
<b>Vice Chair of University Affairs</b> University of California Student Association	<b>2014</b> <i>Oakland, CA</i>
<b>Congressional Intern</b> Majority Leader of the House of Representatives, Steny H. Hoyer	<b>2009</b> <i>Washington, D.C.</i>

## UNIVERSITY LEADERSHIP

---

<b>Board of Directors</b> University of California Student Association	<b>2012-2014</b>
<b>Executive Vice President</b> Associate Graduate Students, UC Irvine	<b>2012-2014</b>
<b>Professional Development Task Force</b> University of California, Irvine	<b>2014</b>
<b>Symposium Steering Committee</b> University of California, Irvine	<b>2014</b>
<b>Symposium Academic Committee Chair</b> University of California, Irvine	<b>2014</b>
<b>School of Social Sciences Dean Search Committee</b> University of California, Irvine	<b>2013</b>

# ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Talk “Like a Man”: Feminine Style in the Pursuit of Political Power

By

Jennifer J. Jones

Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science

University of California, Irvine, 2017

Professor Kristen Monroe, Chair

Communication is a key factor in the strategic self-presentation of political leaders and candidates for office. It is especially important for women in US politics who remain numerically underrepresented at all levels of government, particularly in leadership positions. Drawing from theories on self-presentation, social identity, and implicit communication, this dissertation explores the relationship between gender, language, and political leadership. How do female politicians present themselves as viable leaders in a male-dominated political arena? Existing research suggests that women adopt masculine behaviors to succeed in politics. I asked: Do they talk like men?

Informed by empirical work in social psychology and linguistics, I conceptualized feminine and masculine styles of communication in an original way. Using quantitative text analysis, survey, and experimental approaches, I investigated the gendered communication styles of US political leaders and the impact that such styles have for candidate evaluations.

Analyzing 567 of Hillary Clinton’s interview and debate transcripts between 1992–2013, I found that as Clinton’s political power grew, she spoke in an increasingly masculine way. To follow up on this case, I analyzed 2,484 interview and debate transcripts from 126 political leaders and found that, like Clinton, female leaders broadly conformed to masculine styles of communication. Despite this, partisan stereotypes encouraged a different, and sometimes

conflicting, self-presentation, which suggests that the self-presentational strategies for attaining and maintaining power are not the same for Republican and Democratic women. In contrast, male leaders did not significantly alter their self-presentation when transitioning into different leadership roles. Among male leaders, Democrats and Republicans tended to conform to party stereotypes. In addition, survey results showed that individuals reliably associated masculine communication styles with men and the Republican party and feminine statements with women and the Democratic party. Experimental results showed that regardless of a candidate's gender, evaluations of warmth—but not competence—were significantly affected by the candidate's gendered style of communication.

Ultimately, these findings demonstrate how seemingly unremarkable linguistic structures—pronouns, articles, prepositions, emotional expressions and more—conform to, reflect, and cue two key factors underlying political behavior: partisanship and gender.

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

I get it that some people just don't know what to make of me.

—Hillary Clinton, 2016 Democratic National Convention acceptance speech

Like many of her past speeches, reactions to Hillary Clinton's historic acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention focused not on what she said, but how she said it. Fox News commentator Greg Gutfeld tweeted “even when she says, ‘you know,’ it's recited like a wind up doll” and *New York Times* columnist David Brooks told PBS News anchor Judy Woodruff that Clinton failed to “emotionally connect” in her speech. When then-Senator Obama spoke at the 2008 convention, it aligned with our expectations about how a leader should talk. He sounded like leader. Yet this is rarely, if ever, true for Clinton. When Clinton talks, it comes across as “unrelaxed<sup>1</sup>”, “hair-raising<sup>2</sup>”, “hectoring<sup>3</sup>”, “nagging<sup>4</sup>” and “grating<sup>5</sup>”—at least to some people. It conflicts with expectations about how she should talk.

---

1. Bob Woodward on CNN, February 6, 2016.

2. Geraldo Rivera on Fox News, February 5, 2016.

3. Andrew Sullivan on the *New York Magazine* live blog, July 28, 2016.

4. Maureen Dowd in the *New York Times*, September 30, 2007.

5. Katie Pavlich on Fox News, February 5, 2016.

Such comments illustrate a paradox that women in leadership roles confront. As a leader, Clinton is compared against traditionally masculine qualities that have long been associated with leadership—strength, determination, self-confidence, and more. She is criticized when she fails to display masculine leadership qualities and she is criticized and disliked when she fails to display feminine warmth. Despite her critics, however, Clinton has successfully navigated a path toward leadership in a profession dominated by men and by a male model. Women pursuing leadership positions are not halted simply by a glass ceiling, but by a labyrinth of obstacles they must navigate along the way (Eagly and Carli 2007). These obstacles, both implicit and overt, do not pose concrete barriers, but rather “circuitous routes” toward attaining leadership positions (*Ibid*). Expectations of leadership as well as institutional arrangements have implications both for the types of individuals who run for public office as well as the self-presentational strategies that politically ambitious women use to advance through the labyrinth of leadership. To be successful, they must cultivate an appropriate and effective self-presentation—one that reconciles symbolic attitudes toward gender with masculine prototypes of political leaders.

Women rarely act “like women” to achieve power and influence in politics. Women aspiring toward leadership are more often pressured to adopt masculine styles of behavior in order to get their points across. The classic example is Margaret Thatcher, who was trained to lower her naturally high-pitched voice in order to communicate with more authority (Cameron 2005). Despite the difference that women make for the political agenda and for the outcome of legislation, women’s minority status in decision-making bodies often results in their conformity to a normative, masculine style of communication, one that restricts the full expression of their ideas (Gertzog 1995; Dodson 2006; Karpowitz and Mendelberg 2014). As the former prime minister of Canada, Kim Campbell, describes it:

I don’t have a traditionally female way of speaking ... I’m quite assertive. If I didn’t speak the way I do, I wouldn’t have been seen as a leader. But my way



of speaking may have grated on people who were not used to hearing it from a woman. It was the right way for a leader to speak, but it wasn't the right way for a woman to speak. It goes against type (as quoted in Eagly and Carli 2007, 102).

Former Press Secretary for the Clinton administration, Dee-Dee Myers, captures this conundrum flatly, "if male behavior is the norm, and women are always expected to act like men, we will never be as good at being men as men are" (as quoted in Krum 2008). The tension confronted by women pursuing power within male-dominated political institutions thus raises several important questions. How do female politicians present themselves as viable leaders given the power imbalances that persist within political institutions? What strategies do they use to navigate through the political labyrinth? Must they talk like men?

Language provides a valuable lens for understanding how political life affects the self-presentation of women in politics. By examining the linguistic style of US political leaders, this dissertation reveals hidden insight into the strategies that both male and female political leaders use as they navigate through the political and electoral arenas. Linguistic style does not refer to the content or substance of speech, but rather to the way a person communicates and how she conveys meaningful content. Drawing from research in political psychology, political communication, social psychology, and linguistics, I conceptualize feminine and masculine styles of communication in an original way. I then analyze the gendered linguistic styles of US political leaders using a multi-method approach to original data that combines a computational text analysis of (1) 567 of Hillary Clinton's interview and debate transcripts between 1992 and 2013 and (2) 2,484 interview and debate transcripts of male and female political leaders, with a (3) survey designed to measure associations between gendered language and a politician's gender and/or party identification, and an (4) experiment examining the extent that gender-linked language matters for male and female candidate evaluations. In doing so, this research demonstrates how seemingly unremarkable linguistic

structures—pronouns, articles, prepositions, emotional expressions and more—conform to, reflect and cue two key factors underlying political behavior: partisanship and gender.

My key findings are that (1) female Democratic leaders conform to masculine communication patterns except when campaigning for president; (2) female Republican leaders demonstrate the opposite pattern, communicating in more traditionally feminine ways once in leadership positions, but presenting a more masculine self-presentation when campaigning for president; (3) as party leaders, the gendered self-presentation of Democratic and Republican men reflect their party’s respective gender stereotypes; (4) individuals associate masculine communication styles with men and the Republican party and to a lesser degree, feminine statements with women and the Democratic party; finally, (5) regardless of a candidate’s gender, evaluations of warmth—but not competence—are significantly affected by the gendered style of communication that the candidate uses.

## Chapter 2

# Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Social identities are powerful, cognitively embedded constructs that influence, constrain, motivate, and guide political behavior. I argue that language reflects identity and is thus a valuable lens for uncovering the impact of leadership (and aspirations of leadership) on the self-presentation of politicians. In order to develop this argument, this chapter (1) situates identity as a concept within the social psychological literature, (2) describes the cognitive, affective, and behavioral implications of identity for gendered expectations, and (3) conceptualizes gender within these frameworks. I then provide an overview of the literature on the self-presentation of women in politics and the impact of political communication on political information processing. Synthesizing these bodies of work, I present my primary research question, which guides the methodology and analyses presented in subsequent chapters.

## 2.1 Social Identity and Its Effect on Social Cognition

We define ourselves—and others—in terms of our social identities. When making an introduction, we might say, for example, “My name is Mary. I’m a mother of three children, a high school chemistry teacher, and a longtime Washingtonian.” Each of these identities or social roles—mother, teacher, Washingtonian—carries certain, distinguishing characteristics and attributes that shape who we are, who we see ourselves to be, and how we are treated by others. Such categorization helps to orient our own behavior and others’ behavior toward us. So too does language, which I will discuss in chapter 3.

Social identities are powerful, cognitively embedded constructs that influence, constrain, motivate, and guide political behavior. In political psychology, questions about group-based identities, differences, and behaviors are largely founded on the assumptions underlying social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Tajfel 1982) and self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, and Wetherell 1987), collectively referred to as the social identity approach. Social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979) situates intergroup dynamics, prejudice, and discrimination within innate psychological needs for distinctiveness, self-esteem, and belonging. The first premise then, is that individuals have a natural tendency to categorize themselves and others as members of social groups. Perceiving and categorizing others as male or female, Muslim or Jew, Democrat or Republican, for example, is a way of locating others within one’s own cognitive schemata. Group identification also arises from the need to associate with certain social groups (our in-groups) to help satisfy our need for self-esteem. We compare our in-groups with the groups of others (our out-groups) and, in doing so, exert favorable bias toward in-groups and negative bias toward out-groups. Tajfel’s (1981) and Tajfel and Billig’s (1974) “minimal group” research demonstrates that any form of group membership, even those based on the most trivial and artificial categories where membership is randomly assigned, triggers positive evaluations for one’s in-group, and negative evaluations of one’s out-group. Participants in these experiments also offered

greater financial rewards to their in-group members (Tajfel and Billig 1974; Tajfel 1982). Thus, group membership not only influences cognitive reasoning and emotional attachment, it also influences observable behavior. The final aspect of this theory recognizes that individuals identify with multiple in-groups, each of which provide information about who we are.

Self-categorization theory (Turner 1985; Turner et al. 1987; Turner et al. 1994) builds on social identity theory by focusing on the categorization process itself and specifying the conditions under which individuals will categorize themselves within a particular group. According to the theory, the integration between three factors that determine what social identity will be activated in a given context: (1) accessibility, (2) comparative (or structural) fit, and (3) normative fit (Turner 1985; Turner et al. 1987). Accessibility is the notion that self-categorization is activated situationally, depending on a range on factors in one's social environment as well as one's "readiness" to identify with a particular group (Turner et al. 1987; Oakes et al. 1991). A specific self-categorization—mother or daughter, athlete or student, victim or survivor—can be more or less salient (that is, cognitively accessible) in a certain context relative to another identity. In the context of an election, for example, partisanship is a highly salient identity that influences the way partisan voters perceive and evaluate candidates. However, as subsequent research has pointed out, some identities (e.g., student or athlete) are by-and-large activated situationally or temporally, while others (e.g., race or gender) are chronically accessible. Nevertheless, self-categorization theory posits that the more accessible a category is, the more likely one will identify in terms of that category (Turner et al. 1987). The theory predicts that when a particular social category is salient, individuals tend to assimilate to the in-group norms and behave in ways that conform to the group prototype (*Ibid.*).

Self-categorization also depends on comparative (or structural) fit, which is the notion that individuals make comparisons within stimuli and between stimuli and perceive

the distances (or difference) within categories to be smaller than the distances between the categories to decide what social identity is most meaningful (Oakes et al. 1991). Since the perceived distance or difference between groups is subjective, the activation of a particular identity may be different for different people. Nevertheless, imagine a corporate board meeting attended by Jim, a 30-year old man, Joe, a 27-year old man, John, a 26 year-old man, and Jane, a 31-year old woman. In this instance, we might predict that gender is the most salient identity category. Now imagine that, all else equal, Steve, a 59-year old man, Saul, a 61-year old man, and Sarah, a 60-year old woman, join the board meeting. By altering the structure of the group, the group's frame of reference changes. In this instance, we might predict that age is the most salient identity category. Normative fit is slightly different. While comparative fit corresponds to the group structure, normative fit corresponds to the shared features, or shared content, of identity groups (Oakes et al. 1991). In the previous example, gender and age are categories that reflect the shared features of members within the group—men or women, young or old. This it is important because normative fit links our experience of identity categories with our beliefs and expectations. It also feeds back into one's readiness to identify with a particular group. Most importantly, the similarities and differences that we perceive among people are largely a product of the process of categorization itself. Categorization is also a key concept for understanding how we use language, a point that I will return to in chapter 3.

Social identities are powerful because they shape expectations and beliefs about oneself, one's in-groups, and most importantly, one's out-groups. Expectations reflect broad generalizations that “guide how people encode (attend and interpret), remember, and respond (judge and interact) in their social worlds” (Fiske 2010, 159). Indeed, a well-established body of research in political psychology demonstrates that social identities including gender, race, religion, and partisanship fuel group-based attachments, and consequently shape perceptions, attitudes, and judgments of the political world (Kinder and Sears 1981; Winter 2008; Tesler and Sears 2010; Iyengar, Sood, and Lelkes 2012; Tesler 2014). Approaches

to social identity and self-categorization theories thereby link micro-level phenomena and psychological needs to broader, macro-level social phenomenon of group behavior.

### **2.1.1 Stereotypes and Expectations**

The social identity approach is fundamentally concerned with how identity groups shape perceptions of the social world, and, consequently, it implicates a number of cognitive processes and structures. It is thus useful to integrate the social identity approach with research on social cognition. While social identity emphasizes the group-based macro-processes that contribute to social perception, social cognition emphasizes the internal micro-processes associated with social interaction (Abrams and Hogg 1998). The two approaches often share a common focus, and this is most evident in research on stereotyping and prejudice.

Social identities are often characterized by their substantive content with reference to the distinguishing physical characteristics, practices, beliefs, or symbols that distinguish one group from another. Like the social identity approach, the Stereotype Content Model (SCM; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu 2002) is also premised on the notion that prejudicial attitudes and stereotyping are consequences of the social structural relationships between groups. Building on the idea of normative fit by Turner et al. (1987), the SCM suggests that stereotypes are based on two “universal dimensions of social perception”—warmth and competence (Fiske, Cuddy, and Glick 2008). Fiske, et al. (2002) suggest that perceptions of warmth and competence are organized along the social structural relationships that exist between groups: (1) their relative socio-economic status, and (2) their relative interdependence. A group’s status fuels perceptions of competence, whereas the group’s interdependence with other groups fuels perceptions of warmth, and the combination of these factors is what generates the contents of a stereotype for any given group. Some groups, such as feminists and welfare recipients, are seen negatively or positively on both dimensions. Welfare recipi-

ents are portrayed as social parasites that are neither warm nor competent. However most groups, including Asians, the elderly, and working women, are characterized by “ambivalent stereotypes,” so-called because perceptions on one dimension are negatively correlated with perceptions on the other dimensions (Cuddy et al. 2009). For example, stereotypes portray the elderly as friendly but incompetent and Asians as intelligent but cold. In this way, Fiske and colleagues (2002) link prejudice and stereotyping with perceptions of social power between groups.

Women, particularly powerful women, are often subjected to ambivalent stereotypes. Whereas traditional stereotypes portray women as warm but incompetent, powerful women are perceived as competent but cold. Cuddy, Fiske and Glick (2004) found that working women without children were seen as competent but cold, but when working women become mothers, perceptions of their competence suffered but warmth improved. This pattern does not occur when men become fathers. Instead, when men become fathers they gain perceived warmth and maintain perceived competence (Cuddy, Fiske, and Glick 2004). Rudman and Fairchild (2004) and Rudman and Glick (1999) argue that the mismatch between high competence and low warmth often arises when women are perceived to violate traditional feminine norms, such as nurture and care. They argue that such violations lead to feelings of hostility and dislike toward such women, which they refer to as the “backlash effect” (Heilman et al. 2004; Rudman and Fairchild 2004; Rudman and Glick 1999). Such stereotypes are important for understanding the how gendered expectations shape behavior.

Fiske’s work also demonstrates how out-group perceptions can shift depending on how groups are framed in discussions. The ways in which group differences are presented by those we trust—people in our familial, personal, and professional circles, teachers and public intellectuals, journalists and news media, and of course, political leaders—may therefore have significant and important consequences for the incidence of group-based prejudice,



stereotyping, and discrimination. Thus, I move to a deeper discussion of these framing effects as they relate to political communication.

## **Gendered Expectations and Women in Power**

Gender shapes both descriptive and prescriptive aspects of social perception. Gendered expectations, the prescriptive norms of behavior we expect men and women to follow, stem from gender stereotypes, the descriptive traits, roles, and behaviors commonly ascribed to men and women (Eagly and Mladinic 1989). Gender stereotypes tend to distinguish agentic behavior, which is self-directed and achievement-oriented, from communal behavior, which is emotionally expressive and socially-oriented (Eagly and Mladinic 1989; Eagly and Carli 2007). Men are typically characterized by agentic qualities—competence, assertiveness, and independence—whereas women are typically characterized by communal qualities—friendly, warm, sociable, and interdependent (Eagly and Mladinic 1989; Eagly and Carli 2007). Such stereotypes are not only descriptive labels, they are prescriptive behaviors that reflect societal expectations about how men and women should behave. This idea is closely related to social role theory, in which gendered expectations are rooted in historical precedents (Eagly 1987). Such expectations underscore why perceptions of one’s behavior differ depending on one’s gender (Dunning and Sherman 1997; Eagly and Carli 2007). This is well-illustrated in experimental research by Dunning and Sherman (1997) that asked male and female participants to read the sentence “When Jack (Jill) found out that his (her) friend had been murdered, (s)he became very upset.” When the researchers asked participants to recall the story, respondents described “Jack” as angry, but “Jill” as sad. In this way, gendered expectations reflect what we consider to be “normal” behavior from men and women. Duerst-Lahti and Kelly (1995) argue that such normalization is a product of childhood socialization, which leads individuals learn and accept gender norms and stereotypes, which may preclude women’s consideration of running for public office or aspiring toward leadership positions later in life. Individuals

who violate normal expectations draw attention and criticism to their actions. Female politicians, who want to be perceived as both competent and likeable in order to win the support of voters, are constantly at risk of violating either gendered or professional expectations. Such dilemmas are not benign. The inability to balance competing expectations can have important consequences for a woman's professional success (Prentice and Carranza 2002; Rudman and Glick 2001).

Without a doubt, in the past twenty-five years there have been dramatic improvements in explicit attitudes toward women. Nevertheless, gendered expectations persist in shaping perceptions of women and there is mixed evidence on whether socially desirable explicit associations will force changes to implicit associations that people hold toward women. Implicit associations function automatically, outside of one's conscious awareness, and are often present even when they otherwise conflict with one's explicit, consciously-held beliefs, such as endorsements of gender equality (for reviews, see Fazio and Olson 2003; Nosek, Hawkins and Frazier 2011). Implicit biases against women have been revealed by a number of psychological assessments that measure automatic associations between gender and, for example, mathematical ability (Nosek, Banaji, and Greenwald 2002). Such biases can have insidious consequences. In an experiment by Rudman and Glick (2001), participants rated an agentic, competent woman as less hireable for a job requiring strong interpersonal skills than an equally agentic and competent man. Participants who scored higher on implicit (but not explicit) measures of gender stereotyping were significantly more likely to cite the agentic woman's lack of interpersonal skills as a reason for preferring the agentic man, whose description was otherwise identical to the agentic woman (*Ibid.*). Outside of the laboratory, however, it is often difficult to determine whether differential treatment is truly a result of implicit bias. Implicit associations may therefore help to explain why, despite dramatic improvements with respect to explicit and overt sexism, gendered expectations remain such durable and potent influences that shape perceptions of women. Unfortunately, such expect-

tations undermine women’s success particularly in leadership positions and male-dominated professions, such as politics (see e.g., Eagly and Carli 2007).

### **2.1.2 Conceptualizing Gender in US Politics**

The relationship between gender and democracy is well-grounded in broader theories of substantive, descriptive, and symbolic representation (see e.g., Mansbridge 1999; Lovenduski 2005). Over the past two decades, a number of studies have examined whether and to what extent women legislators represent women’s substantive concerns. In general, this research finds that when women are involved in the decision-making process there are substantive differences in the issues discussed on the agenda as well as in the policy outcomes that result (Swers 2002; Dodson 2006; Pearson and Dancey 2011). Congresswomen tend to bring back more money to their home districts than Congressmen (Anzia and Berry 2009). Female legislators tend to be more engaged in consensus-building (Volden, Wiseman, and Wittmer 2010). At the same time, however, masculine styles of communication permeate the language of politics and research suggests when women are in the minority, they often conform to a normative masculine style (Kathlene 1994; Pearson and Dancey 2011; Karpowitz and Mendelberg 2014).

Such findings are important since women are outnumbered by men at every level of government. According to a 2015 report by the Center for American Women in Politics, women represent 19.4 percent of congressional seats, 24.5 percent of statewide executive offices, and 24.2 percent of state legislative seats. And while women’s representation has slowly increased in national legislative seats, the number of women in state legislative seats stagnated since about 1997—two decades ago. The persistence of women’s underrepresentation in politics is consequential. As Karpowitz and Mendelberg (2014) put it, “inequalities of voice have a strong tendency to translate into inequalities of authority” (139).

## Gender is a Salient Political Identity

Reflecting the rise of “identity politics,” political scientists have also turned to the concepts of social identity and self-categorization to help explain political behavior and social movements. Such research is focused on understanding how social identities are manifest in a given context and how they influence perceptions of political actors and events. Gender and the division between male and female is a particularly potent social identity because it often carries both ethical and political significance. Moreover, gender is a highly salient identity and as Haste (1993) has argued, notions of gender and gender difference reflect a powerful duality that individuals use to impart meaning onto many aspects of social life. This idea plays out in a number of research studies. For example, Winter (2010) finds that individuals associate the Republican Party with masculinity and the Democratic Party with femininity, suggesting “ideas about the two political parties are mapped onto ideas about the two genders, both in the images citizens consciously hold of the parties and in the implicit connections between these images and their gender concepts” (609).

Gender identities are ubiquitous yet they intersect with race, ethnicity, class status, and more in the larger scheme of identity politics. For this reason, important research has begun to address the broader dynamics of intersectionality (see e.g., Hawkesworth 2003; Htun 2004). Still, the chronic accessibility of one’s gender identity is key to understanding the explicit and implicit assumptions made about who a female politician is and how she should behave. When women are a minority within a group, such as in national or statewide elective offices, their identity as women is more salient. Thus, as women reach positions of higher power and authority, their gender is increasingly salient. A female chief executive or commander-in-chief defies normal expectations, thereby heightening the salience of her gender identity. This is also true for members of other minority groups, which have long been marginalized in politics. Attitudes towards race, for example, factor significantly into

public evaluations of Barack Obama (Tesler and Sears 2010). The salience of one's identity is thus consequential.

## **Gender is a Performance**

Gender is also a performative act and is made more or less salient based on one's gender performance. As Judith Butler (2013) explains, "we act and walk and speak and talk in ways that consolidate an impression of being a man or being a woman." According to Butler (1999), "gender is the repeated stylization of the body;" a set of actions learned through cultural socialization, narratives, language, and other performative acts, which conform to or reject societal expectations that distinguish male from female. Duerst-Lahti and Kelly (1995) characterize gender as a "coherent set of beliefs about what constitutes masculine or feminine" (17). Viewed in this way, gender is a set of actions learned through cultural socialization, narratives, language, and other performative acts, which conform to or reject societal expectations and thus reflect such distinctions between male and female (Butler 1999). Thus, expectations of gender play a significant role in shaping how we "perform" gender.

Language is one site where these stylized performances occur. Mulac (2006) finds that individuals have consistent gender-linked language stereotypes, which affect perceptions of the speaker. The way we use language thus reflects our sense of identity, our self-perception, and societal expectations that shape beliefs about how we "should" act. For a female politician, this performance factors into her strategic self-presentation. It is tied to the societal expectations and electoral constraints she perceives as well as the institutional norms of behavior that shape interaction and impact her ability to achieve her goals. Therefore, it is important to consider how perceptions as well as institutional norms of behavior affect the strategic self-presentation of women in politics.

## 2.2 Gender and Self-Presentation in US Politics

The idea of gender as a performance is closely related to that of self-presentation in which both gender and communication are intricately linked through social interaction. The concept of self-presentation was popularized by Erving Goffman (1959) who argued that social life is structured according to our social roles, identities, and norms of behavior. Sometimes these structures are explicit, formal rules of conduct (e.g., laws), but most are informal and tacitly understood (e.g., norms of politeness). Later, Goffman (1977) argued that the social constructs of masculinity and femininity govern nearly every aspect of social organization between men and women. Thus for Goffman, the self-presentation, or symbolic display, of gender is deeply rooted in the cultural expectations that govern social life (Goffman 1977).

Gendered self-presentation thus relates to particular notions about how men and women are “supposed to act.” Gendered norms of behavior produce particular kinds of leaders and reproduce particular kinds of gendered performances by leaders. In terms of self-presentation, female politicians have two primary audiences—their public constituencies and their (primarily male) colleagues in government with whom they must cooperate in order to be successful in setting forth their policy agendas and priorities. Considering each, I describe how these audiences affect the self-presentation of women in politics.

### 2.2.1 Masculine Norms of Interaction in Institutional Settings

The self-presentation of women in politics is affected by the norms of communication and interpersonal interactions within the institutions they serve. Their behavior is impacted both by the rules of procedure and the ratio of men to women in the group (Karpowitz and Mendelberg 2014). In *The Silent Sex*, Christopher Karpowitz and Tali Mendelberg find that when women are minority members, they speak less, have less influence on the group

outcome, and align their speech patterns with the men in the group even when they care about the topic of conversation and have distinct preferences from men (e.g. generosity towards the poor). The finding that women speak less often, however, is disputed elsewhere (Pearson and Dancey 2011). Women have greater influence when collective decisions are bound by unanimous consent, but less influence when decisions are bound by majority rule, a common procedure for institutional decision-making (Karpowitz and Mendelberg 2014). Together, these findings suggest that norms of interaction and institutional procedures are both consequential for women’s self-presentation. Karpowitz and Mendelberg (2014) suggest that elite women, who usually work in highly masculine environments, may be predisposed or socialized in ways that make them more “inclined toward the views and interaction styles that characterize the male central tendency” (Karpowitz and Mendelberg 2014). However, they also point to evidence from interviews with female politicians who “believe they cannot get far with the feminine style” (Karpowitz and Mendelberg 2014, 336). This latter view is supported by research that shows when women adhere to feminine styles of conduct and communication, their views are considered subordinate and are often challenged by men in the group (Kathlene 1994). In a revealing anecdote, Deborah Cameron (2005) describes how Margaret Thatcher prepared herself for the United Kingdom’s top post by undergoing a “linguistic makeover,” which required her to lower the pitch of her voice, flatten her accent, and slow her delivery. To be successful in these institutions, then, women must negotiate their authority among their male colleagues, which tends to result in their conformity to a dominant, masculine style of communication (Gertzog 1995; Cameron 2005; Dodson 2006; Karpowitz and Mendelberg 2014).

Communication in government institutions is biased toward a masculine style of interaction, which can be seen in assertive, adversarial, hierarchical, and rule-dominated legislative bodies like the US Congress and British Parliament. Regardless of gender, communication styles within these institutions reflect a masculine style (Yu 2014). As minority members, women are perceived (and often perceive themselves) to be “interlopers,” and as

such, they adjust their behavior according to the norms of the group (Eckert 2000). For example, female Members of the British Parliament are just as likely as their male colleagues to engage in a competitive and self-assertive style of speaking and even more likely to adhere to the official rules of the chamber (Shaw 2000). As interlopers to the political arena, “their linguistic behaviour reflects their understanding that to be judged as ‘good community’ members they must put special effort into displaying their adherence to behavioural norms that carry particular symbolic weight” (Cameron 2005, 498). This suggests that institutional norms of behavior and interaction embody and thus reward masculine styles of communication.

The self-presentation of women in politics is clearly impacted by the male-dominated political environment. Instead of defying entrenched norms of behavior, women appear to internalize their social environments, consciously and/or unconsciously conforming their behavior to be consistent with the established, masculine status quo.

### **2.2.2 Political Stereotypes and Leadership Prototypes**

Although female political candidates raise as much money and are as successful as male candidates, women do not run for public office at nearly the same rate as men (Lawless and Fox 2010). Certain structural barriers, including professional networks that disproportionately recruit male candidates, reduce the likelihood that women will run for public office (*Ibid*). Perhaps even more importantly, however, social and psychological barriers also limit women from running for office. Jennifer Lawless and Richard Fox find that women are less likely than men to express interest in running for public office, to consider themselves “qualified” to run, and to perceive a fair climate in which to run (*Ibid*). In unraveling the reasons why women may be less inclined to enter politics, it is useful to examine how the pressures of the



political arena might manifest in the behavior of politically ambitious women who decide to take on a leadership role.

The factors that discourage women from pursuing a career in politics also pose obstacles that politically ambitious women must overcome in order to ascend into higher positions of power. Although voters overwhelmingly elect candidates based on their party affiliation, gender is nevertheless a significant consideration in the self-presentation of female political candidates (Dolan 2008; Hayes 2011). Such considerations are quite rational given a well-developed body of literature that suggests that voters stereotype candidates based on their gender (e.g., Alexander and Andersen 1993; Hayes 2011; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; King and Matland 2003; Winter 2008). At the same time, however, more recent studies call into question whether female candidates encounter a more difficult campaign environment than men (Brooks 2013; Hayes and Lawless 2015).

Voters have organized cognitive representations, or prototypes, of an ideal political leader and their associated character traits (Kinder et al. 1980). These prototypes are often incompatible with ideas about women and their associated traits. Masculine norms of behavior—such as assertiveness—coincide with expectations of political leaders, whereas feminine norms of behavior—such as agreeableness—conflict with such expectations (Sapiro 1991; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Kathlene 1994; Duerst-Lahti and Kelly 1995; Rhode and Kellerman 2007; though see Brooks 2013). Jamieson (1995) describes the Catch-22 that female leaders confront as “double binds.” Women who enter politics or other leadership positions are faced with the dilemma to prove themselves as both feminine and competent as if the two were mutually exclusive. Women are challenged by competing expectations that are often played out in the media: if she is not “tough” (like a man) she is not competent enough to lead; if she is “tough” (like a man), she is a “bitch” and disliked for violating expectations of women as warm, nurturing individuals (Carlin and Winfrey 2009). The label “iron lady,” commonly refers to powerful women who do not conform to such idealized

feminine stereotypes, most notably Margaret Thatcher, but the label has been attached to a number of female leaders including German Chancellor Angela Merkel (“iron frau”). Such references imply that strength, determination, and authoritativeness are traits that are unusual or unnatural in a woman. As Kinders, Peters, Abelson, and Fiske (1989) have demonstrated, voters have organized cognitive representations of a prototypical political leader and their associated traits and simply put, the prototypical politician looks, acts, and talks ‘like a man.’ Such stereotypes depend on the conceptual structures that define normal expectations and are conditioned on gender (Haste 1993). Female politicians who want to be seen as leaders have little choice but to violate gendered expectations to appear capable of serving in powerful positions. Perceptions of leaders are thus highly consequential for female leaders, particularly those elected into office.

Several studies find voters stereotypically assign female candidates with traditional gender traits and abilities and believe they are more competent when dealing with “feminine issues” related to social welfare, but less competent dealing with “masculine issues” such as crime, defense, and the economy (Alexander and Andersen 1993; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; King and Matland, 2003). A 2008 Pew study surveyed perceptions of political leaders and found that women were seen as equally superior to men on all but one key trait—decisiveness—yet only six percent said women made better political leaders. Herrnson, Lay and Stokes (2003) find female candidates are more successful when they are able to capitalize on gender stereotypes favorable toward women (e.g. trustworthiness), “women’s issues,” and when they target female voters. Strach et al. (2015) found that ads using women’s voices were perceived to be more credible than men’s when the ad was about feminine or gender-neutral issues whereas ads using men’s voices were more credible than women’s when they featured masculine issues. Even when evaluating candidates on characteristics unrelated to job performance, such as facial features, female candidates are judged as less mature and less competent than their male counterparts (Herrick et al. 2012; Todorov et al. 2005).

At the same time, more recent work defies the logic of the double bind. Brooks (2013) finds that among hypothetical candidates who had the same profile but different gendered names (e.g., Karen or Kevin), female candidates were rated similarly to males on traits such as competence, empathy, and the ability to handle an international crisis. Brooks (2013) also finds that inexperienced female candidates were rated as stronger, more honest, and more compassionate than inexperienced male candidates. Moreover, Hayes and Lawless (2015) find that in the 2010 midterm elections, neither voters nor journalists assessed candidates in gendered terms. They report that and male and female candidates were mentioned and treated similarly in local news coverage (Hayes and Lawless 2015). Such work suggests a more equitable landscape for women in politics, but it goes against most established research on the subject. The work by Brooks among others, reflects a growing trend toward data-driven research into the “double bind” phenomena that, in time, may paint a clearer picture of the obstacles female politicians face. Still, more work is needed until we can be confident in the notion that men and women are treated equally on the campaign trail.

This is further complicated by the fact that voters have gendered views of political parties. Several studies find that voters attribute partisanship to a candidate based on sex, viewing men as more conservative and women as more liberal (King and Matland 2003; Winter 2010). Voters tend to view the Republican Party as more masculine and more competent in dealing with masculine issues, such as foreign policy, whereas the Democratic Party is seen as more feminine and more competent in dealing with feminine issues, such as education and healthcare (Hayes 2011; Winter 2010). Winter (2010) finds that the association between party and gender is not only explicitly expressed in surveys, but implicitly as well, suggesting that there are underlying cognitive associations between party and gender. There is even evidence to suggest that Republican and Democratic women differ in terms of visual appearance, and that this acts as a reliable partisan cue to voters (Carpinella and Johnson 2013). In a series of experiments, participants were increasingly accurate in identifying Republican women as the number of feminine facial features increased (Carpinella and Johnson 2013).

The gendered nature of political parties may not be unique to the US political system either. Inglehart and Norris (2000) provide evidence to suggest the left-right ideological spectrum in other democratic countries evoke similar associations with gender.

Research has shown that these stereotypes can influence candidate evaluations (Herrnson, Lay and Stokes 2003), voting behavior (Dolan 2008), media coverage (Carlin and Winfrey 2009) as well as the campaign strategies and messages adopted by party leaders and female candidates for office (Banwart and McKinney 2005; Bystrom et al. 2004; Dittmar 2015; Sanbonmatsu 2002). In an analysis of professional campaign consultants, Dittmar (2015) finds gender to be a major consideration that affect a candidate's decisions about their self-presentation and campaign strategy. Dittmar (2015) argues that gender is embedded in the expectations for and behaviors of political candidates. In debates, Bystrom et al. (2004) find that female candidates who emphasized masculine traits in their campaigns were also more likely to win their races. Banwart and McKinney (2005) report that female candidates are more likely to identify with stereotypically masculine character traits in their campaign appeals than their male opponents. In campaign ads containing a voice-over announcer, Strach et al. (2015) found 63 percent used a male voice and 28 percent used a female voice—favoring the use of men in campaign ads by a 2:1 ratio. In short, gender is clearly a strategic consideration in campaign communication even if it is not clear how gender affects voters' perceptions on Election Day.

## **2.3 The Impact of Political Communication in Electoral Politics**

In general, most voters know too little about public policy to be affected by a candidate's policy positions (Taber and Lodge 2013; Lewis-Beck et al. 2008; Zaller 1992). However, a

growing body of research suggests the emotional aspects of political communication and the emotional responses of citizens have sizable influence over how voters process information, form political attitudes, and make political choices (Taber and Lodge 2013; Brader 2006; Marcus, Neuman and MacKuen 2000). In the two-party system that dominates US electoral politics, attitudes toward political candidates are emotionally polarized and rooted in social identity (Iyengar, Sood, and Lelkes 2012). Attitudes rooted in social identities tend to be crystallized, stable over time, and have durable conditioning effects on the evaluation of new information (Converse and Markus 1979; Zaller 1992; Taber and Lodge 2013). While social identities filter political information, individuals are perceptive to new information and tend to explain their political judgments based on information that is most cognitively accessible, or at the “top of the head” (Taylor and Fiske 1978; Zaller 1992). Political communication research has identified at least two major ways that politicians, campaigns and the press can make certain information more cognitively accessible: priming and framing.

The activation of certain attitudes among the electorate is known as priming, which is closely related to agenda setting and issue salience. For example, media coverage can make particular issues and events salient, which in turn, is more likely to be used as one of “the standards by which governments, policies and candidates for public office are judged” (Iyengar and Kinder 1987, 63). Strategic communication also involves important decisions about framing—what information to present and how to present it in a way that leaves voters with a particular impression, understanding, or evaluation of the information presented. By selecting what information to present and how to present it, frames interpret and contextualize complex political events and issues for an audience by evoking associations that link a candidate with certain issues, feelings, objects, and values. These associations are strengthened each time, for example, a candidate or news organization, raises them. Westen (2007) refers to this as the activation and reinforcement of networks of association, a concept also referenced by other scholars as schemas or schemata (e.g. Valentino, Hutchings, and White 2002). Consequently, priming activates certain associations and framing draws

connections across associations—issues, events, policies, social groups, and political actors—and thus provides the audience with a lens by which to interpret and diagnose the issue or policy (Entman 1993). Although politicians, campaigns, and the press can help prime certain considerations and attitudes, the duration of these effects are short-lived (Hill, Lo, Vavreck, and Zaller 2013). Networks of association are thus critical to understanding how framing operates inside the mind of the individual. The way a politician frames themselves and their issue positions are thus important for understanding elite behavior as well as how voters perceive and evaluate a candidate.

Framing often involves choices about language—including the words, comparisons, analogies, individuals, and groups used to identify and describe a topic—and style of presentation—including the emotional tone, pace of delivery, and audiovisual material that accompanies the message. Such choices not only alter the ways in which individuals interpret political issues, they can also lead individuals to take wholly different positions on an issue. Most notably, Tversky and Kahneman (1981) demonstrated that preferences for logically equivalent choices vary depending on whether the choice is framed in terms of losses or in terms of gains. When framed in terms of gains, individuals tend to be risk-averse. When framed in terms of losses, individuals tend to take greater risks to avoid certain losses. For example, Quattrone and Tversky (1988) found that “90 percent employment” policies are preferred over “10 percent unemployment” policies even though the two policies provide logically equivalent choices. Such “framing effects” are observed when alternate presentations of an issue or an event produce a measurable change in political attitudes (Cacciatore, Scheufele, and Iyengar 2016; Chong and Druckman 2007; Tversky and Kahneman 1981). Framing effects have been reliably demonstrated in a variety of domains, including public opinion (Jacoby 2006), media studies (Iyengar and Kinder 1987), and political advertising (Mendelberg 2001; Zaller 1992).

Using implicit attitude measures, Lodge and Taber (2013) find that salient, automatic evaluations toward in- and out-group members influence political attitudes and result in

a cascade of biasing effects. They also provide evidence that subliminal priming influences conscious deliberation and subsequent evaluation of politicians and political issues even when the priming material (e.g., a smiley face) is wholly unrelated to the people or issues in question (Lodge and Taber, 2013). In a study of the infamous “Willie Horton” campaign ad broadcast during the 1988 presidential election, Mendelberg (2001) finds that framing crime in terms of a black felon whose race was not explicitly mentioned, but whose face was depicted on screen, made race more cognitively accessible in voters’ minds and subsequently activated white voters’ implicit racial biases when they turned out to vote. Chants to “build that wall” are not explicitly racist since most people outwardly reject racism, but like the Willie Horton ad, such appeals evoke underlying resentment toward Mexicans, and can fuel identity politics to dramatic effect. Political attitudes are thus affected by the conscious and unconscious feelings we have toward individuals and groups associated with a particular policy or issue—a process Winter (2008) terms “group implication.” In a series of experiments, Winter (2008) finds that issue frames which implicitly invoke gender or race activate a conceptual lens, or set of predispositions, by which individuals view and form opinions about the issue in question. Yet he finds that issue frames which explicitly invoke gender are not effective in altering the conceptual lens that study participants used to evaluate the issue. Valentino, Hutchings, and White (2002) report similar effects from implicit racial messages. Activating implicit, rather than explicit, attitudes makes this a potent and subversive form of political messaging.

Priming and framing are important factors in strategic political communication, yet both lack explanations for how broader and more persistent associations between people, parties, issues, and events “identify” or “resonate” with voters. Individuals identify and resonate with narratives, the stories people tell (Patterson and Monroe 1998). Narratives impart meaning to content in a way that framing cannot. Narratives not only communicate information, they communicate experiences that connect with and relate to the lived experiences of others (Monroe 2004). Narratives make information easier to understand, remember, and

identify with (Patterson and Monroe 1998). Lakoff (2008) and Westen (2007) agree, arguing that successful campaigns shape and activate narratives, which are situated around commonly shared values and visions about the future. In partisan politics, narratives reflect fundamental principles regarding social values and the role of government in society. One example of a successful partisan narrative is FDR’s New Deal. The master narrative appeals to many emotional constituencies by articulating the party’s principles—its ideology. In doing so, parties and candidates can form a coherent identity for which supporters internalize the values associated with the party or candidate. Westen (2007) notes, “the more neural ‘tracks’ a message activates throughout the brain—through words, images, intonation, and music, all of which activate different neural circuits—the more evocative and memorable it is likely to be” (273). The more neural networks that an appeal activates, the more likely it is to evoke strong feelings and the more likely it is to be cognitively accessible (Lakoff 1996; Brader 2006; Westen 2007). This idea can be illustrated with an example from Jamieson’s (1993) study of negative political advertisements. In Jamieson’s typology, “identification” primes an association between an opponent and a negative image, idea or policy. A common tactic includes “us” versus “them” framing, which heightens the perceived conflict of the election by associating “us” with “good” and “them” with “bad” (Jamieson 1993).

Such research expands and greatly advances the existing literature on public opinion and electoral behavior, which has long been dominated by rational choice approaches in political science. Examining the cognitive processes involved in social categorization opens the “black box” of decision-making and deliberation, and provides invaluable insight into the ways individuals reason about politics. Together, this research suggests political perceptions are not fixed prior to political debate. Opinions and evaluations of candidates and issues are shaped by informational cues and narratives given by campaigns and parties. They are shaped by the language we use.



## 2.4 Do Women Have to Talk Like Men to Be Considered Viable Leaders?

One of the major reasons women are underrepresented in politics is because they do not run for public office at nearly the same rate as men (Lawless and Fox 2010). Lawless and Fox (2010) find among equally qualified men and women, women are substantially less likely to consider and to express interest in running for public office, which the authors say reflects a gender gap in political ambition. However, this interpretation may understate the subtle, often unconscious, biases that shape decisions to opt out of a career in politics and limit the opportunities for politically ambitious women. Even politically ambitious women encounter barriers to ascending the political ladder. Expectations of leadership as well as institutional arrangements have implications for the types of individuals who run for elected office and serve in politically powerful positions.

Research into the self-presentation of female politicians suggests that expectations of leadership as well as institutional arrangements have significant consequences for the communication strategies they adopt. These factors can be summarized briefly. First, gender is a performance and particular notions of how women are “supposed to act” encourage particular types of performances. At the same time, however, particular notions of how leaders are supposed to act encourage different, and sometimes conflicting, performances. Simply put, the prototypical political leader looks, acts, and talks like a man and a woman does not fit into this prototype. Additionally, norms of behavior and interpersonal interactions within political institutions embody and reward a masculine style of interaction. Women are not only viewed as having less authority in society, their authority is diminished further when they do not conform to the masculine styles of interaction that permeate political institutions. As interlopers to the political arena, the self-presentation of female politicians thus tends to be more calculated than that of their male colleagues, who, by the virtue of

their gender, embody the dominant prototype of a political leader. Rarely do women act “like women” to achieve power and influence in politics. Do these implicit barriers manifest in the gendered self-presentation of politically ambitious women? How do women position themselves for success in male-dominated professions? Do they have to talk like men to be considered viable, competent political leaders? Do they have to present themselves as someone they are not?

# Chapter 3

## Methods: Words are Data

Words are the basic elements that comprise language, and therefore, all words—from seemingly insignificant pronouns to value-laden and context-dependent references like the “American Dream”—can be utilized as data and systematically analyzed as such. Scholars often treat qualitative and narrative data with the assumption that meaning, conflict, and contestation are expressed in language—written or spoken (and transcribed) text. Language reveals contextually-thick and semantically-rich social processes that enable scholars to capture multidimensionality in everyday life (Haste, Jones, and Monroe 2015). In general, researchers examine qualitative data because they want to learn something about the content and/or structure of a particular collection of text, or corpus.

Language is a key site where gender is routinely performed and it thus provides a valuable lens for understanding the self-presentational strategies that female politicians use to achieve power and influence in politics. The study of language is key for discerning, as Lasswell put it, “who says what to whom through which channel and to what effect.” We use language to question, discuss, compare, describe, argue, gossip, threaten, forgive, respond, propose, complain, agree, confess, imply, interrupt, explain, persuade, and more.

Language—in the form of narratives, interviews, media reports, policy manifestos, or any range of political speech—has always been a valuable resource in political psychology research for providing insight into what we are saying, what we mean when we say it, and what the relationship is between what we say and what we do. Yet, research on language and political communication tends to be conceptually and methodologically fragmented. This may be a consequence of the interdisciplinary emphasis in such work, which leverages concepts and tools from sociology, anthropology, social psychology, linguistics, computer science, and other fields. Nevertheless, such diversity is an asset to this body of research and divergent approaches for studying political language need not be reduced to one system of analysis.

Communication is a major element of strategic self-presentation for political leaders and candidates for office. This area of research is particularly important for women in US politics who are increasingly running for public office, but remain numerically underrepresented at all levels, particularly in leadership positions. In this chapter, I describe my approach for investigating the gendered communication strategies of political leaders and build a case for exploring whether such strategies act as an “implicit cue” that informs candidate evaluations.

### **3.1 Approaches to Studying Language**

The most common method for studying language is content analysis. Content analysis has been used extensively in political science to identify, for example, the integrative complexity of statements by members of the British House of Commons (Tetlock 1984), the issues legislators emphasize when communicating with constituents (Grimmer 2010), the policy positions of political parties over time (Lowe et. al 2011), the differences in communication strategies in mixed-gender political debates (Banwart and McKinney 2005), and the psychology of judging and litigant success (Courley 2008). However, content analysis is not always

a straightforward approach because language is so complex. The study of language, like the study of politics, is messy.

Manually classifying documents into categories is not easy either. Textual data—where the unit of analysis could be a blog post, news article, press release, or interview and debate transcripts—are unstructured and highly dimensional forms of data. This means there are a large number of variables that could be considered within any given text, and there are an almost infinite number of ways to organize the text into a format that can be analyzed (Hopkins and King 2007; Grimmer and Stewart 2013). As psychological research on errors and bias has extensively documented, humans have cognitive limitations and limited working memories. Such limitations are problematic since content analysis demands such high inter-coder reliability (ICR). Achieving an acceptable ICR often requires multiple iterations of the coding process and multiple coding sessions in order to ensure that coders agree on the codes. This is time consuming and often expensive considering that the researcher usually pays coders for their time. In the absence of a very large funding grant, for most research questions, there is simply too much text to read and code in order to make any substantive inferences about politics. In addition, coding schemes are often idiosyncratic to the researcher and/or the particular individuals coding the text, and few studies fully report reliability assessments on their codes (Lombard et al. 2002; Neuendorf 2011). Many studies are ambiguous in reporting coding rules, which renders other researchers little or no ability to replicate findings or apply one coding scheme to another set of text in order to generalize across two studies. There are, of course, exceptions to this, such as Tetlock and Suedfeld's (1977) measure of integrative complexity, which has been successfully replicated and applied to a number of other studies. However, as both Neuendorf (2011) and Lombard et al. (2002) have shown, such well defined measures are still exceptions to the norm.

Herein lies the great advantage of computational approaches to studying language. Recent developments in digital archiving and language-processing methodologies from the fields

of computational linguistics, natural language processing, and informatics have provided unprecedented opportunities for searching, categorizing, and extracting political information from this rich and highly dimensional data. The availability, accessibility, and transferability of qualitative data is easier and more affordable than ever before. In recent years, a number of scholars have contributed to the development of large-scale corpora that have been made available to researchers. Examples include the Policy Agendas Project, the Wisconsin Advertising Project, the Legislative Speech Project, the Comparative Party Manifesto Project, MAGEEQ (Mainstreaming Gender Equality in the European Union), and the Penn State Event Data Project. In addition, advances in software, machine learning, and computer automation have greatly contributed to the systematic qualitative or quantitative treatment of large amounts of textual, visual or audio-visual data (see e.g., Hopkins and King 2007; Proksch and Slapin 2010; Grimmer 2010).

Computational approaches allow researchers to systematically index and organize text data, reliably and flexibly retrieve data, efficiently classify texts with a predetermined coding scheme, compare language use across groups, and discover new insight about texts which otherwise may have gone unnoticed by human coders. Grimmer and Stewart (2013) provide an excellent primer on how automated methods can inexpensively allow systematic analysis and inference from large collections of political text. Sheehy, Wylie, and McKeown (2002, 4) list several advantages of computational approaches to textual data:

1. Fast and inexpensive: The approach is easily applied to new collections of texts.
2. Transparent: Coding rules are explicit in dictionaries.
3. Systematic: Parameters/statistics demonstrate how models make coding decisions.
4. Generalizable: One method can be used across many studies and to unify collections of texts.

5. Reproducible: Coding system can be consistently maintained over a period of time without “coding drift” caused by changing teams of coders.

Compared to humans, machine coding offers certain advantages and disadvantages. Machine coding generates codes based solely on information explicitly contained within the text. Human coders are more likely to supplement such information with the coder’s interpretation or implicit knowledge of the situation, which can introduce bias. Computers are unaffected by boredom, fatigue, and cognitive load, unlike humans. The working memory of a computer is far superior to that of a human. Moreover, computational methods are more efficient at reducing the complexity or dimensionality of the data, for example, by collapsing variables that are the same or very similar (e.g., transforming “speaking” to “speak”) and by removing features that are unimportant to the analysis being performed (e.g., capital letters).

Despite this, human coding affords several advantages over machine coding. Humans can infer meaning, whereas computers (at least, at this stage) struggle with this task. Humans are better able to interpret ironic, sarcastic, idiomatic and metaphorical text and are more effective at dealing with with complex phrases, unexpected grammatical constructions, and misspelled words. Unlike human coding, computational methods for machine coding obfuscate the sequencing or order dependence of words, which may affect interpretation of the text.

It goes without saying that some meaning is lost when techniques for reducing dimensionality are applied, but the problem of having too many variables becomes more manageable. Again, utilizing such techniques depends on whether or not it is appropriate given the research question or objective. Not all techniques will be appropriate for all types of analyses. This argument is advanced by Grimmer and Stewart (2013, 3) who outline four principles of automated text analysis:

1. All quantitative models of language are wrong, but some are useful.
2. Quantitative methods for text amplify resources and augment humans.
3. There is no globally best method for automated text analysis.
4. Validate, Validate, Validate.

In addition, as Quinn et al. (2010) note, there are important assumptions made across different methods of text categorization. Computer-assisted coding can be automated when the researcher has a pre-defined “dictionary” containing human-generated codes that have been verified for both internal and external reliability. With dictionary methods, the categories are known prior to running the analysis and relevant words are nested under each category (Quinn et al. 2010). For example, the moral foundations dictionary contains 6 categories—one for each of the five moral foundations as well as one “general morality” category (Graham and Haidt n.d.). Each category contains a corresponding list of representative word stems. Word stems enable the computer to identify a particular word regardless of its tense, plural or singular form, etc.

When combined with strong conceptual and theoretical frameworks, computational approaches have great potential to reveal new insight into the theories and questions we study in political science.

## 3.2 Analyzing Linguistic Style

Despite substantial variation in the conceptualization and measurement of variables, most content analysis research ignores or altogether removes common style or “function” words (e.g., I, you, the, it, and, from, etc.) because—at least on the surface—these words contain little lexical or semantic meaning. The basic units for content analysis are word frequencies, which are unevenly distributed in language as described by Zipf’s law (Zipf 1949). Zipf’s



law is the empirical observation that the frequency of a word is inversely proportional to its relative rank in a corpus. Thus, a few words in the English language occur very often but the vast majority of words occur rarely. According to Kress and Fry (2015), the top ten most frequent words in the English language are:

- |        |         |
|--------|---------|
| 1. The | 6. In   |
| 2. Of  | 7. Is   |
| 3. And | 8. You  |
| 4. A   | 9. That |
| 5. To  | 10. It  |

All of the words listed above are considered function words—the basic elements of linguistic style. In computational analyses, common words are often filtered out entirely (“stop words” list). Yet recent research in social psychology and linguistics demonstrates that even these short, forgettable words contain value. Therefore, rather than ignoring or removing function words, my approach focuses heavily on the use of function words, which implicates a person’s *style* of speaking. Linguistic style thus refers to the way an individual communicates and how she conveys meaningful content to others (Pennebaker 2011). Function words are the most commonly written and spoken words in the English language, but they have little semantic meaning by themselves (Pinker 1994; Pennebaker, Mehl, and Niederhoffer 2003; Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010). This is why most content analyses ignore or all together remove function words, yet, because functional features are so common and frequent, such an analysis has the potential to offer great insight into the process of human communication—what these words say about us, our social relationships, and our treatment of others.

Whereas content words (e.g. nouns, adjectives and verbs) are “concepts particular to a given sentence,” function words “are used to specify kinds of information, like tense or

case, that are expressed in all or most sentences” (Pinker 1994, 784). Lexical categories allow speakers to construct a mental image or action, something that is easily accessible in the minds of others (Galasso 2013). A main psychological distinction between lexical and functional categories are their level of abstraction—concrete versus abstract. Consider the words “cat,” “government,” “running,” and “huge.” In contrast, functional categories (or features):

...are a class of words (or inflections) which have no substantive meaning, and are thus inserted into a sentence not to transmit tangible information, but rather to serve some abstract grammatical purpose—functional words or items (inflection) are usually utilized in some capacity to form a grammatical relationship with a counterpart lexical item (Galasso 2013, 50).

Function words—articles, prepositions, pronouns, and auxiliary verbs—shape and connect the content of our thoughts into meaningful forms of communication (Pennebaker 2011). We use function words to structure and connect our thoughts when communicating with others. For this reason, they reflect both the deeply social nature of communication as well as how individuals organize and orient themselves within the world. Indeed, linguistic style can provide insight into a number of psychological and social processes. In prior research, linguistic style has been linked to personality traits, levels of depression, relationship quality, status and social hierarchy, gender, and more (Pennebaker et al. 2003; Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010). By analyzing function words, researchers can gain insight into the implicit micro-processes by which individuals weave disparate thoughts into meaningful statements and narratives that organize and shape experience. Pennebaker (2011) argues this process of organization serves an important social purpose and thus, function words reveal much about the speaker’s mind as well as the social situation.

From this, I evaluate the simple, subtle dynamics evident in everyday language to explore what these patterns and dynamics reveal about leadership in US politics.

### 3.2.1 Gendered Communication and the Feminine/Masculine Ratio

Language reflects, transmits and reproduces our sense of identity as well as our expectations of others. It is therefore not surprising that gender differences are reflected in language given the pervasiveness by which societies differentiate between men and women, both historically and presently. Lakoff (1975) first pioneered research on gender differences in linguistic behavior. This topic has since been examined by a number of scholars in social psychology and computational linguistics.

Work by James Pennebaker and colleagues finds that language encodes gender in very subtle ways. Reliable and consistent gender differences in linguistic style have been found in studies analyzing tens of thousands of speech samples from both men and women (Mulac et al. 2001; Newman et al. 2008; Schwartz et al. 2013). In general and on average, women tend to use pronouns (especially first-person singular pronouns), verbs and auxiliary verbs, social, emotional, cognitive, and tentative words more frequently than men (Argamon et al. 2003; Argamon et al. 2007; Newman et al. 2008; Schwartz et al. 2013). In general and on average, men tend to use nouns, big words (words greater than six letters), articles, prepositions, anger, and swear words more frequently than women (Argamon et al. 2003; Argamon et al. 2007; Newman et al. 2008; Schwartz et al. 2013). Utilizing this insight, I constructed two indices and refer to them as “feminine linguistic style” and “masculine linguistic style,” respectively. Table 3.1 describes these variables.

From this, I computed a simple equation:

$$\text{Feminine/Masculine ratio} = \frac{\sum \textit{Feminine}}{\sum \textit{Masculine}} \text{ markers} \quad (3.1)$$

Table 3.1: Linguistic Style Differences Between Men and Women

Feminine Markers	Example	Masculine Markers	Example
Pronouns	anyone, her, this, you	Big words (>6 letters)	America, industrial
First-person singular	I, me, my	First-person plural	our, us, we, we've
Common verbs	are, need, start, went	Articles	a, an, the
Auxiliary verbs	am, don't, will	Prepositions	to, above, with, in
Positive emotion	agree, happy, relief	Swear words	shit, bitch, bastard
Negative emotion	cried, disagree, evil	Anger words	hate, kill, annoy
Social references	child, citizen, said, who		
Cognitive mechanisms	because, think, believe		
Tentative words	appear, chance, maybe		

Using a high rate of pronouns and social words suggests that feminine speech tends to be personalized and socially-oriented. Social words include all non-first-person-singular personal pronouns as well as verbs that suggest human interaction (e.g., talk, said). The use of verbs and auxiliary verbs suggests that feminine language is dynamic, focusing on how topics, people, and events change (Pennebaker 2011). It is also emotionally expressive and sensitive to a range of contexts and perspectives, which evident in the use of cognitive words (e.g., I say this *because* I *think* it's right). For these reasons, Pennebaker (2011) argues that feminine speech reflects a greater concern with understanding people and relationships. In contrast, masculine speech tends to be centered around objects and things that are categorized in highly specific ways. Articles are used to signify nouns and noun clauses (e.g., *the* university, *a* tree) and thus refer to particular objects, places, or ideas. Prepositions signal a categorization process that is often hierarchical or spatial (e.g., *within* the university, *under* a tree). Men are also more prone to anger, likely due to higher levels of testosterone. More importantly for the purposes of this paper, it is important to note that these differences are quite significant. Given speech samples from both men and women as well as the parameters for feminine and masculine styles (seen in table 3.1), computer programs will correctly classify the sex of the speaker about 76 percent of the time. This is far superior to human guesses, which are about 55–65 percent accurate, with 50 percent being chance (Pennebaker 2011).

### 3.2.2 Comparison with Other Coding Schemes

Over the past 20 years, there have been many valuable studies examining how female and male political candidates present themselves in media, including Kaid and Davidson’s (1986) VideoStyle concept, Bystrom’s (1995) application of Campbell’s (1989) feminine style construct to VideoStyle, and Banwart’s (2002) application of these concepts to WebStyle. This project is greatly informed by, but deviates substantively from such studies in its approach. First, my approach differs in that codes are well-defined. In general, a pronoun is a pronoun regardless of the data source one analyzes. In addition, I conceptualize feminine and masculine styles quite differently than previous studies in the politics and gender literature (Campbell 1998; Bystrom et al. 2004; Banwart and McKinney 2005). In much of this research, the coding scheme for “feminine style” includes factors such as using a personal tone, addressing viewers as peers, identifying with the experiences of others, inviting viewer participation, discussing family relationships, inviting the audience to trust their experiences/perceptions in making political judgments, and using personal experiences/anecdotes (Bystrom et al. 2004). In contrast, the coding scheme for “masculine style” often includes the use of statistics, emphasizing one’s own accomplishments, and the use of expert authorities or sources (*Ibid*). In the present study, one notable difference is the inclusion of emotion into feminine and masculine linguistic styles. Emotion has important implications for gendered self-presentation—as recently as 2010, thirty percent of Americans believed that men were better suited emotionally for politics than women (Lynch and Dolan 2014). Consider Hillary Clinton’s “emotional response” during a campaign event the day before the New Hampshire primary, when momentarily, her voice wavered and it appeared that she might cry. In an article titled, “Can Hillary Clinton Cry Herself Back to the White House?” published the day after the primary, Maureen Dowd of the *New York Times* likens Clinton to “the heroine of a Lifetime movie, a woman in peril who manages to triumph” (Dowd 2008). Such depictions serve to reinforce the stereotype that tears and visible emotions are feminine traits and signs

of weakness, which can be consequential especially for female leaders. On the other hand, anger is an acceptable emotional expression by men, as it conforms to the expectation that male leaders are aggressive.

My approach picks up on less overt, more implicit expressions of gender than is typical of many of the studies found in the politics and gender literature. However, my approach also shares some similarity with prior studies. As referenced above, common coding schemes in the politics and gender literature suggest that female politicians rely more on personal and social references. Talking about oneself in a personal way and talking to and about other people implies the use of pronouns and social references, both of which are included in the feminine linguistic style. References to external objects like statistics, expert reports, and policy issues tend to rely on the use of articles (object references), prepositions (spatial and temporal hierarchies), and big words, which are similarly included in the masculine linguistic style. Hence, the variables examined in this study (derived from empirical observations by James Pennebaker among others) are not as different from prior studies as they may appear.

### **3.3 Approaches to Studying Social Perception and Attitudes**

Research on bias and stereotyping is challenging and scholars often rely on tools that are not ideal for measuring such attitudes. Most common measures of inter-group prejudice such as modern sexism (Swim 1995) rely on self-reported attitudes towards particular groups in society and are typically presented in a survey format. Self-reports rely on interviewees to explicitly report their own bias or prejudice toward a particular group, which is extremely problematic given the pervasiveness of motivated reasoning and self-serving biases (e.g., Dovidio, Kawakami and Gaertner 2002; Lodge and Taber 2013; Pronin, Gilovich and Ross 2004;

Tetlock 2005). Admitting prejudice is not a socially desirable response and, consequently, individuals are likely to misrepresent their “true” or underlying feelings about certain groups (Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz 1998).

Researchers have long recognized the need for better measurement techniques and in recent years have turned to using implicit measures to study attitudes on socially sensitive topics (for a review, see Fazio and Olson, 2003). One innovation in this area is the Implicit Association Test (IAT) (Greenwald et al. 1998), which reports the strength of automatic, implicit associations by measuring an individual’s reaction time when tasked with associating two targeted social groups with positive or negative words or with specific traits and attributes (Greenwald, McGhee, and Schwartz, 1998). Such associations do not require introspective thinking, and thereby greatly reduce the role of self-reflective and deliberative processes when responding to the IAT (Greenwald et al., 1998; Nosek, Greenwald, and Banaji 2007). This greatly reduces the self-presentational pressures (i.e., responding in a socially desirable way) that accompany self-reporting procedures (Greenwald et al. 1998). Therefore, the IAT is believed to reveal the internal processes and unconscious tendencies that underlie group-based prejudice. The IAT is now one of the most widely used techniques to assess implicit inter-group bias and prejudice and citation patterns reveal widespread adoption of the IAT in other domains as well (Nosek, Hawkins, and Frazier 2011). It has been adapted to fit a variety of topics including consumer attitudes and political behavior (Nosek 2010).

Although the IAT has been widely adopted and applied by the scientific community, it nonetheless has received criticism along several lines. There is concern that IAT effects are reduced with repeated administrations and thus, may not be measuring preference so much as attention and familiarity (Greenwald 2004). Another line of criticism is that the IAT more accurately measures “self-related heuristics,” or the tendency to associate positive stimuli with one’s in-group rather than with one’s out-group (Popa-Roch and Delmas 2011). The IAT instructs participants to complete the associations as quickly as possible, which

acts as a constraint that may lead the test-taker to simplify the task in terms of the self. Furthermore, it is possible priming people as members of the human race may modify the group-based biases typically seen with the IAT. Arkes and Tetlock (2004) articulate one of the more damaging theoretical critiques of the IAT, arguing that “researchers have been too quick to make the inferential leap from implicit associations to implicit attitudes, and then from implicit attitudes to value-laden characterization of those attitudes as prejudice” (258). Arkes and Tetlock (2004) are concerned with psychologists’ claim that mechanisms exposed by the IAT reveal systematic group bias in a way that downplays the constructive meaning of “implicit racism.”

Despite criticism of the IAT, implicit attitude measures are an important frontier for research on social cognition, stereotyping and prejudice, which may provide a more accurate account of group attitudes and feelings. There are enough questions raised about the validity of the IAT, however, that it is worthwhile for researchers to explore other means by which implicit associations are cued.

### **3.3.1 The Link Between Linguistic Style and Implicit Associations**

Linguistic style offers a potentially useful way to measure implicit attitudes toward social groups. According to Nosek et al. (2007), most implicit measures are: “methods that (a) avoid requiring introspective access, (b) decrease the mental control available to produce the response, (c) reduce the role of conscious intention, and (d) reduce the role of self-reflective, deliberative processes” (4). Linguistic style relies on the use of function words, which are the most commonly written and spoken words in the English language. However, because they have little semantic meaning by themselves, they are often implicit in speech and are not always consciously evaluated when speaking (Pinker 1994; Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010). The more frequently a word is used, the easier it is to process (Zipf 1949), and studies have



suggested that low-frequency words are accessed more slowly in comparison to high-frequency lexical items (e.g., Balota and Chumbley 1984). This suggests that function words are more prone to fast, automatic cognition and do not require introspection to produce or evaluate. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that the brain processes function words differently than content words. For example, when reading a story aloud, patients with damage to the language areas of the brain tend to omit function words but successfully read content words (Pinker 1994). Functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) studies also support the claim that the brain processes function words differently from content words (Diaz and McCarthy 2009).

This is not to suggest that political leaders do not carefully craft even the most mundane words when engaging in speaking appearances. Rather, I suggest that the use of function words is harder to control in natural language settings such as interviews and debates. Even if function words are used strategically, it is unlikely that the audience consciously evaluates a leader or candidate's use of function words.

Language has long been associated with the unconscious. Beginning with Freud, psychologists taught us that choice of words—even pronouns—constitute important signals about what people are paying attention to. Freud (1901) famously argued that “parapraxes,” or unintended slips of the tongue reveal an individual's unconscious motives or fears. Such ideas were advanced by Jaques Lacan (1968) who argued that unconscious thoughts are tied to linguistic structures and that language itself is an extension of the self in relation to others. Grammatical forms are indeed known to shape social-cognitive perception, including process involved in attribution, inference, and person perception (Karasawa and Maass 2008; Douglas and Sutton 2003; Semin and Fiedler 1988). For example, research by Carnaghi et al. (2008) finds that using a noun to refer to another person or group (e.g., “he's a Muslim”) rather than an adjective (e.g., “he's Muslim”) communicates greater abstraction, thereby

promoting more stereotypical and essentialist inferences about the traits and behaviors of the other person or group.

For these reasons, in chapter 6 I investigate whether linguistic style acts as an implicit cue for a candidate's gender and/or party affiliation and consider whether such cues affect candidate evaluations. It is an exploratory approach to studying gender in political communication, one that may unveil some of the more subtle mechanisms that undermine women's representation and authority in politics.

## Chapter 4

# The Linguistic Styles of Hillary Clinton, 1992–2013

1992 was the “year of the woman.” Fifty-three women were elected to the United States Congress, twenty-four of them for the first time (Manning and Brudnick 2014). Despite continued progress for women in politics, however, the promise of 1992 remains largely unfulfilled. Today women hold 19 percent of US Congressional seats, 25 percent of statewide executive offices, and 24 percent of state legislative seats (Center for American Women in Politics 2015). Underrepresentation is even more apparent at the highest levels of government. Worldwide, women advanced to key executive offices in a number of countries, including Chile, Germany, Jamaica, Lithuania, and South Korea. In the US, however, there has never been a female president or vice president and most scholars agree that there has only been one truly viable female candidate for president—Hillary Clinton.

I analyze the gendered linguistic style using a quantitative textual analysis of 567 of Hillary Clinton’s interview and debate transcripts between 1992–2013. In doing so, this study reveals how Clinton’s linguistic style changed over time as she transitioned between roles and

climbed up the political ladder. Ultimately I find Clinton’s linguistic style grew increasingly masculine over time, as her involvement and power in the political world expanded. I argue that changes in her linguistic style reflected the performance of gendered roles, expectations of political leaders, as well as the masculine norms of communication that permeate political institutions.

## 4.1 The Case of Hillary Clinton

Inspirational to some and threatening to others, Hillary Clinton espouses strong attitudes regarding the proper place for women in politics. Indeed, attitudes toward gender have long factored into public perceptions of Clinton (Tesler and Sears 2010; Winter 2008). She has operated in overwhelmingly male-dominated environments and has been under considerable public scrutiny throughout. Clinton’s career thus provides a useful case for uncovering how female politicians present themselves as competent and viable political leaders as well as how they respond to the dynamic pressures of political life.

Clinton’s debut onto the national political scene brought about much discussion on the role of women in public life not only because she was the wife of the Democratic nominee for president, but also because she was an ambitious and outspoken career woman. She attended Yale Law School, served as legal counsel to the House Judiciary Committee during the Watergate scandal, became a partner at a prestigious law firm in Arkansas, and served on the board of directors for several high-profile companies, including Wal-Mart. In her own now infamous words she was “not sittin’ here as some little woman standing by my man like Tammy Wynette<sup>1</sup>” nor one who “could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas,” but rather “what I decided to do was to fulfill my profession, which I entered before my

---

1. “Governor and Mrs. Bill Clinton Discuss Adultery Accusations.” Interview by Steve Kroft on *60 Minutes*, CBS. January 26, 1992.

husband was in public life<sup>2</sup>.” Early on, Clinton struggled to negotiate her identity under the national spotlight. Recast as her husband’s surrogate, “the wife of” the Democratic nominee for president, Clinton was asked to justify the life and career choices that she made. Was she an independent career-woman or a supportive wife? Indeed, one of the major media narratives during Bill Clinton’s 1992 campaign was the “Hillary problem” or “Hillary factor” (Burrell 2001).

When she moved into the White House, Hillary was charged with carrying out the implicit duties of “first lady,” an explicitly gendered role. Although the role is largely symbolic, Robert Watson (1999) identifies eleven implicit duties of the first lady including: wife and mother, public figure and celebrity, nation’s social hostess, symbol of the American woman, social advocate and champion of social causes, and political and presidential partner. Initially, Clinton did not embrace these traditional duties. Instead, she worked to advance policy as chair of the Presidential Health Care Task Force, which heightened perceived violations of her femininity and “appropriate role” as first lady (Burns 2009; Burrell 2001). Once it was clear that the administration’s health reform policy would not pass Congress, however, Hillary’s policy ambitions took a backseat to the traditional, feminine duties of first lady.

Clinton transitioned from the feminine position of first lady to the masculine role of political candidate. Her role as first lady provided at least one major advantage—name recognition. The downside, however, was that many voters had already developed an impression of Clinton based on her performance as first lady, which complicated her self-presentation as an independent leader capable of representing a powerful state where she had only tenuous ties (Edwards 2009). Competing against male candidates, she was elected to the Senate in 2000 and re-elected in 2006. The September 11 attacks occurred soon after Clinton took office and as a senator from New York, she faced a state in crisis. In response, Clinton positioned

---

2. “Making Hillary an Issue.” Interview by Ted Koppel on *Nightline*, PBS. March 26, 1992

herself as a leader on “masculine” policy areas like the national security and the military. She served on two committees where she worked on “masculine issues”—Budget and Armed Services—and three committees where she worked on “feminine issues”—Environment and Public Works, Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions, and the Special Committee on Aging. Her work in the Senate increased her prominence as an experienced and knowledgeable politician as well as her credibility as a viable presidential candidate in 2008. Although she lost the Democratic nomination, she was nominated for secretary of state by President Obama and confirmed by her Senate colleagues in January 2009. As secretary of state, Clinton was charged with leading the US State Department and executing the President’s—and the nation’s—foreign policy objectives. Again, Clinton entered a male-dominated political arena almost exclusively concerned with “masculine issues” such as foreign affairs, trade, and international and national security. Interestingly, Clinton’s popularity during this time was largely driven by gender egalitarians, indicating that gendered attitudes became more important as Secretary Clinton grew more popular (McThomas and Tesler 2016).

Clinton’s increased involvement and power within male-dominated institutions, namely the Senate and State Department, suggests that her language was increasingly masculine. Consequently, I expect Clinton’s language was more masculine over time, corresponding with the years she spent in the Senate and State Department. This expectation is consistent with the broader literature on women in politics, which suggests that female politicians adopt masculine communication styles when it is the dominant style of interaction within the institutions they serve (Gertzog 1995; Cameron 2005; Dodson 2006; Karpowitz and Mendelberg 2014).

In a thorough analysis of Clinton’s 2008 presidential campaign, Regina Lawrence and Melody Rose write, “Clinton more often than not avoided calling attention to her gender and instead focus on demonstrating her policy expertise and toughness (though occasionally with some subtly gendered flourishes)” (122). Despite the historic nature of her candidacy,

Clinton explicitly intended to run as a candidate, not as a woman. During a debate hosted by CNN in July 2007, Clinton was asked how she would respond to critics who say she is not “authentically feminine.” She responded, “well, I couldn’t run as anything other than a woman ... but, obviously, I’m not running because I’m a woman. I’m running because I think I’m the most qualified and experienced person to hit the ground running in January 2009.”<sup>3</sup> Rather than exposing the question as sexist and irrelevant or acting “ladylike” and expressing herself as authentically feminine, Clinton instead presented herself as an experienced politician with strong leadership abilities. Indeed, she successfully conveyed this image to the public. A survey by Pew in September 2007 found among Democratic voters, 67 percent said Clinton first came to mind when they heard the word “tough,” compared to 14 percent for Obama and 7 percent for Edwards (Pew Research Center for the People and the Press 2007). Only 22 percent said Clinton came to mind when they heard the word “friendly,” compared to 31 percent for Obama and 28 percent for Edwards (*Ibid*). Clinton’s “likability” among voters was a growing concern among her advisors and in late 2007 into January 2008, Clinton deviated from her dominant strategy and attempted to present herself as a warmer, more feminine candidate (Lawrence and Rose 2010; Kornblut 2011). However, this strategy was short-lived. Once Clinton began to lose key contests to Obama, she returned to an aggressive, masculine strategy.

The literature surrounding Clinton’s 2008 bid overwhelmingly suggests that her language was highly masculine over the course of her campaign, a strategy that is consistent with the findings from broader research into the self-presentational strategies female candidates use to win (Carroll 2009; McKinney et al. 2009; Lawrence and Rose 2010). Consequently, I expect Clinton’s language was particularly masculine during her own campaigns—in 2000, 2006, and 2008.

---

3. “Democratic Presidential Candidates Debate at The Citadel in Charleston, South Carolina,” transcript of televised debate, July 23, 2007, online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project.

## 4.2 Data and Analysis of the Hillary Clinton Corpus

I investigated Clinton’s linguistic style using an original corpus of 567 interview and debate transcripts from 1992–2013. All interview transcripts with Hillary Clinton available on the Clinton Presidential Library’s website were included in this analysis and constitute the majority of data analyzed from 1992–1999. All interview transcripts (including newspaper, magazine, broadcast, and cable TV) and debate transcripts featuring Clinton between 1992–2013 available through archived databases, including LexisNexis, ProQuest, Factiva, C-SPAN, the American Presidency Project, and the Department of State’s website. All duplicated transcripts were removed. This corpus thus represents a comprehensive collection of interview and debate transcripts featuring Clinton between 1992–2013. As discussed in chapter 3 and table 3.1, I analyzed the linguistic structures within these texts using Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC), a text analysis program and dictionary developed by Pennebaker, Francis, and Booth (2007). LIWC analyzes text samples on a word-by-word basis and compares each to a dictionary of over 2,000 words divided into 74 linguistic categories. Most categories are defined in terms of grammar. For example, the “articles” category searches for instances of the words ‘a,’ ‘an,’ and ‘the.’ Other categories, such as positive emotion words, have been internally validated by independent judges resulting in high intercoder reliability as well as externally validated by Pearson correlational analysis (Pennebaker et al. 2007).

In prior work, LIWC has been used to shed light on a number of relevant questions. Pearson and Dancey (2011) utilize LIWC to measure the frequency of the word “women” (and its variants) in congressional speeches. Yu (2014) also utilizes LIWC and finds congressional speech is characterized by a low percentage of pronouns, social words, swear words, and emotion words, and a high percentage of articles and long words, all of which are “typically masculine” constructs. Yu (2014) reports that a formal, masculine language style dominates member’s speeches in Congress regardless of gender. However, there are many limitations to



Yu's (2014) study because of the formality and rigidity of Congressional speeches. Additionally, Slatcher et al. (2007) report high rates of articles, prepositions, positive emotions, and words over 6 letters among US presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Articles, prepositions, and words over six letters are also positively associated with a masculine linguistic style, which is not surprising since every president has been male. Further, Schultheiss (2013) has demonstrated the validity of LIWC word frequencies in predicting implicit motivational needs for power and affiliation. Schultheiss (2013) finds that that the relative frequencies of certain LIWC-based categories, such as those related to anger, achievement, and friendship, are positively associated with well-established motive measures and thus are indicative of implicit motivational states.

I calculated the ratio of feminine to masculine linguistic markers described in table 3.1 in chapter 3. LIWC output is expressed as a percentage of the total words in the text sample. I first calculated the ratio of feminine to masculine linguistic markers in each document and then calculated the weighted mean (using total word count per year) across all documents per year. Thus, estimates are not biased by word count in any particular document and yearly ratios are weighted equally.

### **4.3 How Clinton's Language Reveals a Gendered Self-presentation**

Since 1992, Clinton's self-presentation has been affected both by the gendered expectations of her role as well as the norms of communication within the institutions she has occupied. Before turning to a more detailed discussion of Clinton's language and what it says about her self-presentation within these roles, Figure 4.1 presents a broad overview of Clinton's feminine/masculine linguistic style and how it changed over time.

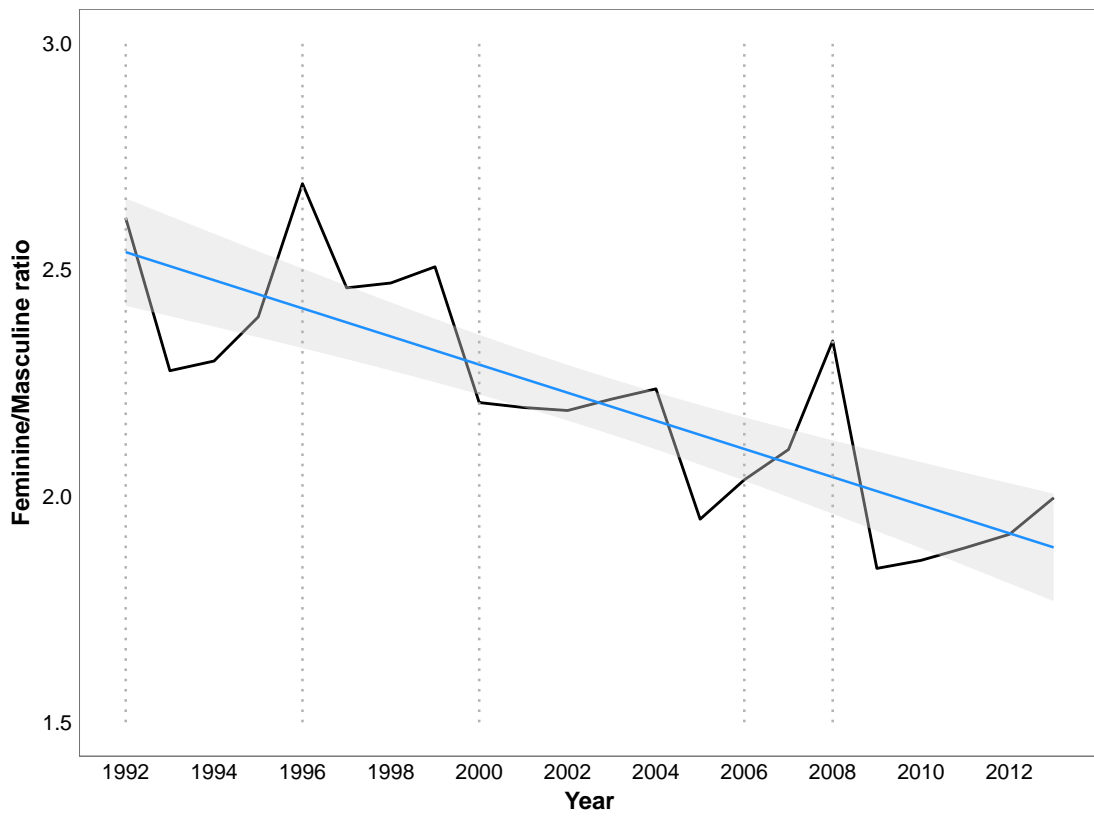


Figure 4.1: Ratio of Feminine to Masculine Styles Over Time

In 1992 and 1996, the years Hillary campaigned for Bill, she used a higher rate of feminine relative to masculine linguistic markers, which is consistent with her expected role as a supportive wife and first lady. The feminine/masculine ratio declined abruptly in 1993–94, however, which indicates that Clinton’s language became more masculine. This change coincides with Clinton’s role as the chair of the administration’s Health Reform Task Force. As the leading voice for this initiative, she was charged with communicating details of the policy and persuading industry and interest group leaders, lawmakers, and the public to support it. The dramatic drop in feminine language during this time (but not in 1995–99) suggests Clinton adopted a masculine style of speech in response to the political context, not in response to a sudden change in personality or media strategy. By 1995, when she was no longer charged with pushing the President’s agenda, her language returned to a more feminine style.

Around the launch of her first Senate campaign in 2000, the feminine/masculine ratio sharply declined once again. Clinton maintained this masculine self-presentation throughout her time in the Senate as well as in her 2006 re-election campaign. The findings from her two Senate campaigns, then, are consistent with the expectation that female candidates emphasize masculine credentials to look “tough enough” for the job. During her presidential campaign in 2007 and 2008, Clinton’s language was not overwhelmingly masculine, as some scholars have suggested, but it was comparable to her language in her 2000 Senate race. To some extent, her linguistic style in 2007–08 reflects the inconsistent gender strategies promoted by the Clinton campaign, which I discuss in more detail below. Finally, after she was nominated and confirmed as secretary of state in 2009, Clinton’s linguistic style turned more masculine than at any other point in years prior. Comparing Clinton’s language in 1992–1999 to 2009–2013, I find her language shifted in the expected direction, supporting the expectation that Clinton’s language grew increasingly masculine over time, as her involvement and power in the political world expanded.

Table 4.1: Generalized Linear Model Results of the Feminine/Masculine Ratio Over Time

	<b>Full model</b>	<b>Ratio model</b>
Intercept	1924.00**** (24.56)	2049.82**** (7.57)
Pronouns	1.29 (0.84)	
First-person singular	0.21 (0.73)	
Verbs	-0.32 (0.59)	
Auxiliary verbs	2.11** (1.01)	
Social references	-0.77 (0.49)	
Positive emotion	2.02** (0.85)	
Negative emotion	-1.30 (1.14)	
Cognitive mechanisms	-0.84 (0.55)	
Tentative words	-2.35** (0.98)	
Words > 6 letters	1.81**** (0.32)	
First-person plural	1.93** (0.77)	
Articles	1.38* (0.80)	
Prepositions	0.90* (0.54)	
Anger words	8.43**** (2.57)	
Swear words	-12.08 (18.27)	
Feminine/Masculine ratio		-21.39**** (3.40)
N	85	22
Log Likelihood	-214.09	-60.86
AIC	460.18	125.71

\*\*\*p < .01; \*\*p < .05; \*p < .1

Full model based on quarterly time series; ratio model based on yearly time series.

The generalized linear models in table 4.1 provide additional insight into how Clinton’s language changed over time. The full model shows mixed results for Clinton’s use of feminine linguistic markers over time, measured quarterly each year. Several of the feminine variables—verbs, social, tentative, negative emotion words, and cognitive mechanisms—show a negative relationship with time, but only tentative words are significant at the  $p < .05$  level. Auxiliary verbs and positive emotion words actually increase over time ( $p < .05$ ). However, looking at the masculine variables, a much clearer relationship emerged over time. Words over six letters ( $p < .001$ ), first person plural pronouns ( $p < .05$ ), articles ( $p < .1$ ), prepositions ( $p < .1$ ), and anger words ( $p < .01$ ) are all positively associated with time. In essence, it is not clear that Clinton’s language was decreasingly feminine, but it is clear that it was increasingly masculine. One need not come at the expense of the other. Thus in the ratio model, the numerator remains relatively stable, but the denominator becomes larger over time, which explains its negative trend. The feminine/masculine ratio model displays a negative relationship with time and is significant at  $p < .001$ .

Table 4.2 presents the average use of each variable as a percentage of total words (weighted by word count) within five illustrative periods in Clinton’s career—as supportive wife and first lady (1992–99), candidate for US Senate (2000), senator from New York (2001–06), Democratic candidate for president (2007–08), and finally, secretary of state (2009–13).

### **Supportive Wife and First Lady (1992–99)**

Clinton’s role on the Health Reform Task Force was increasingly criticized for stepping too far outside the traditional boundaries of the first lady’s “appropriate” sphere of influence on policy matters (Burns 2009; Burrell 2001). Following the failure of health reform, Clinton tried to “soften” her image to better fulfill her role as first lady and to lessen her perceived liability to the Clinton administration (Burros 1995). Table 4.2 indicates on average Clinton’s linguistic style was more feminine during her time as first lady than at any other point in

Table 4.2: Weighted Average For All Linguistic Markers (%)

	1992-99	2000	2001-06	2007-08	2009-13
Pronouns	18.58	17.36	17.33	17.66	16.28
First-person singular	4.34	5.33	4.23	4.59	2.77
Verbs	17.95	16.93	17.33	17.98	16.58
Auxiliary verbs	11.48	10.85	11.09	11.41	10.95
Social references	11.97	9.83	10.35	10.07	10.77
Positive emotion	3.59	4.22	3.69	3.64	3.90
Negative emotion	1.11	0.66	1.71	1.29	1.57
Cognitive mechanisms	20.91	19.03	20.59	19.32	20.06
Tentative words	3.21	2.24	2.55	2.20	2.18
Words >6 letters	16.39	17.39	18.82	17.94	19.38
First-person plural	2.50	2.26	3.09	3.07	3.44
Articles	5.75	7.01	6.77	6.49	7.11
Prepositions	13.67	14.17	13.48	14.03	14.12
Anger words	0.27	0.24	0.45	0.45	0.59
Swear words	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00
Feminine/Masculine ratio	2.42	2.10	2.09	2.10	1.91
Word count	465848	31515	70563	129781	389128
No. Documents	156	19	56	65	271

her public career. Her use of tentative words (e.g. almost, probably, kind of, sort of) was particularly high during this time. This finding indicates that Clinton was relatively uncertain or insecure when discussing topics with journalists, however, tentative language is also common with individuals who have not fully processed and formed a reliable narrative about an event or topic (Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010). In reviewing transcripts with a high rate of tentative words, I find both factors—uncertainty and lack of a consistent narrative—were at play. She often used tentative words as a buffer against potential criticism or to express cautious certainty when making factual assertions or statements that implicated her husband’s administration.

### Clinton for Senate (2000)

The most dramatic and sustained shift in Clinton’s language was in her transition from first lady to Senate candidate. Table 4.2 reports that the feminine/masculine ratio declines

from 2.42 during her time as first lady to 2.10 during her Senate race in 2000 when Clinton campaigned for herself for the first time. Compared to her tenure as first lady, Clinton's use of feminine linguistic markers declined during her run for Senate. Simultaneously, Clinton's use of masculine linguistic markers, particularly big words, articles, and prepositions, sharply increased. This explains the sizable drop in the feminine/masculine ratio seen in Figure 4.1 around the year 2000. Table 4.2 also indicates that Clinton used an unusually high rate of positive emotion words and a correspondingly low rate of negative emotion words during this time. Indeed, this positive self-presentation is apparent when reading the transcripts. Clinton was enthusiastic about the possibility of serving in the Senate and bringing positive changes to New York. This may have been a strategy she used to combat perceptions of her as a carpetbagger and "fire-breathing dragon" among New Yorkers (Edwards 2009).

During a campaign, it is reasonable to expect a candidate to discuss him or herself more frequently than usual since the purpose of a campaign is to educate voters about their ideology, experience, and policy goals. Indeed, table 4.2 shows an increase in Clinton's use of first-person singular pronouns during her 2000 Senate and 2008 Presidential campaigns. This finding indicates that Clinton talked in a personal way about her beliefs, experiences, and plans. Interestingly, pronouns are not only a marker of gender but also of social status. Contrary to a widely held assumption, lower status individuals are more likely to use first-person singular pronouns especially when talking "up" to higher status individuals. Higher status individuals are more likely to talk "down" to "you" or speak for the generalized, all-assuming "we," which politicians are famous for (Pennebaker 2011). Once Clinton entered the Senate, she spoke not only for herself but also for those she represented, a signal of both masculinity and high status.

## Navigating Male-Dominated Institutions as Senator and Secretary of State

As senator and secretary of state, Clinton navigated institutions largely dominated by men. Figure 4.1 illustrates that Clinton's linguistic style was most masculine during the years she served in the Senate and Department of State. The feminine/masculine ratio declined to 1.91 percent as secretary of state, its lowest point within the timeframe covered in this study. Table 4.2 shows her use of first-person plural pronouns like "we" increased from 2.3 percent in 2000 to 3.1 percent during her time in the Senate and further increased to 3.4 percent during her time as secretary of state. In these roles, she possessed authority as a representative from New York and later, as leader of the Department of State. Her expanded scope of representation as well as increased power in the political arena both contributed to the marked increase in her use of first-person plural pronouns. This complicates the analysis of Clinton's gendered self-presentation, still, we can be reassured that her language was increasingly masculine by considering her use of other masculine markers during this time. Seen in table 4.2, as senator and secretary of state, Clinton's use of big words also increased markedly when compared to the years she spent as first lady and as a candidate. Moreover, Clinton used more articles and fewer pronouns in these roles. Articles and pronouns tend to be interchangeable in syntactic structure,<sup>4</sup> which suggests that she increasingly replaced pronouns with articles. In addition, she increasingly expressed anger in these roles. Together, findings confirm that Clinton's linguistic style was more masculine during the years she served in these institutions.

As senator and secretary of state, Clinton's self-presentation was constrained by the masculine norms of behavior and interaction within these institutions. In these roles, Clinton's self-presentation was not only directed toward her public constituencies, but also toward her primarily male colleagues. This latter point is particularly important for Clinton because in both roles she presented herself as a leader on traditionally masculine issue areas such as

---

4. Consider, e.g. "The point is that X equals Y," compared to "My point is that X equals Y."



foreign affairs, international trade, and national security. Given that the Senate and State Department are male-dominated institutions, Clinton may have conformed to the masculine norms of communication that permeate these institutions to establish credibility among her colleagues as well as to negotiate her authority and position herself as a leader. Changes in her linguistic style do not simply reflect changes in the content she was communicating, but rather in the way she communicated, and in the subtle social signals she expressed. In addition, this study only analyzes transcripts from natural language sources—interviews and debates—not speeches or other formal addresses. Therefore, Clinton’s language became more masculine even in conversations *outside* the formal boundaries and constraints of the institutions she served. These findings thus suggest that she internalized the masculine norms of communication she practiced within these roles.

### **Clinton for President (2007–08)**

Clinton launched her first presidential campaign in January 2007 and was considered the frontrunner for the Democratic nomination during much of that year. She maintained a relatively “gender neutral” strategy, “though occasionally with some subtly gendered flourishes (Lawrence and Rose 2010; Tesler and Sears 2010). Still, Clinton’s campaign advisors disagreed on Clinton’s self-presentation, particularly when it came to her “gender strategy” (Lawrence and Rose 2010; Kornblut 2011).<sup>5</sup> As seen in table 4.2, Clinton used a lower rate of positive emotion and a higher rate of both negative emotion and anger-related words in her presidential campaign than she did during her Senate campaign in 2000. This may reflect her emphasis on proving herself as qualified and competent on issues of national security, a strategy she often used to differentiate herself from Obama. She also used a higher rate of verbs and auxiliary verbs in 2007–08. A high rate of verbs indicates a more dynamic

---

5. Similarly, Obama presented a “race-neutral” campaign (Sears and Tesler, 2010). Both race and gender were highly salient during the 2008 election. Attitudes on race and gender were nonetheless influential in evaluations of the candidates (Sears and Tesler 2010; McThomas and Tesler 2016).

style of speaking, focusing on how topics and events change. A high rate of auxiliary verbs (e.g., is, do, was) often indicates a more passive style of speaking (Pennebaker 2011). It is also important to note that Clinton’s language in 2007–08 was comparable to that found in her campaign for Senate in 2000. Seen in table 4.2, the combined feminine/masculine ratio in 2007–08 was the same for her 2000 Senate campaign—2.10. Yet figure 4.1 displays an intriguing spike in the ratio at the start of 2008, which indicates an abrupt change toward a more feminine linguistic style. To better understand Clinton’s linguistic style over the course of the campaign, figure 4.2 displays the feminine/masculine ratio for Clinton’s interviews and debates in 2007 and 2008.

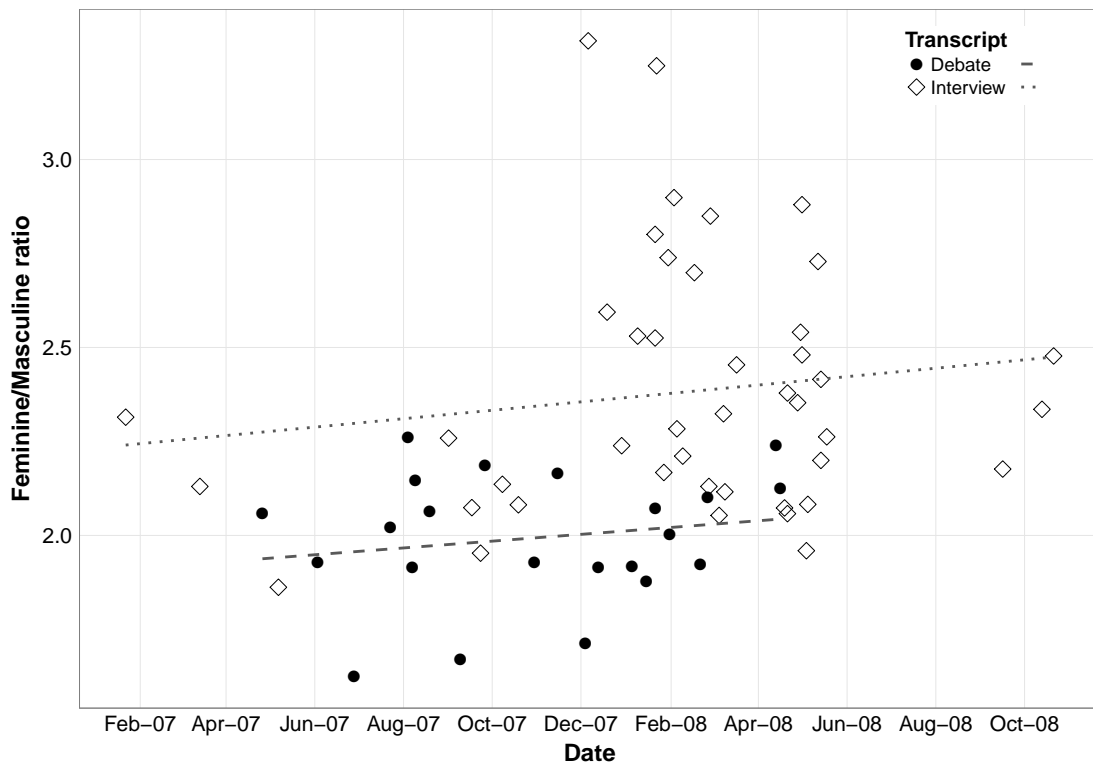


Figure 4.2: Ratio of Feminine to Masculine Styles for Clinton’s Interviews and Debates in 2007–2008

Figure 4.2 reveals that for most of 2007, Clinton’s language in debates as well as interviews was more masculine than at other points in her campaign. Her debate performances, in particular, indicate an overwhelmingly masculine strategy. In late 2007, however, Clinton’s

language became more feminine in interviews. Among growing concern about Clinton’s favorability among voters, Clinton momentarily deviated from her dominant, masculine strategy and presented herself as a warmer, more feminine candidate to voters in late 2007 into January 2008 (*Ibid*). Figure 4.2 supports this analysis. This momentary shift in strategy marks an interesting point of disruption in her otherwise steady self-presentation up to that point in time.

After February 5, Super Tuesday, Obama had accumulated a sizable advantage over Clinton, and the Clinton campaign responded with an aggressive messaging campaign attacking Obama, what Lawrence and Rose describe as a “testosterone blitzkrieg” (Lawrence and Rose 2010). This masculinized messaging proved successful in Texas and Ohio and thus, Clinton carried this strategy into subsequent state contests (*Ibid*). Nevertheless, the nomination ultimately eluded Clinton. Figure 4.2 does not reflect this strategy, however. Figure 4.2 shows Clinton’s language became more feminine starting in late 2007, but it does not indicate a noticeable shift toward a more masculine style after January 2008. As figure 4.2 illustrates, Clinton’s linguistic style was scattered and fluctuated much more dramatically from one interview to the next during the 2008 campaign period. This volatility in Clinton’s linguistic style may reflect a candidate—and campaign—in crisis without a clear strategy on Clinton’s self-presentation as a female candidate for president. It is also possible that internal disagreements and confusion over her gendered self-presentation seeped into her linguistic behavior.

## 4.4 Chapter 4 Discussion of Results

Hillary Clinton is arguably the most prominent woman in American politics today. Clinton’s long and varied career thus provides an important and useful case study for investigating how female politicians present themselves strategically. My findings are based on a computational

analysis over a large corpus of text (567 documents, 1,086,835 total words) sampled over a twenty-two-year timeframe, which provides statistical leverage as well as the ability to make relative comparisons. It is a data-driven approach into the double-bind dilemma that often confronts women who pursue leadership positions within male-dominated professions. Nevertheless, this study relies on the single case of Hillary Clinton. As such, results must be interpreted with caution and cannot be generalized to the broader realm of women in politics.

This case study reveals hidden insight into the strategies Clinton used as she navigated through the labyrinth toward leadership. Namely, Clinton's linguistic style changed according to the gendered expectations of the roles she performed as well as the masculine norms of communication within the institutions she occupied. My findings can be summarized succinctly. In 1992 and 1996, Clinton's linguistic style was consistent with her expected performance as wife of a presidential nominee. However, as the spokesperson for the administration's health reform policy in 1993–94, Clinton's linguistic style changed in response to the political environment, reflecting the masculine norms of communication that dominate the policymaking arena. After 1994, Clinton performed more traditional duties of the first lady and her language followed suit, turning more feminine. As a candidate for Senate, her language shifted toward a masculine style, a performance she sustained throughout her time in Congress. As a candidate for president in 2007–08, Clinton's self-presentation was largely driven by the advice of her campaign strategists. She maintained a masculine style until late 2007 and early 2008, when she tried to “soften” her image and improve her likability among voters by presenting herself in a way that was more akin to her gender. Throughout the 2008 campaign period, Clinton's language fluctuated dramatically from one interview to the next, reflecting a candidate—and campaign—in crisis without a clear and consistent self-presentational strategy. As secretary of state, her linguistic style again conformed to the masculine expectations of her position.

Clinton's career testifies to the labyrinth that women—and indeed members of any marginalized group, long kept out of power—confront when striving toward politically powerful positions. While other female politicians may encounter similar experiences as Clinton, her trajectory into politics has also been unique. She is “a very exceptional woman with an idiosyncratic background as a former first lady” (Carroll 2009, 2). Only by analyzing language from a wider sample of both male and female political leaders will we know whether Clinton's increasing masculinity is a representative or deviant case. Future research, particularly in the comparative tradition, could provide valuable insight into how women's linguistic behavior differs as their minority status, and thus the salience of their gender, lessens.

## Chapter 5

# Gendered Styles of Political Leadership

Findings from chapter 4 suggest that politically powerful women might adopt masculine styles of communication as they ascend into more powerful leadership positions. The Clinton case study also suggests that the campaign environment may demand a different self-presentation. While I suggest that conformity to a masculine style of speech may represent a desire to be effective in a male-dominated profession or perhaps to be seen by male colleagues as competent, such conformity may not necessarily be an effective self-presentational strategy to win votes in an election, particularly for female leaders. It is unclear if female politicians conform to masculine speech patterns to be seen by voters in a particular way, and the Clinton case study cannot be generalized on this point.

What does gendered self-presentation reveal about political leaders and presidential hopefuls? How do female politicians present themselves as viable leaders given the power imbalances that persist within political institutions? What strategies do they use to navigate through the political labyrinth? This chapter lends additional insight into these questions. Following a similar procedure described in chapter 4, I use an original corpus of interviews and debates featuring both male and female party leaders, governors, and presidential candidates.

I compare both the self-presentation of male and female leaders as well as the self-presentation of Republican and Democratic leaders and presidential candidates.

## 5.1 Expectations

This analysis examines how the gendered linguistic styles of female leaders compare to that of their male counterparts. Despite evidence suggesting men and women use function words differently, given the findings from chapter 4, I expect that in general, the gendered self-presentation of female party leaders and governors will not significantly differ from their male counterparts (H1). However due to the double-bind dilemma women experience when aspiring toward leadership positions, I expect the self presentation of female presidential candidates will diverge significantly from their male counterparts. Given the negative relationship between femininity and competence, I expect female presidential candidates will be more likely to assert a masculine self-presentation (H2).

There is also good reason to suppose that party differences are reflected by leaders' gendered styles. Several studies find voters believe female candidates are more competent when dealing with issues related to social welfare, whereas male candidates are seen as more competent on issues of crime, defense, and the economy (Alexander and Andersen 1993; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; King and Matland 2003). Considering Petrocik's (1996) theory of "issue ownership", perhaps it is not a coincidence that the issues for which female candidates are believed to be more competent are typically "owned" by the Democratic Party, whereas those issues for which male candidates are believed to be more competent are typically "owned" by the Republican Party. Moreover, a few studies also suggest that people view the Republican Party as more masculine and the Democratic Party as more feminine (Hayes, 20011; Winter, 2010).

Given the rise of partisan polarization particularly among elites, I expect this party-gender interaction will be most apparent among Republican women running for president. Republican women not only have to prove their competence, but may feel pressured to assert their partisan credentials as well. Thus, I expect Republican female candidates to use a more masculine style than Democratic female candidates (H3). Because men are assumed to be competent, I expect male leaders presidential candidates will display greater flexibility in their gendered self-presentation. Consequently, I expect Democratic men will conform to partisan stereotypes and display a more feminine style, whereas Republican men will be align their gendered self-presentation in more traditionally masculine ways (H4).

## 5.2 The Political Leader Corpus

Using an original corpus containing 2,484 interview and debate transcripts from 126 unique individuals, I examine the linguistic styles of a broader sample of male and female political leaders in the United States—Congressional and party leaders, governors, and presidential candidates. All interview transcripts were retrieved through LexisNexis. The inclusion criteria was broad—any and all transcripts from a male or female political leader—with a few restrictions. These are listed below.

1. Because of the disproportionate number of men who satisfy the sample criteria, I placed two restrictions on the collection of transcripts featuring male leaders: (1) interviews that were recorded after the year 2000, and (2) transcripts that were provided by Federal News Service (FNS). FNS is a well-known Washington D.C. company that provides verbatim transcripts of government briefings, speeches, press conferences, broadcast media and other newsmaker events. The FNS provides accurate, high-quality transcripts from a broad range of sources from broadcast to network television, which is why it was selected as a filter.



2. Due to the low number of female political leaders and the dearth of interview transcripts with them (both on FNS and more broadly), transcripts of female leaders included all LexisNexis sources, which captured interviews transcribed by individual networks in addition to those transcribed by FNS. Any and all interviews with female leaders were collected, but based on data availability, none were recorded prior to 1992.
3. To ensure the representativeness of the language used by particular leaders, any leader with less than 3 interview transcripts was removed from the analysis.
4. In a similar vein, any transcript in which a leader spoke 150 words or less was removed.
5. Interviews from the Hillary Clinton corpus were included in the political leader corpus if they were recorded during the times she actively campaigned for president. I randomly sampled 35 of Clinton's interviews between 2007-08 and 2015.

Unless interview transcripts fell into one of the above mentioned categories, all transcripts retrieved were subsequently analyzed (i.e., no sample was drawn from this search). All interviews originally aired on public, broadcast or cable news TV and include many of the most popular news and talk shows including Good Morning America, the Today Show, Larry King Live, Meet the Press, Face the Nation, PBS NewsHour, Fox and Friends, the Situation Room with Wolf Blitzer, the O'Reilly Factor and Hardball with Chris Matthews. These are displayed in figure 5.1.

Debate transcripts were retrieved from the American Presidency Project <sup>1</sup>. With the exception of Geraldine Ferraros's 1984 vice presidential debate, all available debate transcripts from the 2004 general election through the primary debates in 2015 were included and parsed by individual candidates. Together this represents 256 debate transcripts from

---

1. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/debates.php>

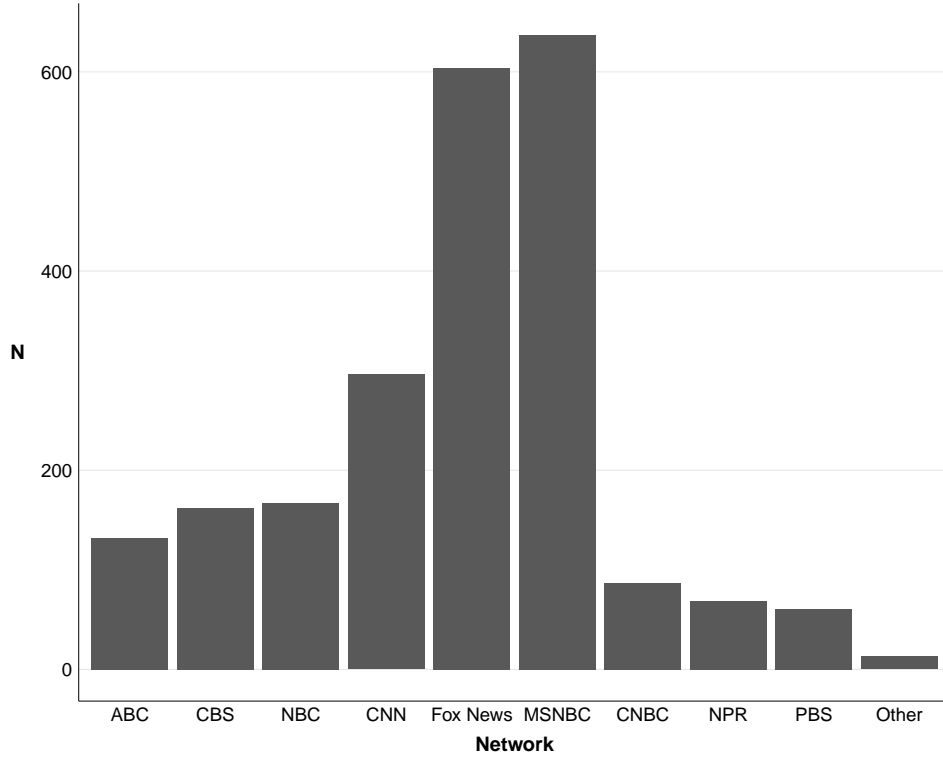


Figure 5.1: Interview Transcripts by Network

34 unique individuals. Ferraro’s 1984 appearance was included in order to increase the number of women cases in the study. Five women—Ferraro, Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Michele Bachmann and Carly Fiorina—have participated in a primary, general election, or vice presidential debate for which transcripts were available on the American Presidency Project website.

### 5.2.1 Descriptive Statistics

Table 5.1 provides descriptive statistics for the political leader corpus.

Reflecting women’s representation in politics and in the media more generally, the political leader corpus is heavily skewed toward men, whose transcripts make up 71 percent of the entire leader corpus. In fact, women are disproportionately represented in the Leader

Table 5.1: Overview of the Political Leader Corpus

		N	%
Gender	Female	720	29
	Male	1764	71
Party	Democrat	1198	48
	Republican	1286	52
Role	Presidential Candidate	1048	42
	Governor	747	30
	Party Leader	689	28
Transcript Source	General Election Debate	21	1
	Primary Debate	235	9
	Interview	2228	90
Transcript total		2484	
Unique politicians		126	
Unique observations		179	

Corpus. According to a 2015 report by Media Matters, of all guest appearances on major political/talk TV, between 83 percent (CNN) and 93 percent (Fox News) were men. This is not an intentional outcome, but an inevitable one. My goal was to achieve a roughly even sample, but I learned during transcript collection that there was not a universe of available data with women in high office. This is quite the opposite when it comes to interviews with men in high places (e.g. Gingrich) who appeared regularly. No wonder he's a household name.

The partisan split is almost even, with Democrats making up 48 percent and Republicans making up 52 percent of the entire leader corpus. The corpus is also skewed toward presidential candidates. Transcripts from candidates represent 42 percent of the entire corpus, while governors represent 30 percent and party leaders represent 20 percent. Interviews transcripts comprised 90 percent of the Leader Corpus, but much of the subsequent analysis considered debates and interviews separately or controlled for transcript type.

Some leaders within the corpus sample (e.g., Mitt Romney) have held multiple leadership roles, and transcripts were coded according to the role the leader occupied at the time of the interview. When governors or party leaders ran for president, their role as presidential candidates was labeled accordingly. Thus, unique observations counts leaders according their role. Former leaders who did not occupy a leadership role at the time of the interview were categorized by their most recent leadership role, e.g., Geraldine Ferraro was considered a “presidential candidate” even in interviews that occurred in 2001. Ferraro is one of the more extreme cases since most interviews were collected between 2004–2015.

Tables 5.4 and 5.3 further breakdown the political leader corpus by gender, party, and role.

Table 5.2: Leader Corpus - Gender by Party

	Democrat		Republican		Total N
	N	%	N	%	
Female	458	64	262	36	720
Male	740	42	1024	58	1764

Table 5.3: Leader Corpus - Gender by Role

	Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%
Presidential Candidate	221	31	827	47
Governor	390	54	357	20
Party Leader	109	15	580	33
Total	720	100	1764	100

Table 5.4: Leader Corpus - Party by Role

	Democrat		Republican	
	N	%	N	%
Presidential Candidate	406	34	642	50
Governor	396	33	351	27
Party Leader	396	33	293	23
Total	1198	100	1286	100

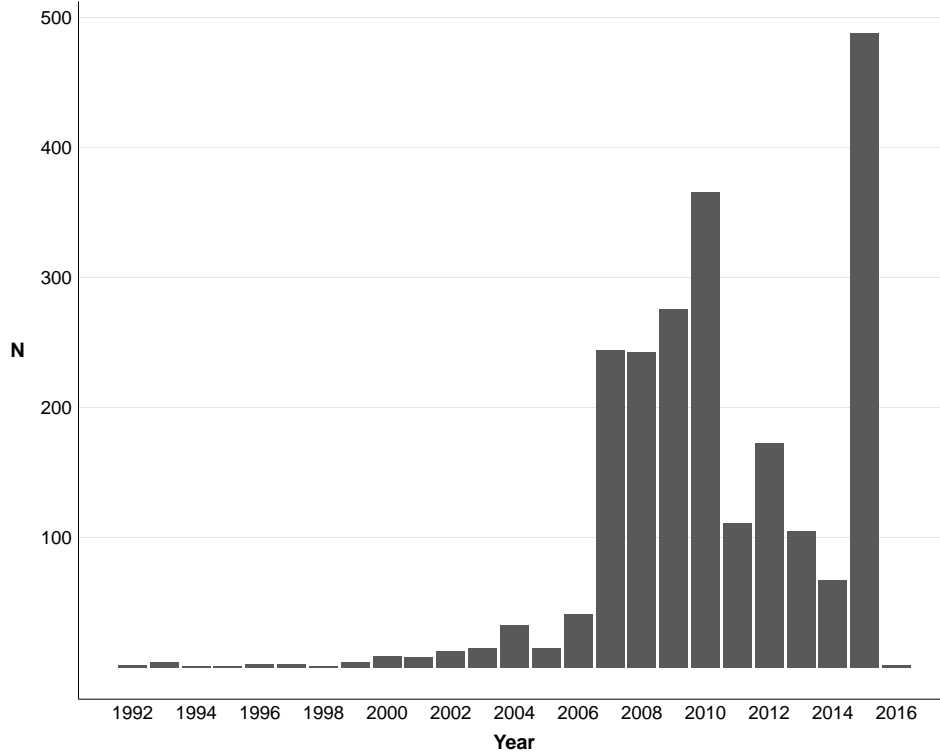
Among women, the leader corpus is skewed toward the Democratic party, which is consistent with the current partisan makeup of women in politics. Among men, the leader corpus is skewed slightly Republican, which reflects Republican majorities in the House, Senate and governorships. Among Democrats, transcripts are equally distributed among party leaders, governors, and presidential candidates. Among Republicans, transcripts are skewed toward presidential candidates. Over half of the female transcripts come from current and former governors, whereas only 20 percent of male transcripts come from governors. Almost half of the male transcripts come from former and current presidential candidates. These distributions can be explained by considering the time periods from which the transcripts were sampled.

Figure 5.2 shows that most transcripts were recorded after 2006. The oldest interview transcript of a female leader, Governor Ann Richard of Texas, was recorded on July 12, 1992. The most recent interviews were of Hillary Clinton on December 6, 2015 and Nancy Pelosi on December 12, 2015. The oldest interview transcript of a male leader, Governor Jim Gilmore of Virginia, was recorded on September 17, 2001. The most recent interview was of New York Governor Andrew Cuomo on January 15, 2016. The oldest debate transcript featuring a female leader, Geraldine Ferraro, was recorded on October 11, 1984. The most recent featured Hillary Clinton during a primary debate on December 19, 2015. The oldest debate transcript featuring male leaders, George W. Bush and John Kerry, was recorded on September 9, 2004. The most recent featured Bernie Sanders during a primary debate on December 19, 2015.

### **5.2.2 Wives of Political Leaders Mini-Corpus**

In the process of collecting, verifying, and parsing the leader corpus, I discovered several interview transcripts with the wives of political leaders and/or presidential candidates. Some

Figure 5.2: Interview Transcripts by Year



were exclusive interviews with the wife of a leader or candidate that were collected unintentionally, while others were joint interviews with the leader or candidate and his wife. Following the same inclusion criteria described above, I retained transcripts with the wives of leaders and presidential candidates if they met the 150 word count threshold. I then prepared the text for processing, and placed them into a separate corpus for comparison purposes. Table 5.5 describes this “mini-corpus.”

Given previous findings by Argamon et al. (2007, 2003), Mulac (2006), Newman et al. (2008), and Schwartz et al. (2013), I expect the feminine/masculine ratio will be highest among the candidate’s wives (H6).

Table 5.5: Wives of Political Leaders Mini-Corpus - Description of Sample

	N	%	Average Age	Average Word Count
Ann Romney	5	23	62	661
Cindy McCain	2	9	54	575
Elizabeth Edwards	5	23	57	946
Jill Biden	2	9	58.5	320
Laura Bush	2	9	59	577
Michelle Obama	4	18	48	2050
Teresa Heinz Kerry	2	9	67	228
Democrat	13	59	56	1079
Republican	9	41	60	589
Total	22	100	57	879

### 5.2.3 Data Processing

After collection, I cataloged each transcript’s metadata (interview source/interviewer and date) and then removed all metadata from the text files. At this point, all duplicated transcripts were removed from the corpus. Next, all transcripts were processed using a combination of Python code and Regular Expression (RegEx) to ensure questions posed by the interviewer(s)/moderator(s), comments by speakers other than the leader(s), and transcriber notes (e.g. “[INAUDIBLE]” or “(laughs)”) were removed.

Once the corpus was processed to include only the particular leaders’ language, I verified that each transcript had a minimum of 150 words, a commonly recommended cutoff for the type of analysis performed. Any transcript where a leader spoke fewer than 150 words was omitted. I then prepared the transcripts for processing through Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC), a text analysis program developed by Pennebaker, Booth, and Francis (2007). As a computer program, several steps needed to be taken to ensure that LIWC accurately categorized the leaders’ language:

1. In order to have an accurate count of words per sentence, transcripts were processed to ensure that end-of-sentence markers were indeed end-of-sentence mark-

ers. Common abbreviations (such as “Dr.,” “Ms.,” “US”) were processed to remove end-of-sentence markers. For example, “Ms.” was changed to “Miss” and “US” was changed to “USA”.

2. Transcripts were also processed to ensure that LIWC accurately captured meaningless fillers and nonfluencies, such as “you know” and “well.” After inspecting the context of these fillers, I changed all instances of “you know,” (with a comma) and “Well,” (with a comma and capital ‘W’) to “youknow” and “rrWell” respectively. This is in accordance with the LIWC2007 operating guidelines.

For each unique observation, I calculated the average use of each linguistic variable as a percentage, which were weighted by each transcript’s word count. This ensures estimates are not biased by any particular transcript or leader. The analysis using weighted means is a like-for-like comparison of each leader by role.

### **5.3 Feminine/Masculine Ratio Results from the Political Leader Corpus**

The figures presented below are Tukey box-plots, which display the distribution of data based on the inter-quartile range (IQR) of values for the feminine/masculine ratio. The box itself extends from the first (25th) to third (75th) quartiles. The black bar inside the boxes represents the second quartile, or median value. The “whiskers” extend to the lowest and highest extreme values (which lie 1.5 times the inter-fourth range from the median). The points plotted beyond the end of the whiskers are extreme outliers. I labeled outliers by name where space permitted.

Figure 5.3 displays how the candidate’s wives compare to the political leaders on the feminine/masculine ratio.



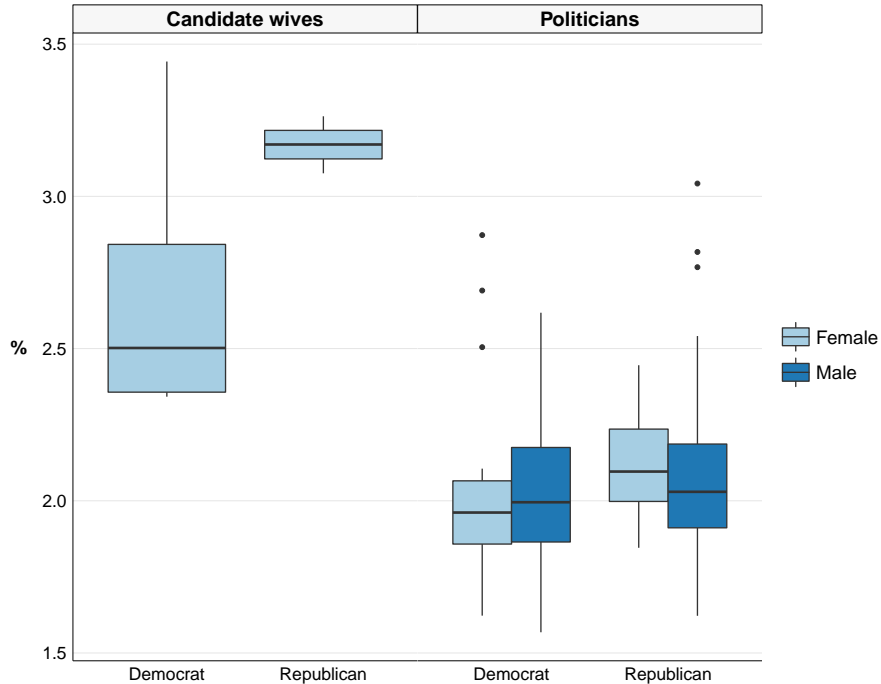


Figure 5.3: Feminine/Masculine Ratio Comparison with Candidate Wives by Gender and Party - All transcripts (weighted mean)

Figure 5.3 demonstrates a clear difference between politicians and the candidate wives. As expected, the candidate's wives use a much more feminine linguistic style than either male or female politicians, which supports the underlying construct validity of the feminine/masculine ratio. The variance between Republican wives is small, while the variance between Democratic wives is quite large. The variances between Democratic, Republican, male, and female leaders are similar and normally distributed, establishing a valid baseline for the comparisons made below. Given this, I now consider the feminine/masculine ratio among leaders only.

Figure 5.4 compares political leaders by gender and party on the feminine/masculine ratio during interviews, while figure 5.5 compares political leaders by gender and party on the feminine/masculine ratio during debates.

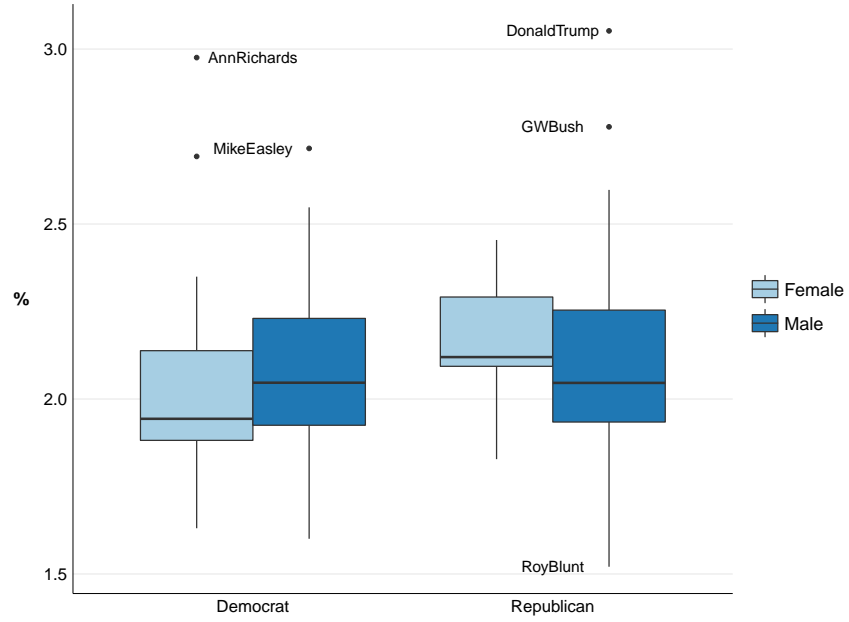


Figure 5.4: Feminine/Masculine Ratio by Party and Gender in Interviews (weighted mean)

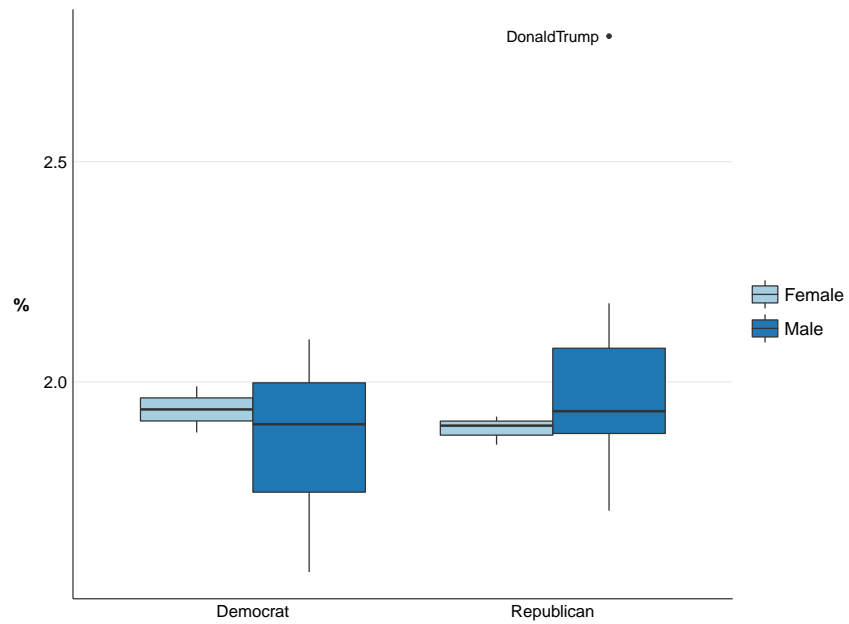


Figure 5.5: Feminine/Masculine Ratio by Party and Gender in Debates (weighted mean)

Figures 5.4 and 5.5 illustrate that the differences between male and female and Democrat and Republican leaders are quite small. Figure 5.4 displays very little difference between male leaders, but notable differences between female Republican and Democratic leaders in interviews. It suggests that female Democratic leaders are most likely to speak with a masculine style, while female Republican leaders are most likely to speak with a feminine style. Figure 5.5 suggests a more masculine style among all leaders during presidential debates, particularly among Republican women.

Figure 5.6 breaks down these categories further, comparing the feminine/masculine ratio between presidential candidates, governors, and party leaders on in interview transcripts.

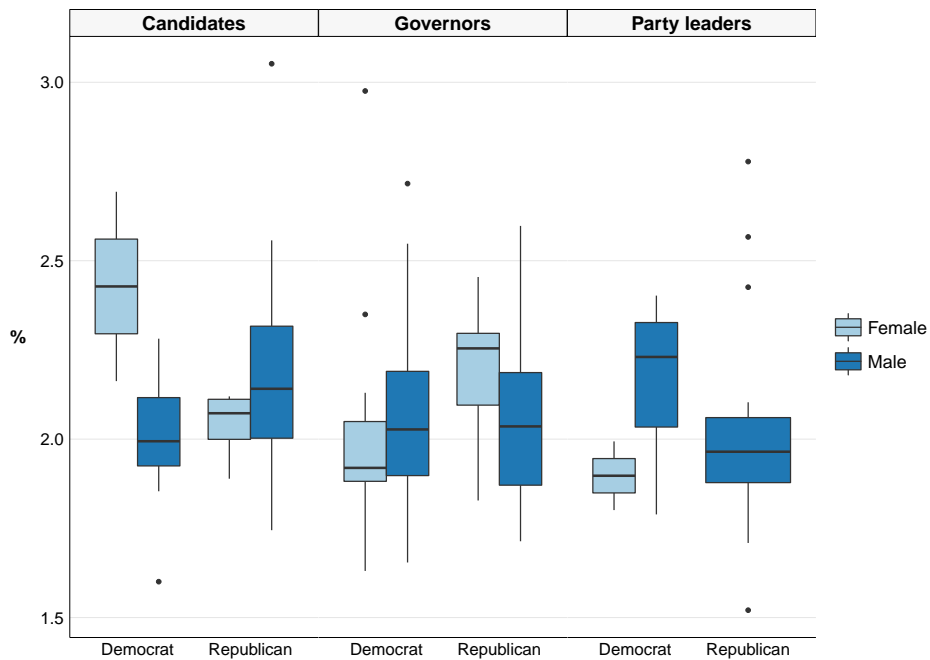


Figure 5.6: Feminine/Masculine Ratio by Party, Gender & Role in Interviews (weighted mean)

Figure 5.6 provides a much more nuanced account of the feminine/masculine ratio among leaders than expected (H1). Although figure 5.4 shows that female Democratic leaders are most likely to speak with a masculine style, this is clearly not the case among female Democratic presidential candidates, who tend to speak with a much more feminine style than

any of the other leaders. It's important to note, however, that this group only includes 2 candidates—Hillary Clinton and Geraldine Ferraro. Female Democratic governors and party leaders (Nancy Pelosi and Debbie Wasserman Schultz) speak with the most masculine style. Similarly, although figure 5.4 shows that female Republican leaders are most likely to speak with a feminine style, this is primarily driven by female Republican governors. As presidential candidates, Republican women are more likely to speak with a masculine style. Thus, I find mixed results for H2, which expected a masculine self-presentation among female presidential candidates, and confirmed expectations of H3, which predicted Republican women would be most likely to use a masculine style. Consistent with figure 5.4, male leaders show much less variation in their gendered styles of communication. One notable finding in figure 5.6 is that male Democratic party leaders are the most feminine among all party leaders, which aligns with expectations (H4).

### 5.3.1 Trends Over Time

Figure 5.7 plots the feminine/masculine ratio for all transcripts over time. The lines represent a smoothed loess curve, fitted using weighted least squares.

Figure 5.7 illustrates an increasingly masculine style for women between the early 1990s and the year 2005, However beginning around the year 2010, this trend all but disappears. During the 2008 election there is an uptick in feminine language among both male and female leaders, which is driven in part by the disproportionate number presidential candidates among the entire sample (42 percent). Among female leaders, this uptick can be explained by Hillary Clinton's language during the 2008 campaign season. This tendency to use a more feminine style during election years is also evident for male—but not female—leaders as the 2016 election approaches.

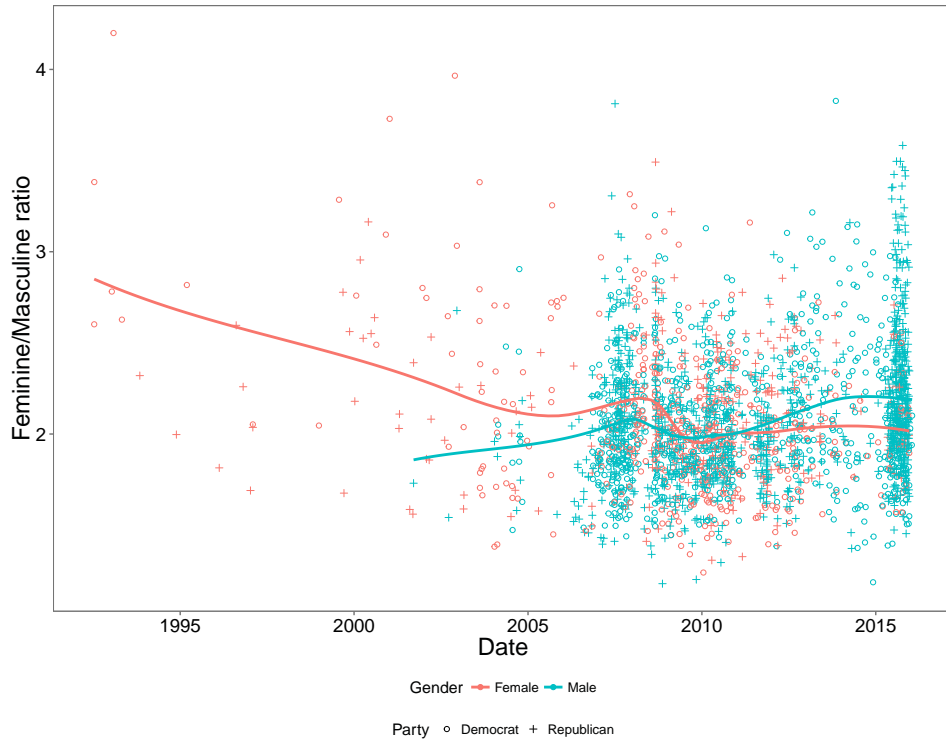


Figure 5.7: Feminine/Masculine Ratio Trends over Time

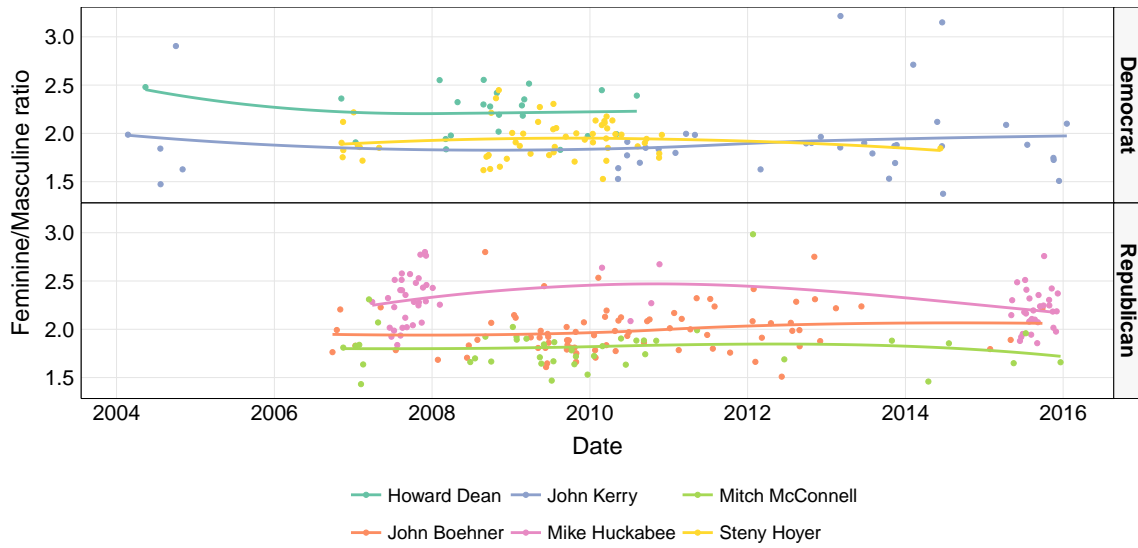


Figure 5.8: Feminine/Masculine Ratio Over Time - Sample of Men

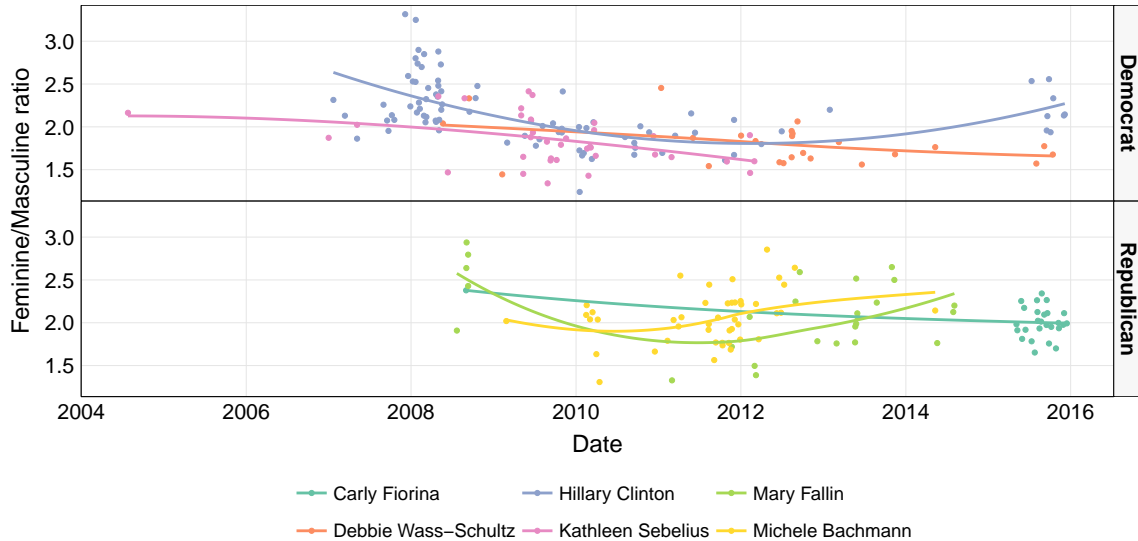


Figure 5.9: Feminine/Masculine Ratio Over Time - Sample of Women

Figure 5.8 shows little fluctuation in the feminine/masculine ratio among male leaders. This is despite the fact that John Kerry, Mike Huckabee, and Howard Dean occupied more than one leadership role between 2004-2015. In fact, John Kerry's trajectory into leadership has followed a similar path as Clinton's in recent years, but Kerry's language does not change with the same magnitude as Hillary Clinton's language does. Figure 5.9 shows much greater variation among female leaders, which varies according to their roles. For example, after Michele Bachmann ended her campaign for President in 2012, her language turns more feminine. In contrast, Debbie Wasserman Schultz became chair of the Democratic National Committee in 2011 and her language is increasingly masculine from that point forward. This is also true for Kathleen Sebelius, who was Governor of Kansas from 2003-2009 and Secretary of Health and Human Services from 2009-2014. Her language is also increasingly masculine during this period. Mary Fallin was elected governor of Oklahoma and her language was decreasingly feminine leading up to her election in 2011. Displaying a slightly different trend, Fallin's language turns more feminine once she secured office.

### 5.3.2 Individual Leaders

The following figures compare how individual leaders (and wives) rank on the feminine/masculine ratio scale, where the values for each transcript are averaged by each unique observation (represented by the point) and used to compute the standard errors of the mean (represented by the errorbars extending beyond the point). Figure 5.10 displays the range for the candidate's wives.

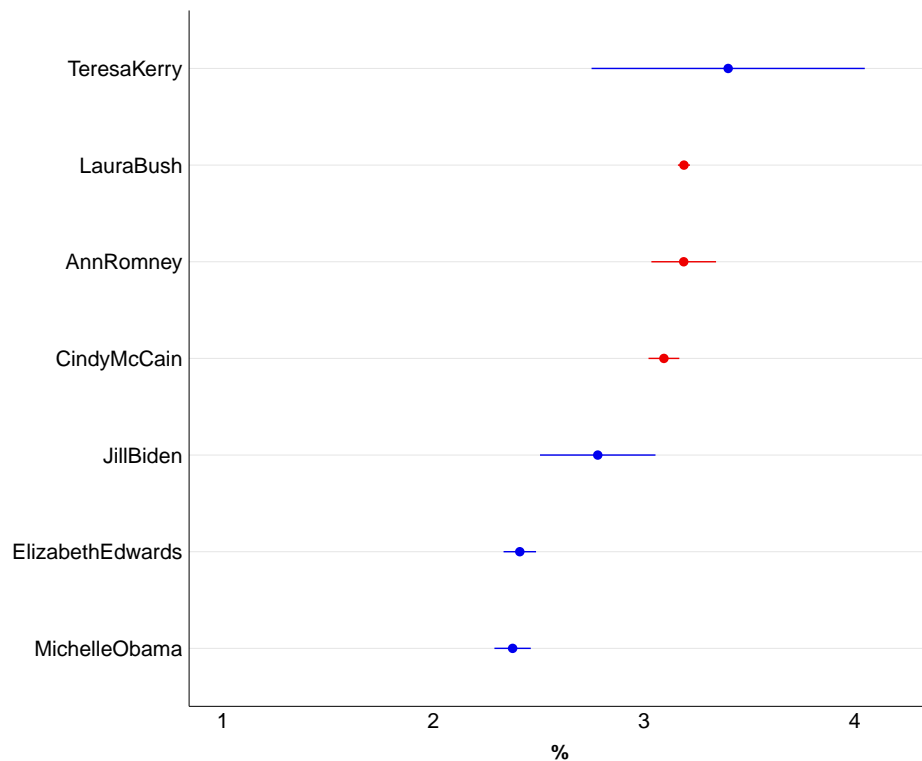


Figure 5.10: Presidential Candidate Wives - Feminine/Masculine Ratio Means and Standard Errors

With the exception of Teresa Heinz Kerry, the Democratic wives tend to speak with a more masculine style than Republican wives, which follows a similar—but more feminine—pattern as the Democratic and Republican women seen in figure 5.11.

These data reinforce an earlier point about the relatively high number of male transcripts in the Leader Corpus, evidenced by smaller standard errors in figures 5.12 to 5.14.





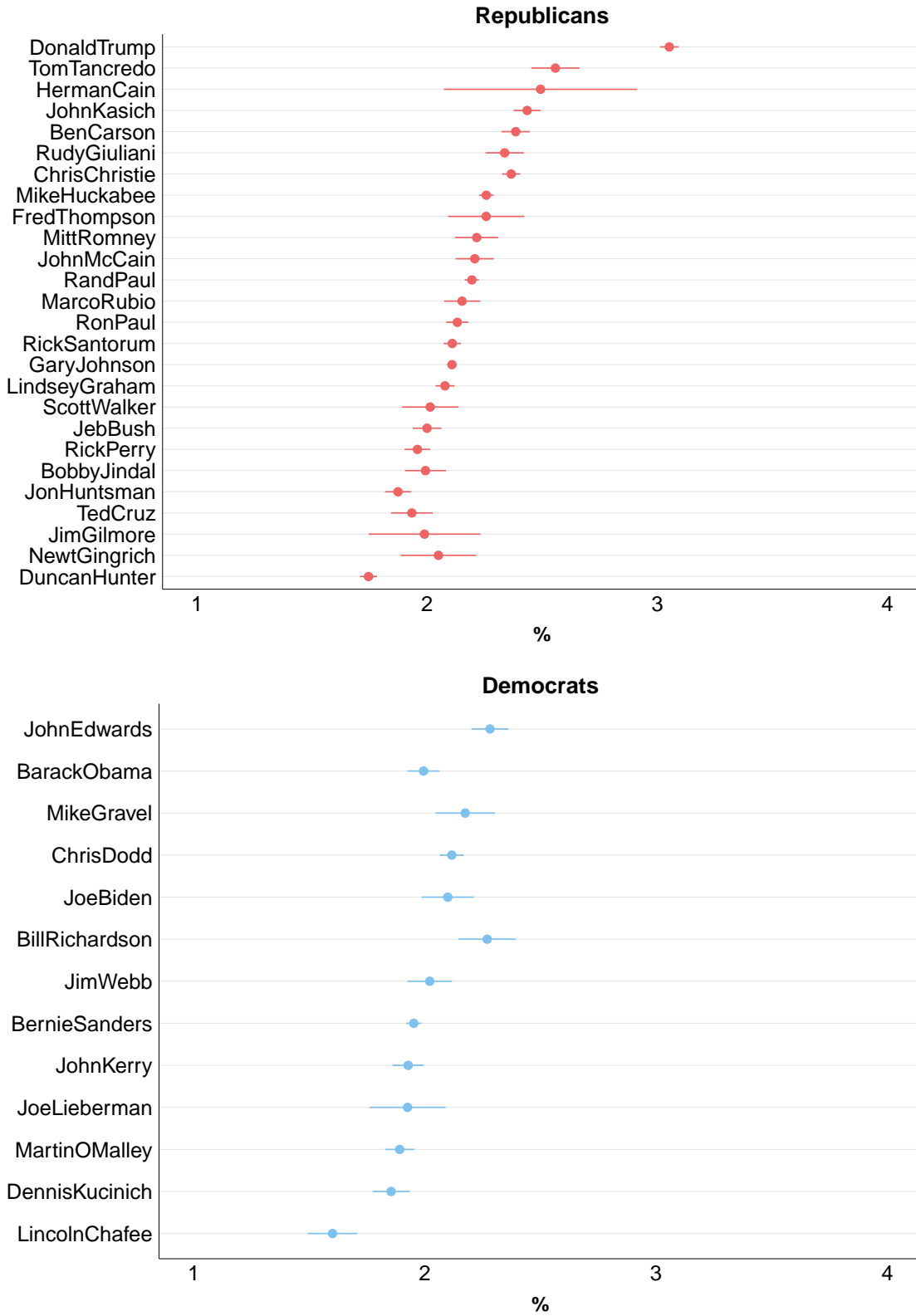


Figure 5.12: Feminine/Masculine Ratio Means and Standard Errors for Male Presidential Candidates - Interviews

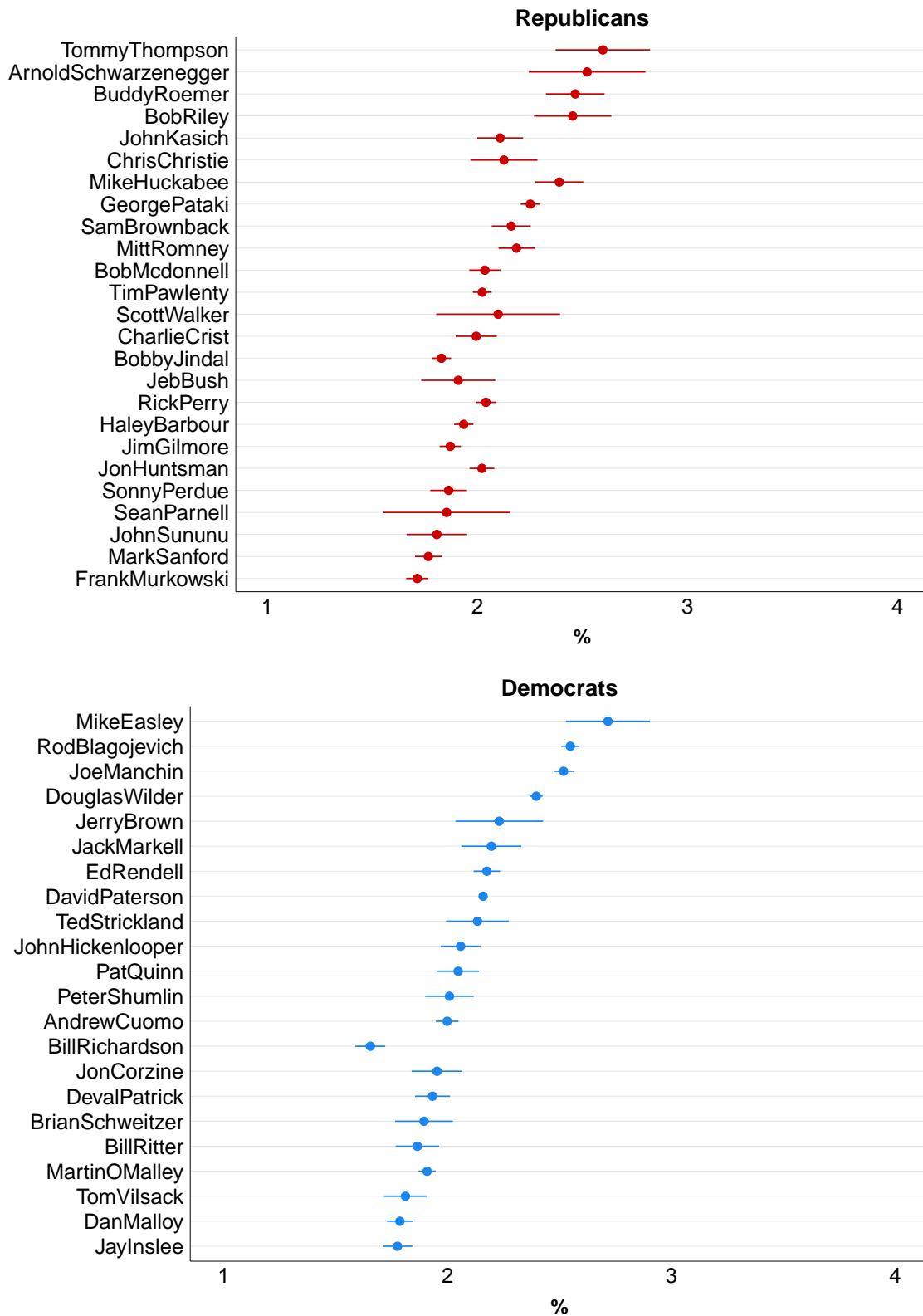


Figure 5.13: Feminine/Masculine Ratio Means and Standard Errors for Male Governors - Interviews

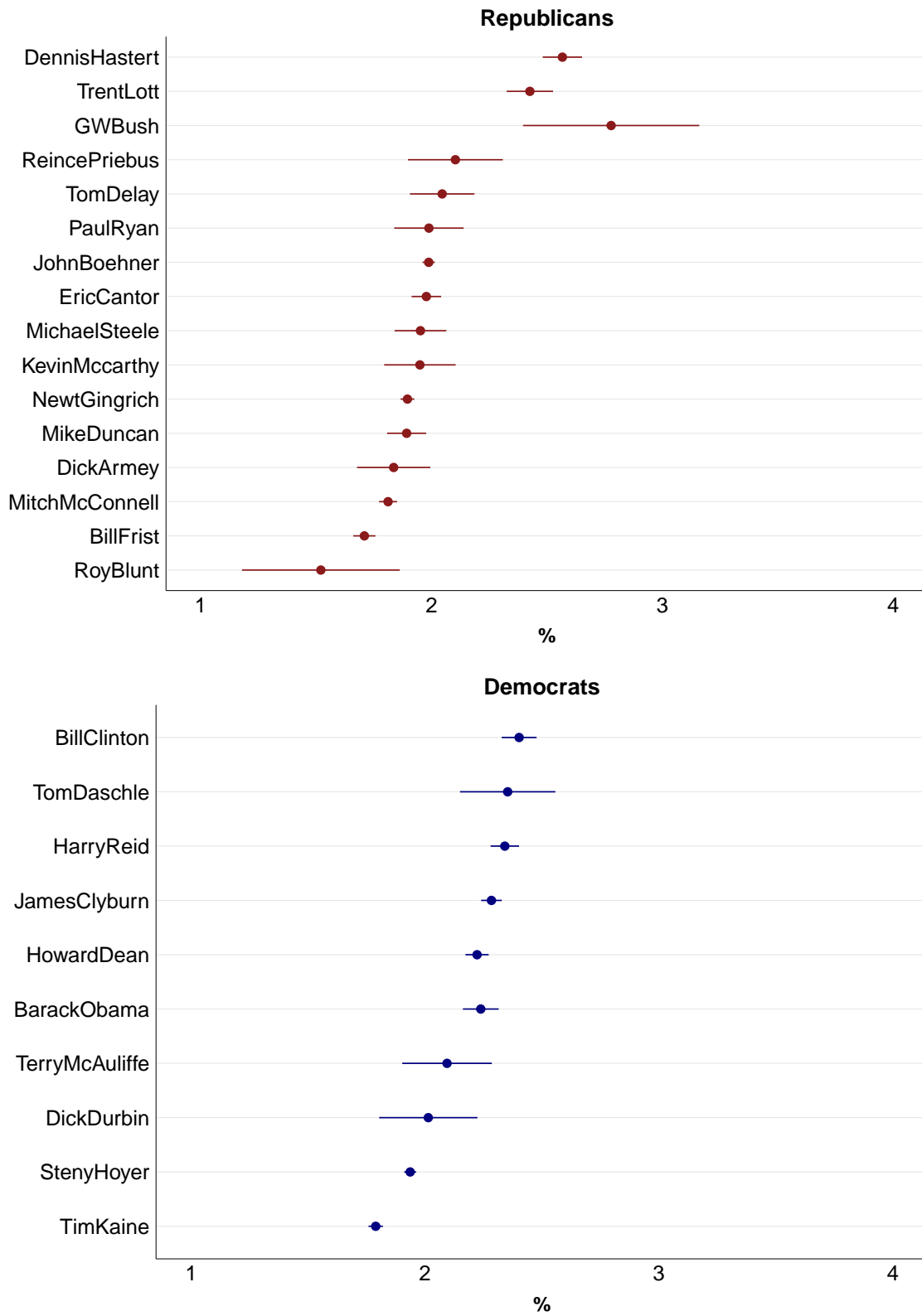


Figure 5.14: Feminine/Masculine Ratio Means and Standard Errors for Male Party Leaders - Interviews

Apart from Nancy Pelosi and Hillary Clinton, female leaders did not appear in national interviews as frequently as men, which explains the much larger standard errors in figure 5.11.

While the feminine/masculine ratio certainly varies among leaders, figures 5.11 to 5.15 show that the differences are small, with one notable exception—Donald Trump. Figures 5.12 and 5.15 suggest that the most self-focused, socially sensitive, and emotionally expressive candidate in the 2016 presidential contest is not the woman running for the White House, it's the inexperienced, braggadocious tycoon that is Donald J. Trump. To further understand these data, it is worthwhile to inspect the variables that comprise the feminine/masculine ratio separately.

### 5.3.3 Dimensions of the Feminine/Masculine Ratio

The following figures plot leaders on two-dimensional grids in which the grid lines are set at the median values to ease comparison. The light grey line represents a smoothed generalized linear estimate with shaded confidence intervals. The first set of grids consider presidential candidates exclusively.

#### Donald Trump Talks Like a Woman?

Donald Trump won the Republican nomination for President and clearly resonates with a sizable portion of the American electorate. Thus far, political science has largely failed to explain Trump's appeal,<sup>2</sup> but my analysis might provide some insight into the Trump phenomenon.

---

2. With some exceptions, see e.g., Michael Tesler, "Trump is the first modern Republican to win the nomination based on racial prejudice." *Washington Post*, August 1, 2016.

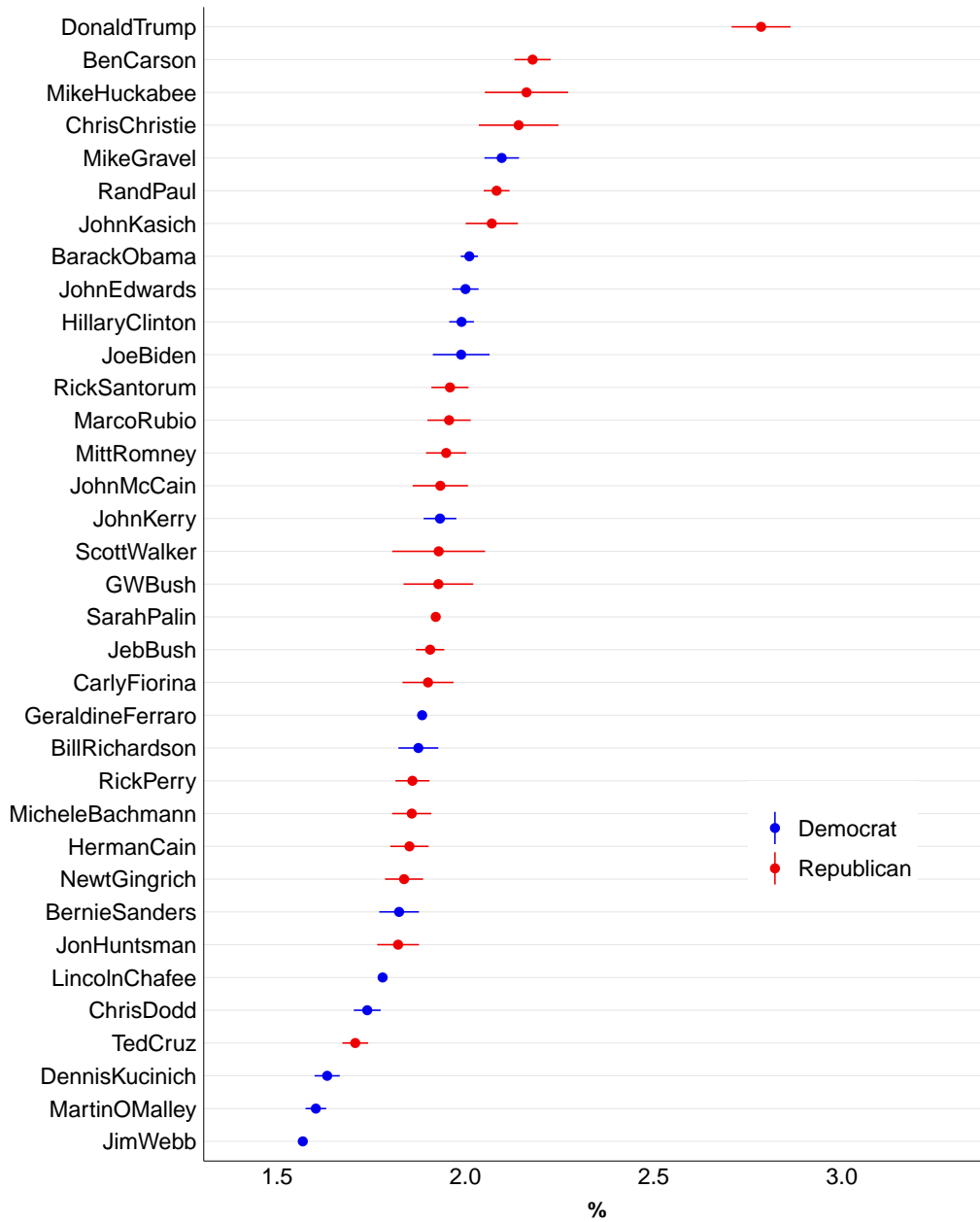


Figure 5.15: Feminine/Masculine Ratio Means and Standard Errors for Presidential Candidates - Debates

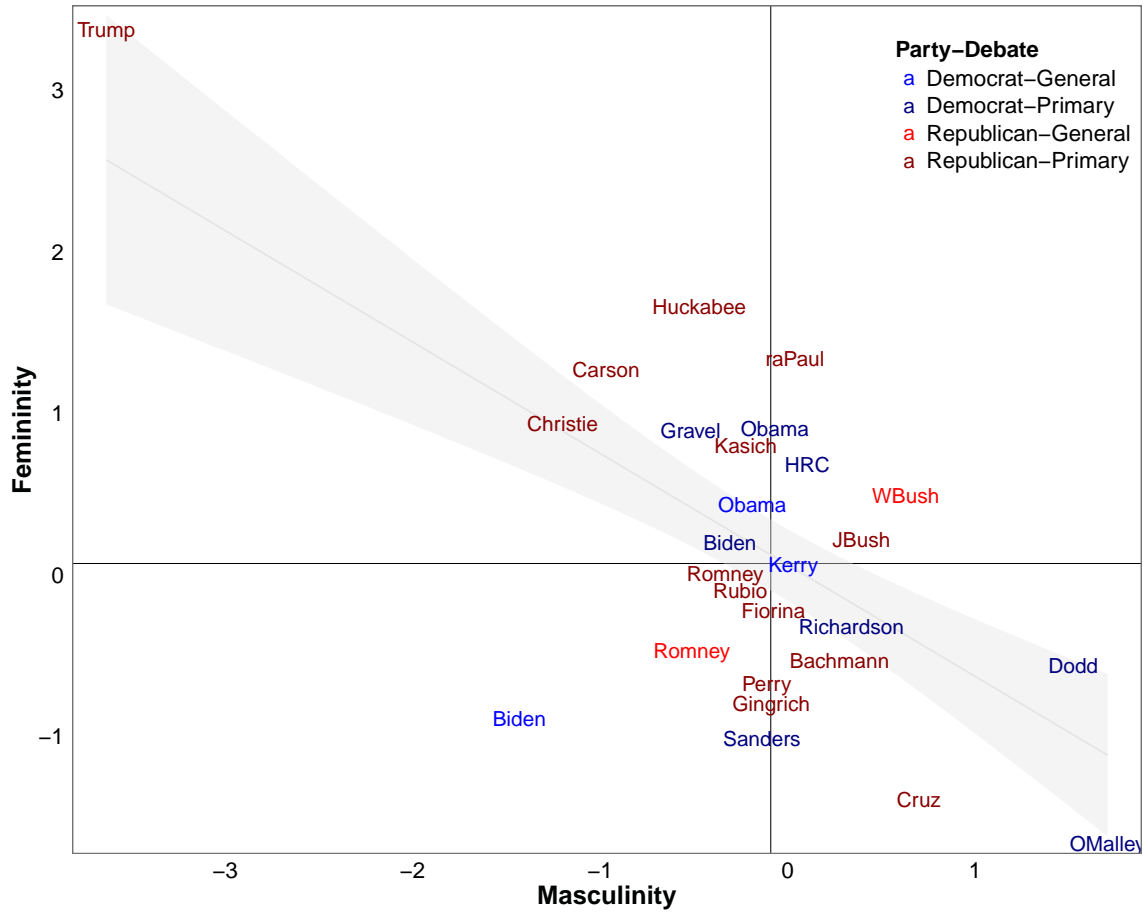


Figure 5.16: Feminine and Masculine Language in Presidential Debates (Normalized values - Scaled and Centered)

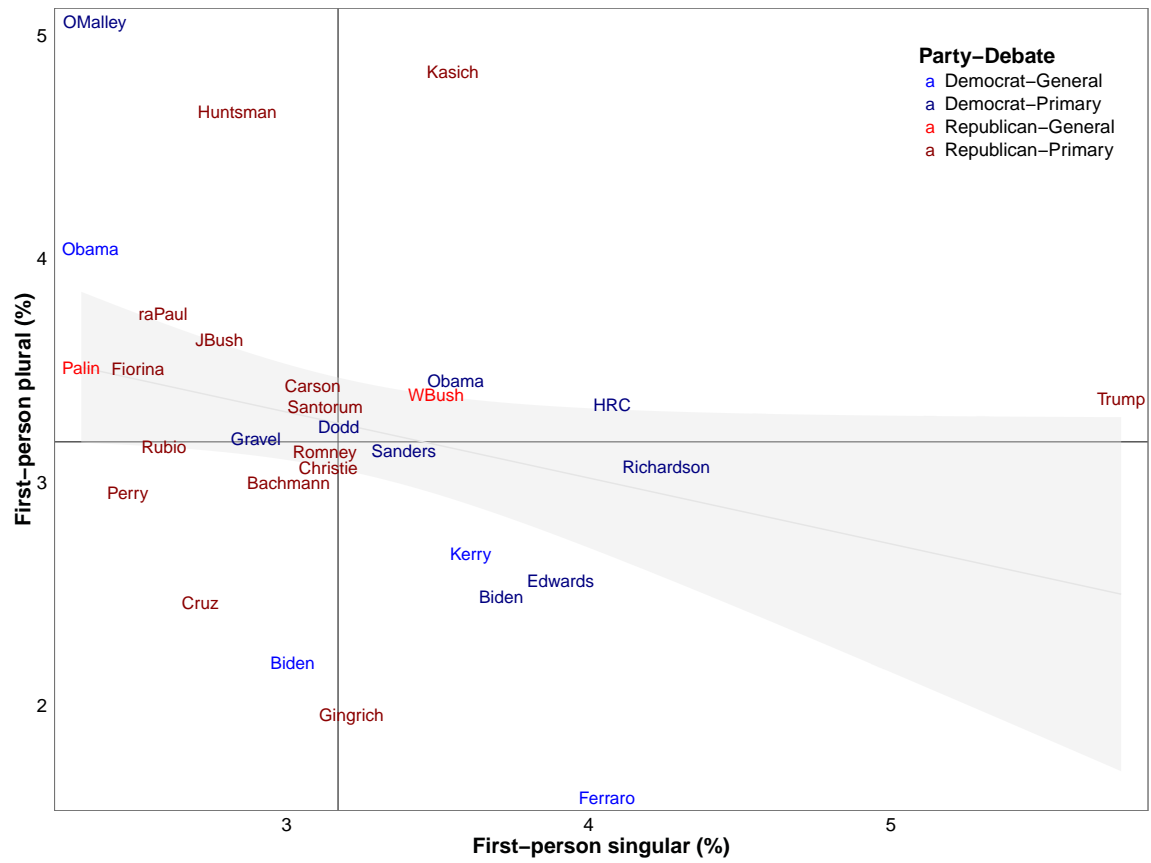


Figure 5.17: I vs. We: First-Person Singular and First-Person Plural in Presidential Debates

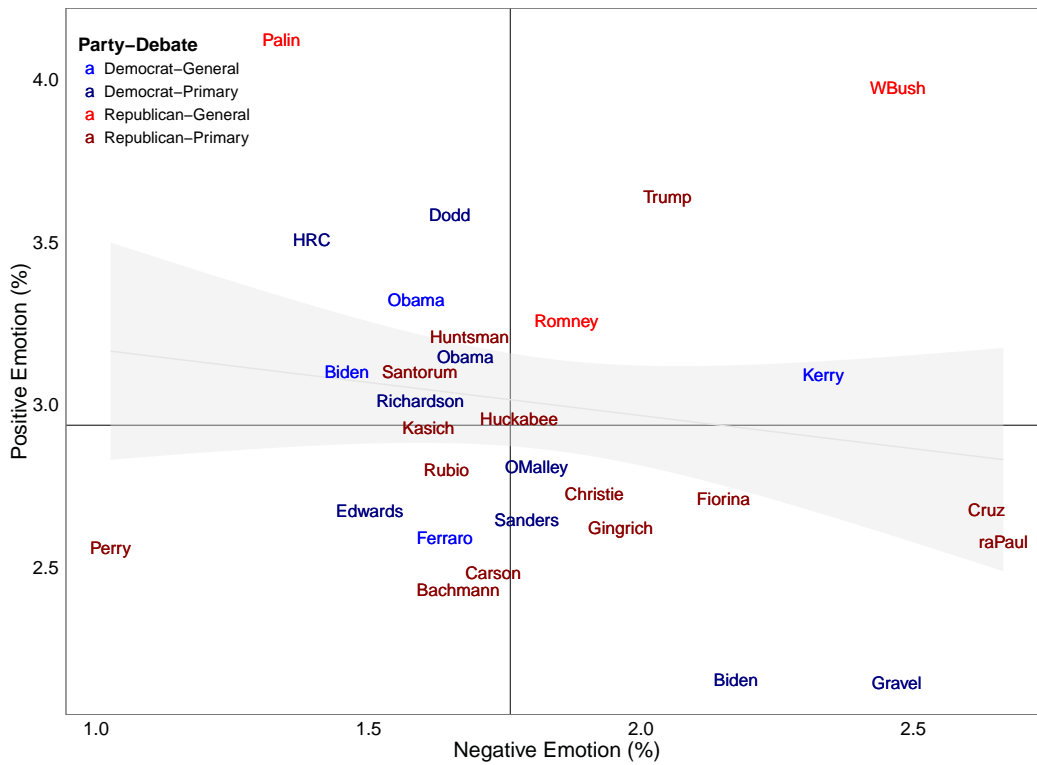


Figure 5.18: Positive vs. Negative Emotion in Presidential Debates



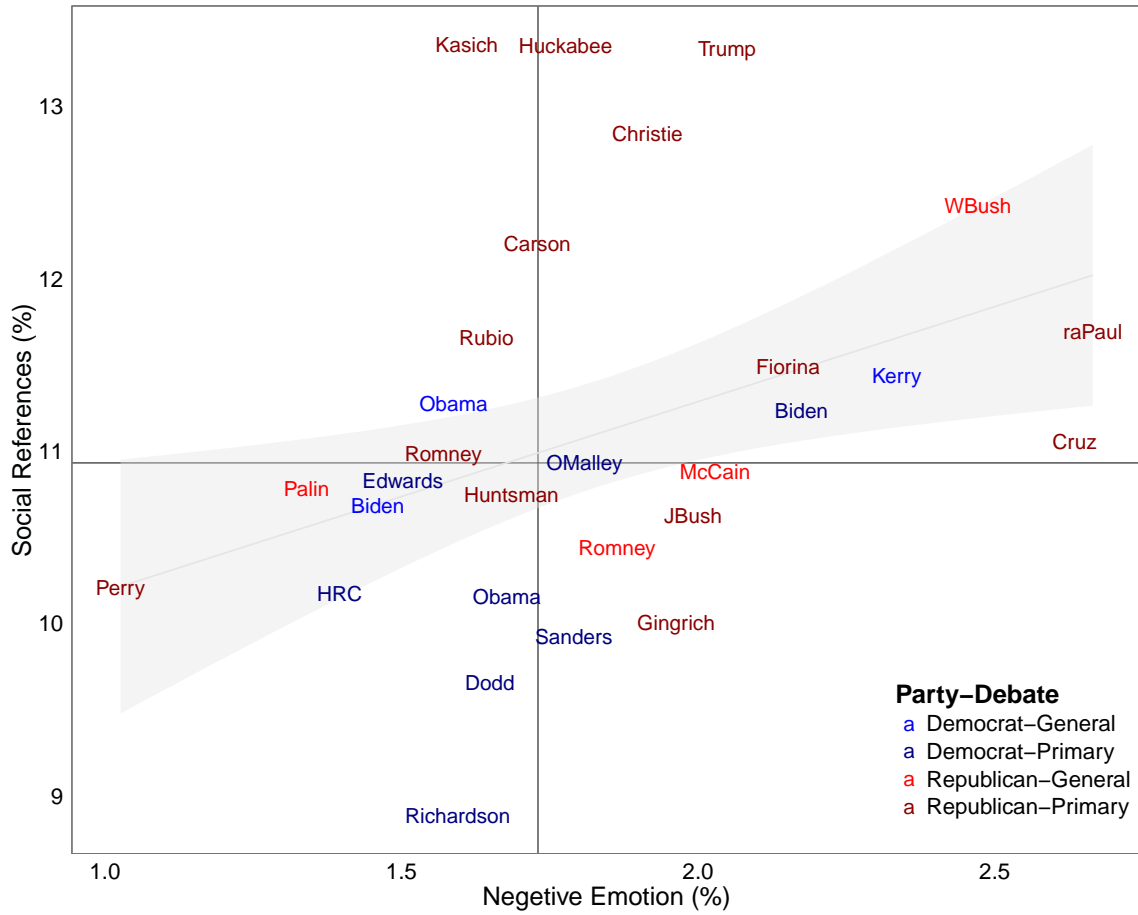


Figure 5.19: Social References and Negative Emotion in Presidential Debates

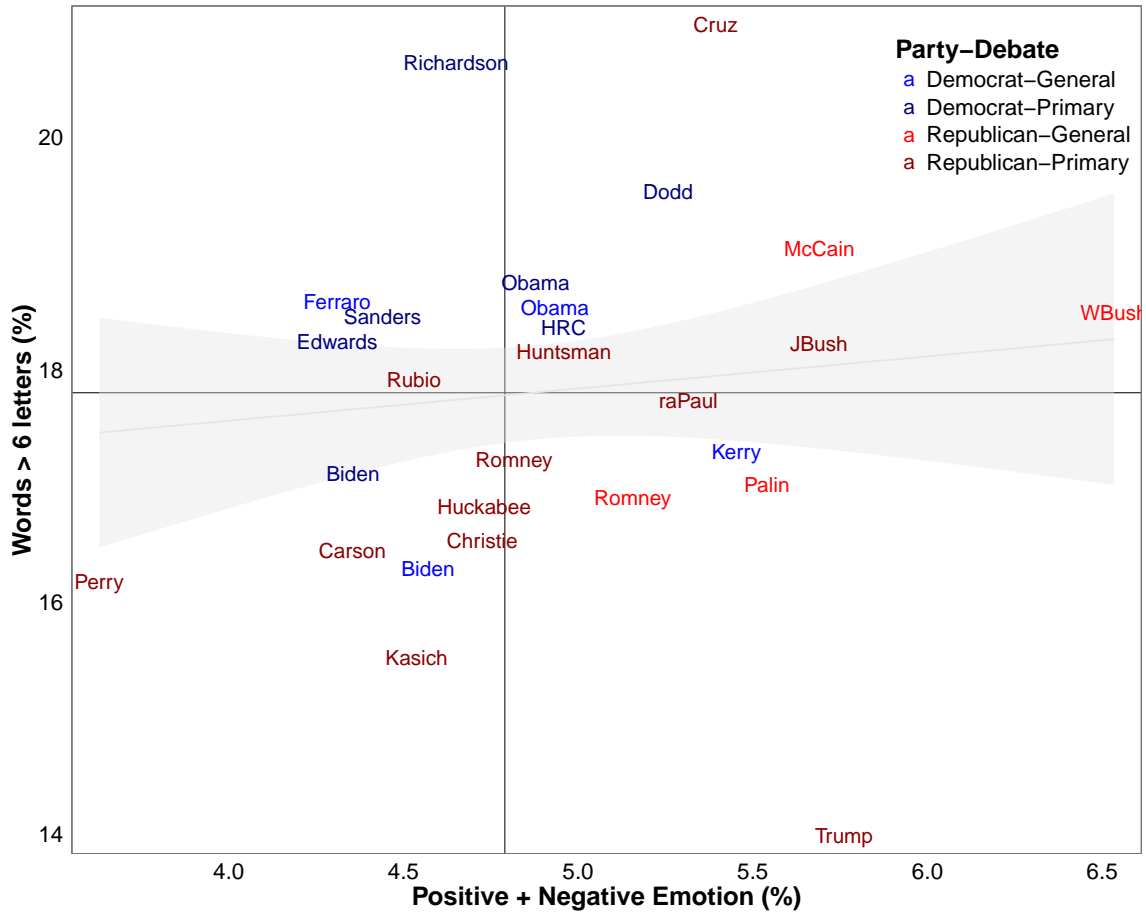


Figure 5.20: Big Words and Emotional Reactivity in Presidential Debates

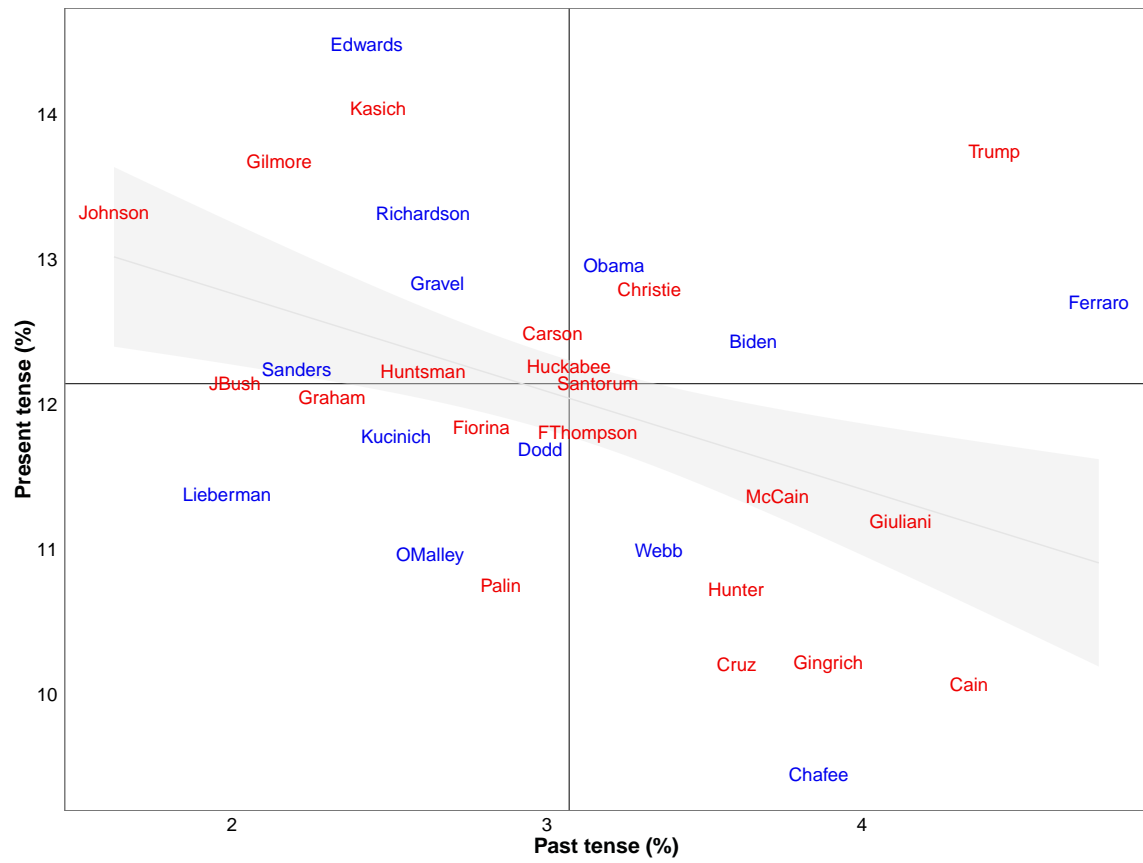


Figure 5.21: Past vs. Present Tense Verbs in Interviews with Presidential Candidates

When it comes to the political world, Trump’s language defies precedent. Indeed, Trump is not a political leader in the traditional sense and he is an atypical case within the political leader corpus. Donald Trump, the 2016 “outsider,” is an outlier in nearly every figure from 5.16 to 5.21. Whereas most presidential candidates use present tense verbs, figure 5.21 shows that Trump tends to use a high rate of both past and present tense verbs, which contribute to his dynamic (and more feminine) style of speaking. This finding may also speak to his outsider status. He often uses references to the past to explain why the White House needs an outsider candidate. Nevertheless, it’s important to consider what the variables in the feminine/masculine ratio say about one’s communication style. Feminine language, as conceptualized, is socially-oriented, expressive and and dynamic whereas masculine language, as conceptualized, is impersonal, long-winded and unemotional.

Impersonal and unemotional are not adjectives that most people would use to describe Trump’s language and his presidential campaign more generally. Quite the opposite, Trump’s campaign has been almost entirely personal and emotional, as evidenced in figures 5.20 and 5.19. Unlike most political leaders, Trump largely neglects serious discussions of public policy—topics that are inherently less personal and emotional. In figure 5.20, also note how simple Trump’s language is, especially when compared to a candidate like Ted Cruz. Although Cruz uses about the same high rate of emotion, his use of big words stands in stark contrast to Trump. Ted Cruz is the king of big words. When he announced the end of his 2016 campaign for the Republican nomination, he said his path to the nomination “has been *foreclosed* [emphasis added].”<sup>3</sup> Figures 5.19 and 5.17 demonstrate that Trump talks about people and, even more, about himself. In the first five presidential debates of the 2016 election, the most frequent word Trump used was “I”, which he said *462 times*. By contrast, in the first five presidential debates, Jeb Bush said “I” 165 times and Marco Rubio said “I” 162 times—only a third of Trump’s usage. Trump also said “they” 119 times,

---

3. Tribune news services, “Trump virtually clinches GOP nomination after Indiana win.” *Chicago Tribune*, May 3, 2016.

and “people” 111 times. Bush said “they” 46 times and “people” 56 times—about half as much as Trump. People who frequently say “I” are thinking and talking about what they are doing and how they are feeling, and thus tend to be more self-focused (Pennebaker 2011). Thus, people who use high rates of first-person singular pronouns often convey a sense of personal authenticity as well as vulnerability, two characteristics that are largely absent in the language of traditional politicians. People who say “I” at very low rates tend to be confident yet psychologically distant, which often comes across as less personal, authentic and trustworthy (Pennebaker 2011).

Despite this, there is at least one way that Trump signals his psychological distance. For most people, when we refer to a specific group of people in the subject of a sentence, we usually refer directly as in, “Muslims Americans are graduating college . . .” or “Women continue to support . . .” Trump, on the other hand, has a peculiar way of referencing others—he often uses the definite article “the” before referencing certain groups—out-groups. Consider the following excerpts:

“Ask **the** gays what they think and what they do” (2015-06-15).

“**The** women, I think, I’ll do great with because I cherish women. My daughter Ivanka and my wife, they say, you know, you should really talk more about **the** women’s issues” (2015-08-27)

“**The** Hispanics love Trump” (2015-11-11).

“I have fantastic relationships with **the** Hispanics” (2015-10-20).

In these contexts, “the” functions as a distancing term, a linguistic illustration of Trump’s attitude toward women as well as racial and ethnic minorities. Despite insisting that he has a good relationship with “the Hispanics,” Trump’s words portray an objectifying posture that suggest otherwise. His out-groups are clearly marked. Trump does not refer to his family or his executives in the same way:

“And you know my wife, and she’s great and she’s beautiful and my kids are beautiful, and Ivanka did an unbelievable job.” (2015-06-18)

“I have a chance at making America great again. That’s the whole focus. So, my children would run my business, and my executives. I have great executives” (2015-10-11)

When referring to family or executives at his company, Trump uses the possessive pronoun “my,” a common in-group marker. There is much more to be said about Trump’s language, but for now, let us return to a discussion on more traditional leaders.

### More Traditional Political Leaders

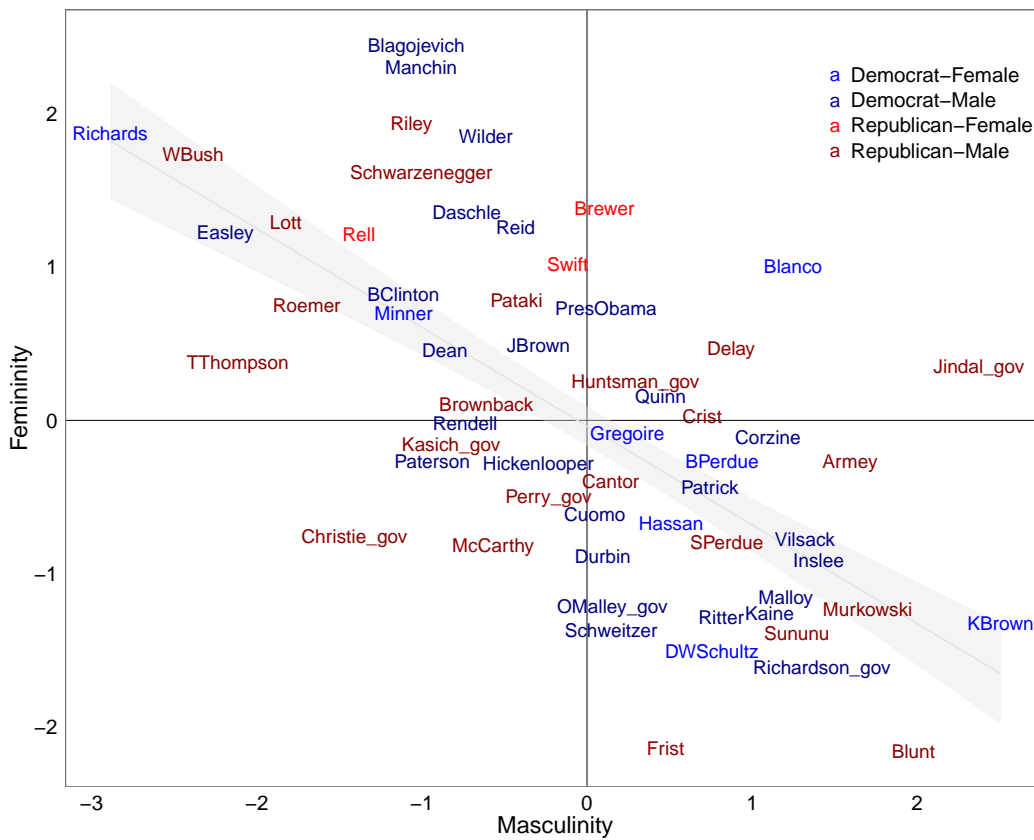


Figure 5.22: Femininity vs. Masculinity in Interviews with Party Leaders and Governors

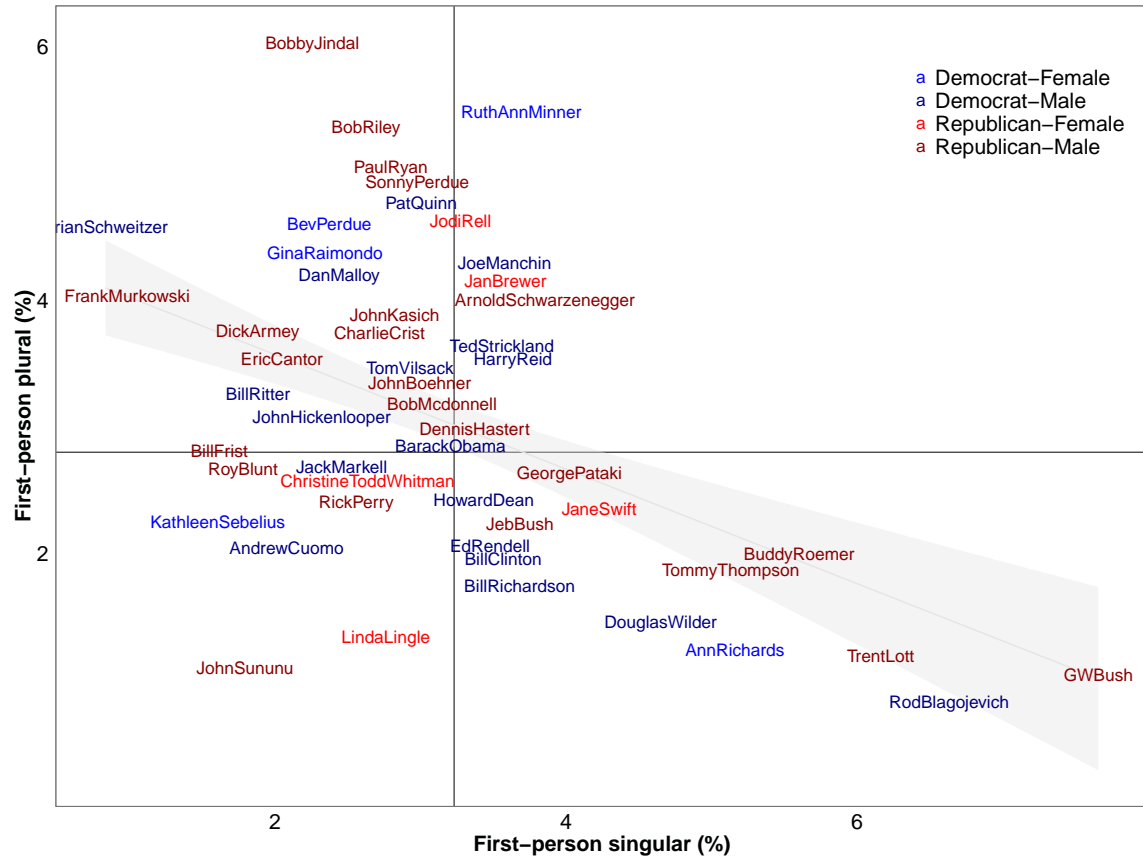


Figure 5.23: I vs. We: First-Person Singular and First-Person Plural in Interviews with Party Leaders and Governors

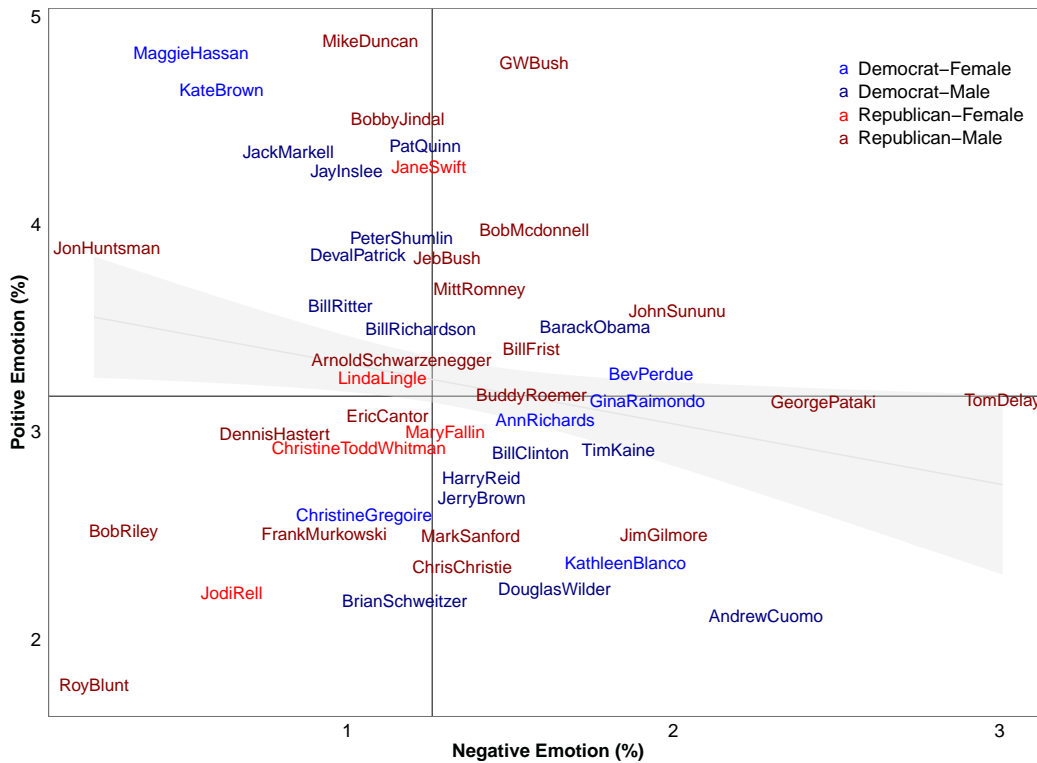


Figure 5.24: Positive vs. Negative Emotion in Interviews with Party Leaders and Governors



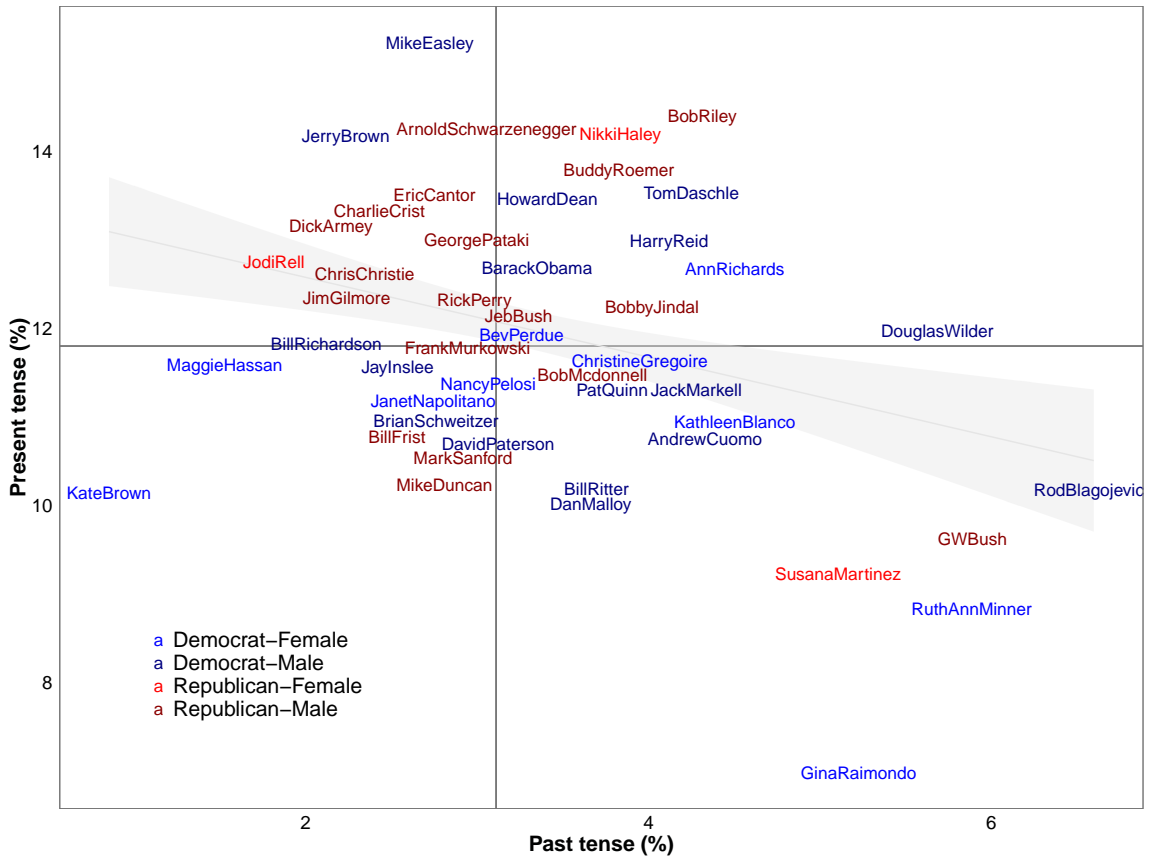


Figure 5.25: Past vs. Present Tense Verbs in Interviews with Party Leaders and Governors

Figure 5.23 displays a proclivity among governors and party leaders to use first-person plural pronouns over first-person singular pronouns, reflecting a well-documented feature of masculine speech. Figure 5.24 does not illustrate a clear pattern with respect to emotion, suggesting that, contrary to feminine stereotypes, female governors and party leaders do not use emotional language at higher rates. Note, however, that the slope in figure 5.24 is steeper than than in figure 5.18, suggesting that party leaders and governors tend to use more positive language than presidential candidates.

## 5.4 Statistical Analysis

Using the Mann-Whitney-Wilcoxon test, I determined whether the feminine/masculine ratio distribution among leaders differs without assuming it to follow the normal distribution. The null hypothesis for the Mann-Whitney-Wilcoxon test states that feminine/masculine ratio is identical among Democrats and Republicans. With a value of  $W = 845,10$ ,  $p < .001$ , we can safely reject the null hypothesis that the feminine/masculine ratio distribution is the same for Democrats and Republicans. Using the same procedure, we can also determine whether the distribution differs among male and female politicians. With a value of  $W = 647,460$ ,  $p > .05$ , we *cannot* reject the null hypothesis that the feminine/masculine ratio distributions is the same for male and female politicians. This is also evidenced in figure 5.6 which displays more nuanced results from a set of generalized linear models.

The models in the table 5.6 display a main effect of gender on the feminine/masculine ratio, suggesting that female leaders do have a more feminine style. However, this effect is qualified both by party and by role, evidenced by the significant interactions terms between gender and party, as well as gender, party, and presidential candidate. The interaction between gender and party suggests that Democratic women are significantly more likely to speak in a masculine way than Republican women. Yet this effect is further mediated

Table 5.6: Generalized Linear Model Results for the Feminine/Masculine Ratio

	Feminine/Masculine ratio	
	Leader Corpus	Individuals by Role
Intercept	1.506*** (0.058)	1.628*** (0.134)
Female	0.211*** (0.034)	0.188* (0.090)
Democrat	0.136*** (0.023)	-0.001 (0.056)
Age	0.007*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.002)
Candidate	0.323*** (0.024)	0.083 (0.065)
Governor	0.115*** (0.021)	0.013 (0.055)
Debate	-0.192*** (0.026)	-0.155** (0.052)
Female:Democrat	-0.362*** (0.041)	-0.256* (0.115)
Female:Candidate	-0.392*** (0.052)	-0.263* (0.131)
Democrat:Candidate	-0.364*** (0.035)	-0.170* (0.080)
Female:Democrat:Candidate	0.725*** (0.068)	0.582** (0.195)
N	2,484	179
Log Likelihood	-928.486	10.053
AIC	1,878.971	1.894

\*p < .05; \*\*p < .01; \*\*\*p < .001

Weighted mean for individuals by role

by role, suggesting that Democratic women take on a different, more feminine style when running for president. Again, however, it's important to note that this group only includes two candidates—Hillary Clinton and Geraldine Ferraro. This finding stands in stark contrast to Democratic presidential candidates overall who tend to favor a more masculine style, as evidenced by the interaction between party and the role of presidential candidate. This effect is thus driven by Democratic men, not women, running for president.

I find a main effect for party in the full leader corpus, but not for individual leaders according to their role. In the leader corpus, this suggests that Democrats are more likely to use a feminine style. In both models, I also find a significant main effect for age, suggesting that the older the leader is, the more likely they are to use a feminine style, as well as a significant main effect for presidential debate transcripts, suggesting that leaders are more likely to use masculine style during debates.

## 5.5 Discussion

In this chapter, I examined the gendered speaking styles among a broader sample of contemporary US political leaders—Congressional and party leaders, governors, and presidential candidates. I employed a quantitative textual analysis of 2,484 interview and debate transcripts sampled from both male and female leaders. My findings suggest that, in terms of gendered self-presentation, politically powerful women are more likely to use a masculine style of communication, particularly when compared to the wives of presidential candidates, and overall are little different, but more strategic than politically powerful men.

In particular, Democratic women serving as governors and other leadership positions are significantly more likely than other leaders to present a masculine communication style. This may reflect a strategy among female Democratic leaders to counteract the feminine

stereotypes attributed to the Democratic Party when serving in a powerful position. It may also be a reflection of their increased power. In contrast, female Republican governors are more likely to use a feminine style, which goes against partisan stereotypes, and aligns with gender stereotypes. Interestingly however, these strategies are reversed when considering the self-presentation of women running for president. In presidential campaigns, Democratic women are significantly more likely to use a feminine self-presentation than Republican women. This suggests that Democratic women conform to partisan and gender stereotypes, whereas Republican women are more likely to conform to partisan, but not gender stereotypes when running for president. Together, these results indicate that partisanship may be more influential than gender in shaping the self-presentation of female presidential candidates.

Changes in the self-presentation of male leaders are much less volatile than with female leaders, and this is particularly true for Republican men. As party leaders, Democratic men are significantly more likely to use a feminine style of communication than either their female or Republican counterparts, which aligns with partisan stereotypes. Yet as governors, Republican and Democratic men are mirror images. Republicans are slightly more masculine in their self-presentation as party leaders, but are not significantly different from female Democratic party leaders. Overall, these findings are consistent with public perceptions that view the Republican Party as masculine and more competent at dealing with “masculine issues” like foreign policy, and the Democratic Party as feminine and more competent at dealing with “feminine issues” like education and healthcare (Hayes 2011; Winter 2010). As with the case of female leaders, the self-presentation of male leaders tends to diverge most during presidential campaigns. As presidential candidates, Democratic men have a significantly more masculine self-presentation, thereby conforming to gender, but not partisan stereotypes. In contrast, Republican men are more likely to use a feminine style when running for president, and thereby counter both gender and partisan stereotypes. This might reflect an enduring strategy of “compassionate conservatism,” openly adopted by George W. Bush in his 2000 presidential campaign, which persists within Republican’s messaging strategy.

This chapter presents only one type of analysis on a rich, multi-dimensional corpus of data, and further analysis is a promising endeavor for future research. The Appendix contains additional statistical tables as well as an exploratory factor analysis, which illustrates one potentially insightful avenue for continued research on the leader corpus. There are also a number of important limitations to this analysis. One limiting factor is the rigidity by which I coded “candidates” to mean only presidential candidates. Thus, the current analysis does not take into account the language of governors and elected party officials while they were campaigning for their eventual position. This would be an easy and perhaps illuminating modification to the current coding scheme, particularly since it appears that Republican women tend to favor a masculine style during campaigns and a feminine once in a leadership role. Furthermore, this study still suffers the “too-few-N” problem particularly when dividing female leaders into their respective roles and partisan camps. While there have been several other women in political leadership, interview transcripts with these leaders are scarce. Thus, my sample is biased toward political leaders who appear in media interviews and/or debates. Such limitations impress the importance of continuing this research as more women enter positions of power in US politics.

## Chapter 6

# Implicit Gender Cues in Candidate Communication

By examining the gendered communication patterns by US political leaders over time, I found reasonable evidence to suggest that female leaders tend to conform to masculine linguistic norms as they seek power in a male-dominated political system. However, given the subtlety of these linguistic features, it is unclear whether individuals, particularly voters, have clear impressions of the ways men and women tend to structure language. Do individuals have implicit knowledge of feminine and masculine communication styles? Do they reliably associate masculine styles with the Republican party and feminine styles with the Democratic party? It is also unclear if gendered communication styles impact perceptions of political figures. Do individuals perceive male and female candidates differently if they conform to or deviate from gender specific language norms?

To resolve these questions, I conducted two studies measuring the perceived difference and the potential effect of gendered communication styles. My objectives were to determine (1) if individuals reliably associate gendered linguistic styles with a politician's gender and/or

party, and (2) the extent that gender-linked language matters for male and female candidate evaluations.

Study 1 investigated whether gendered linguistic patterns in a candidate's campaign statement acts as implicit gender and/or party cues by asking participants to guess the gender and partisan affiliation of the statement's author. Results show that participants overwhelmingly associated masculine statements with male candidates and, to a lesser degree, feminine statements with female candidates. Participants also showed strong associations between masculine statements and the Republican party and between feminine statements and the Democratic party, lending support to Hayes (2011) and Winter (2010).

Study 2 presents a twist on the classic Goldberg experiment where the gender of a set of fictitious candidates was randomly assigned between groups, leaving all else equal. I tested whether participants rated candidates differently on warmth and competence dimensions depending on whether the candidate's statement was written with a feminine or masculine linguistic style. Results show that participants rated candidates with feminine statements higher on warmth regardless of the candidate's gender, but do not show that competence ratings were significantly affected by candidate gender or statement style, lending support to recent work by Brooks (2013) and Hayes (2011). Such findings have a number of important implications for public perceptions and expectations of candidates running for office, for the interactions between party and gender stereotypes, and for candidate communication strategies.

## 6.1 Research Design and Candidate Statement Styles

In both studies, participants were asked to read eight randomly ordered, fictitious candidate statements that ranged from 150 to 200 words in length. In all scenarios, participants



were told that statements came from candidates running for the US Senate. Half of the statements were exemplars of a masculine linguistic style and the other half were exemplars of a feminine linguistic style. “Masculine” and “feminine” statements are defined according to findings discussed in Pennebaker (2011), Schwartz et al. (2013) and Newman et al. (2008). The text of each candidate statement is available in the Appendix.

To construct the candidate statements, I first collected a convenience sample of candidate statements from state voter information guides for states that made archived guides available for elections prior and up to 2012. I then computed the ratio of feminine to masculine words in each statement and retained those that showed the clearest masculine or feminine patterns. I edited the statements to be vague in terms of ideology and partisanship and to remove any identifying information (e.g., references to people by name, state-specific locations, etc.). I also edited statements so that there was, linguistically, a clear contrast between the feminine and masculine statements. The feminine/masculine ratio ranged from 1.73–2.41 for feminine statements and 0.74–0.94 for masculine statements.

All statements were written from a “Washington outsider” non-incumbent perspective. Although vague, statements were written with a broad theme where policy positions tend to be all-encompassing (e.g., growing small businesses, fighting the corrupting influence of special interests). Two statements (one masculine and one feminine) focused on: (1) the economy and jobs, (2) special interests and government accountability, (3) experience, effective leadership abilities, and practical problem-solving, and (4) trust in government and opportunities for future generations. Finally, all participants were asked to complete a demographic profile questionnaire and respond to Swim’s (1995) Modern Sexism questionnaire.

## 6.2 Study 1

Study 1 explored whether individuals have implicit knowledge of gendered linguistic styles by measuring how often study participants matched feminine candidate statements with female candidates and masculine candidate statements with male candidates. Similarly, study 1 explored whether gendered linguistic styles act as partisan cues by measuring how often study participants associated feminine candidate statements with a Democratic candidate and masculine candidate statements with a Republican candidate.

Although this was an exploratory study, I expected participants to associate feminine candidate statements with female candidates and masculine candidate statements with male candidates (H1). I also expected participants to associate feminine statements with the Democratic party and masculine statements with the Republican party (H2). This is consistent with research that suggests voters view the Republican party as masculine, and the Democratic Party as feminine (Hayes 2011; Winter 2010).

### 6.2.1 Procedure

In study 1, participants were asked to identify, to the best of their ability, the gender and partisanship of the candidate whose candidate statement was given on the page. Participants encountered a randomly presented candidate statement and were required to stay on this page for 30 seconds before moving onto the next page. The next page repeated the candidate statement and asked participants to respond to two questions with two response choices for each: (1) Was the author of the candidate statement most likely written by a male or female candidate?; (2) Was the author of the candidate statement most likely written by a Republican or Democrat? Participants repeated these steps in this format for the remaining

seven candidate statements. Finally, all participants were asked to complete a demographic profile questionnaire and responded to Swim’s (1995) Modern Sexism questionnaire.

## 6.2.2 Participants

A notice inviting participation to “identify the author of short political statements” was posted to Mechanical Turk, Amazon’s online marketplace for human intelligence tasks. Participants were offered a small financial incentive to participate. By using MTurk’s screening process, participation was limited to individuals with an IP addresses in the United States who were at least 18 years old and who speak English. In study 1, 448 (221 women) MTurk respondents consented to and completed the survey. All incomplete surveys were removed from the analysis.

The modal age group of participants was 25–34. Nearly 40 percent of participants live in the South<sup>1</sup> and 36 percent identified as Democrats, 24 percent as Republicans, 28 percent Independents and the rest identified with another party or did not know. 84 percent said they were registered to vote and 73 percent reported voting in the 2012 presidential election.

## 6.2.3 Study 1 Results

I tested whether the proportion of participants selecting “female candidate” for feminine statements and “male candidate” for masculine statements differed significantly from random chance. Seen in figure 6.1, for the masculine statements, 77 percent of participants identified the author as a male candidate versus 23 percent who identified a female candidate, which is significantly different ( $\chi^2 (1) = 503.63, p < .001$ ).

---

1. “The South,” as defined by the Census, includes AL, AR, DE, D.C., FL, GA, KY, LA, MD, MS, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX, VA, WV

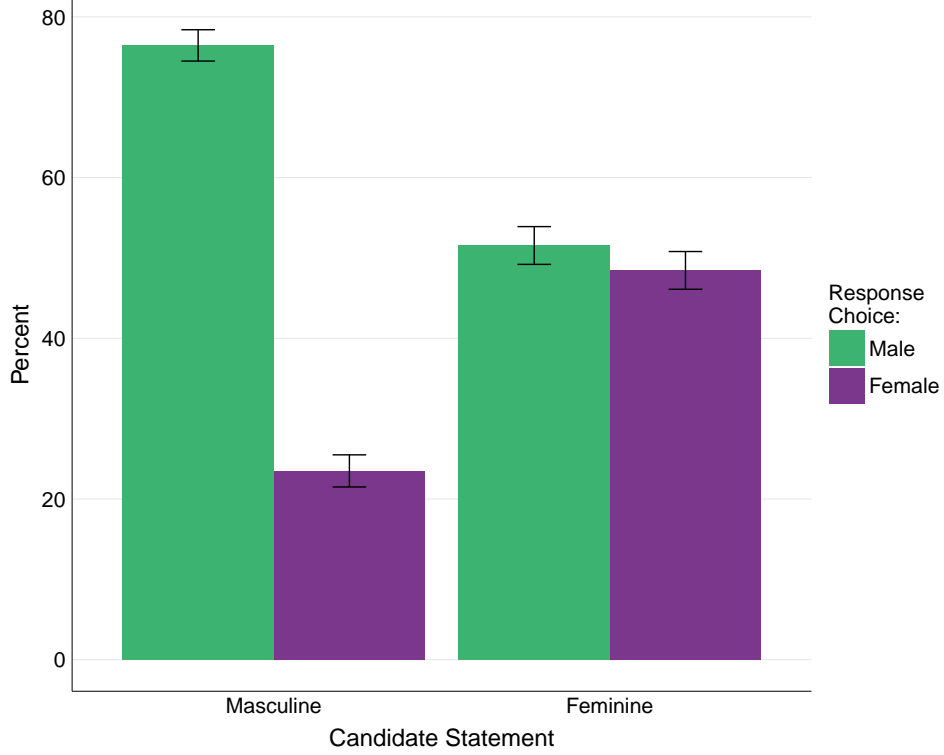


Figure 6.1: Overall Association Between Gender and Candidate Statement Style (N=448)  
*Note: Error bars represent 95% confidence limits*

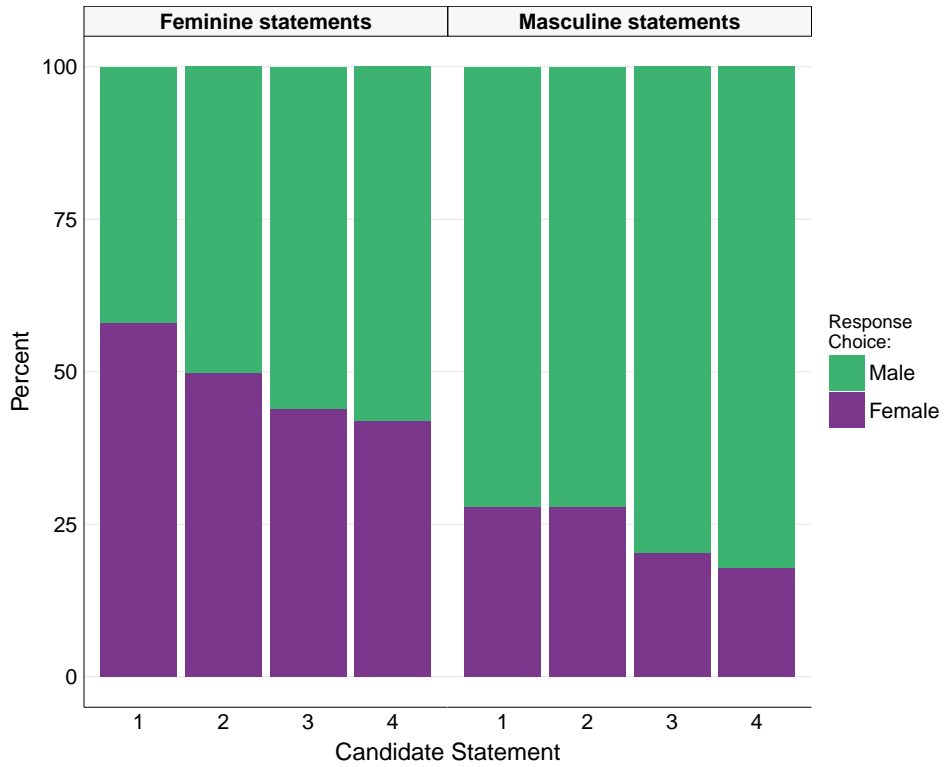


Figure 6.2: Gender Identifications by Candidate Statement

As seen in figure 6.2, there was some variation among the individual statements, however the general trend was true for all masculine statements. For the four feminine statements, 48 percent of participants identified the statement author as a female candidate, whereas 52 percent identified a male candidate. This finding is not significantly different from chance. Considering each feminine statement separately, on only one statement was the author’s gender more likely to be identified as a female candidate (58 percent), and this is significantly different ( $\chi^2 (1) = 11.57, p <.001$ ). For the remaining three feminine statements, participants identified the author as a female between 42 and 50 percent of the time, as evidenced in figure 6.2. Limiting the study to instances where participants identified a female candidate, 67 percent were for feminine statements versus 33 percent for masculine statements, which is significantly different from chance ( $\chi^2 (1) = 155.01, p <.001$ ).

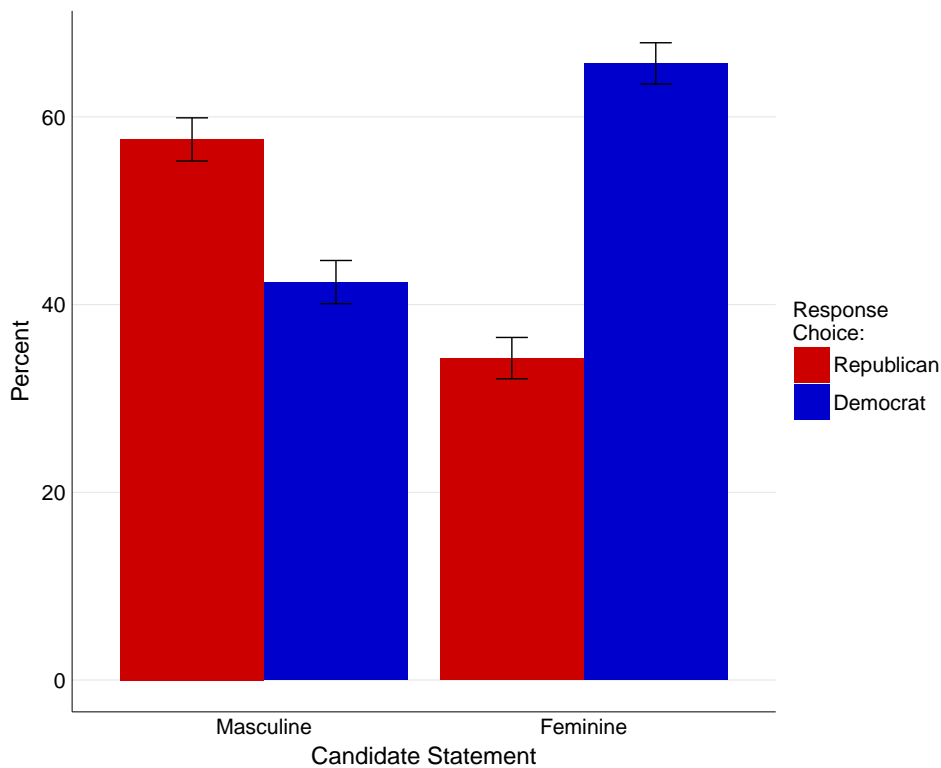


Figure 6.3: Overall Association Between Party and Candidate Statement Style (N=448)  
*Note: Error bars represent 95% confidence limits*

For the masculine statements in figure 6.3, 58 percent of participants identified the author as a Republican versus 42 percent who identified a Democrat ( $\chi^2 (1) = 41.9, p < .001$ ).

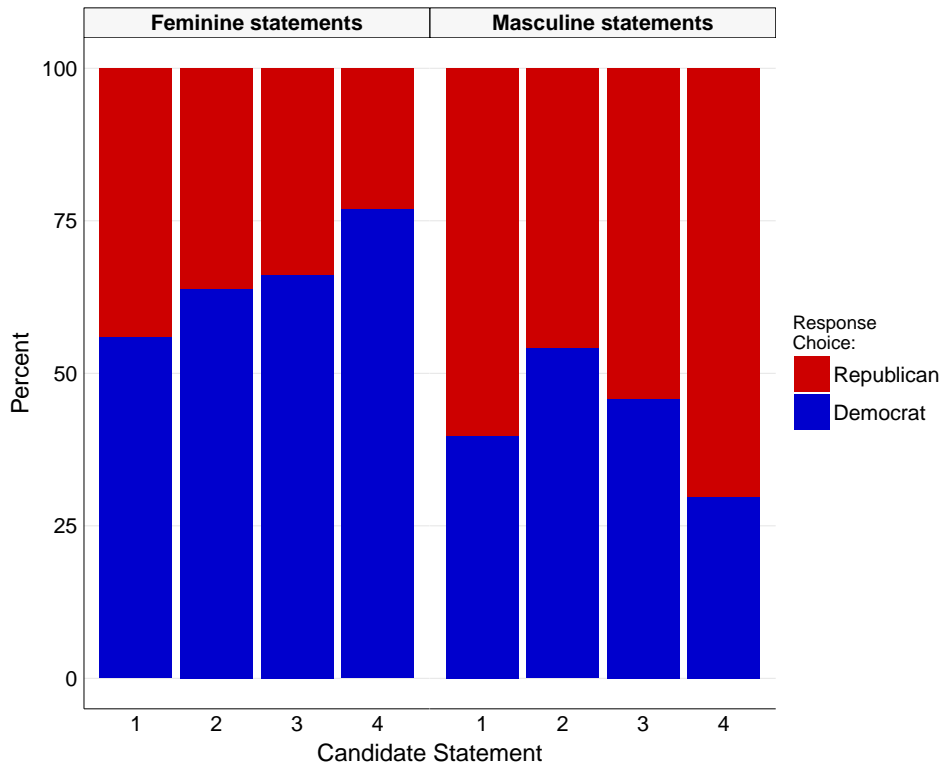


Figure 6.4: Party Identifications by Candidate Statement

Considering each masculine statement separately, figure 6.4 shows the general trend is true for all but one statement in which 54 percent identified the author as a Democrat (*ns*). For the four feminine statements, 66 percent of participants identified the author as a Democrat versus 34 percent who identified a Republican, which is significantly different from chance ( $\chi^2 (1) = 177.51, p < .001$ ).

## 6.2.4 Discussion

Based on this analysis, I find clear support for the expectation that individuals are more likely to associate feminine styles with the Democratic party and masculine styles with the

Republican party (H2). I find partial support for the expectation that individuals have an intuitive sense about what constitutes feminine and masculine language (H1). In support, I find a clear and strong association between masculine language and male candidates. Evidence of an association between feminine language and female candidates is not so conclusive, however. When participants identified a female candidate as the author of the statement, the chance that it was a feminine statement was significantly higher. Figure 6.2 shows marked difference between selecting a female candidate for feminine statements and doing so for masculine statements. This lends some support for H1, but more fine-grain analysis and/or future iterations of this survey must be conducted before we can be confident of these results. Considering the findings for the masculine statements, there may be another explanation that accounts for why feminine statements were not associated with female candidates as often as masculine statements were with male candidates. I suspect participants regarded the “default” response to be a male candidate. After all, although female politicians are becoming more visible in the political arena, women still represent less than a quarter of all statewide and national political offices. Thus, selecting male as the default would not be an unreasonable strategy. It would actually be quite rational.

This study has a number of limitations. Individuals who reported feedback on the survey during initial testing (and some unsolicited feedback from MTurk workers who participated) complained that it was frustrating and “hopeless” to try to determine the candidate’s gender or party especially because there were no reliable party cues, and several felt they were “picking at random.” The statistical analysis suggests otherwise. Fortunately, the average time to complete this survey was about eight minutes, so I do not think this frustration caused significant participant fatigue. However, a major drawback to this study was the failure to include a question asking participants directly for this feedback, which could have provided valuable insight into the strategies, if any, participants used to identify the statements. A similar improvement would be to include a question asking participants

to indicate their level of confidence in the identifications they made. Such feedback could provide support for the case that gendered language acts as an implicit cue.

## 6.3 Study 2

Results from study 1 provide reasonable evidence that individuals have a sense of gender-linked linguistic styles. Building from Winter (2010, 2008), if the style by which a candidate communicates implicitly invokes gender (or party affiliation) as a cue, then it should succeed in activating a conceptual lens by which individuals will view and form an opinion about the candidate. Thus, study 2 focused on the potential consequences of gender-linked language use for candidate perception. Do individuals perceive male and female candidates differently depending on whether they conform to or deviate from gender-linked language? Specifically, study 2 was a mixed-factorial design in which the gender of a set of fictitious candidates was randomly assigned between groups. Study 2 examined whether individuals perceived male (or female) candidates with a feminine linguistic style to be more (or less) competent and more (or less) warm than a male (or female) candidate with a masculine linguistic style.

Study 2 follows in the tradition of Philip Goldberg's classic 1968 experiment, which had participants evaluate written essays that were identical except for the attached male or female name. In doing so, he found that the female-named essays received significantly lower ratings than male-named essays unless the essay was on a feminine topic. Goldberg's research has been replicated by a number of studies and his experimental design has been usefully employed in studies examining a broad range of topics. For example, in a recent study by Moss-Racusin et al. (2012), male and female faculty members rated female applicants higher than male applicants on likability, but lower on competence and hireability. Building on this design, I consider how candidate gender interacts with the use of gender-conforming and non-conforming language cues.



In study 2 I was most interested in exploring whether gendered candidate statements reliably affected candidate perceptions and evaluations. However, given the well-developed literature in this area, I was able to formulate a few more directed hypotheses. As discussed in the previous section, men are presumed to be competent but to lack warmth, whereas women are presumed to be warm but to lack competence (Cuddy et al. 2009; Fiske et al. 2002; Glick et al. 2004). Thus, I expected female candidates with feminine statements to receive the highest overall ratings on the warmth dimensions but lowest on the competence dimension (H3), and I expected male candidates with masculine statements to receive the highest overall ratings on the competence dimension but lowest on the warmth dimension (H4). Relative to female candidates with feminine statements, I expected female candidates with masculine statements to receive higher ratings on the competence dimension, but lower ratings on the warmth dimension (H5), owing to the backlash effect many women confront when they act in ways that violate traditional gender stereotypes (Heilman et al. 2004; Rudman and Fairchild 2004; Rudman and Glick 1999). Relative to male candidates with masculine statements, I expected male candidates with feminine statements to receive higher ratings on the warmth dimension, with no effect on competence ratings (H6), given past research suggesting that when men act counter stereotypically they are perceived to be warmer and yet they maintain the same level of perceived competence (Cuddy, Fiske and Glick 2004). In addition, given research on social identities that suggest favorability toward in-group members, I also expected an interaction between candidate gender and participant gender, in which participants rate candidates of the same gender more highly than participants of the opposite gender (H7). Finally, on the candidate comparison questions, I expected participants across groups would select candidates with feminine statements more often on the warmth dimension (H8), and select candidates with masculine statements more often on the competence and vote choice questions (H9).

### 6.3.1 Procedure

In study 2, participants were randomly assigned to one of 3 groups: a female candidate, male candidate, or non-gendered control group. Thus, the experimental treatment between groups varied by whether participants responded to questions about candidates who were all male, all female, or not gender specific (control group). Within groups, participants rated four candidates with feminine-style statements and four candidates with masculine-style statements. In the female candidate group, all statements were labeled with a common first name for women, such as “Stephanie Taylor” or “Maria Green.” Similarly, in the male group, all statements were labeled with a common first name for men, such as “Stephen Taylor” or “Mark Green.” A non-gendered control group was included as a baseline check for the main effect of statement style, if present. In the control group, all statements were labeled with non-gendered names, for example, “Candidate B.”

Each participant completed four randomly presented question blocks, where each block contained one candidate with a feminine statement and one candidate with a masculine statement. Participants were first presented with the name of an individual running for US Senate along with their corresponding candidate statement (randomly ordered within each block). Similar to study 1, participants were required to stay on this page for 30 seconds before moving onto the next page, which repeated the candidate’s name and statement, and asked participants to rate each candidate on two two-item scales to assess perceived competence (competent, capable) and perceived warmth (sincere, trustworthy), based on previously used questions in Fiske et al. (2002). Warmth and competence ratings were recorded using a 5-point scale (1 = not at all to 5 = very). Participants were also asked to rate each candidate on the American National Election Survey (ANES) feeling thermometer, but on a modified 7-point scale (1 = very cold or unfavorable feeling to 7 = very warm or favorable feeling) due to the known problems associated with the 100-point feeling thermometer. The

next two pages repeated this format for a different candidate with a contrasting statement style.

After answering questions about two candidates, participants viewed the two candidate names and corresponding statements side-by-side. Participants were asked to compare the two candidates and select which one they thought was warmer, more competent, and that they would be more likely to vote for in an election. This process was repeated for the remaining three blocks (eight candidate statements total). Finally, all participants were asked to complete a demographic profile questionnaire and responded to Swim's (1995) Modern Sexism questionnaire.

### 6.3.2 Participants

A notice inviting participation to “rate political candidates” was posted to Mechanical Turk. Participants were offered a small financial incentive to participate. As in Study 1, participation was limited to individuals with an IP addresses in the United States who were at least 18 years old and who speak English. In study 2, 557 participants (285 women) consented to and completed the experiment.<sup>2</sup> Participants who did not complete the experiment were removed from the analysis. The modal age group of participants was 25-34. Similar to study 1, 40 percent of participants live in the South. Among participants, 41 percent identified as Democrats, 21 percent as Republicans, 27 percent as Independents and the rest identified with another party or did not know. 82 percent said they were registered to vote and 73 percent reported voting in the 2012 presidential election.

---

2. And provided reliable data, determined by the Mahalanobis distance for extreme outliers and Johnson's (2005) LongString index, which filtered out workers who clearly “clicked through” the questions.

### 6.3.3 Study 2 Results

#### Warmth and Feeling Thermometer Ratings

Figure 6.5 displays differences in warmth ratings for male, female and control candidates using a Tukey boxplot to illustrate the distribution of data based on the inter-quartile range of values. Outliers are plotted as points.

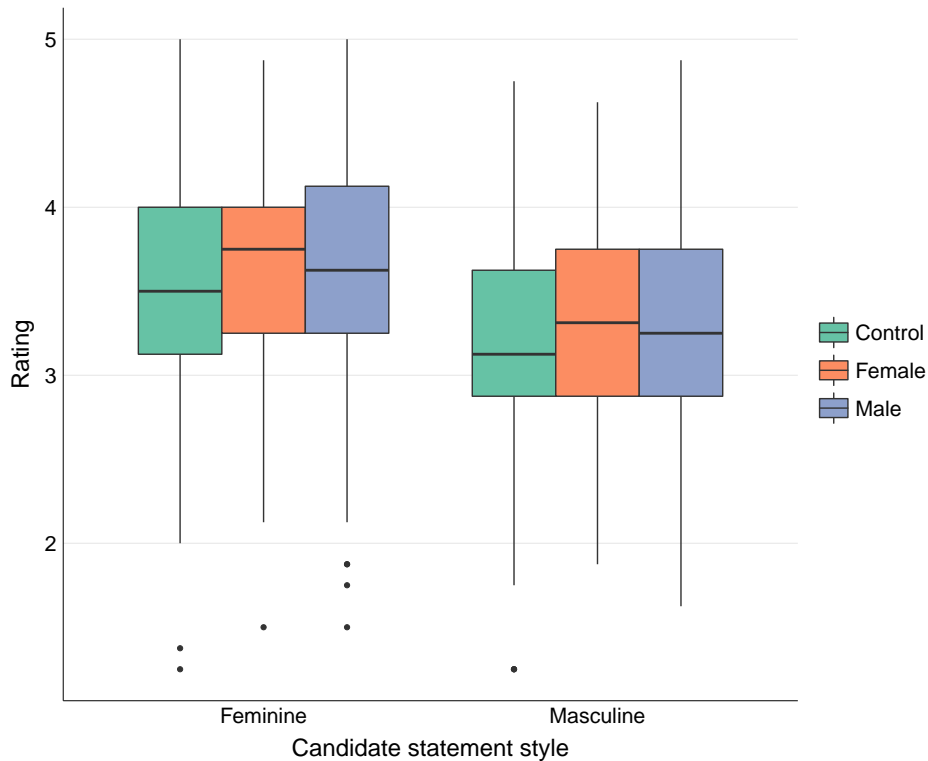


Figure 6.5: Candidate Warmth Ratings by Group

Figure 6.5 shows that female candidates with either statement style were rated somewhat higher than male and control candidates. As expected in H3, female candidates with feminine statements received the highest overall ratings on the warmth dimension ( $M = 3.63$ ). Non-gendered control candidates, rather than male candidates, fared worse on warmth ratings, which suggests that merely presenting the statements with a realistic name has a positive, and perhaps humanizing effect on perception. Comparing the gendered candidates only, male candidates with masculine statements received the lowest rating on the warmth

dimension ( $M = 3.26$ ), and therefore lend support to H4. Average values across groups are presented in table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Warmth Ratings by Group (N=557)

Statement Style	Group	M	SD
Feminine	Control	3.53	0.64
	Female	3.63	0.58
	Male	3.62	0.67
Masculine	Control	3.18	0.62
	Female	3.27	0.60
	Male	3.26	0.63

The most striking observation from the warmth ratings is not that participants gave different ratings based on candidate gender, but rather that participants across groups consistently rated feminine statements higher on warmth than masculine statements. This finding aligns with a number of other studies that find women and feminine traits in general are perceived to be warmer than men and masculine traits (Cuddy, Fiske and Glick 2004; Fiske et al. 2002; Rudman and Glick 1999). In addition, this finding lends support to H5 and H6, which relate to perceptions of counter-stereotypical behavior. Relative to their gender-consistent counterparts, female candidates with masculine statements received lower warmth ratings (H5) and male candidates with feminine statements received higher warmth ratings (H6).

To validate these observations, I performed a 3 (candidate gender) X 2 (statement style) X 2 (participant gender) analysis of variance (ANOVA), with candidate rating as the dependent variable. For warmth ratings, I found a significant main effect for both statement style,  $F(1,556) = 245.6$ ,  $p < .001$  and participant gender  $F(1, 553) = 3.53$ ,  $p < .03$ , but found no effect for candidate gender. Participant gender is significant primarily because female participants tended to give higher ratings overall, regardless of candidate gender or statement style. This is not only true for warmth ratings, but for feeling thermometer and competence ratings as well.

Findings on warmth ratings are further supported by ratings on the feeling thermometer question, which is an alternative way to measure perceptions on the warmth domain, illustrated in figure 6.6.

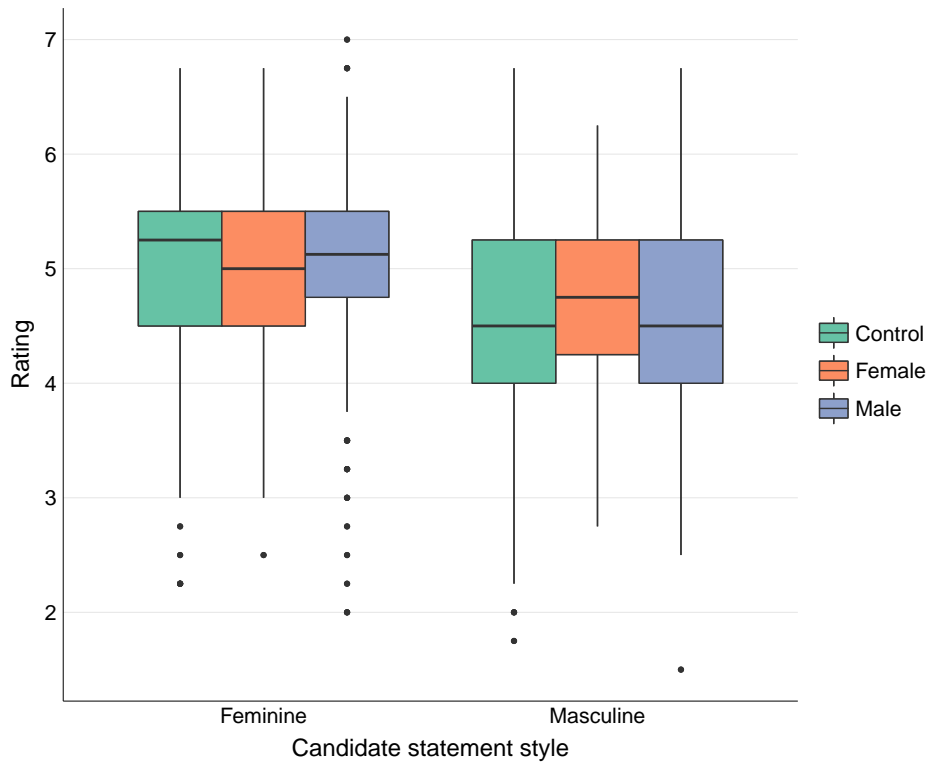


Figure 6.6: Feeling Thermometer Ratings by Group (N=557)

The seven-point scale allowed for greater variation, but the same pattern found on the warmth dimension holds true for feeling thermometer ratings. Seen in figure 6.6, regardless of candidate gender, participants gave higher ratings on the feeling thermometer to candidates with feminine statements over those with masculine statements. Among masculine statements, female candidates received the highest feeling thermometer ratings, while control candidates received the lowest ratings. Likewise among feminine statements, female candidates received the highest feeling thermometer ratings. Ratings improved most for male candidates with a feminine style. I again found a significant main effect for both statement style,  $F(1,556) = 129, p < .001$  and participant gender  $F(1, 553) = 10.43, p < .002$ , but found no effect for candidate gender.

On warmth ratings I found a significant interaction between statement style and participant gender,  $F(1, 551) = 20.8, p < .001$  as well as candidate gender and participant gender  $F(2, 556) = 73.71, p < .03$ . These interactions are displayed in figure 6.7.

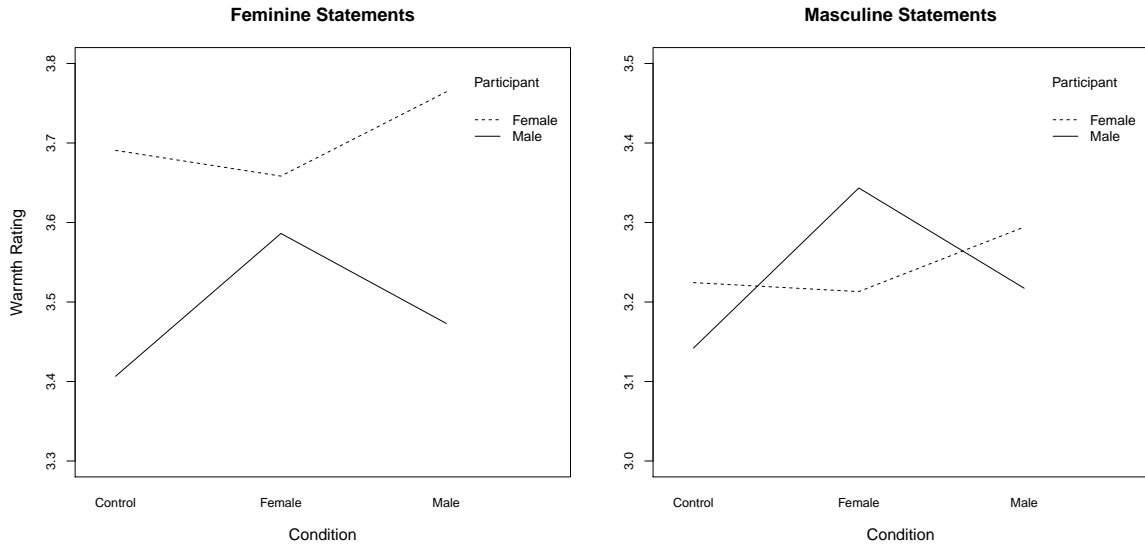


Figure 6.7: Interaction Between Participant Gender and Statement Style on Warmth Ratings

Here, I find that the two gendered groups are the primary drivers of the interactions. Male participants tended to rate female candidates with feminine statements higher on warmth than male participants in the male or control candidate groups. This observation is reversed for female participants. Female participants rated male candidates with feminine statements higher on warmth than female candidates with feminine statements. The interaction between candidate and participant gender is even more apparent for ratings on the masculine statements. Here, male participants tended to rate female candidates with masculine statements higher on warmth than participants in the male or control candidate groups. Moreover, male participants rated female candidates higher on warmth ratings than did female participants, despite that female participants gave higher ratings overall. This suggests that ratings by female participants are more clearly impacted by the differences in statement style. Finally, female participants rated male candidates with masculine state-

ments higher on warmth than those in the female candidate group. Such findings are all contrary to expectations of in-group favorability (H7).<sup>3</sup>

## Competence Ratings

As seen in figure 6.8, I found little difference in competence ratings across groups and statement styles.

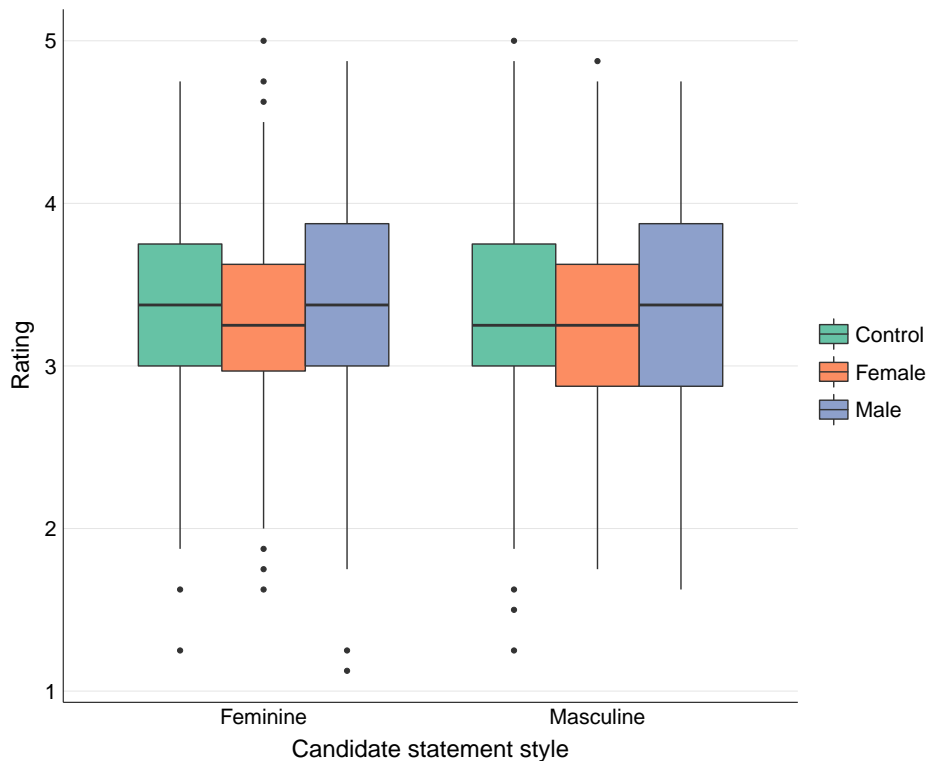


Figure 6.8: Competence Ratings by Group

Female candidates with either statement style were rated slightly lower than male and control candidates with either statement style. Male candidates received the highest competence rating, but this did not significantly differ from the average competence rating of female candidates. Seen in table 6.2, female candidates received marginally higher competence ratings when using a masculine ( $M = 3.27$ ) rather than feminine ( $M = 3.26$ ) style,

---

3. See the Appendix for similar findings on the interaction between statement style, participant gender and feeling thermometer ratings.



but this difference is likely due to chance. For this reason, I find only partial support for the expectation that female candidates with masculine statements would receive higher ratings on the competence dimension, but lower ratings on the warmth dimension (H5). For competence ratings, neither statement style nor candidate gender had a significant main effect, but the main effect of participant gender was significant,  $F(1, 553) = 15.03, p < .001$ . However, a null effect on competence ratings for male candidates supports H6 and prior research that suggests men do not face backlash when they violate gender norms (Cuddy et al. 2004).

Table 6.2: Competence Ratings by Group (N=557)

Statement Style	Group	M	SD
Feminine	Control	3.31	0.60
	Female	3.26	0.60
	Male	3.38	0.69
Masculine	Control	3.31	0.65
	Female	3.27	0.62
	Male	3.35	0.65

Although I did not find that participant gender significantly interacted with either statement style or candidate gender, some noteworthy observations are illustrated in figure 6.9.

Regardless of statement style, female participants rated female candidates slightly lower on competence ( $M = 3.31$ ) than did female participants who rated male ( $M = 3.46$ ) or control candidates ( $M = 3.44$ ). Female participants gave the highest competence ratings to male candidates with feminine statements ( $M = 3.50$ ). Although male participant ratings were lower than female participant ratings in absolute terms, male participant ratings did not differ by candidate gender. This suggests male participants were less affected, and perhaps less biased, by the candidate's gender than were female participants. Since female participants rated male and control candidates similarly, female participants appear to be slightly biased toward female candidates based on gender. Nevertheless, this is only an observation; it is not statistically significant and may very well be the result of random chance. Together with

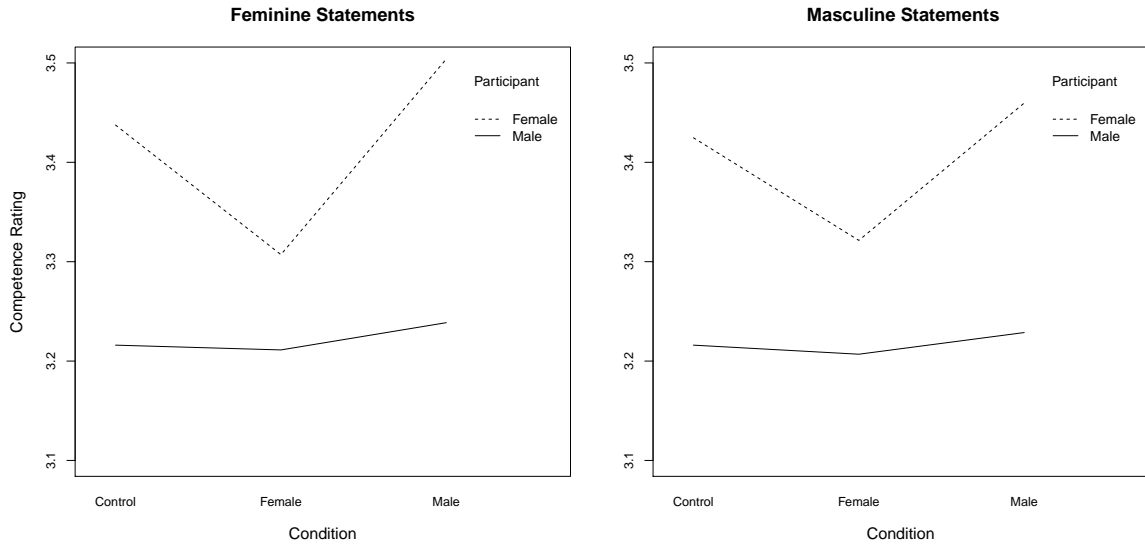


Figure 6.9: Interaction Between Participant Gender and Statement Style on Competence Ratings

the interaction effects for warmth ratings, the expectation of in-group favorability (H7) is disputed on all levels.

### Candidate Comparisons

Results for the candidate comparison questions reinforce the finding that, in general, participants preferred candidates with feminine statements regardless of the candidate’s gender. These results are described in table 6.3.

Table 6.3 shows very little difference in participant comparisons between groups—none are significant. Across groups, candidates with feminine statements were selected far more often on the warmth comparison questions (“Which candidate is more ... likable/trustworthy”). Participants were also more likely to vote for candidates with feminine statements in all groups, with a slight advantage for male candidates with a feminine style (61 percent compared to 57 percent in the female candidate group and 58 percent in the control group). The only question where participants were split was “Which candidate is more

Table 6.3: Comparisons Between Candidates with Contrasting Statement Styles By Group (% , N=557)

	Group	Masculine	Feminine
More likeable			
	Control	33.43	66.57
	Female	33.85	66.15
	Male	33.15	66.85
More trustworthy			
	Control	37.29	62.71
	Female	35.55	64.45
	Male	35.46	64.54
More Competent			
	Control	49.17	50.83
	Female	52.34	47.66
	Male	48.78	51.22
Vote Preference			
	Control	41.99	58.01
	Female	42.71	57.29
	Male	39.27	60.73

competent?” Here we see some variation between groups, with participants in the male and control groups selecting candidates with a masculine statement about 49 percent of the time and participants in the female candidate group selecting candidates with a masculine statement about 52 percent of the time.

Table 6.4: Combined Comparisons Between Candidates with Contrasting Statement Styles (% N=557)

	Masculine	Feminine	Chi-squared
More Competent	50.1	49.9	.899
More Likeable	33.5	66.5	243.13***
More Trustworthy	36.1	63.9	172.53***
Vote Preference	41.3	58.7	66.97***

Collapsing across groups, table 6.4 demonstrates that 67 percent of all participants rated candidates with feminine statements to be more likable than those with a masculine statement, which is significantly different from chance ( $\chi^2 (1) = 243.13, p < .001$ ). Similarly 64 percent of all participants rated candidates with feminine statements to be more trustworthy than those with a masculine statement, and again this is significantly different ( $\chi^2$

(1) = 172.53,  $p < .001$ ). This finding confirms the expectation that candidates with feminine statements would be favored on the warmth dimension (H8). However, there is no significant difference in overall competence ratings. Against expectations, voting preferences also tended to favor candidates with a feminine statement (59 percent), which is significantly different from chance ( $\chi^2(1) = 66.97, p < .001$ ). These findings do not lend support to the expectation that candidates with masculine statements would be favored on the competence and vote choice questions (H9).

### 6.3.4 Discussion

Findings and observations from study 2 suggest that statement style indeed had an effect on perceptions of political candidates. Gendered statement styles had a clear effect on perceived warmth, but not on perceived competence. Surprisingly, gender did not significantly affect competence ratings either. Although there is observational evidence that female candidates with feminine statements were perceived as less competent, unlike the resume studies (e.g. Moss-Racusin et al. 2012), female candidates were not rated as significantly less competent than male candidates or female candidates with masculine statements. Thus, study 2 does not suggest that female candidates are better off when they used a masculine style. In fact, all candidates—regardless of gender—tended to be warmer and more electable when using a feminine style. It does appear, however, that male candidates gained the most when using a feminine style. They are perceived to be just as competent, but warmer.

Candidates strive to win elections, but they have little, if any, control over economic indicators, incumbency, geographic partisan sorting, and other major factors that drive voting decisions. How they present themselves in the political arena and how they frame salient issues of the day, however, are things they can control. Women, more often than men, take time to painstakingly deliberate the costs and benefits of running for office. For many

women, perceptions of a hostile and unfair electoral arena preclude them from running at all (Lawless and Fox 2010). Yet the findings from this study offer a sliver of hope for women considering a run for public office. They may find relief and encouragement knowing that they do not have to talk like men to be considered competent and electable.

While such findings are promising, the results of this study are tentative and must be replicated in order to assert any firm conclusions about gendered styles of communication. There are several limitations with this experiment. First, I did not include issue area as a variable in my analysis, which may interact with candidate gender and/or statement style to affect competence ratings, as suggested by Strach et al. (2015). Although I designed the candidate statements so they reflected broad themes, I did not design them carefully enough to test whether issue area might moderate perceptions of the candidates and their associated statement styles. Design improvements should, at the very least, allow researchers to control for issue area as a variable in each candidate statement. In addition, future iterations of this study should improve on the experimental design by reducing the variability between masculine and feminine statements, leveraging the use of interchangeable linguistic structures (such as pronouns and articles), and isolating the effect of particular linguistic structures. Such work could have a number of important implications for understanding public perceptions and expectations of political candidates, the interaction between party and gender stereotypes, as well as for candidate communication strategies.

# Chapter 7

## Conclusion

I wear heels and it's not for a fashion statement. It's ammunition.

—South Carolina Governor Nikki Haley, *The Colbert Report*, April 3, 2012.

Presenting herself as both feminine and masculine, Governor Nikki Haley navigates the gendered landscape of US politics with great skill. Like Haley, successful female leaders recognize the importance of cultivating an appropriate and effective self-presentation that reconciles their feminine qualities with the masculine qualities associated with leadership. Women, by virtue of their femininity, are not assumed to be competent and tough enough to be political leaders, and yet, women who eschew their femininity in order to appear tough enough for the job, do so at the expense of their likability and appeal to voters. This dilemma is a major obstacle frequently cited by women who are well-qualified to serve in public office, but express little interest in running (Lawless and Fox 2010). Women are more likely than men to perceive a hostile, negative, and biased political climate and are less likely to consider themselves “qualified” to run for office (*Ibid*).

The potent social and psychological barriers that women in politics must overcome raise important questions about the expectations we place on political leaders and the perceptions that women hold about their own ability to succeed in the political arena. How do women position themselves for success in a male-dominated profession? How do they reconcile the masculine expectations associated with political leadership? What strategies do they use to navigate through the political labyrinth?

In light of these questions, this research set out to understand the tension confronted by women pursuing power within a male-dominated political arena. From Aristotle to Freud to Robin and George Lakoff, scholars have long recognized that we reveal a lot about ourselves not only by what we say, but more importantly, by how we say it. I argue that language reflects identity and that the way language is structured—linguistic style—reveals how leaders organize and orient themselves within the political arena. Linguistic style thus provides a wealth of insight into the self-presentation of those who pursue political power and, crucially, into the ways women compete for power in a male-dominated profession. Specifically, I asked, do women have to talk like men to be successful in politics?

### **7.0.1 Summary of Findings and Contributions to Prior Research**

If women believe they have a right and duty in political life today, they must learn to talk the language of men. They must not only master the phraseology, but also understand the machinery which men have built up through years of practical experience. Against the men bosses there must be women bosses who can talk as equals . . . The important thing is the choosing of leaders.

—Eleanor Roosevelt, *Red Book Magazine*, 1928.

As Eleanor Roosevelt suggested nearly a century ago, women aspiring toward political leadership are often urged to adopt masculine styles of speaking to get their points across

and make their voices heard. In this project, I investigate whether contemporary female political leaders have adopted such strategies and whether gendered communication styles affect public evaluations of leaders' competence and likability.

Beginning with a prominent case study, chapter 4 examined whether Hillary Clinton talked more “like a man” the more her political power grew. I analyzed the gendered linguistic patterns in 567 of Clinton’s interview and debate transcripts between 1992–2013 and found that as Clinton transitioned from first lady to US senator to secretary of state, she spoke in an increasingly masculine way. In talking more “like a man,” Clinton conformed to prominent gender norms in American politics (Duerst-Lahti and Kelly 1995; Rhode and Kellerman 2007; Dittmar 2015). To follow up on these findings, chapter 5 examined the communication styles from a broader sample of male and female political leaders—congressional and party leaders, governors, and presidential candidates. In a computational text analysis of 2,484 interview and debate transcripts featuring 126 unique political leaders, I found that politically powerful women were more likely to use a masculine style of communication, particularly when compared to the wives of presidential candidates. The gendered self-presentation of female leaders was little different, but more strategic than politically powerful men. This suggests that Hillary Clinton is not a particularly unique case. Such findings align with Pearson and McGhee (2013) who find that women are more strategic than men when timing their entry into congressional races, as well as research into the gendered campaign strategies and messages adopted by female party leaders and candidates for office (Sanbonmatsu 2002; Bystrom et al. 2004; Banwart and McKinney 2005; Dittmar 2015).

Despite this, the self-presentation of female leaders seems to be more impacted by the *interplay* of gender and party stereotypes. As candidates, Democratic and Republican women present themselves in ways that align with party stereotypes, but once in positions of leadership, Republican and Democratic women reverse strategies, and present themselves in ways that *defy* party stereotypes. Thus, once in a leadership position, Democratic women convey



a masculine self-presentation while Republican women convey a feminine self-presentation. Paradoxically, party stereotypes still appear to drive this shift in strategy. In leadership positions, Democratic stereotypes may work against the self-presentation that Democratic women wish to convey—one of competence and toughness—and this could explain why they shift toward a masculine self-presentation. For Republican women, party stereotypes may sufficiently affirm their masculine leadership credentials and consequently, are less pressured to present themselves in a masculine way. This suggests that the self-presentational strategies for attaining and maintaining power are not the same for Republican and Democratic women. In contrast, I found that male leaders do not significantly alter their self-presentation when transitioning into different roles. Among male leaders, Democrats and Republicans tend to speak in ways that are consistent with party stereotypes. These findings thus support work into the gendered perceptions of political parties, which associates the Republican party with masculinity and the Democratic party with femininity (Hayes 2011; Winter 2010). Such findings reinforce the argument that party identification outweighs gender when explaining the behavior of both politicians and partisan voters (see, e.g., Dolan 2014; Hayes 2011; Dolan 2008). Perhaps more importantly, however, these findings support an emerging argument that the interaction between party and gender stereotypes is more insightful than considering either factor in isolation, as Dolan (2014) also argues.

Chapter 6 presents results on two exploratory studies designed to measure the perceived difference and the potential effect of gendered communication styles. First, I investigated whether gendered linguistic patterns cue associations of gender and partisan affiliation by measuring how often participants identified the candidate's gender and party in a manner consistent with gendered linguistic norms and with gendered perceptions of Democratic and Republican party. My findings show that individuals overwhelmingly associated masculine statements with male candidates and, to a lesser degree, feminine statements with female candidates. Thus, participants appeared to have some implicit knowledge of gendered communication styles but, in the context of a campaign study, male candidates tended to be

the default choice. Moreover, participants showed clear associations between feminine statements and the Democratic party, and masculine statements and the Republican party, which support stereotypes linking gender and partisanship evident in the work of Hayes (2011) and Winter (2010).

Second, I explored whether individuals perceive male and female candidates differently depending on whether they conform to or deviate from gender-linked language by randomizing candidate gender and measuring evaluations of candidates with gender-conforming and non-conforming statements. I found a significant difference in participant evaluations of candidates depending on the gendered style of communication used in their candidate statement. Participants rated candidates with a feminine statement to be significantly more warm than candidates with a masculine statement, regardless of candidate gender. Such perceptions seemed to have an overall positive effect since participants were also more likely to vote for candidates with feminine statements. I found very little difference, particularly on competence ratings, across male, female, and control candidate groups, which supports work by Brooks (2013), Dolan (2014), and Hayes and Lawless (2015).

Together this research lends important insight into the perceptions of gendered communication in the political arena and contributes to the challenging, yet important task of unveiling the power of identity for political perception. My findings suggest that female politicians broadly conform to masculine styles of communication, but that partisan stereotypes encourage a different, and sometimes conflicting, self-presentation. As interlopers to the political arena, women may be particularly perceptive to the behavioral and linguistic cues communicated by others and thus be more inclined to adapt to expected norms of behavior. These practices may, in turn, reproduce styles of communication that reinforce gendered divisions of power and authority. It raises the question, why would a woman want to run for office if she has to act like someone she's not? My experimental findings, however, paint a different and more encouraging story that suggests female candidates do not have

to talk like men to be considered competent and electable. Such insight may be useful for women and members of other marginalized groups who seek to raise the volume of their voice in politics.

## **Methodological Contributions**

Gender, self-presentation, communication and social perception are all key areas of research in political psychology, yet they can be challenging concepts to study. This dissertation combined quantitative analyses of qualitative data with survey and experimental approaches to better understand the strategic considerations of political leaders in the United States. Instead of performing a traditional content analysis, which employs human coding over a smaller sample of text, I used a computational approach for analyzing a large sample of text in order to measure differences in the gendered self-presentation of political leaders. I thus employed a data-driven approach into the double bind dilemma, which adds a deeper understanding of the strategies women use to successfully navigate a path toward leadership.

In political science, research on language and communication disproportionately focuses on thematic content—on *what* is said—and often fails to consider more formal aspects of language—*how* it is said. In general, research on strategic political communication tends to emphasize content over style. My approach reevaluates this logic by examining elements of communication that are, for the most part, hidden from view. Function words constitute the vast majority of words we speak everyday, but tend to be implicit in speech (Pinker 1994; Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010). It is therefore unlikely that function words are strategically manipulated in the same ways as content words and issue frames, such as “estate tax” versus “death tax.” For these reasons, I argued that linguistic style not only offers insight into a leader’s self-presentation, it may also act as an implicit cue for priming attitudes about gender and partisanship. Indeed, my findings suggest that even the smallest, most seemingly

insignificant words contain valuable insight into the self-presentation of political leaders, and may have consequences for voters' perceptions and evaluations of political figures.

This research thus contributes an original approach to studying gender in political communication, one that unveils some of the more complex and subtle mechanisms that undermine women's representation and authority in politics. Such an approach is promising for future work on gendered communication in political science and in the social sciences broadly.

## **7.0.2 Unanswered Questions and Directions for Future Research**

Despite the contributions that this project makes for understanding the self-presentational strategies of female political leaders, there are many ways that future research can build on this topic. One important avenue for future work is to conduct interviews with current and former female leaders about their experiences navigating the male-dominated political landscape. What strategic considerations were most important to their self-presentation? What challenges did they face when projecting their political image? How did they address their gender on the campaign trail and within the institutions they serve(d)? Such work could be further extended through interviews with political consultants about the strategies they recommend for female candidates and women aspiring to move up the leadership ladder.

My findings suggest that the interaction between party and gender stereotypes is critical for understanding the self-presentation of female political leaders, but more work is needed to understand this relationship. Are certain policy issues discussed in a feminine or masculine way? Can we better understand "issue ownership" by examining the ways partisan leaders discuss particular issues? Since women have made significant inroads in the Democratic party, scholars should pay particular attention to the self-presentation of Republican women, especially as the number and prominence of Republican women grows. Republi-

can women appear to confront distinct challenges—and may have distinct advantages—as political leaders because of the ways gender and party stereotypes intersect. I found that Republican women speak in a more feminine way once in positions of leadership, which raises the question, do they govern with a more feminine leadership style? Are they consensus builders or top-down administrators? How does their governing style compare with female Democratic leaders? Scholars might investigate these questions by examining the communication patterns that flow from the leader’s office to her staff and the various agencies and departments she oversees using public records and meeting transcripts and/or interviews with staff members and civil servants.

One limitation of this research—and indeed, all research on women and leadership in US politics—is the small number of female leaders and presidential candidates that can be reliably analyzed and compared. Despite this, there are a number of ways that scholars may further investigate this topic. For example, scholars might compare the self-presentation of female leaders in the political realm with female leaders in the corporate and non-profit realms, such as Yahoo CEO, Marissa Mayer, General Motors CEO, Mary Barra, and Code For America’s Executive Director, Jen Pahlka. Scholars might also explore how the self-presentation of female political leaders compares with the portrayals of female leaders in popular culture, such as Vice-President (and President) Selina Meyer (Julie Louis Dreyfus) on HBO’s show “Veep” and Vice-President Mackenzie Allen (Geena Davis) on ABC’s show “Commander in Chief.” Such work would contribute important research into the portrayal of female leaders in the media and could provide insight into the public’s expectations of female leaders in real life.

Research in the comparative tradition could also provide valuable insight into how women’s linguistic behavior differs as their minority status, and thus the salience of their gender, lessens. Such work could benefit by comparing the gendered self-presentation of politicians in countries without gender quotas (e.g., US, UK, Canada) and in countries with

gender quotas, which tend to have higher levels of female representation (e.g., Belgium, Poland, France). Moreover, female heads of state including German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Argentinian President Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner, Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff, and British Prime Minister Theresa May, must also confront the realities of politics as a male-dominated profession. They too confront widespread gender attitudes that monitor and evaluate their self-presentation to great consequence. How do these pressures manifest in female heads of state who are popularly elected versus those who are chosen by members of parliament?

In addition, more research is needed to disentangle the relationship between gendered perceptions and expectations of leaders and the interaction between party and gender stereotypes. The studies presented in chapter 6 lend important insight into gendered perceptions of political candidates however, in studies involving hypothetical scenarios and fictitious candidates, even the best designed experiments cannot resolve fundamental problems with external validity. In the real world, voters usually know more about a candidate than his or her candidate statement and whether the candidate is a man or woman. Such studies cannot be certain about voters' actual reliance on gender stereotypes when deciding between real candidates. Future work, however, could cross-validate these findings with surveys, interviews, focus groups and other forms of assessing voters' perceptions and expectations, which would improve our confidence in findings from experimental studies.

Finally, although this research suggests that political leaders use language both to construct their power and to maintain it, language is only one form of communication. As social beings, we are highly attuned to both the verbal and nonverbal communication of others, discerning even the slightest utterances and gestures. A much smaller body of research examines the impact of body language, facial expressions, tone of voice, and other non-linguistic forms of communication on social and political perceptions (though see e.g., Todorov et al. 2005; Brader 2006; Ko, Judd, and Stapel 2009; Carpinella and Johnson 2013;

Strach et al. 2015). Such modes of communication serve as powerful social signals with as much or even more impact on perception than language. Future work considering the interaction of multiple forms of communication for social and political perception would be particularly insightful. How do gestures and facial expressions relate to emotional expression in language? Do they amplify or dampen emotional language? Or do our gestures and facial expressions tell a story that are not reflected in our words? How might a combination of verbal and visual emotional expression affect perceptions of women competing for political power? Such questions seem particularly relevant given the proliferation of video and images from television to YouTube to Facebook Live and other social media.

### **The 2016 Election: What This Research Can Tell Us and What it Suggests for Future Research**

In 2016, President Obama and numerous political pundits touted Hillary Clinton as “the most qualified person ever to run for president.” Few doubted Clinton’s experience and competence, but many questioned her authenticity, warmth, and trustworthiness. Clinton had to strike a delicate balance between being assertive but not aggressive, strategic but not manipulative, and commanding but not shrill—no easy task and one her male opponents did not generally confront. As this research demonstrates, over the course of her political career, Clinton has worked hard to present herself in a way that embodies the confidence and power that we expect from political leaders.

Paradoxically, Clinton’s policy experience, ambition, and cool pragmatism—masculine qualities that we expect from our leaders—proved to be uninspiring, untrustworthy, and undesirable for an electorate that wanted change from the status quo. Clinton was a political insider and my research shows that she talked like a typical politician. Her efforts to appear relatable only made her seem more calculating. Indeed, as a woman aspiring toward the most powerful leadership position in US politics, my research suggests that her words were

more calculated than those of her male colleagues and opponents who—by virtue of their gender—fit the presidential prototype. Her challenger in the 2016 presidential election, Donald Trump, was a political outsider, and my research shows that he talked like a political outsider. In fact, Trump talked more “like a woman” than Clinton, but my research suggests that Trump’s feminine style may have had greater appeal than Clinton’s more masculine style. When attributed to fictitious candidates in an experimental setting, the colloquial, socially and emotionally-oriented language that Trump displayed in interviews and debates was seen as more trustworthy, honest, sincere, and likeable than the more formal, detached and policy-oriented language that Clinton displayed.

With any presidential election, there are many reasons—both related and unrelated to self-presentation—that might explain why Clinton failed to inspire a broad coalition of support, which ultimately led to her defeat in the 2016 presidential election. While my research does not and cannot tell us why voters elected Donald Trump over Hillary Clinton, it does provide insight into both candidates’ self-presentational styles as well as how gendered communication styles affect candidate evaluations. It also raises a number of new questions about the 2016 election. Did Clinton try too hard to fit expectations of how a president “should” talk? In conforming to the masculine expectations of the presidency, did Clinton reinforce her image as the status quo candidate? Is a masculine self-presentation the wrong strategy for a competent and experienced woman running for president? Future work could shed light on these questions by analyzing the reception of the candidates’ major speeches, interviews, and debates on social media and traditional news media. Such findings could then be cross-validated with data from surveys, interviews, and focus groups that gauged voters’ perceptions of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump over the course 2016 presidential election.



# Bibliography

- Abelson, Robert P., Donald R. Kinder, Mark D. Peters, and Susan T. Fiske. 1982. "Affective and Semantic Components in Political Person Perception." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 42 (4): 619.
- Abrams, Dominic, and Michael A. Hogg. 1999. *Social Identity and Social Cognition*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Alexander, Deborah, and Kristi Andersen. 1993. "Gender as a Factor in the Attribution of Leadership Traits." *Political Research Quarterly* 46 (3): 527–545.
- Anzia, Sarah F, and Christopher R Berry. 2011. "The Jackie (and Jill) Robinson Effect: Why Do Congresswomen Outperform Congressmen?" *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (3): 478–493.
- Argamon, Shlomo, Moshe Koppel, Jonathan Fine, and Anat Rachel Shimoni. 2003. "Gender, Genre, and Writing Style in Formal Written Texts." *Text* 23:321–346.
- Argamon, Shlomo, Moshe Koppel, James Pennebaker, and Jonathan Schler. 2007. "Mining the Blogosphere: Age, Gender and the Varieties of Self-Expression." *First Monday* 12 (9).
- Arkes, Hal R., and Philip E. Tetlock. 2004. "Attributions of Implicit Prejudice, or" Would Jesse Jackson 'Fail' the Implicit Association Test?" *Psychological Inquiry* 15 (4): 257–278.
- Balota, David A., and James I. Chumbley. 1984. "Are Lexical Decisions a Good Measure of Lexical Access? The Role of Word Frequency in the Neglected Decision Stage." *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance* 10 (3): 340.
- Banwart, Mary Christine, and Mitchell S. McKinney. 2005. "A Gendered Influence in Campaign Debates? Analysis of Mixed-gender United States Senate and Gubernatorial Debates." *Communication Studies* 56 (4): 353–373.
- Beckwith, Karen, and Kimberly Cowell-Meyers. 2007. "Sheer Numbers: Critical Representation Thresholds and Women's Political Representation." *Perspectives on Politics* 5 (3): 553–565.

- Biernat, Monica, M. J. Tocci, and Joan C. Williams. 2012. "The Language of Performance Evaluations: Gender-Based Shifts in Content and Consistency of Judgment." *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 3 (2): 186–192.
- Brader, Ted. 2006. *Campaigning for Hearts and Minds: How Emotional Appeals in Political Ads Work*. 280. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Brooks, Deborah J. 2013. *He Runs, She Runs: Why Gender Stereotypes Do Not Harm Women Candidates*. Princeton University Press.
- Burns, Lisa M. 2009. "Press Framing of First Ladies' Political Activism." In *Gender and Political Communication in America: Rhetoric, Representation, and Display*, edited by Janis L. Edwards. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Burrell, Barbara. 1994. *A Woman's Place is in the House: Campaigns for Congress in the Feminist Era*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Burrell, Barbara C. 2001. *Public Opinion, the First Ladyship, and Hillary Rodham Clinton*. Vol. 2. Taylor & Francis.
- Burros, Marion. 1/10/1995. "Hillary Clinton Asks Help in Finding a Softer Image." *New York Times*.
- Butler, Judith. 1999. *Gender Trouble*. London, UK: Routledge.
- . 2013. "Your Behavior Creates Your Gender." <http://bigthink.com/videos/your-behavior-creates-your-gender>.
- Bystrom, Dianne G., Terry Robertson, Mary Christine Banwart, and Lynda Lee Kaid. 2004. *Gender and Candidate Communication: Videostyle, Webstyle, Newstyle*. New York: Routledge.
- Cacciatore, Michael A., Dietram A. Scheufele, and Shanto Iyengar. 2016. "The End of Framing as We Know it... and the Future of Media Effects." *Mass Communication and Society* 19 (1): 7–23.
- Cameron, Deborah. 2005. "Language, Gender, and Sexuality: Current Issues and New Directions." *Applied Linguistics* 26 (4): 482–502.
- Campbell, Karlyn Kohrs. 1998. "The Discursive Performance of Femininity: Hating Hillary." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 1 (1): 1–20.
- Carlin, Diana B., and Kelly L. Winfrey. 2009. "Have You Come a Long Way, Baby? Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and Sexism in 2008 Campaign Coverage." *Communication Studies* 60 (4): 326–343.
- Carnaghi, Andrea, Anne Maass, Sara Gresta, Mauro Bianchi, Mara Cadinu, and Luciano Arcuri. 2008. "Nomina Sunt Omina: On the Inductive Potential of Nouns and Adjectives in Person Perception." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 94 (5): 839.
- Carpinella, Colleen M, and Kerri L Johnson. 2013. "Politics of the Face: The Role of Sex-Typicality in Trait Assessments of Politicians." *Social Cognition* 31 (6): 770–779.

- Carroll, Susan J. 2009. "Reflections on Gender and Hillary Clinton's Presidential Campaign: The Good, the Bad, and the Misogynic." *Politics & Gender* 5 (1): 1–20.
- Carroll, Susan J, and Richard L Fox. 2006. "Introduction: Gender and Electoral Politics Into the Twenty-First Century." In *Gender and elections*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Chong, Dennis, and James N. Druckman. 2007. "Framing Theory." *Annual Review of Political Science* 10:103–126.
- Cuddy, Amy J. C., Susan T. Fiske, Virginia S. Y. Kwan, Peter Glick, Stephanie Demoulin, Jacques-Philippe Leyens, Michael Harris Bond, et al. 2009. "Stereotype Content Model Across Cultures: Towards Universal Similarities and Some Differences." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 48 (1): 1–33.
- Cuddy, Amy J.C., Susan T. Fiske, and Peter Glick. 2008. "Warmth and Competence as Universal Dimensions of Social Perception: The Stereotype Content Model and the Bias Map." *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 40:61–149.
- . 2004. "When Professionals Become Mothers, Warmth Doesn't Cut the Ice." *Journal of Social Issues* 60 (4): 701–718.
- Cuddy, Amy J.C., Peter Glick, and Anna Beninger. 2011. "The Dynamics of Warmth and Competence Judgments, and Their Outcomes in Organizations." *Research in Organizational Behavior* 31:73–98.
- Devine, Patricia G. 1989. "Stereotypes and Prejudice: Their Automatic and Controlled Components." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 56 (1): 5.
- Diaz, Michele T., and Gregory McCarthy. 2009. "A Comparison of Brain Activity Evoked By Single Content and Function Words: An Fmri Investigation of Implicit Word Processing." *Brain Research* 1282:38–49.
- Dittmar, Kelly. 2015. *Navigating Gendered Terrain: Stereotypes and Strategy in Political Campaigns*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Dodson, Deborah L. 2006. *The Impact of Women in Congress*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dolan, Kathleen. 2008. "Is There a 'Gender Affinity Effect' in American Politics? Information, Affect, and Candidate Sex in Us House Elections." *Political Research Quarterly* 61 (1): 79–89.
- . 2014. *When Does Gender Matter?: Women Candidates and Gender Stereotypes in American Elections*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Douglas, Karen M., and Robbie M. Sutton. 2003. "Effects of Communication Goals and Expectancies on Language Abstraction." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 84 (4): 682.

- Dovidio, John F., Kerry Kawakami, and Samuel L. Gaertner. 2002. "Implicit and Explicit Prejudice and Interracial Interaction." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 82 (1): 62.
- Dowd, Maureen. 1/9/2008. "Can Hillary Cry Her Way Back to the White House?" *New York Times* Opinion. <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/09/opinion/08dowd.html?pagewanted=all>.
- Duerst-Lahti, Georgia, and Rita Mae Kelly. 1995. *Gender Power, Leadership, and Governance*. Edited by Georgia Duerst-Lahti and Rita Mae Kelly. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Dunning, David, and David A. Sherman. 1997. "Stereotypes and Tacit Inference." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 73 (3): 459.
- Eagly, Alice H., and Linda L. Carli. 2007. *Through the Labyrinth : The Truth About How Women Become Leaders*. Vol. Leadership for the common good, xii, 308. Boston, Mass.: Harvard Business School Press.
- Eagly, Alice H., and Mary C. Johannesen-Schmidt. 2001. "The Leadership Styles of Women and Men." *Journal of Social Issues* 57 (4): 781–797.
- Eagly, Alice H., and Antonio Mladinic. 1989. "Gender Stereotypes and Attitudes Toward Women and Men." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 15 (4): 543–558.
- Eckert, Penelope. 2000. *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Edwards, Janis L. 2009. "Politics as a Gendered Space." In *Gender and Political Communication in America: Rhetoric, Representation, and Display*, edited by Janis L. Edwards. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Entman, Robert M. 1993. "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." *Journal of Communication* 43 (4): 51–58.
- Fazio, Russell H., and Michael A. Olson. 2003. "Implicit Measures in Social Cognition Research: Their Meaning and Use." *Annual Review of Psychology* 54 (1): 297–327.
- Fiske, Susan T., Amy J.C. Cuddy, and Peter Glick. 2007. "Universal Dimensions of Social Cognition: Warmth and Competence." *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 11 (2): 77–83.
- Fiske, Susan T., Amy J.C. Cuddy, Peter Glick, and Jun Xu. 2002. "A Model of (Often Mixed) Stereotype Content: Competence and Warmth Respectively Follow From Perceived Status and Competition." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 82 (6): 878.
- Fiske, Susan T., Juan Xu, Amy Cuddy, and Peter Glick. 1999. "(Dis)-Respecting Versus (Dis)-Liking: Status and Interdependence Predict Ambivalent Stereotypes of Competence and Warmth." *Journal of Social Issues* 55 (3): 473–489.
- Freud, Sigmund, and (Ed.) Strachey James. 1964. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. London: The Hogarth Press / the Institute of Psycho-analysis.

- Galasso, Joseph. 2013. *Minimum of English Grammar: An Introduction to Feature Theory*. Vol. 1. San Diego: Cognella Academic Publishing.
- Gertzog, Irwin N. 1995. *Congressional Women : Their Recruitment, Integration, and Behavior*. xv, 309. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- Glick, Peter, Maria Lameiras, Susan T. Fiske, Thomas Eckes, Barbara Masser, Anna Maria Manganelli and Jolynn C. X. Pek and Li-Li Huang and Nuray Sakalli-Ugurlu and Yolanda Rodriguez Castro and Maria Luiza D'Avila Pereira and Tineke M. Willemssen and Annetje Brunner and Iris Six-Materna Volpato Chiara and, and Robin Wells. 2004. "Bad But Bold: Ambivalent Attitudes Toward Men Predict Gender Inequality in 16 Nations." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 86 (5): 713–728.
- Goffman, Erving. 1977. "The Arrangement Between the Sexes." *Theory and society* 4 (3): 301–331.
- . 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Greenwald, Anthony G., Debbie E. McGhee, and Jordan LK Schwartz. 1998. "Measuring Individual Differences in Implicit Cognition: The Implicit Association Test." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 74 (6): 1464.
- Grimmer, Justin. 2010. "A Bayesian Hierarchical Topic Model for Political Texts: Measuring Expressed Agendas in Senate Press Releases." *Political Analysis* 18 (1): 1–35.
- Grimmer, Justin, and Brandon M. Stewart. 2013. "Text as Data: The Promise and Pitfalls of Automatic Content Analysis Methods for Political Texts." *Political Analysis* 21 (3): 267–297.
- Haste, Helen. 1993. *The Sexual Metaphor*. 250. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Haste, Helen, Jennifer Jones, and Kristen Renwick Monroe. 2015. "Political Psychology as an Interpretive Field." In *Routledge Handbook of Interpretive Political Science*, edited by Mark Bevir and R. A. W. Rhodes, 309–323. New York: Routledge.
- Hawkesworth, Mary. 2003. "Congressional Enactments of Race-Gender: Toward a Theory of Raced-Gendered Institutions." *The American Political Science Review* 97 (4): 529–550.
- Hayes, Danny. 2011. "When Gender and Party Collide: Stereotyping in Candidate Trait Attribution." *Politics & Gender* 7 (02): 133–165.
- Hayes, Danny, and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2015. "A Non-Gendered Lens? Media, Voters, and Female Candidates in Contemporary Congressional Elections." *Perspectives on Politics* 13 (01): 95–118.
- Heilman, Madeline E., Aaron S. Wallen, Daniella Fuchs, and Melinda M Tamkins. 2004. "Penalties for Success: Reactions to Women Who Succeed At Male Gender-Typed Tasks." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 89 (3): 416.
- Herrick, Rebekah, Jeanette Mendez, Sue Thomas, and Amanda Wilkerson. 2012. "Gender and Perceptions of Candidate Competency." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 33 (2): 126–150.

- Herrnson, Paul S., J. Celeste Lay, and Atiya Kai Stokes. 2003. "Women Running 'as Women': Candidate Gender, Campaign Issues, and Voter Targeting Strategies." *Journal of Politics* 65 (1): 244–255.
- Hill, Seth J., James Lo, Lynn Vavreck, and John Zaller. 2013. "How Quickly We Forget: The Duration of Persuasion Effects From Mass Communication." *Political Communication* 30 (4): 521–547.
- Hogg, Michael A. 2007. "Uncertainty-Identity Theory." *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 39:69–126.
- Hopkins, Daniel J., and Gary King. 2007. "Extracting Systematic Social Science Meaning From Text." *Extracting Systematic Social Science* 54 (1): 229–247.
- Htun, Mala. 2004. "Is Gender Like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups." *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (03): 439–458.
- Huddy, Leonie. 2001. "From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory." *Political Psychology*: 127–156.
- Huddy, Leonie, and Nayda Terkildsen. 1993. "Gender Stereotypes and the Perception of Male and Female Candidates." *American Journal of Political Science* 37:119–147.
- Inglehart, Ronald, and Pippa Norris. 2000. "The Developmental Theory of the Gender Gap: Women's and Men's Voting Behavior in Global Perspective." *International Political Science Review* 21 (4): 441–463.
- Iyengar, Shanto, and Donald R. Kinder. 1987. *News That Matters: Agenda Setting and Priming in a Television Age*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Iyengar, Shanto, Gaurav Sood, and Yphtach Lelkes. 2012. "Affect, Not Ideology a Social Identity Perspective on Polarization." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 76 (3): 405–431.
- Jacoby, William G. 2006. "Value Choices and American Public Opinion." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (3): 706–723.
- Jamieson, Kathleen Hall. 1995. *Beyond the Double Bind: Women and Leadership*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 1993. *Dirty Politics: Deception, Distraction, and Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jones, Jennifer J. 2016. "Talk 'Like a Man': The Linguistic Styles of Hillary Clinton, 1992–2013." *Perspectives on Politics* 14 (3): 625–642.
- Karasawa, Minoru, and Anne Maass. 2008. "The Role of Language in the Perception of Persons and Groups." In *Handbook of Motivation and Cognition Across Cultures*, edited by S. Yamaguchi Sorrentino R. M., 317–342. Academic Press.
- Karpowitz, Christopher F., and Tali Mendelberg. 2014. *The Silent Sex: Gender, Deliberation, and Institutions*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Kathlene, Lyn. 1994. "Power and Influence in State Legislative Policymaking: The Interaction of Gender and Position in Committee Hearing Debates." *American Political Science Review* 88 (03): 560–576.
- . 2001. "Words That Matter: Women's Voice and Institutional Bias in Public Policy Formation." In *The Impact of Women in Public Office*, edited by Susan J. Carroll, 22–48. Bloomington-Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Kelly, Rita Mae, and Georgia Duerst-Lahti. 1995. "The Study of Gender Power and Its Link to Governance and Leadership." In *Gender Power, Leadership, and Governance*, edited by Rita Mae Kelly and Georgia Duerst-Lahti, 39–63. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Kinder, Donald R., and David O. Sears. 1981. "Prejudice and Politics: Symbolic Racism Versus Racial Threats to the Good Life." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 40 (3): 414.
- Kinder, Donald R., Mark D. Peters, Robert P. Abelson, and Susan T. Fiske. 1980. "Presidential Prototypes." *Political Behavior* 2 (4): 315–337.
- King, David C., and Richard E. Matland. 2003. "Sex and the Grand Old Party an Experimental Investigation of the Effect of Candidate Sex on Support for a Republican Candidate." *American Politics Research* 31 (6): 595–612.
- Ko, Sei Jin, Charles M. Judd, and Diederik A. Stapel. 2009. "Stereotyping Based on Voice in the Presence of Individuating Information: Vocal Femininity Affects Perceived Competence But Not Warmth." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 35 (2): 198–211.
- Koch, Jeffrey W. 2002. "Gender Stereotypes and Citizens' Impressions of House Candidates' Ideological Orientations." *American Journal of Political Science*: 453–462.
- Kornblut, Anne E. 2011. *Notes From the Cracked Ceiling*. New York: Broadway Books.
- Kress, Jacqueline E., and Edward Fry. 2015. *The Reading Teacher's Book of Lists*. pages cm.
- Krum, Sharon. 2008. "Why Women Really Should Rule." *The Guardian*. <http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2008/mar/26/women.gender>.
- Lacan, Jacques. 1968. *Language of the Self*. (A. Wilden, Trans.) Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Lakoff, George. 2008. *The Political Mind: Why You Can't Understand 21st-Century Politics With an 18th-Century Brain*. New York: Penguin Books.
- . 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things. What Categories Reveal About the Mind*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, Robin. 1975. *Language and Woman's Place*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Lasswell, Harold D. 1965. "Style in the Language of Politics." In *Language of Politics*, edited by Harold D. Lasswell and Nathan Leites, 20–39. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

- Laver, Michael, and John Garry. 2000. "Estimating Policy Positions From Political Texts." *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (3): 619–634.
- Lawless, Jennifer L., and Richard L. Fox. 2010. *It Still Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lawrence, Regina G., and Melody Rose. 2010. *Hillary Clinton's Race for the White House: Gender Politics and the Media on the Campaign Trail*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael S., William G. Jacoby, Helmut Norpoth, and Herbert F. Weisberg. 2009. *The American Voter Revisited*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Lombard, Matthew, Jennifer Snyder-Duch, and Cheryl Campanella Bracken. 2002. "Content Analysis in Mass Communication: Assessment and Reporting of Intercoder Reliability." *Human Communication Research* 28 (4): 587–604.
- Lovenduski, Joni. 2005. *Feminizing Politics*. Polity.
- Lowe, Will, Kenneth Benoit, Slava Mikhaylov, and Michael Laver. 2011. "Scaling Policy Preferences From Coded Political Texts." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 36 (1): 123–155.
- Lynch, Kathleen Dolan, Timothy R. 2014. "Voter Attitudes, Behaviors, and Women Candidates." In *Women and Elective Office: Past, Present, and Future*, edited by Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Manning, Jennifer E., and Ida A. Brudnick. 2014. *Women in the United States Congress, 1917-2014: Biographical and Committee Assignment Information, and Listings By State and Congress*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service.
- Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'yes?'" *The Journal of Politics* 61 (3): 628–657.
- Marcus, George E., W. Russell Neuman, and Michael MacKuen. 2000. *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment*. University of Chicago Press.
- Markus, Gregory B., and Philip E. Converse. 1979. "A Dynamic Simultaneous Equation Model of Electoral Choice." *American Political Science Review*.
- McKinney, Mitchell S., Corey B. Davis, and Jeffrey Delbert. 2009. "The First and Last Woman Standing: Hillary Rodham Clinton's Presidential Primary Debate Performance." In *Cracked But Not Shattered: Hillary Rodham Clintons Unsuccessful Campaign for the Presidency*, edited by Theodore F. Sheckels, 125–148. Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books.
- McThomas, Mary, and Michael Tesler. 2016. "The Growing Influence of Gender Attitudes on Public Support for Hillary Clinton, 2008- 2012." *Politics & Gender* 12 (01).
- Mendelberg, Tali. 2001. *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages and the Norm of Equality*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Monroe, Kristen R. 2004. *The Hand of Compassion: Portraits of Moral Choice During the Holocaust*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.



- Moss-Racusin, Corinne A., John F. Dovidio, Victoria L. Brescoll, Mark J. Graham, and Jo Handelsman. 2012. "Science Faculty's Subtle Gender Biases Favor Male Students." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 109 (41): 16474–16479.
- Mulac, Anthony. 2006. "The Gender-Linked Effect: Do Language Differences Really Make a Difference?" In *Sex Differences and Similarities in Communication*, edited by Daniel J. Canary and Kathryn Dindia. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Mulac, Anthony, James J. Bradac, and Pamela Gibbons. 2001. "Empirical Support for the Gender as Culture Hypothesis." *Human Communication Research* 27 (1): 121–152.
- Neuendorf, Kimberly A. 2011. "Content Analysis?: A Methodological Primer for Gender Research." *Sex Roles* 64 (3-4): 276–289.
- . 2002. *The Content Analysis Guidebook*. 320. Sage Publications.
- Newman, Matthew L., Carla J. Groom, Lori D. Handelman, and James W. Pennebaker. 2008. "Gender Differences in Language Use: An Analysis of 14,000 Text Samples." *Discourse Processes* 45 (3): 211–236.
- Nosek, Brian A., Mahzarin R. Banaji, and Anthony G. Greenwald. 2002. "Math= Male, Me= Female, Therefore Math=/ Me." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 83 (1): 44.
- Nosek, Brian A., Anthony G. Greenwald, and Mahzarin R. Banaji. 2007. "The Implicit Association Test At Age 7: A Methodological and Conceptual Review." In *Automatic Processes in Social Thinking and Behavior*, edited by John A. Bargh, 265–292. Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.
- Nosek, Brian A., Carlee Beth Hawkins, and Rebecca S Frazier. 2011. "Implicit Social Cognition: From Measures to Mechanisms." *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 15 (4): 152–159.
- Oakes, Penelope J., John C. Turner, Haslam, and Alexander. 1991. "Perceiving People as Group Members: The Role of Fit in the Salience of Social Categorizations." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 30 (2): 125–144.
- Okimoto, Tyler G., and Victoria L. Brescoll. 2010. "The Price of Power: Power Seeking and Backlash Against Female Politicians." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 36 (7): 923–936.
- Patterson, Molly, and Kristen Renwick Monroe. 1998. "Narrative in Political Science." *Annual Review of Political Science* 1 (1): 315–331.
- Pearson, Kathryn, and Logan Dancey. 2011a. "Elevating Women's Voices in Congress Speech Participation in the House of Representatives." *Political Research Quarterly* 64 (4): 910–923.
- . 2011b. "Speaking for the Underrepresented in the House of Representatives: Voicing Women's Interests in a Partisan Era." *Politics & Gender* 7 (4): 493–519.
- Pearson, Kathryn, and Eric McGhee. 2013. "What it Takes to Win: Questioning" Gender Neutral" Outcomes in Us House Elections." *Politics & Gender* 9 (4): 439.

- Pennebaker, James W. 2011. *The Secret Life of Pronouns: What Our Words Say About Us*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Pennebaker, James W., Roger J. Booth, and Martha E. Francis. 2007. "Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count: Liwc [Computer Software]." [www.liwc.net](http://www.liwc.net).
- Pennebaker, James W., Matthias R. Mehl, and Kate G. Niederhoffer. 2003. "Psychological Aspects of Natural Language Use: Our Words, Our Selves." *Annual Review of Psychology* 54 (1): 547–577.
- Petrocik, John R. 1996. "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, With a 1980 Case Study." *American Journal of Political Science* 40 (3): 825–850.
- Pinker, Steven. 1994. *The Language Instinct: The New Science of Language and Mind*. Vol. 7529. Penguin UK.
- Politics, Center for American Women in. 2015. "Women in Elective Office 2015." (New Brunswick, NJ).
- Prentice, Deborah A., and Erica Carranza. 2002. "What Women and Men Should be, Shouldn't? be, Are Allowed to be, and Don't Have to be: The Contents of Prescriptive Gender Stereotypes." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 26 (4): 269–281.
- Press, Pew Research Center for the People & the. 2007. "Voter Impressions of Leading Candidates: Clinton Seen as 'tough and 'smart' — Giuliani as 'energetic'." <http://www.people-press.org/2007/09/20/clinton-seen-as-tough-and-smart-giuliani-as-energetic/>.
- Proksch, Sven-Oliver, and Jonathan B. Slapin. 2010. "Position Taking in European Parliament Speeches." *British Journal of Political Science* 40 (03): 587–611.
- Pronin, Emily, Thomas Gilovich, and Lee Ross. 2004. "Objectivity in the Eye of the Beholder: Divergent Perceptions of Bias in Self Versus Others." *Psychological Review* 111 (3): 781.
- Quattrone, George A., and Amos Tversky. 1988. "Contrasting Rational and Psychological Analyses of Political Choice." *The American Political Science Review* 82 (3): 719–736.
- Quinn, Kevin M., Burt L. Monroe, Michael Colaresi, Michael H. Crespin, and Dragomir R. Radev. 2010. "How to Analyze Political Attention With Minimal Assumptions and Costs." *American Journal of Political Science* 54 (1): 209–228.
- Rhode, Deborah L., and Barbara Kellerman. 2007. *Women and Leadership: The State of Play and Strategies for Change*. 1–62. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Roosevelt, Eleanor. 1928. "Women Must Learn to Play the Game as Men Do." *Red Book Magazine* 50:78–79, 141. [http://bataviamoodle.edutech.org/pluginfile.php/18386/mod\\_resource/content/1/us\\_play.pdf](http://bataviamoodle.edutech.org/pluginfile.php/18386/mod_resource/content/1/us_play.pdf).
- Rudman, Laurie A., and Kimberly Fairchild. 2004. "Reactions to Counterstereotypic Behavior: The Role of Backlash in Cultural Stereotype Maintenance." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 87 (2): 157.

- Rudman, Laurie A., and Peter Glick. 1999. "Feminized Management and Backlash Toward Agentic Women: The Hidden Costs to Women of a Kinder, Gentler Image of Middle Managers." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 77 (5): 1004.
- . 2001. "Prescriptive Gender Stereotypes and Backlash Toward Agentic Women." *Journal of Social Issues* 57 (4): 743–762.
- Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2002. "Gender Stereotypes and Vote Choice." *American Journal of Political Science*: 20–34.
- Sapiro, Virginia. 2003. "Theorizing Gender in Political Psychology Research." In *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, edited by David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, 601–634. New York, NY, US: Oxford University Press.
- Schultheiss, Oliver C. 2013. "Are Implicit Motives Revealed in Mere Words? Testing the Marker-Word Hypothesis With Computer-Based Text Analysis." *Frontiers in Psychology* 4 (748).
- Schwartz, Andrew, Johannes C. Eichstaedt, Margaret L. Kern, Lukasz Dziurzynski, Stephanie M. Ramones, Megha Agrawal, Michal Shah Achal Kosinski, Martin E. P. Stillwell David Seligman, and Lyle H. Ungar. 2013. "Personality, Gender, and Age in the Language of Social Media: The Open-Vocabulary Approach." *Plos One* 8 (9).
- Sears, David O., and Carolyn L. Funk. 1999. "Evidence of the Long-Term Persistence of Adults? Political Predispositions." *The Journal of Politics* 61 (01): 1–28.
- Semin, Gün R., and Klaus Fiedler. 1988. "The Cognitive Functions of Linguistic Categories in Describing Persons: Social Cognition and Language." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 54 (4): 558.
- Shaw, Sylvia. 2000. "Language, Gender and Floor Apportionment in Political Debates." *Discourse & Society* 11 (3): 401–418.
- Sheehy, Noel, Judith Wylie, and Gary McKeown. 2002. *Quantifying Risk Amplification Processes: A Multi-Level Approach*. Vol. 367. London, UK: HSE Books.
- Slatcher, Richard B., Cindy K. Chung, James W. Pennebaker, and Lori D. Stone. 2007. "Winning Words: Individual Differences in Linguistic Style Among U.s. Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates." *Journal of Research in Personality* 41 (1): 63–75.
- Strach, Patricia, Katherine Zuber, Erika Franklin Fowler, N. Ridout Travis, and Searles Kathleen. 2015. "In a Different Voice? Explaining the Use of Men and Women as Voice-Over Announcers in Political Advertising." *Political Communication* 32 (2): 183–205.
- Suedfeld, Peter, and Philip Tetlock. 1977. "Integrative Complexity of Communications in International Crises." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 21 (1): 169–184.
- Swers, Michelle L. 2002. *The Difference Women Make: The Policy Impact of Women in Congress*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Swim, Janet K., Kathryn J. Aikin, Wayne S. Hall, and Barbara A. Hunter. 1995. "Sexism and Racism: Old-Fashioned and Modern Prejudices." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 68 (2): 199.
- Taber, Charles, and Milton Lodge. 2013. *The Rationalizing Voter*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tajfel, Henri. 1982. "Familiarity and Categorization in Intergroup Behavior." *Annual Review of Psychology* 33 (1): 1–39.
- Tajfel, Henri, and Michael Billig. 1974. "Familiarity and Categorization in Intergroup Behavior." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 10 (2): 159–170.
- Tajfel, Henri, and John C. Turner. 1979. "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict." In *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, edited by William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel, 33–47. Brooks/Cole Publishing.
- Tausczik, Yla R., and James W. Pennebaker. 2010. "The Psychological Meaning of Words: Liwc and Computerized Text Analysis Methods." *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 29 (1): 24–54.
- Tesler, Michael. 2014. "Priming Predispositions and Changing Policy Positions: An Account of When Mass Opinion is Primed or Changed." *American Journal of Political Science* 59 (4): 806–824.
- Tesler, Michael, and David O. Sears. 2010. *Obama's Race: The 2008 Election and the Dream of a Post-Racial America*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Tetlock, Philip E. 1984. "Cognitive Style and Political Belief Systems in the British House of Commons." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 46 (2): 365.
- . 2005. *Expert Political Judgment*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Todorov, Alexander, Anesu N. Mandisodza, Amir Goren, and Crystal C. Hall. 2005. "Inferences of Competence From Faces Predict Election Outcomes." *Science* 308 (5728): 1623–1626.
- Turner, John C. 1985. "Social Categorization and the Self-Concept: A Social Cognitive Theory of Group Behavior." *Advances in Group Processes* 2:77–122.
- Turner, John C., Michael A. Hogg, Penelope J. Oakes, Stephen D. Reicher, and Margaret S. Wetherell. 1987. *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorization Perspective*. New York: Blackwell.
- Turner, John C., Penelope J. Oakes, S. Alexander Haslam, and Craig McGarty. 1994. "Self and Collective: Cognition and Social Context." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 20 (5): 454–463.
- Tversky, Amos, and Daniel Kahneman. 1981. "The Framing of Decisions and the Psychology of Choice." *Science* 211:453–458.

- Valentino, Nicholas A., Vincent L. Hutchings, and Ismail K. White. 2002. "Cues That Matter: How Political Ads Prime Racial Attitudes During Campaigns." *American Political Science Review* 96 (1): 75–90.
- Volden, Craig, Alan E. Wiseman, and Dana E. Wittmer. 2013. "When Are Women More Effective Lawmakers Than Men?" *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (2): 326–341.
- Watson, Robert P. 1999. *The Presidents' Wives: Reassessing the Office of First Lady*. 261. Lynne Rienner.
- Wattenberg, Martin P. 2006. "Elections: Reliability Trumps Competence: Personal Attributes in the 2004 Presidential Election." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36 (4): 705–713.
- . 1991. *The Rise of Candidate-Centered Elections: Presidential Elections of the 1980s*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Weston, Drew. 2007. *The Political Brain: The Role of Emotion in Deciding the Fate of the Nation*. New York, NY: PublicAffairs.
- Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2008. *Dangerous Frames: How Ideas About Race and Gender Shape Public Opinion*. Vol. Studies in communication, media, and public opinion. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2010. "Masculine Republicans and Feminine Democrats: Gender and Americans' Explicit and Implicit Images of the Political Parties." *Political Behavior* 32 (4): 587–618.
- Yu, Bei. 2014. "Language and Gender in Congressional Speech." *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 29 (1): 118–132.
- Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Zipf, George Kingsley. 1949. *Human Behaviour and the Principle of Least-Effort*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley, Reading.

# Appendices

## A Appendix for Chapter 5

### Statistical Analysis

Figure A.1 presents a correlation matrix (upper-bound) in the form of a “heatmap” for each variable comprised within the feminine/masculine ratio. This helps to verify that the ratio is indeed measuring what it is intended to measure. It displays the data in a way to also allow for exploratory insight.

Table A.1 is a saturated model of gendered communication. It includes estimates on each variable that comprise the feminine/masculine ratio. Following this, table A.2 describes an analysis of variance (ANOVA) on the model presented in table A.1.

We see from table A.2 that a substantial portion of the deviance can be explained by pronouns, verbs, and cognitive mechanisms. Since these are broad categories, it may be useful to disaggregate them and examine their component parts. This provides a useful exploratory guide to aid a subsequent factor analysis.

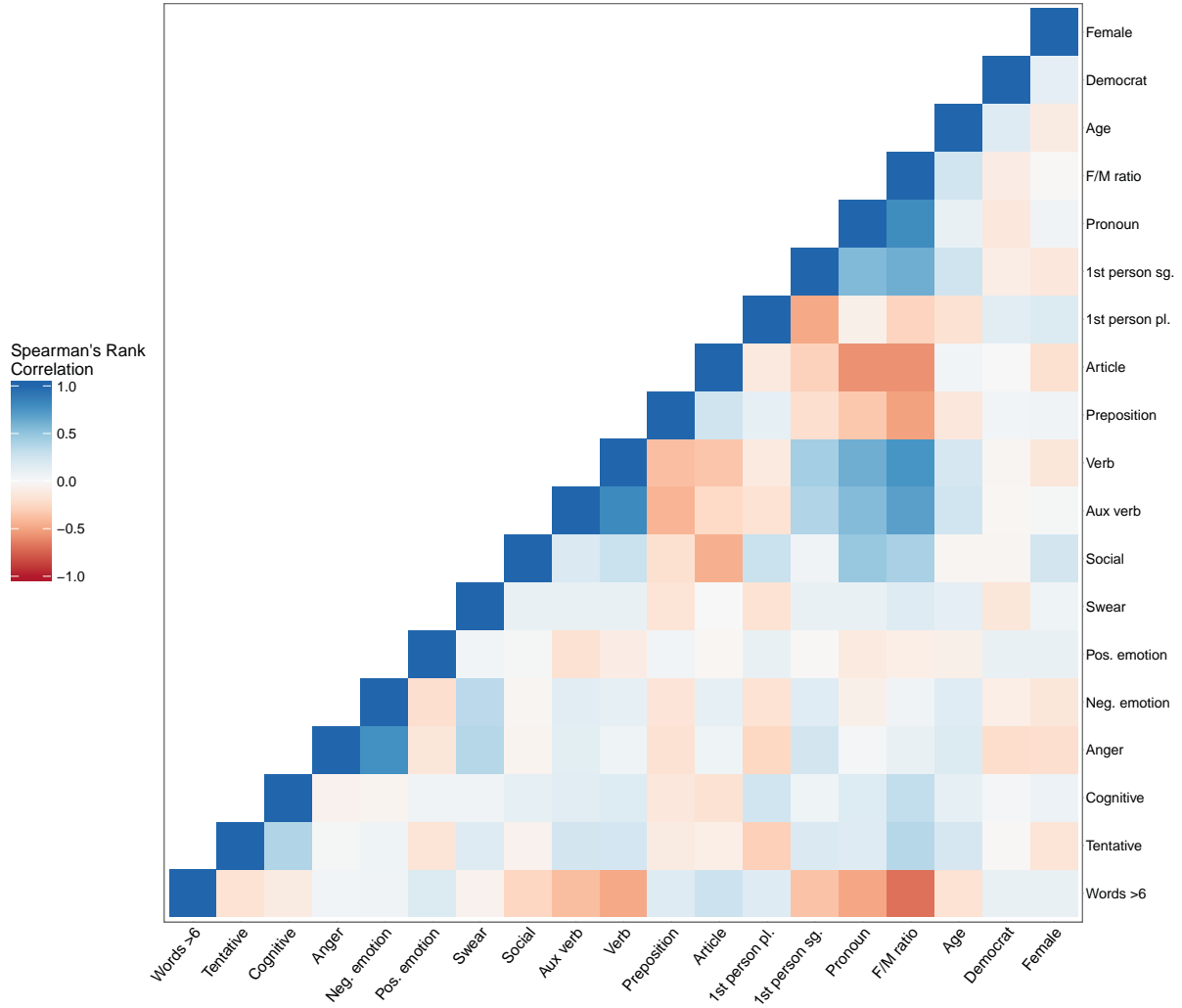


Figure A.1: Correlations between Feminine/Masculine Ratio Variables in Interviews (Weighted mean)

Table A.1: Saturated Model of the Feminine/Masculine Ratio

	$\beta$	<i>se</i>
Female	0.005**	0.003
Democrat	0.004*	0.002
Age	0.0004***	0.0001
Candidate	-0.008***	0.003
Party leader	-0.003	0.003
Debate	-0.009**	0.004
Pronoun	0.025***	0.001
First person singular	0.032***	0.001
Common verb	0.022***	0.001
Auxiliary verb	0.025***	0.001
Social reference	0.027***	0.001
Positive emotion	0.026***	0.001
Negative emotion	0.027***	0.002
Cognitive mechanism	0.023***	0.001
Tentative	0.025***	0.002
Words > 6 letters	-0.052***	0.001
First person plural	-0.053***	0.001
Article	-0.053***	0.001
Preposition	-0.054***	0.001
Anger	-0.055***	0.003
Swear	-0.066**	0.027
Constant	2.163***	0.032
N	2,484	
Log Likelihood	3,710.834	
AIC	-7,377.669	

\*p < .1; \*\*p < .05; \*\*\*p < .01



Table A.2: Analysis of Deviance for All Feminine/Masculine Ratio Variables

	Deviance	Resid. Df	Resid. Dev
Null		2483	351.37
Female	0.05	2482	351.32
Democrat	1.54	2481	349.78
Age	6.87	2480	342.91
Candidate	2.33	2479	340.58
Party leader	5.50	2478	335.07
Debate	9.18	2477	325.89
Pronoun	197.74	2476	128.16
First person singular	15.61	2475	112.55
Common verb	33.19	2474	79.36
Auxiliary verb	1.33	2473	78.03
Social reference	8.15	2472	69.88
Positive emotion	0.82	2471	69.06
Negative emotion	0.01	2470	69.04
Cognitive mechanism	4.65	2469	64.39
Tentative	4.86	2468	59.53
Words > 6 letters	22.65	2467	36.88
First person plural	11.20	2466	25.68
Article	5.62	2465	20.06
Preposition	11.84	2464	8.21
Anger	0.87	2463	7.34
Swear	0.02	2462	7.32

## Exploratory Factor Analysis

Factor analysis has been used extensively by Biber (1988; 1995) and others to study linguistic variation. Factor analysis is an important technique for corpus-based computational semantics and latent semantic analysis (Landauer and Dumais, 1997). Factor analysis is similar to principal components analysis (PCA), however, unlike PCA, where the total variance is distributed among the principal components, factor analysis methods include an error term to account for noise in the data. Consequently, various alternative factors (and factor loadings) may be appropriate.

First, I examined the scree plot, which gives a visual indication of the best number of factors based on eigenvalues. I also performed a *very simple structure* (VSS) analysis to determine the number of factors that best fit the data. VSS uses different rotational techniques to organize the data into a “simple structure,” and thus aid in the interpretation of a factor model. When variables load near 1 (perfect correlation) or near 0 (uncorrelated) on a set of eigenvectors, or factors, we have achieved a simple structure (Bryant and Yarnold 1995, 132–133). Based on this information, I determined the appropriate number of factors by examining the factor loadings and using the Bayesian information criterion (BIC) to select the best fit the data. From this, I determined that a four-factor model was most appropriate. I then applied the iclust algorithm, which hierarchically clusters variables to form composite scales. This analysis is conceptually equivalent to that of a factor analysis, in that the pattern coefficients are beta weights of the cluster to the variables, while the normal cluster loadings are correlations of the items with the cluster.

Indeed, the cluster analysis supported findings from the initial factor analysis. For each factor and cluster analysis, certain patterns in the data are clear. Many of the loadings in the factors/clusters reflect variables used to construct the feminine/masculine ratio. I interpret the clusters/factors below.

1. Self-focus = (First-person plural pronouns + Inclusive words) - (First-person singular pronouns + Insight words)
  - This relationship reflects a certain attentional focus—oneself versus the collective group. Thus, high scores indicate greater attention directed outward.
  - First person singular and first person plural are negatively correlated.
  
2. Social Narration = First-person singular pronouns + Second-person pronouns + Third-person pronouns + Social words + Past tense verbs
  - Here, high scores reflect a narrative style, utilizing past tense verbs together with social words and personal pronouns (except for first-person plural) to discuss topics and events.
  
3. Angry Critic = Negative emotion + Anger words + Inhibition words + Causation words + Discrepancy verbs + Second-person pronouns
  - Here, high scores reflect the tendency to explain topics and/or attribute causes in a negative or confrontational way. A high rate of second-person pronouns suggests the individual is making direct accusations of another individual.
  
4. Perceptual Nuance = Tentative words + Insight words + Exclusive words + Conjunctions + Causation words
  - This factor joins many of LIWC’s “cognitive mechanism” variables into one factor.
  - High scores reflect the tendency to explain topics in a nuanced way. It likely accounts for the context of the topic or event under discussion
  - This factor appears to be the opposite of “black and white” and “us versus them” styles of speaking.

## B Appendix for Chapter 6

### Study 2 Feeling Thermometer Interaction

Similar to the interaction findings on warmth ratings, for feeling thermometer ratings I found a significant interaction between statement style and participant gender,  $F(1, 551) = 6.36$ ,  $p < .02$ . This interaction is plotted in figure B.2. This suggests that female participants, in particular, perceived candidates with a masculine statement to be colder and less favorable than candidates with a feminine statement. Although this trend is true for participants in the control and male candidate groups, ratings by female participants are more clearly impacted by the differences in statement style. Unlike warmth ratings, however, participant ratings did not differ significantly between groups.

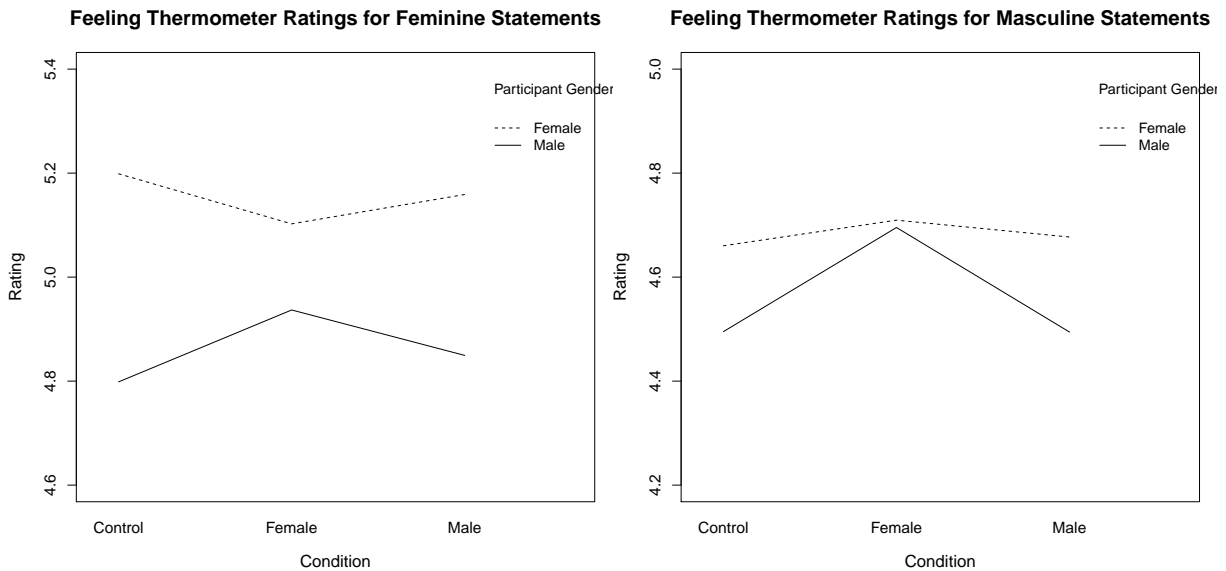


Figure B.2: Interaction between Participant Gender and Statement Style on Feeling Thermometer Ratings

## Linear Mixed Effects Models for Study 2

I considered a linear mixed effects model, which accounts for the random variation among individual participants. My results were not substantively different. In the models below, the coefficient for “female condition” reflects difference between participants in the female condition and participants in the male and control conditions. Likewise the coefficient for “male condition” reflects the difference between participants in the male condition and participants in the female and control conditions.

Table B.3: Linear Mixed Effects Models for Candidate Ratings

	Competence (1)	Warmth (2)	Feeling Thermometer (3)
Intercept	3.23*** (0.05)	3.44*** (0.05)	4.85*** (0.07)
Masculine statement	-0.002 (0.04)	-0.26*** (0.04)	-0.33*** (0.07)
Female condition	-0.07 (0.07)	0.07 (0.06)	0.02 (0.09)
Male condition	0.05 (0.07)	0.08 (0.06)	0.01 (0.09)
Female participant	0.19*** (0.05)	0.21*** (0.05)	0.29*** (0.07)
Masculine statement:Female condition	0.01 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)	0.10 (0.08)
Masculine statement:Male condition	-0.02 (0.06)	0.003 (0.06)	-0.001 (0.08)
Masculine statement:Female participant	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.21*** (0.05)	-0.17* (0.07)
N	1,114	1,114	1,114
Log Likelihood	-927.88	-916.05	-1,295.07
AIC	1,875.76	1,852.10	2,610.13
BIC	1,925.91	1,902.26	2,660.29

\*p < .05; \*\*p < .01; \*\*\*p < .001

## Feminine Candidate Statements

**1 - “CB” Cynthia/Christopher Brooks** I am not a career politician. I’m a business owner and parent who has raised two wonderful children in public school. I’m running for United States Senate because I want young people to have the same opportunities I had when I was growing up. I’m worried that young people today are struggling just to make ends meet. Something has gone wrong and I’m afraid Washington politicians don’t have the will to make it right. If the same career politicians continue representing us, we will continue losing American jobs and raising American debts. I’m running because I’m tired of politicians talking, acting, and voting like they can’t hear the American people. My priorities will include working with my colleagues to renew our nation’s sagging infrastructure, improve our public education system, make safe and sound defense policy, common sense regulatory reform, and responsible environmental policies. I will bring the same commitment, determination and hard work to Congress that I’ve given my private sector endeavors. Thank you.

**2 - “MG” Maria/Mark Green** I’m running for United States Senate because I believe in inclusion, hope, and new ways to resolve old problems. I have the experience, ability, and ideas to lead. In all my public service—as a state prosecutor, county administrator, and state representative—I have broken down barriers, built bridges, and brought people together to achieve solutions in the public interest first. We can restore peace, progress, and renew the American dream of freedom and opportunity by building lasting partnerships. I will reject the bluster and bravado that has so soured our global alliances and I will rebuild our foreign relationships. I want to improve education and empower parents and teachers so they can pursue excellence and innovation. I want to inspire hope in every American. My colleagues would agree that I say what I believe, do what I say, and hold myself accountable. I hope my record will encourage you to support my candidacy.

**3 - “FL” Felicia/Frank Lee** I grew up in a small town. My mother was a postal worker and my father was a textile factory worker. They didn’t have much money, but they had family. They taught me the value of hard work and perseverance. They taught me the importance of acting with integrity, ethics and professionalism. I’m running for United States Senate because my parents passed a better world onto me. I want to ensure that our children have the same opportunities I’ve had: strong schools, affordable health care, and good jobs. I want to unlock the doors of opportunity to grow businesses, access education and good paying jobs, raise families safely, and realize a bright, secure future for seniors, children, and grandchildren. I can bring the change our state needs. If I am elected, I will promote economic policies that work for middle class families. I will challenge special interests and fight for new job training programs. I will work to make our neighborhoods safer, healthier, and stronger. I’m asking for your vote. I’ll never forget where I come from.

**4 - “JW” Janet/John Walker** The American Dream our parents worked so hard for is slipping away. That’s why I’m running to be our next United States Senator. I have spent my life bringing people together, solving tough problems, and making a difference in our communities. I might be running against some formidable opponents, but they’re career politicians. My real opponents will be Washington lobbyists and their big financiers. If I’m elected Senator, lobbyists will not set my agenda. I will be committed to the voters. I will not let big banks control the nation’s purse any longer. I will close corporate loopholes and give relief to middle class Americans. I will forge bipartisan solutions and pass job training legislation. I will work to protect our cities, reform our public schools, and combat crime. Finally, I am committed to ensuring Social Security and Medicare benefits are available to everyone who depends on them—including my mom and dad. Please visit my website and get to know me. I would be honored to have your vote.

## Masculine Candidate Statements

**1 - “ST” Stephen/Stephanie Taylor** The federal government is out of control—a jack of all trades and a master of none. There is a reason so many citizens in this state are outraged. Members of Congress throw trillions into a military industrial complex that spies on American citizens. They permitted enormous financial institutions to mortgage America’s future on their gambling debts. Congress is no longer accountable to the people. Citizens of this state need a different path forward—one that prunes the tree of an inefficient government to restore the fruit of a good government. This cannot be achieved by re-electing the same politicians who made the mess. As a lawyer intimately familiar with the complexities of government, I know what to trim and I’ll work toward sensible solutions to balance the federal debt and deficit budgets. Let’s restore a system of accountability. It’s time for us to leave the world a better place for our children and grandchildren. Thank you.

**2 - “PA” Patrick/Patricia Allen** Something has gone wrong in America. Across the country, people feel disconnected from a government that serves powerful special interests instead of citizens and they’re angry that politicians don’t care much about the voters who elected them. These days, politicians are elected based on how much money they raise and then, once elected, they spend the rest of the time in office raising more money for the next election. My campaign is different. It is energized at the grassroots level and funded by thousands of citizens from across the state, not by special interests. Let’s revitalize the political process and restore a sense of community and confidence in government. The future holds greater possibilities: a renaissance of small businesses, more jobs for American workers, and higher quality education for the next generation of leaders. Let’s put government and the economy back into the hands of the people. Together we can restore a government of, by, and for the people, but this change can only happen from the ground up—not through my actions, but from yours. Vote to join us.



**3 - “KH” Ken/Karen Hall** As a doctor, I spent a lifetime dedicated to making a difference in the lives of others. Why am I willing to leave a profession like that to run for Congress? Because I’m frustrated that the struggling economy and massive amount of debt we’ve accumulated are resulting in fewer opportunities for the next generation. The voices of the people should not be drowned out by corporations or billionaires. Changing the current course means changing the representatives we send to Washington. We need leadership to reduce the burden of high taxes and debilitating government regulations, to increase the efficiency of government, and to balance the nation’s budget. I’m running for United States Senate because I’m a capable leader with the skills and ability to bring opportunity back to the people of this state. I will bring much needed analytical capabilities and innovative thinking to Washington that can shift the mindset of Congress from partisan stalemate to practical problem-solving. Let’s restore a more efficient, accountable, and trustworthy federal government. Let’s get small businesses growing again. Learn more about these proposals on the web.

**4 - “DM” Daniel/Debra Mason** The economy, while in the early days of a recovery, is emerging from one of the worst recessions in American history. I’m running for United States Senate because our state needs a proven and effective leader who can navigate through the challenges we face as a nation. If elected, my number one priority will be to bring stability to the nation’s economy. I want to increase the number of American businesses around the world, protect our national security interests, and push for greater oversight over the federal bureaucracy. I support a sensible financing plan to help homeowners with their mortgages, a much needed infrastructure plan to create jobs, and tax credits for employers that hire unemployed veterans and the long term unemployed. I am committed to protecting the Social Security and Medicare programs for all of our seniors. I have the expertise, experience, and commitment to make a difference for you. With your support, we can accomplish many great things for the benefit of all Americans. Thank you!