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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Background

THE NEW EGYPT

MONOPOLY
The Fast-Dealing Property Trading Game

…From 'Arab Spring' to 'Islamist Winter'?

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SEVENTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME
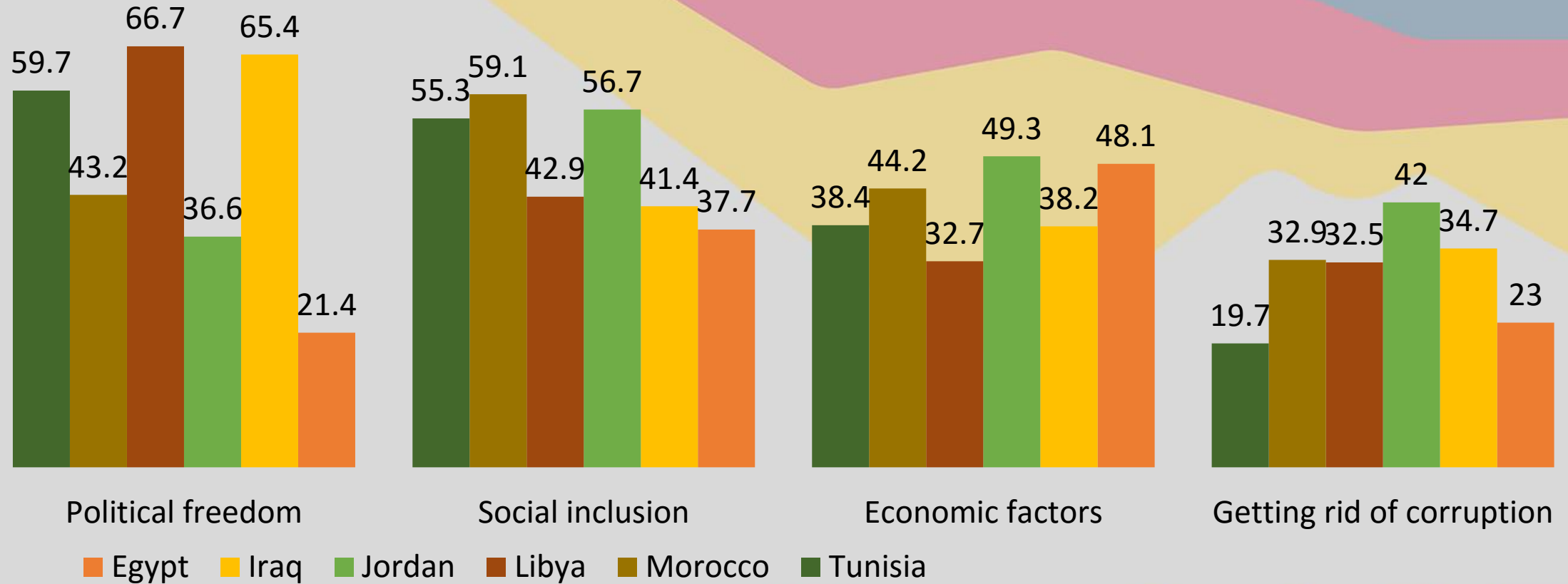
'The People Want':
Democracy in MENA Populations

The People Want...
Two Essential Characteristics of Democracy

% By Type of Characteristic

Country	Civil-Political Rights	Socio-Economic Rights	Fighting Corruption
Egypt	30	59.5	23
Iraq	78.8	52.4	34.7
Jordan	61.3	69.5	42
Libya	78	50.1	32.5
Morocco	57.1	73.8	32.9
Tunisia	74.8	60.8	19.7
Total	62.8	61.8	32

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

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Two Essential Characteristics of Democracy - II

	Political freedom	Social inclusion	Economic factors	Getting rid of corruption
Tunisia	59.7	55.3	38.4	19.7
Morocco	43.2	59.1	44.2	32.9
Libya	66.7	42.9	32.7	32.5
Jordan	36.6	56.7	49.3	42
Iraq	65.4	41.4	38.2	34.7
Egypt	21.4	37.7	48.1	23

Egypt   Iraq   Jordan   Libya   Morocco   Tunisia

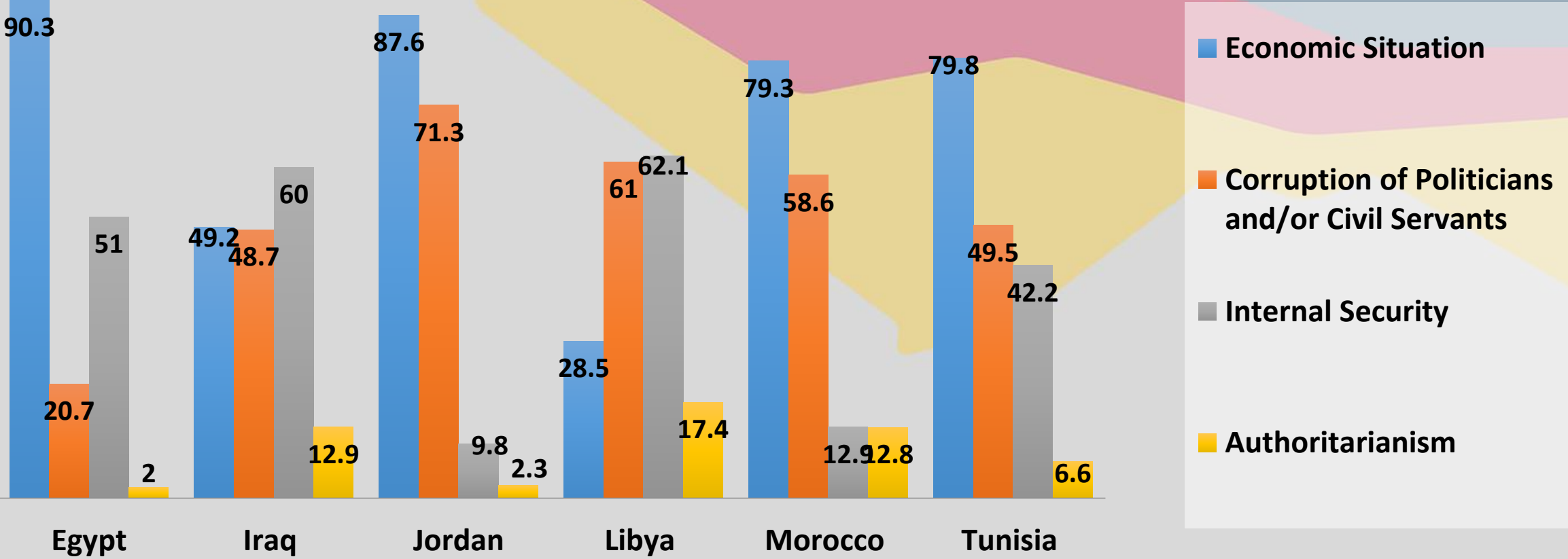UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN   ArabTrans   SEVENTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME

Drivers of the Arab Uprisings: *Demands for Political Rights, Economic Rights, & Fighting Corruption*

% Nominating as One of Two Reasons
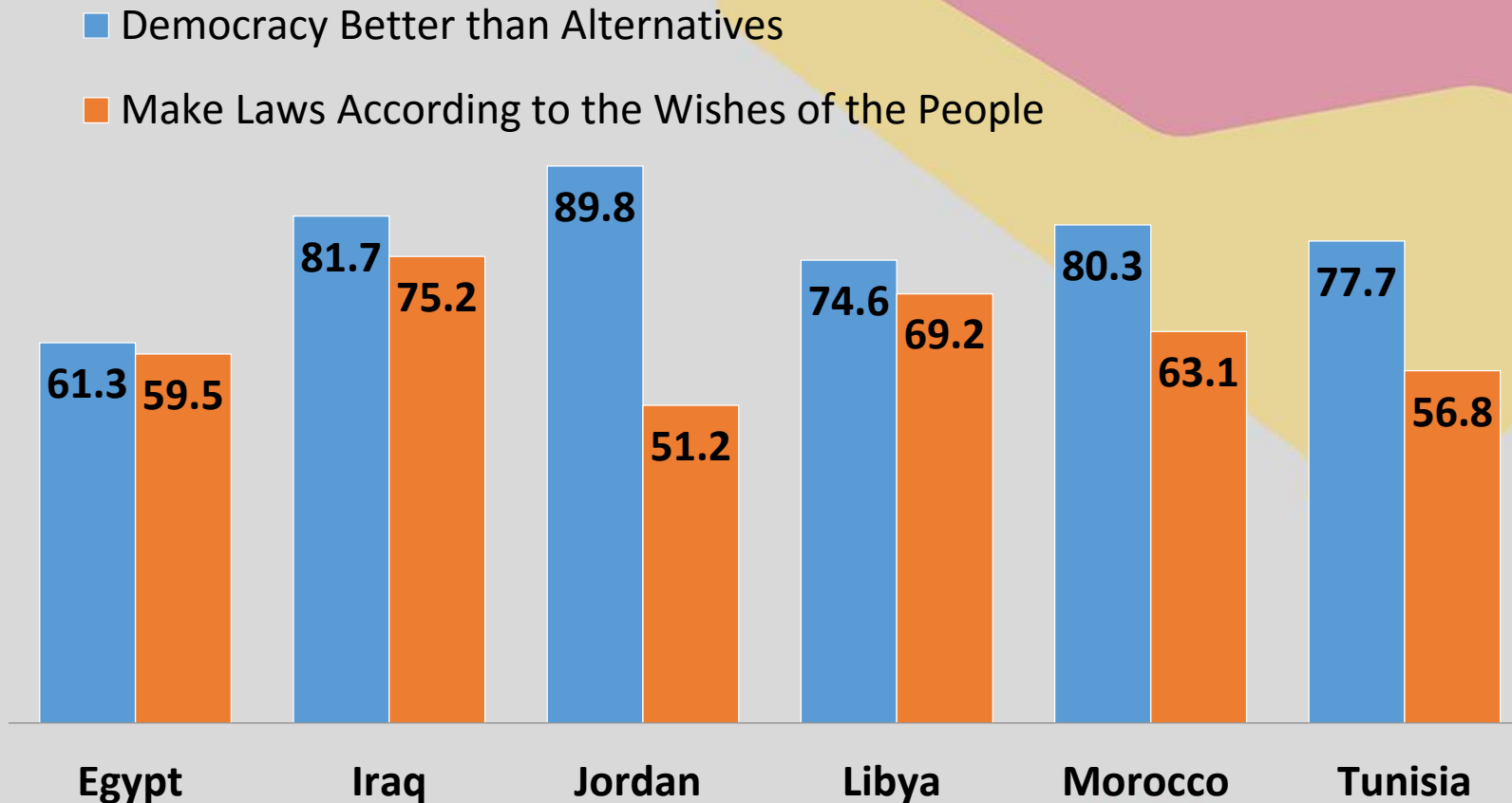
Legend: ■ Political ■ Economic ■ Corruption

Country	Political	Economic	Corruption
Egypt	21.4	69.2	41.1
Iraq	44.9	62.2	50.5
Jordan	23.4	76.9	47.8
Libya	57.3	49.5	63.8
Morocco	34.5	57.7	57.1
Tunisia	42.8	62.8	61.3
Total	36.4	63.8	53.1

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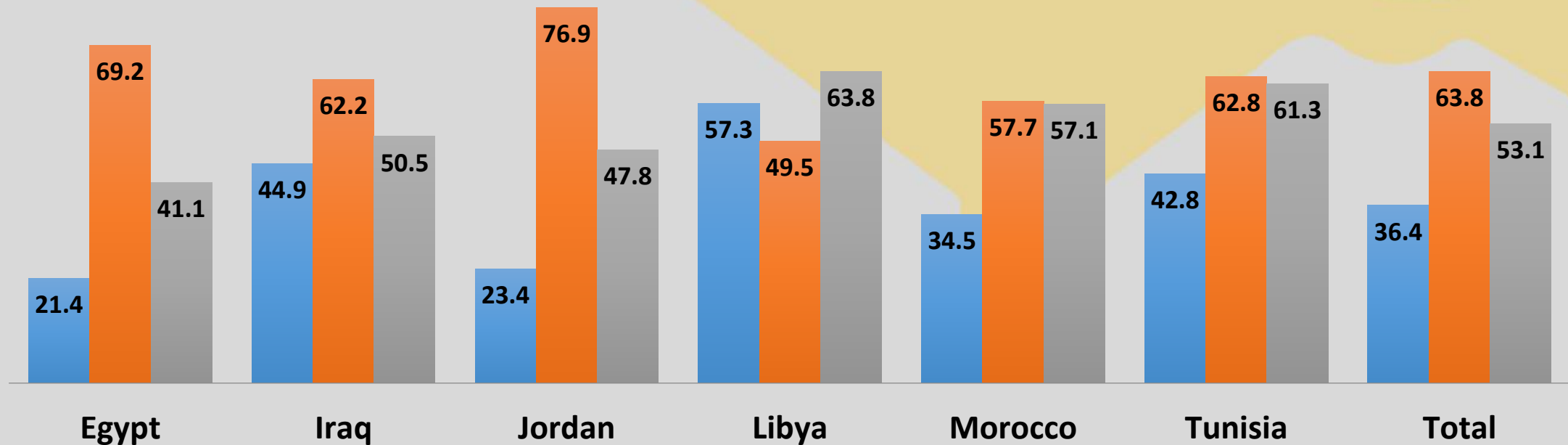
Perceived Challenges, % Nominate Top Two

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

Iraq: Economic Situation 49.2, Corruption of Politicians and/or Civil Servants 48.7, Internal Security 60, Authoritarianism 12.9

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

Libya: Economic Situation 28.5, Corruption of Politicians and/or Civil Servants 61, Internal Security 62.1, Authoritarianism 17.4

Morocco: Economic Situation 79.3, Corruption of Politicians and/or Civil Servants 58.6, Internal Security 12.9, Authoritarianism 12.8

Tunisia: Economic Situation 79.8, Corruption of Politicians and/or Civil Servants 49.5, Internal Security 42.2, Authoritarianism 6.6
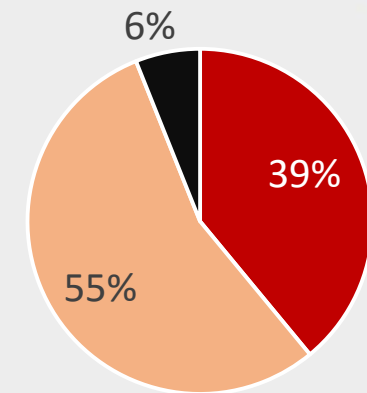
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'The People Want':
Religion and Government

Democracy Preferable System, & Laws According to Wishes of the People

Is Democracy Incompatible with Islam?
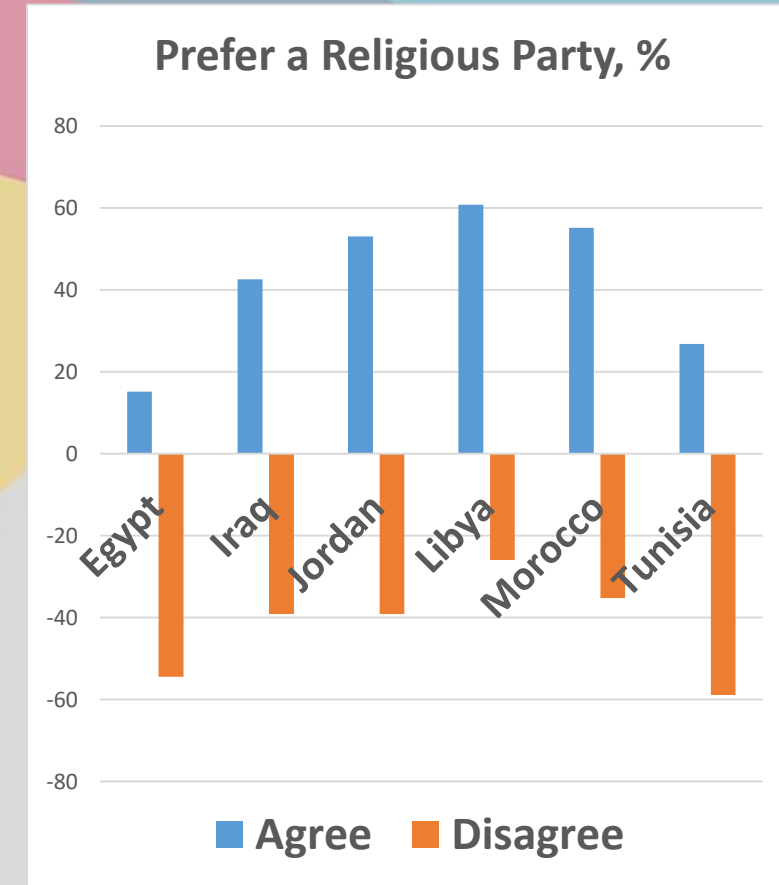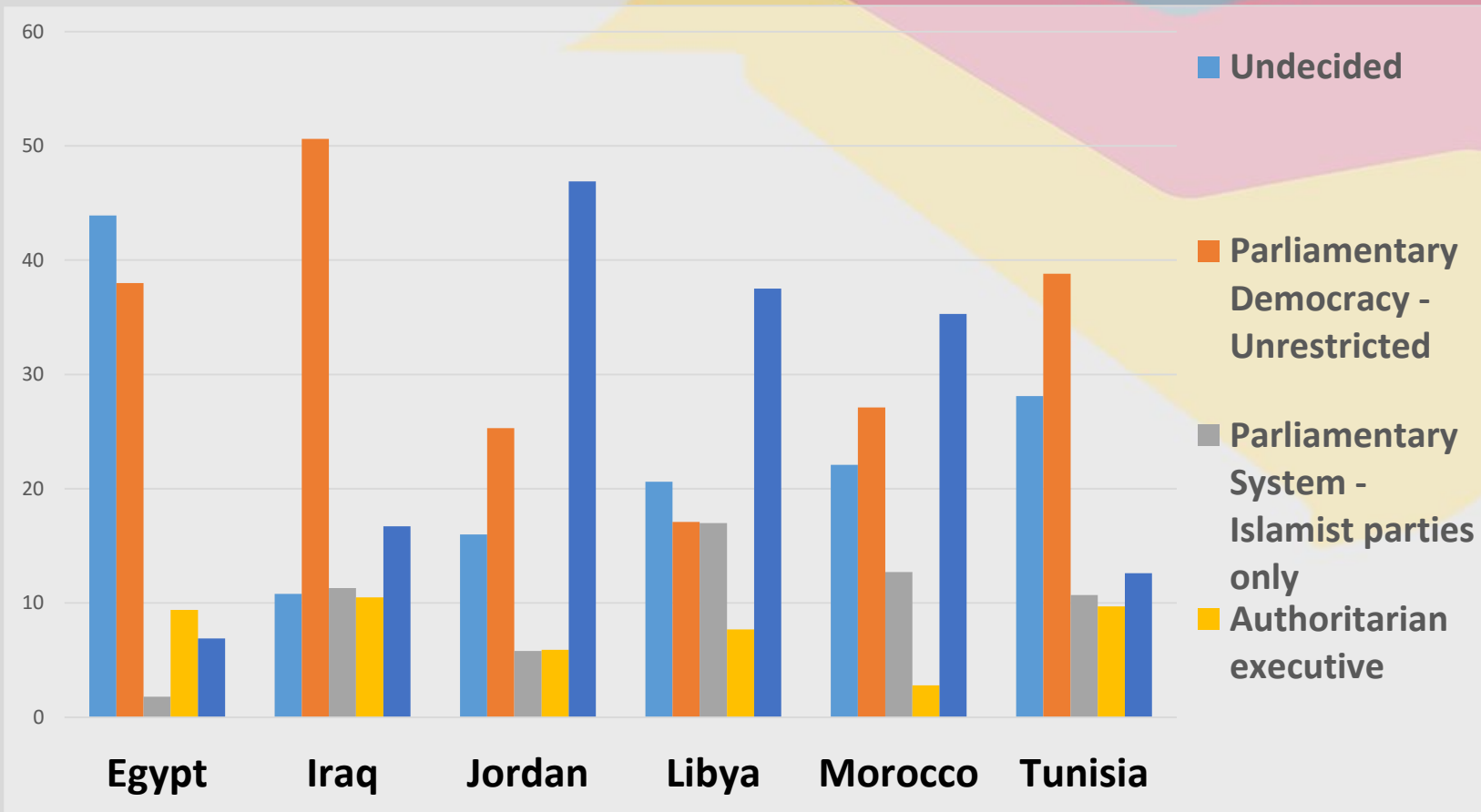

Country	Agree	Disagree
Egypt	6.3	-58.6
Iraq	23.3	-70.7
Jordan	30.4	-45.7
Libya	27.7	-68.5
Morocco	18.8	-72.6
Tunisia	21.2	-65.4

Agree
Disagree

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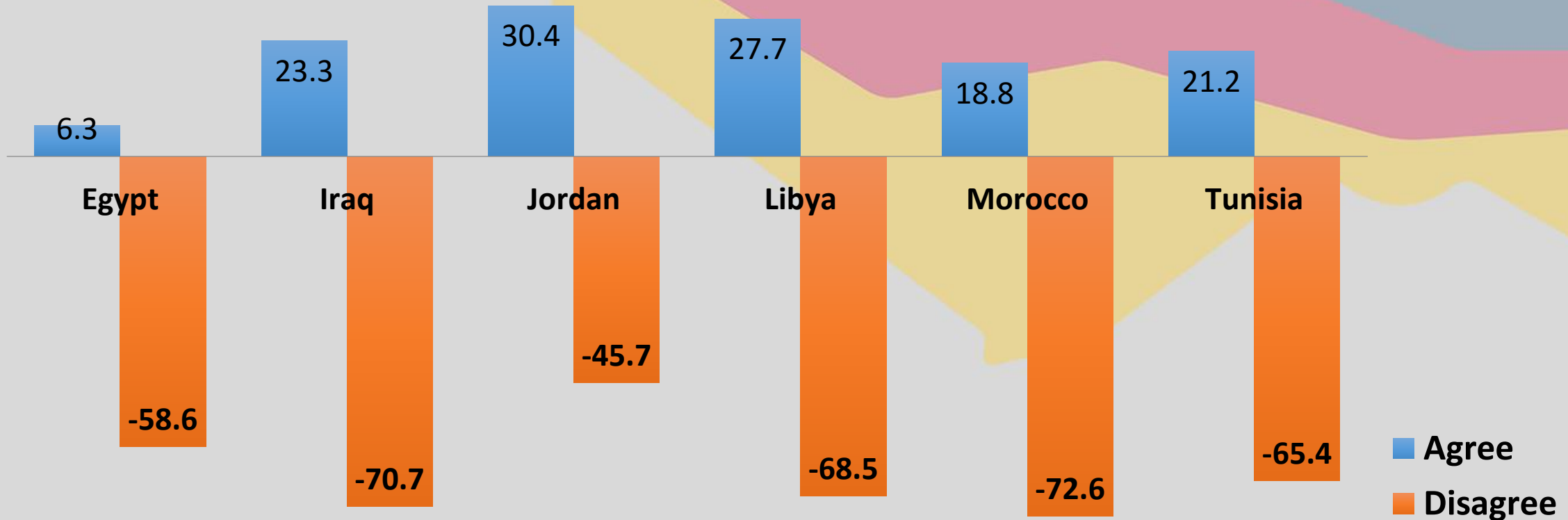
Type of Government Suitable for Country, %

'The People Want':
Democracy, Religion & Clerics

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Implementing Shari'a: Breadth and Depth

Extent to Which Government Should Implement Shari'a, % Selected Countries

Legend: ■ No/R ■ Partly ■ Only

EGYPT: 32.1 (Only), 48.1 (Partly), 19.8 (No/R)
IRAQ: 40.5 (Only), 56.7 (Partly), 2.7 (No/R)
JORDAN: 74.8 (Only), 24.4 (Partly), 0.8 (No/R)
MOROCCO: 41.5 (Only), 53.4 (Partly), 5.1 (No/R)
TUNISIA: 25.1 (Only), 61.8 (Partly), 13.1 (No/R)
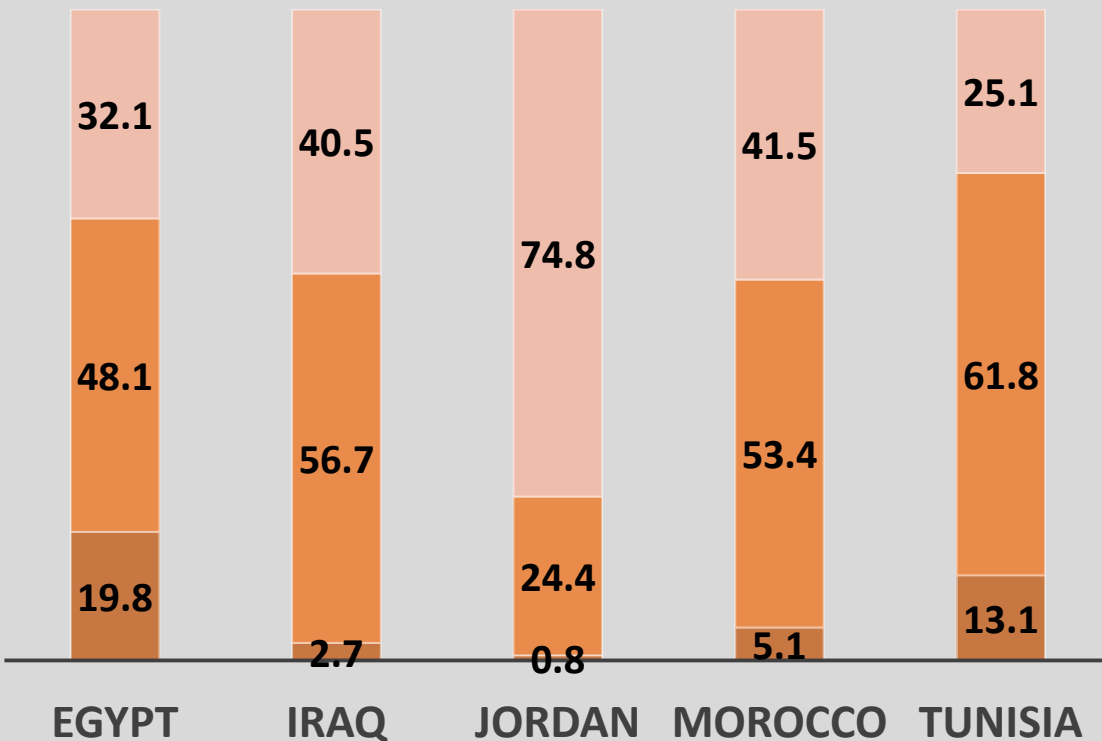
Extent to Which Different Categories of Laws Should be Based on Shari'a

Legend: ■ Family Law ■ Criminal Law ■ Inheritance Law

EGYPT: Family Law 83.6, Criminal Law 52.4, Inheritance Law 85.1
IRAQ: Family Law 94.4, Criminal Law 62.3, Inheritance Law 92.6
JORDAN: Family Law 96.2, Criminal Law 91, Inheritance Law 88.2
LIBYA: Family Law 94, Criminal Law 90.7, Inheritance Law 93.5
MOROCCO: Family Law 86.4, Criminal Law 63.4, Inheritance Law 84.6
TUNISIA: Family Law 59.6, Criminal Law 33, Inheritance Law 77.7

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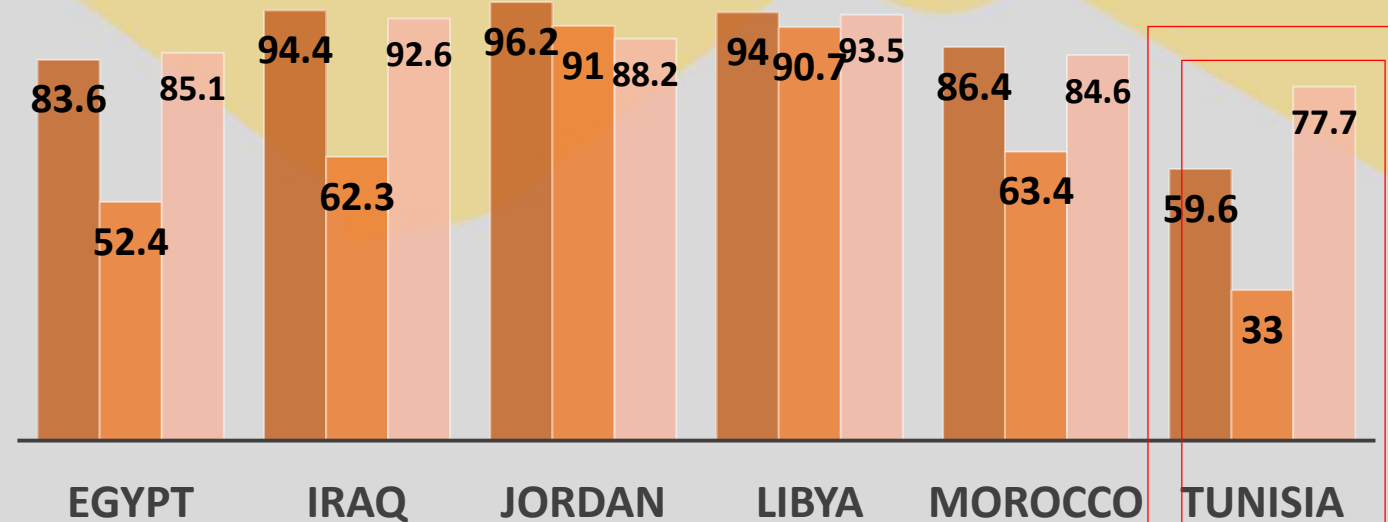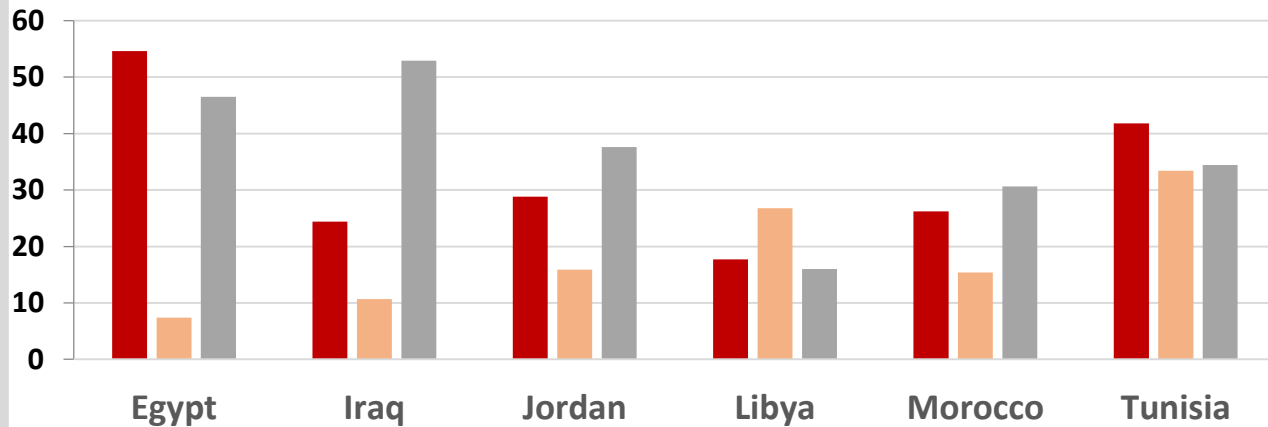
Trust in Religious Leaders vs. State Institutions

% Trust in Gov't Parliament, Religious Leaders

Legend: Government, Parliament, Religious Leaders

Countries: Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia

% Trust in Judicial & Security Systems

Legend: Courts and legal system, Police, Armed Forces

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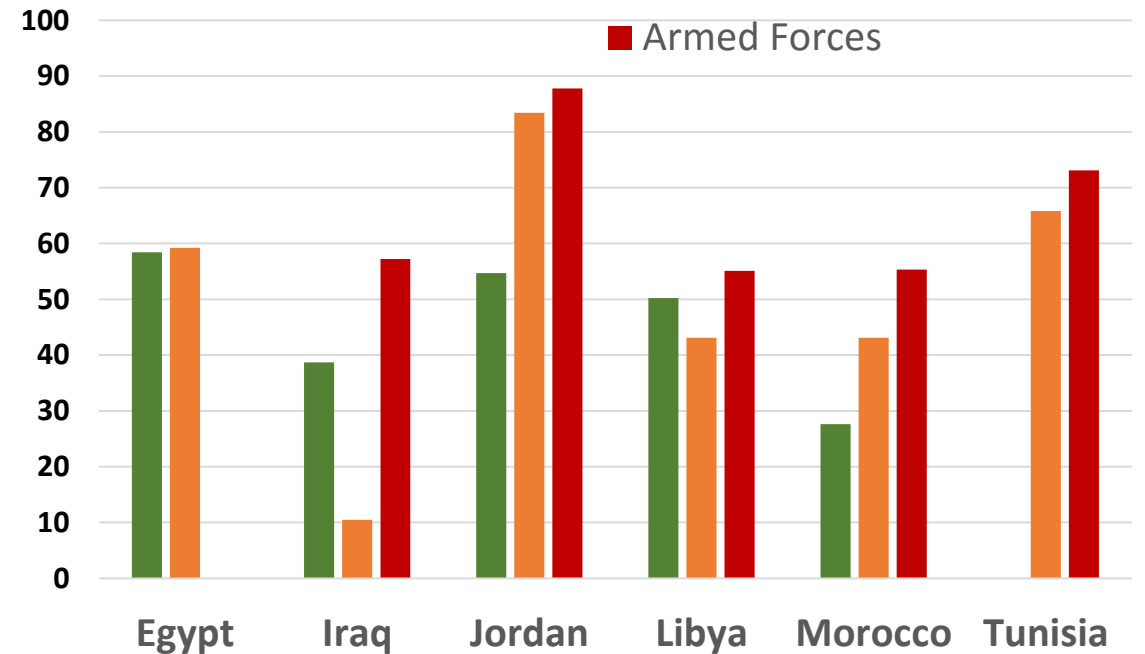
Trust in Religious Leaders: in Politics?

Preference for limiting religious leaders' influence

■ Prefer religious party   ■ Not Influencing Voters' decisions   ■ Not Influencing Gov't decisions
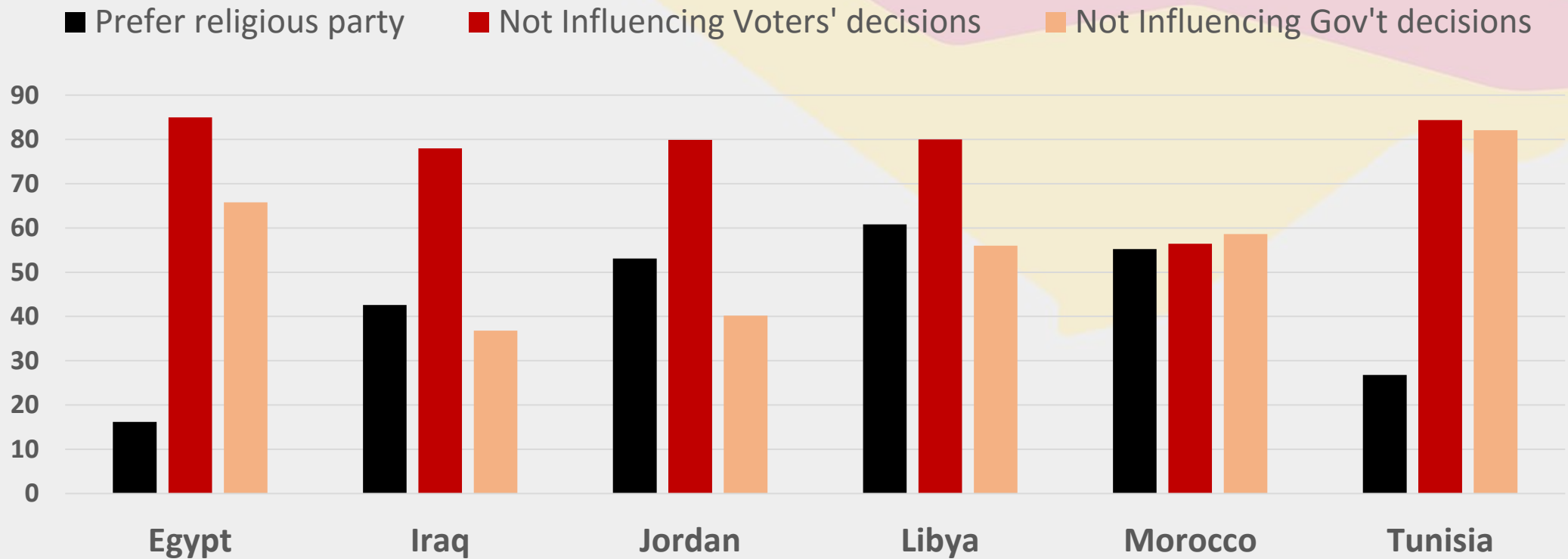
The People Want...

- **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*

Conclusions: Time for a new viEU

1. **MENA Populations: Complex view of democracy**
   o 'Thin' (formal) vs. 'thick' (substantive): social justice & economic rights
   o **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**
   o **Hierarchy of HR (civil-political > social-economic)**
   o **From rights to aid...**
3. **Implications: Mobilisation & Radicalisation**