Godly Governance

Examining Support for Religious Governance in Arab Muslim Majority Countries

Fabio Votta

favstats
favstats.eu
@FabioFavusMaxim
fabio.votta@gmail.com

2018-29-06

Slides available at godly-governance.netlify.com

Research Question:

> What role does religiosity play in support for religious governance?

Starting Point

- A commonly proposed explanation for the support for religious governance is that devout Muslims simply support it out of their religious convictions

Starting Point

- A commonly proposed explanation for the support for religious governance is that devout Muslims simply support it out of their religious convictions

- This proposed relationship falls in danger to become tautological and essentialist in nature, leading to explanations that Muslims support religious governance *because they are Muslims*

Starting Point

- A commonly proposed explanation for the support for religious governance is that devout Muslims simply support it out of their religious convictions

- This proposed relationship falls in danger to become tautological and essentialist in nature, leading to explanations that Muslims support religious governance *because they are Muslims*

Tessler describes the problematic nature of such arguments as this

> "mistakenly assume[s] that there are clear and uncontested definitions of what constitute [...] 'Muslim' orientations" and "[...] ignores the significant differences that exist between Arab and Muslim countries, as well as the equally important individual-level variation that exists within countries [...] associated with age, education, class, gender, ethnicity, and residence."

Tessler, 2015, pp. 54-55

Hypotheses

Secularization Theory *(Norris & Inglehart, 2011)*

> *H1a:* Increasing individual material resources marginalize support for religious governance.
>
> *H1b:* Increasing intellectual resources marginalize support for religious governance.

Hypotheses

Secularization Theory *(Norris & Inglehart, 2011)*

> *H1a:* Increasing individual material resources marginalize support for religious governance.

> *H1b:* Increasing intellectual resources marginalize support for religious governance.

Parochialism

> *H2:* Parochial viewpoints increase support for religious governance.

Hypotheses

Secularization Theory *(Norris & Inglehart, 2011)*

> *H1a:* Increasing individual material resources marginalize support for religious governance.

> *H1b:* Increasing intellectual resources marginalize support for religious governance.

Parochialism

> *H2:* Parochial viewpoints increase support for religious governance.

Patriarchal Values

> *H3:* Patriarchal Values increase support for religious governance.

Hypotheses

The Role of Religiosity

> *H4a:* Religiosity increases support for religious governance.

> *H4b:* Liberal interpretations of Islam decrease the support for religious governance.

Hypotheses

The Role of Religiosity

> *H4a:* Religiosity increases support for religious governance.

> *H4b:* Liberal interpretations of Islam decrease the support for religious governance.

Interactions

> *H4c:* If an individual endorses patriarchal values, religiosity has a *stronger effect* on the support for religious governance

Hypotheses

The Role of Religiosity

> *H4a:* Religiosity increases support for religious governance.

> *H4b:* Liberal interpretations of Islam decrease the support for religious governance.

Interactions

> *H4c:* If an individual endorses patriarchal values, religiosity has a *stronger effect* on the support for religious governance

> *H4d:* If an individual endorses liberal interpretations of Islam, religiosity has a *diminished or even reversed effect* on the support for religious governance.

Data & Methodology

Data & Methodology

- Merging of the following datasets:

    - Arabbarometer Survey Round 3 (data from 2014-2015)
    - Arabbarometer Survey Round 4 (data from 2015-2016)

- In total 13.495 individual cases in 12 Arab countries

    - weighted with provided weight

Dependent Variable - *Support for Islamism*

To what extent [do] you think these systems would be appropriate for your country?

- Religious leaders (imams, preachers, priests) should have influence over government decisions

- Your country is better off if religious people hold public positions in the state

- A system governed by Islamic law without elections or political parties

- A parliamentary system (based on Islamic law) in which only Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections

Dependent Variable - *Support for Islamism*

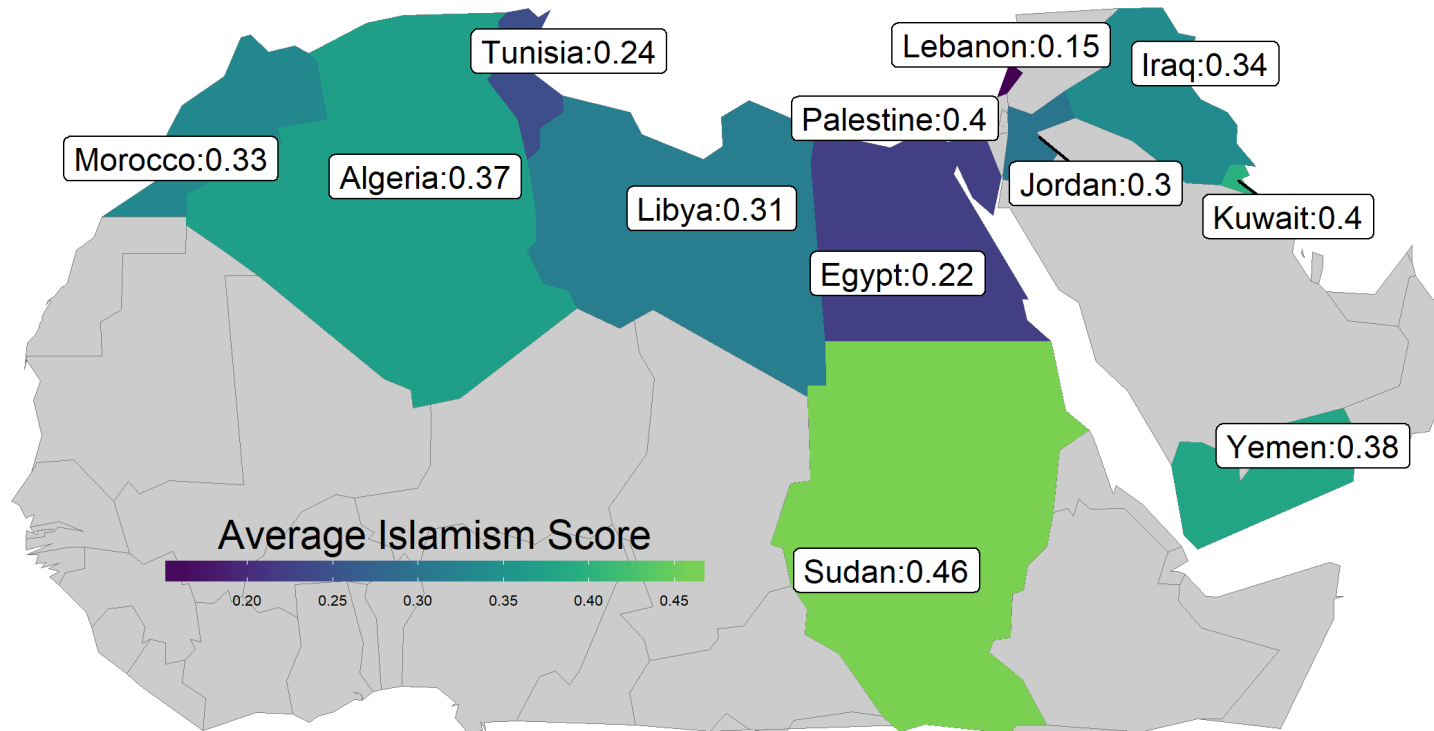*To what extent [do] you think these systems would be appropriate for your country?*

- Religious leaders (imams, preachers, priests) should have influence over government decisions

- Your country is better off if religious people hold public positions in the state

- A system governed by Islamic law without elections or political parties

- A parliamentary system (based on Islamic law) in which only Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections

Table 1: Principal Component Analysis

Variable	Loadings
Religious Leaders influence decisions	*0.74*
Religious Leaders hold office	*0.78*
Only Islamist Parties	*0.70*
Islamist Government (no elections)	*0.69*

Variance explained: 53%
Cronbach's α: 0.70

Varimax rotation.

Average Support by Country

Independent Variables

Secularization Theory

- Employment (0/1)
- Financial Security
- Education

Independent Variables

Secularization Theory

- Employment (0/1)
- Financial Security
- Education

Parochialism

- Do you think that the increase in global connectivity is a good or a bad thing for the society?

Independent Variables

Secularization Theory

- Employment (0/1)
- Financial Security
- Education

Parochialism

- Do you think that the increase in global connectivity is a good or a bad thing for the society?

Religiosity

- Personal Piety
  - Do you pray daily?
  - Do you listen to or read the Quran?

Independent Variables

Secularization Theory

- Employment (0/1)
- Financial Security
- Education

Parochialism

- Do you think that the increase in global connectivity is a good or a bad thing for the society?

Religiosity

- Personal Piety
  - Do you pray daily?
  - Do you listen to or read the Quran?

Patriarchal Values

- A married woman can work outside the home.
- In general, men are better at political leadership than women.
- University education for males is more important than university education for females.

Independent Variables

Liberal Islam

> The opinions of Islamic jurists and religious scholars differ and I want to ask to what extent you agree or disagree with some of these issues?

- Democracy is a system that contradicts the teachings of Islam.
- Gender-mixed education should be allowed in universities.
- Women should wear modest clothes without needing to wear hijab.

Independent Variables

Liberal Islam

> The opinions of Islamic jurists and religious scholars differ and I want to ask to what extent you agree or disagree with some of these issues?

- Democracy is a system that contradicts the teachings of Islam.
- Gender-mixed education should be allowed in universities.
- Women should wear modest clothes without needing to wear hijab.

Control Variables

- Sex (Male/Female)
- Age
- Year 2012 (0/1)
- Year 2013 (0/1)
- Year 2014 (0/1)

Analysis & Results

Analysis

- Individuals are nested into countries, so that application of *multilevel models* is suitable

- ICC: 14.66% of the variance of Islamism is bound on the country-level

- Sequential approach

  - *Models 1-5* continually add one variable to the model
  - *Model 6* shows the main model with all variables
  - *Model 7-8* show estimated interaction effects

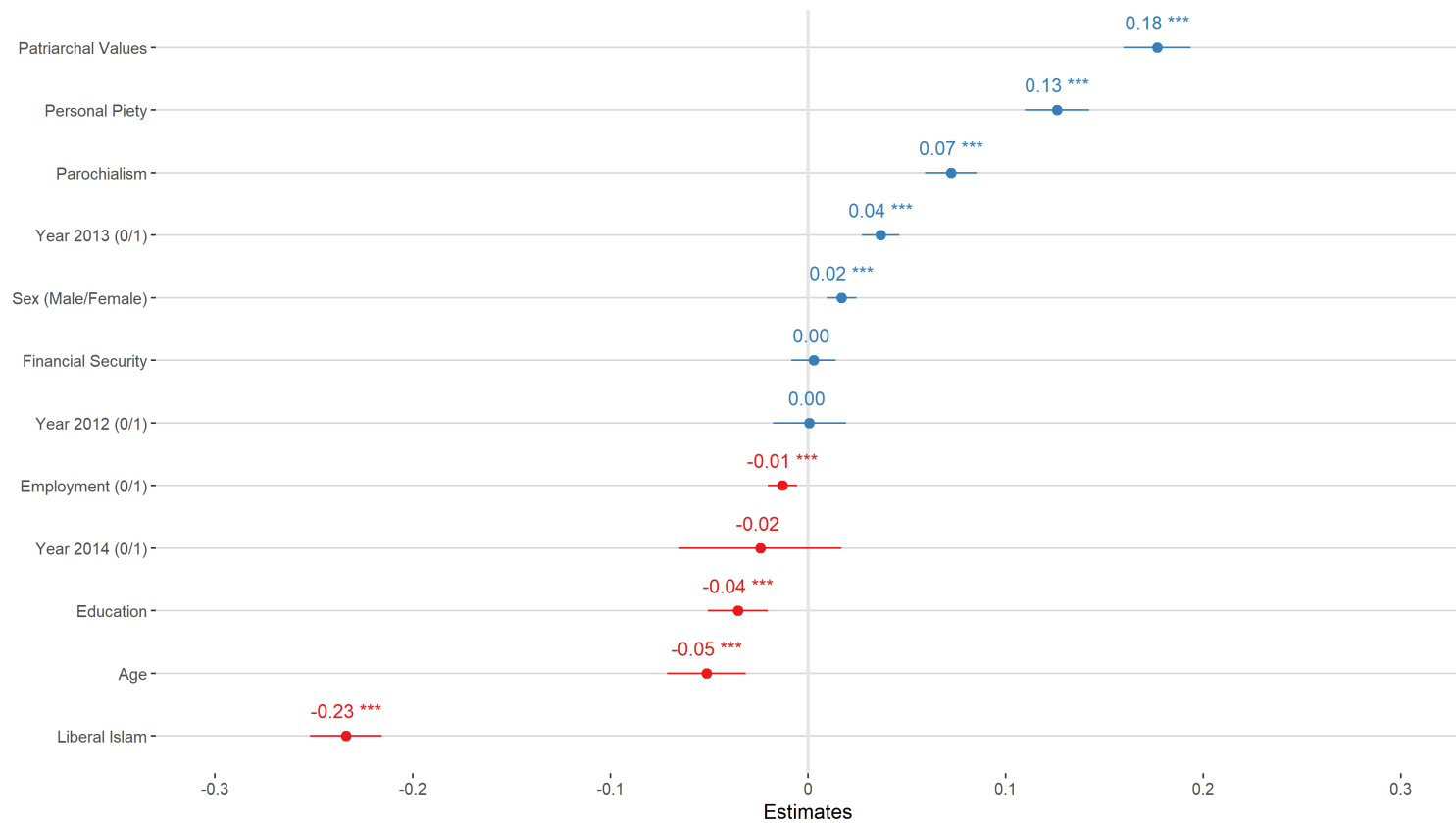- No severe violations of residual assumptions can be found

Table 3: Multilevel Regression - Results

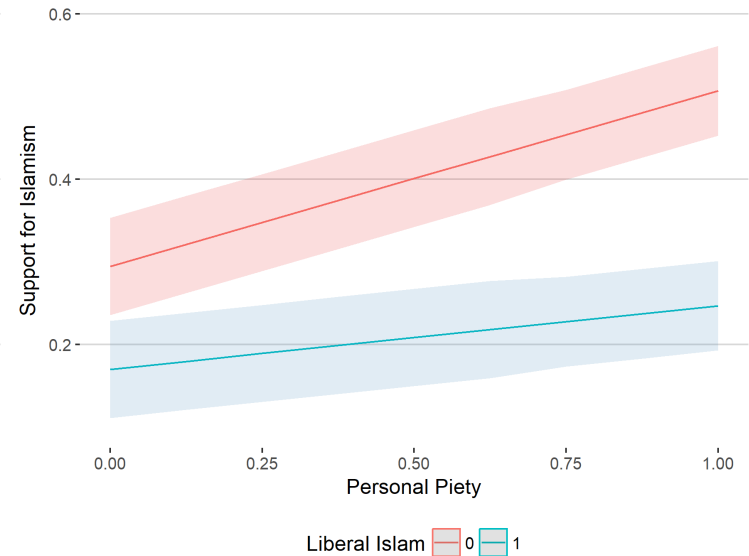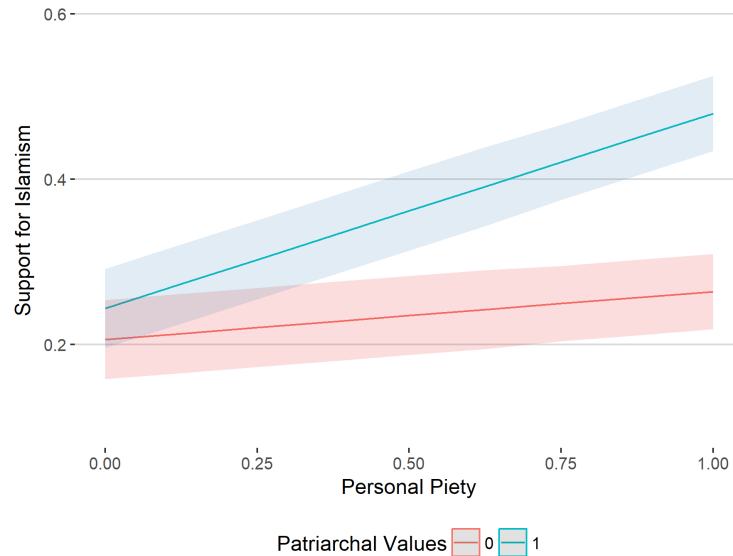|	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Intercept	.31***	.36***	.32***	.23***	.12***	.29***	.34***	.22***
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.02)	(.02)	(.03)	(.03)
Control Variables								
Sex (Male/Female)	.01*	.00	.00	−.01*	.02***	.02***	.02***	.02***
	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)
Age	.01	−.01	−.02*	−.06***	−.05***	−.05***	−.05***	−.05***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Year 2012 (0/1)	.00	.01	.02	.01	.00	.00	−.00	−.00
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Year 2013 (0/1)	.04***	.03***	.04***	.03***	.03***	.04***	.04***	.04***
	(.00)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)
Year 2014 (0/1)	−.03	−.03	−.02	−.03	−.03	−.02	−.02	−.02
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Variables of Interest								
Employment (0/1)		−.01**	−.01**	−.01**	−.01**	−.01***	−.01**	−.01***
		(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)
Financial Security		−.00	.00	−.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
		(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Education		−.07***	−.06***	−.06***	−.04***	−.04***	−.04***	−.04***
		(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Parochialism			.12***	.12***	.10***	.07***	.07***	.07***
			(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Personal Piety				.15***	.14***	.13***	.06***	.21***
				(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.02)	(.03)
Patriarchal Values					.23***	.18***	.04	.18***
					(.01)	(.01)	(.03)	(.01)
Liberal Islam						−.23***	−.23***	−.12***
						(.01)	(.01)	(.03)
Interactions								
Personal Piety × Patriarchal Values							.18***	
							(.03)	
Personal Piety × Liberal Islam								−.14***
								(.04)
AIC	-2380.97	-2441.68	-2748.84	-3025.47	-3695.83	-4308.06	-4328.58	-4314.46
BIC	-2320.89	-2359.07	-2658.71	-2927.84	-3590.69	-4195.41	-4208.42	-4194.30
Log Likelihood	1198.49	1231.84	1386.42	1525.73	1861.92	2169.03	2180.29	2173.23
Num. obs.	13495	13495	13495	13495	13495	13495	13495	13495
Num. groups: cntry	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
Var: cntry (Intercept)	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01
Var: Residual	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04

***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, †$p < 0.1$. Models show unstandardized b-coefficients. All variables normalized (0-1).

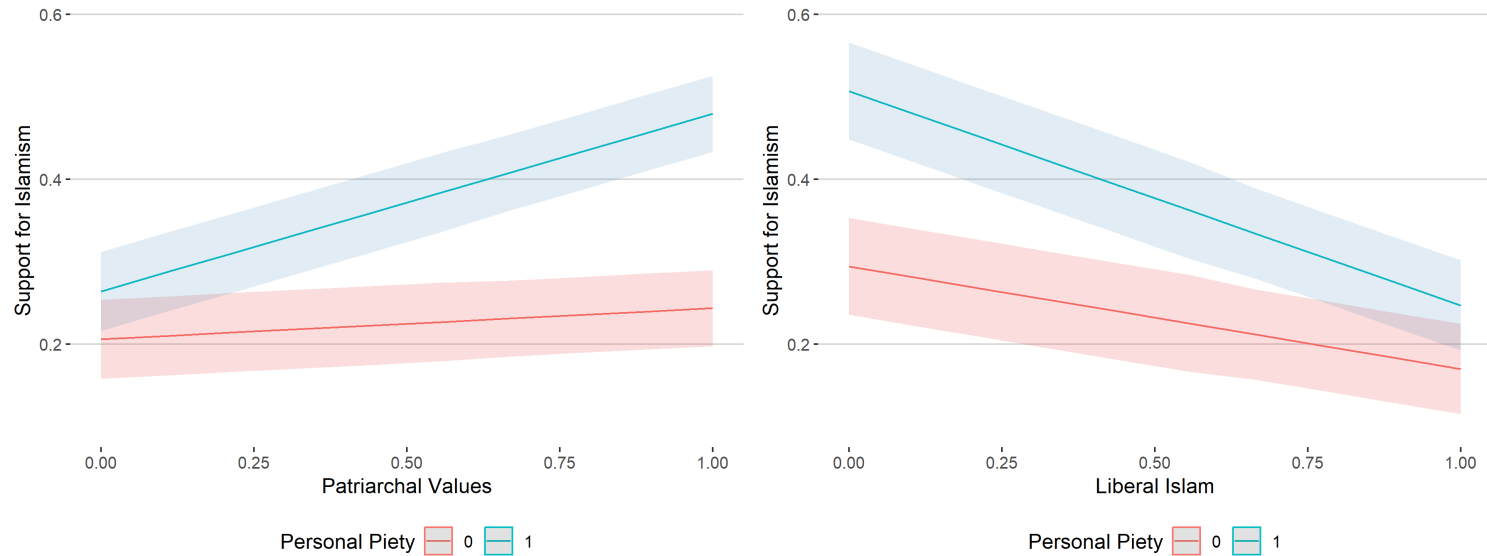Reference category for year dummies is 2016. Data weighted to nationally representative samples.

Results - Main Effects

Results - Interaction Effects I

Results - Interaction Effects II

Conclusions & Future Research

Conclusions & Future Research

- Financial Security shows no significant effect, whereas increased education and unemployment do

Conclusions & Future Research

- Financial Security shows no significant effect, whereas increased education and unemployment do

- Parochialism and Patriarchal values both seem to increase the support for religious governance

Conclusions & Future Research

- Financial Security shows no significant effect, whereas increased education and unemployment do

- Parochialism and Patriarchal values both seem to increase the support for religious governance

- Religion does matter and it matters *a lot*

  - However: Liberal interpretations of Islam decrease the support for religious governance
  - The moderating effects are *strongest* for the most religious individuals

Conclusions & Future Research

- Financial Security shows no significant effect, whereas increased education and unemployment do

- Parochialism and Patriarchal values both seem to increase the support for religious governance

- Religion does matter and it matters *a lot*

  - However: Liberal interpretations of Islam decrease the support for religious governance
  - The moderating effects are *strongest* for the most religious individuals

- Further studies in the field should account for the very diverse interpretations and multidimensionality of religion and religiosity in that context.

Conclusions & Future Research

- Financial Security shows no significant effect, whereas increased education and unemployment do

- Parochialism and Patriarchal values both seem to increase the support for religious governance

- Religion does matter and it matters *a lot*

    - However: Liberal interpretations of Islam decrease the support for religious governance
    - The moderating effects are *strongest* for the most religious individuals

- Further studies in the field should account for the very diverse interpretations and multidimensionality of religion and religiosity in that context.

- Much variation has been found between countries

    - Future research should consider case-studies of individual countries

Thank You!

Full Paper: Godly Governance

Slides: godly-governance.netlify.com

Code and Data on GitHub

References

Norris, P., & Inglehart, R. (2011). Sacred and secular: Religion and politics worldwide. Cambridge University Press.

Tessler, M. (2015). Islam and Politics in the Middle East: Explaining the Views of Ordinary Citizens. Indiana University Press.

Appendix

Table 4: Summary of Results

	Hypotheses	Multilevel Linear Model
H1: Secularization Theory	*H1a: Increasing individual material resources and reduction of existential insecurity marginalizes support for religious governance.*	Mixed Evidence
	H1b: Increasing intellectual resources marginalizes support for religious governance.	✓
H2: Parochialism	*H2: Parochial viewpoints increase support for religious governance.*	✓
H3: Patriarchal Values	*H3: Patriarchal Values increase the support for religious governance.*	✓
H4: The Role of Religion and Liberal Interpretations of Islam	*H4a: Religiosity increases the support for religious governance.*	✓
	H4b: Liberal interpretations of Islam decrease the support for religious governance.	✓
	H4c: If an individual endorses patriarchal values, religiosity has a stronger effect on the support for religious governance than individuals who endorse more gender egalitarian views.	✓
	H4d: If an individual endorses liberal interpretations of Islam, religiosity has a diminished or even reversed effect on the support for religious governance.	✓

Visual Inspection of Homoskedasticity and Residual Relation

Normal QQ-Plot

Pearson Correlation