# Online Appendix A: Balance Tests 

Figure A1: Balance Tests. Full Sample



Figure A2: Balance Tests. Sample Passing Manipulation Check


## Online Appendix B: Robustness

Table B1: Full Models Displaying All Controls

|  | Model 1 (Assertiveness vs Neutral) | Model 2 (Assertiveness vs Deference) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Judicial Assertiveness X Manip. Pass | 0.45 * | 0.39* |
|  | (0.16) | (0.14) |
| Judicial Assertiveness (Manip. Fail) | -0.23 | -0.24* |
|  | (0.14) | (0.10) |
| Manip. Pass | 0.05 | 0.15 |
|  | (0.13) | (0.10) |
| Judicial Independence | $0.12^{*}$ | 0.09* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Government Support | -0.08* | -0.07* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Central State Stronger |  |  |
|  | $(0.04)$ | $(0.04)$ |
| Age | 0.01 | 0.00 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Male | -0.29* | -0.28* |
|  | (0.08) | (0.07) |
| Employment Status |  |  |
| Employed - Private Sector | -0.01 | 0.21 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.16) |
| Employed - Public Sector | -0.07 | 0.16 |
|  | (0.16) | (0.18) |
| Other | -0.27 | $0.06$ |
|  | (0.17) | $(0.17)$ |
| Retired | -0.25 | 0.24 |
|  | $(0.28)$ | (0.30) |
| Student | -0.09 | 0.08 |
|  | (0.16) | (0.17) |
| Unemployed | -0.24 | 0.19 |
|  | (0.17) | (0.18) |
| Monthly Household Income |  |  |
| Less than \$533 | -0.11 | -0.00 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) |
| \$533 to \$1,065 | $-0.09$ | $0.10$ |
|  | (0.12) | $(0.11)$ |
| \$1,066 to \$2,132 | $-0.05$ | $-0.06$ |
|  | (0.15) | (0.17) |
| \$2,133 to \$3,999 | 0.05 | -0.13 |
|  | (0.22) | (0.23) |
| \$4,000 to \$7,999 | -0.07 | 0.07 |
|  | (0.25) | (0.29) |
| \$8,000 or more | 0.08 | 0.26 |
|  | (0.24) | (0.21) |
| Urban | 0.01 | 0.07 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.08) |
| Arabic | $0.52^{*}$ | $0.46^{*}$ |
|  | (0.14) | (0.15) |
| Jordan | 0.04 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) |
| Constant | $2.04 *$ | 2.05* |
|  | (0.28) | (0.29) |
| Observations | 1011 | 1012 |
| R-Squared | . 12 | . 086 |

Table B2: Treatment Effects with No Controls

|  | Model 1 <br> (Assertiveness vs Neutral) | Model 2 <br> (Assertiveness vs Deference) |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Judicial Assertiveness X Manip. Pass | $0.45^{*}$ | $0.38^{*}$ |
|  | $(0.16)$ | $(0.14)$ |
| Judicial Assertiveness (Manip. Fail) | -0.23 | $-0.24^{*}$ |
|  | $(0.14)$ | $(0.10)$ |
| Manip.Pass | 0.11 | 0.17 |
|  | $(0.13)$ | $(0.10)$ |
| Constant | $3.01^{*}$ | $3.02^{*}$ |
|  | $(0.12)$ | $(0.07)$ |
| Observations | 1011 | 1012 |
| R-Squared | .029 | .033 |
| Robust standard errors in parentheses. ${ }^{*} p<0.05$ |  |  |

Table B3: Treatment Effects. Sample Passing Manipulation Check Only

|  | Model 1 (Assertiveness vs Neutral) | Model 2 (Assertiveness vs Deference) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Judicial Assertiveness | 0.19* | 0.16 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.10) |
| Judicial Independence | $0.15 *$ | 0.08 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.04) |
| Government Support | -0.10* | -0.06 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.04) |
| Central State Stronger | 0.25* | 0.16 * |
|  | (0.05) | (0.06) |
| Age | -0.00 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Male | -0.25* | -0.25* |
|  | (0.09) | (0.11) |
| Employment Status |  |  |
| Employed - Private Sector | -0.03 | 0.22 |
|  | (0.18) | (0.22) |
| Employed - Public Sector | 0.02 | 0.11 |
|  | (0.19) | (0.26) |
| Other | -0.16 | 0.26 |
|  | (0.20) | (0.23) |
| Retired | 0.01 | -0.13 |
|  | (0.30) | (0.46) |
| Student | -0.16 | 0.09 |
|  | (0.20) | (0.25) |
| Unemployed | -0.27 | 0.34 |
|  | (0.20) | (0.24) |
| Monthly Household Income |  |  |
| Less than $\$ 533$ | -0.10 | 0.05 |
|  | (0.11) | (0.15) |
| \$533 to \$1,065 | -0.23 | 0.10 |
|  | (0.15) | (0.17) |
| \$1,066 to \$2,132 | 0.11 | 0.27 |
|  | (0.17) | (0.21) |
| \$2,133 to \$3,999 | -0.06 | 0.31 |
|  | (0.32) | (0.28) |
| \$4,000 to \$7,999 | 0.26 | 0.27 |
|  | (0.23) | (0.45) |
| \$8,000 or more | -0.12 | 0.24 |
|  | (0.27) | (0.25) |
| Urban | 0.03 | 0.04 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.11) |
| Arabic | 0.63* | 0.58* |
|  | (0.18) | (0.19) |
| Jordan | 0.05 | -0.07 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.13) |
| Constant | 2.09* | 1.85* |
|  | (0.34) | (0.42) |
| Observations | 650 | 503 |
| R-Squared | . 14 | . 079 |

Table B4: Judicial Deference Treatment vs. Control

|  | Deference vs Neutral |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| b | se |  |
| Judicial Deference X Manip. Pass | 0.03 | $(0.16)$ |
| Judicial Deference (Manip. Fail) | 0.02 | $(0.13)$ |
| Manip. Pass | 0.06 | $(0.13)$ |
| Judicial Independence | $0.12^{*}$ | $(0.04)$ |
| Government Support | $-0.08^{*}$ | $(0.03)$ |
| Central State Stronger | $0.21^{*}$ | $(0.04)$ |
| Age | 0.00 | $(0.00)$ |
| Male | $-0.25^{*}$ | $(0.08)$ |
| Employment Status |  |  |
| Employed - Private Sector | 0.23 | $(0.16)$ |
| Employed - Public Sector | 0.29 | $(0.17)$ |
| Other | 0.26 | $(0.17)$ |
| Retired | 0.16 | $(0.31)$ |
| Student | 0.22 | $(0.17)$ |
| Unemployed | -0.04 | $(0.18)$ |
| Monthly Household Income |  |  |
| Less than $\$ 533$ | 0.01 | $(0.09)$ |
| $\$ 533$ to $\$ 1,065$ | 0.00 | $(0.12)$ |
| $\$ 1,066$ to $\$ 2,132$ | $0.31^{*}$ | $(0.15)$ |
| $\$ 2,133$ to $\$ 3,999$ | 0.19 | $(0.23)$ |
| $\$ 4,000$ to $\$ 7,999$ | -0.03 | $(0.46)$ |
| $\$ 8,000$ or more | 0.08 | $(0.20)$ |
| Urban | -0.03 | $(0.08)$ |
| Arabic | $0.38^{*}$ | $(0.15)$ |
| Jordan | -0.00 | $(0.08)$ |
| Constant | $1.88^{*}$ | $(0.29)$ |
| Observations | 1015 |  |
| R-Squared | .091 |  |
| Robust standard errors in parentheses. ${ }^{*} p<0.05$. |  |  |

## Online Appendix C: Income \& Judicial Assertiveness

Table C: Judicial Assertiveness Treatment vs. Control

|  | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Judicial Assertiveness X Manip. Pass | $\begin{gathered} 0.45^{*} \\ (0.16) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.45^{*} \\ (0.16) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.43^{*} \\ (0.16) \end{gathered}$ |
| Judicial Assertiveness (Manip. Fail) | $\begin{aligned} & -0.24 \\ & (0.14) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.23 \\ & (0.14) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.22 \\ & (0.14) \end{aligned}$ |
| Manip. Pass | $\begin{gathered} 0.04 \\ (0.13) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.05 \\ (0.13) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.06 \\ (0.13) \end{gathered}$ |
| Household Income (5-Bracket) <br> Less than $\$ 800$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.10 \\ (0.09) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |
| \$800 to \$1,599 | $\begin{aligned} & -0.05 \\ & (0.13) \end{aligned}$ |  |  |
| \$1,600 to \$3,999 | $\begin{aligned} & -0.12 \\ & (0.18) \end{aligned}$ |  |  |
| \$4,000 to \$7,999 | $\begin{aligned} & -0.08 \\ & (0.25) \end{aligned}$ |  |  |
| \$8,000 or more | $\begin{gathered} 0.08 \\ (0.24) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |
| Household Income (6-Bracket) |  |  |  |
| Less than \$533 |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.11 \\ (0.09) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| \$533 to \$1,065 |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.09 \\ (0.12) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| \$1,066 to \$2,132 |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.05 \\ & (0.15) \end{aligned}$ |  |
| \$2,133 to \$3,999 |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.05 \\ (0.22) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| \$4,000 to \$7,999 |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.07 \\ & (0.25) \end{aligned}$ |  |
| \$8,000 or more |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.08 \\ (0.24) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| Household Income (7-Bracket) |  |  |  |
| Less than $\$ 266$ |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.25^{*} \\ (0.11) \end{gathered}$ |
| \$266 to \$532 |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.03 \\ (0.10) \end{gathered}$ |
| \$533 to \$1,065 |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.08 \\ (0.12) \end{gathered}$ |
| \$1,066 to \$2,132 |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.04 \\ (0.15) \end{gathered}$ |
| \$2,133 to \$3,999 |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.06 \\ (0.22) \end{gathered}$ |
| \$4,000 to \$7,999 |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.06 \\ (0.25) \end{gathered}$ |
| \$8,000 or more |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.09 \\ (0.24) \end{gathered}$ |
| Constant | $\begin{aligned} & 2.03^{*} \\ & (0.28) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2.04^{*} \\ & (0.28) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2.04^{*} \\ & (0.28) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| Observations | 1011 | 1011 | 1011 |
| R-Squared | . 12 | . 12 | . 13 |
| Undisplayed controls for judicial independence, gov. support, central stronger, age, gender, employment, urban/rural, survey language, and country fixed effect. * $p<0.05$ |  |  |  |

Figure C1: Effect of Income on Lawful Resistance


Figure C2: Effect of Judicial Assertiveness Across Income Groups


## Online Appendix D: Survey Text (Egypt and Jordan)

## Q1. Treatment Assignment:

T0: Control-Are you aware that the Egyptian/Jordanian Administrative Court recently issued an important ruling in a case involving the government, relating to one of the government's new policies?

- Yes
- No

T1: Judicial Assertiveness-Are you aware that the Egyptian/Jordanian Administrative Court recently issued an important ruling against the government, saying that one of the government's new policies was illegal?

- Yes
- No

T2: Judicial Deference - Are you aware that the Egyptian/Jordanian Administrative Court recently issued an important ruling in favor of the government, saying that one of the government's new policies was legal?

- Yes
- No


## Q2. Manipulation Check:

In the previous question that you read, how did the Egyptian/Jordanian Administrative Court rule?

- The court ruled against the government, saying its new policy was illegal
- The court ruled in favor of the government, saying its new policy was legal.
- The question did not say how the court ruled.


## Q3. Vignette:

Please carefully read the following scenario:
As a part of a new development program, the Governor ordered the demolition of several residential buildings. You learn that your home is one of the properties that is scheduled for demolition.

The Prime Minister had no opinion on the Governor's demolition plan, and he said nothing about the plan. The Governor proceeded with the demolition plan. A local official told you that you must vacate your home.

## Q4. Dependent Variable

How would you respond to this situation? Please check the box that applies.
"I would speak to a lawyer about challenging the demolition plan in court."

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree


## Q5. Political Controls

Please state the extent to which you agree with the following statements:

1. "The judiciary is independent from the executive authority."

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

2. "I support the government of my country."

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

3. "Central government officials are more powerful than local government officials."

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree


## Q6. Demographic Controls

1. Which age group do you belong to?

- Below 21
- 21 to 29
- 30 to 39
- 40 to 49
- 50 and Above

2. What is your gender?

- Male
- Female

3. What is your nationality?
4. If you add up the income from all sources, what is your average NET household income per month? (Net income means amounts as you receive it, which is normally after tax or Zakat and contributions to social insurance and pension).

- Less than $\$ 266$
- $\$ 266$ to $\$ 532$
- $\$ 533$ to $\$ 799$
- $\$ 800$ to $\$ 1,065$
- $\$ 1,066$ to $\$ 1,599$
- $\$ 1,600$ to $\$ 2,132$
- $\$ 2,133$ to $\$ 2,665$
- $\$ 2,666$ to $\$ 3,999$
- $\$ 4,000$ to $\$ 5,332$
- $\$ 5,333$ to $\$ 6,665$
- $\$ 6,666$ to $\$ 7,999$
- $\$ 8,000$ to $\$ 10,665$
- $\$ 10,666$ to $\$ 13,332$
- $\$ 13,333$ or more
- Don't know
- Prefer not to say

5. Which of these applies to you?

- Unemployed
- Retired
- Student
- Employed-Private Sector
- Employed-Public Sector
- Employed-Other Sector
- Other

6. In which city do you currently reside?
