Women as Leaders in Public Discourse

Communication, Gender and Leadership

Taija Townsend

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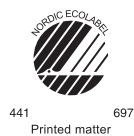
Author
Taija Townsend

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Abstract

As an investigation on communication, gender and leadership, the research project examines how women leaders operating in the political and business domains are characterized in public discourse. The project comprises five empirical case studies, which have been carried out as independent investigations. The focus is on the characterization of two high-status women leaders, namely Hillary Clinton and Nicola Horlick, and the manner in which they are portrayed in news reports and the way they portray themselves in autobiographies. Drawing on the findings of the five case studies, the research project addresses the following question: How are characterizations of women leaders socially constructed in public discourse? To answer the question, the study analyses the data from a linguistic perspective on discourse where language forms are taken as the starting point for discourse analysis, and the linguistic structuring of words, phrases and sentences are examined in relation to their context, i.e. their linguistic function, textual content and/or situational and socio-cultural setting. The analysis draws attention to linguistic communication processes and the idea that meanings of social phenomena are generated at all levels of language use.

The findings relate to five forms of linguistic structuring, i.e. (i) varying premodifications of the Subject Phrase, (ii) linguistic forms of reference, (iii) linguistic forms of self-reference, (iv) implicit collocations and (v) narrative themes of self-presentation that are used to portray women leaders by themselves or by others. Additionally, the findings draw on the notion (un)doing gender and suggest that gender can also take on other than stereotypical meanings in public discourse. In contrast to previous research conducted in the fields of organizational communication and gender studies, the investigation shows that the media do not only reinforce existing gender stereotypes but that the media also challenge stereotypical representations of femininity. In the data, Clinton and Horlick are not consistently described in accordance with existing gender stereotypes; rather, media characterizations of both women leaders depend on the situational context and especially on whether or not gender stereotypes make the overall news story more or less newsworthy. The findings also show that women leaders use gender as a communicative instrument for image management. In their autobiographies, Clinton and Horlick exploit existing gender stereotypes in order to create their own leadership images, suggesting that the meaning of gender can be changed and that new perceptions can be composed through old perceptions of women leaders. Based on the findings, the main argument of the doctoral dissertation is that the meaning of gender (in relation to leadership) is currently transforming and that there are multiple realities (or understandings) of gender competing for legitimacy in our (global) society.

IN MEMORIAM

Alan Arthur Townsend

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CONTENTS

PART II- The empirical studies

LIST OF THE EMPIRICAL STUDIES

1. Townsend, Taija. 2004. 'Lead openings as narrative devices in campaign coverage'. Pragmatics, Ideology and Contacts (PIC) Bulletin. 6:6-14.

2. Townsend, Taija. (forthcoming). '(In)dependence in headlines. Running as a Senatorial candidate or as the First Lady'. In Leila Mattfolk and Jan-Ola Östman (eds.). Language, Politeness and Gender. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

3. Townsend, Taija. 2007. 'Image management in politics. The use of linguistic forms of self-reference in Hillary Clinton's autobiographies.' (unpublished study)

4. Townsend, Taija. 2009. 'Communicating images of women leaders through implicit collocations'. In Leena Louhiala-Salminen and Anne Kankaanranta (eds). The Ascent of International Business Communication. Helsinki: Helsinki School of Economics. pp. 259-274

5. Townsend, Taija. 2011. 'Gender stereotypes as narrative themes of self-presentation.'(unpublished study)

PART I

THE RESEARCH PROJECT

1. INTRODUCTION

The present research project deals with the social construction of gender and leadership. I look at political and business leadership and how women leaders operating in these domains are characterized in public discourse. Public discourse here relates to written communication and, in particular, media texts and autobiographies which can be readily accessed by the general public (cf. Solin 2001). The project is based on five empirical case studies, each of which explore gender and leadership in relation to linguistic communication processes. The purpose of this introductory chapter is to give an overview of the overall research project by first providing a brief outline of the background concerning the phenomena under investigation and setting the stage for the research gaps that I want to fill. Additionally, the chapter presents the general objectives of the project, introduces the research question that I address in my work, and gives an overview of the main findings.

1.1 Background

Organizational communication is an umbrella term which pertains to research that concentrates on "all communication related issues that involve organization" (Kalla 2006:14). Organizational communication research can be divided into two focal areas: 1) research that examines everyday organizational communication practices and thus views communication as social (inter)action, and 2) research that investigates social phenomena occurring in organizations and treats communication as a means through which meanings of social (and organizational) phenomena are created. The present study adds to the focus area interested in social phenomena (e.g. Ashcraft 1998 & 2000; Mumby 1996; Mumby & Ashcraft 2006) as I examine the manner in which characterizations of women leaders are linguistically generated and textually construed in discourse and the significance that these characterizations may - or may not - have on our understanding of gender and leadership. As social phenomena, gender and leadership are of interest as they concern both politics and business and, in past years, they have become salient factors often related to globalization. Consequently, discussion concerning women in leadership

positions has become a central theme of public discourse. Gender and leadership is also a noteworthy research topic within the general field of management and organization studies (e.g. Eriksson, Henttonen & Meriläinen 2007; Gibson & Schullery 2000; Jorgenson 2000; Kuperberg & Stone 2008; Tienari et al. 2005). The research project is based on two underlying views. First, the general idea of this work is that organizational communication research can add more insight to the general field of management and organization studies by examining social phenomena, such as gender and leadership, through a linguistic communication standpoint (cf. Georgakopoulou & Goutsos 1997; Martin & Collinson 2002). Secondly, from a localized viewpoint, this work derives from the idea that International Business Communication (IBC) at the School of Economics (Aalto University) should include in-depth organizational communication research that examines questions related to social phenomena in addition to organizational communication practices (e.g. Huttunen 2010; Kalla 2006; Nikko 2009), the more traditional interest area of this research field to date.

Traditionally, the dominant theoretical approach in leadership research has emphasized the significance of individualism, focusing particularly on "leader-centered" characteristics that are typically associated with "individual leaders and their traits, abilities and actions" (Crevani, Lindgren & Packendorff 2010:77). Nowadays this traditional perspective on leadership is being challenged by other theoretical frameworks. One of these frameworks is social constructionism, a perspective which sees leadership as a shared and socially interactive process (Aaltonen & Kovalainen 2001; Bolden & Gosling 2006; Gergen 1999; Hoskings & McNamee 2006; Pearce & Cogner 2003; Searle 1995). One of the main ideas of the social constructionist approach to leadership is that situational and socio-cultural meanings of leadership are formed by means of discourse processes, practices and interactions. Studies that examine leadership through discourse maintain that language creates reality and therefore studies following the main principles of social constructionism use language as a means to uncover socio-cultural aspects related to leadership (Fairhurst & Grant 2010:174; see also Fairhurst 2007 & 2008). From a communication perspective, this so-called linguistic turn in leadership (and other organizational) science(s) (e.g. Alvesson & Kärreman 2000) has meant that discourse has been approached both with regard to the content of language use and to the forms of

language use. When analyzing discourse, it is essential to consider the correlation between language content and form simply because "content cannot be properly analysed without simultaneously analysing form, because contents are always necessarily realized in forms, and different contents entail different forms and vice versa" (Fairclough 1992a:210). Investigating and understanding the role of language form in discourse is thus of extreme importance as this markedly reinforces the analytical investigation of discourse processes, practices and interactions and provides stronger empirical evidence for the reasons behind particular instances of language use and of language use and function generally.

In past years, there has been a growing interest in gender in both organizational communication studies (e.g. Ashcraft 1998 & 2000; Mumby 1996; Mumby & Ashcraft 2006) and organizational sciences in general (e.g. Eriksson, Henttonen & Meriläinen 2007; Foegen Karsten 1994; Gibson & Schullery 2000; Jorgenson 2000; Kuperberg & Stone 2008; Tienari et al. 2005). This research area has often been called 'gendered organizations' as the main objective has been to rewrite organizational theory so that women's issues would also be addressed in this literature field (Martin & Collinson 2002:244-245). With regard to organizational communication studies, the purpose of such research has been to examine the way "language creates gendered relationships; communication reaffirms hierarchies that subordinate organization members and alternative views; and women express and interpret organizational experiences" (Buzzanell 1994:342). The underlying view is that gender is something that is socially constructed, or 'done', in organizations (and society at large) by means of language and social interaction (Gherardi 1994; West & Zimmerman 1987).

The problem with the notion 'doing gender' is, however, that the majority of gender-related studies treat inequalities as a preconception to research, that is, research has a tendency to see gender differences everywhere - even in situations and settings where they may not (anymore) exist. Today, as there are more women leaders than ever before in the political and business domains, there is reason to believe that our understanding of gender is changing. With regard to public discourse, this would mean that women are not anymore repeatedly portrayed in accordance with stereotypical perceptions of gender and that women who are no longer involuntarily controlled by the

power relations in society have – at least in principle – the means and opportunity to present themselves anyway they choose (Wagner & Wodak 2006:389). It seems thus likely that the meaning of gender (in relation to leadership) is currently transforming and that there are multiple realities (or understandings) of gender competing for legitimacy in our (global) society (Fairhurst & Grant 2010:174; Kelan 2010). There is thus an increasing need for more research that examines how gender is 'undone', that is, ways in which gender takes on other than stereotypical meanings in public discourse (cf. Deutsch 2007; Kelan 2010).

1.2 Research objectives, questions and findings

In relation to the background presented above, the objective of this research project is to show how *linguistic analysis* can be used to study social phenomena occurring in organizations. In this study, 'linguistics' in principle relates to all areas of language study, but I will focus on issues of morphosyntax (the structure and form of words, phrases and sentences), semantics (word, sentence and text meaning), pragmatics (language use and language function), and discourse (as language in relation to the situational context). 'Linguistic analysis' stands for a perspective on discourse where language forms are taken as the starting point for discourse analysis, and the linguistic structuring of words, phrases and sentences are examined in relation to their context, i.e. their linguistic function, textual content and/or situational and socio-cultural setting. Thus the research project investigates gender and leadership via grammatical, semantic and pragmatic analyses, underscoring the tenet that the meaningful combination of language units are the basic means of communication and that, together with context, they form the basis of discourse (Georgakopoulou & Goutsos 1997:4). Consequently, the research question of this work relates to a) the perspective on discourse typically applied in leadership research and b) the theoretical concept of (un)doing gender. The study seeks to answer the following research question:

Research question

How are characterizations of women leaders socially constructed in public discourse?

With regard to the research question, the starting point for this project is not that language per se construes the social phenomena under investigation; rather, the social construction of gender and leadership is examined in relation to linguistic communication processes through which reality is partly construed. In this context, linguistic communication processes deal with meaning generation through linguistic structuring and textual construals (i.e. representations) in written texts. The research question is addressed in five empirical investigations. To answer the research question, I look at two situational contexts which are closely connected to each other, namely the political domain (studies 1, 2 and 3) and the business domain (studies 4 and 5). Both domains are examined so that attention is given to two focal areas. First, I investigate the manner in which media texts characterize women leaders (studies 1, 2 and 4) and secondly, I look at the way women leaders create their own leadership images in autobiographies (studies 3 and 5)[1]. With regard to the social construction of gender and leadership, I see the media and women leaders as representing two of the main participants of public discourse. The rationale for the research plan of the study as a whole is presented in Figure 1.

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[1] Or, indeed, have these images created for themselves. I have not in this study looked in detail at the production process of autobiographies – this is an additional perspective that needs to be further analysed. For now, I have worked on the assumption that the leaders have read and accepted what is presented as their autobiographies.

Figure 1. The rationale for the research plan of the study as a whole.

| RESEARCH PHENOMENA |
| GENDER AND LEADERSHIP IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE |

SITUATIONAL CONTEXT

political domain	business domain
empirical studies 1, 2 & 3	empirical studies 4 & 5

FOCUS AREAS

media texts	autobiographical texts
empirical studies 1, 2 & 4	empirical studies 3 & 5
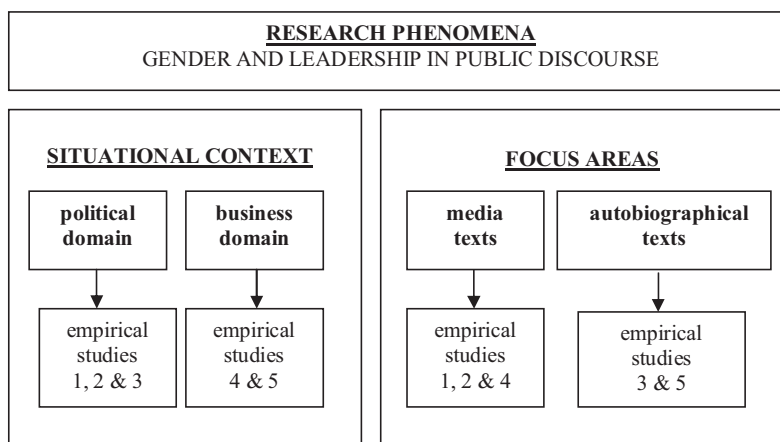
As the study concentrates on written data that deal with two women leaders, the findings cannot be reduced to a general statement that concerns characterizations of women leaders in public discourse. Rather, the findings are important traces of the phenomena under investigation. The findings discuss five forms of linguistic structuring, i.e. varying premodifications of the Subject Phrase (study 1), linguistic forms of reference (study 2), linguistic forms of self-reference (study 3), implicit collocations (study 4) and narrative themes of self-presentation (study 5), that are used in texts portraying women leaders. It is, however, important to point out that there is no evidence in the data to suggest that these forms of linguistic structuring are used mechanically to generate meanings of women leaders[2]. Rather, the data draw attention to the idea that the generation of meaning occurs at all levels of language use (cf. Verschueren 1999:8). Additionally, the findings deliberate on (re)constructions of gender, that is, my study suggests that gender as a textual construal does not always relate to stereotypical meanings in public discourse. In the data, media characterizations of women leaders can be connected to the situational context, that is, women leaders are described in accordance with gender

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[2] Neither is there evidence in the present data to suggest that these forms of linguistic structuring are not used to characterize men leaders. Although differences in the characterization of men and women leaders are discussed (notably in studies 1 and 2), this aspect is still in need of further detailed and systematic study.

stereotypes depending on whether or not gender stereotypes make the news story newsworthy (studies 1, 2 & 4). The data also show that women make use of existing gender stereotypes in order to create their own leadership images, suggesting that multiple meanings of gender are used to introduce new perceptions of women leaders (studies 3 & 5). Figure 2 gives the findings of the study in relation to the research question, and presents the linguistic structuring devices as well as the (re)constructions of gender found in public discourse.

Figure 2. Linguistic structuring devices and (re)constructions of gender found in public discourse.

LINGUISTIC STRUCTURING DEVICES FOUND IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE	EMPIRICAL STUDIES	(RE)CONSTRUCTIONS OF GENDER FOUND IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE
Premodifications of Subject Phrase	STUDY 1	Media characterizations of women leaders depend on the situational context.
Linguistic forms of reference	STUDY 2	
Implicit collocations	STUDY 4	
Linguistic forms of self-reference	STUDY 3	Women leaders make use of existing gender stereotypes to create their own leadership images.
Narrative themes of self-presentation	STUDY 5	

1.3 Structure of the study

The study is organized into two parts: Part I gives an overview of the project as a whole and Part II presents five case studies that form the empirical basis for the results of the study as a whole.

PART I - Chapter 2 reviews the relevant literature related to the study. The focus is on the theoretical and contextual background for my research question. In particular, I discuss leadership and gender. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology that I make use of in the empirical studies. The chapter discusses pragmatics and the linguistic analysis of discourse, introduces the written texts used as research data, and summarizes the five empirical case studies. Chapter 4 discusses the principal research findings in relation to the research question, states the main contributions of the research project, draws pertinent conclusions and gives suggestions for future research.

PART II comprises the following five empirical case studies:

Study 1 - *Lead openings as narrative devices in campaign coverage*

Study 2 - *(In)dependence in headlines. Running as a Senatorial candidate or as the First Lady*

Study 3 - *Image management in politics. The use of linguistic forms of self-reference in Hillary Clinton's autobiographies*

Study 4 - *Communicating images of women leaders through implicit collocations*

Study 5 - *Gender stereotypes as narrative themes of self-presentation*

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The chapter reviews previous literature with the intention to elaborate on the general themes of gender and leadership, which serve as the contextual background of the study at hand. Since gender and leadership are extremely multi-faceted research areas, I focus on the links between these two themes, primarily approaching the topic from the viewpoint of leadership.

2.1 Understanding leadership

Over the past decades leadership has been a topic that has received a considerable amount of research attention. However, there is still debate on what factors constitute leadership. The difficulty of understanding leadership is that, as a notion, leadership evolves around a number of definitions and theories, which cut across various fields of study. Therefore meanings of leadership are normally connected to academic disciplines and research purposes (Peele 2005). In organization studies, one of the biggest challenges regarding the meaning of leadership concerns whether or not the term leadership is interchangeable with the term management (Yukl 2002:5). The general opinion seems to be that, even though the concepts of leadership and management are often used and understood as synonyms and sometimes even used together (e.g. managerial leadership), their meanings bear more differences than similarities, especially in terms of how leadership and management are carried out as organizational practices (Hamel & Breen 2007; Kotter 1990; Lappalainen 2010).

There are numerous ways to make a distinction between leadership and management. To keep a long list short, I draw attention to Kellerman's (1999) manner to differentiate the two notions from each other because her definitions can be applied universally to political and business understandings of management and leadership. Kellerman (1999:10) differentiates leadership from management in the following manner:

"Leadership is the effort by leaders – who may hold, but do not necessarily hold, formal positions of authority – to engage followers in the joint pursuit of mutually agreed-on goals. These goals represent significant, rather than merely incremental, change."

"Management is the effort by managers – who always hold a position of authority at some level – to get the trains to run on time. While it may, or may not, involve an element of coercion, management does not, in and of itself, involve significant change."

Even though these definitions of leadership and management are rather general, they underscore a couple of noteworthy dissimilarities between the two notions. The first distinction concerns individual characteristics. More specifically, management is always related to officially recognized authority whereas leadership is not necessarily based on formal authority. Rather, leadership is often dependent on other significant individual dispositions that may (or may not) result in personal charisma (e.g. Avolio & Bass 2002; Bligh & Kohles 2005; Chafe 2005; Gormley-Heenan 2006). The second distinction regards the various organizational activities and other processes that make up the basis of leadership and management. Briefly, management concentrates on different ways to manage organizational tasks and work in general, such as planning, organizing, controlling and problem solving while leadership focuses on different ways to lead people by means of establishing direction as well as motivating and inspiring other people (Kotter 1990:4-5). Thus management is about maintaining order within organizations and/or institutions, and leadership is about directing change within organizations and society as a whole. With regard to Kellerman's definitions, I make use of the term leadership, as this study examines characterizations of individual leaders who operate in the political and business domains, who have institutional and/or de facto power and who have enough institutional and/or de facto power to carry out and/or influence organizational and/or social change.

Another challenge regarding the diverse meanings of leadership concerns the vast number of theoretical approaches to leadership. Traditionally, the dominant theoretical approach in leadership research has been "leader-centered" and thus has emphasized the significance of *individual agency* (Crevani, Lindgren & Packendorff 2010:77; Yukl 2002). The focus of such research has been on psychological aspects of leadership (cf. Fairhurst 2007) and particularly on the dispositions, abilities and actions of individual leaders (e.g. Amabile et al. 2004; Ford 2006; Keller 1999; Miner 2005). Leadership characteristics are typically believed to form the foundation of different leadership styles, such as transactional leadership, i.e. an authoritative and task-oriented style, and transformational leadership, i.e. an inspirational and interpersonal style, which have been the most studied forms of leadership over the past decade (e.g. Avolio & Bass 2002; Brown & Lord 1999; Conger 1999; Hautala 2005). Additionally, leadership psychology has also been studied in terms of how certain characteristics relate to circumstantial factors, such as crisis and change situations (e.g. Bligh & Kohles 2005; Gormley-Heenan 2006). To study leadership as individual agency, however, means that leadership characteristics tend to be generalized, that is, characterizations are connected to individual leaders, successful leadership practices and even certain situations, but they are rarely viewed in relation to factors concerning the socio-cultural settings in which leaders operate (Barker 2001; Crevani, Lindgren & Packendorff 2010:77).

In addition to leadership theories underscoring individuality, leadership is also studied in terms of *collective agency*. Such studies particularly follow the theoretical principles of social constructionism (e.g. Aaltonen & Kovalainen 2001; Bolden & Gosling 2006; Fletcher & Käufer 2003; Gergen 1999; Hoskings 1988, Hoskings & McNamee 2006; Pearce & Cogner 2003; Searle 1995; Sjöstrand, Sandberg & Tystrup 2001; Wood 2005). In brief, social constructionism can be understood in line with three main ideas, which differentiate it from other theories commonly applied in leadership research and social sciences in general (Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008: 13-14; Fairhurst & Grant 2010: 173-174; Sandberg 2001:32). First, social constructionism is a theory that takes on a dualist ontology towards the relation between people and society and thus contends that people create and are created by the social and cultural worlds in which they live. Secondly, social constructionism rejects the idea that there is an objective reality which can be observed and examined through systematic research measures.

Rather, social constructionism embraces a subjective epistemology which stipulates that perceptions and explanations of our social and cultural worlds are "always based on our specific historical, cultural and linguistic understanding of reality" (Sandberg 2001:32). Thirdly, social constructionism also adheres to a social epistemology as it emphasizes that people constantly make and remake reality through social interaction when they challenge, develop and decide on meanings of the social and cultural worlds through language and communication. When leadership is approached from a social constructionist perspective in organizational sciences, it is predominantly treated as an interactional practice and process which is shared and distributed between leaders and their followers, that is, members of the group, organization and/or society who are led by the designated or emergent leader[3] (e.g. Pearce & Cogner 2003; Sjöstrand, Sandberg & Tystrup 2001). While the focus of examination is to investigate ways in which leadership interactions occur in organizational settings, the overall objective is to discover prevailing and new arrangements and practices of leadership (Crevani, Lindgren & Packendorff 2010:78).

2.2 Exploring the social construction of leadership

In organizational sciences, to view leadership as a phenomenon that is socially constructed often signifies that leadership is investigated in relation to discourse, observed in terms of language use, interaction processes and discursive formations, and analysed by means of interviews and surveys (Fairhurst 2007:9; Vine et al. 2008:345). As the focus of attention is how organizational members *talk about* the practice of leadership, studies looking at the discursive nature of leadership mainly produce descriptive accounts and reports on underlying perceptions of the manner in which organizational members experience leadership (e.g. Karlsson Stider 2001; Ekman 2001). This take on discourse means that social interaction, and language use in particular, is

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[3] This constructionist approach adheres to *the social construction of reality*. In contrast, studies looking at *the construction of social reality* concentrate on ways in which reality is formulated through cognition. This approach views leadership in line with categories, characteristics and/or frames of leadership that we may – or may not – hold in our heads (Fairhurst 2010:177-181).

understood in terms of content and thus the interpretation of leadership is predominantly related to the semantic level of communication.

One of the most important outcomes of the discursive approach to leadership in organizational science is, however, the introduction of linguistic communication methodologies used to discern how leadership is constituted through mundane organizational interactions. These methodologies are used to study "how people actually *do* leadership by way of everyday talk" and not just how they speak about leadership (Vine et al. 2008:345). The most noteworthy factor of linguistic communication methodologies is that they draw attention to linguistic structuring and the significance that the linguistic levels of communication have in the meaning making process of leadership. To date there are two linguistic communication traditions which, through empirical evidence, have been shown to be significant methodological additions to organizational research, namely conversation analysis (e.g. Clifton 2006; Nikko 2009; Paatola 2004) and interactional sociolinguistics (e.g. Holmes 2004 & 2007; Svennevig 2008; Vine et al. 2008).

Conversation analysis (CA) is a discursive methodology where naturally occurring speech is recorded and transcribed as empirical research data. Typically the data are locally situated, that is, the talk-in-interaction under investigation has taken place in specific situations, such as negotiations or business meetings, and it is analysed as sequences of conversation. The main objective of CA is to discover "how people use various interactional methods and procedures to produce their activities and make sense of the [social and cultural] worlds [in which they live and operate]" (Fairhurst 2007:191). The focus of examination is on language forms and content which are examined in connection with communication, and especially conversation strategies, including turn-taking, code-switching as well as conversation openings and endings. As an example of CA methodology, Clifton (2006) studies the social construction of leadership in business meetings by looking at the interactions carried out by the participants of the meeting. The study shows that leadership is based on formulations of action. In this specific study, formulations of action relate to specific linguistic structuring (e.g. *okay, ok alright*, *yeah*, *we've agreed*) used to indicate agreement (or disagreement) on issues that have been discussed in the preceding talk of the meeting.

Similar to CA, interactional sociolinguistics is an analytic method used to examine spoken language. With regard to methodological procedures, it stems from sociolinguistics, an area of language study which attempts "to show systemic correlations between variations in linguistic form and social variables" (Fairclough 1989:7-8). Interactional sociolinguistics follows an ethnographic approach to data collection, including participant observation and recordings of social interaction. Most importantly, interactional sociolinguistics looks at discourse "in its wider socio-cultural context and draws on the analysts' knowledge of the community and its norms in interpreting what is going on in an interaction" (Vine et al. 2008:345). Vine et al. (2008), for example, examine how leaders create leadership through collective talk in business environments. In line with psychological leadership, the study detects two main leadership conducts – task behaviour and maintenance (or relational) behaviour. Task behaviour relates to leadership communication that makes followers perform organizational activities. In the study, task behavior is realized through communication strategies, such as direct questions (e.g. *so who's going to follow that up?*), checking (e.g. *and you've done that?*), persuasive language (e.g. *great that'll make the plan easier*) and imperative clauses (e.g. *shunt these problems*). Maintenance behavior concerns the way how leaders create a sense of togetherness between themselves and their followers. In Vine et al.'s study, maintenance behavior takes the form of small talk and humour. In addition, leaders connect with their followers by means of a communication strategy in which they express approval of actions taken by their employees (e.g. *all credit to them, they were fantastic*).

With regard to the notion of leadership, the assumption of discourse studies is that organizational members' understanding of leadership is not exclusively based on dispositions, abilities and actions of individual leader; it also derives from the social interactions, organizational activities and language practices performed in traditional (and non-traditional) leadership settings (e.g. Sjöstrand, Sandberg & Tystrup 2001). In this respect, the strength of the linguistic communication methodologies mentioned above - and in general - is that they "provide new and different forms of empirical evidence that may support or contradict theories and claims in psychological [leadership] research" (Svennevig 2008:535). This indicates that linguistic communication methodologies function as analytical means through which we can attain a more in-depth

empirical understanding of everyday and mundane leadership practices and interactions. However, leadership actors do not simply create meanings of leadership through situational discourse processes, practices and interactions; they also "make sense of and evaluate their [leadership and other] organizational experiences" in connection with societal discourse and, in particular, with socio-cultural notions of leadership (Fairhurst & Grant 2010: 175). Therefore the notion of leadership also needs to be explored as a societal discourse which builds on our overall understanding(s) of leadership and, consequently, also adds meaning to specific leadership processes, practices and interactions executed in organizations and society at large (Crevani, Lindgren & Packendorff 2010:78). To take such an approach means that, in addition to investigating social interactions in leadership settings, we must also examine societal productions which touch upon the notion of leadership.

In the following two sections, I look at the socio-cultural issues directly related to the background of the present study. First, I will address business and political leadership and discuss the reasons why it is important to combine these two forms of leadership in a study on leadership in general. Secondly, I will address the issue of gender and leadership and review some of the previous studies focusing on the gendered nature of leadership.

2.3 Connecting political and business leadership

There has always been a strong connection between political and business leadership, and owing to the global social and economic changes occurring in contemporary society, political leadership and business leadership are becoming more interconnected than ever before. Kellerman (1999:207-218) contends that a significant outcome of this ongoing 'global transformation' is precisely that the profile of political and business leadership is becoming more and more entwined with each other. In practice, this means that leaders from both sectors increasingly share the same kind of leadership images, that is, political and business leaders are often expected to possess similar types of leadership dispositions, manners and values. Thus, even though business leaders and political

leaders are commonly associated with their organizational affiliations, i.e. business organization and political party, respectively, leadership profiles seem to be mainly dependent on individual attributes, underlining the political notion of 'personality-oriented' leadership (Peele 2005:191). Consequently, since political and business leaders have matching profiles, it is easy for them – at least in principle – to move between the two sectors. However, this does not mean that a political leader necessarily knows how to manage a business organization or that a business leader automatically understands the particulars of how to administer political affairs; rather, this potential crossing between the private and public sectors simply indicates that nowadays the dividing line between business leadership and political leadership is more indefinite than definite.

Another significant connecting factor originating in contemporary social and economic changes is the fact that present-day business and political leaders carry out a number of similar practices as well as share a number of common interests which affect business and political decision making. On the local level, contemporary business leadership has begun to resemble political leadership in the sense that, together with the corporations that they represent, business leaders often need to 'campaign' for the general public's support for a business agenda in order to gain power to influence political decision-making (Smith 2000). On a more general level, the global economy is forcing leaders across the private and public sectors to work together more than ever before as the global economy has not only brought on common agendas but also because it has instigated a number of social and economic challenges that require joint efforts if they are to be met. As a result, contemporary business and political leaders are making use of similar plans and strategies to deal with these problems (Kellerman 1999:219-231). It would thus seem that globalization is paving the way for a common 'balance' between political and business leadership (Mintzberg 1996).

From a research perspective, political leadership and business leadership are thought to entail similar dispositions (e.g. charisma), styles (e.g. transformational and transactional) and situations (e.g. crisis and change). Yet, for the most part these two forms of leadership have been studied as separate areas of interest (e.g. Bligh & Hess 2007; Bligh, Kohles & Meindl 2004; Bligh & Kohles 2008; Chen & Meindl 1991; Ford 2006; Kellerman 1999; Seyranian & Bligh 2007), which occasionally are compared to each

other. (For instance, for a comparative analysis of differences in gender composition in top management in business, politics and the civil service, see, Højgaard 2002.) The present research project, however, treats political and business leadership as representatives of the same societal discourse and thus does not attempt to compare these two forms of leadership with each other per se. Rather, the study builds on the idea that a diverse approach to leadership such as examining different leadership contexts simultaneously will strengthen our overall understanding of leadership and offer new interpretations of factors through which meanings of leadership are socially constructed (cf. Bryman and Stephens 1996).

2.4 Connecting gender and leadership

Today there are more women leaders than ever before in the public and private sectors (Dreher 2003; Vecchio 2002:643-644). Consequently, the issue of gender and leadership has become a relevant research area in the field of management and organization studies (e.g. Aaltio-Marjosola 2001; Bligh & Kohles 2008; David 1999; Duke 1993a; Eagly 2005; Eagly & Carli 2003; Eriksson, Henttonen & Meriläinen 2008; Foegen Karsten 1994; Hearn & Piekkari 2005; Rosener 1990; Vecchio 2002; Valerio 2006). It is widely believed that views of women leaders are affected by ideologies and the power relations at work in the society at hand. Thus, gendered social constructions, inequalities and gender stereotypes still occur despite the many advances that women have attained in politics and business (e.g. Duke 1993b; Edley 2000; Haslam & Ryan 2008; Höök 2001; Kahn 1992 & 1994; Kuperberg & Stone 2008; Leonard 2002; Murphy 1998; Nentwich 2006; Sanbonmatsu 2002; Tienari et al. 2005; Wahl 2001). These gender-related disparities are a common focus area in both political and business leadership; yet, both fields tend to restrict their discussions of gender to their own research forums.

Leadership research concerned with 'doing gender' has primarily concentrated on differences between women and men in leadership positions (e.g. Foegen Karsten 1994; Haslam & Ryan 2008; Nentwich 2006; Wahl 2001). In particular, the focus has been on revealing how men dominate over women by means of organizational norms, structures and/or values in different areas of organizational activity (Wagner & Wodak 2006:388).

One of the most common discriminatory phenomena related to organizational power relations is the so-called glass ceiling effect, which refers to 'invisible' organizational barriers which obstruct women from reaching higher leadership positions in organizations (Haslam & Ryan 2008:530). Some argue that the glass ceiling effect may partly be due to "observational misperceptions", that is to say, the low representation of women business and political leaders may only create an appearance of a glass ceiling while, in fact, the rare number of women in top leadership positions is a result of inequalities at the lower levels of organizations and society (Baxter & Wright 2000:290). In addition, it is claimed that the glass ceiling is sometimes 'stained', which means that not only are the barriers blocking women's way to the top sometimes visible but, more importantly, they also may be 'openly' accepted as part of organizational practice (Adams 2007:99-100). When women do achieve leadership status, it is often the consequence of another effect, the glass cliff effect. This concept refers to the practice that women are often given leadership in troubled organizations to bear the blame of any organizational shortcomings caused by the adversity (Haslam & Ryan 2008:542).

In addition to norms, structures and/or values related to organizational power relations, gender is 'done' through organizational discourse practices (e.g. Tienari et al. 2005; Leonard 2002; Nentwich 2006). This suggests that language and communication are considered as social (inter)action through which subjective meanings of women leaders are created. (For a linguistic view on language, gender and power see, for instance, Cameron 2007, 2003 & 1998; Crawford 1995; Holmes 1992; Holmes & Meyerhoff 2003; Lakoff 1990, 2001, 2003, 2004a & 2004b; Tannen 1995; Weatherall 2002.) Tienari et al. (2005), for example, look at how statements concerning national identities build on our understanding of gender. They identify recurring discourses through which gendered views of leadership are constructed and re-constructed. Their study also reveals that, especially in multinational organization discourse, inequality is considered as something that does not exist in one's own organization; rather, it is something that only occurs in society at large. The lack of women leaders in business organizations is justified by reference to general social inequality. As another example, Leonard (2002) examines how organizational theories influence and mold our understanding of gender. In particular, her research shows that books that discuss organizational theories make use of linguistic metaphors to construct meanings of gender

relations, which strengthens the binary relationship between gender and power. Similarly, Nentwich (2006) looks at how gender equality is construed through discourse practices when organizations attempt to construct the meaning of equal opportunity. Her research findings show that the definition of gender equality is incoherent and context-dependent and it is often described in terms of similarities and differences between men and women in both organizational talk and textual productions. Although these studies examine different perspectives concerning the connection between gender and discourse, the significance is that all of them demonstrate the vital role that discourse has in 'doing gender'.

In contrast to this dominant perspective, the underlying view of the present research project is that if gender is something that is 'done', then gender can also be re-constructed, or 'undone', by the same social structures, processes and/or interactions through which gender inequalities are initially constructed (cf. Deutsch 2007; Kelan 2010). Even though the idea that gender can also be 'undone' is still a relatively new approach in gender and leadership studies, there is some evidence that supports the idea that our perception(s) of women leaders is currently being re-constructed. New perspectives in leadership theory suggest that, on the individual level, characteristics related to women leaders have changed so that nowadays women are believed to possess specific qualities well-suited for people in leadership positions. More specifically, women are particularly praised for their interactive leadership skills (Aaltio-Marjosola 2001:136-137; Eagly & Carli 2003:813-818; Rosener 1990:120). On the practical level, leadership roles in organizations have changed dramatically over the past decade and, as a result, the organizational norms, structures and values that have hindered women from leadership positions in the past are now slowly being eradicated (Eagly & Carli 2003:826). Additionally, appointments of women business leaders "have come to symbolize progressive organizational change" in the business sector (ibid.). One more factor suggesting that gender is currently being 'undone' is that women leaders as well as the increasing amount of research focusing on gender and leadership are currently receiving a great deal of positive media attention. This is of great importance because the mass media are one of the main forces which create the socio-cultural conditions for new meanings of gender in connection to leadership (Paletz 1999:133). Thus, there is reason

to believe that gender-stereotypical perceptions of women leaders in society, such as 'women are outsiders and therefore are inadequate and lack in certain leadership skills', are slowly being eliminated from our collective understanding of leadership (Duke 1993; Wahl 2001:127; Eagly 2005:461-463).

To summarize and synthesize, political and business leadership have commonly been studied as different areas of leadership. Yet, in addition to a number of practical as well as theoretical factors, the issue of gender and leadership ties the political and business discourse domains to each other. The focus of research concerning gender and leadership has primarily been on disparities, such as inequality and gender stereotypes, which obstruct women from attaining the upper echelons. However, as the number of women leaders both in governments and corporations is steadily growing in many countries, gender and leadership are becoming common societal phenomena in our global society. Consequently, it is likely that characterizations of women leaders presented in public discourse are not (anymore) automatically construed through stereotypical views of gender.

3. METHODOLOGY AND DATA

The study uses qualitative research methodology (cf. Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008; Mason 1998; Moisander & Valtonen 2006; Silverman 2006) to investigate how characterizations of women leaders are socially constructed in public discourse. The chapter discusses pragmatics and (critical) discourse analysis which function as the basis of the linguistic methodological framework of this research project. The chapter also introduces the research data used in the five empirical studies and summarizes the main findings of these studies.

3.1 Pragmatics

With regard to the notion of linguistics, pragmatics can be defined as the study of language use. In contrast to other areas of language study, there are no a priori specified units of analysis in pragmatics. The underlying view of pragmatics is that "the linguistic phenomena to be studied from the point of view of their usage can be situated at any level of [linguistic] structure or may pertain to any type of form-meaning relationship" (Verschueren 1999:1-2). In the field of pragmatics the use of language is examined through two main research traditions which can be referred to as the linguistic approach to pragmatics and the sociological approach to pragmatics (ben-Aaron 2005:58-59). The main difference between these two traditions evolves around their distinct research objectives. The linguistic approach to pragmatics, which is often also equated with Anglo-American pragmatics, is linked to analytical philosophy and concentrates on research topics such as deixis, conversational implicature, speech acts and presuppositions. Pragmatics scholars that follow this tradition treat language (and discourse) as a form of action and are likely to refer to communicative principles (e.g. Gricean maxims) in their research. The ultimate goal of this approach is to develop a theory of pragmatics as a subfield of linguistic theory. From a discursive point of view, the main criticism that can be found against the linguistic approach to pragmatics is that it tends to explain discourse through "invented utterances rather than extended

[selections of] discourse" and thus describe "discourse as it might be in a better world rather than as it is [in the real world]" (Fairclough 1989:9-10).

In comparison, the sociological approach to pragmatics – the research tradition that my study follows – draws on anthropology and perceives language (and discourse) as a form of social behaviour. This tradition treats pragmatics as the "cognitive, social and cultural study of language and communication" (Verschueren 2007:1). Rather than building on a universal linguistic theory, the sociological approach to pragmatics attempts to show the multi-faceted nature of linguistic performance and production, and studies that follow this tradition often have an interdisciplinary focus on the multitude of ways in which language is and can be used. The sociological research tradition does not, however, in contrast to many other interdisciplinary fields of language study, have a fixed object with which it correlates linguistic phenomena or units[4] (Verschueren 1999:7). Rather, the sociological approach to pragmatics is a "functional perspective" that looks at the connection between language and all issues related to human life (Verschueren 1999, 2007 & 2009). It is important to realise that the pragmatic understanding of 'functional' differs from the definition of functionality typically used in social sciences. To elaborate on the difference in meaning, Verschueren (2007:25) states that:

> "In social sciences, a *functional* approach is usually contrasted with an *interpretive* approach, the former being associated with an emphasis on relatively mechanical processes, the latter with 'meaning'. It should be clear that when pragmatics is defined as a functional perspective on language and language use, it is more analogous to interpretivism than to functionalism in the social sciences."

The notion of functionality underscores the adaptable nature of language and language use. To begin with, functionality emphasizes the idea that, from a wide range of possibilities, language users make linguistic choices that meet the communicative needs of the surrounding context. This means linguistic choices are negotiable as "they are not

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[4] In a simplified manner, the correlational objective, for instance, in psycholinguistics is to study the link between language and the mind and, in anthropological linguistics, it is to study the link between language and culture (Verschueren 1999:7).

made mechanically or according to strict rules or fixed form-function relationships, but rather on the basis of highly flexible principles and strategies" (Verschueren 1999:59). In addition, the functional perspective on language draws attention to the idea that, through the linguistic structuring of language, language users *generate* meanings that exist (or do not exist) in the social world (Verschueren 1999:8). To simplify, *meaning construction* occurs when language users produce explicit meanings and *meaning emergence* occurs when language users produce implicit meanings (ibid; see also Östman 2005). Finally, the functionality of language suggests that language users create 'construals' (i.e. representations) rather than 'constructions' of the social world when they actively and/or spontaneously generate meanings of reality. To clarify, Fairclough (2003:8) states that:

> "…although aspects of the social world…are ultimately socially constructed, once constructed they are realities which affect and limit the textual (or 'discursive') construction of the social. We need to distinguish 'construction' from 'construal', which social constructivists do not: we may textually construe (represent, imagine, etc.) the social world in particular ways, but whether our representations or construals have the effect of changing its construction depends upon various contextual factors – including the way social reality is, who is constructing it, and so forth."

In brief, the functional perspective on language calls attention to the fact that language by itself does not construct the social world but rather reality (or realities) are (partly) constructed through linguistic communicative processes.

With regard to the background presented above, the underlying assumptions of this research project are founded on three key notions used in pragmatics, namely context, communication and implicitness (Verschueren & Östman 2009). First, the research project is interested in language and factors that correlate with linguistic choices. In this manner language and communication adopt to language external factors and these factors influence language use. These factors generally relate to context, i.e. linguistic function, textual content and/or situational and socio-cultural settings (e.g. Verschueren 1999:74-114; see also Auer 2009). Secondly, this research project is concerned with social

interaction, i.e. *communication* (e.g. Harder 2009; Yule 1996). From a pragmatic perspective, communication is not about understanding what the words and phrases in linguistic utterances mean on their own, but rather communication is about understanding the contextual meaning(s) that linguistic utterances convey (Yule 1996:1). Finally, this project also focuses on *implicitness* (Östman 1986; 1989; 1995; see also Bertuccelli Papi 2009). A pragmatic view to implicitness suggests that language and communication needs to be examined according to "the different ways a message is implicitly anchored to attitudes, ideologies and context/s so that we can obtain a better understanding as to what happens in communication over and beyond the propositional information that interlocutors and text producers want to convey in their messages" (Östman 1995:4).

3.2 Dialogism and 'double dialogicality'

For the purpose of this research project, I also make use of a notion associated with the pragmatic framework of dialogism, namely 'double dialogicality'. This notion refers to the idea that there are two simultaneously occurring dialogues affecting the environmental context: one is related to situational praxis and the other to socio-cultural praxis (Fairclough 2006:30; Linell 2005:11). In terms of characterizations of women leaders in politics and business, this means that the focus of research should not only be on discourse practices carried out in separate discourse domains, underscoring circumstantial factors, but rather, a more in-depth understanding of characterizations also requires a broader, situation-transcending perspective. Since the political and business arenas are two of the basic institutional forces in society, there is reason to believe that an investigation of discourse practices used in one of these discourse domains can bring new dimensions to our sense-making of gender and leadership within the other discourse domain. In this sense, both discourse domains serve as each other's socio-cultural context. Fairclough and Wodak (1997:258) come to a similar conclusion with regard to the significance of the dialectical connection between the situational and socio-cultural as they state that:

"Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it. The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them."

The 'double dialogicality' approach is fairly new in gender and leadership studies as in general, organizational research regarding social constructionism on these two phenomena has primarily given attention to the situational context. When leadership research has concentrated on the socio-cultural context, it has been inclined to disregard the situational context (Sandberg 2001:33-34). This has been the tendency mainly because in management and organization studies situational and socio-cultural discourses have been treated as two separate discourse levels that have typically not been dealt with in one and the same study (Alvesson & Kärreman 2000:1133-1134).

3.3 Linguistic analysis of discourse

Discourse is a 'traditional' research subject in linguistics as it is closely connected to the study of rhetoric. Discourse has also become an important focal point in organizational science as there is growing interest in the connection between language, society and culture in the field (e.g. Alvesson & Kärreman 2000; Fairhurst 2007 & 2008; Hardy, Palmer & Philips 2000; Kuronen, Tienari & Vaara 2005; Vaara 2002; Vaara & Tienari 2002). In both disciplines, the general name for methodological research procedures focusing on discourse is called discourse analysis. As a research method, discourse analysis can pertain to a wide range of research practices (e.g. conversation analysis, narrative analysis, and critical discourse analysis) examining spoken and/or written communication in relation to context (Fairhurst 2007:191-198). Thus linguistics and organizational science both understand discourse in terms of language use and, more specifically, discourse is regarded as a form of social practice through which reality is construed. With regard to linguistics, discourse analysis is not, however, only a research method which looks at language use to examine what language tells us about the social world. Discourse analysis is also a sub-discipline in the field of language study

concerned with the ways in which social processes and practices are operative in language (form) (Georgakopoulou & Goutsos 1997:5). Thus, in the linguistic sense, the notions of discourse and discourse analysis are not only understood in terms of language use, but they also correlate with the phonological, morphological and/or syntactic structuring of language forms. When discourse analysis is used as a linguistic research method, language forms are regarded as the basic units of analysis and the point of departure for an in-depth examination of discourse (Georgakopoulou & Goutsos 1997:4-10).

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is one of the most common research methods used to investigate discourse practices, processes and interactions concerned with gender and leadership in management and organization studies. In essence, CDA seeks to clarify the relationship between language, power and society and especially the position that language use has in our society "as the product of power relations and [the product of] struggles for power" (Fairclough 1989:1; see also Fairclough 1992b; 1995; Wodak 1995). The underlying view of CDA is that language use is embedded in our common-sense assumptions of the social world. These assumptions are common-sensical as they occur implicitly in sociolinguistic conventions and social interactions; they are realized through language forms (i.e. grammar and lexicon); and they are part of prevailing ideologies (i.e. ways in which the social world is perceived and explained) which validate existing power and social relations (Fairclough 1989:2). The ongoing relationship between language and society relates to two factors: first, linguistic phenomena need to be viewed as social phenomena because the use of language is a form of social behaviour which always has social consequences, and secondly, social phenomena need to be (partly) regarded as linguistic phenomena because not only does the use of language function as a representation of social practices, processes and interactions in a given context, but it also operates as an essential element of social practices, processes and interactions (Fairclough 1989:1-36).

As a research methodology, the CDA framework divides discourse into three levels of analysis, namely text, production practices and social practices (Fairclough 1992b:72). The textual level of analysis is generally based on the principles of systematic-functional linguistics in which language is examined in connection with three

'metafunctions' (Halliday 1994; Eggins 2004; see also ben-Aaron 2005:73). In the words of Eggins (2004:11-12), these metafunctions are 1) *ideational meanings* which concern "the way we represent reality in language", 2) *interpersonal meanings* which concern "the way we relate to other people and our attitude to the subject matter" and 3) *textual meanings* which concern "the way the text is organized as a piece of writing/speech". The production practice level of analysis is then discussed in terms of the text, and the social practice level of analysis is examined in connection with those contextual factors that surround the text and the production practices.

One of the most striking differences between the manner in which linguistics and organizational sciences apply CDA as a research method is related to textual analysis. Whereas linguistics incorporates textual analysis as an essential part of CDA, examining language use as a linguistic system in relation to context, management and organization studies have a tendency to overlook the linguistic side of language use (Fairclough 1992a:210; Fairclough 2003; Silverman 2006:154). In practice, this means that, in addition to textual context, linguistics gives attention to the significance of formal features of language and studies how ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings of social phenomena are generated through and take effect in linguistic units of text, such as modal auxiliaries, the grammatical functions of adverbials or the syntactic functions of adjectives (Solin 2001:31). In addition, linguistics investigates meanings of social phenomena through linguistic features that go beyond the sentence level, such as coherence, collocation and information structure (ibid.). In contrast, management and organization studies concentrate primarily on the semantic units of text, i.e. the content of language use, and treat discourse as a shared 'interpretive repertoire' from which people draw meanings regarding social and cultural phenomena (Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008:229-237; see also Potter & Wetherell 1987). Thus organization sciences take a more social psychological approach to textual analysis.

The importance of textual (and linguistic) analysis as part of the overall framework relates to the manner in which CDA sees discourse: not only does discourse pertain to language (form and content) and language use, but discourse is also understood to relate to the entire process of social interaction, including the process of producing discourse, the product of discourse (i.e. written or spoken texts) and the interpretation of the product of discourse (Fairclough 1989:30-37). The linguistic analysis of formal

features of language is essential when analysing discourse because "[language forms] are traces of the productive process of [spoken or written] texts and [simultaneously] they are cues in the process of interpretation" (ibid.). As part of the production and interpretation processes of discourse, texts give rise to new and different ways in which the social world can be perceived. This is not to say that singular language forms or patterns of linguistic structuring which occur in spoken and/or written texts mechanically change meanings of the social issues and phenomena under investigation (Fairclough 2003:8). Rather, language forms are the linguistic units through which representations of the social world can be discovered and explained. This means that, if language forms are not studied in detail, then important pieces of linguistic evidence that can explain - if not entirely then at least partially - discursive practices and process of social interaction may go unrecognised.

With regard to the factors mentioned above, my research aims at emphasizing the tenet that textual analysis should have an important role as a discursive research method in management and organizational science (cf. Fairclough 2003) and, in particular, in organizational studies analysing gender and leadership as societal discourses (cf. Crevani, Lindgren & Packendorff 2010). However, in this project, I refer to my methodological approach as 'linguistic analysis' as the main purpose of the research project is to examine the textual composition of written texts, namely media articles and autobiographies, and to show that the linguistic structuring of language forms is a significant discursive factor in the social construction of reality (cf. Verschueren 1999:8).

3.4 Focus of research

The purpose of this study is to look at the manner in which characterizations of women leaders are created in public discourse at a time when the number of forefront women leaders has steadily increased in most areas of society. I focus on American and British public discourses as the U.S.A. and Britain are two noteworthy countries and cultures in the rapidly globalizing international community. Public discourse in these countries is thus seen as representative of global deliberation on gender and leadership (i.e.

deliberation is carried out in English, the global lingua franca). The data of this study cover a time frame of approximately ten years, concentrating on two notable women leaders who have been in the public spotlight in the late 1990s and the early 21st century, namely Hillary Clinton (American public discourse) and Nicola Horlick (British public discourse).

Hillary Clinton

Hillary Clinton is an internationally well-known political figure. She became known to the international public in the 1990s when her husband, Bill Clinton, was elected U.S. President. In the White House, Hillary Clinton had a controversial reputation as she challenged the traditional role of First Lady and actively took part in policy making. She especially took part in planning a new health care system; albeit that her health care proposal was rejected by the U.S. Congress. At the end of the Bill Clinton administration in 2000, Hillary Clinton decided to run for the U.S. Senate as the Democratic candidate of the State of New York – a decision that was immensely criticised at the time. Despite the criticism, Hillary Clinton went on to win the New York Senate seat and was re-elected U.S. Senator in 2006. During her Senate candidacy in 2000 and 2006, it was often speculated that her 'real' political ambition was to run for the country's presidency. Indeed, she ran for the Democratic candidacy for U.S. President in 2008, but lost in a tight race to Barack Obama, who went on to win the presidential election. Currently, Hillary Clinton serves as the U.S. Secretary of State in the Barack Obama administration.

Nicola Horlick

Nicola Horlick is a high-profile businesswoman in the UK. She became known to the general public in the 1990s when she was employed by Morgan Grenfell Investment Management, the UK's leading fund management company, which had fallen on hard times. Within a couple of years, Nicola Horlick managed to put the company back on its feet. In addition to her successful business career, the British media have been interested in Nicola Horlick as she is the mother of five children. In 1997, Nicola Horlick was suspended from her job as Managing Director because Morgan Grenfell's senior

management speculated over her commitment to the company. Her falling out with the senior management hit the headlines when, in order to get her job back, Nicola Horlick flew to the company's headquarters in Frankfurt with a large group of journalists. After the incident, Nicola Horlick wrote her autobiography – *Can you have it all?* – in which she presented her viewpoint of the factors that led to the whole event and her departure from the company. In addition, the book deals with Nicola Horlick's personal life and particularly her daughter's battle against leukaemia. Today she is CEO of Bramdean Alternatives Limited, a Guernsey-based fund management company that she set up in 2005 and that trades in the London Stock Exchange.

The study focuses on Hillary Clinton and Nicola Horlick as both women meet the criteria of the term leadership applied in this study, that is, they are both leaders who have institutional and de facto power to realize and influence organizational and social change. Additionally, they are women leaders whose public images have often been connected to gender-stereotypes. More specifically, Hillary Clinton has been viewed in relation to her marriage to Bill Clinton whereas Nicola Horlick has been viewed in connection with her family of five children. If our understanding of gender and leadership is changing, it seems likely that these changes would be most evident in traces of public discourse which concern high-profile women leaders, such as Hillary Clinton and Nicola Horlick, who have dealt with gender biases as part of their public identities. Additionally, to focus on two women leaders from the political and business domains helps us understand whether or not there are more similarities than differences in terms of how characterizations of women leaders are socially constructed in these two public domains.

3.5 Summaries of the empirical studies

In this section, I summarize the case studies, drawing attention to the overall contribution, the principal objectives, methods and material as well as to the main results of each study.

Study 1 - Lead openings as narrative devices in campaign coverage

Study 1 is an abbreviation of my MA thesis (Townsend 2002). It adds to overall research project as it raises two sub-questions addressed in detail in studies 2-5. Study 1 draws attention to i) the manner in which characterizations of (political) leaders are operative in language form and ii) ways in which these characterizations take on other than gender stereotypical meanings in public discourse.

Summary - Study 1 examines how characterizations of political leaders are created through linguistic structures and textual construals used in media discourse. More specifically, the study investigates the news reporting of the early stages of the U.S. Senate elections 2000 and looks at how newspaper leads build on the campaign narrative (i.e. the storyline of campaign news). The focus is on the characterization of the two prominent candidates, Hillary Clinton and Rudolph Giuliani. The research follows the linguistic principles of discourse analysis, and the data consist of 36 news articles from the *New York Times* published in February 2000.

The analysis concentrates on the beginning of the lead, that is, on the first information structural part, which I call lead opening. The study is built on the idea that the opening information unit has high-information value (cf. Munter 2006). Lead openings are classified according to the grammatical and functional structure of declarative sentences. In English, the default structure of a declarative sentence is that the subject precedes everything else. In view of this study, the significance of this grammatical structure is that in formal text the subject is an obligatory part of a sentence serving as the first grammatical and functional unit. In Functional Grammar, a thematic structure which additionally serves as the grammatical subject is called 'unmarked theme' and, in contrast, a theme that is not the grammatical subject is called 'marked theme' (Östman and Virtanen 1999:97; Halliday 1985:42-43). Thus, for the purpose of this study, I typify lead openings accordingly: *unmarked lead openings* are structures where the first constituent of the lead coincides with the grammatical subject, and *marked lead openings* are structures which precede the grammatical subject. Thus the concept of (un)marked lead openings is based on previous research of sentence word

order and its semantic/pragmatic presuppositional efforts, and this base is then extended into the realm of leads.

By analysing the structure, content and distribution of different types of lead openings, this study detects characterizations of Hillary Clinton and Rudolph Giuliani which relate to candidacy, campaign strategy and political status. With regard to Hillary Clinton, unmarked lead openings (e.g. *Hillary Rodham Clinton flew to South Florida last month for a fund-raiser attended by a few dozen people at the home of a wealthy bankruptcy expert, William A. Brandt Jr.*) and marked lead openings (e.g. *In her speech announcing her candidacy on Sunday, Hillary Rodham Clinton told of visiting an overcrowded school in Queens.*) primarily draw attention to her political candidacy. With regard to Rudolph Giuliani, marked lead openings are mostly used to present his political actions as maneouvres in a campaign strategy (e.g. *In a move clearly meant to attract the attention of upstate voters in his bid for the Senate, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani said yesterday that he urged President Clinton to tap the nation's Strategic Petroleum Reserve to bring down the soaring price of home heating oil.*). In terms of both political candidates, reference to political status is most apparent on the syntactic level and on the lexical level of the marked lead openings.

Study 2 - (In)dependence in headlines. Running as a Senatorial candidate or as the First Lady

Study 2 contributes to the research project by examining how characterizations of (political) leaders are construed through linguistic forms of reference and how these characterizations relate - or do not relate to - gender stereotyping in the given context.

Summary - Study 2 looks at the manner in which characterizations of gender and leadership are generated through linguistic structuring devices in political campaign coverage. The focus is on Hillary Clinton's bid for the U.S. Senate in election year 2000. The study analyses 49 news articles, which are examined according to the linguistic principles of (critical) discourse analysis (Fairclough 1989, 1992 & 1995). The news articles have been selected from the Major Paper section of the Lexis Nexis database on

the basis of five key words (i.e. Hillary Clinton, Senate elections 2000, health care, education and social security).

The findings show that Hillary Clinton is characterized through linguistic forms of reference expressing (in)dependence. The expression of (in)dependence in the data is connected to the general structure of the news story, that is, the analysis shows that, with regard to (in)dependence, headlines have a noteworthy function in the research data. In the study an 'independent' characterization pertains to the use of linguistic forms of reference that portray Hillary Clinton as a Senate candidate (*Hillary Clinton, Clinton)* whereas a 'dependent' characterization relates to gender stereotyping. In the data, gender stereotypes primarily make reference to Hillary Clinton's marriage to Bill Clinton (*Mrs. Clinton, the First Lady*).

Moreover, the significance of the headlines using dependent linguistic forms of reference to portray Hillary Clinton is that these headlines tend to characterize her from the point of view of another person, who is mainly portrayed with an independent form of reference. In particular, the headlines in which Hillary Clinton and Rick Lazio are referred to simultaneously show that the independent reference form 'Lazio' is used in connection with the dependent reference forms 'Mrs. Clinton' (e.g. **Lazio** *faults* **Mrs. Clinton** *for record in health care)* and 'First Lady' (e.g. **Lazio** *and* **First Lady** *quarrel on ethics, Israel and schools*), making an implicit comparison between the political status of the two Senatorial candidates. Methodologically, the study shows that reference to (in)dependence is a perspective through which gender-stereotyping can be examined.

Study 3 - Image management in politics. The use of linguistic forms of self-reference in Hillary Clinton's autobiographies

Study 3 is conducive to the research project as it investigates how (political) leaders characterize themselves through linguistic forms of self-reference and how women construe their own leadership images through existing gender-stereotypes (relating to both men and women).

Summary - Study 3 inspects the manner in which women politicians manage their leadership images in written autobiographies. The focus is on the use of websites as political forums of self-presentation. The study compares the use of linguistic forms of self-reference used in two autobiographies portraying Hillary Clinton as a political leader in election year 2006. One autobiography is from Hillary Clinton's official U.S. Senate website and the other autobiography is from her official U.S. Senate campaign website. The autobiographies are similar in terms of content, but dissimilar with regard to linguistic structure. The research data is significant as, throughout the years in the public spotlight, Hillary Clinton has seemingly constructed her public identity through different linguistic forms of self-reference. She has been known to the general public as *Hillary Rodham*, *Hillary Rodham Clinton*, *Hillary* and *Hillary Clinton*. Methodologically, the analysis is based on the linguistic principles of discourse analysis, and the autobiographies are viewed in terms of intertextuality, which refers to the shaping of text meaning by other texts (Solin 2001:16-23; see also Fairclough 1989; 1992a; 1992b). In this study, intertextuality denotes the idea that a leadership image created in one autobiography brings new meaning to the leadership image constructed in the other autobiography, and vice versa.

The analysis of the two autobiographies shows that the construction of Hillary Clinton's leadership image is closely connected to the main function of her official websites. The U.S. Senate autobiography primarily makes use of the linguistic form of self-reference *Senator Clinton*, which is consistently utilized throughout the autobiography in connection to political issues with 'masculine' connotations (e.g. *A strong advocate of New York,* **Senator Clinton** *works with communities throughout the state to strengthen the* **economy** *and expand opportunity*) or 'feminine' connotations (e.g. **Senator Clinton** *has spoken clearly about the importance of protecting our* **constitutional rights**.) in order to reinforce her professional image as a serving U.S. Senator. In contrast, the U.S. Senate campaign autobiography constructs Hillary Clinton's image in relation to her political candidacy. This autobiography uses the self-reference forms *Hillary Clinton* and *Hillary* in relation to political issues with gender stereotypical connotations to introduce a more personal image of Hillary Clinton (e.g. *A strong advocate of New York***, Hillary Clinton** *works with communities throughout the*

*state to strengthen the **economy** and expand opportunity*; ***Hillary** has spoken clearly about the importance of protecting our **constitutional rights**.*).

In short, Hillary Clinton's political leadership image is re-contextualized by means of the intertextual connection between the two different autobiographies used as research data. The fact that both autobiographies make use of texts that, with the exception of linguistic forms of self-reference, are otherwise similar to each other suggests that the usage of self-reference forms is an important strategic device of image management. Additionally, the use of different linguistic forms of self-reference suggests that image management is not about creating political personas once and for all, but rather it is an ongoing process during which leadership images require regular re-construction. These findings have significance with regard to organizational communication and leadership research as they reveal the important role that language forms have in the discourse characterization of (political) leaders in discourse.

Study 4 - Communicating images of women leaders through implicit collocations

Study 4 links to the research project by analyzing the use of implicit collocations and by examining the manner in which (gendered) characterizations of women (business) leaders are constrained to the situational context.

Summary - Study 4 examines the manner in which the media characterize women leaders working in the business sector. The purpose is to show how linguistic analysis of written language can add to our understanding of the formation of social meanings of gender and leadership. Linguistic analysis here stands for an approach to discourse analysis, where linguistic form and structure are examined with regard to implicitness. This is significant particularly because written language is often overlooked as a source of data in organizational studies examining leadership through discourse. The study concentrates on one news story, specifically looking at Nicola Horlick as a woman business leader. The news story is based on a report of an interview which is part of a larger interview series of women in business. In the past, Nicola Horlick has been portrayed by the media as a 'superwoman'. However, the news story under examination

introduces and creates a different kind of leadership image, the 'human face' of Nicola Horlick.

My study shows how 'the human face' of Nicola Horlick has an ambiguous meaning, which is anchored throughout the news story by means of implicit collocations (cf. Östman 2005). Collocation is a linguistic term used to refer to the relation between words that are habitually used together (Sinclair 1991:170). Collocation is also closely connected to semantics as words are thought to get part of their meaning from other words that surround them (Östman 2005:183). Typically, collocations are examined as prototypes, consisting of node-words which repeatedly co-occur with words which are placed before and/or after them within language use (Stubbs 2002:29). However, Östman (2005:190-191) suggests that collocations can also be based on the span of words which are located within a whole text. These collocations are based on implicit choices, that is, other-than propositional choices, and therefore he calls them "implicit collocations" (ibid.).

Based on the content of the headline (i.e. *The Human face of Nicola Horlick*) and the content of the direct speech used in the interview text, 'human' is identified as the node-word of the news story referring to Nicola Horlick. In the Collins Cobuild database, the word 'human' collocates with the words 'behaviour', 'emotion' and 'nature'. These collocates of 'human' do not, however, appear in direct speech per se in the news text concerning Nicola Horlick. Rather, they are referred to through lexical choices which semantically are related to the words 'behaviour' (e.g. "*We were **too optimistic too early**.*" and "*I was so **used to success** in my career. I had never had any setbacks before.*"), 'emotion' (e.g. "*It was **terribly shocking**.*" and "*I am not **crying** all the time now, but I still have **a desperate sense of loss**.*") and 'nature' (e.g. "*I can be **ruthless** for the good of the entire organization.*" and "*I have always been **laid back**, but I think I'm more so now. **The little things don't seem so important anymore**.*"). Thus words referring to 'behaviour', 'emotion' and 'nature' function as implicit collocates of the node-word 'human' (cf. Östman 2005). The findings of this study have significance in terms of the examination of gender and leadership as they show the importance of studying the correlation between content and linguistic form in relation to context in analyses of examining the representation of social phenomena in media texts.

Study 5 - Gender stereotypes as narrative themes of self-presentation

Study 5 adds to the research project as it investigates narrative themes of self-presentation as forms of linguistic structuring and looks at how women leaders characterize themselves through existing gender stereotypes (especially relating to women).

Summary - Study 5 adds to organizational communication research concerning social phenomena and underscores the role that written language has in the formation of social meanings of gender and leadership (cf. also Townsend 2009). The focus of the study is on Nicola Horlick's autobiography *Can You Have It All?* Methodologically, the autobiography is examined according to the linguistic principles of discourse analysis (Fairclough 1992a & 1992b; Wodak 1995; Wagner & Wodak 2006). The study examines the narrative organization of the text and analyses the way content and various linguistic forms, such as personal pronouns and lexical choices, are used to structure different themes of self-representation throughout the autobiography (cf. Fairclough 1992a & 1992b).

The study identifies three themes of self-presentation. First, the study shows how the self-presentation of 'being successful' is presented as correlating with professional achievement. In particular, Nicola Horlick treats professional achievement as an individual effort (e.g. *By the middle of 1996,* **I** *was proud to be in charge of a business that had grown fivefold in terms of the amount of money it managed on behalf of its clients and had the best performance figures amongst the major houses in London over one, three and five years*.) or as a shared accomplishment carried out with other people (e.g. *Acknowledgement of* **our** *success had come from potential clients who time and again during 1996 had chosen* **us** *to manage their money*). Also, her shared view of professional success is based on 'emotional bonds', which Nicola Horlick creates between herself and her colleagues (e.g. *Adrian* [a colleague] *and I* **became very fond** *of each other*). Secondly, the study shows how Nicola Horlick portrays herself as a working woman and mother by means of general references (e.g. *Sunday opening is a fantastic thing for* **working women**.) and personal references (e.g. **I** *know what* **I** *like and* **I'm** *a quick buyer.*) Thirdly, the study shows the way Nicola Horlick depicts herself as a victim

in relation to her suspension from Morgan Grenfell Investment Management. In particular, the self-presentation as a victim is constructed by means of lexical choices pertaining to injustice throughout the autobiography (e.g. *There seemed to be nothing I could do **to get justice**.*).

The findings show that Nicola Horlick presents herself in a manner that emphasizes existing gender stereotypes as well as underscores other characteristics typically associated with women in general. Thus, the importance of the study is that it shows that women business leaders use gender stereotypes in a fashion that does not build on the power relations in society per se, but rather they use them to create leadership images that appeal to the public.

4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This research project adds to gender and leadership research by examining the manner in which women leaders are characterized in written texts. Through the findings presented in the five empirical case studies, one general research question is addressed: *How are characterizations of women leaders socially constructed in public discourse?* The findings draw attention to two factors through which meanings of gender and leadership are linguistically generated and textually construed in public discourse, namely linguistic structuring devices and (re)constructions of gender. This chapter discusses these two factors and it also addresses limitations of the study, shows its general implications, and makes suggestions for future research.

4.1 Linguistic structuring devices in public discourse

In order to answer the general research question, the study concentrates on the written language of texts related to two situational contexts, namely politics and business. The findings are evaluated in terms of how linguistic analysis can give more substance to leadership research especially when the level of analysis is on the structuring of language forms and the empirical focus is on leadership as societal discourse (cf. Crevani, Lindgren & Packendorff 2010:78).

The findings suggest that linguistic structuring devices should be a significant focus area in research studying leadership through discourse. As the starting point of discourse, (the analysis of) language forms can help us understand the different ways that characterizations of (women) leaders are implicitly generated, construed and thus built into the metalevel of public (written) discourse. Each of the empirical studies shows the importance to analyze linguistic form in relation to contextual factors, i.e. linguistic function, textual content and situational and socio-cultural settings, when examining meanings of (gender and) leadership. In this study, the linguistic analysis of the political texts demonstrates particular ways that *premodifications of the Subject Phrase* are used to promote Hillary Clinton as a noteworthy political candidate rather than as the First

Lady; *linguistic forms of reference* are used to create a political image of Hillary Clinton that partly depends on her private life and partly relates to her 'independent' political career; and *linguistic forms of self-reference* are used to portray Hillary Clinton's political leadership in relation to her role as an incumbent candidate and her role as a U.S. Senator. Similarly, the linguistic analyses of the business texts demonstrate that *implicit collocations* are used to construe the 'human' image of Nicola Horlick in contrast to her 'superwoman' image; and gender stereotypes as *narrative themes of self-presentation* are used to accentuate femininity in the characterization of Nicola Horlick. The identification of these linguistic structuring devices is a key to understanding the characterizations of Hillary Clinton and Nicola Horlick in the research data and it is likely that these characterizations could not have been detected through an analytical approach solely focusing on the content of the research data.

Additionally, the findings suggest that when leadership is studied as societal discourse, it is possible to make a connection between different leadership domains. In this research project, political and business leadership are connected through different linguistic structuring devices which participants of both discourse domains, i.e. the media and women leaders, utilize when construing characterizations of women leaders/themselves and, in particular, when creating explicitly or implicitly other than stereotypical meanings of gender (see 4.2 below). Thus, examining the structuring of language forms used in (written) discourse is vital when the aim is to add to our understanding of social phenomena. It strengthens the analytical procedures of discourse processes, practices and interactions by providing detailed evidence for the reasons behind language use and giving more insight to the overall research phenomena.

4.2 (Re)constructions of gender in public discourse

In order to answer the research question, the study also looks at how media texts characterize women leaders and how women leaders create their own leadership images in autobiographies. The result of the empirical case studies gives two tentative suggestions in relation to how textual (and discursive) construals of gender may (re)construct the meaning of gender in society (cf. Kelan 2010:190).

First, the findings give reason to believe that, in the data, media characterizations of women leaders partly depend on the situational context and, in particular, these characterizations are closely connected to newsworthiness. The empirical case studies examining media texts suggests that, in election coverage, characterizations of women leaders can be associated with the making of an 'interesting' and 'entertaining' news story. In the data concerning the New York Senate election 2000, Hillary Clinton is portrayed in line with two characterizations. On the one hand, the characterization of Hillary Clinton is related to gender-stereotyping and especially to her role as the President's wife. It is likely, however, that this characterization is (at least in part) linked to her special position in the American political domain and the socio-cultural norms affecting ways in which the First Lady is expected to be characterized to the public. On the other hand, Hillary Clinton is characterized in a non-stereotypical manner, that is, the media depict her as a credible and independent candidate running for political office in her own right. This characterization suggests that the unsual role as political candidate is more newsworthy than gender, alluding to the idea that the situational context is the dominant factor in the portrayal of Hillary Clinton in these sets of data.

Similarly, the empirical study examining business media texts also alludes to the idea that characterizations of women leaders are constrained by newsworthiness. The news text dealing with Nicola Horlick is part of a larger interview series of successful business women. Thus the overall objective of the interview series is to give women a 'voice' through which they can shape their own leadership images. The news story addressing Nicola Horlick presents her as a leader who has a human face. With regard to the making of the news story, this human face has news value as it contradicts the gender-stereotypical 'superwoman' image with which she has previously been associated.

Since the findings of the empirical studies suggest that the media do not always necessarily present gender-stereotypical representations of women leaders in an ideological manner, that is, in a manner which typically ties gender with the power relations in society, I contend that the media do not – as is usually claimed – 'routinely' socially construct, or 'do gender'. Rather, I argue that the media also – explicitly or implicitly – 'undo gender' through linguistic communicative processes and, as a result, socially (re)construct meanings of gender (cf. Deutsch 2007; Kelan 2010). In this

research project, it seems that the (re)constructions of gender relate to business practices, that is, gender is used to produce news stories that 'sell' and thus create an interest within the general public.

Secondly, the findings of this study suggest that women leaders also utilize gender in a 'non-stereotypical' manner as they make use of existing gender stereotypes to create their leadership images. The empirical study examining the two autobiographies portraying Hillary Clinton as a political leader in the U.S. Senate election 2006 shows that her professional image is mainly based on characterizations typically associated with men leaders (e.g. statements of achievement) while her 'more personal' image as a Senatorial candidate is based on characteristics usually linked to women leaders (e.g. family and health issues). In comparison, the empirical study looking at the self-presentation of Nicola Horlick shows that she presents herself in a manner that emphasizes existing gender stereotypes (i.e. working woman/mother and victim) as well as underscores other characteristics typically associated with women leaders in general (i.e. 'shared' professional success). Thus the leadership images of Hillary Clinton and Nicola Horlick are accentuated through femininity.

The findings of the empirical studies demonstrate that women utilize traditional stereotypical views of gender – both of men and women - to introduce new perceptions of their characters as political and business leaders and in this manner use a 'familiar' gender framework to present themselves to the public. This process where 'old' and 'new' meaning(s) are used side-by-side is similar to other societal discourses where the public are familiarized with new concepts through old concepts (cf. Hargadon & Yellolees 2001). Thus I argue that women leaders can employ this existing gender framework in an attempt to appeal to the public, and in the process, women leaders give the notion of gender new and 'non-ideological' meanings, making these meanings seem like a 'natural' and 'commonsensical' part of our understanding of gender.

4.3 Limitations of the study

I have used several factors to restrict the focus of my research project. These factors should be kept in mind when reading this work. First, my ontological approach takes on a subjective (i.e. linguistic pragmatic and social constructionist) view towards discourse, gender and leadership (cf. Eriksson & Kovalainen 2008:13-14). In practice, this means that perceptions of gender and leadership are interpretive in nature and therefore they may have individual, temporal and/or contextual constraints. Thus my own socio-cultural preconceptions and pre-understandings may (and indeed do) partly limit and skew my interpretation of the research data. Yet conversely, any preconception or pre-understanding that may influence my interpretations of gender and leadership can also be significant as they add new perspectives to the analysis of gender and leadership as socio-cultural phenomena (cf. Moisander & Valtonen 2006:103-146).

Secondly, from an epistemological viewpoint, I understand that the meaning of gender and leadership primarily resides in discourses and especially the way that language is used by discourse participants. I also acknowledge that meanings of gender and leadership exist in our cognition. However, in this study, my assumption is that meanings of gender and leadership are first carried out through discourses and then these discursively constructed meanings influence our cognitive understanding of the two phenomena. To simply presume that characterizations of gender and leadership are discursively structured overlooks the role that dispositions, abilities and actions possessed by individual leaders may or may not have on views of gender and leadership; yet it embraces the idea that people collectively construct situational and socio-cultural realities of social phenomena. This also means that people can reconstruct and create new realities of leadership in order to diminish gender inequalities (Deutsch 2007; Kelan 2010), which in turn suggests that ideologies and power relations can be changed and – at least in theory – entirely abolished.

Finally, the fact that my research project focuses on gender and leadership in the political and business sectors can be seen as a methodological limitation. To begin with, the assumption that political and business leadership are parallel in nature disregards some of the more apparent differences between these two forms of leadership, such that political leaders do not have a similar relationship to their voters as business leaders have

with their employees (Kellerman 1999:11-12). However, to treat political and business leadership as representations of a socio-cultural phenomenon gives a more comprehensive understanding as to how characterizations of leadership can be structured, communicated and even managed. Additionally, to focus on how leadership images are constructed through written communication practices means that meanings of leadership are unavoidably understood in terms of high-profile political and business leaders who constantly attract media attention, receive a great deal of publicity, and whose writings are easily available to the general public. Focusing on the highest levels of leadership may restrict our understanding as to how image management is constructed at middle or lower levels of leadership; however, it can also give us an understanding in terms of where to begin to study image management on these other levels of leadership. Also, we can presume that lower-level leaders see higher-level leaders as role-models and/or even themselves aspire to become such high-level leaders.

4.4 Contribution of the findings and directions for future research

From a localized viewpoint, the present project gives special emphasis to the idea that, International Business Communication (IBC) should also, in addition to organizational communication practices (e.g. Huttunen 2010; Kalla 2006; Nikko 2009) include in-depth research that examines questions related to social phenomena occurring in organizations, such as gender and leadership. More precisely, I suggest that a linguistic communication approach to social phenomena can give more substance to research findings and, in this way, IBC can add new knowledge to management and organization studies conducted in our school and in business schools generally – and to gender and leadership research in general – by functioning as a platform where social science and linguistic communication methodology interconnect. As a result, one of the main contributions of this study is that it adds to research take takes a linguistic perspective on organizational communication (e.g. Charles 2007; Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2007; Yli-Jokipii 1996), and it functions as an interdisciplinary study demonstrating how linguistic analysis can add to our understanding of gender and leadership research.

From a communication viewpoint, the study is significant as it builds on linguistics, communication theory as well as communication practices. In linguistics, linguistic structuring devices are common topics of discourse research and they are often used to show how – from a pragmatic perspective – language creates meanings and builds on social phenomena. Even though this study looks at some of the more frequently studied linguistic structuring devices, such as forms of reference and (narrative) themes of representation, the 'linguistic' significance of this study is that it also examines two linguistic structuring devices, namely premodifications of the subject phrase and implicit collocations, which have received little research attention in the past (e.g. Östman 2005), but which – as my study shows – clearly require more investigation. In this study, the premodifications of the subject phrase is used in newspaper leads, i.e. on the paragraph level, to present characterizations of political leaders as given information. This is noteworthy considering that in linguistics the theme-rheme information structure is generally linked to the sentence level. In this light, future research needs to examine whether or not there are other textual settings and genres where the information structure of paragraphs can be approached in this way. The existence of implicit collocations is also a linguistic factor that needs to be analysed further. In particular, this study suggests that the meaning of implicit collocations is based on context – textual context as well as situational and socio-cultural settings – whereas future studies should elaborate on this notion and give more attention to the nature of implicit collocations in relation to so-called 'ordinary' collocations and especially whether or not implicit collocations occur as systematically as 'ordinary' collocations do.

For organizational communication researchers and practitioners, this study presents traces of linguistic structuring devices which can be used to carry out communication strategies regarding image management, adding to research that takes a linguistic approach to organizational communication (e.g. Charles 2007; Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005; Yli-Jokipii 1996). In particular, each of the empirical studies present characterizations of women leaders which could not have been discovered without a detailed examination of different language forms of linguistic structuring. It is, however, important to notice that each of the empirical studies represent situational cases which means that the different forms of linguistic structuring investigated in the five empirical studies cannot necessarily be applied to all kinds of image management per se.

Rather, theorists and practitioners should be generally aware that all levels of language form are significant in image management processes and practices. Therefore future research taking a linguistic approach to organizational communication should expand on our knowledge of linguistic structuring devices and their role in image management by focusing on a wider set of data than I have used in this study and by investigating whether or not the use of linguistic structuring devices can be generalized to all situations of image management.

With regard to gender and leadership, the study is significant from a methodological perspective as it demonstrates that future research focusing on the (critical) analysis of discourse processes needs to give more emphasis on linguistic (and textual) analysis in its research methodology. My study would not have been able to show the other than stereotypical way that gender is utilized in discourses concerning political and business leadership without examining simultaneously linguistic form and textual content. Neither would I have been able to show, for instance, that women present themselves through existing gender stereotypes if I had not analyzed the function of linguistic structuring devices in the data, namely forms of self-reference and narrative themes of self-presentation. Whereas gender research has primarily concentrated on the manner in which gender is 'done', or socially construed, in discourse (e.g. Eriksson, Henttonen & Meriläinen 2007; Tienari et al. 2005; Hearn & Piekkari 2005), the findings of this study suggest that it is imperative that we also carry out more research that looks at how gender is 'undone', or re-constructed, by means of discourse practices so that our understanding of gendered relationships is not skewed by the idea that women only face gender biases in organizations.

In conclusion, I want to stress that language forms at all levels of linguistic structuring are important discursive factors in the social construction of gender and leadership. Thus, linguistic communication methodology is a useful analytical means through which future research can investigate social phenomena in organizations.

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PART II

THE EMPIRICAL STUDIES

LEAD OPENINGS AS NARRATIVE DEVICES IN CAMPAIGN COVERAGE[5]

Abstract[6]

This study argues that the first structural parts of leads, which I call lead openings, function as indicators of campaign narrative (i.e. the storyline of campaign news) in election news reporting. In particular, by analysing the linguistic structure, content and distribution of different types of lead openings, this study detects campaign narratives relating to characterizations of candidates running for public office. I make a basic distinction between two types of lead openings: *unmarked lead openings* are structures where the first constituent of the lead coincides with the grammatical subject, and *marked lead openings* are structures which precede the grammatical subject. In this study, marked lead openings are of particular interest as they typically modify and form part of the subject phrase, thus taking the form of a premodifying clause. The study focuses on the U.S. Senate elections held in the State of New York in 2000 and examines 36 articles from the *New York Times* published in February 2000. I will show how, during the early stages of the election year, the two candidates, namely Rudolph Giuliani and Hillary Clinton, were portrayed in lead openings through characterizations relating to candidacy, campaign strategy and political status.

Keywords: lead openings, campaign narrative, media, New York Senate election 2000, Hillary Clinton, Rudolph Giuliani

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5 This study is based on my MA thesis: Townsend, Taija. 2002. *Openings Reflecting Ideology. A Case Study on the New York Senate Race 2000.* Unpublished MA thesis. University of Helsinki: Department of English.

6 An earlier version of this article has been published in *Pragmatics, Ideology and Contacts (PIC) Bulletin.* 2004. Helsinki: University of Helsinki. 6:6-14. The study was also presented at the International Conference on Language, Politeness and Gender: The Pragmatic Roots (CLPG) held in Helsinki, Finland (1-5 September 2004).

This study argues that the first structural parts of leads, which I call lead openings, function as indicators of campaign narrative (i.e. the storyline of campaign news) in election news reporting. In particular, by analysing the linguistic structure, content and distribution of different types of lead openings, this study detects campaign narratives relating to characterizations of candidates running for public office. I make a basic distinction between two types of lead openings: *unmarked lead openings* are structures where the first constituent of the lead coincides with the grammatical subject, and *marked lead openings* are structures which precede the grammatical subject. In this study, marked lead openings are of particular interest as they typically modify and form part of the Subject phrase, thus taking the form of a premodifying clause. The study focuses on the U.S. Senate elections held in the State of New York in 2000 and examines 36 articles from the *New York Times* published in February 2000. I will show how, during the early stages of the election year, the two candidates, namely Rudolph Giuliani and Hillary Clinton, were portrayed in lead openings through characterizations relating to candidacy, campaign strategy and political status.

The New York Senate Race 2000

The New York Senate race 2000 is a significant milestone in American history as Hillary Clinton was the country's first First Lady to run for political office. The race was expected to be relished by the American media as Hillary Clinton was facing tough rivalry with Rudolph Giuliani, the then Mayor of New York, who was running as her Republican opponent. Giuliani was elected Mayor of New York in 1994 and had – as did Hillary Clinton – a controversial reputation in American politics. Hillary Clinton formally announced her candidacy in February 2000 but her 'unofficial' campaign began already in July 1999 when she launched her so-called Listening Tour during which she travelled to all 62 counties in the State of New York in order to see what were the prospects if she decided to run for office (Harpaz 2001:255). Owing to health-related and personal problems Rudolph Giuliani pulled out of the race in May 2000 and was replaced by Long Island congressman Rick Lazio. In the end, it was Hillary Clinton's "twin strategy" – showing concern towards the upstate economy and appealing to women

voters – that finally took her to the U.S. Senate (Harpaz 2001:225). Hillary Clinton's victory was also historical because it was the first time ever that a statewide office in the State of New York was held by a woman (Harpaz 2001:253). Despite being regarded an 'outsider' in the State of New York and despite the fact that she had not been elected for office before, the outcome of the New York Senate race 2000 was a personal achievement for Hillary Clinton as it marked the beginning of her own 'independent' political career. She began her duty as the Senator of New York on 3 January 2001 in the 107th Congress.

Campaign narrative and newsworthiness

The New York election 2000 was a high-profile event and an attention-grabbing news story due to the First Lady's unprecedented candidacy as well as the 'celebrity status' and controversial reputation of both political contenders. From a journalistic viewpoint, these three factors relating to the political personas of Hillary Clinton and Rudolph Giuliani made the New York election 2000 exceptional and therefore newsworthy. Newsworthiness is essential in all kinds of news reports and, in this particular context, newsworthiness is strongly connected to news values in actors and events (cf. Flower, Haynes & Crespin 2003). According to Bell (1991:155-160), news values in actors and events can be understood in relation to twelve qualities, which can also be considered as general news factors in political campaign news.

These twelve qualities relating to actors and events go as follows: *negativity* concerns conflict, mistakes and rivalry relating to the candidates and their political parties; *recency* relates to the reporting of campaign issues and events as they unfold (e.g. who said what and when); *relevancy* means that the election coverage concerns the general public as people are affected by the election outcome; *eliteness* is a noteworthy feature when at least one of the candidates is a prominent political figure; *facticity* relates to facts (e.g. an appearance on a TV show) and figures (e.g. opinion polls) that news reports are generally based on; *proximity* refers to the geographical closeness and locality of the election; *consonance* means that there are certain expectations as to how the story advances within a news text; *unambiguity* means that the news story has to be clear and

unmistakable; *attributes* in the news text often must be put into the superlative form; *personalization* as opposed to generalization creates an 'active' and 'outgoing' image of the political candidates; *attribution* means that news stories need to base their reports on official informants, such as campaign sources, and finally, *unexpectedness* means that campaign issues regarding the actors and events need to be unpredictable and rare.

Thus to be newsworthy, a news story focusing on actors and events must be based on one or several of the criteria mentioned above. In the context of political elections, this means that news values related to actors and events are essential to the overall campaign narrative, that is, the storyline of campaign news. With regard to actors and events, the campaign narrative in news articles must be audience-focused, interesting and entertaining. Characterizations of political figures would seem to be an important and inevitable element of campaign narratives, and in terms of newsworthiness, it is likely that characterizations are created – at least partially – in line with the same attributes that form the core news values in actors and events.

The concept of lead openings

A lead (or lede[7]), which is also called an intro, is a typical feature in the news-article genre. It serves as the beginning of the news story, summarizes the central message of the text, and often consists of one or two sentences, operating as the first paragraph within the body of the news text. In this study, the focus lies on the beginning of the lead, that is, on the first information structural part, as the study is built on the idea that the opening information unit has high-information value (Munter 2006). With regard to information structuring of the lead, Bell (1991:176) states that "news values operate to raise the most newsworthy information into the lead," and therefore it can be assumed that "within the lead itself the most newsworthy is put at the beginning and not the end of the paragraph".

In linguistics, *theme* is a familiar and well-established notion used as a means for analysing information structure. In English, the theme functions as the initial part of

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[7]*Lede* is an alternative spelling for the introductory section of news stories. It is often used by journalists to distinguish *lead* from other possible meanings of the word.

an information unit (Halliday 1985:36-37; Greenbaum, Quirk, Leech and Svartvik 1990:397). Östman and Virtanen (1999:96,104 & 107) call theme an "entry point" as it is a gateway which leads the reader into the text. Since the theme is the beginning of the message, it is structurally important as it forms the starting point of the discourse. This assumption can also be applied to news coverage concerning political campaigns. Hence, I suggest that the opening information unit in a news article is one of the most significant parts regarding newsworthiness and, in a political campaign context, it is a prominent indicator of those news values that add to the campaign narrative. However, instead of using theme as the notion referring to the first unit of information, I will simply call it 'lead opening' as not only does it open the lead but it opens the entire news article.

In this study, lead openings are classified according to the grammatical and functional structure of declarative sentences. In English, the basic grammatical structure of a declarative sentence is SVO (SV, SVOO, SVOC, SVOA, etc.). The default structure is that the subject precedes everything else. In view of this study, the significance of the grammatical structure is that in formal text the subject is an obligatory part of a sentence serving as the first grammatical and functional unit. In Functional Grammar, a thematic structure which additionally serves as the grammatical subject is called "unmarked theme" and, in contrast, a theme that differs from the grammatical subject is called "marked theme" (Halliday 1985:42-43; cf. also Östman and Virtanen 1999:97). Thus, for the purpose of this study, I typify lead openings accordingly. When the subject is a simple phrase in unmarked order it is called an unmarked lead opening. In the present study, the grammatical structure of marked lead openings takes the form of ASVX. Theoretically, the initial element could also be O or C, but there were no marked lead openings in the material with a fronted object or complement. The fronted adverbial takes the form of a premodified clause as a finite, non-finite or verbless unit. However, in this study, I have also counted as marked lead openings cases where the adverbial modifies and is part of the subject phrase. It must be noted that the term 'marked' is not used in the sense of 'syntactically marked' or even in the sense that it is 'discoursally marked'. Rather 'marked' should be viewed as the term used to indicate that the theme (i.e. the first segment/phrase) is not the subject. I have chosen to use this term in order not to pre-empt my argument by using a more semantic-descriptive term. Thus the concept of (un)marked lead openings is based on previous research of word order and its

semantic/pragmatic presuppositional efforts, and this base is then extended into the realm of leads.

Analysis

The data for this study consist of 36 news articles concerning the New York Senate race 2000[8], which were published between 8 February and 29 February 2000 in the *New York Times*, one of the most prestigious newspapers in the United States. The data corpus does not include editorials, letters, campaign advertisements or descriptions of them, nor does it include excerpts from debates. The date 8 February is chosen as the starting point of the analysis as this is when Hillary Clinton's 'official candidacy' was first reported on in the *New York Times*. Hillary Clinton officially announced her candidacy the day before.

Table 1 gives the number and percentage of the marked and unmarked lead openings between 8 February and 29 February 2000. Of the 36 articles, there are 17 unmarked lead openings and 19 marked lead openings that function as the opening information unit of the lead. Basically, there is an equal amount of both types of lead openings and so the difference in distribution is not significant. The contents of the lead openings, however, will turn out to be a more revealing factor.

Table 1. The distribution of lead openings in the 36 news articles

Lead openings	in number	in percentage
Unmarked	17	47 %
Marked	19	53 %
Total	36	100%

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[8] See Appendix I

Unmarked lead openings

In the data, the 17 unmarked lead openings, i.e. information units that coincide with the grammatical subject, can be divided into four categories. The first category involves unmarked lead openings which mention one of the two candidates (7 tokens) – Hillary Clinton (5 tokens) and Rudolph Giuliani (2 tokens) – as the actor of the entire lead, such as *Hillary Rodham Clinton* in example (1). When Rudolph Giuliani is mentioned in the unmarked lead openings, he is mentioned with reference to his title and his full name, i.e. *Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani*.

> (1) **Hillary Rodham Clinton** *flew to South Florida last month for a fund-raiser attended by a few dozen people at the home of a wealthy bankruptcy expert, William A. Brandt Jr.*

The second category consists of pronouns (4 tokens). The pronoun *they* occurs twice and refers to Hillary Clinton and vice-president Al Gore, as in example (2), whereas none of the pronouns refer to Rudolph Giuliani[9].

> (2) **They** *sat with their heads together, whispering into each other's ears and at one point, holding hands.*

The third category comprises unmarked lead openings pertaining to the election in general (4 tokens), such as *New York's Senate race* in example (3).

> (3) **New York's Senate race** *is likely to turn on a surprising small group of undecided voters, many with strong and conflicted opinions about the well-known candidates.*

And finally, the fourth category concerns unmarked lead openings which mention campaign sources as the actors in the lead (2 tokens), such as *Campaign officials with Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani's Senate campaign* in example (4).

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[9] The two other pronouns are 'one' and 'it'.

*(4) **Campaign officials with Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani's Senate campaign**
yesterday accused Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign of engaging in
manipulative telephone calls to spread negative impressions of the Mayor.*

These four categories show that the unmarked lead openings add to the campaign
narrative by means of *personalization* (i.e. the leads begin with mentions of the
candidates (and other actors), *attribution* (i.e. the leads begin with mentions of official
informants), and *relevance* (i.e. the leads begin with mentions of the election).
Personalization is the most visible news value in the unmarked lead openings and it is
constructed through names and pronouns pertaining to the candidates (11 tokens). More
specifically, 7 tokens refer to Hillary Clinton, which is 41 % of all tokens relating to
personalization and 2 tokens concern Rudolph Giuliani, which is 12% of all tokens
relating to personalization. With regard to the campaign narrative, the tendency seems to
be that the unmarked lead openings in the data uncover activity through personalization
by emphasizing the dynamism of the grammatical subject. In particular, personalization
is a news value which draws attention to Hillary Clinton and her candidacy.

Marked lead openings

In the data, the 19 marked lead openings, i.e. information units that come before the
grammatical subject, can be divided into three categories. The first category concerns
Rudolph Giuliani (9 tokens), the second category pertains to Hillary Clinton (8 tokens)
and the third category relates to campaign issues (2 tokens), namely the voting habits of
upstate New Yorkers as well as the time and location of the election.

The following section includes an analytical discussion based on the contents of the
marked lead openings. The analysis looks at how the marked lead openings characterize
the candidates when viewed in relation to the main body of the lead. The discussion only
includes the marked lead openings pertaining to the two candidates as they form the
majority of all of the marked lead openings in the data (i.e. 17 tokens). I will first look at
the marked lead openings referring to Rudolph Giuliani and then I will examine the

marked lead openings pertaining to Hillary Clinton. The marked lead openings are given in boldface letters.

Marked lead openings – Rudolph Giuliani

The nine marked lead openings concerning Rudolph Giuliani show signs of evaluative commentary towards his candidacy (1, 2 & 3), his campaign strategy (4, 5, 6 & 7), and his actions, decisions and role as Mayor of New York (8 & 9). The commentary primarily concerns *negativity* which draws attention to political conflict, mistakes and/or rivalry.

Marked lead openings (1-3) relate to Rudolph Giuliani's candidacy. The first lead opening uses *all but ruling out his party's support* to suggest that Rudolph Giuliani is lacking support among his political allies in the Conservative Party and he is therefore confronting political conflict and rivalry. In the second marked lead opening, *alarmed* indicates conflict of opinion within the Republican Party and fear that his political opponent is getting the better of him in upstate New York. In the third marked lead opening *to call the bluff of Representative Rick A. Lazio* draws attention to candidacy, and particularly the political rivalry that Rudolph Giuliani faces as the Republican candidate for the New York Senate seat.

> (1) **All but ruling out his party's support for Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani's Senate run,** *the Conservative Party leader said today that he would prefer that the Mayor dropped out of the race, and said his party would readily nominate Representative Rick A. Lazio.*

> (2) **Alarmed that Hillary Rodham Clinton may be making inroads among voters in upstate New York,** *Republican Party leaders have begun expressing frustration and anger that Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani has spent so little time campaigning in a region that is essential to winning the race for United States Senate.*

> (3) **In comments that appeared to call the bluff of Representative Rick A. Lazio of Long Island,** *Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani said yesterday that he would welcome Mr. Lazio as a competitor in Republican primary for United States Senate.*

Marked lead openings (4-5) comment on Rudolph Giuliani's campaign actions. The fourth marked lead opening uses *with one eye on his campaign* to show that Rudolph Giuliani has delivered a glowing report concerning his achievements as Mayor of New York in order to enhance his political campaign for the U.S. Senate. In the fifth marked lead opening, *clearly meant to attract the attention of upstate voters* suggests that Rudolph Giuliani's statement concerning the oil heating costs in upstate New York is a campaign strategy. Both of these marked lead openings clearly allude to political rivalry between Rudolph Giuliani and Hillary Clinton.

(4) **With one eye on his campaign for United States Senate,** *Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani released a report yesterday that charts the performance of his administration across a broad spectrum of services, almost all of them showing steady improvement since he took office in 1994.*

(5) **In a move clearly meant to attract the attention of upstate voters in his bid for the Senate,** *Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani said yesterday that he urged President Clinton to tap the nation's Strategic Petroleum Reserve to bring down the soaring price of home heating oil.*

Marked lead openings (6-7) also describe Rudolph Giuliani's campaign actions as strategic manoeuvres and thus implicitly refer to his political rivalry with Hillary Clinton. The marked lead openings state that Rudolph Giuliani's visit to important voting areas is his intention to *sooth* his fellow Republicans and *quell criticism* towards his campaigning or lack of it.

(6) **Soothing Republicans who complained that he had not campaigned enough upstate,** *Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani made a hastily arranged trip here today to criticize Hillary Rodham Clinton and President Clinton for their handling of rising heating-oil prices, a pressing issue in northern New York State.*

(7) **In a campaign sweep of Plattsburgh and Syracuse intended to quell criticism that is spending too little time upstate New York,** *Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani today repeated his criticism of the Clinton administration for refusing to free up part of the nation's Strategic Petroleum Reserve to counterbalance the soaring cost of oil.*

The eighth and ninth marked lead openings concern Rudolph Giuliani's actions, decisions and role as Mayor of New York. The eighth lead opening talks about *the latest flare-up* affecting the Giuliani administration and uses *the City's demolition* to link Rudolph Giuliani to the destruction of a community garden and to suggest that he abolished the community garden in order to receive campaign funding. In the ninth marked lead opening *to strike a balance* underscores negativity and *his administration* draws attention to Rudolph Giuliani's prominent political role as Mayor of New York.

> (8) **In the latest flare-up over the City's demolition of a lower East side community garden to make way for housing and retail development,** *the chairwoman of the New York State Democratic Committee released records yesterday showing that Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani had received more than 32,000 dollars in campaign contributions from the development concern at work on the site.*

> (9) **Trying to strike a balance in a case that has troubled his administration for more than a year,** *Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani yesterday expressed "very, very deep heartfelt sympathy" to the family of Amadou Diallo, but said that the acquitted police officers had experienced a nightmare and that it would take "a long time to recover from what they've gone through."*

The content-based analysis shows that through marked lead openings, Rudolph Giuliani is characterized according to an evaluative perspective closely connected to negativity (i.e. reference to political rivalry, mistakes and/or conflict). Bell (1991:151-152) says that "evaluation is the means by which the significance of a story is established" and, in a campaign context, this signifies that evaluation gives the campaign narrative its direction. In the marked lead openings pertaining to Rudolph Giuliani, the evaluative commentary is primarily realized through presupposition, which refers to the process of naturalizing something and making it look as if it were part of our shared common sense. Presupposition is particularly relevant in those marked lead openings which describe Rudolph Giuliani's campaign actions as strategic manoeuvres (4, 5, 6 & 7). Most importantly, the strategic nature of these manoeuvres are construed through reasoning, that is, through explanations of his campaign actions (i.e. *with one eye on his campaign*, *a move clearly meant to attract voters*, *soothing Republicans*, and *a campaign sweep intended to quell criticism*). From a communication perspective, the factor that makes

these four marked lead openings presuppositional is that they carry information that is not presented as being open for questioning. Furthermore, Rudolph Giuliani is characterized through eliteness (i.e. reference to his political status), which is most apparent on the lexical level of the marked lead openings (i.e. *Mayor*, *City* and *his administration*).

Marked lead openings – Hillary Clinton

The eight marked lead openings concerning Hillary Clinton show signs of evaluative and factual commentary towards her candidacy (1, 2, 3, 4 & 5), her campaign strategy (6), and her dual role as Senatorial candidate and First Lady (7 & 8). In connection with the contents of the main body of the lead, the commentary in the marked lead openings relates to two news values: *negativity* is materialized in reference to political conflict, mistakes and/or conflict and *factuality* is materialized in reference to facts that are known to have occurred.

Marked lead openings (1-5) concern Hillary Clinton's political candidacy. The first and second marked lead openings use *her official declaration* and *her candidacy* to call attention to Hillary Clinton's announcement for the U.S. Senate and implicitly refer to her rivalry with Rudolph Giuliani for the Senate seat. The third and fourth marked lead openings concern two facts highlighting her candidacy in the Senate election: *her campaign swing* to New York City and her appearance on an American talk show, *the 92nd Street Y*. These two marked lead openings concern candidacy and not her campaign strategy as they do not give an explanation to these two campaign manoeuvres. In the fifth marked lead opening *a valuable exercise for votes* calls attention to Hillary Clinton's candidacy by underscoring her willingness to debate with her opponent on issues discussed in the Presidential debate.

> (1) **With her official declaration for the United States Senate behind her,** *Hillary Rodham Clinton flew into a region of New York today that is likely to be a prime battleground in the race this fall, turning her attention to what has long been a dominant concern among voters here: the region's long suffering economy.*

(2) *In her speech announcing her candidacy on Sunday,* Hillary Rodham Clinton told of visiting an overcrowded school in Queens.

(3) *On her campaign swing through New York City since becoming an official candidate for the United States Senate,* Hillary Rodham Clinton spent a full day rallying the Democratic faithful yesterday, speaking of her interest in issues related to children and the elderly.

(4) *For nearly an hour on the 92nd Street Y last night,* Hillary Rodham Clinton answered questions about her politics and her husband, about her failures as First Lady and as a candidate for office, about Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and about her kitchen skills (or lack thereof).

(5) *Describing the rambunctious presidential debate on racial issues at the Apollo Theatre in Harlem on Monday as a valuable exercise for votes,* Hillary Rodham Clinton said today she would like to debate Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani on the same topics and in the same setting, and suggested that the two embark on a debating tour across New York.

Marked lead opening (6) presupposes that Hillary Clinton is *seizing* one of the *successful* campaign issues from the outgoing New York Senator. In this sense, the lead opening implicitly makes the manoeuvre seem like a campaign strategy.

(6) *Seizing one of the central proposals of Charles E. Schumer's successful campaign for the United States Senate in 1998,* Hillary Rodham Clinton today took her campaign to two Long Island campuses and pledged to push to make college tuition tax-deductible.

Marked lead openings (7-8) concern Hillary Clinton's twin role as First Lady and Senatorial candidate and thus underscores her prominent political position. In the seventh lead opening, *wading back* pertains to negativity, that is, reference to health care underscores the political mistakes and challenges that Hillary Clinton faced during the Clinton presidency. In the eighth lead opening, *the eternal question* connects Hillary Clinton's candidacy to her cooking skills, which also pertains to her confrontational reputation: as the President's wife, she was often criticized for defying the traditional role of First Lady.

*(7) **Wading back into an area that brought her both national prominence and high-profile defeat,** Hillary Rodham Clinton pledged today to push anew for universal health care coverage, proposing legislation that would give consumers unrestricted access to low-cost prescription drugs sold in Canada.*

*(8) **To the eternal question – can she cook?** – Hillary Clinton offers an unequivocal response in her new campaign video, "Hillary".*

The content-based analysis reveals that in marked lead openings, Hillary Clinton is characterized through evaluative and factual commentary closely connected to negativity (i.e. reference to political rivalry, mistakes and/or conflict) and factuality (i.e. facts that are known to have occurred). The structure of the Clinton marked lead openings differs slightly from the Giuliani marked lead openings in that several of the marked lead openings referring to Hillary Clinton have a clearer adverbial structure (2, 3, 4 & 8). From a communication viewpoint, the most important factor is that the general tendency in the marked lead openings portraying Hillary Clinton is a simple framing of what follows, that is, a reference to her candidacy. This point adds to the communicative function of the unmarked lead openings, which make use of personalization to draw attention to Hillary Clinton and her candidacy. Furthermore, Hillary Clinton is characterized through eliteness (i.e. reference to his political status), which is most apparent on the syntactic level of the marked lead openings (i.e. *Wading back into an area that brought her both national prominence and high-profile defeat; To the eternal question – can she cook?*).

Discussion and conclusion

The analysis of the news articles dealing with the New York Senate race 2000 show that during the early stages of the election year the two candidates, Rudolph Giuliani and Hillary Clinton, were for the most part portrayed in lead openings through characterizations relating to candidacy, campaign strategy and political status. My findings suggest that, in this study, lead openings function as indicators of campaign narrative, adding to the newsworthiness of the overall storyline (i.e. New York Senate

election 2000). In particular, the presuppositional take on Rudolph Giuliani's campaign actions, that is, the manner in which several of his activities are described as campaign strategy, can be seen as a way to create a dramatic effect on the campaign narrative. From a linguistic perspective, the presuppositional take is realized by means of the premodification of the subject phrase. With regard to Hillary Clinton, it would seem that no 'dramatic effect' was needed. Her political candidacy is 'the drama' that the media want and therefore Hillary Clinton is characterized accordingly. From a linguistic perspective, Hillary Clinton is characterized through her candidacy by means of the grammatical subject as well as the premodification of the subject phrase.

The starting point of this study was to assume that the preposing of subordinate or non-finite clauses can have a particular semantic/pragmatic effect. The methodological point of the study is to illustrate how we can get a better theoretical understanding of the pragmatic implications and effects of preposing subordinate and non-finite clauses in lead paragraphs. This phenomenon clearly deserves more attention in communication research. Studies on the basic presuppositional difference between attribution and predication abound in the literature (cf. Dwight Bolinger's seminal work on these issues) and my extension of this tradition is to move the theme-rheme disctinction up one notch to the paragraph level - or in this study to the 'lead level' - rather than to say that such choices are only made on the sentence level. Further communication research should examine whether or not there are other textual settings and/or genres where modulation of the information structure of paragraphs can have similar effect.

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APPENDIX I

Appendix I presents all of the headlines of the news articles used as research data in study 1.

1. Conservative leader says G.O.P. can do better than Mayor
   The New York Times, 8 February 2000

2. Mrs. Clinton turns focus to plans to ease upstate economic troubles
   The New York Times, 8 February 2000

3. Political attack for song
   The New York Times, 8 February 2000

4. Mrs. Clinton taps donors President used
   The New York Times, 9 February 2000

5. Vouchers, a trade-off to look at
   The New York Times, 9 February 2000

6. Mrs. Clinton favors American access to cheaper Canadian medicine
   The New York Times, 9 February 2000

7. Mayor unfairly using religion, First Lady says
   The New York Times, 10 February 2000

8. Mrs. Clinton offers plan to attract new teachers
   The New York Times, 10 February 2000

9. Upstate New York holds rare sway in Senate race
   The New York Times, 11 February 2000

10. Mrs. Clinton says Mayor runs on insults
    The New York Times, 11 February 2000

11. Giuliani releases glowing report on City
    The New York Times, 11 February 2000

12. Mrs. Clinton is ready for her close-up and attuned to how it's used
    The New York Times, 11 February 2000

13. The undecided
    The New York Times, 11 February 2000

14. The calculus of voter support
    The New York Times, 11 February 2000

15. Mrs. Clinton backs tax help for college costs
    The New York Times, 12 February 2000

16. The Mayor says 'I'm running'
    The New York Times, 12 February 2000

17. Anxious G.O.P. leaders want Mayor's attention upstate
    The New York Times, 13 February 2000

18. Giuliani pushes President for oil heat costs'
    The New York Times, 13 February 2000

19. Mrs. Clinton Greets Party faithful in City
    The New York Times, 13 February 2000

20. Council Democrats plan to dare a Giuliani veto
    The New York Times, 14 February 2000

21. Giuliani vows more attention to upstate vote
    The New York Times, 14 February 2000

22. Giuliani goes north to criticize the Clintons on heating-oil issue
    The New York Times, 15 February 2000

23. Gore and Mrs. Clinton keeping a wary distance as candidates
    The New York Times, 17 February 2000

24. First Lady and Charlie Rose: cooking, brevity and baseball
    The New York Times, 17 February 2000

25. Giuliani, in cold states, faults Clinton on oil-reserves
    The New York Times, 17 February 2000

26. Giuliani said he'd welcome Lazio challenge in primary
    The New York Times, 18 February 2000

27. Democrats fault Mayor on garden
    The New York Times, 19 February 2000

28. Together on the stump: Mrs. Clinton and Gore
    The New York Times, 21 February 2000

29. Mrs. Clinton joins call for an oil reserve
    The New York Times, 21 February 2000

30. Clinton campaign confronts erosion of women's support
    The New York Times, 21 February 2000

(IN)DEPENDENCE IN HEADLINES
Running as a Senatorial Candidate or as the First Lady[10]

Abstract

This study looks at the manner in which characterizations of gender and leadership are generated through linguistic structuring devices in political campaign coverage. More specifically, I argue that reference to (in)dependence is a perspective through which gender-stereotyping can be examined. Dependence refers to the way women are portrayed through another person (cf. Kangas 1997). The focus is on Hillary Clinton's bid for the U.S. Senate in election year 2000. In addition to being the country's first First Lady to stand for political office, Hillary Clinton's candidacy is of interest as she is a highly controversial political figure in the United States. The study is based on headlines from 49 news articles concerning the New York Senate election. The news articles have been selected from the Major Paper section of the Lexis Nexis database on the basis of five key words (i.e. Hillary Clinton, Senate elections 2000, health care, education and social security). My findings show that the (in)dependent characterization of Hillary Clinton is particularly realized through linguistic forms of reference. Additionally, the expression of (in)dependence in the data is connected to the general structure of the news story, that is, such expressions can be found in headlines.

Keywords: (in)dependence, headlines, media, forms of reference, gender, political candidacy, (critical) discourse analysis, Hillary Clinton, Rick Lazio

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[10]This study will be published in Leila Mattfolk and Jan-Ola Östman (eds.). (forthcoming). *Language, Politeness and Gender*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki. A earlier version of this study was presented at the 9th International Pragmatics Conference in Riva del Garda, Italy (10-15 July 2005).

Introduction

Today in most modern societies the mass media function as one of the main arenas of political deliberation (Fairclough 1995). It is therefore reasonable to assume that the media have a significant role in contemporary political elections, particularly because campaigns use the media to disseminate information about the candidates running for election and voters heavily depend on the media for candidate information as well as for overall election news. The media have often been said to be ideologically biased, that is, that they help create, build on and/or reinforce the power relations in society (Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 1995; Wodak 1995). The media have particularly been criticised for concentrating on gender-stereotypical characterizations of women politicians (e.g. Duke 1993a & 1993b; Heldman, Carroll & Olson 2000; Kahn 1992 & 1994). However, since previous leadership research does not sufficiently show how these ideological portrayals are linguistically structured in political campaign coverage, more research in this area is clearly wanting.

The aim of this study is to add to our understanding of the manner in which characterizations of gender and leadership are generated through linguistic structuring devices in political campaign coverage. In particular, I attempt to look behind the stylization of discursive types, and especially headlines, in order to search for pragmatic implications in choices of syntactic form. I examine how Hillary Clinton was portrayed in the media during her bid for the U.S. Senate in election year 2000. In addition to being the country's first First Lady to stand for political office, Hillary Clinton's candidacy is of interest as she is a highly controversial political figure in the United States. In election year 2000, Hillary Clinton ran as the Democratic candidate in the state of New York, and her Republican opponent was Rick Lazio, a Representative from Long Island. Being a celebrity candidate guaranteed Hillary Clinton media attention; some even criticized her for taking advantage of her prominent political role as the President's wife. Regardless of her controversial reputation, Hillary Clinton went on to win the 2000 New York Senate election and she was re-elected Senator in 2006. This study looks at how reference to (in)dependence added to the inevitable question surrounding Hillary Clinton's candidacy: Was she running as a Senatorial candidate or as the First Lady?

Constructing images of political candidates

How the media cover political campaigns and characterize political candidates is partly related to norms and routines generally used in news production (Flowers, Haynes and Crespin 2003:271, see also Bell 1991; Fowler 1991). These norms and routines include news values, that is, factors which make something or someone newsworthy. Bell (1991:155-160) states that news values such as negativity, eliteness, recency and personalization are ideologically connected to society and therefore they represent a set of our socio-cultural values.

In terms of political awareness, one of the central ideas is that when people acquire new information from the media, they revise and build on their understanding of political reality (Kern and Just 1997:22). Political consciousness begins already in childhood when we adopt opinions, values and beliefs from our surrounding environment. This 'developmental process' is known as political socialization (Palatz 1999). As a consequence of political socialization, news values are culturally and socially apprehended not just by members of the media but also by people planning the campaigns as well as by the voting public. Thus, news values are shared values. Using these shared values in the crafting of candidate images in, for example, campaign press releases does not, however, guarantee that the media will 'automatically' transmit the 'right' images to the public, nor, if transmitted, that the public will accept them or will accept them in the manner intended. Therefore, even though the way the media characterize political candidates are based on shared socio-cultural values, it is good to bear in mind that the media create and present candidate images which are "secondhand accounts", or interpretations, of those images that the campaign creates of the candidate (Duke 1993:229).

It is not clear what kind of impact the media generally have on the voting outcome in political elections. However, there is some empirical evidence suggesting that the way political candidates are characterized in the media is significant in terms of how voters evaluate candidates. According to Kern and Just (1997:128), among American voters, 'character' is the primary factor in the formation of candidate images whereas references to the candidate's campaign and issue positions are secondary factors. In terms of gender and vote choice, Sanbonmatsu (2002:20) argues that "many voters" have

an "underlying predisposition to vote for male or female candidates" which she calls *baseline gender preference*. Her study shows that gender is a relevant factor in vote choice (Sanbonmatsu 2002: 31).

Since gender appears to matter when voters choose their candidates, it is important to understand *how* the media use gender to describe candidates. In terms of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1989, 1992 & 1995; van Dijk 1995; Wodak 1995), the concept of gender is often connected to the gender-stereotypical representation of women. From this perspective, women candidates can be portrayed through another person, indicating dependence on other people for political legitimacy and credibility. In contrast to a gender-stereotypical depiction as *dependent actors*, women political candidates can also be referred to directly and hence be treated as *independent actors* who are regarded as noteworthy politicians in their own right.

Women in American politics

The U.S. Senate is one of the two Houses of Congress which form the legislative branch of the American Government. Senatorial elections are held every two years when one-third of the Senate stands for election. U.S. Senators are chosen for six-year terms. Each state has two senators regardless of its geographical size or its population.

After election year 2006, 16 of the 100 Senate seats were held by women, which is the highest number of women Senators in American history. In the 2006 Senate elections, there were twelve women who ran as official U.S. Senate candidates. Eight women Senators were re-elected and two new female Senators were elected to seats previously held by men. Four women candidates lost; however, it is important to note that two elections were all women races. The entire U.S. Congress has 535 seats; after the 2006 elections, 87 seats were occupied by women (CAWP, 2007). These statistics show that women are still underrepresented in the American political system. Some studies (e.g. Kahn 1992; Heldman, Carroll & Olson 2000) suggest that this underrepresentation is partly due to gender differences that occur in campaign coverage. However, the issue of representation appears to be slowly improving. Between 1979 and

2006, the percentage of women in the U.S. Congress had steadily increased from 3% to 16.3%.

In general, U.S. Congressional elections receive less media attention than presidential elections (Dunn 1995:113; Westlye 1991:36); nevertheless, the media are more likely to cover stories on Senate candidates than on House candidates (Hinckley 1981:133). As the U.S. Senate is the highest political level to date where American women have successfully stood for election, it is relevant to study whether or not gender bias occurs in media discourse in relation to U.S. Senate elections.

There are a number of studies (e.g. Kahn 1992; Kahn 1994; Heldman, Carroll, and Olson 2000) which have addressed the issue of how the media treat and present women candidates running for public office. While most scholars argue that gender bias is an undisputed fact in campaign coverage, some studies suggest that gender bias is not a self-evident factor (e.g. Townsend 2004). Another observation is that even though there are some studies that take a linguistic approach to the characterization of women leaders in campaign coverage (e.g. Townsend 2002 & 2004), most relevant studies have approached the topic from a political and/or gender point of view.

Methodology

In the following, I examine 49 news articles concerning the New York Senate elections 2000[11] according to the principles of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1989, 1992 & 1995; van Dijk 1995; Wodak 1995). More specifically, I look at the manner in which linguistic form, function and content can be related to the situational and socio-cultural context. The news articles have been selected from the Lexis Nexis database and they are dated between May and November 2000, that is, the timeframe that covers the last six months of the race[12]. The data corpus does not include editorials, letters, campaign advertisements or descriptions of them, nor does it include excerpts from debates. Since

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[11] See Appendix II

[12] Officially the campaigning started in February 2000 when Hillary Clinton formally announced her candidacy. Between February and May 2000, Hillary Clinton's opponent was Rudolph Giuliani. However, owing to health-related and personal problems, Rudolph Giuliani had to pull out of the race and he was replaced by Rick Lazio.

the purpose of this study is look at the characterization of Hillary Clinton during the U.S. Senate elections 2000, the two main key words in my search for data were 'Hillary Clinton' (the official name which she used during her candidacy) and 'Senate elections 2000'. In order to focus on news stories which did not – at least in principle – characterize Hillary Clinton in any way, I searched for news articles with headlines[13] covering three political issues closely connected to her candidacy, namely health care, education and social security.

Headlines are significant elements of news stories as, together with the lead, they summarize the central message of the news text. According to Bell (1991:186), headlines contain 'simple' language and therefore they are often created from "one-word catch lines or slug lines" which are quick and easy to notice and read. With regard to linguistic information structure, headlines have initial position in all news stories. Consequently, it can be argued that headlines function as the thematic starting point of discussion as they operate as gateways that lead the readers into the entire news text (Östman and Virtanen 1999: 96, 104 & 107; also see Halliday 1994:37; Greenbaum at al. 1995:397).

The analysis shows that, with regard to pragmatic implications, headlines have a noteworthy function in the research data. The choices of syntactic form suggest that discursive types, which are typically used to create 'a bit of drama' in news articles, can also be used to implicitly generate – consciously or subconsciously - characterizations of (women) leaders. In this study characterizations of Hillary Clinton are construed through (in)dependence: an 'independent' characterization pertains to the use of forms of reference that portray Hillary Clinton as a Senate candidate (*Hillary Clinton, Clinton)* whereas a 'dependent' characterization relates to gender stereotyping. In the data, gender stereotypes primarily make reference to Hillary Clinton's marriage to Bill Clinton (*Mrs. Clinton, the First Lady, Hillary/Hil*).

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[13] In total, the data comprise 49 headlines from the following newspapers: (1) Pittsburg Post-Gazette, (2) the Washington Post, (15) Newsday, (1) the Miami Herald, (1) San Jose Mercury News, (17) the New York Times, (1) USA Today, (10) Daily News, (1) the Dallas Morning News.

Dependent and independent reference forms

Table 1a gives the 27 different forms of reference that occur in the headlines of the 49 news reports. In addition, Table 1a shows the number of occurrences (110) of the reference forms (the tokens) and how these are distributed in relation to the types. There are a total of 59 forms of references that pertain to Hillary Clinton and 34 forms of references that concern her Republican opponent, Rick Lazio. Three of the forms of reference, that is, *Senate candidates, them* and *Senate rivals*, concerns both Hillary Clinton and Rick Lazio. The reference form *democratic candidates* refers to Hillary Clinton and Joe Lieberman, another noteworthy Democratic Senate candidate. The remaining 13 tokens pertain to various other political actors, such as President Bill Clinton and Senator Patrick Moynihan.

Table 1a. The occurrence of reference forms

Form of Reference	Token
Lazio	22
Hillary/Hil	16
Clinton	13
Mrs. Clinton	11
First Lady	7
her (referring to Clinton)	6
Rick	5
Hillary Clinton	3
She	2
President	3
Challenger GOP/GOP	3
his (referring to Lazio)	2
he (referring to Lazio)	1
Foe (referring to Lazio)	2
Former/ex-speaker	1
Influential leaders	1
the candidate Clinton	1
Rival (referring to Lazio)	2
Senate candidates	1
them (referring to C & L)	1
Senate rivals	1
Democratic candidates	1
Moynihan	1
Lieberman	1
Principals	1
NAACP	1
NARAL	1
Total	**110**

Tables 1b and 1c present the forms of references pertaining to the two candidates in terms of token and percentage[14].

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[14] The forms of reference *Senate candidates* (1) and *Senate rivals* (1), shown in Table 1a, are not listed as forms of reference in Tables 1b and 1c as they do not exclusively refer to Hillary Clinton and Rick Lazio but rather they pertain to both candidates simultaneously. Similarly, the form of

Table 1b. Forms of reference referring to Hillary Clinton

Form of Reference	Token	Percentage
Hillary/Hil	16	27%
Clinton	13	22%
Mrs. Clinton	11	19%
First Lady	7	12%
her (referring to Clinton)	6	10%
Hillary Clinton	3	5%
She	2	3%
the candidate Clinton	1	2%
Total	**59**	**100%**

Table 1c. Forms of reference referring to Rick Lazio

Form of Reference	Token	Percentage
Lazio	22	65%
Rick	5	14%
his (referring to Lazio)	2	6%
Foe (referring to Lazio)	2	6%
Rival (referring to Lazio)	2	6%
He (referring to Lazio)	1	3%
Total	**34**	**100%**

First, the figures given in Table 1b show that even though *Hillary Clinton* was one of the key words in the data searching process, it is used only three times as a means of reference which is 5% of all references made to her in the research material. When she officially launched her U.S. Senate candidacy in February 2000, Hillary Clinton decided to shorten her name from 'Hillary Rodham Clinton' and run as 'Hillary Clinton', thus in a sense marking a transformation from First Lady to Senate candidate. Therefore I treat *Hillary Clinton* as an 'independent' form of reference as it is the name through which Hillary Clinton attempted to create her individual political identity. It is noteworthy that the form of reference *Hillary Rodham Clinton* does not appear in any of the headlines in

reference *Democratic candidates* (1) is excluded from Table 1b as it pertains to both Hillary Clinton and Joe Lieberman. Since all three emphasize political candidacy, I regard *Senate candidates*, *Senate rivals* and *Democratic candidates* as independent forms of reference.

the material even though it is frequently used in the leads of the 49 news articles. In fact, in the leads, *Hillary Rodham Clinton* is mentioned 47 times, which amounts to 40% of the forms of reference used in the leads. The exclusion of *Hillary Rodham Clinton*, however, may depend on restrictions related to stylization as it is a lengthy form of reference.

The second observation concerns the use of *First Lady*, *Mrs. Clinton*[15] and *Clinton* as reference forms. In the data, Hillary Clinton is portrayed as the *First Lady* seven times (12%), as *Mrs. Clinton* eleven times (19%) and as *Clinton* thirteen times (22%). From a journalistic viewpoint, one could make two arguments with regard to the reasons for using *First Lady* and *Mrs. Clinton* as forms of reference. First, one could argue that Hillary Clinton was referred to as the First Lady as it was her official name as the President's wife. Secondly, one could argue that Hillary Clinton was referred to as *Mrs. Clinton* in order to differentiate her from President Clinton especially since, at the time, the name without the title (i.e. Clinton) would most likely have been reserved for the sitting president. I suggest, however, that in this particular context, that is, headlines pertaining to the New York Senate election 2000, the forms *First Lady* and *Mrs. Clinton* should be regarded as 'dependent' forms of reference particularly because a legitimate alternative as form of reference existed, that is, *Hillary Clinton*. Thus, with regard to the characterization of Hillary Clinton, the reference forms *First Lady* and *Mrs. Clinton* signify a journalistic choice made between her role as the President's wife and her role as a Senatorial candidate.

Furthermore, the marginal difference between the occurrence of the reference forms *Mrs. Clinton* (19%) and *Clinton* (22%) in the headlines suggests that the situational context permitted the use of *Clinton* in the headlines and most likely did not create any misunderstandings as to which of the two Clintons it concerned. For the most part, *Clinton* is used in connection with Hillary Clinton's election opponent, Rick Lazio, in the data. In these cases, the reference form pertaining to Rick Lazio is *Lazio*, which overall occurs 22 times in the data, i.e. 65% of all mentions made to him (Table 1c). None of the headlines contain *Mr. Lazio* as a form of reference even though, in the body

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[15] The data give no examples of *Ms. Clinton* as a form of reference.

of the text of the news articles pertaining to both candidates, the forms *Mr. Lazio and Mrs. Clinton* as well as *Lazio and Clinton* are commonly used side by side.

Finally, Tables 1b and 1c show how often the two candidates are referred to by their first names and nicknames. Among the forms of reference which pertain to the two candidates individually, *Hillary/Hil* (16 tokens) is the most regularly used form of reference (27%) when referring to Hillary Clinton while *Rick* (5 tokens) is the second most used reference form (14%) of Rick Lazio. In this study, the use of first names and especially nicknames is to appropriate a person, and as the appropriation relates to gender-stereotyping, first names and nicknames are viewed as signs of dependency[16]. Thus in the context of the New York Senate election 2000, the forms of reference *Hillary* and *Hil* are regarded as dependent forms of reference since, owing to her prominent and unique position as the President's wife, Hillary Clinton was often addressed as 'Hillary/Hil'. In these data, *she/her* and *he/his* and *them* are considered to be neutral forms of reference as they are only used anaphorically, that is, in reference to earlier mentions.

In short, *Hillary Clinton* and *Clinton* can be regarded as forms of reference that pertain to Hillary Clinton's Senate candidacy and therefore emphasize her 'independent' political career. Also, *the candidate Clinton* (1 token) has clear reference to her candidacy. Therefore 29% of the forms of reference addressing Hillary Clinton (Table 1b) indicate an *independent* characterization of Hillary Clinton. In contrast, *Mrs. Clinton, First Lady* and *Hillary/Hil* associate her Senate candidacy with the Clinton presidency. Thus 58% of all mentions to Hillary Clinton characterize her through *dependence*. In line with these definitions, the corresponding figures for Lazio (Table 1c) can be defined in the following way: 77% of the forms of reference pertaining to Lazio are independent (*Lazio, foe* and *rival*[17]) and 14% are dependent (*Rick*).

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[16] From a pragmatic perspective, first names and nicknames can also be treated as forms of reference that indicate 'closeness' and 'familiarity' (cf. politeness strategies). Thus in a different context the forms *Hillary/Hil* could – at least theoretically – be regarded as independent forms of reference.
[17] I regard *foe* and *rival* as independent forms of reference as they relate to the general theme of political elections and candidacy.

The (in)dependent characterization of Hillary Clinton in headlines

Next I will examine the (in)dependent characterization of Hillary Clinton in more detail by looking at the structure and content of the headlines. Tables 2a and 2b give the number and percentage of the headlines referring to the two Senate candidates in relation to the occurrence of (in)dependent reference forms.

Table 2a. Headlines referring to Hillary Clinton

Headlines	Number	Percentage
Dependent forms of reference	30	61 %
Independent forms of reference	16	33 %
Dependent and independent forms of reference	3	6%
Total	49	100 %

Table 2b. Headlines referring to Rick Lazio

Headlines	Number	Percentage
Dependent forms of reference	7	14 %
Independent forms of reference	22	45 %
Dependent and independent forms of reference	2	4 %
Total*	49	100 %

* Only 31 headlines make reference to Rick Lazio. The percentage has been counted according to the total number of headlines. When counted according to 31 headlines the corresponding percentages are 71%, 23% and 6%, respectively.

Table 2a shows that in the data 61% of the headlines referring to Hillary Clinton contain dependent forms of reference and 33% of the headlines have independent forms of reference. Six per cent of the headlines include both dependent and independent forms of reference. Table 2b presents the corresponding figures for Rick Lazio. Only 14% of the headlines making reference to Lazio include dependent forms of reference while 45% have independent forms of reference. Four percent include both dependent and independent forms of reference. Nevertheless, it must be noted that 'Rick Lazio' was not

one of the key words when I collected the research data and therefore Table 2b does not necessarily give a representative account of headlines referring to his candidacy[18].

Tables 3a and 3b give the structure of the headlines in which independent and dependent forms of references are used to describe Hillary Clinton.

Table 3a. Headlines with independent forms of references

Independent headlines	Number	Percentage
Hillary Clinton/Clinton/Senate candidates/ Senate rivals + somebody else	11	69 %
Hillary Clinton/Clinton/ the candidate Clinton	5	31%
Total	16	100 %

Table 3b. Headlines with dependent forms of references

Dependent headlines	Number	Percentage
Hillary/Hil/ Mrs.Clinton/First Lady + somebody else	23	76 %
Hillary/Hil/ Mrs.Clinton/First Lady	7	24 %
Total	30	100 %

Table 3a indicates that there are 16 headlines describing Hillary Clinton through independent reference forms of which eleven portray her simultaneously with someone else. The majority of these headlines use independent reference forms in the presentation of all actors, as in *Lazio and **Clinton** take each other to task on health care* and ***Clinton** appeals to female vote – **Rival's** proposal 'risky, imprudent'*. Additionally, Table 3a shows that five of the headlines using independent forms of reference solely portray Hillary Clinton, as in ***Hillary Clinton's** crusade of maybes* and ***Clinton** holds deli round table*.

Table 3b gives the figures regarding the 30 headlines which describe Hillary Clinton through dependent forms of reference. Only six of them present Hillary Clinton on her own, as in ***Mrs. Clinton** proposes grants for principals*, whereas a total of 23 of

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[18] For its implications on research findings, see below under 'Discussion and conclusion'.

these dependent headlines make a connection between Hillary Clinton and someone else. While it is important to realize that both types of headlines, that is, headlines with independent and dependent forms of reference, tend to characterize Hillary Clinton through another person, the significance of headlines using dependent forms of reference is that Hillary Clinton is referred to through dependent reference forms while the other person portrayed in the headlines is referred to through an independent form of reference.

The headlines listed from (1) to (23) below are the headlines with dependent forms of reference pertaining to Hillary Clinton in connection to somebody else. The significance of headlines (1-7) is that, instead of using the more independent form of reference *Clinton*, the dependent form of reference *Mrs. Clinton* is used together with the independent form of reference *Lazio*. Thereby an implicit comparison between the two candidates is made through reference to Hillary Clinton's marriage to Bill Clinton.

> *(1)* ***Mrs. Clinton*** Accuses ***Lazio*** of Waffling
> *(The New York Times, 14 June 2000)*

> *(2)* ***Lazio*** Rebuts ***Mrs. Clinton*** With His own Attack Ad
> *(The New York Times, 20 June 2000)*

> *(3)* ***Mrs. Clinton*** Takes on ***Lazio*** Over a Dissident AIDS Group
> *(The New York Times, 28 July 2000)*

> *(4)* ***Mrs. Clinton*** Criticizes ***Lazio*** on Multiple Choice' Abortion Stance
> *(The New York Times, 3 August 2000)*

> *(5)* ***Lazio*** Disputes ***Mrs. Clinton*** on Quiet Accomplishments
> *(The New York Times, 12 August 2000)*

> *(6)* ***Lazio*** Faults ***Mrs. Clinton*** For Record In Health Care
> *(The New York Times, 19 August 2000)*

> *(7)* ***Lazio*** and ***Mrs. Clinton*** Put Schools at the Forefront
> *(The New York Times, 5 October 2000)*

Headlines (8-11) also show the dependent nature of the characterization of Hillary Clinton. In particular, these headlines link Hillary Clinton with the Presidency and the White House through the form *First Lady*. Also, the use of the form *President* adds to the dependent characterization of Hillary Clinton in headlines (9-10).

> **(8) First Lady's** Rival for Senate Shuns Conservative Label, **Lazio's** Record
>   Called Moderate *(The Miami Herald, 29 May 2000)*

> **(9) President** Plays Coach in **First Lady**'s Campaign
>   *(The New York Times, 7 October 2000)*

> **(10) President** Draws Crowd and Money for **First Lady's** Race
>   *(The New York Times, 23 October 2000)*

> **(11) Lazio** and **First Lady** Quarrel on Ethics, Israel and Schools
>   *(The New York Times, 28 October 2000)*

Headlines (12-17) refer to Hillary Clinton by her first name *Hillary* or her nickname *Hil*. In these headlines the forms *Hillary/Hil* can be regarded as dependent forms of reference for two reasons. First, Hillary Clinton's opponent (*Lazio*) and the outgoing Senator (*Moynihan*) are referred to through independent forms of reference, making a distinction between them and Hillary Clinton's status as a 'special' candidate. Secondly, the association between the forms *President* and *Hillary* builds a strong image of Hillary Clinton as the President's wife.

> **(12) Hil** ad goes on the attack against **Lazio**
>   *(Daily News, 17 June 2000)*

> **(13) Lazio** slaps back at **Hil**. Answers her attack ad with one of his own
>   *(Daily News, 20 June 2000)*

> **(14) President** Enters Fray Takes a Poke at **Lazio** in Comments on behalf of
>   **Hillary** *(Newsday, 1 July 2000)*

> **(15) Hil** Stumbles in Stomping **Lazio** on hate crimes bill
>   *(Daily News, 24 August 2000)*

(16) ***Hil*** urges big world role, ***Lazio*** rips her plans for policing the globe
(Daily News, 18 October 2000)

(17) Election 2000- ***Moynihan*** Shows Support for ***Hillary***
(Newsday, 31 October 2000)

Headlines (18-23) also use *Hillary* and *Hil* as forms of reference. The forms *Hillary/Hil* can be viewed as dependent forms of reference in these headlines as they are used to appropriate Hillary Clinton by implicitly drawing attention to her role as the President's wife. In the context of the New York Senate election 2000, the reference form *Rick* does not implicitly connect Rick Lazio to another person in these headlines. Therefore it is more likely that *Rick* is used to indicate 'familiarity' and 'closeness' rather than dependence in the same sense as *Hillary/Hil*.

(18) ***Hillary*** Blasts ***Rick's*** Priorities-Says he does not back NY elderly
(Newsday, 31 July 2000)

(19) ***Hil*** hits ***foe*** on ed, asks return to values
(Daily News, 8 September 2000)

(20) ***Rick*** and ***Hil*** on the spot at the 1ˢᵗ debate – demands she ink soft money ban
(Daily News, 14 September 2000)

(21) ***Rick*** Raps ***Hil*** on her failed health care plan
(Daily News, 24 October 2000)

(22) Health care relapse – ***Hil*** and ***Rick*** at war over the '94 plan
(Daily News, 25 October 2000)

(23) ***Rick*** and ***Hil***: Attack, attack, attack – Competing ads bring out bile between
them *(Daily News,5 November 2000)*

To summarize, the headlines portray Hillary Clinton by means of dependent forms of reference. The general tendency of the headlines is to characterize Hillary Clinton through another person, underscoring Hillary Clinton's characterization as the President's wife.

Discussion and conclusion

This study maintains that reference to (in)dependence is a perspective through which gender-stereotyping can be examined. In the data, reference to (in)dependence through linguistic forms of reference creates a 'twin image' of Hillary Clinton's political candidacy: one that relates to her role as a Senatorial candidate (i.e. independent characterization) and another that relates to her role as the First Lady (i.e. dependent characterization). Three questions relating to Hillary Clinton, stylization and (in)dependence arise from my interpretation of the findings.

First, it is important to consider the effect that Hillary Clinton's dual role as First Lady and Senate candidate had on the way that she was characterized in the campaign coverage. Bearing in mind the unprecedented nature of her candidacy, choosing to analyse and criticize the use of titles and names linking Hillary Clinton to her husband and his presidency seems a rather simplistic option. One could easily argue that, with regard to the situational context as well as to socio-cultural norms of reference making, the forms *First Lady* and *Mrs. Clinton* are 'natural' choices when referring to Hillary Clinton because they can be perceived as the socially correct reference forms to use when portraying somebody in her position. Also, the forms *Hillary/Hil* can be regarded commonsensical in the sense that as the President's wife who everybody knows, the media had the right to use these terms that are otherwise considered as very personal. However, it is the commonsensical nature of these forms of reference that I question and even challenge in this study, especially since the form *Hillary Clinton* was a legitimate alternative as a reference form. Admittedly, owing to the limited amount of data, my interpretations cannot and should not be understood as a comprehensive account of the characterization of Hillary Clinton during the New York Senate election 2000, but rather as a snapshot of linguistic structuring devices that were used to portray her in the overall election coverage.

Secondly, my study draws attention to the stylization of newspapers. To begin with, it must be emphasized that the data were selected from the Lexis Nexis database on the basis of a number of key words (i.e. Hillary Clinton, Senate elections 2000, health care, education and social security) and not on the basis of newspaper genre, that is, the

manner in which newspapers position themselves in the world of American journalism. All in all, the headlines come from nine major newspapers. The majority of the headlines used as data come from two major New York City papers which follow distinct reporting styles: the *New York Times* is the paper of record and the *Daily News* is a tabloid. With this in mind, one would need to make a clear distinction between newspaper genres if one's attempt were to investigate the extent to which U.S. media demonstrate sexism in their linguistic choices. As the purpose of this study is to examine whether or not reference forms are an essential means through which we can examine characterizations related to gender and leadership, my data serves as an authentic sample of linguistic forms of reference used to characterize Hillary Clinton because it points out the commonsensical quality of certain reference forms (i.e. *First Lady, Mrs. Clinton* and *Hillary/Hil*) in relation to legitimate alternatives as reference forms (i.e. *Hillary Clinton*). Studies interested in the occurrence of gender in media discourse have had a tendency to favour the investigation of 'serious' journalism. This is regarded as legitimate research practice in the academic world. The question that arises from this practice, however, is: Are we distorting our understanding in terms of how meanings of social and political phenomena, such as gender and leadership, are construed in public discourse when we exclude certain newspaper genres as representatives of public discourse under the pretext that they are sensationalist in nature and thus do not qualify as noteworthy research data? This is a relevant question especially considering that tabloid newspapers often have substantial circulation figures and thus are presumably frequently read by the general public. Also, in western societies, tabloid newspapers generally have a powerful and thus noteworthy role in the reporting of political news.

Additionally, another issue which concerns stylization is whether or not discursive types, such as headlines and lead structures, can be examined in search for social and political intentions since they are often highly stylized for extrinsic reasons. (For an account on pragmatic implications in lead (or lede) structures, see, for instance Townsend 2002 & 2004.) However, to my mind, getting behind the stylization is one of the challenges of this study and of any study examining linguistic structuring of newspaper articles. The stylization for extrinsic reasons is precisely the way reporters and editors want readers to think: we have little space and we need to sell, therefore we say it in this manner. I think rather that reference to stylization for extrinsic reasons is a

strategic take, and a way to implicitly communicate news so that readers do not 'suspect' that something could have been said in any other way. Thus attempting to find pragmatic implications also in discursive types should be the sine qua non for any communication research.

Thirdly, this study underscores the role that (in)dependence may – or may not – have in media characterizations of women leaders, linking the concept with the power relations in society. If we are to understand the significance of (in)dependence as a discourse strategy which enhances gender stereotypes, then we also need to ask whether or not men political leaders are depicted through other people in election coverage. In this study, I present independent forms of reference (i.e. *Lazio, foe, rival*) and dependent forms of references (i.e. *Rick*) of Hillary Clinton's election opponent, Rick Lazio. These reference forms, however, follow the criteria which have been used to define the reference forms pertaining to Hillary Clinton and therefore cannot be regarded per se as a representative sample of reference forms pertaining to Rick Lazio in the election coverage. Rather, the (in)dependent definitions of reference forms pertaining to Rick Lazio were made for methodological reasons, that is, to provide some comparison to the forms of reference pertaining to Hillary Clinton. Also, it is good to bear in mind that 'Rick Lazio' was not a key word in the data searching process. This is a limitation of the study as including 'Rick Lazio' as one of the key words would have given a clearer answer in terms of whether or not he was (in)dependent on Hillary Clinton to get into the news considering that he was the contender with the lower political profile. This kind perspective on (in)dependence, however, would relate to context whereas the (in)dependence used to examine the characterization of Hillary Clinton relates to categories pertaining to forms of reference. There is some evidence (Townsend 2002) suggesting that Rick Lazio was not dependent on Hillary Clinton for election coverage in the New York City papers as his candidacy and campaign were regularly reported on especially during the later stages of the race (i.e. between September and November 2000).

All in all, these three issues relating to Hillary Clinton's special position in American politics, the stylization of newspapers and the role of (in)dependence in media characterizations require further examination in future research.

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APPENDIX II

Appendix II presents all of the 49 headlines used as research data in study 2.

1) Hillary blames GOP for most woes
Pittsburg Post-Gazette, 25 May 2000

2) NARAL backs Hillary Clinton for Senate
The Washington Post, 26 May 2000

3) How to run against Clinton? She has no voting record, so GOP looks at her life
Newsday, 28 May 2000

4) First Lady's rival for Senate shuns conservative label, Lazio's Record called moderate
The Miami Herald, 29 May 2000

5) Hillary Clinton's challenger GOP hopes Lazio's record is hard to attack
San Jose Mercury News, 29 May 2000

6) Mrs. Clinton accuses Lazio of waffling
The New York Times, 14 June 2000

7) Clinton assails Lazio's voting record
Newsday, 14 June 2000

8) Clinton turns up attack on Lazio
Newsday, 15 June 2000

9) Clinton holds deli round table
Newsday, 16 June 2000

10) Hillary Clinton's crusade of maybes
USA Today, 16 June 2000

11) Hil ad goes on the attack against Lazio
Daily News, 17 June 2000

12) Lazio rebuts Mrs. Clinton with his own attack ad
The New York Times, 20 June 2000

13) Lazio slaps back at Hil. Answers her attack ad with one of his own
Daily News, 20 June 2000

14) Mrs. Clinton calls for data privacy measures
The New York Times, 21 June 2000

15) President enters fray takes a poke at Lazio in comments on behalf of Hillary
Newsday, 1 July 2000

16) Hil offers new RX for health care
Daily News, 9 July 2000

17) Hillary applauded by NAACP. Clinton quotes from Bible, touts health care
Newsday, 12 July 2000

18) Hillary touts insurance reform. First Lady says focus would be providing affordable health care
Newsday, 19 July 2000

19) Mrs. Clinton takes on Lazio over a dissident AIDS group
The New York Times, 28 July 2000

20) Hillary blasts Rick's priorities-Says he does not back NY elderly
Newsday, 31 July 2000

21) Mrs. Clinton criticizes Lazio on multiple choice' abortion stance
The New York Times, 3 August 2000

22) In a reversal, Mrs. Clinton stresses her influence behind the scenes
The New York Times, 11 August 2000

23) Lazio disputes Mrs. Clinton on quiet accomplishments
The New York Times, 12 August 2000

24) Lazio faults Mrs. Clinton for record in health care
The New York Times, 19 August 2000

25) Hil Stumbles in stomping Lazio on hate crimes bill
Daily News, 24 August 2000

26) Clinton appeals to female vote – Rival's proposal 'risky, imprudent'
Newsday, 27 August 2000

27) Clinton: Lazio plan doesn't add up
Newsday, 29 August 2000

28) Mrs. Clinton proposes grants for principals
The New York Times, 8 September 2000

29) Hil hits foe on ed, asks return to values
Daily News, 8 September 2000

30) Rick puts Hil on the spot at the 1st debate – demands she ink soft money ban
Daily News, 14 September 2000

31) Lieberman lends support to First Lady. Democratic candidates team up to tout plans for improving public education in New York.
The Dallas Morning News, 16 September 2000

32) Fame is a two-edged sword for the candidate Clinton
The New York Times, 27 September 2000

33) Seeking Jewish support, Senate candidates meet with influential leaders
Newsday, 27 September 2000

34) Lazio and Mrs. Clinton put schools at the forefront
The New York Times, 5 October 2000

35) President plays coach in First Lady's campaign
The New York Times, 7 October 2000

36) Hil urges big world role, Lazio rips her plans for policing the globe
Daily News, 18 October 2000

37) In Senate race, what's past is present: Clinton ads link foe to ex-speaker, Lazio ties First Lady to Arkansas tax hikes
The Washington Post, 20 October 2000

38) President draws crowd and money for First Lady's race
The New York Times, 23 October 2000

39) Baseball and politics – on Li, Clinton defends her health care record
Newsday, 23 October 2000

40) Rick raps Hil on her failed health care plan
Daily News, 24 October 2000

41) Lazio and Clinton take on each other to task on health care
The New York Times, 24 October 2000

42) Trading barbs on health care. Clinton, Lazio exchange charges on who would hurt hospitals most
Newsday, 24 October 2000

43) Lazio radio ad attacks Clinton health care plan
Newsday, 24 October 2000

44) Health care relapse – Hil and Rick at war over the '94 plan
Daily News, 25 October 2000

45) Lazio and First Lady Quarrel on ethics, Israel and schools
The New York Times, 28 October 2000
46) Election 2000- Moynihan shows support for Hillary
Newsday, 31 October 2000

47) Rick and Hil: Attack, attack, attack – Competing ads bring out bile between them
Daily News, 5 November 2000

48) Entering the last act, Senate rivals stick to the script
The New York Times, 6 November 2000

49) In black churches, Mrs. Clinton urges a devout turnout
The New York Times, 6 November 2000

IMAGE MANAGEMENT IN POLITICS
The use of linguistic forms of self-reference in Hillary Clinton's autobiographies[19]

Abstract

This study examines how leadership images are linguistically structured in autobiographies. More specifically, I look at political leadership and the manner in which leadership images are created through political websites. The study compares two autobiographies which portrayed Hillary Clinton as a political leader in election year 2006. One autobiography is from Hillary Clinton's official U.S. Senate website and the other autobiography is from her official U.S. Senate campaign website. The autobiographies are similar in terms of content, but dissimilar with regard to linguistic structure. Methodologically, the analysis is based on the linguistic principles of discourse analysis, and the autobiographies are viewed in terms of intertextuality (Fairclough 1989; 1992a; 1992b). The findings of this study show how Hillary Clinton's leadership image is constructed especially by means of linguistic forms of self-reference. As a result, Hillary Clinton's leadership image takes on two social meanings: one that underscores her professional image and another that emphasizes her personal image. Additionally, the findings show that the images constructed in the autobiographies are related to existing gender stereotypes, that is, the professional image relates to characteristics typically connected to men whereas the personal image is based on qualities usually connected to women. This suggests that women, who are often described as 'victims' of the power relations in society, can, in fact, make use of existing gender-stereotypical characterizations in order to create leadership images.

Keywords: linguistic forms of self-reference; leadership image; self-presentation; image management, Hillary Clinton, gender stereotypes

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This study shows that forms of self-reference are significant linguistic devices through which politicians can construe their leadership images, that is, representations of their political persona. I suggest that by examining the occurrence and use of linguistic forms of self-reference in relation to contextual factors in political texts that are similar in terms of content, but dissimilar with regard to linguistic structure, it is possible to detect image management strategies which can be used to create and present different aspects of a politician's leadership image. It is important to understand the function of self-reference forms when constructing political leadership images as it can reveal new aspects of how language use affects our perception of leadership in general. Additionally, I maintain that women political leaders use gender stereotypes as an image management strategy. This kind of image management is of particular interest as it suggests that gender-stereotypical characteristics can be utilized to overcome ideological biases and even change socio-cultural meanings of women leaders in society at large.

The data selected for this study consist of two autobiographies which portrayed Hillary Clinton as a political leader in election year 2006, and which are similar in terms of content, but dissimilar with regard to linguistic structure. One autobiography is from Hillary Clinton's official U.S. Senate website and the other autobiography is from her official U.S. Senate campaign website. Methodologically, the analysis is based on the principles of discourse analysis (cf. Fairclough 1989; 1992a; 1992b), and the autobiographies are compared with each other and viewed in terms of intertextuality (ibid.). In linguistics, the concept of intertextuality refers to the shaping of text meaning by other texts, that is, a text is thought to exist only in relation to other texts (Solin 2001:16-23). Since intertextuality can be seen as a way to understand the relationship between texts, it is likely that not only do these two autobiographies relate to each other, but that a leadership image created in one autobiography brings new meaning to the leadership image constructed in the other autobiography, and vice versa. This study will show how, in election year 2006, Hillary Clinton's leadership image takes on two social meanings: one that underscores her professional image and another that emphasizes her personal image.

Political leadership images and online communication

Image management is an important element of contemporary politics especially because a politician's leadership image is vital to the success of his/her political career (McNair 2007:131-135). In a nutshell, image management is about advocating, promoting, and marketing a politician's leadership image in a manner which appeals to the general public (Juholin 2001:126). A politician's leadership image is constructed so that it generally evolves around three factors: personal characteristics, professional achievements, as well as political viewpoints to which the public can relate. Image management also concerns communication strategies which correlate with the more general principles and practices of political communication (Trent and Friedenberg 2000). In particular, image management is concerned with the channels through which political leadership images are put forward to the public. This entails that political leadership images are created through face-to-face interactions, such as speech rallies and visits to local neighbourhoods, as well as a number of mass communication channels ranging between different types of paid and/or free media attention and news coverage, such as campaign advertisements and election debates (Westlye 1991). Strategically, the use of multiple communication channels is significant as it can introduce, create and reinforce political leadership images to a wide range of audiences (Blundel and Ippolito 2008:50).

Today, owing to the increasing role of the internet in politics and in society at large, the media are no longer the only channel for mass communication (Castells 2001:155-157). In addition, since the internet is a two-way communication channel which – at least in principle – is easily accessible to politicians and the general public, the internet functions as a low-cost, high-speed and interactional political communication forum (Fulk and DeSanctis 1995:338; Blundel and Ippolito 2008:10). Consequently, political leaders have better opportunities than ever before to present themselves directly and effectively to the general public through the internet and especially via their own websites. However, the most significant impact of online communication is that nowadays politicians have the ability as well as the means to control their leadership images, particularly because the internet makes it possible for political leaders to circulate uninterpreted, or 'unfiltered', leadership images to the general public (Bimber

and Davies 2003:23). This final point is particularly important to those politicians and political groups who seek to challenge the existing discriminatory norms, values and structures that obstruct them from actively taking part in contemporary politics. Women political leaders, for instance, are thought to have made their final 'breakthrough' through political websites and overcome remaining socio-cultural gender biases in society at large as they finally have the means to present more appealing and personalized images of themselves in contrast to the gender-stereotypical images often crafted by the mass media (Bystrom 2006:187). Thus the examination of websites as political communication channels is essential not only because the internet is still a fairly new communication channel in the political arena but also because it potentially serves as a means to further democracy and social equality.

Linguistic forms of self-reference as symbols of Hillary Clinton's leadership image

Hillary Clinton is one of the best known women politicians in the 21st century and, owing to her 'non-traditional' conduct as the First Lady during her husband's presidency in the 1990s, she is also one of the most highly controversial political figures in the United States. Throughout the years in the public spotlight, Hillary Clinton has seemingly constructed her public identity through different linguistic forms of self-reference. Hillary Clinton first became known to the public in the late 1970s when her husband, Bill Clinton, was elected Governor of Arkansas. At the time Hillary Clinton was pursuing a successful career as an Arkansas lawyer. To avoid benefiting professionally from her role as the Governor's wife, Hillary Clinton decided to use her maiden name 'Rodham'. Thus, in public, she became known as *Hillary Rodham*. However, Hillary Clinton was often criticized for her choice of name, and after Bill Clinton lost the Arkansas Governor's seat in 1980, she added her marital name 'Clinton' to her 'professional' name 'Hillary Rodham' to show support for her husband's political career. From that moment onwards, Hillary Clinton was referred to as *Hillary Rodham Clinton* and she also became known by this name to the international public during the Clinton presidency in the 1990s. However, as a controversial First Lady, Hillary Clinton was also referred to as *Hillary*, which helped create a more appealing and friendlier public image of her as the

President's wife. In February 2000, when launching her first successful bid for the New York Senate seat, Hillary Clinton ostensibly renewed her public identity once again. At the time, she dropped her maiden name 'Rodham' and decided to run as *Hillary Clinton*. In a sense, the manoeuvre marked the political transformation from First Lady to Senate candidate. In her role as U.S. Senator she was, however, still officially called *Hillary Rodham Clinton*. It was not until she became U.S. Secretary of State in 2009 that her official name became *Hillary Clinton*.

The self-presentation of Hillary Clinton in her online autobiographies

In this section, I examine how linguistic forms of self-reference are used to create Hillary Clinton's political image in her two autobiographies from her U.S. Senate and U.S. Senate campaign websites[20]. I will begin my analysis by discussing the starting point of the autobiographies and then I will look at how the starting point relates to the way Hillary Clinton portrays herself throughout the entire texts.

Headings are visible textual-structuring devices that are placed at the beginning of written texts (Munter 2000:52-53). Owing to their initial position, headings function as a starting point of discourse and introduce the main message of the text (Halliday 1994:37; Greenbaum et al. 1995:397). This is also the case with the headings of Hillary Clinton's autobiographies. The heading of the autobiography from Hillary Clinton's official U.S. Senate website - *About Senator Clinton* - uses the linguistic form *Senator Clinton* for self-reference. Once elected for public office, it is standard practice that a new officeholder's public identity is crafted around, and based on, the public office that he/she holds (Kaid 2004). In Hillary Clinton's case, the self-reference form *Senator Clinton* symbolizes her position as the contemporary officeholder of one of the New York Senate seats. It seems 'natural', or 'common sensical', that the autobiography from Hillary Clinton's official U.S. Senate website makes use of the self-reference form *Senator Clinton* in the heading. Essentially, this heading suggests that it is used as a

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[20] See Appendices III and IV

platform to present Hillary Clinton as a U.S. Senator, highlighting her political authority and legitimacy.

The heading of the autobiography from Hillary Clinton's official U.S. Senate campaign website - *About Hillary Clinton* - follows the same linguistic structure (i.e. a prepositional phrase) as the heading in her official U.S. Senate website. The heading, however, makes use of a different linguistic form of self-reference. The linguistic form of self-reference *Hillary Clinton* seems to be relevant in the Senate campaign context, particularly since *Hillary Clinton* was the self-reference form that was used in the 2000 U.S. Senate elections. The choice of using *Hillary Clinton* in the heading is, however, noteworthy especially because incumbent candidates generally use "symbolic trappings", such as titles referring to political office, as part of their campaign strategy in order to show political power and experience (Trent and Friedenberg 2000:79). From this point of view, the self-reference *Hillary Clinton* has an important function in her candidate identity as it attempts to draw on a less political office-oriented image. In order to understand the significance of the difference between the linguistic forms of self-reference used in the headings of the two autobiographies, we need to take a closer look at the occurrence and usage of the self-reference forms in relation to contextual factors.

Linguistic forms of self-reference and the political context

Tables 1 and 2 give the token and percentage figures for the linguistic forms of self-reference used in the autobiographies of Hillary Clinton's official U.S. Senate website and her official U.S. Senate campaign website.

Table 1. Linguistic forms of self-reference in the U.S. Senate autobiography

Linguistic forms of self-reference	Token	Percentage
She	15	48%
Senator Clinton	10	33%
Her	3	10%
Senator	1	3%
Hillary Rodham Clinton	1	3%
First Lady	1	3%
Total	**31**	**100**

Table 2. Linguistic forms of self-reference in U.S. Senate campaign autobiography

Linguistic forms of self-reference	Token	Percentage
She	14	33%
Hillary	14	33%
Senator Clinton	5	12%
Her	4	9.5%
First Lady	2	5%
Hillary Clinton	1	2.5%
Hillary Rodham Clinton	1	2.5%
The Clintons	1	2.5%
Total	**42**	**100**

Table 1 shows that there are 31 linguistic forms of self-reference in the autobiography of Hillary Clinton's U.S. Senate website. Similarly, Table 2 illustrates that the total number of the linguistic forms of self-reference in the autobiography of her U.S. Senate campaign website is slightly higher, adding up to 42 tokens. The minor difference in tokens can be explained by the length of the autobiographies; the U.S. Senate campaign autobiography is four paragraphs longer than the U.S. Senate autobiography. When the average of linguistic forms of self-references for each paragraph is counted, both autobiographies use approximately 2.5 references for each paragraph. Thus, as linguistic forms of self-reference appear to be typical features in both of these political autobiographies, any difference between the characterization of Hillary Clinton as a U.S. Senator and as an incumbent U.S. Senate candidate is most likely to be linked with image management strategies used to construct her political leadership image.

In terms of the actual linguistic forms of self-reference, Tables 1 and 2 demonstrate that both of the autobiographies use personal pronouns extensively. The personal pronoun *she*, in particular, is used to a great extent. In the U.S. Senate autobiography (Table 1), *she* covers 48% of all linguistic forms of self-reference while in the U.S. Senate campaign autobiography (Table 2), *she* makes up 33% of the occurring self-reference forms. Additionally, the possessive pronoun *her* comprises approximately 10% in both sets of data. The vast occurrence of the pronouns *she* and *her* mainly seems to have an anaphoric and/or a cataphoric function in the construction of Hillary Clinton's leadership image as they primarily refer to earlier and/or later mentions in both autobiographies. At the same time, it is noteworthy that personal pronouns are used to this extent in the data, particularly because some candidates who ran for re-election the same time as Hillary Clinton[21], rarely used personal pronouns for self-reference in their U.S. Senate and U.S. Senate campaign autobiographies. In order to create a sense of self-importance, Ted Kennedy, for instance, favoured the use of the self-reference form 'Senator' most times he was mentioned in both of his autobiographies. From this point of view, in the Hillary Clinton's autobiographies, personal pronouns are used as an image management device that appeals to 'closeness' and thus avoids distancing Hillary Clinton from the readers.

In addition to sharing a widespread use of personal pronouns, both autobiographies show a tendency to utilize one linguistic form of self-reference more than any other self-reference form. In the official U.S. Senate autobiography (Table 1), Hillary Clinton is mainly called *Senator Clinton*, covering 33% of all references. The self-reference form *the Senator* occurs only once when the self-reference form *Senator Clinton* serves as its antecedent. The other linguistic forms of self-reference include *Hillary Rodham Clinton* and *First Lady*[22]; however, each of these self-reference forms only add up to 3% of all references. It can therefore be concluded that the political image of an incumbent leader reflected in the heading '*About Senator Clinton*' is consistently constructed throughout the text through the extensive use of the linguistic form of self-

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[21] Townsend, Taija. 2007. Pilot study: The self-presentation of Ted Kennedy and Joe Lieberman during the Senate 2006 elections.

[22] Hillary Clinton is referred to as 'First Lady' when the autobiographies discuss her political and other achievements during the Bill Clinton administration.

reference *Senator Clinton*. Bearing in mind the general context, that is, that Hillary Clinton is portraying herself as the current officeholder, it is not extraordinary that *Senator Clinton* is the primary linguistic form of self-reference used in her U.S. Senate autobiography. However, there is research[23] that suggests that the title 'Senator' is not the given self-reference form in U.S. Senate autobiographies; rather its usage depends on the situational context. During the U.S. Senate election 2006, Senator Joe Lieberman, for instance, was referred to as 'Senator' in his U.S. Senate autobiography until he lost the Democratic Party's primary election and was forced to run for re-election as an independent candidate. After the defeat, his first name 'Joe' became the main self-reference form not just in his U.S. Senate campaign autobiography but also in his U.S. Senate autobiography. From this perspective, the choice to use the self-reference form *Senator Clinton* in Hillary Clinton's U.S. Senate autobiography suggests that it is a consciously chosen image management device used to create her professional leadership image.

In the official U.S. Senate campaign autobiography (Table 2), the use of linguistic forms of self-reference is more diverse. However, *Hillary*[24] stands out as the most commonly used self-reference form as it covers 33% of all references. *Senator Clinton* is also used, but it covers only 12% of all self-reference forms in this autobiography. Other linguistic forms of self-reference that occur in this autobiography are *First Lady*, *Hillary Clinton*, *Hillary Rodham Clinton* and *the Clintons*, ranging between 2.5% to 5% of all mentions. In terms of the main context – the U.S. Senator Hillary Clinton running for re-election – making reference to the office is more of a norm than an exception in an incumbent campaign strategy (Trent and Friedenberg 2000:79-81). However, the self-reference form *Senator Clinton* is used two times less frequently than the self-reference form *Hillary*. This use of linguistic forms of self-reference suggests that, together with the heading 'About Hillary Clinton', the self-reference form *Hillary* is used to create a distinctive image of Hillary Clinton in the U.S. Senate campaign autobiography.

[23] Townsend, Taija. 2007. Pilot study: The self-presentation of Ted Kennedy and Joe Lieberman during the Senate 2006 elections.

[24] It is likely that politicians (men and women) use their first names to create a sense of 'closeness' between themselves and the public. The use of someone's first name is, however, personal so certain socio-cultural connotations arise when newspapers refer to politicians by their first name: to refer to a man by his first name often indicates 'familiarity' whereas to refer to a woman by her first name often indicates a patronizing attitude towards her leadership.

To understand how the usage of the self-reference forms '*Senator Clinton*' and '*Hillary*' differ in Hillary Clinton's autobiographies, a closer look at the way they are used in context is necessary. A content-based analysis shows that the use of different linguistic forms of self-reference in connection with the same political issues creates different meanings of Hillary Clinton's leadership image. Interestingly, these meanings are largely based on gender-stereotypical connotations related to the political issues in question (Bystrom 2006:177).

Extracts 1A and 1B give two examples from both autobiographies where the *same political issues* are addressed in connection with *different linguistic forms of self-reference*. While the U.S. Senate autobiography tends to use the self-reference form *Senator Clinton* in these examples, the U.S. Senate campaign autobiography makes use of the self-reference form *Hillary*. The significance is that the political issues in question are typically viewed as issues with which men politicians are associated.

Extract 1A – the U.S. Senate autobiography

Example 1a

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Senator Clinton worked with her colleagues to secure the funds New York needed to rebuild.

Example 2a

A strong advocate of New York, Senator Clinton works with communities throughout the state to strengthen the economy and expand opportunity.

Extract 1B – the U.S. Senate Campaign autobiography

Example 1b

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Hillary *worked with her colleagues to secure the funds New York needed to recover and rebuild.*

Example 2b

A strong advocate of New York, Hillary *works with communities throughout the state to strengthen **the economy** and expand opportunity.*

Extracts 1A and 1B give two examples that deal with two political issues which have a 'masculine' connotation, that is, the U.S. home security and the economy (Bystrom 2006:177). The U.S. Senate autobiography (Extract 1A) uses the linguistic form of self-reference *Senator Clinton* in connection with these issues which gives a more authoritative and administrative sense to these political matters. In addition, it makes Hillary Clinton look 'tough' and 'strong' – two qualities which are often used to characterize the 'masculine side' of women leaders in American politics (Bystrom 2006:178). In contrast, the U.S. Senate campaign autobiography (Extract 1B) uses the linguistic form of self-reference *Hillary*, making Hillary Clinton's involvement and commitment to the U.S. home security and the economy seem less politically-oriented and more personal.

Using the self-reference form *Hillary* instead of the self-reference form *Senator Clinton* in connection with these 'male' political issues also seems to de-emphasize Hillary Clinton's role as 'an authoritative' Senator. In addition, the linguistic premodifying phrase, *a strong advocate of New York*, in examples 2a and 2b intensifies this distinction between the more professional image created in the U.S. Senate autobiography (Extract 1A) and the more personal image constructed in the U.S. Senate campaign autobiography (Extract 1B). The premodifier has the effect of presenting its contents as presupposed information in both examples (cf. Townsend 2004); while in example 2a it re-emphasizes the professional commitment that Hillary Clinton has towards the state of New York, in example 2b the premodifier underscores the 'emotional' commitment that she has as an individual and as a fellow citizen.

Additionally, the adjective 'strong' gets interpreted differently when it collocates with *Senator Clinton* and *Hillary* (cf. Sinclair 1991). Using 'strong' in connection with *Senator Clinton* highlights her authoritative role as an incumbent U.S Senator whereas associating it with the self-reference form *Hillary* makes 'strong' seem like a personal characteristic.

The examples given in Extracts 2A and 2B also link *different linguistic forms of self-reference* with the *same political issues*. The U.S. Senate autobiography makes use of the self-reference form *Senator Clinton* and the U.S. Senate campaign autobiography utilizes the self-reference form *Hillary*. However, the political issues presented in extracts 2A and 2B are characteristically related to women politicians.

Extract 2A – the U.S. Senate autobiography

Example 3a

Senator Clinton has spoken clearly about the importance of protecting our **constitutional rights**, respecting such landmark Supreme Court decisions as Roe v. Wade. Her commitment to supporting Roe and working to reduce the number of **abortions**, by reducing the number of unwanted pregnancies, was hailed by the New York Times as "frank talk…(and) a promising path.

Example 4a

Strongly committed to making sure that every American has **the right to vote** in fair, accessible and credible elections – and that every vote must be counted, **Senator Clinton** introduced the Count Every Vote Act of 2005, to provide a verified paper ballot for every vote cast in electronic voting machines; set a uniform for provisional ballot, and require the Federal Election Assistance Commission to issue standards that ensure uniform access to voting machines and election personnel in every community.

Extract 2B – the U.S. Senate Campaign autobiography

Example 3b

Hillary *has spoken clearly about the importance of protecting our* ***constitutional*** ***rights****, respecting such landmark Supreme Court decisions as Roe v. Wade. Her commitment to supporting Roe and working to reduce the number of* ***abortions****, by reducing the number of unwanted pregnancies, was hailed by the New York Times as "frank talk...(and) a promising path."*

Example 4b

Hillary *is strongly committed to making sure that every American has* ***the right to*** ***vote*** *in fair, to making sure that every American has the right to vote in fair, accessible and credible elections – and that every vote must be counted. She has introduced the* Count Every Vote Act of 2005*, to provide a verified paper ballot for every vote cast in electronic voting machines; set a uniform standard for provisional ballots, and require the Federal Election Assistance Commission to issue standards that ensure uniform access to voting machines and election personnel in every community.*

Extracts 2A and 2B give two examples that concern human rights, that is, the right to have an abortion and the right to vote. Typically, the political issue of human rights has a 'feminine' connotation (Bystrom 2006:177). In the U.S. Senate autobiography (Extract 2A) to use the self-reference form *Senator Clinton* in connection with a 'female' issue creates a sense that, as a political leader, Hillary Clinton takes a professional view on political issues that, as a woman, might have an emotional affect on her personal views and decisions. In contrast, to use the self-reference form *Hillary* in the U.S. Senate campaign autobiography (Extract 2B) accentuates the compassionate side of Hillary Clinton, which creates a 'caring' image of her political candidacy.

In addition to the use of different linguistic forms of self-reference together with the same political issues, extracts 3A and 3B show that the autobiographies also make use of

the *same linguistic forms of self-reference* in connection with the *same political issues* and *professional achievements* regardless whether or not these political issues have masculine or feminine connotations. Here, attention is drawn to the fact that the U.S. Senate campaign autobiography also makes use of the linguistic reference form *Senator Clinton*.

Extract 3A – the U.S. Senate autobiography

Example 5a

In 2004, **Senator Clinton** *was asked by the Department of Defence to serve as* **the only Senate member of the Transformation Advisory Group to the Joint Forces Command**. *She has visited troops in Iraq and Afghanistan; at Fort Drum in New York, home of the 10th Mountain Division; and at Walter Reed Military Hospital to learn first hand the challenges facing American combat forces. She is an original sponsor of legislation that expanded health benefits to members of the National Guard and Reserves.*

Example 6a

Senator Clinton *continues to work to increase access to* **health care**. *She authored legislation that has been enacted to improve recruitment and retention of nurses, to improve quality and lower the cost of prescription drugs, and to protect our food supply from bioterrorism. She sponsored legislation to increase America's commitment against Global AIDS, and is nowleading the fight for expanded use of information technology in the health care system to decrease administrative costs and reduce medical errors.*

Example 5b

*In 2004, **Senator Clinton** was asked by the Department of Defence to serve as **the only Senate member of the Transformation Advisory Group to the Joint Forces Command.** She has visited   troops in Iraq and Afghanistan, at Fort Drum in New York, home of the 10th Mountain Division and other New York bases, as well as at Walter Reed Military Hospital, to learn first hand the challenges facing American combat forces. She is an original sponsor of legislation that expanded health benefits to members of the National Guard and Reserves.*

Example 6b

***Senator Clinton** continues to work to increase access to **health care**. She authored legislation that has been enacted to improve recruitment and retention of nurses, to improve quality and lower the cost of prescription drugs, and to protect our food supply from bioterrorism. She sponsored legislation to increase America's commitment against Global AIDS, and is now leading the fight for expanded use of information technology in the health care system to decrease administrative costs and reduce medical errors.*

In extracts 3A and 3B, examples 5a and 5b give show that both of the autobiographies make use of the same linguistic form of self-reference in association with the same professional achievement, that is, Hillary Clinton is the only U.S. Senate member of the Transformation Advisory Group to the Joint Forces Command. Interestingly, professional achievement is a characteristic typically emphasized by men politicians (Bystrom 2006:177). In these examples both of the autobiographies use the self-reference form *Senator Clinton* to establish Hillary Clinton's position as an appreciated politician who has gained respect within the American political arena. In terms of the U.S. Senate campaign autobiography, the use of *Senator Clinton* with a professional achievement adds more prestige to her role as an incumbent candidate as it emphasizes her experience in politics. Additionally examples 6a and 6b illustrate that both of the autobiographies

utilize the same linguistic form of self-reference in connection with the same political issue, that is, health care. As a political issue, health care is mostly associated with women politicians (Bystrom 2006:177). Health care was a political issue that controlled Hillary Clinton's image particularly during the first Bill Clinton Administration. As Hillary Clinton's efforts to improve health care failed during this time, health care has often been viewed by political experts as a factor that continues to tarnish Hillary Clinton's leadership image. From this perspective, we can say that both examples 6a and 6b make use of the linguistic form of self-reference *Senator Clinton* to give Hillary Clinton a more authoritative image in this matter as opposed to the frail image that was the result of her previous failure in the matter.

Conclusion

The analysis of the two autobiographies shows that the construction of Hillary Clinton's leadership image is closely connected to the main function of her official websites. The U.S. Senate autobiography primarily makes use of the linguistic form of self-reference *Senator Clinton*, which is consistently utilized throughout the autobiography in order to reinforce her professional image as a serving U.S. Senator. In contrast, the U.S. Senate campaign autobiography constructs Hillary Clinton's image in relation to her political candidacy. This autobiography uses the self-reference forms *Hillary Clinton* and *Hillary*, in particular, to introduce a more personal image of Hillary Clinton. In short, Hillary Clinton's political leadership image is re-contextualized by means of the intertextual connection between the two different political texts. The fact that both autobiographies make use of texts that, with the exception of linguistic forms of self-reference, are otherwise similar to each other suggests that the usage of self-reference forms is an important strategic device of image management. Additionally, the use of different linguistic forms of self-reference suggests that image management is not about creating political personas once and for all, but rather it is an ongoing process during which leadership images require regular re-construction. These findings have significance with regard to organizational communication and leadership research as they reveal new aspects as to how language use affects our perception of leadership in general.

Additionally, the findings of this study raise an interesting question concerning the construction, or re-construction as the case may be, of gender and leadership. The analysis shows that the professional leadership image of Hillary Clinton is based on masculine characteristics whereas the personal leadership image of Hillary Clinton is derived from feminine characteristics. In brief, Hillary Clinton's leadership image is constructed in relation to existing gender stereotypes. This research finding concurs with a small number of studies which argue that not only do women political leaders challenge gender-stereotypical characterizations but they also accentuate gender-stereotypical characterizations when constructing their leadership images (Bystrom 2006:178). One reason for using gender-stereotypical images may be related to socio-cultural expectations, that is, the general public expects women political leaders to possess feminine as well as masculine leadership characteristics. Alexander and Andersen (1993:542) state that:

> "…successful women candidates feel the double bind of having to be both feminine and masculine. They are welcomed into the political fray, as long as they bring with them their traditional skills, capabilities and vestiges of their roles as mothers and spouses. At the same time they have to demonstrate their power, toughness and capacity to win, traits assumed by most voters to be inherent in most male candidates".

Thus, there is reason to believe that women political leaders use gender stereotypes as an image management strategy. This kind of image management is of interest as it means that gender-stereotypical characteristics can – at least in principle - be utilized to overcome ideological biases and even change, or re-construct, socio-cultural meanings of gender and leadership in society at large. Whether or not this is a general phenomenon of women leadership clearly deserves more attention in future research.

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APPENDIX III

The U.S. Senate autobiography 'About Senator Clinton'

Hillary Rodham Clinton was elected to the United States Senate by the people of New York on November 7, 2000, after years of public service on behalf of children and families. She is the first First Lady of the United States elected to public office and the first woman elected independently statewide in New York State. A strong advocate for New York, Senator Clinton works with communities throughout the state to strengthen the economy and expand opportunity. The Senator supports a return to fiscal responsibility because she knows that wise national economic policies are essential to protect America's future.

She serves on the Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee; the Environment and Public Works Committee; the Special Committee on Aging; and she is the first New Yorker ever to serve on the Senate Armed Services Committee.

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Senator Clinton worked with her colleagues to secure the funds New York needed to rebuild. She fought to provide compensation to the families of the victims, grants for hard-hit businesses, and health care for front line workers at Ground Zero. She continues to work for resources that enable New York to grow, to improve homeland security for New York and other communities, and to protect all Americans from future attacks. She has introduced legislation to provide for direct and threat-based homeland security funding to ensure that first responders and high-target communities have the resources they need.

In 2004, Senator Clinton was asked by the Department of Defense to serve as the only Senate member of the Transformation Advisory Group to the Joint Forces Command. She has visited troops in Iraq and Afghanistan; at Fort Drum in New York, home of the 10th Mountain Division; and at Walter Reed Military Hospital to learn first hand the challenges facing American combat forces. She is an original sponsor of legislation that expanded health benefits to members of the National Guard and Reserves.

In the Senate, she has continued her work for children and families by leading efforts to ensure the safety of prescription drugs for children, with legislation now included in the Pediatric Research Equity Act; working to strengthen the Children's Health Insurance Program, which increased coverage for children in low income working families; and helping schools address environmental hazards.

Senator Clinton continues to work to increase access to health care. She authored legislation that has been enacted to improve recruitment and retention of nurses, to improve quality and lower the cost of prescription drugs, and to protect our food supply from bioterrorism. She sponsored legislation to increase America's commitment against Global AIDS, and is now leading the fight for expanded use of information technology in the health care system to decrease administrative costs and reduce medical errors.

To encourage business expansion, Senator Clinton co-sponsored legislation enacted in 2004 to extend tax credits to communities in regions designated as Renewal Communities. She has sponsored conferences and business development tours throughout the state aimed at attracting new investment; introduced legislation to increase access to broadband technology in rural areas; and serves as chair of the advisory board for New Jobs for New York.

Senator Clinton has spoken clearly about the importance of protecting our constitutional rights, respecting such landmark Supreme Court decisions as Roe v. Wade. Her commitment to supporting Roe and working to reduce the number of abortions, by reducing the number of unwanted pregnancies, was hailed by the *New York Times* as "frank talk… (and) a promising path."

Strongly committed to making sure that every American has the right to vote in fair, accessible and credible elections – and that every vote must be counted, Senator Clinton introduced the *Count Every Vote Act of 2005*, to provide a verified paper ballot for every vote cast in electronic voting machines; set a uniform standard for provisional ballots, and require the Federal Election Assistance Commission to issue standards that ensure uniform access to voting machines and election personnel in every community.

Senator Clinton was born in Chicago, Illinois, on October 26, 1947. She is the daughter of Dorothy Rodham and the late Hugh Rodham. Her father was a small businessman and her mother a homemaker. She is a graduate of Wellesley College and Yale Law School. She is married to former President William Jefferson Clinton. They have one daughter, Chelsea.

Senator Clinton is the author of best selling books including her autobiography, Living History*; It Takes A Village: and Other Lessons Children Teach Us; Dear Socks, Dear Buddy: Kids' Letters to the First Pets; and An Invitation to the White House *as well as numerous articles.*

http://clinton.senate.gov/about/biography/index.cfm
[The biography was accessed 13th October 2006]

APPENDIX IV

The U.S. Senate Campaign autobiography 'About Hillary Clinton'

Hillary Rodham Clinton was elected to the United States Senate by the people of New York on November 7, 2000, after decades of public service on behalf of children and families.

A strong advocate for New York, Hillary works across the state to strengthen the economy and to expand opportunity. She is the first New Yorker ever to serve on the Senate Armed Services Committee, working to see that America's military has the necessary resources to protect our national security. And Hillary supports a return to fiscal responsibility, because she knows that wise national economic policies are essential to protect America's future.

Senator Clinton also serves on the Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee; the Environment and Public Works Committee; and the Special Committee on Aging. She chairs the Senate Democratic Steering and Outreach Committee, which is responsible for communicating with the public about key issues before Congress.

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Hillary worked with her colleagues to secure the funds New York needed to recover and rebuild. She fought to provide compensation to the families of the victims, grants for hard-hit small businesses, and health care for front line workers at Ground Zero. And she continues to work for resources that enable New York to grow, to improve homeland security for New York and other communities, and to protect all Americans from future attacks. She has introduced legislation to provide for direct and threat-based homeland security funding to ensure that first responders and high-target communities have the resources they need.

In 2004, Senator Clinton was asked by the Department of Defense to serve as the only Senate member of the Transformation Advisory Group to the Joint Forces Command. She has visited troops in Iraq and Afghanistan, at Fort Drum in New York, home of the 10th Mountain Division and other New York bases, as well as at Walter Reed Military Hospital, to learn first hand the challenges facing American combat forces. She is an original sponsor of legislation that expanded health benefits to members of the National Guard and Reserves.

Continuing her work for children and families in the Senate, Hillary led efforts to ensure the safety of prescription drugs for children, with legislation now included in the Best Pharmaceuticals for Children Act; worked to strengthen the Children's Health Insurance Program which increased coverage for children in low income and working families, and helps schools address environmental hazards.

Senator Clinton continues to work to increase access to health care. She authored legislation that has been enacted to improve recruitment and retention of nurses, to improve quality and lower the cost of prescription drugs, and to protect our food supply from bioterrorism. She sponsored legislation to increase America's commitment against

Global AIDS, and is now leading the fight for expanded use of information technology in the health care system to decrease administrative costs and reduce medical errors

To help business expand, Senator Clinton co-sponsored legislation enacted in 2004 to extend tax credits to communities in regions designated as Renewal Communities. She has sponsored conferences and business development tours throughout the state, aimed at attracting new investment; introduced legislation to increase access to broadband technology in rural areas; and serves as Honorary Chair of the Advisory Board for New Jobs for New York.

Hillary has spoken clearly about the importance of protecting our constitutional rights, respecting such landmark Supreme Court decisions as Roe v. Wade. Her commitment to supporting Roe and working to reduce the number of abortions, by reducing the number of unwanted pregnancies, was hailed by the *New York Times* as "frank talk… (and) a promising path." Hillary is one of the original cosponsors of the Prevention First Act to increase access to family planning.

Hillary is strongly committed to making sure that every American has the right to vote in fair, accessible and credible elections – and that every vote must be counted. She has introduced the *Count Every Vote Act of 2005*, to provide a verified paper ballot for every vote cast in electronic voting machines; set a uniform standard for provisional ballots, and require the Federal Election Assistance Commission to issue standards that ensure uniform access to voting machines and election personnel in every community. Because the Republican Congress has been unwilling to deal with this issue, Hillary is working with advocacy groups and citizen volunteers to build the demand for action.

Hillary was born in Chicago, Illinois, on October 26, 1947. She is the daughter of Dorothy Rodham and the late Hugh Rodham. Her father was a small businessman, and Hillary has often spoken of learning from her experience with the family business. After graduating from Wellesley College and Yale Law School, she practiced law in Arkansas.

Hillary was appointed by President Jimmy Carter in 1977 to chair the United States Legal Services Corporation, and also served as head of the American Bar Association Committee on Women in the Profession. She was chair of the Board of the Children's Defense Fund, a national advocacy group for the interests of children, from 1986-1991.

Senator Clinton is married to former President William Jefferson Clinton. They have one daughter, Chelsea. The Clintons live in Chappaqua, New York. President Clinton now heads the William J. Clinton Foundation, focused on the International battle against HIV/AIDS; racial, ethnic and religious reconciliation; economic empowerment of poor people; and citizen service. He was appointed by President George W. Bush to serve with former President H.W. Bush as a special Presidential Delegation to build support tsunami relief, and was appointed Special Envoy by the Secretary-General of the United Nations for tsunami-affected countries.

As First Lady of the United States from 1993-2001, Hillary led efforts to make adoption easier and increase support for families in the adoption and foster care system; to increase funding fro breast cancer research and treatment and for children's vaccinations;

and to make education, health care, and economic opportunity available for women and girls around the world. As keynote speaker at the United Nations Fifth International Conference on Women, in Beijing China, she spoke for the rights of the women and girls around the world, saying "Women rights are human rights and human rights are women rights."

Hillary's leadership as First Lady was recognized by the many awards she received, including: the Elie Wiesel Foundation Humanitarian Award; Martin Luther King Jr. Award, Progressive National Baptist Convention; Family Circle Women Who Makes a Difference Lifetime Achievement Award; National Federation of Black Women Business Owners, Black Women Courage Award; National Association of Elementary School Principles Distinguished Service Award; Save the Children Distinguished Service Award, The National Council for Adoption, "For advocacy on behalf of adoption"; Henrietta Szold Award, Hadassah; and the Irish American Peace Prize, by Irish American Democrats.

Since being elected to the Senate, her awards for public service include: The Secretary Defense Medal fro Outstanding Public Service, United States Department of Defense; President's Award, League of United Latin American Citizens; Senator of the Year, National Multiple Sclerosis Society; The Military Order of the Purple Heart Inspirational Leadership Award, in recognition of her initiative and perseverance in assisting the Military Order of the Purple Heart; National Hispanic Medical Association, for leadership for improving the health of Hispanics; Women of Steel, Role Model of the Year, United Steel Workers of America; the 2004 Women in Politics Award, The National Hispana Leadership Institute; International Women's Philanthropy Award by the Lion of Judah Conference, of Combined Jewish Philantropies; the Cesar E. Chavez Award of the Cesar E. Chavez Foundation; and the Distinguished Bridge Builder Award, Leon H. Sullivan Foundation.

Hillary's memoir, Living History, was published in June 2003 and has now sold more than 3 million copies. She also written It Takes a Village: and Other Lessons Children Teach Us, Dear Socks, Dear Buddy: Kids Letters to the First Pets, and An Invitation to the White House, a tribute to the historic home of the nation's First Families.

http://www.hillaryclinton.com/about/
 [The autobiography was accessed 13 October 2006]

STUDY 4

COMMUNICATING IMAGES OF WOMEN LEADERS THROUGH IMPLICIT COLLOCATIONS

Abstract[25]

In this study, I examine the manner in which the media characterize women in business. The purpose is to show how, as a research methodology, *linguistic analysis* can add to our understanding of gender and leadership. Linguistic analysis here stands for a pragmatic approach to discourse analysis, where linguistic form, content and structure are examined with regard to implicitness. In addition, since written language is often overlooked as a source of data in leadership research, the aim is to shed light on the function that written language has in the formation of social meanings of gender and leadership. The study concentrates on one news story, specifically looking at Nicola Horlick as a woman business leader. The news story is based on a report of an interview which is part of a larger interview series of women in business. In the past, Nicola Horlick has been portrayed by the media as a 'superwoman'. However, the news story under examination introduces and creates a different kind of leadership image, that is, the 'human face' of Nicola Horlick. My study shows how 'the human face' of Nicola Horlick has an ambiguous meaning, which is anchored throughout the news story by means of implicit collocations (cf. Östman 2005). Also, my findings suggest that the media do not 'routinely' present gender-stereotypical images of women leaders; rather, the characterization of women business leaders is constrained by the situational context.

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1. Introduction

There is ample literature to suggest that the media have a profound effect on our understanding of social phenomena (e.g. Bell 1991; ben Aaron 2005:72-82; Fowler 1991; Fairclough 1995). In particular, the media are said to "determine what issues are important and discussed in public; transmit knowledge and information; reinforce, crystallize and/or change existing beliefs; and cultivate perceptions of the nature of social reality" (Chen & Meindl 1991:521). Consequently, the media are thought to influence as well as reflect our perceptions of leadership (e.g. Barisione 2009; Chen & Meindl 1991; Holmberg & Åkerblom 2001; Page 2003; Townsend 2004; Townsend forthcoming). This premise is based on the idea that the meaning of leadership is socially constructed (Gergen 1999; Searle 1995). Thus, with regard to our socio-cultural understandings of leadership, the media have a significant role in shaping our views of characteristics that are often associated with leadership.

During the past decade, the number of women leaders both in the public and the private sectors has grown considerably. As a result, the media have become increasingly interested in publishing news stories concerning women in leadership positions. In the past, the media have often been criticized for presenting women leaders through language and discourse practices that build on and reinforce masculine beliefs, concepts and values of leadership (Page 2003:560; also see Cameron 1998; Fairclough 1995, 1992 & 1989; van Dijk 1995; Wodak 1995). This is noteworthy particularly because this ideological characterization of women leaders in the media has mostly been presented and accepted as a 'fact of reality' (Bell 1991; Fowler 1991). For this reason, previous research focusing on media portrayals of women in leadership positions has primarily concentrated on gender-stereotypical characterizations of women leaders (e.g. Duke 1993a & 1993b; Heldman, Carroll & Olson 2000; Page 2003; Townsend forthcoming). The theoretical principle behind this perspective is that gender is something that is constructed, or 'done', by means of social structures, processes and/or interaction (Gherardi 1994; West & Zimmerman 1987).

As one of the main objectives of organizational communication research is to examine the way language creates gendered relationships (Buzzanell 1994:342), it is important that the field also examines how public discourse construes meanings of social

(and global) phenomena occurring in organizations, such as gender and leadership (Charles 2007:261). For the purpose of this study, public discourse refers to written news texts that the general public can – at least in principle – easily access if willing (Solin 2001:12).

In this study, I examine the manner in which the media characterize women in business. The purpose is to show how, as a research methodology, *linguistic analysis*, can add to our understanding of gender and leadership. Linguistic analysis here stands for a pragmatic approach to discourse analysis, where linguistic form and structure are examined with regard to implicitness. In addition, the aim of this study is to shed more light on the function that written language has in the formation of social meanings of gender and leadership. The study concentrates on one news story, specifically looking at Nicola Horlick as a woman business leader. The news story is based on an interview which is part of a larger interview series of women in business[26]. Nicola Horlick is a high-profile businesswoman in the UK, who is known for her 20-year record in the fund-management industry. She is a mother of five children, which has caught public attention and made her a business persona that the British media have regularly followed and reported on. In the past, Nicola Horlick has been portrayed by the media as a 'superwoman'. However, the news story under examination introduces and creates a different kind of leadership image, that is, the 'human face' of Nicola Horlick. My study will show how 'the human face' of Nicola Horlick has an ambiguous meaning, which is anchored throughout the news story by means of implicit collocations (cf. Östman 2005).

2. Approaches to leadership research

Traditionally, the dominant theoretical approach in leadership research has emphasized the significance of individualism, focusing particularly on characteristics that are typically associated with individual leaders and their leadership styles (Northouse 2004;

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[26] The news story analysed was published on BBC Online News, 19 December 2002. The entire news series on business women leaders consists of 21 news stories about women from different areas of society. The news series was retrieved from BBC Online News at http://news.bbc.co.uk/ [9th April 2008].

Yukl 2002). Nowadays this traditional perspective to leadership is being challenged by social constructionism, a theoretical framework which sees leadership as a socially interactive process (Aaltonen & Kovalainen 2001; Bolden & Gosling 2006; Gergen 1999; Hoskings & McNamee 2006; Pearce & Cogner 2003; Searle 1995). To say that leadership is socially constructed suggests that situational and socio-cultural meanings of leadership are formed by means of discourse practices carried out at all levels in society. In particular, studies that examine the discursive nature of leadership look at language to uncover social and cultural aspects related to leadership (Fairhurst 2007 & 2008). Despite this so-called 'linguistic turn' in social science (Alvesson & Kärreman 2000), leadership studies focusing on discourse rarely make use of linguistic analysis as a means of research methodology. Indeed, previous research has examined the language used in 'traditional' leadership settings, such as business meetings (e.g. Clifton 2006) as well as 'non-traditional' leadership settings, such as small talk situations (e.g. Ekman 2001). However, the focus of these studies has primarily been on content and not on the correlation between content and linguistic form. This is a fundamental oversight considering that "content cannot be properly analysed without simultaneously analysing [linguistic] form, because contents are always necessarily realized in forms, and different contents entail different forms and vice versa" (Fairclough 1992a:210). Another oversight regarding methodology is that previous research has primarily concentrated on spoken language and overlooked written language as a source of data in leadership research. This might be a consequence of preconceptions according to which language is an insufficient tool for research on social phenomena (Silverman 2006:153-154). However, since discourse has become an essential part of leadership research (Fairhurst 2007 & 2008) and written language is a fundamental aspect of discourse (Fairclough 1989; 1992a; 1995), the need for research that looks at the manner in which devices of written language add to the situational and socio-cultural meanings of leadership is clearly wanting.

3. Nicola Horlick – from 'superwoman' to 'human'

In this section, I examine the way Nicola Horlick is characterized in the data[27]. The analysis begins with the opening of the news text, that is, the headline, which functions as the starting point of Nicola Horlick's image as a woman business leader. This part of the analysis is followed by an examination of the entire news text and, in particular, the manner in which reported speech is used to support the 'human face' image of Nicola Horlick created in the headline.

Headlines are significant elements of news stories as, together with the lead, they summarize the central message of the news text and aim at drawing the readers' attention to a particular viewpoint. According to Bell (1991:186), headlines contain 'simple' language and therefore they are often created from "one-word catch lines or slug lines" which are quick and easy to notice and read. Headlines have initial position in all news stories and thus function as the starting point of discussion: they operate as gateways that lead the readers into the entire news text (Östman and Virtanen 1997: 96, 104 & 107; see also Halliday 1994:37; Greenbaum at al. 1995:397). Extract (1) gives the headline of the news story referring to Nicola Horlick as a woman business leader.

> (1)   ***The Human Face*** *of Nicola Horlick*

The most noteworthy feature in the headline is the attributive function of '*Nicola Horlick*' in relation to the head of the phrase '*The Human Face*', particularly because the headline could just as well been grammatically structured by means of a genitive construction (i.e. *Nicola Horlick's Human Face*). In comparison, there is only one other headline (extract 2) in the entire news series of women in business (i.e. 21 news stories) which takes the *of*-construction, and two headlines (extracts 3-4) which take a genitive construction.

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[27] See Appendix V

(2)   ***The Making*** *of Martha*

(3)   *Dame Anita's* ***radical approach***

(4)   *Hewitt's* ***crusade for women***

The significance of the linguistic composition of the headline referring to Nicola Horlick can be explained by means of Information Structuring. With regard to the Crucial Information First (CIF) principle (cf. Östman and Virtanen 1997), the *of*-construction is used to draw attention to the head of the phrase '*The Human Face*'. This process is also called 'staging' which refers to the idea that '*The Human Face*' is used as "a *peg* to hang the entire news story on" (Östman and Virtanen 1997:97). The linguistic principle of Given-New information (Greenbaum at al. 1995:396-397), in contrast, suggests that the purpose of the *of*-construction is to emphasize '*Nicola Horlick*' as the focus of information so that '*The Human Face*' is understood as 'old' and 'self-evident' information. This is significant with regard to the situational context as the media have previously portrayed Nicola Horlick as a 'superwoman', a gender-stereotypical depiction of mothers who pursue a high-profile career as well as take care of their families (cf. Page 2003). Thus the headline is ambiguous as it simultaneously takes on two meanings: one that accentuates 'human face' as the discourse topic and another that implicitly goes against a gender-stereotypical representation of women leaders. This ambiguity is noteworthy as the meaning of the other headlines is more explicitly communicated. In '*The Making of Martha*', the *of*-construction is essential in order to present information in a particular order (cf. Martha's making = Martha is making, is not an option). Conversely, according to the 'end-focus' principle, in '*Dame Anita's radical approach*' and '*Hewitt's crusade for women*' attention is drawn to the actions portrayed by these women.

Throughout the news story, the 'human face' image is linguistically structured by means of reported speech. Reported speech is typically divided into two forms, that is, direct and indirect speech (Greenbaum et al. 1995: 297-300). In the data, direct speech refers to the exact words that Nicola Horlick has uttered during the interview (Greenbaum at al. 1995:297-298). Direct speech is signalled by means of wording which is enclosed in quotation marks and a reporting clause which may occur before, after or within the direct

speech (e.g. *"It's ridiculous that I am known as superwoman," she says*.) Indirect speech, in contrast, conveys a report of what Nicola Horlick has said in the interview (Greenbaum et al. 1995: 297-300). Indirect speech is indicated by means of reporting words which are in present tense and which are followed by an indirect statement, e.g. a subordinate *that*-clause (e.g. *Nicola Horlick spends several minutes of our interview denying allegations that she is a superhero*.). Direct speech within indirect statements/questions is a combination of these two forms of reported speech, where quotations are placed within subordinate *that*-clauses (*[Nicola Horlick] admits that the attention "hasn't been unhelpful from a business point of view"*.) or within indirect questions (e.g. *But as to whether you can have it all – the answer is "no"*.).

In the following, I examine the occurrence and content of the forms of reported speech used in the news story profiling Nicola Horlick. Table 1 gives the forms of reported speech used in the news story. The table shows the number of occurrences (18) of the forms of reported speech (the tokens) as well as how they are distributed in relation to each other. In addition, the table shows the percentage of distribution.

Table 1. Forms of reported speech used in the news story

Reported speech	Token	Percentage
Direct speech	12	66 %
Direct speech within indirect statements/questions	3	17 %
Indirect speech	3	17 %
TOTAL	18	100 %

The figures given in Table 1 show that direct speech is the most often used form of reported speech in the news story. More specifically, direct speech is used as a form of reported speech 12 times, covering 66 per cent of all tokens whereas indirect speech is employed only three times, resulting in 17 per cent of the total number of tokens. Additionally, there are three occurrences where the forms of direct speech are used within indirect statements/questions. There is nothing unusual about direct speech being the most common form of reported speech as quotations are typical features of news

stories, particularly because they distance journalists from what is being said (Bell 1991; Fowler 1991). Direct quotations also create a sense of 'conversation' as the language used in them comes across as 'ordinary and everyday' language which the readers can easily comprehend. The purpose of creating a conversation style in a news text is to 'naturalize' the way reality is presented (Fowler 1991:57) and, in a sense, make the news story seem more 'factual' (Fairclough 1995:10; Stenvall 2004:15; also see Stenvall 2008). Direct speech is commonly used in all of the news stories from the interview series on women in business. However, the significance of direct speech in the news story referring to Nicola Horlick is the different way that direct speech is used in comparison e.g. to the news stories given in extracts (2-4). More specifically, in the Nicola Horlick news story direct speech is used so that implicit collocations are embedded within quotations, which adds to the ambiguity of the headline.

Collocation is a linguistic term used to refer to the relation between words that are habitually used together (Sinclair 1991:170). Collocation is also closely connected to semantics as words are thought to get part of their meaning from other words that surround them (Östman 2005:183). Typically, collocations are examined as prototypes, consisting of node-words which repeatedly co-occur with words which are placed before and/or after them within language use (Stubbs 2002:29). However, Östman (2005:190-191) suggests that collocations can also be based on the span of words which are located within a whole text. These collocations are based on implicit choices, that is, other-than propositional choices, and therefore he calls them "implicit collocations" (ibid.). Based on the content of direct speech, 'human' is identified as the node-word of the news story referring to Nicola Horlick. The Collins Cobuild database[28] shows that 'human' collocates with the words 'behaviour', 'emotion' and 'nature'. These collocates of 'human' do not, however, appear in the occurrences of direct speech per se in the Nicola Horlick text; rather, they are referred to through lexical choices which semantically are related to the words 'behaviour', 'emotion' and 'nature'. Thus words referring to 'behaviour', 'emotion' and 'nature' function as implicit collocations of the node-word 'human' (cf. Östman 2005).

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[28] For more information about the Collins Cobuild database, see http://www.collins.co.uk

Table 2 gives the occurrence and percentage of implicit collocations, that is, the words referring to collocates of 'human' in direct speech and direct speech within indirect statements/questions. The Table shows that nine of the 15 occurrences, that is, 60 per cent of all tokens, make use of implicit collocations whereas 40 per cent do not.

Table 2. Implicit collocations in direct speech (within indirect statements/questions).

Direct speech (within indirect statements/questions)	Token	Percentage
Words related to collocates of 'human'	9	60 %
Words not related to collocates of 'human'	6	40 %
TOTAL	15	100 %

The extracts listed in (2-12) are the direct speeches and direct speeches within indirect statements that include words and phrases related to the words 'behaviour', 'emotion' and 'nature'. The significance of extracts (2-5) is that they all pertain to human behaviour. Becoming accustomed to a certain situation, such as being successful in one's career in extract (2), can be regarded as 'natural' human behaviour. In extract (3), expressing an understanding that people often prioritize and place their family before work also serves as a common example of human behaviour (*tell [your employer] your priorities - you might need to go see your children in a carol concert*). In addition, extracts (4-5) portray Nicola Horlick by means of human behaviour as they show that, like any other human being, Nicola Horlick also makes mistakes in business (*wrong-footed*) and is sometimes too hopeful about business outcomes (*too optimistic too early*).

> (2)   *"I was so **used to success** in my career. I had never had any setbacks before."*

> (3)   *"You have to be honest with your employer and you have to tell them your **priorities**. People at work have to understand that **you might need to go see your children in a carol concert**."*

> *(4)*   *Ms Horlick recognises she was **"wrong-footed"** by the stock markets last year.*

> *(5)*   *"We were **too optimistic too early**."*

Extracts (6-8) are also important with regard to the characterization of Nicola Horlick as they all relate to human emotion. In extracts (6-7), the 'human' side of Nicola Horlick is constructed through her bereavement as a mother and especially through her daughter's struggle against leukaemia. In particular, extracts (6-7) make use of lexical choices (*crying*; *a desperate sense of loss*) as well as phrases (*to come to terms with it*; *I won't get over it*) describing states of emotion and personal loss. In contrast, extract (8) relates to Nicola Horlick's falling out with her former employer, Morgan Grenfell Investment Management. She describes the incident with the company's senior management as *terribly shocking,* which sheds light on her emotional reaction to her professional failure.

> *(6)*   *"I am not **crying** all the time now, but I still have **a desperate sense of loss**."*
> *(7)*   *"I have **come to terms with it**, but **I won't get over it**."*
> *(8)*   *"It was **terribly shocking**."*

Extracts (9-11) show how 'human' is connected to Nicola Horlick's personality. In extract (9), 'human' gains meaning when she reveals her 'easy-going' attitude to life (*I have always been laid back*); a feature which has especially become part of her personality since her daughter's death (*the little things don't seem so important any more*). In extract (10), admitting that the media's interest in successful business women has been helpful to her from a business viewpoint highlights a pragmatic feature of her personality. Also, extract (11) pertains to Nicola Horlick's character even though the adjective *ruthless* can also be thought to go against the 'human' side of Nicola Horlick. With regard to her personality, this extract suggests that no matter how difficult the situation may be, Nicola Horlick is always persistent in business matters (*I can be ruthless for the good of the overall organisation*).

(9)   *"I have always been **laid back**, but I think I'm more so now. **The little***
        ***things don't seem so important any more**."*

(10)   *Although Ms Horlick belittles the media's fixation with successful women*
        *in the City, she admits the attention **"hasn't been unhelpful from a***
        ***business point of view"**.*

(11)   *"I can be **ruthless** for the good of the overall organisation."*

4. Conclusion

This study shows how linguistic analysis, that is, a pragmatic methodological approach to discourse analysis that focuses on both linguistic form and content, can add to our understanding of leadership. The study sheds light on the manner in which written language, as a form of naturally occurring data, serves as an important addition to research material that can be utilized to examine the discursive nature of leadership (cf. Fairhurst 2007 & 2008). My examination of the news story profiling Nicola Horlick reveals how textual-structuring devices commonly used in news texts function as linguistic carriers of social meanings. In the data, the headline is used to set the discourse topic of the news story which is consistently constructed throughout the text by way of implicit collocations embedded in direct speech. Most importantly, not only do implicit collocations coherently structure 'the human face' of Nicola Horlick in the data, but they are also used to anchor the discourse topic to characteristics of women leaders as 'human' goes against the gender-stereotypical representation of 'superwoman'.

Furthermore, the findings of this study suggest that the media do not – as is usually claimed – 'routinely' present gender-stereotypical representations of women leaders. Rather, my study draws attention to the fact that even though women are often portrayed in accordance with existing gender stereotypes, the characterization of gender and leadership is also constrained to the situational context. Since the study examines a news story chosen from a larger interview series of women who have built a successful career in the business sector, the overall objective is to give women 'a voice' through

which they can shape their own leadership images. From this point of view, there is nothing unusual about Nicola Horlick being portrayed as someone who has a 'human face'. The 'human face' image has news value as it contradicts the gender-stereotypical 'superwoman' image that has previously been associated with her leadership. The significance of these findings is that they suggest that socio-cultural views of gender and leadership are changing. In the past, gender has generally been considered to be something that is constructed, or 'done', by means of social structures, processes and/or interaction (Gherardi 1994; West & Zimmerman 1987). However, the notion of 'doing' entails the idea that gender can also be re-constructed, or 'undone', by the same social structures, processes and/or interactions through which gender-stereotypical leadership images are initially structured (Deutsch 2007). From this perspective, we can say that news stories which seek to enhance leadership images of women in business by avoiding gender-stereotypical characterizations constitute an attempt to re-construct, or 'undo', socio-cultural perceptions of gender.

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APPENDIX V

Apprendix V gives the news story used as research data in study 4.

THE HUMAN FACE OF NICOLA HORLICK

In the last report on women in business, BBC News Online meets Nicola Horlick, boss of SG Asset Management, mother of five and a so-called 'superwomen'.

Nicola Horlick spends several minutes of our interview denying allegations that she is a superhero.

"It's ridiculous that I'm known as 'superwoman'," she says.

"Look at someone who has no help at home and holds down a job. Or look at me with my nanny and my secretary. Who would you call 'superwoman'?"

Her eyes are flashing, but her manner is measured and persuasive. "The first one," she adds, in case I have missed the point.

Superhero comparisons aside, she still has a remarkable ability to reinvent herself and capture the imagination of the British press.

Her sex, her flock of children and a high-profile spat with a previous employer have earned her a place in the financial hall of fame.

Career setbacks

Horlick first made a name for herself in the early 1990s by turning around Morgan Grenfell Investment Management, a blue-blooded institution that hard fallen on hard times.

But it wasn't until 1997 that she hit the headlines after an irrevoicable falling-out with Morgan Grenfell's senior management.

"It was terribly shocking," she says. "I was so used to success in my career. I had never had any setbacks before."

As Ms Horlick saw it, "a person who didn't like me" informed Morgan Grenfell that she planned to defect with a team of fund managers.

She denied the report but ended up with the press camped out on her doorstep for five days.

On impulse, she later flew to Frankfurt – trailing 40 journalists in her wake – to persuade Morgan Grenfell's German paymasters at Deutsche Bank to back her case.

In retrospect, the trip seemed more of a theatrical stunt (Ms Horlick auditioned for Rada as a teenager) than a genuine mission to get her job back.

Can you have it all?

A year after the Morgan Grenfell debacle, Ms Horlick's daughter, Georgie, lost her battle against leukaemia.

"I have come to terms with it, but I won't get over it," she says of he bereavement. "I am not crying all the time now, but I still have a desperate sense of loss."

If nothing else, the experience sharpened her perspective.

"I have always been laid back, but I think I'm more so now. The little things don't seem so important any more."

After leaving Morgan Grenfell, Ms Horlick took six weeks out to write a book, Can You Really Have It All?

"It was quite therapeutic and became a useful record," Ms Horlick say, hinting both at Georgie's struggle for survival and the Morgan Grenfell row.

"Wrong-footed"

The book, however, does not cover her latest incarnation as chief executive of SG Asset Management (SGAM).

In 1997 Ms Horlick and the man who had lured her to Morgan Grenfell in the early 1990s, Keith Percy, joined forces.

The promise of an equity stake and a clean slate attracted them to SGAM, but a bear market has since tested their mettle.

For example, SGAM's pooled UK equity fund has declined by 13.9% during the three years to September, against a benchmark of minus 10.6%, according to statistics from Caps.

Ms Horlick recognizes she was "wrong-footed" by the stock markets last year. "We were too optimistic too early."

Industry insiders observe that SGAM is experiencing growing pains as it breaks in its new management team.

"It will require all the experience of Nicola and Keith to keep the young team delivering in the long term," says one expert.

Not a level playing field

Although Ms Horlick belittles the media's fixation with successful women in the City, she admits the attention "hasn't been unhelpful from a business point of view".

This implacable pragmatism seems to be a powerful force in her personality.

As a student director, she fired an actress who could not "perform with real passion" just before the opening night of her production, The Crucible.

"I can be ruthless for the good of the overall organization," she says.

Her responsibilities as a parent and a professional are weighed up will similar perspicacity.

"You have to be honest with your employer and you have to tell them your priorities. People at work have to understand that you might need to go see your children in a carol concert."

But as to whether you can have it all- the answer is "no". She also says that women with children are no longer on level playing field.

No doubt her judgement has been marred by the loss of Georgie. Nevertheless, she trives on living her life to the extreme.

She may not be a superwoman, but there are not many of us who could fit in five children, a start-up and a 20-year career in the City.

GENDER STEREOTYPES AS NARRATIVE THEMES OF SELF-PRESENTATION

Abstract

This study adds to organizational communication research that underscores the role that written language has in the formation of social meanings of gender and leadership (cf. Townsend 2009). I look at how language can be used to change perceptions of gender and leadership and, in particular, how women leaders can re-construct, or 'undo', gender when presenting themselves in autobiographies. The focus of the study is on Nicola Horlick's autobiography – *Can You Have It All?* Nicola Horlick is an interesting public figure as she is a high-profile businesswoman in the UK who is known for her 20-year record in the fund management industry. Methodologically, the autobiography is examined according to the linguistic principles of discourse analysis (cf. Fairclough 1992a & 1992b; Wodak 1995; Wagner and Wodak 2006). More specifically, I look at the narrative organization of the text and identify three themes of representation – professional success, working woman/mother and victim – which function as the framework of Nicola Horlick's self-presentation. In addition, I study the themes of representation with regard to the texture of the text, that is, I look at the way content and linguistic forms are used to structure the themes of representation throughout the autobiography (cf. Fairclough 1992a & 1992b). The findings show that Nicola Horlick presents herself in a manner that emphasizes existing gender stereotypes as well as underscores other characteristics typically associated with women in general. The study suggests that women leaders reconstruct, or 'undo', gender by accentuating femininity.

Keywords: gender stereotypes, self-presentation, re-construct gender, leadership, Nicola Horlick, discourse analysis, autobiography

1. Introduction

Since the early 1990s, there has been a growing interest in gender issues in the field of organizational communication (e.g. Allen 1998; Ashcraft 1998 & 2000; Buzzanell 1994; Domagalski & Steelman 2007; Edley 2000; Jorgenson 2000; Knott & Natalle 1997; MacLeod et al. 1992; Mumby 1996; Mumby & Ashcraft 2006; Parker 2001). The main purpose of this renewed interest is to examine the way that "language creates gendered relationships; communication reaffirms hierarchies that subordinate organization members and alternative views; and women express and interpret organizational experiences" (Buzzanell 1994:342). The underlying view of this research is that gender is something that is socially constructed, or 'done', by means of language and communication (Gherardi 1994; West and Zimmerman 1987). The problem with this approach is, however, that the notion of 'doing gender' is mostly understood to signify the social construction of inequalities and other disparities that women encounter as members of an organization. Consequently, gender differences tend to be seen everywhere - even in situations and settings where they may not (anymore) exist.

Today, as there are more women leaders than ever before both within the public and private sectors, there is reason to believe that our socio-cultural understanding of gender and leadership is changing. In practice, this means that women are no longer socially compelled to follow certain gender roles set by socio-cultural norms and values; rather, "women and men alike have a choice of how to express themselves in discourses and how to perform gender roles in which they would like to be perceived" (Wagner & Wodak 2006:389). In this sense, women are no longer involuntarily controlled by the power relations in society as - at least in principle – women have the means and opportunity to present themselves in a manner that re-constructs existing gender-stereotypical perceptions of women leaders. In political research, there are already a number of studies that look at how women leaders portray themselves particularly during political campaigns (e.g. Bystrom 2006; Townsend 2007). Interestingly, the findings of these studies suggest that, in order to enhance their self-presentation as political leaders, women make use of existing gender stereotypes by stressing the significance of femininity in political decision making. In order to ascertain whether or not this is a tendency carried out by women leaders across the public and private sectors, it is

necessary to find out more about the manner in which women portray themselves as business leaders. However, there is still little research focusing on the self-presentation of business women (for an exception, see Wagner & Wodak 2006). One reason for the lack of research might be the lack of publicity for business women in comparison with women in politics, which has the unfortunate consequence that there is not so much naturally occurring data available that deals with the self-presentation of women leaders in the business environment. As one of the objectives of research investigating women's position in organizations is to show how language builds on our understanding of gender, the study of the self-presentation of women leaders in the business domain is clearly a focus area to which organizational communication can contribute.

The purpose of this paper is to look at the self-presentation of women leaders working in the business sector. I look at how language can be used to change perceptions of gender and leadership and, in particular, how women leaders can re-construct, or 'undo', gender when presenting themselves in autobiographies. In linguistics, autobiographies have generally been studied through qualitative interviews, concentrating on the content and linguistic characteristics of spoken language (e.g. Wagner & Wodak 2006). However, in this study, the focus is on written language which is often overlooked as a source of data particularly in leadership research (for an exception, see, Leonard 2002). As a result, there is little understanding of the function that written language has in the formation of social meanings of leadership. This lack of written research data is partly due to preconceptions according to which language systems are insufficient measures for research regarding organizational phenomena (Silverman 2006:153-154). However, discourse has become an essential part of leadership research (Fairhurst 2007 & 2008) and written language is a fundamental aspect of discourse (Fairclough 1989; 1992a & 1992b). Additionally, similarly to spoken language, written language gives cause for action and interaction as well as introduces, creates and/or reinforces understandings of characteristics, conduct and styles that we generally associate with leadership in all circumstances.

The study concentrates on Nicola Horlick's autobiography[29]. Nicola Horlick is an interesting public figure as she is a high-profile businesswoman in the UK who is especially recognized for her 20-year record in the fund management industry and her successful career as a business leader. Additionally, Nicola Horlick has a large family, which has made her an interesting business persona that the British media have regularly followed and reported on. Initially, Nicola Horlick wrote her autobiography as a response to her suspension from Morgan Grenfell Investment Management, the top UK fund management company where she made her professional breakthrough in the 1990s. Her suspension was initiated on grounds of insurgency; an accusation that Nicola Horlick claimed was unsubstantiated. At the same time, Nicola Horlick was dealing with a personal ordeal as her oldest daughter was diagnosed with leukeamia. The autobiography mostly evolves around Nicola Horlick's professional career and family. Methodologically, the autobiography is examined according to the linguistic principles of discourse analysis (cf. Fairclough 1992a & 1992b; Wodak 1995; Wagner and Wodak 2006). In particular, I look at the narrative organization of the text and identify themes of representation which function as the framework of Nicola Horlick's self-presentation. The themes of representation portraying Nicola Horlick are examined with regard to the texture of the text, that is, I look at the way content and linguistic forms are used to structure the themes of representation throughout the autobiography.

2. Doing and undoing gender

Leadership research concerning 'doing gender' has primarily concentrated on differences between women and men in leadership positions (e.g. Foegen Karsten 1994; Haslam & Ryan 2008; Nentwich 2006; Wahl 2001). In particular, the focus has been on revealing how men dominate women by means of organizational norms, structures and/or values in different areas of organizational activity (Wagner & Wodak 2006:388). One of the most common discriminatory phenomena related to organizational power relations is the so-called glass ceiling effect. Briefly, the glass ceiling effect refers to 'invisible' organizational barriers which obstruct women from reaching higher leadership positions

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[29] Horlick, Nicola. 1997. *Can you really have it all*? London: Macmillan

in organizations (Haslam & Ryan 2008:530). It is also claimed that when women do achieve leadership status in organizations, it is the consequence of another gender-biased organizational phenomenon – the glass cliff effect. This concept refers to the practice that women are often given leadership in troubled organizations to bear the blame of any organizational shortcomings caused by the adversity (Haslam & Ryan 2008:542). In addition to norms, structures and/or values related to organizational power relations, gender is socially constructed, or 'done', through organizational discourse practices (e.g. Tienari et al. 2005; Leonard 2002; Nentwich 2006). This suggests that language and communication are considered as social action through which subjective meanings of women leadership are created. Tienari et al. (2005), for example, look at how statements concerning national identities build on our understanding of gender. They identify recurring discourses through which gendered views of leadership are constructed and re-constructed. Additionally, their study reveals that, especially in multinational organization discourse, inequality is considered as something that does not exist in one's own organization; rather, it is something that only occurs in society at large. The lack of women leadership in business organizations is justified by reference to general social inequality. Leonard (2002) examines how written texts regarding organizational theory influence and mold our understanding of women leadership. Her research shows that organizational texts make use of linguistic metaphors to construct meanings of gender relations. In particular, her research demonstrates that the use of linguistic metaphors strengthens the binary relationship between gender and power. Similarly, Nentwich (2006) looks at how gender equality is constructed through discourse practices when organizations attempt to construct the meaning of equal opportunity. Her research findings uncover that the definition of gender equality is incoherent and context-dependent and it is often described in terms of similarities and differences between men and women both in organizational talk and textual productions. Although these studies examine different perspectives concerning the connection between gender and discourse, the significance is that all of these studies point towards the vital role that discourse plays in 'doing gender'.

The idea that gender is something that is 'done' suggests that gender can also be re-constructed, or 'undone', by the same social structures, processes and/or interactions

through which gender inequalities are initially constructed (Deutsch 2007). Even though the idea that gender can also be 'undone' is still a relatively new research approach in gender and leadership studies, there is already a considerable amount of evidence that supports the idea that our perception of women leadership is currently being re-constructed. New perspectives in leadership theory suggest that, on the individual level, women characteristics have changed so that nowadays women are believed to possess specific qualities well-suited for people in leadership positions. More specifically, women are appraised particularly for their interactive leadership skills (Aaltio-Marjosola 2001: 136-137; Eagly & Carli 2003:813-818; Rosener 1990:120). On the practical level, leadership roles in organizations have changed dramatically over the past decade and, as a result, the organizational norms, structures and values that have hindered women from leadership positions in the past are now slowly being eradicated (Eagly & Carli 2003:826). Additionally, appointments of women business leaders "have come to symbolize progressive organizational change" in the business sector (ibid.). One more factor suggesting that gender is currently being 'undone' is that women leaders as well as the increasing amount of research focusing on gender and leadership are currently receiving a great deal of positive media attention. This is of great importance because the mass media are one of the main forces which influence socialization and create the socio-cultural conditions for new meanings of women leaders (Paletz 1999:133). Thus, there is reason to believe that gender-stereotypical perceptions of women leaders, such as 'women are outsiders and therefore are inadequate and lack in certain leadership skills', are slowly being eliminated from our collective understanding of leadership (Duke 1993; Wahl 2001:127; Eagly 2005:461-463).

3. The self-presentation of Nicola Horlick

In this section, I examine the self-presentation of Nicola Horlick in her autobiography. Nicola Horlick presents herself in a narrative manner by means of three themes of representation. First, Nicola Horlick characterizes herself with regard to *professional success*; secondly, she presents herself as *a working woman/mother*; and finally, Nicola Horlick portrays herself as *a victim* of the Morgan Grenfell Investment Management

affair. The themes of self-presentation are examined in more detail so that attention is given to content and those linguistic forms that are used to create each of the three self-images.

3.1 Self-presentation: professional success

The first feature of self-presentation is the way Nicola Horlick characterizes herself with regard to professional success, which is a characteristic typically associated with leadership (Northouse 2004:18). Nicola Horlick defines her professional success as an individual process as well as a shared process. The most interesting aspect of this form of self-presentation is the manner in which professional achievement is discussed, that is, a manner that bears a semantic connection between the notions of success and 'being female'.

Extract (1) shows how the self-presentation of 'being successful' is presented as correlating with professional achievement. Nicola Horlick treats professional achievement as an individual effort and/or a shared accomplishment carried out with other people.

> (1) By the middle of 1996, **I** was proud to be in charge of a business that had grown fivefold in terms of the amount of money it managed on behalf of its clients and had the best performance figures amongst the major houses in London over one, three and five years. It had been the result of hard work by **me** and **my team**. Some of them had been at Morgan Grenfell when I arrived and others I had recruited from outside. Acknowledgement of **our** success had come from potential clients who time and again during 1996 had chosen **us** to manage their money (p. 2, boldface added TT).

In the extract, the idea of individual and shared success gains meaning through personal pronouns which are used in connection with statements of success. In particular, individual success is linguistically structured with the singular pronoun *'I'* when Nicola Horlick talks about the significant status that Morgan Grenfell Investment Management

achieved in the UK fund management industry during her leadership (*I was proud to be in charge of a business that had grown fivefold in terms of the amount of money it managed on behalf of its clients and had the best performance figures amongst the major houses in London over one, three and five years.*). Additionally, individual success is formed through the singular pronoun *'me'* and *'my'* when she states that the company's success was down to her and her team's contribution (*It [the company's success] had been the result of hard work by **me** and **my** team*). The noun phrase *'my team'* is of specific interest as it can also be understood as shared success. In terms of individual success, *'my'* modifies the noun *'team'* suggesting that, as the team leader, their successful performance was attributable to her leadership whereas, in terms of shared success, the noun 'team' generally connotes the idea of 'sharing'. In addition, the idea of shared success is construed by means of the plural pronouns *'our'* and *'us'* which are used in connection with a statement concerning the clients' satisfaction with the company's performance (*Acknowledgement of **our** success had come from potential clients who time and again during 1996 had chosen **us** to manage their money.*).

There is nothing extraordinary about the use of the singular pronouns '*I, me* and *my*' as they are generally used throughout the book and can be viewed as typical linguistic features of an autobiography. In addition, individualism is often regarded as a key element of leadership and, in this regard, it is not unusual to view professional success from an individual perspective (Northouse 2004; Yukl 2002). However, the use of the plural pronouns '*our*' and '*us*' is significant as the plural form of pronouns are generally used in two kinds of settings throughout Nicola Horlick's autobiography: one that pertains to her leadership and another that relates to her family. To use plural pronouns with the notion of leadership is of particular interest for the reason that to perceive professional success as a collaborative and interactive process is a relatively new perspective in leadership theory (Pearce and Cogner 2003). In fact, previous research leads us to believe that women, in particular, tend to view professional achievement in terms of being part of a successful group and thus it is understood as something that one achieves as a team member (Aaltio-Marjosola 2001: 136-137; Eagly & Carli 2003:813-818; Rosener 1990:120; Wagner & Wodak 2006:396-397).

The idea that professional success is shared also has to do with 'emotional bonds' that women leaders typically build between themselves and their colleagues (Wagner & Wodak 2006:396). This is also the case in Nicola Horlick's autobiography. Extracts (2-4) show how Nicola Horlick constructs such bonds through lexical choice describing states of emotion.

(2) Adrian [a colleague] and I **became very fond** of each other (p. 4, boldface added TT)

(3) I have always thought that the way that your partner **feels** about the organization that you work for is very important [and therefore] I thought that including partners [in my invitations to colleagues] would encourage **a feeling** that Morgan Grenfell was a **warm**, **friendly** organization to work for (p. 5, boldface added TT).

(4) The members of my team thought that it was an excellent idea to have **a bonding session** and it was great for me to meet some of the wives, husbands, girlfriends and boyfriends whom I had not met before (p. 8, boldface added TT).

In extract (2), Nicola Horlick talks about her colleague and describes their close work relationship and friendship with the 'emotional' verb phrase *'to become fond of somebody'*. Similarly, in extracts (3) and (4), when talking about her idea to invite her colleagues and their partners to a Christmas party as well as her colleagues' reaction to the party, Nicola Horlick uses the verb *'to feel'*, the noun phrases *'feeling'* and *'bonding session'* and the adjectives *'warm'* and *'friendly'* which all denote sentiment.

Since women leaders are believed to treat leadership as a shared process, there is nothing unusual when Nicola Horlick considers professional achievement as an accomplishment that is achieved and experienced together with other people. On a semantic level, to connect emotion with professional success is, however, interesting because, as a leadership characteristic, professional achievement is said to have a masculine connotation (Ford 2006; Wahl 2001). To interlink male and female attributes corresponds with socio-cultural expectations which require women to possess simultaneously masculine as well as feminine characteristics as organizational leaders (Alexander & Andersen 1993:542). This form of self-presentation suggests that women

leaders make use of existing perceptions of gender and leadership in order to enhance their credibility as business leaders.

3.2 Self-presentation: working woman/mother

The second feature of self-representation in the autobiography is the manner in which Nicola Horlick portrays herself as a working woman/mother. This form of self-presentation is construed through general and personal references which reinforce the gender-stereotypical meaning of the terms. The significance of presenting herself as a working woman/mother is that it contradicts another gender-stereotypical image which the media have often used of Nicola Horlick, that is, the 'superwoman' image.

Extracts (5) and (6) demonstrate how Nicola Horlick portrays herself as a working woman/mother. The focus of both extracts is on the shift of perspective from general reference of working woman/mother to Nicola Horlick's personal explanation as to what it means to be a working woman/mother.

(5) **Sunday opening is a fantastic thing for working women.** When **we** were restricted to shopping on Saturday, it was impossible to get everything done. **I** know what **I** like and **I'm** a quick buyer. **I** cannot go shopping with my friends any more as it irritates me that other people tend to take longer to make decisions about buying things. Shop assistants always look astonished when **I** decide within seconds what **I** want. Frankly, **I** do not have much choice. **I** have so little time to go shopping that if **I** did not make quick decisions, **I** would never buy anything (p.7, boldface added TT).

(6) **For any mother, Christmas is a busy time of year, but for a working mother, it is exceptionally so.** […] **Christmas 1996 was particularly busy. I** had a six-month old baby and four other children, one of whom was sick and had recently been in hospital. **I** also had a responsible job. **I** was Managing Director of Morgan Grenfell Investment Management, the subsidiary of Morgan Grenfell Asset Management which was responsible for managing money for UK pension funds and private clients. (p.1-2, boldface added TT)

Extracts (5) and (6) begin with a generic reference to the terms 'working woman/mother' and give a general description of their prototypical meanings. With regard to the lexico-grammatical level, in extract (5), the generic reference is structured through the plural form *'working women'*. By contrast, in extract (6), the generic reference is construed by means of the indefinite article - *'a working mother'*. On the semantic level, the meaning of 'working woman/mother' is identified in terms of the situational context, namely *Sunday opening* and *Christmas*. In extract (5), working women are depicted as people who have benefited from Sunday openings (**Sunday opening** *is a fantastic thing for* **working women**.). Whereas, in extract (6), working mothers are described as people who are busy especially during the Christmas season (*For any mother,* **Christmas** *is a busy time of year, but for* **a working mother**, *it is exceptionally so.*). Nevertheless, even though the general meaning of 'working woman/mother' is described through the situational context, the notions regarding 'shopping only at weekends' and 'being busy' also draw on the socio-cultural prototypical meanings related to the two terms. In particular, these two notions underpin the gender-stereotypical understanding as to how working women/mothers differ from 'traditional' or 'ordinary' mothers/women who stay at home to take care of their families.

In addition to the general characterization given above, extracts (5) and (6) make use of references that give a personal meaning to the two terms. In extract (5), the meaning of 'working woman' is individualized through the plural pronoun *'we'*, which functions as an inclusive device associating Nicola Horlick with all working women and emphasizing the importance of Sunday openings to them (*When* **we** *were restricted to shopping on Saturday, it was impossible to get everything done.*). The personalization of

the term 'working woman' is also carried out by means of the singular pronoun *'I'* which is used to describe how Nicola Horlick, as a working woman, usually carries out her weekend shopping (e.g. *I know what I like and I'm a quick buyer*.). In contrast, extract (6) establishes a personal meaning of the term 'working mother' by means of the sentence - *Christmas 1996 was particularly busy* - which sets the general background. More specifically, the sentence describes the situational context that bears an individual significance to Nicola Horlick (i.e. it was Christmas 1996 that was a particularly busy time for Nicola Horlick and not, for instance, Christmas 1995*)*. Further in the extract, the individual viewpoint is realized through the singular pronoun *'I'* which operates as the agent of the rest of the extract (*I had a six-month old baby and four other children, one of whom was sick and had recently been in hospital. I also had a responsible job. I was Managing Director of Morgan Grenfell Investment Management, the subsidiary of Morgan Grenfell Asset Management which was responsible for managing money for UK pension funds and private clients.).*

Working women/mothers who are well-known to the general public are often given the gender-stereotypical nickname 'superwomen' (e.g. Page 2003). This is also the case with Nicola Horlick as the media have been intrigued by her ability to combine a successful career in the City and a role as the mother of five children. Set against this background, the reason why Nicola Horlick uses the terms 'working woman/mother' in her autobiography is to make herself seem more 'natural' as opposed to 'supernatural'. Nicola Horlick creates this new, 'natural' characterization by way of gender-stereotypical connotations associated with the terms 'working woman/mother'. The prototypical definitions of 'working woman/mother' generally have slightly different meanings. Whereas the former refers to women who primarily focus on their professional careers, the latter pertains to women who have a family as well as a career. Yet, interestingly, to eliminate the superwoman image Nicola Horlick uses 'working woman/mother' in an interchangeable fashion when she associates herself with both social groups in her autobiography. Additionally, the 'collectivized' gender-stereotypical images of working women/mothers are used to give Nicola Horlick a more personal image as a working woman/mother, suggesting that perceptions of gender and leadership can be re-constructed through 'traditionally' subjective perceptions of women (Page 2003:571).

3.3 Self-representation: victim

The third feature of self-presentation is the way Nicola Horlick depicts herself as a victim. This form of self-presentation is related to her suspension from Morgan Grenfell Investment Management. The self-presentation as a victim is constructed by means of lexical choices pertaining to injustice throughout the autobiography. The 'victim' image is interesting as it is commonly regarded as a gender-stereotypical representation of women in society at large (Wagner & Wodak 2006:388).

Extracts (7-10) show how Nicola Horlick presents herself as a victim when discussing her suspension from the fund management company. More specifically, extracts (7) and (8) demonstrate how Nicola Horlick portrays herself as a victim through lexical choice, describing the unfounded nature of her suspension (*There seemed to be nothing I could do **to get justice***; *It wasn't the money I minded about. It was **the injustice**.*). Extracts (9) and (10) make use of lexical choice that underscores the undeserved nature of the incident (*What happened to me was **unfair***; *I had been **unfairly treated***).

(7)   There seemed to be nothing I could do **to get justice** (p. 266, boldface added TT).

(8)   It wasn't the money I minded about. It was **the injustice** (p. 270, boldface added TT).

(9)   What had happened to me was **unfair** and I was trying to do something about it (p. 257, boldface added TT).

(10)   I had to say something, so I just said that I had been **unfairly treated**, no one would listen to me in London, so I was going to Frankfurt (p. 259, boldface added TT).

Extracts (11-12) also build on Nicola Horlick's image as a victim. The singular pronoun '*I*' is of special interest as it is used to emphasize agency and her commitment to Morgan Grenfell Investment Management (***I** had given everything to the organization/that company*). In extract (11) Nicola Horlick characterizes her suspension from the company

as without foundation and explains how her work input and leadership had been significant in terms of the company's success (*I turned an ailing business into one of the most successful in its field.*) In extract (12), Nicola Horlick elaborates on her commitment to the company and explains how she had continued to work during a crisis situation even though her daughter was seriously ill with leukaemia (*When Georgie had been seriously ill, **I** had gone into the office because **I** did not want to let anyone down; **I** had returned early from maternity leave to help deal with the aftermath of the Peter Young affair.*).

(11)   A few minutes later, I found myself standing outside the front door of the building in a state of shock. I began to shake, but I could not cry. My cheeks were burning I started to feel sick. I had worked for Morgan Grenfell for five and a half years. **I** had given everything to the organization and turned an ailing business into one the most successful in its field (p. 27-28, boldface added TT).

(12)   As I stood outside the front door of Morgan Grenfell on the Tuesday morning that I was suspended, I could not really comprehend what had happened to me. **I** had given everything to that company**.** When Georgie had been seriously ill, **I** had gone into the office because **I** did not want to let anyone down. **I** had returned early from maternity leave to help deal with the aftermath of the Peter Young affair. Now I was standing alone on the doorstep (p. 247).

Finally, extracts (13) and (14) add to Nicola Horlick's self-presentation as a victim as they present her through lexical choices pertaining to sentiment. Extract (13) portrays Nicola Horlick as a victim of the Morgan Grenfell affair by means of a noun phrase describing Nicola Horlick's state of emotion (*On the hand, I knew that he shared **my feelings of injustice***). In extract (14), her victim image is construed through an adjective expressing her state of mind (*I found it very **difficult** to give a dispassionate view of all that had happened.*) and a noun revealing her emotional reaction to the incident (*During the interview, I was frequently close to **tears***).

(13)   On the other hand, I know that he [Tim] shared **my feelings of injustice** and that
         he would argue that it was right that I should seek a fair hearing (p. 260,
         boldface added TT).

(14)   I found it very **difficult** to give a dispassionate view of all that had happened.
         During the interview, I was frequently close to **tears** (p. 264, boldface added
         TT).

To portray herself as a victim of the Morgan Grenfell affair is a response to the immense
and fairly damaging media coverage that Nicola Horlick received during her suspension
from the fund management company. Nicola Horlick argues that the reason why the
incident was so intensely covered by the media was not because she had been wrongly
treated; rather, the media was interested in the episode because she was a successful
business professional with five children, one of whom was seriously ill with leukaemia.
Women are commonly viewed as victims of inequality as they struggle for justice not
just at the workplace but also in society at large. In this sense, Nicola Horlick's self-
presentation as a victim of the Morgan Grenfell affair is significant as she makes use of
an existing gender-stereotypical representation of women in order to show how
defenseless and powerless she was in a situation that originally had nothing to do with
her work performance and, in this way, enhances her image as a woman business leader
(Wagner & Wodak 2006:388).

4. Conclusion

This study adds to organizational communication research that underscores the role that
written language has in the formation of social meanings of gender and leadership (cf.
Townsend 2009). More specifically, it sheds new light on how language can be used to
change perceptions of gender and leadership and how women leaders can re-construct, or
'undo', gender when presenting themselves in autobiographies. The findings show that,
in her autobiography, Nicola Horlick makes use of various devices of written language to
compose different sides of her self-presentation. In particular, Nicola Horlick utilizes the
narrative structure of the text to create different themes of representation which function

as the framework of her overall self-presentation. Above all, Nicola Horlick's self-presentation accentuates femininity and other attributes characteristically associated with women. This type of self-presentation shows that, similar to the construction of 'self' by women political leaders (e.g. Bystrom 2006; Townsend 2007), gender-stereotypical meanings of women leaders can be and indeed are re-constructed, or 'undone', through 'traditionally' subjective perceptions of women leaders also in the business discourse domain. Theoretically, this means that discourses that introduce a new meaning of a social phenomenon by the use of the old meaning tend to 'naturalize' the new meaning of the existing phenomenon in a way that makes it part of our shared common sense (Fairclough 1989; 1992a; 1992b). Additionally, this means that gender is not just something that people construct, or 'do', as has been shown in previous research (e.g. Eriksson, Henttonen & Meriläinen 2008; Katila & Meriläinen 1999; Tienari et al 2005); rather gender is something that is also re-constructed, or 'undone'. Indeed, the findings could be understood from a more traditional feminist perspective which would suggest that the self-presentation of Nicola Horlick is distorted by socio-cultural perceptions of gender and leadership. Nevertheless, as Nicola Horlick is an intelligent and well-educated person who has shown herself to have a mind of her own as a business professional, it is more likely than unlikely that Nicola Horlick's self-presentation is constructed in a manner which pertains to re-construct her previous, gender-stereotypical 'supernatural' image.

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As an investigation on communication, gender and leadership, the research project examines how women leaders operating in the political and business domains are characterized in public discourse. The findings suggest that characterizations of women as leaders are changing in public discourse. The main argument of the doctoral dissertation is that the meaning of gender (in relation to leadership) is currently transforming and that there are multiple realities (or understandings) of gender competing for legitimacy in our (global) society.

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