

# Social Justice & Development Policy in the Arab World

April 2015

## Social Justice and the Arab Uprisings

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## Social Justice and the Arab Uprisings\*

**The Social Justice and Development Policy in the Arab World Program** is a jointly managed collaboration between the Mamdouha S. Bobst Center for Peace and Justice at Princeton University and the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs funded by Elmer and Mamdouha Bobst Foundation in New York. Social justice became one of the most prominent demands stemming out of the Arab uprisings. This initiative tries to further understand through research the many different meanings of the phrase “social justice” and its social, economic, and political policy implications.

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## Overview

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At its core social justice means creating a just or equal society by ensuring all members of society are treated equitably, human rights are respected, and there is no discrimination based on membership in a group or other forms of identity. In other words, social justice means ensuring equality or at least providing equal opportunities for all members of society.

The protests associated with the Arab Spring largely centered on issues related to social justice. Demonstrators called for economic, political and human rights, holding to account governments who violated these principles. In countries that experienced a leadership change – including Egypt and Tunisia – new governments promised to promote policies that focused on social justice. Meanwhile, regimes that survived the Arab Spring also passed reforms or took other actions to at least partially redress basic inequalities in their society.

Yet has inequality decreased as a result of the Arab Spring across the region? Are citizens living under new governments more satisfied than those living under long-standing regimes? These questions are central to improving the quality of governance across the region as well as providing policymakers with the tools to develop a path for continued reform that meets the needs of ordinary citizens.

The results of nationally representative surveys conducted by the Arab Barometer offer insight into these questions. Over three waves, the Arab Barometer has conducted nearly 35,000 interviews in 14 countries. The first wave in 2006-7 measures attitudes well before the events of the Arab Spring when citizens in most countries had lived under authoritarian rule for many years. The second wave began in late 2010 and continued through 2011, meaning it spanned the events of the Arab Spring. The third and most recent wave began in late 2012 and ran through early 2014, providing insight into beliefs and attitudes after these momentous events.

Overall, the findings suggest that Arab countries have made limited progress on issues of social justice in a number of areas, but that there still remains a long way to go. Most citizens have insufficient income to meet their needs, and economic concerns continue to trump political and social issues throughout the region. Unemployment remains high, especially among youth leading many to harbor a desire to emigrate abroad.

Despite demands for an end to corruption, the vast majority of citizens across the region say corruption remains endemic. Most also believe that *wasta* – or the use of family or kinship connections – is at least as important as qualifications in obtaining government employment. Yet, in Tunisia and Yemen – two countries deeply affected by the Arab Spring – citizens have come to believe *wasta* is less important than before these events. Thus, although far from solved, it appears that new governments are beginning to seriously address the problem of corruption.

At the time of the Arab Spring most Arab publics believed that government officials neither cared for their needs nor took their opinions seriously. Yet, about half or more believed they could influence government policies. Citizens living in Egypt, Tunisia and Yemen – three countries where leaders fell during the Arab Spring – were most likely to say they could influence their governments in 2011. Nevertheless, in other countries many citizens say they have this ability, perhaps reflecting a belief that policy could be affected through non-official means such as protests and demonstrations.

Meanwhile, few Arab citizens rate their governments or the state of democracy and human rights positively. In most countries, government ratings have declined since the Arab Spring. This is especially true in Egypt, where support fell by 38 points from June 2011 to May 2013. Yet, there has been little change in ratings of democracy and human rights over time, suggesting dissatisfaction with the regime is linked to other issues such as the failure to improve economic issues or seriously address corruption.

In light of these results, reform is badly needed throughout the region. Unfortunately, rather than encouraging reform, most Arab publics see international interference as an impediment to meaningful change. This perception is also increasing dramatically, likely a reflection of the increasing role that regional actors such as Qatar, Turkey and Saudi Arabia have played post-Arab Spring. Additionally, in most countries the percentages of citizens who say that the Arab-Israeli conflict is an impediment to reform are increasing over the years, underscoring the need to find a meaningful resolution to this issue.

## Background

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The demonstrations associated with the Arab Spring brought issues of social justice to the forefront. In Tahrir Square in Cairo one of the principal chants was *'aish, huriyya, karama insaniyya* – which can be translated as “bread, freedom and human dignity”. Similar but distinct calls were heard in capitals and other towns throughout the region. Rather than calling for a specific political system or set of reforms, those on the streets were demanding social justice in its broadest sense – economic justice, political justice and basic human rights for all.

Prior to the Arab Spring, the vast majority of Arab countries had endured long-standing authoritarian rule. Although the post-independence years were accompanied by periods of significant economic growth, by the 1980s economic stagnation became the norm. By the late 1980s, many countries reluctantly embraced economic reforms and also allowed for limited political openings. Yet, this period of liberalization produced little meaningful change.

Economic reform resulted in the rise of crony capitalism whereby the regime dominated most economic interests. In some cases like Egypt the military elite owned large sectors of the economy while in others such as Tunisia the ruler and his family controlled a vast share of economic activity. In both cases, however, economic power became concentrated in the hands of the elite or the connected, continually worsening economic prospects for the masses. Combined with a staggering number of young people entering the work force – in 2004 the World Bank estimated that the region needed to create 100 million new jobs in 15 years simply to keep up with the demand for employment – economic outcomes continued to deteriorate.

Political outcomes were similarly constrained. Brief experiments with free and fair elections in Jordan and Algeria in 1989 and 1991 were quickly reversed. Similar openings in Egypt more than a decade later were cut short as well. Since that time in no country were citizens given an unimpeded right to have direct say over how they were governed – or at least not through existing political institutions. This inability to affect meaningful change further contributed to widespread frustration across the region.

Beyond economic and political concerns, regimes had little respect for human dignity. In Egypt, Syria and other countries, regimes retained emergency laws that limited basic freedoms and provided the regime with virtual impunity to prosecute any dissent. Yet, the state's power went far beyond persecuting those who stood up against it. Mohamed Bouazizi – the street vendor whose act of protest against the system set off the demonstrations that eventually led to the fall of the Tunisian regime – simply wanted the right to make a living. Yet, local authorities harassed him and confiscated his goods taking away even this ability. In sum, regimes and their associated coercive apparatuses had stripped their citizens of even the most basic human dignities.

The events of the Arab Spring represented a critical juncture in the relationship between society and the state. The protests brought out citizens of all backgrounds – young and old, men and women, the educated and the illiterate, and the religious- and secular-minded – to the streets to voice their frustrations with these political systems. They made clear that regimes could no longer rely on the combination of force and the old social contracts to maintain stability.

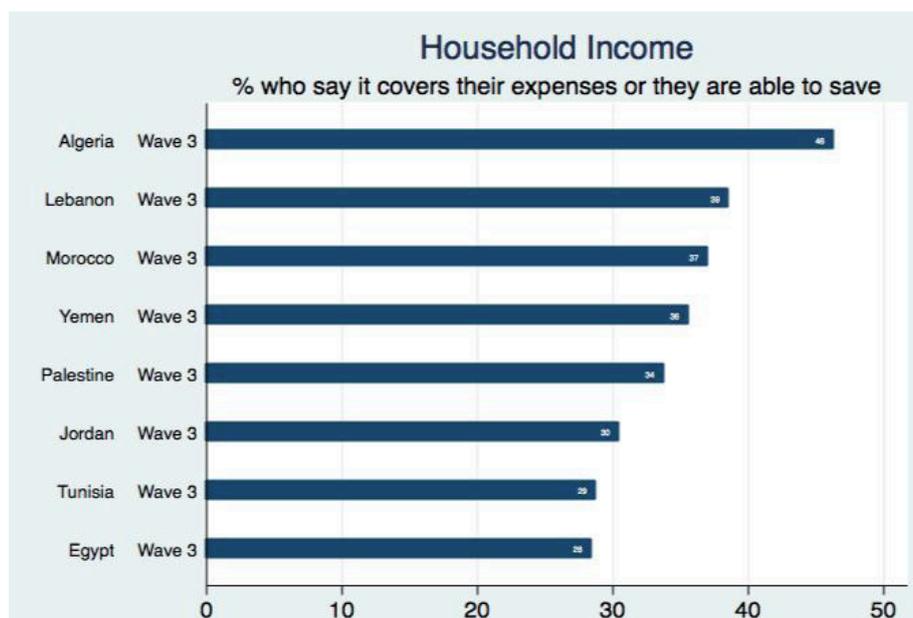
Regimes across the region were deeply affected. Leaders fell in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, and – following significant foreign intervention – in Libya. Yet, regimes across the region responded in a variety of different ways. For example, soon after the protests broke out Saudi Arabia increased social spending dramatically and even made a vague promise of elections. Similarly, in Algeria, the government increased social spending and passed wide-ranging reforms to laws governing civil society and basic freedoms.

As the Arab Spring proceeded, massive changes swept across the region. Long-standing stability gave rise to ongoing chaos in some countries, most notably Syria and Libya, but also to a significant extent in Tunisia and Egypt. Meanwhile, Islamist parties won free and fair elections in Egypt and Tunisia and were allowed to come to power. These and other changes greatly altered the political landscape across the region.

The importance of these changes cannot be overstated. Yet, amidst talk of a renewed Arab Cold War, changing balances of power in the region, the growing strength of Islamist forces, and the possibility of the onset of an Arab winter, a number of questions that lie at the heart of the Arab Spring remain unanswered. Most centrally, has the quality of governance improved across the region? Have regimes – whether new or long-standing – made tangible improvements on issues related to social justice? Or, has the political infighting or strategic rebalancing by regimes resulted in a continuation of the status quo? Using data from the Arab Barometer, this policy brief seeks to address these questions.

## Economic Equality

Economic frustration is commonly posited as one of the primary – if not the key – issue leading to the outbreak of public protests across the Arab world in 2011. This narrative asserts that citizens in many Arab countries, especially youth, were frustrated by years of economic stagnation and high unemployment rates resulting in the mass protests. Improving economic outcomes and increasing levels of economic equality are key elements in promoting levels of social justice after the Arab Spring. To gauge potential changes in economic outcomes, this brief focuses on four indicators: economic well-being, concern about economic issues, employment status, and desire to emigrate.



The results of public opinion surveys for the Arab Barometer bear out these poor economic postulations, revealing that only a minority of citizens live in households where the family income is sufficient for their needs. In the most recent wave of surveys, less than half say they have enough money to cover their expenses or to save some money in their country. Overall, Algerians (46%) are the most likely to say they have sufficient income to meet their needs, as do a third or more of Lebanese (39%), Moroccans (37%), Yemenis (36%), and Palestinians (34%). Elsewhere, between a quarter and three-in-ten say their family's income is sufficient for their needs.

Although the protests are strongly linked to the economic conditions, those who participated in the protests are more likely to come from households that are better off. For example, in Tunisia protestors are 13 points more likely than non-protestors to say their income meets their needs. A similar gap is found in Yemen (9 points) and in Jordan (8 points). Smaller but insignificant differences exist in other countries, but in no country are non-protestors more likely than protestors to be economically secure.

Country	Protester	Non-Protester	Diff.
Tunisia	39	26	+13
Yemen	41	32	+9
Jordan	38	30	+8
Palestine	39	33	+6
Egypt	32	28	+4
Morocco	40	37	+3
Algeria	48	46	+2

### Protesters More Economically Secure

*% who say their household income meets their needs or allows them to save*

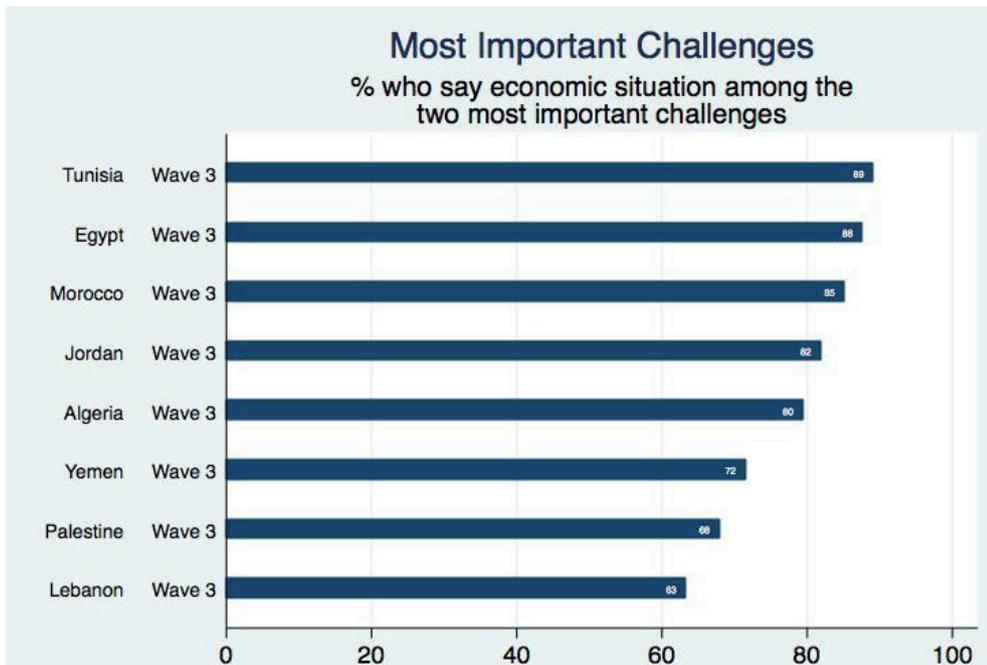
The plight of Arab youth is often highlighted as a cause of the protests, but the surveys do not paint a picture of poverty among the youngest-age cohorts. Instead, citizens of all ages are about as likely as each other to say that their income is sufficient for their needs. This finding is most likely a reflection of the fact that many households include members of different generations in Arab countries, meaning youth without economic opportunity often live with their parents or extended family.

Moreover, economic outcomes do not appear substantially worse as a result of disruptions caused by the Arab Spring. This finding is somewhat surprising given that the World Bank estimates that Tunisia's economy contracted by 2% in 2011. Egypt's rate of economic growth also declined following the Arab Spring, while poor outcomes plagued many other countries in the region. Nevertheless, in no case are citizens less likely to say that their household income is sufficient than at the time of the Arab uprisings. However, in two countries – Yemen and Egypt – citizens are more likely to say that their household has sufficient income (18 and 7 points, respectively) during the uprisings.

These results may reflect stabilization or – in some cases – economic recovery that began to take place in the years that followed the main protests. Alternatively, it may reflect the fact that some citizens have adjusted their expenditures as a result of the economic dislocations that resulted from the Arab Spring. Regardless, it suggests that while the Arab Spring has not improved economic outcomes dramatically, on the whole ordinary citizens are not significantly worse off than before.

### Most Important Challenges

The Arab Barometer reveals that economic concerns remain a primary concern of most Arab citizens. The survey asks respondents to choose the two most pressing challenges facing their country among the economic situation, corruption, strengthening democracy, resolving the Palestinian issue, achieving internal stability, curbing foreign influence or something else. In all but two countries majorities of seven-in-ten or more say that economic conditions are one of the two most pressing problems their country faces. Concern about economic conditions is highest in the two post-revolutionary countries, Tunisia (89%) and Egypt (88%), followed by Morocco (85%) and Jordan (82%). Economic concerns are relatively less important in Palestine (68%) and Lebanon (63%).



Although Arab youth suffer disproportionately in terms of unemployment rates and other indicators, the Arab Barometer indicates that they are about as likely as older generations to say that the economic situation is one of their two primary concerns. A key exception is Palestine, where ages 18-29 are 15 points more likely than those 50 and older to say economic issues are among the biggest challenges. By contrast, youth are somewhat less likely to worry about economic issues in Algeria and Morocco (-7 points each).

Although economic issues were by far the greatest concern among protesters, those who took part in the Arab uprisings are less likely than other citizens to cite the economic situation as one of the two most important problems. The difference is greatest in Jordan where 83% of non-protesters worry about economic issues compared with 59% of protesters (-24 points). Similar gaps are found in Morocco (-16) and Palestine (-8).

The Arab Barometer also makes clear that levels of concern about the economic situation are growing across the region. The importance of economic issues has increased dramatically in Tunisia, rising from 70% in 2011 to 89% in 2013 (+19 points). Similar increases are observed in Lebanon (+17), Algeria (+10) and Palestine (+12).

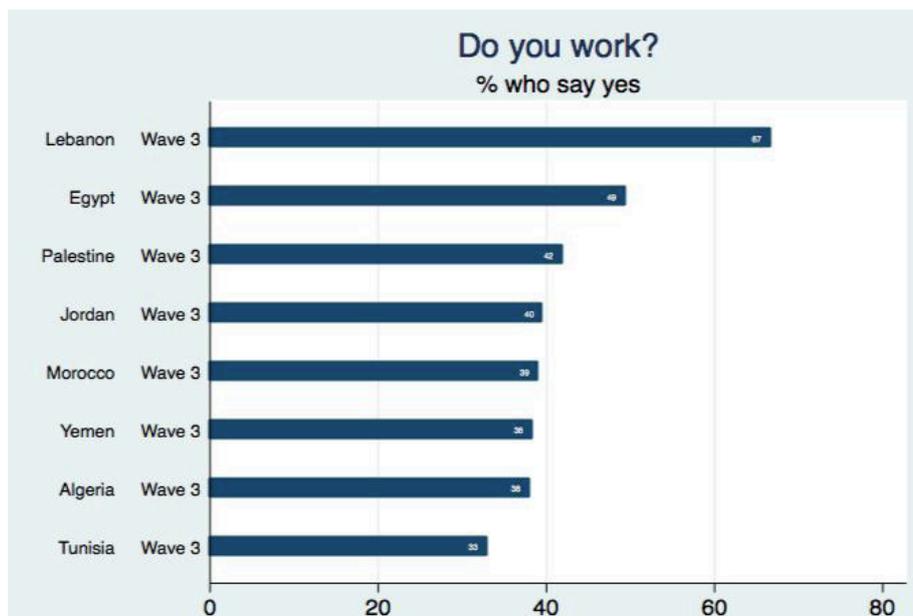
Country	2 <sup>nd</sup> Wave	3 <sup>rd</sup> Wave	Diff.
Tunisia	70	89	+19
Lebanon	46	63	+17
Algeria	70	80	+10
Palestine	60	68	+8
Egypt	83	88	+5
Jordan	80	82	+2
Yemen	73	72	-1

### Growing Concern about the Economy

*% who say one of the two most important challenges facing their country is the economic situation*

## Unemployment

The Arab Barometer includes questions about whether a respondent is employed, although it does not specifically ask a respondent who is not employed if he or she is seeking work. In most countries, about four-in-ten respondents say they work. The highest percentage of employed respondents is found in Lebanon where two thirds are employed, followed by Egypt at 49%. Meanwhile, just a third in Tunisia say they are currently employed.



To an extent, these cross-national differences are likely the product of cultural differences between countries. For example, in Lebanon more than half of female respondents say they work, which is by far the highest rate in any country surveyed. However, other factors such as the dominant industries, the preponderance of informal employment, and the availability of work also explain this variation.

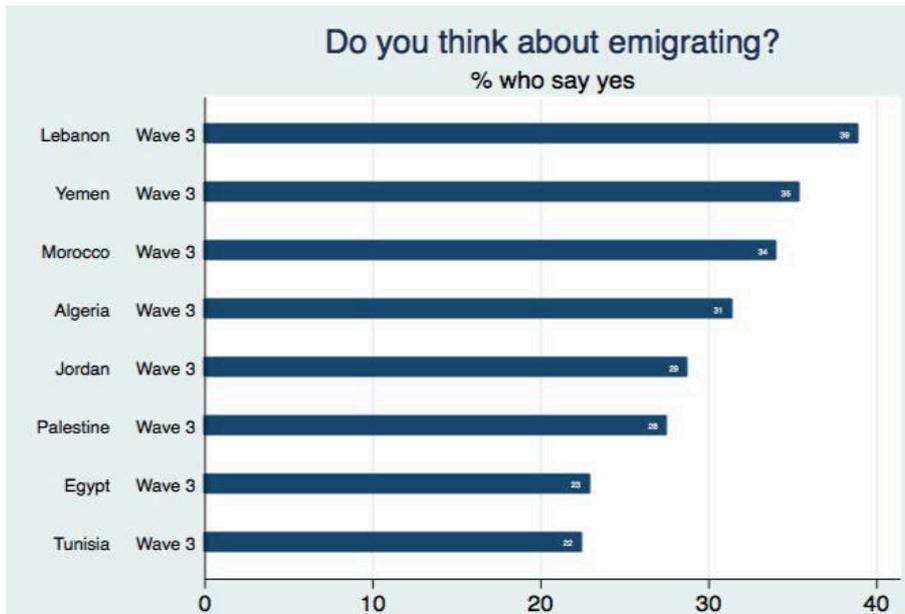
Across all countries, citizens of ages 30-49 are by far the most likely to work. Those 18-29 are generally more likely to be students or unemployed while those 50 and over are commonly retired or homemakers.

Protesters are significantly more likely to work than non-protesters, but in most countries this relationship is due to the fact that both protesters and those who are employed are male. A comparison of male protesters to non-protesters reveals no consistent differences in the employment status of those who participated in the Arab Spring.

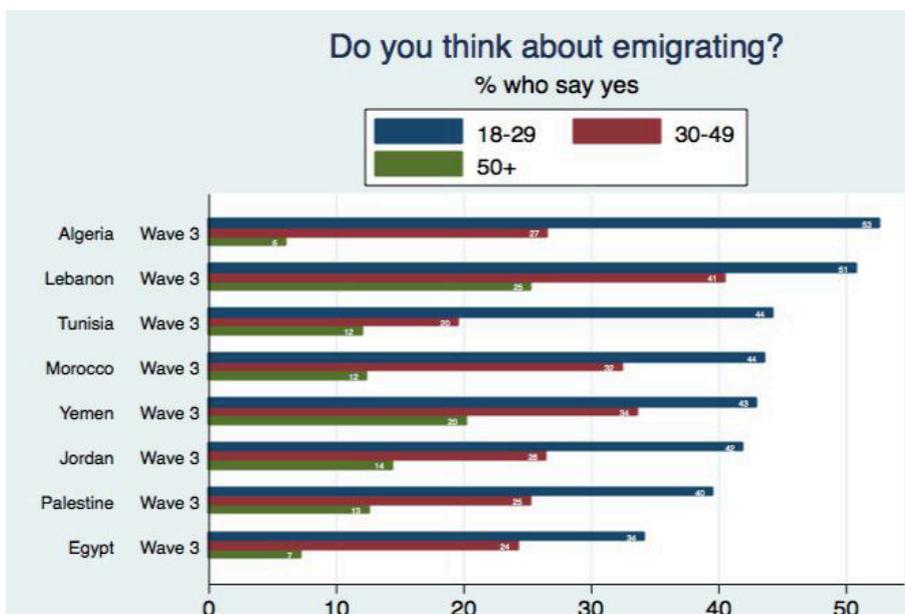
Despite the economic disruptions brought about by the Arab Spring, most countries exhibited little change in the percentage of citizens who work between the second and third waves. The exceptions are Yemen where the percentage who worked declined from 52% to 38% (-14 points) and Tunisia (-9 points). These differences are noteworthy given that these two countries were among the most deeply affected by the protests of the Arab Spring.

## Emigration

A substantial percentage of citizens in Arab countries want to emigrate for political or economic reasons. In all countries, nearly a quarter or more say they would go abroad if they had the chance, including 39% in Lebanon, 35% in Yemen and 34% in Morocco. Notably, Tunisians (22%) and Egyptians (23%) are the least likely to say they intend to emigrate, perhaps reflecting an underlying optimism in each country despite the significant challenges both countries are facing.



Age cohort is the defining factor of the desire to emigrate. Adults ages 18-29 are far more likely than those who are older to want to leave their country. Over half of young adults in Algeria (53%) and Lebanon (51%) seek to emigrate, as do more than four-in-ten in Tunisia (44%), Morocco (44%), Yemen (43%) and Jordan (42%). Egyptians who are 18-29 are the least likely to want to emigrate, although a third still seek to go abroad. The strong desire of young adults to emigrate implies that existing political and economic systems are not meeting their expectations and they are looking to other options to secure a better future.



Among citizens 30-49, between a quarter and a third want to emigrate in most countries. More than four-in-ten Lebanese (41%) in this range favor leaving the country compared with a low of two-in-ten in Tunisia. The desire of those 50 and older to emigrate is even lower, ranging from a high of one quarter in Lebanon to as little as 6% in Algeria.

Protesters are far more likely than non-protesters to say they want to emigrate in all countries. The greatest difference is found in Algeria where those who took part in demonstrations are 28 points more likely than those who did not to want to emigrate. Large gaps are also found in Egypt (+25), Yemen (+15), Tunisia (+11), Morocco (+10), Jordan (+10), and Palestine (+10).

Country	Protester	Non-Protester	Diff.
Algeria	58	30	+28
Egypt	45	20	+25
Yemen	44	30	+14
Tunisia	31	20	+11
Morocco	43	33	+10
Jordan	38	28	+10
Palestine	36	26	+10

### Protesters Want to Emigrate

*% who say they want to go abroad for political or economic reasons*

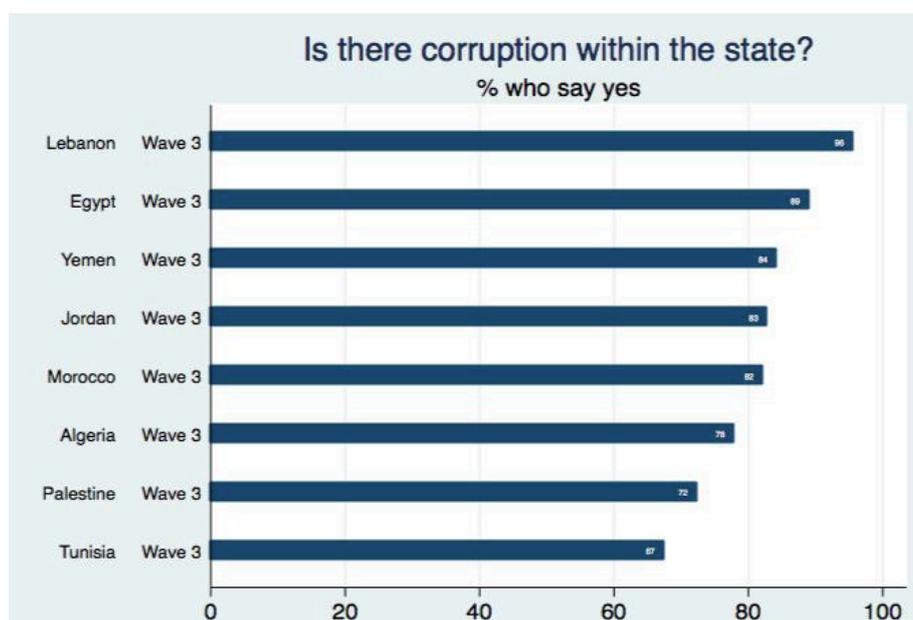
In many countries the desire to emigrate has generally declined over time. In the first wave of the Arab Barometer (2006-7), over half of Algerians (52%) wanted to leave their homeland but by the third wave (2013), fewer than a third (31%) harbored this desire. Similar declines are found in Morocco (-18 points), Yemen (-15) and Lebanon (-12). During the same period, the desire of Palestinians to emigrate has increased from 18% to 28%, likely reflecting the failure of the peace process and the political situation in the country. Additionally, Egyptians are more likely to favor emigrating than they were in the months immediately after the Arab Spring, representing an increase from 10% to 23%. In other countries, including Tunisia and Jordan, the desire to emigrate has remained more-or-less constant before and after the Arab Spring.

The lower percentages of those seeking to emigrate may be related to changing attitudes in Western countries, particularly in Europe. As attitudes against immigrants have hardened, fewer Arab citizens are likely to look abroad for refuge from the political or economic conditions in their homeland. In fact, the inability to emigrate combined with the ongoing failures of existing regimes to improve lives of their citizens could partially explain the increased frustration about existing political orders, which ultimately manifested in the Arab uprisings.

## Corruption and Political Inequality

The protests of the Arab Spring were also fueled by citizens' frustrations with endemic corruption that plagued their societies, which represents another call for social justice. Social justice requires equal treatment by state institutions. Corruption undermines this equality by giving those with greater financial means to pay bribes or those with more influential networks preferable treatment compared to those who lack such resources.

Despite a number of reforms that have come out of the Arab Spring, the vast majority of citizens in the region believe that corruption remains widespread. Nearly all Lebanese (96%) hold this view, as do more than eight-in-ten in Egypt (89%), Yemen (84%), Jordan (83%) and Morocco (82%). Tunisians are the least likely to say corruption is widespread, but still two-in-three hold this view.



Citizens of all ages are overwhelmingly likely to say corruption is widespread, although in a few countries those who are younger are more likely to say it is a problem. For example, Tunisians ages 18-29 are more likely to say corruption is widespread (78%) than those who are 30-49 (69%) or who are 50 and older (59%). In Algeria those who are over 50 (68%) are also less likely to perceive corruption compared with those who are 18-29 (82%) or 30-49 (80%).

On average, protesters are somewhat more likely to say corruption is widespread compared to those who did not take part in the demonstrations. Protesters are more likely to say corruption is a problem in Tunisia (+15), Algeria (+13), Egypt (+8), Morocco (+7) and Yemen (+7).

Country	Protester	Non-Protester	Diff.
Tunisia	80	65	+15
Algeria	90	77	+13
Egypt	96	88	+8
Yemen	89	81	+8
Morocco	89	82	+7
Jordan	89	83	+6
Palestine	71	73	-2

### Protesters More Likely to say State is Corrupt

% who says there is corruption within the state's institutions and agencies

Overall, perceptions of corruption have changed little in most countries over the last two waves of the Arab Barometer despite the political upheavals in some countries. In fact, Algeria – a country that did not experience major changes following the Arab Spring – is the only country where citizens believe corruption is now less widespread than it was in the second wave. In Algeria, this perception declined by 12 points from 90% to 78%. This result may be related to a number of high level corruption cases pursued by the regime including a case against former energy minister Chakib Khelil.

By contrast, in Jordan – another country where the regime survived the Arab uprisings – citizens were 17 points more likely to say corruption was widespread in 2012 compared with 2010. Yet, in this case, it appears an attempted regime crackdown on corruption may have had the opposite effect as in Algeria. The reasons for this difference are not entirely clear, but again may indicate that Jordanians came to an opposite conclusion following a government crackdown on corruption. For example, in 2011 the Anti-Corruption Commission received 714 complaints,<sup>1</sup> perhaps reinforcing to citizens that corruption was a vast problem in the kingdom rather than convincing them the government was adequately addressing the problem.

Finally, Egyptians are also 9 points more likely to say that corruption is widespread in the third wave compared to the second wave of the Arab Barometer. The 2013 survey, conducted shortly before the coup that ousted president Mohamed Morsi, suggests that the new government failed to crack down on this practice. Instead, it appears that the political opening and decline in state power may have led to an increase in perceived levels of corruption by ordinary Egyptians. Notably, however, a similar increase was not found in Tunisia or Yemen despite the fall of their long-standing strongmen in early 2011.

## Wasta

Wasta – meaning the use of connections based on family or kinship networks – is an issue that is closely related to corruption. Often, wasta is perceived as being a definitive factor in how governments and businesses operate.

The Arab Barometer makes clear that Arab publics believe wasta plays a major role in their societies. In all countries, vast majorities say wasta is commonly linked with getting a job. At least nine-in-ten say the use of wasta is widespread or occurs sometimes in Lebanon (94%), Jordan (93%), Morocco (91%) and Palestine (90%). Elsewhere, more than three-quarters hold this view in Egypt (84%), Tunisia (78%) and Yemen (76%).



1. <http://jordantimes.com/jordan-drops-in-corruption-ranking>

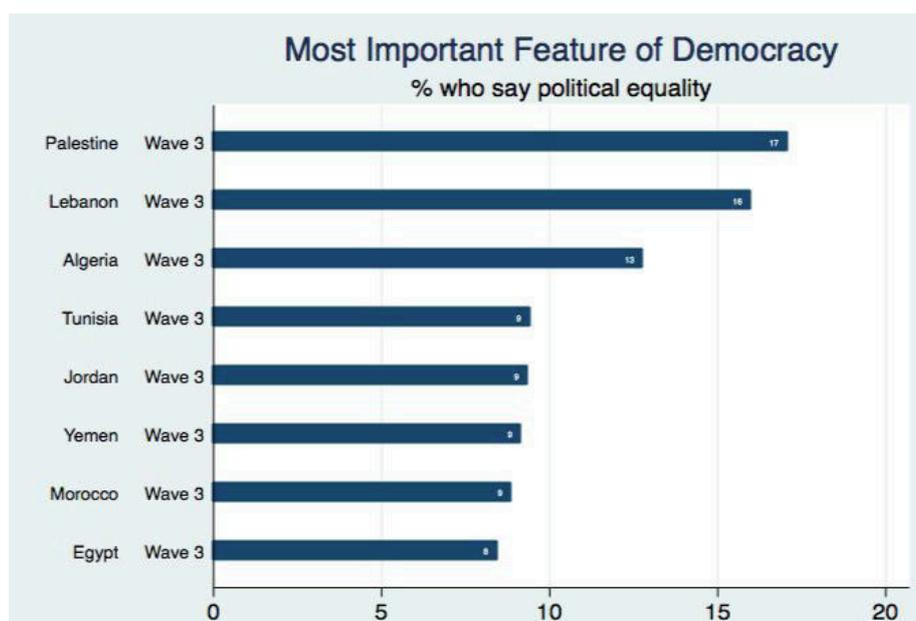
Across the region older and younger citizens are about equally likely to say that *wasta* is common or widespread in obtaining employment. However, in Tunisia and Yemen – two countries where long-standing dictators fell as a result of the Arab Spring – younger citizens are more likely than those who are 50 and older to say the use of *wasta* is prevalent. In both cases, those ages 18-29 are ten points more likely to hold this belief.

Meanwhile, those who demonstrated in the Arab spring are no more likely than those who did not to say *wasta* is key to gaining employment. However, the evidence suggests that the events of the Arab spring may have had an effect on the role *wasta* plays in some countries. In Tunisia and Yemen, the percentage who say *wasta* is commonplace declined between the second and third waves. In 2013, Yemenis were 16 points less likely and Tunisians 13 points less likely to hold this view. In all other countries, there was no significant change between the two waves.

## Political Equality

Despite concerns about equality before the government, relatively few citizens in the region say that the most important feature of democracy is equality of political rights among citizens. In no country does even a fifth of the population understand democracy primarily through this lens. By comparison, in most countries about twice as many citizens say the primary feature of democracy is the provision of basic necessities for all.

Palestinians and Lebanese are the most likely to say democracy is primarily about political equality between citizens at 17% and 16%, respectively. In Algeria, 13% hold this view as do between 8% and 10% in all other countries.



In most countries older and younger respondents are equally likely to view democracy in terms of equality of political rights between citizens. However, this pattern does not hold in Egypt and Tunisia. In these cases, citizens 50 and older are more likely than those 18-29 to view democracy through the lens of political equality. In Tunisia, 27% of those over 50 say the primary feature of democracy is equality of political rights compared with 16% of those 18-29. Similarly, in Egypt 26% of those over 50 hold this view compared with 18% of those 18-29.

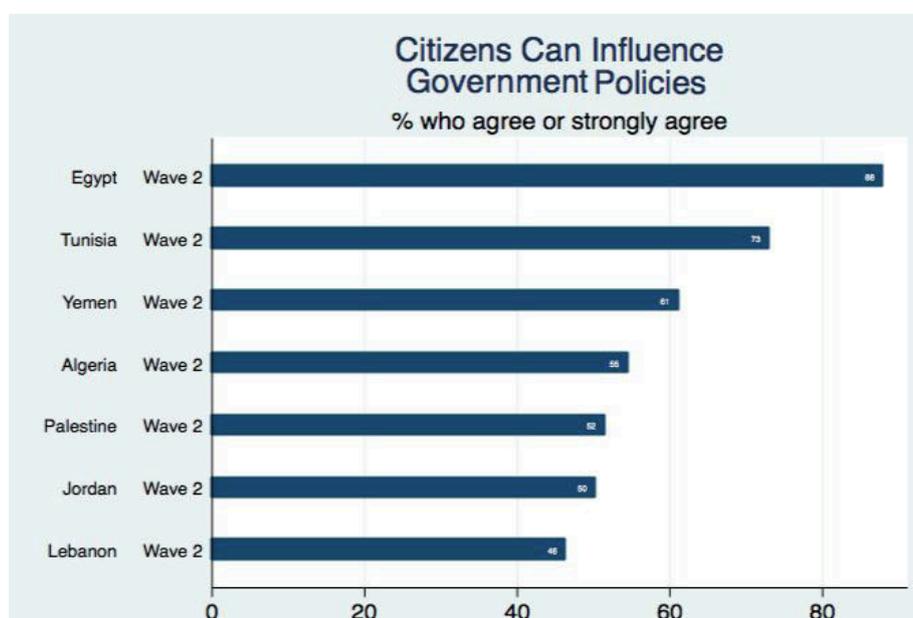
On the whole, those who demonstrated in the Arab Spring are somewhat less likely to say democracy is about equality of political rights. In Tunisia, protesters were 10 points less likely to hold this view while a similar gap is found in Jordan (-9) and Morocco (-8).

However, findings from the Arab Barometer suggest that defining democracy in terms of political rights is a growing trend throughout the region. For example, in 2012 Palestinians were 14 points more likely than in 2006 to cite equality of political rights. Similar increases are found in Algeria (+11 points), Lebanon (+10) and Jordan (+8).

## Human Dignity

Social justice also depends on the ability of citizens to influence their governments and exert positive changes. The third wave of the Arab Barometer did not include a number of questions about the quality of government. However, the first and second waves did, allowing for a comparison of attitudes toward government before and at the time of the onset of the Arab Spring.

A key question in analyzing the relationship between the governing and the governed is whether citizens feel that they can influence government policies. Despite having endured long-standing authoritarian rule at the time of the surveys (2010-2011), most citizens in the region believed they could affect government policies. Yet, there is also a significant divide between those countries that experienced successful revolutions and those that did not. In all three countries where leadership changed as a result of the Arab uprisings, a clear majority of citizens believe that they can influence government policies. Nearly nine-in-ten Egyptians (88%) say they have this ability, as do 73% of Tunisians and 61% of Yemenis.



Meanwhile, fewer citizens living in countries that did not experience dramatic changes say they can influence government policies. Within these countries, Algerians (55%) are the most likely to say they can influence government policies, followed by Palestinians (52%) and Jordanians (50%). In Lebanon, fewer than half (40%) of citizens believe they have this ability.

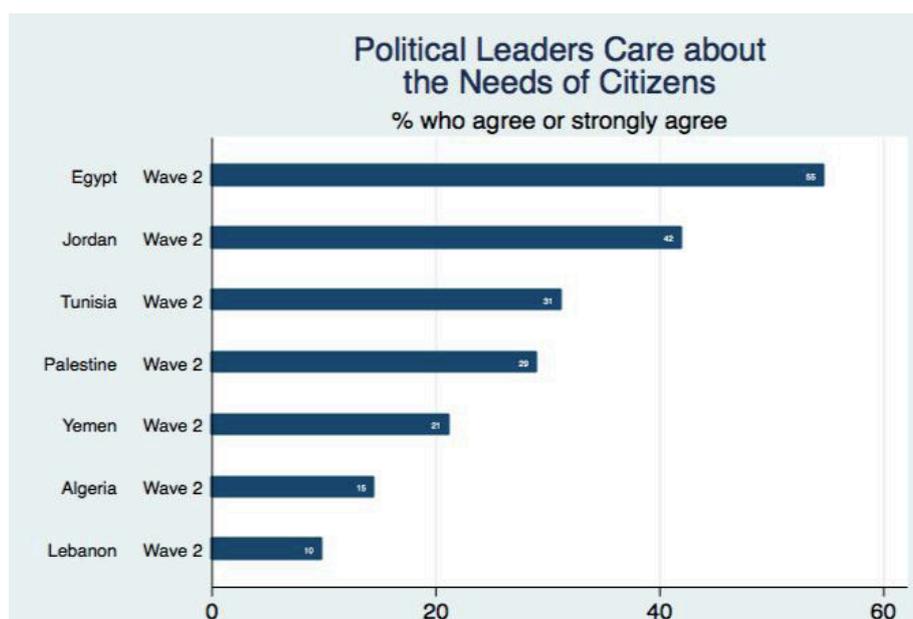
In all but two countries where data are available for the first and second wave, there is no significant change in belief about the ability to influence government policy over time. A major exception is Palestine, where there was a twenty-point decline from 2006 to 2010. Most likely, this difference is due to the fact that the first wave survey was carried out a few months after 2006 parliamentary elections, which international observers considered to be free and fair. By contrast, the 2010 survey was carried out after the Palestinian civil war that resulted in Hamas controlling Gaza and Fateh controlling the West Bank. In both settings, there has been a gradual decrease in political and civil liberties.

The second exception is Algeria where citizens were eight points more likely to say they could influence government policies in the second wave compared to the first wave. This increase is likely attributable to the fact the second wave was carried out in April 2011 during a time the regime was proposing significant reforms that would liberalize rules on opposition groups, the press and civil society in the wake of the Arab Spring.<sup>2</sup> This process of political liberalization – designed to stave off calls for more significant changes – appears to have had the intended effect of making citizens somewhat more likely to believe they could affect government policy.

## Relations with Government Officials

Although many Arabs believe they can influence government policies, fewer believe that political leaders are concerned about the needs of ordinary citizens. In all but one country less than half agree or strongly agree that public officials care about their needs at the time of the Arab Spring. Moreover, there is also no clear divide between countries that experienced revolution and those that did not; rather, the overwhelming perception is that those who govern remain aloof from those they govern.

Egypt is the only country where more than half say government leaders care for their needs. The survey, conducted a few months after the fall of Hosni Mubarak, suggests that changes brought about by the revolution likely account for this change in attitudes. Yet, citizens in the two other countries where leaders were deposed are much less likely to share this belief. In fact, less than a third in Tunisia (31%) and Yemen (21%) say government leaders care about their needs. Moreover, in 2011, Yemenis were just about as likely to say government officials care as they were in 2007.



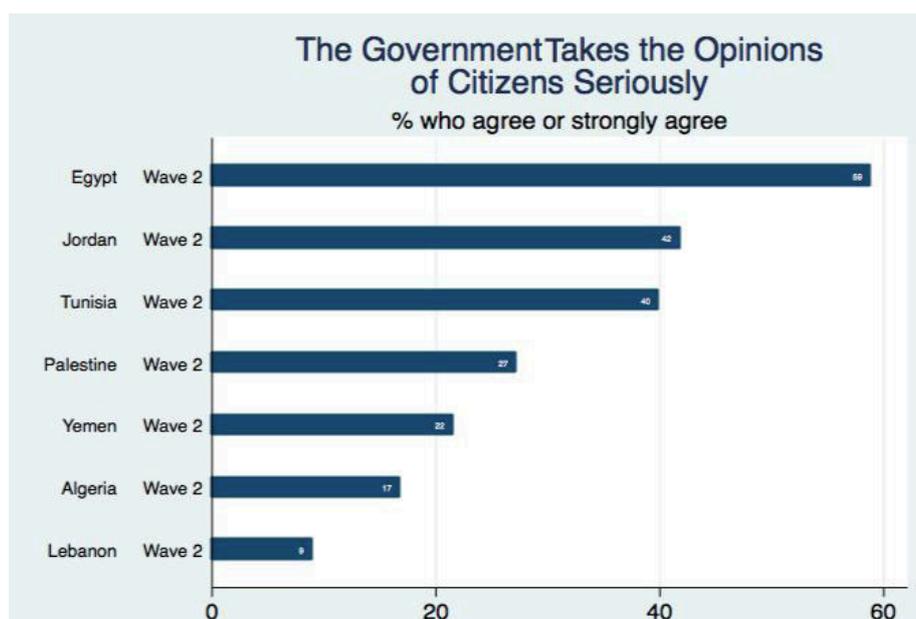
In countries where the Arab Spring did not result in the fall of a leader, few citizens say leaders care about their needs. About four-in-ten Jordanians (42%) share this belief as do 29% of Palestinians, by far the highest levels among these countries. Elsewhere, fewer than two-in-ten say leaders care, including just 15% in Algeria and 10% in Lebanon.

2. <http://www.arab-reform.net/skipping-arab-spring-arab-barometer-surveys-changing-algeria>

In most non-revolutionary countries it appears that citizens believe government leaders are becoming more remote from their concerns. Between the first and the second wave, fewer citizens say officials care in Palestine (-21 points), Algeria (-7) and Lebanon (-7). Only in Jordan does the percentage remain constant during this period. The dramatic decline in Palestine – from 50% to 29% – highlights the importance of giving citizens a say in democratic elections. In 2006 the survey was conducted shortly after the legislative elections and about half of citizens believed the government cared about their needs. Meanwhile, as previously noted, the second was conducted after the brief civil war between Hamas and Fateh, which indicated needs of ordinary citizens were less important than the partisan divide.

A third question asked citizens if the government takes their opinions seriously. The results are highly similar to the belief that governments care about their needs. Based on the most recent data, only in Egypt does a majority (59%) believe that the government takes their opinions seriously, which almost certainly related to the events of the Egyptian revolution. Yet, again in Tunisia and Yemen, fewer than half say the same (40% and 22%, respectively), reinforcing that a change in leadership had little effect on the perceptions of government officials in these countries.

In countries without a change in leadership, few citizens say that government leaders take their opinions seriously. Once again, Jordanians are by far most likely to hold this view at 42%, followed by Palestinians at 27%. In all other countries fewer than two-in-ten believe the government takes them seriously including 19% in Morocco, 17% in Algeria and 9% in Lebanon.

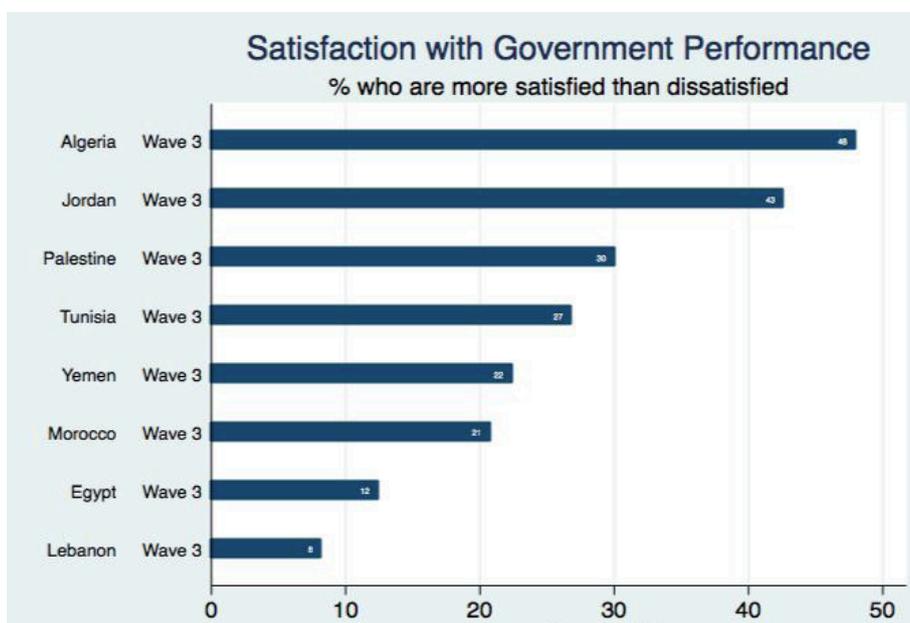


By this measure as well, at the time of the Arab Spring citizens appear to be somewhat more alienated from their governments than in the preceding years. The change is greatest in Palestine (-23 points) followed by Lebanon (-7 points).

## Political Satisfaction

Social justice can also be reflected in views of the government and the state of affairs in their country. A responsive government focused on the needs of citizens is more likely to be popular, especially if it respects the basic rights of citizens. Yet, in the years after the Arab Spring, only a minority of Arab citizens is satisfied with their government.

Satisfaction with the government is by far highest in Algeria and Jordan, which are two countries that were minimally affected by the events of the Arab uprisings. Nearly half of Algerians (48%) are satisfied with the performance of their government while 43% of Jordanians say the same. However, in other countries without a change in leadership, government satisfaction is relatively low. In Palestine, three-in-ten are satisfied compared with 21% in Morocco and just 8% in Lebanon.



Support is also quite low in the countries that were most dramatically affected by the Arab Spring. Slightly more than a quarter of Tunisians (27%) are satisfied compared with 22% of Yemenis and 13% of Egyptians. To a degree, these findings may reflect the timing of the surveys. In Egypt, the survey was carried out in June 2013 shortly before the coup against President Mohamed Morsi. In Tunisia, the survey took place in February 2013, around the time of political assassinations that marked a nadir in the country's transition from Ben Ali's rule.

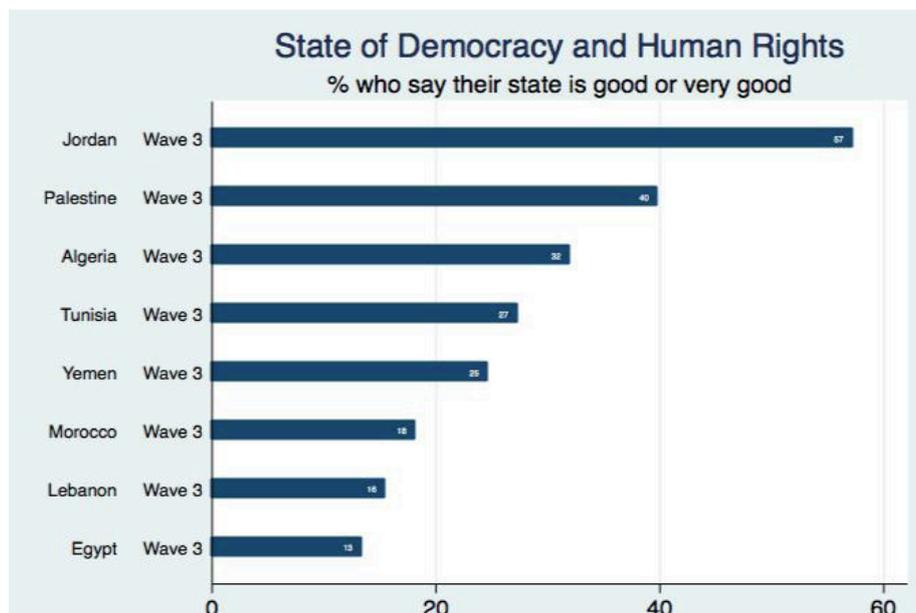
In most countries across the region, satisfaction with government has decreased in recent years. The most precipitous drop is in Egypt, where 51% were satisfied in 2011 compared with 13% in 2013 (-38 points) followed by Palestine between 2006 and 2012 (-16). Similar declines are found in Lebanon (-14), Morocco (-13), and Tunisia (-9).

However, the opposite trend is found in Algeria and Yemen. In the former, satisfaction rises from 21% in 2006 to 48% in 2013. This dramatic rise is likely due to a number of factors related to the Arab Spring. Soon after the fall of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali in neighboring Tunisia, the Algerian regime increased government expenditures and undertook a series of political reforms. Combined with the political chaos and economic decline in Tunisia, the Algerian system likely appeared relatively better than before.

In Yemen, support rose slightly from 16% in 2007 to 22% in 2013. Although still extremely low, this slight increase may reflect a greater satisfaction with the process of National Dialogue that was taking place at the time of the survey.

## Democracy and Human Rights

Most Arab citizens do not rate the state of democracy and human rights in their country as good or very good. Notably, in most cases there is very little difference between ratings in countries that experienced vast changes as a result of the Arab Spring and those that did not.



Only in Jordan do more than half of citizens (57%) say the state of democracy and human rights is good. Elsewhere, four-in-ten or fewer hold this view. Despite ongoing violence, 40% of Palestinians say democracy and human rights are respected, as do 32% of Algerians. Meanwhile, just 27% of Tunisians, 25% of Yemenis, 18% of Moroccans, 16% of Lebanese and 13% of Egyptians say the same about their own countries.

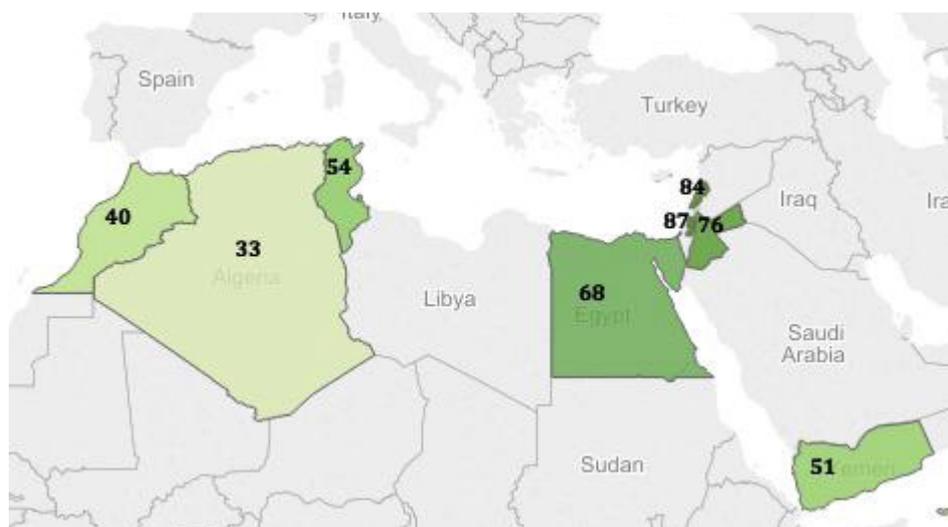
For the most part, despite the upheavals related to the Arab Spring there have been few changes in the perception about the state of democracy and human rights. The most substantial difference is in Egypt where in the months after the revolution 57% rated democracy and human rights as good, compared with 13% just two years later (-44 points). By contrast, Algerians say respect for human rights and democracy has improved dramatically during this time, rising from 8% to 32% (+24). Meanwhile, a slight increase also occurred in Palestine (+8).

## Impediments to Reform

On the whole, the Arab Spring has led to important but not massive changes to improve issues related to social justice across the region. Further reform is clearly needed, but even in countries like Tunisia and Egypt frustration with a lack of change has clearly mounted. To a significant degree, Arab publics appear to link the failure of reform to international influences.

Since the time of independence international conflict and foreign involvement in the region have been a major influence on the Middle East and North Africa. The conflict with Israel has played a prominent role in the ideologies of many authoritarian leaders offering justifications for denying certain civil rights to the population. At the same time, foreign military aid has strengthened the coercive apparatus in many countries with the goal of promoting stability over inclusive and open democratic systems.

Citizens in countries that border Israel overwhelmingly perceive the Arab-Israeli conflict as a significant obstacle to political reform in their country. More than two-thirds in Palestine (84%), Lebanon (84%), Jordan (76%) and Egypt (68%) agree or strongly agree that this conflict makes political reform more challenging. Despite the changes that resulted from the Arab Spring, this perception has not changed significantly in any country bordering Israel.

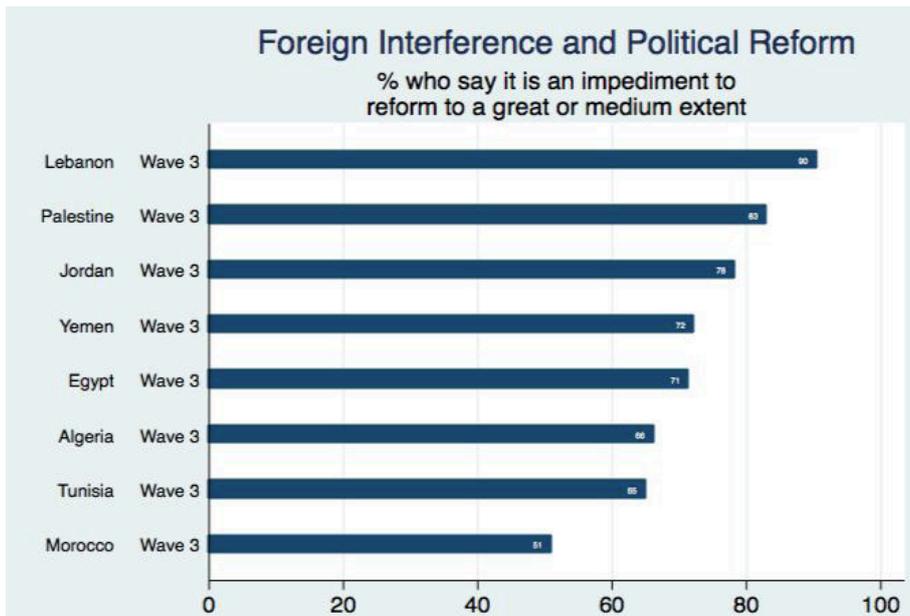


### The Arab-Israeli conflict and political reform

*% who say it is an impediment to a great or medium extent*

In countries that do not border Israel, a much less percentage see the conflict as an obstacle to reform. This perception is most widespread in Tunisia (54%) and Yemen (51%), followed by Morocco (40%) and Algeria (33%). However, the perception that the conflict with Israel is an impediment to reform is increasing dramatically in these countries. From 2011 to 2013, Tunisians became 26 points more likely to say it was an obstacle to reform while the percentage increased by 19 points in Algeria and 17 points in Yemen, respectively.

To a greater extent than even the Arab-Israeli conflict, citizens in the Middle East and North Africa worry about the effects of foreign interference on prospects for reform. In all countries half or more say outside interference is an obstacle to reform. Lebanese (91%) are the most concerned about external forces – likely due to the role Syria and Iran have played in domestic politics. More than eight-in-ten Palestinians say the same, presumably reflecting the significant role that outside actors play in their national politics.



In other countries as well citizens perceive that outside influences represent an obstacle to reform. In Jordan, 78% hold this view as do 72% in each of Egypt and Yemen. Concern is somewhat lower in the other Maghreb countries with 66% in Algeria and 51% in Morocco saying these influences are an obstacle to reform.

Despite the Obama administration's relatively non-interventionist approach to the events of the Arab Spring, concern about outside influences is rising across the region. Algerians in 2013 are 25 points more likely than in 2011 to say foreign interference is an obstacle to reform. Similar increases are found in Tunisia (+18) and Yemen (+13). Most likely, these increases are a result of regional actors such as Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia playing a greater role in the affairs of other countries in the Middle East and North Africa.

A key exception to this trend is Egypt where the percentage who hold this view has declined by 12 points. Given the U.S.'s strong support for the Mubarak regime, its relatively hands off approach in recent years likely accounts for this decrease. Nevertheless, the fear that the U.S. is operating behind the scenes and the increased activity of other regional actors means that despite the changes brought about by the Egyptian revolution, the vast majority of Egyptians (72%) still fear that external interference is an obstacle to reform.

## Conclusion

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The Arab Barometer surveys reveal that there have been some improvements in perceived levels of equality since the Arab Spring, but vast challenges remain. Although the Arab Spring brought citizens' needs to the forefront, it is imperative that regimes continue to take these demands seriously. Successful reforms to address inequalities will be a lengthy process, but one that is necessary to bring better governance and long-term stability to the region.

Above all, regimes must begin by trying to rebuild trust between those who govern and those whom they govern. Redressing this lack of trust – the result of officials not caring for individual needs and building corrupt systems – is necessary to promote more significant reforms. Providing citizens with a greater say in how they are governed is an important first step in this process. Fortunately, many already believe that they can influence their governments. However, channeling this influence through official channels is a key challenge. Currently, it appears likely that most citizens see demonstrations and strikes as the most important means by which to have a say, which promotes instability and uncertainty and can endanger the well-being of those who choose to undertake this potentially dangerous act.

Recently, some regimes have provided citizens with a meaningful say in free and fair elections. More should follow the Tunisian example of respecting their outcomes which could lead to improving the prospects for social justice. By creating effective government institutions, for example, regimes could more effectively begin to address the long-standing economic problems that have led to economic stagnation and a lack of opportunities for many citizens, particularly youth.

There is a key role for the U.S. to play in promoting these outcomes. Many citizens see outside interference as limiting the prospects for meaningful change. In the past U.S. policies favoring stability have clearly played a significant role in fostering this perception. Yet, following the U.S.'s more hands-off approach in the wake of the Arab Spring, the percentage of Egyptians who held this opinion declined.

Due to the rise of other regional actors, however, in most other countries concern about the role of external actors increased. These changes suggest that citizens now fear the role of regional actors other than the U.S. in stymieing reform. The U.S. should take steps to limit the role of these regional actors while pressuring regimes to undertake serious reforms. Combined, these efforts would help ensure that the gains of the Arab Spring are maintained, and governments in the region take further steps to promote social justice.

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