

Gender Equality and Economic Inequality as Cultural Foundations of Political Support: Evidence from the World Values Survey (Wave 7)

¹Kashmala Ashfaq (CA)

²Iqra Kanwal

³Misbah Bibi

⁴Shaqib Ullah Khan

¹Department Management Science, MBA Marketing, NUML University Faisalabad Campus

²Department of Economics, National College For Business Administration and Economics, Pakistan

³M.Phil Economics, Department of Economics, National College For Business Administration and Economics, Pakistan

⁴BS Political Science, Department of Political Science, University of Science and Technology, Bannu, Pakistan

kashmalashfaq2709@gmail.com kanwalmalik135@gmail.com misbahjavedo27@gmail.com

shaqibkhanoo77@gmail.com

This study examines the combined effects of economic inequality and gender equality on political support, using data from the World Values Survey, Wave 7. The conceptualization of gender equality as a cultural foundation that shapes individuals' views of economic inequality is itself a move beyond purely materialist frameworks. Using mixed-effects multilevel regression models, the findings show that perceptions of economic inequality are strongly positively associated with political support, and this relationship depends on gender-egalitarian attitudes. Specifically, high levels of economic inequality are likely to promote inclusive and redistributive policies, thereby advancing gender equality. The stability of these results is supported by robustness tests that examine a variety of model specifications and countries. These results highlight the need to incorporate gender norms into studies of inequality and political behavior, and imply that redistributive reform policies designed to promote gender equality can increase the political legitimacy of such reforms and strengthen support for democracy.

Keywords: Socioeconomic factors, Political Supports, World Value Survey, Mixed-effects multilevel regression

Article Details:

Received on 20 Jan, 2026

Accepted on 09 Feb, 2026

Published on 11 Feb, 2026

Corresponding Authors*

1. Introduction

Economic and gender inequality are two of the most intractable problems of the twenty-first century, shaping the well-being of individuals and global unity. Increasing income and wealth inequalities have captured the attention of policymakers, researchers, and international agencies because unequal societies are associated with greater social instability, reduced trust in institutions, and lower life satisfaction (Erdolek Kozal and Gunal, 2023; Edwards, Romero and Naanwaab, 2022; Stiglitz, 2017). Although macro-economic factors like the per capita income, unemployment rate, and the female representation in the administration are valuable analytical variables, modern research tends to emphasize the applicability of cultural values and norms to understand the perceptions of the inequality (Poverty, health, education, etc.) held by people and the preferences towards the redistributive policies (Ahmad et al., 2025; Gul et al., 2020; Ben-Nun Bloom, 2020).

At the same time, gender equality has been recognized as a decisive factor in human rights and social and economic progress. Empirical studies in a variety of national settings have shown that the participation of women in the full-time workforce, further education, and political participation is very deeply dependent on the historically established gender norms that define the socially approved roles of both males and females (Khan et al., 2023; Cislighi et al., 2022; Ben-Nun Bloom, 2020). These norms interplay with institutional variables, including labour laws, access to educational opportunities, and economic globalization processes in general, thus influencing the scope of opportunities that women have and the perceived legitimacy of those opportunities in both the public and private realms (Safdar et al., 2026; Cislighi et al., 2022).

Recent studies have consistently focused on the interplay among cultural orientations, economic conditions, and gender norms in shaping social and political attitudes. Research based on the World Values Survey (WVS) shows that public support for income equality is not only dependent on material welfare and institutional trust but also on the broader cultural and social context in which people operate (Erdolek Kozal & Gunal, 2023). Equally, economic globalizations influences gender equality by exposing people to other norms and values; the more socially globalized a society is, the more it adopts egalitarian beliefs and policies (Ben-Nun & Bloom, 2020). The cultural dimensions (secularism versus traditionalism and individualism versus collectivism) and the level of national income interact to shape inequality and political preferences, which explain the importance of considering cultural heterogeneity in the context of political support (Edwards et al., 2022). Therefore, in modern era COVID-19 changed the entire economic, political and cultural system (Akhtar et al., 2020). This paper argues, based on these insights, that gender equality and economic inequality are cultural pillars of political support; therefore, they shape citizens' tendencies to redistribute, to support social welfare programs, and to adopt general political systems. Based on the results of the World Values Survey (Wave-7), we examine individual- and society-level explanations of approval of egalitarian policies, tolerance toward gender norms, and attitudes toward politics in general, using cross-national differences as predictors. This research is expected to promote a refined understanding of how economic and social inequalities are internalized in cultural worldviews and vice versa, by incorporating empirical evidence on income inequality, gender norms, and cultural orientations.

Hypothesis

H₁: The higher the level at which people think that economic inequity is unnecessary, the higher the probability that they will support the governmental policies meant to reduce income disparities.

H₂: The more gender-equal people are in their espousal, the more likely they are to support the policies aimed at promoting equality and social wellbeing.

H₃: The correlation between political support and economic inequality is enhanced in societies where gender equality is more widely accepted.

After the introductory part, Section 2 presents a literature review, and Section 3 presents the research method and model to be used in the current study. Section 4 reports the results of the empirical analysis. Lastly, Section 5 presents the conclusion and policy recommendations.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Economic inequality, Perceptions, and Political Support

The study of the relationship between economic inequality and political opinion has a long-standing tradition of analyzing the impact of disparities in income and wealth on electoral decisions in favor of redistribution and egalitarian regimes. According to the classical paradigm of political economy, inequality was inherently linked to institution-building and political stability (Smith, 1776; Acemoglu and Robinson, 2012), but modern analysis showed that inequality has severe political implications, including income concentration (Piketty, 2013). One of the most powerful theoretical models in this area is the median-voter theory; according to it, individuals' redistributive preferences depend on their relative income status (Meltzer and Richard, 1983; Corneo and Gruner, 2002). According to this model, increased inequality should lead to greater support for redistribution, as an increasing number of people cannot afford the median income. However, empirical studies, both comparing and within countries, Kenworthy and McCall (2008); Finseraas (2009); Moene and Wallerstein (2003) do not showed definite conclusions that the economic framework is enough to explain political preferences. As a result, the current academic community has begun to pay attention to the subjective notions of inequality and justice. Opinions on redistribution are also significantly influenced by beliefs about economic mobility, distributive justice, and government performance, as reported in survey-based research (Bartels, 2008; Kenworthy and McCall, 2008, Jamal et al., 2024). The cross-national evidence also establishes that perceived inequality is mediated by material well-being, life satisfaction, and institutional trust in the relationship between perceived inequality and political preferences (Erdolek Kozal and Gunal, 2023). Similarly, the World Values Survey indicates that cultural values, especially trust and life satisfaction, influence how inequality is viewed and how much state intervention should be evaluated (Hu, 2023). Institutional trust is particularly decisive; people are more likely to support redistribution as a solution to a problem when they have a lower opinion of governmental agencies, since they expect policies will not be implemented efficiently and equitably (Uslaner, 2002; Rothstein, 2011). In addition, preferences are determined by life satisfaction and perceived economic security, which support the norms of equity and social stability (Easterly, 2001; Acemoglu and Robinson, 2006). This body of literature, in its entirety, indicates that inequality is a determinant of support for political agendas grounded in subjective and cultural processes rather than in material self-interest. Besides, the poverty, inequality, and gender inequality simultaneously in societies that have experienced past inequality and low political trust in developing countries (Gul et al., 2022). The hypothesis (H₁) is that the perception of economic inequality increases support for redistribution, and that this connection is mediated by material well-being, life satisfaction, and institutional trust.

2.2. Norms and Political Support

The principle of gender equality has increasingly become recognized as a development goal and an important political and social consequence (Fredman et al., 2016; Jayachandran, 2020).

Gender norms, which are defined as common expectations regarding the proper division of labour between men and women, have evidently shaped the labour market participation of both genders, public policy preferences, and trends in political representation (Cislaghi & Heise, 2019). Empirical studies, such as the World Values Survey, indicate a strong correlation between gender-egalitarian norms and greater numbers of women engaging in full-time work, among other gender-equity indicators (Cislaghi et al., 2022). Patterns of political support are moulded by such conventions in a number of ways. In the first place, social role consonance with gender equivalence creates greater support for egalitarian welfare policies and institutions. Empirical research indicated that increased labour-force participation by women is often matched by an attitudinal shift in support for the expansion of child care services, welfare-state expenditure, and representative inclusivity (Inglehart and Norris, 2003). The example of normalizing women's employment by Cislaghi et al. (2022,) and Gul et al., (2023) showed that it correlates with better health and more balanced economic performance, demonstrating how the channeling effect of norms on individual behaviour and policy preferences works. Second, beliefs about gender equality are concomitant with broader ideological commitments to egalitarianism, power distribution, and leadership. Advocates of gender equality are found to have an overriding tendency to support inclusive systems of governance and a broad social welfare agenda (Ben-Nun Bloom, 2020). This standpoint is consistent with the cultural-values theoretical framework, which conceptualizes equality and social role expectancies as part and parcel of an overall value system that provides an orderly structure for the formation of political attitudes (Ullah et al., 2023; Inglehart, 1997; Tabellini, 2008). Third, the effects of structural and cultural changes reinforce each other in a loop of feedback: increased labour-force participation by women solidifies, socially, the equality between the sexes in institutional structures and, in turn, induces changes in social policy and the overall redistributive preferences of citizens (Goldin, 2006; Jayachandran, 2020). Empirical data on gender inequality worldwide showed a progressive movement towards gender-egalitarian standards, though at varying speeds across diverse institutional and cultural settings (Cislaghi et al., 2022). Taken together, the academic debate assumes that gender norms are the cultural underpinning of political support, shaping normative conceptualizations of equality and expectations regarding governmental responsibilities. Therefore, Hypothesis 2 argues that the existence of gender-egalitarian norms and a higher female labour force are consistent with greater support for gender-equity policies and social welfare more broadly.

2.3. Economic Inequality and Gender Norms Interaction

The social phenomena of economic inequality and gender norms are traditionally perceived as independent; nevertheless, modern empirical studies reveal that attentive, politically oriented lenses overlap across broad cultural milieus. The cultural-political theory stated that people understand the inequality by means of socially constructed ideals of righteousness, stratification, and division of roles (Welzel and Inglehart, 2005; Tabellini, 2008). It is therefore through interpretive frameworks that inequality propagates redistributive downstream effects or reproduces the status quo of reproduction in society. Comparative politics indicated that cultural orientations, i.e., individualism, collectivism, traditionalism, and secularism, mediate the connection between inequality and policy preferences (Edwards et al., 2022). In environments where egalitarianism is praised, economic disparities are more likely to give rise to a strong desire to promote redistributive, inclusive policies. However, in cultures with strong hierarchical social principles or conservative gender ideals, inequality is often viewed as reasonable or even natural, thereby softening the pressure to redistribute (Ben-Nun Bloom, 2020). The mediating effect of gender norms has also been relevant, as it reflects greater

adherence to social inclusion and equality. Societies with high gender egalitarianism tend to support economic policies grounded in fairness and inclusive governance (Cislaghi et al., 2022). Conversely, constraining gender norms can support hierarchical social structures that justify gender differences, as well as economic ones. According to the empirical data of the World Values Survey, people evaluate inequality, governance, and redistribution based on trust, autonomy, and post-materialism (Hu, 2023). In turn, culture serves as a mediating channel between individual disposition and organizational performance (Beugelsdijk et al., 2018; Shahid et al., 2025). In addition, the inclusion of gender norms in inequality analyses provides a more refined understanding of the political underpinnings of the knowledge that structural inequalities are anchored in cultural values. The hypothesis 3 assumes that the political implications of economic inequality, in turn, will depend on the existing gender norms and cultural values: in gender-egalitarian societies, inequality more likely give rise to a push for inclusive politics, whereas in more traditional cultures it will provoke relatively weaker redistributive impulses.

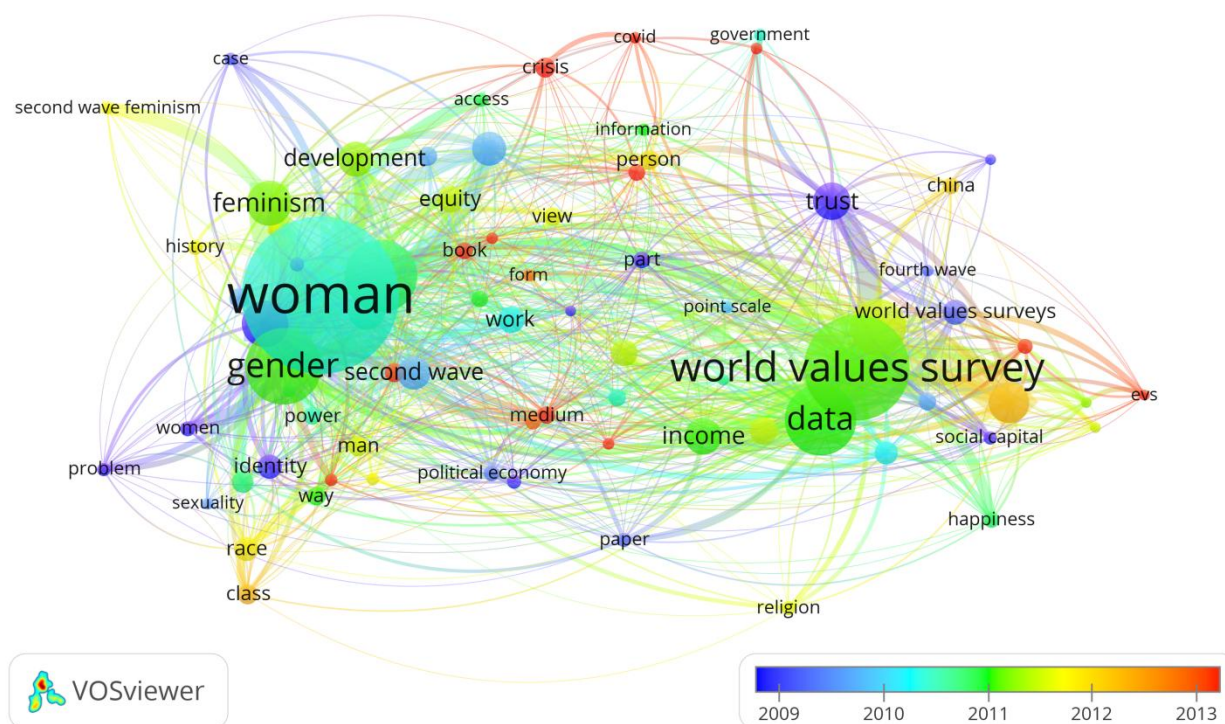


Figure 1: Bibliographic studies of the Gender Equality, Religion, Economic inequality and world value survey data

3. Research Model and Methodology

This study investigates the associated effect of economic inequality and gender-equality attitudes on political support using data collected in Wave 7 of World Values Survey (WVS) consisting of 93,352 respondents in different nations. Political support is operationalized as the index comprising of the answers to the Q250, Q251, and Q252; gender-equality attitudes are represented by the index based on the answers to the questions Q29P, Q30P, Q31P and Q33P and economic-equity attitudes are provided by the index based on the answers to the questions Q106. The analysis will provide accommodations the age of respondents (Q262),

gender (coded as female = 1) education level (ISCED, Q275), level of income (Q288R), and the value they have attached to religion (Q164). Then to test the theoretical hypothesis that gender-equality norms determine how individuals make sense of economic inequality, the research models an estimated mixed-effects multilevel regression that allows both individual and country variability. To establish the contribution of the two attitude variables towards gender and economic inequality, the model includes the interaction term between attitude towards gender equality and attitude towards economic inequality. This methodological framework goes further than the purely materialist accounts, in that cultural attitudes are also included in the analysis of the political legitimacy and redistribution preferences, which allows the research to generate empirical evidence about how social norms and views of inequality contribute to the support of political institutions.

Table 1: *Description of Variables with Code & Categories*

Variable	Code	Categories
Political support	Constructed from Q250, Q251, Q252	Continuous scale (1–10, averaged index)
Gender equality attitudes	Q29P, Q30P, Q31P, Q33P	Continuous scale (1–5, averaged index)
Income inequality attitudes	Q106	1 = Income equality preferred ... 10 = Larger income differences preferred
Age categories	Q262	1 = 18–24; 2 = 25–34; 3 = 35–44; 4 = 45–54; 5 = 55–64; 6 = 65–74; 7 = 75+
Female		0 = Male; 1 = Female
Education (ISCED)	Q275	0 = Early childhood; 1 = Primary; 2 = Lower secondary; 3 = Upper secondary; 4 = Post-secondary non-tertiary; 5 = Short-cycle tertiary; 6 = Bachelor; 7 = Master; 8 = Doctoral
Income level	Q288R	1 = Low; 2 = Medium; 3 = High
Importance of religion	Q164	1 = Not at all important ... 10 = Very important

Table 2: *Country List*

Country	Freq.	%	Country	Freq.	%	Country	Freq.	%
Andorra	1,004	1.07	Indonesia	3,200	3.41	Pakistan	1,986	2.12
Argentina	1,003	1.07	Iran	1,499	1.60	Peru	1,400	1.49
Australia	1,795	1.91	Iraq	1,200	1.28	Philippines	1,200	1.28
Bangladesh	1,200	1.28	Japan	1,353	1.44	Puerto Rico	1,125	1.20
Armenia	1,223	1.30	Kazakhstan	1,276	1.36	Romania	1,240	1.32
Bolivia	2,067	2.20	Jordan	1,203	1.28	Russia	1,810	1.93
Brazil	1,761	1.88	Kenya	1,259	1.34	Serbia	1,043	1.11
Myanmar	1,200	1.28	South Korea	1,245	1.33	Singapore	2,012	2.15
Canada	4,018	4.29	Kyrgyzstan	1,200	1.28	Slovakia	1,200	1.28
Chile	1,000	1.07	Lebanon	1,200	1.28	Vietnam	1,200	1.28
China	3,036	3.24	Libya	1,185	1.26	Zimbabwe	1,211	1.29
Taiwan ROC	1,222	1.30	Macau SAR	813	0.87	Tajikistan	1,200	1.28
Colombia	1,520	1.62	Malaysia	1,313	1.40	Thailand	1,499	1.60
Cyprus	1,000	1.07	Maldives	1,036	1.10	Tunisia	1,205	1.29
Czechia	1,200	1.28	Mexico	1,739	1.85	Turkey	2,414	2.57
Ecuador	1,200	1.28	Mongolia	1,638	1.75	Ukraine	1,289	1.37

Ethiopia	1,230	1.31	Morocco	1,200	1.28	Egypt	1,200	1.28
Germany	1,528	1.63	Netherlands	2,145	2.29	Great Britain	2,469	2.63
Greece	1,200	1.28	New Zealand	1,028	1.10	United States	2,596	2.77
Guatemala	1,229	1.31	Nicaragua	1,200	1.28	Uruguay	1,000	1.07
Hong Kong SAR	2,058	2.19	Nigeria	1,237	1.32	Venezuela	1,190	1.27
-	-	-	-	-	-	Northern Ireland	416	0.44

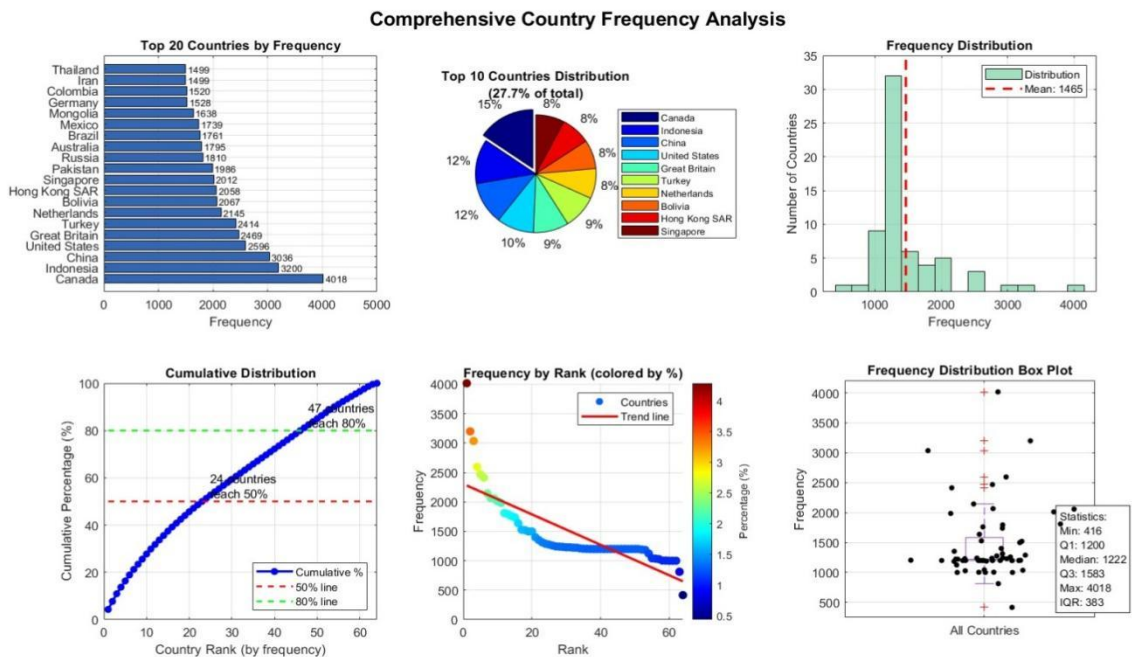


Figure 2: countries frequency analysis

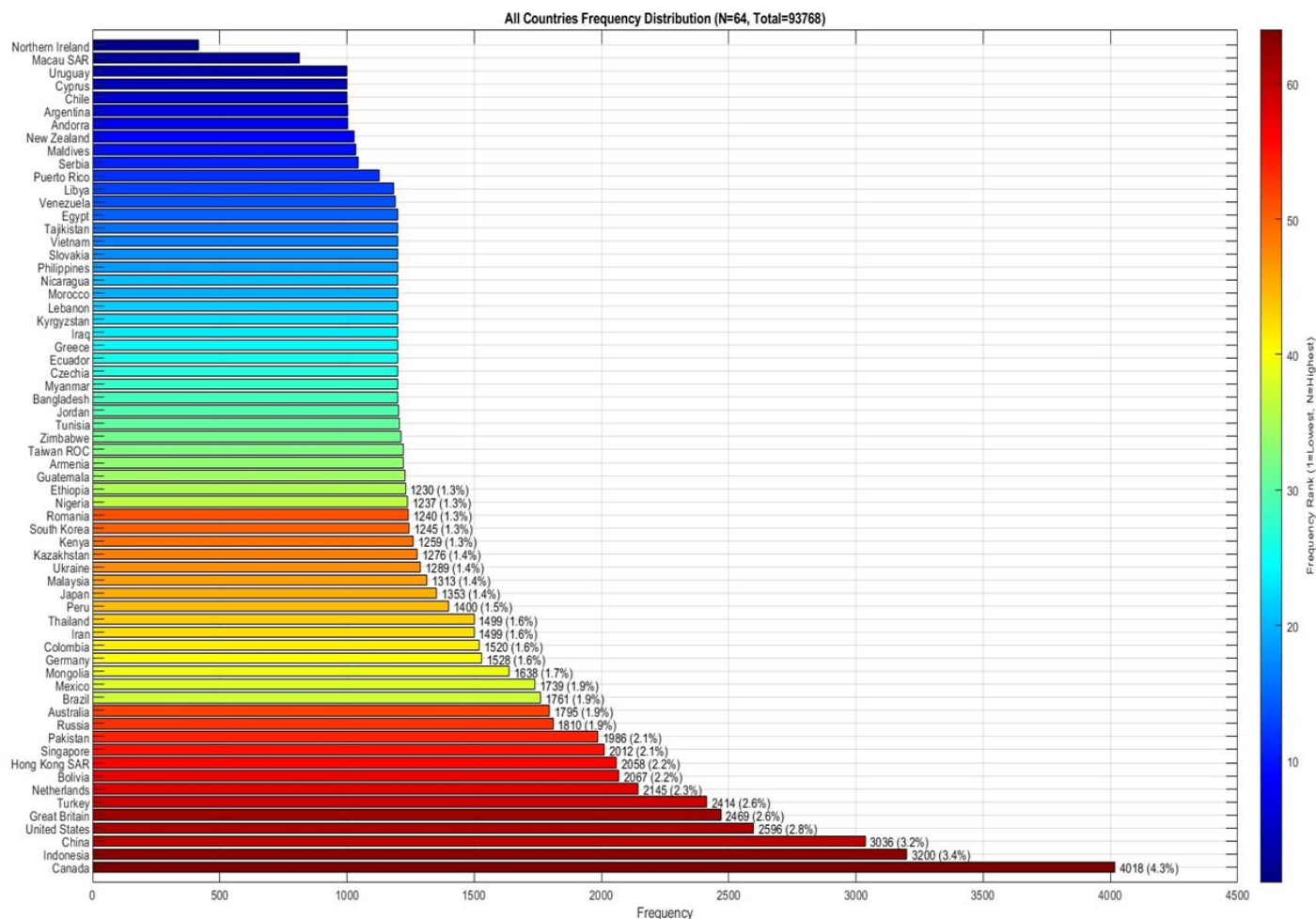


Figure 3: Frequency with countries base.

3.1 Methodology

To study investigate the macro determinants of the economic (Economic inequality), Socio (Gender Equality and cultural Foundations) on political support from the WVS. The general econometric model is specified as:

$$Political_Support_i = \delta_0 + \sum_{k=1}^{n=7} \delta_{\sigma} X_{\sigma,i} + \varepsilon_i \dots (1)$$

Where $Political_Support_i$ represents the political support index for individual i , $\delta_{\sigma} X_{\sigma,i}$ denotes the explanatory variables, and ε_i is the error term.

$$u_i \sim N(0, \sigma_u^2)$$

And the individual error term:

$$\varepsilon_{ij} \sim N(0, \sigma^2)$$

Where,

i = indexes individuals and j indexes countries,

u_j = is the country-level random intercept, and

ε_i = is the individual-level error term

The baseline econometric description models political support as a function of gender equality attitudes, economic inequality attitudes, and socio-demographic control variables:

The econometric specification is as follows:

Political supports_i

$$= \delta_0 + \delta_1 \text{Gender Equality}_i + \delta_2 \text{Economic Inequality}_i + \delta_3 \text{Age}_i + \delta_4 \text{Gender}_i + \delta_5 \text{Education}_i + \delta_6 \text{Income}_{it} + \beta_7 \text{Importance of Religion}_i + \varepsilon_i \dots (2)$$

Now the Interaction term included into the general model. Thus:

Political supports_i

$$= \delta_0 + \delta_1 \text{Gender Equality}_i + \delta_2 \text{Economic Inequality}_i + \delta_3 (\text{Gender Equality}_i * \text{Economic Inequality}_i) + \delta_4 \text{Age}_i + \delta_5 \text{Gender}_i + \delta_6 \text{Education}_i + \delta_7 \text{Income}_{it} + \beta_8 \text{Importance of Religion}_i + \varepsilon_i \dots (3)$$

The models are estimated using below model, treating political support as a continuous dependent variable. Including the interaction term allows the marginal effect of economic inequality attitudes on political support to vary depending on individuals' gender equality attitudes.

3.2 Mixed-Effects Multilevel Regression Models

The World Values Survey (WVS) is represented by the hierarchical structure with individuals and countries. This study uses the mixed-effects multilevel regression models, that is, the linear mixed models, to measure the relationships between gender-equity attitudes, perceptions of economic inequality, and political support. When the data will have clustered form, it is justified to use multilevel models since data observed in one country will most likely be correlated and shaped by similar institutional, cultural or economic milieus. Similarly, the ordinary least-squares (OLS) regression, which assumes that observations are independent, mixed-effects models permit the concomitant estimation of fixed and random effects (at the individual level, gender-equity attitudes, economic-inequality perceptions, age, gender, education, income and the relevance of religion) and random effects, which indicate the heterogeneity among countries that is unobservable. This two-level model enables both within-country and between-country variance to be modelled simultaneously to give higher quality standard error approximations and eliminate the information loss that would otherwise result when survey data are aggregated to the national scale. Mixed-effects models suit most especially cross-national survey information, longitudinal designs, or multistage probability samples, where hierarchical dependence is expected. To determine the sufficiency of the modelling strategy, the analysis follows the standard procedures of goodness of fit of mixed-models. Nakagawa and Schielzeth (2013) by reported that marginal R^2 (variance explained by fixed effects) and conditional R^2 (variance explained by both fixed and random effects), alongside model comparison statistics such as AIC (Zafar et al., 2025; Muhammad et al., 2025)

4. Findings and Discussions

The section presents the empirical findings of mixed-effects multilevel regression analyses of the World Values Survey Wave 7 data. The analysis examines the independent as well as cooperative effects of economic inequality and gender equality on the political support, holding other individual-level covariates constant and cross-national heterogeneity. Special attention is given to the clarification of the connection between the equality between men and women and economic inequality, as well as to detailed model diagnostics and robustness tests to evaluate the reliability and integrity of the established relations.

Table 3 shows the estimates of mixed-effects multilevel regression models used to analyses the relationships between the perceptions of economic inequality, gender equality, and political support using data of the World Values Survey Wave 7. The baseline specification suggests that increased perceptions of economic inequality and reduced perceptions of egalitarian gender



relations are both negatively and statistically significantly related to political support, indicating that respondents with higher perceptions of economic inequality or lower perceptions of egalitarian gender relations have lower levels of political support at baseline. The correlation between the cross-product effect of gender equality and economic inequality is positive and statistically significant, therefore, providing empirical evidence to Hypothesis 3. Such interplay indicates that the unhealthy relationship between perceived economic inequality and political support is mitigated when gender equality is strongly supported (Gul et al., 2026), and therefore, gender suffrage norms seem to mediate the effects of perceived economic inequality on political attitudes. The control variables are aligned with the theory. A positive relationship with age, female gender, and income is found within high-income subgroups; however, significant support is indicated in political support. Education level, at the bachelor's or master's level, also positively influences political support. Further, the greater the ratings of religion, the greater the manifestations of political support. All these findings, taken together, emphasizes the delicate nature of the interaction between socioeconomic perceptions and political dispositions, and how gender-egalitarian principles can buffer the negative effects that perceived economic inequality may have on support for political actors or institutions. Moreover, the random-effects estimates of the model without the interaction term are reported in Table 4. The statistically significant country-level variance, as verified by the variance-components test, shows that there is substantial cross-country heterogeneity in political support, and therefore it is justifiable to use a multilevel analytical framework rather than a single-level one. As shown in Table 5, the country-level variance does not decrease significantly when the interaction term is introduced. This observation reveals that, despite the moderating effect of gender equality on the existence of inequality-resolving political support, there is an effect of national cultural and institutional predispositions that persist, hence the thesis statement of the study, with reference to the cultural underpinning.

Table 3: Mixed-effects ML Regression

Model without interaction			Model with Interaction Term [Gender Equality× Economic Inequality]		
Other Statistics					
Number of obs.			87,542		
Number of groups			63		
Min			35 ¹		
Max			3,997		
Avg			1,389.6		
Log likelihood			-169619.35	Log likelihood	-169593.65
Wald chi2(28)			2677.49	Wald chi2(28)	2730.44
Prob > chi2			0.0000	Prob > chi2	0.0000
Variable	Category	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.
Gender equality	-	-0.0218	0.0095**	-0.1131	0.0159***
Economic inequality	-	-0.0362	0.0020***	-0.0924	0.0081***
[GEqual× ECOIneq.]	Interaction	-	-	0.0196	0.0027***
Age (Ref: 18–24)					
	25–34	-0.0914	0.0197***	-0.0907	0.0197***
	35–44	0.0347	0.0202*	0.0363	0.0202*

	45-54	0.1042	0.0210***	0.1060	0.0210***
	55-64	0.1808	0.0222***	0.1828	0.0222***
	65-74	0.2566	0.0254***	0.2591	0.0254***
	75+	0.0035	0.0116	0.0032	0.0116
Sex (Ref: Male)					
	Female	0.4200	0.0358***	0.4234	0.0358***
Education (Ref: Early childhood education)					
	Primary education	0.0943	0.0316***	0.0939	0.0316***
	Lower secondary education	0.0125	0.0312	0.0115	0.0312
	Upper secondary education	0.0131	0.0302	0.0118	0.0301
	Post-secondary non-tertiary education	-0.0816	0.0347***	-0.0826	0.0347***
	Short-cycle tertiary education	-0.0247	0.0352	-0.0249	0.0352
	Bachelor or equivalent	0.1187	0.0321	0.1167	0.0321***
	Master or equivalent	0.1862	0.0374***	0.1837	0.0374***
	Doctoral or equivalent	0.0905	0.0623	0.0892	0.0623
Income (Ref: Low)					
	Media	0.2095	0.0141***	0.2085	0.0141***
	High	0.5987	0.0224***	0.5976	0.0224***
Importance scale (Ref: Not at all important)					
	2	0.0520	0.0351	0.0553	0.0351
	3	-0.0423	0.0351	-0.0373	0.0351
	4	-0.1933	0.0393***	-0.1860	0.0393***
	5	-0.2427	0.0283***	-0.2375	0.0283***
	6	-0.1203	0.0310***	-0.1144	0.0310***
	7	0.0919	0.0302***	0.0960	0.0302***
	8	0.2018	0.0288***	0.2055	0.0287***
	9	0.3045	0.0314***	0.3076	0.0314***
Very important		0.3553	0.0236***	0.3587	0.0236***
Constant		6.3014	0.1092***	6.5590	0.1147***

Table 4: Random-effects parameters without Interaction

Parameter	Estimate	Std. Error	[95% CIL -95% CIU]
Country-level variance (var(_cons))	0.6014067	0.107633	[0.4234771 0.854096]
Residual variance	2.80846	0.0134286	[2.782263 2.834903]
Test	Statistic		p-value
LR test vs. linear model	chibar ² (1) = 14825.71		0.0000

Table 5: Random-effects parameters with Interaction Term [Gender Equality× Economic Inequality]

Parameter	Estimate	Std. Error	[95% CIL -95% CIU]
Country-level variance (var(_cons))	0.6045	0.1082	[0.4256 0.8584]
Residual variance	2.8101	0.0134	[2.7839 2.8366]
Test	Statistic		p-value

LR test vs. linear model	chibar ² (1) = 14902.29	0.000
ICC		-

Table 6 provides a comparative study of the model fit indices based on the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) and Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC). The model with the interaction term has lower AIC and BIC values, indicating a better balance between explanatory power and parsimony. This finding provides additional statistical support for the adopted specification. The intraclass correlation coefficients (ICC) are reported in **Table 7**. The difference between the specifications accounts for approximately 17-18% of the variation in political support attributed to country-level differences in each specification. The fact that the ICC is fairly stable across the models may indicate that the introduction of the interaction term can help explain dynamics at the individual level without reviving cross-national variance. **Table 8** shows diagnostics (VIF). The VIFs of all predictors in the model are significantly below traditional thresholds, and in the interaction model, this suggests that there is no severe Multicollinearity and that the coefficient estimates should be trusted. A summary of influence diagnostics, based on Cook distances, is provided in **Table 9**. None of the observations exceed the critical value of 1.87, and therefore, the findings are not dominated by influential outliers but show a high level of strength across the whole sample.

4.1 Diagnostic Tests

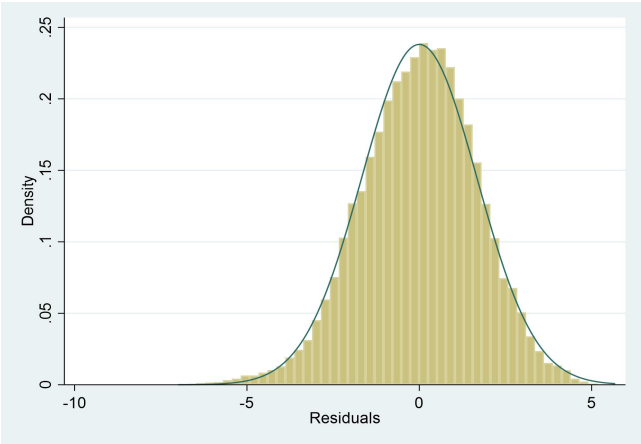
Table 6: Akaike's information criterion and Bayesian information criterion

Model	N	ll(null)	ll(model)	df	AIC	BIC
Model Without Of Interaction						
	87,542		-169619.4	31	339300.7	339591.5
Model With of Interaction						
	87,542		-169593.7	32	339251.3	339551.5

Note: BIC uses N = number of observations. See [R] BIC note.

Table 7: Residual Intraclass Correlation

Model	Model Without of Interaction			Model With of Interaction		
	ICC	Std. err.	[95% CI]	ICC	Std. err.	[95% CI]
B_COUNTRY	0.177	0.0260	[0.131- 0.234]	0.1763	0.0260	[0.131 0.233]
	0.177 [17.7%]			0.176 (≈ 17.6%)		



Figures 4: Hist without interaction term

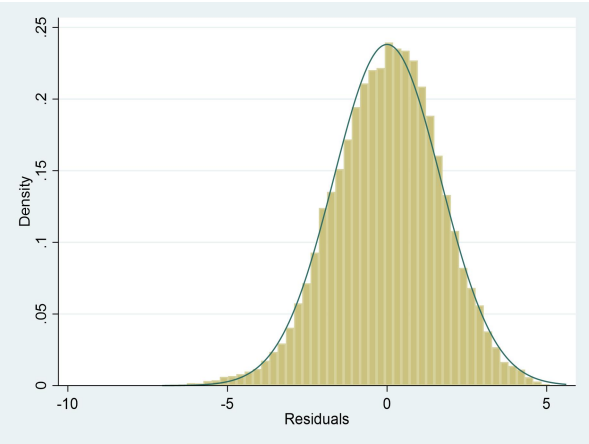


Figure 5: Hist with interaction term



Table 8: VIF Results

Model	Model without Interaction	of	Model With Interaction	of
Variable	VIF	1/VIF	VIF	1/VIF
Gender equality	1.11	0.898913	3.49	0.286797
Economic inequality	1.03	0.972778	7.46	0.127283
[GEqual× ECOIneq.]	-	-	8.42	0.108967
25-34	2.03	0.492615	2.03	0.492615
35-44	1.98	0.505216	1.98	0.505202
45-54	1.89	0.528760	1.89	0.528744
55-64	1.80	0.555777	1.80	0.555773
65-74	1.56	0.640758	1.56	0.640756
75+	1.23	0.811841	1.23	0.811841
Female	1.03	0.968531	1.03	0.968505
Primary education	3.03	0.330264	3.03	0.330260
Lower secondary education	3.51	0.284783	3.51	0.284770
Upper secondary education	4.83	0.206959	4.83	0.206891
Post-secondary non-tertiary education	2.70	0.370387	2.70	0.370175
Short-cycle tertiary education	2.55	0.391632	2.55	0.391568
Bachelor or equivalent	4.06	0.246216	4.06	0.246123
Master or equivalent	2.32	0.430630	2.32	0.430218
Doctoral or equivalent	1.26	0.793843	1.26	0.793741
Media	1.34	0.745168	1.34	0.745139
High	1.34	0.746853	1.34	0.746815
2	1.26	0.790831	1.26	0.790684
3	1.27	0.786378	1.27	0.785996
4	1.21	0.823703	1.22	0.822991
5	1.55	0.644681	1.55	0.643914
6	1.43	0.699500	1.43	0.698595
7	1.46	0.686056	1.46	0.685513
8	1.55	0.644685	1.55	0.644148
9	1.45	0.689702	1.45	0.689252
Very important	2.93	0.341619	2.93	0.340987
Mean VIF	1.95	-	3.24	

Table 9: Influence diagnostics (Cook's distance)

Model	Model without Interaction	of Model With of
	Value	Value
Observations	87,542	87,542
Mean Cook's D	0.000011	0.000011
Median Cook's D	0.000005	0.000005
95th percentile	0.000040	0.000040
Maximum Cook's D	0.000477	0.000457
Threshold (4/n)	0.000046	0.000045

Table 3-9 reveals that the stability and validity of the approximate relationship between the economic inequality, gender equality, and political support are strong. Mixed-effects multilevel models indicate statistically significant influences of economic inequality and gender equality on political support, and the positive, statistically significant interplay between the two variables supports the theoretical prediction that the two gender-egalitarian norms mediate the effect of economic inequality. According to the diagnostic tests, the residuals follow a normal distribution and are centered at zero, which is a good specification of the model. Random-effect estimates and intraclass correlation coefficients indicate significant and persistent inter-country heterogeneity, and therefore a multilevel design would be appropriate, with national cultural and institutional contexts relevant. The indices of model comparison (AIC and BIC) also favor the interaction model, indicating a better fit. Diagnostic test results indicate that there is no Multicollinearity and that the diagnostic results are not biased. Taken together, these results provide strong empirical evidence that gender equality and economic inequality are intertwined cultural bases of political support.

The hypothesis of the mutual interdependence of economic disparities and gender equality as cultural factors of political support is supported by the empirical results. In line with earlier research, the views on economic inequality have a high contextual relationship with political dispositions, which reinforces the argument on the conditionality of the political preferences to material conditions as well as assessments on fairness, life satisfaction, and institutional performance (Bartels, 2008; Kenworthy and McCall, 2008; Erdoak, Kozal and Gunal, 2023). Such observations are consistent with the World Values Survey, which suggests that cultural values and social trust mediate responses to inequality (Edwards et al., 2022; El Hussieny et al., 2023). Moreover, the findings support the dominance of gender-egalitarian values, which are closely associated with greater political support for egalitarianism and redistributive policies. The fact is consistent with previous findings that indicate a positive relationship between gender equality and inclusive political orientations, as well as welfare-seeking preferences (Inglehart and Norris, 2003; Cislighi and Heise, 2019). It is important to note that the positive correlation between gender equality and economic inequality is observed, thus suggesting that gender norms mediate inequality into political attitudes translation, thus supporting theoretical predictions that cultural orientations (i.e. egalitarianism, individualism, and secularism) elicited redistributive impulses (Welzel and Inglehart, 2005; Tabellini, 2008; Edwards et al., 2022). The large cross-national inequalities, taken as a whole, indicate the critical role of institutional and cultural milieus in shaping political support and that there is a high level of response to the issue of inequality in situations where the social legitimacy of gender equality is established. The findings highlight the need to incorporate gender norms into empirical research on economic inequality and political behaviour, thereby fostering a more nuanced understanding of how cultural values shape contemporary trends in political support.

5. Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

The current research shows that economic inequality and gender equality are intermediary cultural pillars that support political support rather than independent determinants. Using Wave 7 data from the World Values Survey and a multilevel modelling approach, the analysis finds that perceptions of economic inequality have a considerable effect on political support, and this correlation is mediated by the norms of gender egalitarianism. In the presence of gender egalitarianism with high levels of acceptance, economic inequalities increase people's tendency to support redistributive and inclusive political agendas. The hypothesis that political attitudes towards inequality are ingrained in an extensive system of cultural values is

supported by empirical evidence, thereby justifying the suggestion that subjective norms, institutional trust, and social equality are factors that influence any given political behaviour. On the policy side of things, the results suggest that the policy measures aimed at alleviating economic inequality cannot rely solely on material redistribution. Increasing gender equality, in terms of education, participation in labour markets and politics, enhances the social legitimacy of redistributive and inclusive policies and governance structures. As a result, policymakers ought to consider holistic approaches capable of managing poverty, inequality, and gender inequality simultaneously in societies that have experienced past inequality and low political trust. With this more integrated approach, it is hoped that political support, institutional stability, and social cohesion will be strengthened, resulting in more sustainable and equitable developmental outcomes.

6. References

1. Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2005). *Economic origins of dictatorship and democracy*. Cambridge university press.
2. Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2013). *Why nations fail: The origins of power, prosperity, and poverty*. Crown Currency.
3. Bartels, L. M. (2016). Unequal democracy: The political economy of the new gilded age.
4. Ben-Nun Bloom, P. (2016). State-level restriction of religious freedom and women's rights: A global analysis. *Political Studies*, 64(4), 832-853.
5. Beugelsdijk, S., Kostova, T., Kunst, V. E., Spadafora, E., & Van Essen, M. (2018). Cultural distance and firm internationalization: A meta-analytical review and theoretical implications. *Journal of management*, 44(1), 89-130.
6. Cislighi, B., & Heise, L. (2019). Using social norms theory for health promotion in low-income countries. *Health promotion international*, 34(3), 616-623.
7. Cislighi, B., Bhatia, A., Hallgren, E. S. T., Horanieh, N., Weber, A. M., & Darmstadt, G. L. (2022). Gender norms and gender equality in full-time employment and health: A 97-country analysis of the world values survey. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 13, 689815.
8. Corneo, G., & Grüner, H. P. (2002). Individual preferences for political redistribution. *Journal of public Economics*, 83(1), 83-107.
9. Easterly, W. (2001). The elusive quest for growth.
10. Edwards, J. A., Romero, A., & Naanwaab, C. (2022). Income inequality, the World Values Survey, and the interaction of cultural dimensions. *Applied Econometrics and International Development*, 22(2), 5-24.
11. Hu, Y. (2023). The Impact of Gender and Inequality Perception on Subjective Well-being—An Empirical Study Based on World Values Survey. In *SHS Web of Conferences* (Vol. 178, p. 01018). EDP Sciences.
12. Kozal, Ö. E., & Günel, G. G. (2023). Kicking Away the Ladder or Not? Unraveling Income Inequality Perceptions in the World. *Ege Academic Review*, 23(4), 709-726.
13. Finseraas, H. (2009). Income inequality and demand for redistribution: A multilevel analysis of European public opinion. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 32(1), 94-119.
14. Fredman, S., Kuosmanen, J., & Campbell, M. (2016). Transformative equality: Making the sustainable development goals work for women. *Ethics & International Affairs*, 30(2), 177-187.
15. Goldin, C. (2006). The quiet revolution that transformed women's employment, education, and family. *American economic review*, 96(2), 1-21.
16. Inglehart, R. (1997). Modernization, postmodernization and changing perceptions of risk. *International Review of Sociology*, 7(3), 449-459.

17. Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2003). *Rising tide: Gender equality and cultural change around the world*. Cambridge University Press.
18. Welzel, C., & Inglehart, R. (2005). Liberalism, postmaterialism, and the growth of freedom. *International Review of Sociology*, 15(1), 81-108.
19. Jayachandran, S. (2020). *Social norms as a barrier to women's employment in developing countries* (No. w27449). National Bureau of Economic Research.
20. Kenworthy, L., & McCall, L. (2008). Inequality, public opinion and redistribution. *Socio-Economic Review*, 6(1), 35-68.
21. Meltzer, A. H., & Richard, S. F. (1981). A rational theory of the size of government. *Journal of political Economy*, 89(5), 914-927.
22. Moene, K. O., & Wallerstein, M. (2003). Earnings inequality and welfare spending: A disaggregated analysis. *World Politics*, 55(4), 485-516.
23. Nakagawa, S., & Schielzeth, H. (2013). A general and simple method for obtaining R² from generalized linear mixed-effects models. *Methods in ecology and evolution*, 4(2), 133-142.
24. Piketty, T. (2013). *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*.
25. Rothstein, B. (2011). *The quality of government: Corruption, social trust, and inequality in international perspective*. University of Chicago Press.
26. Smith, A. (1776). *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*.
27. Stiglitz, J. E. (2012). *The price of inequality: How today's divided society endangers our future*. WW Norton & Company.
28. Tabellini, G. (2008). Institutions and culture. *Journal of the European Economic association*, 6(2-3), 255-294.
29. Uslaner, E. M. (2002). The moral foundations of trust. Available at SSRN 824504.
30. Khan, U. S., Khan, Z. M., & Gul, A. (2023). Democracy's Role in Shaping Pakistan's Economic Growth: An Empirical Evidence from Pakistan. *International Journal of Contemporary issues in social sciences*, 2(3), 356-367.
31. Ahmad, N., Raid, M., & Gul, A. (2025). Regional insights into poverty among women-headed households in Pakistan. *Development in Practice*, 1-10.
32. Gul, A., Zahra, F., Iqbal, A., Ghafoor, T., & Hussain, M. (2020). Linkage between poverty, inequality, and income distribution: a case on Bannu District, Pakistan. *Asian Dev Policy Rev*, 8(4), 330-9.
33. Akhtar Gul, S. H., Ali, H., & Zahra, F. (2020). COVID-19 impact on poverty and unemployment levels: A case Pakistan. *Journal of Research and Reviews in Social Sciences Pakistan*, 3(2), 879-893.
34. Gul, A., Khan, I. H., Safdar, S., & Redjil, A. (2026). Impact of Climate Change on Energy and Health: Poverty Multivariate Decomposition Analysis Using Evidence From Pakistan DHS 2012-2018. In *Advancing Climate Change Mitigation and Resilience Through Innovation and Policy* (pp. 93-124). IGI Global Scientific Publishing.
35. Gul, A., Khan, I. H., Safdar, S., & Redjil, A. (2026). Impact of Climate Change on Energy and Health: Poverty Multivariate Decomposition Analysis Using Evidence From Pakistan DHS 2012-2018. In *Advancing Climate Change Mitigation and Resilience Through Innovation and Policy* (pp. 93-124). IGI Global Scientific Publishing.
36. Gul, A., Khan, S. U., & Abbasi, R. A. (2023). Vicious Circle of Health Expenditure: Time Series Evidence from Pakistan. *Journal of Contemporary Macroeconomic Issues*, 4(1).
37. Gul, A., Shabeer, M. G., Abbasi, R. A., & Khan, A. W. (2022). Africa's poverty and famines: Developmental projects of China on Africa. *Perennial journal of history*, 3(1), 165-194.

38. Safdar, S., Gul, A., & Khan, S. U. (2026). The Role of Green Finance in Advancing Sustainable Development: An Analysis of Financial Instruments and Their Impact on Economic and Environmental Goals. In *Green Policies for a Sustainable World* (pp. 295-330). Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland.
39. Safdar, S., Gul, A., & Khan, S. U. (2026). The Role of Green Finance in Advancing Sustainable Development: An Analysis of Financial Instruments and Their Impact on Economic and Environmental Goals. In *Green Policies for a Sustainable World* (pp. 295-330). Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland.
40. Muhammad, N., Khan, Z. U., Iqbal, M. A., Ullah, I., & Ahmad, N. (2025). Impact of Energy Consumption and Economic Growth on Environmental Degradation: Evidence from South Asian Countries. *Journal of Asian Development Studies*, 14(1), 320-334.
41. Zafar, S., Ullah, I., Khan, K. S., & Khattak, H. (2025). Artificial Intelligence Patents and Economic Growth: A Growth Framework for OECD Countries. *Journal of Asian Development Studies*, 14(4), 35-44.
42. Shahid S, Ullah, I., & Munib, (2025). Asian Countries Analysis on Climate Change Impact on Growth of Economy and Food Security. *Review of Economic Trends*, 2(2), 11-21.
43. Ullah, I., Nosheen, M., Shah, K. R., & Ahmad, N. (2023). Nexus between economic growth, energy consumption and environmental degradation: empirical evidence from economic cooperation organization countries. *PAKISTAN ISLAMICUS (An International Journal of Islamic & Social Sciences)*, 3(2), 310-334.
44. Jamal, F., Zhijun, Y., Khan, U. U., Zubair, M., Ahmad, S., Sultan, F., & Ullah, I. (2024). The impact of finance, infrastructure and training on the performance of SMEs in Pakistan. *South Asian J Soc Stud Econ*, 21(4), 4.

Appendixes:

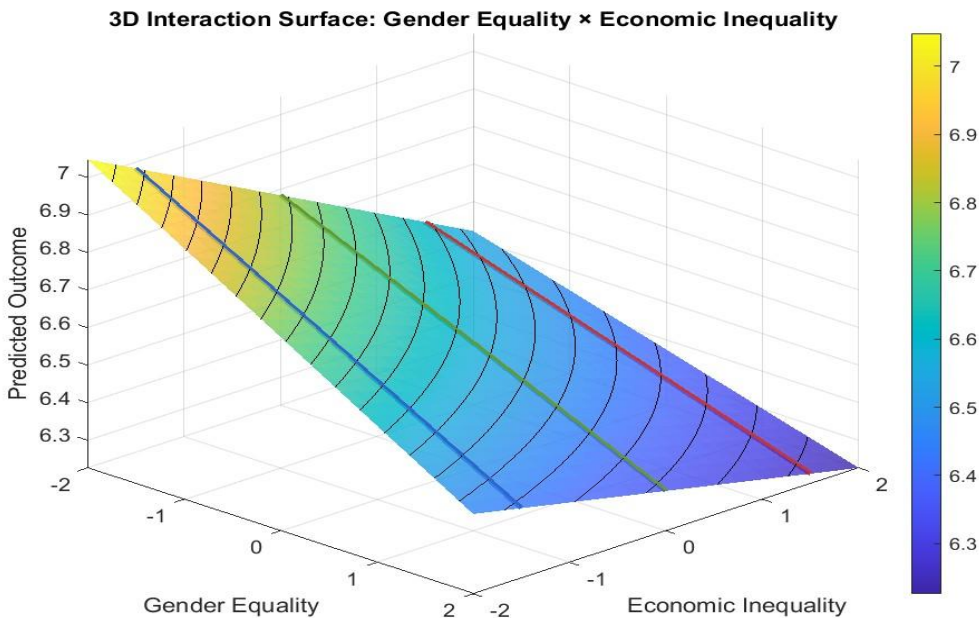


Figure 6: 3D representation of Gender Equality, Economic inequality and Cultural

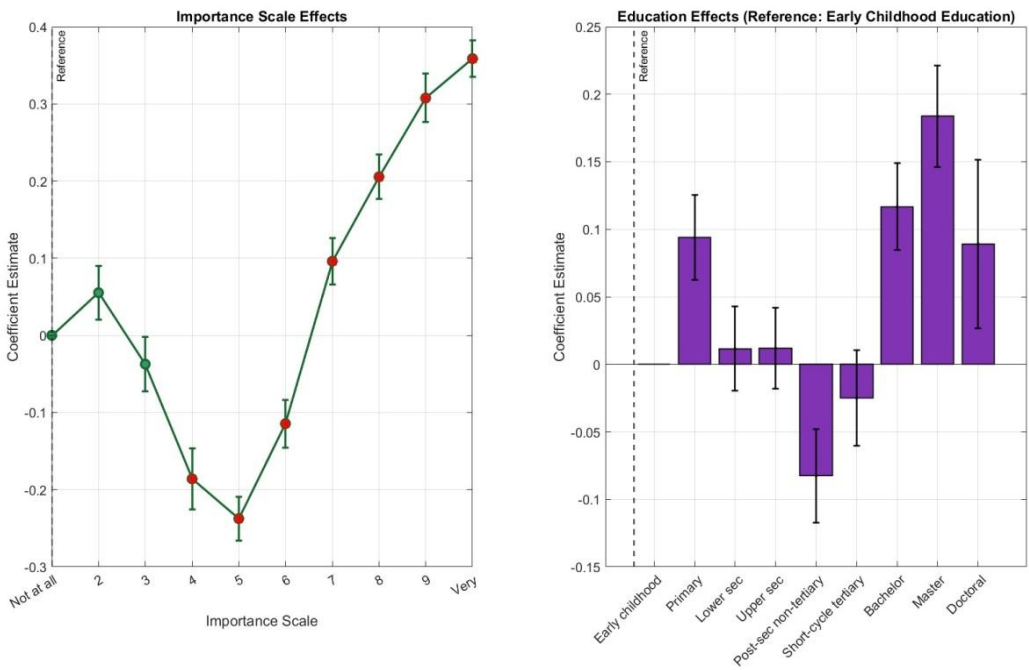


Figure 7: Effect of the Scale and Education effects

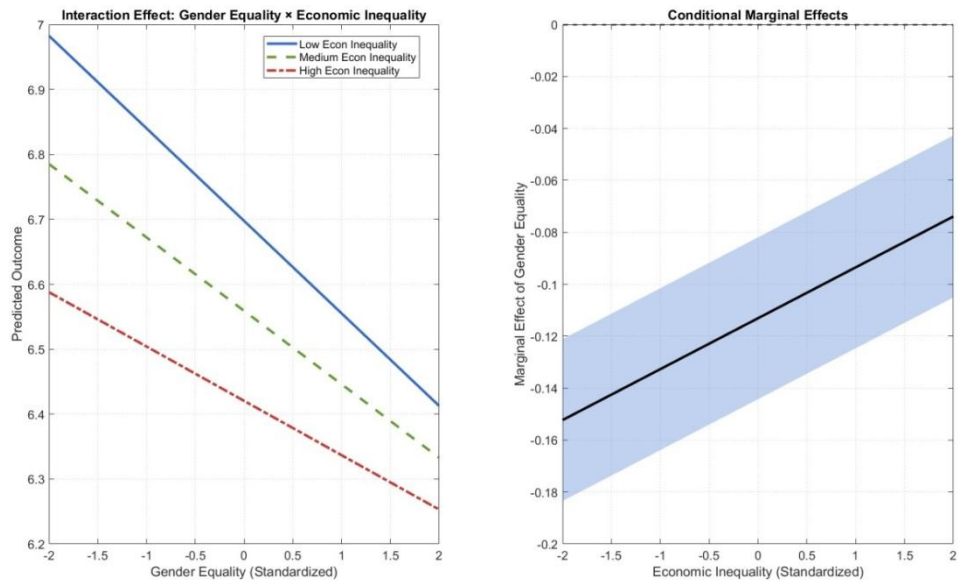


Figure 8: Interaction Term and conditional Marginal Effects

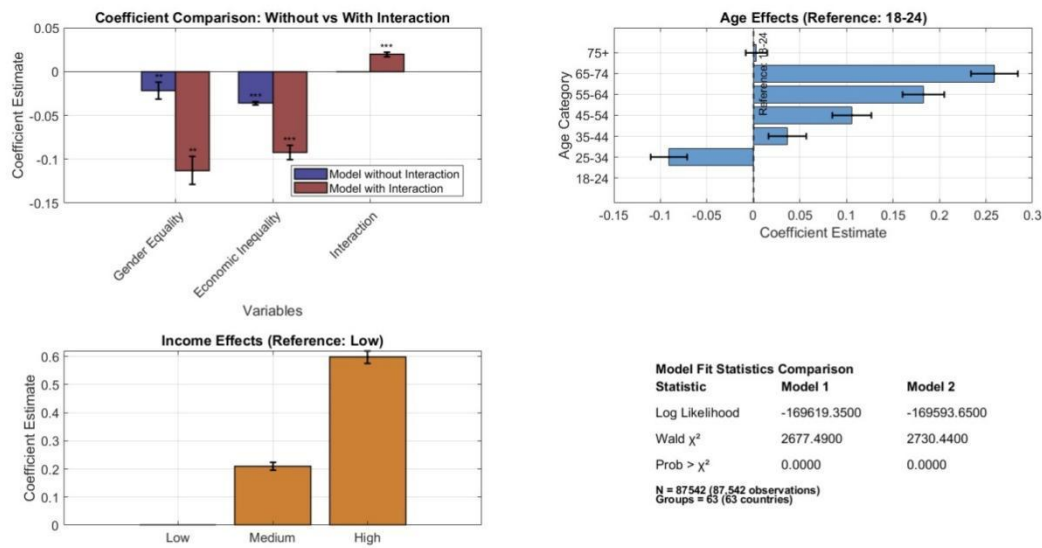


Figure 9: Coefficient Comparison with and without interaction

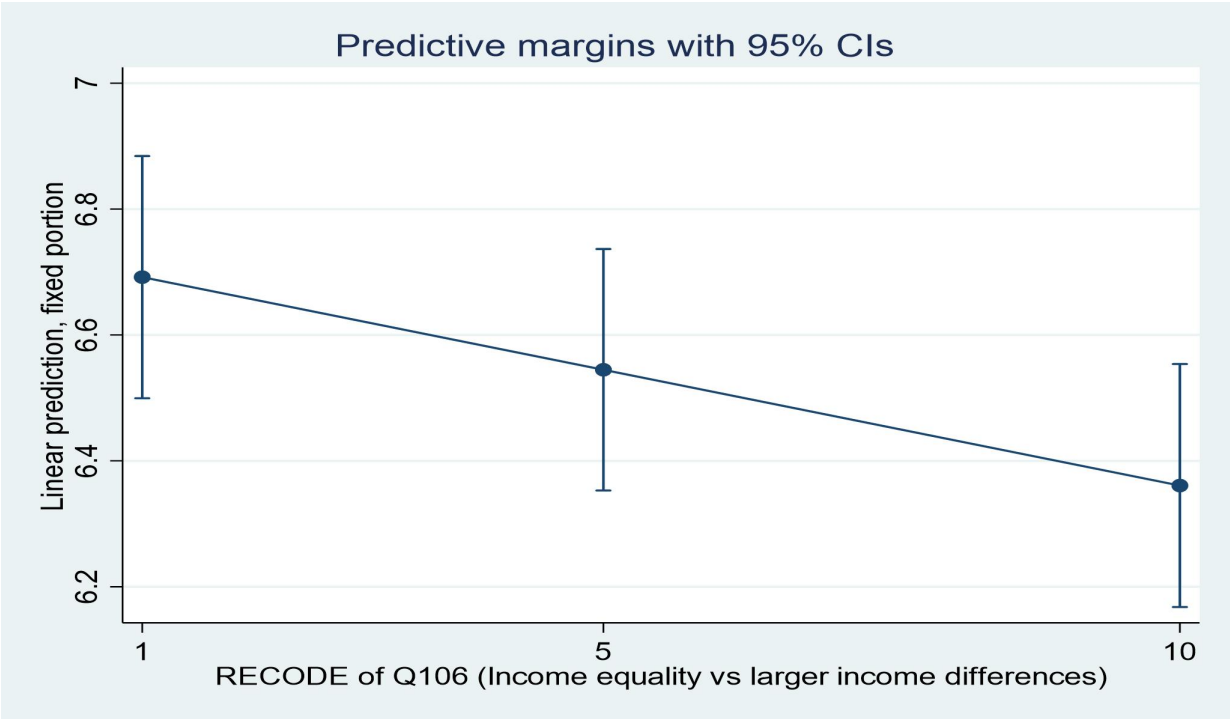


Figure 10: Margins Effect Main model

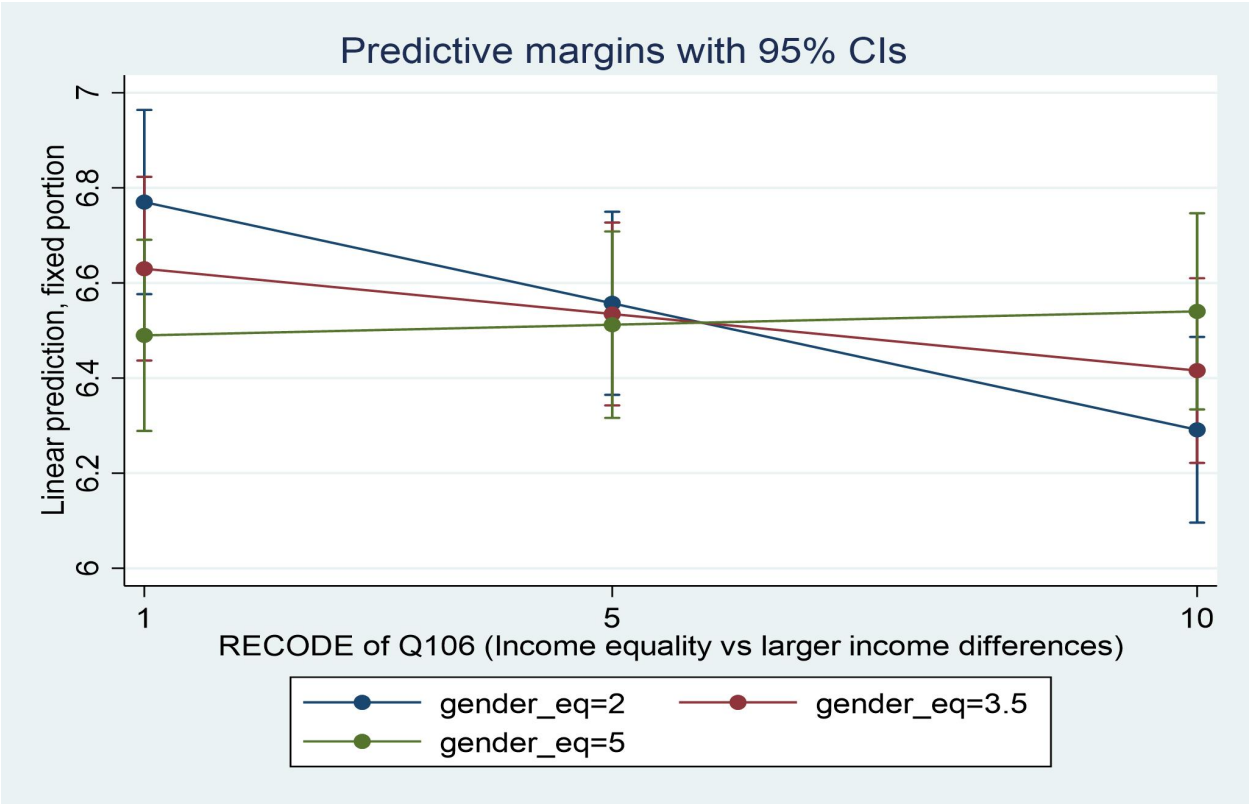


Figure 11: Margins Effect with interaction Term

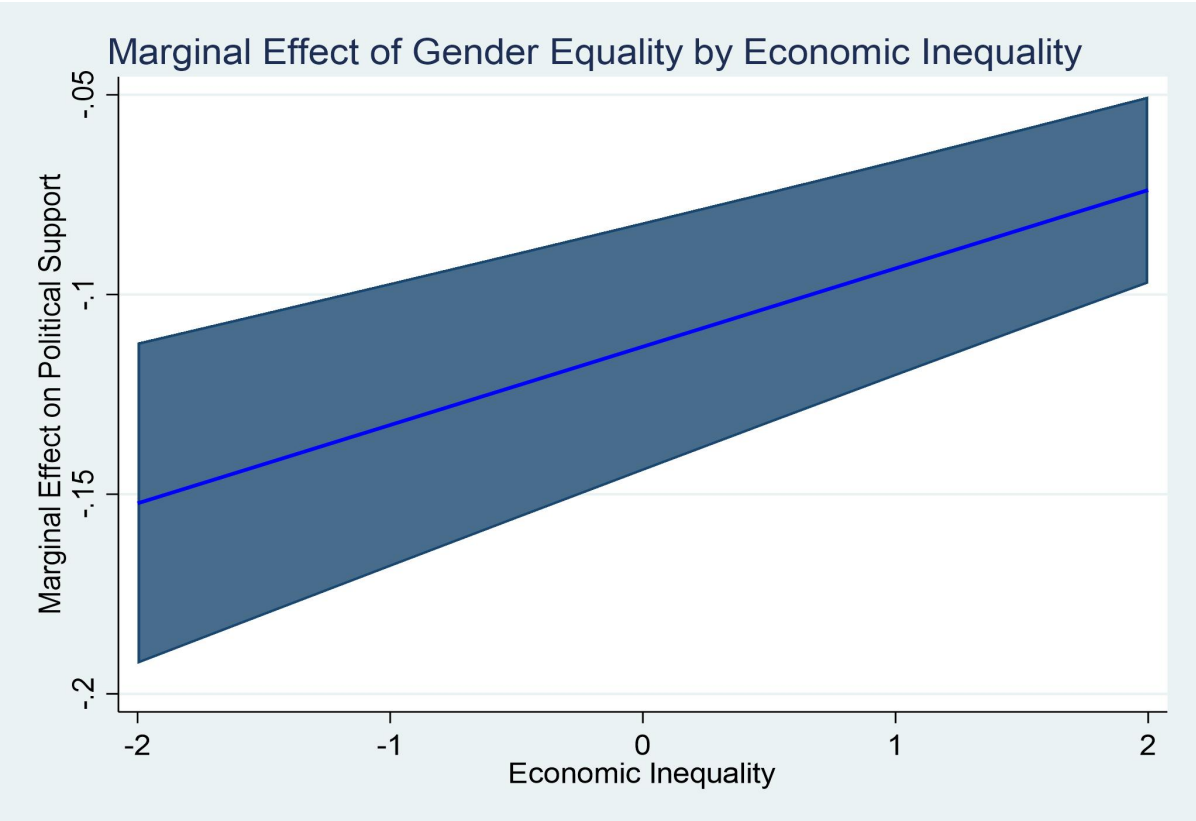


Figure 12: Marginal Effect of Gender Equality by Economic inequality

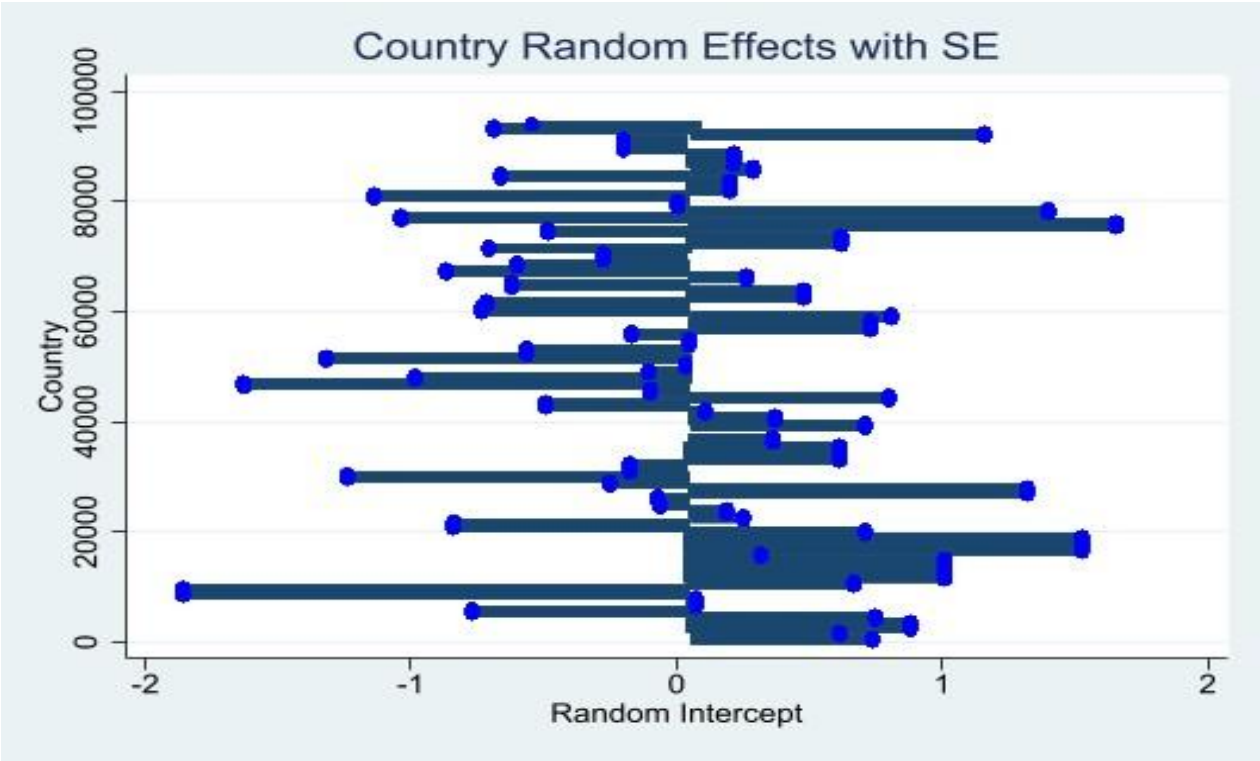


Figure 13: Random Effect with SE