



# Human Security and citizen's preferences in the MENA region

Moscow 2015-11-17  
LSCR International Conference

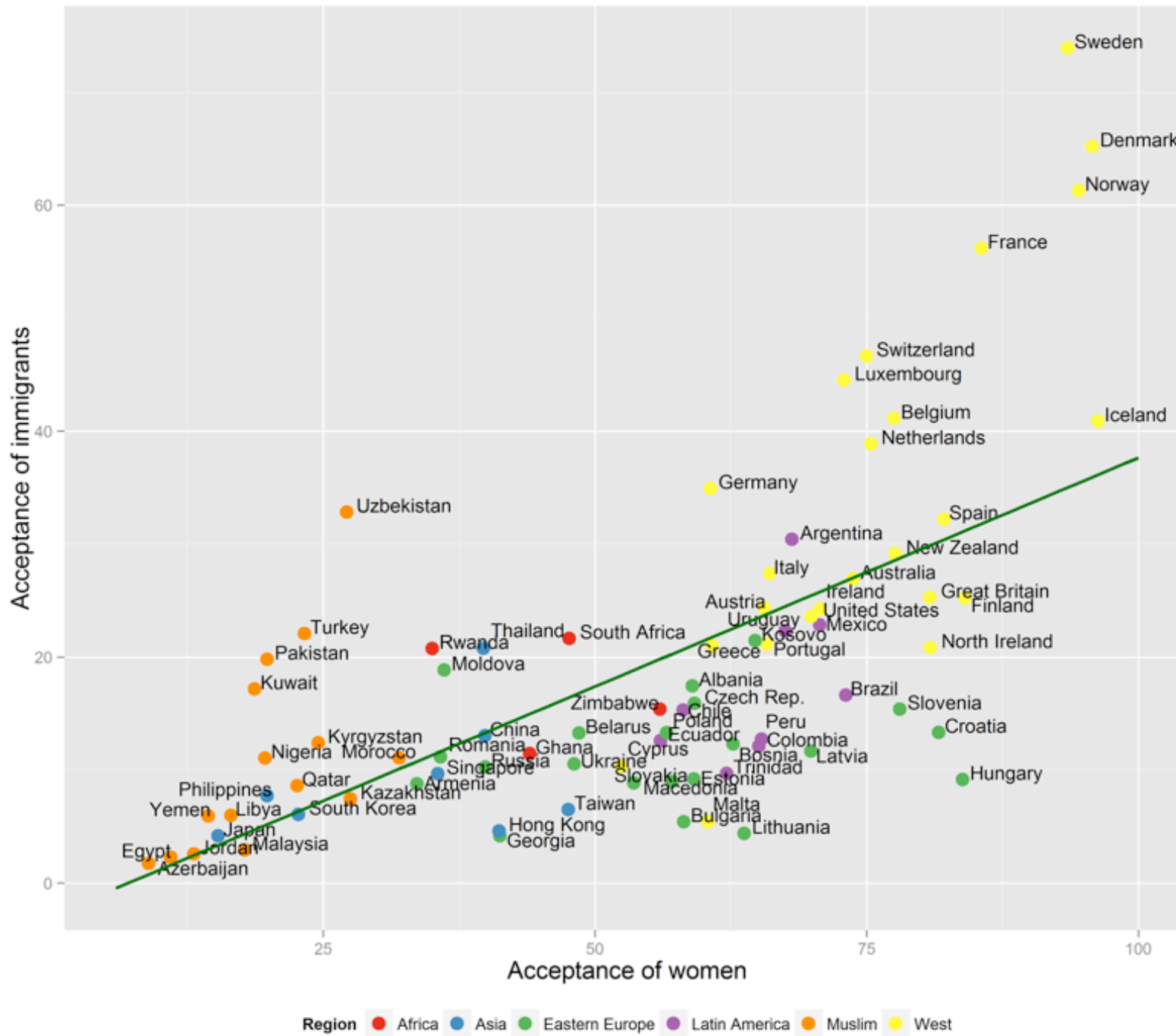
*Bi Puranen & Irina Vartanova*  
World Values Survey, Institute for Future studies  
[bi.puranen@worldvaluessurvey.com](mailto:bi.puranen@worldvaluessurvey.com)

# The relation between Muslim localised conflicts, grievances and transnational violence – MENA region



Contact: [bi.puranen@worldvaluessurvey.org](mailto:bi.puranen@worldvaluessurvey.org)



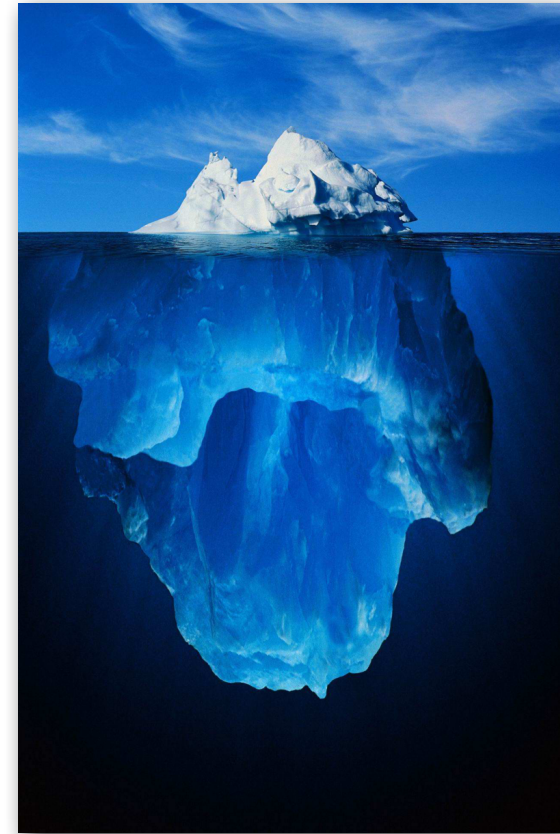


## Starting points

- Militant Islamism and the rise of Jihadists are symptoms of historical processes and intricate variables that are NOT centrally connected to Islam.
- These "symptoms" should not be attributed to the religion itself.
- I will argue that the use of violence in order to achieve political change is rejected by the absolute majority of the people living in the Middle-East and North-African countries.
- The prevalent and extreme use of violence in the region is being perpetrated by a clear minority in a bid to influence the majority, not only within the region, but also globally.

# The Cognitive Dissonance Theory

- People always strive for harmony between their attitudes and values in order to achieve *inner consistency* (Leon Festinger, 1957).
- Aronsson and Mills made a revision of the theory where they proposed that "*dissonance is really nothing more than guilt*". This is indeed close to the most recent research on social norm changes and values.
- There are difficulties of observing these dissonances, since we cannot directly measure them. Often the individuals themselves are not even aware of a dissonance between their values, but they feel discomfort without knowing why.



# Social norm changes in the MENA-region

- *Social norms* are generally defined as a set of behaviours for which it is reasonable to believe that deviation causes *social sanctions*. Why social norms emerge and change is essential for our understanding of human behaviour. This is also mainly determined by, and can thus also be regulated by, society.
- Which mechanisms are strong enough to change social norms and the values behind them? When focusing on the MENA region one could raise the question whether the goal of IS, for example, is to change certain social norms within the Muslim world like the Arab springs aimed to? If so what will the likelihood for success be?
- One possibility to elaborate on such a question is to analyze how the citizens themselves in this region perceive the trade off between broad entities like religion, security, trust and democratic interest.



# WVS sample, 6th wave

Arabic Countries, n= 16.400, 13 countries	Algeria, Jordan, Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, Morocco, Tunisia, Qatar, Yemen, Kuwait, Bahrain Libya
Muslim non Arabic Countries, n= 9.289, 21 Muslim countries in total	Uzbekistan, Turkey, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan
Other Countries, n=55.472 39 countries	Sweden, Netherland, Germany, Spain, Cyprus, Ne Zealand, Australia, Slovenia, Argentina, Hong Kong, China, South Korea, Chile, Uruguay, Ecuador, Brazil, Philippines, Mexico, United State Singapore, Taiwan, Japan, Romania, Belarus, Armenia, Russia, Estonia, Poland, Ukraine, Trinidad, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, Ghana, South Afric



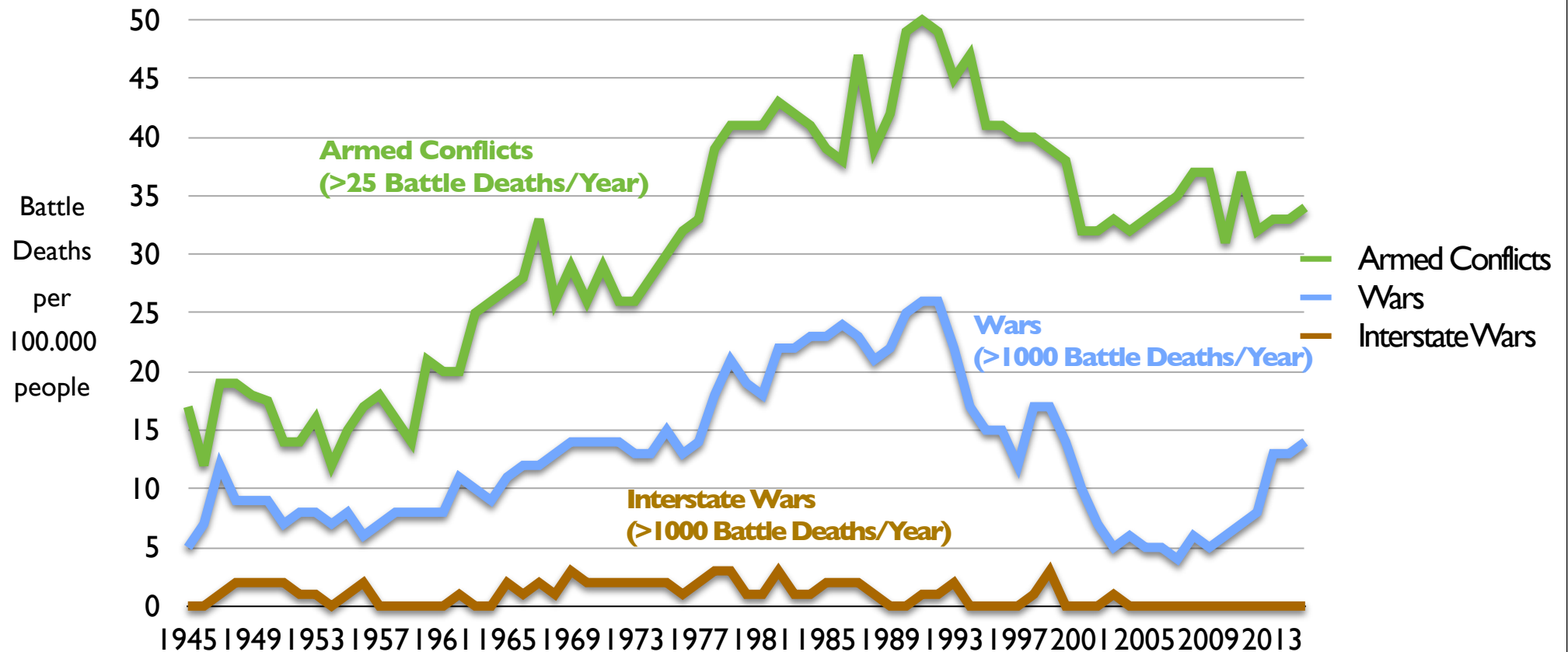


## Recent publications by Inglehart, Puranen & Welzel:

Inglehart, Puranen & Welzel (2015) "Declining willingness to fight for one's country: The individual-level basis of the long peace" *Journal of Peace Research*, July 2015, 418-434.

Puranen, Bi (2015) "Allegiance Eroding: People's Dwindling Willingness to Fight in Wars" in: Russell J Dalton & Christian Welzel (eds) *The Civic Culture Transformed: From Allegiant to Assertive Citizens* New York, Cambridge University Press, 2015, 261–281.

# Number of armed conflicts and wars 1945 - 2014



Source: Uppsala Data Conflict Program, Uppsala University and Peace Research Institute, Oslo

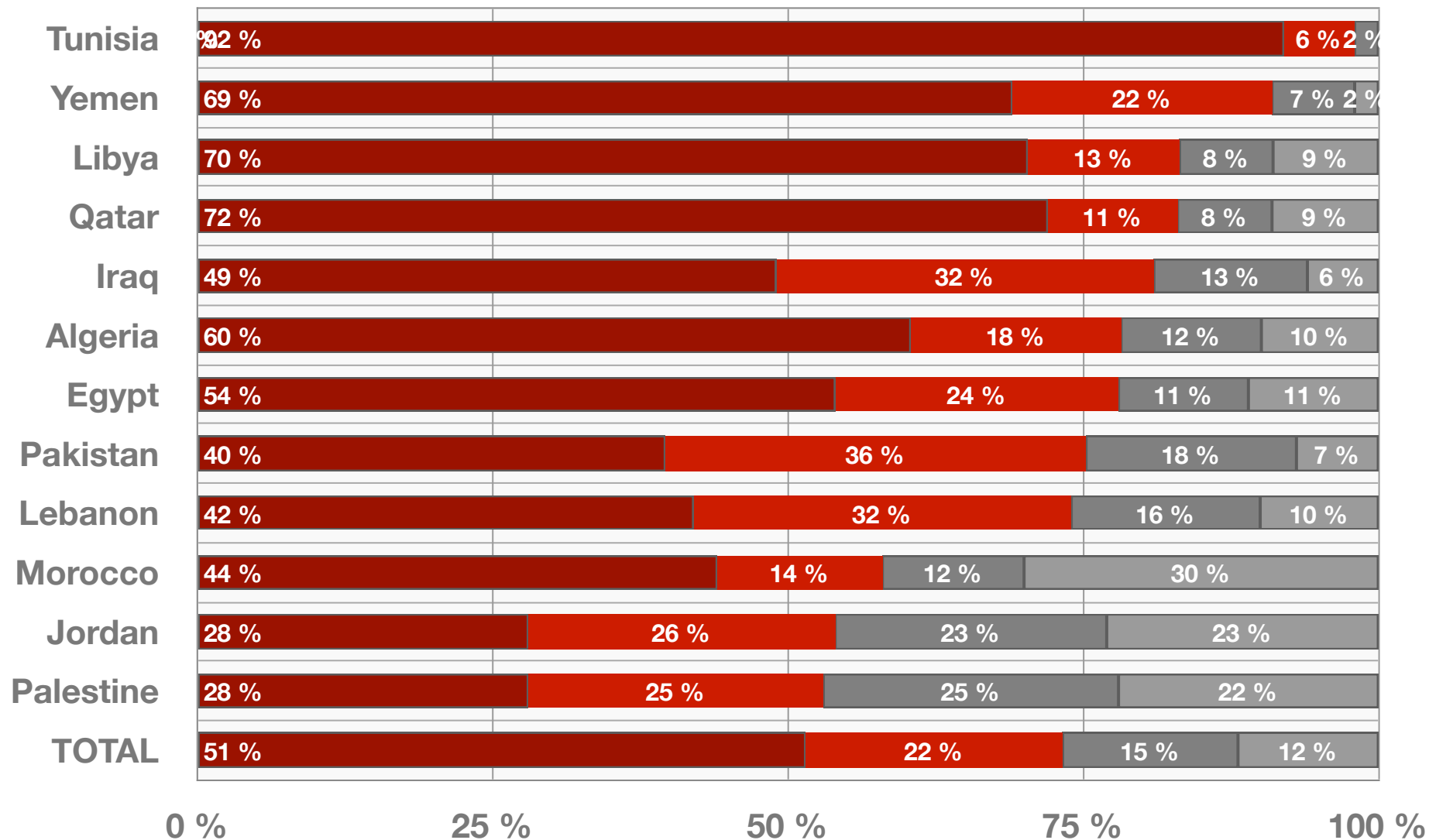
## Factor scores on *local* and *state* security

	Local insecurity	State insecurity
How frequently: Drug sale in streets	0.75	
How frequently: Robberies	0.73	
How frequently: Alcohol consumption in the streets	0.69	
How frequently: Police or military interfere with people's private life	0.62	
How frequently: Racist behavior	0.62	
How often: Felt unsafe from crime in your home	0.47	
How secure do you feel these days in your neighborhood?	-0.46	
Worried about: A war involving my country		0.89
Worried about: A terrorist attack		0.92
Worried about: A civil war		0.88

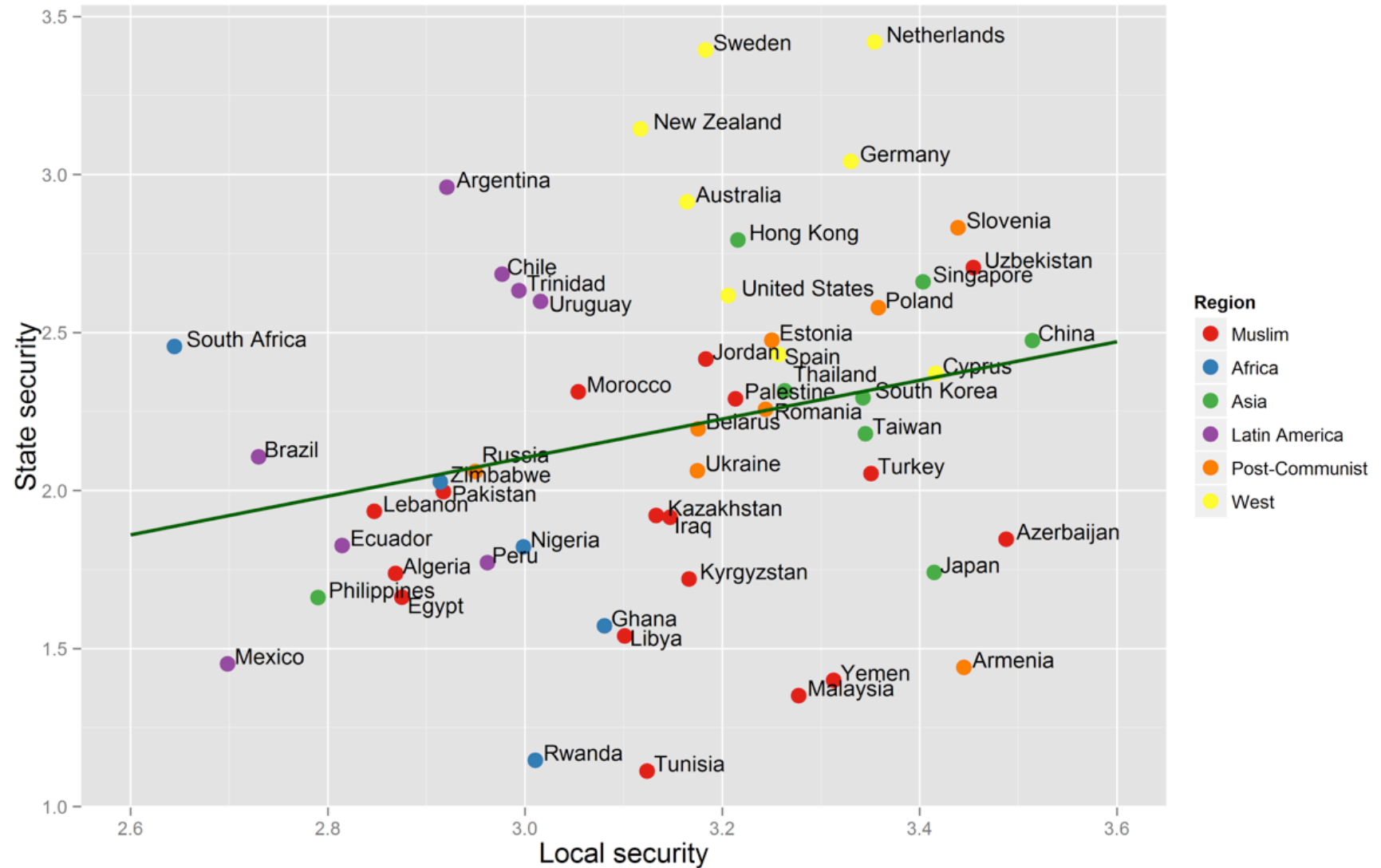
# Mena: Worries for a terrorist attack?

Very much/a great deal

Not much/not at all



# Local versus State security



# Economic Worries and State insecurity in the MENA region

VI81. **Losing my job or not finding a job**

VI82. **Not being able to give my children a good education**

VI83. A war involving my country

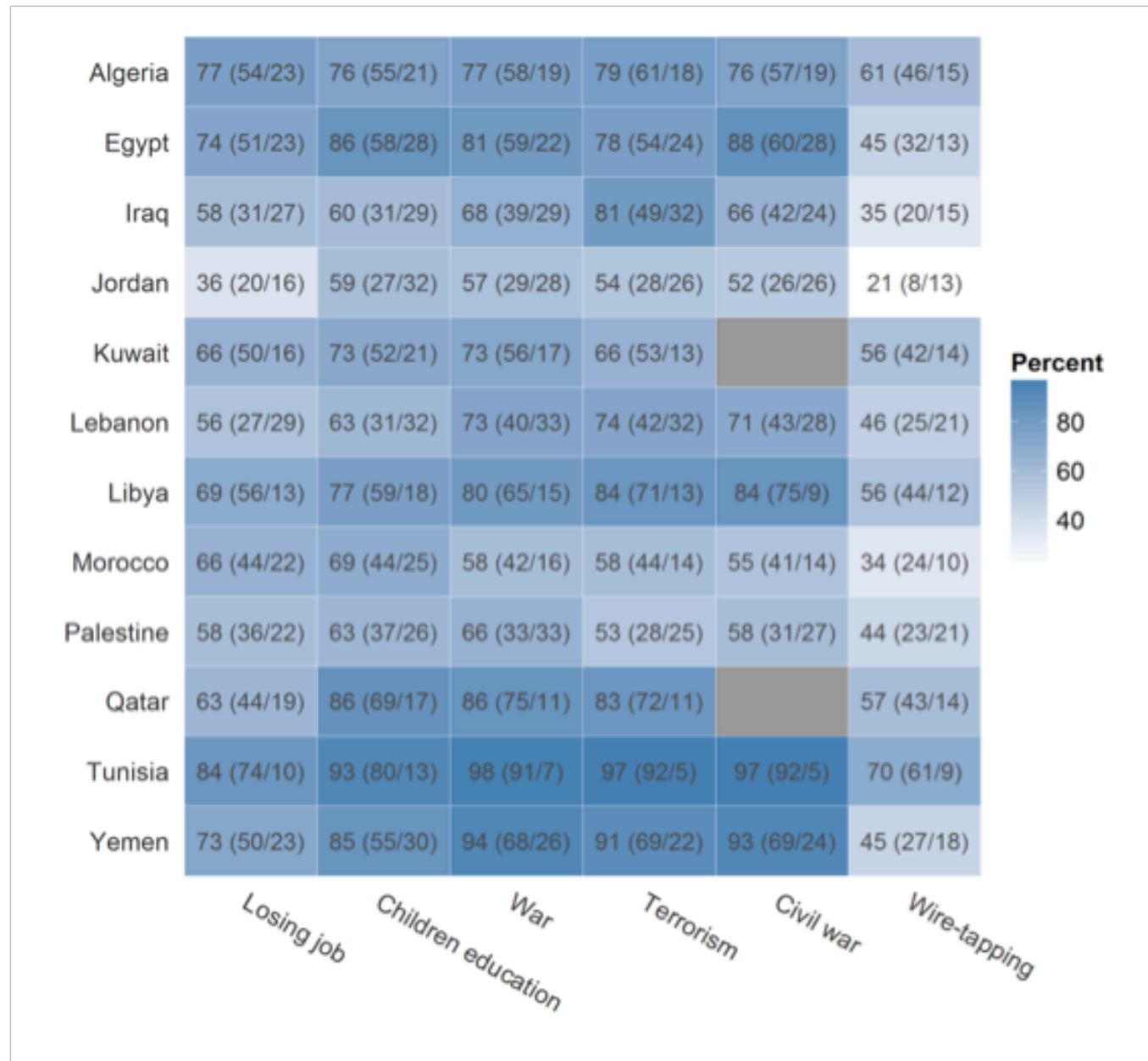
VI84. A terrorist attack

VI85. A civil war

VI86. Government wire-tapping or reading my mail or email

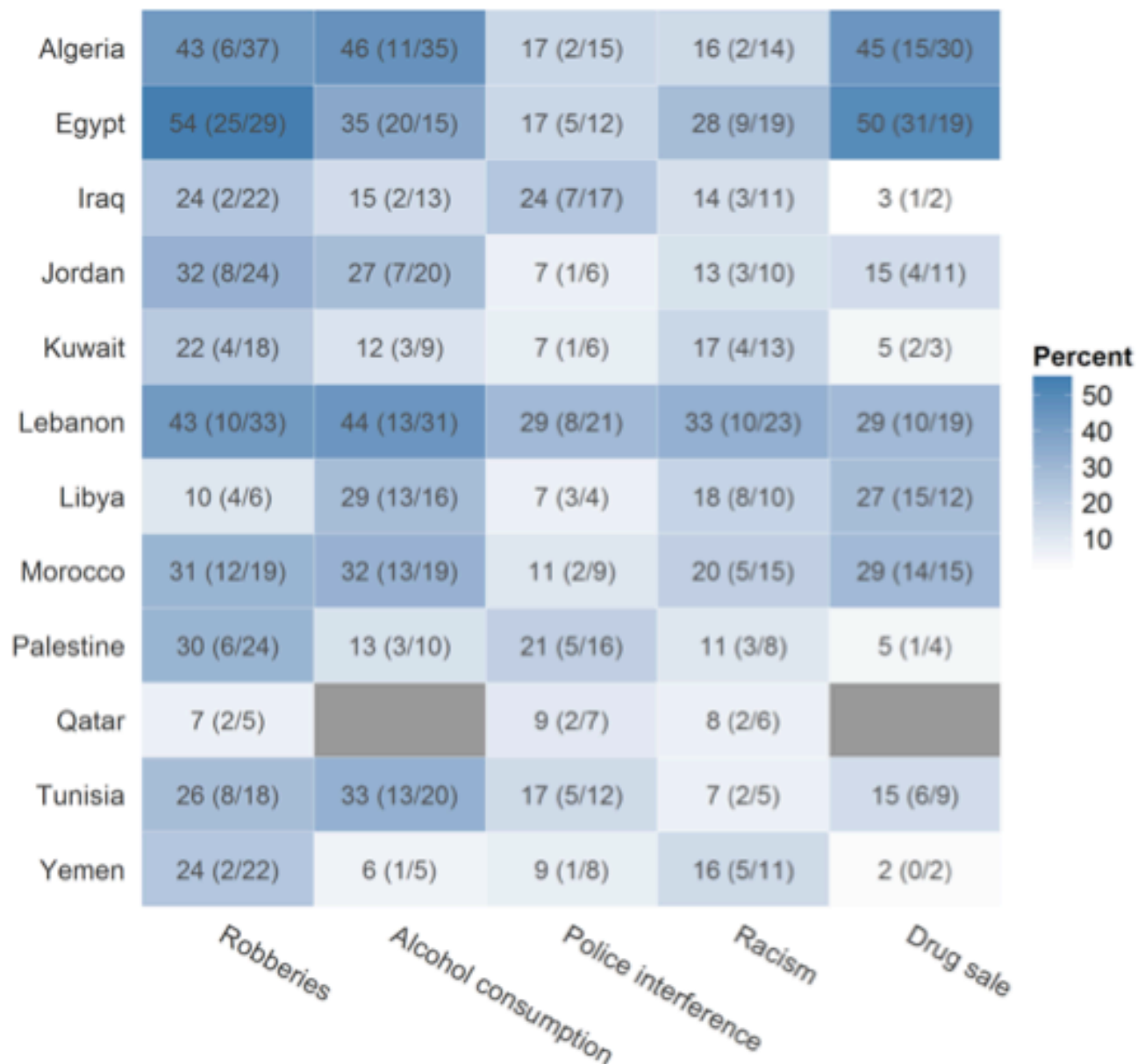
(Very much, a good deal, not much, not at all, DK/NA)

# Economic Worries and Insecurity in the MENA region



Grey is missing variable in the country. % worried (% very much/ % great deal).

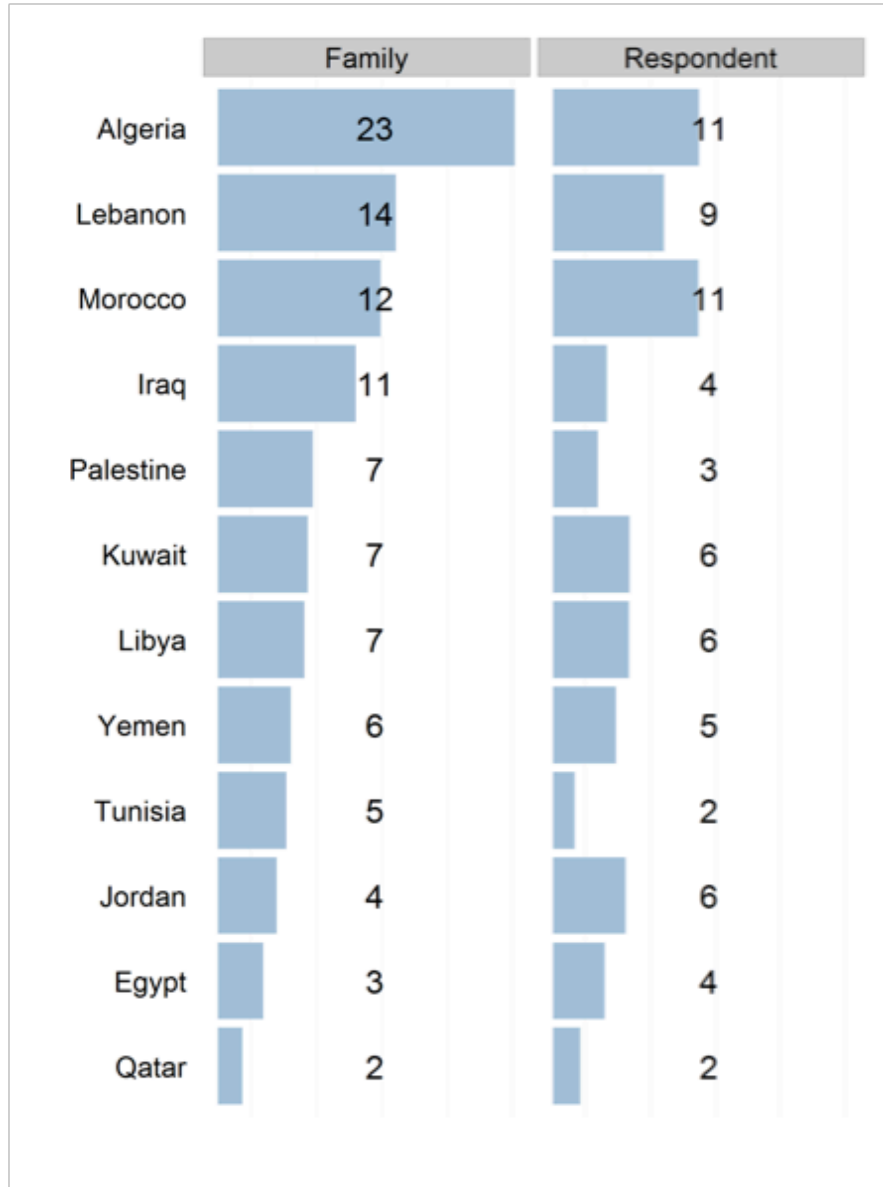
# Local Security



%, very often/quite often



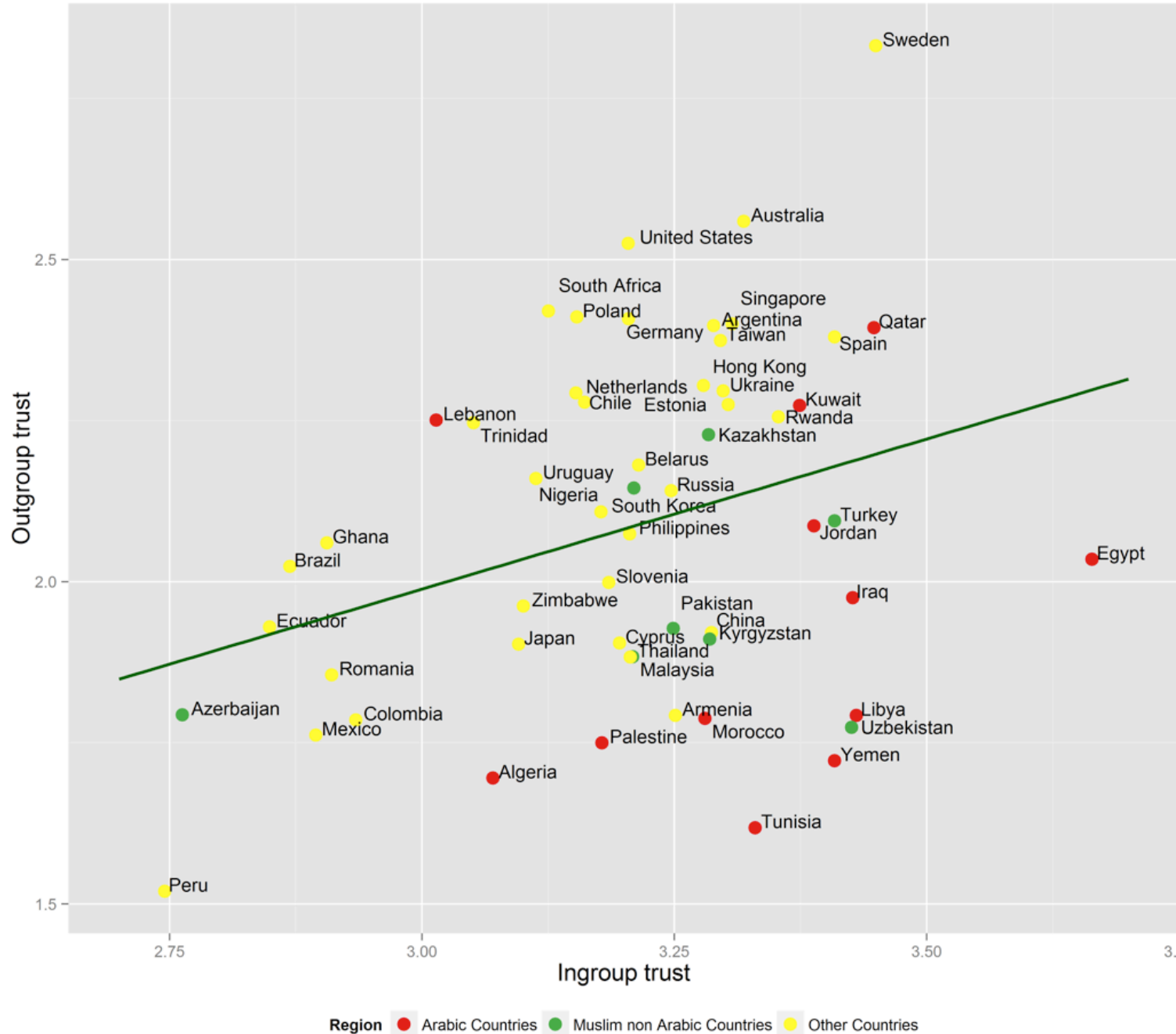
# Percentage of respondents / family members being victims of crime during the last year



# TRUST

	Outgroup trust	Ingroup trust
Your family		0.41
Your neighbourhood		0.80
People you know personally		0.56
People you meet for the first time	0.48	0.23
People of another religion	0.86	
People of another nationality	0.87	

# Outgroup/Ingroup trust



# Violence against other people, always/ never justifiable (1-10)

	N=	Never Justif (1)	Never Justif (1-3)	Always Justif (10)	Always Justif (8-10)
MENA	16.104	65.4	84.4	0.9	2,3
Other Muslim	11.363	71.7	88.7	0.8	2.3
ALL Muslim	27.466	68.0	86.2	0.8	2.3
All NON Muslim	57.387	67.0	84.5	1.5	3.6
US		66.3	80.7	1.5	2.7
Sweden		63.2	81.9	2.1	3.6

# Problems

small numbers on violence always justifiable (8-10)

Mena 8-10: n=370

other muslim: n=261

all Muslim: n=632

all other: n=2.066

Low variance on believe in God and other religious questions in the MENA-region

Better suited methods for small numbers and low variance are needed.

	Violence is justifiable			
	MENA	Other Muslim	MENA	Other Muslim
Female	-0.102 <sup>***</sup> (0.031)	0.005 (0.031)	-0.118 <sup>***</sup> (0.030)	-0.007 (0.031)
25-34	0.031 (0.045)	0.116 <sup>***</sup> (0.045)	-0.047 (0.043)	0.118 <sup>***</sup> (0.045)
35-44	-0.056 (0.047)	0.008 (0.047)	-0.126 <sup>***</sup> (0.045)	-0.005 (0.048)
45-54	-0.118 <sup>**</sup> (0.054)	-0.049 (0.051)	-0.144 <sup>***</sup> (0.052)	-0.057 (0.052)
55-64	-0.076 (0.064)	-0.123 <sup>**</sup> (0.062)	-0.089 (0.061)	-0.139 <sup>**</sup> (0.062)
65+	-0.187 <sup>**</sup> (0.082)	0.029 (0.076)	-0.325 <sup>***</sup> (0.077)	0.013 (0.077)
Edu Middle	0.086 <sup>**</sup> (0.038)	-0.041 (0.041)	0.040 (0.036)	-0.049 (0.041)
Edu High	-0.007 (0.050)	-0.026 (0.057)	-0.013 (0.047)	-0.031 (0.057)
s.income	0.018 <sup>**</sup> (0.008)	0.067 <sup>***</sup> (0.008)	0.021 <sup>***</sup> (0.008)	0.063 <sup>***</sup> (0.008)
Importance of God	-0.308 <sup>***</sup> (0.013)	-0.088 <sup>***</sup> (0.009)		
Religion Rather important			0.487 <sup>***</sup> (0.058)	0.135 <sup>***</sup> (0.040)
Religion Not very important			0.761 <sup>***</sup> (0.114)	0.165 <sup>***</sup> (0.055)
Religion Not at all important			1.089 <sup>***</sup> (0.154)	0.289 <sup>***</sup> (0.080)
Constant	5.593 <sup>***</sup> (0.140)	1.899 <sup>***</sup> (0.117)	2.660 <sup>***</sup> (0.073)	0.965 <sup>***</sup> (0.087)
Countries fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	11701	11237	14302	11239
R-squared	0.109	0.052	0.063	0.045
Adj. R-squared	0.107	0.050	0.061	0.043
Residual Std. Error	1.685 (df = 11681)	1.606 (df = 11219)	1.765 (df = 14278)	1.613 (df = 11219)
F Statistic	74.963 <sup>***</sup> (df = 19; 11681)	36.039 <sup>***</sup> (df = 17; 11219)	41.703 <sup>***</sup> (df = 23; 14278)	27.618 <sup>***</sup> (df = 19; 11219)

\*\*\* p < .01; \*\* p < .05; \* p < .1

## Regression analysis, religious authority interpret the law Muslim countries only

	Religious authority interpret the laws		
	All Muslim (1)	Mena (2)	Other Muslim (3)
Male	Reference	Reference	Reference
Female	0.028 (0.039)	-0.002 (0.057)	0.056 (0.054)
18-24	Reference	Reference	Reference
25-34	0.040 (0.057)	0.227** (0.083)	-0.149 (0.078)
35-44	-0.009 (0.060)	-0.017 (0.086)	0.002 (0.083)
45-54	0.002 (0.066)	0.020 (0.098)	-0.029 (0.090)
55-64	0.017 (0.079)	0.072 (0.114)	-0.052 (0.110)
65+	0.163 (0.102)	0.226 (0.152)	0.088 (0.137)
Education: Low	Reference	Reference	Reference
Education: Middle	-0.217*** (0.049)	-0.270*** (0.068)	-0.144* (0.073)
Education: high	-0.590*** (0.064)	-0.701*** (0.087)	-0.453*** (0.094)
Religious person	Reference	Reference	Reference
Not a religious person	-0.363*** (0.050)	-0.498*** (0.072)	-0.221*** (0.070)
Countries fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Constant	5.389*** (0.111)	5.403*** (0.126)	4.058*** (0.145)
N	22,760	11,593	11,167
R <sup>2</sup>	0.097	0.063	0.125
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.096	0.061	0.123
Residual Std. Error	2.922 (df = 22732)	3.018 (df = 11573)	2.817 (df = 11150)

\*p < .05; \*\*p < .01; \*\*\*p < .005

# Preliminary results on "Violence is justifiable"

## The importance of God:

- High Importance of God, less violent, especially in MENA but also in all Muslim countries
- Less violent with age
- Women less violent

## I'm a religious person:

- NOT religious persons are more violent in MENA, but other Muslim countries the contrary
- Less violent with age
- Women less violent
- Subjective income is inserted to control for social status. It is significant that respondents with higher subjective income are more violent.

Reflexion:

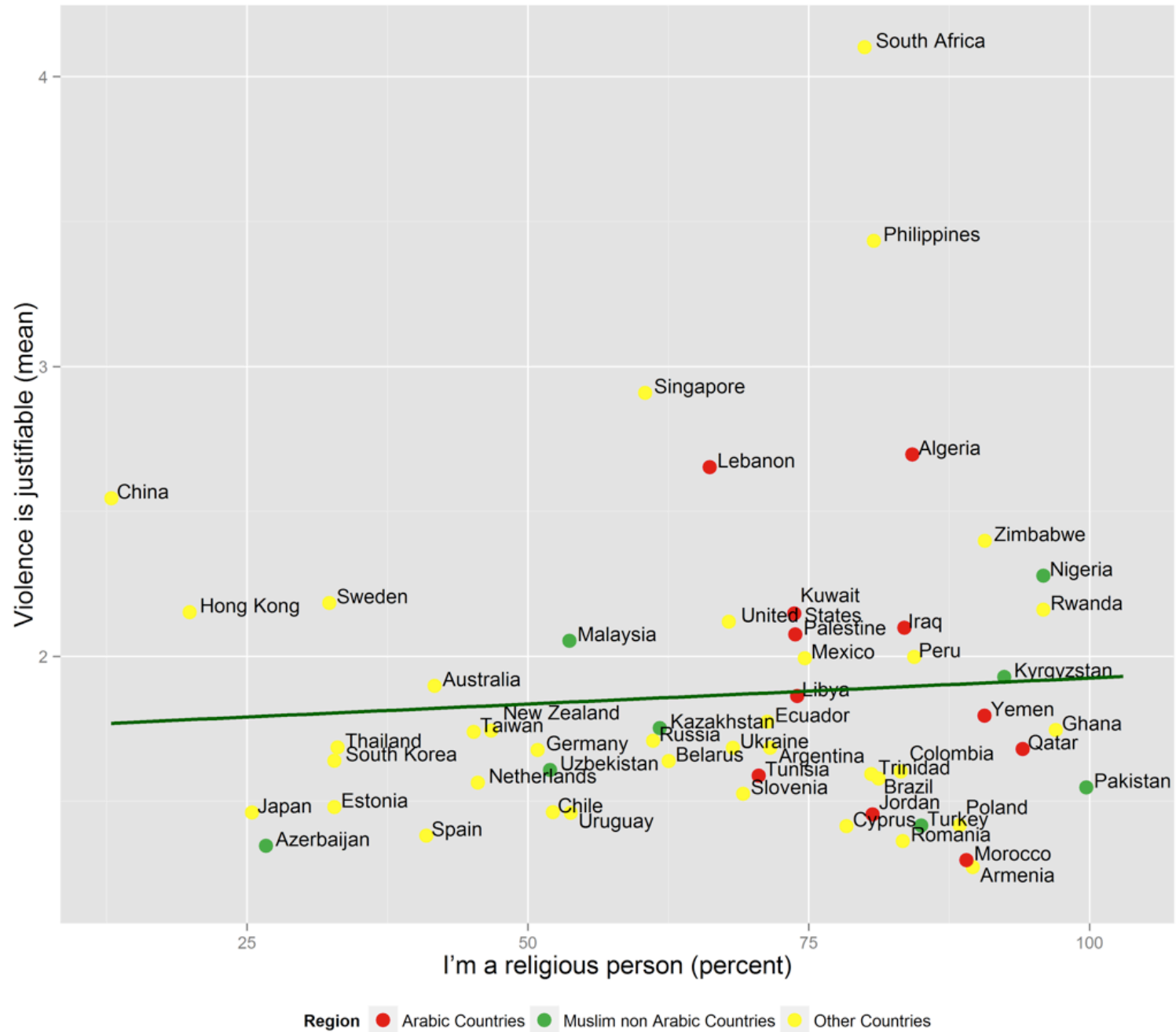
**It is not normal NOT to be religious in MENA**

**It is not normal to justify Violence**

The reason is external and more complicated, [Abnormal personalities?]



# Violence Justifiable vs I'm a religious person





“Dare to Dream!  
Dare to be **Bold!**”

Contact:

[bi.puranen@worldvaluessurvey.org](mailto:bi.puranen@worldvaluessurvey.org)

**спасибо**

This report was presented at the 5th LCSR International Annual Conference “Cultural and Economic Changes under Cross-national Perspective”.

November 16 – 20, 2015 – Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia.

<http://lcsr.hse.ru/en/conf2015>

Настоящий доклад был представлен на V ежегодной международной конференции ЛССИ «Культурные и экономические изменения в сравнительной перспективе».

16-20 ноября 2015 года – НИУ ВШЭ, Москва, Россия.

<http://lcsr.hse.ru/en/conf2015>