Optional Appendix

Table A1. Public opinion data sources (Arab world)

Publicly-available data from Arab countries:

Arab Barometer: http://www.arabbarometer.org/

World Values Survey: http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp

Afrobarometer: http://www.afrobarometer.org/

Latin Barometer: http://www.latinobarometro.org/lat.jsp

ICPSR: https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/landing.jsp (see in particular Carnegie Middle East Governance and Islam Dataset, http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/studies/32302, which includes individual-level and country-level variables for surveys conducted by Mark Tessler and collaborators since 1988).

Pew Research Center has conducted surveys since 2001 in Morocco, Tunisia, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, and Kuwait. Available online at http://www.pewglobal.org/question-search/

Other survey-related websites:

Transitional Governance Project: http://transitionalgovernanceproject.org/

Program on Governance and Local Development: http://campuspress.yale.edu/pgld/ and http://gld.gu.se/

Research centers and institutes:

The Social & Economic Survey Research Institute: http://sesri.qu.edu.qa/ (Qatar)

Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research: http://www.pcpsr.org/ (Palestine)

Center for Strategic Studies, http://www.jcss.org/DefaultAr.aspx (Jordan)

A number of non- and for-profit marketing and survey firms and research groups in the region also conduct surveys.

Table A2. Sources for Figure 2 (Papers presented at MESA and APSA)

Figure 2 (left) is based on abstracts found at: https://mesana.org/mymesa/meeting_program.php

Figure 3 (right) is based on paper and poster titles found at:

2016:
http://www.apsanet.org/Portals/54/annualmeeting/2016/2016%20APSA%20Final%20Program.pdf?ver=2016-08-16-123936-850

2015:
http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/Jeljour_results.cfm?form_name=journalbrowse&journal_id=1896371&Network=no&lim=false

2014: http://www.apsanet.org/portals/54/Files/Programs/FinalePDFFullProgramAPSA2014.pdf

2013:
http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/Jeljour_results.cfm?npage=2&form_name=journalbrowse&journal_id=2282083&Network=no&SortOrder=ab_approval_date&stype=desc&lim=false&selectedOption=6

2012:
http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/Jeljour_results.cfm?form_name=journalbrowse&journal_id=2078735&Network=no&lim=false

2011:
http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/Jeljour_results.cfm?form_name=journalbrowse&journal_id=1896371&Network=no&lim=false

2010:
http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/Jeljour_results.cfm?npage=1&form_name=journalbrowse&journal_id=1621378&Network=no&SortOrder=ab_approval_date&stype=desc&lim=false&selectedOption=6

2009:
http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/Jeljour_results.cfm?form_name=journalbrowse&journal_id=1444480&Network=no&lim=false

New Directions in Theoretical and Policy Research

Despite the recent growth in publicly available data, existing public opinion literature focuses on a few topics, leaving many other questions underexplored. (See Table A3; Benstead 2017). The most studied topic is support for democracy (Tessler 2002a, b; Tessler, Jamal, and Robbins 2012; Tessler and Gao 2005; Tezcür et al. 2012; Ciftci 2013; Tessler, Moaddel, and Inglehart 2006; Benstead 2015).[i] Attitudes toward gender equality and social trust have also received coverage. However, much less work has explored cross-national differences in political values, including why citizens are more or less accepting of political competition or desire different constitutional rights and freedoms.

Many projects also shed light on the gender gap in civil society participation (Bernick and Ciftci 2015) or examine political participation, especially as it relates to the relationships between civil society membership, social trust, and support for democracy (Jamal 2007a, b). Some research has examined boycotting (Benstead and Reif 2017). However, limited research examines voter choice—such as why voters support Islamist, secular, or other parties—and media consumption (Pellicer and Wegner 2015).

Researchers have used the Arab Barometer and other surveys to examine citizens' experiences with the state. For instance, some literature examines how perceptions of government performance and experiences with corruption and clientelism shape support for democracy (Benstead and Atkeson 2011). A limited number of studies also assess the extent to which women and minorities are able to access services from elected officials (Abdel-Samad and Benstead 2016; Benstead 2015, 2016). At the same time, there is still a need to understand how clientelism and corruption affect citizens' interpersonal trust and confidence in state institutions and how these outcomes affect demand for freer elections.

Some studies also examine values and identity, with most focusing on gender equality (Alexander and Welzel 2011; Norris 2009) and identity (Benstead and Reif 2013). Yet, few explain social and political values, including tolerance, religiosity, and attitudes toward controversial issues, such as dress choice, minorities' political rights, and state violations of human rights in the name of security.

Attitudes about international and regional issues have also been the subject of some studies (Tessler and Robbins 2007), but despite their timeliness, much more work should be done on attitudes toward other international issues and bodies like the Arab League and the United Nations. Research might also explore how citizens explain the Arab world's economic and political challenges, their perceptions of the motivations for and effectiveness of US democracy promotion, the extent to which citizens support a two-state solution in Israel and Palestine, and the impact of living in western countries on attitudes.

Table A3. Topics in the Arab Barometer

a. Topics and literature	b. Theoretical and policy questions
Attitudes toward political regimes	
Preferences for political regimes (Tessler 2002a, b; Tessler, Jamal and Robbins 2012; Tessler and Gao 2005; Tezcür et al. 2012; Ciftci 2013; Benstead 2015; Al-Ississ and Diwan 2016)	Why does support for democracy develop and change? Why do citizens define democracy differently? Why do citizens demand secular versus religious democracy? Why are some political and economic reforms likely to be more effective than others for strengthening support for democracy?
Political values (Hoffman and Jamal 2012)	Why are some citizens more supportive of greater political competition and debate? How do youth values differ from those of older generations?
Political participation	
Civil society membership, political knowledge, and engagement (Jamal 2007a, b; Bernick and Ciftci 2015; Hamanaka 2017; Robbins and Jamal 2016)	How does civic participation relate to trust, government legitimacy, and support for democracy? What explains participation in campaign rallies, petitions, and protests, including gender gaps in these forms of engagement? Why do gender gaps exist in political knowledge and how does this impact participation? How do citizens perceive the reasons for the Arab spring and the extent to which they were achieved?
Voting	Why do voters support Islamist, secular, or other parties and what explains why some voters switch their support in subsequent elections? What is the extent and impact of vote-buying and clientelism? Are men or women more or less likely to sell their vote or to vote based on clientelistic relationships?
Political knowledge and the media	Who consumes various media sources and how does this choice impact values and partisanship?
Citizen engagement with the state and social institutions	
Institutional trust and perceptions of government performance (Benstead and Atkeson 2011)	Why do some citizens evaluate government performance more positively than others? To what extent do citizens see their governments as democratic? Why do evaluations of government performance change over time? How does clientelism and corruption affect social trust, regime legitimacy, and support for democracy?
Governance and service provision. State-society linkages and representation (Abdel-	What explains effectiveness and equity in access to services, such as security, dispute resolution, healthcare, and education?

Samad and Benstead 2016)	
Individual orientations and identity	
Gender equality (Alexander and Welzel 2011; Norris 2009; Al Subhi and Smith 2017)	What explains attitudes toward different dimensions of gender inequality, such as women's status, mobility, wages, and political involvement?
Identity (Benstead and Reif 2013)	How does identity shape culture and political attitudes?
Tolerance and values (Falco and Rotondi 2016.)	Why are some citizens more supportive of greater political competition and debate? Citizens are more likely to wish to migrate? How does living in western countries impact social and political attitudes?
Religiosity and interpretations of Islam (Achilov 2016)	Why does religiosity vary within and across societies? What are individuals' views on matters such as lotteries, women's dress, apostasy, Islam and democracy, and minority political rights?
Controversial issues	To what extent does the public accept state violations of security to achieve security?
International affairs	
Attitudes about international and regional issues (Nugent, Masoud, and Jamal 2016; Tessler and Robbins 2007; Benstead and Reif 2017; Tessler and Warriner 1997; Tessler, Jamal and Robbins 2012; Tessler, Moaddel and Inglehart 2006; Isani and Schlipphak 2016; Tausch 2016)	To what extent do citizens see foreign countries like Iran and the US as democratic? How do they evaluate the Arab League and other international organizations? Why do citizens assess differently the reasons for economic and political challenges in the Arab world? Do citizens support armed operations against US elsewhere? Why do anti- and pro- American attitudes vary across the Arab world? To what extent do citizens support a two state solution in Israel/Palestine?

Table A4. Percentage of observations missing and systematically missing data for respondent sex, education, and religiosity for "Men make better political leaders" (World Values Survey)

Country-year	a. % missing	b. Higher % missing (p<.05)	Country-year	a. % missing	b. Higher % missing (p<.05)
China-1995	8.0	Less educated	*West Asia-con't*		
China-2001	7.0	Female, less educated	Kyrgyzstan-2011	0.5	
China-2007	16.0	Female, less educated, more religious	Pakistan-1997	0.0	
China-2012	10.0	Less educated, more religious	Pakistan-2001	2.0	Female
Taiwan-1994	6.0	Less educated	Pakistan-2012	3.0	Female
Taiwan-2006	0.5		Turkey-1996	5.0	Female, less educated
Taiwan-2012	6.0	Less educated	Turkey-2001	3.0	
Hong Kong-2005	3.0		Turkey-2007	4.0	Less educated
Hong Kong-2013	0.6		Turkey-2011	3.0	
Indonesia-2001	5.0	Less educated, less religious	Uzbekistan-2011	2.0	Female, less educated
Indonesia-2006	3.0	Less educated, less religious	**Mean-West Asia**	4.6	13/23 (57%)
Japan-1995	28.0				
Japan-2000	30.0		Bahrain-2014	4.0	
Japan-2005	32.0		Kuwait-2014	4.0	Female
Japan-2010	35.0		Qatar-2010	0.3	Less educated
South Korea-1996	0.2		Saudi Arabia-2003	5.0	More religious
South Korea-2001	9.0	More educated	Yemen-2014	3.0	Female, Less religious
South Korea-2005	0.0	Less religious	**Mean-Gulf**	**3.3**	**4/5 (80%)**
South Korea-2010	1.0	Male			
Malaysia-2006	0.4		Palestine-2013	2.0	
Malaysia-2012	0.0		Iraq-2004	3.0	
Philippines-1996	2.0	More educated	Iraq-2006	3.0	Female
Philippines-2001	1.0		Iraq-2012	2.0	Less religious
Philippines-2012	0.0		Jordan-2001	2.0	
Singapore-2002	2.0		Jordan-2007	2.0	
Singapore-2012	0.0		Jordan-2014	2.0	
Viet Nam-2001	6.0	Female, less educated	Lebanon-2013	3.0	

Country-Year	Value	Description		Country-Year	Value	Description
Viet Nam-2006	2.0	Female, more religious		**Mean-Levant**	**2.4**	**2/8 (25%)**
Thailand-2007	0.5					
Thailand-2013	0.7			Algeria-2000	6.0	Less educated
Mean-East Asia	**7.2**	**14/30 (47%)**		Algeria-2013	4.0	
				Libya-2014	3.0	Female
Albania-1998	8.0	Less educated, more religious		Morocco-2001	17.0	Female, less educated
Albania-2002	8.0			Morocco-2007	7.0	More religious
Bosnia and Herzegovina-2001	2.0	More religious		Morocco-2011	17.0	Female
Andorra-2005	2.0			Tunisia-2013	4.0	Female
Bulgaria-1997	16.0	Less educated, more religious		Egypt-2001	0.5	
Bulgaria-2005	7.0	Less educated		Egypt-2008	0.2	Less religious
Belarus-1990	8.0	Female, less educated		Egypt-2013	0.0	
Belarus-1996	1.0	Less educated		**Mean-North Africa**	**5.9**	**7/10 (70%)**
Croatia-1996	5.0			**Mean-All Middle East**	**4.1**	**13/23 (57%)**
Cyprus-2006	0.2					
Cyprus-2011	2.0			Canada-2000	4.0	Less religious
Czech Republic-1998	8.0			Canada-2006	4.0	More religious
Estonia-1996	4.0			Dominican Republic-1996	12.0	
Estonia-2011	3.0			El Salvador-1999	8.0	Female, less educated
Finland-1996	4.0			Guatemala-2004	3.0	
Finland-2005	2.0					
France-2006	3.0			Mexico-1996	8.0	Less educated
Germany-1997	4.0			Mexico-2000	4.0	Female, less educated
Germany-2006	6.0	Male		Mexico-2005	1.0	Less educated
Germany-2013	3.0			Mexico-2012	1.0	
Hungary-1990	6.0	Less educated		Puerto Rico-1995	4.0	Less educated
Hungary-2009	4.0	Less educated		Puerto Rico-2001	4.0	Less educated, less religious
Italy-2005	7.0	Less educated, more religious		Trinidad and Tobago-2006	6.0	Male
Latvia-1996	8.0			Trinidad and Tobago-2011	10.0	

Country-Year	Value	Descriptor		Country-Year	Value	Descriptor	%
Lithuania-1997	10.0	Male, less educated		U.S.-1995	7.0		
Moldova-1996	6.0	Less educated, more religious		U.S.-1999	5.0		
Moldova-2002	8.0	Female, less educated		U.S.-2006	2.0	Less educated	
Moldova-2006	3.0	More religious		U.S.-2011	1.0		
Netherlands-2006	7.0	Male		**Mean-North America**	5.3		10/17 (59%)
Netherlands-2012	12.0	Less educated					
Norway-1996	1.0			Australia-1995	4.0		
Norway-2007	0.4			Australia-2005	2.0		
Poland-1997	16.0	Less educated		Australia-2012	3.0		
Poland-2005	11.0	Less educated		New Zealand-1998	15.0	Male	
Poland-2012	11.0	Less educated		New Zealand-2004	13.0	Male	
Romania-1998	12.0	Less educated		New Zealand-2011	11.0	Male, less educated	
Romania-2005	10.0	Female, less educated		**Mean-Oceania**	**8.0**		**3/6 (50%)**
Romania-2012	9.0	Female, less educated					
Russian Federation-1995	10.0	Female, less educated, more religious		Uruguay-1996	8.0	Less educated	
Russian Federation-2006	6.0			Uruguay-2006	10.0		
Russian Federation-2011	5.0	Less educated		Uruguay-2011	9.0		
Slovakia-1998	7.0	Less educated		Argentina-1995	9.0	Less educated	
Slovenia-1995	7.0	Less educated		Argentina-1999	10.0	Less educated	
Slovenia-2005	6.0	More religious		Argentina-2006	10.0	Less educated, more religious	
Slovenia-2011	4.0	Less educated, more religious		Argentina-2013	5.0	Male	
Spain-1995	8.0	Less educated, more religious		Brazil-2006	1.0	Less educated	
Spain-2000	8.0	More religious		Brazil-2014	4.0	Female	
Spain-2007	5.0	Less educated		Chile-1996	6.0	More educated	
Spain-2011	4.0	Less educated, more religious		Chile-2000	4.0		
Sweden-1996	6.0	Male		Chile-2006	4.0		
Sweden-2006	1.0			Chile-2011	4.0		

Country	Value	Notes		Country	Value	Notes
Sweden-2011	4.0	Male		Colombia-1998	3.0	Less educated
Switzerland-2007	2.0	Less educated, less religious		Colombia-2005	0.1	
Ukraine-1996	16.0	Less educated		Colombia-2012	4.0	Less educated
Ukraine-2006	8.0			Ecuador-2013	0.3	
Ukraine-2011	0.0			Peru-1996	6.0	Less educated, more religious
Macedonia-1998	8.0	Less educated, more religious		Peru-2001	4.0	
Macedonia-2001	4.0	Less educated		Peru-2006	3.0	Less educated
Great Britain-2005	10.0	Less educated		Peru-2012	6.0	
Serbia and Montenegro-2005	5.0			Venezuela-1996	9.0	
Serbia-1996	8.0	Less educated		Venezuela-2000	3.0	Female, less educated, more religious
Serbia-2001	12.0	Female, less educated		**Mean-South America**	**5.3**	**13/23 (57%)**
Montenegro-1996	13.0					
Montenegro-2001	13.0			Ethiopia-2007	2.0	
Bosnia-1998	4.0			Ghana-2007	3.0	Female
Georgia-1996	3.0	Less educated		Ghana-2012	0.0	
Georgia-2009	6.0	Less religious		Mali-2007	5.0	
Georgia-2014	5.0	Less educated		Nigeria-1995	4.0	Female, less educated
Mean-Europe	**6.4**	**44/68 (65%)**		Nigeria-2000	2.0	Female
				Nigeria-2011	0.0	
Azerbaijan-1997	6.0	Less educated		Rwanda-2007	6.0	Female, Less religiosity
Azerbaijan-2011	0.3			Rwanda-2012	0.0	
Bangladesh-1996	9.0	Female, less educated		South Africa-1996	10.0	Female, less educated
Bangladesh-2002	2.0			South Africa-2001	8.0	Less educated
Armenia-1997	5.0	Female		South Africa-2006	5.0	Less educated
Armenia-2001	3.0			South Africa-2013	4.0	Less educated
India-1995	15.0	Female, less educated, more religious		Zimbabwe-2001	6.0	Less educated
India-2001	14.0	Female, less educated, less religious		Zimbabwe-2012	0.0	

India-2006	16.0	Female, less educated, more religious	Uganda-2001	2.0	
India-2014	0.4		Tanzania-2001	2.0	
Iran-2000	11.0	Female, less educated	Burkina Faso-2007	8.0	Female, more religious
Iran-2007	0.8	Female	Zambia-2007	3.0	
Kazakhstan-2011	0.0		**Mean-Sub-Saharan Africa**	**3.7**	**10/19 (53%)**
Kyrgyzstan-2003	1.0		**Al Countries**	**5.6**	

Table A4 (a columns) shows the proportion missing in a given survey and for all surveys in a region for the item: "Men make better political leaders. Strongly disagree=1-strongly agree=4." WVS (2017). Data unweighted. B column shows instances in which missing data is significantly more likely to be missing a respondent sex, education level, and/or level of religious observance. Education: Lower, middle, upper education. Religiosity: "How often do you attend religious services?" More than once a week(=1), once a week(=1), once a month(=2), only on special days(=2), only specific holidays(=2), once a year(=2), less often(=3), never/practically never(=3).

**Table A5. Percentage of observations missing for "Men make better political leaders"
(Regional Barometers)**

Country-year	% missing		Country-year	% missing
Argentina-2009	5.0		*Afrobarometer-con't*	
Bolivia-2009	5.0		Namibia-2005	0.3
Brazil-2009	2.0		Nigeria-2005	0.4
Chile-2009	4.0		Senegal-2005	1.0
Colombia-2009	4.0		South Africa-2005	1.0
Costa Rica-2009	4.0		Tanzania-2005	0.4
Dominican Republic-2009	2.0		Uganda-2005	0.0
Ecuador-2009	5.0		Zambia-2005	0.7
El Salvador-2009	3.0		Zimbabwe-2005	0.3
Guatemala-2009	3.0		Benin-2015	0.0
Honduras-2009	8.0		Botswana-2015	1.0
Mexico-2009	4.0		Burkina Faso-2015	2.0
Nicaragua-2009	8.0		Cape Verde-2015	1.0
Panama-2009	6.0		Ghana-2015	0.2
Paraguay-2009	2.0		Kenya-2015	1.0
Peru -2009	6.0		Lesotho-2015	1.0
Spain-2009	6.0		Liberia-2015	1.0
Uruguay-2009	7.0		Madagascar-2015	7.0
Venezuela-2009	4.0		Malawi-2015	1.0
Argentina-2004	4.0		Mali-2015	0.3
Bolivia-2004	7.0		Mozambique-2015	4.0
Brazil-2004	5.0		Namibia-2015	0.2
Chile-2004	5.0		Nigeria-2015	0.3
Colombia-2004	4.0		Senegal-2015	0.3
Costa Rica-2004	7.0		South Africa-2015	1.0
Dominican Republic-2004	4.0		Tanzania-2015	0.2
Ecuador-2004	2.0		Uganda-2015	0.3
El Salvador-2004	8.0		Zambia-2015	0.2
Guatemala-2004	6.0		Zimbabwe-2015	0.3
Honduras-2004	3.0		Mauritius-2015	1.0
Mexico-2004	2.0		Sierra Leone-2015	1.0
Nicaragua-2004	6.0		Niger-2015	1.0
Panama-2004	3.0		Togo-2015	1.0
Paraguay-2004	4.0		Burundi-2015	0.3
Peru-2004	4.0		Cameroon-2015	3.0
Uruguay-2004	7.0		Ivory Coast-2015	1.0
Venezuela-2004	5.0		Guinea-2015	0.3
Mean missing-Latin Barometer	4.7		Swaziland-2015	0.3
			Algeria-2015	2.0
Tunisia-2013	2.7		Egypt-2015	3.0
Tunisia-2011	3.5		Morocco-2015	3.0

Sudan-2013	1.1		Sudan-2015	2.0
Sudan-2011	1.4		Tunisia-2015	3.0
Saudi Arabia-2011	4.7		Algeria-2016	3.0
Egypt-2013	1.9		Benin-2016	0.2
Egypt-2011	0.7		Botswana-2016	1.0
Iraq-2013	2.8		Burkina Faso-2016	1.0
Iraq-2011	0.6		Burundi-2016	0.6
Yemen-2013	0.5		Cameroon-2016	0.3
Yemen-2010-2011	2.3		Cape Verde-2016	0.6
Yemen-2007	4.2		Ivory Coast-2016	0.2
Lebanon-2013	1.4		Egypt-2016	3.0
Lebanon-2010	0.3		Gabon-2016	0.4
Lebanon-2007	2.4		Ghana-2016	1.0
Kuwait-2014	0.4		Guinea-2016	0.4
Morocco-2013	3.6		Kenya-2016	2.0
Morocco-2006	3.0		Lesotho-2016	2.0
Algeria-2013	3.3		Liberia-2016	0.4
Algeria-2011	4.6		Madagascar-2016	0.4
Algeria-2006	9.0		Malawi-2016	2.0
Palestine-2012	0.3		Mali-2016	2.0
Palestine-2010	0.6		Mauritius-2016	1.0
Palestine-2006	0.6		Morocco-2016	2.0
Libya-2014	2.1		Mozambique-2016	2.0
Jordan-2012-2013	1.3		Namibia-2016	0.3
Jordan-2010	1.2		Niger-2016	0.3
Jordan-2006	2.4		Nigeria-2016	2.0
Mean missing-Arab Barometer	2.2		Sao Tome and Principe-2016	5.0
			Senegal-2016	1.0
			Sierra Leone-2016	4.0
Benin-2005	0.1		South Africa-2016	3.0
Botswana-2005	0.6		Sudan-2016	2.0
Cape Verde-2005	2.0		Swaziland-2016	0.6
Ghana-2005	0.3		Tanzania-2016	0.4
Kenya-2005	0.3		Togo-2016	1.0
Lesotho-2005	0.3		Tunisia-2016	1.0
Madagascar-2005	1.0		Uganda-2016	2.0
Malawi-2005	0.7		Zambia-2016	1.0
Mali-2005	0.7		Zimbabwe-2016	2.0
Mozambique-2005	3.0		**Mean missing-Afrobarometer**	1.2

Table A5 shows proportion missing: "Men make better political leaders. Strongly disagree=1-strongly agree=4." Afrobarometer (2017); Latin Barometer (2017); Arab Barometer (2017). Data unweighted.

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[i] Early publications on Arab public opinion include Nachtwey and Tessler 2002; Tessler 2000;

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