

The Measurement of Perceived Discrimination and Subjective Welfare in Household Surveys

Regional Workshop on Poverty Measurement in Arab Countries

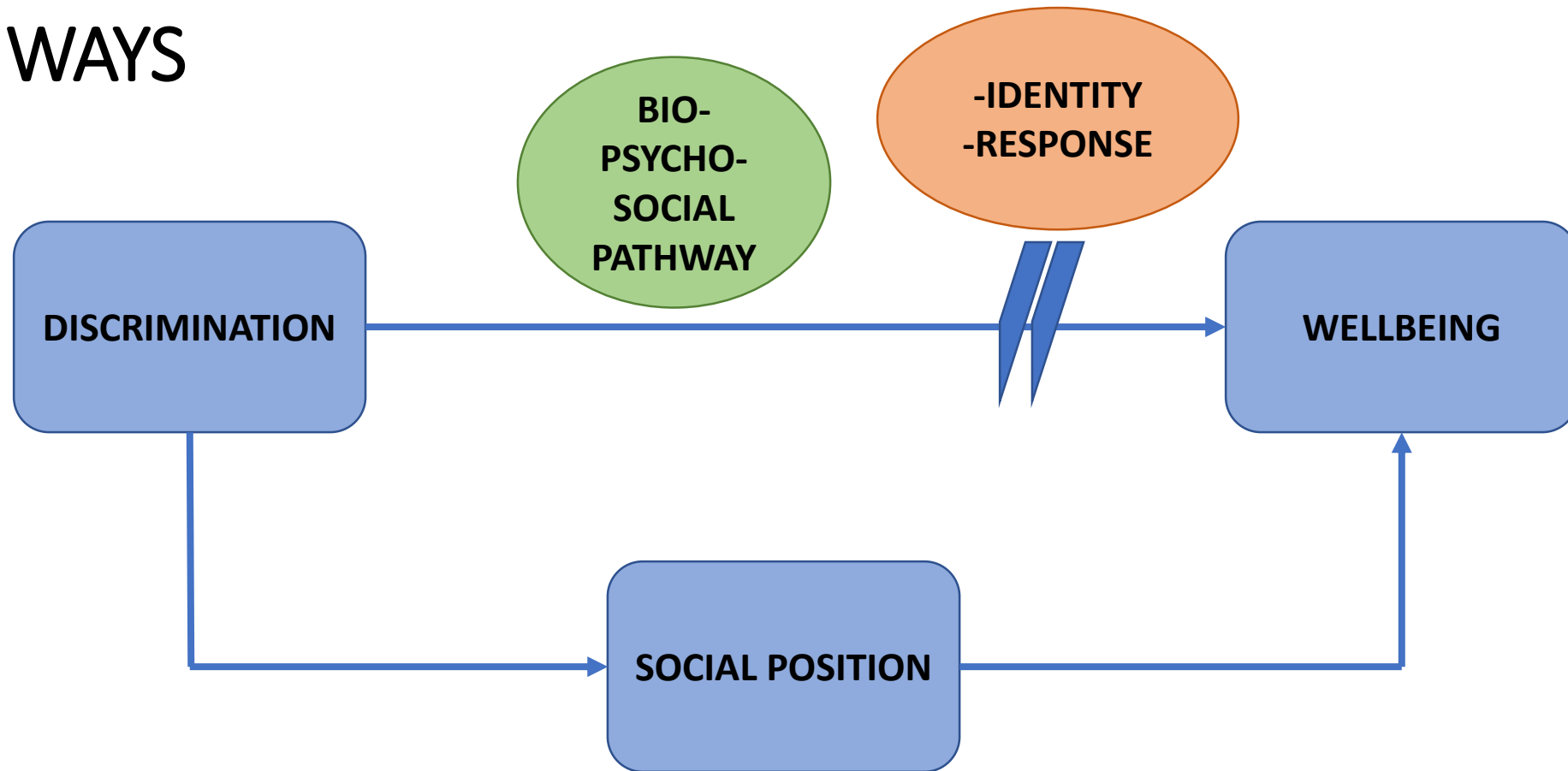
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- Discrimination disadvantages those who experience it and contributes to inequalities in outcomes such as education, access to employment, quality housing, and wealth
- Discrimination exerts serious consequences on health and wellbeing
 - Racism; religious bigotry; sexism; classism; ageism; ableism; homophobia; anti-immigrant/anti-refugee discrimination
 - Most of the evidence associates discrimination with hypertension & cardiovascular disease, mental health, and self-reported health

PATHWAYS



PREJUDICE & DISCRIMINATION (DEFINITIONS)

- **Prejudice** is harboring (a) negative emotion(s) (antipathy) toward a social group based on generalizations or stereotypes
- **Discrimination** extends to behavior and encompasses differential treatment based on unjustified factors that disadvantages a group
- Any act intentionally intended to harm an individual who belongs to a certain group
- Evidence of inequality is evidence of structural discrimination!

Quillian (2006)

SOCIAL IDENTITIES ON WHICH DISCRIMINATION IS BASED

- Race/ethnicity
- Religion
- Gender
- Social Class
- Age
- Disability/illness
- Sexual orientation
- Immigrant/refugee status

MEASUREMENT OF DISCRIMINATION

METHOD	LIMITATIONS
Experiments	Difficulty and ethical concerns
Analysis of differences in outcomes Income, rates of incarceration, IMR, ...	The problem of the residual
Reports by persons who perpetrate discrimination	Underestimates: legal repercussions and social norms
Reports by persons who experience discrimination → <i>Perceived discrimination</i>	Underestimates or overestimates

PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION

- *If a situation is perceived as real, it is real in its consequences*
- Perceived discrimination has received attention as a class of stressors that could have consequences for understanding disparities in outcomes, particularly health disparities

MEASURES OF PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL LITERATURE

MEASURING DISCRIMINATION SHOULD DISTINGUISH BETWEEN CHRONIC VERSUS ACUTE EXPOSURES

- **CHRONIC**

- Every day events of low impact (that accumulate)

- **ACUTE**

- Events that take place infrequently but exert a major impact on a person's life

MEASURING DISCRIMINATION SHOULD INCLUDE FOUR COMPONENTS

1. Comprehensive and valid measures of social categories (gender, age, race/ethnicity, religion, social class, disability, sexual identity), to allow disaggregation
2. Clear, valid, and contextual measures of perceived discrimination
3. Frequency of exposure to discrimination
4. Subjective evaluation of reason for exposure to discrimination

Original/Widely Used Scales (David Williams & Colleagues)

- **Every Day Discrimination Scale**
- **Major Life Experiences Scale**
- Workplace Discrimination Scale
- Hypervigilance Scale
- Originally developed to reflect racial discrimination in the United States
- South Africa
- Brazil
- France, Italy, Netherlands (immigrants)
- China (people with disability)
- Pakistan (transgender)

Everyday Discrimination Scale (CHRONIC)

In your day-to-day life, how often do any of the following things happen to you?		Response Categories	Main Reason
1	You are treated with less courtesy than other people	Almost every day	Ancestry/nationality
2	You are treated with less respect than other people	At least once a week	Religion
3	You receive poorer service than other people at restaurants or stores	A few times a month	Race/ethnicity
4	People act as if they think you are not smart	A few times a year	Skin color
5	People act as if they are afraid of you	Less than once a year	Gender
6	People act as if they think you are dishonest	Never	Sexual orientation
7	People act as if they're better than you		Disability/illness
8	You are called names or insulted		Education/income
9	You are threatened or harassed		Physical appearance

Major Experiences of Discrimination (ACUTE)

Can you tell me if any of the following has ever happened to you:		Response Categories	Main Reason
1	At any time in your life, have you ever been unfairly fired?	No	Ancestry/nationality
2	For unfair reasons, have you ever not been hired for a job?	Yes, past week	Religion
3	Have you ever been unfairly denied a promotion?	Yes, past month	Race/ethnicity
4	Have you ever been unfairly stopped, searched, questioned, physically threatened or abused by the police?	Yes, past year	Skin color
5	Have you ever been unfairly discouraged by a teacher or advisor from continuing your education?	Yes, more than a year ago	Gender
6	Have you ever been unfairly prevented from moving into a neighborhood because the landlord or a realtor refused to sell or rent you a house or apartment?		Sexual orientation
7	Have you ever moved into a neighborhood where neighbors made life difficult for you or your family?		Disability/illness (HIV)
8	Have you ever been unfairly denied a bank loan?		Education/income
9	Have you ever received service from someone such as a plumber or car mechanic that was worse than what other people get?		Physical appearance

- Overall, how much has discrimination interfered with you having a full and productive life?
 - 1. A lot
 - 2. Some
 - 3. A little
 - 4. Not at all
- Overall, how much harder has your life been because of discrimination?
 - 1. A lot
 - 2. Some
 - 3. A little
 - 4. Not at all

RATIONALE FOR MEASUREMENT OF DISCRIMINATION IN MENA REGION

- Rising interest in studying how Arab and Muslim immigrants in Western countries experience discrimination and the association between discrimination and the health of these immigrants
- During the last two years, did you experience any of the following
 - 1) Verbal insults or abuse
 - 2) Threatening words or gestures
 - 3) Physical attack
 - 4) Vandalism or destruction of property
 - 5) Loss of employment

• Abdulrahim et al (2012)

- Little empirical evidence on how discrimination impacts the lives of social “minority” or disadvantaged groups in the MENA, despite:
 - Religious, racial, ethnic diversity within the region (recent episodes of persecution and ethnic cleansing)
 - Arab countries rank at the bottom of gender equity indices
 - Migrant workers from Africa and South and East Asia
 - Large numbers of refugees and internally displaced populations
 - Alternative sexual identities are stigmatized and even persecuted

REVIEW OF NATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS (POS) IN ESCWA COUNTRIES

- World Value Surveys
- Arab Barometer
- Gallup
- Small-scale surveys (primarily on refugees)

WVS (7)	Arab Barometer (4)	Gallup	
Algeria	Algeria	Algeria	Qatar
Egypt	Bahrain	Bahrain	Saudi Arabia
Iraq	Egypt	Comoros	Somalia
Jordan	Iraq	Djibouti	Sudan
Kuwait	Jordan	Egypt	Syria
Lebanon	Kuwait	Iraq	Tunisia
Libya	Lebanon	Jordan	UAE
Morocco	Libya	Kuwait	Yemen
Palestine	Morocco	Lebanon	
Qatar	Palestine	Libya	
Saudi Arabia	Saudi Arabia	Mauritania	
Tunisia	Sudan	Morocco	
Yemen	Tunisia	Oman	
	Yemen	Palestine	

1. Do POS include comprehensive and valid measures of social categories (to allow disaggregation)?

SOCIAL CATEGORY	WVS	Arab Barometer	Gallup
Gender	✓	✓	✓
Age	✓	✓	✓
Race/ethnicity	✓ ⁷	✓ ²	✗
Religion	✓ ⁸	✓ ³	✓
Country of origin/birth	✓ ⁶	✓ ¹	✓
Citizenship	✓	✗	✓
National versus Syrian refugee	✗	✓ ⁵	✗
Region	✓	✓ ⁴	✓
Sexual orientation	✗	✗	✗

2. Do POS include clear, valid, and contextual measures of perceived discrimination?

- ***NO!***
- Some POS include measures of prejudicial attitudes toward certain social categories (e.g., accepting a neighbor of a different religious background)
- Other POS include general perception measures of presence or frequency of discrimination in neighborhood or country

Examples

Arab Barometer

- Please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbors, dislike it, or not care?
 - People of a different religion
 - People of a different race or color
 - Immigrants or foreign workers
 - WVS (homosexuals, Kurds, ...)

WVS

- How frequently do the following things occur in your neighborhood?
- Racist acts
 - Very frequently
 - Quite frequently
 - Not frequently
 - Not at all frequently

Perceived Everyday Discrimination

GALLUP

- Now, please think about yesterday, from the morning until the end of the day. Think about where you were, what you were doing, who you were with, and how you felt. Were you treated with ***respect*** all day yesterday?
 - Yes
 - No
 - DK
 - Refused
- In your day-to-day life, how often do any of the following things happen to you?
- You are treated with less ***respect*** than other people
 - Almost every day → Never (Likert scale)
- Main reason:
 - Race
 - Religion
 - Gender
 -

Perceived Everyday Discrimination

ARAB BAROMETER

- To what extent do you feel that you are ***treated equally*** by the government in comparison with other citizens in your country?
 - To a great extent
 - To a medium extent
 - To a limited extent
 - Not treated equally at all
- To what degree are you worried about the following situations?
 - Being ***harassed*** or ***threatened*** on the street
 - Very much
 - Much
 - Not much
 - Not at all

Major Experiences of Discrimination

ARAB BAROMETER

- Do you currently feel that your own personal as well as your family's safety and security are ensured or not?
 - Fully ensured
 - Ensured
 - Not ensured
 - Absolutely not ensured

“STANDARD”

- Can you tell me if any of the following has ever happened to you:
- Have you ever been unfairly stopped, searched, questioned, physically threatened or abused by the police?
 - Yes, last week → No
- Main reason:
 - Race
 - Religion
 - Gender
 -

Perceived Discrimination/Threat by Syrian Refugees (in Lebanon)

- **Safety:**

- How do you feel in Lebanon?
 - Safe
 - Somewhat safe
 - Somewhat unsafe
 - Unsafe
- Why do you feel unsafe?
- During the last six months, did you ever feel unsafe in interacting with Lebanese community:
 - At all times
 - Sometimes
 - Never
- What are your main safety concerns in Lebanon?
 - Raid on shelter
 - Eviction
 - Arrest/detention
 - Deportation
 - Attack
 - Denial of services

Perceived Discrimination/Threat by Syrian Refugees (in Lebanon)

- Did you/your family ever experience any of the following:
 - Insulted
 - Threatened verbally
 - Assaulted/beaten
 - Blackmailed
- Same questions but asked in reference to being insulted, ... by the authorities
- How did you react?
- Why did you react this way?
- What kind of problems do you face?
 - Verbal harassment
 - Indecent proposals
 - Denied crossing a checkpoint
 - Forced to pay a bribe

RECOMMENDATIONS TO IMPROVE MEASUREMENT OF DISCRIMINATION IN MENA

- Include all valid social identity categories in all POS in all countries
 - Race/ethnicity
 - Religion
 - Citizenship
 - Sexual identity
- Decide what forms of discrimination to assess; for example:
- Gender discrimination across a number of MENA countries
- Discrimination experienced by different racial/ethnic groups in one country (e.g., Iraq)

- Conduct focus group discussions to contextualize questions on the Everyday Discrimination Scale and Major Life Experiences Scale
 - Although scales have been used around the world, evidence on how they were adapted to different cultures and languages is not published
- Validate the (adapted) scales

- Lobby to incorporate the (adapted) scales into national household surveys that are planned in the near future
 - WVS Wave 7 → Wave 8?
 - Arab Barometer Wave 4 → Wave 5?
- Goal is to assess inequalities in a range of outcomes due to discrimination
- One key outcome is Subjective Wellbeing

SUBJECTIVE WELLBEING

SELF-REPORTED HEALTH (SRH)

- In general, how would you rate your overall health these days?
Would you say it is:
 - Excellent
 - Very good
 - Good
 - Fair
 - Poor
- Commonly utilized in survey studies to compare health between population groups and to monitor inequities in wellbeing

Happiness & Satisfaction

WVS

- Taking all things together, would you say you are:
 - Very happy
 - Quite happy
 - Not very happy
 - Not at all happy

WVS

- All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?
 - Dissatisfied 1 -- Satisfied 10
- Schools
- Air quality
- Health care
- ...

SRH IN POS

- In general, how would you rate your overall health these days?

Would you say it is:

- Excellent
- Very good
- Good
- Fair
- Poor

- ***This question is available in the WVS only!***
- ***WVS does not include a valid or even an explicit measure of perceived discrimination***
- ***Arab Barometer and Gallup include single measures of perceived discrimination; however, they do not include a subjective wellbeing measure***

SRH IN DEMOGRAPHIC & HEALTH SURVEYS

- **DHS** (Jordan, Egypt)

- NO!

- No measures of perceived discrimination!

- **PAPFAM** (Lebanon, Tunisia)

- YES (4-point Likert)!

- No measures of perceived discrimination!

- PAPFAM surveys are outdated!

RECOMMENDATIONS

- SRH is the most ideal self-reported wellbeing measure:
- Validity: compared to satisfaction and happiness measures
- Efficiency: compared to quality of life measures
- It is much easier to include SRH in POS than it is to include validated measures of perceived discrimination in surveys intended to monitor health and wellbeing