Tunisia
An Oasis of Peace and Tolerance:
Findings from a Panel Survey

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- A nationally representative sample of 3,070 adults (age 18+) were interviewed in March-May, 2013.
- Same respondents re-contacted in April-August, 2015, yielding 2,395 completed interviews.
I. Changes in Values:

Increase in support for social individualism

No change in attitudes toward gender equality

Decline in support for political Islam or army rule

Increase in preference for Western-type government

The rise of national identity and national pride

Increase in religious tolerance
Social Individualism

- Love as basis for marriage
  - 26% (2013) vs. 29% (2015)

- It's up to a woman to dress whatever way she wants (% Strongly agree/Agree)
  - 56% (2013) vs. 64% (2015)
Gender Equality
(% Strongly disagree/Disagree)

- Acceptable for man to have more than one wife: 81% (2013), 82% (2015)
- A wife must always obey her husband: 21% (2013), 22% (2015)
- Men make better political leaders: 44% (2013), 38% (2015)
- University education more important for boys: 80% (2013), 86% (2015)
- Men have more rights to a job: 25% (2013), 25% (2015)

2013 2015
Secular Politics

- Tunisia better if religion and politics are separated (strongly agree/agree)
  - 2013: 73%
  - 2015: 73%

- Having an Islamic govt (fairly/very bad)
  - 2013: 63%
  - 2015: 71%

- Good govt implements only sharia (least/not important)
  - 2013: 53%
  - 2015: 65%

2013 vs 2015
Form of Government

- Tunisia better if govt similar to Western govts (% strongly agree/agree)
  - 2013: 47%
  - 2015: 57%

- Strong head of govt who doesn't bother with parliament and elections (% very/fairly good)
  - 2013: 20%
  - 2015: 28%

- Having the army rule (% very/fairly good)
  - 2013: 36%
  - 2015: 29%
Religious versus National Identity

% I am Muslim above all:
- 2013: 59%
- 2015: 52%

% I am Tunisian above all:
- 2013: 30%
- 2015: 38%

% I see myself as a citizen of the Islamic umma:
- 2013: 42%
- 2015: 38%

% I see myself as a citizen of Tunisia:
- 2013: 47%
- 2015: 51%
National Pride

% Very proud to be a Tunisian

2013: 77%
2015: 84%
Religious Tolerance (% Strongly disagree/disagree)

- Non-Muslims should be prohibited to practice their religion in Tunisia: 81% (2013), 89% (2015)
- Our children should not be allowed to learn about other religions: 66% (2013), 77% (2015)
- The followers of other religions should not have the same rights as mine: 77% (2013), 84% (2015)
- Criticism of Islam should not be tolerated: 33% (2013), 40% (2015)
- Criticism of Muslim religious leaders should not be tolerated: 69% (2013), 71% (2015)
II. Government Performance, Elections, Corruption & Information Sources:

- Government performing better
- Tunisia more democratic
- Elections fairer
- Corruption among public officials less common
- Higher trust in prime minister, president & the military
- More reliance on the national and less on international sources of information
Government Performance & the Development of Democracy in Tunisia

How well is the govt doing
(1=Very bad; 10=Very good)

2013: 4.05
2015: 4.65

How democratic is Tunisia
(1=Not at all; 10=Completely)

2013: 3.98
2015: 4.80
Fairness of Elections & Prevalence of Corruption among Public Officials

- Fairness of last election (% completely fair/with minor problems):
  - 2013: 69%
  - 2015: 77%

- Corruption among govt officials (% uncommon/very uncommon):
  - 2013: 15%
  - 2015: 19%
Trust in Political Leaders & Political Institutions
(% A lot/Some)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prime Minister</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reliance on Types of Media as Sources of Information

% Rely a great deal/Some

- Tunisian television: 70% (2013), 76% (2015)
- International television: 47% (2013), 44% (2015)
- Social networking sites: 28% (2013), 31% (2015)
- Internet: 29% (2013), 34% (2015)
III. Perceptions of Outgroups

More favorable toward Americans & French

Less moral centric: a higher rating of Americans and lower rating of Tunisians on a morality scale

Substantial increase in distrusting the Salafis
Like Having Americans, French, & Saudis as Neighbors (%)
Morality of Americans & Tunisians (on a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being “low morality” and 10 “high morality”)

The U.S.  Tunisia
Mean level of morality

- 2013: U.S. 4.67, Tunisia 6.04
- 2015: U.S. 4.97, Tunisia 4.82
Trust in the *Salafis*

A lot: 11% (2013), 3% (2015)
Some: 23% (2013), 9% (2015)
Only a little: 12% (2013), 8% (2015)
Not at all: 80% (2013), 55% (2015)
IV. Perception of Personal Efficacy

Weaker perception of insecurity

A higher level of perceived control over one’s life

Less fatalistic
Perceived Control
(1= “lowest control” or “everything decided by fate”)

Mean level of emotion

Free choice and control
- 2013: 6.06
- 2015: 6.61

Free will vs. Fate
- 2013: 3.30
- 2015: 3.85
In Tunisia these days, life is unpredictable and dangerous.

- **2013**: 62% agree, 22% strongly agree
- **2015**: 46% agree, 28% strongly agree
V. Changes in Attitudes toward Political Violence

Lower approval of attack on the American military in Iraq or Afghanistan

Stronger willingness to fight outgroups
Approval of Political Violence
% Strongly/somewhat approve of attacks on...

- US military in Iraq or Afghanistan: 57% (2013), 36% (2015)
- US civilians working for US companies in Europe: 5% (2013), 4% (2015)
- US civilians working in Islamic countries: 6% (2013), 5% (2015)
- Tunisian security forces: 2% (2013), 1% (2015)
Willingness to Fight Out-groups
(% Strongly agree)

- Threaten enemies and make them suffer: 23% (2013) & 30% (2015)
- Self-sacrifice to defend Tunisia: 70% (2013) & 79% (2015)
- Tunisians obligated to fight influence of Western culture: 27% (2013) & 35% (2015)
- Shi'is a threat to Sunnis: 35% (2013) & 50% (2015)
VI. Changes in Attitudes toward the Arab Spring & Obligations of Tunisians
Most importance purpose of political upheavals in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia

- Freedom and democracy: 56% (2013), 29% (2015)
- Islamic government: 8% (2013), 8% (2015)
- Counter Western influence: 2% (2013), 2% (2015)
- Western conspiracy: 9% (2013), 40% (2015)
- Unity of all Arab countries: 5% (2013), 5% (2015)
Most importance obligation for Tunisians

- Excel in science and technology: 74% (2015) - 60% (2013)
- Travel to Muslim countries to fight enemies of Islam: 2% (2015) - 1% (2013)
- Apply Islamic shari’a in Tunisia: 18% (2015) - 10% (2013)

(Bar chart showing the percentage of Tunisians who think each obligation is most important, with data from 2013 and 2015)
## Correlations of Changes in Attitudes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Increase in religious tolerance</th>
<th>Decline in approval of assault on US military troops</th>
<th>Decline in trust in Salafis</th>
<th>Decreased support for Islamic govt</th>
<th>Decreased support for sharia</th>
<th>Increase in support for Western govt</th>
<th>Increase in secular identity</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Decline in approval of assault on US military troops</td>
<td>.121*</td>
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<td>Decline in trust in Salafis</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.065*</td>
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<td>Decreased support for Islamic govt</td>
<td>.192*</td>
<td>.065*</td>
<td>.157*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Decreased support for sharia</td>
<td>.132*</td>
<td>.034</td>
<td>.123*</td>
<td>.309*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Increase in support for Western govt</td>
<td>.037</td>
<td>.013</td>
<td>.075*</td>
<td>.073*</td>
<td>.058*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in secular identity</td>
<td>.054*</td>
<td>.066*</td>
<td>.044</td>
<td>.092*</td>
<td>.059*</td>
<td>.040</td>
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</tbody>
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Recap: Tunisians Grew More Favorable toward Liberal Democracy

- Stronger support for social individualism
- Higher religious tolerance
- Increase in support for national identity
- More favorable perception of government
- Stronger perception of personal efficacy
- Less support for political Islam
- Less trust in religious extremism
- Less supportive of political violence
- More favorable attitudes toward Americans
Thank you!