

## Chapter 2

# Values, identities and civic participation

Five key cross-cutting findings emerge from the analysis of attitudes and values among youth in Arab countries on the individual, the family, the polity and society. Youth experience less satisfaction and are able to exercise less control over their future than otherwise similar youth elsewhere in the world. This difference exists despite the Arab region's shift towards more socially open values in recent years, including growing support for gender equality and greater civic involvement. However, the region's youth remain

conservative in many dimensions compared with youth in countries at similar levels of development, especially on gender equality, the separation of religion and the state, social and religious tolerance, and obedience. Opinions have changed markedly in two directions since the uprisings of 2011: one liberating and one conservative. There are large variations, but the region shows many commonalities, as demonstrated most dramatically by the rapid spread of fresh political ideas emanating from the uprisings.

# 2.1

## The mindset of youth in the Arab region

Young people form a large part of the population, differ from their elders and have been driving change in social values in the region. They differ from their elders because they adjust more readily to changes in global and local circumstances than older people.<sup>1</sup> Youth in the region are more frustrated in their daily lives. They spearheaded the 2011 uprisings because they experience less satisfaction and are more worried about economic issues than their elders and because they have become more liberated than their elders in their views about society and about authority.

The analysis of youth values, based on global opinion polls, focuses on four areas: the individual, the family, the polity and society. At the individual level, it focuses on changes in core values such as self-expression, respect for authority and piety. These changes are affecting the attachment of the individual to family values and support for patriarchy. Self-awareness and attachment to the family shape people's political attitudes, including their propensity to engage in civic action and to show a preference for democracy over autocratic government. Identification with the nation-state, together with the development of values of tolerance, allows individuals to engage peacefully in political action.

Despite the rise of radical Islamist groups, it appears that the opinions of the Arab public, especially youth, are diverse and dynamic. The ideological foundations and social drivers of the Arab uprisings of 2011 represent a departure from the ideologies of the past and may be ushering in a new cultural epoch in the region. The 2011 uprisings were not primarily shaped by past ideologies such as pan-Arab nationalism, Arab socialism, or Islamist fundamentalism. Rather, they were nurtured by values that have grown more organically within society. These values are potent and multifaceted and cannot be assimilated within any single major political theory.<sup>2</sup> The socioeconomic transformation driven by the rise of education, a demographic revolution, rapid urbaniza-

tion, the development of market economies and, more recently, the emergence of mass communication has led to the creation of a more vibrant cultural space open to the influence of global ideas.

Five key cross-cutting findings emerge from the analysis of global opinion polls. First, youth in Arab countries experience less satisfaction with their lives and feel that they exercise less control over their future than otherwise similar youth elsewhere in the world. They also experience less satisfaction than their elders, which contrasts with youth in the rest of the world, where the young tend to be more satisfied with their lives and more hopeful about the future than their parents.

Second, the region has moved towards more socially open values in recent years; especially, the support for gender equality has increased, and civic involvement has expanded. These values are positively correlated with the value of self-expression (which has been widely embraced among the youth of the region in the last decade) and negatively correlated with respect for authority (which has been diminishing).

Third, in spite of this progress, youth in the region remain conservative in many dimensions compared with youth in countries at similar levels of development, particularly on gender equality, the separation of religion and state, social and religious tolerance, and obedience. The empowering effects of education are less strong than elsewhere, reflecting its conservative content. On several core values, self-expression and agency do not translate into gains in freedom that match the experience in the rest of the world.

Fourth, there are important regional and global commonalities despite the large variations across the countries of the region. Although country dynamics are more important than socioeconomic factors in shaping most of the values studied, many of these dynamics are correlated with regional effects, which also suggests many commonalities, as demonstrated most dramatically by the quick regional spread of the ideas of the uprisings in 2011. The late 20th century produced an unexpected convergence in the region that was driven by physical movements of people, the expansion of media and the consolidation of a region-wide cultural zone. Several social, economic and political phenomena occurred everywhere, such as a decline in fertility, high youth unemployment, a rise in cronyism and corruption, and a rise in piety and patriarchal values.<sup>3</sup> In parallel, however, there has been a convergence of the region's cultural space with global culture.<sup>4</sup>

Fifth, opinions are affected by the political process, and they have changed markedly since the uprisings; One is liberating and is especially marked in greater

gender equality and waning obedience to authority; and one is reactionary to deal with the fear of chaos and of rapid change, such as a decline in the support for democracy and an increase in the support for strong rule. Values have become more divided along class lines. The modernist tendencies among more well-educated and richer people were neutralized, and the grievances among the poor mounted, suggesting that conflicts over income distribution could grow larger in the future, including among youth. Soon after the 2011 uprisings, political Islam ruled for a short time, primarily in Egypt, but that rule led to a fall in the support for political Islam among populations and to a society more polarized over the role of religion and over the correlated values of gender equality and social tolerance. This polarization around identity issues has diverted attention from political, social and economic challenges.

## 2.2

# The young individual – dissatisfied but more self-expressive

Over the past four decades, many Arab governments have implemented numerous policies and established many institutions to foster quietism and obedience among populations. Autocrats, patriarchs, mosques, schools, the media and the mukhabarat (intelligence agencies) became instruments for the suppression of disagreement and independent expression of opinion and, together, managed to deliver over 30 years of political stability despite limited economic growth except in the GCC, often unpopular foreign policies, rising corruption and repression of civic and human rights. Popular culture was emptied of its social content by zealous censors, and a growing regional media

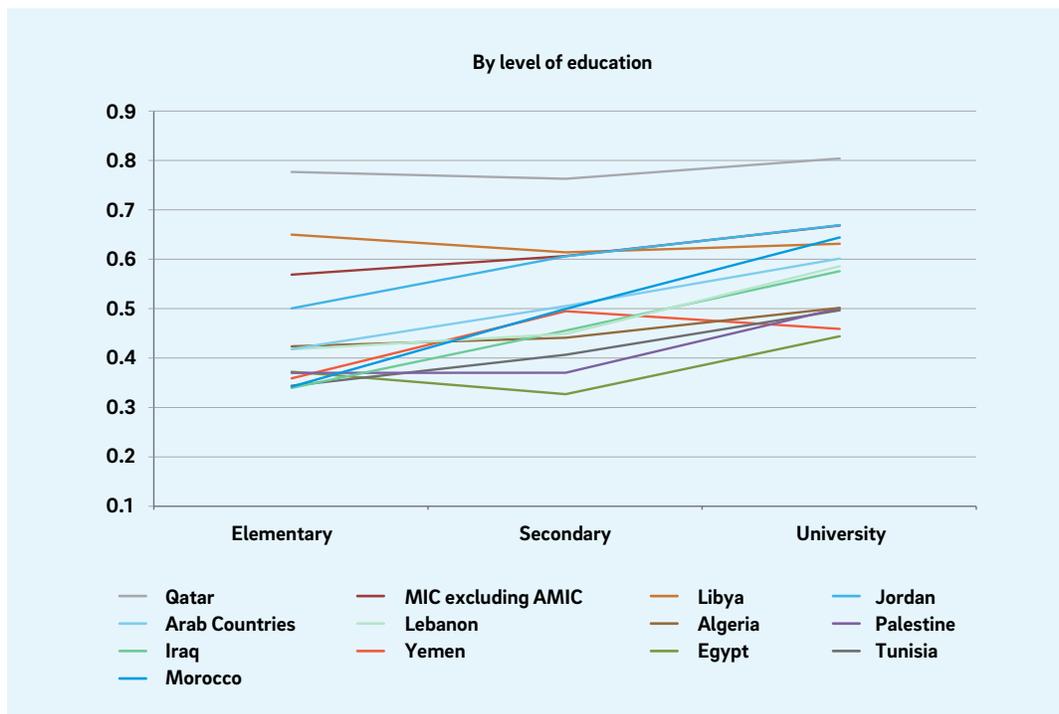
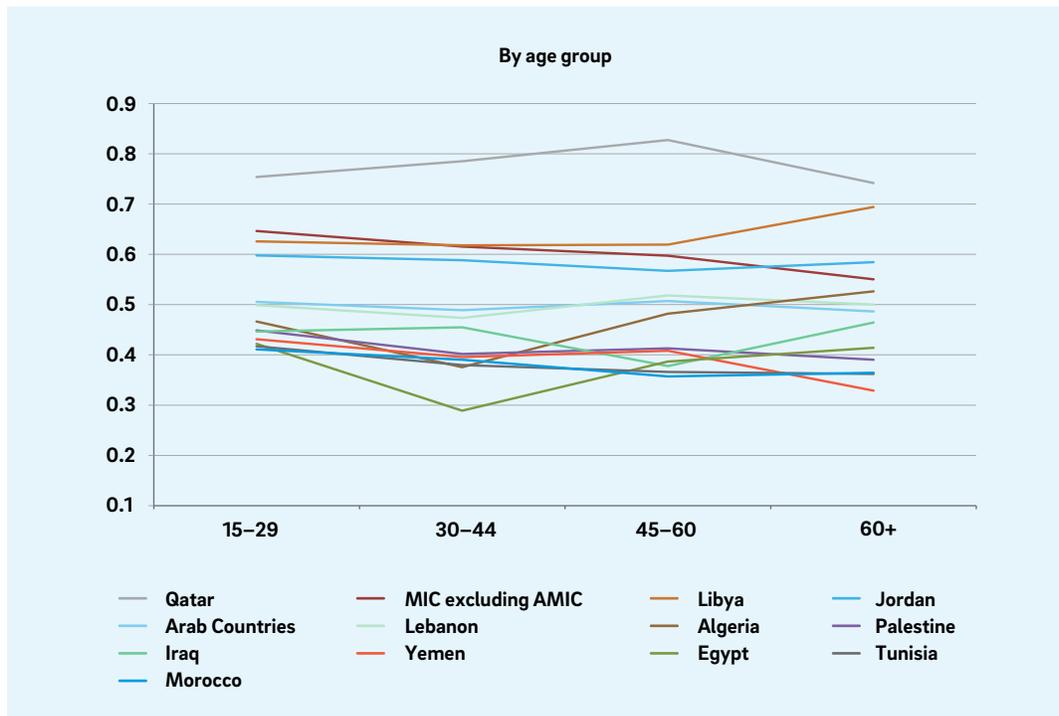
controlled by conservative interests became a vehicle for frivolous short-term goals. Education was tightly controlled to promote conservative values and neutralize any potentially corrosive effect on the strict social order. Patriarchy was strengthened in many countries through family law statutes that rolled back the gains of more progressive periods.<sup>5</sup> These institutions created deep scars and rifts in society because of more conservative values, less gender equality and less social tolerance, which in some case took the form of religious intolerance.

However, change has been rapid over the past decade, especially among youth. The change has been driven by two major developments: the high levels of dissatisfaction among youth and a growing sense among youth that they are losing control over their lives, and rapidly expanding links to global knowledge and information networks. The efforts of autocratic regimes to check the forces of change were unable to stop the tide of new attitudes brought about by rising incomes and education, shifting demographics and increasing urbanization, which (as in the rest of the world) principally affect youth and the more well-educated. In the convergence of frustrated aspirations, greater opportunity for self-expression and reduced respect for authority lies the championing role of youth in the popular protests that culminated in the 2011 uprisings.

### Satisfaction and control over life

Youth in the Arab region say that they feel extremely low levels of satisfaction with the lack of control they are able to exercise over their lives. An index has been developed based on two questions in the World Values Survey (WVS) relating to life satisfaction: (1) how satisfied are people with their lives and (2) how satisfied are people with the degree of free choice and control they have over their lives (figure 2.1). The life satisfaction index for the region is well below the index in countries elsewhere at similar levels of development. The gap in the index between the region and other parts of the world is about 15 percent (table 2.1), and there was no apparent progress between the WVS wave 5 (2005–2009) and wave 6 (2010–2014). These data reflect the extreme suffering and hardship experienced in countries such as Iraq (20 percent below other countries at similar levels of income), the low levels of life satisfaction experienced in countries in transition (-8 to -10 percent in Morocco and Egypt), and the still high, but more moderate levels of dissatisfaction in Algeria, Palestine, Tunisia and Yemen (about -4 percent relative to other countries at the same levels of income).

**Figure 2.1** Life satisfaction by age group and level of education (6th wave, 2010–2014)



Source: Report team calculations based on WVS 2014.

Note: These graphs represent the percentage of particular populations (age or education groups in particular countries) whose rating on a particular question (typically on a 10-point scale range) is above the average rating of the comparator global middle-income-country group.

MIC excluding AMIC: Middle income countries excluding Arab middle income countries

Higher values indicate better life satisfaction.

In most Arab countries, youth experience less satisfaction than older people in their countries, unlike the more usual negative correlation between age and life satisfaction that is experienced elsewhere. Improved education and rising incomes do, however, lead to higher levels of satisfaction and a greater sense of control, as in the rest of the world, and in more marked ways.

The low levels of life satisfaction among youth in Arab countries can be tied to high unemployment and economic factors. Substantial regional unemployment has generated insecurity about the future, as seen in the WVS data on responses about the level of concern over financial issues such as the difficulty of finding a job, losing a job, or the inability to offer a good education to children in the household. While the average level of concern about economic issues is similar in the region and the rest of the world, the level tends to be higher among youth, a pattern that contrasts with patterns observed elsewhere.

Dissatisfaction affects social values negatively. Low levels of life satisfaction are associated with more support for patriarchy, less social and religious tolerance, and a lower propensity for civic action (table 2.2). It also reduces the scope for self-expression, including civic participation, and tends to promote larger grievances.<sup>6</sup> This means that the observed increase in civic action was largely associated with greater need for self-expression and occurred despite an increase in dissatisfaction. Similarly, dissatisfaction reinforces patriarchal values, reflecting the role of the family as the ultimate refuge in a dysfunctional society and an ineffective state.<sup>7</sup> Finally, dissatisfaction is associated with greater social and religious intolerance, because it fosters reactionary attitudes towards people who are different.<sup>8</sup>

### Self-expression

Youth in the Arab region are also more self-expressive than their elders. Self-expression is defined as the ability of individuals to make autonomous decisions and to innovate as needed without undue social constraints. The notion of self-expression is closely tied to the concepts involved in Amartya Sen's capabilities approach.<sup>9</sup> Several questions in the WVS address opinions on related values. An index was constructed based on three questions: two on the extent to which parents encourage imagination and self-expression among children and one on how respondents view their own creativity and critical thinking (see the statistical annex for the terms).

Self-expressive or individualistic agency typically rises in parallel with higher educational attainment, urbanization, and access to knowledge and information, which widens people's intellectual resources, leading them to become cognitively more autonomous.<sup>10</sup> Self-expression tends to be associated with positive forces for social change, particularly demands for greater political equality and gender equality.<sup>11</sup> Self-expression is positively correlated with civic action, gender equality, and social and religious tolerance across all countries and across individuals in Arab countries (table 2.2).

Values of self-expression are embraced more frequently in the Arab world among youth and the more well-educated (figure 2.2), although neither factor translates into self-expression at the level common in the rest of the world (table 2.1). In many countries in the region, patriarchy remains dominant and constrains behaviour and self-expression among individuals.<sup>12</sup> Despite the youth becoming more self-expressive, values connected to self-expression are weaker in the region relative to the rest of the world by about 11 percent. Generally, countries with higher incomes and more democratic countries tend to exhibit more self-expression (table 2.1). This is also true of countries with higher levels of media penetration and countries relying less on oil income. There are wide variations across countries. Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia lead, and Egypt, Iraq, Palestine and Yemen trail (figure 2.2).

Starting from a low base, values connected with self-expression are however quickly becoming more prevalent in the region, echoing global changes. The explosive rise in the desire for self-expression among youth is related to secular gains in education, urbanization and incomes over several decades. A more proximate reason is demographic. The current youth generation in the Arab world is not only the largest youth cohort historically, but also one with exceptionally low levels of family responsibility, creating more space for individualism to flourish. This is because, while youth tend to live in households with many siblings and, thus, share responsibility in supporting parents in old age, they are tending to delay marriage and have fewer children.<sup>13</sup> In the WVS data, values of self-expression are spreading rapidly among all age-groups; this was especially so during the lead-up to the 2011 uprisings. The more recent period, however, has seen slight declines in Egypt and Morocco that appear to be related to the chaotic social situation after the uprisings that may have acted as a barrier to self-expression because of greater concerns about livelihood and personal security.

**Table 2.1** Opinions on life satisfaction, connectivity, self-expression, piety, authority, and gender equality, by individual and country characteristics, Arab countries and other selected countries

	Total effect (%)		Individual effects				Country effects	
	Global gap	Time trend	Youth	Education	Women	Income	Democracy	GDP per capita
Electronic connectivity	0	-1	+/+	+/+	--/	+/+	+	+
Self-expression	-11	4/-8	+/>+	+/>+	-/-	+/>+	+	+
Life satisfaction	-15	0/0	-/>+	+/>0	-/>0	+/>+	+	+
Piety	31	0/0	-/>+	-/>-	+/>+	0/0	0	-
Obedience to authority	11	0/-13	-/>0	-/>-	0/0	0/0	+	0
Gender equality	-30	0/0	+/>+	+/>+	+/>+	0/0	+	+

Source: Report team calculations based on WVS 2014.

Notes: All variables are defined in the statistical annex. Results from OLS panel regressions using data from the WVS – see Akin and Diwan (2014) for details. The data covers 11 Arab countries in 2013 and 76 other countries, and includes responses by about 80,000 people in Arab countries and 140,000 people in middle-income countries. Global gap is the percentage point deficit or surplus of the Arab opinions relative to global opinions, expressed as a share of the global standard deviation in the global responses; all other entries that take the form x/y refers to Arab and Global slopes respectively between opinions and individual (youth, educated, women, income level), or country (level of democracy, GDP per capita) characteristics; (+) refers to a quantity larger than (+), and similarly, (-) is smaller than (-). Arab region effects based on 11 countries; Arab time trend based on average trend in 5 countries only, between 2008 and 2013.

**Table 2.2** Correlation coefficient, support for gender equality, civic action, and social and religious tolerance and responses on self-expression, life satisfaction, piety, authority, democracy and political Islam, among individuals and in 10 Arab countries and selected middle-income countries

	Correlation between countries, global sample (%)				Correlation for individuals, Arab sample (%)			
	Gender equality	Civic action	Social tolerance	Religious tolerance	Gender equality	Civic action	Social tolerance	Religious tolerance
Self-expression	27	35	30	10	13	9	7	8
Life satisfaction	49	21	42	22	12	6	4	3
Piety	-54	-26	4	-48	-10	-8	-5	-13
Authority	-29	-50	-18	-12	-10	-10	0	-7
Democracy	72	50	60	50	10	-2	2	7
Political Islam	-67	-50	-52	10	-8	7	-7	-12

Source: Report team calculations based on WVS 2014.

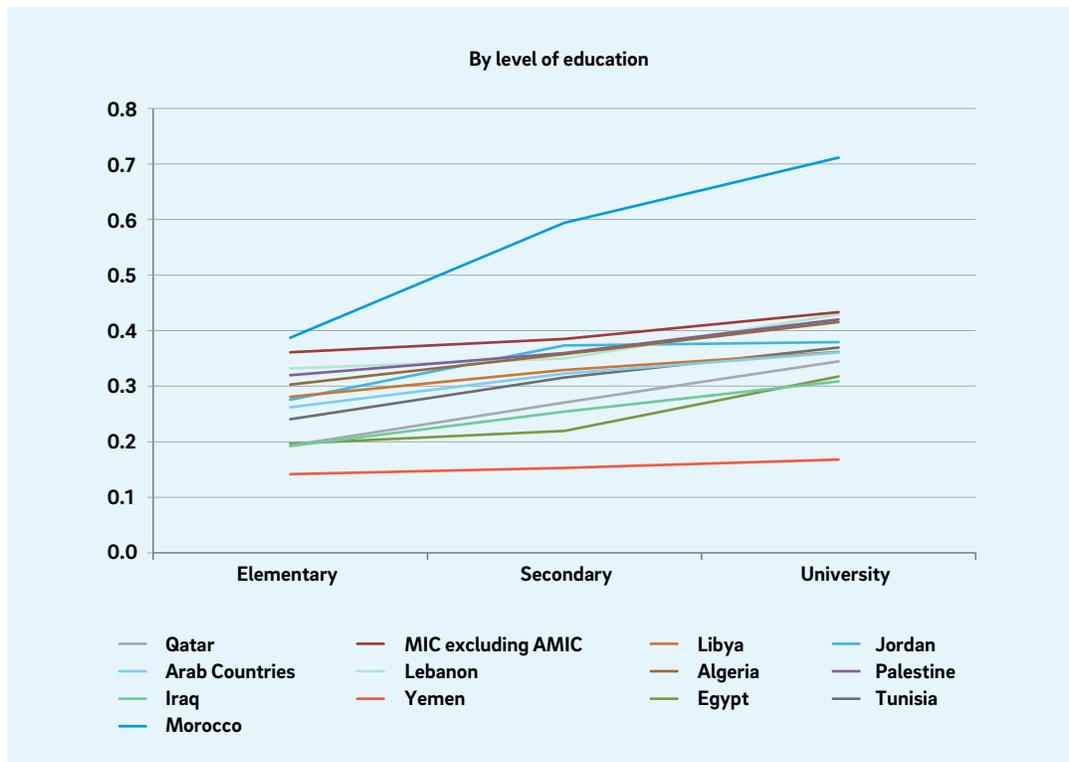
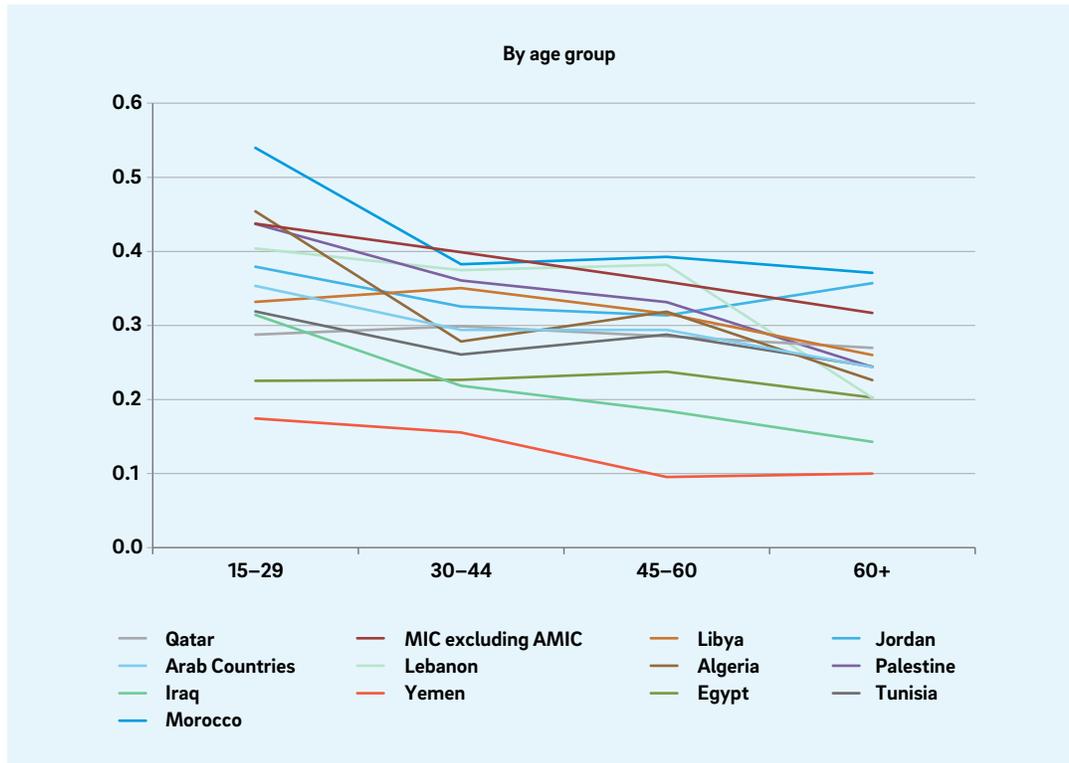
Variables defined in the annex using data from WVS; see Akin and Diwan (2014) for details. The data cover 10 Arab countries in 2013 and 76 middle-income countries and include responses by about 80,000 people in Arab countries and 140,000 people in middle-income countries. Correlation coefficients are calculated for country averages in the first four columns and among individual Arabs in the four last columns. Correlation coefficients are shown in percentage points.

### Electronic connectivity

Through their access to information and communication technology, youth in Arab countries are

increasingly connected to the world. Although access to information and communication technology in the region is lagging behind the world average in several fields, there has been significant progress.

**Figure 2.2 Self-Expression by age group and level of education**



Source: Report team calculations based on WVS 2014.

MIC excluding AMIC: Middle income countries excluding Arab middle income countries

Higher values indicate higher levels of Self-Expression

While, in the 1990s, the region was starved of information in a context of complete state dominance of the media, regional television and radio channels, websites and blogs, and social media proliferated in the mid-2000s.<sup>14</sup> This exposure opened a portal for youth connected to electronic means of information but living in an inhibiting environment to form and then express their opinions and challenge existing power structures, thereby transforming themselves from passive members of society into active, self-aware individuals.<sup>15</sup>

Youth in Arab countries are as connected to electronic means of information as their peers around the world, and social media have become a major part of their daily lives. Mobile phone use has surged from below the world average, at 26 percent, in 2005 to almost 108 percent in 2015, above the world average (figure 2.3). Similarly, internet use jumped from 8 percent in 2005 to 37 percent in 2015, a higher rate than the rest of the developing world and the world average and representing an increase from 5 million subscriptions in 2000 to 141 million in 2015 (figure 2.4). Among people with Facebook accounts, 67 percent are youth aged 15–29.<sup>16</sup> The 2013 ASDA'A Burson-Marsteller Arab Youth Survey reported that more than 50 percent of connected youth aged 15–24 are active on Twitter; 46 percent read blogs (18 percent have their own blogs); and 59 percent obtain their news from online sources, compared with only 24 percent who obtain their news from newspapers.<sup>17</sup> WVS data confirm these findings and allow one to look more closely at variations across age and education levels. The electronic connectivity index constructed based on WVS questions includes information on the extent and frequency of individuals accessing media through electronic means (television, mobile phones, radio, and internet) – see the annex. Across population groups (for example, young Egyptians, highly educated Tunisians), there are great variations in the region, from a high of 90 percent among young Lebanese or Qataris (well-educated Lebanese, Moroccans and Qataris are more well-connected than the average resident of a middle-income country), to a low of 10 percent among older or less educated Egyptians, Moroccans and Yemenis (figure 2.5).<sup>18</sup>

Connectivity to news and knowledge is greater among youth and the well-educated. Youth are also more well-connected than their parents in all countries. In Lebanon and Qatar, youth are nearly all connected electronically, and, in Algeria, Libya and Tunisia, the share reaches 75 percent. Youth in Algeria, Palestine and Tunisia are about four times more well-connected than their parents. The lowest inter-

generational differences are in Egypt, Morocco and Yemen, countries with low connectivity, suggesting that, when connectivity rises, it spreads first among youth.<sup>19</sup> Connectivity also tends to be sharply higher among the more well-educated even in countries with low connectivity such as Egypt and Yemen. In Morocco, connection to information is highly unequal between the well-educated (access is among the highest in the region) and the uneducated (the lowest).

## 2.3

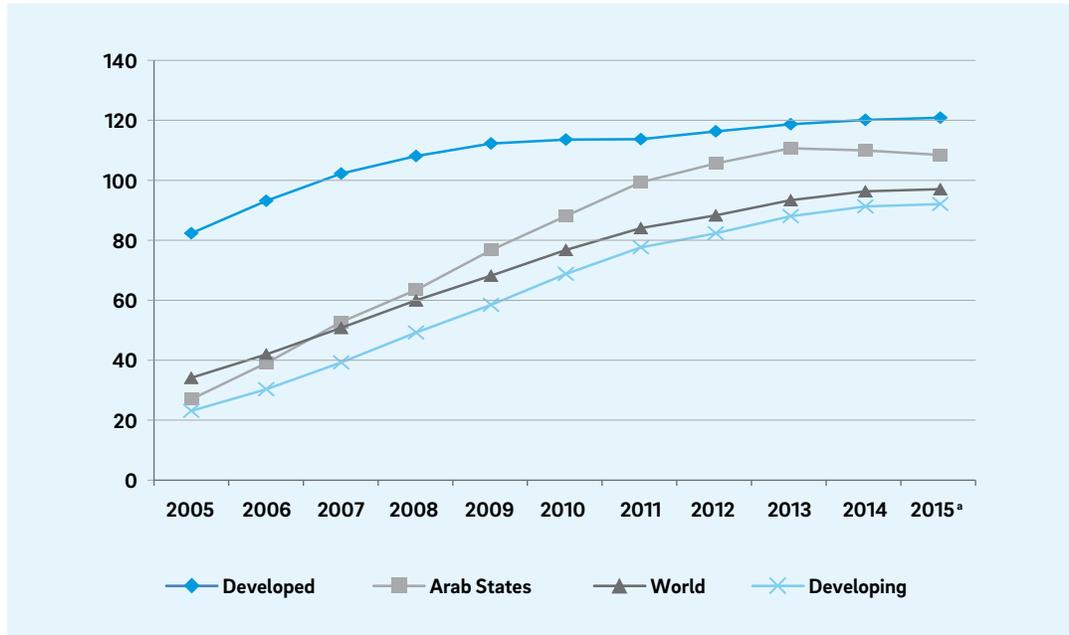
# The family— patriarchy still strong but gradually weakening

There is a close link between the values of patriarchy and values associated with gender inequality, respect for authority, extreme religious interpretation and support for autocratic governance. Patriarchy is a social structure that privileges men and promotes gender inequality and control over women. It touches all aspects of life.<sup>20</sup> The traditional patriarchal family structure is prevalent throughout the region, especially among rural and poorer social strata, and influences the attitudes of youth towards gender equality.<sup>21</sup>

Gender inequality is a central tenet of the patriarchal order. Gender inequality in politics, the labour market, education and the family is tolerated and even sanctioned either by law or in practice in Arab countries.<sup>22</sup> Past analyses have uncovered the relationship between the patriarchal order and the social environment, showing how values connected to patriarchy evolve and are transmitted through social comparisons with nearby reference groups.

The Arab region scores far lower on support for gender equality than middle-income countries in responses to WVS survey questions about whether men should have access to jobs before women if jobs

**Figure 2.3** Mobile cellular subscriptions per 100 inhabitants (%)

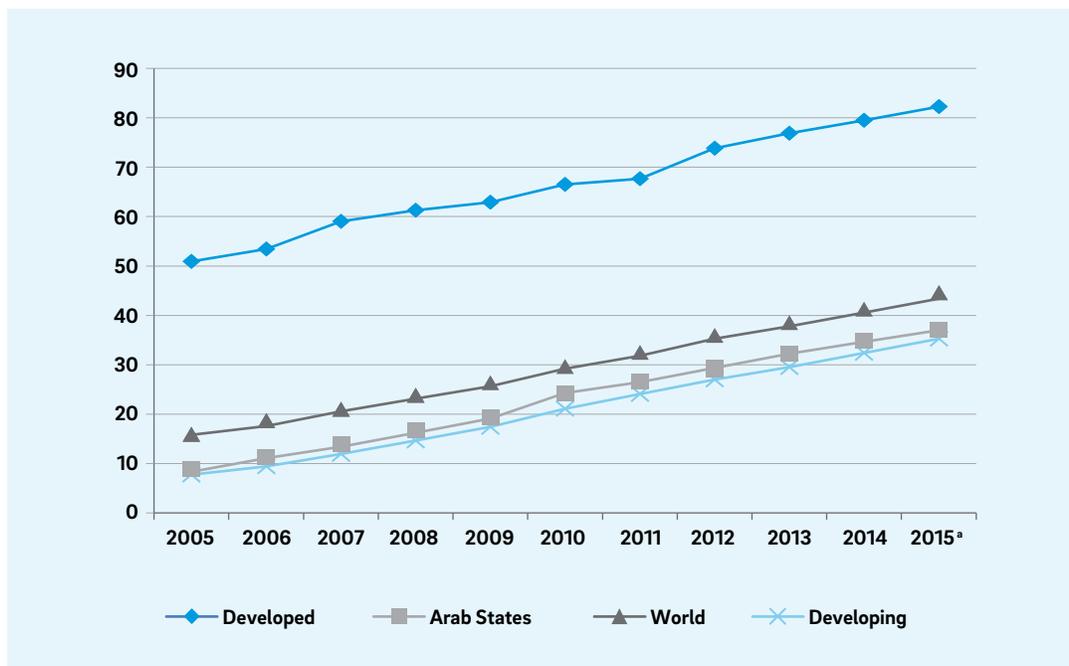


Source: ITU 2015.

a. Estimate

Note: The developed/developing country classifications are based on the UN M49: <http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/definitions/regions/index.html>.

**Figure 2.4** Individuals using the internet (%)

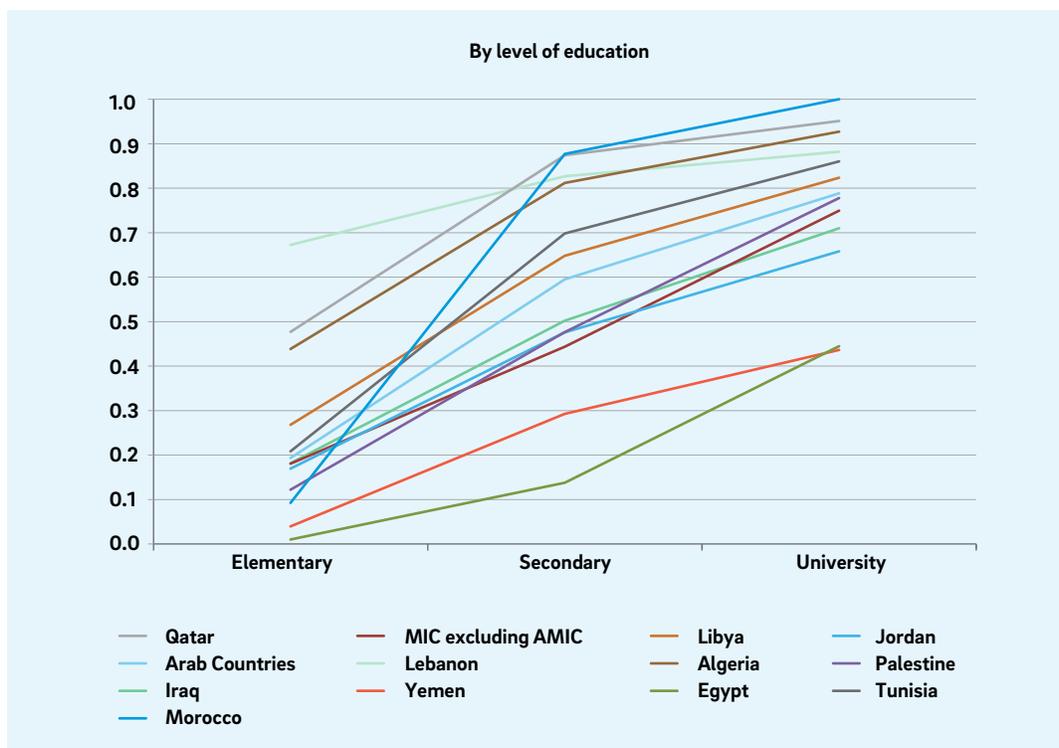
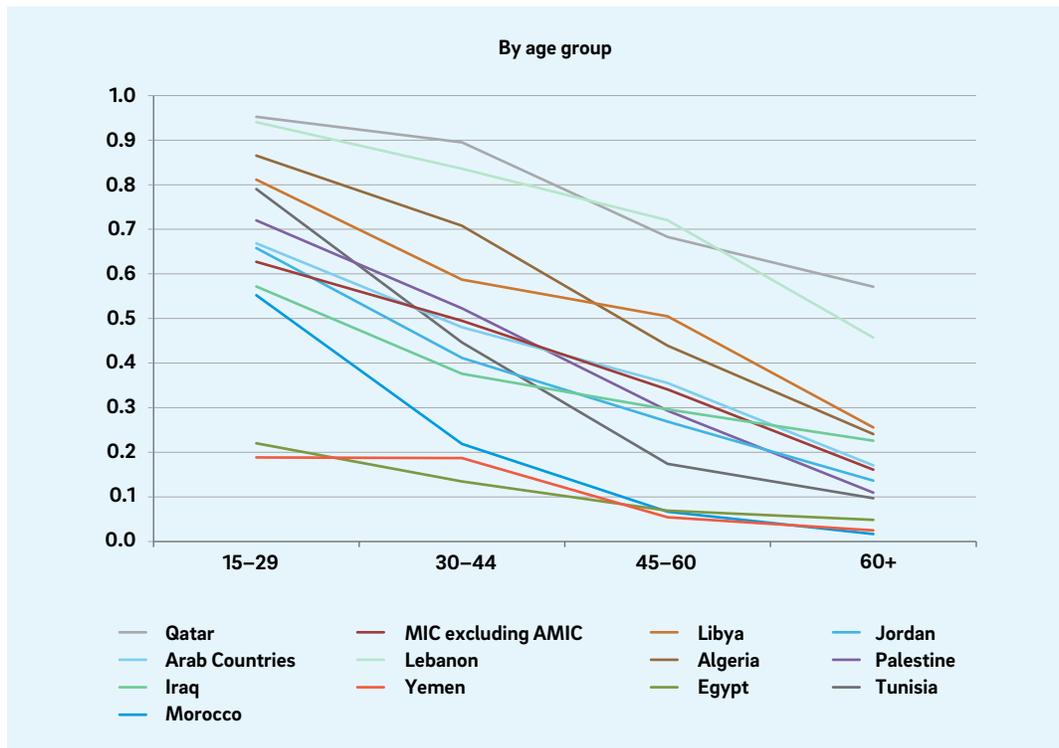


Source: ITU 2015.

a. Estimate

Note: The developed/developing country classifications are based on the UN M49, see: <http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/definitions/regions/index.html>.

**Figure 2.5 Electronic connectivity index by age group and level of education, 2013**



Source: Report team calculations based on WVS 2014.

Note: Electronic connectivity is defined in the annex. The figures represent the share of particular populations with more connectivity than the global MIC overall average over countries and individuals. MIC excluding AMIC: Middle-income countries, excluding Arab middle-income countries. Higher values indicate more electronic connectivity.

are scarce, whether a university education is more important for a man, and whether men make better political leaders. The region shows a gap of 36 percent for this index (table 2.1). This gap is also reflected in the positive correlation among gender equality, civic action and tolerance (table 2.2). Gender inequality is likewise associated with more respect for authority and less support for democracy.<sup>23</sup> Values supporting gender equality are highest in Algeria, Lebanon, Morocco and Tunisia and lowest in Egypt, Jordan and Yemen (figure 2.6).

Younger and more well-educated youth in Arab countries tend to be more pro-gender equality than the rest of the population, which is in line with global experience. The difference between the young and older generations and between the well-educated and less educated is, however, not as wide in views on gender equality as views on self-expression, suggesting that gender equality is a value that changes slowly. Indeed, the slopes with respect to age and education are comparable with those observed elsewhere in the world (table 2.1). The age effect is most marked in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, countries with higher pro-gender scores, but also in Iraq and Yemen, countries with lower ratings (figure 2.6). The education effects are sharpest in Lebanon and Tunisia (where the overall scores are high), but low in Jordan and Qatar and also in Iraq and Yemen (where the age effects are strong). Richer countries and more democratic countries show higher pro-gender attitudes (table 2.1). Patriarchy tends to be less well accepted in countries with more religious diversity.<sup>24</sup> Some Arab states have shown a commitment to women's rights, albeit in a top-down manner (see chapter 4).

In most Arab countries, there was a jump in pro-gender views after the uprisings, but from an extremely low base. Youth mobilization, including among women, to create social change is likely to have had wide implications. Whether this shifting perspective extends to gender equality can be validated by looking at the Gallup data.<sup>25</sup> Because they are clustered around the uprisings of 2011 (data are for 2005–2013), they allow to investigate the effect of the uprisings on the value of gender equality (figure 2.7). The jump in support for gender equality is especially large in Egypt, the GCC countries and Palestine. It deteriorated only in Sudan and Syria. In many of the countries that evolved positively in terms of gender equality over the observed period, the shift is more marked among women than among men, but the progress is occurring from a low base.

The increasingly favourable pro-gender sentiments are closely tied to opinions about the strength of family ties. Dependence on family life can be measured

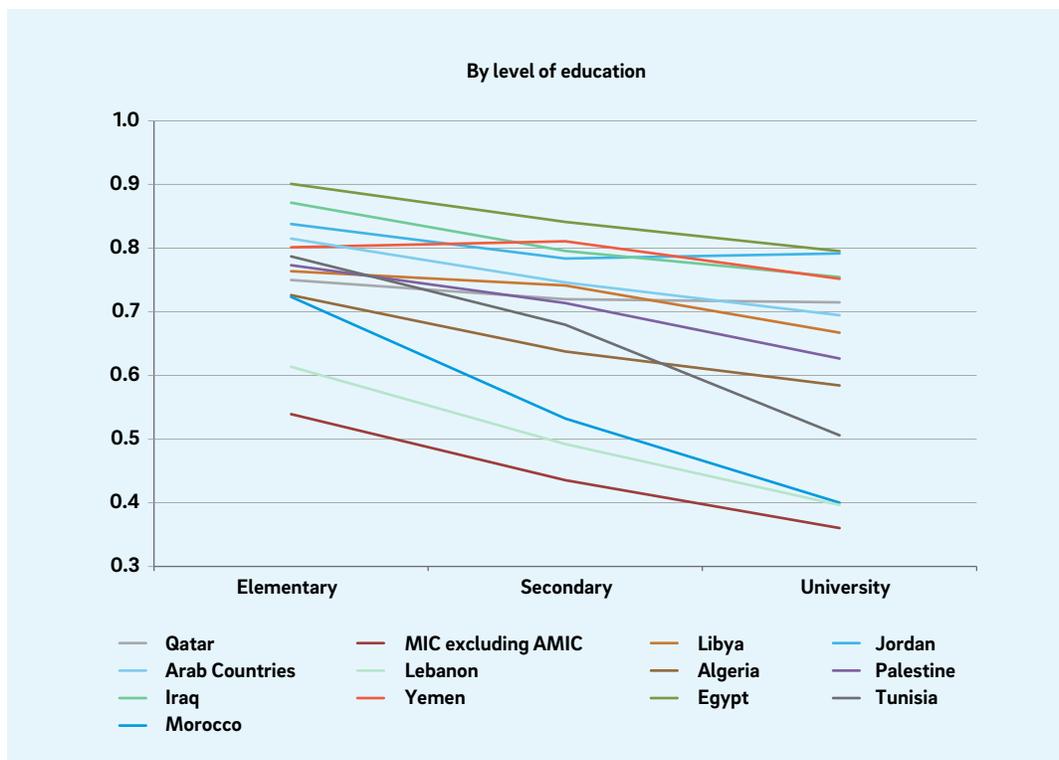
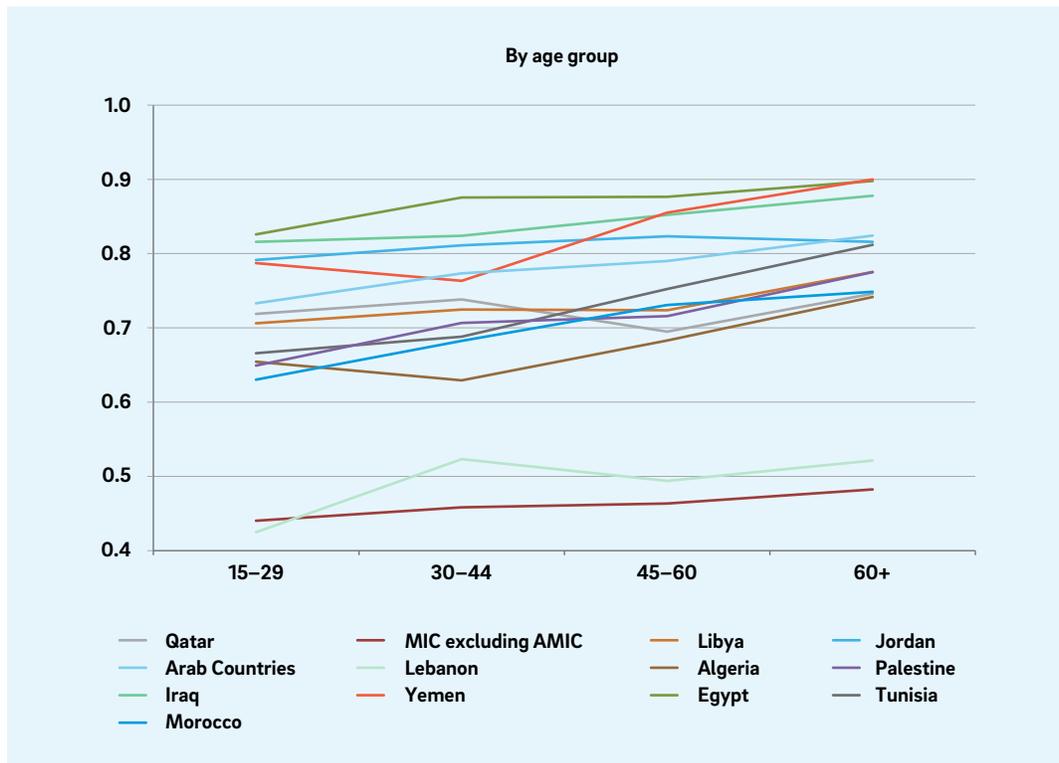
in the WVS through responses to questions on the importance of making one's parents proud, how fulfilling it is to be a housewife, and how much one trusts the family in relation to the broader community. Family values in the region in 2013 were at levels equivalent to those in the rest of the world, though they had dropped by about 12 percent after the 2011 uprisings. Family values are less prevalent among youth and the well-educated and more prevalent among the more religious, as in the rest of the world.

Women throughout the region are more pro-gender equality than men (figure 2.7). The differences of opinion between men and women on gender equality is larger than in the rest of the world -- about 20–40 percent in the Arab region, but only 7–10 percent in the rest of the world.<sup>26</sup> The WVS data suggest that the opinion of young and educated women is halfway between the average global opinion and the average among Arab men. Women's pro-gender attitudes suggest that they do not (entirely) internalize patriarchy. Male youth have more egalitarian views than older men, but their values tend to be closer to their fellow citizens, reflecting a strong country effect. Women in Arab countries, however, seem to form a collective; their opinions are closer to the opinions of women elsewhere than to the opinions of men in their own countries. Yet, if men do not adopt a more egalitarian worldview, it does not appear that women alone will be able to alter the current position. This seems especially true during periods of duress, as after 2011 when women became the primary victims of violence, and patriarchal values became more popular, leading women to become even more victimized.<sup>27</sup>

### **Obedience to authority**

Younger and more well-educated youth in Arab countries are becoming less accepting of obedience to authority, which is central to traditional, patriarchal and autocratic values. The WVS measures obedience to authority through questions on obedience towards parents and political leaders (see the statistical annex). The region is about 11 percent more obedient than the global average (table 2.1). Obedience is less prevalent among youth than among older people and also less prevalent among the well educated than among the uneducated. The strength of the age effect and of the resulting generational fault line is more marked in the region than in the rest of the world, suggesting that youth are changing rapidly. In sharp contrast however, the education effect is dampened relative to the rest of the world, reflecting education curricula and teaching methods that discourage critical thinking and encourage instead a submissive attitude towards higher authority.

**Figure 2.6** Gender equality index by age group and level of education

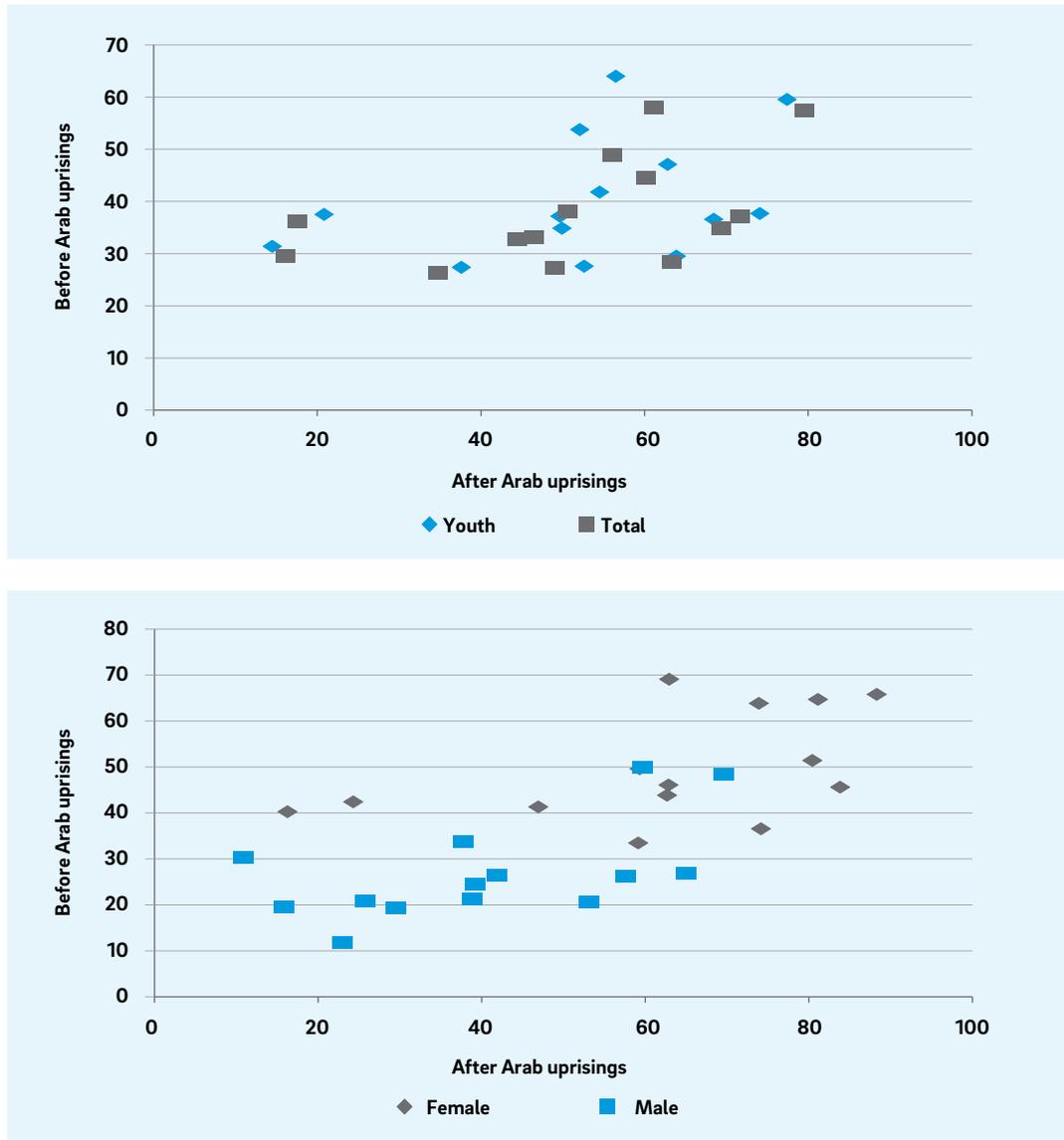


Source: Report team calculations based on WVS 2014.

Note: A higher score indicates a more pro-gender stance.

MIC excluding AMIC: Middle-income countries, excluding Arab middle-income countries.

**Figure 2.7 Gender equality before and after 2011**



Source: Report team calculations based on Gallup 2013.

Note: The above figures allow for a comparison of the gender equality index before and after the uprisings. Higher values on the axes indicate increased support for gender equality. See the statistical annex for the definition of the gender equality index using Gallup.

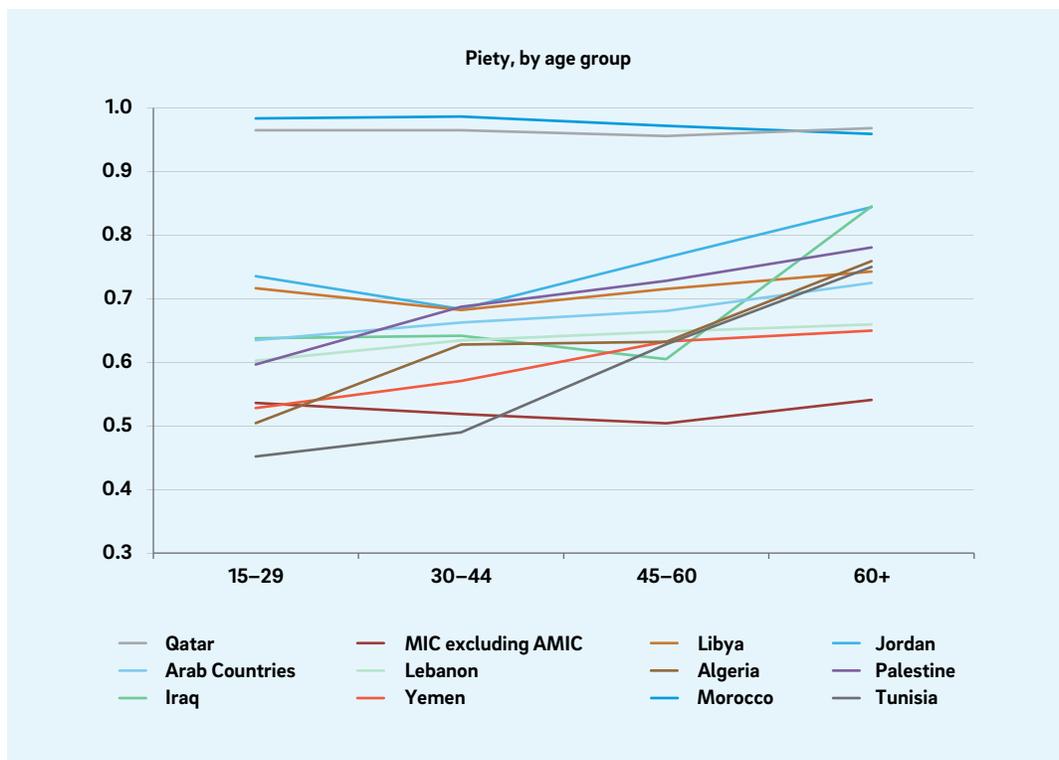
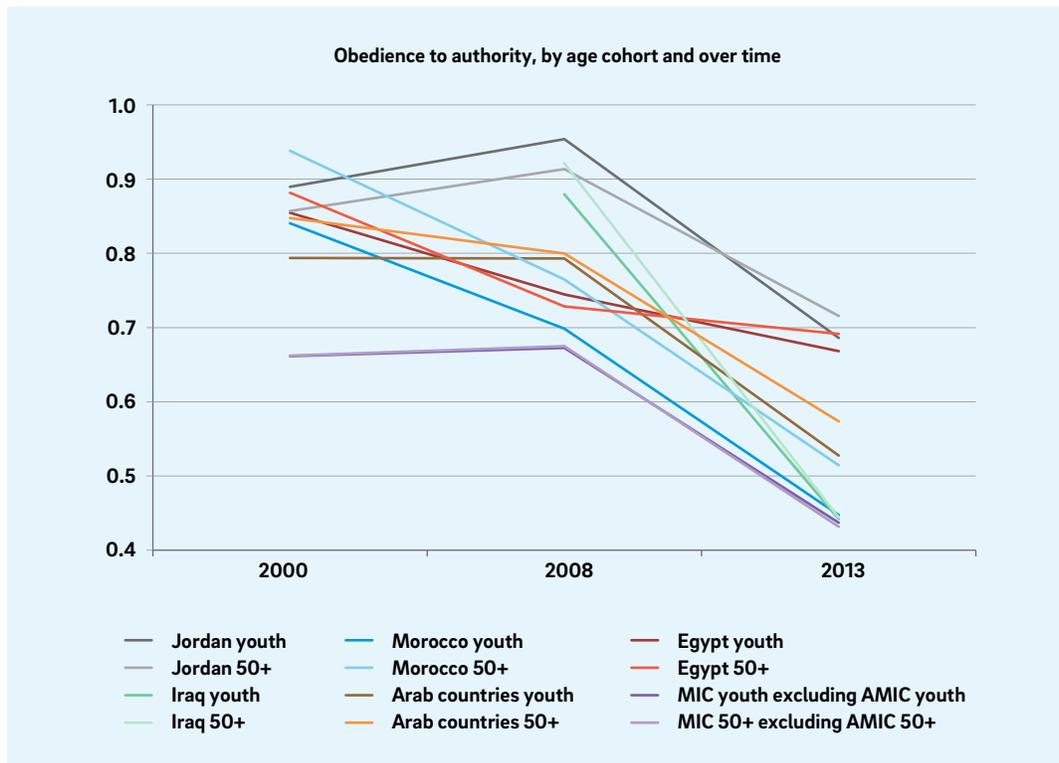
Countries seem to fall into three groups. Countries close to the global average (Morocco and Tunisia) show stronger generational and educational effects; countries far below or far above the global middle-income-country average tend to be less dynamic and exhibit smaller educational and generational effects (Algeria, Iraq, Lebanon and Palestine on top and Egypt, Jordan, Qatar and Yemen at the bottom). There are, nonetheless, important changes over time in all countries of the (small) WVS sample with data over several waves, even in Egypt and Jordan. The dropoff in obedience

to authority is more marked after the Arab uprisings, a dramatic example of their liberating impact on Arab societies (figure 2.8).

### Piety

Piety is an expression of religiosity, which is a broader concept. It involves more visits to a place of worship and listening to sermons, which serves to amplify the messages of these religious institutions. By a large margin (21 percent), the countries of the

**Figure 2.8** Obedience to authority, by age cohort and over time, and piety, by age group



Source: Report team calculations based on WVS 2014.

Note: Higher values indicate higher levels of obedience to authority / piety.

MIC excluding AMIC: Middle-income countries, excluding Arab middle-income countries.

Arab region are more pious than other countries around the world at similar levels of development. The sociological literature has attributed this level of piety to the dominance of conservative values.<sup>28</sup> The WVS measures piety through an index that combines the frequency of visits to a place of worship and the perception of the degree of importance of God in one's life. The piety index rises with age, meaning that young people tend to be less pious than their elders, which is unlike the situation in the rest of the world, where there is a resurgence of piety among the youth (table 2.1). The age effect is marked in some countries, especially Algeria, Iraq, Morocco, Tunisia and Yemen, where piety is significant. WVS waves 4–6 (1999–2014) reveal that piety has gone up in Iraq, Jordan and Morocco in recent years.

While progress towards less patriarchal values has taken place, piety remains strong in Arab societies, even as some liberal values such as self-expression and less respect for authority are becoming more common. The tension between changes in some dimensions, such as lower respect for authority, and a persistence of traditional values in others, such as attachment to family values, creates situations of multiple or overlapping identities whereby individuals behave differently across the spheres in which they participate and describes the attitude of a society in transition.<sup>29</sup>

## 2.4 Polity—civic engagement and forms of government

The combination of less satisfaction, less control over life, a greater space for self-expression and a lower prevalence of obedience to authority must have driven youth protests that ultimately led to the uprisings of 2011. The WVS data suggest not only that youth demonstrated disproportionately more

than others, but also that this was associated with a disproportionate increase in their demands for a more democratic order.

### Civic engagement

Civic engagement in politics had been expanding in the run-up to the uprisings, and youth took a leading role in this development. An index of civic engagement was constructed based on whether respondents took part in demonstrations, joined in boycotts, or signed petitions. Figure 2.9 depicts the intensity of civic engagement along the dimensions of age and education.

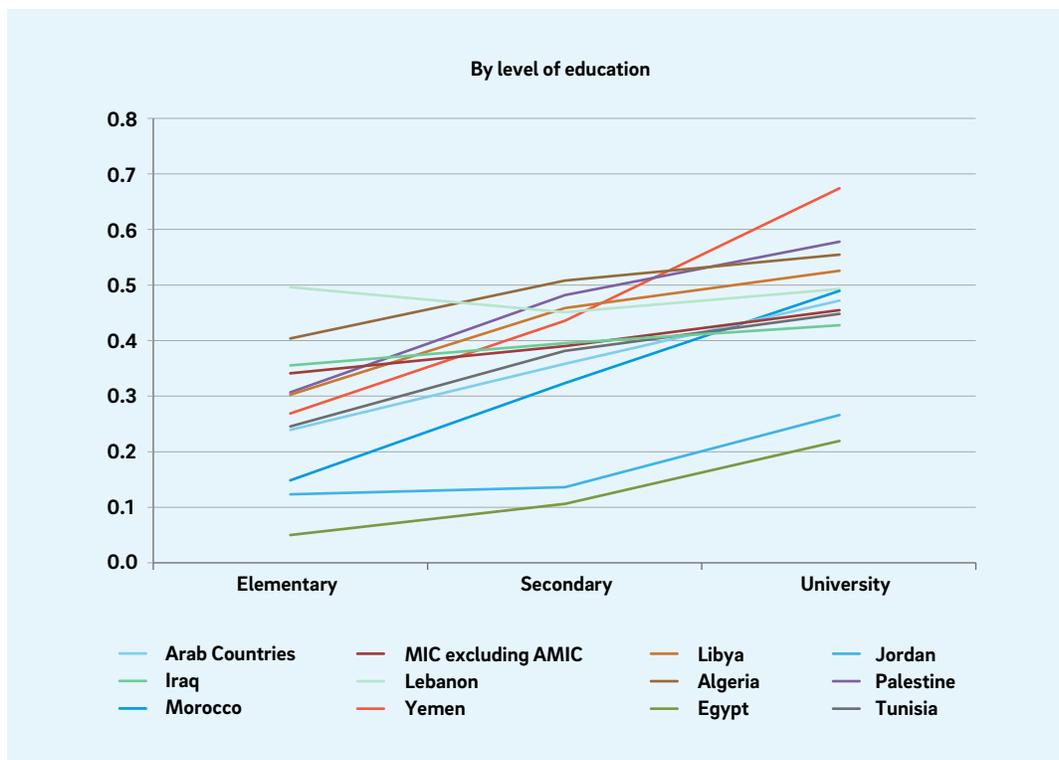
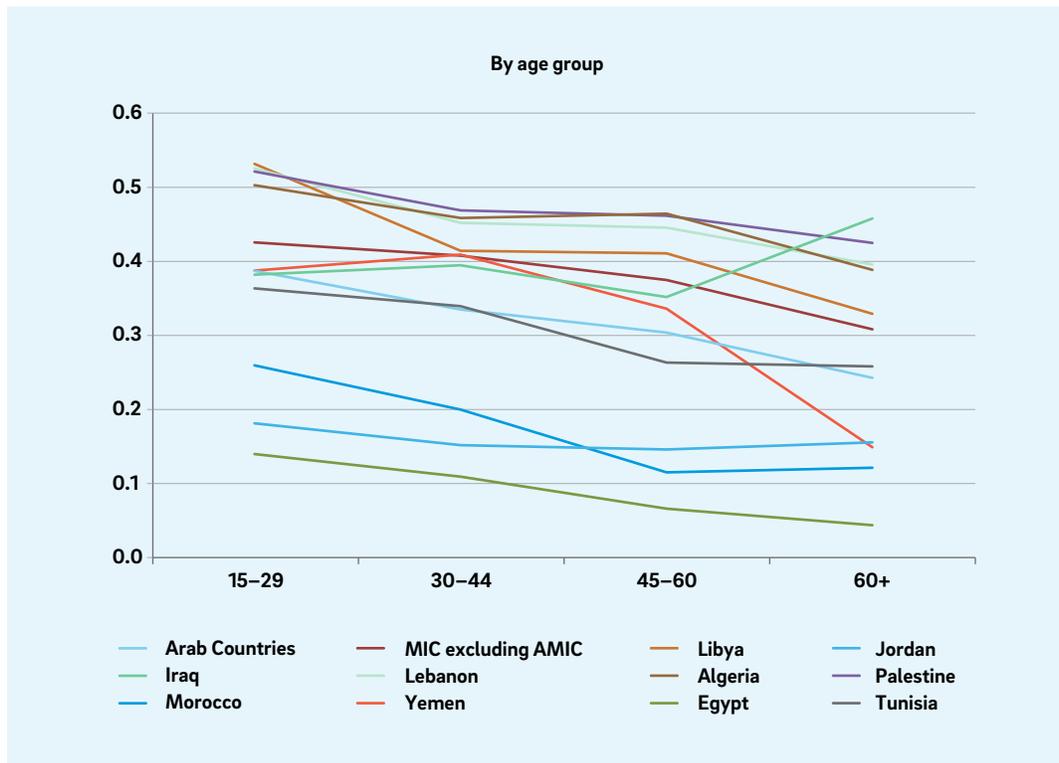
In 2013, the region stood at about the global average in civic activism (table 2.3). Among youth and the well-educated, it was slightly above the global middle-income-country average (figure 2.9). Rising civic activity is correlated with declining respect for authority and greater self-expression (table 2.2). Civic engagement is highest in more democratic countries and countries with greater media penetration such as Algeria, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Palestine and Yemen and lowest in Egypt, Jordan, Morocco and Qatar.<sup>30</sup>

The relationship between life satisfaction and civic action seems complex and is unlikely to be linear. Some dissatisfaction is likely to fuel protest, but high levels of dissatisfaction are associated with low levels of social activism both in comparisons across countries around the world and in the behaviour of individuals in Arab countries (table 2.2). This suggests that deeply dissatisfied individuals tend to be less driven to engage in social action to change their environment, and, if they do engage in such action, they tend to choose more violent forms of protest.<sup>31</sup>

Age and education effects are significant nearly everywhere. Youth are more active than their elders, and the effect of age on civic engagement is larger in the region than in the rest of the world. Education has a positive effect, but at a rate lower than in the rest of the world (table 2.1). Age and education effects are huge in Yemen, and the education effect is marked in Morocco (figure 2.9). The age effect is weak in Egypt, which is also typical of Egypt on several other values such as demonstrating and demanding democracy, where, unlike other countries, young and old tend to have similar values, possibly reflecting the strength of family values.<sup>32</sup>

Civic engagement has largely involved greater willingness to participate in demonstrations. Even after the uprisings, citizens of Arab countries demonstrated at about the global average and the global middle-income-country average; youth and the well-educated were above the middle-income-country average (figure

**Figure 2.9 Civic engagement by age group and level of education**



Source: Report team calculations based on WVS 2014.

MIC excluding AMIC: Middle-income countries excluding Arab middle-income countries. Higher values indicate more civic engagement.

**Table 2.3** The relationship between views on politics, civic action, and tolerance and individual and country characteristics, in Arab countries and in the rest of the world

	Total effect (%)		Individual effects				Country effects	
	Global gap	Time trend	Youth	Education	Women	Income	Democracy	GDP per capita
Civic engagement	0	-/--	+/0	+/>++	--/-	0	+	+
Demonstrated	0	-/--	++/+	+/>+	--/-	+/>0	+	+
Voted	-20	0/0	-/--	+/>+	-/>0	+/>+	0	0
Democracy	-9	0/-	+/>+	+/>++	+/>0	-/>-	+	+
Political Islam	18	0/0	-/>+	-/>--	+/>+	+/>+	0	-
Social tolerance	-26	0/0	0/0	+/>+	0/0	0/0	+	0
Rel. tolerance	-24	0/0	-/>0	++/>0	+/>+	+/>+	0	0

Source: Report team calculations based on WVS 2014.

Notes: All variables are defined in the statistical annex. Results from OLS panel regressions using data from the WVS see Akin and Diwan (2014) for details. The data cover 10 Arab countries in 2013 and 76 middle-income countries and include responses by about 80,000 people in Arab countries and 140,000 citizens in middle-income countries. Global gap is the percentage point deficit or surplus of the Arab opinions relative to global opinions, expressed as a share of the global standard deviation in the global responses; all other entries that take the form *x/y* refers to Arab and Global slopes respectively between opinions and individual (youth, educated, women, income level), or country (level of democracy, GDP per capita) characteristics; (++) refers to a quantity larger than (+), and similarly, (--) is smaller than (-). Arab region effects based on 10 countries; Arab time trend based on average trend in 5 countries only, between 2008 and 2013.

2.10). The scores are highest in Algeria, Lebanon, Libya and Palestine and lowest in Egypt, Jordan and Yemen; Tunisia stands at about the regional average. There are strong age and education effects in nearly all countries. Comparing waves shows that participation in demonstrations rose between waves 4 and 5 (1999–2009), but fell by wave 6 (2010–2014).

Why do demonstrations and protests attract the more well-educated? Raj Desai and others (2014) argue that, as a signalling mechanism for their preferences, demonstrating tends to be more credible among this group because their opportunity cost of time is high. Poorer and less well educated youth tend to express their grievances—when they do—more violently. The data from the region seem to be consistent with this hypothesis.<sup>33</sup>

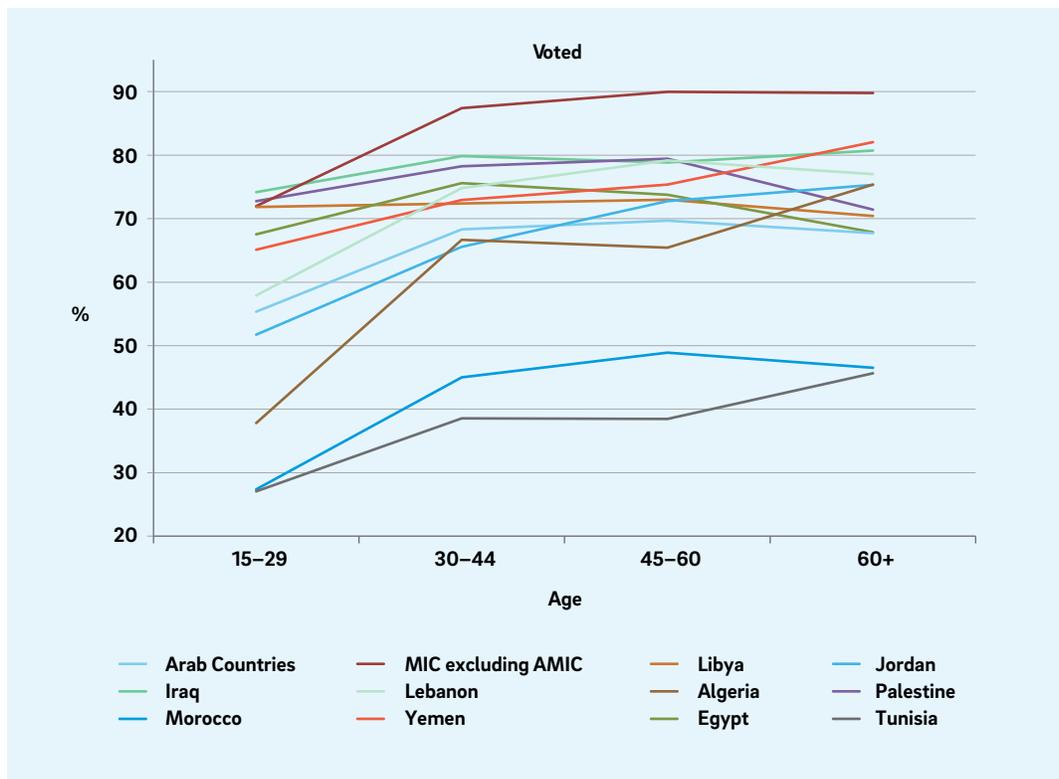
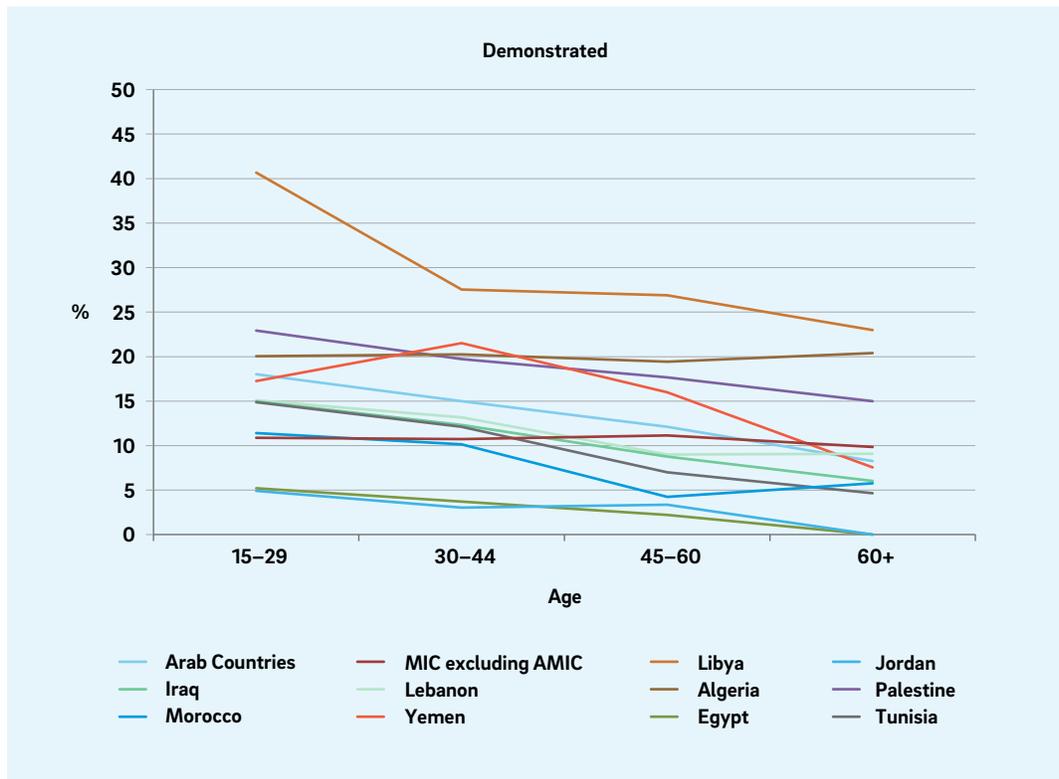
But outside demonstrations, civic and political participation are weak among young people. In 2014, the share of youth who had volunteered their time to an organization was less than 9 percent in Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine and Yemen, but more than 20 percent in Bahrain, Sudan and the UAE. In 2015, the share was only 10 percent in Tunisia, and 18.0 percent Mauritania.<sup>34</sup> Conservative schooling systems seem to lie behind this paltry participation. Supporting youth involvement in school or commu-

nity affairs during their schooling years, when their political identity is being formed, is one of the best ways to foster political involvement among adults in the future.<sup>35</sup>

The willingness of youth to demonstrate did not translate into a greater propensity to use the ballot box after the uprisings; in fact, relative to the rest of the population, young people preferred demonstrating to voting. In voting, every country in the region is well below the global average among all age-groups, with a gap of about 20 percent (figure 2.10; table 2.3). In several countries, voting is low among youth compared with the overall population, reflecting the lack of confidence of youth in undemocratic institutions. For instance, in Tunisia's latest elections in 2011, young people represented the highest ratio of voters who refrained from voting, with only 17 percent of Tunisians aged between 18 and 25 registering to vote.<sup>36</sup>

WVS data that span several waves are limited. They show increased voting in Egypt with a rising convergence between young and old, but a rising generational divergence in Iraq and Morocco. There do not appear to be significant legal barriers to formal youth participation in parliaments in the region. The age of eligibility to vote is 18 years in

**Figure 2.10** Share of population that has demonstrated and voted, by age group



Source: Report team calculations based on WVS 2014.

MIC excluding AMIC: Middle-income countries, excluding Arab middle-income countries.

**Table 2.4** Indicators of formal barriers to civic engagement in selected Arab countries, latest available data

	Freedom of Association	Voting Age	Candidacy Age		Average age of Council of Ministers
	(Yes / No, Min. age of association members)	People's Assembly	Parliamentary/ People's Assembly	Municipality	
Algeria	Yes, 18, by authorization	18	25	23	62
Bahrain	N.A	20	20	N.A	N.A
Comoros	N.A	18	18	N.A	N.A
Djibouti	N.A	18	23	N.A	N.A
Egypt	Yes, not determined, by authorization	18	25	25	61
Iraq	N.A	18	30	N.A	N.A
Jordan	N.A	18	30	N.A	N.A
Kuwait	Yes, 21	21	30	30	N.A
Lebanon	Yes, 20, by notification	21	25	25	62
Libya	N.A	18	25	N.A	N.A
Mauritania	N.A	18	25	N.A	N.A
Morocco	Yes, not specified, notification required	18	23	25	57
Oman	N.A	21	30	N.A	N.A
Palestine	N.A	18	28	N.A	N.A
Qatar	N.A	N.A	24	N.A	N.A
Saudi Arabia	Yes, 18	N.A	30	25	59
Somalia	N.A	N.A	25	N.A	N.A
Sudan	N.A	18	21	N.A	N.A
Syria	N.A	18	25	N.A	N.A
Tunisia	Yes, 16, by notification	18	23	23	58
UAE	N.A	25	25	N.A	N.A
Yemen	N.A	18	25	N.A	N.A

Source: Report team compilation from various national sources. Data from February 2015.

N.A = Not available

most Arab countries on which data are available (apart from the GCC and Lebanon), and the average age of eligibility for parliament is 26 years.<sup>37</sup>

At government executive level, however, there seems to be a bias towards older people: the average age of ministers of state in some Arab countries is 58; the highest average is in Lebanon, at 62 (table 2.4).

Civic and political participation in the region remains weak among youth because of a combination of institutional and structural constraints that

obstruct positive engagement in the public sphere. Most Arab countries share common institutional and legislative shortcomings, characterized by restricted freedom, gaps between law and practice, and limited power sharing, especially in electoral laws and laws on freedom of association. In most Arab countries, the latter are granted primarily by the constitution and country-specific laws, in addition to Article 20 (1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights ("Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association"). Yet, enjoyment of this right

has often been suppressed by governments. Cases of detention and other acts of violence incompatible with legal texts have been reported frequently, aside from the selective authorization required by many Arab countries for associating or for demonstrating. The fight against terrorism, for example, has given some states, with or without newly issued emergency decrees, supreme power to restrict the right.

Some Arab countries do not have laws on the establishment of political associations or parties, rendering their formation illegal. In several countries, individuals who want to form an association are subject to discretionary decisions of the granting authority, which abuses the vague language of the legal text so as to ban associations or to shut down existing non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

Without true political competition, meaningful opposition parties and independent judiciaries and legislatures and with little room for independent civil society organizations, unconventional and volatile political and civic action may possess an appeal. The spectrum of unconventional or informal channels of engagement is diverse and ranges from activism on social media platforms to militant extremist action. While social media platforms have proved constructive in mobilizing youth, militant radicalization is obviously disastrous.

### Support for democracy

It is possible to measure the preference for democratic order using the WVS, which asks respondents to rank their main concerns about democratic governance and strong rule.<sup>38</sup> On the eve of the uprisings, opinion surveys revealed that, with respect to the rest of the world, people in Arab countries desired a more democratic order relatively less; the gap was 9 percent.

In nearly all countries, youth and the more well-educated have a greater preference for democracy (figure 2.11). According to regression analysis, the age effects are stronger than the education effects, and younger citizens support democratic values more than their elders in ways similar to global trends, but the positive effects of education in increasing the preference for democracy are much less potent in the region than globally (table 2.3), another reflection of the conservative nature of the education system. As in the rest of the world (and controlling for levels of education), richer people tend to be less favourable of democracy.<sup>39</sup> As in the rest of the world, the desire for democracy is correlated positively with high levels of self-expression.

Support for democracy has been profoundly af-

ected by recent political changes. Although the preference for democracy has held up since the uprisings, many countries have shown sharp compositional effects, whereby the preference is diminishing among the more well-educated and affluent, but rising among poorer citizens.<sup>40</sup> The noticeable pushback among the more well-educated, who were the main champions of change leading up to the uprisings, can be attributed to fears of chaos or of redistributive policies by democratically elected governments dominated by the interests of poor.

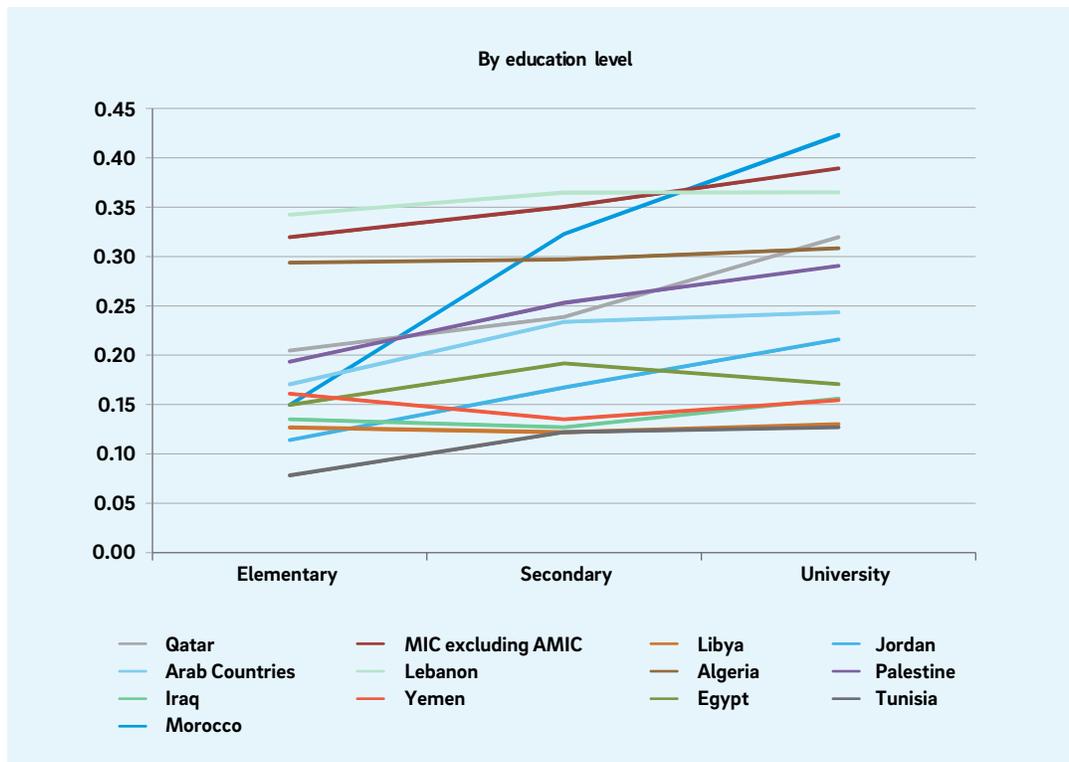
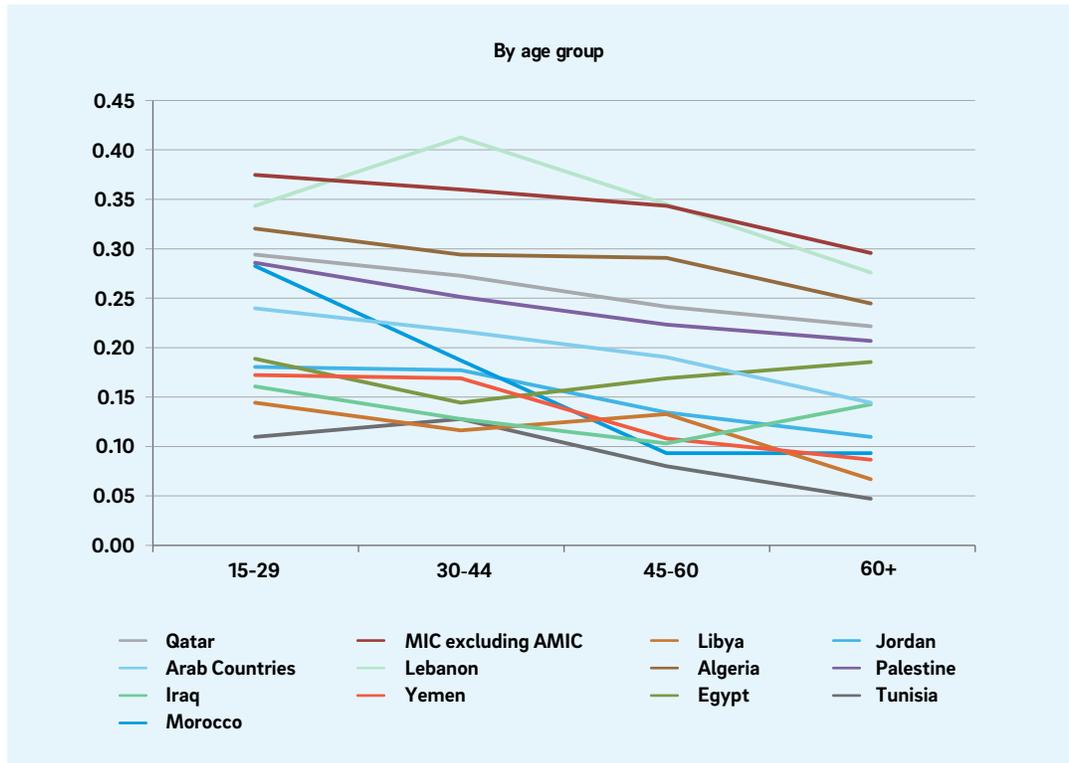
While the focus has been on identity politics, an examination of opinions reveals that, by 2013, social polarization around class issues had widened, especially in Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and Yemen.<sup>41</sup> An open question is whether the ebbing of support for democracy among the wealthier and the more well-educated will be temporary, or whether it will stretch over the longer term and be increasingly associated with a class struggle.<sup>42</sup>

### Support for Political Islam

In the second part of the 20th century, the separation of religion and politics became one of the most contentious issues between adherents of political Islamist movements and followers of secular political ideologies. Starting in the late 1990s, some groups within the broad range of parties espousing political Islam, such as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and the Party of Justice and Development in Morocco, moderated their political and social messages and came to participate in a democratic process.<sup>43</sup>

By 2012, however, the early dominance of Islamists led to a backlash, resulting in rising social polarization around the role of religion in politics. The WVS allows one to measure the degree of support for religion in politics via the question whether “religious authorities should ultimately interpret the laws.”<sup>44</sup> Support for political Islam had fallen among respondents during WVS wave 6 (2010–2014), in all the countries in the sample (except among older Moroccans), with a rising divergence between younger and older groups in Egypt and Iraq (figure 2.12). In parallel, attitudes towards religion have also become more polarized, more so than in any other region of the world.<sup>44</sup> Algeria, Egypt, Tunisia and even Yemen are extremely divided among groups that feel strongly, but differently, about religion and politics. The political focus on identity issues, especially in the context of the drafting of new constitutions in Egypt and Tunisia, has obscured the need to find politically feasible solutions to the economic challenges facing these countries.

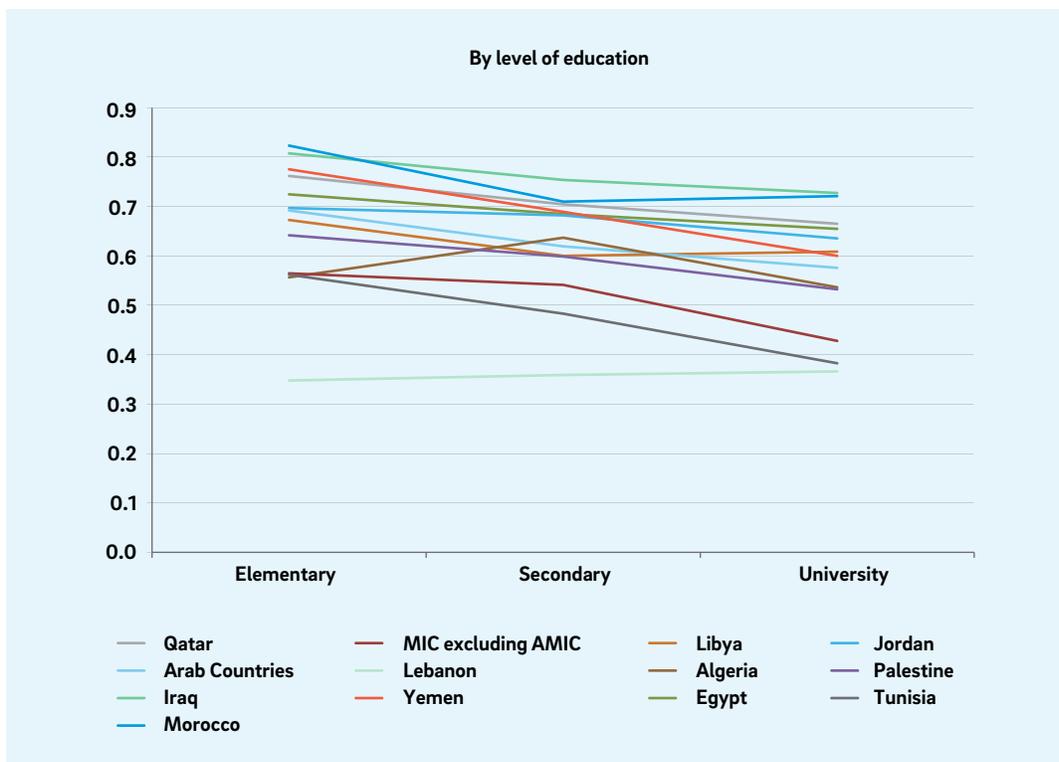
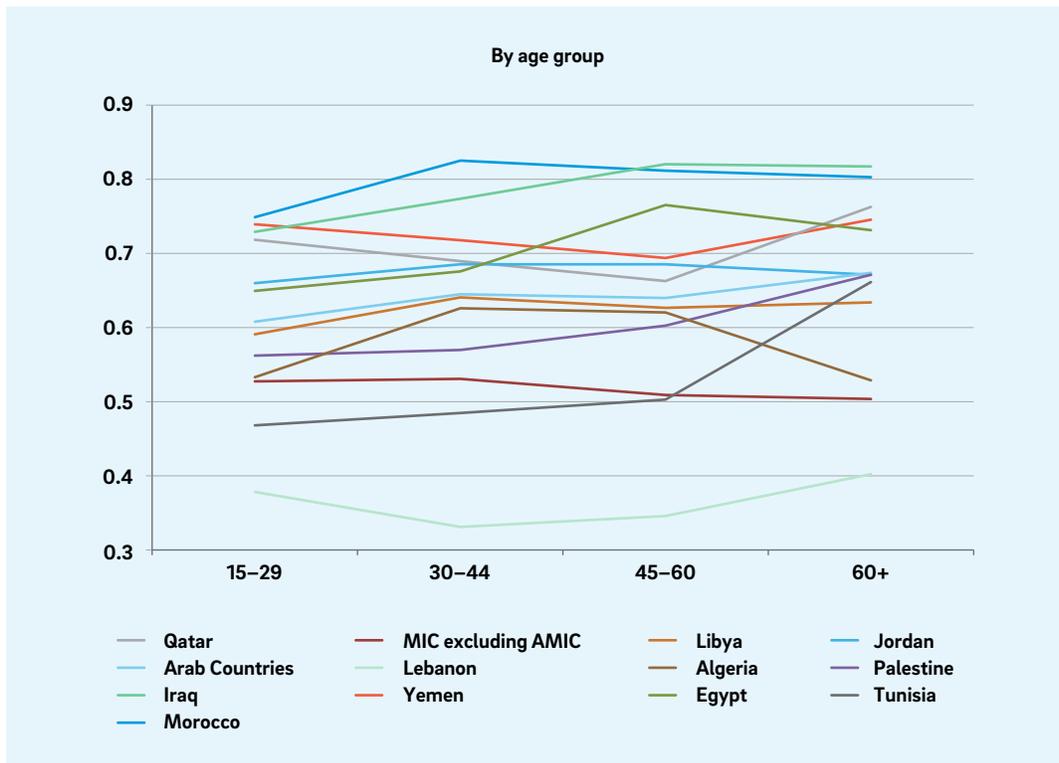
**Figure 2.11** Support for democracy by age cohort over time, and by level of education



Source: Report team calculations based on WVS 2014.

MIC excluding AMIC: Middle-income countries, excluding Arab middle-income countries. Higher value means more support for democracy

**Figure 2.12 Support for political Islam**



Source: Report team calculations based on WVS 2014.

Note: A higher value means more sympathy for political Islam. MIC excluding AMIC: Middle-income countries, excluding Arab middle-income countries.

Even in 2013, opposition to the separation of religion and politics was more pronounced than in the rest of the world, with a gap of 18 percent (table 2.3). Lebanon alone stands out clearly, with about 75 percent of the population more secular than the global middle-income-country average. Tunisia is at the global middle-income-country average. Political Islamist sentiment is strongest in Egypt, Iraq and Morocco, followed by Jordan, Libya, Qatar and Yemen, all of which are above the Arab average (itself much higher than the global middle-income-country average).

Strong sentiments about political Islam tend to rise with age and to fall with education, but with some exceptions. Younger individuals are more likely to support secular forms of governments. The gap between the young and the older generation is particularly wide in Tunisia; contrariwise, young people in Jordan and Yemen lean more towards political Islam than their elders (figure 2.12). In Iraq and Morocco, nearly 80 percent of the old support a non-secular state. More educated individuals support secularism more than those with low levels of education, but here, too, the emancipative effects of education are muted if set against global experience (table 2.3).

## 2.5 Society— national identity and tolerance of differences

To support a shift towards more inclusive and democratic societies, greater self-expression needs to be associated with other values such as identification with the nation-state and acceptance of the rights of all citizens. Self-expressive values that

are not backed by favourable political rules and institutions can lead to frivolous, self-gratifying behaviour that does not foster social progress or to utopian ideologies with no popular roots.<sup>46</sup> A lack of tolerance of social and religious differences means that democracy could be associated with a tyranny of the majority, a prospect that has often led other social groups and socially progressive individuals to sign on to the autocratic bargain involving moderate repression in exchange for security.

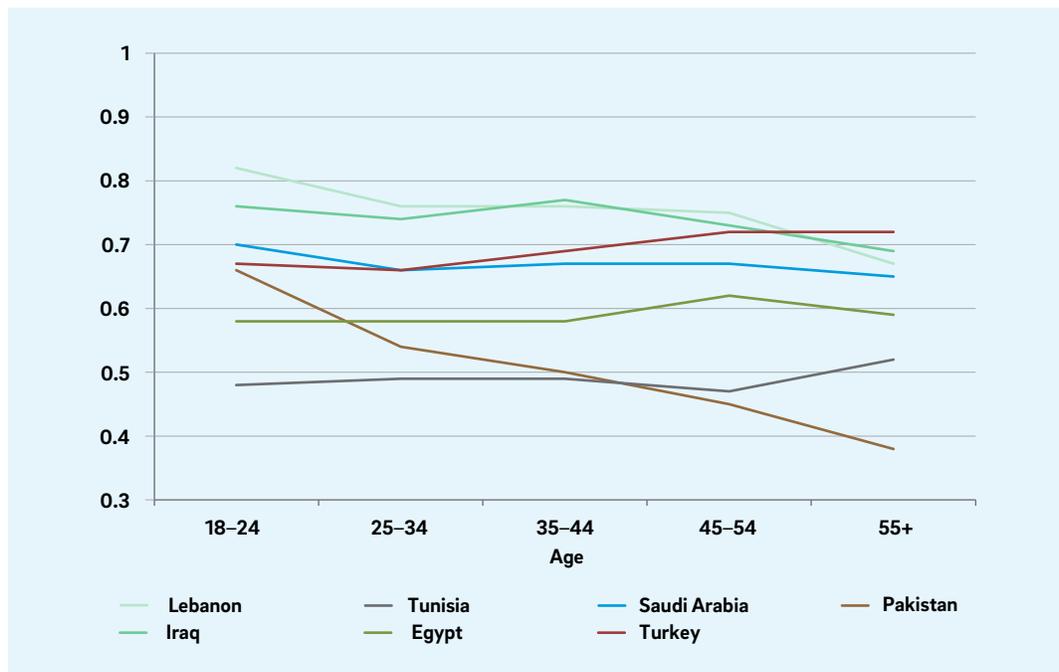
### Secular identity

Around 2013, more people in Arab countries defined themselves in national and secular terms rather than in religious terms, although religious affiliation remains common in some countries. The basis of identity—whether nation, ethnicity, or religion—has been one of the most contested issues in the Middle East for a century. During the period of territorial nationalism of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, which produced nationalist regimes in Egypt, Iran and Turkey between 1919 and 1925, the nation was considered the basis of identity, in contrast to the pan-Arab nationalism that constituted the official ideology of the regimes that seized power in Egypt, Iraq, Libya and Syria between 1952 (Egypt) and 1969 (Libya).

Some identification with the nation-state is required for the development of citizenship, such that the country becomes the social reference group for nurturing political attitudes, and the attitudes then help promote citizen participation in the country.<sup>47</sup> Mansoor Moaddel and Julie De Jong (2014) developed a questionnaire—used in five Arab countries—to look more deeply into the basis of identity by measuring the choice among several entities with which people primarily identify.<sup>48</sup> In countries on which data are available, apart from Tunisia, more people define themselves in national secular terms than in religious terms (figure 2.13). A small minority define themselves only by ethnic origin, such as Arab or Kurdish.

The growth in identification with the nation-state offers important avenues for dealing more effectively with a variety of social tensions in the region for two main reasons. First, the strength of religiosity is not the main determinant of identification, meaning that social-policy issues grounded in religion need to be resolved at the country level and that the association of parties with transnational movements will not be perceived as legitimate political action by most citizens. The majority of Saudi Arabians, for example, identify with their

**Figure 2.13** Index of secular nationalism (mean for total population)



Source: Moaddel and De Jong 2014.

Note: The national averages for the five countries covered by Moaddel and De Jong (2014) (Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Tunisia), along with two comparator countries, Pakistan and Turkey, are plotted against age.

nation rather than their religion (figure 2.13). On the other hand, a majority of Tunisian respondents, despite sharing a relatively liberal orientation on many other issues, see themselves first as Muslims. It is not clear why national identity is weaker in Tunisia than in most other countries, but this may be tied to the country's small size and ethnic homogeneity, which makes such identification less threatening to the social order.

Second, the uprisings have been experienced in some countries as a founding national moment, creating a vision of a nation-state that appeals to citizens and sways them away from other frames of reference or political ideologies that expand beyond the geographic borders of countries.

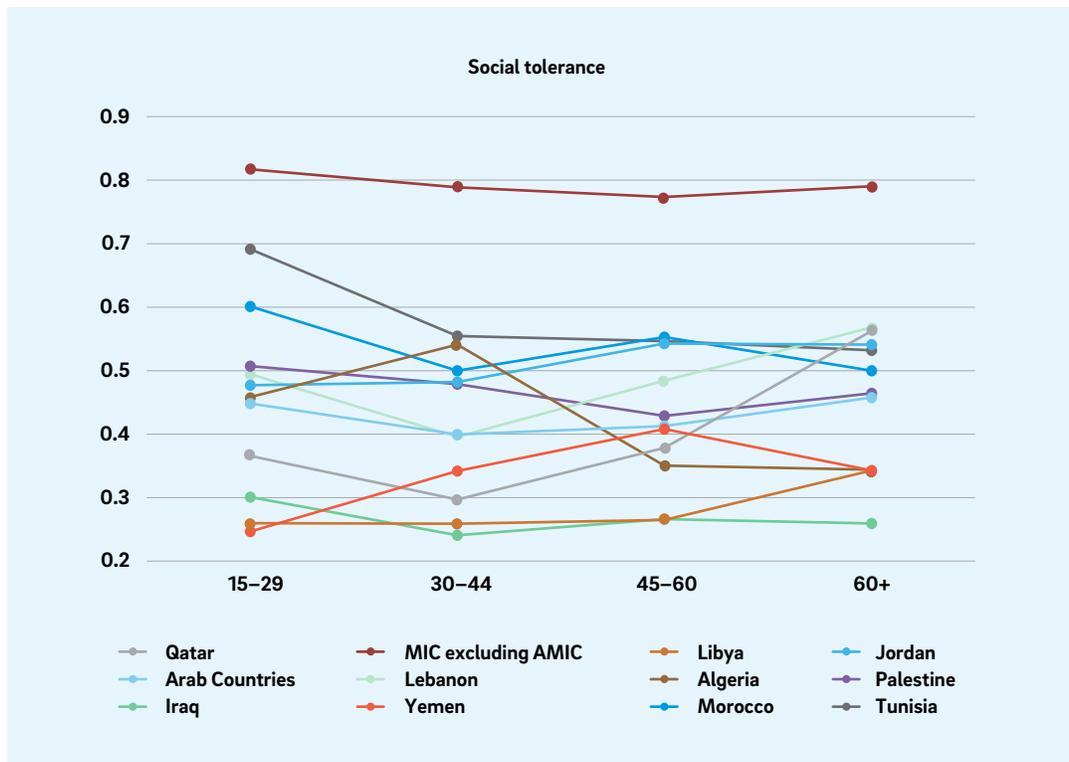
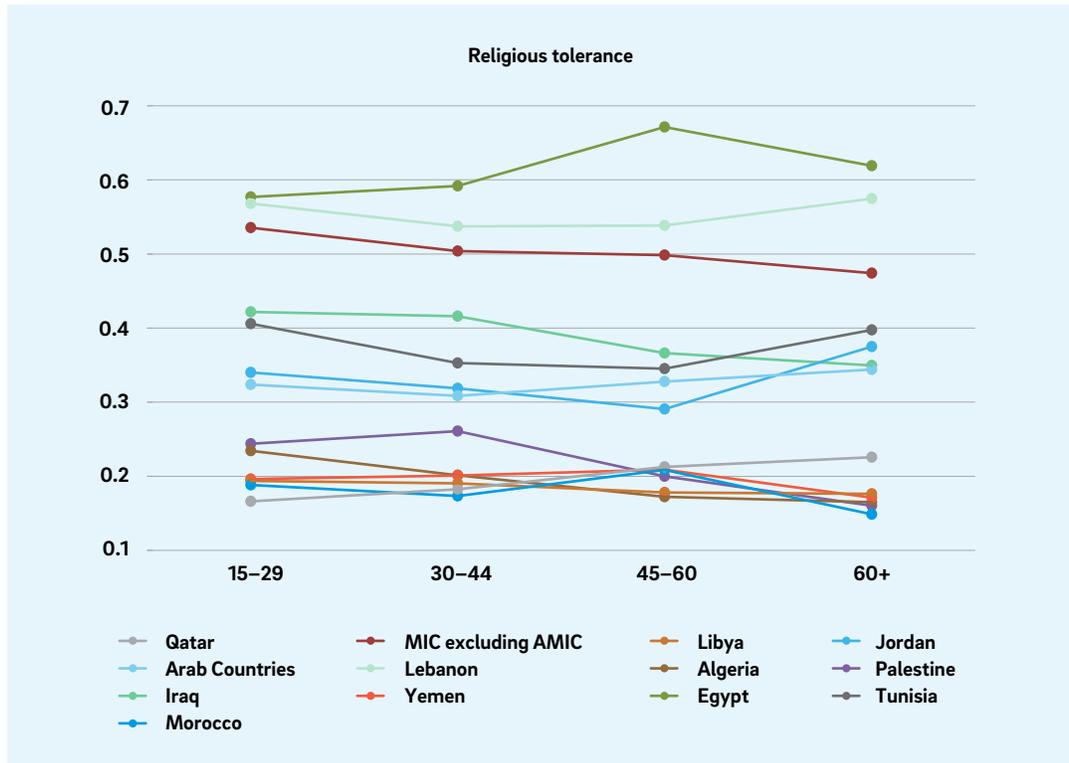
Ethnic heterogeneity and tensions as in Iraq and Lebanon do not automatically cause people to identify with their ethnicity. These two countries, both gripped by intergroup tensions, score highest on secular nationalism.<sup>49</sup> This does not mean that ethnic divisions do not matter, but, instead, that they do not lead directly to ethnic identification. So, rather than a purely psychological phenomenon that reflects ethnic tensions, identification is the result of a more thoughtful decision by individuals about the type of governance structure that can work in their particular environment.

For example, Moaddel and De Jong (2014) show that, in Lebanon, there is a striking level of sectarianism, independent of education and age, reflecting a deep Sunni-Shia divide. Around 80 percent each of both Sunnis and Shias trust their co-religionists 'a great deal,' while only 30 percent trust members of other sects and religions as much. Yet, a large majority of Lebanese consider themselves Lebanese first, even though results show that the Lebanese do not take pride in their nationality.<sup>50</sup> This must reflect the knowledge that splitting into several ethnic-based countries is not attractive, despite the known ethnic divisions and tensions, a feeling that can also describe the Iraqi population.

### Social and religious tolerance

It is mainly because of its high levels of social and religious intolerance that the region stands out among countries at similar levels of development around the world. Tolerance is a core value in pluralistic societies and a cornerstone of more democratic systems.<sup>51</sup> It is measured by two groups of questions in the WVS, one social, and one religious. The first builds on a question about the acceptability of various types of neighbours, including unmarried couples or people of a different

**Figure 2.14** Social and religious tolerance by age (6th wave, 2010–2014)



Source: Report team calculations based on WVS 2014.

MIC excluding AMIC: Middle-income countries, excluding Arab middle-income countries. Higher values indicate more religious tolerance.

race, nationality, or language. The second focuses on questions about the morality of various religions and whether all should be taught in schools.

The region's gap with the rest of the world in tolerance is large, 26 percent in social areas and 24 percent in religious areas (figure 2.14; table 2.3). Egypt and Lebanon, more religiously diverse countries, score above the global average, suggesting that diversity fosters tolerance. In the averages across countries and populations, youth do not appear to be more tolerant than the elderly and are, in fact, less religiously tolerant (table 2.3). Yet, there is a clearly positive and significant education effect, which is even larger in the region than in the rest of the world. It is one of the most beneficial aspects of education found so far. Some cohorts are espe-

cially tolerant, perhaps because defining historical moments occurred during their formative stage, for example, older Jordanian and Tunisian individuals and younger and more well-educated Iraqis and Palestinians. There has been no discernible progress on the values of social and religious tolerance since 2000 in the WVS data, including among youth.

This wide regional deficit and lack of progress on values of tolerance are worrying for the future of democracy in the region. Social and religious tolerance is positively correlated with self-expression and life satisfaction, and religious tolerance is negatively correlated with piety and obedience (table 2.3). Tolerance also correlates positively with support for democracy and negatively with support for political Islam.

## Endnotes

- 1 Inglehart and Welzel 2010; Yates and Youniss 1998; Burke and Stets 2009.
- 2 Moaddel and De Jong 2014.
- 3 Cammett and Diwan 2013; Moghadam 2004.
- 4 Arvizu 2009.
- 5 Zaatari 2014.
- 6 Inglehart and Welzel 2010.
- 7 Alesina and Giuliano 2007.
- 8 Herrmann and others 2009.
- 9 Sen 1999.
- 10 Inglehart and Welzel 2010. Such modernizing tendencies were recognized by sociologists early on, starting with Durkheim who identified a shift from “communities of necessity” to “elective affinities” as part of a liberating process that diminishes social constraints on human choice and nurtures a sense of autonomy.
- 11 Inglehart and Welzel 2010.
- 12 Moaddel and De Jong 2014.
- 13 Fargues 2003.
- 14 Bennett 2012; Arvizu 2009.
- 15 Issam Fares Institute 2011; Norris 2012.
- 16 Arab Social Media Report 2015, p. 8.
- 17 ASDA'A 2013.
- 18 For international comparisons, an aggregate middle-income-country comparator has been developed as the unweighted average of all middle-income countries in the WVS (35 countries).
- 19 This may sound surprising for Egypt, given all the news about the effect of social networking on the 2011 uprising. But it also underlines the fact that this is a national average—it may well be that youth in particular parts of Cairo are well connected electronically, but not in Egypt taken as a whole.
- 20 Zaatari 2014.
- 21 Issam Fares Institute 2011.
- 22 For a review of family law, see Zaatari 2014.
- 23 Rizzo, Abdel-Latif and Meyer 2007.
- 24 Alexander and Welzel 2011; Moghadam 2004.
- 25 In Gallup, the index is based on the same two questions as the WVS, but the third is different, asking whether women should be allowed to initiate divorce.
- 26 Alexander and Welzel 2011.
- 27 Zaatari 2014.
- 28 Esmer 2003; Norris and Inglehart 2002.
- 29 Burke and Stets 2009.
- 30 Norris 2012.
- 31 Desai, Olofsgård and Yousef 2014.
- 32 Beissinger, Jamal and Mazur 2012; Diwan 2015.
- 33 This is also consistent with the earlier result that dissatisfied people tend to demonstrate less.
- 34 Gallup 2015.
- 35 Yates and Youniss 1998.
- 36 Chekir 2014.
- 37 For more information, see youth policy factsheets (per country) on <http://www.youthpolicy.org>.
- 38 For details, see the statistical annex.
- 39 Diwan 2013 argues that the middle class has played a leading role in the uprisings of 2011 because they were at the intersection of forces of grievances particularly marked among the poor, and modernist aspirations particularly marked among the educated.
- 40 Al-Ississ and Diwan 2014b; Robbins and Tessler 2014.
- 41 Al-Ississ and Diwan 2014a.
- 42 See El Gamal 2013, who argues that people in Arab countries want a market economy with redistribution.

- <sup>43</sup> At the same time, insurgency movements had declined after they were severely repressed in the 1990s. The moderation of political Islam may have therefore facilitated the adhesion of the middle class to democracy by reducing its fear that elected government would push for conservative social policies. See Bubalo, Fealy and Mason 2008.
- <sup>44</sup> Al-Ississ and Diwan 2014a.
- <sup>45</sup> These questions were asked in all countries covered by the WVS, with the religious authority pertaining to that of the respondent's religion.
- <sup>46</sup> Zaatari 2014.
- <sup>47</sup> Sherrod 2003.
- <sup>48</sup> These include whether people define themselves by nationality, ethnicity, or religion. Questions on identity were asked in two different ways in Moaddel and De Jong 2014: (a) individual identity and (b) communal affiliation. An index of secular affiliation is then built using both variables.
- <sup>49</sup> Ethnic diversity in the Middle East can be explained by the mechanisms that nurtured it under the Ottoman Millet system for centuries. Moreover, the short colonial experience has marked some countries deeply, advantaging particular communities, shaping borders in many cases, and affecting the early independence nation-building in the 1940s and its founding 'national settlement', whether modeled around consensual ideas as in Lebanon, or as a strong rule of the minority in Iraq and Syria.
- <sup>50</sup> Moaddel, Kors and Gärde 2012.
- <sup>51</sup> Muasher 2014.