University of Bath

Alternative formats
If you require this document in an alternative format, please contact:
openaccess@bath.ac.uk

Competence and Electability:
Exploring the Limitations on Female Candidates in Qatar

Shortened Title: Perceptions of Female Candidates in Qatar

Bethany Shockley

Qatar University
Social and Economic Survey Research Institute (SESRI)

bnesbit@qu.edu.qa

Abstract: Attitudes about women's expertise can play a role in limiting their access to influential public spaces, including elected government positions. In the Arabian Gulf, women remain underrepresented in electoral politics. Does this underrepresentation stem from the belief that women will govern incompetently, or are they viewed as less electable? This research uses a field experiment to investigate the attitudes of young adults in Qatar. It finds that respondents do not make gender distinctions about the overall competence of the candidate. However, they are less willing to vote for the woman candidate and doubt her electability.

Introduction

      The participation of women in politics around the world has increased in recent decades. This global opening has touched even the conservative societies of the Arabian Peninsula, making it possible for women to advance in education, employment, and social status. Nonetheless, in terms of descriptive representation, women continue to be severely underrepresented in all elected spaces, though there is significant variation across the region in both the number of female politicians and in the influence they wield. While progress has been nearly universal, the pace and the types of advances made by women remain somewhat context-specific. In the Arabian Gulf countries, the progress of women into the public sphere has been slow relative to the breathtaking pace of modernization in recent decades. While previous studies have discussed the role of women in Middle Eastern societies, considerably less is known about the facets of public opinion that underlie traditionally male-dominated political structures (Al-Ali 2000; Moghadam 2013; Sjoberg and Whooley 2015). What attitudes are related to women's protracted absence from politics? Are women seen as intrinsically less capable of holding elected office? Do they lack the necessary public support to defy social norm because they may be considered weak candidates who will face difficulties winning votes?

      This project investigates the attitudes of young adults in Qatar regarding candidates for the local municipal council, a democratically elected advisory body that oversees local affairs. It is part of a larger effort to understand how public opinion shapes the prospects of women in various aspects of their lives, sometimes imposing glass ceilings on their success, particularly in politics (Matland 1994; Taylor-Robinson et. al. 2015). There are several ways that these glass ceilings come about, and this article considers two. The first is that society may doubt that women will be able to represent their interests or adequately perform the duties of governance. Women may be thought less competent than men, particularly in some issue areas such as

defense and foreign policy that are traditionally deemed masculine domains (Sapiro 1983, Huddy and Terkildsen 1993, Matland 1994). The second is that women, regardless of their perceived level of competence, are discouraged from running because they are assumed to be less successful at garnering votes from the electorate (Sanbonmatsu 2002a). In Qatar, reforms encouraging women to participate in politics have come from top-down initiatives instead of bottom-up demands. Although women have been encouraged by government policies to vote and run as candidates since the creation of the local council in 1999, very few run and only two have been elected (Bahry and Marr 2005). Perhaps the fault lies primarily with mass attitudes rather than with the institutional framework.

Due to the processes of modernization, attitudes about the role of women are shifting. Past attempts to understand gender attitudes through surveys, though useful, may be considerably biased because some respondents may want to appear liberal while others want to appear conservative for various social and religious reasons. To overcome social desirability issues, this project uses random assignment to treatments, asking university students to evaluate a hypothetical candidate without knowing the true purpose of the study until the end of their participation. Thus, the design picks up on subtle and perhaps even subconscious gender biases that might not be observed using traditional survey methods. It is also the first study of its kind in the Arabian Gulf region. This article reviews the literature, discusses the case of Qatar in comparative context, develops hypotheses, describes the experiment, presents the findings, and highlights their applications. Findings show that women candidates are perceived to lack both competence and electability by some students, particularly females who are nearing completion in their major.

Mass perceptions of women in government

Women are expected to behave differently from men in political positions. For instance, research indicates that women are expected to be compassionate, cooperative, warm and expressive, while men are often expected to be aggressive decision-makers.[1] Studies also show that mass opinion on gender-related topics is not static, but can change over time (Diekman et al. 2004). Specifically, as people experience more female leaders, prejudice against women politicians and managers decreases (Beaman et al. 2009, Stoker et al. 2012). Furthermore, electoral outcomes are shaped by citizen expectations and beliefs about how legitimate political actors should behave (Carroll and Fox 2006). These expectations can result in support for women who stay within policy spheres that are deemed feminine. Thus, voters favor males for masculine policy domains such as law and order and foreign policy, but on issues such as healthcare and education, women achieved parity (Bystrom 2006, Carli and Eagly 2007, 132). These studies highlight the importance of investigating a variety of policy areas, including both masculine and feminine domains, because perceptions of women could differ significantly between the two.

Other research has investigated how people use stereotypes to make decisions. Bems (1981) describes the process by which individuals form cognitive structures, called schemas, which allow them to organize information and experiences in a way that influences their perceptions of the world. Schemas are often activated when people are trying to make judgements about situations or people without knowing all the details. For instance, one study demonstrates that when exposed to campaign ads for female politicians, respondents used the gender of the candidate to form judgements, especially when other information about the candidate is not available (Chang and Hitchon 2004). Furthermore, McDermott (1997, 1998) shows that gender stereotypes operate in a manner similar to other information short-cuts, such

as party affiliation, incumbency, or race, and are used by voters to evaluate candidates in low-information electoral settings. The inverse relationship between information and stereotype usage is relevant to the research design and the interpretation of the findings because providing more information about the candidate lessens the chances of observing the use of stereotypes among respondents.

Foundational research experiments on perceptions of women politicians was conducted by Sapiro (1981), who recognized that the success of the feminist movement in the US might make respondents unwilling to express biases against women. Gendered perceptions emerged only for issue areas not mentioned in the candidate speech, reiterating the idea that respondents are more likely to use schemas in low-information contexts. Similar experiments find that, not only are men and women candidates favored in their respective areas, but competence in masculine issue areas is more important to voters in evaluating hypothetical presidential candidates than competence in feminine domains (Rosenwasser et al. 1987; Rosenwasser and Seale 1988). Thus the information available to the respondent and the gendered nature of the issue area in question are both important aspects of the experimental design established by early experiments conducted in the U.S. context.

H1: Respondents will employ gender schema for policy areas that are not specifically presented in the candidate speech (childcare, sanitation, and culture), expressing preferences for one candidate over the other.

H2: The male candidate will be rated more favorably for masculine domains (labor, industry, sanitation, traffic), and the female candidate will be rated more favorably for feminine domains (childcare, education, healthcare, disability services).

While initial studies provide a basis for understanding how gender schemas are formed

and used, other research makes valuable extensions to additional contexts. Matland (1994) examines Norway where women have held important offices at all levels of government and where society appeared to have embraced norms of gender equality. He finds that respondents make gender distinctions for issue areas that were mentioned in the speeches, which diverges from previous studies that only observed them for areas not included in the texts read by respondents. Men receive better ratings for masculine domains (defense, agriculture, and foreign policy) and females for feminine domains (child care policy and women's rights). When other outcome variables such as willingness to support the candidate and the candidate's ability to get votes, are considered, Matland (1994) finds gender differences only among conservative party affiliate females, who favor the male candidate.

Outside the Western context, experimental work on Costa Rica by Taylor-Robinson et al. (2015) demonstrates the importance of female representation. Using a design similar to Matland (1994), the authors examine attitudes toward female candidates for the national legislature, which has a strong history of women in politics. The study finds no evidence of bias against women, but rather the woman candidate is preferred in both feminine and masculine areas and is just as likely as the man to be judged electorally viable. Beaman et al. (2009) provide evidence from India that corroborates the transformative power of females in government. Taking advantage of a policy that randomly assigned village-level gender quotas for local government posts, the authors determine that experience with a female village leader is related to more favorable evaluations of women candidates among male respondents, but female attitudes are unaffected. Herrick and Sapieva's (1997) study of Kazakhstan extends the experimental approach into the Muslim context, and finds biases against women in all issue areas, including feminine domains. Experimental work from Turkey by Matland and Tezcür (2011) is somewhat

more hopeful. Women are favored in stereotypically feminine domains such as education and women's rights, and no gender distinctions exist regarding voting for the hypothetical candidate. In fact, gender was much less important than party affiliation and policy positions, even for religious respondents.

Additional research on politics and gender in the Middle East suggests that the presence of women in elected spaces has a positive impact on mass opinions about the ability of women to govern (Alexander 2012, 2014). Accordingly, some countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region such as Jordan, Morocco, and Algeria have employed quota systems to enhance the political representation of women (Bush and Jamal 2015, Benstead 2015). Furthermore, Bush and Jamal (2015) use a survey experiment to demonstrate that mass opinions about women in government are responsive to domestic factors rather than international advocacy. Another survey experiment in Tunisia asked respondents to rate hypothetical political candidates based on photos that conveyed the gender and religiosity of the candidate (Benstead, Jamal, and Lust 2015). The study argues that women candidates face bias in the electoral arena because they do not conform to societal expectations for political candidates, and finds evidence of bias against both the female and the religious candidates, with females more likely to support the religious woman candidate.

Women in Qatar

Women in many different societies face barriers to entry in politics. Past inquiry has demonstrated that experimental research is an effective tool to study perceptions of women in politics in a wide variety of contexts. However, the variation in findings warns against projecting the experience of other regions onto the Arabian Gulf countries. Thus, while this paper relies on the work of past research to develop the first two hypotheses, it also recognizes that the context

of Qatar differs in key ways from other cases. As the first study of its type conducted in the Gulf region, it is a starting point for similar studies which may generate further hypotheses adapted for the region. In contrast to previous studies, the experiment examines the local rather than the national government and investigates public opinion on issue areas that are salient to local politics.

Qatar is an authoritarian state on the Arabian Peninsula ruled by a dynastic monarchy (Herb 1999). Although Qatar has the highest GDP per capita in the world (World Bank 2014), it can boast very few women in the political arena, which could be the result of mass attitudes about gender roles in general, and women candidates specifically. Although national elections for a consultative legislative body (Majlis al-Shura) have not yet been instituted, Qatar has held local elections for the Central Municipal Council (CMC), an advisory board of 29 representatives that deals with local issues, every four years since 1999 (Lambert 2011). Women are underrepresented in these political proceedings both as candidates and as elected members of the council. The first woman, Sheikha Al-Jufairi, was elected in 2003 to the CMC and continues to serve in that capacity (The Peninsula 2011). Other female candidates were not successful at gaining entry to elected office until the May 2015 elections when Fatima Al-Kuwari won along with Al-Jufairi (The Peninsula 2015), bringing the total to two women in elected office. Moreover, fewer women than men vote in these elections, although the gender gap in voter participation is mild compared with the gap between the number of male and female elected officials.[2]

What lies at the back of this reticence? Women are neither prohibited by law nor excluded by lack of educational qualifications from these government positions. As previously mentioned, women have been allowed to participate as both voters and candidates since the first

CMC elections in 1999 (Bahry and Marr 2005). This places Qatar on the early side of the regional trend to open political spaces to women. Bahrain allowed women to participate as voters and candidates in 2002; Kuwait permitted females to vote in 2006 (Foley 2003). Additionally, Qatari society and politics have been influenced by prominent female figures, such as Sheikha Moza, wife of the former Emir of Qatar (Foley 2010, Bahry and Marr 2005). She and other powerful advocates for female education have contributed to a new generation of Qatari students where females exceed males in their educational attainment. In 2004 the World Bank reported that there were twice as many female as male university graduates in Qatar. This demographic is even more pronounced at Qatar University where males make up about 26 percent of the student body and Qatari males only 11 percent. Females comprise the remaining 74 percent of students, with 48 percent of the entire student body being Qatari females (Qatar University OIPD 2015).

Research has shown that an individual's education is related to his/her opinion about gender roles (Thornton and Freeman 1979, Thornton et al. 1983) and women in politics specifically (Schreiber 1978, Dolan 1997). These studies indicate that female education played an important role in shifting gender values in previous decades in the United States. In particular, people with a university education are argued to be more accepting of female candidates than the rest of the population (see Schreiber 1978, Rossenwasser et al. 1987). Given the rapid growth in level of female education in Qatar, education is likely an important part of opinion formation, but the sample of university students is limited since all respondents have at least some college education. Yet it is possible that respondents that are closer to finishing their university careers may think differently about women in government than those who are just beginning. In particular, advanced students may be more open to the female candidate than their less educated counterparts.

H3: Advanced students will express more positive views of the female candidate than beginner students.

Though females continue to have difficulties transitioning into the labor market after concluding their education, female labor-market participation in Qatar is significantly higher than in other parts of the Arab world (Buttorff and Wellborne, 2015). The labor-market participation rate for females in Qatar in 2013 was estimated to be 53 percent, while the average for the rest of the Arab world was less than 25 percent (World Bank 2015).[3] As this trend continues, arguments that women are not qualified for elected government positions will be increasingly less tenable. Still, female politicians are rare. Al Ghanem and Al Rubayei (2007) argue that Qatari citizens have not yet fully accepted women into political life. Even as women in Qatar have made great strides in education, prevailing cultural norms dictate that women should prioritize domestic duties (Meier 2008). It seems unlikely that Qatari voters will support women candidates if they consider the political world off-limits for women.

For the individual respondent, having experience with female labor-force participation can influence how the female candidate is evaluated. Past research has demonstrated the connection between labor-force participation and shifts in gender roles (Thornton et al. 1983). Increasing female labor-force participation is also positively related to female representation in elected office (Nelson 1991, Sanbonmatsu 2002b) possibly because it helps public opinion move past traditional ideals that confine women to the domestic sphere and indicates a supply of qualified female candidates (Iverson and Rosenbluth 2008). Since many women are increasingly entering the labor force in Qatar, the role of working outside the home is salient. While the majority of the respondents have not had the opportunity to participate in the labor force because they have not completed their education, they may have a female family member, such as a

mother, that works outside the home. This may impact their views of women in politics.

H4: Respondents that have more experience with female labor force participation will be more likely to support the female candidate.

Finally, expanding the theory to cover the case of Qatar allows for examination of low-stakes elections in an authoritarian regime. While most studies of perceptions of female candidates take place within functioning (if new) national-level democracies, Qatar has no national-level democratic body. The Central Municipal Council is advisory and lacks authority to make policy itself, but proposes new regulations and projects to government ministries. Taken together, this means that CMC elections (which are free and fair according to international observers such as Zaccara 2011) are highly symbolic in nature. All political parties and organizations, including those organized along family networks, are illegal. At the same time, research by Gengler et al. (2016) shows that tribal and family connections play a much larger role in voter decision-making during CMC elections than factors such as candidate education and job experience. The symbolic and tribal nature of the elections has negative implications for women candidates. Women candidates are not likely to win in spite of their qualifications, because males are deemed appropriate representatives of the tribe or family (Bahry and Marr 2005, Charrad 2011, Buttorff and Wellborn, 2015). If male candidates are deemed more electable than female candidates, then women will still have a hard time getting into office in spite of their superior educational qualifications or general competence for the position. At the same time, not all members of the municipal council come from large family networks. Sheikha Al-Jufairi, for example, has built a broad network of supporters largely through her personal efforts to connect with constituents (author interview 2015).[4] Future research should examine the strategies of women candidates. This article takes the first step toward understanding how female

candidates are perceived by in a non-democracy where elections are tribal and women are highly educated.

H5: The male candidate will be evaluated more favorably on measures of voting and support for the electoral viability of the candidate.

Experimental design and procedure

The experiment was conducted in April and May of 2015 at Qatar University. University students were targeted because they have had exposure to women in prominent positions for a larger proportion of their lives and their attitudes may reflect changing perceptions of women in the public sphere (see Matland 2004, Matland and Tezcür 2011, and Taylor-Robinson et al. 2015). As with any study of university students, the findings do generalize to the overall population and are limited in that they do not provide information about the views of less educated individuals. The sample includes respondents from diverse social backgrounds and expatriate as well as Qatari students. However, analysis focuses exclusively on Qatari students. Only Qatari students are eligible to participate in the elections. Furthermore, students of other nationalities may have different views of politics due to experiences in their home countries. Respondents evaluated the candidates based on short speeches (see Appendix for supplemental material), which were identical except for the randomly assigned gender of the politician, conveyed through the name of the politician and gendered pronouns. Since political parties and electoral coalitions are illegal in Qatar, each candidate is presumably evaluated by respondents on the basis of individual merit. Therefore, the effect of gender cannot be compared to the effect of political party, as in other studies, because the context prohibits including partisan or group-based treatments. Additionally, the candidates were given first and second names, but not family names to avoid activating tribal loyalties that might influence the overall perception of the

candidate on a dimension unrelated to gender.

The candidate speech was crafted using public statements (recorded by online forums, newspapers, or websites) made by both male and female candidates in past elections. The goal was to make the treatments realistic and fairly neutral in content. The Arabic and English speeches were both between 400 and 500 words. Thus, they are longer than most treatments used in the developed world, but somewhat shorter than the 500-word treatments used by Matland (1994) and Taylor-Robinson et al. (2015) (see Sapiro 1982; Rosenwasser 1978; Rosenwasser and Seale 1988 for examples of shorter treatments). A lengthy treatment gives the respondent more information and decreases the likelihood that he/she will use a gender schema to evaluate the candidate. In the questionnaire, students were asked whether they read a speech by a man or a woman, to check that the respondent received the correct treatment.[5] In order to reduce social desirability biases students were not informed that the study was about gender until the end of the session.

After reading the speech, the students were asked to evaluate the candidate in five ways: 1) overall competence, 2) ability to make changes in particular policy areas, 3) ability to argue for policies, 4) prospects for getting votes from the general population, and 5) the likelihood that they (the respondent) would support the candidate in the election. Respondents were asked to evaluate the candidate's ability to make improvements in twelve different policy areas. Four areas fall in the masculine domain (labor and migration, industry regulation, sanitation, and traffic and roads), another four in the feminine domain (healthcare, education, services for persons with disabilities, and childcare), and a final four are considered gender-neutral policy areas (Islamic values, environment, parks, culture and heritage). Of these twelve areas, sanitation, childcare, and culture (one masculine, feminine, and neutral) were not mentioned in

the candidate speech in order to create a lower-information environment where respondents might be more likely to use gender schemas (see Taylor-Robinson et. al. 2015 for similar methodology).[6] Other covariates in the survey included general demographics, years in major, information about the work status of parents, and a 10-question battery to assess gender role attitudes adapted to the Qatari context from Brown and Gladstone (2012). The battery included questions related to the following themes: appropriate treatment of women in public, personal status laws, engagement initiative, women working outside the home, and maintaining traditional gender roles (see Appendix for complete question wording).[7] Throughout all analysis, this index includes only the battery items that loaded on a single factor and maximized the reliability coefficient (0.75) and inter-item covariance (1.97). The scale included items which deal generally about woman's role in public life, such as working outside the home or the husband acting as the legal representative for the family.

Table 1 provides an overview of respondent characteristics for relevant variables. In general, the sample reflects the overall distribution of undergraduate students at Qatar University in that there are more females than males and more Qataris than non-Qataris in the sample. Qatari males have been oversampled in order to facilitate comparison between groups. Notably, females in the sample are more liberated than males in their gender attitudes, but they are less likely to pay attention to political news. More advanced students are also more liberated in their gender attitudes and more likely to be aware of political news. While Table 1 describes all the data collected, the remainder of the analysis includes only Qatari students.

<Table 1 about here>

Findings

The woman candidate faced challenges in both competence and electability among some

subsamples of students. Table 2 reports the average treatment effects (ATEs) for the woman versus the man candidate for all measures of candidate approval as well as the conditional average treatment effects (CATEs) for respondent gender and gender attitudes.[8] Candidate competency is measured in four ways: overall candidate rating and ratings on additive indices created for feminine, masculine, and neutral areas.[9] There is no statistical difference between the overall ratings of the two candidates in the Qatari sample. However, the woman candidate is rated lower than the man candidate in both the overall sample and among females. Specifically, females who expressed liberated attitudes about the role of women in society gave statistically lower evaluations to the woman candidate. A similar pattern emerges for the feminine and masculine indices in which female respondents rate the woman candidate lower than the man candidate, and the difference reaches statistical significance for the liberated females. For feminine issues, conservative males give statistically higher evaluations to the woman candidate, which is unsurprising given the strength of traditional norms that dictate that women should perform such tasks. It is more surprising that female respondents, particularly ones with liberal gender attitudes downgrade the woman candidate.

<Table 2 about here>

Electability is measured in three ways: ability to argue policies, ability to win votes, and willingness to vote for the candidate. Overall, there are no statistical differences based on candidate gender, but the woman candidate is less popular in every subsample, except for conservative females. For ability to win votes, the man candidate is preferred, and the difference is statistically significant among liberated females. Since females are socially disadvantaged, they are likely more sensitive to the inequalities that restrict women in political life. Finally, for willingness to vote,[10] the male candidate is preferred to the female candidate in both the overall

15

sample and among females, and the difference is not statistically significant in any subsample.

<Table 3 about here>

Table 3 presents findings from multivariate regressions for all measures of competence and electability. In addition to the treatment variable, the models include indicators for respondent gender, gender attitudes, education (beginner or advanced student), having a non-working mother, following political news, intending to vote, an interaction between candidate gender and education, and an interaction between the treatment and gender attitudes.[11] The overall rating of the candidate is statistically related to all the independent variables, expect mother's work status. Predicted probabilities of the highest possible candidate evaluation are used to aid interpretations of the interactions. Advanced students preferred the man candidate (Pr(6)=0.20) to the woman (Pr(6)=0.14), in contrast to beginner students whose evaluations are much lower for the man candidate (Pr(6)=0.23) than for the woman (Pr(6)=0.40). A similar story emerges for gender attitudes in which conservatives prefer the woman candidate (Pr=0.32) to the man candidate (Pr=0.21), while liberated students prefer the man candidate (Pr=0.22) to the woman candidate (Pr=0.17).

<Figure 1 about here>

The model for feminine issues shows fewer statistically significant relationships, but the impact of gender attitudes is clear. Figure 1 plots the marginal effects for the interaction between the treatment (candidate gender) and gender attitudes by respondent gender. Female respondents gave higher evaluations to both candidates, and conservative respondents gave markedly higher evaluations to the woman candidate than to the man candidate. Liberated participants preferred the man candidate though not as strongly. These findings seem to differ from previous studies where more liberal individuals and females in particular show more support for women in

politics (see Sanbonmatsu 2002a). However, they are possibly the consequence of a highly

gender-segregated society. Social norms limit interactions between men and women such that

conservative females would not contact males, including elected officials. As such they are more

in need of women in politics, to whom they can appeal directly. Liberated women are likely

more open-minded about gender mixing, which is often required of women who work outside

the home, and thus do not consider the gender of the woman candidate to be a particular

advantage. As Figure 1 illustrates, this is especially true for feminine issue areas, because

conservatives expect the woman candidate to work on feminine domains.

The interaction between candidate gender and gender attitudes is also significant for the

masculine issues areas. In a similarly but weaker pattern, predicted values (0-15 scale) are

highest for conservatives evaluating the woman (9.50) and slightly lower for liberal evaluating

the man (9.02). Meanwhile, the conservative evaluation of the man (8.19) and the liberated

evaluation of the woman (8.07) are lower. For the neutral issues index, only the work status of

the mother is significant. Neither candidate gender nor gender attitudes are significantly related

to the neutral issues index, suggesting that the measure is valid in the sense that these issues are

not laden with gender implications as masculine and feminine issues.

While not included in Table 3, further analysis shows some evidence that issue areas

omitted from the speech were susceptible to gender schema use (results not shown). Regression

models for areas not mentioned by the candidate (child care, sanitation, and art, culture, and

heritage) demonstrate that the woman candidate is preferred in the feminine issue area of

childcare. She is also preferred for the masculine issue area of sanitation, but only after adding an

interaction between candidate gender and mother's work status. Both males and females who

had non-working mothers gave higher evaluations to the candidate generally, with the woman

candidate doing slightly better the man candidate. None of the predictors were significant for the neutral issue area.

<Figure 2 about here>

Table 3 also provides results for the dependent variables that measure candidate electability. For each of the three measures, more advanced students (more than two years in major) are less supportive of the woman candidate, and in the case of ability to argue policies and ability to gain votes, the interaction with candidate gender is also significant. Although evaluations of the woman candidate differ, opinions converge for the man candidate suggesting that the woman is polarizing and her ability suspect. Figure 2 plots the probability of obtaining the highest rating of vote-winning ability by respondent gender and level of education. Male respondents give slightly higher evaluations to both candidates. Respondents with more university education evaluate the vote-winning ability of the woman candidate (Pr(6)=0.10) as much lower than beginner students (Pr(6)=0.25). Female and advanced students may have an increased awareness of the challenges that woman candidates will face in trying to garner votes from the general population.

<Figure 3 about here>

Figure 3 examines the same student subgroups for the willingness to vote for the candidate. Again, there are large differences between the advanced and beginner ratings of the woman candidate (Pr(vote)=0.66 and 0.90 respectively), with opinions about the man candidate converging (Pr(vote)=0.79 and 0.76 respectively). However, female respondents (beginner and advanced) are more likely than their male counterparts to say that they would vote for the woman candidate, indicating that while they recognize the challenges that she will face in getting votes they themselves are more likely to support her. Figure 4 examines willingness to vote for the

18

candidate for subgroups based on the mother's work status. The probability of supporting the woman candidate is much higher for students with non-working mothers than for those whose mothers have a job, among both male and female subsamples. This runs counter to the third hypothesis, which posits a positive relationship between labor force participation and support for women candidates. As with other measures of electability, opinions converge regarding the male candidate.

Conclusion

The results of the study provide mixed support for the hypotheses presented. Lowering the amount of information available to the respondent about an issue area by omitting it from the treatment did induce respondents to employ a gender schema as predicted by Hypothesis 1. However, this effect was only statistically significant for the feminine issue area of childcare and among some subsamples (particularly those with working mothers) for the masculine issue area of sanitation and drainage. The second hypothesis predicted that respondents would prefer the man candidate for issues areas in the masculine domain and the woman candidate for feminine issues. As predicted, there is significant gender bias among males (particularly conservatives) on feminine issues in support of the woman candidate. The corresponding enthusiasm for the male candidate in masculine domains was expressed only by female students (particularly liberals). Thus while the hypothesis is supported, results emerge for unexpected subsamples of students.

Advanced students, who were hypothesized to be more supportive of the women candidate, are most deficient in confidence that she can win votes and are less likely to vote for her. The direction of the finding is contrary to expectation of the literature suggesting that higher education socializes students to believe that women make weak political candidates, even when they are equally competent. Respondents with a working mother were expected to favor the

woman candidate. Again, the findings are in the opposite direction of expectation and significant in the models for electoral support and neutral issues such that having a non-working mother is associated with greater support for the woman candidate. Finally, the fifth hypothesis predicted that women would be less electable candidates. Analysis reveals a more nuanced story. Lower evaluations of the woman candidate come from an unlikely source: advanced students who are more likely to pay attention to political news (see Table 1). Female students are also more like to doubt the woman candidate's ability to win votes, but they are more likely to vote for her than their male counterparts.

Two possible post-hoc explanations of these unexpected findings are mentioned here. The first concerns the role of a gender-segregated society in promoting descriptive representation. The results show that conservative respondents (particularly males) are more supportive of the woman candidate while liberated respondents (particularly females) are decidedly unsupportive. Liberal currents of thought in the Arabian Peninsula have focused on breaking down barrier between sexes and allowing women and men to have increased amounts of interactions with member of the opposite sex (see Meijer 2010, Harkness 2012, Kraetzschmar 2013). From this perspective, electing more women could be viewed as continuing the traditional arrangement whereby women contact and interact with women, but not men. Traditional people may value having women in office to take care of female constituents and work in the feminine issue areas, because men should not do so. Meanwhile more liberated individuals would rather men and women cooperate on all types of issues and intermingle freely, without the need to elect a designated female representative.

Secondly, previous studies note that females are often more supportive of the woman candidate, which has been labeled the *gender affinity effect* in the United States context

20

(Sanbonmatsu 2002a, Dolan 2008). The gender affinity effect is missing in Qatar.[12] One possible explanation is that female students have high ideals and expectations for the woman candidate. However, in their estimation she fails to articulate a compelling policy plan that would represent her gender well. This interpretation could be justified by the students' experience with women in politics, recalling that Sheikha Al-Jufairi is very active, and serious about her role in the council (Shushan 2011). The candidate used in the treatment is intentionally less precise in her campaign statements than Al-Jufairi, who may be a reference point for respondents with regard to women in politics. In fact, Al-Jufairi campaigned on the basis of specific information about her past accomplishments in office. She also suggests that women should not restrict their efforts to social policies but should work in whichever sectors best match the needs of the district (author interview, 2015).[13]

This logic is consistent with Fulton (2014) who argues that women underperform in elections because they lack *valence*, or the non-policy characteristics that voters value in elected representatives, such as integrity, competence, and problem-solving. According to this argument, women candidates in Qatar (as in the United States) must not only be as competent as men, they must be better in order to do equally well in a campaign (Lawless and Pearson 2008). Since females (and other subgroups) doubt the competence (or valence) of the women candidate, it is not surprising that they also perceive her as a weak electoral candidate. Future research should extend the notion of valence to examine descent-based characteristics, which are unrelated to policy but still play a crucial role in creating affinity between voters and constituents. These affiliations could be more necessary for women candidates. Other studies should consider the intersection of candidate gender and descent-based identities, such as tribe or sect.

Women candidates are expected to outperform men in traditionally feminine areas, yet

young adults are worried about their electoral viability, and perhaps rightly so, given the limited success they have experienced. Though changes to electoral institutions, such as the implementation of gender quotas, would make it easier for women to obtain elected positions, they may perpetuate conservative norms of gender segregation. Fortunately, Qatar has had positive experiences with women in the public sphere, and opinions of women candidates may improve as the electorate grows to confide in them. In this process, fostering broad trust in women candidates, instead of relegating them to feminine issues, is essential for making them more successful.

[1] See Alexander and Andersen 1993, Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a, 1993b, Eagly and Karau 2002, and Lawless 2004.

[2] Election results provided by the Ministry of Interior (2015) website show that fewer females voted than males in the 2007, 2011, and 2015 CMC elections in which females voters represented 48.8%, 45.0%, and 46.5% of all voters in these years.

[3] Buttorff and Wellborne (2015) note that women cluster disproportionately in public sector jobs. A lack of private sector job experience may hinder women candidates.

[4] Sheikha Al-Jufairi, interviewed by author, 6 December 2015, Doha, Qatar.

[5] Respondents failed the manipulation check if they responded incorrectly to this question and were removed from the sample. The question was preceded by all the items used as dependent variables to avoid priming the respondents to think about gender.

[6] All issue areas were tested on a group of students to ensure that each issue was categorized correctly during an extensive piolet study.

[7] It would have been desirable to ask more specific questions about gender issues or women in politics, but these questions were deemed too sensitive by the ethics review board of Qatar University.

[8] ATEs are the difference in the expected value of the dependent variable between the treatment and control groups, which in this case refers to the man and woman candidates. CATEs are the change in the dependent variable relative to the control group, conditional on the value of the independent variable (see Imbens and Wooldrige 2009).

[9] The inter-item covariance and Chronbach's alpha for each of the scales is as follows: (1) feminine issues covariance=0.67, alpha=0.81 (2) masculine issues covariance=0.55, alpha= 0.73 (3) neutral issues covariance=0.36, alpha=0.62. The neutral issues are less correlated than the masculine and feminine issues.

[10] Responses were measured on a one to four likelihood scale in the instrument, but collapsed during the analysis to better capture the dichotomous nature of the concept of voting.

[11] Coefficients from regression models without the interactions are available from the author.

[12] Gender affinity effects are not found in all experimental studies (see King and Matland 2003, Taylor-Robinson et. al. 2015).

[13] Sheikha Al-Jufairi, interviewed by author, 6 December 2015, Doha Qatar.

References

Al-Ali, Nadje. 2000. *Secularism, Gender, and the State in the Middle East: The Egyptian Women's Movement.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge UK.

Alexander, Amy C. 2012. "Change in Women's Descriptive Representation and the Belief in Women's Ability to Govern: A Virtuous Cycle." *Politics and Gender* 8(4): 437-464.

Alexander, Amy C. 2014. "Big Jumps in Women's Presence in Parliaments: Are These Sufficient for Improving Beliefs in Women's Ability to Govern?" *Advancing Women in Leadership* 35: 82-97.

Alexander, Deborah and Kristi Andersen. 1993. "Gender as a Factor in the Attribution of Leadership Traits." *Political Research Quarterly* 46: 527-45.

Al Ghanem, Kaltham A. and Al Rubayei, Fathel. 2007. *Qatari Citizens' Participation in Political Life: Constraints and Empowerment* The Supreme Council for Family Affairs.

Bahry, Louay and Phebe Marr. 2005. "Qatari Women: A New Generation of Leaders?" *Middle East Policy* 12(2): 104-119.

Banwart, Mary Christine. 2010. "Gender and Candidate Communication: Effects of Stereotypes in the 2008 Election." *American Behavioral Scientist* 54(3): 265-83.

Beaman, Liro, Raghabendra Chattopadhyay, Esther Duflo, Rohini Pende, and Petia Topalova. 2009. "Power Women: Does Exposure Reduce Prejudice?" *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 124(4): 1497-1540.

Bems, Sandra Lipsitz. 1981. "Gender Schema Theory: A Cognitive Account of Sex Typing." *Psychological Review* 88(4): 354-64.

Benstead, Lindsay. J. 2015. "Why Quotas Are Needed to Improve Women's Access to Services in Clientelistic Regimes." *Governance*. doi: 10.1111/gove.12162.

Benstead, Lindsay J., Amaney A. Jamal, and Ellen Lust. 2015. "Is It Gender, Religiosity or

    Both? A Role Congruity Theory of Candidate Electability in Transitional Tunisia."

    Perspectives on Politics 13(1): 74-94.

Brown, Michael J. and Nancy Gladstone. 2012. "Development of a Short Version of the Gender

    Role Beliefs Scale." *International Journal of Psychology and Behavioral Sciences* 2(5):

    154-8.

Bush, Sarah Sunn, and Amaney A. Jamal. 2015. "Anti-Americanism, Authoritarian Politics, and

    Attitudes about Women's Representation: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in

    Jordan." *International Studies Quarterly* 59(1): 34-45.

Buttorff, Gail, and BozenaWelborne. 2015. *Rethinking Economic Rentierism and Women's

    Empowerment*. Issue brief no. 09.25.15. Baker Institute for Public Policy, Rice University

    Houston, Texas.

Buttorff, Gail and Bozena Welborne. 2015. *Working Those Connections: Exploring Arab

    Women's Differential Access to Opportunity in the Middle East and North Africa*. Issue

    brief no. 07.17.15. Baker Institute for Public Policy, Rice University, Houston, Texas.

Bystrom, Dianne. 2006. "Advertising, Websites, and Media Coverage: Gender and

    Communication along the Campaign Trail." In *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future

    of American Politics,* eds. Susan J. Carroll and Richard J. Fox. Cambridge: Cambridge

    University Press: 169-88.

Carli, Linda L. and Alice H. Eagly. 2007. "Overcoming Resistance to Women Leaders: The

    Importance of Leadership Style." In Barbara Kellerman and Deborah L. Rhode, eds.

    Women and leadership: The State of Play and Strategies for Change. San Francisco:

    Jossey-Bass: 127-48.

Carroll, Susan J. and Richard L. Fox. 2006. "Introduction: Gender and Electoral Politics into the

    Twenty-first Century." In *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American*

    Politics, eds. Susan J. Carroll and Richard J. Fox. Cambridge: Cambridge University

    Press: 1-11.

Chang, Chingching and Jacqueline C. Bush Hitchon. 2004. "When Does Gender Count? Further

    Insights into Gender Schematic Processing of Female Candidate's Political

    Advertisements." *Sex Roles* 51(3/4): 197-208.

Charrad, Mounira M. 2011. "Gender in the Middle East: Islam, State, and Agency," *The Annual*

    Review of Sociology 37: 417-37.

Diekman, Amanda B., Wind Goodfriend, and Stephanie Goodwin. 2004. "Dynamic Stereotypes

    of Power: Perceived Change and Stability in Gender Hierarchies." *Sex Roles* 50(4): 201-

    15.

Dolan, Kathleen. 1997. "Gender Differences in Support for Women Candidates: Is There a Glass

    Ceiling in American Politics?" *Women & Politics* 17(2): 27-41.

Eagly, Alice H. and Steven J. Karau. 2002. "Role Congruity Theory of Prejudice toward Female

    Leaders." *Psychological Review* 109(3): 573-98.

Foley, Sean. 2003. "The Gulf Arabs and the New Iraq: The Most to Gain and the Most to

    Lose?" *Middle East* 7(2): 25.

Foley, Sean. 2010. *The Arab Gulf States: Beyond Oil and Islam*. Lynne Rienner Publishers,

    Boulder, CO.

Gengler, Justin et. al. 2016. "The Ascriptive Determinants of Local Council Candidate Support

    in Qatar" working paper, Qatar University.

Harkness, Geoff. 2012. "Out of Bounds: Cultural Barriers to Female Sports Participation in

Qatar." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29(15): 2162-2183.

Herb, Michael. 1999. *All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution, and Democracy in Middle*

Eastern Monarchies. SUNY Press. New York, NY.

Herrick, Rebekah and Almira Sapieva. 1997. "Perceptions of Women Politicians in Kazakhstan."

Women & Politics 18(4): 27-40.

Huddy, Leonie and Nayda Terkildsen. 1993a. "The Consequences of Gender Stereotypes for

Women Candidates at Different Levels and Types of Office." *Political Research*

Quarterly 46: 503-25.

Huddy, Leonie and Nayda Terkildsen. 1993b. "Gender Stereotypes and the Perception of Male

and Female Candidates." *American Journal of Political Science* 37(1): 119-47.

Imbens, Guido W., and Jeffrey M. Wooldridge. 2009. "Recent Developments in the

Econometrics of Program Evaluation." *Journal of Economic Literature* 47(1): 5-86.

Iversen, Torben, and Frances Rosenbluth. 2008. "Work and Power: The Connection between

Female Labor Force Participation and Female Political Representation." *Annual Review*

of Political Science 11: 479-495.

King, David C., and Richard E. Matland. 2003. "Sex and the Grand Old Party: An Experimental

Investigation of the Effect of Candidate Sex on Support for a Republican

Candidate." *American Politics Research* 31(6): 595-612.

Kraetzschmar, Hendrik J. 2013. "Empowerment Through the Ballot Box? Women's Suffrage and

Electoral Participation in the Saudi Chambers of Commerce and Industry." *Journal of*

Arabian Studies 3(1): 102-119.

Lambert, Jennifer. 2011. "Political Reform in Qatar: Participation, Legitimacy and

> Security." *Middle East Policy* 18(1): 89-101.

Lawless, Jennifer L. 2004. "Women, War, and Winning Elections: Gender Stereotyping in the

> Post-September 11th Era." *Political Research Quarterly* 57(3): 479-90.

Lawless, Jennifer L., and Kathryn Pearson. 2008. "The Primary Reason for Women's

> Underrepresentation? Reevaluating the Conventional Wisdom." *The Journal of Politics*
> 70(1): 67-82.

Matland, Richard E. 1994. "Putting Scandinavian Equality to the Test: An Experimental

> Evaluation of Gender Stereotyping of Political Candidates in a Sample of Norwegian
> Voters." *British Journal of Political Science* 24(2): 273-92.

Matland, Richard E. and Güneş Murat Tezcür. 2011. "Women as Candidates: An Experimental

> Study in Turkey." *Politics and Gender* 7(3): 365-90.

McDermott, Monica L. 1998. "Race and Gender Cues in Low-Information Elections." *Political

> Research Quarterly* 51(4): 895-918.

McDermott, Monica L. 1997. "Voting Cues in Low-Information Elections: Candidate Gender as

> a Social Information Variable in Contemporary United States Elections." *American
> Journal of Political Science* 41(1): 270-83.

Meier, Petra. 2008. "A Gender Gap Not Closed by Quotas: The Renegotiation of the Public

> Sphere." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 10(3): 329-347.

Meijer, Roel. 2010. "The Gender Segregation (Ikhtilat) Debate in Saudi Arabia: Reform and the

> Clash between 'Ulame' and Liberals." *Journal for Islamic Studies* 30(1): 2-32.

Ministry of Interior, State of Qatar. 2015. "Elections" Available online at:

> http://www.moi.gov.qa/elections/.

Moghadam, Valentine M. 2013. *Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East*. 3ʳᵈ ed. Lynne Rienner Publishers: Boulder, CO.

Nelson, Albert J. 1991. *Emerging Influentials in State Legislatures: Women, Blacks, and Hispanics*. Praeger Publishers, Westport, CT.

Qatar Permanent Population Committee. 2012. *Qatar Population Status 2012: Three Years after Launching the Population Policy*. October.

Qatar University Office of Institutional Planning and Development (OIPD). 2015. *Semester Analysis*: *Fall 2015*. November.

Rosenwasser, Shirley M., Robyn R. Rogers, Sheila Fling, Kayla Silvers-Pickens and John Butemeyer. 1987. "Attitudes toward Women and Men in Politics: Perceived Male and Female Candidate Competencies and Participant Personality Characteristics." *Political Psychology* 8(2): 191-200.

Rosenwasser, Shirley M., Robyn R. Rogers, Sheila Fling, Kayla Silvers-Pickens, and John Butemeyer. 1987. "Attitudes toward Women and Men in Politics: Perceived Male and Female Candidate Competencies and Participant Personality Characteristics." *Political Psychology* 8(2): 191-200.

Rosenwasser, Shirley M. and Jana Seale. 1988. "Attitudes toward a Hypothetical Male or Female Presidential Candidate: A Research Note." *Political Psychology* 9(4): 591-8.

Sapiro, Virginia. 1981-82. "If US Senator Baker Were a Woman: An Experimental Study of Candidate Images." *Political Psychology* 3(1/2): 61-83.

Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2002a. "Gender Stereotypes and Vote Choice." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(1): 20-34.

Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2002b. "Political Parties and the Recruitment of Women to State
Legislatures." *Journal of Politics* 64(3): 791-809.

Schreiber, Eric M. 1987. "Education and Change in American Opinions on a Woman for
President." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 42(2): 171-182.

Shushan, Deborah. 2011. "The Female Face of Qatar's Municipal Elections." Posted on
Georgetown School of Foreign Service in Qatar Center for Regional and International
Development, Tuesday, May 10.

Sjoberg, Laura, and Jonathon Whooley. 2015. "The Arab Spring for Women? Representations of
Women in Middle East Politics in 2011." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 36(3):
261-284.

Stoker, Janka I., Mandy Van der Velde, and Joris Lammers. 2012. "Factors Relating to
Managerial Stereotypes: The Role of Gender of the Employee and the Manager and
Management Gender Ratio." *Journal of Business and Psychology* 27(1): 31042.

The Peninsula. (2011). "43 Percent Cast Ballot in CMC polls." Wednesday, May 11.

The Peninsula. (2015). "Two Women Victorious in CMC Election." Thursday, May 14.
http://thepeninsulaqatar.com/news/qatar/337867/two-women-victorious-in-cmc-election.

Taylor-Robinson, Michelle M., Elin Bjarnegård, Gerardo Hernández, Forest Robinson, Pär
Zetterberg. 2015. "Women in government: An experimental study of attitudes about
governing ability" Paper presented at *European Conference on Politics and Gender
University of Uppsala, Uppsala, Sweden, June 11-13, 2015.*

Thornton, Arland, and Deborah Freedman. 1979. "Changes in the Sex-role Attitudes of Women,
1962-1977: Evidence from a Panel Study." *American Sociological Review* 44(5): 831-
842.

Thornton, Arland, Duane F. Alwin, and Donald Camburn. 1983. "Causes and Consequences of Sex-Role Attitudes and Attitude Change." *American Sociological Review* (48)2: 211-227.

Watson, Robert P. Alicia Jencik and Judith A. Selzer. 2005. "Women World Leaders: Comparative Analysis and Gender Experiences." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 7(2): 53-76.

World Bank. 2004. "Gender and Development in the Middle East and North Africa: Women in the Public Sphere." World Bank Press, Washington, DC: 31-33.

World Bank. 2007. "The Status and Progress of Women in the Middle East and North Africa." World Bank Press, Washington, DC.

World Bank. 2015. "World Development Indicators 2015." Washington, D.C.: World Bank. Available at http://databank.worldbank.org.

World Bank. 2014. "World Bank Data: GDP per capita (current US$)" online http://data.worldbank.org.

Zacarra, Luciano. 2011. "Election Report: Qatar /Central Municipal Council" *TEIM Election Watch Analysis*. Taller de Estudios Internacionales Mediterráneos Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 10 May.

Table 1: Description of Respondents

	Dataset	Female	Male	Qatari	Non-Qatari	Less than 2 years in major	2 or more years in major
Age (mean)[1]	21.18	21.19	21.17	21.48[2]	20.72	19.63	22.42
Sex *(% male)*		59.21%	40.79%	30.20%	56.44% [3]	51.04%	32.49% [4]
Gender attitudes scale *(0=cons. 24=liberated)*	11.02	12.28	9.35[7]	11.32	10.84	9.51	12.38[8]
Attention to political news *(1=never 5=daily)*	3.22	3.14	3.33[9]	3.12	3.34[10]	3.08	3.33[11]
N	429	254	175	255	163	192	237

[1] Age was adjusted for outliers

[2] Qataris are significantly older than non-Qataris at $p < 0.01$ level (difference of means t-test)

[3] There are significantly fewer Qatari than non-Qatari males in the sample at $p < 0.001$ level (chi-squared test)

[4] There are significantly fewer advanced male than beginner male students at $p < 0.001$ level (chi-squared test)

[5] Females are significantly more liberal in general than males at $p < 0.1$ level (difference of means t-test)

[6] Non-Qataris are more liberal than Qataris at the $p < 0.05$ level (difference of means t-test)

[7] Females are significantly more liberated at $p < 0.001$ level (difference of means t-test)

[8] Advanced students are significantly more liberated at $p < 0.001$ level (difference of means t-test)

[9] Males are significantly more attentive to political news at $p < 0.1$ level (difference of means t-test)

[10] Non-Qataris are significantly more attentive to political news as $p < 0.1$ level (difference of means t-test)

[11] Advanced students are significantly more attentive to political news at $p < 0.05$ level (difference of means t-test)

Table 2: Average and Conditional Treatment Effects (Qataris only)

	Cand. Gender	All Qataris E(Y)	ATE[1] p-val[3]	Female E(Y)	CATE p-val	Male E(Y)	CATE p-val	Liberated[2] female E(Y)	CATE p-val	Liberated male E(Y)	CATE p-val	Conservative female E(Y)	CATE p-val	Conservative male E(Y)	CATE p-val
Overall candidate competence (1-6) scale	woman	4.57	-0.12	4.56	-0.20	4.59	0.06	**4.31[4]**	**-0.38**	4.83	0.43	4.97	0.11	4.31	-0.46
	man	4.69	0.40	4.76	0.23	4.53	0.83	**4.69**	**0.09**	4.41	0.28	4.88	0.67	4.77	0.31
Feminine issues (0-15) scale	woman	9.92	0.22	9.73	-0.18	10.39	1.15	**9.15**	**-1.16**	9.81	-0.54	10.61	1.22	**10.94**	**2.27**
	man	9.71	0.65	9.91	0.75	9.24	0.21	**10.31**	**0.09**	10.36	0.71	9.4	0.17	**8.67**	**0.06**
Masculine issues (0-15) scale	woman	8.59	-0.28	8.41	-0.42	9.00	0.04	**7.64**	**-1.29**	8.68	-1.31	9.58	0.86	9.28	0.87
	man	8.87	0.52	8.84	0.41	8.95	0.95	**8.93**	**0.05**	10	0.40	8.72	0.29	8.41	0.36
Neutral issues (0-15) scale	woman	9.42	-0.04	9.44	-0.07	9.38	0.07	9.13	-0.41	10.00	0.14	9.94	0.46	8.83	-0.20
	man	9.45	0.95	9.51	0.89	9.32	0.93	9.54	0.51	9.86	0.91	9.48	0.54	9.04	0.84
Ability to argue (1-6) scale	woman	4.44	-0.11	4.45	-0.09	4.44	-0.17	4.22	-0.29	4.28	-0.28	4.8	0.24	4.63	-0.09
	man	4.56	0.43	4.53	0.61	4.61	0.54	4.51	0.20	4.56	0.50	4.56	0.33	4.71	0.80
Ability to win votes (1-6) scale	woman	4.14	-0.24	4.06	-0.26	4.31	-0.19	**3.94**	**-0.40**	4.38	-0.20	4.26	-0.04	4.26	-0.20
	man	4.38	0.13	4.32	0.15	4.5	0.54	**4.34**	**0.08**	4.57	0.71	4.3	0.88	4.46	0.59
Would vote[5] (0-1) scale	woman	0.73	-0.03	0.73	-0.05	0.73	0.03	0.74	-0.01	0.71	0.01	0.71	-0.10	0.75	0.06
	man	0.76	0.62	0.78	0.42	0.69	0.75	0.76	0.87	0.69	0.93	0.81	0.30	0.69	0.74

[1] E(Y) is the mean. ATE stands for Average Treatment Effects while CATE stands for Conditional Average Treatment Effects.

[2] Liberated corresponds to 12-24 on the gender attitudes index, while Conservative corresponds to 0-11. Throughout all analysis, this index includes only the 4th, 5th, 8th, and 9th battery items that loaded on a single factor and maximized the reliability coefficient (0.75) and inter-item covariance (1.97). The scale included the items which deal generally about woman's role in public life, such as working outside the home or the husband acting as the legal representative for the family.

[3] P-values reported are from one-way ANOVAs with candidate gender as the independent variable.

[4] Bold font indicates $p<0.1$. High scores are more favorable.

[5] The respondents' willingness to vote for the hypothetical candidate is modeled with a dichotomous variable, where 1 indicates willingness.

Table 3: Regression models for all dependent variables (Qataris only)

	Overall[2] rating B (SE)	Feminine issues[3] B (SE)	Masculine issues B (SE)	Neutral issues B (SE)	Ability to Argue B (SE)	Ability to Win Votes B (SE)	Would vote B (SE)
Candidate gender	-1.37**[1]	-2.02**	-1.05	-0.97	-0.33	-0.49	-0.79
(1=male)	(0.51)	(0.95)	(0.89)	(0.84)	(0.49)	(0.48)	(0.79)
Respondent gender	-0.61*	-0.67	0.05	-0.44	-0.15	0.28	-0.53
(1=male)	(0.31)	(0.61)	(0.57)	(0.54)	(0.30)	(0.29)	(0.42)
Gender attitudes	-1.00**	-1.28	-1.42	-0.16	-0.23	-0.09	0.28
(1=liberated)	(0.41)	(0.80)	(0.75)	(0.70)	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.56)
Education	-1.47***	-1.21	-0.50	-0.95	-1.05**	-1.12**	-1.55**
(1=3+ years in major)	(0.45)	(0.86)	(0.81)	(0.75)	(0.43)	(0.43)	(0.72)
Non-working mother	-0.13	0.17	0.55	0.94*	0.08	0.09	0.77*
(1=non-working)	(0.27)	(0.53)	(0.50)	(0.47)	(0.27)	(0.25)	(0.40)
Attend to political news	-0.22**	-0.17	-0.20	-0.11	-0.13	0.02	0.22
(1-5 scale)	(0.10)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.14)
Intention to vote	-	-	-	-	-	-	-0.11
(1=vote)	-	-	-	-	-	-	(0.43)
Gender attitudes *X*	1.08*	2.54**	2.25**	0.14	-0.46	0.26	-0.46
Candidate gender[5]	(0.54)	(1.08)	(1.02)	(0.53)	(0.77)	(0.52)	(0.77)
Education *X*	1.26***	0.51	-0.41	0.68	1.69*	1.18**	1.69*
Candidate gender	(0.57)	(1.11)	(1.05)	(0.55)	(0.88)	(0.55)	(0.88)
N/R[2] (Pseudo-R[2])	203 / 0.05	203 / 0.06	204 / 0.05	202 / 0.04	199 / 0.02	206 / 0.02	176 / 0.07

[1] * $p<0.1$, **$p<0.05$, ***$p<0.01$

[2] Overall rating, ability to argue, and ability to win votes were assessed on a 1-6 scale using ordered logistic regression. A logit model was used for would vote since the dependent variable is dichotomous. Constants are available upon request.

[3] Feminine issues, masculine issues, and neutral issues are additive indexes measured on a 0 to 15 scale, each combining the three relevant issues areas. OLS regression models were used and constants are available upon request.

[4] Intention to vote was only included in the "would vote" model. In all other models it is statistically insignificant and does not impact the significance of other variables.

[5] Gender attitudes *X* Candidate gender and Education *X* Candidate gender represent interactions.

Figure 1: Feminine Issue Competence by Respondent Gender and Gender Attitudes
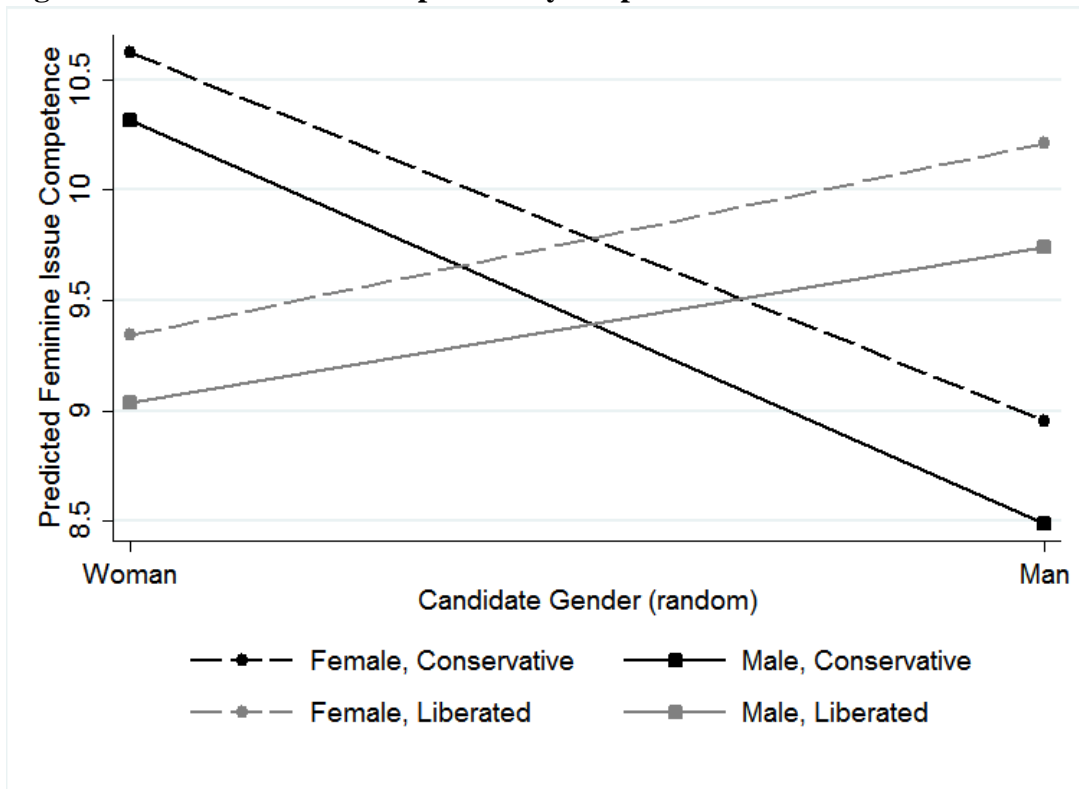

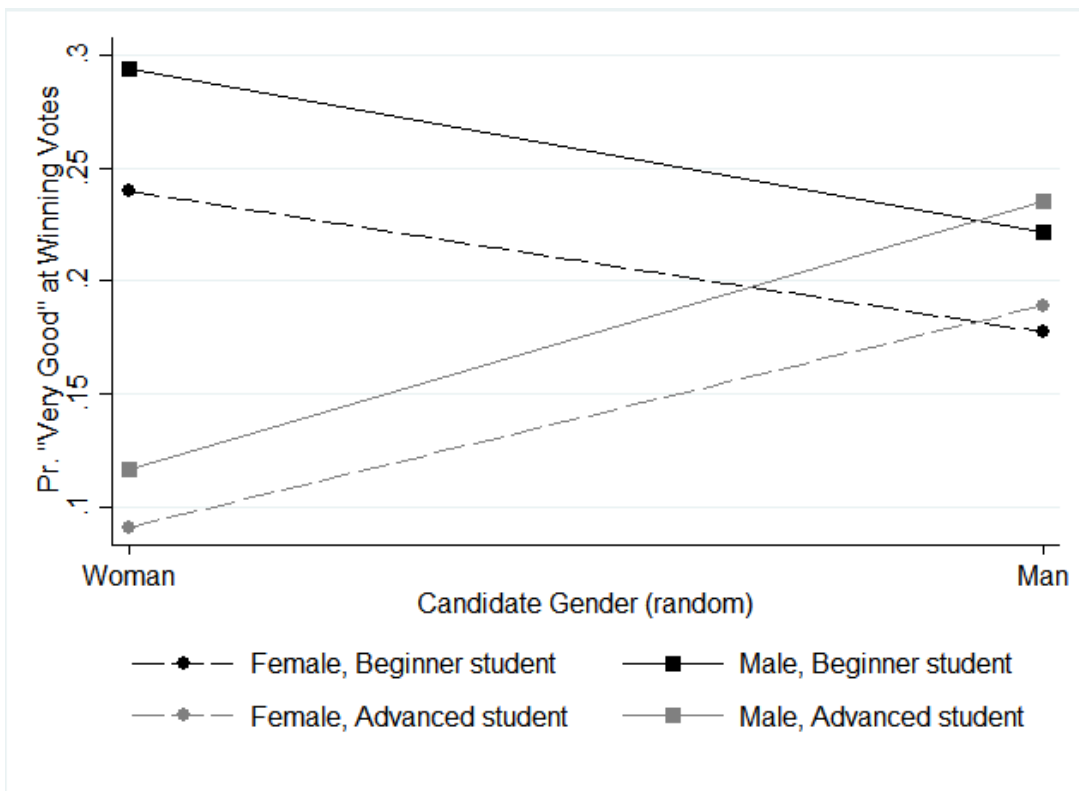**Figure 2: Candidate's Ability to Win Votes by Respondent Gender and Education Level**

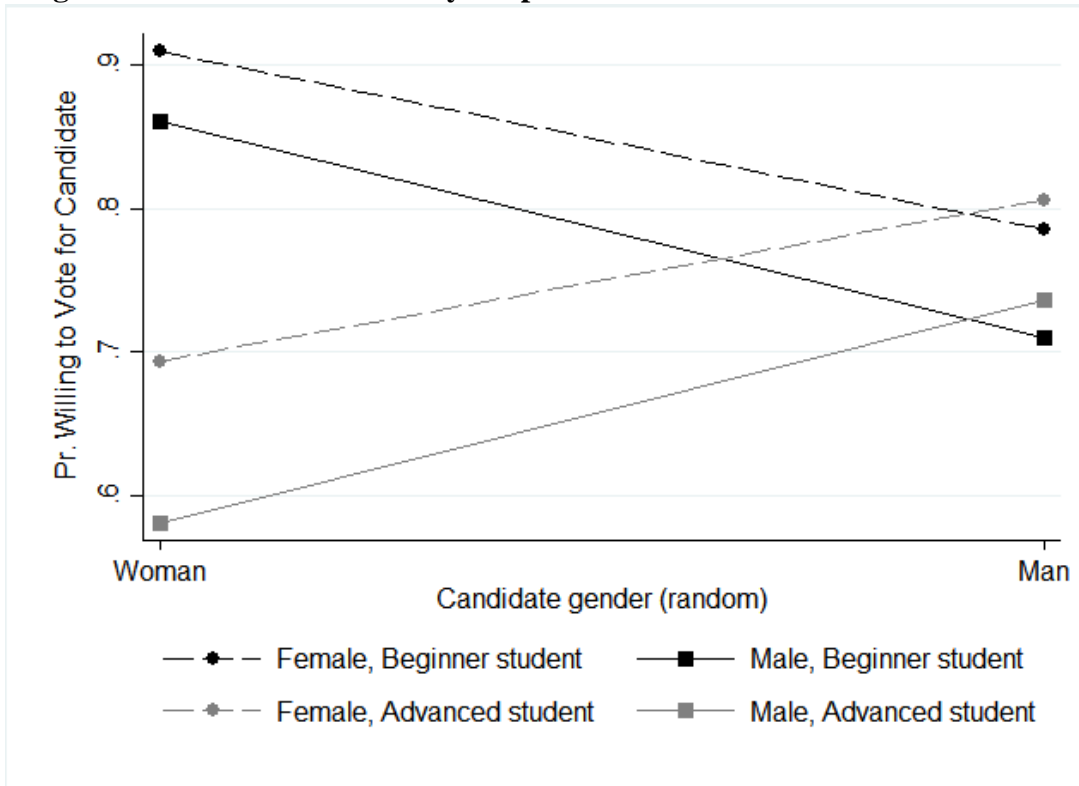**Figure 3: Vote for Candidate by Respondent Gender and Education**

Figure 4: Vote for Candidate by Respondent Gender and Working Mother