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Comparing Rates of Women Leaders in Western Europe

A study comparing green, conservative and right-wing founders, parliamentary and party leaders.

Elizabeth Stark

Introduction

During the various European elections of 2016, it was hard to watch any form of media without hearing the words, “populism”, “right-wing”, “alt-right” and “far right”, typically all used to describe various political parties or candidates. The 2016 elections came on the heels of pushback to the handling of the European migrant crisis and the debt crisis that helped fuel the current growth in nationalist parties across Europe. With the rise of Donald Trump in the United States came such European counterparts as Alice Weidel, Siv Jensen, Pia Kjærsgaard and Marine LaPen to name a few. It almost appeared that women were leading the rise of the nationalist right-wing parties. Even though these women appeared to be leading the rise of the far-right, European women do not seem particularly inclined to vote for far-right parties (Mayer, “From Jean-Marie to Marine Le Pen...” 162). Out of this observation came a curiosity to see if women were more involved in conservative, green or right-wing parties in Western Europe based off the genders of their party founders, party leaders and parliamentary leaders.

It is important to define the terms that are being used in this paper to understand how the various parties and leaders were chosen. After the definitions are explained, then the various methods of data collection and spreadsheets will be compiled. After the raw data is presented, the various charts and graphs showing the rates of genders between nationalist, conservative and green parties in Western Europe will be analyzed to show whether there is a gender divide between the party leaders, parliamentary leaders or founders. Further data analysis will be used to show the significant statistical findings. The full data charts are compiled in Appendix 1. After the data interpretation, three case studies of radical right women leaders will be presented including Pia Kjærsgaard, Founder of the Danish People’s Party; Alice Weidel, Parliamentary Leader of Alternative for Deutschland; and Marine Le Pen, President of the Front National.

Definitions

Radical Right parties can be divided into two categories, ones that have a history of neo-fascism and those that do not, also known as anti-immigrant parties (Rydgren 1). The parties that do not have a tradition of neo-fascism tend to share several platforms with the fascist parties, like being anti-immigrant and being against the immigration policies of their respective governments (Rydgren 1). To further divide anti-immigrant parties, it is possible to divide them into three other categories; extreme right, racist and populist (Rydgren 2). Extreme Right parties are parties that claim to have ties to pre-war fascist movements (Rydgren 2). Racist parties are parties that have stances that the significant statistical findings (Rydgren 2). Populist parties are parties that “celebrate the virtue and wisdom of the common man and pretend to represent ‘*das gesundenes Volksempfinden*’” (Rydgren 2). The term “*das gesundenes Volksempfinden*” translates to “the healthy folk-intuition” (Messing 326). The Nazis propagated the belief that Aryans used ‘folk instinct’ to decide if things were right or wrong (Messing 326). This term was used to justify the belief that there was nothing worthwhile to learn from groups of people other than the Aryan race (Messing 326). It can also be translated as “the sound sentiment of the people” (Gerhard 141). In the legal sense, it was often used as the basis for justice (Gerhard 141). However, these three distinctions are not always clear. It is possible for two of three categories to blend together; for example, racist parties can be populist (Rydgren 2). However, all of these parties are on the far right of the political spectrum (Mayer, “From Jean-Marie to Marine Le Pen...” 162).

In order to examine the various right-wing, green, and conservative parties and evaluate women’s representation within each one, various terms need to be defined to clarify what I am studying. The first definition is that of a leader. In this study I am choosing to define a leader as someone who founded a political party, is a current leader of a political party or represent their

party in their respective legislatures. The next is the definition of radical right-wing parties. This then brings us to populism and whether or not to include this as a major definition in this study. I decided to not include populism in this study for several reasons. However, it can best be described by Cas Mudde, "...While all populist radical rightists are nationalists, not all nationalists are populist radical rightists" (Mudde 30-31). Another reason to not include populism is that the word "populism" does not have a clear set determination of what it means and who can be populist (Panizza 1). There is a general consensus on certain parts of populism (Panizza 1) but choosing to include populism in depth would not significantly alter this study. Another term that needs defined is nationalism; nationalism is a spectrum, so I will be basing my definition on the minimum basis of nationalism. The minimum definition of nationalism I will be using again comes from Cas Mudde and is "a political doctrine that strives for the congruence of the cultural and the political unit, i.e. the nation and the state, respectively" (Mudde, 16). Supplementing this definition is the work of Andreas Wimmer, which states "nationalism always includes political/civic and cultural/ethnic aspects" (Mudde 17).

Another term I will frequently use is that of a radical right party. This term comprises two words that need to be defined. The first is radical, which is defined as "opposition to some key features of liberal democracy, most notably political pluralism and the constitutional protection of minorities" (Mudde 25). The second is right, defined as "the belief in a natural order with inequalities" (Mudde 26).

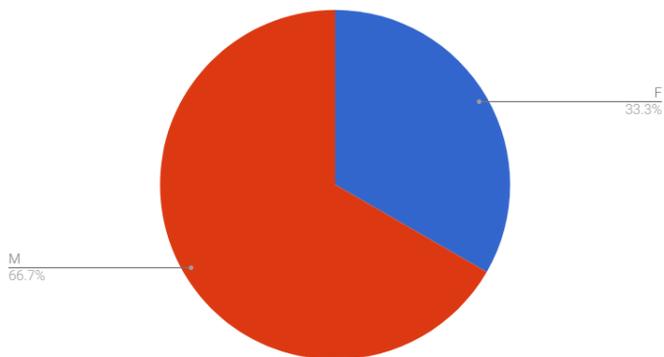
Data collection methods

As the study relates to Western European parties, fifteen states were chosen including: Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Germany, Austria, Greece, Italy, Switzerland, France, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Portugal, the United Kingdom and Spain. Monaco, Andorra and Luxembourg

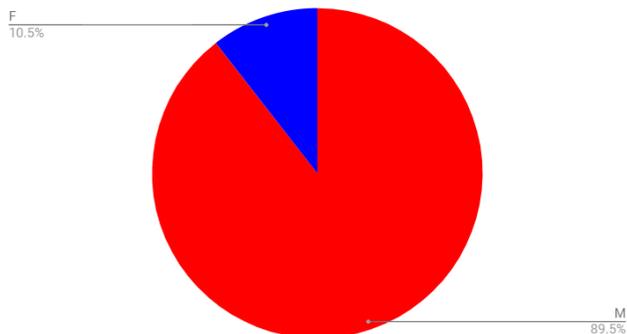
were not included as they were too small in terms of population. Many of these states had multiple conservative, green or right-wing parties operating at the same and as such, I have included all of the ones that had academic research on them. In cases where founders of the parties were not available, the first party leaders were used instead. There were only four parties where founders or first elected leaders that could not be ascertained. I attempted to contact these parties through email and Facebook messenger but received no reply. For the raw data please see Appendix 1. For some smaller parties, there is no parliamentary leader as there is just one member of the party in the legislature. For these cases, the member that is representing the parties is listed as their parliamentary leaders. It is noted in the data which parties these are.

Data Analysis

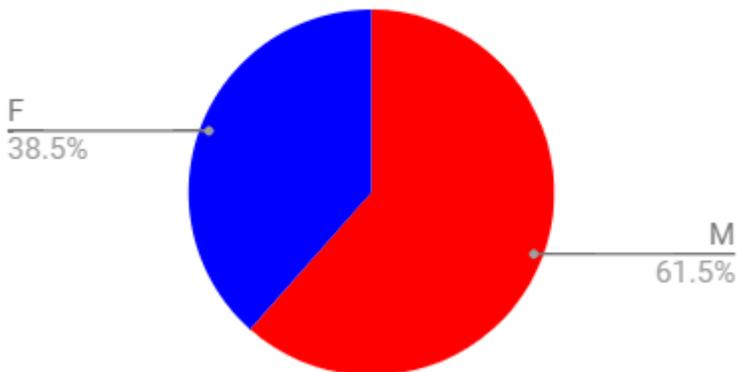
Gender of Conservative Party Leaders



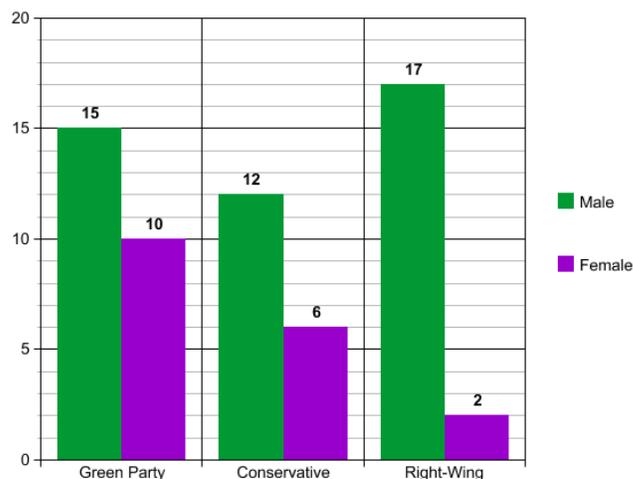
Gender of Nationalist Party Leaders



Gender of Green Party Leaders



Genders of Green, Right-Wing and Nationalist Party Leaders



As a result of the study charting the genders of right-wing, green, conservative parties, several conclusions can be made on the gender divide of party leaders. First, male leaders are more prevalent in right-wing parties. There are only 2 female party leaders out of 19 total right-wing party leaders evaluated. Thus, right-wing parties have the smallest percentage of female party leaders standing at 10%. In contrast, women are more represented in green parties and conservative parties compared to right-wing parties. However, more represented does not mean equal representation of female leaders. These various green parties have a total of 38.5% of their leaders as women, which is due to the dual leadership structure that many employ. Conservative and right-wing parties have only one-party leader; yet, typically green parties have a dual executive made up of one male and one female. This is what leads to female leaders being more represented in green parties. However, even with this structure, green women leaders are only barely ahead of conservative women leaders. Many right-wing parties are against the use of a quota system for women (and minorities) as they view quotas as a form of discrimination (Mudde 94). However, there are a few parties that have created temporary systems to encourage diversity (Mudde 94).

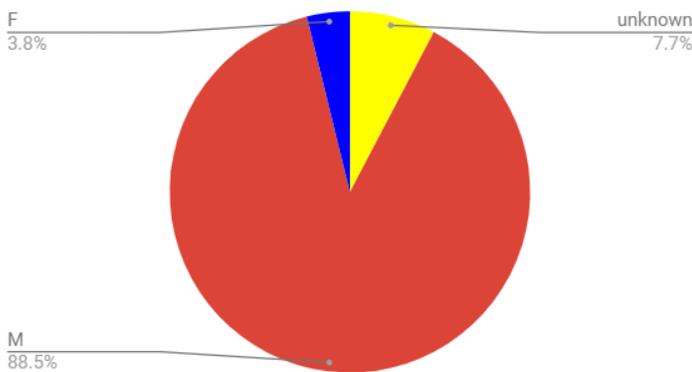
One of the main takeaways from the graph is that size of the political party does not appear to matter when it comes to the gender of the political party, but rather political orientation does. Both right-wing and green parties are small and yet green parties have the most women leaders of all the parties. Conservative and right-wing parties have similar ideologies and underrepresent women as leaders in those parties. Right-wing parties are ideologically more extreme than conservative parties, which shows in the data as right-wing parties having roughly half the rates of female party leaders compared to the conservative parties. However, it is important to

realize that this data set is minuscule and further studies should be conducted to further demonstrate this point.

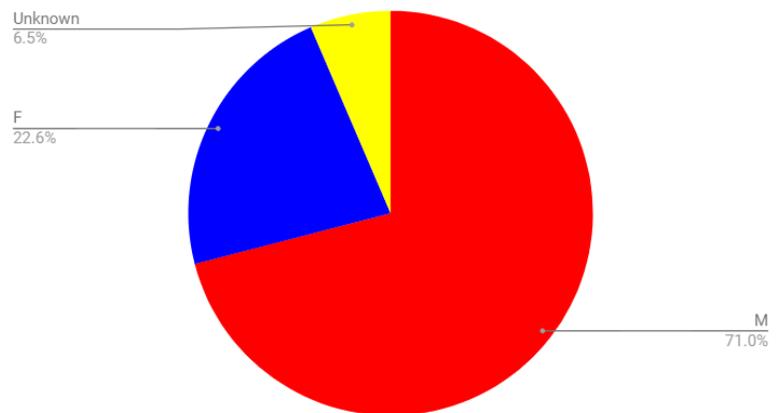
There are several possible reasons why women are less represented in right-wing parties than other parties. Right-wing parties advocate for traditional or stereotypical gender roles and could be said to have anti-women stances. Yet, this view assumes that all women have a certain view of women's rights, which is not the case. Women have always been involved in right-wing politics and have focused on advancing their roles in these parties in their own way. Historically, women would argue they had a right to be involved in right-wing parties because they could "deploy their "womanly" capacities in the service of the nation" (Harvey 154). They would claim that they needed to be involved in politics because it was due to "their selfless feminine devotion to the higher cause of the nation" (Harvey 152). They argued they were the ones that were preserving their culture's values and integrities, which is why they needed to be involved in politics that aimed at stopping these threats (Harvey 154). This approach is still used today by women in right-wing politics. Despite the views that some of their policies are anti-women, right-wing parties have played a complicated role in advancing women's rights. Right-Wing parties have waged a war against immigrants and in doing so, have reinforced women's involvement in politics (Harvey 159). Women must be involved in politics to safeguard their families (Harvey 159). "For a start, biological racism reinforced the principle of women's inclusion within the nation as "carriers of the blood." In addition, it magnified the importance of questions that could be seen as falling within women's domain: it offered women a role as "guardians of the race"..." (Harvey 159). This attacking of immigration strengthened women's roles within right-wing parties and allowed them to take over as "experts" who needed to be involved in the discussions on population (Harvey 159).

Another main takeaway is that women do not make up a majority of the total party leaders. There are only 18 party leaders that are women out of the 44 total leaders, which is approximately 41% percent, and still not half. Additionally, no party, other than the green party, even comes close to half of their party leaders being female. Based on this information, it is possible to see that women are underrepresented as party leaders.

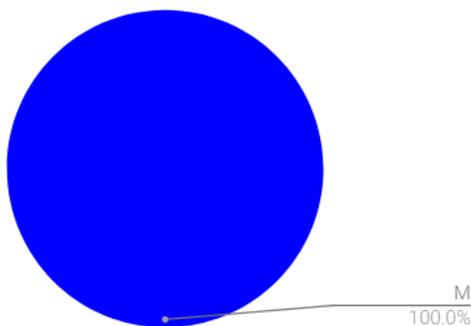
Gender of Nationalist Party Founders



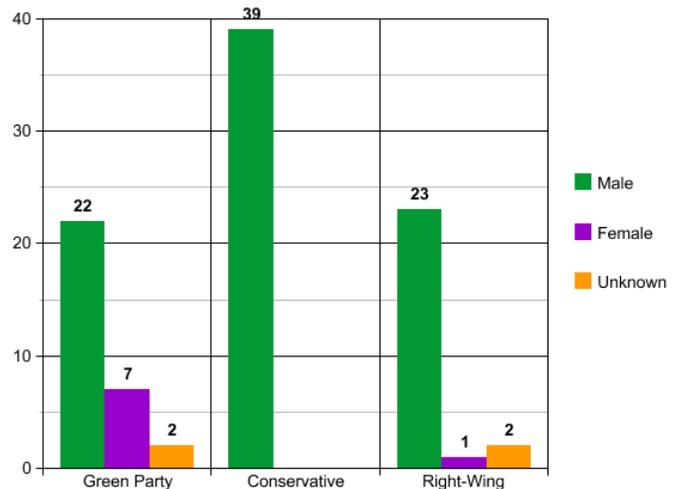
Gender of Green Party Founders



Gender of Conservative Party Founders



Genders of Green, Right-Wing and Nationalist Party Founders



In comparing green, right-wing and conservative party founder's gender, there are several take-aways. The first is that there are no female founders of conservative parties. At first, I believed women were not founders of conservative parties because they were not allowed in

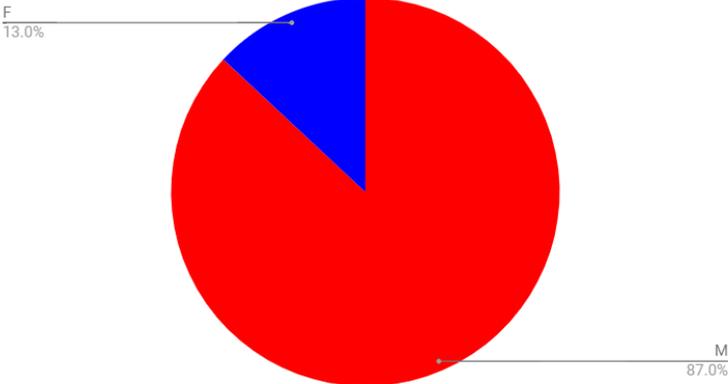
politics when many of the parties came into being. Yet, this proved to be inaccurate as there were only three parties that formed before women gained the right to vote; the United Kingdom's Conservative Party, Switzerland's Christian Democratic People's Party, and Norway's Høgre Party. Denmark's Det Konservative Folkeparti, was founded the same year women attained the right to vote which might have impacted female involvement in the founding. There is the possibility that women were not allowed to be involved when the party was forming resulting in their lack of participation. However, women could have been founders of many of the other parties in this study. The overwhelming majority of these parties were founded when women were legally allowed to vote and take part in politics. This means that women had the ability to create conservative parties but did not. In Germany, when women gained the right to vote, they turned out in record numbers to support the Right, the Germany National People's Party (DNVP) (Harvey 156). Women overwhelmingly voted for the DNVP as the parties on the right side of the political spectrum were the parties that tended to try to get women more involved in politics (Harvey 156). Additionally, because women were legally allowed in politics, it did not mean that it was socially acceptable to do so. There were several parties founded in the late 1900s and early 2000s where it can be assumed that attitudes towards women in politics had changed, yet there still are no female conservative party founders. Both green and right-wing parties were formed recently compared to most conservative parties meaning the age of the party might have something to do with the rates of female founders.

The parties with the most female founders are the various green parties. However, even though they have the most, it only averages to 23% of total founders that were female, which is very low. Right-wing parties have the second lowest number of female founders coming to around 3.8%. Conservatives have the least women founders coming in with no female party

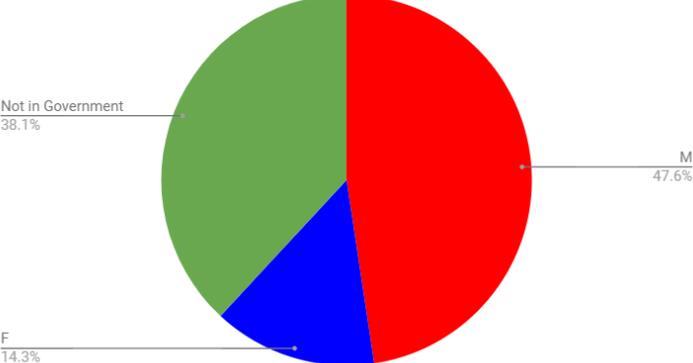
founders. Green parties and right-wing parties are both smaller than conservative parties, and they both have some women founders. However, both green and right-wing parties were founded recently compared to conservative parties. Denmark is the only nation with a right-wing female founder and Austria, France, Spain, the United Kingdom, Denmark, and Sweden are the nations with female founders of green parties. These states are all over the place in terms of income, size, and economy.

Overall, party founders are overwhelmingly male across the political divide no matter what the size or ideology of the party is. The one thing that does appear to impact party founders is the age of party.

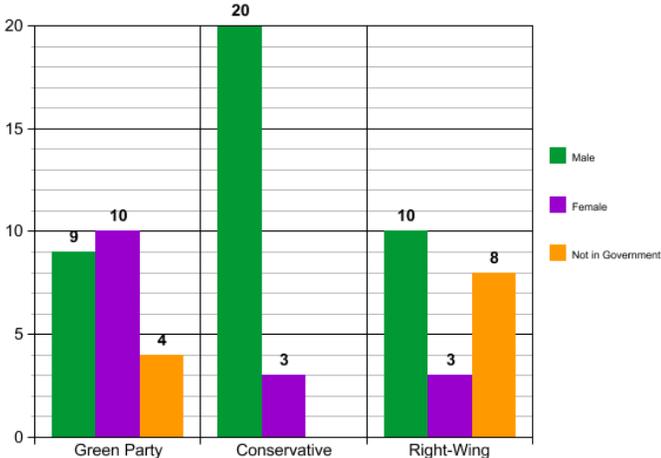
Gender of Conservative Parliamentary Leaders



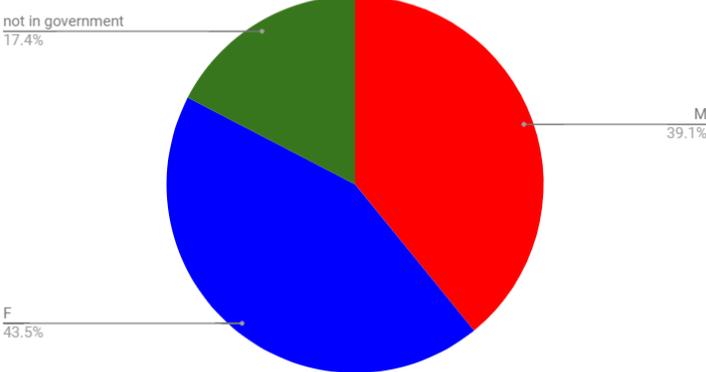
Gender of Nationalist Parliamentary Leaders



Genders of Green, Right-Wing and Nationalist Party Parliamentary Leaders



Gender of Green Parliamentary Leaders



In looking at the graphs comparing right-wing, conservative and green parties' parliamentary leader's gender, several observations are seen. The first is that right-wing parties have the least number of representatives in their parliaments. This should come as no surprise, as many of these parties are small fringe groups compared to the catch-all conservative parties and the smaller more established green parties. The second is that green parties have the greatest number of female parliamentary leaders as compared to right-wing and conservative parties. Female parliamentary leaders account for 43% of parliamentary leaders total and 52% ignoring the parties which have no parliamentary involvement. Contrasted are the right-wing parties which have the least amount of female parliamentary leaders. Female parliamentary leaders make up 14% of right-wing parties. This rises to 23% by ignoring the parties with no parliamentary involvement. Conservative parties all have representatives in parliament and have parliamentary leaders. However, only 13% of those leaders are women. Statistically, right-wing and conservative parties have similar numbers of female parliamentary leaders. Overall, only 30% of parliamentary leaders are women when ignoring parties with no representatives.

Comparing the parliamentary leaders to party leaders of green, right-wing and conservative parties, the raw numbers of women leaders are almost identical. There is a total of eighteen female party leaders, while there are only sixteen female parliamentary leaders. However, there are more male party leaders than male parliamentary leaders increasing the percentage of female party leaders. There are forty-four male party leaders and only twenty-nine male parliamentary leaders. While raw data remains similar, statistically, there are more female parliamentary leaders than party leaders. Around 29% of party leaders are women contrasted with around 35% of parliamentary leaders that are women.

As with their leadership structure, many green parties have dual parliamentary leaders, one being male and the other being female accounting for the increased female leadership in green parties. Both green and right-wing parties are small, yet, green parties have more female leaders than right-wing parties. Conservative parties are larger than the green and right-wing, yet, they fall closer to right-wing parties on the political spectrum than green parties. It again seems that party size does not play a role in influencing the genders of political party leadership, but political ideology does. Green parties are more focused on equality resulting in the dual leadership structure, while conservative and right-wing parties are seemingly not concerned with this representation.

Overall, there are a total of 167 men who serve as parliamentary leaders, founders or party leaders with only 42 women in these same positions, 4 founders whose gender is not known and 11 parties with no representative in their respective legislatures. In total, women only make up 20.09% of party, parliamentary leaders, or founders of political parties in Western Europe compared to the 79.9% of men. Women leaders are underrepresented when examining right-wing, green and conservative politics. While this study only looks at party leaders, parliamentary leaders and founders of political parties, the deficit of women leaders could potentially be made up in looking at minor leadership officials in these parties. One thing that can be seen for certain is the significant lack of women in major leadership roles.

Women's involvement over time in green, conservative and right-wing parties has changed over time in voting behavior. After women were given the right to vote, they tended to support conservative parties and tended to support right-wing parties more than men (Mayer, "*The Closing of...*", 392). However, as women entered the labor market and reached higher education levels, they began to lean towards more liberal parties (Mayer, "*The Closing of...*",

393). There are a variety of reasons for this change. The first is that men tend to hold more jobs that are ‘globalization losers’ while women’s jobs tend to be more secure (Mayer, “*The Closing of...*”, 393). Another reason is that women tend to be more religious than men and as many Christian churches condemn the anti-immigration stances of various parties, women would be more likely to listen and not vote for parties that endorse those policies (Mayer, “*The Closing of...*”, 393). There is also a theory that women are unlikely to vote for parties that advocate for traditional gender roles due to the spread of feminist ideas (Mayer, “*The Closing of...*”, 393). Besides these theories there is also the impact of gender socialization. Women are socialized to be less aggressive and assertive than men and are better at interpreting social cues than men (Mayer, “*The Closing of...*”, 394). All these factors combined makes it unlikely for women to support right-wing parties.

Case Studies

Pia Kjærsgaard

There are several examples of female leaders within nationalist parties around Europe. For example, Pia Kjærsgaard of the Danish People’s Party. She founded the Danish People’s Party and has been their parliamentary chairman since 2015 (“Pia Kjærsgaard”, Dansk Folkeparti). She also sits on the Committee on the Rules of Procedure (“Pia Kjærsgaard”, Dansk Folkeparti). Additionally, she was the only woman to lead a right-wing party in Europe for around two decades (Meret 88). With so few women involved with these types of parties, how Pia Kjærsgaard came to power is an interesting story. She founded the party on October 6th, 1995 with three others; Kristian Thulesen Dahl, Poul Nødgaard and Ole Donner with all coming from the Danish Progress Party (Ib and Venderby). She is a Knight of Dannebrog of 1st grade (“Pia Kjærsgaard”, Dansk Folkeparti). At the start of her political career, she was a member of the

Progress Party in the Danish parliament, the Folketing, starting in 1984 (“Pia Kjærsgaard”, Dansk Folkeparti). In 1985, she was elected as a political leader, a post she held until 1994 (“Pia Kjærsgaard”, Dansk Folkeparti).

In Kjærsgaard’s childhood, her family, and she herself, were not interested in politics (Meret 91). Her involvement in politics did not occur until 1971, when she saw a television interview with Mogen Gilstrup (Meret 91). Gilstrup founded The Danish Progress Party in 1972 by after the conservative party leadership rejected him for elections (Pedersen and Ringsmose 4). Kjærsgaard joined the Progress party in 1978 and became an MP in 1984 (Stanners). In 1989, she became deputy chairman (Stanners). Her first move as chairman was to move the Progress Party’s policies away from libertarian-ism and towards a right-wing political stance involving immigration control (Stanners). With her election, her role was that of ““should not have a say, but only sit down and look sweet”” (Meret 91). The Progress Party continued to operate until a split occurred due to internal conflicts over who was to become the next party leader (Pedersen and Ringsmose 4). The People’s Party held the same policy views and goals as the Progress Party and many of those in the Progress Party jumped ship to the People’s Party (Pedersen and Ringsmose 4). Kjærsgaard herself even said that her party would have the same platform as the Progress Party (Pedersen and Ringsmose 7). However, unlike the Progress Party, Kjærsgaard’s People’s Party was willing to work and negotiate with other political parties resulting in their growing numbers of supporters (Pedersen and Ringsmose 5). Due to the Progress Party’s inability to work with other parties, in 1999, the party dissolved, ending what little competition there was between the two right wing parties (Pedersen and Ringsmose 5). In addition to the Progress Party’s inability to work with others, was the rising sentiment against refugees and migrants. On example of this feeling can be seen in the *Ekstra Bladet* campaign.

In 1997 *Ekstra Bladet*, a tabloid, decided to take advantage of the growing animosity towards migrants and begin to create an us versus them mentality, with the “us” being the Danish and “them” being refugees and minorities (Gingrich and Banks 98-9). *Ekstra Bladet* launched a campaign aimed at calling for a debate on whether or not Denmark should be a multi-ethnic society (Gingrich and Banks 98). The People’s Party capitalized on this feeling and rode *Ekstra Bladet’s* coattails causing their membership to skyrocket (Gingrich and Banks 99-100). Resulting in the People’s Party beginning to gain traction in 1998, when they won 13 seats in parliament (Stanners). Their popularity continued to rise after 9/11 moving their 13 parliamentarians to 22 (Stanners). Neo-nationalists in Denmark capitalized on the terrorist attacks on of September 11, 2001 to target Muslims and Islam (Gingrich and Banks 103). However, the People’s Party was not the only group to exploit the anti-Muslim feeling. The Danish Liberal Party, Venstre, co-opted their arguments from the People’s Party and won the election in 2001 (Gingrich and Banks 103).

There are many values that Kjærsgaard believes are under threat. She feels that family values are under attack and that the feminist movements have pushed the boundaries too far (Meret 96). Kjærsgaard also believes that Danish values are under attack due to immigrants from countries other than the global north (“Pia Kjærsgaard”, Altinget). She specifically notes that Muslim immigrants are a particular threat to Danish values (“Pia Kjærsgaard”, Altinget). Additionally, the Danish People’s Party was “one of the first right-wing parties to link xenophobic social policies, anti-Muslim rhetoric, and promises of generous public spending” (Stanners). The platform of family values and immigration have become intertwined in a complicated web where the Danish People’s Party has been able to legitimize discrimination against minority groups through their stance on gender equality (Meret 97). An example of this

can be seen when the Danish People's Party attacks Muslims for what they view as a patriarchal and chauvinistic (Meret 97). When Kjærsgaard created the Progress Party, she was aimed at creating a party that would eventually lead her to come into power, "Kjærsgaard and her followers left the Progress Party they were focused on creating a party organization that would facilitate – or at least not hinder – that the party could be part of the parliamentary base of the government and, ultimately, acquire incumbency" (Pendersen and Ringsmose 17). However, her outspoken views have gotten her in trouble. She has been involved in two lawsuits back in 2003; the first involving alleged defamation and the other with threatening a person with pepper spray ("MP Fined."). The second involved Kjærsgaard suing Karen Sunds, in a case that went to the Danish Supreme Court, alleging that Sunds committed libel by announcing that Kjærsgaard held racist opinions ("Racism Ruling"). This was in contrast to earlier rulings by a municipal and high court that both ruled in favor of Kjærsgaard ("Racism Ruling"). Overall, Kjærsgaard's politics divided voters both of the Danish People's Party and within Denmark itself (Meret 89). She is viewed as incredibly charismatic but is one of the least trusted Danish politicians (Meret 89).

Additionally, she has often used gender to further politics. Known as "Mother of the Party", "Mamma Pia", (after the ABBA song, *Mamma Mia*), and "Mother of us all" by her party members, she uses gendered stereotypes to define her role and advance her platform (Meret 92-93). She uses another gendered stereotype of women being overly emotional in her advertising. She is known to "'...standing [sic] up for issues that expose her emotions to the Danes'" (Meret 94). Her background is not that of a traditional politician and she uses this to her advantage, flaunting her role as a housewife, mother and social worker as a backlash against the political and stereotyped attributes highlights her emotional commitment, her deep, caring feelings and

her inclination towards ‘soft’ values and, to some extent, provides the balance in her profile” (Meret 95-6).

Kjærsgaard continued as chairman of the People’s Party until 2012, when she was succeeded by Kristian Thulesen Dahl (“Pia K to Stand aside as DF's Leader”). Even though she was stepping down as the leader, she did not end her career in politics. She is still a member of Parliament for the Copenhagen Omegns Storkreds district (“Pia Kjærsgaard”, Dansk Folkeparti). Her retirement was meticulously planned behind closed doors (Meret 92). At her resignation party, she was quick to point out her successes. She noted that the Danish People’s Party had more members than ever and a thriving youth division (Rehn).

Her involvement in the creation of a nationalist right-wing political party has changed the political playing field in Denmark in a variety of ways. The Danish People’s Party has quickly become a reckoning force in Danish politics; “...the DF has, in reality, become one of the most modern, well-organized and professionally top-led political organizations in Danish politics” (Meret 93). Besides her role in founding the DF and changing the political landscape of Denmark, her use of her gender to advance her political career has proven to be an advantage. She is one of only two female party founders of right wing parties in Western Europe and her experience in the political circuit shows how she has used her gender to her advantage while building and advancing her party.

Alice Weidel

Another example of a female leader within right wing political parties comes from Germany, Alice Weidel. She is the parliamentary leader for Alternative for Deutschland in the Bundestag. She was born in 1979 and holds a double degree in business administration and economics (“Bundesvorstand” *Alternative Für Deutschland*). Growing up, she showed a strong

academics prowess (Schuster). After college, she went to China to work at the Bank of China (Hockenos). Eventually, she went back to Germany and worked for Goldman Sachs, and went back to school and gained her doctorate in economics (Hockenos). She joined the AfD the year it was founded, 2013 (Hockenos). Weidel's partner encouraged her to go into politics due to her ranting about what she felt was wrong with Germany's political system (Schuster). She first joined the party due to Euroscepticism, not anti-immigration views (Hockenos). Starting in 2014, the AfD entered the European parliament and in 2015, they began winning seats in regional elections (Hockenos). During this time, the AfD's platform changed due to the refugee crisis by becoming more anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim (Hockenos). The Bertelsmann Foundation commissioned a study where they found that this was the issue that the AfD attracted major public appeal (Chase). Most of the support for the AfD comes from the Eastern states of Germany, not the states that are more financially stable (Hockenos).

Alternative for Deutschland was founded by a group of conservative Germans who were upset with Angela Merkel's leadership (Lees 299). However, the party began to gain more followers when they began to target Euro-skeptics and those who were angry about Germany financing the European Union (Lees 299). When the financial crisis hit, the AfD began to mobilize against Germany's responses to the crisis (Lees 300). Alternative for Deutschland grew out of the Electoral Alternative 2013, or Wahlalternative 2013, which was a party supported by a wide variety of people from economists to journalists, politicians and business leaders (Lees 300). However, the one thing they all seemed to have in common was that many came from the Christian Democratic Union of Germany (Lees 300). In 2013, the Electoral Alternative 2013 turned into the Alternative for Deutschland, where the party leadership and a political platform

were firmly established (Lees 300). They mobilized quickly and had representatives in all German states for the federal election (Lees 301).

Starting in 2015, the AfD began to be taken over by more right-wing populist ideology due to the changes in leadership structure, one of which being the appointment of Alice Weidel (Lees 305). The AfD has been moving towards integrating their Euro-Skeptic roots “within a more populist and critical approach to the entire German political settlement and the institutions, procedures, and practices that underpin it” (Lees 305). However, these changes in leadership, which appeared to have furthered the issues of xenophobia and racism, appear to be not as overt with Weidel (Schuster). For example, when she saw pictures of refugees suffering, she claims her heart broke, but that Germany did not have the ability to help everyone (Schuster). She appears to follow a more middle ground approach and has stated that AfD’s tendency to lean to the far right was “problematic and a distraction from important discussions” (Schuster). She is noted to have a much different style of speaking and interacting with voters compared to the rest of the politicians in the AfD, less radical, but still problematic (Schuster). However, this could explain why she was elected. As Volker Beck, a German green parliamentarian said ““They are using it to portray their radicalism as a little bit softer”” (Wildman). No matter how Weidel portrays her party, the AfD is still anti-immigrant. They have said they want to change the German constitution to eliminate individual hearings for asylum cases and immediately deport those with rejected applications (Chase). They also advocate for sealing Germany’s borders, installing identity checks and the creation of camps for migrants outside of Germany (Chase). This anti-immigration aspect is like those used by earlier right-wing German political parties. The AfD argues that Germany is being “Islamified” and that this must stop as they are a stronghold for Christian values (Chase). In earlier right-wing parties in Germany, specifically

the DNVP, “women mobilized as guarantors of national culture and customs, as self-styled guardians of the German home and German values, confronting perceived threats to the integrity of the nation” (Harvey 154). This pattern does not appear to have ended. Both Alice Weidel and Pia Kjærsgaard have used the arguments of protecting their home and culture for advancing their political parties while tying this to their gender.

An aspect that seems to contradict her being the parliamentary leader of a right-wing nationalist party is that her partner is another woman with whom she has two children (Hockenos). At the time of the vote for same-sex marriage, the AfD were not in the Bundestag, however, they do support a “conventional” family (Hockenos). When the vote for legalization occurred, Weidel said, ““As if [gay marriage] were Germany’s most pressing problem at the moment’...‘The grand coalition is pushing through ‘marriage for everybody’ legislation, while the mass migration [sic] that has swamped the country over the last two years considers homosexuality a crime”” (Hockenos). However, this statement is a red herring, she did not address the opposing arguments and instead redirected attention to the migration issue. Throughout her time in the AfD, she has not refused to agree with their homophobia (Armann and Becker).

Even with the AfD seemingly against same sex marriage and partners, Weidel claims to have faced no discrimination from her party and that her being a lesbian does not conflict with the AfD’s platform (Hockenos). This stands in contrast with the AfD attempting to sue the federal government of Germany over same-sex marriage (Schuster). She uses her identity as a member of a traditionally marginalized group to further her political causes and shield her party from accusations of being intolerant even though her arguments have logical fallacies (Wildman). Take for example her statement given to the *Washington Post*, ““My election and my

high acceptance within the party show that, contrary to public perception, my party is tolerant” (Wildman). However, this is a faulty generalization. She is applying her own experiences to everyone who fits within the LGBT community, which cannot be done. Despite this fallacy, the conflict between her identity and her political orientation could be another ploy to keep people talking about the AfD (Wildman).

Part of what makes AfD so interesting as a party is that for years, the conservative and Christian democrat parties had control of the right side of the political spectrum since the 1950s, but this all changed during the 2017 elections (Lees 295). The AfD became the third largest party within the Bundestag with 12.6% of the vote meaning that the conservative and Christian democrat parties no longer had the control of all right-wing parties (Lee 295). These larger parties, also known as catch-all parties, have been declining in Germany in recent years and when the AfD was founded, it was noted that if it became popular enough, it had the ability to disrupt established political norms in Germany (Lees 296). Now, with the AfD as the third largest party in the Bundestag, that disruptive role is prevalent, as they have assumed the role of the main opposition party (Lees 296). However, Germany has been known to have a more cautious voting base and as the AfD is a more right-wing party, it lends to the belief that they would have a smaller voting base, but this could not be the case with them becoming the third largest party represented in the Bundestag (Lees 297). Yet, this does not seem to be the case; “In other words, the AfD became the third largest party grouping in the Bundestag because and not despite of the party’s increasing radicalism” (Lees 297).

Like Pia Kjærsgaard, Alice Weidel uses her sexual identity and gender to advance her political party. She follows a more middle ground approach and has spoken out against the right-wing leanings (Schuster). Her leadership style is less radical, but still problematic (Schuster). Her

gender is being used to soften the image of Alternative for Deutschland (Wildman). It is the same way her sexual identity is used to further the Alternative for Deutschland's politics (Wildman). Weidel has reformed her party through her role as a party leader for the AfD and has brought Alternative for Deutschland to the forefront of German politics.

Marine Le Pen

Of the three women chosen for these case studies, Marine Le Pen would likely be the most well-known to Americans. She was the French presidential finalist against Emmanuel Macron and is the leader of the National Front (Bell). She is also the daughter of Jean-Marie Le Pen, founder of the National Front (Bell).

Marine Le Pen was born in Neuilly-sur-Seine on August 5, 1968 and is the youngest of three children (Tasch). After World War II, far-right parties in France were not mainstream parties, and many were not even political parties (Williams 670). Even parties to the right were not ideologically right wing (Gingrich and Banks 178). Their politics were identical to the left during this time, with nationalism being strongly discouraged (Gingrich and Banks 178). Many of the far-right were only in loosely defined groups and had no power within the political system (Williams 670). In 1972, her father, Jean-Marie Le Pen, founded the National Front (Bell). The party was "originally a neoliberal club for churlish business owners" ("Who Is Marine Le Pen..."). The core member of his party included fascists, former members of the Vichy government, anti-Semites, conservative Catholics and those against immigration (Shorto). Jean-Marie did not aspire to govern, he just wanted to keep his party together (Shorto). He attempted to create a catch-all party strategy, which ultimately failed. (Williams 691). Fortunes in the party changed in 1980 when members of the FN began to win local elections (Williams 670). This pattern continued culminating in 2002 with Jean-Marie advancing to the second round of the

French presidential elections, but ultimately losing (Williams 670). Marine herself wants to see the National Front become the leading opposition party in France's government (Alduy).

A major event in Le Pen's childhood was when she was eight, a bomb exploded at her family's apartment making her aware of her father's politics (Bell). In Le Pen's autobiography, she comments on the impact of this event on her life, "That night I went to sleep like all little girls my age. But when I woke, I was no longer a little girl like the others" (Beardsley). Her parents divorced, and she began to spend more time with her father (Bell). Her father did not separate political life and family life meaning she was constantly around far-right party figures (Beardsley). She was also ostracized at school due to her father's politics, leading her to become more involved in the National Front (Beardsley).

When she turned eighteen, she became more involved with the National Front ("Who Is Marine Le Pen..."). She studied law at Panthéon-Assas University in Paris and went on to work as a public defender (Tasch). She left her role as a public defender to become a legal advisor for the National Front (Bell). She rose through the ranks to become a member of parliament in France and the European Parliament and then to vice-president of the National Front (Bell).

Marine Le Pen was not supposed to inherit the National Front from her father; her sister, Marie-Caroline, was the intended successor (Beardsley). Marie-Caroline ran for a local election, but she grew upset with her father's racist remarks (Beardsley). They reportedly have not spoken in 20 years (Beardsley). After Marie-Caroline left, Marine Le Pen took the political throne (Beardsley). Le Pen has three children and has been married twice (Tasch). First to Franck Chauffroy, a businessman, and then to Eric Iorio, a campaigner for the National Front (Tasch). Her relationship with her father has also been tumultuous. In 2015, Jean-Marie was expelled

from the FN due to comments about the Holocaust, and they still have not reconciled to this day (Tasch).

Even with the slightly differing political opinions, Jean-Marie and Marine have much in common. They are both charismatic leaders with the ability to translate their political ideologies into language understood by the masses (Williams 690). During her rise in the National Front, she tried to alter the appearance and distance the party from the more extreme members of the far right, however, this led to conflict with her father (Bell). She began to rise through the ranks of the National Front and in 2011, took over the presidency of the National Front (Bell). Once she became the President, she was able to pursue the changes she wanted to make to the party (Bell). She coined the term, “de-demonisation” which describes moving the FN away from the far-right her father wanted (Tasch). She has said that she needs to “soften its image” in order to make political alliances (Horobin and Meichtry). However, these changes do not appear to have vastly impacted the National Front’s voter base, except for increasing the number of women voting for the National Front (Mayer, “From Jean-Marie to Marine Le Pen...” 161). This is working in conjugation with the French Union for a Popular Movement, which appears to have co-opted the FN’s policies and rhetoric on law and order and immigration (Williams 691). According to the Advocate General at the Court of Appeal of Paris, “he sees little difference between the UMP and FN on matters of policy these days” (Williams 691).

She holds many of the same beliefs as both Weidel and Kjærsgaard. Like Kjærsgaard, Le Pen has attempted to brand herself as the savior of French democracy (Alduy). However, unlike Kjærsgaard, she claims that France is under attack from the “European Soviet Union” and Muslim immigrants (Alduy). She is anti-immigrant (Bell). She wants to cut access to public services for immigrants and wants to limit the number of immigrants that are allowed into France

(Bell). She claims that her anti-immigration stance is not due to xenophobia, but instead “commonsensical” (Shorto). Unlike her father, she does not advocate for anti-Semitism (Shorto). She is also anti-European Union (Bell). She has rejected the Euro and calls for a return to the Franc and wants a referendum on whether France should stay in the European Union (Bell). Besides the animosity towards the EU, she also wants to leave NATO (Bell). She advocates for isolationism and economic nationalism to try to stop the spread of “Anglo-Saxon multiculturalism” (Bell). However, this isolation does not apply to all nations. She has called for closer ties to Russia (Bell). She wants to continue with France’s social safety net and advocates for workers which propels her persona as an advocate for the blue-collared in France (Bell). She is also against globalization (“Who Is Marine Le Pen...”). Despite these beliefs marking her as a conservative or right-wing candidate, Marine Le Pen does hold several liberal views; “...Marine is pro-choice, gay-friendly, and economically interventionist, with a populist streak” (Alduy).

One of the main differences between Weidel and Kjærsgaard’s belief compared to Le Pen’s is that there are some areas that the private sector should not be involved in. She believes that the government should be the one to control healthcare, banking, transportation, education and energy (Shorto). She wants more public services, a protective state, along a Euro-skeptic and protectionist line (Mayer, “From Jean-Marie to Marine Le Pen...” 175). She has criticized capitalism and instead believes that the state should defend the everyday people (Shorto). However, this mixing of far-right nationalism and economics that appear to belong to the left-wing have many seeing parallels with the 1920s and 30s (Shorto). She has changed the demographics of her party to include anyone who is afraid of opening France’s economy and most importantly, those that fear that secularism is under threat from immigrants, specifically Muslim immigrants (Shorto).

Advocates of Le Pen claim she does not use her gender to further her politics (Beardsley). One of Le Pen's advisors said this, "She's a mother, she had three kids within 10 months, but she's a political man..." (Beardsley). However, this does not appear to be the case. The National Front claims they are not "a 'macho' party" and that women have many roles (Bacchetta and Power 136). With Le Pen being leader of the party, this gives the appearance that women are welcome, but this is probably not the case. Even with the claim of not using gender to advance their politics, women are put forward into the spotlight to advance the National Front's image (Bacchetta and Power 136). This tactic is also seen in the treatment of minorities in the National Front (Bacchetta and Power 136). "...They are also tokenized in a completely systematic way" (Bacchetta and Power 136). The National Front has consciously used imagery that shows French women being at the mercy of immigrants and Muslims and at the same time, denounced the state of women's rights in the Middle East and Africa (Bacchetta and Power 136).

Overall Marine Le Pen has become an influential figure within the far-right. She has revolutionized her party and brought it closer to the mainstream than ever before. Even with her heavy involvement in the National Front, and her revolutionizing the party, she is still forced to use her gender to advance her political agenda. In addition to capitalizing on gender, she has also capitalized on minorities to give the appearance of a party not dominated by men.

Conclusion

Women are underrepresented as party leaders, parliamentary leaders and founders of political parties. Women make up only 20.7% of party, parliamentary leaders and founders of political parties in Western Europe compared to the 77.2% of men. Green parties have the most female representatives as many have a dual leadership structure. In looking at Pia Kjærsgaard, Alice Weidel and Marine Le Pen as case studies of right-wing women, several similarities can be

seen. All utilize their gender to advance their politics and soften their party's image. Even with these high-profile figures, right-wing parties severely lag in female representation. There are several opportunities for future research. One avenue is looking at change over time for women in positions of power. This study only evaluated current party leaders and parliamentary leaders. Tracking the changes over time in right-wing, green and conservative parties might further indicate the acceptance of women as leaders. Additionally, another area of further study would be in evaluating women in minor leadership positions in green, conservative and right-wing parties. There is the possibility that women's representation in other offices of their respective political parties could show increased participation compared to party leaders or parliamentary leaders. Overall, women make up less than half of leaders no matter what the political leaning of the party is. Hopefully in the future, more women will be represented as leaders in their political parties and more research will be conducted on right wing women.

Appendix 1

Nationalist Parties and Leaders

Country	Party Name	Parliamentary Leader	Founder	Party Leader
Sweden	Swedish Democrats	Mattias Karlsson (Brown).	Leif Zeilon, Johan Rinderheim (Manhammar).	Jimmie Åkesson (“Det Här Är Jimmie Åkesson!”).
Finland	The Finns	Leena Meri (Sakari).	Timo Soini, All male see email (Sakari)(Herszenhorn).	Jussi Halla-aho (“Jussi Halla-Aho Elected Finns Party...”).
Denmark	Danish People's Party	Peter Skaarup (“Peter Skaarup”).	Pia Kjærsgaard Kristian Thulesen Dahl, Poul Nødgaard, Ole Donner (Ib and Venderby).	Kristian Thulesen Dahl (“The Danish People's Party (Dansk Folkeparti)– DIPD”).
Germany	AFD	Alice Wiedel, Alexander Gauland (Alternative for Deutschland).	Alexander Gauland, Bernd Lucke, Konrad Adam, Gerd Robanus (“Angela Merkels CDU Suffers...”).	Jörg Meuthen, Alexander Gauland (“Federal Executive”).
Austria	Freedom Party	Walter Rosenkranz (“Unsere Klubobmänner”).	Anton Reinthaller (Solsten).	Heinz-Christian Strache (“HC Strache”).
Greece	Golden Dawn	Nikolaos Michaloliakos (“MPs Nikolaos Michaloliakos”).	Nikolaos Michaloliakos (“Profile: Greece's Far-Right Golden Dawn Party”).	Nikolaos Michaloliakos (“Profile: Greece's Far-Right Golden Dawn Party”).
Italy	Northern League	FEDRIGA Massimiliano-Chamber of Deputies (“Composition of the NORTHERN...”). And Gian Marco Centinaio-senate (“Lega-Salvini Premier-Sardinian...”).	Umberto Bossi (Edwards).	Matteo Salvini (Edwards).
Switzerland	Swiss People's Party	Aeschi Thomas (“Group Of The Swiss People's Party (V)”).	Christoph Blocher (“Biographie”).	Albert Rösti (“Albert Rösti”).
France	Front Nationale/Rassmlement National	No parliamentary Group (“Le Pen Wins Parliamentary...”).	Jean-Marie Le Pen (Bell)	Marine Le Pen (Bell)
Netherlands	Party for Freedom (PVV)	Geert Wilders, Marjolein Faber (“Partij Voor De Vrijheid (PVV)”).	Geert Wilders (“Geert Wilders: Member of Parliament,...”).	Geert Wilders (“Party for Freedom Members of Parliament”).
Norway	Progress Party (FRP)	Hans Andreas Limi (Holm-Nilsen and Randen).	Anders Lange (“History of the Parties”).	Siv Jensen (WIJNEN).
Spain	Vox	not in government (“Congress: XII Legislatura...”; “Summary of Parliamentary Groups (Current Composition)”).	José Antonio Ortega Lara (“Qué Es VOX”).	Santiago Abascal (Hedgecoe).
Portugal	National Renovator Party (PNR)	not in government (“Legislativas 2015 Os...”).	António da Cruz Rodrigues (“Morreu o Primeiro Presidente...”).	Jose Pinto Coelho (“Órgãos Nacionais”).

UK	UKIP	Not in Government (“Current State of the Parties”). (Only three in House of Lords as “Other” (“Lords by Party,...”).	Alan Sked (Sked).	George Batten (“UKIP Aiming to...”).
UK	British National party	not in government (“Current State of the Parties”; “Lords by Party,...”).	John Tyndall (“Profile: British National Party”).	Adam Walker (Chairman) (“BNP Candidate Profile - Adam Walker”).
Spain	España 2000	not in government (“Congress: XII Legislatura...”; “Summary of Parliamentary Groups (Current Composition)”).	Unknown	Rafael Ripoll (“Biografía De Rafael Ripoll”).
Spain	National Democracy	not in government (“Congress: XII Legislatura...”; “Summary of Parliamentary Groups (Current Composition)”).	Unknown	Manuel Canduela Serrano (“Manuel Canduela Asume...”).
Spain	La Falange	not in government (“Congress: XII Legislatura...”; “Summary of Parliamentary Groups (Current Composition)”).	Gustavo Morales** (“Somos La Falange”).	Manuel Andrino Lobo (“Somos La Falange”).

Conservative and Christian-Democrat Parties and Leaders

Country	Party Name	Parliamentary Leader	Founder	Party Leader
Sweden	KD (1964)	Andreas Carlson (“Andreas Carlson (KD)”).	Birger Ekstedt, Lewi Pethrus (Jonasson).	Ebba Busch Thor (“Företrädare”).
Norway	Høgre (1884)	Trond Helleland (“Trond Helleland”).	Emil Stang (“Emil Stang”).	Erna Solberg (“Erna Solberg”).
Denmark	Det Konservative Folkeparti (1916)	Mette Abildgaard (“Mette Abildgaard”).	Emil Piper** (“Emil Piper”).	Søren Pape Poulsen (“Søren Pape”).
Germany	CDU (1945)	Ralph Brinkhaus (“Ralph Brinkhaus”).	Konrad Adenauer** (“Bundes(Partei)Vorsitzende”).	Angela Merkel (“Dr. Angela Merkel”).
Austria	ÖVP (1945)	August Wöginger (“The Austrian People's Party”).	Leopold Figl, Julius Raab, Leopold Kunschak, Felix Hurdes, Hans Pernter, Lois Weinberger (“Die Geschichte Der Volkspartei”).	Sebastian Kurz (“The Austrian People's Party”).
Greece	Nea Dimokratia (ND) (1974)	Kyriakos Mitsotakis (Bessy).	Konstantinos Karamanlis (“Konstantinos Karamanlis”).	Kyriakos Mitsotakis (“Μητσοτάκης Κυριάκος”).
Italy	Forza Italia (2013)	Paolo Romani - Senate (“Presidente”). and BRUNETTA Renato-CoD (“Composition of..”).	Silvio Berlusconi (Raniolo 440).	Silvio Berlusconi (“Berlusconi Nomina Tajani...”).
Switzerland	CVP (1848)	Doris Leuthard (federal council) (“Doris Leuthard: Personal Details”).	Josef leu von Ebersol (Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei der Schweiz).	Gerhard Pfister (“Gerhard Pfister”).
France*	UMP aka the Republicans (2015)	Christian Jacob (Assembly) (“Christian Jacob”). And Bruno Retailleau (Senate) (“Bruno Retailleau”).	Jacques Chirac (“Jacques Chirac”).	Laurent Wauquiez (“Laurent Wauquiez, Président Du Parti Les Républicains”).
Netherlands	CU (2000)	Roel Kuiper (Senate) (“Landelijk Bestuur”). and Gert-Jan Segers (HoR) (“Gert-Jan Segers”).	K. Veling** (Valkenburg and Aangeenbrug).	Piet Adema (“Landelijk Bestuur”).

Norway	Kristelig Folkeparti (1933)	Knut Arild Hareide (“Hareide, Knut Arild (1972-)”).	Ingebrigt Bjørø** (Garvik and Tvedt).	Knut Arild Hareide (“Hareide, Knut Arild (1972-)”).
Spain	PP (1989)	José Antonio Bermúdez de Castro Fdez (Congress) (“José Antonio Bermúdez De Castro Fdez”). And Cosidó Gutiérrez, Ignacio (Senate) (“Cosidó Gutiérrez, Ignacio”).	Manuel Fraga (Tremlett).	Pablo Casado (Junquera).
Portugal	CDS-PP (1974)	Nuno Magalhães (“Nuno Magalhães”).	Diogo Freitas do Amaral (Pike).; Adelino Amaro da Costa (“Basílio Horta”).; Basílio Horta (“Basílio Horta”).; Vítor Sá Machado (“Falecimento Do Dr. Victor...”).; Valentim Xavier Pintado (“Morreu Valentim Xavier...”).; João Morais Leitão (“Morreu João Morais Leitão”).; João Porto (“Morreu João Porto,...”).	Assunção Cristas (“Assunção Cristas”).
UK	Conservatives (1834)	Brandon Lewis (“Brandon Lewis”).	Robert Peel (Gash).	Theresa May (“Our Team”).
Finland	Kristillisdemokraatit (1958)	Peter Östman (“Who Is Peter Östman?”).	Paavo Päivänsalo (“Puolueen Historia”).	Sari Essayah (“Sari Essayah: In English”).
Switzerland	BDP (2008)	Rosmarie Quadranti (“Liberal Democrat Group (BD):...”).	Hans Grunder** (“BDP Schweiz - Zahlen Und Fakten”).	Martin Landolt (“Martin Landolt,...”).
Netherlands	Christian Democrat Appeal (1980)	Elco Brinkman (Senate) and Sybrand van Haersma Buma (HoR) (“Mensen: CDA”).	Piet Steenkamp** (“Dr. PAJM (Piet) Steenkamp”).	Sybrand van Haersma Buma (“Buma: CDA Maintains Itself”).
Finland	National Coalition Party (1918)	Kalle Jokinen (“Yhteistyedot”).	Hugo Suolahti, K. R. Brotherus, F. Hallio, Tekla Hultin, Kaarlo Koskimies, O. V. Louhivuori, E. Nevanlinna, Jussi Puumala, E. N. Setälä, A. H. Virkkunen.**** (Program for the Founding Meeting...).	Petteri Orpo (“Yhteistyedot”).

Conservative and Christian-Democrat Founding Year Compared to the Year Women Gained the Right to Vote

Party	Founded	Women's Vote	Before or After
Conservatives	1834 (Louth and Webb).	1928 (“Women’s Suffrage Timeline”).	before
CVP	1912 (“Switzerland- Political Parties”).	1971 (“Women’s Suffrage”).	before
Høgre	1884 (“The History of the Norwegian Conservative Party”).	1913 (“Women’s Suffrage”).	before
Det Konservative Folkeparti	1915 (Poulsen)	1915 (“Women’s Suffrage”).	same
National Coalition Party	1918 (“Finland- Political Parties”).	1906 (“Women’s Suffrage”).	after
Kristelig Folkeparti	1933 (“Skoleoppgave Om KrF”).	1913 (“Women’s Suffrage”).	after
Christian Democrat Union	1945 (“Germany– Political Parties”).	1918 (“Women’s Suffrage”).	after
ÖVP	1945 (“Austria – Political Parties”).	1918 (“Women’s Suffrage”).	after
Kristillisdemokraatit	1958 (“Finland - Political parties”).	1906 (“Women’s Suffrage”).	after
Kristian Demokrat	1964 (“Sweden- Political Parties”).	1921 (“Women’s Suffrage”).	after
Nea Dimokratia (ND)	1974 (“Greece - Political parties”).	1952 (Papantoniou).	after
CDS-PP	1974 (“Portugal - Political parties”).	1976 (“Women’s Suffrage”).	after
Christian Democrat Association	1980 (“Netherlands- Political Parties”).	1919 (“Women’s Suffrage”).	after
PP	1989 (“Spain- Political Parties”).	1931 (“Women’s Suffrage”).	after
Christian Union	2000 (“Netherlands- Political Parties”).	1919 (“Women’s Suffrage”).	after
BDP	2008 (“Switzerland - Political Parties”).	1971 (“Women’s Suffrage”).	after
Forza Italia	1994 (Raniolo 440).	1945 (“Women’s Suffrage”).	after
UMP aka the Republicans	2015 (“France- Political Parties”).	1944 (“Women’s Suffrage”).	after

Green Parties and Leaders

Country	Party	Parliamentary Leader	Founders	Party Leaders
Sweden	Miljöpartiet/MP	Jonas Eriksson, Maria Ferm (“Miljöpartiet”).	Per Gahrton, Ragnhild Pohanka (1st party Chairs) (“Årtal, Personer Och Valresultat”).	Gustav Fridolin Isabella Lövin (“Miljöpartiet”).
Finland	VIHR	Krista Mikkonen (“Kansanedustajat”).	Kalle Könkkölä (1st party Chair) (SPT).	Touko Aalto (“Kansanedustajat”).
Germany	Bundnis 90/Die Grünen	Katrin Goering-Eckardt Anton Hofreiter (“Vorstand”).	Herbert Gruhl , August Haubleiter , Helmut Neddermeyer (1st elected spokesperson) (“Von Der GAZ...”).	Annalena Baerbock Robert Habeck (“Bundesvorstand”, Bundnis 90/Die Grünen).
Austria	Die Grünen	Not in Government (“Current Seat Plan of the Federal Council”; “Actual Seating Plan of the National Council”).	Josef Buchner, Herbert Fux, Walter Geyer, Freda Meissner-Blau, Peter Pilz, Karel Smolle, Manfred Srb, Andreas Wabl (“Chronik Der Grünen Alternative...”).	Werner Kogler, Regina Petrik (“Die Grünen”).
Greece	Oikologoi Prasinoi	Giorgos Dimaras (Βιογραφικό). and Yiannis Tsironis (Yannis). (only 2 greens in parliament) (“Οικολόγοι Πράσινοι”).	Unknown	Manolis Vemis, Christina Efthimiadou, Philippos Ganoulis, Maria Petinaki, Takis Nikolakopoulos, Tilemachos Spassidis (“Εκτελεστική Γραμματεία”).
Italy	Federazione dei Verdi	Not in Gov't (“Gruppi Parlamentari XVIII Legislatura...”; “Dove Siedono i Deputati”).	Gianni Mattioli, (1st group leader in House) (Bertossa).	Angelo Bonelli (“Angelo Bonelli”).
Switzerland	Grüne Partei der Schweiz	Balthasar Glättli (“Groupe Parlementaire Des Verts”).	Daniel Brélaz (1st green MP before party had formed) (“Histoire Des Verts En Suisse”).	Regula Rytz (“Présidence”).
France	European Ecology-The Greens	not in political group-as in Administrative meeting of senators not appearing on the list of any group (“Political Groups in the Senate”; “Les Groupes Politiques: XVe Législature”).	Cécile Duflot (1st President of the Party) (“Europe Ecologie-Les Verts Un Nouveau Parti...”).	David Cormand (“Le Bureau Exécutif”).
Netherlands	GroenLinks	Jesse Klaver (House) (“Mensen”). and Tineke Strik (Senate) (“Tineke Strik”).	Paul Rosenmöller (1 st independent candidate) (“GroenLinks (GL)”).	Jesse Klaver (“All Change at GroenLinks as Leader Steps Down”).
Norway	Miljøpartiet De Grønne	Une Bastholm (1 person so no leader) (“Stortingsgruppa”).	Ove Braaten (Tuastad).	Une Bastholm and Arild Hermstad (“Une Bastholm”) (“Arild Hermstad”).
Spain	EQUO	only three ppl in Congress; Juanto López de Uralde, Rosa Martínez, Jorge Luis (“Congreso”).	Juanto López de Uralde, Alejandro Sánchez, Cecilia Carballo (“Historia”).	Carmen Molina, Loïc Alejandro (“Comisión Ejecutiva Federal”).
Portugal	Os Verdes	only 2 in government: José Luís Ferreira, Heloísa Apolónia (“Deputados e Contactos”).	Unknown	Heloísa Apolónia (“Partido Ecologista ‘Os Verdes’...”).

UK	Green Party of England and Wales	Jenny Jones (HoL), Caroline Lucas (HoC) (Only 1 each in govt) (“Our People”).	Tony Whittaker, Lesley Whittaker, Freda Sanders, Michael Benfield (Founders of PEOPLE party which changed name to Green party) (“Green Party in the UK”).	Sian Berry, Jonathan Bartley (“Our People”).
Netherlands	De Groenen	not in government (“Alle Leden”; “Parliamentary Parties”).	Bart Kuiper (1 st leader) (Haar).	Otto ter Haar (“Landelijk Secretariaat”).
Denmark	The Alternative	Josephine Fock (“Josephine Fock”).	Uffe Elbæk, Josephine Fock (“Vores Historie”).	Uffe Elbæk (“Uffe Elbæk”).

Appendix 2

SP Sakari Puisto <sakari.puisto@perussuomalaiset.fi>
Mon 6/4, 11:40 AM



Hi Elizabeth,

Thank you for your message.

The foremost female directors of our party are:
The vice-director of the party is Mrs Laura Huhtasaari.
The director of the parliamentary group is Mrs Leena Meri.
And, also, the party secretary is Mrs Riikka Slunga-Poutsalo

The director of the party, and the 2nd vice-director are male,
as well the original founders of the party.

I hope that this helps but please come back to me if you have any
more questions.

best regards,
Sakari

...

ES Elizabeth Cunningham Stark
Mon 6/4, 10:57 AM



KT Κώστας Τσιάρας <politikografeio@kostastsiaras.gr>
Thu 6/7, 6:31 AM



Dear Mrs Stark,

I am glad to inform you that it is common in the Greek parliamentary/political system (though not necessary) that the Presidents of the Parties serve as Presidents of the Parliamentary Groups of their Parties as well.

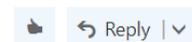
Therefore, the President of the Parliamentary Group of **Nea Dimokratia** is Mr. Kyriakos Mitsotakis, MP for Athens B' constituency.

On behalf of Mr Tsiaras

Nechoriti Bessy

...

ES Elizabeth Cunningham Stark
Mon 6/4, 7:00 PM
politikografeio@kostastsiaras.gr



Hello

My name is Elizabeth Stark and I am a senior studying political science at Bowling Green State University located in Ohio, USA. For my Honors Project, I decided to compare the rates of female leaders within Far-right, Conservative and Green parties in Western Europe. Through my various research, I have learned you are the Secretary of the New Democracy, and you also serve as a member of Parliament for Karditsa. However, I was not able to find a Parliamentary Leader listed for the New Democracy party in the Hellenic Parliament and I was emailing to inquire who the Parliamentary Leader would be. I am sorry for bothering you and I hope to hear from you soon.

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