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Adversity, Gender Stereotyping, and Appraisals of Female Political Leadership: Evidence from Latin America

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Abstract

Analyzing survey data from 17 Latin American countries, this study investigates the extent to which citizens' preferences for leaders of a specific gender vary in response to economic hardship, corruption, and crime. Previous research, mostly undertaken in the advanced democracies, provides conflicting theories about the causal relationship between exposure to adversity and favoring either male or female political leaders. Despite their different assumptions, these theories each advance the view that citizens who are facing serious hardship will be more likely to favor leaders of a specific gender. Contrary to these expectations, my results indicate that neither personal nor society-level hardships are influencing what citizens think about female political leadership in Latin America. Moreover, experiencing adversity also has only minimal and inconsistent effects on perceptions of gendered issue ownership. These findings hold across different types of hardship and for societies where women leaders have presided over well-received or highly unpopular presidential administrations.

Keywords: gender stereotyping; political leadership; Latin America; issue ownership

It is conventional wisdom that gender stereotypes play a significant role in politics, generally to the advantage of male politicians (Bauer 2015a and 2017; Meeks and Domke 2016; Schneider and Bos 2014; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993). Women are seen as more sensitive, caring, and accommodating than men, qualities that run counter to male-centric norms holding that politicians should be tough, decisive, and aggressive (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Eagly and Karau 2002; Horwitz, Igielnik, and Parker 2018; Dolan and Sanbonmatsu 2009; Sanbonmatsu 2002; Alexander and Anderson 1993). Across global regions and in almost every country, most individuals who express a gendered leadership preference favor men (Horowitz 2007; Inglehart and Norris, 2003). Even within societies that have been governed by female heads of state, it is commonplace to find that more than half of the population still believes that men make better political leaders than women (Alexander and Jalalzai 2018, 12). At the same time, pro-male bias is not constant across political or social settings,

and in most of the advanced democracies, the share of citizens saying they favor male leaders has declined sharply over time. In a handful of countries, among individuals who express any gendered preference, most now say that women are better leaders (Horowitz 2007), and there is now considerable debate about whether gender stereotyping still influences voting behavior at all in the United States (Alexander 2012; Brooks 2013; Dolan 2014; Bauer 2015a 2015b; Schaffner, MacWilliams, and Nteta, 2018). In short, gender stereotypes in society remain pervasive, but their negative consequences for female political leadership can change.

The scholarship on gendered issue ownership, stereotype change, and the determinants of attitudes toward female politicians in Latin America is less extensive than the work on the advanced democracies. Nevertheless, research in the region shows that gender bias is widespread, and it appears to function in ways that are similar to what is found elsewhere. Latin American women are widely under-represented at all levels of politics, and a majority of individuals think male or female political leadership is superior for at least some policy issues (Smith, Hennings, and Warming 2018). When in power, female legislators and government ministers disproportionately focus on issues that fit squarely into conventional wisdom about gendered issue competencies, and female executives continue to be held to higher standards than men by the public (Htun, Piscopo, and Von Bergen 2015; Carlin, Carreras, and Love 2018). While gendered appraisals of leadership in Latin America are considerably more prevalent in some countries than others, surveys of the region as a whole indicate that fewer than one-out-of-three citizens strongly reject the idea that men make better political leaders than women (Setzler 2015, 59; see also Smith, Hennings, and Warming 2018; Morgan and Buice 2013).

A growing literature is examining the general causes and consequences of stereotyping outside of the advanced democracies, but we still know little about why specific citizens draw upon stereotypes to judge politicians in Latin America when many other individuals do not (Kerevel and Atkeson 2015). The present study seeks to fill one of the notable gaps in this research; specifically, it asks how variations in individuals' experience with adversity may reinforce or counteract conventional beliefs about the relative capabilities of male and female politicians. Better understanding the factors that trigger the application of stereotypes in Latin America is necessary because a growing body of research on stereotyping in the advanced democracies finds that citizens' baseline assumptions about "feminine" and "masculine" traits and do not necessarily translate into their assessments of politicians or assumptions about the issue competencies of politicians (Bauer 2015a, 2015b and 2017; Schneider and Bos 2014; Brooks 2013). In other words, simply believing that men are innately more agentic and women more communal may not uniformly privilege male or female political leaders. Instead, the activation of conventional stereotypes to assess the competencies of politicians is largely a function of

political messaging or specific experiences that trigger the application of these stereotypes (Bauer 2015a 2015b; Holman, Merolla, and Zechmeister 2016; Lawless 2004).

What circumstances lead Latin Americans to apply or deactivate gender stereotypes when assessing their political leaders? To answer this question, this study analyzes survey data from 17 South and Central American countries. I start by describing the extent to which attitudes about the competency of female leadership in Latin America adhere to the findings scholars have reported elsewhere. The descriptive analysis also examines the degree to which baseline attitudes about the issue-specific and overall competency of women leaders differ for countries that presently have or recently have experienced female heads of state. I then turn to the question of how economic setbacks and corruption—both at the personal and societal level—influence individual attitudes regarding which gender is best suited to deal with these specific problems. Finally, the study analyzes how different types of hardship—specifically, exposure to corruption, economic duress, and crime—shape overall appraisals of male and female political leadership. Examining multiple types of gender stereotyping across Latin America as a whole and within a large set of countries that differ substantially in their economic and political circumstances provides an opportunity to test the explanatory power of several theories of stereotype change derived mostly from research on the advanced democracies.

The three theories applied in this study collectively suggest that experiencing adverse conditions should increase the likelihood that individuals will favor politicians of a particular gender. The first contends that adversity activates otherwise dormant gendered trait stereotypes that are then applied to politicians. Specifically, individuals who feel threatened by economic or security crises may be more likely than their peers to prefer aggressive, decisive male leadership, while citizens exposed to governmental corruption may disproportionately favor supposedly more honest, trustworthy female politicians (Holman, Merolla, and Zechmeister 2016; Lammers, Gordijn, and Otten 2009; Falk and Kenski 2006). A second theory contends that adversity can deactivate the trait stereotypes that most disadvantage female politicians. From this perspective, when citizens experience serious setbacks in policy areas that the government should be able to address, individuals may ignore conventional stereotypes, instead using politicians' gender as a cue for whether a given leader is likely to pursue new approaches to governing (Morgan and Buice 2013; Brown, Diekman, and Schneider 2011). Finally, it may be that any influence hardship has on gendered views of political leadership is contingent on the national executive's gender and what voters have experienced under or his or her leadership. Some scholars report that the presence of a female executive typically leads to less bias against female political leadership (Alexander and Jalalzai 2018; Kerevel and Atkeson

2015), while other research suggests any advantage female politicians may initially derive from their outsider status evaporates as they gain prominent political positions or do not govern well (Morgan and Buice 2013; Carlin, Carreras, and Love 2018).

My results raise questions about the ability of any of these theories to explain or predict the relationship between adversity and gendered leadership preferences in Latin America. Neither personal nor society-level hardships of any type strongly or systematically influence beliefs about which gender's leaders are superior in general. With respect to gendered issue ownership, Latin Americans who are experiencing corruption are modestly more likely to say female leaders are less corrupt than men; however, they are more influenced by their views on the prevalence of public corruption in society as a whole than by their personal experiences with bribes. Research on the US typically views economic management and the prevention of crime to be "masculine" issues, while female politicians are seen as less corrupt. Nevertheless, Latin Americans who are experiencing crime, economic hardship, or corruption are no more or less inclined than their peers to agree that men make better political leaders. Finally, whether they are suffering adversity or not, citizens who live in countries with a female head of state are no more or less likely than their peers in other countries to think men make better political leaders.

Gender Stereotyping and Attitudes about Political Leadership in Latin America

By many measures, women politicians in Latin America have never found themselves in a better period in which to pursue and exercise power (See Reyes-Housholder 2016; Hinojosa 2012; Schwindt-Bayer 2010). Presently, 16 Latin American nations have established some type of mandatory gender candidacy quota system, and the region boasts a higher share of women national legislators than any other region in the world. Latin Americans also are electing more female presidents than elsewhere. In recent years, women have been nominated as major-party presidential candidates in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, and Peru. These countries collectively are home to more than two-thirds of Latin Americans. Moreover, women have won their nation's top political post in several of these countries, and women heads of state have been reelected in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile.

Despite expanding opportunities for female politicians, gendered assumptions about the role of women in politics and gendered issue competency stereotypes still impede full gender parity in political life. Latin American women know less about politics than their male peers do, and they are less likely to participate in both civic and formal political activities (Fraile and Gomez 2017; Espinal and Zhao 2015; Desposato and

Norrander 2009). As Aguilar, Cunow, and Desposato note, "On most social indicators, women still struggle with less access to education, lower incomes, and lower rates of labor force participation. Attitudes among many Latin Americans are still very traditional, with many in public opinion surveys supporting the notion that 'women's place is in the home'" (2015, 230). Even when they gain access to political power, female politicians remain constrained by traditional expectations. As Maria Escobar-Lemmon and Michelle Taylor-Robinson have observed, Latin America's political systems are marred by institutional and social arrangements "where power, rules, or other organizations are constructed in a way that systematically reinforces gender differences" (2008, 686). Although things are improving, women hold just one-in-four seats in the region's national legislative bodies, and the gender gap is wider for executive positions and appointments to presidential ministries (Reyes-Housholder 2016; Hinojosa 2012; Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2008). Female legislators and ministers disproportionately focus on issue areas traditionally viewed as falling within "women's domains," such as healthcare, women's issues, and family policy (Htun, Piscopo, and Von Bergen 2015; Chaney 1979; Schwindt-Bayer 2010; Heath, Schwindt-Bayer, and Taylor-Robinson 2005).

Scholars are just starting to examine the determinants and consequences of everyday citizens' attitudes about female political leadership in the region (e.g., Smith, Warming, and Hennings 2018; Carlin, Carreras, and Love 2018; Kerevel and Atkeson 2015; Morgan 2015; Setzler 2015; Morgan and Buice 2013; Hinojosa 2012). Research on citizens in the advanced democracies indicates that female and male politicians "own" different issues due to interrelated trait and competency gender stereotypes (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003; Meeks and Domke 2016). Male leaders typically are assumed to be better equipped to handle national security, crime, and the economy, while women are seen as less corrupt and more capable of handling "compassion issues," such as health care and education (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003; Lawless 2004; Taylor et al. 2008; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009; Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993). Despite the fact that women politicians should be advantaged by certain trait and competency stereotypes, individuals who express an overall preference regarding politician gender almost always favor male politicians (Horwitz, Igielnik and Kim Parker 2018; Taylor et al. 2008). This pattern also is found in Latin America. A plurality of its citizens say that women leaders typically are less corrupt than men, and approximately half of Latin Americans see male leaders as better equipped to deal with some types of issues but believe their female counterparts are better suited to deal with others (Smith, Warming, and Hennings 2016). Overall, one-out-of-five Latin Americans still agrees that men make better political leaders, while only a third strongly disagree with this idea (Setzler 2015; Morgan and Buice 2013).

Adversity and Gender Stereotype Activation

Why do so many Latin Americans still think that male or female leaders are better suited to address different types of issues or believe that men are more capable leaders overall? Does experiencing hardship in the specific areas where female or male leaders typically are seen as being more or less effective cause suffering individuals in this region to alter their views about which gender's leaders are more capable? In seeking answers to these questions, we can draw insights from several theories of stereotype change that have been applied in other settings to explain why many individuals prefer leaders of a specific gender. Each of these theories takes as a starting point a central finding in the broader literature on gender and issue competency stereotypes: most individuals do not automatically, nor consistently, apply conventional assumptions about masculine and feminine traits to judge politicians. Instead, the application of gender stereotypes to assess leaders largely depends on whether these stereotypes are triggered or deactivated by what is already known about the politician, political messaging, or specific experiences that alter the relative salience of different issues. For example, when citizens are well informed about a candidate's views or able to draw on cues such as partisan identification to make informed judgements about particular leaders' abilities, they are much less likely to rely on generalized gender stereotypes to assess these politicians (Bauer 2015a; Holman, Merolla, and Zechmeister 2016; McDermott 1997).

Much of the research exploring stereotype activation in politics argues that the specific issues that are most salient at a given moment play a key role in determining whether gendered trait and competency stereotypes will be triggered and applied to politicians (Falk and Kenski. 2006). As Lammers, Gordijn, and Otten (2009, 187) explain, since individuals "expect male politicians to do better on certain issues and female politicians to do better on other issues, the degree to which people favor a male versus a female politician is at least partially determined by what people think is the most important problem." Indeed, many politicians are aware that citizens' policy priorities and gendered leadership preferences interact. In mixed-gender elections, candidates and parties frequently try to frame their campaign messaging about policy priorities in ways that that both trigger and align with voters' gender stereotypes (Schreiber 2016; Banwart 2010; Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003; Bauer 2015). For example, campaign advertising and speeches by male politicians in the US disproportionately stress security issues, crime, and macro-economic threats, while female candidates may benefit from campaign messaging that emphasizes integrity in government, social policy, and protection of safety net programs (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003; Koch 1999; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993).

Of course, many of the factors that determine which policy issues and leadership traits will be most important for citizens at any particular moment lie beyond the immediate control of politicians. One body of

scholarship exploring when citizens' apply gender stereotypes points to the emergence of security threats, crime waves, major scandals, or economic downturns as circumstances that raise these issues' salience, triggering issue-ownership stereotypes (Carlin, Carreras, and Love 2018; Merolla and Zechmeister 2013; Kinder and Kiewiet 1981; Falk and Kenski 2006). It is important to note that citizens' issue priorities and their corresponding assessments of politicians reflect not only these individuals' concerns with challenges facing the broader society, but also their personal exposure to adversity. For example, individuals make judgments about their leaders' economic management abilities using a mixture of both personal, "pocketbook" concerns and broader, "sociotropic" assessments (e.g., Kinder and Kiewiet. 1981; Markus 1988). Similarly, voters' appraisals of politicians typically reflect a combination of their personal experiences with corruption together with perceptions of how prevalent corruption is across society as a whole (Bohn 2012; Klašnja, Tucker, and Deegan-Krause 2016).

What specific types of personal or society-level adversity might change how Latin Americans view the relative capability of female and male politicians? Crime, economic crisis, and corruption presently are the three issues of highest concern across the region as a whole (Castañeda 2016, 145). Previous research indicates that when citizens experience crime, corruption, or serious economic shocks—either at the personal level or as a problem for society as a whole—it raises these issues' salience and shapes voting behavior (Gross and Aday 2003; Klašnja, Tucker, and Deegan-Krause 2016; Hacker, Rehm, and Mark Schlesinger 2013). These three concerns also are issues that many individuals believe are best handled by leaders of one gender or the other. Specifically, scholars report that personal security and economic threats advantage male politicians because men are assumed to be tougher, more decisive, and thus better equipped to handle these specific issues (Holman, Merolla, and Zechmeister 2016 and 2011; Falk and Kenski 2006; Hansen and Otero 2006; Lawless 2004). Conversely, scandals or endemic corruption remind voters of the importance of having honest, trustworthy leaders, potentially activating trait stereotypes that should work to the advantage of female politicians, at least initially (Carlin, Carreras, and Love 2018; Barnes and Beaulieu 2014; Morgan and Buice 2013). Unfortunately, the Americasbarometer surveys that provide the data for this study does not include any questions asking respondents about which gender's leaders best address crime; however, the survey does ask which gender is less corrupt and which is most effective at managing the national economy.

To test the argument that experiencing economic crisis, crime, or corruption will trigger conventional stereotypes about issue ownership that favor leaders of a specific gender, I hypothesize:

> H1. Individuals facing economic adversity will have a higher probability than their peers of saying that male politicians are best suited to address this type of hardship; while citizens experiencing

corruption will disproportionately believe that female leaders are less corrupt than their male counterparts.

H2. Individuals experiencing economic adversity or crime will have a higher probability than other individuals of agreeing that males make better political leaders overall, while citizens experiencing corruption will be more likely to disagree that men, generally speaking, make better political leaders.

While much of the recent research on gender stereotyping focuses on how negative experiences activate trait stereotypes, other scholarship reports that the failure of government to address important problems can have the reverse effect, deactivating conventional trait stereotypes that are harmful to women. From this perspective, governmental failures lead citizens to assess female politicians primarily as political outsiders rather than through the lens of conventional gender stereotypes. As Morgan and Buice (2013, 648) explain, "Given women's historical exclusion, people frustrated with traditional elites and institutions may view female politicians positively…. Outsiders, such as women, offer the hope that new leadership might reform unresponsive, ineffective, or corrupt political intuitions and processes." Indeed, these scholars' work shows that Latin Americans who trust government less also are less likely to say men are superior political leaders.

Other research shows that failures of government need not be longstanding to push citizens to see female politicians as more capable of bringing novel to approaches to solving problems. Using an experimental research design, Brown, Diekman, and Schneider (2011) find that most American adults who hold gendered stereotypes associate female candidates with change and men with stability in government. In their work, when individuals who previously had expressed a preference for male political leaders were asked to reflect deeply on a national security crisis, a complete reversal in the direction of bias often occurred if these individuals believed that the crisis had been provoked by failures attributable to the males in charge. In short, when male-centric government fails to protect its citizens, individuals may become more supportive of female politicians and less inclined to apply issue-ownership biases that harm female leaders. To empirically test the idea that individuals who are suffering adversity will be more supportive of female leadership in Latin America, regardless of conventional assumptions about gendered issue ownership, I hypothesize:

H3: Individuals who are experiencing corruption or economic hardship will be more likely than their peers to express pro-female bias on both of these issues and less likely to express a pro-male bias on either issue.

H4. Citizens who are experiencing corruption, economic hardship, or crime will be less likely than other individuals to agree that males make better political leaders overall, and they will be more

likely than other respondents to strongly disagree that men, generally speaking, are better political leaders.

A third body of work on public support for female political leadership stresses the extent to which Latin American countries' varying cultural, developmental, and political contexts shape their citizens' baseline preferences for leaders of a specific gender (i.e., Morgan and Buice 2013; Smith, Warming, and Hennings 2016; Inglehart and Norris 2003). This is not surprising in light of vast differences one finds across the region with respect to religiosity, urbanization, political system support, voter sophistication, party system stability, and other factors previously shown to predict individuals' attitudes toward female political leadership (Setzler 2015; Morgan and Buice 2013; Hinojosa 2012).

A particularly notable variation in these countries' political contexts is whether a female head of state presently holds or recently has held power. Because of differences in country population sizes, at the time the data for this study were collected in 2012, almost half of all Central and South Americans recently had experienced a female head of state even though most of the region's countries have never selected a woman to hold their highest political office. This variation permits a comparison of the extent to which experiencing hardship under a male or female head of state influences gendered attitudes toward issue ownership and political leadership overall. Recent research has shown that the effects of having a female national executive can be transformational, both with respect to increasing political participation and enhancing the overall level of public support for female leadership (Alexander and Jalalzai 2018). As Morgan and Buice (2013, 646) explain, "[Once] women occupy prominent economic or political positions, people are confronted more frequently and more overtly with a reality in which women have access to power, and mass attitudes about female participation in public life are likely to be shaped by the reality" (See also: Reyes-Housholder and Schwindt-Bayer 2017).

At the same time, other scholars examining the determinants of public support for female politicians in societies that have elected women presidents report that simply having a female head of state can lead to various outcomes for attitudes about female leadership, especially when women-led governments falter. This is because women presidents typically have lower rates of initial approval than their male predecessors, are held to higher standards of performance, and are more likely than their male counterparts to see their public approval plummet if scandals or security crises emerge (Carlin, Carreras and 2018).

To examine the extent to which experiencing adversity influences gendered appraisals of leadership differently in countries where citizens have female heads of state, I thus hypothesize:

H5: Regardless of whether they are experiencing personal or societal-level adversity, citizens living in countries with current or

recent female presidents will be more likely than other than their peers in other countries to express support for female political leadership.

H6: Compared to individuals elsewhere, citizens living in Latin American countries with female heads of state will be unusually less supportive of female political leadership if these citizens believe they or their country are experiencing adversity.

Data and Methods

These hypotheses can be tested using the results of the 2012 AmericasBarometer surveys.[1] I rely on data from this single year because several of the required questions for the study have not been fielded in more recent waves of the AmericasBarometer. Most of the country samples have approximately 1,500 respondents, although the sample for Bolivia was twice as large. My analyses all employ appropriate statistical methods that take into account the AmericasBarometer's complex survey design, and my region-wide analyses also incorporate a post-stratification weight that adjusts results to reflect the size of each country's adult population.[2]

The survey instrument includes three questions to measure preferences for political leaders of a certain gender. The first asks, "Who do you think is more corrupt as a politician: a man or a woman, or are both the same?" The second asks, "If a politician is responsible for running the national economy, who would do a better job, a man, a woman, or it doesn't matter?" Because of space constraints on the survey instrument, the two issue-competency items were administered only to every other respondent, resulting in country-level samples of approximately 750 individuals in most cases. I initially analyze the issue-ownership variables with multinomial regression models, using pro-male responses as the omitted category. My hypotheses then are tested with estimated probabilities derived from these models, which permits an examination of how experiencing economic adversity or corruption changes the probability of thinking male or female leaders are superior in each issue area while holding the influence of other factors constant.

The third dependent variable is a measure of overall bias for male political leadership. All respondents were asked how much they concur with this statement: "Some say that, in general, men are better political leaders than women. Do you agree a lot, agree, disagree, or disagree a lot with this statement?" It is somewhat unfortunate for the purposes of direct comparability to my other dependent variables that this item's responses were not worded so that respondents had to state whether "men, women, or both equally" make better political leaders, which is phrasing the Pew Foundation has used in some surveys (Horowitz 2007). Nevertheless, one potential advantage to this item is that its Likert-scale response options reduce the effects of social-desirability bias, since the question does not require respondents who favor male leadership to expressly say

that "men" or "women" are better leaders.[3] The structure of this variable is ordinal in nature, but diagnostic tests indicated that generalized ordinal logistic regression was the most appropriate analytical technique (Williams 2016).[4] The responses of "agree" and "agree a lot" that men are better leaders were collapsed into a single category, which yielded more robust estimates than the original four-category item.

The independent variables of primary interest are six indicators that measure respondents' experience with different types of adversity at the personal and macro-level. Since previous research shows that citizens' appraisals of political leaders typically reflect a combination of personal experiences together with perceptions of how prevalent a problem is across society as a whole, the analyses include interaction terms for both levels of hardship. Specifically, the analyses consider how experiencing three types of adversity influences gendered leadership preferences: corruption, economic downturns, and crime.

To determine individuals' personal exposure to corruption, I calculated a dummy indicator (1=yes; 0=no) to identify respondents who had been asked in the previous year to pay a bribe to government officials of several different types: police, governmental workers, bureaucrats addressing a particular concern, court officials, public healthcare workers, or public school employees. The sociotropic indicator for corruption comes from this question: "Taking into account your own experience or what you have heard, corruption among public officials is very common, common, uncommon, or very uncommon?" Individuals were coded 1 if they believed that corruption was very common and 0 if they did not. Across Latin America, approximately 18 percent of respondents reported being asked to pay a bribe in the previous year, and 40 percent said that corruption by public officials in their country was very common.

Some of the previous research on the advanced democracies reports that management of the national economy is an issue where gendered competency stereotypes work to the advantage of male politicians; however, some scholars looking at Latin America have suggested that political outsiders, including women, should find more support in time of economic hardship. I test the opposing hypotheses about which gender's politicians benefit when individuals are facing severe economic hardship with several questions. My binary pocketbook measure for respondents who are experiencing economic adversity was generated from two survey questions. The first asks, "How would you describe your overall economic situation? Would you say that it is very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad or very bad?" The second asks, "Do you think that your economic situation is better than, the same as, or worse than it was 12 months ago?" Because I am interested in seeing the effects of experiencing serious adversity, respondents were coded 1 only if they believed that their situation was either bad or very bad, and also stated that their condition had worsened in the prior year. The sociotropic measure of economic threat was calculated in an identical way, using two items whose

phrasing mirrors the questions above, but substituting "your economic situation" with "the country's economic situation." Approximately ten percent of Latin Americans reported that their personal situation was dire and had worsened recently, while 17 percent said the same was true for their country.

Finally, several of my hypotheses anticipate that individuals' preferences for political leaders of one gender or the other should differ if they have been or fear being victimized by crime. Although the survey did not ask respondents which gender's leaders are more effective in combatting crime, this is an area in which previous work on gendered issue ownership has consistently found a pro-male bias (e.g., Dolan 2012). My individual-level, binary measure of criminal exposure identifies respondents who were victims of crime or who had close family members victimized in the preceding year. Specifically, respondents were asked in separate questions if they or "any other person living in [their] household" had been a victim of robbery, burglary, assault, fraud, blackmail, extortion, violent threats or any other type of crime in the past 12 months?" The survey did not include a question that entirely distinguishes personal experiences with crime from fears of crime rates for the society as a whole. Instead, my dichotomous measure of societal-level criminal threats is derived from a question that asks, "Speaking of the neighborhood where you live and thinking of the possibility of being assaulted or robbed, do you feel very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe or very unsafe?" Respondents are coded 1 if they said "somewhat unsafe" or "very unsafe." Approximately 32 percent of Latin Americans reported having someone who had been recently victimized by crime living in their household, while 33 percent said that their neighborhood was unsafe.

Following the lead of previous studies exploring assessments of female politicians, my regression analyses all control for various demographic factors that influence whether a person favors men or women leaders (e.g., Morgan 2015; Setzler 2015; Dolan 2014; Sanbonmatsu 2002). These include gender (female), age (in years), level of education (years of formal education, with a maximum value of 18), and skin color as determined by interviewers (0=lightest; 10=darkest).[5] Because I am primarily interested in exploring how recent experience with corruption, economic setbacks, or crime influences gendered assessments of leader performance, the analyses also include controls for various other sources of positive or negative attitudes toward women leaders. These controls include: a measure of self-placement on a 10-point scale of ideology (where higher values correspond to "the left"), frequency of religious service attendance (1="never or almost never," to 5="more than once a week"), as well as whether the respondent thinks that democracy is always better than authoritarianism (1=yes) or lives in a rural area rather than an urban one (1=rural). It could be that some respondents would welcome or reject any change to the makeup of their current political leadership, regardless of whether that change involves more or less female leadership, and so the

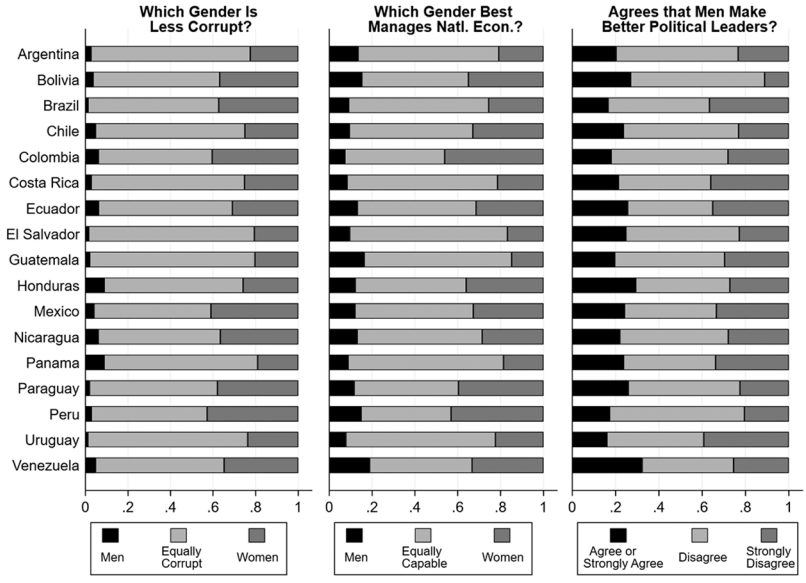
models include a 7-point measure that asks how much the respondent thinks "one should support the political system" of their home country (1= "not at all"; 7= "a lot"). Politically engaged individuals who know more about politics typically are less inclined to rely on gender stereotypes to judge politicians (Bauer 2015a and 2015b), so the models also include a control for how much "interest in politics" the respondent has (1="none" to 4= "a lot,"). Some research has shown that interviewer gender can influence whether Latin Americans will disclose their biases about female leadership, and a dummy control thus is included for female interviewers (Smith, Hennings, and Warming 2018). Finally, recent research indicates that other, country-specific factors not central to this study's focus concerns, can sometimes influence attitudes toward women politicians; as such all of the region-wide analyses control for country fixed-effects.

Results

Before evaluating my hypotheses with multivariate analyses that will isolate any effects that adversity has on attitudes toward male and female leadership, it will be useful to consider first the base incidence of stereotyping across my three dependent variables. Their distribution across different Latin American countries is displayed in Figure 1. For the 17 countries as a whole, after weighting responses by country population size, 21 percent of respondents express agreement with the proposition that males are better overall political leaders than women; however, only 11 percent believe that men are stronger economic managers than women, and just three percent see male leaders as less corrupt than their female counterparts. By comparison, 30 percent of the region's residents say that women make the most competent managers of the national economy, and over a third believe women politicians are less corrupt. While gender and politics scholars looking at the United States typically see the economy as a male-owned issue, among Latin Americans expressing a gender preference on economic management, women leaders are favored over males by a margin of three-to-one. Moreover, the female advantage on economic management is present in every study country except for Guatemala.

One of my hypotheses (H5) states that citizens in countries with female presidents should generally be more supportive of female political leadership, regardless of their own experience with adversity. Another (H6), proposes that mass attitudes about female political leadership in women-led countries generally will reflect the successes and failures that their presidents are having. While we will want to look at this argument in more detail with regression models that consider a full range of factors, including whether a person is suffering adversity, the descriptive data provide some general insights to consider. Specifically, individuals in the four countries that recently had elected female heads of state—Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Costa Rica—appear to be no more or less supportive of female leadership on any of the stereotyping measures than other countries' citizens.

Figure 1. Attitudes about Female Political Leadership in 17 Latin American Countries.



Notes: Proportions calculated from the 2012 AmericasBarometer, applying appropriate survey weights as described in the article's methodology section.

The consistency across the female-led countries is intriguing in light of the how differently their women presidents were being judged by the public at the time the data for this study were collected. Chileans answered the relevant survey items informed by the considerable political success that former President Michelle Bachelet had enjoyed during her 2006–2010 term. Her approval rating stood at over 80 percent in 2012, a figure much higher than her male successor's rating at the same time and sufficiently robust for her to be reelected in Chile's 2014 presidential election. And yet, as noted in Figure 1, 24 percent of Chileans said males make better political leaders, and Chilean appraisals of female leadership on corruption and economic issues closely align with region-wide averages. At the other end of the range for female presidential performance, Costa Rica's then leader, Laura Chinchilla, had an approval rating of just 26 percent in 2012, and two years later, she would exit office as the least popular president in the Americas (Dyer 2014). Notwithstanding her dismal popular standing, Costa Ricans were the most likely of citizens living in the female-led nations to strongly disagree that males make better political leaders. In short, in the absence of any controls, there is no evidence to support either of my hypotheses about women-led countries being different with respect to their attitudes toward female political leadership in general.

Table 1: Hardship's Influence on Gendered Issue Ownership.

	Men & Women Equally Corrupt	Women Are Less Corrupt	Men & Women Equal Economic Managers	Women Are Better Economic Managers
Hardship				
Personal corruption	.601 (.19)	**.863 (.26)**	—	—
Societal corruption	.787 (.20)	**1.199 (.31)**	—	—
Personal x societal corruption	1.302 (.58)	.976 (.44)	—	—
Personal econ. crisis	—	—	.903 (.27)	1.111 (.35)
Societal econ. crisis	—	—	.889 (.18)	1.028 (.20)
Personal x societal econ. crisis	—	—	.875 (.36)	.830 (.36)
Controls				
Church attendance	.984 (.08)	.989 (.09)	.975 (.04)	1.028 (.05)
Age	1.011* (.01)	1.007 (.01)	1.003 (.00)	1.000 (.00)
Female	.949 (.20)	1.009 (.21)	1.630*** (.19)	**2.354*** (.33)**
Education	1.070* (.03)	1.048 (.03)	1.072*** (.02)	***1.030 (.02)***
Rural	1.605* (.33)	1.560* (.34)	1.132 (.19)	.945 (.16)
Skin color	.889 (.07)	.917 (.08)	.902* (.04)	**1.006 (.05)**
Left ideology	1.052 (.04)	1.026 (.04)	1.047* (.02)	1.036 (.03)
Support pol. system	.934 (.05)	.960 (.05)	.910** (.03)	.952 (.04)
Democracy always best	1.010 (.24)	.960 (.23)	1.005 (.14)	1.124 (.16)
Interest in politics	.911 (.09)	.879 (.09)	.997 (.07)	.930 (.07)
Female Interviewer	1.157 (.26)	1.038 (.23)	1.065 (.17)	1.095 (.17)
Observations	10,874		11,036	
Pseudo R^2	.05		.08	

Notes: The results are from multinomial regression models. The coefficients are odds ratios, with standard errors listed in parentheses. * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001. The models' base categories are that male politicians are less corrupt and more competent at running the national economy. **Bolded** coefficients denote factors that made a respondent statistically more likely (at $p < .05$) to prefer female leaders rather than saying men and women are equally competent; **bolded and italicized** coefficients identify factors that made a respondent statistically less likely to say women are better than men rather than equally good leaders. Country fixed effects controls included in the models, but not shown. All estimates were calculated from the 2012 AmericasBarometer. To address complex survey design as well as and country population size differences, Stata's Svy methods were used. Pseudo R^2 (Cox & Snell) measures of fit were estimated separately and are approximate.

Although they draw from theories that offer opposing predictions, all of my hypotheses anticipate that persons experiencing personal or macro-level adversity will differ from their peers by being more likely to prefer either female or male leaders. I test my two arguments related to adversity and gendered issue ownership (H1 and H3) by considering how experiencing corruption or economic hardship affects attitudes about which gender's leaders are less corrupt and more capable economic managers.

Table 1 summarizes the results of two multinomial regression models predicting whether a person will express a pro-female bias or no bias at all, rather than saying men are less corrupt or better leaders on the economy. The results are grouped so that the first two columns analyze how exposure to personal and macro-level corruption shapes beliefs about which gender's leaders are less corrupt, while the right-hand columns examine how economic adversity shapes beliefs about which gender's leaders best manage the national economy. For the sake of clarity and easier interpretation, the country fixed-effects results are not displayed in the table and the logit coefficients are exponentiated into odds-ratios, where values between zero and one denote a negative relationship. The bolded coefficients highlight instances where a factor made respondents more or less likely to say that women are better leaders than to say that both genders are equal.[6] For example, while individuals who think that corruption is very common in their society are not statistically more or less likely to say that male leaders are more corrupt, the bolded coefficient indicates that citizens are more likely to say that women are less corrupt leaders than they are to say there is no difference by gender. As a whole, the results in Table 1 indicate female respondents are more likely to see women politicians as more effective economic managers and less prone to corruption than male leaders, while higher levels of education made individuals more likely to select gender neutral responses.

The most straightforward way to test my first and third hypotheses from the models reported in Table 1 is to examine predicted probability estimates derived from them. Specifically, the marginal effects estimates plotted in Figure 2 show how exposure to corruption or economic hardship changes the probability that a person will prefer either male or female leadership on specific issues. The figure's country-specific estimates were generated separately with models including all of the same variables. Figure 2's top panels look at the marginal effects of experiencing corruption, while the bottom panels plot the effects of exposure to economic hardship. The left-hand panels show how personal level adversity influences gendered issue ownership, while the right-hand results analyze the consequences of sociotropic exposure to hardship.

My first hypothesis anticipates that experiencing economic hardship should trigger conventional issue-ownership stereotypes, leading Latin Americans to prefer male leadership on this issue. Similarly, individuals

Figure 2. The Marginal Effects of Hardship on the Belief that Male/Female Politicians are Less Corrupt and Better Economic Managers.

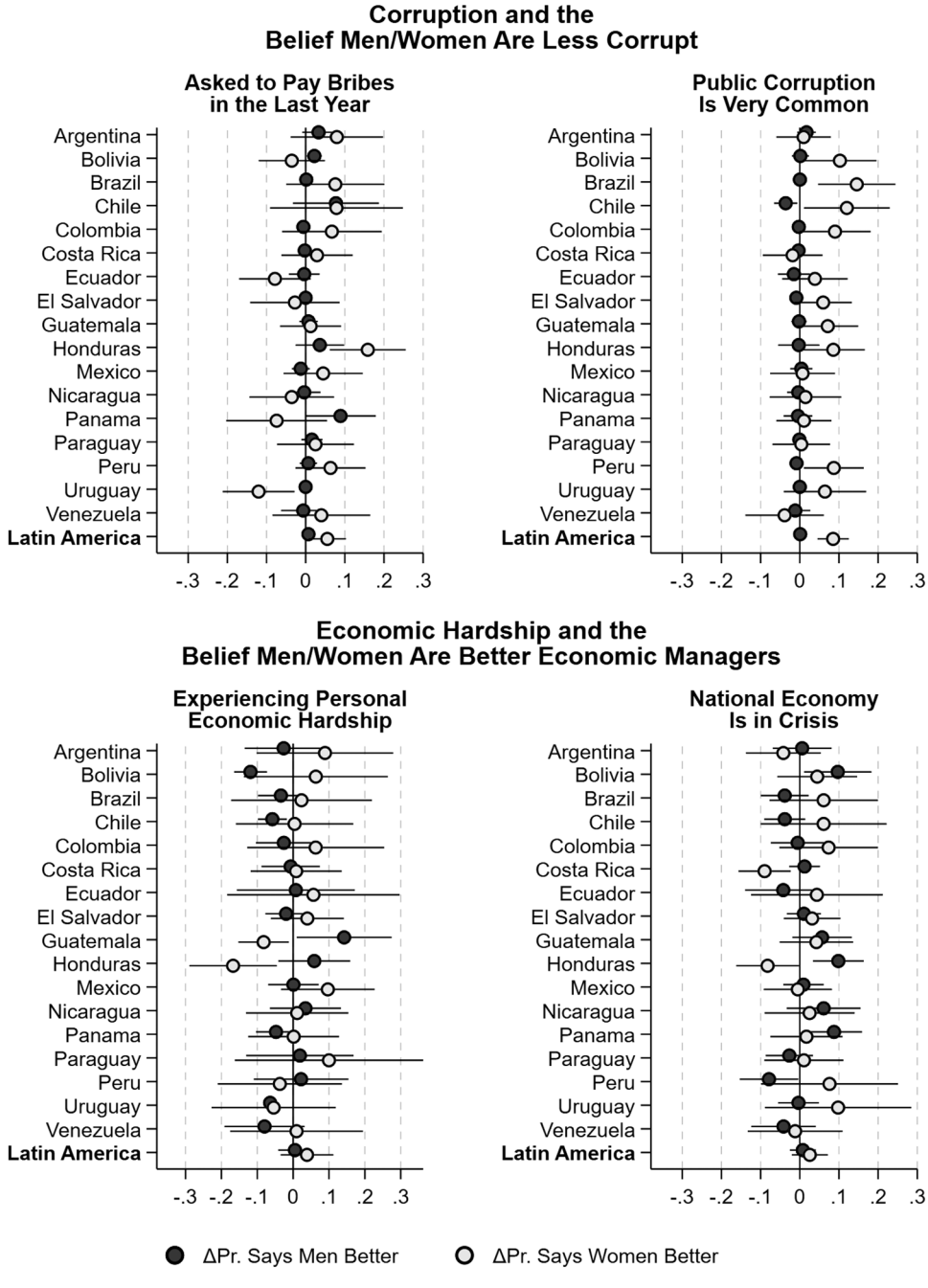


Figure 2. Continued

Note: The region-wide estimates were calculated with the multinomial regression models summarized in Table 1; the country-specific estimates were calculated separately, using the same variables. The darker markers show how much experiencing the specified hardship changes the probability of saying that men are less corrupt (top panels) or more capable of running the national economy (bottom panels) than women when compared to otherwise similar individuals without the hardship. The lighter markers show how much hardship changes the probability of saying that women are less corrupt or better equipped than men to the manage the economy. The lines on the markers denote 95% confidence intervals.

exposed to corruption should see female leaders as being less corrupt, since women leaders "own" this issues. In contrast, my third hypothesis holds that female leaders will benefit when citizens are suffering from either corruption or economic hardship, since male politicians hold most positions of power in Latin America and thus should bear the brunt of the blame if government is failing to work well. Contrary to both hypotheses, however, the results plotted in Figure 2 indicate that Latin Americans who are experiencing personal or macro-level hardships are neither strongly biased against female political leadership, nor especially supportive of women politicians for these issues.

For Latin Americans as a whole, perceiving that there is an economic crisis, either at the personal or national level, does not change at all attitudes about which gender's leaders best manage the economy. Similarly, personally experiencing corruption makes the typical Latin American just four percent more likely to say female leaders are less corrupt than men, despite the evidence shown earlier in Figure 1, which demonstrated that female politicians start with a massive advantage in baseline perceptions of which gender's politicians are less corrupt. The effects of believing that corruption is very common among public officials are modestly higher. Among Latin Americans who think that public corruption is very common, 42 percent say female politicians are less corrupt, while just 34 percent of individuals who do not see corruption as being rampant believe women leaders are less corrupt. On the other hand, exposure to corruption does not increase or decrease the probability of believing that male leaders are less corrupt.

My sixth hypothesis suggests that citizens who are suffering adversity and living in countries that have female leaders will be more inclined to see male politicians as being more effective, but this does not appear to be the case. The country-specific plots reveal no obvious differences between the countries led by women presidents when the survey was administered—Argentina, Brazil, and Costa Rica—and elsewhere. While there are country-level departures from my findings for the region as

a whole, the effects of adversity on gendered assumptions about issue ownership point in different directions across the plots, depending on the country as well as whether adversity is occurring at the individual or societal level.

Two of my hypotheses (H2 and H4) test the idea that experiencing different types of hardship will make individuals more or less likely to agree with the proposition that men make better overall political leaders than women. Table 2 presents the results for three generalized ordinal logistic regression models examining these arguments. In addition to again considering the effects of experiencing corruption and economic adversity, a third model analyzes how exposure to crime at the personal and community level affects the likelihood of agreeing, disagreeing, or strongly disagreeing that males make better political leaders. For each model, the odds-ratios listed in the first column compare the likelihood of a person either disagreeing or strongly disagreeing that men make better leaders rather than agreeing. The second column compares the likelihood of a respondent strongly disagreeing that men are better leaders rather than giving either of the other responses.[7]

Once again, the most straightforward method to use the models' results to test my hypotheses is to generate and analyze marginal effects estimates, showing how exposure to different types adversity changes the probability of agreeing that men are better political leaders or strongly disagreeing with that proposition. Figure 3 thus plots predicted probabilities calculated from both region-wide and country-specific models.

At the personal level, having been asked to pay bribes to public officials in the previous year has no region-wide effect on support for the idea that men are better overall political leaders. Experiencing corruption personally also does not increase the probability of strongly disagreeing that men make better leaders. These findings hold across the individual countries, regardless of whether a woman head of state was in charge or not. Earlier, I reported that individuals who think that corruption is rampant among their country's public officials are about 8 percent more likely to say female politicians are less corrupt than citizens who think corruption is not so prevalent. The estimates in Figure 3 show that this issue-ownership bias does not translate very much into gendered appraisals of overall leadership ability. The data show that individuals who think that public corruption is very common are no less likely than other respondents to agree that men make better political; however, they are about four more percentage points more likely to strongly disagree with the idea that men make better leaders.

With respect to effect of experiencing economic hardship or crime—both of which are hypothesized in H2 as factors that should increase support for male political leadership—there is no evidence from the data plotted in Figure three to show that Latin Americans who are experiencing these setbacks are more likely to agree that men make better leaders.

Table 2: The Influence of Different Types of Hardship on Agreement that Men Make Better Political Leaders.

	Corruption		Economic Hardship		Criminal Victimization	
	Disagree Men Better	Strongly Disagree Men Better	Disagree Men Better	Strongly Disagree Men Better	Disagree Men Better	Strongly Disagree Men Better
Hardships						
Personal corruption	.832 (.09)	1.309** (.14)	—	—	—	—
Societal corruption	.979 (.08)	1.273** (.10)	—	—	—	—
Personal x societal corruption	1.179 (.18)	.721* (.10)	—	—	—	—
Personal econ. crisis	—	—	.924 (.13)	1.285* (.16)	—	—
Societal econ. crisis	—	—	1.026 (.08)	1.026 (.08)	—	—
Personal x societal econ. crisis	—	—	.954 (.16)	.954 (.16)	—	—
Crime victim	—	—	—	—	1.007 (.07)	1.007 (.07)
In unsafe community	—	—	—	—	.905 (.06)	.905 (.06)
Personal x societal criminal threat	—	—	—	—	1.228 (.13)	1.228 (.13)
Controls						
Church attendance	.966 (.02)	.966 (.02)	.965 (.02)	.965 (.02)	.969 (.02)	.969 (.02)
Age	1.002 (.00)	1.002 (.00)	1.002 (.00)	1.002 (.00)	1.002 (.00)	1.002 (.00)
Female	2.260*** (.12)	2.260*** (.12)	2.225*** (.12)	2.225*** (.12)	2.251*** (.12)	2.251*** (.12)
Education	1.056*** (.01)	1.056*** (.01)	1.058*** (.01)	1.058*** (.01)	1.054*** (.01)	1.054*** (.01)
Rural	1.181 (.11)	1.181 (.11)	1.137 (.10)	1.137 (.10)	1.147 (.10)	1.147 (.10)

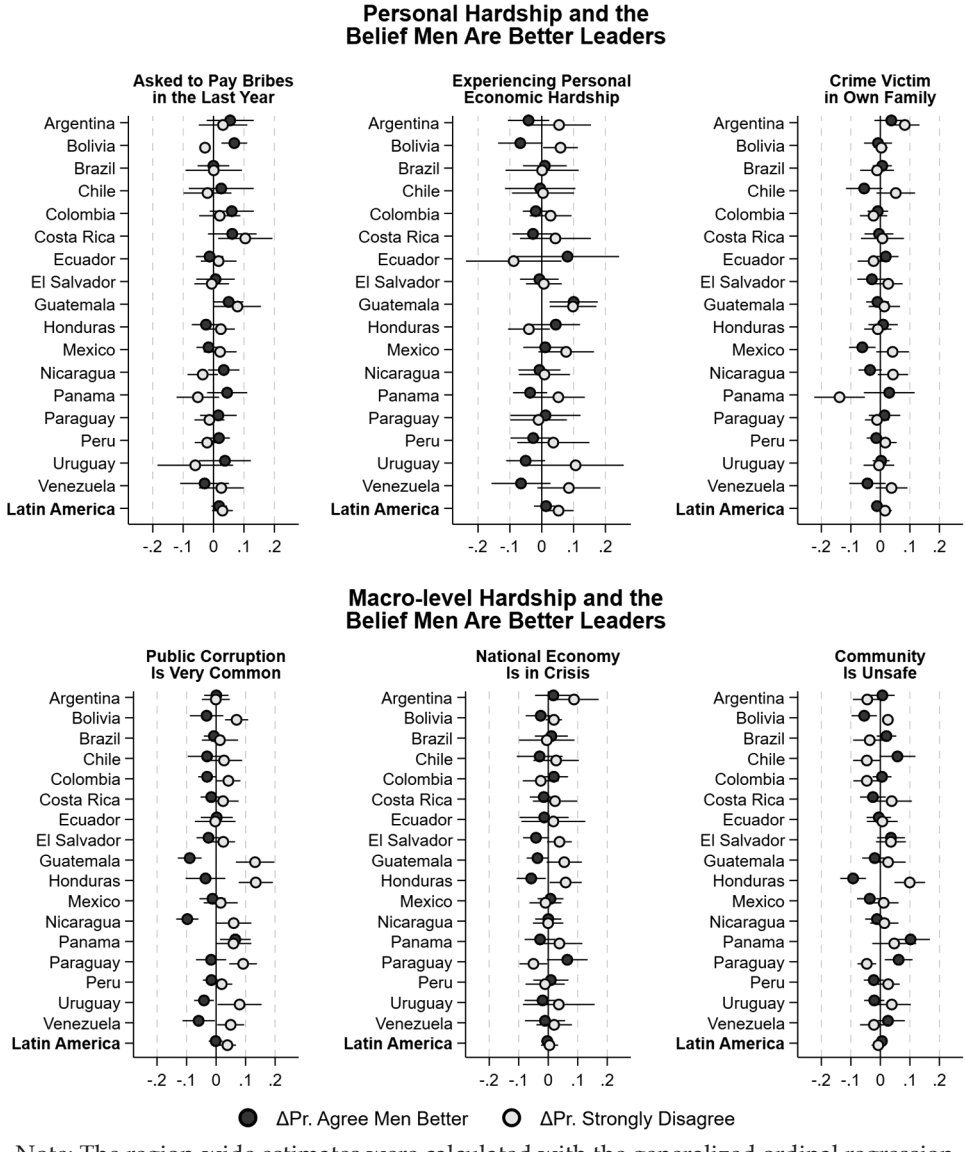
(*Continued*)

Table 2: Continued

	Corruption		Economic Hardship		Criminal Victimization	
	Disagree Men Better	Strongly Disagree Men Better	Disagree Men Better	Strongly Disagree Men Better	Disagree Men Better	Strongly Disagree Men Better
Controls						
Skin color	.977 (.02)	.977 (.02)	.942* (.02)	1.006 (.03)	.978 (.02)	.978 (.02)
Left ideology	1.044*** (.01)	1.044*** (.01)	1.044*** (.01)	1.044*** (.01)	1.045*** (.01)	1.045*** (.01)
Support pol. system	1.018 (.02)	1.018 (.02)	1.017 (.02)	1.017 (.02)	1.017 (.02)	1.017 (.02)
Democracy always best	1.293** (.10)	1.014 (.08)	1.349*** (.10)	1.027 (.08)	1.296*** (.10)	1.016 (.08)
Interest in politics	.922* (.03)	.922* (.03)	.935* (.03)	.935* (.03)	.934* (.03)	.934* (.03)
Female interviewer	1.282** (.12)	.961 (.09)	1.230* (.12)	.963 (.09)	1.225* (.12)	.975 (.10)
Observations	21,792		22,521		22,363	
Pseudo R^2	.09		.09		.09	

Notes: Models calculated with Richard Williams' *gologit2* program for Stata (Williams 2016). The coefficients are odds ratios, with standard errors listed in parentheses. * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001. The models' base category is "agree or strongly agree" that men make better leaders than women. Country fixed effects were included in the models, but those results are not shown. All estimates were calculated from the 2012 AmericasBarometer. To address complex survey design as well as and country population size differences, Stata's Svy methods were used. Pseudo R^2 (Cox & Snell) measures of fit were estimated separately and are approximate.

Figure 3. The Marginal Effects of Hardship on the Belief that Male Politicians are Better Political Leaders.



Note: The region-wide estimates were calculated with the generalized ordinal regression models summarized in Table 2; the other estimates were calculated with country-specific models, using the same variables. The darker markers show how much experiencing the specified hardship changes the probability of agreeing or strongly agreeing that men make better political leaders than women when compared to otherwise similar individuals not experiencing hardship. The lighter markers show how hardship changes the probability of strongly disagreeing that men make better political leaders. The lines on the markers denote 95% confidence intervals.

Similarly, there is no support for H4's expectation that citizens who are not being protected from crime or who are suffering economically will be less likely that their more fortunate peers to agree that men make better overall political leaders.

Finally, a comparison of the country-level results across the six panels in Figure 3 reveals no systematic differences between the four countries that recently have elected women presidents—Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Costa Rica—and those that have not. While Chile's former female president, Michelle Bachelet, remained extremely popular in 2012, Chileans who were living in unsafe communities, or worried about a struggling national economy, or convinced that most national politicians were corrupt were not any more likely than their more fortunate Chilean peers to reject the idea that men make better leaders. Chile's response patterns do not systemically differ from those of the other countries in the region, including Brazil, Argentina, and Costa Rica, where women presidents were still in place in 2012. In Brazil, Dilma Rousseff's presidency would eventually run into catastrophic political trouble in Brazil; however, her approval rate was at 77 percent at the time that the 2012 AmericasBarometer was fielded (Mendes 2012). Her popularity notwithstanding, Brazilians who were suffering adversity were no more likely than other Brazilians to embrace female leadership as a solution or obstacle to making progress on their economic, crime, and corruption problems. In fact, the pattern is virtually the same in Costa Rica, despite the fact that its female president was deeply unpopular in 2012.

Conclusions

There is considerable evidence that gender stereotyping continues to play a central role in Latin America's political life, with conventional assumptions about the supposedly different traits and abilities of female and male politicians still serving as an obstacle to full gender parity in politics. At the same time, women in the region are running for and winning high political office at unprecedented rates, and recently women have served as the head of state in several of Latin America's largest countries. In short, the application of conventional gender stereotypes to judge and constrain the political ambitions of female politicians is still a problem, but the prevalence and negative consequences of competency stereotyping appear to be declining over time just as they are in the long-established democracies.

The primary purpose of my study has been to explore one factor that might explain why many Latin Americans still are inclined to apply gendered stereotypes to make judgements about the ability of politicians while many other individuals do not. Specifically, I have sought to answer the question of what happens to gendered leadership preferences when citizens experience various types of personal or macro-level adversity. Much of the work focusing on stereotype activation in the advanced

democracies suggests that experiencing serious hardship reprioritizes the issues about which people care the most, triggering the gendered competency stereotypes associated with those issues. However, I find no evidence to support this theory in the Latin American context. Latin Americans who are personally suffering from corruption or economic duress are not substantially more likely than their more fortunate peers to say that female or male leaders better address these issues.

Other research indicates that individuals who have serious concerns about personal or societal threats that are not being addressed adequately by government will be more inclined to reject the traditional gender stereotypes and male-dominated politics that are not serving their interests well. In this view, widespread hardship should favor female politicians who may be better prepared to offer voters a new perspective on leadership. Again, there is no evidence in the results reviewed here to suggest that this is a widespread phenomenon in Latin America. Few policy areas are as important to the region's citizens as the quality of their nation's economic stewardship and the need to combat endemic corruption and crime. Nevertheless, experience with any of these problems does not lead the typical Latin American to see female politicians as much more competent on these issues or to favor women leaders overall.

My findings collectively suggest that continued change in popular perceptions of female politicians in Latin America is unlikely to come about because of the difficult times that many citizens face. Instead, my results show that researchers need to continue to explore other causes of stereotype change in the region because the evidence is clear that attitudes toward female politicians are in flux even if citizens suffering from adversity are not driving this change. Despite the fact that such a large share of Latin Americans—at least a fifth of the region's residents—agree with the idea that men make better overall political leaders, many of these same citizens express a high level of confidence in the ability of women politicians to resist corruption and manage national economic affairs. This finding is important not only because these particular issues are top priorities for citizens across the region, but also because economic management is a policy domain that traditionally has been owned by male politicians. The fact that the average Latin American is three times as likely to say that female, rather than male, politicians can more effectively guide their nation's economy suggests that core the attitudes regarding the role and capacity of women leaders are being transformed at the same time more women are gaining access to political offices at the highest level. What is causing this change, however, remains unclear.

Perhaps most importantly over the long run, my research also shows that the serious corruption, economic, and criminal threats faced by so many Latin Americans over the last decade seem to be having no negative consequences at all for how the typical citizen views female leadership

in the countries where voters have elected female heads of state. Country-level analyses show that suffering citizens do not blame female political leadership in general for major setbacks even in places like Argentina and Costa Rica—home to very unpopular female presidents when the data for this project were collected. While there is little doubt that many of Latin America's most vulnerable residents would like to see stronger, more decisive leadership in addressing economic problems and combatting crime and corruption, the individuals who are being harmed these issues show no unusual degree of animosity toward female political leadership.

Endnotes

[1] The data were provided at no cost by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) and its major supporters: the United States Agency for International Development, the United Nations Development Program, the Inter-American Development Bank, and Vanderbilt University (See: AmericasBarometer 2012).

[2] The AmericasBarometer employs multi-stage probabilistic samples based on regional and urban/rural area stratification within each country. For all of the samples in this study, the questionnaire was administered in face-to-face interviews in respondents' homes. For most surveys, the researchers relied on age and gender quotas at the household level to match accurately the known distribution of key population groups; however, post-stratification weighting was used to achieve nationally representative samples for Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, and Ecuador. Because of the survey's complex design, all of the coefficients and standard errors reported in this study's analyses have been adjusted to take into account survey weights and complex survey-design effects; results were calculated in Stata 15 using *svyset* and *svy* commands as recommended by LAPOP.

[3] The possibility that social desirability bias has influenced response patterns for all of the measures of gender bias on which this study relies cannot be overlooked or, unfortunately, addressed retroactively. The phrasing for the AmericasBarometer items I use to measure gender bias and their response categories are identical to similar items on surveys periodically administered by the Pew Foundation and the World Values Survey, and these items are widely used in social science research looking at attitudes toward female leadership (Smith, Hennings, and Warming 2018; Setzler 2018; Morgan and Buice 2013). Despite their frequent use, research analyzing response patterns to survey items that ask respondents to reveal explicitly their preference for male leaders reports that many respondents are less likely to give the most pro-male response to explicit questions about gender bias than they are on similar questions that better mask the items' purpose (Setzler 2018). In 2007, the Pew Foundation asked residents in seven Latin American countries whether "men," "women," or "both equally" "make better political leaders." An average of 12 percent

of respondents (unweighted by country population) said they preferred men, while eight percent said women were better. This level of bias is considerably lower than what this study finds using a very similar item that has Likert-scale responses, suggesting that respondents are more willing to "agree" with the statement that men are better leaders, than they are to state directly that "men" are better leaders.

[4] Ordinal regression was not appropriate for these analyses because Brant tests confirmed that several of the independent variables—including key variables for this study—had varying effects across different levels of the independent variables. Instead, the models were calculated with Richard Williams' *golgit2* program for Stata, applying the *svy* and *autofit* options. The latter option relaxes the parallel line constraint only for the independent variables where this assumption is violated. As a robustness check, separate analyses were calculated using multinomial logistic regression, and they differed in no meaningful way from what is reported in Table 2 and Figure 3.

[5] Following Smith, Warming, and Hennings (2016), skin color is analyzed instead of self-described race because doing so reduces the number of observations deleted due to missing data. Separate analyses with a dummy variable for white/non-white respondents produced substantively identical results.

[6] The models reported in the table all use pro-male responses as the reference category. The bolded coefficients reflect results from models that were calculated separately using the gender-neutral responses as the base category.

[7] In many instances, the same coefficients and standard errors are reported in both columns. This is because multiple coefficients for the same variable were calculated only if there was a violation of the parallel lines assumption required by ordinal logistic regression. Where the coefficients are the same for both levels of the dependent variable, it means that a one-unit increase in that independent variable has a consistent effect across all levels of the outcome (Williams 2016).

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