Gendered Communication in the Pursuit for Political Power

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Abstract

Communication is a major element of strategic self-presentation for political leaders and candidates for office. Work in social psychology and linguistics report reliable and consistent gender differences in the use of function words—the most frequent yet unassuming words we use in everyday language (Mulac, 2006; Newman et al., 2008; Pennebaker, 2011; Schwartz et al., 2013). Using this insight, Jones (2016) examined the gendered communication strategies that Hillary Clinton used as she ascended into more powerful political roles and found that Clinton talks more "like a man" the more powerful she becomes. However, it is unclear if female politicians broadly conform to masculine speech patterns or if the Clinton case is unique. Using natural language processing techniques, I employ a quantitative textual analysis of 2,484 interview and debate transcripts sampled from 126 male and female politicians vying for high office in the United States including Congressional and party leaders, governors, and presidential candidates, including those from the 2016 presidential election. My findings suggest that female political leaders conform to a more masculine style of speech (relative to the wives of male presidential candidates), but that partisan stereotypes encourage a different, and sometimes conflicting, self-presentation. Among male leaders, but not male presidential candidates, I find Democrats and Republicans speak in ways that are consistent with gender stereotypes commonly mapped onto the two parties, which associate the Republican Party with masculinity and the Democratic Party with femininity (Hayes, 2011; Winter, 2010). Despite strategic differences in the communication styles of male and female leaders, these findings suggest that the interaction between party and gender stereotypes is more insightful than considering either factor in isolation. [1]

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[1]This paper is a chapter of my dissertation. Suggestions on "where to go from here" would be particularly helpful.

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 (Jamieson, 1995). 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?

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. Adhering to this advice, Margaret Thatcher was trained to lower her naturally high-pitched voice in order to communicate with more authority[2] (Cameron, 2005). Indeed, Eleanor Roosevelt (1928) suggested nearly a century ago that women aspiring toward political leadership should adopt masculine styles of speaking to get their points across and make their voices heard:

> 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.

Work in social psychology and linguistics report reliable and consistent differences in the ways men and women structure their communication (Argamon et al., 2007, 2003; Mulac, 2006; Newman et al., 2008; Pen-

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[2]Watch "Margaret Thatcher voice before/after" at www.youtube.com/watch?v=28_0gXLKLbk

nebaker, 2011; Schwartz et al., 2013). Jones (2016) used this insight to examine the gendered communication patterns in Hillary Clinton's language over time and found that as Clinton transitioned from first lady to US senator to secretary of state, she spoke in an increasingly masculine way. Clinton's example raises 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. Do women have to talk like men to be successful in politics? Why would women want to run for office if they have to act like someone they're not? These questions are the foundation for the research presented in this paper.

Following a similar procedure described by Jones (2016), this paper examines the gendered communication styles of U.S. political leaders using an original corpus of 2,484 interview and debate transcripts from 126 male and female party leaders, governors, and presidential candidates. My findings suggest that female political leaders conform to a more masculine style of speech (relative to the wives of male presidential candidates), but that partisan stereotypes encourage a different, and sometimes conflicting, self-presentation. 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. Among male leaders, but not male presidential candidates, I find Democrats and Republicans speak in ways that are consistent with gender stereotypes commonly mapped onto the two parties, which associate the Republican Party with masculinity and the Democratic Party with femininity (Hayes, 2011; Winter, 2010). Despite strategic differences in the communication styles of male and female leaders, these findings suggest that the interaction between party and gender stereotypes is more insightful than considering either factor in isolation.

Gender as an Identity and Performance

In political psychology, questions about group-based identities, differences, and behaviors are largely based on the assumptions underlying social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel and Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987). Both theories argue that social identities are powerful because they shape expectations and beliefs about oneself, one's in-groups, and most importantly, one's out-groups. These expectations reflect broad generalizations that "guide how people encode (attend and interpret), remember, and respond (judge and interact) in their social worlds" (Fiske, Gilbert and Lindzey, 2010, 159). Indeed, a well-established body of research 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 (Iyengar, Sood and Lelkes, 2012; Kinder and Sears, 1981; Tesler, 2014; Tesler and Sears, 2010; Winter, 2008). As a social identity, gender is a powerful, cognitively embedded construct

that influences, constrains, motivates, and guides political behavior. However, the availability or salience of a particular social identity largely depends on the context or situation. For example, as the first black president, Barack Obama's race was a highly salient feature of his identity and indeed, attitudes toward race factor significantly into public evaluations of his performance (Tesler, 2014; Tesler and Sears, 2010). When women are a minority within a group, such as in national or statewide elective offices, their identity as women is more salient. 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

Expectations of gender play a significant role in shaping how we "perform" gender. 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). Language is one site where these stylized performances occur. Mulac (2006) find 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 men and women "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.

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. Lawless and Fox (2010) 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*). 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; Sanbonmatsu, 2002; 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. Simply put, the prototypical politician looks, acts, and talks 'like a man.' 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 (Duerst-Lahti and Kelly, 1995; Eagly and Carli, 2007; Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; Jamieson, 1995; Rhode and Kellerman, 2007). 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. 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 when dealing with "masculine issues" such as crime, defense, and the economy (Alexander and Andersen, 1993; Hayes, 2011; 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 (Alexander and Andersen, 1993; Hayes, 2011; Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; King and Matland, 2003). Voters tend to view the Republican Party as more masculine and more competent in dealing with masculine issues, such as foreign policy and taxation, whereas the Democratic Party is seen as more feminine and more competent in dealing with feminine issues, such as education and healthcare (Hayes, 2011; King and Matland, 2003; Winter, 2010). 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, 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; Sanbonmatsu, 2002), 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). 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.

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*, Karpowitz and 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, 336) 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." 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). 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 (Cameron, 2005; Dodson, 2006; Gertzog, 1995; 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. Such findings are important since women are outnumbered by men at every level of government in the US. 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, 139) put it, "inequalities of voice have a strong tendency to translate into inequalities of authority."

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.

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. 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?

Methods and Data

Language is a Gateway into the Political Mind

The way we speak is intrinsically linked to our gender identity and to the political climates we surround ourselves in. My analysis of Clinton's language draws on research conducted by psychologist James Pennebaker of the University of Texas at Austin. Pennebaker and his colleagues that find men and women tend to speak differently—-not necessarily in the content or topics of their conversations, but in the use of seemingly unremarkable "function words," such as pronouns and prepositions. Whereas content words 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). 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. Pennebaker (2011) argues that this process of organization serves an important social purpose and, consequently, function words reveal much about the speaker's mind, their social status in society, as well as the situational context.

Function words are the most commonly written and spoken words in the English language, but because they have little semantic meaning by themselves, they are often implicit in speech and are not always consciously evaluated when speaking (Pennebaker, Mehl and Niederhoffer, 2003; Pinker, 1994; Tausczik and Pennebaker, 2010). 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, suggesting that the brain processes function words differently from content words (Pinker, 1994). A growing body of research (aided by computational methods of analyzing speech) report broad patterns among various populations in their use of function words, or their linguistic style. In prior research, linguistic style has been linked to personality traits, levels

of depression, relationship quality, status and social hierarchy, gender, and more (for a review, see Tausczik and Pennebaker, 2010).

Measuring Feminine and Masculine Linguistic Styles

Schwartz et al. (2013) and Newman et al. (2008) report reliable and consistent gender differences in linguistic style through their analysis of tens of thousands of speech (verbal and written) samples from both men and women. 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 then men (Argamon et al., 2007, 2003; Mulac, 2006; Newman et al., 2008; Schwartz et al., 2013). Using a high rate of pronouns and social references suggests that feminine speech tends to be personalized and socially-oriented. The high use of first-person singular words suggests that feminine speech tends to be self-conscious and conveys lower status (less power) (Kacewicz et al., 2014; Pennebaker, 2011). 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 is evident in the use of cognitive mechanisms (e.g., I say this *because...*) and tentative words (e.g., This *might* be right).

In general and on average, men tend to use nouns, big words (defined as words greater than 6 letters), articles, prepositions, anger and swear words more frequently than women (Argamon et al., 2007, 2003; Mulac, 2006; Newman et al., 2008; Schwartz et al., 2013). Masculine speech tends to be centered around objects and things that are categorized in highly specific ways. Articles signify nouns and noun clauses (e.g., *the* university, *a* tree) referring 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). The high use of first-person plural words suggests that masculine speech tends to be dominant, conveying high status. Higher status individuals are more likely to talk "down" to "you" or speak for the generalized, all-assuming "we," which politicians are famous for (Kacewicz et al., 2014; Pennebaker, 2011). 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 small but significant. Given speech samples from both men and women as well as the parameters for feminine and masculine styles (seen in table 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).

Table 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
1st person singular	I, me, my	1st 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		

From this, I computed a simple equation to measure the gendered self-presentation of political leaders:

$$\text{Feminine/Masculine ratio} = \frac{\sum Feminine}{\sum Masculine} \text{ markers} \tag{1}$$

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, which are listed in the appendix. 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 1.

Debate transcripts were retrieved from the American Presidency Project [3]. With the exception of Geraldine Ferraros's 1984 vice presidential debate, all available debate transcripts from the 2004 general election through the 2015 primary debates were included. Together this represents 256 debate transcripts from 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.
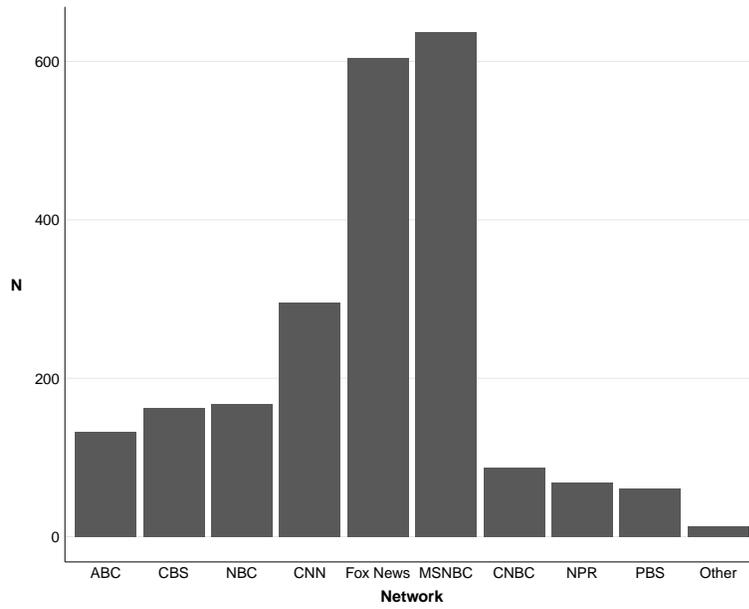
Figure 1: Interview Transcripts by Network

Table 2: 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	

Descriptive Statistics

Table 2 provides a descriptive overview of the transcripts in 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 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. Newt Gingrich) who appeared regularly.

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.

Unique observations count leaders according their role. 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. 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. For further descriptive statistics on the political leader corpus, see the appendix.

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 were exclusive interviews with the wife of a leader or candidate that were collected unintentionally, while others were joint interviews with the politician and his wife. Following the same inclusion criteria described in the appendix, I retained transcripts with the wives of leaders and presidential candidates, prepared the text for processing, and placed them into

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[3]http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/debates.php

a separate corpus for comparison purposes. Table 3 describes this "mini-corpus."

Table 3: 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

Analysis of the Political Leader Corpus

Using these transcripts, I analyzed the linguistic structures described in table 1 using the 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).

I first determined the ratio of feminine to masculine linguistic markers in each transcript and then calculated the feminine/masculine ratio using the weighted mean (based on word count) for each unique observation (i.e. individual politician by role). This ensures estimates are not biased by any particular transcript or leader. Results from the weighted mean are a like-for-like comparison of each leader according to their role.

Expectations

Despite evidence suggesting men and women use function words differently (Argamon et al., 2007, 2003; Mulac, 2006; Newman et al., 2008; Schwartz et al., 2013), given the findings from Jones' (2016) case study of Hillary Clinton, I expect that both male and female politicians will be significantly more masculine in their self-presentation than will the wives of male presidential candidates (H1). Following from this logic, I expect the gendered self-presentation of female party leaders and governors will not significantly differ from their male counterparts (H2). However due to the double-bind dilemmas women perceive on the campaign trail

(Banwart and McKinney, 2005; Bystrom et al., 2004; Dittmar, 2015; Lawless and Fox, 2010), I expect female presidential candidates will be more likely to assert a masculine self-presentation than female governors and party leaders who have already secured their positions (H3).

Given the rise of partisan polarization particularly among elites as well as work suggesting that voters view the Republican Party as more masculine and the Democratic Party as more feminine (Hayes, 2011; Winter, 2010), there is also reason to suppose that party differences are reflected in leaders' self-presentation. I expect this party-gender interaction will be most apparent among Republican women running for president since Republican women not only have to prove their competence, but may feel pressured to assert their partisan credentials as well. Thus, I expect female Republican presidential candidates to use a more masculine style than female Democratic presidential candidates (H4). Because men, by virtue of the gender, are assumed to be competent (Cuddy, Fiske and Glick, 2004; Fiske et al., 2002; Glick et al., 2004) male leaders and presidential candidates may have greater flexibility in their gendered self-presentation and, consequently, I expect male leaders and presidential candidates will be more likely to present themselves in ways that conform to party stereotypes. Specifically, I expect Democratic men will display a more feminine style than Republican men, and Republican men will display a more masculine style than Democratic men (H5).

Results

Feminine/Masculine Ratio

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 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 2 displays how the candidate's wives compare to the political leaders on the feminine/masculine ratio.

Figure 2 demonstrates a clear difference between politicians and the candidate's wives. As expected (H1), the wives of male presidential candidates present themselves in a significantly more feminine way than male ($t(6) = 5$, $p < .01$) and female politicians ($t(6) = 4.7$, $p < .01$). This finding also 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.
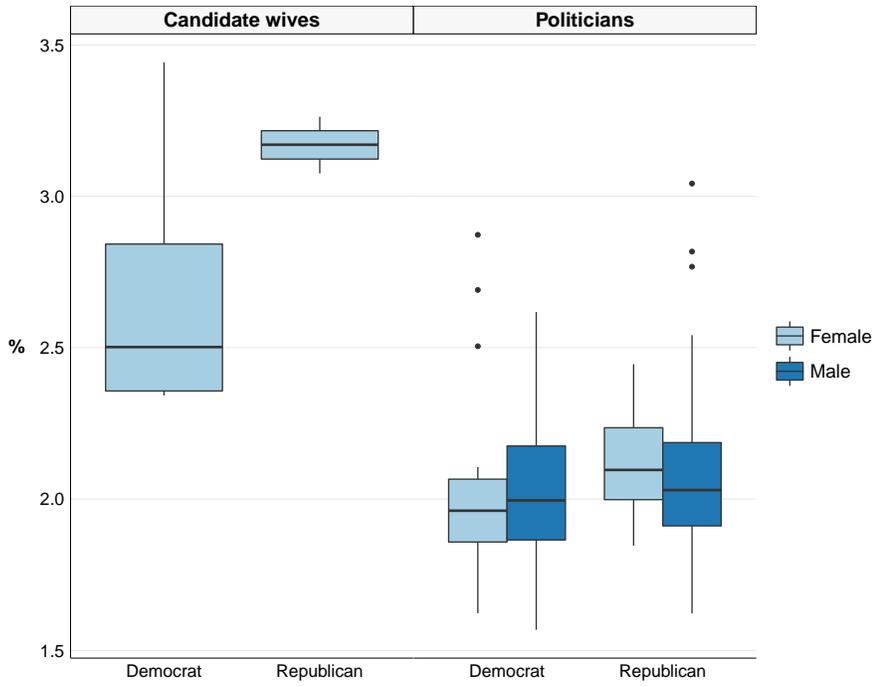
14

Figure 2: Feminine/Masculine Ratio Comparison with Candidate Wives by Gender and Party - All transcripts (weighted mean)
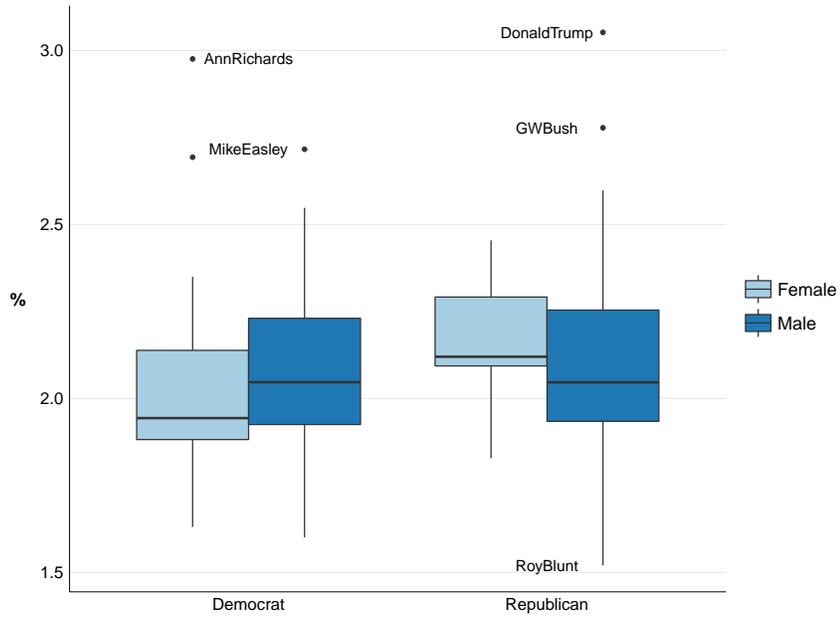

Figure 3: Feminine/Masculine Ratio by Party and Gender in Interviews (weighted mean)
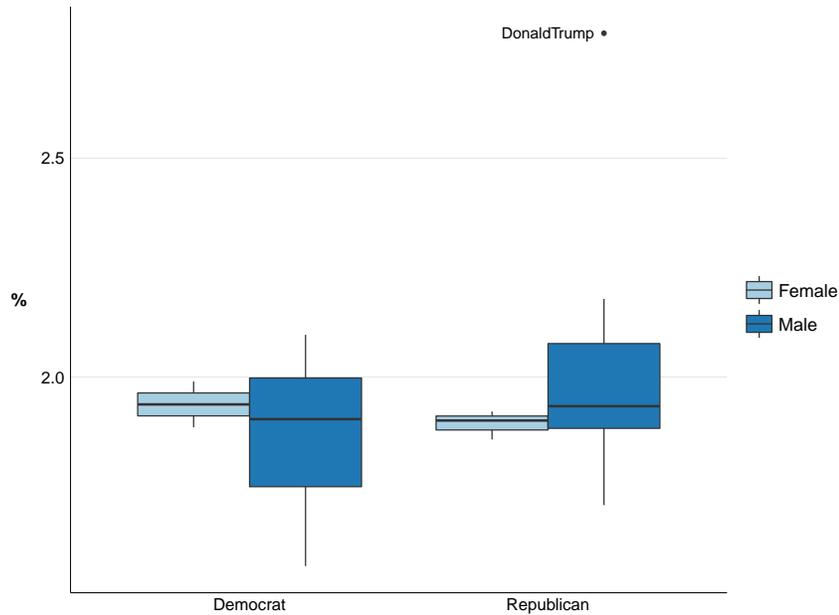
Figure 4: Feminine/Masculine Ratio by Party and Gender in Debates (weighted mean)

Figure 3 compares political leaders by gender and party on the feminine/masculine ratio during interviews, while figure 4 compares political leaders by gender and party on the feminine/masculine ratio during debates. Figures 3 and 4 illustrate that the differences between male and female and Democrat and Republican leaders are quite small. Figure 3 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 4 suggests a more masculine style among all leaders during presidential debates, particularly among Republican women.

Figure 5 breaks down these categories further, comparing the feminine/masculine ratio between presidential candidates, governors, and party leaders on in interview transcripts.

Figure 5 provides a much more nuanced account of the feminine/masculine ratio among leaders than expected (H2). Although figure 3 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 politicians in the corpus sample. 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
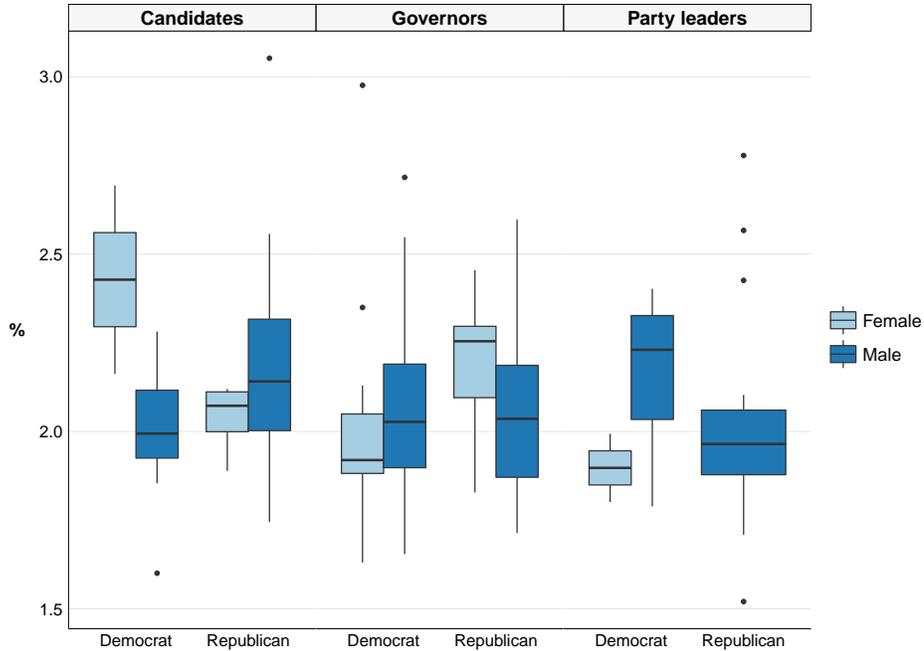
Figure 5: Feminine/Masculine Ratio by Party, Gender & Role in Interviews (weighted mean)

masculine style. Similarly, although figure 3 shows that female Republican leaders are most likely to speak with a feminine style, this is primarily driven by female Republican governors. Thus, results are mixed for H3, which expected a more masculine self-presentation among female presidential candidates relative to other female leaders. As presidential candidates, Republican women are more likely to speak with a masculine style, which supports H4 and partially supports H3. Consistent with figure 3, male leaders show much less variation in their gendered styles of communication. One notable finding in figure 5 is that male Democratic party leaders are the most feminine speakers among all party leaders, which aligns with expectations (H5). These results are confirmed in the statistical analysis presented below.

Statistical Analysis

The generalized linear models in table 4 provide additional insight into the gendered self-presentation of political leaders. Prior research suggests that, like gender, age is an important predictor of linguistic style (Pennebaker and Stone, 2003). For this reason, age is included as a control variable. The leader corpus model is based on the entire corpus of leader transcripts (excluding transcripts from the candidates' wives), whereas the individuals by role model is based on the weighted mean of transcripts for each leader according to their role.

Table 4: Generalized Linear Model Results for the Feminine/Masculine Ratio

| | Feminine/Masculine ratio | |
	Leader Corpus	Individuals by Role
Intercept	1.603***	1.637***
	(0.055)	(0.127)
Female	0.274***	0.193*
	(0.033)	(0.087)
Democrat	0.136***	0.0001
	(0.023)	(0.056)
Age	0.006***	0.008***
	(0.001)	(0.002)
Candidate	0.279***	0.075
	(0.023)	(0.055)
Debate	−0.195***	−0.155**
	(0.026)	(0.052)
Female:Democrat	−0.394***	−0.259*
	(0.041)	(0.114)
Female:Candidate	−0.458***	−0.268*
	(0.051)	(0.128)
Democrat:Candidate	−0.362***	−0.171*
	(0.035)	(0.080)
Female:Democrat:Candidate	0.759***	0.585**
	(0.068)	(0.195)
N	2,484	179
Log Likelihood	−943.510	10.023
AIC	1,907.020	−0.047

*p $<$ .05; **p $<$ .01; ***p $<$ .001
Weighted mean for individuals by role

Both models in table 4 display a main effect of gender on the feminine/masculine ratio, suggesting that in general, female leaders have a more feminine style of communication, which goes against expectations (H2). However, this effect is qualified both by party and by role, evidenced by the significant interaction 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. However, as with figure 5, both models suggest this effect is further mediated by role. Female Democratic presidential candidates display a more feminine style of communication, whereas female Democratic party leaders and governors display a significantly more masculine self-presentation once they have assumed leadership position. Again, however, it's important to note that the female Democratic candidates group only includes Hillary Clinton and Geraldine Ferraro.

The finding that Democratic women use more feminine language on the campaign trail stands in stark contrast to female presidential candidates overall, who present a significantly more masculine communication style. This effect is thus driven by Republican women, which supports expectations (H4). It also stands

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in contrast to Democratic presidential candidates overall who present a significantly more masculine style. This is evidenced by the interaction between party and the role of presidential candidate and is thus driven by Democratic men, not women, running for president.

I find a main effect for party in the full leader corpus model, but not for individual leaders according to their role. In the leader corpus, the model suggests that Democrats are more likely to use a feminine style, which provides only weak support for H5. Both models also display a significant main effect for age, suggesting that the older the leader is, the more likely they are to use a feminine style. I also find a significant main effect for presidential debate transcripts, suggesting that leaders are use more masculine language during debates.

To further understand these results, I consider these data from a variety of angles. The following sections are for exploratory and descriptive purposes.

Trends Over Time
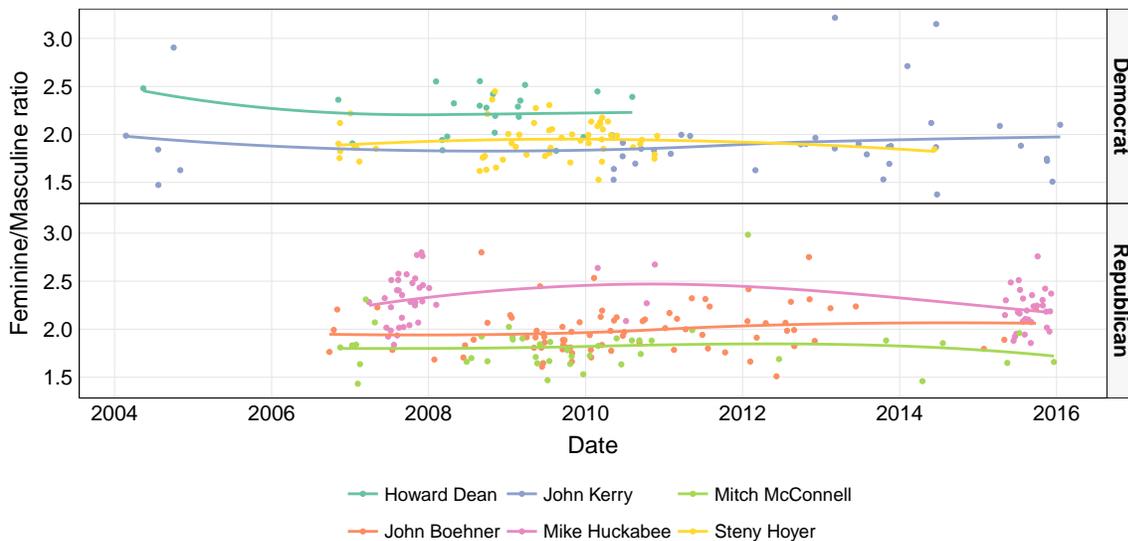
Figure 6: Feminine/Masculine Ratio Over Time - Sample of Men

Figures 6 and 7 plot the feminine/masculine ratio over time for a sample of leaders. The lines represent a smoothed loess curve, fitted using weighted least squares. Figure 6 shows little fluctuation in the feminine/masculine ratio among a sample of 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 lan-
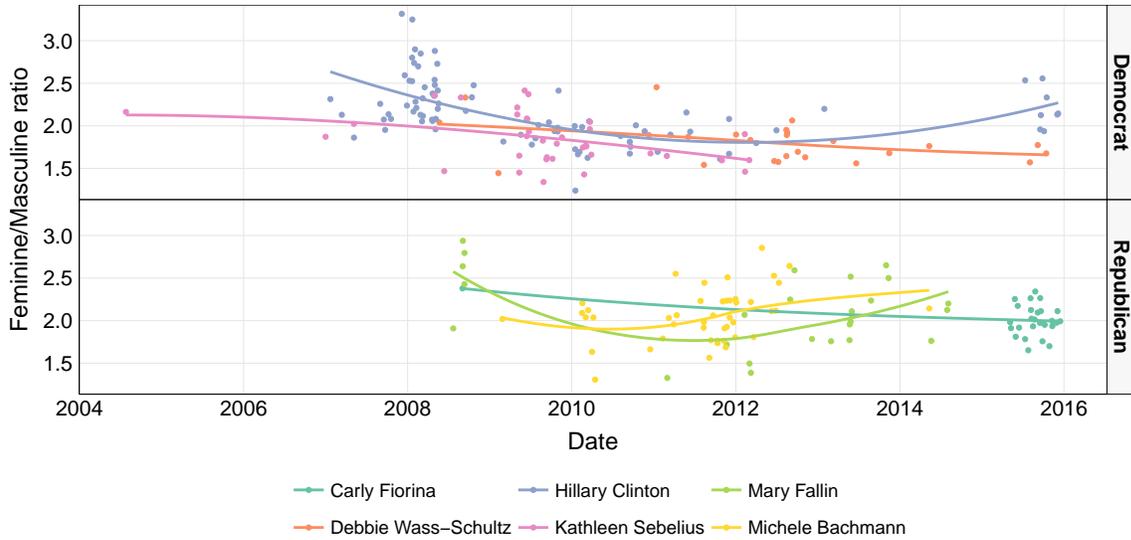
Figure 7: Feminine/Masculine Ratio Over Time - Sample of Women

guage does not change with the same magnitude as Hillary Clinton's language does. Figure 7 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.

Individual Comparisons

The following figures compare how individual leaders 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 8 displays the feminine/masculine ratio range among female leaders.

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 9 to 11. Apart from Nancy Pelosi and Hillary Clinton, female leaders did not appear in national interviews as frequently as men, which explains the much larger
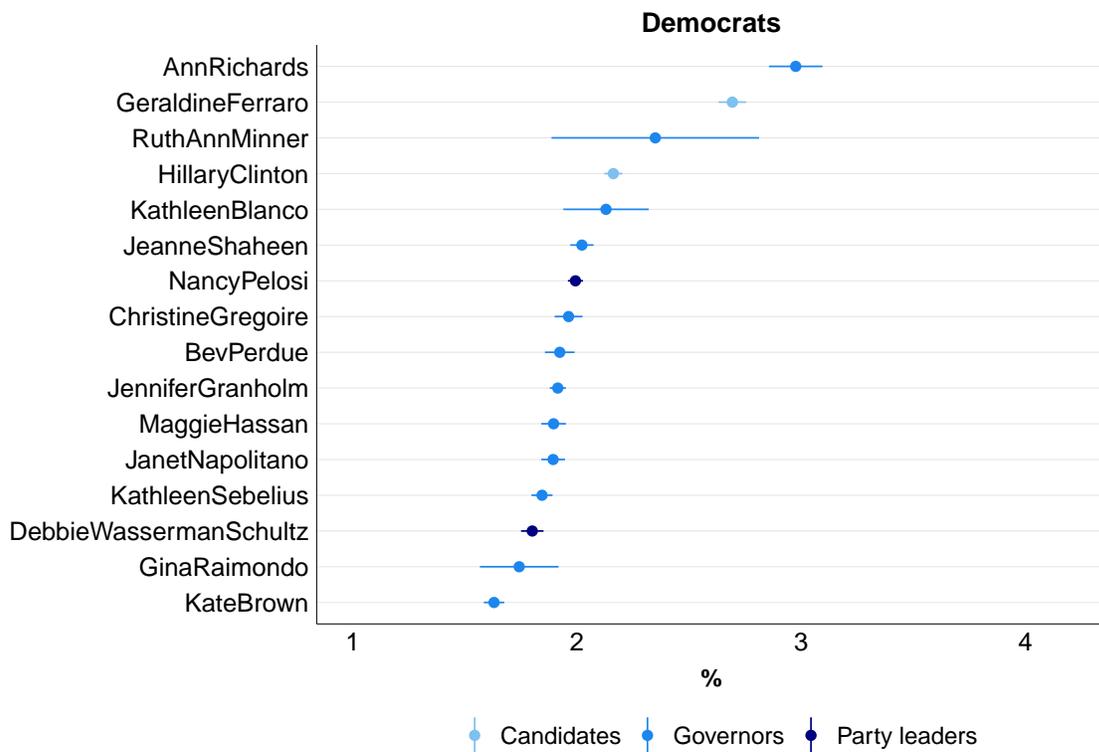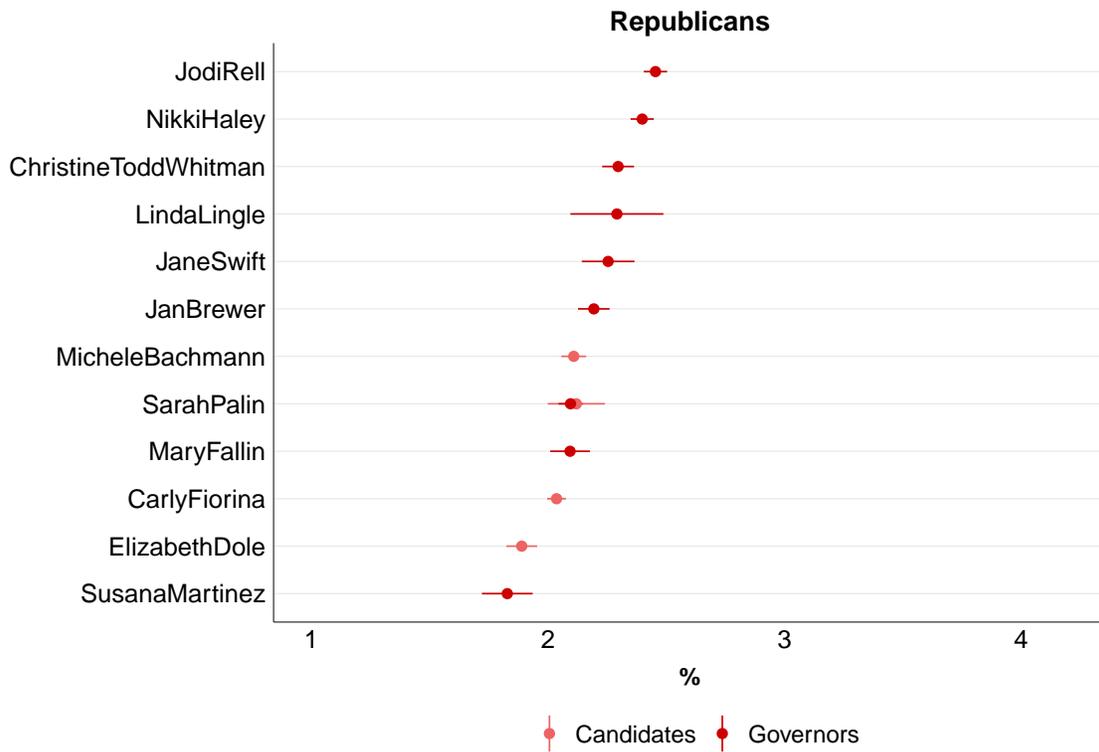
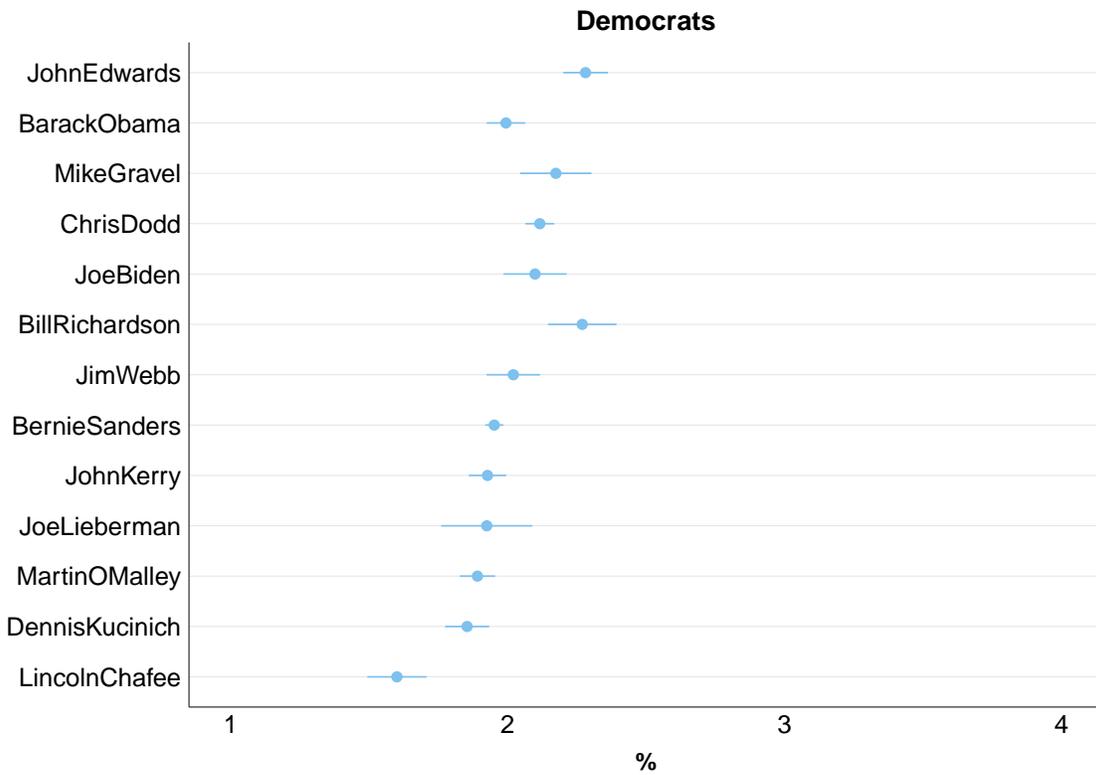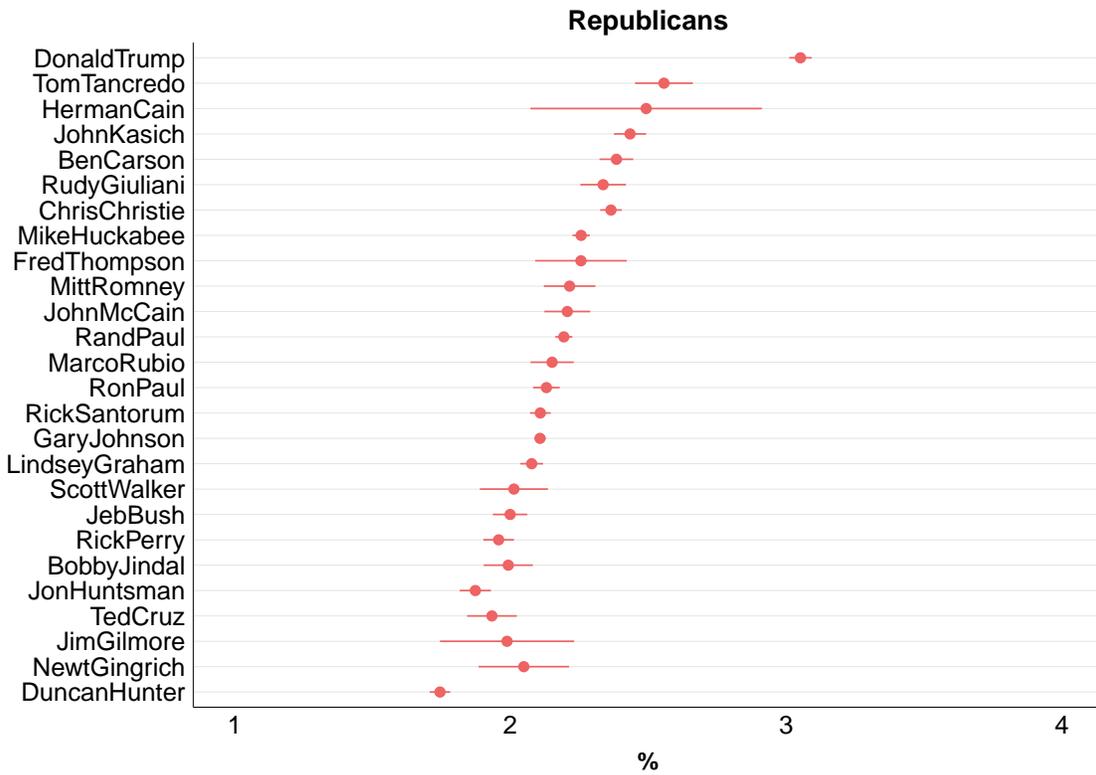Figure 8: Feminine/Masculine Ratio Means and Standard Errors for Female Leaders - Interviews

Figure 9: Feminine/Masculine Ratio Means and Standard Errors for Male Presidential Candidates - Interviews
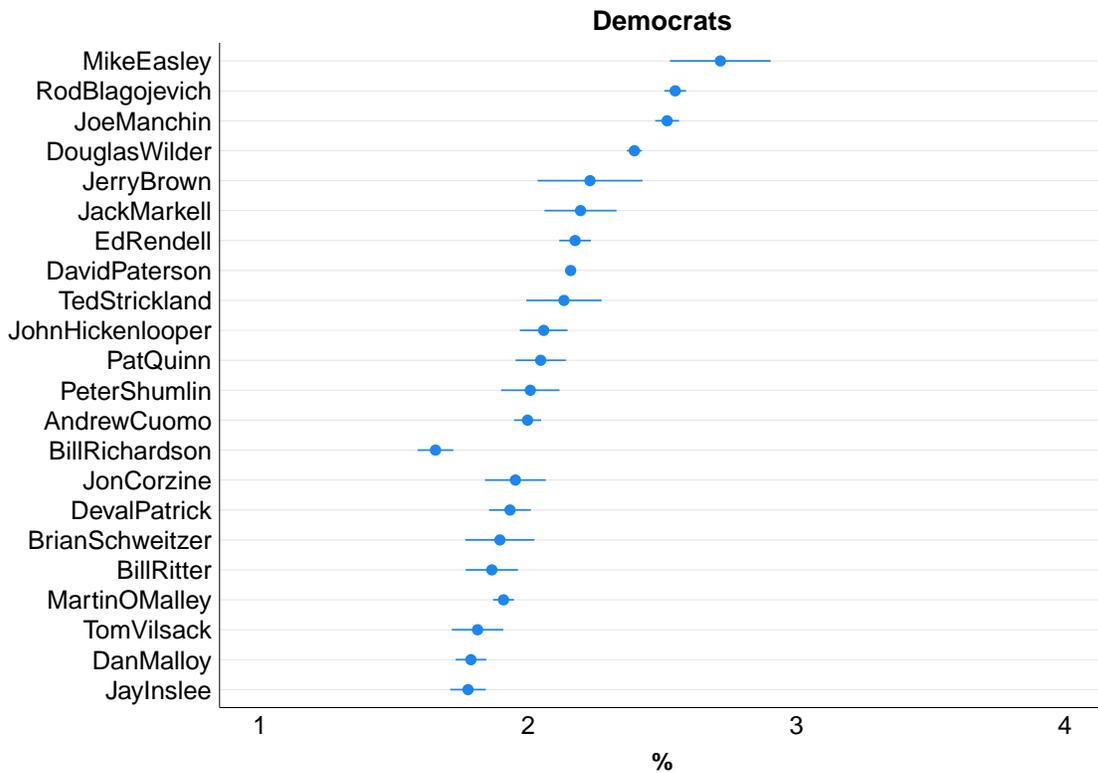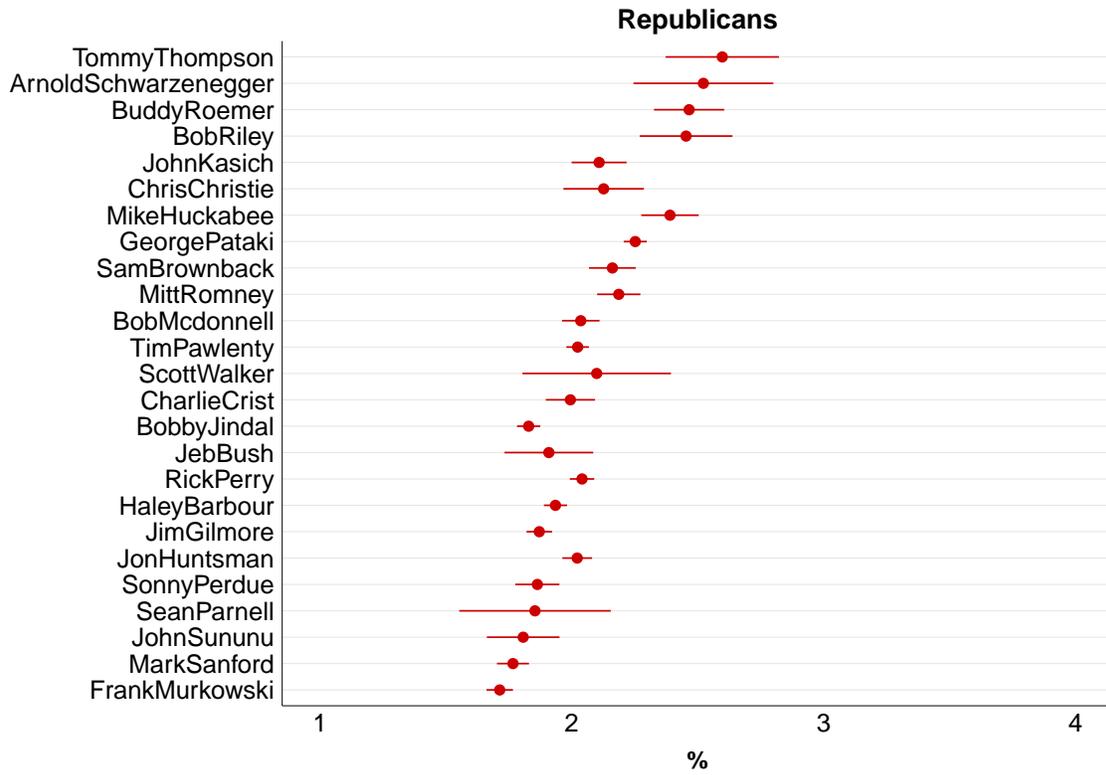
Figure 10: Feminine/Masculine Ratio Means and Standard Errors for Male Governors - Interviews
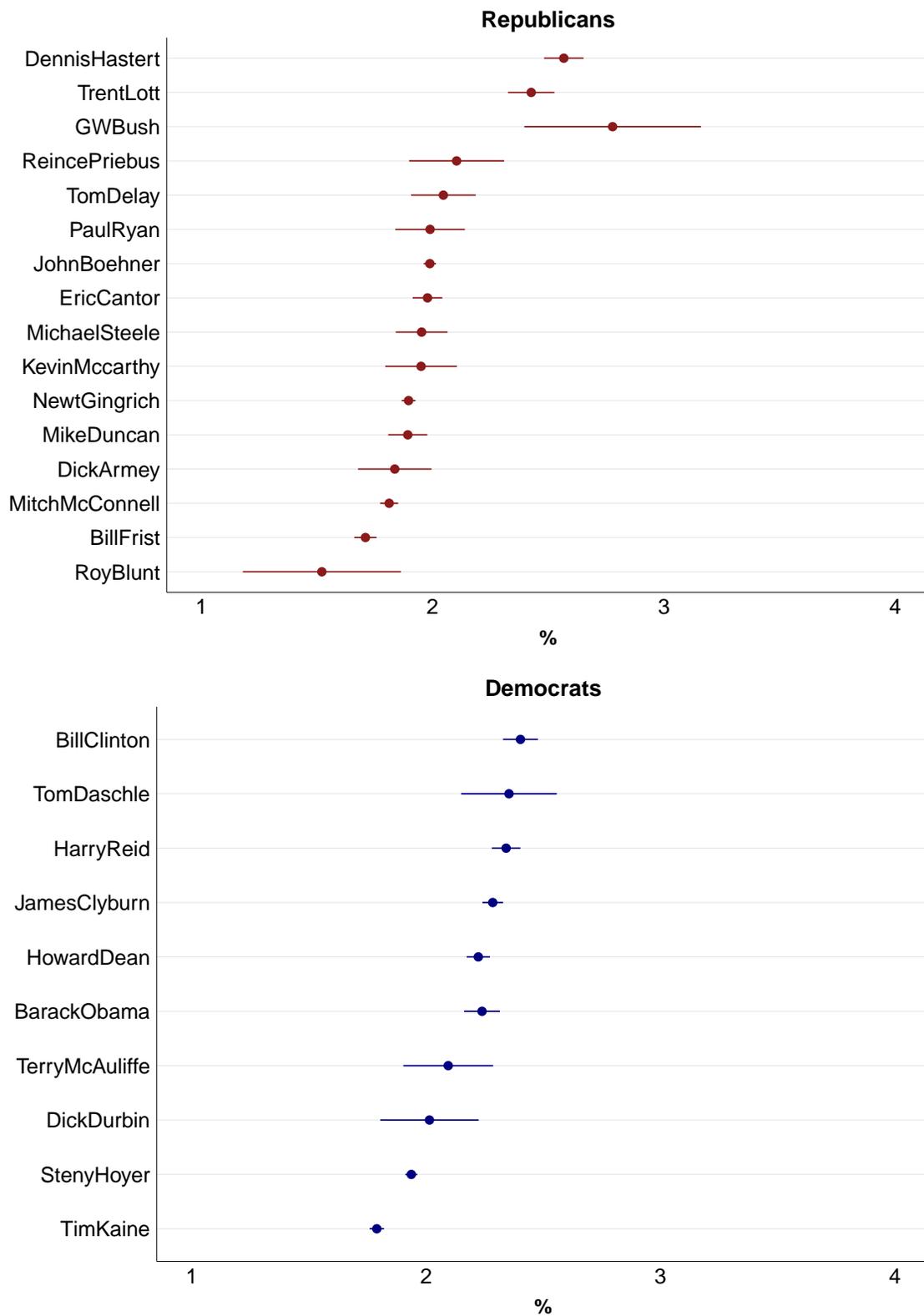
Figure 11: Feminine/Masculine Ratio Means and Standard Errors for Male Party Leaders - Interviews
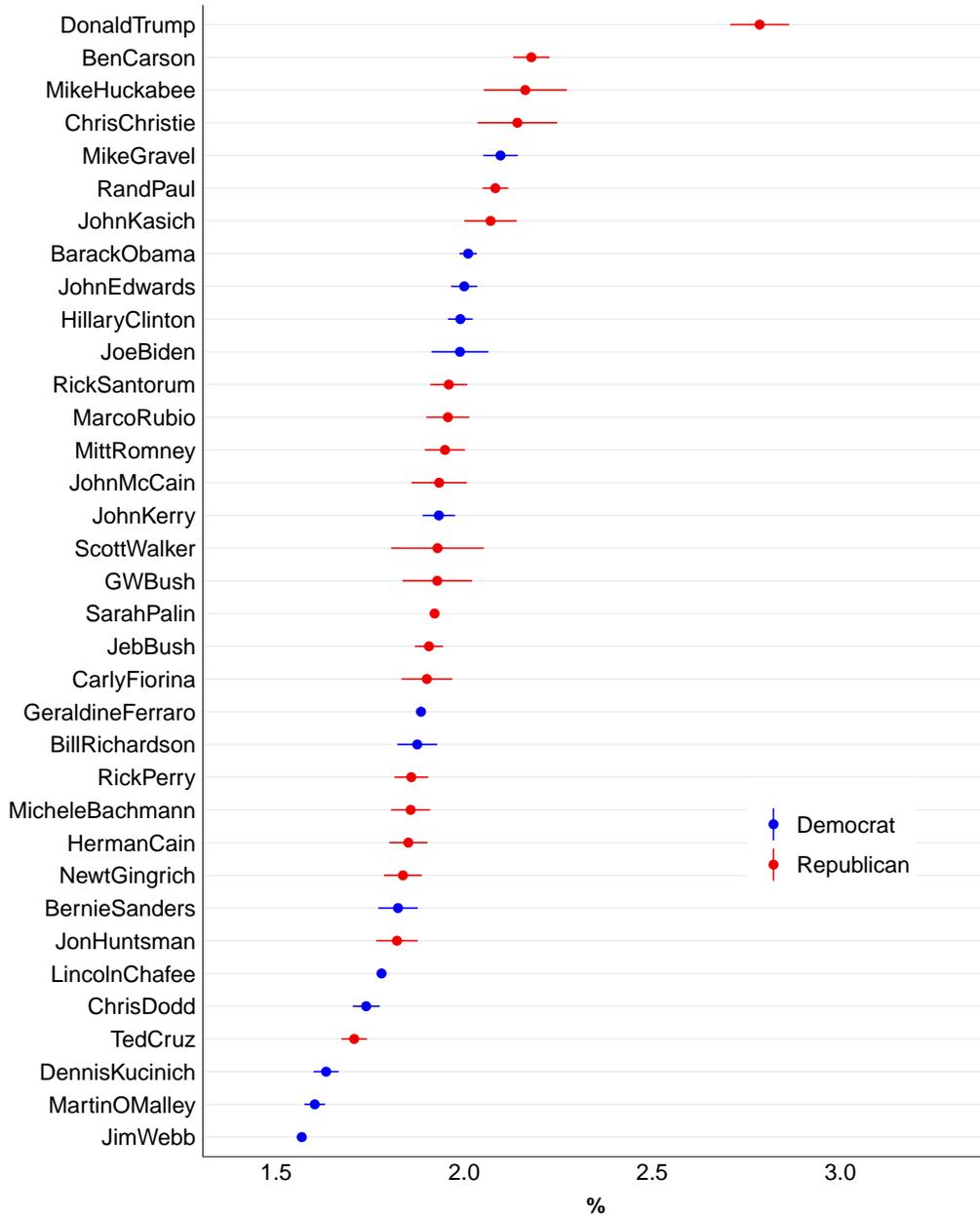
Figure 12: Feminine/Masculine Ratio Means and Standard Errors for Presidential Candidates - Debates

standard errors in figure 8. While the feminine/masculine ratio certainly varies among leaders, figures 8 to 12 show that the differences are small, with one notable exception—Donald Trump. Figures 9 and 12 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 politically inexperienced, braggadocios 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.

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.
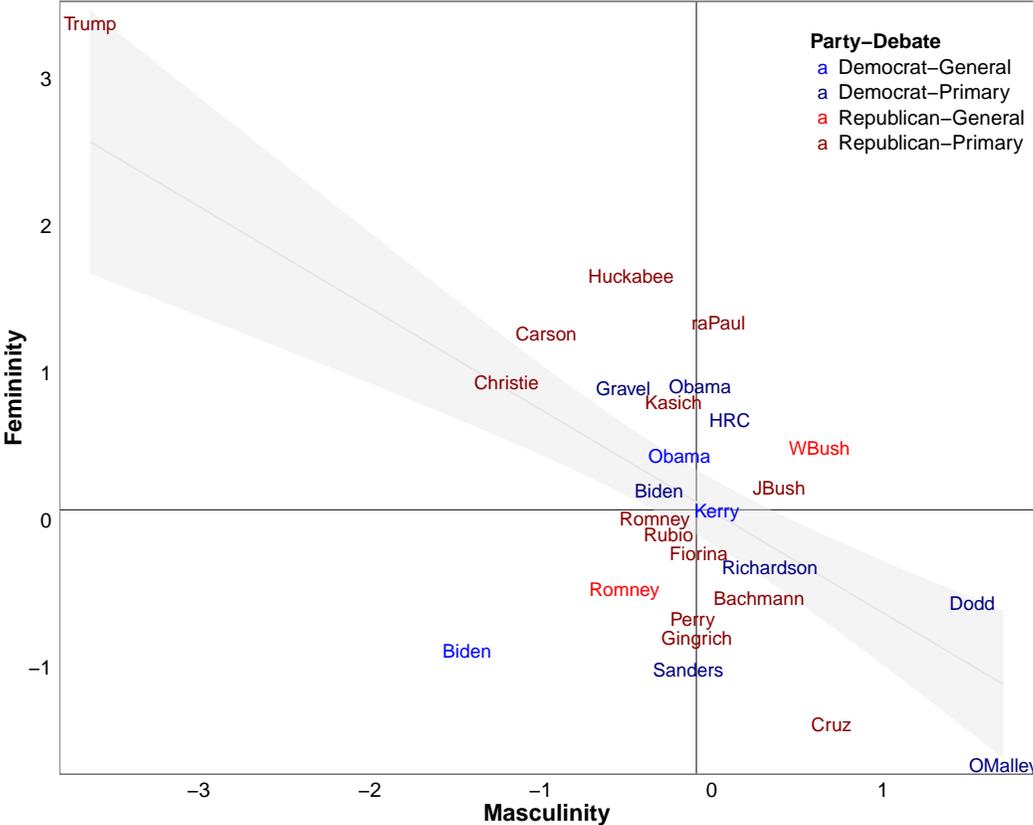

Figure 13: Femininity vs. Masculinity in Presidential Debates (values scaled and centered)
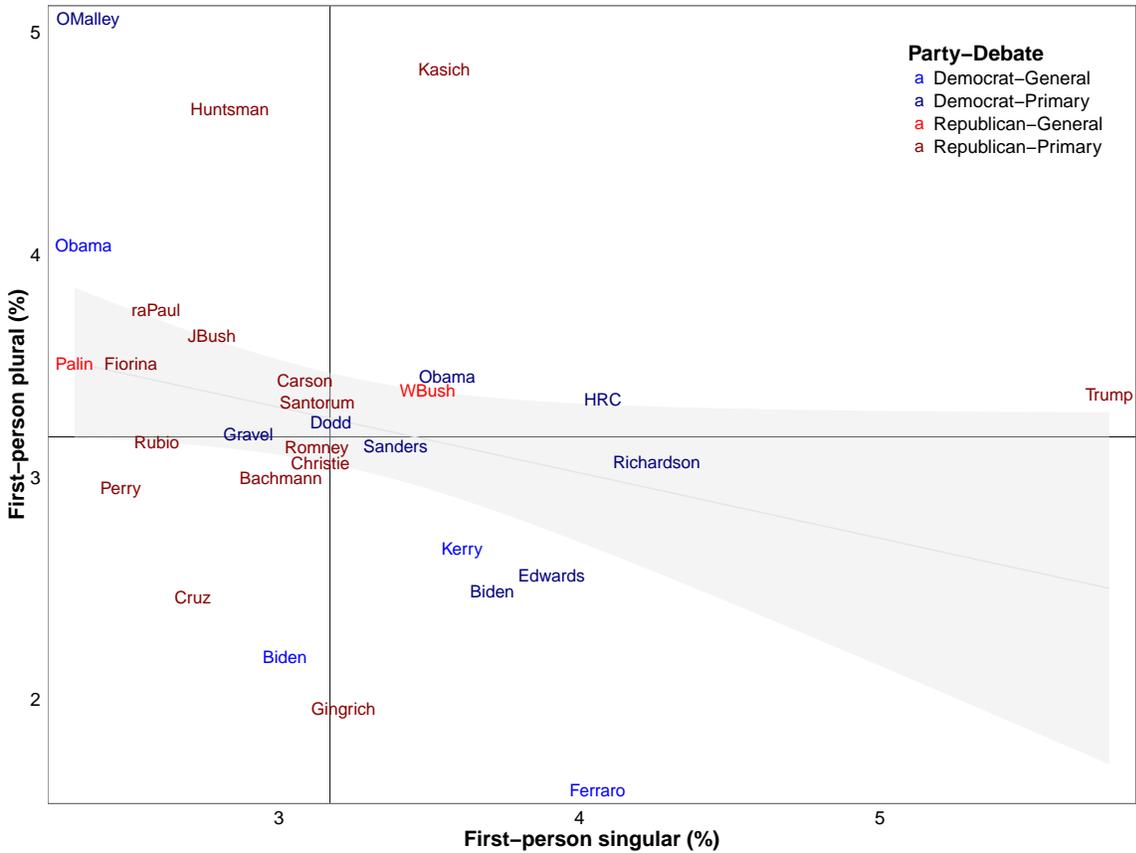
Figure 14: I vs. We: First-Person Pronouns in Presidential Debates

Donald Trump Talks Like a Woman?

When it comes to the political world, Trump's language defies the norm. Indeed, Donald Trump, the 2016 "outsider," is an outlier in nearly every figure from 12 to 18. Trump is not a political leader in the traditional sense and is an atypical case within the political leader corpus. Nevertheless he was elected president and clearly resonates with a sizable portion of the electorate. This analysis provides some hidden insight into Trump's unconventional style of communication.

Figures 12 and 13 show that Trump's style of communication is distinctly feminine. This is not surprising considering 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 emotionally detached. 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 2016 campaign was almost entirely personal and emotional, as evidenced in figures 15 and 16. Unlike most political leaders, Trump largely neglects serious
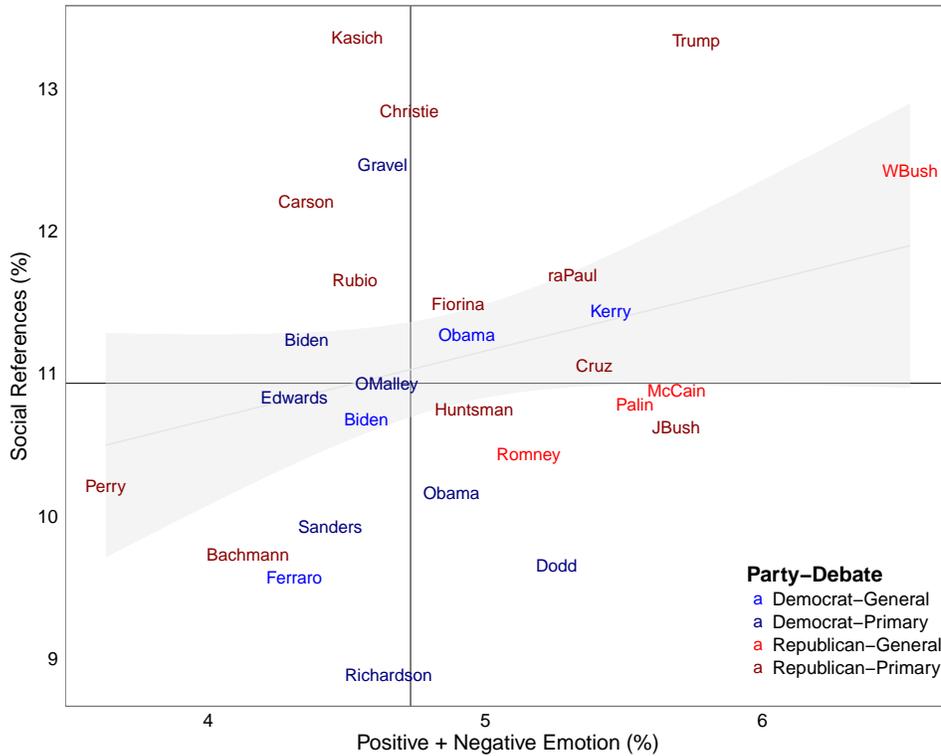
Figure 15: Social and Emotional References in Presidential Debates

discussions of public policy—topics that are inherently less personal and emotional.

Figures 14 and 15 demonstrate that Trump talks about people and, even more, about himself. In the first five presidential debates of the 2016 election, Trump said "they" 119 times, and "people" 111 times. Bush said "they" 46 times and "people" 56 times—about half as much as Trump. Still, the most frequent word Trump used during the first five debates 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 tends to personalize even the most distant and complex problems facing US policy today. Consider, for example, how Trump explained his strategy for defeating ISIS to CNN's Chris Cuomo (August 8, 2015):

CUOMO: How would you knock the hell out of them [ISIS]?

TRUMP: I would take the oil away, I'd take their money away, I'd take their source of money away. I'd make sure that –

CUOMO: How do you take the oil?

TRUMP: – Saudi Arabia - and by the way, Iran, which gives plenty of money to is ISIS, I would make sure – believe it or not, Iran is funneling money into ISIS, too. Iraq is going to Iran just like I predicted in 2004. . . . I would go in and take the oil and I'd put troops to protect the oil.
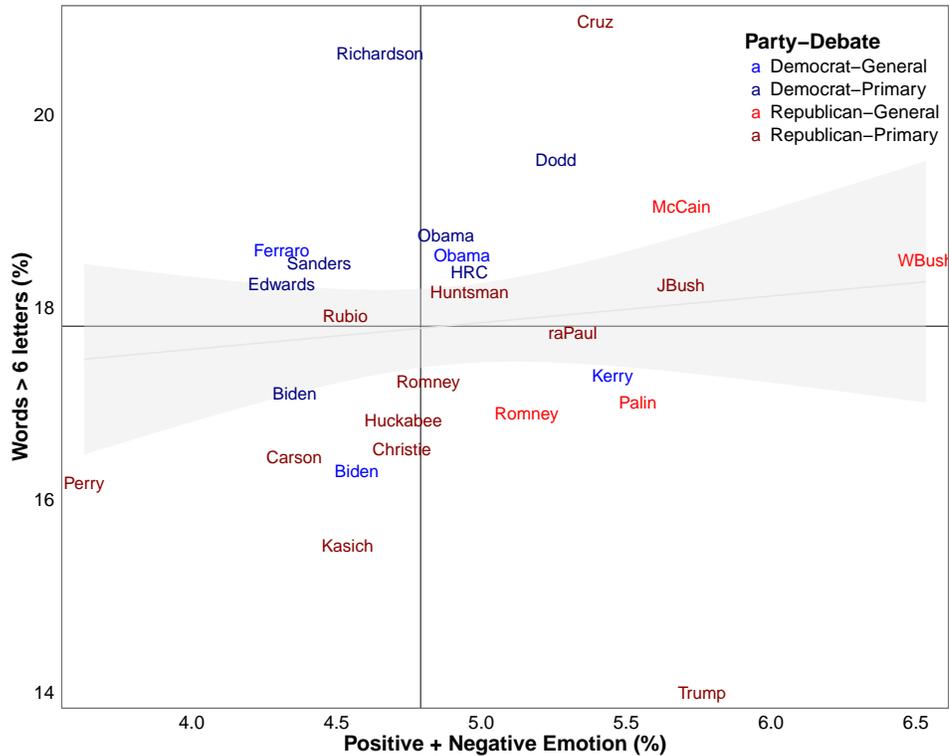
Figure 16: Big Words vs. Emotion in Presidential Debates

I would absolutely go and I'd take the money source away. And believe me, they would start to wither and they would collapse.

Compare this to how Hillary Clinton explained her strategy for defeating ISIS to Bloomberg's Charlie Rose (December 2, 2015):

ROSE: OK. So with respect to the new urgency, what should the United States do and what would you recommend we do [about ISIS]?

CLINTON: Well, I gave a speech about this ... [at the] Council on Foreign Relations because I think it's important that we look at it from a broader perspective. Number one, we have to deny them territory with a multi-pronged, multi-national effort, and the United States must lead that effort.

ROSE: What does that mean – lead?

CLINTON: Well, what it means is that we have to do the heavy lifting to get people to make the contributions that they have to make, whether it be aircraft to fly airstrikes against ISIS territory to go after leadership and economic infrastructure. Or putting together the troops on the ground, how we get more equipment and support to the Kurds who have been bearing the brunt of the fighting; how we do everything we can to get the Iraqis not only stand up their army but begin to work with the Sunni tribal leaders as was done successfully back in '07.
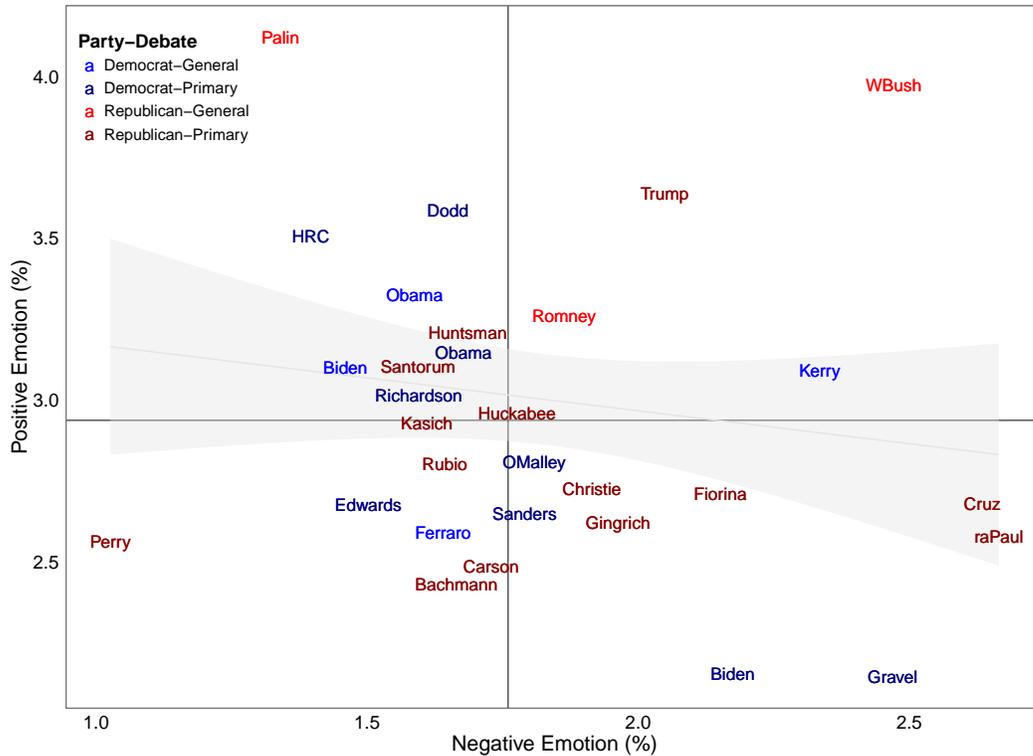
Figure 17: Positive vs. Negative Emotion in Presidential Debates

Note the contrast between Trump's use of first-person singular pronouns (feminine) and Clinton's use of first-person plural pronouns (masculine). Unlike Clinton, Trump personalizes US policy and speaks about what he would do, not what "we," the United States, should do, to counter ISIS. 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 (Kacewicz et al., 2014; Newman et al., 2003; Pennebaker, 2011). As a result, people who use high rates of first-person singular pronouns often convey a sense of personal authenticity, honesty, and vulnerability, characteristics that are largely absent in the language of traditional politicians as seen in the interview with Clinton. People who say "I" at very low rates tend to be powerful and confident yet psychologically distant, which can come across as less personal, authentic and trustworthy (Kacewicz et al., 2014; Newman et al., 2003; Pennebaker, 2011).

In figure 16, 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, Cruz said his path to the nomination "has been *foreclosed* [emphasis added]."[4]

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[4]Tribune news services, "Trump virtually clinches GOP nomination after Indiana win." *Chicago Tribune,* May 3, 2016.
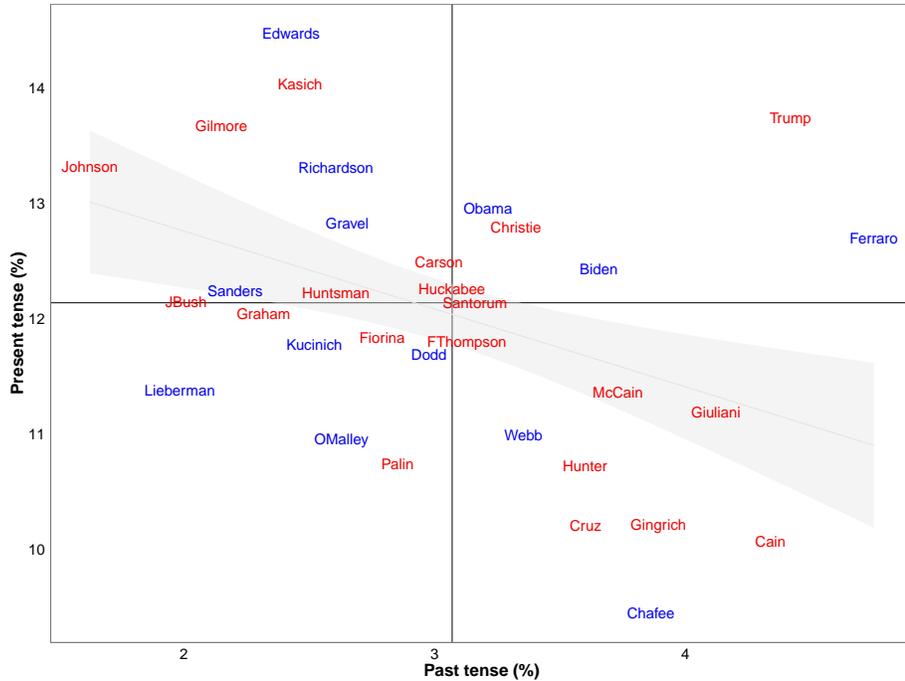
Figure 18: Past vs. Present: Verbs in Interviews with Presidential Candidates

Cruz's language is more complex and less straightforward than Trump's. Consider, for example, how often Trump refers to international agreements (NAFTA, TPP, Paris Climate Accord) as "bad deals." It requires only the most basic understanding of the English language to understand Trump's feelings toward these deals. Despite this, figure 17 shows that, in general, the emotional valence of Trump's language is much more positive than Ted Cruz or Rand Paul's, which is overwhelmingly negative. Finally, figure 18 shows that Trump also 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 used references to the past to explain why the White House needed an outsider candidate. There is much more to be said about Trump's language, but for now, let us return to a discussion on more traditional leaders.

Governors and Party Leaders

Figure 19 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. Pennebaker (2011) argues that first-person plural words like "we" can be used to signify a close relationship between the speaker and others, but can also be used to deflect responsibility away from the speaker (e.g., *We* need to find a solution). In the latter case, it's difficult, if not impossible, to specify who the "we" refers to and can come across as lofty and/or disingenuous (Pennebaker, 2011).
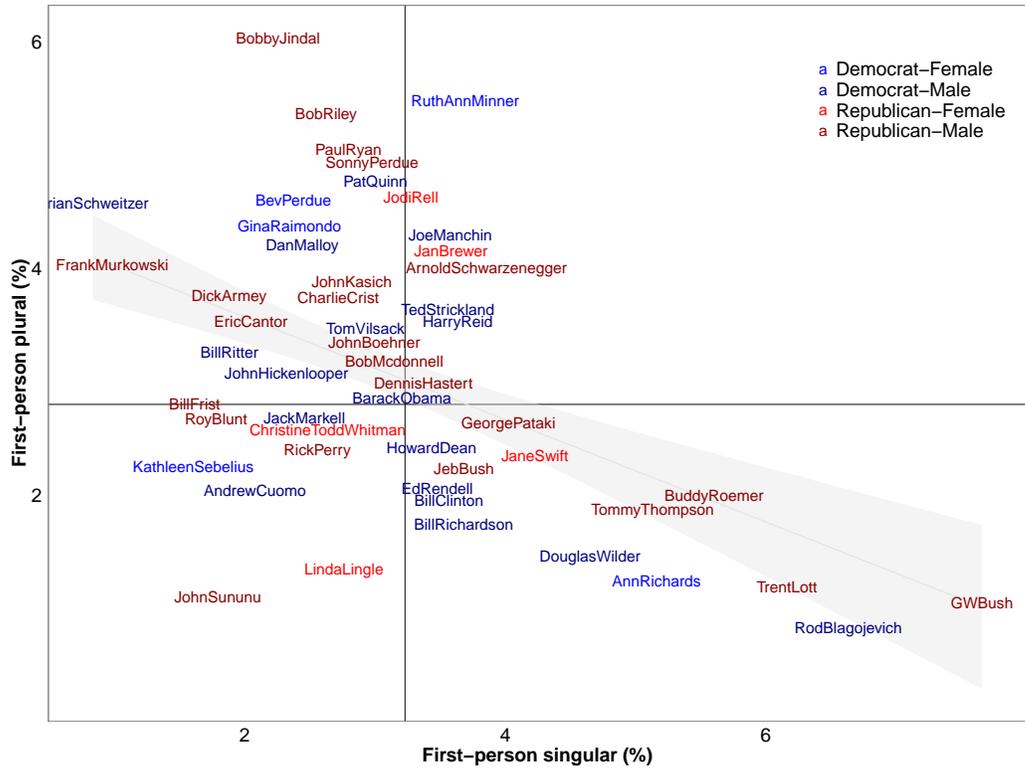
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Figure 19: I vs. We: First-Person Pronouns in Interviews with Party Leaders and Governors
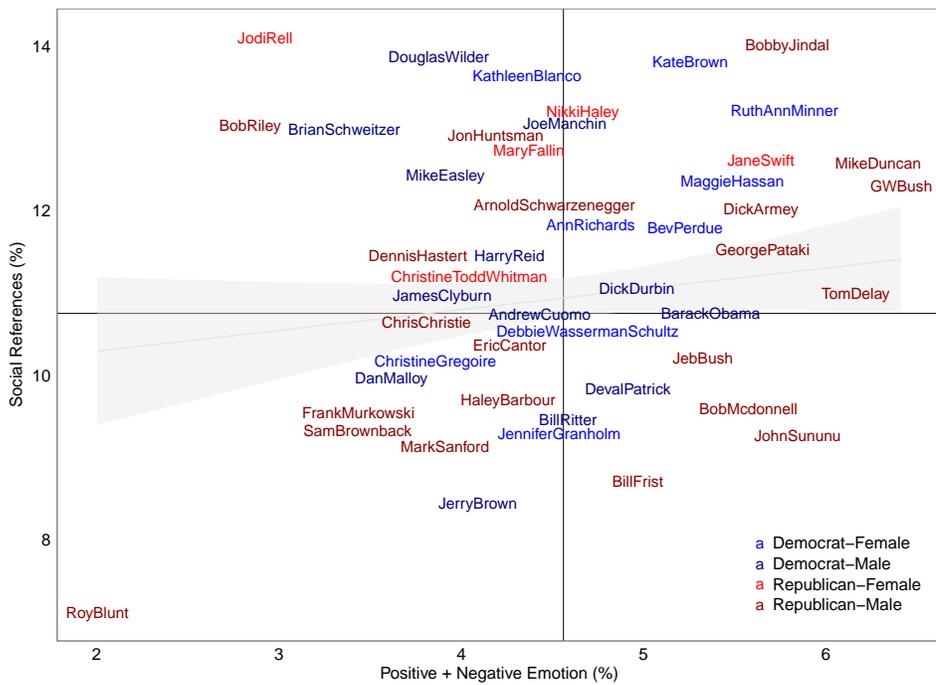

Figure 20: Social and Emotional References in Interviews with Party Leaders and Governors
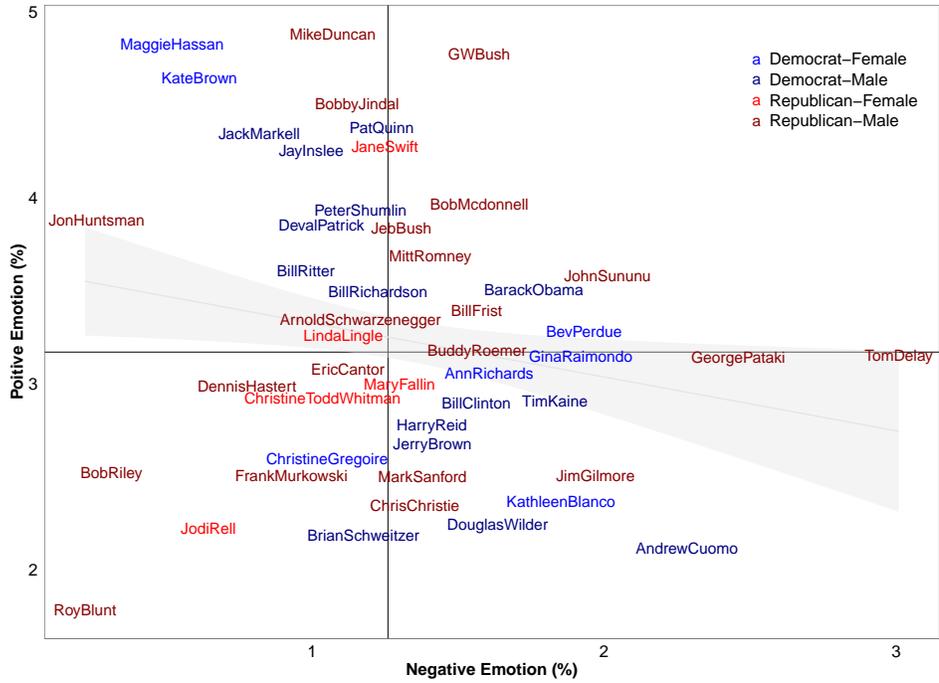
Figure 21: Positive v. Negative Emotion in Interviews with Party Leaders and Governors

Figures 20 and 21 do 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 21 is steeper than than in figure 17, suggesting that party leaders and governors tend to use more positive language than presidential candidates.

Discussion of Results

Compared to the wives of male presidential candidates, female political leaders display a significantly more masculine style of communication. Compared to politically powerful men, politically powerful women are similar, but slightly more feminine and strategic in their self-presentation. 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. 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. 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. For Republican women, party stereotypes may sufficiently affirm their masculine leadership credentials and consequently, are less pressured to present themselves in a masculine way. 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 communication style than Republican women. As presidential candidates, Democratic women conform to partisan and gender stereotypes, whereas Republican women conform to partisan, but not gender stereotypes when running for president. This suggests that the self-presentational strategies for attaining and maintaining power are not the same for Republican and Democratic women.

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). Similar to 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.

There are a number of important limitations to this analysis. One is the rigidity by which I coded "candidates" to mean only presidential candidates. 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 were scarce and ultimately fell outside the transcript inclusion criteria (see appendix). Thus, my sample is biased toward political leaders who appear

in media interviews and/or debates. The definition of political leader could also be expanded to include other statewide elective positions, such as lieutenant governors. Such limitations impress the importance of continuing this research as more women enter positions of power in US politics.

Conclusion

> I get it that some people just don't know what to make of me.
>
> —Hillary Clinton, in her 2016 acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention

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. Clinton was a political insider and my research shows that she talked like a typical politician. 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. Clinton's example raises 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?

This research set out to better understand how female leaders navigate these often subtle, social and psychological tensions by examining the gendered speaking styles of a broad sample of 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 126 male and female leaders. I find that female political leaders conform to a more masculine style of speech (relative to the wives of male presidential candidates), but that partisan stereotypes encourage a different, and sometimes conflicting, self-presentation. 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. Together, these results suggest that the communication style of female leaders is particularly sensitive to context and

consequently, the gendered self-presentation of female leaders is heavily dependent on party affiliation. 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 (Banwart and McKinney, 2005; Bystrom et al., 2004; Dittmar, 2015). These findings also suggest that Hillary Clinton's self-presentation during her time as senator and secretary of state (Jones 2016) is not particularly unique. However more data is needed to determine if the same is true for Democratic women on the presidential campaign trail.

Among male leaders, but not male presidential candidates, 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, 2008, 2014; Hayes, 2011). 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.

Given this, the interaction between party and gender stereotypes seems critical for understanding the self-presentation of female political leaders, and 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? Future work could cross analyze the topics of politician's speech with their style of communication to better understand if and when styles of communication correspond with particular topics. Moreover, 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. Republican 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? 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.

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, 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. Future research could consider how these pressures manifest in female heads of state who are popularly elected versus those who are chosen by members of parliament.

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. In political science, communication research disproportionately focuses on thematic content—on *what* is said—and often fails to consider more formal aspects of language—*how* it is said. It emphasizes content over style. My approach reevaluates this logic by examining elements of communication that are, for the most part, hidden from view. 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. Indeed, my findings suggest that even the smallest, most seemingly insignificant words contain valuable insight into the self-presentation of political leaders. This lens can thus provide 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. Such research has important implications for how public perceptions and expectations of political leaders as well as how party and gender stereotypes shape the communication strategies of both male and female political leaders. Moreover, by examining linguistic style, this study picks up on less overt, and more implicit expressions of gender than prior research into this topic. It is a data-driven approach into the double-bind dilemma that adds a deeper understanding of the strategies women use to successfully navigate a path toward leadership. Therefore, this approach is promising for future work on gendered communication in political science and in the social sciences broadly. Still, language is only one form of communication. 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., Brader, 2006; Carpinella and Johnson, 2013; Ko, Judd and Stapel, 2009; Strach et al., 2015; Todorov et al., 2005). 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.

Appendix

Transcript inclusion criteria

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, which 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).

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 that 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 markers. 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 non-fluencies, 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.

The Political Leader Corpus: Descriptive Statistics

Table 5: Leader Corpus - Gender by Party

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

Table 6: 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

Tables 5, 6, and 7 breakdown the political leader corpus by gender, party, and role. Among women, the leader corpus is skewed toward the Democratic party, which is consistent with the current partisan makeup

Table 7: 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

Figure 22: Interview Transcripts by Year
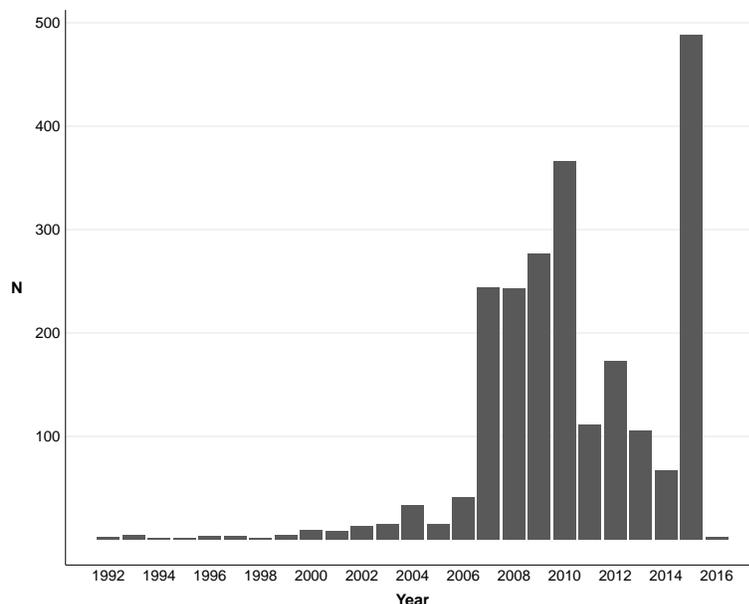
of women in politics. Among men, the leader corpus is skewed slightly Republican, which reflects Republican majorities in the House, Senate and governorships. Among Democrats, transcripts are equally distributed among party leaders, governors, and presidential candidates. Among Republicans, transcripts 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 presidential candidates. These distributions can be explained by considering the time periods from which the transcripts were sampled.

Figure 22 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.

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