The Journal of International Communication

ISSN: 1321-6597 (Print) 2158-3471 (Online) Journal homepage: http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rico20

Female politicians: a mixed political communication model

Tsfira Grebelsky-Lichtman

To cite this article: Tsfira Grebelsky-Lichtman (2017) Female politicians: a mixed political communication model, The Journal of International Communication, 23:2, 272-297, DOI: 10.1080/13216597.2017.1371625

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/13216597.2017.1371625

THE JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION, 2017
VOL. 23, NO. 2, 272–297
https://doi.org/10.1080/13216597.2017.1371625

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Female politicians: a mixed political communication model

Tsfira Grebelsky-Lichtman

Department of Business Administration, One Academic College and Department of Communication, The Hebrew University, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem, Israel

ABSTRACT

In the past political sphere, masculine verbal and nonverbal behaviour were keys to political success among female politicians. The current study aims to examine and identify the communication patterns of female politicians to date. The study presents a gender communication framework, based on an aggregation of numerous articles in the field that maps gender patterns of verbal and nonverbal communication. Twelve female politicians in senior political positions from 5 democratic Western countries were analysed and 24 speeches were explored, all within the political sphere of parliaments. The findings revealed a novel mixed communication model indicating that female politicians' communication consisted of a combination of feminine nonverbal expressions and masculine verbal communicative patterns. Furthermore, the mixed communication model of female politicians was analysed for social categories, which uniquely delineated significant effects for seniority and age. This study expands the theoretical and analytical research on female politicians and develops a composite framework, providing a gender-oriented approach to political communication.

KEYWORDS

Gender communication; female politicians; verbal communication; nonverbal communication; impression management; political communication

Introduction

Participation of women in senior political functions and positions of influence is one of the most significant developments of the current decade in the political arena (Fracchiolla 2011, Grebelsky-Lichtman 2015). An increasing number of women are running for national offices in many countries, including the United States, Germany, Great Britain, France, Sweden, South Africa, Cuba, Finland, and Argentina (Jalalzai and Krook 2010, Stalsburg and Kleinberg 2016). Following this political trend, academic interest in gender and political communication has grown in recent years (Schneider 2014). However, there is a lack of studies that identify and map the gender-communicative patterns of female politicians. Studies on female leaders have highlighted a gap in our

CONTACT Tsfira Grebelsky-Lichtman grbelsky@netvision.net.il Department of Business Administration, Ono Academic College, 104 Zahal St. Kiryat Ono, 55000, Israel

understanding of leadership from a gender-oriented perspective (Gidengil and Everitt 2003, Carlson 2007, Cheung and Helpern 2010). The current study aims to fill this gap. This study contributes a theoretical and analytical framework that maps female politicians' communicative patterns. The presented framework establishes the communication strategies of female politicians for achieving political success. The developed framework can function as a base to increase the effectiveness of the political communication management of female politicians. Furthermore, this study delineates the effects of social categories of seniority and age on the manifestations of gender-communicative patterns. To achieve these aims, female politicians in senior positions were analysed from a gender perspective of political communication.

While previous studies have examined either verbal or nonverbal communication there is a lack of studies that have explored both communication modes. The present study addresses this lacuna by expanding political impression management theory (Landtsheer *et al.* 2008) to a multimodal communication approach, which examined both verbal and nonverbal displays (Buck and VanLear 2002, Jones and LeBaron 2002) of female politicians. This examination exposes the gender-communicative profile, which elaborates the specific verbal and nonverbal manifestations of female politicians.

The theoretical argument of the current study is that female politicians represent a unique mixed model of an advanced repertoire that combines multimodal communication modes of dual-gender patterns. This mixed communication model integrates masculine and feminine verbal and nonverbal genders' communicative expressions. We proceed with this theoretical argument in three main stages. First, we expose the proffered theoretical and analytical framework of gender communication grounded on political impression management theory, with a developed comprehensive conceptualisation of various verbal and nonverbal gender-communicative patterns. Second, we present the theoretical background that emerges from gender perspective of political communication. Third, we delineate the effect of social categories on female politicians' communication.

Stage I: theoretical and analytical framework of gender communication

This study presents a gender-communicative theoretical and analytical framework of verbal and nonverbal expressions (see Table 1). This framework constitutes an aggregation of numerous articles in the field. As Table 1 shows, this framework maps a wide range of verbal and nonverbal gender-communicative patterns in the research literature that are defined as masculine or feminine. Gender-communicative patterns are conceptualised as generalised descriptions consisting of the features and behaviours expected of males and females (Shaw 2000). As elaborated in Table 1, the gender-communicative patterns

Table 1. Theoretical and analytical framework of gender communication.

Verbal communication	Nonverbal communication
Feminine communication	
Concrete examples (Dow and Tonn 1993)	Emphasis on appearance (Hargie 2006, Cheung and Halpern 2010)
Emotional reference (Johnson 2005)	Making eye contact (Coyle 2009)
Personal examples (Campbell 1989)	High voice/grating (Knapp and Hall 2010)
Hesitant speech (Stalsburg and Kleinberg 2016)	Smiling (Carlson 2007, Knapp and Hall 2010)
Passive speech (Gudykunst 1998)	Expressive voice (Stalsburg and Kleinberg 2016)
Softened statement (Dixon and Foster 1997)	Rapid speech (Knapp and Hall 2010)
Practice educational issues (Fox and Oxley 2003)	Diverse intonation (Marini 1990)
Requests (Gudykunst 1998)	Round movements (Dolan 2010)
Apology (Holmes and Stubbe 2003)	Weak voice (Carlson 2007)
Seeking approval (Dolan 2010)	Hesitate – fluency problems (Lakoff 1990, Leaper and Robnett 2011)
Asking questions (Lakoff 1990)	Small movements (Hargie 2006)
Empathy (Garaigordobil 2009)	Expressive face (O'Kearney and Dadds 2004)
Masculine communication	
Action demand (Stalsburg and Kleinberg 2016)	Display anger such as knock on the table (Brooks 2011)
Activity (Gudykunst 1998)	Sharp movements (Stalsburg and Kleinberg 2016)
Expressed of significant opinion (Lakoff 1990, Dolan 2010)	Broad hand movements (Marini 1990)
Display solution (Gudykunst 1998, Hargie 2006)	Assertive hand movements (Hargie 2006)
Assertive speech (Lakoff 1990, Fox and Oxley 2003)	Many gestures that reinforce the verbal message (Hargie 2006)
Rationality (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2013)	Sarcasm (Rockwell and Theriot 2001)
Pertinacity (Stalsburg and Kleinberg 2016)	Strong voice/shouting (Knapp and Hall 2010)
Direct speech (Hargie 2006)	Deep voice (Fox and Oxley 2003)
Accusing speech (Fox and Oxley 2003)	Clenched fists (Carney *et al.* 2010, Brooks 2011)
Practice economic issues (Fox and Oxley 2003)	Slow speech (Knapp and Hall 2010)
Speech in the first person singular (Mulac *et al* 2001)	Stable and monotone speech (Fox and Oxley 2003)
Angry speech (Fox and Oxley 2003)	Angry facial expressions (Brooks 2011)

are divided into four dimensions of theoretical and analytical framework. The dimensions are constructed based on two categories, each of which contains two axes: communication mode (verbal/nonverbal) and gender analysed (feminine/masculine). Thus, this framework represents four dimensions: verbal feminine communicative patterns, masculine verbal communicative patterns, feminine nonverbal communicative patterns, and masculine nonverbal communicative patterns. This theoretical and analytical framework (Table 1) enabled us to define the gender-communicative style that is pre-eminent among females in the political sphere.

Based on this theoretical and analytical framework (Table 1), the current study contributes the sub-dimensions that elaborate the verbal and nonverbal practices among female politicians in senior positions, establishes in-depth analysis of their masculine or feminine communication, and exposes the profile of female politicians' communicative patterns.

This theoretical and analytical framework is grounded in political impression management theory (Schultz *et al.* 2012), which emphasises the use of verbal and nonverbal symbols in order to preserve or increase the impression on others (Landtsheer *et al.* 2008, Hall 2009). The political impression management theory explains the process and the means by

which politicians try to control and create their impression on others (Tidwell and Walther 2002). The view of political impression management theory holds that politicians can improve the impression they register with the audience (McGraw 2003). Political impression management theory focuses on several aspects of political communication and studies the influence of impression sent by politicians: from the verbal message, appearance characteristics, and perceived personality traits to the nonverbal behaviour of politicians (Landtsheer *et al.* 2008). We argue for strong ties between the theoretical premises of political impression management theory and political communication. We also argue that the specific aspects of political impression management (both verbal and nonverbal) can be perceived as political communication techniques in a female politician's quest for political power.

We have assumed that female politicians will attempt to influence the perceptions of other people about them by regulating and controlling their verbal and nonverbal communication in political interactions (Landtsheer *et al.* 2008). We argue that female politicians will formulate and produce verbal and nonverbal expressions, of which the output representation will be used in their communication skills with the aim of achieving political success. Thus, the verbal and nonverbal expressions that will be most highly activated among female politicians will be those that will increase the impression that they want to manage (McGraw 2003). This leads us to develop the following research question:

RQ1: What are the manifestations of verbal and nonverbal communicative patterns that comprise the gender communication model of female politicians?

Stage II: gender-oriented political communication

The current study offers a gender perspective of political communication and presents a theoretical and analytical framework that highlights the interaction between masculine and feminine verbal and nonverbal communication patterns of female politicians. A gender-oriented approach plays a major role in the political sphere, as this sphere is mostly based on masculine grounds (Pratto and Walker 2004, Johansson 2008), with rules of behaviour that were originally dictated by men (Gidengil and Everitt 2003, Suleiman and O'Connell 2007).

Gender-communicative patterns have a significant effect on political communication regarding the progress and reception of female politicians in the political sphere (Landtsheer *et al.* 2008, Lawless 2009, Fracchiolla 2011) and have been shown to exert a powerful influence on voting patterns and political success (Carlson 2007, Dolan 2010). Voters look for political candidates who have masculine features, without necessarily being aware that they are basing their choice on gender perspective (McGinley 2009, Grebelsky-Lichtman 2015). This bias demonstrates that, in the political sphere, preference is given

to politicians who display masculine characteristics (Galligan and Knight 2011, Stalsburg and Kleinberg 2016).

Communication differences were found between male and female politicians, corresponding to basic gender-communicative patterns (Shaw 2000, Carlson 2007, Johansson 2008). Characteristics such as independence, assertiveness, self-reliance, competitiveness, and task-orientation are considered to be masculine, whereas traits such as communality, caring, other-orientation, nurturing, kindness, submissiveness, and helpfulness are considered to be feminine (Fox and Oxley 2003, Brooks 2011, Schneider 2014).

In the past political sphere, a key to female candidates' political success was displaying masculine communicative patterns (Bystrom 2004, Coyle 2009); an example is the case of Margaret Thatcher in Britain (Beattie 1982). Wilson (1992) discussed how Thatcher's advisors encouraged her to speak more like a man and trained her, for example, to lower the pitch of her voice and speak more slowly. In another example, Prime Minister Golda Meir of Israel, who likewise displayed masculine communicative patterns, was complimented: 'she is the only man in the government' (Madzini 2009).

This adaption of masculine communicative patterns was supported by a common perception among women who achieved high positions that a woman who wishes to reach such positions must adjust herself to masculine norms and behavioural codes. Frankel (2004) claimed that 'nice *girls* don't get the corner o*ffice', while Gail Evans (2001) argued that women who want to succeed have to adopt the masculine tactics of* 'play like a man, win like a woman'. The message was clear: tougher and more aggressive women bypass women who fit the feminine communicative patterns.

Recently, however, the adaption of masculine communicative pattern is arguably no longer acceptable for female political candidates (Cheung and Helpern 2010, Schneider 2014). Regarding female politicians, a tradeoff was found between likeability and competence (McGinley 2009); if they are too masculine (Hillary Clinton) they are perceived as able but are disliked, whereas if they are too feminine (Sarah Palin) they are liked but are viewed as incompetent (Suleiman and O'Connell 2007, Stalsburg and Kleinberg 2016). Previous studies have shown that female candidates receive more votes in simulated elections when they are evaluated higher on both 'masculine' and 'feminine' characteristics (Bystrom 2004, Rudman and Fairchild 2004).

The gender-oriented political communication approach argues that female politicians can construct a strategy that is congruent with the gender-communicative patterns or they can use an incongruent strategy by adopting the communication strengths of the opposite gender (Carlson 2007, Schneider 2014). Grounded on the presented theoretical framework and the broad literature review, we advance the following research question:

RQ2: Have female politicians adopted feminine or masculine communicative manifestations?

Stage III: the effect of social categories on female politicians' communicative patterns

This study explored the proffered theoretical and analytical framework of female politicians' communicative patterns in relation to social categories. The theoretical argument is that the analyses of social categories may expand the communicative framework of female politicians and enhance our understanding of gender and political communication. Grounded on 'intersectionality' (Ludvig 2006), an examination of gender must consider social categories, which represent axes of identity that interact on multidimensional levels affecting gender perspective (Crenshaw and Thomas 2004).

The social categories in the present study refer to age and seniority, which are related to the concept of power. The political sphere serves as a space in which the social balance of power, especially gender power, is expressed (Suleiman and O'Connell 2007, Moi 2008). Contemporary research suggests that what we once thought of as feminine communication actually represents the communication patterns of those in a lower status position (Schneider 2014, Stalsburg and Kleinberg 2016). This style is derived from a sense of inferiority (Lakoff 1990). Therefore, there is theoretical consensus that women at the highest levels of politics demonstrate masculine communication patterns attributed to power and high-status positions (Dolan 2010, Brooks 2011, Fracchiolla 2011).

Studies indicate that women have several behavioural features that are not considered valuable in the political sphere (Marini 1990, Rinehart 1992, Fox and Oxley 2003). For example, women are expected to use polite nonverbal communication or avoid aggressive interaction (Gilligan 1982, Carlson 2007). Senior female politicians face a complex communication challenge with many internal contradictions: they have to combine aspects of both feminine characteristics and communication patterns that relate to power and high status in order to be perceived as worthy and competent. The current study addresses this challenge, offering a comprehensive analysis of the presented theoretical and analytical framework (Table 1) in order to expose the effect of social categories on the communicative patterns of female politicians.

Based on intersectionality and the broad literature review, the study explores the effect of social categories on the gender-communicative model of female politicians, and advances the following research question:

RQ3: What effect do social categories have on the gender communicative model of female politicians?

Methods

Corpus of the study

In order to answer the research questions, the study analysed 24 videotaped speeches of 12 female politicians, 2 speeches for each, during 2009–2012. All of the speeches occurred within the political spheres of parliaments. All of the female politicians analysed were from national politics. The politicians were from Western democratic countries, including the United States, England, Australia, Canada, and Israel. The rationale was to establish a corpus of female politicians that share some basic common norms, particularly a democratic political system and a Western culture. Table 2 contains a descriptive analysis that elaborates the corpus of the study, including the names of the female politicians, their affiliation at the time of the speech, and the concrete dates of the analysed speeches. Additionally, for each female politician, social categories of seniority and age were demarked. Operationally, seniority and age were defined in years as continuous variables.

Analysing the communication modalities

Each political speech was transcribed by two undergraduate research assistants. Training each transcriber took approximately 8 hours. The political speeches were coded by other undergraduate research assistants that were English speakers from one of the analysed countries. Training each coder took approximately 15 hours.

Coding of verbal communication

The coding of verbal communication and the categories of analysis were based on discourse analysis (Brown and Levinson 1987). The transcribed speeches of

Table 2. The corpus of the study – descriptive analysis.

Name of the politician	Affiliation at the time of the speech	Concrete date of the analysed speeches	
		Speech I	Speech II
Hillary Clinton	United States Secretary of State	24 April 2009	23 May 2012
Nancy Pelosi	Minority Leader of the U.S. House of Representatives	21 March 2012	27 April 2012
Kirsten Gillibrand	United States senator	14 March 2012	18 April 2012
Julia Gillard	Prime Minister of Australia	21 February 2011	8 February 2011
Diane Finley	Minister of Human Resources and Skills Development in Canada	31 January 2012	6 February 2009
Theresa May	Minister of the Interior of United Kingdom	20 February 2012	19 April 2012
Shelly Yachimovich	Chairperson of the Israeli Labor Party	8 February 2011	11 February 2011
Tzipi Livni	Leader of the Israeli Opposition	21 October 2011	11 January 2012
Zehava Gal-On	Chairperson of Meretz	13 February 2012	6 December 2011
Limor Livnat	Minister of Culture and Sport	2 May 2012	29 June 2011
Tzipi Hotovely	Member of the Knesset for the Likud party	14 October 2009	29 February 2012
Anastassia Michaeli	Member of the Knesset for Israel Beiteinu	9 March 2011	24 November 2009

female politicians were divided into utterances – the basic units of semantic content (Blum-Kulka 2003). Stiles (1992) defined an utterance as the grammatical realisation of a communicative act. Psychologically, a communicative act concerns one unit of experience. To convey two distinct points of experience, two communicative acts are necessary. 'Theoretically, each utterance corresponds to one point of contact. The goal of unitising specifications is to accurately represent one psychological unit of experience communicated between speaker and other' (Stiles 1992, p. 108). Operationally, an utterance may be smaller than a sentence, and a sentence may include several utterances.

As Table 1 shows, an expressed speech act was specified for each utterance (Searle 1979, Courtright 2014). Among the speech acts that have a feminine communicative value are concrete examples, emotional reference, personal examples, hesitant speech, passive speech; softened statements, practical educational issues, requests, apologies, seeking approval, asking questions, and empathy.

Speech acts with a masculine communicative value include action demands, activity, expressing significant opinions, displaying a solution, assertive speech, rationality, pertinacity, direct speech, accusatory speech, discussion of practical economic issues, speech in the first person singular, and angry speech.

Coding of nonverbal communication

Coding of nonverbal communication was based on gestures, facial expressions, and vocal cues. The goal was to consider the fundamental aspects of nonverbal behaviour. A gesture is a form of nonverbal communication in which visible bodily actions communicate particular messages, either in place of speech or in parallel with words. Gestures include movements of the hands, face, or other parts of the body (Ekman and Friesen 1969, Afifi 2007). Operationally, coding nonverbal gestures and facial expressions uses a coding scheme that characterises and interprets nonverbal communication. This coding scheme is a multi-tiered system for observed nonverbal communication, classification, and analysis.

As Table 1 shows, nonverbal communication expressions that have a masculine communicative value are displays of anger such as a knock on the table, sharp movements, broad hand movements, assertive hand movements, gestures that reinforce the verbal message, sarcasm, use of a strong voice or shouting, deep voice, clenched fists, slow speech, stable and monotone speech, and angry facial expressions.

Nonverbal expressions with a feminine communicative value include emphasis on appearance, making eye contact, high or grating voice, smiling, expressive voice, rapid speech, diverse intonation, round movements, weak voice, hesitation and/or fluency problems, small movements, and use of an expressive face.

Intercoder reliability

Ten percent of the speeches were randomly selected and coded separately by two coders. Intercoder reliability using Guetzkow's (1950) Unitising Formula 10 was conducted on the division of the speeches into verbal and nonverbal expressions, $u = .02$. Cohen's Kappa was computed for the four coding types: (1) coding masculine verbal communication [0.93]; (2) coding masculine nonverbal communication [0.89]; (3) coding feminine verbal communication [0.91]; and (4) coding feminine nonverbal communication [0.90].

Data analyses

Corresponding the research questions data analyses were conducted in three stages. In the first stage, we conducted *T*-tests to compare the masculine and the feminine communicative models for the female politicians' verbal and nonverbal communication. At the second stage, we conducted specific statistics for each communicative practice to create a concrete communication profile for female politicians. The third stage contained logistic regression analyses to examine the effect of social categories of age and seniority on the communicative patterns of female politicians.

Results

A novel mixed communication model

Regarding RQ1, the findings indicated a novel mixed communication model for female politicians. The model involves a gender-oriented approach consisting of both masculine and feminine communicative characteristics. The combined model is characterised by numerous elements of masculine verbal communication, the opposite of vast feminine nonverbal communication. The findings showed that women in senior political positions did not entirely embrace masculine forms of verbal and nonverbal expressions. These politicians conduct themselves according to a new integrated model, combining nonverbal feminine and verbal masculine communicative patterns, suited to the political sphere.

Analysis of the mixed communication model of female politicians, which includes both verbal and nonverbal communication, indicated significant differences between the masculine and the feminine models, $t(46) = 2.83$, $p < .001$. Communication patterns that characterise the feminine communicative model were found in female politicians: $M = 3.40$; $SD = 1.90$, compared with characteristics of the masculine communicative model: $M = 5.08$; $SD = 2.21$. Thus, as Figure 1 illustrates, the new model represents gender-integrated communication in which overall masculine communication patterns gain preference. However, comprehensive analyses of the diverse communication modes exposed a complex and mixed model.

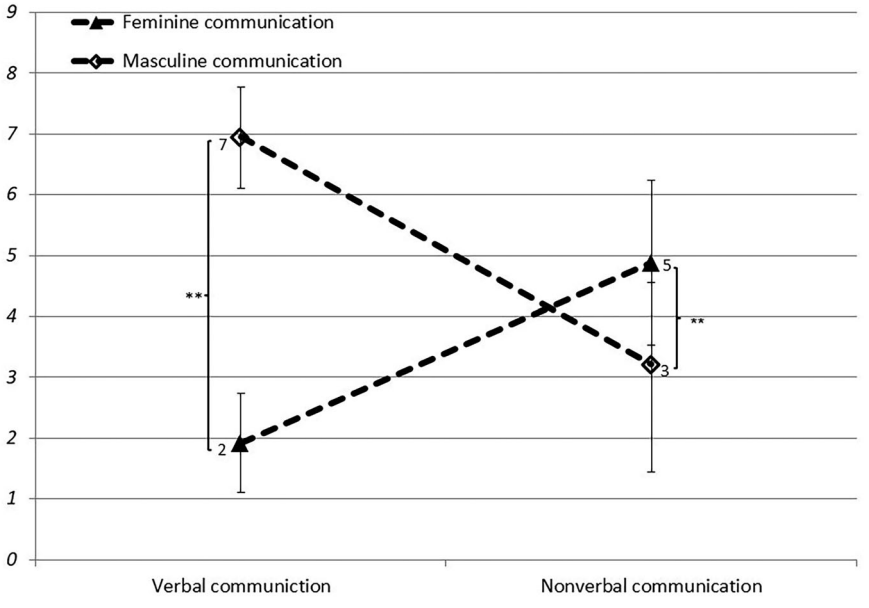

Figure 1. Communication patterns of female politicians.
Note: Figure 1 illustrates masculine and feminine communication patterns of female politicians.

Verbal communicative patterns of female politicians

Corresponding to RQ2, based on the presented framework, the analyses of the speeches of the female politicians revealed that verbal communication contains significant differences between feminine and masculine communicative patterns, t (22) = 14.81, $p < .001$. The significant findings, as elaborated in Table 3, revealed that the verbal communication of female politicians contained mostly masculine communicative patterns ($M = 6.95$; $SD = 0.85$) compared with less-feminine communication patterns ($M = 1.92$; $SD = 0.82$).

Masculine verbal communication

Figure 2(A) depicts the concrete profile of masculine verbal communication patterns of female politicians. As is shown in the presented framework (Figure 2 (A)), the main characteristic of verbal communication for female politicians was *action demand* ($M = 8.79$; $SD = 2.17$). This pattern includes calling for actions, which is considered a masculine verbal communication pattern. For example, action demand is noticeable in Julia Gillard's speech on 21 February 2011, on the issue of discriminatory immigration:

> The principal task of this parliament this week is to banish that spectre again. It will require the Leader of the Opposition to do some difficult things. It will require the Leader of the Opposition to replace his shadow minister for immigration.

Table 3. Verbal and nonverbal gender communication patterns among female politicians.

Verbal communication			Nonverbal communication		
Communicative pattern	*M*	*SD*	Communicative pattern	*M*	*SD*
Feminine communication					
Concrete examples	3.29	1.20	Emphasis on appearance	6.38	1.58
Emotional reference	3.67	0.82	Making eye contact	5.88	2.92
Personal examples	2.50	1.02	High voice/grating	4.17	2.06
Hesitant speech	1.25	0.53	Smiling	4.42	1.32
Passive speech	1.88	0.90	Expressive voice	6.96	1.65
Softened statement	1.71	0.46	Rapid voice	4.33	1.40
Educational issues	1.21	0.41	Diverse intonation	5.63	2.18
Requests	1.58	0.50	Round movements	4.67	1.43
Apology	1.33	0.48	Weak voice	1.83	0.92
Receiving approval	1.79	0.41	Fluency problems	3.46	0.78
Asking Questions	1.46	0.51	Small movements	4.42	1.84
Empathy	1.33	0.64	Expressive face	6.38	1.56
Masculine communication					
Action demand	8.79	2.17	Display anger	1.42	0.50
Activity	7.04	2.10	Sharp movements	2.63	0.82
Significant opinion	5.92	1.93	Broad hand movements	3.08	0.50
Display solution	6.63	1.93	Assertive movements	3.33	0.76
Assertive speech	7.00	2.41	Reinforcing gestures	4.54	1.47
Rationality	6.42	1.74	Sarcasm	3.92	1.25
Pertinacity	6.42	1.64	Strong voice/shouting	3.58	1.02
Direct speech	7.75	2.38	Deep voice	1.83	0.70
Economic issues	7.67	2.99	Clenched fists	4.29	1.23
First person singular	5.71	1.60	Slow speech	2.63	1.56
Accusing speech	6.79	2.34	Stable speech	1.33	0.76
Angry speech	7.25	2.33	Angry facial expressions	5.88	1.62

Another masculine verbal pattern (see Figure 2(A)) that characterised female politicians was activity ($M = 7.04$; $SD = 2.10$). Activity is a statement of doing. One example of this pattern is in Nancy Pelosi's speech on 27 April 2012, addressing the student loan bill: 'In our budgeting we will provide education for our children in a way that enables them to acquire a higher education.'

As Figure 2(A) shows, an additional masculine verbal communication characteristic is an expression of a significant opinion ($M = 5.92$; $SD = 1.93$). This pattern represents a clear and concrete attitude when presenting an opinion. For example, Kirsten Gillibrand's speech on 18 April 2012, on domestic violence against women, displayed a significant opinion: 'There is no room for tolerance of violence against women in their homes, anywhere in our society.'

Another masculine verbal communication of female politicians (Figure 2(A)) is displaying a solution ($M = 6.63$; $SD = 1.93$). An illustration of this practice is seen in Theresa May's speech on 20 February 2012, addressing border security: 'I can therefore tell the House that from first of March the UK Border Force will split from UKBA (UK Border Agency) and become a separate operational command.'

Female politicians displayed assertive speech ($M = 7.00$; $SD = 2.41$), a masculine verbal practice (see Table 3). For example, Julia Gillard's speech on 21 February 2011, on discriminatory immigration, displayed assertive speech when she stated, 'We will incorporate migrants in this country in the future.' This verbal pattern was also found in Diane Finley's speech from 31 January 2012, on protecting seniors' pensions: 'We are going to protect the pensions.' Additionally,

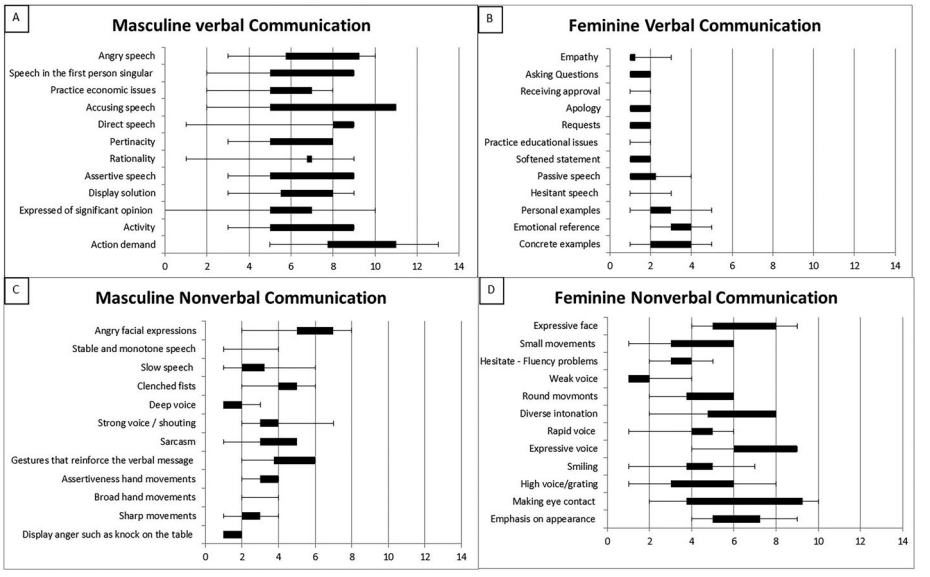

Figure 2. Masculine and feminine verbal and nonverbal communication patterns among female politicians.

Note: Figure 2(A–D) illustrate verbal and nonverbal communication patterns among female politicians. A. masculine verbal communication. B. feminine verbal communication. C. masculine nonverbal communication. D. feminine nonverbal communication. Shown are mean values ±SD.

female politicians displayed accusatory speech ($M = 7.67$; $SD = 2.99$). For example, in a speech from 21 March 2012, Nancy Pelosi stated, 'And that's what the Republicans are trying to take away from you, from your family, from your life, from your liberty, from your pursuit of happiness.'

An additional masculine practice is rationality ($M = 6.42$; $SD = 1.74$). For example, Hillary Clinton expressed rationality when she argued on 23 May 2012 that,

> as the country with the world's second longest coastline, we benefit from its provisions on offshore natural resources. As a country with an exceptionally large area of seafloor, we benefit from the ability to extend our continental shelf, and the oil and gas rights on that shelf.

Likewise, the practice of rationality, discussion of economic issues (Table 3), also represent a masculine practice ($M = 5.71$; $SD = 1.60$). Nancy Pelosi's speech on 21 March 2012, about a Republican bill to repeal a provision of the Affordable Care Act displays talking about economic issues: 'And more than five million seniors have saved over $3.2 billion in prescription drug expenses.' Shelly Yachimovich, in a speech on 8 February 2011, also addressed an economic issue: 'Two days before the budget, the bill about the gas that increase the gas taxation, for twenty types of fuels.'

Another characteristic of masculine verbal communication, as Figure 2(A) depicts, is direct speech ($M = 7.75$; $SD = 2.38$). An example of direct speech is

seen in Tzipi Livni's speech on 21 October 2011 about the accommodation problem in Israel: 'And that's what this government is required today.' This practice was also used by Kirsten Gillibrand on 18 April 2012, when she directly turned to colleagues and asked them not to delay the Violence Against Women Act: 'I'm calling all my colleagues to not seek to block or delayed this important piece of legislation.'

Angry speech ($M = 7.25$; $SD = 2.33$) was also expressed by female politicians (Figure 1(A)). This practice is seen in Anastassia Michaeli's speech from 24 November 2009: 'It is infuriating and outrageous that some people say that [a] woman who suffered from domestic violence has a responsibility.' Another communicative practice of masculine verbal patterns is pertinacity ($M = 6.42$; $SD = 1.64$). Zehava Gal-On used pertinacity in her speech on human rights day, on 6 December 2011: 'Members of the Knesset it will not help you, it will not help you. You can enact all the laws you want, and yet it just will not help you.'

As illustrated in Figure 2(A), another masculine verbal pattern that female politicians used was speaking in the first person singular ($M = 6.79$; $SD = 2.34$) with an 'I statement.' For example, this practice was observed in Theresa May's speech on 20 February 2012, on border security: 'I believe that the extent of the transformational change required – in the agency's casework functions and in the Border Force – is too great for one organization.'

Feminine verbal communication

Verbal communication of female politicians, based on the proffered framework (Figure 1), is characterised by less communicative feminine verbal patterns. As shown in Table 3, communicative feminine verbal patterns found in speeches include concrete examples ($M = 3.29$; $SD = 1.20$). An example of this practice was observed in Shelly Yachimovich's speech on 11 January 2012, which addressed racism against the Ethiopian community: 'With my friend from the Knesset Marina Solodkin, we legislate a law for prevention of discrimination in hiring.'

Another feminine verbal practice expressed by female politicians is emotional references ($M = 3.67$; $SD = 0.82$; see Figure 2(B)). A prominent example is from Anastassia Michaeli's speech on domestic violence on 24 November 2009: 'I feel it is my duty, as a woman, to be her voice.' Further patterns considered to exist in feminine verbal communication are personal examples (Figure 2(B)) such as talking about private experiences, not necessarily with emotional context ($M = 2.50$; $SD = 1.02$). This pattern was found in Tzipi Hotovely's speech on 29 February 2012, which addressed a bill on the harassment of vehicles in the roads: 'the place where my grandfather is buried'.

Nonverbal communicative patterns of female politicians

Regarding RQ2, the analysis of nonverbal communication in the politicians' speeches revealed an opposite tendency from that of verbal communication.

Female politicians' nonverbal communication was found to be primarily feminine. As shown in Table 3, significant differences were found between the communicative feminine and masculine patterns, $t(22) = 2.928$, $p < .001$. The nonverbal conduct of female politicians is closer to the feminine communication model ($M = 4.88$; $SD = 1.45$), as opposed to the masculine model ($M = 3.21$; $SD = 1.35$).

Feminine nonverbal communication

As Figure 1 illustrates, based on the presented framework, female politicians demonstrate higher incidences of communicative feminine nonverbal patterns. Female politicians were very feminine in their appearance. Their hair, dress, nails, and makeup were well aligned with the feminine communicative style. Figure 2(C) elaborates the nonverbal communication practices of female politicians. An example of a feminine nonverbal practice is the emphasis on appearance ($M = 6.38$; $SD = 1.58$). As Figure 3 shows, Zehava Gal-On touched her hair when talking about the problems of the current government during her speech on 13 February 2012. Another feminine nonverbal practice is making eye contact ($M = 5.88$; $SD = 2.92$) (Figure 2(C)). As shown in Figure 4 of Tzipi Hotovely's speech from 14 October 2009, she constantly made an eye contact with the audience in the Parliament.

A smile is a facial expression that is considered feminine nonverbal communication ($M = 4.42$; $SD = 1.32$) (Figure 2(C)). For example, Nancy Pelosi smiled during her speech on 21 February 2012, as shown in Figure 5. Pelosi spoke on the House floor in opposition to a House Republican bill to repeal a provision of the Affordable Care Act. Although she was not pleased with the bill, Pelosi smiled when attempting to convince the audience of her stance when addressing the issue of the Affordable Care Act. Another example of smiling is from Kirsten Gillibrand's speech on 14 March 2012 regarding the Senate's confirmation of Ronnie Abrams, and Gillibrand's support of her, to the United States District

Figure 3. Zehava Gal-On, 13 February 2012.

Court for the Southern District of New York. Gillibrand smiled during the speech, as Figure 6 shows.

Another practice found was use of an expressive voice ($M = 6.96$; $SD = 1.65$) (see Figure 2(C)). Julia Gillard in her speech from 8 February 2011 on flood victims in Australia, used a tone of voice that imparted sadness and sympathy for the rescue attempt and the survivors. Her voice expressed the way she felt about the results of the flood. Diverse intonation ($M = 5.63$; $SD = 2.18$) expresses changes in the pronunciation of a sentence, and the pitch, volume, and speed of speech according to the content (Figure 2(C)). An example of diverse intonation ($M = 3.58$; $SD = 1.02$) is in Anastassia Michaeli's speech from 24 November 2009, when she increased the volume of her voice, particularly when talking about something that she perceived as important, in order to emphasise her message.

Additional example of communicative feminine nonverbal practice is fluency problems expressed by hesitancy ($M = 3.46$; $SD = 0.78$), or pauses in speech that do not correspond to the content (see Table 3). For example, Diane Finley exhibited fluency problems in her speech on 31 January 2001, on protecting senior

Figure 4. Tzipi Hotovely's, 14 October 2009.

Figure 5. Julia Gillard, 21 February 2011.

Figure 6. Nancy Pelosi, 21 March 2012.

pensions: 'we are going to protect the pensions. Canadian … ahh … ahh … The CPP is on solid footing'.

Female politicians tend to accompany their words with small movements ($M = 4.42$; $SD = 1.84$); this is considered to be feminine nonverbal communication (see Figure 2(C)). As Figure 7 shows, Julia Gillard displayed small movements close to her body during her speech. Feminine nonverbal communication also includes an expressive face ($M = 6.38$; $SD = 1.56$) that exposes the emotional state through facial expressions (Figure 2(C)). An example of an expressive face of grief was seen during Julia Gillard's speech on 8 February 2011, on the flood victims in Australia. Gillard looked as if she were close to tears.

Masculine nonverbal communication

The nonverbal communication of female politicians, based on the presented framework (as is shown in Table 3, and elaborated on in Figure 2(D)), is characterised by less-masculine nonverbal patterns. Masculine nonverbal patterns found in the speeches included sharp movements ($M = 2.63$; $SD = 0.82$). An example of

Figure 7. Kirsten Gillibrand, 14 March 2012.

such a nonverbal pattern is seen in Anastassia Michaeli's speech from 9 March 2011. In her speech, Michaeli used her hand to point sharply. Another example of this practice is seen in Diane Finley's speech from 31 January 2012, in which Finley used her hands in a decisive manner to show the audience where her 'red line' was crossed.

Another pattern considered to be masculine nonverbal communication is a gesture that reinforces the verbal message ($M = 4.54$; $SD = 1.47$), as shown in Tzipi Livni's speech from 21 October 2011. In the speech, Livni pointed to herself as she said, 'I believe.' Assertive hand movements ($M = 3.33$; $SD = 0.76$) (see Figure 2(D)) are another example of masculine communication traits, as used in Hillary Clinton's speech from 2 April 2009. In the speech, Clinton acknowledged that the United States also had a part in creating the problem that plagues Pakistan today. As she made this statement, she displayed assertive hand movements that established and clarified the extent of her assertiveness regarding the issue.

A masculine communicative nonverbal pattern exhibited by female politicians, as shown in Figure 2(D), is clenched fists ($M = 4.29$; $SD = 1.23$). Figure 8 illustrates this pattern from Shelly Yachimovich's speech on 11 January 2012 and Figure 9 from Nancy Pelosi's speech on 27 April 2012.

The effect of social categories

Regarding RQ3, analyses of the mixed communication model of female politicians, which includes masculine verbal communication and feminine nonverbal communication, indicated significant effect for social categories. The most salient finding indicated that the analyses yielded significant effects for both seniority and age for feminine nonverbal communication patterns. Feminine communication patterns correlated positively to seniority ($r = .48$; $p < .05$), and also to age ($r = .71$; $p < .001$). An increase in seniority and age was characterised by an increase in female politicians' feminine communication patterns.

As for masculine verbal communication patterns, their dominance in female politicians' conduct was not discriminated in seniority or age. Comprehensive analyses of the diverse communication modes exposed that social categories did not indicate discriminative effect. These findings reinforce the mixed communication model and indicate that the novel characteristics of female politicians include the adaption of feminine nonverbal communication patterns. Female politicians do not entirely display masculine communication patterns but express feminine nonverbal communicative patterns.

Discussion

This study presents a gender communication perspective that exposes the communication manifestations displayed by female politicians. The unique

Figure 8. Shelly Yachimovich, 11 January 2012.

Figure 9. Nancy Pelosi, April 2012.

communication patterns establish the political communication techniques of female politicians' quests for political power. The study develops a theoretical and analytical framework based on aggregation of numerous studies that define masculine and feminine verbal and nonverbal communication patterns. The analysis confirms the theoretical argument of this study, which is that female politicians display a unique communication pattern that provides a gender-oriented framework for political communication. As illustrated in Figure 10, the study contributes an advanced mixed communication model for female politicians, which introduces a combined and dual-gender-communicative pattern. We can conclude that females in the political sphere integrate various communication patterns containing both masculine and feminine characteristics. We present a novel, advanced repertoire, a blend of masculine and feminine communication that characterises female politicians in senior positions in the political sphere.

This advanced communication model (Figure 10) presents an integrative theoretical and analytical framework that expands political impression management theory (Landtsheer *et al.* 2008, Hall 2009) by delineating the verbal and

nonverbal communication pattern of female politicians. Our study develops the theoretical and analytical approach to gender-oriented political communication, supporting the claim that a multimodal examination of verbal and nonverbal communication goes beyond a separate analysis of each modality (Buck and VanLear 2002, Jones and LeBaron 2002) and contributes to a better understanding of gender perspective in political communication.

The mixed political communication model of female politicians

In relation to RQ1, the study exposes the novel mixed communication model, in which a combination of elements of masculine verbal communication are set in opposition to feminine nonverbal expressions. As can be seen in Figure 10, female politicians do not display entirely masculine forms of verbal and nonverbal expressions; these politicians conduct themselves according to a new integrated model that consists of two dimensions, both feminine and masculine communicative elements that are discriminant in different communication modes, suited to the political sphere. This mixed communication model may account for female politicians' impression management and the need to manage the challenge of dealing with the dual expectations from them (Suleiman and O'Connell 2007, McGinley 2009, Schneider 2014). To achieve this aim, we

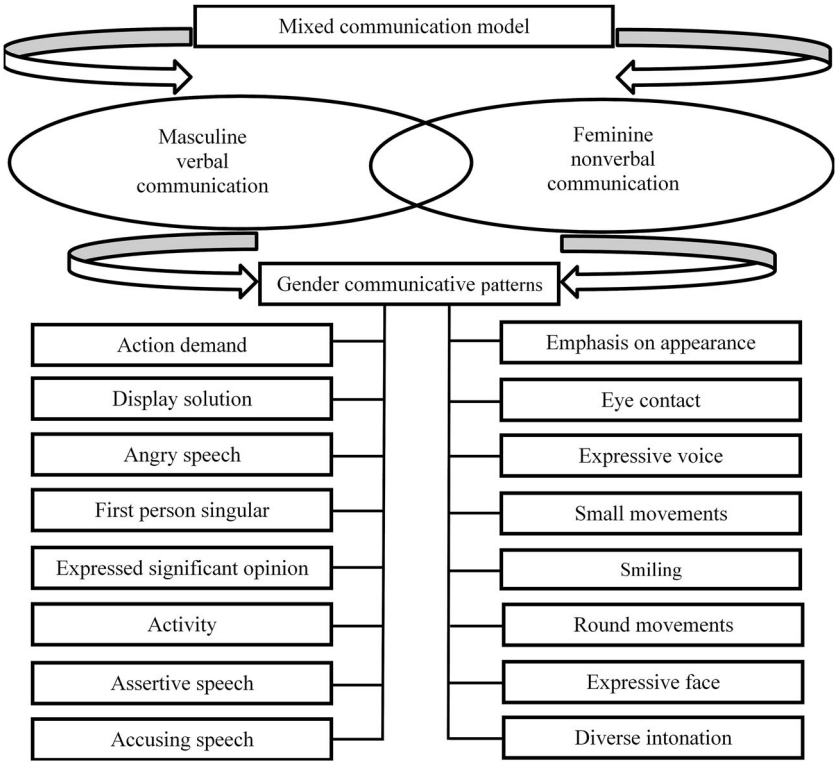

Figure 10. The mixed communication model of female politicians.

established that female politicians act like leaders and exhibit verbal masculine communication patterns, but also feminine nonverbal communication patterns. The perception that a female politician has to be more masculine than a man is replaced by an advanced communication model.

In accordance with political impression management theory, these findings confirm the argument (McGinley 2009) that if a female politician is not behaving 'properly' with regard to gender-communicative expectations, she will be labelled as 'masculine'. Thus, we can conclude that in order for female politicians to assimilate successfully into the political sphere and simultaneously avoid public disapproval for being 'masculine', they follow masculine standards in their verbal communication and feminine standards in their nonverbal communication.

The communicative patterns of female politicians

Corresponding to RQ2, the study defines the verbal and nonverbal communicative profile of female politicians. This profile maps the concrete verbal and nonverbal manifestations of female politicians. Figure 10 demonstrates this profile by introducing and elaborating the concrete sub-dimensions of the mixed communication model. Based on this model, we can conclude that female politicians' verbal communication is assertive; they accuse and attack – communicative patterns that have generally been attributed to masculine communication (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993, Stalsburg and Kleinberg 2016). Nonverbally, however, they soften the message attributed to feminine communication with round movements, smiles, expressive face, and emphasis on their physical appearance. This comprehensive analysis of the mixed communication model of female politicians shows a pattern of discrepancy between verbal and nonverbal communication, which is conceptualised as incongruence or mismatch between verbal and nonverbal messages. This means that the verbal message and the nonverbal display are inconsistent (Grebelsky-Lichtman 2015). At the conceptualised level, this pattern of discrepancy between verbal and nonverbal communication modes is defined as adaptive discrepancy (Grebelsky-Lichtman 2010).

An adaptive discrepancy represents a communicative pattern in which verbal communication is received in a context of positive nonverbal communication, perceived as specific, less threatening, impersonal, and constructive (Lessin and Jacob 1984). An adaptive discrepancy contributes to a constructive pattern that may constitute a key to the political success of female politicians. The present study highlights the importance of this dual communication pattern. In this pattern, the positive nonverbal communication conveys a supportive message of confidence and calmness that creates some distance between the negative and challenging verbal message and the person expressing the message, and radiates something calm, confident, and supportive

(Grebelsky-Lichtman 2010). This finding confirms the argument that voters prefer leaders who display supportive nonverbal communication patterns; that is, leaders who move freely, maintain eye contact, and have a smiling facial expression (Masters and Sullivan 1989, Carlson 2007).

This unique communicative model, outlined in the current study, expands the theoretical framework of the action assembly theory (AAT) (Greene 2007), which explains that verbal and nonverbal discrepancy stem from difficulties in assembling verbal and nonverbal communication due to conflicting communication expectations. Grounded on AAT, female politicians' discrepant behaviour may be derived from complex and conflicting communication expectations, which contain meanings that are difficult to 'assemble'. Female politicians' discrepancies could be explained by conflicts between the ideal and the actual, between social and interactional roles, and between the goals of gaining likability and being perceived as competent. The end result of the assembly process – the output representation – is that the entire configuration of action features is a discrepant pattern characterised by incongruence between the verbal assertive messages and the softer nonverbal messages displayed by female politicians. However, while AAT refers to discrepancy as an inhibitory communication pattern, the model proposed herein provides a complex theoretical account for this pattern of discrepancy, thereby presenting an effective practice of impression management and for achieving positive implications of female politicians' political communication.

Social categories affect female communicative patterns

This study expands the gender perspective of political communication by exploring the effect of social categories on female politicians' communicative patterns regarding the mixed communication model. Corresponding to RQ3, supporting intersectionality (Ludvig 2006), the study establishes that the mixed communicative model of female politicians conforms to seniority and age. Grounded in intersectionality (Crenshaw and Thomas 2004), these social categories represent axes of identity that interact on multidimensional levels and affect gender perspective. Thus, the analyses of these social categories enhance our understanding of gender and political communication. The fact that the mixed communication model increases with seniority and age is explained in terms of perceived power and status.

Because the political sphere serves as a space in which the social balance of power is expressed, particularly gender power (Moi 2008), we suggest that feminine communication, especially nonverbal feminine communication, does not necessarily indicate a lower status position and that this style is not derived from a sense of inferiority (Lakoff 1990, Suleiman and O'Connell 2007). Women at the highest levels of politics demonstrate both feminine and masculine communication patterns in a mixed communication model, which can be

perceived as political communication technique of female politicians' for gaining political power.

Limitations and avenues for future research

This study contributes a theoretical and analytical framework of verbal and nonverbal communication of female politicians. This framework develops composite theoretical accounts of the unique mixed communication model of female politicians. However, the study has certain limitations. The corpus of the study contains Western democratic countries and does not refer to other social and political systems. Moreover, the study analyses female politicians in the context of speeches in the political sphere of the parliaments and did not relate to other contexts, such as social media. Finally, the study analyses female politicians in senior positions from national politics and did not relate to female politicians from municipal politics.

These limitations may offer additional avenues for future research, which may serve to further developments in political communication research. Future studies could explore the mixed communication model in other countries, particularly those outside of Western democracies. Future research may examine the proffered model in other situations of political performance, such as female politicians' communicative patterns in the media (television interviews, radio, etc.), in public conferences, in social media, and in other less formal contexts. Future research could also analyse the presented model in non-political contexts, such as in the business sphere, analysing females in senior management positions.

Another avenue for future research could be to analyse the effect of awareness, prior planning, and practice regarding the mixed communication model. This examination could be particularly interesting and valuable for female politicians and female candidates for political positions. Moreover, the impact of the mixed communication model may be applied to political communication research on audience analyses, exploring viewers' perceptions of diverse communication patterns of female politicians.

Implications of the mixed communication model

The conclusions from this study could have meaningful practical implications for women who are political practitioners and candidates. Women may adopt the proposed model and use it to help them pave their way to senior political positions. The model portrayed the concrete verbal and nonverbal communication manifestations of female in senior political positions, which may help women increase their awareness and guide them in their prior planning and practice. These implications may contribute by enhancing female politicians' communication skills and communication tactics, which could enhance their political impression management and contribute to their political success.

To conclude, the mixed communication model represents a complex and unique dual-gender pattern that may influence political discourse and affect perceptions of power and influence in terms of the social construction of gender.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on contributor

Tsfira Grebelsky-Lichtman is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Communication at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and in the Department of Business Administration at the Ono Academic College. She received her Ph.D. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Grebelsky-Lichtman's current area of research is political communication, both verbal and nonverbal.

References

Afifi, W.A., 2007. Nonverbal communication. *In*: B. B. Whaley and W. Samter, ed. *Explaining communication: contemporary theories and exemplars*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 39–57.

Beattie, G.W., 1982. Turn-taking and interruption in political interviews: Margaret Thatcher and Jim Callaghan compared and contrasted. *Semiotica*, 39 (1), 93–114.

Blum-Kulka, S., 2003. Rethinking genre: discourse genres as a social interactional phenomenon. *In*: K. Fitch and B. Sanders, ed. *Handbook of language and social interaction*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 275–300.

Brooks, D.J., 2011. Testing the double standard for candidate emotionality: voter reactions to the tears and anger of male and female politicians. *The journal of politics*, 73 (2), 597–615.

Brown, P. and Levinson, S., 1987. *Politeness: some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Buck, R. and VanLear, C.A., 2002. Verbal and nonverbal communication: distinguishing symbolic, spontaneous and pseudo-spontaneous nonverbal behavior. *Journal of communication*, 52 (3), 522–541. doi:10.1093/joc/52.3.522.

Bystrom, D.G., 2004. Women as political communication sources and audiences. *In*: L. L. Kaid, ed. *Handbook of political communication research*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 435–462.

Campbell, K.K., 1989. *Man cannot speak for her: a critical study of early feminist rhetoric*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Carlson, T., 2007. It's a man's world? *Journal of political marketing*, 6 (1), 41–67.

Carney, D.R., Cuddy, A.J., and Yap, A.J., 2010. Power posing brief nonverbal displays affect neuroendocrine levels and risk tolerance. *Psychological science*, 21 (10), 1363–1368.

Cheung, F.M. and Helpern, D.F., 2010. Women at the top: powerful leaders define success as work + family in a culture of gender. *American psychologist*, 65 (3), 182–193.

Courtright, J.A., 2014. *Observing and analyzing communicative behavior*. New York: Peter Lang.

Coyle, A.M., 2009. *Gender and the presidential 'Horserace': an examination of candidate self-presentation in the 2008 democratic primaries. Master's thesis*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania.

Crenshaw, K. and Thomas, S., 2004. Intersectionality: the double bind of race and gender. *Perspectives Magazine*, 2.

Dixon, J.A. and Foster, D.H., 1997. Gender and hedging: from sex differences to situated practice. *Journal of psycholinguistic research*, 26 (1), 89–107.

Dolan, K., 2010. The impact of gender stereotyped evaluations on support for women candidates. *Political behavior*, 32 (1), 69–88.

Dow, B.J. and Tonn, M.B., 1993. 'Feminine style' and political judgment in the rhetoric of Ann Richards. *Quarterly journal of speech*, 79, 286–302.

Eckert, P. and McConnell-Ginet, S., 2013. *Language and gender*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ekman, P. and Friesen, W.V., 1969. The repertoire of nonverbal behavior: categories, origins, usage, and coding. *Semiotica*, 1 (1), 49–98.

Fox, R.L. and Oxley, Z.M., 2003. Gender stereotyping in state executive elections: candidate selection and success. *The journal of politics*, 65 (3), 833–850.

Fracchiolla, B., 2011. Politeness as a strategy of attack in a gendered political debate – the Royal–Sarkozy debate. *Journal of pragmatics*, 43 (10), 2480–2488. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2011.02.006.

Frankel, L. P, 2004. *Nice gils don't get the corner office: Unconcious mistakes women make that sabotage thir career*. UK: Hachette.

Galligan, Y. and Knight, K., 2011. Attitudes towards women in politics: gender, generation and party identification in Ireland. *Parliamentary affairs*, 64 (4), 585–611.

Garaigordobil, M., 2009. A comparative analysis of empathy in childhood and adolescence: gender differences and associated socio-emotional variables. *International journal of psychology and psychological therapy*, 9 (2), 217–235.

Gidengil, E., and Everitt, J., 2003. Conventional coverage/unconventional politicians: gender and media coverage of Canadian leaders' in debates, 1993, 1997, 2000. *Canadian journal of political science*, 36 (3), 559–577.

Gilligan, C., 1982. *In a different voice*. London: Harvard University Press.

Grebelsky-Lichtman, T., 2010. The relationship of verbal and nonverbal behavior to political stature: the political interviews of Israel's Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. *Journal of political marketing*, 9 (4), 229–253.

Grebelsky-Lichtman, T., 2015. The role of verbal and nonverbal behavior in televised political debates. *Journal of political marketing*, 15 (4), 362–387.

Greene, J.O., 2007. Formulating and producing verbal and nonverbal messages: an action assembly theory. *In:*B. B. Whaley, and W. Samter, ed. *Explaining communication: contemporary theories and exemplars*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 165–180.

Gudykunst, W.B., 1998. *Bridging differences: effective intergroup communication*. 3rd ed. California: SAGE.

Guetzkow, H., 1950. Unitizing and categorizing problems in coding qualitative data. *Journal of clinical psychology*, 6, 47–58.

Hall, P., 2009. The presidency and impression management. *In*: D. Brissett, C. Edgley, and R. A. Stebbins, ed. *Life as theater: a dramaturgical source book*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 365–377.

Hargie, O., 2006. Skill in practice: an operational model of communicative performance. *In*: O. Hargie, ed. *The handbook of communication skills*. London: Routledge, 37–70.

Holmes, J, and Stubbe, M, 'Faminine' workplaces: Stereotype and reality. In: J Holmes , and M Meyerhoff , ed. *The handbook of lamguage and gender*. Oxford: Blackwell, 573–599.

Huddy, L. and Terkildsen, N., 1993. Gender stereotypes and the perception of male and female candidates. *American journal of political science*, 37 (1), 119–147.

Jalalzai, F. and Krook, M.L., 2010. Beyond Hillary and Benazir: women's political leadership worldwide. *International political science review*, 31 (1), 5–21.
Johansson, M., 2008. Presentation of the political self: commitment in electoral media dialogue. *Journal of language and social psychology*, 27 (4), 397–408.
Johnson, D.I., 2005. Feminine style in presidential debate discourse, 1960–2000. *Communication quarterly*, 53 (1), 3–20.
Jones, S.E. and LeBaron, C.D., 2002. Research on the relationship between verbal and nonverbal communication: emerging integrations. *Journal of communication*, 52 (3), 499–521.
Knapp, M.L. and Hall, J.A., 2010. *Nonverbal communication in human interaction*. 7th ed. Boston: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.
Lakoff, R.T., 1990. *Talking power: the politics of language in our lives*. NY: Basic Books.
Landtsheer, C.L.D., De Vries, P., and Vertessen, D., 2008. Political impression management: how metaphors, sound bites, appearance effectiveness, and personality traits can win elections. *Journal of political marketing*, 7 (3–4), 217–238.
Lawless, J.L., 2009. Sexism and gender bias in election 2008: a more complex path for women in politics. *Politics & gender*, 5 (1), 70–80.
Leaper, C., and Robnett, R.D., 2011. Women are more likely than men to use tentative language, aren't they? A meta-analysis testing for gender differences and moderators. *Psychology of women quarterly*, 35 (1), 129–142.
Lessin, S., & Jacob, T. (1984). Multichannel communication in normal and delinquent families. *Journal of abnormal child psychology*, 12, 369–384.
Ludvig, A., 2006. Differences between women? Intersecting voices in a female narrative. *European journal of women's studies*, 13 (3), 245–258.
Madzini, M., 2009. *Golda: a political biography*. Tel Aviv: Yedioth Ahronoth. In Hebrew.
Marini, M.M., 1990. Sex and gender: what do we know? *Sociological forum*, 5 (1), 95–120.
Masters, R.D. and Sullivan, D.G., 1989. Nonverbal displays and political leadership in France and the United States. *Political behavior*, 11 (2), 123–156.
McGinley, A.C., 2009. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and Michelle Obama: performing gender, race, and class on the campaign trail. *Denver university law review*, 86, 709–725.
McGraw, K., 2003. Political impressions: formation and management. In: D. Sears, L. Huddy, and R. Jervis, ed. *Oxford handbook of political psychology*. London: Oxford University Press, 394–432.
Moi, T., 2008. *Simone de Beauvoir: the making of an intellectual woman*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Mulac, A, 2001. *Human Communication Research*, 27 (1), 121–152. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/hcr/27.1.121.
O'Kearney, R., and Dadds, M., 2004. Developmental and gender differences in the language for emotions across the adolescent years. *Cognition and emotion*, 18 (7), 913–938.
Pratto, F., and Walker, A., 2004. The bases of gendered power. *In*: A. H. Eagly, A. E. Beall, and R. J. Sternberg, ed. *The psychology of gender*. New York: The Guilford Press, 242–268.
Rinehart, S.T., 1992. *Gender consciousness and politics*. New York: Routledge.
Rockwell, P. and Theriot, E.M., 2001. Culture, gender, and gender mix in encoders of sarcasm: a self-assessment analysis. *Communication research reports*, 18 (1), 44–52.
Rudman, L.A., and Fairchild, K., 2004. Reactions to counter stereotypic behavior: the role of backlash in cultural stereotype maintenance. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 87 (2), 157–176.
Schneider, M.C., 2014. Gender-based strategies on candidate websites. *Journal of political marketing*, 13 (4), 264–290. doi:10.1080/15377857.2014.958373.
Schultz, A., Tulviste, T., and Konstabel, K., 2012. Early vocabulary and gestures in Estonian children. *Journal of child language*, 39, 664–686. doi:10.1017/S0305000911000225.

Searle, J., 1979. The classification of illocutionary acts. *Language in society*, 5, 1–24.
Shaw, S., 2000. Language, gender and floor apportionment in political debates. *Discourse & society*, 11 (3), 401–418.
Stalsburg, B.L., and Kleinberg, M.S., 2016. 'A mom first and a candidate second': gender differences in candidates' self-presentation of family. *Journal of political marketing*, 15 (4), 285–310.
Stiles, W.B., 1992. *Describing talk: a taxonomy of verbal response modes*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
Suleiman, C. and O'Connell, D.C., 2007. Gender differences in the media interviews of Bill and Hillary Clinton. *Journal of psychological research*, 37, 33–48.
Tidwell, L.C. and Walther, J.B., 2002. Computer-mediated communication effects on disclosure, impressions, and interpersonal evaluations: getting to know one another one bit at a time. *Human communication research*, 28, 317–348.
Wilson, E., 1992. *A very British miracle: the failure of thatcherism*. London: Pluto Pr.