Helping the Cause? The Effect of Female Top Candidate Nominations on Voters

Frederik Thieme, Heike Klüver, Jae-Jae Spoon

EPSA, July 4-6, 2024

Motivation



Leadership duos & the top job dilemma

Puzzle

Question

What effect does the nomination of a female top candidate have on female voters?

- Mixed results on the mobilizing effects of female candidates (e.g. Atkeson 2003; Wolbrecht & Campbell 2007; Broockman 2014; Wolak 2020).
- Gap: Research has focused on candidates at the local, state, or legislative levels.

Motivating Observational Study

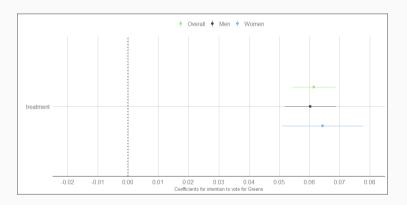
- Pre-registered UESD study exploiting the surprise nomination of Bearbock as the German Greens' candidate on April 19, 2021
- Survey data covering 69,629 respondents from April 16 23, 2021

Results

The nomination of Baerbock had a positive effect on women's **and** men's voting intention for the Greens.

Main Observational Results

Figure 1: Average treatment effect of the Baerbock nomination on respondents vote intention for the Greens



Remaining Questions

- Cannot distinguish between a female candidate effect and a general leadership effect
- Limited data availability for the exploration of mechanisms

Strategy

- Survey experiment with Respondi, N = 9,000
- hypothetical election closely resembling 2021
- Manipulating the nomination decision, randomizing gender & party

Expectations and Mechanisms

Mobilization Effect

 A female top candidate increases women's PTV for the party.

Leadership Effect

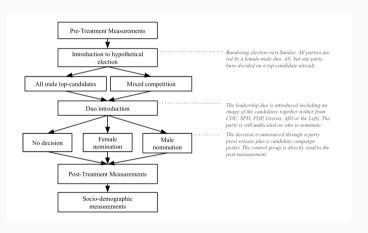
 Nominating a top candidate increases respondents' PTV for the party, irrespective of candidate gender.

Mechanisms

- (Stereotypical) Issue
 Competence
- Moderation Effect
- Gender Equality
 Concerns
- Social Identity
- Political Efficacy

Experiment Flow

Figure 2: Experiment flow



Treatment

Nomination

The announcement includes two inputs:

- A short press release by the party announcing the decision
- A campaign poster with the selected top candidate

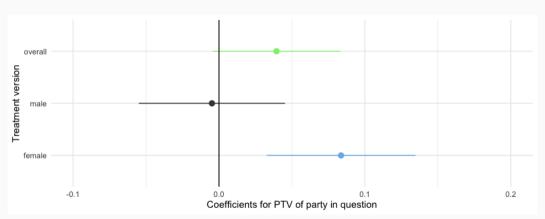






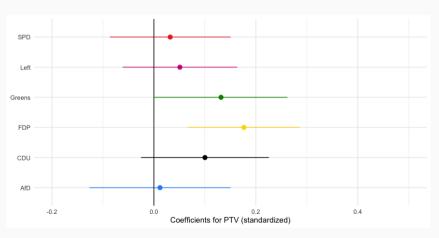
Main Results

Figure 3: ATE on PTV for both treatments and across



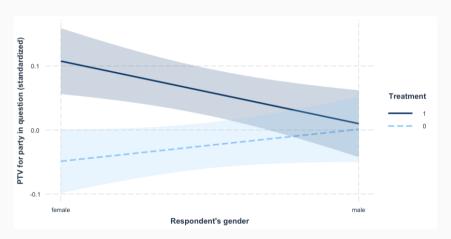
Main Results

Figure 4: ATE of female nomination by party



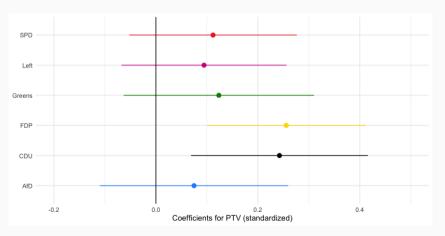
Main Results

Figure 5: ATE of female nomination conditional on respondent's gender



Results by Party among Women

Figure 6: Effects of female nomination on PTV per party among women (95% Cls)



Conclusion

- Positive effect of female nomination, not male nomination no leadership effect
- Greens and Liberals benefit overall, Christian Conservatives & Liberals profit among women

Mechanisms

- confirmatory evidence on stereotypical policy competence, gender equality perception, social identity and political efficacy mechanisms
- no moderation effect
- Implications: descriptive representation matters, female top-candidates promising election strategy

Thank you for your attention.

Contact

- Web: frederikthieme.net
- X/Twitter: @frederik_thieme
- Bluesky: @frederikthieme.bsky.social

APPENDIX

- More input on survey and treatment
- Detailed results on mechanisms

Primer Details

Election Setting

- Hypothetical, imminent election with the current Bundestag parties as choices
- All parties are introduced as being led by a duo
- Depending on assignment, they have all decided on their male leader as top-candidate or there is a woman in the race
- Leadership duo of the assigned party is introduced
- Short biographies of each person similar except for gender



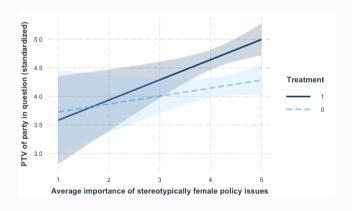
Treatment Details

- Short bios written by ChatGPT, allocation randomized except gender cues
- Press release and acceptance speech written by ChatGPT, constant except for the name and gender cues
- Names for all candidates generated with random German name generator
- Images from London Faces Lab, duos comparable in age and attractiveness rating, all self identifying as White



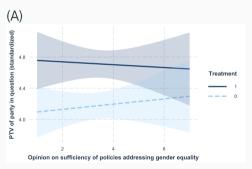
Mechanisms - Policy Area Importance

Figure 7: Effects of female nomination on PTV along average importance of stereotypically female policy issues among women (95% Cls)

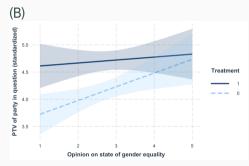


Mechanisms - State of Gender Equality

Figure 8: Effects of female nomination on PTV along opinion on gender equality among women only (95% Cls)



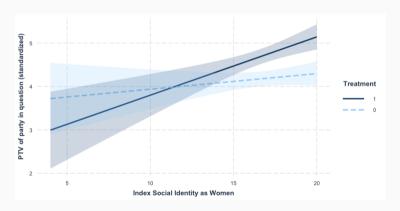
Note: Scale from 1 (policies do not go far enough) to 7 (policies go too far).



Note: Scale from 1 (very unequal) to 7 (very equal).

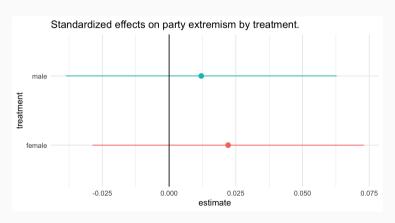
Mechanisms - Social Identity

Figure 9: Effects of female nomination on PTV along index on social identity as women (among women) (95% Cls)



Mechanisms - Moderation effect

Figure 10: Effects by treatment version on perceived party extremism as indicated on a left-right-scale



Mechanisms - Political efficacy

Figure 11: Effects of female nomination on political efficacy among women (95% Cls)

