

Islamism, Secularism and Democracy after the Arab Spring

The Islamist-Secularist Divide...



And What It Means for Transitions in the Arab World



Overview of the Data

Unique, Time-Series Survey Data in Egypt:
7 surveys, 13,200 respondents, social and political questions

Survey Data in Tunisia: post-election survey (in-progress)

Interviews with Egyptians and Tunisians:
Voters, party elites, scholars, journalists

Observation:
Elections and other events

Secondary sources

Key Questions

To what extent does the Secularist-Islamist Divide drive elections?

Voters differentiate parties and candidates primarily on a secular – religious scale
Discourse mainly – and increasingly – focused on religion during campaigns

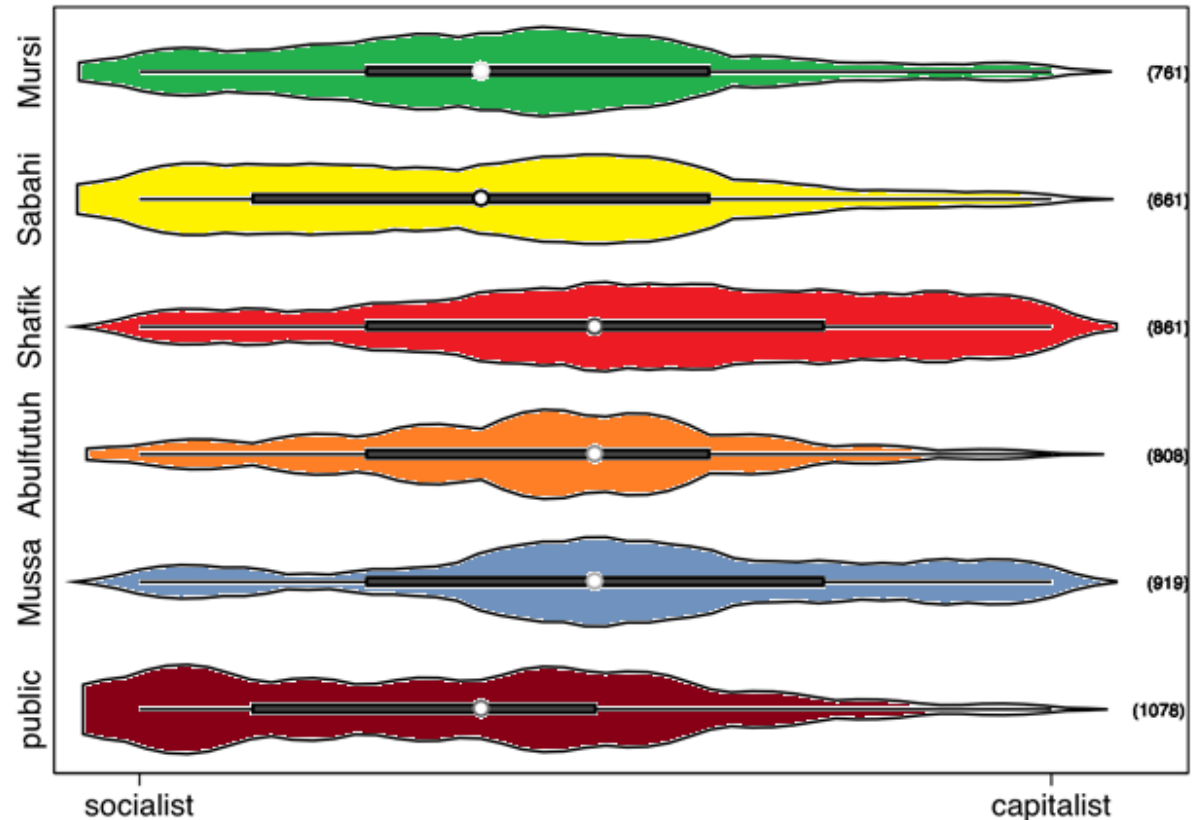
Do deep-seated beliefs explain the polarization over religiosity and the strong showing of Islamists?

Strong results for the Islamist parties do not represent deep religious values
Rather, strong showing represents primarily organizational capacity of Islamists

What are the implications for democracy-promoters?

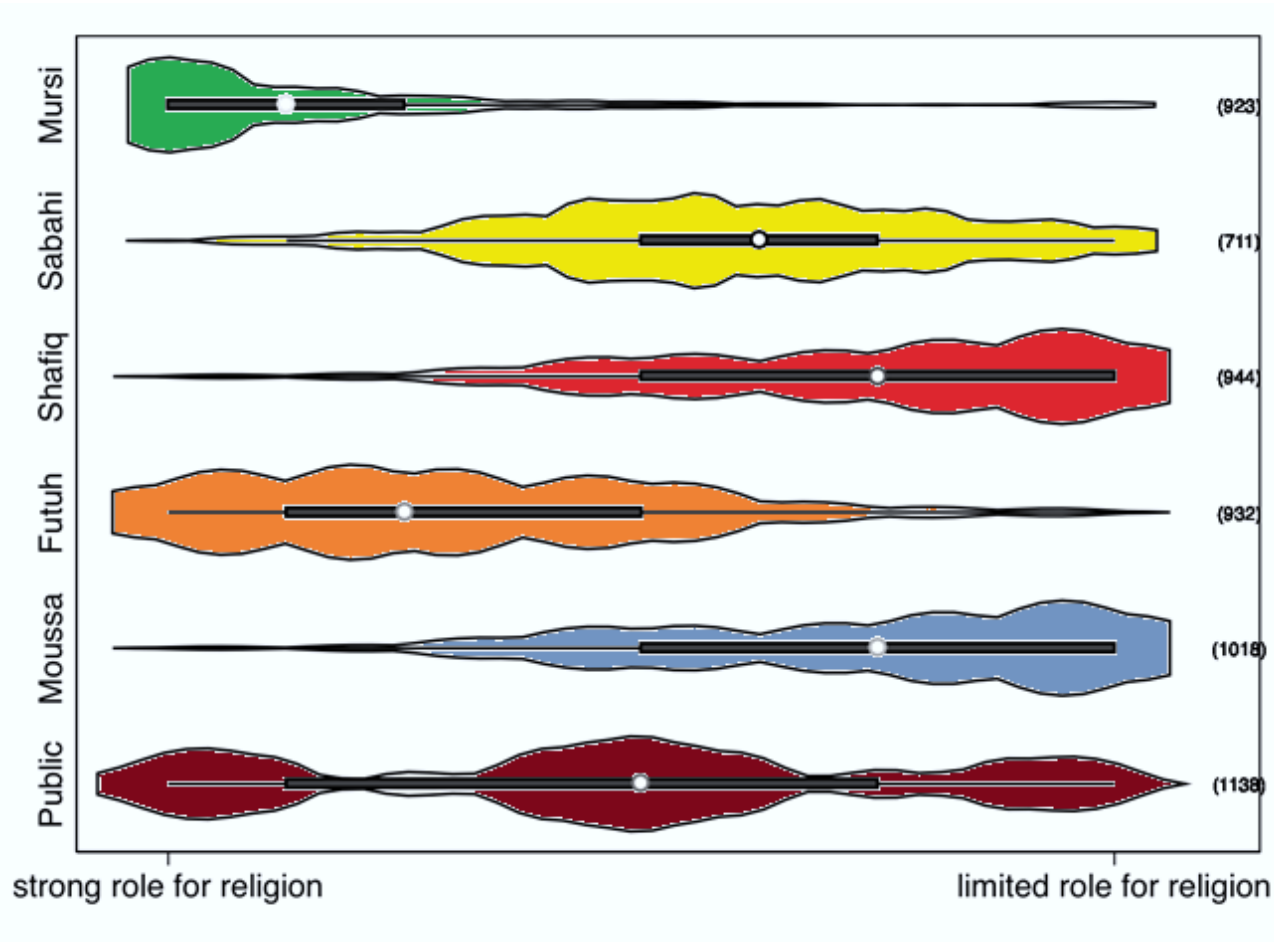
Need to resist temptation to limit liberal freedoms, discourse
International organizations need to avoid shoring up secularists vs. Islamists
Need to emphasize iterative processes and seek ways to avoid entrenchment of early winners (ex. Need for local level elections)

Voters don't distinguish Candidates' Positions on Economy



Tarek Masoud, Ellen Lust, Jakob Wichmann, Gamal Soltan, “The Presidential Election in Egypt – Who voted for whom, and why?”

but they do on Religion



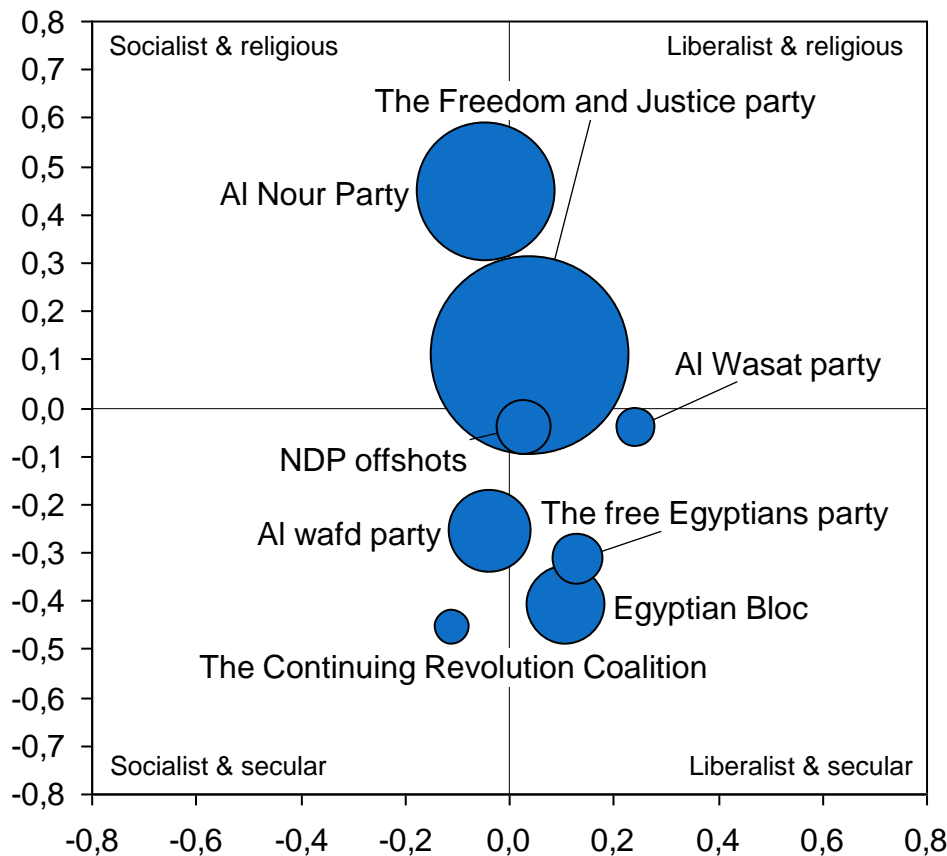
Tarek Masoud, Ellen Lust, Jakob Wichmann, Gamal Soltan, “The Presidential Election in Egypt – Who voted for whom, and why?”

Generally, Voters Differentiated by Religion

1

Voters' values of the parties differentiate on religious -secular scale and not the economic scale

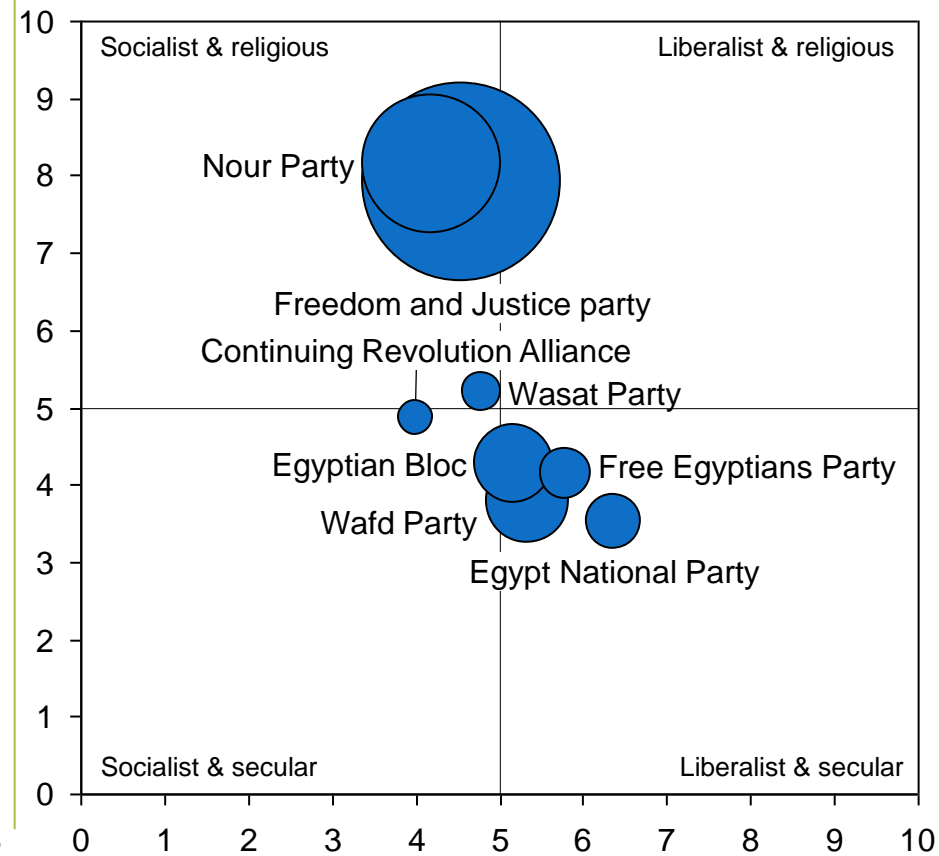
Political parties voters' values



2

Voters differentiale placement of parties on the religious – secular scale and not on the liberal-socialist scale

Placement of political parties



Source: Religious axis: (1)Religious leaders should not influence voters,(2)Religious leaders have a responsibility to direct voters to the right candidate,(3)Religious leaders should not influence policies of elected governments,(4)Religious leaders should direct governments to policies which meet religious teachings. Economy axis: (1)Free economic competition should be respected and the government's interference in the economy kept at a minimum,(2)government has a big economic role, because competition does not serve the well-being of the public.

What Explains the Primacy of Religion in Politics?



It's Not Just Values:

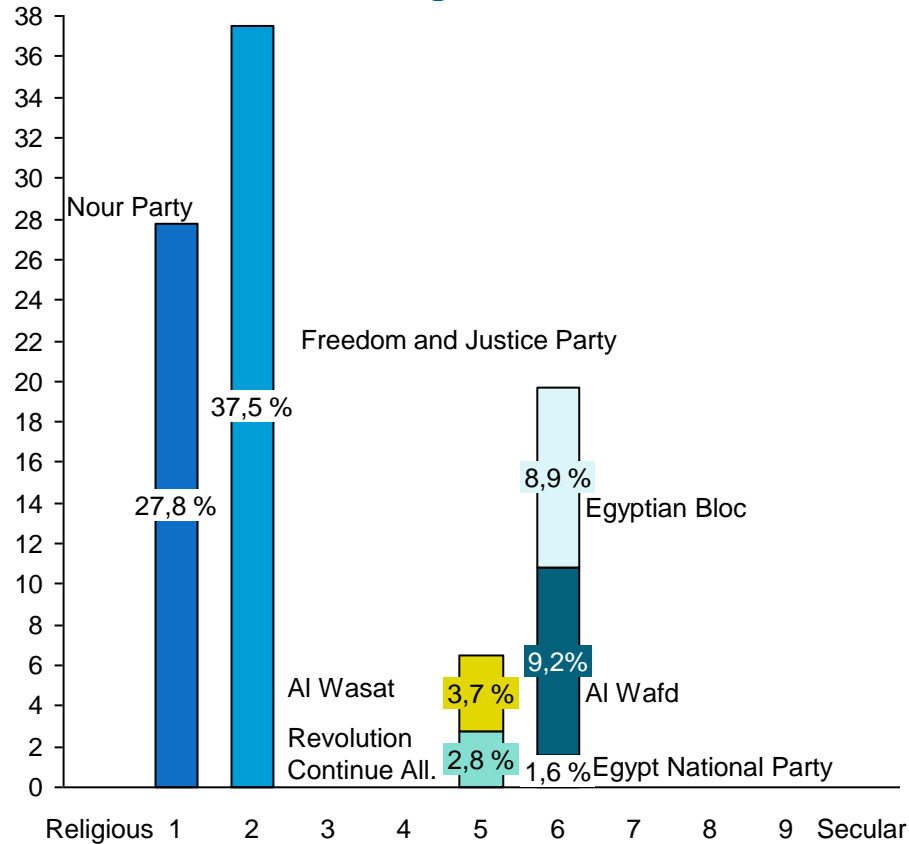
Egyptians voted more Islamist than their values indicate

1

The parties that voters place in the religious end of the spectrum gained a majority of votes

% votes at
parliamentary
elections 2011

Placement of political parties on a religious-secular scale

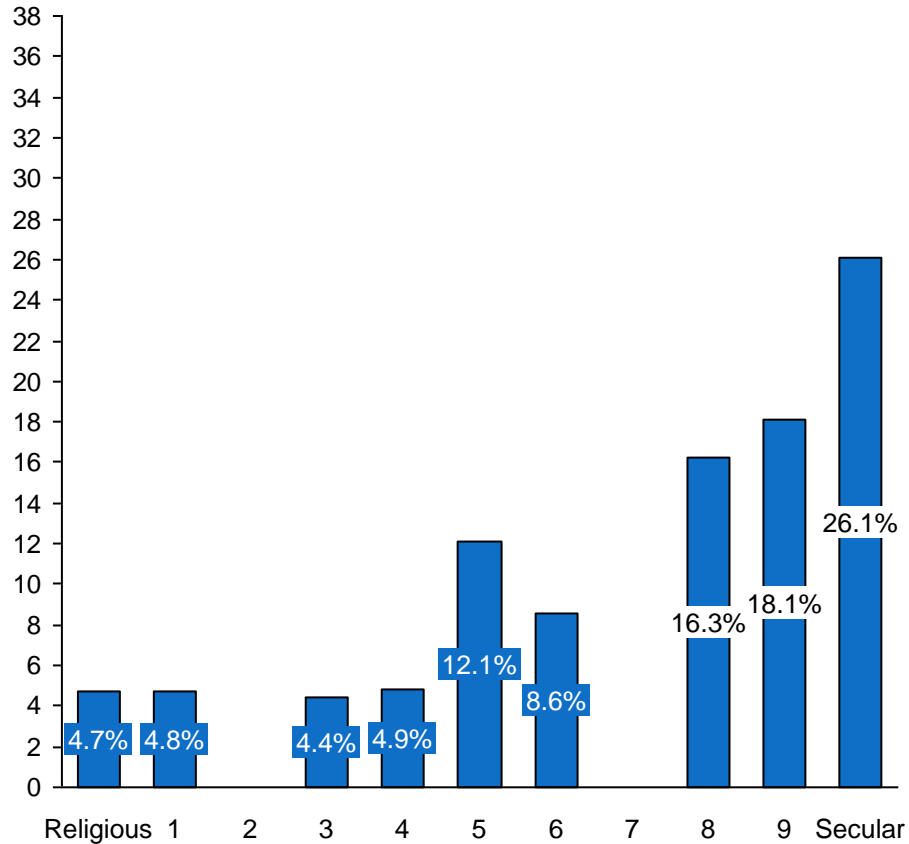


2

...but it is only a small minority of Egyptians that have the same strong religious values

Voters' Political Values

% of Egyptians

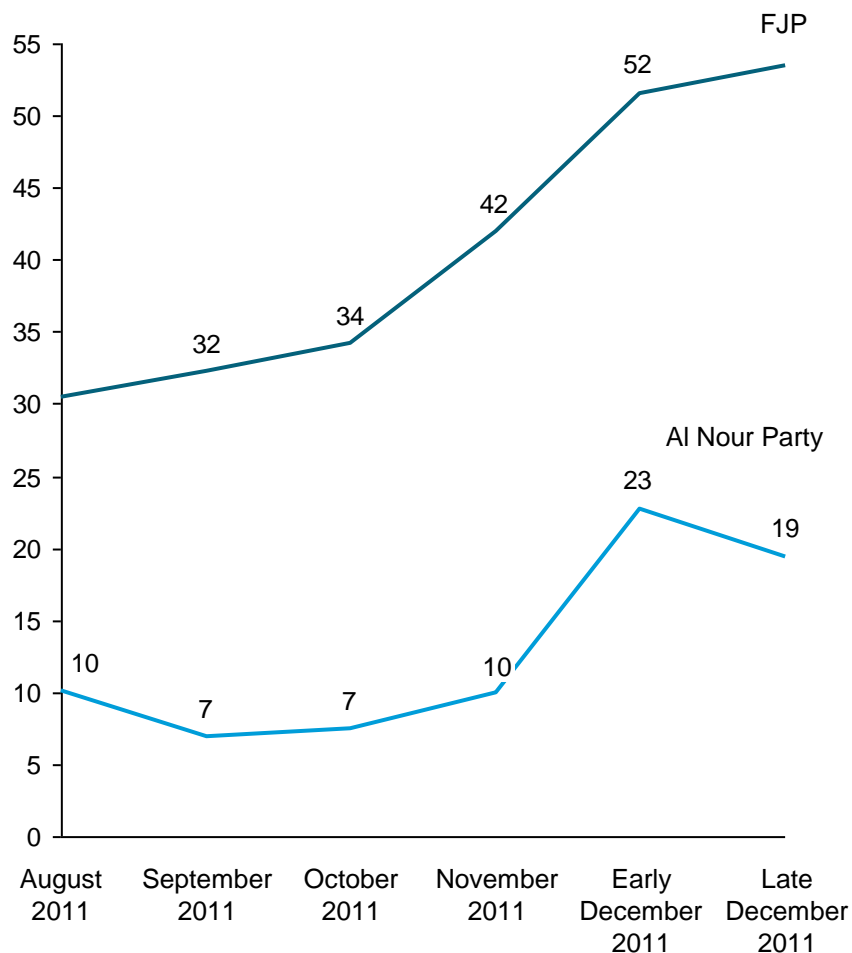


Source: Parliamentary survey 2, 4, 5 & 6. *Religious and secular values is defined according to the scores on the two variables: Agreement on the phrase "Religious leaders have a responsibility to direct voters towards the best candidate" and agreement on the phrase "Religious leaders should not influence decision of elected government". Party's placement is based on how the voters place them on a scale from 0-10

Support and favorability towards the Islamist parties varies, growing in the lead up to the election

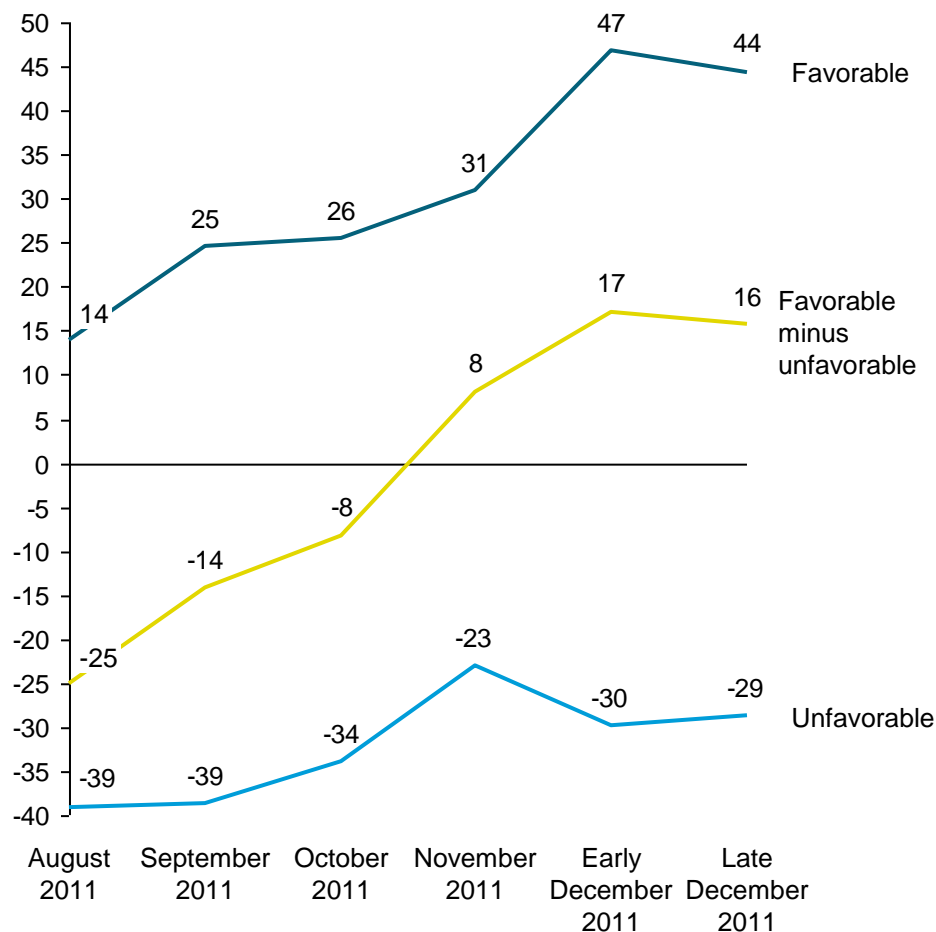
1

The Islamic parties' support grew during the election campaign

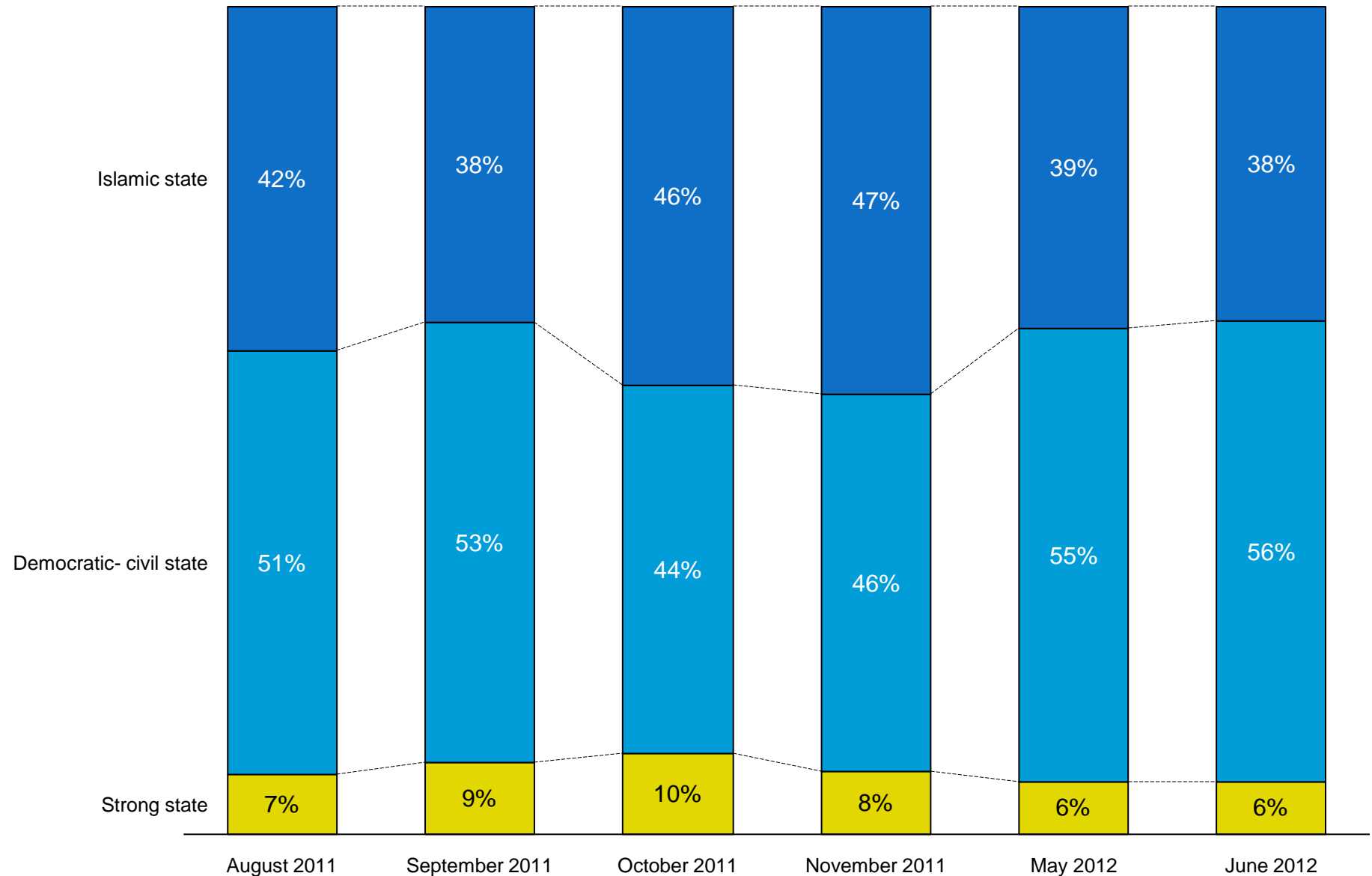


2

The citizens' view of the Nour Party also grew more favorable during the election campaign

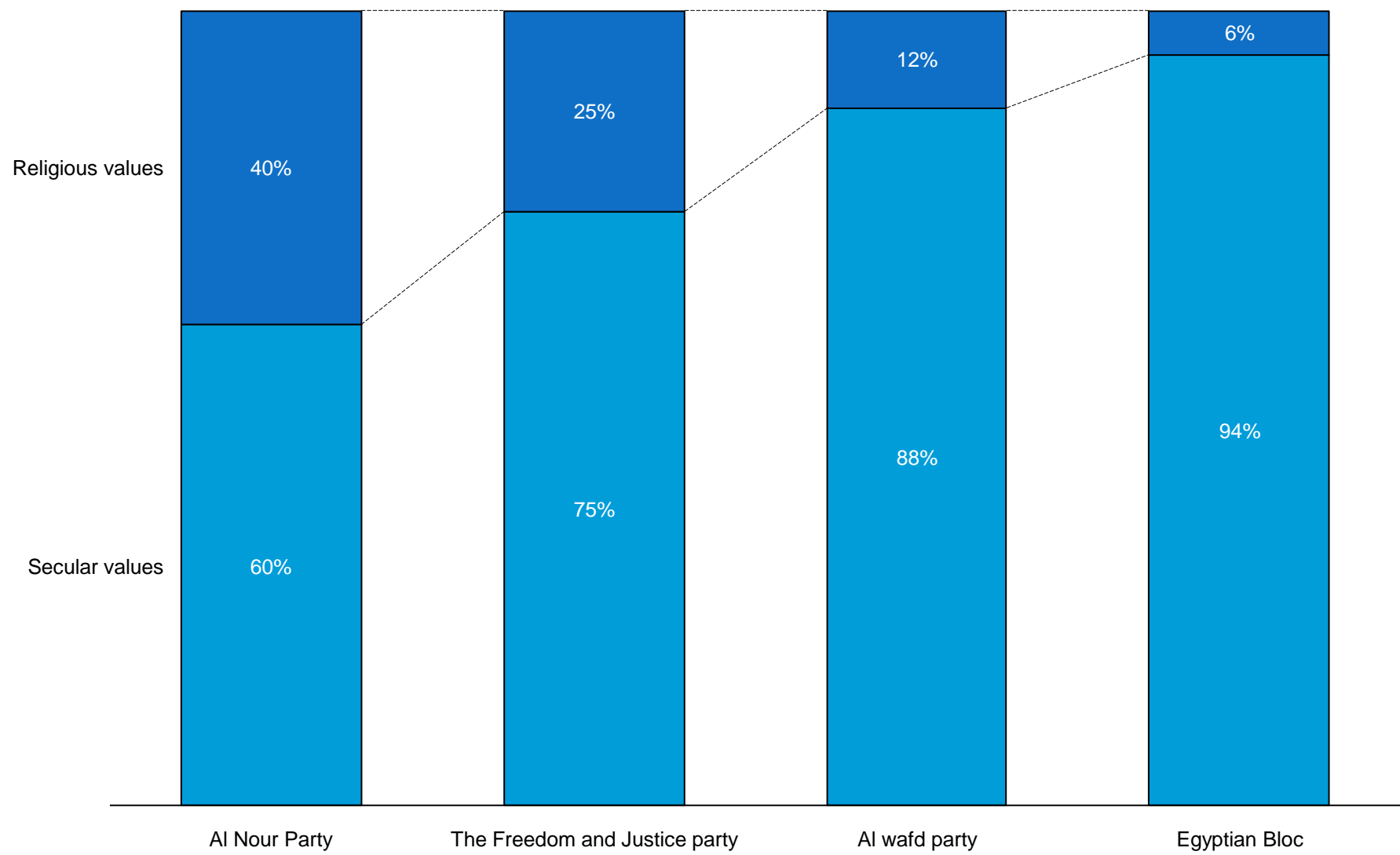


While values appear stable over time: Preferences for Islamic, democratic and strong state remain similar



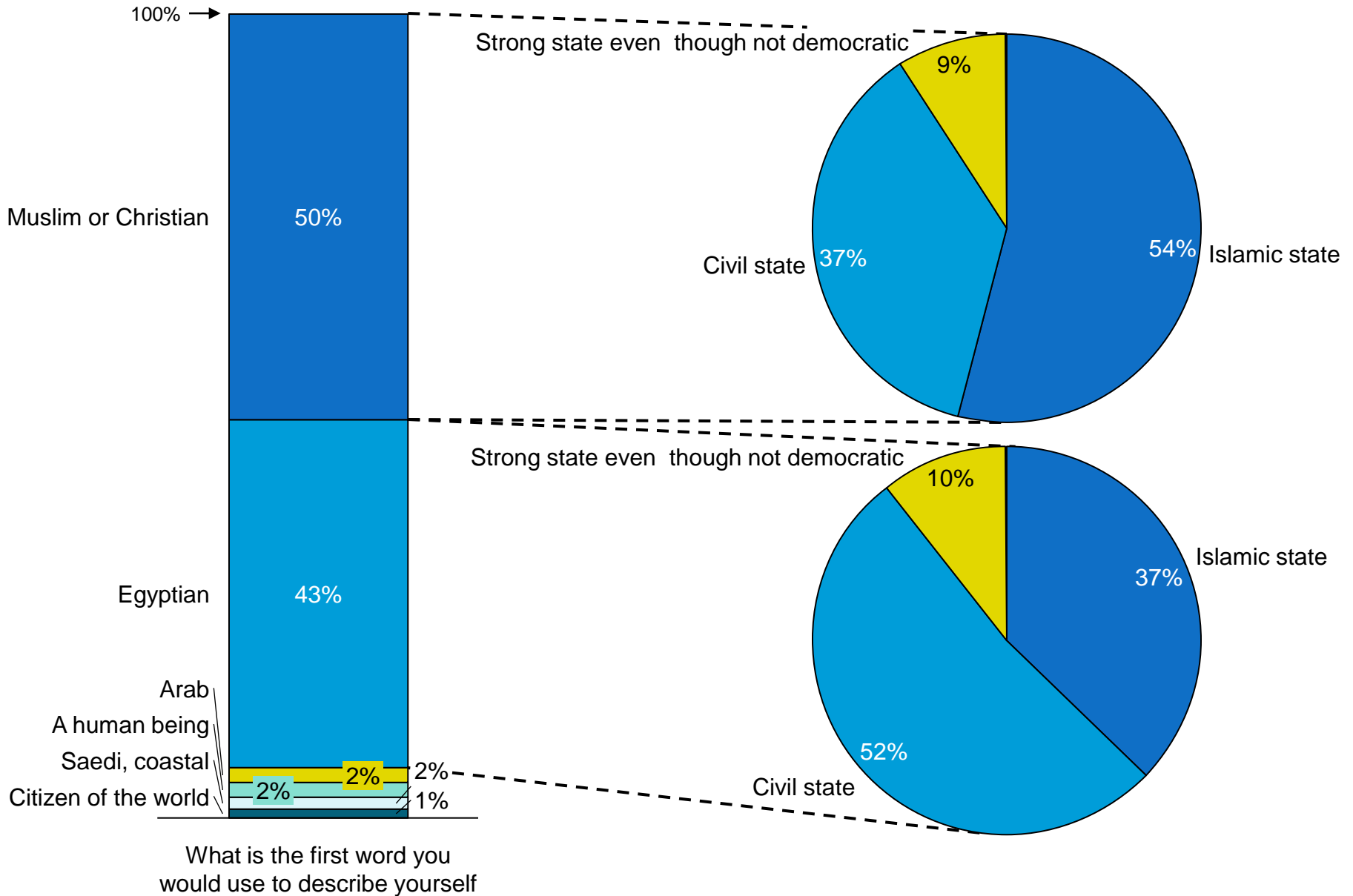
Source: Parliamentary survey 1,2,3 4,5 & 6. Presidential survey 1, 2

Voters with religious values is a minority in all the major parties in Egypt



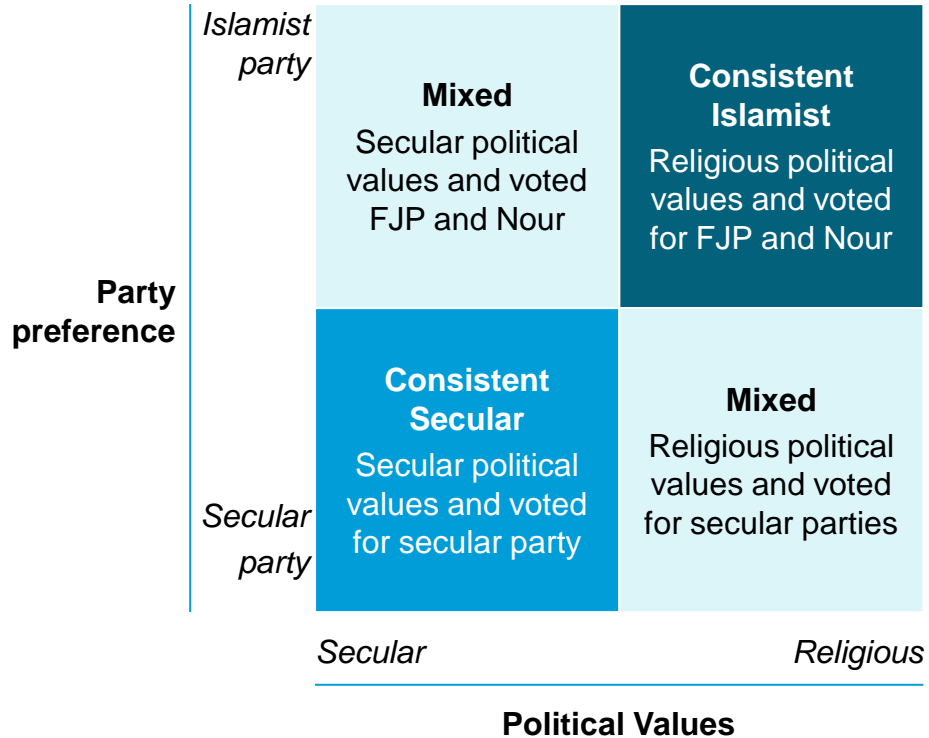
Source: Parliamentary survey 4,5 & 6.

To some extent, this is an issue of identity:

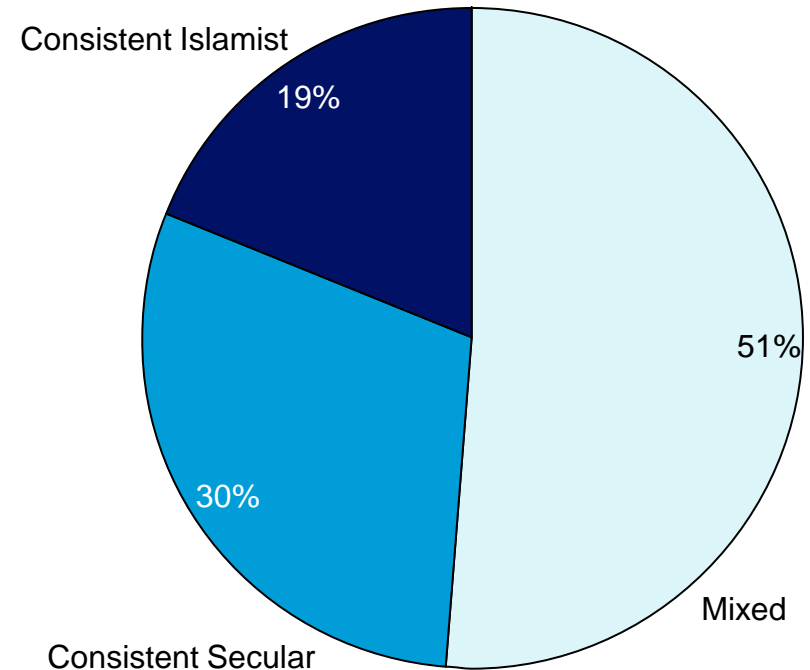


But the Center is the Largest Group of Egyptians

Segment Definitions



Size of Segments

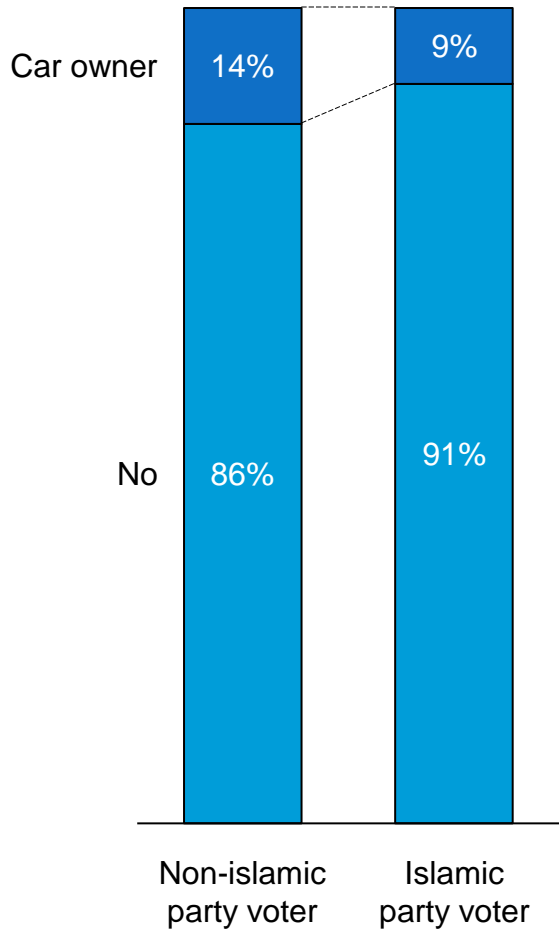


Why Did Islamists Do Well?

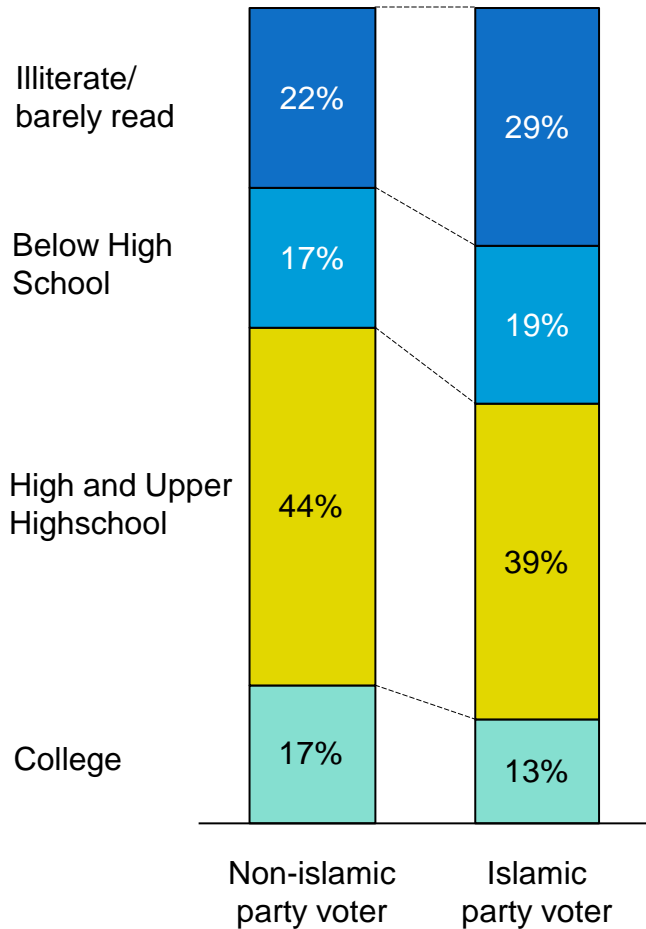


Catering to Populations in Need:

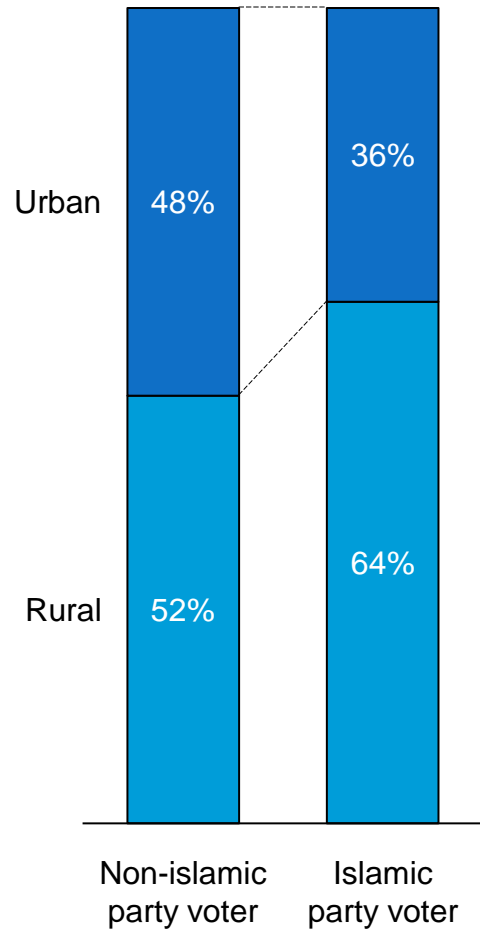
1 Car ownership, as a poverty indicator, shows that a fewer percentage of Islamic party voters own a car



2 Islamic party voters have lesser education than non-Islamic party voters



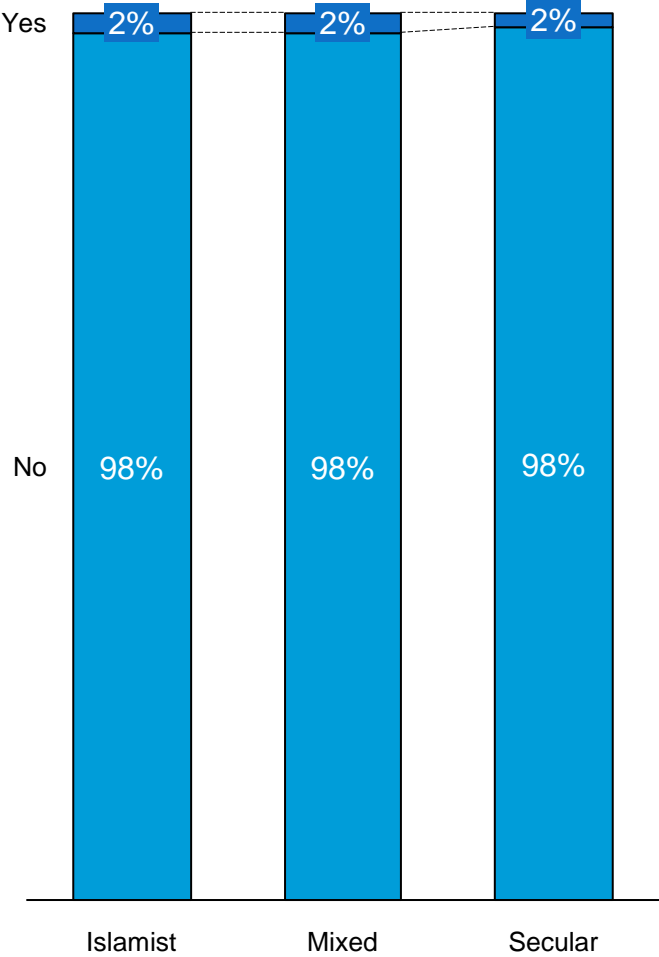
3 Islamic party voters are living more in rural areas than non-Islamic party voters



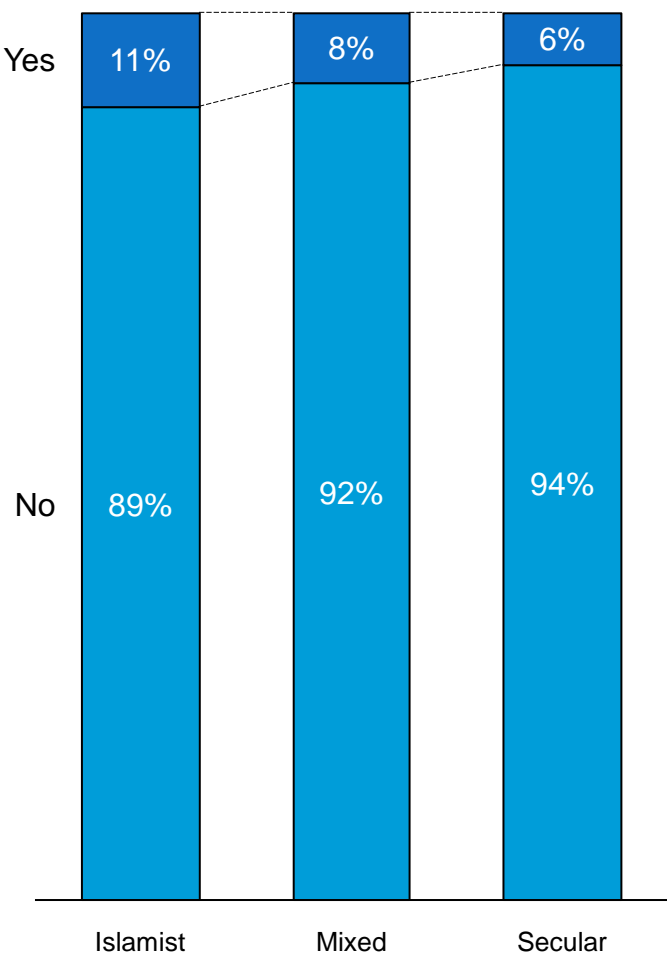
Source: Parliamentary survey 4, 5 & 6.

Islamist are more politically active than secularist

1
The segments have joined political parties to the same extent



2
Islamist were more active in protests

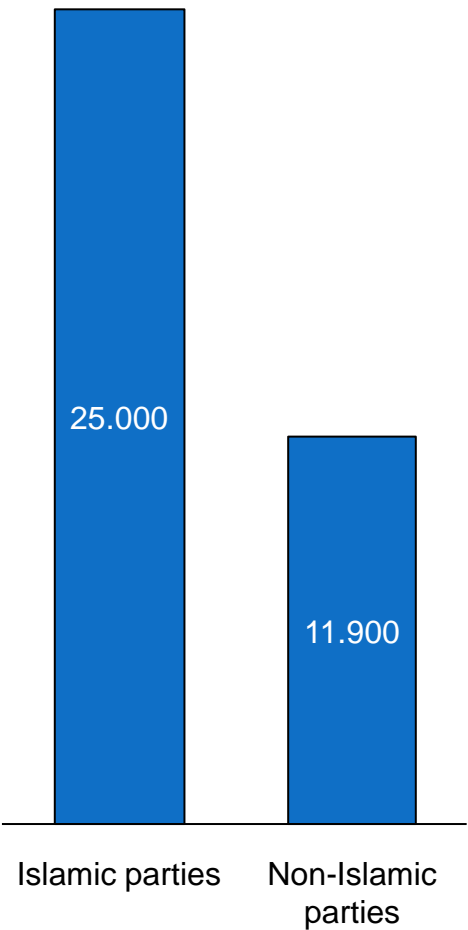


Source: Parliamentary survey 4,5 & 6

With superior organizational resources at their disposal

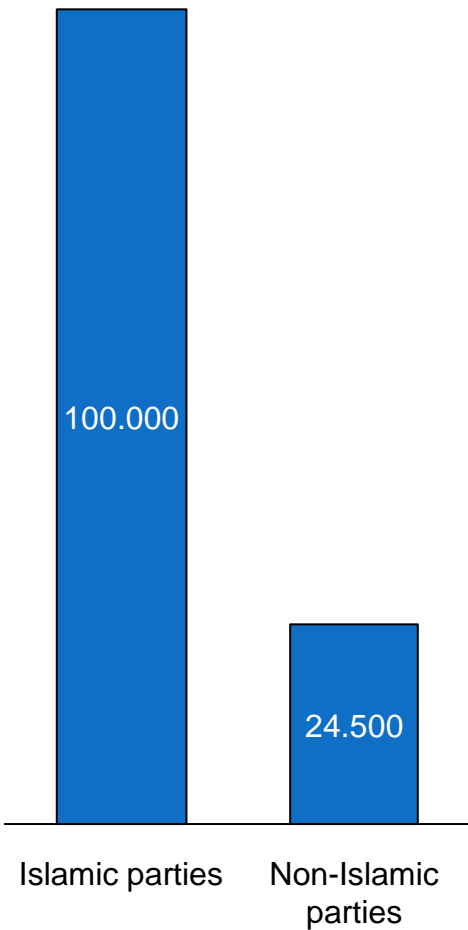
1 Islamic parties mobilized more volunteers for their campaigns

Total number of campaign volunteers



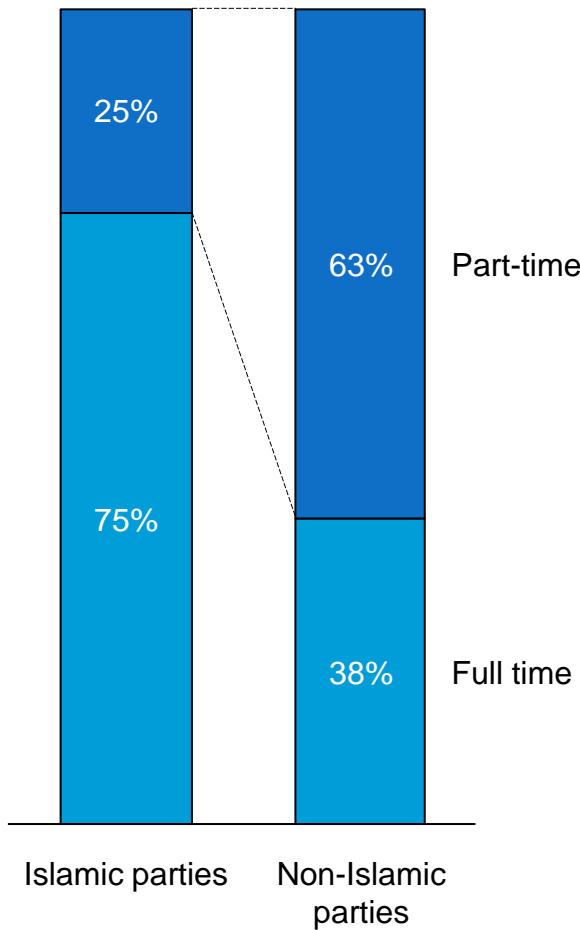
2 Islamic parties have four times as many active members

Total number of active members



3 The Islamic parties have a greater share of full time staff working in the parties

Type of staff in parties



Conclusions and Implications

	Conclusions	Implications
The Centre	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Egyptian electorate has a large center	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Respond to the needs of the center• Need to emphasize iterative processes and seek ways to avoid entrenchment of early winners• Roles of local level elections
Discourse	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The discourse of the campaigns were increasingly religious	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Need to resist supporting efforts to limit liberal freedoms, discourse• Emphasis on media freedoms, freedom of association, political parties laws, etc
Transition Politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Transition politics fundamentally shaped by religious-secular divide	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• International actors need to avoid temptation to shore up secularists vs. Islamists• Undermines secular forces• Reinforces the divide at the expense of democracy

Conclusions from the Data

Transition politics fundamentally shaped by religious-secular divide:

- Religion was the main dividing line in the elections and the voters are primarily able to differentiate the parties on a secular – religious scale
- This is partly related to a divide in identity, between Egyptians focusing on Egyptian national identity and those focused on Muslim identity.

Ideological competition not reflecting deep-seated beliefs:

- The strong results for the Islamist parties should not be interpreted as religious values running deep in Egyptian society, as only a small segment of 19 % harbour strong Islamist values.
- The largest group in Egypt is clustered around the middle having not strong preferences for either a secular or an Islamist state.

Organizational capacities a key factor in explaining Islamist current success, but fluid:

- Islamist parties had superior campaign strategies and organizational capacity

Implications for Transitional Politics?

- Secularists – domestic and abroad – tend to view “Islamist takeover” reflecting deep-seated, values
- Fear of spreading message and power prompts support for *illiberal and anti-democratic* policies

However,

- Illiberal policies have potential for inducing preference falsification that strengthens Islamist parties

Moving Forward: Recognize Fluidity and Keep the Playing Field Open

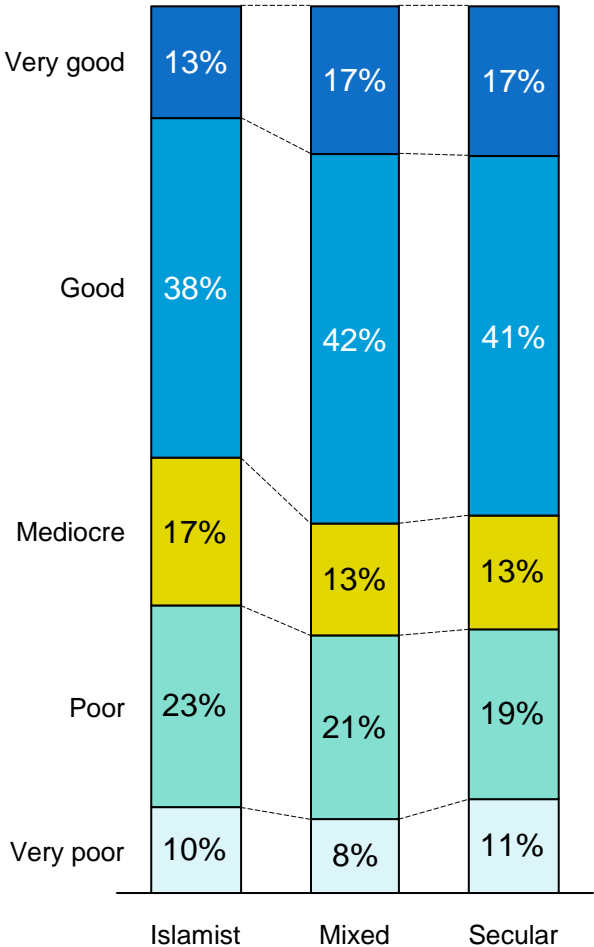
- Need to resist supporting efforts to limit liberal freedoms, discourse
- International actors need to avoid temptation to shore up secularists vs. Islamists, focus on liberal/democratic vs. illiberal, anti-democratic
 - Counter-productive
 - Not necessarily more liberal, democratic outcomes
- Respond to the needs of the center
- Need to emphasize iterative processes and seek ways to avoid entrenchment of early winners
 - Roles of local level elections
 - Emphasis on media freedoms, freedom of association, political parties laws, etc
- Push toward multi-issue elections

Appendix

Only minor difference in the evaluation of state institutions

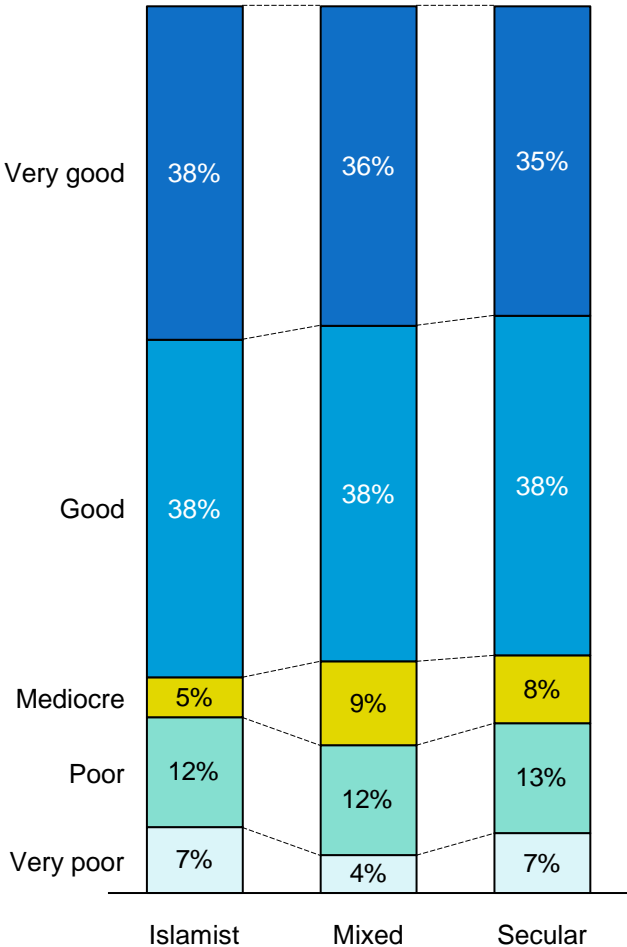
1
Islamist are more negative towards the judiciary

Evaluation of judiciary



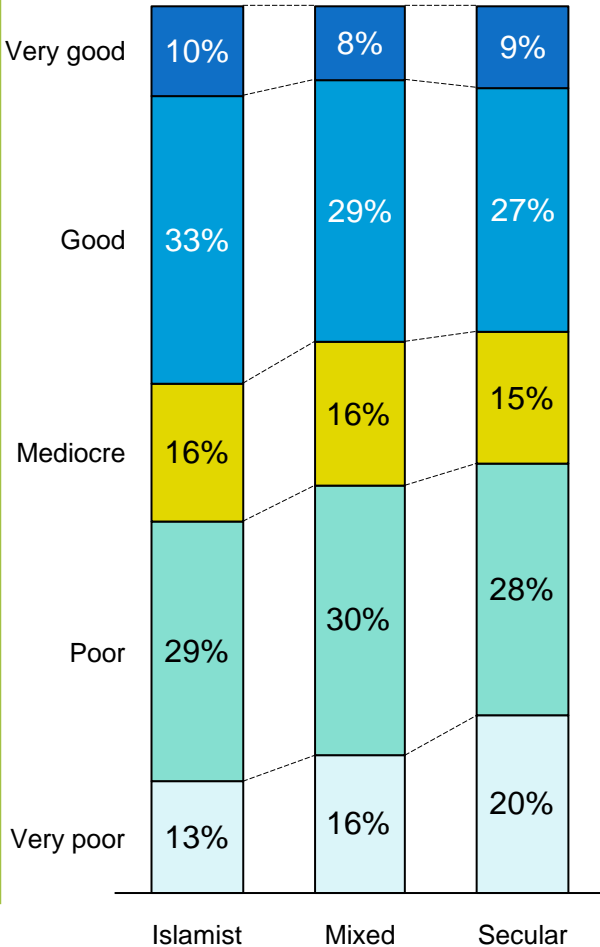
2
Islamist are slightly more positive towards the SCAF

Evaluation of the SCAF



3
Only minor difference on evaluation of Sharaf's second government

Evaluation of the Sharaf government



Source: Parliamentary survey 4,5 & 6

Appendix: islamist, mixed and secular

Dependent variable 0=islam, mixed=1 and secular=2

Independent	Coeff.	Sign
Urban/ Rural	-,161	,000 ***
Edu_rec	-,011	,649
Age_rec	,071	,000 ***
Income: Does the family own a car?	-,116	,017 **

Dependent (0=islamist+mixed) and (1=secular)

Independent

	Coeff.	Sign
Income: Does the family own a car?	-,395	,006 ***
Urban/rural	-,422	,000 ***
Education	-,036	,621
Age	,194	,001 ***

Dependent (0=islamist) and (1=mixed + secular)

Independent

	Coeff.	Sign
Income: Does the family own a car?	-,182	,396
Urban/rural	-,492	,000 ***
Education	-,019	,845
Age	,202	,015 **

Overview of Egyptian Surveys

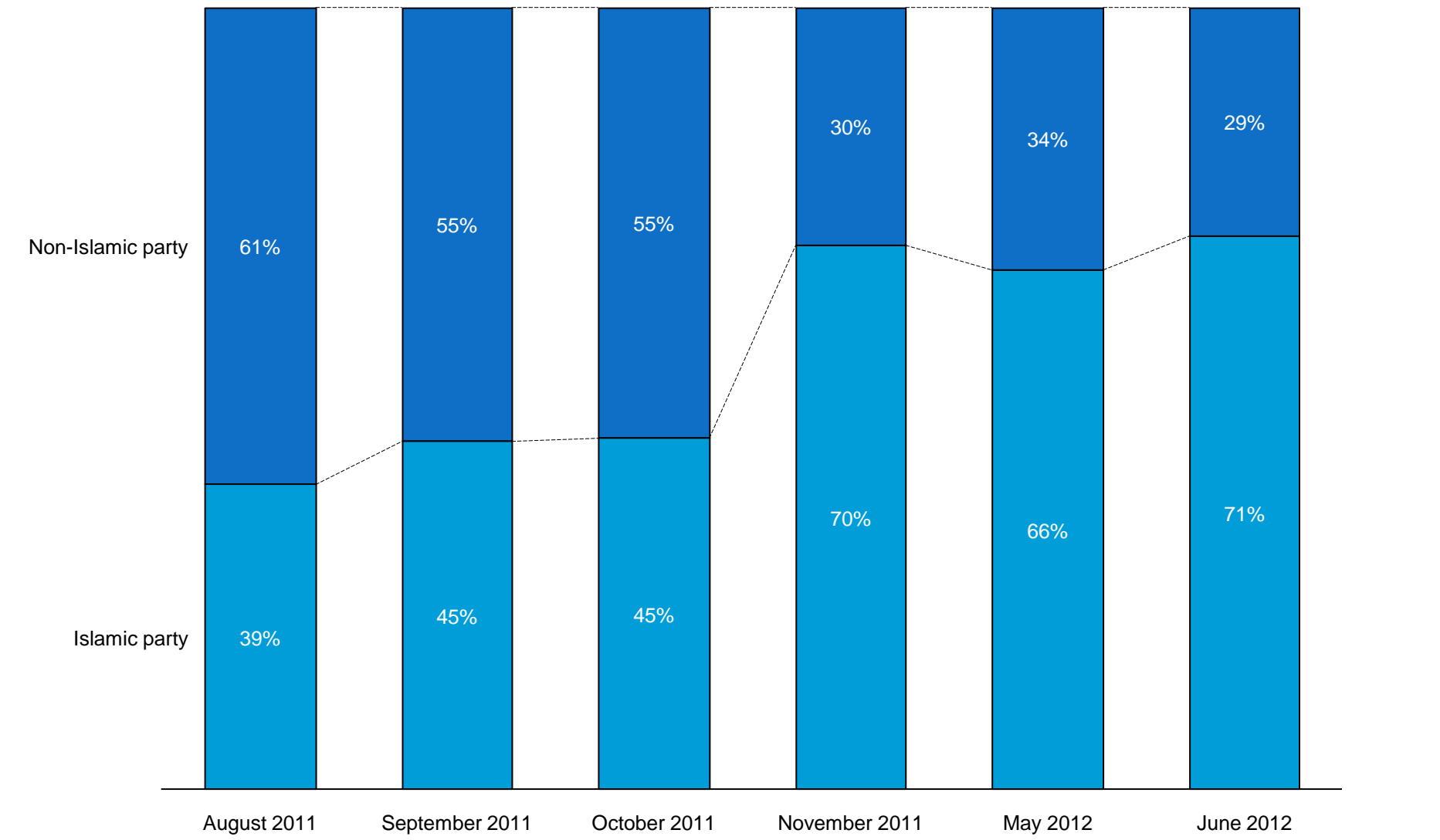
Date of collection, number of respondents and contents

Survey	Date of collection	Respondents	Contents
Parliamentary survey 1	• 5 – 17 August, 2011	• 2400	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Current issues• Future prospects• Political participation and election• Political competence• Political system• Political parties• Presidential candidates• Values• Trust• Identity• Social networks
Parliamentary survey 2	• 11 – 22 September, 2011	• 2400	
Parliamentary survey 3	• 10 – 26 October, 2011	• 2400	
Parliamentary survey 4	• 7 – 17 November, 2011	• 1200	
Parliamentary survey 5	• 1 – 8 December, 2011	• 1200	
Parliamentary survey 6	• 17 – 27 December, 2011	• 1200	
Presidential survey 1	• 19 – 22 May, 2012	• 1200	
Presidential survey 2	• 6 – 11 June, 2012	• 1200	

Content

- 1 Introduction and survey data overview
- 2 Ideology and religion
- 3 Depth of the divide
- 4 Who are the Islamist and non-Islamist?

Support for Islamic parties has grown over time



Source: Parliamentary survey 1,2,3 4,5 & 6. Presidential survey 1, 2

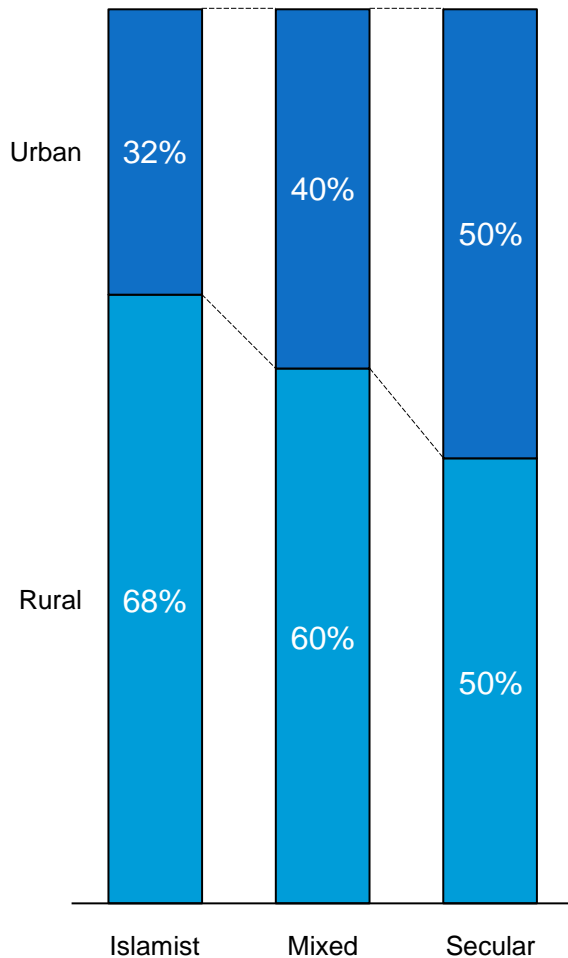
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Islamists are more rural and younger than secularists

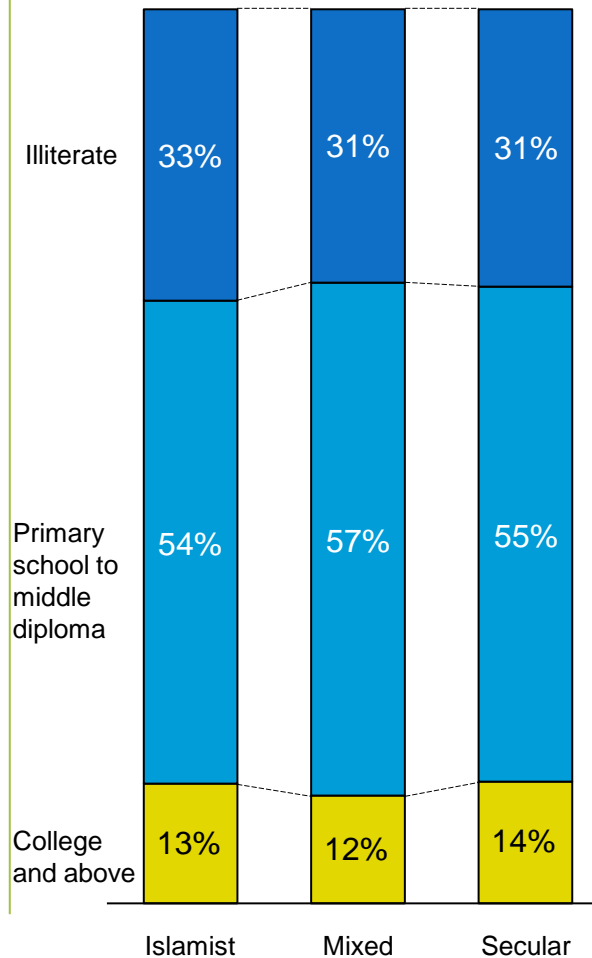
1

Islamists live in rural areas



2

No differences in education level



3

Islamists are younger

