

Women and the House: Transformative and Transactional Leadership Styles on the Path to the
United States House of Representatives

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Introduction

Even from before the Women's Suffrage movement, female leadership in politics has been a highly contentious matter. There are three general perspectives on leadership differences among men and women; that there are no differences between men and women in terms of their capacity for political leadership, that there are significant differences that make either men or women better leaders, and that differences exist, but are insignificant. There is still no conclusive evidence on whether there are differences in leadership style by gender, but there are certainly discrepancies in leadership power held by men and women. Though we have seen a record number of women running for political office in the 2018 midterm elections, with less than 25% of Congress comprised of women and no female president of the United States to date, the question arises; do women lack the leadership skills to be a leader in the political world?

To refine this question further, I looked at whether leadership style affects female congressional candidates' share of the electorate won in elections. The two contrasting leadership styles examined were transformational and transactional leadership styles. There is a societal bias to perceive women as more social, empathetic, and collaborative—which is part of the transformational leadership style. Transactional leadership styles are most attributed to men, as the style of leadership reinforces certainty, clear direction, personal oversight, and perceptions of “just” treatment (Aldoory 2004). This study looked at how candidates presenting themselves as more or less “feminine” in appearance affects the percentage of the electorate they win, to see whether perceptions of gender norms affect the perceptions of candidates' leadership skills.

Women face a double-bind in political leadership roles, as they are in a male-dominated field. When in a male-dominated field, women are faced with conflicting demands of their role as women and their role of leaders. In general, people expect and prefer women to be communal,

kind, concerned for others, warm and gentle and prefer and expect men to be confident, aggressive, agentic and self-directed (Eagly, 2007). Stereotypes about leaders generally resemble stereotypes of men more than women, and as a result people more easily credit men with leadership ability and accept them as leaders. Women thus face a double-bind of being expected to be communal as a woman, but agentic as a leader. I propose that women who employ a transformative leadership style will win larger proportions of the vote (compared to typical partisan proportions) than women who have a transactional leadership style. I expect that women who adhere to feminine leadership traits will be perceived to be less threatening to gender norms and perceived to be better leaders than those who act against the “feminine” stereotypes (Aldoory 2004). Women who adhere to the femininity expected of them will be seen as less threatening, a concept derived from social role theory, where those who go against the tradition and expected roles of their gender stick out and are scrutinized by others (Eagly and Wood 2011).

Data was taken from first-time candidates for the House of Representatives from in the 2014 election. Candidates from the two largest political parties in America—the Democratic and Republican parties—will be used. I choose to only analyze the women running for the House of Representatives due to the Senate being seen as the “higher” house of the two, as mostly experienced politicians run for the Senate. Women who run for the House as first-time candidates have little time to adjust their leadership styles to what their constituency and the congress want, allowing for better analysis of true leadership style. The proportion of the votes won will be controlled by party and the share of the vote the president in power won in the last election. I hope to use my findings to establish if women are perceived to have different leadership styles than men, and if women can change this perception to work in their favor for

future elections. If it is found that women who have certain leadership styles are received better by the electorate, it may call into question how we view gender stereotypes and leadership of women. For example, Pew Research found that about 25% of people say being assertive and ambitious mostly hurts a woman's chances of getting ahead in politics and business and that showing emotions harm women more than it harms men. It can also help guide future female leaders to present themselves in a way to increase their chances of election. If there is no relationship found whatsoever, it will strengthen the theories that women do not make up a proportionate number in Congress because they are not chosen as candidates by the party or they do not choose to run, not because of their leadership style presentation.

Literature Review and Theory

America saw a record number of women run for political offices in 2018 (Menasce, Igielnik & Parker 2018). The U.S. House of Representatives elected a record number of women, with at least 102 women to be sent to Washington D.C. Yet, even with this record number of women, only 23% of Congress will be female. Female leadership in Washington is an important issue in our contemporary discourse as issues of sexual assault and gender equality and the want for a female president become larger topics in the mainstream. Since 1937, a Gallup poll has shown whether respondents would vote for a well-qualified woman nominated for president by their own party. In 1937, only 33% of respondents said yes. When the same question was asked in 2015, 92% of respondents said yes (McCarthy 2015). There is clearly a changing norm for women to be considered for political roles previously only held by men, yet we still have not seen a female president. Why do we fail to see women entering political offices even though the populous is willing to be led by women? I hypothesize the answer is rooted in perceptions of effective leaders differing between men and women. Women and men have, and will continue to

have, gender roles and stereotypes associated with them, and these gendered expectations shape how others perceive their leadership potential (Sczensy, Bosak and Schyngs 2004). Thus, differences in leadership styles can be consequential because they are a factor that may affect people's views about whether a woman should become a leader (Eagly 2001). The country remains skeptical that gender equality will ever be achieved (Menasce, Igielnik & Parker 2018). But the question remains, is gender equality in Congress currently unattainable because women are not qualified, or because people prefer women to lead in certain ways, differing from men? Most women say having to do more to prove themselves is a major barrier to female leadership, which may mean that the American population's perception of women leaders is different from their expectations for men.

Women and Leadership

Based on polling done in 2018, people still believe men have an easier way to the top of organizations and political office, whereas women need to do more to prove their worth (Menasce, Igielnik & Parker 2018). Some research has found that women's participation as business leaders can coincide with economic gains for corporations (Eagly 2007). Though women achieved historic success in the 2018 midterm election, there still remains barriers for women to gain the number of seats proportional to the country's demographics. Women are also less likely to be seen as a winning candidate by the elite and may never gain the support of the party, which I believe is also connected to leadership style (Sanbonmatsu 2006). People see men and women as equally capable when it comes to key qualities and behaviors that are essential for leadership. But a majority say men and women in top positions tend to have different leadership styles, of which a majority say neither style is better (Menasce, Igielnik & Parker 2018). Those who believe men and women have different leadership styles perceive women to be better at

compassion and empathy. Male leaders are seen as better when it comes to willingness to take risks, but more people say female politicians are better role models and at maintaining a tone of civility and respect. Overall, the public sees a benefit to female leadership. Women are even perceived to be stronger in most areas in politics (Menasce, Igielnik & Parker 2018). Yet, women are far less likely than men to be encouraged to run for office by the party and women are less likely to view themselves as qualified to run, compared to men (Fox and Lawless 2004). Once women achieve party nomination, they are as successful as men in winning general elections for the U.S. House, as the challenge is gaining establishment support and proving herself qualified in the primary process (Eagly 2007).

Women who adhere to feminine leadership traits are perceived as better leaders than women who display gender incongruent behaviors (Aldoory 2004). For women, they are seen as communal, being less hierarchical, more cooperative and collaborative, caring for the welfare of others, affectionate, helpful, kind, sympathetic, and gentle (Eagly 2001). On the other hand, men are viewed as agentic, being assertive, controlling, confident, aggressive, ambitious, dominant, forceful, independent, daring, self-confident, and competitive (Eagly 2001). In the media, female candidates for office are often covered in terms of their personal characteristics instead of their policy stances (Kittilson and Fridkin 2008). As Kahn states, for national elections, voters rely almost exclusively on the media for information on the candidates (Kahn 1994). Women receive less campaign coverage than their male counterparts and the coverage they receive is more negative, such as their unlikely chances of victory (Kahn and Goldenberg 1991). It has been found that when candidate information is withheld, gender roles play a large role in the initial evaluation of female candidates (Alexander and Andersen 1993). Thus, because the media does

not properly cover female candidates, gender roles may play a large part in voter's perceptions of female leaders.

Partisan Split

Though both Republicans and Democrats believe there are too few women in political offices and that gender discrimination is a major reason why women are underrepresented, Democrats are much more likely to say so than Republicans (Menasce, Igielnik & Parker 2018). There is a large gender difference among Republicans compared to Democrats, where a majority of Republican women say women having to do more to prove themselves is a major reason why there are fewer women than men in high political offices. The partisan gap is quite large, as there are about three times more democratic than republican women in Congress (Bacon 2018). Even after the 2018 election, there are 42 new women heading to Congress, but only four of them are Republicans. Even in the House, those who support women's leadership opportunities also endorse less traditional gender roles and approve of women's paid employment and are more likely to identify as a Democrat (Eagly 2007).

Double Bind and Double Standard

People believe that being assertive and ambitious mostly hurts a woman's chances of getting ahead in politics, as they are seen as stereotypically male traits. Yet showing emotion hurts women more than men in politics, although emotionality is seen as a female trait (Menasce, Igielnik & Parker 2018) (Aldoory 2004). Why is it that women seem to be narrowly defined in leadership? One reason could be that leadership has historically been depicted in masculine terms (Eagly, 2007). Thus, it has been more difficult for women than men to become leaders in male-dominated fields, such as politics. As an example, a New York Times editorial by Bob

Herbert in 2006 predicted that Hillary Rodham Clinton's toughest issue and largest handicap would be her gender, and in 2008 and in 2016 she faced many sexist comments. It is argued that women only get to the top of places once those places have been devalued, such as secretary positions, but national political offices will most likely remain valued and coveted positions (Eagly 2007). When positions have been devalued, women are viewed as competent to fill the roles because of the double bind and double standards women face when in leadership positions or trying to attain leadership positions. A double-bind is when women are faced with accommodating the sometimes-conflicting demands of their roles as women—through the female gender roles—and their roles as leaders. As a position loses its perceived power position, the position is devalued and this more “fitting” for women.

People prefer and expect women to be communal, manifesting traits of kindness, concern for others, warmth, and gentleness; whereas they expect men to be agentic, manifesting traits such as confidence, aggressiveness, and have self-direction (Eagly 2007). These gender stereotypes spill over to leadership stereotypes as well. Due to the historic role of leaders being attributed to men, stereotypes about leaders generally resemble male stereotypes rather than female stereotypes. This also causes people to more easily credit men with leadership ability and more readily accept them as leaders (Eagly 2007). Due to the gender norms described earlier, women are viewed as lacking in the stereotypical directive and assertive qualities of good leaders, but women who display very directive and assertive qualities are disliked for being ‘unfeminine’ (Eagly 2007). Therefore, women experience disapproval for their masculine behaviors, like asserting their authority over others, but also for their more feminine behaviors, like being concerned for others, or emotional, in their leadership positions.

Leadership roles have historically been male-dominated and tend to demand culturally masculine traits from their potential leaders, like in politics, where aggressiveness, authoritative, and ambitious behavior is considered ideal. This presents a challenge to women trying to enter the field because of the incompatibility with people's expectation of women. When leader roles are extremely masculine, people may feel that women are not qualified for them and resist a woman's authority (Eagly 2007). This is a part of Social Role Theory, where social perceivers (in this case, voters) concentrate on the minorities of categories, and therefore people pay higher attention to the adequacy of female leadership (Eagly 2001). In our society, we observe men and women as having different behaviors, and we infer corresponding traits from them (Eagly 2011). When women (or men) break these inferences of the role they are supposed to play, they stand out and call our attention. In the political field, these women receive more scrutiny, by both voters and the media. Women in highly masculine domains must be strong, skillful, and persistent as they must contend with expectations and criticisms that they lack the toughness and competitiveness needed to succeed as a leader. Individuals who identify or are perceived to be women of color or in the LGBTQIA¹ community may even face double or triple the doses of prejudice than a white, heterosexual woman (Eagly 2007). Female politicians have to worry about projecting an undesired amount of gravitas, as men have long held political roles and have defined the styles of leadership to which people have grown accustomed to (Eagly 2001).

The inconsistency between the communal qualities associated with women and the agentic qualities believed to be required of a leader creates prejudice toward female leaders and potential leaders in two forms (Eagly 2001). One, a less favorable evaluation of women's potential for leadership because leadership qualities are more stereotypically male than female.

¹ LGBTQIA is an acronym for the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, and asexual community

Second, less favorable evaluation of women because agentic behavior is perceived as less desirable in women than in men. Women face negative reactions when they take charge in the especially authoritative manner of autocratic directive leaders, shown possibly by the strong dislike for Hillary Rodham Clinton in the 2016 presidential election. This inconsistency that the female gender role is more likely to be incongruent with leadership roles, compared to the male gender role, produces a greater probability of prejudice toward female leaders. In a study, women who were autocratic were evaluated more negatively than men who showed equivalent behavior (Eagly 2001).

So how do women rise in leadership roles and in politics? They may employ the coach/teacher style due to its culturally feminine aspects mixed with the traditional leadership qualities, epitomized by transformative leadership.

Transformative vs. Transactional Leadership

Transformative leadership behaviors may help women resolve some of the double bind between leadership roles and the female gender role because the style is not distinctively masculine, and some aspect are relatively feminine (Eagly 2007). The influence of gender roles on behavior occurs because people react to leaders in terms of gendered expectations and because most people have, to some extent, internalized gender roles. If female leaders internalized gender roles and their capabilities for leadership, they may gain confidence by making collaborative decisions that they can determine are in line with the expectations of their roles as leaders and their gender (Eagly 2001).

Since the 1970s, there have been studies on whether sex differences exist in leadership styles. It has been argued that sex differences exist in leadership due to gender socialization in

which “individuals manifest congruent, gendered stereotypical traits and behaviors that are not readily amendable to change,” where men are independent, goal-oriented, objective, competitive, and logical and where women are emotional, nurturing, and sensitive to other’s needs (Aldoory 2004, page 161). Through the early 1990s, there was a body of literature that concluded there were no gender differences in leadership styles (Burke & Collins 2001). But in 1990, this previous held belief was called into question. Even today, the evidence is not conclusive. The old leadership literature focused on identifying personality traits associated with leadership effectiveness and situational factors that impact the leadership process. The new trend of leadership, emerged in the 1990s, focuses on two contrasting styles; transformative and transactional leadership. Transformative leadership was first introduced by James MacGregor Burns in 1978 but was developed further by Bernard M. Bass in 1985 (Burke & Collins 2001).

Good leadership can be defined as “actively aimed at bringing about change in an organization or social system to improve people’s lives (Aldoory 2004, page 158). Though good leadership depends on the context, such as societal values, culture of organization, the nature of the task, and characteristics of followers, women manifest leadership styles associated with effective performance as leaders more than men (Eagly 2007). Specifically, women most exceed men on individual consideration, shown through qualities of being supportive and encouraging. Women, however, are also more transactional in their usage of contingent reward behaviors, compared to men (Eagly 2007).

Transactional leadership, sometimes referred to as authoritative leadership, serves to establish the positions and hierarchy held by the leader. Transactional leaders can be identified through their resistance to change, their sense of justice (their side being “right” and the other

“wrong”), certainty in their decisions, clear direction, and strong personal oversight (Aldoory 2004).

Transformative leadership, sometimes called charismatic leadership, is a style of leadership in which the leader is able to mobilize others to fight for a shared goal or a superordinate goal. They are risk-takers, articulate the goals of the group, hold high expectations, create a collective identity, and have a vision (Aldoory 2004). They are charismatic and serve as role model to others, they intellectually stimulate others, persuade others to believe in their mission, and meet the emotional needs of others (Burke & Collins 2001). They communicate with eloquence and use expressive language and mannerisms (Aldoory 2004).

Transformational leadership may be characterized as more feminine because the socialized characteristics of nurturing and supporting are stereotypically viewed as feminine are integral to transformational leadership. Through self-reports and subordinate evaluations, it has been found that women more commonly executive a transformative leadership style than men (Burke & Collins 2001) (Eagly 2001) (Aldoony 2004).

Theory

Women still face discrimination in America, more so in male-dominated fields such as politics. Women do not make up a proportionate amount of representation in the U.S. House of Representatives, and otherwise, not because of a lack of skill or qualifications, but because of the double bind they face from voters and fellow party members. They are expected to be feminine, displaying characteristics of communal nature, but also expected to be strong leaders, requiring strong agentic qualities, typically attributed to men. This double bind women face places them in a tough spot and they must find ways to appear both feminine and as a well-qualified leader

without compromising the other. Transformative leadership is one way women can do this, by showing communal characteristics preferred to be seen in women while showing the leadership qualities of assertiveness and control. Women who are transformative leaders will therefore be more successful in federal-level elections like the U.S. House of Representatives. If my research finds all women who run for the House of Representatives to be transformational leaders, this may show how women who are transformational leaders are more likely to be selected by the political elite as candidates or view themselves as more capable. Women also tend to show their feminine qualities through exterior appearance to balance their non-feminine qualities of assertiveness or dominance, such as Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez choosing bright red lipstick as her trademark look. The literature focuses on women in corporate positions and managerial positions, but little has been done on politics and the two leadership styles. This paper will seek to evaluate the extent to which leadership styles can be used to evaluate political success by women, and whether transformative leadership is the middle ground for women to walk on when facing the double bind. I believe that (1) transformational leaders will win larger shares of the electorate compared to transactional leaders, (2) transformational leadership will be more effective for Republican women, and (3) a more feminine appearance will increase the effects of transformational leadership.

Research Design

Data

Broadly speaking, this study is researching whether women who employ transformative leadership styles are more successful in winning U.S. House seats than women who employ transactional leadership. For data on female candidates, data from Rutgers Eagleton Institute of Politics Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP) from the 2014 U.S. Congressional

Election will be used. CAWP has data on female candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives, their party, and the status of the general seat (open, incumbent, unopposed, etc.) for most races. Data from the Office of the Clerk (U.S. House of Representatives) was used for data on the general seat where CAWP was missing data, the presidential vote breakdown in the district from 2012, and the proportion of votes won by the female candidates. My dependent variable will be the proportion of the vote won compared to the proportion of the vote the presidential candidate of their party won in their district in the last presidential election. This will *(Percentage won by presidential candidate in the district) – (percentage won by the female candidate)* help control for regional factors and typical partisan voting. The idea is to capture the votes that are not based on partisan ideology but based on the candidate herself.

In the 2014 Congressional election, 255 women ran for office, including U.S. territories. 165 women won the primary race, and 92 of these women were non-incumbents. In the end, twelve women won her district's seat. Of these twelve, one was a representative of the Virgin Islands, which does not participate in presidential elections, and another district was re-districted since the 2012 presidential elections and therefore also did not presidential vote data. There remained ten female representatives to analyze for the study.

Method

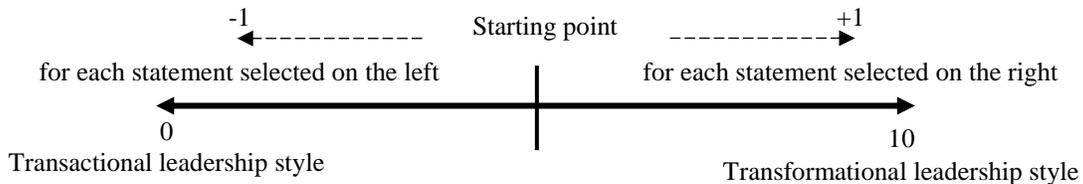
My key independent variable was leadership style, a continuous variable of from transactional (0) to transformative (10). Coding for transformative leadership is based on Rounaq Jahan's "Transformative Leadership in the 21st Century". Candidates who display transformative leadership should show a vision of equality, equity, empowerment, human rights, peace, sustainability, and of shared power and responsibility. Candidates employing a transactional leadership style will view power as domination (hierarchical), will view politics as a zero-sum

game, and employ authoritative control—using language of “I” over “we”. Zero-sum ideology can be seen through language that one group gaining something equals another group losing something. This can include but is not limited to; language about the struggle for power instead of cooperation, a certain group gaining rights being “unfair” to another group, or a strong message of nationalism (not be conflated with patriotism). An authoritative message is one that uses more language of “I” over “we”, meaning they claim to be able to lead and represent without cooperation or help from constituents or others.

Table 1. Leadership Styles

Transactional Leadership	Transformative Leadership
Message of meritocracy	Message of equality
View of power as hierarchical	Message of empowerment
View politics as zero-sum	Focus on human rights
Employ authoritative language	Focus on shared power and responsibility
Top-down/secretive	Transparent

Figure 1. Leadership Continuum



Using Qualtrics to create a survey, the survey had participants watch campaign advertisements for each candidate found on the candidates’ archived 2014 campaign website and YouTube channel. Participants then were asked to choose whether candidates more strongly; (1) had a message of meritocracy vs. equality, (2) viewed power as hierarchical or stressed empowerment, (3) viewed politics as zero-sum vs. focused on human rights, (4) employed authoritative language vs. sent a message of shared power, and (5) was secretive vs. transparent about scandals/controversies. Table 1 shows how each statement falls under either transformative leadership or transactional leadership. Each candidate starts at a score of 5—neither transactional

nor transformational—and for each statement selected in the transactional side, a point was reduced, and for each statement selected in the transformational side, a point was added to the score. After each candidate was coded by at least 2 participants, an average of the scores were taken, and each candidate was given a number between 0 (completely transactional), and 10 (completely transformational).

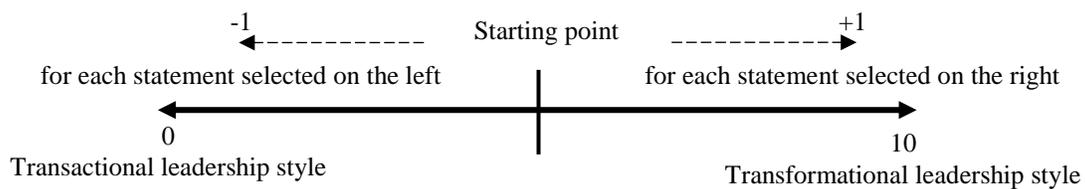
A feminine appearance may help women win offices when paired with transformative leadership. Coding for feminine presentation focused on outward presentation such as makeup, hair, and clothing. In Western American culture, feminine appearance includes long hair, use of makeup such as eyeliner, mascara, eyeshadow, or lipstick. It may also include having a small waist/being relatively thin or wearing skirts and dresses over pants. Feminine appearance was also coded as a continuous variable of 0 (unfeminine) to 10 (very feminine) based on the criteria listed in Table 2. Each candidate started at a score of 5 (neutral) and increased a point for every statement the participants rated the candidate in the ‘traditionally feminine appearance’ criteria and subtracted a point for every statement the participants rated the candidate in the “non-traditional female appearance” criteria. Coding for femininity was also done using a survey in

Table 2. Feminine Appearance

Traditionally Feminine Appearance	Non-Traditional Female Appearance
Long hair (past the ears)	Short hair
Use of mascara, lipstick, or eyeliner	Lack of makeup
Wearing skirts or dresses more often	Wearing pants more often
Relatively thin/small waist	Heavier in weight (larger)
Wear high heels	Wear shorter heels or flats

Qualtrics, in which participants were asked to view several photos of the candidate during the

Figure 2. Appearance Continuum



2014 campaign period, including photos of candidates from head to toe and a close up of her face.

Results

Leadership Style Differences Between Parties

In this study, there were more transformative leaders in the Democratic Party than the Republican Party. As can be seen in Table 3, on average, Democratic female candidates were transformative than republican females (8.82 vs. 5.24). The Republicans have a larger range of leadership styles than do the Democrats (3.25 vs. 2.57). The Democratic candidate with the lowest leadership score is 7.43, compared to the lowest score for the Republican of a 4.00—a more transactional leadership style. It seems that Democratic women who win are more solidly transformative, whereas Republican women who win hover around a neutral score of neither strongly transactional nor transformational.

Table 3. Appearance and Leadership by Party

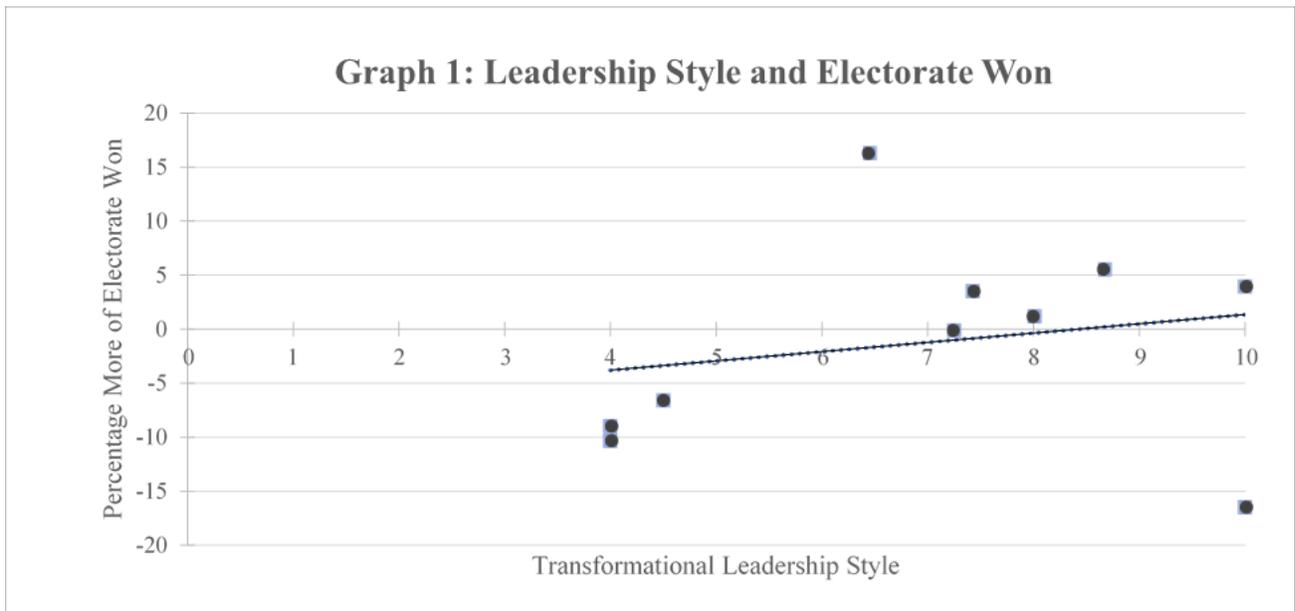
Feminine Appearance			Leadership Style		
	Democrat	Republican		Democrat	Republican
Minimum	5.40	5.10	Minimum	7.43	4.00
Maximum	8.17	8.18	Maximum	10.00	7.25
Average	7.60	7.05	Average	8.82	5.24

Feminine Appearance Differences Between Parties

Looking at Table 3, there is only a slight difference in feminine appearance between Democratic and Republican candidates. The differences between the winning candidates between the parties seems to be leadership style, not appearance.

Leadership Style and Percentage of Electorate Won

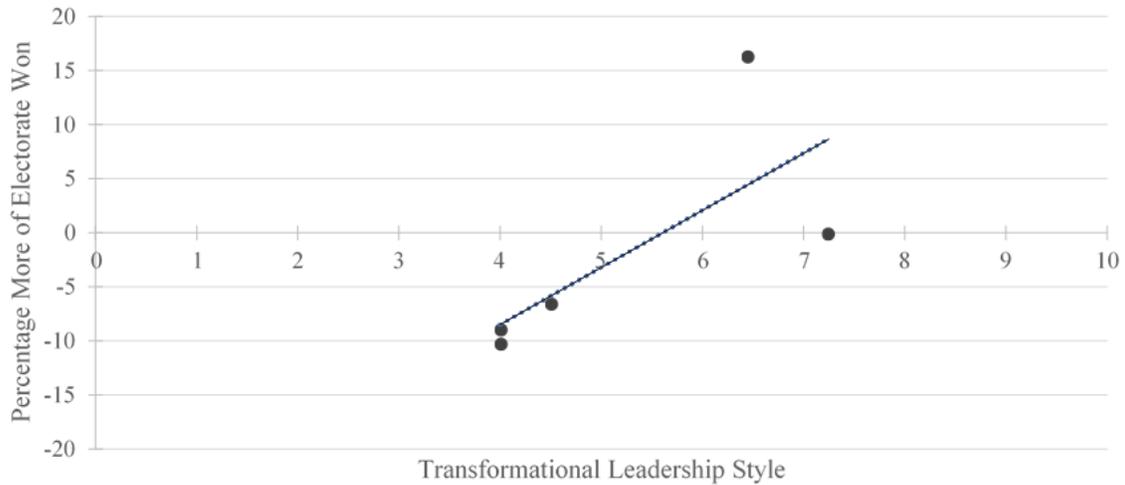
Graph 1 shows that there is a slight positive correlation between increasing transformational leadership style and percentage of the electorate won. As female candidates increase in transformational leadership style by one point, there is an average of a 0.85% increase in the percentage of the electorate won. To reiterate, the percentage of the electorate won is the percentage more of the electorate won compared to the presidential candidate for the female candidate's party in the 2012 election. The result is not statistically significant due to only having ten cases.



$$y = 0.8596x - 7.2431. R^2 = 0.04232. N=10. p\text{-value}: 0.5685.$$

Between the parties, there is a difference in the strength of the relationship between leadership style and percentage won. Graph 1.1 shows that for Republicans, an increase in

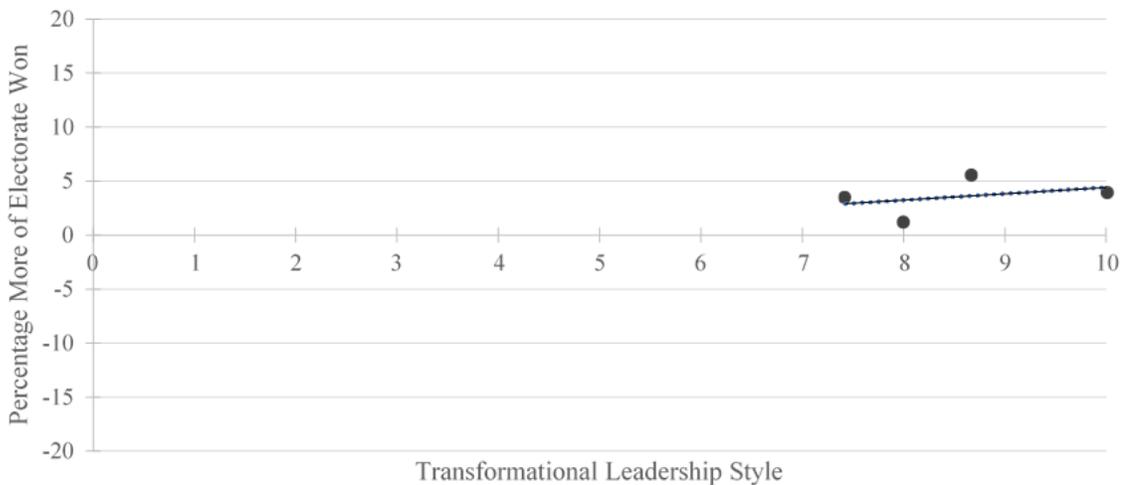
Graph 1.1: Leadership Style and Electorate Won (Republican)



$y = 5.289X - 29.652$. $R^2 = 0.5345$. $N = 5$. $p\text{-value} = 0.1605$

transformational leadership led to an increase in the vote share won by 5.29%. For Democrats, the effect is much smaller. Excluding an outlier, there is still a positive relationship between transformational leadership and percentage won, but much smaller. For every increase in transformational leadership by a point, there was a 0.5% increase in the share of the electorate

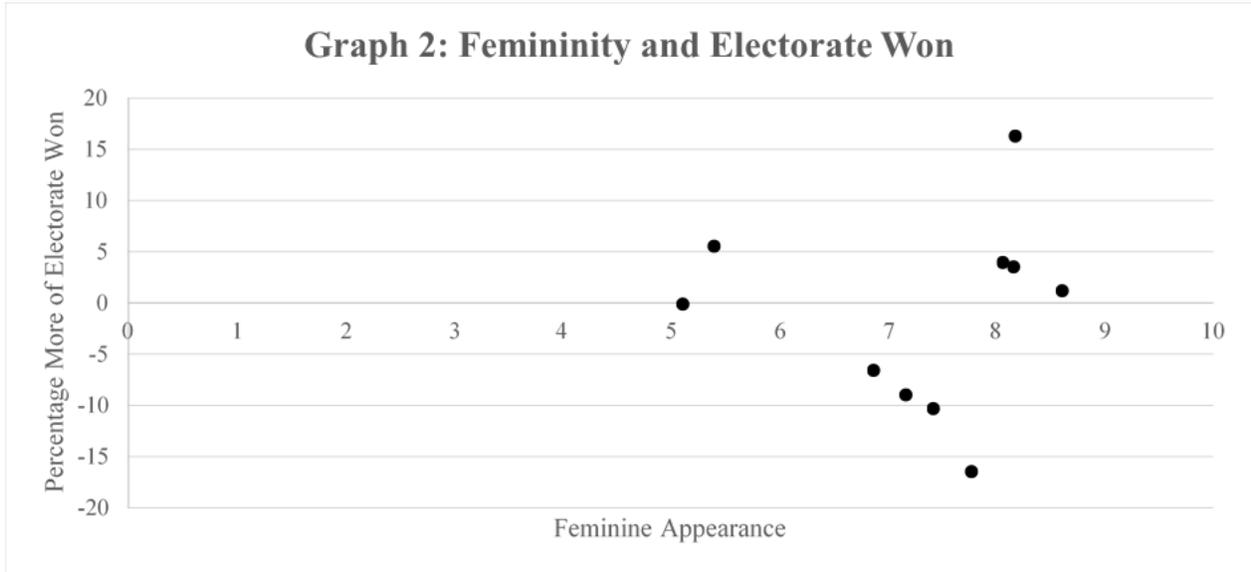
Graph 1.2: Leadership Style and Electorate Won (Democrat)



*Note: Graph excludes Gwen Graham from analysis. $y = 0.587x - 1.453$. $R^2 = 0.1301$. $N = 4$. $p\text{-value} = 0.6394$
With Graham included: $y = -3.969x + 34.545$. $R^2 = 0.258$. $N = 5$. $p\text{-value} = 0.3823$*

won. If the outlier is included, the relationship is negative, with an increase in transformational leadership by a point leads to a decrease in the percentage of the electorate won by 3.97%. None of the results are statistically significant due to there only being five cases per party.

Interaction Between Femininity and Leadership



$$y = 0.4968x - 4.8148. R^2 = 0.003852. N=10. p\text{-value}: 0.8648$$

The relationship between feminine appearance and percentage of the electorate won is very slightly positive, where a one point increase in feminine appearance increases the percentage of the electorate won by 0.5%, but the r-squared is so small that the linear model does not seem to capture the relationship (Graph 2).

When looking at table 4 and the interaction term between leadership style and feminine appearance, when femininity level increases, the effect of leadership on electorate decreases, and when a candidate is more transformational, the effect of femininity of

Table 4: Interaction Between Femininity and Leadership

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Electorate
Femininity	33.864 (22.779)
Leadership	32.304 (21.271)
Femininity:Leadership	-4.277 (2.885)
Constant	-254.923 (166.895)
Observations	10
R ²	0.300
Adjusted R ²	-0.049
Residual Std. Error	9.737 (df = 6)
F Statistic	0.859 (df = 3; 6)

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

the electorate decreases. This result is also not statistically significant.

Discussion

Analysis

The results of the study show that (1) transformational leadership increases the share of the electorate candidates win, (2) transformational leadership has a larger impact for Republican women, and (3) a more feminine appearance does not increase the effects of transformational leadership.

Among non-incumbent female candidates in the 2014 U.S. House of Representative elections, the winners seem to have benefitted from employing a transformational leadership style. Though the results were not statistically significant due to lack a of cases, I believe the positive direction of the relationship will hold with more data and will be stronger. Women today still struggle with balancing the contrasting demands of the female gender role and the leadership role, historically stereotyped as a masculine role. A transformational leadership style allows women to take the middle ground of the two roles. She can appear feminine through communalistic rhetoric and a nurturing message and appear assertive and in control without threatening either role.

Transformational leadership should be the most effect when the female gender role is in strong effect. The Republican party, which advocates traditional values such as gender roles, should have stronger barriers for women than in the Democratic party which advocates egalitarianism and progressivism. For Republican women, the effects of transformational leadership on the percentage of the electorate won is much stronger than for Democratic women. Again, although the results were not statistically significant, the result should be seen even when

more data is used. Republican women are expected to be more feminine in not only appearance but in character as well. Such expectations leave little room for a candidate to show aggressiveness, dominance, or other common leadership qualities that are also associated with the male gender role. Therefore, when Republican women employ a transformational leadership style, it should have a larger effect on the electoral outcomes compared to Democratic women.

I originally believed that a woman who was extremely feminine and extremely transformational in leadership style would be the most successful candidate, and a woman who was non-feminine in appearance and transactional would do the worst. The thinking was that a woman who is both feminine and transformative would perform better than a woman who was less feminine but still transformative. Instead, the effect of one is reduced with an increase in the other. A woman who is very feminine does not benefit the same amount from increasing her transformational leadership style as much as a non-feminine woman would. In the reverse, a woman who is very transformational in leadership style does not benefit the same amount from increasing her feminine appearance compared to a less transformational leader. Though not what was predicted, this result is not surprising. If transformational leadership is a way to negate the double bind between feminine qualities and leadership qualities, a candidate does not need to increase her feminine appearance as the double bind has been negated.

Limitations

This study sought to code for candidates' femininity and leadership style, both of which are subjective and open to human error. The coding process was also tedious and time-consuming, resulting in the study containing only ten cases. Several limitations to this study are discussed here.

During the creation of the survey to be used to code for femininity and leadership styles, where videos and photos were pulled from online sources. First, there is a chance that selection bias affected the coding process. When selecting photos to show in the survey, it is possible I selected photos that made the candidate appear more feminine or non-feminine. Second, the campaign ads shown were all from the campaign website or from YouTube. If an ad was only shown on television, or if there were radio ads, those were not included in the survey. Third, the photos used to code for femininity were limited. It appeared that many first-time candidates in the 2014 election did not post many pictures on their Facebook, campaign website, or local online news publications. Altogether, this may have caused a lack of information or an inaccurate representative of each candidate in the survey used to code for femininity and leadership style, though the direction of the bias is unclear.

Given the lack of easy access to information of candidates from the 2014 election, only twelve candidates were coded, and of those twelve, only ten could be used in the data. This lack of cases caused the study to be statistically insignificant throughout, and for all relationships to be vague, or very small.

Future Research

Future research can improve this study by (1) adding more candidates by coding all female candidates who win their party's primary, (2) using more recent elections, and (3) expand the research into other areas of the world.

Future research should code not only for women who win the elections, but women who win the party primary. Due to partisan politics, winners of districts tend to remain in control of the same party across time. But if looking at the percentage of the electorate won compared to

the last presidential candidate of each party, it would show percentage of the electorate the *candidate* is winning instead of the party name. This way, the relationship between transformational leadership and votes will become clearer.

By analyzing more recent elections, photos of candidates and their campaign ads would be more widely available online. With most campaigns taking advantage of social media sites such as Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook, finding representative photos of candidates has become much easier. As online ads gain popularity, almost all political campaigns upload campaign ads to the internet to be easily distributed and shared. This will allow future research to code for leadership style and femininity with more resources and a more representative sample.

If the double bind between the female gender role and the traditional leadership role is indeed a major barrier to women entering national-level politics, then the same phenomenon should be seen in other similar cultures. Future research should investigate whether other cultures with historically male-dominated leaders and a continuation of traditional gender roles as the societal norm also show the same results as in America. It would be interesting to learn if this is an American phenomenon—meaning an aspect of American culture or political establishment is a larger barrier to female leadership—or if transformational female leaders are truly more successful in earning nation-level elected leadership roles.

Conclusion

America has not yet become an egalitarian political system, with less than a quarter of women serving in Congress even though women make up half the American population. Several theories regarding the culprit behind this gender-quality barrier have been studied, but this study proposes that a part of the equation is that women are employing leadership styles that have

historically worked for men, but that do not work for women due to a contrast between the female gender role and leadership role. Where men have been leaders, the stereotypical traits of leadership have meshed with the male gender role, especially in politics. Such characteristics are in contrast with the female gender role, which encourage nurturing, patience, and kindness from women. When women employ traditional leadership qualities such as aggressiveness, dominance, or cunningness, they are perceived as less feminine, and thus threatening to the social order. But when women employ a transformational leadership style—one that encourages communal, egalitarian messages, shared responsibility, and care for other while maintaining leadership qualities such as control and assertiveness—they do not threaten their gender role and still maintain leadership qualities desired by voters. Therefore, women who employ a transformational leadership style are more successful in winning a larger share of the electorate than a woman who employs a transactional—or typically masculine—leadership style. This does not mean that other factors such as media coverage, candidate selection by elites, or cost to running are not important factors in analyzing female political leadership, but simply that female leadership style is also a factor to consider. Future research should expand the study by analyzing more candidates across time, and perhaps across countries as well.

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