

Is Gender Diplomacy Effective?

Women's Representation and Public Diplomacy in Authoritarian Regimes

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Abstract

Extant scholarship suggests that autocrats employ quotas to cultivate an image of democratic governance and attract foreign aid, yet the mechanisms underlying these effects are underexplored. We conceptualize Gender Diplomacy (GD) as the strategic deployment of women in public diplomacy to enhance foreign perceptions. We conducted a nationally representative survey experiment, randomly exposing 1,241 Americans to vignettes and photos depicting either an all male or a gender balanced Federal National Council in the UAE. Our findings reveal that GD significantly improves perceptions in domains associated with stereotypically female traits, including viewing the UAE positively or as democratic, but elicits weaker effects in domains associated with male competencies, such as support for US investment in or security cooperation with the UAE. We argue that these effects are due to the implicit association between female traits and the UAE, which is weaker in domains aligned with male competencies and among respondents who do not hold positive stereotypes of females. Our research underscores the role of implicit gender biases in public diplomacy and informs debates on the strategic use of women's inclusion in authoritarian regimes.

Keywords: Electoral gender quotas, women's representation, legislative politics, public opinion, survey experiment, public diplomacy, international relations, Middle East and North Africa

In 2019, following just over a decade of parliamentary elections, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) enacted a quota reserving half of the forty seats for women in the Federal National Council (FNC), an advisory body to its absolute monarchy.¹ Part of a “surge” of gender reforms, the quota was implemented with the dual aim of enhancing the country’s national gender equality rankings and cultivating an international image of tolerance and respect for women’s rights (Sinha, Lehmann, and Djankov 2023, 6; Davis-Packard 2017, 12). Despite the persistence of discriminatory personal status laws that curtail women’s mobility and rights in the private sphere (Begum 2023), the UAE now boasts a 7th ranking globally on the UNDP’s Gender Inequality Index (2024) and holds 5th position worldwide in terms of the proportion of seats held by women in the national legislature—50 percent (IPU Parline 2024).

However, particularly within authoritarian contexts, the adoption of quotas and other gender-based reforms can be interpreted as a calculated strategy of ‘genderwashing,’ aimed at bolstering a country’s international reputation (cf. Bush 2011; Bjarnegård and Zetterberg, 2022; Noh, Grewal, and Kilavuz, 2023; Noh 2024, Sari-Genc 2024). Experimental and qualitative evidence suggests that heightened levels of women’s representation can engender improved international perceptions of democracy and support for foreign aid in aid-dependent countries (Bush, Donno, and Zetterberg 2023; Bush and Zetterberg 2020). Moreover, increased female representation in panels and other institutions leads domestic audiences to perceive these bodies and their decisions as more legitimate (Clayton, O’Brien, and Piscopo 2019; Kao et al. 2023).

¹ Quotas have been adopted in at least 132 countries worldwide, including at least nine MENA countries (International Idea 2024).

However, our understanding of the broader public diplomacy impacts of women's representation on perceptions of countries, as well as the theoretical mechanisms underlying these effects, remains limited. Women's empowerment constitutes a pillar of public diplomacy strategies in numerous countries, including the UAE, which invests substantial resources in national and public diplomacy initiatives aimed at fostering prosperity by attracting foreign visitors, residents, capital, and security alliances (Nusseibeh 2024, no page).²

Our study seeks to address this gap by conceptualizing Gender Diplomacy (GD) as the visible, strategic use of women as a tool for public diplomacy and reputational security, with the ultimate goal of enhancing international perceptions among foreign governments and publics.³ Drawing on literature from cognitive psychology (Greenwald and Banaji 1995) and the social psychology of gender (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Eagly and Karau 2002), we develop and test an implicit associations theory of GD. We argue that female leaders positively impact a country's international reputation and that the presence and magnitude of GD's effects hinge on the alignment between the public diplomacy outcome and stereotypically female traits and competencies.

² Briefly, public diplomacy refers to efforts by governments and their representatives to communicate directly with foreign publics to influence their perceptions and gain support or tolerance for their government's strategic objectives (Cull 2019).

³ Reputational security is, "...the degree of safety accruing to a nation state that proceeds from being known by citizens of other nations" (Cull 2018, no page).

Employing a web-based survey, we randomly exposed a nationally representative sample of 1,241 US residents to a vignette and photo depicting either an all male or gender balanced Federal National Council (FNC). Subsequently, we assessed the impact of this exposure on perceptions of the UAE across a spectrum of public diplomacy outcomes associated with stereotypically female or male competencies.

Our findings are both noteworthy and unanticipated. In support of an implicit associations theory of Gender Diplomacy (GD), we observed substantial, positive effects of the gender balanced council on public diplomacy outcomes aligned with female traits, such as being perceived positively or as democratic. However, these effects were smaller in spheres conventionally associated with male competencies, including support for US investment in and security cooperation with the UAE, and among respondents who do not view females positively.⁴ Unexpectedly, female leadership never detrimentally impacted perceptions of the UAE; instead, the gender balanced GNC attracted marginally higher support for US investment in the UAE and having a security alliance with the UAE, contrary to our initial hypothesis that an all male council would bolster these indicators.

Our research yields significant insights that advance the fields of women's representation and public diplomacy. First, our study is, to our knowledge, the first to integrate gender into the literature on reputational security (Cull 2018) and one of the first to experimentally examine the public diplomacy effects of women's representation on external audiences (Ingenhoff and Klein 2018). Scholars of politics and gender (Tripp 2024) and public diplomacy (e.g., Cull 2018) have

⁴ The effect of the gender balanced panel of US support for investment in the UAE only reaches marginal significance ($p < .10$).

largely overlooked the role that GD can play in supporting state security through military alliances. Our work thus advances the nascent field of public diplomacy and broadens a gender perspective in international relations by demonstrating that women's empowerment can enhance a nation's international image and reputational security, even in areas traditionally associated with male strengths, such as foreign direct investment (FDI) and military alliances (Blackman and Jackson 2021; Chisem 2011).

Second, while the literature on politics and gender acknowledges that women-friendly policies are often strategically employed by incumbents to make authoritarian countries appear more liberal, supportive of women's rights, and democratic (cf. Bush, Donno, and Zetterberg 2023; Bush and Zetterberg 2021; Sari-Genc 2024; Valdini 2019), there remains debate about whether and how these effects influence international relations or domestic politics (e.g., Noh 2024). Drawing on the body of work on the role that unconscious bias plays in social interactions (Greenwald and Banaji 1995), we extend this literature by conceptualizing women's empowerment as a public diplomacy strategy and developing and testing a novel theory to elucidate the conditions under which GD may prove effective in world politics.

Furthermore, there is evidence that the increasing number of women in leadership worldwide, as well as in the MENA region, positively impacts perceptions of their competence and desirability as leaders (Lust and Benstead 2024; Alexander 2012; Beaman et al. 2009).⁵ Our

⁵ Although our study is the first to test the effect of gender stereotypes on international public opinion, other scholars have applied gender stereotypes in the study of domestic public perceptions of political leaders and their parties. Ben-Shitrit et al. (2022) elucidate how voter perceptions towards political parties may shift when a politician's actions contradict the gender

work thus contributes a new application of gender role congruity theory (Eagly 1987; Eagly and Karau 2002) to the fields of international relations and public diplomacy.

The subsequent sections of this article are structured as follows. First, we delineate the strategic utilization of gender diplomacy (GD) within the Arab Gulf states, emphasizing the nascent research on its effects in the realm of public diplomacy, as the field has largely overlooked gender dynamics. Second, we undertake a comprehensive review of the extant literature on the strategic deployment of electoral gender quotas and women's rights reforms, conceptualize a theory of GD, and present our hypotheses. Third, we provide an overview of the case of the UAE. Fourth, we explain our research design elucidating the measurement and analysis of our variables. Fifth, we present and discuss our findings. Finally, we conclude by reflecting on the implications of our research and offering suggestions for future scholarly inquiry in both politics and gender as well as public diplomacy.

Women's Representation and Public Diplomacy

While prevailing scholarship posits that autocratic regimes strategically deploy quotas and women's empowerment initiatives to cultivate a facade of democratic legitimacy and garner foreign aid (cf. Bush, Donno, and Zetterberg 2023; Bush and Zetterberg 2021), existing work does not conceptualize women's empowerment as a nation branding and public diplomacy

stereotypes associated with their party. They propose that the public perceives women in radical-right politics through a prism of feminine gender stereotypes. These feminine stereotypes counterbalance the masculine stereotypes associated with radical-right parties and movements, thereby 'softening' their image and rendering them more palatable to the general public.

strategy. Furthermore, the theoretical mechanisms underpinning gender diplomacy (GD) remain largely unexplored. This gap in the literature underscores the necessity for a more comprehensive examination of GD as a strategic tool employed by autocracies and democracies, with a specific focus on its impact on public perceptions.

Briefly, public diplomacy refers to efforts by governments and their representatives to communicate directly with foreign publics in order to influence their perceptions and gain support or tolerance for their government's strategic objectives (Cull 2019). Ultimately, a key goal of public diplomacy is to enhance state security. Cull defines reputational security as "...the degree of safety accruing to a nation state that proceeds from being known by citizens of other nations" (2018, no page). ⁶

⁶ We presented our research design for this study at a conference on public diplomacy sponsored by the state of Qatar in 2023, at which a member of Qatar's ruling Al Thani family explained his government's approach to reputational security. Qatar invests in international events such as the World Cup, the Al-Jazeera broadcast network, and its diplomatic role hosting HAMAS members as a means of enhancing its regional security. The royal referenced the need to use these public diplomacy tools to create favorable impression of Qatar internationally, thereby increasing the likelihood that external actors like the US will support Qatar if its security is threatened, citing the 2017 incident in which the UAE, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt enforced a *de facto* blockade on Qatar due to its support of Islamist movements. The Qatari representative stated that Qatar seeks to emulate the example of Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, who successfully used new and old media to bolster Ukraine's reputational security, allowing it to attract Western support when the Russian invasion began in 2022 (Cull 2019).

Gender equality is one pillar of the UAE's national and public diplomacy strategies, which aim to enhance the oil-rich nation's economic prosperity through attracting foreign capital, tourists, and expatriates. According to the Minister of State His Excellency Zaki Nusseibeh, Emirati culture is "rooted in...a commitment to women's empowerment...to provide an open, economically attractive and culturally rich environment for expatriates and visitors..." (Nusseibeh 2024, no page). Using state narratives complemented by visual media, the UAE publicizes the accomplishments of its female leaders. This includes such figures as Major Mariam Al Mansouri, the first United Arab Emirates female fighter pilot who, as part of her military service, fired missiles at ISIS (Allagui and Al-Najjar 2018).

The UAE's focus on gender equality, tolerance, and cultural exchange complements its national plan to promote tourism, trade and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), and security alliances with the US and other countries. In the area of tourism, the UAE launches TV and Internet campaigns such as "Experience Abu Dhabi: Find Your Pace" to positively shape their country's image and attract tourists (Won Jeong 2023). In addition to market research that seeks to enhance foreign views of the UAE as an appealing place to live and work,⁷ the government

Qatar's strategy does not currently center on women's empowerment. Our paper was the only one that overtly focused on gender issues and was scheduled last during the two day event, after most government officials were no longer present. This illustrates the marginal place that gender issues have traditionally held in the academic study of public diplomacy and many decision-makers.

⁷ Based on the author's experience in 2003 as a respondent to a phone survey about perceptions of the desirability of living in the UAE.

launched a 2021 plan to attract \$150 billion worth of foreign investment in the coming decade (U.S. Department of State 2023).

Moreover, the UAE and the USA have a strong bilateral security relationship. Since 1994, the relationship has involved joint military exercises, the presence of US military equipment in the UAE, and the transfer of weapons systems to the UAE (Embassy of the United Arab Emirates 2024b). The UAE was the first signatory of the Abraham Accords with Israel in 2020, signed in part to attract economic and tourism incentives, and is a partner in the Global War on Terror. With the world's 9th largest oil production (IEA 2023) and one of the 6th highest per capita GDP (Worldometer 2023), the UAE prioritizes international alliances to ensure its security and attract tourism, trade, and FDI. Its public diplomacy strategy projects an image as a stable and tolerant setting for international partnerships, upon which it relies for its economic prosperity and security.

The gender pillar of its public diplomacy strategy and its Gender Balance strategy (2022-2026) are notable. The UAE's Gender Balance Council has the self-described goal of improving the country's position in global gender equality rankings (Davis-Packard 2017; Sinha, Lehmann, and Djankov 2023) in order to promote the UAE as a destination for expatriate professionals and investors. In addition to gender-sensitive amendments to its pension and domestic violence laws, the UAE took measures to increase women's representation on boards and in its national consultative council, the FNC (Davis-Packard 2017), with a 2019 presidential decree reserving 50 percent of the 40-seat consultative council for women (Sinha, Lehmann, and Djankov 2023). The FNC is half elected and half appointed, which allows the government to appoint women to seats where they did not win them outright, especially in the conservative north.

The UAE is not the only Gulf country that includes women's empowerment in its public diplomacy strategy, however. In 2013, Saudi Arabia enacted a quota ensuring 20 percent of the 150 seats in the country's consultative Shura Council are held by females. The Kingdom's Vision 2030 plan, which also includes women to drive, publicizes gender-related reforms to domestic and international audiences through newspaper articles, reports, stories, and editorials in the country's state-run media (Afzal and Omar 2021).

Quotas, Women's Representation, and Foreign Public Opinion

Despite the role of gender reform in public diplomacy strategies and ample evidence that gender stereotypes shape perceptions and behavior (e.g., Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Eagly and Karau 2002), extant public diplomacy literature largely ignores gender issues.⁸ For instance, there is no mention of gender in the influential literature on reputational security (Cull 2019). This may be because security and the military are arenas that are associated with stereotypically male competencies (Blackman and Jackson 2021; Chisem 2011). It is also worth considering that international security cooperation is not mentioned in a list of potential ways that female leadership could theoretically benefit a regime (Tripp 2024), signaling the extent to which even politics and gender scholars may miss the potential for female leaders to support the reputational security of states.⁹

⁸ cf. Cull (2018, 2019). For an exception see Kaneva and Cassinger 2022.

⁹ According to the USD Center for Public Diplomacy (Istad 2020), gender diplomacy has traditionally been associated with visible female diplomats in Scandinavian countries, which is considered a factor shaping global public perceptions of Northern European countries as the

To fill this gap, we conceptualize GD as the visible, strategic use of women as a public diplomacy strategy aimed at enhancing reputational security by improving perceptions among foreign governments and publics. Drawing on and extending theories from the social psychology of gender (Eagly and Karau 2002; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993) and cognitive psychology (Greenwald and Banaji 1995), we argue that foreign publics stereotype female leaders as kinder and more honest than males and implicitly associate these positive stereotypes with their country.

most gender-equal in the world (Jezierska and Towns 2018; Cassidy 2017). Those researchers who have explored gender and public diplomacy find that leaders' gender shapes international attitudes, though this literature does not present or test a theory for why and under what conditions this will occur. For instance, Rumelili, Aydın-Düzgit, and Gülmez (2023) argue that Turkey instrumentalized women's rights and women actors in the 1930s to change European prejudice against their nation. Their work involves a case study of Keriman Halis' victory in the 'Miss Universe' contest in 1932 and the organization of the 12th Congress of the International Alliance of Women in Istanbul in 1935, which they argue reduced European skepticism towards the Turkish regime in the early era of the Republic. Similarly, Ingenhoff and Klein (2018) explored how a political leader's image influences their home country's image, which they call "spillover effects." While they find that the effect depends on the leader's gender—and they point to a leader's integrity as the most important factor shaping a country's image—the authors do not offer or test a theory linking leader gender and foreign perceptions of the leader's country, instead calling on other researchers to do so.

Electoral gender quotas have long been seen as strategic tools of male elites across a range of political contexts as a visible way for the government to demonstrate a commitment to women's rights without necessarily altering existing patterns of representation (Krook 2008; Bush 2011; Kang and Tripp 2018; Valdini 2021; Tripp 2019). In a conjoint survey experiment implemented among development and democracy promotion professionals, as well as a survey of US citizens, Bush, Donno, and Zetterberg (2023) find that increasing women's economic rights (i.e., laws guaranteeing equal rights to employment, property, and inheritance) has a large impact on support for foreign aid and perceived democracy,¹⁰ while quota implementation has a small impact on perceived democracy among elites only. This could be because the general public in many Western countries is unfamiliar with what a quota is and does.

As an example of the power of genderwashing in authoritarian regimes, Elad-Strenger, Ben Shitrit, and Hirsch-Hoefler (2022) argue that the appointment of Najla Bouden Romdhan as Tunisia's first female prime minister and the first prime minister in the Arab world is an example of pinkwashing¹¹ by Tunisian President Kais Saied, who leveraged women's rights to deflect attention away from his anti-democratic actions to suspend parliament in 2021. It is worth noting

¹⁰ Bush and Zetterberg (2021) also find that for hypothetical developing countries, citizens in the USA and Sweden were more likely to see the country as democratic and to support foreign aid when women's descriptive representation was greater.

¹¹ Some scholars use pinkwashing to describe this practice. Since pinkwashing is associated with support of LGBTQ+ rights as a way to deflect criticism of state human rights violations or corporate environmental harms, we use genderwashing to refer to the use of women in visible leadership.

that Dr. Romdhan is an academic of diminutive physical stature with a high level of education whose physical appearance is not particularly threatening or associated with (male) leaders of the past. Others have followed this line of argumentation when examining the domestic impact of a panel's gender makeup on perceptions of the legitimacy of its decisions (Clayton, O'Brien, and Piscopo 2019; Kao et al. 2023).

In contrast, our implicit associations theory of GD differs from existing dispositional theories of foreign policy (Kelley 2017; Bush, Donno, and Zetterberg 2023) and expands upon existing explanations, which argue that women's representation signals attachment to international norms (Bush 2011) or enhances perceived diversity and legitimacy (Clayton, O'Brien, and Piscopo 2019; Kao et al. 2023). This being said, we believe that these elements are part of the causal story underlying the effects of GD.¹² We extend this work by conceptualizing quotas as tools of public diplomacy and developing and testing a theory explaining why and under what circumstances women's representation shapes perceptions of leaders and their nation. We argue and show that respondents stereotype female leaders as kinder and more honest and implicitly associate these stereotypes with their country—that is, a form of implicit, cognitive bias. According to our implicit associations theory, effects will be larger for those public

¹² Clayton et al. (2019) argue that the presence of women on panels enhances the legitimacy of both the decision-making process and the outcomes, even when those decisions may not align with women's interests (Clayton, O'Brien, and Piscopo 2019). Similarly, Kao et al. (2023) find that the inclusion of women promotes the perceived legitimacy of committee procedures and outcomes in more patriarchal, less democratic settings, and decisions that favor women are linked with increased levels of perceived legitimacy.

diplomacy arenas that align with stereotypically female strengths and among individuals who hold positive bias toward women compared to those who do not.

An Implicit Associations Theory of Gender Diplomacy (GD)

According to psychologists, humans construct their subjective social reality through cognitive processes that reduce cognitive burden and help them navigate the world around them.

Stereotypes and biases are two such heuristics.¹³ Stereotyping occurs when individuals attribute the actual or perceived qualities of an individual to all members of their social group.

Stereotyping reduces the amount of cognitive processing needed to make decisions, allowing individuals to act quickly. Stereotypes and bias often lead to errors that can be harmful (e.g., disparate healthcare outcomes and police-involved shootings), but can be adaptive.

Implicit bias with respect to race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, social status, and other social distinctions has been found to shape employment, medical, voting, and other decisions of students, nurses, doctors, police officers, employment recruiters, and individuals in many other social and professional contexts (Greenwald and Banaji 1995; Jost et al. 2019; FitzGerald and Hurst 2018). Gender and ethnic wage gaps in the United Kingdom's National Health Service system are believed, in part, to be the result of implicit race- and gender-based biases (Gopal et al. 2021). Research shows that healthcare professionals hold anti-black and brown bias, as

¹³ In the decision making theory known as dual process theory (DPT), Type 1 processes are “fast, unconscious, ‘intuitive’ and require limited cognitive resources...[that is] mental shortcuts or heuristics.” Type 2 processes are analytic and take more time and cognitive resources (Gopal et al. 2021, 41).

measured by the Implicit Association Test (IAT). This is thought to be a factor in explaining ethnic and racial disparities in healthcare outcomes in the United States (Hall et al. 2015).¹⁴

The perniciousness of implicit associations can be profound. In the area of policing, Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie, and Davies (2004) found that college students and police officers exhibit substantial race-based implicit bias. In experiments, researchers found that as a photo of a weapon transformed from a pixelated image to a clear photo, respondents more quickly identified the presence of a weapon when it was preceded by a subliminal image of Black face than a White face (Payne 2001; Spencer, Charbonneau, and Glaser 2016). Judd, Blair, and Chapleau (2004) demonstrated this association between someone's race and an object, "does not simply reflect an automatic activation of general negative evaluations, because participants identified both positively and negatively valenced objects that are stereotypically associated with Black Americans more quickly and accurately than non-stereotypic objects" (as cited in Spencer, Charbonneau, and Glaser 2016, 55).

These troubling findings illustrate the strong potential that gender-based stereotypes may color not only how foreign publics see leaders, but also, through unconscious or implicit association and attribution, the leaders' country. In the case of GD, positive stereotypes about females may be associated with their country, leading to potentially adaptive (though complex) public diplomacy impacts of women's representation on perceptions. This is because, according

¹⁴ The Implicit Association Test (IAT) is a series of tasks designed to measure the extent to which individuals hold implicit bias based on such social classifications, which has been shown under many circumstances to predict discriminatory behavior (Project Implicit 2024; Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, and Banaji 2009).

to social psychologists, gender, as a social category, is unique from other forms of social difference in that women are often the subject of positive stereotypes that associate them with being kind, honest, and trustworthy. More specifically, women are simultaneously seen as incompetent in specific roles associated with males, while potentially being held as superior to men in other respects (Eagly 1987; Eagly and Karau 2002) such as moral purity (Glick and Fiske 1997; Benstead and Lust 2018; Shalaby 2019). Due to sex segregation in the labor force, females are seen as more competent in social and compassion issues, while males may be seen as having greater aptitude in the areas of the economy and security (Benstead and Lust 2018; Blackman and Jackson 2021; Bush and Prather 2020). Gender-based stereotypes have been shown to exist and shape political behavior, in the form of candidate electability in both Western as well as non-Western settings, including in the MENA region (Glick and Fiske 1997; Benstead et al. 2015; Lawless 2004).¹⁵

Hypotheses: Average Treatment Effects

Drawing on this literature, we developed several hypotheses, which we pre-registered.¹⁶ Our implicit associations theory of GD holds that gender-based stereotypes about leaders may be

¹⁵ In a recent study, Lust and Benstead (2024) find that citizens of six Arab countries view female candidates as more capable of performing leadership tasks, including those considered under men's purviews, such as ensuring security, managing the economy, and raising constituency funds.

¹⁶ See "Is Gender Quotas Effective? The Case of Gender Quotas in the UAE." EGAP Registry. <https://osf.io/znf3v>. We adhered to our pre-analysis plan in this paper. However, we could not include all of our original hypotheses in this paper due to space constraints.

implicitly or explicitly held or both. Crucially, however, we argue that the association of these stereotypes with the country of the UAE occurs subconsciously and as such, results from unconscious bias. Accordingly, we expect that a gender balanced legislature with a fifty percent quota will be viewed as having the stereotyped qualities of females such as kindness and trustworthiness to a greater extent than a male only legislature. In contrast, we expect that a male only legislature without a quota will be viewed as having the stereotyped traits and competencies of males to a greater extent than a gender balanced legislature.

Further, we theorize that the implicit association between positive female traits and the country of the UAE will be stronger and more effective on those public diplomacy dimensions that are more closely aligned with stereotypically female traits (e.g., being a democracy, respecting human rights, and being welcoming to tourists) than those that are aligned with male traits and competencies (e.g., supporting FDI or a military alliance with the UAE). Just as the findings of the race and weapons studies revealed the existence of a mental schema associating Black faces with weapons, so too respondents in our study are expected to subconsciously attribute gender-based stereotypes about the FNC members to the UAE and to do more strongly the more the arena is aligned with beliefs about how females are and what they do than those regarding males.

We thus arrange the Average Treatment Effects (ATEs) hypotheses (H1a-H1h) first by those traits and stereotypes linked to female strengths and subsequently by those associated with male traits as a continuum, as summarized in Table 1. When it comes to general, positive perceptions of the UAE, the UAE will be more likely to be viewed positively by those in the gender balanced condition than those in the all male condition (H1a). And it will be more likely to be seen as sharing US values (H1b), as democratic (H1c), and as respecting human rights

(H1d), public diplomacy outcomes that are strongly aligned with female traits. Tourism (i.e., hosting) is also an arena that is slightly female-aligned, due to females' stereotypical skills in hospitality and the fact that a smaller proportion of violent crimes are committed by females relative to males.

Accordingly, we expect that the UAE will be more likely to be seen as safe to visit by those in the gender balanced condition than those in the all male condition (H1e) and respondents will be more likely to want to visit the UAE by those in the gender balanced condition than those in the all male condition (H1f). In contrast, FDI, as an element of the economy, as well as security are stereotypically male-aligned competencies, with the latter being strongly so. Thus, we expect that respondents who are exposed to the all male council will be more supportive of US investment in and a US security alliance with the UAE (H1g and H1h).

Table 1. Average Treatment Effect (ATE) Hypotheses

Hypothesis	Public diplomacy arena	Gender stereotype	Description
In those arenas that are aligned with stereotypically female traits and competencies, Gender Diplomacy (GD) positively impacts perceptions of the UAE such that:			
H1a	General perception	Female-trait aligned	The UAE will be viewed more positively by those in the gender balanced condition than those in the all male condition.
H1b	Tolerance and stability	Female-trait aligned	The UAE will be more likely to be viewed as sharing values with the USA by those in the gender balanced condition than those in the all male condition.
H1c	Tolerance and stability	Female-trait aligned	The UAE will be more likely to be viewed as democratic in the gender balanced condition than those in the all male condition.
H1d	Tolerance and stability	Female-trait aligned	The UAE will be more likely to be viewed as respecting human rights in the gender balanced condition than those in the all male condition.
H1e	Tourism	Female-trait aligned	The UAE will be more likely to be seen as safe to visit by those in the gender balanced condition than those in the all male condition.
H1f	Tourism	Female-competency aligned	Respondents will be more likely to want to visit the UAE in the gender balanced condition than in the all male condition.
For those arenas that align with stereotypically male strengths, Gender Diplomacy (GD) will have no impact, such that:			
H1g	Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)	Moderately male-competency aligned	The UAE will be more likely to support US investment in the UAE in the all male condition than the gender balanced condition.
H1h	Security cooperation	Strongly male-competency aligned	The UAE will be more likely to support a US security alliance with the UAE in the all male condition than the gender balanced condition.

Hypotheses: Conditional Average Treatment Effects (CATEs)

To test our theory further, we examine how explicit gender stereotypes interact with the effects of GD. We anticipate that the positive impact of GD on perceptions of the UAE will be more pronounced among those who hold explicitly positive stereotypes of females in areas aligned with female strengths (Table 2). However, we do not expect explicit stereotypes to influence perceptions in areas traditionally associated with male strengths.

Table 2. Conditional Average Treatment Effects (CATEs) Hypotheses

Hypothesis	Public diplomacy arena	Gender stereotype	Description
In those arenas that align with stereotypically female strengths, the effect of GD on perceptions of the UAE will be larger among those who see women as morally superior to males than those who do not, such that:			
H2a	General perception	Female-trait aligned	The effect of GD on positive perceptions of the UAE will be larger among those who see women as morally superior than those who do not.
H2b	Tolerance	Female-trait aligned	The effect of GD on the belief that the USA and the UAE share values will be larger among those who see women as morally superior than those who do not.
H2c	Tolerance, modernity, and stability	Female-trait aligned	The effect of GD on the belief that the UAE is democratic will be larger among those who see women as morally superior than those who do not.
H2d	Tolerance, modernity, and stability	Female-trait aligned	The effect of GD on the belief that the UAE respects human rights will be larger among those who see women as morally superior than those who do not.
H2e	Tourism	Female-trait aligned	The effect of GD on the belief that the UAE is safe will be larger among those who see women as morally superior than those who do not.
H2f	Tourism	Female-competency aligned	The effect of GD on the desire to visit the UAE will be larger among those who see women as morally superior than those who do not.
In those arenas that align with stereotypically male strengths, the effect of GD on perceptions of the UAE will be similar across respondents who hold or do not hold the view that women as morally superior to males, such that:			
H2g	Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)	Moderately male-competency aligned	The effect of GD on support for investment in the UAE will be similar among those who see women as morally superior and those who do not.
H2h	Security cooperation	Strongly male-competency aligned	The effect of GD on support for a US security alliance with the UAE will be similar among those who see women as morally superior and those who do not.

Research Design

To test our implicit associations theory of GD, we implemented a web-based survey conducted among a nationally representative quota sample of 1,241 US residents between June 20-July 19, 2024.¹⁷ The sampling strata were respondent gender, age, party identification, US region, educational attainment, and race and respondents came from all fifty states. (See Appendix 1.1-1.2 for sampling quotas and respondent characteristics). The study protocol was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Portland State University.¹⁸ (For more on the selection of the UAE as a case, see Appendix 1.9).

Survey Design

We presented respondents with a series of pre-treatment questions, including a measure of our main independent variable, explicit positive stereotypes about women. We then presented the experimental treatment, comprised of a vignette and photo depicting either: (1) a male only Council described as having 40 seats or (1) a mixed sex (i.e., gender balanced) Council described as having a quota that reserves 50 percent of the 40 seats for females (Table 3). Next, we asked questions measuring sixteen dependent variables, followed by demographics and a manipulation check to assess treatment recall. (Appendix 1.7) (For a list of the 16 dependent variables and the questionnaire, see Appendix 1.3 and 1.4).¹⁹

¹⁷ The survey was conducted by Qualtrics using their survey panel.

¹⁸ Protocol # 238001-18. See Appendix 1.3 for more details on ethics.

¹⁹ In this paper we focus on eight outcome variables closely linked with the public diplomacy goals of the UAE and present analyses of the eight other outcome variables in Appendix 2.3, 2.4, 2.7, and 2.8. We also discuss these other outcomes in the discussion of the mechanisms in the

Treatment

To design the experiment, we selected photos of members of the Federal National Council (FNC) and endeavored to use leaders of similar age, ethnicity, attractiveness, and facial expression (e.g., smiling or not) who are engaged in similar activities—in this case, speaking before the FNC. The gender balanced condition featured Amal al-Qubaisi,²⁰ the first female to be elected to a parliament in the Gulf in 2006, in the foreground and the male only condition featured Saeed Al Remeithi in the foreground.²¹ Few, if any, of the US-based respondents would have recognized the individuals in the photos, which we obtained from international news outlets.

results section. Randomization was effective as shown by insignificant chi-square tests between the treatment variable and several independent and/or demographic variables. (See Appendix 1.6).

²⁰ Agencies. Photo. China Daily, 2015. https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2015-11/19/content_22484427.htm (accessed Oct. 30, 2023).

²¹ Abu Dhabi. Photo. The National News, 2015. <https://www.thenationalnews.com/uae/government/profiles-elected-fnc-members-1.639298> (accessed Oct. 30, 2023).

Table 3. Survey Experiment: Gender Balanced and (“Quota”) and All Male Conditions

All Male Condition:

The Federal National Council is the legislature-like body of the United Arab Emirates. It has forty members.



Gender Balanced (‘Quota’) Condition:

The Federal National Council is the legislature-like body of the United Arab Emirates. Due to a gender quota, half of its forty members are female.



1,241 respondents consented to participate in the survey. Due to respondent attrition during the initial pretreatment questions, 1,069 respondents answered the survey experiment, with 546 (51.1%) receiving the gender balanced treatment and 523 (48.9%) receiving the male only treatment. The responses to the manipulation check show a high degree of treatment recall, with 85.4% answering correctly.

We conducted robustness checks and found no evidence that respondents were systematically more likely to leave the survey in one of the two treatment conditions, or that those who broke off before the end of the survey were more likely to be male versus female or to hold distinct views on gender issues (See Appendix 1.8). This gives us confidence that our results are not due to participant attrition or respondent inattention to the survey questions.

Analytical Strategy

To assess our implicit associations theory, we first estimate Average Treatment Effects for the impact of GD on eight outcome variables linked to male and female stereotyped traits and competencies (H1a-H1h).²² Second, we examine Conditional Average Treatment Effects (CATEs) across respondents who hold explicit positive stereotypes about females and those who do not (H2a-H2h).

Depending on whether the outcome is binary or measured in three ordered categories, we use logistic and ordered logistic regression using a methodology developed by Long and Freese (2014). When the outcome is measured on an 11-point scale (H1c: Democracy and H1d: Human rights), we divide the scale into three quantiles. The inclusion of additional demographic control variables for which CATEs, unless theoretically justified, is unnecessary in a randomized treatment assignment and can bias the estimation of the average treatment effects (Mutz 2011). (See the full models in Appendix 2). The formula below represents our logistic regression models:

$$\text{logit}(\text{Perception of UAE}) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Gender of Council} + \mathcal{E}$$

$$\text{logit}(P(Y \leq j)) = \alpha_j - (\beta_1 \text{Gender of Council})$$

²² Analysis of the other eight outcome variables is available in Appendix 2.

In the initial model, *Perception of the UAE* serves as the dependent variable.. The intercept is represented by β_0 , and the coefficient associated with the independent variable, *Gender of Council*, is denoted by β_1 . *Gender of Council* indicates the gender composition of the Council, which can be categorized as either all male or gender balanced. The term ε encapsulates the error term within the model.

The subsequent model employs an ordered logit framework, with (Y) representing the ordinal dependent variable *Perception of the UAE*. The notation (j) signifies the threshold for cumulative probability. The coefficient for the independent variable remains β_1 . These models elucidate the relationship between *Perception of the UAE* and *Gender of Council* within both binary and ordered logistic regression frameworks.

Measurement and Descriptive Statistics (Dependent Variables)

We measured eight perceptions of the UAE linked to its public diplomacy goals *Perception of UAE*, which its government says are to promote an image of a tolerant, stable, and prosperous country (Embassy of the United Arab Emirates 2024a; Nusseibeh 2024). Holding a positive impression of the UAE, perceiving that the UAE and the USA share values, and seeing the UAE as a more democratic country that respects human rights are outcomes associated with stereotypically female traits of kindness and honesty. So too, seeing the UAE as safe and desiring to visit the country are also aligned with stereotypically female traits and competencies, given their relationship to the areas of hospitality and tourism. The desire to support investment is moderately associated with male competencies while security alliance is strongly associated with male competencies.

Respondents' views of the UAE were mixed. In the pooled data, 43.3% of US residents held a positive view of the UAE, while 56.7% held a negative view. (Table 3). US residents also

tended to disagree that the USA and UAE share values, with 34.2% agreeing and 65.8% disagreeing. Respondents vary in their views of the degree to which the UAE is democratic, with the distribution slightly skewed to the undemocratic end of the scale with a mean of 4.32 and a median of 5 on a scale of 0 to 10. There was less agreement that the UAE respects human rights; on the same scale, responses had a mean of 1.96 and a median of 4.

When it comes to a desire to visit the UAE, half (53.2%) did not wish to visit it, 30.9% responded ‘maybe,’ and 15.9% answered yes. Almost half of respondents (47.6%) do not think the UAE is safe to visit, while 31.8% responded ‘maybe’ and 20.6% said that it is ‘safe.’

In terms of investment and security cooperation, the majority of respondents do not support US investment in the UAE (61.1%). However, about the same proportion (56.9%) support a military alliance with the UAE. These findings, which are nationally representative of US residents based on a quota sample, suggest the need for additional investment in public diplomacy.

Independent Variables

To test our CATE hypotheses, we measured the extent to which the respondent holds explicit, positive stereotypes about women using the item: “Do you agree or disagree? Women are morally superior to men.” More respondents ‘Agree’ (63.1%) than ‘Disagree’ (36.9%). This indicates a widespread a priori view among US residents that females are morally purer than males.

Table 3. Measurement of Dependent Variables

Item	Strength and gender of association	Question wording and distribution
H1a: Positive view of UAE	Female-Trait	Do you have a positive or negative view of this country? Positive=1 (43.3%), Negative=0 (56.7%).
H1b: Shares values	Female-Trait	The USA shares values with this country. Agree=1 (34.2%), Disagree=0 (65.8%).
H1c: Democracy	Female-Trait	On a scale of 0-10, how democratic do you think this country is? (Scale: 0=Not democratic at all to 10=Completely democratic). Recoded into three quantiles: 1-3=1 (41.3%), 4-5=2 (26.7%), 6-10=3 (31.9%). Median is 5 and Mean 4.32 on a scale of 0-10.
H1d: Respects human rights	Female-Trait	On a scale of 0 to 10, how much do you think this country respects human rights? 0-10. (Scale: 0=Not at all to 10=Completely). Recoded into three quantiles: 1-2=1 (35.2%), 3-5=2 (33.8%), 6-10=3 (30.9%). Median is 4 and Mean 1.96 on a scale of 0-10.
H1e: Safe to travel to UAE	Female-Trait	Do you think it is safe to travel to this country? No=1 (47.6%), Maybe=2 (31.8%), Yes=3 (20.6%).
H1f: Would like to visit UAE	Female-Competency	Would you like to visit this country if you had the chance? No=1 (53.2%), Maybe=2 (30.9%), Yes=3 (15.9%).
H1g: Investment	Slightly associated with male-competencies	American companies should invest money to open offices in this country. Agree=1 (38.8%), Disagree=0 (61.1%).
H1h: Military alliance	Strongly associated with male-competencies	The USA should have a military alliance with this country. Agree=1 (56.9%), Disagree=0 (43.1%).

Results

Accordingly, in this section, we present the Average Treatment Effects (ATEs) of the Council members' sex on perceptions of the UAE across eight public diplomacy indicators. (Figures 1-3 and Appendix Table A2.1.1-A2.1.8). We then present Conditional Average Treatment Effects (CATEs) comparing the size of the GD effects across respondents who hold explicit, positive views of women and those who do not. (Figures 4-6 and Appendix Table A2.5.1-A2.5.8).

Average Treatment Effects (ATEs)

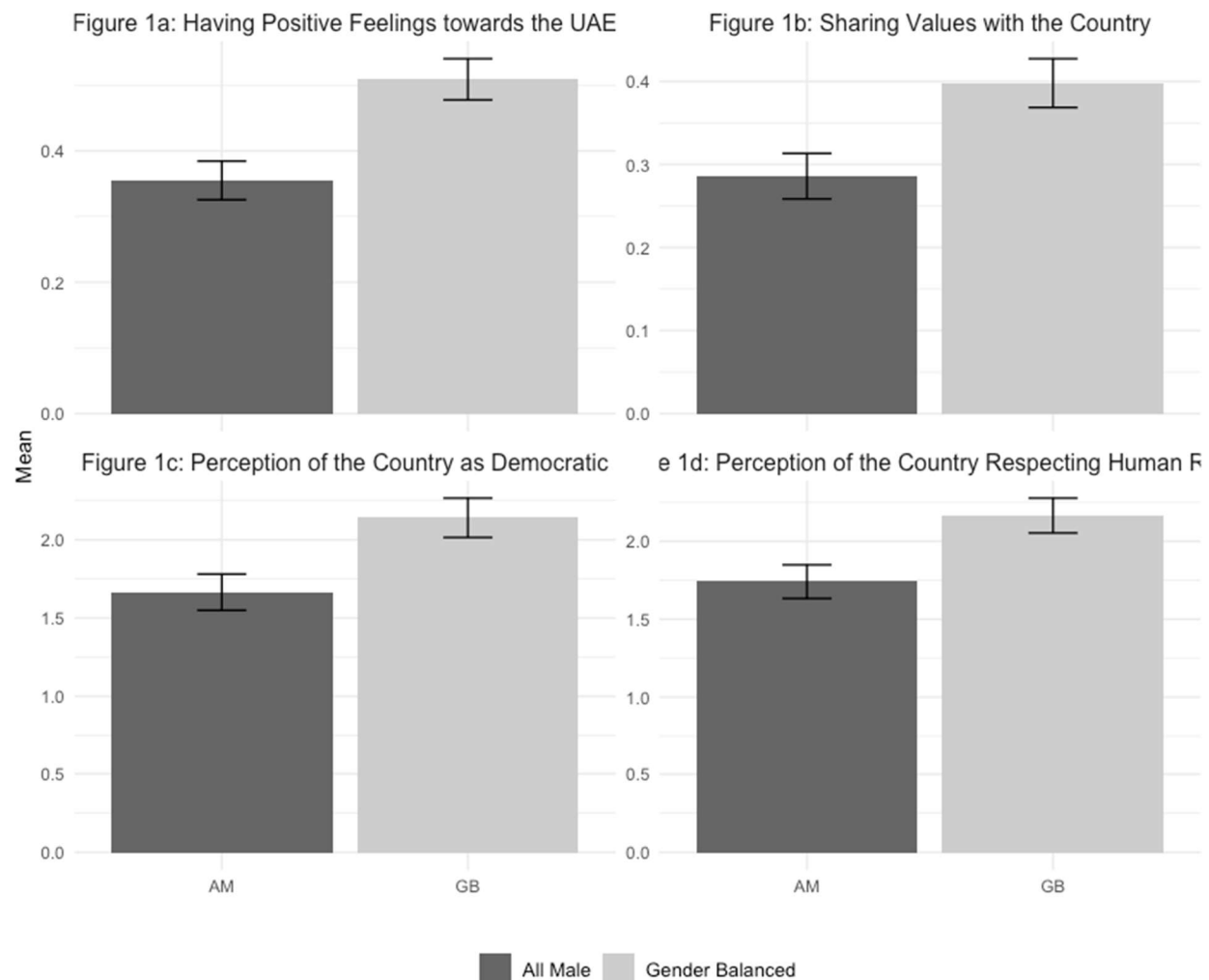
Figure 1 illustrates the impact of gender diplomacy (GD) on four perceptions of the UAE associated with stereotypically female traits: holding a positive view of the UAE (H1a), perceiving shared values between the UAE and the USA (H1b), seeing the UAE as democratic (H1c), and seeing the UAE as respecting human rights (H1d). Consistent with these hypotheses, respondents exposed to the gender balanced condition viewed the UAE more favorably across all four indicators compared to those who saw the all male condition.

In Figure 1a, the effect size of women's equal presence translates to a 0.632-point increase in the relative likelihood of having a positive view of the country, representing an approximately 63.2% increase. Specifically, 50.90% of those in the female condition expressed a positive view of the UAE, compared with 35.50% in the male condition ($p < .001$). This 15.40% effect size underscores the potential of GD in advancing the UAE's public diplomacy goals, supporting H1a. Similarly, Figure 1b shows a 0.502-point increase in the relative likelihood of perceiving shared values with the UAE when exposed to the gender balanced condition, equating to roughly a 50.2% increase. 39.80% of respondents in the female condition perceived shared values, compared with 28.60% in the male condition ($p < .001$), a difference of 11.20%, lending support to H1b.

Figure 1c further demonstrates the positive impact of GD. The effect size of women's equal presence is a 1.071-point increase on the probability transformation scale of perceiving the UAE as democratic (approximately a 107.1% increase). The average score for this perception was 1.665 (55.5% of the scale maximum) in the control group, increasing to 2.140 (71.3% of the scale maximum) in the gender balanced condition, a statistically significant difference of 0.475 points (15.8%), supporting H1c. Finally, Figure 1d indicates that respondents in the gender balanced condition perceived the UAE as more respectful of human rights compared to the all male condition, consistent with H1d. The effect size here is a 0.990-point increase on the probability transformation scale (approximately a 99.0% increase), again statistically significant ($p < .001$).

These results suggest that on four indicators that are strongly linked to stereotypically female, positive traits and competencies, GD strongly improves perceptions of the UAE. Consistently with existing research, the gender balanced condition has a large and statistically significant impact on perceived democracy, increasing the extent to which the UAE is seen as democratic by 22.40 percentage points (cf. Bush 2011; Bush, Donno, and Zetterberg 2023; Bush and Zetterberg 2021).

Figure 1. ATEs on Stereotypically Female Trait and Competency Perceptions of the UAE



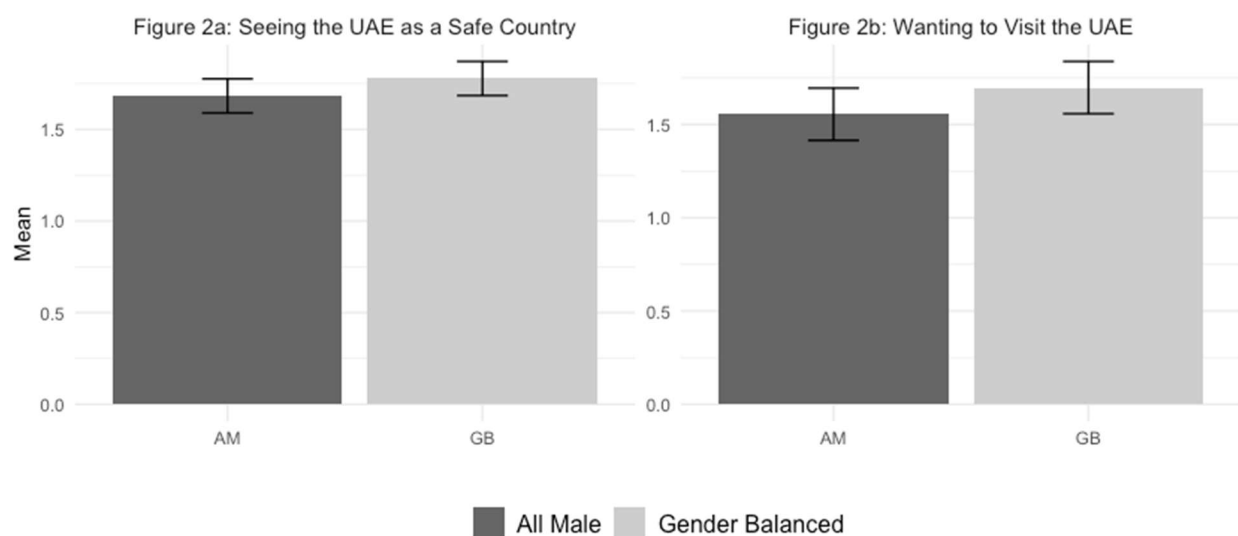
Note: Error bars at 95% confidence intervals.

The findings further extend to two tourism-related indicators, a domain often associated with feminine competencies. However, the observed effects are less pronounced compared to the aforementioned female-aligned traits (Figure 1a-d). Women's equal representation increased the relative likelihood of expressing a desire to visit the country by approximately 38.4%. This effect was statistically significant ($p < .01$). Exposure to the gender balanced council led to an increase

in the average score for wanting to visit the country from 51.8% to 56.6%, a statistically significant rise of 14.3% (Figure 2b), thus supporting H1f.

Similarly, women's equal representation resulted in an approximately 26.3% increase in the relative likelihood of perceiving the country as safe. This difference was also statistically significant ($p < .05$), in support of H1e. Respondents shown the all male council had an average score of 56.1% for perceiving the country as safe, which rose to 59.3% when exposed to the gender balanced council, a difference of 9.5% (Figure 2a). The comparatively smaller effect on the perception of safety might be attributed to the complex gender associations linked to this concept. Though females are often stereotyped as safer due to lower rates of violent crime perpetration, males are also associated with security and protection. This duality could partially explain the less pronounced impact of GD on this outcome relative to those more strongly aligned with female stereotypes.

Figure 2. ATEs on Stereotypically Female Trait and Competency Perceptions of the UAE



Note: Error bars at 95% confidence intervals.

The results pertaining to the two arenas traditionally associated with stereotypically male competencies—i.e., investment and security alliances—present interesting and unexpected findings. Contrary to our initial hypotheses (H2g and H2h), which predicted greater support for investment in the UAE and a security alliance with the UAE in the all male condition, we observed a small positive impact of female leadership on both investment as well as security perceptions that speaks to the strategic importance of GD for reputational security. Notably, the effect on the support for a security alliance was statistically significant.

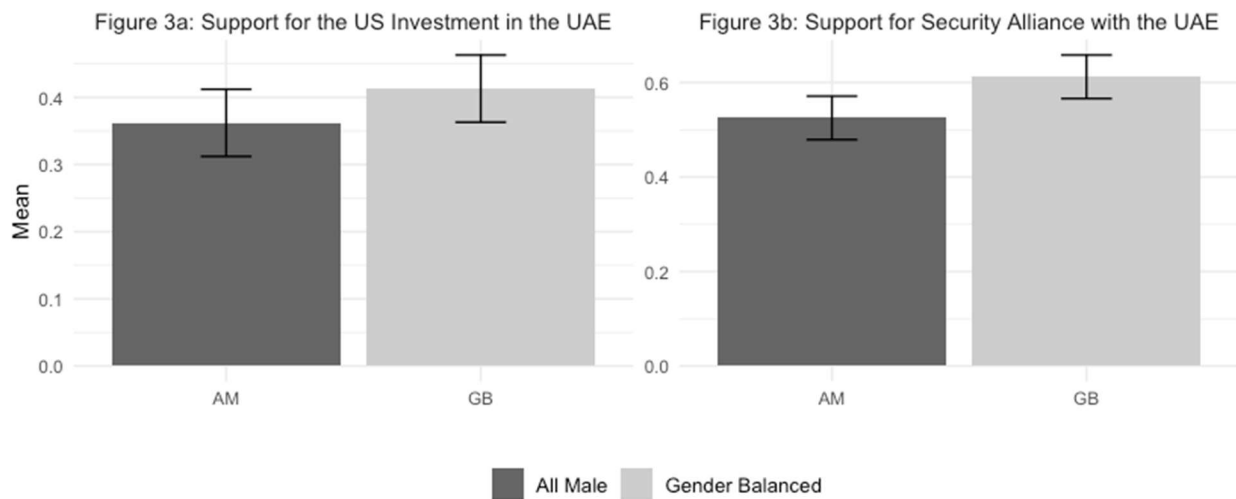
As depicted in Figure 3a, the relative likelihood of supporting US investment in the UAE increased by approximately 21.9% when respondents were exposed to the gender balanced council. While this difference did not reach conventional levels of statistical significance ($p=0.097$), the average probability of supporting investment rose from 36.2% in the male condition to 41.3% in the female condition—a modest but noteworthy 5.1% increase, offering partial support for H1g.

Surprisingly, and contrary to H1h, respondents exposed to a gender balanced council demonstrated greater support for a security alliance between the USA and the UAE (61.20%) compared to those who saw the all male council (52.50%), an 8.70% gap (Figure 3b). This translates to an approximately 35.6% increase in the relative likelihood of supporting a security alliance in the presence of female leaders, a statistically significant difference ($p<.01$).

These findings suggest that, while the impact of GD is more substantial for indicators strongly linked to female traits (e.g., having a positive view of the UAE or seeing it as democratic and respecting of human rights), as predicted by implicit associations theory, it also exerts a small but generally significant *positive* effect on outcomes associated with male competencies. This underscores the considerable potential of GD in advancing the public

diplomacy and reputational security objectives of states, even in arenas traditionally aligned with male competencies (Blackman and Jackson 2021) or overlooked by scholars (Cull 2019; Tripp 2024).

Figure 3. ATEs on Stereotypically-Male Competency Perceptions of the UAE



Note: Error bars at 95% confidence intervals.

Conditional Average Treatment Effect (CATEs)

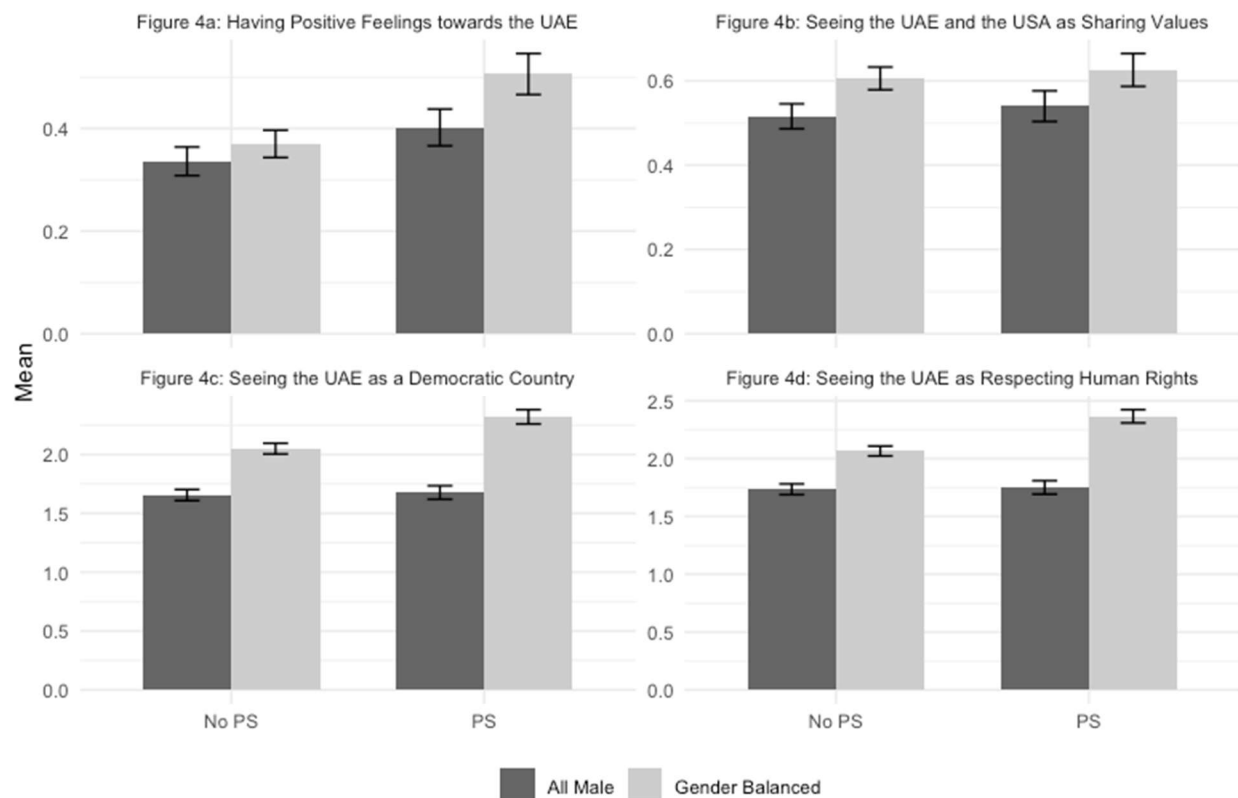
Figures 4-6 illustrate the impact of GD contingent upon whether respondents explicitly hold positive stereotypes of women (No PS or PS). Consistent with implicit associations theory (H2a-H2f), the positive effect of GD is particularly pronounced among individuals who strongly endorse such stereotypes, as observed across the six indicators associated with stereotypically feminine traits and competencies.

For instance, the perception of the UAE is notably influenced by GD, particularly among those who believe in female superiority (H2a). In this group, exposure to the female condition leads to a markedly more positive view of the UAE (58.60%) compared to the male condition

(37.80%), a statistically significant difference of 20.80%. However, this gap narrows among those who do not hold this belief, with 47.00% and 33.40% viewing the UAE positively in the female and male conditions, respectively ($p < .01$), a difference of 13.60% (Figure 4a).

Similar results emerge for perceptions of shared values between the USA and the UAE (H2b), perceived democracy in the UAE (H2c), and the UAE's perceived respect for human rights (H2d). The impact of GD on perceived democracy is striking among those who explicitly believe in female superiority. In this group, exposure to the female condition leads to a 32.15% higher perception of the UAE as democratic (66.00% vs. 33.85%, $p < .001$) (Figure 4c). Similarly, respondents are 18.40% more likely to perceive shared values between the two countries (52.30% vs. 33.90%, $p < .001$) (Figure 4b). Finally, the perception of the UAE respecting human rights is also substantially elevated in the female condition (68.30% vs. 37.55%, $p < .001$), a gap of 30.75% (Figure 4d).

Figure 4. GD Effects Conditional on Explicit Pro-Female Stereotypes for Stereotypically Female Traits

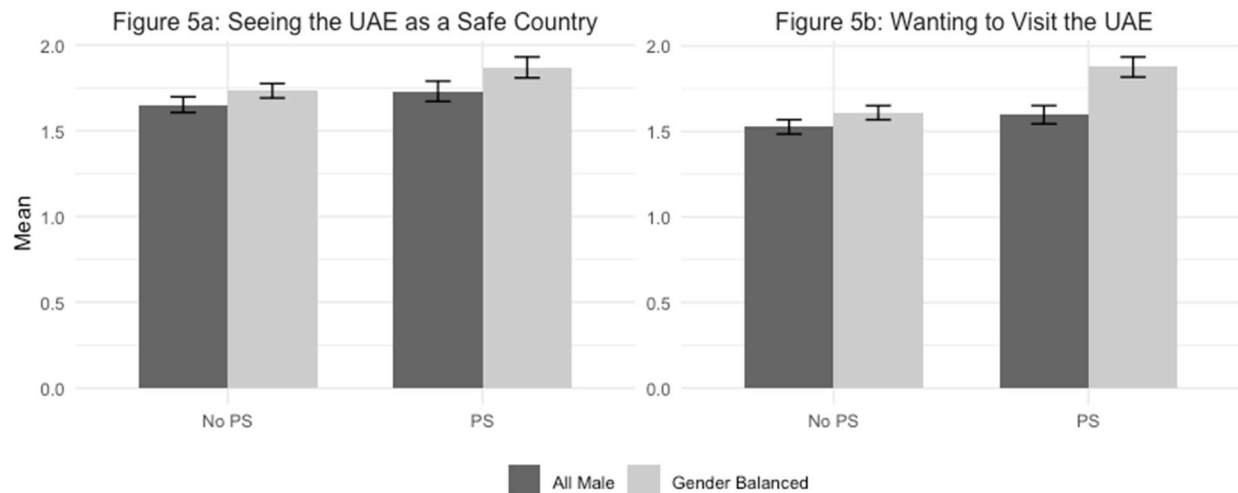


Note: Error bars at 95% confidence intervals. No PS corresponds to those respondents who do not hold explicit positive bias toward women while PS is those who do.

The findings concerning female aligned outcomes related to tourism in the UAE further corroborate H2e-H2f and our implicit associations theory of GD (Figures 5a and 5b). Notably, in support of H2f, among respondents who perceive females as superior to males, exposure to the female condition significantly increases the desire to visit the UAE (43.85%) compared to the male condition (29.90%, $p < .001$), yielding a substantial gap of 13.95%. However, among those who do not hold this belief, the difference (4.15%) in intent to visit between the female (30.50%) and male conditions (26.35%) is not statistically significant (H2f). A similar pattern emerges in

support of H2e, regarding perceptions of the UAE as a safe country. Among respondents who believe females are superior to males, exposure to the female condition leads to a heightened perception of safety (62.3%) compared to the male condition (55.5%, $p < .001$). The Conditional Average Treatment Effect (CATE) of 0.068 quantifies this disparity as a 6.8% gap (Figure 5a).

Figure 5. GD Effects Conditional on Explicit Pro-Female for Stereotypically Female Traits and Competencies

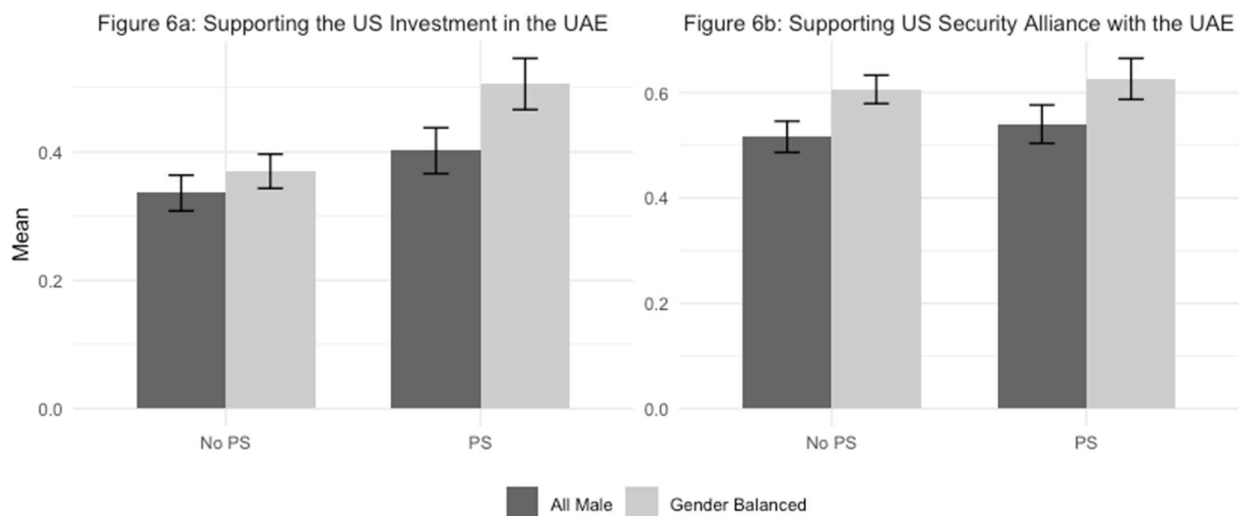


Note: Error bars at 95% confidence intervals. No PS corresponds to those respondents who do not hold explicit positive bias toward women while PS is those who do.

Counterintuitively, the heightened influence of GD observed among individuals who perceive women as superior extends even to domains stereotypically associated with male proficiency, thus contradicting our initial expectations (H2g). For instance, concerning support for US investment in the UAE, respondents who believe in female superiority exhibit a 10.40% higher rate of support when exposed to the female condition (50.60%) compared to the male condition

(40.20%, $p < .05$). Conversely, among those who do not hold this belief, the difference in support between the female (37.00%) and male conditions (33.60%) lacks statistical significance (Figure 6a).

Figure 6. GD Effects Conditional on Explicit Pro-Female Stereotypically Male Competencies



Note: Error bars at 95% confidence intervals. No PS corresponds to those respondents who do not hold explicit positive bias toward women while PS is those who do.

In contrast, aligning with expectations (H2h), the effect of GD on support for an alliance with the UAE is marginally larger and attains statistical significance exclusively among those who do not perceive women as superior. Within this group, exposure to the female condition yields a 9.00% increase in support (60.60% vs. 51.60%, $p < .05$). Notably, among those who believe in female superiority, the difference in support between the female (62.60%) and male conditions (54.00%) remains statistically non-significant (Figure 6b).

Discussion of the Causal Mechanism Underlying GD

Our implicit associations theory holds that while gender-based stereotypes may be implicitly or explicitly held, the association of positive traits of women with the country of the UAE occurs unconsciously and is thus an example of implicit cognitive bias. We cannot compute significance tests comparing the size of the ATE effects across female- and male-aligned traits and competencies (i.e., the dependent variables), but the analysis shows a general pattern: larger ATEs for outcomes that are aligned with female gender traits and competencies and smaller ATEs for outcomes that are associated with stereotypically male competencies.

Moreover, for the stereotypically female aligned outcomes, we find larger GD effects among respondents who hold explicit, positive stereotypes about women than those who do not, as expected (H2a-H2f). For those male aligned outcomes, we also found larger GD effects among respondents who hold explicit, positive stereotypes about women than those who do not (the GD effect was not significant in the latter group), which was not what we expected (H2g).

But, when it comes to security, the pattern was different—stronger effects of GD which were contrary to what we expected (H1h) and among those who do not see women as superior. Although we anticipated insignificant CATEs for having a security alliance (H2h), our findings align to some degree with our theory, which expects GD to occur most strongly when there is alignment between the gender of the leader and the gender-alignment of the outcome.

We have other reasons to have confidence that the evidence supports an implicit associations theory of GD. When we examined ATEs for eight additional outcome variables discussed in the Appendix, we drew similar conclusions. (See Table A1.1.4 and Appendix 2.3, 2.4, 2.7, and 2.8). GNC members were more likely to be seen as kind, honest, and willing to compromise and as more effective at making women's rights policy and controlling corruption—

outcomes linked to women's stereotyped traits competencies—in the gender balanced condition compared to the all male condition. And, while the members of the gender balanced GNC were also seen as more goal oriented, as effective legislators, and as effective at making security policy—arenas linked with male competencies—the effect size was smaller than for those outcomes linked to female traits, consistently with our implicit associations theory.²³

These findings support our implicit association theory by suggesting that respondents attribute stereotypically female traits and competencies to the members of the gender balanced council to a greater degree than the all male council. But they also underscore the extent to which there is increasingly pro-female bias among Western and non-Western individuals (Lust and Benstead 2024). Our respondents who are representative of the US population simply tend to regard the UAE in more positive terms when they see women in leadership. And, while canonical literature (e.g., Eagly and Karau 2002) may lead us to expect that this would not be the case on public diplomacy dimensions that are associated with male strengths, respondents are more likely to see members of the gender balanced council as more goal oriented, effective legislators, and effective at making security policy compared to members of the all male council.

Additional Robustness Checks

We performed several types of robustness checks which give us a high degree of confidence in the power of GD and our implicit associations theory to explain it. First, we found similar results when fitting the models only among those who answered the treatment recall question correctly. (Appendix 3.1). Moreover, we found positive impacts of GD among a wide variety of

²³ The effect is always larger for those who hold positive views of females, including on the three male-aligned outcomes: goal oriented, effective as legislators, and effective at security issues.

demographic groups in the US population, leading us to conclude that GD can be a powerful tool for public diplomacy due to explicit gender-based stereotypes and implicit bias attributing these qualities of leaders to their country across a wide variety of dimensions that states with different political, economic, and social features say are their public diplomacy and national policy goals. We do not think that our findings are the result of the sampling quotas in the US resident survey, or are impacted by participant attribution. Those who dropped out of the survey did not have different characteristics than those who continued to the end. (See Appendix 1.8).

Second, we conducted a large pilot study among 837 students attending Portland State University using the same web-based survey between April 3-August 22, 2023 (See Appendix 4 and Benstead and Sari-Genc 2023).²⁴ Although the pilot study was not nationally representative, we found the effects of GD to be similar to the present study among a nationally representative sample. If anything, the results are slightly larger among the younger, more educated, and more politically liberal student sample when compared to the general US population.

The comparison of the two studies only underscores the potential for GD as a valuable public diplomacy tool among younger generations who are the country's future leaders. It further shows that even if the sample may hold different social attitudes, for example about gender issues, or hold different political views, the existence of unconscious gender-based bias shapes

²⁴ We used the identical questionnaire and research design in the pilot as the full US sample. The survey protocol was approved by the IRB Board of Portland State University (Protocol # 238001-18) and we preregistered our pre-analysis plan. "Is Gender Quotas Effective? The Case of Gender Quotas in the UAE." EGAP Registry. <https://osf.io/znf3v>.

public perceptions in powerful and unexpected ways in an era of rising acceptance of and demand for female leaders (Lust and Benstead 2024; Schwarz and Coppock 2022).

Third, we implemented an additional experiment using the same web-based questionnaire among 1,018 students attending Portland State University between May 15-September 6, 2024. (See Appendix 5). The purpose of this third study was to further explore the role that the visual media plays in GD's effectiveness. To do so, we used the same questionnaire and study design, but randomly exposed respondents to one of six conditions. Two of these conditions were the same as the original design, while four others were variants which included or excluded the visual image or included or excluded the word "quota": (1) Female, quota, photo (Our original gender balanced condition); (2) Female, no quota, photo; (3) Female, no quota, no photo; (4) Female, quota, no photo; (5) Male, photo (Our original male only condition); and (6) Male, no photo.

Like our colleagues (Bush, Donno, and Zetterberg 2023), we believe that the general public, especially in the US, which does not have an electoral gender quota, is generally unfamiliar with gender quotas and how they operate to increase women's representation. Departing from their work, however, we theorize that the GD effect does not depend only on women's presence, but rather women's inclusion is visible leadership publicized through visual images, not by the mere mention of a "quota."²⁵

²⁵ Our follow-up study also assuages potential concerns that the findings of the general US study are the result of the treatment being double barreled (that is, that the treatments differ in two ways: (1) the gender make up of the council and (2) the use of the term 'quota.'

While the full analysis and exploration of the final student survey is outside the scope of this paper, we find that, as expected, the largest impact of GD when respondents are exposed to an image of the female leader (i.e., the gender balanced council) along with the vignette, rather than to the vignette alone. The inclusion of the word ‘quota’ also did not impact the results.

We thus find support for our conceptualization of GD, which is the visual depiction through media coverage of women in leadership. This finding is important, in that it speaks to the vital role that the media already plays in the Gulf, where actors use TV and the Internet to draw global attention to women leaders in politics, the sciences, fashion, the military, and sports (Noor 2023). Further, we believe that the inclusion of a photo illustrating females in visible leadership (i.e., GD as we conceptualize it) likely explains why we find larger effects of women’s leadership on perceived democracy compared to other studies that use vignettes alone (cf. Bush, Donno, and Zetterberg 2023). Our research also suggests a possible reason why they find larger effects of women’s empowerment on perceived democracy than on foreign aid—namely that democracy is more closely aligned to stereotypically female traits and competencies than economic aid.

Conclusion and Implications

Our study is the first to our knowledge to develop a theory of GD, drawing on and extending theories from social and cognitive psychology and testing its impact on key outcomes linked to states’ public diplomacy and reputational security objectives. As evidence of our theory, we find large impacts of GD on outcomes that are strongly associated with female traits and competencies, such as the UAE being more democratic and respecting human rights, and weaker effects in spheres associated with male competencies, such as support for US investment in and

security cooperation with the UAE. Additionally, as expected by implicit associations theory, the effects are larger among those who hold explicitly positive views of females as more honest than males than those who do not. We argue that this is due to implicit associations between positive, stereotypically female traits such as trustworthiness and the UAE. Based on cognitive psychology (Spencer, Charbonneau, and Glaser 2016), we argue and observe that respondents more readily make this association when the gender of the leader is aligned with the gender association of the arena (e.g., tourism versus military alliances).

Our results are potentially as surprising for scholars of gender and politics as they are pathbreaking for gender equality activists and public diplomacy practitioners. The promise for GD to positively shape foreign publics' views of an authoritarian, patriarchal country, even in unexpected arenas that are not associated with women's leadership (i.e., support for FDI and military alliances) is both unexpected from the point of view extant work on politics and gender (Tripp 2024; Blackman and Jackson 2021), as well the public diplomacy and reputational security literature (Cull 2018). The results thus contribute to the field of gender and international relations by offering evidence for GD in areas that are associated with hard power—that is, economic and military power (Waltz 1979). Importantly, in none of our models, in the general US population or among students, did the GD condition harm perceptions of the UAE. This is important because it suggests that there is no downside to elevating women to leadership in the UAE and other countries. And, this is the case among every population subgroup that we looked at (Benstead and Sari-Genc 2023). Even while several studies find backlash against women's rights reforms among male respondents and others who may perceive that their interests are harmed by women's empowerment (cf. Benstead, Muriass, and Wang 2022), we find no such evidence for backlash against gender balanced institutions in our study among international

audiences, regardless of who we ask (e.g., males and females, younger and older respondents, respondents who hold pro-female or anti-female views).

Thus, for scholars of cognitive psychology and international relations, our research illustrates how and why implicit bias shapes international public opinion in ways ordinary citizens and decision-makers may not recognize. Happily, our findings offer evidence for a potentially adaptive impact of implicit bias, even though we recognize the complexities inherent in genderwashing strategies in patriarchal, authoritarian regimes. Following Standfield (2020), women in leadership serve as capital that regime incumbents, who are mostly male and from dominant ethnic groups, can use to strengthen their regime through domestic and international support. We, therefore, recognize that while our results may encourage autocrats to implement quotas and bring more women into leadership positions in politics, economics, and the military—an outcome that we support—doing so may simultaneously strengthen the authoritarian, patriarchal status quo. At the same time, there is reason to believe that having more women in leadership across political, economic, and social domains will also strengthen demand for gender equality in the private sphere, giving women autonomy in movement for instance, that could ultimately strengthen human rights and amplify demands for freedom.

Our results also expand our understanding of the dynamics of women and representation by offering a fuller explanation of why and under what conditions GD will be effective. Bush (2011) was the first to our knowledge to argue that quotas and women's representation signal democracy, and we find strong evidence that this is the case. Yet Bush (2011) argues that by including diverse individuals in the legislature, the government appears more representative and legitimate and thus signals its commitment to democracy. Other research finds that female councils are seen as more legitimate (Clayton, O'Brien, and Piscopo 2019; Kao et al. 2023). By

building on theory from the social psychology of gender and testing it in a novel context, our findings point to the role of implicit gender stereotypes as the mechanism that leads domestic and external audiences to regard institutions with higher women's representation as more democratic and legitimate.

Our research thus supports some findings in the existing literature on the strategic use of quotas but also extends it in key ways. Tripp (2024) suggests a host of potential ways that regimes may benefit internationally (and domestically) from women's rights reforms, including expanding trade, encouraging FDI, obtaining foreign aid, and softening their image after a civil war. Ours is the first paper to test the impact of women's representation on foreign attitudes toward attracting FDI and tourism. Tripp's framework does not include the potential role that women's representation plays in supporting military alliances; our study thus adds to her framework and offers a surprising result that GD is effective in arenas that we do not associate with female competency stereotypes.

As such, our findings speak to scholars who question whether nation branding efforts can be successful (Anholt 2013) and add to the limited research on gender issues in the field of public diplomacy (Ingenhoff and Klein 2018). This should encourage a shift in the nascent field of public diplomacy so that women and gender issues are no longer marginalized and ignored in the field (cf. Cull 2018, 2019). Future work could explore not only the PD impacts of females who are elected to office but also of the wives and partners of male political and military leaders.

Because the main mechanism at play is gender stereotyping, a mechanism that exists to varying degrees worldwide, we believe that our results apply across a range of political, economic, and social contexts and are not confined to authoritarian regimes with poor women's rights records. But this must be tested. More research is also needed to understand which

population subgroups hold the most negative views of particular countries and which groups are most likely to be swayed by GD. In our pilot study among undergraduate and graduate students (Benstead and Sari-Genc 2023), we found large effects across all demographic groups—that is, Republican-leaning as well as Democrat-leaning respondents, males and females, younger and older, more and less educated, white and non-white students, and those from different regions of the US.²⁶ All of these groups, as members of the US population, hold views that are relevant, given that in a democracy, public opinion plays a role in the formation of foreign policy. Moreover, we found that GD is effective among subgroups who are more likely to be in positions of political leadership (i.e., individuals who are more educated or affluent) or to belong to the military in the US (i.e., males and those who lean Republican).

Future research should also focus on identity categories in addition to gender. We do not expect the elemental categories of identity to shape effects directly but to do so in a complex and intersectional way (Crenshaw 1991; Hancock 2007; Collins 2015), and we encourage additional research that examines diplomacies of individuals from different identity groups. In our study, we focused on a country in which for both males and females, traditional Islamic dress is worn. Yet in many other countries, including some in the Middle East, dress style varies to the extent to which they signal religiosity, and this is also gendered. For instance, another study could focus on Tunisia, varying both the gender as well as the religious dress of the Members of Parliament.

²⁶ We found larger effects among Republican than Democrat leaning individuals; larger effects among females than males; larger effects among respondents who hold a positive view of the MENA region than among those who hold a negative view of the MENA; and, larger effects among non-white respondents than White respondents (Benstead and Sari-Genc 2023).

MENA countries often feature females in tourism advertisements and fashion magazines (Noor 2023). It is also therefore important to test the impact of GD across traditionally male-oriented fields such as sports, science and space exploration, military service, and business—all arenas in which GD can theoretically be effective. Moreover, the female leader in our study was depicted not as a passive participant, but as a speaker in the FNC. The conditions under which women, who are too often tokenized, shape perceptions should be explored, as should the impact of including a few ‘token’ women, versus women are present equally or to a greater degree than men. More attention is needed to understand the extent to which different media, whether written, audio, or visual, including social media and social contexts (Lengel and Newsome 2012), have the greatest influence and how profound and long-standing such effects might be. Through these and other extensions, it will be possible to better understand and advocate for the vital role that female representation plays in all domains and at all levels in supporting states’ goals and human flourishing.

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ONLINE SUPPLEMENTAL MATERIAL

Appendix 1: Research Design

1.1 Sample Quotas

Simple logic quotas

Overall Quota 700 + 70 N

7210770

Cross logic quotas

Randomizer

Description	Co unt	Tar get	Comple tion	Remai ning
Group Is Equal to Female	35	38	93%	26
And	9	5		
gc Is Equal to 1				
Group Is Equal to Male	36	38	94%	23
And	2	5		
gc Is Equal to 1				

Gender

Description	Count	Target	Completion	Remaining
What is your gender? Male Is Selected	33	38	87%	49
And	6	5		
gc Is Equal to 1				
What is your gender? Female Is Selected	38	38	99%	4
And	1	5		
gc Is Equal to 1				
What is your gender? Non-binary / third gender Is Selected Or What is your gender? Prefer not to say Is Selected	4	8	52%	4
And				
gc Is Equal to 1				

Age

Description	Count	Target	Completion	Remaining
In what range does your age fall? 20 years or less Is Selected	31	77	40%	46
And				
gc Is Equal to 1				

In what range does your age fall? 21-30 years Is Selected	11	11	100%	0
And	6	6		
gc Is Equal to 1				

In what range does your age fall? 31-40 years Is Selected	11	11	100%	0
And	6	6		
gc Is Equal to 1				

In what range does your age fall? 41-50 years Is Selected	11	11	97%	4
And	2	6		
gc Is Equal to 1				

In what range does your age fall? 51-59 years Is Selected	11	11	100%	1
And	5	6		
gc Is Equal to 1				

In what range does your age fall? 60 years or older Is Selected	23	23	100%	0
And	1	1		
gc Is Equal to 1				

Political_party

Description	Co	Tar	Comple	Remai
	unt	get	tion	ning

Whether or not you are a citizen of the US, which party do you identify with? Republican Is Selected	33	38	86%	55
	0	5		

And

gc Is Equal to 1

Whether or not you are a citizen of the US, which party do you identify with? Democrat Is Selected	38	38	99%	2
	3	5		

And

gc Is Equal to 1

Whether or not you are a citizen of the US, which party do you identify with? Both Is Selected Or Whether or not you are a citizen of the US, which party do you identify with? Neither Is Selected	8	8	100%	0
--	---	---	------	---

And

gc Is Equal to 1

Region

Description	Count	Target	Completion	Remaining
Region Is Equal to Northeast	12	13	94%	8
And	3	1		
gc Is Equal to 1				

Region Is Equal to Midwest	13	16	85%	25
And	7	2		
gc Is Equal to 1				

Region Is Equal to West	19	18	100%	0
And	7	5		
gc Is Equal to 1				

Region Is Equal to South	26	29	89%	33
And	0	3		
gc Is Equal to 1				

Education

Description	Co unt	Tar get	Comple tion	Remai ning
What is your highest level of education? Did not attend school Is Selected Or What is your highest level of education? Some or all of primary school Is Selected Or What is your highest level of education? Some or all of high school Is Selected Or What is your highest level of education? Some college or post-secondary education Is Selected Or What is your highest level of education? Associate or college degree Is Selected Or What is your highest level of education? Some graduate school Is Selected	52 0	50 1	100%	0

And

gc Is Equal to 1

What is your highest level of education? Graduate degree Is Selected	20	27	75%	69
And	1	0		
gc Is Equal to 1				

Race

Description	Co unt	Tar get	Comple tion	Remai ning
What is your race/ethnicity? (Multiple answers possible) White Is Selected	51 7	57 8	90%	61
And				
gc Is Equal to 1				

What is your race/ethnicity? (Multiple answers possible) Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Is Selected Or What is your race/ethnicity? (Multiple answers possible) Asian Is Selected Or What is your race/ethnicity? (Multiple answers possible) American Indian and Alaska Native Is Selected Or What is your race/ethnicity? (Multiple answers possible) Hispanic Is Selected Or What is your race/ethnicity? (Multiple answers possible) Middle Eastern Is Selected Or What is your race/ethnicity? (Multiple answers possible) African American and Black Is Selected Or What is your race/ethnicity? (Multiple answers possible) Other Is Selected	20	19	100%	0
And				
gc Is Equal to 1				

1.2 Respondent Characteristics

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Female	501	52.2%
Male	453	47.2%
Non-binary / third gender	3	.3%
Prefer not to say	2	.2%
Total	959	100.0%
Political Identification		
Both	2	.2%
Democrat	498	51.9%
Neither	6	.6%
Republican	453	47.2%
Total	959	100.0%
Age		
20 years or less	37	
21-30 years	119	
31-40 years	119	
41-50 years	130	
51-59 years	133	

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
60 years or older	421	
Total	959	100.0%
Religion		
Agnostic	28	2.9%
Buddhist	9	.9%
Christian	639	
Three or more religions selected	5	.5%
Christian, Other or Christian, Spiritual	2	.2%
Hindu	1	.1%
Jewish	29	3.0%
Jewish, Agnostic	1	.1%
Muslim	28	2.9%
Muslim, Spiritual	1	.1%
Non-religious	119	12.5%
Other	44	4.6%
Sikh	1	.1%
Spiritual	45	4.7%
Total	952	100.0%
Religiosity		
Not religious/spiritual at all	190	19.9%
Somewhat religious/spiritual at all	488	51.0%
Very religious/spiritual	279	29.2%
Total	957	100.0%
Race and Ethnicity		
African American and Black	29	3.0%
American Indian and Alaska Native	1	.1%
American Indian and Alaska Native and at least one other race or ethnicity	9	.9%
Asian	6	.6%
Asian and at least one other race or ethnicity	7	.7%
Hispanic	104	10.9%
Hispanic and at least one other race or ethnicity	9	.9%
Middle Eastern	2	.2%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	4	.4%
Other	3	.3%
White	722	75.8%
White and at least one other race or ethnicity	56	5.9%
Total	952	100.0%
Educational attainment		
Did not attend school	1	.1%

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Some or all of primary school	7	.7%
Some or all of high school	184	19.3%
Some college or post-secondary education	201	21.1%
Associate or college degree	315	33.1%
Some graduate school	42	4.4%
Graduate degree	202	21.2%
Total	952	100.0%
Income		
My income does not cover my needs	107	14.3%
My income covers my needs but I cannot save	265	35.5%
My income covers my needs and I can save	375	50.2%
Total	747	100.0%
Region		
Midwest	223	23.9%
Northeast	162	17.3%
South	386	41.3%
West	163	17.5%
Total	934	100.0%

1.3 Ethics

Our research complied with the ethical and transparency standards set forth by the American Political Science Association and was approved by the IRB Board of Portland State University.²⁷

Respondents in the General US Survey were remunerated a nominal amount (about \$2) by Qualtrics for participation. The amount was determined by Qualtrics based on the amount that the organization typically pays members of its survey panels for a survey lasting 3-4 minutes.

The authors have no relationship with the United Arab Emirates, which was selected as a case study for scientific reasons, due to its gender quota in its FNC. The authors have no perceived or actual conflicts of interest.

²⁷ Protocol # 238001-18.

The authors received research support from the following entities:

- (1) The direct costs of the survey to Qualtrics were supported by a Mark O. Hatfield Public Service Grant from Portland State University.
- (2) The costs of travel to conferences at which one or both authors presented the paper were provided by the following:

“Is Gender Diplomacy Effective? Women’s Representation and Reputational Security in Authoritarian Regimes.” Paper presented at the American Political Science Association meeting, September 5-8, 2024. (Support provided by Portland State University).

“Is Gender Diplomacy Effective? Quotas and International Perceptions of Democracy in Authoritarian Regimes.” Paper presented at the PolMeth annual conference, Riverside, CA, July 18-20, 2024. (Support provided by Portland State University).

“Is Gender Diplomacy Effective? Quotas and International Perceptions of Democracy in Authoritarian Regimes.” Paper presented at the Visions in Methodology (VIM) conference, Washington University in St. Louis, May 24, 2024. (Support provided by VIM and Portland State University).

“Is Gender Diplomacy Effective? Quotas and International Perceptions of Democracy in Authoritarian Regimes.” The Women in Legislative Studies (WiLS) workshop, March 22, 2024. (No financial support).

“Is Gender Diplomacy Effective? Quotas and International Perceptions of Democracy in Authoritarian Regimes.” APSA Virtual Meeting, February 9, 2024. (No financial support).

“Is Cultural Diplomacy Effective? The Case of Gender Quotas in the UAE.” Public Diplomacy in the Arab Gulf States: Policies and Practices.” Gulf Studies Center, Qatar University, Doha, Qatar. February 19-20, 2023. (Support provided by Portland State University and Qatar University).

The data and code needed to replicate the findings will be made available upon the publication of this article on the APSA Dataverse. All methodological procedures are described in the text of the article and in this online supplemental material document.

Participants in this research study were given informed consent and asked to either agree (“Yes,” and proceed with the survey) or disagree (“No,” and exit the survey). The survey did not collect any identifiable information such as a name, physical address, or email address and thus was anonymous. Participants were able to skip questions and/or to end the survey before the last question. Participation in the study was voluntary and posed no risks to participants beyond those that they would encounter in their daily lives. The Informed Consent statement was approved by the IRB board of Portland State University and read as follows:

This survey takes five minutes and participation is voluntary. No one is aware that you have been invited to participate and the study does not involve any risks. Your answers will be anonymous and you are free to stop the survey at any time.

We will take measures to protect your privacy. The survey will never ask for or record your name or location. Your answers are completely anonymous. Despite taking steps to protect your privacy, we can never fully guarantee that your privacy will be protected.

“You do not have to take part in this study, but if you do, you may stop at any time. You have the right to choose not to join in any study activity or completely stop your participation at any point without penalty or loss of benefits you would otherwise get. Your decision whether or not to take part in research will not affect your relationship with the researchers, Portland State University.

There is no cost to taking part in this research, beyond your time. If you have questions or concerns, contact the research team at: Dr. Lindsay Benstead (benstead@pdx.edu) and Dr. Elif Sari-Genc (elif@pdx.edu)

The Portland State University Institutional Review Board (“IRB”) is overseeing this research. The IRB is a group of people who review research studies to make sure the rights and welfare of the people who take part in research are protected. The Office of Research Integrity is the office at Portland State University that supports the IRB. If you have questions about your rights, or wish to speak with someone other than the research team, you may contact: Office of Research Integrity PO Box 751 Portland, OR 97207-0751 Phone: (503) 725-5484 Toll Free: 1 (877) 480-4400 Email: psuirb@pdx.edu

I have had the chance to read and think about the information about the study. I have asked any questions I have, and I can make a decision about my participation. I understand that I can ask additional questions anytime while I take part in the research.

May we proceed with the survey?

☐ Yes

☐ No”

Accordingly, the research study complied with APSA’s “Principles and Guidance for Human Subjects Research” and posed no ethical concerns.

1.4 Outcome Variables

Table A1.4.1. Measurement of Sixteen Dependent Variables

Item	Focus of association	Association type and gender	Question wording
UAE is democratic	Country	Female - Trait	On a scale of 0-10, how democratic do you think this country is? (Scale: 0=Not democratic at all to 10=Completely democratic). (Recoded into three quantiles)
Kind	Country	Female - Trait	On a scale of 0-10, how kind do you think these members are? 0-10. (Recoded into three quantiles)
Honest	Country	Female - Trait	How honest do you think these members are? 0-10. (Recoded into three quantiles)
Goal oriented	Country	Female - Trait	How goal oriented do you think these members are? 0-10. (Recoded into three quantiles)

Effective	Country	Male - Trait	How effective do you think these members are? Effective=1, Not effective=0.
Effective at women's rights policy	Country	Female - Competency	How effective do you think these members are at women's rights policy? Effective=1, Not effective=0.
Effective at security policy	Country	Female - Competency	How effective do you think these members are at security policy? Effective=1, Not effective=0.
Would compromise	Country	Female - Competency	How likely do you think members are to compromise on legislation? Would not compromise=0, Would compromise=1.
Positive view of UAE	Country	Male - Competency	Do you have a positive or negative view of this country? Positive=1, Negative=0.
Controls corruption	Member	Male - Competency	On a scale of 0 to 10, how much do you think this country controls corruption? 0-10.
Respects human rights	Member	Male - Competency	On a scale of 0 to 10, how much do you think this country respects human rights? 0-10.
Would like to visit UAE	Member	Female - Trait	Would you like to visit this country if you had the chance? No=1, Maybe=2, Yes=3.
Safe to travel to UAE	Member	Female - Trait	Do you think it is safe to travel to this country? No=1, Maybe=2, Yes=3.
Investment	Member	Female - Trait	American companies should invest money to open offices in this country. Agree=1, Disagree=0.
Military alliance	Member	Female - Trait	The USA should have a military alliance with this country. Agree=1, Disagree=0.
Shares values	Member	Female - Trait	The USA shares values with this country. Agree=1, Disagree=0.

1.5 Questionnaire

1.6 Randomization

1,069 respondents participated in the survey experiment, with 546 (51.1%) receiving the female and 523 (48.9%) receiving the male treatment. The treatment randomization was effective, as shown by the insignificant two-tailed tests of significance between the condition and respondent characteristics, including whether the respondent holds explicitly positive stereotypes about women, female gender, or region.

Table A1.2. Randomization Checks

Females are morally superior to males

	Male condition	Gender balanced condition	Total
No	208 (39.77%)	186 (34.07%)	394 (36.86%)
Yes	315 (60.23%)	360 (65.93%)	675 (63.14%)
Total	523 (100.0%)	546 (100.0%)	1,069 (100.0%)
Pearson $\chi^2(1) = 3.7353$ Pr = 0.053			

Respondent gender

	Male condition	Gender balanced condition	Total
0	228 (48.10%)	225 (46.39%)	453 (47.24%)
1	243 (51.27%)	258 (53.20%)	501 (52.24%)
2	3 (0.63%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (0.31%)
3	0 (0.00%)	2 (0.41%)	2 (0.21%)
Total	474 (100.00%)	485 (100.00%)	959 (100.00%)
Pearson $\chi^2(3) = 5.3435$ Pr = 0.148			

Region

	Male condition	Gender balanced condition	Total
Midwest	95 (21.49%)	125 (26.88%)	220 (24.26%)
Northeast	79 (17.87%)	79 (16.99%)	158 (17.42%)
South	190 (42.99%)	182 (39.14%)	372 (41.01%)
West	78 (17.65%)	79 (16.99%)	157 (17.31%)
Total	442 (100.00%)	465 (100.00%)	907 (100.00%)
Pearson $\chi^2(3) = 3.6885$ Pr = 0.297			

1.7. Manipulations Check

724 respondents answered the manipulation check, with 85.4% answering correctly. 314 (84.2%) in the male condition correctly answered, while 59 did not know or answered incorrectly (15.8%). In the mixed sex condition, 304 (82.3%) correctly answered , with 65 stating they did not know or answered incorrectly (17.6%).

1.8. Discussion of Participant Attrition

Our datafile collected all of the responses to the survey, including those who broke off before the end of the survey. This allows us to evaluate whether our findings are likely to be shaped by respondent attitudes being related to responses to the experiment. Of the 1,314 individuals who read the consent statement, 1,241 (94.4%) agreed to take part; 73 (5.6%) declined and closed the survey. By the first question of the survey experiment, 1,069 responded to the first outcome variable (Kind). This number dropped to 961 who answered the last of the sixteen outcome variables (shared values). 747 (60.2%) provided an answer to the last question of the survey

before the manipulation check (concerning the sufficiency of their income) and 742 (59.8%) answered the last question, which was the manipulation check. Respondents could skip questions.

Respondents were no less or more likely to quit the survey when they received the Mixed Sex versus the Male Only treatment, with 50.7% receiving the female and 49.3% receiving the male treatment (using the indicator coded at the end of the survey experiment for outcome variable 16: Shared values). This suggests that factors other than pre-determined respondent traits, such as time constraints, resulted in attrition.

Over time, there was no difference in the extent to which those who persisted were those who see females as superior to men. Of those who consented to participate, 423 (36.9%) stated that they saw women as superior to men. By the time of the last pre-treatment question, which focused on one's view of the Middle East and North Africa region, 414 (37.1%) who answered the question held benevolent sexism views. Among those who answered the survey experiment through to the last item (Shared values), 339 (35.9%) held the view that women are superior to men. This suggests strongly that while there was attrition in responding, our findings are not the result of any pattern in breakoff.

1.9 The UAE Case

We selected the UAE to test our hypotheses because it is only one of two countries in the Arab Gulf, along with Saudi Arabia, that currently has a gender quota for its national legislature-like

body.²⁸ When comparing it to other states in the Gulf, the UAE also has the most complete articulation of women's rights as part of its national and public diplomacy strategies.

The UAE has reason to be concerned about external perceptions about the extent to which it respects human rights and other liberal values. Like many other Arab countries, the UAE has an authoritarian regime. Polity IV (2024) classifies the UAE as an autocracy with a political authority score of -8 (Bader 2020). According to Amnesty International, freedom of expression and freedom of assembly are curtailed in the UAE (Amnesty International 2023). The UAE did not hold any elections for the FNC at all until 2006 when it inaugurated elections for half of the seats.

The UAE also needs to take measures to cultivate a perception that is taking steps to improve gender equality, given that its laws are among the most patriarchal worldwide. Despite its efforts to craft an image as a country at the leading edge of women's equality in the Arab world, including reform to pension and domestic violence laws, many of these advances lie in the public sphere, defined as women's access to arenas such as education, politics, and the labor force. According to the law regulating personal status matters, women cannot marry without a male guardian's permission. The law regulating divorce is discriminatory against women as well. Men can unilaterally divorce their wives, but women must apply for a court order to obtain a divorce. Moreover, women receive an inheritance that is only half the amount of their male relatives (Human Rights Watch 2021a). And, while 46.5% of women are employed in the paid

²⁸ The UAE case is also unique in that since 2019 it has had a 50 percent gender quota for its FNC, half of which is elected. Saudi Arabia implemented a 20 percent quota in 2013, but its Shura Council is entirely appointed by the monarchy.

labor force, there are significant restrictions to women's right to work and mobility. Under these new laws, a judge has the authority to find a woman in violation of her marital duties if she exits the home or engages in employment that is considered outside the bounds of "law, custom, or necessity," or if the judge believes it to be against the family's best interests (Human Rights Watch 2021b, no page). Even though this amendment is gender-neutral, societal norms often lead judges to deem it less necessary for a woman to work than a man, which mostly results in biased treatment towards women (Begum 2023).

Appendix 2: Results of the Nationally Representative US Resident Survey

2.1. Average Treatment Effects (ATEs) Regression Models for Seven Public Diplomacy Indicators

Table A2.1.1. Predictors of Having a Positive View of the UAE

Variable	Logistic regression coefficient
1. Female condition	.63 (.13)***
Constant	-.60 (.09)***
N	995
χ^2 (Prob.)	24.08***
Pseudo R2	.0177

p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†

Table A2.1.2. Predictors of Believing that the UAE and the USA Share Values

Variable	Logistic regression coefficient
1. Female condition	.50 (.14)***
Constant	-.92 (.10)***
N	961
χ^2 (Prob.)	13.49***
Pseudo R2	.0109

p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†

Table A2.1.3. Predictors of Seeing the UAE as Democratic

Variable	Ordered logistic regression coefficient
1. Female condition	1.07 (.12)***
N	999
χ^2 (Prob.)	80.43***
Pseudo R2	.0372
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.3.4. Predictors of Seeing the UAE as Respecting Human Rights

Variable	Ordered logistic regression coefficient
1. Female condition	.99 (.12)
N	980
χ^2 (Prob.)	68.42***
Pseudo R2	.0318
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.1.5. Predictors of Seeing the UAE as Safe

Variable	Ordered logistic regression coefficient
1. Female condition	.26 (.12)*
N	969
χ^2 (Prob.)	4.73*
Pseudo R2	.0023
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.1.6. Predictors of Wanting to Visit the UAE

Variable	Ordered logistic regression coefficient
1. Female condition	.38 (.12)**
Constant	
N	974
χ^2 (Prob.)	9.86**
Pseudo R2	.0050
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.1.7. Predictors of Supporting US Investment in the UAE

Variable	Logistic regression coefficient
1. Female condition	.22 (.13)†
Constant	-.57 (.10)***
N	966
χ^2 (Prob.)	2.75†
Pseudo R2	.0021
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

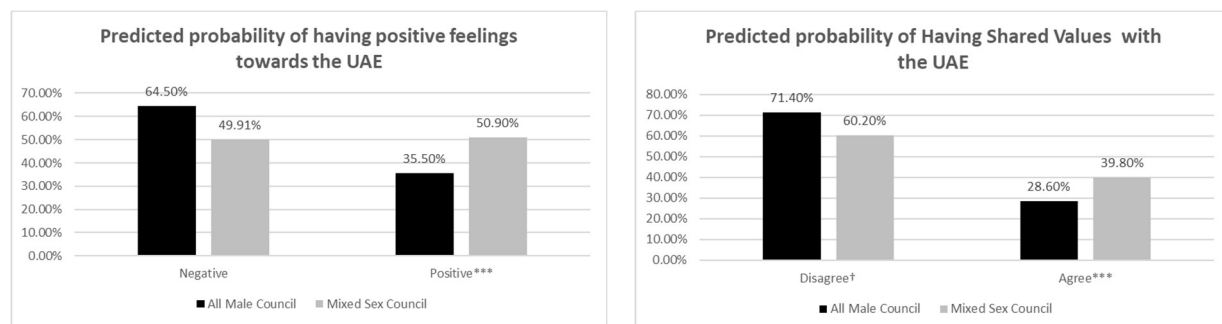
Table A2.1.8. Predictors of Supporting US Security Cooperation with the UAE

Variable	Logistic regression coefficient
1. Female condition	.36 (.13)**
Constant	.10 (.09)
N	961
χ^2 (Prob.)	7.45**
Pseudo R2	.0057

p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†

2.2. ATE Figures Seven Public Diplomacy Indicators

Figure A2.2.1. ATEs on Stereotypically Female Trait Perceptions of the UAE (Positive, Shared Values, and Democraticness)



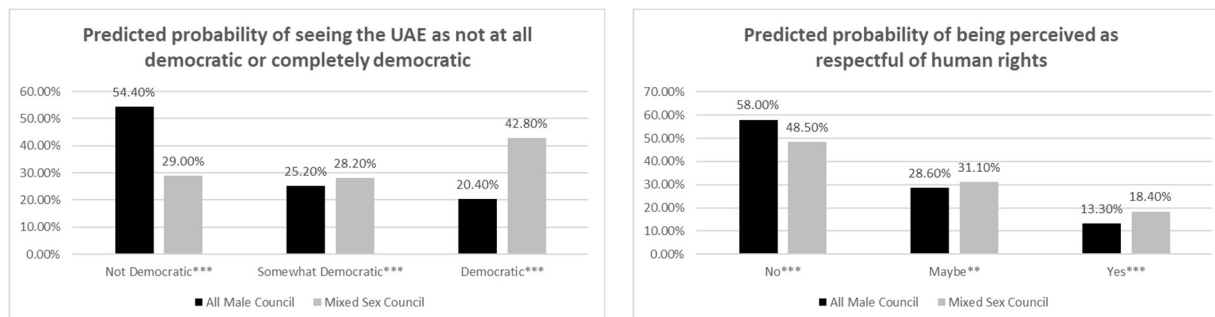


Figure A2.2.2. ATEs on Stereotypically Female Trait and Competency Perceptions of the UAE (Tourism: Would like to Visit and Safe)

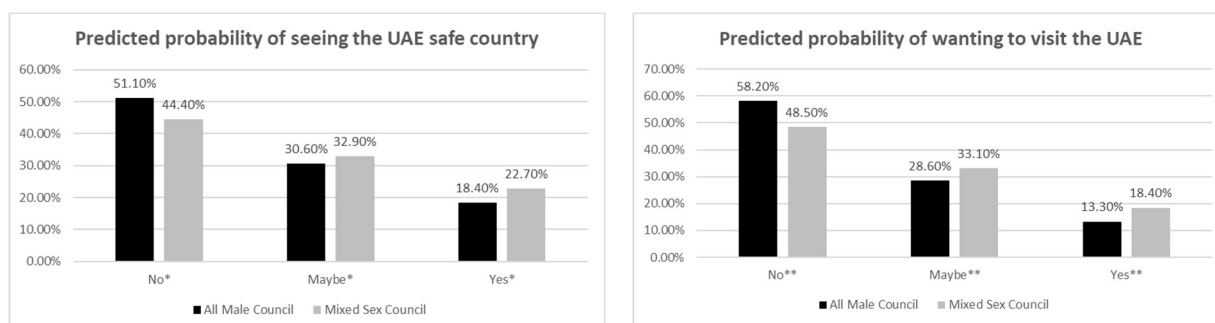
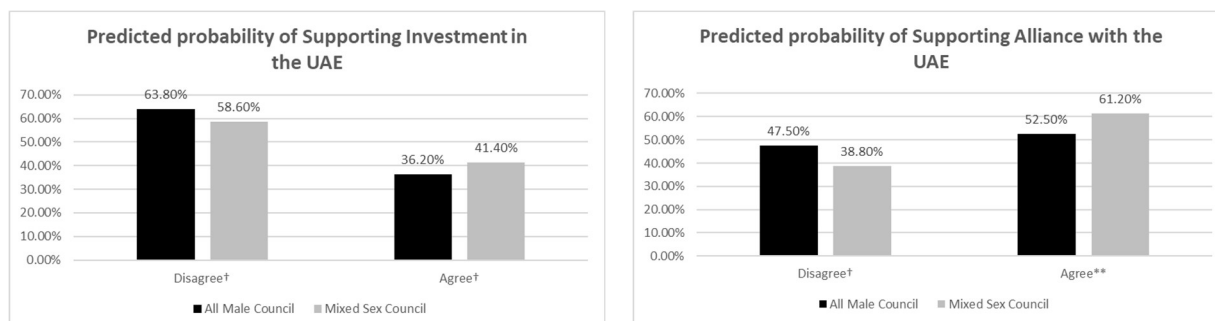


Figure A2.2.3. ATEs on Stereotypically-Male Competency Perceptions of the UAE (Investment and Security)



2.3. ATE Regression Models for Nine Ancillary Indicators

Table A2.3.1. Predictors of Seeing the Members as Kind

Variable	Ordered logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	1.27(.12)***
N	1,069
χ^2 (Prob.)	114.43***
Pseudo R ²	.0506
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.3.2. Predictors of Seeing the Members as Honest

Variable	Ordered logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	1.36 (.12)***
N	1,049
χ^2 (Prob.)	128.00***
Pseudo R ²	.0575
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.3.3. Predictors of Seeing the Members as Goal-Oriented

Variable	Ordered logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	.57 (.12)***
N	1.035
χ^2 (Prob.)	24.05***
Pseudo R ²	.0108
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.3.4. Predictors of Seeing the Members as Effective

Variable	Logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	.54 (.13)***
Constant	.18 (.09)*
N	1,032
χ^2 (Prob.)	18.00***
Pseudo R ²	.0131
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.3.5. Predictors of Seeing Members as Effective at Making Women's Rights Policy

Variable	Logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	1.34 (.14)***
Constant	-1.30 (.11)***
N	1,023
χ^2 (Prob.)	99.33***
Pseudo R ²	.0739
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.3.6. Predictors of Seeing Members as Effective at Making Security Policy

Variable	Logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	.29 (.13)*
Constant	.29 (.09)***
N	1,016
χ^2 (Prob.)	5.08*
Pseudo R ²	.0037
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.3.7. Predictors of Seeing Members as Likely to Compromise

Variable	Logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	.95 (.13)***
Constant	-.47 (.09)***
N	1,008
χ^2 (Prob.)	55.74***
Pseudo R ²	.0399
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.3.8. Predictors of Seeing Members as Less Corrupt

Variable	Ordered logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	.37 (.12)**
N	986
χ^2 (Prob.)	10.01**
Pseudo R ²	.0046
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

2.4. ATE Figures for Nine Ancillary Indicators

Figure A2.4.1. ATEs on Stereotypically Female Trait Perceptions of the Members (Kind, Honest)

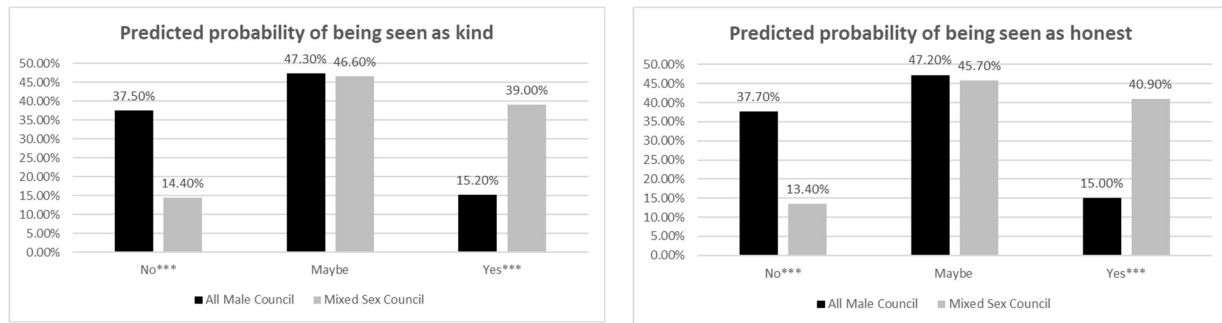


Figure A2.4.2. ATEs on Stereotypically-Male Trait Perceptions of the Members (Goal-Oriented)

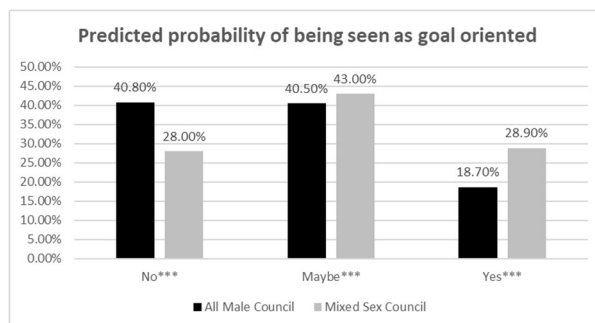


Figure A2.4.3. ATEs on Stereotypically Female Competency Perceptions of the Members (Controls Corruption, Women's Rights Issues, Good at Compromising)



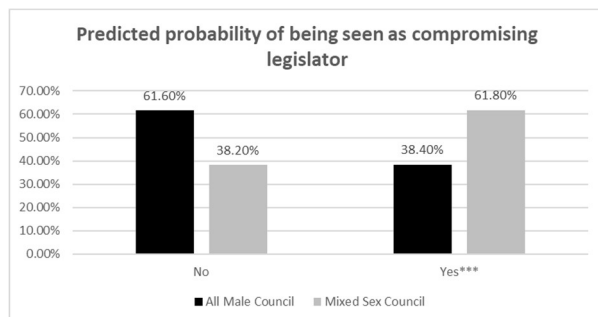
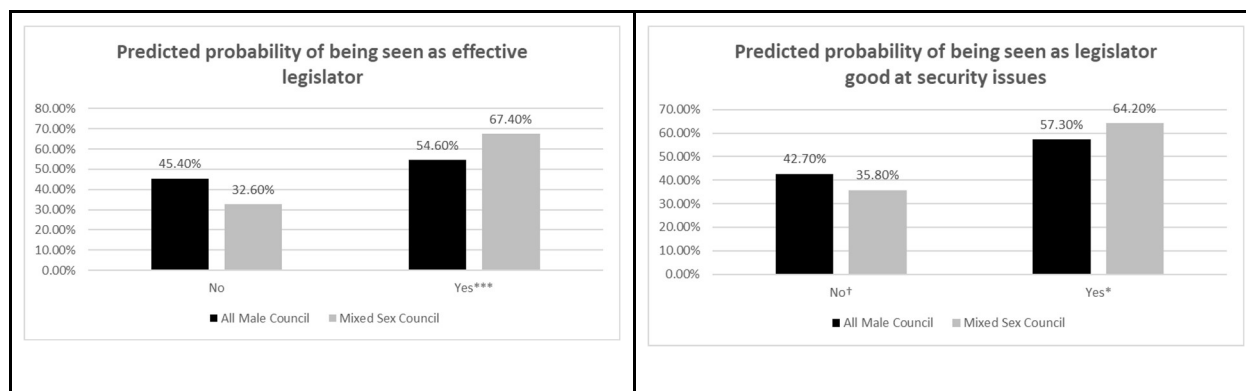


Figure A2.4.4. ATEs on Stereotypically-Male Competency Perceptions of the Members (Effective, Good at Security Policy)



2.5. Conditional Average Treatment Effect (CATE) Regression Models for Seven Public Diplomacy Indicators

Table A2.5.1. Predictors of Having a Positive View of the UAE Conditional on Explicitly Positive Views of Women

Variable	Logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	.84 (.22)***
Female condition#Women superior	
0 1	-.17 (.19)
1 1	-.47 (.19)*
N	995
χ^2 (Prob.)	30.85***
Pseudo R ²	.0227
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.5.2. Predictors of Believing that the UAE and the USA Share Values Conditional on Explicitly Positive Views of Women

Variable	Logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	.76 (.22)***
Female condition#Women superior	
0 1	-.42 (.21)*
1 1	-.76 (.20)***
N	961
χ^2 (Prob.)	32.37***
Pseudo R ²	.0262
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.5.3. Predictors of Seeing the UAE as Democratic Conditional on Explicitly Positive Views of Women

Variable	Logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	1.44 (.20)***
Female condition#Women superior	
0 1	-.07 (.18)
1 1	-.60 (.18)***
N	999
χ^2 (Prob.)	92.31***
Pseudo R ²	.0427
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.5.4. Predictors of Seeing the UAE as Respecting Human Rights Conditional on Explicitly Positive Views of Women

Variable	Ordered logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	1.45 (.20)***
Female condition#Women superior	
0 1	-.04 (.18)
1 1	-.71 (.18)***
N	980
χ^2 (Prob.)	84.49***
Pseudo R ²	.0393
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.5.5. Predictors of Seeing the UAE as Safe Conditional on Explicitly Positive Views of Women

Variable	Ordered logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	.36 (.20)†
Female condition#Women superior	
0 1	-.19 (.18)
1 1	-.32 (.18)†
N	969
χ^2 (Prob.)	9.14*
Pseudo R ²	.0045
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.5.6. Predictors of Wanting to Visit the UAE Conditional on Explicitly Positive Views of Women

Variable	Logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	.71 (.20)***
Female condition#Women superior	
0 1	-.20 (.18)
1 1	-.69 (.18)***
N	974
χ^2 (Prob.)	25.75***
Pseudo R ²	.0133
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.5.7. Predictors of Supporting US Investment in the UAE Conditional on Explicitly Positive Views of Women

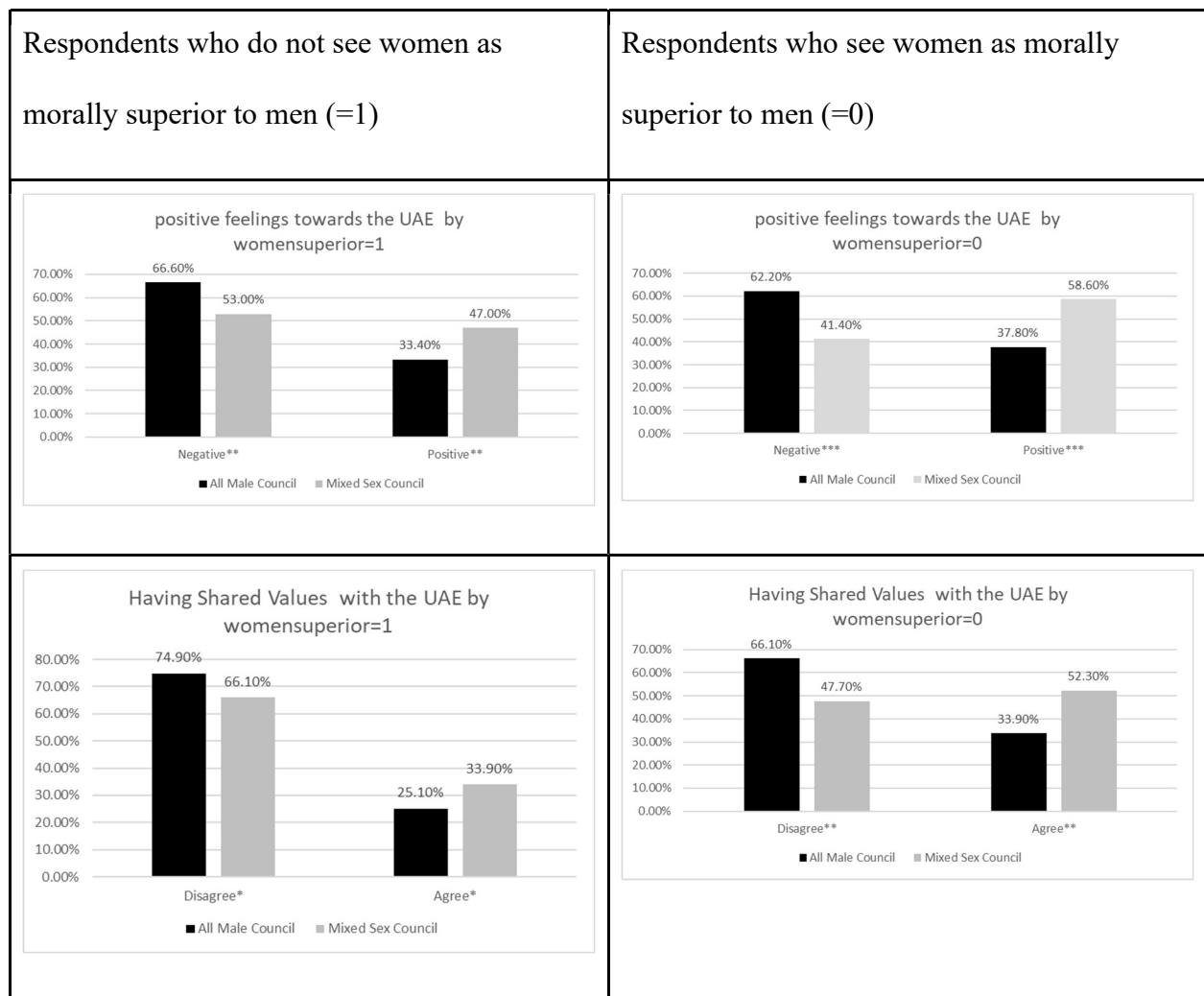
Variable	Ordered logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	.42 (.22)†
Female condition#Women superior	
0 1	-.29 (.19)
1 1	-.56 (.20)**
N	966
χ^2 (Prob.)	13.10**
Pseudo R ²	.0101
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.5.8. Predictors of Supporting US Security Cooperation with the UAE Conditional on Explicitly Positive Views of Women

Variable	Logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	.36 (.22)
Female condition#Women superior	
0 1	-.10 (.19)
1 1	-.08 (.20)
N	961
χ^2 (Prob.)	7.89*
Pseudo R ²	.0060
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

2.6. Conditional Average Treatment Effect (CATE) Figures for Seven Public Diplomacy Indicators

Figure A2.6.1. GD Effects Conditional on Stereotypically Female Trait Perceptions of the UAE (Positive, Shared Values, and Democraticness) Holding Explicitly Positive Stereotypes of Women



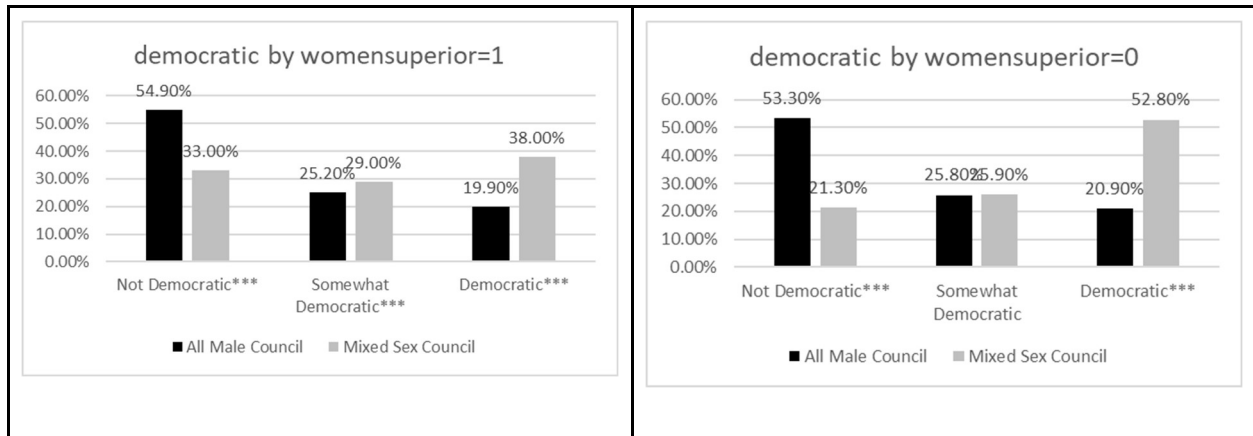
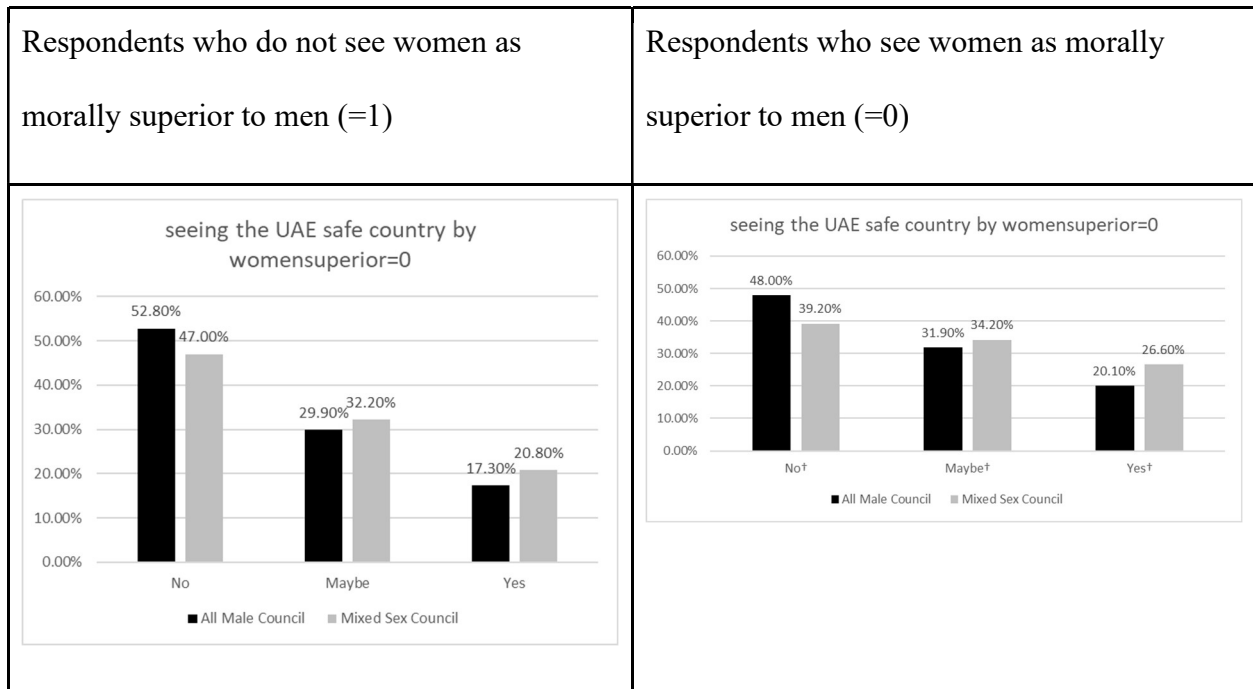


Figure A2.6.2. GD Effects Conditional on Stereotypically Female Trait and Stereotype Perceptions of the UAE (Tourism: Would like to Visit and Safe) Holding Explicitly Positive Stereotypes of Women



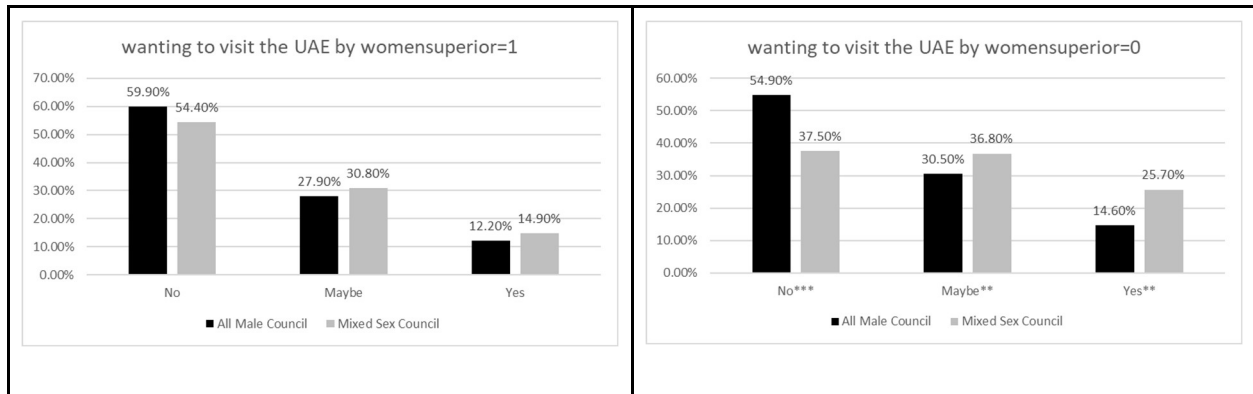
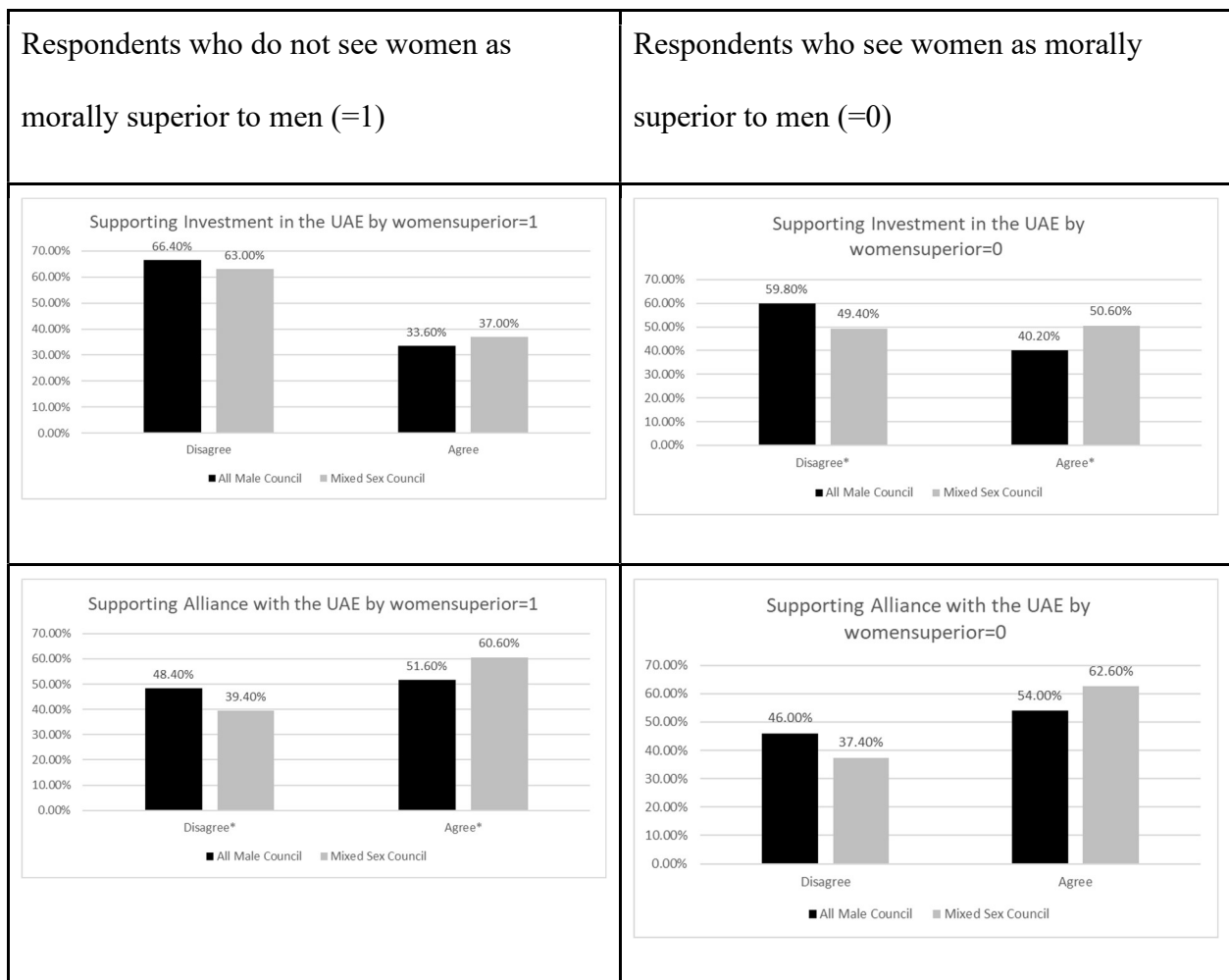


Figure A2.6.3. GD Effects Conditional on Stereotypically-Male Competency Perceptions of the UAE (Investment and Security) Holding Explicitly Positive Stereotypes of Women



2.7. Conditional Average Treatment Effect (CATE) Regression Models for Nine Ancillary Indicators

Table A2.7.1. Predictors of Seeing the Members as Kind Conditional on Explicitly Positive Views of Women

Variable	Ordered logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	1.42 (.20)***
Female condition#Women superior	
0 1	.05 (.17)
1 1	-.19 (.17)
N	1,069
χ^2 (Prob.)	115.72***
Pseudo R ²	.0511
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.7.2. Predictors of Seeing the Members as Honest Conditional on Explicitly Positive Views of Women

Variable	Ordered logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	1.66 (.20)
Female condition#Women superior	
0 1	.15 (.17)
1 1	-.31 (.17)†
N	1,049
χ^2 (Prob.)	132.08***
Pseudo R ²	.0593
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

TableA2.7.3. Predictors of Seeing the Members as Goal-Oriented Conditional on Explicitly Positive Views of Women

Variable	Ordered logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	.73 (.19)***
Female condition#Women superior	
0 1	.19 (.17)
1 1	-.06 (.17)
N	1,035
χ^2 (Prob.)	25.42***
Pseudo R ²	.0114
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.7.4. Predictors of Seeing the Members as Effective Conditional on Explicitly Positive Views of Women

Variable	Ordered logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	.87 (.22)***
Female condition#Women superior	
0 1	.09 (.18)
1 1	-.40 (.20)*
N	1,032
χ^2 (Prob.)	22.15***
Pseudo R ²	.061
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.7.5. Predictors of Seeing Members as Effective at Making Women's Rights Policy Conditional on Explicitly Positive Views of Women

Variable	Ordered logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	1.43 (.23)***
Female condition#Women superior	
0 1	-.18 (.22)
1 1	-.30 (.19)
N	1,023
χ^2 (Prob.)	102.53***
Pseudo R ²	.0763
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.7.6. Predictors of Seeing Members as Effective at Making Security Policy Conditional on Explicitly Positive Views of Women

Variable	Ordered logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	.50 (.22)*
Female condition#Women superior	
0 1	.12 (.18)
1 1	-.20 (.20)
N	1,016
χ^2 (Prob.)	6.55†
Pseudo R ²	.0048
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.7.7. Predictors of Seeing Members as Likely to Compromise Conditional on Explicitly Positive Views of Women

Variable	Ordered logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	1.05 (.22)***
Female condition#Women superior	
0 1	-.03 (.19)
1 1	-.16 (.19)
N	1,008
χ^2 (Prob.)	56.46***
Pseudo R ²	.0404
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

Table A2.7.8. Predictors of Seeing Members as Less Corrupt Conditional on Explicitly Positive Views of Women

Variable	Ordered logistic regression coefficient
1.Female condition	.61 (.19)**
Female condition#Women superior	
0 1	-.16 (.18)
1 1	-.51 (.17)
N	986
χ^2 (Prob.)	19.78***
Pseudo R ²	.0092
p<.001*** p<.01** p<.05* p<.10†	

2.8. Conditional Average Treatment Effect (CATE) Figures for Nine Ancillary Indicators

Figure A2.8.1. GD Effects Conditional on Stereotypically Female Trait Perceptions of the Members (Kind, Honest) Holding Explicitly Positive Stereotypes of Women

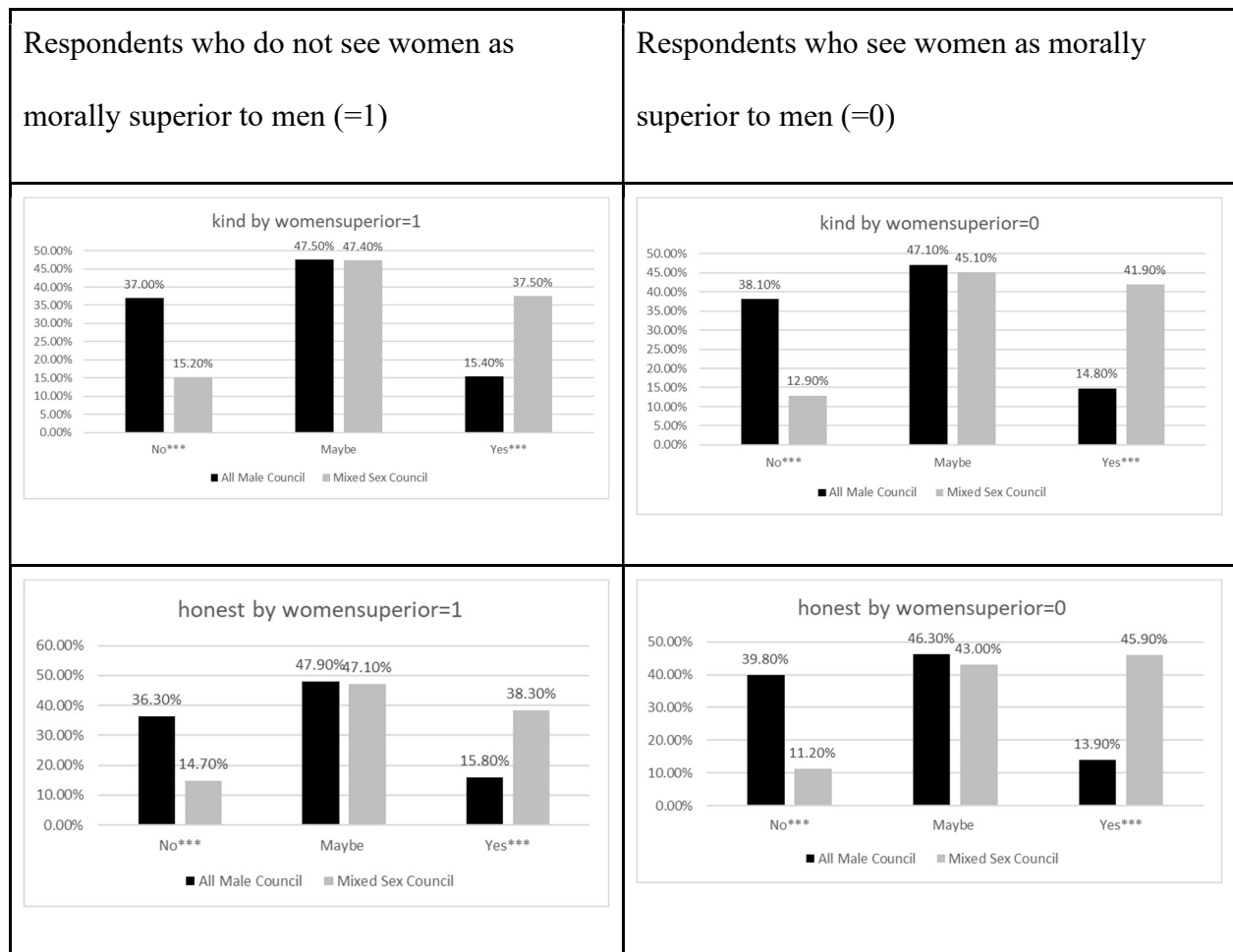


Figure A2.8.2. GD Effects Conditional on Stereotypically-Male Trait Perceptions of the Members (Goal-Oriented) Holding Explicitly Positive Stereotypes of Women

Respondents who do not see women as morally superior to men (=1)	Respondents who see women as morally superior to men (=0)
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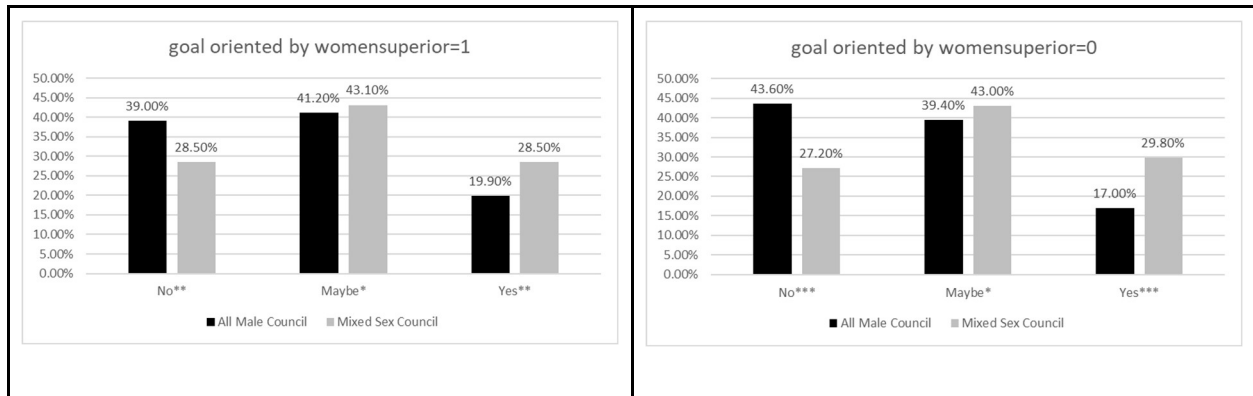
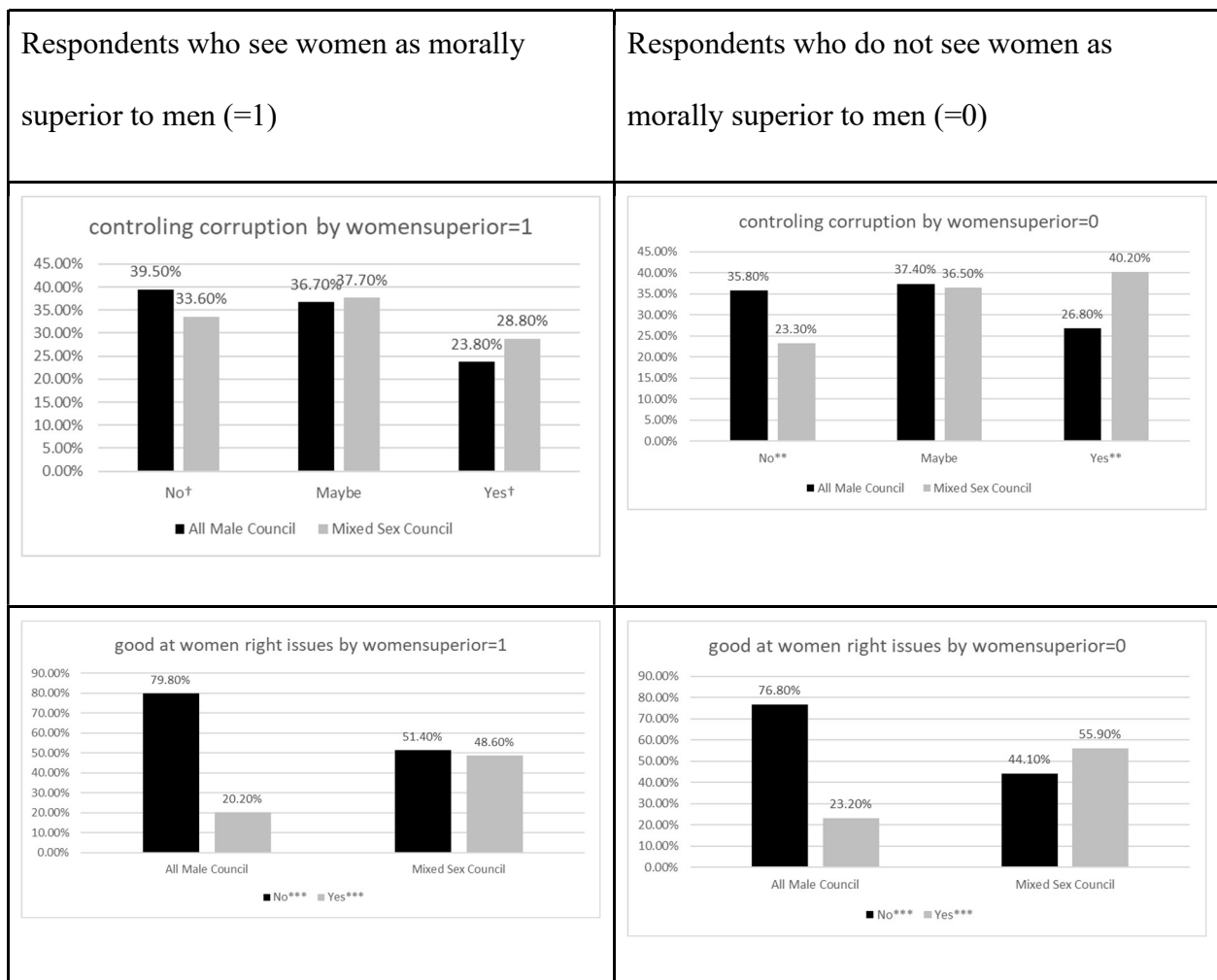


Figure A2.8.3. GD Effects Conditional on Stereotypically Female Competency Perceptions of the Members (Controls Corruption, Women’s Rights Issues, Good at Compromising, Human Rights) Holding Explicitly Positive Stereotypes of Women



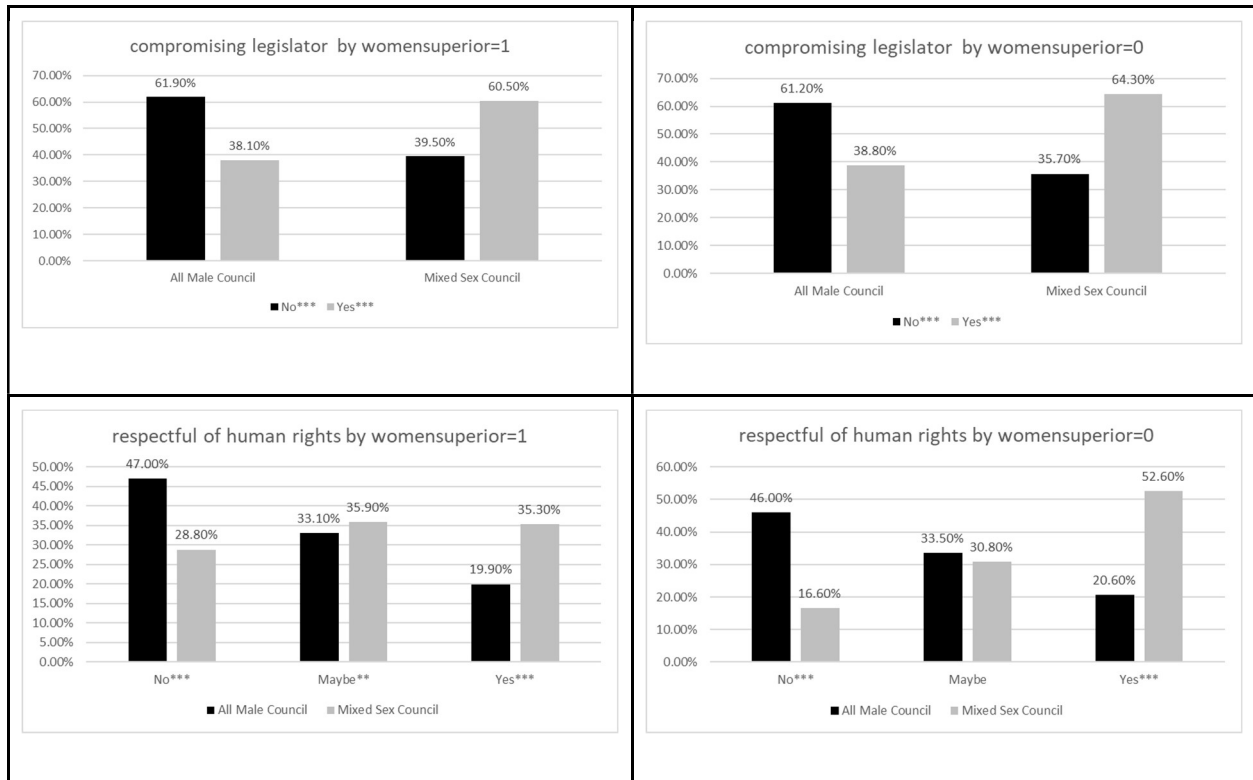
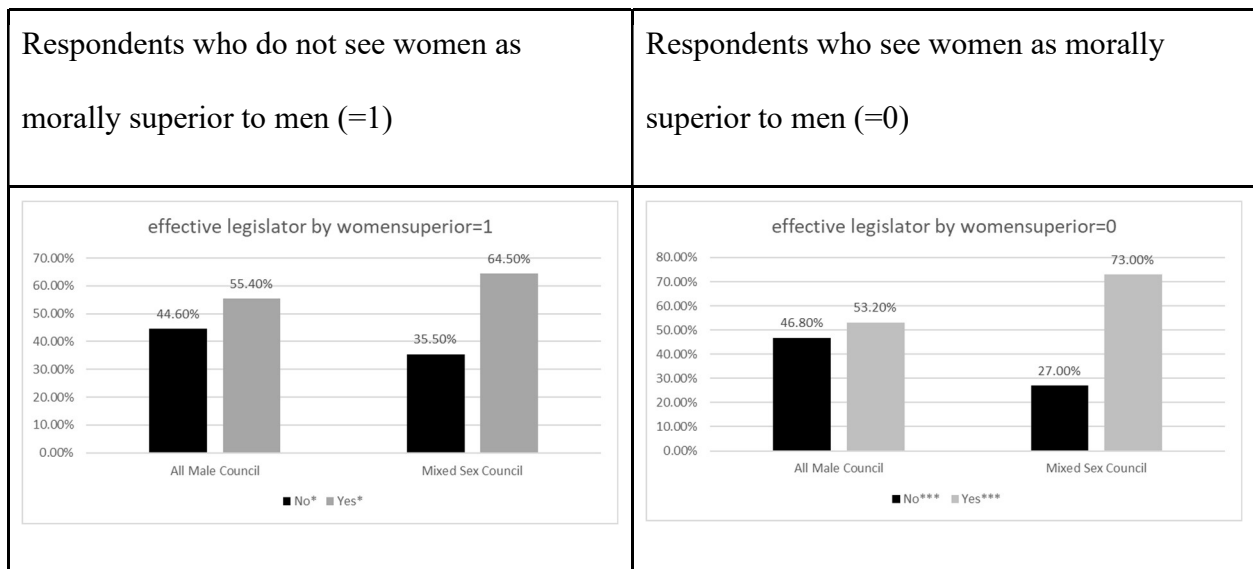
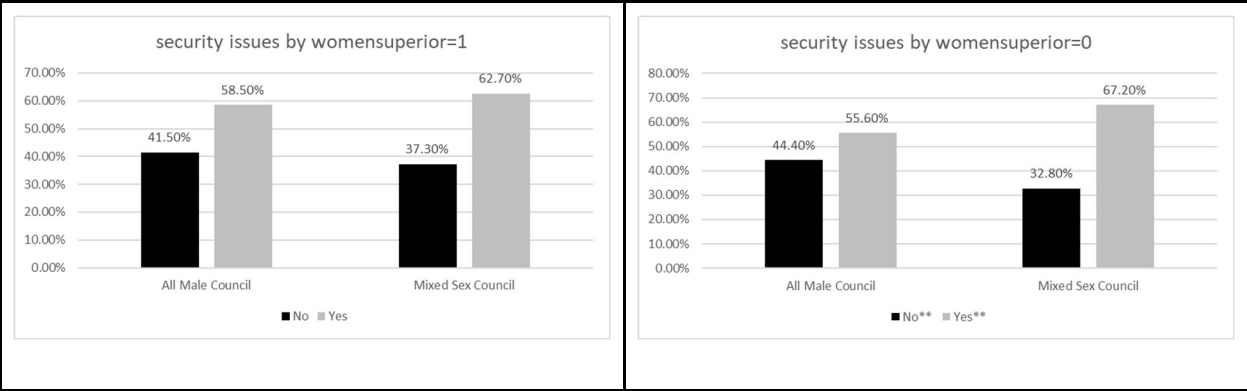


Figure A2.8.4. GD Effects Conditional on Stereotypically-Male Competency Perceptions of the Members (Effective, Good at Security Policy) Holding Explicitly Positive Stereotypes of Women





Appendix 3: Robustness Checks (General US Survey)

3.1. Analysis of Findings among Respondents Who Accurately Answered Treatment Recall

We analyzed the results of the ATEs and Conditional Average Treatment Effects (CATEs) in the General US Survey and found substantively similar results when including only those respondents who correctly answered the manipulation check. This suggests that our findings are not the result of a small proportion of the respondents taking the survey too quickly and not reading the questions closely.

3.2. Analysis of Findings among Respondents Who Reach Acceptable Survey Time

Duration

Among the respondents who answered the outcome variable questions (i.e., the dependent variables), the median survey response time was 5.7 mins. Among respondents in this group, only 13 respondents took less than 1 ½ minutes to complete the survey. Thus, we do not believe that our results are due to respondents speeding through the survey and not carefully reading the questions.

Appendix 4: Robustness Check: Pilot Study among Student Sample

4.1. Pilot Study Research Design

We first ran a large pilot study using the same questionnaire and research design as above (i.e., the main paper). In the pilot, we fielded a web-based survey experiment using Qualtrics between April 3-August 22, 2023 among over 800 students attending Portland State University. We used the identical questionnaire and research design in the pilot as the full US sample. The survey protocol was approved by the IRB Board of Portland State University²⁹ and we preregistered our pre-analysis plan with Evidence in Governance and Politics (EGAP).

837 respondents participated in the student survey. Since some students broke off early in the questionnaire, 676 completed the survey experiment questions. Among them, 343 were randomly assigned to the gender balanced condition (‘Quota’ condition) and 333 received the male only condition.³⁰ Two-tailed tests of significance show that respondents were randomly

²⁹ Protocol # 238001-18.

³⁰ The gender distribution of the respondents is 31.1% male, 55.5% female, and 13.4% other. In terms of age, the majority (41.7%) are between 21-30 years old, followed by 23.8% in the 31-40 age group. Only 5.0% are over 60 years old. Regarding ethnicity, 61.2% identify as white, while the remaining 38.8% identify as Asian, Hispanic, Middle Eastern, American Indian and Alaskan Native, Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander, or other. Most respondents (82.4%) are born in the US and have a college or higher level degree (73.3%). When it comes to income level, 43.1% state that their income covers their needs and they can save money, while 19.64% state

assigned to the gender balanced/female ('Quota') and all male conditions ('No quota'). (See Appendix Table A2).³¹

75.1% of respondents answered the manipulation check. Of these, 98.8% correctly identified the sex of the members in the survey and 1.2% did not.

4.2. Results

To read the results of the pilot study, see Benstead and Sari-Genc (2023).

that their income does not cover their needs. Political affiliations show a strong leaning towards the Democratic Party (52.1%), with only 2.8% identifying with the Republican party, and a significant portion (39.4%) identifying with neither party.

³¹ We are also currently fielding the survey with a 700-respondent general US population sample implemented by the survey firm, Qualtrics, with an estimated survey completion date of May 25, 2024.

Appendix 5: Robustness Check: Second Study among Student Sample (Six Experimental Conditions)

5.1. Robustness Check Student Study Research Design

Table A5.1. Second Student Survey Design

Survey experiment wave	Condition..	Number of surveys	Condition name
1 (First student survey)	1	343	Female, quota, photo
1 (First student survey)	2	333	Male, photo
2 (Robustness check)	1	~164 (fewer would be complete)	Female, quota, photo
2 (Robustness check)	3	~164 (fewer would be complete)	Female, no quota, photo
2 (Robustness check)	4	~164 (fewer would be complete)	Female, no quota, no photo
2 (Robustness check)	5	~164 (fewer would be complete)	Female, quota, no photo
2 (Robustness check)	2	~164 (fewer would be complete)	Male, photo
2 (Robustness check)	6	~164 (fewer would be complete)	Male, no photo
3 (Robustness check)	3	350	Female, no quota, photo
3 (Robustness check)	2	350	Male, photo