

Trends in Values in the Middle East and North Africa: Decline of Political Islam and the Rise of Liberal Values

Mansoor Moaddel, Professor of Sociology
University of Maryland

Findings from Comparative Longitudinal and Panel Surveys in
the Middle East and North Africa

The data used in this presentation is from a comparative cross-national survey project on the causes and consequences of human values in the Middle East and North Africa funded by several grants from the National Science Foundation, Jack Shand Grant at the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Max Planck Institute, the Office of Naval Research, and Air Force Office of Scientific Research. None of these organizations are responsible for the analysis and opinion presented in this talk.

Historically Significant Issues: the invariant features of cultural warfare

1. Secular politics
2. National identity
3. Religious tolerance
4. Gender equality

Panel survey in Egypt, Tunisia & Turkey

Egypt

- Multi-stage area probability sampling frame: Census data from CAPMAS
- Wave 1: June – August, 2011; Sample Size: 3496; Response Rate: 93%
- Wave 2: August – December, 2016; Sample Size: 3858 (2430 panel respondents, 1428 replenishment respondents); Response Rate: 70%
- Wave 3: March-April, 2020; Sample Size 3442; Response Rate: 89%

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Tunisia

- Multi-stage area probability sampling frame: Census data from the Institute for National Statistics in Tunisia
- Wave 1: March 15- June 1, 2013; Sample Size: 3070; Response Rate: 78%
- Wave 2: May 4 - Aug 21, 2015; Sample Size: 2391; Response Rate: 78%

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Turkey

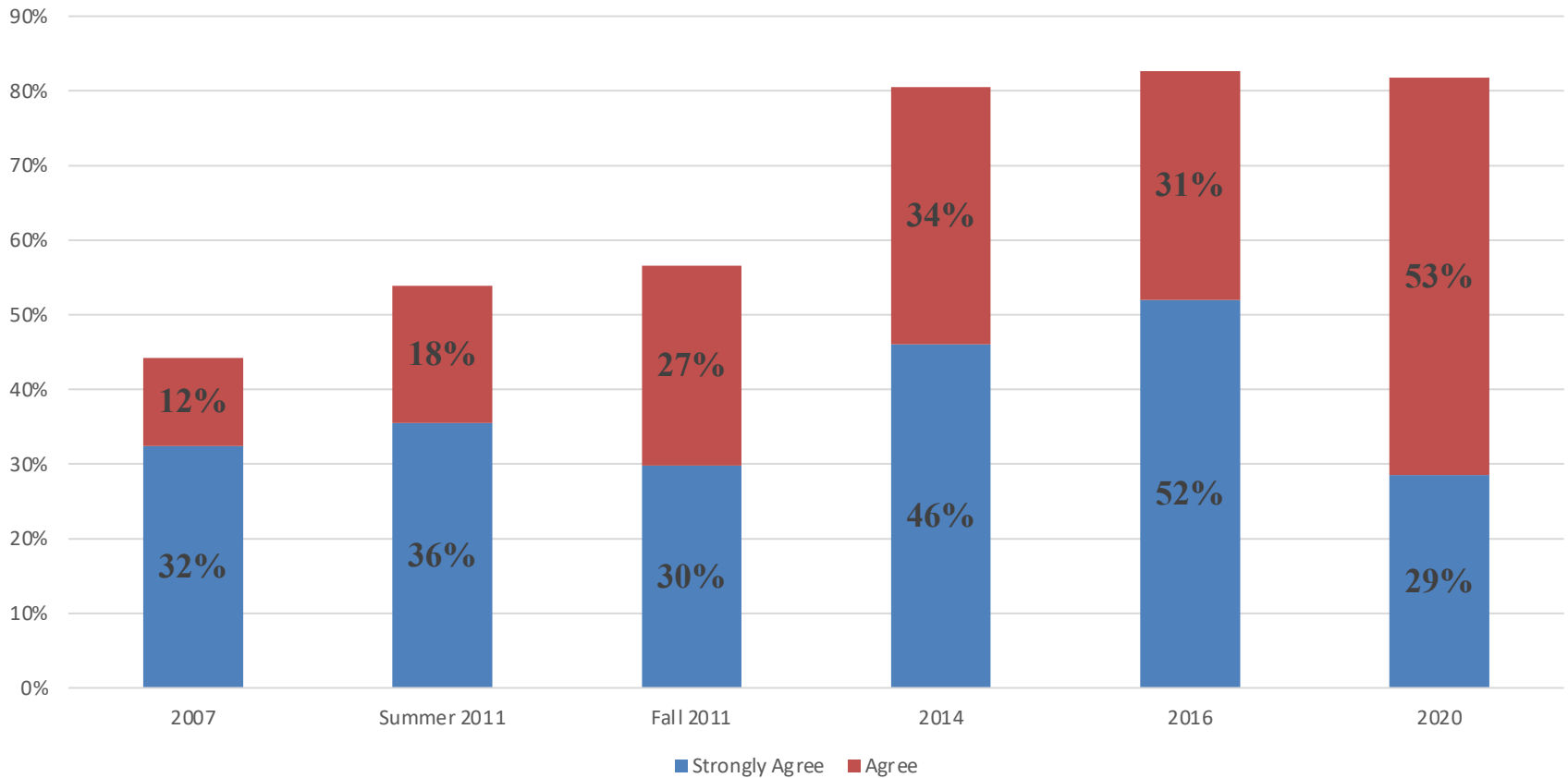
- Multi-stage area probability sampling frame: voter registry
- Wave 1: March – June, 2013; Sample Size: 3019; Response Rate 62%.
- Wave 2: February – July, 2016; Sample Size: 2759 (1682 panel respondents; 1077 replenishment respondents); Response Rate: 56%

Secular politics

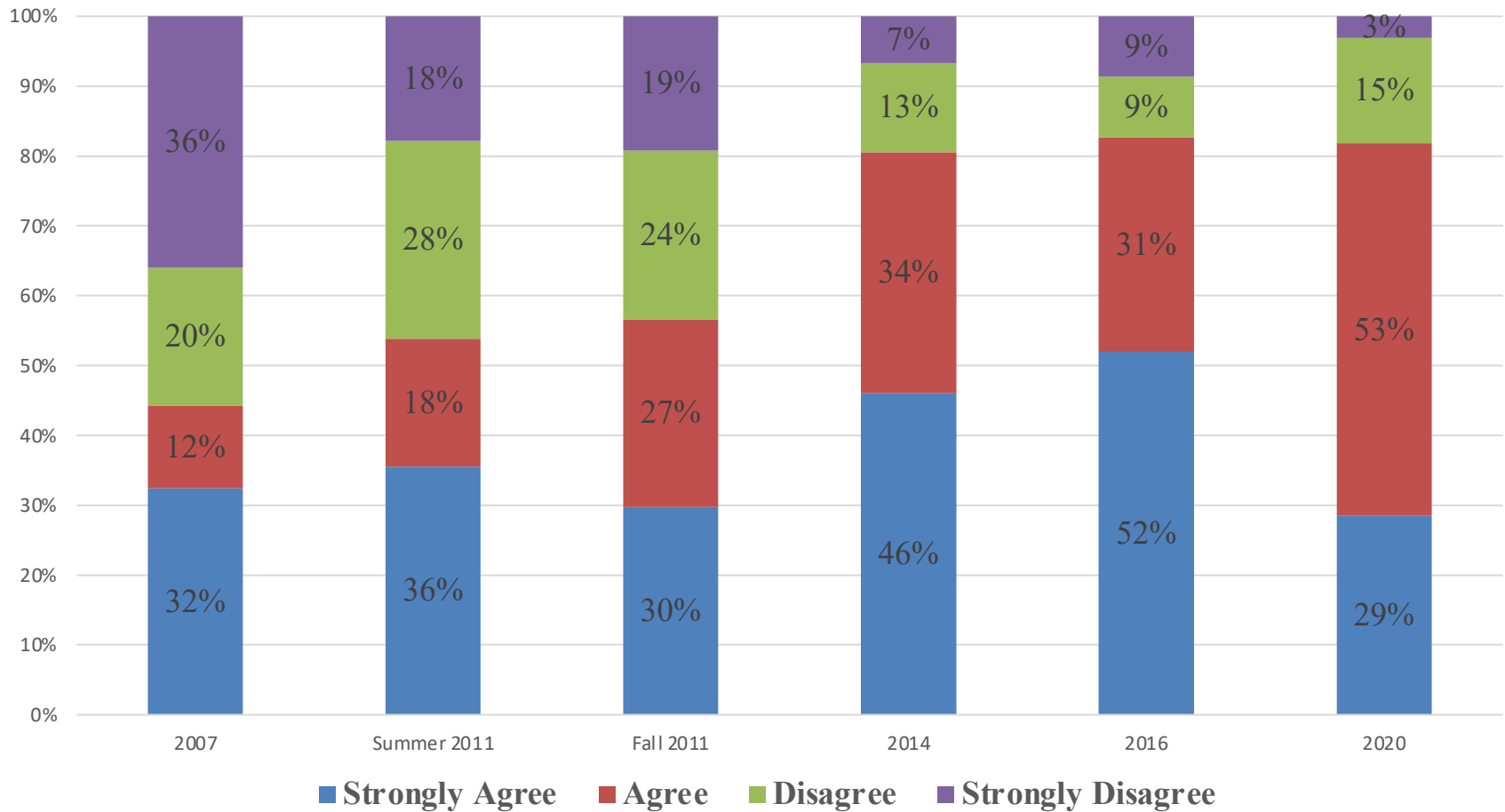
Separation of Religion and Politics
Desirability of Western-Type Government
Islamic Government
The Sharia

Separation of religion & politics

Egypt would be a better place if religion and politics were separated

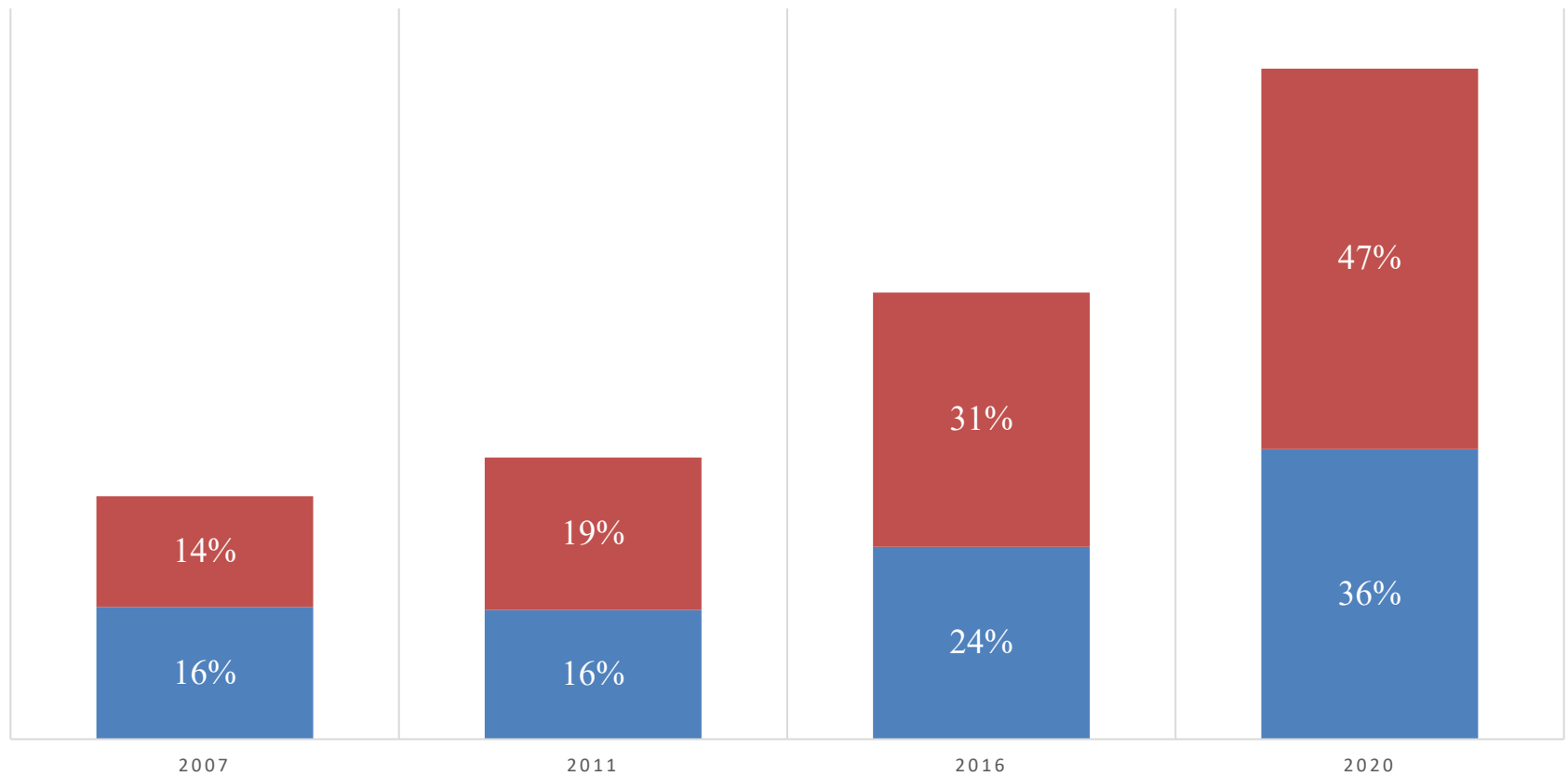


Egypt would be a better place if religion and politics were separated

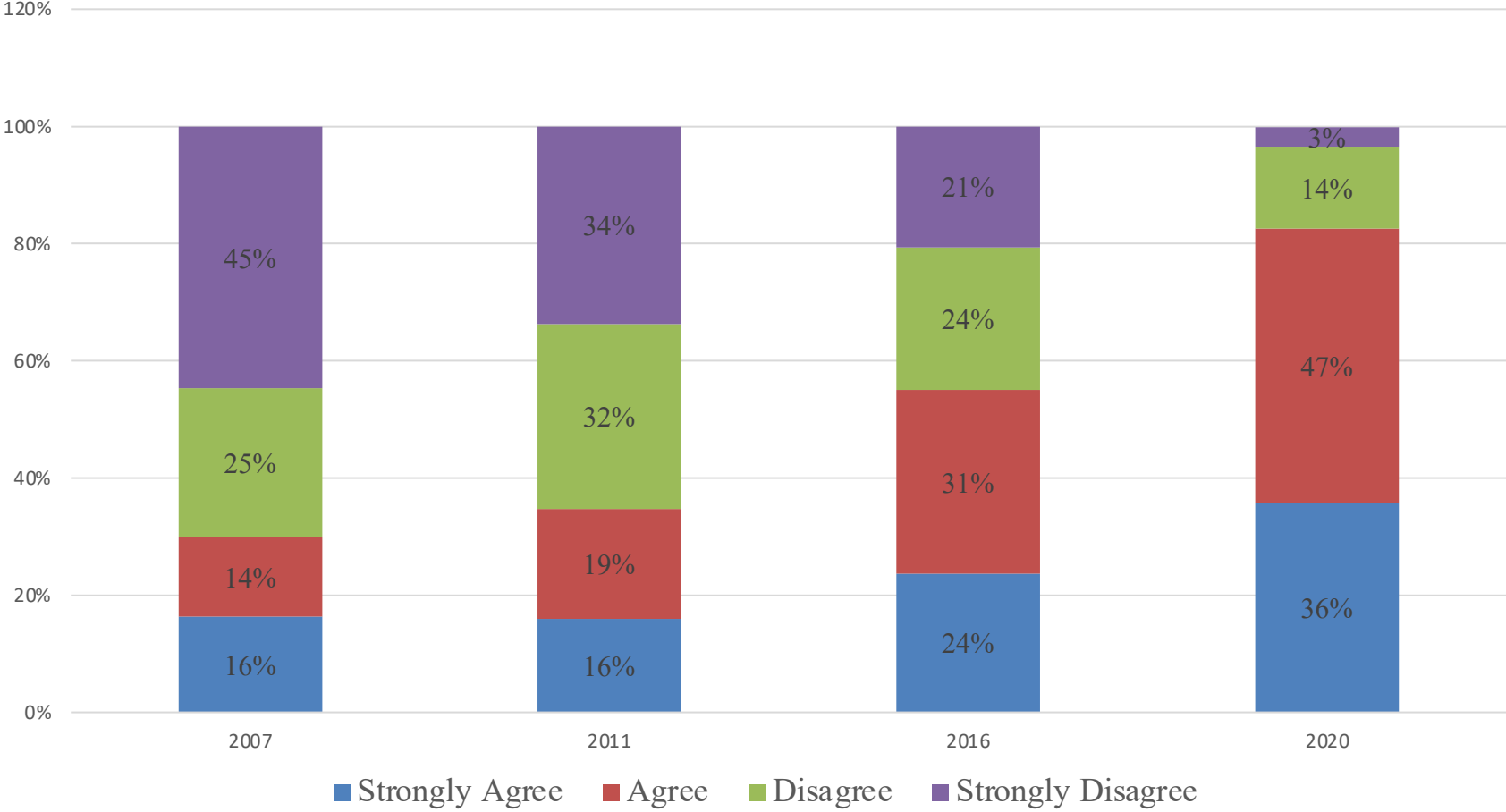


Egypt would be a better place if its government were similar to Western-type government

■ Strongly Agree ■ Agree



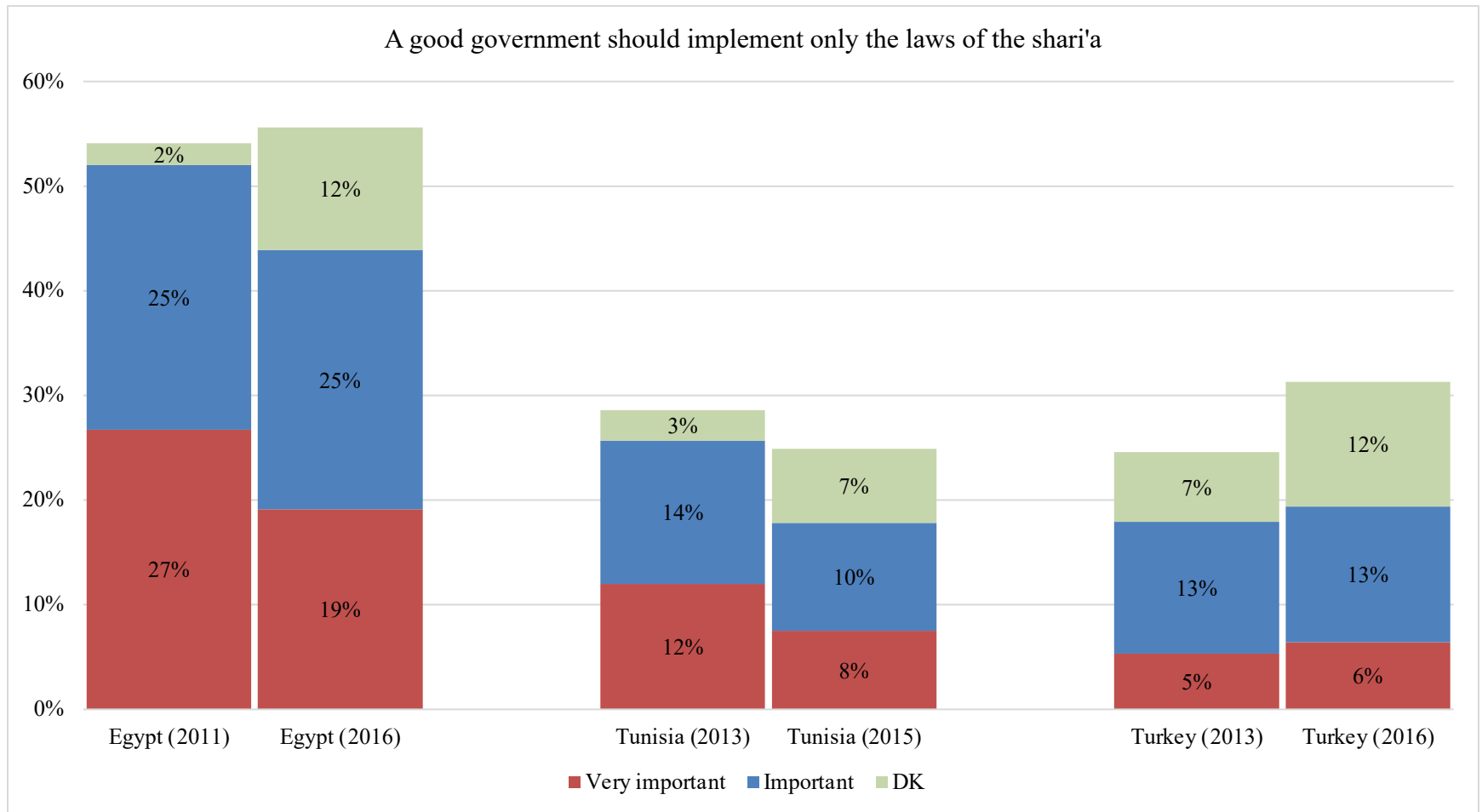
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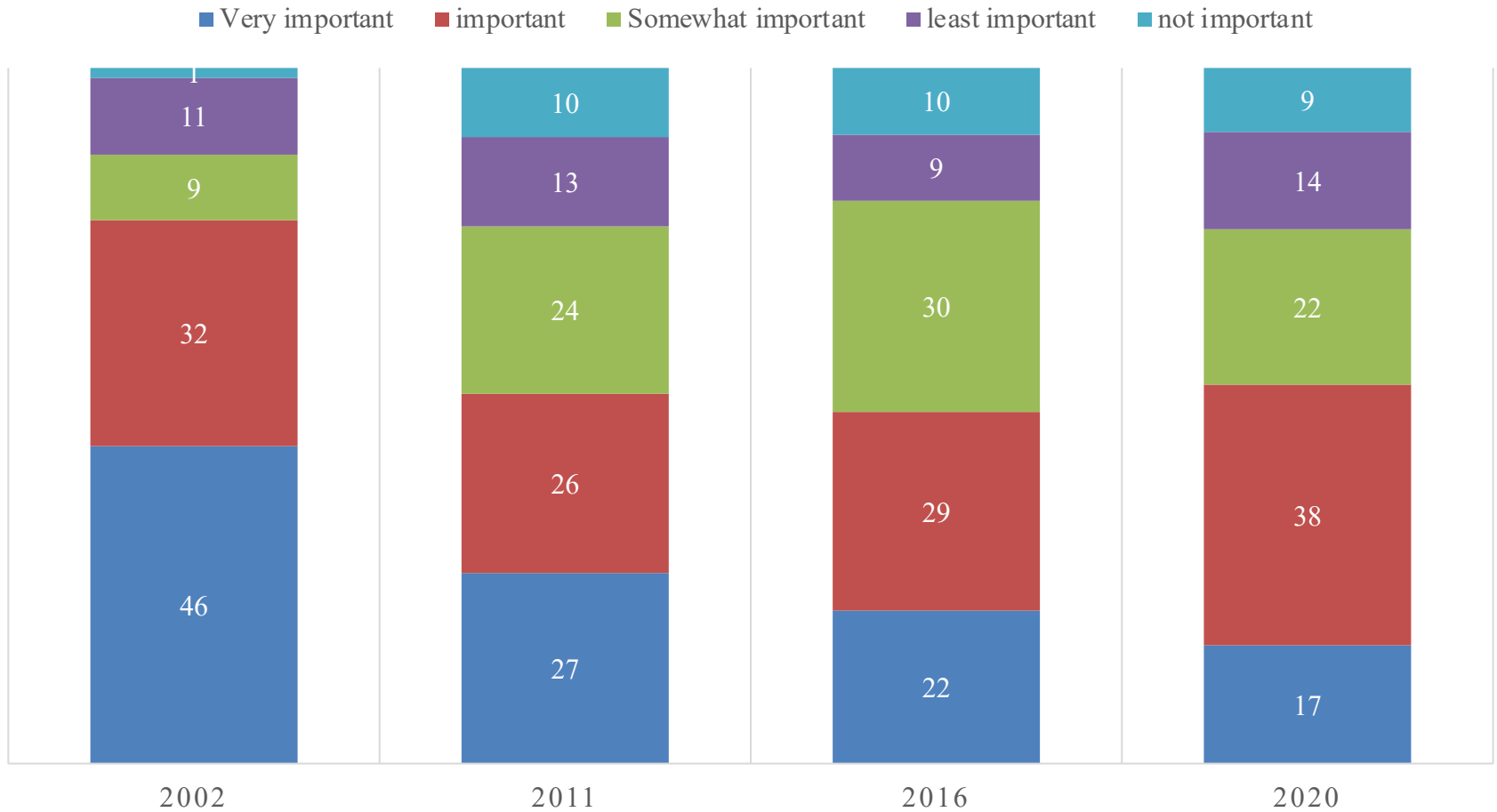
SUPPORT FOR western -STYLE government



The Significance of the sharia



How important is it for a good government to implement the Sharia law? (among Egyptians)



Changes in attitudes toward Islamic government among Egyptians: Is it very good, fairly good, fairly bad, or very bad to have an Islamic government where religious authorities have absolute power?



Secular politics index

A ***secular-politics index*** is constructed by combining answers to four questions:

i. Do you (4) strongly agree, (3) agree, (2) disagree, or (1) strongly disagree that your country would be a better ***place if religion and politics were separated***;

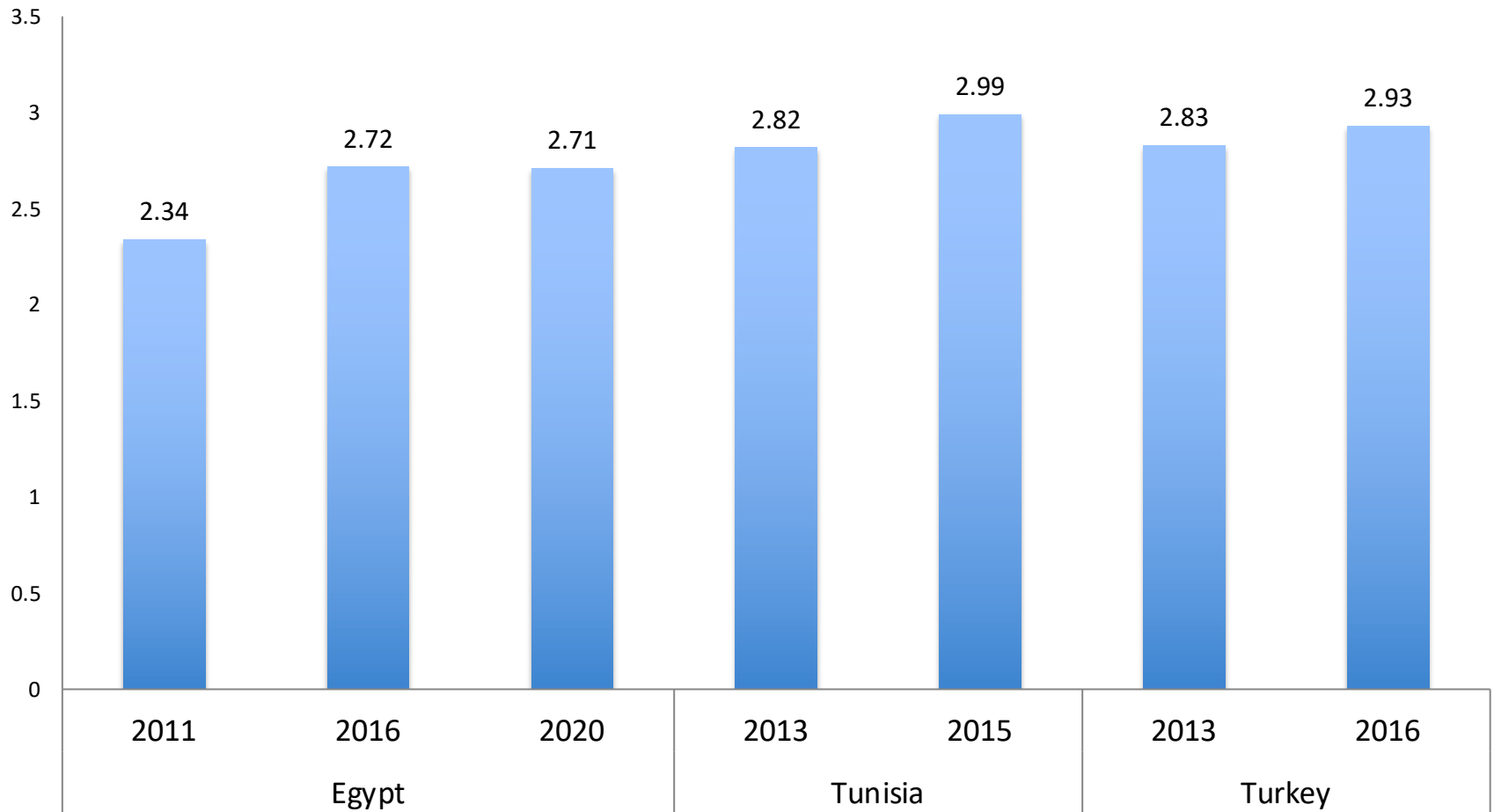
ii. If its government was similar to ***Western governments***.

iii. Would it be (1) very good, (2) fairly good, (3) fairly bad, or (4) very bad for your country to have an ***Islamic government*** where religious authorities have absolute power [for Muslim respondents], to have a Christian government where religious authorities have absolute power [for Christian respondents].

iv. Is it (1) very important, (2) important, (3) somewhat important, (4) least important, or (5) not at all important for a good government to implement only ***the sharia*** (for Muslims) or only the laws inspired by Christian values (for Christians). Answers to this question were recoded to range between 1 and 4.

v. Findings show a significance increase in the value of this index across the three countries between the two waves.

Changes in secular-politics index among Egyptian, Tunisian, and Turkish respondents between the waves

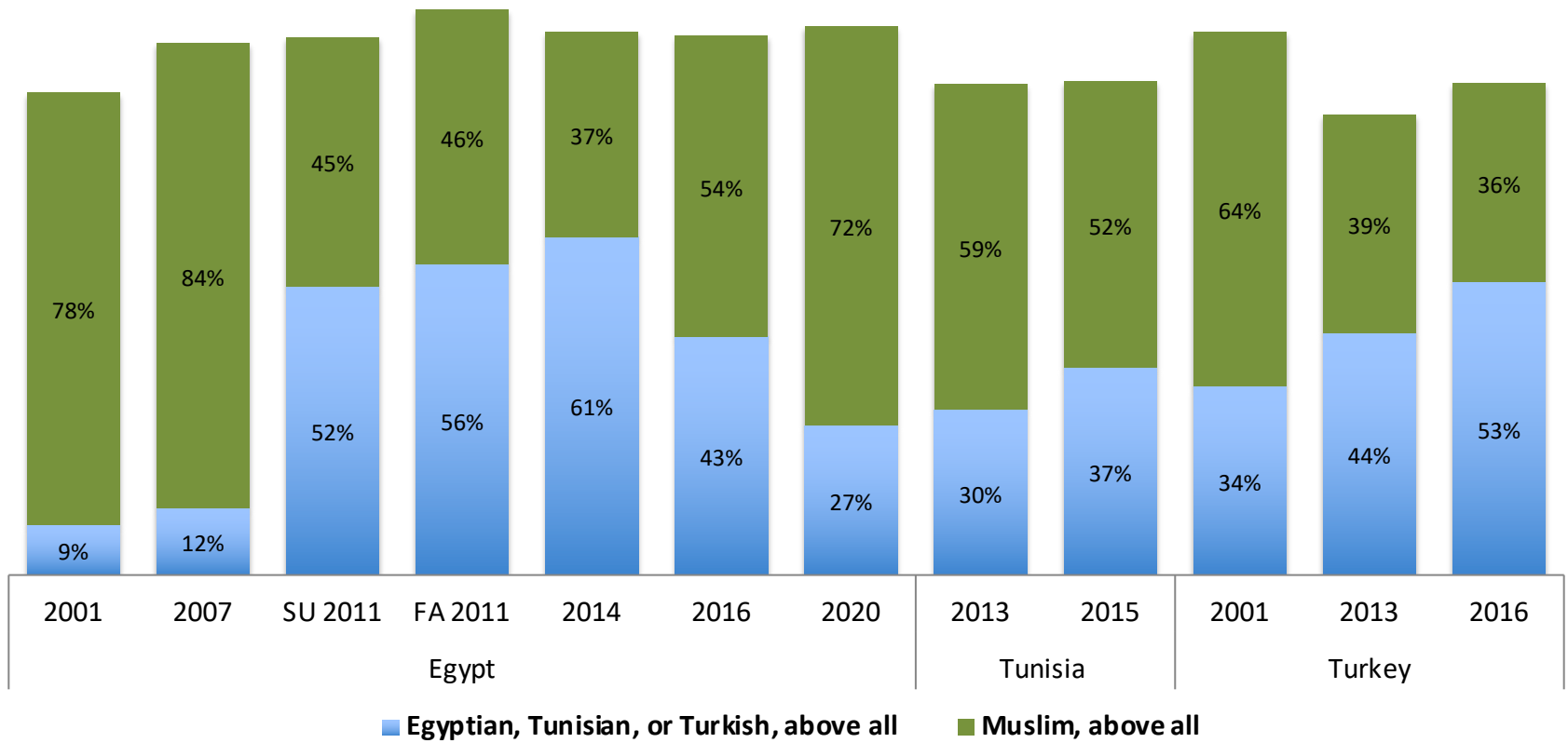


Identity

Religious versus National Identity

Trend in National Identity

National versus religious identity

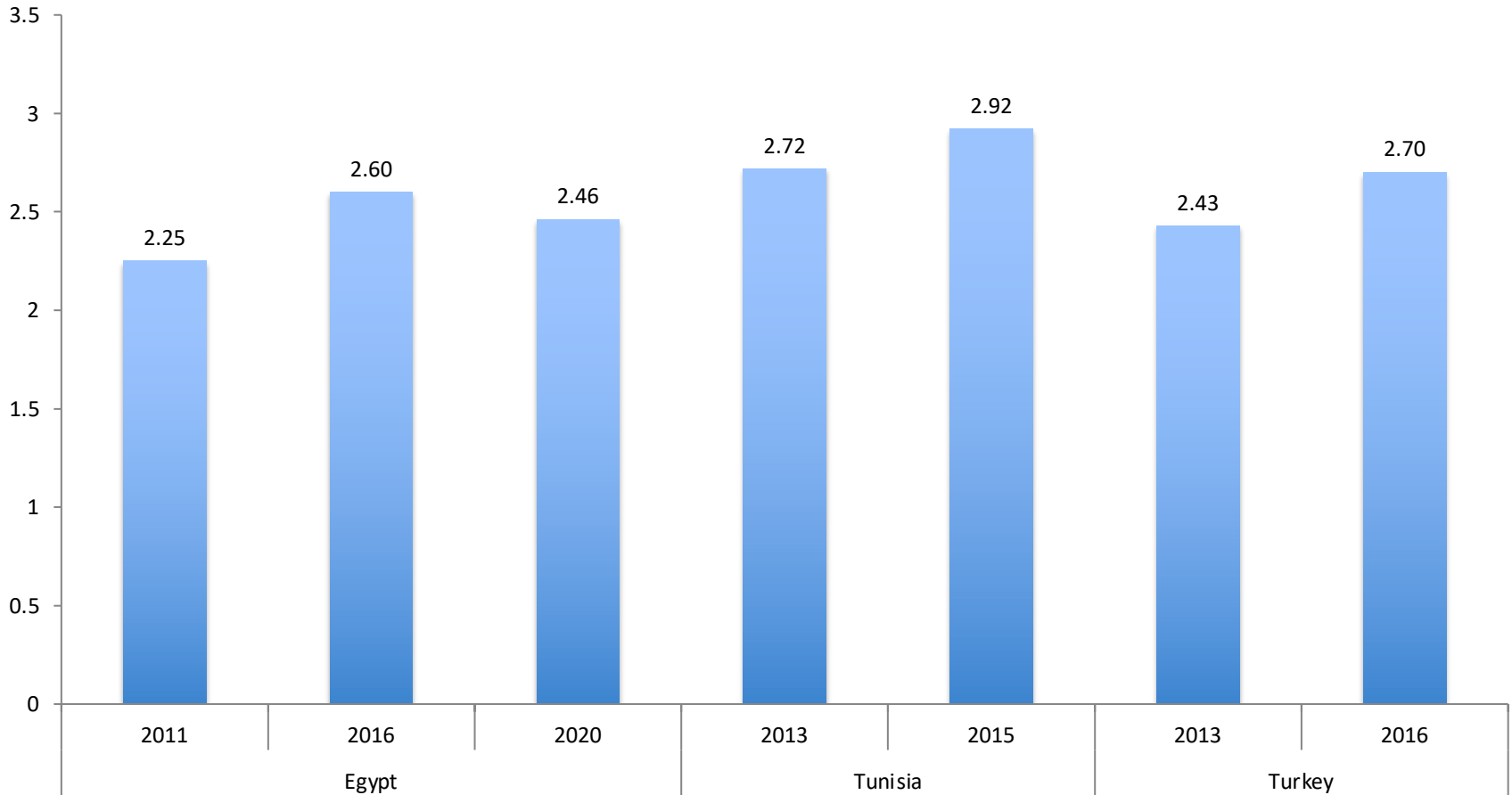


Religious Tolerance

A religious tolerance index is constructed by averaging responses to four questions: do you (1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) disagree or (4) strongly disagree that

- i. Our children should not be allowed to learn about other religions.
- ii. The followers of other religions should not have the same rights as mine.
- iii. Criticism of Islam should not be tolerated.
- iv. Criticism of Muslim religious leaders should not be tolerated (ranging from 1, low tolerance to 4, high).

Changes in religious-tolerance index among Egyptian, Tunisian, and Turkish respondents between the waves



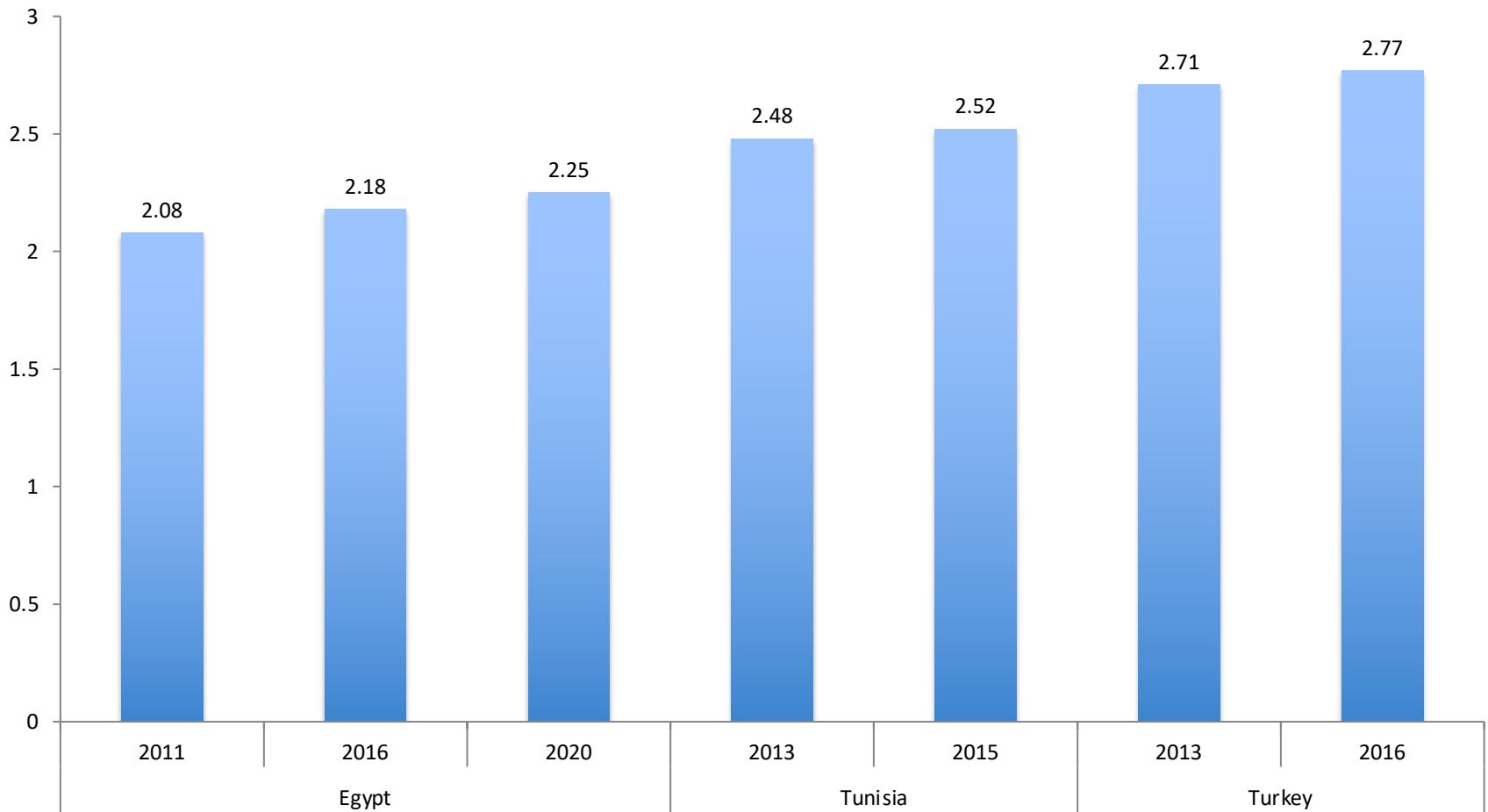
Gender equality

Gender-equality index is constructed by averaging responses to five questions: Do you (1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) disagree, or (4) strongly disagree that

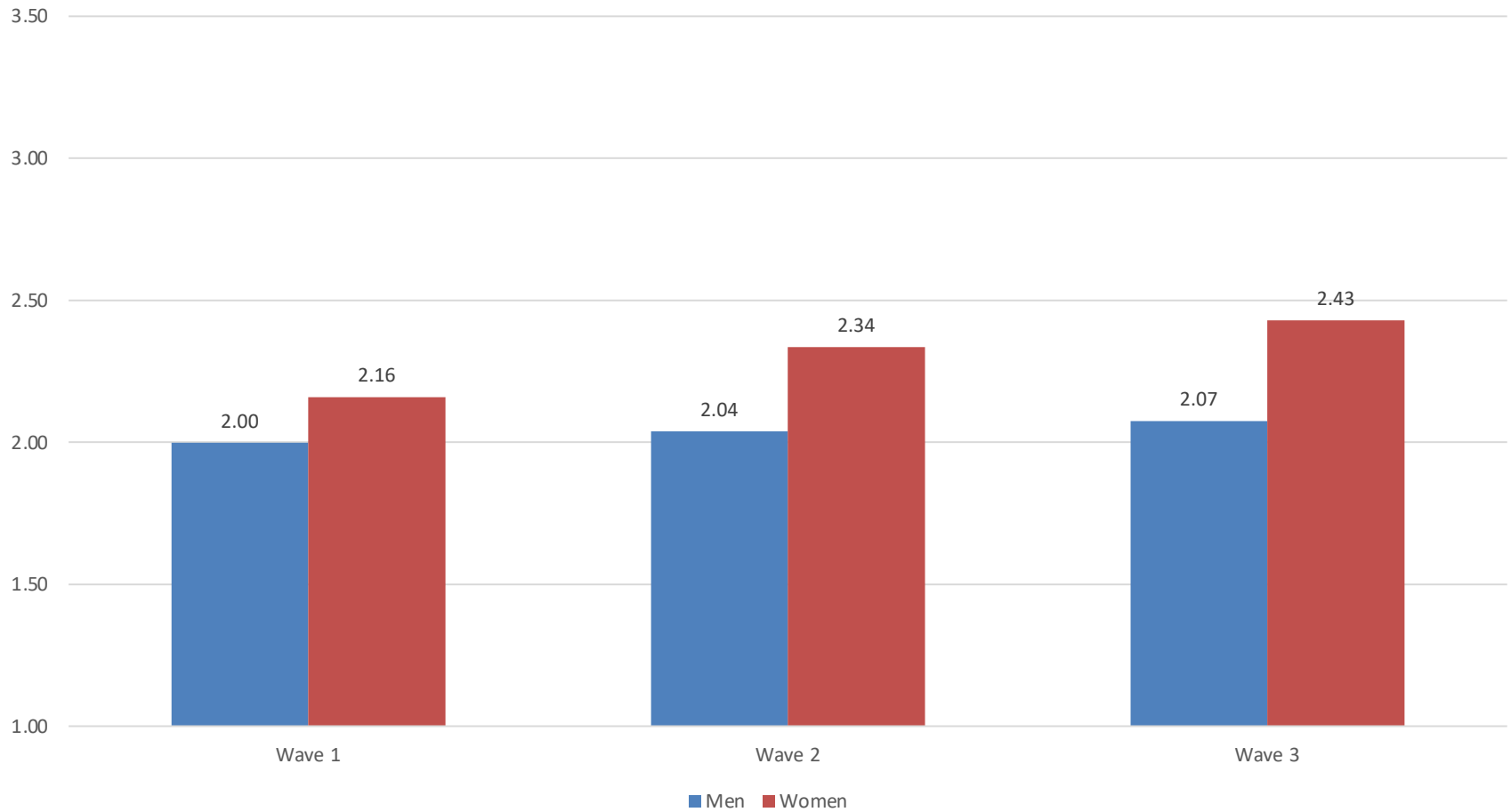
- i. It is acceptable for a man to have more than one wife.
- ii. A wife must always obey her husband.
- iii. Men make better political leaders.
- iv. University education is more important for boys.
- v. When jobs are scarce, men should have more rights to a job?

This index varies between 1 and 4. A higher value on this index indicates stronger support for gender equality.

Changes in gender-equality index among Egyptian, Tunisian, and Turkish respondents between the waves



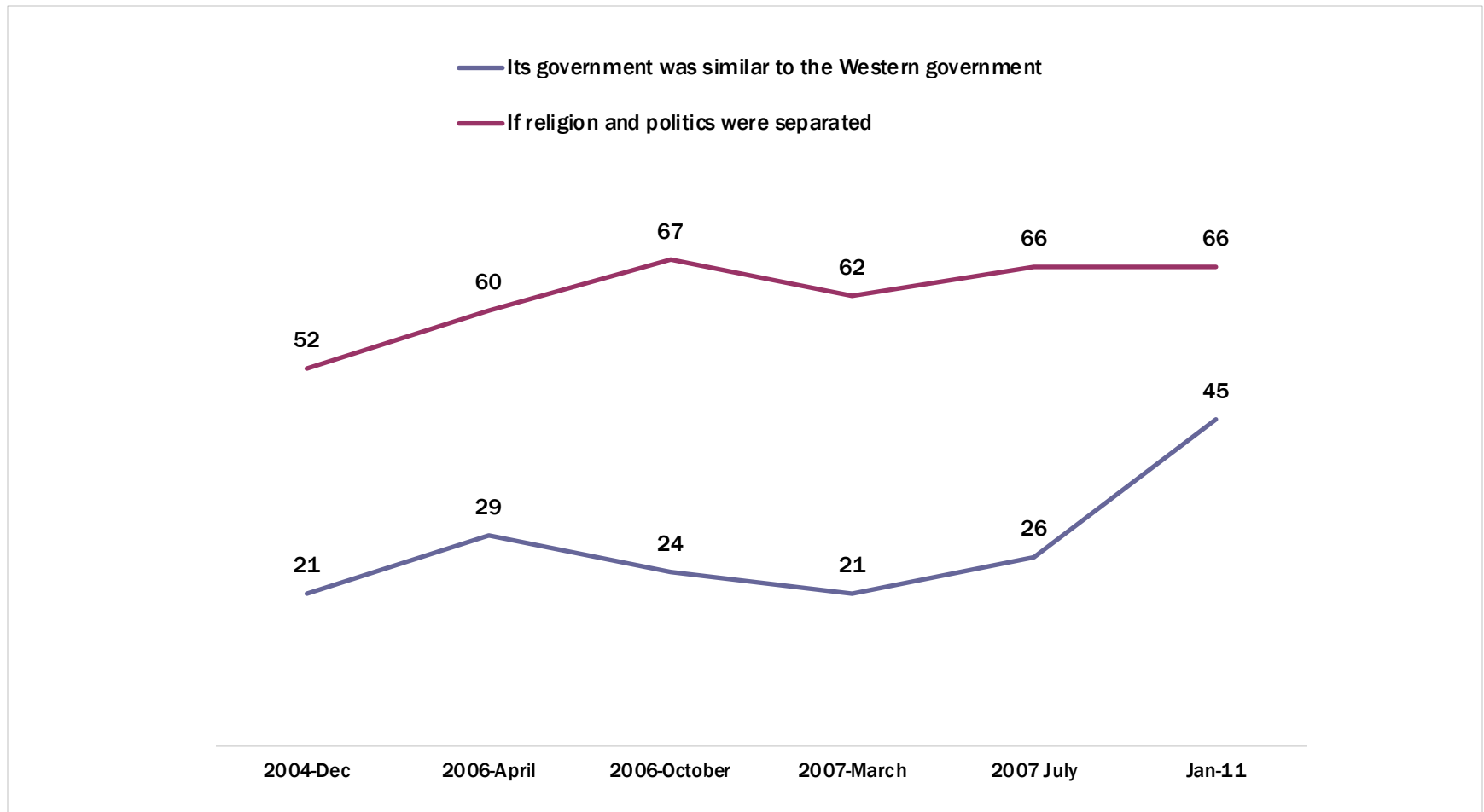
Widening gap in gender-equality index between Egyptian men and women across the three waves



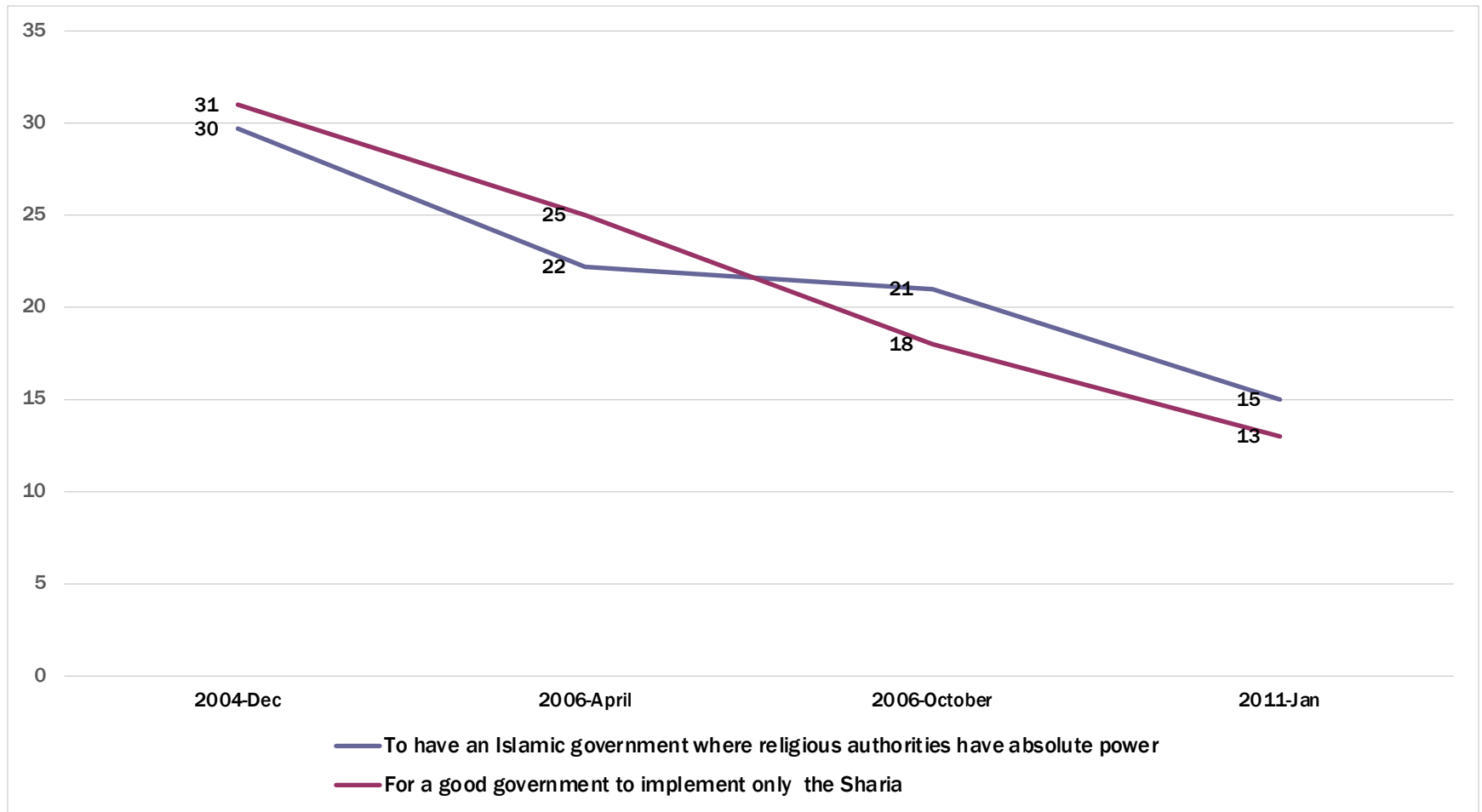
Changes in values among Iraqis

- Secular Politics
- National Identity

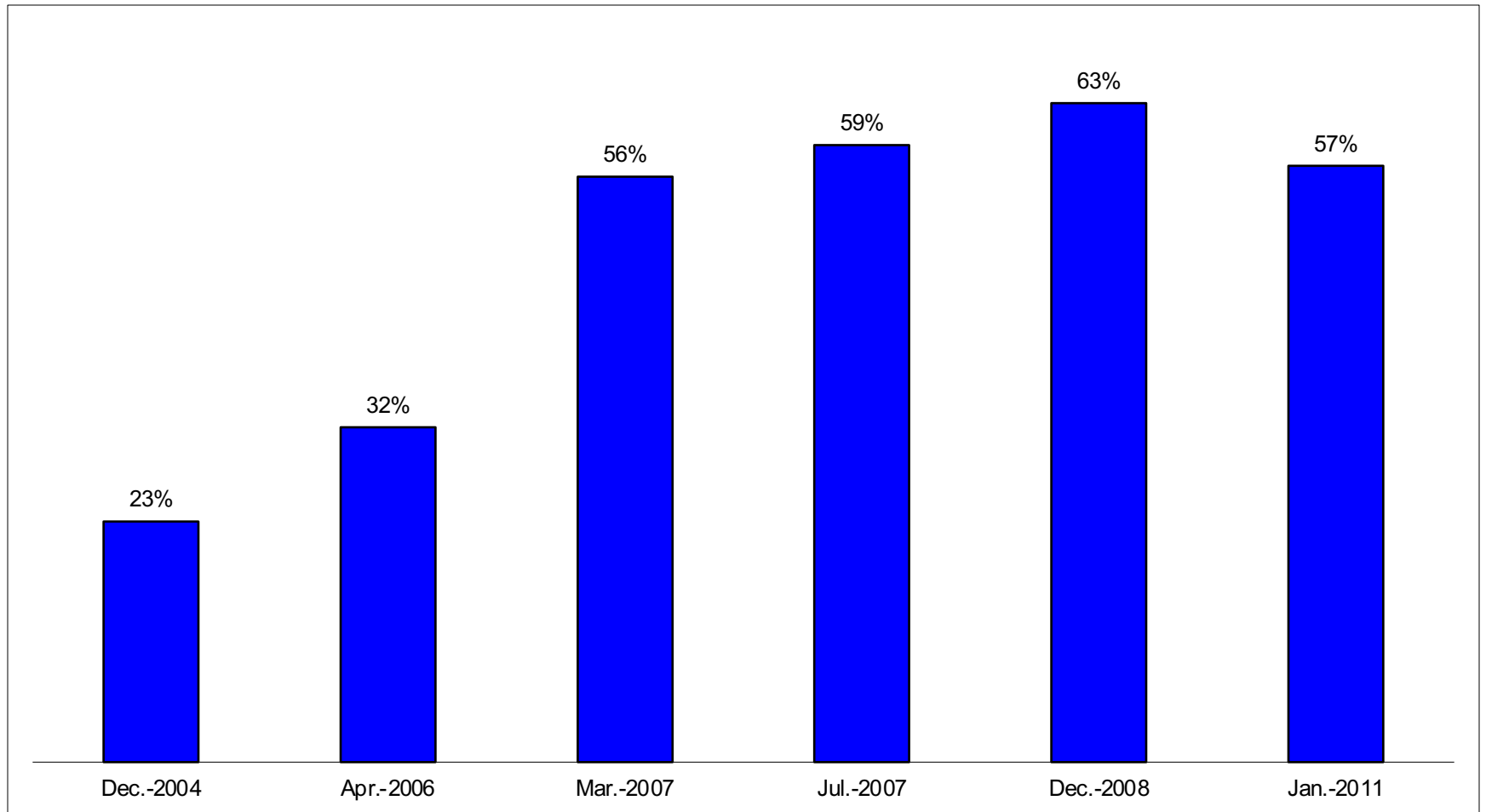
%Strongly agree/agree that iraq would be a better place if...



Islamic government & the Sharia: % Mentioning “very important...”

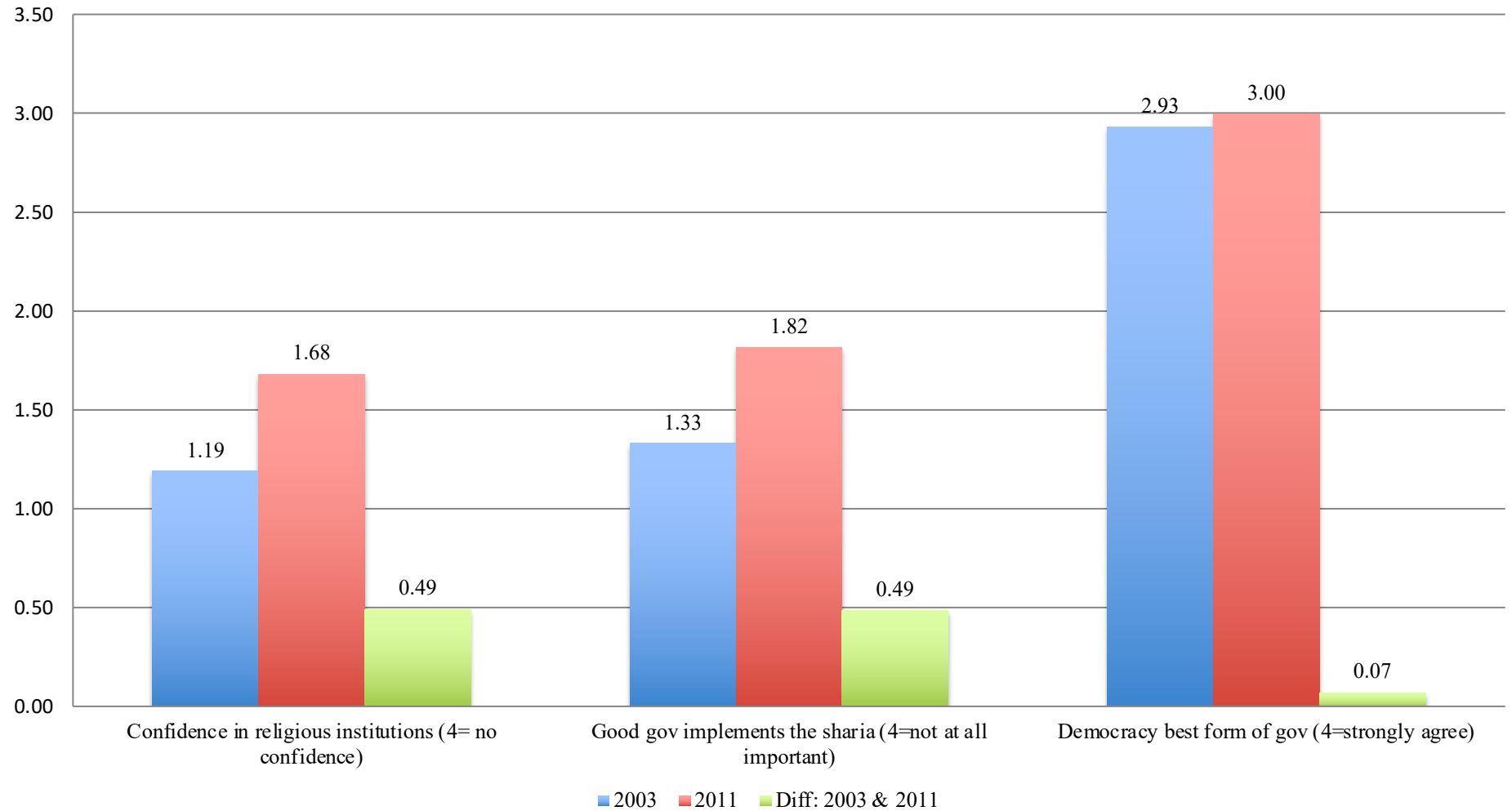


%Iraqis defining themselves as Iraqis above all



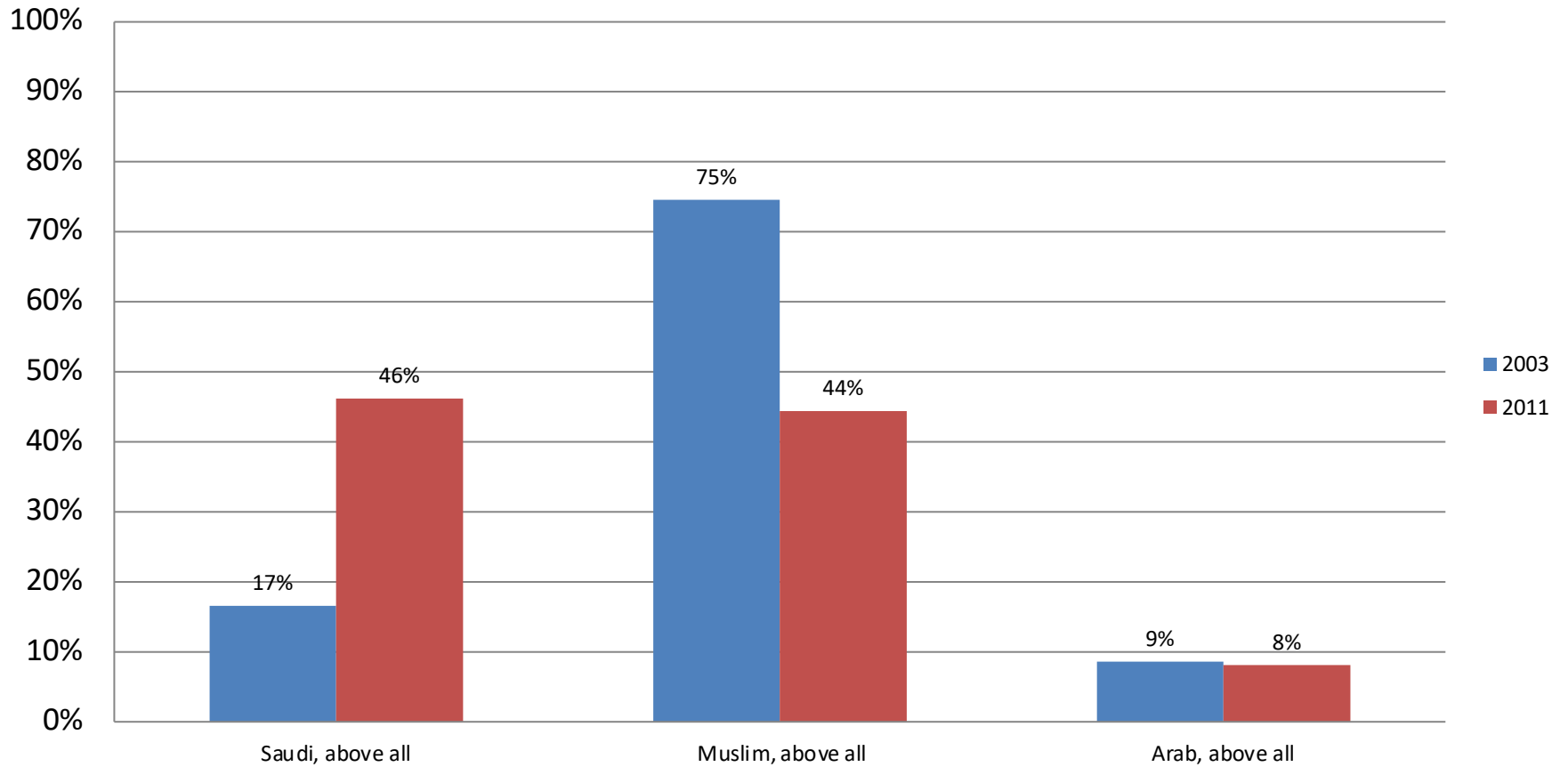
Saudi Arabia

Decline in support for sharia & religious institutions & rise of democracy: 2003-2011(mean, range 1-4)



Saudi Arabia

%Expressing as Saudis, Muslims, or Arabs, above all, between 2003 and 2011



Conclusion: The Significance of Ideology

Ideas are terribly important in bringing to relief a new pattern of historical development:

1. The formation of the modern secular states in Egypt, Iran, & Turkey in 1921-25 preceded by the rise of liberal nationalist discourses in these countries in the prior decades.
2. The formation of Arab nationalist states in 1952 (Egypt), 1960s (Iraq & Syria), and 1969 (Libya) were the political outcomes of the discourse of pan-Arab nationalism produced by Sati' al-Husri and Darwish al-Miqdadi in post-WWI period.
3. The formation of Islamic fundamentalist states in Iran in 1979, Afghanistan, Iraq, and other places in 1980-1910s were a result of the rise of Islamic fundamentalist ideology in the 1960-1970s.
4. The rise of liberal values in post-Arab spring Middle East and Nor Africa generated favorable conditions for the rise of liberal democracy in the region.

Mansoor Moaddel

The Clash of values

Islamic Fundamentalism Versus
Liberal Nationalism

Thank You