

Chapter 10. "Social inequality and the dynamics of political and ethnolinguistic divides in Pakistan, 1970-2018"

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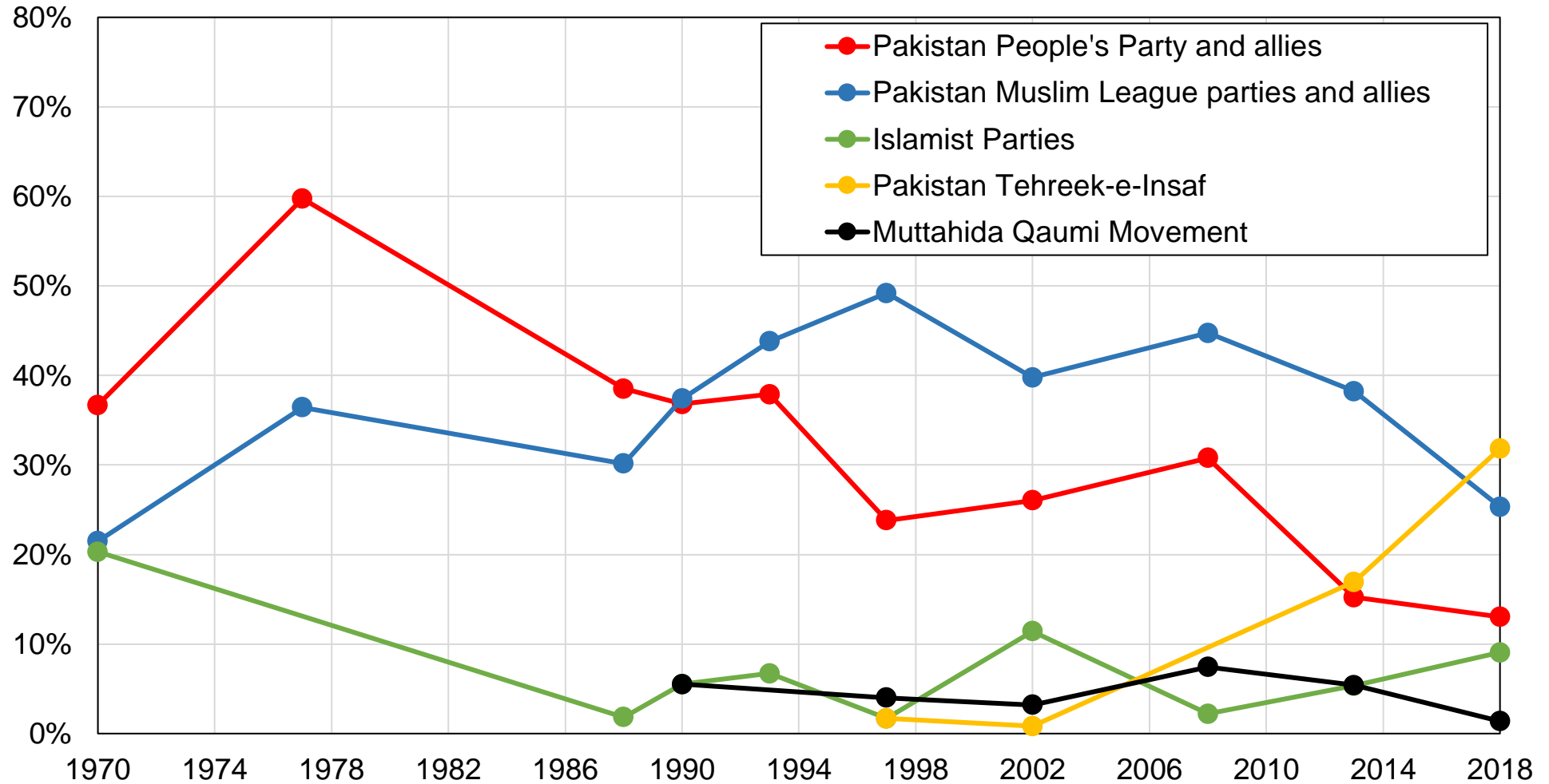
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Figure 10.1 - Major Ethnicities in Pakistan



Source: D. Mustafa and K. E. Brown, "The Taliban, public space, and terror in Pakistan," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 51, no. 4 (2010): 496-512. **Note:** this map provides a simple description of the spatial distribution of major ethnic groups in Pakistan.

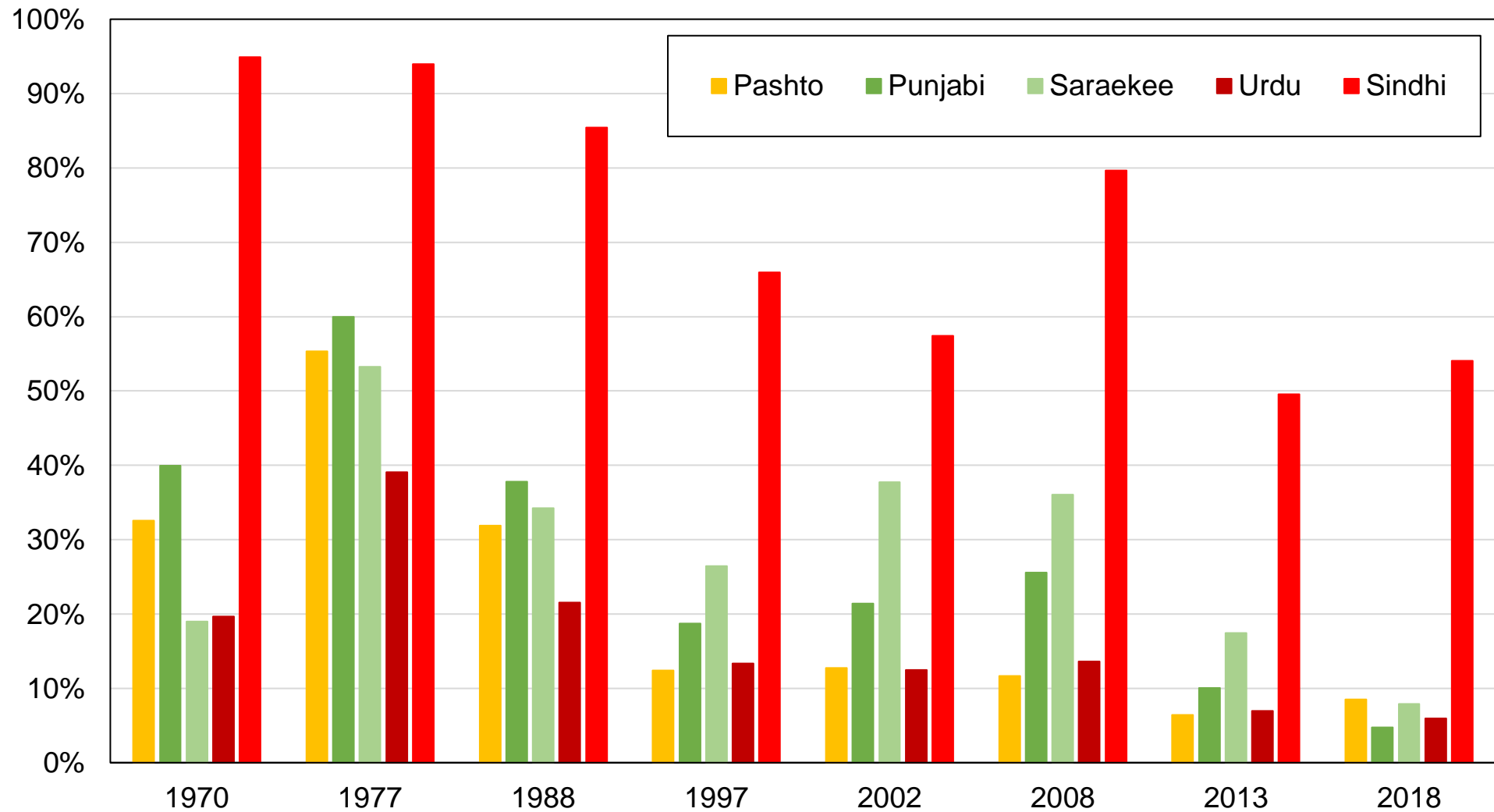
Figure 10.2 - Election results in Pakistan, 1970-2018



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected Pakistani political parties in general elections between 1970 and 2018. Figures for 1970 correspond to West Pakistan only.

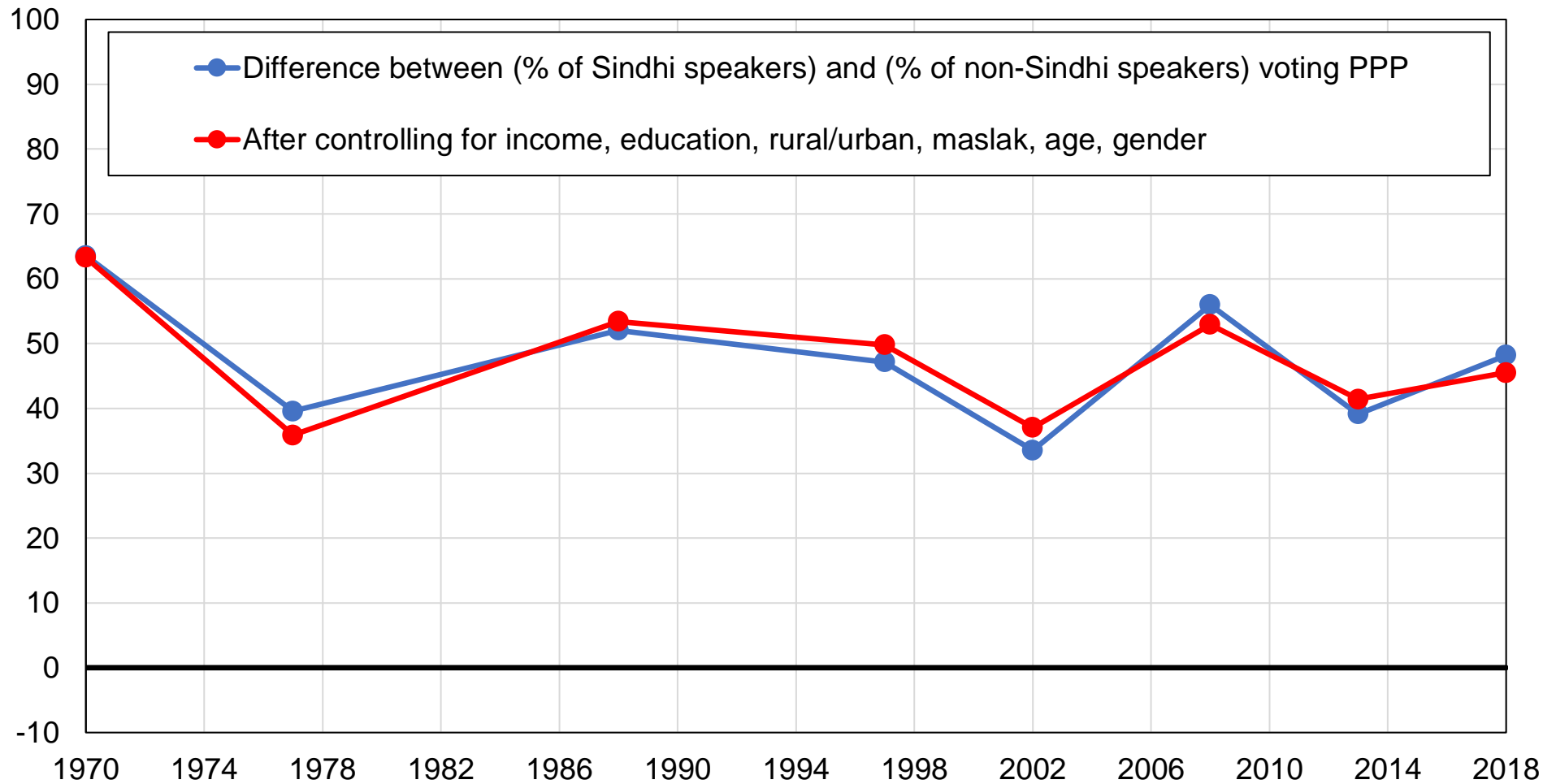
Figure 10.3 - Vote for PPP by language in Pakistan



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PPP by linguistic group.

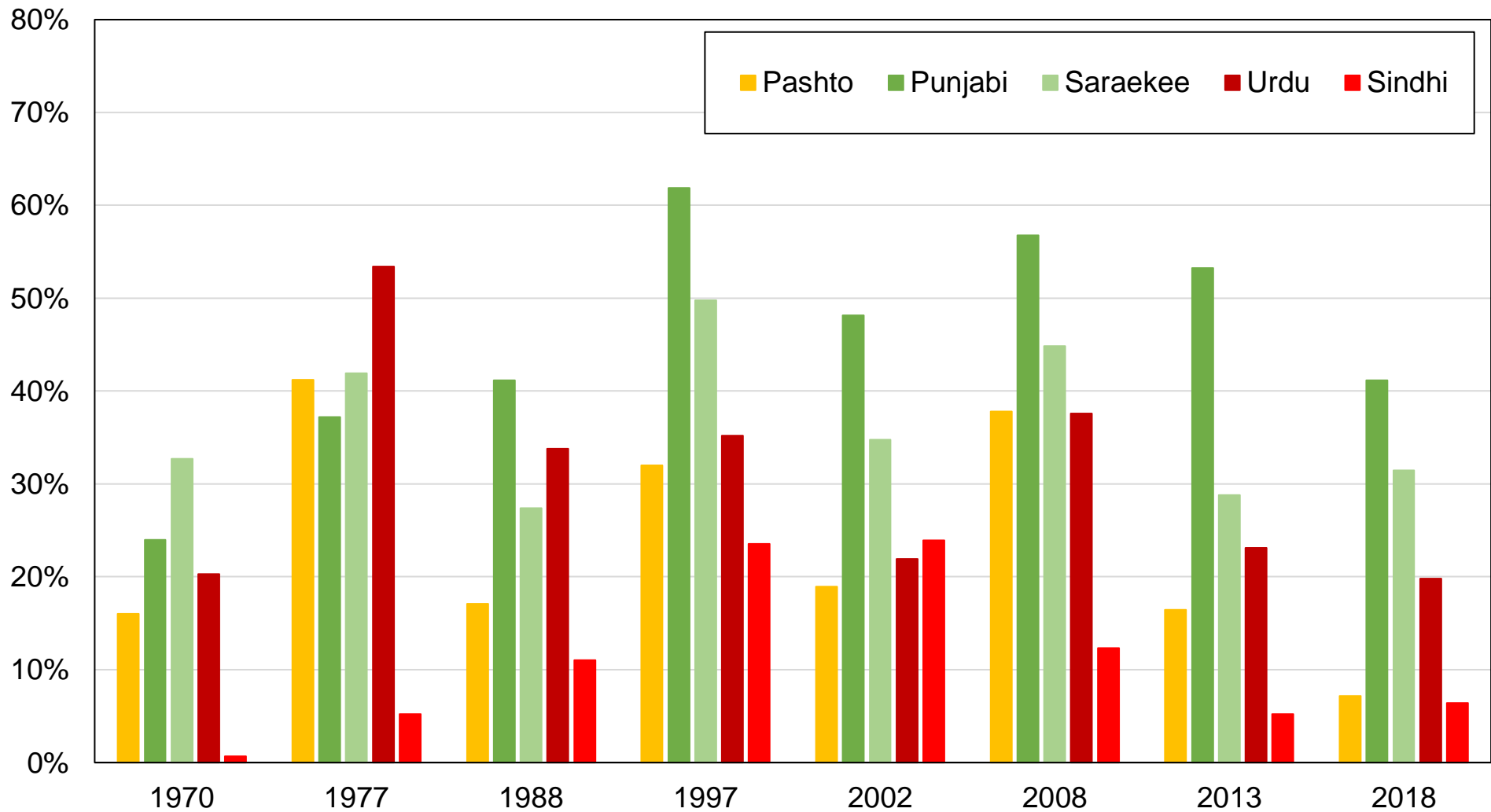
Figure 10.4 - Vote for PPP among Sindhi speakers in Pakistan



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Sindhi speakers supporting the PPP and the share of other voters supporting the PPP, before and after controlling for other variables.

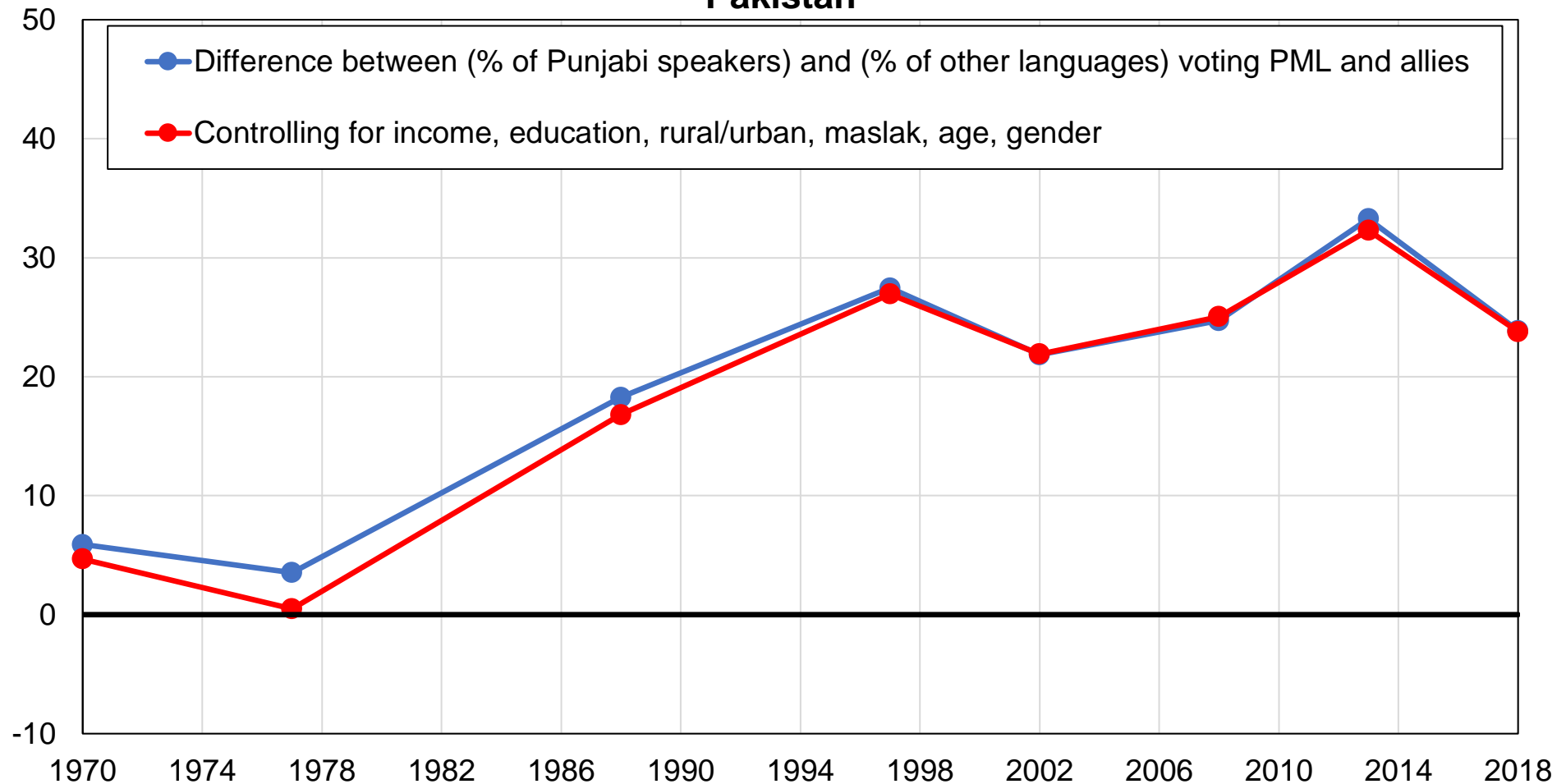
Figure 10.5 - Vote for PML / IJI / PNA by language in Pakistan



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PML / IJI / PNA by linguistic group.

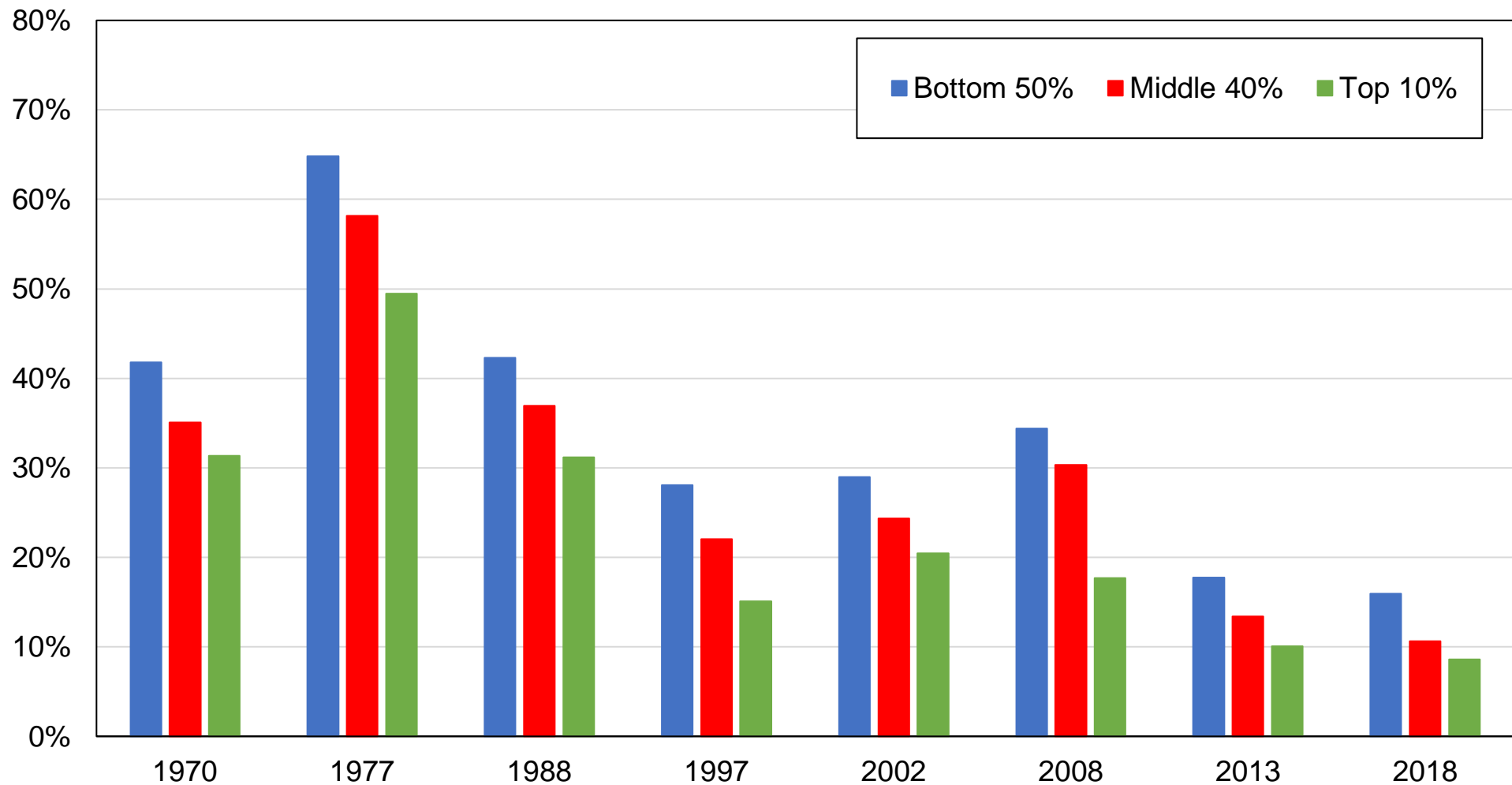
Figure 10.6 - Vote for PML / IJI / PNA among Punjabi speakers in Pakistan



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Sindhi speakers supporting the PML / IJI / PNA and the share of other voters supporting the PML / IJI / PNA, before and after controlling for other variables.

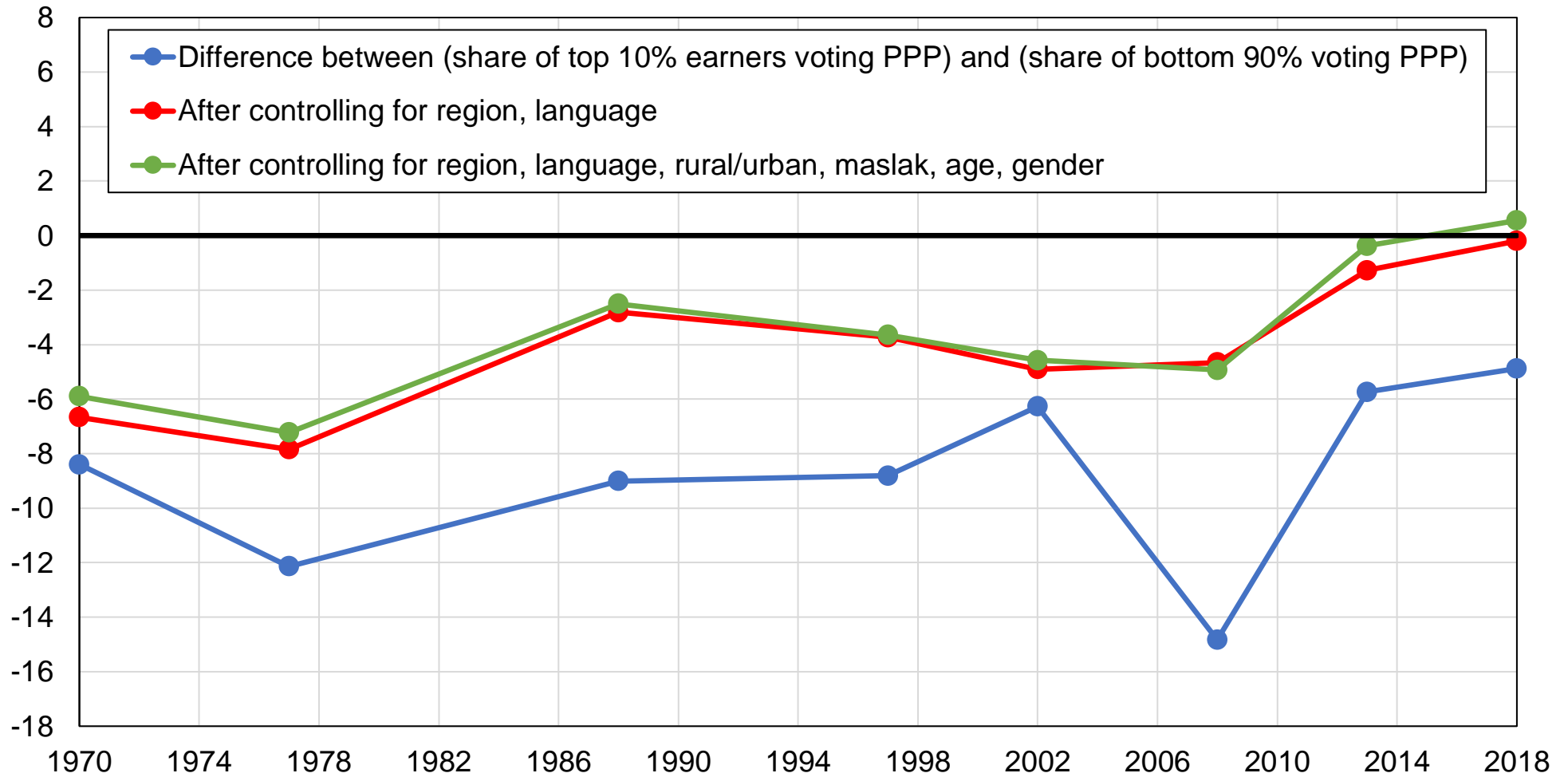
Figure 10.7 - Vote for PPP by income group in Pakistan



Source: author's computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the PPP in general elections by income group.

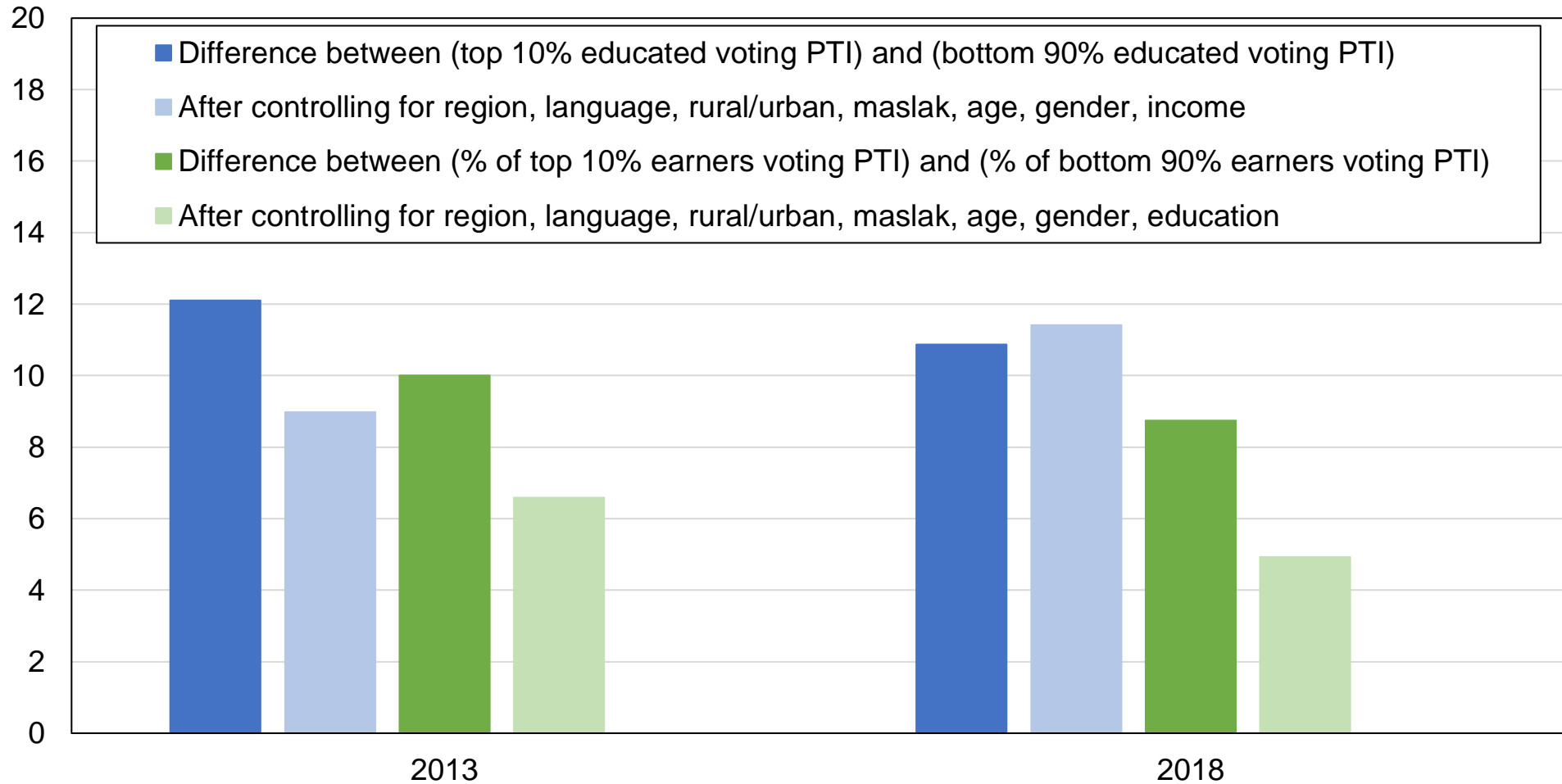
Figure 10.8 - Vote for PPP among top-income earners in Pakistan



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners voting PPP and the share of bottom 90% earners voting PPP, before and after controlling for other variables.

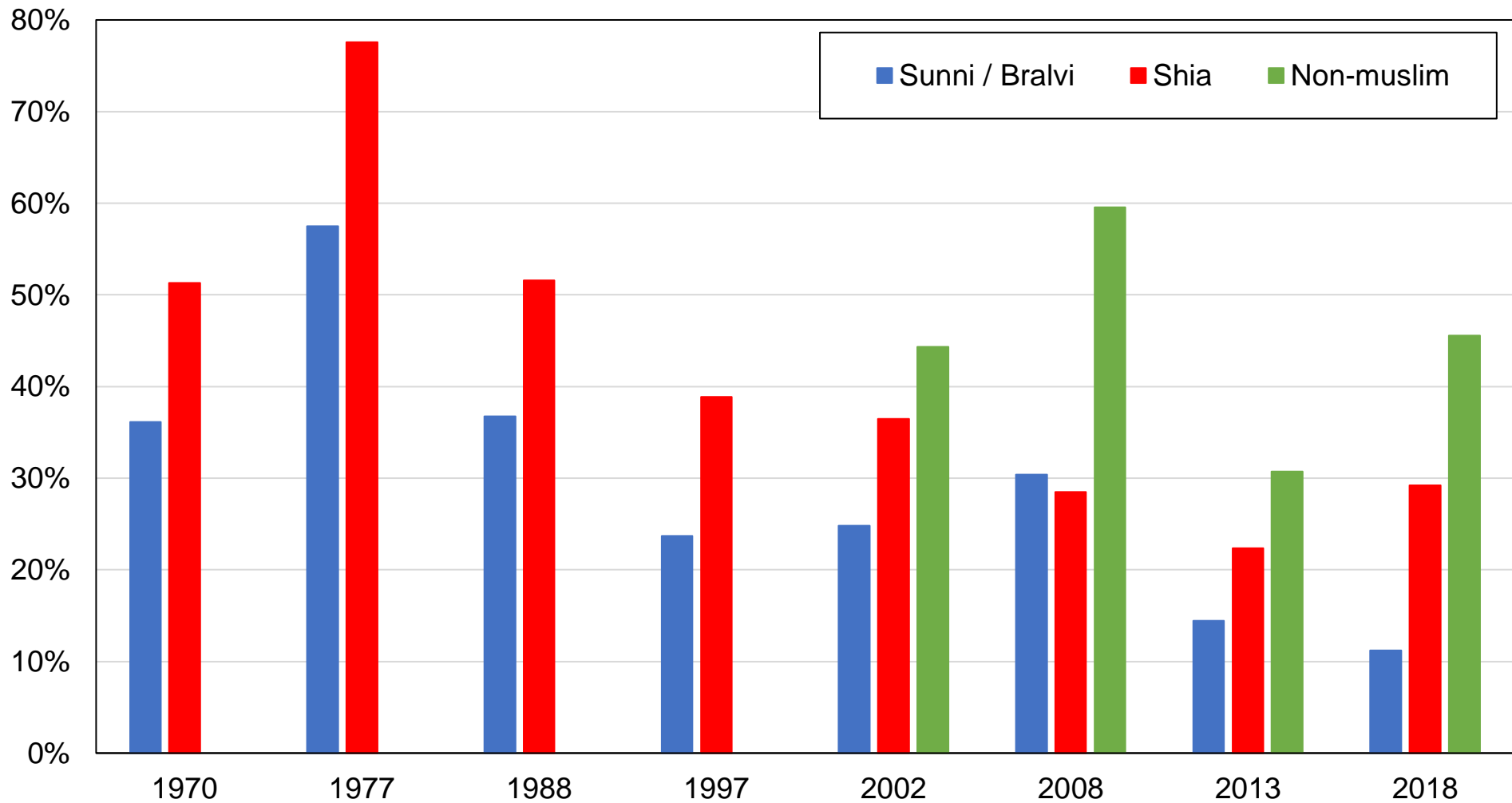
Figure 10.9 - Vote for PTI among top-income and highest-educated voters in Pakistan



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the relative support received by the PTI among top income and top educated voters in the general elections of 2013 and 2018, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure 10.10 - Vote for PPP by religious affiliation in Pakistan



Source: author's computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the PPP in general elections by religious affiliation.

Table 10.1 - Structure of the Pakistani electorate, 1988-2018

	1988	2002	2018
Provinces			
Punjab	58%	57%	54%
Sindh	24%	24%	28%
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	14%	14%	12%
Baluchistan	5%	5%	6%
Languages			
Punjabi	44%	44%	44%
Saraekee	11%	10%	10%
Sindhi	12%	15%	16%
Urdu	8%	8%	8%
Pashto	15%	15%	15%
Balochi	4%	4%	4%
Others	7%	4%	3%

Source: authors' computations using census statistics (total population figures).

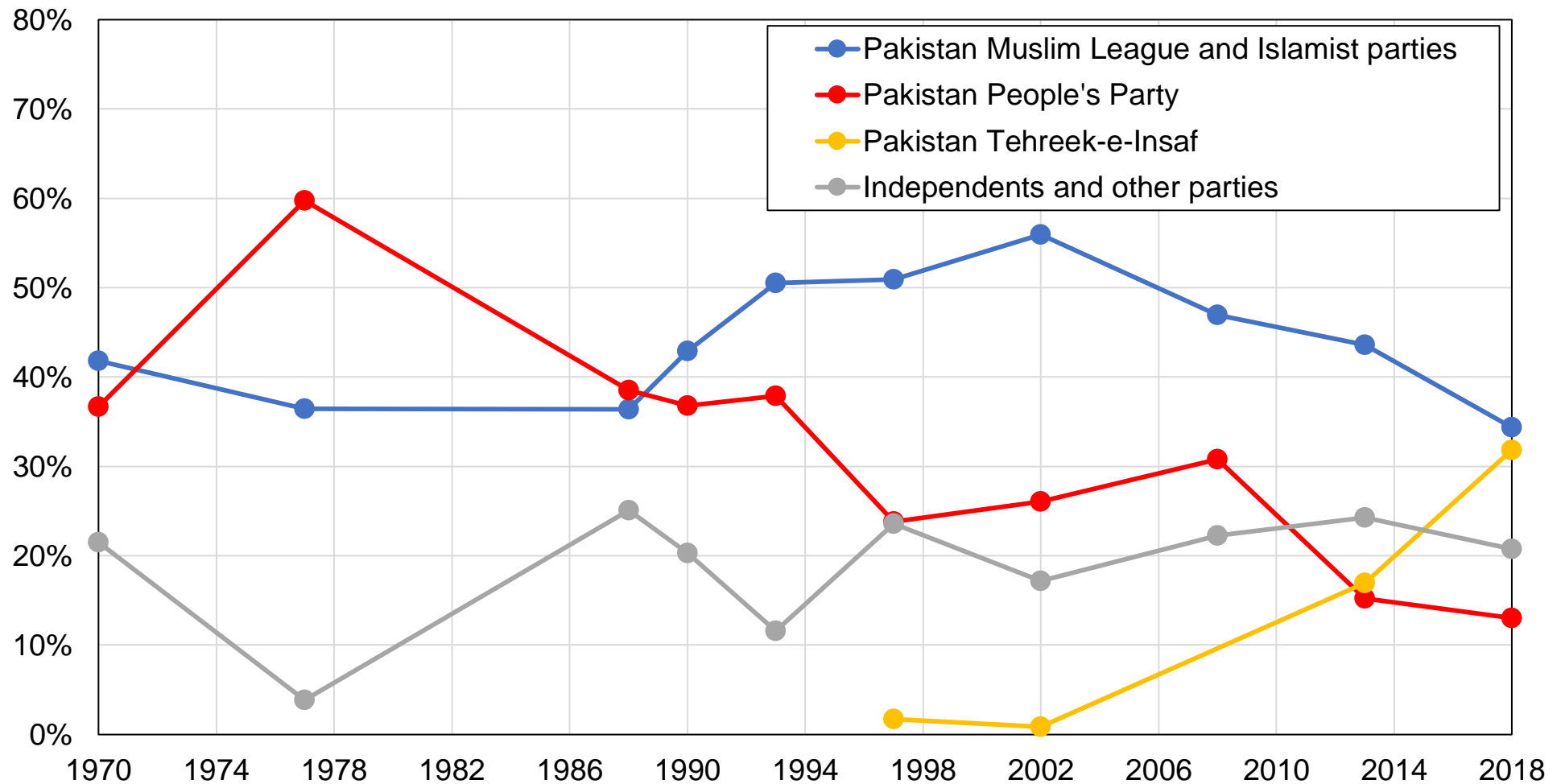
Table 10.2 - Ethnolinguistic structure of Pakistani votes in 2018

	PPP	PML	PTI	Islamic	MQM	Others
Balochi	7%	7%	15%	18%	0%	52%
Pashto	8%	7%	54%	15%	0%	15%
Punjabi	5%	41%	31%	7%	0%	17%
Saraekee	8%	32%	34%	5%	1%	20%
Sindhi	54%	7%	21%	8%	1%	9%
Urdu	6%	20%	30%	11%	18%	16%

Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the table shows the share of votes received by Pakistani political parties by linguistic group in 2018. PPP: Pakistan People's Party. PML: Pakistan Muslim League and splits; PTI: Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf; Islamists include the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal and the Tehreek-e-Labbaik Pakistan; MQM: Muttahida Qaumi Movement; Others mainly includes independent candidates.

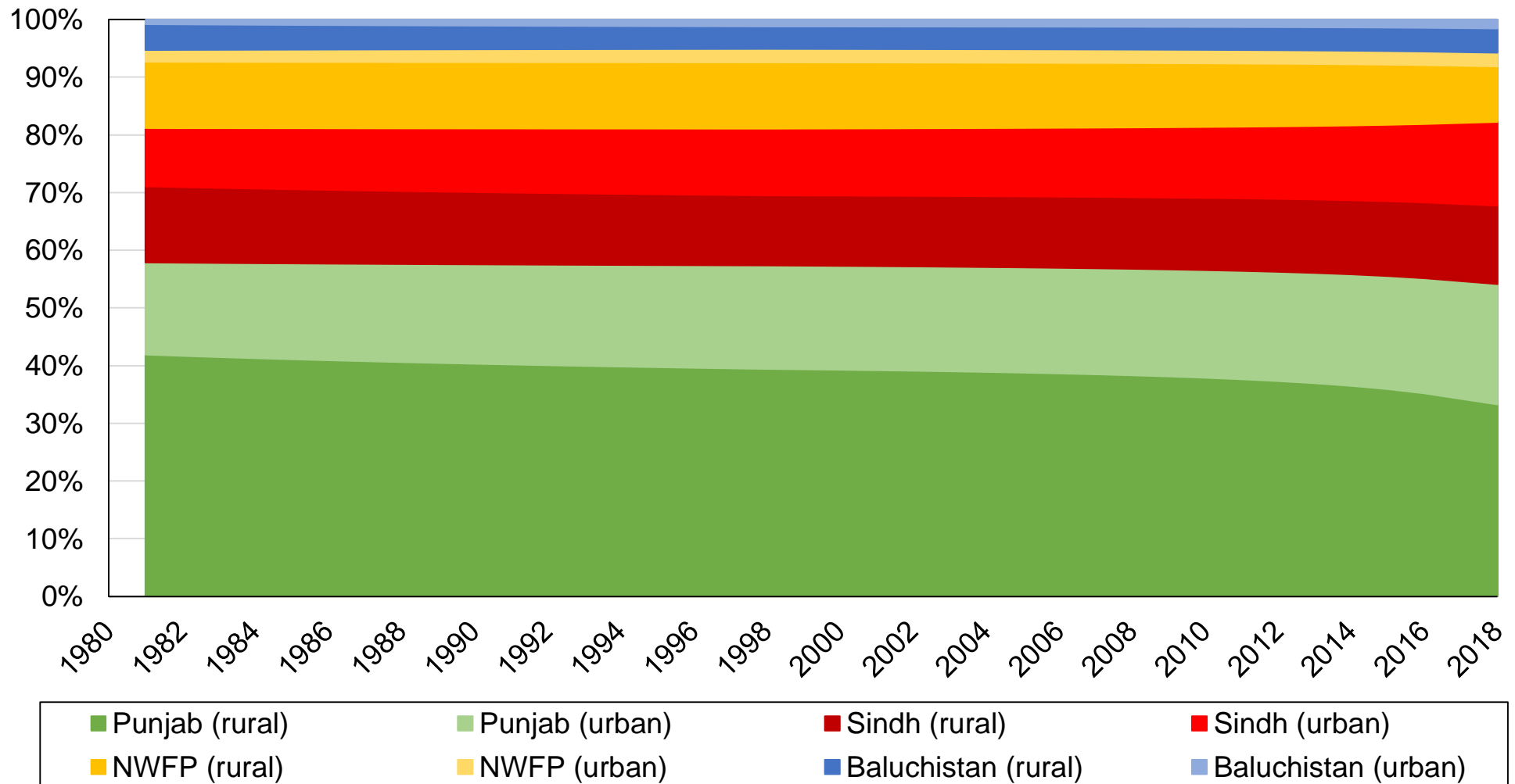
Figure A1 - Election results in Pakistan by party group, 1970-2018



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Pakistani political parties in general elections between 1970 and 2018. Figures for 1970 correspond to West Pakistan only.

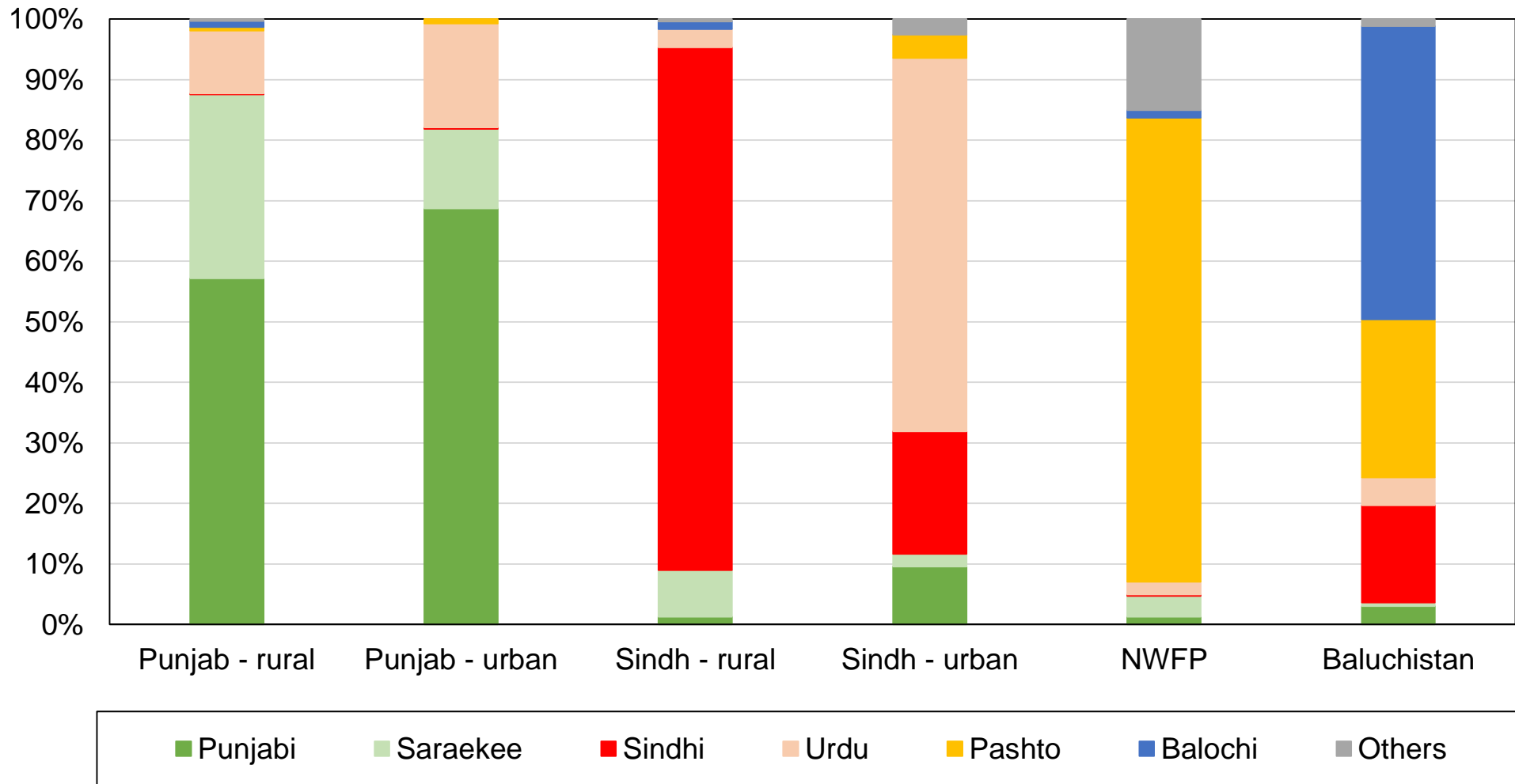
Figure A2 - Regional structure of Pakistani population, 1981-2018



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani census data.

Note: the figure shows the share of the Pakistani population living in each of the four regions of Pakistan, decomposing rural and urban components for each region.

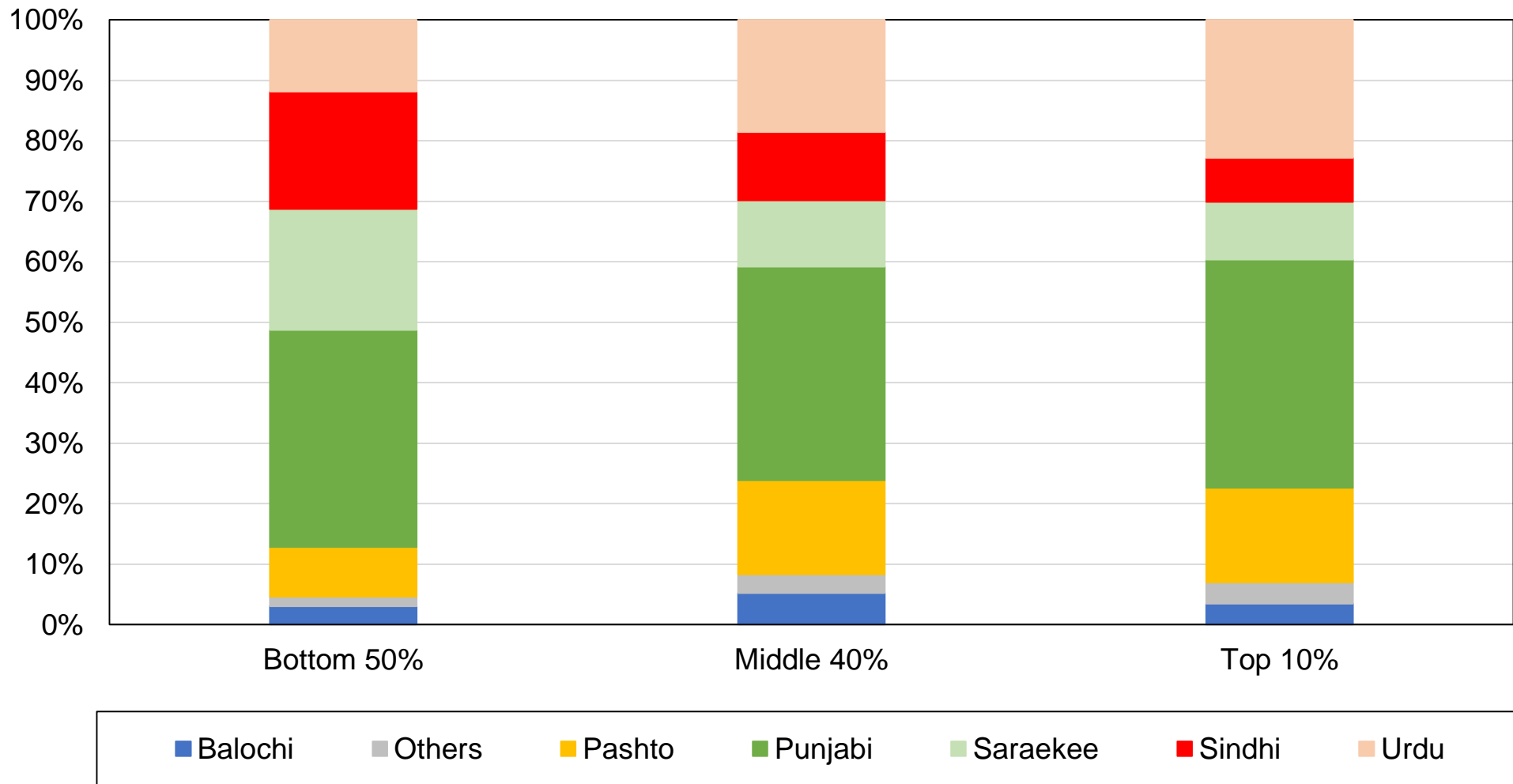
Figure A3 - Linguistic composition of voters by region, 2018



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the linguistic composition of the four regions of Pakistan, decomposing rural and urban components for each region. Figures refer to the voting population.

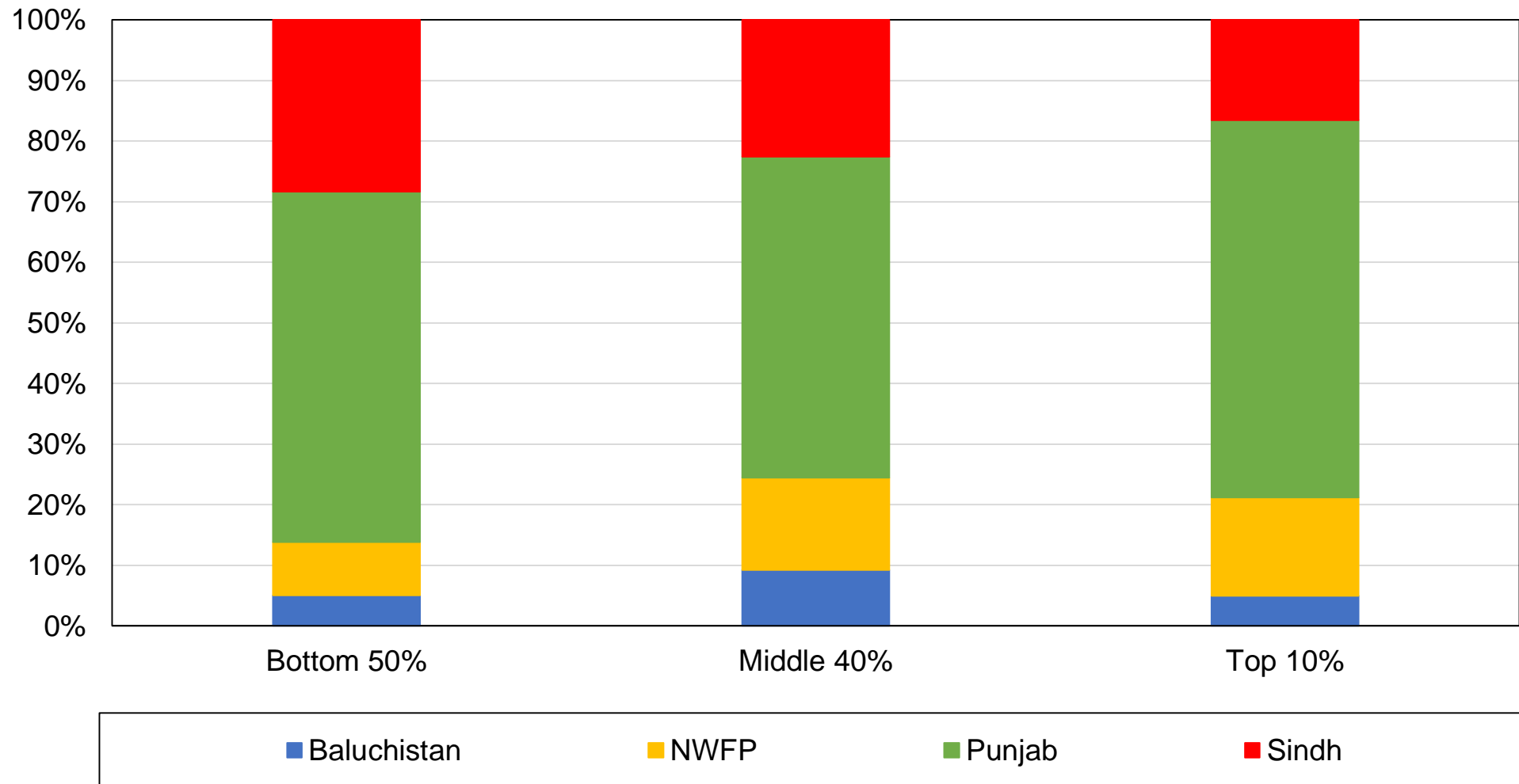
Figure A4 - Linguistic composition of income groups, 2018



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the linguistic composition of the poorest 50%, the next 40%, and the top 10% of earners among the Pakistani voting population in 2018.

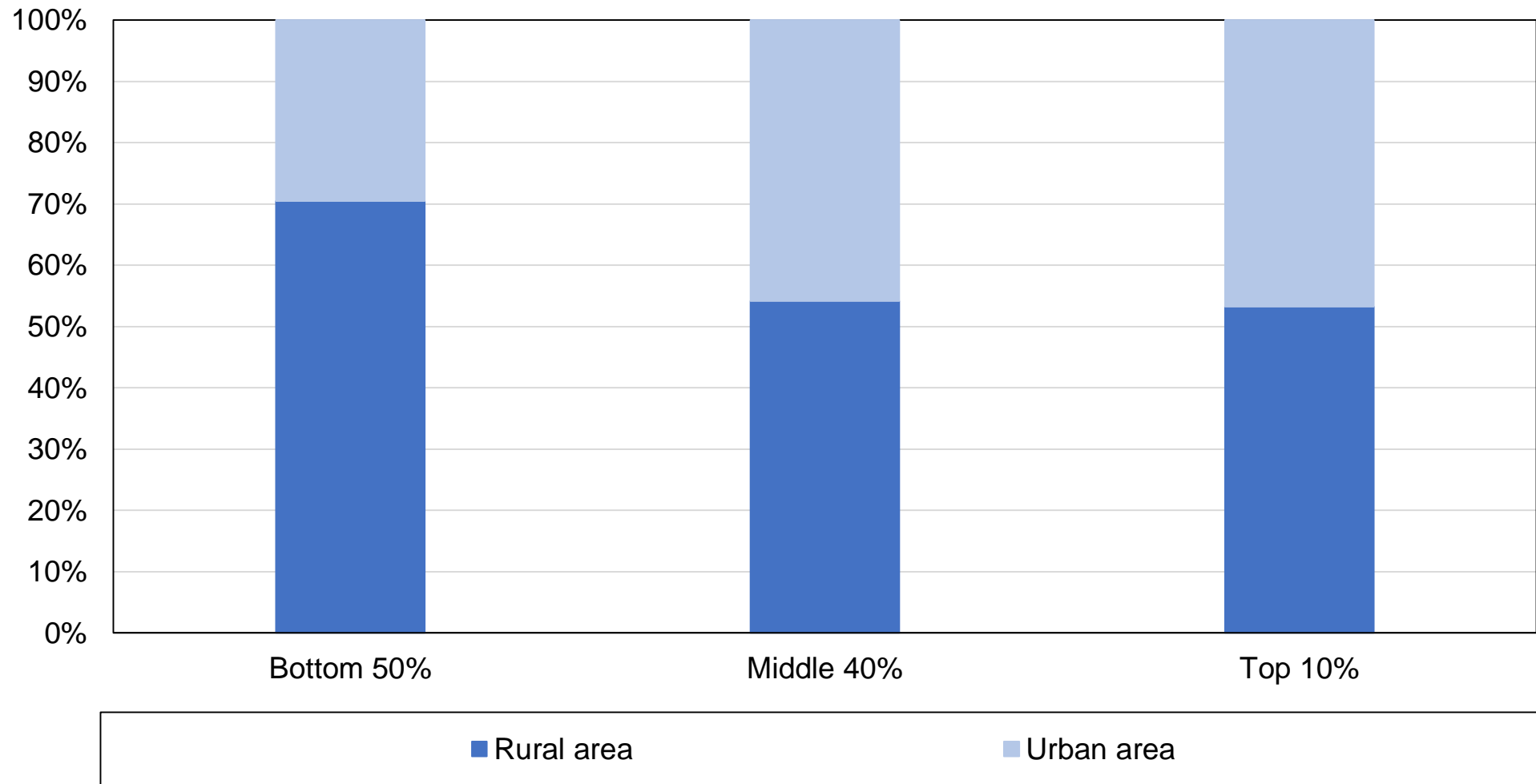
Figure A5 - Regional composition of income groups, 2018



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the regional composition of the poorest 50%, the next 40%, and the top 10% of earners among the Pakistani voting population in 2018.

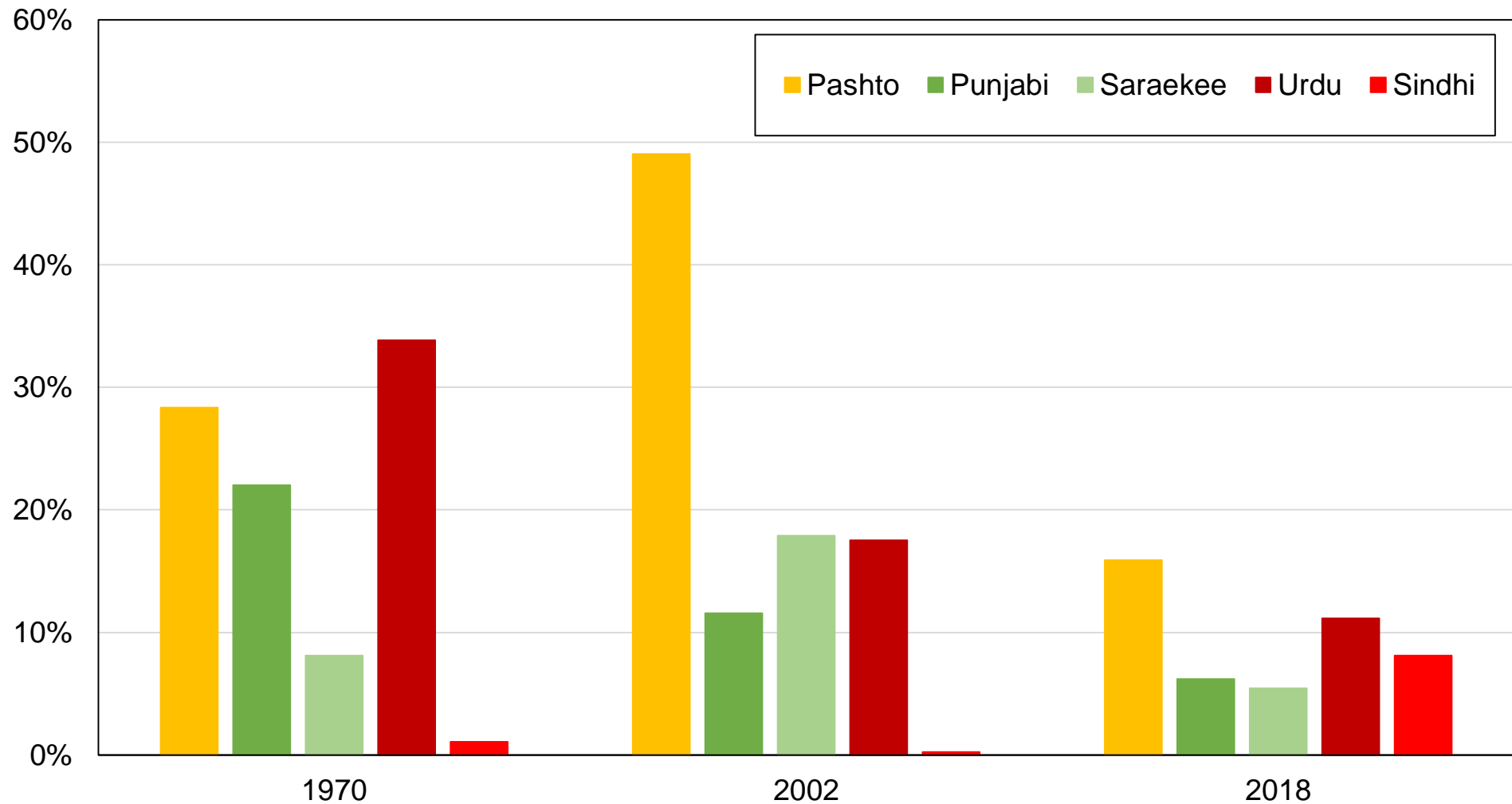
Figure A6 - Rural-urban composition of income groups, 2018



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the rural / urban composition of the poorest 50%, the next 40%, and the top 10% of earners among the Pakistani voting population in 2018.

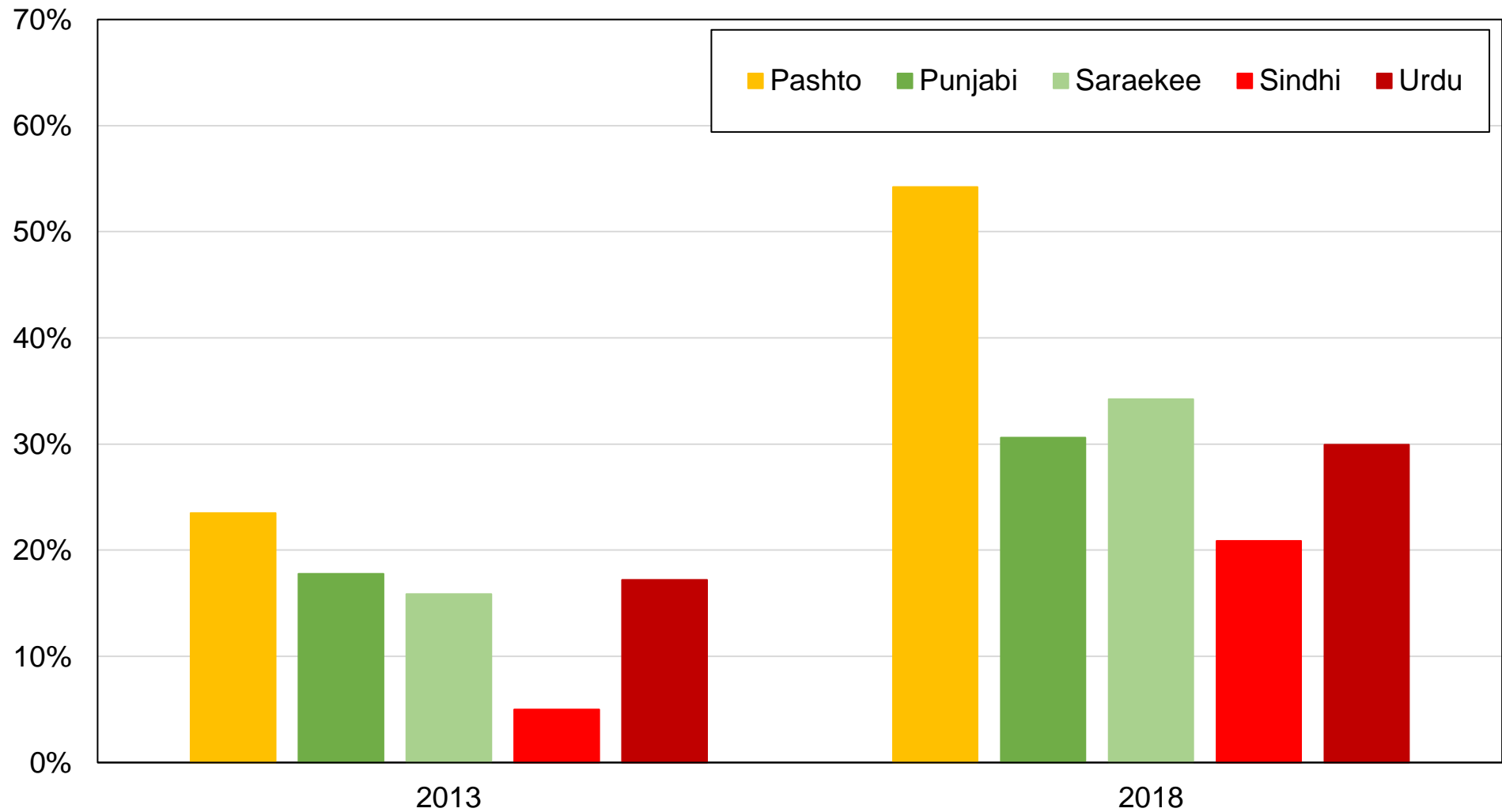
Figure A7 - Vote for islamist parties by language, 1970-2018



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting islamist parties in general elections by linguistic group.

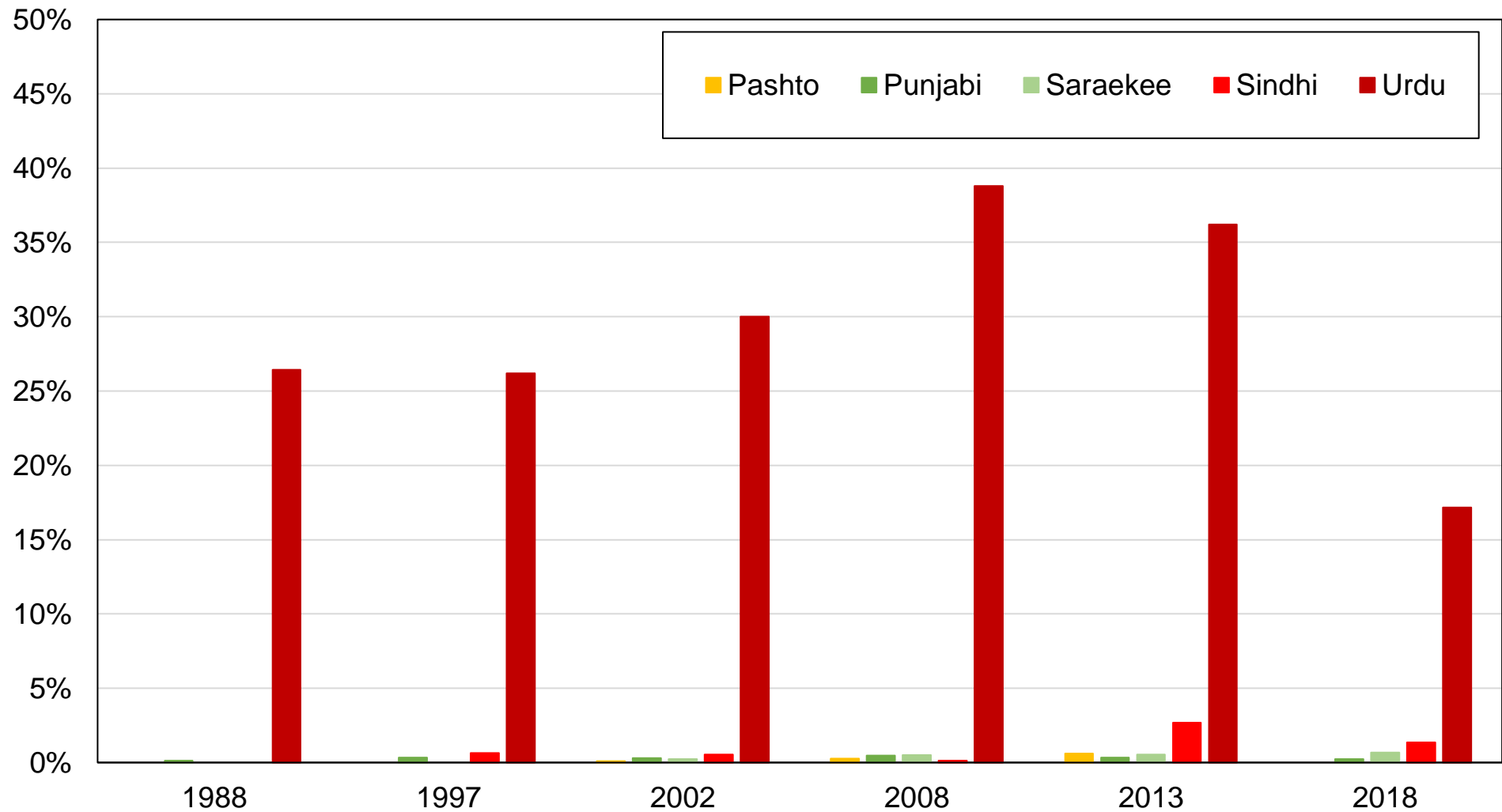
Figure A8 - Vote for the PTI by language, 2013-2018



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the PTI in general elections by linguistic group.

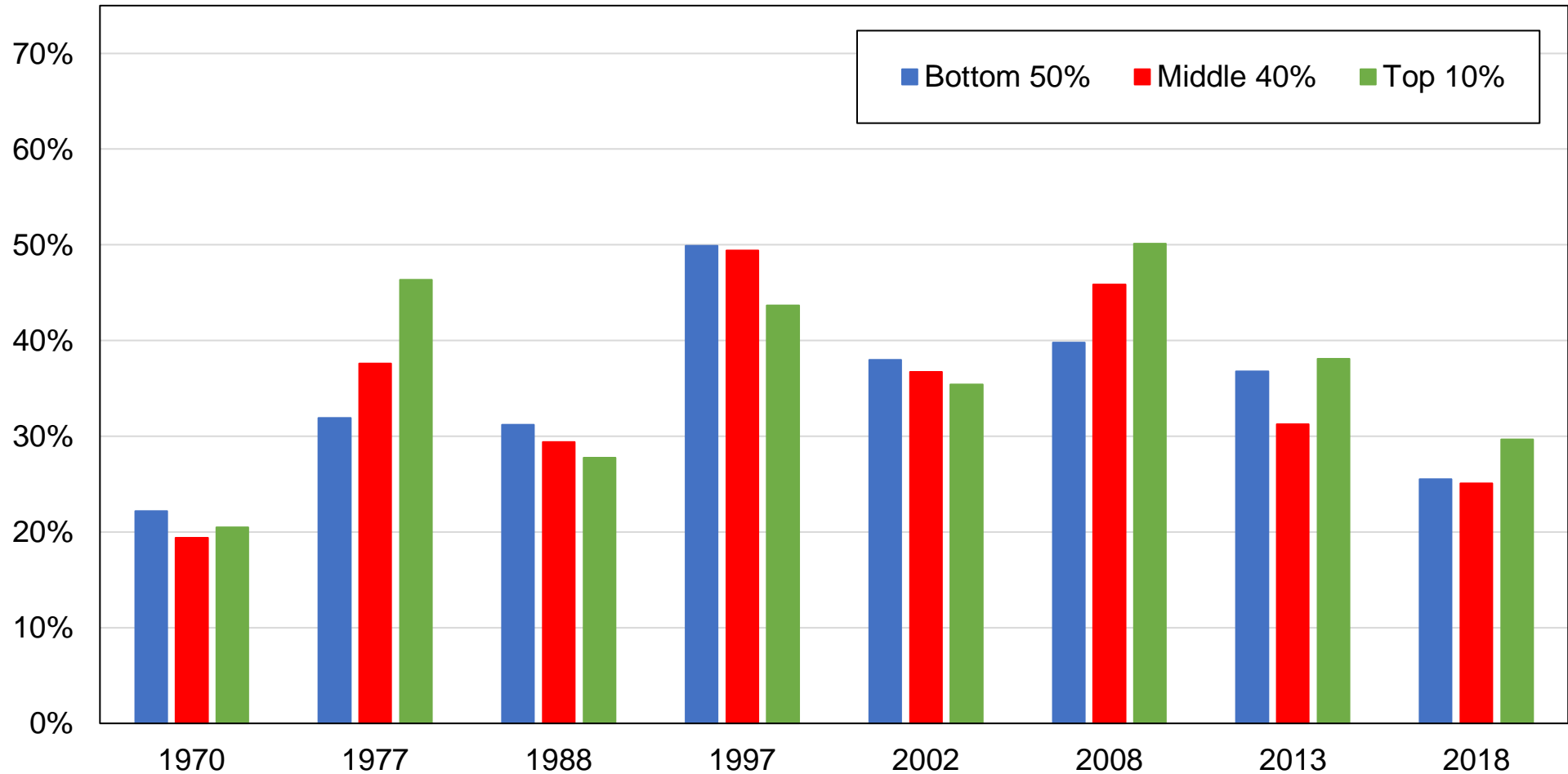
Figure A9 - Vote for MQM by language, 1988-2018



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the MQM in general elections by linguistic group.

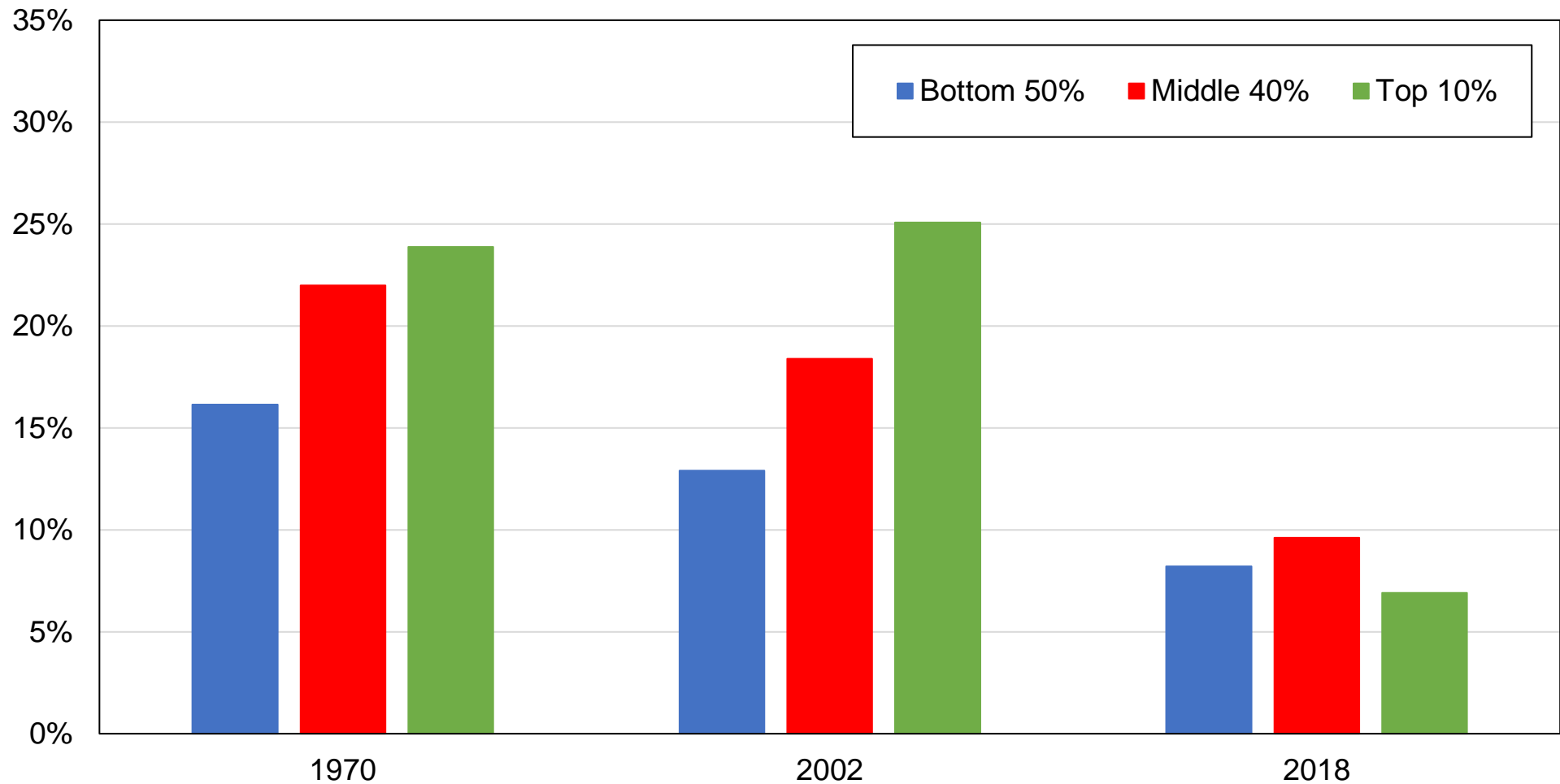
Figure A10 - Vote for PML / IJI / PNA by income group, 1970-2018



Source: author's computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the PML / IJI / PNA in general elections among the poorest 50% of voters, the next 40%, and the top 10% of earners.

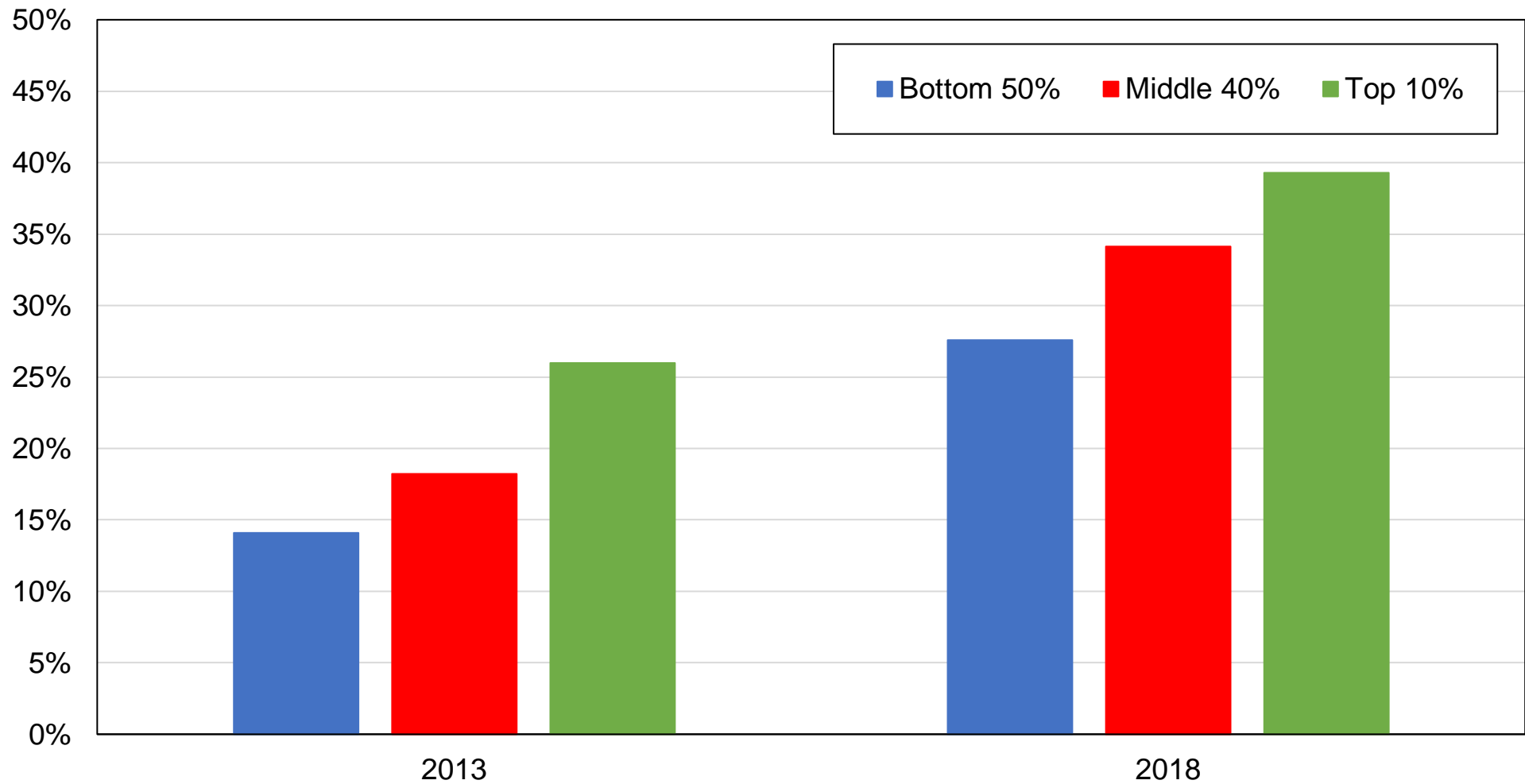
Figure A11 - Vote for Islamist parties by income group, 1970-2018



Source: author's computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting islamist parties in general elections among the poorest 50% of voters, the next 40%, and the top 10% of earners.

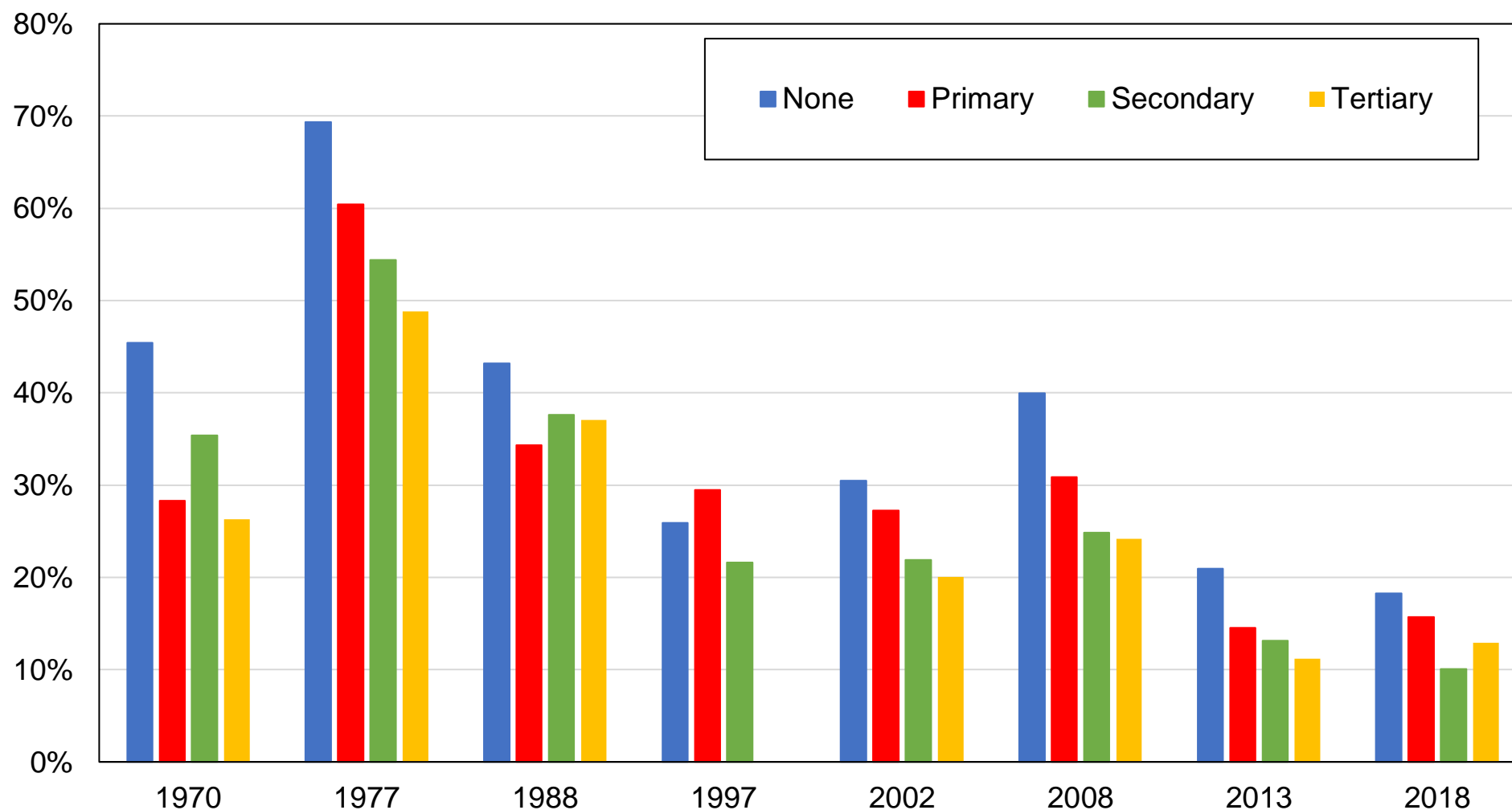
Figure A12 - Vote for PTI by income group, 2013-2018



Source: author's computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the PTI in general elections among the poorest 50% of voters, the next 40%, and the top 10% of earners.

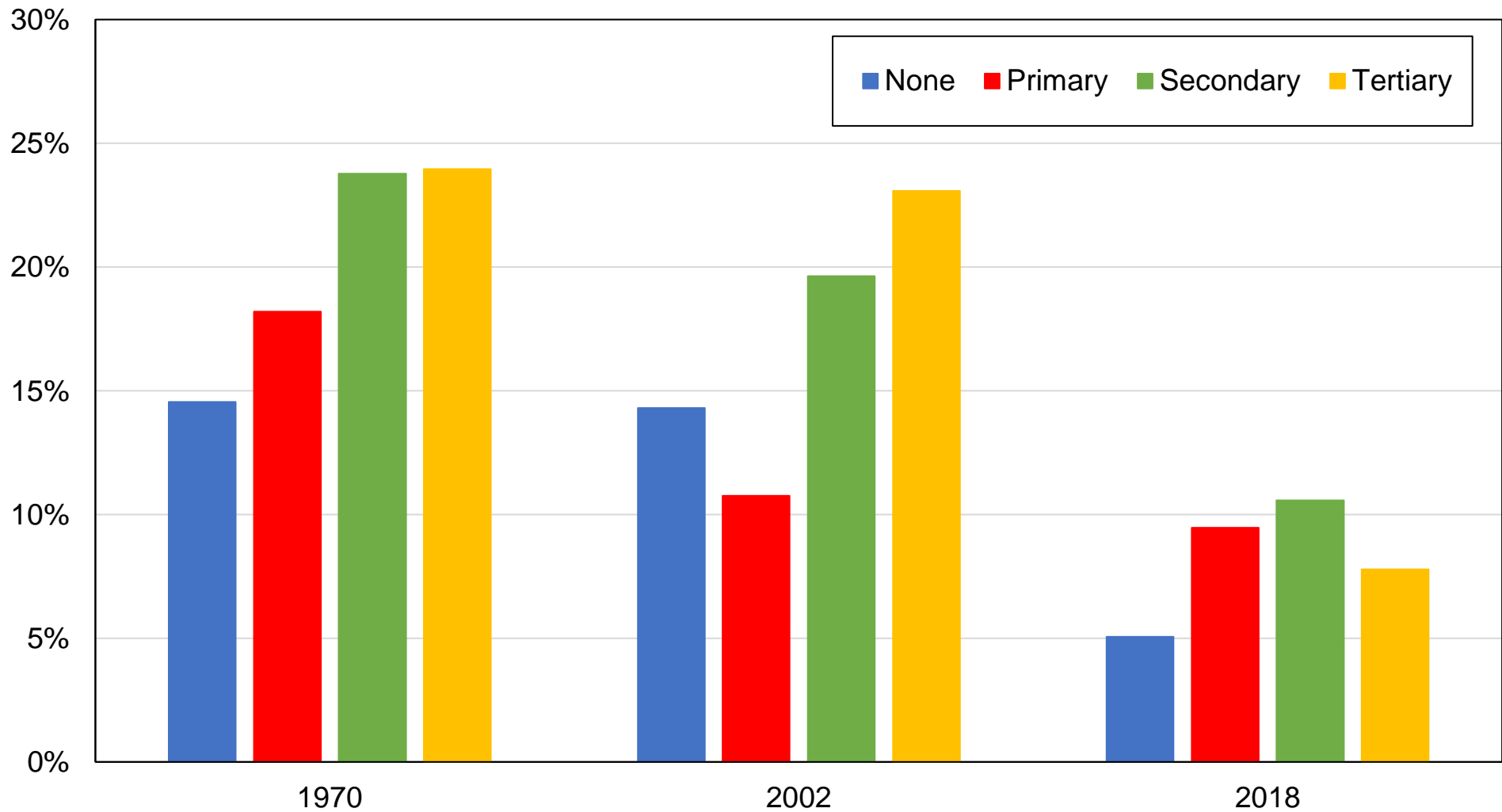
Figure A13 - Vote for PPP by education level, 1970-2018



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the PPP in general elections by education level.

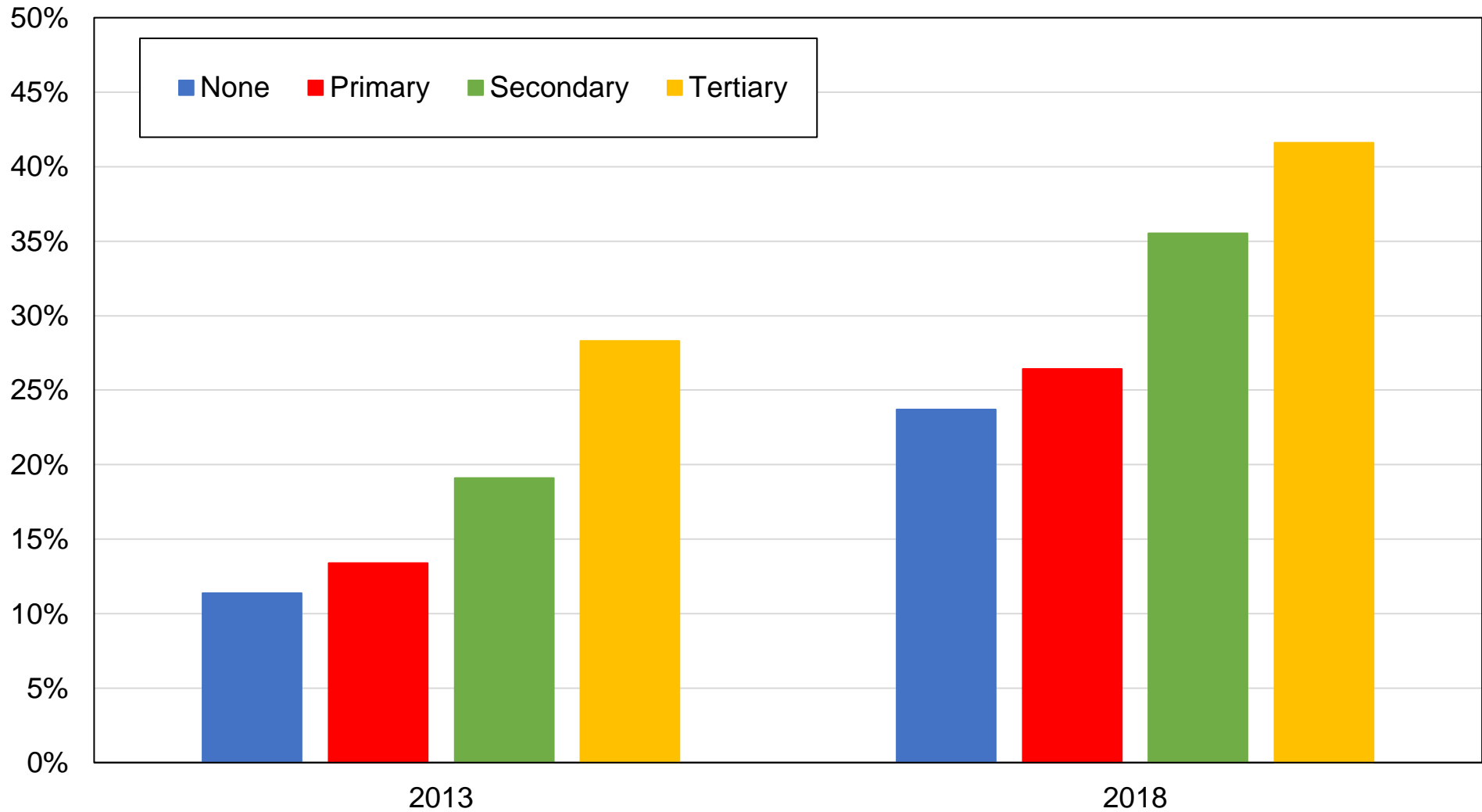
Figure A14 - Vote for islamist parties by education level, 1970-2018



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting islamist parties in general elections by education level.

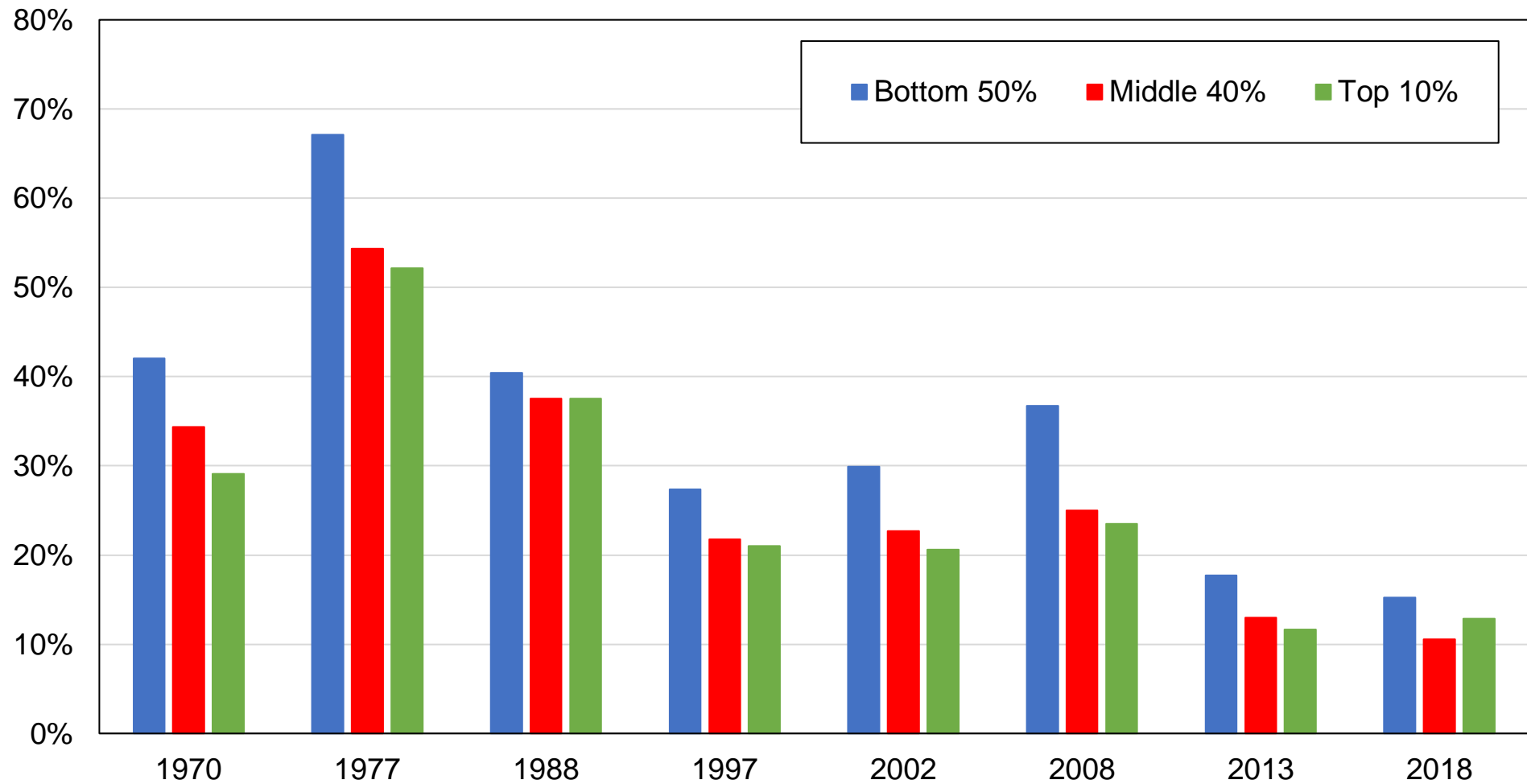
Figure A15 - Vote for PTI by education level, 2013-2018



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the PTI in general elections by education level.

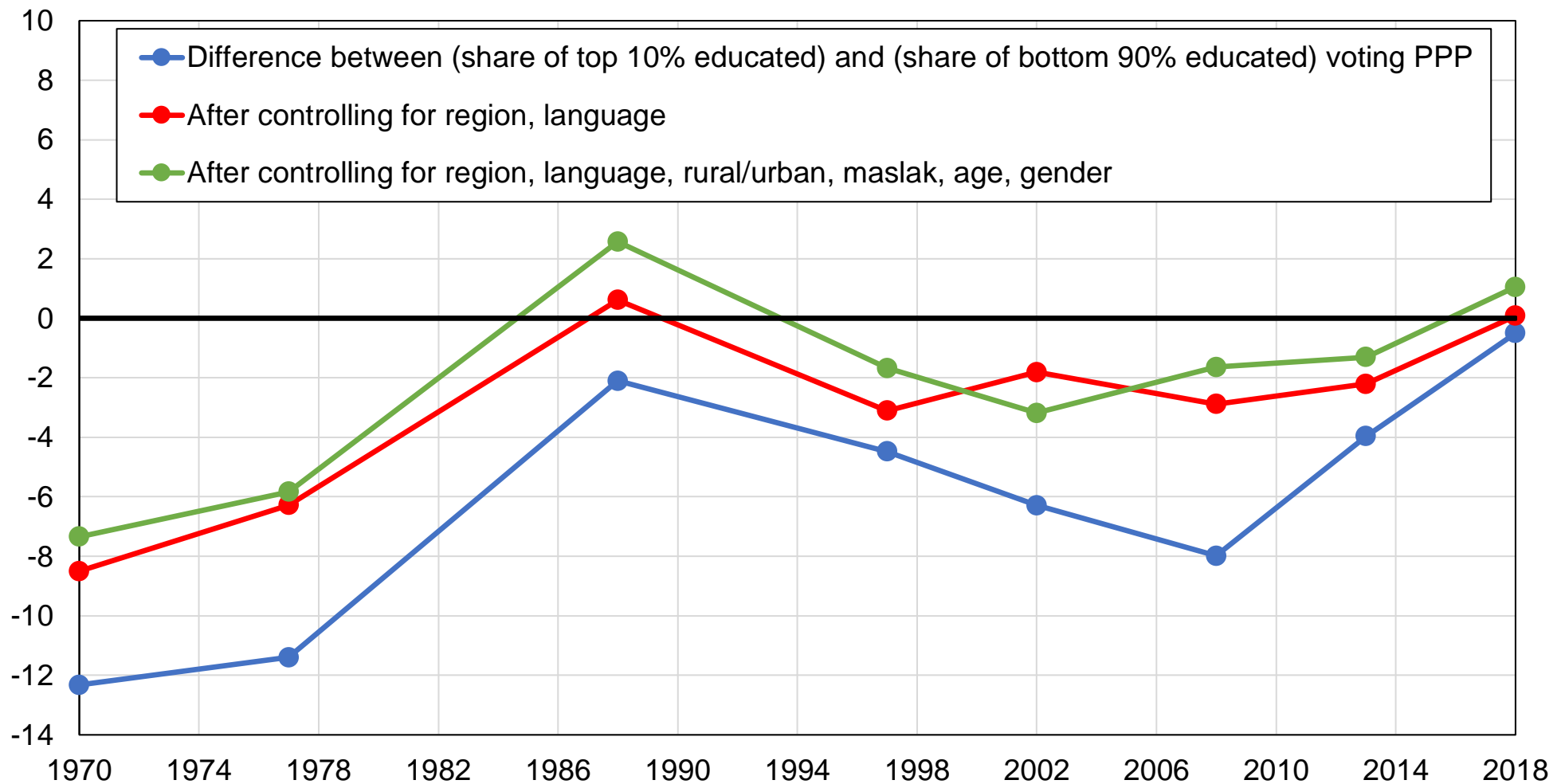
Figure A16 - Vote for PPP by education group, 1970-2018



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the PPP in general elections among the lowest 50%, the next 40% and the top 10% of educated voters.

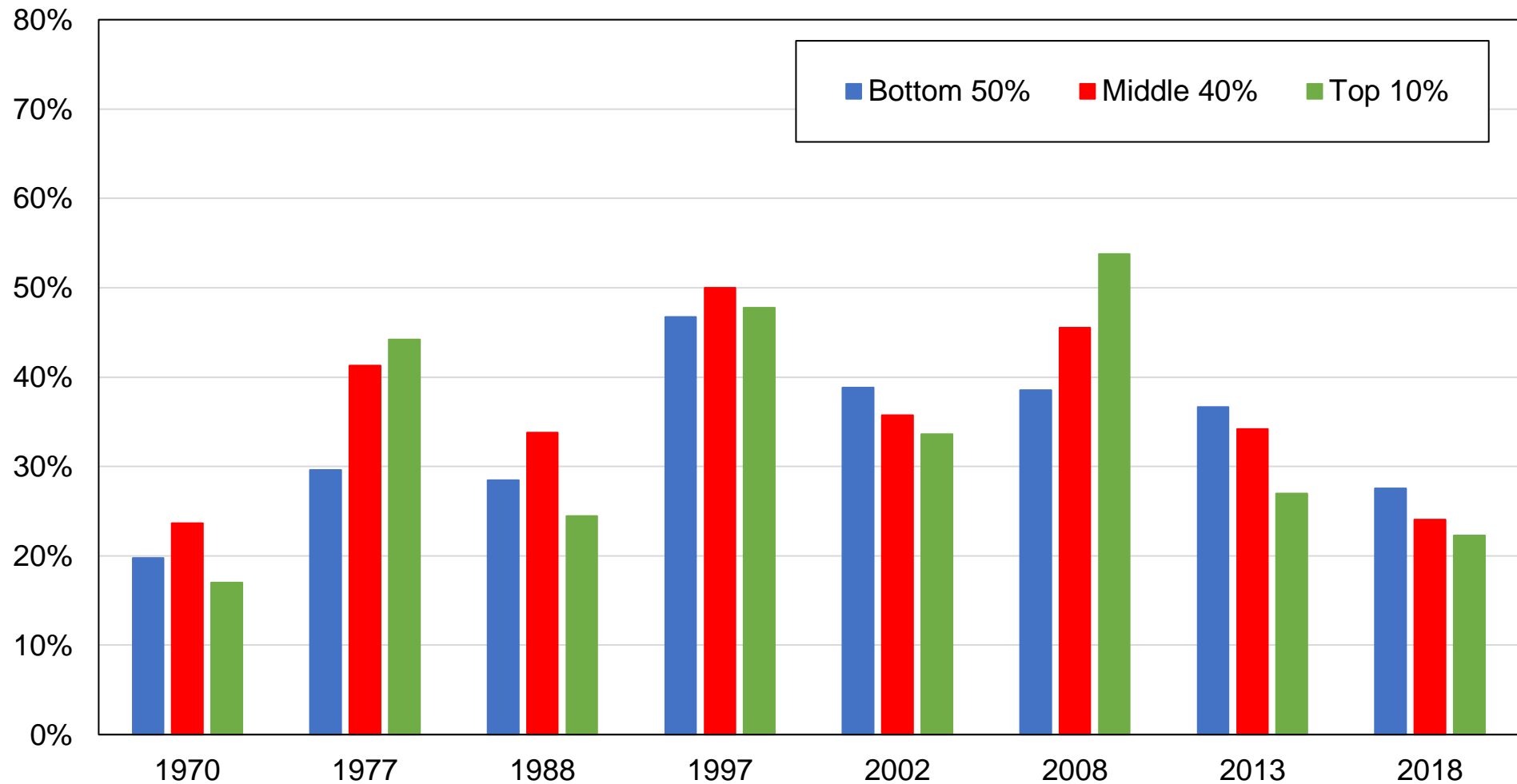
Figure A17 - Vote for the PPP among higher educated voters, 1970-2018



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters voting PPP and the share of bottom 90% educated voters voting PPP, before and after controlling for other variables.

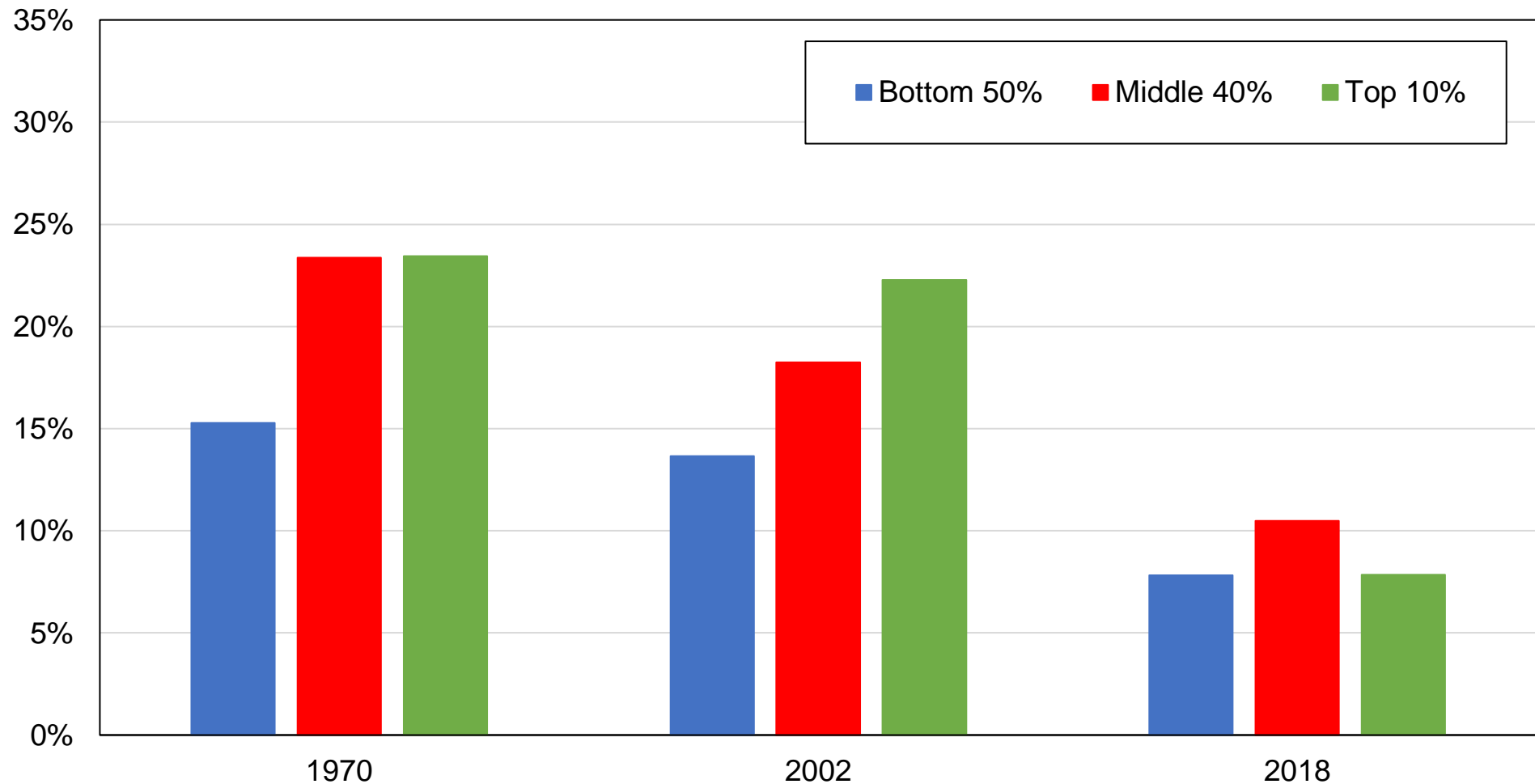
Figure A18 - Vote for PML / IJI / PNA by education group, 1970-2018



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the PML / IJI / PNA in general elections among the lowest 50%, the next 40% and the top 10% of educated voters.

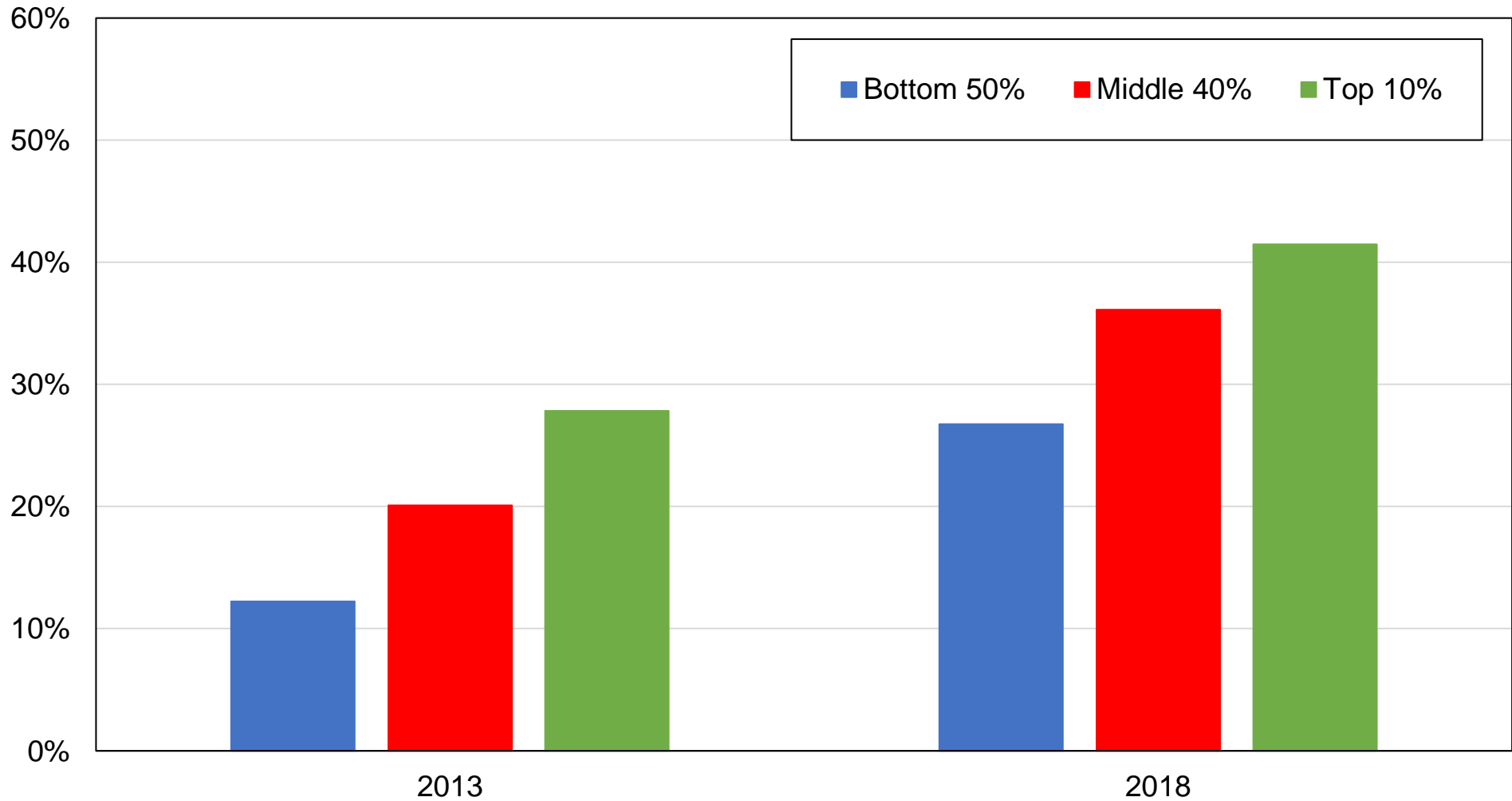
Figure A19 - Vote for Islamist parties by education group, 1970-2018



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting islamist parties in general elections among the lowest 50%, the next 40% and the top 10% of educated voters.

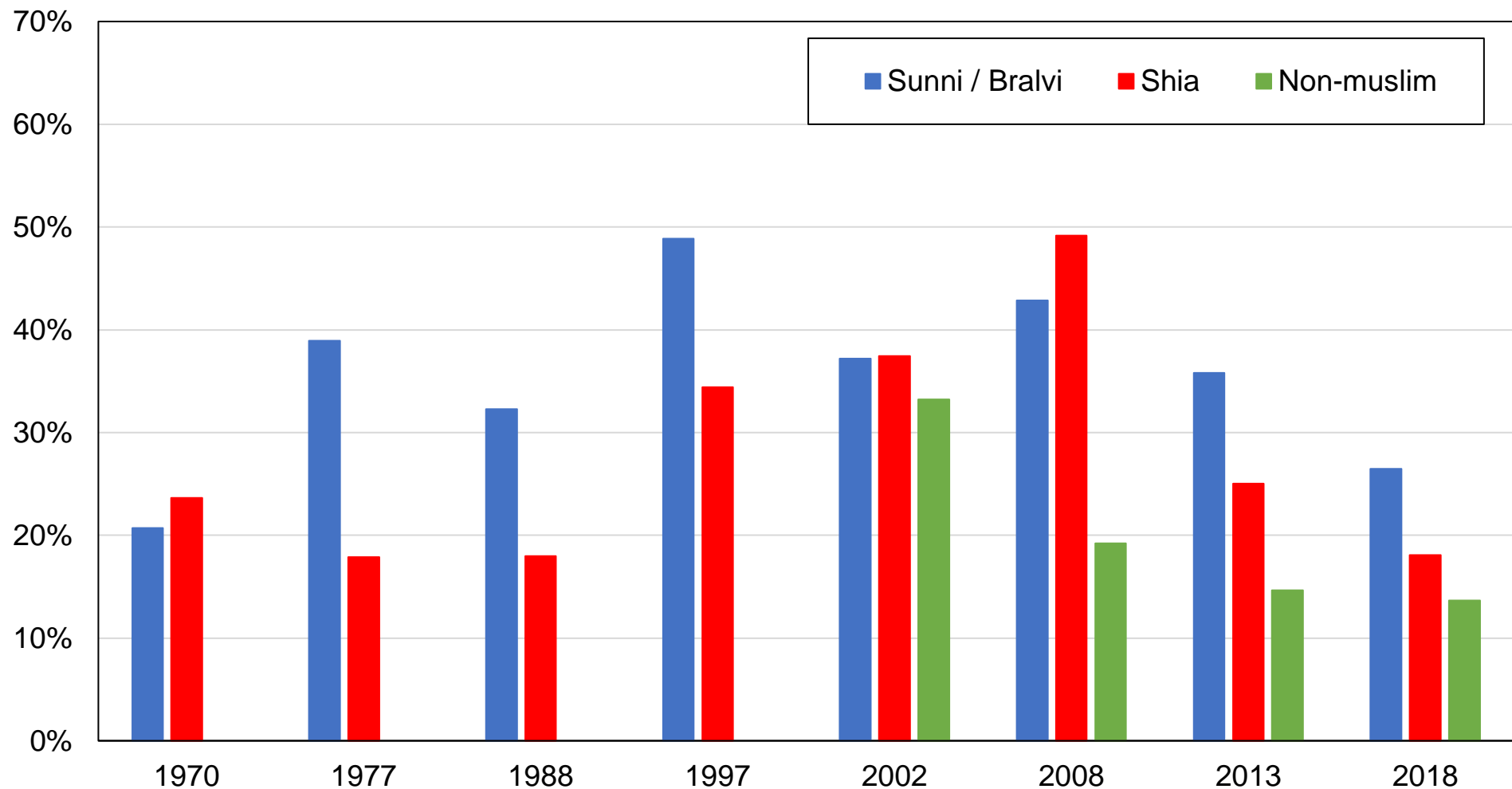
Figure A20 - Vote for PTI by education group, 2013-2018



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the PTI in general elections among the lowest 50%, the next 40% and the top 10% of educated voters.

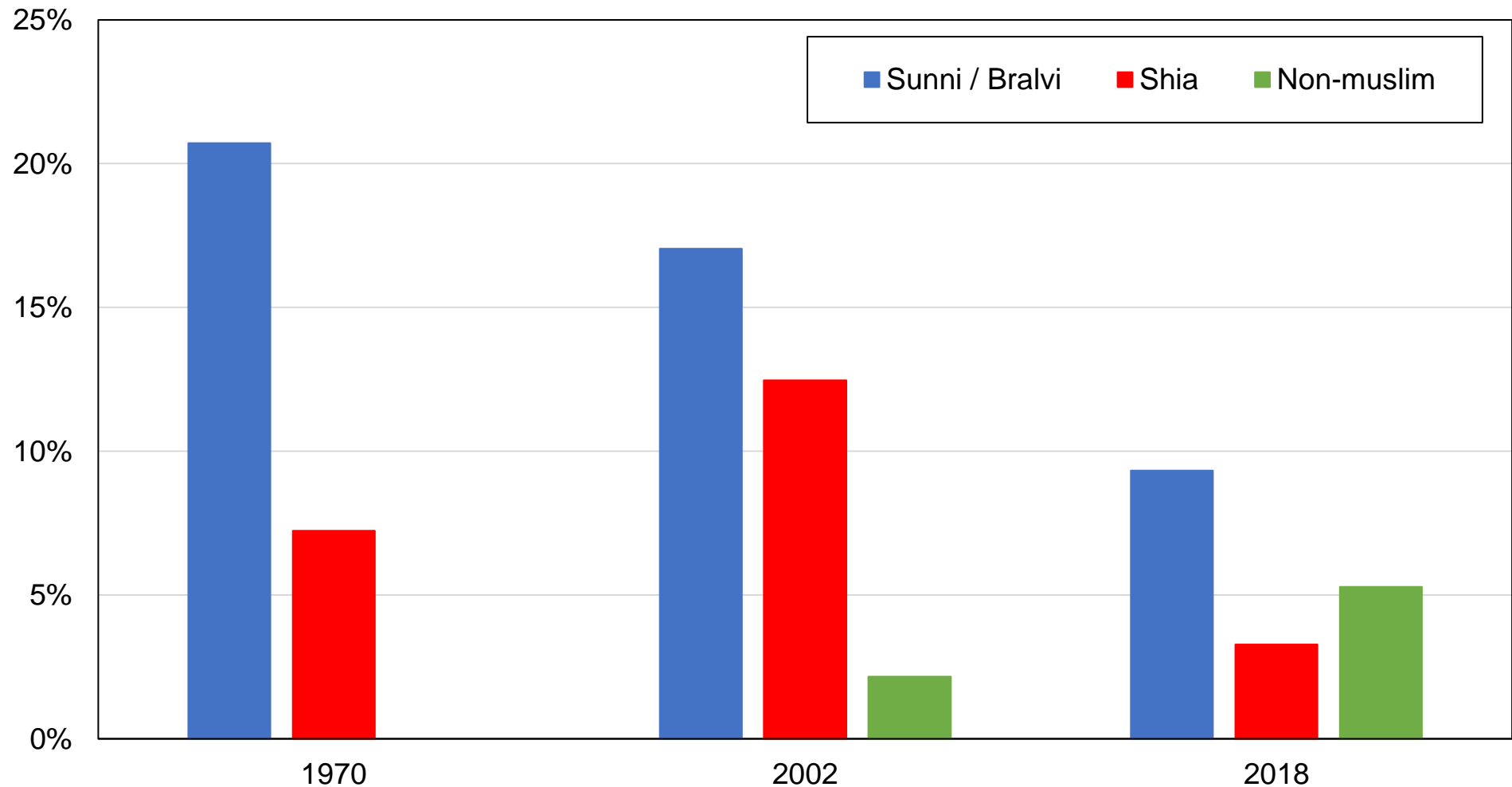
Figure A21 - Vote for PML / IJI / PNA by religious affiliation, 1970-2018



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the PML / IJI / PNA in general elections by religious affiliation.

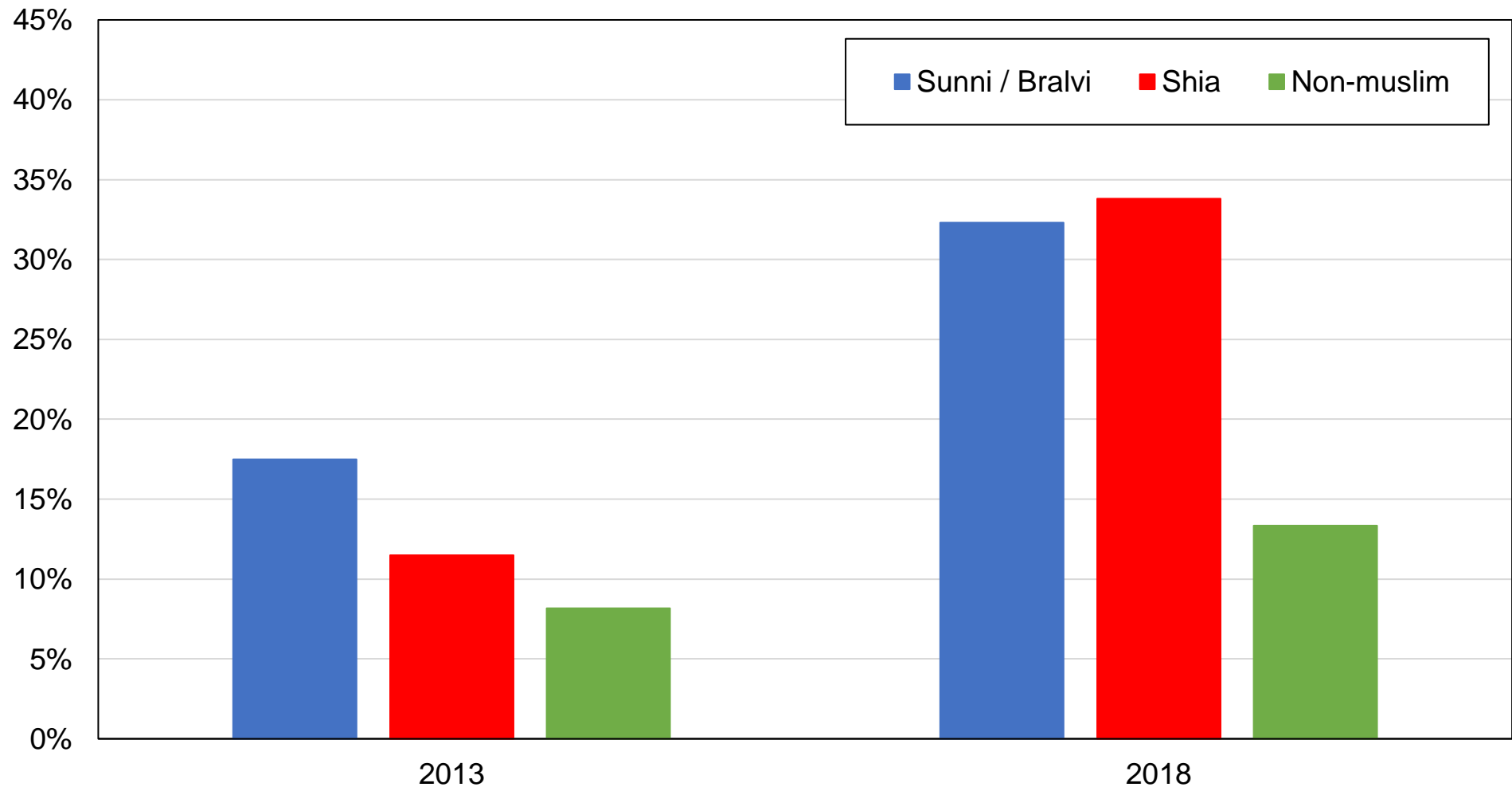
Figure A22 - Vote for Islamist parties by religious affiliation, 1970-2018



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting Islamist parties in general elections by religious affiliation.

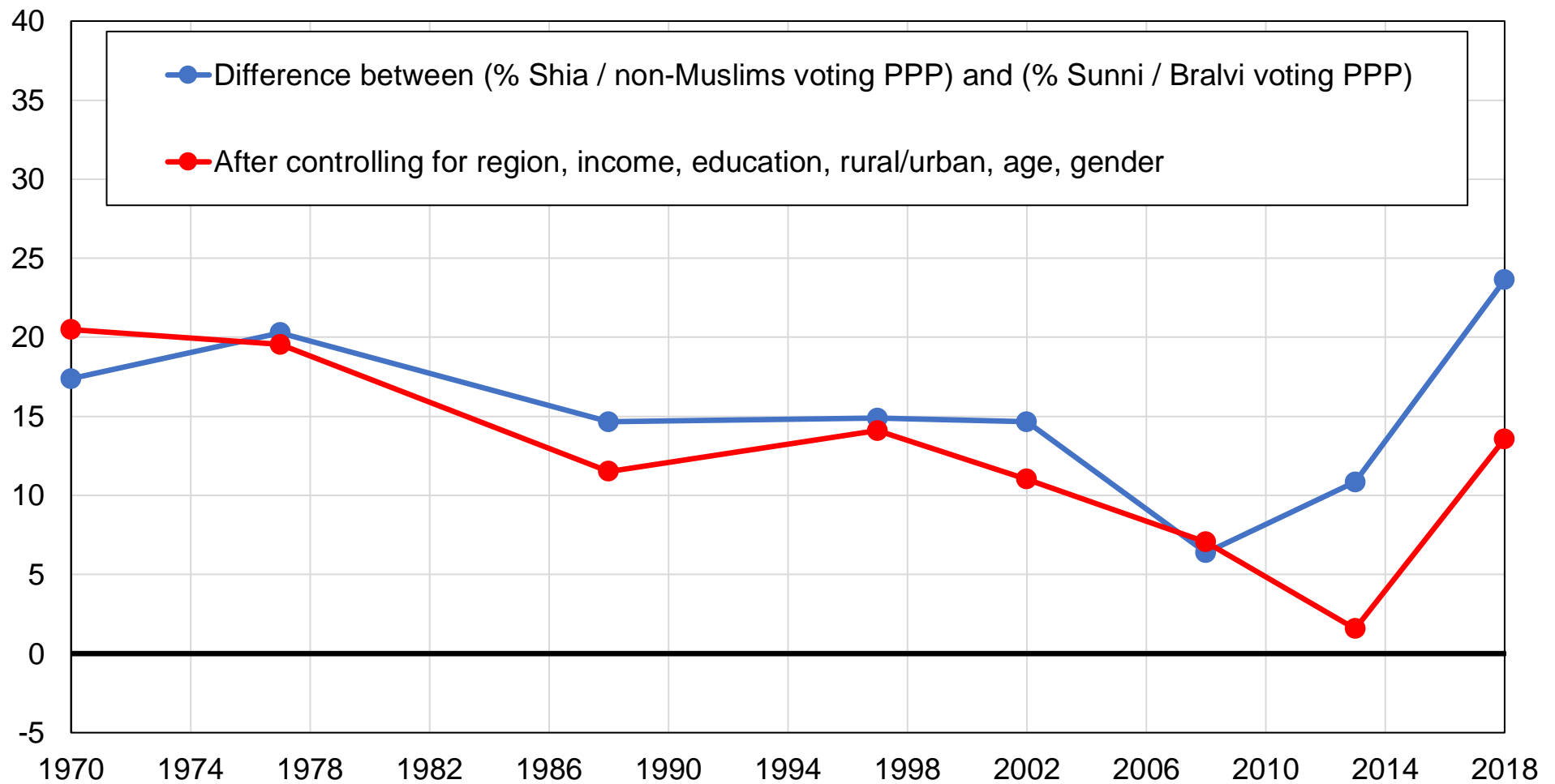
Figure A23 - Vote for PTI by religious affiliation, 2013-2018



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters supporting the PTI in general elections by religious affiliation.

Figure A24 - Vote for PPP among religious minorities in Pakistan



Source: authors' computations using Pakistani polls.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Shia Muslims and non-Muslims voting PPP and the share of Sunni / Bralvi Muslims voting PPP, before and after controlling for other variables.

Table A1 - Share of seats won by party and province in the Pakistan 1970 provincial elections

	East Pakistan	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Balochistan
Awami League	96%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Pakistan Peoples Party	0%	63%	47%	8%	0%
Muslim League Parties	0%	15%	15%	33%	15%
Islamic Parties	1%	4%	13%	13%	10%
National Awami Party	0%	0%	0%	33%	40%
Independents / Other	3%	18%	25%	15%	35%

Source: adapted from C. Baxter, "Pakistan Votes - 1970", *Asian Survey* 11, no. 3 (1971): 197-218.

Note: the table shows the share of seats received in the 1970 provincial elections by party and province.

Muslim League Parties include the Muslim League (Qayyum), the Council Muslim League, and the Convention Muslim League. Islamic Parties include the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam, the Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, the Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan, and the Jamiat Ahle Hadith.

Table A2 - Survey data sources

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1988	Gallup poll	Gallup Pakistan	3064
1993	Gallup poll	Gallup Pakistan	4589
1997	Gallup poll	Gallup Pakistan	5286
2002	Gallup poll	Gallup Pakistan	4617
2008	Gallup poll	Gallup Pakistan	5405
2013	Gallup poll	Gallup Pakistan	4636
2018	Gallup poll	Gallup Pakistan	3549

Source: authors' elaboration.

Note: the table shows the surveys used in the chapter, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey.

Table A3 - Complete descriptive statistics

	1988	1997	2002	2008	2013	2018
Education: None	34%	29%	41%	32%	26%	22%
Education: Primary	15%	21%	16%	17%	17%	17%
Education: Secondary	42%	50%	35%	44%	48%	51%
Education: Tertiary	9%		8%	6%	9%	10%
Language: Balochi	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
Language: Others	7%	5%	4%	3%	3%	3%
Language: Pashto	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%
Language: Punjabi	44%	44%	44%	44%	44%	44%
Language: Saraekee	11%	11%	10%	10%	10%	10%
Language: Sindhi	12%	14%	15%	15%	16%	16%
Language: Urdu	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%
Location: Rural area	69%	68%	66%	65%	64%	63%
Maslak: Sunni	79%	74%	93%	95%	95%	92%
Province: Baluchistan	5%	5%	5%	5%	5%	6%
Province: NWFP	14%	14%	14%	13%	13%	12%
Province: Punjab	58%	57%	57%	57%	56%	54%
Province: Sindh	24%	24%	24%	25%	25%	28%
Religion: Muslim	99%		97%	98%	97%	97%

Source: authors' computations using census statistics (region and language) and Pakistani polls (other variables). Census statistics refer to the entire population; other variables refer to the voting population.

Note: the table shows descriptive statistics for selected available variables. The rise in the reported share of Sunni Muslims may potentially be attributable to migration of the Shia population to Iran, as well as to the rise of anti-Shia sentiments and consolidation of Sunni-supremacist organizations, leading to underreporting of Shia identity.

Table A4 - Determinants of support for PPP, 1970-2018

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	1970	1977	1988	1997	2002	2008	2013	2018
Language: Balochi	-0.067 (0.086)	-0.156* (0.088)	0.088* (0.049)	0.022 (0.020)	0.121*** (0.029)	0.411*** (0.053)	0.181*** (0.026)	0.004 (0.013)
Language: Others	-0.057 (0.041)	-0.016 (0.043)	-0.158*** (0.027)	-0.086*** (0.011)	-0.013 (0.029)	0.051 (0.039)	-0.054*** (0.010)	-0.032*** (0.010)
Language: Pashto	-0.073** (0.033)	-0.037 (0.032)	-0.039* (0.020)	-0.033* (0.017)	-0.080*** (0.010)	-0.131*** (0.012)	-0.039*** (0.007)	0.027*** (0.009)
Language: Saraekke	-0.233*** (0.027)	-0.148*** (0.030)	-0.104*** (0.022)	0.078*** (0.014)	0.161*** (0.012)	0.103*** (0.019)	0.070*** (0.011)	-0.001 (0.010)
Language: Sindhi	0.558*** (0.028)	0.310*** (0.027)	0.485*** (0.028)	0.501*** (0.014)	0.380*** (0.015)	0.526*** (0.014)	0.420*** (0.015)	0.460*** (0.018)
Language: Urdu	-0.145*** (0.026)	-0.148*** (0.034)	-0.136*** (0.020)	-0.038*** (0.012)	-0.087*** (0.013)	-0.120*** (0.011)	-0.001 (0.008)	0.023** (0.010)
Education: Primary	-0.056* (0.031)	-0.037 (0.026)	-0.050** (0.020)	0.022* (0.012)	0.006 (0.010)	-0.027** (0.013)	-0.021** (0.010)	-0.012 (0.012)
Education: Secondary	-0.014 (0.027)	-0.091*** (0.026)	-0.001 (0.018)	-0.008 (0.010)	-0.011 (0.009)	-0.029** (0.012)	-0.018** (0.009)	-0.030*** (0.009)
Education: Tertiary	-0.115*** (0.041)	-0.123** (0.048)	0.038 (0.029)	0.000 (.)	-0.028* (0.016)	-0.018 (0.022)	-0.023* (0.012)	-0.005 (0.016)
Income: Middle 40%	-0.030 (0.023)	0.004 (0.021)	-0.049*** (0.016)	-0.012 (0.008)	0.013* (0.007)	-0.020** (0.009)	-0.022*** (0.006)	0.003 (0.008)
Income: Top 10%	-0.059 (0.043)	-0.042 (0.046)	-0.086** (0.034)	-0.032* (0.018)	-0.033 (0.021)	-0.086*** (0.018)	-0.013 (0.012)	-0.003 (0.015)
Rural area	0.052*** (0.020)	0.050** (0.021)	0.040*** (0.014)	-0.016** (0.008)	-0.019** (0.008)	-0.044*** (0.009)	0.055*** (0.007)	0.068*** (0.008)
Age: 30-50	0.021 (0.046)	0.020 (0.030)	-0.046*** (0.016)	-0.033*** (0.009)	0.003 (0.009)	0.002 (0.011)	0.021*** (0.007)	-0.003 (0.008)
Age: 51+	-0.047 (0.048)	0.035 (0.033)	-0.024 (0.021)	-0.056*** (0.012)	0.010 (0.012)	-0.000 (0.014)	0.017 (0.011)	0.039** (0.016)
Maslak: Shia	0.228*** (0.031)	0.239*** (0.024)	0.159*** (0.022)	0.114*** (0.025)	0.109*** (0.016)	0.014 (0.021)	0.021 (0.016)	0.071*** (0.020)
Constant	0.371*** (0.050)	0.562*** (0.038)	0.390*** (0.022)	0.217*** (0.013)	0.220*** (0.013)	0.320*** (0.016)	0.069*** (0.012)	0.021* (0.012)
R-squared	0.21	0.13	0.15	0.19	0.10	0.21	0.16	0.27

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A5 - Determinants of support for PML / IJI / PNA, 1970-2018

	(1) 1970	(2) 1977	(3) 1988	(4) 1997	(5) 2002	(6) 2008	(7) 2013	(8) 2018
Language: Balochi	-0.140** (0.067)	-0.009 (0.077)	-0.374*** (0.029)	-0.253*** (0.023)	-0.014 (0.035)	-0.449*** (0.043)	-0.370*** (0.023)	-0.341*** (0.020)
Language: Others	0.006 (0.036)	0.018 (0.042)	-0.021 (0.029)	-0.141*** (0.020)	-0.065* (0.034)	-0.210*** (0.049)	-0.010 (0.027)	-0.122*** (0.035)
Language: Pashto	-0.080*** (0.029)	0.033 (0.031)	-0.270*** (0.019)	-0.305*** (0.019)	-0.278*** (0.012)	-0.216*** (0.025)	-0.355*** (0.013)	-0.338*** (0.015)
Language: Saraekke	0.056* (0.031)	0.138*** (0.029)	-0.120*** (0.021)	-0.117*** (0.015)	-0.158*** (0.013)	-0.125*** (0.023)	-0.234*** (0.016)	-0.081*** (0.023)
Language: Sindhi	-0.244*** (0.018)	-0.290*** (0.027)	-0.309*** (0.027)	-0.415*** (0.013)	-0.259*** (0.016)	-0.445*** (0.013)	-0.481*** (0.010)	-0.332*** (0.016)
Language: Urdu	-0.041 (0.028)	0.092*** (0.034)	-0.015 (0.023)	-0.333*** (0.015)	-0.209*** (0.015)	-0.171*** (0.017)	-0.332*** (0.016)	-0.209*** (0.022)
Education: Primary	0.007 (0.027)	0.049* (0.026)	0.032* (0.019)	0.020 (0.013)	0.008 (0.012)	0.045*** (0.016)	0.010 (0.014)	0.029 (0.021)
Education: Secondary	0.048** (0.023)	0.090*** (0.025)	0.066*** (0.018)	0.032*** (0.011)	-0.034*** (0.011)	0.058*** (0.016)	0.009 (0.012)	-0.013 (0.018)
Education: Tertiary	-0.012 (0.032)	0.134*** (0.047)	0.025 (0.027)	0.000 (.)	0.005 (0.019)	0.131*** (0.028)	-0.013 (0.020)	-0.043 (0.028)
Income: Middle 40%	-0.014 (0.019)	-0.001 (0.020)	-0.010 (0.015)	-0.029*** (0.009)	-0.021*** (0.008)	0.070*** (0.012)	-0.061*** (0.009)	0.013 (0.014)
Income: Top 10%	0.008 (0.042)	0.037 (0.045)	-0.017 (0.031)	-0.087*** (0.022)	0.009 (0.025)	0.065* (0.036)	-0.042* (0.022)	0.059** (0.028)
Rural area	0.061*** (0.020)	-0.067*** (0.021)	0.161*** (0.015)	-0.078*** (0.010)	0.095*** (0.010)	0.099*** (0.012)	-0.066*** (0.011)	-0.015 (0.015)
Age: 30-50	0.016 (0.042)	-0.016 (0.029)	0.051*** (0.015)	0.065*** (0.011)	0.022** (0.010)	-0.042*** (0.015)	0.012 (0.011)	0.029** (0.014)
Age: 51+	0.044 (0.044)	-0.026 (0.033)	0.049** (0.020)	0.080*** (0.015)	0.008 (0.013)	-0.035* (0.021)	0.044*** (0.016)	0.002 (0.024)
Maslak: Shia	-0.000 (0.027)	-0.250*** (0.023)	-0.136*** (0.018)	-0.098*** (0.024)	-0.011 (0.017)	0.002 (0.029)	-0.030 (0.021)	-0.054** (0.027)
Constant	0.171*** (0.047)	0.414*** (0.037)	0.248*** (0.022)	0.644*** (0.016)	0.421*** (0.014)	0.463*** (0.021)	0.589*** (0.017)	0.397*** (0.026)
R-squared	0.05	0.12	0.10	0.12	0.07	0.12	0.16	0.11

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A6 - Determinants of support for Islamist parties, 1970-2018

	(1) 1970	(2) 2002	(3) 2018
Language: Balochi	-0.130 (0.087)	-0.034** (0.015)	0.121*** (0.023)
Language: Others	-0.124*** (0.035)	0.051** (0.023)	0.063* (0.032)
Language: Pashto	0.056 (0.042)	0.361*** (0.015)	0.089*** (0.013)
Language: Saraekee	-0.125*** (0.027)	0.079*** (0.013)	-0.010 (0.011)
Language: Sindhi	-0.208*** (0.026)	-0.102*** (0.005)	0.035*** (0.013)
Language: Urdu	0.140*** (0.044)	0.017 (0.015)	0.048*** (0.014)
Education: Primary	0.039 (0.032)	-0.036*** (0.009)	0.031*** (0.012)
Education: Secondary	0.054 (0.034)	0.003 (0.009)	0.048*** (0.009)
Education: Tertiary	0.083* (0.047)	0.013 (0.017)	0.023 (0.016)
Income: Middle 40%	0.029 (0.028)	0.032*** (0.007)	-0.006 (0.009)
Income: Top 10%	0.033 (0.056)	0.091*** (0.023)	-0.036** (0.015)
Rural area	0.042 (0.027)	-0.044*** (0.009)	0.030*** (0.009)
Age: 30-50	-0.044 (0.061)	-0.025*** (0.009)	-0.004 (0.010)
Age: 51+	0.010 (0.065)	-0.028*** (0.011)	-0.013 (0.014)
Maslak: Shia	-0.151*** (0.021)	-0.020 (0.015)	-0.052*** (0.013)
Constant	0.192*** (0.071)	0.148*** (0.012)	0.024* (0.013)
R-squared	0.09	0.14	0.03

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$




Table A7 - Determinants of support for PTI, 2013-2018

	(1) 2013	(2) 2018
Language: Balochi	-0.174*** (0.008)	-0.158*** (0.023)
Language: Others	0.141*** (0.025)	0.088*** (0.034)
Language: Pashto	0.047*** (0.013)	0.229*** (0.020)
Language: Saraekee	-0.018 (0.013)	0.075*** (0.022)
Language: Sindhi	-0.126*** (0.010)	-0.076*** (0.019)
Language: Urdu	-0.054*** (0.014)	-0.032 (0.021)
Education: Primary	-0.002 (0.011)	0.037* (0.019)
Education: Secondary	0.035*** (0.010)	0.109*** (0.017)
Education: Tertiary	0.111*** (0.019)	0.183*** (0.030)
Income: Middle 40%	0.018** (0.008)	0.028** (0.014)
Income: Top 10%	0.062*** (0.019)	0.041 (0.029)
Rural area	-0.038*** (0.010)	0.025 (0.015)
Age: 30-50	-0.068*** (0.010)	-0.030** (0.015)
Age: 51+	-0.094*** (0.013)	0.011 (0.024)
Maslak: Shia	-0.048*** (0.014)	0.080** (0.032)
Constant	0.228*** (0.015)	0.200*** (0.023)
R-squared	0.05	0.06
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01		