What do ‘the people’ want?
Arab voices in a troubled world

The Arab Transformations Project: Political, Economic, and Social Transformations in the Middle East and North Africa

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WP1 Theory, Method
WP2 Backgr’d Reports
WP5 Data
WP6 Country Reports
WP7 Transition Analyses
WP8 Youth & Social Media
WP9 EU-MENA

Models
- Transition
- Hybrid regimes
- Resilience
- Brittle
- Cyclical
Background

...From ‘Arab Spring’ to ‘Islamist Winter’?
‘The People Want’:
Democracy in MENA Populations
The People Want...
Two Essential Characteristics of Democracy

% By Type of Characteristic

- Civil-Political Rights
- Socio-Economic Rights
- Fighting Corruption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Civil-Political Rights</th>
<th>Socio-Economic Rights</th>
<th>Fighting Corruption</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>59.5</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>52.4</td>
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<td>61.3</td>
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<td>Libya</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td>32.5</td>
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<td>Morocco</td>
<td>73.8</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>32.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>83.4</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>61.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Two Essential Characteristics of Democracy - II

Political freedom
- Egypt: 59.7
- Iraq: 43.2
- Jordan: 36.6
- Libya: 21.4

Social inclusion
- Egypt: 55.3
- Iraq: 59.1
- Jordan: 56.7
- Libya: 37.7

Economic factors
- Egypt: 38.4
- Iraq: 44.2
- Jordan: 49.3
- Libya: 48.1

Getting rid of corruption
- Egypt: 19.7
- Iraq: 32.9
- Jordan: 32.5
- Libya: 42

Countries: Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia
Drivers of the Arab Uprisings: Demands for Political Rights, Economic Rights, & Fighting Corruption

% Nominating as One of Two Reasons

- Political
- Economic
- Corruption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Political</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Corruption</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>21.4</td>
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<td>Jordan</td>
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<td>76.9</td>
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<td>Libya</td>
<td>57.3</td>
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<td>Morocco</td>
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<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>61.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>63.8</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Perceived Challenges, % Nominate Top Two

- **Egypt**
  - Economic Situation: 90.3%
  - Corruption of Politicians and/or Civil Servants: 51%
  - Authoritarianism: 20.7%
  - Internal Security: 2%

- **Iraq**
  - Economic Situation: 49.2%
  - Corruption of Politicians and/or Civil Servants: 60%
  - Authoritarianism: 12.9%
  - Internal Security: 2%

- **Jordan**
  - Economic Situation: 87.6%
  - Corruption of Politicians and/or Civil Servants: 71.3%
  - Authoritarianism: 9.8%
  - Internal Security: 2.3%

- **Libya**
  - Economic Situation: 61%
  - Corruption of Politicians and/or Civil Servants: 62.1%
  - Authoritarianism: 17.4%
  - Internal Security: 1.9%

- **Morocco**
  - Economic Situation: 79.3%
  - Corruption of Politicians and/or Civil Servants: 58.6%
  - Authoritarianism: 12.9%
  - Internal Security: 2.8%

- **Tunisia**
  - Economic Situation: 79.8%
  - Corruption of Politicians and/or Civil Servants: 49.5%
  - Authoritarianism: 42.2%
  - Internal Security: 6.6%
‘The People Want’: Religion and Government
Democracy Preferable System, & Laws According to Wishes of the People

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Democracy Better than Alternatives</th>
<th>Make Laws According to the Wishes of the People</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>61.3</td>
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<td>Jordan</td>
<td>89.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>74.6</td>
<td>69.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>80.3</td>
<td>63.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>77.7</td>
<td>56.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

% Self-Describing as religious:
- Religious: 6%
- Somewhat religious: 39%
- Not religious: 55%
Is Democracy incompatible with Islam?

Egypt: Agree 6.3, Disagree -58.6
Iraq: Agree 23.3, Disagree -70.7
Jordan: Agree 30.4, Disagree -45.7
Libya: Agree 27.7, Disagree -68.5
Morocco: Agree 18.8, Disagree -72.6
Tunisia: Agree 21.2, Disagree -65.4
Type of Government Suitable for Country, %

- Egypt: Parliamentary Democracy - Unrestricted
- Iraq: Authoritarian executive
- Jordan: Parliamentary System - Islamist parties only
- Libya: Undecided
- Morocco: Parliamentarism - Islamist parties only
- Tunisia: Undecided

Prefer a Religious Party, %

- Agree
- Disagree
Implementing Shari’a: Breadth and Depth

Extent to Which Government Should Implement Shari’a, %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>No/R</th>
<th>Partly</th>
<th>Only</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>83.6</td>
<td>94.4</td>
<td>96.2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Extent to Which Different Categories of Laws Should be Based on Shari’a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Family Law</th>
<th>Criminal Law</th>
<th>Inheritance Law</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>83.6</td>
<td>85.1</td>
<td>94.4</td>
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<td>96.2</td>
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<td>97.4</td>
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<td>59.6</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>77.7</td>
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</table>
Trust in Religious Leaders vs. State Institutions

% Trust in Gov’t Parliament, Religious Leaders

- Government
- Parliament
- Religious Leaders

% Trust in Judicial & Security Systems

- Courts and legal system
- Police
- Armed Forces

Countries: Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia
Trust in Religious Leaders: in Politics?

Preference for limiting religious leaders' influence

- Prefer religious party
- Not Influencing Voters' decisions
- Not Influencing Gov't decisions

Countries: Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia
The People Want...

- **Democracy:**
  - No single pattern
  - both form & substance, elections & social justice

- **Religion:**
  - No single pattern
  - More principles, less leaders
The View from the EU: Democracy in the ENP
Democracy I

• Preambles: holistic conception of democracy: ‘27 Democracies,’ indivisibility of HR, inclusive growth, partnership

• Bodies: From Inseparability of HR to...
  • ...Hierarchy: civil-political (elections) > socio-economic (labour)
  • ...Selectivity: e.g. voting > association – easy vs. tough rights

• Social & Economic rights: ‘democracy’...
  • ...is associated with civil & political rights, but
  • ...is never with social & economic rights

• From rights to aid:
  • ‘competence’ → push issues outside DHR framework → DevCo/Trade/IFIs: from entitlement to concession
1. MENA Populations: Complex view of democracy
   - ‘Thin’ (formal) vs. ‘thick’ (substantive): social justice & economic rights
   - No single political role or effect of religion
     - Religious values vs. trust in organizations/leaders & preferences for politics

2. EU Policy: focus on formal democracy
   - Hierarchy of HR (civil-political > social-economic)
   - From rights to aid...

3. Implications: Mobilisation & Radicalisation