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

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University of Maryland

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

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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%

*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%

*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
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

- 2007: 14% Strongly Agree, 16% Agree
- 2011: 19% Strongly Agree, 16% Agree
- 2016: 31% Strongly Agree, 24% Agree
- 2020: 47% Strongly Agree, 36% Agree
Egypt would be a better place if its government were similar to Western-type government.
SUPPORT FOR western -STYLE government

COUNTRY will be a better society if its government was similar to Western governments.

- Egypt (2011)
- Egypt (2016)
- Tunisia (2013)
- Tunisia (2015)
- Turkey (2013)
- Turkey (2016)

Strongly Agree
Agree
DK
The Significance of the sharia

A good government should implement only the laws of the shari'a

Egypt (2011)
- Very important: 27%
- Important: 19%
- DK: 12%

Egypt (2016)
- Very important: 25%
- Important: 25%
- DK: 14%

Tunisia (2013)
- Very important: 3%
- Important: 14%
- DK: 8%

Tunisia (2015)
- Very important: 7%
- Important: 10%
- DK: 8%

Turkey (2013)
- Very important: 13%
- Important: 5%
- DK: 12%

Turkey (2016)
- Very important: 13%
- Important: 13%
- DK: 6%
How important is it for a good government to implement the Sharia law? (among Egyptians)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Very important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Somewhat important</th>
<th>Least important</th>
<th>Not important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>2011</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>2020</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
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</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Egypt</th>
<th>Tunisia</th>
<th>Turkey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>2.99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>2.93</td>
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</table>
Identity

Religious versus National Identity
Trend in National Identity
National versus religious identity

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Egyptian, Tunisian, or Turkish, above all
- Muslim, above all
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Egypt</th>
<th>Tunisia</th>
<th>Turkey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2020</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>2.92</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>2.70</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Egypt</th>
<th>Tunisia</th>
<th>Turkey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2020</td>
<td>2.25</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>2.52</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>2.77</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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...

- Its government was similar to the Western government
- If religion and politics were separated
Islamic government & the Sharia: %

Mentioning “very important...”

To have an Islamic government where religious authorities have absolute power

For a good government to implement only the Sharia
%Iraqis defining themselves as Iraqis above all

- Dec.-2004: 23%
- Apr.-2006: 32%
- Mar.-2007: 56%
- Jul.-2007: 59%
- Dec.-2008: 63%
- Jan.-2011: 57%
Saudi Arabia
Decline in support for sharia & religious institutions & rise of democracy: 2003-2011(mean, range 1-4)

Confidence in religious institutions (4=no confidence)
Good gov implements the sharia (4=not at all important)
Democracy best form of gov (4=strongly agree)

2003 & 2011
Saudi Arabia

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

- Saudi, above all: 17% in 2003, 46% in 2011
- Muslim, above all: 44% in 2003, 75% in 2011
- Arab, above all: 9% in 2003, 8% in 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.
The Clash of Values

Islamic Fundamentalism Versus Liberal Nationalism

Mansoor Moaddel
Thank You