

LEADERS' GENDER AND STATE CONFLICT

A Dissertation

by

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## ABSTRACT

Though women make up half of the world's population, their numbers lag in top political leadership positions. Though it is common for women to compete for and win political posts, only 38% of the world's countries have had a woman head of state in the last 50 years. In my dissertation, I investigate the heretofore unexamined roots of the following phenomenon: the connection between internal and external security threats and the absence of women in top leadership positions. I shed light on the barriers to the promotion of women. This dissertation analyzes the role of women during periods of negotiations for peace and how they distinguish themselves during those times. Existing literature about women and politics describes the institutional, partisan and political factors which hold women back from top leadership political positions, while ignoring the impact of security issues on their advancement. It is my contention that the inclusion of the security factor is relevant in light of the tensions and fears which rise to the surface during uncertain times, and the stereotypes this atmosphere reinforces. I research how the public views women leaders during periods of international conflict, and security threats. Specifically I investigate the changes in public opinion regarding women's ability to become leaders in times of increased security threats. Finally, to complete my theory and understand dyadic situations, I research the level of support for a military operation when the opposing leader is a woman. How do people feel and what are their ideas on foreign policy when the rival country is led by a woman? To answer this question, I provide new evidence from national sample in United States

This very extensive study will add to our understanding as to how security concerns, today a global problem, influence women's political status. It will enhance our understanding of women's representation and policy outcomes. Of no less importance, for women seeking leadership roles, this dissertation will show them the barriers they face and how to overcome them. A society which seeks equality and fairness must acknowledge and understand its limitations in order to overcome them. This dissertation aims to reveal some of those limitations. Hopefully, this study will contribute to advancing a more egalitarian society.

## DEDICATION

To my parents Merav and Jerry Yarkoney

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## CONTRIBUTORS AND FUNDING SOURCES

### **Contributors**

This work was supervised by a dissertation committee consisting of Professor Geva Professor Koch and Professor Taylor-Robinson of the Department of Political Science and Professor Vedlitz of the Bush School.

All work for the dissertation was completed by the student, under the advisement of Professors Geva, Koch and Taylor-Robinson of the Department of Political Science.

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## NOMENCLATURE

B/CS	Bryan/College Station
HSUS	Humane Society of the United States
P	Pressure
T	Time
TVA	Tennessee Valley Authority
TxDOT	Texas Department of Transportation

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# 1. INTRODUCTION- PAYING A GREATER PRICE — THE APPOINTMENT OF FEMALE FINANCE MINISTERS AND STATE CONFLICTS

The Ministry of Finance is internationally recognized as one of the most prestigious portfolios. It is, especially in parliamentary governments, an important step in becoming a national leader. Yet, 53% of countries around the world have not appointed females to this political post. In this paper, I investigate the factors that perpetuate the exclusion of females from this portfolio worldwide. Specifically, I test the influence of military spending and conflict on the representation of women in this portfolio. My findings suggest that when military expenditure is high, this portfolio remains masculine. On the other hand, a high number of women in the legislature is associated with more opportunities for females in the Finance Ministry.

## 1.1 Introduction

There is evidence to suggest that the Finance Ministry<sup>1</sup> could be a great opportunity for female politicians to advance into key leadership roles. For example, prior to being elected as their country's leader, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf<sup>2</sup>, Indira Gandhi<sup>3</sup>, Chandrika Kumaratunga<sup>4</sup>, and Benazir Bhutto<sup>5</sup> were their country's first female Finance Ministers. Women's representation in top leadership positions has improved in the last

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<sup>1</sup> The formal name of the portfolio varies across countries. In this paper, I refer to A finance minister is an executive or cabinet position in charge of economic policy and financial regulation

<sup>2</sup> Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was the first female Finance Minister and then female President of Liberia. Sirleaf was jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize with Leymah Gbowee of Liberia and Tawakkol Karman of Yemen. The three women were recognized "for their non-violent struggle for the safety of women and for women's rights to full participation in peace-building work." (Samuels 2005)

<sup>3</sup> Indira Gandhi- the first female Finance Minister and then Prime Minister of India.

<sup>4</sup> Chandrika Kumarat- Sri Lanka's first female Finance Minister and President

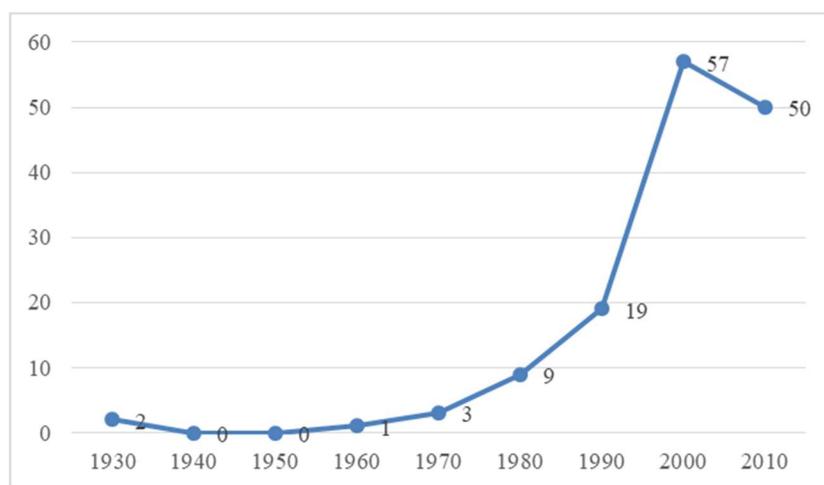
<sup>5</sup> Benazir Bhutto- Pakistan's first female Finance minister and Prime Minister

decades. However, the majority of the world's countries have not nominated a woman to the Finance portfolio. What explains this variation, and why is this post more accessible to women in some places than in others? Political Science research typically focuses on the number of females in government, but not the specific roles they uphold (see M. C. Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2016; Krook and O'Brien 2012). This paper is the first to explore the specific role of the Finance Minister and the conditions that perpetuate the masculinity of the post, or enable the inclusion of females.

## 1.2 Theory and Hypotheses

### 1.2.1 Security Tensions and Women Exclusion from the Finance Ministry Post

The number of female finance ministers has increased significantly over time. In the 1970s, female finance ministers served in only three countries<sup>6</sup>. Figure 1.1 shows that in the subsequent decades, these appointments grew consistently with 57 female finance ministers in 31 countries<sup>7</sup> between 2000 and 2010. Despite this exponential growth in female ministers, in many countries women still have not occupied this positions.



**Figure 1.1: Number of female finance ministers around the world**

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<sup>6</sup> The three countries are: Central African Republic, Liberia, and Ghana

<sup>7</sup> Some of the countries have had more than one female finance minister, e.g. Poland, Venezuela, and Ecuador.

Women's continued exclusion from power can be attributed to conventional expectations in terms of masculinity and the prominence of the portfolio (Barnes and O'Brien 2018). The appointment of the first female Finance Minister remains implausible in countries where this post is considered and perceived as masculine. However, change in women's inclusion to the post can be attributed to the change of women's status and access to power. Indira Gandhi, the first finance minister in India, said: "to be liberated woman must feel free to be herself not in rivalry to man but in the context of her own capacity and her personality." Indeed, by the time that Indira Gandhi was appointed to be India's Finance Minister, more women had gained experience and acknowledgment within the political system of their countries. For example, Eugenia Charles, the first finance minister in Dominica, began campaigning in politics during the 1960s against restrictions on press freedom. She was elected to the House of Assembly in 1970 and became Opposition Leader in 1975. It was only in 1980, 20 years after the beginning of her political career that she was elected to be Dominica's Prime Minister and the Finance minister of her country. This example indicates that the change of women's access to power is a product of a long process of increase in the exposure and involvement of women in the public life.

In addition to the effect of exposure to women politicians over time, I argue that the access of women to this powerful post is also a function of the state of the security in the country. This is especially the case in countries actively engaged in international armed conflict, where a major component of handling the budget is allocating funds to

security needs. For example, in Israel, where the security spending is between 19-23%<sup>8</sup> of the gross state budget, the security budget has been the largest share of the entire budget. During times of war, the Finance Minister decides on the additional allocated budget that the state is going to invest in for the war (Even 2018; Yasiv 2016).

Military involvement in international conflict perpetuates the traditional, masculine view of the ministry. Masculinity is “intimately connected to militarism” (Enloe 1993, 52). Barnes and O’Brien (2018) explain how conflict participation reinforces the masculine features of the Defense ministry. I argue that the same is true for the Finance Ministry. Women are often stereotyped as being soft, compassionate, and compromising leaders, while men are seen as assertive, aggressive, forceful, and thus fully capable of handling crises (Caprioli and Boyer 2001; Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2005; Goldstein 2006; Holman, Merolla, and Zechmeister 2011). Women may be seen as capable of handling the economy in times of peace, however, in times of international or domestic conflicts, the finance minister has a significant role of controlling the war funds. Therefore, decision makers will demand masculine candidates for the finance portfolio. This process is depicted in figure Based on previous research on women and conflict (Koch and Fulton 2011), I expect that the effects of conflict endure during the conflict but also for the immediate period after the onset of the conflict. As such, I hypothesize as follows<sup>9</sup>:

*H1: States involved in a militarized conflict are less likely to appoint female finance ministers during the conflict and in the subsequent year.*

*H2a: States involved in an international military conflict are less likely to appoint female finance ministers during the conflict and in the subsequent year.*

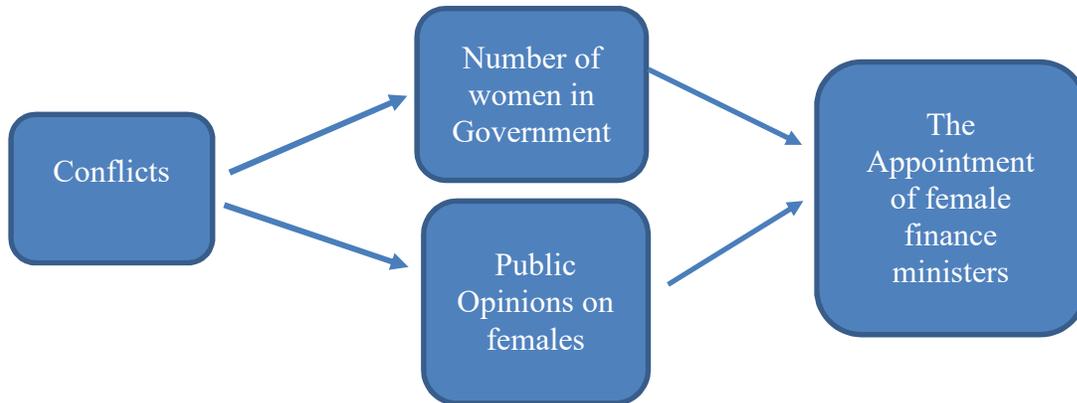
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<sup>8</sup> The security budget has on average been 20% of the national budget in the last two decades.

<sup>9</sup> Most of the variables in the data set are provided as categories.

*H2b: States involved in civil military conflict are less likely to appoint female finance ministers during the conflict and in the subsequent year.*

*H3: When Military expenditures as percent of GDP is high, the likelihood of appointing female finance ministers is lower.*



**Figure 1.2: Hypotheses flow chart**

### 1.3 Data and Variables

To examine the factors that influence the appointment of women finance ministers across space and time, I conduct an analysis of 63 countries (see Appendix A – Countries in the Dataset 1945-2014) in the post-World War II era<sup>10</sup>. The countries that are in the model were selected based on the criteria of having a military and thus having significant military expenditure<sup>11</sup>. The selection of countries was also restricted by data availability. The unit of analysis is the country year. The original dataset contains information gathered from the Database Worldwide Guide to Women in Leadership,

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<sup>10</sup> I start the analysis from the time of the appointment of the first female finance minister.

<sup>11</sup> Significant military expenditure is defined as larger than 1.5% of the total budget.

Correlates of War Project, The World Bank, IPU (Paxton, Hughes, and Painter 2010), and the UCDP dataset (Uppsala Conflict Data Program). I follow Barnes and O'Brien's (2018) procedure and measure the outcome variable as the time until the selection of the first female finance minister in each of these states. This measurement allows a focus on women's initial promotion to this post since it represents the most important and visible departure from the male-dominated status quo. The outcome variable—the time between the end of the World War II and the appointment year of the first female finance minister—is the survival or duration time. The time to first female finance minister is thus modeled using a logistic discrete-time duration model. The first appointment of female to the portfolio is coded as the end point.

### **1.3.1 Independent Variables**

The first, second, and third hypotheses posit that women are excluded from the Finance Ministry when the state is involved in conflicts (Hypothesis 1 and 2) and when the military expenditure is high. I test the first hypothesis with a general measure, *total*, that accounts for participation in a conflict (international/civil conflicts). This measure can take a value of 0 when there is no conflict, 1 when there is one conflict with at least 25 fatalities and 2 if the country is involved in more than one active dispute<sup>12</sup>. Next, I use a covariate capturing whether a country was involved in a fatal dispute in the preceding year. Specifically, I use the variable *Fatalities* from the militarized interstate dispute

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<sup>12</sup> There are several countries in the dataset that have had more than one active conflict. For example, Israel has had several years in which the country was involved in a conflict against the Palestinians and another conflict against the Jordan, Lebanon or Syria.

(MID) data compiled by the Correlates of War (COW) Project to create a binary measure that takes a value of 1 for states involved in an international dispute that led to battle deaths in the previous year and 0 otherwise (Ghosn and Bennett 2003; Palmer et al. 2015). I use an additional variable for civil conflict from the UCDP data that indicates whether the country was involved in a civil war in that year. There are 470 instances of countries' involvement in fatal disputes in the dataset and 474 instances of civil conflicts. To test the third hypothesis, I test how military expenditure changes the nature of this post. Koch and Fulton (2011) argue that defense spending is one of the most significant determinants of a state's overall foreign policy (also see Ihuri 2004; Richardson 1960). Defense spending signals the preferences and perceptions of policymakers (Deger and Sen 1991, p.5). Finally, the importance of defense spending is that this measure captures not only conflict but also potential threat, as states that have ongoing rivalries and security concerns will increase their expenditure. Since this paper focuses on the finance minister, I expect that the recruitment process of this ministry will be sensitive not just to the military spending but also to changes in the expenditure. For example, an increase in the military spending in a current year may indicate that the government is investing in preparations for a war. Thus, I also calculate the annual difference in military expenditures as percent of GDP<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> Derived from GDP per capita.

### 1.3.2 Control Variables

I first control for regime type using the polity2 measure (INSCR). I remove all the country years that scored lower than 5<sup>14</sup>. The reason for not including autocratic country years is that military expenditures can be an instrument to keep autocratic rulers in power (Brauner 2015). Barnes and O'Brien (2018) suggest that leaders investing heavily in military spending in an effort to maintain control are unlikely to look beyond their largely male inner circles when naming defense ministers. I argue that the same is true for finance ministers.

Second, when reviewing the list of states with females in the Finance Ministry, there were a large number of female finance ministers in post-communist countries. I argue that the communist countries were different during their recovery from World War II. Anna Pollert (2003) explains that Western capitalist post-war expansion of women's employment was gradual and based on growth in service employment. This led to the widening sexual segmentation by occupation and sector development, even in countries such as Sweden where female employment rates and political representation are high (Anker, 1998, 185).

In comparison to the West, women in communist societies made inroads into gender-atypical occupations. For example, due to the labor shortage in Czechoslovakia, women who used to work mainly in social welfare jobs accounted for over half of the employees in 10 out of 18 industries by 1966 (Scott, 1976, 2). Another advancement happened in the communist countries because of women's exclusion from the high pay

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<sup>14</sup> The polity measure ranges from -10 to +10, with nondemocratic countries ranging from -10 to 5 and democracies receive scores ranging from 5 to 10.

and status of heavy industry. Women's exclusion from masculine industries, led females to pursue high educational attainment in communist countries. Their only way up was through higher qualifications, a route facilitated by progressive education policies (Einhorn, 1993, 48). In Poland, women shifted toward medicine, specialized in legal areas, business, and economic job sectors, including accountancy (Bialecki and Heyns, 1993: 116). In Czechoslovakia and Poland, women were predominately nurses, teachers, librarians, or office workers. They comprised 40 percent of doctors, 60 percent of medical students, and 90 percent of pharmacology students. Therefore, while there was a gender gap between men and women in communist countries, this gap was much smaller, especially in the post-world war era. Thus, I control for post-communism in my models.

In addition, inclusion of women in top leadership positions and in the Finance Ministry are linked to the status of women in the political sector. Research shows that women's appointment to high-prestige portfolios is often correlated with women's access to political office (Krook and O'Brien 2012). Moreover, women's representation in parliament and as chief executives likely increase both the supply and demand for female finance ministers.

In terms of supply of women, Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson (2005) suggest that the presence of female legislators increases the number of women eligible for cabinet posts in Latin American countries that have presidential systems. Furthermore, in parliamentary systems, ministers are often drawn from the parliament; therefore, having more women in parliament increases their viability, experience, and access to those cabinet positions (Whitford, Wilkins, and Ball 2007).

In terms of the demand for females to hold high prestige posts, research shows that exposure to a female leader is associated with electoral gains for women (Beaman et al. 2009). Thus, if women become part of the political life, there is a decrease in bias in the recruitment process. Therefore, I control for the number of women in parliament in my models. I use data from Paxton and Hughes, IPU data to define % women in the legislature.

Finally, I control for four additional factors that are mentioned in previous works. First, over time, leaders become more likely to appoint a female to chief executive positions (M. Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2009). The model therefore includes mean-centered linear and mean-centered quadratic measures of time (Beck, Katz, and Tucker 1998). Next, I also include controls for a variety of factors that the research in the field suggests affect either conflict behavior and/or defense spending, including: total population, economic growth (real GDP) and parliamentary system<sup>15</sup>. Finally, I included an interaction term between parliamentary system and % women in legislature due to the fact that in parliamentary systems the pool of nominees typically comes primarily from within the legislature, while in presidential systems, the ministers are often non-politicians coming from the private sector.

## 1.4 Results

Table 1.1 shows the discrete time duration analyses estimated regression models of the influence of international conflicts and civil conflict eras on the representation of

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<sup>15</sup> The literature has also suggested that left party governments are more likely to appoint female chief executives, yet since my sample include countries from all over the globe, a “left party in government” variable is not available for many of the countries (40% missing values).

females in the Finance portfolio. The variable total that accounts for participation in one or more conflicts with at least 25 fatalities together with the log of military expenditure and the difference in spending are all lagged by one year because spending outcomes are unlikely to be contemporaneous (Koch and Fulton 2011). Lending initial support to the first, second, and third hypotheses, Table 1.1 shows the coefficient of the participation in a conflict measure and military expenditure is negative and significant suggesting that a militarized conflict and high military expenditure negatively affects the appointment of female finance minister.

**Table 1.1: Logistic discrete time duration model of women appointment to finance minister**

	Estimate	Std. Error	P. Value
Participation in Military Conflict (total)	.159	.141	.038
Military Expenditure (lag)	.640	.134	.028
The Difference in Military Expenditure	.266	.365	.335
%women legislature	.930	.025	.007
Total population	1.009	2.89	.002
Parliamentary system	.325	.522	.055
Post-Communist	.058	.784	.685

Notes: The unit of analysis is the country year. The outcome variable is the initial selection of a female Finance Minister. Number of Observations=1473 country-years.

Next, Table 1.2 shows the effects of different types of conflicts on the appointment of female finance ministers (models 1 and 2). The discrete time duration analyses estimated regression models reveals that international conflict and sizeable military expenditure are associated with fewer appointments of women to the finance portfolio. At the same time, civil disputes while following the same trend did not reach the conventional level of statistical significance. Still, military expenditure remains significant in this model. The situation in post-conflict societies may explain the insignificant findings. Those societies, in many cases, struggle with democratization and are less likely to be societies of equal rights for men and women. Following Caprioli and Boyer (2001) arguments about institutionalized gender inequality, post-conflict situations are often where gender quotas get adopted and there is an increase in representation of women in the legislature. However, in the finance portfolio, one of the most powerful posts in the government women's access to power is still restricted by traditional gender roles. At the same time, with more data coming available, this hypothesis should be investigated again.

**Table 1.2: Logistic discrete time duration model of women appointment to finance minister by different conflict's variables**

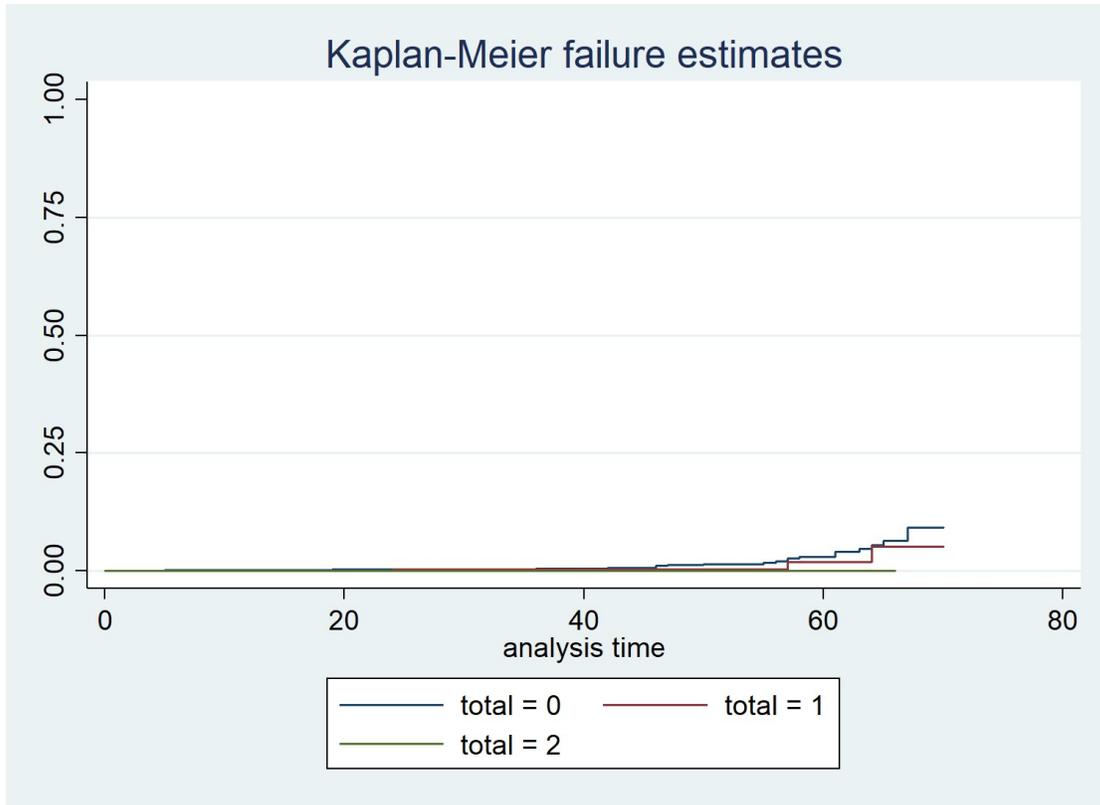
	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>
	<i>Fatal Mid</i>	<i>Civil Conflict</i>
	<i>N=1501</i>	<i>N=1479</i>
Conflict variables	-.004 *** (.009)	-.239 (.414)
Military Expenditure (Lag)	-.374*** (.115)	-.650* (.161)
The Difference in Military Expenditure	-.29 (.429)	-.110 (.160)
%women legislature	.883*** (0.35)	.965*** (.017)
Total population	1.001 (2.27)	1.00 (4.19)
Parliamentary system	.052 (.655)	1.37 (2.22)
Post-Communist	1.0713 (.839)	.217 (.102)
Economic Growth	.908 (.784)	1.001 (1.009)
%women legislature* Parliamentary system	.45** (.12)	.32 (.27)
Time	-.190 (.13)	-.310* (.15)
Time2	.006 (.004)	.008 (.000)
Time 3	-.0004 (0003)	-.0006 (.00)

Notes: The unit of analysis is the country year. The outcome variable is the initial selection of a female Finance Minister.

\*P<0.1      \*\*p<0.05      \*\*\*<0.01

I continue the investigation by examining some conditional effects of the number of women in the legislature on the appointment of female finance ministers. Models 1 and 2 show that when the proportion of women in the legislature increases the number of female appointments increases as well. This connection suggests that the number of women at the legislative level has a significant effect on the supply and demand for female executives. The rest of the control variables were non-significant.

Finally, the literature in political science has described factors and conditions under which conflicts harm the representation of women in politics but also advance them. In this paper, I investigated those factors and their effects on the specific role of Finance Minister assuming that this highly prestigious job is also a stepping stone to the national leadership. Table 1.1 shows the time starting from the end of World War II and the likelihood of appointing women under the condition of participating in a militarized conflict. The findings in the Kaplan-Meier estimate depicted in Figure 1.3 that with more conflicts per year, captured in the variable, total, when it scored 1 or 2, the likelihood of appointing women finance minister is lower. Specifically Figure 1.3 shows that for the highest level of involvement in conflicts of any type that take the value of 2 yielded zero appointments of female finance ministers. At level 1- with only one conflict or 0- no conflict the likelihood of appointing women rises.



**Figure 1.3: The Likelihood of appointing female finance minister per involmnet in conflict**

#### 1.4.1 Robustness Check

Table 1.1 considers the *total* measure that accounts for both civil and international conflicts. Next, Table 1.2 presents separate measures regarding the type of conflicts. Still, these measures do not account for the intensity of the conflict. For example, large-scale wars with thousands of casualties and small-scale military conflicts lasting only a few weeks are both coded in the dataset the same way. To account for this variation, I conduct an additional analysis with the number of war fatalities. Using the PRIO dataset (Gleditsch et al., 2002) on battlefield fatalities for civil and international conflicts on the appointment of female finance ministers, I test an alternative explanation about the

relationship between conflict and female finance ministers. Battlefield deaths may indicate the intensity of the conflict, including the cost of human lives. I expect that the intensity of the conflict will not change the masculinity of the post, but instead the ongoing perception of threat captured in my models. Table 1.3 indicates that battlefield deaths epitomize an insignificant effect on the appointment of female finance ministers. At the same time, military spending and the number of conflicts all remain similarly sized and statistically significant. This finding provides additional support for the models reported herein.

**Table 1.3 Logistic discrete time duration model of women appointment to finance minister by with battlefield deaths variable**

	Estimate	Std. Error	P. Value
Participation in Military Conflict (total)	-.105	.101	.019
Military Expenditure (lag)	-.438	.18	.044
The Difference in Military Expenditure	8.35	26.02	.496
%women legislature	.872	.051	.002
Total population	1.81	.10	.019
Parliamentary system	.30	.522	.075
Post-Communist	.018	.784	.885
Battlefield deaths	1.007	.029	.980

Notes: The unit of analysis is the country year. The outcome variable is the initial selection of a female Finance Minister. Number of Observations=1244 country years.

## 1.5 Discussion

The Finance/Economic portfolio is considered an important political role and a significant step toward national leadership. Consequently, more than ten national leaders in the last decade were finance ministers before they were elected as prime ministers. Additionally, though this post is accessible to women in some countries, it is still mostly occupied by men. The appointment of female finance ministers has important

implications for women's political careers and is necessary to take on other high-profile public posts. Preliminary analysis further indicates that the appointment of a female Chief Executive increases the likelihood of women's ascension into other prestigious portfolios, including foreign affairs (Barnes and O'Brien 2018). Furthermore, appointing women to these highly prestigious roles increases the exposure of female success. In turn, this progression has societal implications on the inclusion of women in top leadership positions. Therefore, female inclusion in this ministry may reduce gender bias.

This paper discloses that the position of the Finance Minister is a masculine post occupied largely by males. Furthermore, conflict intensifies the exclusion of females from this post. The percentage of female legislators also has a positive effect on the appointment of women to the finance portfolio. This finding supports previous research affirming that a larger pool of women, especially in parliamentary systems, has a positive effect on the appointment of women to cabinet positions. The paper suggests that in times of conflict and high military expenditure, the state's money box is not for women to keep.

Future research should test the hypotheses suggested in this paper with more conflict data. While the number of female finance ministers continues to grow, accessing more conflict data may help explain additional theoretical connections. Further research should examine the relationship between women in the legislature and presidential systems as a potentially influential factor regarding the appointment of other female chief executives. Women in the legislature in presidential systems are not the main source of an increase in female ministers. However, it's likely that more women in the legislature will prompt the governing party selectorate to view females as viable finance ministers.

Nevertheless, more females occupying imperative government positions, such as finance ministers, inspire society to recognize women in that post as reasonable and qualified.

## 2. CONTEXTUAL PREFERENCES: THE EFFECT OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS ON PUBLIC PREFERENCES FOR SEX AND TRAITS IN NATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Why are women, who represent half of the globe's population, absent in top leadership positions? Social scientists have provided explanations about the roots of the limited presence of women in government including the prejudiced public opinion in favor of men. Yet, when explaining this prejudice, most of the research has omitted the context under which preferences for leaders are created. In this paper, I demonstrate the effects of the security context on females' limited representation. Using an experiment, I explore the linkage between the stage of international conflict (escalation versus negotiation), individuals' gendered attitudes, and their subsequent perceptions about their leader's sex and gendered traits. The results reported herein show that the biases against women are emphasized in times of escalation of the international conflict, and thus increase preferences for male leaders over their female counterparts. At the same time, when individuals learned about negotiation for peace their responses resulted in gender neutrality.

### 2.1 Introduction

Why are women, who represent half of the globe's population, absent in top leadership positions? In terms of a national leader's position, research demonstrates that public opinion is prejudiced in favor of males (E. R. Brown, Diekmann, and Schneider 2011; DeGroot 2001; Eagly and Carli 2003; Eagly and Karau 2002; Johnson et al. 2008). When explaining this prejudice, the literature in political science has failed to consider the context under which preferences for leaders are created. For example, research shows

that political factors such as party selectorate barriers and national leader's party identification affect representation of females in the government<sup>16</sup> (Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2005; Krook and O'Brien 2012).

This paper addresses how international conflicts affect voters' preferences regarding their national leader's sex and traits. Specifically, I demonstrate the effects of specific context of international conflicts on females' limited representation. Using an experiment, I show that times of escalation in violence associated with the onset of international conflicts encourage superior evaluations of male candidates and masculine traits. Meanwhile, times of resolution and negotiation for peace results in neutrality and support for female leadership and feminine traits.

## **2.2 Literature Review**

### **2.2.1 The Influence of Gendered Attitudes and Trait Theory on Leadership Preferences**

Political science and social psychology literature offers several explanations for public leadership preferences, including gendered attitudes and trait theory. The first explanation emphasizes gender as an important factor in public preferences for a leader (Eagly and Karau 2002; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a, 1993b). For instance, in one national sample, the majority of individuals in the United States exhibited a baseline preference for a male over a female political candidate (Dolan 2010). Role Congruity

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<sup>16</sup> Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson (2005) found that presidents from leftist parties appoint more women. Increases in the percentage of women in the legislature and higher human development correlate with more women in the cabinet. Intense partisan competition increases the likelihood that a cabinet will contain a woman. Women are more likely to receive high-prestige cabinet posts from leftist presidents and when the percentage of women in the legislature increases.

Theory has explained the preferences for male over female leaders (Eagly and Karau 2002). This theory asserts that support for leaders originates in the alignment of the desired qualities of the leader role with the characteristics that are stereotypically ascribed to the candidate (E. R. Brown, Diekmann, and Schneider 2011, 1). According to this theory, most of the traits and qualities that make up a respected leader are stereotypically attributed to male leaders.

The second explanation emphasizes traits as an important factor in shaping preferences for a leader. Trait theory suggests that leadership depends on the personal qualities of the leader (Judge et al. 2002). A cross-national research<sup>17</sup> study demonstrated that references to traits (e.g. stereotypical descriptions of male and female characteristics) outnumbered references to political attributes, such as policy stance and party identification (Pancer, Brown, and Barr 1999). The research identified charisma, competency, and integrity as the central image dimensions in political psychology (Pancer, Brown, and Barr 1999). Correspondingly, a meta-analysis revealed these five consistent personality traits as most central in leadership evaluations: neuroticism; extraversion; openness to experience; agreeableness, and conscientiousness (Judge et al. 2002; McCrae and John 1992).

Women are perceived as more compassionate, empathetic, and susceptible to compromise. On the other hand, men are seen as assertive, more active, and self-confident—exemplifying males as stronger leaders (Burrell 1994; Gordon 2001; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Leeper 1991; Matland and King 2002; Rosenwasser and Dean

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<sup>17</sup> This research was conducted in the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States with undergraduate participants. For more details, see Pancer, Brown, and Barr (1999).

1989). The trait stereotypes in place continually challenge women running for political office, as masculine traits are highly valued in the political arena (Fox and Oxley 2003; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a).

### **2.2.2 The Influence of International Conflict on Leadership Preferences**

How does conflict affect public preferences for leadership characteristics? I argue that the historical association between males and power during conflict correlates to the reason why voters gravitate toward males and masculinity during times of conflict. The general explanation for public preferences does not fully account for changes and crises in the country. Yet, crises and conflict trigger different preferences for leadership. International conflicts are characterized as a major change in politics and in voters' lives and may even present the public with existential threat (Boin, Stern, and Sundelius 2016). Such an occurrence may change voters' preferences regarding the person who has the largest influence on the situation. In this paper, I focus on the ways international conflicts alter voters' preferences for their national leader.

To better understand the differences between a time of war and a time of peace in terms of preferences, I look at two different stages of conflict: the onset of the conflict when the atmosphere is one of threat and escalating violence, and the time of resolution when negotiation is on the agenda. Using an experiment, I examine voters' preferences for the *sex* of the leader and his/her *traits* in the context of international conflicts. I hypothesize a higher support for male leaders and masculine traits in times of conflict onset and neutral preferences in times of peace resolution.

In choosing to parse out the effect of different stages of international conflicts on preferences for a leader's sex and traits, this paper uncovers the thought process of voters

in times of international conflicts and their preferences for a leader. This paper departs from the international relations (IR) and gender literature by looking at conflict as an independent variable instead of the consequence of a women's status.<sup>18</sup> The theoretical connections between conflict as an independent variable and public preferences of a leader's sex and traits yield insight into the consequences of international conflicts on domestic factors such as the election of female national leaders. Furthermore, one of the most important factors in the research of international conflicts is what ends those conflicts. A possible implication of this research is that if women are associated with change and different qualities, as I show later in this article, that may suggest that females are key actors in moving from protracted conflict to negotiation for peace. Finally, other scholars have recognized the importance of context as a factor that affects preferences (Brown, Diekmann, and Schneider 2011; Kathleen Dolan 2010; Holman, Merolla, and Zechmeister 2016), yet this line of research has not focused on the comparison of different contexts and, moreover, on contexts of negotiation for peace. Thus, this study extends this line of research.

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<sup>18</sup> Most of the IR theory about conflicts and gender focuses on how women in government positions influence conflict behavior (Fite, Genest, and Wilcox 1990; McGlen and Sarkees 1993; Shapiro and Mahajan 1986) or defense spending (M. T. Koch and Fulton 2011a). Alternatively, research in IR has connected women's status and war onset (Caprioli 2000; Caprioli and Boyer 2001; Hudson et al. 2008). Most of the research has looked at the conflict as the consequence of female status, rather than the cause of it.

## **2.3 Theory and Hypotheses**

### **2.3.1 Sex and Trait Preferences**

In order to discuss questions regarding gendered attitudes and perceptions, it is necessary to distinguish “sex” from “gender.” Sex refers to biological differences between women and men, and gender refers to the social meanings given to those differences, which may vary both cross-culturally and over time. In most places, norms of gender have traditionally prescribed distinct roles in society for the two sexes: men have been given primary responsibility for affairs in the public sphere, like politics and the economy, while women have been assigned a central position in the private sphere, namely the home and the family (Jalalzai and Krook 2010, 6). This paper interprets the differences between males and females and how these interpretations affect voters’ preferences and behavior. The remainder of this section discusses whether women receive prejudiced evaluations as potential leaders and the consistent public preference for male leaders.

The history of political leadership is characterized by male dominance. Thomas Carlyle commented that “the history of the world was the biography of great men” (Carlyle 1907, 18). Indeed, most political leaders have been men. Role congruity theory and social role theory explain the male dominance in politics as resulting from societal attitudes still being prejudiced against women. Prejudice exists through group stereotypes. In this case, women belong to the private sphere, portraying incongruity in regard to the attributes that are allegedly required for political success. When a stereotyped group member is placed in an incongruent social role, the inconsistency

lowers the evaluation of the group member as a potential occupant of the role (Eagly and Karau 2002; Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky 1992).

Consequently, social beliefs regarding the roles of males and females conform to social expectations that apply to persons occupying a certain social position. For example, Eagly (1987) stated that “these beliefs are more than beliefs about the attributes of women and men. Many of these expectations are normative in the sense that they describe qualities or behavioral tendencies believed to be desirable for each sex” (p. 13). In other words, it is easier to think of a woman as a school teacher and a man as a commander in the military than vice versa. Therefore, the norms and beliefs about social roles affect the way voters perceive political figures. Most notably, male and female candidates are often attributed to certain characteristics or stereotypes that are consistent with the traditional roles of men and women. Social role theory suggests that the majority of these beliefs pertain to communal and agentic traits (Eagly 1987). Women are ascribed more communal qualities, and are primarily aligned with a concern for the welfare of other people. For example, communal qualities demonstrate an affectionate, helpful, kind, sympathetic, interpersonally sensitive, nurturing, and gentle person. In contrast, men are typically attributed agentic qualities, suggesting an assertive, controlling, and confident personality. In other words, they may be aggressive, ambitious, dominant, forceful, independent, self-sufficient, self-confident, and prone to act as a leader (Bauer 2015; Dolan 2010; Eagly and Karau 2002, 574; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a, 1993b; J. W. Koch 2000).

The conceptions that people have about the social roles of men and women and their stereotypes allow them to make sense of others because those notions offer easy

access to a wealth of information about an unknown figure (Bodenhausen and Macrae 1998; Brewer 1988; Fiske and Neuberg 1990; Kunda 1999; Stapel and Koomen 2001; Van den Bos and Stapel 2008). Furthermore, stereotypes create shortcuts to faster predictions. Voters use stereotypes to obtain a quick image of political candidates, thus predicting their strengths and weaknesses. According to Lammers, Gordijn, and Otten (2009), “because men are seen as competitive and assertive and women as communal and pro-social, people expect male politicians to be better at competitive issues in which the primary aim is to defeat the competition (e.g., the economy, the military, big business), while people expect female politicians to be better in communal issues, in which the primary aim is to help people (e.g., health care, education)” (p. 187; see also Alexander and Andersen 1993; C. Brown 1994; Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2005; Matland 1994; McDermott 1998). Fulton (2014) suggests that citizens will reference party cues to structure their alternatives, but if there is a lack of partisan attachment, American voters use candidate gender and character-valence<sup>19</sup> as a voting heuristic. In particular, male independent voters are more supportive of male candidates and more averse to female candidates. In contrast, female independent voters do not exhibit a similar affinity/aversion to candidates based on sex.

Masculine traits are commonly associated with positions of power. Consequently, elections of national leaders highlight prejudice against women. Muller (1986) found that voters were less willing to back women for the presidency and vice presidency because they were perceived as less competent to handle traditional “male” issues (war, economy,

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<sup>19</sup> Fulton uses the term “valance” to refer to non-policy characteristics—such as competence and integrity—that voters intrinsically value in their elected officials.

etc.). However, some of the literature indicates that attitudes can change as people are exposed to more women in positions of power (Taylor-Robinson et al. 2015). According to this explanation, with more women in leadership positions, people become more accustomed to seeing and hearing about female leaders, which in turn reduces stereotypes against females. Alternatively, Matland (1994) suggested that even as women achieve more political gains and are viewed as equal to men in their ability to hold leadership positions in government, women will still be viewed as having an advantage only in stereotypically feminine policy domains.

Women have distinct and unique advantages within the political field. Yet, the plight of women politicians is greatly hindered by the perception of their peers. Taylor-Robinson et al. (2015) suggested that women are evaluated as superior in stereotypically feminine policy domains. Conversely, in non-traditional posts, or male-dominant positions, research suggests that stereotypical beliefs about women can be undermined in local environments, where women frequently occupy counter-stereotypical leadership roles. However, the reduction in stereotypical beliefs occurs mostly among women and less with men (Dasgupta and Asgari 2004).

Additionally, it is possible that prejudiced evaluations of women are diminishing due to changes in leadership style. Managerial literature indicates that today, leaders share power and establish many collaborative relationships, whereas in the past, leaders based their authority mainly on their access to political, economic, or military power (Lipman-Blumen 1996). Therefore, contemporary views of good leadership encourages teamwork and collaboration and emphasizes the ability to empower, support, and engage workers. This leadership style, often referred to as transformational leadership, may be

especially advantageous for women because it encompasses behaviors that are consistent with the female gender role demand for supportive, considerate behaviors (Eagly and Carlie 2003).

It is clear that there is a consistent preference for males as leaders due to the reinforcement of social roles as they pertain to sex. Furthermore, each of the sexes is seen as stereotypically associated with certain traits that in turn hinder them in gaining public support. Yet, as women attain more power and political gains, it is also possible that the feminine leadership style might be preferred in some contexts. Until recently, an individual's traits were perceived to be cemented in gender stereotypes, neglecting the idea that there could be a male with either masculine or feminine traits and a female with either masculine or feminine traits. In addition, it is plausible that female leaders adopt masculine behavior to conform to the agentic norms. Therefore, women who want to play by the agentic, masculine rules may be more hawkish than men leaders (Sheppard 1992; Koch and Fulton).

However, Kawakami et al. (2000) show that female leaders face a paradox: if they emulate a masculine leadership style, their male subordinates will dislike them. If they adopt a stereotypically warm and nurturing feminine style, they will be liked but not respected (p.49). Another study finds that male leaders were rated as less effective when they expressed emotions like sadness (Lweis 2000). Yet, the effect of masculine/feminine traits in the contexts of war and peace have not yet tested. Using an experimental design, I test this possible interaction between sex, traits and the stage of the conflict.

Thus:

*H1: Men will be evaluated as superior to women as presidential candidates.*

*H2: Both male and female who exhibit masculine traits will be favorable over the feminine traits.*

### **2.3.2 Contextual Preferences**

History is littered with examples of individuals who take charge of a war, leading their people to safety, victory, or prosperity. The majority of renowned military and national leaders have been men, such as Alexander the Great, Nelson, Patton, Napoleon, Churchill, and Eisenhower. Psychological studies show that, on average, males are more assertive, self-confident, and risk-taking (Mezulis et al. 2004). Hence, men are expected to be quicker to seize the initiative in newly formed groups, and they do; in fact, in mixed sex groups, men emerge as leaders more often (Aries 1976). However, in other contexts, females have an advantage as a leader. For example, females possess better verbal memory and communication skills. Therefore, they should be more likely to emerge as leaders in situations in which these skills are important (Van Vugt 2006, 364), such as negotiations. What explains the consistent preference for men as leaders and what qualifies a person as a successful candidate?

Historically, leadership has been characterized as a masculine enterprise, and many theories of leadership have focused on the desirability of stereotypically masculine characteristics in leaders (e.g., Miner 1993). It has been argued that the effectiveness of leader behaviors depends on contextual variables, such as the nature of the task and the characteristics of the followers (Chemers 1997). I argue that the context of international conflicts is one of the sources of consistent preferences for males and masculine traits in

national leadership. The reason why conflict has an influence on public preferences for a male leader is that international conflicts reinforce gendered attitudes and trigger stereotypes.<sup>20</sup>

The root of preferences for males over females in top leadership positions traces back to the fact that the tradition of war is a tradition of masculinity (Goldstein 2006). Historically, men held the primary position to give orders and execute them in times of war. Consequently, the context of conflict reinforces the stereotype of men's trustworthiness as potential leaders. Lawless (2004) revealed that under threats to national security, "citizens prefer 'masculine' traits and characteristics in their leaders and believe that men are more likely than women to possess these qualities" (p. 487). Golan (1997) described the Israeli conflict as a situation that perpetuates social images of male superiority whereas "the male is our potential defender; he may be called upon to make the ultimate sacrifice for our benefit and safety; he has a special, critical role to play in and for our society" (p.583). With this war role play, an occurrence of conflict amplifies males' domination over females. Thus, even if conflict is just part of the history for a nation, it may have longstanding consequences regarding stereotypes of male competency.

Research also shows that war and military dominance provide military men with an easy path toward successful political leadership. Golan (1997) demonstrated that the

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<sup>20</sup> In places where protracted conflict takes place, we see an overarching support for masculine leadership and only a few female national leaders. For instance, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been ongoing for 68 years with only one elected female leader out of 34 on the Israeli side. Likewise, the Cyprus conflict, dating back to at least the end of the 19th century, has seen no elected female leaders, while the Indo-Pakistan conflict has seen two female Prime Ministers come to power, one from each side, out of 18 prime ministers on each side.

presumed superior qualities developed in the course of a military career, coupled with the status accorded the professional soldier in a country at war, provide privileged positions for the ex-military man upon his return to civilian life—advantages unavailable to women.<sup>21</sup> The experience of chief of staff in the battlefield makes the person more suitable in the eyes of the public to hold leadership positions over a distinguished female candidate.

So how would one explain the election of women in a country that has gone through an international conflict, such as Golda Meir, who was elected prime minister in 1969 in Israel, or the former president of South Korea, Park Geun-hye? The exposure theory predicts that as females move up the political ladder, the public loses their stereotypical preference for males in top leadership roles. However, for many of the historical examples, the exposure hypothesis is not sufficient, as females in many countries have yet to gain political positions or their presence has been very limited (Jalalzai and Krook 2010). For instance, when Golda Meir was elected, the number of women in parliament was as low as 7% and zero women chief executives (Women in Israel: In Politics & Public Life n.d.). Hence, an alternative explanation is that female candidates are not always seen as stereotypical women; additionally, female candidates will try to avoid discussions regarding “female matters” and choose to highlight their

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<sup>21</sup> In the professional army in Israel, women may not rise above a certain rank, and more importantly, women cannot hold a field command, which is the prerequisite for advancement to all but one of the highest positions in the army (Golan 1997). This is particularly interesting in light of changes currently being made in the U.S. military regarding expanding women’s access to combat positions, and given that two women recently passed the training for the prestigious Army Ranger badge. Those women, and the general topic of the Obama government mandating that all branches of the military either expand opportunities for women or submit justifications for why women will still be kept out of certain jobs in a particular branch of the military, will provide an important background context for experiments in the near future in the U.S.—particularly at a place like Texas A&M University where students may be more likely aware of the changes being made in the military.

strength in masculine policy areas (Koch and Fulton 2011). Johnson et al. (2008) found that evaluations of female leaders<sup>22</sup> as effective leaders were higher when those women presented strength, a quality that is not associated with feminine traits. For example, when Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government won the Falklands War and she demonstrated firmness and strength, public opinion in favor of her leadership and her personal rating increased, resulting in her reelection in 1983 (Norpoth 1987).

I propose a third explanation regarding preferences for certain leadership characteristics, which I call contextual preferences. Preferences are constructed by stereotypical views of a leader's characteristics, such as sex and traits. However, I propose that voters' preferences for a national leader are also affected by the specific context and challenges that face the nation. For example, in a state of war, with the trigger of fear and existential threat, preferences will be for males, who traditionally are perceived as more competent in such situations compared to a relatively more peaceful situation.

I demonstrate how contextual preferences are created using international conflicts, though this argument can be applied to other contexts as well, such as economic recessions, internal security concerns, etc<sup>23</sup>. Specifically, I compare two stages of international conflicts<sup>24</sup>: the onset of the conflict when violence and threats are escalating

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<sup>22</sup> The study focused on the general term of "leader" with no specification of political leaders

<sup>23</sup> A different crisis, for example, educational crisis when percentage of high school graduate decrease dramatically, may trigger different preferences. Since education is a feminine realm, it may be the case that voters' preferences will be for a female candidate and feminine traits.

<sup>24</sup> That is not to say that the two stages in this paper are the only stages of war. In fact, the international relation theory describes three main stages of conflict: (1) the emergence, outbreak, or manifestation of the conflict; (2) the escalation of the conflict; and (3) the de-escalation and settlement of the conflict (Kriesberg 2007). Other scholars have recently discussed another important stage of conflict, namely reconciliation (Gibson 2006).

and the negotiation for peace when the atmosphere is one of reconciliation. I focus on these two stages because they represent different values that in turn necessitate different requirements from leadership.

A previous approach by Falk and Kenski (2006) tested support for women as presidents in times of war and terrorism, claiming that current events, extant stereotypes, and perceptions of women's and men's strengths affected preferences. A national survey given in the United States following September 11 found that issue saliency affects presidential gender preference above and beyond demographic and party identification variables. Respondents were more likely to say that a male president would do a better job at handling national issues when facing reports of terrorism, homeland security, and/or U.S. involvement in Iraq (see also Holman, Merolla, and Zechmeister 2011).

Falk and Kenski (2006) took into account the context under which preferences are created, but they employed a correlational design. There was no evidence of a causal relationship, despite a correlation between the perceived importance of a stereotypical masculine policy and a bias against female politicians (Lammers, Gordijn, and Otten 2009). Perhaps those who value foreign affairs also hold more conservative values or a different common denominator. Therefore, it is important to consider a different methodology to test the effect of context on the bias toward male over female candidates. I argue that an experimental design, in which we manipulate rather than measure the political context and then measure voter preference for male versus female candidates, is superior for parsing out causality. According to McDermott (2002), "experiments are designed primarily to test hypotheses deduced from a given theory. Experimental methodology allows researchers to break down complex relationships and explore

particular theoretical links in the presence or absence of other factors” (p.339). Using an experiment in this project reveals how context of conflict affect evaluations of a presidential candidate especially with the specific design that compares two different stages and therefore highlights contexts in which male may be preferred versus situations in which female may be preferred (p.32). Hence:

*H3: In the onset of conflicts, male candidates will be evaluated as superior to female candidates.*

*H4: In the negotiation for peace, men and women will be evaluated as equal.*

*H5: In the onset of conflict, masculine traits will be evaluated as superior to feminine traits.*

*H6: In the negotiation for peace, feminine traits will be evaluated as superior to masculine traits.*

## **2.4 Experimental Design**

The experiment has a 2x2x3 between groups factorial design (see Table 2.1) of experimental treatments. The three factors are (1) the stage of the conflict—onset versus negation for peace; (2) the sex of the presidential candidate; and (3) the traits of the candidate (i.e., masculine vs. feminine traits or control). The experiment was conducted over the web using the DecTracer computer platform. Upon accessing the site, participants were randomly assigned to one of 12 experimental treatments.

**Table 2.1: Experimental Design**

	Crisis Onset			Negotiation for Peace		
	Traits			Traits		
Male candidate	1. Male candidate with masculine traits	2. Male candidate with feminine traits	3. Male candidate control	7. Male candidate with masculine traits	8. Male candidate with feminine traits	9. Male candidate control
Female candidate	4. Female candidate with masculine traits	5. Female candidate with feminine traits	6. Female candidate control	10. Female candidate with masculine traits	11. Female candidate with feminine traits	12. Female candidate control

The experiment was completed by 496 subjects who were all undergraduate students at Texas A&M University (49% male and 51% female). After reading an instruction page explaining the process of the experiment, participants were introduced to the substance of the experiment. They were asked to “read a fictional scenario about an escalation/negotiation to end an international crisis that may influence U.S. citizens.” Specific instructions included the following: “This event takes place in the future—in 2020. The situation is not about a specific country in the news today. Some parts of the description may seem important to you; other parts may seem unimportant. *You will then read about a presidential candidate and his/her campaign and will be asked to evaluate him/her.*” Next, respondents learned about presidential candidates that varied in sex and

traits. Building on Bauer's (2015) work<sup>25</sup>, I used descriptions of candidates with names and factors that highlighted the candidate's sex. In addition, I varied the traits<sup>26</sup> to assess the differences between males with masculine and agentic traits and males with feminine and communal traits, as well as females with masculine and agentic versus feminine communal traits. In the trait condition, I also included a control group in which there was no mention of specific traits. In order to choose which traits to highlight, I conducted a pilot test with 68 undergraduate participants prior to running the experiment. The purpose of the pilot was to rate a list of traits (10 central traits mentioned across the literature) and to verify that participants understood the meaning of the traits. For example, I found that participants did not fully understand the meaning of the word "dovish." The traits that were rated as most significant in the masculine list were the following: bold, assertive, courageous, vigorous, and overconfident. In the feminine list, the most significant traits were compassionate, sensitive, nurturing, communal, and soft.

After reading about a particular presidential candidate, participants answered a survey. The survey began with three questions that provided diverse measures of the dependent variables, including two questions to assess the general competence of the candidate, two questions to assess support for the candidate's foreign policy agenda, and one question about the likelihood to support the candidate in the election of 2020.<sup>27</sup> Next, to gauge perceptions of the traits, participants were asked to rate certain traits that were

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<sup>25</sup> Building on Bauer's (2015) work has an advantage as this work employed pilot tests for the names of the candidate and the reliability of the text.

<sup>26</sup> For the specific traits see Appendix B - Experiment Materials of Contextual Preferences

<sup>27</sup> The reason why the year 2020 was used is because it is a real election year and I wanted to avoid any association with the upcoming 2016 election so that participants would focus on the hypothetical candidate and not a real candidate from the upcoming election.

not covered in the candidate description but were associated with masculinity and femininity. The survey then had a manipulation check question in which the respondent was asked the sex of the candidate whose description he/she read. Participants who incorrectly answered the manipulation check were not included in the study. I also asked a series of background questions about the participant's sex, age, major field of study, and political identification. The survey ended with a nine-question battery developed by Brown and Gladstone (2012) to assess gender role attitudes. Several questions explored attitudes about women's roles in work and in society, as well as attitudes about relationships.

#### **2.4.1 External Validity**

Druckman and Kam (2009) investigate the extent to which using students as experimental participants creates problems for causal inference. They find that student subjects do not intrinsically pose a problem for a study's external validity. Mintz, Redd, and Vedlits (2006) also show that "When the real-world "equivalent" of a student sample is the "public" rather than the leader or the elite, then, with an appropriate research design, student experiments may actually tell us a great deal about the behavior of the public." (p.769).

### **2.5 Results**

#### **2.5.1 Main Effects of Sex and Gendered Traits on General Evaluation of the Candidate Across Different Conflict Stages**

In order to test the first hypothesis, the effect of sex of the candidate on his/her evaluations and willing to vote for them, I test the effects of the three treatments on the

main DVs. Table 2.2 summarizes the overall effects of sex, traits, and the stage of conflict on the main dependent variables and the general evaluations of the candidate. Table 2.2 presents mean evaluations for candidates on our five DVs that asked subjects to evaluate the candidate's competence and how likely he/she is to support him/her. They were asked for their opinion: (1) how competent do you think the candidate is; (2) how supportive are you of the candidate's foreign policy agenda; (3) how likely are you to vote for the candidate in the 2020 election; (4) how successful do you believe the candidate will be in handling the international crisis, and (5) how successful do you think the candidate will be in winning the war/reaching a peace agreement (this question varied depend on whether the subject was in the onset or in the resolution treatment). Table 2.2 provides the mean evaluation for each measure, allowing comparisons based on the sex of the candidate, the traits of the candidate (masculine or feminine), and the stage of the conflict (whether the stage was in the onset or the resolution). A higher score is more favorable, and in all of the questions, I used an 11-point scale from 0-10.

The main effects of sex of the candidate on the 5 DVs, depicted in Figure 2.1, were statistically significant in favor of the male candidate in the competency, success in handling the crisis, and vote for the candidate in 2020 measures. In other words, participants who read about a male candidate rated him as more competent, were more willing to vote for him and thought of him as successful in handling the crisis in comparison to participants in the female candidate's treatment. The higher evaluations are measured across the stage of the conflict and the traits' treatment. These findings suggest that the sex of the candidate is a social category that significantly affects attitudes about the political candidate and on which voters based their decisions. There was no

advantage for the female candidate in any of the five measures in comparison to her male counterpart.

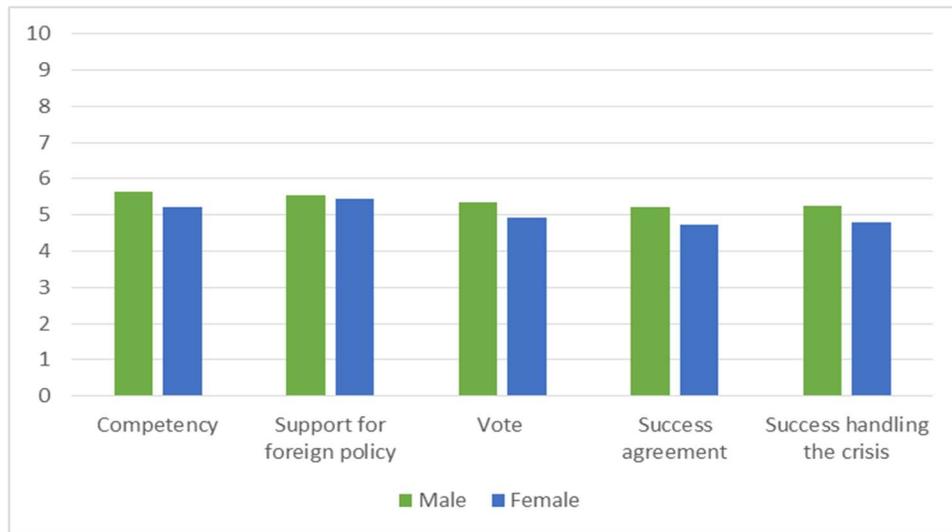
**Table 2.2: General Evaluations of Candidates**

	Candidate	Mean	Sig	Traits	Mean	Sig	Conflict Stages	Mean	Sig
<b>Competency</b>	Man	5.63	0.02	Masculine	5.45	0.08	Onset	5.4	0.783
	Woman	5.22		Feminine	4.51		Negotiation	5.45	
<b>Support for foreign policy agenda</b>	Man	5.53	0.619	Masculine	5.82	0.023	Onset	5.5	0.812
	Woman	5.44		Feminine	5.33		Negotiation	5.46	
<b>Vote for the candidate in 2020</b>	Man	5.56	0.032	Masculine	5.32	0.755	Onset	5.04	0.329
	Woman	4.92		Feminine	5.24		Negotiation	5.24	
<b>Success in handling the crisis</b>	Man	5.25	0.013	Masculine	5.39	0.018	Onset	6.36	0.033
	Woman	4.79		Feminine	4.82		Negotiation	5.11	
<b>Success in winning the war/reaching an agreement</b>	Man	5.2	0.33	Masculine	5.17	0.255	Onset	4.96	0.877
	Woman	4.74		Feminine	4.9		Negotiation	4.99	

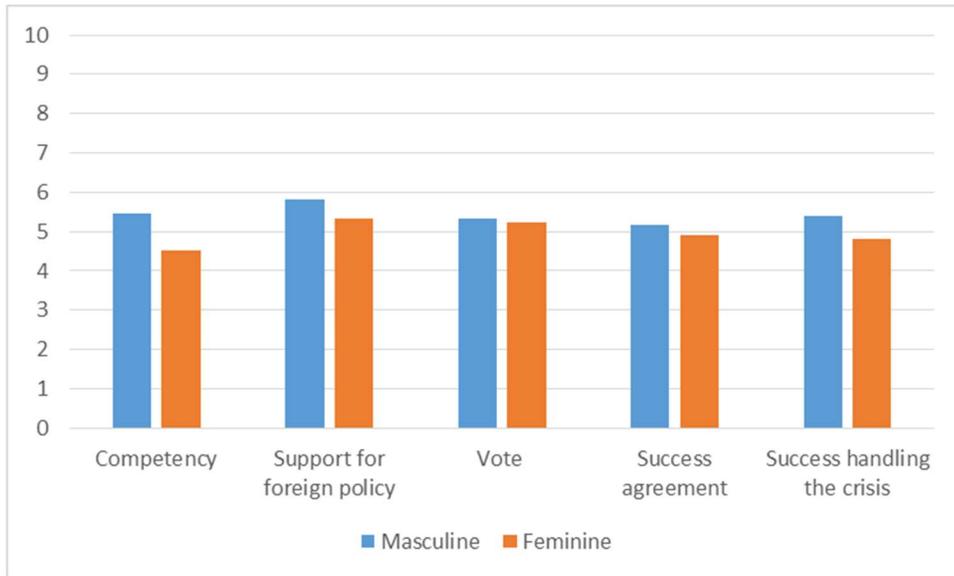
Answer options range from 0- 10 with 0 being the lowest evaluation and 10 be highest evaluation, the higher the evaluation the more favorable. N = 496

The primary effect of masculine traits of the candidates on the 5 DVs depicted in Figure 2.2 were statistically significant for “competency,” “support for foreign policy” and “success in handling the crisis.” The results imply that the competency of political

candidates is based on their gendered traits, and that masculine traits are perceived as superior to feminine traits. In the measure of success in handling the crisis, masculine traits were again perceived as more suitable than the feminine traits. These findings are consistent with previous research that contend that in times of crisis, most people desire male leaders with masculine traits.



**Figure 2.1: Main effects of sex of the candidate on 5 DVs**



**Figure 2.2: Main effects of traits (masculine/feminine) on 5 DVs**

Next, in order to test whether the subjects evaluated the candidates based on gender stereotypes and whether the sex of the candidate interacted with the traits, I chose six traits and asked the participants to evaluate the candidate on each of them. Rating the traits was on a scale of 0-10. In this example, 0 represented the perception that the trait is most masculine trait, and 10 that the trait is feminine. Two of the traits were simply the terms, “masculine” and “feminine”. The other four were traits associated with both gender and crisis. The traits were: dovish (with an explanation of the meaning of the trait), determined, pragmatic, and idealist. Having two traits associated with masculinity and firmness (determined and pragmatic) and two associated with femininity and reconciliation (dovish and idealist) allowed me to parse out the effects of the stage of the conflict on individuals’ preferences in terms of their desired leader’s characteristics.

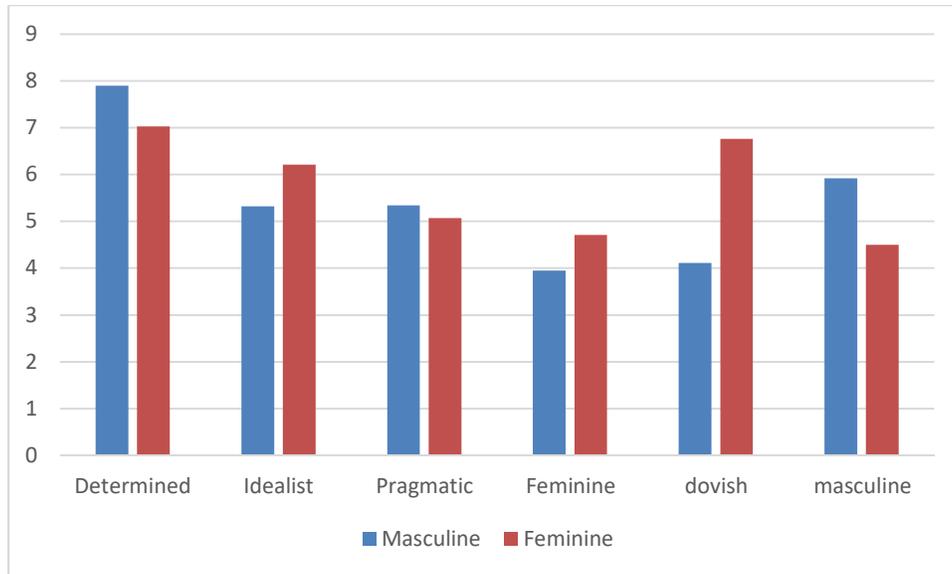
Table 2.3 provides the mean evaluation for each question, allowing comparisons based on the sex of the candidate, the traits of the candidate (masculine or feminine), and the stage of the conflict (whether the stage was the onset or the resolution). In my questions, I used an 11-point scale from 0-10, in which a higher score is that the candidate has more of that trait.

**Table 2.3: Trait Evaluations of Candidates**

	<i>Candidate Sex</i>	Mean	Sig	Traits	Mean	Sig	War Stages	Mean	Sig
<b>Determined</b>	<i>Man</i>	7.53	0.09	Masculine	7.90	0.80	Onset	7.47	0.07
	<i>Woman</i>	7.09		Feminine	7.03		Negotiation	7.16	
<b>Idealist</b>	<i>Man</i>	5.63	0.08	Masculine	5.62	0.02	Onset	5.45	0.00
	<i>Woman</i>	6.10		Feminine	6.21		Negotiation	6.26	
<b>Pragmatic</b>	<i>Man</i>	5.23	0.93	Masculine	5.34	0.76	Onset	5.23	0.95
	<i>Woman</i>	5.22		Feminine	5.07		Negotiation	5.22	
<b>Feminine</b>	<i>Man</i>	2.90	0.00	Masculine	3.95	0.02	Onset	4.03	0.00
	<i>Woman</i>	5.85		Feminine	4.71		Negotiation	4.68	
<b>Dovish</b>	<i>Man</i>	4.97	0.00	Masculine	4.11	0.026	Onset	4.73	0.00
	<i>Woman</i>	5.91		Feminine	6.76		Negotiation	6.11	
<b>Masculine</b>	<i>Man</i>	6.55	0.00	Masculine	5.92	0.00	Onset	5.31	0.24
	<i>Woman</i>	3.78		Feminine	4.55		Negotiation	5.05	

Answer options range from 0-10 with 0 being the lowest evaluation and 10 be highest evaluation, the higher the evaluation the more favorable. N = 496

With the stereotype measure (that asks to rate the candidate's characteristics), I find that on the two measures that were mostly associated with males and masculinity, "masculine" and "determined," I observe more favorable evaluations of the male candidate and masculine traits. "Pragmatic," while discussed in the literature as a masculine trait, yields nonsignificant preferences for male candidates. I also observe significantly favorable evaluations of the female candidates and the feminine traits. Figure 2.3 shows that with the three measures that were mostly associated with females and femininity, "feminine," "dovish," and "idealist" were rated higher in the feminine condition compared to the masculine condition. These findings suggest that women leaders, compared to men, are perceived as having feminine attributes and feminine leadership style rather than being perceived as hawkish even in the context of international conflicts.



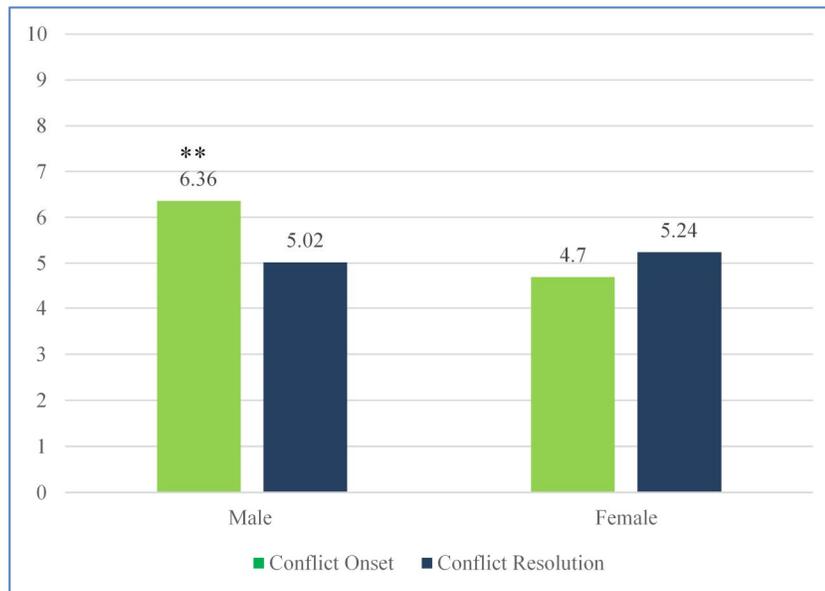
**Figure 2.3: Evaluations of candidate traits by masculine/feminine condition**

At the same time, as table 2.3 demonstrates, participants who read about a female candidate with masculine traits rated her as more hawkish and pragmatic than participants in the feminine condition. In accordance with the fourth, fifth, and sixth hypotheses, the masculine measures were favorable in the onset stage while the feminine measures were favorable in the negotiation stage during stages of conflict. For example: the trait “dovish” was rated significantly more favorable at the negotiation stage,  $F(1,494)=7.328$ ,  $p<0.05$ , ( $M=6.11$ ,  $SD=2.4$ ), compared to the onset stage, ( $5.43$ ,  $SD= 2.79$ ). The significant gender differences across sex, traits, and stages of conflict indicates support for the second hypothesis. The interaction between the sex of a candidate and his/her traits will affect public evaluations. Both male and female agentic traits will be favorable over the feminine and communal traits, except for the specific conditions under which a

female candidate is expected to be competent. Negotiation for peace is when feminine evaluations were rated more favorable than masculine traits.

### **2.5.2 The Interactions between the Stage of the War, Sex, and Traits of the Candidate**

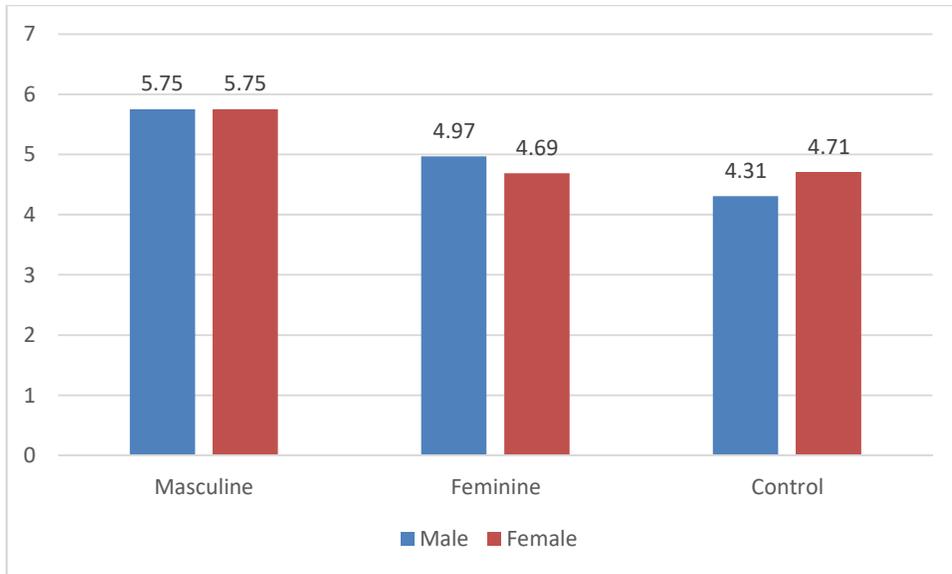
To test hypotheses 3-6, I test under what condition female candidates will be more favorably evaluated. I observed that the majority of the sample pool preferred male candidates and masculine traits. Still, there are certain contexts that permit support for female candidates. Specifically, at the end of the conflict in times of negotiation, there are more neutral preferences allowing for more variation in preferred leadership style. Thus, in the question of “how likely are you to vote for the candidate in the 2020 election?”, between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) indicates that participants in the onset condition evaluate the male candidate ( $M = 6.36$ ,  $SD = 2.25$ ) significantly higher  $F(1, 496) = 5.45$ ,  $p = .019$ , relative to the evaluation of male in the resolution condition, ( $M = 5.02$ ,  $SD = 2.48$ ),  $F(1, 496) = 4.29$ ,  $p = .418$ . In the same measure, participants in the onset condition evaluate the female candidate ( $M = 4.7$ ,  $SD = 2.09$ ) significantly lower, relative to the evaluation of female in the resolution condition ( $M = 5.24$ ,  $SD = 1.72$ ). Figure 2.4 depicts the change in rating by the stage of the conflict and while the differences between the male candidates to the female candidates are significant in favor of the male candidates in the conflict onset. The significant decrease in the rating of the male candidate between the conflict onset and the resolution stages indicates that context changes preferences.



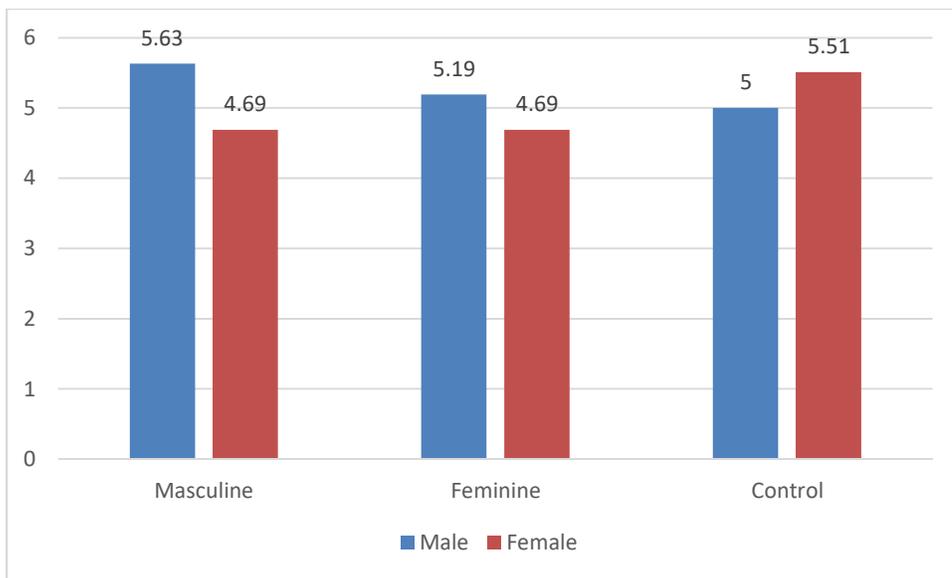
**Figure 2.4: Effect of sex of the candidate and stage of the conflict on evaluations of "success in handling the crisis"**

Figure 2.5 and Figure 2.6 illustrate the three way interactions between the sex of the candidate or traits of the candidate and the stages of the conflict. For the onset stage of the conflict, depicted in Figure 2.5, when violence escalates, evaluations of the male candidate in the measure of success in handling the crisis are ( $M = 5.88, SD = 2.21$ ) significantly higher,  $F(1, 240) = 7.001, p = .000$  relative to the evaluation of the female candidate ( $M=4.80, SD=2.26$ ). However, in the control group where no traits are described, there are higher preferences for the female candidate. This finding suggests that the sex of the candidate alone may have a lower effect without a description of traits. Additionally, Koch and Fulton (2011) suggest that women in government may be more

hawkish than men. Therefore, women may be perceived as hawkish when no communal traits are mentioned. In the negotiation part of the interaction there are mixed results, yet overall, their preferences are the male candidate. To sum up this interaction, these results suggest that candidates are evaluated not just by their sex, but also by their traits.



**Figure 2.5: The interaction between sex and traits for DV- success in handling the crisis in the onset of the conflict**



**Figure 2.6: The interaction between sex and traits for DV- success in handling the crisis in the negotiation for peace**

**Table 2.3** suggests that certain traits receive higher evaluations in the resolution stage of the conflict. Particularly, subjects perceive females as more dovish and idealist. Still, most of the interactions between the stage of conflict with the sex of the candidate and his/her traits show that for both male and female candidates, masculine, agentic traits are more favorable. Consequently, in the measure of “how successful do you think the candidate will be in winning the war?” between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) indicates that participants in both stages prefer male to female, and masculine traits for both of the sexes. This means that for female candidates, it is better to be perceived as masculine than as feminine.

### **2.5.3 Post Hoc Analysis**

My post hoc analysis partitioned the dataset by sex of the participant and their party identification (ID) to assess whether these factors exert an influence on their preference of candidates. Previous research suggests that both voters’ gender and party identification play significant role in shaping political preferences for leaders. Thus, Briens (2005) offers evidence that female candidates gain marginally greater support from their own gender. Research in the US asserts that Democrats are more likely to vote for women candidates than Republicans (Seltzer, Newman, and Leighton 1997). Nonetheless, in the absence of a party cue, the scholarship suggests that voters will look to the characteristics of the individual candidates and rely on demographic cues such as race or sex (Kam 2007). Fulton (2014) shows that male independent voters, who often swing general elections, are significantly less likely to endorse female candidates, and

that female independent voters do not discriminate between candidates based on their sex.

To test these propositions, I follow Taylor-Robinson et al.'s (2015) method of post-hoc analysis. I find that there are consistent preferences for the male candidate. The tables Appendix C show all post hoc statistics for each DV). When I partition the dataset by the sex of the participant for all five DVs except the support for foreign policy agenda, both male and female participants have a significantly higher mean evaluation for the male candidates. When I partition the dataset by party identification, the more liberal participants have a significantly higher mean evaluation for the female candidates on the candidate competency, support for the candidate's foreign policy agenda, and the voting measures. The highest evaluations of the male candidate across the five dependent variables were observed among the strong Republican participants. Nonetheless, the independent share of the sample portrayed significantly higher evaluations than the Democrats, reassuring Fulton's theory that independent voters are more likely to endorse male candidates. These findings are also consistent with previous experimental work in the field (Lye and Waldron 1997)

## **2.6 Discussion**

The research presents new evidence detailing that certain stages of international conflicts reinforce preferences for male leaders and masculine traits. Consistent with previous research (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Lawless 2004), under threats to national security, citizens prefer 'masculine' traits in their leaders and believe that men are more likely than women to possess these traits. Therefore, males are perceived as more suitable for leadership positions, as better at handling crises, and as more likely to win on the

battlefield. Nonetheless, there are some contexts that provide opportunities to female leaders with feminine characteristics. While previous studies have established the effect of security tensions on approval, they do not provide an explanation on the thought processes and micro-foundations behind the preferences for a male candidate. In addition, there is a lack of attention to the negotiation for peace as a context that changes preferences. Rising violence versus negotiation and reconciliation are potentially important dimensions of the way gender stereotypes are handled. In particular, female leaders are thought to bring certain qualities in times of negotiation for peace, whereas male leaders are thought to handle the crisis in times of threats.

The findings of this experiment are interesting because they not only show prejudice in favor of males, but that the onset of conflict exacerbates stereotypes in favor of males, in comparison to more peaceful times. At the same time, this paper highlights the interaction between sex and traits whereas not all men possess only masculine traits and not all women possess only feminine traits. The specific interaction shows preferences for sex, but also preferences for certain traits of both males and females that deepen the way we understand voter preferences and behavior. The consistent finding in that aspect is that for both male and female candidates, masculine and agentic attributes are more desirable.

Moreover, the argument in this paper suggests contexts under which women are more likely to crack the glass ceiling. Specifically, during times of negotiation for peace when the required skills of the leader are understanding the other side, compromising, but also bargaining for the better outcome, are times that bring opportunities for female leadership. These findings are interesting because there is an ongoing debate on

perceptions of women as negotiators. This study sheds light on the way female political candidates are perceived in negotiating for peace.

Nevertheless, the results of this study are not without limitation. While the findings on effects of sex, traits, and stage of the conflict on preferences for political candidates fare equally well in the two stages of the conflict, the two stages may represent different levels of saliency to the public. Thus, it may be the case that due to the high level of threats during the conflict onset, the public's attention is higher in comparison to the negotiation for peace. Future research might explore these differences in saliency and conflict stages in more depth, and expand on our comprehension of public opinion, policy, and personal relevance. Additionally, it has been previously established that students' samples do not represent the current national demographic composition of the United States. For example, the sample in this study has more females than males, and we know that Texas A&M students tend to be more conservative from those found in different student samples. While I do not claim that these results are generalizable to the larger national population, I feel confident in the findings based on the randomization procedure and covariate analysis.

Future research, should test the differences between nations in international conflict in comparison to nations in peace to establish the differences between war and peace in their influence on preferences for a certain leadership. Furthermore, contextual preferences may be applied to other crises and conditions that require different qualities from leaders. For example, economic recessions, natural disasters etc. An especially interesting context may be a crisis in a more feminine realm considered a women's issue, such as education.

### 3. THE SEX FACTOR: THE GENDER OF THE OPPONENT LEADER AND THE SUPPORT FOR FOREIGN POLICY

In the last ten years, the number of female leaders has more than doubled, whereas the majority of world leaders used to be comprised mostly by males. Recent research on international relations indicates that female leaders have a large impact on foreign policy (Koch and Fulton 2011). Yet, little has been documented to explain how the opponent leader's gender affects the public's perception of the conflict. The study reports whether a female national leader in an opposing country increases the support for both the use of force and negotiation. Using a survey experiment, I show that gender provides additional information that influences public opinion. Specifically, the gender of the other leader operates in two ways. On one hand, it generates stereotypes that change perceptions of the conflict. On the other hand, gender affects cost-benefit calculations regarding the public's perception of war costs, threats from other countries, and the likelihood of success in reference to the policy of force or negotiation. Overall, preferences are generally for negotiation, and the presence of a female opponent leader increases those preferences.

Anwar Sadat, an Egyptian president, made history by proposing a peace resolution prior to the Yom Kippur War, which cost over 2,500 Israeli lives and left an enduring scar on the Israeli psyche. Newly released documents from the Israeli state archives and American archival material suggest that in the months leading up to the conflict, Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir<sup>28</sup>, who presented herself as a tireless seeker of peace, was resolute in rebuffing the many peace overtures sent her way by the Egyptian President. The peace proposals were unknown to the public both the Israeli and the Egyptian (Kipnis 2013). In light of this new information, it would be interesting to know what the public reaction to the peace proposal would have been had it been made public.

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<sup>28</sup> Golda Meir was best known as the fourth Prime Minister of Israel and the first woman to hold the title.

Perhaps Prime Minister Golda Meir's gender contributed to the attempts to negotiate for peace as she was the first female leader in the Middle East after decades of war. Would it be easier to sell a peace proposal to the Egyptian public when the rival is led by a female leader?

Before engaging in a conflict or military intervention, leaders and their constituents weigh the expected costs of such actions against the anticipated benefits (Fearon 1995; Jervis 1978; Bueno de Mesquita et al. 1999; Morgenthau and Thompson 1985; Gartner and Gelpi 2016). This is a main factor that shapes the public's opinion on foreign policy. Costs and benefits are calculated through several factors, including the expected utility of the foreign policy given the characteristics of the "rival" country. Research highlights three factors that affect calculations of the costs and benefits of using force. One of these factors discusses how states form their own perceptions regarding the threat level of other countries. The use of force is common in cases where states may attack in self-defense when they feel threatened (Jervis 1978). Secondly, states consider the material and human costs of using force. Thus, using force is most probable when the economic and human costs of war are perceived to be low (Gartner 2008; Mueller 1985). The third factor involves the probability of success of the military operation. The states are reluctant to waste resources and human lives on a mission that is prone to fail. However, they may support operations that are expected to succeed (Gelpi, Feaver, and Reifler 2006).

In this paper, I argue that the makeup of the opponent leader is another decision factor that has been neglected in literature. The makeup of the opponent leader can be his/her military experience, their appearance and even their voice. The gender of this

leader is a factor that cannot be missed and may supply the observers with a trove of information. Specifically, based on the fact that a woman leader is a relatively rare and new phenomenon, I expect that a female leader will boost the public's attention toward the conflict and increase a reaction toward an international conflict with her country. In addition, I expect that she will change the cost-benefit calculation by altering the way people think about conflict and its costs and the probability of success. In this paper, I examine whether the presence of a female<sup>29</sup> leader on the opposing side influences public opinion regarding the support in utilizing force against the rival state. I conducted two experiments where I vary the sex of the opponent leader within two informational contexts. In the first experiment, I test the impact of the sex of the leader in conditions with different information regarding the likelihood of success of a military intervention<sup>30</sup>. In the second experiment, I test the effect of the sex of the leader with information regarding the costs of a military intervention<sup>31</sup>. I find that when the opponent leader is female (compared to male) there is an increase in the perception of success and decreases in the perception of cost. These trends suggest that a woman rival leader is perceived as

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<sup>29</sup> In order to discuss questions concerning gendered attitudes and perceptions, it is necessary to distinguish "sex" from "gender." Sex refers to biological differences between women and men, and gender refers to the social meanings given to those differences, which may vary both cross-culturally and over time. In most places, norms of gender have traditionally prescribed distinct roles in society for the two sexes: men have been given primary responsibility for affairs in the public sphere, like politics and the economy, while women have been assigned a central position in the private sphere, namely the home and the family (Jalalzai and Krook 2010, 6). This paper is mainly concerned with the sex of the leader. However, the way people interpret these differences and make judgments about foreign policy is a gender attitude question.

<sup>30</sup> The success levels of using force can be either low or high. And the specific sentence is: "Leaders and security experts claim that a **military intervention** in the country has high/low chances of removing the threat".

<sup>31</sup> The costs levels followed due to the use of force can be either low or high casualties. And the specific sentence is: "Leaders and security experts claim that a **military intervention** in the country is going to result in high/low number of American casualties.

an easier target for the use of force. Finally, the interaction between the sex of the opponent leader and the information regarding casualties and the likelihood of success, translates into an increase in support regarding the use of force when there is a female leader on the enemy's side.

Finally, I expand the question regarding public opinion to assess whether a female, as a rival leader, also affects public support of the choice to negotiate with the other side. I find that a woman leader on the other side increase preferences for negotiation over the use of force.

### **3.1 The Importance of Public Opinion**

The leaders who make the ultimate decisions about war and peace in democracies have powerful incentives to respect the opinions of citizens” (Tomz and Weeks 2013, 850). Public opinion matters for several reasons. First, leaders who disappoint their voters risk being removed from office. Leaders know that citizens care about foreign policy; it is a very expensive policy; therefore, foreign policy often plays a role in electoral campaigns, and foreign policy mistakes can hurt leaders at the ballot box (Aldrich, Sullivan, and Borgida 1989; Gelpi, Reifler, and Feaver 2007; Gronke, Koch, and Wilson 2003). Second, democratic leaders face institutional constraints on their power to use force (Morgan and Campbell 1991); thus, public opinion affects how tightly those constraints bind. In many democracies, leaders need legislative authorization for war, but legislative approval is less likely to emerge in the face of public opposition (Hildebrandt et al. 2013). Third, popularity provides the leader with more leeway, which allows him/her to achieve better results. Tomz and Weeks (2013) suggested that in the United States, for example, popular presidents have more influence over Congress (see also Edwards 1997;

Howell and Pevehouse 2007). Additionally, the popularity of a leader provides him/her with greater international influence because leaders who enjoy the backing of the public find it easier to persuade other countries that their promises and threats are credible (Guisinger and Smith 2002).

Finally, recent scholarship compares the response of citizens to the response of parliament members. Thus, Kertzer, Renshon, and Yarhi-Milo (2015) show that there are no systematic differences between respondents from a random national sample in Israel and elite-decision makers (see also Sheffer et al. 2018). These findings suggest that public opinion can, in some cases, reflect decision makers' inferences of a given situation.

## **3.2 Literature Review**

### **3.2.1 Public Support for Foreign Policy-Cost Benefits Calculation**

It is conventional wisdom that the support for the use of force is a function of costs and benefits. Rational Expectations Theory reveals that voters formulate their attitudes toward military operation based on an evaluation of the expected costs and benefits of the operation (Fordham 2013; Gartner 2008a; Gelpi, Feaver, and Reifler 2005/ 2006; Gartner and Gelpi 2016). War casualties are accessible information individuals use to base their ongoing support for military operation or intervention. Casualties are often considered the most accessible type of information concerning the costs of an operation. Thus, an increase in the number of wartime casualties leads to a decrease in both national support

for war (Gartner and Segura 1998; Mueller 1973) and individual's approval of leaders (Gartner and Segura 2000).

The benefit of conflict is largely a function of the success in achieving war aims (Eichenberg 2005; Gelpi, Feaver, and Reifler 2009). Gelpi Feaver and Reifler (2006) suggest that casualties alone have not driven the public's attitude toward the Iraq war. In addition, mounting casualties have not always produced a decrease in public support. Instead, the public is weighing the benefits and willing to pay the cost of human lives if it thinks the initial decision to launch an operation was correct, and if it thinks that the United States will prevail (p.8).

In addition to the information regarding the costs and the benefits of a certain conflict, there have been other sources of information that alters the support for military intervention. For example, Mintz and Geva (1993) reveal that the public is concerned with the regime type of the potential target when considering whether to approve its government's use of force (see also Russett 2005).

### **3.3 Theory and Hypotheses**

#### **3.3.1 Information about the Sex of the Opponent Leader**

In this paper, I suggest that in addition to the previous explanations about the types of information that influence cost-benefit calculation and therefore support for foreign policy, the sex of the rival's leader may also be an important deciding factor. Information about the leader on the opponent's side provides cheap and accessible knowledge concerning the opposing state's intentions and capabilities since the national leader is

recognized as the key decision maker in times of war. With limited information<sup>32</sup> about a leader in a foreign country, the gender of the leader is hard to ignore, simply because with one picture one can know if the leader is a male or a female. To the relatively uninformed citizen, gender provides an important information shortcut. Specifically, the sex of the opponent head of the country is a visible cue that serves people to make predictions based on societal attitudes.

### **3.3.2 Why is Gender a Crucial Information Shortcut?**

Most of the research on gender and foreign policy is rooted in the idea that gender is one of the most salient social categories and often the first category by which people are judged (Allport 1954). Hence, a female leader of the opponent side may influence citizens' ideas about what a conflict with such a country will look like and what should be the preferred policy.

Since gender is a major social category, it provides an immense trove of information. The conceptions that people have about the social roles of men and women and their stereotypes allow them to make sense of others because those notions offer easy access to a wealth of information about an unknown figure (Macrae et al. 1998; Brewer

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<sup>32</sup> When voters observe world politics, there are many barriers for information (Baum 2002). Scholars have argued that the mass public is woefully ignorant about politics and foreign affairs (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996; Zaller, 1992), and therefore only relatively narrow segments of the public—the so-called attentive public or issue public—pays attention to foreign affairs. Other scholars suggest that the public is more knowledgeable than traditionally thought due to nontraditional media coverage<sup>32</sup> (Baum 2002). Specifically, the role of social media has changed both the quantity and the quality of information. Shriki (2011) claims that since the rise of the internet in the early of 1990 the world net population has grown from the low million to the low billion and social media has become a fact of life worldwide (p.28). The communication landscape and the networks get denser and more participatory and the public gains greater access to information. Still, attention is often low and even with the increasing amount of information that is available citizens use the most readily information in forming opinions on foreign policy (Zaller and Feldman 1992; Page and Shapiro 1983; McCombs 2014).

1988; Fiske and Neuberg 1990; Kunda 1999; Stapel and Koomen 2001; Van den Bos and Stapel 2008). Furthermore, the information about sex of a leader is a shortcut that makes predictions easier and faster. Citizens make use of gendered stereotypes, for example, to obtain a quick image of political figures and predict their strengths and weaknesses similarly to the way they use party identification and other traditional voting cues<sup>33</sup> (Herrnson, Lay and Stokes 2003). According to Lammers, Gordijn, and Otten (2009), “Because men are seen as competitive and assertive and women as communal and pro-social, people expect male politicians to be better at competitive issues in which the primary aim is to defeat the competition (e.g., the economy, the military, big business), while people expect female politicians to be better in communal issues in which the primary aim is to help people (e.g., health care, education)” (p. 187; see also Alexander and Andersen 1993; Brown 1994; Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2005; Matland 1994; McDermott 1998).

The gender literature talks about why women leaders are perceived differently than their male counterparts. Specifically, Gender Role Theory argues that men and women are allocated different roles in society due to their gender. Moreover, men and women are assumed to possess qualities that ideally predispose them for the different roles they typically occupy (Eagly and Karau, 1991). When it comes to leadership, Role Congruity Theory asserts that citizens perceive women less favorably than men as potential leaders. The main reason for favoring men as leaders is that the leader is bound

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<sup>33</sup> However, party ID is not a useful cue in foreign policy decision-making, or decisions whether to support a foreign policy, because people in country A do not have stereotypes about the parties in country B.

by roles related to gender (Eagly and Karau 2002). These roles are developed from consensual beliefs within society about the attributes of women and men. For example, men are considered tough and strong and women are often considered soft and conceding. These stereotypes often create expectations regarding leaders' behavior. Nevertheless, Role Congruity Theory argue that women and men leaders behave somewhat differently because gender roles exert some influence on leadership roles in terms of the expectations they and others hold (Eagly, 1987; Eagly and Karau 2002). In light of these prospects rooted in gender, I expect that an individual will interpret the situation of a conflict differently when there is a women leader on the target nation. Specifically, if women are perceived as more sensitive and soft, they may be also be seen as easier targets, and that in a conflict with a country led by a female it will be easier to win. Therefore, a woman rival leader will increase the support of the public to use force against her.

Thus, I hypothesis as follows:

*Hypothesis 1: The presence of a female national leader on the opponent side increases support for military operations.*

Furthermore, research demonstrates that men and women view national security and international conflict differently. For example, women generally are less likely to support the use of force and are more sensitive to casualties and humanitarian concerns (Nincic and Nincic 2002; Eichenberg 2003; Berinsky 2009). Using experiments, Gartner (2008) found mixed evidence that American women are less likely to support the use of force than American men. Another experiment by Press, Sagan, and Valentino (2013) demonstrated that women were not significantly less likely than men to favor the use of

nuclear weapons. However, the overall finding of this line of research suggests that women are more sensitive to the costs of war. The gender gap in support for the use of force is a common knowledge since it has been presented and discussed routinely in the United States (Smith 1984).

In light of the discussion above, it is reasonable to expect that women on the rival side will have an impact on the cost-benefit calculation of the use of force, particularly if people lack substantive information or have not previously devoted much attention to the opponent country or its leader. In such cases a woman leader will be seen as stereotypically “softer” opponent. Consequently, it may affect both the perceptions of costs and likelihood of success of military operation.

*Hypothesis 2: The presence of a female national leader on the opponent side decreases voters’ cost’s anticipations.*

*Hypothesis 3: The presence of a female national leader on the opponent side increases voters’ success perceptions.*

Finally, I explore the way a woman rival leader influences opinions regarding negotiation for peace. According to Wagner (2000), “Nearly all wars end not because the participants are incapable of further fighting but because they agree to stop” (p. 469). Most international conflicts often involve negotiation to some extent, and though negotiation is central to the understanding of peace, public opinion experiments neglect to include negotiations as part of the choice set. In this study, I included this option to test whether the presence of a female leader not only changes preferences for using force but may makes public opinion more favorable toward the option of negotiation. Indeed, research provides reasons for why the presence of women may change the negotiation

setting. For example, research in business and social psychology demonstrates differences between men's and women's negotiation skills. Conventional wisdom asserts that women are inherently more cooperative and collaborative than men, while men are more assertive and demanding than women. Hence, the main expectation is that men perform better than women in negotiation (Eckel, de Oliveira, and Grossman 2008; Kray, Thompson, and Galinsky 2001; Walters, Stuhlmacher, and Meyer 1998). Indeed, studies suggest that men accomplish more profitable gain than women when negotiating (Gerhart and Rynes 1991; King, Miles, and Kniska 1991).

Yet, the other side of the coin suggests that the communal and cooperative style associated with females yields superior outcomes. Similarly, scholars predict a more fruitful negotiation thanks to better interpersonal relationships between the parties, which are associated with the more communal style. Accordingly, the instrumental style commonly associated with males, which seeks to maximize its own profit in any bargaining episode, may result in short term gains but may eventually prove harmful to a negotiator's bargaining position in future episodes. Thus, communal and cooperative traits associated with the feminine style may be a superior bargaining tactic (Nadler et al. 1987; Womak n.d.). In both cases, the presence of a female leader on the opponent's side signals a more collaborative and cooperative atmosphere in comparison to a situation when a male is in charge. Therefore, I expect that the women on the other side will not be seen as a threat that may fail the negotiation and will be evaluated the same way as a male leader on the other side.

*Hypothesis 4: Negotiation for peace will be evaluated equally whether the leader of the opposing country is a man or a woman.*

### **3.4 The Experiment**

#### **3.4.1 Measurement**

Since the concepts of costs and success are intertwined, I vary the costs and the success separately in the two studies that I conduct. In the first study, I introduce a between-group factor of casualties, so participants would be exposed to either a high number of casualties, low casualties, or a control group where no information regarding casualties was presented.

In the second study, I introduce a between-group factor of probability of success so participants would get the information about high probability, low probability of success, or control group in which no information regarding the success of the operation is given. After providing the scenario where I present the experimental conditions where I manipulated the sex of the opponent leader, I measure perceptions of both costs and success to assess how both the information about the sex of the leader and the information about costs/success of the military operation that was given in the scenario influences the perceptions of cost-benefit factors. Research has shown that there is an influence and correlations between costs and success and when voters learn about high casualties they associate it with low probability of success. On the other side, when the probability of success is higher individuals were more likely to tolerate the costs of human lives (Gelpi, Fever and Reifler 2006).

In addition, I included control groups that provided information about the sex of the leaders only where no cost-benefit information was provided. The control condition allows me to parse out what are the discrete effects of the sex of the leader on voters' opinions.

### 3.4.2 Experimental Design

Due the small number of cases<sup>34</sup> in which female national leaders led their country during international conflicts, it is hard to conduct an observational research on this topic. Survey experiments offer unique benefits for studying how the sex of the opponent leader matters and how it affects public support for the use force. By random assignment of key explanatory variables (the costs/success of the conflict and the sex of the opponent leader) to the participants in the experiment, I avoid problems of endogeneity and spurious correlation that would otherwise coincide in observational data. For instance, in observational data one cannot control for public opinion prior to the conflict and therefore, cannot make inferences about the effects of sex of the opponent leader the way an experimental approach with hypothetical scenario enables.

This study employs two experiments with a 2 x 3, between-groups factorial design (see Table 3.1 and Table 3.2). The two factors in the first experiment (table 3.1.) are (1) The sex of the opponent leader (man, woman) (2) Cost (in terms of casualties-high, low, no information). The second experiment (table 3.2) has the same structure but the factors are (1) The sex of the opponent leader (2) Success of the conflict. In both of the experiments, there is a control group that get no cost-benefit information but get information about the sex of the leader. The control group allows for a base line in which I can better asses the influence of the main independent variable of interest.

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<sup>34</sup> Currently (as of 2018) the Correlates of War (COW) Project consider 13 cases in which female national leaders (excluding monarchs) led the country during international conflict.

**Table 3.1: Experiment 1 Design costs of the conflict and the sex of the opponent leader**

	High Costs	Low Costs	Control
Male leader	1	2	3
Female leader	4	5	6

**Table 3.2: Experiment 2 Design success of the conflict and the sex of the opponent leader**

	High Success	Low Success	Control
Male leader	7	8	9
Female leader	10	11	12

### **3.4.3 Procedure and Sample**

The experiment was conducted on October 3-4, 2017 using Amazon MTurk.

Participants: A sample of 460 Amazon Mechanical Turk users participated in experiment 1 and 446 Amazon Mechanical Turk users participated in experiment 2. In both of the experiments, participants were randomly assigned to one of 6 experimental conditions. Both of the samples were majority male (53.7%), of an average age of 55.2 years old, in

terms of party identification 5% were Republican, 24% Democrats, 41% independent and 29% chose the option of “other” or no preferences. The ethnicity of the majority of the participants was white<sup>35</sup>. While the majority identified as Christian, the sample also contained a large number of non-religious respondents along with Hindus, Muslims, and Jews. Most of the participants had at least a high school diploma or some college credit and were employed. I do not claim that this is a perfectly representative sample of the American public. However, it is more inclusive than an undergraduate student population would be. It should be noted that my study focuses on the effects of the experimental treatments and the individual differences are addressed by randomization of subjects into conditions.

#### **3.4.4 The Research Material**

The experiment was framed to MTurk users as a study of American Foreign Policy. After reading basic instructions and a consent form, participants enter the first instruction page:

*“There is much concern these days about the spread of nuclear weapons. We are going to describe a situation the U.S could face in the future. For scientific validity the situation is general, and is not about a specific country in the news today. Some parts of the description may strike you as important; other parts may seem unimportant. After describing the situation, we will ask your opinion about a policy option.”*

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<sup>35</sup> While the majority of participants were white, there were 86 Afro-Americans, 90 Asians, 10 Hispanic, 8 Indian Americans and 2 Native Hawaiian Pacific Islander.

Next, participants read about a hypothetical scenario that was largely based on Tomz and Weeks<sup>36</sup> (2013) with the addition of the sex of the opponent leader and one of the costs/ benefits manipulation:

- *A country is developing nuclear weapons and will have its first nuclear bomb within six months.*
- *The country could then use its missiles to launch nuclear attacks against American vital interests*
- *The country's motives remain unclear, but if it builds nuclear weapons, it will have the power to blackmail or destroy other countries and hamper US interests.*
- *The country had "refused all requests to stop its nuclear weapons program"*
- *The country is led by a man/woman. He/she has been running the country for the last three years.*
- *Success treatment (Experiment 2): Leaders and security experts claim that a military intervention in the country has high/low chances of removing the threat<sup>37</sup>*

In the case of the costs treatment, the sentence was replaced by this one:

- *Cost treatment (Experiment 1): Leaders and security experts claim that a military intervention in the country is going to result in high/low number of American casualties. In the control groups this sentence was taken off.*

After reading about the scenario, participants answered a survey to measure the dependent variables (will be discussed in the following section in details). In addition to support for different foreign policies I also measured perceptions of costs, threat, and success of a potential military operation (for the specific items see questions 4-8 in appendix 1). I also included manipulation checks and measures for gendered attitudes.

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<sup>36</sup> The first four bullet points are replicated from Tomz and Weeks (2013) experiment.

### 3.4.5 Dependent Variables

The support for the use of force as well as the support for negotiation were measured discretely using two items in which respondents were asked to indicate their level of support of each policy on five-point scales: support strongly=5 support somewhat=4 neither support nor oppose=3 oppose somewhat=2 oppose strongly=1. Next, to gauge perception of success I asked: *What do you think the probability for success is in accomplishing the objective of removing this particular nuclear threat using military intervention?* Respondents were asked to rate the likelihood of success on 0-100 scale where 0=no success and 100=a total success. Similarly, I asked respondents about their perceptions of costs of the operation: *How costly (in terms of American casualties) do you think the military intervention will be?* Respondents were asked to rate the costliness of the described military operation on a 0-100 scale where 0=minimal cost and 100=extremely costly.

### 3.4.6 Controls and Demographics

The survey then had a manipulation check consisting of questions in which the respondent was asked the sex of the opponent leader and the level of democracy<sup>38</sup> of the other country. The question was identical across all conditions and was answered correctly by 897 participants out of the 904 participants in the sample, indicating that individuals in our sample paid attention (for more details about the questionnaire see appendix D).

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<sup>38</sup> There was no information about level of democracy and therefore the attentive readers chose the option of “don’t know”.

I also asked a series of background questions about the participant's sex, age, religion, ethnicity, employment, education and, political identification.

To assess gender attitudes and stereotypes, I included 7 attributes and characteristics and asked the participants to rate the opponent leader based on these attributes. In order to avoid priming or signaling that this study is about gender, I placed these questions after the dependent variable measures<sup>39</sup>. These measures are used to test the way the sex of the leader influences the way participants viewed the leader on the other side. Differences between groups in this measure show how gender is a cue that changes attitudes about the leader and next about the conflict.

## **3.5 Results**

### **3.5.1 Section Outline**

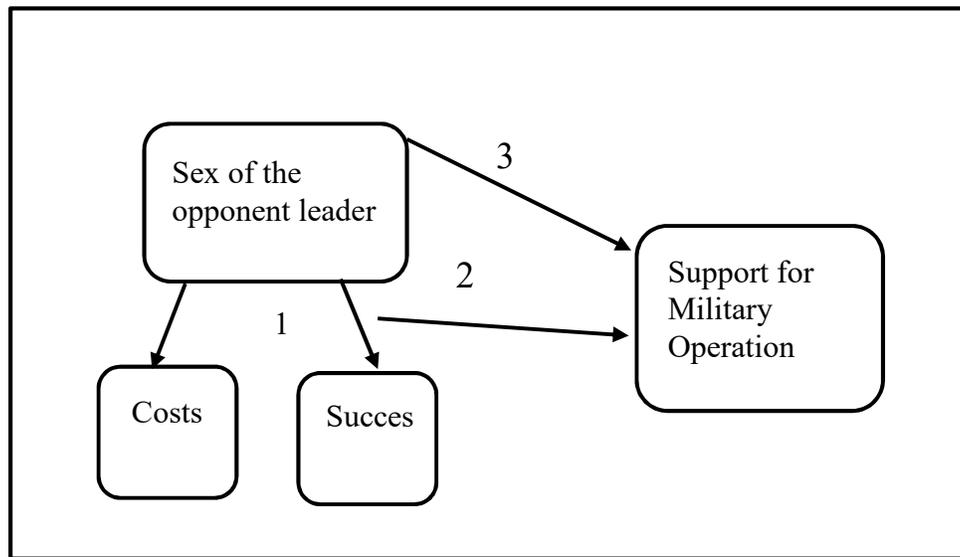
To test the first three hypotheses above I conduct three different analyses. The order of the analysis is determined by the order of the thought process that has been described in the literature. Specifically, I test the effect of sex on the perceptions of the cost-benefit calculation (marked as 1 in the chart below). After I conduct this analysis using the measures for *perception* of costs and success<sup>40</sup> after this process I also test the interaction between sex and cost benefit factors on the perceptions of costs and success. Next, I test the effect of sex on the support for force, and lastly, I test the interaction

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<sup>39</sup> Participants could not go back to previous questions and change their answers.

<sup>40</sup> The item measured perception of success was: *What do you think the probability for success is in accomplishing the objective of removing this particular nuclear threat using military intervention?* And the item that measured perception of costs was: *How costly (in terms of American casualties) do you think the military intervention will be?*

between of sex of the rival leader and cost-benefit factors in their support for the use of force.



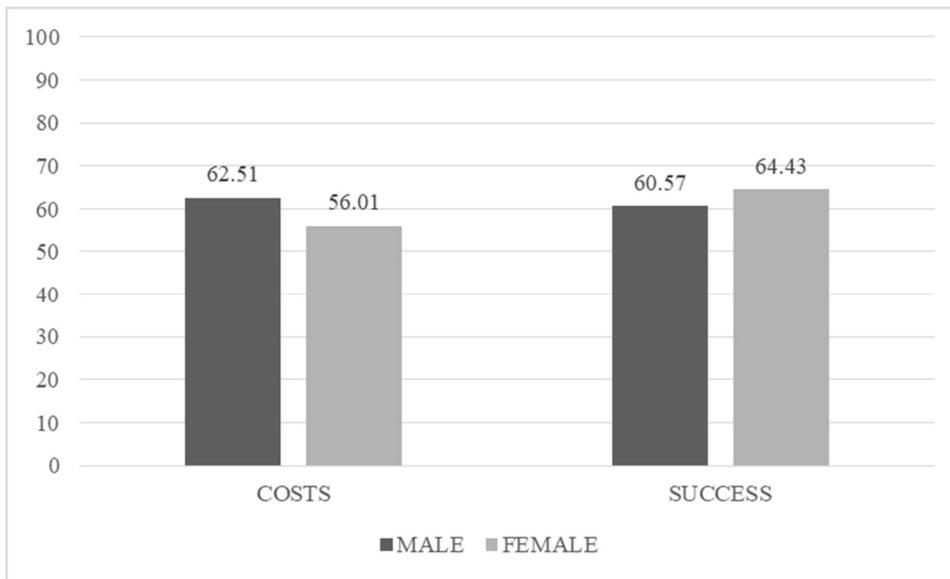
**Figure 3.1: The theoretical logic**

### **3.5.2 The Effect of Sex on Perceived Costs and Success**

I begin by testing my argument concerning the effect of the sex on perception of costs and success. To do so, I test both of the experiments for whether the information of sex of the opponent leader changed the perceptions of costs and success. In experiment 1, respondents were randomly assigned to one of the six treatments, or in simple terms, they read about male rival leaders and high/low costs, female rival leaders and high/low costs, or male/female rival leaders with no information about the costs (control). Using Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) in this experiment, I find that perceptions of cost were significantly higher  $F(1,453) = 4.96, p < 0.05$  when a man was the rival leader ( $M=62.51, SD=31.9$ ) than when the female was the rival leader ( $M=56.01, SD=31.08$ ). When testing the perceptions of probability of success,  $F(1,453)=3.152, p < 0.1$  I find that when the female was the rival leader perception of military operation against her were perceived as

more successful ( $M=64.43$ ,  $SD=21.79$ ) in comparison to the male rival leader ( $M=60.57$ ,  $SD=24.479$ ).

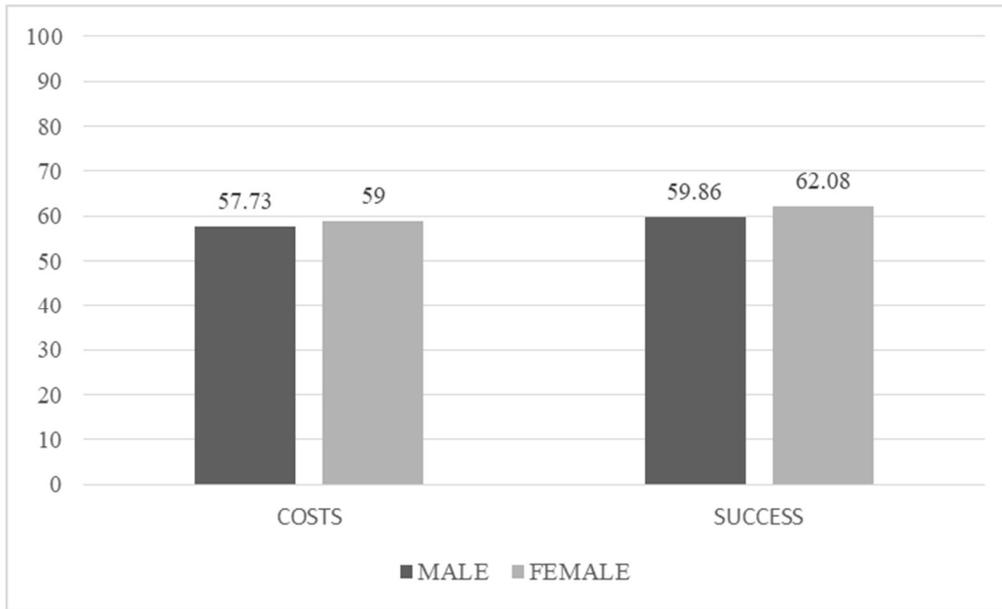
These results depicted in Figure 3.2 indicate that the sex of the leader influenced cost-benefit perceptions. In particular, women leaders on the opponent side are perceived as easier to defeat and operations against her are perceived as less harmful in terms of casualties.



**Figure 3.2: The effect of sex of the rival leader on perceptions of costs and success in experiment 1**

In the second experiment, respondents were randomly assigned to one of the six treatments where they read about male rival leader and high/low probability of success, female rival leaders and high/low probability of success or male/female with no

information about the success (control). Using ANOVA, I find the same trend as in experiment 1 in which the fighting against a male leader is perceived as more costly ( $M=59$ ,  $SD=29.98$ ) than against the woman leader ( $M=57.3$ ,  $SD=30.04$ ). However, these differences do not reach conventional level of statistical significance,  $F(1,445)=.195$ ,  $P>.5$ . When testing the perceptions of probability of success, I find that again fighting against female rival leader is perceived as more successful ( $M=62.08$ ,  $SD=22.26$ ) than against the male leader ( $M=59.86$ ,  $SD=23.137$ ). Here again, figure 3.2 shows that the differences in means do not reach conventional level of statistical significance,  $F(1,445)=1.061$ ,  $P>.5$ . While the consistent perceptions of male leader as one that inflicts more costs and is harder to defeat remain in experiment 2, the results are statistically insignificant. Perhaps the differences between the two experiments are driven by the two types of information concerning costs in experiment 1 and success in experiment 2. To test the interaction between sex of the leader and information about costs and success, I turn to the second part of this section.

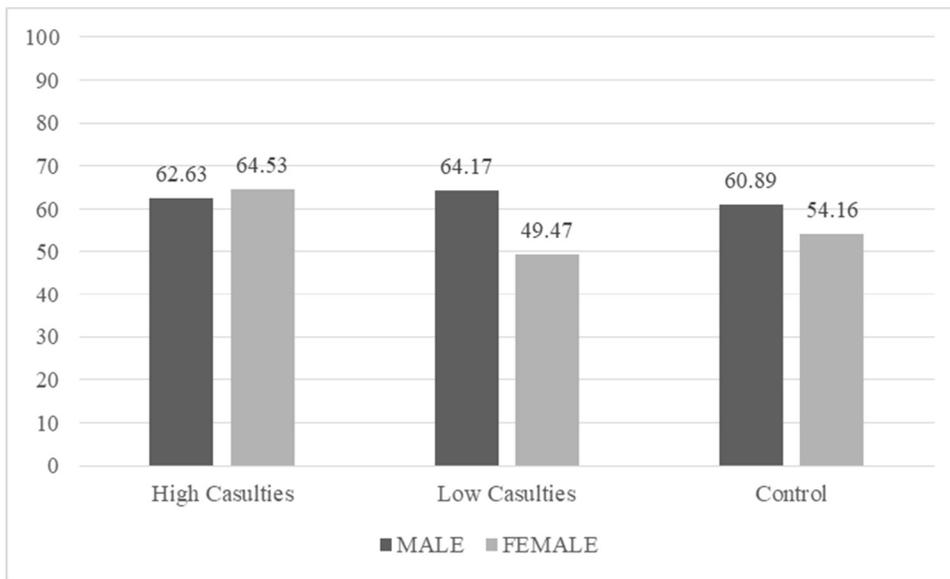


**Figure 3.3: The effect of sex of the rival leader on perceptions of cost and success in experiment 2**

### **3.5.3 The Interaction of Sex and Costs-Benefit Factors on Perceptions of Costs and Success**

After assessing the effect of sex of the rival leader on the cost-benefit perception, the next stage is to assess how the treatments of the costs and benefits interacted with information regarding the sex of the leader. Next how this interaction affected the perceptions of costs and success. When testing the first interaction in experiment 1 between the costs' treatment and the sex of the leader, Figure 3.4 shows the significant interaction yielded in univariate analysis:  $F(2,455) = 2.689, p < 0.5$ , in accordance with the main effect of sex on perceptions of costs, in both the control and the low casualties' conditions, male rival leaders are perceived as inflicting more costs than the women

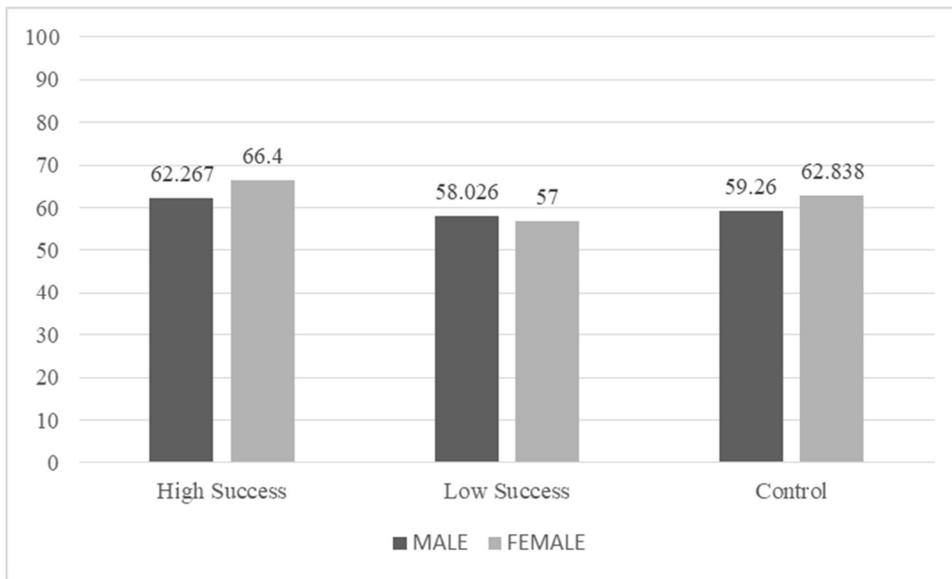
counterparts. However, in the high casualties' condition -- conflict with a woman is perceived as more costly. These findings indicate that when the casualties are low - or there is not information about casualties - the public perceive a female leader as leading to lower costs - however if the public is aware that the casualties are high - then in that case the sex of the rival leader is not changing "the facts".



**Figure 3.4: The interaction between sex of the rival leader and cost-benefit factor on perceptions of costs**

Testing the interaction between sex and success and the effect of the interaction on perceptions of success. Figure 3.5 shows that the differences between the success

conditions were significant. In addition, there was a higher probability of success in both the high success and control conditions when the rival leader was a woman. These results suggest that the overall perception of success was affected by the treatment with the highest probability of success in the high success condition and the lowest in the low success condition. However, the rates of success are even higher when the rival leader is a woman.



**Figure 3.5: The interaction between sex of the rival leader and cost-benefit factor on perceptions of success**

### **3.5.4 The Interaction between Sex and Cost-Benefit Factors and Support for Force**

Lending initial support for the first hypothesis, I find that in experiment 1, sex of the opponent leader effected the support for the use of force differently when there was a male leader on the other side than when there was a female leader. Table 3.3 shows the results yielded in ANOVA. The information about casualties (costs) did not yield significant results. However, the interaction between the cost condition and the sex of the opponent leader is significant suggesting that the information about costs is interpreted differently when there is a male leader on the rival side and when there is a female opponent leader. Figure 3.6 shows the consistent higher support for using force across the different level of costs. Yet, the largest<sup>41</sup> and most significant difference is in the high casualties' condition where the support for force against the female rival leader was 0.94 higher than the support for the male candidate.

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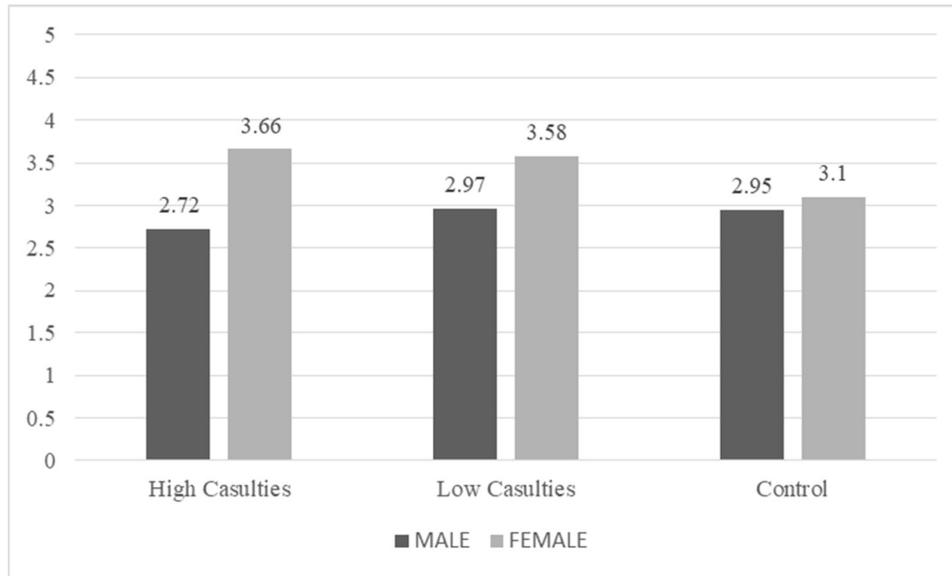
<sup>41</sup> Contrast for the control vs. low cost conditions are not significant as well as the difference between the low and high cost conditions.

**Table 3.3: ANOVA of the effect of Costs' levels of the conflict and sex of the opponent leader on support of the use of force**

Source	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F
Model	42.63	6	768.34	406.01***
Sex of the opponent leader (man=0, woman=1)	36.34	1	36.34	19.2***
Casualties Condition <sup>42</sup>	2.62	2	1.31	1.29
Sex of the opponent leader*Casualties condition	13.325	2	5.87	3.10*
Error	880.9	449		
			1.9	
Total		N=449		
R squared=.884	5460			

\*p<0.1; \*\* p<0.05; \*\*\* p<0.01.

<sup>42</sup> Casualties Conditions is information about the sex of the leader only = control, information about low number of fatalities = low casualties, information about high number of fatalities = high casualties.



**Figure 3.6: The interaction between sex and cost-benefit factor and support for the use of force- experiment 1**

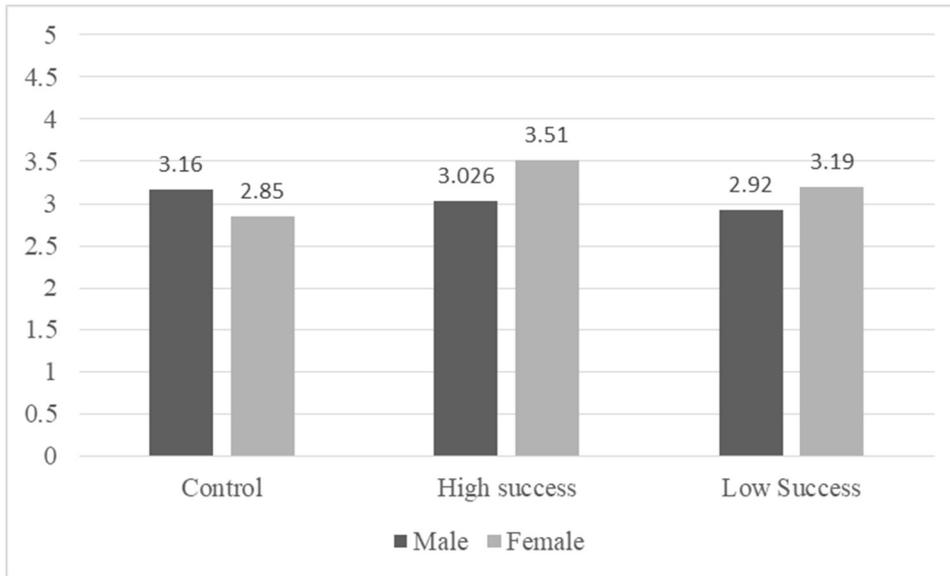
In the second experiment, neither the sex of the opponent leader nor the success manipulation yielded significant results. However, Table 3.4 shows the results from the analysis of variance (ANOVA), in which the interaction between sex and success was significant, suggesting that the information about success of an operation is interpreted differently when there is a male leader than when there is a female leader on the rival side. Figure 3.7 depicts the interaction between sex and success where there were higher support's rates for force against a woman rival in both the high success and low success conditions. Yet, in the control where no information about the probability of success was given, the higher support for force was against the male leader.

**Table 3.4: ANOVA The effect of the level of success and sex of the opponent leader on support for the use of force**

Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F
Model	4334.1	6	722.35	2037.88***
Sex of the opponent leader	2.47	1	2.47	1.36
Success Condition <sup>43</sup>	3.16	2	1.58	.87
Condition * Sex of the opponent	14.65	2	7.32	4.03**
Error	798.9	440	1.816	
Total				
R squared=.844		N=446		

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<sup>43</sup> In this study, the conditions are high success versus low success. For more details, see Appendix D – Questionnaire for the Sex Factor 1.



**Figure 3.7: The interaction between cost-benefit factors and support for the use of force - experiment 2**

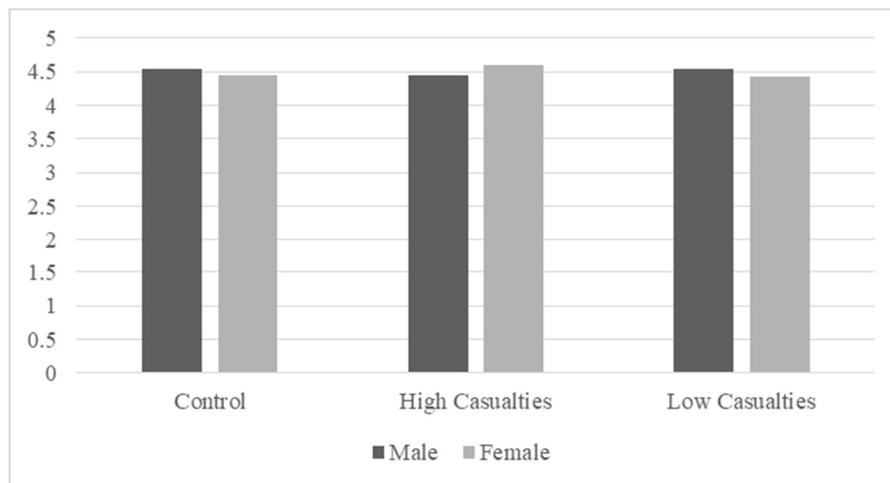
### 3.5.5 Support for Negotiation

To test how a female leader on the rival's side alters preferences for negotiation, I conducted ANOVA that shows non-significant differences between the support for negotiations if the opposition's leader was male versus female. Results indicate that having a female leader on the opponent's side has no effect on the support for this policy option in comparison to her male counterpart, Figure 3.7 demonstrates the gender neutrality. In accordance with the fourth hypothesis, in times of negotiation for peace, the presence of a female leader makes no difference. In the situation of negotiation with the other side, we see no gender bias.

**Table 3.5: The effect Costs' levels and sex of the opponent leader on support for conciliatory solutions**

Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F
Model	9170.74	6	1528.5	2037.88***
Sex of the opponent leader	0.64	1	0.64	0.85
Casualties Condition	.157	2	0.78	.105
Condition* Sex of the opponent	1.76	2	.88	1.175
Error	335.26	447	.75	
Total				
R squared=.95		N=453		

\* p<0.1; \*\* p<0.05; \*\*\* p<0.01.



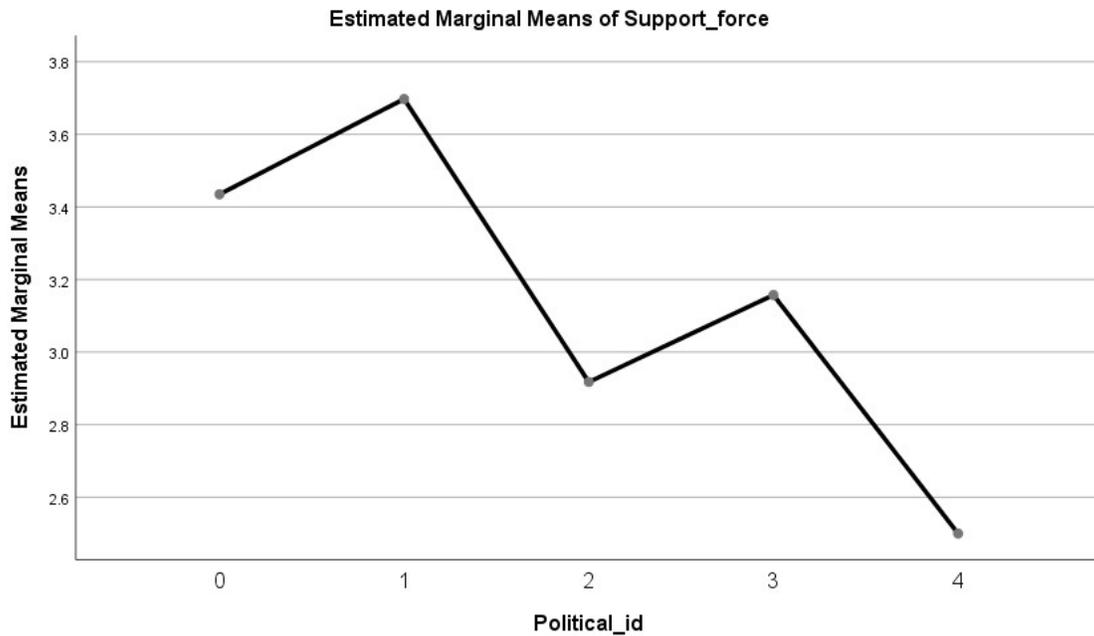
**Figure 3.8: Support for negotiation as a function of sex of rival leader and the cost factors**

### 3.5.6 Post Hoc Analysis

I tested how demographic components of participants in my sample may change the results. Therefore, I conducted analysis of covariance for all the cases where I found significant differences between the male and the female opponent leader, mainly the cases where the dependent variable was the use of force (see detailed results in Table and 5.12 in appendix E). Interestingly, the sex of the participant did not exert significant differences in any of the tests and neither did age or education. The only covariate that had significant effects was party identification. Consistent with previous findings, participants that identify themselves as Democrats were less likely to support the use of force than Republicans. Figure 3.9 shows how the left side of the x axis that represents the right wing is significantly higher in its support for the use of force that is portrayed on the y axis, when compared to the left side of the scale (the higher the number, the more liberal the participant is). An important caveat for this findings is that it is not possible to conduct analysis with confidence in this study about the attitudes of Republicans because there were so few participants in the study who identified as Republican.

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the sample in this study had a large number of people (41%) who identify themselves as independent voters. Literature on independent voters suggests that they are less likely to use party-based cues to form opinions (Basinger and Lavine 2005). Previous research suggests that independents are more likely to penalize female candidates than partisans (Ono and Burden 2018). Fulton and Dhima (2018) demonstrate that independent voters are significantly more supportive of a Democratic candidate when he is male and not female. To test whether the inclination of independent voters to favor male candidate influenced the support for

the use of force, I conducted analysis of covariance (showed in tables 5.11 and 5.12) where I tested the effect of party ID on support for the use of force and included an interaction term of sex of the opponent leader and party ID. While party ID, as mentioned, was significant, the interaction term with sex of the opponent leader did not exert significant effect. Future research may address the question about independent voters and their support for aggressive foreign policy.



**Figure 3.9 Support for the use of force as function of respondents' party identification**

### 3.6 Discussion

Political leaders require the support of a given selectorate (Bueno de Mesquita et al. 1998). Simply, the public support of the leader and his/her policies serves as the

political capital of the leader. Thus, public opinion is crucial in understanding world politics. However, while a plethora of research attempts to explain the support for the leaders' uses of force, this literature largely neglects how leaders on the rival's side can affect the support for foreign policy and how the sex of an opponent leader may change voters' calculus. In light of the consistent increase in the number of female heads of state, research should study their effect on conflict. This paper demonstrates the effect of the sex of the opponent leader on the formation of public opinion and the causal mechanism of this process. Nevertheless, this paper redirects the attention to how individuals think about females in power in the context of international conflict. What are the perceptions of conflict when a woman leader is involved and the way conflict may be perceived differently when a woman leader is on the rival side?

This study emphasizes that the sex of the opponent leader provides voters with information shortcuts that help voters decipher the situation and derive predictions. My survey experiment reveals that there is an increase in the support for the use of force when the leader of the opposing country is female. At the same time, the sex of the leader has a no effect when negotiation for peace is considered. I explain that the increase in support for the use of force is based on role congruity theory (Eagly and Karau 2002). Role congruity theory asserts that expectations involving the roles of the leader are incongruent with gender stereotypes. Since female leaders are a relatively new and rare phenomenon, they are perceived differently than men. Therefore, females may inadvertently trigger more attention to conflict. Furthermore, they may also be perceived as more sensitive and easy to defeat due to a long history of gender stereotypes defining females as more emotional than males. Results from the first experiment reassure that a

woman leader on the rival's side increases support of the military operation and fighting against her is perceived as less costly. These findings support the theory that women are deemed as easier targets who are weaker than men.

In order to comprehend the process behind the formation of opinions, I display how the information regarding costs and success interact with the information regarding the sex of the opponent leader. Consistent with previous findings (Scott Sigmund Gartner 2008; S. S. Gartner and Segura 1998), information regarding costs of a military operation decrease support for the use of force when there is a male leader on the rival side (in comparison to the other conditions). Yet, when a woman leads the enemies, information concerning the high levels of casualties operates in the opposite direction and increases support for the use of force. The significant interaction between the sex of the opponent leader and information about casualties suggests that theories of public opinion regarding foreign policy fail to explain and predict the situation when a woman is one of the dyad's leaders.

This study contributes to a larger body of research regarding the effect of the leader's characteristics on foreign policy. Furthermore, this research complements the public opinion research by accounting for female leadership. Understanding the mechanism behind this process is twofold. First, this study proposes that the main mechanism explaining the effect the opponent leader's sex has on public opinion is through the calculation of cost-benefit. Specifically, when the presence of a female leader on the opposing side influences perceptions of cost and success. In the case of information about costs, the sex of the opponent leader interacts with the costs of the conflict and made the support for the use of force different for male and female opponent

leaders. Furthermore, results from the first study show that the sex of the opponent leader alters the perceptions of cost and success of the conflict with a female leader on the opposing side increasing perceptions of the success probability and decreasing the perceptions of how costly the military operation will be.

An imperative contribution of this study is the addition of the choice of negotiation as a foreign policy option. Concurrently, the presence of a female leader on the opponent side brings gender neutrality during peace negotiations in comparison to the use of force. This points into a normative direction where female candidates may discover greater chances to compete for office or alternatively maintain their own position. In addition, this paper contributes to the understanding of bias against females and context under which this bias is reduced. Knowing that bias is exacerbated in times of fear and tension may open a discussion and a broad understanding of the practices that fuel bias against females and minorities.

Finally, this study highlights the importance of including gender in research about public opinion and international relations. It also suggests a broad array of future research. For example, an alternative approach may test the effect of female leaders on the dyadic level. Such research may examine the differences between two scenarios: when the public's leader is a female, and when the opponent's leader is a female. Adding up the leader's time in office, along with partisanship, will shed light on the critical interaction gender has with these factors. Furthermore, expanding the choice set in foreign policy to include the negotiation option should be tested in more contexts regarding international conflicts. Since this option is prevalent in the real world, its implication on our knowledge about public opinion should not be ignored.

#### 4. SUMMARY

This dissertation is a compilation of three stand-alone studies that discusses the relationships between states, conflict, and the representation of women in key leadership positions. The first paper is a study of the cross-global situation of the nomination of female finance ministers. This paper utilizes an observational research method and analyzes the nomination of the first female finance ministers in 63 countries, starting from the end of the Second World War and finishes at 2014. This paper specifically tests whether international and civil conflicts contribute to the exclusion of women from this post. The second paper tests the effects of different stages of the conflict on public opinion on political candidates. This paper utilize an experimental method in which I test how public opinion is formed based on the sex and traits of political candidates. The third paper tests how public opinion is different when “my” country fights another country led by a female compared to the when my country fights a rival led by a male. Using two experiments, I test how the cost-benefit calculation that is used to form opinions on the use of force against another country is changing based on the sex of the rival leader.

I began the dissertation with a research question of how states’ conflict influences the appointment of female finance ministers across the democratic regimes. The finance minister is a central role in politics, one that can veto and effect other decision-makers, yet, this post remains to a large extent out-of-reach for females. I showed that one source for this exclusion is the security situation in the country. Specifically, I showed that participation in militarized conflict lowers the probability of

nominating women to this role. This cross-national paper provides some real world context for my individual level analysis that seeks to understand the underlying mechanisms of bias against female leaders in times of conflicts.

Therefore, in the second paper, I tried to understand the specific dynamics in conflicts that influence this exclusion of women from political power. I then designed an experiment that compares different phases of the conflict in order to see the different dynamics. I compare the phase of the onset of conflict, when violence and threat are intensified to the phase of negotiation for peace, when the atmosphere is more conciliatory. In addition, I tested how the public form opinions based on sex and traits of political candidates. By parsing out these two factors, I show that gender is not just biological differences, but an ensemble of attributes that are associated with men or women. The findings of this article are consistent with Role Congruent Theory, which asserts that masculine attributes are perceived as more suitable for leaders. The novel finding of this paper is that the male and masculine leader is desirable in times of security tensions, but less so in times of negotiation for peace. Thus, the negotiations for peace phase provides opportunities for women leaders and feminine leadership style.

The third paper tested for the first time the support for foreign policies as function of the sex of the opponent leader. I found that the sex of the rival leader changed the perceptions of costs and success of the conflict. Particularly, the perceived likelihood of winning against a rival country led by a female in an international conflict is higher compared to male opponent leader. In addition, going to war when the opponent leader is a female is perceived as less costly in terms of war casualties. Consequently, when

comparing the support for aggressive foreign policy as function of the sex of the opponent leader, the support for using force was higher when a female is the rival leader.

#### **4.1 Implications**

The main theoretical implication of the first paper is that there is a connection between conflicts and the role of the finance minister, a connection that has been largely neglected in past literature. Nonetheless, the access of women to this specific post is prominent in the sense that this role may be a stepping stone to the other key leadership positions. Recognizing the importance of this role and understanding the barrier for representation of women in it is important for both researchers and policy makers.

The main implication of the second paper is the understanding that conflict is not a monolithic phenomenon and the different dynamics within conflict influence differently on public opinion and on what the public desires in its leaders. Furthermore, this paper is a reminder that not all men are masculine and not all women are feminine; therefore, gendered attributes influence the formation of opinions and support for political candidates.

The third paper introduced the novel idea of how the rival leader influences public opinion on the aggressive foreign policy. This idea may open a new direction for research in international relations. For example, age and experience of the other leader may change public opinion and the decision to use force against them. This paper increases the attention to the new phenomenon of women leaders and their understudied influence on international relations and foreign policy.

Finally, the overall practical implication of this dissertation is that international conflicts and security tensions harm the chances of women who compete for office.

Research and popular surveys show that biases against women still exist. Still, this dissertation highlights the conditions in which biases are exacerbated. At the same time, there are contexts that can promote female leadership. Specifically, times of negotiations for peace can be an opportunity for female leaders. These are the times that stereotypes and social attitudes will work in favor of women and not against them. Finally, the findings of this dissertation shed light on the sources for bias against women, and that is the sense of fear to one's security. Understanding the foundation of the bias can help in facing and overcoming it.

## **4.2 Future Work**

I plan to extend the experimental work in a number of ways. First: I plan to replicate the experiments in additional places to better understand how sex and gender of leaders is interpreted differently in different cultures. Second, I plan to design and study the specific context of negotiation for peace and find out what the specific conditions are that may promote women's representation in both leadership positions and in negotiations teams. In addition, I plan to dedicate another paper to the question of peacekeeping missions and the representation of women in cabinet positions.

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## APPENDIX A

## COUNTRIES IN THE DATASET 1945-2014

**Table A.1: Countries in the dataset**

<b>The name of the country</b>	<b>Female finance minister (in the data)</b>	<b>The year of first female finance minister</b>	<b>More than one female finance minister (in the data)</b>
Albania	No		
Algeria	No		
Angola	No		
Argentina	No		
Australia	Yes	1980	No
Belgium	No		
Brazil	No		
Bulgaria	Yes	1994	No
Cambodia	No		
Canada	No		
Chile	No		
China	No		
Colombia	No		
Croatia	Yes	2011	No
Czech Republic	No		
Denmark	Yes	2000	No
East Germany	Yes	1989	No
Ecuador	Yes	2000	Yes (4)
Egypt	No		
Estonia	No		
Ethiopia	No		
Finland	Yes	2014	No
France	Yes	2011	No
Greece	No		
Germany	No		
Hungary	No		
Iceland	Yes	2012	Yes (2)
Continued			

<b>The name of the country</b>	<b>Female finance minister (in the data)</b>	<b>The year of first female finance minister</b>	<b>More than one female finance minister (in the data)</b>
India	Yes	1969	No
Indonesia	Yes	2010	No
Ireland	No		
Israel	No		
Italy	No		
Japan	No		
Kenya	No		
Latvia	Yes	1995	No
Lebanon	No		
Lithuania	Yes	1991	Yes(2)
Luxembourg	No		
Malaysia	No		
Malta	No		
Netherlands	No		
New Zealand	Yes	1990	No
Norway	Yes	2005	No
Pakistan	Yes	1988	No
Poland	Yes	2001	Yes (3)
Portugal	Yes	2002	No
Romania	No		
Singapore	No		
Slovak Republic	No		
Slovenia	No		
South Africa	No		
Spain	Yes	2009	No
Sweden	Yes	1991	Yes (2)
Switzerland	Yes	2010	No
Tanzania	Yes	2006	Yes
Turkey	No		
United Kingdom	No		
USA	No		
Uruguay	No		
West Germany	No		
Zimbabwe	No		

## APPENDIX B

### EXPERIMENT MATERIALS OF CONTEXTUAL PREFERENCES

#### **B.1 Scenarios**

**Screen 1- will show one of the two introductions below:**

##### **Introduction (Military Crisis onset)**

You are about to read a scenario about a fictional international crisis that may influence U.S citizens. This event “takes place” in the future - at 2020. The situation is not about a specific country in the news today. Some parts of the description may seem important to you; other parts may seem unimportant. You will then read about a Presidential candidate and his/her campaign and will be asked to evaluate him/her. There are no right or wrong answers; feel free to provide your honest opinions.

##### **Introduction (Reconciliation)**

You are about to read a fictional scenario about negotiation to end an international crisis that may influence U.S citizens. This event “takes place” in the future - at 2020. The situation is not about a specific country in the news today. Some parts of the description may seem important to you; other parts may seem unimportant. You will then read about Presidential candidate and his/her campaign and will be asked to evaluate him/her. There are no right or wrong answers; feel free to provide your honest opinions.

**Screen 2-will show one of the two conditions below**

This part drawing from the work by Tomz and Weeks 2015 and New York Times articles

### **Ongoing Crisis**

A country has developed nuclear weapons and will have its first nuclear bomb within six months. The country could then use its missiles to launch nuclear attacks against any country in the world. The country does not have high levels of trade with the U.S, the country has not signed a military alliance with the U.S., and the country's conventional military strength is half the U.S. level. The country is a destabilizing force in the region. It is funding and training counter-western terrorists.

The President of the U.S sent military forces to the area. In the last 12 months a heavy fighting has taken place. Analysts suggest that in order to conclude the conflict favorably the only solution is to further escalate the fighting.

### **Reconciliation**

A country has developed nuclear weapons and will have its first nuclear bomb within six months. The country could then use its missiles to launch nuclear attacks against any country in the world. The country does not have high levels of trade with the U.S, the country has not signed a military alliance with the U.S., and the country's conventional military strength is half the U.S. level. The country is a destabilizing force in the region. It is funding and training counter-western terrorists.

The President of the U.S sent military forces to the area. After two years of fighting U.S, analysts suggest that the stage is ripe for negotiation. A possible deal is to transform the nation's atomic plant into a center for science research and to re-integrate the nation's economy in the region.

**Screen 3- will show one of the six conditions below:**

This part drawing from the work by Bauer 2015

### **Male candidate masculine traits**

With Election Day drawing closer, US senator Tom Larson was active on the campaign trail this week. He traveled throughout the nation pushing his militant agenda of change. Tom Larson met with voters at Hamilton City Hall. He stressed the need for a new bold and assertive leadership in Washington.

Speaking to the crowd today he exclaimed the need for courage when facing the current international crisis. "I'm a man who works hard for my country. When I think about the issue facing our country, I think about what it means for our future. For a bright future we need a strong country!"

Tom Larson's campaign has gained momentum in recent weeks. His vigorous and bold approach to foreign policy resonates with people throughout the country. Critiques of Larson depict him as over confident.

### **Male candidate Feminine traits**

With Election Day drawing closer, US senator Tom Larson was active on the campaign trail this week. He traveled throughout the nation pushing his conciliatory agenda of change. Tom Larson met with parents at Hamilton City Hall. He stressed the need for a new compassionate and sensitive leadership in Washington.

Speaking to the crowd today he exclaimed the need for patience when facing the current crisis. "I'm a father who works hard for my family. When I think about the issue facing our country, I think about what it means for our children. For a bright future we need peace".

Tom Larson's campaign has gained momentum in recent weeks. His nurturing and communal approach to foreign policy resonates with people throughout the country.

Critiques of Larson depict him as too soft.

### **Male candidate Control**

With Election Day drawing closer, US senate hopeful Tom Larson was active on the campaign trail this week. He traveled throughout the state pushing his agenda of change.

Tom Larson met with voters at Hamilton City Hall. He stressed the need for a new leadership in Washington.

Speaking to the crowd today he exclaimed "I'm a man who works hard for my country.

When I think about the issue facing our country, I think about what it means for the future.

Tom Larson's campaign has gained momentum in recent weeks. His approach to foreign policy resonates with people throughout the country.

### **Female candidate masculine traits**

With Election Day drawing closer, US senator Susan Foster was active on the campaign trail this week. She traveled throughout the state pushing her militant agenda of change.

Susan Foster met with voters at Hamilton City Hall. She stressed the need for a new bold and assertive leadership in Washington.

Speaking to the crowd today she exclaimed the need for courage when facing the current crisis. "I'm a woman who works hard for my country. When I think about the issue facing our country, I think about what it means for our future. For a bright future we need a strong country!"

Susan Foster's campaign has gained momentum in recent weeks. Her vigorous and bold approach to foreign policy resonates with people throughout the country. Critiques of Foster depict her as over confident.

### **Female candidate feminine traits**

With Election Day drawing closer, US senator Susan Foster was active on the campaign trail this week. She traveled throughout the state pushing her conciliatory agenda of change. Susan Foster met with parents at Hamilton City Hall. She stressed the need for a new compassionate and sensitive leadership in Washington.

Speaking to the crowd today she exclaimed the need for patience when facing the current crisis. "I'm a mother who works hard for my family. When I think about the issue facing our country, I think about what it means for our children. For a bright future we need peace".

Susan Foster's campaign has gained momentum in recent weeks. Her nurturing and communal approach to foreign policy resonate with people throughout the country. Critiques of Foster depict her as too soft.

### **Female candidate control**

With Election Day drawing closer, US senator Susan Foster was active on the campaign trail this week. She traveled throughout the state pushing her agenda of change. Susan Foster met with voters at Hamilton City Hall. She stressed the need for a new leadership in Washington.

Speaking to the crowd today she exclaimed "I'm a woman who works hard for my country. When I think about the issue facing our country, I think about what it means for the future.

Susan Foster's campaign has gained momentum in recent weeks. Her approach to foreign policy resonate with people throughout the country.

### **B.2 Questionnaire:**

#### **Screen 4-5 – general to all the conditions of the experimental design A**

On a scale of 0-10 when 0 is very unsupportive and 10 is very supportive how supportive are you of the candidate's foreign policy agenda?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

On a scale of 0-10 when 0 is very unlikely and 10 is very likely and given what you know, how likely are you to vote for the candidate in the 2020 election?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

On a scale of 0-10 when 0 is not competent at all and 10 is very competent, how competent do you think the candidate is?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

#### **Screen 5 crisis onset condition**

- On a scale of 0-10 (when 0 is not successful at all and 10 is highly successful) how successful do you believe the candidate will be in handling the international crisis?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

- On a scale of 0-10 (when 0 is not successful at all and 10 is highly successful) how successful do you think the candidate will be in winning the war?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

- Is the candidate is a male or a female?

Male

Female

- On a scale of 0-10 how would you rate the candidate?

Masculine 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Determined 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Dovish (a candidate who advocates international peace)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Feminine 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Pragmatic 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Idealist 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

### **Screen 5 Reconciliation condition**

- On a scale of 0-10 (when 0 is not successful at all and 10 is highly successful) how successful do you believe the candidate will be in handling the international crisis?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

- On a scale of 0-10 (when 0 is not successful at all and 10 is highly successful) how successful do you think the candidate will be in reaching an agreement?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

- Is the candidate is a male or a female?

Male

Female

- On a scale of 0-10 (when 0 is feminine and 10 is masculine) how masculine /feminine the candidate is

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

## Screen 6

Below, please rate **your agreement / disagreement** with each of the **following statements** (on a scale from 1 to 7 where 1 = strongly agree, 4 = undecided, 7 = strongly disagree)

It is disrespectful to swear in the presence of a lady.

(Strongly agree) 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5 / 6 / 7 (strongly disagree)

The initiative in courtship should usually come from the man.

(strongly agree) 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5 / 6 / 7 (strongly disagree)

Women with children should not work outside the home if they don't have to financially.

(strongly agree) 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5 / 6 / 7 (strongly disagree)

The husband should be regarded as the legal representative of the family group in all matters of law.

(strongly agree) 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5 / 6 / 7 (strongly disagree)

Except perhaps in very special circumstances, a man should never allow a woman to pay the taxi, buy the tickets, or pay the check.

(strongly agree) 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5 / 6 / 7 (strongly disagree)

Men should continue to show courtesies to women such as holding open the door or helping them on with their coats.

(strongly agree) 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5 / 6 / 7 (strongly disagree)

It is ridiculous for a woman to drive a truck and a man to sew clothes.

(strongly agree) 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5 / 6 / 7 (strongly disagree)

Women should be concerned with their duties of childbearing and house tending, rather than with the desires for professional and business careers.

(strongly agree) 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5 / 6 / 7 (strongly disagree)

Swearing and obscenity is more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.

(strongly agree) 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5 / 6 / 7 (strongly disagree)

## Screen 7

What is your sex?

Male \_\_\_\_\_

Female \_\_\_\_\_

What is your major? \_\_\_\_\_

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a...

Republican

Democrat

Independent

No preference

Other - please specify

On a scale of 0-10 when 0 is highly disapprove and 10 is highly approve please tell us how much you agree or disagree with this statement:

“The United States needs to play an active role in solving conflicts around the world.”

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

APPENDIX C

POST HOC ANALYSIS TABLES FOR CONTEXTUAL

PREFERENCES

**Table C.1: Post hoc comparisons for the dependent variable-“How competent the candidate is”**

Post Hoc Factor	Students' group tested	Score by candidate gender		Score by Traits			Score by Stage of the conflict		Effect magnitude		
		Male	Female	Masculine	Feminine	Control	Onset	Negotiation	Gender	Traits	Conflict Stage
<b>Sex the of participant</b> (0=male 1=female)	Males	5.5	5.50	5.27	5.26	5.15	5.08	5.32	ns	ns	ns
	Females	4.99	4.99	5.57	5.68	5.44	5.56	5.57	ns	ns	ns
<b>Party ID</b>	Strong democrat	5.9	5.3	6.33	7.5	4.6	4.27	6.92	ns	Ns	4.5
	democrat	4.4	5.14	4.0	4.6	4.63	4.7	4.97	4.15*	Ns	4.5*
	center	5.37	5.18	5.4	5.35	5.1	5.15	5.35	Ns	Ns	Ns
	republican	6.15	5.32	6.65	6.1	5.5	5.94	5.52	8.78**	Ns	Ns
	Strong republican	6.0	5.1	5.54	5.8	7.0	5.8	5.4	3.87*	Ns	Ns

**Table C.2: Post hoc comparisons for the dependent variable --“Support for the candidate’s foreign policy agenda”**

Post Hoc Factor	Students’ group tested	Score by candidate gender		Score by Traits			Score by Stage of the conflict		Effect magnitude		
		Male	Female	Masculine	Feminine	Control	Onset	Negotiation	Gender	Traits	Conflict Stage
<b>Sex the of participant</b> (0=male 1=female)	Males	5.33	5.23	5.61	5.09	5.14	5.23	5.31	Ns	Ns	Ns
	Females	5.64	5.6	5.96	5.44	5.00	5.64	5.6	Ns	Ns	Ns
<b>Party ID</b>	Strong democrat	5.0	5.21	5.0	5.17	5.09	4.0	6.08	Ns	Ns	ns
	democrat	4.75	5.83	4.88	5.48	5.63	5.23	5.47	5.46*	Ns	Ns
	center	5.59	5.13	5.36	5.23	5.21	5.15	5.35	Ns	Ns	Ns
	republican	6.05	5.47	6.52	5.41	5.04	6.00	5.51	3.78*	10.7**	Ns
	Strong republican	5.51	6.0	5.80	5.22	5.89	5.78	5.38	Ns	Ns	Ns

**Table C.3: Post hoc comparisons for the dependent variable --“Vote for the candidate in the 2020 elections”**

Post Hoc Factor	Students' group tested	Score by candidate gender		Score by Traits			Score by Stage of the conflict		Effect magnitude		
		Male	Female	Masculine	Feminine	Control	Onset	Negotiation	Gender	Traits	Conflict Stage
<b>Sex the of participant</b> (0=male 1=female)	Males	5.09	4.66	4.94	4.94	4.7	4.75	4.93	Ns	Ns	Ns
	Females	5.52	5.12	5.55	5.44	5.0	5.18	5.5	Ns	Ns	Ns
<b>Party ID</b>	Strong democrat	5.6	5.10	5.51	6.33	4.82	3.82	6.83	Ns	Ns	5.9**
	democrat	4.36	4.88	3.96	4.8	5.15	4.4	4.9	5.46**	Ns	Ns
	center	4.93	4.86	5.36	4.96	4.95	4.67	5.07	Ns	Ns	Ns
	republican	5.93	4.87	5.9	5.29	4.58	5.3	5.38	9.09**	5.54**	Ns
	Strong republican	6.00	5.29	6.15	5.78	5.06	6.34	5.06	Ns	Ns	4.8*

**Table C.4: Post hoc comparisons for the dependent variable --“Success in reaching an agreement”**

Post Hoc Factor	Students' group tested	Score by candidate gender		Score by Traits			Score by Stage of the conflict		Effect magnitude		
		Male	Female	Masculine	Feminine	Control	Onset	Negotiation	Gender	Traits	Conflict Stage
<b>Sex the of participant</b> (0=male 1=female)	Males	5.22	5.19	5.09	4.85	4.85	5.03	4.86	Ns	Ns	Ns
	Females	4.68	4.79	5.22	4.93	4.86	4.93	5.1	Ns	Ns	Ns
<b>Political Ideology</b>	Strong democrat	5.00	3.70	5.00	4.33	4.18	3.09	5.67	Ns	ns	4.89*
	democrat	4.58	4.93	4.31	4.72	5.26	4.48	5.15	Ns	Ns	Ns
	center	4.85	4.76	4.71	5.11	4.65	4.55	5.01	Ns	Ns	Ns
	republican	5.51	4.76	5.66	4.69	4.88	5.42	4.84	5.24**	3.56**	Ns
	Strong republican	5.86	4.71	5.55	5.26	5.33	5.84	4.91	5.03**	Ns	ns

**Table C.5: Post hoc comparisons for the dependent variable --“Success in handling the crisis”**

Post Hoc Factor	Students' group tested	Score by candidate gender		Score by Traits			Score by Stage of the conflict		Effect magnitude		
		Male	Female	Masculine	Feminine	Control	Onset	Negotiation	Gender	Traits	Conflict Stage
<b>Sex the of participant</b> (0=male 1=female)	Males	5.36	4.62	5.3	4.74	4.85	4.85	5.03	5.61**	Ns	Ns
	Females	5.19	4.92	5.45	4.87	4.88	4.97	5.18	Ns	Ns	Ns
<b>Political Ideology</b>	Strong democrat	5.54	4.4	6.5	4.83	4.36	4.0	6.0	Ns	Ns	Ns
	democrat	4.19	4.88	5.04	4.04	4.64	5.04	4.43	Ns	Ns	Ns
	center	5.03	4.78	5.0	4.77	4.94	4.42	5.29	Ns	Ns	8.65 ***
	republican	5.66	4.86	5.93	4.88	4.71	5.41	5.1	6.07**	5.95***	Ns
	Strong republican	5.68	4.64	5.7	4.93	5.17	5.69	4.79	Ns	Ns	Ns

## APPENDIX D

### QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE SEX FACTOR

**Table D.1: Experiment 1 between group factorial design**

	High success	Low success	Control
Male	1	2	3
Female	4	5	6

#### **D.1 Scenarios**

##### **Introduction-Screen 1**

“There is much concern these days about the spread of nuclear weapons. We are going to describe a situation the U.S could face in the future. For scientific validity the situation is general, and is not about a specific country in the news today. Some parts of the description may strike you as important; other parts may seem unimportant. After describing the situation, we will ask your opinion about a policy option.”

##### **Conditions 1,2,4,5 Screen 2**

- A country is developing nuclear weapons and will have its first nuclear bomb within six months.
- The country could then use its missiles to launch nuclear attacks against American vital interests
- The country’s motives remain unclear, but if it builds nuclear weapons, it will have the power to blackmail or destroy other countries and hamper US interests.
- The country had “refused all requests to stop its nuclear weapons program”
- The country is led by a man/woman. He/she has been running the country for the last three years.
- Leaders and security experts claim that a **military intervention** in the country has high/low chances of removing the threat.

**Conditions 3, 6 screen 2**

- A country is developing nuclear weapons and will have its first nuclear bomb within six months.
- The country could then use its missiles to launch nuclear attacks against American vital interests.
- The country’s motives remain unclear, but if it builds nuclear weapons, it will have the power to blackmail or destroy other countries and hamper US interests.
- The country is led by a man/woman. He/she has been running the country for the last three years.

**Table D.2: Part 2. Between groups factorial design manipulating costs**

	High costs	Low Cost	Control
Male	1	2	3
Female	4	5	6

**Conditions 1,2,4,5 screen 2**

- A country is developing nuclear weapons and will have its first nuclear bomb within six months.
- The country could then use its missiles to launch nuclear attacks against American vital interests.
- The country’s motives remain unclear, but if it builds nuclear weapons, it will have the power to blackmail or destroy other countries and hamper US interests.
- The country had “refused all requests to stop its nuclear weapons program”.
- The country is led by a man/woman. He/she has been running the country for the last three years.
- Leaders and security experts claim that a military intervention in the country is going to result in high/low number of American casualties.

**Conditions 3, 6 screen 2**

- A country is developing nuclear weapons and will have its first nuclear bomb within six months.
- The country could then use its missiles to launch nuclear attacks against American vital interest.
- The country’s motives remain unclear, but if it builds nuclear weapons, it will have the power to blackmail or destroy other countries and hamper US interests.

- The country had “refused all requests to stop its nuclear weapons program”.
- The country is led by a man/woman. He/she has been running the country for the last three years.

## D.2 Questionnaire

### Screen 3

1. Would you favor or oppose using the U.S armed forces to attack the nuclear development sites.

Favor / oppose

Please indicate the intensity of your support to favor or oppose this option

- Support strongly
- Support somewhat
- Neither support nor oppose
- Oppose somewhat
- Oppose strongly

2. Would you favor or oppose the US using diplomatic means to resolve the conflict?

Favor / oppose

Please indicate the intensity of your support to favor or oppose this option

- Support strongly
- Support somewhat
- Neither support nor oppose
- Oppose somewhat
- Oppose strongly

3. Would favor or oppose US doing nothing to resolve the conflict?

Favor / oppose

Please indicate the intensity of your support to favor or oppose this option

- Support strongly
- Support somewhat
- Neither support nor oppose
- Oppose somewhat
- Oppose strongly

**Screen 4**

4. What do you think the probability for success is in accomplishing the objective of removing this particular nuclear threat using military intervention?

No success 0.00 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 Total success

APPENDIX E

ANOVA TABLES

**E.1 ANOVA Tables**

**Table E.1: ANOVA of the interaction between sex and success on perceptions of success**

Source	Type III Sum of		Mean Square	F	Sig.
	Squares	df			
Corrected Model	4579.612 <sup>a</sup>	5	915.922	1.794	.113
Intercept	1652589.127	1	1652589.127	3236.102	.000
Condition	3451.191	2	1725.596	3.379	.035
Sex of Leader	574.514	1	574.514	1.125	.289
Condition * Sex of Leader	570.543	2	285.272	.559	.572
Error	224185.332	439	510.673		
Total	1884000.000	445			
Corrected Total	228764.944	444			

a. R Squared = .020 (Adjusted R Squared = .009)

**Table E.2: ANOVA of the interaction between sex and costs on perceptions of costs**

Source	Type III Sum of		Mean Square	F	Sig.
	Squares	df			
Model	1611630.597 <sup>a</sup>	6	268605.100	280.624	.000
SexofLeaderman0womam1	4812.727	1	4812.727	5.028	.025
Condition	4172.242	2	2086.121	2.179	.114
SexofLeaderman0womam1 * Condition	5148.269	2	2574.135	2.689	.069
Error	429769.403	449	957.170		
Total	2041400.000	455			

a. R Squared = .789 (Adjusted R Squared = .787)

**Table E.3: ANCOVA post hoc analysis with participants' demographics- in experiment 1**

Source	Type III Sum of		Mean Square	F	Sig.
	Squares	df			
Model	4406.296 <sup>a</sup>	10	440.630	245.644	.000
Party ID	10.942	1	10.942	6.100	.014
Age	.005	1	.005	.003	.959
Education	1.518	1	1.518	.846	.358
Sex of the participant	.107	1	.107	.060	.807
Sex of the opponent	.001	1	.001	.001	.978
Leader					
Condition	7.011	2	3.505	1.954	.143
Sex of Leader *	4.542	2	2.271	1.266	.283
Condition					
Error	776.704	433	1.794		
Total	5183.000	443			
a. R Squared = .850 (Adjusted R Squared = .847)					

**Table E.4: ANCOVA post hoc analysis with participants' demographics-  
experiment 2**

Source	Type III Sum of		Mean Square	F	Sig.
	Squares	df			
Model	1406.291 <sup>a</sup>	10	140.291	210.352	.000
Party ID	8.612	1	8.612	3.001	.124
Age	.005	1	.005	.002	.857
Education	3.21	1	3.21	.58	.057
Sex of the participant	2.13	1	2.13	.060	.501
Sex of the opponent	.031	1	.031	.009	.098
Leader					
Condition	4.017	2	2.908	.997	.043
Sex of Leader *	1.58	2	2.271	1.266	.183
Condition					
Error	776.704	433	1.82		
Total	5183.000	443			
a. R Squared = .750 (Adjusted R Squared = .745)					