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Perceptions of Inequality and Social Justice in the Arab Region

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1. Introduction

A disquieting fact, that motivated a renewed interest toward the understanding of the distributional features, in both the academic and policy environment, is the increase in inequality in many industrialized countries over the last decades, accompanied by a general increase of the social discontent. These issues have become even more important in the wake of the worldwide social movements generated by the 2008 financial crisis.

Recent research suggests that rising inequality not only characterizes the industrialized world, but it also affects many other countries, including those generally thought to be rather egalitarian. In addition, there is growing consensus that high inequality may be among the causes of slow poverty reduction, despite rapid economic growth, especially in central and southern Africa. The social movements that characterized the 2011 Arab uprisings were also fundamental in emphasizing this issue in the context of the Arab world; many pointed to high and rising inequality as one of the factors that determined its establishment. However, such view seemed to be in contradiction with the conventional measures of income inequality, which were not high in that region.

The point is that, although one usually refers to income or wealth inequality, inequality can be considered as a rather loose concept and may be associated with inequalities of various kinds such as social, status, and access to services and resources or opportunities more in general. Whatever the concept, the term inequality is frequently used to indicate one of the factors that generates discontent and, as such, it clearly incorporates elements of social justice. The general perception is that social injustice and a somehow unequal distribution of resources contributed to explain the eruption of social discontent. However, a puzzling feature in this context is that there seems to be a mismatch between monetary inequality and perceived inequality. At the same time, income inequality can be a powerful instrument to better understand the state of an economy, but the perception of inequality can be an equally powerful instrument to measure people's views of economic justice.

Part of this contradiction can be explained by measurement issues. For instance, household surveys may not be able to capture very high and very low incomes, and expenditure can be hardly compared over time and across countries. For these reasons, real inequality might be much higher than measured inequality and even show a different trend as compared to the one observed with household data. In the same vein, the measurement of individuals' perceptions is not trivial and it requires the adoption of a different measurement approach, namely the subjective approach to the measurement of well-being. Furthermore, perceptions greatly depend on the reference group, mostly composed of people we relate to every day, for example, people belonging to the same socio-economic group.

Now, while the scientific literature provides a number of contributions aimed at measuring inequality and assessing the causes and consequences of its increase over time in the Arab countries (see, among

others, Bibi and Nabli, 2010, Ncube and Anyanwu, 2012, Verme et al., 2014), the analysis of the perception of inequality and social justice is barely developed. However, perceptions of inequalities are as important as observed inequality for a number of reasons.

First, the perception that inequalities exist in a society may affect individuals' attitudes and behavior; this may occur through a complex mechanism and may be influenced by different factors. At the same time, culture and ideology, which differ across time and place, also affect individuals' perceptions of inequalities. Osberg and Smeeding (2006) show that people generally tend to underestimate real inequalities and that the degree of underestimation varies across countries. Moreover, there are considerable differences in the individuals' understanding of a fair income distribution: some are inclined to accept larger income differences than others (Kelley and Evans, 1993). Consequently, the most unequal societies may not have the highest rates of public discontent about such inequalities.

At the same time, perceptions of inequality may be related to social cohesion outcomes, such as civic and political participation. For instance, Haste (2004) and Meyer (2007) show that if people argue that there are social problems that need to be addressed, such as inequalities judged unfair, they are more likely to engage in civic or political actions. Perceptions of inequalities may also influence voting behaviors. Hence, they can be more politically relevant than observed inequalities.

Hence, the aim of this paper is to explore perceptions of inequality and social justice in the Arab region. By performing a detailed analysis for each sub-group of the population, mainly defined according to the most relevant socio-economic characteristics, this paper also seeks to identify the determinants of such perceptions. As a result, this paper helps us to understand why we should not constrain ourselves to the mere measurement of inequality. The analysis contained in this paper is realized by making use of two surveys. The first is the Sixth World Value Survey (WVS), the most recent available survey, for 11 Arab countries, namely Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Tunisia, Yemen. The second is the Arab Barometer for 12 Arab countries, namely Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Sudan, Tunisia, Yemen. The analysis is performed looking at the whole population and at the main reference groups, defined on the base of gender, educational level and income status. Overall and country specific results are provided.

2. Perceptions of inequality and social justice in the Arab world

2.1. Data

The WVS is a global network of social scientists studying changing values and their impact on social and political life, led by an international team of scholars, with the WVS association and secretariat headquartered in Stockholm, Sweden. The WVSs are the most established and long-running world surveys on values, perceptions, and opinions usually covering in between 1,500 and 4,000 observations per country. The last round of survey was conducted in 2012.

The set of variables that have been constructed for these countries include variables covering themes such as family values, trust, gender, politics, religion, expectations about the future, and a number of personal characteristics such as age, gender, and education. The surveys also include questions on happiness, life satisfaction, satisfaction with the financial situation of the household, social status, and income classes. One question asks respondents about their subjective perceptions of inequality. We can therefore relate this question with all other variables present in the survey and learn about the determinants of this perception and possible asymmetries across the population.

The second survey used is the Third Wave of the Arab Barometer (AB). This is a survey realized to measure public opinion in the Arab World, by the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies and started in 2006/07, with the first round of surveys administered in eight countries. The third wave of the Arab Democracy Barometer, that we use here, was fielded in 2012-2014. Like the first and second waves, the third wave seeks to measure and track over time citizen attitudes, values, and behavior patterns relating to pluralism, freedoms, tolerance and equal opportunity; social and inter-personal trust; social, religious and political identities; conceptions of governance and an understanding of democracy; and civic engagement and political participation. In each country the survey represents a national probability sample design of adults 18 years and older. It was conducted face-to face in Arabic and used a complex sample design, which included stratification and clustering.

The sample sizes of each country for each survey are listed in the following Table 1.

Table 1. Number of observations by country

Country	Sample size WVS	Sample size AB
Algeria	1,200	1,220
Egypt	1,523	1,196
Iraq	1,200	1,210
Jordan	1,200	1,795
Kuwait	1,303	1,021
Lebanon	1,200	1,200
Libya	2,131	1,247
Morocco	1,200	1,200
Palestine	1,000	1,200
Sudan	-	1,200
Tunisia	1,205	1,199
Yemen	1,000	1,200

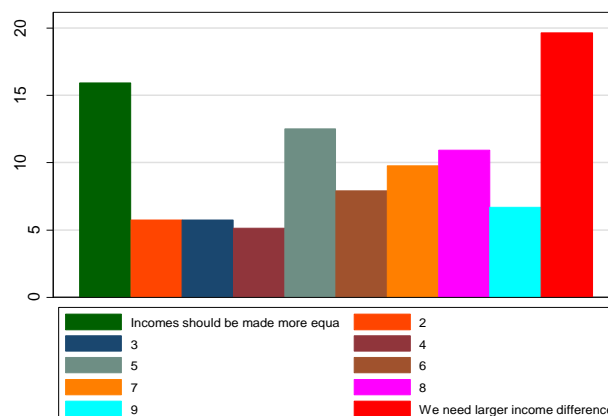
2.2. Results

We start our analysis by having an immediate look at the perception of inequality in the population. We do this by using the WVS, which does not ask direct questions on whether the interviewed individuals feel the level of inequality to be high/low. It rather asks respondents whether they feel that the income distributions should be made more or less equal. The question is phrased as follows: *“Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between. (Code one number for each issue).”*

The distribution of the answers across the population, overall in the Arab world, is reported in Figure 1. Here this distribution appears to have an asymmetric U-shape. The answer with the highest density is the last one (about 19%), that is, most of the population feels that inequality should be increased. However, notice that, the second answer with the highest density is the first answer (about 16%), that is individuals feel that inequality should be reduced. There are clear differences between the countries (the figures plotting the results of the question for each country are reported in the Appendix). In particular, Libya,

Kuwait, and Yemen show a similar shape; Algeria, Lebanon, Yemen, instead, show an increasing shape, while for the others there is not a clear trend. Overall, we have two subgroups. The subgroup of countries in which individuals perceive the need to increase inequality is composed by Algeria, Lebanon, Libya, Tunisia, Kuwait, Yemen. Whereas, the subgroup of countries in which individuals perceive the need to reduce inequality is composed by Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Morocco, Iraq.

Figure 1 Results question (Overall-Arab countries)

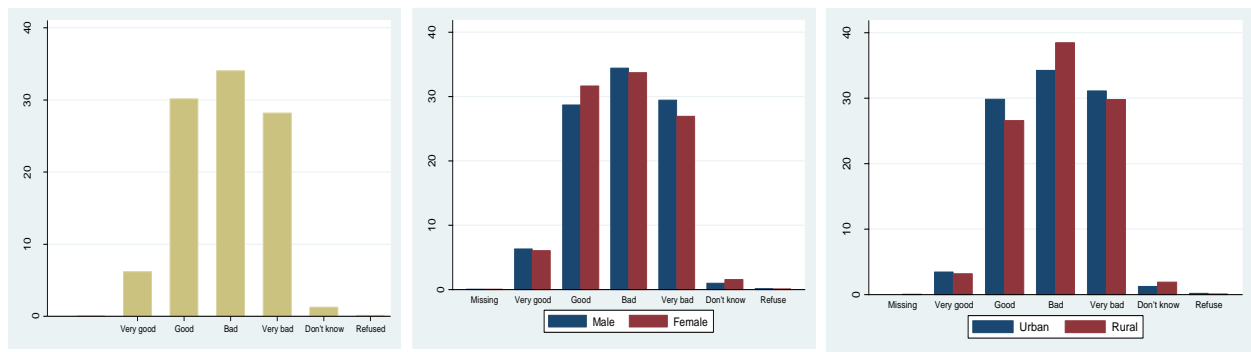


Source: WVS, 2012.

We then shift our analysis to the perception of social justice across the population, using the latest AB surveys. As discussed at the outset of the paper, perceptions about social justice may be affected by macroeconomic events. For this reason, in the interpretation of the results, we should keep in mind that the decade considered has been characterized the 2007–08 global crisis, which has certainly acted some influence on the way individuals perceive the economy and society.

The first variable we examine is the perceptions of Arab citizens about the economic situation of their country. Figure 2 reports the results for the whole population. It shows that most of the Arab citizens have a negative perception of the economic situation in their own country. About 33% of individuals report the economic condition to be “bad” and the 28% to be “very bad”; only the 30% of people perceive the economic situation to be “good”. A similar picture appears even when the population is partitioned according to gender or area of residence, with males and people living in rural areas having a slightly more negative perception than females and people living in urban areas. However, as one could expect, this picture is not the same across all countries (country-specific figures are reported in the Appendix). Some extreme cases are Algeria, Kuwait, Egypt, and Lebanon. In Algeria and Kuwait most of the population (about 57% for Algeria and more than 90% for Kuwait) perceives the economic situation to be “good” or “very good”. Whereas, in Lebanon and Egypt most of the population perceives the economic situation to be “bad” or “very bad” (about 90% in both countries). By contrast, the partition according to gender and area of residence seems to be in line with the general case, with males and rural people having a slightly less positive perception of the economic situation than females and urban people do. Some exceptions are Libya and Sudan, where in both cases the percentage of females or urban people having a negative perception of the actual economic situation is slightly higher than the percentage respectively of males and rural people.

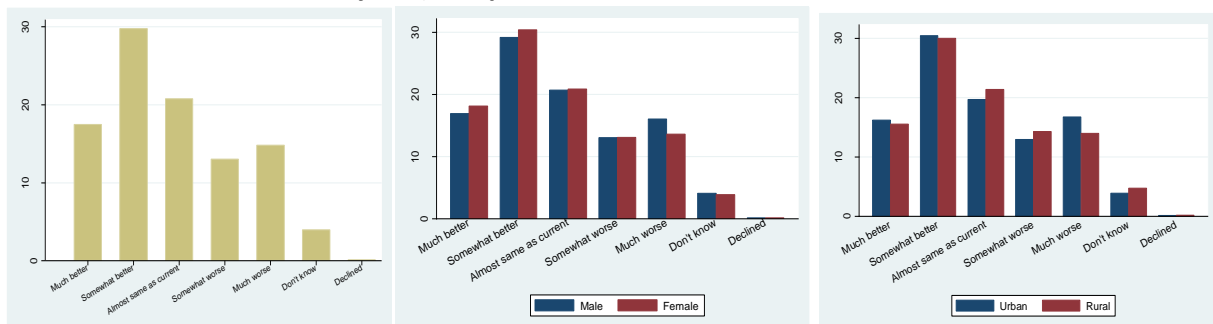
Figure 2. How would you evaluate the current economic situation in your country?



Source: AB, 2012-2014.

Despite the negative perception of the economy, respondents are somehow optimistic about the future. As reported in Figure 3, overall, about 48% of the population expects the economy to improve within the next few years, against about the 27% that expects the situation to get worse than the actual one. Last, the 21% expects it to remain the same. The partition by gender and area of residence reflects the same features arisen before. That is, males and people living in rural areas have a less optimistic view on the future economic situation than women and people living in urban areas. When the focus becomes country specific, Egypt and Lebanon show a diverging trend (country-specific figures are reported in the Appendix). In these countries, in fact, most of the population seems to be pessimistic about the future. About 55% in Egypt and 65% in Lebanon expect the situation to get worse against the 24% in the former and the 15% in the latter that expect the economic situation to improve. Kuwait represents instead an extreme case; here about the 80% of people are optimistic about the future, against the 4% of pessimistic citizens. Last, Yemen appears to be the only country in which the percentage of men having an optimistic view of the future is higher than for women.

Figure 3. What do you think will be the economic situation in your country during the next few years (3-5 years) compared to the current situation?



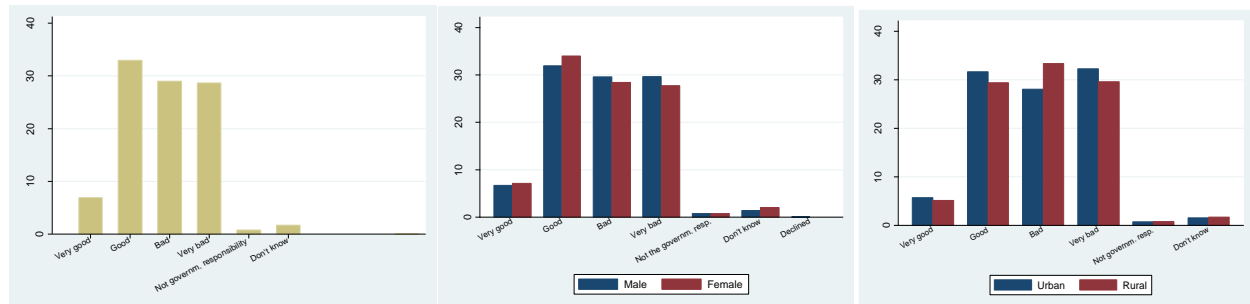
Source: AB, 2012-2014.

To have a wide view on the perception of individuals about social justice, in what follows, we focus on a set of “institutional” indicators.

The first indicator concerns the respondents’ evaluation of the current government’s performance in improving basic health services. From an overview of the results reported in Figure 4, it immediately stands out that this aspect is correlated to the individuals’ evaluation of the actual economic situation. In fact, about 56% of the population evaluates “bad” or “very bad” the current government’s performance in improving basic health, while only the 40% evaluates it as “good” or “very good”. Again, we do not find evidence of consistent differences between individuals living in urban and rural areas and between male

and female populations, although men tend more than women to evaluate negatively this governmental task. It comes without surprise that Kuwait is the country that has the highest percentage of the population with a positive evaluation (about 70%), followed by Algeria and Jordan (both about 64%). By contrast, Egypt and Lebanon have the highest percentage of the population with a negative evaluation (about 80% the former and about 84% the latter). Furthermore, in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, individuals in rural areas tend more than those living in urban areas to have negative evaluations of the government's performance in providing basic health services. Whereas the opposite happens in Jordan and Libya. However, these differences are not significant (country-specific figures are reported in the Appendix).

Figure 4. How would you evaluate the current government's performance on improving basic health services?



Source: AB, 2012-2014.

Given these preliminary results, it is then interesting to look more into the details on the determinants of such perceptions and on the existence of possible differences among the different groups of the population. In particular, by employing again the data provided by the WVS, we test the association between income and social class and the perception of inequality. We do this by estimating an ordinary least squares (OLS) regression using perception of inequality (π_i) as dependent variable and income classes and social classes as independent variables separately; we also control for a number of variables including gender, age, marital status, education, employment status, location (town size larger or smaller than 50,000 people), and savings¹. The results, reported in Table 2 and 3, reveal several insights into the relation between income and social status and the taste for inequality. The first observation is that income or social status (together with the controls) explain a small part of the variance of perception of inequality, and this is quite variable across countries. The best case is that of Morocco in which income classes are able to explain 19.2% of the variance and social classes the 19.6%; the worst case is that of Jordan in which income classes only explain about the 2.3% of the variance, while social classes about 1.8%. Second, income class is more important than social class when it comes to judging inequality, and in particular lower and middle income classes. They are significant in almost all countries, with the exception of Kuwait and Tunisia. Whereas, the upper class is significant only for Jordan. As for the social classes, they are never significant for Lebanon and Palestine and the upper class is significant only for Morocco. As for the extent of the difference between income and social classes' coefficients, we notice that again countries are quite heterogeneous. In particular, in Algeria, Egypt Lebanon, Palestine, and Yemen, the coefficients explaining the impact of being in a given income class are almost always higher than those explaining the impact of being in a given social class, the opposite happens for Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia. Overall, views on inequality seem to be more strongly rooted in income classes, in particular, in middle

¹ The variable savings indicates whether the household has managed to save during the past 12 months and is meant to control for the recent performance of the household as opposed to income and social status, which are more permanent conditions.

classes, than in social classes. It is also important to observe that in Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, and Lebanon, the coefficients of each income class have opposite sign to the coefficients of the corresponding social classes. A last important observation concerns the differences between the values of the coefficients of the different income classes. In fact, for some countries lower income classes show a higher coefficient than upper income classes, while the opposite is true for some others. Hence, the effect of belonging to a given income class on the perception of inequality is country-dependent. The same argument holds when social classes, instead of income classes, are used as explanatory variables for inequality perception.

The recent household performance (savings) is important in explaining perceptions of inequality only for a very small set of countries that are Algeria, Egypt, and Lebanon, in the income classes case (Table 2), although for Lebanon, the coefficient has negative sign. For the social classes case (Table 3), again only in Algeria and Egypt savings has a positive significant sign. Very small is also the set of countries for which age significantly affects perceptions of inequality, this set encompasses Algeria, Egypt, and Morocco. In particular, in the first two countries, older individuals feel more than younger one that income differences should be increased, the opposite happens in Morocco. By contrast, gender appears to matter for inequality perceptions for a larger number of countries. These are Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Tunisia, and Yemen, for both the income and social classes' cases. In all these countries, with the exception of Libya, males perceive income to be more equally distributed than women do.

We can also observe that the number of children does not have a clear impact on the perception of inequality: for some countries it is actually never significant (Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Palestine), for some others it has a significant positive effect (Egypt, Kuwait, Yemen), for others it has a significant negative impact (Iraq, Morocco, Tunisia).

Moreover, it is interesting to note that the level of education matters for the perception of inequality, in particular if individuals have a higher degree of education, which, except for Egypt, has a positive coefficient. Tertiary education comes out to be significant in much more cases than for secondary education and its coefficient is also always higher than for secondary education. We can then infer that the feeling that income differences should be increased is stronger the higher is the level of education.

However, different contributions in the literature show that many other factors, which may be unrelated to observed inequality, seem to drive perceptions on inequality. Two of these factors are political orientations and religion (Alesina et al., 2004), especially in countries where religion plays an important role in every aspect of life. The WVS provides a number of variables that measure political and religious views, that we use as regressors in a taste for inequality equation. The results are shown in Table 4. People with greater interest in politics seem to have a greater appreciation of inequality and this is true for all countries, with the exception of Egypt, Jordan, and Lebanon, countries however for which the coefficient is not statistically significant. Similar results hold for those individuals who think that it is very good to have democratic political system, with the exception of Egypt and Kuwait. By contrast, thinking that it is very good or fairly good to have a strong political leader have an unclear impact on the perception, for four countries (Kuwait, Morocco, Tunisia, Yemen) this implies a greater appreciation of inequality, for the remaining seven (Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Palestine) this implies having lower appreciation of inequality.

The factor religion has unclear effects on the perception of inequality. For Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon this seems to increase the perception that income should be more equally distributed, while the opposite is true for Algeria, Libya, Palestine, Tunisia and Yemen. Interestingly, there is no difference between Christians and Muslims in the average appreciation of inequality.

Lastly, we investigate on other possible determinants of inequality perception. In particular, we consider sentiments on freedom, trust, attitudes toward work, and opinions about gender roles. Results of the taste of perception of inequality regressions with these variables are shown in Table 5. As it is well known in happiness research, the variable freedom and control is the best explanatory factor of life satisfaction worldwide. This variable captures feelings of freedom of choice combined with feelings of being in control of one's own life. In our equation, this variable is always statistically significant, except for Kuwait. In particular, people feeling greater freedom and control have a better appreciation of higher inequality with both the significance level and the coefficient being very high. By contrast, trust is significant only for three countries (Egypt, Iraq, and Tunisia) and its effect is not very clear. In some cases, people who trust others feels that income should be more equally distributed (Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Tunisia). In some other cases (Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Yemen) people who trust others feel that income should be less equally distributed. Similar inconclusiveness is found for those people who think that work is very important and that is never justifiable cheating on taxes, with these variables being positive in some countries and negative in others as well as being significant in some cases and non-significant in others. Gender views are also related to views on inequality. Those who have strong feelings about university education being more important for boys rather than girls are also those more inequality averse, as we find a negative and significant sign for five countries (Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Libya, Yemen). The sign is also significant but positive for Kuwait. It is negative but not significant for the remaining countries.

Table 2. Perception of inequality and income-classes.

VARIABLES	Algeria pi	Egypt pi	Iraq pi	Jordan pi	Kuwait pi	Lebanon pi	Libya pi	Morocco pi	Palestine pi	Tunisia pi	Yemen pi
income_scale2	1.91*** (0.30)	0.77*** (0.23)	-1.09*** (0.33)	-0.32 (0.24)	-0.079 (0.42)	-0.70* (0.37)	0.15 (0.29)	1.51*** (0.29)	0.69** (0.31)	-0.16 (0.31)	0.45 (0.30)
income_scale3	1.96*** (0.29)	0.91*** (0.24)	-1.20*** (0.32)	-0.37* (0.22)	-0.011 (0.33)	0.017 (0.33)	0.42* (0.24)	1.98*** (0.30)	0.63** (0.29)	0.31 (0.28)	1.24*** (0.32)
income_scale4	1.03*** (0.35)	1.02*** (0.29)	-0.91*** (0.35)	0.092 (0.24)	-0.12 (0.34)	0.13 (0.34)	0.73*** (0.27)	2.80*** (0.49)	0.79** (0.36)	0.40 (0.34)	1.80*** (0.47)
income_scale5	-0.86 (0.69)	1.60 (1.87)	0.46 (0.65)	1.19** (0.59)	0.36 (0.52)	0.048 (0.50)	0.45 (0.50)		1.20 (0.81)	0.80 (1.11)	1.84 (1.22)
saving_12months	1.33*** (0.21)	1.58*** (0.40)	-0.022 (0.21)	-0.29 (0.25)	0.077 (0.22)	-0.41** (0.20)	0.10 (0.17)	0.28 (0.32)	-0.19 (0.33)	0.047 (0.23)	-0.074 (0.49)
male	0.47** (0.20)	0.073 (0.19)	-0.036 (0.17)	-0.044 (0.16)	-0.29 (0.21)	-0.056 (0.17)	-0.77*** (0.17)	0.73*** (0.21)	0.37* (0.20)	0.79*** (0.20)	1.28*** (0.27)
age	-0.13*** (0.041)	-0.10*** (0.031)	0.063 (0.041)	-0.019 (0.029)	0.016 (0.028)	-0.050 (0.037)	-0.026 (0.037)	0.21*** (0.058)	-0.042 (0.044)	-0.015 (0.041)	-0.058 (0.052)
Age^2	0.0011** (0.00045)	0.0011*** (0.00034)	-0.00060 (0.00047)	0.00022 (0.00031)	-0.000040 (0.00030)	0.00048 (0.00043)	0.00014 (0.00043)	-0.0023*** (0.00065)	0.00025 (0.00047)	-0.00012 (0.00043)	0.00030 (0.00059)
married	0.60** (0.28)	-0.43** (0.21)	0.75*** (0.24)	0.51** (0.21)	0.13 (0.25)	-0.082 (0.24)	-0.10 (0.22)	-0.83*** (0.28)	-0.058 (0.28)	0.20 (0.28)	0.077 (0.33)
children	0.12* (0.072)	0.19*** (0.056)	-0.14*** (0.050)	-0.037 (0.041)	0.13** (0.064)	0.061 (0.074)	0.061 (0.044)	-0.15* (0.090)	0.041 (0.058)	-0.16** (0.077)	0.12** (0.056)
secondary_education	0.15 (0.23)	-0.071 (0.19)	0.74*** (0.19)	0.30* (0.17)	0.46 (0.35)	1.33*** (0.23)	0.99*** (0.22)	2.01*** (0.30)	0.62** (0.28)	0.51** (0.24)	-0.25 (0.31)
tertiary_education	0.16 (0.36)	-0.47* (0.28)	1.36*** (0.30)	0.53** (0.26)	1.14*** (0.39)	1.34*** (0.30)	1.20*** (0.25)	2.41*** (0.74)	0.56 (0.35)	1.20*** (0.37)	0.54 (0.48)
full_time	-0.44 (0.27)	0.21 (0.26)	-0.18 (0.24)	-0.26 (0.21)	0.31 (0.20)	0.56*** (0.19)	0.15 (0.20)	-0.12 (0.26)	0.47* (0.28)	0.076 (0.24)	0.47 (0.38)
town_size	-0.28 (0.20)		0.43** (0.17)	-0.10 (0.29)	-0.52** (0.22)	-0.64*** (0.23)	-0.12 (0.21)				-0.65 (0.64)
Constant	6.52*** (0.86)	5.64*** (0.65)	3.93*** (0.82)	7.38*** (0.66)	5.02*** (0.76)	6.27*** (0.77)	6.29*** (0.79)	-2.45** (1.13)	5.54*** (0.87)	5.35*** (0.86)	6.31*** (1.16)

Observations	1,200	1,523	1,191	1,195	1,143	1,192	2,059	1,062	996	1,154	968
R-squared	0.114	0.041	0.056	0.023	0.045	0.068	0.036	0.192	0.039	0.096	0.071

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3. Perception of inequality and social-classes.

VARIABLES	Algeria pi	Egypt pi	Iraq pi	Jordan pi	Kuwait pi	Lebanon pi	Libya pi	Morocco pi	Palestine pi	Tunisia pi	Yemen pi
working_class	1.43*** (0.31)	0.050 (0.24)	0.54* (0.29)	-0.11 (0.22)	0.60 (0.47)	-0.32 (0.45)	0.42 (0.43)	1.22*** (0.27)	0.33 (0.33)	0.54 (0.33)	0.56* (0.32)
lower_middle_classes	1.85*** (0.30)	0.87*** (0.22)	0.45 (0.30)	0.019 (0.19)	0.90** (0.43)	-0.41 (0.45)	0.65 (0.40)	2.30*** (0.31)	0.23 (0.30)	1.25*** (0.31)	1.65*** (0.36)
upper_middle_class	1.20*** (0.34)	0.85** (0.34)	0.37 (0.33)	0.63** (0.28)	1.12*** (0.43)	-0.52 (0.45)	0.70* (0.41)	2.90*** (0.56)	0.36 (0.38)	1.56*** (0.43)	1.21*** (0.46)
upper_class	-0.10 (0.71)	1.27 (0.82)	-0.82 (0.53)	0.29 (0.97)	-0.31 (0.55)	-0.39 (0.61)	1.03 (0.69)	4.30** (2.03)	1.20 (0.79)	1.37 (1.89)	0.35 (1.52)
saving_12months	1.11*** (0.22)	1.58*** (0.40)	0.15 (0.21)	-0.41 (0.27)	0.091 (0.22)	-0.29 (0.20)	0.16 (0.17)	0.24 (0.32)	-0.25 (0.35)	-0.16 (0.23)	0.31 (0.47)
male	0.56*** (0.21)	0.081 (0.19)	-0.095 (0.17)	-0.022 (0.16)	-0.34 (0.21)	-0.061 (0.17)	-0.75*** (0.17)	0.77*** (0.21)	0.37* (0.20)	0.83*** (0.20)	1.19*** (0.26)
age	-0.12*** (0.041)	-0.11*** (0.031)	0.063 (0.041)	-0.018 (0.029)	0.020 (0.028)	-0.050 (0.037)	-0.024 (0.038)	0.22*** (0.058)	-0.046 (0.044)	-0.019 (0.040)	-0.072 (0.052)
agesq	0.0011** (0.00046)	0.0012*** (0.00033)	-0.00061 (0.00047)	0.00018 (0.00031)	-0.000071 (0.00030)	0.00047 (0.00044)	0.00013 (0.00043)	-0.0024*** (0.00065)	0.00027 (0.00047)	-0.000090 (0.00043)	0.00044 (0.00059)
married	0.56** (0.28)	-0.39* (0.21)	0.76*** (0.24)	0.50** (0.21)	0.058 (0.24)	-0.056 (0.24)	-0.12 (0.22)	-0.81*** (0.27)	-0.063 (0.28)	0.16 (0.28)	0.12 (0.33)
children	0.11 (0.072)	0.18*** (0.056)	-0.14*** (0.050)	-0.030 (0.041)	0.12* (0.064)	0.066 (0.074)	0.058 (0.044)	-0.18** (0.090)	0.039 (0.058)	-0.14* (0.077)	0.10* (0.056)
secondary_education	0.086 (0.23)	-0.070 (0.20)	0.71*** (0.20)	0.26 (0.17)	0.45 (0.35)	1.46*** (0.23)	1.00*** (0.22)	1.85*** (0.31)	0.62** (0.28)	0.40* (0.24)	-0.25 (0.31)
tertiary_education	0.033 (0.36)	-0.57* (0.29)	1.36*** (0.31)	0.50* (0.26)	1.12*** (0.39)	1.57*** (0.29)	1.22*** (0.26)	2.01*** (0.77)	0.56 (0.36)	1.01*** (0.37)	0.31 (0.48)
full_time	-0.47* (0.27)	0.25 (0.26)	-0.31 (0.24)	-0.29 (0.21)	0.26 (0.20)	0.55*** (0.20)	0.17 (0.20)	-0.32 (0.26)	0.51* (0.28)	0.088 (0.24)	0.56 (0.38)
Constant	6.68*** (0.87)	5.93*** (0.65)	2.65*** (0.81)	7.23*** (0.65)	4.21*** (0.80)	6.46*** (0.80)	6.02*** (0.85)	-2.39** (1.12)	5.98*** (0.87)	4.75*** (0.86)	6.49*** (1.16)

Observations	1,200	1,523	1,191	1,195	1,143	1,192	2,059	1,062	996	1,154	968
R-squared	0.096	0.045	0.048	0.018	0.060	0.061	0.034	0.196	0.035	0.110	0.072

Standard errors in
parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *
p<0.1

Table 4. Perception of inequality and political and religious factors.

VARIABLES	Algeria pi	Egypt pi	Iraq pi	Jordan pi	Kuwait pi	Lebanon pi	Libya pi	Morocco pi	Palestine pi	Tunisia pi	Yemen pi
Very or somewhat interested in politics	0.40* (0.21)	-0.22 (0.19)	0.83*** (0.17)	-0.24 (0.15)	0.41** (0.20)	-0.085 (0.17)	0.28 (0.17)	0.63** (0.28)	0.47** (0.20)	0.14 (0.20)	1.26*** (0.24)
Very good or fairly good to have a strong leader	-0.021 (0.26)	-0.47 (0.32)	-0.54*** (0.18)	-0.16 (0.15)	0.34* (0.20)	-0.42** (0.17)	-0.36** (0.17)	1.51*** (0.29)	-0.045 (0.20)	0.37* (0.19)	1.16*** (0.28)
Very good to have a democratic political system	2.17*** (0.20)	-0.58*** (0.18)	0.25 (0.16)	0.42*** (0.14)	-0.35* (0.20)	0.55*** (0.17)	0.26 (0.17)	0.96*** (0.23)	0.44** (0.20)	0.89*** (0.20)	0.63*** (0.24)
Attend religious premises at least once a week	0.25 (0.22)	-0.58*** (0.18)	-0.81*** (0.21)	-0.052 (0.20)		-0.38** (0.17)	0.28* (0.16)		0.36 (0.23)	0.52*** (0.20)	0.18 (0.48)
Christian	-0.83 (1.37)			2.88 (2.47)		-0.079 (0.36)	-0.90 (0.71)				
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Constant	6.73*** (0.84)	7.08*** (0.69)	3.11*** (0.75)	7.17*** (0.64)	4.90*** (0.75)	6.02*** (0.74)	6.59*** (0.77)	-2.14* (1.13)	5.89*** (0.85)	5.02*** (0.83)	6.66*** (1.13)
Observations	1,200	1,523	1,191	1,195	1,143	1,192	2,059	1,062	996	1,154	968
R-squared	0.122	0.034	0.081	0.023	0.052	0.076	0.039	0.183	0.047	0.119	0.099

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 5. Perception of inequality and freedom, trust, cheating, work, and gender role.

VARIABLES	Algeria pi	Egypt pi	Iraq pi	Jordan pi	Kuwait pi	Lebanon pi	Libya pi	Morocco pi	Palestine pi	Tunisia pi	Yemen pi
Feel free and in control	0.18*** (0.037)	0.18*** (0.035)	0.097** (0.039)	0.16*** (0.033)	0.041 (0.039)	0.083* (0.043)	0.097*** (0.029)	0.26*** (0.036)	0.11*** (0.038)	0.27*** (0.033)	0.30*** (0.038)
Most people can be trusted	-0.19 (0.27)	-0.67*** (0.20)	0.72*** (0.18)	-0.023 (0.21)	-0.025 (0.22)	0.27 (0.28)	0.10 (0.26)	0.10 (0.31)	0.18 (0.26)	-0.52** (0.26)	0.12 (0.23)

Never justifiable to cheat on taxes	-0.0024 (0.029)	0.26*** (0.050)	-0.041 (0.040)	-0.063 (0.047)	0.0094 (0.034)	0.059* (0.034)	-0.11** (0.046)	0.066 (0.067)	-0.012 (0.039)	0.10*** (0.040)	0.056 (0.048)
Work is very important	1.12*** (0.24)	0.59*** (0.18)	-0.20 (0.19)	0.26 (0.16)	-0.25 (0.23)	-0.20 (0.19)	0.34* (0.20)	0.22 (0.28)	0.77*** (0.21)	-0.44 (0.28)	1.95*** (0.28)
University is more important for a boy than for a girl	-0.41** (0.21)	-0.33* (0.17)	-0.21 (0.19)	-0.32** (0.16)	0.73*** (0.20)	-0.19 (0.19)	-0.54*** (0.18)	-0.20 (0.24)	0.25 (0.22)	0.30 (0.22)	-0.56** (0.23)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Constant	7.48*** (0.89)	4.81*** (0.66)	2.20*** (0.80)	6.17*** (0.67)	4.38*** (0.80)	5.47*** (0.78)	6.30*** (0.78)	-2.59** (1.14)	5.27*** (0.88)	4.29*** (0.86)	5.49*** (1.10)
Observations	1,200	1,523	1,191	1,195	1,143	1,192	2,059	1,062	996	1,154	968
R-squared	0.067	0.065	0.062	0.041	0.058	0.065	0.047	0.190	0.056	0.151	0.178

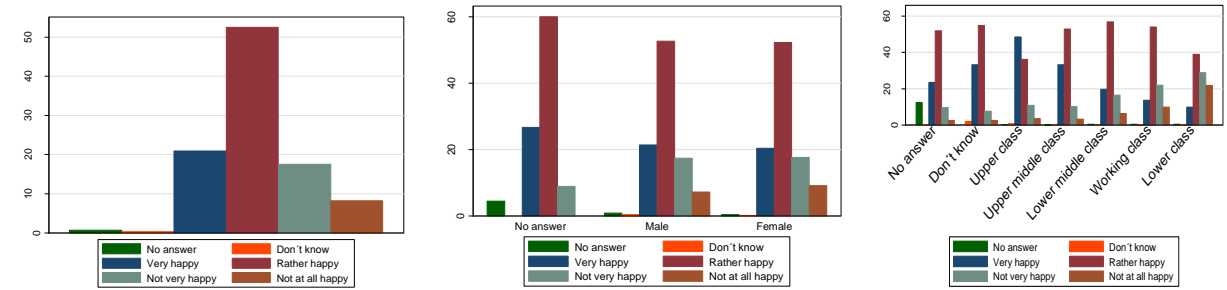
Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

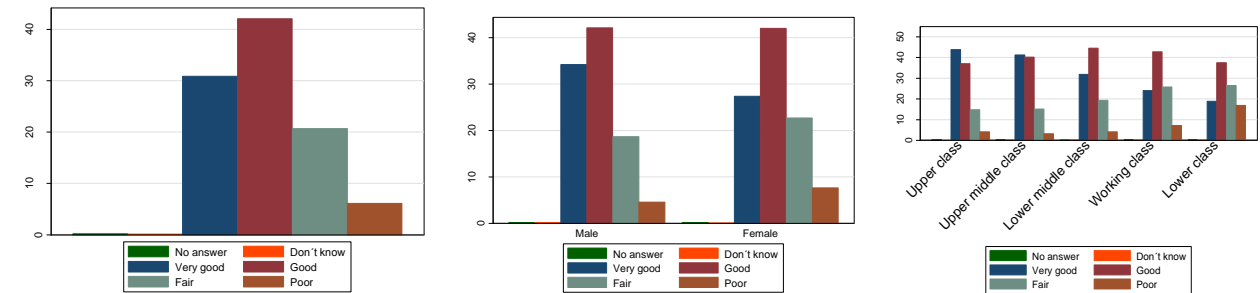
APPENDIX
RESULTS OF QUESTIONS USED IN THE ANALYSIS AND OF ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS.

Overall Regional Average Answers

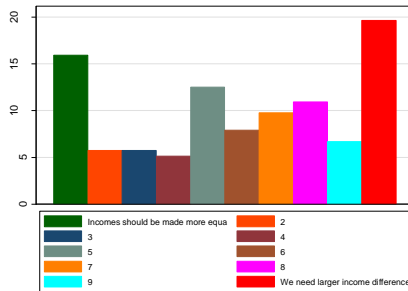
A1.1. Taking all things together, would you say you are:



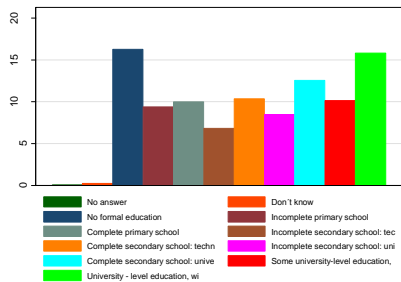
A1.2. All in all, how would you describe your state of health these days? Would you say it is:



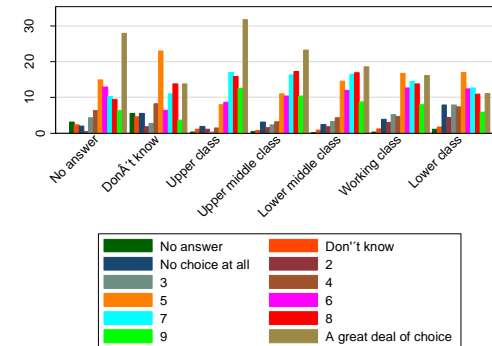
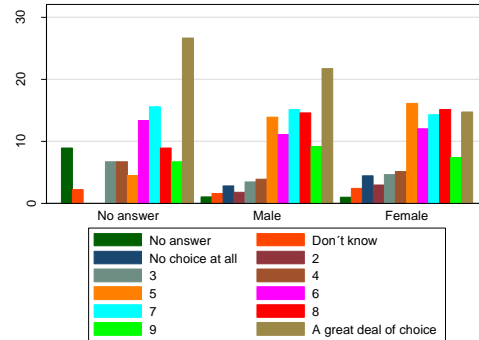
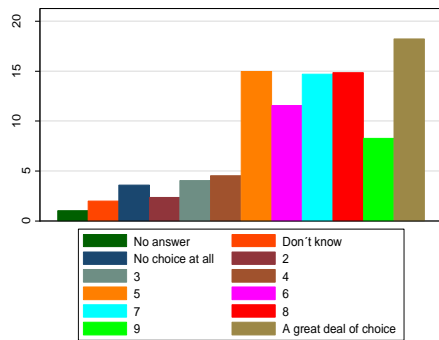
A1.3. Incomes should be: We need larger income differences made more equal as incentives for individual effort



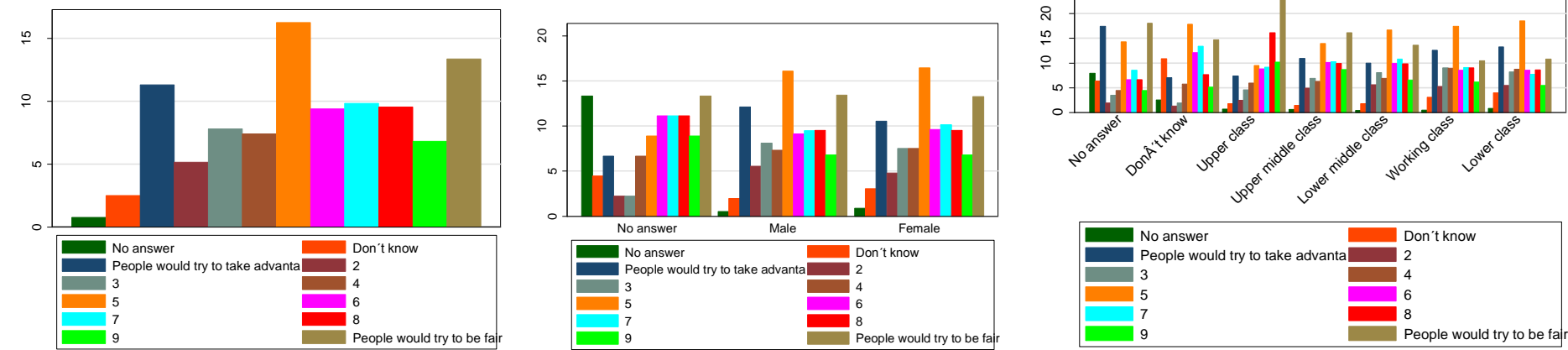
A1.4. What is the highest educational level that you have attained?



A1.5. Some people feel they have completely free choice and control over their lives, while other people feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens to them. Please use this scale where 1 means "no choice at all" and 10 means "a great deal of choice" to indicate how much freedom of choice and control you feel you have over the way your life turns out (*code one number*):



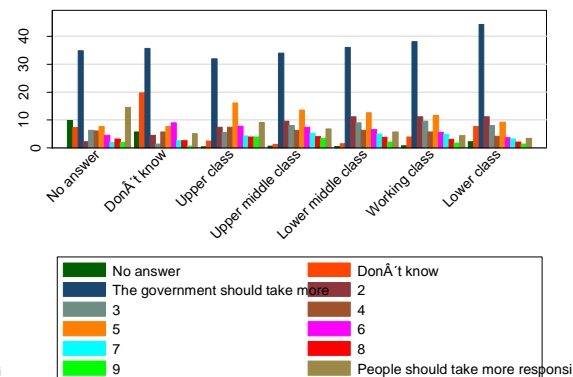
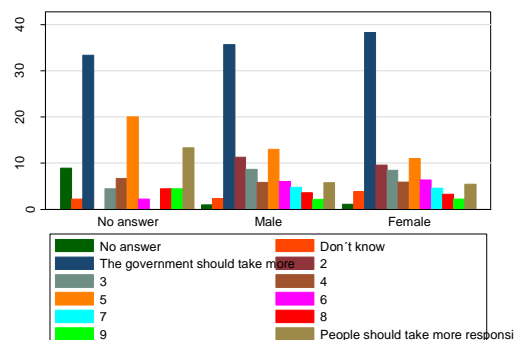
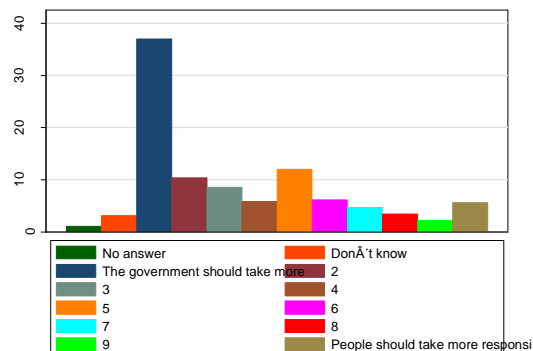
A1.6. Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair? Please show your response on this card, where 1 means that “people would try to take advantage of you,” and 10 means that “people would try to be fair” (*code one number*):



A1.7. Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.

Government should
take more responsibility to ensure
that everyone is provided

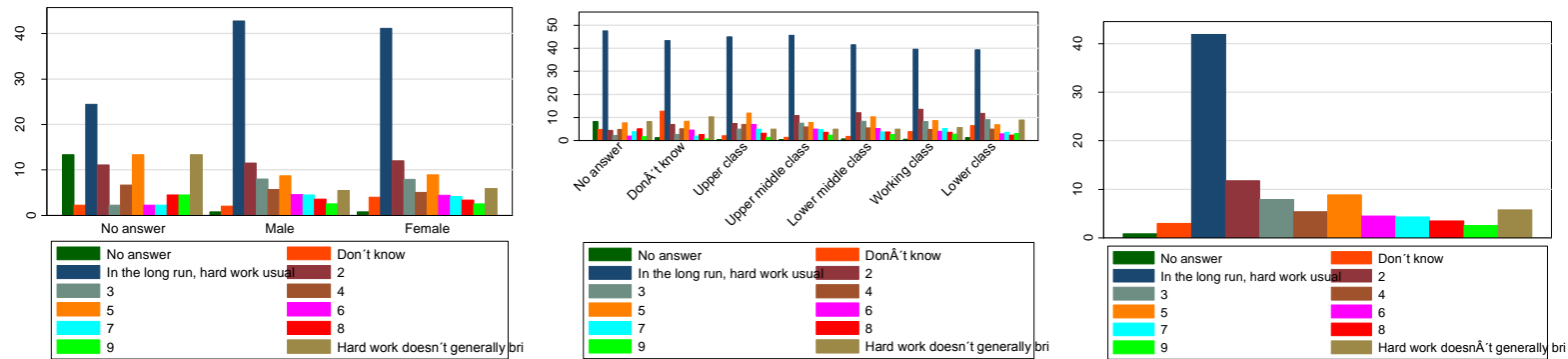
People should take more
responsibility to
provide for themselves



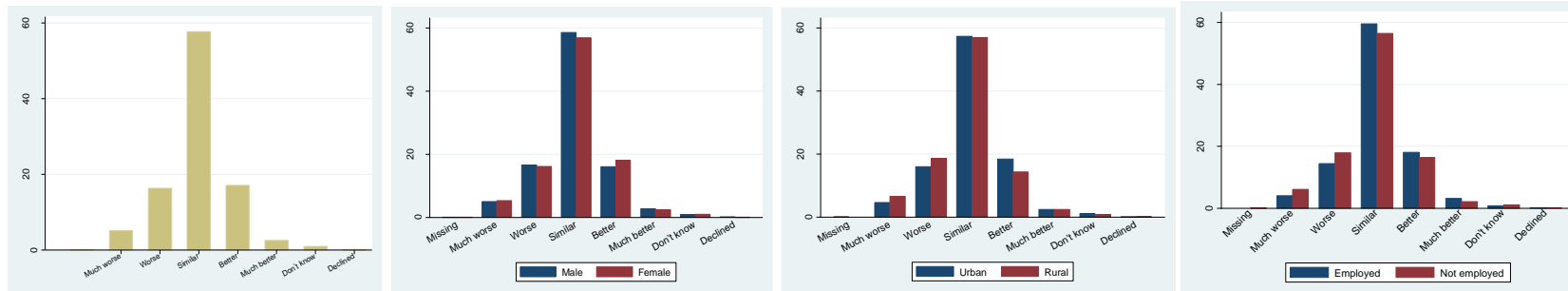
A1.8. Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.

In the long run, hard work
usually brings a better life bring success

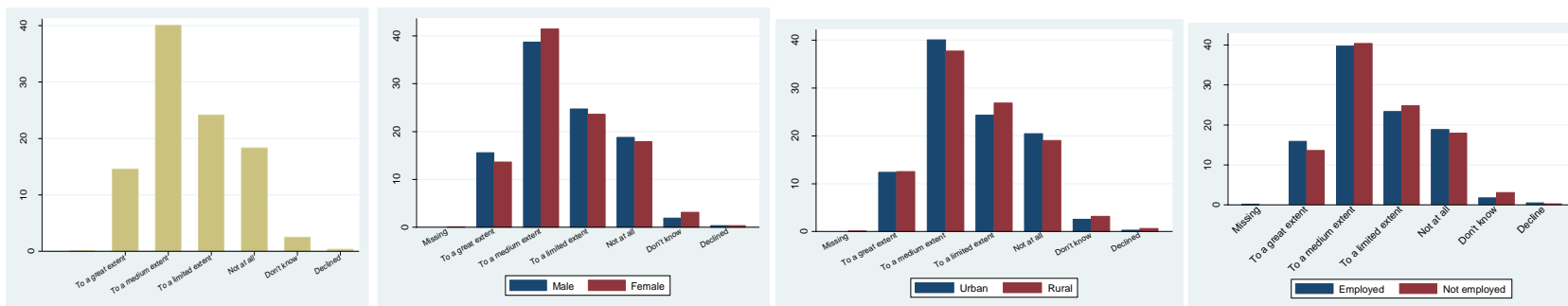
Hard work doesn't generally
it's more a matter
of luck and connections



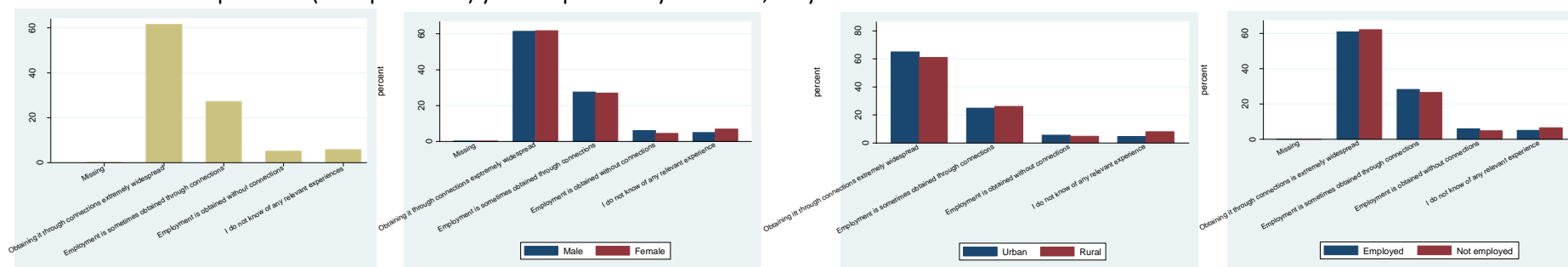
A1.9. Generally speaking, how would you compare your living conditions with the rest of your fellow citizens?



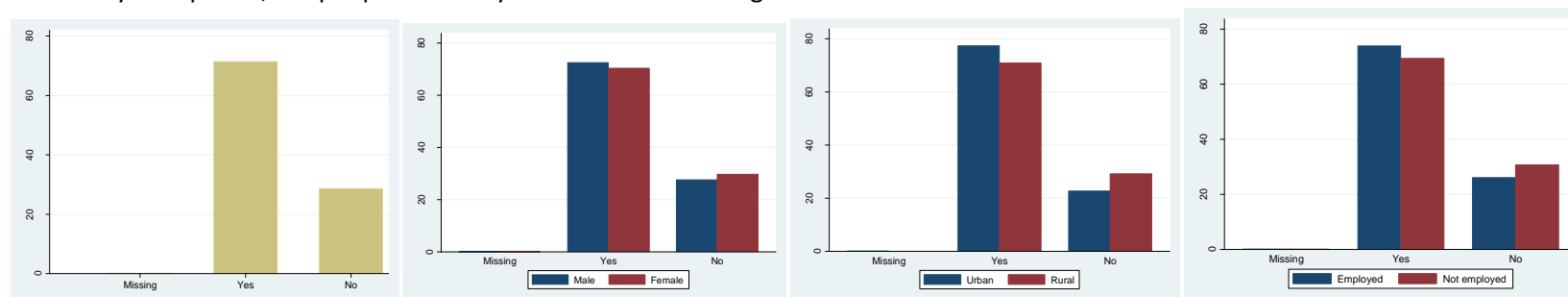
A1.10. To what extent do you feel that you are being treated equally compared to other citizens in your country?:



A1.11. Some people say that nowadays it is impossible to obtain a job without connections, while others say that jobs are only available to qualified candidates. Based on a recent experience (or experiences) you are personally aware of, do you think that...:

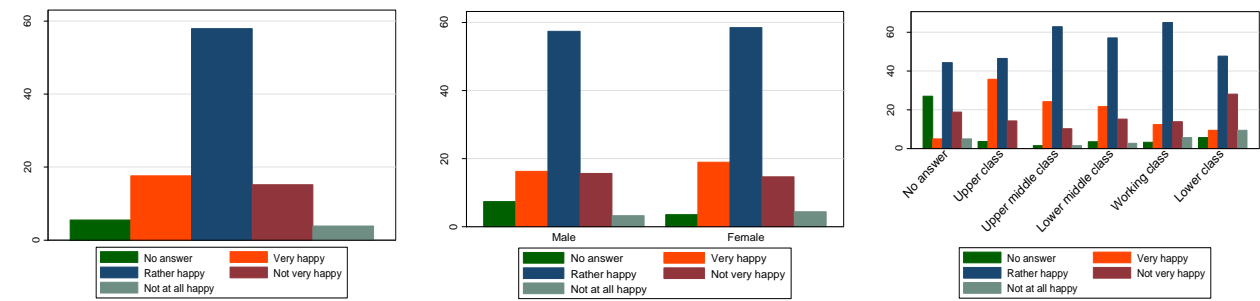


A1.12. In your opinion, are people nowadays able to criticize the government without fear?

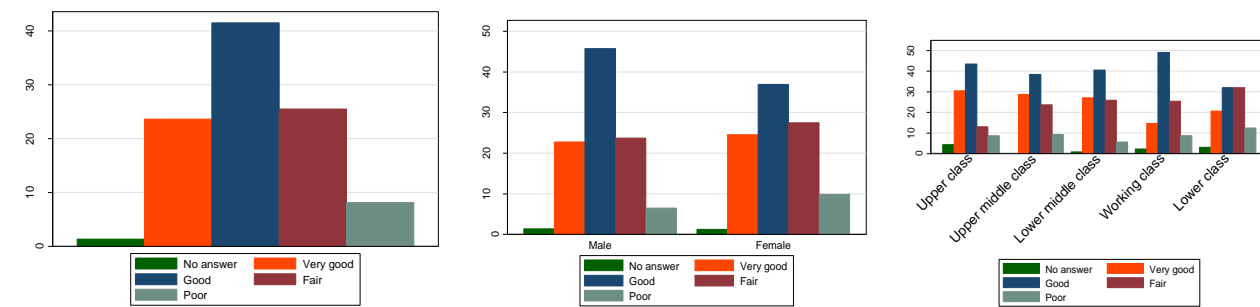


Algeria

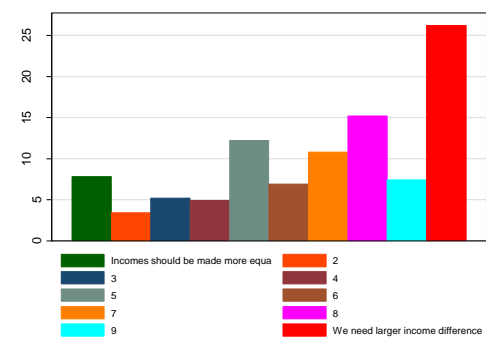
A2.1. Taking all things together, would you say you are:



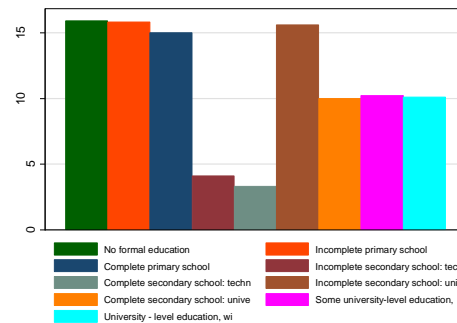
A2.2. All in all, how would you describe your state of health these days? Would you say it is:



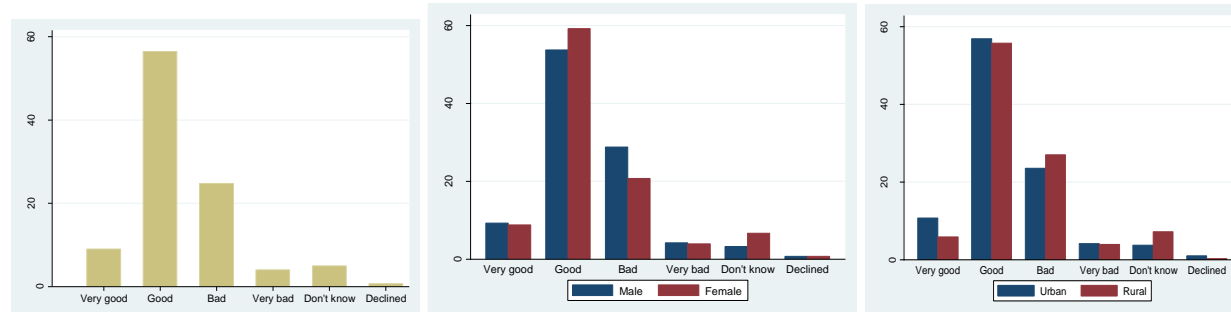
A2.3. Incomes should be: We need larger income differences made more equal as incentives for individual effort



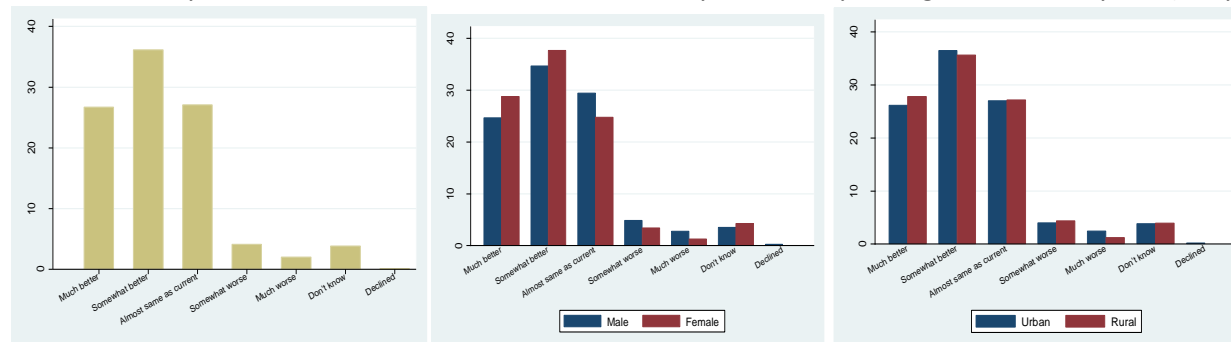
A2.4. What is the highest educational level that you have attained?



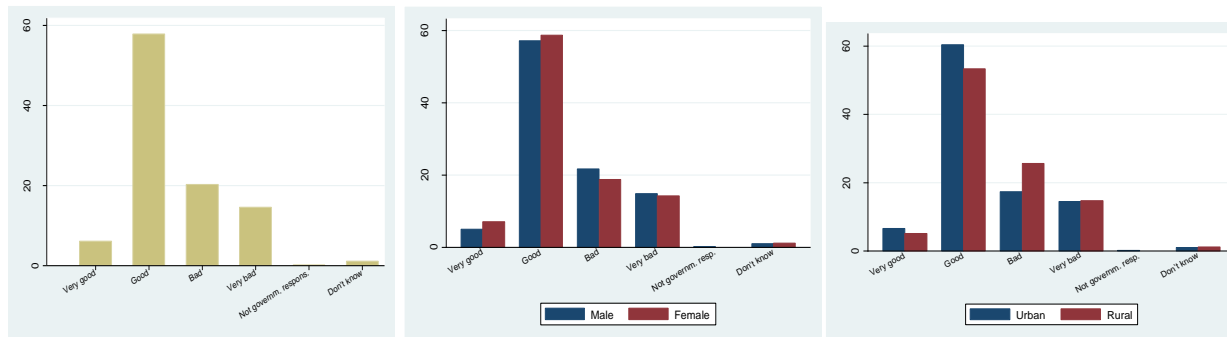
A2.5. How would you evaluate the current economic situation in your country?



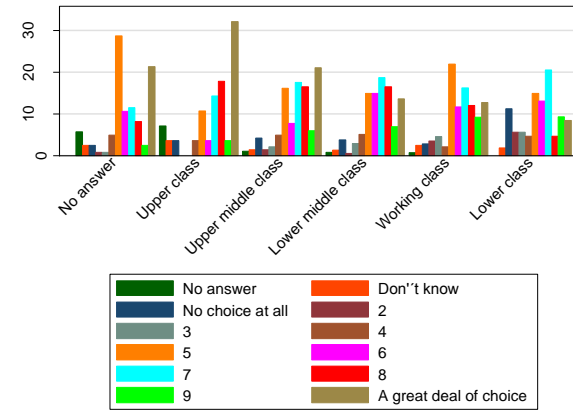
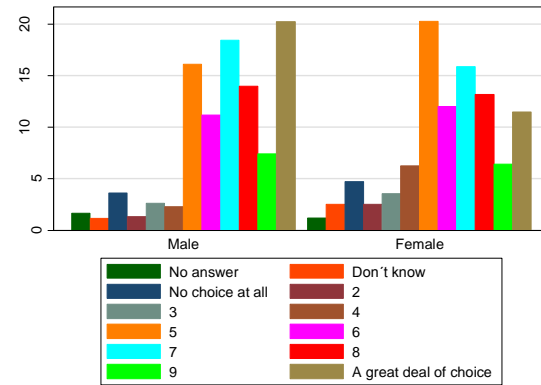
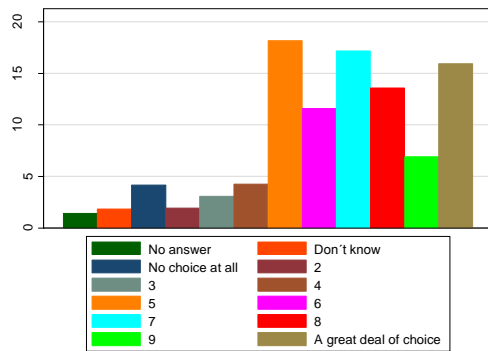
A2.6. What do you think will be the economic situation in your country during the next few years (3-5 years) compared to the current situation?



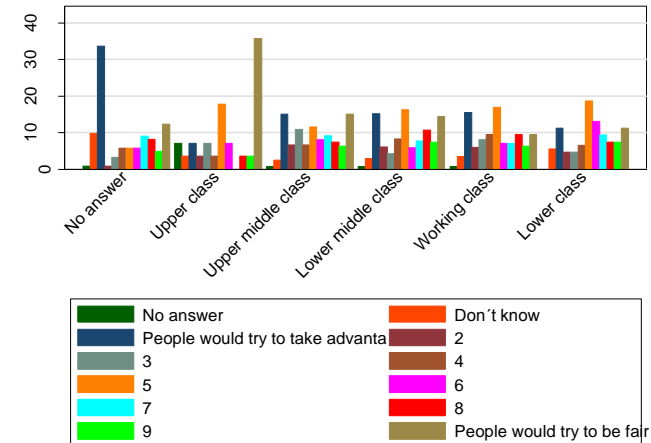
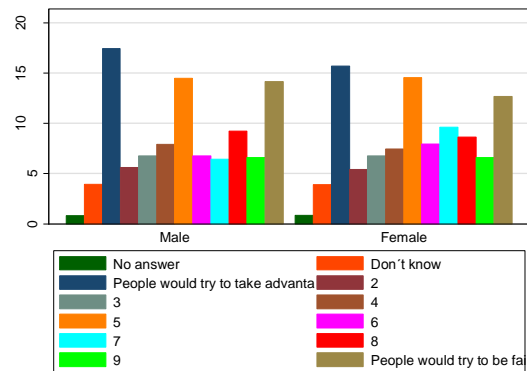
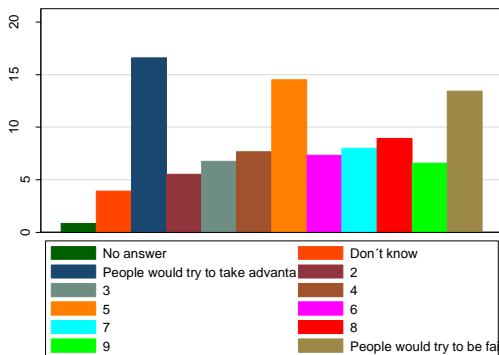
A2.7. How would you evaluate the current government's performance on improving basic health services?



A2.8. Some people feel they have completely free choice and control over their lives, while other people feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens to them. Please use this scale where 1 means "no choice at all" and 10 means "a great deal of choice" to indicate how much freedom of choice and control you feel you have over the way your life turns out (*code one number*):



A2.9. Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair? Please show your response on this card, where 1 means that “people would try to take advantage of you,” and 10 means that “people would try to be fair” (code one number):

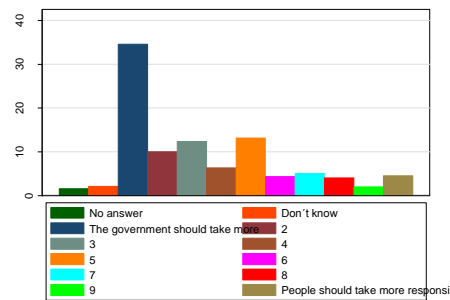


A2.10. Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.

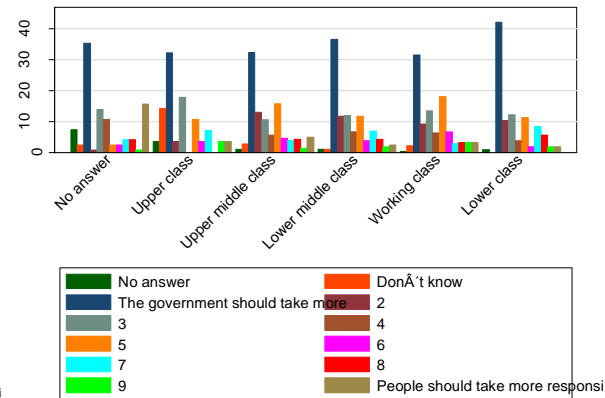
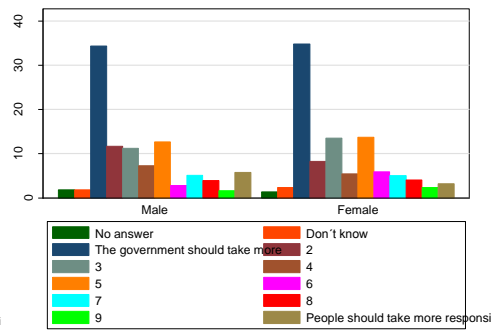
Government should

People should take more

take more responsibility to ensure
that everyone is provided



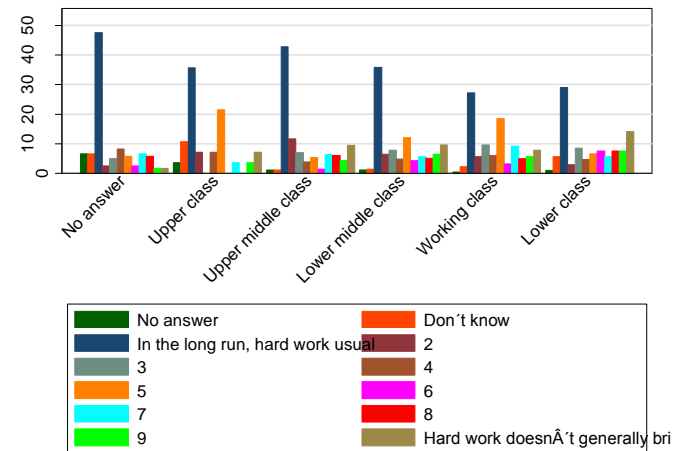
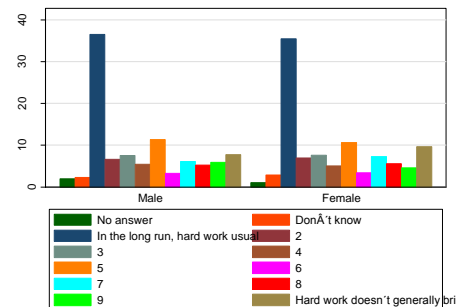
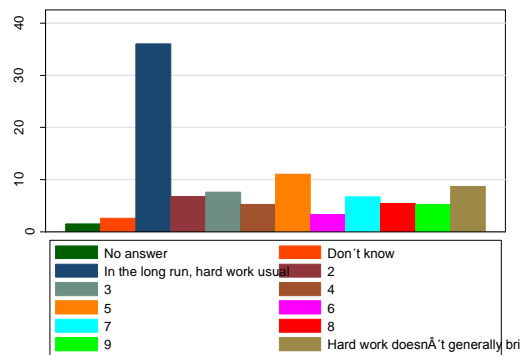
responsibility to
for provide for themselves



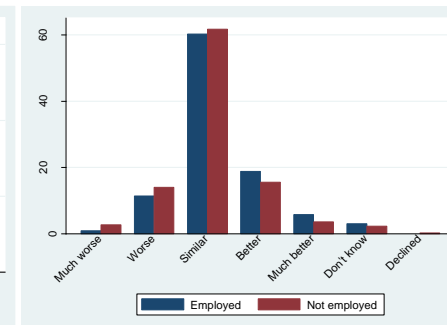
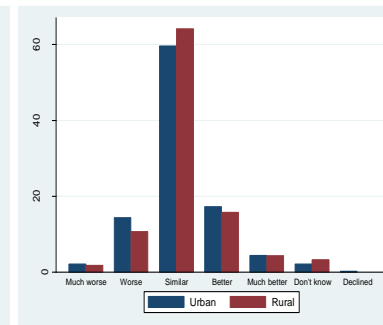
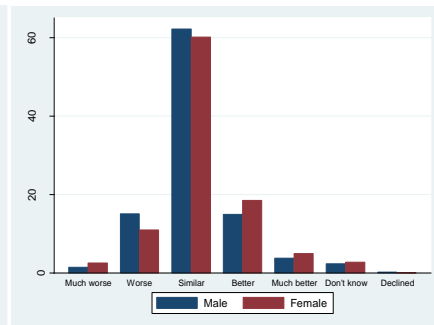
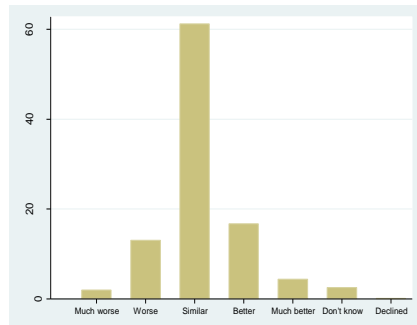
A2.11. Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.

In the long run, hard work
usually brings a better life bring success

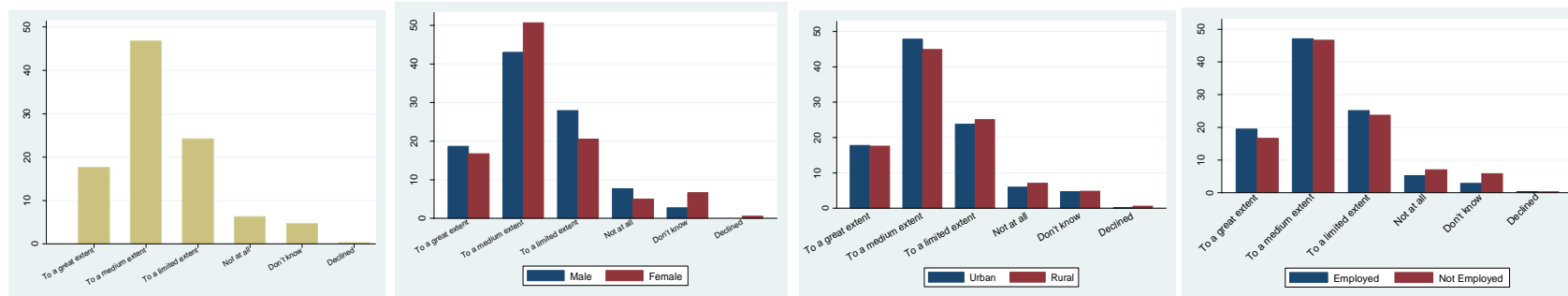
Hard work doesn't generally
it's more a matter
of luck and connections



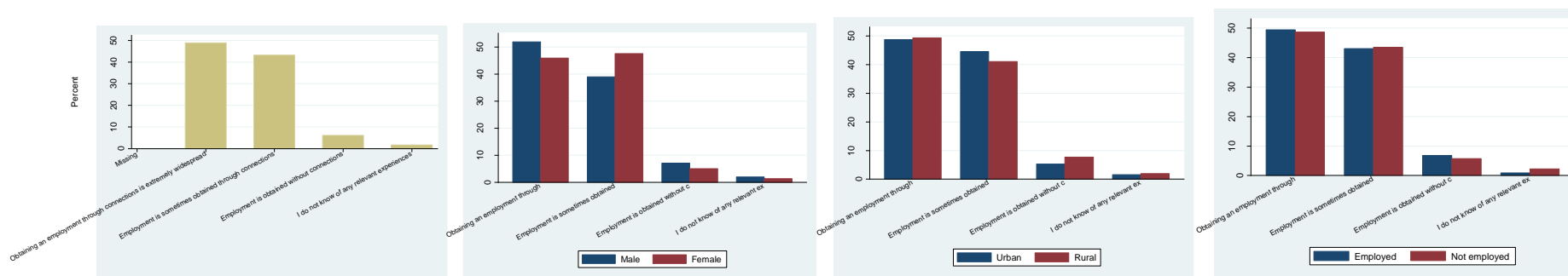
A2.12. Generally speaking, how would you compare your living conditions with the rest of your fellow citizens?



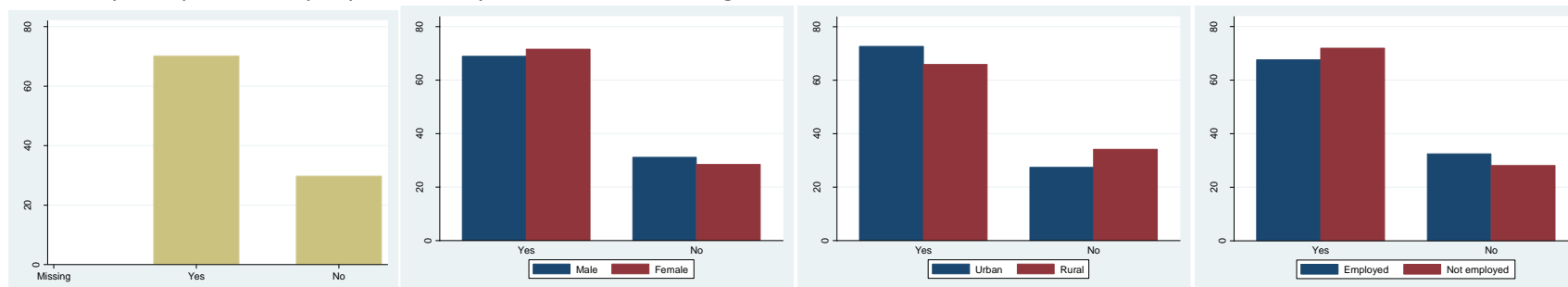
A2.13. To what extent do you feel that you are being treated equally compared to other citizens in your country?



A2.14. Some people say that nowadays it is impossible to obtain a job without connections, while others say that jobs are only available to qualified candidates. Based on a recent experience (or experiences) you are personally aware of, do you think that...:

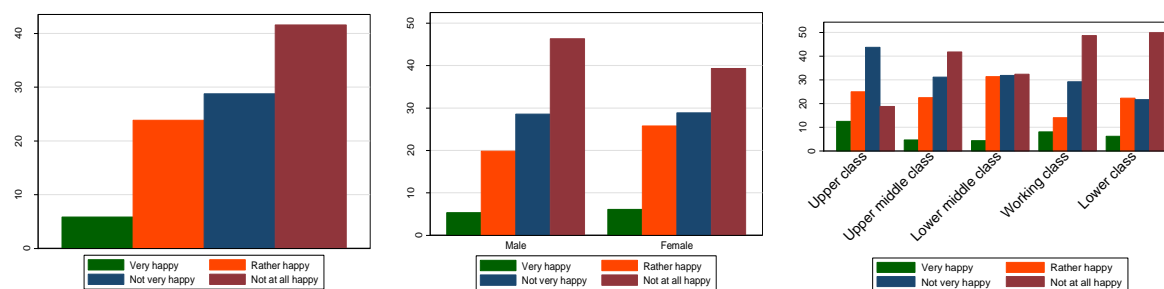


A2.15. In your opinion, are people nowadays able to criticize the government without fear?

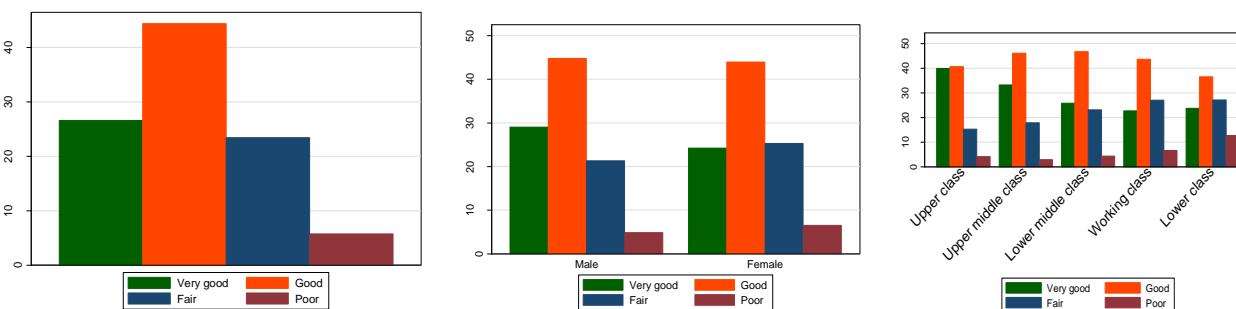


Egypt

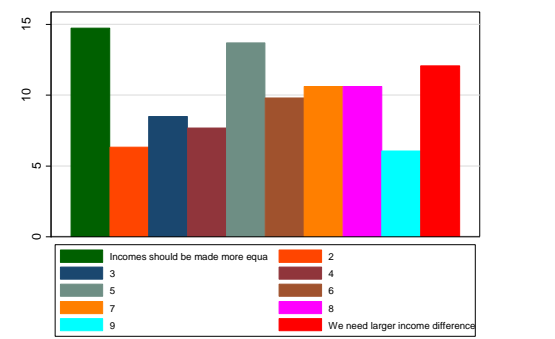
A3.1. Taking all things together, would you say you are:



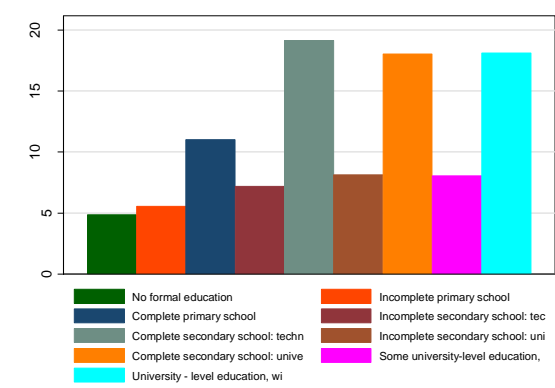
A3.2. All in all, how would you describe your state of health these days? Would you say it is:



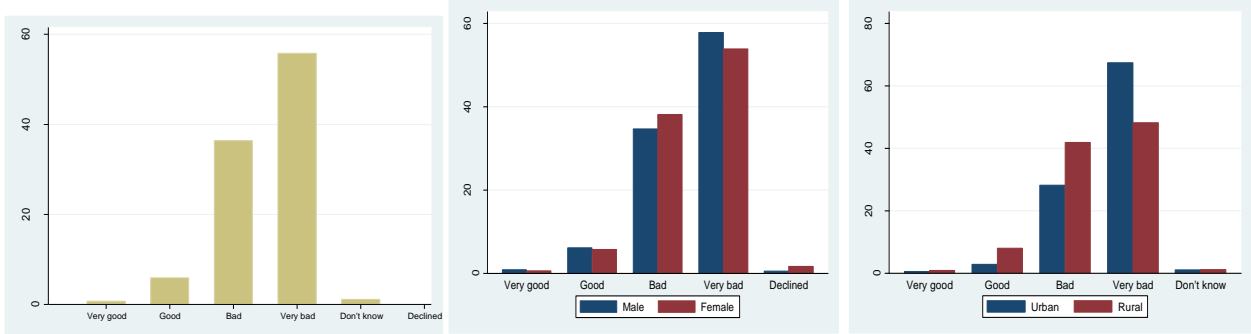
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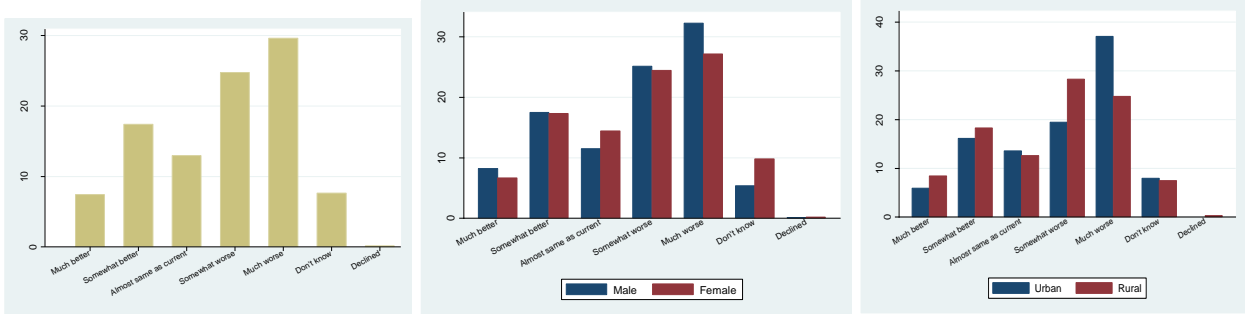
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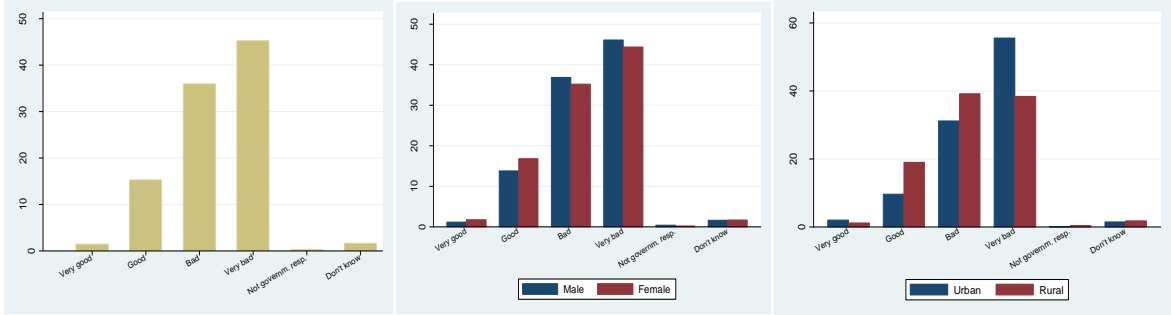
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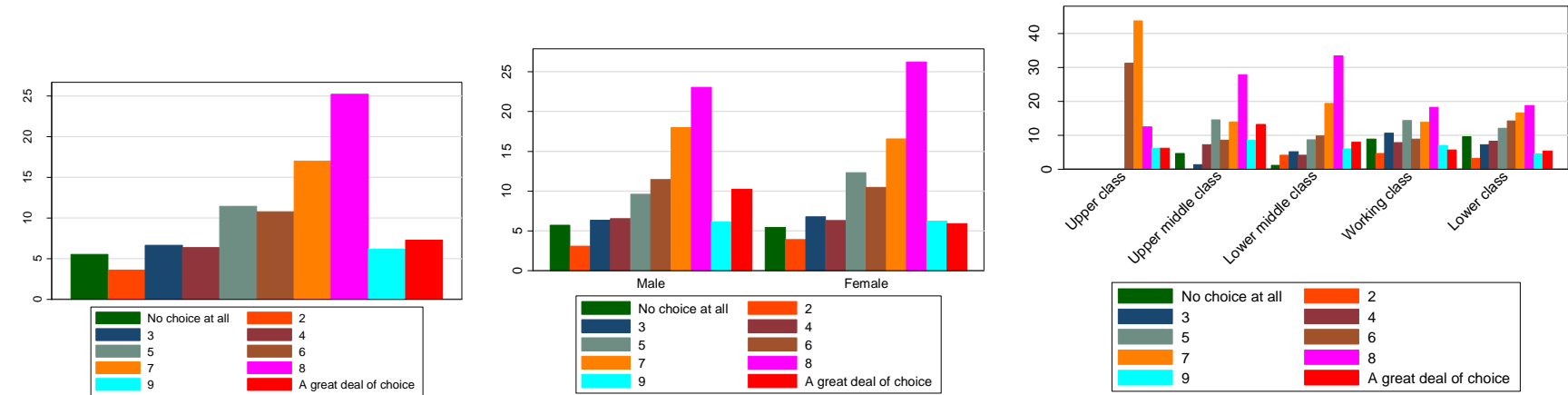
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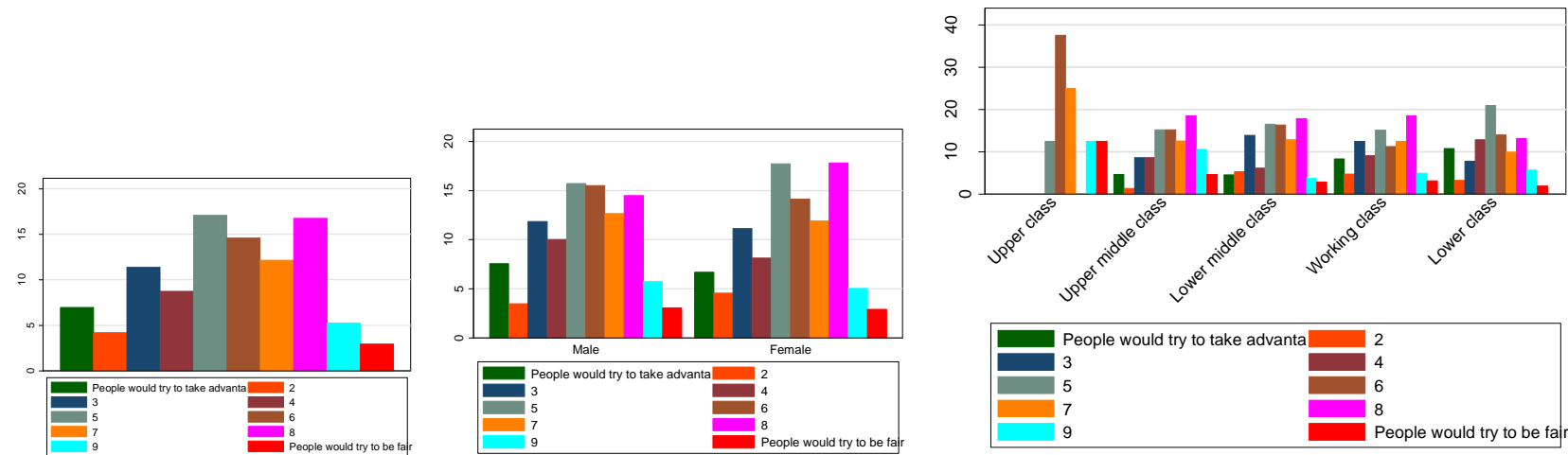
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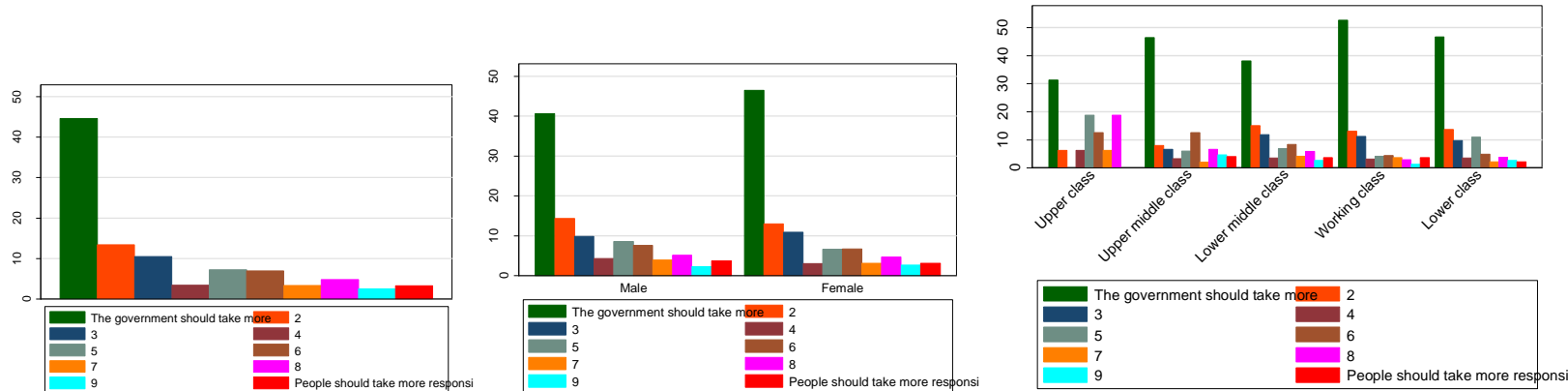
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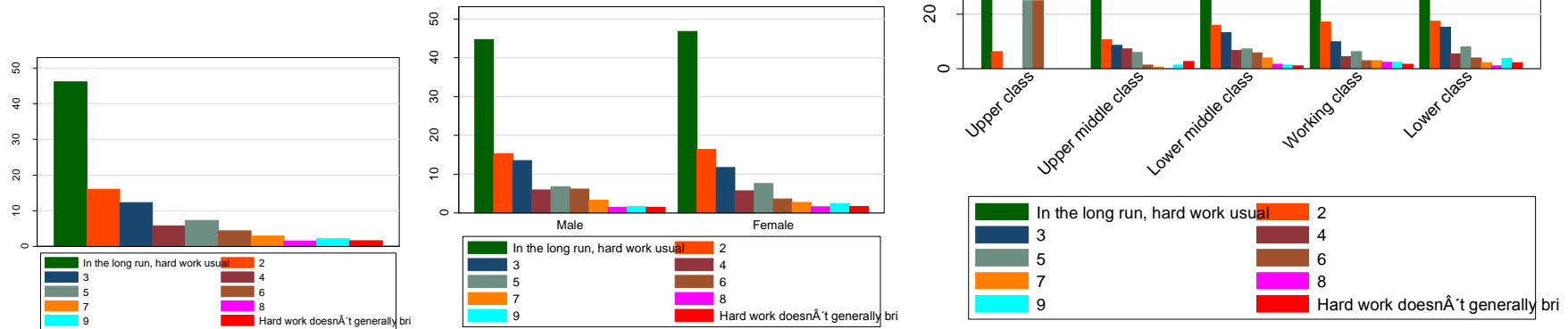
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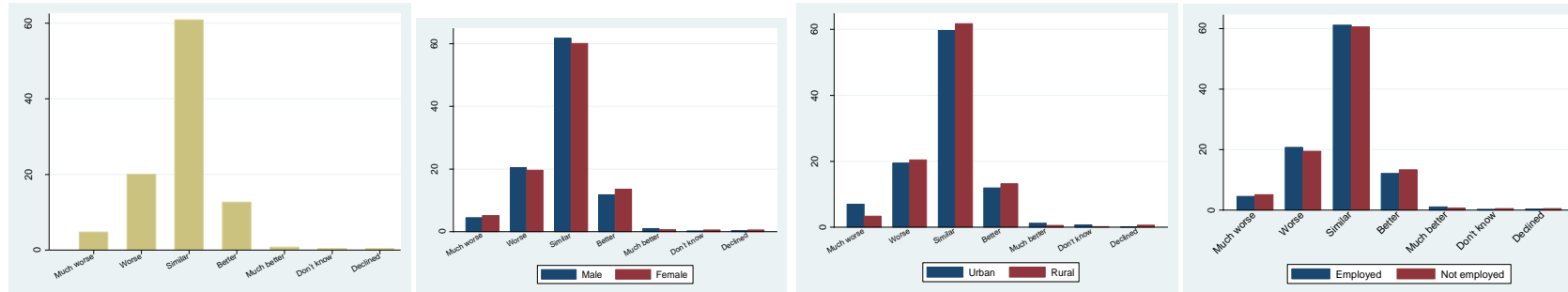
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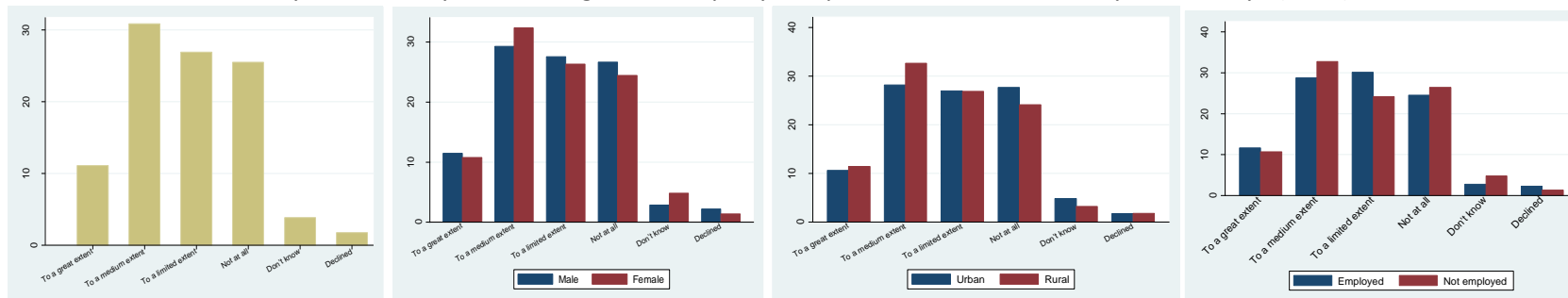
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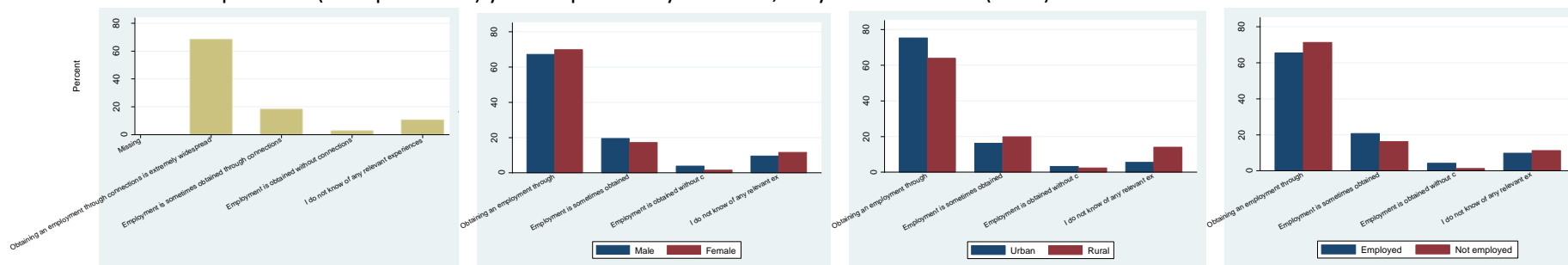
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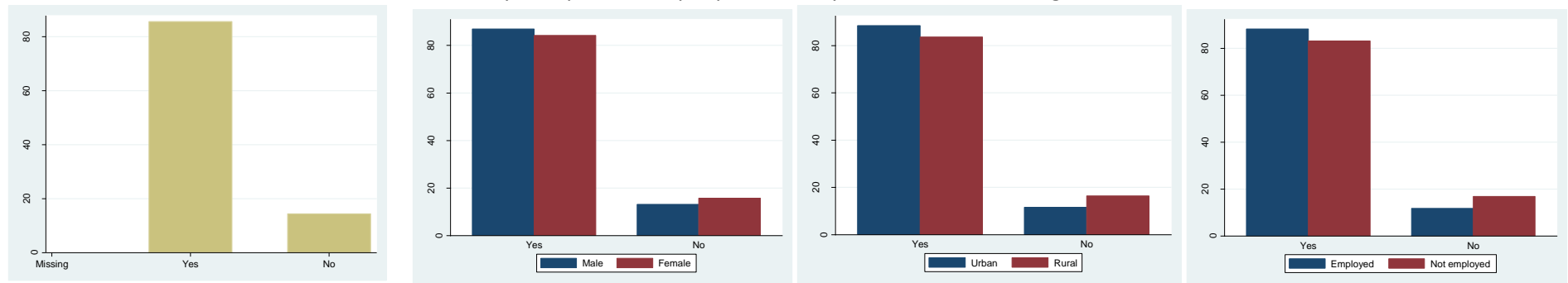
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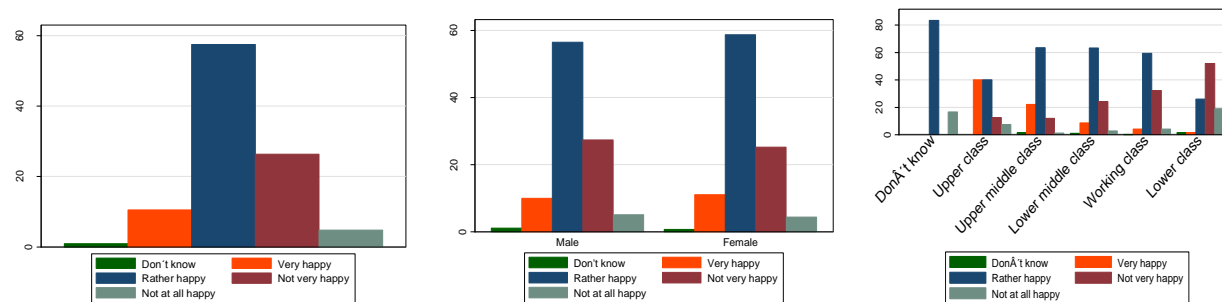


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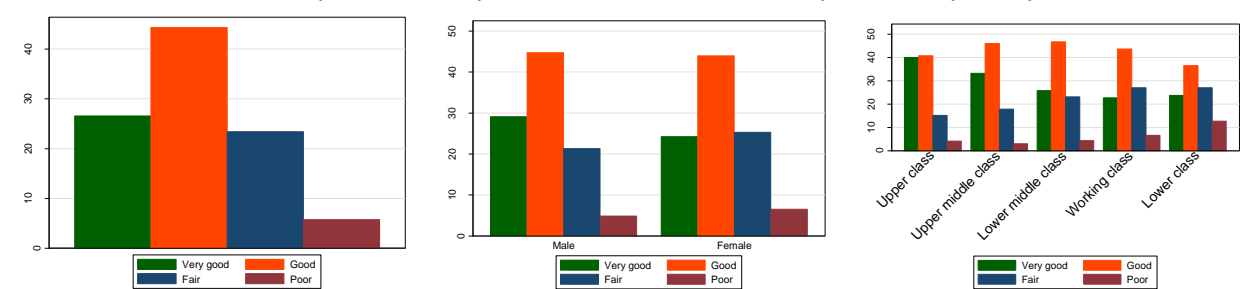


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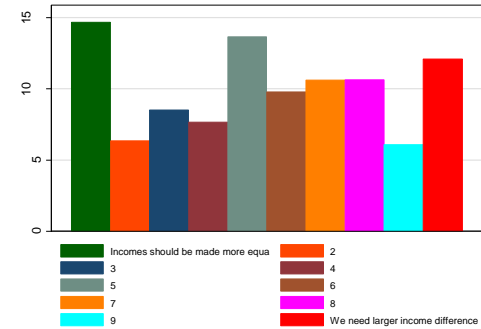
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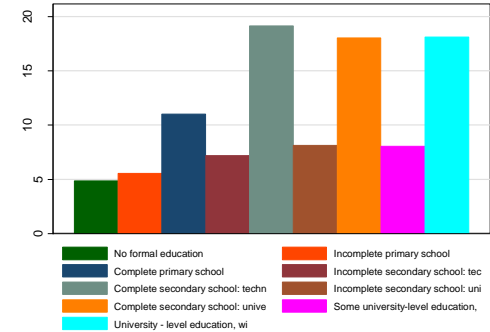
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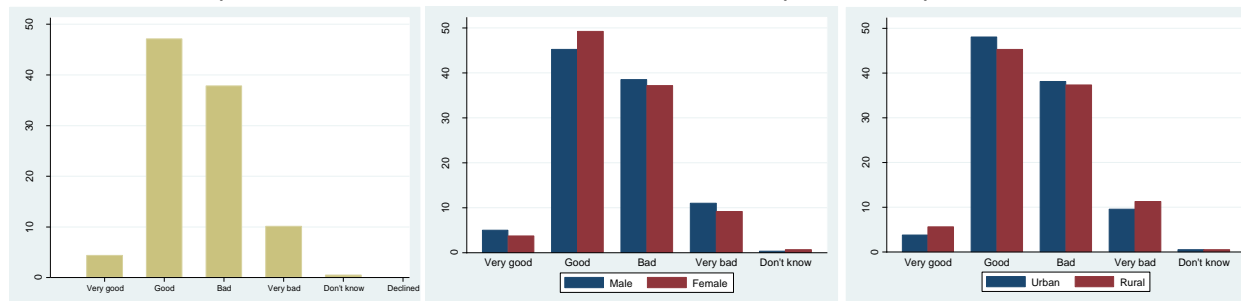
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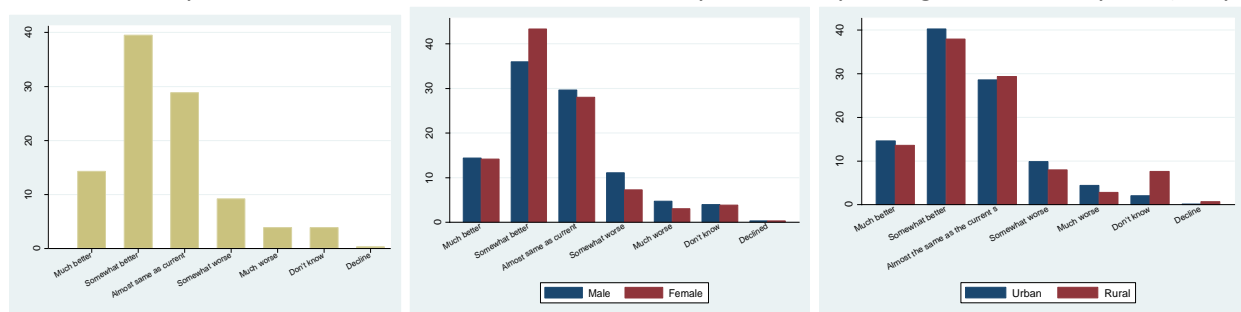
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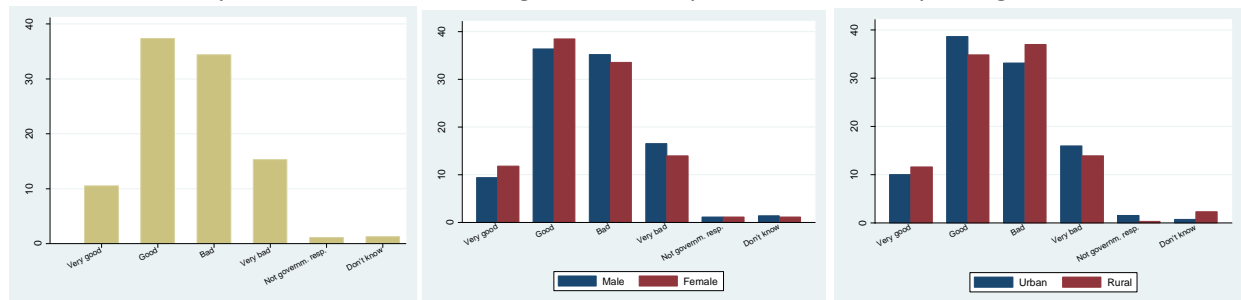
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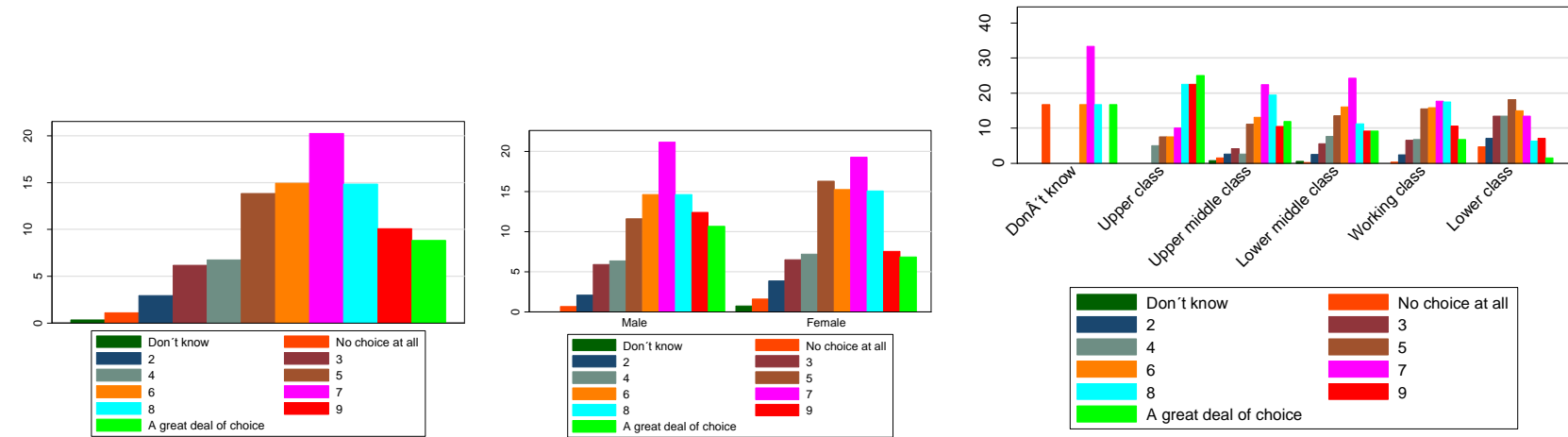
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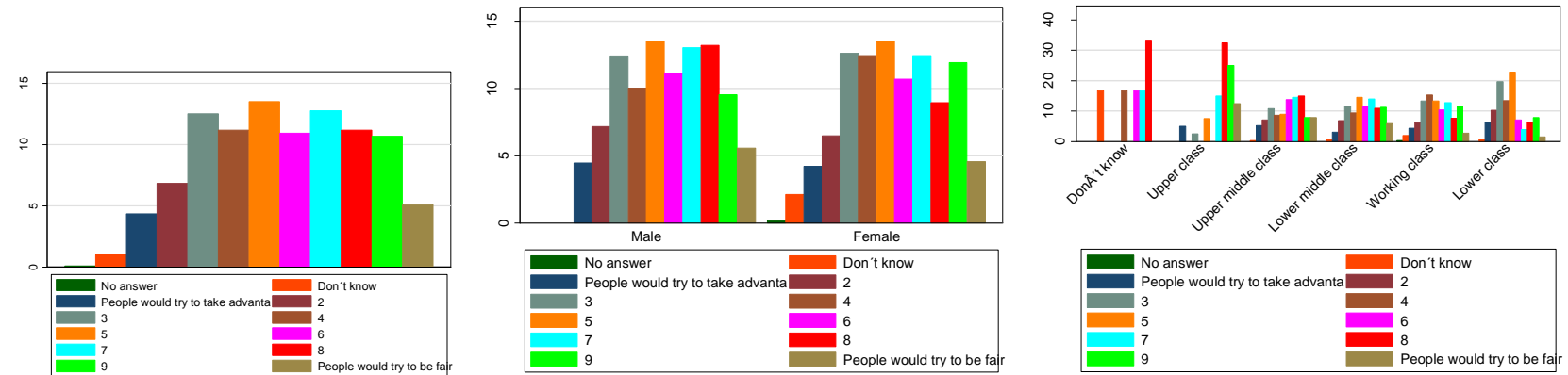
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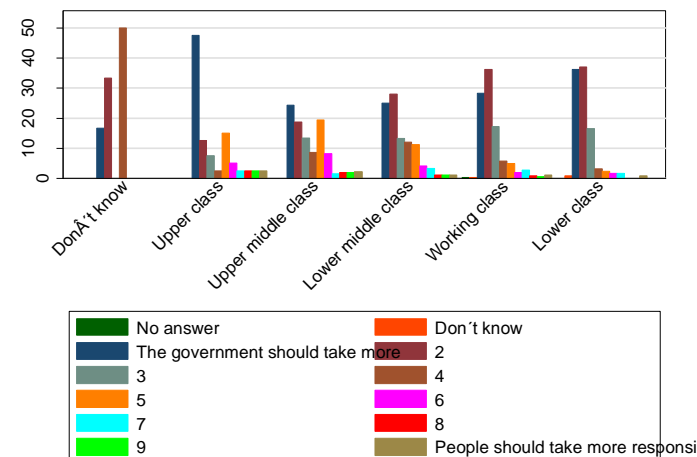
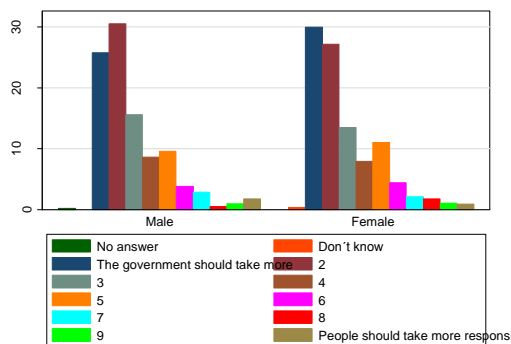
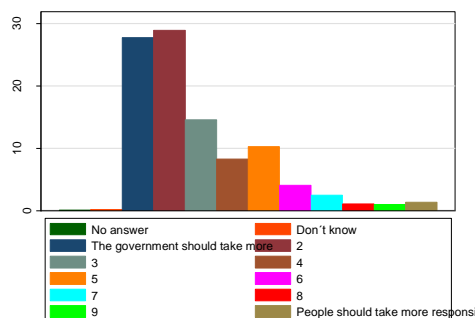
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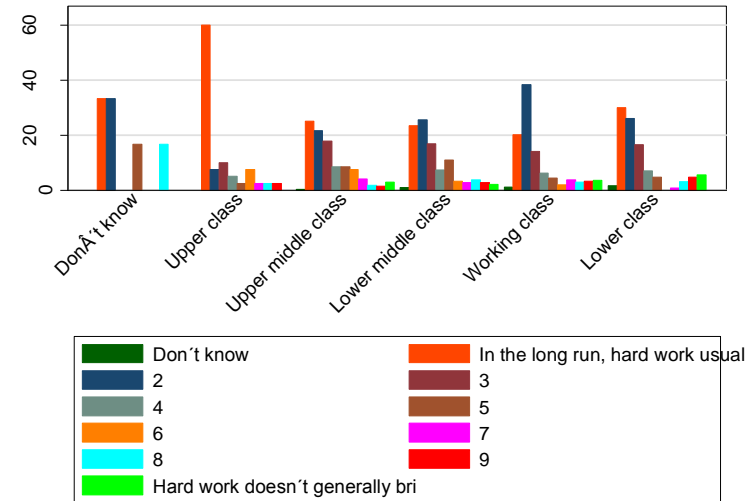
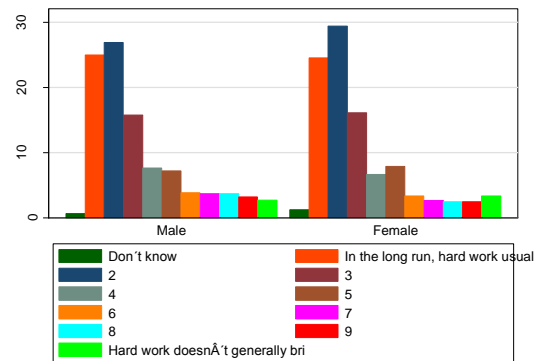
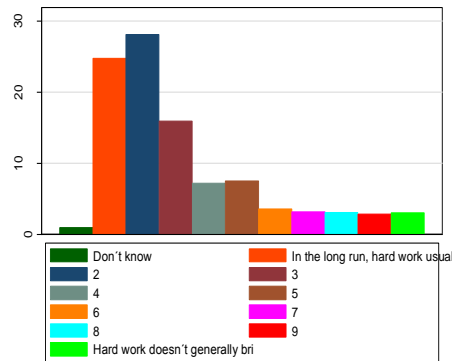
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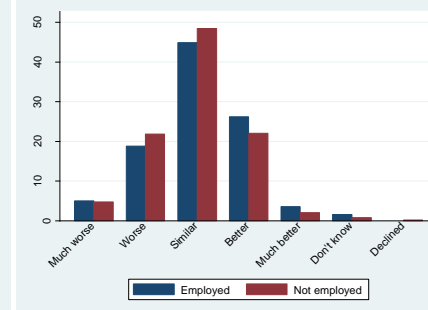
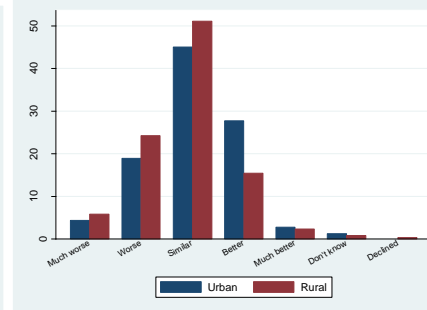
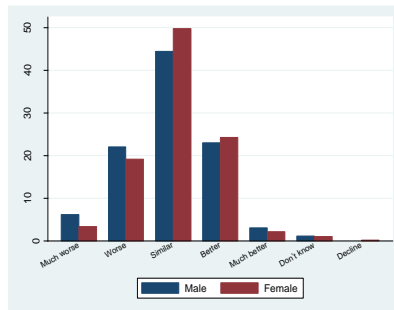
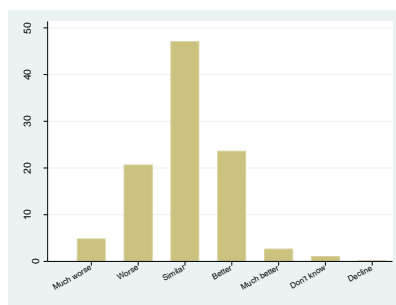
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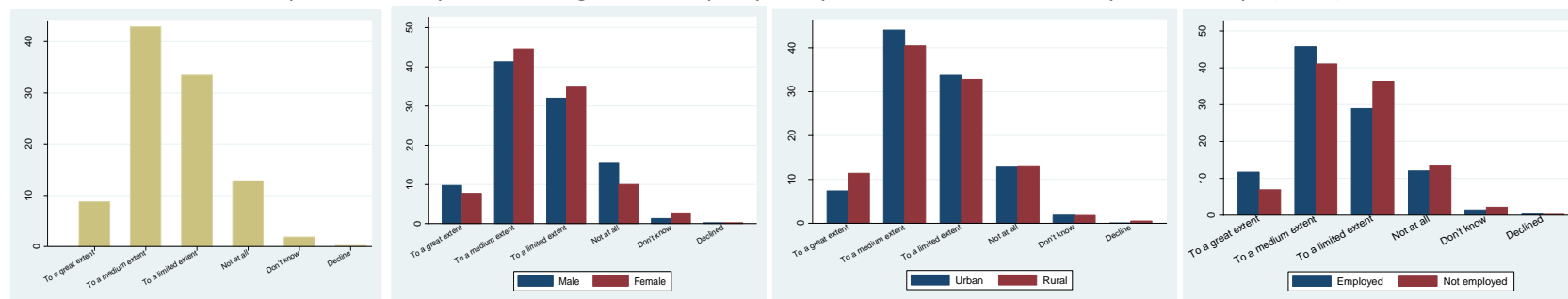
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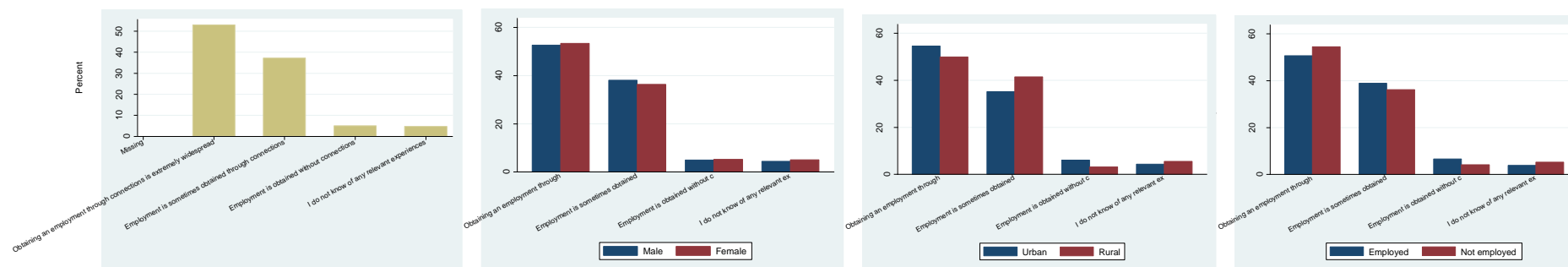
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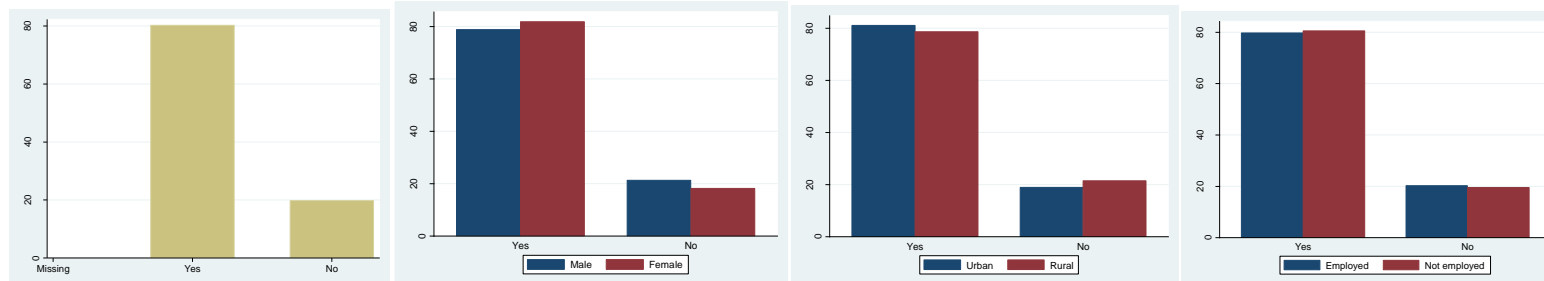
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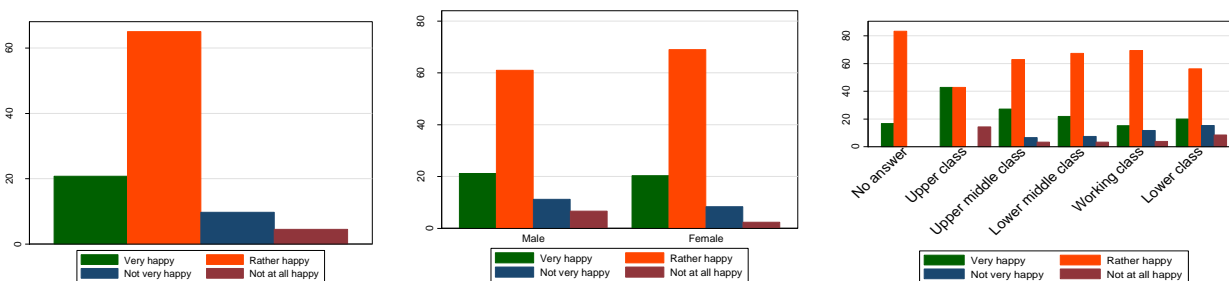


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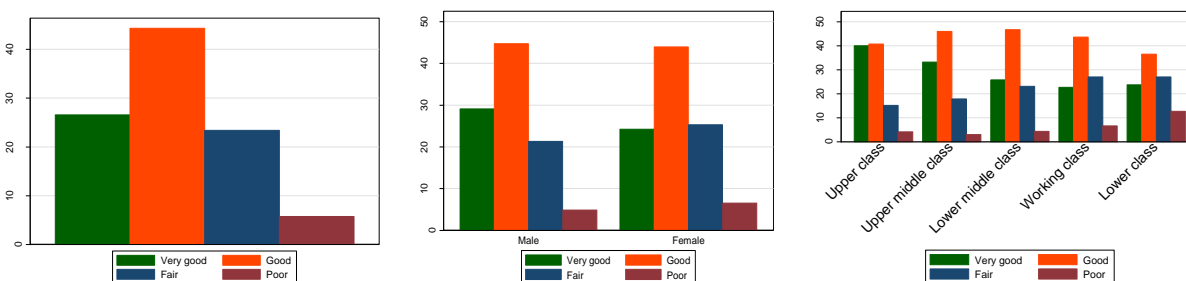


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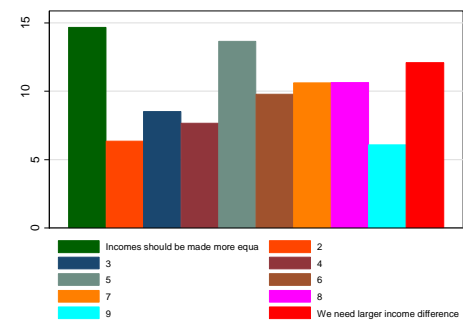
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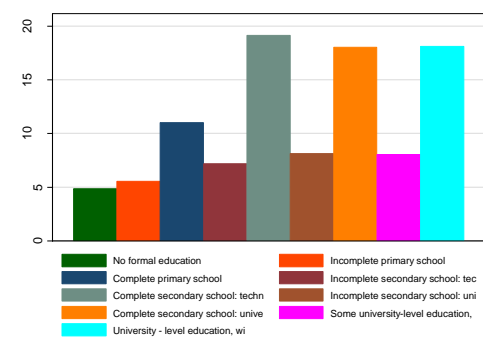
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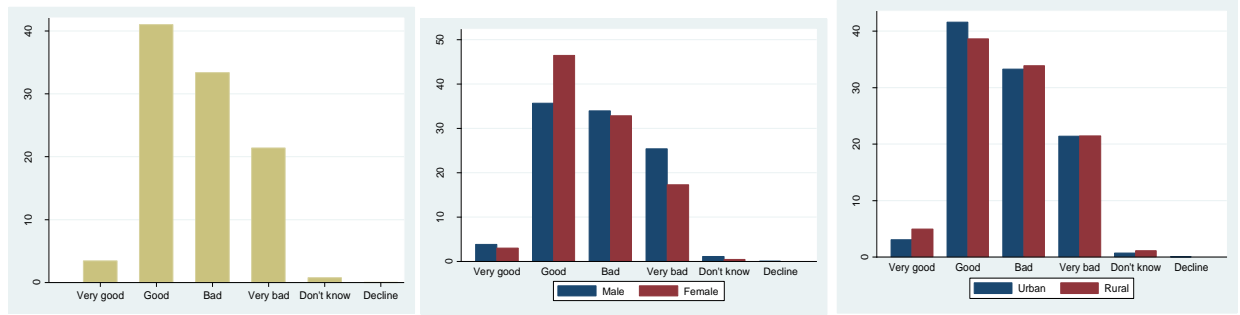
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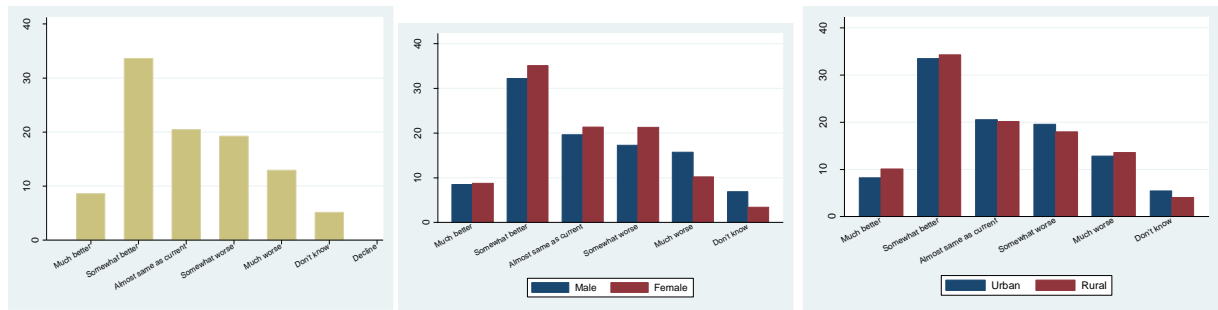
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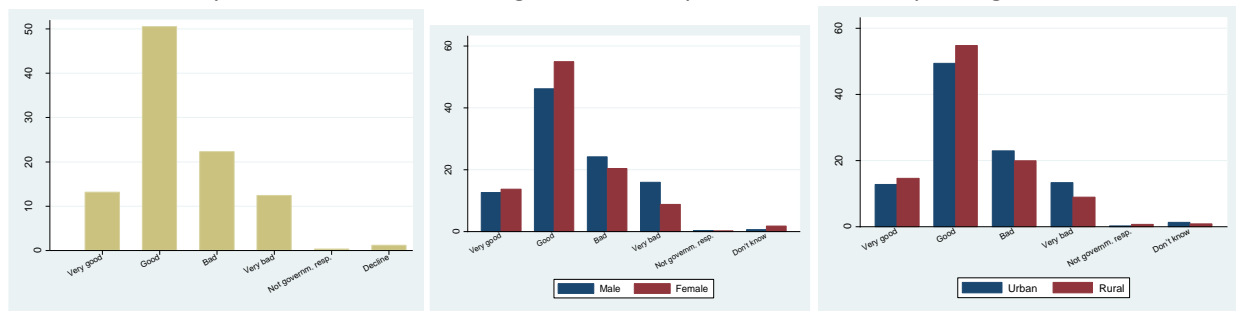
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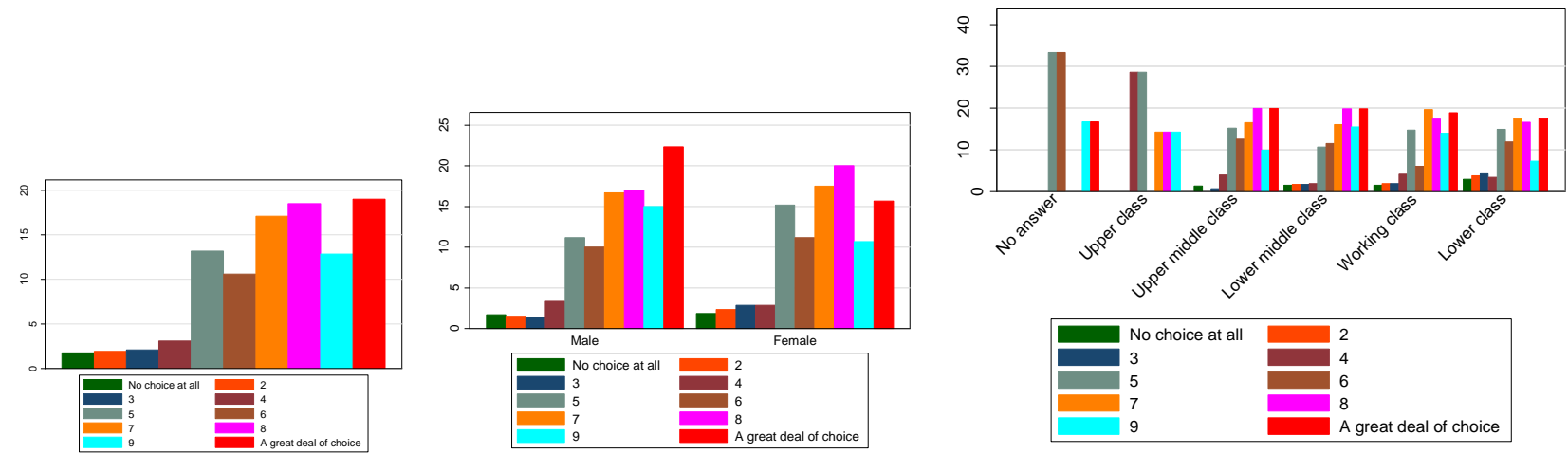
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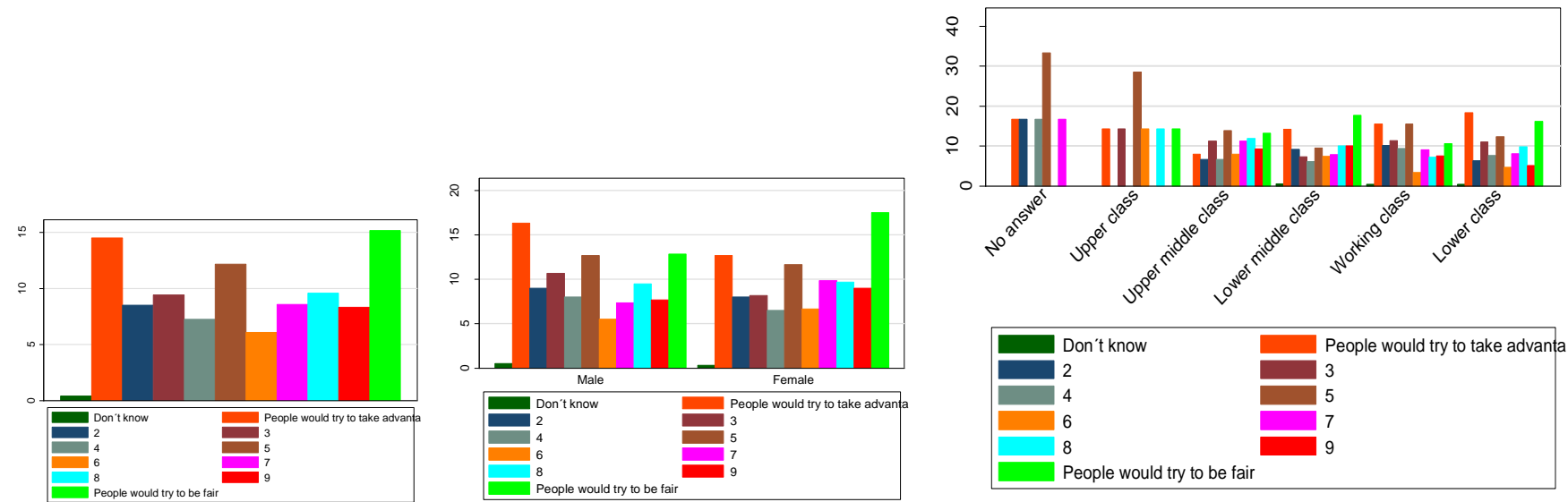
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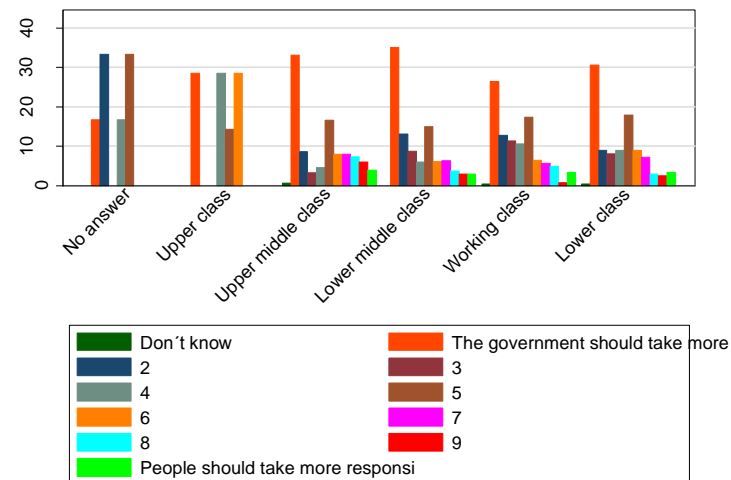
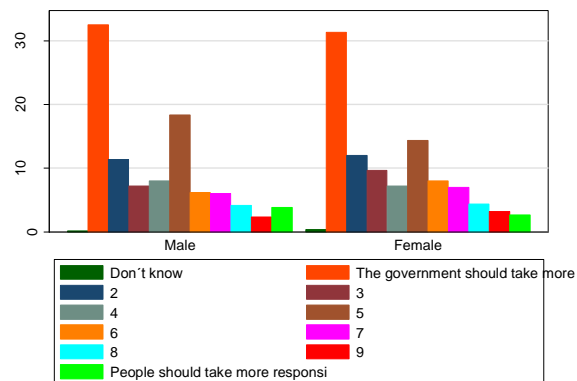
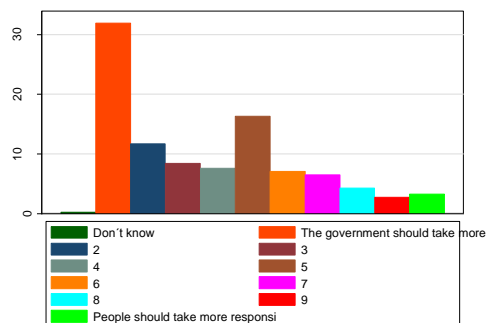
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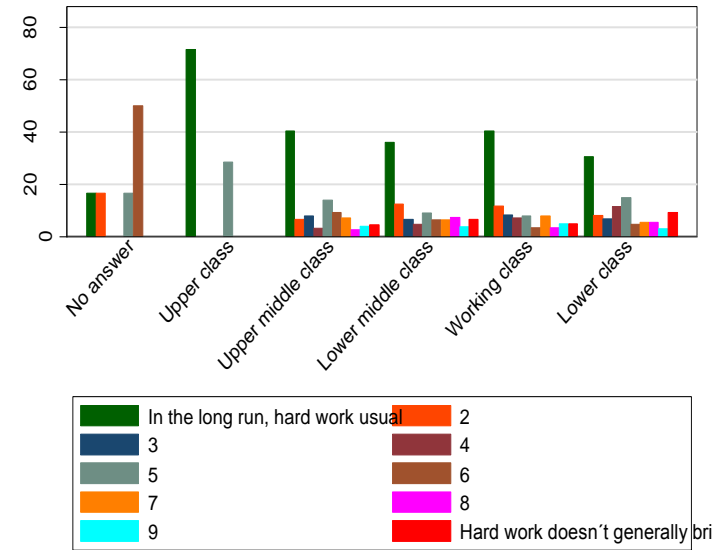
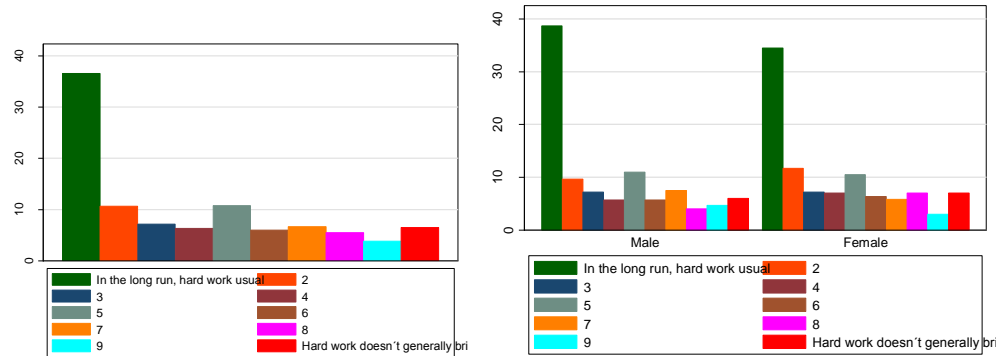
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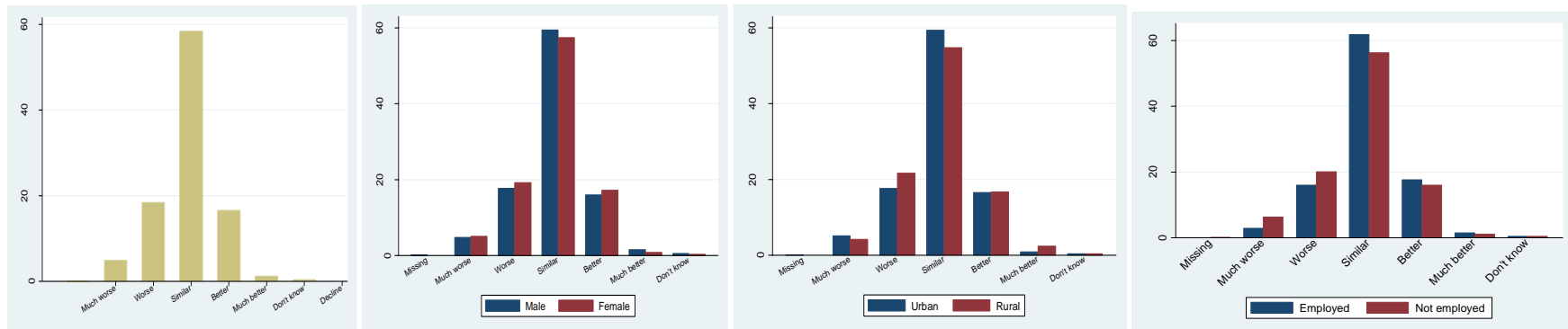
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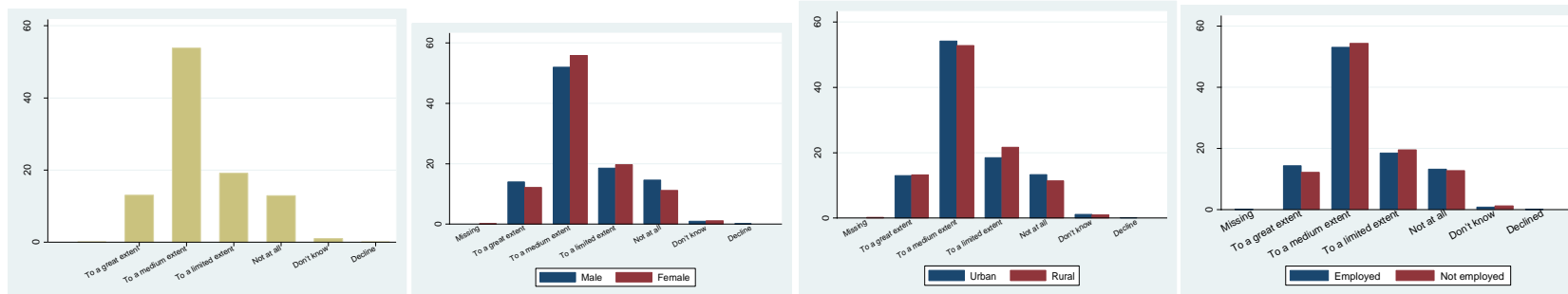
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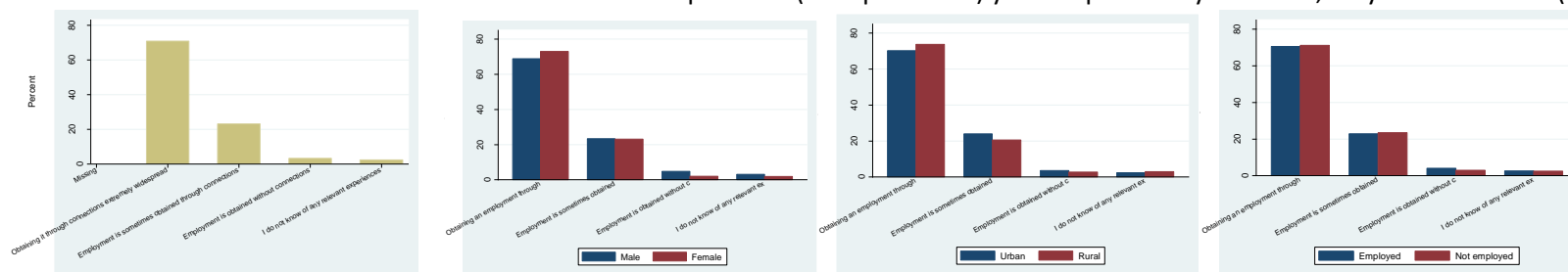
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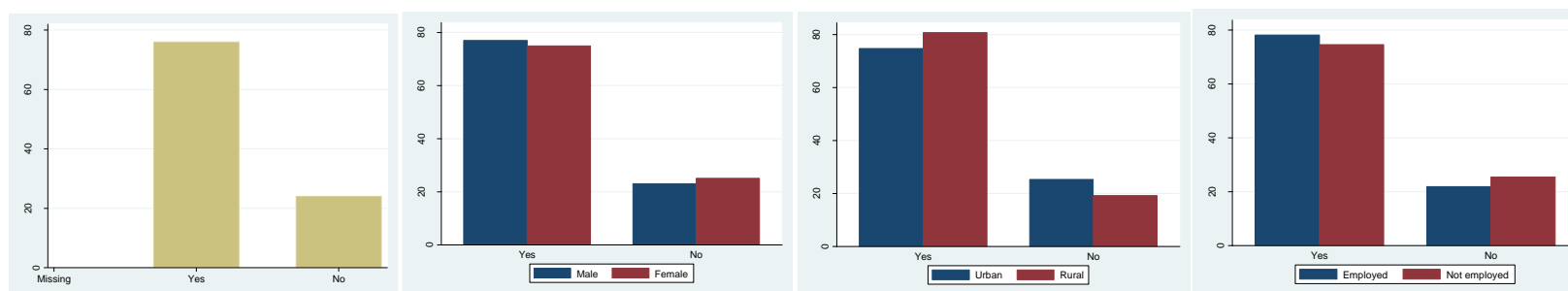
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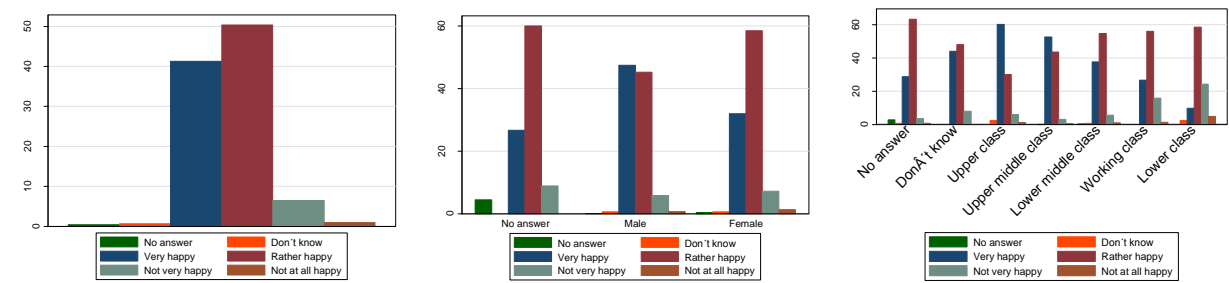


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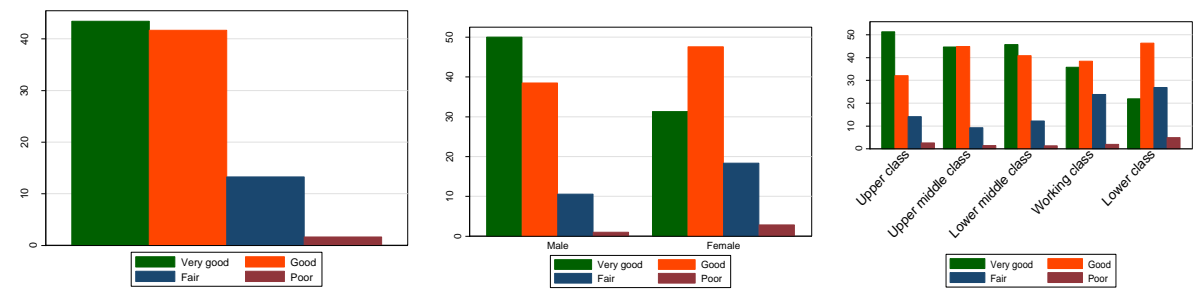


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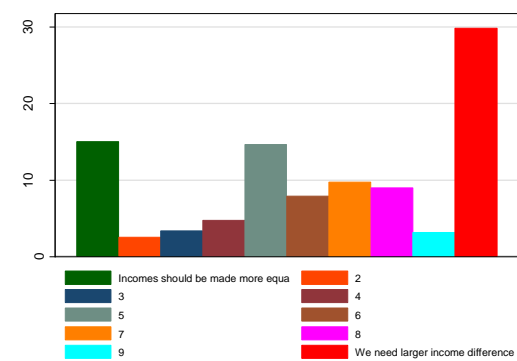
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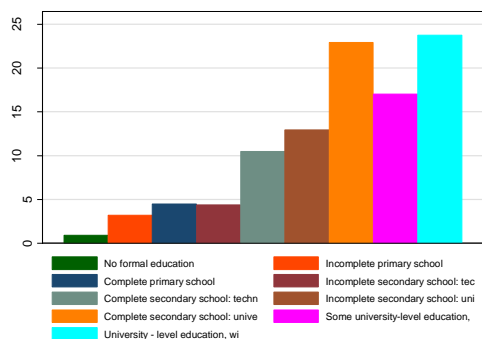
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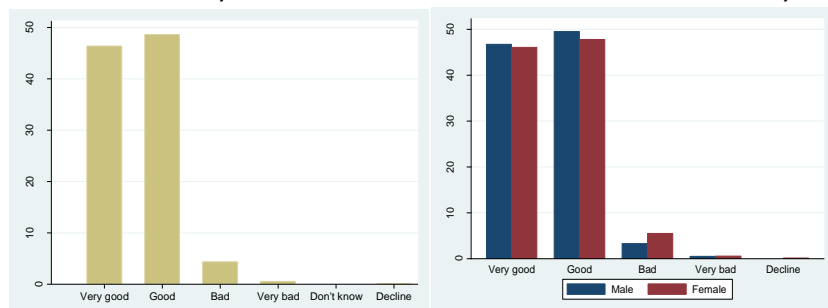
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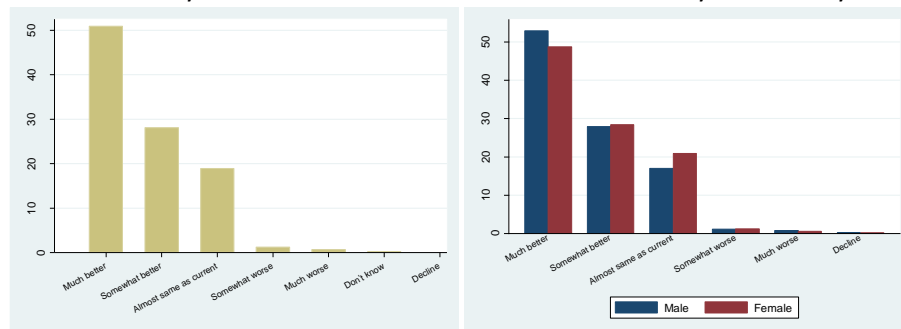
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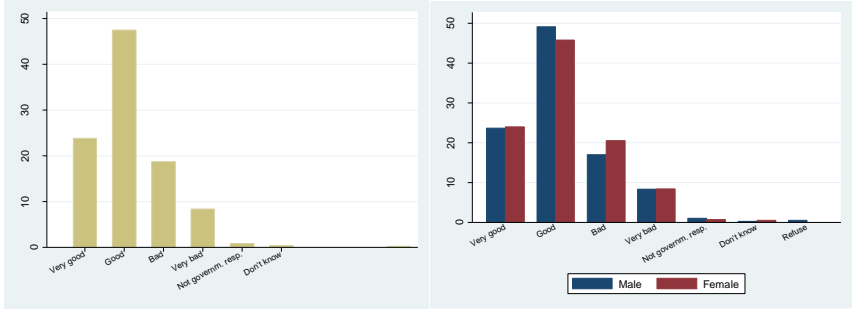
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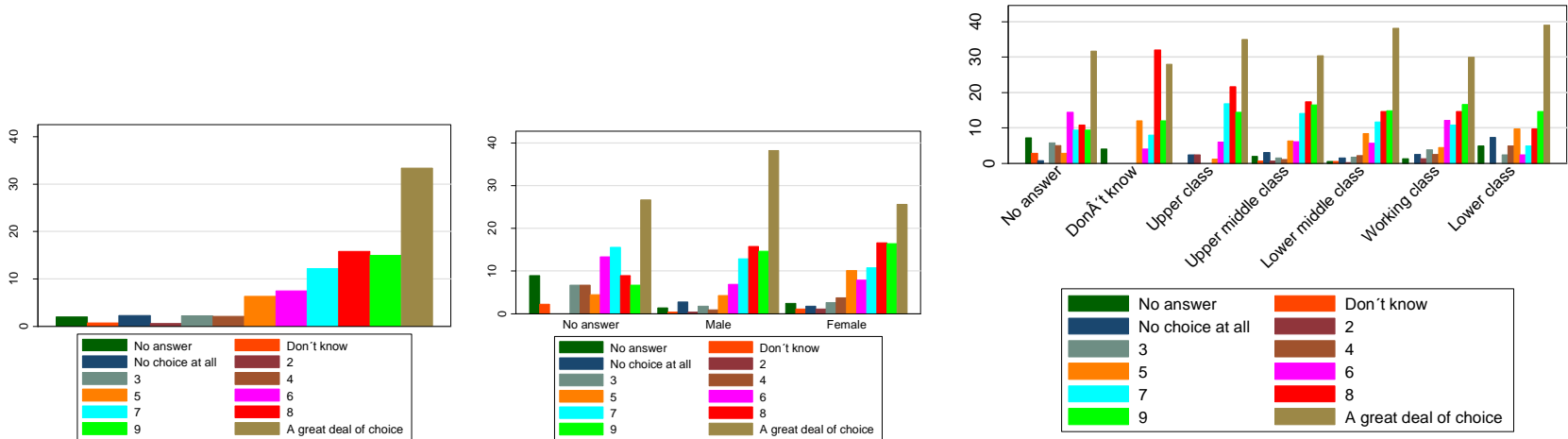
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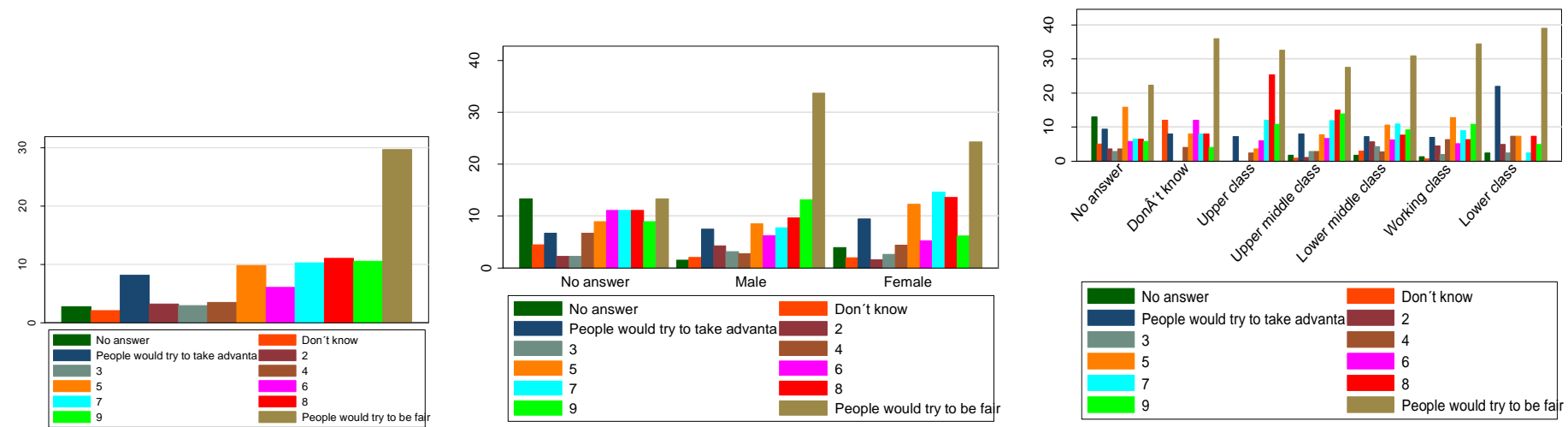
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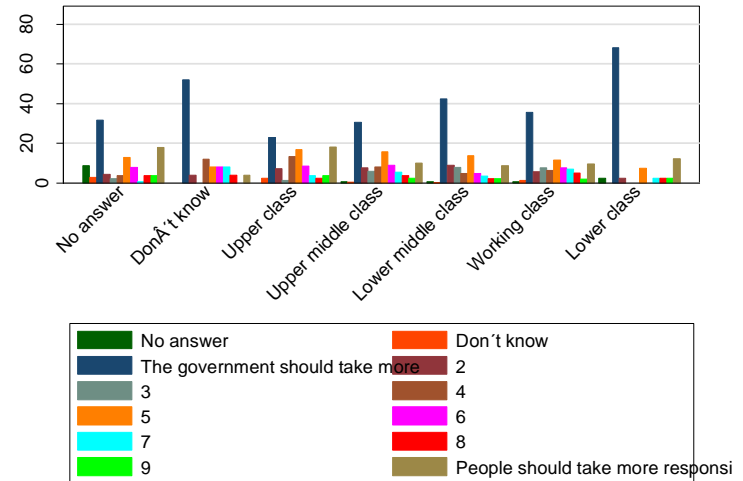
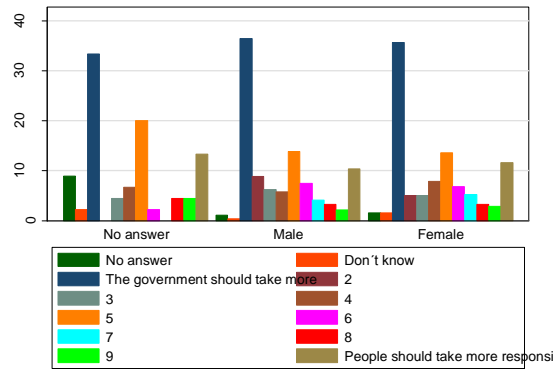
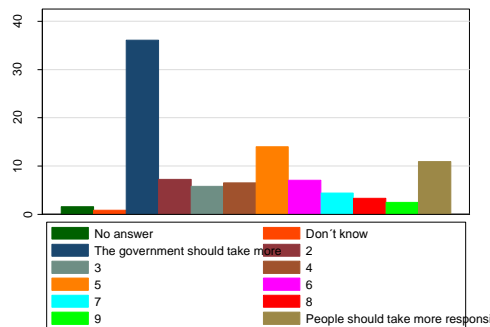
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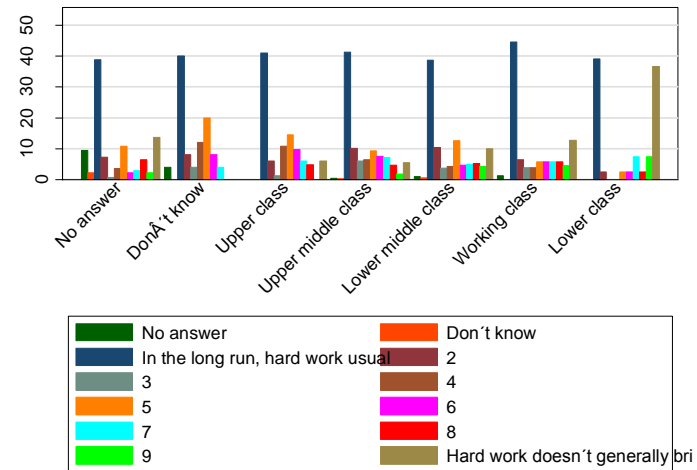
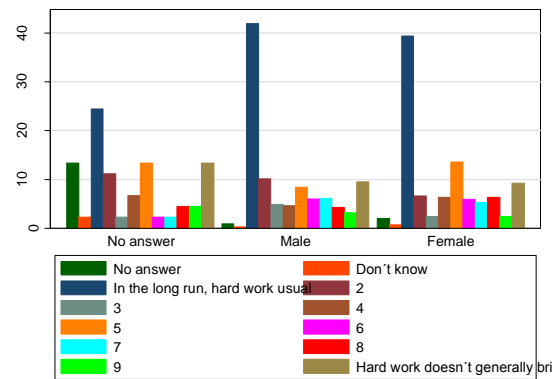
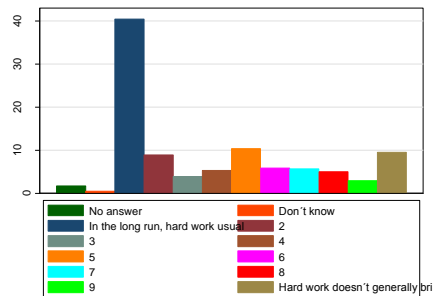
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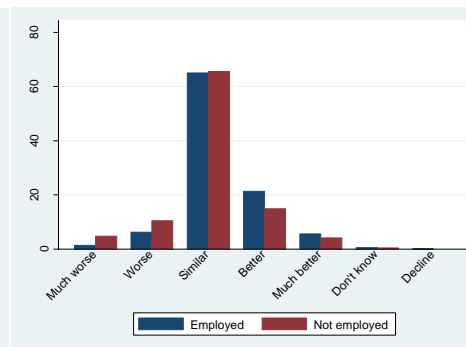
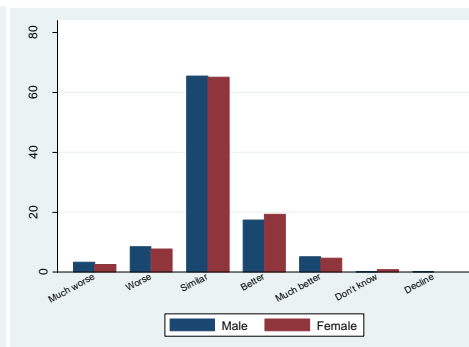
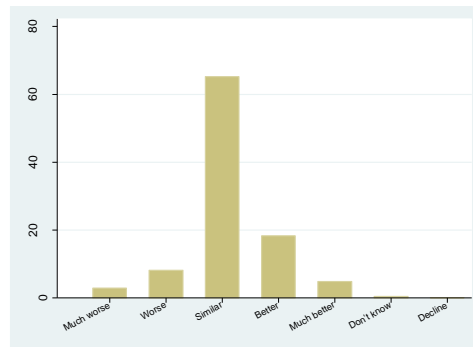
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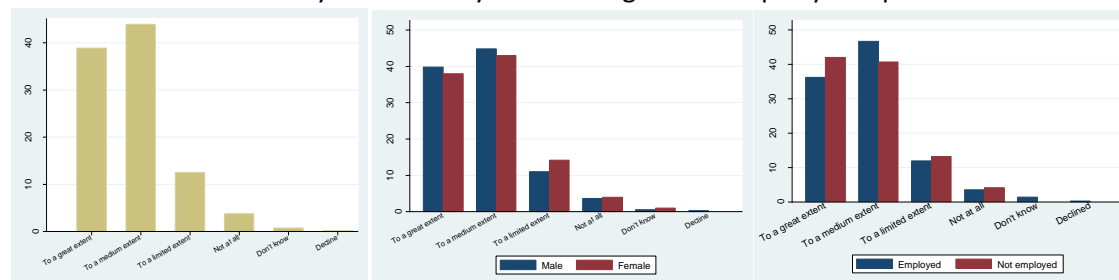
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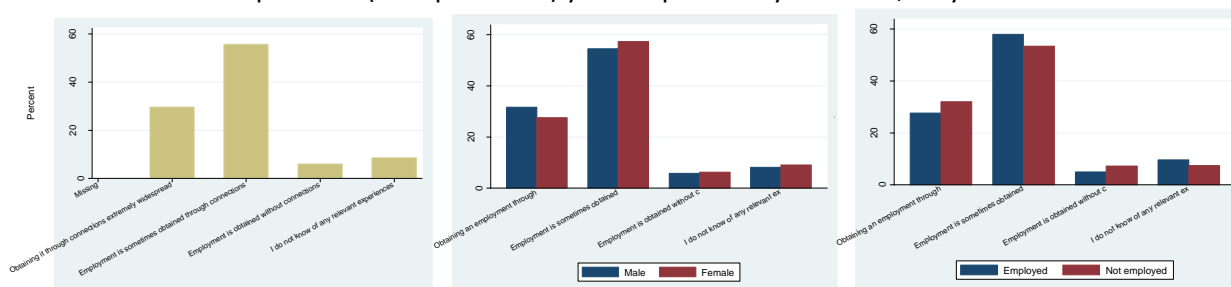
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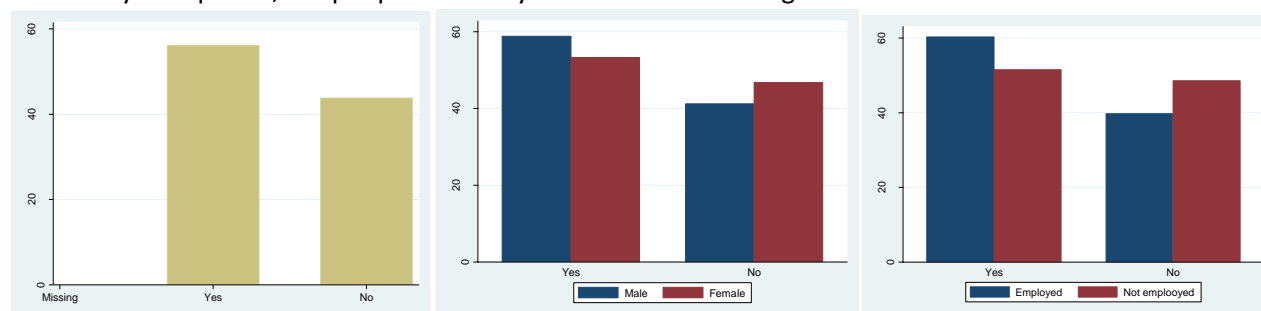
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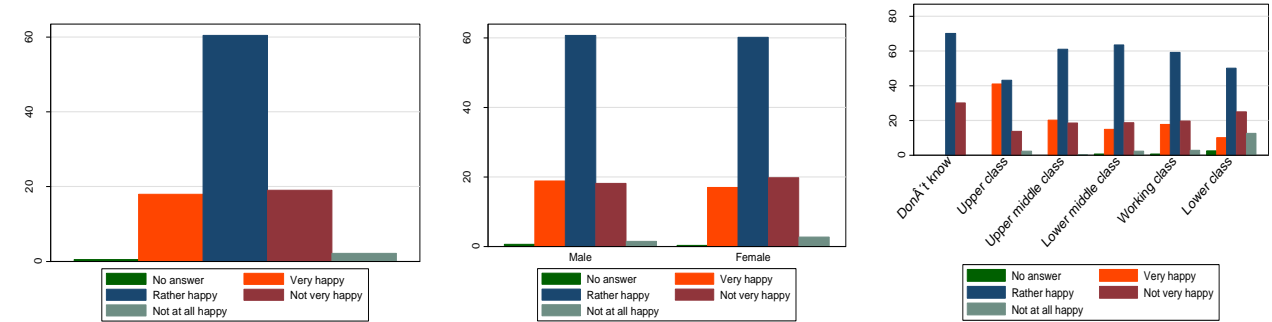


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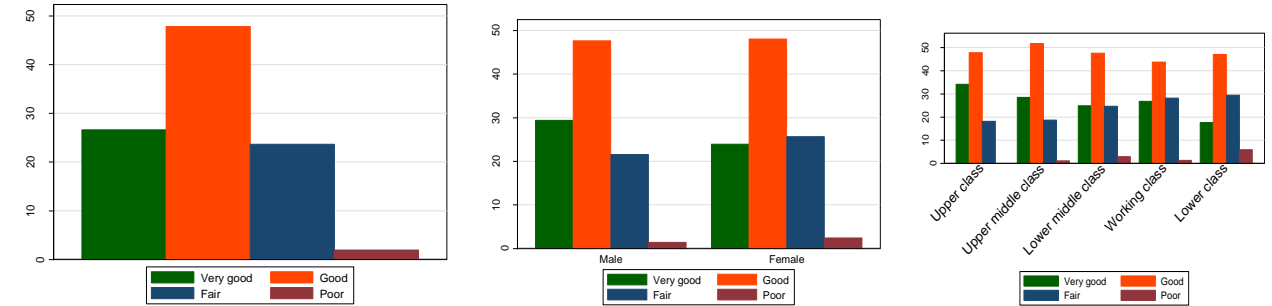


Lebanon

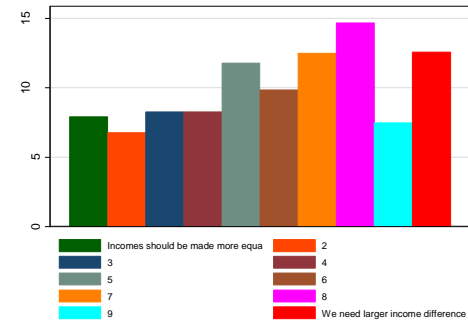
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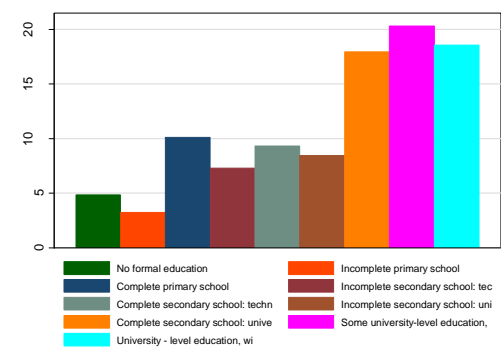
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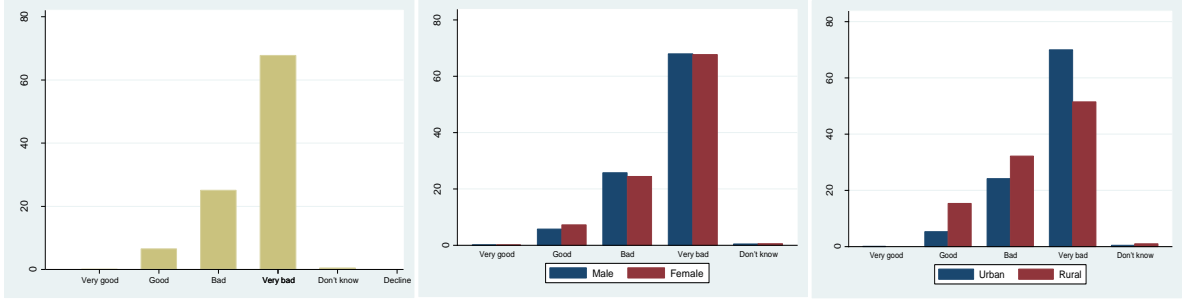
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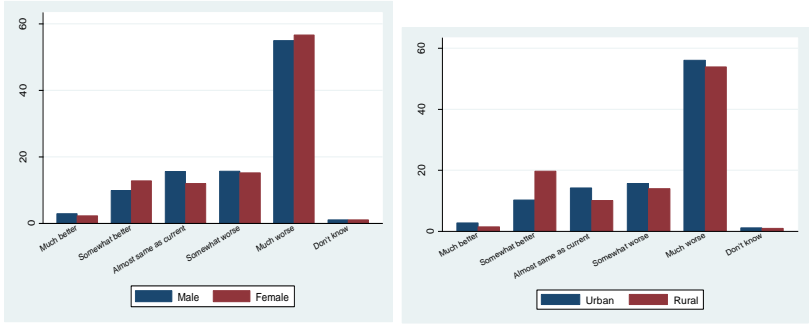
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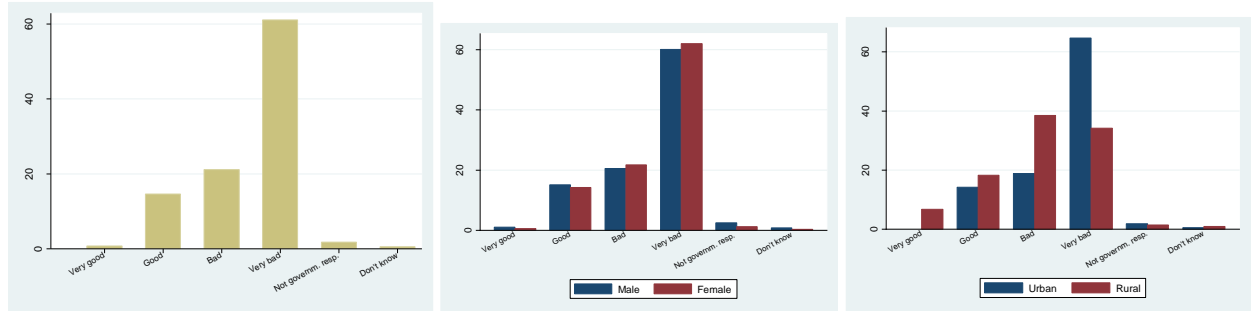
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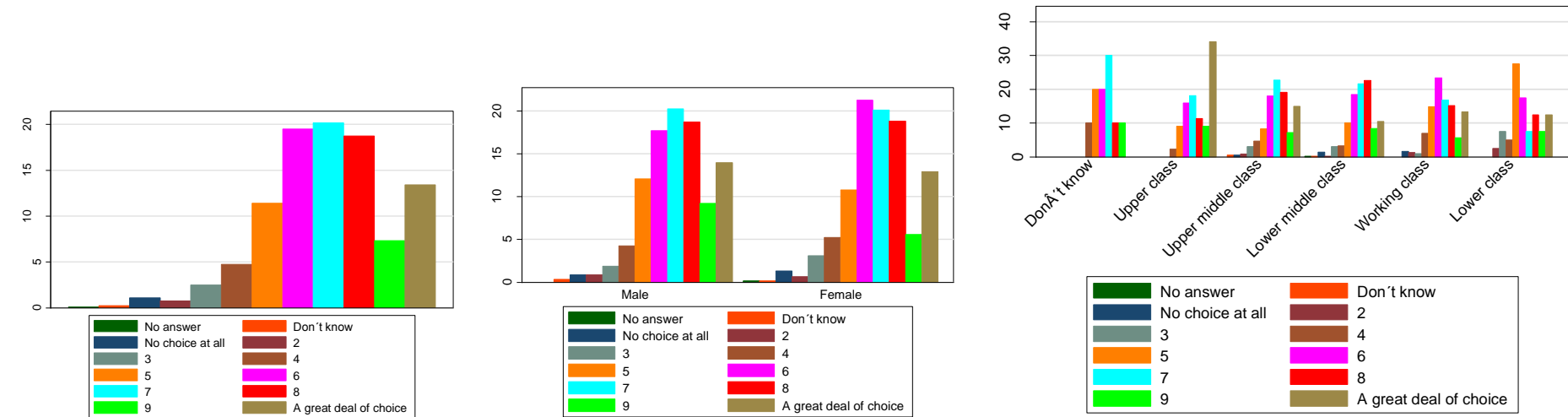
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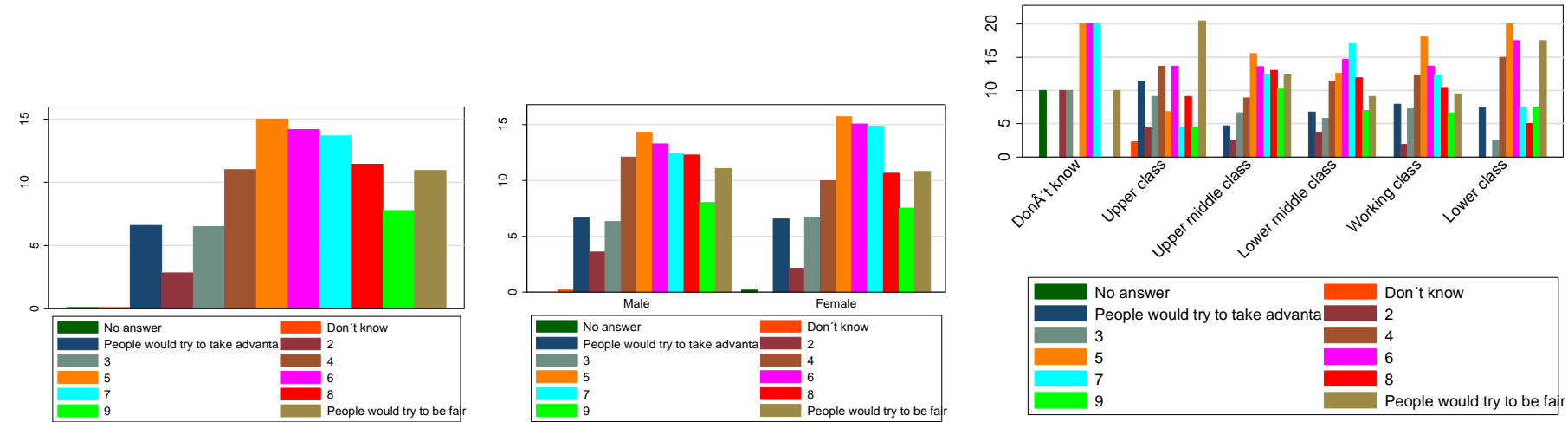
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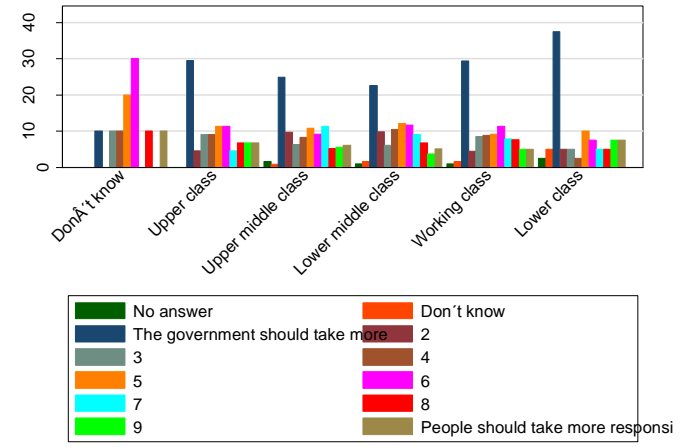
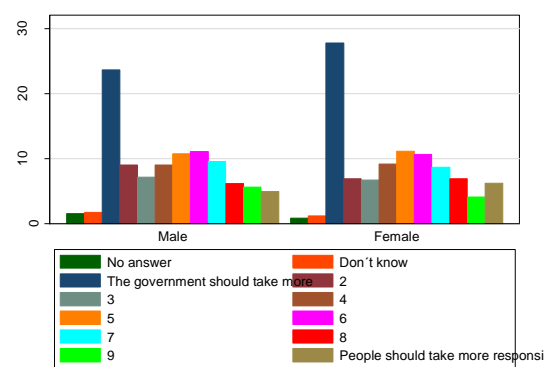
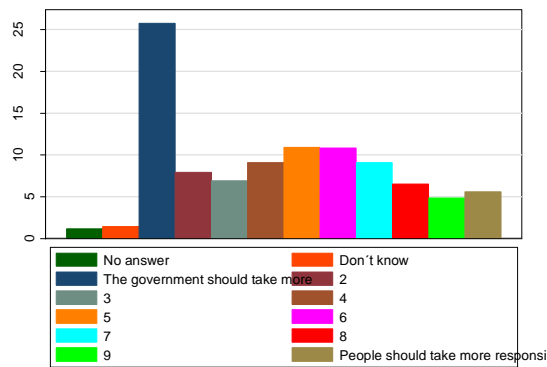
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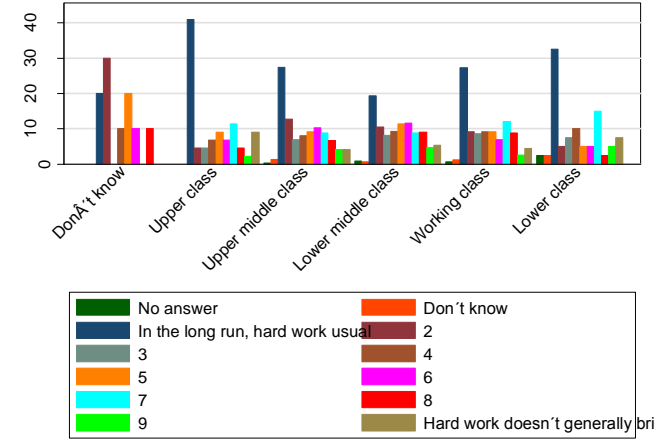
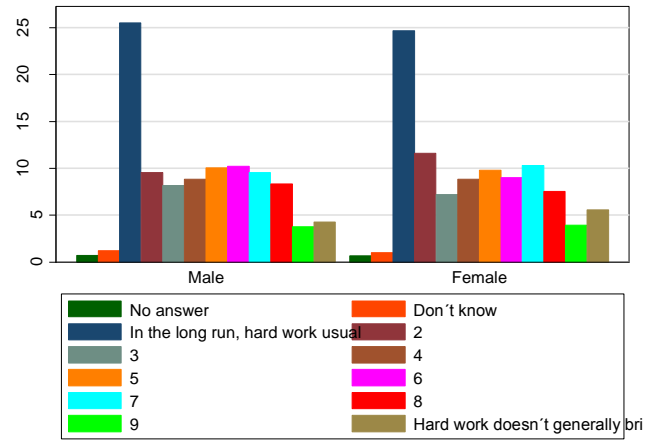
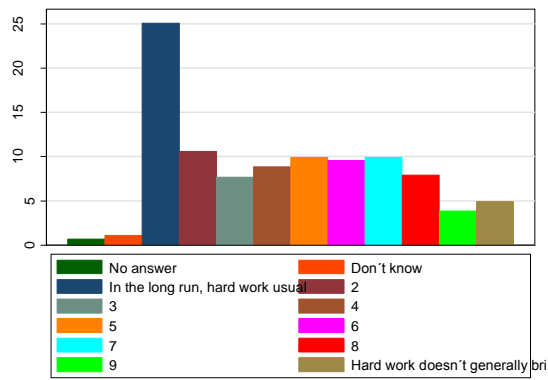
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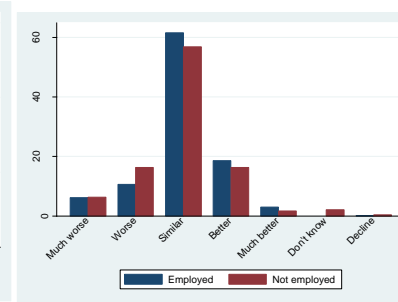
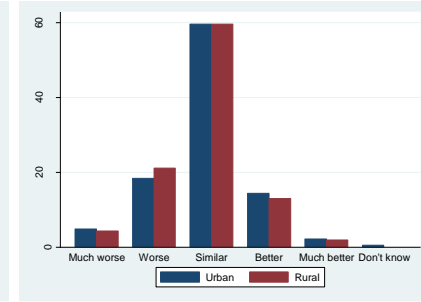
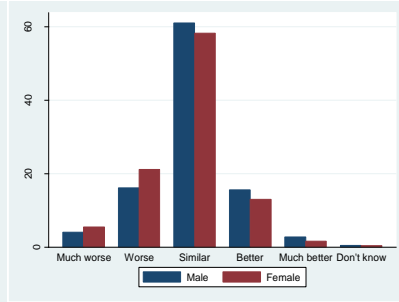
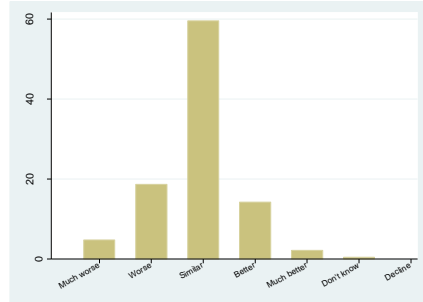
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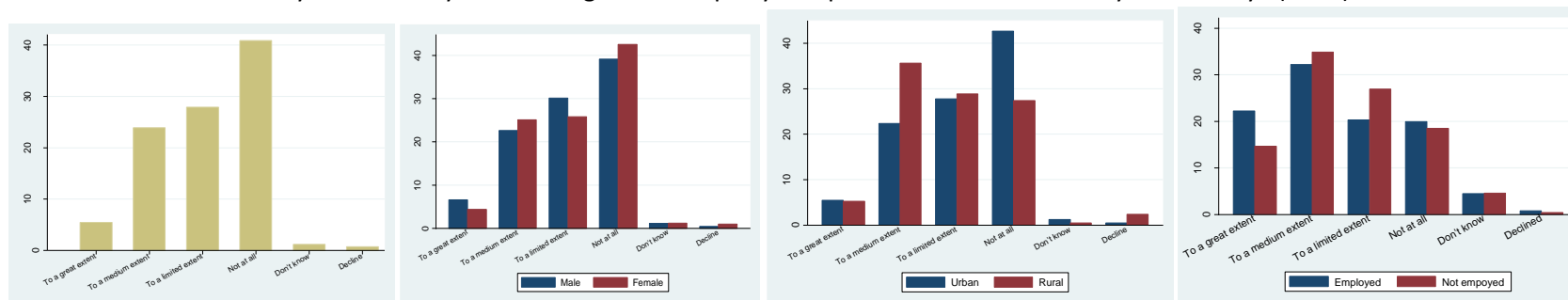
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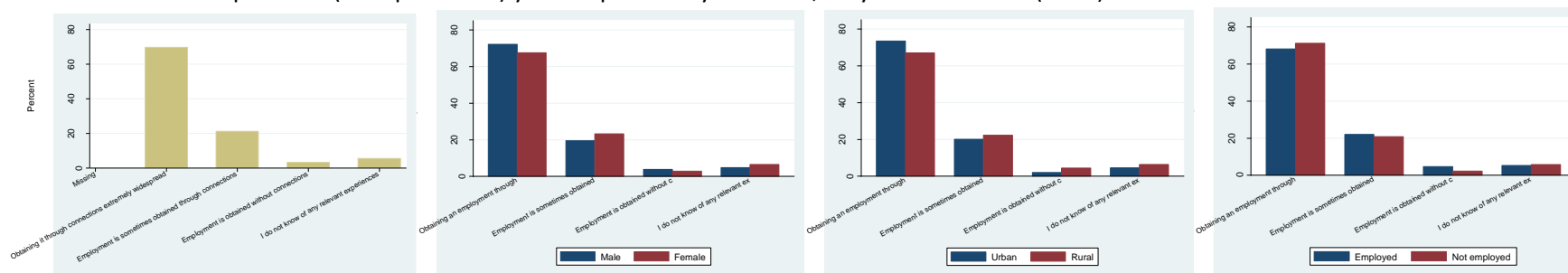
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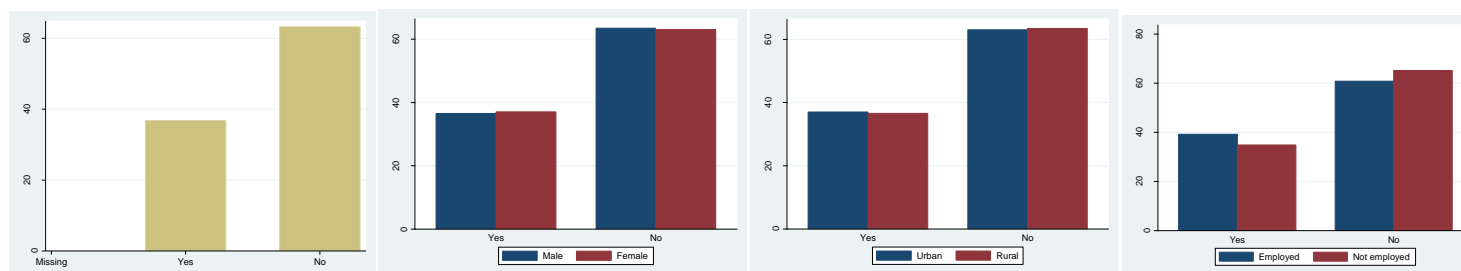
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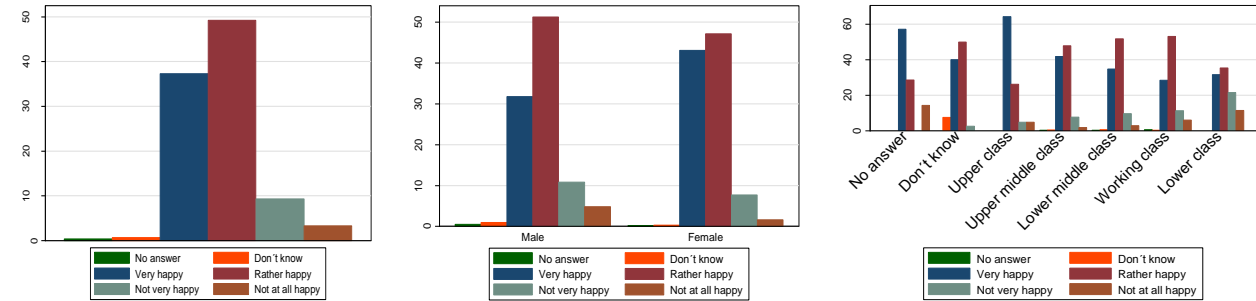


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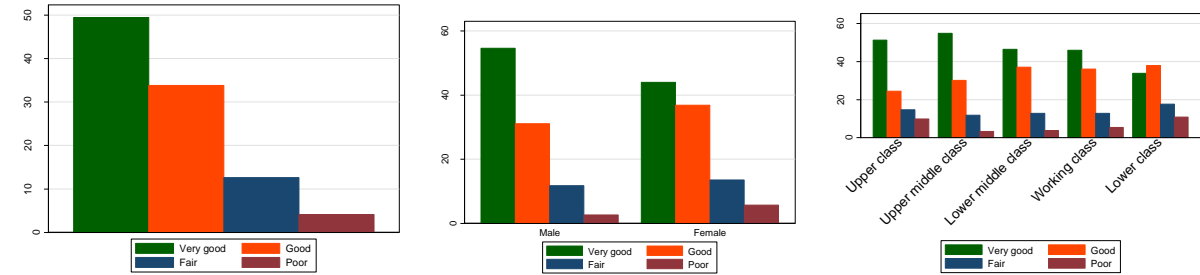


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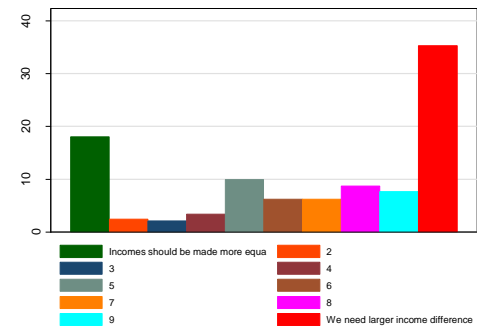
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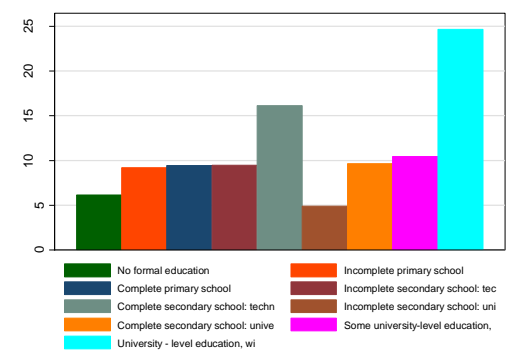
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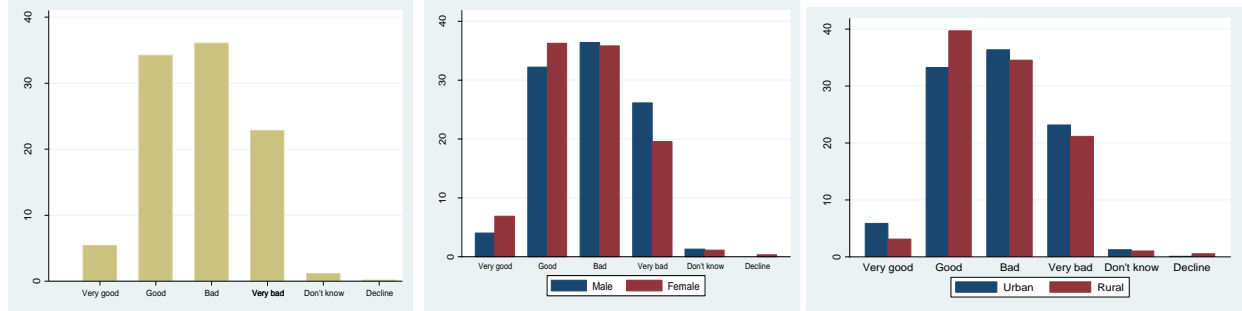
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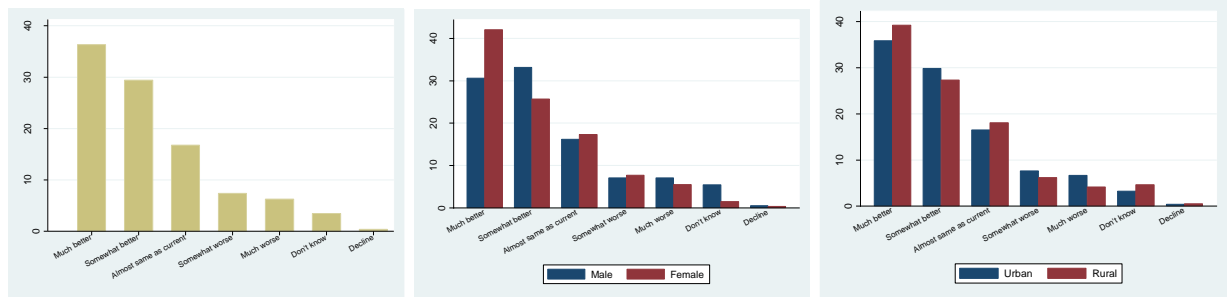
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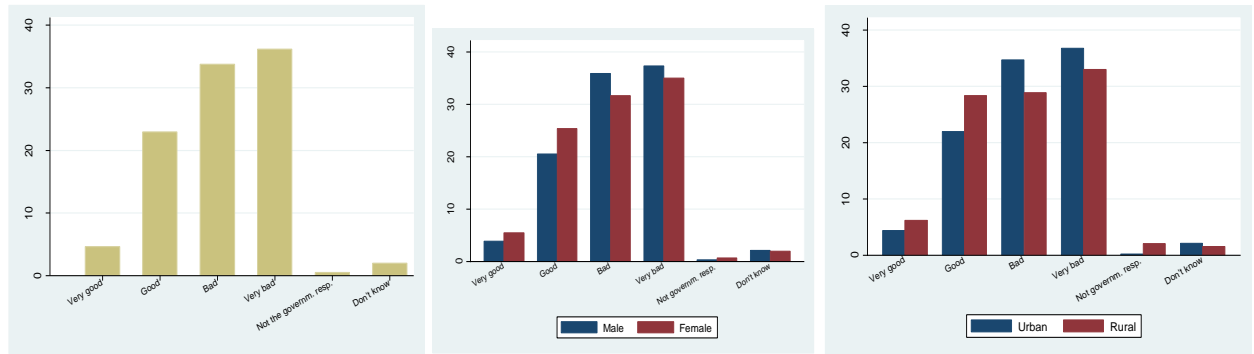
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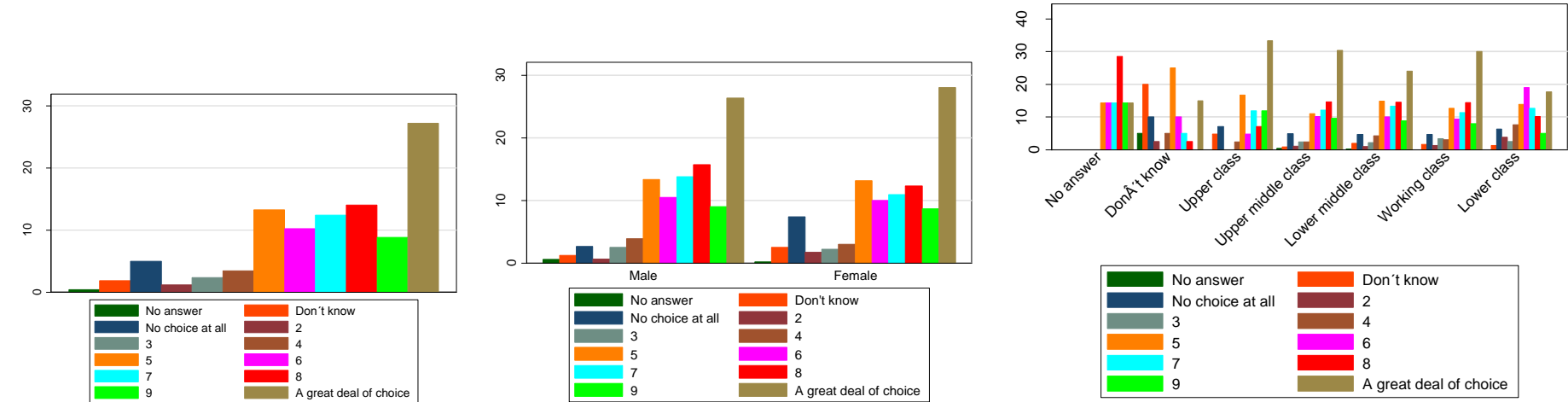
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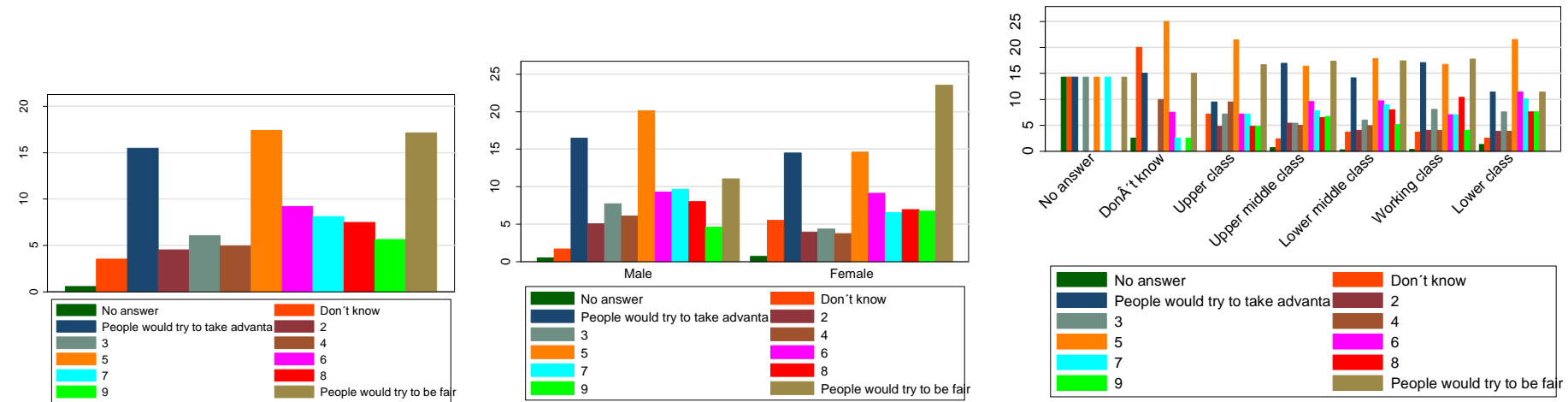
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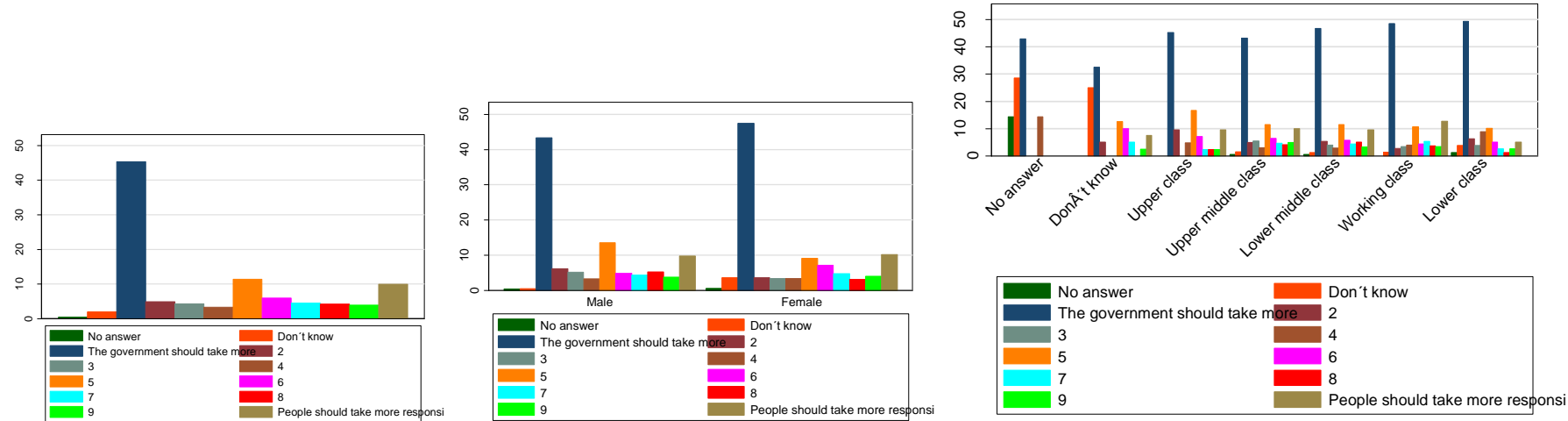
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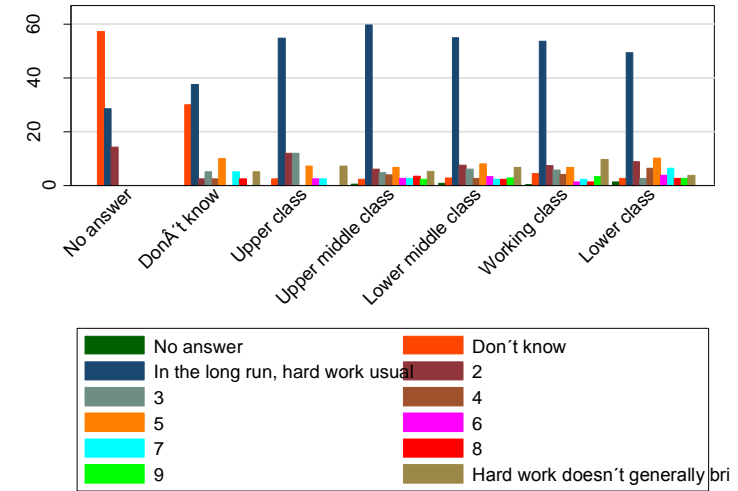
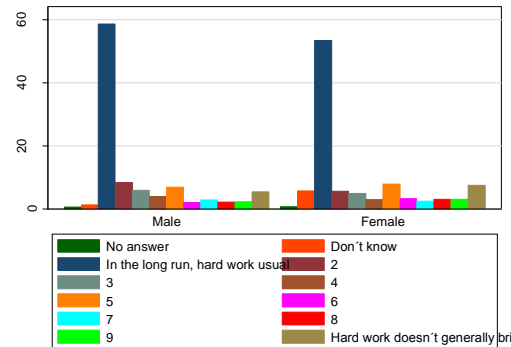
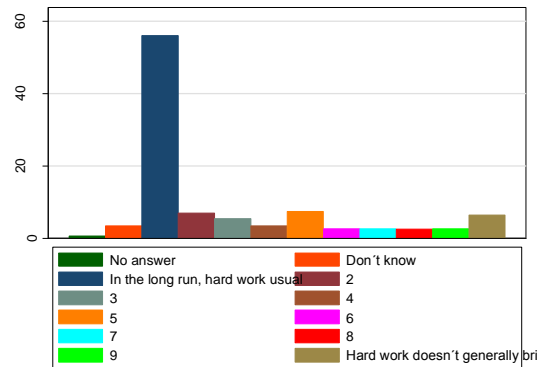
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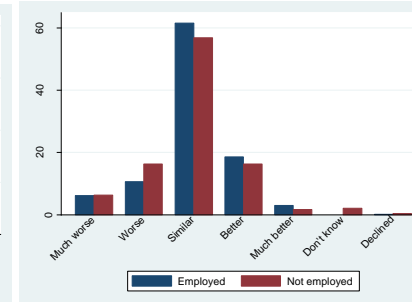
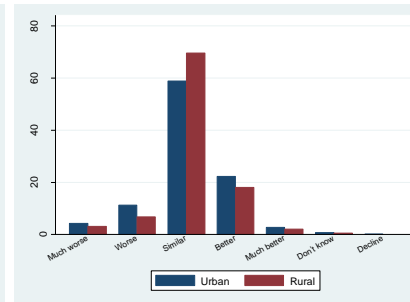
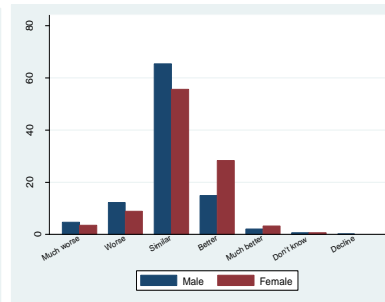
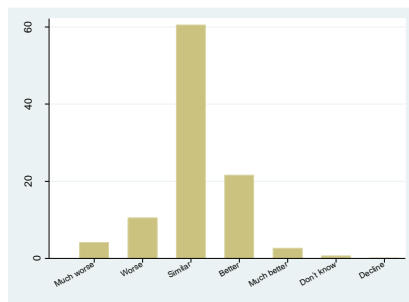
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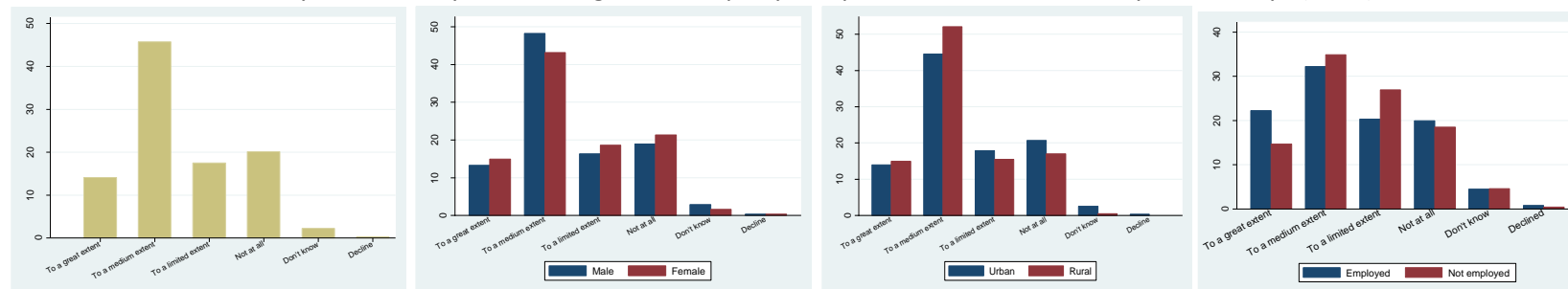
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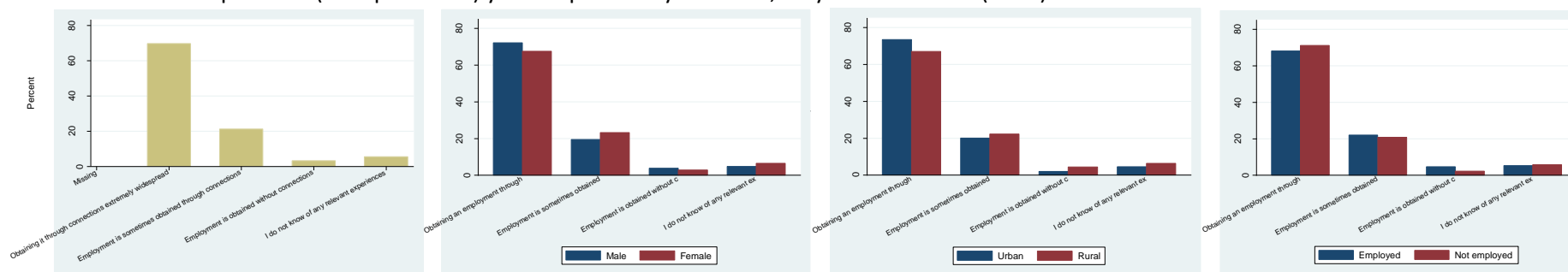
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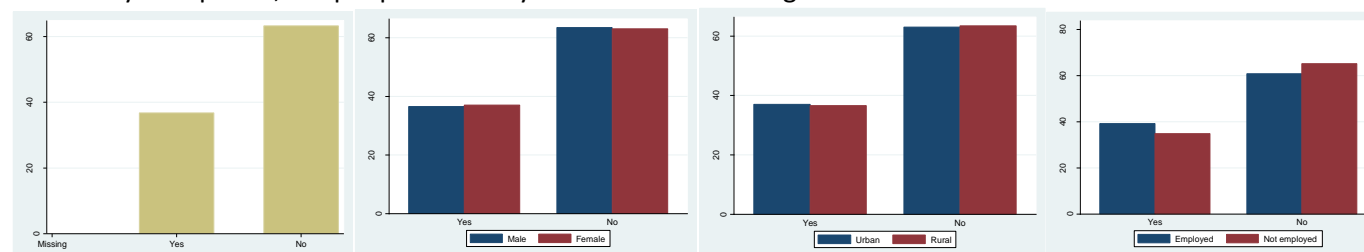
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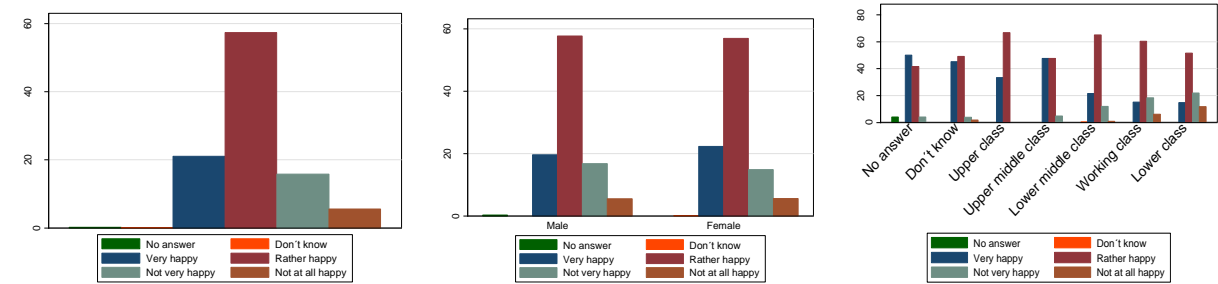


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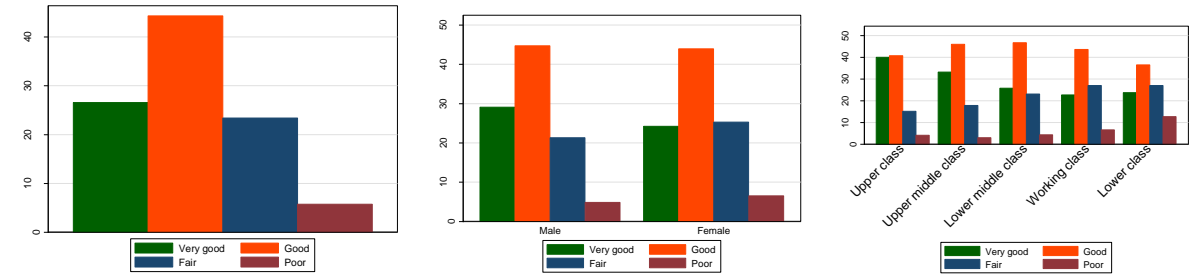


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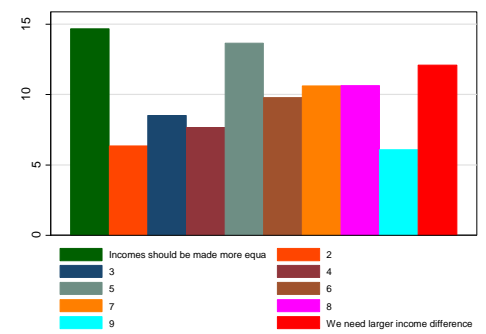
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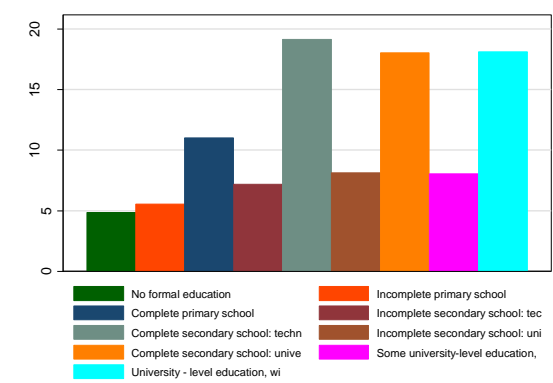
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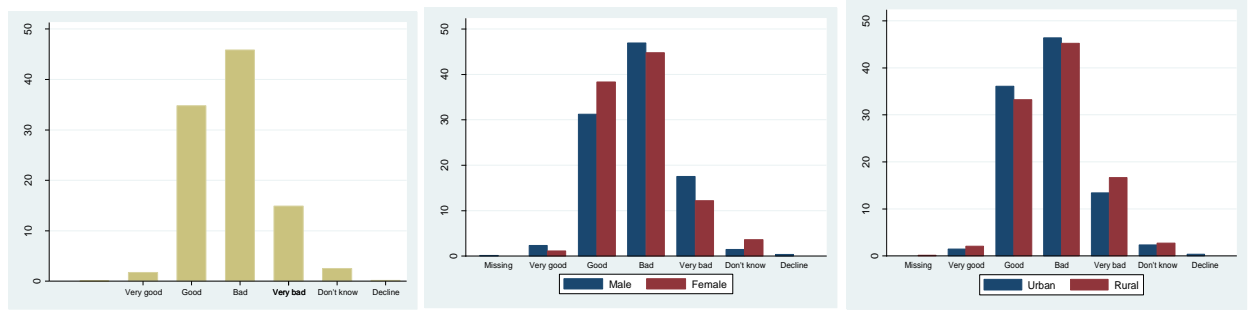
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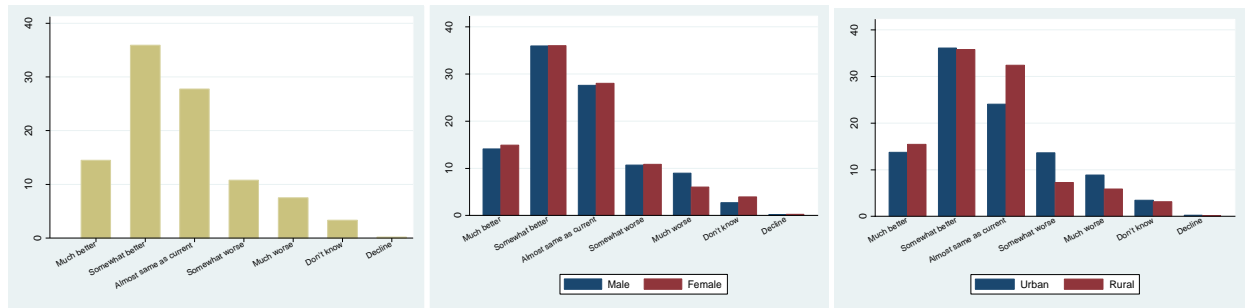
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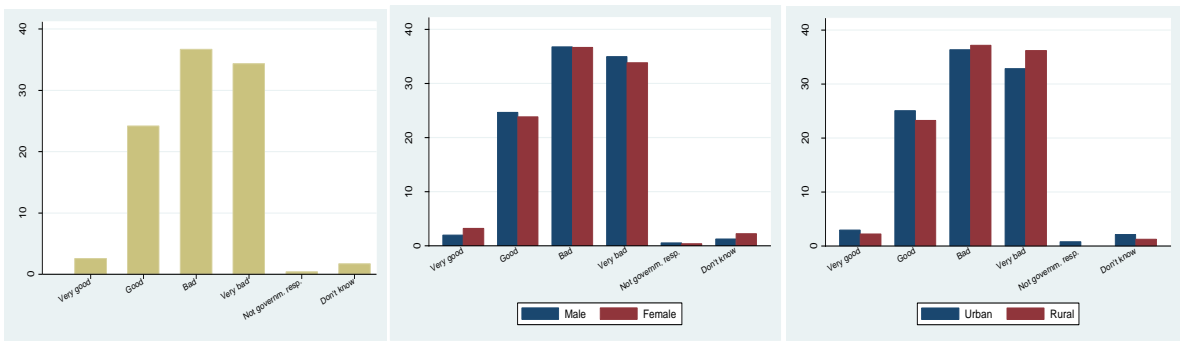
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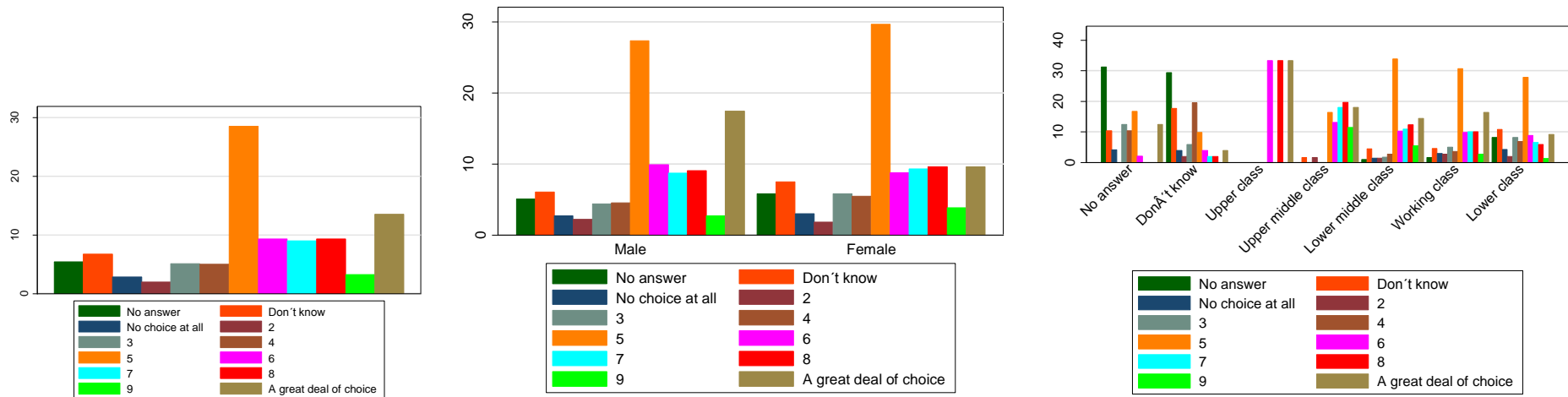
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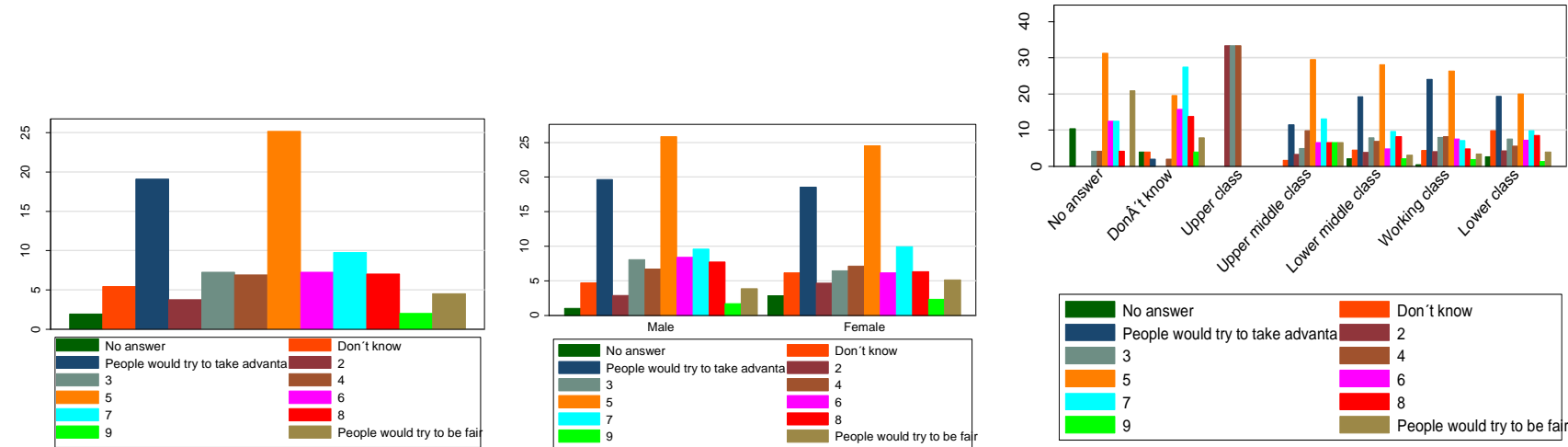
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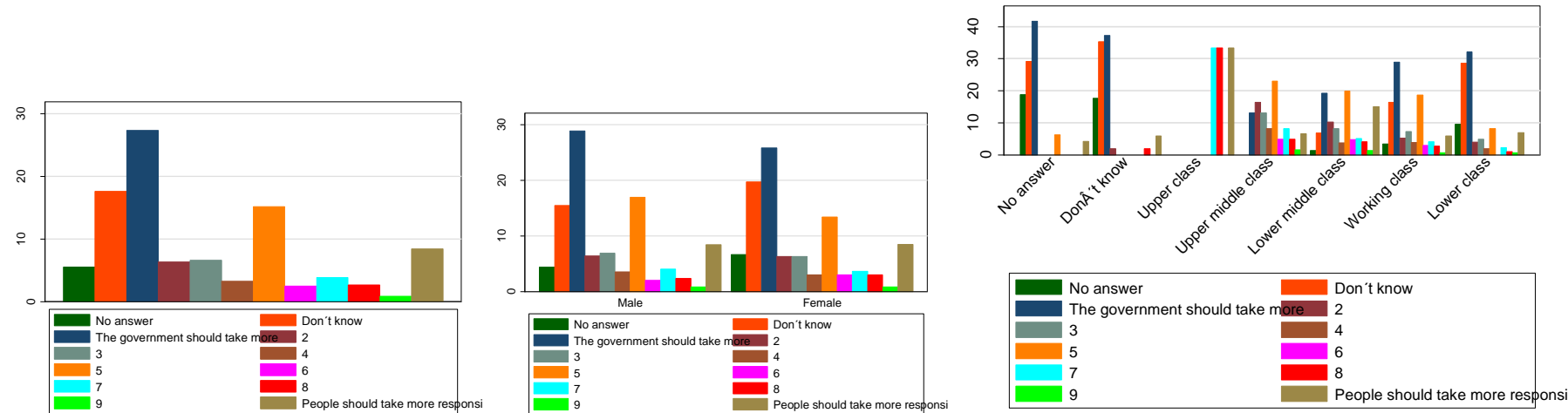
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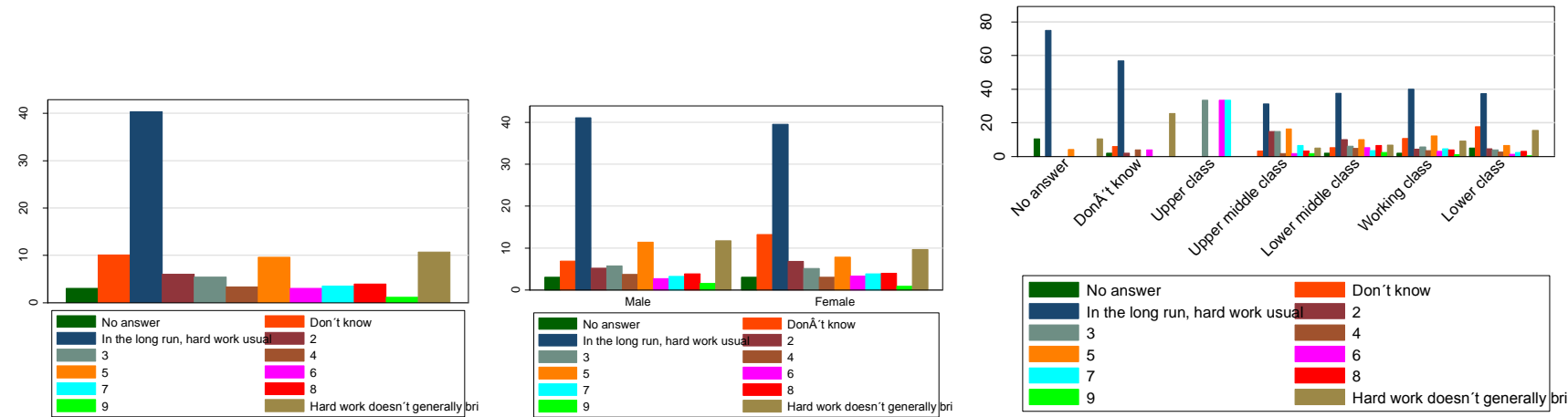
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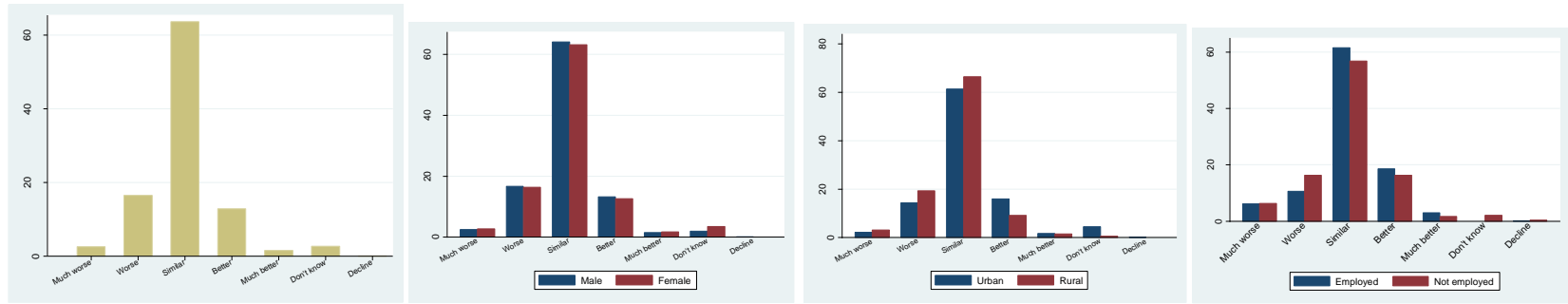
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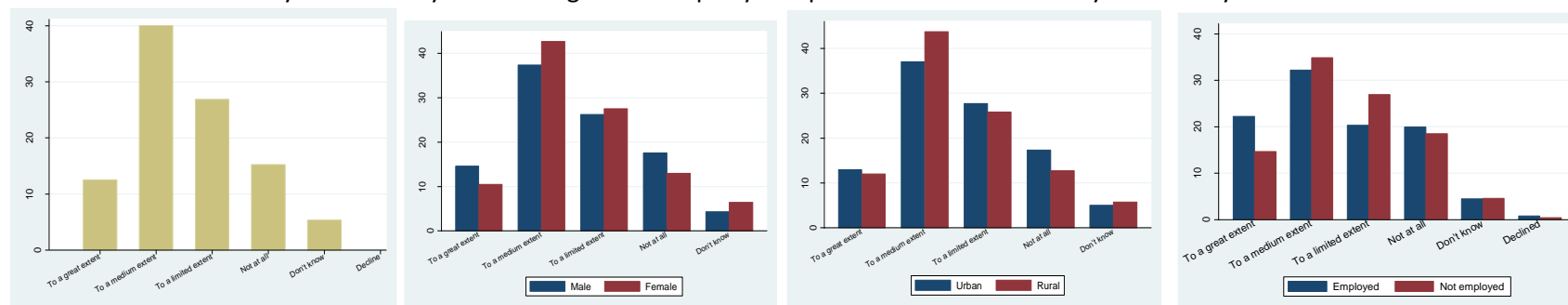
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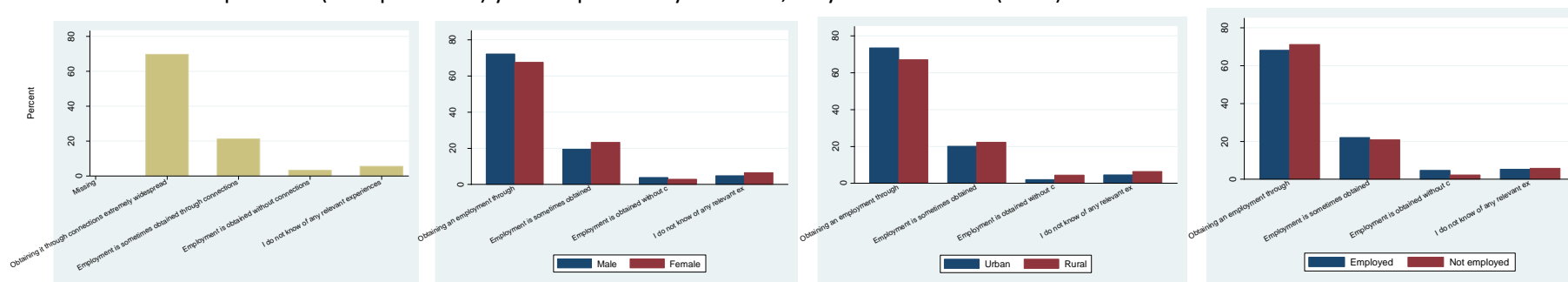
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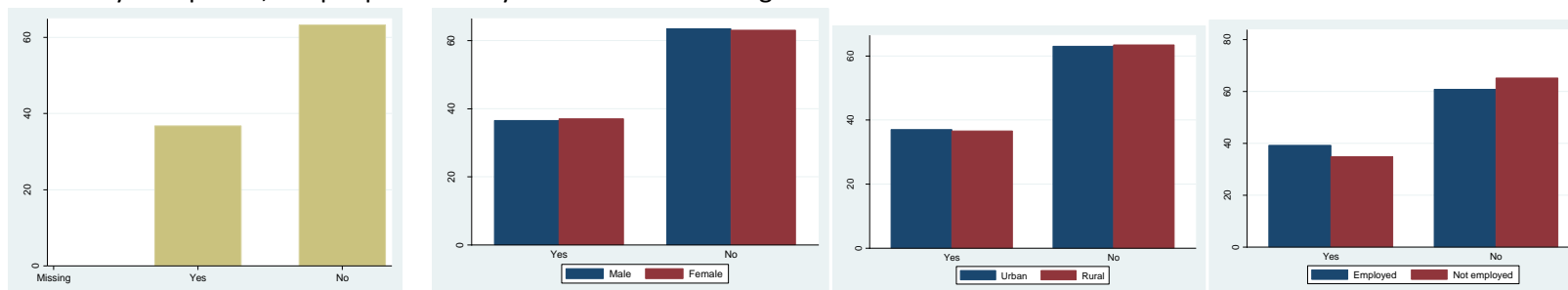
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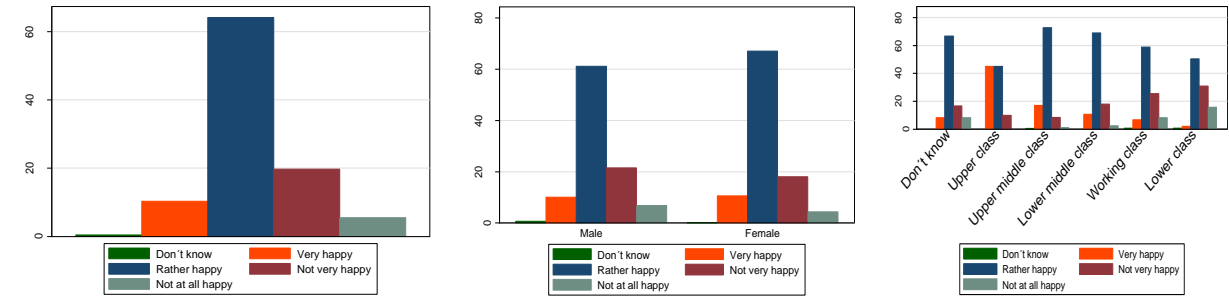


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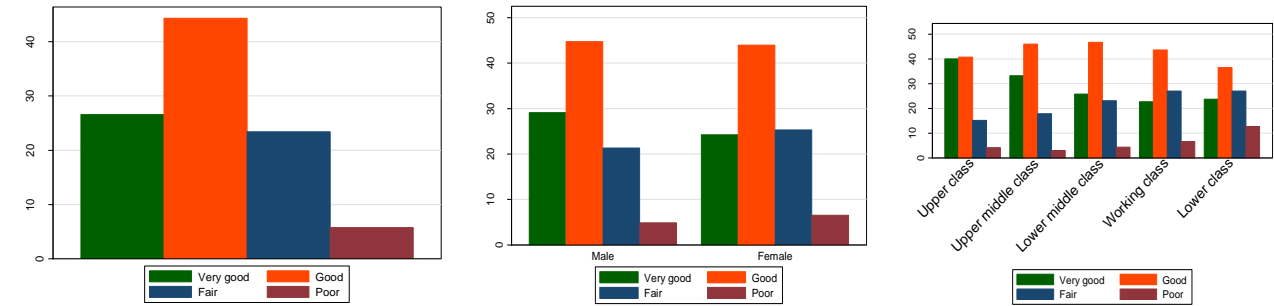


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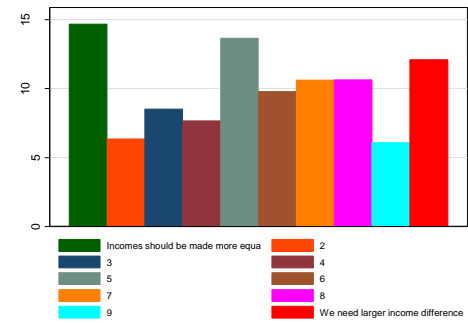
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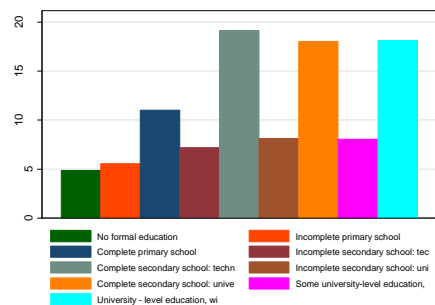
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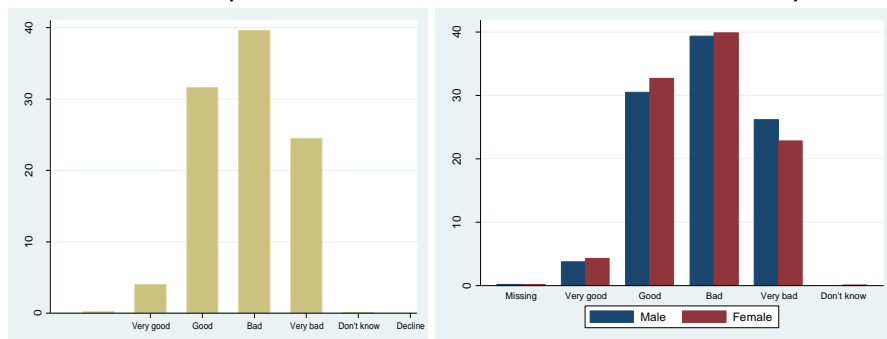
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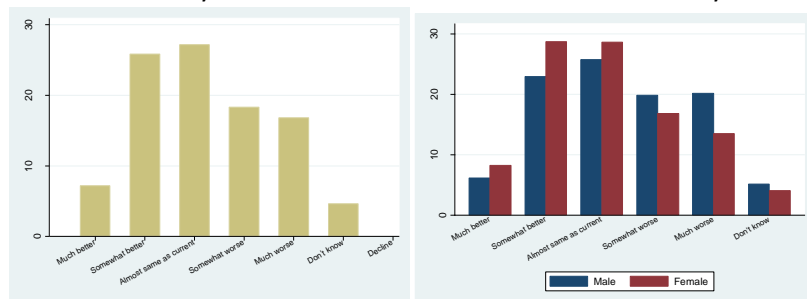
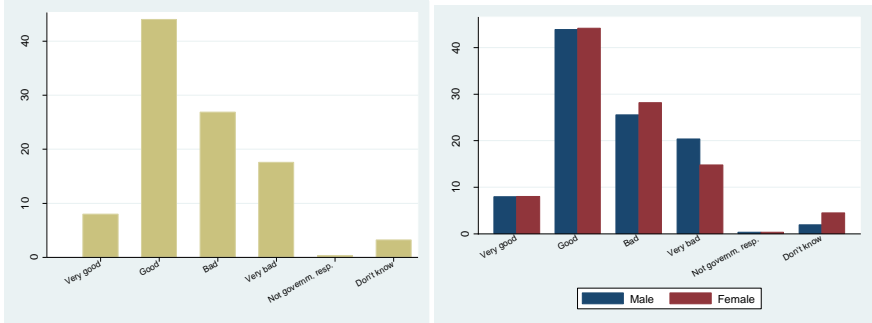
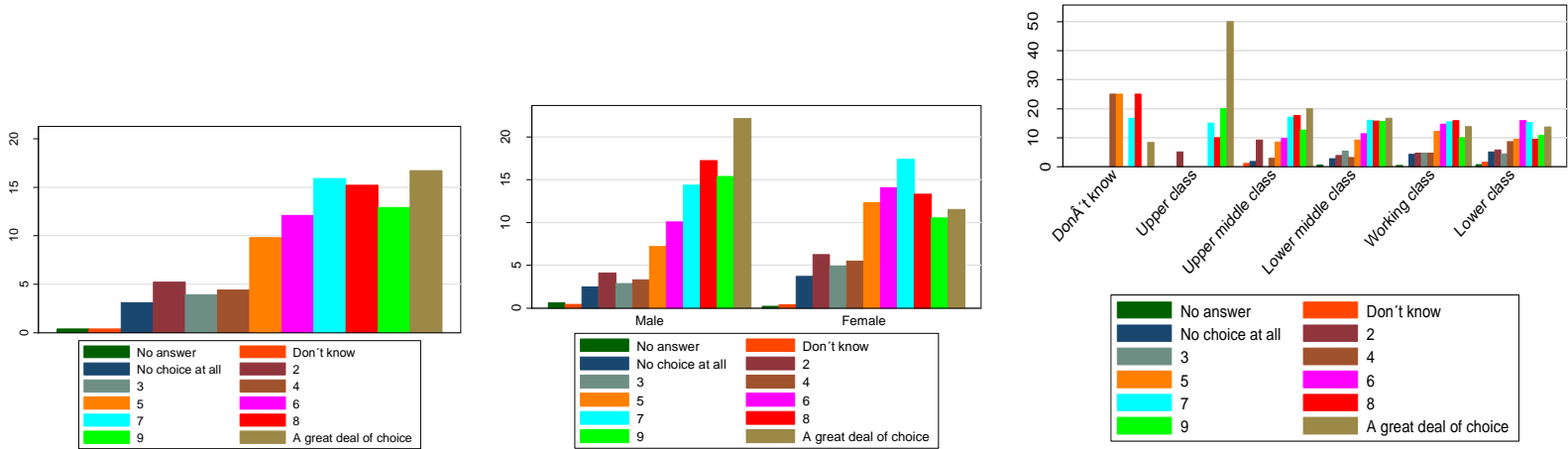


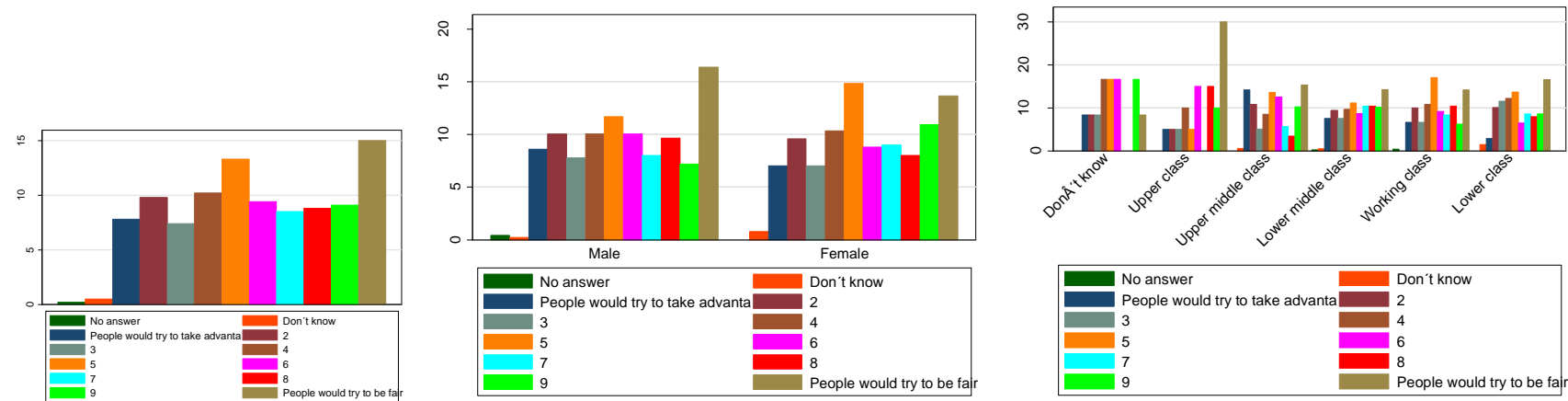
Figure 10.5 - How would you evaluate the current government’s performance on improving basic health services



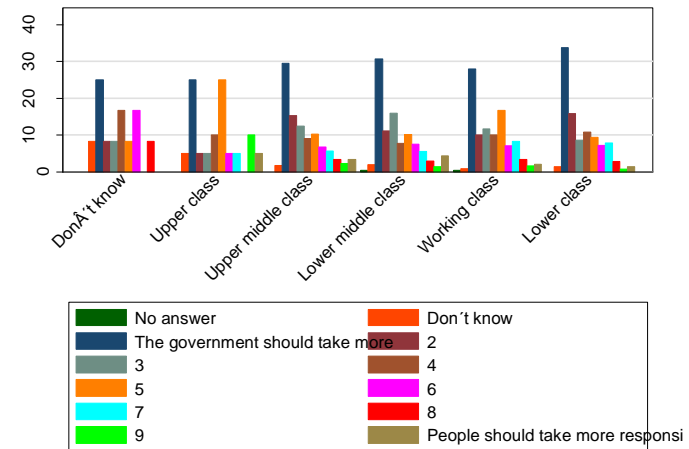
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A10.7. Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair? Please show your response on this card, where 1 means that “people would try to take advantage of you,” and 10 means that “people would try to be fair” (*code one number*):



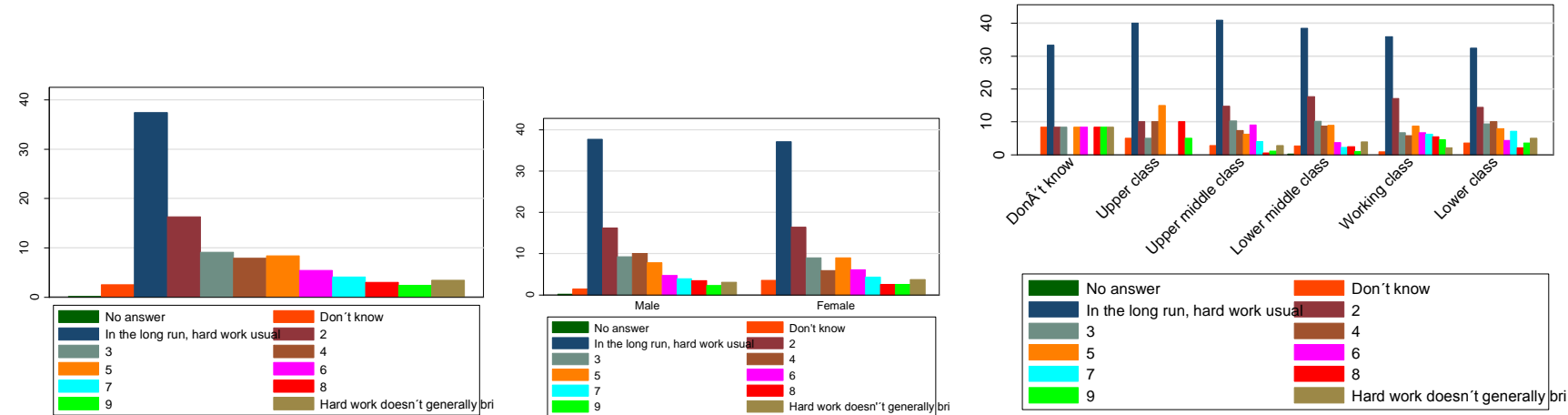
People should take more
responsibility to
for provide for themselves



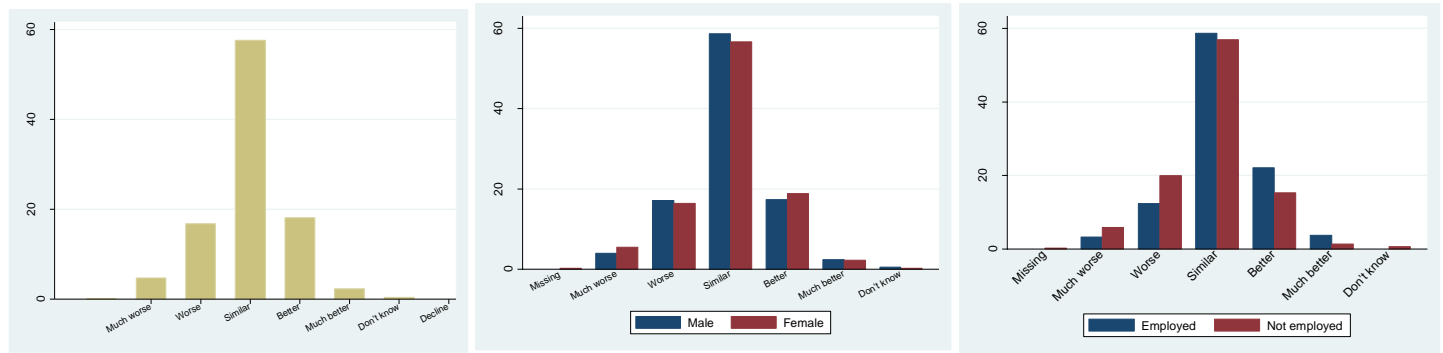
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In the long run, hard work
usually brings a better life

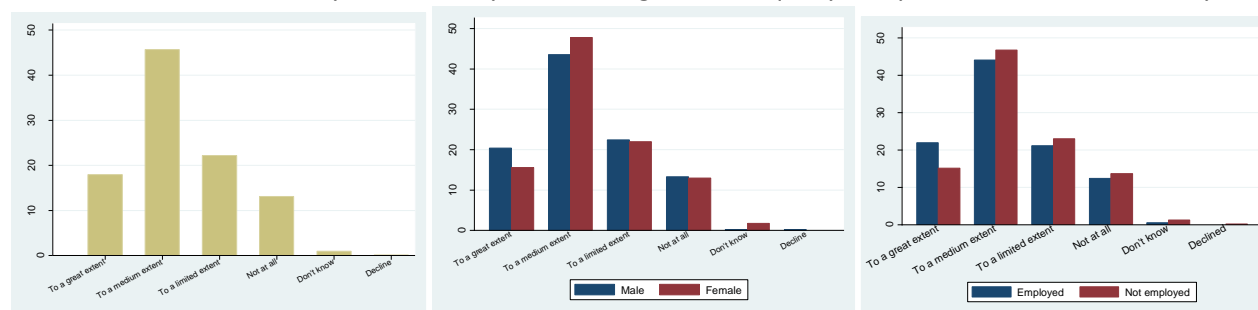
Hard work doesn't generally
bring success
it's more a matter
of luck and connections



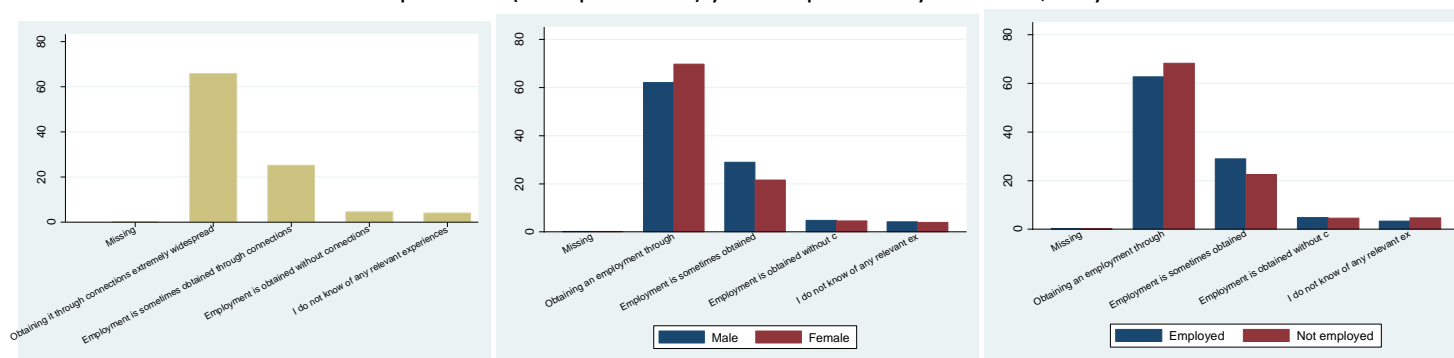
A10.10. Generally speaking, how would you compare your living conditions with the rest of your fellow citizens?



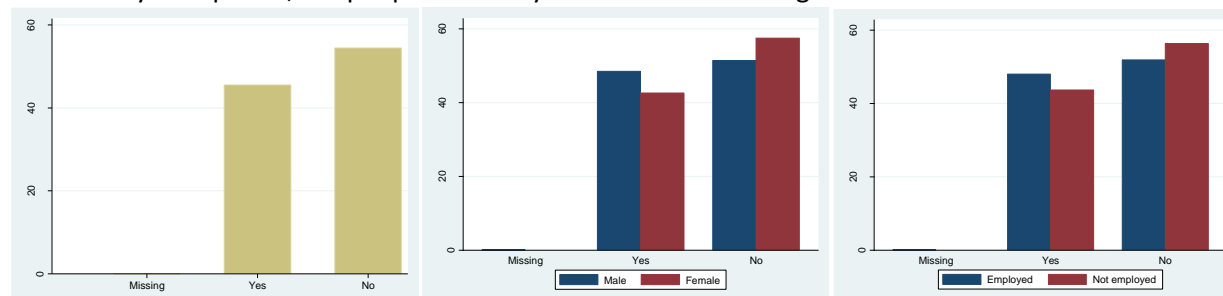
A10.11. To what extent do you feel that you are being treated equally compared to other citizens in your country? (Read):



A10.12. Some people say that nowadays it is impossible to obtain a job without connections, while others say that jobs are only available to qualified candidates. Based on a recent experience (or experiences) you are personally aware of, do you think that

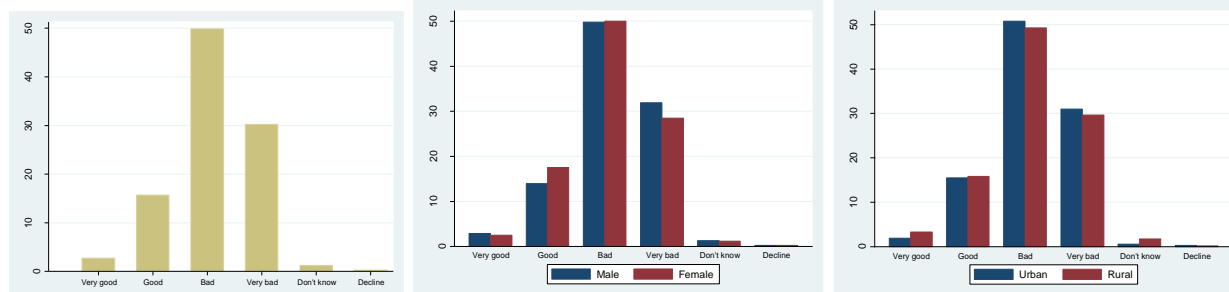


A10.13. In your opinion, are people nowadays able to criticize the government without fear?

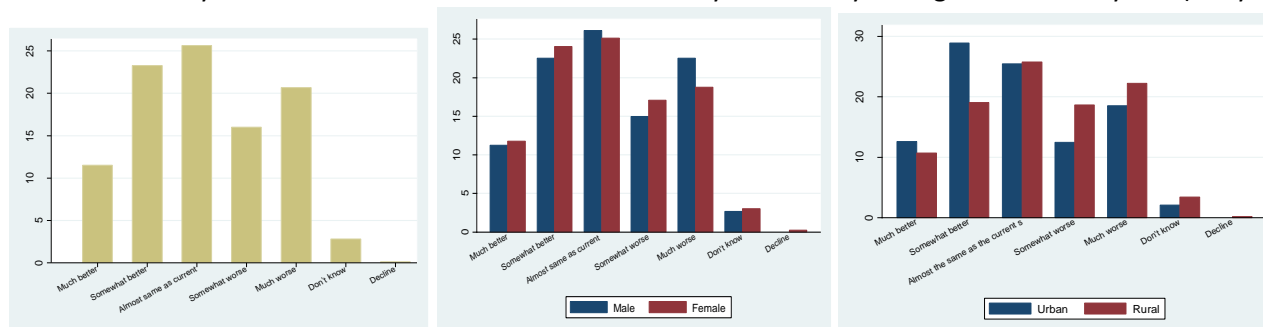


Sudan

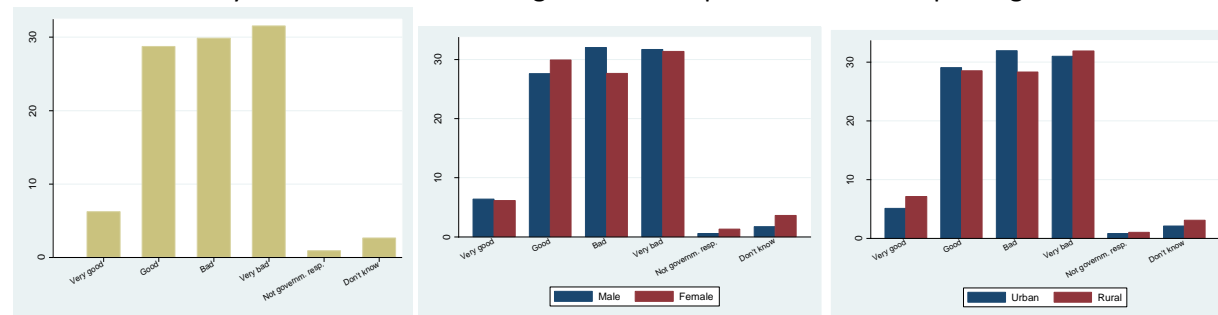
A11.1. How would you evaluate the current economic situation in your country?



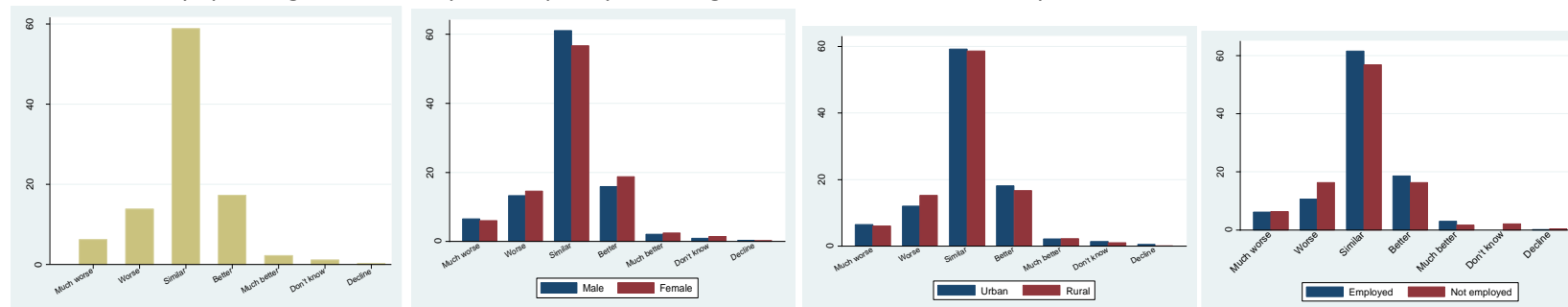
A11.2. What do you think will be the economic situation in your country during the next few years (3-5 years) compared to the current situation?



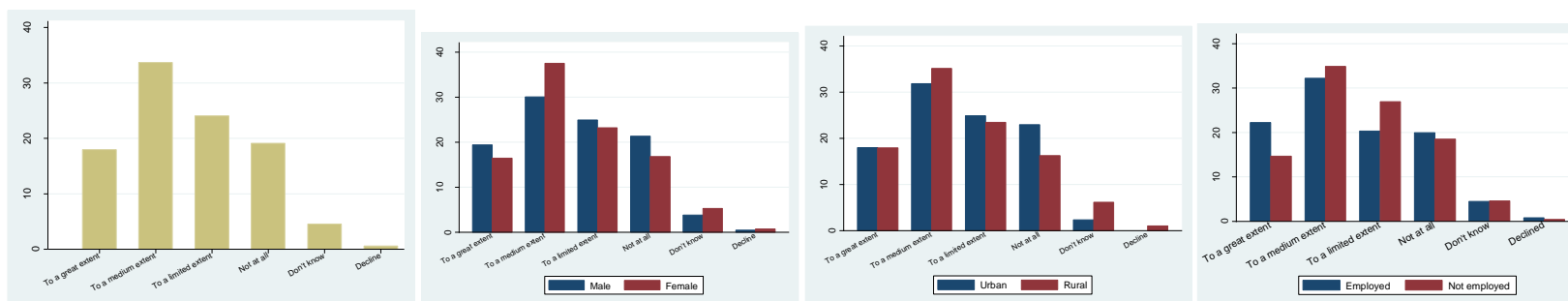
A11.3. How would you evaluate the current government's performance on improving basic health services



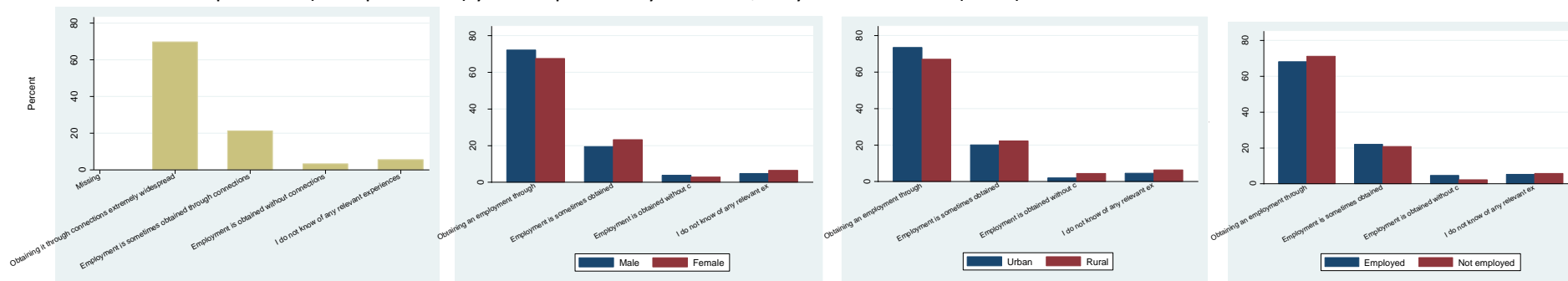
A11.4. Generally speaking, how would you compare your living conditions with the rest of your fellow citizens?



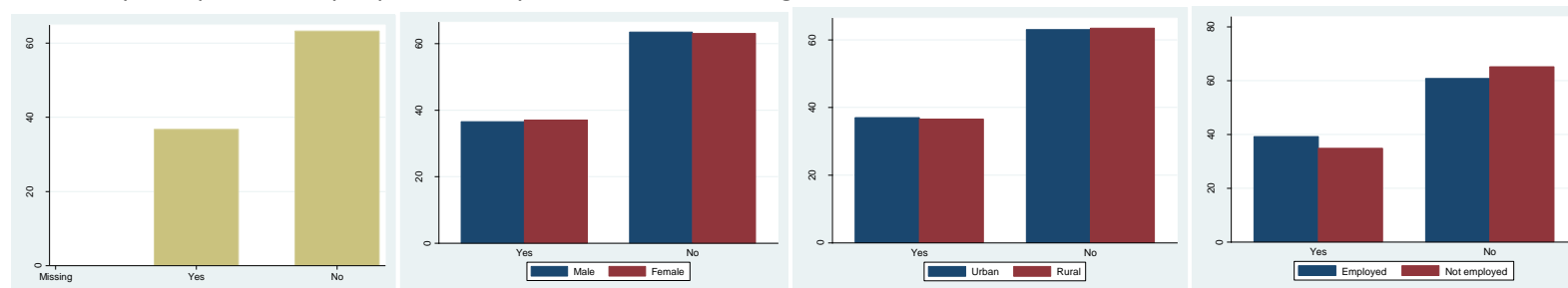
A11.5. To what extent do you feel that you are being treated equally compared to other citizens in your country? (Read):



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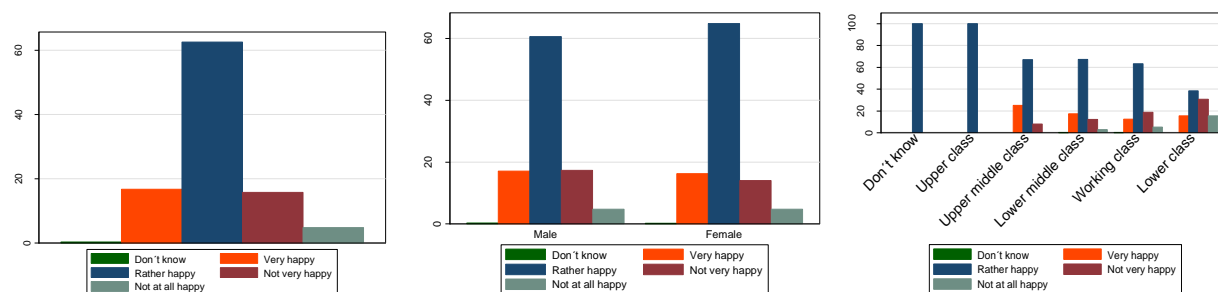


A11.7. In your opinion, are people nowadays able to criticize the government without fear?

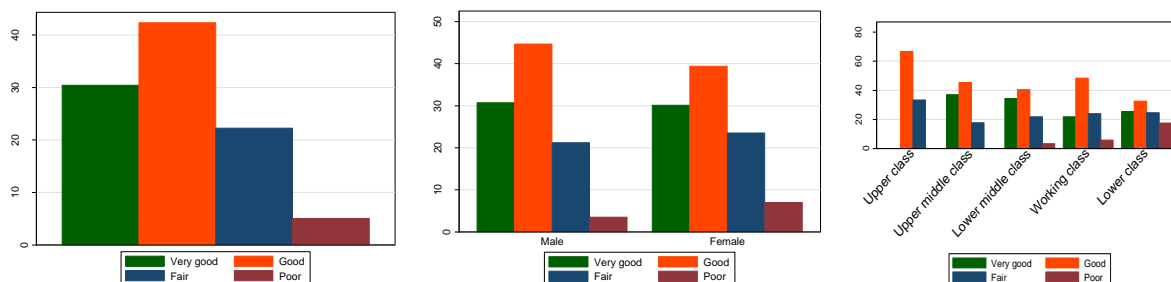


Tunisia

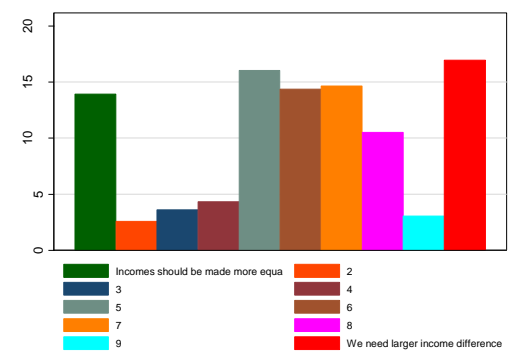
A12.1. Taking all things together, would you say you are:



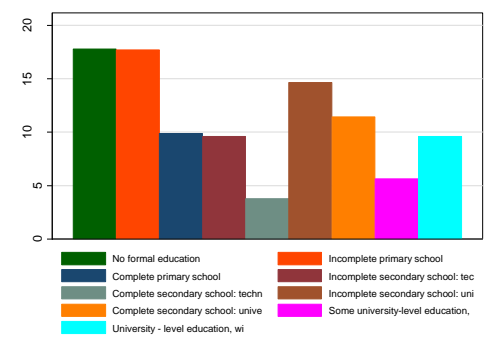
A12.2. All in all, how would you describe your state of health these days? Would you say it is:



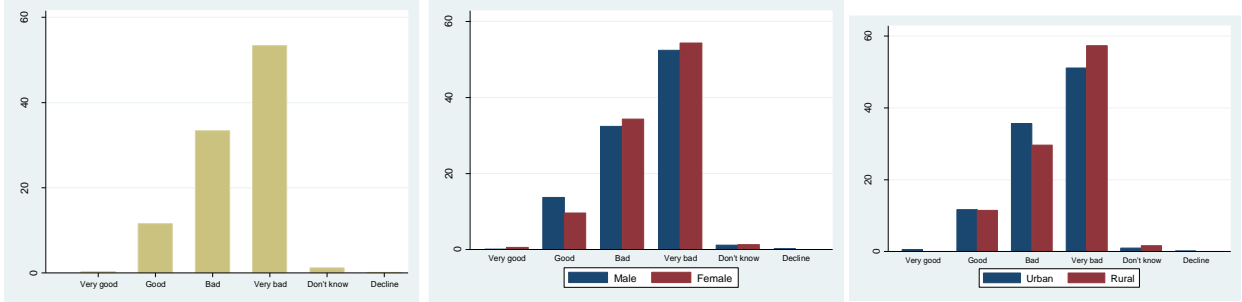
A12.3. Incomes should be We need larger income differences made more equal as incentives for individual effort



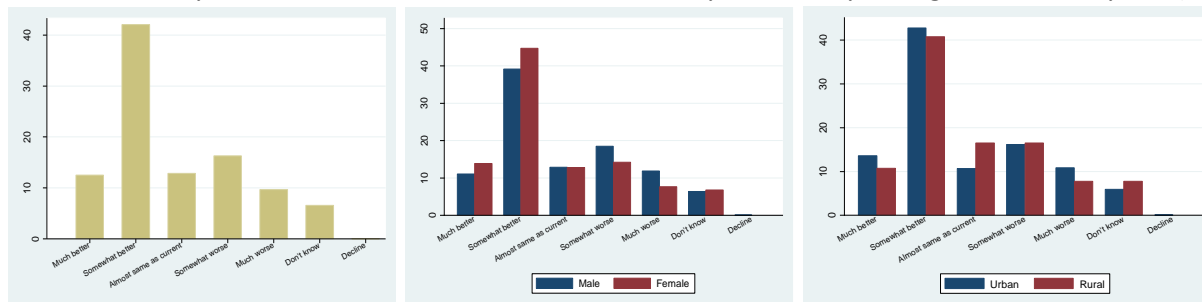
A12.4. What is the highest educational level that you have attained?



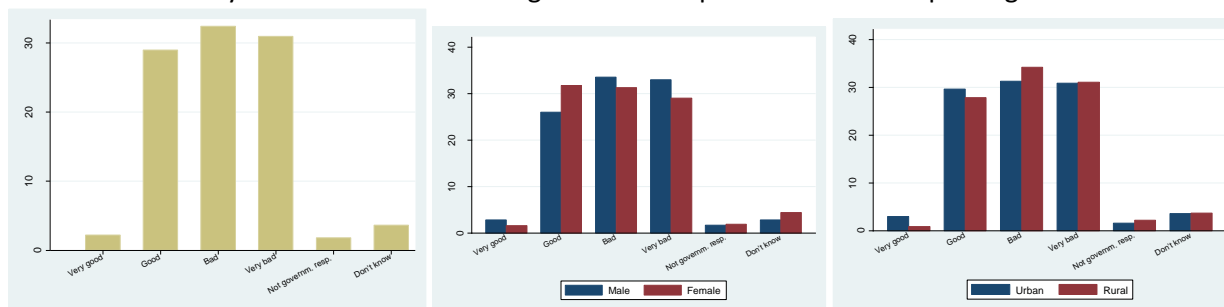
A12.5. How would you evaluate the current economic situation in your country?



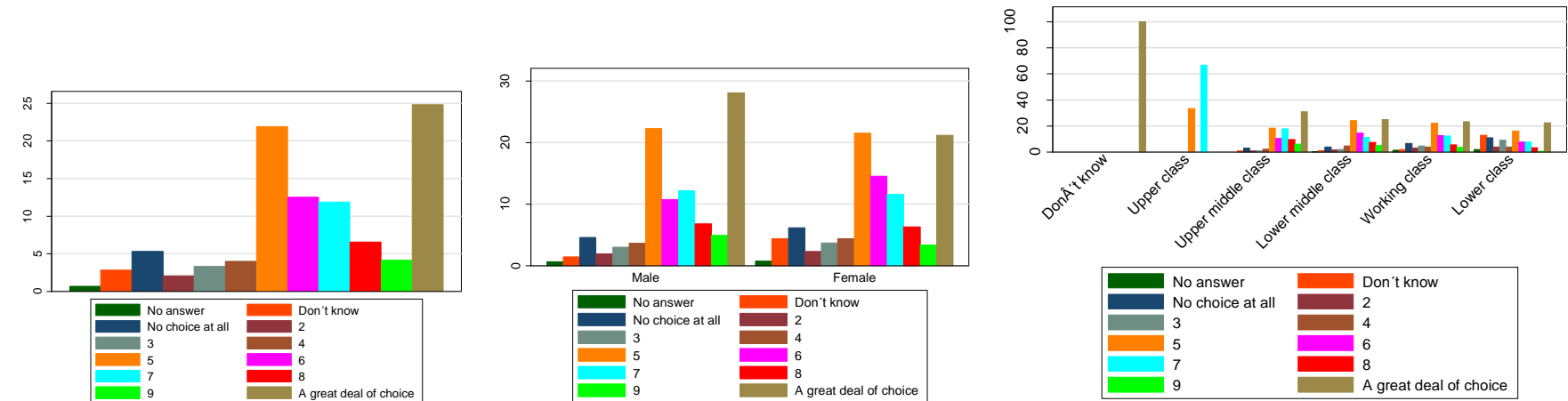
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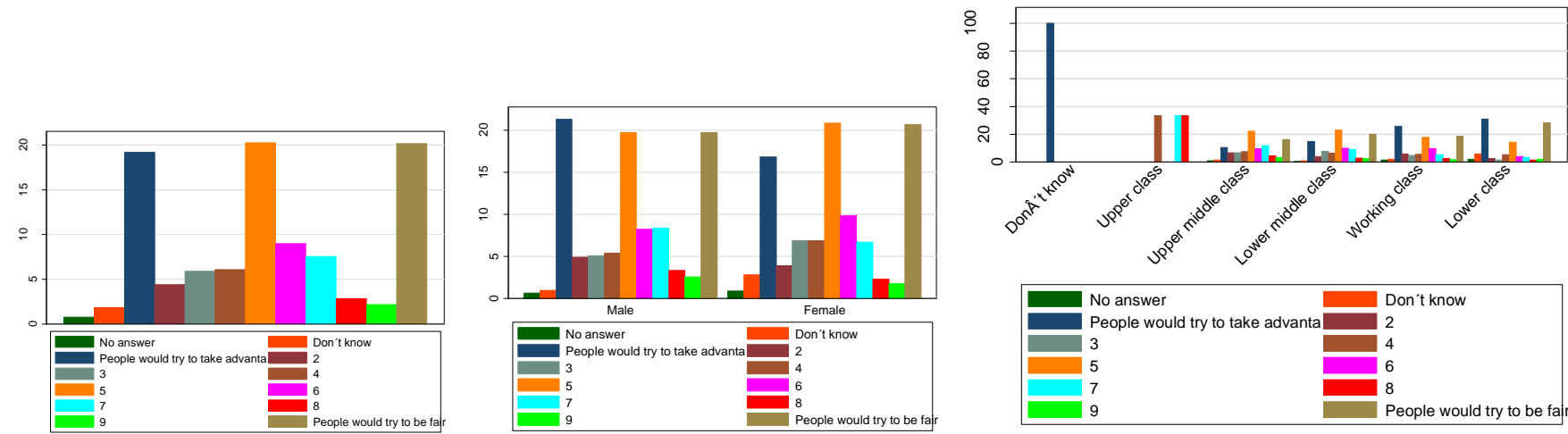
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A12.8. Some people feel they have completely free choice and control over their lives, while other people feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens to them. Please use this scale where 1 means "no choice at all" and 10 means "a great deal of choice" to indicate how much freedom of choice and control you feel you have over the way your life turns out (*code one number*):



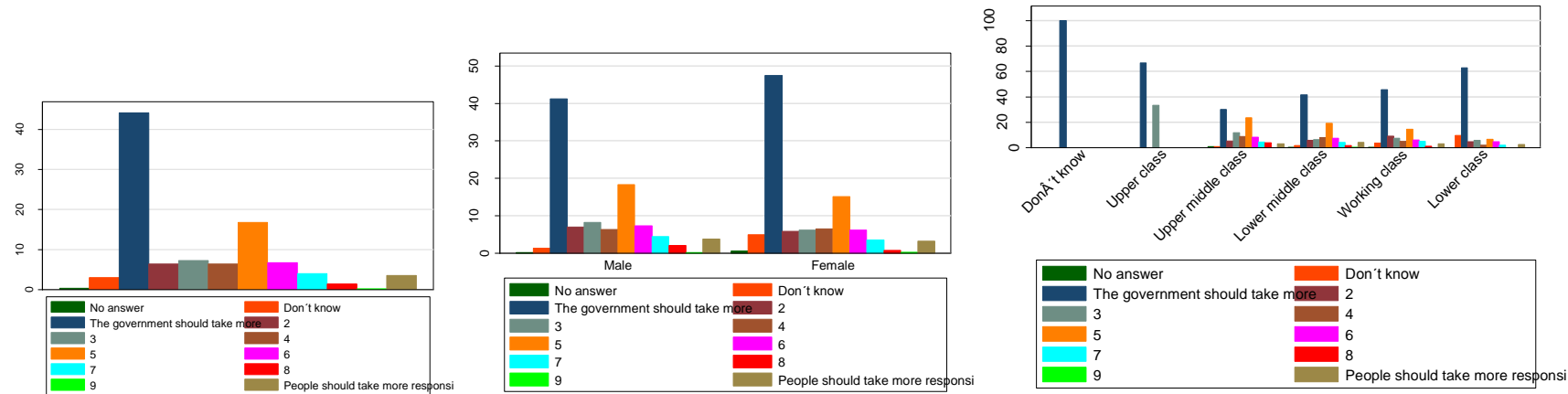
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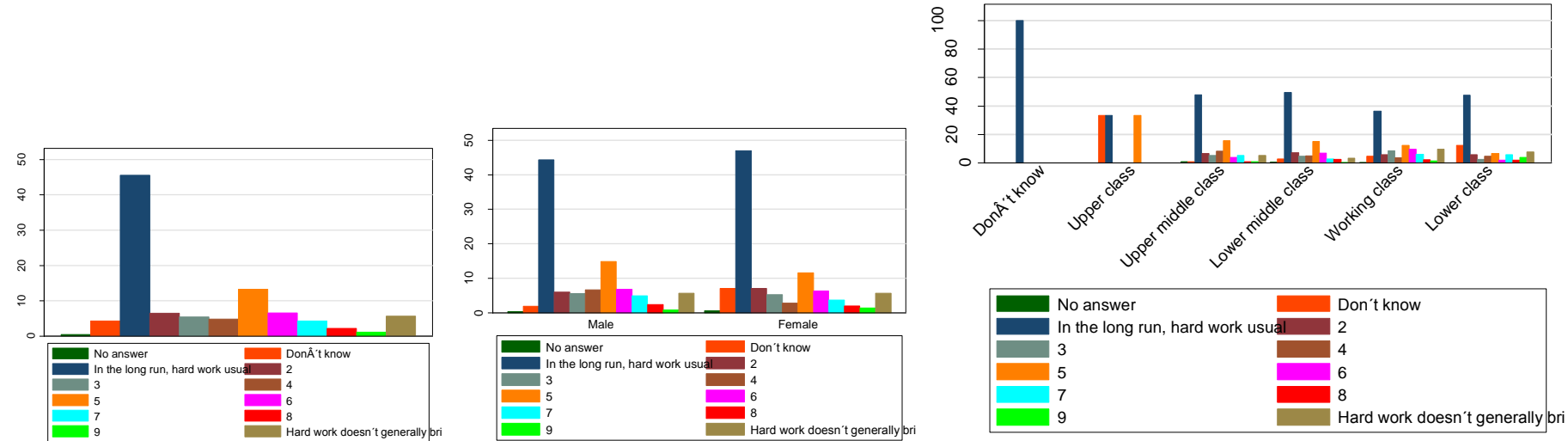
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responsibility to
provide for themselves



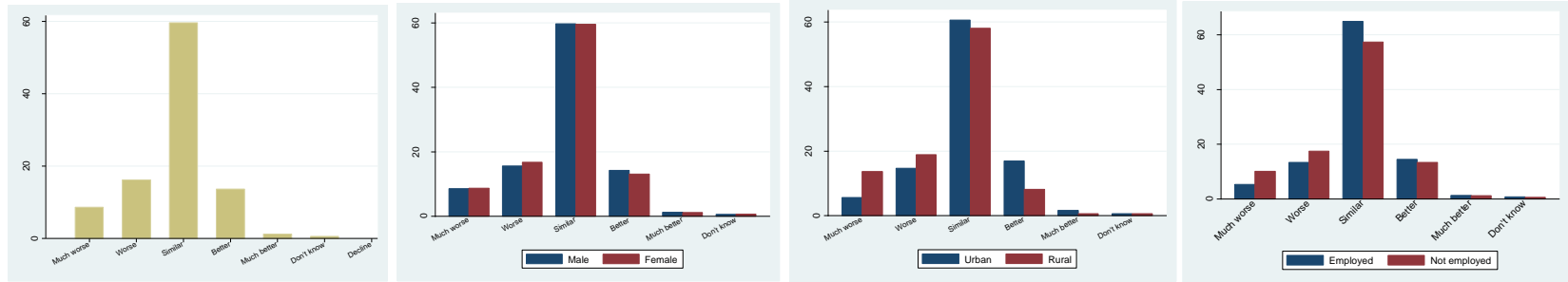
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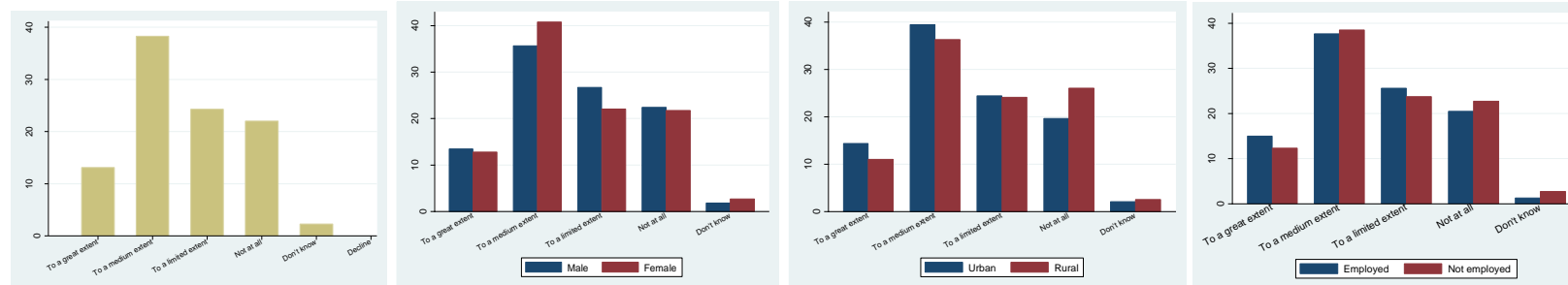
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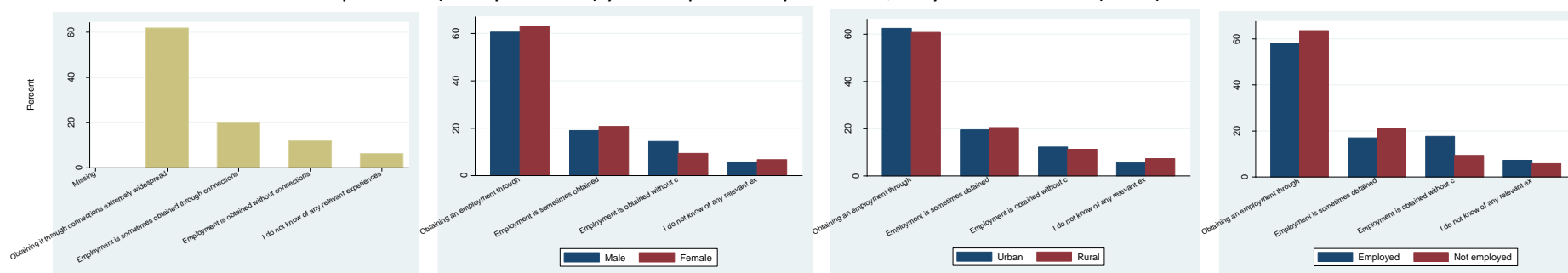
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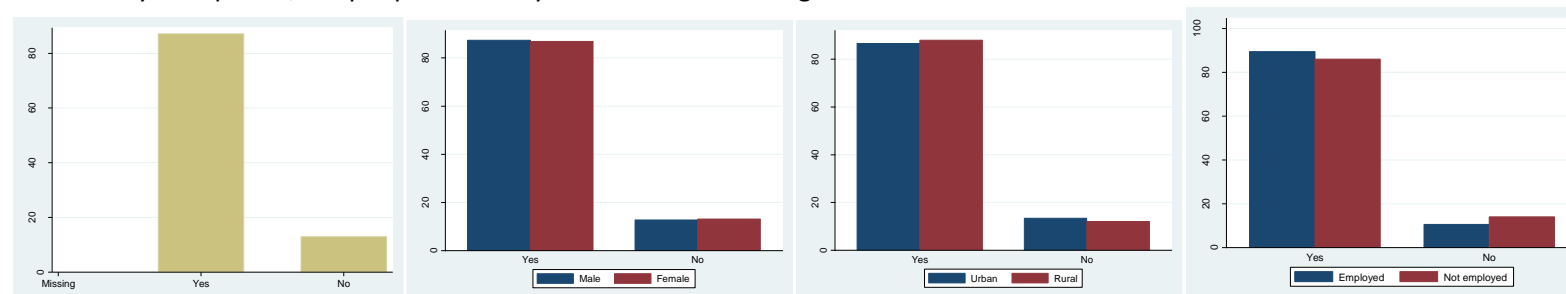
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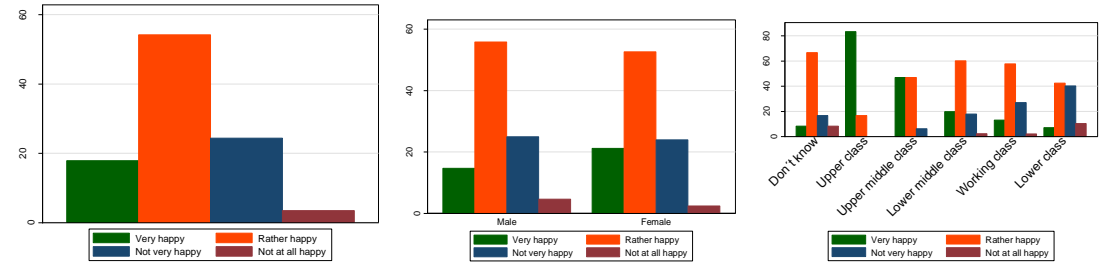


A12.15. In your opinion, are people nowadays able to criticize the government without fear?

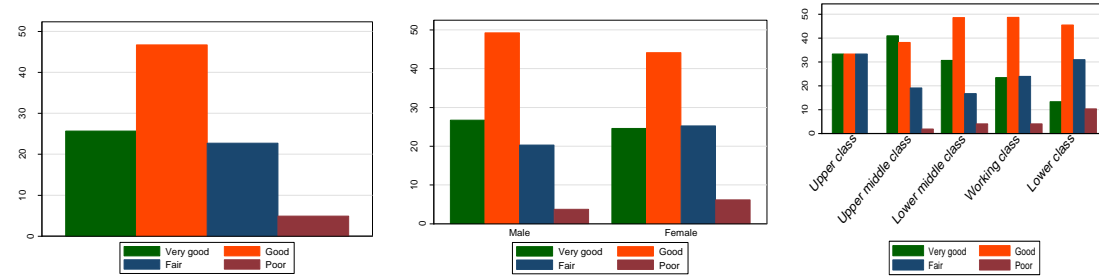


Yemen

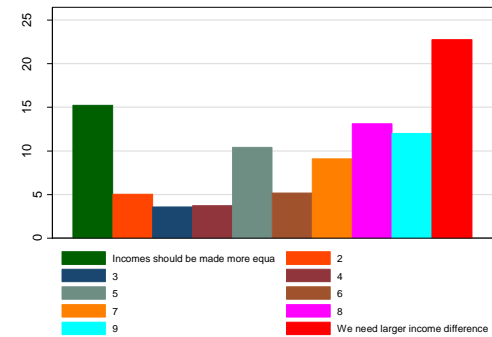
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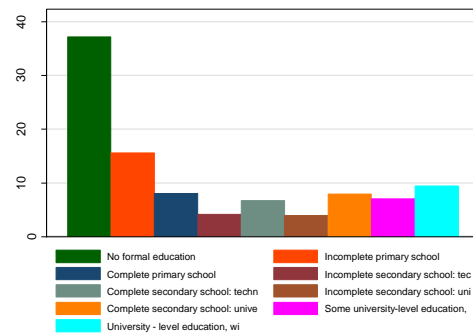
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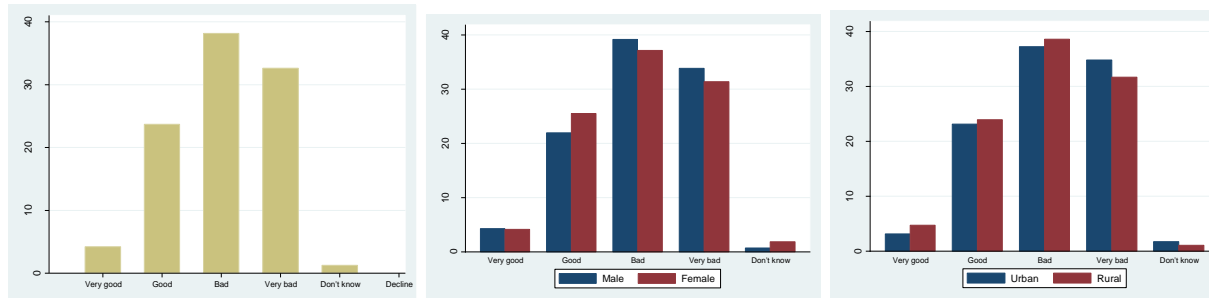
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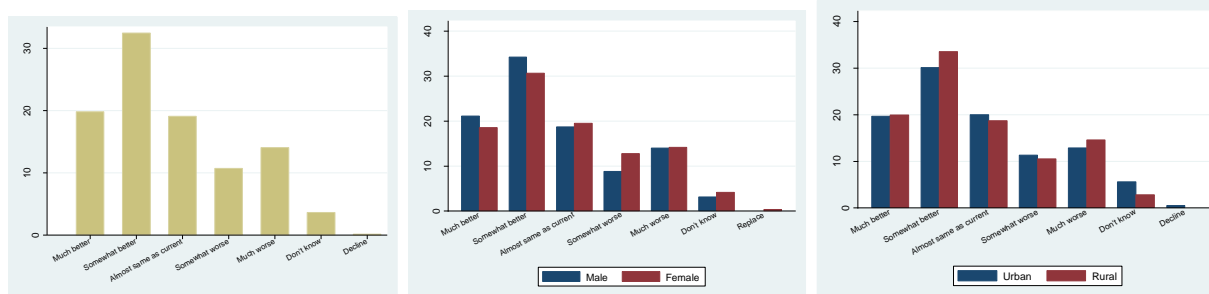
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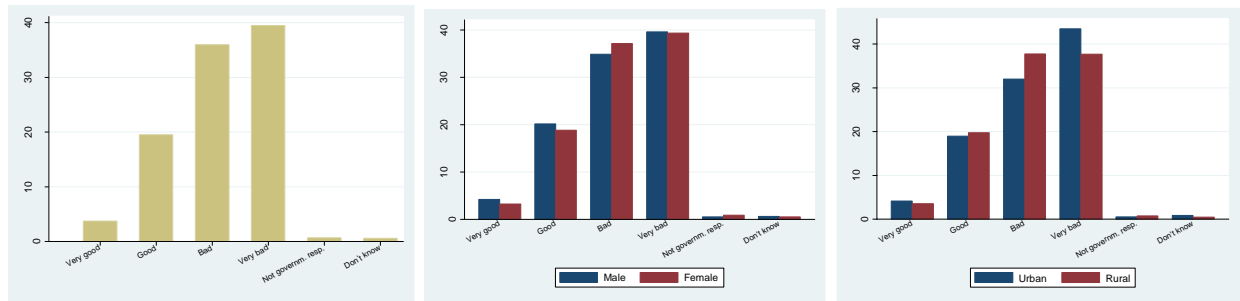
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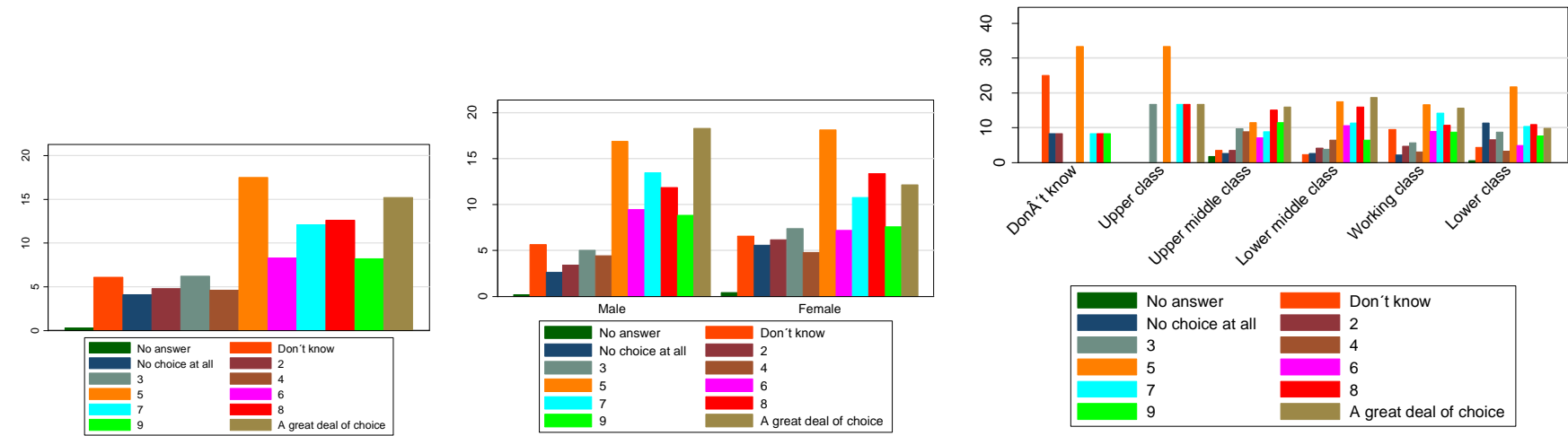
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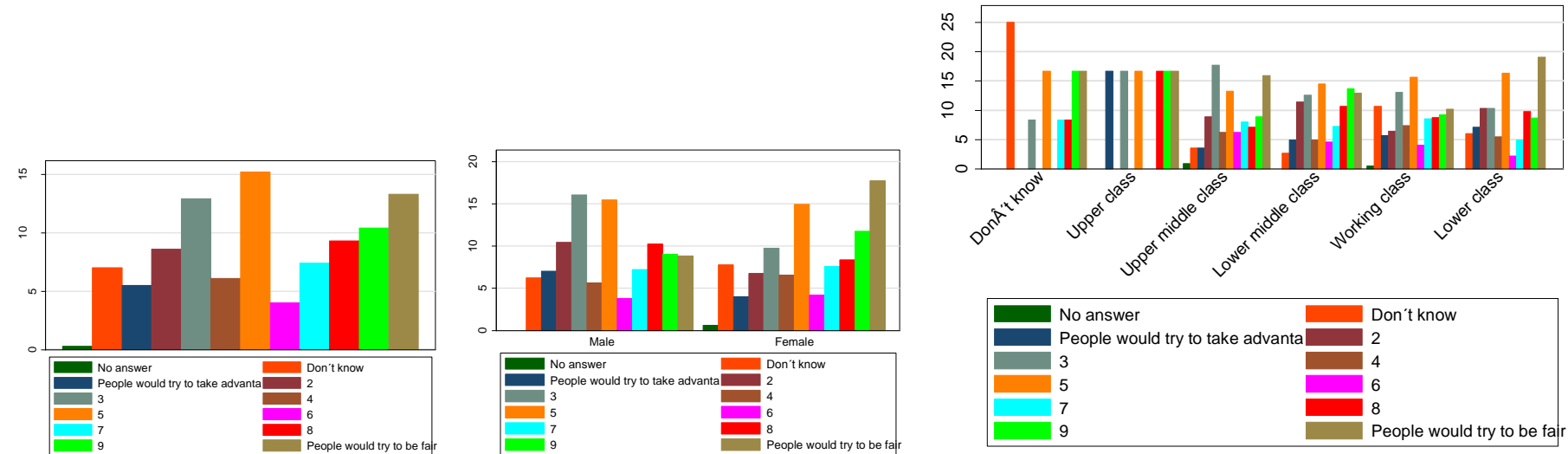
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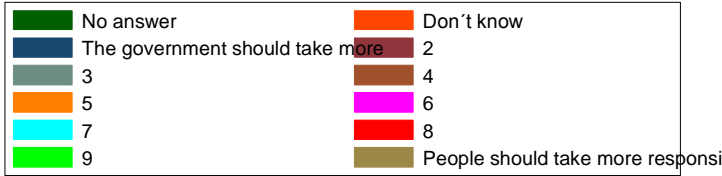
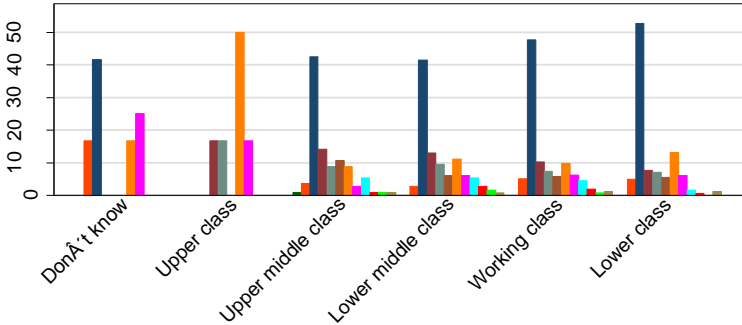
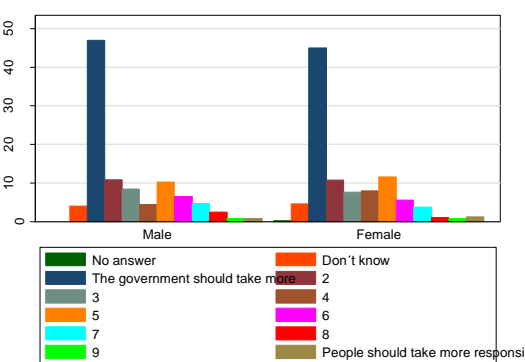
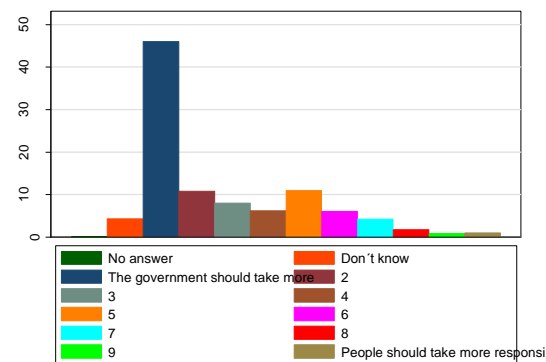
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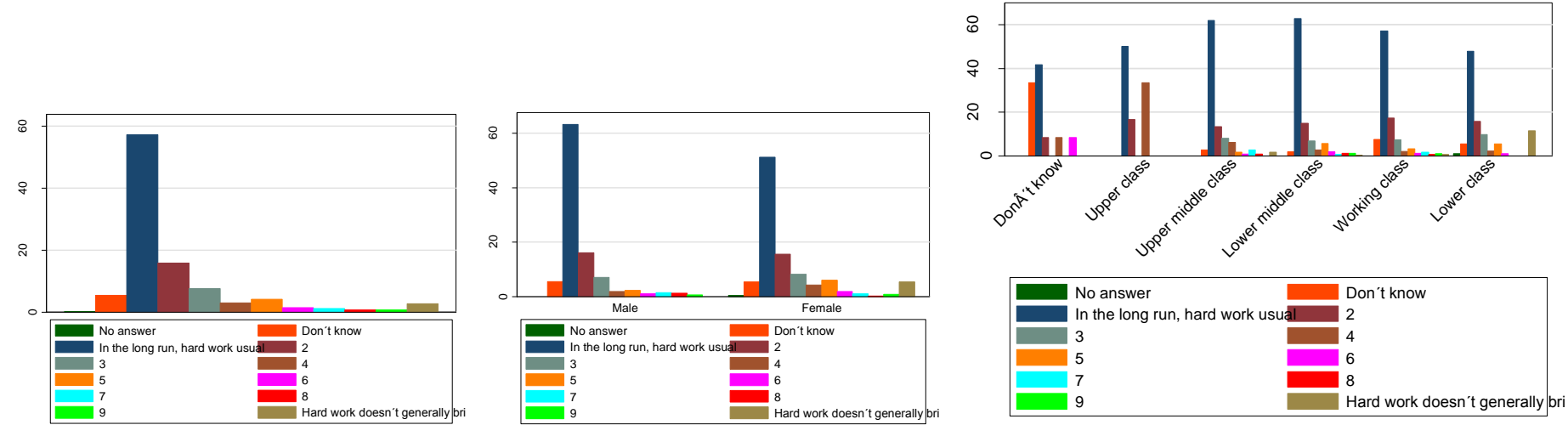
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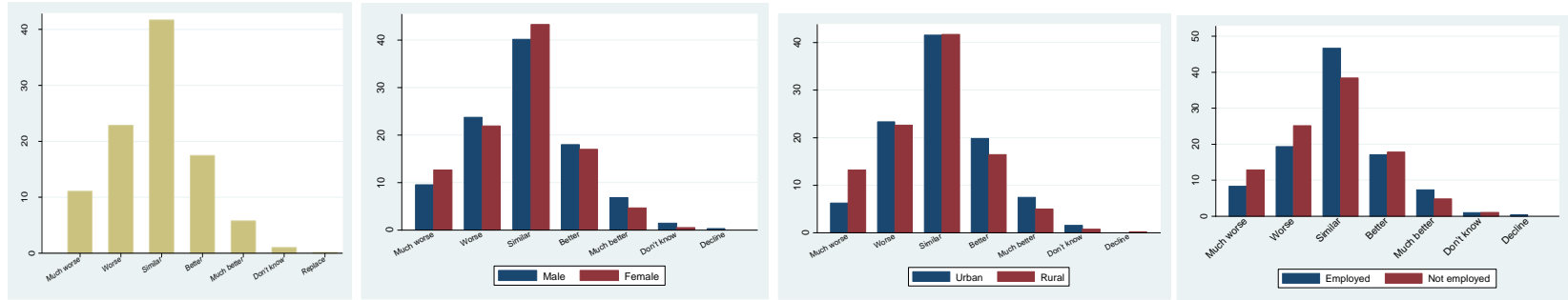
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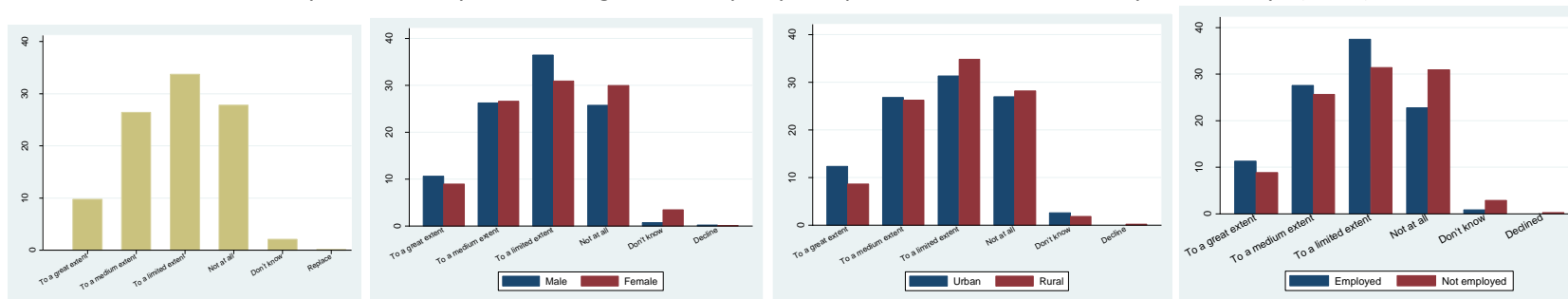
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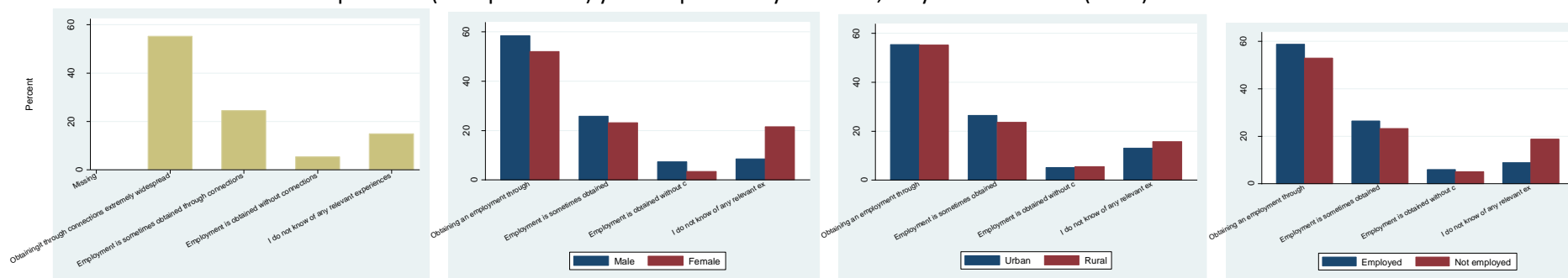
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