

Abstract

Recent literature has stressed the importance of leaders, in particular female leaders, to economic outcomes. The gender of the leader can be thought of as a signal of the leader's preferences. Therefore, if women share similar policy preferences, as a group they should show greater support for female leaders than for male leaders. Previous research analyzing this question has relied on selfreported surveys, raising the possibility of differential survey response bias. I exploit the unique institution of gender-segregated voting booths in Chile, which allows me to use actual voting data to test for gender bias among voters in the political arena. I find evidence of a small but significant negative gender bias: women overall are less likely than men to vote for female candidates. This decomposes into a positive gender bias among center-left voters and a negative gender bias among center-right voters. My results are robust to controls for endogenous selection of candidates by parties, and are not explained away by municipality characteristics or candidates' incumbency and experience. Roll-call voting data from the Chamber of Deputies show that elected female politicians in the center-right coalition deviate from the party line by taking a stronger prowomen stance on social issues such as health, family, education and justice. Moreover, women voters penalize center-right female legislators who deviate from the party line, but reward those who deviate on social issues. I provide evidence on the possible channels of these effects—lower campaign expenditures and a mismatch of candidates and voter characteristics. Alternative explanations such as gender identity, female candidates running "as men" or strategic sorting of candidates have less support in the data.