



THE GENDER OF PARTY LEADERSHIP AND ITS IMPACT ON VOTERS' ASSESSMENT

Karina Kosiara-Pedersen
Associate professor

Centre for Voting and Parties
Department of Political Science
University of Copenhagen

*Work-in-progress presented in the workshop 'Electoral behaviour and turnout' at
NOPSA 2011 XVI Nordic Political Science Congress August 9–12 2011, Vaasa,
Finland*

CVAP Working Paper Series

CVAP WP 1/2010
ISBN: 987-87-7393-646-7
www.cvap.polsci.ku.dk

About the CVAP Working Paper Series

The CVAP Working Paper Series contains finished drafts and preliminary versions of articles and chapters within the field of studies of voting, elections, political parties, parliaments, etc., that are on their way in the publication process.

About the Centre for Voting and Parties

The Centre for Voting and Parties (*Center for Valg og Partier*, CVAP) is a research centre attached to the Department of Political Science at the University of Copenhagen. The Centre was established in 2008 and concerns itself with research within the fields of voting, elections, political parties, parliaments, etc., both at a national and a comparative level.

For more information on the Series or CVAP, visit www.cvap.polsci.ku.dk.

The Gender of Party Leadership and its Impact on Voters’ Assessment

KARINA KOSIARA-PEDERSEN

Associate professor, Dept. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen

Abstract: Even though most political parties are still male dominated, an increasing number of women reach the top position of party leader. Furthermore, party leadership is increasingly regarded as an important part of party images due to the personalization of politics. Does the gender of the party leader have an impact? On the basis of a survey among the Danish electorate, this paper analyzes to what extent men and women differ in their party leader sympathy. First, the analysis of the degree of party leader sympathy shows that women are more sympathetic towards woman party leaders than men are. However, men are not more sympathetic towards man party leaders than women. Second, the analysis of the content of party leader sympathy seems to show that men and women do not differ in the characteristics correlated with party leader sympathy. Hence, there seems to be no gender difference in the party leader characteristics appreciated by men and women. If this holds, the gender of party leadership matters to women because they value woman party leaders higher, not because they value other characteristics than men.

When the Danish party leaders take their seat in the televised party leader debates at the 2011 general election, the gender balance is complete. Four parties are led by a man, four parties by a woman. At a time when party leadership is increasing in importance, this seems like a victory for the Red Stockings, Women’s movement and other calls for gender balance. However, does it matter to the electorate and hence to parties’ electoral results whether party leaders are men or women?

1. Gender and party leadership

The call for numerical socio-demographic representation in political bodies rests on three types of arguments. First, the conflict of interest argument based on the assumption that preferences and interests vary between social and demographic groups. Socio-demographic and opinion representativity are related; the former is a prerequisite for the latter. The premise for this argument is that interests and preferences are primarily determined by social characteristics. Hence, substantive representation hinges on descriptive representation.

Second, the complementary experience or resource argument (Hernes 1987: 23; Oskarson & Wängnerud 1995) is based on the assumption that different social and demographic groups have varying experiences and life perspectives; therefore different resources available. This has an impact not only on the decisions made but also on the process by which decisions are made. Third, the justice or legitimacy argument for socio-demographic representativity is not based on the assumption that presence makes a difference to neither the procedure nor the substance of the decisions made. It rests purely on the importance of presence. The basic assumption is that all groups of citizens should have the right to participate in decisions that concern them (Hernes 1987: 22). Political bodies are not legitimate if the representatives do not mirror the represented. Assemblies cannot be representative if some social groups are excluded (Phillips 1995). Democracy is unfair if only political views, not socio-demographic characteristics, are represented (Phillips 2000: 19). Furthermore, the representation of various groups at the elite level encourages the participation among the population. Representativity attains an educational function in this manner (Heidar 1986: 280).

The call for equal descriptive representation of gender in political bodies may thus have both symbolic and substantive implications; however, this does not necessarily imply that it matters to neither the parties, nor to the electorate. However, the increasing importance of party leadership is beyond doubt. A number of factors, including the dynamics of media systems, European integration and organizational challenges, contribute to a presidentialization also of parliamentary systems (Poguntke & Webb 2005). Furthermore, previous election survey research shows that even though political issues, party identification and party sympathy have a major impact on the electoral choice, party leadership have an impact as well, both in the US and elsewhere (Wattenberg 1991; Hayes & McAllister 1997; Thomsen 2003; Andersen & Borre 2007).

With the potential importance of both party leadership and gender, it is relevant to combine these two and analyze whether the gender of the party leadership may have an impact on the electorate. Here, the analysis is at present limited

to whether the gender of the party leader has an effect on the electorate's assessment of the party leader; hence only indirectly on electoral choice.

Previous research on the effect of the gender of party leadership is limited. However, there are some studies focusing on this [incomplete literature research]:

Gender gaps in voting patterns might not only be due to differences in ideological positions and policy opinions; they might also be due to 'identity politics'. If women find their belonging to the social group 'women' important, they might choose to vote for a woman without necessarily taking into account political opinions and personal characteristics; as might other social group members do (Zipp & Plutzer 1985). Based on the gender identity hypothesis Banducci & Karp (2000) analyses the effect of the gender of party leadership on both the leadership evaluation and

party choice in the cases of Australia (1996), Britain (1979, 1987), Canada (1993) and New Zealand (1996). They find that even when controlling for party identification gender has an impact on party choice in parties with women leaders, and that even though women tend to rate women leaders higher than men, the gender effect is not dependent on party leader assessments. However, the gender of the party leader is not the main explanation of party choice. The assessment of party leader characteristics, among which gender is just one, is on the other hand important.

Denemark et al. (2011) similarly explores gender differences in the assessments of party leaders in Australia (2007, 2010) and in the effect of party leader evaluation on electoral engagement, political interest, political trust, efficacy, satisfaction with democracy and vote choice. They show that the woman party leader in 2010 was scored higher by women than men, but that the three male party leaders in 2007 and 2010 were not in general scored higher by men. They also show that the woman party leader has some impact on the political interest, efficacy etc. of women among the electorate. Furthermore, men and women emphasize various characteristics when judging politicians (Hayes & McAllister 1997; Denemark et al. 2011).

On this basis the hypotheses explored here are:

H1 Women are more sympathetic to woman party leaders than men.

H2 Men are more sympathetic to man party leaders than women.

H3 Men and women differ in what party leader characteristics they appreciate.

2. The Danish parties and data

The previous lack of research into the effect of the gender of party leadership may rather easily be at least partly explained by the lack of variation in the independent variable; women have made up only a small share of party leaders (cf. Banducci 2002: 50). However, this is not the case in Denmark at present, where women and men take up an equal share of party leadership positions across the political spectrum. We thus have the “opportunity to test further whether the gender identity hypothesis applies across the ideological spectrum” (Banducci & Karp 2000: 840). This makes it both possible and highly interesting to study the impact of the gender of party leadership in eight Danish parties. Parties included are those represented in parliament, *Folketinget*, in the 2007-2011 term, except two single-MP parties¹. The parties are, in order of their left-right placement, together with the name, abbreviation and gender of their party leader listed in Table 1.

Table 1 Parties, party leaders and gender

Party	Abbreviation	Party Leader	Abbreviation	Gender
Red-Green Alliance	RGA	Johanne Schmidt-Nielsen	JSN	Woman
Socialist People's Party	SPP	Villy Søvndal	VS	Man
Social Democrats	SD	Helle Thorning-Schmidt	HTS	Woman
Social Liberals	SL	Margrethe Vestager	MV	Woman
Conservative People's Party	CPP	Lars Barfoed	LB	Man
Liberal Party	LP	Lars Løkke Rasmussen	LLR	Man
Danish People's Party	DPP	Pia Kjaersgaard	PK	Woman
Liberal Alliance	LA	Anders Samuelsen	AS	Man

Danish parties vary in the formal position of the party leader; hence also in how they are (s)elected (Bille 1997; party statutes). The party leaders of both the Socialist People's Party and Social Democrats were elected by rank-and-file party membership at contested membership ballots in 2005. Although formally elected unanimously at each annual party conference since 1996, Pia Kjaersgaard (DPP) is better classified as party owner. She created the party when she, together with a small group, split from the Progress Party in 1995. Anders Samuelsen (LA) could also be classified as a party owner since he, a former MEP (SL), together with MP Naser Khader (SL) and MEP Gitte Seeberg (CPP) created the party New Alliance in 2007. Since then, the other two creators left the party, new colleagues joined and the party had a name change. In practice he is selected by the parliamentary group. This is also, in practice, the case for the Conservatives and Liberals, since both their present leaders have been selected by the parliamentary groups; selections that have been confirmed by the party organization at the annual party conferences. Contrary, the party leader of the

¹ The two single-MP parties are 'Christian Democrats' and 'Focus'

Social Liberals is formally selected by the parliamentary group. The Red-Green Alliance deserves special attention since they do not formally have a political leader (their organizational structure is very horizontal). However, due to the pressure of media-driven politics they chose in 2009 to select a political spokesperson, Johanne Schmidt-Nielsen, who still holds this position. Prior to this, the small parliamentary group had split the assignments commonly attributed to a party leader, for example, to represent the party in political debates in media etc.

Previously there was a tendency towards increased membership influence on party leader election due to an increased number of contested elections (Bille 1997: 110) and the application of postal ballots by more parties. However, the recent ten years show that this tendency has been reversed

– party leadership seems to be too important to be left for rank-and-file members to be decided (except in SD and SLP).

The present gender balance among Danish party leaders is not due to the application of gender quotas since these are applied only to a limited extent. Only the Social Democrats have gender quotas for party leadership; both genders are to be represented among the party leader and the two vice leaders (Social Democrat Party Statutes). However, the present party leader, Helle Thorning-Schmidt, was not previously vice leader. The Social Democrats have, together with the Socialist People's Party, previously had gender quotas both within the party organization and when nominating candidates for elections (Christensen 1999: 80).

The limited use and abolishment of gender quotas indicate that the gender of party leadership is not considered to be more important than many other issues by the Danish parties. However, whether it matters to voters will be elaborated upon below.

The analyses are based on an online survey among a random short-text-messages recruited sample of Danish people². In this data set 6.897 respondents between 18 and 70 years have responded in the period February 2010 – March 2011. The survey is generally representative except for the lack of respondents with short education. However, when relevant, data is weighted so that they are completely representative for the electorate in regard to both age, gender, education and party choice in the most recent (2007) general election. The questions included in these analyses are listed in the appendix.

3. Are there gender differences in party leader sympathy?

This section in turn answers five questions: First, are there gender differences in the electorate's sympathy for party leaders? Second, how are men and women voting? Third, are there also gender differences when the party leader sympathy is controlled for party sympathy? Fourth, are there gender differences in assessments of party leader characteristics? Fifth, are there gender differences in the content of party leader sympathy?

As Table 2 shows, support is found for the hypotheses women are more sympathetic to female party leaders (H1) and that men are more sympathetic towards man party leaders (H2). This is true for Helle Thorning-Schmidt (SD), Margrethe Vestager (SLP) and Johanne Schmidt-Nielsen (RGA), as well as for Lars Barfoed (CPP), Anders Samuelsen (LA) and Lars Løkke Rasmussen (LP). However, this is not the case for Villy Søvndal (SPP). He is not only the most sympathetic party leader according to both men and women, but also evaluated as more sympathetic by women than by men. Pia Kjaersgaard (DPP) is the other exception; there are no significant differences in whether men and women find her sympathetic.

Table 2 Men and women's sympathy for party leaders

	JSN	VS	HTS	MV	LB	LLR	PK	AS
Men	4.11	5.00	4.91	4.51	3.89	4.55	3.83	3.78
Women	4.95	5.47	5.21	5.06	3.50	4.07	3.69	3.53
Difference (men-women)	-0.84*	-0.47*	-0.30*	-0.55*	0.39*	0.48*	0.14	0.25*
N (men)	3,121	3,403	3,408	3,354	3,306	3,413	3,413	3,268
N (women)	2,846	3,348	3,354	3,260	3,151	3,355	3,354	3,003

Note: Independent Samples Test. * indicates that differences are significant at the 0.00 level. Sympathy is scored on a 0–10 scale.

² The survey is conducted by TNS Gallup for the project Online Panel of Electoral Campaigning (OPEC) financed by a grant from the Social Science Foundation to Kasper M. Hansen, Karina Kosiara-Pedersen and Rasmus Tue Pedersen, Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen (<http://www.cvap.polsci.ku.dk/valgkamp/>).

The gender effect remains when controlling for age and education; in addition, there is a gender effect on the sympathy for Pia Kjaersgaard (DPP), where men are more sympathetic than women (results not displayed in table). Furthermore, the gender effect also remains when controlling for age, education, political interest and political knowledge (results not displayed in table).

However, if the party leaders in the abovementioned televised party leader debate are placed according to their parties' place on the left-right dimension it becomes clear that there are more men in the leadership of the right of center parties, and more women in the leadership of the center-left parties. Therefore, we need to take into consideration whether men and women vote equally for the various (groups of) parties.

Danish election studies show that in the 1960s and 1970s there is no clear tendency as to what side men and women votes; however, since then women have to a higher degree than men voted for the Socialist parties, that is, the Social Democrats and left-wing parties (Andersen & Andersen 2003: 190). This tendency still exists, as shown in Table 3, where the Social Liberals are grouped with the socialist parties.

At the party level, Table 3 shows furthermore that in several parties the electoral gender gaps are small, that is, in the Red-Green Alliance, Social Democrats, Social Liberals and Danish People's Party. Electoral gender gaps are more marked in other parties, where the Socialist People's Party stand out as women dominated, and the Liberal Alliance, as well as the Conservatives, as man dominated. The Liberals also have a small overweight of men in their electorate.

Table 3 Parties' electoral support among men and women, pct.

	RGA	SPP	SD	SL	CP	LP	DPP	LA	Blanc	Others	Abstain
Men	4.1	10.0	25.9	5.8	6.7	22.4	12.7	9.8	1.9	0.5	0.2
	45.8							51.5		2.6	
Women	4.4	17.5	26.5	5.4	3.8	18.9	13.2	5.0	3.5	0.9	0.9
	53.7							40.9		5.3	

The electoral gender gaps show that it is necessary to control for the fact that men and women differ in their party preferences when explaining the level of party leader sympathy. This could, first of all, be done simply by controlling for party choice as such. However, Danish parties are not islands far apart; they are placed close to or at a distance from each other. And voters most often choose between two or more parties. Another solution to this could be to control for whether voters are voting for one side of the political spectrum rather than the other – bloc vote. But since the political spectrum is not necessarily sharply divided into two blocs, and since voters are also shifting between the blocs, bloc vote might not absorb the breadth of party preferences.

Therefore, we turn to party sympathy. Voters have different degrees of sympathy for the various parties, and they are expected to choose among the parties which they sympathize the most with. Some voters may have a number of parties to choose among, whereas other voters are attached to one single party to a degree in which party shift seems very unlikely, e.g. through party membership or strong socialization and historical bonds³.

Table 4 shows support for hypothesis H1 that women are more sympathetic towards women party leaders than men when controlling for age, education, political interest, political knowledge and party sympathy. This applies to all four woman party leaders – also Pia Kjaersgaard (DPP). However, Table 4 does not show support for hypothesis H2 since men are not more sympathetic towards man party leaders than women are.

Table 4 Explaining party leader sympathy

³ A disadvantage of using party sympathy is that it is highly correlated with party leader sympathy. For seven out of eight party leaders and their parties, the correlations range between 0.772 and 0.898; for Lars Barfoed (CP) the level is a bit lower at 0.698.

	JSN	VS	HTS	MV	LB	LLR	PK	AS
Constant	1.106*	1.297*	-0.477*	0.645*	0.938*	0.072	0.368*	0.473*
Man	-0.330*	0.037	-0.132~	-0.412*	0.075	0.014	-0.104~	-0.057
Age	0.003	0.002	0.002	0.004^	-0.001	0.001	0.002	0.000
High school degree	0.001	-0.112	-0.262~	-0.032	0.085	-0.199~	-0.127	0.128
Vocational education	-0.098	0.050	-0.140	0.018	-0.016	-0.036	-0.076	-0.052
1-2 year degree	-0.142	0.084	-0.102	-0.057	0.118	-0.016	0.022	0.012
3-4 year degree	0.136	-0.007	-0.078	0.141	0.103	-0.029	-0.068	0.063
University degree	0.184	-0.036	0.021	-0.038	0.161	-0.11	0.063	0.107
Political interest	0.059*	0.004	0.027~	0.033~	-0.007	0.016	0.010	0.006
Political knowledge	0.008*	-0.004*	0.003*	0.002^	0.001	0.003*	0.001	0.002^
Party sympathy	0.817*	0.836*	0.961*	0.876*	0.651*	0.848*	0.931*	0.816*
R2	0.640	0.741	0.736	0.644	0.525	0.753	0.780	0.714

Note: OLS regression. * indicates significance at the 0.00 level, ~ indicates significance at 0.01 level, and ^ indicates significance at the 0.05 level.

In sum, support is found for the hypothesis that women are more sympathetic to woman party leaders than men (H1), but not for the hypothesis that men are more sympathetic to man party leaders than women (H2). However, does party leader sympathy have the same meaning for men and women? Are men and women appreciating different personality traits when evaluating party leaders? (Hypothesis H3).

The electoral survey asked voters not only about their party leader sympathy but also the extent to which they find that a number of characteristics fit the individual party leaders (on a scale from 0 to 10): trustworthy, inspiring, knowledgeable, aware of common people's opinions and thoughts, sincere, qualified to be Prime Minister, a good leader and personal charisma. This is a closed list and hence may not include all relevant aspects of party leader sympathy; however, these questions provide enough data for an initial analysis of whether there are gender differences in the way men and women evaluate party leadership.

Table 5 shows that there are gender differences in voters' assessments of party leader characteristics for seven party leaders. The exception is, again, Pia Kjaersgaard (DPP), where no gender differences are found, except in regard to whether she is knowledgeable. For the other three woman party leaders, their assessments by women are higher than those by men. For the four men party leaders, all, except Anders Samuelsen (LA), are assessed higher by men than by women. Anders Samuelsen (LA) is, on the other hand, assessed higher by women than by men on all characteristics other than personality, where no gender differences are found.

When comparing voters' assessments of party leader characteristics (Table 5) with voters' party leader sympathy (Table 2), there are some interesting results. First, Pia Kjaersgaard (DPP) stands out since there are no gender differences in neither party leader sympathy, nor assessment of specific characteristics (except in regard to whether she is knowledgeable).

Second, Villy Søvndal (SPP) and Anders Samuelsen (LA) stand out since they both have opposite patterns in scores on sympathy and characteristics. Men are more sympathetic towards Anders Samuelsen (LA) than women are (Table 2); however, the opposite is the case when men and women are evaluating specific characteristics of Anders Samuelsen (LA) as shown in Table 5. Except in regard to personality, where there is no gender difference, women evaluate Anders more favorable than men on the specific characteristics. The opposite is the case for Villy Søvndal (SPP). Women have a higher degree of sympathy for him than men have (Table 2), but when assessing the specific characteristics, men give him higher grades than women (Table 5).

These two cases indicate that men and women may vary in the content they put into 'party leader sympathy'. However, for the remaining five party leaders, their party sympathy scores and specific assessments of characteristics point in the same direction.

Table 5 Gender differences in assessments of party leader characteristics

	JSN	VS	HTS	MV	LB	LLR	PK	AS
Trustworthiness	-0,69*	0,28*	-0,31*	-0,34*	0,58*	0,36*	-0,06	-0,51*
Inspiring	-0,69*	0,35*	-0,26*	-0,51*	0,49*	0,46*	0,12	-0,29*
Knowledgeable	-0,52*	0,29*	-0,48*	-0,37*	0,18*	0,31*	-0,29*	-0,39*
Aware of common people's opinions and thoughts	-0,68*	0,15*	-0,40*	-0,60*	0,35*	0,33*	0,15^	-0,33*
Sincere	-0,43*	0,45*	-0,40*	-0,15*	0,69*	0,50*	-0,15^	-0,38*
Qualified to be Prime Minister	-0,43*	0,34*	-0,35*	-0,33*	0,71*	0,55*	-0,11	-0,49*
A good leader	-0,61*	0,27*	-0,40*	-0,48*	0,52*	0,46*	0,01	-0,31*
Personal charisma	-0,57*	0,31*	-0,33*	-0,53*	0,52*	0,52*	0,06	0,01
Minimum N for men or women	2,039	2,277	3,010	2,667	2,309	3,112	3,137	3,043

Note: Independent Samples Test. Differences are men's average score minus women's average score. * indicates that differences are significant at the 0 level, ^ indicates that differences are significant at the 0,05 level. Characteristics are scored on a 0□10 scale.

Hence, an analysis of the effect of the gender of the voter and the voter's assessment of the list of party leader characteristics on party leader sympathy might shed some more light on this. Table 6 shows that the eight party leader characteristics provide a fairly good explanation of party leader sympathy ($R^2=0.68-0.88$) for six of the eight party leaders. The exceptions are, not surprisingly the results presented above, Anders Samuelsen (LA) and Villy Søvndal (SPP).

The characteristics that contribute most towards party leader sympathy in this model are whether voters find the party leader to be a competent Prime Minister, whether the party leader is trustworthy, and whether he/she is inspiring.

Table 6 Explaining assessments of party leader characteristics

	JSN	VS	HTS	MV	LB	LLR	PK	AS
Constant	-0.273*	6.382*	0.170*	0.296*	0.293*	0.044	-0.236*	4.575*
Man	-0.187*	-0.568*	-0.041	-0.190*	0.050	0.064	0.181*	0.165^
Trustworthiness	0.279*	0.049	0.328*	0.355*	0.240*	0.223*	0.148*	-0.189*
Inspiring	0.340*	-0.179*	0.188*	0.320*	0.233*	0.186*	0.413*	-0.039
Knowledgeable	0.005	0.244*	0.011	-0.001	-0.042~	-0.049*	0.071*	-0.019
Aware of common people's opinions and thoughts	0.126*	-0.210*	0.041*	0.131*	0.164*	0.041~	0.014	0.000
Sincere	-0.082*	-0.009	-0.011	-0.059*	-0.030^	-0.040~	-0.053*	0.056^
Qualified to be Prime Minister	0.181*	-0.166*	0.274*	0.106*	0.187*	0.417*	0.399*	-0.196*
A good leader	0.088*	-0.048	0.072*	0.066*	0.116*	0.061~	0.019	0.095~
Personal charisma	0.165*	0.016	0.083*	0.075*	0.117*	0.115*	0.042*	0.048
R2	0.780	0.081	0.883	0.795	0.704	0.781	0.683	0.091

Note: OLS regression. * indicates significance at the 0.00 level, ~ indicates significance at 0.01 level, and ^ indicates significance at the 0.05 level.

The gender effect in the expected direction remains only for Margrethe Vestager (SLP), Anders Samuelsen (LA) and Johanne Schmidt-Nielsen (RGA). The gender effect is opposite for Villy Søvndal (SPP) and Pia Kjaersgaard (DPP), and there is no gender effect for the other three party leaders. A further analysis including interaction terms (gender times each characteristic) reveals that out of the 64 terms (eight party leaders times eight characteristics), only eight are significant (results not displayed in table).

In sum, these analyses seem to show that men and women are not appreciating different personality traits when evaluating man and woman party leaders (hypothesis H3); a result that could be elaborated upon with further analysis.

4. Conclusion

The analysis of the degree of party leader sympathy shows that, when controlling for age, education, political interest and political knowledge as well as party sympathy, women are more sympathetic towards woman party leaders than men; hence support is found for hypothesis H1. However, men are not more sympathetic towards man party leaders than women, whereby hypothesis H2 may be discarded.

The analysis of the content of party leader sympathy shows that men and women do not differ in the characteristics correlated with party leader sympathy. Hence, there seems to be no gender difference in the party leader characteristics emphasized by men and women, and thus no support for H3.

In sum, it seems as if the gender of party leadership matters to women because they value woman party leaders higher, not because they value other characteristics than men. This implies that the gender of party leadership may have an impact on the electoral support among women; something to be explored further. Do gender differences in party leader sympathy actually have an impact on party choice?

Even if gender differences have an impact, political parties have a number of considerations to take when electing or selecting party leaders. Electoral appeal is, obviously, one of them. However, it is by far the only one. Depending on the current situation as well as the immediate and long term goals of the parties, they need leaders that are good at political negotiations, maintaining or establishing party cohesion, fundraising among businesses, organizational leadership and change, etc. And party leaders are (s)electd among a limited pool of potential candidates within the party; not all competences may be combined in just one person.

To elaborate on the electoral impact of party leadership, the analysis of what party leader characteristics are important to various parts of the electorate (including variation on, for example, gender, age and political interest) should be analyzed in greater detail. Exploratory interviews could probably contribute to a more suitable list of characteristics on the basis of which the composition of party leader sympathy could be assessed. Not only the gender as such but other characteristics might matter to the electorate.

When the then party leader and Prime Minister, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, in 2004, left the tie at home and rolled up his sleeves, this was apparently in order to appeal to the (public employed) women around the center of the political spectrum. Surveys showed that they didn't want to vote for him – and a more relaxed appeal was seen as part of a solution. This indicates that even if parties are neither (s)electing party leaders only on the basis of gender nor letting their party leader undergo a sex-change operation, they are aware that party leader characteristics have a potential impact on the electorate.

References

- Andersen, Johannes & Jørgen Goul Andersen (2003) 'Køn, alder og uddannelse: De unge mænds sejr' in Jørgen Goul Andersen & Ole Borre (eds) *Politisk Forandring. Værdipolitik og nye skillelinjer ved folketingsvalget 2011*. Aarhus: Systime.
- Andersen, Johannes & Ole Borre (2007) 'Partiledere gør en forskel' in Jørgen Goul Andersen, Johannes Andersen, Ole Borre, Kasper Møller Hansen & Hans Jørgen Nielsen (eds) *Det nye politiske landskab. Folketingsvalget 2005 i perspektiv*. Århus: Academica, pp. 289-306
- Banducci, Susan (2002) 'Gender and Leadership' in Jack Vowles, Peter Aimer, Jeffrey Karp, Susan Banducci, Raymond Miller & Ann Sullivan (eds) *Proportional Representation on Trial: The 1999 New Zealand General Election and the Fate of MMP*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Banducci, Susan A. & Jeffrey A. Karp (2000) 'Gender, Leadership and Choice in Multiparty Systems', *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 53, No. 4, pp. 815-848.
- Bille, Lars (1997) *Partier i forandring*. Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag.
- Christensen, Ann-Dorte (1999) 'Women in the political parties' in Christina Bergqvist, Anette Borchorst, Ann-Dorte Christensen, Viveca Ramstedt-Silén, Nina C. Raaum & Audur Styrkársdóttir (eds) *Equal Democracies? Gender and Politics in the Nordic Countries*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.
- Denemark, David; Ian Ward & Clive Bean (2011) 'Gender and Leader Effects in the 2010 Australian Election', paper prepared for presentation at the International Political Science Association Conference, Sao Paulo, Brazil, 16-19 February 2011.
- Hansen, Kasper M. og Jens Hoff (2010), *Den kommunale valgkampagne anno 2009. En kommenteret tabelrapport*. Arbejdsrapport 2010/04, Institut for Statskundskab, Københavns Universitet.
- Hayes, Bernadette & Ian McAllister (1997) 'Gender, Party Leaders and Election Outcomes in Australia, Britain and the United States', *Comparative Political Studies*, 30 (1997) : 3-26.
- Heider, Knut (1986) 'Party Organizational Elites in Norwegian Politics: Representativeness and Party Democracy'. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 279-290.
- Hernes, Helga Maria (1987) *Welfare State and Woman Power*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget AS.
- Oskarson, Maria & Lena Wängnerud (1995) *Kvinnor som väljare och valda*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Phillips, Anne (1995) *The Politics of Presence*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Phillips, Anne (2000) *Democracy and the Representation of Difference and The Politics of Presence: Problems and Developments*. Ålborg: GEP - Research Programme on Gender, Empowerment and Politics, Aalborg University.
- Poguntke, Thomas & Paul Webb (2005) *The Presidentialization of Politics. A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Thomsen, Søren Risbjerg (2003) 'En samlet model for partivalg' in Jørgen Goul Andersen & Ole Borre (eds) *Politisk Forandring. Værdipolitik og nye skillelinjer ved folketingsvalget 2011*. Aarhus: Systime, pp. 251-77.
- Wattenberg, Martin (1991) *The Rise of Candidate-Centered Politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Zipp, John F. & Eric Plutzer (1985) 'Gender Differences in Voting for Female Candidates: Evidence From the 1982 Election', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 79, No. 2: 179-97.