

Communication Accommodation and Female Political Leaders: The Case of Elizabeth  
Warren

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Communication Accommodation and Female Political Leaders: The Case of Elizabeth Warren

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## ABSTRACT

Masculine and feminine styles of communication are different. A masculine style includes aggressive language, direct questions, and task-oriented conversation. A feminine style includes emphasizing relationship, using collective pronouns, and using narratives to emphasize points. Males and females generally fall into their respective styles. In the political sphere, this poses a problem. Female political leaders are an enigma. They are usually judged in terms of double binds. For example, to be seen as feminine a female leader cannot be seen as competent and vice versa. Also, since the political sphere tends to take on a masculine style of communication, female leaders struggle to find a balance between being masculine and being too masculine. In this study, Elizabeth Warren's public speech is analyzed. Findings show that she is able to toggle between the masculine and feminine styles effectively and that there is evidence of communication convergence.

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## **Statement of the Problem**

There is a marked difference in male and female communication. One area of research that attempts to explain the differences in male and female communication describes male and female communication styles as a culture (Tannen, 1990). That is, female communication style is a culture of language that females are socialized into; the same is true for males. This idea of a communication style being a culture is known as difference theory. Difference theory looks at the effect that gender has on language and can be broken down into six masculine versus feminine contrasting pairs: status v. support, advice v. understanding, information v. feelings, orders v. proposals, conflict v. compromise, and independence v. intimacy. These categories tell us that when males communicate, they are trying to build status whereas women are looking to offer support. Or, males tend to look for advice when discussing problems whereas women are looking for understanding and, again, support.

The research in this area is important to consider because it tells us that language is a culture (Tannen, 1990). It is something that is learned and is specific to gender. So, when a man is giving orders or engaging in conflict, it is not something that he suddenly decided to do. He is exercising the male communication culture he was taught. This also gives insight into why there is discomfort when females engage in verbal conflict rather than looking for compromise; it goes against the female communication culture and expectations based on that culture.

Another way to explain or think about this difference in male and female communication is through communication accommodation theory (CAT). This theory states that people change their communication patterns to match those to whom they are

speaking (Giles, 1973). One facet of this is over-accommodation, or changing speech patterns too much. When looking at female politicians, there is a marked difference in how their speech is covered in the news as well as how it is interpreted compared to male leaders. Media outlets might describe or interpret female leader's quotes while leaving male quotes open for interpretation (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003). When a female takes an aggressive tone, indicative of masculine communication, there is the potential for backlash. All of this leads to the question of whether there is too much accommodation. The culture difference between masculine and feminine communication may be behind the difference in how male and female leaders are described.

This study will look at masculine and feminine communication styles specifically in politics. I will explore whether communication accommodation occurs as well as whether there are consequences for accommodation. Using Senator Elizabeth Warren as a case study this will be done through a qualitative analysis of speech and Senate hearing videos, a qualitative analysis of viewer perceptions, and a quantitative analysis of speech and Senate hearing videos from 2011-2014.

### **Review of Literature**

Men and women communicate differently, and it starts at the most basic of levels. While women look to communication to build relationships and enhance social connections, men view communication as a way to assert dominance and achieve goals (Leaper, 1991; Wood, 1996). Women also tend to be more expressive and polite in conversation while men tend to be more assertive and power-driven (Basow & Rubenfield, 2003). This difference in communication style can be seen in studies of leadership as well. For example, Baird and Bradley (1979) found that female managers

gave more information to subordinates, stressed interpersonal relationships, and encouraged effort compared to male managers. Male managers tended to have more dominate speech, were quick to challenge others, and were more likely to direct the course of conversation. Clearly, even in a leadership position, females tend toward the feminine style of communication.

Another facet of how males and females communicate is the type of language and speech used. For example, Lakoff (1975) found that women tend to use less powerful speech than males. Women tend to be more polite, interrupt less, use more tag questions, or a question added to the end of a statement to keep the conversation open, and intensifiers, or words or phrases used to add an emotional context to a statement.

### **The Double Bind for Powerful Women**

#### **Review of Double Binds**

A problem that stems from differences in masculine and feminine communication is the double bind. The term double bind was first coined by Bateson, Jackson, Haley, and Weakland (1950) as way to describe schizophrenia. Essentially, people are faced with a paradox, or a lose-lose situation. No matter what a person does when faced with a double bind situation, they are not going to win or achieve the outcome they wish to achieve.

In terms of women and leadership, Kathleen Hall Jamieson (1995) describes five double bind situations women face: womb/brain, silence/shame, sameness/difference, femininity/competence, aging/invisibility. Three of these double binds will be focused on in this paper: womb/brain, silence/shame, and femininity/competence.



The womb/brain double bind is that a woman has the option of either having children or having a career, but not both (Jamieson, 1995). That is, if a woman chooses to have a career over being a mom, others that she talks to are looking for a justification of that choice. The same is true for women who have children, but not careers. To have both a career and kids is not accepted and reflects negatively on the woman.

The second double bind, silence/shame, condemns women for not doing what they are not supposed to do (Jamieson, 1995). For example, a woman is not supposed to be knowledgeable on political issues like foreign policy, but will be criticized if she fails to make a valid argument or state a solid position. Women are faced with the predicament of be criticized for trying to fit into the masculine political role or criticized for not trying hard enough.

Finally, the third bind is femininity/competency. This bind says that if women act in a way that is feminine, they are not seen as competent leaders. But, if they act in a way that is competent, they are not seen as feminine (Jamieson, 1995). It seems weird that specifically in female leaders, people are looking for femininity. This could possibly be because they are looking to confirm existing gender stereotypes. For example, if a female is thought to be knowledgeable about foreign defense, her femininity is attacked. But, if a male is knowledgeable about health care, his masculinity is not attacked. This double bind could also go back to the idea that females are expected to act in a way that is consistent with being a woman. Deviation from this stereotype means that female leaders are met with negativity or are seen as “abrasive” (Kahn, 1992).

The last two double binds are sameness/difference and aging/invisibility. The sameness/difference double bind states that women are subordinate whether they claim to

be different or the same as men (Jamieson, 1995). Aging/invisibility, on the other hand, states that as men age, they become wise and gain power whereas when women age they become wrinkled and unnecessary. Although these are two double binds that are important, they will not be included in this study because looking at three double binds rather than five makes the study much more manageable. Also, the last two double binds do not entirely relate to Elizabeth Warren. Although older than some of her counterparts, she is just starting her political career and is still relevant, therefore the binds of aging/invisibility and sameness/difference are not entirely applicable. Double binds are a phenomenon that female leaders face and can be found in the findings on male versus female leaders.

### **Findings on Male Versus Female Leaders**

Double binds are commonly experienced by women in leadership positions. An interesting facet of male and female communication is leadership. Female leaders are more expressive and focus more on interpersonal relationships while males are more dominant, steer conversation, and are quick to challenge others (Baird & Bradley, 1979). But, just because a female manager is said to share more information does not mean she is a weak leader, which is a stigma attached to female leaders.

There are specific leadership styles: task-oriented and relationship oriented (Eagly & Johnson, 1990). Task-oriented leaders are autocratic, direct, and controlling. These types of leaders are concerned with completing a job, supervising subordinates, and reaching goals (Riggio, 2008). Task-oriented leaders can be seen as masculine since the style closely matches their communication style.

Relationship-oriented leaders, on the other hand, are described as being democratic and participative (Eagly & Johnson, 1990). In contrast to task-oriented leaders, relationship-oriented leaders tend to show concern for the well-being of those they are working with, build interpersonal relationships, and want people involved in the decision making process (Riggio, 2008). Relationship-oriented leader behaviors tend to fit the feminine style of communication because of the focus of interpersonal relationships.

Research on gender differences in leadership styles and behavior yield mixed results. Some of the research says that there is no difference between male and female leadership; differences come from the situation that the person is placed in rather than the gender of the person (Foels, Driskell, Mullen & Salas, 2000). Earlier research also argued that leaders adapt their style to fit the situation and conform to what is expected from them in a leadership role (Kanter, 1977).

The other body of research states that there is a difference between male and female leadership (Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, & Van Engen, 2003). Men, for example, tend to emerge as leaders more often than women. Men also tend to be more motivated to work in competitive environments. Women, on the other hand, tend to communicate frequently and emerge as social leaders rather than task leaders. Other studies, such as those by Martell and DeSmet (2001) and Hater and Bass (1998) breakdown masculine and feminine leadership behaviors and describes a masculine style including problem-solving, upward influence and delegating while a feminine style includes supporting, rewarding, mentoring, and teamwork. Supporting the notion that women tend not to take

leadership roles, research on women in politics reveals how under represented they are in Congress.

### **Findings on Male Versus Female Politicians**

The first female senator took office in 1922 (Senate.gov). There are currently 102 women serving in Congress: 82 in the House and 20 in the Senate (Manning, 2014). Of the 535 positions in Congress, women make up a mere 5.29%. Although the numbers are small, this is a record high for women serving in Congress. Because of this low representation of women in government, females are somewhat of an enigma. They are seen as rarities and are often stereotyped into female roles despite their platforms or past success (Kahn, 1994). For example, in a study of press coverage of female politicians, females received less coverage than their male counterparts. News coverage also focused on personal qualities, such as compassion, rather than the issues that the female politician discussed. News coverage like this further reinforces the expectation that women be relationship focused.

Taken from sociology and psychology, stereotyping is defined as an over generalized belief about a certain group or class of people (Cardwell, 1996). In politics, both males and females are stereotyped. For example, female political candidates are stereotyped as compassionate and warm while male candidates are stereotyped as strong leaders and knowledgeable (Kahn, 1992). Along the same lines, female politicians are seen as being more fluent on family-oriented issues such as healthcare and education while men are seen as being more fluent on national issues such as foreign policy and crime.

Another side to that is voter political knowledge and perceived emotional stability of candidates. If voters perceive males to be emotionally stable, they are more likely to perceive them as capable of handling “male issues”, such as defense and finance (Sanbonmatsu, 2003). But, if voters are knowledgeable about politics, they are more likely to break that stereotype and evaluate candidates based on their platform rather than their perceptions of candidates’ emotional stability.

Media constructs of the political world are masculine and reported on in masculine communication terms as well (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003). In a study on gender and reported speech, it was found that the media was more likely to use highly charged language to report on female political leaders than male political leaders. When reporting male speech, the media was more likely to let men’s statements stand alone while interpreting women’s statements. This links to a previous study that found females receive less media coverage than male counterparts even though females are more likely to talk about “the issues” (Kahn, 1994). Women in Senate races receive less coverage than males and, when women are covered, it is in negative tones. Young adults are aware of the misrepresentation of women in media, saying that the media presents them as weak or focuses on their personal lives rather than on their campaign and platform (Friederike-Muller, 2010).

Another facet of media coverage of political leaders is media representation of emotions. Brooks (2011) looked at voter reaction to crying and anger and found that although crying is seen as stereotypical of females and anger is stereotypical of males, neither display of emotion would benefit their campaigns. However, if females act out in anger, they are seen as behaving inappropriately. This also ties into the idea of a male

dominated political stereotype and the double bind women face. Females are expected to act a certain way (i.e., sincere and compassionate) during their campaigns. But when they attempt to adopt male traits (i.e., discussing male issues) they are seen as being too assertive. But, women receive more media coverage when discussing male issues (Kahn, 1994). The effects of this double bind are evident in women's political engagement.

### **Findings on Engagement With Female Candidates**

Females are generally less politically knowledgeable (Delli-Carpini, & Keeter, 1996), less interested in campaigns and politics (Bennett & Bennett, 1989), less likely to have an opinion on political issues (Rapoport, 1981), and are less likely to discuss politics with family and friends (Huckfeldt & Sprague, 1995). Although these have held constant over the last few decades, Atkeson (2003) found that, given a viable female political leader, female voters are more likely to break from those trends and be more politically knowledgeable, become interested in her campaign, and discuss politics. The caveat here is the female candidate must be viable. Just having a female candidate present does not mean that female voters will suddenly become involved. Candidates must be competent and competitive in order for females to become involved.

Young females were also more politically engaged when presented with a strong female leader (Friederike-Muller, 2010). Although young females are interested in the private lives of those leaders, something that the media discusses, they still view viable female candidates as successful, strong, and someone to look up to. Due to the difference in masculine and feminine communication expectations and the double binds that female leaders can be caught in, it is useful to discuss communication accommodation and how it applies to women in politics. Female political leaders have to try to fit into leadership

roles without being “too masculine.” And CAT explains the types of accommodation women might engage in when they adapt to the masculine political sphere.

### **Accommodation Theory**

#### **Why Accommodation Applies to Women in Politics**

Women face double binds every day, whether they are in leadership positions or are everyday women working regular 9 to 5 jobs. These double binds are not age specific either. Young females are well aware that they exist. For example, Frederick-Muller (2010) found that the reason young females are interested in a female leader’s personal life is so that they can get an idea of how they could handle the tension of trying to have a career and a family. If young women are looking to female leaders for guidance, then the lesson learned from watching women in politics fit in to the male-dominated role and can have far reaching consequences.

Accommodating communication styles is important to consider because it shows the outcomes of adopting or failing to adopt stereotypical communication style. For example, if a female leader is expressive in her communication, she might be seen as being too feminine and therefore not a competent leader. But, if she is masculine in her communication and tries to dominate the conversation, she will be seen as abrasive and lacking femininity. The same holds true for things such as the silence/shame double-bind. If a woman keeps to her stereotypical communication style and is polite in conversation, she might hold her tongue and not give her opinion on a masculine issue. But, by doing so, she will be criticized for not sharing her opinion.

Finally, the double bind of womb/brain is important to female political research because it is in line with the theme of the media discussing female leader’s personal life

rather than platforms. If female political leaders choose to have a career, they are seen as endangering their families and therefore cannot be decent leaders. But, if they choose to attend to their families, they cannot handle a career as well and therefore will not be commendable leaders.

From a political perspective, the stereotypes can again be seen. Female political leaders are seen as “warm” and “honest” and knowledgeable on issues such as education and health care (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003). These perspectives trickle down (or up) from communication style to leadership. From these stereotypes, women can be described as weak leaders as well as a rarity in politics. Therefore, in order to fit in, it makes sense that women would have to change their speech to accommodate the male-dominated political arena that they are trying to survive in.

This also leads to the idea of over-accommodation. Instead of adapting to a situation, they may be over-reacting, or over-accommodating. Communication accommodation states that we accommodate speech to fit others’ needs (Giles, 1973). There is a fine line between accommodating to fit a situation and over-adapting. When over-adapting, a female leader might be seen as weak or abrasive when really they are over-accommodating to the situation they are placed in. The same can be said if she decides to diverge, or not accommodate enough. This could potentially leave those to whom she is speaking with a negative impression. However, if a female political accommodates the appropriate amount, or converges, it could potentially have the opposite effect and leave those she is speaking to with a positive impression. .

### **Review of Accommodation Theory (CAT)**



CAT posits that when people are interacting with one another, they change their communication patterns to match whomever they are speaking to (Giles, 1973). This could be through verbal cues such as rate of speech, pitch, and message content. It could also be through nonverbal cues such as gestures and eye contact (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991). CAT also has 4 main assumptions: There are communication similarities/dissimilarities in all communication interactions. The way one perceives another communicator's speech style will determine the evaluation of the conversation. Speech and behaviors communicate social status and group belonging to those who are conversing. Norms guide the communication accommodation process (Giles & Smith, 1979).

One way to think about CAT would be to look how a female political leaders converse with political leaders versus voters. When talking to another leader, they might use more technical language, or they might speak rapidly. When talking to a voter, however, they might use simpler terms and focus more on the person rather than the issue.

#### **Four Theories Relating to CAT**

There are four theories that assisted with the development of CAT: similarity-attraction, social exchange, causal attribution (Giles & Smith, 1979) and intergroup distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Similarity-attraction theory states that the more similar one's attitudes and beliefs are to those one is conversing with, the more likely it is for one to be attracted to them (Giles & Smith, 1979). In other words, the more similar two people are, the more likely they are to be attracted to each other. This is important to CAT because it can help in deciding if one is going to accommodate the other person. It

also supports the second assumption that, when one evaluates the person they are conversing with, he or she will look for similarities. If it is found that the other converser has a similar view, the interaction will be positively evaluated.

A second theory is social exchange. Prior to engaging in conversation, people assess the rewards and costs of alternate courses of action (Giles & Smith, 1979). From there, people choose the course that is going to produce the most benefits. This is again an important theory to CAT because it explains whether or not someone is going to accommodate his or her speech. If there is going to be a large benefit, a person is more likely to accommodate.

A third theory is causal attribution. This posits that other people's behaviors are judged based on their perceived motives (Giles & Smith, 1979). This is applicable to CAT because it speaks to similarity-attraction theory as well as the social exchange process in that if a person is evaluated based on motives, that is going to help one decide if there are similarities as if there is going to be some type of benefit to accommodation.

The fourth and final theory is intergroup distinctiveness. This posits that when members of a different group are communicating, they compare themselves on levels that are important to them (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). These levels could be things such as personal abilities, personal possessions, values, etc. From here, speakers look for ways to make themselves distinct or different from the out-group. Groups want to be distinct or different from the out-group, so they find levels in which they are the same, accommodate their speech, and build cohesion among the in-group. These in-group similarities could be personal things like possessional or personality, or it could be something like political views or party association.

Overall, these theories contribute to CAT in that they lay the foundation for how a person decides if he or she is going to accommodate his or her speech to the person he or she is conversing with. There is a difference in speech style in any communication encounter. People are attracted to others who have similar styles, beliefs, and values. People evaluate the pros and con of interactions as well as others' motives, decide whether or not to allow another into the "in group" then decided whether or not to accommodate the others' speech style. If it is found that two people are similar to one another and their attitudes and beliefs match, accommodation is more likely to occur.

Accommodation can also be applied to the political sphere. Think of this in terms of political party. People converse with those who share similar political beliefs and values. When a person encounters someone from the opposing party, there is an opportunity on both sides to accommodate speech. One might do it because they find the person holds a similar view on a certain issue, or, one might not accommodate because he or she wants want to show how different their viewpoints are on an issue and maintain intergroup distinctiveness. Another facet is accommodating if it is going to be beneficial. If one is talking to someone from another political party and can see that accommodating to their speech needs is going to benefit them, there is the opportunity to change speech styles. Applied to this setting, it is easy why there is such a divide in Washington.

### **Types of Accommodation**

CAT involves three types of accommodation: convergence, divergence, and over-accommodation (Giles & Smith, 1979). Convergence refers to when an individual shifts their speech patterns so that they more closely resemble the person they are conversing with (Giles & Smith, 1979). There are features of speech that are specifically converged

when conversing, such as speech length (Matarazzo, Weins, Matarazzo, & Saslow, 1968), speech rate (Street, 1983), vocal intensity (Natale, 1975), pausing (Jaffe & Feldstein, 1970), and self-disclosure (Ehrlich & Graeven, 1971). Although there are many ways one can converge, pronunciation, message content, and speech rate produce the most positive evaluations. In particular, speech rate was found to be the optimal convergence. But, when people converge on all three levels, they are perceived as rude or patronizing (Giles & Smith, 1979).

Divergence, on the other hand, refers to when a person does not accommodate their speech and instead accentuates the differences in speech between themselves and the person with whom they are conversing (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991). Although this sounds negative, it is not entirely so. Although some may diverge to keep others at a distance, it is also done to keep group distinctiveness intact (Giles & Ogay, 2007). Another way to think about keeping group distinctiveness intact would be to think about visiting another country. When visiting, one might “do as the Romans do” and adjust speech and behaviors but maybe not entirely converge. That is where the idea of divergence comes into play. Humans want to converge speech enough to get by, but still want to keep group distinctiveness or group identity intact.

Finally, over-accommodation occurs when there is too much convergence or too much speech matching (Giles & Smith, 1979). This ties back into the idea of the optimal level of convergence. Converging on speech rate leads to positive reactions while converging on speech rate, pronunciation, and message content is seen as patronizing. Converging on all three is over-accommodating, which can lead to the person one is

conversing with having a negative perception of the interaction, or not getting the message across.

There are three types of over-accommodation: sensory, dependency, and intergroup (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991). Sensory over-accommodation is when an individual thinks he or she is accommodating someone's speech style, but over does it. In turn, they are perceived negatively. For example, when talking to someone from another country, over-accommodation might occur to match his or her word choice and accent. But, over-enunciating or botching the accent might happen. Although the intent is to converge with the other person in the conversation, the result ends up being sensory over-accommodation.

The second form of over-accommodation is dependency. This is when a speaker perceives that the person he or she is conversing with is of a lower status. Therefore, the listener appears to be dependent on the primary speaker for understanding (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991). This is someone "talking down" to others. For example, when a politician is explaining a bill to another politician, he or she might summarize it using simple words and phrases and avoid technical language. But, the other politician who already read the bill might take the use of simple, small words as offensive and as an insult to his or her intelligence.

The third over-accommodation category is intergroup. This is when people from a group are judged based on a stereotype and not as an individual person in that specific communication interaction (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991). This means that when conversing with someone from another group, that person's communication style is judged by group stereotypes or norms rather than a person's actual style. Therefore, the

communicator converges based on the stereotypes rather than to that specific person's needs. The processes of convergence and divergence can be further characterized in terms of politics and female leaders.

### **Characterizing Convergence and Divergence**

CAT states that there are instances when people converge speech to match the person they are conversing with (Giles & Smith, 1979). It also says that there are instances of over-accommodating, or not accommodating, also known as divergence.

Convergence and divergence can be broken down into extremes such as upward versus downward, full versus partial, symmetrical versus asymmetrical, and subjective versus objective (Giles & Smith, 1979). These characterizations describe how far to take accommodation. For example, if one were to upward converge, they would talk in a more formal tone. However, if one were to downward converge, he or she would talk in a more informal tone and use the colloquial language.

Partial converging/diverging is under-accommodation. A speaker is not entirely converging to the others' language needs, but they are also not over-accommodating. Bradac, Mulac, and House (1988) found that in partial versus full convergence, people who converged in speech rate only partially (75 words per minute versus 100) were still evaluated positively rather than someone who under-accommodated at 50 words per minute.

Along this line is the idea of asymmetrical and symmetrical convergence. Symmetrical convergence means that both parties converge on equal levels while asymmetrical means that one party converges, but the other does not converge. This was prevalent in a study of mixed-gender couples (Mulac, Wiemann, Wiemann, & Gibson,

1988). Couples who were strangers to each other were placed at a table together and instructed to converse with one another. Both males and females accommodated to the others' speech style (symmetrical) rather than it being one sided (asymmetrical). A later study crossed cultures and paired an American- born citizen with a Japanese- born citizen and studied listener response. American natives were more likely to attempt to accommodate speech and respond to the Japanese speakers' statements while the latter did not accommodate (White, 1989). That could possibly go back to the idea of preserving intergroup distinctiveness. Rather than converging to fit the needs of the speaker, the listener keeps his or her normal speech style (or vice versa). This also connects to the idea that male and female communication is a culture. On one hand, Mulac et al. (1988) found that gender-related differences lead to more convergence, while cultural differences lead to less convergence. So, on one hand women in political situations may converge because it is more likely to happen across gendered pairs. But, if language is also seen as a culture, there is the potential for less convergence from either side.

Finally, there is the idea of subjective versus objective convergence. CAT suggests that people judge each other's speech styles based on their personal perceptions of the person. In that vein, people take what they know of their world, and of their experiences and values, and make judgments about how they need to accommodate their speech, which is a subjective evaluation in regards to the person they are speaking to. Rather, if people first listened to speakers, then accommodated their speech, they would be more objective and basing accommodation upon the person rather than their perceptions (Thakerar, Giles, & Cheshire, 1982).

Women in politics, due to the grounded differences in communication, may have to choose between converging and diverging. When looking at female political leaders, stereotypes become evident, especially when competent leadership comes into question. Females are all at once seen as weak, honest, informative, and abrasive. If they are pretty, they cannot be intelligent, and if they are intelligent, there is no way they can be pretty. They also cannot make strong statements on “masculine” issues, but are criticized when they do not make those statements. Women can also not simultaneously raise a family and have a career: they have to choose. Knowing all of these factors against women, it makes sense that they are seen as rarities in leadership positions and politics. But, it also makes sense that they would have to accommodate their speech to fit in.

The double binds women face lead to accommodation of some sort. Female leaders could converge to fit in, diverge to keep their group distinctiveness, or over-accommodate in situations and be criticized for their behavior. That is, in attempting to fit into the political sphere or come across as viable leader, they may accommodate too much. That could explain why there are negative perceptions of female leaders (i.e. masculine, over-bearing, etc.). Therefore, this study will explore the case of Elizabeth Warren to see whether she has converged, diverged, or over-accommodated to the masculine style. After exploring her use of masculine versus feminine style, I will look at people’s responses to her accommodation choices and how Warren’s accommodation of the masculine style may have helped or hindered her in overcoming gender double binds.

### **The Case of Elizabeth Warren**



Elizabeth Warren is currently a United States Senator from Massachusetts. She is considered one of the top experts in the nation on bankruptcy and the financial pressures facing middle class families (Lepore, 2014). Before being elected to the Senate, she was a professor of law at Harvard. She is considered to have political courage, persistence, and is not afraid to say what she is thinking.

Politically, Warren is known as the creator of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, which was established to hold Wall Street and other financial institutions accountable as well as to protect consumers from financial traps hidden in mortgages and credit cards. She also served as the Chair of the Congressional Oversight Panel for the Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP). Warren is known for her knowledge on financial matters, fighting for the middle class, and, most recently, fighting to lower student loan interest rates.

Although Warren is a viable female leader, she has still met obstacles in her Senate career. For example, after successfully creating the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, President Obama passed her over as the head of the new agency and instead nominated Richard Corday (Andrews, 2011). Although Obama cited his reasons as being “the tough opposition facing her” and the “lobbyists trying to repeal the protections and laws passed,” others said that it was precisely because of her persistence and speaking her mind (Andrews, 2011, page 2). This comes full circle to the stereotypes and double binds women face. In theory, a persistent male would be perceived as being a viable leader, while Warren is seen as troublesome. However, it is interesting that she is seen as the nation’s leading expert on bankruptcy, since financial issues are usually considered a

“male” issue. Although, to counter this, she is also fights for families, something that can be seen as a “female” issue.

Elizabeth Warren is a strong female leader who is successful but, like other female leaders, is facing obstacles. Although she is an expert on a predominantly male issue, she is still described as abrasive and her persistence is seen as negative. This leads to questions about her use of accommodation and the consequences of her accommodation in terms of double binds. In order to examine those questions, a qualitative and quantitative analysis of her speaking style was done. The qualitative analysis looked at videos of Senator Warren’s speche and hearings to explore Warren’s use of gendered communication styles. The second part of the qualitative analysis analyzed viewer comments in terms of their positivity/negativity ad whether there was evidence of double binds in people’s evaluations of Warren’s speech style. The quantitative analysis looked at Senator Warren’s speech style from when she first became involved in politics to the present time to confirm whether or not accommodation occurred.

### **Study 1: Qualitative Analysis of Elizabeth Warren’s Videos**

Masculine and feminine communication styles can be thought of on a spectrum. On one side, there is the masculine style, which includes dominance, being assertive, directing the course of conversation, and achieving goals. The feminine style includes enhancing social connections, being expressive, and giving more information (encouraging efforts). The political sphere tends to take on a masculine style (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003). Women are not only faced with accommodating that style, but also

working against double binds. Therefore, in order to better gauge Elizabeth Warren's speech style in the political world, there are two research questions:

RQ1: Does Elizabeth Warren take on a masculine or feminine communication style?

### **Study 1 Method**

A qualitative analysis of Elizabeth Warren's speech video was done in order to gauge her speech style. Videos were pulled from Warren's YouTube page and were filtered by most popular. Those with the most views were analyzed. Videos were posted between April 2011 through July 2014 and ranged from 31,794 to 1,539,295 views. Twenty videos were analyzed and totaled 3 hours and 15 minutes of run time (see Appendix A).

Videos were coded using directed analysis of her verbal communication through a deductive content analysis, or using theory or concepts to define coding categories (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Initial coding categories used to analyze the speeches included the masculine style, the feminine style, and three of the five double binds (womb/brain, silence/shame, femininity/competence). When looking at the masculine style, elements of aggressiveness, interrupting, and direct questions were coded for. When looking at the feminine style, elements such as politeness, collective pronoun use, and stressing relationships were coded for.

### **Study 1 Results**

Overall, Senator Warren has two very distinctive speech styles: a masculine style when she is in hearing and a more feminine style when she is presenting floor speeches. Evidence of directing the course of conversation and assertiveness emerged during

hearings, while expressiveness and stressing relationships emerged during floor speeches. She has the ability toggle between the two without diminishing her position of power.

Table 1

*Frequency of masculine and feminine style by speaking situation*

	<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Feminine</u>	<u>Other</u>
<u>Speech</u>	45	118	50
<u>Hearing</u>	90	47	70

**Evidence of masculine style.** During Senate and Congressional hearings, Warren is in a position to ask as many questions as she can in a 5-minute period. In these hearings, she asks direct questions, she interrupts, and she asserts herself. For example, during a hearing on illegal foreclosures, she directly calls out the man she is questioning about not giving her information, saying “We made 14 specific requests... and despite multiple letters.. multiple meetings, you have provided only one full response.” She then goes on to ask about how he arrived at the percentage of illegal foreclosures, and keeps interrupting the answers he is attempting to give until he finally directly answers her question. This pattern of asking direct questions and interrupting until the answer is given is seen in multiple hearings, including a hearing on student loans where she specifically states, “You are dancing around my question. My question was...” and another where she states, “Excuse my interruption, but we need to move this along. My original question was...”

Aside from interrupting and posing direct questions, she uses logical appeals. During a hearing on the indexing minimum wage she stated, “I was looking over the

charts and numbers you cited... and if we had stayed on track for productivity, minimum wage would be at \$22 an hour.” She later goes on in the same hearing session to ask about sustainability by stating “according to today’s analysis... if we raised minimum wage to \$10.10 over 3 years, the price increase on that item would be 4 cents. Are you telling me that’s unsustainable?” During these hearings she takes on a masculine style of speech and relies heavily on data, facts, and expert opinion and relies less on anecdotal stories to make a point.

**Evidence of feminine style.** During floor speeches, Warren takes on a much more feminine style of speech, including stressing relationships and being expressive. For example, in one speech she stresses the importance of the relationship between the government and the American people, saying

...there are Americans alive today, Americans who are healthier, Americans who are stronger, because of these and countless other government efforts--alive, healthier, stronger because of what we did together.

Here, not only is she talking about why what government does for the people, but also specifically states that it is something the government and the people do together and by using collective pronouns.

The use of “we” and “our” language is another tactic Senator Warren uses to stress the importance of relationships. For example, in her DNC speech she stated

We’re Americans. We celebrate success. We just don’t want the game to be rigged... A century ago the American people came together under Teddy Roosevelt to bring our nation back from the brink.

In a later speech from 2013, she states “We all decided to pass laws and put cops on the beat... we decided to invest in public education... we decided to invest in science.”

These “we” statements stress the relationship between the American people and the government and show that they are in it together. They make decisions together and because of those decisions, people are safer, healthier, and stronger.

Another example of the feminine style found in floor speeches is Senator Warrens expressiveness. She is not afraid to say how she feels or if she thinks something is wrong. For example, in her DNC speech, after stating that the system is rigged against the middle class, she asks “Does anybody have a problem with that? Well I do.” In a later speech on private student loan relief, she says in response to a comment made about how it could be worse by saying “Actually there is something worse... When a family is left with \$100,000 in student loan debt and 3 little orphans to take care of. That’s worse.” From these two quotes we can see Warren’s expressive style.

Something interesting to note here on the feminine style is that, although her use of the masculine style is used more in Senate hearings, the same is not true for the feminine style. In fact, she toggles between a masculine and feminine style during hearings. The pattern tends to be an expressive, detail-oriented introduction, followed by direct questions, an assertive tone of voice, and interruptions until an answer is given to her question, followed by an expressive but polite conclusion.

### **Study 1 Discussion**

First, it is important to address the double binds presented by Warren. In speeches on issues like Hobby Lobby’s challenge to health care reform and the government shutdown, Warren addresses the idea that women cannot choose their birth control or that

the republicans are waging a “war against women.” By presenting the notion that women cannot choose their birth control, women are faced with the double bind of competence/femininity. The same issue is presented in the government shut down speech, where Warren again brings up the “war against women.” The undertones of these speeches say that women are not competent enough to choose the right birth control for themselves. In these instances, Warren is addressing the double bind of competence/femininity. On another level, she also addresses the bind of silence/shame. She did not stay quiet on the issue of the “war against women”. She instead spoke her mind and encourages others to do the same.

An important facet of this analysis is Warren’s ability to not only use the masculine style of communication effectively, but also to toggle between the masculine and feminine style. Previous research shows that when women take on a masculine style, it tends to backfire on them. A purely feminine style, on the other hand, leads to the feminine/competency double bind. Warren toggles between the two styles in Senate hearings. This could be because, through her detailed and expressive introductions she is not only setting the scene, but also establishing her knowledge and power, thus combining the two styles.

A final interesting finding was her use of logical and emotional appeals. When taking on the masculine style, she cites facts, statistics, and experts. But, when taking on the feminine style she relies more on narratives, real life and anecdotal stories, to make her point. Another finding was her ability to toggle between these as well. So, although they were primarily used in the contexts they were ascribed to, she was also able to effectively pull in real life examples during a masculine style and vice versa.

## **Study 2: Qualitative Analysis of Video Comments**

### **Study 2 Method**

In order to gauge viewer perception of Warren's speech styles and explore whether Warren is caught in double binds, comments on the videos from study 1 were qualitatively analyzed for positive comments about Warren, negative comments, irrelevant comments, and other. In all, comments on 22 of her most popular videos were coded, totaling 597 comments (see Appendix C). One video was thrown out because comments were disabled; no comments were thrown out. The analysis was used to answer the following research question:

RQ1: Do commenters evaluate Elizabeth Warren in terms of double binds?

This was a directed analysis. Comments were coded as positive and negative if they specifically spoke about Elizabeth Warren. Positive comments are those that spoke positively about Warren specifically while negative comments were those that spoken negatively about Warren. Irrelevant comments were those that did not speak on any topic related to the video. For example, negative comments about other YouTube users or those that were "+1 via Google+" were put into the irrelevant section, since they made no mention of Warren, the government, politics, etc. Comments that did not address Warren but were relevant were put into the "other" column. Comments were also coded for gender, if applicable, and whether the comment was from a speech or hearing. The form used for coding is in Appendix B.

### **Study 2 Results**

The results from the comments were widely varied; Positive comments called for her to run for president and thanked her for fighting for the people. Negative comments claimed she was a liar and had no idea what she was talking about. The irrelevant and



other comments either focused on insulting other commenters (irrelevant) or commenting on the state of the country or the government (other). The tables below show the frequencies of positive and negative comments as well as positive and negative comments from women vs. men vs. undetermined.

Table 2

*Total number of positive, negative, and neutral comments by gender*

Comments	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Undetermined</u>	<u>Total</u>
Positive	42	107	43	192
Negative	2	26	14	42
Other	45	178	140	363
Total	89	311	197	597

From these frequencies, there are a few points to be taken away. First, although Elizabeth Warren is a viable female candidate, females had the lowest number of comments overall with 15% of the comments. This is consistent with the research that states women are not as involved as men in politics (Bennett & Bennett, 1989).

A second point is that overall, the comments were mostly positive, with 32% being positive and 7% being negative. They were also overwhelmingly positive when broken down by gender. For example, 47% of the comments made by females were positive; 34% of male comments were positive, and undetermined comments were 21% positive.

**Double binds.** Throughout the positive comments, people ask for Senator Warren to run for president and thank her being in the Senate. However, there is still evidence of double binds. For example, one commenter said, “She is so much like me. I work and have kids and whenever someone says it cannot be done, I say it may take me a while

however whatever I set my head, heart, and intention, it will be ACCOMPLISHED.” Another commenter said, “They demonize Warren [because] she is terrifying to the status quo: knowledgeable, tenacious, polite, fearless, and apparently without any dirt. While a third said “... Thank you Elizabeth Warren for asking the questions we should be asking!”

All three of these quotes speak to the double binds. The first alludes to the womb/brain bind. The comment is set up to make it seem like working and having kids at the same time is an obstacle and with persistence, a goal can eventually be reached. The second refers to the double bind of competence/femininity. She is a polite woman who is also fearless and knowledgeable. Finally, there is the third quote that speaks to the silence/shame double bind: Warren is asking questions that others are afraid to ask, thus not keeping silent. Therefore, it seems that she has overcome these binds.

An interesting facet of these comments is that women made the first and last comments while a man made the second. Throughout the positive comments, women tended to evaluate Warren based on the double-bind of womb/brain while men tended to evaluate her based on her competence, although they rarely mentioned her being a woman. Men said things like “She's refreshing, intelligent and hopefully our next president,” “I like her alot- intelligent and good research,” and “Warren has integrity, intelligence, decency, and guts.” That is not to say that all women evaluated her based on double binds, many solely commented on her integrity and intelligence just as the male commenters did. But, female commenters more often mentioned the fact that she was a woman more than the men were. Of their 42 positive comments, 50% mention the fact that Warren is a woman.

Interestingly, negative comments also judged her terms of double binds, mainly through competence/femininity. For example, one commenter said “Warren shows yet again she has the inability to understand how the market functions.” Another said “typical female politician doesn’t understand...” while a third said, “woman democrats are the worst politicians.” Two of the comments were from males while the third was not identified. But, in reading these it can be seen the evaluation is opposite from the positive supporters, but they use the same lens for evaluating Warren. On one hand, positive commenters find her competent and knowledgeable and usually do not mention her gender. Negative commenters, on the other hand, frequently point out her gender and use it as a way to justify or rationalize her perceived incompetence.

**Masculine v. feminine styles.** Another intriguing finding was the idea of a masculine and feminine communication style. The first part of this qualitative analysis found that Senator Warren toggles between a masculine style in hearings and feminine styles when delivering speeches. Commenters also picked up on these changes in speech. During hearing videos, commenters described Warren as delivering “hard-hitting questions” and described her as “relentless” about getting the answers to her questions. They also say things about Warren’s “clarity, honesty, and principle” and her “integrity, intelligence, decency, and guts.” All of these words could be used to describe someone engaging in the masculine style of communication.

On the other hand, when delivering speeches, she is described as “... polite and reasonably spoken,” “...astute, polite, and you get right to the heart of the matter,” and “Warren once again (as always) speaks from a place of care and integrity.” In these quotes, words like “polite” and “care” stand out. Commenters notice that she is more soft

spoken, uses more personal stories and anecdotes, and is more polite or calm when she gives speeches, all indicative of the feminine style.

There is not much mention in negative comments on Senator Warren's speaking style. Words like "polite" and "caring" are not used in those comments. However, there is evidence to suggest that negative commenters perceive a change in tone between speeches and hearings. For example, one commenter said "she should spend less time demonizing the banks and more time civilizing citizens" while another said "Ms. Warren, please name me one right that was refused by this decision." The first comment is from a hearing. Most negative comments had strong reactions like this, saying that she is "demonizing banks" and "doesn't understand how the market works." On the other hand, when responding to speeches, commenters tended to ask questions and start conversations within the comment section. This could be a reaction to the change in communication styles. She is aggressive in hearings, so she gets aggressive comments. But, she is calm in speeches and she receives (some) calm responses in the comment section.

## **Study 2 Discussion**

Overall, there are some interesting findings from this analysis of comments. First, Warren is evaluated in terms of double binds in both positive and negative ways by male and female commenters primarily through the competence/femininity lens. Those who comment positively find her to be intelligent and competent while those who comment negatively say the opposite, and justify her incompetence by referring to her gender. Second, commenters pick-up on the changes between masculine and feminine style and comments change accordingly. Comments on speeches where she takes on a

feminine style call her “polite” and caring.” Comments on hearings where she takes on a masculine style call her “hard hitting” and “bold.”

A second interesting finding was her perceived viability. Previous research suggests that female voters tend to participate less in politics (Baird & Bradley, 1979), but when they do participate, it is because a viable female leader is presented to them (Atkeson, 2003). Throughout the commenting, there was a mixture of male and female commenters. Males tended to comment more on hearings, while females tended to comment more on speeches. Females that did comment made reference to her knowledge and competence. This is not only from a female standpoint though. There were many more positive comments than negative comments, and more males commented than females. But, those males that commented also discussed her viability. This leads to the notion that Warren is seen as a viable female leader by both men and women, though her perceived viability did not incite more women to comment compared to men.

Overall, Warren toggles between a masculine and feminine style in speeches and hearings. This toggling points to evidence of convergence and people respond to those changes. Communication accommodation is the idea that one changes their speech based on different situations or people with whom they are speaking to either converge or diverge (Giles & Smith, 1979). Thus, since Senator Warren toggles between the masculine and feminine communication styles, the question of convergence, divergence, and over-accommodation will be addressed using a quantitative analysis.

### **Study 3: Quantitative Analysis of Videos**

From the qualitative content analysis in part 1, it was found that Senator Warren toggles between a masculine and feminine style of communication based on the context

that she is in. This finding could mean that accommodation is occurring. However, this raises the question of whether or not toggling was something that occurred as a result of getting into politics. Therefore, two research questions are posed:

RQ1: How has Senator Warren's use of masculine and feminine speech styles changed?

RQ2: Do changes suggest that Warren has converged to, diverged from, or over-accommodated the male communication style?

### **Study 3 Methodology**

Quantitative coding will work well to answer these questions because it allows for statistic analysis of whether Warren changes over time and whether or not these changes are statistically significant. Thus, quantitatively coding videos will yield clearer answers.

A quantitative content analysis was conducted to assess whether speech accommodation occurred over time for Elizabeth Warren. Two videos were taken from each year that she has been involved in national politics. In all, there were eight videos totaling 79 minutes and 35 seconds. The most popular videos were pulled between 2011-2014 and were found on Warren's YouTube channel (see Appendix C). Videos were sorted by most popular. Then, the top two popular videos from each year were pulled for analysis; they are a mix of hearings, speeches, and interviews. Videos were coded in two-minute segments. In all, there were 40 two- minute segments and 2 one-minute segments ( $N= 42$ ).

### **Coding Scheme**

Two coders who were trained on the purpose of this study and both coded each of the 42 segments. Videos were coded in two-minute segments. After two minutes, the

video was paused and the two-minute section was coded for 8 different elements. The operationalizations of variables in the coding scheme are as follows:

- Masculine Elements
  - *Use of statistics*: verbally citing numbers from a source (coded 1) or not citing numbers (coded 0)
  - *Use of sources*: verbally citing a source, but not utilizing numbers (coded 1) or not citing a source (coded 0)
  - *Interrupting*: interjecting or talking over someone while they are speaking (coded 1) or not interrupting (coded 0)
  - *Asking direct questions*: asking a specific person a specific question (coded 1) or not asking a question (coded 0)
  
- Feminine Elements
  - *Qualifiers*: words that qualify the statement preceding or directly after it (coded 1) or not (coded 0)
  - *Emphasizing relationships*: explicit statements about working together (coded 1) or not having explicit statements about working together (coded 0)
  - *Using Narrative*: using stories or anecdotes to emphasize a point (coded 1) or not using narrative (coded 0)
  - *Using collective pronouns*: using words such as “we”, “us” (coded 1) or using “them”, “they” (coded 0)

The coding sheet is in Appendix D. Scores from each category are summed by year.

After initial training using videos not included in the analysis, the coders had 79% agreement rating overall. Coders reevaluated element definitions, and conducted a second

trial run, yielding a 96% overall agreement with 100% agreement in use of statistics, use of qualifiers, direct questions, and use of narratives and 85.7% agreement in use of sources, interrupting, emphasizing relationships, and use of collective pronouns. It is important to note here that, though the overall study had 42 segments to analyze, the trials had eight segments. Though 85% agreement is not ideal, there was only disagreement in one segment of the element between coders in the final trial.

### Study 3 Results

Overall, the coders had a 97.91% agreement and  $\kappa$  ranged from .84 to 1.0, suggesting that coding was reliable. A  $\kappa$  over .8 is desirable because it shows that the two coders' determinations are not random (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011).

Table 3

*Percentage of agreement and Kappa scores of each element*

<u>Element</u>	<u>Percentage of Agreement</u>	<u><math>\kappa</math></u>
Statistics	97.62	.844
Sources	100	1.00
Interruptions	100	1.00
Qualifiers	100	1.00
Direct Questions	97.62	.876
Relationships	97.62	.940
Collective Pronouns	95.24	.884
Narrative	95.24	.883



The results show that convergence is occurring for Senator Warren (see table 4). In 2011 and 2012, there were no recorded instances of direct questions. However, after being elected in years 2013 and 2014, there are 5 instances of direct questions. In 2011 and 2012, there are 23 instances of collective pronoun use, but only six in 2013 and 2014. In 2011 and 2013, there are 20 instances of narrative use, but only 10 in 2013 and 2014.

Table 4

*Frequencies of each element occurring by year*

<u>Element</u>	<u>2011</u>	<u>2012</u>	<u>2013</u>	<u>2014</u>
Statistics	1	0	1	1
Sources	0	0	0	3
Interruptions	0	0	1	3
Qualifiers	0	0	0	0
Direct Questions	0	0	3	2
Relationships	3	4	3	1
Collective Pronouns	9	14	5	1
Narrative	10	10	7	3

These changes in communication show that there is a change in Warren's communication. Senator Warren moves away from use of collective pronouns and narratives, consistent with a feminine style of communication, to a use of statistics and direct questions, which is consistent with a masculine style of communication.

An interesting result is Warren's avoidance of qualifiers. In this study, there were no recorded instances of the use of qualifiers, which suggests that she uses powerful language that is in keeping with a masculine style. An interesting result is her use of emphasizing relationships. Her platform is standing up for the "little guy" but her use of emphasizing relationships is dropping off. However, her increase in the masculine style could be the cause.

Taken together, powerful language and emphasizing relationships could give a glimpse into the consistent features of Warren's speech style. That is, her speech may have taken on a more masculine style after elected, but using powerful language and emphasizing relationships are part of her style that she does not change. Also, assuming that these are her constant speech elements, they help support previous findings that Warren toggles between speech styles. If two different speech styles were already mixed in her everyday speech, then it would be easier for her to toggle between the two. It would also be easier for people to accept the code switching, especially since previous research shows that women who try to take on a more masculine style tend to be ridiculed and fail (Atkeson, 2003).

Table 5 shows the frequencies and each element occurring during a specific type of speaking event. During Warren's speeches there are many instances of collective pronoun and narrative use, consistent with a feminine style of communication. However, during hearings, there are many instances of interruptions and direct questions, consistent with a masculine style of communication. This again shows Senator Warren's ability to toggle between the two styles of communication depending on the situation.

Table 5

*Frequencies of speech elements by type*

<u>Element</u>	<u>Interview</u>	<u>Speech</u>	<u>Hearing</u>
Statistics	1	2	0
Sources	0	2	1
Interruptions	0	0	4
Qualifiers	0	0	0
Direct Questions	0	0	5
Relationships	2	9	0
Collective Pronouns	9	19	1
Narrative	9	19	2

Table 6 shows the chi-square coefficient for element by year. A chi-square tests the strength of a relationship between elements (Korey, 2013). Since this study looked at 8 different elements in 4 different years, it was important to run this statistic to see if there was a relationship between each element and time. Specific associations to point out are the use of collective pronouns, use of sources, and interruptions. Those associations show that as Warren's career has progressed, her speech style has changed. However, it hasn't changed into a more masculine or more feminine style. Collective pronoun use and emphasizing relationships decreased from 2011 to 2014. Elements like direct questions and interruptions increased from 2011 to 2014. These statistics show that there is some convergence occurring between speaking situations for Senator Warren because she is using fewer feminine communication elements, but she is not necessarily adopting a male communication style.

Table 6

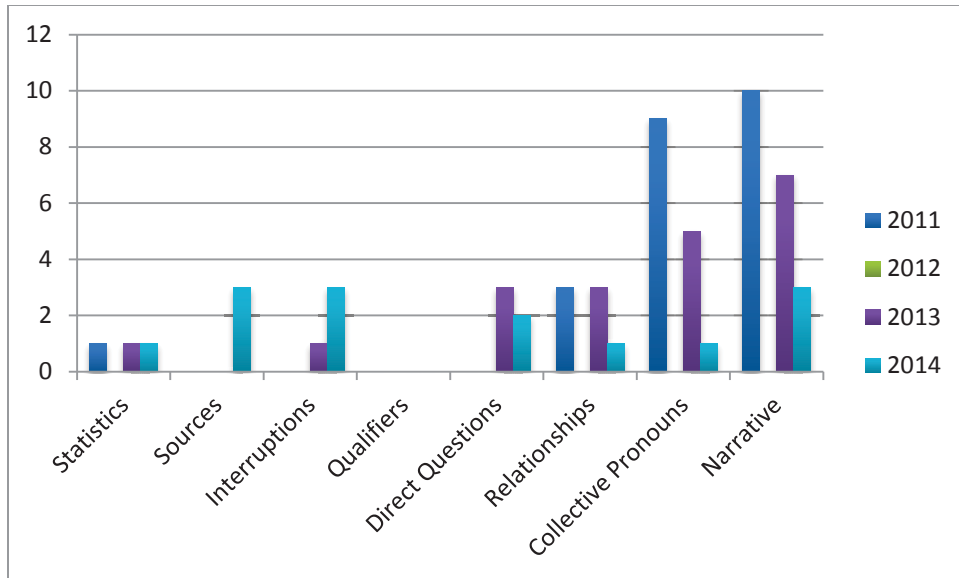
*Chi-square for table of element by year*

<u>Element</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>DF</u>
Statistics	.202	4.613	3
Sources	.001*	32.308	3
Qualifiers	.356	3.239	3
Narrative	.011*	11.095	3
Interruptions	.001*	23.321	3
Emphasize	.600	1.868	3
Relationships			
Direct Questions	.002*	14.993	3
Collective Pronouns	.001*	30.228	

Table 7 looks at the chi-square coefficient for each element by speaking event. Interruptions, direct questions, and collective pronoun use all have a significant association with the year. For example, there is a significant relationship between collective pronoun use and year. As the bar graph in table 8 shows the frequency of pronoun use goes up says that as the years go on, so does her use of collective pronouns. In 2013 and 2014, her interruptions increased. Since this is while she was in office, this could be initial evidence that she is adopting a masculine style.

Table 7

*Bar graph of frequency of each element by year*



Similar to the results from tables 6 and 7, table 8 shows the chi-squares for each element by speaking event. The qualitative analysis found that Warren was able to converge and toggle between the masculine and feminine style effectively. Table 8 confirms that there is a relationship between speaking events and gendered elements, particularly concerning narrative, interruptions, direct questions, and collective pronouns. These elements are also the elements that changed in frequency as Warren’s Senate career began. Confirming that there is a relationship between speaking events and elements also suggests that Warren is converging as her political career advances.

Table 8

*Chi-Square for table of element by type of speaking event*

<u>Element</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>DF</u>
Statistics	.430	1.69	2
Sources	.318	2.289	2
Qualifiers	.156	3.711	2
Narrative	.001*	20.034	2
Interruptions	.001*	40.674	2
Emphasize	.015	8.397	2
Relationships			
Direct Questions	.001*	34.726	2

Collective Pronouns	.001*	30.478	2
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### **Discussion of Studies 1, 2, and 3**

RQ1 from study 1 asked if Senator Warren took on a more masculine or feminine communication style. Through the qualitative analysis, it was found that, depending on the speaking setting, she could take on either style. Specifically, she converges and takes on a more masculine style during hearings and while diverging and taking on a feminine style during speeches. It was also found that although she tends to lean more towards one style depending on the speaking situation, she could effectively toggle between the two. Findings showed that although she takes on a more masculine style in hearings, for example, she also mixed in elements of the feminine style.

During hearings, Warren does not directly address her own double binds. But, during speeches, specifically ones that discuss women’s rights or the republican “war on women,” she does allude to double binds and attempts to dispel them. For example, in the Hobby Lobby decision speech, she alludes to women having the ability to choose or not choose birth control, thus addressing the femininity/competency double bind.

RQ1 from study 2 asked how commenters evaluated Warren in terms of double binds. First, it was found that both men and women discussed her in positive terms. Second, when evaluating her, either positive or negative, it was primarily done through the femininity/competency lens. Those who commented positively found her to be intelligent and competent while those who commented negatively said the opposite, and justified her incompetence by referring to her gender. Commenters also were quick to point out that she “asks the tough questions,” thus alluding to the silence/shame double

bind. Warren appears to have overcome the silence/shame double bind and, in return, commenters respond in a positive manner. None of the negative comments made a reference to the silence/shame double bind. Neither positive nor negative comments alluded to the womb/brain double bind.

In study 3, RQ1 asked how has Senator Warren's use of masculine and feminine speech styles changed. The study found that it has changed dramatically from 2011 to 2014. She has increased her use of interruptions and direct questions and decreased her use of collective pronouns and narrative. The findings from study 3 also confirm the results from study 1. Study 1 found that Senator Warren toggles between the masculine and feminine communication styles depending on the speaking situation that she is placed in. Table 8 highlights those changes and confirm through a chi-square analysis that she does change depending on the situation.

The findings from the directed qualitative content analyses in study 1 and study 2 as well as the quantitative analysis in study 3 shines some light onto communication accommodation and political leaders, specifically in the case of Elizabeth Warren. The first study found that Warren toggles between the masculine and feminine style of communication depending on the type of speaking event. This is further supported by the quantitative study, which showed a change over time in elements such as use of collective pronouns and narratives.

Study 3 overall showed that, prior to being elected, Senator Warren tended toward a more feminine style of communication. But, post-election, she started to shift away from a feminine style and may be moving toward a masculine style. This could be the result of working in the political world. Past research shows that the political world takes

on a more masculine style of communication (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003), meaning that Senator Warren would eventually have to converge if she wanted to participate. Past research also states that females who attempt to take on a masculine style of communication tend to fail (Kahn, 1994; Gidengil & Everitt, 2003). Warren, however, seems to be successful so far adjusting to the masculine style. This could be because one element that remained constant was her powerful language. Whether in a speech or a hearing, Senator Warren consistently used powerful language. When campaigning, she used the feminine style by emphasizing relationships in multiple speech settings, and now appears to be moving away from those feminine elements as a member of the Senate. Thus, she is not yet over-accommodating, but appears to be converging.

Another facet that lends to this argument is the double-bind phenomena. Double binds are the paradoxes that female leaders are in when others are discussing them. For example, it is thought that woman can have a career or a family, but she cannot have both (Jamison, 1995). For Warren, the main double bind that is referred to is the feminine/competency lens. Those that commented positively on her videos, both male and female, found her to be competent, while those who commented negatively found her to be incompetent and justified that incompetence with her gender. It was also found that commenters, both male and female, could pick up on the changes in communication styles. For example, in speeches people commented on how polite and caring Warren is, while in hearings people comment on her aggressiveness and directness.

Overall, these findings could offer some insight into communication for female political leaders. Senator Warren can be seen as a viable female leader and has effectively learned to toggle between communication styles to adjust to the context she is in, as well



as converge over time without over-accommodating. Senator Warren's specific mixed speech style could give other leaders the groundwork for learning to effectively accommodate speech in the political sphere.

### **Limitations**

#### **Sampling**

Though the study yielded interesting results, one limitation is the sampling method used. The same 20 popular videos were used for the quantitative and qualitative analyses. Choosing the most popular videos made this a nonrandom sample, which is another limitation. It is not a complete population or representative sample of Senator Warren's speech style. Also, only two videos were used from each year (again from the 20 most popular). Selecting 2 from each year made coding easier and yielded useful and interesting results, but for a more complete picture of Senator Warren's speech accommodation, more videos need to be analyzed.

Another limitation is that the videos of hearings that were used are edited into 5-10 minute clips from a longer 1-2 hour session. However, although videos are edited, the clips are the entire speech/hearing segment that Senator Warren participated in. So, although there are other speeches or hearings before and after Senator Warren's, her specific part was coded in its entirety.

A final limitation to sampling is the self-selected nature of the comments. That is, not every one that watched one of Senator Warren's videos commented on it. Therefore, the comments are not a representative random sample of people's responses. However, those that commented on videos are probably highly invested in politics and follow the issues that Senator Warren speaks on (Kruikemeier, van Noort, Vilegenthart, & de

Vreese, 2013). So, although not every one on YouTube comments on videos, those that do are the most involved, thus becoming the audience needed for this particular study.

### **Method**

One limitation is the method used in the qualitative study. A directed analysis was used to gauge Senator Warren's speaking style. It is entirely descriptive in that it is used to discover patterns or what is there (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). However, this limitation was over come by conducting a follow-up, reliably coded quantitative study that did give insight to perceptions.

Another limitation is the amount of time Senator Warren has been in the spotlight. This study is a case study, or snapshot, that focuses on Senator Warren. Therefore, the results are not generalizable to the population at large, but can be applied to her specific speaking style. The amount of time she had been in politics is what makes this case study different. At 65, she is older than most first time politicians (Lepore, 2014). Therefore, she has no baggage or skeletons in her closet and not too many political enemies. If this study was replicated later, it might produce different results specifically because of her tenure in politics. Another limitation was that given her time in politics, it was difficult to find videos to analyze in 2011 and 2012 because she was just getting involved. Therefore, the videos were few and the amount of time they ran was short. This made it more difficult to analyze pre-election.

A third limitation is the exclusion of two double binds, age/invisibility and sameness/difference. Femininity/competence, womb/brain, and silence/shame all speak on women's actions or can be used to evaluate women's actions, as was found in study . Also, they were excluded because to make the study variables more manageable.

However, including all five double binds would have given a comprehensive view on the double binds Warren faces.

### **Future Research**

Since Senator Warren has been involved in politics for a short time, future research could continue this study and look for accommodation after she has been involved longer, thus presenting a longer period of time to look for communication accommodation. In this vein, future research could also focus on other female political leaders and their communication styles. This will help give snapshots of other leaders' communication styles as well as assist in the generalizability of the results.

A second area for future research is to look more deeply into double binds. Out of the three presented, only the femininity/competence bind was evident in the comments. It would be interesting to see if the binds not coded for were discussed in comments. Further, it would also be interesting to actually gauge voters' perceptions of Warren, so a survey or focus groups would be beneficial, as would looking at news framing of her speeches in terms of double binds.

Another area for future research is leader viability. Past studies state that females are not as active in politics compared to men unless there is a viable female leader present (Atkeson, 2003). So far, Warren is a viable female leader. Therefore, it would be interesting to see if more females become involved with her campaign or politics in general. The results here suggest that may not be the case. It would also be interesting to gauge female voters' perceptions of Senator Warren. An attempt to outline this was made in study 2. Comments were coded for gender, and out of the 597 comments, only 89 were

female. It would be interesting to see if, as time goes on, that number increases or decreases.

### **Conclusion**

This study looked to answer the overall question about whether or not female political leaders were accommodating their communication styles to fit into the masculine political sphere. This was explored through three studies. It was found that Warren toggles between a masculine and feminine communication style depending on the speaking situation that she is placed in. It was also found that commenters on her YouTube videos, male and female, viewed her in mostly positive terms. When evaluating Warren, they evaluated her in terms of the femininity/competence double bind. They made references to her gender femininity and said that she was intelligent. Females commented and evaluated her through the womb/brain double bind, complimenting her on having a family and a career and stating that they are in the same situation. Finally, they evaluated her through the silence/shame double bind saying that she was not afraid to speak her mind. These positive evaluations show that Senator Warren was able to overcome the double binds. This could have been due to, in part, her ability to effectively toggle between the masculine and feminine communication style. These findings give insight into how female politicians may accommodate to the expected male style, especially since commenters perceived Senator Warren in an overwhelmingly positive light. Commenters also think she is both caring and hard-hitting, two characteristics from separate communication styles.

The quantitative study confirmed the findings from the qualitative analysis in that there is a relationship between gender elements and time, showing that there is

accommodation occurring. Also, the quantitative study confirmed that there is a relationship between the elements and the speaking situation. It also showed that masculine elements like direct questions and interruptions increased while feminine elements, like narrative and pronoun use, decreased. This means that when speaking, Senator Warren converged or accommodated her speech to more closely resemble those to whom she was speaking. What was not found in these studies was evidence of over-accommodation. Given that commenters perceive Senator Warren positively, it can be tentatively surmised that, so far, she converges the correct amount. The element that stayed consistent was powerful language. Having this consistent element, which belongs to the feminine style and masculine style respectively, could shed light onto how she is able to toggle between the styles effectively and not suffer the negative consequences that other female political leaders were subject to (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003).

These findings are important because it shows that there is progress in the way that females communicate in the political sphere. They are also important because Senator Warren has been able to overcome the double binds presented to her. From here, she has possibly presented a method of accommodation that future female political leaders could follow.

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**Appendix A**  
Videos from Qualitative Coding

On Republican Shutdown Threats	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UA3I4HAvGUs&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UA3I4HAvGUs&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
Shut down and why government matters	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JTxWMkW8s_c&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JTxWMkW8s_c&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
Too big to fail	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mavB1lbtIow&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mavB1lbtIow&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
Hearing on Illegal Foreclosures	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zD7zM9K0X4c&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zD7zM9K0X4c&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
Hearing on money laundering	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7cKTBy7_S_I&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7cKTBy7_S_I&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
Private student loan hearing	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=haoKLe3rJxc&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=haoKLe3rJxc&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
Speech on student loan fairness	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P-4FhsyvJdM&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P-4FhsyvJdM&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
Minimum wage HELP committee	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ABM0_L_5vLw&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ABM0_L_5vLw&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
First Banking Committee Hearing	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dxhyUAWPmGw&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dxhyUAWPmGw&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
Speech on retirement Crisis	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O99siSbqTX8&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O99siSbqTX8&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
Speech on	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RyK02em7Nic&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RyK02em7Nic&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>

Hobby Lobby Decision	09J5bOoTR18_A
GOP Filibuster Speech	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GKXlsreAqVk&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GKXlsreAqVk&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
Hearing-Benernake	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ihj_JcrYi30&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ihj_JcrYi30&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
Speech on Overturning Citizens United	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nBbZAMsZ-Rg&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nBbZAMsZ-Rg&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
Michael Froman Nomination Speech	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kAgJaIwdXLI&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kAgJaIwdXLI&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
Hearing on Effectiveness of Enforcement Actions	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X8NFcBzcZrA&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X8NFcBzcZrA&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
Hearing-Yellen	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XYw0xYFBnn8&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XYw0xYFBnn8&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
Speech on Unemployment Insurance	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S2NYK1YMN6I&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S2NYK1YMN6I&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
Hearing on Bankers prosecuted	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XmHz6HWhOuI&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XmHz6HWhOuI&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
Hearing on Jack Lew	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=flo9I6VVD8Y&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=flo9I6VVD8Y&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
DNC Speech	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FzspAfNkGz0">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FzspAfNkGz0</a>

**Appendix B**  
Qualitative Coding Scheme

Video type	Male/Female/Undetermined	Positive	Negative	Irrelevant	Other

**Appendix C**  
Videos for Quantitative Study

20 11	Daily Show Interview	<a href="http://thedailyshow.cc.com/extended-interviews/idirew/elizabeth-warren-extended-interview">http://thedailyshow.cc.com/extended-interviews/idirew/elizabeth-warren-extended-interview</a>
20 11	Debt Crisis and Fair Taxation	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=htX2usfqMEs">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=htX2usfqMEs</a>
20 12	DNC Speech	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FzspAfNkGz0">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FzspAfNkGz0</a>
20 12	Victory Speech	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YPYFQeMPTu8">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YPYFQeMPTu8</a>
20 13	First Banking Committee H earing	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dxhyUAWPmGw">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dxhyUAWPmGw</a>
20 13	Republican shutdown Threats	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VMloSXqzMw4&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VMloSXqzMw4&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
20 14	Lack of Private Student Loan Relief	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=haoKLe3rJxc&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=haoKLe3rJxc&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>
20 14	Overturning Citizens United	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nBbZAMsZ-Rg&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nBbZAMsZ-Rg&amp;list=UUTH9zV8Imw09J5bOoTR18_A</a>

**Appendix D**  
Quantitative Coding Scheme

Video #	Year	Segment #	Type	Element
			1.Speech 2.Hearing 3.Debate 4.Interview 5.Other	1.Use of statistics 2. Use of sources 3.Interrupts 4.Aggressive/use of qualifiers 5.Direct questions 6.Emphasize relationships 7. Use of anecdotes/stories 8.Collective pronouns