

**FUNDAÇÃO GETULIO VARGAS ESCOLA BRASILEIRA DE ADMINISTRAÇÃO
PÚBLICA E DE EMPRESAS MESTRADO EM ADMINISTRAÇÃO**

THE PERKS OF BEING FEMALE: CRISES, GENDER, AND VOTING

Dissertação apresentada à Escola Brasileira de Administração Pública e de Empresas como
requisito para obtenção de Mestre em Administração.

Natália Lucciola

Rio de Janeiro - 2020

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Área de Concentração: Instituições, Política
e Governo

Orientador: Cesar Zucco Jr

Rio de Janeiro - 2020

Abstract

Do crises affect voters' attitudes towards candidates differently depending on their gender? Literature shows that people in general hold gendered stereotypes about the attributes of politicians that make women be perceived as unfit for office. This thesis investigates whether crises may change what voters look for in political leaders, making attributes stereotypically associated with women become more valuable in certain contexts. I hypothesize that the effects vary accordingly to the type of crisis. Corruption scandals are expected to favor women and candidates with female stereotypes, often related to communal and moral qualities, while economic downturns would strengthen voters' bias for traditional male politicians.

I conduct two different survey experiments. The first seeks to identify the contents of gendered stereotypes of politicians in Brazil, and the second aims to estimate the impact of different types of crises on candidates' perceived suitability for office and vote intention. My findings suggest that voters hold positive stereotypes of female politicians and a pro-female bias in all contexts, that is reinforced by both types of crises analyzed. Although corruption related scandals negatively affect the overall evaluation of politicians, this general effect spares stereotypical women while strongly punishes men with traditional politicians' stereotypes. As for the scenario of economic recession, results suggest that it benefits the voting prospects of women over men, with voters notably punishing counter stereotypical male candidates.

Keywords: Gender, Politics, Stereotypes, Crises, Voting, Survey Experiment

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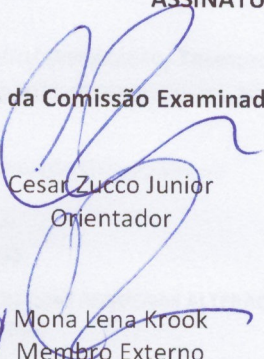
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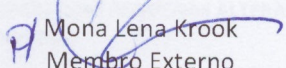
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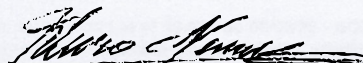
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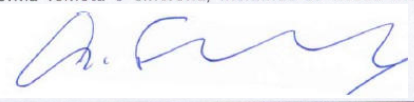

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*“I have heard the bible and have learned that Eve caused man to sin.
Well if woman upset the world, do give her a chance to set it right side up again.”*

Sojourner Truth

*“Never forget that all it would take is a political, economic or religious crisis for
women’s rights to be called into question. These rights will never be vested. You have to
remain vigilant your whole life.”*

Simone de Beauvoir

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1. Introduction

Do crises affect voters' attitudes towards candidates according to their gender? Part of the gap in women's representation is explained by a perceived incongruence between the stereotypes people hold about women and about politicians. Crisis contexts, however, may provoke a change in voters' preferences regarding the qualities required from political leaders, making previously neglected feminine attributes more valuable, and downplaying the role of traits associated with masculinity.

In 2010, Brazil elected its first (and so far, only) female president, Dilma Rousseff. A few years before her election, President Lula faced his government's hardest corruption scandal crisis and decided to nominate Dilma as Chief of Staff. She became a central figure in Brazilian politics that would moralize the office and signal commitment with substantial change. During her years in presidency, Brazilians went from calling Rousseff as "Dilmom", during a honeymoon period of popular approval, to impeaching their first *Presidenta*, when the country went through most severe economic crisis. Although the popular perception of Dilma was related to her honesty and strong character at first, she was later seen as incompetent to handle the country's economic meltdown¹.

In November 2020, the United States chose its president for the next four years. The country has been facing severe instability to the combination of a strong political movement against racism, an unprecedented health calamity, and its following in an economic crisis. Although both presidential candidates were men, gender was a determinant factor on the electoral process. Donald Trump emphasized his masculinity as a strength required for the office in such challenging circumstances, whereas the Democratic ticket, composed by Joe Biden and Kamala Harris, reinforced a female leadership style, valuing attributes usually perceived as feminine, such as openness to dialogue and honesty². In such a chaotic context, the US elected its first female and non-white vice-president.

These examples of women's political rise under critical circumstances are not rare, neither merely anecdotal. Scholars have found evidence of how crises affect the nomination of

¹ <https://exame.com/brasil/depois-de-fama-de-boa-gestora-dilma-deixa-planalto-sob-ataques-de-incompetencia/>

² <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/12/10/media/joe-biden-kamala-harris-time-person-of-the-year/index.html>

female candidates by party elites and the presence of women in office, either creating opportunities for women to rise or imposing higher barriers for their access (Funk et al, 2017; Blanton et al, 2018; Jalalzai, 2008). The current thesis advances on this avenue of research, focusing on the gendered consequences of crises on voters' behavior. It explores how the saliency of different issues in unstable settings change voters' biases, and if this effect changes according to the candidates' gender. This research assesses whether voters, when facing a context of crisis, look for leaders with different sets of attributes that are more in line with gendered stereotypes of how competent women or man are at handling the issue presented.

Not all types of crises, by this logic, would necessarily benefit women. Voters will be more inclined to vote for women only in crisis in which the stereotypes of female politicians may be perceived as more valuable to deal with the specific challenges at hand. I expect that corruption scandals should have a positive impact on the preference for women and candidates who present traits associated with the feminine leadership style. Economic crises, in contrast, might positively affect the suitability for office of male candidates and/or masculine attributes. I also test whether the gendered impacts of each type of crisis should be stronger for candidates who comply with their gendered stereotypes.

I employ two survey experiments to analyze the effect of crises on voters' behavior towards female politicians in Brazil. Over the past decade, the country has elected, reelected, and impeached its first *Presidenta* in a context of continuous and severe crises that combines corruption scandals and economic recession. The stagnation of female representation in the country remains a challenge for scholars and advocates, despite the early adoption and recent reforms of gender quota laws and women's educational and economic enfranchisement over the past decades (Wylie and Dos Santos, 2018).

Study 1 attempts to identify the latent traits associated with politicians in Brazil according to their gender. Findings suggest the association of female politicians not only with the expected feminine traits but also with qualities of what is often assumed as masculine, whereas stereotypes of male politicians are not strongly defined. In Study 2, I manipulate contexts between subjects and compare their voting preferences and evaluations of male and female candidates who comply or not with their gendered stereotypes that were derived from Study 1.

The findings suggest that voters hold a pro-female bias that is strengthened by crises, which may favor women regardless of the issue that is salient. Surprisingly, the overall voting probability for women is the highest in contexts of economic crisis, where the distance between male and female candidates is significantly higher in comparison to control conditions. The pro-female bias, however, seems to be more related to sex than to gender and the stereotypes of female politicians, given that the average intention to vote for men with such feminine attributes diminishes under economic related crisis. These results indicate that economic crises encourage the vote for women, but not for their relationship-oriented leadership style, but, most likely, as a more symbolic signal that overcoming such difficult times require a change in politics. As for the impact of corruption scandals, against the scholarly expectations, such context does not improve female candidates' evaluation. However, at the same time, it harms the perceived suitability for office of men in general and, particularly, of those who comply with the masculine stereotype for political leadership. These combined findings suggest that economic crises punish traditional politicians and drives voters' attitudes towards change.

This thesis contributes to the literature on gender and political science identifying how challenging contexts affect voting attitudes towards candidates according to their sex and their compliance or not with the gendered expectations regarding traits. It identifies an overall positive effect of both types of crises considered in favor of female candidates, either by enhancing their voting prospects or by negatively affecting how voters perceive male candidates' fitness for office.

The remainder of this dissertation proceeds as follows. Section 2 presents an overview of the main theoretical and empirical basis of the research proposed here. First, it presents a review about the empirical findings related to how gender stereotypes impact the presence of women in politics, discussing how this relationship can be contingent to contexts. Next, it describes how different types of crises may affect female representation and presents some hypotheses about its effects on voters' attitudes drawing on the literature about gender stereotypes. The next section presents Study 1, that identifies the contents of gendered stereotypes of politicians in Brazil, and the subsequent section reports Study 2, which investigates the effects of contexts of crises on voters' preferences towards male

and female candidates that comply or not with gendered stereotypes³. Section 5 concludes with some remarks on future agendas of research.

³ All studies here described have been approved by the FGV Ethics Committee (Parecer n.100/2020 of CEPH/FGV)

2. Empirical and Theoretical Background

The current thesis derives from different avenues of research and theoretical frameworks proposed by the gender and politics scholarship. At first, I review the literature that investigates the relationship between gender stereotypes and political representation of women. Scholars have found evidence that people hold stereotypes about politicians that do not match what is expected of women. They investigate how this perceived incongruence regarding stereotypes impact female representation across different circumstances. Then, I offer a brief overview of the presence of women in the Brazilian electoral system and present different frameworks that address how crises may have gendered political consequences, either on the benefit or on the loss of women.

Drawing on the combination of these references, I hypothesize about the impacts that different crises may have on voters' attitudes towards candidates and how this effect might be conditioned on the candidates' sex and gendered stereotypes.

2.1 Gendered stereotypes and vote choice

Scholars have been studying the role played by gendered stereotypes in politics for the past 40 years. Most findings support the important role of stereotypes in affecting the evaluation of female politicians, their perceived suitability to handle different policy issues, and voters' attitudes towards them (Sapiro, 1981; Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; Sanbonmatsu, 2002; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan, 2009; Dolan, 2009; Dolan and Lynch, 2013; Barnes and Beaulieu, 2014). The direction and intensity of the effects of gendered stereotypes on vote choice are, however, still under dispute. Previous studies have found evidence of both prejudicial and beneficial effects of gendered expectations towards female candidates.

Stereotypes are a set of culturally shared beliefs about individuals that creates biases towards them based on membership in a social group (Bos, Madonia, and Schneider, 2018). Stereotypes are often unconsciously cognitive shortcuts used in people's

evaluation processes, contributing to expectations of personal attributes and behaviors based solely on perceived characteristics of the groups that individuals belong to.

In political science, gender stereotypes reflect diverging expectations regarding traits and beliefs of men and women, derived from their traditional social roles (Bos, Madonia and Schneider, 2018; Dolan and Lynch, 2016). While women are perceived as more compassionate, honest, and consensus-oriented, men are seen as strong leaders, assertive, and self-confident (Sapiro, 1981; Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; Sanbonmatsu, 2002). Since masculine traits are more strongly associated with the attributes required for the exercise of power, it is expected that voters display a biased preference, considering male candidates, in general, better suited for office than their female counterparts. (Schneider and Bos, 2014; Dolan and Lynch, 2016).

Numerous studies have so far contributed to the understanding of how gendered stereotypes regarding personality traits make voters reject female candidates based on their perceived unsuitability for handling important political issues. Huddy and Terkildsen (1993), for instance, show that candidates that displayed feminine traits were expected to be better suited to handle policies related to compassion, such as social care and education, while those who presented masculine traits were expected to perform better on managing strength-related issues, such as defense and the economy. Their findings point out the general disadvantage experienced by candidates with female stereotypes in comparison to others in voters' evaluation, since their attributes are not considered as valuable as the ones of males.

Stereotypes can harm women candidates because they affect voters' behavior. Sanbonmatsu (2002) found empirical evidence of the consequences of gender stereotype reliance on vote choice. According to her proposed "gender schema theory", individuals' predisposition to vote for female or male candidates rises from their stereotypical expectations regarding male and female politicians' traits, beliefs, and competencies. Lawless (2004) shows that expectations regarding the competency of women for salient political issues that are perceived as masculine, such as war and defense, make voters reject even more qualified female candidates.

Similar results have been found even when controlling for candidates and voters' partisanship (Sanbonmatsu and Dolan, 2009; Dolan, 2009). Nonetheless, studies that tried

to expand these experimental findings to actual electoral races have found that the role played by stereotypes is not as determinant on vote choice for women as other traditional factors, such as the office's level, type of electoral race, and incumbency (Dolan and Lynch, 2013; Dolan and Lynch, 2016).

Stereotypes, however, need not necessarily to be detrimental to female politicians. If the traits traditionally associated with female politicians are incongruent with voter's views of politicians in general, women should do not display the same characteristics of the traditional political leaders – qualities and defects included. In that sense, while it may be expected that female politicians do not display the agentic attributes, such as determination and objectiveness, expected from strong traditional leaders, they are also more likely to show other qualities that are not associated with the average male politician, such as honesty, ethics, and morality (Funk et al, 2019; Barnes and Beaulieu, 2014).

Although extensive, research on the topic is mainly bounded to the United States political context. Considering the limited cultural and institutional settings of empirical studies, one should not assume that the patterns observed there can easily travel to other contexts. In Brazil, Aguilar, Cunow, and Desposato (2015) have encountered an unexpected bias in favor of female candidates in a series of experiments regarding vote choice for federal deputy. The authors explore if the ballot size affects voters' preference across genders, but do not find significant results. They also investigate if there is a relationship between the preference for female candidates with being exposed to women as mayors, but do not find support for that explanation. The mechanism that could explain a gender bias toward women in politics, therefore, remains unknown. One possible explanation, that the current thesis expects to explore, may be related to the stereotypes about women and corruption, considering both the salience of this issue and the widely disseminated view of female politicians as less corrupt than males (LAPOP, 2017).

On the other hand, some studies suggest that female politicians are not associated with the stereotypes of women in general, such as honesty and morality. In that sense, women in politics would not benefit from the somehow positive effects of gendered perceptions, since they are seen as a group that differs both from traditional male political leaders as well as from women (Schneider and Bos, 2014). Barnes and Beaulieu (2018) most recent

findings have suggested that women may not be perceived as more honest, but as risk-averse and as lacking necessary political links.

From this overview, there is no resolute conclusion regarding the positive or negative effects of gender stereotypes on voters' attitudes towards women in politics. There are at least two possible explanations for this variability in results. The first is related to measurement since scholars have adopted different measures for masculine and feminine stereotypes, considering different traits and issues as the more salient contents in each study (Schneider and Bos, 2014; Bos, Madonia and Schneider, 2018). The second is related to context. It is also important to acknowledge that stereotypes are expected to be updated over time and bounded by cultural contexts, which may be a determinant factor to account for when studying the case of Brazil.

2.2 Gendered consequences of crises in politics

In politics, contexts matter. Turbulent political times influence the action of different actors, from popular mobilization to candidate nomination by parties and cabinet formation by governments (Karp and Milazzo, 2016; Funk et al, 2019; Krook and O'Brien, 2012). Literature has shown that contexts of crisis and instability have gendered effects, making political environments either more welcoming or more averse to female politicians.

Scholars have produced conflicting evidence regarding how negative contexts impacts the presence of women in politics. Jalalzai (2008) studied the patterns behind women's rise to all national Executive Chief positions throughout the world over time and found evidence that female presence on top political positions is consistently stronger in unstable contexts, where the exercise of power is constrained and endangered. O'Brien et al (2020) research suggests that contexts of corruption crises have a positive effect on the appointment of women as ministers of Finance. On the other hand, Blanton et al (2018), show that female presence in politics diminishes where more intense and lasting financial crises take place.

Negative contexts may impact women's representation either by affecting the supply of female candidates or by changing voters' attitudes towards them. On the supply side of

the equation, scholars show that selectors choose women to run in more precarious contexts (Ryan et al, 2016; Funk et al, 2019). This phenomenon has been described as a glass-cliff in female political empowerment, meaning that crises open opportunities for women, but they stand on more fragile grounds when they manage to compete for political office (Bruckmüller and Branscombe, 2010). Funk et al (2019) showed that the nomination of female candidates increases with the public's discontent and distrust in Latin America. Thus, it can be expected that the set of candidates available for voters to choose is, itself, affected by times of crisis.

Crises may also affect the demand for female candidates since gendered stereotypes may have different impacts on voters' attitudes accordingly to the political circumstances. Some recent findings suggest that the same female stereotypes that are usually considered as unfit for office become an advantage for women during certain types of crises (Johnson and Williams, 2020). Similar patterns have been supported by empirical evidence in the organizational realm, where the stereotypes about women's communal leadership style, usually incompatible with beliefs about good leadership, become more valuable in contexts of crisis (Ryan et al, 2016; Ryan et al, 2011; Bruckmüller and Branscombe, 2010).

Johnson and Williams (2020) suggest that crises related to "caring" policy issues, such as the current Covid-19 pandemic, create an opportunity for the nurturing traits of female politicians to be valued. Troubling contexts, when associated with stereotypical feminine issues, may turn the "protective femininity" of female politicians, incorporating caring and empathy to their leadership styles, more desirable for voters. It has not been documented, however, how different types of crises – regarding issues that are perceived as either stereotypically feminine or masculine – affect the voters' perspective regarding the candidates' gender and whether candidates' compliance with gendered stereotypes explains voters' preferences.

Corruption scandals are a particular type of negative context that has gendered effects on voters' preferences. A more pessimistic perspective related to the evaluation of women in office is offered by Reyes-Housholder (2019), who proposed a theory on how double standards concerning stereotypes of women as less corruptible than men prejudice the performance evaluation of women in Executive office once scandals burst. Thus, contexts of corruption crises may be detrimental to the evaluation of women in office since there

are higher moral stakes related to them. Nonetheless, the scholarship also suggests that stereotypical views of women as more honest and less corrupt can be a competitive advantage for female politicians who are still perceived as outsiders from the political arena (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; Barnes and Beaulieu, 2014). The outbreak of corruption scandals would create an opportunity for women candidates who are perceived either as more moral because of their feminine traits or as outsiders, averse to getting involved in corrupt practices (Jalalzai, 2008; Barnes and Beaulieu, 2018)

On the other hand, Blanton et al (2018) assessment of the gendered political effects of financial crises is that such conditions diminished the proportion of elected female representatives throughout the world. The authors analyze that economic crises may “bring the macho back into political office”, despite expectations that challenging contexts would downplay the value of masculinity. Their findings suggest that it is important to explore how crises, where different issues are more salient, have distinct effects regarding gender.

2.3 Women and elections in Brazil

Brazil has elected in 2010 and reelected in 2014 its first female president, Dilma Rousseff. Over 60% of Brazilian electorate casted a vote for a woman in both presidential races, whether for Dilma or for Marina Silva, who arrived in third place (Wylie and Dos Santos, 2018). However, the pink wave that has allegedly swept Latin America in the past decade does not seem to have promoted deep changes for women in institutional politics in Brazil.

Although it seems that the average Brazilian voter is not biased against female politicians, the same voting pattern is not observed on races for subnational executive offices or even for the National Congress. In 2020, women are 16% of mayors in Brazilian municipalities, and only one out of 27 state governors. Two years before, while the country chose the misogynist Jair Bolsonaro as president, the highest share of women in Brazilian history is elected to the lower house. Despite de 50% growth, women occupy only 15% of the seats.

With an electoral system tainted by personalism, large voting districts with an elevated number of candidates and voters' lack of attachment to political parties, candidates' individual characteristics can play a determinant role on voters' choice. In such contexts, this type of heuristic that created cues for the evaluation of politicians become more relevant factors (Schwindt-Bayer and Reyes-Housholder, 2017; Boas, 2014)

Although the inconsistent measurement of gendered stereotypes may explain in part the inconclusive findings of voters' gendered bias, it may be important to acknowledge how particular contexts can influence the salience of certain stereotypes, leading to different results in different scenarios. This dissertation addresses both of these limitations, aiming, at first, to identify latent and valid measures of gendered stereotypes of politicians in Brazil and then estimate how the expected attributes of politicians have positive or negative impacts on female politicians, depending on the particular context they where they are inserted.

The current thesis investigates how different types of crises affect voters' attitudes towards candidates and whether it varies with the politicians' gender. Drawing on voters' reliance on gendered stereotypes in low information contexts, I propose a survey experiment where respondents evaluate and cast votes for hypothetical candidates that comply or confront their gender's stereotypes. Manipulating the political contexts where the fictitious election takes place, I expect that the salience of different issues on the scenarios of crises have gendered implications. When the crisis is related to the economy, voters' bias turn in favor of male candidates the comply with masculine stereotypes, while when it is related to corruption, voters' preferences shifts to the woman candidates with feminine traits.

My first goal is to investigate if there is a gender bias in voters' preferences and whether it is affected by the context of the electoral choice. As a consequence of the expected effect of the role incongruence between women and political leadership, voters consider male politicians should be as more suitable for office (Ryan et al, 2016). Certain types of contexts, however, might pressure the established preferences to change.

If contexts influence voters' preference for gendered attributes in leadership, it is expected that male candidates will be preferred over female in contexts of stability, while the preference will shift when the scenario is one of perceived crisis. The type of crisis will

determine the direction of this expected effect: in contexts of corruption scandal, where traits associated with the female stereotype become more valuable and salient, towards female candidates, and in times of economic crises, where traits traditionally associated with masculine leadership are more salient, towards male candidates. These predictions are stated by hypotheses 1 to 3.

H1: Male politicians will be consistently chosen over their female contenders in situations of stability.

H2: Contexts of crisis related to corruption will positively affect voters' preference towards female candidates, in comparison to contexts of stability.

H3: Contexts of economic crisis will positively affect voters' preference towards male candidates, in comparison to contexts of stability.

Additionally, I want to disentangle the bias related to politicians' gender from the stereotypical expectations related to the leadership style associated with men and women. Based on the stereotype mechanism, the preference for women or men as candidates in certain contexts of crisis would be a consequence of voters' expectations regarding the type of leadership a female or male politician can offer (Johnson and Williams, 2020).

The gendered stereotypes also reflect the perceived difference in competence regarding different policy issues. Whereas female traits would be more qualified to handle problems related to corruption and social policies, male attributes are preferred to handle traditionally masculine issues, such as economic and defense policies (Dolan and Lynch, 2016; Schneider et al, 2018).

Hypotheses 4 to 6 relate to the effects of crisis on voters' evaluations of candidates with different gendered stereotypes. If the candidate gender is not relevant to explain the preference for women in such contexts, then it would be expected that both men and women who present equivalent attributes are judged as equal. In that case, it is anticipated that female stereotyped candidates are preferred in situations of corruption, while those with masculine qualities are chosen when there is an economic crisis or a stable context.

H4: In contexts of crisis related to corruption, candidates of both genders who comply with female stereotypes are preferred over candidates with male stereotypes.

H5: In contexts of economic crisis, candidates of both genders who comply with male stereotypes are preferred over candidates with female stereotypes.

H6: In stable contexts, candidates of both genders who comply with male stereotypes will be preferred over candidates with female stereotypes.

The final hypotheses concern the comparison across groups considering the combination of the candidates' gender and their presented male or female traits. Although both candidates' sex and the set of attributes used to describe may impact voters' preferences, there is also an expected effect related to candidates who comply or not with their gendered expectations. Is there punishment for candidates who do not comply with gendered stereotypes?

To investigate that, I hypothesize that those who fit the stereotypical description of their gender will be better evaluated in comparison to both candidates of the same gender and atypical attributes and candidates with equivalent profile, but different gender. Thus, in the case of a corruption scandal, women who display feminine attributes will be preferred over female candidates that comply with the male stereotype and to men with female attributes. In the case of economic crises, where male attributes should become more valuable, male candidates would benefit from complying with the masculine stereotype, in comparison to male candidates with feminine traits and to female candidates that show masculine profile. Hypotheses 7 and 8 describe how different contexts are expected to affect candidate choice, considering the congruity between gender and stereotypes.

H7: In contexts of crisis related to corruption, female who comply with female stereotypes are preferred over other types of candidates.

H8: In contexts of economic crisis, male candidates who comply with male stereotypes are preferred over other types of candidates.

Overall, I expect that crises have gendered effects that rely not only on politicians' sex but also on their compliance with their prescribed stereotypes. This thesis includes two

survey experiments conducted to estimate these effects of crises on voters' behavior. As a first step, I identify the content of politicians' stereotypes in Brazil and whether it differs across genders. Study 1 aims to single out which attributes are associated with female and male politicians, expecting that politicians' stereotype, in general, is shared with men in politics, whereas it deviates from women in politics.

In Study 2, I test the predicted hypotheses exploring how preference for female politicians is affected by contexts of economic or corruption crises and whether gendered stereotypes explain this variation. I manipulate between-subjects the political context of a fictitious municipality, either of crisis (economic/corruption) or regularity. Then, participants will be asked to evaluate the suitability for office of a group of candidates described by a set of attributes that compose each gender's stereotype, derived from Study 1, and to indicate to each of them they would vote for in a fictitious mayoral election.

3. Study 1

Scholarship has extensively acknowledged the existence of gender stereotypes on the evaluation of politicians' competence, suitability for office and performance (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; Sanbonmatsu, 2002; Dolan, 2009). However, previous studies do not consistently converge in the stereotypes' measures adopted. The content of the gendered expectations regarding personality traits and competence in certain political issues varies from one study to another, which may lead to conflicting findings regarding stereotypes impacts on political behavior (Schneider and Bos, 2014; Bos et al, 2018). Moreover, stereotypes' contents are expected to be contextually and culturally bounded, varying from society to society and over time (Fiske et al, 2002). Unsurprisingly, the extensive literature developed so far has focused almost exclusively on the United States.

Studies regarding active stereotypes related to politics are much scarcer in Brazil. Scholars have found that Brazilian voters display an implicit bias towards supporting women candidates, instead of against them, as anticipated (Aguilar et al, 2015). The content of the gendered expectations that could explain voters' positive attitude towards female politicians, however, has not been identified.

Over the past 10 years, the country has elected, reelected, and impeached its first female Chief Executive and has promoted institutional improvements to the enforcement of the gender quota law. The presence of women remains stuck at a 15% ceiling in seats both at the national Legislative and subnational Executive offices, despite the growing number of female candidates (TSE, 2018). Understanding how women who run for office are perceived by voters in comparison to their male counterparts is a necessary step to advance on the explanations for the resilient gender gap in Brazil.

The current study was designed to fulfill that gap, investigating the salient attributes that are attached to voters' perception of female politicians in Brazil. I employ a survey experiment in which participants indicate traits that describe individuals of different categories, one of which are female politicians. The idea is to capture perceived stereotypes latent in the society, rather than individual perceptions of the respondents.

3.1 Method

The current study builds on the research conducted by Schneider and Bos (2014), which was based the experimental paradigm originally proposed by Katz and Braly (1933) to measure group stereotypes content. Participants were asked to report whether the each of the adjectives presented to them is descriptive of one given social group.

3.2 Sample

Participants were recruited using Facebook Ads between July 22 and August 2, 2020. As an incentive to engagement, it was advertised that all participants that completed the questionnaire could participate of a lottery for a R\$ 100 gift-card. Recruiting participants from Facebook is an adequate solution for survey-experimental research, even though the convenience sample is not representative of the broader population (Samuels and Zucco, 2013).

A total of 756 people initiated the survey. I dismissed duplicated responses from those who provided their e-mails to participate on the lottery, as well as the ones from participants who did not agree with the consenting form and whose IP addresses were not from Brazil. The final sample consisted of 623 respondents, 51.2% female, 57.1% white, 48% from the southeast region of Brazil, 33.4% with college degree, and 40% of them between 46 and 60 years old. The balance of respondents across groups is detailed in Appendix 1.

3.3 Procedure

After consenting to participate, respondents were asked to provide some demographic information (gender, geographic region, education, income, and religion). Next, they read a brief text describing how stereotypes are a common heuristic used by society to make associations between individuals and the social groups they participate. On the same page of the questionnaire, they were asked to evaluate whether people in general in Brazil would consider each of several given attributes as a descriptor of that one social group.

Although it was expected that respondents would not be embarrassed to express their individual perception regarding gender stereotypes (in comparison to racial or ethnic

stereotypes, for instance), the survey instructed participants to answer based on how "people in general" would describe each group as to minimize the risk of desirability bias. Following Schneider and Bos (2014), the text also informed them about how stereotyping and categorizing individuals is a natural cognitive process.

Each participant was randomly assigned to one out of 4 treatment conditions. The sole difference between each treatment condition was that individuals were asked to consider how "people in general" would describe individuals belonging to one of these different relevant social group: politicians in general (N = 154), men in politics (N = 163), women in politics (N = 158), and women in general (N = 148). It is worthy of notice that the choice for both the name of the traits presented and the description of each treatment category were impacted by the lack of gender neutrality of the Portuguese language.

The word "politician" is theoretically the gender-neutral form to refer to those involved in politics. However, since the general stereotype of politicians is mostly masculine, a different word choice was made, as to emphasize the neutrality of the category regarding gender. Treatment conditions that referred to politicians in general and of each gender were, then, described as "People/Women/Men that run for elections and occupy public offices". As for the translation of the attributes, it was decided to exhibit the traits adjusted to the gender inflection of the treatment category.

Participants were then presented with several traits, and for each they were asked to indicate whether it was associated or not with the group of reference. Each respondent was presented with 10 items at a time, randomly selected from a long list of possible attributes. The complete list of attributes included 106 items, most of them drawn from Schneider and Bos' list of 111 traits (2014), translated to Portuguese by the author and validated by two colleague graduate students. Ten of the adjectives translated were dismissed for being considered redundant in Portuguese. To this initial pool of attributes were added other 5 traits that are considered strong descriptors of agentic and communal leadership stereotypes that were thought to be enhanced in contexts of crises (Kulich et al, 2018).

After completing their responses for 30 traits, participants were asked whether they wanted to continue or to end their participation. As an incentive for pursuing on the survey, an additional chance on the lottery for the gift card was offered. Those who chose

to continue evaluated another randomly selected set of 30 attributes, answering if each of them was associated with the same social group. The choice to present a random selection of the attributes instead of the complete list was made due to the expectation that the list extension would compromise respondents' attention. All traits were presented to at least 50 participants of each condition. On average, each attribute was exhibited to 46.1% of the participants, and each participant rated an average of 48.9 items.

3.4 Analysis

The current study was developed as a strategy to identify the content of gendered stereotypes in politics. The main outcome of interest is the proportion of respondents that associate each attribute with each social group. More specifically, it is important to understand if there are attributes that represent an exclusive stereotype of one social group and differentiate them from traits that are shared stereotypes among two groups or more and from the ones that are non-stereotypical traits.

The first step of analysis is the calculation of the proportion of respondents of each treatment condition that associate each trait with the social group. Following the Pre-Analysis Plan, I considered an attribute as stereotypical of one group if it met two criteria: the first was a 65% cut point of positive association of the trait with the considered group, a threshold that follows the one adopted in previous studies (Bos & Schneider, 2014). Traits that were not associated with one group by at least 65% of respondents are classified as non-stereotypical of that particular group.

The second, applied only to attributes that passed the first, sought to determine the extent to which a stereotype was exclusive of one group or shared among two groups. One attribute was classified as an exclusive stereotype of one group in comparison to another when it presented a minimum 0.125⁴ difference in the proportions that is statistically significant at 0.1 level on a two-sided two-sample test for equality of proportions.

⁴ Originally, the Pre-Analysis Plan predicted a more demanding criteria of 0.25 difference in proportions across groups as a minimum cutoff to classify attributes as exclusive stereotypes. The deviation from the PAP was required since the values of differences in proportions observed, although significant at 0.01 level, did not attend the proposed cutoff. It is relevant to reinforce that this threshold for the values of significant differences was an innovation proposed by the current study, not followed by the scholarship.

This combination of criteria for exclusive stereotypes is a novel proposition introduced by the present study. Previous research on gendered evaluations of politicians have considered stereotypes content sufficiently different relying simply on significant statistical differences, especially the minimum coefficient value for the difference in proportions. Since the results of the current study will be used to describe the stereotypical characteristics of politicians by gender on following survey-experiments, it is particularly important to identify stereotypes' contents that are less likely to be shared among groups. Traits that are perceived to be descriptive of both men and women in politics at similar levels are not suitable for describing a hypothetical counter stereotypical candidate of any gender, for instance.

The comparisons of interest here are the ones that help identify how women in politics are perceived by society. From specialized literature, it is expected that the contents of stereotypes of female politicians are rather different from the ones of politicians in general and male politicians, whereas these last two are expected to be convergent. Additionally, I compare the stereotypes' contents of women in politics and women in general

- Women in politics x Men in politics;
- Women in politics x People in politics;
- People in politics x Men in politics; and
- Women in politics x Women in general.

The analyses will also explore potential heterogeneous effects on groups stereotype content considering the gender of the respondent.

3.5 Results

The main outcome of interest of the current study is the identification of both the gendered and gender-neutral stereotypes of politicians. Table 1 presents the attributes that fit the established criteria for exclusive stereotype contents for either "women in politics", "men in politics", or "politicians in general", the proportions of positive associations with each group and the results for the test of difference in proportions comparing two groups at a time.

Table 1 – Prevalence of exclusive stereotypes across three different groups

Traits	Prevalence			Differences		
	Women in Politics (WP)	Men in Politics (MP)	Politicians (PP)	WP - MP	WP - PP	MP - PP
Nagging	0.787	0.631	0.654	-0.156*		
Moral	0.792	0.564	0.667	-0.228*		
Intuitive	0.817	0.652	0.696	-0.165*		
Strong	0.783	0.584	0.657	-0.199*		
Handles well different opinions	0.788	0.610	0.679	-0.178*		
Masculine	0.162	0.676	0.606	0.514***		
Powerful	0.699	0.316	0.470	-0.383***	-0.229***	
Feminine	0.765	0.375	0.294	-0.39***	-0.471***	
Gentle	0.841	0.597	0.627	-0.244***	-0.215***	
Sensitive	0.757	0.541	0.481	-0.216***	-0.277***	
Caring	0.853	0.662	0.69	-0.191**	-0.162**	
Determined	0.904	0.753	0.769	-0.151**	-0.135**	
Objective	0.896	0.740	0.696	-0.155**	-0.199***	
Decent	0.802	0.638	0.600	-0.165**	-0.202**	
Ethical	0.776	0.619	0.630	-0.157**	-0.146*	
Inspiring	0.771	0.616	0.587	-0.155*	-0.184**	
Compassionate	0.836	0.692	0.618	-0.144*	-0.217***	
Charismatic	0.864	0.747	0.690		-0.173**	
Good at solving problems	0.740	0.681	0.575		-0.165**	
Does what it takes	0.769	0.703	0.603		-0.166*	
Practical	0.868	0.76	0.725		-0.143*	
Good with numbers	0.595	0.646	0.754		0.159*	
Hard worker	0.776	0.697	0.615		-0.161*	
Cares about others	0.757	0.65	0.606		-0.152*	
Fussy	0.757	0.769	0.581		-0.176**	-0.189**
Complaining	0.727	0.709	0.563		-0.164*	-0.145*
Analytical	0.662	0.579	0.727			0.148*
Loving	0.781	0.643	0.792			0.149*
Cautious	0.658	0.618	0.789			0.171**

Note: *p < 0.1, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01, two-tailed proportion test of significance. Values in the “prevalence” columns report the share of respondents who answered that the society in general would consider each trait as descriptive of men (MP), women (WP) or people (Politicians - PP) that run for elections and occupy public offices. Values in the “differences” columns reports the differences in shares between pairs of groups.

Results obtained from Study 1 widely deviate from the ones described by Schneider and Bos (2014). In their research, all observed differences between female politicians and male or generic politicians were of traits that were positively associated with these groups, so that female politicians were not attached to any stereotypical attribute. While the authors did not find traits descriptive of women in politics that presented significant differences from the other groups, here we observe just the opposite, identifying a total of 25 attributes as the contents of the stereotype of women in politics, and hardly a handful of traits significantly descriptive of both men and people in general involved in politics.

Several traits emerged as exclusive contents of the stereotype of female politicians, presenting statistically significant differences in proportions comparing at the same time to both male politicians and politicians in general. Five of them were widely used as stereotypes of both women in general and of female leadership by scholarship (“compassionate”, “gentle”, “sensitive”, “caring”, and “feminine”). Others, such as “inspiring” and “decent”, are indicators for the dimension of integrity on the scale proposed by Funk (1999) to measure the stereotype of politicians. As supported by previous scholars, I also find that adjectives related to women’s superior morality are also held in the case of Brazilian female politicians, with women in politics being described as “decent” and “ethical” in comparison to both men and people in politics, and as “moral” in comparison to men in particular.

The most unforeseen results of this joint comparison were the exclusive stereotypes of women in politics as “powerful”, “determined”, and “objective”, traits that were previously associated with male politicians and to politicians in general (Schneider and Bos, 2014). Additionally, other traits emerged as exclusive stereotypes of female politicians in the separate pairwise comparison with each of the other groups. When compared to male politicians, women were described as more intuitive, moral, critical, strong, and better at dealing well with different opinions. While women are usually described as moral and intuitive, the description of women as stronger than men is rather unusual.

As for the exclusive stereotypes that emerged from the comparison with politicians in general, women in politics are described as more “charismatic”, “hard-nosed”, “good at solving problems”, “hardworking”, “fussy”, “complaining”, as better at “doing what it takes” and at “caring about others”. Although the stereotype content of female politicians

combines traits traditionally associated with both men and women, its valence is different among each gender. The typically masculine traits associated with women in politics refer to mostly positive characteristics of a leader (i. e., “good at solving problems”), whereas the feminine are most likely employed in a negative perspective when applied to leadership contexts (i. e. , “complaining”).

To further investigate these unexpected outcomes, I examined whether stereotyping varied across demographic categories. The statistically significant association of most of the presented traits with female politicians remains even when controlling for respondents' gender and other relevant demographic characteristics, as depicted in Appendix 1. The exceptions were "strong" and "handles well different opinions", which remained as contents of the exclusive stereotypes of female politicians only for male respondents.

Regarding exclusive stereotypes for the other groups of interest, both men and politicians in general results provided from Study 1 are mostly inconclusive. In comparison to female politicians, the only trait identified as an exclusive stereotype for male politicians was "masculine". Even though this result is somewhat redundant, it is essential to point out that the adjective was not as firmly attached to politicians in general. The fact that politicians are not stereotypically described as "masculine" might suggest a broader recognition of the female presence in politics. Challenging that optimistic perception, compared to female politicians, the only trait considered exclusively stereotypical of politicians was "good with numbers". The trait is consistently described by the literature as a cognitive stereotype of men but was considered as a stereotype here for "gender-neutral" group of people in general involved in politics.

Study 1 also provides information about traits that are stereotypically associated with more than one group at once, considered as shared or gender-neutral stereotypes. This category refers to adjectives considered descriptive of more than one group by 65% of respondents that fail to present significant differences in the proportion tests. Table 2 shows the attributes that attended the described criteria, the proportions, and differences in the three groups' pairwise comparisons.

Table 2 – Prevalence of shared stereotypes across three different groups

Traits	Prevalence			Differences		
	Women in Politics (WP)	Men in Politics (MP)	Politicians (PP)	WP - MP	WP - PP	MP - PP
In touch with the people	0.689	0.686	0.753	-0.003	0.064	0.068
Knowledgeable	0.743	0.750	0.682	0.007	-0.061	-0.068
Sympathetic	0.699	0.691	0.593	-0.007	-0.106	-0.099
Strong willed	0.825	0.838	0.758	0.013	-0.067	-0.080
Educated	0.787	0.803	0.757	0.016	-0.030	-0.046
Creative	0.778	0.760	0.774	-0.018	-0.004	0.014
Smart	0.831	0.803	0.790	-0.028	-0.041	-0.012
Rugged	0.824	0.795	0.852	-0.028	0.028	0.057
Self-interested	0.689	0.658	0.704	-0.031	0.016	0.046
Rational	0.750	0.718	0.803	-0.032	0.053	0.085
Active	0.806	0.765	0.710	-0.041	-0.096	-0.055
Competitive	0.743	0.797	0.765	0.054	0.021	-0.032
Intelligent	0.773	0.711	0.754	-0.062	-0.019	0.043
Confident	0.831	0.763	0.708	-0.068	-0.123	-0.055
Commands respect	0.788	0.708	0.662	-0.079	-0.126	-0.047
Organized	0.676	0.769	0.658	0.093	-0.018	-0.111
Democratic	0.765	0.662	0.635	-0.103	-0.130	-0.027
Motivated	0.863	0.757	0.795	-0.106	-0.068	0.037
Well-spoken	0.879	0.762	0.772	-0.117	-0.107	0.010

Note: All differences presented above are non-significant at 0.1 level. Values in the “prevalence” columns report the share of respondents who answered that the society in general would consider each trait as descriptive of men (MP), women (MP) or people (Politicians) that run for elections and occupy public offices. Values in the “differences” columns reports the differences in shares between pairs of groups.

There are 19 traits that compose the stereotypes shared among the three groups. Only two of these are associated with feminine stereotypes by the scholarship (“sympathetic” and “creative”), whereas four of them are used as measures of male stereotypes (“rugged”, “rational”, “active”, and “competitive”) and other four are part of scale proposed by Funk (1999) to measure the stereotype of politicians in general (“in touch with the people”, “knowledgeable”, “commands respect”, and “intelligent”). The remaining attributes considered non-gendered stereotypes were not previously associated with any of the groups. Remarkably, almost all contents of the gender-neutral stereotypes of politicians are qualities, except for “self-interested”, which presents negative valence.

Finally, one last comparison focused on how female politicians are perceived in comparison to women in general. Results are presented in Table 3. Women in general were described mostly by traits that are typically associated with the notion of femininity, with “adventurous” standing out as the only unpredictable attribute associated with the group. Traits such as “educated” and “organized”, which compose the group of shared stereotypes across politicians, are also attached to women in general.

As for women in politics, the only traits that positively distinguishes them from women in general is their objectiveness, an attribute that was also attached to female politicians in comparison to men, although it is usually associated with the latter by the literature (Bos and Schneider, 2014). For most of the traits that compose the stereotype of female politicians in comparison to their male or non-gendered counterparts, there is no significant difference between women in politics or in general.

Table 3 – Prevalence of exclusive stereotypes across women in general and in politics

Traits	Prevalence		Difference
	Women in politics (WP)	Women in general (WG)	WG - WP
Objective	0.896	0.770	-0.125*
Adventurous	0.481	0.667	0.185**
Beautiful	0.571	0.776	0.205**
Cute	0.478	0.753	0.276***
Educated	0.787	0.926	0.14**
Gorgeous	0.611	0.824	0.212***

Motherly	0.632	0.816	0.184**
Organized	0.676	0.831	0.155*
Pretty	0.515	0.758	0.243***

Note: *p < 0.1, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01, two-tailed proportion test of significance. Values in the “prevalence” columns report the share of respondents who answered that the society in general would consider each trait as descriptive women in general (WG) or women that run for elections and occupy public offices (WP). Values in the “differences” columns reports the differences in shares between the two groups.

In general, Study 1 largely deviates from Schneider and Bos (2014) findings, suggesting that stereotypes of female politicians are more positive and well-defined in Brazil than they are in the United States. The common ground for both cases is that women in politics are not associated with traits usually associated with femininity. In Brazil, Study 1 outcomes confirm that their stereotypes are composed of communal attributes theoretically associated with the female leadership style (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan, 2009; Dolan and Lynch, 2016; Kulich et al, 2017). However, female politicians’ stereotypes also include qualities that derive from the idea of a good politician (Funk, 1999), which are often assumed by the literature as masculine traits, components of male leadership stereotypes.

Such a difference in outcomes of similar studies highlights the importance of being cautious before assuming US-based research findings as universal. The sample used here is much larger, although still not representative of the population. Randomization tests do not suggest any particular bias for either one of the groups. The existence of a positive stereotype of female politicians may be a consequence of the enduring underrepresentation of women in Brazilian politics, which can support the perception that women are outsiders whose image is not as damaged in public perception as traditional male politicians. Alternatively, the scarcity of women in institutional politics can make few individual references shape the image respondents have of female politicians, a phenomenon described by the literature as tokenism.

As for the limitations of the current study, the first one refers to the potential implications that arise from the description of the groups as “people/men/women that run for elections and occupy public office” instead of the concise description as “(male/female) politicians”. As explained before, the choice was made to diminish the gendered cognitive effect of the word politician in Portuguese and was based on previous research (Dolan, 2009). However, since the gender and politics scholarship consistently describes

stereotypes using the latter approach, it may be the case that this less usual word choice affected the outcomes and limits the comparison of the current results with studies that followed the more traditional approach.

Finally, one additional potential shortcoming that should be acknowledged is the impact of social desirability bias (Bos and Schneider, 2014). Although there was an expectation that respondents would feel free to express opposing views from the society regarding the groups, mostly positive traits compose stereotypes exclusive of women in politics and the ones shared among all groups of politicians.

4. Study 2

In Study 2, I investigate the proposed hypotheses trying to understand how the context of crises affects voting behavior regarding female and male candidates who comply or confront gendered stereotypes. The survey experiment manipulates the context of a municipal election. Participants were asked to read a news report about a fictitious Brazilian municipality that outlines whether the political environment is stable, facing an economic crisis, or facing a corruption crisis, and then to evaluate different prospective mayoral candidates.

Previous experimental studies have explored the effect of candidates' gender on voters' attitudes on races for legislative offices (Aguilar et al, 2015). The current study, however, is focused on subnational executive elections. Executive politics tend to be more closely associated with masculine stereotypes than legislative politics (Schwindt-Bayer and Reyes-Housholder, 2017). Elections for executive office should be more sensitive to the effects of crises since voters' symbolic expectations of those in the executive office are higher than legislative representatives (Schwindt-Bayer and Reyes-Housholder, 2017; Jalalzai, 2016). When voting for executive positions, voters have greater expectations regarding the office's power. A different leadership style might provoke actual change, so I expect that the effects of critical contexts on voters' preferences will be stronger when they think of Executive politics.

Nonetheless, the reliance of voters on stereotypes is supposed to be more determinant in contexts of low information. In such settings, as the number of candidates running increases, voters might be less informed about their views and policy preferences. Legislative elections are often more associated with low information contexts (Dolan and Lynch, 2016). However, the increasing number of candidates in municipal elections may mean that voters have low information about all (or many) of the candidates. The available data on the 2020 municipal elections in Brazil show that the number of candidates for city executive office is growing in all states of the country, on average 14% compared to the last the previous race⁵. More candidates are running now for office in over 2,200 municipalities. This phenomenon is mostly attributed to the veto of local party coalitions for municipal chambers, which created incentives for most parties to launch

⁵ <https://noticias.uol.com.br/colunas/observatorio-das-eleicoes/2020/10/04/direita-avanca-e-numero-de-candidato-cresce-em-41-dos-municipios.htm>

their own candidates for mayoral elections⁶. Combining the outcomes of recent institutional changes with the restrictions on political campaigning inflicted by the ongoing pandemic, the context for the current local elections is of low information about candidates.

4.1 Method

Study 2 consisted of a survey experiment based on Qualtrics. Respondents were recruited using Facebook Ads, with an incentive of participating on a lottery for a R\$ 100 gift-card. I employed a 3 x 2 x 2 factorial design, where I manipulate between-subjects the types of contexts (corruption crisis, economic crisis, and a “no crisis” context that serves as the baseline), and within-subjects the candidates' gender (man or woman) and the candidates' gendered stereotypes (female stereotypes x male stereotypes).

4.2 Procedure

Participants who agreed to participate on the anonymous and voluntary research, were asked to provide their demographic information (gender, region, education, income, religion, etc.). Next, they were presented to a brief news report that regarding a fictitious municipality in Brazil where elections for mayor would be held on the following months. Respondents were randomly assigned to one of the treatment conditions (corruption crisis, economic crisis, or no crisis), as described in Appendix 2.

After the context manipulation, subjects were asked to evaluate four potential candidates for mayor regarding their fitness for office and to cast a vote for one of the fictitious candidates. Participants read a brief description of contenders that includes their names, their age, and their profession. The prompt also presented four traits associated with each candidate. Each candidate combined two sets of conditions: sex and the gendered stereotypes. There were two female and two male candidates – one of each pair described

⁶ <https://g1.globo.com/politica/eleicoes/2020/eleicao-em-numeros/noticia/2020/09/17/capitais-tem-mais-de-300-candidatos-a-prefeito-aprovados-em-convencoes-no-de-registrados-pode-ser-o-maior-em-20-anos.ghtml>

using attributes associated with women, the other with a masculine/gender-neutral profile, drawing on results from Study 1. The candidates' description also included additional information on their professions, age, and marital status, following the pattern adopted by the established scholarship (Batista, 2020; Aguilar et al, 2015). The candidates' presentation is depicted in Appendix 3.

One candidate of each gender was either described using traits descriptive of either female or male politicians' stereotypes. Since the results found in Study 1 did not indicate a strongly defined stereotype of male politicians, I chose to use on the male stereotype condition attributes considered as shared stereotypes across genders in Study 1 that are well-established in the related literature as traditionally descriptive of the masculine political leadership.

Respondents graded each of the candidates from 0 to 10 scale regarding how suitable their profile is for office in the context presented. After evaluating all candidates, participants were also asked who they would vote for. At last, respondents answered two attention checks on the context manipulation and were asked whether they wanted to inform their e-mails for participating on the lottery for the gift-card. There was also a debriefing warning explaining that both the municipality and the newspaper report presented to them were fictitious.

4.3 Sample

Recruitment was again done using Facebook Ads, over the period between October 6th and November 6th, 2020. The final sample was composed by a total of 929 participants, after dismissing responses that were either non-consented, with duplicated e-mails, from foreigner IP addresses, or that were randomized but not treated⁷.

⁷ According to the Pre-Analysis Plan registered for Study 2, the sample size estimated to capture the expected causal effects with 0.8 statistical power was of 900 respondents (300 by treatment condition). The randomization of participants was made after their consent, however, over 138 did not reach the question that presented the treatment manipulation in the survey flow. The final sample of 929 participants does not consider those that were randomized, but not treated. The attrition was not significantly associated with any treatment condition.

The final sample consisted of 54.7% female, 63.3% white, 44.8% with college degree, and 25.1% of them between 51 and 60 years old. After dismissals and randomization, the treatment groups were composed by at least 300 participants and no substantial differences on demographic and pre-treatment variables were identified across them, as further detailed on the balance analysis in Appendix 4. Despite being non-representative of the country's population, the convenience sample is considered adequate to estimate causal effects (Samuels and Zucco, 2013).

4.4 Analysis

Study 2 aimed to estimate how different contexts affect voter's attitudes towards male and female candidates who comply or confront their gendered stereotypes in politics. For that purpose, the analysis relies on two dependent variables: respondents' perceived suitability of each candidate for office and their vote choice.

Suitability for office is measured as the grade attributed to each candidate, a continuous variable that goes from 0 to 10, whereas vote choice is accounted as the probability to vote for each individual candidate, being mandatory for respondents to cast votes for one of the four described candidates.

As for the independent variables, there are the manipulated context (corruption crisis, economic crisis, and control group with no crisis) and the candidates' sex and the gendered stereotypes used to describe their main attributes, which were also experimentally manipulated within-subjects. I estimate the differences across the interactions between treatment condition (contexts) and the candidates' sex, the candidates' gender stereotypes, and each candidate specifically.

4.5 Results

Suitability

Table 4 presents the average grade attributed to each type of candidate across the different treatment conditions. Broadly, candidates were better evaluated in the control condition,

where the news report presented a municipality that was not facing any type of crisis currently, in comparison to both treatment conditions. The average grade attributed to candidates in the absence of crisis was 6.670, and 0.522 ($p < 0.01$) and 0.149 points smaller in contexts of corruption and economic crises, respectively.

In general, women are better evaluated than men in all conditions, but contexts of crises are more detrimental to male than to female candidates no matter what issue is salient. When the manipulated context described a corruption scandal involving the municipality government, whereas the average grade attributed to both male and female candidates decreased ($M_{C-T1} = 0.617$, $p < 0.01$, $W_{C-T1} = 0.427$, $p < 0.01$), the distance between candidates of each sex increased ($W - M_{C-T1} = 0.617$, n. s.).

Table 4 – Suitability for office across treatment groups

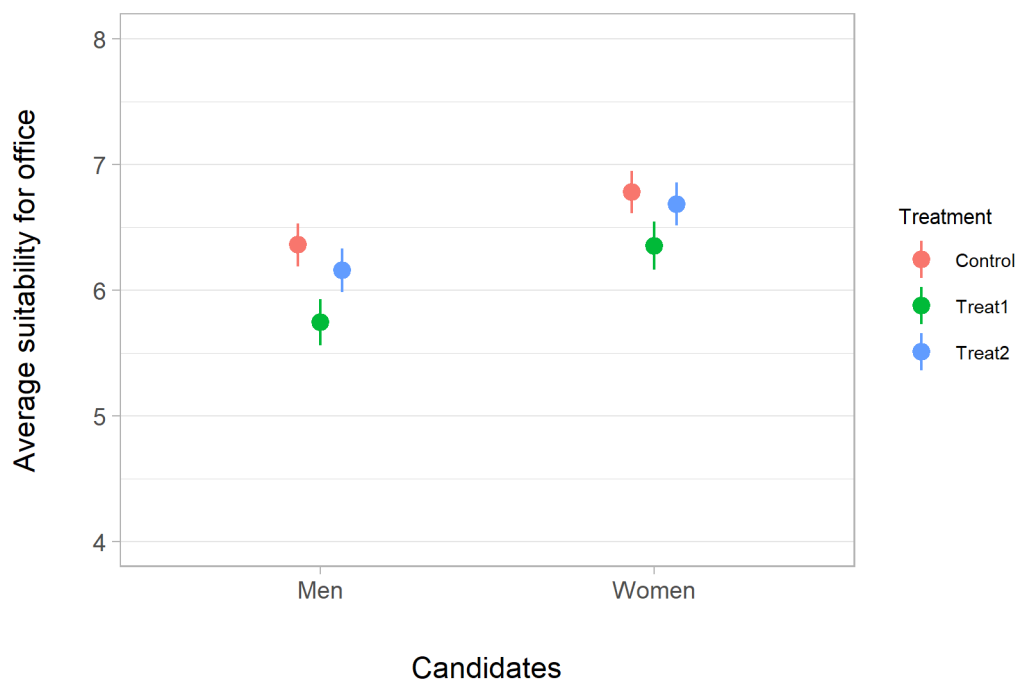
Dependent Variable: Suitability for office

Candidate	Average Values			Differences Between Conditions	
	No Crisis (Control)	Corruption Crisis (Treat1)	Economic Crisis (Treat2)	Control - Treat 1	Control - Treat 2
Full Sample	6.57	6.048	6.421	0.522***	0.149
Women	6.78	6.353	6.683	0.427***	0.097
Men	6.359	5.742	6.158	0.617***	0.201
Female Stereotype	6.682	6.333	6.652	0.349**	0.03
Male Stereotype	6.456	5.762	6.19	0.695***	0.266*
Women with Female Stereotypes	6.777	6.546	6.846	0.231	-0.069
Women with Male Stereotypes	6.783	6.158	6.52	0.625***	0.263
Men with Female Stereotypes	6.587	6.12	6.458	0.467**	0.129
Men with Male Stereotypes	6.128	5.362	5.858	0.766***	0.27

Note: * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

A similar negative trend on the perceived suitability of candidates was found when the municipal context was described as one of economic instability, although the decline on the average grade of male and female candidates and the growth on the gap between them was smaller not statistically significant ($M_{C-T2} = 0.201$, $p < 0.01$, $W_{C-T2} = 0.097$, $p < 0.01$). Thus, crises seem to prejudice voters' perception of politicians' fitness for office in general, but it has gendered consequences that turn male candidates especially unfit for office, remarkably in the face of corruption scandals. Figure 1 shows the effect of each treatment condition on the average perceived suitability according to the contender's gender.

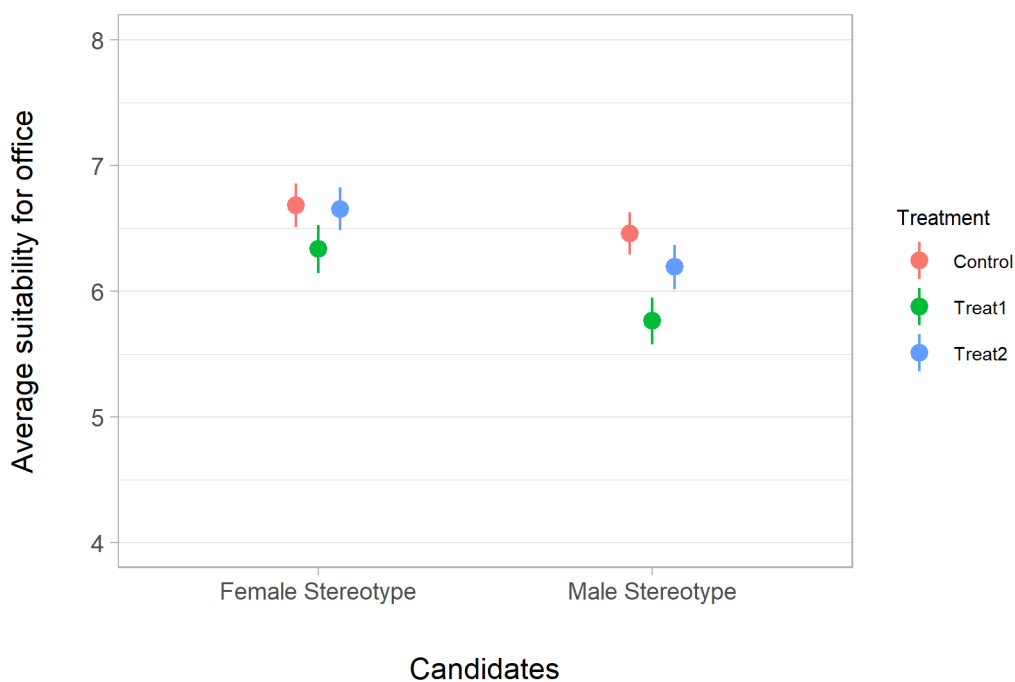
Figure 1 – Suitability for office across treatment groups, by candidate sex



As for the effect of crises regarding gendered stereotypes, candidates associated with female attributes are overall perceived as more suitable for office in comparison to those described with male traits. The difference between candidates with both stereotypical profiles is present also in the control condition. Figure 2 illustrates the average variation of the voters' evaluation of each stereotype. However, the distance between them grows

and becomes significant only in the face of reversal ($FS-MS_{C-T2} = 0.571$, $p < 0.01$; $FS-MS_{C-T2} = 0.462$, $p < 0.01$). As depicted in Table 5, when compared to the control group, corruption related reverse has a negative effect on candidates with both female and male stereotypes ($MS_{C-T1} = 0.694$, $p < 0.01$; $FS_{C-T1} = 0.349$, $p < 0.05$), while economic setbacks particularly hurt politicians with a masculine style ($MS_{C-T2} = 0.571$, $p < 0.1$; $FS_{C-T2} = 0.030$, n.s.).

Figure 2 – Suitability for office across treatment groups, by candidate stereotype



The fact that the gap between candidates with masculine and feminine leadership attributes becomes stronger in both treatment conditions is an evidence of the effect crises have on shifting voters perception of candidates making those that display female stereotypical traits more fit for office than those with male, regardless of the salient issue. Still, findings indicate that corruption scandals strongly harm candidates with male stereotypes.

Table 5 – Differences between candidates' suitability for office across conditions*Dependent Variable: Suitability for office*

Candidate	Difference Between Candidates			Differences Between Conditions	
	No Crisis (Control)	Corruption Crisis (Treat1)	Economic Crisis (Treat2)	Control - Treat 1	Control - Treat 2
Women - Men	0.421***	0.611***	0.525***	-0.189	-0.104
Female - Male Stereotypes	0.226	0.571***	0.462***	-0.346*	-0.236
Women w/ FS - Men w/ MS	0.649***	1.184***	0.988***	-0.535*	-0.339
Women w/ FS - Women w/ MS	-0.006	0.388*	0.326*	-0.394*	-0.332
Women w/ FS - Men w/ FS	0.191	0.426**	0.388**	-0.236	-0.198
Women w/ MS - Men w/ MS	0.655***	0.796***	0.662***	-0.142	-0.007
Women w/ MS - Men w/ FS	0.196	0.039	0.063	0.158	0.134
Men w/ MS - Men w/ FS	-0.458**	-0.758***	-0.599***	0.299	0.141

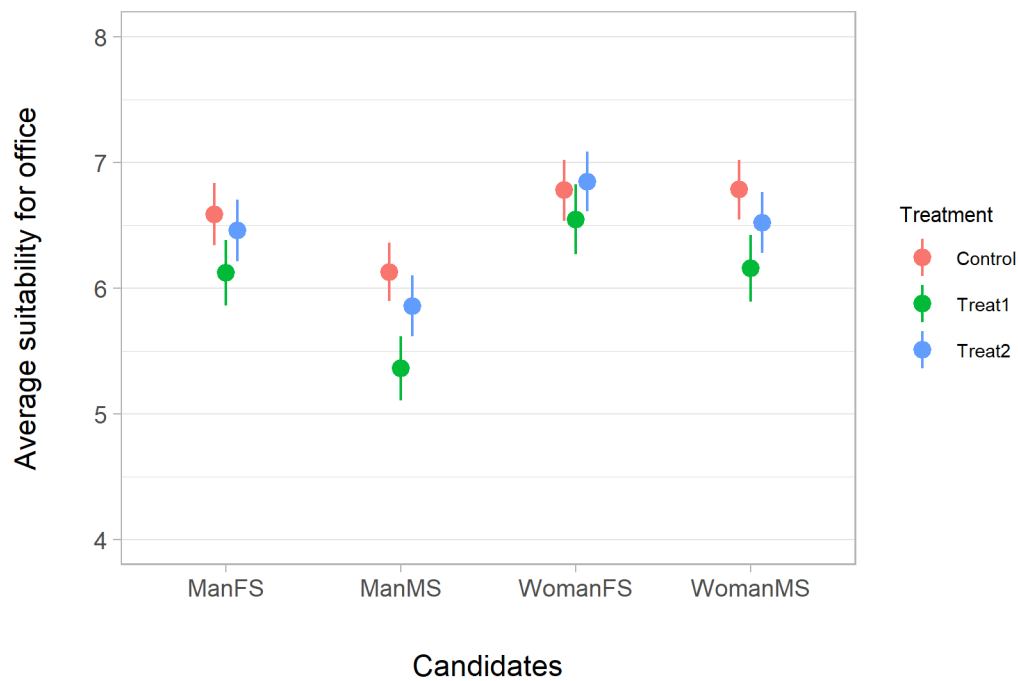
Note: * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

In regular times, voters perceive female candidates as more suitable for office, regardless of their compliance or rejection of gendered stereotypes. Although counter stereotypical women are on average better graded than their stereotypical counterparts, the difference between them is not significant in the control condition ($WMS_C = 6.783$; $WFS_C = 6.777$; $WMS - WFS_C = -0.006$, n. s.). In this scenario, both of them are perceived as significantly more suitable for office than the more traditional profile of candidate, a stereotypical man ($WMS - MMS_C = -0.006$, $p < 0.01$, $WFS - MMS_C = -0.006$, $p < 0.01$), which is also underrated in comparison to men with female attributes ($MMS - MFS_C = -0.458$, $p < 0.05$).

Figure 3 illustrates the effect of both contexts on the evaluation of each individual type of candidate. The change in perceived suitability indicates that female candidates who comply with gendered stereotypes are, in fact, voters' preferred type of candidate in contexts of corruption related turmoil. The average grade of stereotypical women is the highest of all contenders and its reduction in comparison to the control condition is not

significant, while the negative effect for the others is. Candidates who display masculine traits are the most harmed in contexts of corruption ($WMS_{C-T1} = 0.625$, $p < 0.01$; $MMS_{C-T1} = 0.766$, $p < 0.01$), but female candidates of such profile are still preferred over male ($WMS-MMS_{T1} = 0.796$, $p < 0.01$). Corruption scandals also increase the gap in perceived suitability in favor of female stereotypical candidates in comparison to both groups with masculine attributes office grows ($WFS-WMS_{C-T1} = -0.535$, $p < 0.1$; $WFS-MMS_{C-T1} = -0.394$, $p < 0.1$)

Figure 3 – Suitability for office across treatment groups, by candidate (sex and stereotype)

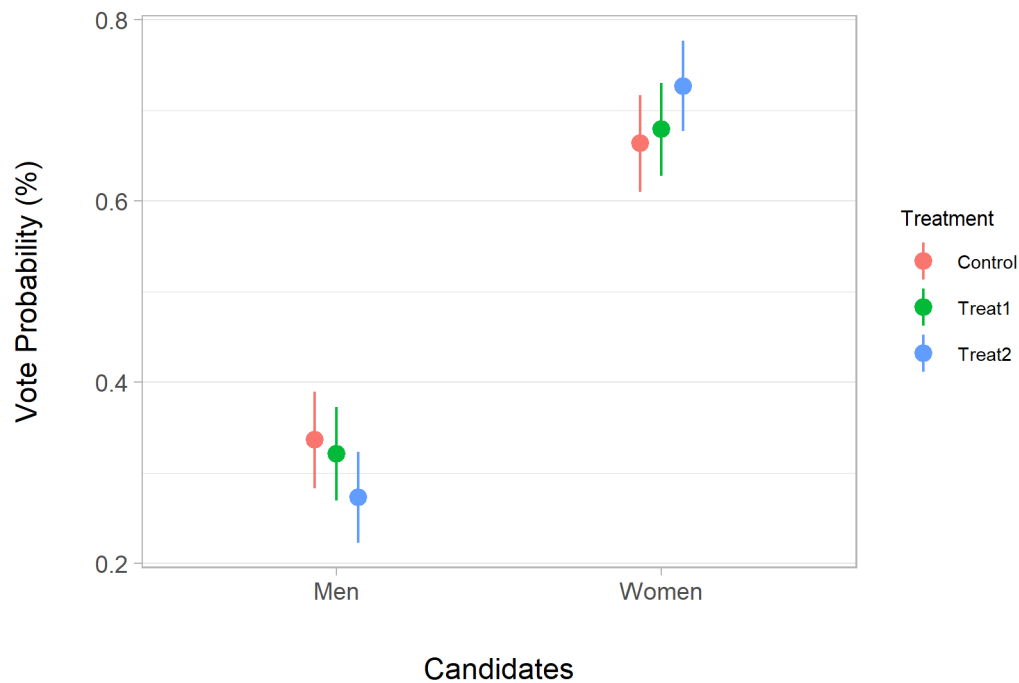


Finally, in the context of economic turbulence, the average grade attributed to women with female stereotypes is the only to increase, while the other candidates' fall. Although these effects are not statistically significant, the gap in voters' perception of stereotypical women and other types of contenders is, suggesting that they become the most suitable candidate for office in such conditions ($WFS - WMS_{T2} = 0.326$, $p < 0.1$; $WFS - MMS_{T2} = 0.988$, $p < 0.01$, $WFS - MFS_{T2} = 0.388$, $p < 0.05$). Men with traditional traits of masculine politicians remain as the least suitable type of candidate to occupy office even under economic turbulence.

Probability of vote

Voters declare preference for female over male candidates in all treatment conditions, as depicted in Figure 4. When measuring the effects of crises on the probability to vote for the different types of candidates, findings suggest that the preference for women increases in comparison to the control condition, but not significantly ($W_{C-T1} = -0.015$, n. s.; $W_{C-T2} = -0.063$, n. s.).

Figure 4 – Probability to vote across treatment conditions, by candidates' gender



Although female contenders are preferred over male ones across all conditions, the average vote intention for women is higher under circumstances of crisis. As detailed in Table 7, women's advantage over men increases in both corruption and economic related turbulences, but only the latter presents a significant effect on the distance between the probability to vote for women and men ($W-M_{C-T2} = -0.126$, $p < 0.05$).

Voters support to each type of candidate does not seem to vary in times of crises from the general picture of the control condition. Women who display female attributes are the most likely to be voted for across all conditions. The probability to vote for this group slightly diminishes in corruption crisis and increases when economy goes down, but

neither effects are statistically significant. Table 6 shows that voters' preference towards women with feminine attributes over competitors is stronger when economy is the salient issue in comparison to control condition ($WFS_{C-T2} = -0.032$, $p < 0.1$) instead of corruption, where they are less favored when compared to the control group ($WFS_{C-T1} = 0.006$, $p < 0.01$).

Table 6 – Vote probability across treatment groups

Dependent Variable: Vote Probability

Candidate	Average Values			Differences Between Conditions	
	No Crisis (Control)	Corruption Crisis (Treat1)	Economic Crisis (Treat2)	Control - Treat 1	Control - Treat 2
Women	0.664	0.679	0.727	-0.015	-0.063
Men	0.336	0.321	0.273		
Female Stereotype	0.711	0.702	0.678	0.009	0.033
Male Stereotype	0.289	0.298	0.322		
Women with Female Stereotypes	0.483	0.477	0.515	0.006	-0.032
Women with Male Stereotypes	0.18	0.202	0.211	-0.022	-0.031
Men with Female Stereotypes	0.227	0.225	0.163	0.002	0.064*
Men with Male Stereotypes	0.109	0.096	0.11	0.013	-0.001

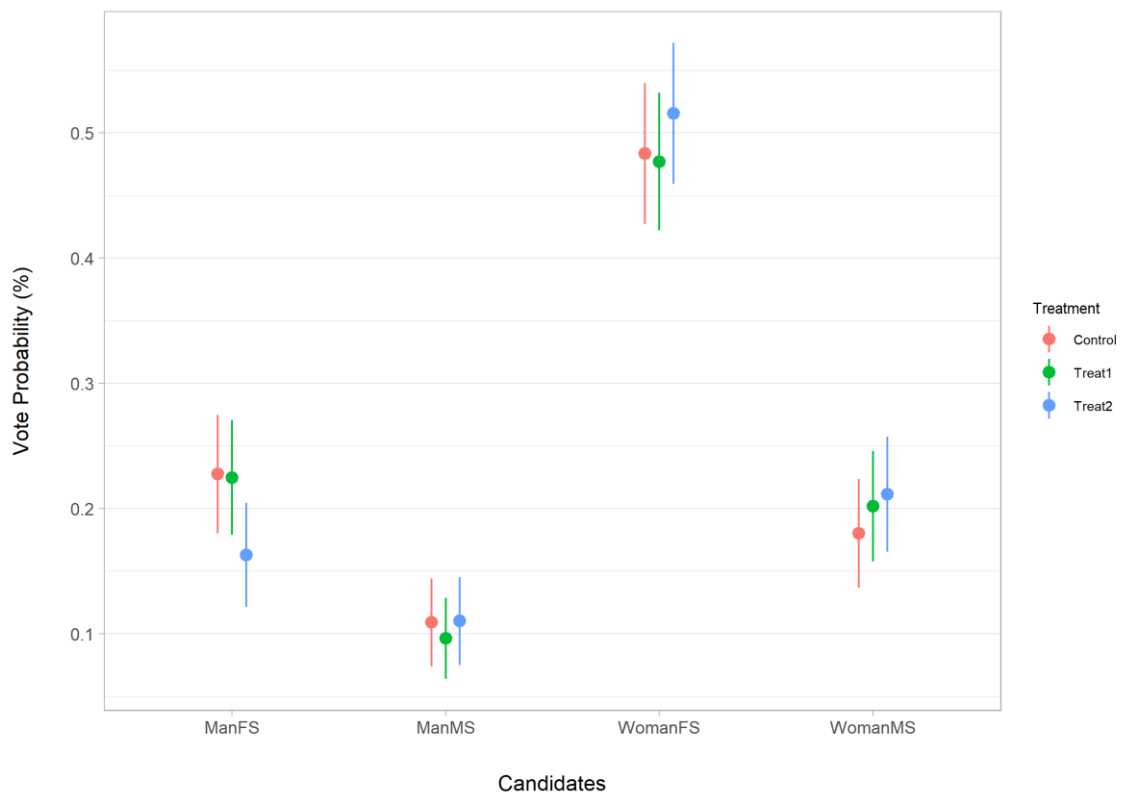
*Note: * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$*

A significant effect was found only in the case of men with female stereotypes, whose odds to be voted were downsized in the context of economic turbulence. Men who were associated with traits of female political leadership faced a prominent disadvantage in this particular context (-6.4 p. p. in comparison to control condition, n. s.), while women with the equivalent profile saw their prospects grow in comparison to other conditions (3.1 p. p., n. s.).

In that context, the distance in vote probability between them and counter stereotypical women was also significantly different from the control condition. As Table 7 shows, while men with female stereotypes were preferred in regular times, odds turn in favor of

women with masculine traits during economic crisis ($MFS - WMS_{C-T2} = -0.095$, $p < 0.1$). Figure 5 portrays the impact of each treatment condition on the vote probability of each individual type of candidate, considering the intersection between their sex and gendered stereotypes.

Figure 5 - Probability to vote across treatment conditions, by candidates (sex and stereotype)



Regarding the probability to vote for candidates described either by masculine or feminine political stereotypes, the preference for the latter is constant across all conditions analyzed. The average difference between the two profiles appears to be smaller in both contexts of crises, but the effect is not statistically significant ($FS-MS_{C-T1} = 0.18$, n. s.; $FS-MS_{C-T2} = 0.066$, n. s.).

Table 7 – Differences between candidates' vote probability across conditions*Dependent Variable: Vote Probability*

Candidate	Difference Between Candidates			Differences Between Conditions	
	No Crisis (Control)	Corruption Crisis (Treat1)	Economic Crisis (Treat2)	Control - Treat 1	Control - Treat 2
Women - Men	0.328***	0.358***	0.454***	-0.03	-0.126**
Female - Male Stereotypes	0.422***	0.404***	0.356***	0.018	0.066
Women w/ FS - Men w/ MS	0.374***	0.381***	0.405***	-0.007	-0.031
Women w/ FS - Women w/ MS	0.303***	0.275***	0.304***	0.028	-0.001
Women w/ FS - Men w/ FS	0.256***	0.252	0.352	0.004	-0.096
Women w/ MS - Men w/ MS	0.071*	0.106***	0.101***	-0.035	-0.03
Women w/ MS - Men w/ FS	-0.047	-0.023	0.048	-0.024	-0.095*
Men w/ MS - Men w/ FS	-0.118***	-0.129***	-0.053	0.011	-0.065

Note: * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

4.6 Discussion

Overall, Study 2 indicates that different types of crises have a different gendered effect on voters' evaluation of candidates according to their sex and stereotype. The broader conclusion is that, under any contextual condition, voters prefer women candidates over men, as contenders with female stereotypes over those described with masculine traits.

Contexts of corruption scandals are mostly harmful to male candidates, remarkably when considering their perceived fitness for office. Such adverse effect of corruption crisis is also mostly harmful to the evaluation of candidates with masculine stereotypes. As for the measure of vote probability, neither the preference for female candidates nor candidates with female stereotypes are statistically different in this context compared to the control condition.

On the other hand, the impacts of times of economic turbulence on voters' attitude are observed on vote intention measure, but not so clear when considering perceived

suitability for office. The economic crisis context significantly enhances the distance between the probability of voting for female candidates over males. As for the evaluation of candidates, harsh economic times make voters punish both stereotypical and counter stereotypical men in comparison to stereotypical female.

Findings suggest that there is no bias against female candidates across different contexts, corroborating Aguilar et al (2015) conclusions. There is no support for the baseline preference towards male politicians in the control condition predicted in Hypothesis 1. The increasing difference between women's and men's average suitability for office support the hypothesized beneficial impact of corruption scandals for female candidates, described in Hypothesis 3, although outcomes of voting probability do not provide evidence in that sense. The observed effects of the economic crisis on voters' attitudes towards male and female candidates suggest the opposite of the expected preference for men stated by Hypothesis 2. Whereas there is no significant difference in voters' evaluation, the distance between the probability of voting for women and men grows significantly in favor of female contenders in an economic recession when compared to regular times.

As for the hypothesized impacts of crises regarding the contenders' gendered attributes, the difference between candidates with female and male stereotypes favored women across all scenarios. Hypothesis 6 predicted that masculine traits would prevail over feminine in voters' preferences under ordinary circumstances. Whereas results regarding vote intention suggest the opposite phenomenon, the outcomes in perceived suitability for office are less conclusive. The average grade attributed to candidates with female stereotypes is higher than those with masculine traits. However, the observed gap in suitability for office and evaluation of stereotypically male contenders only becomes statistically significant under crises in both treatment conditions.

The effect of corruption scandals on inflating the perceived suitability for office for stereotypical female candidates was significant, and the gap between them and stereotypical male candidates also increased compared to the control condition. These results suggest some evidence in favor of Hypothesis 4, which predicted a preference for female stereotypes in contexts of crisis related to corruption scandals. On the other hand, findings do not confirm the expected preference for masculine stereotypes under

economic turmoil. Against the hypothesized effect (H5), times of economic turbulence harm the perceived suitability of candidates with masculine traits.

The final hypotheses set expectations for the impacts of each type of crisis on voters' preference for each specific type of candidate, considering the interaction between their sex and gendered attributes. Findings show evidence that supports Hypothesis 7, which stated that women described by female traits would be preferred over other candidates in corruption-related crisis. In these circumstances, respondents considered women who complied with female stereotypes more suitable for office than their counterparts, as predicted. Compared to the control condition, the difference in the average grade of stereotypical women significantly grew compared to stereotypical men and women with masculine stereotypes. However, the same pattern of preference for stereotypical women appeared across other contexts, and neither their evaluation nor their voting prospects were statistically different from the control condition. On the contrary, the statistical difference between women and men with feminine leadership style in control conditions measured by vote intention becomes non-significant in the context of a corruption scandal.

Finally, Hypothesis 8 predicted that an economic crisis would benefit male candidates that complied with gendered expectations. Once again, the findings were not consistent with the hypothesis. The evaluation of stereotypical male candidates in economic crisis presented the highest average variation from the control condition compared to other contenders, although not significant. Nonetheless, it is worth noticing that in this particular context, unlike others, the difference in perceived suitability for office between stereotypical women and men becomes non-significant. It is remarkable that, although vote intention to both stereotypical and counter stereotypical man becomes equivalent in such context, it is mostly a consequence of the negative effect on willingness to vote on men with feminine attributes then a preference for the traditional male candidate.

5. Conclusions

This thesis explored how hostile and unstable political contexts affect women's participation in politics from the voters' perspective. Its primary purpose was to investigate how crises related to different types of issues may shift the electorate's preference towards or against candidates accordingly to their sex and their compliance or not with their gender stereotypes.

The first significant contribution of the current research is related to politicians' gendered trait stereotypes. Most previous studies about reliance on gender stereotypes in politics assume the contents of these gendered expectations as given, despite acknowledging that stereotypes may vary over time and cultural contexts.

Results corroborate that the traits that compose female politicians' stereotypes in the Brazilian context are mostly different from traditional male politicians, as scholarship has acknowledged so far. However, its definition is remarkably different from previous studies. Expectations regarding female politicians are strongly defined and mostly composed of positive attributes that include traditionally feminine characteristics related to the moral dimension and qualities consistently associated with the masculine political style (Schneider and Bos, 2014). According to the results, women in politics are both compassionate and objective, sensitive, and powerful. Instead, male and generic politicians are not precisely stereotyped. Outcomes suggest that female politicians share with them several traits that scholars often attach to masculine stereotypes. Different stories can explain the unforeseen contents of female politicians' stereotypes that emerged from Study 1 worthy of further investigation. Scholars acknowledge that stereotypes are bounded to contexts – both culturally and timely. Thus, these results should reflect how Brazilians see women in politics or perhaps suggest an update of people's past views about them. Given the persistent underrepresentation of women in Brazil, that is hardly the case.

One possible explanation is that voters still see women as outsiders and, thus, they do not carry the burdens of the general dissatisfaction with traditional politicians. Alternatively, these results can express female politicians' tokenization, meaning that the few women who get there are so remarkably overqualified that it creates an idealized view of the whole group. Both mechanisms can also be the explanation behind the broad pro-female

bias that emerged from Study 2. Nonetheless, it should be acknowledged as a limitation of the current study that it dismissed the relevant role played by intersectionality. Previous studies have shown that stereotypical expectations are bounded by the intersection between gender and other sociodemographic identities – such as race and class (Bos, Madonia, and Schneider, 2018). In Brazil, female underrepresentation is even larger for black and indigenous women, for instance.

An additional contribution relates to the overall effect that negative and challenging settings have to the electorate's perception of politicians. Political scandals make voters evaluate candidates more harshly, regardless of their gender and attributes. The disturbed context punishes the whole political class. These findings are worthy of being further explored since the current survey design did not investigate how the context would affect other dimensions of voters' behavior, such as electoral turnout and voiding votes, for instance.

Evidence from Study 2 partially supports the hypothesized gendered effects of crises on voters' perception. Results suggest a beneficial impact of the corruption-related scenario on the preference for women and female stereotyped candidates, as expected. On the other hand, when it comes to a context of economic turmoil, neither being a man nor displaying masculine traits seem to be appreciated. The economic crisis's effect on voters' preferences favors women or female stereotyped politicians, not against them. The turbulent scenario's impact seems to overcome the gendered expectations concerning women's lack of capacity to handle masculine issues like the economy.

Study 2 identified a generalized and unexpected pro-female bias across all contextual conditions that is apparently inconsistent with the observed behavior of voters. In Brazil's 2020 municipal elections, female underrepresentation remained close to the historical baseline. About 12% of cities and only one state capital elected a woman as mayor and 16% of municipal chamber seats are now occupied by female legislators. Of the total number of registered candidates for mayor, there were 13% women. For city councilor, they were 33% of the candidacies⁸. Several factors that can explain the incongruence in voters' behavior in the survey experiment and in real-life elections. The design did not

⁸ <https://g1.globo.com/politica/eleicoes/2020/eleicao-em-numeros/noticia/2020/09/29/so-1-a-cada-10-candidaturas-a-prefeito-e-de-mulher-nenhum-partido-lanca-mais-candidatas-mulheres-do-que-homens.ghml>

incorporate relevant political determinants, such as partisanship and incumbency of the candidates. Also, the survey experiment creates an environment of equity between female and male politicians that is rather unlikely to happen in electoral races. There was gender parity in the survey ballot voters were equally exposed to all candidates and informed about them – emulating a resource equivalence that does not occur between male and female contenders. Scholars The gender imbalance in campaign funding and party support is determinant for female poor electoral results in Brazil (Wylie, 2018).

Another critical limitation of the observed results is that the current studies do not account for the long-term impacts of crises on voters' attitudes and the potential effects of the interaction between corruption scandals, economic recession, and other types of crises. That is notably relevant when considering Brazil's case, for instance, where the long-lasting current political crisis is hardly associated with one particular subject but with an amalgam of issues. If the society continuously emerges under turbulent waters, crisis becomes "the new normal," and identifying voters' regular preference remains a challenge. These results require deeper investigation but might indicate that the long-lasting multiple crises might have a specific, and more conservative, effect on voters' attitudes.

It is challenging to develop a strategy to identify the causal effects of different types of crises on voters gendered political preferences for several reasons. For once, it is hard to disentangle the overlap of a lousy economy and a corruption scandal between critical issues faced during difficult times and isolate its impacts. Another difficulty is to categorize candidates' attributes according to voters' perceptions. One possible solution to estimate the impact of corruption on voting is to follow the strategy proposed by Ferraz and Finan (2009). They used audit reports from an anti-corruption program in Brazil to construct new measures of political corruption in local governments. Since audited municipalities were randomly selected, the sample could be used to compare how different levels of corruption are related to voting for female candidates over time.

Finally, additional research should further investigate the apparent convergence of the impact of both types of crises on female politicians' benefit. Voters' preference for women does not seem to rely on the feminine leadership style, since male candidates with similar profile are not equally evaluated. The observed favorable patterns might be a consequence of the perception of women as outsiders, a call for something new. In that

case, regardless of the type of issue that becomes salient on cathartic circumstances, whoever signals a change would be favored, which would make sense considering the enduring underrepresentation of women in Brazilian politics. As for male candidates, voters' evaluation varies across contexts depending on the gendered attributes they display. These results suggest that different scenarios call for specific types of candidates, or at least for different communication strategies.

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Appendix 1

Balance test for respondents' demographic variables (Standardized Coefficients) – Study 1

	Female (1)	Southeast Region (2)	White (3)	High School (4)	College (5)	Catholic (6)	Evangelical (7)	Income: < 3,000 (8)	Age: 46 - 60 (9)
People in politics	-0.023 (0.025)	0.093* (0.049)	0.046 (0.049)	-0.044 (0.049)	-0.045 (0.049)	0.027 (0.049)	0.032 (0.049)	-0.003 (0.049)	0.099** (0.049)
Men in Politics	-0.011 (0.025)	0.091* (0.049)	0.100** (0.049)	-0.063 (0.049)	-0.010 (0.049)	0.037 (0.049)	-0.014 (0.049)	0.005 (0.049)	0.090* (0.049)
Women in general	-0.027 (0.024)	0.030 (0.049)	-0.010 (0.049)	-0.032 (0.049)	0.003 (0.049)	-0.039 (0.049)	0.049 (0.049)	-0.016 (0.049)	0.060 (0.049)
Women in Politics	0.515*** (0.020)	0.000 (0.040)	0.000 (0.040)	-0.000 (0.040)	-0.000 (0.040)	0.000 (0.040)	0.000 (0.040)	-0.000 (0.040)	0.000 (0.040)
Observations	619	623	623	623	623	623	623	623	623
R ²	0.003	0.009	0.010	0.003	0.002	0.005	0.003	0.0003	0.008
Adjusted R ²	-0.002	0.004	0.005	-0.002	-0.003	-0.0002	-0.002	-0.005	0.003

Note:

* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Appendix 2

Context manipulation – Study 2

i) Treatment 1: crisis related to corruption scandals in the municipality;

Ministério Público aponta desvio de verbas para saúde em Vila Clara

Em um cenário de crise do sistema de saúde causada pela pandemia do novo coronavírus, a cidade de Vila Clara enfrenta outra grave crise: o desvio de verbas voltada para a saúde. Uma auditoria realizada por uma força tarefa liderada pelo Ministério Público (MP) junto a outros órgãos de controle identificou indícios de desvios de mais de R\$ 1 milhão de recursos públicos pelo governo municipal.

Segundo a denúncia apresentada pelo MP, a Prefeitura de Montes Claros teria fraudado processos de licitação destinados à compra de equipamentos de saúde necessários para o atendimento à população do município. Também foram encontrados indícios de superfaturamento na contratação da impressão de cartilhas de orientação à população. As denúncias levaram à suspensão dos contratos que apresentaram indícios de fraude.

ii) Treatment 2: crisis related to the economic performance of the municipality;

Crise econômica já afeta a vida da população de Vila Clara

A grave crise econômica que vem se espalhando pelo mundo começa a dar sinais na cidade de Vila Clara. Foram divulgados ontem os principais indicadores econômicos do município referentes aos últimos 12 meses, que revelam que cerca de 14% da população economicamente ativa está atualmente desempregada. Entre as pessoas empregadas, a renda média caiu em cerca de 5%.

A população já está sentindo na prática os efeitos da crise econômica. É o caso de João da Silva, que há 3 meses precisou fechar seu negócio, uma loja de produtos para cozinhas industriais. O comerciante se diz pessimista: “O movimento da loja diminuiu muito, os preços dos produtos aumentavam e os clientes não tinham mais dinheiro pra comprar. É muito triste, mas precisei fechar”, declarou.

iii) Control condition: no crisis;

Vila Clara se torna referência de boa gestão e dribla crise

Apesar da grave sanitária e econômica que vem se espalhando pelo mundo, a cidade de Vila Clara se mostra um ponto fora da curva. A cidade, que havia se tornado referência no enfrentamento da pandemia do coronavírus, também recebeu um selo simbólico de gestão pública transparente e eficiente. Uma auditoria conduzida por uma força tarefa do Ministério Público com outros órgãos de controle não encontrou nenhum tipo de indício de mau uso de recursos públicos pela Prefeitura.

A boa situação também se reflete na economia local. Foram divulgados ontem os principais indicadores econômicos do município para os últimos 12 meses, que revelam uma queda do nível de desemprego e aumento da renda dos trabalhadores. Contrariando a tendência nacional, quase 95% da população economicamente ativa está empregada, e a renda média das pessoas que estão trabalhando cresceu cerca de 2% nos últimos meses.

Appendix 3

Candidate Gender and Stereotypes Manipulation

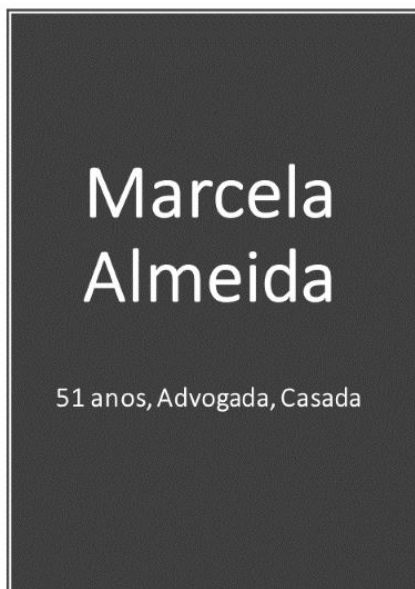
The following statement introduced candidates' presentation:

“Veja abaixo o perfil dos principais candidatos que vão concorrer nas próximas eleições para Prefeitura de Vila Clara.

As informações disponíveis são nome, profissão, estado civil, idade e algumas das principais características de candidato(a), obtidas a partir de pesquisas de opinião realizadas na cidade.

Avalie o perfil de cada candidato(a) e responda, de 0 a 10, o quanto considera que ela ou ele são bem preparados para governar a cidade considerando a conjuntura atual de Vila Clara, exposta na notícia lida anteriormente.”

Woman + Female Stereotype:



Principais atributos:

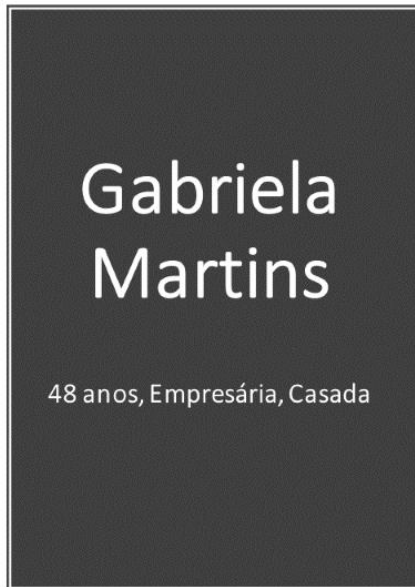
✓ **Demonstra compaixão**

✓ **É honesta**

✓ **Lida bem com opiniões diferentes**

✓ **É sensível**

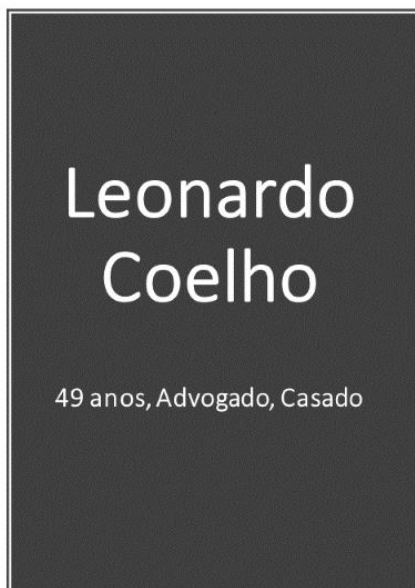
2) Woman + Male/Neutral Stereotype:



Principais atributos:

- ✓ É ativa
- ✓ Inspira respeito
- ✓ É competitiva
- ✓ É inteligente

3) Man + Female Stereotype:



Principais atributos:

- ✓ Lida bem com opiniões diferentes
- ✓ É decente
- ✓ É cuidadoso
- ✓ É intuitivo

4) Man + Male/Neutral Stereotype:

Fernando Ribeiro

51 anos, Empresário, Casado

Principais atributos:

- ✓ É confiante
- ✓ É esperto
- ✓ É racional
- ✓ Inspira respeito

Appendix 4

Balance test for respondents' demographic variables (Standardized Coefficients) – Study 2

	Female (1)	State Capital (2)	White (3)	High School (4)	College (5)	Catholic (6)	Evangelical (7)	Income: < 3,000 (8)	Age: 51 - 60 (9)
T1: Corruption Crisis	-0.004 (0.038)	-0.019 (0.038)	-0.042 (0.038)	-0.046 (0.038)	0.036 (0.038)	0.033 (0.038)	-0.009 (0.038)	-0.006 (0.038)	0.039 (0.038)
T2: Economic Crisis	-0.032 (0.038)	-0.005 (0.038)	-0.021 (0.038)	0.033 (0.038)	0.002 (0.038)	0.008 (0.038)	-0.016 (0.038)	0.048 (0.038)	0.028 (0.038)
Control	0.000 (0.033)	-0.00003 (0.033)	0.000 (0.033)	-0.000 (0.033)	0.000 (0.033)	0.000 (0.033)	-0.000 (0.033)	-0.000 (0.033)	0.000 (0.033)
Observations	929	928	929	929	929	929	929	929	929
R ²	0.001	0.0003	0.001	0.005	0.001	0.001	0.0002	0.003	0.001
Adjusted R ²	-0.001	-0.002	-0.001	0.003	-0.001	-0.001	-0.002	0.0005	-0.001

Note:

* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01