Supporting Appendix

to the paper

External Threat Environments and

Individual Bias against Female Leaders

(not for publication)

This document presents the results of statistical models that we conducted but, due to space constraints, were not able to report in the paper.

Contents

Table A1. Summary statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	P50
Dependent variables						
Unfavorable attitude toward female leaders (binary)	220322	.47	.5	0	1	0
Unfavorable attitude toward female leaders (4-level)	220322	2.49	.97	1	4	2
Unfavorable attitude toward female leaders (3-level)	220322	.94	1	0	2	0
Key explanatory variables						
External threat	220322	.37	.28	.03	1.1	.28
Geopolitical competition	181598	.3	.22	.12	.64	.16
MID past 3 years	187706	.65	.48	0	1	1
MID past 3 years (incl. use of force)	187706	.57	.49	0	1	1
MID past 3 years (incl. fatality)	187706	.31	.46	0	1	0
Country-level control variables						
GDP per capita (log)	220322	8.43	1.45	5.27	11.21	8.37
Polity score	220322	5.39	5.42	-10	10	7
Muslim (\%)	220322	.22	.35	0	.99	.02
Catholic (\%)	220322	.27	.33	0	.97	.09
Female employment (\%)	220322	.41	.09	.12	.52	.43
Female legislators (\%)	220322	.17	.11	0	.56	.13
Individual-level control variables						
Female	220322	.51	.5	0	1	1
Age	220322	40.56	16.16	15	99	38
Married	220322	.63	.48	0	1	1
Highest education	220322	4.75	2.21	1	8	5
Muslim	220322	.21	.4	0	1	0
Catholic	220322	.24	.43	0	1	0
Religiosity	220322	7.7	3.01	1	10	9
Female legislators (\%)	220322	.17	.11	0	.56	.13

Variables	Definition/operationalization	Data Source
Included in Table 1		
Level of democracy	the Polity IV index	Polity IV (Marshall, 2015)
Interstate conflict	dummy variable for ongoing interstate conflict	Militarized Interstate Dispute datset (Palmer et al., 2015)
Civil conflict	dummy variable for ongoing civil conflict	the UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset (Gleditsch et al., 2002)
Terrorism attacks	Log-terrorist attack events	Global Terrorism Database (LaFree and Dugan, 2007)
Terrorism casualties	Log-terrorist attack casualties	Global Terrorism Database (LaFree and Dugan, 2007)
GDP per capita	Log-real GDP per capita	the World Development Indicators (World Bank, 2019)
Muslim	Muslim fraction of each country's population	The World Religion Data (Maoz and Henderson, 2013)
Female legislative representation	Percentage of seats held by women in the lower or single house of each country's national legislature	the Varieties of Democracies (V-Dem) dataset (Coppedge et al., 2018)
Female labor force participation	the fraction of the formal labor force that is made up of female citizens	the World Development Indicators (World Bank, 2019)
Democracy duration	Democracy duration	Boix, Miller, and Rosato (2013)
Oil income per capita	Log-oil income per capita	Ross and Mahdavi (2015).
Modernization	Index of economic modernization from principal component analysis	Chatagnier and Castelli (2019) and updated by the authors to cover the period until 2010.
Material culture	Index of material culture from principal component analysis	Chatagnier and Castelli (2019) and updated by the authors to cover the period until 2010.

Table A2. Summary of country-level control variables.
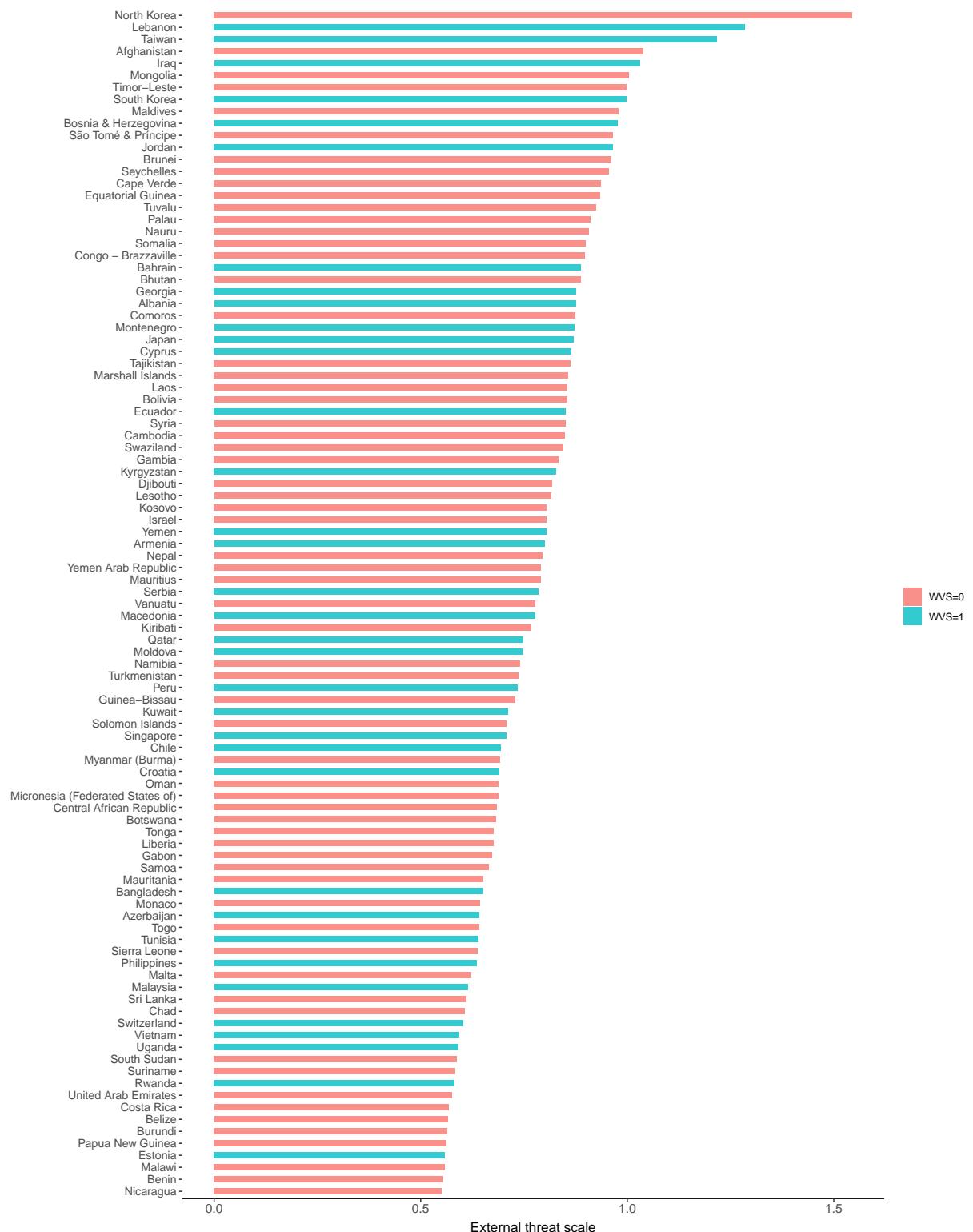
Figure A1. External threat scale (only countries above the median). A higher value indicates more hostile security environment. The scale is averaged for each country during the period 1991-2012.
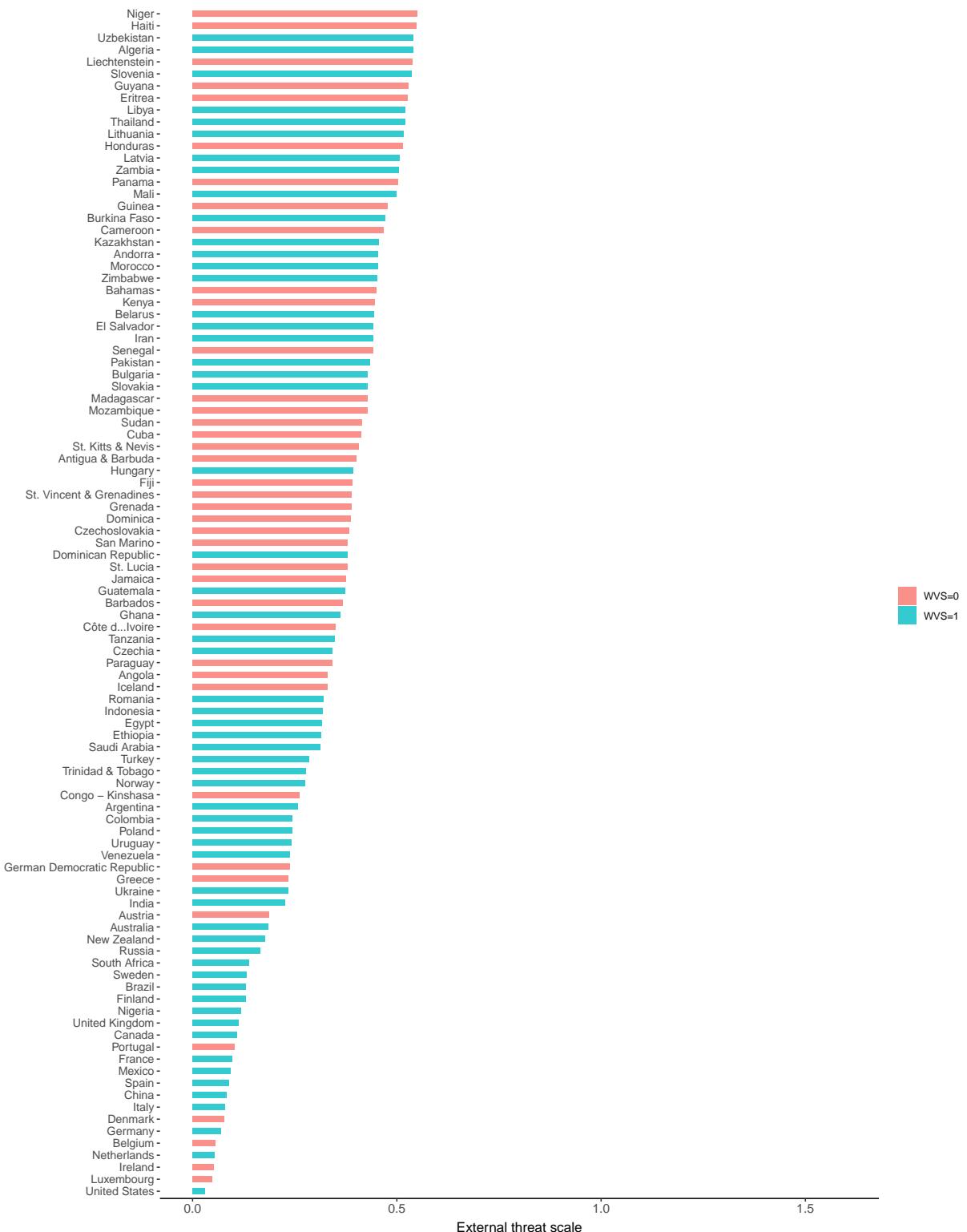
Figure A2. External threat scale (only countries below the median). A higher value indicates more hostile security environment. The scale is averaged for each country during the period 1991-2012.
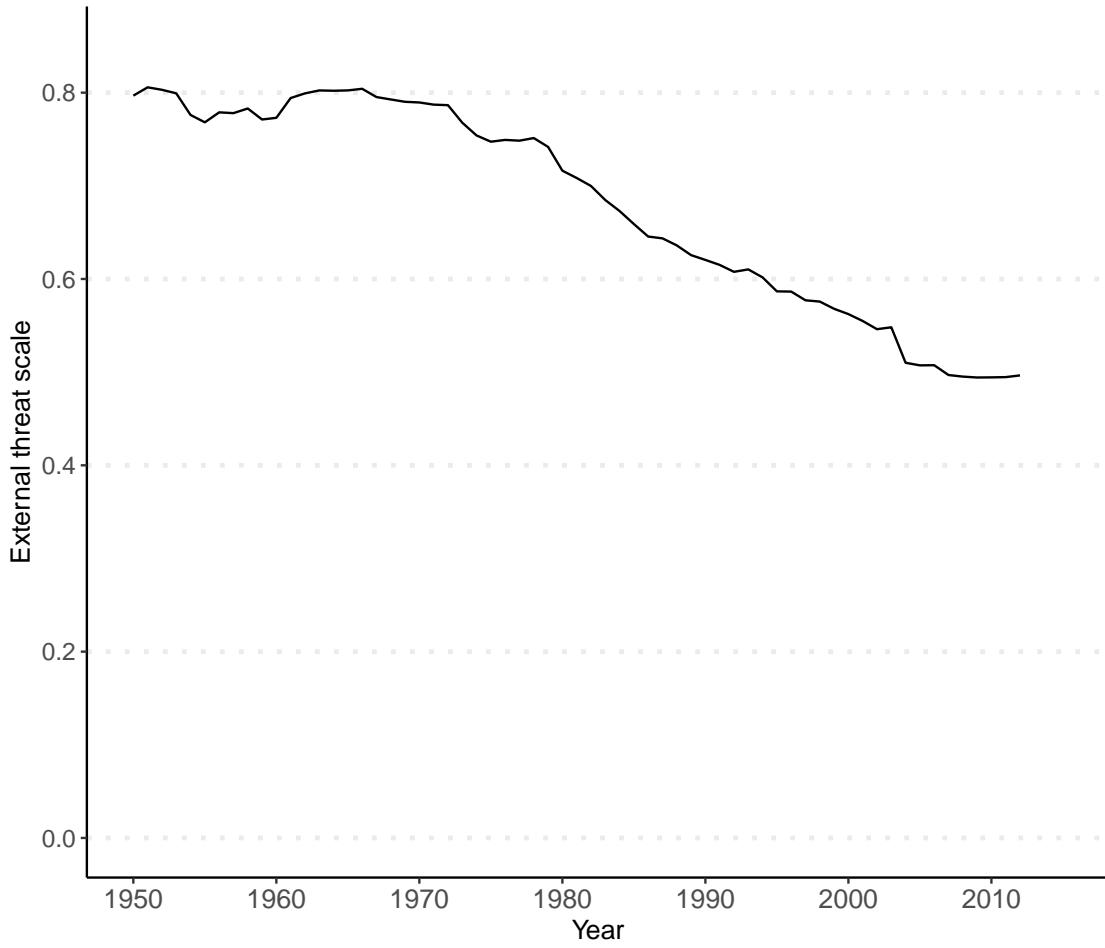
**Figure A3.** Trend of external threat scale
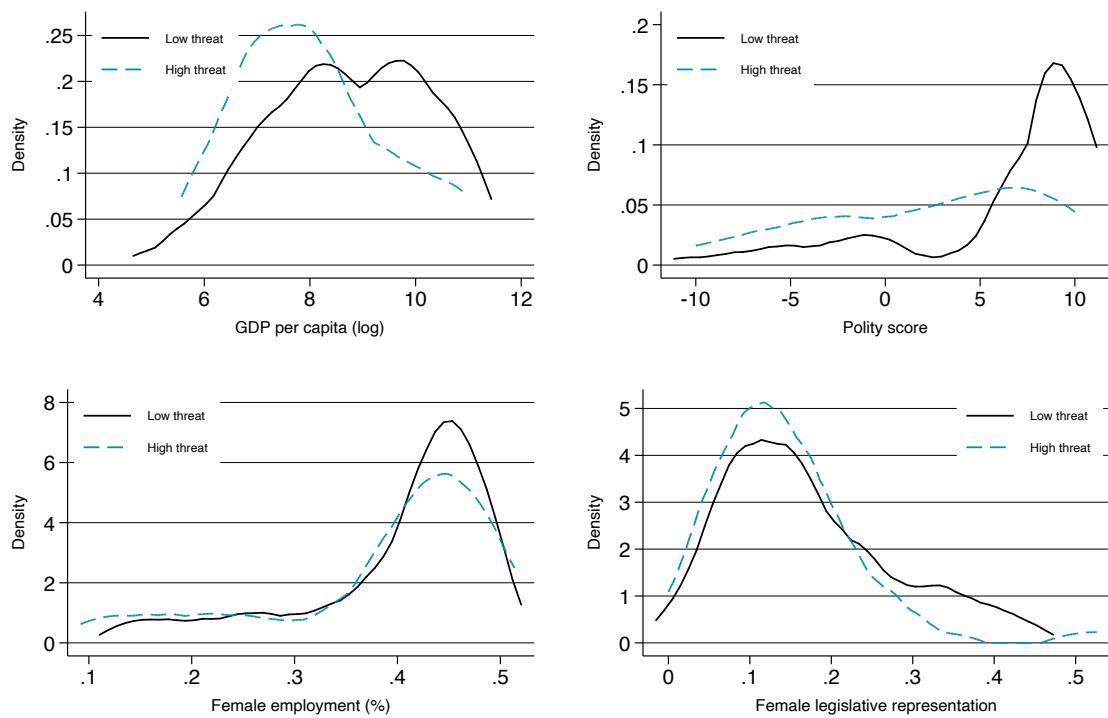
Figure A4. Distribution of country-level variables by the level of external threats

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Country-level controls						
MID	0.002					
	(0.006)					
MID (incl. fatality)		-0.012*				
		(0.006)				
Intrastate conflict			0.031**			
			(0.007)			
Intrastate war				0.052**		
				(0.007)		
Terrorism events					0.016**	
					(0.002)	
Terrorism deaths						0.011**
						(0.001)
GDP per capita (log)	-0.003	-0.003	0.000	0.006	-0.001	-0.004
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Polity score	-0.005**	-0.005**	-0.003**	-0.004**	-0.004**	-0.004**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Muslim (%)	0.302**	0.286**	0.516**	0.477**	0.506**	0.494**
	(0.061)	(0.062)	(0.065)	(0.066)	(0.063)	(0.062)
Catholic (%)	0.307**	0.311**	0.506**	0.528**	0.437**	0.417**
	(0.045)	(0.044)	(0.043)	(0.043)	(0.043)	(0.043)
Female employment (%)	0.166	0.116	0.907**	0.700**	1.029**	0.948**
	(0.121)	(0.121)	(0.109)	(0.109)	(0.109)	(0.107)
Individual-level controls						
Female	-0.133**	-0.133**	-0.131**	-0.131**	-0.131**	-0.131**
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Age	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	0.003	0.003	0.004+	0.004+	0.003	0.003
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Highest education	-0.020**	-0.020**	-0.020**	-0.020**	-0.020**	-0.020**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Muslim	0.057**	0.057**	0.060**	0.059**	0.060**	0.060**
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Catholic	0.000	0.000	0.004	0.004	0.004	0.004
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Religiosity	0.004**	0.004**	0.003**	0.003**	0.003**	0.003**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	0.373**	0.403**	-0.056	-0.011	-0.082	-0.022
	(0.081)	(0.082)	(0.080)	(0.080)	(0.077)	(0.075)
Year intercept	0.051**	0.051**	0.050**	0.051**	0.049**	0.047**
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Country intercept	0.197**	0.197**	0.241**	0.246**	0.227**	0.223**
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Residuals	0.449**	0.449**	0.451**	0.451**	0.449**	0.449**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
# of countries	82	82	84	84	86	86
# of respondents	193434	193434	220378	220378	226050	226050
Log likelihood	-119830	-119828	-137539	-137521	-140129	-140128

Table A3. Examining the effect of other immediate security threats. $+p < 0.1$, $^*p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$.

	Female respondents			Male respondents		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Country-level controls						
External threat	0.116**	0.101**	0.071**	0.122**	0.165**	0.127**
	(0.019)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.021)	(0.028)	(0.028)
GDP per capita (log)		0.003	-0.007		-0.010	-0.016*
		(0.007)	(0.007)		(0.007)	(0.007)
Polity score		-0.003**	-0.008**		-0.002**	-0.008**
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
Muslim (%)		0.512**	0.359**		0.421**	0.263**
		(0.066)	(0.061)		(0.067)	(0.064)
Catholic (%)		0.384**	0.273**		0.395**	0.283**
		(0.051)	(0.048)		(0.053)	(0.051)
Female employment (%)		0.973**	0.873**		0.365**	0.201
		(0.138)	(0.138)		(0.138)	(0.141)
Female legislators (%)			-0.151**			-0.163**
			(0.051)			(0.053)
Individual-level controls						
Age	0.001**	0.001**	0.002**	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	0.023**	0.022**	0.023**	-0.012**	-0.013**	-0.015**
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Highest education	-0.023**	-0.023**	-0.023**	-0.015**	-0.015**	-0.015**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Muslim	0.066**	0.064**	0.064**	0.060**	0.060**	0.065**
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Catholic	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.010*	0.006	0.007
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Religiosity	0.004**	0.004**	0.004**	0.003**	0.002**	0.002**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	0.356**	-0.269**	-0.022	0.509**	0.240*	0.490**
	(0.025)	(0.098)	(0.100)	(0.025)	(0.096)	(0.100)
Year intercept	0.055**	0.050**	0.056**	0.035**	0.028**	0.038**
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Country intercept	0.178**	0.204**	0.174**	0.196**	0.209**	0.181**
	(0.013)	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.015)	(0.020)	(0.019)
Residuals	0.445**	0.447**	0.446**	0.448**	0.450**	0.451**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
# of countries	91	86	85	91	86	85
# of respondents	121649	115885	113105	116247	110165	107217
Log likelihood	-74459	-71347	-69478	-71956	-68547	-67000

Table A4. Splitting the sample between female and male respondents. $+p < 0.1$, $*p < 0.05$, $**p < 0.01$.

Dependent var.	Obedience	Men better leader
	(1)	(2)
Country-level controls		
External threat	-0.342**	
	(0.019)	
GDP per capita (log)	-0.039**	-0.012*
	(0.005)	(0.005)
Polity score	0.001	-0.003**
	(0.001)	(0.001)
Muslim (%)	-0.266**	0.523**
	(0.062)	(0.061)
Catholic (%)	-0.542**	0.513**
	(0.040)	(0.041)
Female employment (%)	-1.013**	0.626**
	(0.104)	(0.097)
Individual-level controls		
Female	-0.004$^+$	-0.129**
	(0.002)	(0.002)
Age	-0.000**	0.001**
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	0.005*	0.003
	(0.002)	(0.002)
Highest education	-0.023**	-0.019**
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Muslim	0.010*	0.061**
	(0.005)	(0.005)
Catholic	-0.009**	0.004
	(0.003)	(0.003)
Religiosity	0.010**	0.003**
	(0.000)	(0.000)
obedience		0.018**
		(0.002)
Constant	1.525**	0.152*
	(0.075)	(0.072)
Year intercept	0.053**	0.041**
	(0.009)	(0.007)
Country intercept	0.227**	0.232**
	(0.021)	(0.020)
Residuals	0.456**	0.449**
	(0.001)	(0.001)
# of countries	87	89
# of respondents	242743	234533
Log likelihood	-154051	-145263

Table A5. Using *Obedience* variable. $+p < 0.1$, $^*p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$.

Dependent var.	Military conscription		Military size		Military spending/GDP	
	(1) Pooled	(2) FE	(3) Pooled	(4) FE	(5) Pooled	(6) FE
External threat	1.424$^+$	10.144**	0.028*	0.067**	0.036*	0.126**
	(0.743)	(2.236)	(0.011)	(0.025)	(0.018)	(0.040)
GDP per capita (log)	0.100	-0.523	0.007**	-0.013$^+$	0.009**	0.013
	(0.118)	(0.515)	(0.003)	(0.007)	(0.003)	(0.012)
Polity score	0.016	-0.045	-0.001$^+$	-0.001	-0.003**	-0.001
	(0.024)	(0.098)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Intrastate conflict	-0.210	-0.039	0.007	-0.015	0.023*	0.016
	(0.278)	(0.440)	(0.007)	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.017)
Interstate conflict	-1.402*	15.008	0.022	0.025	-0.016	0.002
	(0.624)	(876.424)	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.028)	(0.020)
Population (log)	0.265$^+$	-2.935	0.001	-0.136**	0.006*	0.025
	(0.138)	(1.948)	(0.002)	(0.034)	(0.003)	(0.055)
Lagged Y			0.967**	0.778**		
			(0.007)	(0.033)		
Lagged Y					0.945**	0.774**
					(0.009)	(0.038)
Constant	-5.708$^+$		-0.055	2.588**	-1.188**	-4.619**
	(2.914)		(0.039)	(0.550)	(0.196)	(1.027)
# of countries	158	24	159	159	152	152
Observations	2372	358	2949	2949	2596	2596

Table A6. Testing the relationship between external threats and militarization. The first two columns estimate binary logit regression, and the last four columns estimate OLS regression. Since Model 2 estimates a conditional fixed-effects logit model, all countries having no change in military conscription are dropped from the sample. $+p < 0.1$, $*p < 0.05$, $**p < 0.01$.

	Only country FE			Two-way FE		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Country-level controls						
External threat	0.182**	0.148*	0.134*	0.119*	0.132*	0.100*
	(0.052)	(0.058)	(0.056)	(0.045)	(0.052)	(0.050)
GDP per capita (log)		-0.019	-0.018		0.012	0.006
		(0.014)	(0.013)		(0.018)	(0.017)
Polity score		-0.002	-0.006*		-0.004	-0.010**
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.002)	(0.002)
Muslim (%)		0.420	0.067		0.045	-0.396
		(0.314)	(0.355)		(0.402)	(0.429)
Catholic (%)		0.817**	0.771**		0.711**	0.649**
		(0.180)	(0.182)		(0.203)	(0.214)
Female employment (%)		1.015*	0.956*		1.125*	1.037**
		(0.471)	(0.449)		(0.492)	(0.389)
Female legislators (%)			-0.008			-0.102
			(0.109)			(0.127)
Individual-level controls						
Female	-0.129**	-0.131**	-0.130**	-0.129**	-0.131**	-0.130**
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Age	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	0.006	0.003	0.003	0.004	0.003	0.002
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Highest education	-0.020**	-0.020**	-0.020**	-0.020**	-0.020**	-0.020**
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Muslim	0.060**	0.061**	0.063**	0.059**	0.060**	0.062**
	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)
Catholic	0.009+	0.005	0.005	0.006	0.003	0.004
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Religiosity	0.003+	0.003*	0.003+	0.003*	0.003*	0.003*
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	0.494**	-0.044	0.083	0.509**	-0.222	0.023
	(0.029)	(0.224)	(0.216)	(0.026)	(0.261)	(0.227)
# of countries	91	86	85	91	86	85
# of respondents	237896	226050	220322	237896	226050	220322
R^2	0.19	0.19	0.19	0.20	0.19	0.19

Table A7. Fixed-effects estimators: Including country and/or year fixed-effects instead of country and year random-effects. $+p < 0.1$, $*p < 0.05$, $**p < 0.01$.

	Country-year random effects			All three levels		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Country-level controls						
External threat	0.255**	0.141**	0.103**	0.202**	0.184**	0.160**
	(0.040)	(0.035)	(0.034)	(0.042)	(0.044)	(0.043)
GDP per capita (log)		-0.045**	-0.036**		-0.031**	-0.023**
		(0.007)	(0.007)		(0.008)	(0.008)
Polity score		-0.007**	-0.008**		-0.004*	-0.007**
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.002)	(0.002)
Muslim (%)		0.008	-0.002		0.105$^+$	0.091
		(0.046)	(0.043)		(0.059)	(0.057)
Catholic (%)		-0.167**	-0.161**		-0.093$^+$	-0.095*
		(0.034)	(0.032)		(0.050)	(0.047)
Female employment (%)		-0.270$^+$	-0.146		-0.154	-0.024
		(0.144)	(0.145)		(0.175)	(0.179)
Female legislators (%)			-0.429**			-0.266**
			(0.093)			(0.094)
Individual-level controls						
Female	-0.129**	-0.131**	-0.130**	-0.129**	-0.131**	-0.130**
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Age	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	0.004$^+$	0.003	0.002	0.004$^+$	0.003	0.002
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Highest education	-0.020**	-0.020**	-0.020**	-0.020**	-0.020**	-0.020**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Muslim	0.061**	0.058**	0.065**	0.059**	0.058**	0.065**
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Catholic	0.005$^+$	0.004	0.004	0.006$^+$	0.004	0.004
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Religiosity	0.004**	0.004**	0.004**	0.004**	0.004**	0.004**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	0.427**	1.053**	1.024**	0.459**	0.818**	0.773**
	(0.022)	(0.105)	(0.101)	(0.027)	(0.123)	(0.123)
Country-year intercept	0.176**	0.123**	0.115**	0.016**	0.010**	0.009**
	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.012)
Country intercept				0.170**	0.117**	0.110**
				(0.014)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Year intercept				0.057**	0.057**	0.055**
				(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Residuals	0.446**	0.448**	0.449**	0.446**	0.448**	0.449**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
# of countries	91	86	85	91	86	85
# of respondents	237896	226050	220322	237896	226050	220322
Log likelihood	-146170	-139692	-136363	-146091	-139650	-136326

Table A8. Alternative multilevel models. $+p < 0.1$, *$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Country-level controls						
External threat (CINC excluded)	0.248**	0.216**	0.139**			
	(0.026)	(0.034)	(0.035)			
Geopolitical competition				0.156**	0.168**	0.108**
				(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.015)
GDP per capita (log)		0.004	-0.018**		0.006	0.004
		(0.006)	(0.006)		(0.007)	(0.007)
Polity score		-0.003**	-0.009**		-0.000	-0.008**
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
Muslim (%)		0.485**	0.296**		0.758**	0.633**
		(0.062)	(0.061)		(0.073)	(0.069)
Female employment (%)		0.583**	0.472**		0.951**	0.936**
		(0.100)	(0.104)		(0.108)	(0.111)
Female legislators (%)			-0.185**			-0.234**
			(0.040)			(0.046)
Individual-level controls						
Female	-0.129**	-0.129**	-0.129**	-0.128**	-0.130**	-0.129**
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Age	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	0.005*	0.004+	0.003	0.006**	0.005*	0.004+
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Highest education	-0.019**	-0.019**	-0.019**	-0.020**	-0.020**	-0.020**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Muslim	0.053**	0.053**	0.055**	0.059**	0.058**	0.061**
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Catholic	0.007*	0.004	0.004	0.003	0.002	0.002
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Religiosity	0.003**	0.003**	0.003**	0.003**	0.002**	0.002**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Catholic (%)		0.543**	0.462**		0.451**	0.366**
		(0.042)	(0.043)		(0.047)	(0.046)
Constant	0.458**	-0.049	0.334**	0.515**	-0.236**	-0.058
	(0.025)	(0.080)	(0.086)	(0.025)	(0.089)	(0.091)
Year intercept	0.036**	0.043**	0.052**	0.042**	0.036**	0.033**
	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Country intercept	0.179**	0.233**	0.211**	0.185**	0.226**	0.199**
	(0.014)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.016)	(0.022)	(0.020)
Residuals	0.449**	0.450**	0.450**	0.448**	0.447**	0.448**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
# of countries	86	83	82	70	69	68
# of respondents	229360	221468	215740	199714	195823	190095
Log likelihood	-141855	-137678	-134277	-123354	-120516	-117122

Table A9. Using the alternative measure of external threats: external threats (excluding CINC ratio) and geopolitical competition. $+p < 0.1$, $^*p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Country-level controls					
External threat	0.118**	0.121**	0.125**	0.137**	0.148**
	(0.014)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.022)	(0.022)
GDP per capita (log)		0.009$^+$	-0.002	0.011	0.022**
		(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.008)
Polity score		-0.002**	-0.003**	-0.006**	-0.007**
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Muslim (%)		0.587**	0.476**	0.736**	0.713**
		(0.066)	(0.066)	(0.076)	(0.077)
Catholic (%)		0.439**	0.554**	0.512**	0.517**
		(0.042)	(0.043)	(0.043)	(0.043)
Female employment (%)		1.050**	0.840**	0.937**	1.013**
		(0.107)	(0.107)	(0.118)	(0.117)
Individual-level controls					
Female		-0.131**	-0.131**	-0.130**	-0.130**
		(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Age		0.001**	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married		0.003	0.003	0.005*	0.005*
		(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Highest education		-0.020**	-0.020**	-0.020**	-0.020**
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Muslim		0.061**	0.061**	0.056**	0.055**
		(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Catholic		0.004	0.004	0.003	0.003
		(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Religiosity		0.003**	0.003**	0.003**	0.003**
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Democracy duration (log)		-0.033**			
		(0.004)			
Oil dependence			0.001		
			(0.003)		
Modernization				0.001**	
				(0.000)	
Materialist culture					0.001**
					(0.000)
Constant	0.431**	-0.178*	-0.074	-0.290**	-0.365**
	(0.025)	(0.082)	(0.077)	(0.103)	(0.100)
Year intercept	0.053**	0.045**	0.043**	0.054**	0.054**
	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Country intercept	0.198**	0.209**	0.242**	0.223**	0.231**
	(0.015)	(0.018)	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.022)
Residuals	0.455**	0.448**	0.449**	0.452**	0.452**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
# of countries	92	84	86	73	73
# of respondents	266319	221656	226050	196111	196111
Log likelihood	-168241	-136933	-140139	-122784	-122785

Table A10. Including additional controls. $+p < 0.1$, $^*p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$.

Dependent var.	men should have more right to a job than women			university education is more important for a boy than for a girl		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Country-level controls						
External threat	0.051*			0.225**		
	(0.021)			(0.037)		
Military concsription		-0.017			0.087**	
		(0.011)			(0.020)	
Military size (log)			-0.036**			0.044**
			(0.007)			(0.015)
Military spending/GDP (log)			-0.094**			-0.102**
			(0.008)			(0.015)
GDP per capita (log)	0.041**	0.010	0.067**	-0.079**	-0.052**	-0.069**
	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.015)	(0.014)
Polity score	-0.000	-0.003**	-0.003**	-0.002+	0.000	-0.004**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Muslim (%)	0.574**	0.141+	0.882**	1.384**	0.997**	1.947**
	(0.076)	(0.073)	(0.098)	(0.121)	(0.123)	(0.162)
Female employment (%)	-0.501**	-1.293**	-0.407**	2.739**	2.399**	2.050**
	(0.111)	(0.151)	(0.126)	(0.198)	(0.271)	(0.227)
Individual-level controls						
Strong defense		0.042**	0.040**		0.104**	0.115**
		(0.004)	(0.003)		(0.007)	(0.006)
Female	-0.130**	-0.130**	-0.131**	-0.219**	-0.228**	-0.219**
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Age	0.002**	0.002**	0.002**	0.002**	0.003**	0.002**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	0.027**	0.027**	0.029**	0.003	0.001	0.004
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)
Highest education	-0.028**	-0.030**	-0.028**	-0.049**	-0.052**	-0.048**
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Muslim	0.072**	0.072**	0.075**	0.107**	0.085**	0.086**
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.009)
Catholic	0.001	-0.001	0.000	0.015**	0.017*	0.019**
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Religiosity	0.009**	0.010**	0.008**	0.002*	0.005**	0.001
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Catholic (%)	0.841**	0.357**	0.821**	1.163**	0.622**	1.382**
	(0.046)	(0.055)	(0.054)	(0.078)	(0.093)	(0.090)
Constant	-0.047	0.802**	-0.672**	1.004**	1.207**	0.642**
	(0.084)	(0.110)	(0.119)	(0.146)	(0.194)	(0.212)
Year intercept	0.058**	0.059**	0.102**	0.132**	0.105**	0.187**
	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.018)	(0.023)	(0.021)	(0.032)
Country intercept	0.310**	0.219**	0.348**	0.449**	0.349**	0.552**
	(0.027)	(0.022)	(0.030)	(0.040)	(0.033)	(0.059)
Residuals	0.430**	0.430**	0.428**	0.842**	0.844**	0.838**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
# of countries	86	78	82	86	78	82
# of respondents	193071	140137	170743	230715	161666	203092
Log likelihood	-111537	-80952	-97797	-288086	-202156	-252625

Table A11. Alternative dependent variables. $+p < 0.1$, $*p < 0.05$, $**p < 0.01$.

We investigate the relationship between the external security environment and gender attitudes on education and employment. We conduct these supplementary analyses because previous studies show that attitudes about political leadership, education, and employment constitute gender norms and individual beliefs about gender equality (e.g., Alexander and Welzel, 2011; Alesina, Giuliano, and Nunn, 2013; Seguino, 2011). This implies that these three attitudes correlate with one another. The first dependent variable for patriarchal attitudes is a binary indicator marking whether a respondent agrees with the statement that "[w]hen jobs are

scarce, men should have more right to a job than women." The second dependent variable is a four-level ordinal indicator reporting the level of agreement with "[a] university education is more important for a boy than for a girl." As presented in Table A11, we find that hostile security environments significantly correlate with negative attitudes about female employment and female education. At the same time, we find that the effect of militarization, one of our key mechanisms, differs across attitudes. In particular, militarization is not associated with negative attitudes about female employment, while it is with negative attitudes about female leadership and education. More research is necessary to find how external threats influence various gender attitudes and what the relationship among these gender attitudes is.

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Country-level controls			
External threat	0.113**	0.125**	0.092**
	(0.014)	(0.020)	(0.020)
GDP per capita (log)		-0.000	-0.010$^+$
		(0.006)	(0.006)
Polity score		-0.003**	-0.008**
		(0.001)	(0.001)
Muslim (%)		0.477**	0.299**
		(0.065)	(0.065)
Female employment (%)		0.854**	0.717**
		(0.107)	(0.109)
Female legislators (%)			-0.119**
			(0.039)
Yearly trend	-0.004*	-0.002	0.000
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Individual-level controls			
Female	-0.129**	-0.131**	-0.130**
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Age	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	0.004*	0.003	0.002
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Highest education	-0.020**	-0.020**	-0.020**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Muslim	0.061**	0.061**	0.064**
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Catholic	0.006*	0.004	0.004
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Religiosity	0.004**	0.003**	0.003**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Catholic (%)		0.554**	0.479**
		(0.042)	(0.043)
Constant	7.872*	2.975	-0.191
	(3.341)	(3.674)	(4.314)
Year intercept	0.042**	0.042**	0.050**
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.009)
Country intercept	0.186**	0.243**	0.224**
	(0.014)	(0.022)	(0.022)
Residuals	0.448**	0.449**	0.449**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
# of countries	91	86	85
# of respondents	237896	226050	220322
Log likelihood	-146714	-140139	-136745

Table A12. Adding yearly trend to the models of Table 1 in the main text. $+p < 0.1$, $^*p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$.

	Three-level			Four-level		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Country-level controls						
External threat	0.228**	0.207**	0.123**	0.215**	0.244**	0.174**
	(0.028)	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.028)	(0.038)	(0.038)
GDP per capita (log)		-0.066**	-0.089**		0.008	-0.012
		(0.011)	(0.011)		(0.010)	(0.011)
Polity score		-0.004**	-0.016**		-0.006**	-0.016**
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
Muslim (%)		1.356**	0.862**		0.885**	0.515**
		(0.133)	(0.129)		(0.126)	(0.126)
Catholic (%)		1.305**	1.096**		1.086**	0.936**
		(0.082)	(0.082)		(0.081)	(0.082)
Female employment (%)		1.165**	0.872**		1.585**	1.324**
		(0.205)	(0.209)		(0.203)	(0.208)
Female legislators (%)			-0.283**			-0.226**
			(0.073)			(0.073)
Individual-level controls						
Female	-0.283**	-0.287**	-0.284**	-0.249**	-0.252**	-0.251**
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Age	0.002**	0.002**	0.002**	0.002**	0.002**	0.002**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married	0.012**	0.008*	0.007$^+$	0.008*	0.006	0.004
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Highest education	-0.038**	-0.039**	-0.038**	-0.038**	-0.038**	-0.038**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Muslim	0.122**	0.117**	0.119**	0.117**	0.117**	0.122**
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Catholic	0.010$^+$	0.003	0.005	0.010$^+$	0.004	0.004
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Religiosity	0.009**	0.009**	0.009**	0.007**	0.006**	0.006**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	2.561**	1.990**	2.603**	1.020**	-0.167	0.338*
	(0.052)	(0.152)	(0.156)	(0.046)	(0.148)	(0.154)
Year intercept	0.118**	0.108**	0.128**	0.092**	0.084**	0.097**
	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.022)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.018)
Country intercept	0.404**	0.518**	0.459**	0.358**	0.476**	0.444**
	(0.030)	(0.044)	(0.041)	(0.027)	(0.043)	(0.046)
Residuals	0.850**	0.854**	0.851**	0.877**	0.880**	0.880**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
# of countries	91	86	85	91	86	85
# of respondents	237896	226050	220322	250099	237899	231979
Log likelihood	-299352	-285285	-277359	-322424	-307342	-299791

Table A13. Using the the three-level or four-level ordinal dependent variables treating both "No answer" and/or "Don't know" as an intermediate position. $+p < 0.1$, *$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$.

References

Alesina, Alberto, Paola Giuliano, and Nathan Nunn. 2013. "On the Origins of Gender Roles: Women and the Plough." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 128(2): 469–530.

Alexander, Amy C., and Christian Welzel. 2011. "Islam and patriarchy: how robust is Muslim support for patriarchal values?" *International Review of Sociology* 21(2): 249–276.

Boix, Carles, Michael Miller, and Sebastian Rosato. 2013. "A Complete Data Set of Political Regimes, 1800–2007." *Comparative Political Studies* 46(12): 1523–1554.

Chatagnier, J Tyson, and Emanuele Castelli. 2019. "The arc of modernization: Economic structure, materialism, and the onset of civil conflict." *Political Science Research and Methods* 7(2): 233–252.

Coppedge, Michael, John Gerring, Carl Henrik Knutsen, Staan I. Lindberg, Svend-Erik Skaaning, Jan Teorell, David Altman, M. Michael Bernhard, Steven Fish, Agnes Cornell, Sirianne Dahlum, Haakon Gjerløw, Adam Glynn, Allen Hicken, Joshua Krusell, Anna Lührmann, Kyle L. Marquardt, Kelly McMann, Valeriya Mechkova, Juraj Medzihorsky, Moa Olin, Pamela Paxton, Daniel Pemstein, Josene Pernes, Johannes von Römer, Brigitte Seim, Rachel Sigman, Jerey Staton, Natalia Stepanova, Aksel Sundström, Eitan Tzelgov, Yi ting Wang, Tore Wig, Steven Wilson, and Daniel Ziblatt. 2018. *V-Dem [Country-Year/Country-Date] Dataset v9*. https://www.v-dem.net/en/data/data-version-9/.

Gleditsch, Nils Petter, Peter Wallensteen, Mikael Eriksson, Margareta Sollenberg, and Håvard Strand. 2002. "Armed Conflict 1946-2001: A New Dataset." *Journal of Peace Research* 39(5): 615 –637.

LaFree, Gary, and Laura Dugan. 2007. "Introducing the global terrorism database." *Terrorism and political violence* 19(2): 181–204.

Maoz, Zeev, and Errol A Henderson. 2013. "The world religion dataset, 1945–2010: Logic, estimates, and trends." *International Interactions* 39(3): 265–291.

Marshall, Monty G. 2015. *Major Episodes of Political Violence (MEPV) and Conflict Region, 1946–2014*. Center for Systemic Peace.

Palmer, Glenn, Vito d'Orazio, Michael Kenwick, and Matthew Lane. 2015. "The MID4 dataset, 2002–2010: Procedures, coding rules and description." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 32(2): 222–242.

Ross, Michael, and Paasha Mahdavi. 2015. "Oil and Gas Data, 1932-2014." Harvard Dataverse.

Seguino, Stephanie. 2011. "Help or Hindrance? Religion's Impact on Gender Inequality in Attitudes and Outcomes." *World Development* 39(8): 1308–1321.

World Bank. 2019. "World Development Indicators." http://data.worldbank.org/ Accessed June 17, 2019.