SHE'S GOT THE "IT" FACTOR: DO FEMALE LEADERS GET CREDIT FOR THEIR CHARISMA?

by

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of
The University of North Carolina at Charlotte
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in
Industrial Organizational Psychology

Charlotte

2020

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ABSTRACT

MARY MONROE HAUSFELD. She's got the "it" factor: Do female leaders get credit for their charisma? (Under the direction of DR. GEORGE BANKS)

While recent work has significantly advanced knowledge regarding charismatic leadership as a construct and its relationship to follower performance, substantial gaps in the literature persist. Specifically, the role gender may play as both an antecedent of charismatic leadership as well as a moderator of the relationship between charismatic leadership and follower perceptions is largely unknown. This paper analyzes transcripts from entertainment award show acceptance speeches (N = 125) to assess charismatic leadership tactic (CLT) use and investigates to what extent the charismatic content of the speech, combined with the gender of the speaker and relevant control variables, predicts the success of a YouTube video of the speech. This paper provides initial evidence supporting differential use of CLTs by men and women and takes a critical first step in the investigation of the role gender may play in both the use and reception of CLTs. Limitations and future directions are discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge my mentor and chair, Dr. George Banks, for his input and assistance throughout the entire process of completing this thesis and beyond. His feedback, encouragement, and insight into this work was invaluable. I am grateful for his contribution to this work as well as to my personal and scholarly development.

I would also like to thank my other committee members, Drs. Heggestad and Yavorsky for their continual support and guidance.

Finally, I would like to thank my family, especially my parents and my husband, for their encouragement and sustained belief in me.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate my thesis to my mother Becky Monroe (1960 – 2020).

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Women face many challenges in the workplace as gender inequality remains pervasive despite receiving increased attention in the academic literature as well as mainstream media (Eagly & Heilman, 2016). Gender inequality in the workplace proves problematic for several reasons. First, unequal treatment of male and female employees leads to unequal opportunities and outcomes, which reproduces and sustains the unfair status quo. Second, failing to recognize the talent of female candidates and employees results in a loss of human capital, as considering competent and qualified female candidates for executive and board positions could potentially double current levels of human capital (Simpson, Carter, & D'Souza, 2010). Finally, lawsuits and EEOC filings related to sex discrimination can be costly for organizations (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2018). As evidence of this inequality, women represent half the working-age population, but women generate only 37% of the GDP (Woetzel et al., 2015). One report estimated that gains in gender equality could add a total of $12 trillion to the global GDP within ten years (Woetzel et al., 2015). One major factor contributing to the lack of progress women have made is that women may be evaluated differently than men and held to different standards than their male peers because of stereotypes (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Eagly & Steffen, 1986) both within and outside of the workplace context. The use of charismatic leadership tactics (CLTs), which are verbal and non-verbal charismatic signaling behaviors, could be a tool women use to increase legitimacy and potentially mitigate the effects of negative stereotypes for female leaders both within and outside of formal leadership contexts (Antonakis, Bastardoz, Jacquart, & Shamir, 2016; Shamir, 1992).

While charismatic signaling has been shown to be an especially powerful tool for individuals in both formal and informal positions of leadership (Jacquart & Antonakis, 2015; Tur, Harstad, & Antonakis, 2018), the power of charisma for female leaders has been understudied. Through the use of charismatic signaling, women can potentially reduce bias in evaluations related to their gender and improve leadership perceptions, benefitting both women seeking leadership positions and organizations seeking to increase diversity and performance. Female leaders' use of legitimizing strategies including trainable verbal CLTs like metaphors, repetition, and moral conviction, however, has been understudied (Antonakis, Fenley, & Liechti, 2012).

One limitation of the current literature is the lack of empirical evidence indicating whether women use CLTs to the same extent as men. While there has been some investigation of charismatic leadership's antecedents including gender, many of these studies suffer from endogeneity bias, meaning that one cannot make causal claims because of the failure to rule out other potential causes (Antonakis et al., 2016; Antonakis, Bendahan, Jacquart, & Lalive, 2010). Charisma has been defined as "values-based, symbolic, and emotion-laden leader signaling" (Antonakis et al., 2016), and outcomes of charismatic signaling include supervisor-rated job performance, supervisor-rated organizational citizenship behaviors, group and organizational performance, as well as positive outcomes outside of the workplace (Banks et al., 2017; Tur et al., 2018). As evidence indicates that verbal and non-verbal CLTs are trainable charismatic signaling behaviors (Antonakis, Fenley, & Liechti, 2011), it is not known to what extent women are already using CLTs as charismatic signaling (Tur et al., 2018) in order to increase legitimacy (Vial, Napier, & Brescoll, 2016). There is a dearth of research examining if,

how, and to what extent women are currently using CLTs or if CLT use varies by specific type of CLT between men and women. For example, scholars don't know whether women and men use metaphors, moral conviction, and other CLTs to the same extent. It could very well be the case that men favor certain CLTs while women favor others, but there has been no investigation of these potential differences in the literature.

A second limitation of the literature is the lack of research investigating how leader gender may moderate the relationship between CLT use and follower evaluations and objective outcomes. While previous meta-analyses have attempted to examine gender as a moderator of charisma's effect on evaluations and outcomes (Banks et al., 2017; Bono & Judge, 2004; Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, & Van Engen, 2003), these investigations are flawed as they rely on primary studies suffering from endogeneity bias (for a review see Antonakis et al., 2010). By operationalizing charisma through surveys administered to followers like the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ) developed by Bass and Avolio (1995), current investigations confound charismatic leader behaviors with others' evaluations of the leader, rendering the relationship between these two variables impossible to investigate. This means that current methodology cannot distinguish whether observed gender differences come from actual differences in leader behaviors or simply perceptual bias. Furthermore, these primary studies have not measured actual levels of charismatic signaling through objective means like CLTs, making it difficult to understand the role that gender can play in influencing the relationship between behaviors and evaluations. While the leadership literature has been especially criticized for endogeneity bias (Antonakis et al., 2010), leadership scholars aren't the only culprits, as other investigations of gender bias in performance evaluations

have failed to examine behaviors and perceptions separately (Joshi, Son, & Roh, 2014; Paustian-Underdahl, Walker, & Woehr, 2014; Roth, Purvis, & Bobko, 2012). Research investigating moderators of the charismatic effect needs to isolate leader behaviors from subjective evaluations of the leader in order to distinguish behaviors from bias and reduce concerns related to endogeneity bias.

In addition to raising concerns about endogeneity bias and encouraging the use of more objective measurement (Antonakis et al., 2010), Antonakis and colleagues (2010) have noted that gender has been particularly understudied as a moderator of charisma, stating "we do not know enough about how male and female leaders are seen by others, and how effective they are, when using charismatic sources of influence" (p. 311). It remains unclear whether the leader's gender impacts the effectiveness of CLTs in terms of both follower evaluations and leadership outcomes, but there is strong evidence concerning gender bias that suggests it should. Evidence from lab and field experiments demonstrates that women are often evaluated differently than their male peers even when enacting the exact same behavior (Phelan, Moss-Racusin, & Rudman, 2008; Sheppard & Aquino, 2013). As followers with incomplete information process both charismatic signaling through CLTs and other signals related to the leader's gender, the negative associations and stereotypes linked to women (Heilman, Block, & Martell, 1995) may conflict with or overpower the positive associations with charismatic signaling. Because of this, there is the possibility that female leaders using CLTs receive less credit for their charisma compared to their male peers in terms of follower evaluations and even outcomes.

A third limitation of the literature is the lack of a comprehensive framework organizing the multidisciplinary research on how a whole host of variables including leader appearance, gender, and charismatic behaviors interact and influence the formation of follower evaluations. The gender literature alone has several important conceptual models describing how female leaders are perceived and evaluated differently than male leaders. Social role theory (Eagly & Steffen, 1986), role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002), the shifting standards model (Phelan et al., 2008), the backlash effect (Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 2001), and other frameworks all contribute to our understanding of how women are perceived relative to men, yet those frameworks have not been well integrated with theories related to how leader behaviors like charismatic signaling lead to follower evaluations and eventually outcomes. These frameworks each add to our overall understanding of gender and evaluations of women in the workplace, but the disconnect between the gender and leadership literature undermines future efforts. The lack of a parsimonious theoretical explanation for follower evaluations of leaders makes theory testing incredibly difficult (Leavitt, Mitchell, & Peterson, 2010). Antonakis (2017) argued that without theorizing more clearly and intentionally, researchers risk worsening the fragmentation of the literature and increasing the likelihood of their own work's lack of impact. In addition, an overarching theoretical framework can lead to a more coherent and complete understanding of how signals related to leader gender and signals related to leader behaviors combine and potentially interact to influence follower evaluations and outcomes.

This paper aims to address the above limitations in the literature. The present investigation will address the lack of knowledge on women's use of CLTs by comparing

rates of CLT use between women and men in an informal leadership context. Informal avenues of leadership have been increasing in importance and prominence (Tur et al., 2018), and popular figures use social media as "influencers" for a variety of purposes ranging from swaying public opinion on social issues to marketing a product (Galetti & Costa-Pereira, 2017). In order to assess the role gender bias may play in evaluations of female leaders' use of CLTs, this paper examines gender as a moderator to investigate whether signals related to a female leader's gender influence the effectiveness of her use of charismatic signaling in terms of follower evaluations and outcomes. Additionally, in order to better integrate theories of gender and leadership, this investigation will be conducted through the lens of signaling theory (Connelly, Certo, Ireland, & Reutzel, 2011; Spence, 1973), providing theoretical clarity and parsimony for future research. While Antonakis et al. (2010) estimated that at minimum, two thirds of the leadership literature failed to address issues that could invalidate causal claims, the present design intentionally reduces concerns of endogeneity bias, providing a clearer view of how CLTs lead to evaluations and then outcomes through rigor of design (Antonakis, 2017). The next section begins with a review of the relevant theoretical literature and introduces the theoretical model of antecedents, moderators, and outcomes of charisma.

1.1 Theoretical Framework

Charisma is certainly not a new topic, though there have been recent advances concerning the definition and operationalization of charisma. The word charisma comes from the Greek word *charis*, and early philosophers like Aristotle mentioned attributes very similar to charisma when describing the necessary characteristics of a successful leader (Antonakis et al., 2016). Initially investigated in a systematic way by sociologists

and political scientists such as Max Weber (1968), charisma was framed as a tactic to resist institutional controls (Antonakis et al., 2016). In the 1970s, psychologists and management scholars began to frame charisma in the context of leadership styles (Bass, 1985; House, 1977). At that point charismatic leadership was defined by the effect and influence it had over others rather than any specific behaviors of the leader. Clear, precise, and distinguishable definitions of constructs, however, are essential in the production of a parsimonious science and making meaningful theoretical progress (Aguinis & Vandenberg, 2014; Antonakis, 2017). The definition of charisma for the purpose of this paper is "values-based, symbolic, and emotion-laden leader signaling" (Antonakis et al., 2016, p. 304) and is operationalized through verbal CLTs.

Previous research on charismatic leadership has confounded charismatic signaling and its effects, leading to endogeneity bias and limiting the ability to make causal inferences (Antonakis, 2017; Antonakis et al., 2016; Antonakis et al., 2010) and stalling the advancement of the collective understanding of charisma as a construct, its nomological network, and its outcomes. Defining charisma as leader signals and operationalizing it through observable behaviors allows us to examine charismatic signals and the effects of those signals separately. Charisma as measured by survey methodology and more objective measures has been associated with positive outcomes within and outside of the workplace, and improving measurement of charisma allows research to further clarify and understand charisma's relationship with its outcomes. For example, leader charisma in the form of inspirational motivation and idealized influence as measured by the MLQ is associated with increases in task performance and contextual performance for followers (Banks et al., 2017). Charisma as measured by CLTs has been

associated with more favorable leader evaluations, favorability ratings, voting behavior, and increases in worker productivity (Antonakis, d'Adda, Weber, & Zehnder, 2018; Bastardoz, Tur, Monney, & Antonakis, 2018; Jacquart & Antonakis, 2015). In sum, charismatic signaling has been shown to be a powerful tool for leaders, but scientific examinations of charisma and its impact on leader evaluations and organizational outcomes should reduce endogeneity through the use of objective, behavioral measures. The measurement of charisma as CLTs combined with the time and method separations between CLTs, evaluations, and outcomes ensure that findings will not suffer from endogeneity bias (Antonakis et al., 2010). Furthermore, as CLTs can be experimentally manipulated, they can be used to strengthen knowledge about how and to what extent CLTs influence evaluations of the leader.

Another advantage of operationalizing charismatic signaling through CLTs is the ability to capture multiple unique charismatic signaling tactics and compare use of the different types of tactics. Verbal CLTs include repetition, metaphor, sentiment of the collective, moral conviction, rhetorical question, contrast, setting an ambitious goal, and building confidence that a goal can be achieved (see Table 1 for definitions and examples). Each CLT works to signal charisma to followers, but as a CLT score has typically been calculated by summing the total number of tactics used controlling for the number of words in the speech, there has been no previous investigation of the use of the individual types of CLTs and how that use may vary between men and women. There is no established theory predicting why men or women may favor certain CLTs, but there has been limited research in different types of communication of male and female physicians that could suggest differences in CLT use between men and women. For

example, Roter and Hall (2004) found that female physicians engaged in more partnership building with their patients, empowering their patients to play an active role in their treatment. This could predict higher use of sentiment of the collective, which is a CLT that allows the leader to connect with the follower, indicating that he or she knows how the follower feels and explicitly including the follower's perspective. Additionally, female physicians engaged in more positive talk than their male counterparts (Roter & Hall, 2004), which could suggest that women may be more prone to create confidence in reaching goals than men. While these results suggest there may be differences between male and female use of individual CLTs, there is no work in the charismatic literature that can shed light on these potential differences. The present investigation will examine the variation in use of individual CLTs between men and women in order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of CLTs as a measure of charismatic signaling as well as the different ways men and women may signal charisma.

Signaling theory is a framework originating in the natural sciences (for a review see Dawkins, 1976) that has influenced many areas of research within the management literature including leadership (Connelly et al., 2011). The basic premise argues that individuals and organizations engage in signaling behaviors to communicate information to other parties, and this framework has been used to examine everything from animal mating behaviors to the behavior of job applicants (Rynes, Bretz Jr, & Gerhart, 1991; Spence, 1973). In terms of leadership, signaling theory posits that leaders and followers have information asymmetries and the leader enacts certain behaviors to signal information to the follower. The follower, upon receiving these signals, interprets those signals with the use of existing information and heuristics, finally making inferences

about the leader. A distinction is made between the signaling behavior itself and the follower's interpretation of those behaviors, and this distinction becomes critical in any investigation guided by signaling theory.

Current research on gender discrimination in leadership is informed by several different theoretical explanations including role-congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002), the backlash effect (Rudman & Phelan, 2008), and others discussed above. Signaling theory has the potential to unify these explanations by serving as a foundational theory. For example, role-congruity theory argues that female leaders are discriminated against in terms of performance evaluations because of conflict between stereotypes about successful managers and stereotypes about women (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Ritter & Yoder, 2004). Signaling theory can provide a framework through which to view how leader behaviors and characteristics may influence follower evaluations of the leader and outcomes. For example, when a male leader engages in leadership behaviors, he sends signals related to leadership competence, but the leader's gender also inadvertently signals competence because of positive stereotypes associated with men and leadership. A receiver, when interpreting these signals, combines their existing knowledge of gender stereotypes and stereotypes about leaders in order to form evaluations of the leader. If the leader were female, however, signals related to her gender would likely interfere with more relevant signals of competence because of commonplace stereotypes about women being ineffective leaders. This interference of signals can lead to differential follower evaluations for female managers than their male colleagues even when they engage in the exact same behaviors. Because of this discrepancy in stereotypes about male and female leaders, signals related to gender may moderate the relationships between charismatic

signaling, evaluations, and outcomes. In the following section, the theoretical model is introduced in Figure 1.

1.2 Development of Research Questions

Antecedents of charisma in past research have included variables such as general intelligence, personality, gender, age, posture, and attractiveness (Banks et al., 2017; Reh, Van Quaquebeke, & Giessner, 2017), but these have been studied primarily through the use of questionnaires and not the observation of actual leader behaviors. The primary antecedent of interest for this study is gender (see Figure 1 Box 1) because of the lack of research concerning the use of CLTs among women compared to men (Antonakis et al., 2016). While Banks et al. (2017) found that women tended to be rated slightly higher in charisma than men (Cohen's *d* ranged between .04 and .1), the survey instruments used in most primary studies only capture follower evaluations of the leader and not the actual charismatic behaviors. The current operationalization allows for a distinction to be made between leader behaviors and follower bias, so that actual base rates of CLTs among men and women can be compared. It may be the case that women are utilizing CLTs as much as or even more than their male peers as legitimation strategies to overcome gender bias (Vial et al., 2016). Yet, gender has not been examined before as a true antecedent of CLTs, so the prevalence of CLT use among men and women is still unknown. Furthermore, previous research has failed to examine whether men and women use the same individual charismatic tactics to the same extent. To that end, this paper asks:

Research Question 1: To what extent are women using CLTs compared to their male peers?

Charismatic signaling, measured here with CLTs (see Figure 1 Box 2), represents the actual observable behaviors leaders perform in order to convey influence over followers. CLTs are especially good measures of charismatic signaling as they are objective and can be scored numerically. In addition to minimizing unnecessary endogeneity that plagues survey instruments like the MLQ (Bass & Avolio, 1995), CLTs can be measured in field experiments, as any written or spoken text can be analyzed for CLTs. Furthermore, CLTs in speeches or other text can be experimentally manipulated in the lab and are even trainable (Antonakis et al., 2012; Antonakis et al., 2011; Avolio, Reichard, Hannah, Walumbwa, & Chan, 2009). For example, Antonakis, d'Adda, et al. (2018) manipulated CLT use in both a field experiment and laboratory studies investigating the causal link between leader CLT use and objective task performance. Field and laboratory experiments using CLTs allows researchers to examine the mechanisms and outcomes of charisma while reducing endogeneity bias.

The use of charismatic signaling behaviors like CLTs prompts followers to make inferences about the leader, contributing to overall evaluations of the leader (see Fig. 1. Box 3). According to signaling theory, two parties have different levels of information (information asymmetries), and the signaler, in this case the leader, sends signals to the receiver, an outsider with a lack of information to convey a certain message. These signals sent by the leader are often signals related to quality, which Connelly et al. (2011) refers to as “the underlying, unobservable ability of the signaler to fulfill the needs or demands of an outsider observing the signal” (p. 43). Signals need not be intentional, as Reh et al. (2017) investigated other leader factors that could serve to signal charisma, such as facial appearance, height, attractiveness, age, and posture among others. The goal

of charismatic signaling is to create an inspiring vision to motivate or influence followers, which is advantageous in many settings including informal leadership, where the goal is to influence, persuade, or gain popularity. This paper focuses on CLTs as charismatic signaling, as they are trainable behaviors rather than leader attributes (Antonakis et al., 2011), allowing the distinction between leader behaviors and follower evaluations of the leader to be made clear.

The boundary conditions of this relationship between CLT use and evaluations of the leader, however, have not been well defined. The gender of the leader has the potential to moderate the relationship between CLT use and leader evaluations (see Figure 1 Box 3), as the signals related to gender may interact with charismatic signals and impact evaluations of the leader. In essence, leader gender can convey a signal that activates stereotypes in the receiver, interfering with relevant signals related to competence, potentially leading to biased evaluations. Stereotypes about women range from positive, to neutral, to negative, and these stereotypes have implications in terms of leadership and evaluation of leaders (Biernat & Manis, 1994; Kunda & Thagard, 1996). Meta-analytic evidence suggests that even when men and women enact identical behaviors, observers attribute different motives and levels of competence depending on gender because of these stereotypes (Swim & Sanna, 1996). This differential interpretation of women's behavior could have implications for the efficacy of CLTs for women compared to men.

Charismatic leadership tactics should lead to positive organizational outcomes (see Fig 1 Box 4) through the increase of positive evaluations, but also through a direct path. Many studies attempting to investigate this connection suffer from endogeneity

bias, which has made our collective understanding of the connection between CLT use and outcomes murky at best. There have been several exceptions, with recent work on CLTs providing preliminary evidence of the direct path from CLT use to leader outcomes (Jacquart & Antonakis, 2015; Tur et al., 2018). Additionally, researchers have called for future research to pay increased attention to practically significant organizational outcomes of charisma such as firm performance (Antonakis et al., 2016). Similarly, scholars have advocated for conceptual replications to determine whether CLTs' influence on outcomes persists in different contexts (Antonakis et al., 2016). Gender has not been included as a moderator in previous studies of CLT's impact on performance and other relevant outcomes. There is a need to test the boundary conditions of the relationship between CLT use and outcomes, especially regarding the role that gender may play in moderating this relationship. For example, when controlling for CLT use, do speeches given by men tend to reach a broader audience than speeches given by women or is the opposite true? The present investigation aims to empirically investigate the relationship between CLT use, gender, and objective outcomes in an informal leadership setting and asks:

> *Research Question 2: To what extent does gender moderate the relationship between CLTs and objective outcomes, and is this interaction more beneficial for male or female leaders?*

CHAPTER TWO: METHOD

2.1 Open science resources

The anonymized pre-registration, materials, data, and analytic code for this paper are available through the Open Science Framework (https://osf.io/7uabe/).

2.2 Sample

The sample consisted of acceptance speech videos from several years of recent (2017 – 2019) televised awards shows. The sample includes videos from the most watched televised award ceremonies including the 2018 Golden Globes, Oscars, and Emmys (for full list see The Hollywood Reporter, 2014). While multiple videos of these speeches may exist on other YouTube channels and various other platforms, videos were retrieved from the YouTube channels officially associated with the event (e.g. NBC channel or Academy Awards channel) to maximize consistency between videos, as videos from each year were posted simultaneously on the same account. Sourcing all videos from the same channel helps maximize consistency in promotion and viewership. Furthermore, this context serves almost as a natural experiment as acceptance speeches from each event were subject to certain time constraints, given the same evening, and given in front of the same audience. Finally, this setting of award shows is appropriate to examine leader charismatic signaling as it represents an informal leadership setting, where speakers may be implicitly or explicitly trying to persuade or convince the audience (Tur et al., 2018). It is beneficial for performers (e.g. actors and artists) and creators (e.g. directors and writers) to give inspiring, persuasive, or powerful speeches as this may influence attitudes of the audience, which could have direct effects on their own career success as well as power both within and outside of their industry. For example,

many performers are engaged in some sort of activism, and Kim Kardashian West recently demonstrated the implications of such power as she used her influence to negotiate a pardon for a woman imprisoned on drug charges and is paving the way for criminal justice reform (Andrews-Dyer, 2018). Additionally, informal leadership settings like TED Talks, social media, and public speeches are becoming increasingly common areas of focus in the charisma literature (Tur et al., 2018).

Previous estimates of CLTs' influence on outcomes have ranged from .21 to .45 (Banks et al., 2017). Different power analyses were conducted in order to detect a medium effect size (d = .30) with .80 power and an alpha of .05 through different methods including a t-test, correlation, and multiple regression. The result of these tests revealed this study requires a sample size of at least 132 speeches. All speeches were retrieved from videos on YouTube from the ten most watched awards shows (The Hollywood Reporter, 2014). Speeches from 2017 to present day were included in the sample in order to reach the necessary sample size.

2.3 Independent Measures

Charismatic signaling. Charismatic signaling is operationalized through the use of CLTs. Transcripts were coded manually and checked for accuracy on a subset of transcripts with another coder, to estimate IRR. Transcripts were coded using a coding manual and procedure provided by John Antonakis and colleagues (Antonakis, Tur, & Jacquart, 2018). Coding included nine CLTs: repetition, metaphor, sentiment of the collective, moral conviction, rhetorical question, contrast, setting an ambitious goal, and building confidence that a goal can be achieved. CLTs have demonstrated validity in both field and laboratory experiments (Antonakis et al., 2011). Furthermore, Jacquart and

Antonakis (2015) demonstrated convergent validity and predictive validity of CLTs by comparing relationships with theoretically similar variables as well as with relevant outcomes. The total CLT score for a speech was calculated by summing the number of CLTs present in the speech (Antonakis, Tur, et al., 2018).

Speaker Gender. Speaker gender was dummy coded with 0 = male and 1 = female. Information on the speaker and their gender has been retrieved from official websites, promotional materials, and Wikipedia pages to ensure accuracy.

2.4 Control Variables

All control variables were chosen based on previous research and carefully considered according to the recommendations of Bernerth and Aguinis (2016).

Year. Because the sample includes awards shows from different years, year of the ceremony is included as a control variable. Older speeches, for example, could be expected to have higher numbers of comments, views, and reactions, because of greater exposure.

Attire. Previous research has suggested that the color red is associated with more positive evaluations of leader charisma as well as other outcomes (Elliot & Maier, 2014; Tur et al., 2018). Additionally, glasses can negatively influence evaluations of charisma (Tskhay, Zhu, & Rule, 2017). As I intend to assess evaluations of charisma due to CLTs rather than wardrobe choices, I created two dichotomous variables to indicate whether the speaker wore red or glasses to control for the potential effects of attire on evaluations of charisma.

Award History. An audience's exposure to a speaker in the same context can influence their evaluation of the speaker. In order to mitigate the influence of this

exposure effect, I followed the lead of Tur et al. (2018) and included a continuous variable to indicate the number of nominations the award winner had received up until that point. For example, Elisabeth Moss was already a Golden Globes award winner when she made her acceptance speech in 2018 for best actress in a television series drama, which may influence follower evaluations because the audience had increased exposure to her as a Golden Globes nominated actress compared to speakers who had not previously been nominated for or won an award. Additionally, previous nominations of awards could contribute to the fame of the award winner, which may influence how many people view the video of their acceptance speech on YouTube.

2.5 Dependent Measures

Objective Outcomes. Objective outcomes are operationalized through a simple count of likes, dislikes, and views for each video, similar to previous research (Tur et al., 2018). While there are certainly limitations to this method, as a reaction to the video cannot be formed without first viewing the speech, the current operationalization of outcomes is based on previous literature on charismatic leadership in informal leadership contexts (Tur et al., 2018), and views, likes, and dislikes are the only metrics available through YouTube. In this context, charismatic speeches should lead to a higher stock of likability, which would be demonstrated through this operationalization as increased views and likes.

2.6 Analyses

Basic descriptive statistics for all study variables were calculated, and bivariate correlations between focal variables were calculated. Average CLT use for men and women was compared through an independent samples t-test and measure of effect size

to address Research Question 1. To address Research Question 2, the bivariate correlations between CLT use and the three different measures of performance (views, likes, and dislikes) were examined. Then a series of hierarchical multiple regressions were conducted to determine what role CLT use has in influencing each outcome variable after accounting for relevant control variables.

CHAPTER THREE: RESULTS

3.1 Sample and Descriptive Statistics

Videos were retrieved from YouTube.com according to the procedures outlined above. A total of 139 videos were selected and coded independently by two individuals for CLTs. After a brief training period, the two coders established interrater reliability with a Cohen's kappa of .829 across 5 articles and 94 coding decisions. Information regarding previous nominations and the clothing of the speaker was captured by another individual through YouTube and official webpages for the awarding bodies. Views, likes, dislikes, and number of comments were retrieved from the YouTube pages on the same day within a period of two and a half hours. At some point after initial identification of the YouTube videos, 13 videos were removed from the site, making it impossible to collect information regarding views, likes, etc. These videos were excluded from analysis. There was one obvious outlier in terms of number of previous nominations, as the television show Saturday Night Live (SNL) had collected over 200 previous nominations for awards, likely due to the longevity of the program. This figure was ten times as large as the next highest number of previous nominations conferred to director Ryan Murphy with 26 previous nominations. Because of the huge discrepancy between SNL and the other observations, SNL was dropped from analyses. This resulted in a final sample of $N = 125$.

Descriptive statistics and correlations between main study variables can be found in Table 2. Overall, there was considerable variance between videos in regards to their views, likes, dislikes, and comments. The only statistically significant relationships between CLTs and the outcome variables was the relationship between using a story or

anecdote and number of views (r = .15, p = .09) and the use of a rhetorical question and number of views (r =.18, p = .04). The relationships between overall CLT score and our outcome variables were small (r values ranged from .09 to .12) and did not reach statistical significance. These effects are small but not far from estimates in previous work, which ranged from .15 to .21 (Tur et al., 2018). Additionally, this effect is practically meaningful as even small gender differences can lead to large discrepancies when compounded over time (Martell, Lane, & Emrich, 1996).

One potential concern with the use of views, likes, and dislikes as outcome variables is that a potential viewer has to first view the video in order to "like" it. Many individuals may view a video but choose not to endorse the video by clicking "like." In order to address this concern, I included the ratio of likes per view as a new outcome variable. To facilitate interpretation, I performed a linear transformation and multiplied each ratio by 1,000 to create a like score.

3.2 Gender Differences

In order to address RQ1 and identify potential differences in CLT use between men and women, speeches of men and women were compared (see Table 3). Men were overrepresented in the sample, with nearly twice the award winners being men (N = 83) despite many of the categories being gender-specific (e.g. best actress and best actor). A few differences emerge in the comparison between men and women in the sample. First, women spoke more during their acceptance speeches than their male peers (t(75) = -1.84, p =.069 , d = .36). Several of the awards shows included time limits for acceptance speeches, and the higher word counts of speeches delivered by women could be due to

either a faster rate of speech than their male peers or a longer speech, using the full amount of time allotted. On average, women used 200 more words than men.

In terms of CLT use, several differences emerged between men and women in the sample, but these differences were small in magnitude and not statistically significant, perhaps due to issues regarding statistical power. While the initial sample size had sufficient statistical power to detect a small effect, the final sample may not have had the power to detect small effects because of several videos that had to be excluded. Women tended to use more CLTs than their male peers (M = 4.69 vs. M = 3.98), $t(79) = -1.23$, p = .224, d = .23), but this difference was not statistically significant. This difference in overall CLT scores between men and women was likely due to women's higher use of the tactics metaphor (M = 1.10 vs. M = .78), collective sentiment (M = .43 vs. M = .29), setting ambitious goals (M = .17 vs. M = .02), and creating confidence that goals can be achieved (M = .07 vs. M = 0).

3.3 Charisma and Objective Outcomes

To address RQ2 and investigate whether charisma predicted objective outcomes and to what extent gender moderated this relationship, I conducted a series of hierarchical multiple regressions. The first model included the control variables, and the second model added CLT score and gender. These regressions were conducted for each proposed outcome variable. Results of the regressions can be found in Table 4.

Charisma did not statistically significantly predict any of the outcome variables, which was to be expected given the largest bivariate correlation between CLTs and an outcome variable was small in magnitude (r = .12) and not statistically significant. Thus, when partialing out variance associated with the control variables, the relationship

between CLTs and views, likes, dislikes, and the like score diminished to the point where it was indistinguishable from zero. Word count and history of nominations were frequently statistically significant predictors of outcome variables across the different models, but overall few variables in these models were significant predictors of likes, views, dislikes, and the like score. In addition, as can be seen in Table 4, the overall variance explained by these models was small, with some not even explaining 5% of variance in the outcome variables. The vast majority of variance in these outcome variables is explained by factors not included in the model rather than by charisma, gender, or the control variables.

Because of the lack of a statistically significant main effect for gender or for charisma for any of the outcome variables, there was no grounds to conduct moderation analyses. As stated before, neither variable was statistically significantly related to outcomes after inclusion of control variables. These results do not support the notion of gender as a moderator of the charismatic effect. More research is needed to carefully examine the relationship between CLTs and outcomes as well as the extent to which gender may moderate this relationship.

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION

The present study takes a critical step forward in advancing our knowledge concerning women and leadership behaviors. There is a lack of empirical data investigating the efficacy of charismatic signaling behaviors enacted by women. This gap is due in part to the majority of primary studies utilizing survey methodology that conflates leader charismatic behaviors with follower evaluations (Antonakis et al., 2016). Another contributing factor, however, is the low proportion of women included in investigations of charismatic leadership operationalized through CLTs. For example, of the 34 Swiss managers included in Antonakis et al.'s (2011) study testing the efficacy of a CLT training intervention, only three participants were women. Other samples didn't include any women, such as Jacquart and Antonakis' (2015) investigation of CLT use among US presidential nominees from 1916 to 2008. Women have scarcely been included in investigations of charismatic leader signaling despite holding 40% of management positions in the United States in 2018 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019). One reason the lack of data regarding women's charismatic signaling behaviors is problematic is because it hampers efforts to reduce barriers to women's success in the workplace. As discussed earlier, CLTs could represent a legitimizing strategy for female leaders (Vial et al., 2016), but the paucity of evidence supporting its efficacy for women undermines confidence in CLT as a legitimizing strategy. The gender data gap needs to be closed in order to reduce inequality in outcomes for women and to leverage the full potential of female leaders. The underutilization of women in leadership results in a devastating loss in human capital, with some scholars estimating that integration of

women into positions of leadership could double current levels of human capital (Simpson et al., 2010).

4.1 Theoretical Contribution

This investigation addresses several gaps in the literature concerning charismatic leadership and provides new evidence regarding gender's relationship with CLTs. First, the present study is the first to explicitly investigate base rates of CLTs among women compared to men. Previous meta-analytic work has suggested women and men may not differ in terms of charisma, but these estimates are based on primary studies riddled with endogeneity bias (Banks et al., 2017). Research examining gender differences in CLT use has found mixed results, with male TED Talk speakers using more CLTs (r = .10 to .11) while a second sample consisting of tweets revealed no gender difference (r = -.02 to .03; Tur et al., 2018). The present study found that women used more CLTs than men with a correlation of .11, though the results were not statistically significant (p = .22). The average man in our sample used about 190 words and around four charismatic leadership tactics in their speech, while the average woman used about 220 words and closer to five charismatic leadership tactics. Assuming the pattern holds, the gap between men and women's charismatic signaling behavior becomes more apparent in longer speeches.

In terms of the use of individual charismatic leadership tactics, women exhibited slightly higher usage of metaphor, collective sentiment, setting ambitious goals, and creating confidence that goals can be achieved. It could be the case that women in our sample used more CLTs because of the "#MeToo" movement that was gaining momentum at the time (Borges, 2019). As the issue primarily affects women, female speakers may have intentionally used more charismatic signaling in order to incite action.

This aligns with theory surrounding charismatic leadership arguing that charisma may be used to motivate and inspire followers (House, 1977). The present study provides preliminary evidence suggesting that women may utilize charismatic leadership tactics differently than their male peers. It remains to be seen whether the gender differences observed in this study were due to the context of awards ceremonies and the #MeToo movement or if they are enduring across contexts. Previous literature has focused almost entirely on male-dominated samples, and this study takes a critical step forward in examining the potential for gender differences in charismatic leader signaling. Further investigation of the role gender may play in CLT use is warranted given the findings reported here.

Second, this study avoids endogeneity problems associated with survey measures of charisma by operationalizing leader charisma through CLTs, which allows results to be interpreted with more confidence and contributes to the nascent but growing body of research examining leader charismatic behaviors. The operationalization of CLTs as leader charismatic signaling allows leader behaviors to be examined independently of follower reactions and follower outcomes (Antonakis et al., 2016). Without this strategy, subjective evaluations of the leader are confounded with leader signaling behaviors, which disallow any examination of gender as an antecedent of charisma or a moderator of the charismatic effect. In essence, investigations that fail to separate leader behaviors from follower evaluations cannot advance theory of charismatic leadership, and meta-analytic estimates using these data are biased (Banks et al., 2017). In utilizing objective behavioral measures of charismatic signaling, this paper disentangles leader charismatic behaviors from outsider evaluations of that leader, which allows for theory testing and

theory building. In order to test the mechanisms through which leader signaling leads to positive outcomes, leader behaviors must be separated from follower evaluations of the leader. Without this separation, proposed moderators cannot be investigated. An added benefit of this design choice is it also reduces concerns regarding common method bias and social desirability that often plague survey research. Furthermore, meta-analysts can leverage effect sizes from primary studies such as the present study to make meaningful comparisons between leadership styles and to examine antecedents and outcomes of charismatic leadership while minimizing concerns regarding endogeneity bias (Banks et al., 2017).

Finally, this paper expands the literature by examining gender as a potential moderator of charisma's impact on objective outcomes. Scholars have called for a more thorough investigation of moderators of charisma (Antonakis et al., 2016), and this paper answers by examining charismatic leadership in a novel context and by including gender as a potential moderator. Previous investigations of charismatic leadership have failed to acknowledge the signals associated with leader gender and how they may interfere with charismatic signaling. Female leaders face stereotypes of incompetence (Heilman, 2001), and when they enact traditional agentic behaviors associated with leadership, they often face backlash because of the incongruity between stereotypes about women and stereotypes about leaders (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Rudman & Phelan, 2008). When framing charismatic leadership tactics as leader charismatic signaling (Antonakis et al., 2016), it is critical to consider the "distortion introduced by the receiver" likely occurring due to stereotypes regarding female leaders (Connelly et al., 2011). Failing to recognize

leader gender as a potentially relevant signal obscures our view of CLT efficacy and confounds gender stereotypes with actual leader behaviors.

The proposed moderation analyses were not carried out in this study due to CLT scores failing to predict outcomes above and beyond control variables. The lack of a significant relationship between CLT use and these objective outcome variables is inconsistent with previous research on charisma in informal leadership settings such as TED Talks (Tur et al., 2018). One potential explanation is the context of the entertainment industry represents a boundary condition for the "charismatic effect." For example, previous work has suggested that the impact of charisma is greater when the context is explicitly moral or ethical (Shamir & Howell, 1999). In terms of signaling theory, the lack of efficacy of CLTs due to environment could be due to distortion due to the signaling environment or lack of attention on the part of the receiver (Connelly et al., 2011). The receiver plays a critical role in determining the efficacy of leader signals, as they are responsible for attending to and interpreting leader signals (Connelly et al., 2011). In the context of the present study, while many female award winners referenced ethical or moral challenges facing women today in their speeches, the context of an award show itself is not particularly morally powerful, which may cause distortion (Connelly et al., 2011). Additionally, the award show context may lead receivers to either not attend to signals or to not weigh these signals as particularly relevant compared to others (Connelly et al., 2011). These findings underlie the need to continue to examine CLT use and CLT effectiveness in a variety of contexts, including both formal and informal leadership in order to better understand the power of leader charismatic signaling and its contingency factors.

4.2 Limitations and Future Directions

As with any research endeavor, this study has its limitations. First, as mentioned earlier, the study may have been underpowered due to the unexpected overrepresentation of male speakers. While a power analysis was conducted and the number of videos chosen accordingly, the higher proportion of male award winners resulted in groups of unequal size, violating the assumption that the sampling ratio for men and women was equal. While there were many gender-specific award categories (e.g. best actress vs. best actor), men won nearly every award not reserved for women, which led to an overrepresentation of male speakers. The unequal group size may have made it more difficult to detect differences between the male and female speakers. Even with the admitted underrepresentation of women in the present sample, the percentage of women in this study is actually higher than in most previous work (e.g., Antonakis et al., 2011; Jacquart & Antonakis, 2015). Future research investigating charismatic leadership might consider oversampling female leaders to ensure sufficient representation to make meaningful comparisons.

Second, there are limitations associated with the operationalization of objective outcomes through likes, dislikes, and views. In order for an audience member to be influenced by the charisma of a speaker, that individual must first watch the speech, but an individual who has simply watched the speech may not have been influenced by it. I attempted to overcome this limitation through use of the like score, but even that composite variable has potential disadvantages. However, views and likes have been used in previous investigations of the influence of CLTs in informal leadership settings (Tur et al., 2018), and this operationalization is not without merit. For example, likes, views, and

shares are all objective measures and avoid criticisms that hound outcome variables like supervisor-rated job performance. Future investigations should strive to include multiple operationalizations of outcomes in order to better understand to what extent charismatic signaling influences followers and how they react to that influence. One potential objective outcome variable to consider is examining follower "shares" of a video or speech, as publicly sharing material may be considered an endorsement.

The final limitation of this study is that the use of field data and the research design negate the possibility of drawing causal inferences. While the current study certainly has its advantages in utilizing objective measures rather than survey-based measures, potential alternate explanations threaten the internal validity of the study and prevent causal inferences. Future research on CLTs should include laboratory experiments so that we may understand the causal effects of leader charisma on follower evaluations and behaviors as well as the role gender may play in moderating this effect. One of the benefits of operationalizing charismatic leader signaling through CLTs is that CLTs can be manipulated in a laboratory setting, arguably one of the few research designs in which causal claims can be made with confidence.

4.3 Conclusion

Despite the above limitations, this paper takes a critical step forward in understanding the role of gender in charismatic leadership. I found preliminary evidence of variation in CLT use between men and women, and these findings raise questions regarding the extent to which men and women engage in charismatic signaling behaviors. Thus, more research is warranted regarding potential discrepancies between CLT use of men and women in different contexts. Examining CLT use by men and women in

different contexts, such as the entertainment industry, can help scientists understand to what extent and in which circumstances men and women use CLTs, which can inform both future research as well as training and interventions. Additionally, this investigation is the first to frame signals related to leader gender as competing with charismatic signaling, explaining how leader gender could distort the charismatic effect. The investigation of gender as a moderator of charismatic signaling extends theory of charismatic leadership and challenges the assumption that CLT use is equally effective among men and women. Future research should continue to examine moderators of charismatic signaling as well as its boundary conditions with a particular emphasis on including mixed-gender samples in order to further investigate the extent to which female leaders receive “credit” for their charisma.

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APPENDIX

Table 1. *Charismatic leadership tactics, definitions, and examples from Antonakis et al., 2017*

Charismatic Leadership Tactic	Definition	Example
Stories and Anecdotes	A specific story, anecdote, or reference to the past that contains detail. Does not necessarily have to be true. Typically triggers an emotional response or a mental visualization.	I got a visit almost exactly a year ago, a little over a year ago, from a very senior person at the Department of Defense. Came to see me and said, "1,600 of the kids that we've sent out have come back missing at least one full arm. - Dean Kamen, 2007
List and Repetition	A list used for rhetorical effect. Lists must contain at least three parts and can be either explicit (where the author uses numbers or words like first and second to differentiate parts of the list) or implicit.	There are three things which the superior man guards against. In youth…lust. When he is strong…quarrelsomeness. When he is old…covetousness. - Confucius
	Repetition involves the repeated use of a word or phrase throughout a piece for emphasis or to elicit a lyric effect.	If I had sneezed -- If I had sneezed I wouldn't have been here in 1963, when the black people of Birmingham, Alabama, aroused the conscience of this nation, and brought into being the Civil Rights Bill. If I had sneezed, I wouldn't have had a chance later that year, in August, to try to tell America about a dream that I had had. If I had sneezed, I wouldn't have been down in Selma, Alabama, to see the great Movement there.

		- Martin Luther King Jr., 1968
Metaphor and Simile	A figure of speech comparing or equating concepts that are not literally the same to make a point vivid, accommodate disparate interests, create novel combinations, or offer a new perspective on the topic.	In certain quarters of the world, brand EU, brand USA, is not at its shiniest. The neon sign is fizzing and crackling - Bono, 2006
Contrasts and Chiasmus	Contrasts frame a specific point of view by stating what the author believes to be morally wrong or incorrect and immediately following it with what the author believes to be morally right or correct.	But I fear—I fear greatly—the storm will not pass. It will rage and it will roar, ever more loudly, ever more widely. - Winston Churchill, 1940
	Chiasmus is a rhetorical device where the word order of two parallel phrases in the same sentence is reversed	My fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country - John F. Kennedy, 1961
Sentiment of the Collective	A statement where the author asserts that he or she knows what the audience or others are thinking, feeling or aspiring to.	I think I know what you may be thinking right now – thinking "we were just part of a bigger effort; everyone was brave that day." Well everyone was. - Ronald Reagan, 1984

Moral Conviction	Statements that reveal personal values or assert values about a specific situation. Statements that assert right from wrong, good from evil, or what one should and shouldn't do.	We have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. - Queen Elizabeth I, 1588
Rhetorical Question	A question asked without expecting an answer, typically utilized to make a statement or produce an effect. Can produce intrigue or make obvious the answer to a question.	Can a nation organized and governed such as ours endure? That is the real question. - John F. Kennedy, 1960
Setting High and Ambitious Goals	Setting a goal that is specific (sometimes with an explicit timeframe) and ambitious to inspire and create a vision of the future.	I'm committed to seeing every 4-year-old in America have access to high quality pre-school in the next 10 years. - Hillary Clinton, 2015
Creating Confidence a Goal can be Achieved	A statement explicitly stating that goals can be achieved and objectives met.	How do I know that we can come together and make change happen? Because I have seen it in my own state. - Bill Clinton, 1992

Figure 1. Conceptual Model

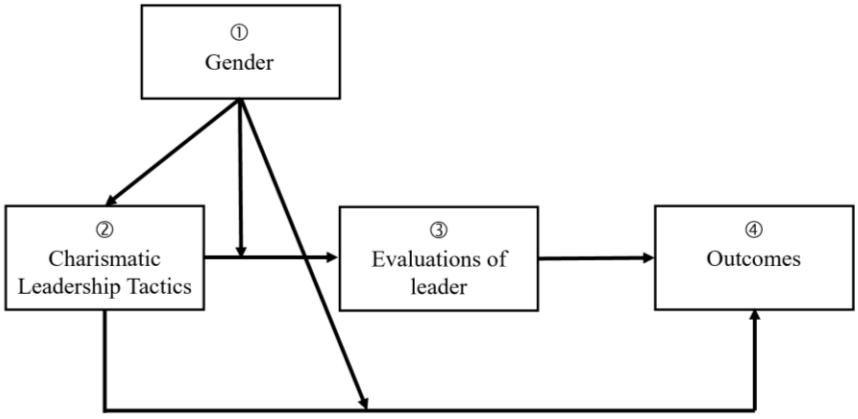

Table 2

Descriptive statistics and correlations

Variable	Mean	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1. Word Count	199.41	88.73	1.00																				
2. CLT	4.22	3.04	.75 (.00)	1.00																			
3. Gender			.17 (.06)	.11 (.22)	1.00																		
4. Red			.11 (.22)	.06 (.53)	.16 (.07)	1.00																	
5. Glasses			.08 (.39)	.13 (.16)	-.26 (.00)	.15 (.10)	1.00																
6. Nominations	4.05	5.91	-.06 (.53)	-.10 (.28)	-.11 (.22)	.18 (.05)	.05 (.57)	1.00															
7. Likes	6,440.58	11,221.22	.14 (.11)	.09 (.31)	-.09 (.32)	.02 (.80)	.18 (.05)	.21 (.02)	1.00														
8. Year			.10 (.27)	.13 (.15)	.02 (.86)	.03 (.78)	-.02 (.82)	-.18 (.04)	-.13 (.16)	1.00													
9. Dislikes	248.39	612.72	.08 (.37)	.03 (.75)	-.08 (.41)	.39 (.00)	.20 (.03)	.34 (.00)	.48 (.00)	-.10 (.28)	1.00												
10. Views	516,613.94	818,857.30	.16 (.08)	.12 (.19)	-.10 (.28)	.17 (.06)	.20 (.02)	.30 (.00)	.88 (.00)	-.16 (.08)	.71 (.00)	1.00											
11. Comments	508.15	725.37	.18 (.04)	.12 (.19)	-.08 (.35)	.17 (.05)	.21 (.02)	.31 (.00)	.84 (.00)	-.15 (.10)	.74 (.00)	.90 (.00)	1.00										
12. Metaphor	0.89	1.17	.48 (.00)	.62 (.00)	.13 (.16)	.00 (.97)	.06 (.53)	-.07 (.46)	-.03 (.76)	.08 (.40)	-0.02 (.80)	-.01 (.89)	.01 (.92)	1.00									
13. Rhetorical Question	0.14	0.34	.11 (.28)	.18 (.04)	.01 (.87)	.09 (.33)	-.02 (.83)	.12 (.17)	.10 (.26)	-.13 (.15)	.18 (.04)	.18 (.04)	.13 (.14)	.04 (.67)	1.00								
14. Story	0.70	0.90	.37 (.00)	.39 (.00)	.01 (.87)	-.09 (.30)	.01 (.87)	-.02 (.80)	.13 (.14)	.00 (.99)	.00 (.97)	.15 (.09)	.11 (.22)	.03 (.75)	.11 (.23)	1.00							
15. Contrast	0.38	0.63	.30 (.00)	.46 (.00)	-.03 (.74)	-.06 (.54)	.08 (.38)	-.05 (.58)	.12 (.17)	-.07 (.46)	.01 (.90)	.07 (.42)	.14 (.11)	.22 (.01)	.05 (.55)	.05 (.57)	1.00						
16. List	1.16	0.95	.33 (.00)	.47 (.00)	-.01 (.89)	.16 (.07)	.17 (.05)	-.12 (.19)	-.10 (.27)	.27 (.00)	-.04 (.68)	-.05 (.57)	-.04 (.62)	.13 (.14)	-.02 (.84)	-.09 (.30)	.03 (.73)	1.00					
17. Moral Conviction	0.522	0.9	.45 (.00)	.69 (.00)	.04 (.65)	.07 (.46)	.09 (.32)	-.10 (.28)	.08 (.40)	.09 (.31)	.06 (.49)	.07 (.41)	.09 (.29)	.19 (.04)	.00 (.96)	.19 (.04)	.28 (.00)	.24 (.01)	1.00				
18. Collective Sentiment	0.34	0.63	.59 (.00)	.65 (.00)	.10 (.25)	.02 (.86)	.07 (.47)	-.04 (.63)	.18 (.04)	.05 (.60)	-.02 (.81)	.12 (.20)	.11 (.21)	.27 (.00)	.08 (.35)	.17 (.06)	.26 (.00)	.17 (.07)	.49 (.00)	1.00			
19. Ambitious Goal	0.07	0.29	.17 (.05)	.35 (.00)	.23 (.01)	.16 (.07)	-.02 (.83)	.05 (.58)	-.02 (.86)	.06 (.52)	.16 (.07)	.11 (.23)	.04 (.64)	.17 (.06)	-.02 (.84)	-.01 (.93)	-.02 (.82)	.13 (.13)	.29 (.00)	.17 (.05)	1.00		
20. Achievable Goal	0.02	0.15	.07 (.41)	.23 (.01)	.22 (.01)	-.04 (.65)	-.09 (.31)	.03 (.70)	-.04 (.63)	-.01 (.89)	-.04 (.68)	.01 (.92)	-.06 (.49)	.11 (.24)	-.06 (.49)	-.01 (.95)	-0.10 (.29)	.14 (.12)	.08 (.35)	.16 (.07)	.69 (.00)	1.00	
21. Like Score	11.98	5.96	.15 (.09)	.04 (.67)	-.10 (.26)	-.03 (.71)	.10 (.26)	.07 (.44)	.31 (.00)	.03 (.75)	-.02 (.80)	.05 (.57)	.17 (.05)	.01 (.91)	.02 (.81)	-.06 (.53)	.13 (.14)	.02 (.79)	.08 (.40)	.08 (.39)	-.18 (.05)	-.16 (.08)	1.00

Note: N = 125. Values in parantehses are exact *p* values.

Table 3.

Descriptive Statistics by Gender

Variable	Male	Female	*t*	*p*
N	83	42	-	-
Word Count	188.75 (84.61)	220.48 (93.82)	-1.85	.069
Red	3	5	-	-
Glasses	28	4	-	-
Nominations	4.51 (6.64)	3.14 (4.01)	1.42	.157
Likes	7,159.89 (12,399.12)	5,019.10 (8,380.03)	1.14	.257
Dislikes	280.96 (12399.12)	184.02 (355.99)	1.02	.310
Views	572,702.94 (949,886.19	405,771.38 (452,121.89)	1.33	.186
Comments	551.23 (799.35)	423.02 (549.75)	1.05	.296
CLT	3.98 (2.98)	4.69 (3.13)	-1.23	.224
Metaphor	.78 (1.14)	1.10 (1.21)	-1.39	.168
Rhetorical Question	.13 (.34)	.14 (.35)	-.16	.877
Story	.69 (.91)	.71 (.89)	-.16	.872
Contrast	.40 (.66)	.36 (.58)	.35	.726
List	1.17 (.82)	1.14 (1.16)	.13	.898
Moral Conviction	.49 (.99)	.57 (.70)	-.50	.616
Collective Sentiment	.29 (.60)	.43 (.70)	-1.10	.275
Ambitious Goal	.02 (.15)	.17 (.44)	-2.05	.046
Achievable Goal	0 (0)	.07 (.26)	-1.78	.083

Table 4

Hierarchical Regression Results

	Views						Likes						Dislikes						Like Score					
Predictor Variable (Block)	*b*	*S.E.*	*β*	*b*	*S.E.*	*β*	*p*	*b*	*S.E.*	*β*	*b*	*S.E.*	*β*	*p*	*b*	*S.E.*	*β*	*p*	*b*	*S.E.*	*β*	*b*	*S.E.*	*β*	*p*
Intercept	287.20	198.50		297.01	200.27			3,242.65	2,821.77		3,252.26	2,851.48			103.20	141.40			105.30	142.50			-560.00	1552.00		-665.20	1552.00		
Control Variables (Block 1)																													
Red	.29	.29	.09	.34	.30	.10	.322	-2.39	4.09	-.05	-1.95	4.22	-.04	.560	.78	.21	.31	.82	.21	.33	.000	-2.01	2.25	-.08	-1.68	2.30	-.07	.374
Glasses	.30	.16	.16	.25	.17	.14	.059	4.15	2.25	.16	3.83	2.39	.15	.067	.19	.11	.14	.16	.12	.11	.096	1.32	1.24	.10	1.15	1.30	.09	.288
Nominations	.04	.01	.26	.04	.01	.26	.002	.39	.17	.21	.37	.17	.20	.024	.03	.01	.27	.03	.01	.26	.001	.10	.09	.10	.08	.09	.07	.311
Year	-.14	.10	-.12	-.15	.10	-.13	.151	-1.61	1.40	-.10	-1.61	1.41	-.10	.253	-.05	.07	-.06	-.05	.07	-.06	.467	.28	.77	.03	.33	.77	.04	.715
Word Count	.00	.00	.16	.00	.00	.15	.060	.02	.01	.16	.02	.02	.19	.071	.00	.00	.06	.00	.00	.10	.480	.01	.01	.16	.02	.01	.32	.086
Adjusted R^2	.14						.000	.07						.017	.22													.004
Main Effects (Block 2)																												
CLT				.01	.04	.03	.817				-.11	.49	-.03	.818				-.01	.03	-.04	.777				-.38	.27	-.19	.159
Gender				-.13	.16	-.08	.402				-1.19	2.24	-.05	.596				-.11	.11	-.08	.349				-1.16	1.22	-.09	.345
ΔR^2	-.01						.685	-.01						.845	-.01						.618	.01						.235
Adjusted R^2	.13						.002	.06						.051	.21						.000	.01						.299

Note. N =125. b = unstandardized regression weight; *S.E.* = standard error; β = standardized beta weight. ΔR^2 = change in R^2 from prior block. Views are per 1,000,000 view. Likes are per 1,000 like. Dislikes are per 1,000 dislike.