

## **Citizen Support for the Pursuit of Gender Equality in US Foreign Policy**

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### **Online Supplementary Appendix**

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#### **YouGov sampling and weighting information**

YouGov interviewed 1799 respondents who were then matched down to a sample of 1000 general population respondents and 500 respondents age 18-30 to produce the final dataset. The respondents were matched to a sampling frame on gender, age, race, education, party identification, ideology, and political interest. The frame was constructed by stratified sampling from the full 2010 America Community Survey (ACS) sample with selection within strata by weighted sampling with replacements (using the person weights on the public use file). Data on voter registration status and turnout were matched to this frame using the November 2010 Current Population Survey. Data on interest in politics and party identification were then matched to this frame from the 2007 Pew Religious Life Survey. The matched cases were weighted to the sampling frame using propensity scores. The matched cases and the frame were combined and a logistic regression was estimated for inclusion in the frame. The propensity score function included age, gender, race/ethnicity, years of education, and ideology. The propensity scores were grouped into deciles of the estimated propensity score in the frame and post-stratified according to these deciles.

## Survey questions employed in the analysis

### Dependent Variables

*Endorsement* is an additive index. For each of the following variables, we code a binary variable when the response is “very important”, ranked first as goal, or “strongly agree”, as indicated below. The index is the sum of these binary variables.

Q2c. “Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might pursue. For each one, please indicate how important you consider this goal.... Promoting the rights of women and girls in countries around the world.” 1. Very important goal 2. Somewhat important goal 3. Somewhat unimportant goal 4. Not an important goal at all.” (coded 1 for “very important goal”).

Q4c. “Which of the following rights is the most important for the US government to promote in other countries? Drag your choices onto the numbered boxes on the left to rank each of the rights listed below....Equal rights for women and girls.” (coded 1 when rank #1 chosen).

Q5. “Regardless of how you rank different rights, do you agree or disagree with this statement: “the US government should actively work to promote the rights of women and girls in other countries” 1. Strongly agree 2. Somewhat agree 3. Somewhat disagree 4. Strongly disagree (coded 1 for “strongly agree”).

Q6a-Q6. “Here is a list of the types of policies that the US government has used to promote the rights of women and girls in other countries. For each one, please indicate your approval or disapproval of the policy.” 1. Approve strongly 2. Approve somewhat 3. Disapprove somewhat 4. Disapprove strongly (coded 1 for each of the following when “approve strongly is chosen).

Q6a Policies to help women and girls in other countries gain access to education

Q6b Policies to help women and girls in other countries gain access to family planning services

Q6c Policies to help women and girls in other countries receive training for jobs and business

Q6d Policies to protect women and girls in other countries from sexual harassment and sexual violence

Q6e Policies to ensure that women in other countries participate in all aspects of conflict prevention and peace negotiations

Q6f Policies to empower women and girls to participate in elections and other forms of political activity in their countries.

*Commitment* is an additive index. For each of the following variables, we code a binary variable when the response is “strongly agree”, “increase spending” or “more likely to vote,” as indicated below. The index is the sum of these binary variables.

Q7a-Q7d. “Here is a list of the types of actions that the US government could take to help promote the rights of women and girls in other countries. For each action, please note your level of agreement or disagreement with that action. 1. Strongly agree 2. Somewhat agree 3. Somewhat disagree 4. Strongly disagree (coded 1 for each when response is “strongly agree”).

Q7a The US government should restrict international trade with countries that discriminate against women and girls, even if that means we will be selling fewer goods and buying fewer goods from other countries.

Q7b The US government should reduce foreign aid to countries that discriminate against women and girls, even if it causes some disagreement with friends and allies.

Q7c The US government should reduce military assistance to countries that discriminate against women and girls, even if it causes some disagreement with friends and allies.

Q7d The US government should increase its spending for programs that promote the rights of women and girls in other countries. It should be a high priority.

Q11c. “For each of the following categories, please indicate whether you think the US should increase spending, keep spending at current levels, or decrease spending...Spending to promote the rights of women and girls around the world.” Coded 1 if respondent chooses “increase spending”.

Q15. “Looking ahead to the elections for Congress next year (2018), would you be more likely to vote or less likely to vote for a candidate who supports policies that promote the rights of women and girls in other countries? Or would it not affect your vote at all?” Coded 1 if respondent chooses “more likely to vote.”

1. More likely to vote for the candidate
2. Less likely to vote for the candidate
3. It would not affect my vote one way or the other
4. I don't plan to vote

*Women and Peace* is a single binary variable that takes the value of 1 when the response to the following question is “strongly agree.”

Q9. “Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with this statement: “The world would be a more peaceful place if more women were involved in making decisions.”

1. Strongly agree
2. Somewhat agree
3. Somewhat disagree
4. Strongly disagree

### **Independent Variables**

*Female* is a binary variable taking the value of 1 when respondent chooses 2 in response to the following question: “Are you male or female?... 1. Male 2. Female

*Democrat* and *Republican* are binary values that take the value of 1 when respondent chooses 1-3 and 5-7 (respectively) in response to the following question: “Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a...?” Response 8 (“not sure”) is coded as missing.

1. Strong Democrat
2. Not very strong Democrat
3. Lean Democrat
4. Independent
5. Lean Republican
6. Not very strong Republican
7. Strong Republican
8. Not sure

*Left-right ideology* is specified using the following question and responses: “In general, how would you describe your own political viewpoint?” Code 6 (“not sure”) is coded as missing.

1. Very liberal
2. Liberal
3. Moderate
4. Conservative
5. Very conservative
6. Not sure

*Black and Hispanic* are binary variables that take the value of 1 when respondent chooses 2 or 3 (respectively) in response to the following question: “What racial or ethnic group best describes you?”

1. White
2. Black
3. Hispanic/Latino
4. Asian
5. Native American
8. Middle Eastern
6. Mixed Race
7. Other

*Higher education* is a binary variable that takes the value of 1 when respondent chooses a code higher than 2 on the following question: “What is the highest level of education you have completed?”

1. No high school degree
2. High school graduate
3. Some college, but no degree (yet)
4. 2-year college degree
5. 4-year college degree
6. Postgraduate degree

*Global Interest* is a binary variable that takes the value of 1 when respondent chooses 1 (very closely) in response to the following question: “How closely, if at all, do you follow news about global affairs?”

1. Very closely
2. Somewhat closely
3. Not too closely
4. Not at all closely

*Globalism* is a binary variable that takes the value of 1 when respondent chooses 1 (strongly agree) in response to the following question: “Q8a The United States should work more through international organizations, like the United Nations (UN).”

1. Strongly agree
2. Somewhat agree
3. Somewhat disagree
4. Strongly disagree

*Isolationism* is a binary variable that takes the value of 1 when respondent chooses 1 (strongly agree) in response to the following question: “The United States needs to simply mind its own business when it comes to international affairs.”

1. Strongly agree

2. Somewhat agree
3. Somewhat disagree
4. Strongly disagree

1.

*Universalism (index)* is an additive index based on the following two questions (asked of male and female respondents separately, but combined in this index). Each of the two questions is recoded to 1 if respondent chooses 1 (very much like me) or 2 (like me). The index is the addition of these two (recoded) binary variables.

“Here we briefly describe some people. Please read each description and tick the box on each line that shows how much each person is or is not like you.

Q17m/f/1 He/she thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He/she believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.

Q17m/f/2 She/he wants everyone to be treated justly, even people she/he doesn't know. It is important to her/him to protect the weak in society.”

1. Very much like me
2. Like me
3. Somewhat like me
4. A little like me
5. Not like me
6. Not like me at all

### **Control Variables**

*Parent* is a binary variable that takes the value of 1 when respondent enters a value greater than zero in response to the following question: “How many children do you have as a parent or guardian? We mean both children at home and those who have moved out on their own. Just type the number in the box below.”

*Daughter* is a binary variable that takes the value of 1 when *Parent*=1 and respondent enters a value greater than zero in response to the following question: “How many of your children are daughters? Type the number below.”

*Son* is a binary variable that takes the value of 1 when *Parent*=1 and respondent enters a value greater than zero in response to the following question: “How many of your children are sons? Type the number below.”

*Ethnocentrism (index)* is an additive index based on the following four questions. Q23a and Q23b are recoded 1 if respondent chooses 1 (strongly disagree) or 2 (disagree); Q23c and Q23d are recoded 1 if respondent chooses 4 (agree) or 5 (strongly agree). The index is the addition of these four (recoded) binary variables.

“Below are items that relate to the cultures of different parts of the world. Please record your first reaction to each item. There are no right or wrong answers. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each item

Q23a People in my culture could learn a lot from people in other cultures

Q23b I respect the values and customs of other cultures

Q23c I dislike interacting with people from different cultures

Q23d My culture should be the role model for other cultures”

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neutral
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

*Tradition (index)* is an additive index based on the following two questions (asked of male and female respondents separately, but combined in this index). Each of the two questions is recoded to 1 if respondent chooses 1 (very much like me) or 2 (like me). The index is the addition of these two (recoded) binary variables.

Q17m/f/6 “It is important to her/him to be obedient. She/he believes she/he should always show respect to her/his parents and to older people.”

Q17m/f/8 “Tradition is important to her/him. She/He tries to follow the customs handed down by her/his religion or her/his family.”

1. Very much like me
2. Like me
3. Somewhat like me
4. A little like me
5. Not like me
6. Not like me at all

*Age* is chronological age calculated by subtracting the variable *birth year* from the year of the survey (2017).

*Religiosity* is a binary variable that takes the value of 1 if the respondent chooses 1 (very important) in response to the following question: “How important is religion in your life?”

1. Very important
2. Somewhat important
3. Not too important
4. Not at all important



**Table A1. Analysis of endorsement, commitment, and women and peace using full range of response codes for dependent and independent variables.**

VARIABLES	(1) Endorsement	(2) Commitment	(3) Women and Peace
Democrat	0.0445** (0.0177)	0.0778*** (0.0190)	0.791** (0.355)
Republican	-0.0112 (0.0217)	-0.0279 (0.0204)	-0.0670 (0.453)
Left-right ideology	-0.0122 (0.00962)	-0.0175* (0.00899)	-0.376** (0.170)
Female	0.0517*** (0.0141)	0.0478*** (0.0142)	1.102*** (0.277)
Black	0.0282 (0.0221)	0.00500 (0.0278)	0.0430 (0.361)
Hispanic	0.0324* (0.0180)	-0.0138 (0.0202)	0.159 (0.432)
Global interest	0.0235 (0.0154)	0.0137 (0.0150)	0.440 (0.286)
Higher education	-0.0321** (0.0154)	0.0168 (0.0146)	0.460* (0.256)
Parent	-0.0289 (0.0302)	-0.0444 (0.0322)	-0.368 (0.548)
Daughter	0.0265 (0.0204)	0.0635*** (0.0214)	0.0380 (0.370)
Son	0.00840 (0.0226)	0.0215 (0.0252)	-0.0966 (0.400)
Globalism	0.0684*** (0.0179)	0.0904*** (0.0152)	0.986*** (0.258)
Isolationism	-0.0858*** (0.0235)	-0.0457** (0.0204)	-0.0938 (0.334)
Ethnocentrism	-0.0114 (0.0134)	0.00594 (0.0115)	0.0723 (0.192)
runiversal	0.0342*** (0.00336)	0.0249*** (0.00379)	0.308*** (0.0789)
rtradition	-0.00372 (0.00280)	-0.00308 (0.00335)	0.0413 (0.0603)
Age	-0.000347 (0.000501)	-0.00162*** (0.000443)	0.00766 (0.00717)
Religiosity	-0.00691 (0.0164)	-0.0188 (0.0161)	0.0559 (0.279)
Constant	0.563*** (0.0378)	0.463*** (0.0417)	-4.869*** (0.821)
Observations	879	877	878
R-squared	0.384	0.381	

Standard errors in parentheses  
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Table B1. Analysis of three dependent variables using individual characteristics only**

VARIABLES	(1) Endorsement	(2) Commitment	(3) Women and Peace
Age	-0.00451 (0.00781)	-0.0115** (0.00476)	0.00952 (0.00679)
Higher education	-0.140 (0.269)	0.343** (0.168)	0.562** (0.249)
Democrat	1.662*** (0.374)	0.913*** (0.207)	1.008*** (0.336)
Republican	0.0989 (0.376)	-0.120 (0.204)	-0.143 (0.485)
Female	1.314*** (0.227)	0.572*** (0.149)	1.112*** (0.262)
Black	-0.0729 (0.454)	0.0998 (0.301)	0.0766 (0.350)
Hispanic	0.192 (0.363)	0.172 (0.232)	0.243 (0.353)
Daughter	0.0935 (0.391)	0.162 (0.237)	-0.238 (0.370)
Son	0.258 (0.378)	-0.155 (0.262)	-0.109 (0.414)
Religiosity	0.411 (0.252)	0.0203 (0.159)	0.225 (0.264)
Global interest	0.966*** (0.266)	0.697*** (0.178)	0.688** (0.280)
Parent	-0.539 (0.531)	0.0724 (0.342)	-0.101 (0.544)
Left-right ideology	-0.578*** (0.140)	-0.355*** (0.0904)	-0.540*** (0.154)
Constant	4.443*** (0.649)	2.440*** (0.422)	-1.622** (0.726)
Observations	879	877	878
R-squared	0.248	0.237	

Standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p&lt;0.01, \*\* p&lt;0.05, \* p&lt;0.1

**Table B2. Analysis of three dependent variables using individual characteristics and measures of globalism, isolationism, and ethnocentrism**

VARIABLES	(1) Endorsement	(2) Commitment	(3) Women and Peace
Age	-0.00689 (0.00762)	-0.0116** (0.00460)	0.00878 (0.00698)
Higher education	-0.172 (0.246)	0.355** (0.159)	0.533** (0.248)
Democrat	1.404*** (0.334)	0.823*** (0.197)	0.962*** (0.350)
Republican	0.184 (0.335)	-0.0739 (0.197)	-0.0390 (0.467)
Female	1.320*** (0.220)	0.592*** (0.148)	1.182*** (0.274)
Black	0.0249 (0.394)	0.131 (0.293)	0.0893 (0.340)
Hispanic	0.249 (0.351)	0.181 (0.216)	0.239 (0.379)
Daughter	0.235 (0.348)	0.263 (0.215)	-0.0658 (0.361)
Son	0.299 (0.353)	-0.116 (0.242)	-0.107 (0.404)
Religiosity	0.413* (0.230)	-0.0179 (0.156)	0.184 (0.275)
Global interest	0.822*** (0.248)	0.610*** (0.163)	0.586** (0.277)
Parent	-0.541 (0.485)	0.0234 (0.319)	-0.214 (0.532)
Left-right ideology	-0.354** (0.140)	-0.259*** (0.0900)	-0.403*** (0.154)
Globalism	1.800*** (0.272)	0.860*** (0.177)	1.184*** (0.245)
Isolationism	-0.912*** (0.284)	-0.0524 (0.174)	-0.135 (0.313)
Ethnocentrism	0.0916 (0.157)	0.132 (0.101)	0.0807 (0.181)
Constant	3.383*** (0.661)	1.796*** (0.433)	-2.502*** (0.715)
Observations	879	877	878
R-squared	0.328	0.277	

Standard errors in parentheses  
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Table B3. Analysis of three dependent variables using individual characteristics and measures of universalism and tradition personal values**

VARIABLES	(1) Endorsement	(2) Commitment	(3) Women and Peace
Age	-0.00383 (0.00687)	-0.0114** (0.00451)	0.00999 (0.00725)
Higher education	-0.279 (0.232)	0.298** (0.148)	0.491** (0.249)
Democrat	1.129*** (0.344)	0.638*** (0.191)	0.822** (0.332)
Republican	0.225 (0.361)	-0.0871 (0.195)	-0.0661 (0.483)
Female	1.072*** (0.206)	0.437*** (0.137)	1.009*** (0.268)
Black	-0.0754 (0.383)	0.0693 (0.278)	0.0158 (0.359)
Hispanic	0.173 (0.314)	0.112 (0.210)	0.193 (0.389)
Daughter	0.239 (0.332)	0.244 (0.216)	-0.213 (0.366)
Son	0.182 (0.358)	-0.193 (0.235)	-0.222 (0.396)
Religiosity	0.177 (0.232)	-0.154 (0.142)	0.115 (0.265)
Global interest	0.533** (0.238)	0.442*** (0.162)	0.491* (0.291)
Parent	-0.588 (0.483)	0.0185 (0.311)	-0.0482 (0.531)
Left-right ideology	-0.427*** (0.129)	-0.293*** (0.0888)	-0.471*** (0.170)
Universalism	1.432*** (0.130)	0.698*** (0.0962)	0.682*** (0.153)
Tradition	-0.0367 (0.140)	0.157 (0.115)	0.00950 (0.182)
Constant	3.370*** (0.577)	1.945*** (0.391)	-2.224*** (0.814)
Observations	879	877	878
R-squared	0.392	0.329	

Standard errors in parentheses  
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Table C1. Full regression results for equations reported in Table 2, including full set of control variables**

VARIABLES	(1) Endorsement	(2) Commitment	(3) Women and Peace
Democrat	0.982*** (0.313)	0.597*** (0.182)	0.820** (0.354)
Republican	0.253 (0.319)	-0.0604 (0.182)	0.00587 (0.478)
Left-right ideology	-0.280** (0.127)	-0.228*** (0.0845)	-0.363** (0.167)
Female	1.102*** (0.199)	0.467*** (0.136)	1.056*** (0.275)
Black	-0.00519 (0.347)	0.0945 (0.277)	0.00468 (0.356)
Hispanic	0.202 (0.302)	0.120 (0.198)	0.183 (0.410)
Global interest	0.456** (0.225)	0.395** (0.153)	0.422 (0.292)
Higher education	-0.278 (0.214)	0.316** (0.143)	0.497* (0.253)
Parent	-0.576 (0.451)	-0.0142 (0.294)	-0.161 (0.526)
Daughter	0.320 (0.305)	0.312 (0.202)	-0.0732 (0.363)
Son	0.219 (0.346)	-0.159 (0.223)	-0.202 (0.395)
Globalism	1.374*** (0.250)	0.644*** (0.161)	0.999*** (0.264)
Isolationism	-0.847*** (0.269)	-0.0441 (0.170)	-0.0993 (0.326)
Ethnocentrism	0.0905 (0.154)	0.116 (0.0857)	0.0708 (0.200)
Universalism	1.259*** (0.133)	0.631*** (0.0967)	0.566*** (0.163)
Tradition	0.0533 (0.137)	0.158 (0.113)	0.0468 (0.189)
Constant	2.725*** (0.591)	1.504*** (0.391)	-2.853*** (0.751)
Observations	879	877	878
R-squared	0.439	0.351	

Standard errors in parentheses  
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

