MEASURING SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP:

Social desirability and gendered interviewer effects among African respondents

AKSEL SUNDSTRÖM

DANIEL STOCKEMER

WORKING PAPER SERIES 2020:8

QOG THE QUALITY OF GOVERNMENT INSTITUTE
Department of Political Science
University of Gothenburg
Box 711, SE 405 30 GÖTEBORG
September 2020
ISSN 1653-8919

Measuring support for women's political leadership: Social desirability and gendered interviewer effects among African respondents
Aksel Sundström
Daniel Stockemer
QoG Working Paper Series 2020:8
September 2020
ISSN 1653-8919

ABSTRACT

To what extent do influential cross-country surveys suffer from measurement errors stemming from gendered interviewer-respondent effects? We argue that men are more likely to voice male chauvinist attitudes with male interviewers, whereas women could support equal political rights more strongly when interviewed by female enumerators. We also hypothesize that these processes of socially desirable answers will be affected by having one's spouse present as well as when respondents are much younger than the interviewer. Analyzing the Afrobarometer survey, we find that men oppose women's political rights more strongly when interviewed by a man and that women express lower support for women's rights to male interviewers. Male respondents primarily seem to react differently to male and female interviewers if their wife is absent. Women, on the other hand, give more progressive responses to female interviewers but not when the interviewer is much older than themselves. Moreover, we explore heterogeneity and report stronger interviewer effects among low-educated individuals. Our main findings hold when analyzing survey rounds prior to, as well as following, the one we analyze. We suggest that survey research using gender-related items should control for interviewer effects and that comparative survey programmes pay even more attention to interviewer characteristics and the interview situation in their protocols.

Aksel Sudström
The Quality of Government Institute
Department of Political Science
University of Gothenburg
aksel.sundstrom@pol.gu.se

Daniel Stockemer
University of Ottawa

Introduction

Public opinion research shapes our understanding of citizens' support for women's political rights. The survey item gauging whether women are seen as fit for political leadership measures public demand for women in public office (Lovenduski & Norris 1993), and serves as a proxy for post-materialist values (Inglehart & Welzel 2005). Opinions about women's fitness for higher political office further function to understand gender equality in low-income countries (Bolzendahl & Myers 2004), especially where women's rights are weak (Benstead 2018a; 2018b). This article looks at gender distortions in answers to this question and focuses on one aspect that could skew assessments of women's political rights: the gender of the interviewer. To what extent do men and women give different answers to the question of women's suitability for political office when interviewed by either a male interviewer or a female interviewer and to what extent do influential cross-country surveys suffer from such measurement errors?

Social desirability – where respondents seek to make a favorable impression and adopt their answers to the interviewer's expected opinions – could explain why survey participants give a different answer when interviewed by a man rather than a woman. In such interactions, the respondent might align her views to the views of the interviewer and adjust her responses in the direction of what she thinks the interviewer wants to hear. In situations where the interviewer and the respondent are both male or both female, self-disclosure theories imply that respondents are less likely to shy away from revealing sensitive attitudes; allowing men possibilities to air attitudes about men's superiority and giving women room to voice demands about equal rights. This leads us to expect that male respondents are prone to express male chauvinist attitudes more strongly with male interviewers, whereas women are more likely to support equal political rights more forcefully when interviewed by a woman. Moreover, we believe that these processes of socially desirability is affected by having one's spouse present. We also expect that being younger than the interviewer conditions these interviewer effects.

Initially based on small samples within the U.S (Benney et al. 1956; Landis et al. 1973) and more recently on representative samples in single-country settings (e.g. Flores-Macias & Lawson 2008; Benstead 2014a), empirical work on gendered interviewer-respondent effects has not yet explored these effects on

gender-related items in cross-county surveys. Therefore, the literature has seldom discussed the "big picture", i.e. how such potential measurement errors affect our understanding of support for women's rights across the globe or in one region. For instance, the largest comparative survey program, the World Value Survey, has never recorded the gender of interviewers. We test our expectations in an analysis of the influential Afrobarometer project.

Our analyses confirm our expectations. That is, interviewer gender matters; men are more likely to oppose women's suitability to hold office when interviewed by a man and women express higher agreement with the statement that men are more suited for leadership to male interviewers. Such effects are larger for men. We explore the interactive impact of having a spouse present: It illustrates that men primarily react differently to male and female interviewers if their spouse is not present, suggesting men's reluctance to voice their chauvinist attitudes about women in politics in front of their wives. We report interactive effects with age differences for female respondents: women tend to give more progressive responses to female interviewers but not when the interviewer is much older than themselves. An in-depth analysis further investigates heterogeneous effects and we report stronger interviewer effects among low-educated individuals. Moreover, the results are also found when we replicate our model on the prior and the ensuing rounds of this survey collection. We conclude that interviewer gender can skew answers to questions about female political leadership. This suggests that one should interpret patterns of these attitudes with care, but also that researchers adjust estimations to such effects and that survey programmes pay more attention to interviewers in their protocols, as well as whom is allowed to be present during an interview.

Gender and Interviewer Effects

The study of public opinion in low-income countries is best with several methodological challenges (Lupu & Michtelicht 2018). Much of today's survey research in such settings builds on face-to-face interviews, situations where interviewer effects could matter. Research on interviewer effects explores a range of observable interviewer characteristics or biases, such as linkages between the audio-visual (e.g. skin color, a gendered voice and accents) and social categorizations (see Hyman et al. 1954; Schuman & Converse 1971; Campbell 1981). In particular, appearances such as the wearing of a headscarf can skew answers in particular concerning gender equality (Blaydes & Gillum 2013; Benstead 2014a; 2014b). The same applies to the origin

of the interviewer. For example, perceptions about whether the interviewer represents the government affect responses regarding support for democracy (Lau 2018) and trust in government (Tannenberg 2017). Another notable study is Adida et al. (2016): it shows that co-ethnicity in the interview situation triggers different answers in some African countries.

The gender of the interviewer can equally play an important role in the interview process (Johnson & Brown 2016). In fact, studies on gender-of-interviewer and gender-of-respondent effects have a long tradition and build on three literatures; on survey interviews, job interviews and counseling studies, as well as on social-psychological experiments (Lueptow et al. 1990). For example, one vein of work proposes that female interviewers receive better response rates (Benney et al. 1956) and quality of responses (Liu & Wang 2016). The reason is that they appear less threatening and more likely to gain access to respondents' homes (Huddy et al. 1997).[1] Another aspect, discussed by Becker and colleagues (1995), is that female respondents are more likely to shy away from answering questions from sexual behavior when interviewed by a man (see also Pollner 1998; Davis et al. 2010).

Does the interviewer's sex affect attitudes toward gender equality among male and female respondents? A handful of studies has tried to answer this question. For example, Landis et al. (1973) analyze a sample of U.S. students' responses to issues related to gender roles in society and find that female students give more feminist responses when interviewed by women. Studying a small group of U.S. students, Lueptow and colleagues (1990) add that women voice more liberal attitudes to female interviewers. The study by Kane and Macaulay (1993) uses a nationally representative telephone survey in the U.S. to establish that men state different attitudes regarding gender inequalities on the labor market, when interviewed by men and women, respectively. Similarly, in an article of attitudes to sexual health and behavior, Catania et al. (1996) report that male respondents are affected in their response on a range of items on sexual behavior by the interviewer's gender. They also find that participants were more likely to report extramarital sexual

[1] Yet, West and Blom's (2017) overview of research on gender of interviewer effects on response rates and interview quality suggests that such effects more often than not are insignificant on these outcomes.

activities to a same-gender interviewer. In another study, Huddy and colleagues (1997) points out the heterogeneity of gender-of-interviewer effects and find that these trends are larger among the less well-educated, younger, as well as more liberal respondents.[2]

Social-psychological experiments further suggest that gender might be a cue for what the respondents perceive as a desirable response. For instance, Galla et al. (1981) find that male interviewers generate more traditional attitudes from female respondents on a sex-role questionnaire (see also Frisone et al. 1982). The work by Flores-Macias and Lawson (2008) analyzes survey data from Mexico and introduces some geographical nuance: they report gender-of-interviewer effects for items on women's rights among men, but only in the part of their sample that is drawn from the capital region, where respondents' characteristics might be more heterogeneous than in more rural parts of the country. Finally, in the Moroccan context, Benstead (2014a) finds that interviewer's visible religiosity and gender interactively affect responses to religiously sensitive questions.

Theoretical Expectations

Are there interviewer effects when it comes to opinions about political gender equality? Benstead (2014b) reports findings from a nationally representative sample of Moroccans and argues that men tend to state more egalitarian answers to questions related to women and politics when interviewed by women. Is this effect generalizable to other contexts? Are there other factors that conditions these effects? In order to understand these effects theoretically, we make use of the literature on social desirability. In survey research, social desirability bias is defined as "systematic error in self-report measures resulting from the desire of respondents to avoid embarrassment and project a favorable image to others" (Fisher 1993, p. 303). These processes generally reflect people's propensity to "deny socially undesirable traits and to claim socially desirable ones, and the tendency to say things which place the speaker in a favorable light" (Nederhof 1985, p. 264). In face-to-face interviews, these processes are often activated and made salient. Brenner (2017) builds on theoretical work on "expectation states", suggesting that observable characteristics are especially important in interactions where you have no experience of working together before: "the dyad—interviewer

[2] This mirrors the finding related to aspects of race (Schuman & Converse 1971; Campbell 1981) and religious symbols (Blaydes & Gillum 2013), generally the less well-educated respondents are more affected by interviewer characteristics in their responses.

and sample element—begins an interaction typically with very little information about the other. [The interviewer and the interviewee] quickly size up each other on the basis of physical appearance, vocal characteristics, and so on" (p. 7). In such interactions, beliefs about what is desirable are triggered. Such processes are heterogonous across survey item types: "Respondents tend to report attitudes in line with their expectation of the interviewer's opinion on the basis of these observable characteristics … [but] only those questions relevant to the observable physical characteristic are prone to interviewer effects" (Brenner 2017, p. 6). In addition, social desirability is larger in controversial political questions (Streb et al. 2008).

Situations where the sex of interviewers and respondents are different are likely to invoke processes of social desirability about gender-related items. For example, men might be more likely to espouse more egalitarian views on women's political rights' issues when the interviewer is a woman. As Nederhof (1985) notes, social desirability is about the "norms of what constitutes a good impression in a given situation" (p. 264). For example, opposing women's political rights might be a violation of the views that might be socially acceptable. The notion of social distance (Williams 1964; Landis et al. 1973; Benstead 2014a) can further explain that men might be more favorable to embellish their views on women's rights when talking to a female interviewer. In other words, men might attribute progressive views in gender-related issues to women to relate more to their interlocutor. Perhaps more concrete, Streb et al. (2008, p. 79) write that male "respondents will want to avoid appearing sexist", when talking to a woman.

In contrast, in situations where the genders of interviewers and respondents are matched, it is less likely that processes related to social desirability and the reduction of social distance are activated. Rather, these situations lead to conditions in which respondents can express their views about gender-related matters more openly. For example, theories of self-disclosure would posit that respondents answering a survey are more likely to expose sensitive views held by them to an interviewer perceived as supportive or non-judgmental (Catania et al. 1996; Lau 2018). In the words of Dykema and colleagues (2012), "individuals are expected to be more honest and disclose more to someone they trust and with whom they feel comfortable" (p. 312). Hill and Stull (1987) add that same-sex interactions tend to elicit higher degrees of disclosure on sensitive topics. We therefore hypothesize that men will tend to feel more comfortable to air attitudes about men's superiority to male interviewers. Since sexist attitudes are more likely to blossom in conversations

among only male participants it might also be the case that male pairs invoke a social pressure for respondents to engage in "locker room talk", a setting where attitudes about female subordination can be aired freely and even be exaggerated. To summarize, this reasoning leads us to formulate the following expectation:

Hypothesis 1: Men are more likely to be proponents of women's political rights when an interviewer is female and more likely to hold male chauvinist attitudes regarding women's political rights when an interviewer is male

Concerning female respondents, we must recall that in many parts of the world – and not the least in countries on the African continent – women's political rights are far from taken for granted. Voicing ideas about gender equality might still be radical in some settings. For instance, a woman describing herself as a feminist might still suspect to receive ridicule or hostile responses by men. In interview situations, women might therefore have reasons to downplay gender equality views when interviewed by a male enumerator, since being outspoken about the promotion of women's political rights might require a large dose of confidence. Focusing on the unequal relation between the respondent and the interviewer, deference theory or power relations theory would predict a similar outcome. The theory builds on the reasoning that constructed gender roles tend to shape how people behave in conversations. This implies that respondents who feel subordinate to the interviewer may acquiesce in deference to the opinions the interviewer supposedly holds (Lau 2018). Benstead (2014a) notes that this reasoning suggests that such behavior is more likely among women, who more often than men acquiesce to males' views. She also describes that theories on attribution suggest that women might attribute less progressive gender-related views to men trying to acquiesce their male conversation partner. Both Benney et al. (1956) and Hyman (1954) find that women in the presence of men talk more conventionally, act more formally, and tend to give the sanctioned or expected answer. We therefore expect that women will feel the most comfortable to openly argue for their rights as political leaders in conversation with persons that are more likely to also hold such views.

While the interviewer-respondent relation is likely not one of trust, but rather one of anonymity, it is reasonable to assume that a female respondent tends to assume that a female interviewer is more supportive of women's rights than a male one. Voicing egalitarian opinions in gender-related matters to a

woman would therefore be a more comfortable choice with little risk of mockery. This reasoning has similarities to theories of in-group behavior (cf. Tajfel et al. 1971), where women should tend to identify with female interviewers because of shared group membership. In support of this point, Benstead (2014b) mentions that in-group loyalties can also play a role in situations, where "respondents demonstrate loyalty and enhance in-group esteem by agreeing with the stereotyped views of their in-group" (pp. 740-744). Therefore, interactions between two women should render female respondents less likely to self-censor their views. In all, this leads us to pose the following expectation:

Hypothesis 2: Women are less likely to be proponents of women's political rights when an interviewer is male and more likely to be proponents of women's political rights when an interviewer is female

The literature is not yet in consensus whether interviewer-respondent effects are largest among women interviewed by men or among men interviewed by men (c.f. Huddy et al. 1997). On the one hand, Kane and Macaulay (1993) suggest that because women might be more easily affected by group pressure, they could be more susceptible to acquiesce. This reasoning suggests that "consistent with sex role stereotyping, females are generally more sensitive to the characteristics of the interview situation, especially when these involve threat or desirability" (Luepow et al. 1990). On the other hand, Flores-Macias and Lawson (2008) argue that gender-of-interviewer effects are likely to be asymmetric in the other direction, i.e. more likely to affect men than women on gender-sensitive items. This reasoning informs us to formulate two rivaling expectations:

Hypothesis 3a: Interviewer-of-gender effects on items gauging support for women's political rights are larger among women

Hypothesis 3b: Interviewer-of-gender effects on items gauging support for women's political rights are larger among men

To gain further insights into the features that might condition such interviewer effects, we delve into the literature that pertains to the role of spousal presence during interviews (see Zipp & Toth 2002). Research suggests that privacy matters in the interview situation, which often takes place in the household

(Hartmann 1994); in particular, the type of person who is present matters. For attitudes regarding the standing of women, we believe that the role of a person's spouse could matter (see Aquilinio 1993). We deem it likely that the presence of one's husband or wife could subtly impede people to air possibly sexist attitudes (among men) or possibly defiant views (among women) about the role of women in politics.[3] In detail, we find it theoretically plausible that having one's spouse by your side during an interview will constraint the impact of interviewer gender on one's responses. To illustrate, having your husband next to you during the interview should make the processes of social desirability related to the gender of the interviewer less relevant. However, in the absence of one's spouse, we propose that these interviewer effects could flourish unhindered, for instance by allowing men to voice male chauvinistic views in front of male interviewers. We therefore pose the following expectation:

Hypothesis 4: Interviewer-of-gender effects on items gauging support for women's political rights interact with the presence of a spouse during the interview

Social distance between subjects in the interview situation might further have an impact on processes of social desirability. We believe that having an older interviewer can appear intimidating, especially in a context where respect for older people is more ingrained than in European or North American settings. Since the literature suggests that subordination tends to lead respondents to acquiesce in their responses (Lau 2018), this implies that gendered effects might be conditioned by occasions when respondents feel inferior towards the interviewer. We suggest that a difference in age between the two actors could influence gendered interviewer effects, since this would possibly affect respondents to engage in answering in a socially desirable manner. While theoretically plausible and suitable for the African context, this aspect of age discrepancies in the interview remains largely unexplored. This leads us to formulate:

Hypothesis 5: Interviewer-of-gender effects on items gauging support for women's political rights interact with the age difference between subjects in the interview

[3] We assume that for the countries sampled in the Afrobarometer, the heterosexual norm is strong enough to make us believe that a reference to a spouse is a person of the other sex than the respondent (i.e. it is likely that the presence of homophobia generally hinders LGBT people to safely state to interviewers that they, for instance, might have a same-sex spouse).

Methods and Research Design

To test the effect of the gender of the interviewer on men and women's assessment of women's political rights, we focus on the round six of the Afrobarometer project.[4] This survey was completed in 2016 and covers 36 countries.[5] Across Africa, several countries display female leaders and high shares of women in legislatures. However, in the general populations on the continent there are still a lot of resistance to women's political rights – pointing to the importance of understanding how well research captures such attitudes. The Afrobarometer survey draws a clustered, stratified, multi-stage, area probability sample that consists of 49.77 percent men (and 50.23 percent women).

Our focus is on opinions about whether men make better political leaders than women, which we see as a fundamental prerequisite for women's advancement in the political sphere (cf. Lovenduski & Norris 1993; Inglehart & Norris 2003). Enumerators asked respondents about their views on whether women are suitable for political office. In detail, the assertion was the following: "Statement 1: Men make better political leaders than women, and should be elected rather than women. Statement 2: Women should have the same chance of being elected to political office as men." Response categories ranges from 1 (agree very strongly with 1) to 5 (agree very strongly with 2), with a neutral mid-category.

Our analysis proceeds in three steps. First, we want to make sure that the interviewer effects we report really stem from differences in opinions about men and women and not from systematic bias. To do our best to see whether the assignment of interviewers' gender is non-random or if the interviewer effects are tainted by systematic errors (Landis et al. 1973; Flores-Macias & Lawson 2008; Lau 2018; Lupu & Michtelicht 2018), we took several steps to investigate such trends in the data (cf. Adida et al. 2016). In more detail, we carried out some additional tests to see if male and female interviewers are assigned to different type of areas or respondents. Generally, we find no systematic patterns there. To illustrate, the mean age in both groups is roughly 37 years (37.1 years for the group of respondents with male interviewers and 37.4

[4] While there is the potential possibility of investigating our research questions on the AmericasBarometer, the Arab Barometer and the Asian Barometer, these projects have some limitations. First, they are not fully comparable as they do not ask the question about support for women's political rights in the same way as in the Afrobarometer. Second, they do not have all the nuanced independent variables that the Afrobarometer does. Third, their coverage across countries is also smaller.

[5] We refrain from using Rounds 5 or 7, fielded two years prior and later, because these versions had only 34 countries. The results remain largely the same on this data, however, when replicated. See Appendix Table A5, for a basic model showing that the variables behave in similar ways across rounds and that main effects persist.

for those with female ones). The average level of education is about the same, as well. The same applies to the geographical location where male and female interviewers are sent to, and the religious denominations (see the Appendix, Tables A1 to A4). Having established that there seems to be few systematic biases in the matching of interviewers and interviewees, we engage in several statistical tests. First, we compute means of four categories, where; 1) the respondent is male and the interviewer is male, 2) the respondent is male and the interviewer is female, 3) the respondent is female and the interviewer is male and, finally, 4) the respondent is female and the interviewer is female. To gauge interviewer effects, we are particularly interested in comparing scenarios one and two, as well as scenarios three and four. We assess whether these differences are significant through a One Way Anova, LSD comparison test (Table 1). In a complementary table, we also display the mean responses regarding women's suitability for political office across the four categories for all countries in the dataset (see the Appendix, Table A8).

Second, we evaluate the gender-of-interviewer effect on men and women in the multivariate realm through regression analysis (see Table 2). On the left-hand side of each of the models is the five-value ordinal variable, coded one if respondents strongly agree with the statement that men make better political leaders than women and five if they strongly agree with the statement that women should have equal chances to be political leaders. On the right-hand side, we create three dummy variables, coded one if the respondent is male and the interviewer is female, two if the respondent is female and the interviewer is male, and three if the respondent is female and the interviewer is female. The reference category is the combination of male respondents with male interviewers.

We also add on the right-hand side four possible confounders, which could also influence respondents' attitudes towards women's role in politics. These theoretically motivated aspects are age, education, place of residency (rural versus urban) and religious denomination (see Wrigley 2003; Bolzendahl & Myers 2004). The first one is the actual *age* (measured in years) at the time of the survey. The operationalization of the variable *education* differs follows a four-point ordinal scale ranging from no formal education to a post-secondary degree. To capture residency, we add a dummy variable coded 1 for *urban* and 0 for *rural*. For *religion*, we distinguish between Christians, Muslims and other religions. Finally, we add country fixed effects to each model to hold country specific confounders constant. This would control for aspects

of national cultures (Johnson & Brown 2016), which might matter as research suggests that more gender-conservative contexts can affect the extent to which people can air progressive views, such as supporting women for higher office (Stout & Kline 2010). As a modeling device, we use ordered logistic regression models.

In a third step, we use the results from these models to create marginal effects plots to display the predictive effects of the interviewer gender on men and women's responses. In more detail, we create two marginal effects' plots for each model (see Figures 1 to 2). The first plot for each model shows the predicted distribution of responses for men, split by whether the interviewer is male or female. The second plot for each model shows the predicted distribution of responses for women split by whether the interviewer is male or female. We examine the role of having your spouse present during the interview through a categorical measure that captures a) if no one else were in the same room, b) if a spouse was present and c), if others were attending the interview (combining response options 'children', 'a small crowd' or 'others'). To investigate our fourth hypothesis, we run a model, in which we interact our dummy variables displaying the interviewer-respondent dyads with the dummies capturing whether the spouse of the respondent or others are present (see Table 2 and Figures 3-5). We then include controls for the age and education of the interviewer. The latter aspect might be relevant since subtle signals of social class can be communicated through language and demeanor in the interview. To test our fifth hypothesis, we gauge the difference between the age of the interviewer and the respondent. We begin by including a continuous variable. Second, to capture a sizeable difference, we insert binary versions where the interviewer is five, ten and fifteen years older, respectively.[6] We interact these binary measures with our dyads (see Table 3 in the main text and Table A6 in the Appendix). In a final interactive model, we then interact our dummy of interviewer-respondent effects with education and age (see Table A7 in the Appendix). Similar to our main models, we also create marginal effects' plots to display these relationships in more detail (see Figures A6 to A25 in the Appendix).[7]

[6] Interviewers are older than respondents in 30 percent of our dyads. For about 20 percent, the age difference is at least five years. For 10 percent, the value is at least ten and for fifteen years, there is only 4 percent of the dyads.
[7] The effect of the age variable is insignificant, no matter if we use a continuous measure or categories. However, to limit the number of figures, we create six age categories for which we display margin effects on each of these groups (18-25 years, 26-35 years, 36-45 years, 46-55 years, 56-65 years, 65 years and older).

As a robustness test, we investigate if the effects we study is altered when characteristics of the respondent's resident area is included in the model. The Afrobarometer data allows us to examine both local presence of a sewage system and health facilities as well as whether there are roadblocks by the military or police visible in the area – factors that might indicate the level of wealth and security in an area – as observed by the interviewers at the time of the interview (see Table A9 in the Appendix).[8]

RESULTS

Several results are distinguishable from our analyses: some of which are in relation to our hypotheses and some which are not. Most strongly, we find that the gender of the interviewer matters. As a rule, respondents of both genders tend to express stronger support for political gender equality when interviewed by a woman (see Table 1). Substantively, this effect is quite strong and can reach up to a .5 difference on the 1 to 5 scale. Even more importantly, for the purposes of our study, our results offer general support for our hypotheses 1 and 2; that is, the gender of the interviewer affects men and women's response in opinions related to women's suitability for political office. The average gap between men interviewed by a male interviewer and men interviewed by a female interviewer is .35 points on the 1 to 5 scale, which is quite considerable (see Table 1). For women, the corresponding gap is somewhat smaller: it is .23.

[8] The survey asks interviewers to record the state of public services in the area near respondents as well as observable implications of the security in the area. The first item we use, asks: "Is [sewage system that most houses could access] present in the primary sampling unit/enumeration area?" (Yes/ No/ Cannot determine). The second one reads "Is [an health clinic] present in the primary sampling unit/enumeration area, or within easy walking distance?" (Yes/ No/ Cannot determine). The third question reads: "In the enumeration area, did you (or any of your colleagues) see: Any roadblocks set up by police or army?" (Yes/ No/ Don't know).

TABLE 1. AVERAGE ASSESSMENTS: GENDERED-RESPONDENT EFFECTS ON INDIVIDUALS' ASSESSMENT OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

Respondent male/ interviewer male	Respondent male/ interviewer female	Difference	Respondent female/ interviewer male	Respondent female/ interviewer female	Difference
2.17	2.52	.35***	2.72	2.95	.23***

*$p < .10$, **$p < .05$, ***$p < .01$ (two tailed)*

Our multivariate regression model (i.e. Model 1) further suggests that male respondents are more likely to say that men are more suited for political leadership when interviewed by a man. The corresponding effect applies for female respondents; they are more likely to express stronger support for women's suitability as leaders if the interviewer is a woman. The marginal effect plots for the sample confirms this strong effect of the gender of interviewer on male and female respondents' assessment of women's suitability for office holding. For example, holding everything else constant in the model (see Model 1 in Table 2), men have an approximately ten percentage points higher chance (the odds increase from .3 to .4) to strongly agree with the statement that women make as good political leaders as men when the interviewer is a woman (see Figure 1). Female respondents have an approximately eight-percentage points higher chance to strongly agree with the statement that women are equally suitable for political leadership as men, if the interviewer is female.

TABLE 2. MULTIVARIATE ORDINAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODEL OF THE GENDERED INTERVIEWER-RESPONDENT EFFECTS ON ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

	Model 1	Model 2
Respondent male/ interviewer male	Ref. cat.	Ref. cat.
Respondent male/ interviewer female	.664*** (.023)	.700*** (.028)
Respondent female/ interviewer male	.401*** (.023)	.471*** (.028)
Respondent female/ interviewer female	.997*** (.024)	1.013*** (.029)
No one present		Ref. cat
Spouse present		.242*** (.060)
Others present		.084** (.060)
Spouse present * resp. male/ interv. female		-.228** (.090)
Spouse present * resp. female/ interv. male		-.418*** (.084)
Spouse present * resp. female/ interv. female		-.240*** (.092)
Others present * resp. male/ interv. Female		-.087 (.054)
Others present * resp. female/ interv. male		-.165*** (.056)
Others present * resp. female/ interv. female		-.025 (.054)
Age	.001 (.001)	.001* (.001)
Education	.167*** (.010)	.167*** (.010)
Christian	Ref. cat	Ref. cat
Muslim	-.216*** (.028)	-.216*** (.028)
Other religion	-.139*** (.029)	-.140*** (.030)
Urban	.073*** (.018)	.074*** (.018)
Country fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Cut-off point 1	.442*** (.073)	.508*** (.074)
Cut-off point 2	1.152*** (.073)	1.188*** (.074)
Cut-off point 3	1.222*** (.073)	1.23*** (.074)
Cut-off point 4	2.300*** (.073)	2.337*** (.075)
Log likelihood	-66314.351	-66220.123
Pseudo Rsquared	.04	.04
N	51729	51624

*Standard errors in parentheses, *p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .01 (two tailed).*

FIGURE 1. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON MEN FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

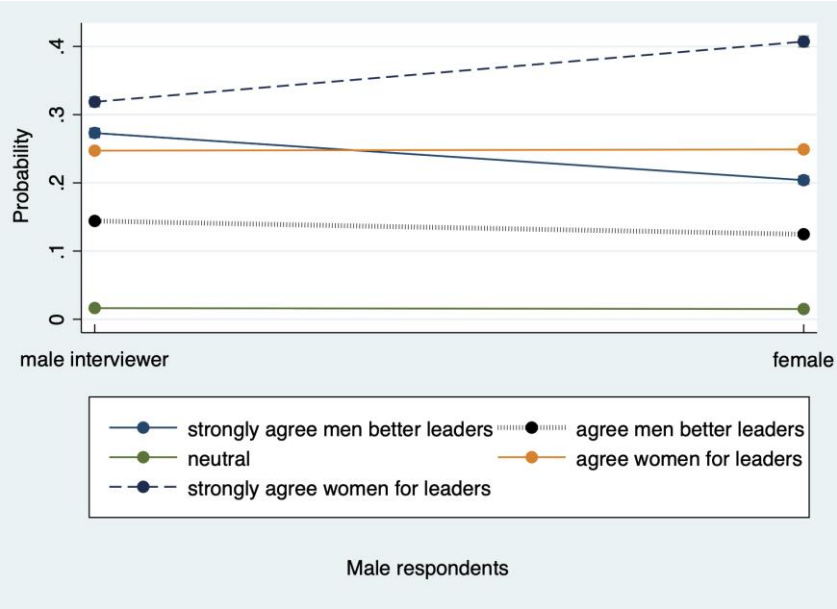
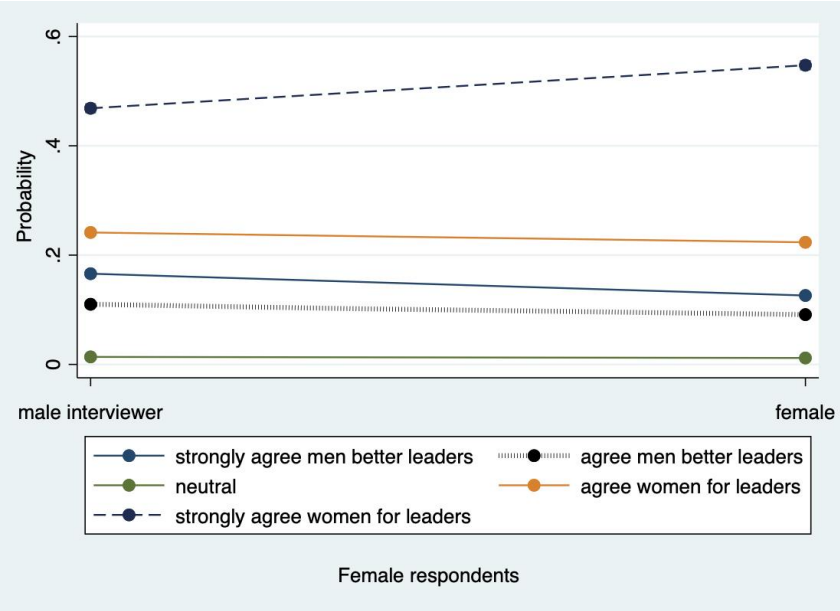


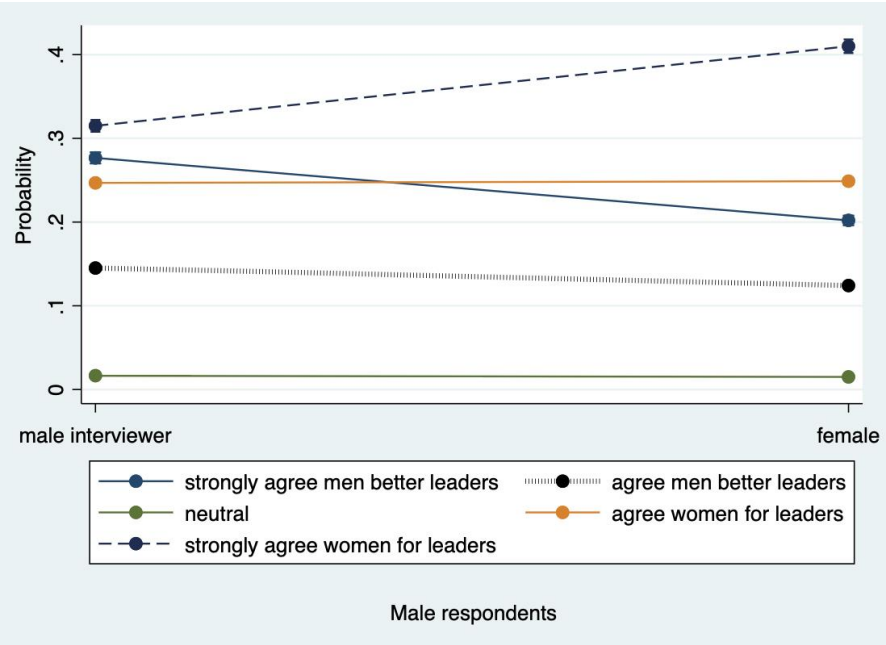
FIGURE 2. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON WOMEN FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN



Based on Figures 1 and 2, we infer that the gender of the interviewer exercises a somewhat larger effect on male respondents. In detail, it seems that the impact from the interviewer's gender on the different response options are moderately smaller among women in this sample. In relation to our expectations, we therefore find support for our hypothesis 3b, rather than 3a. As such, this finding speaks against the proposition that women are more affected by processes of desirability when answering sensitive items (see Luepow et al. 1990).

The interactive model which explores the role of spousal presence (see model 2 in Table 2 and figures 3 to 5) illustrates that male respondents primarily seem to react differently to male and female interviewers (in regards to the extent to which they agree with statement that women are as qualified as men for political leadership), if their spouse is not present.[9] This could be an indication that men are reluctant to show their traditional (chauvinist) attitudes about women in politics in the presence of their wives. This result contributes to our understanding of the complex links between interviewer effects, spousal presence and socially desirable answers in survey research (see Zipp & Toth 2002).

FIGURE 3. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON MEN FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN, WITH NO SPOUSE WAS PRESENT



[9] There are no significant interactive effects for women, as seen in the Appendix, figures A1-A3.

FIGURE 4. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON MEN FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN, WITH THE SPOUSE PRESENT

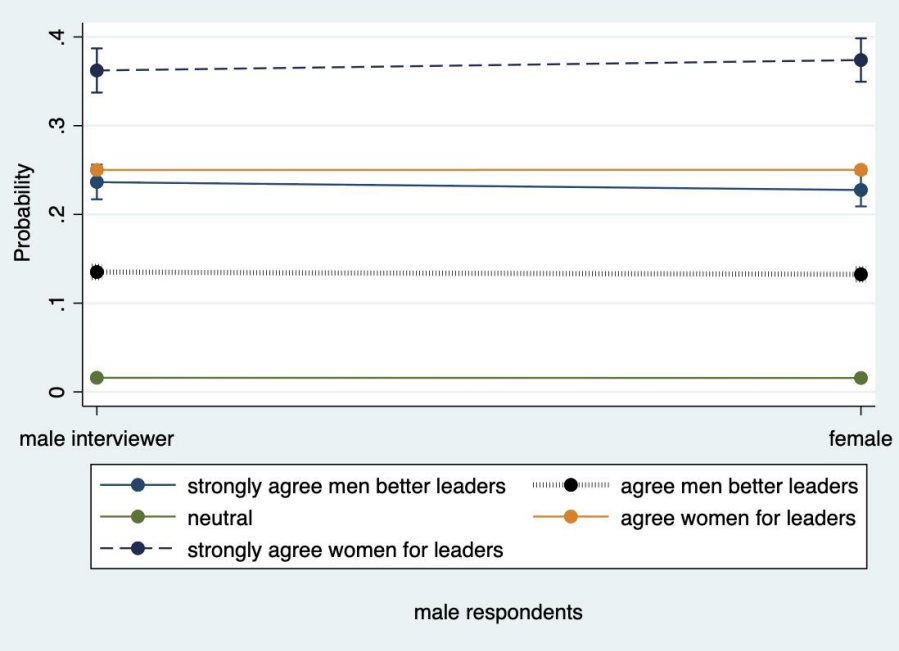
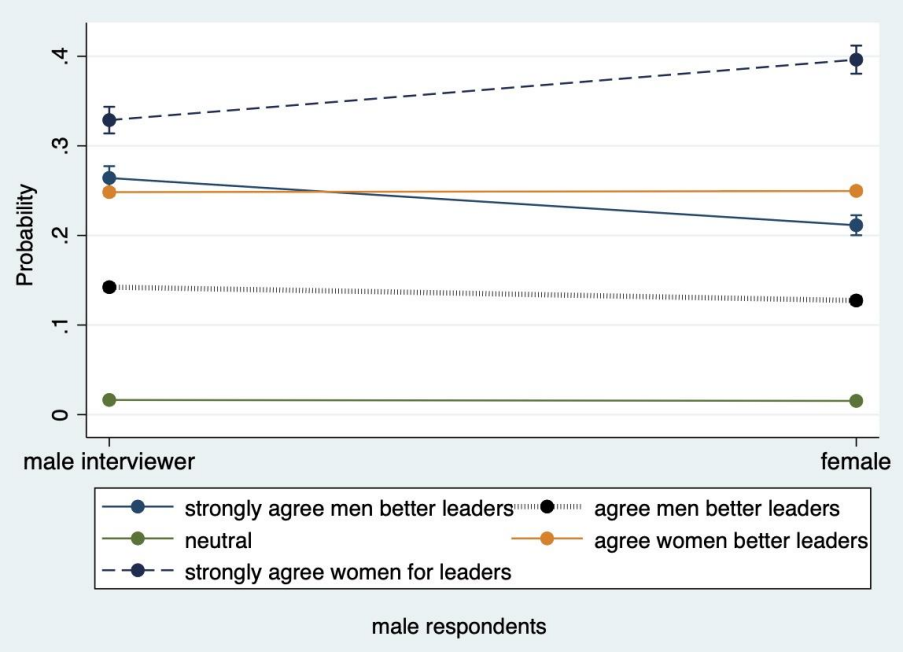


FIGURE 5. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON MEN FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN, WITH OTHERS PRESENT



We find that adding controls for interviewer's age and education does not affect the focal relationship of our study (see Table 3, models 3-4). This is also the case for a continuous measure of age difference between subjects in the interview (model 5). When we include our binary measures of age differences between interviewers and respondents and interacts it with our dyads (see model 6), it seems that it is only the one capturing a difference of 15 years and more that is significant, and only for female respondents: from the margin plots generated from this model we illustrate that women tend to give more progressive responses to female interviewers but not when the interviewer is at least 15 years older than themselves (see Table 3 and Figures 6 to 7).[10] This suggests to us that women 'bow down' in front of older interviewers, making interviewer gender less relevant for the tendency to voice views that might appear defiant in a traditional setting. There is, hence, some support for hypothesis 5, yet one should recall that the share of dyads where the interviewer is this much older is very small.

[10] There are no significant interactive effects for men, as seen in the Appendix, figures A4-A5. In Table A6, we show that an age difference of five years (model A3) and ten years (model A4) produce no significant interactions.

TABLE 3. MULTIVARIATE ORDINAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODELS OF GENDERED INTERVIEWER-RESPONDENT EFFECTS ON WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS: INTERVIEWER CONTROLS AND AGE DIFFERENCE INTERACTIONS

	Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
Respondent male/ interviewer male	Ref. cat.		Ref. cat.		Ref. cat.		Ref. cat.	
Respondent male/ interviewer female	.663***	(.023)	.662***	(.023)	.659***	(.023)	.657***	(.024)
Respondent female/ interviewer male	.405***	(.023)	.417***	(.023)	.405***	(.023)	.413***	(.024)
Respondent female/ interviewer female	1.001***	(.024)	1.014***	(.024)	.998***	(.024)	1.011***	(.024)
Interviewer education	.044***	(.009)	.048***	(.009)	.044***	(.009)	.046***	(.009)
Interviewer age			.006***	(.001)				
Age difference (continuous)					.000	(.001)		
Age difference (dichotomous_15_years)							.174**	(.073)
Interact age diff. dichot_15 * resp. male/ interv. female							-.008	(.023)
Interact age diff. dichot_15 * resp. female/ interv. male							-.138	(.120)
Interact age diff. dichot_15 * resp. female/ interv. female							-.323***	(.118)
Age	.001*	(.001)	.001*	(.001)				
Education	.167***	(.010)	.167***	(.010)	.161***	(.010)	.161***	(.010)
Christian	Ref. cat		Ref. cat		Ref. cat		Ref. cat	
Muslim	-.211***	(.028)	-.211***	(.028)	-.213***	(.028)	-.214***	(.028)
Other religion	-.139***	(.030)	-.139***	(.030)	-.140***	(.030)	-.140***	(.030)
Urban	.075***	(.018)	.076***	(.018)	.075***	(.018)	.076***	(.018)
Country fixed effects	Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes	
Cut-off point 1	.821***	(.100)	1.035***	(.112)	.764***	(.095)	.795***	(.095)
Cut-off point 2	1.501***	(.100)	1.715***	(.112)	1.444***	(.095)	1.475***	(.095)
Cut-off point 3	1.572***	(.100)	1.787***	(.112)	1.515***	(.095)	1.546***	(.095)
Cut-off point 4	2.650***	(.100)	2.865***	(.112)	2.593***	(.096)	2.625***	(.096)
Log likelihood	-66328.163		-66319.106		-66329.915		-66322.884	
Pseudo Rsquared	.04		.04		.04		.04	
N	51729		51729		51729		51729	

*Standard errors in parentheses, *p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .01 (two tailed).*

FIGURE 6. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON WOMEN FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN, WITH AGE DIFFERENCE BELOW 15 YEARS

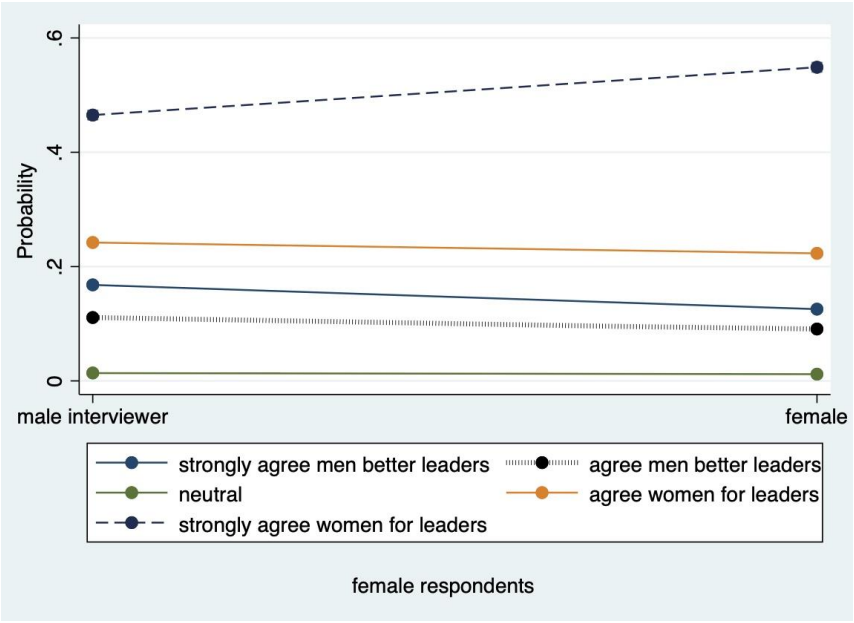
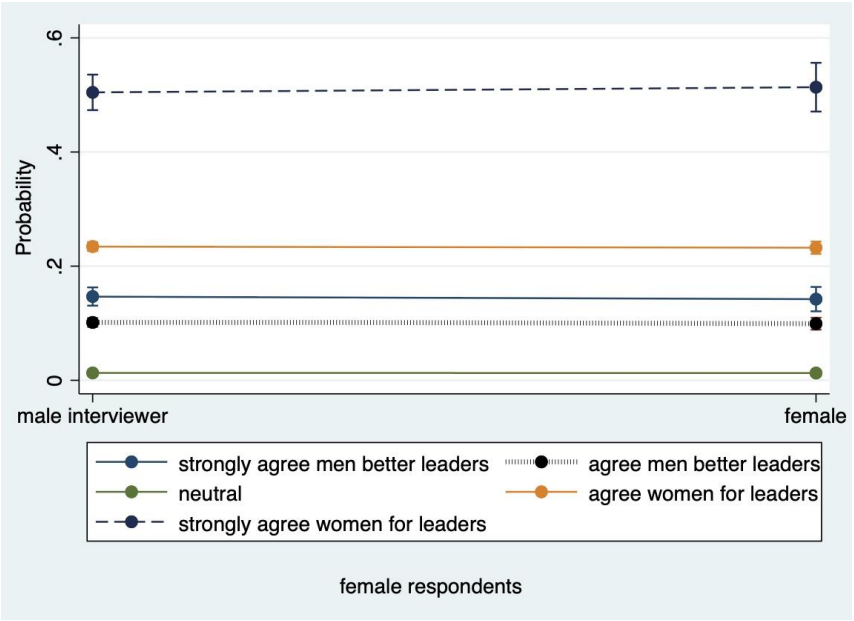


FIGURE 7. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON WOMEN FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN, WITH AGE DIFFERENCE ABOVE 15 YEARS



Moreover, our results indicate that the interviewer gender/ respondent gender effects on responses for our political equality scale are very stable across different age groups (see Table A6 and Figures A9 to A20 in the Appendix). In contrast, there is an interactive effect between the gender interviewer/ gender respondent nexus and education (see Table A1 and Figures 19 to 26). For example, the effect of the gender of the interviewer is strongest for individuals with low education. This finding applies to both female and male respondents. This latter result connects well with prior research, where less-well educated individuals seem to be more easily swayed by social desirability and interviewer effects in surveys (see Schuman & Converse 1971; Campbell 1981; Huddy et al. 1997; Blaydes & Gillum 2013).

Our additional robustness check suggests that the characteristics of respondents' resident area does not influence the main relationship. When including the three variables of a local presence of a sewage system or health facilities, as well as whether there are roadblocks by the military or police visible in the area, our main coefficients remain unchanged (see Table A9 in the Appendix). Furthermore, that effects are similar across survey rounds, suggests that this measurement problem is not unique to the dataset at hand (see Table A5).[11]

Finally, our results also indicate – and this is interesting for more substantive research – that there is wide variation between countries on the effect of male or a female interviewer on both genders' assessment of political gender equality (Table A8 in the Appendix). Across the continent, switching a female interviewer for a male interviewer can change the average opinions on political gender equality among men and women by around a whole point on the five-point scale (see Burkina

[11] We note that for the other gender-related items where we can investigate gendered interviewer-effects (in Round 7, because no relevant question was posed in no. 6), they also seem to be present. In the four question of the extent to which people believe women have 1) equal right to land, 2) equal chance to own/inherit land, 3) equal chance to earn an income and 4) have an equal chance of a paying job, both men and women adjust their answers depending on whether men or women asks the question. Analyzing these items is beyond the scope of this paper.

Faso for male respondents, Sierra Leone for women, and Niger for both men and women). In other countries, such as Zambia, there is much less difference.

Conclusions

In sum, we can draw three conclusions from this research. First, the gender of the interviewer seems to have an effect on men and women's stated opinions about political gender equality. These effects are somewhat larger among men. Second, for men it also matters whether spouses are present during the interview (i.e. in the absence of their wife, men are more strongly affected by the interviewer gender) and for women the presence of a much older interviewer negates the gender-of-interviewer effect. It is also worth noting that interviewer effects are larger among respondents with low education. Third, these interviewer effects are not homogenous across the African continent, but differ across countries.

Our main result, that the gender of the interviewer matters, has practical and methodological implications for future research. It seems evident that our results beg us to interpret such attitudes with care and that researchers using related items should control for the gender of the interviewer in their estimations. Our research also entertains the question why it is that men give more male chauvinistic answers when interviewed by a man as compared to a woman. Do they reveal their real preferences by being more sexist? Or do they want to show off and portray their manliness toward their male interlocutor? Vice versa, are women more likely to reveal their real attitudes when interviewed by another woman or does she just want to appear feminist to appease the interviewer? Future research should study these psychological processes further. Until we can confirm any of these predispositions, we deem it premature to support suggestions such as matching the interviewer and the respondent's gender (see Catania et al. 1996; Lupu & Michelicht 2018), which would assume that such same-gender situations would reduce measurement error. Moreover, the variation in interviewer

effects across African countries deserve future scrutiny. Future studies would benefit from theorizing and exploring the possible explanations for why these gendered interviewer effects differ so strongly between countries.

Finally, there is an additional feature we encountered. Not only do men and women tend to answer differently if they are interviewed by a male or female interviewer, but – compared to a male interviewer – a female interviewer triggers stronger support for women's political rights, regardless of the gender of the respondent. In particular, in situations where one gender is overrepresented among interviewers on the aggregate, this induces bias into a survey, especially if it is not weighted by the gender of the interviewer. To avoid this bias our main suggestion is that cross-national surveys that rely on face-to-face interviews systematically alter the interview situation when they implement their data collection. In detail, such programs should also establish systematic protocols on whether or not other people are allowed during the interview. We further suggest that large survey programs, such as the World Values Survey and the European Value Survey, start recording and documenting the sex of the interviewer in their datasets. In addition, given the discussion of intersectional aspects of race, age and class, as well as research documenting the effects of religious symbols (e.g. Adida et al. 2016; Benstead 2014b), we suggest that records of reviewer characteristics are expanded beyond gender. Providing such information would enable a continued investigation of interviewer effects in cross-country surveys.

REFERENCES

Adida, C. L., K. E. Ferree, D. N. Posner, and A. L. Robinson. 2016. Who's asking? Interviewer coethnicity effects in African survey data. *Comparative Political Studies* 49 (12): 1630-1660.

Aquilino, W. S. 1993, Effects of Spouse Presence during the. Interview on Survey Responses concerning Marriage. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 57: 358-376

Becker, S., Feyisetan, K., and Makinwa-Adebusoye, P. 1995. The effect of the sex of interviewers on the quality of data in a Nigerian family planning questionnaire. *Studies in Family Planning* 26 (4): 233-240.

Benney, M., D. Riesman, and S. A. Star. 1956. Age and sex in the interview. *The American Journal of Sociology* 62 (2): 143-152.

Benstead, L. J. 2014a. Effects of interviewer–respondent gender interaction on attitudes toward women and politics: Findings from Morocco. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 26 (3): 369-383.

Benstead, L. J. 2014b. Does Interviewer Religious Dress Affect Survey Responses? Evidence from Morocco. *Politics and Religion* 7 (4): 734-60.

Benstead, L. 2018a. Survey Research in the Arab World: Challenges and Opportunities. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 51 (3): 535-542.

Benstead, L. 2018b. Survey Research in the Arab World. In Atkeson, L. R. and R. M. Alvarez (Eds.) *The Oxford handbook of polling and survey methods*.

Blaydes, L., and R. M. Gillum. 2013. Religiosity-of-Interviewer Effects: Assessing the Impact of Veiled Enumerators on Survey Response in Egypt. *Politics and Religion* 6 (3): 459-82.

Bolzendahl, C. I., and Myers, D. J. 2004. Feminist attitudes and support for gender equality: Opinion change in women and men, 1974–1998. *Social Forces*, 83(2), 759-789.

Brenner. P. 2017. Toward a social psychology of survey methodology: An application of the approach and directions for the future. *Sociology Compass*;11:e12491.

Campbell, B. A. 1981. Race-of-interviewer effects among southern adolescents. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 45: 231-244.

Catania J. A., Binson D., Canchola J., Pollack L. M., Huack W. and Coates T. J. 1996. Effects of Interviewer Gender, Interviewer Choice, and Item Wording on Responses to Questions Concerning Sexual Behavior. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 60: 345-375.

Colombotos, J., J. Elinson and Loewenstein, R. 1968. Effect of interviewers' sex on interview responses. *Public Health Reports* 83 (8): 685-90.

Davis, R. E., Couper, M. P., Janz, N. K., Caldwell , C. H., and Resnicow, K. 2010. Interviewer effects in public health surveys. *Health Education Research* 25 (1): 14-26.

Dijkstra, W. 1987. Interviewing style and respondent behavior an experimental study of the survey-interview. *Sociological Methods and Research* 16: 309-334.

Dykema, J., Diloreto, K., Price, J., White, E., and Schaeffer, N. 2012. ACASI gender-of-interviewer voice effects on reports to questions about sensitive behaviors among young adults. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 76 (2): 311-325.

Flores-Macias, F. and C. Lawson. 2008. Effects of interviewer gender on survey responses: Findings from a household survey in Mexico. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 20 (1): 100-110.

Frisone, J. D., Galla, John P; Jeffrey, Linda R. and Gaer, E.P. 1982. Effect of communicating experimenter attitudes on subject response to a sex-role attitude questionnaire. *Journal of Psychology* 11 (1): 27.

Fisher , R. J. 1993. Social Desirability Bias and the Validity of Indirect Questioning. *Journal of Consumer Research* 20 (2): 303-315.

Galla J. P., Frison J. D., Jeffrey, L. R., Gaer, E. P. 1981. Effect of experimenter's gender on responses to a sex-role attitude questionnaire. *Psychological Reports* 49 (3): 935-940.

Groves, R. M. and N. H. Fultz. 1985. Gender effects among telephone interviewers in a survey of economic attitudes, *Sociological Methods & Research* 14 (1): 31-52.

Hartmann, P. 1994. Interviewing when the spouse is present. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 6: 298-306.

Hill, C. T. and Stull, D. E. 1987. Gender and self-disclosure: Strategies for exploring the issues. In V. J. Derlega and J. H. Berg (Eds.) *Self-disclosure: Theory, research, and therapy* (pp. 81-100). New York: Plenum Press.

Huddy, L., J. Billig, J. Bracciodieta, L. Hoeffler, P. J. Moynihan, and P. Pugliani. 1997. The effect of interviewer gender on the survey response. *Political Behavior* 19 (3): 197-220.

Hyman, H. H., W. J. Cobb, J. J. Feldman, C. Hart, and C. H. Stember. 1954. *Interviewing in social research*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Inglehart, R. F. and P. Norris. 2003. *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Inglehart, R. F. and C. Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, cultural change and democracy: The human development sequence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Johnson, T. P. and M. Brown. 2016. Challenges of Comparative Survey research. in (eds) Christof Wolf, Dominique Joye, Tom W Smith, Yang-chih Fu. *The SAGE Handbook of Survey Methodology*. London: SAGE.

Kane, E. W. and L. J. Macaulay. 1993. Interviewer gender and gender attitudes. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 57 (1): 1-28.

Landis, J. R., D. Sullivan and J. Sheley. 1973. Feminist Attitudes as Related to Sex of the Interviewer. *The Pacific Sociological Review* 16 (3): 305-314.

Lau, C. Q. 2018. The influence of interviewer characteristics on support for democracy and political engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 21 (4): 467-486.

Liu, M. and Y. Wang. 2016. Interviewer gender effect on acquiescent response style in 11 Asian countries and societies. *Field Methods* 28 (4): 327-344.

Lovenduski, J. and P. Norris (eds). 1993. *Gender and Party Politics*. London: SAGE.

Lueptow, L. B., S. L. Moser, and B. F. Pendleton. 1990. Gender and response effects in telephone interviews about gender characteristics. *Sex Roles* 22 (1-2): 29-42.

Lupu, N. and K. Michelitch. 2018. Advances in Survey Methods for the Developing World. *Annual Review of Political Science* 21: 195-214.

Nederhof, A.J. 1985. Methods of coping with social desirability bias: A review. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 15 (3): 263-280.

Pollner M. 1998. The effects of interviewer gender in mental health interviews. *Journal of Nervous & Mental Disorder* 186: 369-73.

Schuman, H., and J. M. Converse. 1971. The effects of black and white interviewers on black responses. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 35: 44-68.

Stout, C. T. and R. Kline. 2011. 'I'm Not Voting for Her': Polling Discrepancies and Female Candidates. *Political Behavior* 33 (3): 479–503.

Streb, M. J., B. Burrell, B. Frederick, and M. A. Genovese. 2008. Social desirability effects and support for a female American president. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 72 (1): 76-89.

Tajfel, H., M. G. Billig, R. P. Bundy, and Claude Flament. 1971. Social Categorization and Intergroup Behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 1 (2): 149-178.

Tannenberg, M. 2017. The Autocratic Trust Bias: Politically Sensitive Survey Items and Self-censorship. V-Dem Working Paper Series 2017:49.

West, B. T. and A. G. Blom. 2016. Explaining Interviewer Effects: A Research Synthesis. *Journal of Survey Statistics and Methodology* 5 (2): 175-211.

Williams, J. A. 1964. Interviewer-respondent interaction: A study of bias in the information interview. *Sociometry* 27 (3): 338-352.

Wrigley, J. 2003. *Education and gender equality*. London: Routledge.

Zipp, J. F. and Toth, J. 2002. She said, he said, they said: The impact of spousal presence in survey research. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 66, 177–208

Appendix

TABLE A1. INTERVIEWER-RESPONDENT RATIO BY URBAN/ RURAL (NUMBERS, PERCENTAGES IN PARENTHESIS)

	Urban	Rural
Respondent male/ interviewer male	8163 (60.01)	5440 (39.99)
Respondent male/ interviewer female	8006 (59.63)	5375 (40.17)
Respondent female/ interviewer male	7207 (55.60)	5756 (44.40)
Respondent female/ interviewer female	7515 (55.97)	5913 (44.03)

TABLE A2. INTERVIEWER-RESPONDENT RATIO BY AGE (NUMBERS, PERCENTAGES IN PARENTHESIS)

	Age, years
Respondent male/ interviewer male	38.35 (15.04)
Respondent male/ interviewer female	35.84 (13.56)
Respondent female/ interviewer male	38.44 (15.33)
Respondent female/ interviewer female	36.47 (14.00)

TABLE A3: INTERVIEWER-RESPONDENT RATIO BY EDUCATION (NUMBERS, PERCENTAGES IN PARENTHESIS)

	No formal	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary
Respondent male/ interviewer male	2318 (17.07)	3728 (27.46)	5143 (37.88)	2388 (17.59)
Respondent male/ interviewer female	3089 (23.15)	4029 (30.19)	2699 (33.28)	1785 (13.38)
Respondent female/ interviewer male	1879 (14.53)	3521 (27.22)	2559 (39.43)	2434 (18.82)
Respondent female/ interviewer female	2723 (20.35)	4132 (30.88)	2748 (34.91)	1855 (13.86)
Average share	18.80	28.95	36.36	15.90

TABLE A4: INTERVIEWER-RESPONDENT RATIO BY RELIGION (NUMBERS, PERCENTAGES IN PARENTHESIS)

	Christian	Muslim	Other
Respondent male/ interviewer male	7568 (56.99)	4262 (32.09)	1450 (10.92)
Respondent male/ interviewer female	8008 (61.26)	3947 (30.19)	1118 (8.55)
Respondent female/ interviewer male	7732 (61.13)	3547 (28.04)	1370 (10.83)
Respondent female/ interviewer female	8298 (63.24)	3699 (28.19)	1125 (8.57)
Average share	60.64	29.65	9.71

TABLE A5. MULTIVARIATE ORDINAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODEL OF THE GENDERED INTERVIEWER-RESPONDENT EFFECTS ON ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN, USING ROUNDS 5 AND 7

	Model A1 (Round 5)		Model A2 (Round 7)	
Respondent male/ interviewer male	Ref. cat.		Ref. cat.	
Respondent male/ interviewer female	.568***	(.022)	.657***	(.025)
Respondent female/ interviewer male	.338***	(.024)	.418***	(.026)
Respondent female/ interviewer female	.784***	(.026)	.946***	(.026)
Age	-.000	(.000)	.000	(.000)
Education	.216***	(.010)	.249***	(.011)
Christian	Ref. cat		Ref. cat	
Muslim	-.124***	(.027)	-.204***	(.030)
Other religion	-.003	(.027)	-.053	(.031)
Urban	.099***	(.018)	.018	(.020)
Country fixed effects	Yes		Yes	
Cut-off point 1	-1.367***	(.059)	-1.203***	(.063)
Cut-off point 2	-.546***	(.059)	-.608***	(.063)
Cut-off point 3	-.472***	(.059)	-.529***	(.063)
Cut-off point 4	.782***	(.059)	.375***	(.063)
Log likelihood	-65512.027		-54226.021	
Pseudo Rsquared	.04		.03	
N	50871		44880	

*Standard errors in parentheses, *p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .01 (two tailed).*

FIGURE A1. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON WOMEN FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN, WITH NO SPOUSE PRESENT

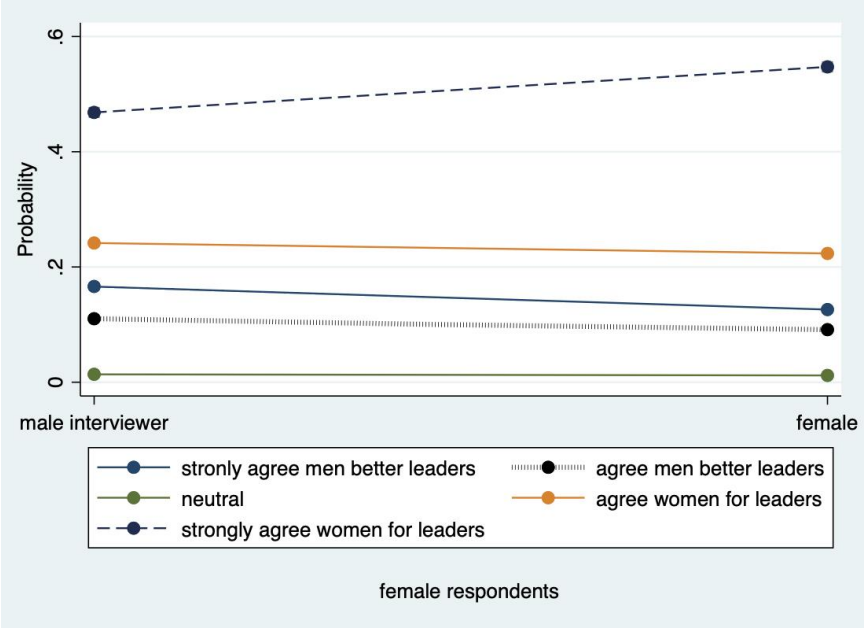


FIGURE A2. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON WOMEN FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN, WITH THE SPOUSE PRESENT

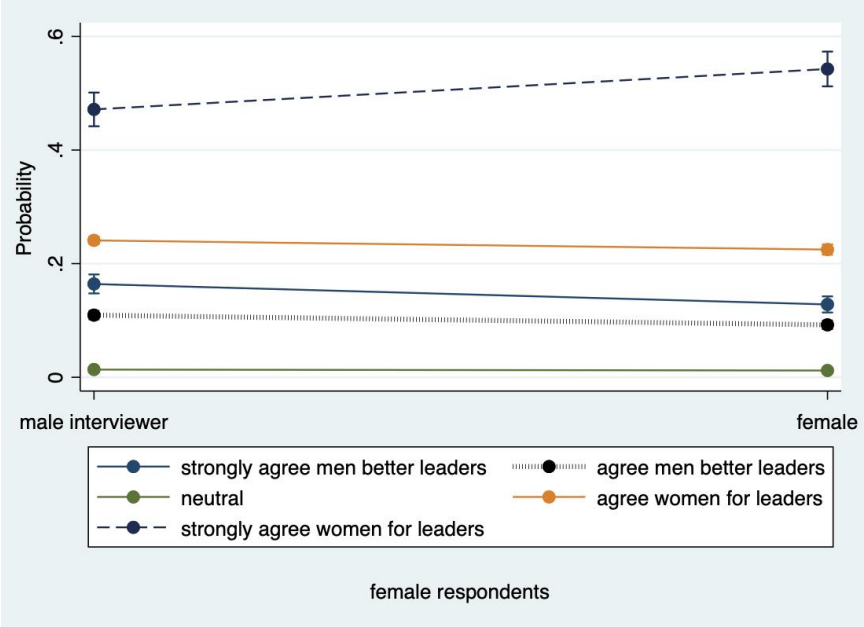


FIGURE A3. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON WOMEN FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN, WITH OTHERS PRESENT

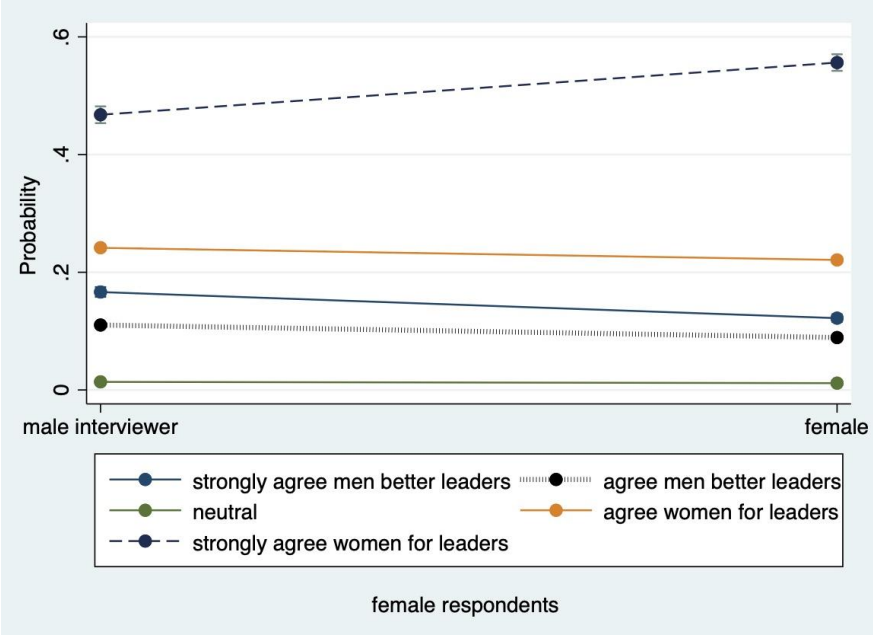


TABLE A6. ORDINAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODELS OF GENDERED INTERVIEWER EFFECTS ON WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS: INTERVIEWER CONTROLS AND AGE DIFFERENCES, ALTERNATIVE SPECIFICATIONS

	Model A3		Model A4	
Respondent male/ interviewer male	Ref. cat.		Ref. cat.	
Respondent male/ interviewer female	.662***	(.026)	.658***	(.024)
Respondent female/ interviewer male	.408***	(.026)	.410***	(.024)
Respondent female/ interviewer female	1.009***	(.026)	1.009***	(.025)
Interviewer education	.044***	(.009)	.044***	(.009)
Age difference (dichot_5)	.023	(.038)		
Interact age diff. dichot_5 * resp. male/ interv. female	-.013	(.053)		
Interact age diff. dichot_5 * resp. female/ interv. male	-.009	(.058)		
Interact age diff. dichot_5 * resp. female/ interv. female	.056	(.058)		
Age difference (dichot_10)			.078	(.052)
Interact age diff. dichot_10 * resp. male/ interv. female			-.034	(.082)
Interact age diff. dichot_10 * resp. female/ interv. Male			-.009	(.058)
Interact age diff. dichot_10 * resp. female/ interv. Female			-.119	(.081)
Education	.161***	(.010)	.160***	(.010)
Christian	Ref. cat		Ref. cat	
Muslim	-.213***	(.028)	-.214***	(.028)
Other religion	-.140***	(.030)	-.140***	(.030)
Urban	.075***	(.018)	.076***	(.018)
Country fixed effects	Yes		Yes	
Cut-off point 1	.770***	(.095)	.781***	(.095)
Cut-off point 2	1.449***	(.095)	1.461***	(.095)
Cut-off point 3	1.521***	(.095)	1.532***	(.095)
Cut-off point 4	2.599***	(.096)	2.610***	(.096)
Log likelihood	-66329.352		-66327.253	
Pseudo Rsquared	.04		.04	
N	51729		51729	

*Standard errors in parentheses, *p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .01 (two tailed).*

FIGURE A4. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON MEN FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN, WITH AGE DIFFERENCE BELOW 15 YEARS

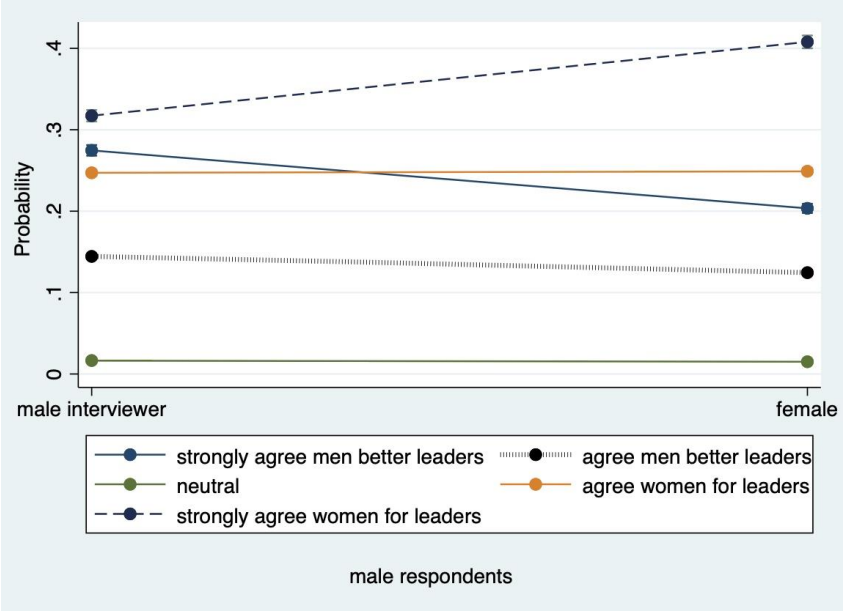


FIGURE A5. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON MEN FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN, WITH AGE DIFFERENCE ABOVE 15 YEARS

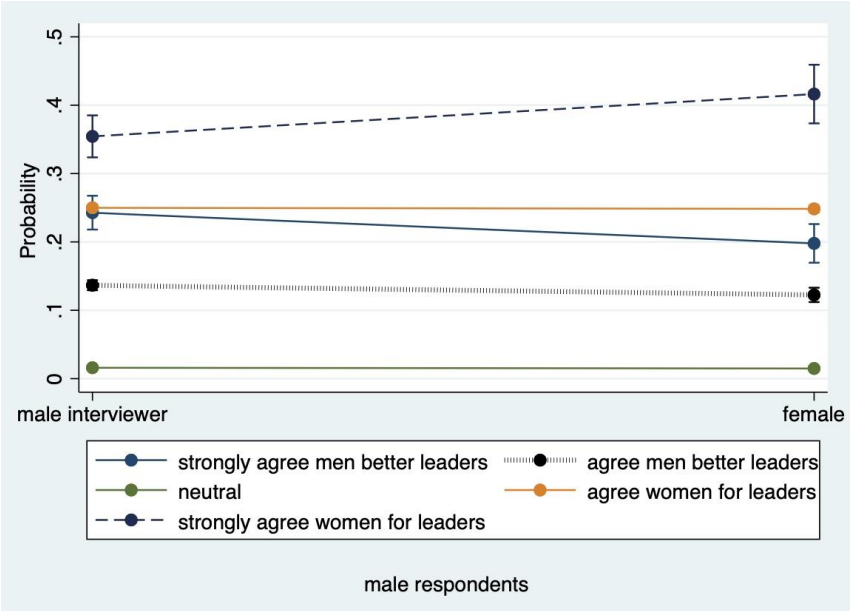


TABLE A7. MULTIVARIATE ORDINAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODELS MEASURING THE GENDERED INTERVIEWER-RESPONDENT EFFECTS ON ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN: INTERACTIONS WITH AGE AND EDUCATION

	Model A5
Respondent male/ interviewer male	Ref. cat.
Respondent male/ interviewer female	.676*** (.069)
Respondent female/ interviewer male	.560*** (.072)
Respondent female/ interviewer female	1.185*** (.070)
Age	.019 (.011)
Interaction age * respondent male/ interviewer female	-.028 (.017)
Interaction age * respondent female/ interviewer male	-.018 (.016)
Interaction age * respondent female/ interviewer female	-.011 (.017)
Education	.210*** (.018)
Interaction education * respondent male/ interviewer female	.052** (.025)
Interaction education * respondent female/ interviewer male	-.129*** (.025)
Interaction education * respondent female/ interviewer female	-.107*** (.025)
Christian	Ref. cat
Muslim	-.213*** (.028)
Other religion	-.137*** (.030)
Urban	.076*** (.018)
Country fixed effects	Yes
Cut-off point 1	.550*** (.080)
Cut-off point 2	1.230*** (.080)
Cut-off point 3	1.302*** (.080)
Cut-off point 4	2.381*** (.080)
Log likelihood	-666293.29
Pseudo Rsquared	.04
N	51729

*Standard errors in parentheses, *p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .01 (two tailed).*

TABLE A8. AVERAGE ASSESSMENTS ACROSS COUNTRIES: GENDERED-RESPONDENT EFFECTS ON INDIVIDUALS' ASSESSMENT OF WHETHER MEN OR WOMEN MAKE BETTER LEADERS

Countries	Respondent male/ interviewer male (mean responses)	Respondent male/ interviewer female (mean responses)	Difference	Respondent female/ interviewer male (mean responses)	Respondent female/ interviewer female (mean responses)	Difference
Algeria	1.02	1.00	-.02	1.95	2.00	.05
Benin	2.19	2.74	.55	2.91	3.25	.34
Botswana	3.00	3.13	.13	3.20	3.36	.16
Burkina Faso	1.75	2.66	.91	2.18	2.84	.66
Burundi	2.37	3.00	.63	2.75	3.18	.43
Cameroon	2.41	2.71	.30	2.63	3.37	.74
Cape Verde	3.01	3.42	.41	3.44	3.54	.10
Cote d'Ivoir	2.42	2.80	.38	3.23	3.22	-.01
Egypt	1.41	1.51	.10	2.02	2.29	.27
Gabon	3.03	3.12	.09	3.26	3.42	.16
Ghana	2.08	2.78	.70	2.88	3.19	.31
Guinea	1.84	2.93	.99	2.23	2.98	.75
Kenya	2.68	2.77	.09	3.23	3.28	.05
Lesotho	1.96	1.84	-.12	2.73	2.68	-.05
Liberia	1.87	2.13	.26	2.38	2.24	-.14
Madagascar	1.93	2.13	.20	2.54	2.80	.26
Malawi	2.23	2.75	.52	2.23	2.77	.54
Mali	1.84	2.42	.58	2.36	2.53	.17
Mauritius	2.59	2.48	-.11	3.29	3.33	.04
Morroco	2.00	1.87	-.13	3.14	3.09	.05
Mozambique	2.71	2.54	-.17	2.85	2.59	-.26
Namibia	2.29	2.91	.62	3.11	3.16	.05
Niger	1.25	2.18	.93	1.56	2.45	.90
Nigeria	1.74	1.88	.14	2.22	2.26	.04
San Tome	2.22	3.07	.85	2.31	3.04	.73
Senegal	2.01	2.24	.23	2.98	3.27	.29

Sierra Leone	1.66	2.76	1.10	2.32	3.11	.79
South Africa	2.45	2.44	-.01	3.13	3.17	.04
Sudan	1.47	1.45	-.02	1.80	1.98	.18
Swaziland	2.37	2.96	.59	2.99	3.46	.47
Tanzania	2.07	2.37	.30	2.93	2.95	.02
Togo	3.02	3.18	.16	3.35	3.60	.25
Tunisia	1.88	2.68	.80	2.20	2.73	.53
Uganda	2.35	2.82	.47	3.01	3.31	.30
Zambia	2.54	2.65	.11	2.82	2.88	.06
Zimbabwe	2.09	2.45	.36	3.00	3.24	.24

TABLE A9. MULTIVARIATE ORDINAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODELS MEASURING THE GENDERED INTERVIEWER-RESPONDENT EFFECTS ON ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN, ADDITIONAL CONTROLS OF AREA CHARACTERISTICS

	Model A6	
Respondent male/ interviewer male	Ref. cat.	
Respondent male/ interviewer female	.662***	(.023)
Respondent female/ interviewer male	.405***	(.023)
Respondent female/ interviewer female	1.003***	(.024)
Age	.001*	(.001)
Education	.165***	(.011)
Christian	Ref. cat	
Muslim	-.216***	(.028)
Other religion	-.135***	(.030)
Urban	.058***	(.022)
Sewage system in area	.018	(.025)
Health clinic in area	.032*	(.019)
Roadblocks by police/military in area	-.014	(.031)
Country fixed effects	Yes	
Cut-off point 1	.495***	(.077)
Cut-off point 2	1.172***	(.077)
Cut-off point 3	1.243***	(.077)
Cut-off point 4	2.321***	(.078)
Log likelihood	-65051.404	
Pseudo Rsquared	.04	
N	50755	

*Standard errors in parentheses, *p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .01 (two tailed).*

FIGURE A6. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON YOUNG MEN (18-25) FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

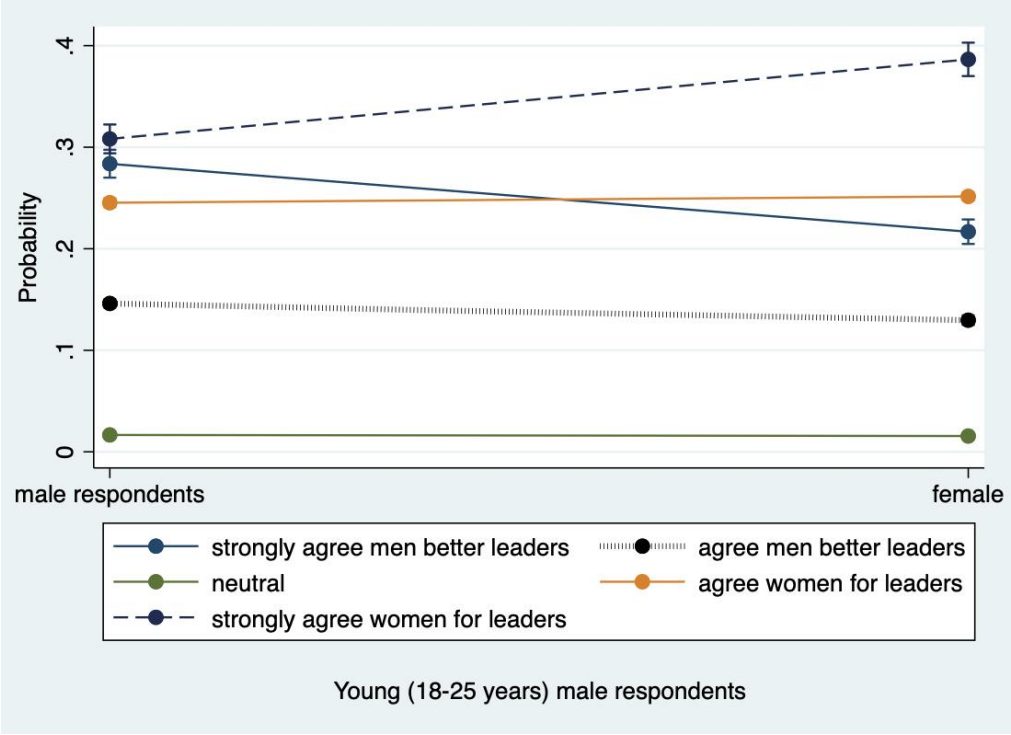


FIGURE A7. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON YOUNG MEN (26-35) FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

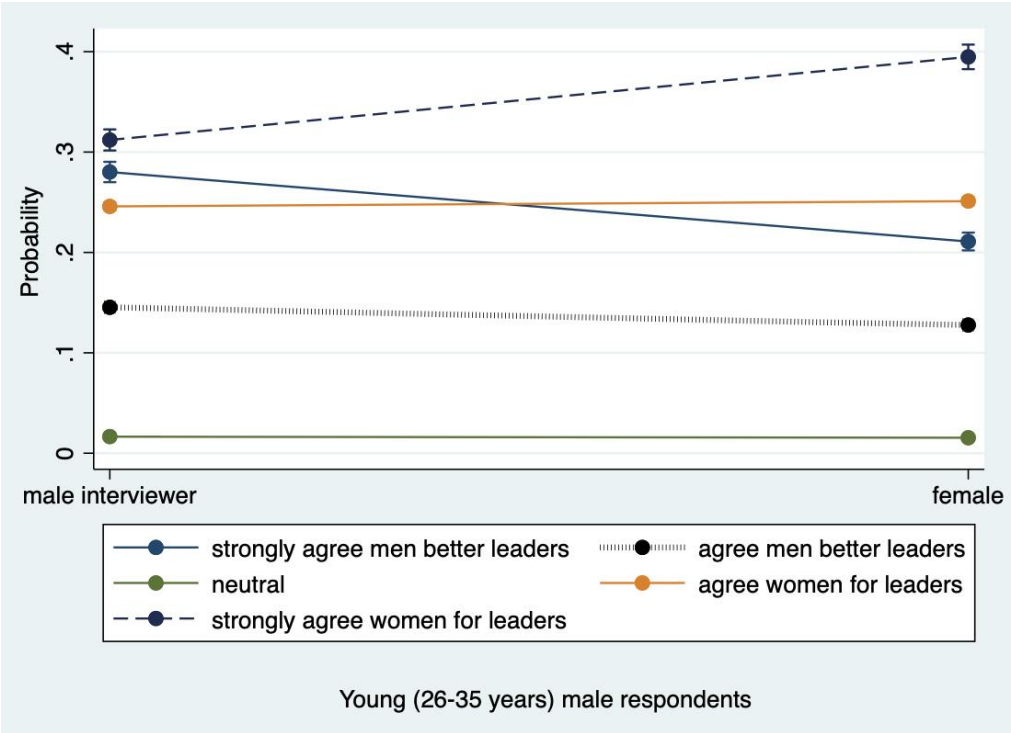


FIGURE A8. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON YOUNG MIDDLE-AGED MEN (36-45) FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

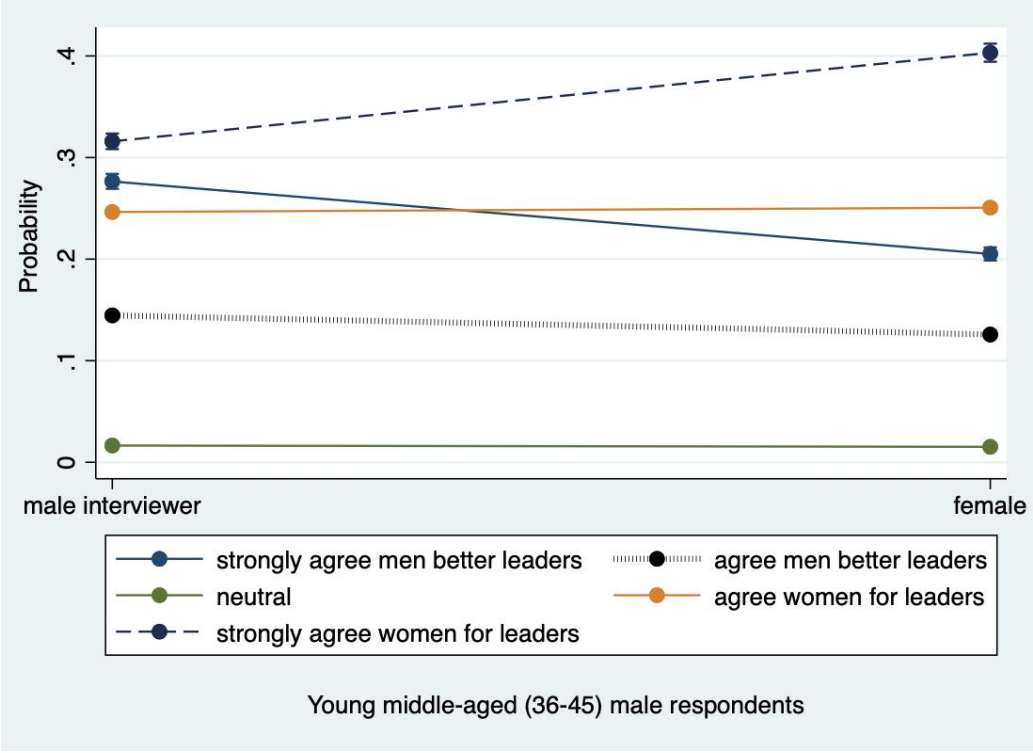


FIGURE A9. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON OLD MIDDLE-AGED MEN (46-55) FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

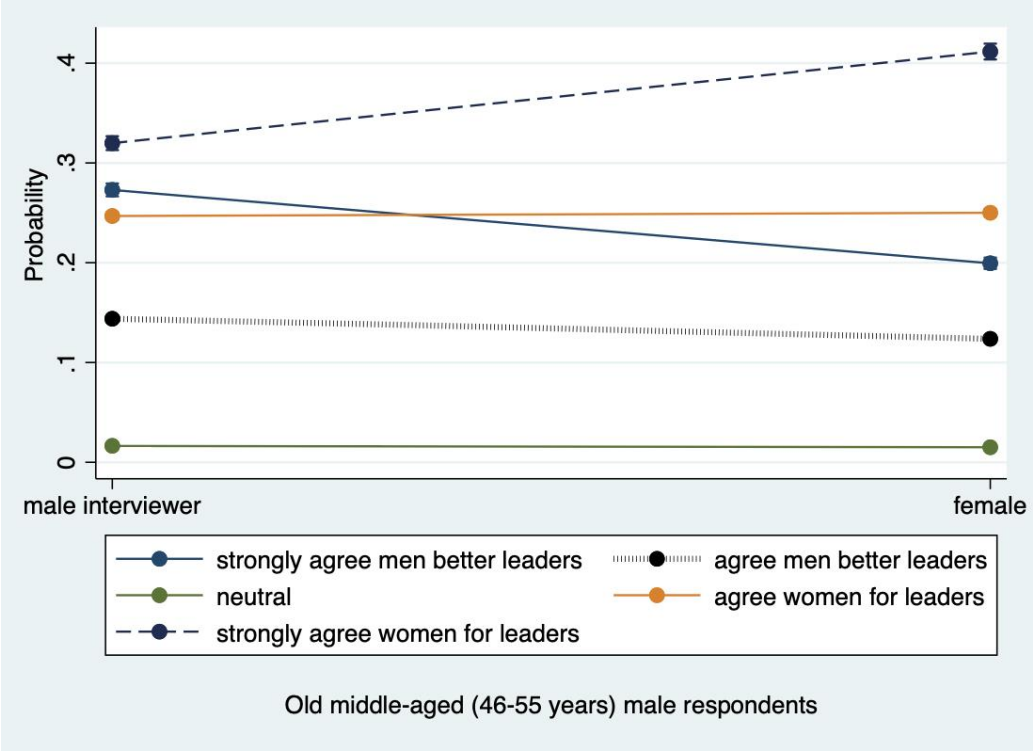


FIGURE A10. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON YOUNG SENIOR MEN (46-55) FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

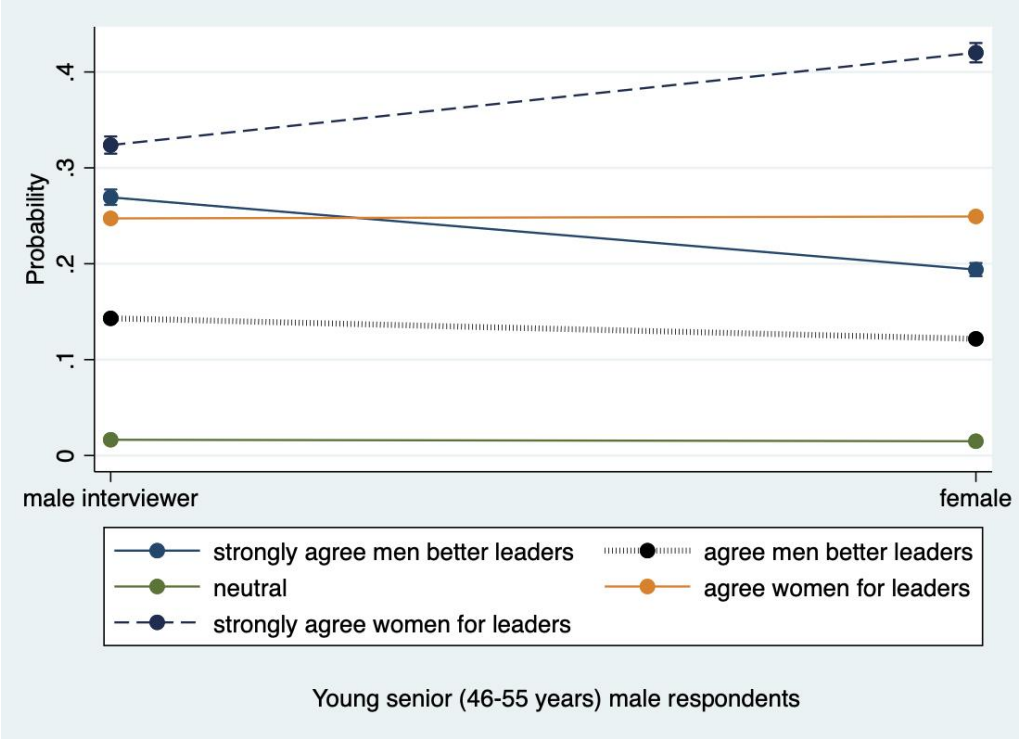


FIGURE A11. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON SENIOR MEN (65 AND ABOVE) FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

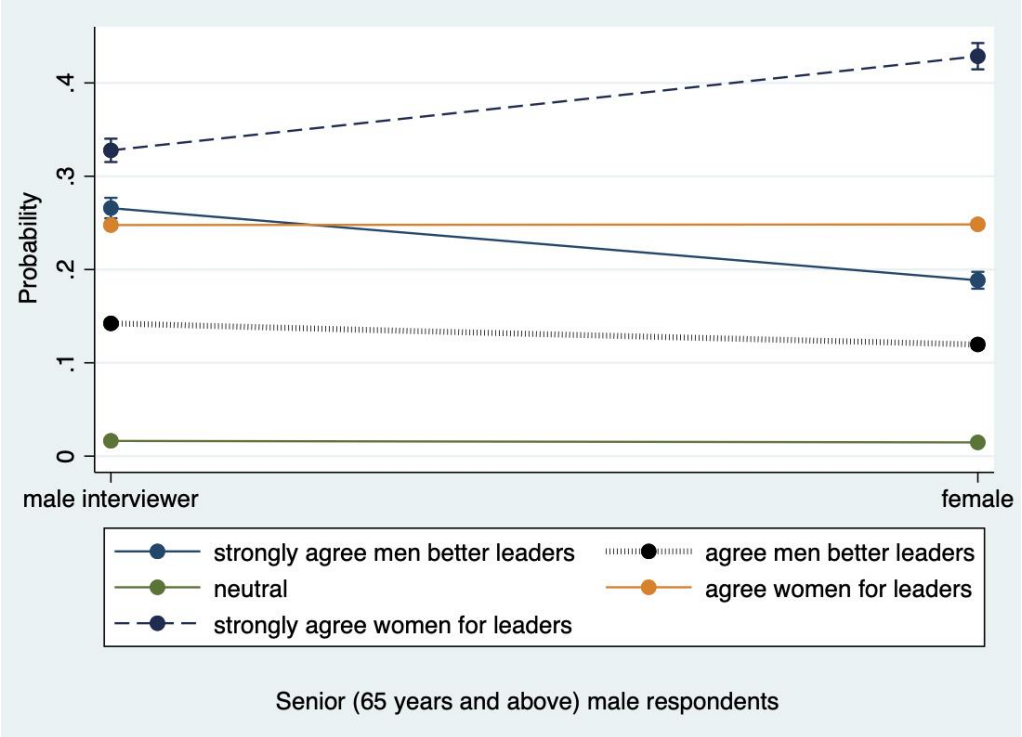


FIGURE A12. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON YOUNG WOMEN (18-25) FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

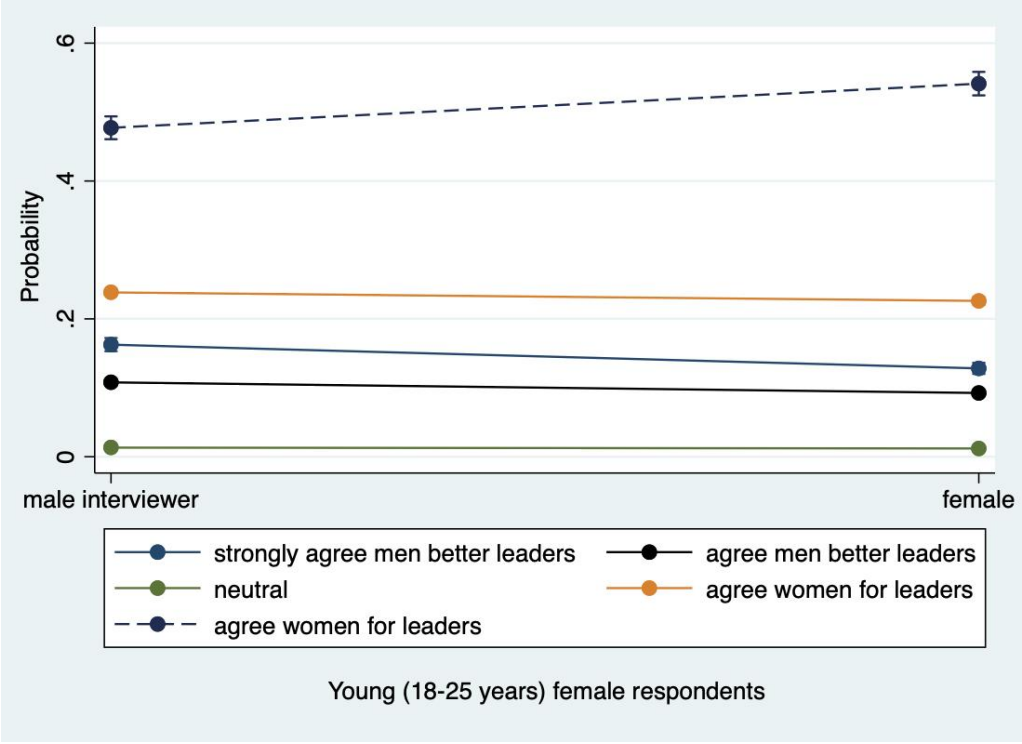


FIGURE A13. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON RATHER YOUNG WOMEN (26-35) FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

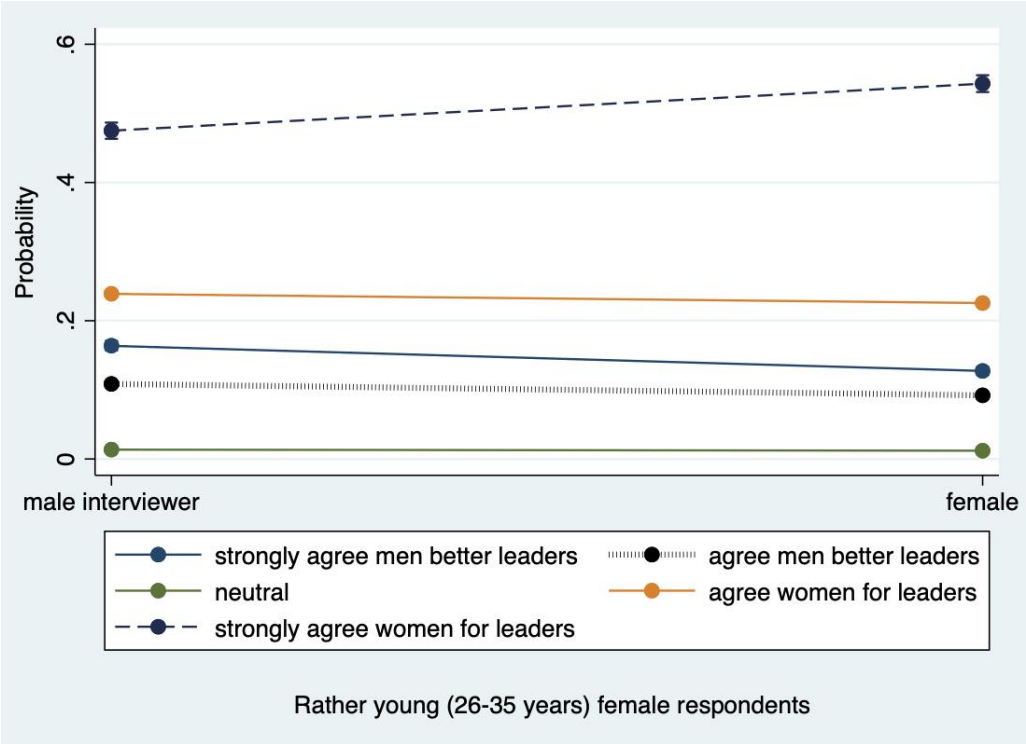


FIGURE A14. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON YOUNG MIDDLE-AGED WOMEN (35-46) FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

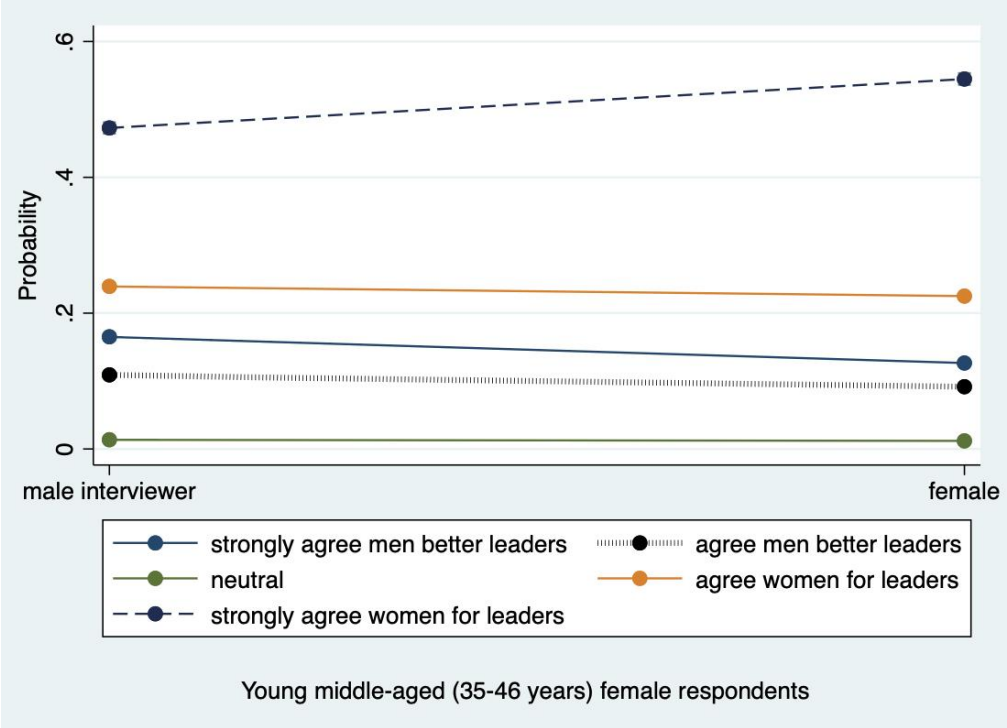


FIGURE A15. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON OLD MIDDLE-AGED WOMEN (46-55) FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

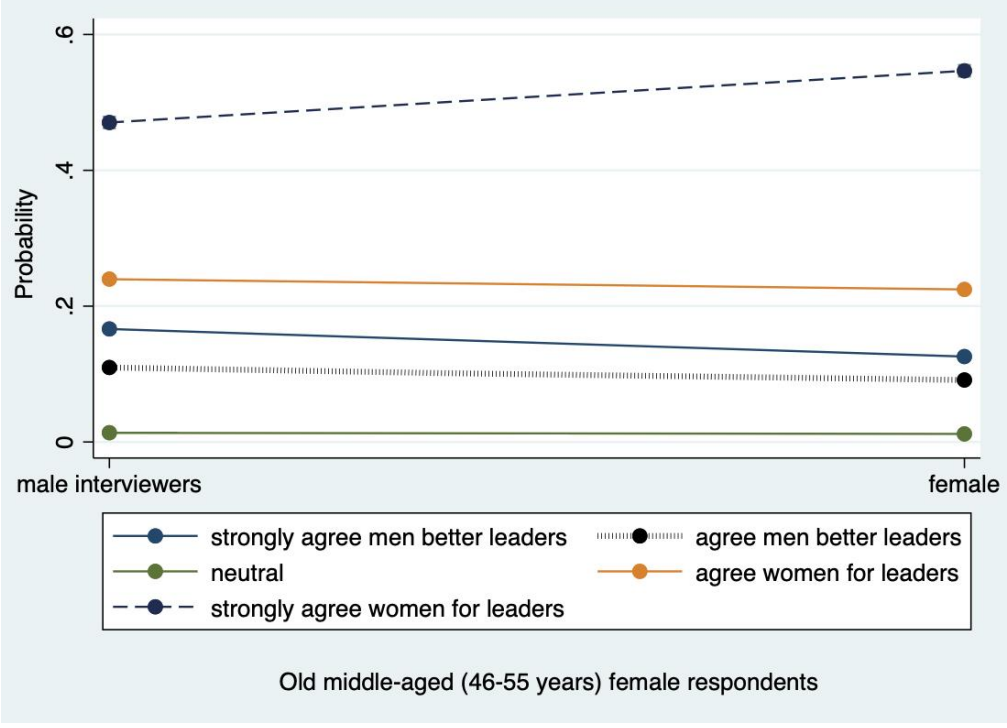


FIGURE A16. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON YOUNG SENIOR WOMEN (56-65) FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

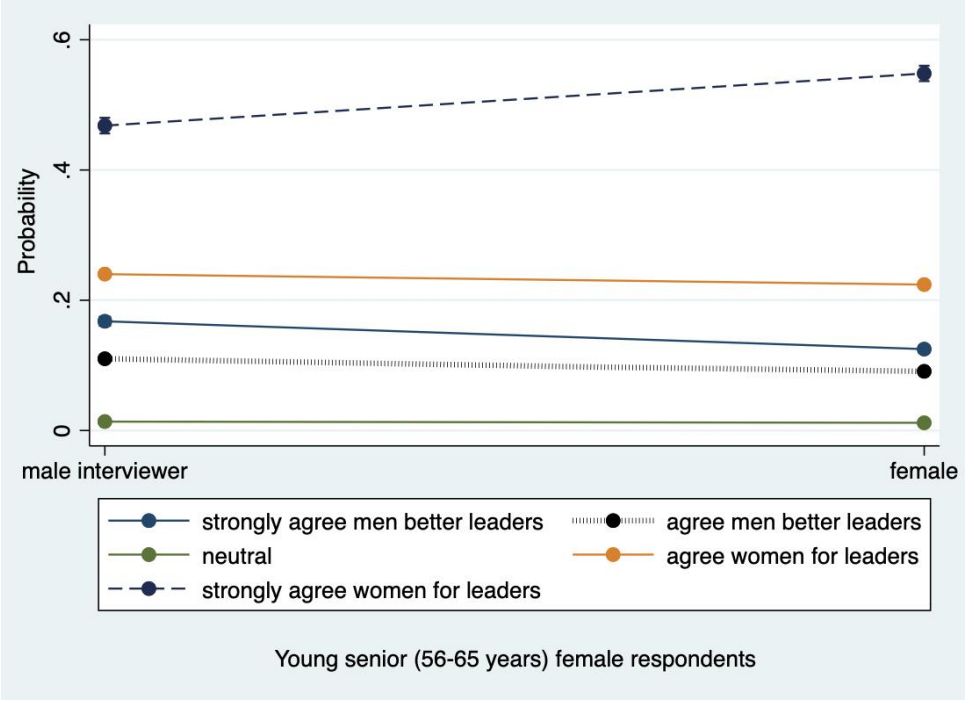


FIGURE A17. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON SENIOR WOMEN (56-65) FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

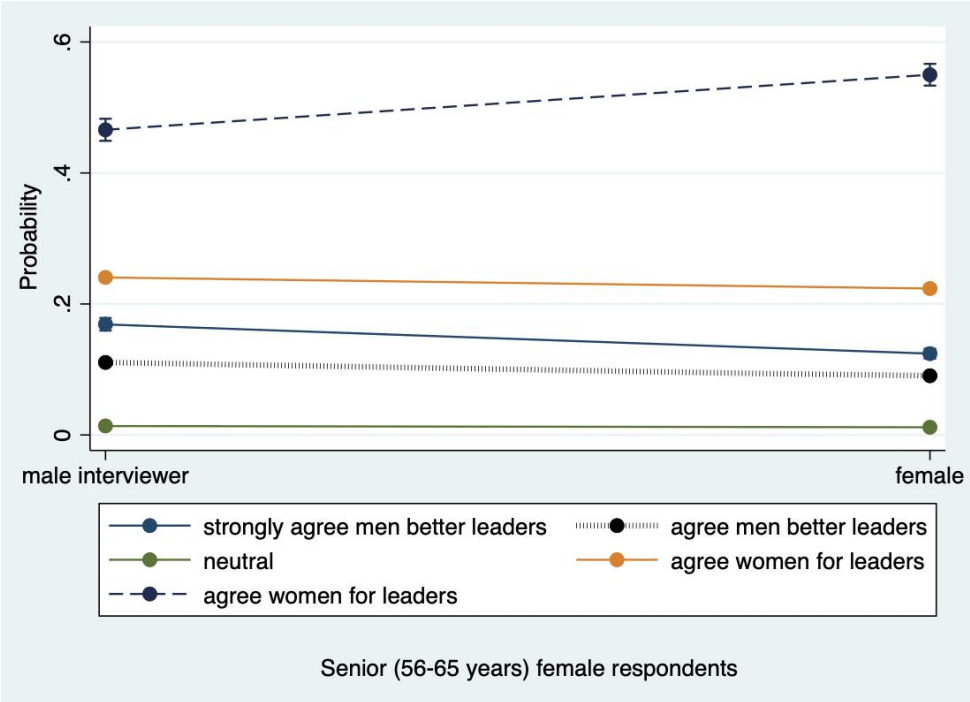


FIGURE A18. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON MEN WITH NO FORMAL EDUCATION FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

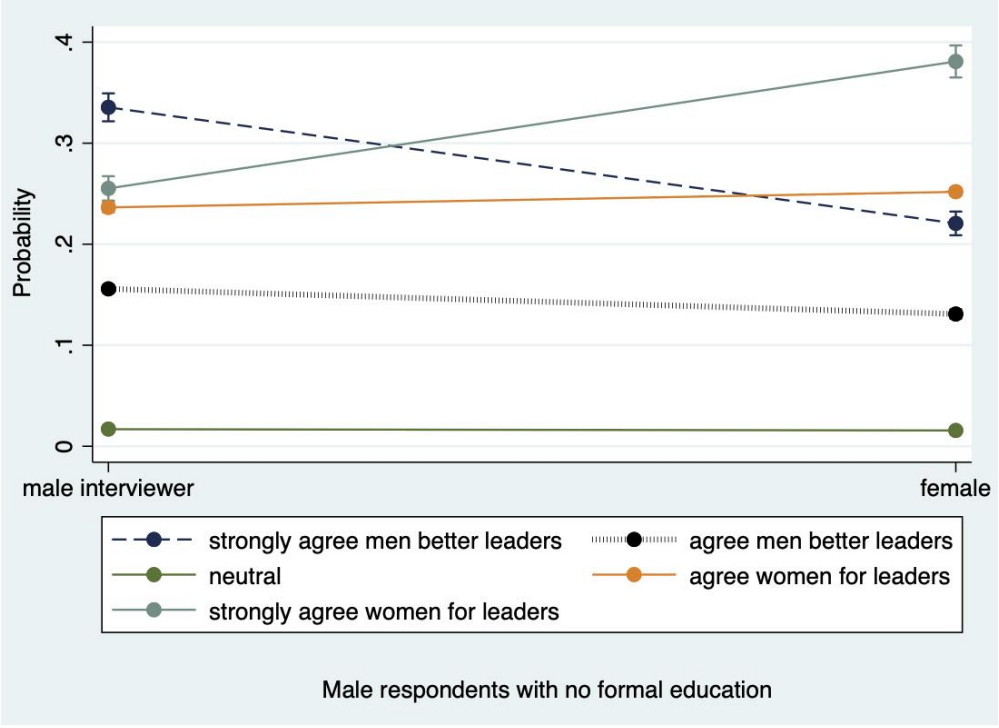


FIGURE A19. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON MEN WITH PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

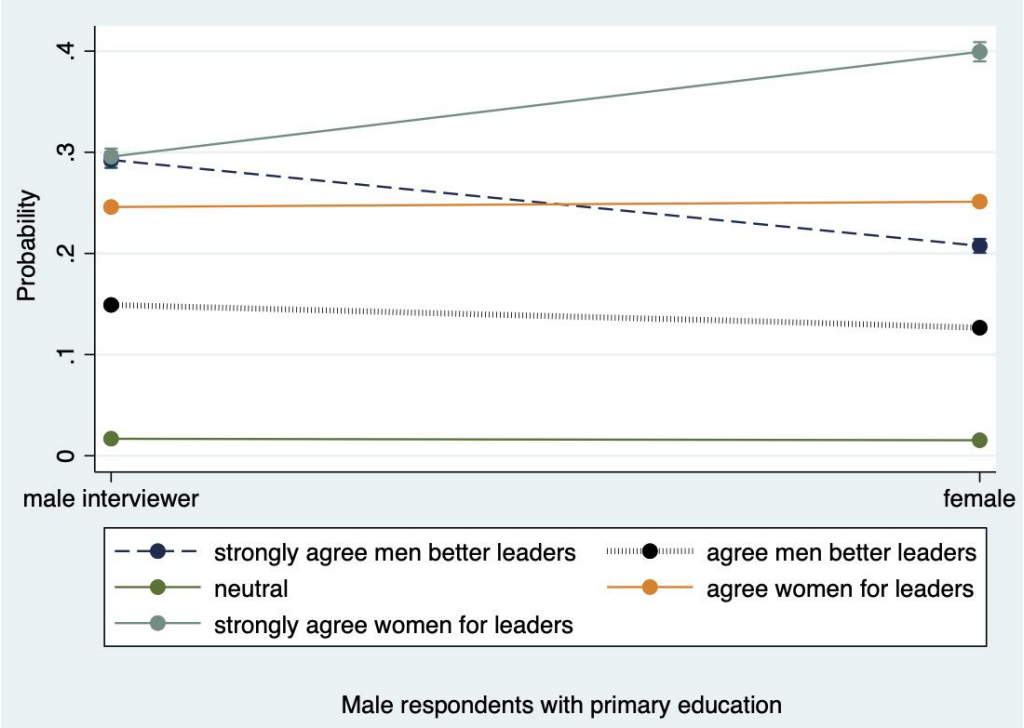


FIGURE A20. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON MEN WITH SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

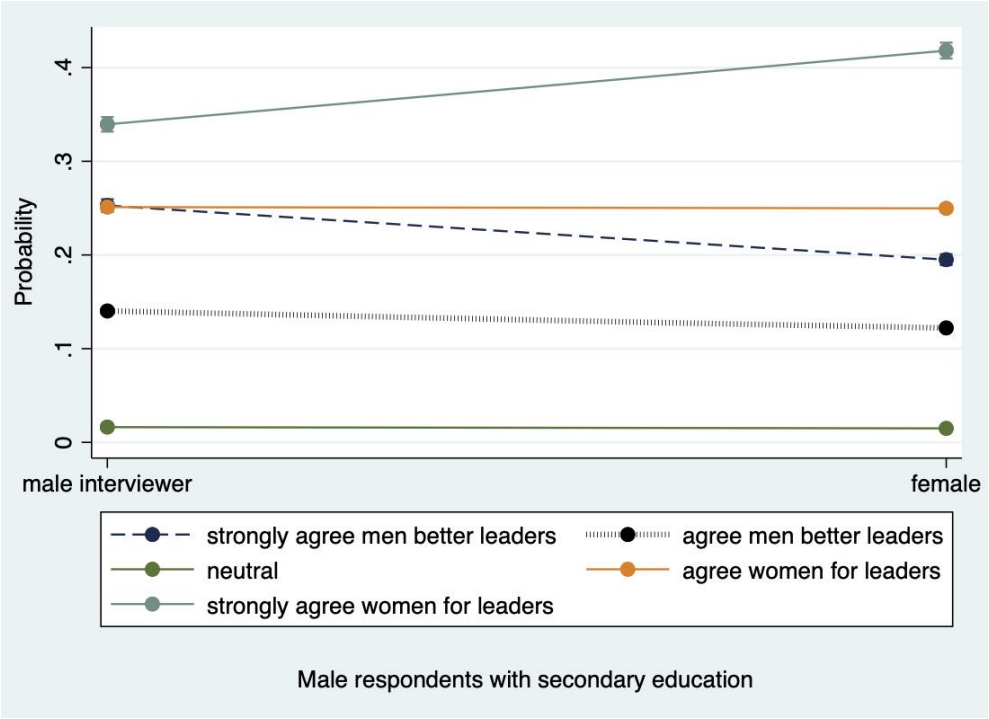


FIGURE A21. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON MEN WITH POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

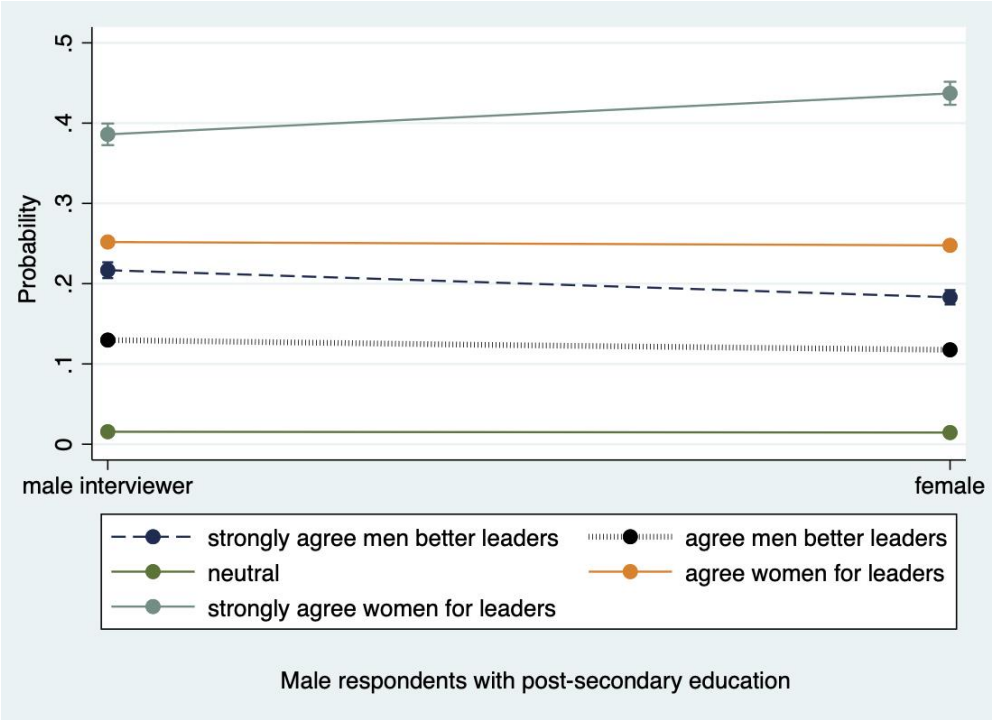


FIGURE A22. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON WOMEN WITH NO FORMAL EDUCATION FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

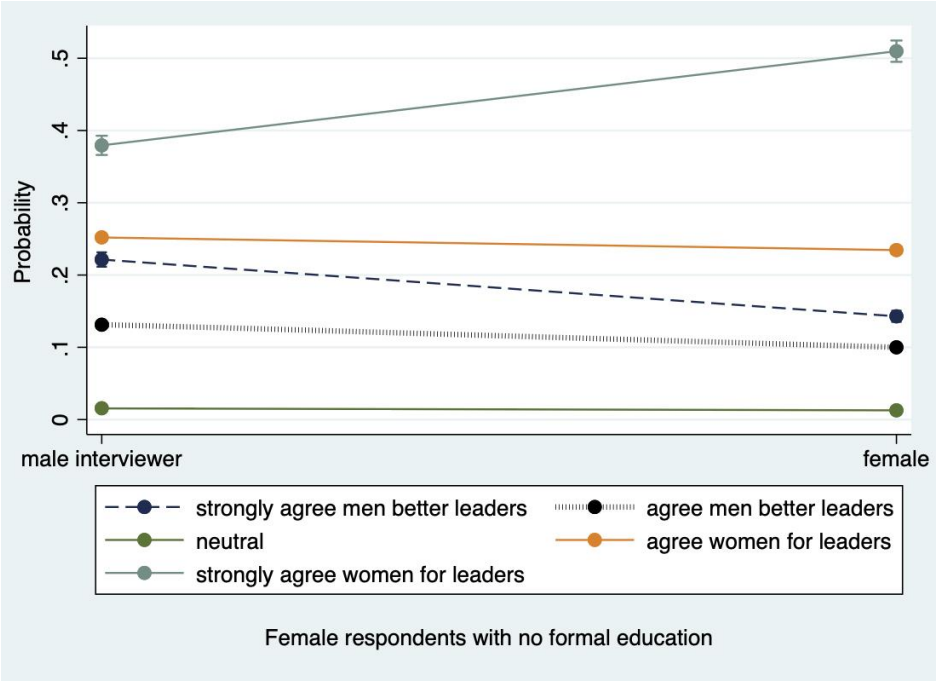


FIGURE A23. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON WOMEN WITH PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

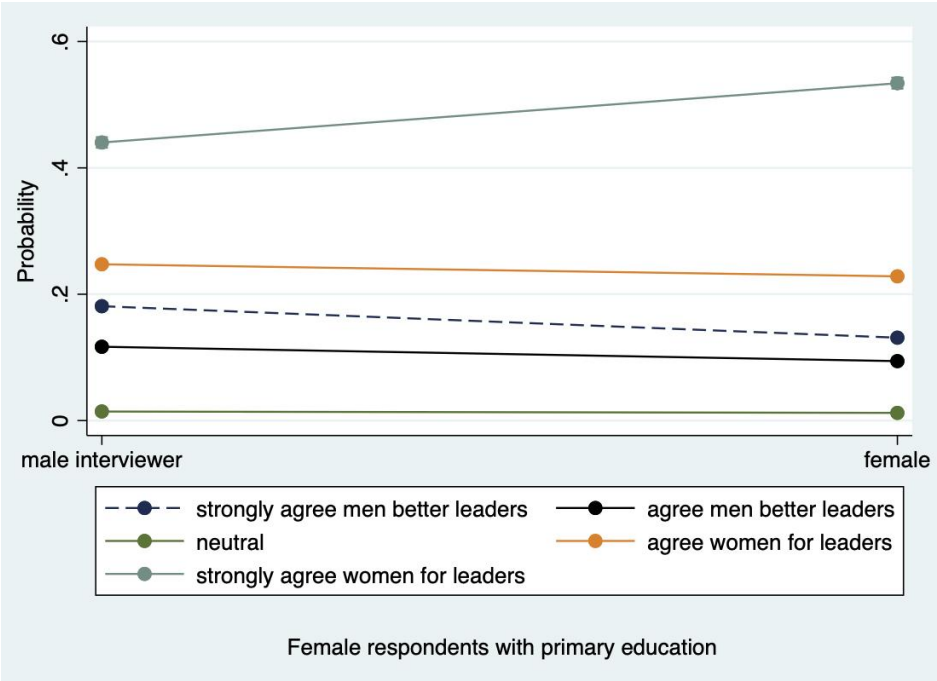


FIGURE A24. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON WOMEN WITH SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

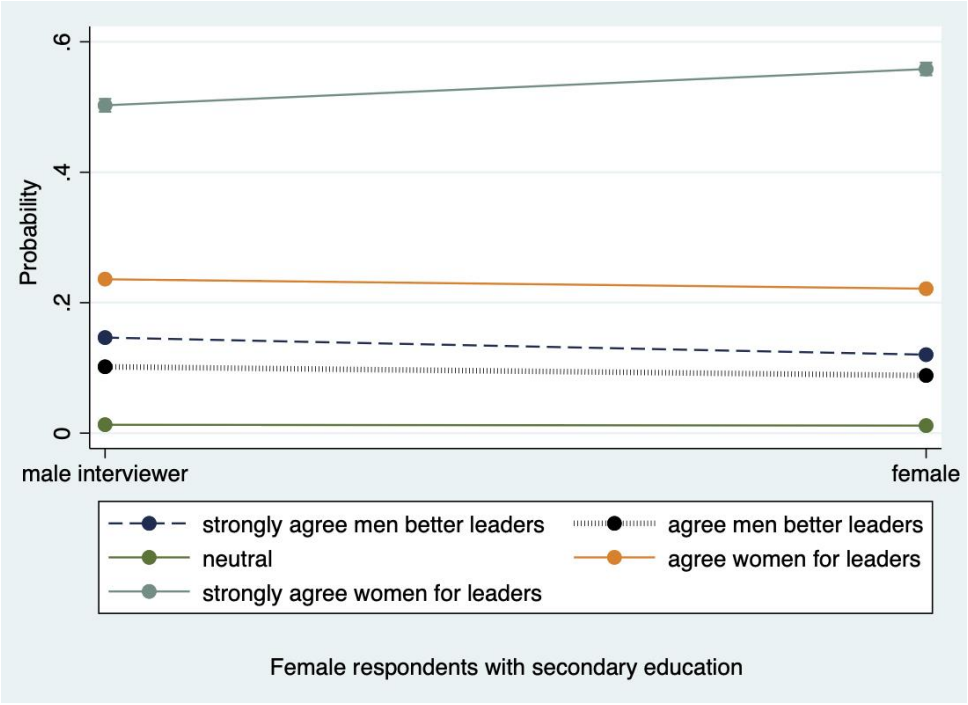


FIGURE A25. PREDICTED EFFECT OF INTERVIEWER GENDER ON WOMEN WITH POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR ASSESSMENTS OF WHETHER MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN