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Citation: Smith, Jessica (2019) Gendering political leadership: a case study of the UK, examining media and voter perceptions. [Thesis] (Unpublished)

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Gendering Political Leadership: A Case Study of the UK, Examining Media and Voter Perceptions

Thesis submitted for completion of PhD Politics, Birkbeck College, University of London

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I declare that the work submitted for the completion of this thesis is solely that of the candidate, Jessica C. Smith.

Signed:

Date:

Abstract

The central research question of this thesis is: *Are perceptions of political leadership gendered, and if so, how?* The thesis examines both the different ways, and extent to which, the concept of political leadership is gendered and how this gendering is context specific via an examination of the UK case. Gendered norms are dynamic and vary over time and place, yet, much of the extant literature on gender stereotypes and leader evaluations takes a somewhat static approach to theorising how gender mediates political leadership and pays too little attention to cultural and political context. This runs counter to recent work within the ‘interactionalist’ paradigm in the wider study of political leadership, which privileges context in determining the effectiveness of leaders.

This thesis takes a twin-track method to examine in-depth, firstly, the media’s representations of men and women political leaders, both in the contemporary context and over time, and, secondly, voter perceptions of British political leadership using innovative experimental methods. It offers the first comprehensive and methodologically nuanced account of gender’s role in political leadership in the UK context. The two methods work in synergy to reveal nuances and complexities in the gendering of political leadership in the British case.

The analysis supports the thesis’ original claim: that gendering is complex; that context is important; and that a primarily US-based body of literature does not necessarily, or easily, travel to the UK context. Moreover, gendering was found to vary between media and voters, over time, and potentially between demographic groups of voters. A systematic analysis of the British case offers an opportunity to contribute to, and critically engage with, current gendered and non-gendered debates on political leadership and increases our understanding of the complex gendered environment in which leaders operate.

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Acknowledgements

There are numerous people who helped me get to this point. The process of producing this thesis saw three house moves, several minor injuries and illnesses, and many, many hours of work.

Firstly, there are those without whom this thesis would simply not exist. My inspirational supervisor Rosie Campbell. I am in awe of her knowledge, kindness, work ethic, and prosecco drinking capabilities. My second supervisor, Ben Worthy, for his ongoing positivity and support. And Sarah Childs, who spotted the love of academia in a Bristol undergraduate student. Words cannot quite express how much I owe to Sarah for nurturing that spark in me, and for being a continuous friend, mentor, colleague and role model. From Tate working days and weekday suppers, to practising my first academic presentation in her back garden; put simply I would not be here without her.

I am ever thankful to my big brother, Jack, for his continuous love and support, and drunken sopiness. I am immeasurably grateful for his kindness. As well as Melody Munro, whose friendship continuously raises me up even when we are on different continents. She is, and always will be, my fellow Spinster of the Parish. Also, to my favourite Northerner Rosie Hornsby, for her friendship from afar, motivational texts and cards, and getting married simply to feed my love of spreadsheets.

To my friends and the numerous Smiths and Cranes, whose support and patience helped me through. Especially, my wonderful grandparents and in memory of Nanna for her love of writing. Particular thanks to Jo McGowan and Fred Stephens for their help. And my café working partners, Lotte Hargrave, and Alice Westwell. And, of course, Fraser King for his academic support and (self-imposed) paternal role as well as for his DIY help.

A brief thanks must go to Nespresso for delivering me an 'emergency loan' machine in the final days of the thesis and to Tracey Thorn whose music always sees me through.

My thanks also to the many colleagues who contributed to this research with insightful comments, feedback or ideas. Including, Deborah Mabbett, Joni Lovenduski, Tessa Ditonto, Susan Franceschet, Peter Allen (who also gave very sage advice on surviving a PhD), Mirya Holman, Diana O'Brien, Chris Prosser, Philip Chen, Rachel Bernhard, Dermot Hodson, and David Redlawsk. The Birkbeck PhD

crowd for piloting my experiments. As well as the general support of the Gender and Politics academic community which I am constantly delighted to be a part of, including those such as Meryl Kenny, Liz Evans, Jeanette Ashe, and Orly Siow. And my PSA ECN colleagues, especially James Weinberg for his personal and professional friendship (and to the better Weinberg for Edinburgh drinking).

And, finally, there are then those without whom I would not exist. My ever loving and supportive parents, Michele and David, who put up with many, many stresses, work-filled visits home, and emergency Amazon keyboard deliveries. My gratitude for their love and support is never-ending, although sometimes it may not be expressed enough. It was, maybe, 'all alright in the end'.

Introduction

In the Summer of 2015 over 350,000 members of the UK Labour party were choosing their leader. They were faced with a slate of candidates unprecedented in its diversity. For the first time for a mainstream British political party two women, as well as two men, vied for the leadership. Choosing the leader was not only the job of longstanding party members but also, in an era of parties reaching out and 'selling' themselves via their leader, supporters could sign up to vote in the contest for a reduced fee. In this context, two of the candidates released YouTube campaign videos that garnered significant media commentary. Liz Kendall, one of two women contesting the election, depicted herself sitting in her office late in the evening, writing a letter to the party's membership. In contrast, a male candidate, Andy Burnham, focused on the domestic, with scenes of him baking with his daughters and an interview over the kitchen table with his parents. The contrasting imagery illustrates some of the complexities in gender and political leadership which this thesis seeks to highlight, and begs the types of questions that underpin its enquiry.

The picture of Kendall working alone late into the night may be indicative of the stereotypes thought to be faced by women leaders. Must women overtly signal their competency, hard work and dedication, whereas competency will more often be presumed for their male counterparts? Yet, some media were sceptical. The Times called her "lonely Liz", lampooning her lack of passion and doubting her competency as 'Prime Minister Liz' would take all night to write one letter. Was this demonstrative of the backlash gender and political scholars propose women face when they try to demonstrate their (masculine) competency? Single and childless, the 'lonely Liz' quip raises questions of whether Kendall's dedication was represented in the stereotype of the lonely career woman who sacrificed family for ambition. Is this a stereotype that readily applies still for female leaders? When Theresa May became Prime Minister only a year after this Labour campaign, her childlessness was deliberately flagged by her female opponent who suggested childless May had no stake in the future of society. Are childless women punished when they run for leadership? Does this suggest a maternal mandate whereby women must demonstrate an approved motherhood to show their conformity to gendered norms?

Perhaps, 'lonely Liz' was made more apparent by the clear 'family guy' image put forward by Burnham in his campaign video. Was it the case that, with his (masculine) competency presumed Burnham could more readily demonstrate his (feminine)

communal side? The 'modern man' image of Burnham baking with his daughters had echoes of modernising' leaders Tony Blair and David Cameron's similar imagery in recent decades. Scholars of political leadership may also have been prompted to remember pictures of Willie Whitelaw in the 1970s washing up saucepans in an apparent response to Margaret Thatcher putting out the milk bottles. Are we, perhaps, seeing a politicisation of fatherhood in political leadership? What does this say about the gendered norms of leadership? Is it more feminised? Are male leaders becoming more feminised?

In this context, this research set out to examine the extent to which perceptions of political leadership are gendered using the case study of Britain. The central research question is: *Are perceptions of political leadership gendered, and if so, how?* The principal aim of this thesis is to provide a comprehensive and methodically nuanced account of gender's role in political leadership in the UK context. In doing so, firstly, theoretical accounts of what gendered political leadership would look like are developed from a substantial body of international literature, mainly US-based, which is dedicated to examining women in leadership roles. Secondly, these accounts are critically examined via the case study of the UK. The primary concern of this research is to assess whether findings from a largely US-focused literature can travel to the British case. A systematic analysis of the British case offers an opportunity to contribute to, and critically engage with, current gendered and non-gendered debates on political leadership. If perceptions are gendered, then shedding light on how is important to increase our understanding of the complex gendered environment of political leadership. It is important not just to ask 'do perceptions vary' but also how do they differ in terms of types of media, in different groups of voters, and over time, in order to begin to identify and understand nuances in gender's role in political leadership.

The existing literature on gender and political leadership tends to be US-based with only intermittent examinations of the UK context. Findings have suggested that there are certain gender-based stereotypes often applied by the media and by voters that can be detrimental to women seeking or enacting leadership. If deployed, this stereotypical framing of women can, at the most, inhibit women's possible success as leaders and, at the least, result in women negotiating barriers and assumptions not present for their male counterparts. At the outset, however, it is made clear that the null hypothesis – that perceptions of political leadership are *not* gendered – must be taken seriously throughout the thesis. A body of contemporary research contests the centrality of these gender stereotypes in evaluations of political leadership.

Recent studies suggest that media coverage of men and women may be becoming more equitable over time, and that voters are not relying on gendered assumptions found in simulated experimental studies when they reach the ballot box in 'real-world' campaigns (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2013, Dolan, 2014, Hayes and Lawless, 2016, Lynch and Dolan, 2014). A thorough overview of this literature reveals that the gendering of political leadership is complex. Gendered norms and their role in leadership can vary across time and space, and thus context is important. Much of the literature on gender stereotypes and leader evaluations, however, takes a somewhat static approach to theorising gender and pays too little attention to the cultural and political context. This runs counter to recent work in the 'interactionalist' paradigm (Elgie, 2015) of the wider study of political leadership where theories privilege the importance of context in determining the effectiveness of leaders. We should therefore not assume that stereotypes present at one point in time in the US will de facto be evident in another context such as the UK context. A new UK study was then timely.

A twin-track strategy is undertaken in this thesis based on the two broad methodological approaches to gender and political leadership in current accounts: firstly, observational research provides a systematic evaluation of leadership representations in the media, both in the contemporary British context and over time; secondly, experimental research evaluates voter perceptions in the contemporary context. By taking a holistic approach I endeavour to provide both an examination of how perceptions of leadership, and gender's role within them, may have changed over time, as well as a comprehensive snapshot of political leadership in the current British context.

The empirical chapters that form the core of this thesis substantiate the claim made at its outset on the complexity in the gendering of political leadership, the significance of different time and spaces, and therefore the importance of context. The first half of the thesis undertakes observational research via a systematic analysis of media representations of party leadership candidates in UK party leadership elections. In Chapter 3, an in-depth case study of the 2015 Labour leadership election reveals that, overall, binary gender-based stereotypes are limited, but definitely not eliminated, in the media coverage, and gendering is more often seen in nuanced gendered framings of both male and female candidates. Furthermore, the language and imagery used throughout the campaign and the gendered framings of candidates reiterate the gendering of an insider/outsider status; politics is presented as a masculine game in which men are insiders and women are potential 'space invaders'

(Puwar, 2004). Chapter 4 conducts an across-time comparison of media representations of parenthood in party leadership elections from 1975 to 2016. A politicisation of fatherhood is exposed in this analysis as the rise in the 'modern man' image is traced across the leadership elections. Meanwhile, representations of motherhood appear little changed in elections 40 years apart. Parallels are evident in the imagery of female contenders in the 1970s as the 'competent housewife' and in 2015 as the 'how-does-she-do-it-woman'. In the contemporary setting, when two women ran against each other in leadership contests for different political parties no more than a year apart, in 2015 and 2016, their motherhood was constituted as a relevant issue in the leadership contest, whether that was raised by the media or by the candidates themselves.

In line with the twin-track approach of this research, the second half of the thesis conducts exploratory experimental work to isolate causal effects of gender on voter perceptions of political leadership. An innovative experimental method was used, Dynamic Process Tracing Environment, which brings some of the noise of true elections into the experimental experience. In Chapter 5, the sex of four leadership candidates running in a simulated UK party leadership election are randomly varied. In line with the contemporary body of literature which has challenged traditional accounts of gender-based stereotyping, such stereotypes have limited effects in the experiment and are not systematically applied by voters. The potential that the demographics of voters is mediating the relationship between candidate sex and voter behaviour is considered. When little is known about candidates a relationship between female participants voting for female candidates is seen. However, in line with predictions, this may be a cognitive shortcut and dissipates when voters learn more about candidates. In Chapter 6, the sex and parenthood of the candidates is randomly varied. Overall, motherhood has a limited impact on female candidates' electoral success. A female candidate having young children has little effect on evaluations of her leadership traits or participants' likelihood to vote for her. Furthermore, no evidence is seen for a detrimental impact of childlessness for female candidates. In juxtaposition, the parenthood of the male candidates has a clear effect on voter perceptions. A possible reversal of traditional stereotyping is seen in a potential paternal mandate for male candidates. Discussion of these experimental results highlight the importance of accounting for the dynamic nature of gendered norms for both men and women, which change over time and space as well as between different groups of voters.

The observational and experimental analysis in the thesis work in synergy and in a complementary fashion to reveal nuances and complexities in the gendering of political leadership in the UK case. Gender's role in political leadership is best understood as a complex interaction of context, candidate agency, and gendered leadership norms, styles and traits. The empirical data in the thesis demonstrates that gender's role in political leadership is complex and multifaceted, varies over time, and that it is so, notably, *for both men and women*. This systematic study of the UK case is used to critically engage with the extant literature on gender and political leadership. Much of the literature on gender stereotypes and leader evaluations takes a static approach to theorising how gender mediates political leadership, paying too little attention to political and cultural contexts. A new research agenda is outlined in the final chapter which recognises the complexity of gender and political leadership. Reviewing the thesis' findings in light of the extant literature I identify five dimensions of a future research agenda, where my contribution offers new advances on current understandings, and identifies and informs questions for future research: (i) the personalisation of politics; (ii) candidate strategy; (iii) UK voter behaviour; (iv) parenthood and politics; and (v) men and masculinity.

In examining the future research agenda prompted by this work's findings, it is highlighted how the further advancements this thesis makes are threefold. Firstly, it offers ways in which we can begin to bridge the gap between non-gendered, conventional accounts of political leadership and gendered evaluations of leadership which to date have operated in isolation. Secondly, it demonstrates how former simplistic claims on gender are limited, begging the reframing of research questions on gender and political leadership away from binary conceptions of are men/women associated with certain competencies to more nuanced understandings. Thirdly, a way to research this complexity is offered in the twin-track approach with methodological innovation in the experiments used.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

The question addressed in this thesis is *how* perceptions of leadership vary across space and time not *why* they might vary. A systematic analysis allows us to establish the extent to which the concept of political leadership is gendered but also whether this is context specific. Much of the literature on gender stereotypes and leader evaluations takes a somewhat static approach to theorising gender and gives too little attention to the cultural and political context. This runs counter to recent work within the ‘interactionalist paradigm’ (Elgie, 2015) in the wider study of political leadership, where theories privilege the importance of context in determining the effectiveness of leaders. Given the complex explanatory factors that might play a role, from women’s movement into higher education and paid employment, their increased political representation, changing feminist movements and cultural shifts in gender norms, this thesis does not attempt to isolate causal mechanisms but instead seeks to assess whether findings from a largely US focused literature can travel to the British case. By considering the dynamics across space and over time we can shed light on the processes that may create gendered leadership evaluations. The following literature review reveals how the gendering of political leadership is complex, it varies across different times and spaces, and thus context can be important. The nuancing of this means we cannot completely untangle all the factors that may be contributing to media and voter perceptions, for example to what extent the media take their lead from the image candidates choose to put forward and how the candidate’s strategy may be driven by perceived gender-stereotypes (e.g. women may believe they need to act in an overtly masculine manner). Nevertheless, *how* perceptions of leadership are gendered is important to increasing our understanding of the complex gendered environment of political leadership. In this chapter, alongside an overview of current gender and political leadership, an attempt is also made to begin to bridge the gap between the non-gendered, conventional leadership literature and gendered evaluations of leadership. At present, these two bodies of work exist somewhat in isolation, yet there are possible points of intersection between the two where both fields of study could be furthered by engaging with each other.

Literature on gender and political leadership tends to be US-based with only intermittent examinations undertaken in the UK. Findings have suggested that gender-based stereotypes applied by the media and voters can penalise women in

leadership roles and that political leadership is often a highly gendered environment. This stereotypical framing of women, if present, can, at the most, limit women's potential success as leaders and, at the least, result in them negotiating barriers and assumptions not present for their male counterparts. The null hypothesis in this research, that perceptions of political leadership are *not* gendered, must be taken seriously as a contemporary body of literature is beginning to contest these previous findings. Recent studies have suggested the media coverage of men and women is becoming more equitable and that voter's gender-based stereotyping does not hold in high-information environments such as real-world elections (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2013, Dolan, 2014, Hayes and Lawless, 2016, Lynch and Dolan, 2014). Furthermore, these results are context specific and therefore results from the US may not hold in other contexts, such as in the British case. Gender stereotypes can also vary over time and experimental studies from the early 1990s and 2000s may not be as relevant today as social roles and therefore gender attitudes change (Diekmann and Eagly, 2000), alongside a myriad of other factors.

In its attempt to provide a comprehensive analysis of gender's role in perceptions of leadership this thesis draws together a range of literature. At present, the literature on gender and political leadership engages rarely, if at all, with wider, non-gendered, theories of leadership. For example, there is a heavy reliance on ideas of competency in the gender literature, such as Jamieson's femininity/competency bind, but little discussion of more symbolic and relational ideas of leadership, such as that of the 'charismatic leader'. Alternative theories of leadership, from organisational studies, political studies and psychology, must be considered alongside the proposed theoretical frameworks of gendered leadership in an examination of the UK case. Doing so provides for more complex ideas of leadership to be examined through the thesis. In this chapter, gendered accounts of political leadership are first considered, followed by wider gender theories of masculinity. In the final section, non-gendered, conventional accounts of political leadership are then reviewed and possible points of intersection between gendered and non-gendered accounts considered. Given the prominence of media perceptions in gendered accounts of political leadership, the phenomenon of personalisation is considered which contends that the media is increasingly important in determining the effectiveness of contemporary leaders. Engaging with this range of literature provides a more comprehensive account of leadership, which may still reveal gendering, and can offer a critique of wider leadership theory.

Gendered Accounts of Political Leadership

The central research question of this thesis is '*Are perceptions of political leadership gendered and, if so, how?*'. To begin to answer this question, the wide body of international literature on gender and political leadership is considered. An exploration of these works reveals the potential ways leadership can be gendered and guides my analysis of the British context, creating the framework for the research design in the next chapter. There are two broad methodological approaches to studying gender and leadership: experimental and observational. The findings from these two methods, and their relative merits and limitations, are discussed below. It shows that political leadership, and gender's role within it, is complex as perceptions may vary over time and space. Gendered norms are not static. Current approaches overlook this complexity and underestimate the importance of varying cultural and political contexts. Alongside this, much of the gendered literature discussed below focuses on women only; ignoring the impact gender-based stereotypes may play in evaluations of male political leaders; "We must take seriously the fact that a gendered analysis is as much about men and masculinity as it is about women and femininity" (Bjarnegard, 2013). To further this research the wider literature on gender theory, especially around masculinity, is then brought into the discussion.

Experimental Research on Gender-Based Stereotypes

The international literature on women in leadership roles often focuses on gender-based stereotyping and how this can work against women. Stereotypes are a cognitive shortcut used to infer behaviour or traits about a person (Eagly and Carli, 2003). Gender-based stereotypes hold particular power as they relate to a person's gender, one of the first things we notice. As cognitive shortcuts, stereotypes are particularly important in areas where people are minimally engaged, meaning they are thought to hold particular sway in politics (Dolan, 2014). Numerous experimental studies have examined gender-based stereotypes in voters, especially in the US context, over the past few decades; this body of literature has found evidence for potential systematic differences in how voters perceive male and female leaders.

Experimental literature on voters' gender-based stereotypes is a useful starting point to consider gendered norms and the potential gendering of political leadership but one should recognise the limitations of this literature when analysing the current body of evidence. The experimental environment is, by nature, an artificial one. In order to infer causation the experimental setting is strictly controlled and synthetic situations constructed in order to control for extraneous variables, meaning it can be a weak

approximation of real-life situations (Christensen, 1991). This is a feature which works both for and against the resultant findings. On the one hand, the artificial environment allows the researcher to create specific manipulations and isolate their causal effects – such as the effect of varying a candidate’s sex on voter evaluations. On the other hand, the sterile nature of experiments will always limit their external validity. A weakness which is reinforced by an emerging body of evidence which contests previous experimental findings, as stereotypes have been found to have limited effects in real elections. A possible method for reducing this methodological limitation is discussed in the following chapter. A secondary weakness of the experimental method is that it produces a static snapshot of causal effects at only one point in time; yet, evidence suggests that stereotypes are liable to change over time.

Issue and Trait Stereotypes

To begin, let us consider the more traditional gender-stereotyping literature of the 1990s and early 2000s which is primarily found in the US context. A seminal piece was Huddy and Terkildsen’s US experimental work (1993a, 1993b) in the early 1990s which laid the foundations for many of the experimental designs and typologies of gender stereotypes later used. Their first paper (1993a) presented the case for two types of stereotypes - belief and trait. Trait stereotypes are “voters’ assumptions about a candidate’s gender-linked personality traits”. Women tend to be seen as more compassionate, “warm, gentle, kind and passive” whereas men are more often seen as agentic, “tough, aggressive and assertive”. Belief stereotypes relate to the perceived political leanings of men and women with women more often categorised as left-wing (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993a, p. 121). Both are thought to relate to the policy issues associated with the genders. Usually this means men are seen as more competent on tough, aggressive issues such as military, foreign affairs and defence whereas female politicians are thought to be competent on compassion issues such as healthcare, education and childcare (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993a). As Murray (2010b) points out, however, there is not complete consensus on which issues are classed as male and female in the gender-stereotyping literature showing the dynamic nature of stereotypes and that they can often intersect with other stereotypes, for example around partisanship (King and Matland, 2003).

Huddy and Terkildsen’s (1993a) experimental design found gender trait stereotypes to be the strongest predictor of political stereotyping. For both sexes possessing male traits was most beneficial. These were linked to presumed competency on

issues such as economics and the military which is valued in leaders and were preferred characteristics for candidates for higher executive office (1993a). More recently, Banwart (2010) revisited Huddy and Terkildsen’s study using real candidate adverts and found similar results. Many studies have investigated masculine and feminine trait stereotypes as applied to politicians. Drawing on these studies an overview of the most often occurring traits is seen in Table 1.

Table 1: Trait Stereotypes

	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>
<i>Positive</i>	Gentle, Honest, Warm, Compassionate, Affectionate, Cheerful, Sensitive, Compromising	Hard-Working, Leader, Strong, Vital, Competitive, Tough, Intelligent, Knowledgeable, Independent, Ambitious, Decisive, Assertive, Rational
<i>Negative</i>	Weak, Weak Leader, Passive, Emotional, Uninformed, Unintelligent, Non-Competitive, Dependent	Untrustworthy, Aggressive, Insensitive

(Alexander and Anderson, 1993, Diekman and Eagly, 2000, Fridkin, 1994, Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993a, Lawless, 2004, Rosenwasser and Dean, 1989)

How these traits are applied splits into descriptive and prescriptive gender stereotypes. Descriptive stereotypes are similar to trait stereotypes; they “purport to describe what group members are typically like (“women are gentle”)”. Prescriptive stereotypes “describe the behavioural standards group members must uphold to avoid derision by the perceiver (“women *should* be gentle”)”, these relate to social norms and the notion that those who perform against expected norms will be punished (Gill, 2004, p. 619, original emphasis).

To understand the potential effect of these stereotypes on evaluations of male and female leaders the notion of role incongruity is useful. Role incongruity is rooted in Eagly’s social role theory and contends that, “a potential for prejudice exists when social perceivers hold a stereotype about a social group that is incongruent with the attributes that are thought to be required for success in certain classes of social roles” (Eagly and Karau, 2002, p. 576). It leads to two potential types of prejudice towards women in leadership roles. Firstly, *women’s potential for leadership could be perceived unfavourably as leadership ability is stereotypically aligned to traits perceived as masculine* which derives from descriptive stereotyping. Secondly, *when women do enter leadership roles they may experience backlash because the behaviour required is less desirable in women* which comes from prescriptive stereotypes about expected behaviour (Eagly and Karau, 2002, Gill, 2004) and places women in the femininity/competency bind, one of several double binds faced by women in public life as identified by Jamieson (1995). The femininity/competency

bind contends women in leadership roles may have to strike a balance between stereotypically 'female' and 'male' behaviour. Experimental evidence suggests women may need to display masculine behaviour associated with leadership to appear competent but simultaneously can experience backlash for not demonstrated expected feminine behaviour, such as communality, i.e. being more compassionate, warm and selfless (Eagly and Carli, 2003). 'Male' leadership attributes such as assertiveness have been found to be devalued in women who are derided for deviating from their femininity whilst still falling short of the "masculine norm of competency" (Jamieson, 1995, p. 121). Simultaneously, when women display expected communal traits this can undermine their competency as they are thought to be devalued behaviours.

Political psychology experiments, mainly in the US context, have found evidence for these two prejudices that flow from role incongruity (e.g., Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993b, Rosenwasser and Seale, 1988). Evidence for prescriptive stereotypes have still been found in more recent studies, for example Okimoto and Brescoll's (2010) experimental design showed that adding the information to a politician's website that they had specific power-seeking ambitions negatively affected vote choice for women and resulted in a perceived communality deficit, but improved the reaction to men. As Jamieson's bind suggests, these power-seeking women were seen as less competent and agentic than men and non-power-seeking women. Interestingly, Ditonto et al (2014) found in a simulated election environment participants more often searched for competence-related information about female candidates which links to Jamieson's (1995) contention that male competency is often presumed whereas women's is questioned.

Organisational psychology has also found evidence of this double bind for professional women. Studies in the US found that women can be held to a higher standard and have less access to leadership roles than men; particularly when they occupy usually male-dominated roles (e.g., Eagly and Karau, 2002, Eagly and Carli, 2003, Eagly, 2007). Bradley (1994) observed that women faced a double bind when entering male-dominated workplaces; when women challenged men by taking on a more 'masculine' demeanour they faced backlash as they were perceived as insufficiently feminine; but adopting a more feminine performance meant their competency was questioned and they were labelled as inferior. Similarly, Heilman and Okimoto's (2007) experiments found describing women as successful in male roles meant they were less liked and deemed less favourable bosses than men, but

then providing additional information about their 'natural' communal traits reduced this effect.

The political and organisational literature reviewed so far focuses on gender stereotyping as detrimental to women. A more recent body of work in organisational literature reveals how women might be negotiating these gender-based stereotypes in a way that can aid their success. It is possible for women to adopt behaviours which balance femininity and masculinity in a way that addresses the femininity/competency bind. Eagly et al (2003) relate this to ideas of transformational and transactional leadership in organisational studies and suggest that women may adopt a more 'feminine' leadership style. Transactional leaders "appeal to subordinates' self-interest by establishing exchange relationships with them", simply setting objectives and then rewarding success or correcting failure (Eagly et al., 2003, p. 571). Transformational leadership, "involves establishing oneself as a role model by gaining the trust and confidence of followers", i.e. leaders mentor and empower their subordinates (Eagly et al., 2003, p. 570). The latter leadership type is more communal and therefore may be adopted by women in line with expected gender behaviour – this can lessen the backlash that can happen if they are thought too dominant or authoritative. In their meta-analysis of over 40 leadership studies Eagly et al (2003) find that female leaders were overall more transformational in their leadership approach and increasingly turned to this leadership style over time. Later work by Eagly (2007) contends this could be a wider trend as a cultural shift has resulted in good leadership more often meaning being a 'good coach' rather than being highly authoritative and therefore both men and women are thought to be increasingly demonstrating a more 'feminised' transformational leadership.

When Women Run Women Win

The body of experimental research discussed thus far might suggest that women would be routinely thwarted by these gender-based stereotypes when running for leadership positions but this has not been the case. The often repeated mantra is 'when women run women win' (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2013). Voters do not seem to apply the stereotypes found in experimental settings to the extent some experimental evidence suggests in the 'real-world' of politics. There are two possible explanations for this, which are not mutually exclusive. These link to the two weaknesses of experimental methods identified, as well as highlighting how gendered norms are dynamic and vary in different places and over time. An alternative body of literature suggests that systematic differences between voter

perceptions of male and female leaders can disappear when voters operate in a high-information environment, such as a campaign, or, could be declining over time.

Firstly, there is the role of information. Experimental methods allow researchers to strip back much of the noise that happens in real-world politics and isolate specific causal effects, such as that of a candidate's sex on voter perceptions. However, as previously contended, this artificial environment means experimental findings are also limited in their external validity. Kathleen Dolan (2014) suggests that current experimental work may take too simplistic a view of voter stereotypes. Stereotypes do not act in a vacuum – they interact with other prejudices such as partisan stereotypes and preferences. Additionally, they are a cognitive shortcut and so can disappear when voters have sufficient information, such as during campaigns. Dolan's (2014) study evaluating survey evidence and campaign data from the 2010 US Elections found stereotypes were not completely irrelevant but female candidates "are not routinely hampered or harmed by them". Similarly, in an experimental study of candidates for US local elections, Crowder-Meyer et al (2019) found that providing a limited amount of additional information reduced the effects of candidate demographics on voter behaviour. It should be made clear that Dolan, and others, are not saying that gender does not matter. They recognise that there are plenty of parts of the political system where women are disadvantaged, such as recruitment. But when women do run for office the evidence suggests, "in the end, women candidates have a relationship with the public that is colored by their sex but not controlled by it" (Lynch and Dolan, 2014, p. 66); this reiterates that the null hypothesis – that gender stereotypes will not be prevalent – must be taken seriously.

Contradictory to this, a study by Koch (1999) of survey data from U.S. Senate Elections found that gender stereotyping was more prevalent in the well-educated. Koch offers two potential explanations. Firstly, political gender stereotypes may be known to those who are more attentive to politics, just as they may be more aware of partisan stereotypes. Secondly, voter evaluations of candidates likely reflect the information they receive during a campaign from the mass media or from candidates – if these messages systematically vary according to gender then this will mean greater gender-based variation for those who pay attention. This highlights the importance of considering how the media, as the main source of information for voters, may be gendered in its representations of leaders, as discussed further below in relation to the observational research.

These contradictory studies demonstrate how the real political environment is messy, how do we untangle what is in the voters' minds, what is media gendering and what

derives from the strategizing of politicians who are operating in a highly gendered environment? It is important to remember that politicians are not static actors in this context; we need to appreciate how they develop strategies to deal with the context in which they operate. For example, the way that the media presents candidates is likely, at least partially, a response to how candidates attempt to present themselves; it is difficult to tease out what is candidate strategy, how much is being pushed by them or by the gendered environment, and how much is media gendering that would have taken place irrespective of candidate behaviour. One of the advantages of voter experiments such as those discussed above, is that they allow us to simplify complex environments to directly test casual effects.

Koch and Dolan both highlight how the strategies employed by candidates could both be affected by perceived gender stereotypes, and, simultaneously, effect resultant voter perceptions by gendering the information received by voters. Perceived gender-stereotyping may affect these strategies as, similar to the transformational leadership style thought to be preferred by women in organisational studies, female political leaders have been found to employ a 'gender strategy' in their campaign choices in order to negotiate the highly gendered nature of political leadership. For example, women may balance masculine agentic behaviour with more communal 'feminine' behaviour to try and negotiate Jamieson's femininity/competency bind (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2013, Lawrence and Rose, 2014). Margaret Thatcher did this well; she balanced her masculine leadership style with her feminine sartorial appearance including pearls and the infamous handbag (Carroll, 2009).

Secondly, we must consider the time dimension at play in many of these studies. The different findings by Koch and Dolan could be due to the time gap between the two studies. The second weakness of the experimental method identified above, was that it only offers a static snapshot of stereotypes at one point in time. Yet, stereotypes are dynamic and changing gender roles in society could mean that stereotypes found in studies from the 1990s and early 2000s may well have changed or lessened over time. In fact, in a study in 2000, Diekmann and Eagly already challenged these trait typologies and suggested women's increased participation in paid labour mean they are adopting more similar roles with men which may require more agentic traits. In their experimental work Diekmann and Eagly (2000) asked participants to imagine the average woman or man at present, in a specific past, or in a specific future year, and estimate each sex's characteristics. They found that as participants perceived male and female roles to have merged more male characteristics tended to be allocated to women. Specifically, it was stereotypes of women that were more dynamic; a change

in male characteristics to incorporate more female traits was not consistently demonstrated in the experiment.

The varying levels of stereotyping in other more recent studies reiterates how the gendering of political leadership is complex, it is about different times and spaces and accordingly context is important. US-based survey experiments in 2009 by Brooks (2013) found that, overall, female candidates were judged as 'leaders not ladies'. Similarly, Fridkin and Kenney's (2009) examination of the 2006 US Senate elections found that, in line with earlier stereotyping literature, women were seen as more caring and honest than men and more competent on healthcare; yet, male senators were not thought stronger leaders or more experienced than women. Stereotyping therefore appeared to be present but may be lessening. Fridkin and Kenney acknowledge how the specific context of this election could have an effect, 2006 was a year of scandal and this was an important theme in the campaign and so women may be rated higher as they have been traditionally seen as more honest. Similarly, the US Congressional elections in 1992 were dubbed the 'Year of the Women' due to the high numbers of successful female candidates. It is thought voters wanted a return to domestic issues which could more easily be played upon by women (Dolan, 2014). A more recent study by Hayes and Lawless (2016, p. 112) on the 2010 and 2014 US midterm elections found little evidence for gender-stereotyping as, "male and female House candidates communicate similar messages on the campaign trail, receive similar coverage in the local press, and garner similar evaluations from voters in their districts". Preliminary analysis by Heldman et al (2018) shows voter perceptions of Clinton in 2016 did not reflect gender stereotypes about women, although perceptions of Trump reflected stereotypes about men thus linking to the importance of men and masculinity as discussed further below. These variations in different elections and across time demonstrate how different times and spaces are important in the interaction between gender and political leadership. A comprehensive account of gender and political leadership could benefit from drawing on the approaches of conventional studies of political leadership which put more emphasis on time and space, as discussed below in the review of this literature.

Observational Research on Media Perceptions

The second methodological approach to studying gender and leadership is observational research. This work primarily focuses on the media's representations of political leaders. As this thesis considers how perceptions of political leadership are gendered it is key to consider the media both as a key resource of any modern political leader, as discussed further below when considering the increased

personalisation of politics, but also in how it may directly link to individual voter perceptions. As highlighted earlier in this chapter, questions on how information can affect gender-based stereotyping are increasingly important in understanding voter behaviour in gender and political leadership. By undertaking observational research on media representations, gender and political leadership studies examines in depth the primary source of information for voters. The media is the form by which much of the contact between politicians and the public occurs and is the primary forum by which voters receive information about their political representatives (Aaldering, 2018, Hall and Donaghue, 2013). Therefore, there is potential for the media to impact individual voters' gendered perceptions of leaders. As Koch suggested, for example, political gender stereotypes may be more prevalent in those who pay more attention to politics, as they may be more aware of these stereotypes. Voter evaluations likely reflect the information they receive during a campaign from the mass media or from candidates themselves. Knowing how the media represents men and women in leadership roles, therefore, may further our understanding of possible voter stereotyping. For instance, if this systematically varies by the sex of the politician this could have a direct effect on public perceptions (Koch, 1999) and likewise if the media is becoming more equitable in its coverage, as more recent data may suggest, this could reduce gender-based stereotypes held by voters (Dolan, 2014). The underlying assumption made in this thesis is that the media affects how we construct our view of the world (Harp et al., 2010).

As the UK news system is becoming more 'hybrid', this thesis takes media to mean both more traditional streams of 'old' media – newspapers and broadcast news – and 'new media' – including political blogs and social media (Chadwick, 2011). It is likely that variation will be found within these media sources, for example in coverage of the 2008 vice presidential candidates in the US, political blogs showed a more denounced negative tone and hard sexism towards Palin than the newspaper coverage (Conroy et al., 2015). Additionally, it has been suggested that female journalists' treatment of female politicians may vary to that of male journalists' (Childs, 2008). Exploring these differences could shed light on how a successful political leader may operate in this hybrid media system.

Current examinations of media coverage in gender and political leadership tend to be small N observational studies and offer detailed insights into gender's role in the 'real-world' of politics in specific contexts. The findings from these studies are high in external validity and can complement findings from experimental work. For instance, similar gender-based stereotypes that have been found in experimental work have

also been found in the media coverage of female politicians in various international case studies. The work considers how the media frames leaders. News frames “constitute highly orchestrated ways of making sense of social (including gendered) relations which encourage a commitment to share particular interpretations of and ways of seeing the world” (Ross, 2010, p. 93). A growing international literature has undertaken systematic quantitative and qualitative examinations of the media's treatment of female leaders. The work identifies a series of gendered framings which rely on stereotypical gendered norms and 'double binds' (Jamieson, 1995, Murray, 2010a). This relates to the concept of 'gendered mediation' which “captures the ways in which processes and products of news-making reflect gender norms, binaries and power relations” (Trimble, 2017, pp. 9-10). Coverage can reinforce gendered norms but the presence of women in a male-dominated arena can also trouble these norms and binaries, as Trimble (2017) has argued. A more nuanced analysis of gendered representations recognises the possible resistance and change in the performance of leadership and subsequent news framings.

There is a US focus to this work with a plethora of literature around Sarah Palin and Hillary Clinton, although there are other international examples such as Julia Gillard in Australia. International case studies have shown evidence for systematic differences in how the media portray women leaders compared to their male colleagues. Again, an alternative or null hypothesis that gender's effect could be declining or indeed be non-existent can be found. As with the stereotyping literature above, this null hypothesis, must be given thorough consideration. Recent work in the US suggests the media may be becoming more equitable in its coverage; for instance, Hayes and Lawless's (2016) study of US House races found that a better explanation of differences in coverage between candidates was electoral competitiveness and incumbency rather than sex. On the other hand, stereotypes applied to professional women as identified in Kantar's (1977) seminal piece in the 1970s *Men and Women of the Corporation* were still found to be applied in 2008 to Sarah Palin and Hillary Clinton (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009). This highlights a limitation of these small N type studies: they are context specific when the role of gender can vary across space and over time. For instance, Hayes and Lawless (2016) specifically note that their conclusions on the lessening of gender differences may not apply to the 2016 presidential race when Hillary Clinton was the first female presidential candidate from a major party due to the higher level and profile of such a campaign. Indeed, evidence suggests this was the case as Clinton appeared to receive less coverage than Trump in 2016 and the media framed her as unlikable,

crooked and frail as well as disproportionately focusing on her scandals and fitness for office compared to Trump (Heldman et al., 2018).

The gendered framing identified in this observational work allows for the development of a particular schema for testing the presence of these types of representations in the British context. The following section summarises the existing literature on gender and political leadership through an examination of a series of these framings. These directly form the coding framework in the next chapter.

Visibility

The position of women as outsiders in the masculine world of politics can affect their visibility; this has been found both to enhance the visibility of women via their unusualness and depreciate it (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003). In the 2015 British General Election women constituted only 15.2% of all politicians featured in the media coverage and 4 of the 20 most prominent individuals in the campaign (one being the Prime Minister's wife) (Harmer, 2015). The gendered mediation thesis contends the images and language used, such as sports and military metaphors, perpetrate the masculinity of politics and place women as outsiders (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003). They can be seen as 'space invaders' in a masculine sphere. Churchill said women's "intrusion" into the male space of the House of Commons was "as embarrassing as if she burst into my bathroom when I had nothing with which to defend myself, not even a sponge" (Puwar, 2004, p. 13). Their unusualness can alternatively increase the visibility of women as their unexpected 'masculine' behaviour is seen as newsworthy. In television news coverage of the Canadian leadership debates Gidengil and Everitt (2003) found that when the female participant was combative she was more frequently portrayed as attacking than men even if her actual behaviour was no more combative. Similar behaviour by men was just part of the game. Gidengil and Everitt (2003, p. 573) also noticed that sports imagery was used less towards the women candidates, "implying that the women were somehow perceived as not really belonging to the "game" of politics". In her evaluation of the media coverage of four female Prime Ministers from Canada, New Zealand and Australia, Trimble (2017) similarly concluded that the battle metaphors used to describe the behaviour of the women can limit the parameters of acceptable electoral performance to these masculine spheres. However, this imagery was not uniformly negative and Trimble suggests that representations of women on the 'battlefield' of politics could work to disrupt the public man/private woman dichotomy, showing women to have power and agency.

Novelty/Difference

The continued unusualness of women in politics leads the media to explicitly reference their sex. Such novelty or difference framing can be presented through the names used which often present a woman's sex as the primary descriptor, women in public office are not just politicians but *women* politician (Ross, 2010). These 'gender markers' politicise gender by reinforcing the public man/private woman dichotomy as women's presence is presented as unusual. It shows a presumption that politicians are male and can essentialise politician's gendered attitude by linking women and bodies, or may suggest that these women are playing the 'gender card'. Yet, Trimble (2017) argues, these frames can also challenge gendered assumptions by highlighting the underrepresentation of women and the assumption that politicians are male. She suggests that stories about women in politics could educate people about women's ability to carry out political roles and highlighting women's path-breaking in leadership roles (even if often exaggerated or inaccurate) could work to draw attention to their previous absence.

Femininity/Competency Bind

Jamieson's femininity/competency bind, discussed in relation to the gender-stereotyping literature above, has also been found in the media coverage of female leaders as prescriptive stereotypes can be located in the media context. Jamieson contends gendered language sustains this bind, women are 'feisty, perky, small and lively'. The words also commonly associated with this bind are "too" and "not enough" (Jamieson, 1995, p. 120). In particular, there is an abundance of literature on the US cases of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin in relation to this potential gendering. Hillary Clinton in the 2008 US Presidential Primaries was often punished by the media for being insufficiently communal. When she did show emotion, it was framed as weakness and a lack of competence. She was frequently the classic iron maiden – portrayed as a mythical man, ridiculed for her pantsuits and called the "stereotypical bitch" (Carroll, 2009, Sykes, 2008, p. 13). In her 2016 presidential bid similar accusations were made of Clinton most noticeably that she was simply not 'likeable' enough as a candidate (Heldman et al., 2018, Presidential Gender Watch 2016, 2017). Elsewhere, when Julia Gillard became the Australian prime minister by ousting her forebear, Kevin Rudd, such ambition was presented by the media as disappointing in the face of expectations of the first female prime minister (Hall and Donaghue, 2013). Sarah Palin balanced her femininity and masculinity more successfully than Clinton in 2008 with her toughness being portrayed through hyper-sexualised imagery and her role as a mother (Harp et al., 2010) – but this led to

another of Jamieson's binds, the womb/brain bind, and coverage remained gendered.

Womb/Brain Bind

The second of the social binds identified by Jamieson (1995, p. 53), the womb/brain bind, relates to the idea that "throughout history, women have been identified as bodies not minds, wombs not brains". This can be split into three possible representations of women:

(i) Emotionality

Women can be presented as too emotional for politics in reference to the idea that women are irrational due to their hormones and to the womb/brain bind where women's reproductive system is linked to their mental capacity (Jamieson, 1995, Murray, 2010b). Again, examples come from the US where Connors (2010) found that Hillary Clinton's emotions were the dominant theme in political cartoons of her bid for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2008.

(ii) Sexuality

Women are "bodies not minds". Jamieson contends that sexuality and appearance are always at play when discussing women and women in power are often whores, lesbians, dominatrix, or castrators, seeking inappropriate power over men (Jamieson, 1995, p. 74). Both Sarah Palin and Hillary Clinton encountered this sexualisation in the media coverage of the 2008 presidential primaries and election. Clinton was not womanly enough in her pantsuits and with her 'cankles', in juxtaposition Palin was youthful and 'sexy' as a former beauty queen (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009). Similarly, in 2016 Clinton was sexualised in the conservative media, she was a lesbian, deemed not attractive enough, and her smile was criticised (Heldman et al., 2018). Women can be trivialised if they are attractive or ostracised if they are not (Murray, 2010b). This was seen in Venezuela when Irene Sáez, a former Miss Universe, announced her bid for the Presidency and the media questioned whether someone that attractive could be President (Hinojosa, 2010). Trimble's (2017) study of media coverage of four female Prime Ministers from Canada, New Zealand and Australia found that one in ten articles mentioned female politicians' appearance, a higher percentage of articles than for their male counterparts. Often in these discussions a link was made between physical appearance and an assessment of leadership style and performance.

(iii) Family

Traditionally, motherhood is thought incongruous with ideas of leadership and detrimental to women's leadership ambitions. Women can face questions about whether their public life is compatible with their domestic responsibilities, suggesting that they can have a career and a family but it is always at the cost of cheating one over the other (Jamieson, 1995, Murray, 2010b). Women can often struggle to break from the traditional view of them as mothers or primary care-givers. For example, the US media questioned whether Sarah Palin as a 'mom of five' had the capacity to fulfil the duties of Vice President (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009). Political experiments conducted in the US by Stalsburg (2010) found that when presented with male and female candidates with varying familial responsibilities respondents perceived women with young children to be less viable candidates, with less time capacity than men with young children.

However, there is an alternative hypothesis that motherhood can be beneficial to female candidates (further discussed in Chapter 4). Recently, Deason et al (2015) suggested that there is an emerging Politicized Motherhood in US politics, within the context of an overall increase in mentions of politicians' families over the last few decades. Motherhood has previously been emphasised in politics but this new Politicized Motherhood is different. Firstly, there is a rise in internet mother activism, for example 'mommy' blogs. Secondly, the targeting of the mothers' vote. Thirdly, it comes alongside a wider cultural emphasis on mothers as "special different and powerful"; for example, assumptions about a 'mommy brain' which is naturally better at multitasking, diplomacy, budgeting and so on (Deason et al., 2015, p. 136). This politicization of mothers has been aided by the emergence of high profile women politicians whose motherhood has been the subject of extensive commentary (Deason et al., 2015). In the 2008 US Presidential Election, for example, Sarah Palin used her traditional role as mother to show she was communal, emphasising her devoted and caring nature (Harp et al., 2010).

Deason et al (2015) contend that whilst traditionally emphasising family has tended to disadvantage women, it might be beneficial in this changed political context. If motherhood becomes politicized 'female' traits may be seen as more salient and leadership roles seen in more feminine terms. This can be linked to a new cultural emphasis on mothers as special and exhibiting natural competency because of this. "By adopting a maternal campaign strategy, female candidates can ride the wake of cultural conversations in which mothers' "natural" capacity for multitasking, diplomacy, and budget management is taken for granted" (Deason et al., 2015, p.

143). Heilman and Okimoto's (2007) experiments found that women who were depicted as successful in male roles were less liked and seen as less favourable bosses but when the additional information that these women were mothers was provided evaluations improved. The implication here is that the communality deficit sometimes faced by women in leadership roles could be negated by women's motherhood as it is perceived to demonstrate women's supposed natural communality.

The UK Context

There is a scarcity of literature looking at how women in high executive office in the UK are treated by the media. Childs (2008) case study of two female ministers' resignations under the New Labour government found that their appearance, fashion and personal relations were not routinely discussed, but a range of gendered adjectives were used to describe them and many of the articles were framed around the minister's gender. Estelle Morris was a bad cabinet minister but a good woman, whereas Claire Short was attacked as not just a bad Cabinet minister but a bad woman. The Communication Research Centre at Loughborough University carried out quantitative analysis of weekday broadcast and newspaper media during the 2015 General Election (Harmer, 2015). Although this gives nice headline statistics about the visibility of women it does not tell us how these women were portrayed in comparison to men as little qualitative context is given. Overall, there is a lack of systematic qualitative and quantitative inter-sex media analysis to provide us with a current picture of gender and the British media.

Elsewhere the focus has been on female Members of Parliament's experience with the media which has shown that female British MPs are sensitive to their gender's role in their portrayal by the media. Karen Ross's interviews with women parliamentarians in England, as well as Australia, Northern Ireland and South Africa, found that the female politicians felt the media had a gendered agenda when reporting on stories involving female politicians. The "vast majority" of women Ross (2003, p. 7) interviewed thought the media was particularly interested in them as "gendered beings" – concentrating on what they wear, where they shop and their family life and so on. Many MPs spoke to Ross about how they alter their behaviour due to this. Similarly, Childs' (2004) interviews with New Labour women MPs found they were unhappy with their media coverage and worried it discouraged others who may think about entering Parliament. However, both these studies were of MPs operating in a media environment nearly two decades ago which may have

significantly changed alongside gendered norms and the increased and sustained presence of women in British politics.

Gender Theory and Masculinity

Masculinity is discussed to some extent in gender and political leadership scholarship, mostly in the idea that leadership is stereotypically masculine but also in some observational research on the performance of masculinity in US Presidential elections (e.g., Fahey, 2007, Heldman et al., 2018). Yet, for the most part, there is a concentration, especially in the media case studies, on women only; even when stereotypes relating to both sexes are discussed the focus is often on the impact of evaluations for *female* political leaders. Masculine is often the 'norm' which women deviate from or try to demonstrate, such as the contention in the femininity/competency bind that male competency will be presumed whereas a woman's will be questioned (Jamieson, 1995). Yet, "we must take seriously the fact that a gendered analysis is as much about men and masculinity as it is about women and femininity" (Bjarnegard, 2013, p. 1). To fully understand how perceptions of leadership are gendered, as this thesis seeks to do, both femininity and masculinity need to be considered. Bringing in gender theory more widely, especially that around masculinity, is of use here.

The more recent observational studies such as Dolan's (2014) have shown gender-stereotyping is not always as simple as some studies contend. Stereotypes are dynamic. There is some suggestion in the literature, for instance, that leadership could be becoming more 'feminised', for example in the transformational leadership management style or by the politicization of motherhood. Alternatively, Diekman and Eagly (2000) suggest stereotypes of women might be changing to incorporate more masculine traits. Categorising traits or issues in this research as binary 'male' or 'female' may be too simplistic. We should be cautious of being so tautological, not least because stereotypes may be changing over time or may differ in the UK context compared to the US, from where much of this literature derives. The above typology of gendered news frames and binds could lead one to think about the gendering of politics more widely, for example a more nuanced gendered mediation thesis suggests that presenting politics as a masculine sphere is exclusionary to women but also that the presence of women can challenge such norms. Furthermore, it should also be considered whether there is a certain *type* of masculinity which is being encouraged in this sphere which may be exclusionary to potential male leaders who do not fit this hegemonic type.

Hegemonic Masculinity

To say that 'politics is masculine' does not mean that all biologically male humans will therefore benefit. It is recognised above in discussions of the femininity/competency bind women can make use of a variety of gendered behaviours (both feminine and masculine), Sarah Palin, for example, performed masculine toughness with adverts depicting her hunting whilst locating this within the realm of femininity as she spoke of how she joined her father on hunts as a girl (Harp et al., 2010). We must also recognise the gender politics within masculinity. First discussed by Connell in *Men's Bodies* the idea of hegemonic masculinity is a pivotal concept in studies of masculinity. Hegemony refers to "cultural domination in the society as a whole" (Connell, 2005, p. 78); hegemonic masculinity is an ideal type of masculinity which is dominant in society. Although it may not be the majority of men's everyday experience most benefit from it and the resulting subordination of women and some men to this patriarchal hegemony.

Figures can become exemplars of this masculinity. At the same time, there are a plurality of types of masculinity and a hierarchy within it. Subordinate masculinities are devalued in society and can face prejudice. In terms of politics this could mean that being a man is not enough, one needs to be a certain *type* of man in line with the hegemonic masculinity. For example, in the 2004 US Presidential race John Kerry was depicted as a feminine and effeminate French poodle with a high-pitched voice in contrast to a more masculine dog 'Barney' with a low gruff. 'Frenchifying' Kerry played on anti-French rhetoric of their heterosexuality being jeopardised "by a gendered discourse of weakness, submission, emasculation, and sexual deviance or objectification" (Fahey, 2007, p. 138). Such rhetoric was seen in the 2016 US Presidential race where Donald Trump often emasculated the other Republican presidential nominees, calling Marco Rubio, "little Marco" and a "frightened little puppy" (Presidential Gender Watch 2016, 2017).

Coles (2009) criticises Connell's hegemonic masculinity as it does not allow for there to be subfields of masculinities in which overall subordinated masculinities could be dominant. He combines Connell's theories and Bourdieu's habitus, capital, and fields to offer a model of an overall field of masculinity within which there are subfields with their own dominant masculinities. For example, gay masculinity is subordinate overall but within this subfield there are dominant and subordinate masculinities. It may be feasible that there is a subfield of political masculinity, as discussed it is primarily a masculine pursuit, within which there are dominant and subordinate types. It could be that the dominant political masculinity might not be that which is overall dominant in

society. For instance, Schneider and Bos' experimental work (2014) suggests that the male politician stereotype may be a subtype of stereotypes about men overall, sharing some similar characteristics but lacking the physical masculine traits associated with men.

Non-Gendered Accounts of Political Leadership

This thesis aims to increase our understanding of how gender may play a role in the complex environment of political leadership, both in the contemporary setting and over-time. A review of the gender and political leadership literature demonstrates how perceptions of leadership may be gendered. However, to ensure for a comprehensive analysis of perceptions of leadership conventional, non-gendered theories of leadership are brought into the discussion. Bringing together these bodies of literature allows for the opportunity to begin to bridge the gap between these works and provides for a broader scope in theorising what leadership may 'look like' aiding the thesis' examination of perceptions of political leadership. For instance, current gender and political leadership literature focuses heavily on ideas of competency but tends to overlook more symbolic ideas, such as charismatic leadership, which are addressed in the conventional, non-gendered literature.

Previously, non-gendered and gendered accounts of political leadership have operated somewhat in isolation, however, by beginning to analyse these works together it can be seen how each work may further the other. Most notably, much of the literature on gender stereotypes and leader evaluations takes a somewhat static approach to theorising gender and gives too little attention to the cultural and political context. This runs counter to recent work within the 'interactionalist paradigm' (Elgie, 2015) in the wider study of political leadership, where theories privilege the importance of context in determining the effectiveness of leaders. Conventional accounts, therefore, may offer the tools to better theorise the importance of context in gendered understandings of leadership. Simultaneously, viewing the conventional literature through a gendered lens demonstrates the possibility for a gendered critique. The central question in this literature is '*What determines a leader's effectiveness?*'. Varying approaches to this question are outlined below. What is often missed in these accounts is that gender may be a key variable in determining this effectiveness.

Who are leaders?

Early leadership studies took an inductive approach to studying leadership by focusing on the question of 'who are leaders? These 'great man' theories were biographical studies of the 'great men' of history which examined what made these men different from the ordinary populous and destined them for leadership (Elgie, 2015, Foley, 2013). This inductive approach developed into early psychology studies of leadership which attempted to isolate the traits shared by these men which made them extraordinary. The traits identified could be physical – such as attractiveness, height, or health – but were mainly personal characteristics. Although no overall consensus, common categories were dominance, persistence, drive, confidence and intelligence (Foley, 2013). A positivist trait approach dominated leadership studies until the mid-19th Century when an intellectual shift to studying social and economic change without reference to leaders gradually led to an acceptance that studying leadership involved understanding the environment in which the leader operated, not just the personality of leaders in isolation. Leadership studies turned towards its current preoccupation with determining how the interaction between the personality of a leader and the context in which he or she operates can determine the effectiveness of a leader. What Elgie (2015) terms the 'interactionalist paradigm'.

In the 'interactionalist paradigm' theories recognise that explaining a leader's effectiveness involves an examination of both personality and context, however, different approaches stress different sides of this interaction. Approaches to leadership based in political psychology still ask 'who leaders are' in an attempt to explain leader's effectiveness, emphasising personality over context whilst accounting for an interaction between the two (Elgie, 2015, Hermann, 2014). These studies are rooted in a post-positivist view of the world – ontologically they take into account unobservable factors, such as personality, but treat them as real. At the same time the work tends to be more epistemologically sceptical than earlier positivist trait approaches and do not aim for a universally applicable solution, recognising the causal complexity in leadership studies (Elgie, 2015).

Within this realm, the political psychology trait approach focuses on the impact of particular traits on leadership outcomes. A work heavily associated with this field is Greenstein's (2009) inductive study of the traits associated with success in US presidents. Greenstein found that there was no overall 'presidential personality', instead presidents are thought to have a range of qualities which serve different purposes and whose impact varied according to the situations presidents faced. Greenstein's approach has been applied to the UK context by Theakston (2011) to

identify the traits and skills needed by a UK prime minister. Another area of political psychology applies the widely used 'five factor model' which measures personality across psychology studies to measure the personality of political leaders, such as McAdams (2011) on George W. Bush. A second area is 'style approaches' which, rather than focusing on individual leaders, identify the effect of more general personality characteristics. The aim of these studies is to create a typology of distinct leadership styles along certain axes, identify which style a leader belongs to and then demonstrate how those who belong to this style of leadership behave similarly in office (Elgie, 2015, Foley, 2013, Northouse, 2016). Hermann and colleagues (2001) have produced influential work in this field creating eight leadership styles along three axes – leaders' reaction to constraints in their environment, their openness to new information, and the motivation behind a leader's action – in order to show how leaders react to different contexts in line with their leadership style.

The assumption behind the trait and style approaches is that, by definition, the leader (or prime minister) with the 'right' skills, style or approach will be a powerful leader (Byrne and Theakston, 2018, p. 3). A gendered critique of these political psychology studies has been made, as scholars point out the 'right' traits, skills or approaches invariable seem to be male (Foley, 2013, Sjoberg, 2014). Political psychology work on gender and political leadership discussed above presents a possible intersection with these accounts of political leadership. Experimental work reveals how leadership traits can be gendered, and that displaying the 'right' leadership traits or skills may have differential results dependent on the sex of the leader, for example the backlash thought to be faced by women who are perceived to be inappropriately assertive or ambitious. Yet, when considering the relation between these works one should also bear in mind the caveats to the stereotyping literature, namely that binary categories of 'male' and 'female' offers a limited analysis and does not account for the dynamic nature of gendered norms and stereotypes across space and time.

Who are followers?

As scholars began to recognise the more complex nature of leadership the question of followers became salient – who chooses the leader is in part an answer to who becomes the leader and leadership involves a relationship between leader and follower (Hermann, 2014). The ideas of charismatic leadership and transformative leadership – which are often (wrongly) conflated (Yukl, 1999) – are similar to the above style and trait approaches in their underlying assumption that the effectiveness of a leader lies in them having the 'right' approach, that there is 'one best way' of leadership (Bryman, 1992). However, in charismatic and transformative styles of

leadership, leadership is theorised to be a relational concept understood through the leader-follower relationship.

The idea of charismatic leadership is based on Weber's (1978) work. Charisma was one of the three bases for authority for a leader identified by Weber. His concept was based on religious leadership, and charisma was restricted to a small number of individuals who showed supernatural, superhuman or exceptional powers thought to be of divine origin. Charismatic leaders' influence on followers persisted as long as their ability to demonstrate this exceptionality continued (Bryman, 1992, Grint, 2014). A classic text is Willner's (1984) account of charismatic leadership which sets out its four elements, all of which relate to the relationship between follower and leader, for instance that followers give the leader unqualified emotional commitment. There have been some positivist attempts to identify the traits that define charismatic leaders. However, a positivist approach overlooks the fundamental relational element of charismatic leadership as it assumes that charisma is solely in the possession of the individual (Grint, 2014, Northouse, 2016). Followers are key to charismatic leadership. A charismatic leader must be perceived to be so by his or her followers, the charisma of a leader can even continue after death, for example President Lincoln (Elgie, 2015). Charisma should be thought of as a social construction and is based in a constructivist approach to leadership (Elgie, 2015, Grint, 2014).

The idea of transformative leadership, discussed above in relation to gender and political leadership, is often related to charismatic leadership. Burns (1978) originally conceptualised the dichotomy between transformative and transactional leadership, which is defined by the relationship between leader and follower. Transactional leaders see leadership in market terms and engage in an exchange relationship with followers by setting objectives and then rewarding success or correcting failure. By contrast, transformational leaders mentor and empower their subordinates (Eagly et al., 2003, Reicher et al., 2014). Transformational leadership is not just about satisfying wants and needs of followers but transforming those wants and needs. The relationship between leader and follower is effective for transformational leaders as people follow the leader because they want to. Burns' original conception has been furthered by many others, for example Bass (1985, 1998) broke it down into "idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualised consideration" (Foley, 2013, pp. 52-53). A leader, therefore, will be more effective if they are transformational – they can effect more profound change than the minor changes effected by transactional leadership (Foley, 2013).

Again, there is scope for a gendered critique of these two leadership approaches as the 'right' styles of leadership proposed may be gendered. However, as discussed in relation to gender stereotyping, this is not necessarily detrimental to women. For example, Eagly et al (2003) suggest that transformational leadership may be seen as a more communal – read feminine – style of leadership and therefore may be adopted by women in line with expected gender behaviour. The underlying assumption here is that leaders may adopt a certain leadership style dependent on context. Yet, a critique in the leadership literature is that transformational leadership does not account for such agency in reaction to context as the assumption is that there is 'one best way' of leadership (Bryman, 1992, Yukl, 1999). A more comprehensive leadership model which allows for different styles in different contexts may be better able to explain how leaders negotiate the gendered landscape of leadership. By beginning to identify links between these two bodies of literature we can see how a more comprehensive account of leadership may still reveal gendering and can offer a critique of wider leadership theory.

Where are leaders?

Within the interactionist paradigm there is a large body of, often comparative, work which examines the interaction between personality and context but preferences context, be that institutional constraints or wider social and political circumstances. These are often called contextual, or situational, studies of leadership.

Institutional accounts of leadership fall into this remit. Institutional approaches hypothesise that a leader's effectiveness depends upon her position within institutions and the institutional constraints she faces, combined with the leader's personal ability and approach. For example, Heffernan's (2003, 2005) locational accounts of the British Prime Minister marries institutional and personality factors as a measure of a leader's potential effectiveness. Other leadership accounts favour the situational context over the institutional in determining what makes a leader effective. For example, Skowronek's (1997) political time model emphasises the importance of situational context in understanding the effectiveness of different US presidents. For Skowronek, determining the ability of a president to affect change is not just about the informal and formal power of the presidency but about the public perception of what is legitimate and what is expected of power at that time (Byrne and Theakston, 2018, Elgie, 2015).

'Personality in context' leadership studies are similar to political psychology accounts, these studies emphasise the importance of leaders' personalities but, in line with

situational or contextual approaches, privilege context (Elgie, 2015). In these studies, effective leadership depends on a favourable alliance of historical context and personal skill. In their 'skills in context' approach, Bell et al (1999) offer multiple variables that are of importance to leader's effectiveness but single out personality in relation to broader contextual factors as key. Further studies by these authors examine individual leaders using this framework – identifying the skills of the leader, the context in which they operate and the resultant policy outcomes. For example, Theakston's (2002) study of British Prime Ministers Callaghan, Thatcher, Major and Blair explained the success of each prime minister through the circumstances of their ascension to power, their strategic and tactical aims, the operating environment they faced, and their personal style and skills (see also, Hargrove and Owens, 2002, Owens, 2002). Similar to these skills-in-context approaches, Bennister et al (2015) emphasise the importance of a leader's personality within the context in which they operate in their development of a measure of leadership capital which consists of three components: a leader's skills capital, relational capital and reputational capital.

The discussion of personality versus context in leadership studies mirrors debates about structure and agency. Recent work from Byrne and Theakston (2018) critiques the way that many of the above models theorise this relationship between structure and agency. They argue that models of prime ministerial power based on Greenstein's trait approach, Skowronek's political time approach and Heffernan's locational power take into account only a limited range of structural contexts and do not appreciate the variability in contexts. Byrne and Theakston critique current conceptions of prime ministerial power for not adequately conceptualising motivations in their models and insufficiently dealing with the fact that structural contexts are discursively constructed. They present an alternative 'strategic-relational approach' which sees the distinction between agency and structure as an analytical, not ontological choice. This replaces the 'artificial dualism' of structure and agency with *strategic action*, intentional conduct orientated towards a particular environment; and *strategically selective context*, environments which favour particular strategies which are relational to strategic action and whose effects are relevant to the specific actors that encounter them. Approaching prime ministerial power in this way Byrne and Theakston conclude the prime minister is a strategic actor operating within a strategically selective context which means that, "structural contexts affecting prime ministerial power will differ from one prime minister to the next, and that these structural contexts will 'select for' (although not determine) certain outcomes

depending on the strategies deployed, and precisely where” (Byrne and Theakston, 2018, p. 10).

The value of bringing in these contextual or situational approaches is that they stress the importance of considering context when discussing leadership, something which the review of the gender and leadership literature above also highlighted as a key element to understanding leadership but one that the gendered accounts often under-theorise. Gender and leadership literature could benefit from drawing on these contextual approaches, and likewise room should be made for gender in contextual or situational accounts of leadership. These leadership theories acknowledge the complexity in trying to study leadership and that socially constructed ideas are part of the context in which leaders operate (Elgie, 2015). Yet, gender is not acknowledged as one of these socially constructed ideas.

Applying a gendered lens the potential to affect contextual models of leadership in a myriad of ways. For example, if we conceive of a leader as a strategic actor in Byrne and Theakston’s model then the strategic action taken may be mediated by a leader’s gender and its relation to the context they are operating in, perhaps, for instance women may adopt a ‘gender strategy’, by balancing masculine agentic behaviour with more communal ‘feminine’ behaviour to try and negotiate Jamieson’s femininity/competency bind (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2013, Lawrence and Rose, 2014). There are brief allusions to this in the skills-in-context discussions of Margaret Thatcher which recognise that she used her sex “as a political weapon, as circumstances demanded or suited” (Theakston, 2002, p. 298).

The contribution of relational approaches to leadership should also be considered. The role of followers gets somewhat lost in more recent discussions of the interaction between personality and context. The relationship between leaders and followers forms part of the context in which leaders operate. This thesis aims to explore the gendered nature of this relationship by examining the potential for gendered bias in voter perceptions of political leaders. Further to this, the media analysis in this thesis relates to the leader-follower relationship as leaders communicate to followers through the media, leaving room for mediated leader effects on voters’ perceptions of leaders as the public rarely meet leaders, rather they base their evaluation on media representations (Aaldering, 2018). If these representations systematically vary by a leader’s sex, then this has a potential to affect systematic bias in voter perceptions of leaders.

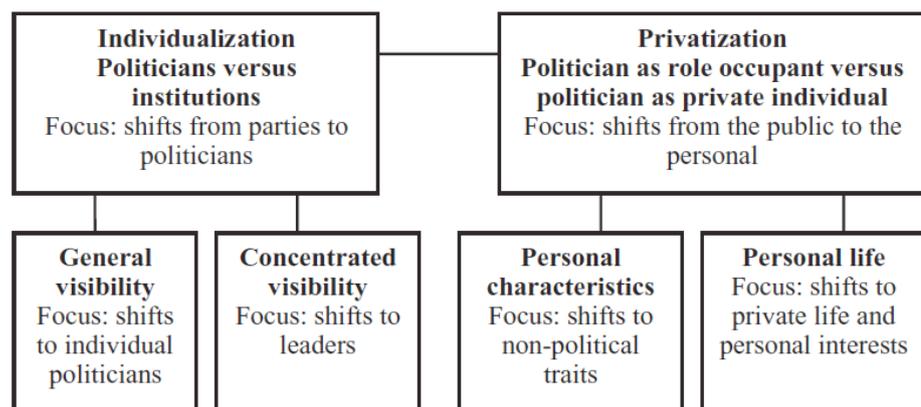
Personalisation or Presidentialisation?

It has been considered above how gendered norms vary across time. A key research question of this thesis is how gender's role in political leadership may have changed over time. To aid with understanding this, as well as the current context within which leaders operate, theories of personalisation or presidentialisation need to be considered which suggest leadership may have changed in recent decades. Theories of the 'presidentialisation' or 'personalisation' of leadership claim power is becoming more concentrated in leaders across Western democracies, these theories form part of the landscape of leadership studies, especially in the UK context. Poguntke and Webb's (2007) model of presidentialisation outlines 'three faces' of presidentialisation – executive, party and the electoral face. Across these three faces, shifts in power to individuals and away from collective actors such as parties or Cabinets moves regimes along a continuum from partied governments to presidentialised governments. Three factors affect a regime's place on this scale - structural factors, e.g. changes to the social structure and the media system, contingent factors, e.g. personality of leaders, and institutional constraints, which are rigid. There is disagreement on whether this presidentialisation is the same as personalisation. Webb and Poguntke (2013) contend that presidentialisation is personalisation but they chose not to name their original conception personalisation as it would be too broad a reference and felt intellectually dishonest when the theory is drawn from the presidential literature and model. Others make an analytical distinction between presidentialisation and personalisation. For instance, Langer proposes that presidentialisation is about the increased exposure of individuals at the expense of the party; whereas personalisation is about the focus on leaders' private selves, i.e. their personality, appearance and background (Olsson, 2017). Van Aelst et al (2012, p. 207) make a similar distinction in what they term personalisation, in relation to the leader's relationship with the media seen in Figure 1. They identify two forms of personalisation: 'individualisation', which is a shift in focus from parties to politicians (this might be Langer's presidentialization); and 'privatization', which is a shift from politicians as role occupiers to politicians as private individuals (Langer's personalisation).

For the purposes of this thesis, the term personalisation is used to refer to this leadership phenomenon. The key themes of personalisation in relation to the British prime minister can be identified by utilising Van Aelst et al's categorisation. Firstly, there is individualisation. Prime ministers are seen as stronger within the core executive of Government. Like Langer's presidentialisation, this element relates to

how party leaders are thought to have become progressively stretched from the rest of the system, by both media pull and party push, as parties increasingly sell themselves via their leader – what Foley (1993) terms ‘leadership stretch’. Secondly, there is privatisation which can be split into personal characteristics and personal life. There is an increased focus on the personal traits and skills of leaders and the direct relation of these to their competence (Langer, 2007); with an increased emphasis on the traits that make leaders human beings. Alongside this, the politicization of the private persona results in an increased interest in leaders’ private lives. This links to Stanyer’s intimisation of politics which contends “presidents, prime ministers and ministers have joined the growing class of celebrities” (Stanyer, 2013, p. 72). Stanyer (2007) briefly notes women may face more evaluation of their family life but overall gender is little accounted for in this literature, this thesis offers the opportunity to begin to address that and identify potential gendered critiques of this leadership literature.

Figure 1: Dimensions of Personalisation in the News



The empirical evidence for personalization or presidentialization is mixed. For example, Langer and Sagarzazu’s (2018) study of the UK from 1992 to 2016 found evidence for an overall increase in media personalisation over time but did note that this trend was neither smooth nor irreversible and was categorised by fluctuations. McAllister (2007) found substantial evidence that leaders had become increasingly visible in the media during campaigns at the expense of the party. However, other studies such as Helms (2005) found limited support for presidentialisation according to Poguntke’s terms in both Germany and the UK. Despite mixed evidence, there is a *perception* that politics is becoming more personalised which has driven a growing emphasis on individual candidates in how parties choose to campaign and market

themselves (Webb et al., 2012) making it relevant to the context of political leadership.

Personalisation directly links to the two streams of research in this thesis: media representations of leaders and voter perceptions. Firstly, a clear theme that runs through the personalisation literature is the importance of the media. As Foley (1993) rightly observed, party leader's moving to the forefront has been caused by both *media pull* and party push. The media's blurring of personal political with policy deliberation has empowered party leaders and their personalities have become a dominant theme of media coverage (Blick and Jones, 2010, Heffernan, 2003). The personalisation thesis confirms the importance of the media as a resource for British political leaders and therefore the importance of a gendered analysis of this in understanding the role of gender in perceptions of political leadership and in the contexts in which leaders operate. The potential for a highly gendered media environment has been shown in the preceding review of observational research on gender and political leadership. Yet, current accounts of personalisation do little to account for this.

Secondly, is that voters' perceptions of leaders may be increasingly important in determining their political behaviour as a decline in partisanship in the UK and a rise of lifestyle and identity politics means that parties increasingly sell themselves via their leader and present their policies to the public through this individual (Bennister and Heffernan, 2012, Langer, 2007). British Election Survey data has shown that leadership evaluation is significant in voters' decision making even when other factors are controlled for (Bennister, 2008). Moreover, the personalisation thesis tells us how parties may 'sell' their leader and how this may have changed over time. The privatisation element of personalisation means an increased focus on the personal traits and skills of leaders and the traits that make leaders human beings alongside an increased interest in leaders' private lives. The role of gender in affecting both leaders' ability to show these traits and voters' reaction to them has been seen in the discussion of the gender and political leadership literature in this chapter. For instance, Jamieson's (1995) double bind theories suggest showing more compassionate traits for women can result in a backlash from voters. It has also been discussed in relation to the politicisation of motherhood how a concentration on family life could have specific effects, which have the potential to be both positive and negative, for female candidates amongst voters.

Conclusion

This research sets out to examine the extent to which perceptions of political leadership are gendered in the British context. A substantial body of international literature, mainly US-based, is dedicated to examining women in leadership roles. Findings from this work have suggested gender-based stereotypes applied by the media and voters can be detrimental to women holding high political office. The primary concern of this research is not to isolate causal mechanisms but instead it seeks to assess whether findings from this largely US focused literature can travel to the British case.

The preceding literature review reveals that political leadership, and the potential gendering of it, is complex, it changes over time and space, and therefore context is important. We should be cautious of assuming trends present in the US will be de facto present in the British context. Likewise, experimental studies on gender stereotyping from the early 1990s and 2000s may not be as relevant today as social roles and gendered attitudes change over time. Further to this, the effect of gender-stereotypes on voter evaluations in real-world elections is contested by more recent literature as it appears that 'when women run women win' (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2013). The null hypothesis that perceptions of political leadership in the UK context will not be gendered must be taken seriously. If perceptions are gendered, then shedding light on how is vital to increasing our understanding of the complex gendered environment of political leadership. It is important not just to ask 'do perceptions vary' but also how do they differ in terms of types of media, in different groups of voters and over time.

Furthermore, engaging with alternative theories of leadership, from organisational studies, political studies and psychology, alongside the theoretical frameworks of gendered leadership provides a more comprehensive account of leadership, which may still reveal gendering, and can offer a critique of wider leadership theory. Bringing in a comprehensive body of literature allows for greater understanding of the complex environment of political leadership than if only gender literature is considered in order to better answer the questions of how leadership may be gendered, how this gendering may have changed over time, and how it may vary across different spaces. A review of the literature in this chapter has provided me with the tools to test these questions and allows the development of hypotheses and a schema for examining voter and media perceptions to be set out in the next chapter.

Chapter 2: Methodology and Research Design

A twin-track approach is taken in this research to examine the extent to which perceptions of political leadership are gendered using the case study of Britain, by first undertaking a systematic evaluation of the role gender plays in media representations, and second, evaluating voter perceptions of political leadership. These are theorised to be two key resources for any political leader, especially in a modern age where the personalisation of politics has increased the importance of a leader's media profile and parties increasingly sell themselves to the public via their leader. Furthermore, the approach mirrors the observational and experimental methodological approaches used in current literature. The observational research is used to guide the experimental. By undertaking content analysis on the media coverage of party leadership elections an in-depth picture is given of the environment in which leaders and voters are operating. Experimental analysis is then undertaken to begin to examine the impact of this environment on the voter and their behaviour within it.

The central research question is: *How are perceptions of political leadership in the U.K. gendered?* The bodies of literature on gender and political leadership outlined in the previous chapter are used here to create the analytical framework for this research. A review of the literature in the previous chapter revealed how the gendering of political leadership is complex, it is about different times and spaces, and context is important. The results of this research will further our understanding of this complexity as a holistic picture is given of political leadership.

The approach taken in this research is a within case comparison across time. Gender's role in the media representations of political leaders is examined both across time and in the contemporary British context. An in-depth case study of the British Labour Party's leadership election of 2015 provides an opportunity to fully explore gendered themes in the current political and media landscape faced by leadership candidates, including in different media forms such as the 'new' media of political blogs and social media. Media representations are then explored over time via a systematic evaluation of four party leadership elections since 1975 where women were serious contenders. An across-time analysis sheds light on the processes which may create current gendered representations and provides context

and understanding for the in-depth case study. The findings from this observational work are enriched by innovative experimental research. Combining the 2015 case study with voter experiments provides a comprehensive and contemporary picture of gender's role in both media representations and voter perceptions in the British case. One could tackle this by looking at different countries, however to fully explore the complex environment in which political leaders are acting an in-depth case study will provide a holistic account of one case that can be used to extrapolate out to the wider literature as a point of comparison. I remain interested in the comparative element and will draw on international case studies; yet, this remains a complex issue where we need to take a holistic approach to fully understand how perceptions may be gendered in one particular context.

For both parts of this analysis there is a clear null hypothesis: *gender does not affect perceptions of political leadership*. The caveats to the stereotyping literature discussed in the previous chapter highlight the importance of the null hypothesis. Gender's role in political leadership was shown to vary across space and over time. By considering the across time dynamics in the media context I can also illuminate the processes that may create gendered leadership evaluations and how these may have changed over time. Gender-based stereotypes are dynamic and thought to be liable to evolve according to changing social roles for men and women (Diekmann and Eagly, 2000). Accordingly, attitudes to gendered norms have changed over time in the UK. The 2018 British Social Attitudes Survey (Phillips et al., 2018) found views on gender roles have become less traditional since 1984, with a notable change since 2008. In 1984, 43% of people agreed "a man's job is to earn money a woman's job is to look after the home and family" by 2008 this dropped to 16% and by 2017 just 8%. In the same period women's representation in politics has increased, potentially normalising their presence to some extent (Childs, 2008).

Observational Research: Media Representations

Content Analysis

The majority of literature on gender and political leadership in the media examined in the previous chapter drew on international case studies, in particular from the United States. Work in the UK, as discussed, is intermittent. There is a lack of systematic qualitative and quantitative inter-sex media analysis to provide us with a current picture of gender and political leadership in the British media (Childs, 2008). To address this deficit, content analysis of the media coverage of four party leadership elections over the past 40 years will be carried out in this research. As the UK news

system is becoming more 'hybrid', this thesis takes media to mean both more traditional streams of media – newspapers and broadcast news – and 'new media' – including political blogs and social media (Chadwick, 2011). Bringing in new media sources for the main case study of the 2015 Labour leadership election allows for a thorough, modern snapshot of gender and leadership in the more hybrid British media system politicians now face. Results from this will also be considered in the context of three additional party leadership elections since 1975 to examine trends over time.

Aim

The aim of the content analysis is to discover how representations of political leadership in the media environment are gendered. Inductive and deductive analysis aims to find whether the international patterns of gender-stereotyping and media framing exist in the UK context and/or different themes and meanings become apparent.

Approach

Qualitative and quantitative content analysis will be carried out comparing how senior male and female politicians are discussed in the British media. Content analysis is defined as “a careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns, themes, biases and meanings” (Berg and Lune, 2014, p. 335). Hsieh and Shannon (2005, cited in Berg and Lune, 2014, p. 338) identify three approaches to conducting qualitative content analysis of which this analysis draws on two. Firstly, *directed content analysis*; this uses categories and analytical codes derived from existing theories as the researcher emerges herself in the data to identify these and any other emerging patterns. In this case a feminist approach will be used to examine coverage through a gendered lens drawing on gender-based stereotyping, media framing and the gender theories discussed, as well as using inductive analysis to look for other gendered themes that present themselves (Randall, 2010). Secondly, *summative content analysis*; where instances of certain words or phrases are counted and the researcher extends this to consider the latent meanings and themes behind this. It is now more commonplace for content analysis to draw on both quantitative and qualitative approaches (Berg and Lune, 2014). Using triangulation (Brannen, 2004) simple quantitative analysis can be used to corroborate the qualitative findings. Quantitative measures can combat accusations of anecdotalism whilst simultaneously quantitative analysis on its

own does not give a complete picture as magnitudes are not findings in themselves (Berg and Lune, 2014).

Cases: Party Leadership Elections

What limited work there is on media representations of women in high political office in the UK has tended to look at those who hold ministerial offices (e.g., Childs, 2008). However, party leadership elections were selected as the cases for analysis in this thesis. Although ministerial office in a Parliamentary system is often a pathway to prime ministership or party leadership, party leadership elections offer a unique opportunity in the UK context to examine women and men specifically running for the highest executive leadership positions. During these elections, the most overt discussions play out on what makes the 'good' prime minister or political leader. It is in these cases that we may most clearly see ideas of what leadership 'looks like' in the media and voters' minds present itself.

A comprehensive analysis of the media coverage of the 2015 Labour party leadership election offers the opportunity to provide a current snapshot of the relationship between the media and leaders from a gendered perspective. A systematic analysis of this leadership election is undertaken using the analytical framework set out below. One of the key findings from this in-depth study was that the motherhood of one candidate was used to implicitly criticise her female opponent for not having children. In the Conservative leadership election, a year later, a similar trope was employed towards the two female candidates. Given this, it was thought that examining the theme of parenthood in leadership elections over time may shed light on the processes that create gendered leadership evaluations. Examining parenthood is particularly illuminating as it relates to how candidates conform to, or potentially violate, gendered norms and so can highlight complexities and nuancing in gendered framings (Bell and Kaufmann, 2015). Similarly, this finding and the subsequent across-time analysis guided the experimental design as parenthood of candidates was added as an independent variable, as discussed in further detail below.

To analyse representations of parenthood over time, three further party elections where women ran for the leadership of the two main UK governing parties – Labour and Conservative – were examined. In the post-war period, there have been five leadership elections for these parties where women have run, as seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Conservative and Labour Party Leadership Elections since 1945

<i>Labour</i>	1955**	1963	1976	1980	1983**	1992**	1994**	2007**	2010	2015**
	Hugh Gaitskell	Harold Wilson*	Michael Foot*	Denis Healey*	Neil Kinnock	John Smith	Tony Blair	Gordon Brown (unopposed)	Dianne Abbott	Andy Burnham
<i>Candidates</i>	Aneurin Bevan	George Brown*	James Callaghan*	Michael Foot*	Roy Hattersley	Bryan Gould	John Prescott	Margaret Beckett	Ed Balls*	Jeremy Corbyn
	Herbert Morrison	James Callaghan	Roy Jenkins	John Silkin	Eric Heffer				Andy Burnham*	Yvette Cooper
			Tony Benn	Peter Shore	Peter Shore				David Miliband*	Liz Kendall
			Denis Healey*	Anthony Crosland					Ed Miliband*	
<i>Conservative</i> ¹	1965**	1975	1990	1997	2001	2003**	2005	2016		
	Edward Heath	Margaret Thatcher*	Margaret Thatcher	Kenneth Clarke*	Michael Portillo*	Michael Howard (unopposed)	David Davis*	Stephen Crabb		
<i>Candidates</i>	Reginald Maudling	Edward Heath	Michael Heseltine*	William Hague*	Iain Duncan Smith*		David Cameron*	Liam Fox		
	Enoch Powell	Hugh Fraser	John Major*	John Redwood*	Kenneth Clarke*		Liam Fox*	Michael Gove*		
		William Whitelaw*	Michael Heseltine*	Peter Lilley	David Davis*		Kenneth Clarke	Andrea Leadsom*		
		Sir Geoffrey Howe*	Douglas Hurd*	Michael Howard	Michael Ancram*			Theresa May*		
		James Prior*								
		John Peyton*								

Not including unsuccessful challenges. Female candidates in bold.

*Candidate made it through first ballot/round or came in after first ballot/round, **Only one ballot

¹No official election mechanism for Conservative leaders until 1965.

Four of these leadership elections are selected for analysis. The Labour leadership election of 2010 when female MP Diane Abbott was a candidate was not included given that she was not considered a serious contender for the leadership, having only been included on the ballot to ensure a range of debate, and was eliminated at the first ballot after receiving only 7.4% of votes. These elections allow for an inter-sex comparison which means we can examine how stereotypes and frames differ between men and women. Moreover, it was discussed in the previous chapter that analysis on gender and political leadership should consider men and masculinity as well as women and femininity.

Labour Leadership Elections 1975 to 2016

2015

The Labour leadership election of 2015 both forms one of the cases for the across-time analysis in this observational study, and is utilised as an in-depth case study in its own right. Following Labour's defeat in the 2015 General Election the leader, Ed Miliband, resigned triggering a leadership election. The election was selected for the in-depth case study for several reasons. Firstly, changes in Labour's voting system and lower barriers to membership meant the 2015 contest played out almost like a presidential primary with the candidates highly scrutinised by the media (Cowis, 2015). For the first time, it was not only existing Labour party members that had a vote but the public could sign up as 'supporters' for a small fee in order to vote in the leadership contest. Secondly, the election also lasted for a long period of time from May to September 2015. Therefore, it provides a rich dataset of media coverage. Thirdly, even numbers of men and women ran in the election with two male and two female leadership contenders. Fourthly, gender was a discussion point given the possibility Labour would appoint its first female leader. Additionally, Andy Burnham faced accusations of sexism in his campaign, and Labour MP Helen Goodman pledged her support for Yvette Cooper as a working mum-of-three. Examining this leadership election has an additional advantage as it is a contemporary election therefore the possibility that gender stereotypes are no longer prevalent can be considered as well as the role of 'new' media such as Twitter and blogs.

The high level of media scrutiny in the election may be representative of a trend in the personalisation of British politics, making Labour 2015 a more 'typical' case study (Bryman, 2012). Yet, some elements do make it atypical. Namely, the lower barriers to entry as well as the length of the campaign, and the surprising result as the final winner was a left-wing backbench MP with no ministerial experience. These factors

arguably increased media interest. This works as a strength for examining this case as it provides a rich set of data. Yet, its context-specific nature is considered as it is further discussed in the empirical analysis in Chapter 3.

1994

Following the sudden death of the Labour leader John Smith in May 1994, a new Labour leader had to be elected. Tony Blair, John Prescott and Margaret Beckett vied for the leadership, with Tony Blair as the favourite (and eventually winner). John Prescott and Margaret Beckett simultaneously competed for the deputy leadership in an even contest, which John Prescott won.

Conservative Leadership Elections 1975 to 2016

2016

The most recent leadership election in the sample is the Conservative election in 2016. After the British public voted to leave the European Union in a national referendum, David Cameron resigned and the Conservative Party held a leadership contest to determine the next Conservative leader (and Prime Minister). Five candidates entered the election. The fact that the three men were eliminated in the first two ballots meant that gender became a key discussion point as only two women, Andrea Leadsom and Theresa May, remained therefore the UK was guaranteed to get its second-ever female Prime Minister. Gender further became part of the discussion when Andrea Leadsom gave an interview claiming that she had a greater stake in the future of society as she, unlike May, had children. Her subsequent handling of the fallout from this interview contributed to her quitting the contest and Theresa May's automatic appointment as Conservative leader and Prime Minister.

1975

In 1975 Margaret Thatcher ran for the Conservative leadership, challenging the incumbent Ted Heath. She competed against only male candidates and won on the second ballot, becoming the first female leader of a British political party.

Dates and Sources

For each election, the period of analysis will be from the date of the first candidate officially announcing their leadership bid until the election result. Both 'old' and 'new' media sources will be examined for the in-depth case study. Newspaper coverage has often been used in previous academic work due to the ease of access. However, Ofcom's 2015 report on news consumption in the UK found television was the most-

used platform for news, 67% of UK adults use TV as a source of news. Four in ten (41%) use the internet or apps – ten percentage points more than use print media (31%) (Ofcom, 2015). Therefore, as well as traditional newspaper analysis this research examines broadcast media, social media in the form of Twitter, and internet blogs. Newspaper sources are comparable across all time periods but not all sources are available or comparable across all four leadership elections (for example, social media and the political blogs did not exist in 1975 and 1994). Therefore, the across-time comparison examined newspaper coverage only. Table 3 shows the sources examined for each election.

Table 3: Content Analysis Sources

	<i>Conservative 1975</i>	<i>Labour 1994</i>	<i>Labour 2015</i>	<i>Conservative 2016</i>
	<i>25.11.1974 to 12.02.1975</i>	<i>10.06.1994 to 22.07.1994</i>	<i>10.05.2015 to 12.09.2015</i>	<i>28.06.2016 to 11.07.2016</i>
<i>Newspaper</i>	Left-leaning broadsheet and tabloid Right-leaning broadsheet and tabloid	Left-leaning broadsheet and tabloid Right-leaning broadsheet and tabloid	All weekday national newspapers on LexisNexis	Left-leaning broadsheet and tabloid Right-leaning broadsheet and tabloid
<i>Broadcast</i>	N/A	N/A	BBC Six O'clock News ITV 10 O'clock News Channel 4 News (7pm)	N/A
<i>Social Media</i>	N/A	N/A	Twitter	N/A
<i>Political Blogs</i>	N/A	N/A	ConservativeHome LabourList Guido Fawkes Labour Uncut	N/A

N/A = Not analysed or not available

Newspaper and Broadcast Coverage

In the across time comparison, four national newspapers' coverage is collated using LexisNexis and archives in the British Library. Balance is ensured in terms of ideology and quality as a left-leaning and right-leaning broadsheet and tabloid newspaper (according to how the paper declared in the 2010 General Election) are selected for analysis. For the in-depth 2015 case study, all other national weekday broadsheet and tabloid newspapers' coverage regarding the leadership election is collated using LexisNexis. In addition, all broadcast weekday news coverage is accessed using Box of Broadcasts.

Twitter and Blogs

The main Conservative and Labour blogs ConservativeHome and LabourList are examined alongside the more 'insider' blogs of the right-leaning Guido Fawkes and the left-leaning Labour Uncut. Blog posts were collated manually from the blog websites. Social media is of increasing importance in British politics and Twitter is often a source of news both sought out by the public and commented on by the media themselves (Burnap et al., 2015). Tweets relating to the 2015 election were collated manually from the relevant Twitter accounts so that a full dataset of tweets was created including all tweets from that account relating to the leadership election¹. Given news outlets or newspaper Twitter feeds are mainly factual with links to articles, personal twitter accounts of relevant politicians were examined. Originally it was planned to use political editors' tweets however an investigation of the Twitter feeds of political editors for the broadcast and newspaper sources showed that they were not prolific tweeters. Therefore, tweets from the broadcast or newspapers' chief political correspondents or deputy editors were collected dependent on which correspondent was covering the leadership election. These were still senior journalists but tended to be more 'on the ground' and so provided more data for analysis as they were prolific tweeters. Given blogs had a much smaller team political editors' Twitter feeds were analysed with the exception of Guido Fawkes blog which uses its main Twitter handle to produce opinionated tweets in the style of an editor or journalist and whose editor only tweets in a personal capacity. Appendix 1 provides full information on the Twitter accounts analysed.

Coding Framework

The main analytical framework used to analyse the Labour leadership election of 2015 in the in-depth case study is drawn from the preceding literature review.

Visibility

Visibility of the politicians is to be coded based on a method used by Trimble (2007). For each newspaper article and blog piece, a score of 1 is given if the politician was named first; named three or more times; named in the headline; or named first in the headline. For broadcast news, a comparable index is used where each 'news item' is given a score of 1 if the politician is named first, named three or more times, their image appears first or appears three or more times. Broadcast news items are individual segments featuring the same reporter and/or guests. For example, a pre-

¹ Alternative methods for downloading tweets rely on the Twitter API and therefore would mean only a selection of tweets are recovered from the website.

recorded report by the political editor followed by an interview with a candidate back in the studio counted as two news items. An average visibility index is calculated for each politician ranging from 0 to 4 for broadcast media, newspapers and blogs. Mentions of a politician were not counted if they were listed as 'also running' or listed as 'other' candidates with no substantive commentary attached. For example, at the end of one article in *The Guardian* it is said, "Also standing for the party leadership are Liz Kendall, MP for Leicester West and the shadow minister for care and older people; Andy Burnham, MP for Leigh and the shadow secretary of state for health; Yvette Cooper, MP for Pontefract and Castleford and the shadow home secretary." (Perraudin, 2015). Only including substantive mentions of a candidate provides a more accurate picture of the prominence of men and women in the media coverage. Given the microblogging form of tweets the position of candidates' names in the tweet is not seen as important as it is in an article or blog therefore to measure visibility on social media the numbers of tweets mentioning the politician are counted.

General News Framing

It may be the case that general news frames are applied differently to the sexes. For example, the horse race frame often applied in elections and leadership races may be more apparent in articles about men as women are often left out of these sports metaphors (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003). In addition, the focus of articles may be different – with more personal, background stories about women and more substantive issue-based stories about men. For each article, tweet or news item it will be coded whether it is framed as:

- Horse race: Mainly about a candidate's place in the race or polling;
- Issue-based: About policy(ies) of the politician;
- Personal or Background-based: About personal life or history of politician, e.g. their career, or their personal appearance or demeanour;
- Gender-based: Framed around the gender of the politician.

Leadership Trait Framework

Personalisation literature in the British context demonstrates how successful political leaders in UK politics must maintain public support and a positive media presence to keep the support of the party and cabinet colleagues. He or she should not just appear in public but be perceived to possess the characteristics needed to lead the public (Foley, 1993, p. 269). The gender literature discussed in the previous chapter offers a plethora of different traits that may be associated with political leaders (see Table 1 p.17) however these tend to be from different contexts to the UK. Where a similar table, although un-gendered, for the UK context can be found is in Seymour-

Ure’s (1998, p. 134) valuable summation of such traits and skills from his evaluation of editorial press coverage of John Major and Tony Blair during the 1997 General Election (Table 4). Bringing in these traits to the analysis can bridge some of the contextual differences between the British context and more international studies and give an indication of specific leadership traits for the British prime minister.

Table 4: Seymour-Ure’s Characteristics

Personality Traits	
<i>Positive</i>	<i>Negative</i>
Tough, Combative, Courageous, Determined, Confident, Ambitious, Trustworthy, Honest, Sincere, Decent, Relaxed, Good-Humoured, Exciting, Passionate, Energetic, Visionary, Man of the People	Weak, Panicking, Cowardly, Indecisive, Unconfident, Unprincipled, Hot-Headed, Irresponsible, Boring, Uninspiring, Pathetic, Ridiculous, Arrogant, Smug, Vain, Power-Hungry
Professional Skills	
<i>Positive</i>	<i>Negative</i>
Experienced, Competent, Outstanding Leader, Effective, Pragmatic, Reformer	Inexperienced, Incompetent, Blundering, Ineffective, Dismal

It is immediately obvious that many of the positive female traits from Table 1 in Chapter 1 found in the stereotyping literature are missing from Seymour-Ure’s list. There are no equivalent personality traits of ‘compassionate’, ‘warm’, ‘cheerful’, or ‘compromising’ for example, potentially due to the male norm of the British prime ministership and that both the subjects of his study were male. Seymour-Ure’s traits are therefore combined with the gendered traits from Table 1 in the previous chapter to create the more comprehensive list of traits to identify in the media coverage seen in Table 5 drawing on both gender literature and prime ministerial literature.

The gendering of the traits found in the stereotyping literature has been removed in order to take a more inductive approach and be guided by the data. As discussed in the previous chapter, I wish to be cautious about being too tautological in applying binary trait stereotypes therefore the traits identified in such literature will not be categorised according to gender. Further traits identified during the inductive analysis of the media coverage of the 2015 leadership election were added to the framework. Given the large number of traits (69 were identified overall from inductive and deductive content analysis) they are grouped into similar themes to aid with the interpretation of large N quantitative results (Table 5). Traits attributed to politicians are counted and coded according to this framework to ascertain whether men or women are more often associated with certain traits.

Table 5: Trait Framework

		<i>Trait Grouping</i>					
		<i>Strength</i>	<i>Trust</i>	<i>Star Quality</i>	<i>Decision-Making</i>	<i>Communality</i>	<i>Misc</i>
<i>Positive</i>	Determined, Tough, Combative, Courageous, Ambitious, Independent	Honest, Trustworthy, Sincere, Principled*, Decent	Confident, Outstanding Leader, Visionary, Reformer, Energetic, Passionate, Exciting, Charismatic*, Inspiring*	Effective, Competent, Rational, Experienced, Decisive, Intelligent*, Pragmatic, Compromising	Compassionate, Sensitive, Affectionate, Gentle, Warm, Man of the People, Cheerful, Relaxed, Good-Humoured, Humble*, Authentic*	Frugal*	
<i>Negative</i>	Non-Competitive, Power-Hungry, Cowardly, Passive, Pathetic, Weak, Smug, Arrogant, Dependent	Irresponsible, Unprincipled, Untrustworthy	Uninspiring, Unconfident, Boring, Dismal	Blundering, Panicking, Incompetent, Inexperienced, Ineffective, Indecisive, Rebellious*, Unintelligent*	Hot-Headed, Vain, Ridiculous, Cold*, Out of Touch*		

*Additional traits identified in the inductive content analysis in Chapter 3.

According to the theory of role incongruity discussed in detail in the previous chapter, there are two potential types of prejudice towards women in leadership roles in terms of these leadership traits. Firstly, *women’s potential for leadership could be perceived unfavourably as leadership ability is stereotypically aligned to traits perceived as masculine* which derives from descriptive stereotyping. Although traits are not categorised according to gender, each is coded as positive or negative as defined in the framework which may reveal descriptive stereotyping* in the types of traits associated with men and women in the coverage. Secondly, *when women do enter leadership roles they may experience backlash because the behaviour required is less desirable in women* which comes from prescriptive stereotypes about expected behaviour (Eagly and Karau, 2002, Gill, 2004) and places women in the femininity/competency bind. Each trait is further coded according to how it is then applied in the context of the news item in order to test if there is a systematic backlash against female candidates for demonstrating leadership in line with the theory of role incongruity and the femininity/competency bind.

Gendered Framing

Instances of the gendered framings identified from the review of international literature in the previous chapter are identified and analysed:

- Novelty/Difference
- Femininity/Competency Bind
- Womb/Brain bind which splits into:
 - Emotionality
 - Appearance
 - Family

If present, these representations will likely appear in the form of gendered language and adjectives as has been found in the international case studies. Instances of gendered language will be recorded and qualitative content analysis carried out to identify further latent meaning or themes behind these instances. This fits with the approach discussed above whereby existing theories and categories are applied alongside exploratory content analysis. As discussed, these representations in regards to family are examined in detail in all four leadership elections in the across-time comparison.

Experimental Research: Voter Perceptions

The advantages of the observational research conducted as the first part of this thesis also serve as its limitations. Given the small N nature of the leadership elections examined in the observational research the results are limited in their generalisability – they are externally valid but limited in internal validity. These context specific observational studies offer detailed insight into gender's role in 'real-world' elections but there is a lot of noise in these small N elections which make it difficult to unpick specific causal mechanisms. Experimental analysis allows us to directly tests causal effects of gender on voter perceptions of political leadership. As discussed in Chapter 1, the media is the primary source of information for voters and has the potential to directly influence their gendered perceptions of political leaders. Therefore, in line with the twin-track approach of this thesis, the observational work on media perceptions informed parts of the experimental design.

Although party leaders (and prime ministers) are not directly elected by the whole electorate in the UK system, party leadership elections are often about selling oneself to a certain part of this electorate (i.e. party members) and the wider public perceptions of leaders are increasingly important in British politics. The personalisation of politics thesis contends that a decline in partisanship in the UK and

a rise of lifestyle and identity politics means that parties increasingly sell themselves via their leader and present their policies to the public through this individual (Bennister and Heffernan, 2012, Langer, 2007). British Election Survey data has shown that leadership evaluation is significant in voters' decision making even when other factors are controlled for (Bennister, 2008). An examination of voter perceptions via experimental methods therefore is vital to the systematic evaluation of gender in political leadership which this thesis aims to construct.

Experiments

Political analysis and policy-making has begun to adopt the methods and approaches of behavioural economics and social psychology to explore voter preferences, in particular through experimental methods. This field of 'political psychology' concentrates on the role of individuals in politics assuming they have bounded rationality so there is a need to understand how preferences are formed and ordered ('t Hart, 2010, Hermann, 2002). My research draws on this field to study voters' behaviour via experimental methods. The advantage of the experimental method is the strength by which causal relationships can be proved and the ability to manipulate variables, in this case the sex and parenthood (i.e. if they have children or not) of leadership candidates (Christensen, 1991).

Recent work has begun to employ experimental methods in the British context to study voter evaluation of MPs, for example Campbell and Cowley (2014, 2018) have performed several sets of survey experiments investigating the impact of socio-demographic characteristics such as race, gender and residency, as well as parenthood, on voter evaluations of parliamentary candidates. Yet, experimental research is limited in the British context with the majority of literature drawing on data from the United States. The second half of this thesis examines gender's role in voter perceptions of British political leadership, shifting the focus of recent work such as that of Campbell and Cowley (2014, 2018) from MPs to party leaders and leadership characteristics. Mixed methods are encouraged in political psychology so experiments can legitimately sit alongside the content analysis (Hermann, 2002).

The experimental research in this thesis has two purposes. Firstly, following on from existing research, I examine the effect of varying party leadership candidates' sex and then parenthood on voter evaluations via experimental methods. The observational research on media perceptions in part informed the design of these experiments. Parenthood was added as an independent variable to the experimental design alongside candidate sex following the media analysis conducted in the first

part of this research. As discussed above, a more nuanced understanding of gender can be illuminated by considering parenthood which highlights the subtleties of gender in political leadership as it relates to how a candidate violates or conforms to gendered norms (Bell and Kaufmann, 2015). One of the key findings from the in-depth study of the Labour leadership election of 2015 was that the motherhood of one candidate was used to implicitly criticise her female opponent for not having children. A year later, two female candidates – a mother and a non-mother – ran for the Conservative leadership and a similar trope was employed. A trend that is in line with international literature, which has powerfully argued that, alongside an overall increase in mentions of politicians' families over the last few decades, motherhood has become politicized. Chapter 4 explores this theme across the four leadership elections in more detail. Following this analysis, I decided to include an examination of parenthood alongside a consideration of gender in my experiments on voter perceptions to which contributes to the emerging field of the study of politics and parenthood through studying the British case.

Secondly, this thesis utilises an innovative experimental method, using Dynamic Process Tracing Environment (DPTE) software, which brings some of the noise of real-world elections into the experimental experience, offering a more dynamic experimental setting. Pilot experiments are developed as preliminary exploratory work to highlight the potential of a more dynamic and innovative method, both for overcoming current methodological limitations in the gender and political leadership literature, and for furthering our ability to study voter behaviour in the UK context.

Political psychology has contributed greatly to gender literature, as discussed in Chapter 1, and has made good use of experimental methods to explore the effect of voter stereotyping on candidate evaluation according to candidate sex (e.g., Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993a, 1993b, Okimoto and Brescoll, 2010, Rosenwasser and Seale, 1988). The common method in these studies creates a 'low-information' environment; participants are usually given a short vignette with candidates' biographies and then asked to evaluate each candidate. One of the disadvantages of experimental methods is always the artificial and sterile environment in which they are performed limits their external validity (Christensen, 1991). A disadvantage clearly seen in these low-information experiments which miss much of the nuance voters face in a real campaign where they would encounter a range of information throughout the course of an election before casting their vote. Therefore, what current experimental studies are offering, is a snapshot at the beginning of a race. It tells us who is first out of the stalls, when little is known about candidates, but not

what happens between there and the finish line. Acting solely on this work one would conclude that women are routinely thwarted by gender-based stereotypes when running for leadership positions – yet this has not been the case. The oft-repeated mantra is ‘when women run, women win’ (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2013).

As examined in the previous chapter, a more recent body of literature suggests that systematic differences between voter perceptions of male and female leaders do disappear when voters operate in a high-information environment, such as a campaign (e.g. Dolan 2014). Voters do not seem to apply these stereotypes to the extent some experimental evidence suggests when in the ‘real-world’ of politics. Current experimental work, therefore, may rely on too simplistic a view of voter stereotypes. Stereotypes do not act in a vacuum, they interact with other prejudices such as partisan stereotypes and preferences (Dolan, 2014). Stereotypes are also a cognitive shortcut and so can disappear when voters have sufficient information, such as during campaigns. Dolan’s (2014, p. 4) study of survey data and campaign data of the 2010 US Elections found stereotypes were not completely irrelevant but female candidates “are not routinely hampered or harmed by them”. When women do run for office the evidence suggests that, “in the end, women candidates have a relationship with the public that is colored by their sex but not controlled by it” (Lynch and Dolan, 2014, p. 66). Again, however, this work offers static images, as well as measuring abstract stereotypes at the beginning of the election, Dolan also measures real candidate evaluations at the end, meaning her work offers an additional picture of the finish line but still fails to explore what happens during the race.

Both these bodies of literature give an insight into the gendering of political leadership but they offer static snapshots only at the beginning and end of a process. What is overlooked is what happens in the actual race. Gender-based stereotyping may be having an effect but we may miss it by taking static snapshots of what is a dynamic process. Future research needs to consider the voting process as a whole. At first, when little is known about candidates, voters may rely on gender-based stereotypes – just as they use other cognitive shortcuts such as partisanship – but as a campaign progresses and voters receive, and seek out, more information these stereotypes dissipate.

Bringing the noise back in

The experimental procedure in this thesis aims to bring some of the nuance of real elections into the experimental environment. Dynamic Process Tracing Environment

(DPTE) software is used to simulate a real election scenario. There are two advantages to such an approach. Firstly, it more closely replicates the higher-information environment of a real election experience than methods used in many previous studies. Of course, by nature, experiments are always artificial environments limiting their external validity to some extent and we cannot completely replicate a real-world election. Experimental methods are still valuable as they allow researchers to examine specific causal effects and manipulate precise characteristics of candidates, such as a candidate's sex, on voter evaluations. However, to fully understand gender's role in voter perceptions the limitation of using low-information environments in previous experimental methodologies needs to be addressed. First and foremost, the DPTE software offers the opportunity to do this.

Secondly, this method allows us to reconsider how we see elections and examine the temporal learning process of voters within this context. It considers elections to be a dynamic social environment where voters process information over time. Within this process, sex is a piece of information about a candidate which could focus the media, the other candidates, and voters in a way that other candidate traits do not (Ditonto et al., 2014). This is especially the case when the candidate is female given the continued under-representation of women in politics. As Lynch and Dolan (2014) noted, female candidates' relationship with the public is coloured by their sex. Visualising the voting process such, Ditonto et al (2014)'s study proposed that gender-based stereotypes will lead voters to seek different kinds of information about male and female candidates and these search patterns may affect vote choice. Using DPTE to simulate US presidential primaries and general elections they found that, overall, subjects seek out more competence-related information for female candidates as well as more information on compassion issues and that evaluations of candidates' traits and issues were important predictors of vote choice. These findings supports the idea that any disadvantage women face at the beginning may be compensated for by information received during a campaign, satisfying any originally assumed deficits. For instance, the fact that subjects searched for more competency-based information on women links to Jamieson's (1995) contention that male competency is often presumed whereas women's is questioned. Of course, voters do not process information free from bias. Theories of motivated cognition suggest that prior belief systems can affect their information processing (Ditto and Lopez, 1992, Jost et al., 2003). It should be recognised that information searches may not overcome initial prejudices or may even be used to confirm pre-held beliefs. Yet, an experimental process which can examine voters' information processing in

more detail could go some way to understand any gendered effects in voters' cognitive biases.

Dynamic Process Tracing Environment (DPTE)

Dynamic Process Tracing Environment software brings some of the noise of real-world elections back into the experimental environment, offering a more dynamic experimental setting. DPTE software is an internet-based programme which allows the researcher to attempt to recreate a dynamic social environment where participants must make a choice, such as an election. It reflects the flow of information received during a campaign where an ever changing subset of the overall information is available at any one point in time (Redlawsk and Lau, 2009). In the simulated election in the DPTE software, a main 'home screen' of headlines (Figure 2) scrolls down so only a certain amount of information is available at one time.

Once a participant clicks on a label to access that item the article takes over the screen (Figure 3). Meanwhile, the main body of information continues to scroll in the background so, like a real election, there is a cost in terms of information being "here today gone tomorrow" (Redlawsk and Lau, 2009, p. 12) and participants are only seeing a selection of all material that is out there. The DPTE software allows for the experimenter to control what information is available and how easy it is to access by how often it appears in the main screen of scrolling information. One can also interrupt the flow of information with 'free information' that all participants see, such as a political campaign advert, which the user will not be able to exit. The software records what information each participant views and for how long, tracing their progress through the simulated scenario. DPTE has mainly been used to examine voter behaviour in elections, primarily in the US context (Lau and Redlawsk, 2006, Redlawsk and Lau, 2009). In regards to gender, a study by Ditonto et al (2014) used DPTE experiments to simulate presidential primaries and general elections and found participants more often viewed competence-related information and stances on compassion issues for female candidates. A later study by Ditonto (2017) using DPTE found that substantive competence information, information that confirmed candidate competency, was more important for female candidates than male candidates for whom competence information had no significant effect.

Figure 2. Example DPTE Scrolling Home-screen

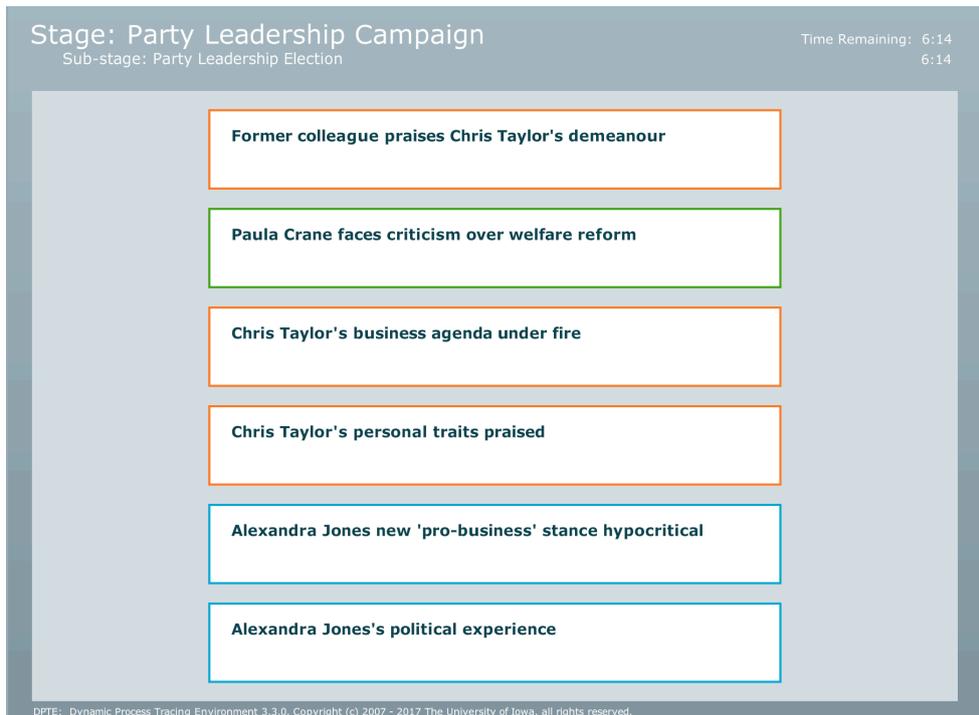
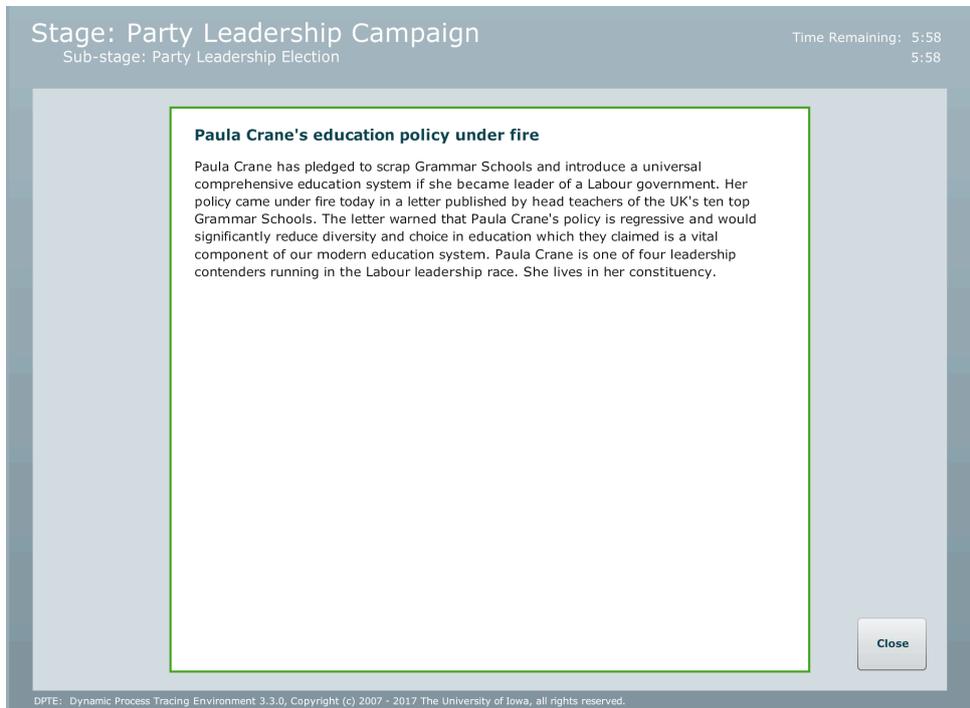


Figure 3. Example DPTE Article



Experimental Design

This experimental design has two aims:

1. To test the effect of varying both party leadership candidates' sex and then their parenthood on vote choice, voter evaluations and voters' decision-making processes.
2. To test the effect of experiencing a high information experimental environment on voters' gender-based stereotypes.

It takes the view of voting as an information processing task where the sex of the politician is one of those pieces of information (Lau and Redlawsk, 2006). Voters are assumed to have bounded rationality and seek out and process information in any decision-making process, including voting. This can mean using heuristics: problem-solving strategies, which are cognitive shortcuts whereby judgements or decisions can be made without a complete search for alternatives, this includes person stereotypes concerning gender.

Design

Figure 4. Experimental Design

		Experiment 1	Experiment 2	
Sex	Male	Candidate	No mention of family	Married with two young children
		Candidate	No mention of family	Married with no children
	Female	Candidate	No mention of family	Married with two young children
		Candidate	No mention of family	Married with no children

As well as the effect of candidate sex on voter evaluations and behaviour, this research is interested in the effect of varying candidates' parenthood on voters' perceptions. Two experiments will therefore be performed. Within Experiment 1 sex of leader is a within-subject factor (2 x 1 factorial design) and in Experiment 2 both sex of leader and parenthood are between-subject factors. Parenthood status is

varied within Experiment 2 at two levels, parent or non-parent (2 x 2 factorial design) (Figure 4). The independent variables are the leader's sex and parenthood. The dependent variables are voters' evaluation, vote choice and decision-making processes.

Participants were recruited using the website Prolific Academic, an online participant recruitment website. Participants received remuneration of £5.00 for their involvement in line with the website's guidelines (Prolific Academic, 2019), which was estimated to take around 30 minutes. Prolific Academic's recruitment pool is global but mainly comes from the US or the UK. Participants had to be UK residents and over 18 years-old to participate in the experiments. The participant pool on Prolific Academic is young with the modal age groups of 20-30 years-old (45.3%), 55.5% are female, 32.9% are students and 32.7% are degree educated. The aim was to recruit 200 participants, an N of 100 for each experiment. However, with attrition rates and once data was cleaned the N for Experiment 1 was 84 and for Experiment 2 it was 93 (more detail on the sample is given in Chapter 5). The experiments in this thesis are low N as they are designed with a view to conducting similar experiments with a larger N in a laboratory environment. Although, similar studies using DPTE have ranged from 66 to 599 per experimental group so this sample size is within the range of previous studies albeit on the lower end (Ditonto et al., 2014, Lau and Redlawsk, 2006, Utych and Kam, 2014).

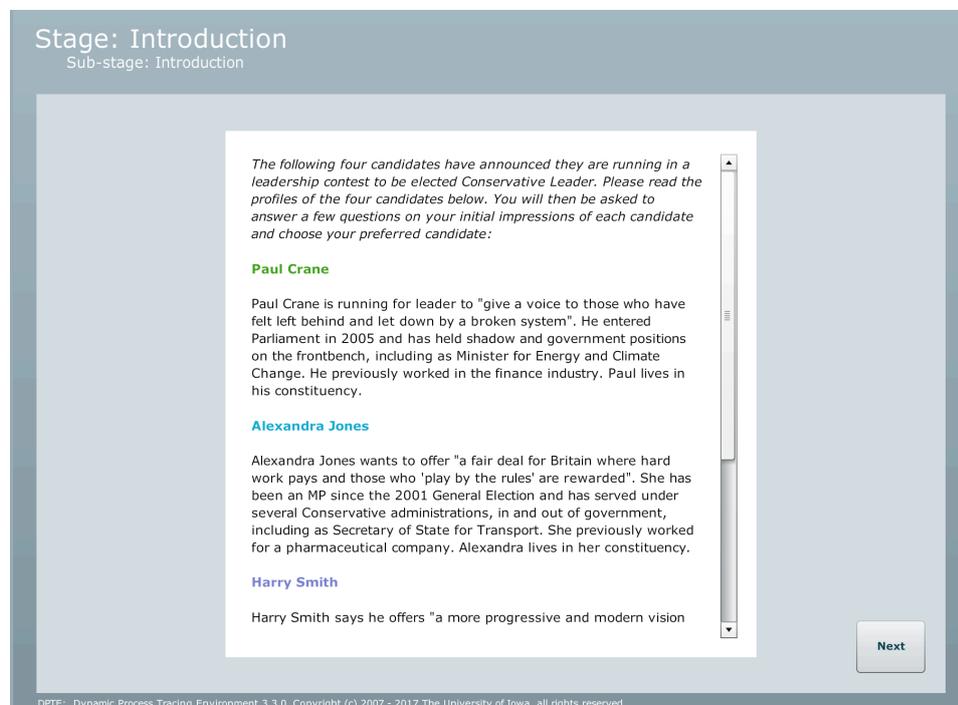
Prior to fielding the experiments, two sets of pilots were conducted in April and May 2018. The first pilot included a group of five PhD students from Birkbeck College, University of London. The five students completed the experiment and then took part in a short focus group conducted by the experimenter where they discussed their experience and any issues which they encountered, such as instructions they did not understand. The second pilot was two in-depth cognitive interviews with participants outside of the student cohort. The two participants were young professionals, a female aged 28 and a male aged 30. The cognitive interview method is a diagnostic tool for pre-testing surveys where the participant talks aloud during the process of completing the study. There are two main techniques; 'probing', where subjects respond to interviewer probes, such as 'why did you select that option?'; or, 'thinking aloud' whereby the participant voices their thoughts and decision-making process as they go through the study (Collins, 2003, Desimone and Le Floch, 2004). I conducted the cognitive interviews using the 'thinking aloud' technique with some probes from the interviewer when the participant did not voice their reasoning behind a decision.

Procedure

At the beginning of each experiment participants are given a brief explanation of the study. They are informed that they are to take part in a mock party leadership campaign for either the Labour Party or the Conservative Party where they will have the opportunity to learn about four candidates running to be the leader of this party. Participants are told the researcher is interested in 'voter perceptions of political leaders' (see Appendix 2 for the full introduction). Participants are then asked to select which party they most closely affiliate with – Labour or Conservative – to determine which leadership election they will take part in.

Participants are also given an explanation of the DPTE environment to ensure they understand the process (Appendix 3). Two men and two women ran in each election. Sex was randomly varied between profiles using different names (Harriet vs Harry Smith, for example)² and gendered pronouns. As well as allowing for more variation in candidate parenthood in Experiment 2, it was also thought that having four candidates of different sexes makes the interest in gender less obvious than if there was one man and one woman running.

Figure 5. Example Opening Screen for Experiment 1 Conservative Leadership Election



² Anglo-Saxon names used to keep race and ethnicity constant.

Upon entering the experiment participants are presented with brief biographies of the four leadership candidates for their leadership election. Figure 5 shows a screenshot of the opening screen for the Conservative leadership election (participants scroll down to view all candidates).

In Experiment 1, the opening biographies do not mention the parenthood of any candidates. In Experiment 2 the parenthood of the candidates is included at the end of the brief description. For two candidates (one male and one female) it is said that the candidate lives with “[his/her] [husband/wife] and their two young children”; and for two candidates (one male and one female) it is said that they live with “[his/her] [husband/wife], the couple do not have any children”³. Which candidates are made the (non-)mother or (non-)father is randomly varied between candidate profiles.

Pre-Election Questionnaire

In both experiments, to evaluate the possible effect of a high-information environment on gender-stereotypes, participants are asked to give their first impressions of the candidates after reading the biographies and before entering the ‘election’. Candidates are rated on three leadership traits: their desirability as a leader, competence, and communality. Participants are also asked to cast an initial vote for one candidate as leader.

The ‘Election’

Participants then enter the simulated ‘election’ which runs for seven minutes during which they are presented with a scrolling screen of headlines with information about each candidate, e.g. “Paul Crane launches education policy”. The software presents headlines in a random order on this home-screen⁴. When a participant selects a headline the main screen continues to scroll in the background so, like a real election, the participants have autonomy in seeking information, but there is a cost in terms of material being ‘here today gone tomorrow’. The advantage of this environment is that it forces participants to make a choice about which piece of information to view about candidates, much as they do when consuming information during a real-world campaign. As experimenters, we can then analyse these choices.

For each party leadership election, four realistic candidates are created who spread across the party’s ideological spectrum from the centre to the far left/right wing. Realistic issue positions, endorsements and personal information are then created

³ The sexuality of candidates was kept constant with all candidates described as heterosexual.

⁴ Randomisation was checked by eye by the experimenter by running the experiment in test mode for each version of the election.

for each candidate based on their political leaning within the party. This information is created by the experimenter based upon previous party leadership elections, prominent party members' backgrounds and issue stances, previous party manifestos, and think tank's policy proposals. The content analysis conducted on the Labour Leadership Election of 2015 aided with the writing of these articles. Articles from the analysis were often used as sources for the issue stances or backgrounds of the candidates for the Labour election (see Appendix 8 for a full profile and sources for one Labour candidate). The content analysis also informed the writing style and tone of the articles created, based on neutral, broadsheet newspaper articles read during the analysis.

Overall, 43 pieces of information are available about each candidate:

- 17 neutral articles on the candidate's stances on 17 issues
- 17 negative articles criticising the candidate's stance on these 17 issues
- One article on their experience prior to politics
- One article on their political experience
- One article on their education
- One article on their personal background
- Two personality descriptions
- Two colleague endorsements
- One organisational endorsement (e.g. think tank or trade union)

The DPTE software traces each participant throughout the simulated election, recording what information they look at about each candidate and for how long they view this information.

In Experiment 2, the parenthood of the candidates is mentioned both in the opening biographies and within a third of the articles in the simulated election. For example, within an article on an issue stance the parenthood of the candidate is mentioned – “Paul Crane, who has two young children with his wife, pledged his support for Grammar Schools today”. Including a mention of parenthood in a third of the articles should ensure that all participants will be exposed to the manipulation. This may be more than a candidates' parenthood would be realistically mentioned in a campaign but the experimental environment requires exaggeration at times.

Post-Election Questionnaire

At the end of each experiment's election participants evaluate the candidates again on the three leadership traits and vote for one candidate to become party leader.

Alongside these dependent variable measures, the post-election questionnaire asks participants for their demographic information such as age, education and sex. Participants rate themselves on a standard left to right scale and tax and spend scale from 0 'Government should raise taxes and spend much more on health and social services' to 10 'Government should cut taxes and spend much less on health and social services'⁵. Their party identification, strength of their partisanship and interest in politics is also measured.

Dependent Variable Measurements

There are three dependent variables for both experiments – voter evaluation, decision-making and vote choice:

(1) Evaluation

Evaluation refers to the pre-election and post-election scores for the candidates on the three leadership trait measures of competence, desirability as a political leader and compassion. Traits were measured using an nine-point sentimental differential rating scales (De Vaus, 2002) with higher scores as more favourable.

(2) Decision-Making

Decision-making relates to what information the participants accessed during the simulated election campaign. The amount of information can be measured, as well as the type of information viewed both overall and for individual candidates. The information available can be separated into four categories (see Appendix 4 for a full list of information items by category):

- Personal based information:
 - The personality descriptions and personal backgrounds of the candidates.
- Competency based information:
 - Candidates' prior experience in and out of politics, educational background and endorsements.
- Issue related information:
 - Information on candidates' policy stances and criticisms of their policy stances were split into two subsets:
 - Compassion issue information⁶
 - Non-compassion issue information.

⁵ Based on British Election Study Measure.

⁶ Compassion issues were identified based on previous gender-stereotyping studies (e.g., Dolan 2005, Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a, Kittilson and Fridkin 2008).

(3) Vote Choice

The pre-election and post-election questionnaire asked respondents to vote for one candidate to become party leader.

Conclusion

The research design set out in this chapter follows a twin-track approach to provide a comprehensive picture of the role played by gender in shaping perceptions of political leaders in the UK. Firstly, a systematic evaluation is undertaken of the role gender plays in media representations of leadership via an in-depth study of the recent Labour leadership election of 2015. How gender's role in perceptions of leadership have changed over time is examined through a systematic evaluation of media representations of the parenthood of female and male political leadership candidates in UK party leadership elections in 1975, 1994, 2015 and 2016. The results of this analysis inform the second part of this research – pilot experiments to test the role of gender in voter perceptions of political leaders. Media representations and voter perceptions are theorised to be two key resources for any political leader, especially in a modern age where the personalisation of politics has increased the importance of a leader's media profile and parties increasingly 'sell' themselves to the public via their leader. The in-depth case study in this thesis will provide a holistic analysis of the British case which can be used to extrapolate out to the wider literature as a point of comparison.

Chapter 3: Decent Blokes and First Women: Gender in the 2015 UK Labour Party Leadership Election

Following the twin-track approach taken in this thesis, the following two chapters provide observational research on media representations of political leadership via an examination of the British case. Although empirical evidence for the possible personalisation of British politics is mixed (see Chapter 1) there is a *perception* that politics is becoming increasingly personalised driving an emphasis on individual candidates in how parties choose to campaign and market themselves (Webb et al., 2012). A clear part of this, and the personalisation thesis, is the importance of the media (Blick and Jones, 2010, Heffernan, 2003). Empirical analysis of the media context is crucial in understanding how perceptions of political leadership are gendered.

In this chapter, a systematic quantitative and qualitative analysis is undertaken on the media coverage of the British Labour Party's leadership election of 2015. The election presented party members with a diverse slate of candidates. For the first time for a mainstream British political party two women ran for the leadership alongside two men. Changes to Labour's voting system and lower barriers to membership meant the contest played out almost like a presidential primary with a high level of media scrutiny of candidates (Cowis, 2015). Furthermore, the length of the campaign which ran from mid-June to mid-September offers a rich set of data⁷. By conducting an in-depth case study a detailed exploration can be given of the language and framing used around political leadership. No systematic analysis of this scale has been done in the UK. It can fully investigate gendered themes in the current political and media landscape faced by leadership candidates, including in different media forms such as social media. This holistic case can be used to extrapolate to the wider literature as a point of comparison. Small N case studies are always context specific, however, and gender effects can be hard to isolate in the 'noise' of the election. Analysis in this chapter is cautious of this limitation but

⁷ For more information on the choice in case studies see p. 46-49 in Chapter 2.

highlights how political leadership may be gendered in the contemporary British context and how these findings intersect with conceptions of leadership, and gender, in prevailing literature.

An examination of the Labour leadership election of 2015 finds that gender-based stereotypes were limited although definitely not eliminated. The in-depth case study demonstrates the complexity of gender's role in political leadership. Individual systematic sex-based bias was limited and instead gendering was seen in nuanced gendered framings of male and female contenders. For the most part, there was limited evidence for a systematic individual bias against women based on ideas of the traditional, binary, gender-based stereotypes and the double binds thought to be faced by women in public life. That said, gender-based stereotypes still worked against women to some extent – despite an emphasis on strength characteristics for the women they were presented as 'not tough enough' for politics and their combative behaviour was more often emphasised and presented as bitchiness. Furthermore, female candidates were less visible than their male counterparts and in some cases received less substantial coverage. Overall, however, the role of gender in political leadership was more clearly seen in the nuanced gendered framing applied to both men and women in the coverage, alongside the wider framing of politics as a masculine sphere. The language used and the gendered framing of the candidates, by the media and in candidates' own campaign strategies, reiterated the gendering of an insider/outsider status as politics was presented as a masculine game in which men were insiders and women were potential 'space invaders' (Puwar, 2004). Gendered frames were applied to male candidates to the same extent as female and, although politics was presented as masculine, these frames were not always positive and an implicit suggestion could be traced through the coverage that a certain *type* of masculinity, a strong 'tough guy' masculinity, was desired in a political leader.

Method and Data

The analysis in this chapter is primarily inductive therefore no specific hypotheses are made. Exploratory quantitative and qualitative content analysis is conducted using the framework set out in Chapter 2⁸. Quantitative analysis examines the visibility of candidates, the tone of the coverage, the general news frames applied, and the leadership traits associated with candidates. Qualitative analysis examines gendered framings based on the literature review including the novelty/difference

⁸ See p.51-55 in Chapter 2.

framing and two of Jamieson's double binds – the femininity/competency bind and womb/brain bind – as well as inductive analysis to identify further gendered themes that present themselves drawing on the literature set out in Chapter 1, most notably role incongruity theory on possible gender-based stereotypes and its resultant prejudices.

Although no specific hypotheses are made, the null hypothesis – that gender-stereotypes will *not* be present – should be given serious consideration. International literature on gender and political leadership (discussed in Chapter 1) suggests that there are certain gender-based stereotypes and frames often applied in the media that can be detrimental to women holding high political office. When deployed these gender-based representations will, for the most part, negatively disadvantage women as they may be perceived to be outside of the male norm of political leadership, something their male competitors may find it easier to embody. The extent to which gender stereotypes influence leadership evaluations is contested, however, by contemporary research.

The reasons for the null hypothesis in the case of this observational research are twofold and not mutually exclusive. Firstly, gender-based stereotypes may have reduced over time; recent work in the US suggests the media may be becoming more equitable in its coverage; for instance, Hayes and Lawless's (2016) study of US House races found that a better explanation of differences in coverage between candidates was electoral competitiveness and incumbency rather than sex⁹. On the other hand, stereotypes applied to professional women as identified in Kantar's (1977) seminal piece in the 1970s *Men and Women of the Corporation* were still found to be applied in 2008 to Sarah Palin and Hillary Clinton (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009). This highlights a limitation of these small-N type studies: they are context specific when the role of gender can vary both over space and time. For instance, Hayes and Lawless (2016) specifically note that their conclusions on the lessening of gender differences may not apply to the high profile 2016 presidential race when Hillary Clinton was the first female presidential candidate from a major party. Later evidence suggests that Clinton did face significant sexism and gendered framings in media representations of this election (Conroy, 2018, Heldman et al., 2018, Presidential Gender Watch 2016, 2017). This links to the second reason the null hypothesis must be taken seriously in the observational research, the gendering of political leadership is complex and context specific therefore a mainly US-based

⁹ Changing gendered norms over time are examined further in the discussion of parenthood in leadership elections in Chapter 4.

body of literature does not necessarily travel to the UK case, perhaps stereotyping was always more nuanced than the literature allows.

Case Study: 2015 Labour Leadership Election

Following the British Labour Party's electoral defeat at the 2015 General Election the leader Ed Miliband stepped down triggering a leadership contest which lasted most of the summer of 2015. Changes to the party voting mechanism introduced a 'one-member-one-vote' system for the first time and members of the public could sign up to vote as 'supporters' for a reduced fee resulting in a contest which played out almost like a 'prime ministerial primary' (Cowis, 2015). For the first time for a mainstream British political party, the official leadership campaign featured, two women, Yvette Cooper and Liz Kendall, as well as two men, Jeremy Corbyn and Andy Burnham¹⁰. By mid-September Jeremy Corbyn was declared the shock winner of the election after a huge swell of grassroots support led to 'Corbynmania'. A backbench MP for over 20 years from the marginalised left-wing of the party, Corbyn was unknown outside of Westminster and many colleagues only nominated him to ensure a range of views were represented in the election, expecting Andy Burnham or perhaps Yvette Cooper to win. Gender was a discussion point in the contest given the possibility Labour would appoint its first female leader. Alongside this, comments by Lord Falconer in support of Andy Burnham were interpreted as saying the women were not tough enough and should leave politics to the men, and Labour MP Helen Goodman sparked debate on politics and motherhood when she pledged her support for Yvette Cooper because she was a working mum-of-three. More detail on the case selection for this thesis can be found in Chapter 2¹¹. In summary, the Labour election of 2015 was deemed an interesting case due to the high media interest, length of the campaign and gender balance in the candidates.

News items dealing with the leadership contest from the date of the first candidate announcing (10th May 2015) to the winner being announced (12th September 2015) were collected for analysis. Both 'old' and 'new' media sources were examined. Weekday national newspaper coverage was collated using LexisNexis. The broadcast coverage included all weekday coverage of the election by BBC Six O'clock News, ITV 10 O'clock News and Channel 4 News at 7pm. Weekday posts by the main Conservative and Labour blogs ConservativeHome and LabourList were examined alongside the more 'insider' blogs of the right-leaning Guido Fawkes and the left-leaning Labour Uncut. Tweets from the broadcast or newspapers' chief

¹⁰ Analysis is limited to the four candidates who contested the whole leadership election.

¹¹ See Chapter 2 p.46-49.

political correspondents or deputy editors were collected dependent on which correspondent was covering the leadership election, as well as tweets from the blogs' editors¹². In total, 4,145 news items are included in the analysis. News items refers to a single newspaper article, broadcast news segment, tweet or blog article. All the news items were analysed using the framework set out in the previous chapter¹³.

Results

Visibility

Visibility was coded for blogs, newspapers and broadcast media using an index based on a method used by Trimble (2007). For each newspaper article and blog piece, a score of 1 was given if the politician was named first; named three or more times; named in the headline; or named first in the headline. For broadcast news, a comparable index was used where each news item was given a score of 1 if the politician is named first, named three or more times, their image appears first, or appears three or more times. An average visibility index was calculated for each politician ranging from 0 to 4 for broadcast media, newspapers and blogs. A total visibility index combining the scores for these three media types was also created. Given the microblogging form of tweets the candidate's position in the 140 characters is not seen as important, therefore visibility for social media was measured by counts of tweets mentioning the politician. The visibility scores for each candidate can be seen in Table 6.

Table 6. Visibility by Candidate

	Politician	Mean Visibility Index				Social Media N (% of all tweets)	Total N News Items*
		Total (exc. Social Media)	Broadcast	Newspaper	Blog		
Male	<i>Andy Burnham</i>	1.12 (1.37)	1.08 (1.37)	1.11 (1.4)	1.18 (1.29)	468 (21.8%)	1,551
	<i>Jeremy Corbyn</i>	2.07 (1.48)	2.31 (1.28)	2.12 (1.49)	1.86 (1.45)	957 (44.7%)	
Female	<i>Yvette Cooper</i>	0.81 (1.22)	0.79 (1.19)	0.78 (1.22)	0.89 (1.23)	272 (12.7%)	1,211
	<i>Liz Kendall</i>	0.77 (1.19)	0.76 (1.13)	0.69 (1.16)	1.0 (1.26)	353 (16.5%)	

N=4,145, Standard deviation for visibility indexes in parentheses.

**Some news items counted twice, i.e. mentioned more than one candidate.*

¹² For more detail on collection of news items see Chapter 2 p.49-51.

¹³ See Chapter 2 p.51-55.

The 'phenomenon' of Jeremy Corbyn shaped the context of this campaign. Corbyn succeeded despite being from the far left-wing of the party, never having held political office and, reluctantly, running primarily to widen debate. His victory was unprecedented and generated substantial media coverage as is clear from the overall N of news items, with twice as many items mentioning Corbyn than either female candidate and over one and a half times more than Andy Burnham. Gendered differences in visibility are present even when considering Corbyn's success. The viable female candidate, Yvette Cooper, saw her visibility more in line with her less viable female colleague, Liz Kendall, rather than her logical male counterpart, Andy Burnham. The two female candidates' visibility scores were close across media types with a slightly larger gap between the two women on social media with Kendall's share of all tweets 3.8 percentage points higher than Cooper's. Both women's mean visibility was lower than Burnham's with a persistent gap of around 0.3 to 0.4 in broadcast, blogs and newspapers.

Recent US-based work by Hayes and Lawless (2016) suggests the media is becoming more equitable in its coverage of men and women with differences better explained by electoral competitiveness and incumbency rather than sex. Burnham's higher visibility could be explained by his electoral competitiveness as he was considered the likely winner of the contest from the outset and the best candidate to beat the Corbyn surge. However, Cooper and Burnham had comparable previous experience. They were from a similar wing of the party, were both senior figures in previous governments, and had served in cabinet. At the beginning of the campaign Cooper was Burnham's closest rival and the election result was by no means a foregone conclusion. Yet, her coverage was more in line with Kendall, a less viable candidate as a relatively new MP, elected only five years previously, and having only served in junior shadow ministerial roles.

Figure 6. Total Mean Candidate Visibility by Month¹⁴

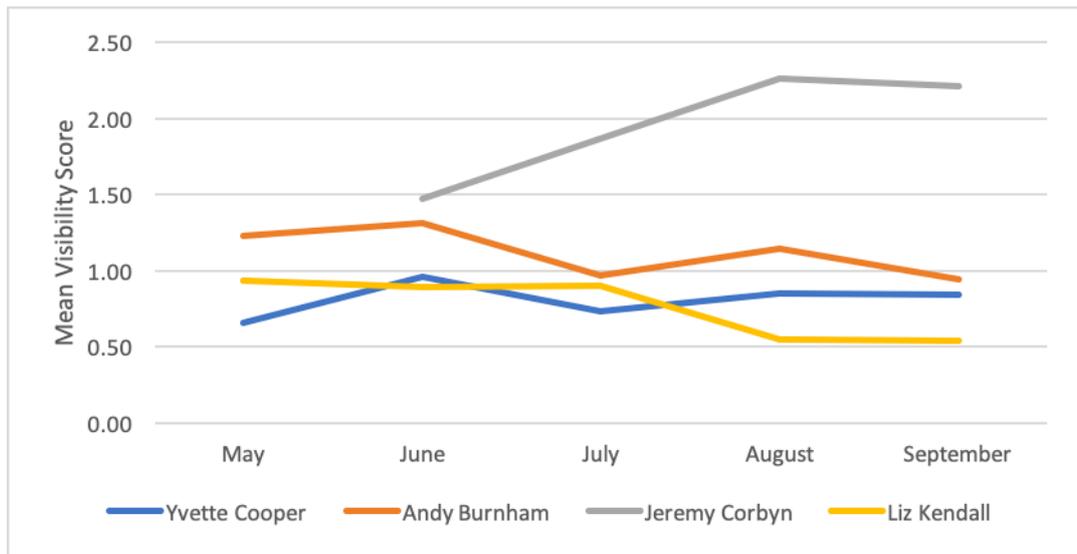


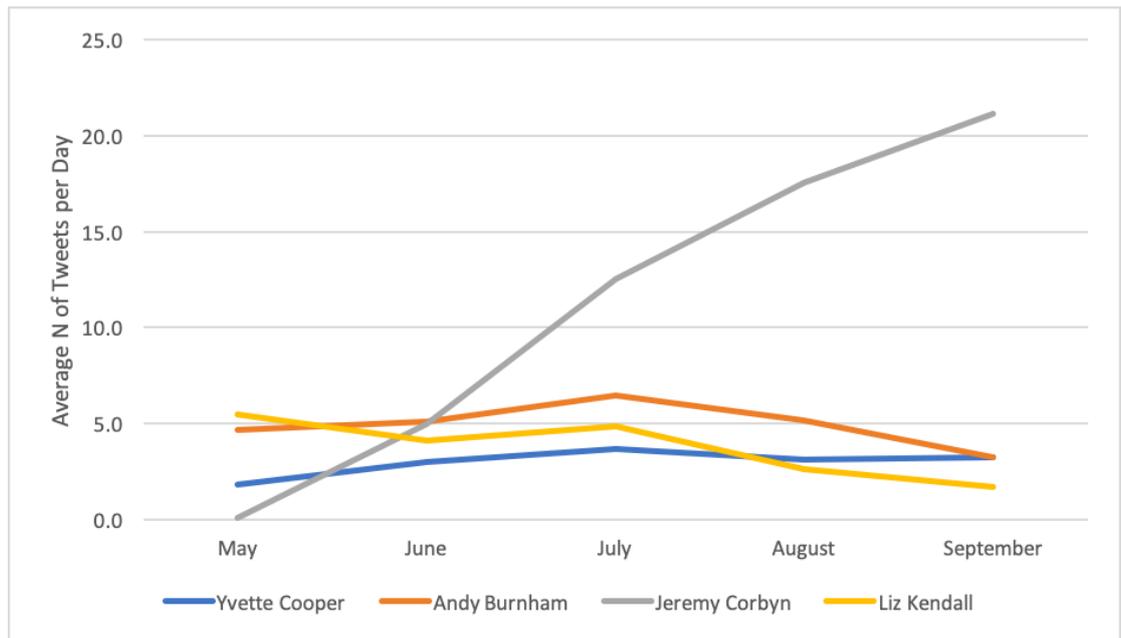
Figure 6 confirms the pattern seen above. The gap between Burnham and Cooper held across the campaign although it did narrow in the final days in September. The closeness in the women's overall visibility seen in Table 6 varied slightly across the campaign. The 'novelty' of Kendall as a lesser-known candidate may have awarded her more coverage at the start with Kendall's visibility higher than Cooper's in May. It is not until the last six weeks of the campaign, when the chances of Liz Kendall winning were very slim, that a larger gap opens between the two women and for two of the five months in the campaign (May and July) the less viable female candidate was more visible.

The average number of tweets per day each month showed a very similar pattern (Figure 7)¹⁵ with a persistent gap between Burnham and Cooper until September and Kendall's visibility higher than Cooper's until the last six weeks of the campaign. Sex appears to be a stronger driver of visibility than electoral competitiveness or political experience as the viable female candidate saw her visibility to be closer, and sometimes less than, her less viable female colleague rather than her logical male competitor.

¹⁴ Average visibility score of broadcast, newspaper and blogs (excludes social media).

¹⁵ Average tweets per day used instead of total tweets each month to account for May and September having a smaller sample of days as the campaign began mid-May and ended in Mid-September.

Figure 7. Average Tweets per Day by Month



Sex of Journalist

It is thought that having more women in newsrooms could counter sexism in the media (Childs, 2008). If true, the gendered differences seen above would reduce when female journalists report on the leadership campaign. For the social media data, all the journalists or blog editors for whom tweets were collated were male, which may, in itself, indicate the underrepresentation of women in the British press. For blog posts, only 14 single-authored articles were written by female reporters, 2.5% of the sample, therefore reporter sex was not analysed. Analysis focuses on the 'old' media of newspaper and broadcast. For broadcast and newspaper news items with one reporter, sole male correspondents were still the norm accounting for 57.9% of broadcast news items and 56.6% of newspaper articles compared to 40.4% and 16.1% respectively for news items with a single female reporter.

Table 7 shows the mean visibility index for each candidate in news items with a single male or female reporter in newspaper and broadcast coverage. In both broadcast and newspaper news items, although differences were small, when a female journalist was the sole reporter compared to a male journalist the more viable female candidate's visibility increased compared to her less viable female contender. In broadcast coverage, Yvette Cooper's visibility increased by 0.45 when an item was presented by a single female journalist, whereas there was no change in Liz Kendall's visibility. Cooper's visibility remained lower than Burnham's, whose score also increased by a similar amount. In newspaper coverage, reporter sex only had a noticeable effect on Yvette Cooper's visibility as having a sole female reporter

increased Cooper’s visibility by 0.19 points, reducing the gap between her and Burnham and increasing that between her and Kendall.

Table 7. Newspaper and Broadcast Mean Visibility Index by Reporter Sex*

		Male Candidates		Female Candidates	
		<i>Andy Burnham</i>	<i>Jeremy Corbyn</i>	<i>Yvette Cooper</i>	<i>Liz Kendall</i>
Newspaper	<i>Male Journalist</i>	1.1	2.24	0.74	0.72
	<i>Female Journalist</i>	1.13	2.21	0.93	0.74
Broadcast	<i>Male Journalist</i>	0.87	2.36	0.66	0.79
	<i>Female Journalist</i>	1.3	2.3	1.11	0.79

* Single authored newspaper articles or single correspondent broadcast news items only.

Tone of Coverage

For each news item, it was coded whether the overall tone was positive, negative or neutral. Although valuable in ascertaining any systematic sex bias, the measure is slightly crude as it relates to the overall tone of the article, for instance it could be that a negative article primarily focused on Jeremy Corbyn includes a brief positive analysis of Liz Kendall but would be coded as negative for both candidates. In categorising news articles the context of the newspaper was kept in mind, especially when considering tabloid coverage where hyperbolic language can often appear more negative than it is intended. For example, one article in *The Sun* on Tony Blair’s intervention in the leadership election had the headline “Blair Bomb: Ex-PM joins Labour civil war, he blasts leftie Corbyn” (Newton Dunn, 2015a) which could read as negative but was deemed to be neutral but with a more dramatic style of tabloid reporting. The overall tone of all news items for male and female candidates is displayed in Figure 8.

Across all media coverage, news items which mentioned at least one of the male candidates were more often negative than those that mentioned at least one of the female candidates. This was not the result of women receiving substantially more positive coverage but rather that coverage was more often neutral for articles that included at least one female candidate.

Figure 8. Overall Tone of News Items by Sex¹⁶

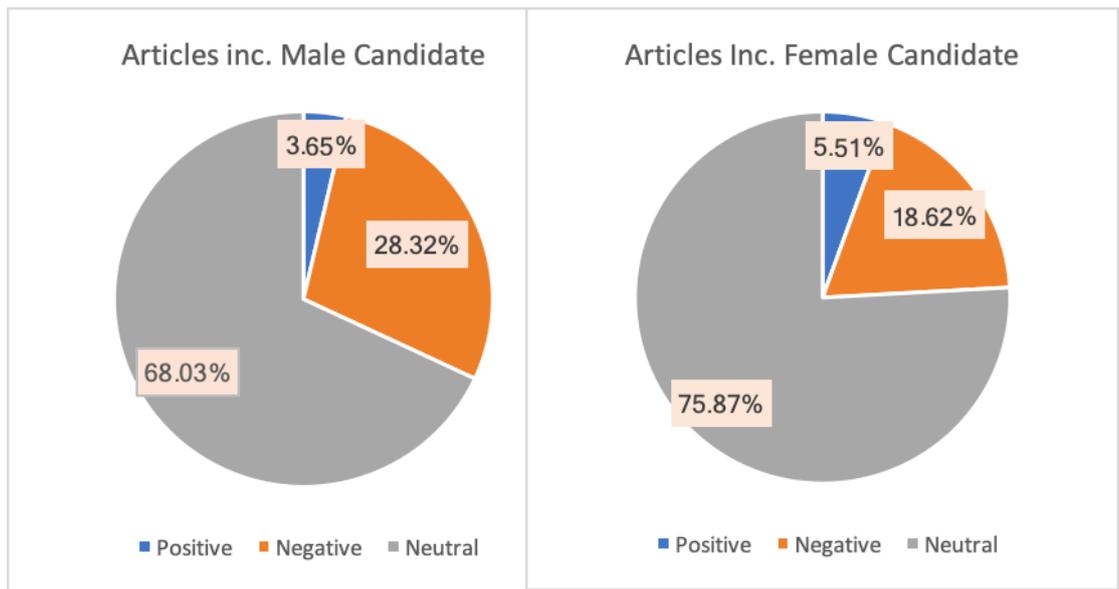


Figure 9. Overall Tone of Coverage by Media Type

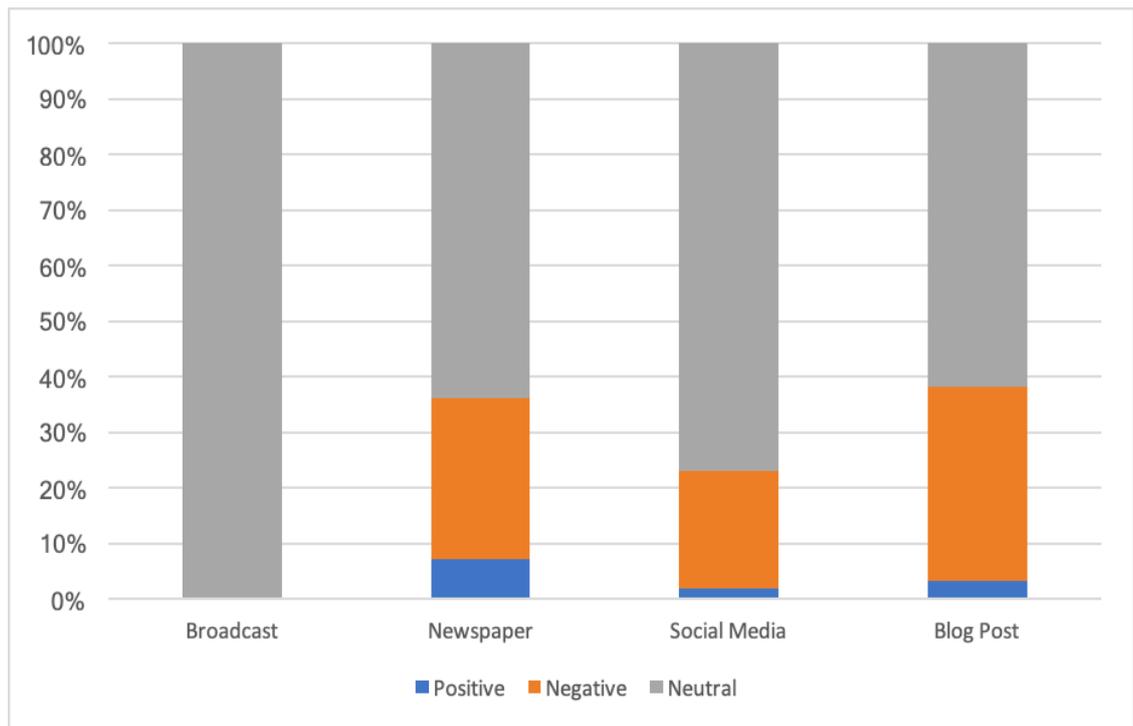
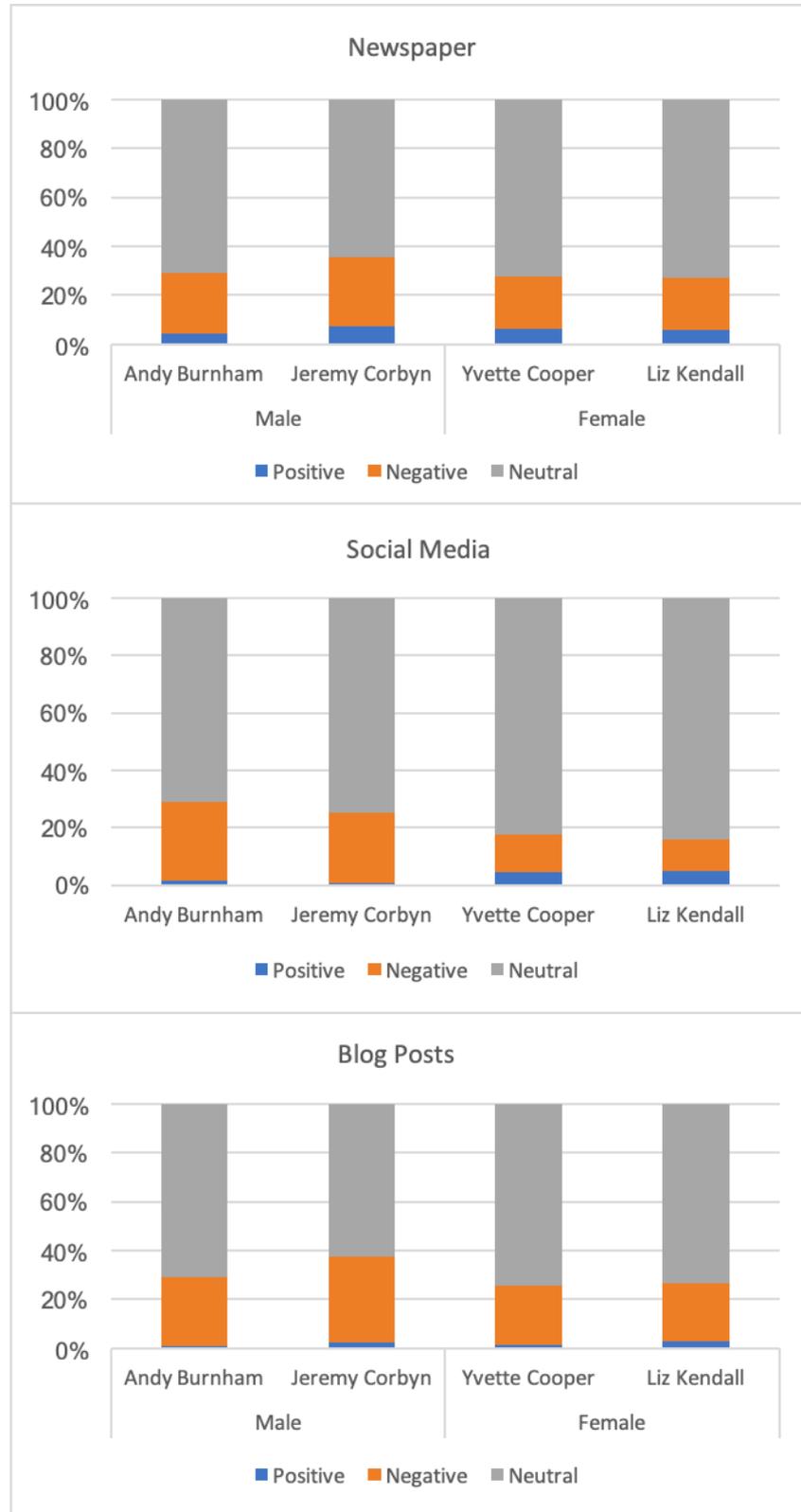


Figure 9 shows the overall tone of the different media types. All broadcast coverage was neutral, an unsurprising finding as UK broadcast news regulations stipulate coverage be balanced and neutral (Ofcom, 2019). Counter to what might be expected, tweets were more often neutral than newspaper or blog coverage. Potentially this was because political journalists' tweet tended to report on day to day

¹⁶ Includes articles that mentioned candidates of both sexes.

proceedings, such as when a candidate was making a speech, or link to articles of interest, 58.2% of tweets linked to an external article.

Figure 10. Tone of News Items by Candidate and Media Type¹⁷



¹⁷ Broadcast news items excluded as all were coded as neutrally framed.

The proportion of coverage that was positive, negative or neutral for each of the four candidates across media types is shown in Figure 10. Across the media types (excluding broadcast which was all neutral) male coverage was more negative than female coverage, especially on social media, and female candidates' coverage was more neutral. Neutrally framed news items were the majority for all candidates, but were more common for female candidates compared to male in social media, blogs and newspapers. For newspaper and blogs, negative articles were more common for both male candidates compared to the female candidates. Differences in tone were more prevalent in social media, where for Corbyn and Burnham negative framed tweets were around twice as frequent as for the female candidates for whom positive tweets were higher.

Sex of Journalist

It is considered how sex of the journalist may impact the tone of news item according to candidate sex. Analysis was limited to newspaper coverage. As discussed above, sex of journalist can only be analysed in newspaper and broadcast coverage and all broadcast coverage was neutral.

Figure 11. Newspaper Article Tone for Female vs Male Journalists

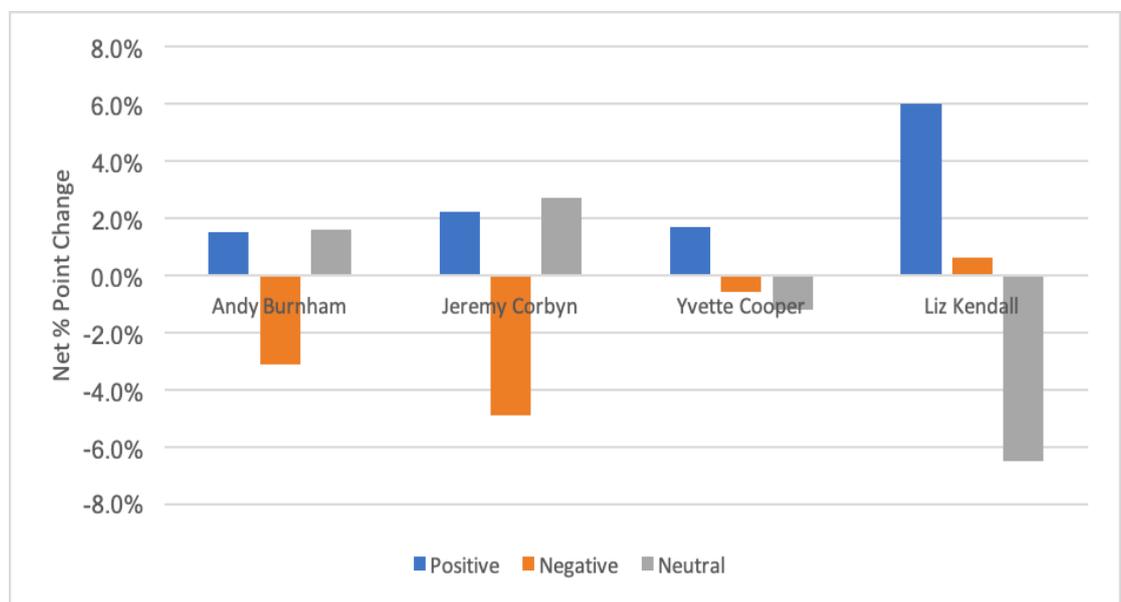


Figure 11 shows the percentage point difference in proportions of positive, negative or neutral newspaper articles by a single female journalist compared to a single male journalist. The change was calculated by the proportions for articles with a female journalist minus proportions for articles with a male journalist, i.e. positive numbers

indicate an increase in the proportion of articles of that tone when written by a female journalist. Female journalists were not necessarily more positive towards female candidates overall but were more positive overall in their coverage and noticeably less negative towards the men. For all candidates, a higher proportion of articles were positive when written by a female journalist, with the biggest difference of six percentage points seen for Liz Kendall. For the male candidates, female journalists were less negative in their coverage, with a decrease of 3.1 percentage points for Burnham and 4.9 for Corbyn. Negativity towards female candidates did not alter substantively but the proportion of neutral articles dropped, with a larger decrease for Kendall.

General News Frames

As discussed in the framework in Chapter 2 and the literature review in Chapter 1, general news frames may be applied differently to the sexes. For example, the common horse race framing of elections may be more frequent in articles about men as women are often excluded from these sports metaphors (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003) The overall news frame of each news item was coded. Four initial frames were identified based on previous literature, as identified in Chapter 2¹⁸:

- Horse race: Mainly about a candidate's place in the race or polling;
- Issue-based: About policy(ies) of the politician;
- Personal or Background-based: About personality, personal life or background of politician, e.g. their career, or their personal appearance or demeanour;
- Gender-based: Framed around the gender of the politician¹⁹.

Inductive analysis identified a further five frames based on this campaign that were not identified in the literature review. These were:

- Corbyn Phenomenon: Focused on the dynamics of the phenomenon of Jeremy Corbyn, including coverage of his rallies, grassroots supporters and likely consequences of him winning;
- Party Politics: Framed around party politics, including internal party disputes, discussions of the future of the party and reasons for their defeat in the national 2015 General Election;

¹⁸ See p.51-55 Chapter 2

¹⁹ Includes articles discussing claims that being a mother made Yvette Cooper more relatable and non-motherhood damaged Liz Kendall.

- Process Stories: Framed around process, including internal campaign stories on staff or financing and leadership election rules;
- Endorsement: Framed around details of the endorsement of a candidate by an organisation or individual;
- General: News item included more than one frame, e.g. about latest polling and issue stances; or a general announcement about the campaign e.g. reporting candidate’s announcement of intention to stand.

Figure 12. General News Frames by Sex for all News Items

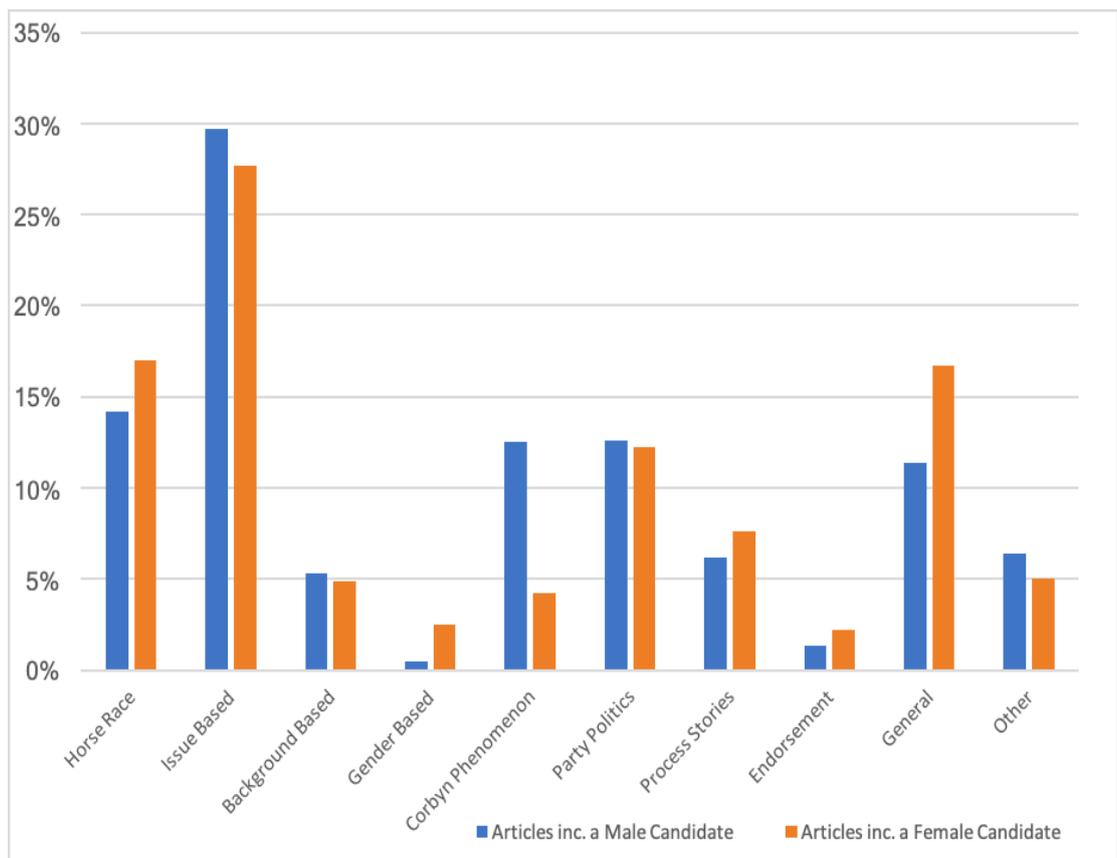


Figure 12 shows news frames broken down by sex of the candidate. Issue-based was the most frequent frame for both sexes and was more frequent for news items that included a male candidate, although this difference was small at two percentage points. Female candidates received marginally less substantial coverage with a slightly higher proportion of news items which included a female candidate focused on the horse race or process and less on candidates’ issue stances.

The unexpected success of Corbyn skews the coverage for the male candidates as 16% of news items that mentioned Corbyn focused on the phenomenon, constituting the second most frequent frame for Corbyn whereas for all other candidates it

accounted for under 5% of news items. Appendix 5 contains a breakdown of all frames by individual candidates. When accounting for Corbyn's success the trend towards more substantive coverage for male candidates held although remained small. The difference on horse race coverage did not hold as there was little difference between Andy Burnham and the two female candidates. Yet, a higher number of news items for Burnham were issue-based, accounting for 31.0% of all news items compared to 27.3% for Cooper and 24.6% for Kendall suggesting that more substantial coverage was still awarded to the male candidate. Process stories were slightly higher for the female candidates compared to Burnham especially for Kendall for whom 8.2% of items focused on process stories compared to 6.3% for Burnham.

Table 8 demonstrates that the small differences seen in aggregate coverage are persistent across all media types. Across news sources, issue-based coverage was more prevalent in articles that mentioned at least one male candidate and horse race framing was more common in news items that mentioned at least one female candidate with larger gaps seen in the new media of Twitter and blogs with a 6.3 and 6.6 percentage point gap respectively. Process stories were also more frequent for news items mentioning at least one female candidate across all news sources apart from blogs where proportions were equal, although these differences are small.

Again, the context of Corbyn's unexpected success is considered. The trend of more horse race coverage for women and more issue-based coverage for men holds only for social media and blogs when comparing Andy Burnham to the female candidates (see Appendix 6 for breakdown of general news framings by media type and candidate). The gap is especially wide on social media where 38.2% of tweets for Burnham focused on his issue stances compared to 24.6% for Cooper and 23.8% for Kendall. Process stories across all news sources are more frequent for the female candidates compared to Burnham.

Table 8. General News Framing by Type of Media and Sex of Candidate

	Broadcast		Newspaper		Social Media		Blogs	
	Articles inc. a Male Candidate	Articles inc. a Female Candidate						
Horse Race	7.6%	9.2%	8.3%	9.9%	20.6%	26.9%	14.4%	21.0%
Issue Based	31.4%	27.7%	31.8%	29.6%	29.3%	28.1%	24.8%	22.0%
Background Based	0.0%	0.0%	6.1%	4.8%	5.3%	7.7%	4.2%	1.7%
Gender Based	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%	3.2%	0.2%	1.8%	0.6%	2.4%
Corbyn Phenomenon	12.4%	7.7%	9.4%	5.5%	17.1%	2.2%	8.8%	3.4%
Party Politics	7.6%	4.6%	15.3%	15.7%	10.0%	8.7%	12.9%	10.5%
Process Stories	6.7%	10.8%	7.4%	7.7%	4.6%	7.3%	7.1%	7.1%
Endorsement	1.0%	0.0%	0.8%	1.0%	1.2%	3.0%	2.7%	4.4%
General	32.4%	38.5%	14.5%	18.3%	4.0%	8.3%	18.2%	22.0%
Other	1.0%	1.5%	5.5%	4.4%	7.7%	6.1%	6.3%	5.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
<i>N</i>	105	65	1306	778	1288	495	479	295

Sex of Journalist

Figure 13. News Item Framing by Sex of Journalist

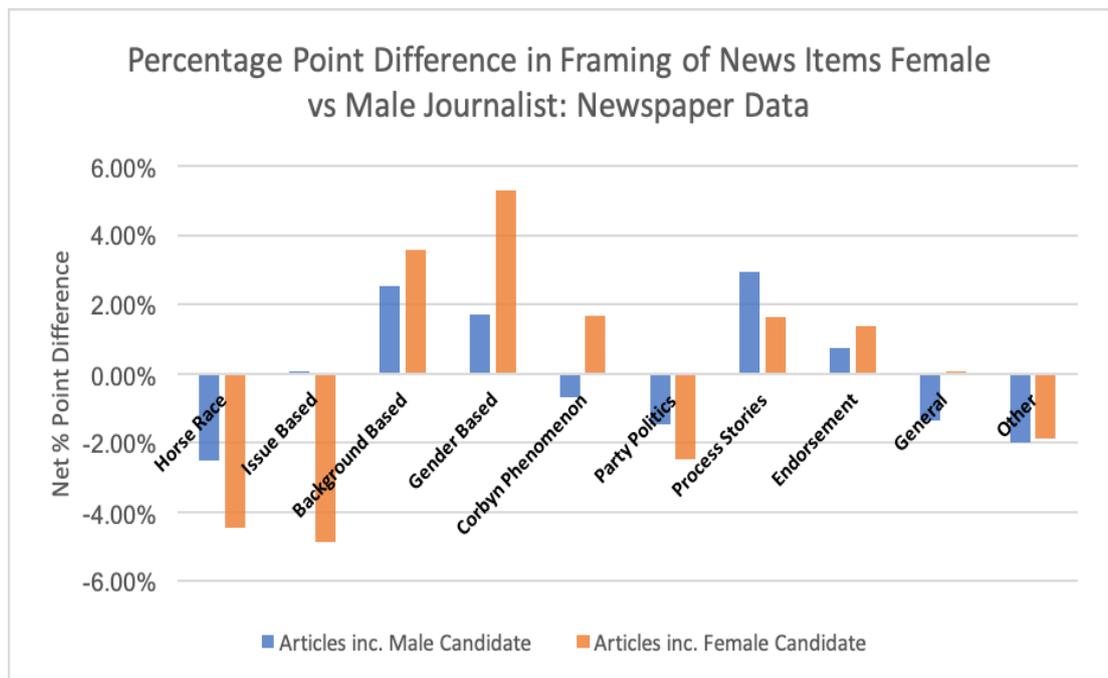
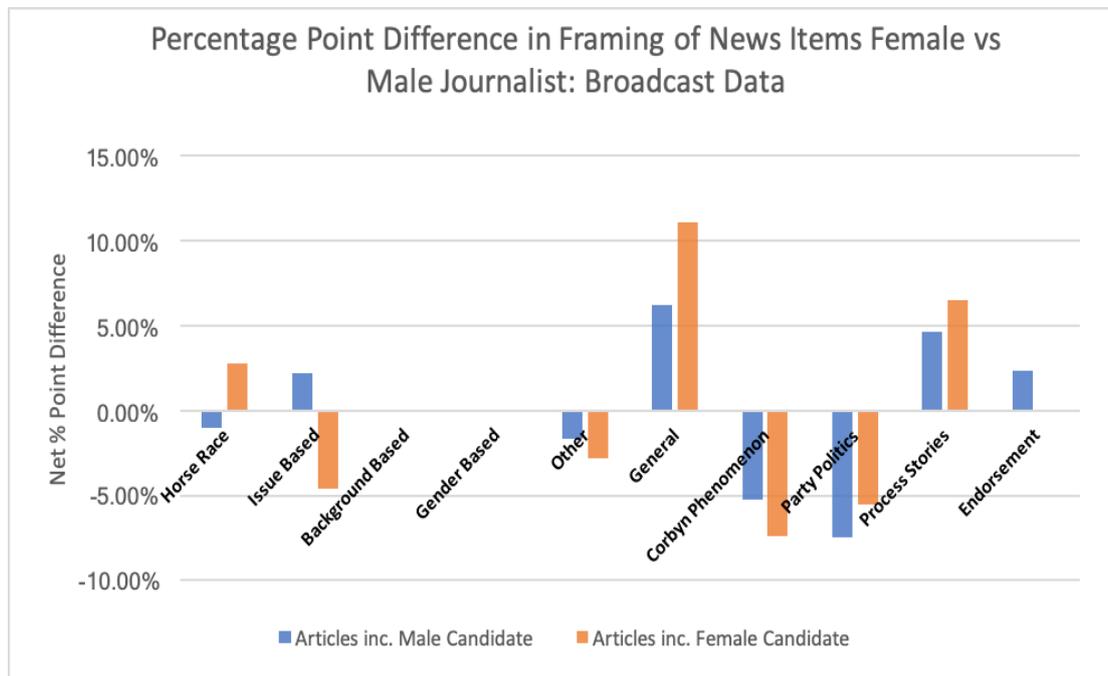


Figure 13 shows the percentage point difference in framings of broadcast and newspaper news items by a single female journalist compared to a single male journalist. Again, change was calculated by the proportions for articles with a female journalist minus proportions for articles with a male journalist, i.e. positive numbers indicated an increase in the proportion of articles of that frame when written by a

female journalist. Overall, there was little suggestion that female journalists provide more substantive coverage of female candidates than their male counterparts. In both broadcast and newspaper coverage female journalists focussed less on issues in news items which included a female candidate than male journalists. Increases were seen in background-based and gender-based newspaper articles when they were written by a single female journalist with a slightly larger increase when these articles included a female candidate. The noticeable increase in gender-based stories could be due to opinion pieces by women commenting on the sexism of the campaign – especially reacting to the comments by Helen Goodman MP and the supposed “row” between the Kendall and Cooper campaign about if a leader should have children or not.

Gendered Frames, Leadership Traits and Double Binds

Quantitative analysis on overall trends revealed some differences in the coverage of male and female candidates. Female candidates were less visible than their male counterparts and received marginally less substantive coverage, especially on social media. However, it was not as simple as a systematic bias against women as male candidates faced more negative coverage than the women. To examine the gendering of political leadership further qualitative and quantitative analysis is used to identify the gendered news frames applied in this case study. The analytical framework set out in Chapter 2²⁰ is drawn upon to examine these frames as well as the leadership traits associated with the candidates. The analysis reveals a nuanced picture of gender in political leadership where gendered frames were applied to both men and women.

Overall, highly sexist framings of female candidates were only present in a handful of the news items examined, primarily in right-leaning print media. A smattering of articles represented the women as weak and girly. Quentin Letts in the right-leaning tabloid *The Daily Mail* commented that Kendall was not doing her usual “look of wounded wonder, girly tragedy” (Letts, 2015) and it was observed in the right-leaning broadsheet *The Daily Telegraph* that “to look at, and listen to, [Kendall’s] a bit... primary school teacher. Big long-suffering eyes; slightly imploring manner; but above all terribly nice” (Deacon, 2015a). Another Telegraph journalist envisioned Liz Kendall skilfully negotiating a future Prime Minister’s Questions but simultaneously undermines this with the description: “She is slight, tiny even. Next to the Tory leader, she looks like a ballerina, but somehow the lack of height only enhances her

²⁰ See p.51-55, Chapter 2.

stature in a still overwhelmingly male House of Commons”, by the end “little Liz Kendall has got the better of her opponent” (Pearson, 2015). The same sketch called Andy Burnham “the wettest Andy since Pandy”, demonstrating how feminisation can be used to criticise male candidates. There were 61 news items that feminised the men to ridicule them; the “effete Mr Burnham” (Anon, 2015f) whose “incessant screeching” (Norman, 2015) about the NHS was criticised and was a “trade union patsy” (McKay, 2015b). Jeremy Corbyn was accused of “Alice in Wonderland” politics (Russell, 2015) and one blog superimposed his head onto a female underwear model calling him “agent provocateur” (Guido Fawkes, 2015a). The handful of explicit criticisms of femininity in politics highlights a key theme in the below analysis, that gendered frames are applied to men too, both detrimentally and beneficially, working to reinforce the complexity in gendered ideas of leadership and reveal how a certain *type* of masculinity may be encouraged in politics.

To begin, the overall framing of the campaign is considered. The gendered mediation thesis “captures the ways in which processes and products of news-making reflect gendered norms, binaries and power relations” (Trimble, 2017, pp. 9-10). The language used to describe the campaign and candidates’ actions within it form part of this. Gidengil and Everitt (2003, p. 573) contend that images and language used, such as sports and military metaphors, perpetrate the masculinity of the political sphere and can work to present women as outside of this masculine arena. In television news coverage of Canadian leadership debates Gidengil and Everitt (2003, p. 573) noticed that sports imagery was used less towards the women candidates, “implying that the women were somehow perceived as not really belonging to the “game” of politics”.

In this leadership election evidence was found for the gendered meditation thesis as sports and battle images were common, and were less frequently applied to women. The media consistently used the traditionally masculine spheres of sports and the military in its metaphors and imagery; 30% of all news items contained at least one of these. Over one in ten (14.5%) news items contained battle imagery; it was said that the party was in “open warfare” over its future (Anon, 2015g), candidates were “at war” over welfare policy (Groves, 2015c) and the contest was frequently described as “a battle for the heart and soul” of the Labour Party (ITV News, 2015). Within these articles the statements containing such imagery were applied to men on their own most frequently (53.9%), closely followed by statements about both sexes or the overall contest (26.7%), and only 17.7% of these statements applied to women on their own consistent with the idea that women do not belong on the battlefield of

politics (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003). Sports imagery was also common as Corbyn was heading for a “knockout victory” in the polls (Deacon, 2015b) and Cooper “scores plenty of runs” in a Parliamentary debate (Letts, 2015). Within this sports imagery, presenting the contest as a horse race was most common as candidates were ‘bookie’s favourites’ and ‘outsiders’; only 7.8% of such statements referred to women on their own compared to 62.7% which referred to men only, reinforcing the idea women were not part of the ‘game’ of politics.

Novelty/Difference

Linked to the idea of women as outsiders is the novelty/difference framing, that the unusualness of women in politics leads the media to explicitly reference their sex. Women’s presence is presented as unusual and reinforces the public man/private woman dichotomy. Although Trimble (2017) notes that these representations can challenge gendered norms by highlighting women’s underrepresentation and the assumption politicians are male. Sex was used to differentiate the female candidates in this election by the media, supporters of candidates, and by candidates themselves, speaking to discussions in Chapter 1 about the complex interplay between the media and candidates’ strategy and the difficulty of disentangling from which the resultant framing derives. The idea that Labour could elect its first woman leader was ultimately seen as positive, *The Daily Mirror* observed Cooper and Kendall “have fought tough campaigns and would have broken the Labour mould as female leaders” (Anon, 2015e) and a LabourList blogger noted, “It is simply unacceptable that our party has never elected a woman to be our leader. We need to fix that now.” (Rickhuss, 2015). Both women, especially Cooper, used this ‘historic opportunity’ as a selling point in her campaign. Cooper argued that electing the first woman would be more radical for the party than electing “white men” (Riley-Smith, 2015) and rallied support by stating, “David Cameron has a woman problem, let’s give him an even bigger one. Let’s elect Labour’s first woman prime minister” (Cannel 4 News, 2015a).

Similarly, female candidates’ supporters on occasion mentioned their sex. Senior Labour figure, Alan Johnson endorsed Cooper by saying, “After over a century of male leaders we have an election where the most qualified candidate ... happens to be a woman” (Doyle, 2015). Johnson counters potential accusations of tokenism here – Cooper “happens to be a woman” – this was seen in other supportive statements mentioning the women’s sex, *The Daily Telegraph*, for instance, notes Kendall “like Margaret Thatcher” is a “grammar-school girl ... who got where she is by her own efforts” (Wintour, 2015a). There were also negative suggestions of

tokenism, it was said of the women, “their gender is the best thing going for [them] both” (McKay, 2015a) and Daily Mail’s Deputy Political Editor (Groves, 2015a) summarised the candidates’ pitches in a tweet saying, “Burnham: I’m better looking than [Ed Miliband]. Cooper: I’m a woman”. But, a representation of the women’s sex as an asset was prevalent as Labour needed a woman leader – “choosing a woman as the next party leader would be a good start” (Anon, 2015i) – and a female leader would give Labour an advantage over the Conservatives – “a Kendall leadership could seriously spook the Government. Cameron is vulnerable to the Women Question” (Pearson, 2015).

The women were not the only novelty in this contest. Jeremy Corbyn was also seen as a novelty. He was not a break from the male domination of politics, as a woman might be, but represented an anti-Westminster movement against the stereotypical smooth, career politician. He presented “a very different type of politics” (Channel 4 News, 2015d) and a “unique style [not] typical of a modern-day politician” (BBC News, 2015c). Corbyn was somewhat of a maverick from the fringe left-wing of the party and was often described as such, “a rebel on the brink of becoming leader” (Channel 4 News, 2015c). The framing was not always positive, especially in the right-wing newspaper and blogs where Corbyn was the “loopy Left-winger” (Pierce, 2015a). An association of Corbyn with madness was a consistent frame used against him.

Leadership Traits

The leadership traits associated with the four candidates were counted and coded according to the trait framework in Table 5 in Chapter 2. Leadership traits drawn from the relevant literature and inductive analysis of the coverage were categorised as positive or negative according to whether they were thought beneficial or detrimental to demonstrating leadership based on the gendered and non-gendered leadership literature discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. For example, the contention that Andy Burnham had “the courage and the ability to unite the party” (Channel 4 News, 2015b) was coded as courageous and competent which are both positive leadership traits for leaders. Nearly 70 traits were identified overall therefore traits were grouped into similar themes to aid the interpretation of the large N quantitative results. The exact list of traits and trait groupings can be found in Chapter 2 (see p.54 Table 5). Each trait grouping included both positive and negative traits. Tables 9 and 10 show the top 5 individual traits for candidates and the frequency of the trait groupings.

Table 9. Top Five Traits for Candidates

Male Candidates					
<i>Andy Burnham</i>			<i>Jeremy Corbyn</i>		
<i>Trait</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>% of all traits</i>	<i>Trait</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>% of all traits</i>
Combative	73	13.7%	Experienced	156	13.3%
Indecisive	51	9.6%	Principled	65	5.5%
Experienced	42	7.9%	Ridiculous	61	5.2%
Man of the People	40	7.5%	Combative	56	4.8%
Weak	30	5.6%	Decent	48	4.1%
<i>Total N Traits=532</i>			<i>Total N Traits =1,177</i>		
Female Candidates					
<i>Yvette Cooper</i>			<i>Liz Kendall</i>		
<i>Trait</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>% of all traits</i>	<i>Trait</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>% of all traits</i>
Combative	103	19.7%	Combative	56	13.1%
Experienced	60	11.5%	Inexperienced	47	11.0%
Competent	50	9.6%	Courageous	43	10.1%
Weak	24	4.6%	Tough	37	8.7%
Boring	23	4.4%	Determined	21	4.9%
<i>Total N Traits =523</i>			<i>Total N Traits =426</i>		

Table 10. Trait Groupings by Candidate

		Male Candidates		Female Candidates		
		<i>Andy Burnham</i>	<i>Jeremy Corbyn</i>	<i>Yvette Cooper</i>	<i>Liz Kendall</i>	
Strength	Overall N (% total traits)	167 (31.4%)	165 (14.0%)	190 (36.3%)	191 (44.8%)	
	Tone in Framework	Pos	65.3%	71.5%	82.6%	90.6%
		Neg	34.7%	28.5%	17.4%	9.4%
Trust	Overall N (% total traits)	54 (10.2%)	221 (18.8%)	18 (3.4%)	24 (5.6%)	
	Tone in Framework	Pos	64.8%	83.3%	72.2%	79.2%
		Neg	35.2%	16.7%	27.8%	20.8%
Star Quality	Overall N (% total traits)	51 (9.6%)	136 (11.6%)	98 (18.7%)	60 (14.1%)	
	Tone in Framework	Pos	64.7%	83.1%	43.9%	73.3%
		Neg	35.3%	16.9%	56.1%	26.7%
Decision-Making	Overall N (% total traits)	177 (33.3%)	364 (30.9%)	174 (33.3%)	110 (25.8%)	
	Tone in Framework	Pos	49.2%	60.7%	87.4%	36.4%
		Neg	50.8%	39.3%	12.6%	63.6%
Community	Overall N (% total traits)	79 (14.8%)	281 (23.9%)	43 (8.2%)	40 (9.4%)	
	Tone in Framework	Pos	82.3%	65.5%	76.7%	72.5%
		Neg	17.7%	34.5%	23.3%	27.5%
Misc	Overall N (% total traits)	4 (0.8%)	10 (0.8%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (0.2%)	
	<i>Total N Traits</i>	532	1,177	523	426	

In order to interpret the results on leadership traits the theory of role incongruity is used, the contention that there is a potential for prejudice when a social group is thought to have attributes incongruent with success in a certain social role. It was suggested in Chapter 1 that role incongruity could lead to the potential for two types of prejudice against women in leadership (Eagly and Karau, 2002). These prejudices relate to two types of stereotyping about women and link to the femininity/competency bind, one of the gendered framings in my analytical framework.

Firstly, women’s potential for leadership could be perceived unfavourably as leadership ability is stereotypically aligned to traits perceived as masculine which links to descriptive gender-based stereotypes. The trait framework developed in Chapter 2 did not classify traits as male or female because, as discussed in previous chapters, I wish to be cautious about being too tautological in applying binary trait stereotypes and take a more inductive approach guided by the data. Traits were categorised as positive or negative to demonstrating leadership as it was thought this may reveal descriptive stereotyping in the types of traits associated with men and women in the coverage. Table 11 shows the overall categorisation of the traits attributed to male or female candidates. For both sexes, the majority of traits attributed in the coverage were those classed as positive in the framework. Female candidates were not automatically discounted from leadership by an association with negative leadership traits, in fact they were more often associated with positive leadership traits than the men.

Table 11. Tone of Traits in Framework by Sex

	<i>Sex of Politician</i>	
	Male	Female
Positive	67.3%	74.1%
Negative	32.7%	25.9%
Total	1,709	949

Table 9 shows the five most frequent descriptive traits associated with each candidate. Combative is the most frequent trait for three of the four candidates highlighting a further element of the masculine imagery and language used in the news coverage. A noticeable theme was hyperbolic language used to emphasise combative behaviour as candidates “hit back” at accusations or “attacked” and “slammed” their fellow running mates which reinforced the masculine battle imagery

with candidates being on the 'attack' a primary descriptor for both men and women. The gendered mediation thesis contends that this stereotypically male behaviour is more newsworthy when performed by women. Gidengil and Everitt's (2003) examination of Canadian leadership debates found that women's behaviour was more often presented as combative, even when they were no more combative than their male counterparts. There is some support for a similar finding in this case – combative accounted for 16.8% of the traits applied to women compared to 7.5% for male candidates. This held across the media types, with the biggest difference seen in social media where combative accounted for 13.8% of traits for men and 35.6% for women.

Femininity/Competency Bind

The second potential prejudice deriving from role incongruity is that when women do enter leadership roles they may experience backlash because the behaviour required is less desirable in women which comes from prescriptive stereotypes about expected gendered behaviour and places women in Jamieson's (1995) femininity/competency bind (Eagly and Karau, 2002, Gill, 2004). It would suggest that 'masculine' behaviour such as the combativeness seen above would be punished in women. For all traits, it was further coded how they were applied in context, i.e. if applied positively or negatively when linked to the candidate in the context of the news item. For example, it was said of Yvette Cooper that "her competence and experience might come to be seen as a disadvantage, or even begin to grate" (Wintour, 2015c) which was coded as competent and experienced, both positive leadership traits in the framework, being applied negatively in context. This coding showed combativeness was not disproportionately punished in women, in fact, it was more often negatively framed when performed by male candidates with 59.7% of the instances of combativeness for men applied negatively in context compared to 51.6% for women.

The lack of clear backlash for women demonstrating masculine behaviour held across trait groupings in Table 12, suggesting the femininity/competency bind was not systematically applied. However, some qualitative framing shows gender-based stereotyping was not eliminated as women were presented as bitchy and not tough enough.

Table 12. Tone of Positive Traits in Context by Trait Grouping and Sex

			Sex of Politician	
			<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Strength	Tone in Context	Pos	119 (52.4%)	218 (66.1%)
		Neg	108 (47.6%)	112 (33.9%)
Trust	Tone in Context	Pos	201 (91.8%)	28 (87.5%)
		Neg	18 (8.2%)	4 (12.5%)
Star Quality	Tone in Context	Pos	135 (92.5%)	84 (96.6%)
		Neg	11 (7.5%)	3 (3.4%)
Decision-Making	Tone in Context	Pos	290 (94.2%)	176 (91.7%)
		Neg	18 (5.8%)	16 (8.3%)
Communality	Tone in Context	Pos	210 (84.3%)	61 (98.4%)
		Neg	39 (15.7%)	1 (1.6%)
<i>N</i>			1149	703

The application of positive traits in context for each trait group is shown by candidate sex in Table 12 and for individual candidates in Table 13. The most common trait group for the female candidates was strength in which the majority (86.6%) of traits given to the women overall were positively defined in the framework. When applied in context these positive strength traits remained majority positive (66.1%) at a higher rate than their male competitors for whom 52.4% of positive strength traits were applied positively in context. The frequency and positivity of the strength traits attributed to women runs counter to what the femininity/competency bind and theories of role incongruity in gender-based stereotyping suggest. Instead, it was for men that strength traits were more commonly negatively applied. Negative instances of combativeness were a factor behind this. Yet, it is noticeable that, in over half of these negative instances, male combativeness was framed in battle imagery compared to just over a third for women. Although criticising their combativeness, these instances still worked to locate the men within the masculine sphere of politics.

Table 13. Tone of Positive Traits in Context by Trait Grouping and Candidate

			Male Candidates		Female Candidates	
			<i>Andy Burnham</i>	<i>Jeremy Corbyn</i>	<i>Yvette Cooper</i>	<i>Liz Kendall</i>
Strength	Tone in Context	Pos	50 (45.9%)	69 (58.5%)	97 (61.8%)	121 (69.9%)
		Neg	59 (54.1%)	49 (41.5%)	60 (38.2%)	52 (30.1%)
Trust	Tone in Context	Pos	34 (97.1%)	167 (90.8%)	11 (84.6%)	17 (89.5%)
		Neg	1 (2.9%)	17 (9.2%)	2 (15.4%)	2 (10.5%)
Star Quality	Tone in Context	Pos	27 (81.8%)	108 (95.6%)	43 (100.0%)	41 (93.2%)
		Neg	6 (18.2%)	5 (4.4%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (6.8%)
Decision-Making	Tone in Context	Pos	75 (86.2%)	215 (97.3%)	136 (89.5%)	40 (100.0%)
		Neg	12 (13.8%)	6 (2.7%)	16 (10.5%)	0 (0.0%)
Communality	Tone in Context	Pos	49 (75.4%)	161 (87.5%)	32 (97.0%)	29 (100.0%)
		Neg	16 (24.6%)	23 (12.5%)	1 (3.0%)	0 (0.0%)
<i>N</i>			329	820	398	305

However, qualitative framing shows gender-based stereotyping held to some extent, although limited, as women were bitchy and not tough enough. Firstly, a theme in the negative strength behaviour, especially combativeness, was the candidates being bitchy or catty – a common trope for women when they exhibit combative behaviour (Trimble, 2017). It was said candidates “took a swipe” or made “a clear dig” at their opponent. The bitchiness frame was more common in negative portrayals of female combativeness (26.8% compared to 13.0% for men) and within this framing there were instances of explicit sexism as Kendall “gets [her] claws out” (Newton Dunn, 2015b) and Cooper “puts the boot in with style” (MacIntyre, 2015). Furthermore, some distinct gendering and sexism was seen on occasion in the discussion of female strength presenting the women as stereotypical tough women; “Liz “Kamikaze” Kendall” (Macguire, 2015) was “it” in a never ending game of Wink Murder”. The journalist “couldn’t bear to watch [her]” (Martin, 2015c) and she was dubbed the “Blair Witch Project” (Martin, 2015b). Backlash was not universal across the strength traits however, suggesting gender-based stereotypes were limited in their effects for the female candidates.

Secondly, women may still face some traditional gender stereotyping, although not systematic, in the form of the femininity/competency bind as they were still *not tough*

enough for politics despite frequent portrayals of them as such elsewhere. Comments by Lord Falconer in support of Andy Burnham were taken by the media and the candidates to suggest the women ‘were not tough enough’ for the contest in line with the femininity/competency bind that women are often considered not masculine, i.e. tough, enough. Both the female candidates called out the comments as sexist with Cooper saying “Andy’s campaign seem to be calling for Liz and I to bow out and leave it to the boys” (Wintour, 2015c). Accusations of not being tough enough accounted for 39.5% of the instances of female candidates being described as weak, compared to 12.8% for male candidates. It was said that Cooper needed to “fire on more cylinders” (Wintour, 2015a) and MPs doubted Kendall had “the gravitas or agility to lead” (Behr, 2015), she needed “more frontline experience and media calluses” (d’Ancona, 2015). Given the prominence and positivity of strength traits for both female candidates this line of criticism seems surprising, especially as it was pointedly lower for instances of male weakness for whom strength traits were not the most common trait grouping.

For both male candidates, the most frequent trait group was ‘decision-making’. Partly, this derived from mentions of candidates’ experience, especially for Corbyn for whom experienced was the most frequent trait (and third most common for Burnham). A consistent description of Corbyn was ‘veteran’. It was used both positively and negatively, “the other three leadership candidates are all preferable to the veteran Left-winger” (Groves, 2015b), and could be a reference to Corbyn’s age who, at 66 years-old, was the oldest candidate and older than the norm for modern leaders. Even when used negatively or to signal his age, however, the term veteran worked to frame Corbyn as an old timer in the masculine, military game of politics, qualifying the criticism. For Andy Burnham and Yvette Cooper, their experience often played against them as it showed they were part of the old guard of New Labour. The higher percentage of positive decision-making traits applied negatively for Burnham and Cooper (Table 13) primarily comes from this. In contrast inexperience was the most common negative trait for Liz Kendall. Contextual factors explain this as Kendall was a relatively new Member of Parliament, taking up her seat in 2010, and was only ever a junior Shadow Minister. Her inexperience was at times used to qualify her competence; a colleague was cited saying “she is reliable, loyal and hardworking” with a “sharp, strong, policy mind” but concluded “she lacks the political experience to win this time” (Booth, 2015).

The trait grouping of trust was notably higher for Jeremy Corbyn than any other candidate. Inductive analysis revealed an emerging framing of Corbyn as the

'honourable man', and it was often *man*. The framing was for the most part positive, Corbyn was a "palpably decent man standing up for the underdog" (Glover, 2015), an "ideologically pure man of honour" (Anon, 2015j) and a "plainly principled chap" (Glover, 2015). However, this also played against Corbyn as being principled and honest was not enough, "Corbyn, saintly and decent man that he is, was likely to be unelectable" (Mullin, 2015). The honourable man frame applied to some discussion of Corbyn's appearance. He was an unexpected Lothario and the housewife's guilty crush when it was revealed that users of the popular parenting blog Mumsnet found him surprisingly sexy. His appeal was related to his principles and passion, and his masculinity was retained in the discussions as he was attractive in a "'weary, old sea dog' kind of way" (Martin, 2015a). Daily Mail columnist Sarah Vine, summed up the phenomenon, "Put crudely, Corbyn may be 50 shades of beige pensioner; but when you see him up on that stage, alive with revolutionary zeal, you just know he'd be ten times better in bed than poor old [Ed] Miliband" (Vine, 2015).

Womb/Brain Bind

The second of Jamieson's (1995, p. 53) binds that was examined in the coverage was the womb/brain bind which relates to the idea that women are "identified as bodies not minds, wombs not brains". It can be split into three elements: family, emotion and appearance. In this chapter the representations of emotion and candidates' appearance are considered as Chapter 4 examines family in this election in detail via a wider discussion of politics and parenthood across time.

(i) Emotion

The womb/brain bind contends women have been traditionally framed as too emotional for politics as they are thought irrational due to their hormones. Counter to this, in this election, male communality was of greater interest than women's, with a higher percentage of traits in the communality trait grouping for both men compared to the women. The women were not framed as ruled by their emotions or too emotional for politics; instances of female candidates being described as hot-headed was small at only 9 instances overall (0.9% of all traits associated with female candidates). Although a less frequent trait group overall for the women, female candidates were more frequently attributed positive communality traits which were then more frequently applied positively in context compared to their male counterparts.

The higher proportion of traits in the communality trait grouping for men derived from two framings. Firstly, descriptions of Corbyn's heartfelt politics: his "human and

generous-minded politics [was] an antidote to never-ending austerity” (Greenslade, 2015). This compassion and gentleness was on occasion devalued as Corbyn’s ‘nice guy’ image was questioned and derided, in particular the right-wing blog Guido Fawkes ridiculed “Cuddly Corbyn” on Twitter and in blog posts, contrasting his compassionate image with perceived extreme policy positions. 12.5% of positive communal traits were applied negatively in context for Corbyn (Table 13). Elsewhere, the fact that Corbyn was a “nice guy” worked to qualify disagreement with him – Labour heavyweight John Prescott pointed out, “I’m sure Jeremy Corbyn is a lovely, great principled man, and by all accounts is a very, very nice man, but I don’t think he can win in places like this.” (Channel 4 News, 2015c). As with the honourable man frame it was notable again that Corbyn was explicitly a ‘nice *guy*’ as his sex was often explicitly referenced in relation to his compassion.

Secondly, communality was presented in male candidates’ relatability, mainly seen in the trait ‘man of the people’, the second most frequent characteristic for Andy Burnham. Inductive analysis revealed a framing of Burnham as the ‘decent bloke’. Burnham’s relatability was grounded in representations of his gender. His campaign strategy stressed his Liverpool roots as he gave interviews from his childhood home and pledged to retain his season ticket for the local football club if he became Prime Minister (Pidd, 2015). A campaign strategy that was grounded in his masculinity, Burnham said he was “a Labour man, through and through” (BBC News, 2015a) and tweeted song lyrics “I’m only a paperboy from the north-west, but I can scrub up well in my Sunday best” (Burgess, 2015). Sport played a significant part in this strategy with Burnham saying he wouldn’t want to be leader if it meant missing a football match played by his local team. Burnham’s further contention he would rather play in a national football final than be Prime Minister earned his only positive tweet from ConservativeHome blog editor Mark Wallace who said it “reflected well on him” (Wallace, 2015).

The media picked up on this image, Burnham was framed as the decent, ordinary bloke; he was a “working-class lad” (Bletchley, 2015) who “understands the everyday issues facing Mirror readers” (Anon, 2015e). Again, sex was often explicitly referenced in these descriptions. Burnham was the “everyman” who a retired football player described as “top blue and top guy”²¹ (Pidd, 2015). The framing of Burnham also included criticism of this imagery given his career had mainly been in politics and the revelation that he wore Armani suits. The criticism meant that 24.6% of

²¹ ‘Top blue’ refers to loyal and longstanding supporters of Andy Burnham’s local football team, Everton FC.

positive communality traits were applied negatively in context for Burnham (Table 13). On occasion, Liz Kendall was presented in a similar vein – as plain speaking “Labour Liz” – but this was infrequent in comparison to Burnham, ‘man of the people’ accounting for only 2.6% of Kendall’s traits compared to 7.5% for Burnham.

Female candidates’ relatability was also occasionally grounded in their gender. For Yvette Cooper this focused on her family life, which is addressed in detail in the next chapter. Helen Goodman MP, a supporter of Cooper’s, said she was voting for Cooper because “as a working mum she understands the pressures on modern family life” (Brooks, 2015). Furthermore, she was represented as a kind of ‘how-does-she-do-it’ woman with friends commenting she was “all too human” as she dashed out of meetings to get sports kit to her children (Brooks, 2015). For Kendall, her appearance and femininity made her relatable, a “cheerful inhabitant” of Westminster, “usually happy to stop for a natter” (Watt and Wintour, 2015), Kendall was presented as a kind of ‘cool schoolgirl’, “something of a teenage rebel” (Watt and Wintour, 2015) who a close friend recalls “sunbathing on the college roof, listening to Wham!” (Booth, 2015). It was said, “most of us went to school with a girl like her” (Pearson, 2015). These representations were intermittent and less common than the masculine framings of Corbyn and Burnham as the ‘nice guy’, ‘decent bloke’ and ‘honourable man’.

As discussed above, explicit mentions of the women’s sex centred around them as outsiders in a masculine dominated political sphere and, overall, coherent representations of the female candidates’ femininity were harder to pin down. One intermittent trend was a critique of Yvette Cooper that she was boring, guilty of “unthinking, machine politics” (Plummer, 2015). 56.1% of star quality traits associated with Cooper were negatively defined in the trait framework (Table 10), accounting for a higher proportion than any other candidate. One could see this criticism of Cooper as being linked to her status as an establishment candidate, especially in the context of ‘Corbynmania’. However, a similar criticism was not levelled against Burnham, a similarly well-established Labour figure. A widely reported comment by Alan Johnson said of Yvette Cooper that she was “sane, rational and intelligent”, but, “doesn’t set off a box of fireworks” (Brooks, 2015). Johnson’s comments may demonstrate a tight line having to be walked for the prominent female candidate – praised for her ability to control her emotions, “sane” and “rational”, but simultaneously not emotional enough to show a sufficient passion, she is not a box of fireworks.

(ii) Appearance

According to Jamieson’s womb/brain bind, women are “bodies not minds”, and their sexuality and appearance are always at play in discussions as women in power are often whores, lesbians, dominatrix, or castrators seeking inappropriate power over men. It was examined if this was the case in this coverage but discussion of appearance did not present itself as the womb/brain bind would predict. Firstly, a link was made between appearance and political credentials or personality for *both* male and female candidates. *The Daily Telegraph* pointed out, “Liz looks like a woman who would happily curl up with a latte, a biccy and a copy of *Grazia*” and a vote for her over Corbyn was a vote for “Gap T-shirts over moth-eaten corduroy, Mac foundation over beards with lentils” (Pearson, 2015). Even *The Guardian*, which ran several articles deploring a concentration on female appearance, pointed out Kendall “gives off plenty to suggest aspirational middle-class drive. She wears a smart Marc Jacobs watch, carries a funky green tote handbag and shops at John Lewis, Whistles and the upscale cologne and candle shop Jo Malone” (Booth, 2015). For male candidates, criticisms of Andy Burnham’s pitch as an ordinary working-class bloke often centred on his overpriced suits, *The Sun* pointed out “Andy Burnham has blown his “man of the ordinary people” image by admitting he adores Armani suits” (Anon, 2015a) and the right-wing blog *Guido Fawkes* (2015b) ran a “Guido’s Fashion Tips: Labour leadership edition” comparing Burnham’s Armani suits to Corbyn’s vests and socks he buys at the local market for £1.50 as seen in Figure 14. Perhaps a headline we would expect to be applied to female politicians this criticism also worked by feminising the male candidates.

Figure 14. “Guido’s Fashion Tips: Labour Leadership Edition”



Secondly, there was no systematic discussion of the women's appearance or fashion choices. It was a male candidate, Jeremy Corbyn, who faced systematic evaluation of his appearance in over one in ten news items about him (12.7%), whereas for the other candidates mentions ranged from one percent of news items to just under three percent. Like all candidates, Corbyn's appearance was linked to his political credentials and personality. His position as an anti-Westminster politician was framed in terms of his appearance – “far from being deterred by his dishevelled appearance and ageing wardrobe of beige jackets and Lenin caps, [supporters] find him a refreshing change to the image- and spin-obsessed elite” (Pierce, 2015b)²². Corbyn was framed as popular despite this appearance but it was also used to undermine him and much was made of his beard with terms such as “bearded loon” (Anon, 2015h) and “bearded vegetarian and Morning Star columnist” (Addley, 2015). Corbyn was an atypical leadership candidate as a maverick who does not adhere to the usual business attire and clean shaven appearance of modern politicians rather like his predecessor and fellow left-winger Michael Foot, whose appearance was also a point of discussion in the media when he wore the infamous donkey jacket to the Remembrance Sunday event in 1981 as Labour leader (Kirkup, 2010). If politicians are particularly dishevelled or unusual looking this may increase the focus on their appearance. The low and similar levels of analysis of the other three candidates' appearance, who all presented themselves in the conventional business-dress style, is contrary to findings in the international literature which suggest women face a disproportionate focus on their appearance.

Many of the sporadic instances of explicit sexism were found in the infrequent discussion of the women's appearance. The few references made to Cooper's figure presented her as weak via her femininity. She was “elfin” (Utlely, 2015) and “Pixie Cooper” (Littlejohn, 2015). For both women, there were several suggestions they succeeded despite their feminine appearance, Cooper was “elfin yet poised” (Letts, 2015) and Kendall “looks like a ballerina, but somehow the lack of height only enhances her stature in a still overwhelmingly male House of Commons” (Pearson, 2015). Liz Kendall faced a few instances of sexist commentary in regards to her appearance; she was said to be “not a trades union puppet, like Andy Burnham, and better legs than Yvette Cooper” (Anon, 2015d). Although not in the sample, as it was a weekend paper, it was discussed (primarily negatively) how a *Mail on Sunday* interview with Kendall described her, “as a “slinky brunette” with a “lithe figure” and

²² Since becoming leader Jeremy Corbyn has slowly changed his appearance to come more into line with the 'norm' of political leaders. He more often wears smart suits and ties and has neatened his overall appearance.

had speculated about her weight (Bates, 2015). Furthermore, as with the ‘fashion tips’ article, discussions of Burnham’s appearance highlighted how feminising the male candidates was on occasion used to undermine competency. Burnham was called “doe-eyed” (Anon, 2015b) and he was dismissed as just “a prettier Ed Miliband” (Mason, 2015). There were questions of whether he wore makeup to enhance his eyelashes, which he “desperately bats” at the Unite the Union leader Len McCluskey (Anon, 2015f).

Discussion

The in-depth case study in this chapter highlights the complex role gender plays in media representations of political leadership. It was emphasised at the outset of this chapter that the null hypothesis – that gender-based stereotypes will *not* be present – should be taken seriously. To some extent this null hypothesis held. Overall, gender-based stereotypes were limited, but they were not eliminated. Gendering was present but not always in the ways or to the extent to which current gender and political leadership literature might predict. Quantitative analysis revealed some systematic sex differences which worked against the women but these trends were not universal across all aspects of the coverage and at times showed negativity towards the men. Gendering was more clearly seen in nuanced gendered frames that worked both *for and against*, both *men and women* alongside a wider framing of politics as a masculine sphere.

Across the campaign, the two female candidates in the campaign did not *systematically* face two of the binds women in public roles are thought to, the womb/brain bind or the femininity/competency bind. That said, gender-based stereotypes still worked against women to some extent – despite an emphasis on strength characteristics for the women they were presented as ‘not tough enough’ for politics and their combative behaviour was more often emphasised and presented as bitchiness. A systematic bias against women in terms of leadership traits, however, was not seen, rather it was the male candidates for whom negative leadership traits were more common and positive leadership traits were more frequently applied negatively in context. The negativity towards the male candidates came from three main areas; (i) a backlash against Corbyn’s more compassionate politics; (ii) criticism of Burnham’s representations of himself as a working-class lad; and, (iii) the more frequent negative portrayal of combative behaviour in men. Each is addressed at points in the discussion below. Gendered framing was applied to men too, sometimes detrimentally and sometimes positively, working to reinforce the

complexity in gendered ideas of leadership and reveal how a certain *type* of masculinity is needed as leader. In the wider context, the language used and the gendered framing of the candidates of both sexes, by the media and in candidates' own campaign strategies, reiterated the gendering of an insider/outsider status with women represented as 'space invaders' in the masculine realm of politics.

The Masculine Realm of Politics

Firstly, the context in which the candidates operated was masculine. Two themes in the coverage emphasised how politics overall was a masculine sphere in which women were often treated as outsiders. Firstly, the language used presented the leadership election as "a battle for the heart and soul of Labour" (ITV News, 2015). Sports or military metaphors were present in 30% of all news items. The gendered mediation thesis contends that such images and language perpetrate the masculinity of politics and place women as outsiders (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003, Trimble, 2017). Despite women's apparent strength and the emphasis on their combativeness they were clearly placed outside of this sphere, with lower levels of associations with such language than the men. For both horse race and battle imagery the majority of statements referred to men on their own with a 54.9 and 36.2 percentage point gap respectively in the proportion of statements referring to men only compared to women only.

Secondly, the representations of women as 'space invaders' was seen in explicit mentions of candidate sex. References to the women's sex framed them as outsiders (although often positively) whereas references to the men's sex emphasised their membership of the masculine political sphere. For male candidates, their sex was regularly mentioned when considering their relatability. Corbyn was the 'nice guy' and Burnham the 'decent bloke'. These frames reinforced ideas of masculine political leadership as both used language to suggest the men were 'one of the boys', especially in discussion of Burnham as the decent bloke given the sports imagery used. Corbyn was a "plainly principled chap" (Glover, 2015) and Burnham was "top blue and top guy" (Pidd, 2015). The women's relatability was also connected to their gender, for Kendall, in her style and the imagery of her as a cool schoolgirl, and for Cooper in her role as a working mum²³. However, for the female candidates mentions of their sex more often emphasised how they were outside of the club of politics – that electing a female leader is something daring and different to do. The novelty of a female leader was, for the most part, seen as positive, in line with

²³ Examined in detail in Chapter 4.

Trimble's (2017) contention that the novelty/difference frame can challenge the male domination of politics. Yet, even when discussed positively, it reinforces the idea that women are outsiders or 'space invaders' in the masculine world of political leadership. For both men and women these frames were positive and negative – the decent bloke image backfired against Burnham and there were suggestions of tokenism for the women – but overall it reiterated the gendering of an insider/outsider status for the candidates where women were placed on the outside. Even Corbyn, an ideological outsider, was still framed as an insider through this masculine imagery most clearly in the consistent descriptions of him as a 'veteran' of politics.

The complicated interplay between candidate strategy and the media framing is seen in how both male and female candidates used their gender and thus contributed to the insider/outsider framing. Yvette Cooper made a clear 'first woman' pitch and when Corbyn gained support as the radical, anti-establishment candidate she argued electing a woman would be more revolutionary. A parallel is seen here with the 2016 US Presidential Election, when an establishment woman, Hillary Clinton, faced an anti-establishment male contender, Donald Trump. Clinton was accused of 'playing the gender card' and based some campaign tactics on the historic nature of her campaign with the slogan 'I'm with her'.

Yet, in reality, all candidates 'play the gender card' as they navigate the gendered norms of leadership (Presidential Gender Watch 2016, 2017). In US presidential elections across time, candidates have tried to demonstrate they are 'man enough' for the job, often emphasising their masculinity whilst simultaneously emasculating other male opponents. Never was this more overt than in 2016 when Donald Trump played the 'masculinity card' and emasculated his opponents by literally talking about penis size (Heldman et al., 2018, Presidential Gender Watch 2016, 2017). Parallels are further seen to this 'playing the gender card' idea in the use of masculinity in this case study. Andy Burnham's campaign was rooted in his masculinity as he was "a Labour man, through and through" who would retain his season ticket for his local football team if he became prime minister and wouldn't want to be leader if it meant missing a match. The importance of this in placing him inside the masculine realm of politics is clear given the prominence of sports imagery in the coverage. One of the three reasons for the higher negativity in leadership traits for male candidates was how this framing backfired on occasion for Burnham. The criticism was not necessarily gendered but intersected with ideas of class and stereotypes of career politicians. Andy Burnham's framing of himself as the 'everyman' was seen as

insincere given his firm position in the 'Westminster bubble' as a politician with little career experience beyond politics.

The quantitative results on the visibility of women and news framing of coverage reinforced these qualitative findings. Across the different media sources, women were less visible than men which could not be explained by electoral competitiveness. Yvette Cooper, at the time of the election the Shadow Home Secretary, an MP since 1997 and a former cabinet minister, found her visibility to be at the same level as (and sometimes lower than) her less experienced, more electorally unviable female colleague Liz Kendall, an MP for only five years with no cabinet experience, until the final stages of the campaign. Cooper's more logical counterpart was Andy Burnham – a cabinet minister for only seven months longer than Cooper and an MP for four fewer years – yet, consistently, Burnham's visibility was higher than Cooper's. The results suggest that a viable female candidate will see her coverage to be closer to her less viable female colleague rather than her logical male counterpart. A finding which is in line with previous research on women's visibility in British political media coverage. In the 2015 British General Election women constituted only 15.2% of all politicians featured in the media coverage and 4 of the 20 most prominent individuals in the campaign (one being the Prime Minister's wife) (Harmer, 2015).

In this chapter's case study, female candidates also received less substantial coverage than male candidates, with a focus on horse race and process stories for women compared to more substantive issue-based stories for men. On an aggregate level this difference was small but persistent across the different media types. When the mediating effect of a substantial media interest in Corbyn was accounted for, the insubstantial framing for women was contained to 'new media' where a higher proportion of coverage for Andy Burnham was issue-based compared to Yvette Cooper and Liz Kendall, with an especially wide gap in issue-based coverage on social media. A possible solution is increasing the representation of women in newsrooms. When the correspondent or journalist was a woman, compared to a man (in sole authored broadcast and newspaper news items) the visibility of the viable female candidate, Yvette Cooper, increased opening a gap between Cooper and Kendall's coverage. However, female journalists did not focus on more substantial framings for female candidates – although this could not be tested for social media or blogs due to low numbers of female journalists.

The less substantial coverage of women in 'new' media may suggest more explicit bias against women in this media. US-based evidence has suggested that lesser

editorial control in new media means sexism may be more apparent, for example in coverage of the 2008 vice presidential candidates in the US, political blogs showed a more denounced negative tone and hard sexism towards Palin than the newspaper coverage (Conroy et al., 2015). Yet, the biggest sex difference in tone of coverage was for social media which was more negative towards the men. On the other hand, as well as the less substantive coverage for women, the sex difference in visibility was higher in new media as Yvette Cooper's visibility was lower in blogs and on Twitter than her less viable female contender Liz Kendall. Potentially, new media might favour more 'outsider' contenders, such as Kendall, however Andy Burnham, an establishment candidate and Cooper's more logical counterpart, remained more visible than both female candidates. New media does, to some extent, act as a potential barrier for female politicians, therefore, as they received less substantial coverage in blogs and on social media and the viable female candidate was less visible, but it was not systematically negative towards women.

Role Incongruity and Double Binds

Beyond the wider gendering of the masculine sphere of politics a systematic bias on an individual level for female candidates was limited. Quantitative analysis found a higher proportion of news items that mentioned at least one of the male candidates were negatively framed than those mentioning one of the female candidates. Furthermore, the women did not *systematically* face two of binds women in public roles are thought to, the womb/brain bind and the femininity/competency bind. An examination of these two binds demonstrated that gendering was present but not to the extent or in the ways which current gender and political leadership literature might predict. This fits with the contention made in discussion of the null hypothesis above, that the gendering of political leadership is complex and context specific as it varies over time and place, and therefore a mainly US-based body of literature does not necessarily travel to the UK case.

To begin with, female candidates were not systematically discounted from leadership by an association with negative leadership traits as the theory of role incongruity might suggest. Women were more often associated with positive leadership traits than the men. Secondly, there was little evidence for a systematic backlash against female candidates in line with the femininity/competency bind. Overall, positive leadership traits were applied positively in context more often for the women than the men and traits within the most common trait group for women – strength, a traditionally masculine style of behaviour – were more often applied positively for the women. Although stereotyping was limited it was not eliminated. Despite an

emphasis on their strength characteristics the women were still framed as 'not tough enough' for politics more often than the men, moreover their combative behaviour was more often emphasised and presented as bitchiness. Two factors should be considered here; the representations of combativeness, and the possible gender strategies being enacted by the candidates.

Firstly, part of what lies behind the high frequency of strength traits for the women was the prevalence of hyperbolic language used around candidates being 'combative' as candidates 'slammed' each other or 'attacked' their opponents. In line with the gendered mediation thesis this stereotypically male behaviour was emphasised in the women as combative accounted for a higher proportion of traits for the female candidates. In context, combative was more frequently applied negatively when associated with the male candidates, this was one of the three main reasons for the higher negativity towards the men. Qualitative analysis did highlight some gendering in this negativity with women more often framed as bitchy or catty and intermittent explicit sexist imagery as Kendall "gets her claws out" (Newton Dunn 2015b). Male negativity was framed still in battle imagery, locating combative behaviour in their masculinity even when negative. However, the lack of a systematic backlash against the women suggests gender-based stereotypes were, to some extent, limited in their effects for the female candidates.

Secondly, the frequency of the trait grouping of strength for both women could be an indicator of the women employing a 'gender strategy' (Lawrence and Rose, 2014) choosing to emphasise their strengths, due to a belief that there is a prejudice against women's ability to demonstrate more traditionally masculine leadership traits. Clinton employed a similar 'gender strategy' in 2008, emphasising her toughness to counteract stereotypes of weak women (Sykes, 2008). Male candidates, on the other hand, may have believed their strength and decision-making will be assumed and feel better able to display a range of leadership traits or balance their image with more feminised traits. Communitarity was a more frequent trait grouping for men than women. In the broadcast coverage, it was particularly noticeable that the language used by the women emphasised their strength. The consistent message from Cooper was that she was "strong enough" to lead the party; she declared, "We have got to be strong enough to take the Tories on. That means strong enough to take on David Cameron in parliament, which frankly, I would relish." (BBC News, 2015b). Similarly, Liz Kendall insisted she was tough, saying she was "going to be fighting for what I believe in until the very end" (Channel 4 News, 2015e). In contrast, Andy Burnham often spoke in communal terms; he stated he "will be the leader people can relate to"

(Channel 4 News, 2015b) and that “the party I love has lost its emotional connection with millions of people” (Channel 4 News, 2015a). The question is begged of whether UK politicians’ campaign or media strategies are influenced by assumed gender-based prejudices in a way that limits the range of behaviours available to women in the gendered environment of political leadership. In light of this possible gender strategy women still faced some gender stereotyping as despite the frequency of strength traits for women an intervention by a senior figure Lord Falconer was still taken to suggest that the women were not ‘tough enough’ for politics.

The second bind examined was the womb/brain bind. Two elements of Jamieson’s (1995, p. 53) bind, were examined in the context of this leadership election, emotion and candidate appearance. Firstly, the bind suggests that women are framed as too emotional for politics. Counter to what might be expected, male communality was more often discussed than female in this election, which could suggest a certain amount of ‘feminisation’ of political leadership. Leadership and managerial studies have suggested that the more ‘feminised’ style of transformational leadership whereby leaders are more communal is becoming more popular (Eagly, 2007) (see Chapter 1). In consideration of whether there is a feminisation of leadership it must be kept in mind that this is a context-specific election. As discussed in Chapter 1, the current gender and political leadership literature often underestimates the importance of context in contrast to the central idea of the ‘interactionalist’ turn in conventional leadership studies which contends that leader’s effectiveness is a combination of personality and context. To a certain extent, male communality was of interest due to Jeremy Corbyn’s compassion politics dominating the election, which may be particular to the context of this election and Corbyn’s political personality. However, it should be noted that communality was also of interest for the other male candidate, Andy Burnham, who was framed as the ‘decent bloke’. Burnham’s communality was never framed as a reaction to Corbyn’s heartfelt politics. Whilst it cannot be concretely concluded, therefore, that an interest in male communality now dominates it is not necessarily the case that it derived only from the particular case of Corbyn and some emerging themes on male communality are worthy of further examination.

Men were more frequently associated with communality, something traditionally thought more feminine. Communality was valued in individual male candidates as Corbyn’s new heartfelt politics was praised by some; this could be a more ‘feminised’ style of leadership along traditional ideas of women as more compassionate and emotional. Questions are begged here about the availability of behaviour for male and female candidates, relating again to candidate gender strategy. Perhaps men felt

they could demonstrate this stereotypically female behaviour more easily? The majority of positive communal traits for Corbyn were applied positively in context but over a third (34.5%) were negatively applied, a higher proportion than any other candidate and backlash against Corbyn's compassion politics was one of the three reasons for more negative trait associations for the male candidates. We might question to what extent men can demonstrate stereotypically female behaviour without experiencing a backlash?

Quantitative counts of leadership traits may initially suggest a more feminised style of leadership, albeit one only available to male candidates and not without a potential cost, but qualitative analysis reveals feminisation was limited. The regularity of communality traits for men derived from the two framings of Corbyn as the 'nice guy' and Burnham as the 'decent bloke'. As discussed above, both frames worked to present the male candidates as 'one of the boys'. Corbyn's heartfelt politics may be a more stereotypically feminine style but was still often linked to these explicit references to the male candidates' sex. It was a specific type of 'male communality' still grounded in a masculinised style of politics.

Any potential feminisation of politics is further challenged in how politics overall was presented as masculine and a certain type of masculinity was encouraged by the cumulative effect of intermittent trends. The campaign was located in the masculine sphere of politics by the language used according the gendered mediation thesis. Yet, to say that politics is masculine does not mean that all men will benefit. As demonstrated by the fact that the men faced more negative coverage overall and were more often associated with negative leadership traits. It should be asked not only whether masculinity is encouraged but what *types* of masculinity might be valued. Across the coverage, although intermittent, there were several reoccurring themes that called for a certain type of strong 'tough guy' masculinity. Weakness and femininity were derided in both women and men in the occasional instances of explicit sexism towards women and in the intermittent feminisation of the men as a form of criticism. The "effete Mr Burnham" (Anon, 2015f) was a "trade union patsy" (McKay, 2015b) and Jeremy Corbyn was an "agent provocateur" (Guido Fawkes, 2015a). The backlash against Corbyn's heartfelt politics might also contribute to this encouragement of tough masculinity. Additionally, the need for the women to 'toughen up' despite their frequent possession of strength traits, as Kendall needed "more frontline experience and media calluses" (d'Ancona, 2015), contributes further to this ideal type of strong masculinity being favoured.

Counter to what current literature would suggest the women in the election did not face systematic evaluation of their communality. The womb/brain bind suggests women are “wombs, not brains” (Jamieson 1995, p.53), and they may be framed as too emotional for politics. The lack of this framing in the coverage suggests the absence of a significant barrier thought to be faced by women in public life as they are not being held to a higher emotional standard. Certainly, the lack of traditional, overtly sexist notions of over-emotional women driven by their hormones in line with the womb/brain bind is beneficial for women. In line with the null hypothesis, these traditional stereotypes of feminine emotion which are detrimental to women in public life may have declined over time or are not present in the UK context. However, when considered in light of the discussion of male communality what this means for female candidates is perhaps more complex. It was not the case that across the coverage communality was devalued or not of interest, rather it seems that female communality was of less interest than male. Communality was a point of discussion for the male candidates in the coverage and, at times, was beneficial for the men. In line with discussions on gender strategy above questions are begged here again about the range of behaviour available to male and female candidates. Are female candidates reticent to emphasise their communality, whereas male candidates seek to emphasise theirs? Do women think communality may be devalued when performed by them, or, perhaps, that it will be presumed and so they emphasise the ‘masculine’ traits thought less readily attributed to them. Further research on candidate strategy, as discussed, could illuminate the reasons behind this finding further.

The second element of Jamieson’s (1995) womb/brain bind examined in the coverage was appearance. Women are “bodies not minds”, according to Jamieson, and their sexuality and appearance are always at play in discussions. In line with Childs’ (2008) study in the UK context, there was no systematic discussion of the women’s appearance or fashion choices instead, it was Jeremy Corbyn who faced systematic evaluation of his appearance in over one in ten articles about him. There are two possible explanations for this which reflect the two explanations for the null hypothesis in this chapter. First, it may be that as women have become a more normal sight in politics discussion of their appearance has declined i.e. there is a decline in gender-based stereotyping over time. Secondly, it may be that it was always more nuanced than Jamieson (1995) supposed as the personalisation of politics and the importance of fitting into the ‘norm’ of the presentable politician comes into play. The personalisation of politics theses contends that with a more

public side to political leadership, what is said on TV is more important than what is said at Westminster (Blick and Jones, 2010). A leader's media profile and their appearance is part of this. For all the candidates in this election, a connection was made between their appearance and their competency or leadership credentials; Burnham was thought to be out of touch for wearing expensive clothes and Kendall showed "aspirational middle-class drive" (Booth, 2015) by her choice of clothing. The concentration on Corbyn's appearance derived from him being "a man who is the very opposite of everything a modern TV age political leader is supposed to be" (Channel 4 News, 2015d) as he did not fit into the usual box of a presentable politician in business attire. Questions stem from this about whether it is not gender that is the defining feature in discussions of appearance but rather the idea that politicians of any sex should fit with a certain norm which Corbyn broke. There is a potential role of gender, however, in the development of these norms and the trend of personalisation. One could foresee a pattern emerging whereby women entering politics meant the media began to focus on their appearance and this then spread to their male counterparts. A similar contention is made in the next chapter regarding the concentration on family in political leadership. Both bring up the importance in this work of beginning to untangle how the personalisation of politics could also stem from changing gendered norms in political leadership which is discussed further in Chapter 7.

Conclusion

An in-depth examination of the Labour leadership election of 2015 finds that gender-based stereotypes were limited although definitely not eliminated. The two female candidates in the campaign did not *systematically* face two of the binds women in public roles are thought to, the womb/brain bind or the femininity/competency bind. The women were not stereotypically emotional; their appearance was not systematically discussed; and more positive leadership traits were applied to the women than the men. On the other hand, these gender-based stereotypes still worked against women to some extent – despite an emphasis on strength characteristics for the women they were presented as 'not tough enough' for politics and their combative behaviour was more often emphasised and presented as bitchiness. The role of gender in political leadership was more clearly seen in the nuanced gendered framing applied to both men and women in the coverage alongside the wider framing of politics as a masculine sphere. A key theme was that gendered frames are applied to men too, the results of which are not universally

beneficial. The language used and the gendered framing of both male and female candidates, by the media and in candidates' own campaign strategies, reiterated the gendering of an insider/outsider status as politics was presented as a masculine game in which men were insiders and women outsiders. The question is begged here about the role of gender in candidate strategy as both male and female candidates grounded their campaign imagery in their gender contributing to this insider/outsider frame, as well as questions on the range of behaviour that may be available to male and female candidates. Although politics was masculine, an implicit suggestion could be traced through the coverage that a certain *type* of masculinity, a strong 'tough guy' masculinity, was desired in a political leader.

Examining the media context is crucial in understanding how perceptions of political leadership in the UK are gendered. An in-depth study of the media coverage of the Labour leadership election of 2015 has shown what the review of literature in Chapter 1 suggested, that the real world of political leadership is highly complex and the different contributions to gendered framing in terms of media or candidate strategy are hard to unpick. Despite these complexities emerging themes have been identified in this chapter which could further our understanding of how political leadership is gendered. To further this understanding, firstly, an across-time comparison is undertaken in the next chapter to consider the changing dynamics of gender and political leadership over time shedding light on some of the processes which may create current gendered perspectives. Secondly, innovative experimental research is conducted to enrich this observational data. The difficulty of context-specific small N case studies is accounting for the 'noise' of real elections. It is valuable to give a contextual account of the environment in which leaders are operating however casual effects of gender cannot be isolated. Experimental analysis can further the understanding of the gendering of political leadership by directly testing the casual relationship between candidate sex and voters' leadership perceptions. Combining observational research in this case study and over time with experimental research will offer a comprehensive and contemporary picture of gender's role in political leadership in the UK context.

Chapter 4: Politics and Parenthood: An Examination of UK Party Leadership Elections

For the first time for a major, national British political party, two women ran in the Labour party's leadership election in 2015. One of the themes of this contest was that the differing motherhood status of these women was a feature of the campaign especially following comments by Helen Goodman MP who said that she was backing Yvette Cooper because, "as a working mum, she understands the pressures on modern family life" (Anon, 2015a). The media framed this as a direct attack on her female opponent Liz Kendall as a single and childless woman. A year later and the same trope was employed to differentiate between two women in the Conservative's leadership election, Theresa May, a non-mother, and Andrea Leadsom, a mother. These depictions embody a wider international trend. As women increasingly campaign for the highest political offices – Julia Gillard in Australia, Angela Merkel in Germany, Jacinda Ardern in New Zealand and Hillary Clinton in the US to name a few – questions of parenthood, and specifically motherhood, have come to the fore. Merkel and Gillard have been subject to speculation about their non-motherhood, whilst Sarah Palin benefited in the 2008 US Presidential Election from emphasising her motherhood, and, most recently, Jacinda Ardern made international news as the second-ever world leader to give birth in office (BBC News, 2018, Damousi et al., 2014, Harp et al., 2010, Murray, 2010a, Wiliarty, 2010). Within this context, this chapter forms the across time comparison in this thesis. The proceeding original content analysis study examines gender and parenthood's role in political leadership using four British party leadership elections since 1975 as a case study²⁴.

The limited literature on politics and parenthood explored in this chapter offers competing hypotheses, and current literature on British party leadership pays little attention to gendered aspects such as parenthood. The personalisation of politics thesis intimates politician's private lives are of increasing interest regardless of sex and are used by them to mould their public image (Langer, 2009, Stanyer, 2013). International literature on women in leadership suggests this will have differing

²⁴ This chapter is based on published research by the author: Smith, J.C. (2018) 'Politics and Parenthood: An Examination of UK Party Leadership Elections' *Parliamentary Affairs*, 71(1), pp.196-217

effects for men and women. Arguably, for men, family is more easily used as an asset; whereas women's motherhood is more complex terrain and can be both an asset and a constraint in leadership ambitions (Deason et al., 2015, Jamieson, 1995, Thomas and Bittner, 2017). These hypotheses are considered in light of the four British party leadership elections in which both male and female candidates competed (1975, 1994, 2015 and 2016). This original research finds that the frequency of family mentions varies over time and, contrary to what gender literature might suggest, men's family was, at times, of greater interest than the women's. Evidence is found for the politicization of motherhood in the UK and a possible 'maternal mandate'. Parallel to this, fatherhood was of increasing interest and the rise of the modern man can be seen. Yet, male candidates appear to have an 'opt-out clause' in any politicization of fatherhood.

Parenthood and Politics

Parenthood and Gender: Does motherhood benefit female candidates?

The discussion of women and leadership by gender scholars proposes motherhood is distinct when thinking about parenthood and politics. Politics and parenthood is an emerging field of study, work has examined motherhood gaps in politics, the effect of having children on political behaviour, and media representations of leaders' parenthood (Thomas and Bittner, 2017). As was seen with wider stereotyping literature, evidence on parenthood and politics often varies in different contexts and therefore competing hypotheses are found.

Recently, Deason et al (2015) suggested that there is an emerging Politicized Motherhood in US politics, within the context of an overall increase in mentions of politicians' families over the last few decades. Motherhood has previously been emphasised but this new Politicized Motherhood is different, most importantly for this chapter in the fact it comes alongside a wider cultural emphasis on mothers as "special different and powerful" (Deason et al., 2015, p. 136). For example, assumptions about a 'mommy brain' which is naturally better at multitasking, diplomacy, budgeting and so on. This politicization has been aided by the emergence of high profile politicians whose motherhood has been the subject of extensive commentary (Deason et al., 2015). In 2008, Sarah Palin used her traditional role as mother to show she was communal, emphasising her devoted and caring nature. She presented herself as a 'hockey mom' who got involved in politics to make things better for her kids (Harp et al., 2010). Similarly, Hillary Clinton was pictured arm in

arm with her daughter to show she was 'mom first and politician second' (Deason et al., 2015, Stalsburg, 2010).

Palin and Clinton emphasising their motherhood went against expectations. Similar trends have been seen in other contexts, for example Violeta Chamorro the first Latin American woman elected to a Presidency said her maternal identity drove her into politics (Franceschet et al., 2017). Yet, traditionally motherhood has been thought incongruous with ideas of leadership and detrimental to women's leadership ambitions. This leads to the first of two competing hypotheses regarding motherhood: (i) *motherhood as detrimental to women candidates*. Deason et al (2015) are concerned that Politicized Motherhood could actually mean an emphasis on those traditional gender-based stereotypes given to women as discussed in Chapter 1, which are thought incongruous with political leadership. Women are believed more communal, they are "warm, gentle, kind and passive" whereas men are linked to more agentic traits thought to be favoured in leaders, they are "tough, aggressive and assertive" (Eagly and Karau, 2002, Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993a, p. 121, Kittilson and Fridkin, 2008). These stereotypical traits mean women can struggle to break from the traditional view of them as mothers or primary care givers. Part of one of the traditional double binds faced by women in the public sphere, what Jamieson terms the womb/brain bind, is the consistent question of whether women's public life is compatible with their domestic responsibilities (Deason et al., 2015, Heilman and Okimoto, 2007, Jamieson, 1995, Murray, 2010b). For example, in the US, the media questioned whether Palin as a 'mom of five' had the capacity to fulfil the duties of Vice President (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009). Political experiments conducted in the US by Stalsburg (2010) support this hypothesis; when presented with candidates with varying familial responsibilities respondents thought women with young children were less viable candidates with less time capacity than men with young children.

The alternative hypothesis (ii) is that *motherhood could benefit female candidates*. Deason et al (2015) contend that whilst traditionally emphasising family has tended to disadvantage women, it might be beneficial in a changed political context. If motherhood becomes politicized 'female' traits may become more salient and leadership roles seen in more feminine terms. Organisational studies have shown more 'female' styles of leadership are increasing in managerial roles (Eagly, 2007). This can be linked to a new cultural emphasis on mothers as 'special' and exhibiting natural competency because of this. "By adopting a maternal campaign strategy, female candidates can ride the wake of cultural conversations in which mothers' "natural" capacity for multitasking, diplomacy, and budget management is taken for

granted” (Deason et al., 2015, p. 143). In support of this hypothesis, Heilman and Okimoto’s (2007) US-based experiments found that women who were depicted as successful in male roles were less liked and seen as less favourable bosses. However, when the additional information was included that the women were mothers these evaluations improved. The implication here is that the communality deficit sometimes thought to be faced by women in leadership roles is negated by motherhood. In other words, if women feel they must display ‘masculine’ traits to appear competent, they risk being criticised for not possessing expected ‘feminine’ communal traits (Jamieson, 1995, Okimoto and Brescoll, 2010, Rosenwasser and Seale, 1988). Motherhood, in contrast, demonstrates women’s supposed natural communality and so could reduce this deficit (Heilman and Okimoto, 2007).

In contexts where motherhood is politicized, the question is begged about the woman candidate without children. Is there a ‘maternal mandate’ in play whereby women who do not have children are criticised (Deason et al., 2015)? Such a reaction has several mutually reinforcing forms. First, childless women could be perceived as less viable candidates as they lack the maternal mandate. In contrast, men are thought able to opt in and out of any parallel concentration on fatherhood more easily (Deason et al., 2015). Secondly, and as noted above, motherhood can help women overcome perceived communality deficits (Heilman and Okimoto, 2007). Childless women may not have this option and have been found to be treated with suspicion for failing to conform to the normality of maternity (Murray, 2010b). The appearance of seemingly sacrificing family for her career could increase any communality deficit. Indeed, Stalsburg’s (2010) experimental design found women with no children did significantly worse on every competency indicator except children’s issues and time capacities than childless men. In Germany’s 2005 election Angela Merkel’s childlessness was raised directly by her opponent’s wife who criticised Merkel for not embodying women’s normal experience of balancing career and children (Wiliarty, 2010)²⁵.

Parenthood and Personalisation: The British Context

The politicization of motherhood comes in the political context of increased mentions of politicians’ families over the last few decades. This has been seen in the British context with mainly male leaders. Stanyer’s (2013) cross-national study from 1995 to 2009 found that the UK had the highest mean number of mentions of leaders’

²⁵ It should be noted that there was intersectionality here with geographical stereotypes regarding traditional combinations of motherhood and work in East and West Germany.

spouses in media coverage. Similarly Langer (2007) found that Tony Blair was the first British prime minister from 1945 to 1999 to have more mentions of his personal life than leadership qualities in the media. Contrary to the US context where male political candidates are more likely to feature their family in TV ads (Bystrom, 2006), recent work by Campbell and Cowley (2018) shows that once the fact an MP has children or not is controlled for, male and female British MPs are equally likely to reference their children on their websites.

This links to the personalisation of politics thesis within which parenthood and politics is indirectly discussed. There is a certain amount of consensus across British academic literature that UK politics has become increasingly personalised with a “heightened concentration on the individual” (Blick and Jones, 2010, p. 33). The key themes of this personalisation are discussed in Chapter 1. For this chapter, the privatisation element of personalisation is relevant which can be split into a focus on personal characteristics and personal life (Van Aelst et al., 2012). There is an increased focus on the personal traits and skills of leaders and the direct relation of these to their competence (Langer, 2007); with an increased emphasis on the traits that make leader human beings. Alongside this, the politicization of the private persona results in an increased interest in leaders’ private lives. This links to Stanyer’s intimisation of politics which contends “presidents, prime ministers and ministers have joined the growing class of celebrities” (Stanyer, 2013, p. 72). Stanyer (2007) briefly notes women may face more evaluation of their family life but overall gender is little accounted for in this literature. The personalisation thesis leads to a final hypothesis regarding politics and parenthood: *parenthood is of increasing interest both for men and women*. It is easy to see how in the British context of a personalised politics with a personality focus and the politicization of the private persona may result in an examination of all leaders’ family lives. In this context politicians can use their family to manipulate their image and appear more ‘human’ (Langer, 2007). Based on the above gender literature, however, it may then be expected that any increased focus will have differential impacts for the sexes.

Method and Hypotheses

This chapter forms the across-time comparison as part of the inter-sex analysis of the media’s representations of political leadership in the UK context. Considering changing gender dynamics in leadership over time increases our understanding of the complex gendered environment of political leadership. As detailed in Chapter 2, the analysis focuses on the only four leadership elections for the UK’s two main

governing parties, Conservative and Labour, in which women were serious contenders²⁶. These elections act as a vehicle by which to examine gender and parenthood in British political leadership.

Qualitative and quantitative content analysis was carried out on newspaper coverage of these leadership campaigns. To obtain balance in the sample, a left-leaning and right-leaning broadsheet and tabloid were selected for analysis, determined by how the papers declared in the 2010 General Election. All weekday articles about the leadership elections were collated from the date of the first candidate announcing their leadership bid to the results being announced. Articles mentioning candidates' family status (excluding mentions of only marriage or partner) were retained for analysis. Within these articles the statements made about candidates' family life were coded by the author according to whether, and how, it made an evaluation about the politician's career, competence, or their career affecting their home life via discussion of family life. Each statement was coded as positive, negative or neutral (i.e. factual or no evaluation being made). For example, a positive statement was a quote from a constituent saying "Margaret Thatcher has great potential because she is a mother with a family" (Ryan and Elliott, 1975). Some general hypotheses are given to guide analysis although the paper remains primarily exploratory.

H1: Mentions of candidates' families will increase across time, regardless of the sex of the candidate.

Given the personalisation of UK politics as well as trends identified in the US it is expected that, for both sexes, mentions of politicians' family will increase over the past four decades. Yet this may have distinct impacts for male and female candidates as per the further hypotheses.

H2: Female candidates will more often face evaluation through discussion of their family lives than male candidates.

Although international literature offers competing hypotheses on what parenthood means, a strong theme is that women's family life is more often used to make an evaluation of their competency or personal traits.

H3: Women without children will be portrayed negatively.

A maternal mandate on female candidates could result in women without children portrayed as non-viable candidates as they fail to occupy the norm of motherhood.

²⁶ See p.46-55 in Chapter 2 for more detail on case selection and content analysis method.

Results

H1: Mentions of candidates' families will increase over time, regardless of the sex of the candidate.

Table 14. Number of Articles Mentioning Candidate's Family by Politician and Election

Election	Candidates	Parenthood	N	N Articles Overall	% of Coverage	
Conservative 1975	Male	<i>Ted Heath</i>	Unmarried, no children	4	229	1.7%
		<i>Geoffrey Howe</i>	Married, Children	0	35	0.0%
		<i>Willie Whitelaw</i>	Married, Children	3	120	2.5%
		<i>John Peyton</i>	Divorced, Children	0	29	0.0%
		<i>James Prior</i>	Married, Children	3	54	5.5%
		<i>Hugh Fraser</i>	Married, Children	1	41	2.4%
	Female	<i>Margaret Thatcher*</i>	Married, Children	29	228	12.7%
Total			39	310	12.6%	
Labour 1994	Male	<i>Tony Blair*</i>	Married, Children	19	219	8.7%
		<i>John Prescott</i>	Married, Children	2	115	1.7%
	Female	<i>Margaret Beckett</i>	Married, No children	0	107	0.0%
Total			21	259	8.1%	
Labour 2015	Male	<i>Andy Burnham</i>	Married, Children	12	438	2.7%
		<i>Jeremy Corbyn*</i>	Divorced, Children	13	605	2.1%
		<i>Yvette Cooper</i>	Married, Children	23	407	5.6%
	Female	<i>Liz Kendall</i>	Unmarried, No children	17	385	4.4%
		Total			45	829
Conservative 2016	Male	<i>Michael Gove</i>	Married, Children	3	156	1.9%
		<i>Stephen Crabb</i>	Married, Children	1	72	1.4%
		<i>Liam Fox</i>	Married, No children	0	53	0.0%
	Female	<i>Theresa May*</i>	Married, No children	17	194	8.8%
		<i>Andrea Leadsom</i>	Married, Children	23	161	14.3%
Total			36	271	13.3%	

*Winner of leadership election, N=1,669

Some articles for individual politicians counted twice as mention more than one candidates' family.

Table 14 shows the number of articles that mentioned family status for each candidate and the total articles to mention one or more candidate's family status overall. There is no support for the first hypothesis. The 1975 campaign saw a high frequency of mentions of candidates' family status which then decreased from 1994 to 2015. However, 2016 presented a break in this trend with mentions rising. This may be because the campaign was cut short, in part, by Andrea Leadsom's comments about motherhood which are discussed further below. Yet, in line with the personalisation thesis, it was not always the women's family that was of interest. In

1975, the higher number of articles on politicians' families resulted from the focus on Thatcher who punctuated the equilibrium as a woman and mother running for leadership. In 1994 the concentration was on Blair who punctuated the norm as a 'new man', using his family in the presentation of himself as a modern working father. 2015 and 2016 saw a concentration on the women again – although the difference was more prominent in 2016. These representations are discussed further in the qualitative analysis below.

H2: Female candidates will more often face evaluation through discussion of their family lives than male candidates.

Each statement about a candidate's family life was coded according to whether and how it made an evaluation about the politician's career, competence or their career affecting their home life. Each was coded as positive, negative or neutral (i.e. factual or no evaluation being made). Figures 15 and 16 show the proportions of statements which were positive, negative or neutral for all candidates. Appendix 7 provides full data for each candidate.

Figure 15. Tone of Statements for Candidates With Children

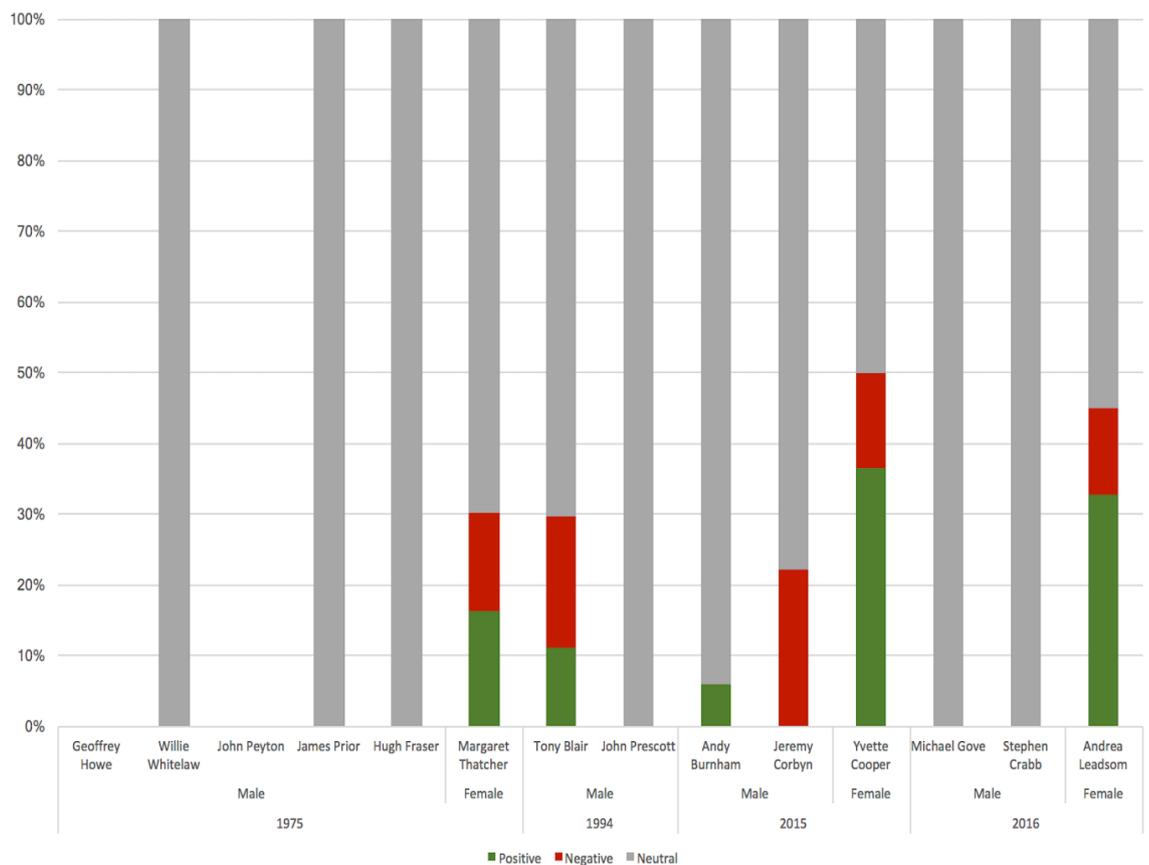
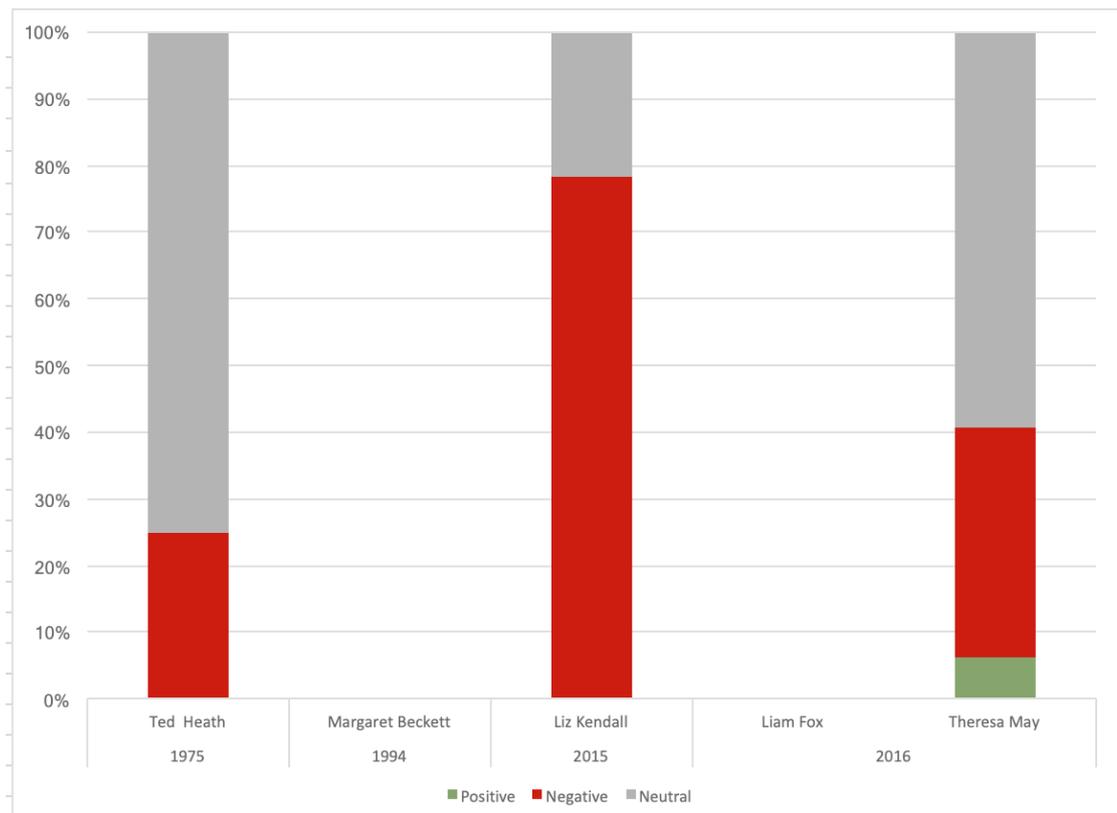


Figure 16. Tone of Statements for Candidates Without Children



Evidence supporting the second hypothesis was seen in 1975, 2015 and 2016. In these elections, the proportion of statements about the women’s family that were positive or negative – i.e. making an evaluation – was higher than for the men. 1994 was different as there were no mentions of the only female candidate, Margaret Beckett’s, family status rather, the concentration was on the men, contrary to the second hypothesis. To further disentangle what is happening each election is examined in detail.

Conservative Leadership Election 1975

The 1975 campaign fits the more traditional pattern for women entering the public sphere. Evaluations were made of Thatcher’s family life which were not there for her male rivals. For the men, the few mentions were simple factual statements such as “Mr Whitelaw lives with his Scottish wife in a fine country manor ... and they have four children” (Weaver 1975). All mentions for the men were coded neutral save for one commentator’s suggestion in *The Guardian* that the Conservative party may want change after ten years of Heath’s “manly bachelorhood” (Norman, 1975).

There was a fascination with the dynamics of the Thatcher family. Papers wanted to know how her 21-year-old twins felt about her running and what went on around her

breakfast table. Thatcher was often placed in a 'mother of' frame with her motherhood listed alongside other qualifications and mentioned when it bore no relevance; "Besides being a politician, she is a research chemist, a tax lawyer, a mother, a competent housewife" (Lancaster, 1975a). It was not simply Thatcher that won the leadership but, "A radiant Mrs Margaret Thatcher, 49-year-old wife of a business executive and mother of twins" (Boyne, 1975). These resulted in the high proportion of neutral statements.

The media portrayed Thatcher as a housewife and mother who kept the household running whilst also having a career. Thatcher also depicted herself in this way to show she was in touch with ordinary people. It is seen here how it can be difficult to unpick candidate strategy from the media's framing in the resultant coverage in these small N leadership elections. Thatcher told the *Daily Mirror* (Dunne, 1975), "I am a very ordinary person who leads a very normal life. I enjoy it – seeing that the family have a good breakfast". Such representations worked both for and against her. There was no real difference in the numbers of positive and negative statements. She was said to have "never failed at anything yet ... research chemist, tax lawyer, wife, mother of twins". Yet, questions were raised about whether she could still fulfil her 'duties' at home and "whether she wants to be Prime Minister or Housewife of the Year" (Dunne, 1975, Lancaster, 2015b).

Labour Leadership Election 1994

In 1994 it was men's – or rather Tony Blair's – family who were of interest. There was a fascination (like that with Thatcher) in Blair's family dynamics as a father of young kids whose wife also had a successful career. He was "a family man, 41 years-old, with a household of children" (Williams, 1994) who was often found "looking after the three young Blairs ... when his wife is working late" (Grice, 1994). Again, Blair was in part responsible for this image. He presented himself as the 'New Man', giving an interview from the family home and speaking about fitting in time with the kids around his schedule – "he is determined to get back to the school run when the leadership contest is over" (Williams, 1994). One *Daily Telegraph* commentator cast aspersions on Blair's intellect when he said his first thought in the morning was "my daughter's nappy needs changing" (Letts, 1994). Elsewhere Blair was praised as a 'family man' and a friend admired how she had found him "cooking, changing nappies, and discussing economics with Gordon Brown on the phone" when his wife was ill; "the amazing thing is he could do it all" (Grice, 1994).

Labour Leadership Election 2015

Although differences in the number of articles about male and female candidates' family in 2015 was less pronounced, evaluative statements were higher for the women in line with the second hypothesis (see Figures 15 and 16). Recall that this was the first leadership election with two women running, one with children and one without. Motherhood was used by the media and Cooper's campaign to differentiate the two female candidates. It was an aide of Cooper's that tweeted comments by Helen Goodman MP who said she was supporting Cooper because "as a working mum, she understands the pressures on modern family life" (Anon, 2015a). In the media and amongst some MPs, these comments were seen – and it was suggested may have been orchestrated as – a direct attack on the other female candidate Liz Kendall who was single and childless. Statements regarding Kendall's family status were over three-quarters negative (78.2%) and none positive. This derived from the consistent framing of Kendall's lack of motherhood as something for opponents to attack, a weakness. It was said, "Kendall's supporters fume at single and childless slur" (Blanchard, 2015) and that Cooper deliberately emphasised her credentials as a working mum to "'dog whistle' over Kendall's childlessness" (Hodges, 2015).

In contrast Goodman's comments and other statements presented Cooper as the 'how-does-she-do-it' woman. Here her role as a working mum was positively related to her competence. Cooper must juggle family and work just like everyone else and hence had to be – and was – hardworking and organised. This role gave Cooper extra (maternal) credit. An editorial in *The Guardian* conceded, "It is true that juggling childcare and homework as well as a very demanding job takes a high degree of focus and good-time management" (Anon, 2015b). And "friends talk with admiration about the military organisation required" to coordinate her ministerial schedule with her children's social activities (Brooks, 2015).

For the men, the coverage of their fatherhood was majority neutral. Andy Burnham stressed his 'local' credentials giving interviews in his parents' home with his children and spoke about settling his family locally (Bletchley, 2015, Deacon, 2015). The modern man image came through on occasion. In an interview with *The Guardian* he "[turned] up with the girls in tow" (Pidd, 2015) and his campaign video featured him baking with his daughters. The negative coverage of fatherhood came from criticisms of Jeremy Corbyn. He had put principles and politics before fatherhood. Married for the third time, it was said the reason for his second divorce was a political argument over his son's schooling as Corbyn was opposed to his wife sending him to a

selective school. His ex-wife told newspapers he was, “first the politician and second the parent” and *The Daily Telegraph* labelled him “a hypocrite” (Pearson, 2015).

Conservative Leadership Election 2016

The 2016 campaign saw a return to the more traditional pattern of the focus on the female candidates. For the men, there was little to no discussion of their family status with largely biographical statements, such as Stephen Crabb has “a son and a daughter at state secondary school” (Pierce, 2016). All were coded neutral and the men did not appear to use their family in the campaign.

For the second time ever for a main UK party, the election included two female candidates, a mother and a non-mother. Once again, motherhood was used to differentiate between the women; this time explicitly by one of the candidates. In an interview with *The Times* Andrea Leadsom distinguished herself from Theresa May, by saying that May, “possibly has nieces, nephews, lots of people. But I have children who are going to have children who will directly be part of what happens next.” She prophesised that, “being a mum means you have a real stake in the future of our country” (Moir, 2016). Leadsom’s comments were taken to mean that she, as a mother, had a larger stake in the future of society than May, who is childless. Commentators thought her remarks showed incompetence and inexperience, and her handling of the fallout in part led to her quitting the contest and therefore May’s automatic appointment as leader.

The “famously private” May spoke out during the campaign (before Leadsom’s comments) about her and her husband’s disappointment at not being able to have children (White, 2016). Only twice were common stereotypes about the childless career women applied to May: *The Daily Telegraph* thought that not having children “could be a turn off for some but it does mean she is less likely to be distracted on the job” (Denyer, 2016); and the *Daily Mail* reported her sadness at not having children was “part of the reason she immerses herself so very deeply in her work” (Levy, 2016).

H3: Women without children will be portrayed negatively.

Table 15 shows the number of articles that mentioned candidate’s childlessness. It is clear something was different in 2015 and 2016. There was a direct interest in Kendall and May’s family status compared to infrequent or non-existent mentions of childlessness for previous candidates and May’s male opponent Liam Fox. In both campaigns the motherhood of one candidate was directly contrasted to the childlessness of the other female candidate suggesting some form of maternal

mandate. In 2015, Cooper’s motherhood showed her competence as the ‘how-does-she-do-it’ woman and was often directly contrasted with Kendall’s childlessness, statements on which were over three-quarters negative. However, the comparison was not always negative for May. May’s childlessness was contrasted to Leadsom’s motherhood but was more of a personal misfortune than a weakness; just 34.3% of the statements were negative. That said, in 1994 Beckett’s childlessness was not discussed in the press. Beckett was unlikely to win the leadership which could account for the lessened concentration on her private life. However, Prescott and she were also in an even contest for the deputy leadership; furthermore, in 2015 Kendall was unlikely to win the leadership and yet she faced discussion of her childlessness. Overall these elections suggest a more complex picture of the maternal mandate (considered in the discussion below).

Table 15. N of Articles Mentioning Childlessness

	1975	1994	2015	2016	
	<i>Ted Heath</i>	<i>Margaret Beckett</i>	<i>Liz Kendall</i>	<i>Theresa May</i>	<i>Liam Fox</i>
N	4	0	17	17	0

N=38

Going against the norm

It is worthwhile to look beyond just parenthood and non-parenthood to consider whether there is an expected ‘normal’ family life and what happens when candidates go against this norm. In 2015 Jeremy Corbyn was criticised for putting his political convictions above family. Corbyn ticked the box of parenthood but was non-conventional given he was twice-divorced and married to his third wife, 20 years his junior. This poses the question of what we mean by parenthood, is it simply having children? It should be considered whether when we talk about parenthood, often what we are talking about is the ‘(heterosexual) married-with-two-kids’ mould and there is punishment for going against that, be it Kendall’s single and childlessness or Corbyn’s divorces.

Discussion

A limitation of individual leadership elections is they are small N case studies which are often context specific. Yet, telling the story of what is happening over these elections reveals interesting parallels and themes and changing images of parenthood in modern British political leaders.

In the British context parenthood and politics is discussed indirectly via the personalisation of politics. In this original case study analysis, no support was found for the hypothesis that stems from this thesis, that parenthood is increasingly important regardless of sex of the candidate. Counterintuitively, family mentions as a proportion of overall coverage were lower in 1994 and 2015 than in 1975, although they rose again in 2016. Support for personalisation was seen regarding the male candidates in 2015 and 1994 when their family were of more interest than in 1975. In 2016 however, there was a decline in the attention paid to the male candidates' family supporting perhaps the contention by Deason et al (2015) that men can opt in and out of the politicization of family in a way not available to women. In further support for personalisation at varying points across all elections both male and female candidates used their family to manipulate their image.

It is plausible that the interest in family stems from when a candidate is the 'novelty' in the race. But *why* you are a novelty could be gendered. In 1975 Thatcher's entry as woman and mother punctuated the norm and discussion of family both by her and the media may stem from this. Thatcher's inability to break free from the traditional frame of her as wife and mother supports this idea– it was not 'Margaret Thatcher' who won the election but, "Mrs Margaret Thatcher, 49-year-old wife of a business executive and mother of twins" (Boyne, 1975). As women (and mothers) are more visible in the public sphere interest in their domestic arrangements could be decreasing, only 4.3% of MPs elected in the 1974 (October) General Election were women, compared to 29% in 2015 (UK Political Info, no date). Blair punctuated the equilibrium again given the unusualness of the more feminine image of the 'New Man'. In addition, he didn't have the usual supportive wife looking after his young children, his wife was a successful Barrister. In 2015 and 2016 two women running against each other was a novelty, especially given the last stage of the 2016 campaign meant the UK was guaranteed its second-ever woman prime minister. This would suggest the personalisation of politics thesis may be more complex and gender plays a role in this.

Politicized Motherhood

The clear finding through these elections was that when mothers ran their motherhood was undoubtedly of interest. Furthermore, in two elections for opposing parties only a year apart where two women ran their differing motherhood status became a discussion point in both campaigns.

This raises the question of whether motherhood is being politicized in the way it has been suggested in the US case. Studying the British case lends some support to Politicized Motherhood being present in the UK context and may have begun earlier than found in the US literature. How motherhood was politicized varied between candidates. The representations of Thatcher and Cooper resonate with concepts of Politicized Motherhood, specifically in the case of Cooper. As her colleague Goodman implied, there was something about being a mother that made Cooper different and arguably better than the non-mother candidate. Hence she was presented in line with the cultural emphasis seen in the US of mothers as “different, special and powerful” with a ‘mommy brain’ (Deason et al., 2015, p. 136). Cooper’s competency as a leader was intimated through her mothering ability both by Goodman’s comments and in the resulting analysis; “friends talk with admiration about the military organisation required” (Brooks, 2015). The ‘mommy brain’ was also seen in coverage of Thatcher and in how she presented herself, choosing to stress her traditional role as wife and mother to show her competency has strong parallels with Sarah Palin who presented herself in a traditional motherhood frame over 30 years later. Both Cooper and Thatcher appeared to utilise the ‘maternal mandate strategy’ suggested by Deason et al (2015). Leadsom once alluded to similar themes saying, “I know, as a woman, how to succeed in a man’s world and how to fight the unfortunate prejudice many working mums experience” (Slack, 2016).

These parallels between Thatcher and Cooper suggest motherhood may not have substantively changed across these elections. The image of Cooper as the how-does-she-do-it woman may simply be a more modernised version of Thatcher as the competent housewife. For both there is a representation of their family life as showing their normality and as gender norms change over time we would expect this ‘normal’ to diversify too. Thatcher was depicted as the domestic housewife, a more common role for women at the time. Cooper represented a modern norm of a working mother. Her friends recall her “ducking out of a party event to buy plimsolls for her children or applying eyeliner on the bus into Westminster” (Brooks, 2015). For both, their balancing of domestic and public life was thought to show an added level of competency and special ability. Given that we might expect a decrease in gender-based stereotypes as social roles and norms change this finding is particularly interesting as it seems that what a mother can look like may have changed but the media are still framing women via their motherhood to some extent in line with traditional ideas of gender-stereotyping. Leadsom offered on occasion a more traditional image of motherhood talking about her enjoyment in making roast dinners

for her husband and children. Further research would be beneficial to examine partisan differences in images of motherhood as both Conservative women with children presented this more traditional picture.

Maternal Mandate

If motherhood is politicized in the British context this begs the question of whether we see a resultant maternal mandate? Evidence for a mandate can be seen but it is not necessarily that there is a *penalty* for women. For both Kendall and May, their childlessness was portrayed as a point of weakness for their (female) opponents to attack. For Kendall, however, as a single and childless woman coverage was more negative; whereas for May, who chose to speak publically about her private disappointment of not having children, the coverage was more mixed. The maternal mandate therefore may be more complex than originally conceptualised above.

Kendall was not criticised for a lack of communality via discussion of her childlessness instead it was directly contrasted with Goodman's positive representation of Cooper's motherhood in line with the cultural emphasis on mothers' distinct competency and a resultant maternal mandate. Childlessness was a weakness. In contrast, May's childlessness was a personal tragedy which it was insensitive for Leadsom to capitalise on. The press defended May against Leadsom's comments and made favourable comparisons with another childless leader, Angela Merkel. Yet, the "famously private" May had chosen to talk on the subject prior to Leadsom's comments (White, 2016). At this point one can only speculate on the reasons for this and an avenue for future research could be to conduct interviews with those involved in the election campaign. There are two possible explanations. Firstly, did May believe her childlessness would be a point of discussion and therefore addressed it early on – the expectation of a maternal mandate? It is worth noting that Nicola Sturgeon, the childless First Minister of Scotland, more recently spoke about her experience of a miscarriage and childlessness (Brooks, 2016). Secondly, discussing such a personal issue could have allowed May to show a more 'human' side, demonstrating her communality in a way that motherhood may do for others.

In contrast, Beckett's childlessness in 1994 was not of interest in the press. Again, only speculation can be made here. Was there, for instance, a gentlemen's agreement that it would look bad for the male candidates to attack the only woman for her lack of children? Wiliarty (2010, p.151) notes that it was more appropriate for a woman to criticise Merkel's childlessness as "with the ultra-macho Gerhard Schröder as its candidate, the SPD was wary that overly-vicious attacks on Merkel

would seem very ungentlemanly". In 2015 and 2016 when two women were running this may not have been present. Could it be that this maternal mandate is made explicit when there are multiple women in a race? Yet this maternal mandate is more complex than my original hypothesis. It does not seem that women are necessarily criticised for being childless but it is a point of discussion for women, which they may feel obligated to publically address, in a way not seen for their male counterparts.

Politicized Fatherhood

If there is some evidence for Politicized Motherhood in the UK case, it is noticeable that fatherhood was not framed in the same way. In 1975 and 2016 little was made of fatherhood. In 1994 Blair displayed 'modern man' credentials; this was framed as him helping his wife: "looking after the children whilst his wife is working late" (Grice, 1994). Blair's position as a working dad was not framed as giving him a natural competency as it was for Cooper nor did it show his ordinariness, in fact it showed his novelty, he was a 'New Man'. In 2015 the two fathers' family lives were discussed but the sort of evaluations made of Cooper were not present. In the context of Helen Goodman's comments there was no discussion of Burnham as a working father with young children or Corbyn's fatherhood (his children are older) save *The Guardian* twice pointing out how the men's work/life balance was not being discussed.

Yet, fatherhood was of interest. A key difference between 1994 and 2015 in comparison to 1975 was an increasing interest in male candidates' families. The rise of the 'modern man' can be followed through these campaigns. There were several references to this idea in 1975, although not specifically about parenthood. Willie Whitelaw tried to show himself as the modern suburban husband washing up saucepans in the kitchen which was said to be a response to images of Thatcher bringing in the milk bottles. This suggests having a woman in the race changed the male behaviour and they reacted within the domestic sphere. Geoffrey Howe reacted against this, during an interview in his study an aide observed "there is a bookcase behind him. That's the impression we want to create. We don't want any saucepans, and neither do you" (Barker, 1975). It was in this context that one journalist suggested the Conservative party may want a change from Heath's "manly bachelorhood" (Norman, 1975). By 1994 the 'modern man' frame was clear as Blair was "the capable embodiment of New Man" (Grice, 1994) and this was directly related to his parenthood. In the 2015 campaign Andy Burnham, like Blair, had young children and his wife had a successful career but this did not seem to warrant the same levels of attention with no specific articles around the couple's competing careers and children. Although Burnham did, on occasion, use his family with a

campaign video showing him baking with his daughters. This could be down to changing gender norms over time, maybe this modern man image is no longer unusual enough to warrant increased attention.

Yet, 2016 saw a return of minimal, factual information about the male Conservative candidates' family. It should be considered 2016 was a shorter campaign where the men were voted out earlier than the women. Just as the Conservative women presented a more traditional image of motherhood the Conservative men shied away from the modern man image. Partisanship's role in the concentration on fatherhood should be an avenue for future research. Beyond possible partisanship, 2016 highlights an 'opt-out clause' of any politicization of parenthood may be more readily available to men than their female colleagues.

Deason et al (2015) supposed that Politicized Motherhood could lead to more feminised ideas of leadership. What should be further considered is the possible effect of this 'feminisation' on male candidates. Does it allow men to occupy more feminised domestic images? This may suggest that the personalisation of politics for men and a resultant focus on the domestic could also stem from changing ideas around gender and leadership. Further questions flow from this as to what it means for different types of fatherhood, such as the more traditional idea of the breadwinner father with a wife at home? And, can male candidates more readily opt-out of any increased focus on family than their female counterparts?

Conclusion

This original case study analysis examined the role of gender and parenthood in political leadership via the media coverage of four party leadership elections in the UK. The story was more complex than expected. No evidence was found for the hypothesis stemming from the personalisation thesis, that family increasingly plays a role in the images of politicians. The frequency of family mentions varied over time and contrary to what gender literature might suggest the women's family was not always of greater interest than the men's. The presence of women could change how parenthood is portrayed when considering political leaders:

- (i) When the field was all men with traditional supportive wives looking after the children perhaps family was less of a point of discussion.
- (ii) The arrival of a woman (and mother) punctuated this equilibrium and may have changed the political leadership terrain. In 1975 Thatcher came to

the fore and used her family to portray a certain image. It was suggested the male candidates reacted to this within the domestic sphere.

- (iii) By the 1990s family was now central to male leadership contenders. In 1994 the focus is on Blair as a family man.
- (iv) By 2015 and 2016 we have women running against each other which brought motherhood to the fore. In both elections motherhood (or lack of) was used to differentiate between the female candidates and non-motherhood was an issue suggesting a form of maternal mandate was present.

The findings in this chapter beg several questions about politics and parenthood that warrant further research. Firstly, are there two streams of personalisation dependent on the sex of the politician? Potentially women's family were of disproportionate interest when women were more of a novelty in politics and over time this has decreased in line with men. Secondly, is there a maternal mandate in the UK when a woman with children runs against a woman without? Thirdly, has the image of leadership and parenthood become more feminised? If so, how does this affect views of fatherhood and the domestic images men portray? Fourthly, how does differing from the norm of '(heterosexual) married-with-two-kids' affect evaluations of leadership contenders? And finally, what role does partisanship play in the use of parenthood by politicians?

A reoccurring theme in this chapter's analysis was the complex interaction between how candidates' chose to present themselves and the media's framing of them. For example, the modern man image perpetrated by Blair, and the reactions within the domestic sphere of the male candidates in 1975 to the arrival of a mother and wife in what was previously a male dominated terrain. This highlights how the many factors contributing to the gendering of political leadership are complex and we cannot fully disentangle causal links. As discussed in Chapter 2, experiments will build on these findings to test the effect of mentioning both male and female candidates' parenthood status on voter evaluations. These experiments will allow me to isolate some causal effects.

What is clear is that there is a gender effect when we consider the role of parenthood in political leadership. When two women ran against each other in contests for differing political parties no more than a year apart their motherhood was an issue, whether that was raised by the media or by the candidates themselves. Alongside this, the representation of Cooper and Thatcher 40 years apart resonated with concepts of Politicized Motherhood from the US. These findings coincide with a

change in the way politicians' lives have been viewed in the media. Looking at this simply from a gender angle is not sufficient on its own. A systematic view of both men and women over four decades tells a story about how candidates such as Blair and Thatcher punctuated the norm and how there can still be a trade-off for childless women in the public sphere.

Chapter 5: Voter Perceptions and Candidate Sex: An Experimental Analysis

To understand the role of gender in political leadership I am interested in providing a comprehensive picture of the environment in which leaders and voters find themselves. In line with the twin-track approach of this thesis firstly, it was explored how gender's role in this environment is mediated through media coverage seen in the observational research in previous chapters; secondly, I now turn to analysing the impact of this environment on the voter and their behaviour within it. One of the limitations of the observational research presented in previous chapters is the difficulty of accounting for the 'noise' of context-specific real-world elections. Experimental analysis is therefore performed here to isolate causal effects. Experimental research is undertaken in the next two chapters which examine voter behaviour in leadership elections and the effect of varying: firstly, leadership sex (Experiment 1), as set out in this chapter; and, secondly, parenthood (Experiment 2), as set out in the next chapter. The limitations of many experiments, including those in the field of gender-based stereotyping, is that their artificial nature means they are a weak approximation of voter behaviour in real-life. They have limited external validity. I try to overcome this to some extent by bringing some of this 'noise' of real-world elections into the experimental experience. An innovative research design is used which creates a dynamic experimental environment in which participants engage with multiple pieces of information on party leadership candidates. The method offers an opportunity to 'lift the lid' on the voter's decision-making process to a more realistic extent than the common low information experimental designs in current literature.

To date, the use of experimental methods to examine gender and political leadership are limited in the UK context, but British scholars have begun to utilise such methods from political psychology in understanding voter behaviour, including examining the role of gender. For example, Campbell and Cowley's (2014) survey experiments on the preferable descriptive characteristics of parliamentary candidates. However, in employing the low information methods of the US-based work the same limitations are present as findings from these methods have been challenged by the recent body of work by Dolan and others (Dolan, 2014, Lynch and Dolan, 2014). The

experiments in this thesis utilise an innovative way to expand this research field making them valuable for identifying the potential of this method both for overcoming limitations in current methodologies in gender stereotyping literature, and for furthering understandings of the UK context. Given their exploratory nature, both experiments are low N as they were designed with a view to conducting similar experiments with a larger N in a laboratory environment.

Pilot experiments in this thesis utilise the programme Dynamic Process Tracing Environment (DPTE), which brings some of the nuance of real world elections into the experimental environment, offering a more interactive experimental experience. DPTE allows the researcher to attempt to recreate a dynamic social environment, such as an election, where participants must make a choice. In this case, DPTE was used to simulate British party leadership elections. Participants first experienced a lower-information environment where they read short biographies about the candidates standing for election before rating them on a series of leadership traits and casting an initial vote for their preferred leader. Participants then encountered the higher-information environment of a simulated election where they had autonomy in selecting further information they wish to learn about the candidates before again rating them on leadership traits and finally voting for a leader. The method is set out in more detail in Chapter 2²⁷ and below.

What is known about the potential for a relationship between candidate sex and voter behaviour to date comes mainly from a substantial US-based body of work and is used to guide the hypotheses and methodology of this chapter. I assume that there are two main ways that a relationship between candidate sex and voter behaviour may present itself – firstly, in gender-based trait stereotyping and, secondly, in the relationship between voter and candidate demographics.

Firstly, a body of literature examines voters' gender-based stereotypes, especially trait stereotypes, about men and women seeking political office²⁸. It suggests that descriptive stereotypes about men and women result in different personality traits being associated with the two sexes. Experimental work in the 1990s and early 2000s found that women tended to be considered to be more compassionate, “warm, gentle, kind and passive” whereas men were more often seen as agentic, “tough, aggressive and assertive” (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993a, p. 121). Men were typically, therefore, seen as more competent on tough, aggressive issues such as

²⁷ See p.55-68 in Chapter 2.

²⁸ A full review of this stereotyping literature is undertaken in Chapter 1.

the military, foreign affairs and defence whereas female politicians were thought competent on compassion issues such as healthcare, education and childcare (Alexander and Anderson, 1993, Fridkin, 1994, Fridkin and Kenney, 2009, Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993a, 1993b, Rosenwasser and Seale, 1988). Masculine coded traits and competencies are thought to be more beneficial for success as they are traditionally associated with high political office (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993b). Later studies moved from these descriptive stereotypes which “purport to describe what group members are typically like (“women are gentle”)” to also look at prescriptive stereotypes which “describe the behavioural standards group members must uphold to avoid derision by the perceiver (“women *should* be gentle”)” (Gill, 2004, p. 619, original emphasis).

The concept of role incongruity contends that, “a potential for prejudice exists when social perceivers hold a stereotype about a social group that is incongruent with the attributes that are thought to be required for success in certain classes of social roles” (Eagly and Karau, 2002, p. 576). As identified in Chapter 1, this leads to two potential types of prejudice towards women in leadership roles which link to descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes. Firstly, *women’s potential for leadership could be perceived unfavourably as leadership ability is stereotypically aligned to traits perceived as masculine* which derives from descriptive stereotypes. Secondly, *when women do enter leadership roles they may experience backlash because the behaviour required is less desirable in women* which comes from prescriptive stereotypes about expected behaviour (Eagly and Karau, 2002, Gill, 2004) and places women in Jamieson’s (1995) femininity/competency bind. Experimental evidence suggests women may need to display masculine behaviour associated with leadership to appear competent but simultaneously can experience backlash for not demonstrating expected feminine behaviour, such as communality, i.e. being more compassionate, warm and selfless (Eagly and Carli, 2003). Simultaneously, when women do display expected communal traits this can undermine their competency as they are thought to be devalued behaviours in a leader.

It is not necessarily the case that, if present, gender stereotypes work against women it can be dependent on the electoral context. For example, Fridkin and Kenney’s (2009) examination of the 2006 US Senate elections found that, in line with the stereotyping literature, women were seen as more caring and honest than men and more competent on healthcare; yet, male senators were not thought stronger leaders or more experienced than women. The specific context of the election could have had an effect, 2006 was a year of scandal and the prevalence of this in the campaign

may have benefited women who are traditionally seen as more honest. Similarly, the US Congressional elections in 1992 were dubbed the 'Year of the Women' due to the high numbers of successful female candidates. It is thought voters wanted a return to domestic issues which could more easily be played upon by women (Dolan, 2014).

An examination of the stereotyping literature suggests that stereotyping will have an effect, positive or negative, on the leadership evaluations of male and female candidates when voters have little information. Therefore, a working hypothesis is made about the lower-information environment in this experiment in which participants evaluate candidates based on only a brief biography before experiencing a simulated election campaign where they have the opportunity to learn more about the leadership contenders:

H1: Differences between voter evaluations of male and female candidates will be present in the lower-information environment.

The lower-information environment was designed to replicate the common methodology in current literature. Therefore, it is thought that, if present, gender stereotypes will most readily present themselves in this environment. Voters will be more likely to use gender as a cue when they know little about candidates. However, experimental methods, and especially these low information style designs, are limited in external validity. They are poor proxies for real elections. Therefore, if gender stereotypes are present we should be cautious of assuming they will therefore be present in real-world environments where voters have more information about candidates. Similarly, if we do not see stereotypes in operation here, it is perhaps even less likely they would be evident in real elections. This relates directly to the null hypothesis and Hypothesis 2.

It has been reiterated throughout previous chapters that the null hypothesis must always be treated seriously, in this case the null is that perceptions of political leadership will not vary according to the sex of the candidate. For the main part this derives from a contemporary body of literature which challenges previous evidence on stereotypes. It has been suggested that voters do not apply these stereotypes in contemporary real-world elections. There are two possible explanations for this which are not mutually exclusive – the role of information, and the importance of time and context – both have been examined in detail in preceding chapters. Let us consider the latter briefly. Gender stereotypes could be declining as changing gender roles in society mean that stereotypes found in the early 1990s and 2000s may well have changed or lessened over time. As discussed in Chapter 1, the varying levels of

stereotyping in more recent studies reiterates how the gendering of political leadership is complex, it varies across time and space and thus context is important. The review of the gender and leadership literature in Chapter 1 highlighted how context should be a key element to understanding leadership, something which is stressed in contextual and situational approaches in conventional leadership studies which acknowledge this complexity and reiterate that socially constructed ideas are part of the environment in which leaders operate (Elgie, 2015). Socially constructed ideas such as gendered norms are dynamic. We should therefore not assume that gender-based stereotypes present at one point in time in the US will de facto be evident in another context such as UK party leader contexts.

Null Hypothesis: There are no differences in voter evaluations of male and female candidates.

Secondly, there is the role of information. It is possible that gender stereotypes present in low information experimental designs in previous work will not necessarily translate into the high information environments of real-world elections. Stereotypes do not act in a vacuum and can interact with other prejudices such as partisanship, furthermore, they are a cognitive shortcut and so can disappear when voters have more information (Dolan, 2014). We need to consider in detail the process by which this might happen. As discussed in Chapter 2, currently, the two bodies of literature discussed above offer a picture at the beginning and at the end of a race. We know from the low information experimental designs in the traditional stereotyping literature who is first out of the stalls when little is known about candidates. We also have a snapshot at the end of the race in the contemporary body of literature which demonstrates how voters do not apply stereotypes at the end of a true election (Dolan, 2014). However, what happens in-between, a voter's decision-making process, is overlooked. Gender-based stereotyping may be having an effect, but it might be missed by taking static snapshots of what is a dynamic process. To study the effect of candidate sex on voter evaluations a different approach is taken here, whereby elections are treated as dynamic social environments where voters process information over time. One could envision that, when little is known about candidates at the beginning of a campaign, voters may rely on stereotypes – as they might other cognitive shortcuts like partisanship – but as a campaign progresses voters compensate for this, as they seek out and receive multiple pieces of information. For example, Ditonto et al (2014) found that in simulated presidential primaries and elections voters sought out more competence and compassion related information about female candidates.

H2: Any differences between voter evaluations of male and female candidates in the lower-information environment will dissipate in the higher-information environment.

The role of information has been examined in more recent US studies on gender stereotypes given an increased recognition that many previous studies relied on low information survey-style experiments whose findings have been challenged by 'real-world' data that showed when women run, women win. For instance, in an experimental study of candidates for US local elections, Crowder-Meyer et al (2019) found that providing a limited amount of additional information reduced the effects of candidate demographics on voter behaviour. Some experimental work has used DPTE to examine the effect of candidate sex in presidential primaries and elections. Ditonto et al (2014) found that voters sought out more compassion related and competence related information about female candidates. A later study by Ditonto (2017) using DPTE found that substantive competence information was more important for female candidates as women candidates who were paired with information which cast doubt on their competence were rated less favourably and were less likely to get subjects' votes. When women were paired with information confirming competency they did just as well as men (for whom competence information did not have a significant effect on voter evaluation or vote choice, i.e. voters still voted for, and felt positive towards, incompetent men). The importance of information is also shown in a study by Bauer (2015) which found that traditional gender-based stereotypes were not applied to women candidates until they were activated through receiving additional stereotypic information about candidates. Including information on the candidate attending a campaign event with his or her children at an elementary school where he or she met with parents alongside trait associations describing them as nurturing and compassionate activated traditional stereotypes about the female candidates.

Of course, voters do not process information free from bias. Theories of motivated cognition suggest that prior belief systems can affect their information processing (Ditto and Lopez, 1992, Jost et al., 2003). It should be recognised that information searches may not overcome initial prejudices or may even be used to confirm pre-held beliefs. Yet, an experimental process which can examine voters' information processing in more detail can go some way to understand any gendered effects in voters' cognitive biases.

The second way a relationship between voter behaviour and candidate sex has been studied is by a focus on vote choice, particularly the relationship between shared voter and candidate descriptive characteristics and vote choice, i.e. do women vote

for women? There is mixed evidence on whether women vote for women, and much of it is, again, US-based. Sanbonmatsu (2002) suggested voters have a baseline preference for a candidate of their own sex, but whether candidate sex influences voting behaviour has been shown in some elections but not others (Dolan, 1998, 2001, 2004, Lynch and Dolan, 2014) and mediating factors such as partisanship can have a role to play (Fulton, 2014, King and Matland, 2003, Lawless and Person, 2008).

In the UK context, work on candidate sex and voter behaviour is limited and relates only to MPs. Survey experiments by Campbell and Cowley (2014) showed that female parliamentary candidates were seen as more approachable but less experienced than their male counterparts, but sex of the candidate had no significant effect on vote choice. Other demographic factors mattered to voters in Campbell and Cowley's experiments, including occupation and residency, the parliamentary candidate who served as a local doctor was highly rated and candidates from outside the area were heavily penalised. Other work has focused on views on descriptive representation and its relationship to candidate preference. Cowley's (2013) survey work in the UK showed that on an individual level, i.e. the characteristics voters preferred in their own MP, sex was bottom of the list of characteristics for both men and women with a shared political viewpoint and locality of MP most important. Sex was more important on a collective level as a characteristic respondents wanted to see better represented overall in Parliament. On a collective level, voters' highest priority was again localness, followed by more working class MPs and then more female MPs. There was a link in Cowley's study to knowledge, those who wanted more of a group in Parliament had a lower average estimate of the current representation of that group compared to those who wanted numbers to stay the same. Self-identity matters also as BME, Muslim and LGBT populations wanted more collective representation of their demographic group than the overall sample. Similarly, Campbell and Heath's (2017) examination of the 2010 UK General Election found that women who support more descriptive representation were more likely to vote for a party when it puts forward a female candidate than women who are not concerned about descriptive representation (although the effect was not very strong). Men's attitude to descriptive representation was unrelated to vote choice, but there was little evidence that men punished women even those who thought women should stay at home did not sacrifice their preferred party by voting for a man.

Method and Data

As discussed above, and in the literature review and methodology chapters of this thesis, a more recent body of work has highlighted shortcomings in low information experimental methods for studying gender stereotypes. A concern in overcoming these limitations informed the experimental method in the proceeding chapters. A more dynamic experimental method is utilised in this thesis to examine the electoral environment in the UK context. British party leadership elections are recreated using a Dynamic Process Tracing Environment (DPTE), which brings some of the noise of real elections back into the experimental environment, offering a more interactive experimental setting. The method takes the view of voting as an information processing task where the sex of the politician is one of those pieces of information (Lau and Redlawsk, 2006). Voters are assumed to have bounded rationality and seek out and process information in any decision-making process, including voting. This can mean using heuristics: problem-solving strategies, which are cognitive shortcuts whereby judgements or decisions can be made without a complete search for alternatives, this includes person stereotypes concerning gender. By tracing voters' actions in a high information environment, we can learn more about the decision-making process and isolate the effect of gender given the experimental design. It presents an opportunity for expanding current work on gender and voter behaviour in the UK context by applying a method to date nearly exclusively used in the US context to the UK case.

Dynamic Process Tracing Environment

DPTE is an internet-based programme which allows the researcher to attempt to recreate a dynamic social environment, such as an election. The research design is outlined in further detail in Chapter 2²⁹. In this case, DPTE was used to simulate British party leadership elections for both the Labour and Conservative parties. In each election four fictional candidates ran for the leadership, two male and two female, meaning eight fictional candidates were developed by the experimenter in total. Articles were created about each individual candidate's personal background, policy positions, endorsements and careers.

The simulated election works by presenting participants with a main 'home screen' of headlines about the candidates linking to these articles (Figure 17). The home screen continuously scrolls down so only a certain amount of information is available at one time. Once a participant clicks on a headline to access that item the article

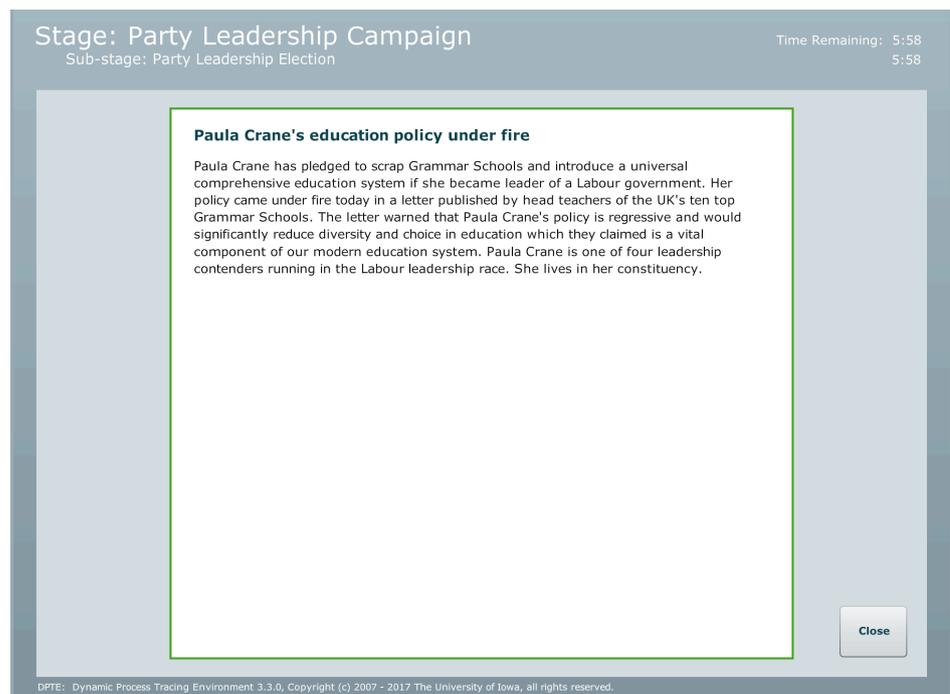
²⁹ See p.55-68, Chapter 2.

takes over the screen (Figure 18) and the body of information on the 'home screen' continues to scroll in the background so, like a real election, there is a cost in terms of information being "here today gone tomorrow" (Redlawsk and Lau, 2009, p. 12) and participants only see a selection of all material that is on the site.

Figure 17. Example DPTE Scrolling Home Screen



Figure 18. Example DPTE Article



The software records what information each participant views and for how long, tracing their progress through the simulated scenario. DPTE has mainly been used to examine voter behaviour in elections, primarily in the US context (Lau and Redlawsk, 2006, Redlawsk and Lau, 2009). A study by Ditonto et al (2014) used DPTE experiments to simulate presidential primaries and general elections and found participants more often viewed competence-related information and stances on compassion issues for female candidates. Ditonto's later study (2017) also found that substantive competence information was of more value for female candidates than male.

In this thesis, DPTE was used to simulate two party leadership elections, one for the UK Conservative Party and one for the UK Labour Party. In each election four leadership candidates were created ranging in ideology from the centre of the party to the extreme left- or right-wing. Realistic issue positions, endorsements, political experience and personal information were created by the experimenter for the eight candidates based on their political leaning. These were created using the backgrounds and stances of current MPs of a similar ideology and standing in the party as well as using previous manifestos from General Elections and party leadership elections and policy proposals or criticisms from think tanks, unions or other political organisations. A full profile of one candidate can be found in Appendix 8 with all articles about the candidate and the sources upon which these articles were based. For instance, for Paul or Paula Crane, the extreme left-wing candidate in the Labour leadership election, his/her foreign affairs stance was based on prominent left-wing Labour politicians Dianne Abbott, John McDonnell and Jeremy Corbyn's past involvement in anti-war movements and opposition to NATO, and used Corbyn's policy positions in the Labour leadership election of 2015 as a guide. The article on Paula Crane's foreign affairs policy therefore read:

“Paula Crane's stance on foreign policy

Paula Crane has been involved in the anti-war movement throughout her time as a political campaigner and she campaigned against the Iraq War. As Labour leader, she says she will continue to advocate peaceful solutions to international conflicts, emphasising the need for dialogue in disputes. She also voted against airstrikes in Syria.

The Labour leadership contender has stated previously that the UK should consider withdrawing from NATO, which she believes to be an out of date

institution which commits the UK to large amounts of unnecessary defence spending.”

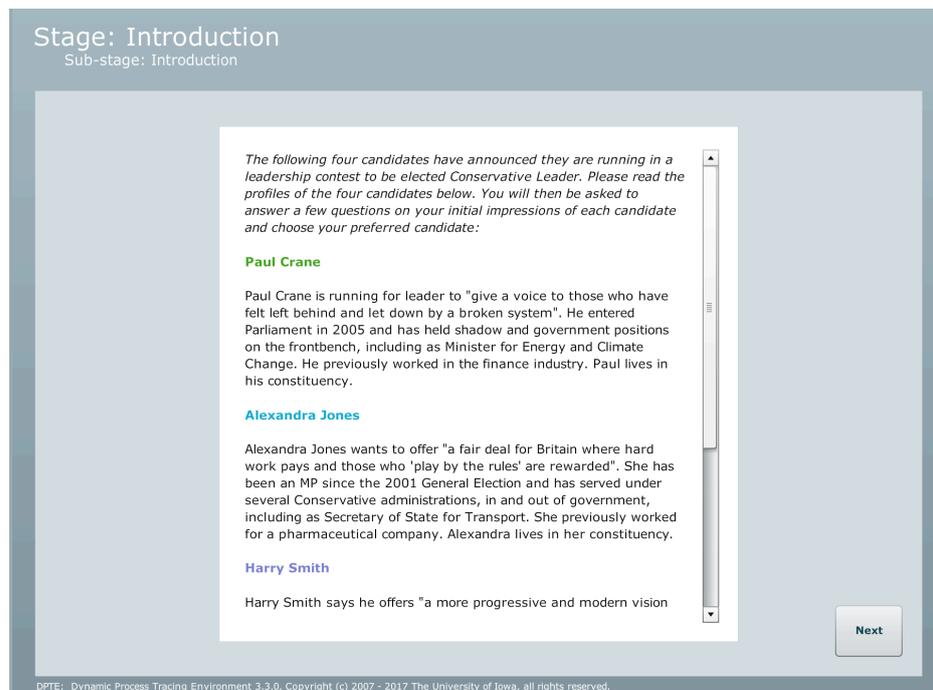
Experimental Process

When first entering the DPTE environment participants chose which leadership election – Labour or Conservative – to take part in. Participants were told to ideally choose the party with which they most closely identified.

Pre-Election Questionnaire

Upon entering the experiment participants were presented with brief biographies of the four leadership candidates for their election. Figure 19 shows a screenshot of the opening screen for the Conservative leadership election (participants scroll down to view all candidates).

Figure 19. Example Opening Screen for Conservative Leadership Election



Candidate profiles were carefully calibrated so that the leadership candidates had realistic political experience and backgrounds given their ideology but also had similar levels of experience to the other candidates in the election. Two men and two women ran in each election. Sex was randomly varied between profiles using different names (Harriet or Harry Smith for example) and gendered pronouns³⁰. Table 16 shows the four candidates and the opening descriptions of each for both the Labour and the Conservative elections.

³⁰ Anglo-Saxon names were used to keep race and ethnicity constant.

Table 16. Candidate Biographies

		<i>Political Leaning</i>	<i>Based On</i>	<i>Opening Description</i>
Paula or Paul Crane	Lab	Far Left	Jeremy Corbyn, Dianne Abbott, John McDonnell	Paul/Paula Crane is running for leader to ensure that, “the Labour Party continues to stand for all in society, and not just an elite minority”. He/She entered Parliament in 2005 and has held shadow positions on the frontbench, including as a Minister for the Environment. He/She previously worked for the Transport and General Workers’ Union. Paul/Paula lives in his/her constituency.
	Con	Far Right	Andrea Leadsom, Liam Fox, David Davis	Paul/Paula Crane is running for leader to “give a voice to those who have felt left behind and let down by a broken system”. He/She entered Parliament in 2005 and has held shadow and government positions on the frontbench, including as Minister for Energy and Climate Change. He/She previously worked in the finance industry. Paul/Paula lives in his/her constituency.
Alexander or Alexandra Jones	Lab	Left Leaning	Andy Burnham, Ed Miliband, Tom Watson	Alexander/Alexandra Jones wants a Labour Party, “which speaks to voters across the country, from all backgrounds and walks of life”. He/She has been an MP since the 2001 General Election and has served in the Shadow Cabinet, including as Shadow Secretary of State for Transport. He/She previously worked at the NHS Federation. Alexander/Alexandra lives in his/her constituency.
	Con	Right Leaning	Chris Grayling, Philip Hammond	Alexander/Alexandra Jones wants to offer “a fair deal for Britain where hard work pays and those who ‘play by the rules’ are rewarded”. He/She has been an MP since the 2001 General Election and has served under several Conservative administrations, in and out of government, including as Secretary of State for Transport. He/She previously worked for a pharmaceutical company. Alexander/Alexandra lives in his/her constituency.
Harriet or Harry Smith	Lab	Centre Left	Yvette Cooper, Ed Balls, Gordon Brown, David Miliband	Harry/Harriet Smith is running for leader to, “unite the party and present a progressive, modern vision for Britain”. He/She entered Parliament in the 2001 General Election and has held senior ministerial positions in Opposition and Government, including as Secretary of State for Education. He/She is a former journalist. Harry/Harriet lives in his/her constituency.
	Con	Centre Right	Kenneth Clarke, Michael Gove, Boris Johnson, Nicky Morgan	Harry/Harriet Smith says he/she offers “a more progressive and modern vision for the Conservative party”. He/She entered Parliament in the 2001 General Election and has held senior ministerial positions in Opposition and Government, including as Secretary of State for Education. He/She is a former journalist. Harry/Harriet lives in his/her constituency.
Christine or Christopher Taylor	Lab	Centre	Liz Kendall, Chuka Umunna, Tony Blair	Christopher/Christine Taylor has promised a “modern, progressive vision for Labour, which offers a fresh start and an opportunity to win back voters’ trust”. He/She has been an MP since winning his/her seat in 2005 and has served in both Shadow and Government Cabinets, including as Minister for Business, Innovation and Skills. He/She is a qualified solicitor. Christopher/Christine lives in his/her constituency.
	Con	Centre	David Cameron, George Osborne, Amber Rudd	Christopher/Christine Taylor has promised a “modern, compassionate conservatism that is right for the country and the party”. He/She has been an MP since winning his/her seat in the 2005 General Election. He/She has served on Shadow and Government Cabinets, including as Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills. He/She has previously worked as a solicitor at a city law firm. Christopher/Christine lives in his/her constituency.

In a pre-election questionnaire presented to participants after reading these candidate biographies, but before the simulated election, candidates were rated on three trait measures: desirability as a leader, competence, and compassion and participants voted for one candidate as their preferred leader.

The initial candidate biographies and pre-election questionnaire were designed to replicate low information experiments seen in previous work. The benefits of measuring voters' initial impressions of voters are twofold: (i) it can be examined how initial impressions of candidates may guide voter behaviour during the election in terms of the information they seek about candidates; (ii) the role of information in voter stereotyping can be examined by comparing a lower-information to a higher-information environment given the contention in recent literature that voter stereotypes dissipate in high information environments.

The 'Election'

Participants then entered the 'election' which ran for seven minutes. During these seven minutes they were presented with the scrolling 'home screen' of headlines with information about each candidate e.g. "Harry Smith's position on education". The headlines linked to short articles about the candidate (see Figures 17 and 18 above). For each candidate, 43 articles were created on the following topics:

- 17 neutral articles on the candidate's stances on 17 issues
- 17 negative articles criticising the candidate's stance on these 17 issues
- One article on their experience prior to politics
- One article on their political experience
- One article on their education
- One article on their personal background
- Two personality descriptions
- Two colleague endorsements
- One organisational endorsement (e.g. think tank or trade union)

Each article related to only one candidate therefore, overall, in each election (Labour and Conservative) 172 articles were available and across the two elections a total of 344 articles were created by the experimenter. A full profile of one candidate can be found in Appendix 8. Issue articles only appeared once in the scrolling screen of headlines whereas all other articles appeared twice to counter the prominence of issue articles otherwise. The home screen displayed six articles at once with one

new article appearing at the bottom, and the top article disappearing, every three seconds. DPTE calculates the time it takes for all articles to appear on the home-screen so the experimenter can ensure that the articles available do not run out before the election is over. Articles continued to scroll on the home-screen for the full seven minutes. The order in which articles appeared on the home screen is randomised by the DPTE software. Figure 20 shows an article from the Conservative leadership election criticising the economic policy of Harry Smith, the centre-right candidate, and Figure 21 a colleague's endorsement of Alexandra Jones, the right-leaning candidate.

Figure 20. Example Criticism of Issue Position

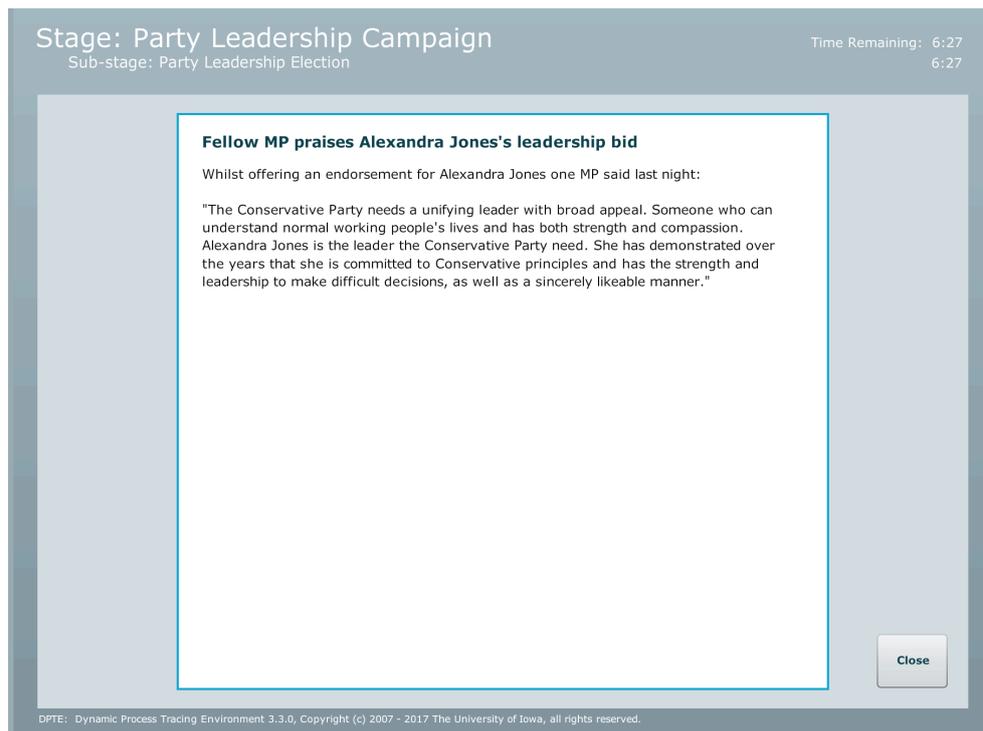
The screenshot displays a software interface for a 'Party Leadership Campaign' sub-stage. At the top, it shows 'Stage: Party Leadership Campaign' and 'Sub-stage: Party Leadership Election'. A timer in the top right corner indicates 'Time Remaining: 6:08' and '6:08'. The main content area features a news article with the following text:

Harry Smith's economic policy under fire

In the latest developments in the Conservative leadership contest today, Harry Smith has come under fire for his economic plan. Critics of the leadership hopeful said his economic policy announcement, which focused on simplifying the tax system to incentivise investment, sounded dangerously like a 'race to the bottom' which could turn the UK into a tax haven post-Brexit. One critic said, "Encouraging investment is one thing but turning the UK into some kind of Singapore-on-Thames would only benefit the very richest. Any economic policy should also work for the ordinary, hard-working families by creating jobs and increasing production. It is not clear that Harry Smith's policy would do this."

A 'Close' button is located in the bottom right corner of the article frame. At the very bottom of the interface, a small footer reads: 'DPTE: Dynamic Process Tracing Environment 3.3.0, Copyright (c) 2007 - 2017 The University of Iowa, all rights reserved.'

Figure 21. Example Endorsement Article



The DPTE software traced each participant throughout the simulated election, recording what information they viewed about each candidate. As in all experimental environments, the behaviour of participants may not be entirely realistic. In DPTE they are making choices about what information to view in a very short amount of time and a very concentrated manner. This is not, obviously, how voters usually process information over the course of a whole campaign. I am mindful of this limitation in interpreting results. However, DPTE offers the opportunity to uncover potential trends in this behaviour in a way that can isolate causal effects between the information viewed and candidate demographics, and the resultant evaluations of candidates. It also furthers our understanding beyond the low information survey-style experiments previously used which are even more unrealistic of the usual way voters would engage in the electoral experience.

Post-Election Questionnaire

Once the election ended participants were presented with the same questionnaire as was seen before the election, rating candidates on the three leadership traits and casting a final vote for one candidate to become party leader. The reasons for including the post-election questionnaire relates back to above – it is an opportunity to test the effect of a higher-information environment on voter perceptions in

comparison to the lower-information environment and to test the effect of varying candidate sex on voter perceptions in a more dynamic experimental environment.

Dependent Variable Measurements

There are three dependent variables – voter evaluation, decision-making and vote choice:

(1) Evaluation

The pre-election and post-election scores for the candidates on the three leadership trait measures of desirability as a political leader, competence and compassion.

(2) Decision-Making

The information accessed by participants during the simulated election campaign. The information available falls into four categories (see Appendix 4 for a full list of information items by category):

- Personal based information
- Competency based information
- Compassion issue related information
- Non-Compassion issue related information

(3) Vote Choice

Participants' pre-election and post-election vote choice for party leader.

Recruitment and Sample

Participants for both Experiment 1 and 2 were recruited using the website Prolific Academic, an online survey website³¹. In total, 98 participants completed Experiment 1 and 106 completed Experiment 2 between 1st and 15th June 2018³². Participants who accessed less than nine or more than 64 articles during the simulated election were removed from the sample as they were deemed to have inadequately engaged in the experiment³³. The N for the valid sample for Experiment 1 was 84 and Experiment 2 was 93. This N is low as the experiment was designed as pilot

³¹ Prolific Academic is a participant recruitment website. In line with the website's guidelines, participants were paid £5.00 for their participation, which was estimated to take around 30 minutes. The website recruits globally but mainly participants are from the US or the UK. Participants had to be UK residents and over 18 years-old to participate in the experiment. The participant pool on Prolific Academic is young with the modal age groups of 20-30 years-old (45.3%), 55.5% are female, 32.9% are students and 32.7% are degree educated.

³² Pilot studies were carried out in April and May 2018 before the final experiments were fielded. More information can be found in Chapter 2, p.63.

³³ Based on Redlawsk et al 2010.

research with a view to conducting a similar experiment with a larger N in a laboratory environment. Given the low N, results should be treated with caution as the power of the statistical tests used are limited. See Appendix 9 for tables of power. Low power means more chance of Type II error, i.e. significant effects may not be found which are in fact present, therefore non-significance does not necessarily mean a finding should be rejected.

Table 17 shows the demographics for the total sample and valid sample for Experiment 1 and 2, and for the general population. For both experiments the total and valid sample were left-leaning. Ideology was measured by asking participants to place themselves on a tax and spend scale from 0 'Government should raise taxes and spend much more on health and social services' to 10 'Government should cut taxes and spend much less on health and social services'³⁴. Participants rated their interest in politics from 0 'Not at all interested' to 5 'Very interested'³⁵. Both valid samples were younger and better educated than the general population and was disproportionately female which could explain the ideological leaning given these are demographics that tend to be more left-wing on tax and spend measures (Campbell, 2012). Gender stereotypes, therefore, may be harder to identify as women, younger and more educated citizens have been found to have more progressive views on gender norms, although the age gap is declining (Phillips et al., 2018). Turnout levels for the 2017 General Election were slightly lower in the sample than in the UK electorate but the difference was not substantial.

Table 17. Total and Valid Sample Demographics Experiment 1 and 2

	<i>Experiment 1</i>		<i>Experiment 2</i>		General Population
	Total Sample	Valid Sample	Total Sample	Valid Sample	
Mean Political Interest	3.1	3.1	3.3	3.3	
Mean Ideology Score	3.3	3.2	3.7	3.6	
Mean Age (SD)	33 (10.2)	34 (10.6)	34 (9.9)	34 (10.1)	40 ¹
Sex (% Female)	62.2%	63.1%	58.5%	61.3%	50.7% ¹
Ethnicity (% White)	90.8%	91.6%	86.8%	88.2%	86% ²
Education (% Degree Educated)	52.6%	56.0%	56.9%	53.8%	42% ³
Voted in 2017	69.4%	67.9%	72.6%	72.0%	69% ⁴
	<i>N</i> = 98	<i>N</i> = 84	<i>N</i> = 106	<i>N</i> = 93	

¹ Estimate based on ONS mid-2015 data, ² 2011 Census Data, ³ Amongst 21-64 year olds, July to September 2017, ⁴ Electoral Commission, turnout as percentage of electorate

³⁴ Based on British Election Study measure.

³⁵ Based on British Election Study measure.

In terms of attrition the differences between the total and valid sample were small however it did appear that men, those with a degree and non-voters were more likely to drop out. In total 81% of respondents for Experiment 1 and 75.3% for Experiment 2 chose to take part in the Labour leadership election which aligns with the left-leaning of the sample. Results in the next two chapters refer to all participants, regardless of which party election they took part in. Partisan differences should be further studied in the larger N study, as discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

Results

Results and analysis in this chapter are for Experiment 1, where the independent variable was candidate sex. Results from Experiment 2 where sex and parenthood were independent variables are discussed in the next chapter.

Pre-Election Questionnaire

H1: Differences between voter evaluations of male and female candidates will be present in a lower-information environment.

In both the pre- and post-election questionnaire candidates were rated on three leadership traits on a nine-point scale with higher scores being more favourable. A mean average was calculated for each trait for the two female candidates and the two male candidates to give an average male and female score. An examination of the histograms (see Appendix 10) revealed that the distribution of these mean averages were non-normal therefore non-parametric measures and tests are used. The pre-election evaluations can be seen in Figure 22. Overall, no difference is present in participants' trait evaluations of male and female candidates before the election, in the lower-information environment. Boxplots for these scores reveal that there was no difference on male and female candidates' average desirability as a political leader scores in the pre-election questionnaire. Female candidates were, on average, rated as more competent and less compassionate than their male counterparts but in each case the difference between the sexes was negligible at 0.25 points and was non-significant.

Figure 22. Pre-Election Leadership Trait Evaluations

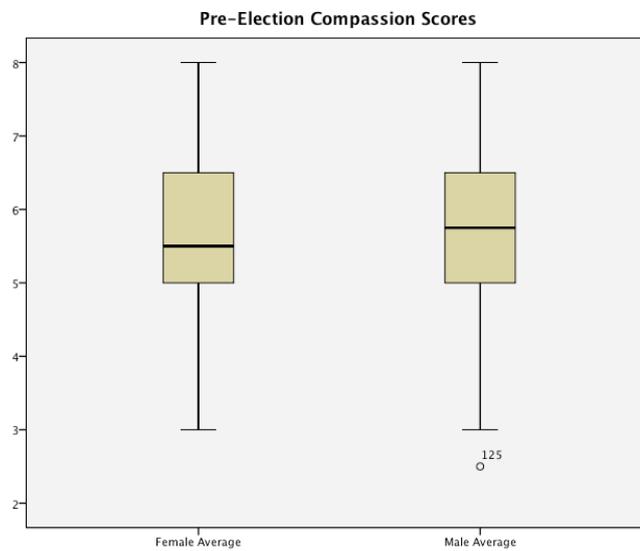
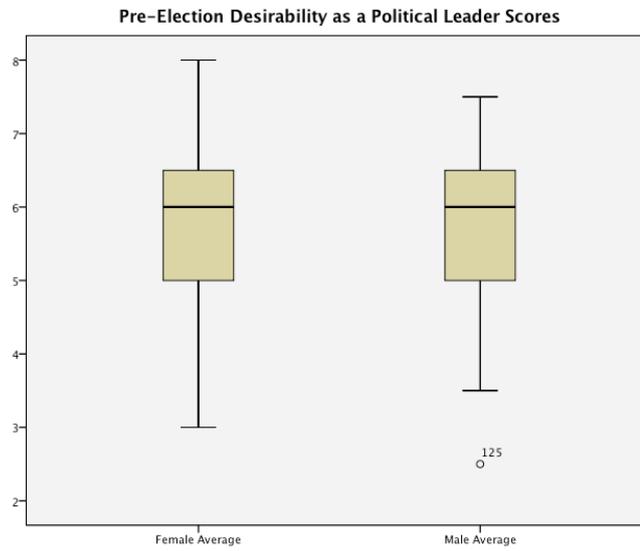
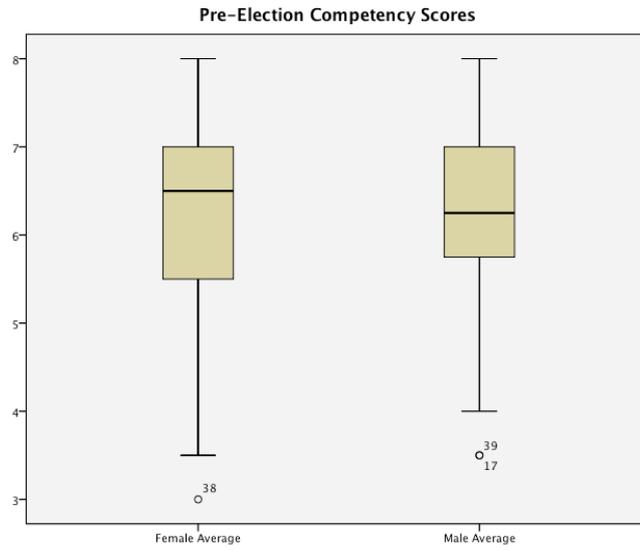
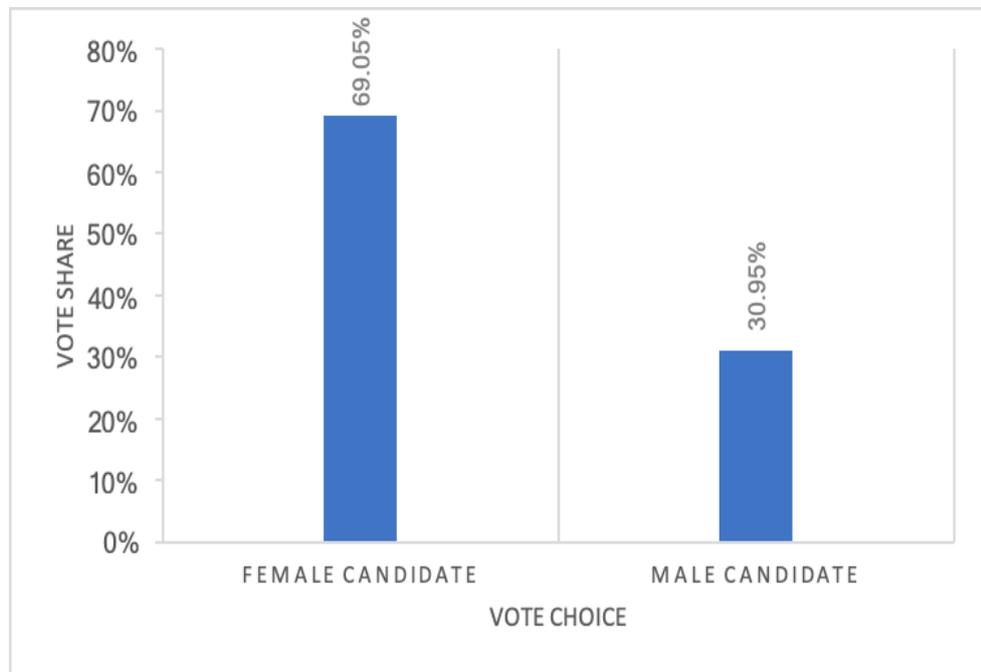


Figure 23. Pre-Election Vote Choice



Support for Hypothesis 1 is most readily seen in Figure 23 which shows the proportion of the initial vote share for the male and female candidates. Over two thirds of participants (69%) voted for one of the two female candidates in the pre-election questionnaire resulting in a 38.1 percentage point gap between the male and female candidates.

Table 18. Pre-Election Vote Choice by Sex of Participant

		Sex of Participant			
		Male		Female	
		N	%	N	%
Pre-Election Vote Choice	Female Candidate	18	58.1%	40	75.5%
	Male Candidate	13	41.9%	13	24.5%
Total		31	100.0%	53	100.0%

Given mixed evidence for a relationship between voter demographics and candidate demographics in vote choice the pre-election vote choice was broken down by sex of the participant in Table 18. Both sexes were more likely to vote for the female candidate, however, more women than men voted for the female candidate in the lower-information environment. A third (75.5%) of women voted for a female candidate compared to 58.1% of men, although the association between sex of

candidate in pre-election vote choice and sex of participant was non-significant ($\chi^2(1)=2.0185$, $p=0.16$) this may be due to the small N. The high numbers of female participants voting for a female candidate contributes to the initial preferences seen for female candidates as the sample was disproportionately female (63.1%).

Decision-Making

Table 19. Total Articles Viewed by Participants

	<i>Valid Sample</i>
Mean	29.92
(SE)	(1.37)
Standard Deviation	12.54
Median	28
Inter-Quartile Range	17
25 th Quartile	21
75 th Quartile	38
Range	55
<i>N</i>	<i>84</i>

Table 19 shows the descriptive statistics for the total information viewed by participants in the experiment for the valid sample. On average, participants viewed 30 articles during the experiment. The range of the total articles viewed was large at 55. The inter-quartile range and the mean and standard deviation suggest that the number of articles viewed was spread across this range with notable variation around the mean in the sample, although with less participants at the extreme ends of the range. The data did not clearly show any bi-modal distribution, with no suggestion there might be 'high' and 'low' information seekers. The types of information viewed is broken down further below in analysis of the differences in information viewed about male and female candidates.

Table 20 shows the mean total number of articles viewed by participant demographics. Overall, female participants viewed on average three more articles than male participants during the experiment. It might be expected that more educated participants would view more articles, however the difference was small, those with a degree viewed only two more articles than those with no degree or another qualification. Similarly, those who voted in the 2017 General Election, included as a measure of political participation, only viewed two more articles on average than those who did not vote.

Table 20. Mean Total Articles Viewed by Participant Demographics

	<i>Mean Total Articles Viewed (SE)</i>
Male	27.58 (2.3)
Female	31.28 (1.68)
Degree Educated	30.93 (2.05)
No Degree or Other Qualification	28.85 (1.81)
Voted in 2017 General Election	30.51 (1.62)
Did Not Vote in 2017 General Election	28.67 (2.56)

Overall there was little difference in the total amount of information viewed for male and female candidates. Table 21 shows that on average participants accessed slightly more articles about female candidates but the difference between the two equated to less than one article difference.

Table 21. Total N of Articles Viewed

	Mean Total
Male Candidates	14.66
Female Candidates	15.25

N=84

For each participant, the percentage of the total amount of information they viewed about each candidate which related to the four information categories was calculated. Figure 24 shows the mean proportions of overall information which related to each information type for the male and the female candidates. The red dotted lines represent the proportion of overall available information which was of this type. If participants were randomly selecting information then we would expect them to select it in the same proportion as its availability (Lau and Redlawsk, 2006), i.e. each bar would be in line with the red dotted line.

Competence Information

For both male and female candidates, competence information was viewed in a lesser proportion than its overall availability. Any difference between the sexes was minimal with only a 1.4 percentage point difference with a higher proportion for the

male candidates. Competence is a difficult to operationalise term, however, for example some voters may preference candidates' experience prior to their political career as a measure of competence as they dislike 'career politicians'. Similarly, endorsements by fellow colleagues may not be viewed by voters as necessarily about competence but could be 'party politics' as certain colleagues or organisations will always support their ideological matches in a leadership election. Further analysis was carried out to deconstruct the competency information to assess if specific elements were of more interest than others.

Figure 24. Mean Proportion of Information by Type

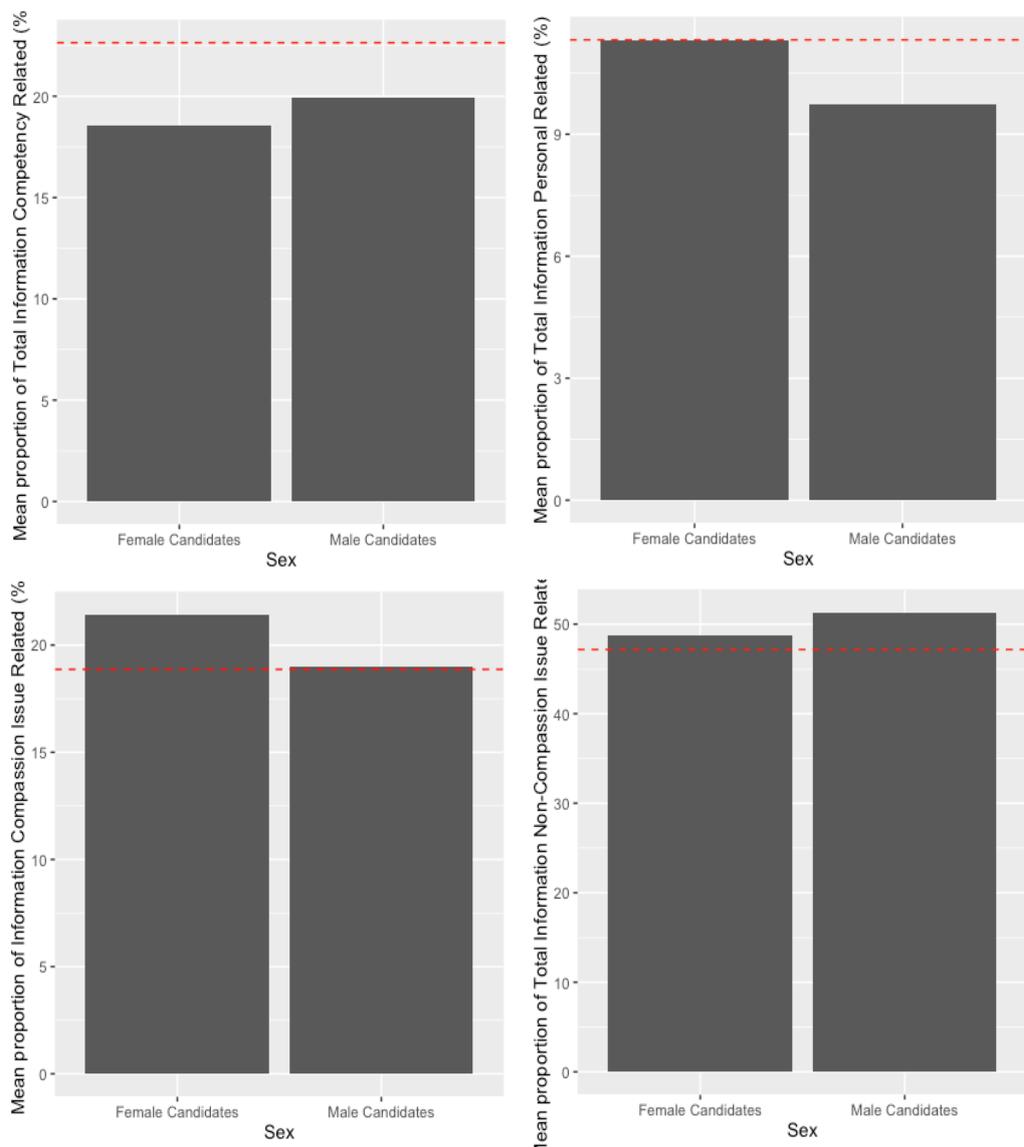
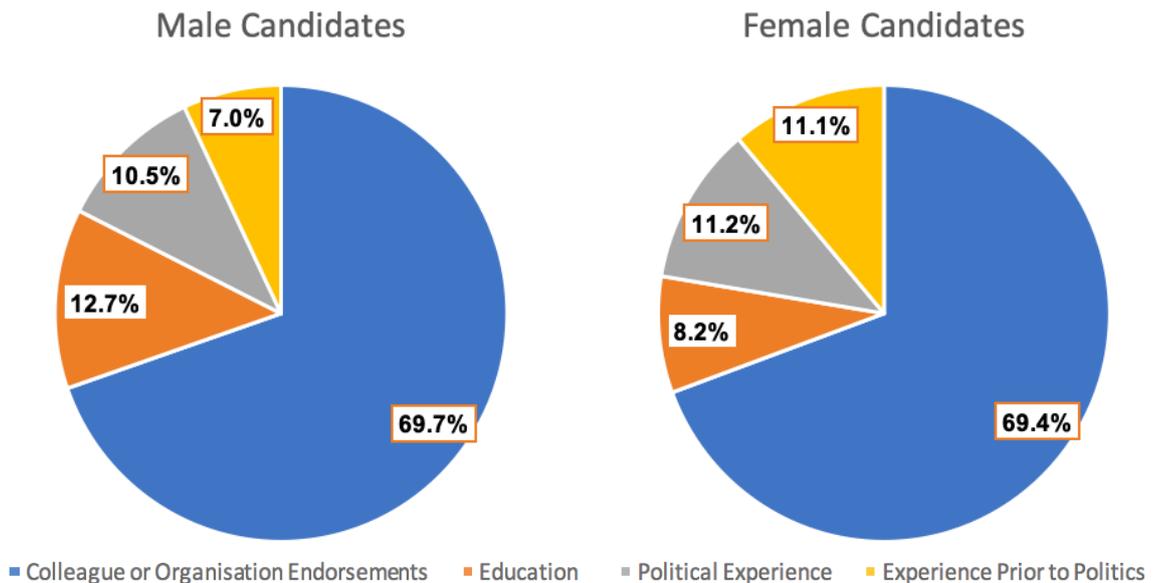


Figure 25 shows the percentage of the total competence information viewed which related to the different types available for the male and female candidates. For both sexes endorsement information formed the larger proportion as three articles were available on this for each candidate, for each of the other categories only one article

was available³⁶. Little difference between the sexes was seen for the proportion of competence information viewed that was endorsements or prior political experience for the two sexes. For female candidates, participants were more interested in their experience prior to politics than they were for their male counterparts; for male candidates, there was a higher concentration on their educational background than there was for the women.

Figure 25. Proportion of Total Competence Information by Type



Personal Information

Figure 23 shows there was no difference between the amounts of personal information viewed for male and female candidates with a minimal gap of 1.4 percentage point difference between the sexes.

Compassion Issue Related Information

Compassion issues were identified based on previous gender-stereotyping studies (Dolan, 2005, Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993a, Kittilson and Fridkin, 2008). Articles on candidates’ stance and articles criticising these positions on education, childcare, health, social care and welfare policy were classed as compassion issue information. Once again, no sex difference was seen as differences were minimal at only 2.5 percentage points.

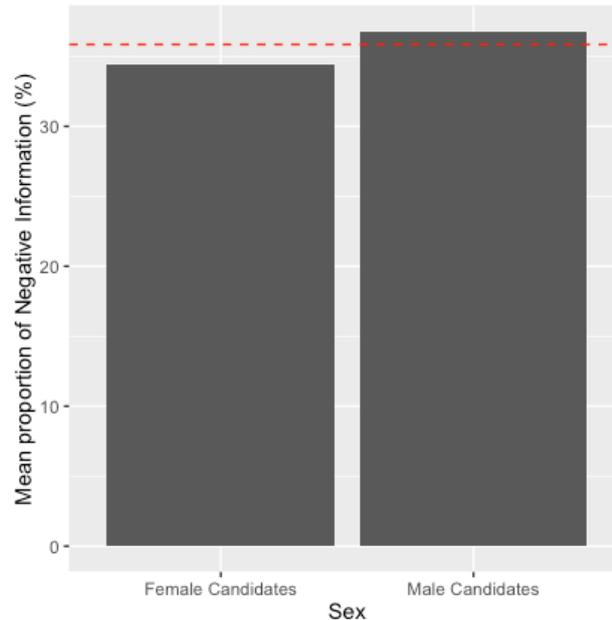
³⁶ All competence articles were available twice in the scrolling home screen of headlines.

Non-Compassion Issue Related Information

For both male and female candidates, non-compassion issue information was viewed in a slightly higher proportion than its overall availability and differences between the sexes was marginal with a difference of 2.6 percentage points.

Negative Information

Figure 26. Mean Proportions of Negative Information



For each issue position a corresponding article was created critiquing the candidate's position making for a more realistic environment, as in a real-world election neutral, factual statements about candidates' policy positions would not be the only information available. Figure 26 shows there was minimal difference between the sexes in the proportions of negative articles criticising the candidate's policy stance viewed, the difference was only 2.4 percentage points. Appendix 11 shows OLS regression analysis on the effect of the proportion of negative issue information viewed on post-election trait evaluations. The only significant effect was for the post-election desirability score for male candidates. Although significant, the effect was small, an increase of 10 percentage points in the proportion of negative information viewed would only lead to a 0.4 point drop in average male desirability on a nine-point scale.

Post-Election Questionnaire

H2: Any differences between voter evaluations of male and female candidates in the lower-information environment will dissipate in the higher-information environment.

Figure 27. Post-Election Trait Evaluations

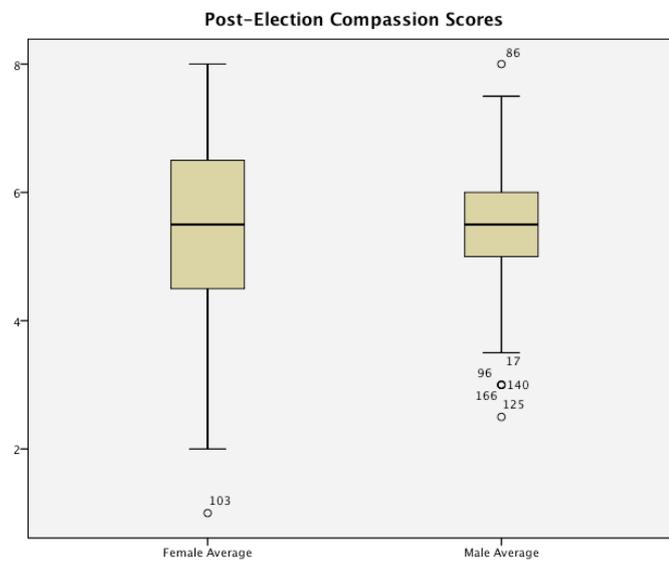
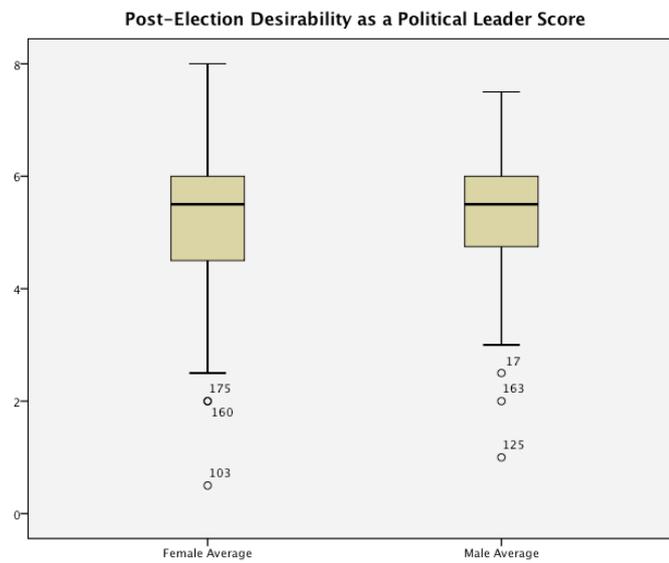
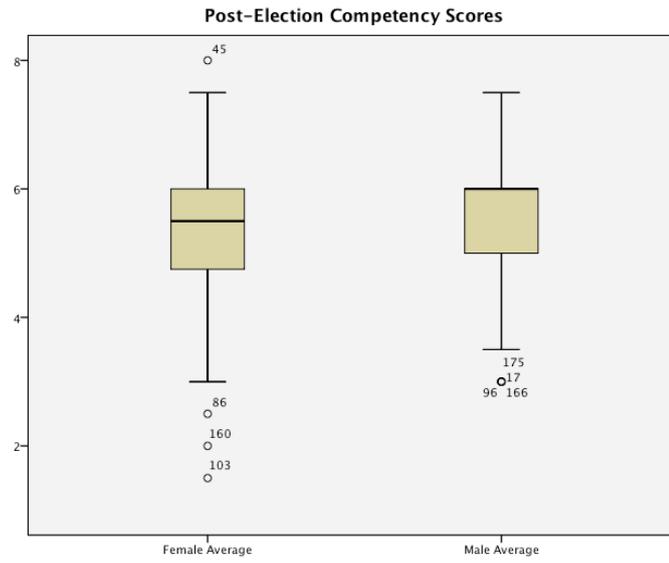
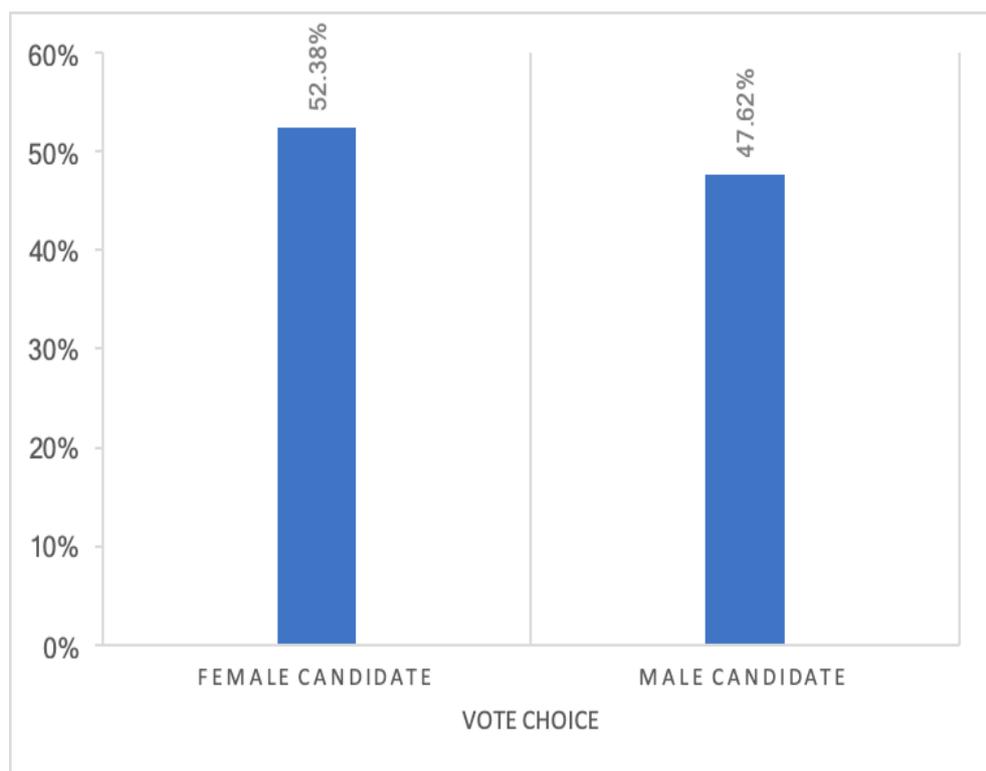


Figure 27 shows the boxplots for the mean trait evaluations for male and female candidates in the post-election questionnaire and Figure 28 shows the final vote share for male and female candidates. After the election, there remained no difference between the desirability as a leader scores for the male and female candidates. No difference is now seen in the median compassion scores between the sexes but this is not seen as support for Hypothesis 2 as the difference between the sexes on compassion in the pre-election questionnaire was negligible at 0.25 points. The difference between the sexes on competency scores, however, increased. The higher-information environment appeared to have a greater effect on competency evaluations for the female candidates than for the male. The median female score fell by 0.75 points to 5.5 after the election whereas the male median remained at 6. Although larger than the gap before the election, the difference between the sexes' competency scores remained small and non-significant.

Figure 28. Post-Election Vote Choice



Most notably, the initial benefit for the female candidates in terms of vote choice lessened in support of Hypothesis 2. Although participants were still more likely to vote for a woman, the gap reduced drastically from 38.1 percentage points to just 4.8 equating to four more participants voting for a female candidate than a male candidate. When broken down by sex of the participant (Table 22) women still prefer

a female candidate in the post-election survey but at a much lower rate than before they experienced the high information simulated election. After the election, 56.6% of female participants voted for a female candidate, a drop of 18.9 percentage points. For male participants, an initial preference for a female candidate reversed with 54.8% now voting for a male candidate. Again, results were non-significant ($\chi^2(1)=0.6192, p=0.43$).

Table 22. Post-Election Vote Choice by Participant Sex

		Sex of Participant			
		Male		Female	
		N	%	N	%
Post-Election Vote Choice	Female Candidate	14	45.2%	30	56.6%
	Male Candidate	17	54.8%	23	43.4%
Total		31	100.0%	53	100.0%

OLS regression analysis was undertaken on the post-election evaluations with proportions of information as predictors. The results are seen in Table 23. Partial regression plots showed non-linear relationships, limiting observations to the sample, however, since these are pilot experiments generalisation is already limited.

The only model where information had an effect is on the compassion ratings for the female candidates where the proportion of personal information viewed was a significant predictor of their compassion rating after the election; the higher proportion of personal information viewed the higher the compassion score. Although the effect is small, for every 1% increase in the proportion of personal information viewed, compassion scores only increased by .05 points on a nine-point scale. Given the limited power of the model (see Appendix 9 for power tables) the fact that this was significant suggests this effect warrants further examination in a larger N experiment. The demographics of participants only had a significant effect for the post-election desirability as a leader score for women, where female participants rated the female candidates on average 0.8 points higher.

Table 23. OLS Regression on Post-Election Trait Scores

	Desirability as a Political Leader		Competence		Compassion	
	Male b (SE) ¹	Female b (SE) ¹	Male b (SE) ¹	Female b (SE) ¹	Male b (SE)	Female b (SE) ¹
(Constant)	5.12 (0.89)	2.91 (1.3)	5.44 (0.97)	4.18 (1.51)	4.82 (0.85)	3.13 (1.3)
Personal Information (% of total info viewed)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.04 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)
Competence Information (% of total info viewed)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Compassion Issue Information (% of total info viewed)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)
Interest in Politics	-0.13 (0.14)	-0.02 (0.18)	-0.20 (0.12)	-0.02 (0.17)	-0.04 (0.12)	0.09 (0.16)
Education (1=Degree or Equivalent)	0.18 (0.4)	-0.07 (0.38)	0.21 (0.29)	-0.45 (0.36)	-0.11 (0.32)	-0.16 (0.35)
Education (1 = Other Higher Education)	-0.02 (0.84)	-0.24 (1.26)	-0.02 (0.85)	-0.44 (0.87)	0.07 (0.6)	-0.42 (0.98)
Ethnicity BME	-0.14 (0.73)	-0.25 (0.61)	0.05 (0.53)	-0.16 (0.63)	0.43 (0.52)	-0.14 (0.67)
2017 General Election (1=Voted)	-0.19 (0.41)	-0.06 (0.63)	-0.06 (0.4)	0.06 (0.57)	-0.15 (0.35)	0.13 (0.55)
Age	0.00 (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)
Ideology	-0.11 (0.15)	-0.04 (0.17)	-0.16 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.17)	-0.01 (0.1)	-0.04 (0.14)
Sex (1=Female)	0.44 (0.39)	0.80* (0.4)	0.23 (0.32)	0.45 (0.38)	0.32 (0.3)	0.73 (0.37)
Party Leadership Election Chosen (1=Conservative)	0.24 (0.64)	0.20 (0.64)	0.39 (0.35)	-0.07 (0.54)	0.24 (0.48)	-0.50 (0.55)
Party Identification (1=Conservative)	0.07 (1.12)	-0.70 (1.35)	-0.23 (0.68)	-0.26 (1.09)	-0.29 (0.66)	-0.13 (1.05)
Party Identification (1=Lib Dem)	0.36 (0.42)	-0.50 (0.71)	0.07 (0.32)	-0.21 (0.72)	0.08 (0.43)	-0.48 (0.63)
Party Identification (1=None)	-0.12 (0.47)	0.12 (0.56)	-0.03 (0.46)	0.31 (0.41)	-0.15 (0.41)	0.59 (0.5)

¹ Heteroscedasticity-consistent standard errors used due to homoscedasticity in model (Hayes and Cai, 2007)
 Dependent Variable = Mean Score for Male or Female Candidates, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, $N = 82$

² Non-Compassion issue information was excluded to counter issues of multicollinearity.

Vote Choice and Demographics

Table 24. Participants Who Changed Vote Choice from a Female to a Male Candidate

	<i>Participants who Changed Vote Choice</i>	<i>Total Sample</i>
Sex (% Female)	12 (54.5%)	53 (63.1%)
Mean Age	32	34
Degree Educated	12 (54.5%)	56%
Labour Leadership Election	19 (86.4%)	68 (81.0%)
Mean Ideology Score	3.1	3.2
Mean Political Interest	5.2	3.1
Voted in 2017	16 (72.7%)	57 (67.9%)
Party Leaning		
Conservative N (%)	1 (4.5%)	8 (9.5%)
Labour N (%)	8 (36.4%)	40 (47.6%)
Information Viewed		
Mean Total Articles Viewed (N)	28.0	29.9
Mean Total Articles viewed on Female Candidates (N)	13.6	15.3
Mean Total Articles viewed on Male Candidates (N)	14.4	14.7
Negative Information for Female Candidates (% of Total Information Viewed) ¹	38.1	34.4
Negative Information for Male Candidates (% of Total Information Viewed) ¹	40.1	36.8
<i>N</i>	22	84

¹43.18% of information available about each candidate was negative

Table 24 shows the descriptive characteristics and information viewed by the sub-sample of participants who changed their vote choice from a female candidate before the election to a male candidate after the election. Similar numbers of men and women changed their vote in this way, with 12 women and 10 men in the sub-sample. In line with the overall sample those that changed their vote were young and left-leaning. A difference is seen in how these vote changers are potentially more political engaged with a higher mean political interest score than the overall sample.

There were only minimal differences in the information viewed during the election by those who changed their vote. Table 24 shows those that changed their vote looked at two less articles overall during the election than the sample average, when broken

down by sex of the candidates this appears to be from viewing slightly less articles about female candidates overall. Although, these differences are small. These participants also viewed a higher proportion of negative information overall for both male and female candidates, although, again, differences are small.

Pre-Election and Post-Election Vote Choice was broken down further by differing demographics having already examined the role of the sex of the participant above. The small N of the leadership election means the cell sizes in many of the crosstabs are small but it can give an indicative idea of possible demographic factors of interest for exploration in further research³⁷.

Party Leadership Election

Table 25. Crosstab Vote Choice and Party Leadership Election

			Party Leadership Election		
			Labour	Conservative	
Pre-Election Vote Choice	Female Candidate	N	48	10	
		%	70.6%	62.5%	
	Male Candidate	N	20	6	
		%	29.4%	37.5%	
	Total N			68	16
	Post-Election Vote Choice	Female Candidate	N	34	10
%			50.0%	62.5%	
Male Candidate		N	34	6	
		%	50.0%	37.5%	
Total N			68	16	

Overall, most participants opted to participate in the Labour leadership election (81%) meaning that the differences between the two elections are hard to identify given the very low N for the Conservative election (N=16). In both cases, there was an initial preference for a female candidate but this only reduced in the Labour leadership election where the final vote was split exactly 50:50 between the male and female candidates whereas no change was seen in the Conservative election.

Party Leaning

Again, given the left-leaning of the sample cell sizes are largest in Labour for party leaning. The initial suggestion is that across all parties, female candidates are preferred. For Labour and Conservative leaning voters in the same proportions. The preference for a female leader in the lower-information setting was strongest when a

³⁷ Given small cell sizes significance tests not performed.

voter did not identify with a party. For all parties the initial preference for a female leader reduced and in the case of those who identified with no party a male candidate was the modal vote choice after the election. For Conservative supporters, there was a stronger preference after the election for a female candidate, although given the small N this only accounted for one more voter choosing a female candidate after the election.

Table 26. Crosstab Vote Choice and Party Leaning

			Party Leaning				
			Labour	Conservative	Other	None	
Pre-Election Vote Choice	Female Candidate	N	25	5	18	10	
		%	62.5%	62.5%	75.0%	83.3%	
	Male Candidate	N	15	3	6	2	
		%	37.5%	37.5%	25.0%	16.7%	
			Total N	40	8	24	12
	Post-Election Vote Choice	Female Candidate	N	21	6	12	5
%			52.5%	75.0%	50.0%	41.7%	
Male Candidate		N	19	2	12	7	
		%	47.5%	25.0%	50.0%	58.3%	
		Total N	40	8	24	12	

Age Groups

Table 27. Crosstab Vote Choice and Age Grouping

			Age Grouping					
			18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-68	
Pre-Election Vote Choice	Female Candidate	N	13	19	14	9	3	
		%	72.2%	59.4%	82.4%	81.8%	75.0%	
	Male Candidate	N	5	13	3	2	1	
		%	27.8%	40.6%	17.6%	18.2%	25.0%	
			Total N	18	32	17	11	4
	Post-Election Vote Choice	Female Candidate	N	8	16	11	6	2
%			44.4%	50.0%	64.7%	54.5%	50.0%	
Male Candidate		N	10	16	6	5	2	
		%	55.6%	50.0%	35.3%	45.5%	50.0%	
		Total N	18	32	17	11	4	

The sample was young with an average age of 34. In all age groups, there was a preference for a female leader before the election which lessened after the election. The sex difference in the lower-information environment was most prevalent in 35 to

44-year-olds. Participants aged 25 to 34 were the least likely to initially choose a female leader. Again, after the election the preference for a female leader decreased and, for the youngest two age groups disappeared entirely with a small preference for a male candidate in the 18 to 24 year-olds and an exact split in 25-34 year-olds.

Discussion

The experimental research in this chapter, and the next, is exploratory research. It was designed with two aims in mind. Firstly, it offers the opportunity to overcome limitations in current methodologies in gender stereotyping literature. Secondly, as British political science has begun to adopt the methods of political psychology in understanding voter behaviour, including in examining the role of gender (Campbell and Cowley, 2014, 2018), the method and findings in the thesis offers the opportunity to further these understandings and test the potential of a new method in the UK context. The research was conducted with a view to reproducing the study in a laboratory environment with a larger and more representative sample. A laboratory environment would allow for participants to spend longer in the simulated election³⁸, offering the opportunity for further insight into the decision-making process and further manipulations of the information available. Discussion of the results, therefore, posits potential trends which could guide future research.

It was assumed that one of the ways a relationship between candidate sex and voter behaviour may present in the electoral environment is in gender-based trait stereotypes applied by voters to candidates which are usually thought to work against women seeking political office. Overall, little evidence was seen for trait stereotyping in this experiment except for candidate competency where the results suggest qualified women in UK party leadership elections may face voter scepticism over their competency when voters learn more about them.

Competency is commonly discussed in gender stereotyping literature and in the wider literature of gender and political leadership, for example Jamieson's femininity/competency bind. There is a suggestion that male competency will be presumed, whereas female competency is questioned. In the lower-information environment, there was no evidence for this stereotype with marginal and non-significant differences between male and female candidates on competency. Yet, female competency dropped over the course of the campaign, with the female score 0.75 points lower in the post-election questionnaire than the pre-election, whereas no

³⁸ The simulated election was kept shorter in this experiment due to concerns about attrition rates in a longer election when participants are participating online at home.

change was seen for the male score. Although small, this initial trend is worthy of further examination. Classic stereotypes of female competency were only applied once participants learnt more about candidates. Ditonto et al (2014) found in a simulated election environment participants more often searched for competence-related information about female candidates which links to Jamieson's (1995) contention on the presumption of male competency versus the questioning of female. Yet, in this case there was little difference in the information viewed about male and female candidates including competency information, even when further broken down into different types. Potentially, learning more about female candidates reduces voter ratings of their competency in a way not seen for their male counterparts, even when the information viewed about the sexes is similar.

The reduction in female competency across the campaign, despite viewing similar information, runs counter to recent findings in the US context by Ditonto (2017). Ditonto's experiments using DPTE found that qualified women running for President do just as well as qualified men when participants received substantive information about their competency during the campaign. In my experiment, all competency information was positive or neutral (e.g. simply listing previous experience). Despite this, the qualified women saw their competency decrease when voters learnt more about them in comparison to their equally qualified male counterparts. Obviously, this is potentially harmful for female candidates, although it should be noted that the female candidates did not face a vote penalty after the election despite the lower evaluation of their competency. The role and importance of competency information and evaluations should be examined further. Ditonto's (2017) experiments showed there was a difference between male and female competency when participants received negative information about candidate competency. This substantive criticism damaged women candidates but made no difference for the men. What negative information there was in my experiment focused on substantive criticisms of candidates' issue positions and was viewed in the same proportions for male and female candidates. Counter to Ditonto's contention it was *male* candidates for whom negative information had an effect. Regression analysis (see Appendix 11) found that viewing negative issue information had a (small) significant negative effect on male candidates' post-election desirability score, with no significant effect on any other trait for male or female candidates. Future experiments could include more manipulations of substantive criticism of candidates to explore further how negative information may differentially impact male and female candidates.

Save for a potential trend in evaluations of competency, trait stereotyping was not present in the experiment. The importance of the null hypothesis, that there would be no difference in voter evaluations of male and female candidates, was emphasised from the outset. Findings on trait-based stereotypes support this contention. Systematic sex differences on the leadership traits of compassion and desirability as a political leader were not present in either the higher- or lower-information environments. Further discussion of the reasons behind these null findings are considered below.

A clear causal relationship between candidate sex and voter behaviour could be identified in this experiment in the effect of candidate sex on vote choice. Overwhelmingly, female candidates benefitted in the lower-information environment in terms of votes with over two thirds (69%) of participants voting for a female candidate in the pre-election questionnaire. It seems that when little is known about leadership candidates, participants rely on gender as a cue in vote choice and prefer a female candidate. However, in line with Hypothesis 2, this effect dissipated after participants learnt more about candidates, with only 52.4% of participants voting for a female candidate in the post-election questionnaire.

Why might women receive this initial vote choice benefit? Firstly, there could be an explanation based on gendered trait stereotypes. Stereotypes do not always work against women; it may be dependent on the electoral or political context. Fridkin and Kenney's (2009) examination of the 2006 US Senate elections found that ideas of female communality and honesty could have benefited women given the theme of scandal in the election. Similarly, in the US Congressional elections in 1992, the 'Year of the Women', it was thought that voters wanted a return to domestic issues which could more easily be played upon by women (Dolan, 2014). The idea of a more 'feminine' style of leadership being preferable, of stereotypes working in women's favour, is seen intermittently in the stereotyping literature as well as in other work, for example the idea of a 'glass cliff' whereby women are preferred for leadership in times of crisis (Ryan et al., 2016). Yet, no significant sex difference was seen in compassion scores for the candidates in the pre-election questionnaire. Perhaps there are other factors that were missed by the design – for example the idea of women being more honest was not measured – but it is not immediately obvious that trait stereotyping lies behind this finding.

A second, representation based, explanation may be more valid. A relationship between candidate sex and vote choice was observed in the relationship between voter and candidate descriptive characteristics. What appeared to be driving the high

numbers of votes for the female candidates was the high number of female participants who voted for a female leader in the lower-information environment. In the pre-election questionnaire, 75.5% of women supported a female candidate compared to 58.1% of men. As discussed, there is mixed evidence on whether women vote for women, much of this is US-based and mediating factors such as partisanship have a role to play (Fulton, 2014, King and Matland, 2003, Lawless and Person, 2008). In the UK context, Cowley and Campbell's (2014) survey experiments found that the sex of parliamentary candidates had no significant effect on participants' vote choice and Cowley's (2013) survey work has shown that sharing the descriptive characteristic of sex with their own MP was not important for both men and women. However, Campbell and Heath (2017) consider that an overall pattern of women voting for women may be hard to decipher as it holds only in *certain groups* of women. They find that women who support more descriptive representation were more likely to vote for a party when it put forward a female candidate than women who are not concerned about descriptive representation. In this experiment, the sample is mainly young, left-leaning women who have been shown to have more progressive views on gender norms (Phillips et al., 2018) and the descriptive representation of women (Campbell and Heath, 2017, Cowley, 2013). These demographics could explain the initial preference for a female leader in line with Campbell and Heath's (2017) findings in the UK context. Attitudes to descriptive representation of women are a potential mitigating factor in support for same-sex candidates in female voters, measuring participants' attitudes to gender equality and representation could allow this causal link to be explored further.

A representation based finding may explain the female vote benefit in the lower-information environment, but, in line with Hypothesis 2, this gender identity effect substantially reduced in the higher-information environment. The relationship between sex of the participant and sex of the preferred leader was weaker after participants experienced the higher-information setting of the simulated election with only 56.6% of female participants voting for one of the female candidates in the post-election questionnaire. It seems that these young, left-leaning women rely on gender as a cue when little is known about candidates, however, it is potentially just a cognitive shortcut, and has less of an effect in higher-information environments. This reiterates the importance of the null hypothesis and the two reasons behind it.

Two reasons for taking the null hypothesis seriously in this experimental research were put forward (i) *the importance of time and space*, and (ii) *the role of information*. The two were not seen as mutually exclusive. Firstly, let us consider that of time and

space. Initial evidence from this experiment suggests that trends present in a largely US-based literature from the 1990s and 2000s are not de facto present in the contemporary UK context. Gender-based trait stereotypes were not systematically applied to leadership candidates in either the lower- or higher-information environment. A key factor could be changing gender norms. Stereotypes are dynamic, as gendered norms vary over time and space so too do the presence of stereotypes. The UK has generally liberal attitudes to gendered roles and no mainstream party explicitly supports traditional gendered roles (Campbell and Cowley, 2018). The most recent British Social Attitudes Survey found that views on gender roles have become less traditional since 1984 with a notable change since 2008. In 2017, 72% of people disagreed that 'a man's job is to earn money and a woman's is to look after the home and family' compared to 58% in 2008. Relevant to the idea of women in the traditionally male dominated field of leadership about half (47%) of respondents to the 2017 survey thought men and women were equally suited to 'all' or 'almost all' jobs, and a further 31% said 'most jobs'. In this context, it seems plausible that an overt prejudice towards women in male dominated leadership roles will not be seen.

The demographics of the sample should also be considered here. The lack of gender-based stereotypes in this experiment may be due to the fact that the sample was primarily female, young and left-leaning. Attitudes to gendered norms vary significantly between generations, as well as by sex. The 2018 British Social Attitudes Survey showed a significant age gap with older people more likely to hold traditional views on gender roles than young people, and women slightly more likely to reject traditional gender roles than men. Therefore, it should be considered that the lack of stereotyping may be in part due to sample demographics. If these results hold in a larger more representative sample, or whether trait stereotypes vary across different demographic groups of voters needs to be further explored, as discussed in more detail in Chapter 7. The role of partisanship is also important to consider here. Primarily this experiment involved left-leaning participants taking part in a Labour leadership election. However, from the small numbers in this experiment, there was a suggestion that Conservative voters preferred a female leader when casting their vote, even once they learnt more about candidates.

Secondly, there is the role of information. A recent body of work has suggested that voters do not apply the stereotypes present in previous low information experimental work in the high information setting of real election campaigns (Brooks, 2013, Dolan, 2014, Dolan and Lynch, 2016, Lynch and Dolan, 2014). The advantage of the

innovative DPTE method is that it offers a more dynamic experimental setting than previous experimental designs common in the gender stereotyping literature. It allows us to look at the role of information and consider voting as an information processing task where the sex of the politician is one of those pieces of information (Lau and Redlawsk, 2006). The potential role of information in voter behaviour has already been seen in several ways in the above discussion. Most notably, in line with Hypothesis 2, the advantage for the female candidates in vote choice substantially reduced in the higher-information environment. Even for this young, left-leaning, female sample candidate sex was a shortcut for vote choice upon which they relied only when little was known about candidates. This supports the suggestion by Dolan (2014) that stereotypes are cognitive shortcuts and can dissipate when voters have sufficient information. This dynamic nature of stereotyping must be considered in future research designs. The finding on vote choice reiterates the importance of the innovative method used in this thesis which allows for a higher-information environment than previous methods in the literature and for us to examine to a greater extent the role of information in voters' decision-making process.

Yet, in many ways, voters' decision-making behaviour during the simulated election fitted with the null hypothesis as little difference was seen in the information participants sought about male, compared to, female candidates. This is contrary to findings from the US context which suggested voters may seek more competency and compassion related information about women candidates. Of course, it has been noted that voter behaviour in the artificial DPTE environment may not precisely map onto how voters would be behaving in a real-world election. However, we can try to isolate some causal effects of candidate sex on voter behaviour in a way the noise of a real election does not allow.

For the most part candidate sex did not impact upon voter's behaviour in the information viewed. A notable deviation from this was that regression analysis showed a significant effect of the proportion of personal information on post-election compassion ratings for female candidates. It should be considered that voters do not process information free from bias as theories of motivated cognition suggest (Ditto and Lopez, 1992, Jost et al., 2003). Potentially, voters who are already concerned about candidate compassion seek out personal information. Future experiments could include questions on important characteristics for voters in leaders to explore this potential prejudice further. Despite this limitation, the effect was small but suggests that viewing more personal information about female candidates increased their post-election compassion rating. Experiments by Bauer (2015) have shown that

gender stereotypes may not be applied to women until they are prompted by stereotypic information. Potentially, viewing personal information about female candidates may prompt voters' traditional stereotypes of female compassion leading to higher compassion ratings. Descriptions of candidate's personalities were carefully calibrated so that they included a balance of typical feminine and masculine traits (see Figure 20 for an example of a colleague endorsement describing candidate's demeanour) but a more explicit prompting of feminine stereotypes via stereotypic information may help to explore this potential trend further. In the next chapter, it is explored how including information about candidates' motherhood or fatherhood affects voter evaluations which is a chance to examine if stereotypic information about women as primary carers prompts traditional stereotypes.

There had to be an experimenter choice in terms of what information to include and these were pilot experiments that demonstrate the potential for this method in the UK context, therefore information was more simple than might be considered in future experiments. Information could be further manipulated to increase the 'realism' of the campaign and to test the causal effect of varying other types of information. For instance, polling has been found to effect voter behaviour (Utych and Kam, 2014) and a realistic campaign would include horse race articles, how might their inclusion affect voter decision making? Images can also impact voters' stereotyping and decision-making (Bauer and Carpinella, 2017), including images in the information may be a way to vary the experiment further. The possibility of including more negative competence information has already been discussed above. An element to further consider is the interaction between candidate strategy and media coverage and how the two can often be hard to disentangle. In the programme the experimenter can 'take over' participants screens with an article or video. Using this tool to display explicit campaign messages from candidates could allow for experiments to examine the impact of these on voter behaviour.

Conclusion

Initial findings from this experiential analysis suggests that, in line with the more contemporary body of literature, gender-based stereotypes were not systematically applied by voters to male and female party leadership candidates in a simulated British party leadership campaign. Although a small trend was present for competency, as learning more about female candidates reduced their competency rating in a way not seen their male counterparts, gendered stereotypes about leadership traits were limited. Systematic sex differences on traits were not present

both before participants experienced the higher-information setting of the simulated leadership campaign and after. Furthermore, for the most part candidate sex did not impact upon voter's behaviour in the information viewed. Gender did act as a cue for vote choice in the lower-information environment with an overt preference amongst female voters for a female leader when little was known about candidates. Yet, this gender identity effect dissipated when participants learnt more about the leadership contenders.

These results support findings by Dolan and others who suggest that current literature may overestimate the centrality of gendered assumptions in voters' reactions to candidates (Dolan, 2014). Even when gender did have an effect, it appeared to be a cognitive shortcut, used when information was low. The importance of space and time were considered in explanation of these null findings and how gender stereotyping may interact with voter demographics. What this experiment has revealed is that using a more innovative method in the UK context to examine voter behaviour and candidate sex has great potential. It has identified some initial trends between voter behaviour and candidate sex and furthers the argument that gender stereotyping may not be as prevalent or relevant in the contemporary British context in ways previous US-based research may suggest.

Chapter 6: Voting for Mother and Father: An Experimental Analysis

Upon former Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard's ascension to the prime ministership the media dusted off an old characterisation of her by an Australian Senator as 'deliberately barren' and her childlessness became a campaign issue (Trimble, 2017). Gillard was not an isolated case, female leaders from various countries have found their (non-)motherhood subject to commentary, for instance the US media questioned if Vice Presidential Candidate Sarah Palin as a 'mom of five' had the time capacity to fulfil the duties of office (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009). Politics and parenthood is an emerging field of study, work has examined motherhood gaps in politics, the effect of having children on political behaviour, and media representations of leaders' parenthood (Thomas and Bittner, 2017). In the British context, this thesis has shown how motherhood has been used to differentiate between female contenders in recent British party leadership elections. In line with the dual approach taken in this thesis, these findings are further explored in relation to voter perceptions via experimental research methods.

The experimental research in this chapter draws on the field of political psychology and utilises a large body of, mainly US-based, experimental work on gender stereotyping and voter perceptions, including occasional work on the effect of candidates' parenthood. Preceding chapters demonstrated that a methodological limitation of such experiments is the low information setting in which they are commonly performed as an emerging body of literature has questioned the existence of gender stereotypes in the high information environments of real elections. To counter these limitations, the same innovative experimental design as in the previous chapter is used. Dynamic Process Tracing Environment (DPTE) software is utilised, which brings some of the noise of real-world elections into the experimental design. The design aims to replicate, to some extent, the high information nature of real elections. Although still an approximation of real-life, the experiment offers a more realistic and dynamic experimental experience which is closer to the high information contexts of real campaigns than previous experimental designs common in the field of gender and political leadership. It also offers an opportunity to study the processes behind voter choices. Two experiments were conducted in this thesis. The previous chapter set out Experiment 1, which varied candidate sex, this chapter sets out the

results of Experiment 2 which tests the effect of varying both party leadership candidates' sex and their parenthood – i.e. if they have children or not – on voter evaluations in a simulated party leadership election.

An experimental approach allows for the examination of the hypotheses surrounding the politicisation of motherhood and, potentially, fatherhood identified in preceding chapters³⁹ in relation to voters' perceptions of political leaders. Varying both sex and parenthood also allows for a more nuanced analysis of gendered behaviour and political leadership than varying only binary sex as it relates to how a candidate violates or conforms to gendered norms (Bell and Kaufmann, 2015). Through more nuanced analysis any further gendering of leadership, for instance around its potential 'feminisation' discussed in previous chapters, can be explored. The British case provides a valuable context in which to study the impact of parenthood on candidate evaluations as, recently, two parties, the Labour Party and the Conservative Party, both held leadership elections in which two women ran – a mother and a non-mother. In both cases the motherhood of one candidate was used to implicitly criticise her female opponent for not having children (Smith, 2018)⁴⁰.

Hypotheses

The hypotheses and results of the observational research in Chapter 4 are used to guide the experimental analysis. An overview of the reasoning behind this chapter's hypotheses is given below. It reveals how the evidence on politics and parenthood offers competing hypotheses as results are often contextual as they vary over time and space.

Voting for Mother: Politicised Motherhood

Recently, Deason et al (2015) suggest there is an emerging Politicized Motherhood in US politics, in the context of an overall increase in mentions of politicians' families over the last few decades. *Politicized Motherhood* differs from a previous emphasis on motherhood as it comes alongside a wider cultural emphasis on mothers as "special different and powerful" (Deason et al., 2015, p. 136). The emergence of high profile female politicians whose motherhood has been the subject of commentary, such as Sarah Palin, has aided this phenomenon. Some evidence was found in the observational research in this thesis for a politicisation of motherhood in the UK context. Original content analysis of the media coverage of UK party leadership elections in which women had been serious contenders in Chapter 4 revealed that

³⁹ See Chapter 4 for more detail.

⁴⁰ See Chapter 4 for more detail.

when mothers ran their motherhood was certainly of interest. Both Margret Thatcher's motherhood in 1975 and Yvette Cooper's in 2015 were used to intimate their competency, a finding which resonated with concepts of Politicized Motherhood in the US context. Politicized Motherhood presents two competing hypotheses on how motherhood may affect female candidates. Contextual evidence can be found for both.

H1(i): Motherhood is detrimental to female candidates.

Traditionally, motherhood is thought to work against women in public life. Jamieson's womb/brain bind contends that women can face questions about whether their public life is compatible with their domestic responsibilities, suggesting that they can have a career and a family but it is always at the cost of cheating one over the other (Jamieson, 1995, Murray, 2010b). Women can often struggle to break from the traditional view of them as mothers or primary care-givers. Deason et al (2015) are concerned that politicizing motherhood could emphasise traditional gender-based stereotypes given to women which are incongruous with political leadership. These stereotypes were found in experimental work in the 1990s and early 2000s which showed women tended to be seen as more compassionate, they were considered more often "warm, gentle, kind and passive" whereas men were more often seen as agentic, they were thought to be "tough, aggressive and assertive". Men were more often thought competent on tough, aggressive issues such as the military, foreign affairs and defence whereas female politicians were seen as competent on compassion issues such as healthcare, education and childcare (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993a, p. 121). For both sexes possessing male traits was most beneficial; these were linked to presumed competency on issues such as economics and the military which are believed to be valued in leaders and were preferred characteristics for candidates for higher executive office (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993b).

There is evidence for the detrimental hypothesis, mainly from the US context. In 2008, Sarah Palin found her ability to fulfil the duties of Vice President as a 'mom of five' questioned by the US media (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009, Greenlee, 2014). Stalsburg's (2010) US-based political experiments found that when presented with candidates with varying familial responsibilities respondents thought women with young children were less viable candidates with less time capacity than men with young children. Recent focus group research by the American Barbara Lee Family Foundation (2017) studying how female candidates can positively respond to questions on balancing their home life and their political career suggest that women

in the US may still struggle to break from the traditional womb/brain bind. It was found that the mothers (one single and one married) rated lower on reliability, effectiveness and voter likelihood after the critique and their responses. Again in line with the suggestion by Deason et al that Politicised Motherhood may emphasise traditional gender-based stereotypes, recent US-based experiments by Bauer (2015) found that traditional gender-based stereotypes were not applied to women candidates until they were activated through receiving additional stereotypic information about candidates. In her experiments including information on the candidate attending a campaign event with his or her children at an elementary school where he or she met with parents, alongside trait associations describing the candidate as nurturing and compassionate activated traditional stereotypes about the female candidates.

H1(ii) Motherhood is beneficial to female candidates.

The alternative hypothesis is that, in a changed political context, motherhood may in fact be beneficial to women candidates. If motherhood becomes politicized 'female' traits may become more salient and leadership roles seen in more feminine terms. Organisational studies have shown more 'female' styles of leadership are increasing in managerial roles (Eagly, 2007). A new cultural emphasis on mothers as 'special' and exhibiting natural competency because of this may benefit female candidates with children as they can use a "maternal campaign strategy" capitalising on the idea of a mother's 'natural' aptitude for multitasking, budget management and diplomacy (Deason et al., 2015, p. 143). Furthermore, motherhood may demonstrate women's 'natural' communality and so negate the supposed communality deficit thought to be faced by women who seek leadership roles (Heilman and Okimoto, 2007, Jamieson, 1995, Okimoto and Brescoll, 2010, Rosenwasser and Seale, 1988). Contextual evidence can be found in support of this hypothesis. Heilman and Okimoto's (2007) US-based experiments in organisational studies found that women who were depicted as successful in male roles were less liked and seen as less favourable bosses. However, when the additional information was included that the women were mothers these evaluations improved. In the UK political context, recent survey experiments by Campbell and Cowley (2018) found that when presented with brief biographies of potential parliamentary candidates voters showed a clear preference for candidates with children, and there was no general punishment for women with children.

H2: A maternal mandate is placed on the non-mother candidate.

In contexts where motherhood is politicised, the question is begged about the woman candidate without children. Is there a 'maternal mandate' in play whereby women who do not have children are criticised (Deason et al., 2015)? Any such mandate may take two mutually reinforcing forms. First, women without children could be perceived as less viable candidates as they lack the required maternity. They may be treated with suspicion for not conforming to the normality of motherhood (Murray, 2010a). In contrast, men are thought able to opt in and out of any parallel concentration on fatherhood more easily (Deason et al., 2015). Secondly, childless women cannot use motherhood to overcome any communality deficits as mother candidates may do (Heilman and Okimoto, 2007). The appearance of seemingly sacrificing family for career may even increase any communality deficit. Contextual evidence for a maternal mandate can be found in existing literature. Stalsburg's (2010) experiments found women with no children did significantly worse on every competency indicator except children's issues and time capacities than childless men. The Barbara Lee Family Foundation (2017) found a concern amongst focus group participants that the unmarried, childless female candidate could not understand the concerns of normal families. Similarly, Campbell and Cowley (2018)'s UK-based survey experiments found that female parliamentary candidates without children were punished in voter evaluations more than their male counterparts. Voters reacted negatively to women without children when they were against men with children; they received lower evaluations on their approachability, effectiveness, experience and voters' overall preference for them as a candidate. Yet, in the observational research in this thesis evidence for a maternal mandate was found in the media coverage of British party leadership elections, but it did not necessarily present in the contemporary UK context as the mainly US-based literature suggested. There was a penalty for childless women, but their childlessness was represented a weakness which their (female) opponents could exploit rather than as a communality deficit.

Voting for Father: Politicised Fatherhood

The proposition by Deason et al (2015) is that men can opt in or out of any parallel concentration on fatherhood and much of the politics and parenthood literature focuses on motherhood. However, the observational work in Chapter 4 showed that in British party leadership elections over time although the men, especially maybe Conservative men, did seem to have an 'opt out' option in discussions of family fatherhood was, at times, of more interest than motherhood and the rise in the

'modern man' image could be traced through these elections. Therefore, two similarly competing hypotheses on fatherhood as were made about motherhood are developed based on the personalisation of politics thesis and the limited work on fatherhood.

H3(i): Fatherhood as beneficial to male candidates.

The personalisation of politics literature suggests that politicians, including male politicians, may use their family to manipulate their image (Langer, 2007, Stanyer, 2007). For example, the former UK Prime Minister Gordon Brown supposedly used his wife and children to soften his cold image (McGuire and Winter, 2015). Male candidates may, therefore, use their fatherhood to appear more personable. Interviews with Canadian MPs by Thomas and Lambert (2017) found that men used their family to soften their image, to make them seem more approachable and provide credibility on certain issues. Focus group research by the American Barbara Lee Family Foundation (2017) found that the male, married, father included as a control was rated higher after the critique of balancing home and work life and his responses, whereas all the women, of varying parenthood statuses, were damaged by the discussion. In the UK context, Campbell and Cowley's (2018) survey experiments found a preference by voters for both male and female parliamentary candidates with children. In the observational work in this thesis (Chapter 4) fatherhood in media coverage of party leadership elections was not necessarily portrayed as positive but it was rarely presented in a negative light.

H3(ii) Fatherhood as detrimental to male candidates.

Fatherhood, however, has not always been found to work in the candidate's favour in the available research. Although concentrating primarily on female candidates, Stalsburg (2010) did find a fatherhood penalty in her experiments – the men with no children were advantaged compared to the men with children. She proposes a man with children may be feminised which would emasculate the candidate and run counter to traditional ideas of an 'ideal' US executive who "embodies strength, power, masculinity, and independence" (Stalsburg, 2010, p. 396).

The Importance of the Null Hypothesis

It has been reiterated throughout this thesis that the null hypothesis, of no difference between male and female candidates, should be given thorough consideration. This remains the case for this experiment. As in the previous chapter, stereotypes may be prevalent in the lower-information environment of the pre-election questionnaire but dissipate after participants experience the dynamic, higher-information environment

of the simulated leadership election. Experimental work on parenthood such as that of Stalsburg (2010) used similar low information methods as those seen in the traditional gender stereotyping literature. Given the limitations of these methods explored in Chapter 2 and 5, the discussion of the results should consider the effect of the higher-information environment on any initial differences seen between candidates based on their sex or parenthood.

An examination of the literature above revealed competing hypotheses given that results were often contextual as they varied over time and place. For example, motherhood did seem to prompt traditional stereotypes in some of the US-based work, such as Stalsburg's (2010) experiments or focus group research by the American Barbra Lee Foundation (2017). Yet, evidence from the UK context by Campbell and Cowley (2018) suggested that mothers in British politics are not punished by voters. As was seen in the overview of the gender and political leadership literature in Chapter 1, the gendering of varying contexts is relevant and so, once again, an examination of the results speaks to the importance of political and cultural context and the possibility a mainly US-based literature does not travel to the contemporary UK case.

Method and Sample

To test the effect of varying both leadership candidates' sex and their parenthood on voter evaluations the same experimental design is used as in Experiment 1 in the previous chapter. Dynamic Process Tracing Environment (DPTE) was used to simulate a party leadership election between the same four candidates – two men and two women. In Experiment 2 in this chapter, both the sex and parenthood of the candidates was varied at two levels, parent and non-parent, a 2x2 factorial design, marital status was kept constant with all candidates described as married (see Figure 4 in Chapter 2 for full experimental design). The dependent variables were again voters' evaluation, vote choice and decision-making processes.

Recruitment and Sample

Participants were recruited using the website Prolific Academic, an online survey website. The details of the total and valid sample can be found in Chapter 5 (p.143-144) including demographics and the recruitment process. The N for the valid sample was 93 and, as before, the sample was left-leaning, younger, and primarily female. This N is low as the experiment was designed as exploratory research with a view to conducting a similar experiment with a larger N in a laboratory environment. Given

the low N, results should be treated with caution as the power of the statistical tests used are limited. See Appendix 9 for tables of power.

Experimental Procedure

The experimental procedure was identical to that in the previous chapter, and set out in detail in Chapter 2 and 5. Participants chose which party leadership election – Labour or Conservative – to take part in, ideally the one with which they most closely identify. The first screen contained the same brief biographies of the four leadership candidates (see Table 16, p.143) in order to recreate the low information style experiments common in the gender stereotyping literature. As with Experiment 1, sex was randomly varied between profiles using different names and gendered pronouns. Different in Experiment 2 was that the parenthood of the candidates was included at the end of each biography. For two candidates (one male and one female) it is said that the candidate lives with “[his/her] [husband/wife] and their two young children”; and for two candidates (one male and one female) it is said that they live with “[his/her] [husband/wife], the couple do not have any children”⁴¹. Which candidates are made the (non-)mother or (non-)father is randomly varied between candidate profiles.

Pre-Election Questionnaire

As previously, participants gave their initial impressions of the candidates before entering the simulated ‘election’ by rating them on the trait measures of desirability as a leader, competence and compassion and voting for one candidate as their preferred leader.

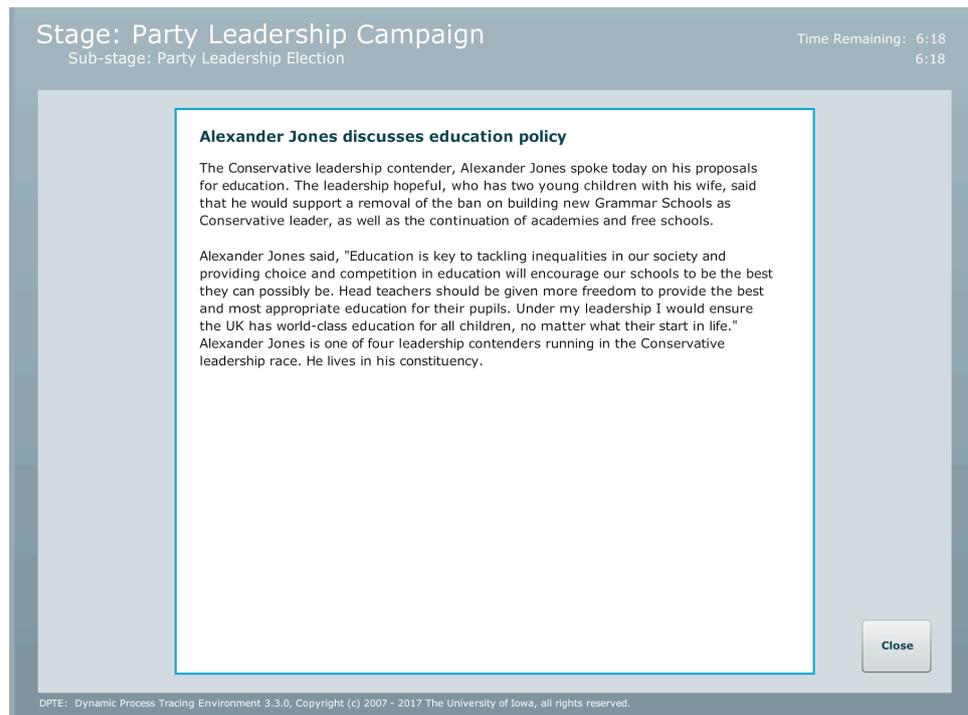
The ‘Election’

Participants then entered the ‘election’ which ran for seven minutes. The same articles were used as in the previous experiment, with the addition that the parenthood of the candidates was mentioned in a third of the articles available.

For example, Figure 29 shows an article which included reference to candidates’ parenthood.

⁴¹ The sexuality of candidates was kept constant with all candidates described as heterosexual.

Figure 29. Example Article Including a Reference to Parenthood



Post-Election Questionnaire

At the end of the election participants evaluated the candidates again on their competence, desirability as a political leader and compassion, and cast a final vote for one candidate to become party leader.

Dependent Variable Measurements

The same three dependent variables – voter evaluation, decision-making and vote choice – are used in this experiment:

(1) Evaluation

The pre-election and post-election scores for the candidates on the three leadership trait measures of desirability as a political leader, competence and compassion.

(2) Decision-Making

The information accessed by participants during the simulated election campaign. The information available falls into four categories (see Appendix 4 for a full list of information items by category):

- Personal based information
- Competency based information

- Compassion issue-related information
- Non-Compassion issue-related information

(3) Vote Choice

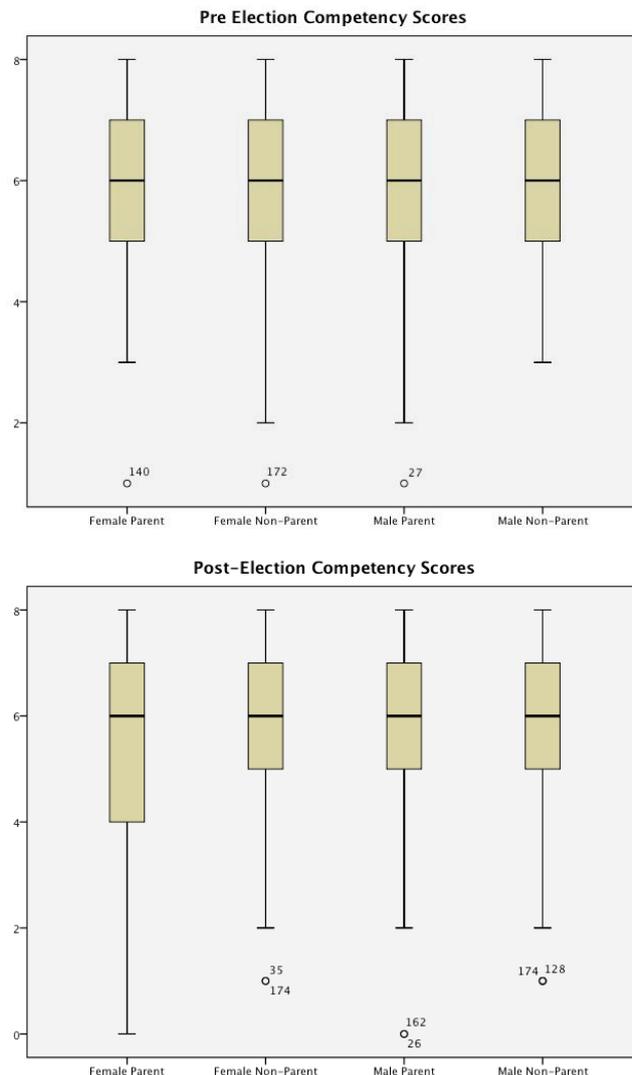
Participants' pre-election and post-election vote choice for party leader.

Results

Evaluation

In both the pre- and post-election questionnaires participants rated each candidate on three leadership traits on nine-point scales, with higher scores as more favourable. All scores were significantly positively skewed therefore non-parametric measures are used in analysis (see Appendix 12 for distribution of evaluation measures). The power tables of the non-parametric t-tests can be found in Appendix 9. Given the small N of the experiment the power of these tests was limited and results should be interpreted cautiously given the high likelihood of Type II error.

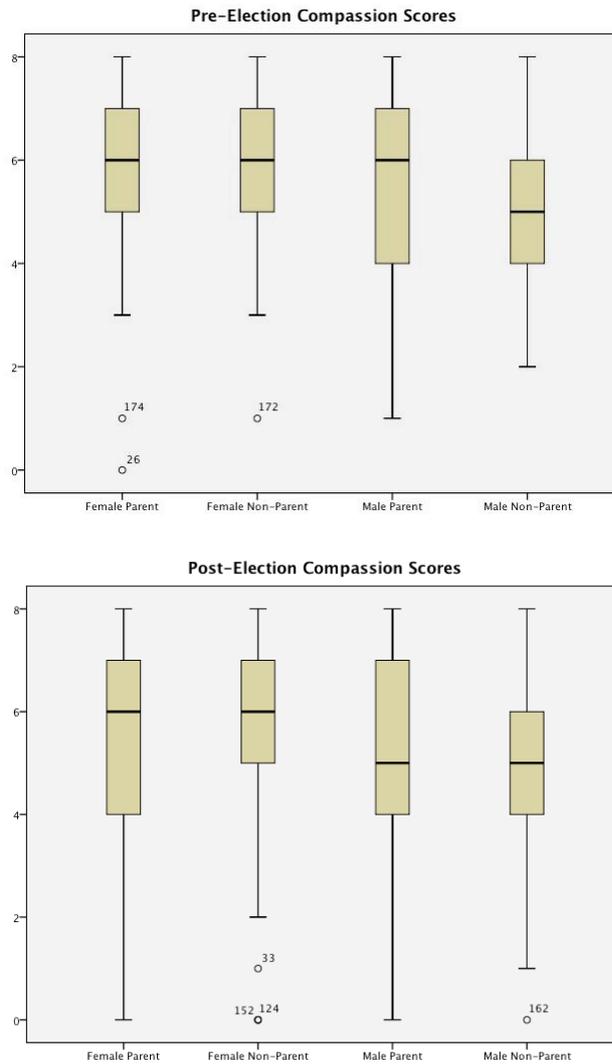
Figure 30. Boxplots of Competency Scores



Competence

There is no difference between any of the candidates in terms of competence scores in Figure 30. All candidates had a median score of six both before and after the election.

Figure 31. Boxplots Compassion Scores



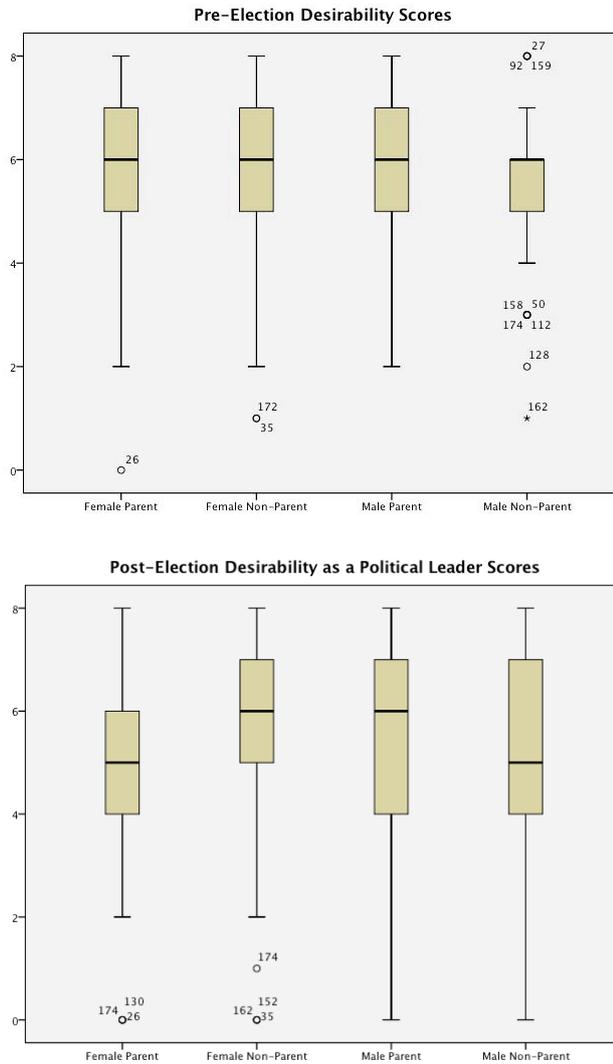
Compassion

Figure 31 shows that, in the higher-information environment sex rather than parenthood determined compassion. Before the election the male candidate without children faced a communality deficit with a median compassion score one point lower than any of the other candidates. After the simulated election, the median compassion score for the father candidate decreased by one point, in line with the male candidate without children whereas the compassion score for the female

candidates remained unaffected. After the election, both female candidates had higher median compassion ratings than the male candidates, although this difference was small at a difference of one point on a nine-point scale.

Desirability as a Political Leader

Figure 32. Boxplots of Desirability as a Political Leader Scores



Before the election all candidates had the same median desirability as a political leader score. However, after experiencing the high information environment of the election the non-mother and father are the more desirable leaders. The non-mother and the father candidate both received the highest median scores for desirability as a political leader, with median desirability scores of six (Figure 32) compared to five for the non-father and mother candidate. Although the difference was small at only one-point difference on a nine-point scale.

Decision-Making

Table 28. Total Articles Viewed by Participants

	<i>Valid Sample</i>
Mean (SE)	27.72 (1.20)
Standard Deviation	11.56
Median	26
Inter-Quartile Range	16
25 th Quartile	19.5
75 th Quartile	35.5
Range	53
<i>N</i>	93

Table 28 shows the descriptive statistics for the total information viewed by participants in the experiment for the valid sample. On average, participants viewed 28 articles during the experiment. Overall, there was a large range in the number of articles viewed. The inter-quartile range and the mean and standard deviation suggest that the number of articles viewed was spread across this range with notable variation around the mean in the sample, although with less participants at the extreme ends of the range. An examination of the histogram did not clearly show any bi-modal distribution, with no suggestion there might be ‘high’ and ‘low’ information seekers. The types of information viewed is broken down further below in analysis of the information viewed about the different candidates.

Table 29. Mean Total Articles Viewed by Participant Demographics

	<i>Mean Total Information Viewed (SE)</i>
Male Participants	26.81 (1.89)
Female Participants	28.30 (1.56)
Degree Educated	26.56 (1.62)
No Degree or Other Qualification	28.25 (1.80)
Voted in 2017 General Election	27.82 (1.38)
Did Not Vote in 2017 General Election	27.46 (2.46)

Table 29 shows the mean total number of articles viewed by participant demographics. Overall, female participants viewed on average one more article than male participants during the experiment. It might be expected that more educated participants would view more articles, however the difference was small and those with a degree actually viewed one less article on average than those with no degree or another qualification. There was less than one article difference in the number of articles viewed according to if participants voted in the 2017 General Election or not, included as a measure of political participation.

The advantage of the DPTE software is the ability to analyse how voters behaved during the simulated election. Table 30 shows the mean total information viewed for each candidate. It is noticeable that the mean information viewed was lower for the male candidate without children – on average participants viewed nearly one article less for the childless man than any other candidate during the simulated election.

Table 30. Mean Total Information Viewed by Type of Candidate

Candidate	Mean N of Articles Viewed
<i>Female Parent</i>	7.05
<i>Male Parent</i>	7.16
<i>Female Non-Parent</i>	7.40
<i>Male Non-Parent</i>	6.11

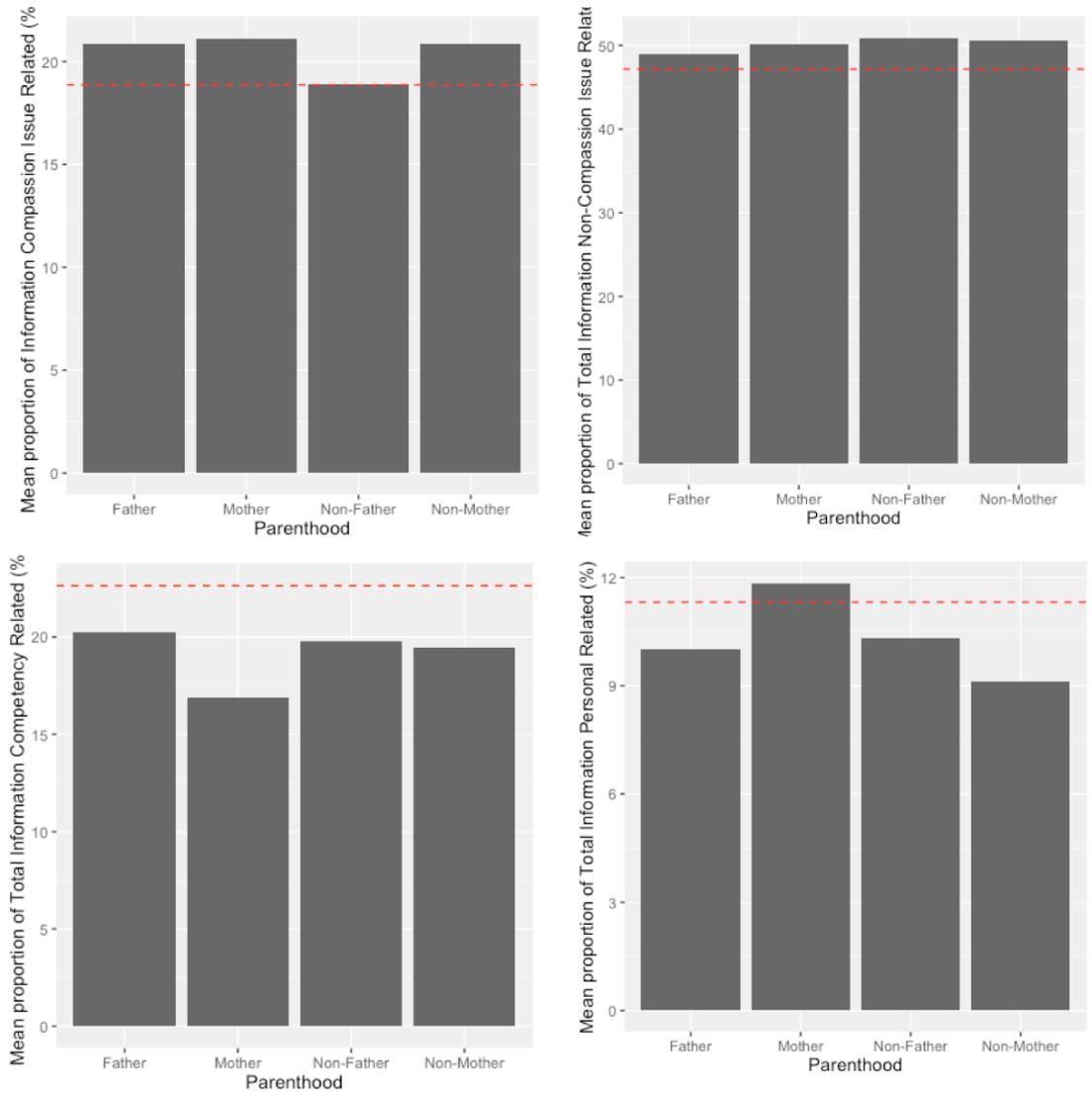
For each participant, the percentage of the total amount of information they viewed about each candidate which related to the four information categories was calculated. Figure 33 shows the mean proportions of overall information which related to each information type for the four candidates. The red dotted lines represent the proportion of overall available information which was of this type. If participants were randomly selecting information then we would expect them to select it in the same proportion as its availability (Lau and Redlawsk, 2006), i.e. each bar would be in line with the red dotted line.

Competency Related Information

For all candidates, competency related information was viewed in a lesser proportion to its overall availability. Perhaps, competency related information – i.e. information on experience, colleague and organisational endorsement – was of lesser interest than other forms of information. However, this should be caveated by the limitation of experimental methods as voters may not behave exactly as they do in real-world elections, perhaps choosing information they find more interesting in the experiment

than they would choose in a true election. It is interesting to note that competency scores did not change for any candidates after the election compared to the pre-election questionnaire. There was little difference between candidates in competency information viewed, the lowest mean percentage is seen for the mother candidate however any difference was marginal with a maximum of 2.6 percentage points difference between the means for the candidates.

Figure 33. Mean Proportion of Information by Type



Yet, as discussed in the previous chapter, the concept of competence is hard to operationalise, for example some voters may prefer candidates' experience prior to their political career as a measure of competence as they dislike 'career politicians'. Similarly, endorsements by fellow colleagues may not be viewed by voters as necessarily about competence but could be 'party politics' as certain colleagues or organisations will always support their ideological matches in a leadership election.

Further analysis was carried out to deconstruct the competency information to assess if specific elements were of more interest than others.

Figure 34. Proportion of Total Competence Information by Type

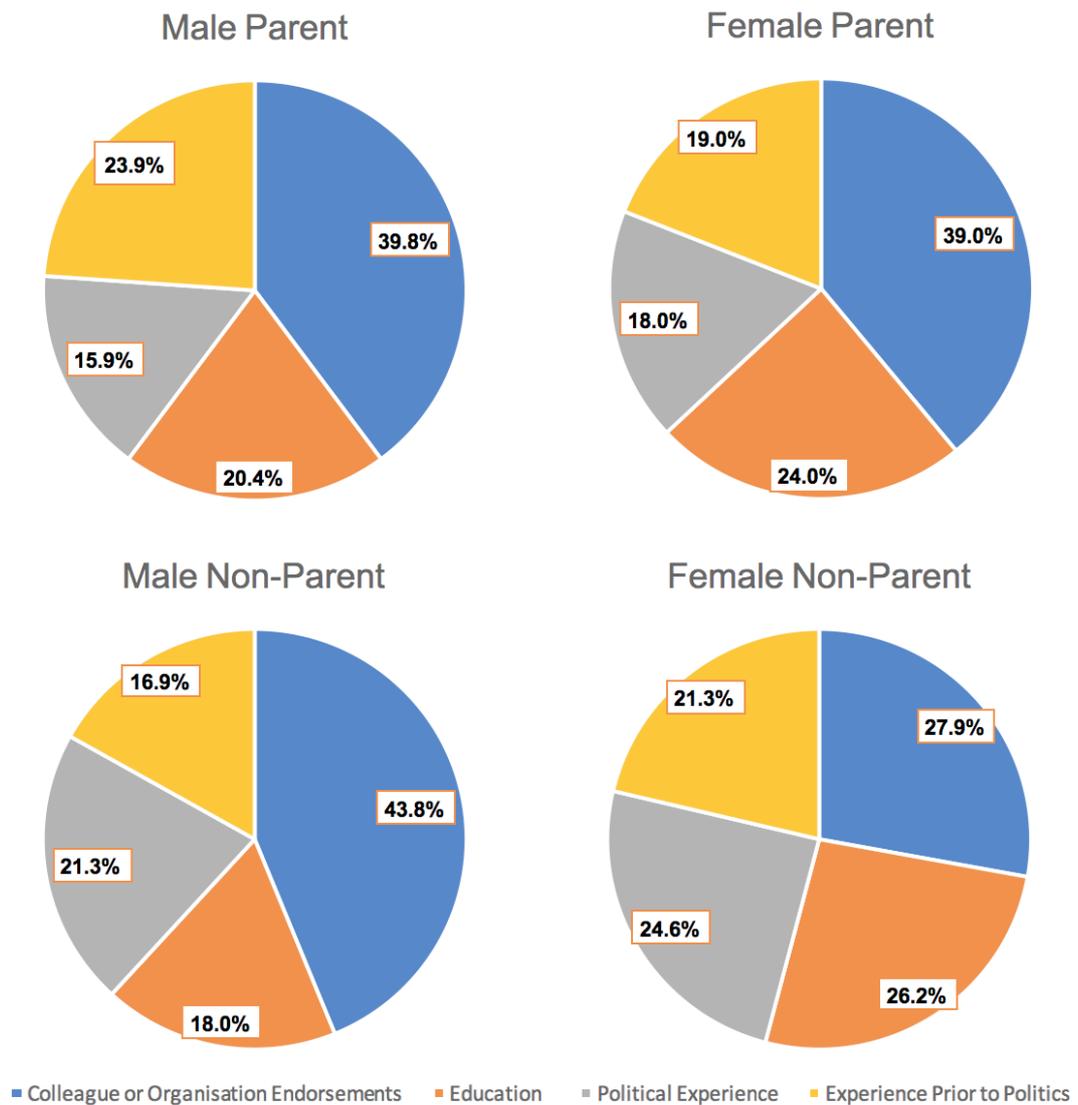


Figure 34 shows the percentage of the total competence information viewed which related to the different types available for the four candidates. For all candidates, endorsement information formed the larger proportion as three articles were available on this for each candidate, for each other category only one article was available⁴². Yet, endorsement information was of less interest for the female candidate without children with the focus more evenly spread between these and what might be considered her ‘qualifications’ – her experience (inside and outside of politics) and her education. In comparison, for *male* candidates without children

⁴² All competence articles were available twice in the scrolling home screen of headlines.

endorsements formed the largest proportion of competence information for any candidate and political experience was of greater interest than education or experience outside of politics. For the male candidate with young children experience prior to politics formed a larger proportion of the competence information viewed than for any of the other candidates, for the female candidate with young children, endorsement information was viewed at a similar rate as her male counterpart but education was viewed in a higher proportion than her experience in or outside of politics.

Personal Related Information

Little difference was seen in the personal information viewed about the candidates, although personal information about the female parent was viewed in a higher proportion than its availability and for all other candidates it was viewed in a lesser proportion, differences are small with a maximum 2.7 percentage point difference between the means for the candidates.

Compassion Issue Information

Compassion issues were identified based on previous gender-stereotyping studies (Dolan, 2005, Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993a, Kittilson and Fridkin, 2008). Articles on candidates' stance and articles criticising these positions on education, childcare, health, social care and welfare policy were classed as compassion issue information. The mean proportion of overall information viewed that related to compassion issues was exactly in proportion to its availability for the non-father candidate. For all other candidates, it was viewed in a greater proportion than its availability. Yet, as with competency information, differences are small but the lower mean for the non-father is noteworthy given the male candidate without children faced an initial compassion deficit, it does not appear that participants sought out information to rectify this in a disproportionate amount to other candidates.

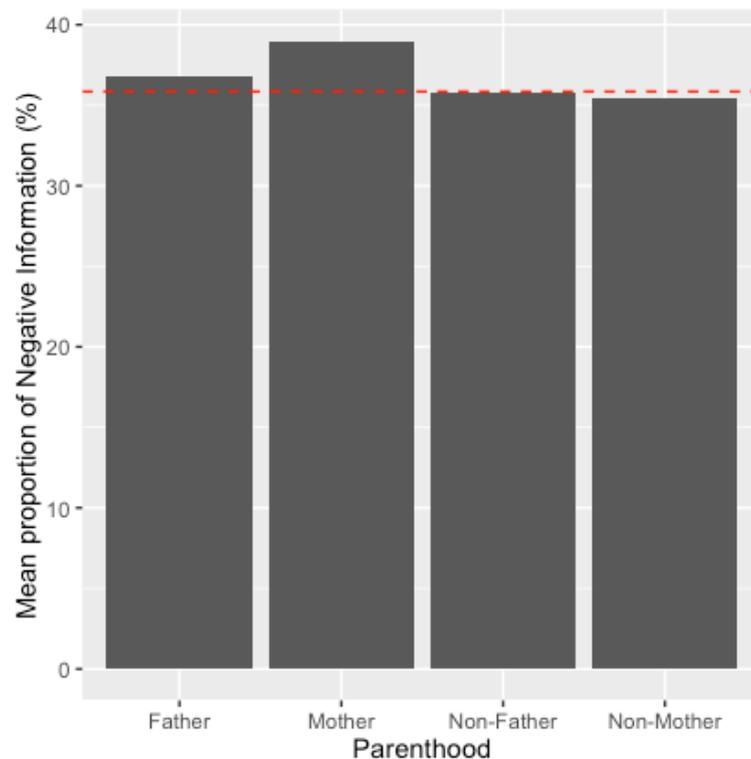
Non-Compassion Issue Information

All other issue positions and criticisms were classed as non-compassion information; a full list can be found in Appendix 4. Non-compassion issues included topics such as the economy, immigration, Europe, housing and foreign affairs. There were minimal differences between the candidates in terms of the percentage of overall information viewed relating to their non-compassion issue positions. For all candidates, non-compassion issue information was viewed in a slightly higher proportion than its overall availability.

Negative Information

For each issue position a corresponding article was created critiquing the candidate's position making for a more realistic environment as in a true election neutral, factual statements about candidates' policy positions would not be the only information available. Figure 35 shows the mean proportions of overall information viewed which were negative articles. There was little difference between the candidates. Although highest for the mother candidate, the gap between the mother candidate and the others was small.

Figure 35. Mean Proportions of Negative Information



OLS regression analysis was undertaken on the post-election evaluations with proportions of information as predictors. The results are seen in Table 31. It should be noted that these results are not generalizable as partial regression plots showed non-linear relationships, limiting observations to the sample. However, since these are pilot experiments generalisation is already limited. In only two cases did information have a significant effect. Firstly, the higher the proportion of competence information viewed about the mother candidate, the higher her competency score. Secondly, compassion information has a significant effect for the male candidate without children, viewing higher proportions of compassion issue related information means participants rated the non-father as less competent.

Table 31. OLS Regression on Post-Election Trait Scores

	Competence				Desirability as a Political Leader				Compassion			
	Parent		Non-Parent		Parent		Non-Parent		Parent		Non-Parent	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)
(Constant)	9.15 (1.45)	5.10 (1.73)	8.51 (1.6)	5.23 (1.65)	10.00 (1.67)	4.49 (1.33)	7.19 (1.93)	6.64 (2.05)	7.72 (1.62)	5.01 (1.49)	8.19 (1.37)	6.82 (1.49)
Personal Information (% of total information viewed)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Competence Information (% of total information viewed)	0.01 (0.01)	0.03 (0.01)*	0.00 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Compassion Issue Information (% of total information viewed)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)
Interest in Politics	-0.28 (0.26)	0.08 (0.21)	-0.32 (0.23)	-0.11 (0.28)	-0.40 (0.29)	0.07 (0.22)	-0.23 (0.27)	-0.14 (0.35)	-0.20 (0.26)	0.03 (0.21)	-0.34 (0.21)	-0.12 (0.27)
Education (1=Degree or Equivalent)	0.18 (0.39)	-0.44 (0.44)	0.24 (0.48)	0.63 (0.45)	0.04 (0.43)	-0.05 (0.5)	-0.19 (0.57)	0.04 (0.57)	0.10 (0.53)	-0.16 (0.55)	-0.02 (0.44)	0.11 (0.47)
Education (1 = Other Higher Education)	0.91 (2.44)	-2.80* (1.23)	-0.57 (0.93)	-0.67 (0.93)	1.70 (2.13)	-2.14 (1.9)	-0.77 (1.91)	-0.80 (2.38)	1.53 (1.37)	-3.11 (2.03)	0.11 (1.23)	-1.84 (2.37)
Ethnicity BME	1.23* (0.54)	0.34 (1.03)	-0.51 (0.94)	0.19 (0.84)	0.8 (0.61)	0.60 (0.77)	-0.42 (0.84)	0.08 (1.06)	1.10 (0.59)	1.26 (0.71)	0.31 (0.66)	-0.85 (0.86)
2017 General Election (1=Voted)	-0.34 (0.6)	0.29 (0.52)	-0.94* (0.47)	0.15 (0.6)	-0.68 (0.63)	0.78 (0.47)	-1.13 (0.54)	-0.20 (0.66)	0.06 (0.52)	0.24 (0.47)	-0.80 (0.44)	-0.74 (0.5)
Age	-0.06** (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.07** (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Ideology	-0.14 (0.14)	-0.25 (0.15)	-0.16 (0.14)	-0.18 (0.17)	-0.15 (0.16)	-0.11 (0.13)	-0.14 (0.17)	-0.20 (0.23)	-0.13 (0.15)	-0.07 (0.15)	-0.16 (0.12)	-0.16 (0.16)
Sex (1=Female)	-0.45 (0.43)	0.56 (0.42)	0.32 (0.44)	0.64 (0.43)	-0.66 (0.45)	0.47 (0.4)	0.40 (0.5)	0.56 (0.59)	-0.65 (0.47)	0.27 (0.43)	0.26 (0.4)	0.80 (0.54)
Party Leadership Election Chosen (1=Conservative)	0.09 (0.59)	-0.05 (0.8)	-0.20 (0.61)	-0.18 (0.83)	0.61 (0.69)	-0.21 (0.79)	-0.12 (0.73)	0.09 (0.97)	0.65 (0.56)	-1.00 (0.77)	-0.19 (0.5)	0.41 (0.69)
Party Identification (1 = Conservative)	0.12 (0.85)	0.88 (1.0)	0.88 (0.97)	0.19 (1.18)	-0.57 (0.96)	0.15 (0.95)	0.95 (1.13)	0.40 (1.46)	-0.20 (0.78)	1.33 (0.94)	0.68 (0.85)	1.18 (1.01)
Party Identification (1 = Lib Dem)	-0.24 (0.61)	0.78 (0.61)	1.17* (0.47)	0.24 (0.5)	-0.45 (0.64)	0.36 (0.55)	0.91 (0.53)	0.32 (0.64)	0.12 (0.56)	0.66 (0.55)	0.23 (0.47)	0.21 (0.65)
Party Identification (1 = None)	-1.00 (0.87)	0.36 (0.66)	-0.87 (0.78)	-0.23 (0.8)	-1.15 (0.89)	0.11 (0.65)	-0.81 (0.89)	-0.58 (1.0)	-0.95 (0.87)	0.28 (0.72)	-1.45* (0.66)	-1.08 (0.88)
Respondent has Children	0.45 (0.56)	-0.31 (0.52)	0.39 (0.57)	0.24 (0.46)	0.58 (0.56)	-0.07 (0.46)	0.17 (0.69)	0.50 (0.59)	0.31 (0.49)	0.27 (0.51)	-0.11 (0.55)	0.01 (0.58)
N	89	89	87	89	89	89	87	89	89	89	87	89

Heteroscedasticity-consistent standard errors used due to homoscedasticity in model (Hayes and Cai 2007), * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, Power tests in Appendix 9

Vote Choice

Figure 36. Vote Choice and Candidate Parenthood

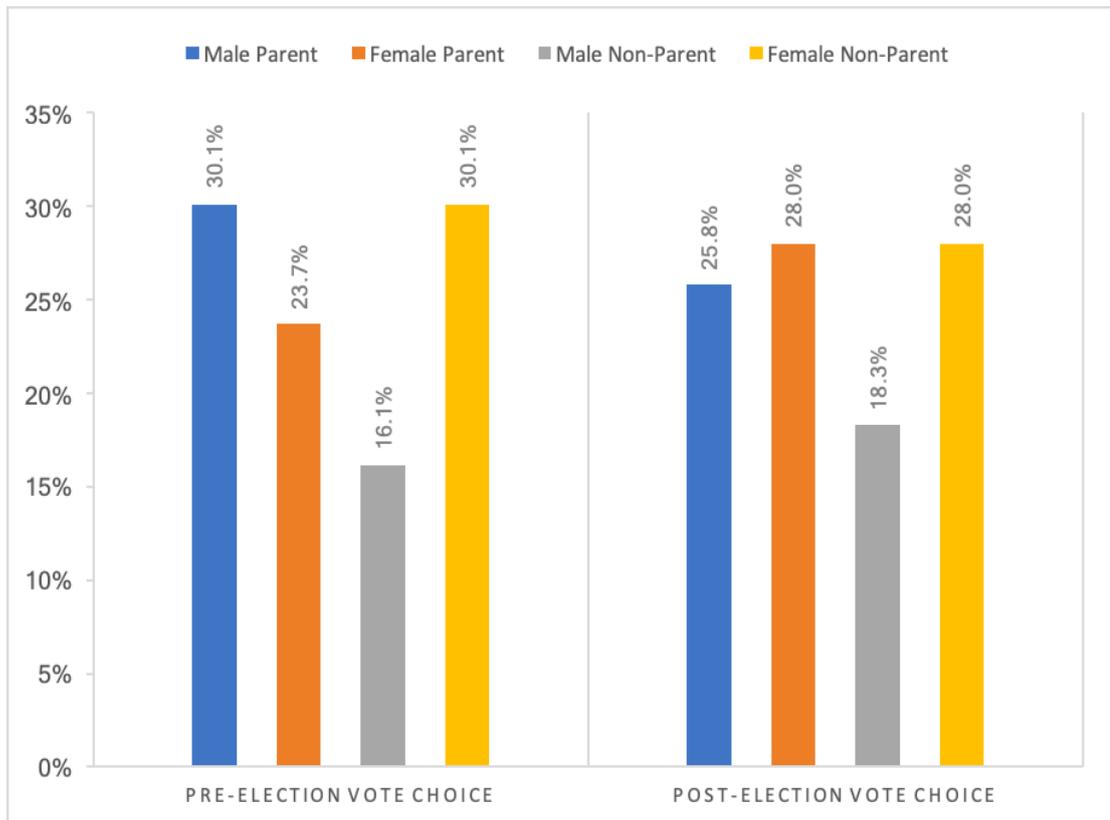


Figure 36 shows the percentage of the vote received at the beginning and the end of the election for each candidate. Participants could only vote for one candidate in both the pre- and post-election questionnaire.

Before the election there appears to be a preference for the male parent and the female non-parent, both of whom receive 30.1% of the vote. After the election, motherhood does not impact vote choice, with both female candidates receiving 28% of the vote and parenthood only has an impact on vote share for the male candidates. The non-father was clearly a less favourable candidate both before and after the election than the father or either of the female candidates with only 18.3% of the final vote, nearly 10 percentage points lower than for the female candidates and 7.5 points lower than the vote share for the father candidate.

Vote choice was broken down by participant demographics. Given the low N of the experiment often cell sizes in these crosstabs are small and so conclusions are limited and discussion should focus on the wider results from the primarily young, left-leaning and female sample⁴³. Overall, the vote penalty for male candidates without children

⁴³ Given small cell sizes, significance tests not performed.

seems to be driven by a preference for female candidates, with or without children, by female participants and a clear preference for the father candidate amongst male participants, as well as Labour-leaning participants not voting for the male candidate without children. In addition, both younger and older voters did not differentiate on female candidates in their final vote choice based on motherhood. A pattern is seen for younger participants (18-34 year-olds) preferring a father candidate in their final vote choice and older participants (over 34 year-olds) preferring a woman, regardless of her motherhood.

Sex

Table 32. Sex of Participant and Vote Choice

		Sex of Participant		
			<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Pre-Election Vote Choice	Male Parent	N	16	12
		%	44.4%	21.1%
	Male Non-Parent	N	6	9
		%	16.7%	15.8%
	Female Parent	N	4	18
		%	11.1%	31.6%
	Female Non-Parent	N	10	18
		%	27.8%	31.6%
Total	N	36	57	
	%	100.0%	100.0%	
Post-Election Vote Choice	Male Parent	N	16	8
		%	44.4%	14.0%
	Male Non-Parent	N	5	12
		%	13.9%	21.1%
	Female Parent	N	7	19
		%	19.4%	33.3%
	Female Non-Parent	N	8	18
		%	22.2%	31.6%
Total	N	36	57	
	%	100.0%	100.0%	

Table 32 shows the crosstabulation for sex of the participant and pre- and post-election vote choice. Female participants preferred a female leader in both the pre- and post-election questionnaire, with 63.1% and 64.9% voting for a woman respectively. However, the parenthood of the female candidate did not affect vote choice with no difference in votes for the mother versus the non-mother in the pre-election questionnaire and only one voter difference in the post-election questionnaire. For female participants in the

lower-information environment a preference for male candidates with children was seen but once participants experienced the higher-information environment, i.e. when they learnt more about the candidates, women who voted for men preferred the male candidate without children, although these differences were small at three and four voters respectively so we should be cautious of over interpreting them.

For male participants, a preference was similarly seen for a candidate of their own sex with 61.1% voting for a male candidate before the election and 58.3% after. The parenthood of the male candidate affected male participants' vote choice with a clear preference for the father candidate, 44.4% of male participants voted for the male candidate with children in both the pre- and post-election questionnaire. It was only in the lower-information environment that female parenthood mattered to male participants with a preference for the female candidate without children which dissipated after they experienced the high information environment of the campaign.

Age

Table 33. Age and Vote Choice Crosstab

			Age Group	
			18-34	35-55+
Pre-Election Vote Choice	Male Parent	N	19	9
		%	31.7%	28.1%
	Male Non-Parent	N	10	5
		%	16.7%	15.6%
	Female Parent	N	11	10
		%	18.3%	31.3%
	Female Non-Parent	N	20	8
%		33.3%	25.0%	
Total	N	60	32	
	%	100.0%	100.0%	
Post-Election Vote Choice	Male Parent	N	22	2
		%	36.7%	6.3%
	Male Non-Parent	N	11	5
		%	18.3%	15.6%
	Female Parent	N	13	13
		%	21.7%	40.6%
	Female Non-Parent	N	14	12
%		23.3%	37.5%	
Total	N	60	32	
	%	100.0%	100.0%	

When broken down by age the cell sizes for many age groups are small so results were collated into two main age groups. The initial preference for a male parent and a female

non-parent in the lower-information environment is present only in the younger age group of 18-34 year-olds. After the election, there was no difference in the vote share for the female candidates in terms of motherhood in the younger age group and an overall preference is seen for the male parent. The vote deficit for the male non-parent is more readily seen in the older age group in the pre-election questionnaire. After the election, there is a preference for a female candidate, regardless of motherhood, in the older age group. In the higher-information environment, neither age group differentiated on women in their final vote choice based on the candidates' motherhood.

Party Leadership Election

Table 34. Party Leadership Election and Vote Choice Crosstab

		Party Leadership Election		
			Labour	Conservative
Pre-Election Vote Choice	Male Parent	N	22	6
		%	31.4%	26.1%
	Male Non-Parent	N	8	7
		%	11.4%	30.4%
	Female Parent	N	18	4
		%	25.7%	17.4%
	Female Non-Parent	N	22	6
		%	31.4%	26.1%
Total		N	70	23
		%	100.0%	100.0%
Post-Election Vote Choice	Male Parent	N	21	3
		%	30.0%	13.0%
	Male Non-Parent	N	12	5
		%	17.1%	21.7%
	Female Parent	N	19	7
		%	27.1%	30.4%
	Female Non-Parent	N	18	8
		%	25.7%	34.8%
Total		N	70	23
		%	100.0%	100.0%

The majority of participants (75.3%) participated in the Labour leadership election, which is not surprising given the left-leaning of the sample⁴⁴. Amongst those that participated in the Labour leadership election a slight preference was seen both before and after the

⁴⁴ More information on sample in Chapter 5 p.148-149

election for a female leader, with 57.1% and 52.9% respectively choosing a female candidate. A slight preference was seen before the election for a female candidate without children with four more participants voting for a woman without children compared to the mother candidate. After the election, this gap narrowed with only one voter difference in favour of the mother candidate. The biggest gap was seen in terms of the male candidate without children only 11.4% of the Labour participants voted for the male non-parent before the election and 17.1% afterwards, a gap of 20 and 12.9 percentage points respectively compared to the male parent's vote share. In comparison, although the N was small for the Conservative election and so results are difficult to interpret, participants in the Conservative election did show an overall preference for a female leader in the higher-information environment.

Party Leaning

Table 35. Party Leaning and Vote Choice Crosstab

			Party Leaning			
			Labour	Conservative	None	Other
Pre-Election Vote Choice	Male Parent	N	16	1	1	10
		%	42.1%	8.3%	7.1%	34.5%
	Male Non-Parent	N	3	3	5	4
		%	7.9%	25.0%	35.7%	13.8%
	Female Parent	N	9	4	6	3
		%	23.7%	33.3%	42.9%	10.3%
	Female Non-Parent	N	10	4	2	12
		%	26.3%	33.3%	14.3%	41.4%
	Total	N	38	12	14	29
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Post-Election Vote Choice	Male Parent	N	14	2	3	5
		%	36.8%	16.7%	21.4%	17.2%
	Male Non-Parent	N	6	2	5	4
		%	15.8%	16.7%	35.7%	13.8%
	Female Parent	N	9	3	4	10
		%	23.7%	25.0%	28.6%	34.5%
	Female Non-Parent	N	9	5	2	10
		%	23.7%	41.7%	14.3%	34.5%
	Total	N	38	12	14	29
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In Labour leaning participants an overall preference was seen for the male parent both before and after the election and few voted for the male non-parent, the gaps narrowed after the election but were still present. Amongst Labour voters who voted for a female candidate there was no noticeable difference before or after the election between the

mother and the non-mother. For Conservative leaning voters, the N is too small to draw concrete conclusions on parenthood but a slight preference for a female candidate was seen both before and after the election.

Parenthood

Table 36. Parenthood of Participant and Vote Choice Crosstab

			Parenthood of Participant	
			No Children	Children
Pre-Election Vote Choice	Male Parent	N	22	6
		%	33.8%	21.4%
	Male Non-Parent	N	10	5
		%	15.4%	17.9%
	Female Parent	N	13	9
		%	20.0%	32.1%
	Female Non-Parent	N	20	8
		%	30.8%	28.6%
Total	N	65	28	
	%	100.0%	100.0%	
Post-Election Vote Choice	Male Parent	N	20	4
		%	30.8%	14.3%
	Male Non-Parent	N	14	3
		%	21.5%	10.7%
	Female Parent	N	14	12
		%	21.5%	42.9%
	Female Non-Parent	N	17	9
		%	26.2%	32.1%
	Total	N	65	28
		%	100.0%	100.0%

Participants who did not have children did not overall prefer candidates without children instead a preference was seen for the male parent and the female non-parent before the election and after the election, although votes were more evenly distributed after the high information environment of the campaign. For participants with children the N was smaller but an overall preference was seen for female candidates before and after the election, with a slight preference for a female parent in the post-election questionnaire.

Discussion

As discussed in more detail in the previous chapter, the experiments in this thesis are pilot studies, conducted as a piece of original, exploratory research with a view to reproducing the design in a laboratory environment with a more representative and larger sample. A laboratory environment would allow for participants to spend longer in the simulated election⁴⁵, offering the opportunity for more insight into the decision-making process and further manipulations of the information available. Given this, the sample was small, and was primarily female, left-leaning and young therefore below discussion posits potential trends in the findings and identifies areas for further analysis in recognition that generalisability of the findings is limited.

An examination of the existing evidence on politics and parenthood as well as wider gender-based stereotyping in this chapter and in preceding chapters highlighted how current findings offer competing hypotheses and results are often contextual as they vary over time and place. Findings from this experiment contribute to this suggestion by highlighting the importance of context in understanding results but also how the demographics of voters should perhaps be given greater prominence when first theorising about voter behaviour. Varying both sex and parenthood allows for a more nuanced analysis of gendered behaviour and political leadership than varying only binary sex as it relates to how a candidate violates or conforms to gendered norms (Bell and Kaufmann, 2015). What might be expected is that women would be more readily punished for going against gendered norms. In fact, there was little effect of motherhood on voter behaviour instead it was male candidates for whom parenthood had an effect as a clear vote penalty ensued for male candidates who did not have children. A possible reversal of traditional stereotyping is seen in a potential paternal mandate for male candidates. Considering contextual factors and the dynamic nature of gendered norms as well as voter demographics may explain these findings and presents opportunities for further analysis.

Politicised Motherhood

Two competing hypotheses were derived from the Politicized Motherhood thesis: that it could be beneficial to female candidates, H1(ii); or detrimental, H1(i). The initial exploration in a higher-information environment in this experiment suggests there may be less of an effect of motherhood than existing literature would predict. After participants experienced a more dynamic experimental environment, the two female

⁴⁵ The simulated election was kept shorter in this experiment due to concerns about attrition rates in a longer election when participants are participating online at home.

candidates received the same proportion of the final vote as well as the same median competency score and compassion score. The non-mother did receive a higher median desirability score than the female candidate with young children although this was only a one-point gap on a nine-point scale. It was not necessarily a more dynamic experimental environment that explains this marginal effect, however, as evidence points towards there being a limited impact of motherhood in both the lower- and higher-information environments. Before the election, a vote penalty for mothers was present as the mother received less of the vote share than both the female candidate without children and the male candidate with children. Yet, there were no trait-based differences between the mother and non-mother candidate in the pre-election questionnaire where the two women were rated the same across all three leadership traits.

Overall, in this British context, motherhood did not seem to prompt traditional gender-based stereotypes even when voters know little about candidates. Deason et al (2015) contend that a concentration on motherhood could associate female politicians with the traditional feminine trait stereotypes found in the largely US-based literature which are believed incongruous with leadership. There was little evidence for this. Female candidates' median compassion scores were the same regardless of their parental status both before and after the election. Similarly, in the US, Bauer (2015) found traditional stereotypes were activated about female candidates only when stereotypic information about their parenthood and communality was included in descriptions. Potentially, mentioning parenthood overall in an election activated stereotypes of female communality regardless of individual candidates' parenthood given that female candidates' compassion score was one point higher than both the male candidates' after the election. In the experiment in the previous chapter, where candidate parenthood was not mentioned, no difference in compassion scores for male and female candidates was seen. Although the sex difference in compassion was relatively small, at one point on a nine-point scale, this is a trend worthy of further examination in the laboratory experiment to test if a sex-based compassion gap holds when parenthood is mentioned but does not appear when it is not.

Given the inconsistent evidence towards an explicit cost or benefit of motherhood for the female candidates, a maternal mandate seems unlikely and, indeed, there was little evidence for one. The idea of a maternal mandate has several mutually reinforcing forms. First, women without children would be seen as less viable candidates than women with children. This was not the case in either the pre- or post-election evaluations. Before the election there was no initial backlash against the non-mother candidate as she received the same median desirability score as all other candidates.

Indeed, there seemed to be an initial benefit for the non-mother over the mother as she received a higher proportion of the initial vote choice. The father candidate and the non-mother candidate were the preferred leaders in a lower-information environment. If the non-mother was still seen as less viable it may be that participants sought to confirm her competency in the information they sought during the election. However, the information viewed for the father and the childless female candidate was noticeably similar across all four information types. A breakdown of competency information did show some difference. The concentration for the childless woman was on her qualifications whereas for the father candidate more participants were interested in endorsements, i.e. what others thought of him. Although the type of competency a woman without children might need to prove is different a lack of motherhood did not seem to affect a candidate's viability.

The second form the maternal mandate may take is that motherhood can enable women to demonstrate their natural communality, overcoming the perceived communality deficit faced by women in public roles. Childless women may not have this option and face the accusation of sacrificing family for career. Yet, there was no suggestion of a communality deficit for the childless female candidate. As discussed above, the female candidates did not receive differing median compassionate scores according to their parenthood. Furthermore, if there was a maternal mandate we might expect to see a focus on compassion issue related information for the female candidate without children but there was negligible difference in the amount of this information viewed for the two female candidates.

It is proposed that the lack of a maternal mandate may be due to political and cultural gendered norms which intersect with voter demographics. The limited punishment for motherhood fits, to some extent, with current findings in the UK context by Campbell and Cowley (2018) which found that voters showed a clear preference for parliamentary candidates with children, and there was no general punishment for women with children. In the British political context, female British MPs are more likely to be childless than male, although this gap has significantly declined – in the 2010 intake of Westminster MPs 45% of female MPs did not have children compared to 28% of male MPs, by 2017 this gap narrowed to 39% of female MPs and 30% of male (Campbell and Childs, 2014, 2018). The childless female leader is also a common image in contemporary British politics. The current Prime Minister, Theresa May, is married with no children, as is the First Minister of Scotland, Nicola Sturgeon. Both women have spoken publically about their sadness at not being able to have children. The childless female leader therefore may be a familiar norm in British politics, lessening any backlash against them.

The limited effect of motherhood is surprising given the experience of many women in political leadership roles, who have found their motherhood, or lack of, to be the source of media scrutiny. Angela Merkel in Germany and Julia Gillard in Australia, for instance, have been subject to speculation about their non-motherhood, whilst Sarah Palin benefited in the 2008 US Presidential Election from emphasising her motherhood (Damousi et al., 2014, Harp et al., 2010, Murray, 2010a, Wiliarty, 2010). Political and cultural gendered norms may play a part here. Gendered norms are dynamic; they can change over time and in varying contexts. For example, the German Chancellor Angela Merkel is married without children but there is a more dominant norm in Germany that mothers of young children should be at home, therefore, in the German context, we may see differing results (Kurschner, 2011). In the UK, there is a generally liberal attitude to more equalised gender roles and no great polarisation between the two political parties on the issue (Campbell and Cowley, 2018). These attitudes to gendered norms have changed over time, in recent years have seen a shift to more positive attitudes towards mothers in the workforce, 33% of respondents to the 2017 British Social Attitudes Survey thought mothers of pre-school children should stay at home compared to 64% in 1989 (Phillips et al., 2018). Furthermore, no major British political party pushes explicitly traditional positions on gender roles as opposed to the US context where parties are more polarised on the issue (Campbell, 2016). Within this context it is perhaps not surprising that there is inconsistent evidence for an overt effect of motherhood on voter perceptions of female candidates and little evidence for a damaging effect of non-motherhood.

Differing attitudes to gendered norms in different demographics of voters may also form part of the explanation of these results and the differences in media and voter contexts. In the British Social Attitudes Survey there was a significant age gap with older people more likely to hold traditional views on gender roles than young people, and women slightly more likely to reject traditional gender roles than men (Phillips et al., 2018). The small sample in these pilot experiments was primarily young women potentially contributing to the minimal effect of motherhood on female candidates' electoral chances. A possible generational divide in gender-based stereotyping and voter perceptions of leaders requires further examination in a larger sample. There is clear evidence in current debates on voter behaviour in British politics that age is increasingly a key electoral cleavage (Curtis, 2017, Hobolt, 2016, Jennings and Stoker, 2017). For instance, Norris and Ingelhart (2018) contend that the polarization over Brexit amongst UK voters echoes culture wars over social values dividing old and young in many

Western countries. Further experiments could expose the effect of this generational divide on the gendering of voter perceptions of political leaders.

The limited effect of motherhood also went against the experience of women in the British media context studied in this thesis. It was demonstrated in Chapter 4 that a maternal mandate was seen in two recent party leadership elections in the UK when two female candidates ran – one a mother and one a non-mother. These women were pitted against each other and their motherhood was used to differentiate them with childlessness seen as a weakness in the women her (female) opponent may attack. The differential effects of motherhood in the media and voter contexts could be due to demographic differences. In British media journalists tend to be older and disproportionately male⁴⁶. It may be that this demographic is more likely to rely on traditional representations of motherhood compared to the young, female sample in the experiments. It is possible that the idea of the childless woman as an uncompassionate careerist is not a stereotype that readily presents itself to *all groups* of voters in the contemporary British context given more liberal attitudes to gender roles in younger voters. In which groups of voters, if any, the stereotype holds needs to be further examined.

Furthermore, why this does not then hold in relation to male candidates needs to be further examined in future research as is now considered below. Findings on the politicisation of fatherhood in these experiments beg questions on to what extent does a politicisation of fatherhood lead to a paternal mandate? Do men face a greater punishment for breaking gendered norms than women?

Politicised Fatherhood

As with motherhood, competing hypotheses were formulated on the possible effect of fatherhood, that it may be beneficial, H3(i), or detrimental, H3(ii), for male candidates. Support is seen for the beneficial hypothesis. In the pre-election questionnaire fathers were the preferred leader at the same rate as non-mothers, with a 14 percentage-point gap between the vote share for the male candidate with children versus the male candidate without. The initial benefit of fatherhood for male candidates remained in the

⁴⁶ See Chapter 3 for more detail on sex of reporters in media coverage. All journalists or blog editors in the social media data were male. For blog posts, 2.5% were written by female reporters. For broadcast and newspaper news items with one reporter, sole male correspondents accounted for 57.9% of broadcast news items and 56.6% of newspaper articles compared to 40.4% and 16.1% respectively for news items with a single female reporter.

higher-information environment with a gap of 7.5 percentage-points between the father and the non-father at the end of the election.

It is difficult to decipher the source of this benefit of fatherhood. The personalisation of politics thesis suggests that fatherhood could be used to 'humanise' male candidates (Langer, 2007, Stanyer, 2007). For instance, Gordon Brown used his wife and children to soften his image (McGuire and Winter, 2015). Similarly, as part of his modernisation of the British Conservative Party, David Cameron appeared in webcasts from his family kitchen washing up the children's breakfast bowls whilst being interrupted by questions from his three-year-old daughter (Anon, 2006, Woodward, 2006). It might be expected that the father candidate would have a higher compassion score than the non-father. Although a small gap in compassion was present at the beginning of the election, both male candidates had the same median compassion score after participants experienced the higher-information environment of the simulated campaign suggesting any initial communality benefit may only be seen in lower-information environments, when little is known about candidates. Furthermore, we might expect participants to view less compassion information about the father candidate than the non-father. In fact, there was little difference in the mean proportion of compassion related information for the non-father and the father.

Previous research in the US has also suggested that a concentration on fatherhood can be more beneficial for male candidates than a parallel concentration on motherhood for women (Barbara Lee Family Foundation, 2017, Stalsburg, 2010). Overall, there was limited evidence for this contention. There was a minimal difference in the final vote share for the father candidate compared to the mother candidate. The father candidate did have a slightly higher median desirability than the mother candidate in the post-election questionnaire, with a small difference of one-point on the nine-point scale.

Evidence was clear in this experiment for a paternal mandate, as the male candidate without children was punished by voters. The childless male candidate faced an initial vote penalty – with only 16.1% of the vote share in the pre-election questionnaire. Participants appeared to 'write off' the childless man to some extent, viewing less information overall about this candidate. At the end of the election, the childless male candidate was clearly a less favourable candidate than the father or either of the female candidates with only 18.3% of the vote, nearly 10 percentage points lower than the female candidates and 7.5 points lower than the father candidate. Parenthood, therefore, had a clear effect on voter perceptions of the male candidates in that there was a penalty for male candidates without children; a finding which goes against the suggestion in Deason et al (2015) that male candidates may more easily 'opt in and out' of any

concentration on fatherhood. It appears instead that there is a potential paternal mandate for male candidates in the voter context. Learning more about candidates did not eliminate this vote penalty for childless men, suggesting that placing results in context is, again, vital.

Just as it was theorised the lack of a maternal mandate was due to political and cultural gendered norms it may be that the childless male candidate is punished as he more actively goes against these norms. Analysis of newspaper coverage of UK party leadership elections from 1975 to 2016 in Chapter 4 found that in the UK context the male candidates' family was, at times, of greater interest than the women's. In these elections, the discussion of fatherhood changed over time, with an increasing interest in male candidates' family and a rise in the 'modern man' image. Just as the politicisation of motherhood was theorised to lead to a maternal mandate this politicisation of fatherhood could lead to a paternal one. It does not appear, however, that this mandate stems from an easier ability of fathers to show communality than non-fathers. Potentially, the backlash against childless men relates to when a candidate is seen to against the norm. Women MPs and leaders without children are more common than men without children in the current British political context and therefore a man without children may break the norm and be punished for doing so. If it is, perhaps, thought that parenthood does not affect men's careers is there a potential paternal mandate for male candidates?

This is a finding which needs further examination, especially as this part of the results goes against current UK experimental findings by Campbell and Cowley (2018) who found that women parliamentary candidates without children were punished more than their male counterparts. A confounding factor could be that a male candidate who is married without children may be assumed to be younger and therefore less experienced; age was not specified in the candidate profiles although the experience of candidates was carefully balanced and parenthood and sex randomised. However, we might also consider whether the initial preference for the female candidate without children comes from the younger, female sample assuming the childless female candidate to be younger. The laboratory experiment should include the age of candidates to counter for this potential confounding factor and examine further if male candidates face more detrimental impact than women for breaking gendered norms.

The presence of a paternal, but not maternal, mandate in voter perceptions suggests a reversal in stereotyping where parenthood is a prerequisite for male candidates but not female in the minds of voters. These findings go against what we might expect and could question some of the assumptions behind the gender stereotyping literature. What we know about the UK context currently is that there is not a punishment by voters for

parenthood, as evidenced by Campbell and Cowley (2018). Initial experimental findings in this thesis reinforce this. When little was known about candidates, mothers received slightly less of the vote share but after participants learnt about candidates this was eliminated. Fatherhood was found to be beneficial for male candidates in both lower- and higher-information environments. The suggestion is that in the UK, if you are a parent politician you may use this information. Campbell and Cowley (2018) have found that male and female British MPs are equally likely to reference their children on their websites and new data from Chapter 4 in this thesis suggests male and female party leadership candidates use their parenthood in their campaigning. The suggestion from media contexts in this thesis is that not having children is resultantly detrimental *for women*, in recent leadership elections it has been suggested that childlessness is a weakness for women that their (female) opponents may attack (see Chapter 4). However, we are not seeing this prejudice translate to this voter context. In this primarily young, female and left-leaning sample motherhood has little effect and instead a paternal mandate develops whereby childless men are punished. There is a suggestion that this derives from female participants voting for women, regardless of motherhood, and male participants showing a clear preference for the father candidate.

Voter demographics and cultural and political gendered norms may be behind the potential reversal in gendered stereotypes for men in this experiment. It also begs questions on whether we assume such stereotyping from a male, older, middle class norm (in line with the media context). It is recognised in the literature that demographics have a part to play in voter behaviour, Dolan (2014) identifies the significant variation in individuals' stereotype holding and rightly notes that stereotypes do not act in a vacuum. Similarly, Campbell and Heath (2017) note that an overall pattern of women voting for women may not be seen as it is only present in *certain groups* of women. This raises questions about who we envisage as the 'average' voter when hypothesising about voter behaviour. Do we theorise voter behaviour from a male norm i.e. the average voter as male? And then presume a prejudice against female candidates from this male norm voter? In this experiment, male participants showed a preference for the 'norm' in an overt preference for the male candidate with children over all other candidates, although they did not punish women either way for their parenthood. So, even if we begin with this standpoint of presuming a male norm voter we need to also think about their reactions to both male and female candidates and to what extent male candidates are punished for going against norms. Do men face greater punishment from members of their own sex when they break gendered norms? It is interesting to note Labour supporting participants, who we might presume to hold more liberal attitudes on gendered norms did

not vote for the male candidate without children. Are gendered norms perhaps more malleable for women than men in politics?

Conclusions

Results in this experiment contribute to the suggestion in this chapter and in preceding chapters that the gendering of political leadership is complex and can vary in differing contexts, for example in the media versus the voter contexts examined in this thesis. Discussion of the results of this experiment highlight the importance of context as gendered norms vary over time and space as well as between different demographics of voters, which should be given greater prominence when first theorising about voter behaviour. Against what current literature would suggest, there was little effect of motherhood on voter behaviour towards the female candidates. Furthermore, no evidence was found for a detrimental impact of childlessness for the female candidate. In juxtaposition, the parenthood of the male candidates had a clear effect on voter perceptions in that there was a consistent vote penalty for the male candidate without children.

The British context, in which the woman childless political leader is a common image and there are liberal attitudes to equalised gender roles, may explain the limited impact of (non-)motherhood for female leadership candidates. The childless woman may be a familiar norm for British voters, lessening any backlash against them whereas a childless male candidate may more explicitly go against these cultural and political gendered norms. The vote penalty for childless men can be considered in light of the rise of the 'modern man' image in British politics and raises the question of to what extent there is a politicisation of fatherhood in British politics and whether this leads to a paternal mandate for male candidates in voters' minds. Is there a potential that men are punished by voters for deviating from gendered norms more than their female counterparts?

Furthermore, the vote penalty for male candidates without children was in part driven by a preference for female candidates, with or without children, by female participants and an overall preference for the father candidate amongst male participants. Gendered norms are dynamic, they differ in varying political and cultural contexts as well as across time and, relevant to this chapter's experimental data, in different groups of voters. The variation in the effect of parenthood and sex in different demographics of voters needs to be explored further and could question some of the assumptions behind the gender stereotyping literature. Do our hypotheses on voter behaviour stem from an assumption of a 'male norm' voter? Do we conceive of a male norm voter and focus only on their reaction to female candidates? Do we need to extend this to think about reactions to

male gendered norms as much as female? Perhaps, we should begin from a standpoint of theorising about group differences as opposed to breaking down results post hoc by different demographics. What about men voting for men? How does this interact with the age of the voter? And what types of men are they voting for? Gendered norms impact both men and women and need to be broken down further to understand voter behaviour in the complex gendered environment of political leadership. The potential from this experiment's initial results is that we are seeing a reversal of gender stereotyping by voters where parenthood is more important for male candidates.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The central research question addressed in this thesis was: *'Are perceptions of political leadership gendered, and if so, how?'*. Chapter 1 set out the rationale for framing the question in terms of *how* and not *why* perceptions of political leadership are gendered. By framing the question thus, the thesis was able to examine both the different ways, and extent to which, the concept of political leadership is gendered, but also explored how this gendering is context specific. Gendered norms are dynamic and vary over time and place, yet, much of the literature on gender stereotypes and leader evaluations takes a somewhat static approach to theorising how gender mediates political leadership and pays too little attention to the cultural and political context within which such gendering takes place. This runs counter to recent work within the 'interactionalist' paradigm in the wider study of political leadership, where theories privilege the importance of context in determining the effectiveness of leaders (Elgie, 2015). An alternative and more appropriate approach was sought in this thesis, offering the first systematic and methodologically nuanced account of gender and political leadership in the UK context. Addressing how political leadership is gendered in a single case studied holistically permits advances in our understanding of the complex gendered environment in which leaders operate.

The thesis' twin-track approach examined in-depth, firstly, the media's representations of men and women political leaders, both in the contemporary setting and over time, and, secondly, voter perceptions of British political leadership. The ways in which these two methods worked in synergy and a complementary fashion revealed nuances and complexities in the gendering of political leadership in the UK context. It established that gender's role in political leadership is best understood as a complex interaction of context, candidate agency, and gendered leadership norms, styles and traits. With individual findings discussed in detail in the preceding empirical chapters, this chapter serves to draw together overarching themes as well as differences, and at times contradictions, across the findings to better illuminate the multifaceted ways in which gender works in political leadership. In doing this, I show the value of a twin-track approach to studying political leaders as shining two critical spotlights, using both observational and experimental data, identified patterns which may have been missed by viewing leadership through a single lens.

Table 37. Summary of Thesis Hypotheses

	Hypothesis	Accepted/ Rejected	Reasoning
Chapter 4	<i>H1: Mentions of candidates' families will increase across time, regardless of the sex of the candidate</i>	Rejected	Mentions of candidates' families varied over time. At times, male candidates' families were of greater interest than women's.
	<i>H2: Female candidates will more often face evaluation through discussion of their family lives than male candidates</i>	Rejected	Female candidates faced more discussion in the 1975, 2015 and 2016 election, however H2 did not hold in 1994.
	<i>H3: Women without children will be portrayed negatively</i>	Rejected	The maternal mandate was more complex than the original hypothesis. When two women ran against each other in an election childlessness became a point of discussion and was presented as a weakness that the childless woman's (female) opponent could attack.
Chapter 5	<i>H1: Differences between voter evaluations of male and female candidates will be present in the lower-information environment</i>	Rejected: Trait Evaluations	<i>Trait Evaluation:</i> No difference present in participants' trait evaluations of male and female candidates before the simulated election, in the lower-information environment.
		Accepted: Vote Choice	<i>Vote Choice:</i> A higher proportion of the vote share was given to female candidates in the lower-information environment. Over two-thirds of participants voted for the female candidate in the pre-election questionnaire.
	<i>H2: Any differences between voter evaluations of male and female candidates in the lower-information environment will dissipate in the higher-information environment.</i>	Rejected: Trait Evaluations	<i>Trait Evaluation:</i> No differences were present in participants' trait evaluations of male and female candidates before and after the simulated election.
		Accepted: Vote Choice	<i>Vote Choice:</i> The initial preference for a female candidate in the lower-information environment dissipated in the higher-information environment. The gap between the vote share for the female and male candidates dropped to just 4.8 percentage points.
Chapter 6	<i>H1(i) Motherhood is detrimental to female candidates</i>	Rejected	There was little and inconsistent evidence towards an explicit cost or benefit of motherhood in the experiment.
	<i>H1(ii) Motherhood is detrimental to female candidates</i>	Rejected	There was little and inconsistent evidence towards an explicit cost or benefit of motherhood in the experiment.
	<i>H2: A maternal mandate is placed on the non-mother candidate.</i>	Rejected	Women without children were not rated as less viable candidates in terms of their desirability as a political leader score and their vote share. Women without children were not rated as less compassionate than women with children.
	<i>H3(i): Fatherhood is beneficial to male candidates</i>	Accepted	Male candidates with children received a higher vote share both before and after the simulated election than male candidates without children.
	<i>H3(ii): Fatherhood is detrimental to male candidates</i>	Rejected	Male candidates with children received a higher vote share both before and after the simulated election than male candidates without children.

A summary of the hypotheses and finding of this thesis can be seen in Table 37. The first half of this thesis undertook observational research via a systematic analysis of media representations of party leadership candidates in UK party leadership elections, both over-time and in the contemporary period. In Chapter 3, an in-depth case study of the 2015 Labour leadership election revealed how binary gender-based stereotypes were limited and gendering was more often seen in the nuanced gendered framing of *both male and female* candidates. A systematic bias in the leadership traits attributed to women was not seen and they were not regularly placed in two of the binds thought to be applied to women in public life, the womb/brain bind (in relation to sexuality and emotion) and the femininity/competency bind. Gender-based stereotypes still worked against the women to some extent, despite an emphasis on their strength characteristics they were still presented as 'not tough enough' for politics and their combative behaviour was more often emphasised and presented as bitchiness than for their male counterparts. Male candidates were framed by their masculinity in representations of them as the 'nice guy' in politics or by signalling their 'decent bloke' and 'everyman' credentials by emphasising their loyalty to local sports teams. Masculinity was not universally beneficial, however, as male candidates were more often associated with negative traits. In line with the gendered mediation thesis, the language used and the gendered framing of both male and female candidates reiterated the gendering of an insider/outsider status; politics was presented as a masculine game in which the men were insiders and the women were potential 'space invaders' (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003, Puwar, 2004). With politics constructed as masculine, the coverage also implied and privileged a certain *type* of masculinity – a strong 'tough guy' masculinity – as desirable in a political leader.

Chapter 4 examined media representations of parenthood in British party leadership elections from 1975 to 2016. Considering trends across time permitted identification of both changing and continuous gendered norms. A politicisation of fatherhood developed in the more recent years whilst representations of motherhood seemed little changed in elections 40 years apart. Representations of mother candidates in 1975 and 2015 resonated with concepts of Politicized Motherhood from the US and suggested a similar trend may have even started earlier in the UK context. Parallels were seen in the imagery of female contenders in the 1970s as the 'competent housewife' and in 2015 as the 'how-does-she-do-it-woman'. Motherhood signalled women's normality but also their balancing of domestic and public life showed an added level of competency and special ability. In contemporary elections, when two women ran against each other in leadership contests for different political parties no more than a year apart, in 2015 and 2016, their

motherhood was constituted as a relevant issue in the leadership contest, whether raised by the media or by candidates themselves. In both elections, the motherhood of one of the female candidates was represented as an advantage over her childless female rival. For male candidates, an emergent Politicised Fatherhood was seen as the rise in the 'modern man' image was traced across the leadership elections. At times, male candidates' family was seemingly of greater interest to the media than the women's. Furthermore, men reacted to the presence of woman (and mother) in the public sphere of leadership with representations of their private sphere. In response to the domestic imagery of Margaret Thatcher, her male competitors gave interviews from their homes with one washing up saucepans and another giving an austere photoshoot from his study.

These small-N context specific observational studies offer detailed insight into gender's role in 'real-world' elections but the 'noise' of these elections makes it difficult to isolate gendered effects. In line with the twin-track approach of this thesis, the second half undertook experimental work to directly test causal effects of gender on voter perceptions of political leadership. An innovative experimental method was used, Dynamic Process Tracing Environment (DPTE) which brings some of the nuance of true elections into the experimental experience. Using this software to recreate British party leadership elections, the experimental process worked by participants first experiencing a lower-information environment where they evaluated candidates based on brief biographies before encountering the higher-information environment of a simulated election where they received a considerable amount of information about the candidates before again evaluating them.

Experiment 1, set out in Chapter 5, randomly varied the sex of four party leadership candidates standing for election. In line with the contemporary body of literature which has challenged traditional accounts of gender stereotyping, gender-based trait stereotypes had limited effects and were not systematically applied by voters even when they knew little about the candidates in the lower-information environment. Demographics of voters could be mediating the relationship between candidate sex and voter behaviour. When little was known about candidates a relationship between female participants voting for the female candidates was seen. However, in line with predictions, this was potentially a cognitive shortcut and dissipated when voters learnt more about candidates. In Experiment 2, in Chapter 6, the sex and parenthood of the candidates (i.e. if they had children or not) was randomly varied. Overall, there was inconsistent, limited evidence for an overt effect of motherhood on female candidates' electoral success and no evidence for a damaging effect of non-motherhood. In juxtaposition, the parenthood

of the male candidates had a clear effect on voter perceptions. A paternal mandate was seen with a vote penalty for the male candidate without children in both the lower- and higher-information environments. Voter demographics were considered in the interpretation of these results as the vote penalty for the childless man was in part driven by a preference for a female candidate, with or without children, by female participants and an overall preference for the father candidate by male candidates without children.

The new empirical analysis in this thesis supports its original claim: that gendering is complex; that context is important; and that a primarily US-based body of literature does not necessarily, or easily, travel to the UK context. Moreover, it does not straightforwardly travel to different contexts within the UK case, as gendering was found to vary between media and voters, over time, and potentially between demographic groups of voters. The two research methods worked in a complementary fashion to reveal these nuances and complexities. A consistent finding in both the experimental research and observational research was that, in line with a contemporary body of literature, which has challenged previous ideas of the centrality of gendered assumptions in leader evaluations, traditional gender-based stereotypes were limited. However, they were not eliminated. The content analysis allowed for detailed insight into gender's role in 'real-world' elections and showed how nuanced gendered framings were applied to both men and women, as politics was presented as a masculine sphere in which women were outsiders and men insiders. An examination of media representations of candidate parenthood across time identified how a politicisation of fatherhood developed in the more recent years whilst representations of motherhood seemed little changed in elections 40 years apart. Experimental analysis complemented the comprehensive picture given by the observational analysis as it began to lift the lid on voter behaviour in the gendered environment of political leadership. The experimental findings supported the observational. Initial evidence was found for a resultant paternal mandate in the mind of voters in the context of the politicisation of fatherhood identified in the media analysis, with a vote penalty for male candidates without children. Yet, counter to what the media analysis might suggest, motherhood had limited effects on voter evaluations of candidates. These contradictory and complementary findings demonstrate the complexity of gendering in political leadership as gendering varied across space and was potentially dependent on voter demographics, as discussed in detail below.

Both streams of research showed that the gendering of political leadership was multifaceted for *both men and women*. Reviewing the thesis' findings in light of the extant literature I identify five dimensions of a future research agenda, where my contribution offers new advances on current understandings, and identifies and informs questions for

future research: (i) the personalisation of politics; (ii) candidate strategy; (iii) UK voter behaviour; (iv) parenthood and politics; and (v) men and masculinity.

Dimensions of a Future Research Agenda

(i) Personalisation of Politics

The holistic approach to studying the case study of the UK context in the thesis can, firstly, speak to existing conventional, non-gendered accounts of British political leadership. For the most part, the conventional political science literature fails to 'see' gender but there is value in applying a gendered lens to these theories of leadership. Most clearly, this is demonstrated by how this thesis furthers current understandings about the personalisation of British politics. Personalisation can be split into individualisation, a shift in focus from parties to politicians, and privatisation, a shift from viewing the politician as role occupier to a personal individual, including a focus on personal characteristics and personal life (Van Aelst et al., 2012). Although empirical evidence for personalisation is mixed, at the very least there is a *perception* that political leadership is becoming more personalised (Webb et al., 2012) and a key part of this is the importance of the media. The imperative role of the media, depicted as the forum between 'ruler and ruled' (Riddell, 2011), was in part, why media representations formed a substantial basis for the empirical research in this thesis. Yet, in the mainstream personalisation accounts there is little, if any, recognition of the gendering of the relationship between leaders and the media. This study has redressed this lacuna and shown that the contemporary media environment is importantly gendered for *both men and women* seeking leadership positions in British politics. A failure to recognise the fact that men have a gender too (Carver, 1996) in personalisation accounts of political leadership risks missing a potentially key variable which should be examined to see if, and how, it influences the media environment that candidates face.

By undertaking a gendered, across-time comparison this thesis suggests an alternative – and potentially competing – account of the development of personalisation in British politics. Such a claim evidently requires further examination and substantiation. Is it that the entry of women into the public sphere of leadership caused this shift in focus to the private sphere which had spill over effects for male leaders? In this thesis, and notwithstanding the predictions of, the personalisation of politics arguments, parenthood was not increasingly important over time regardless of sex. Instead a gendered pattern affecting both men and women was observed. In the 1970s, the arrival of woman (and mother) Margaret Thatcher punctuated the male dominated norm and prompted the men to react to her. By the 1990s, family was central to male leadership contenders with the

rise of a 'modern man' image. In the mid 2010s, when women are running against other women for the first time motherhood is brought to the fore. Potentially, there are two streams of personalisation dependent on the sex of the politician. One could envision how women's family were of disproportionate interest when women were more novel in politics and over time this has decreased in line with the men. Furthermore, was it the case that the entry of women shifted media focus into the private sphere, which male candidates then reacted to? The use of the private sphere by female politicians such as Margaret Thatcher could have spill over effects for the rest of politics. Further across-time analysis of leadership elections examining representations of private lives and characteristics of leadership candidates in the UK context may shed further light on this trend and further develop an alternative gendered account of the development of the personalisation of politics.

The use of gender to show relatability, a key theme in the observational research conducted in this thesis, further supports the contention that personalisation theories need to better account for the role of gender. A key tenant of personalisation is privatisation, the politicisation of the private persona with an increased emphasis on the traits that make leaders human beings and a greater emphasis on their private lives (Langer, 2007, Stanyer, 2007, 2013, Van Aelst et al., 2012). Given that one's experience of life is inevitably shaped by their gender using gendered frames to present normality seems an obvious strategy. A theme in the observational research was how gender was used to show the relatability of both male and female leaders. For women seeking leadership, their motherhood was used to show their relatability from being a 'competent housewife' in the 1970s making dinner for her husband and children to the 'how-does-she-do-it-woman' running out of meetings to get sports kit to her children in 2015. The motherhood of female contenders demonstrated their normality relative to gendered norms of the time. For male candidates in the contemporary setting, masculinity was signalled as the male candidates were the 'decent bloke' or 'nice guy' who pledged support for their local football team. How overt these framings may be on behalf of the candidates is one of the elements to be examined in future research on candidate strategy, as discussed further in the next section.

To account for this link between gender and relatability, relational approaches to leadership, such as charismatic leadership or ideas of transformative or transactional leadership (Bass, 1998, Bryman, 1992, Eagly et al., 2003, Willner, 1984), may help us to further theorise how the relationship between voters and leaders may be gendered. The role of followers gets somewhat lost in the more recent 'interactionist' turn in leadership literature which focuses discussion on the interaction between personality and context.

Yet, the relationship between leaders and followers forms part of the context in which leaders operate. Gendered accounts of political leadership consider this via experimental research on voter perceptions, a stream of research that this thesis explored in the British context. Furthermore, observational research in the thesis suggested that candidates use their gender to relate to followers. There has been some suggestion in organisational literature that women may adopt a more 'feminised' style of leadership in their relationship with followers in the form of transformational leadership (Eagly et al., 2003). Observational research on gender and political leadership touches on gendered ideas of how leaders may relate to followers, for instance in considerations of Sarah Palin's representations of motherhood signalling her traditional and conservative values (Greenlee, 2014, Thomas and Lambert, 2017). In experimental work, conceptions about the gendered relationship between leaders and voters focus on ideas of competency as studies examine women's ability to demonstrate competency given gender-based stereotypes (e.g., Eagly and Carli, 2003, Heilman and Okimoto, 2007, Okimoto and Brescoll, 2010). The media analysis allows us to deconstruct complex notions of leadership and show that gendering was not just about the supposed competency of leaders but also framed how followers may relate to leaders, or leaders try to relate to followers. A fuller theoretical framework to understand the gendering of this relationship would be valuable to advancing our understanding of the complex gendering of political leadership.

Key future agenda research questions on gender in the personalisation of politics:

- (i) How has the privatisation of the political persona over time, both by the media and by politicians themselves, varied by sex?
- (ii) Is there an alternative gendered account of the personalisation of politics whereby the entry of women into the public sphere shifted focus into the private sphere for both men and women?
- (iii) Must candidates portray normalised gender roles to seem authentic or to relate to voters?
- (iv) What are the types of masculinity or femininity that are being used in representations of leaders to show relatability or normality?

(ii) Candidate Strategy

By offering the first systematic and methodological nuanced account of gender and political leadership in the UK context this thesis directly challenges conventional, non-gendered accounts of British political leadership. More widely, however, the thesis set

out to engage with a body of international literature by seeking to ascertain whether a primarily US-focused body of work could travel to the UK case. By addressing how political leadership is gendered in a single case studied holistically, the next four dimensions consider how this thesis advances our understandings of, and presents further research tracks on, the complex gendered environment of political leadership, the dynamic nature of which is missed by the somewhat static approach to theorising gender in current literature.

The immediate question that follows from the observational research in the thesis is the role of gender in candidate strategy. A clear future research agenda is to examine further the role of candidates in the construction of representations and ideas of gender and political leadership. In what ways do male and female candidates consider and utilise their gender when forming candidate strategy? One of the reasons that the null hypothesis was given extensive consideration in this thesis was because 'when women run, women win'. Yet this phrase has begun to be criticised for overlooking candidate agency (e.g. Dittmar, 2015). Do women only win at the same rates as men because they enact strategies to overcome gendered bias in campaigns? For example, it was suggested in Chapter 4 that Theresa May, a famously private politician, may have pre-empted questions on her childlessness with a strategic interview addressing the issue early in the campaign.

As discussed in Chapter 1, female political leaders have been found to employ a 'gender strategy' in their campaign choices when faced with, and when seeking to negotiate, the highly gendered nature of political leadership (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2013, Lawrence and Rose, 2014). Initial evidence was seen for both men and women using their gender in their campaign strategy, although it could not always be determined how overt this choice was. A recurring theme in both the across-time and contemporary media analysis was the complex interaction between how candidates' chose to present themselves and the media's framing of them. For instance, both male and female candidates used their gender thus contributing to the media's insider/outsider framing in the 2015 Labour leadership election with female candidates pitching themselves as the 'first woman' and male candidates signalling their masculine credentials by their support for the local football team in line with the media's frequent sports imagery. Across time, a similar trend was seen in representations of parenthood. There was a further suggestion in the contemporary media coverage in Chapter 3 that gender may limit the available behaviour to candidates as male candidates were associated with a greater range of leadership traits including those more stereotypically considered 'feminine'. The rich data provided by content analysis shows the complexity of 'real-world' elections as the

resultant framing was a combination of the agency of the candidates, the context of the election, and the media's interpretations.

In developing a research agenda that is focused on candidate strategy in the face of complex gender representations, it is key to recognise that candidates are not neutral or passive agents in the construction of representations and ideas of gender and political leadership. A more comprehensive and nuanced interpretation of political leadership should account for this and one clear avenue for advancing on this thesis' empirical findings is to undertake research on the conscious and/or unconscious use of gender in campaign strategies by candidates and, where relevant, their media advisors or teams. Drawing on an emerging work in this area in the US context, such as that of Dittmar (2015), future research such as content analysis of campaign material, including press releases, manifestos and campaign websites, and Twitter feeds, alongside interviews with candidates and campaign teams would shed further light on the gendering of candidate behaviour in different contexts. Doing so could reveal further what this thesis has found initial evidence for, namely, that both *men and women* use their gender in campaigning, (although it could not determine whether they do this overtly or inadvertently nor the reasons why). Research should also be designed to explore how the range of behaviour available to candidates, and any costs and benefits associated with particular behaviour, during campaigns may be gendered, and indeed intersected by other candidate and campaign characteristics.

Key future agenda research questions on candidate strategy:

- (i) In what ways, if at all, do male and female candidates consider their gender when forming campaign strategy?
- (ii) What range of behaviours do male and female candidates perceive to be available to them when campaigning? And why?
- (iii) How do male and female candidates signal their gender in their campaign material?
- (iv) What gendered behaviours do male and female candidates demonstrate in campaign videos, interviews and in other campaign material?

(iii) Understanding Voter Behaviour: Methodological Innovations

A more comprehensive and nuanced analysis of the role of gender in political leadership was offered in this thesis by also utilising experimental methods, the second common methodology in the gendered literature, to examine voter perceptions. In line with my twin-track approach, the second half of this thesis examined how gender mediates

voters' behaviour. Using observational methods in the first half of this thesis worked to highlight the nuancing of the role of gender and the complex interaction of candidate strategy and media framing. An in-depth picture is given of the environment in which leaders and voters are operating. Experimental analysis was then undertaken to begin to examine the impact of this environment on the voter and their behaviour within it. It can be hard to account for the 'noise' of these context-specific elections and isolate gendered effects. Experimental methods work to identify causal effects and therefore were used in conjunction with the observational data to offer a holistic analysis of gender and political leadership in the UK context.

The experimental work in the thesis firstly, offers the opportunity to further current work due to its methodological innovation. The experimental design overcomes limitations in current methodologies in gender stereotyping literature. Secondly, as British political science has begun to adopt the methods of political psychology in understanding voter behaviour, including in examining the role of gender (Campbell and Cowley, 2014, 2018), the method and findings in the thesis offers the opportunity to further these understandings.

To begin with, the innovative experimental method used in this thesis offered a dynamic view of voter behaviour and the role of information in voter decision-making, overcoming limitations in current literature. Experimental literature in the 1990s and 2000s shaped contemporary understandings of gender stereotyping. Common to these studies was a 'low information' design where participants viewed a short vignette or biography of candidates before evaluating them. However, the findings and methods of this literature have been challenged by a recent body of work which suggests these stereotypes dissipate when voters operate in a high information environment, such as a real-world campaign (Dolan, 2014, Lynch and Dolan, 2014). Experimental methods are still valuable as they remove some of the messiness in true elections to isolate causal effects but the methodological limitations of low information experiments need to be addressed. In order to do so, I utilised Dynamic Process Tracing Environment (DPTE), an innovative method which brings some of the nuance of real-world elections into the experimental environment. The method, which has begun to be intermittently used in the US context, considers the voting process as a whole and offers a higher-information environment as participants view multiple pieces of information about candidates and have agency in choosing the information they view. It offers the opportunity to further our understanding of gender and voter behaviour whilst accounting for the dynamic nature of stereotyping. Although the experimental environment is always limited in its external validity by its

inherently artificial nature these experiments can work to 'lift the lid' to a greater extent on voter's decision-making process than previous common methodologies.

The second aim of these experiments was to offer an initial examination of the role of gender in voter perceptions of political leadership in the UK context, not only is the method innovative and hence pilot experiments were performed, but the small N and young, female and left-leaning sample mean conclusions from these findings are limited. However, the innovative method and pilot studies' initial findings offers opportunities for furthering understandings of UK voter behaviour. Further experimental analysis should test whether initial findings in this exploratory study hold in a larger N with a more representative sample. Four trends in the findings require further examination and offer opportunities for examining UK voter behaviour but speak also to extant international literature and possible applications of similar methods and research questions in differing contexts: (i) the role of information, (ii) the importance of voter demographics, (iii) the role of partisanship, and (iv) the effects of voters' attitudes to descriptive representation.

Firstly, the role of information in voter decision-making should be further examined. It was hypothesised that, in line with the contemporary body of research challenging previous experimental work (e.g., Dolan, 2014), voters would only rely on stereotypes as cognitive shortcuts in the lower-information environment. This appeared to be the case for candidate sex and vote choice where female voters used gender as a cue when little was known about candidates in Experiment 1. However, this gender identity effect dissipated once voters learnt more about candidates. This requires further investigation to test whether the same is true in a larger more representative sample. It lends support to the contention that stereotypes are cognitive shortcuts and are dynamic and so may not present in the complex, high information environments of real campaigns.

However, in line with findings from the observational media analysis, gender-based trait stereotypes were not systematically present even when little was known about candidates in the lower-information environment. In the discussion of this null finding, the importance of time and space were considered. Questions on the role of the variation in gendered norms over time and between groups of voters, and the importance of context are begged here. A key explanatory factor may be changing gendered norms as findings from a largely US-based body of literature from the 1990s and 2000s did not necessarily travel to the contemporary UK context. As views on gender roles have become less traditional in the UK since 1984 with a notable change since 2008 (Phillips et al., 2018), it seems plausible that an overt prejudice towards women in male dominated leadership roles may not be present. It can also be considered that gender-based stereotypes were

limited in the media coverage examined in this thesis. The media is the primary forum of information for voters and as experimental research increasingly emphasises the importance of information in affecting voter stereotyping the context of less overt stereotyping in the media could be having an effect. Future research to test if this initial finding holds would further emphasise the importance of political and cultural context in understanding the role of gender in political leadership, which, as discussed in Chapter 1, current literature tends to overlook.

Secondly, further experimental work should consider the importance of voter demographics in mediating gendered effects. As age is an increasingly prominent electoral cleavage, a future research agenda is to examine a potential generational divide in gender-based stereotyping further, beginning with the larger N experiments based on this thesis' pilot studies to examine if initial results hold in a larger, more representative sample. The demographics of the sample were also considered as a possible explanation for the absence of gender-based stereotyping in the experimental analysis. Gender-based stereotypes may not have been present in the primarily female, young and left-leaning sample as this group of voters hold less traditional views on gendered norms. Stereotypes may still be prevalent in different contexts as different groups of voters may hold more traditional gender views. We know that attitudes to gendered norms vary significantly between generations, as well as by sex, with older people more likely to hold traditional views on gender roles than young people, and women slightly more likely to reject traditional gender roles than men (Phillips et al., 2018). Furthermore, scholars on voter behaviour increasingly see age as a key electoral cleavage (Curtis, 2017, Hobolt, 2016, Jennings and Stoker, 2017, Norris, 2018). The experimental findings in this thesis contributes to the idea that generational divides are increasingly important in understanding voter behaviour and gender has a role to play in mitigating these effects. By conducting both experimental and observational research, the potential importance of this demographic divide was illustrated further by the differences between the media and voter contexts in the treatment of female candidates. For example, motherhood was represented as an advantage in the media – especially when two women were running against each other – but pilot experiments suggested voters may not differentiate between female candidates based on their motherhood. Demographics may be central to understanding motherhood's differential effects in different contexts as the experiment sample was primarily young, female and left-leaning whereas the media is dominated by older, male journalists.

Thirdly, questions are begged by this research on the role of partisanship. There are two elements that should be further considered: firstly, how the partisanship of voters may

affect their evaluations of male and female leaders; and secondly, how the partisanship of the leaders themselves may interact with gender-based stereotypes about them. The limited sample in this thesis meant partisan effects could not be examined. The interaction between gender and partisanship needs to be tested in the larger N experiments with a more representative sample. Evidence from the US shows that partisanship and gender stereotypes intersect. Women, for example, have been seen by voters as more liberal, Democrat and feminist than men (e.g., Alexander and Anderson, 1993, Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993a, King and Matland, 2003, Sanbonmatsu and Dolan, 2009), and Republican women have been perceived to be more trustworthy than their male counterparts (King and Matland, 2003). In turn, voters' own partisanship intersects with these gendered stereotypes (e.g., Huddy and Capelos, 2002, King and Matland, 2003, Sanbonmatsu and Dolan, 2009). For example, King and Matland (2003) found Democrats and Independents saw a female Republican as more conservative than her male counterpart whereas Republicans saw her as less conservative. Similarly, in the UK, the relationship between partisanship and gender stereotyping may vary and needs to be considered in context. The strength of partisanship effects may differ as the Conservative and Labour parties are not as clearly polarised on gendered policy issues as the Democratic and Republican parties in the US and no mainstream British party explicitly supports traditional gendered roles (Campbell and Cowley, 2018, Dolan, 2014).

Fourthly, future research should examine how views on descriptive representation and presenting women in the novelty/difference frame may mediate vote choice in these high information experiments. The 'novelty' framing of female candidates may be of an advantage for women amongst *certain groups* of voters. Highlighting again the importance of interpreting findings in context and recognising the complexity of gendering. As discussed in relation to reduced gender-stereotyping above, the media is the primary forum of information for voters and has the potential to impact individual voters' behaviour. DPTE offers the opportunity to explore the effect of different types of information on voter decision-making including further testing the effect of the candidate framings from the observational work of this thesis on voter perceptions. A key finding in the contemporary media analysis in this research, in line with the gendered mediation thesis, media framing and candidate strategy framed politics as a masculine sphere in which women were potential 'space invaders' (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003, Puwar, 2004). The novelty of electing a woman was often positively framed, in agreement with Trimble's (2017) contention that the novelty/difference frame can challenge the male domination of politics. However, even when discussed positively it reinforces the idea that women are outsiders in the masculine realm of leadership. The twin-track approach

offered further nuance in understanding the possible effect of this framing as presenting women as outsiders may have differential effects amongst different audiences. In Experiment 1, female participants were more likely to vote for a female leader when little was known about candidates, although this effect dissipated in a higher-information environment. A potential representation based argument was put forward to explain the initial vote preference, building on the work of Campbell and Heath (2017) who showed that a pattern of women voting for women is seen amongst women who support more descriptive representation of their sex. Potentially, the novelty framing could benefit female leaders, but only in *certain groups* of voters. Further experimental analysis which includes views of descriptive representation as a variable and presents women in the novelty/difference frame could explore this further. Perhaps including this information may prompt women who are supportive of descriptive representation to sustain any initial preference for a female leader.

Testing the effect of different frames and candidate strategies on voter decision-making highlights the advantage of DPTE. The innovative method offers the opportunity for further insight into the voter's decision-making process and further manipulations of the information available. As well as allowing for a myriad of additional manipulations of the effect of varying candidate demographics, including sex, race, sexuality or age, the dynamic and high information environment means opportunities to test the inclusion of differential information such as negative competence information, images of candidates or polling information. We already know from emerging US experimental work that more information may reduce stereotyping (Crowder-Meyer et al., 2019), stereotypic information may prompt traditional stereotypes (Bauer, 2015), or competency information may matter more for women than men (Ditonto, 2017). Future research can interrogate further what information may reduce stereotyping and what information may prompt gendered evaluations of candidates.

Key future agenda research questions on gender and voter behaviour (in the UK and other contexts):

- (i) Do gender-based stereotypes applied to leaders vary by age of voter?
- (ii) Is there a gendered generational divide in voter preference for male or female leaders?
- (iii) Do partisan supporters enact different gender-based stereotypes in their evaluations of leaders in UK case, as has been shown in the US context?
- (iv) Do UK voters' gender-based stereotypes of leaders vary according to the party of the leader, as has been seen in the US context?

- (v) Does receiving further information about candidates always reduce stereotyping?
- (vi) How does presenting female candidates as outsiders affect voter perceptions? Does this effect vary in different groups of voters? Is this mediated by voters' views on descriptive representation?

(iv) Parenthood and Politics

The results of the observational and experimental work substantiate the claim made at the outset of the thesis, that the gendering of political leadership is complex, it is about different time and spaces, and context is important. The stereotypes from a primarily US-based literature from the 1990s and 2000s did not necessarily travel to the contemporary UK context. The binary stereotypes identified in this literature may begin to look outdated and instead, as gender and politics scholars, we should focus on the complexities in gendering as opposed to binary conceptions of competencies and traits. The women candidates were found not to face systematic bias in the leadership traits associated with them in media and voter contexts. As discussed in relation to voters, the UK has a liberal attitude to gender norms (Phillips et al., 2018). In this context, it is plausible that an overt prejudice towards women in male dominated leadership roles may not be seen. As opposed to binary stereotyping, gendering was more clearly seen in the media coverage in nuanced gendered framing of both men and women and demographics of voters were potentially important in understanding the role of gender in voter perceptions. The dynamic nature of gender-based stereotyping needs to be better accounted for as well as the importance of political and cultural context. This is further illustrated by considering politics and parenthood.

Current accounts of gender's role in political leadership underemphasise the complexity highlighted in this thesis, taking a more static approach to theorising gender. A more nuanced understanding of gender may be illuminated by considering the parenthood of candidates which highlights the subtleties of gender in political leadership as it relates to how a candidate violates or conforms to gendered norms (Bell and Kaufmann, 2015). Politics and parenthood is an emerging field of study, work has examined motherhood gaps in politics, the effect of having children on political behaviour, and media representations of leaders' parenthood (Thomas and Bittner, 2017). An examination of parenthood both in media representations over time and in voter perceptions in this thesis revealed different gender norms for men and women and a potential feminisation of leadership with more notable consequences for male candidates than female. The

results implore future areas of research, firstly on the contexts in which motherhood may be politicised, and secondly, a new research agenda on the politicisation of fatherhood.

Firstly, contradictory findings on motherhood in the thesis' observational and experimental work beg questions about the contexts in which motherhood is politicised for female leaders. There was evidence for a politicisation of motherhood but this presented differently in the media and voter contexts and did not always materialise as the literature would predict. Questions follow from this about where and when motherhood has an effect for female leaders, as well as amongst which demographics motherhood may impact evaluations of leaders. As discussed, future experimental analysis could test the differential effect of motherhood in different demographic groups of voters which may shed light on the reason for some differences between the media context and the voter context in this thesis' findings. In the across-time observational research evidence was found for a politicisation of motherhood, which potentially presented earlier than the US literature suggested. Motherhood was represented as an advantage in the media – especially when two women were running against each other – however experimental research suggested voters may not differentiate between female candidates based on motherhood. A resultant maternal mandate given the politicisation of motherhood was hard to identify, in both the observational and experimental data. Voters did not punish women candidates without children, although as discussed the demographics of the sample is a possible factor here. In media coverage over time the maternal mandate was context specific, only presenting in the two contemporary elections where two women ran, a mother and a non-mother. In these elections, childlessness was not presented as the literature would suggest, in a communality deficit for the women, but rather in how the childlessness of one female candidate was a weakness for her (female) opponent to attack. Perhaps a maternal mandate is only present when women run against each other?

Secondly, a key contribution the findings in this thesis makes is that it has exposed a Politicised Fatherhood alongside the politicisation of motherhood presenting a fertile new stream of research. Questions are raised here about the gendered norms for men, as well as women, political leaders and if perhaps gendered norms are more flexible for women than men. The rise in the 'modern man' image could be traced across the leadership elections as at times male candidates' family was of greater interest than the women's. These findings were furthered by the pilot experiment in Chapter 6, showing the value of the twin-track approach, as initial experimental results suggest fatherhood is politicised for male candidates and leads to a potential paternal mandate amongst voters as the male candidate without children faced a significant vote penalty. Firstly, it is

considered how this politicisation of fatherhood may represent a feminisation of leadership, and secondly, how the resultant paternal mandate may suggest a reversal in gender stereotyping and more flexible gendered norms for female candidates. Again, discussions highlight the importance of context and voter demographics.

To begin with, parenthood's effect on male candidates raises questions of the potential for a 'feminisation' of leadership with more notable consequences for male candidates. Deason et al (2015) suggest that a politicisation of motherhood could lead to more feminised ideas of leadership. Any feminisation of leadership in this thesis was complex, and could more readily be seen by looking to male candidates, highlighting the importance of considering men and masculinity in assessments of gender and political leadership. In the contemporary media setting, some feminisation of leadership was realised in the concentration on male candidates' communality but was limited as it was presented as a type of male communality embedded still in their masculinity as male leaders were the 'nice *guy*' and 'decent *bloke*'. Further to this, the Politicised Fatherhood found in both observational and experimental data prompts questions on whether the 'feminisation' of leadership allows, or perhaps even requires, for men to occupy more feminised domestic images? Any feminisation of leadership, therefore, may be opening-up different ranges of behaviour for male candidates which are most easily shown in fatherhood. Questions are begged by the politicisation of fatherhood in this study about what this may mean for different types of fatherhood, such as the more traditional idea of the breadwinner father with wife at home. How does differing from the norm of '(heterosexual) married-with-two-kids' affect evaluations of leadership? Partisanship, again, likely has a role to play here. For instance, it was suggested in Chapter 4 that Conservative men seemed able to more easily opt out of any concentration on parenthood.

The presence of a paternal mandate but not a maternal mandate in voter perceptions raises the question of whether gendered norms are perhaps more flexible for female candidates than male candidates? The politicisation of fatherhood may simultaneously restrict male candidates as it creates a backlash for those without children amongst voters seen in the paternal mandate in the experimental data which was not present for their female counterparts. Political norms and context could be a factor as in British politics male MPs are less likely to be childless than female, although this gap has significantly reduced (Campbell and Childs, 2014, 2018), and the childless female leader is a common image with the current Prime Minister and the First Minister of Scotland both married with no children. The demographic that seemed to be pushing the

preference for a male candidate with children was male voters⁴⁷ who showed an explicit preference for the father candidate. Again, the variation in demographic groups on stereotype holding needs to be accounted for. Why the paternal mandate may be more prevalent amongst male voters is an area for further research. In line with the idea of more inflexible male gender norms, do men perhaps punish men more for going against gendered norms than women punish women?

A politicisation of parenthood was seen to some extent for both men and women and could be affecting ideas of ideal types of masculinity in politics, with a specific paternal mandate for male candidates. The politicisation of fatherhood and a possible resultant paternal mandate is a fertile area for further research building on this thesis' findings, both in the UK and other contexts. Further questions flow from this as to what it may mean for different types of fatherhood, whether male candidates can opt-out of any increased focus on family, and the possible 'feminisation' of leadership. More widely, the examination of politics and parenthood in this thesis highlights many areas for further research and how examining parenthood can allow for the nuancing of gendered norms to be exposed.

Key future agenda research questions on parenthood:

- (i) Is there a paternal mandate for male leadership candidates whereby they must demonstrate an approved fatherhood to appear viable?
- (ii) How do candidates with families that differ from the heterosexual 'married-with-two-kids' norm present their parenthood? How are these representations evaluated by different groups of voters?
- (iii) Are gendered norms on parenthood more flexible for female candidates than male candidates?
- (iv) Is parenthood politicised when no female candidate is present?

(v) Men and Masculinity

The politicisation of fatherhood in the findings highlighted how ideas of men and masculinity were key to understanding the complexity of the gendering of political leadership. As Bjarnegard (2013, p. 1) rightly said, "we must take seriously the fact that a gendered analysis is as much about men and masculinity as it is about women and femininity". There is discussion of masculinity in gender and political leadership scholarship, mostly seen in the idea that leadership is stereotypically masculine but also

⁴⁷ This is caveated by the small sample, which was primarily female.

in some observational research on the performance of masculinity in US Presidential elections (Fahey, 2007, Heldman et al., 2018). Yet, too often, masculinities remain under theorised as the tendency towards a binary approach to gender means the focus is often on women. Masculine is seen often as the 'norm' which women deviate from or try to demonstrate, for instance in ideas around the femininity/competency bind and the contention that male competency will be presumed whereas a woman's will be questioned (Jamieson, 1995). However, this 'masculine norm' needs deconstructing and a more complex idea of masculinity and political leadership developed. Gender is multifaceted for both men and women, and there is a need to recognise men and masculinity in future research, this is most readily seen in two ways in the new data in this thesis.

Firstly, observational research showed how gendered frames were applied to men and women and influenced the strategies of both sexes. Further to this, and within the framework of hegemonic masculinity, it could be traced through the coverage that a certain *type* of strong 'tough guy' masculinity was being encouraged in a political leader. The 2015 Labour leadership campaign was located in the masculine sphere of politics by the language used according to the gendered mediation thesis, and weakness and femininity were derided in both women and men in occasional instances of explicit sexism and the intermittent feminisation of the men. There was some backlash against male communality and the women were often told to 'toughen up' despite frequent possessions of strength traits in the coverage. Yet, simultaneously, we may also be seeing the development of a type of communal masculinity in the aforementioned politicisation of fatherhood. This complements the findings that male communality, rather than female communality, was emphasised in the 2015 Labour leadership election. When viewed in the context of the politicisation of fatherhood over time it suggests further that this 'feminisation' of the men, which worked both for and against them, was not necessarily due to the specific context of the election.

Secondly, experimental data furthered the suggestion in the observational work on the importance of men and masculinity in the relationship between leaders and voters. Pilot experimental analysis suggests that the demographic that seemed to be pushing the preference for a male candidate with children was male voters⁴⁸ who showed an explicit preference for the father candidate over all other candidates. Future experiments should test if this finding holds in a larger and more representative sample. In contrast to this finding, Campbell and Heath's (2017) experimental analysis found that even men who

⁴⁸ This is caveated by the small sample, which was primarily female.

think women should stay at home did not sacrifice their preferred party by voting for a man. Further deconstructing men and masculinity can give us further insight into voter behaviour. In what contexts do male voters prefer male representatives; do other demographics matter e.g. age of voter; how does the parenthood of the candidate affect this relationship? The complexity of gendered norms and the environment in which they are applied needs to be further recognised.

Key future agenda research questions on men and masculinity, attendant to different *types* of masculinity:

- (i) To what extent has leadership become 'feminised'?
- (ii) What is the effect of any feminisation of leadership on representations of male candidates?
- (iii) Do male candidates experience a backlash for communal behaviour?
- (iv) What is the relationship between male voters and male candidates? i.e. do men vote for men? And, if so, in what contexts do men vote for men?
- (v) What types of masculinity are valued in political leaders?

Final Remarks

In addressing gender and political leadership in the UK case this thesis offers the first systematic and methodologically nuanced analysis of gender and political leadership in the British context. In light of the new and innovative empirical findings presented in the core of this thesis, a new research agenda was outlined organised around five dimensions. In examining these it is thought that the further advancements this thesis makes are threefold. Firstly, it is shown how we may begin to bridge the gap between non-gendered, conventional accounts of political leadership and gendered evaluations of leadership. Secondly, it is demonstrated that former simplistic claims on gender are limited. Thirdly, it is suggested that the methodological innovation in the twin-track approach with an innovative experimental method may offer a way to research the complexity in the gendering of political leadership.

The first dimension of my research agenda highlighted how this thesis furthers – and indeed challenges – current understandings about the personalisation of politics both in demonstrating that current accounts fail to see the gendering of media, which plays a key role in the personalisation thesis, and how there may be an alternative gendered account of the development of the privatisation dimension of personalisation over time. This illustrates the first wider contribution of this thesis as we can begin to bridge the gap between the non-gendered conventional accounts of political leadership and gendered

evaluations of leadership. At present, these two bodies of work exist somewhat in isolation, yet possible points of intersection were shown to exist between the two where both fields of study could be furthered by engaging with the other. Creating a dialogue between the gendered and non-gendered conventional literature may offer the framework and tools to account for the complex interaction between candidate agency and context, and gender's role within this.

Currently, most gender and political leadership accounts offer what the conventional literature would consider 'trait' or 'style' approaches to leadership which focus on the 'types' of traits and skills needed by leaders. Scholars have offered a gendered critique of these approaches as the 'right' traits or styles tend to be those which are stereotypically masculine (Foley, 2013, Sjoberg, 2014). These accounts privilege personality over context (Elgie, 2015) within the 'interactionalist' turn in conventional political leadership studies which recognise that explaining a leader's effectiveness involves an examination of both personality and context, with different approaches stressing different sides of this interaction. Yet, this thesis demonstrated the importance of context in understanding the gendering of political leadership, both in terms of wider cultural and political norms of the country being examined but also over time, in the media context versus voter perceptions, and amongst different groups of voters. Further recognition of context is needed in how we currently theorise gender in studying political leadership. Contextual or situational approaches stress the importance of considering context when discussing leadership and may be valuable in providing the tools and framework for theorising the complicated nature of gender in political leadership.

For instance, a possible framework is offered by Byrne and Theakston's (2018) 'strategic-relational approach' to leadership and the British prime ministership, which was further discussed in Chapter 1. Byrne and Theakston replace the 'artificial dualism' of structure and agency within many context-focused accounts of leadership with *strategic action*, intentional conduct orientated towards a particular environment; and *strategically selective context*, environments which favour particular strategies and are relational both to the strategic action of leaders and their effects are relevant to the specific actors that encounter them. Their model more adequately allows for different motivations of leaders and recognises that structural contexts are discursively constructed. If one conceives of a leader as a strategic actor in Byrne and Theakston's model then the strategic action taken may be mediated by a leader's gender and its relation to the context in which they are operating. For instance, in the potential 'gender strategies' which may be employed by male and female candidates or in the available behaviour to male and female contenders, which is both influenced by political and cultural norms and by the strategic

(gendered) action of the candidate. A full theoretical account was not offered in this thesis but this brief illustration shows that using the tools and frameworks of the conventional literature in this way could allow for gender and political leadership scholars to develop a framework to theorise the importance of context and the interaction between agency and structure.

The final four dimensions demonstrated the complexity of the gendering of political leadership, substantiating the contention that former simplistic claims on gender are limited. Gender and politics scholars must move beyond binary and static conceptions of gender stereotyping and recognise the complexity of gender in political leadership, including the importance of time and space. Gendered norms are dynamic and vary across time and space, and thus context is important. Demonstrative of this was how, in this thesis, the stereotypes from a primarily US-based literature from the 1990s and 2000s did not necessarily travel to the contemporary UK context. A more contemporary body of literature has already begun to challenge the prevalence of these traditional gender stereotypes in political leadership. This thesis cemented this assertion in the UK context as traditional gender-based trait stereotypes were not central to contemporary media perceptions of party leadership candidates nor were they present in initial experimental evidence of voter perceptions, perhaps due to the primarily young and female participants.

This thesis supports the contention made by Dolan and others about the dynamic nature of gender stereotyping and that, “in the end women candidates have a relationship with the public that is colored by their sex but not controlled by it” (Lynch and Dolan, 2014, p. 66). More recent studies by scholars such as Dolan (2014) lead us to question the prevalence of stereotypes in voters’ relationship with leaders given the variation in individuals’ stereotype holding, that they can dissipate when voters have sufficient information, that context and environment matter, and that stereotypes interact with other variables such as partisanship. That is not to say that leadership was not gendered, but that the gendering of political leadership was more dynamic and nuanced than the somewhat static approach offered by the current literature allows for. Simply testing for the presence, or not, of binary stereotyping at one point in time, as is common in current conceptions of gender and political leadership, would suggest that gender was having no, or little, effect. The gendering of political leadership in this thesis was multifaceted for both men and women and varied over time as well as between media and voter contexts, and, potentially, in different groups of voters. The dynamic nature of gendered norms and the environment in which they are applied needs to be further recognised. Greater attention should be paid to men and masculinity in future research as well as

women and femininity. Within this, the multifaceted nature of gender should be studied allowing for different *types* of masculinity and femininity. Research on gender and political leadership should move away from binary conceptions of are men/women associated with certain traits or competencies and seek more nuance in our examinations which recognises the dynamic nature of gendered stereotypes and the cultural and political context in which they are applied.

Moving beyond the binaries of gender and recognising how gender is changing begs proper intersectional approaches in future research. Intersectional analysis was not undertaken in this thesis as the leadership candidates in the observational cases were all white and broadly middle class. The experiments were designed to complement the observational work and therefore sex was the only identity that was varied, keeping other demographics such as race and sexuality constant. If binaries are not absolute and context matters then – not withstanding that I could not undertake it in this thesis – an intersectional approach would recognise variation within categories of social identity encouraging us to move away from essentialising men and women and recognise that social identity and the power systems that give them meaning shift across time and geographic location (Smooth, 2013).

Discussions of intersectional approaches feeds into the third advancement of this thesis – that of methodology. Considering one case via a holistic twin-track approach exposed the complexity of gender and political leadership, previously under theorised in more static approaches in the current literature. A twin-track approach with an innovative experimental method was developed in an active attempt to overcome limitations in the current literature and pointedly account for the dynamic nature of gender-based stereotyping. This is a research design that can be of value in further research agendas to account for the intricacy of the gendering of political leadership. By undertaking a comprehensive overview of the current literature at the outset of this thesis the complexity of the gendering of political leadership was highlighted, demonstrating how different time and spaces mattered, and hence context is important. Findings of this thesis reinforced this claim. By shining two spotlights on gender and political leadership, new patterns were identified which would be missed by taking a single lens approach in line with the more static snapshots offered in current work. Furthermore, the innovative experimental method used recognised the dynamic nature of stereotyping in line with a literature which has challenged previous findings and methodologies.

The comprehensive and methodological nuanced approach in this thesis demonstrated that gender's role in political leadership is complex and multifaceted, varies over time

and space, and that it is so, notably, *for both men and women*. Much of the literature on gender stereotypes and leader evaluations takes a static approach to theorising how gender mediates political leadership, paying too little attention to political and cultural contexts. We need to reframe the questions we are asking in research on gender and political leadership, away from static conceptions of binary gendered traits or competencies and seek more nuancing in the gendering of political leadership which recognises the dynamic nature of gendered norms. In future research agendas, more focus needs to be placed on men and masculinity as well as women and femininity. Within this, different *types* of masculinity and femininity should to be considered, moving beyond binary notions of 'male' or 'female' gender stereotypes, and recognising the importance of intersectionality. If greater nuance is to emerge then the deeper complexities of gendered norms, their changing nature over time and space, and the environment in which they are applied need to be further interrogated.

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Appendix 1. Twitter Accounts Analysed

Journalist	Position	Publication	Justification
Patrick Wintour	Political Editor	<i>The Guardian</i>	No Deputy Editor at time of election. Chief Political Correspondent Nicholas Watt provided minimal tweets on leadership election. Patrick Wintour wrote vast majority of newspaper articles on the election.
Christopher Hope	Chief Political Correspondent	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	Hope is Assistant Editor and Chief Correspondent
Michael Savage	Chief Political Correspondent	<i>The Times</i>	Correspondent covering the election.
John Rentoul	Chief Political Commentator	<i>The Independent</i>	Nigel Morris Deputy Political Editor but very few tweets on the leadership election.
Jason Groves	Deputy Political Editor	<i>The Daily Mail</i>	Daniel Martin is Chief Political Correspondent - but has only tweeted 500 times ever. Jason Groves selected as Deputy Political Editor.
N/A	N/A	<i>Daily Express</i>	Alison Little, Deputy Political Editor, is not on Twitter. Chief political correspondent Leo McKinstry is not on Twitter. Editor at the time Hugh Whittow not on Twitter; Anil Dawar was Home Affairs Report but not on Twitter. No author in newspaper articles analysed that dominates, the majority do not have a named author.
Craig Woodhouse	Chief Political Correspondent	<i>The Sun</i>	Craig Woodhouse promoted to Chief Political Correspondent June/July 2015, halfway through the campaign and tweeted about the election.
Ben Glaze	Chief Political Correspondent	<i>Daily Mirror</i>	Correspondent covering the election.
Norman Smith	Assistant Political Editor	<i>BBC News</i>	Vicki Young, Chief Political Correspondent tweeted on the leadership election only seven times. Deputy Political Editor, James Landale only tweeted seven times on the election.
Chris Ship	Deputy Political Editor	<i>ITV</i>	Correspondent covering the election.
Michael Crick	Political Correspondent	<i>Channel 4</i>	Crick is main political correspondent, Gary Gibbon the Political Editor only tweets links to articles.
Mark Wallace	Editor	<i>ConservativeHome</i>	
Conor Pope	Acting Editor	<i>Labour List</i>	Mark Ferguson stood down as Editor to work for Liz Kendall's campaign, Conor Pope covered during the time period.
Guido Fawkes	Main Twitter Account	<i>Guido Fawkes</i>	Smaller blog - uses the main twitter handle to do opinionated tweets. Note, coded as male as all male team at the time of the Labour election.
Atul Hatwel	Editor	<i>Labour Uncut</i>	

Appendix 2. Introduction for Experiment 1 and 2

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this study on voter perceptions of political leaders.

The study will take approximately 30 minutes. You may choose to leave the study at any point, however if you do so your results will not be used in the final analysis.

In the study, you will take part in a mock leadership campaign for either the Labour Party or the Conservative Party, you may choose which campaign you wish to take part in. You do not have to be (or ever have been) a member of either of these parties, simply choose the party which you feel closest to.

You will then take part in a mock party leadership campaign for your chosen party where you will have the opportunity to learn about four candidates who are running to be leader of this party.

Thank you again for your participation. Once you are ready to begin the study please press 'Next'.

Appendix 3. DPTE Instructions for Experiment 1 and 2

You are now entering the main part of the study where you have the opportunity to learn more about the four leadership candidates you have just read about in a mock party leadership election.

You will be presented with a slowly scrolling list of headlines. Headlines will appear automatically. Each headline relates to an article about any one of the four leadership candidates, for example, it might be about their personal background, their position on a certain issue, or an endorsement of the candidate by an organisation.

You must click on a headline to read the article. Some headlines will appear more than once. You can click on any headline you are interested in.

When you have finished reading an article click 'Close' and you will be taken back to the scrolling list of headlines where you can pick the next article you wish to read.

At the end of the election you will be asked to vote for one candidate to become leader of the party.

After 8 minutes the election will stop and you will be asked to cast your vote and evaluate each of the four candidates. You will then be asked to answer some demographic questions about yourself.

Like a real election there is far more information available than you will have time to read so you will have to be selective in what you pay attention to. Please do not worry about reading everything.

When you are ready to begin please click Next below.

Appendix 4. Information Stimuli in Election

Information in Article	Category
Colleague Endorsement 1	
Colleague Endorsement 2	
Education Background of Candidate	Competence
Organisational Endorsement	
Political Experience	
Experience Prior to Politics	
Personal Background of Candidate	Personal
Personality Description 1	
Personality Description 2	
Childcare Policy	
Education Policy	
Health Policy	Compassion Issue
Social Care Policy	
Welfare Policy	
Vision for the Party	
Business Policy	
Defence Policy	
Deficit and Government Spending Policy	
Economic Policy	
Environmental Policy	Non-Compassion Issue
Europe Policy	
Foreign Affairs Policy	
Housing Policy	
Immigration Policy	
Public Services Policy	
Terrorism Policy	
Transport Policy	

Appendix 5. Breakdown of General News Frames for Individual Candidates in Labour Leadership Election 2015

		Male Candidates		Female Candidates	
		Andy Burnham	Jeremy Corbyn	Yvette Cooper	Liz Kendall
Horse Race	N	280	363	229	233
	% within all news items	18.1%	14.6%	18.9%	18.3%
Issue Based	N	481	679	330	313
	% within all news items	31.0%	27.3%	27.3%	24.6%
Background Based	N	73	118	40	64
	% within all news items	4.7%	4.7%	3.3%	5.0%
Gender Based	N	13	13	37	34
	% within all news items	0.8%	0.5%	3.1%	2.7%
Corbyn Phenomenon	N	62	398	56	54
	% within all news items	4.0%	16.0%	4.6%	4.2%
Party Politics	N	172	305	123	165
	% within all news items	11.1%	12.3%	10.2%	13.0%
Process Stories	N	97	166	91	104
	% within all news items	6.3%	6.7%	7.5%	8.2%
Endorsement	N	22	33	23	27
	% within all news items	1.4%	1.3%	1.9%	2.1%
General	N	246	292	224	228
	% within all news items	15.9%	11.7%	18.5%	17.9%
Other	N	105	119	58	50
	% within all news items	6.8%	4.8%	4.8%	3.9%
Total	N	1,511	2,486	1,211	1,272
	% within all news items	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Appendix 6. Breakdown of General News Frames for Individual Candidates in Labour Leadership Election 2015 by News Type

Appendix 6.1. Breakdown of General News Frames for Individual Candidates in Broadcast Coverage

	Broadcast							
	Male Candidates				Female Candidates			
	Andy Burnham		Jeremy Corbyn		Yvette Cooper		Liz Kendall	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Horse Race	6	9.40%	8	8.40%	5	8.80%	7	14.30%
Issue Based	18	28.10%	29	30.50%	15	26.30%	14	28.60%
Background Based	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Gender Based	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Corbyn Phenomenon	6	9.40%	13	13.70%	4	7.00%	3	6.10%
Party Politics	4	6.30%	6	6.30%	4	7.00%	2	4.10%
Process Stories	6	9.40%	7	7.40%	6	10.50%	6	12.20%
Endorsement	0	0.00%	1	1.10%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
General	23	35.90%	30	31.60%	21	36.80%	16	32.70%
Other	1	1.60%	1	1.10%	2	3.50%	1	2.00%

Appendix 6.2. Breakdown of General News Frames for Individual Candidates in Newspaper Coverage

	Newspaper							
	Male Candidates				Female Candidates			
	Andy Burnham		Jeremy Corbyn		Yvette Cooper		Liz Kendall	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Horse Race	93	12.60%	78	7.40%	69	10.60%	69	10.90%
Issue Based	216	29.20%	334	31.70%	198	30.40%	168	26.60%
Background Based	33	4.50%	61	5.80%	23	3.50%	28	4.40%
Gender Based	10	1.40%	9	0.90%	23	3.50%	21	3.30%
Corbyn Phenomenon	41	5.50%	123	11.70%	40	6.10%	33	5.20%
Party Politics	104	14.10%	152	14.40%	88	13.50%	101	16.00%
Process Stories	53	7.20%	89	8.50%	50	7.70%	51	8.10%
Endorsement	6	0.80%	8	0.80%	7	1.10%	5	0.80%
General	141	19.10%	152	14.40%	126	19.30%	132	20.90%
Other	42	5.70%	46	4.40%	28	4.30%	23	3.60%

Appendix 6.3. Breakdown of General News Frames for Individual Candidates in Social Media Coverage

	Social Media							
	Male Candidates				Female Candidates			
	Andy Burnham		Jeremy Corbyn		Yvette Cooper		Liz Kendall	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Horse Race	117	25.00%	222	23.20%	96	35.30%	98	27.80%
Issue Based	179	38.20%	225	23.50%	67	24.60%	84	23.80%
Background Based	32	6.80%	43	4.50%	14	5.10%	32	9.10%
Gender Based	1	0.20%	1	0.10%	8	2.90%	8	2.30%
Corbyn Phenomenon	7	1.50%	221	23.10%	5	1.80%	7	2.00%
Party Politics	36	7.70%	95	9.90%	14	5.10%	35	9.90%
Process Stories	22	4.70%	44	4.60%	19	7.00%	32	9.10%
Endorsement	5	1.10%	12	1.30%	5	1.80%	12	3.40%
General	25	5.30%	40	4.20%	27	9.90%	29	8.20%
Other	44	9.40%	54	5.60%	17	6.30%	16	4.50%

Appendix 6.4. Breakdown of General News Frames for Individual Candidates in Blog Posts

	Blog Posts							
	Male Candidates				Female Candidates			
	Andy Burnham		Jeremy Corbyn		Yvette Cooper		Liz Kendall	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Horse Race	64	22.90%	55	14.40%	59	25.70%	59	24.70%
Issue Based	68	24.30%	91	23.80%	50	21.70%	47	19.70%
Background Based	8	2.90%	14	3.70%	3	1.30%	4	1.70%
Gender Based	2	0.70%	3	0.80%	6	2.60%	5	2.10%
Corbyn Phenomenon	8	2.90%	41	10.70%	7	3.00%	11	4.60%
Party Politics	28	10.00%	52	13.60%	17	7.40%	27	11.30%
Process Stories	16	5.70%	26	6.80%	16	7.00%	15	6.30%
Endorsement	11	3.90%	12	3.10%	11	4.80%	10	4.20%
General	57	20.40%	70	18.30%	50	21.70%	51	21.30%
Other	18	6.40%	18	4.70%	11	4.80%	10	4.20%

Appendix 7. Tone of Statements on Family Within Articles by Politician 1975-2016 Leadership Elections

		1975						1994			2015			2016						
		Male			Female			Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female					
		<i>Ted Heath*</i>	<i>Geoffrey Howe</i>	<i>Willie Whitelaw</i>	<i>John Peyton</i>	<i>James Prior</i>	<i>Hugh Fraser</i>	<i>Margaret Thatcher</i>	<i>Tony Blair</i>	<i>John Prescott</i>	<i>Margaret Beckett*</i>	<i>Andy Burnham</i>	<i>Jeremy Corbyn</i>	<i>Yvette Cooper</i>	<i>Liz Kendall*</i>	<i>Michael Gove</i>	<i>Stephen Crabb</i>	<i>Liam Fox*</i>	<i>Theresa May*</i>	<i>Andrea Leadsom</i>
Tone of Statement	Positive	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	3	0	0	1	0	16	0	0	0	0	2	16
	Negative	1	0	0	0	0	0	6	5	0	0	0	4	6	18	0	0	0	11	6
	Neutral	3	0	3	0	3	2	30	19	3	0	16	14	22	5	3	1	0	19	27
Total		4	0	3	0	3	2	43	27	3	0	17	18	44	23	3	1	0	32	49

*No children, all other candidates are parents, N=1,669

Appendix 8. Example Candidate Profile with Sources for Experiment

Candidate: Candidate 1 in Labour Leadership Election (profile used in Experiment 1)

Political Ideology: Left-wing

Based upon: Jeremy Corbyn, Dianne Abbott, John McDonnell, recent Labour policy under leadership of Jeremy Corbyn

	Political Experience	Colleague's Endorsement 1
DPTE Article	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1]'s political experience</p> <p>[Candidate 1] has been an MP for 13 years after being elected in the 2005 General Election. [He/She] has served on several Select Committees during [his/her] time as a backbench MP, including the Justice Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee. Previously, [he/she] has held shadow positions on the frontbench including as a Junior Minister for the Environment and was previously the Shadow Minister for Public Health. [He/She] lives in [his/her] constituency.</p>	<p>HEADLINE: Colleague backs [Candidate 1] for leader</p> <p>[Candidate 1] has gained the backing of 5 more of [his/her] fellow MPs. One MP who is supporting [him/her] said:</p> <p>"I am backing [Candidate 1] in this leadership election. We need a leader who is guided by [his/her] principles and after working with [Candidate 1] for ten years I know [he/she] has principle and integrity. [He/she] would help Labour to win power without sacrificing principles, given [his/her] strength, calm manner and genuinely human touch."</p>
Sources	<p>Dianne Abbott is a former Shadow Health Minister and sat on the Foreign Affairs Select Committee (parliament.uk, 2018a).</p> <p>Jeremy Corbyn and John McDonnell have both sat on the Justice Committee (parliament.uk, 2018b, 2018c)</p>	<p>Daily Mirror editorial supporting Corbyn in the 2015 Labour leadership election, said he would "win power without sacrificing principles" (Anon, 2015c).</p> <p>Traits are taken from the trait framework in Chapter 2. Traits were balanced between those which have traditionally been thought masculine and feminine (see Chapter 1 for overview of literature).</p>

	Colleague's Endorsement 2	Experience Prior to Politics
DPTE Article	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] praised by colleague</p> <p>One of the MPs who is supporting [Candidate 1] to become Labour leader today told party members why they should be supporting [him/her]:</p> <p>"[Candidate 1] and I worked together when we first entered Parliament. [He/She] is an able politician who understands ordinary people. [He/she] would be a breath of fresh air for the party and is someone who has always listened to people, and will continue to do so as leader."</p>	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1]'s experience prior to politics</p> <p>After leaving university, [Candidate 1] worked in the central office for the Transport and General Workers' Union before becoming a researcher and reporter for ITV Television Network and then the BBC. [He/She] then worked for the Greater London Authority briefly before being elected to Parliament. [He/She] now lives in [his/her] constituency.</p>
Sources	<p>Phrase 'breath of fresh air' was used to describe both Corbyn and Kendall in 2015 Labour leadership election as the two outside candidates.</p> <p>In an article in The Guardian, Labour activist Abby Tomlinson endorsed Corbyn in the 2015 leadership contest, saying, "He listens to people and would continue to listen if he was Prime Minister" (Tomlinson, 2015).</p>	<p>Dianne Abbott worked as a TV researcher.</p> <p>Trade Unions common political recruitment ground for left-wing politicians.</p> <p>Greater London Authority (previously Greater London Council) has a history of left-wing Labour politics under Mayor Ken Livingstone (Worthy et al., 2019).</p>

	Education	Vision for the Party
DPTE Article	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1]'s educational background</p> <p>[Candidate 1] attended the local Grammar School where [he/she] grew up in Liverpool. [He/She] then read English at Cambridge University and graduated with a 2:1. [He/She] now lives in [his/her] constituency.</p>	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] sets out vision for the party</p> <p>[Candidate 1] is considered to be offering a left-wing agenda in [his/her] campaign to become the next Labour leader. Most of [his/her] supporters in the Parliamentary Labour Party come from the left-wing of the Labour party who, alongside [Candidate 1], have campaigned previously for Labour to return to its socialist roots. The leadership hopeful is running on a clear anti-austerity platform, saying that, "People are looking for some fundamental change in our society that gives them real security. Real security comes from working and from decent public services. We need a Labour Party that works for everyone and not just a privileged minority."</p>
Sources	<p>Dianne Abbott was Grammar School educated and went to Cambridge University.</p> <p>John McDonnell was born in Liverpool and was Grammar school educated.</p>	<p>Based on Corbyn in the 2015 leadership campaign. One article said, "Mr Corbyn won applause as he set out a left-wing agenda on housing, jobs and equality. He said: 'People are looking for some fundamental change in our society that gives them real security. Real security comes from working and from decent public services.'" (Beattie et al., 2015)</p>

Personal Background	Personality Description 1
---------------------	---------------------------

**DPTE
Article**

HEADLINE: [Candidate 1]’s personal background

[Candidate 1] was born in Kent before [his/her] parents moved to Liverpool when [he/she] was seven-years-old. [His/Her] parents were teachers. Growing up, [he/she] had two older brothers. [He/She] now lives in [his/her] constituency.

HEADLINE: [Candidate 1]’s personal traits praised

[Candidate 1] is said to be an honest politician who is passionate about the issues that matter to [his/her] constituents and everyone in this country, from whatever walk of life. Always independent and confident, [Candidate 1] is an experienced politician. Yet, close friends say, [he/she] always has time for [his/her] friends inside and outside of politics and is a warm-hearted individual.

Sources

Jeremy Corbyn was born in Wiltshire, and moved to Shropshire when he was 7 years-old. His mother was a maths teacher, his father an electrical engineer.

John McDonnell was born in Liverpool and moved to South East England when very young. His father was a bus driver.

Traits were taken from the trait framework in Chapter 2. Traits balanced between those which have traditionally been thought masculine and feminine (see Chapter 1 for overview of literature).

	Personality Description 2	Endorsement
DPTE Article	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1]'s personal manner praised by colleague</p> <p>A colleague spoke about [Candidate 1], who is running for the Labour leadership, today saying, "[Candidate 1] is a trustworthy politician, with a long record of experience in politics. [He/she] is a principled person who has long been an unwavering, fervent supporter of Labour values. I have always found [him/her] to be a collaborative and knowledgeable colleague."</p>	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] wins endorsement of Unite</p> <p>[Candidate 1] has won the endorsement of union leaders in the ongoing contest to elect the new Labour leader. Speaking earlier today, the leader of Unite the union said that, "We have decided to recommend our members vote for [Candidate 1] in this leadership contest. [He/She] is the only truly anti-austerity candidate and recognises how continued cuts in public services are causing long-term damage to our hospitals and schools and the morale of those that work in them and across the public sector."</p>
Sources	<p>Traits were taken from the trait framework in Chapter 2. Traits balanced between those which have traditionally been thought masculine and feminine (see Chapter 1 for overview of literature).</p>	<p>In the 2015 Labour leadership contest, the trade unions Unison and Unite supported Corbyn. Unison General Secretary said, "Jeremy Corbyn's message has resonated with public sector workers who have suffered years of pay freezes, [and] redundancies with too many having to work more for less.</p> <p>"They have been penalised for too long by a Government that keeps on taking more and more from them. Their choice shows a clear need for change towards a fairer society where work is fairly rewarded, and where those living and working in poverty are supported." (Anon, 2015f).</p>

	Economy	Economy Negative
	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] details economic policy</p> <p>[Candidate 1] has campaigned against 'austerity politics'. During this leadership campaign [he/she] has pledged to reverse recent public spending cuts and reinvest in public services and infrastructure. To pay for this, [he/she] intends to crack down on loopholes in current legislation which allow vast corporations to avoid paying their fair share of taxation.</p>	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1]'s economic policy a 'fairy-tale'</p> <p>[Candidate 1] faced criticism today as commentators called [his/her] anti-austerity economic platform 'fairy-tale politics'. [Candidate 1] has pledged to reverse spending cuts and reinvest in public services and infrastructure but critics have said that this hard-left economic agenda would push up inflation and lead to interest rate hikes. Speaking today, a former Labour minister said, "A Labour leader must have policies that pass the economic credibility test and [Candidate 1]'s ideas simply do not cut it."</p>
DPTE Article	<p>[Candidate 1] has pledged an economic policy that "works for everyone" and would "rewrite the rules of the rigged system", speaking today [he/she] said, "Britain is the only major developed economy where earnings have fallen as growth has returned after the financial crisis - too many people are now more insecure and fear for their economic future. This must change."</p>	
Sources	<p>Based on Corbyn's policies in the Labour leadership election of 2015, where he stood in a clear anti-austerity platform and promised to crackdown on corporate tax avoidance (Grice, 2015b).</p> <p>Additionally, the 2017 Labour Manifesto used the phrase "rigged system" and stated, "Britain is the only developed economy where earnings have fallen even as growth has returned after the financial crisis. Most working people in Britain today are earning less, after inflation, than they did ten years ago. Too many of us are in low-paid and insecure work. Too many of us fear our children will not enjoy the same opportunities that we have." (The Labour Party, 2017).</p>	<p>Based on the common criticism levied at left-wing Labour policies as well as more general right-wing critique of Labour pledges on public spending (Kavanagh, 2017).</p> <p>Centrist and centre-left candidate Liz Kendall and Yvette Cooper spoke in the 2015 leadership contest of the need for Labour to be "credible" on economic policy (Channel 4 News, 2015).</p>

	Deficit/Government Spending	Deficit/Government Spending Negative
DPTE Article	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] on austerity politics</p> <p>[Candidate 1] is running in the Labour leadership contest on an anti-austerity ticket against the Conservative cuts to public spending. [He/She] thinks that austerity hurts the most vulnerable in society and drastic public spending cuts are not necessary for the economy.</p> <p>Speaking today, the leadership contender said, "The Conservative-led cuts are an ideologically driven policy rather than an economic necessity which hurt those in society who most need the government's help. As Labour leader, I would not support this ideology of austerity which enriches the very richest, but work to ensure that the government helps the most vulnerable in society rather than punishes them."</p>	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1]'s anti-austerity too simplistic</p> <p>The Labour leadership candidate [Candidate 1] is under fire for [his/her] anti-austerity platform. Opponents to the policy have said that [Candidate 1] is being too simplistic in [his/her] approach.</p> <p>One economic commentator said, "To one extent [Candidate 1] is right: austerity is a choice. But [his/her] deceit is to suggest it is an easy choice, simply a matter of flicking a switch and moving billions of pounds from the "few" wealthy and corrupt to the "many" honest and hardworking poor. Such rhetoric is nothing but class warfare, divorced from reality."</p>
Sources	<p>Corbyn argued in the 2015 leadership election that the Conservative deficit reduction is an ideologically driven austerity program, a political choice rather than an economic necessity which hurts the most vulnerable. He said, "I think we need to say why we're against austerity, what austerity is actually doing to people in this country. It is enriching the very richest" (Anon, 2015g).</p>	<p>Quote taken directly from City AM article criticising a statement by Corbyn to Parliament that said austerity is a choice (Harris, 2017).</p>

	Healthcare	Healthcare Negative
	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] discusses policy on healthcare</p> <p>[Candidate 1] set out [his/her] policy on the NHS today. Speaking at a leadership hustings, [he/she] praised the hard work of the thousands of NHS employees around the country and criticised the continued privatisation of the NHS. [He/She] committed to a Labour policy of removing any element of privatisation in the health service if [he/she] won the leadership contest.</p>	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1]'s health policy criticised</p> <p>[Candidate 1] faced criticism today in light of [his/her] calls for a removal of all private company involvement in NHS services. Critics of the policy pointed out that to undo decades of collaboration between public and private enterprise in the NHS would amount to one of the biggest ever top-down reorganisations of the health service.</p> <p>The left-wing Labour leadership candidate is campaigning on a platform of a completely publically run NHS. However, critics say there is no evidence to show that publically run healthcare services are any more or less efficient than those run by private companies. [Candidate 1] is one of four leadership contenders running in the Labour leadership race.</p>
DPTE Article	<p>[Candidate 1] said, "The NHS should be completely publicly run and publicly accountable. Consistently, we have seen a failure to meet targets on A&E waiting times, operation waiting lists, and cancer treatment. As Labour leader, I would bring the NHS back into public hands and undo 25 years of marketisation to make it an accountable public service run for the public interest once more, and not for private companies gain." [He/She] also pledged that mental health would be taken as seriously as physical health in a Labour run NHS under [his/her] leadership.</p>	
Sources	<p>Corbyn, in the 2015 Labour leadership election, pledged to remove any element of privatisation in the NHS, which should be "completely publicly run and publicly accountable" (Grice, 2015b).</p> <p>As leader, Corbyn has criticised the Conservative government for failing to meet its own targets on A&E waiting times, cancelled operation and cancer treatment times (jeremycorbyn.org.uk, No date).</p>	<p>Based on criticisms of policy position of ending privatisation in the NHS. A common argument is that involving private enterprise makes healthcare more efficient and creates more patient choice as well as the logistical difficulties of ending the relationship between private and public providers (The Week, 2019).</p>

	Education	Education Negative
DPTE Article	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] launches education policy</p> <p>[Candidate 1] promised today to scrap the 11+ entrance exams which pupils must pass to enter grammar schools and pledged [his/her] support for a universal comprehensive education system. Speaking from a primary school in Earlsam, [Candidate 1] reiterated [his/her] opposition to free schools and academies and committed to scrapping tuition fees and bringing back government grants for university students.</p> <p>[Candidate 1] is one of four leadership contenders running in the Labour leadership race. [He/She] lives in [his/her] constituency. The leadership hopeful said, "Young people enter the workplace today with crippling amounts of debt. Tuition fees need to be abolished and I have consistently voted against them. A generation of students have suffered from this policy."</p>	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1]'s education policy under fire</p> <p>[Candidate 1] has pledged to scrap Grammar Schools and introduce a universal comprehensive education system if [he/she] became leader of a Labour government. [His/her] policy came under fire today in a letter published by head teachers of the UK's ten top Grammar Schools. The letter warned that [Candidate 1]'s policy is regressive and would "significantly reduce" diversity and choice in education which they claimed is a "vital component of our modern education system".</p> <p>[Candidate 1] is one of four leadership contenders running in the Labour leadership race. [He/She] lives in [his/her] constituency.</p>
	<p>Sources</p> <p>Based on Corbyn's policies in the Labour leadership election of 2015. He pledged to end 11+ entrance exams for grammar schools and get rid of tuition fees and bring back grants. He claimed fees left young people with massive amounts of debt. Corbyn also said he would reverse Tory policies of free schools and academies (Anon, 2015d, Swinford and Gosden 2015).</p>	<p>Argument comes from right-leaning think tank Centre for Policy Studies on the importance of choice in education in regards to free schools and academies (Cook, 2016).</p> <p>Also based on Conservative defences of proposed new Grammar Schools (e.g., Zahawi, 2016).</p>

	Welfare	Welfare Negative
	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] discusses welfare reform</p> <p>[Candidate 1] tackled welfare reform today. [He/She] criticised caps on people's benefits and promised to scrap them as Labour leader. [He/She] said recent changes to the welfare system and freezes in benefits meant that more people are homeless and more people are using food banks than ever before. [Candidate 1] has voted against welfare cuts in the past and has criticised previous Labour administrations for supporting benefit cuts.</p>	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] faces criticism over welfare reform</p> <p>The Labour leadership hopeful [Candidate 1] has faced criticism from within [his/her] own party today over [his/her] plans to reverse many welfare sanctions and tests and to increase the welfare budget if [he/she] became leader. Critics within the Labour Party said that [he/she] needs to recognise the need for some assessment and limits to welfare benefits given that the Department for Work and Pensions has one of the largest budgets of any government department.</p> <p>A fellow MP said today, "A Labour leader should ensure welfare works for those who need it, but we should be cautious of blindly promising to increase welfare spending with no proper mechanisms in place. We do not want to see a return to Labour being viewed as irresponsible on spending."</p>
DPTE Article	<p>Speaking today, the leadership hopeful said, "Welfare should work to support those who are most vulnerable in society and those that need a helping hand at certain points in life. Policies of meaningless assessment targets and sanctions have punished people just for being poor. We need to oppose all welfare cuts and work towards a welfare state that will reduce child poverty, homelessness and reliance on food banks." The leadership contender announced [his/her] stance at a leadership hustings. [He/She] is one of four contenders for the Labour leadership, [he/she] lives in [his/her] constituency.</p>	
Sources	<p>In the 2015 Labour leadership election Corbyn pledged to scrap benefit caps, saying the policy has put more children into poverty. He claimed freezing benefits for working age people meant more homelessness and more people using food banks.</p> <p>Corbyn was against the work capability assessment and claimed disabled people had been hit harder by government cuts. He said the UK needed a welfare policy that 'actually protects the vulnerable and poor in society' (Anon, 2015a, 2015b).</p>	<p>Combined criticism based on Yvette Cooper's welfare policy in the Labour leadership election of 2015 where she said there had to be some limits to welfare and Liz Kendall's economic and public spending policy where she warned against return to Labour being seen as irresponsible on spending (Channel 4 News, 2015, Guido Fawkes 2015).</p>

	Environment	Environment Negative
DPTE Article	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] speaks out on climate change</p> <p>[Candidate 1] has always been an environmentalist and has often raised green issues in Parliament and [his/her] constituency. The leadership contender spoke today about the importance of tackling climate change. [He/She] said, "I am determined to tackle climate change, the biggest challenge facing the next generation". [He/She] pledged to make climate change a top priority in a Labour government under [his/her] leadership. [Candidate 1] is one of four contenders for the Labour leadership. [He/She] lives in [his/her] constituency.</p> <p>[Candidate 1] said, "Tackling climate change is a way out of this economic crisis, not a distraction from it. The UK should take a leading role internationally on climate change. As Labour leader, I would pledge to create 200,000 renewable energy jobs and put modern low carbon industries at the heart of our investment strategy. Under my leadership, a Labour Government would also aim to phase out coal power stations."</p>	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1]'s environment policy found wanting</p> <p>[Candidate 1], who is in the running to be the next Labour leader, has set out [his/her] environmental policy over the last few days. [He/she] said, "I am determined to tackle climate change, the biggest challenge facing the next generation". [He/She] has spoken of the need to create a low carbon economy by increasing the use of renewable energy and phasing out coal power stations. However, opponents have pointed out that this does not sit with some of [his/her] policy stances in the past. For example, the leadership hopeful has previously called for the reintroduction of opencast coal mining. Critics have also said that [he/she] has failed to explain how, if more power comes from renewable energy sources, this will be achieved without raising household bills - which it will inevitably do. Opponents have called on [Candidate 1] to address these gaps in [his/her] environment policy.</p> <p>[Candidate 1] is one of four contenders for the Labour leadership. [He/She] lives in [his/her] constituency.</p>
Sources	<p>Based on Corbyn's policies in 2015 leadership election, during which he argued that tackling climate change is a way out of the economic crisis not a distraction from it.</p> <p>As Labour leader, Corbyn released an energy and environment policy manifesto pledging to: Play a leading role internationally; create over 300,000 renewable energy jobs; put modern low carbon industries at the heart of his investment strategy; better insulate homes; phase-out coal power stations. (jeremyforlabour.org.uk, No date).</p>	<p>Based on the criticism of Corbyn's policies as Leader and in 2015 leadership election. Corbyn has called for more power from renewable energy but been criticised for not giving information on how he would achieve this and without raising household bills (Bourke, 2016).</p> <p>Corbyn faced criticism in 2016 due to his previous call for reintroduction of opencast coal mining (Vidal, 2016).</p>

	Immigration	Immigration Negative
DPTE Article	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] speaks out on immigration</p> <p>Throughout [his/her] career [Candidate 1] has championed the contribution that immigration has made to the country's society and economy. Speaking recently, the leadership candidate said that growing up in a multicultural society is better for children as they learn the value of mutual tolerance and respect, and gain an understanding of different cultures. During the leadership campaign, [Candidate 1] has spoken about the need of reform to the freedom of movement in Brexit negotiations but is against a complete end of freedom of movement under a 'hard Brexit'.</p> <p>[Candidate 1] has also called on the government to take more unaccompanied child refugees from Syria, saying their failure to follow through on their promise to take in adequate numbers of child refugees was "appalling and a blatant failure of humanity".</p>	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] on the "wrong side" on immigration</p> <p>[Candidate 1] has set out a pro-immigration stance in [his/her] bid to be Labour leader. However, [He/She] has come under fire for ignoring voters' concerns on this issue. One commentator said, "[Candidate 1] belongs to a camp on the left that think any kind of restriction on immigration is somehow racist. It is not. If [Candidate 1] claims to be the defender of the working class [he/she] should recognise that it is the working class that has been hardest hit by increasing immigration and that voters have very real concerns that [he/she] cannot simply ignore. [He/She] needs to stop pandering to the liberal elite and think more about the average voter."</p>
Sources	<p>Dianne Abbott (2017) praised social and economic contributions of immigration in her 2017 Party Conference speech. She supported continued free movement of people after Brexit (Mason, 2017), although Labour conceded to some reforms of freedom of movement (The Labour Party, 2017).</p> <p>In 2015, Corbyn said the UK should take its fair share of refugees, and that net immigration is low. He said growing up in multicultural society was better for children. (Hall, 2015, Channel 4 News, 2015).</p>	<p>A criticism of the left-wing on immigration is that they are wrong to think that any opposition to immigration is racism. They claim to be defenders of working class but the working class have suffered the most from immigration (Anon, 2015e, Pickard, 2016).</p> <p>Andy Burnham also criticised Corbyn's immigration policy in the 2015 leadership election, saying he was not offering policies that would win back voters (Channel 4 News, 2015).</p>

	Foreign Affairs	Foreign Affairs Negative
DPTE Article	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1]'s stance on foreign policy</p> <p>[Candidate 1] has been involved in the anti-war movement throughout [his/her] time as a political campaigner and campaigned against the Iraq War. As Labour leader [he/she] says [he/she] will continue to advocate peaceful solutions to international conflicts, emphasising the need for dialogue in disputes. [He/she] also voted against airstrikes in Syria.</p> <p>The Labour leadership contender has stated previously that the UK should consider withdrawing from NATO, which [he/she] believes to be an out of date institution which commits the UK to large amounts of unnecessary defence spending.</p>	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1]'s "retro and dangerous" foreign policy</p> <p>One of the contenders for the Labour leadership has come under fire for [his/her] 'retro' foreign policy position. Critics of [Candidate 1] have claimed that [his/her] commitment to withdrawing from NATO and [his/her] staunch anti-war position are unviable and would have serious diplomatic consequences if [he/she] were to lead a Labour government. One critic claimed, "You have no chance of building a worldwide alliance that could deal with all the big issues - poverty, inequality, climate change, financial stability - if you insist on withdrawing from international organisations and criticise our allies for any military action."</p>
Sources	<p>Jeremy Corbyn, John McDonnell and Dianne Abbott have all been involved with anti-war movement, voted and campaigned against the Iraq war and voted against Syria airstrikes in 2015. They support Palestine and are openly critical of US foreign policy (BBC News, 2018, McDonald, 2016, Stacey, 2015).</p>	<p>Based on criticisms of Corbyn's policy in Labour leadership election 2015. Opponents pointed out that it had diplomatic consequences, that he has a 'retro foreign policy', was making excuses for Putin, and questioned his credibility/viability, saying he would turn Labour into 'Trotskyist tribute act' (Channel 4 News, 2015, Groves, 2015).</p> <p>Gordon Brown criticised Corbyn in an intervention into the 2015 Labour election saying there was no chance of building a worldwide alliance that could deal with poverty and inequality, climate change and financial instability under Corbyn (Mason and Halliday, 2015).</p>

	Defence	Defence Negative
DPTE Article	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] confirms stance on defence</p> <p>Today, [Candidate 1] underlined [his/her] continued opposition to the Trident nuclear missile system saying [he/she] could not see a scenario where the costly defence system would be needed. [He/She] has taken a consistent anti-nuclear weapons stance throughout [his/her] political career. In addition, [he/she] has previously been sceptical of the UK's involvement with NATO, which [he/she] called "an out of date institution which commits the UK to large amounts of unnecessary defence spending".</p>	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1]'s defence policy under fire</p> <p>Critics of [Candidate 1]'s bid to be Labour leader have said that [his/her] defence policy poses 'a threat to national security'. [He/She] is a prominent anti-nuclear campaigner and is opposed to the Trident nuclear missile system. Opponents have claimed that this policy puts Britain at risk. One critic said, "Electing [Candidate 1] would undermine the UK's defences. [He/She] seems oblivious to the very real threats the nation faces. Not only this, but Trident protects the UK from unpredictable threats - no one predicted, for instance, the rise in Islamic State and no one can say with any certainty there will not be a nuclear threat in the next 30 years."</p>
Sources	<p>Corbyn is anti-NATO and against Trident. He said in the 2015 leadership election that Trident was unnecessary and expensive and NATO was outdated and committed the UK to large amounts of defence spending (Channel 4 News, 2015, Grice, 2015b).</p>	<p>David Cameron in the Labour leadership election 2015 said that Corbyn was a 'threat to national security' and would undermine the UK's defences (Stone, 2015). The Conservatives' line was there would be 'chaos and uncertainty' with Corbyn and that he was oblivious to the nation's threats.</p> <p>The Conservative Defence Minister in 2016 said Trident protects the UK from unpredictable threats. He said no one predicted ISIS and no one can be sure won't be a nuclear threat in the next 30 years (MacAskill, 2016).</p>

	Terrorism	Terrorism Negative
	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] tackles terror prevention</p> <p>[Candidate 1] spoke today about the rise of so-called Islamic State. [He/She] said the terrorist organisation posed an ongoing threat to the UK and the rest of the world but that the government should maintain some form of diplomatic back-channel open to Isis.</p>	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] accused of 'negotiating with terrorists'</p> <p>Opponents of [Candidate 1], who is running for the Labour leadership, have said that [his/her] stance on terrorism amounts to 'negotiating with terrorists'. [Candidate 1] has advocated diplomatic solutions to terror in the Middle East. Some have accused the leadership hopeful of 'cosying up to terrorists' and have said that [his/her] extreme ideology meant [he/she] advocated a soft approach to terrorism which would put the country in danger.</p>
DPTE Article	<p>[He/She] said, "To eventually achieve peace in the region we need to make sure some form of diplomatic channel is open, even when we were in open conflict with the IRA the government quietly kept some back-channels open. Of course, we need to challenge the ideology of such people but in the end a political solution is needed to combat the threat of terrorism."</p> <p>[Candidate 1] also said that as Labour leader, [he/she] would ensure that any new piece of anti-terror legislation would be reviewed to consider its effect on civil liberties.</p>	
Sources	<p>Dianne Abbott, John McDonnell and Jeremy Corbyn have a history of calling for diplomatic negotiations and have used similar language encouraging the importance of dialogue with ISIS and a political solution. Corbyn has compared the situation to IRA relations (Anon, 2017, Stone, 2016).</p>	<p>Conservative critique of far left-wing policy on terrorism. Abbott, McDonnell and Corbyn have all been accused often of 'cosying up to terrorists' (Rudd, 2017) and called 'apologists for terror' by the right-wing press (Anon, 2017).</p>

	Childcare	Childcare Negative
DPTE Article	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] outlines position on childcare</p> <p>Speaking during a visit to a nursery yesterday, near to where [he/she] lives in [his/her] constituency, the Labour leadership contender [Candidate 1] committed to providing universal free childcare as Labour leader which [he/she] said would be funded through general taxation. [He/She] said, "As Labour leader I would support hard-working families across the nation by providing universal free childcare for children aged two to four-years-old. Allowing parents to return to work is essential for a fair economy that works for all."</p>	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1]'s universal free childcare a 'fairy-tale policy'</p> <p>[Candidate 1] faced criticism today for [his/her] pledge during a visit to a nursery near to where [he/she] lives in [his/her] constituency to introduce universal free childcare if [he/she] became Labour leader. Speaking today, one critic hit out at the leadership candidate, saying, "This is an example of [Candidate 1]'s fairy-tale politics. [He/She] has offered no detail on how such a huge increase in free childcare would be funded apart from the vague suggestion of paying for it through 'general taxation'. [Candidate 1] needs to be able to adequately explain how [his/her] policies could ever be economically viable."</p>
Sources	<p>Corbyn's policy in the leadership election of 2015 was to have free universal childcare funded through general taxation (Grice, 2015c).</p>	<p>This criticism is a common one levied at left-wing Labour policies as well as more general right-wing critique of Labour pledges on public spending (Kavanagh, 2017). Increased free childcare pledge was made by Labour in 2017 and the lack of financial backing was a criticism, as critics said Labour needed to set out how would pay for it (Rayner, 2017).</p>

	Europe	Europe Negative
	HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] clarifies Brexit position	
DPTE Article	<p>As negotiations continue in Brussels, leadership hopeful [Candidate 1] said that the Labour Party's priority in EU negotiations should be maintaining full access to the single market. [He/She] also said that the negotiations would be an opportunity to repatriate powers to the UK which allow the government to help struggling industries, such as the steel industry. As well as remaining in the single market, as Labour leader [Candidate 1] would support reforms to the single market to have a more managed approach to migration.</p> <p>During the referendum, [Candidate 1] acknowledged that the EU had shortcomings - and has been critical of the democracy of European institutions in the past - but campaigned for Remain.</p>	<p>[Candidate 1] accused of 'undemocratic' stance on Brexit</p> <p>Opponents of [Candidate 1] have accused [him/her] of "ignoring the will of the people" as the leadership contender said that the Labour Party's priority in EU negotiations should be maintaining full access to the single market.</p> <p>One opponent within the Labour Party said, "It is undemocratic and costly to remain in the single market. The vote was clear - the public want to be out of Europe and that includes the single market. A 'hard' Brexit is simply Brexit. We need a leader that recognises that."</p>
Sources	<p>Labour priorities in negotiations in EU negotiations in 2017 and 2018 (which were ongoing at time of experiment being fielded) was for full access to single market, managed migration and to repatriate powers so the government can intervene in struggling industries.</p> <p>During the EU referendum Corbyn thought EU had shortcomings but argued overall the Britain was best to stay in the EU. In the past he has been critical of EU treaties and said there is a democratic (Moseley, 2016).</p> <p>At the time of experiments Labour had ruled out offering a second referendum on the eventual Brexit deal (Walker and Elgot, 2017).</p>	<p>Based on Leave campaigners' common response to calls to stay in single market during negotiations. They argue that the electorate voted to leave and staying in any form of single market would be undemocratic and costly and prevent trade deals with partners outside the EU. A hard Brexit stance would also help in negotiations, making it clear the UK was willing to leave with no deal to make the talks work (Mills, 2017).</p>

	Public Services	Public Services Negative
DPTE Article	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] tackles privatisation of public services</p> <p>The Labour leadership candidate [Candidate 1] has criticised the 'creeping privatisation' of the UK public services over the last few decades as private companies have been invited to play an increasingly larger role in public services. [He/She] pledged that as Labour leader [he/she] would end private involvement in public services, especially through PFI initiatives which were started under a previous Labour administration.</p>	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] wrong on public services</p> <p>The Labour leadership candidate, [Candidate 1], has faced criticism today. During an interview, [he/she] pledged to end all private involvement in public services. Opponents to the policy said, "We shouldn't be obsessing about who is delivering services but we should worry instead about the quality of the services delivered. People do not care as long as our services are efficient. Private involvement actually offers more choice for users - in the NHS, for example, a substantial degree of patient choice has been introduced in the last two decades. Labour must get over this obsession with public ownership."</p>
Sources	<p>Corbyn is against PFI in public services and pledged to end private involvement in public services in the 2015 Labour leadership election (Anon, 2015h, Grice, 2015c).</p>	<p>Based on President of Local Government Association and former head of the civil service, Lord Kerslake response to Labour's opposition of private involvement in public sector. He argued that politicians shouldn't be obsessing about who is delivering services but the quality of the services they are delivering. Good commissioning and a strong market can deliver real value for the public (Dudman, 2015).</p> <p>Supporters of privatisation make an argument about efficiency. For instance, in healthcare that it means better choice for patients. It is said a substantial degree of patient choice in the NHS has been introduced in last two decades due to private involvement (The Week, 2019).</p>

	Business	Business Negative
DPTE Article	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] sets out stance on business policy</p> <p>The Labour leadership contender [Candidate 1] criticised previous governments yesterday for having a "stand back, let the market decide, then hope for the best" approach to business, allowing big businesses to indulge in immoral tax evasion and creating private monopolies. [Candidate 1] pledged to stand up for small businesses and entrepreneurs if [he/she] were elected Labour leader. [He/She] said [he/she] will reduce red tape on small businesses and crack down on late payments made by big businesses to their suppliers with a new fine regime and a 30-day cut-off point for invoices.</p>	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] poses a 'threat to British business'</p> <p>In the latest developments in the Labour leadership contest opponents to [Candidate 1] have said that [he/she] poses a threat to British business. [Candidate 1] has spoken out against tax avoidance, big bonuses and previous Labour pro-business approaches. However, critics in [his/her] own party have said this 'old school' approach to business will leave Labour in the wilderness. Speaking today, a former Labour finance minister said, "If we return to this idea that being pro-business is somehow 'evil' and 'Tory' the Conservatives will be in power forever. [Candidate 1] is stoking up the old fears that Labour is irresponsible and untrustworthy with the economy."</p>
Sources	<p>In the 2015 leadership election, Corbyn said, "For too long the UK approach has been to stand back, 'let the market decide', then hope for the best." (Corbyn, 2015). He said the government thought "pro-business' means giving a green light to corporate tax avoiders and private monopolies. I will stand up for small businesses [and] independent entrepreneurs." (Mason and Halliday, 2015).</p> <p>In 2017, Labour pledged to reduce red tape on small businesses and crackdown on late payments by big businesses to suppliers (Stone, 2017).</p>	<p>Candidates in the 2015 leadership contest criticised previous left-wing Labour policy. Yvette Cooper said Ed Miliband's attempt to divide companies into "predators and producers" was "a mistake," adding: "It sounded anti-business, anti-growth and ultimately anti-worker " (Grice, 2015a).</p> <p>Liz Kendall, the centrist candidate in 2015 criticised the left-wing's idea that backing business or sound public finances are Tory values. If Labour agrees this, Kendall said, the Conservatives will be in power forever (BBC News, 2015).</p>

	Social Care	Social Care Negative
DPTE Article	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] speaks out on social care crisis</p> <p>In the latest development in the Labour leadership contest, [Candidate 1] blamed previous government's cuts for the current social care crisis, as figures from the Care Quality Commission showed that one in five nursing homes do not have enough staff to provide adequate and safe care. [Candidate 1] made the comments at a leadership hustings in [his/her] constituency where [he/she] lives.</p> <p>[Candidate 1] said, "The reality for many families is they are taking on more caring responsibilities". The leadership contender pledged that a Labour government under [his/her] leadership would take failing care homes into public ownership to, "ensure that all older people receive dignified and safe care in the later years of their life". [He/She] also said it was important to integrate social care fully into the NHS to ensure a joined-up service and that people are cared for throughout their lives.</p>	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] pledge on social care an 'economic fantasy'</p> <p>Opponents of [Candidate 1] have labelled [his/her] proposal to take failing care homes into public ownership an 'economic fantasy'. The leadership hopeful made the proposal at a leadership hustings in [his/her] constituency where [he/she] lives. [Candidate 1] said, "The reality for many families is they are taking on more caring responsibilities".</p> <p>However, critics of the Labour leadership contender said, "We already have a major funding crisis in the NHS, how [Candidate 1] expects us to magic up more money to pay for the state to take over failing care homes is a mystery. There is a crisis in social care which must be dealt with but not in a way which will just plummet the UK into an even bigger deficit and create more debt."</p>
	<p>In the 2015 contest Andy Burnham's key pledge was to bring social care provision into the NHS and ensure a joined-up service. A similar stance was taken by Corbyn (Grice, 2015c).</p> <p>Sources In 2017, Corbyn pledged to bring failing care homes into public ownership and said the social care crisis was caused by ideological Conservative cuts. Care Quality Commission figures said one in nursing homes for not have enough staff (Summers, 2017).</p>	<p>Based on common right-wing/centrist criticisms of large public spending pledges such as on social care by left-wing Labour politicians (Kavanagh, 2017).</p>

	Transport	Transport Negative
DPTE Article	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] discusses rail nationalisation</p> <p>Labour leadership contender, [Candidate 1] has promised a Labour government would re-nationalise the railways under [his/her] leadership in order to tackle poor service and high fares. [He/She] said, "Britain has the most expensive railways in Europe, adding to the financial struggles many ordinary working people face every day. Taking the railways into public ownership will ensure commuters get the best deal." Elsewhere on transport policy, [Candidate 1] has campaigned against a third runway at Heathrow in the past on environmental grounds.</p>	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] 'delusional' on rail nationalisation</p> <p>[Candidate 1]'s pledge to take the railways back into public ownership has been labelled 'delusional' by critics. Speaking today, a Labour peer said, "[Candidate 1] has made the simplistic connection that when railways became privatised, prices went up so the price rises must be because of privatisation - simple answer, bring back British Rail! But renationalisation would be a disaster for consumers and the public finances." Opponents of the policy pointed out that there is no evidence that taking away profit motivations leads to lower fares so taxpayers would have to subsidise rail fares - when most rail travel is undertaken by the richest 20% of households.</p>
Sources	<p>Both Corbyn and Andy Burnham, the two left-wing candidates, pledged to renationalise the railways in the 2015 leadership election. Corbyn said, "We have the most expensive railways in Europe, we have very hard-working rail staff with a very good system, but it needs to be fully integrated, and I believe it should be publicly owned" (Channel 4 News, 2015).</p> <p>Corbyn was the only candidate in 2015 that was against building a third runway at London Heathrow (Grice, 2015b).</p>	<p>Based on a criticism of the renationalisation policy of the left-wing candidates in the 2015 leadership contest. Critics said there was a 'delusional analysis' that when these industries became privatised, prices went up - so privatisation drove up prices and the solution is renationalisation.</p> <p>It was said there was no evidence that taking away profit motives will lead to lower fares and rail travel was only undertaken by the richest 20% of households (Bourne, 2015).</p>

	Housing	Housing Negative
DPTE Article	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1] outlines stance on housing crisis</p> <p>[Candidate 1], one of the four contenders for the Labour leadership, pledged today to extend the 'right to buy' scheme for council house tenants to those in privately rented accommodation. [He/She] said, "The current housing crisis means that the dream of owning your own home seems more and more remote to younger generations. The next generation face a double whammy of rising house prices and extortionate private rent which further prevents them saving the large deposits needed to own their own home." The leadership contender made the comments during a visit to a housing association near where [he/she] lives in [his/her] constituency.</p> <p>[Candidate 1] pledged that a Labour government would introduce legislation to help with rising rents and rogue landlords. This would include long-term tenancies for private renters, a register of private landlords and legislation linking private rent rates to average local earnings. [He/She] also said the government should be building 400,000 houses a year, with a significant amount of these being social housing, to help deal with the housing crisis.</p>	<p>HEADLINE: [Candidate 1]'s housing policy criticised by charity</p> <p>A leading homelessness charity has said that [Candidate 1]'s policy to introduce rent controls could increase homelessness. Speaking today, the charity said that the policy could mean that landlords would be pushed to sell their properties as rent-to-own enterprises became less profitable. The charity warned that this might free up the housing market for middle-income families looking to buy a home, but could push low-income renters onto the streets.</p>
Sources	<p>In the 2015 leadership contest Corbyn pledged to expand the 'right to buy' to tenants in privately rented accommodation and a rent-cap in private rents linked to average local earning. Andy Burnham and Corbyn supported lifting the housing revenue account cap to allow councils to build council and social housing. Corbyn also spoke about the need for longer tenancies, private landlord registration, and rent regulation in the private sector (Foster 2015, Grice, 2015b).</p>	<p>Policy of private rent controls has been criticised by housing charity Shelter before. They have argued would lead to landlords selling their properties which would help middle-income families looking to buy a home, but could push low-income renters into homelessness (Cahill, 2017).</p>

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Appendix 9. Power Tests for Experiment 1 and 2

Appendix 9.1. Experiment 1 Wilcoxon signed-rank tests power

			Observed Statistical Power	
			<i>One Tailed</i>	<i>Two Tailed</i>
Male Vs Female Candidates	Pre-Election Questionnaire	Competency	0.13	0.08
		Desirability	0.09	0.06
	Post-Election Questionnaire	Compassion	0.14	0.09
		Competency	0.08	0.06
		Desirability	0.12	0.08
		Compassion	0.05	0.05

Appendix 9.2 Experiment 2 Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Tests Power

			Observed Statistical Power	
			<i>One Tailed</i>	<i>Two Tailed</i>
		Trait		
Mothers Vs Non-Mothers	Pre-Election	Competency	0.18	0.11
		Desirability	0.05	0.05
	Post-Election	Compassion	0.48	0.35
		Competency	0.21	0.14
		Desirability	0.15	0.09
		Compassion	0.08	0.06
Fathers Vs Non-Fathers	Pre-Election	Competency	0.05	0.05
		Desirability	0.28	0.18
	Post-Election	Compassion	0.31	0.21
		Competency	0.15	0.09
		Desirability	0.15	0.1
	Compassion	0.3	0.2	

**Appendix 9.3 Experiment 1. OLS Regression Models
Statistical Power**

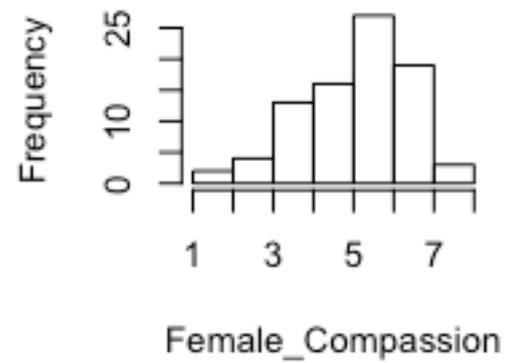
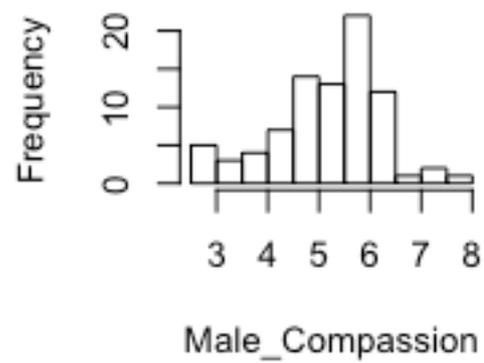
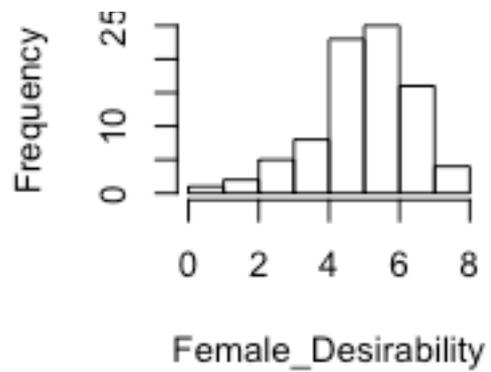
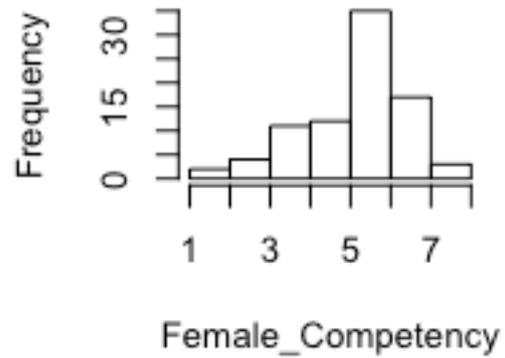
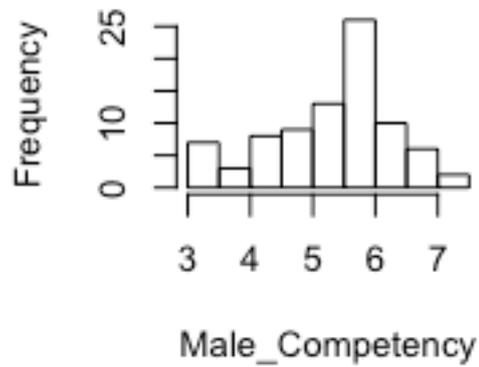
<i>OLS Regression Model</i>		<i>Overserved Statistical Power</i>
Post-Election Competency	Male Candidates	0.71
	Female Candidates	0.66
Post-Election Desirability	Male Candidates	0.46
	Female Candidates	0.8
Post-Election Compassion	Male Candidates	0.23
	Female Candidates	0.89

Appendix 9.4 Experiment 2 OLS Regression Models Power

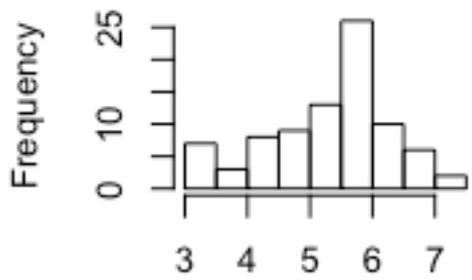
		<i>Observed Statistical Power</i>
Post-Election Competency	Male Parent	0.89
	Male Non-Parent	0.99
	Female Parent	0.98
	Female Non-Parent	0.82
Post-Election Desirability	Male Parent	0.92
	Male Non-Parent	0.88
	Female Parent	0.86
Post-Election Compassion	Female Non-Parent	0.43
	Male Parent	0.84
	Male Non-Parent	0.94
	Female Parent	0.82
	Female Non-Parent	0.87

**Appendix 10. Histograms of Average Male and Female Trait Evaluations
Experiment 1**

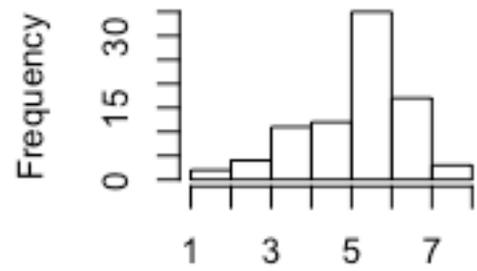
Pre-Election Questionnaire



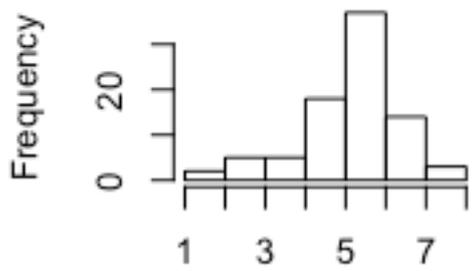
Post-Election Questionnaire



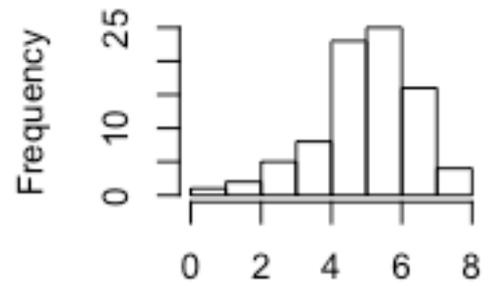
Male_Competency



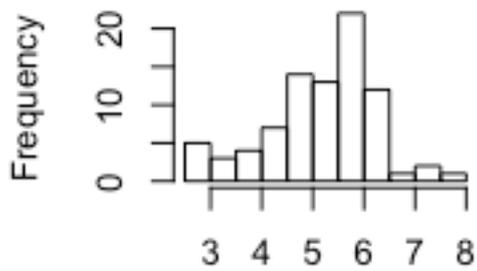
Female_Competency



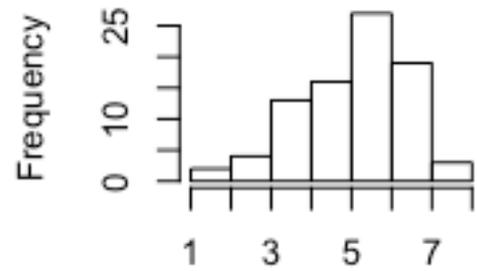
Male_Desirability



Female_Desirability



Male_Compassion



Female_Compassion

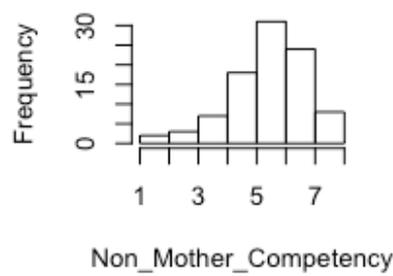
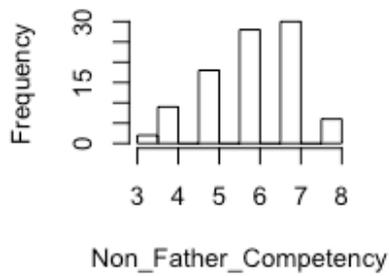
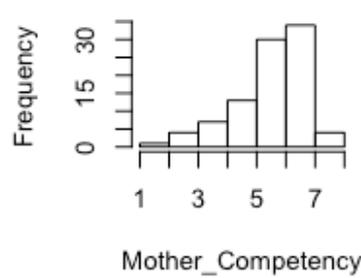
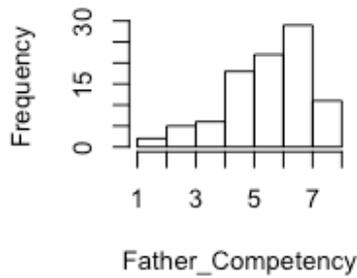
Appendix 11. OLS Regression on Post-Election Trait Scores Experiment 1 with Proportion of Negative Information

	Desirability as a Political Leader ¹				Competency ¹				Compassion ¹			
	Male Candidates		Female Candidates		Male Candidates		Female Candidates		Male Candidates		Female Candidates	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
(Constant)	7.18***	1.12	3.56	1.20	6.68***	1.06	5.04***	1.37	5.88***	0.91	4.43***	1.15
Negative Issue Information (% of total information viewed) ²	-0.04**	0.01	0.00	0.02	-0.02	0.01	-0.01	0.02	-0.02	0.01	-0.01	0.02
Personal Information (% of total information viewed)	-0.03	0.03	0.03	0.02	-0.01	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.02	0.03	0.02
Competence Information (% of total information viewed)	-0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.02	-0.01	0.02	0.00	0.01
Interest in Politics	-0.09	0.13	-0.05	0.18	-0.18	0.11	-0.04	0.17	-0.02	0.11	0.05	0.17
Education (1=Degree or Equivalent)	0.20	0.36	-0.05	0.38	0.22	0.27	-0.43	0.37	-0.05	0.34	-0.13	0.36
Education (1 = Other Higher Education)	-0.31	0.83	-0.08	1.10	-0.20	0.83	-0.42	0.78	-0.04	0.55	-0.22	0.87
Ethnicity BME	0.31	0.69	-0.38	0.65	0.32	0.52	-0.24	0.68	0.65	0.60	-0.34	0.75
2017 General Election (1=Voted)	-0.18	0.39	-0.11	0.66	-0.05	0.40	0.05	0.59	-0.17	0.40	0.07	0.58
Age	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02
Ideology	-0.09	0.15	-0.04	0.18	-0.14	0.12	-0.08	0.17	0.00	0.12	-0.04	0.15
Sex (1=Female)	0.70	0.41	0.81*	0.41	0.39	0.32	0.43	0.37	0.43	0.32	0.71	0.38
Party Leadership Election Chosen (1=Conservative)	0.07	0.65	0.15	0.66	0.29	0.37	-0.13	0.55	0.14	0.48	-0.59	0.57
Party Identification (1 = Conservative)	0.26	1.11	-0.60	1.33	-0.12	0.72	-0.19	1.10	-0.15	0.82	0.02	1.05
Party Identification (1 = Lib Dem)	0.44	0.50	-0.56	0.74	0.11	0.35	-0.22	0.77	0.12	0.56	-0.56	0.66
Party Identification (1 = None)	0.17	0.44	0.12	0.57	0.14	0.43	0.30	0.41	0.04	0.39	0.58	0.52

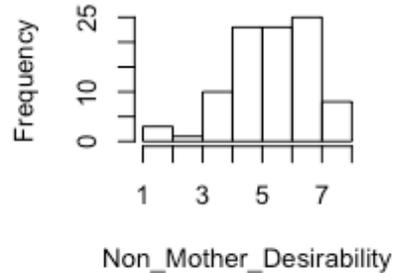
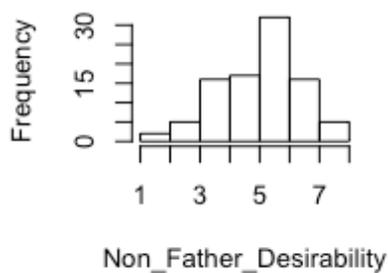
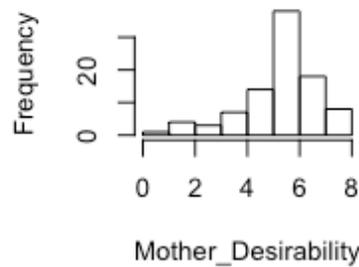
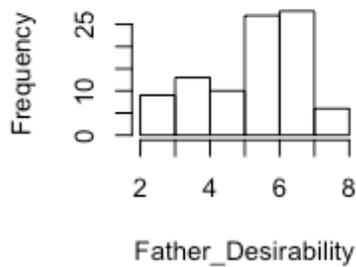
¹ Heteroscedasticity-consistent standard errors used due to homoscedasticity in model (Hayes and Cai 2007) Dependent Variable = Mean Score for Male or Female Candidates, ² Neutral issue information was excluded to counter issues of multicollinearity. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, $N = 82$

Appendix 12. Trait Evaluation Histograms Experiment 2

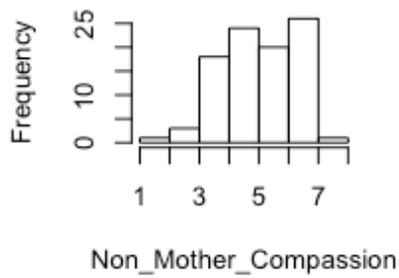
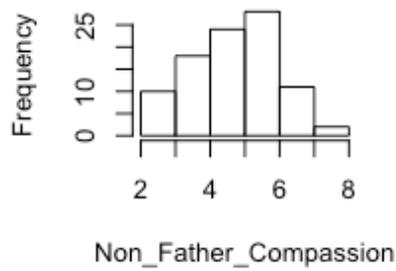
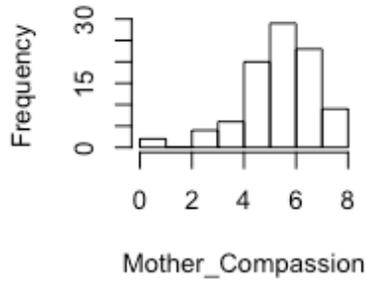
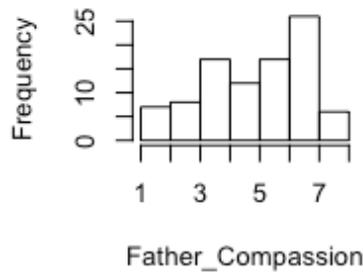
Appendix 12.1 Histograms of pre-election competency evaluations



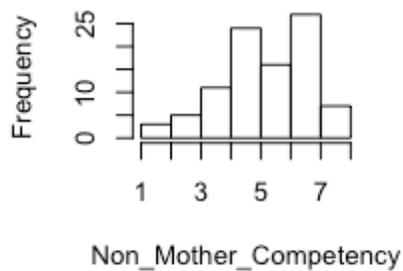
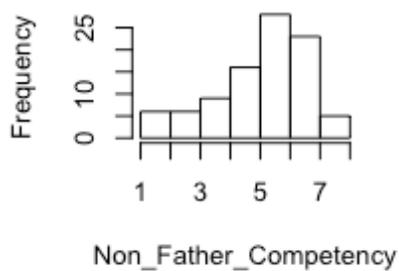
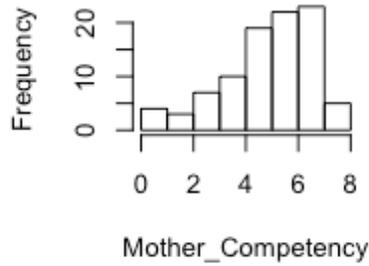
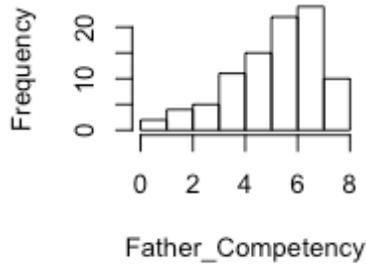
Appendix 12.2 Histograms of pre-election desirability as a political leader evaluations



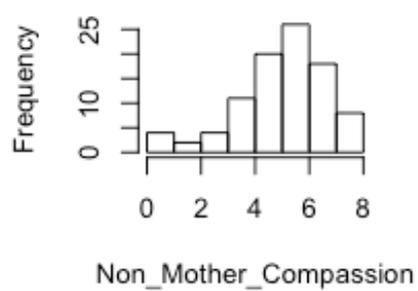
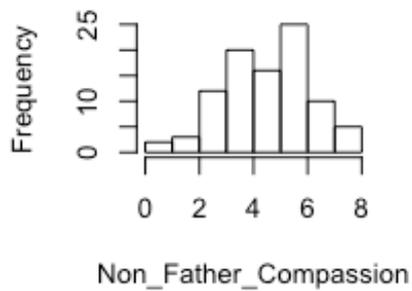
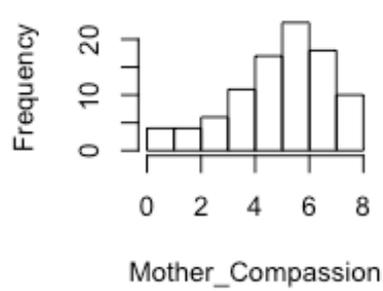
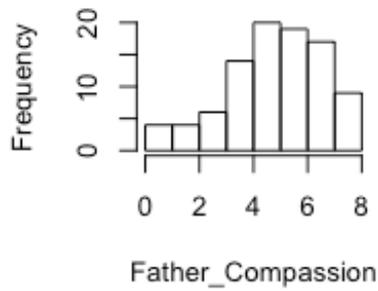
Appendix 12.3 Histograms of pre-election compassion evaluations



Appendix 12.4 Histograms of post-election competency evaluations



Appendix 12.5 Histograms of post-election compassion evaluations



Appendix 12.6 Histograms of post-election desirability as a political leader evaluations

