

# Godly Governance

Examining Support for Religious Governance  
in Arab Muslim Majority Countries

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Slides available at [godly-governance.netlify.com](https://godly-governance.netlify.com)

Research Question:

What role does religiosity play in support for religious governance?

# Theoretical Framework

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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*

**Definition:**

*Islamism is a political ideology comprising various political movements and policies based on a political interpretation of the religion of Islam with the aim of giving Islam an institutionalized and authoritative status in social and political life, which may include the implementation of shari'a governance and/or the establishment of an Islamic state (some form of government consisting of explicitly religious individuals or parties) based on a collectivist Islamic identity.*

# Hypotheses

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## **Patriarchal Values**

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

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*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

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- 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



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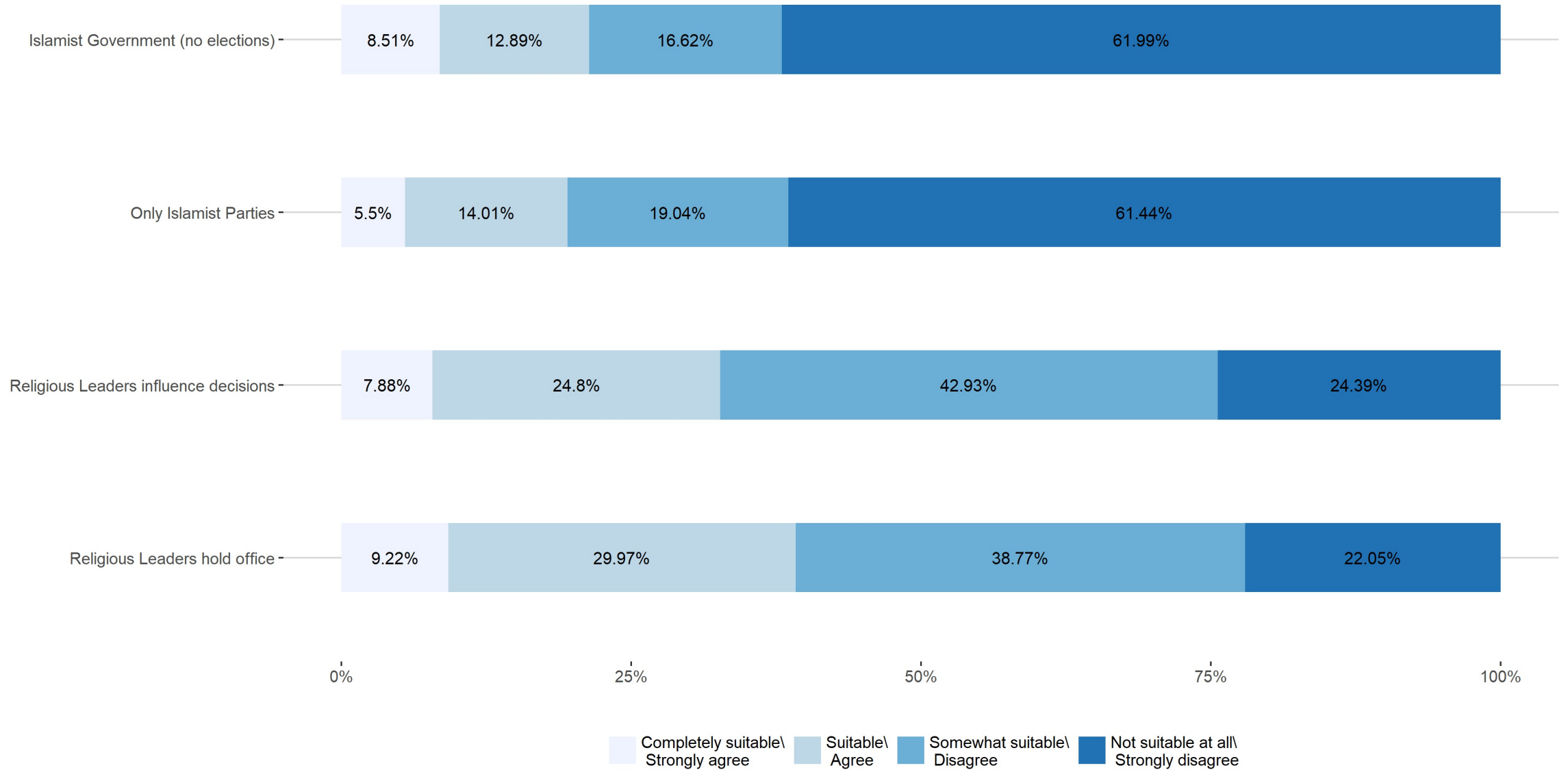
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Table 1: Principal Component Analysis

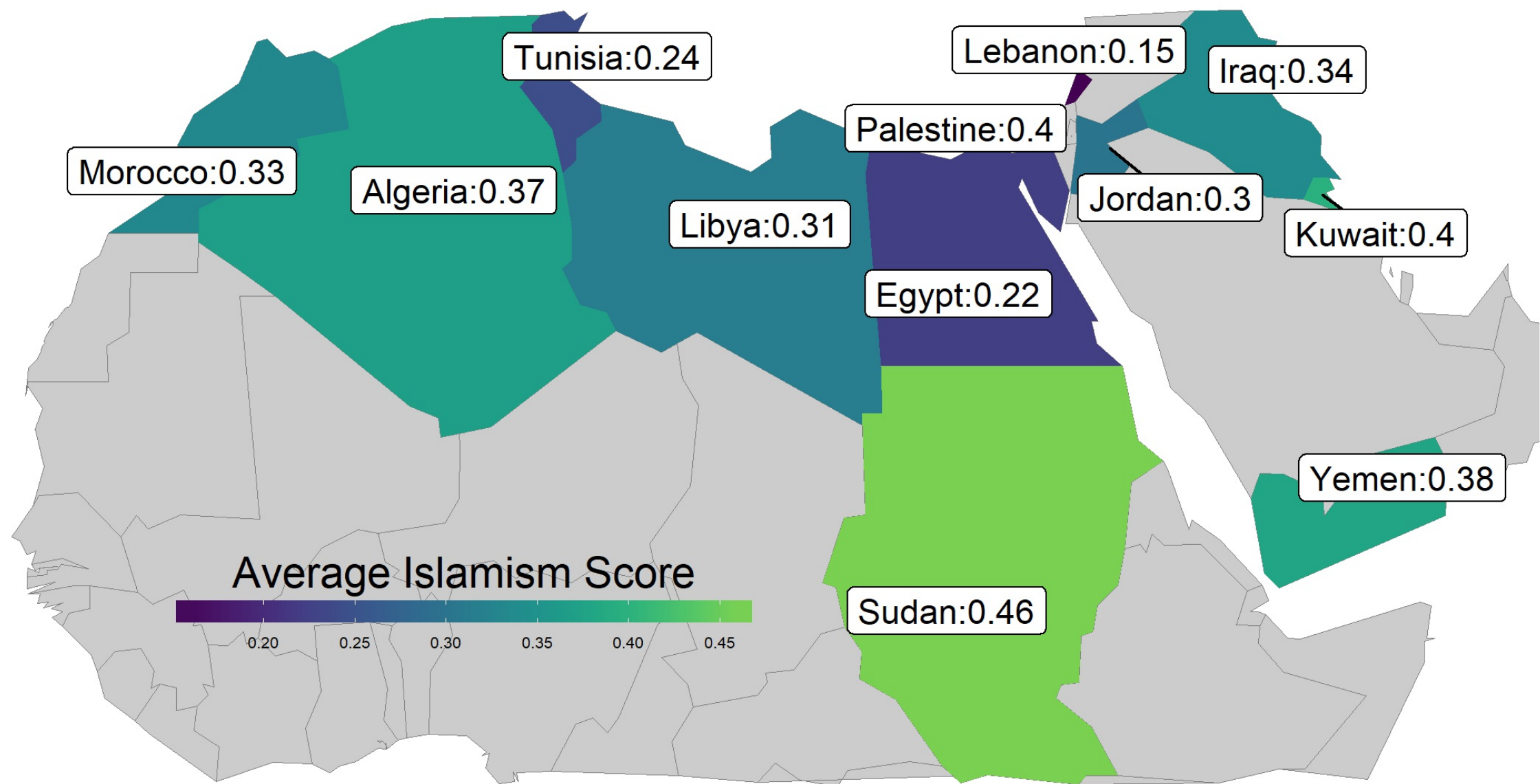
Variable	Loadings
Religious Leaders influence decisions	<i><b>0.74</b></i>
Religious Leaders hold office	<i><b>0.78</b></i>
Only Islamist Parties	<i><b>0.70</b></i>
Islamist Government (no elections)	<i><b>0.69</b></i>
<i>Variance explained: 53%</i>	
<i>Cronbach's <math>\alpha</math>: 0.70</i>	

Varimax rotation.

# Dependent Variable



## Average Support by Country



## Independent Variables

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### *Religiosity*

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

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### *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.



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### *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

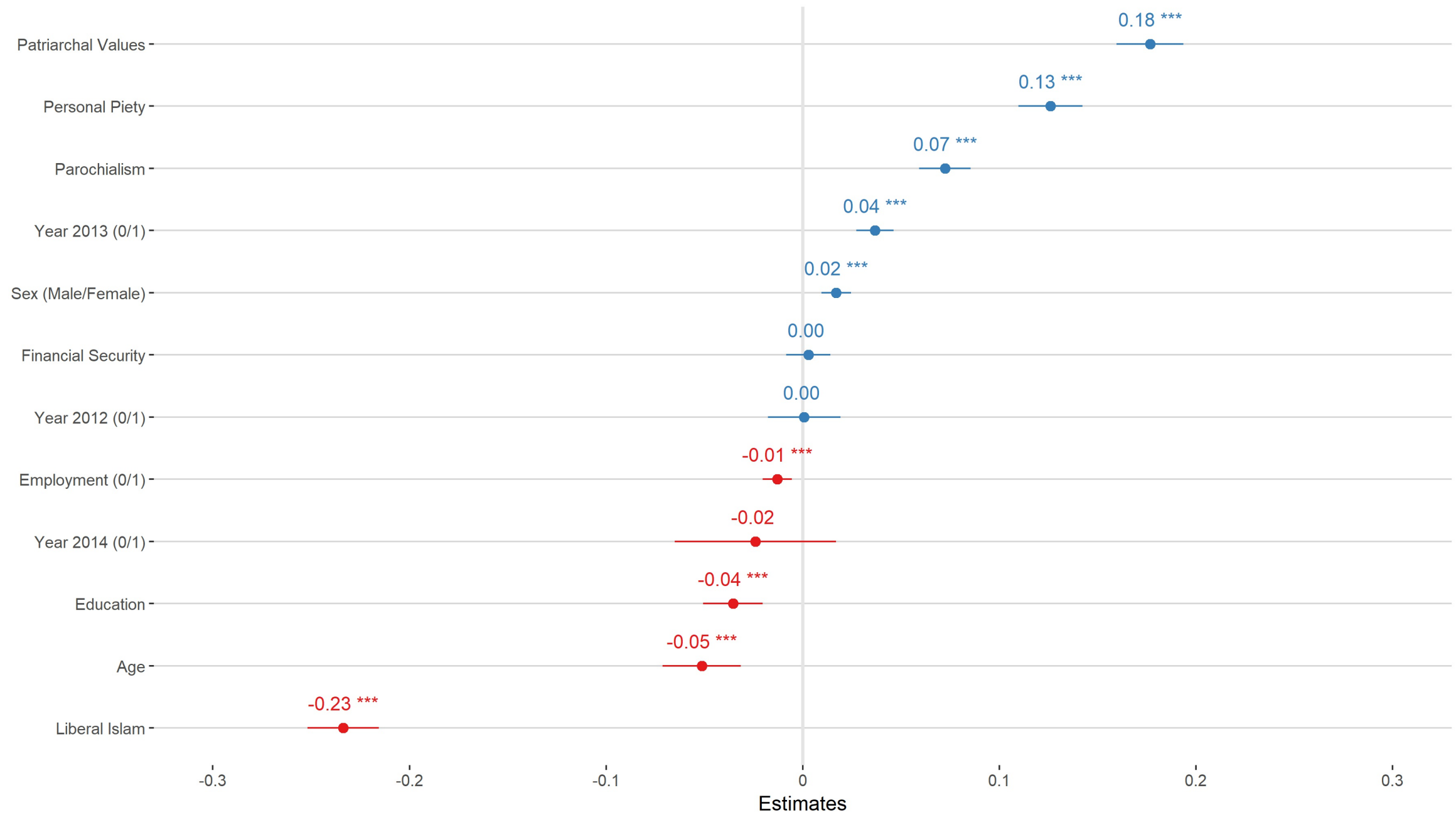
Table 3: Multilevel Regression - Results

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Intercept	.31*** (.03)	.36*** (.03)	.32*** (.03)	.23*** (.03)	.12*** (.02)	.29*** (.02)	.34*** (.03)	.22*** (.03)
<b>Control Variables</b>								
Sex (Male/Female)	.01* (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	-.01* (.00)	.02*** (.00)	.02*** (.00)	.02*** (.00)	.02*** (.00)
Age	.01 (.01)	-.01 (.01)	-.02* (.01)	-.06*** (.01)	-.05*** (.01)	-.05*** (.01)	-.05*** (.01)	-.05*** (.01)
Year 2012 (0/1)	.00 (.01)	.01 (.01)	.02 (.01)	.01 (.01)	.00 (.01)	.00 (.01)	-.00 (.01)	-.00 (.01)
Year 2013 (0/1)	.04*** (.00)	.03*** (.01)	.04*** (.01)	.03*** (.01)	.03*** (.00)	.04*** (.00)	.04*** (.00)	.04*** (.00)
Year 2014 (0/1)	-.03 (.02)	-.03 (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.03 (.02)	-.03 (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.02 (.02)
<b>Variables of Interest</b>								
Employment (0/1)		-.01** (.00)	-.01** (.00)	-.01** (.00)	-.01** (.00)	-.01*** (.00)	-.01** (.00)	-.01*** (.00)
Financial Security		-.00 (.01)	.00 (.01)	-.00 (.01)	.00 (.01)	.00 (.01)	.00 (.01)	.00 (.01)
Education		-.07*** (.01)	-.06*** (.01)	-.06*** (.01)	-.04*** (.01)	-.04*** (.01)	-.04*** (.01)	-.04*** (.01)
Parochialism			.12*** (.01)	.12*** (.01)	.10*** (.01)	.07*** (.01)	.07*** (.01)	.07*** (.01)
Personal Piety				.15*** (.01)	.14*** (.01)	.13*** (.01)	.06*** (.02)	.21*** (.03)
Patriarchal Values					.23*** (.01)	.18*** (.01)	.04 (.03)	.18*** (.01)
Liberal Islam						-.23*** (.01)	-.23*** (.01)	-.12*** (.03)
<b>Interactions</b>								
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

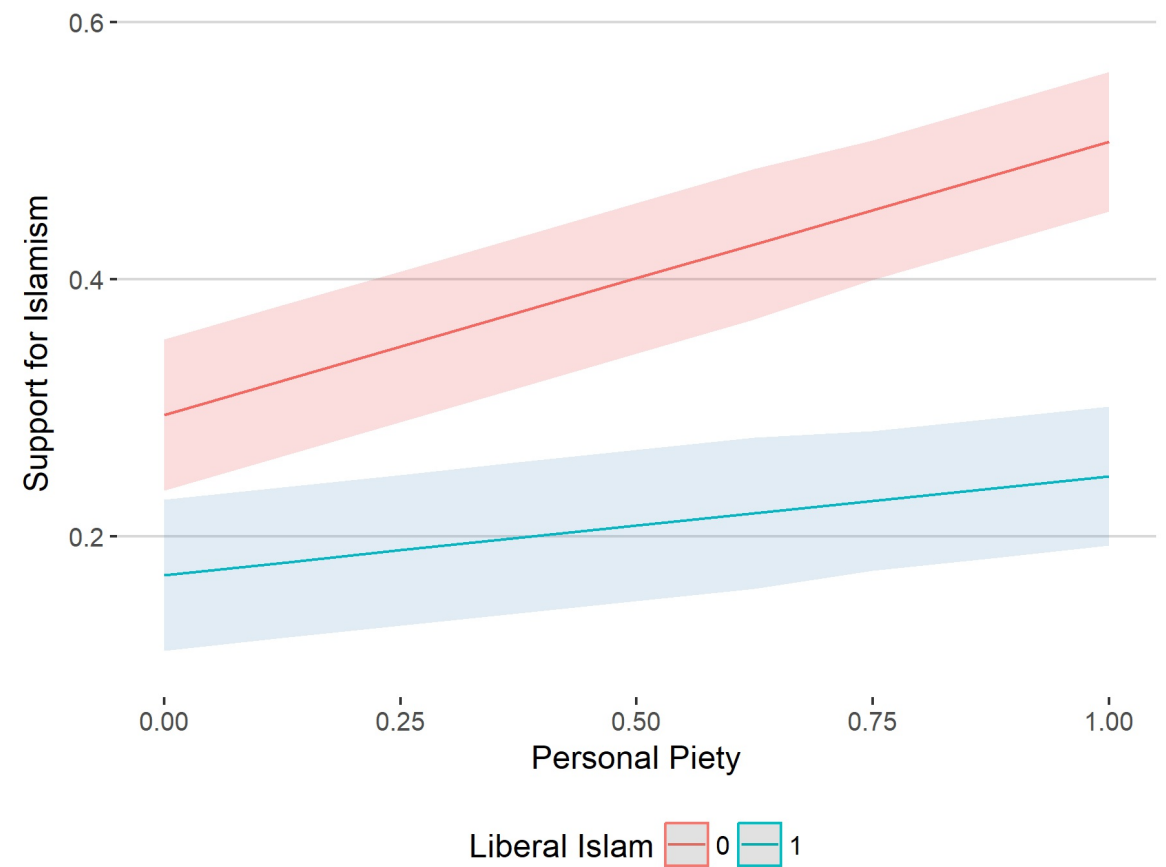
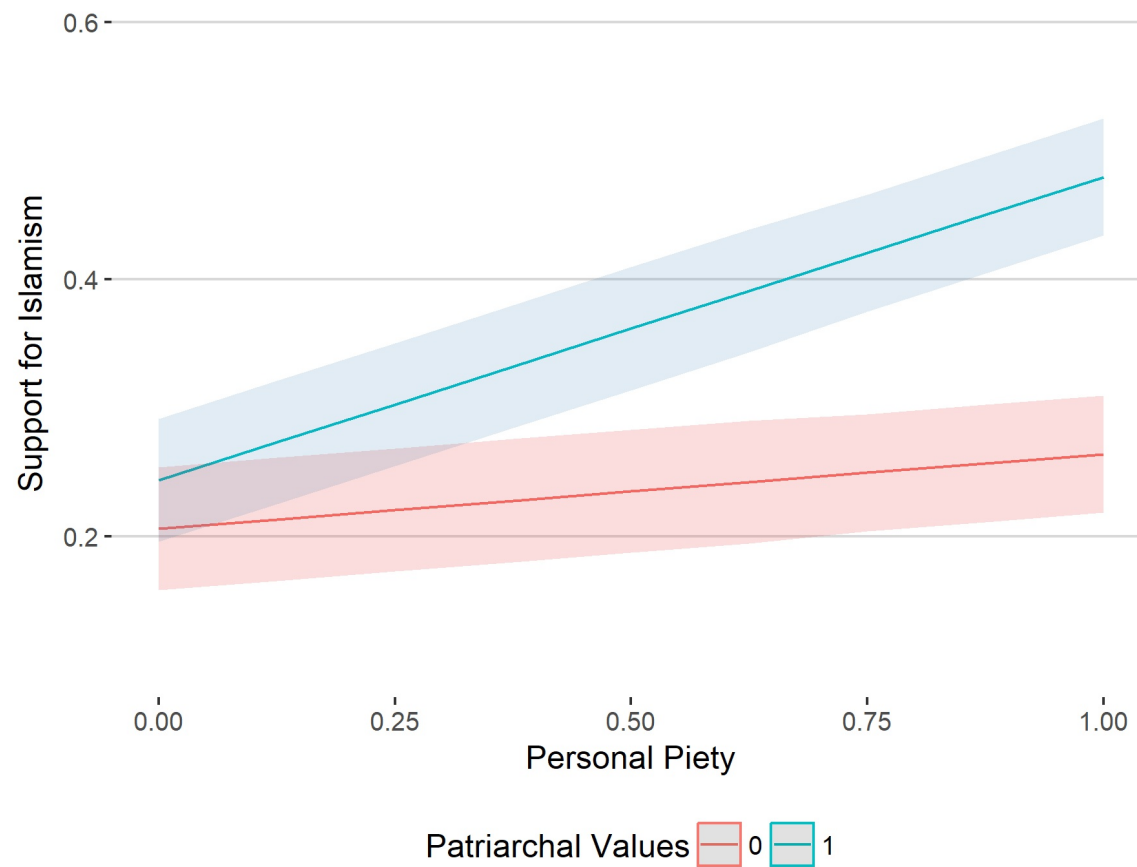
\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$ , † $p < 0.1$ . Models show unstandardized b-coefficients. All variables normalized (0-1).

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

# Results - Main Effects



# Results - Interaction Effects



## Conclusions & Future Research

Table 4: Summary of Results

	Hypotheses	Multilevel Linear Model
<b>H1: Secularization Theory</b>	<i>H1a: Increasing individual material resources and reduction of existential insecurity marginalizes support for religious governance.</i>	Mixed Evidence
	<i>H1b: Increasing intellectual resources marginalizes support for religious governance.</i>	✓
<b>H2: Parochialism</b>	<i>H2: Parochial viewpoints increase support for religious governance.</i>	✓
<b>H3: Patriarchal Values</b>	<i>H3: Patriarchal Values increase the support for religious governance.</i>	✓
<b>H4: The Role of Religion and Liberal Interpretations of Islam</b>	<i>H4a: Religiosity increases the support for religious governance.</i>	✓
	<i>H4b: Liberal interpretations of Islam decrease the support for religious governance.</i>	✓
	<i>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.</i>	✓
	<i>H4d: If an individual endorses liberal interpretations of Islam, religiosity has a diminished or even reversed effect on the support for religious governance.</i>	✓



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- 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

# Thanks for Listening!

Full Paper: [Godly Governance](#)

Slides: [godly-governance.netlify.com](https://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



