

How Muslims understand Democracy?

An Empirical Investigation

Shireen AlAzzawi¹

Santa Clara University

Moamen Gouda²

Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

Preliminary Draft

31 December 2016

Abstract

This study examines how Muslims understand democracy and its essential components. We hypothesize that, although Muslims tend to value democracy as high as non-Muslims, Muslims may have a unique understanding of procedural, as well as substantive, components of democracy, which is significantly different from non-Muslims. Employing the latest data from World Values Survey, our descriptive statistics suggest that while Muslims highly value democracy, and believe they don't have enough of it, their notion of democracy is distinct from that of non-Muslims. Muslims tend to associate democracy with its perceived outcomes, and do not have a substantial reservation against the interference of the army or religious authorities in the governing process. On the other hand, they view procedural aspects of democracy, such as elections, civil rights and gender equality, as less essential than their non-Muslim counterparts. We then use ordered logit regression model, controlling for various macro-, as well as micro-level determinants of democracy. Our regression results show that the determinants of Muslims' attitudes towards democracy, and its different notions, are considerably distinct from those of non-Muslims.

Keywords: *Democracy, Islam, Muslim, Religiosity, World Values Survey*

¹ Santa Clara University, Economics Department, 500 El Camino Real, Santa Clara, CA 95053, Lucas Hall, Phone: +1(408) 554-6968, Email: salazzawi@scu.edu

² Graduate School of International and Area Studies, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, 107 Imun-ro, Dongdaemun-gu, Seoul 130-791, South Korea, Phone: +82 (0109) 975-2712, Email: moamengouda@yahoo.com

Introduction

Scholars have long theorized about what democracy specifically entails. So far, there is no consensus among political scientists on how to define democracy (Knutsen, 2011, p. 46). In fact, many scholars argue that democracy is essentially a contested concept (Collier, Hidalgo, & Maciuceanu, 2006, p. 222; Crick, 2002, p. 1; Gallie, 1956; Kurki, 2010, p. 362). According to Shapiro (1996), Political theory hypothesizes that democracy consists of two essential components: procedural (rule-centered) and substantive (outcome-centered). Procedural democracy institutes a certain set of rules and procedures needed to produce an electorally-legitimated government. This includes the rights to civil liberties, the right to vote and hold office, the right to exercise freedom of speech, majority rules, minority rights, and other elements that establishes democratic rule. This is also at times referred to as ‘working democracy’ (Dahl, 1998).

Procedural democracy is usually defined in a ‘minimalist’ way. For example, Schumpeter (1976) defines democracy as the “institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people’s vote” (1976, p. 269). More recently, Przeworski et al. (2000, p. 15) define democracy simply as a political regime in which “those who govern are selected through contested elections”.

Substantive democracy can be seen as the fruit of procedural democracy. The substantive view assesses democracy on the basis of substance of government policies. The direct material gains citizens make by taking part in a democratic political process is substantive democracy. Social justice, safe working conditions, fair access to opportunity, education, healthcare are all seen as the desired distributive outcome of a genuine democratic political process (Nozick, 1977).

Definitions of substantive democracy tends to be more maximalist, as does Diamond (1999) who argues that competitive, multiparty elections are not sufficient for liberal democracy. In fact, Diamond (2004) argues that democracy consists of four key elements: (a) A political system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections; (b) The active participation of the people, as citizens, in politics and civic life; (c) Protection of the human rights of all citizens, and (d) A rule of law, in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens.

In a recent study, Diamond and Morlino (2005, pp. x-xxx) propose a set of different components of democracy. They distinguish between five procedural dimensions of democratic quality and

two substantive ones. Their five procedural dimensions are 1) rule of law, 2) participation, 3) competition, 4) vertical accountability and 5) horizontal accountability. The two substantive dimensions are 6) political equality and 7) civil and political freedoms. The authors also include 8) responsiveness as a link between the procedural and substantive dimensions.

The fact that scholars differ in their definitions of democracy demonstrates the challenge of adopting one-size-fits-all conceptualizations to represent mass views of democracy (Canache, 2012). For the past two decades, an increasing number of public opinion surveys have been conducted to investigate different conceptions of democracy among the public (Baviskar & Malone, 2004; Bratton & Mattes, 2001; Camp, 2001; Ferrín & Kriesi, 2016; Miller, Hesli, & Reisinger, 1997; Shin & Cho, 2010; Welzel, 2011). According to Norris (1999), most people around the world claim that they would prefer a democratic political system. Muslims are no exception. According to Pew Research Center (2012; 2013), Muslims around the world express broad support for democracy.

Even if the level of support for democracy is comparable among Muslims and non-Muslims (Norris & Inglehart, 2002), there can be considerable differences in the specific understandings of democracy held by people from different religions and societies. For instance, while most democratic Western countries acknowledge that state and religion should be separated, the majority of Arabs consider democracy compatible with Islamic law (Grant & Tessler, 2002). Moreover, 56% of Arab respondents agreed that religious authorities should exert a significant influence over government decisions, while 44% disagreed (Jamal & Tessler, 2008). Interestingly, there is hardly any study investigating how Muslims understand democracy, as well as its most defining components.

This study examines how Muslims understand democracy and its essential components. We hypothesize that, although Muslims tend to value democracy as high as non-Muslims, Muslims may have a unique understanding of procedural, as well as substantive, components of democracy, which is significantly different from non-Muslims. Employing the sixth wave of World Values Survey, conducted from 2010 to 2014, our descriptive statistics suggest that while Muslims highly value democracy, and believe they don't have enough of it, their notion of democracy is distinct from that of non-Muslims. Muslims tend to associate democracy with its perceived outcomes, and do not have a substantial reservation against the interference of the army or religious authorities in

the governing process. On the other hand, they view procedural aspects of democracy, such as elections, civil rights and gender equality, as less essential than their non-Muslim counterparts.

Based on the principles of the New Institutional Economics (NIE), we propose that a Muslim's attitudes toward democracy are associated with certain given societal and institutional contexts. Consequently, we control for macro-, as well as micro-level determinants of democracy. Using ordered logit regression model, our results show that the determinants of Muslims' attitudes towards democracy, and its different notions, are considerably distinct from those of non-Muslims.

Moreover, we find that, while religiosity is positively correlated with higher preference for democracy, it is also positively correlated with preference for the intervention of the military and religious authorities in political decision-making. This result may be interpreted as religious Muslims may seek a unique kind of authoritarian democracy, where democratic procedures are clearly followed yet the army and religious authorities are allowed to play a significant role in shaping the political process.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section two briefly reviews the relevant literature. We present our data and methodology in section three. A discussion of our empirical findings follows in section four. We conclude with a summary of our main results in section five.

Literature review

The past three decades have been marked by a scholarly debate regarding the relationship between Islam and democracy. Many scholars have argued that Islam and democracy should not be considered mutually exclusive (Beinin & Stork, 1997; Entelis, 1997; Esposito & Voll, 1996; Kramer, 1993). Others stress perceived areas of incompatibility, suggesting that Islam acts as a hindrance to democratic forms of government and/or democratic values and ideals (Fukuyama, 1992; Huntington, 1984; 1991; 1996). Adding another dimension to this relationship, Rowley and Smith (2009) point out to what they refer to as Islam's democracy paradox: the fact that Muslim-majority countries tend to be less democratic, while both individual Muslims and individuals in Muslim-majority countries have high support for democracy. This paradox has been observed by other scholars (Inglehart & Norris, 2003; Jamal & Tessler, 2008; Rose, 2002).

A considerable body of empirical studies finds that even when other variables are controlled for, a statistically significant negative relationship between Islam and democracy still holds (Barro, *Determinants of democracy*, 1999; Fish, 2002; Potrafke, 2012; 2013; Hanusch, 2013). It is noticeably that the majority of these studies use country-level aggregate data. Some studies, however, have attempted to empirically examine the relationship between Islam and democracy at the level of the individual (see, for example, (Abdel Fattah, 2004; Ciftci, 2010; 2012; Shafiq, 2010).

Using data from the World Values Survey for 1995 to 1997, Hofmann (2004, p. 653) examine whether intermediate micro-level links between factors proposed by scholars to influence, or be associated with, support for democracy function the same way in the Muslim and Christian populations of eight countries, namely, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Bosnia, Croatia, Georgia, Macedonia, Russia, and Turkey. The author finds that the sources and patterns of democratic support are not found to systematically differ between Muslim and Christian respondents in the countries investigated. In fact, levels of support for democracy as an ideal are generally higher among Muslim respondents than Eastern Orthodox respondents. However, the model reveals that religion plays a fairly minimal role in shaping individuals' attitudes concerning democracy.

While there is a considerable body of literature investigating the determinants of Muslims' support for democracy, there is hardly any empirical study on how Muslims understand democracy. Norris (2013) is closely related to our study. Using three waves of WVS data in the period 1995-2007, collected from 83 countries, including twenty Muslim-plurality societies, Norris (2013) investigates public preference for four regime types, namely religious autocracy, religious democracy, secular autocracy, and secular democracy. Using country macro-level analysis, the results show that the publics of Muslim-plurality societies displayed diverse preferences; for instance, while countries like Morocco and Tanzania favored secular democracy, others such as Albania and Indonesia proved slightly less supportive of democracy although equally secular, and still others, such as Algeria, displayed significant preference towards religious autocracy.

Moreover, using individual micro-level analysis, Norris finds that Muslims display significantly less approval than non-Muslims for democratic values and rejection of autocratic rule, secularism, and thus have lesser preference for secular democracy. Similar patterns can be observed for the strength of religiosity, with the more faithful less approving secular democracy as well. By

contrast, living in a Muslim-plurality society proves negative but not statistically significant. Norris concludes by stating that regime preferences are shaped both by the type of religion as well as by the strength of religiosity and these effects operate mainly at micro-level.

De Regt (2013) and Doherty and Mecellem (2016) are also closely related to our study, yet they focus on Arabs preference for democracy, and not Muslims per se. As for the former, the author uses a series of descriptive statistics and bi-variate regressions for country-level data to examine how Arabs understand democracy. Utilizing the fourth wave of WVS, which includes only four Arab countries, namely Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Morocco, the study finds that Arabs tend to have some sort of a populist notion of democracy, in which a prosperous economy and severe punishment for criminals are perceived as the most important elements of democracy. While Arabs perceive free elections as another important component of democracy, they attach less value to such procedural aspects of democracy as civil rights, liberties, and gender equality. Moreover, Arabs believe that political influence on the part of the army and religious leaders is compatible with democracy.

Using a more rigorous methodology to examine how individuals in the Arab world conceive of both procedural and substantive concepts of democracy, Doherty and Mecellem (2016) applies multivariate regression analysis to data of first wave of the Arab Barometer Survey (2006-2008), which was collected from four populations, namely Algeria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Palestine. The authors find that that many individuals in the Arab world conceive of democracy “in terms that are poorly aligned with dominant scholarly definitions of democracy” (Doherty & Mecellem, 2016, p. 23). In other words, many people in the region see democracy primarily as a means to substantive economic ends rather than as a set of rules and procedural arrangements, which according to the authors, may negatively affect the prospects of democratic development that started with Arab Spring in 2011.

Unlike literature investigating Muslims’ preference for democracy, our study compares between the determinants of Muslims and non-Muslims’ preference for democracy and its key aspects. There are two reasons for our research design; First, it is clear that no clear consensus has been reached in studies investigating the link between Islam and democracy. Therefore, we can't explain with a considerable certainty the lack of democracy in Muslim-majority countries. Consequently, a new and different approach is needed to investigate such relationship. Second, and most importantly, in most of the empirical studies on Islam and democracy, it is implicitly assumed that

Islam has one certain fixed nature surpassing nationality, ethnicity, geography, as well as economic and political factors, which is simply not true. Islam has a multitude of schools of jurisprudence and has been formulated in many different ways across time and space. Moreover, Islamic Shari'a is believed to be highly flexible and dependent on the circumstances through which it is applied. Thus, it becomes imperative to investigate the determinants that may turn Islam to be favorable, as well as inimical to democracy.

Methodology and Data

To assess how Muslims view different components of democracy, we use data from the WVS's sixth wave (hereafter, WVS6). The WVS is a large scale opinion poll survey carried out by the World Values Survey Association in order to examine people's values and beliefs regarding a variety of social, cultural and political issues. WVS6 was carried out between 2010 and 2014, spanning 57 countries and over 90,000 individuals. The samples in each country are nationally representative. Country surveys use a common questionnaire with variables on beliefs, values, economic development, democratization, religion, gender equality, social capital, and subjective well-being. WVS6 covers the largest number of Muslim-majority countries, with respect to other WVS waves. Data is collected from 21 Muslim majority countries with total respondents of 27,788, 21,762 are Muslims (Shia or Sunni), 89% of whom reside in Muslim-majority countries.

To assess individuals' preference for democracy, we consider the question asking how desirable different government systems are, including democracy. Respondents are asked to rank their preference on a scale of four degrees, ranging from (1) very good, (2) fairly good, (3) fairly bad, and (4) very bad:

"I'm going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country?"

VI27. Having a strong leader who does not have to bother with parliament and elections

VI28. Having experts, not government, make decisions according to what they think is best for the country

VI29. Having the army rule

VI30. Having a democratic political system

Figure 1 plots the average response value of these questions for Muslims and non-Muslims in the survey. The difference in the average scores for questions V128, V129 and V130 is statistically significant at the 0.05 level. V129 and V130 responses are particularly interesting and point to inconsistencies in Muslims' views regarding government system. Muslims rate army rule as fairly good, while non-Muslims rate it as fairly bad on average. Conversely, for the last question that asks about the desirability of democracy as a system of government, Muslims' average score is slightly lower indicating that they are *more likely* to rank it as "very good" than non-Muslims. The mean scores for question V127, that asks about the importance of having a strong leader, are not statistically significantly different however, indicating that Muslims and non-Muslims assign this the same degree of importance on average.

WVS6 includes one more question that directly ask respondents to rate the desirability of living in a democratic country, on a scale from 1 to 10 with 1 meaning it is "not at all important" and 10 meaning "absolutely important": *V140. How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed democratically?*". It also asks respondents whether they believe they currently live in a democracy: "*V141. And how democratically is this country being governed today? Again using a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means that it is "not at all democratic" and 10 means that it is "completely democratic," what position would you choose?*". Figure 2 shows that Muslims are very similar to non-Muslims in their view of the importance of living in a country governed democratically. Muslims are however less likely to answer that they currently live in a country that is governed democratically. While the mean score for the first question is not statistically significantly different when comparing Muslims to non-Muslims, the second one is. These results imply that Muslims highly value democracy- as much as non-Muslims, and believe that they don't have much of it currently. Conversely, they are more supportive of army rule on average than non-Muslims as explained above.

With such high desire for democracy among Muslims, it becomes imperative to better analyze what exactly Muslims envision when they consider the terms "democracy" or "democratic system of government". Fortunately, WVS6 contains a question that asks more fully about several important components of democracy as understood by the respondents:

Many things are desirable, but not all of them are essential characteristics of democracy. Please tell me for each of the following things how essential you think it is as a characteristic of democracy. (1 means “not at all an essential characteristic of democracy”; 10 means it definitely is “an essential characteristic of democracy”)

VI31. Governments tax the rich and subsidize the poor.

VI32. Religious authorities ultimately interpret the laws.

VI33. People choose their leaders in free elections.

VI34. People receive state aid for unemployment.

VI35. The army takes over when government is incompetent.

VI36. Civil rights protect people from state oppression.

VI37. The state makes people’s incomes equal.

VI38. People obey their rulers.

VI39. Women have the same rights as men.

Following Norris (2011) and de Regt (2013), we split these questions into three broad categories that reflect varying understanding or strands of democracy. The first strand focuses on ***procedural aspects of democracy***, such as free elections, civil rights and gender equality. Figure 3a graphs the mean scores of these variables for Muslims and non-Muslims. It appears that there are wide differences (statistically significant at the 0.05 confidence level) between the two groups in all of these variables. The gender equality aspect in particular stands out with the average for Muslims being lower than non-Muslims by 0.8 points. Civil rights and elections also fare significantly lower for Muslims as aspects of democracy.

Substantive aspects of democracy are associated with the outcome of a democratic system, in the form of more economic equality and state intervention to ensure this equality through taxation and to provide support for the needy. For simplicity, it is termed in this study as ***“outcomes democracy”***, given its emphasis on the perceived results of democracy. The surveys contain questions that ask about the state’s role in ensuring income equality through taxation and providing aid to help the unemployed. Figure 3b plots these results of these survey questions and interestingly we now see much higher mean scores for Muslims than non-Muslims (again significantly higher at the 0.05 level) for all three variables.

A third aspect of democracy emphasizes the role of religious authorities, the army and obedience to the ruler. These notions are sometimes termed ***“authoritarian democracy”***, in that they stem from a willingness to accept the authority of a single entity (e.g. the ruler) or group (religious

scholars/the army) that supersedes that of elected officials and lawmakers. Results in Figure 3c imply that Muslims have a higher mean score for all of these variables, especially regarding religious authority. The difference between Muslims and non-Muslims is statistically significant, and is the highest among all the questions that ask about the three aspects of democracy. For example, it is twice as much as the difference in the mean score for the gender equality question.

To gain further insight into the differences between Muslims and non-Muslims in their perceptions of democracy, we repeated the analysis in Figures 3a-3c for individuals who responded with an 8 or above on question V140: How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed democratically? On this scale where 1 means it is “not at all important” and 10 means “absolutely important” what position would you choose?” These individuals could be considered “highly democratic” and it is instructive to see if the differences between Muslims and non-Muslims for such individuals persist.

The results are in Figures 4a-4c. All of these differences are statistically significant at the 0.05 level and suggest that our conclusions from the previous section are confirmed even for those highly democratic individuals. We see that Muslims have significantly lower preference for procedural notions of democracy, and significantly higher preference for outcomes and authoritarian notions of democracy than non-Muslims. In most cases the differences are actually *larger* than for the full sample.

These statistics suggest that while Muslims highly value democracy, and believe they don't have enough of it, their notion of democracy is distinct from that of non-Muslims. Muslims tend to associate democracy with its perceived outcomes, and do not have a substantial reservation against the interference of specific entities such the army or religious authorities in the governing process. On the other hand, they view procedural aspects of democracy, such as elections, civil rights and gender equality, which are considered of immense importance in Western discourse, as less essential than their non-Muslim counterparts. These conclusions hold even for “highly democratic” Muslims.

The analysis so far has focused solely on the average scores of respondents distinguishing between Muslims and non-Muslims. Clearly, a person's notion of democracy, as well as of its various components, will however be affected by both her own personal characteristics and the

characteristics of the economy and society in which she resides. The analysis in the previous section does not take into account various aspects such as gender, education level, age, occupation of the respondent into consideration and we can expect that each of these personal characteristics would have an important impact on the perceptions and understanding of democracy that the individual has. Additionally, many economy wide variables such as the average income level or average education level in the economy can also have a significant impact on people's perceptions.

People are more likely to understand what they know and have experienced firsthand. Given the significant prevalence of involvements of the army, as well as of religious authority, in governments in most Muslim majority countries, it is not surprising that Muslims have fewer qualms about the role of those groups in political decision making. At the same time, there have been only few successful democratic experiments in these Muslim majority countries in the recent past which does not give individuals much faith in the procedural aspects of democracy as an essential component that they need to care about. To the majority of those individuals, democracy is largely desirable because of what they perceive as its positive expected outcome on their wellbeing. Consequently, Muslims value substantive aspects of democracy, or as we call it "outcomes democracy", significantly higher than procedural democracy.

Empirical Model: Micro and Macro Determinants of Preference for Democracy and its Components

To be able to unravel the differences in values and beliefs regarding democracy and its components we must control for the differences in individual (micro-level) characteristics as well as the differences in the social, economic and political environment (macro-level) of their relevant societies. To capture the micro-macro interaction we turn to regression analysis to better understand how Muslims differ from non-Muslims in their understanding of democracy, after controlling for individual characteristics such as education, occupation, gender, age, and so on, as well as socio-economic and political characteristics such as GDP per capita, unemployment rate, literacy rate, female labor force participation rate, importance of oil exports, colonial history, quality of governance, level of democracy, and so on.

Since the responses to the questions of interest in our data have a natural ordering, with a higher score implying that the respondent believes a particular component of democracy is "more essential" as a characteristic of democracy, we use an ordered logit regression model. In this model

j represents the response category ($j = 1, \dots, 10$ for the democracy components/preference variables). It is assumed that individual preferences are based on a latent variable that is defined as a linear function of the explanatory variables.

$$y_i^* = \beta_1 X_{1i} + \beta_2 X_{2m} + \epsilon_i$$

$$y_i = j \quad \text{if} \quad \mu_{j-1} < y_i^* < \mu_j;$$

$$\text{where } j = 0, 1, 2, \dots, 10 \text{ and } \mu_{-1} = -\infty; \mu_j = \infty$$

where, X_{1i} is vector containing our individual level controls, X_{2m} is the vector containing country-level controls; β_1 and β_2 are parameter vectors to be estimated; ϵ_i is an iid stochastic error term that is logistic distributed and μ_j are the threshold parameters to be estimated with the β parameter vectors. The probability of choosing response category j is defined as

$$\Pr(y_i = j) = \Lambda(\mu_j - \beta_1 X_{1i} - \beta_2 X_{2m}) - \Lambda(\mu_{j-1} - \beta_1 X_{1i} - \beta_2 X_{2m})$$

where Λ is the cdf of the logistic distribution. The regression parameters β and threshold parameters μ are then obtained by maximizing the log-likelihood.

Individual-level control variables included in X_{1i} include age, age squared (to account for the possibility that the preference for democracy/its components follows a curvilinear relationship), dummies that represent individual levels of education (secondary and above=1), marital status (married or in a relationship=1), employed, gender (male), as well as number of children and a variable that represents the average for several measures of religiosity¹. I also include a variable that controls for how interested in politics the respondent is, according to their own assessment. To control for income-related differences, we include an ordinal variable which is a subjective, self-reported assessment of the respondent's poverty status.

¹ The religiosity variable is the average response on three survey questions: V145. Apart from weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services these days? V146. Apart from weddings and funerals, about how often do you pray? and V152. How important is God in your life? Please use this scale to indicate. 10 means "very important" and 1 means "not at all important." We chose to take the average of these three questions to get a more nuanced sense of how religious the person is in practice- in terms of actions such as attending religious services or praying-rather than their self-proclaimed religiosity level as in question V147, that asks: Independently of whether you attend religious services or not, would you say you are: 1 A religious person 2 Not a religious person 3 An atheist.

Country level controls that might influence an individual's preferences for democracy include measures of the overall standard of living in the economy whether measured by monetary or nonmonetary measures, as well as how open the economy is, and how dependent on oil it might be. We control for the country's GDP per capita as a measure of average wellbeing, average number of years of schooling and life expectancy at birth as measures of non-monetary wellbeing. We control for the export to GDP ratio as a measure of how open the economy is, the share of oil in total exports as an indicator for its dependence on a single natural resource, and the economy wide unemployment rate. We also control for a number of other institutional variables that might affect views of democracy, most notably the country's colonial history which might influence its formal and informal institutions, controlled for with a set of appropriate dummies. We also include an indicator for quality of democracy since this would have a direct impact on a person's perception of what democracy entails, and corruption perception index since this is likely to affect the person's desire for change. Finally, we include a series of regional dummies and religious majority dummies to account for other socio-cultural aspects unique to each religion and each cultural heritage. Table 1 provides descriptive statistics.

Results

Results of the ordered logit regressions are in Tables 2 through 5. We use the aforementioned questions in WVS6 that gauge first the preference for democracy as a governing system, and second the preference for the various aspects of democracy: procedural, outcomes and authoritarian to see how these preferences differ by individual and country characteristics. Table 2 presents results for the preference for democracy variable (see notes at the bottom of figure 2 for details) separately for Muslims and non-Muslims.

For Muslims, having a secondary degree or higher, having children, being interested in politics and being religious all have a positive and significant effect on the preference for a democratic system of government. However, being unemployed has a significantly negative impact on this preference. Several country wide variables also were found to have a significant impact on the preference for democracy: GDP per capita, unemployment rate, control of corruption, having been a French colony, living in a predominantly Muslim nation, and living in Scandinavia all have a positive and significant impact. On the other hand, the higher the share of oil in exports, the higher the life expectancy at birth, having been a British colony, residing in a predominant Protestant or

Orthodox nation, in Africa, Asia, Europe and the Middle East all have a significant negative impact.

Comparing Muslims to non-Muslims, and focusing only on the differences, for non-Muslims age, being male and being married have a positive and significant impact (these were insignificant for Muslims). Being income poor (as self-proclaimed in the survey) has a negative and significant impact (was insignificant for Muslims). For country variables, a few variables reverse signs compared to Muslims' regression: GDP per capita and control of corruption, having been a French colony have negative and significant impacts while life expectancy and level of democracy have positive and significant impact. These sign reversals are in some cases puzzling, especially GDP per capita and control of corruption. This result however may refer to the negative relationship between democracy and economic development, which has been tackled in a considerable body of literature in economics and political science². Age and life expectancy, having positive effects, suggests that there might be a threshold effect with these variables having insignificant or negative impact up to a point but then after that is surpassed they start to have a positive impact. Similarly, the insignificant coefficient on "level of democracy" for Muslims, might reflect the fact that the kind of democracy that they have seen has not given them much to desire in terms of what democracy might entail.

Turning now to decomposing democracy into its components for which we have data, we present results for the procedural aspects of democracy: importance of elections, civil rights and gender equality in Table 3. Education, children, interest in politics, religiosity at the individual level, and GDP per capita, unemployment rate, control of corruption, French colonial heritage, living in Asia (regardless of the predominant religion) all have a positive and significant effect on Muslims' preferences for procedural aspects of democracy. Being unemployed, income poor, higher average years of schooling for the country, higher life expectancy, having been a British colony, living in Africa or the Middle East all have a negative impact. When gender equality is the dependent variable, we also notice that being male has a negative and significant coefficient for both Muslims and non-Muslims. Comparison with non-Muslims shows very similar conclusions to the ones described above for the importance of democracy questions. Similarly, having higher oil share of exports has a significant negative coefficient for non-Muslims for the gender equality question,

²For more, see Barro (1997) and Gerring et al. (2005)

lending support to the hypothesis of Ross (2013) that there might indeed be an “oil curse” especially for females outcomes. Interestingly this coefficient is insignificant for Muslims for this aspect of democracy³.

Table 4 presents the outcomes aspects of democracy regressions. Some of the results that stand out: Individuals who are more educated are less likely to support redistributive efforts, both Muslims and non-Muslims, which is expected given the likelihood that these are more well off individuals. More religious individuals might support taxing the rich, however they do not support having the state equalize incomes completely: this is only significant for non-Muslims however. In countries where oil makes a higher percentage of exports there is less support for redistribution, but it is more significant among non-Muslims.

Table 5 presents results for the authoritarian aspects of democracy. In general, Muslims and non-Muslims are more likely to reject army rule, religious authorities interpreting the law and obeying the ruler, if they are males, the higher their education levels, age, the economy wide education level and life expectancy, and the higher the level of democracy they currently enjoy. Both Muslims and non-Muslims have higher preference for authoritarian democracy when they have more children, maybe as a sense of safety and security, when they are more religious, the higher the GDP per capita, the unemployment rate, the lower the control of corruption and when they live in a predominantly Catholic, Muslim or Orthodox nation. The higher the share of oil in exports and the mean years of schooling the lower the preference for authoritarian democracy for both Muslims and non-Muslims. Notice that there are few differences between Muslims and non-Muslims when we control for the independent variables. For example, the religiosity and the average per capita GDP of the economy variables have positive and significant coefficients for both, for these three dependent variables

Conclusion

The cross-national multi-level analysis presented here demonstrates that Muslims have a significantly different understanding for democracy and its components than non-Muslims. Our

³ For the elections question in the first two columns of the table, both Muslims and non-Muslims have a positive and significant coefficient of the share of oil exports variable.

descriptive statistics show that Muslims tend to associate democracy with its perceived outcomes, and do not have a substantial reservation against the interference of specific entities such the army or religious authorities in the governing process. Conversely, they view procedural aspects of democracy, such as elections, civil rights and gender equality, which are considered of immense importance in Western discourse, as less essential than their non-Muslim counterparts.

Moreover, it seems that the determinants of Muslims' attitudes towards democracy, and its different notions, are considerably distinct from those of non-Muslims. Unlike with non-Muslims, age and poverty seem not to have any effect on the Muslim individual preference towards any notion of democracy. The gender of Muslim respondents seems not to matter in shaping attitude towards democracy; being male negatively affects preference for gender equality and Muslim women do not reject the intervention of religious authority in the legislative branch of government. The educated Muslims favor democracy and free election, and reject laws aimed at equalizing income among people, as well as religious authorities interpreting law.

While being married doesn't have any effect on Muslim's attitude towards democracy, having children is a key determinant in shaping preference for democratic notions. Number of children seems to be positively correlated with preference for democracy, procedural democracy (i.e. free elections, civil rights), outcomes democracy (i.e. taxing the rich, providing unemployment aid), and authoritarian democracy (i.e. intervention of army and religious authority in politics, and obeying the ruler. A Muslim's unemployment status, as well as her interest in politics, have a noticeable minor role in shaping her attitude towards democracy.

Interestingly, while religiosity is positively correlated with higher preference for democracy and procedural democracy, it is also positively correlated with authoritarian democracy and is not related to outcome democracy. This result may be interpreted as religious Muslims may seek a unique kind of democracy, where democratic procedures are clearly followed yet with a considerable intervention from the army and religious authorities in the political process. At the same time, religious Muslims may not seek substantive aspects of democracy as demonstrated in policies aiming for income equality or unemployment aid. This may be the case as Islamic Shari'a does not have a clear and decisive economic mandate⁴.

⁴For the indecisiveness of Islamic law, see Gouda (2013)

Economic growth, as demonstrated in GDP per capita, positively affects Muslims' preference towards all aspects of democracy, including authoritarian democracy. Higher share of oil exports seems not to affect any aspects of democracy, with exception of authoritarian democracy, where oil export shares are negatively correlated. Nevertheless, the coefficients are considerably small. Surprisingly, in the cases of both Muslims and non-Muslims, country-level development indicators, namely mean years of schooling, life expectancy at birth, and employment rate, have an adverse effect on all aspects of democracy. Also, in both cases of Muslims and non-Muslims, British colonialism has a consistently negative effect on democracy, as well as on its procedural and substantive aspects. Conversely, French colonialism has a favorable influence on democratic notions in case of Muslim-majority countries only.

Living in a predominantly protestant or catholic country seems to significantly widen the difference between Muslims and non-Muslims' attitude towards democracy and its other related notions. On the other hand, living in a predominantly Muslim or Orthodox nation has a positive influence on democracy in cases of both Muslims and non-Muslims.

To conclude, we could argue that our analysis shows that Muslims have a unique view of democracy, which might correlate with literature postulating the incompatibility of Islam and democracy. Anderson (2004) writes, “[w]ith regard to Islam it was argued that reliance on a fixed religious text and quasi-legal ordinances, the emphasis on divine sovereignty, and the supposed lack of distinction between the religious and the political realm, all worked against democratic development” (2004, p. 197). Yet, it could be argued that, as Muslim-majority countries' historical experiences have been negatively impacted by the West, Muslims have developed negative feelings towards it. Western imperialism, exploitation, political interference, and war in the Middle East led to an entrenched feeling of distrust, fear, and insecurity among Muslims towards the West. Because democracy is generally thought of as a product of the West, the countries of the Middle East have been reluctant to accept a Western democracy (Huntington, 1996, p. 211).

According to Esposito and Voll (1996), Muslims do not want a Western imposed democracy and prefer to build their own version of a democratic system which would speak to their issues and concerns rather than to Western interests. In any case, further research on the perception of

democracy in Muslim-majority countries and among Muslims is essential at this point in time where Islam plays a major role in world politics

References

- Abdel Fattah, M. B. (2004). *Islam and Democracy: An Empirical Examination of Muslims' Political Culture*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from Proquest database UMI Number 3142201
- Barro, R. J. (1997). *Getting it Right: Markets and Choices in a Free Society*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Barro, R. J. (1999). Determinants of democracy. *Journal of Political Economy*, 107(S6), 158-183.
- Baviskar, S., & Malone, M. F. (2004). What Democracy Means to Citizens – and Why It Matters. *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 76, 3-23.
- Beinin, J., & Stork, J. (Eds.). (1997). *Political Islam: Essays from Middle East Report*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bratton, M., & Mattes, R. B. (2001). Africans' Surprising Universalism. *Journal of Democracy*, 12, 107-121.
- Camp, R. (2001). *Citizen Views of Democracy in Latin America*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Canache, D. (2012). Citizens' Conceptualizations of Democracy: Structural Complexity, Substantive Content, and Political Significance. *Comparative Political Studies*, 45(9), 1132-1158.
- Ciftci, S. (2010). Modernization, Islam, or Social Capital: What Explains Attitudes Toward Democracy in the Muslim World? *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(11), 1442 –1470.
- Ciftci, S. (2012). Secular-Islamist Cleavage, Values, and Support for Democracy and Shari'a in the Arab World. *Political Research Quarterly*, 66(4), 781–793.
- Collier, D., Hidalgo, F. D., & Maciuceanu, A. O. (2006). Essentially contested concepts: Debates and applications. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 11(3), 211–246.
- Crick, B. (2002). *Democracy: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dahl, R. A. (1998). *On Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- de Regt, S. (2013). Arabs Want Democracy, but What Kind? *Advances in Applied Sociology*, 3, 37-46.
- Diamond, L. (1999). *Developing democracy: Toward consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Diamond, L. (2004, January 21). *What is Democracy?* Retrieved from Lecture at Hilla University for Humanistic Studies: <http://web.stanford.edu/~ldiamond/iraq/WhatsDemocracy012004.htm>
- Diamond, L., & Morlino, L. (2005). Introduction. In L. Diamond, & L. Morlino, *Assessing the Quality of Democracy* (pp. ix–xiii). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

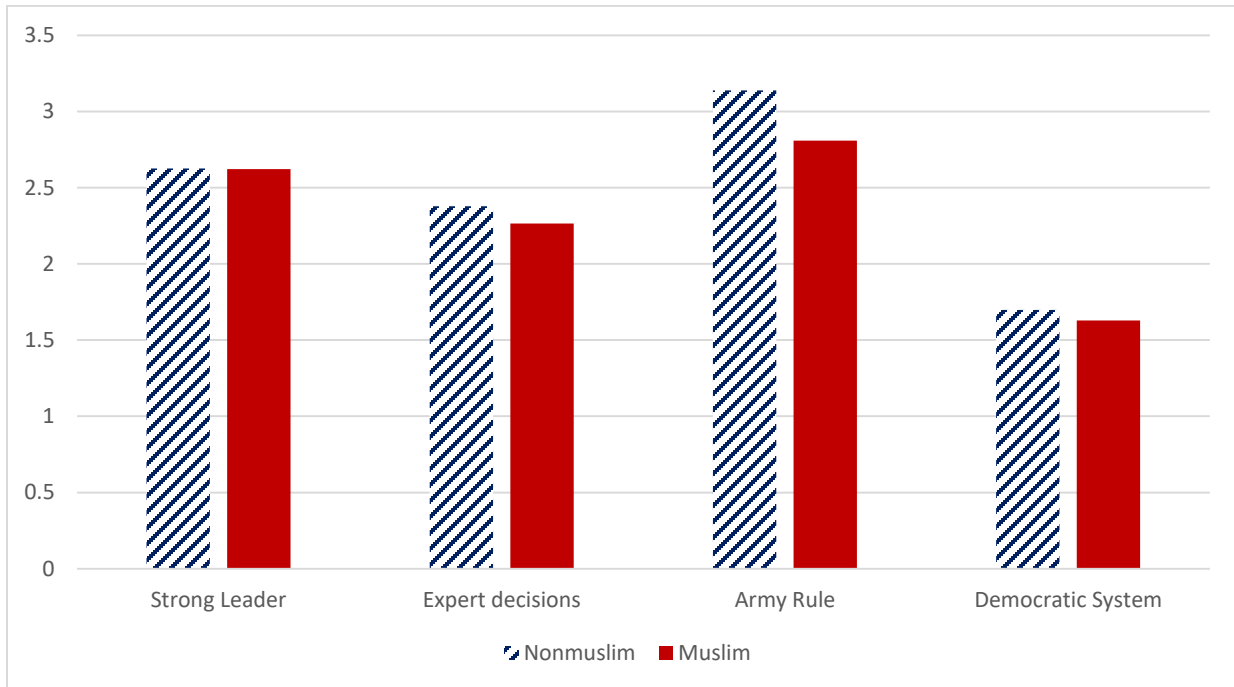
- Doherty, D., & Mecellem, J. (2016). Conceptions of Democracy in the Arab World. *mimeo*, 1-43. Retrieved from <http://orion.luc.edu/~ddoherty/>
- Entelis, J. P. (Ed.). (1997). *Islam, democracy, and the state in North Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Esposito, J. L., & Voll, J. O. (1996). *Islam and Democracy*. Cambridge: Oxford University Press.
- Ferrín, M., & Kriesi, H. (2016). *How Europeans View and Evaluate Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fish, M. S. (2002). Islam and Authoritarianism. *World Politics*, 55(1), 4-37.
- Fukuyama, F. (1992). *The End of History and the Last Man*. New York: Free Press.
- Gallie, W. B. (1956). Essentially Contested Concepts. *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, 56, 167-198.
- Gerring, J., Bond, P., Barndt, W., & Moreno, C. (2005). Democracy and Growth: A Historical Perspective. *World Politics*, 57(3), 323-64.
- Gouda, M. (2013). Islamic constitutionalism and rule of law: a constitutional economics perspective. *Constitutional Political Economy*, 24(1), 57-85.
- Grant, A. K., & Tessler, M. A. (2002). Palestinian attitudes toward democracy and its compatibility with Islam: Evidence from public opinion research in the West Bank and Gaza. *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 24(4), 1-20.
- Hanusch, M. (2013). Islam and democracy: a response. *Public Choice*, 154(3-4), 315-321.
- Hofmann, S. R. (2004). Islam and democracy: Micro-level indications of compatibility. *Comparative Political Studies*, 37, 652-76.
- Huntington, S. P. (1984). Will more countries become democratic? *Political Science Quarterly*, 99(2), 193-218.
- Huntington, S. P. (1991). *The third wave: Democratization in the late twentieth century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Huntington, S. P. (1996). *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2003). The true clash of civilizations. *Foreign Policy*, 135, 63-70.
- Jamal, A., & Tessler, M. (2008). The democracy barometers: attitudes in the Arab world. *Journal of Democracy*, 19(1), 97-110.

- Knutsen, C. H. (2011). *The Economic Effects of Democracy and Dictatorship (Unpublished doctoral dissertation)*. Oslo: Department of Political Science, University of Oslo. Retrieved from <http://folk.uio.no/carlhk/publications/CHKdissertationForPrint.pdf>
- Kramer, G. (1993). Islamist notions of democracy. *Middle East Report*, 183, 2-8.
- Kurki, M. (2010). Democracy and Conceptual Contestability: Reconsidering Conceptions of Democracy in Democracy Promotion. *International Studies Review*, 12 (3), 362-386.
- Miller, A. H., Hesli, V. L., & Reisinger, W. M. (1997). Conceptions of Democracy among Mass and Elite in Post-Soviet Societies. *British Journal of Political Science*, 27, 157-190.
- Norris, P. (1999). *Global support for democratic government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Norris, P. (2011). *Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, P. (2013). Muslim Support for Secular Democracy. In L. Z. Rahim, *Muslim Secular Democracy- Voices from Within* (pp. 113-140). New York: Palgrave Macmillan US.
- Norris, P., & Inglehart, R. (2002). Islam & the West: Testing the Clash of Civilizations Thesis. *KSG Working Paper No. RWP02-015*, 1-30.
- Nozick, R. (1977). *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*. New York: Basic Books.
- Pew Research Center. (2012, July 10). *Most Muslims Want Democracy, Personal Freedoms, and Islam in Political Life*. Retrieved from Pew Research Center: <http://www.pewglobal.org/2012/07/10/most-muslims-want-democracy-personal-freedoms-and-islam-in-political-life/>
- Pew Research Center. (2013). *The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society*. Washington, D. C.: Pew Research Center. Retrieved from <http://www.pewforum.org/files/2013/04/worlds-muslims-religion-politics-society-full-report.pdf>
- Potrafke, N. (2012). Islam and democracy. *Public Choice*, 151, 185-192.
- Potrafke, N. (2013). Democracy and countries with Muslim majorities: A reply and update. *Public Choice*, 154(3), 323-332.
- Przeworski, A., Alvarez, M. E., Cheibub, J. A., & Limongi, F. (2000). *Democracy and Development. Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950–1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rose, R. (2002). How Muslims view democracy: Evidence from Central Asia. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(4), 102-111.
- Ross, M. L. (2013). *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations*. Oxfordshire: Princeton University Press.

- Rowley, C. K., & Smith, N. (2009). Islam's democracy paradox: Muslims claim to like democracy, so why do they have so little? *Public Choice*, 139(3), 273–299.
- Schumpeter, J. A. (1976). *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. New York: HarperPerennial.
- Shafiq, M. N. (2010). Do education and income affect support for democracy in Muslim countries? Evidence from the Pew Global Attitudes Project. *Economics of Education Review*, 29, 461–469.
- Shapiro, I. (1996). *Democracy's Place*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Shin, D. C., & Cho, Y. (2010). How East Asians understand democracy. *Asien*, 116, 21-40.
- Welzel, C. (2011). The Asian values thesis revisited: Evidence from the World Values Surveys. *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 12(1), 1-31.

Appendix

Figure 1: Political System Preference for Muslims and Non-Muslims



Source: Authors' calculations from WVS6 based on the question: "I'm going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is a very good (1), fairly good (2), fairly bad (3) or very bad (4) way of governing this country?"

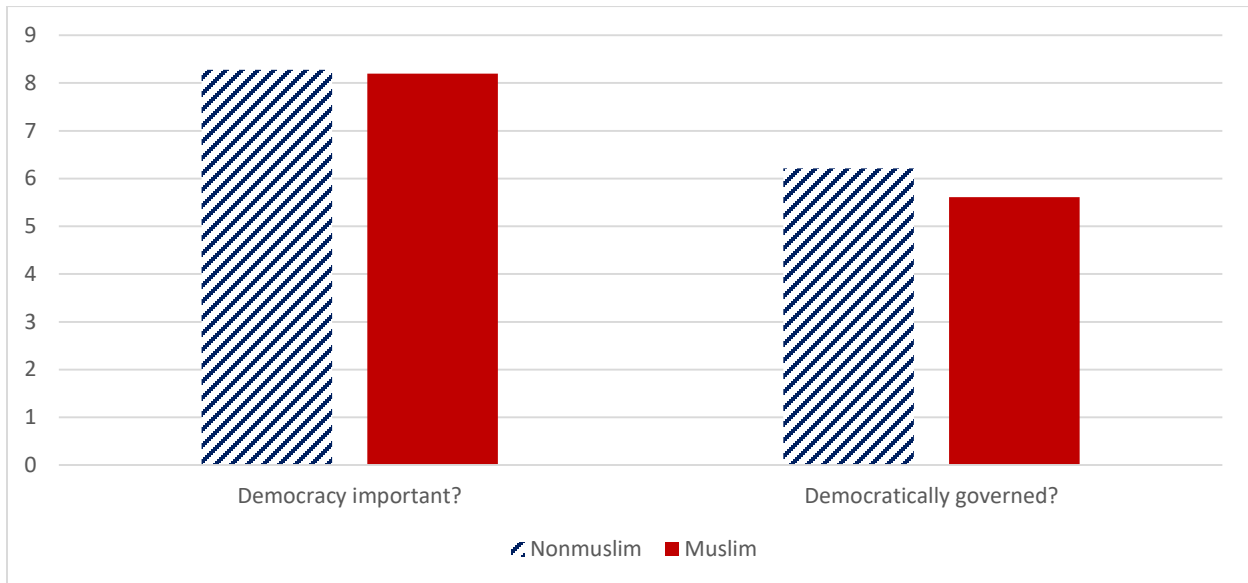
V127. Having a strong leader who does not have to bother with parliament and elections

V128. Having experts, not government, make decisions according to what they think is best for the country

V129. Having the army rule

V130. Having a democratic political system

Figure 2: Importance and State of Democracy



Source: Authors' calculations from WVS6 based on the questions: 1. "V140. How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed democratically? On this scale where 1 means it is "not at all important" and 10 means "absolutely important" what position would you choose?", 2. "V141. And how democratically is this country being governed today? using a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means that it is "not at all democratic" and 10 means that it is "completely democratic," what position would you choose?"

Figure 3a: Mean Scores of “Procedural Democracy” Variables, for Muslims and Non-Muslims

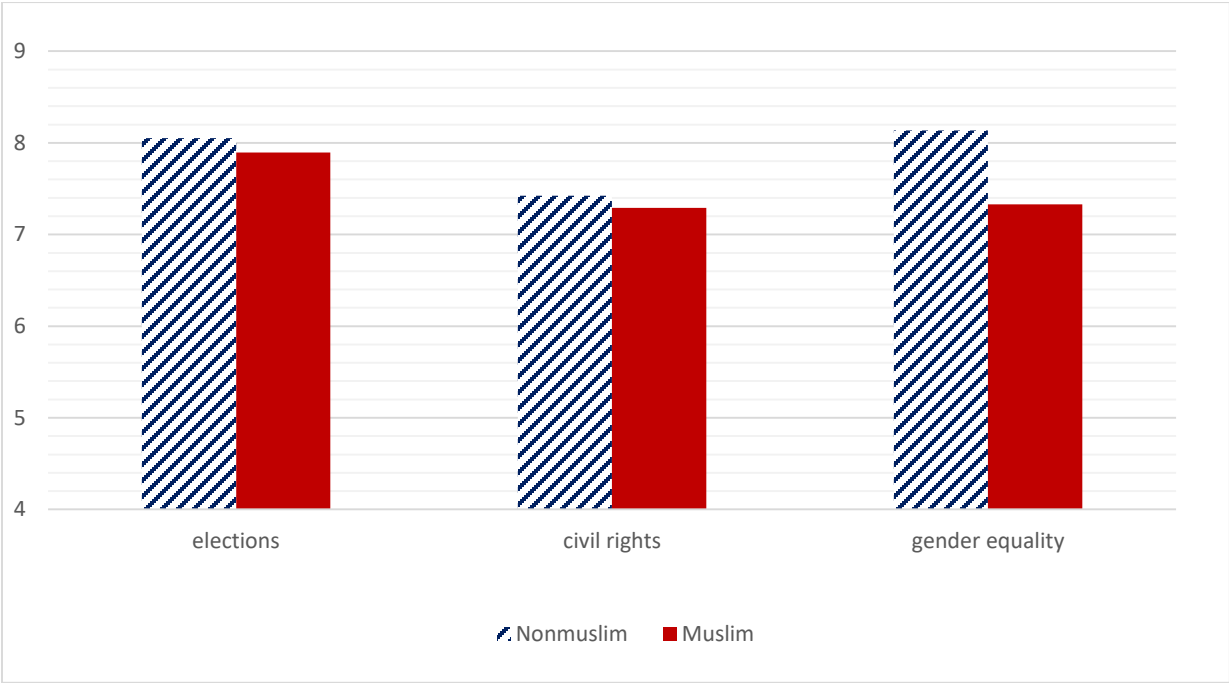


Figure 3b: Mean Scores of “Outcomes Democracy” Variables, for Muslims and Non-Muslims

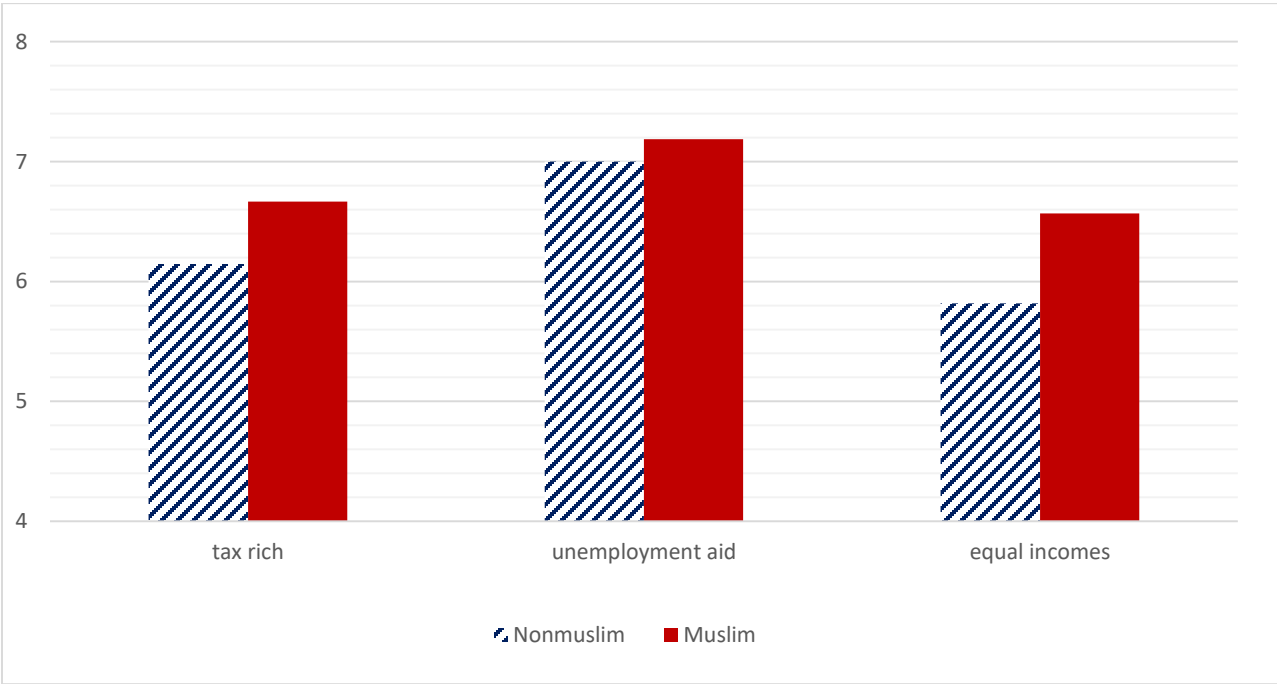
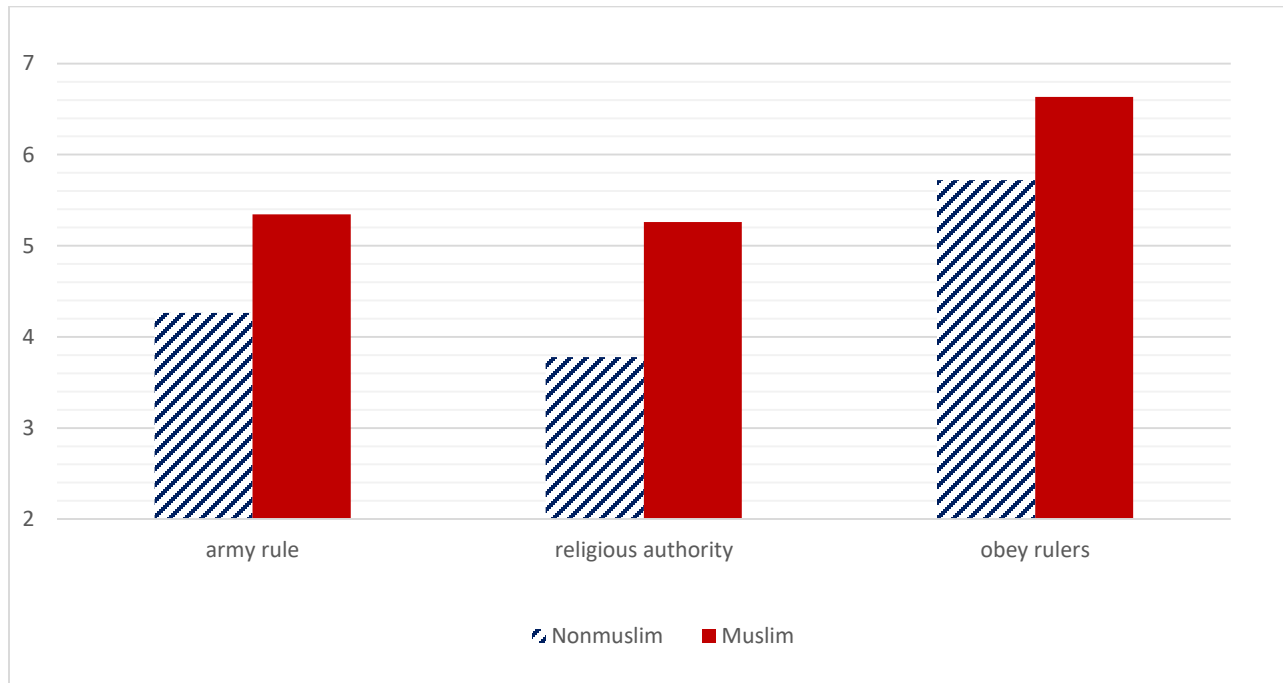


Figure 3C: Mean Scores of “Authoritarian Democracy” Variables, for Muslims and Non-Muslims



Source: Authors’ calculations from WVS6 based on the questions that ask respondent to rank various aspects of democracy as an essential characteristic of democracy=10, or not an essential characteristic=1 for the following characteristics:

- V131. Governments tax the rich and subsidize the poor.
- V132. Religious authorities ultimately interpret the laws.
- V133. People choose their leaders in free elections.
- V134. People receive state aid for unemployment.
- V135. The army takes over when government is incompetent.
- V136. Civil rights protect people from state oppression.
- V137. The state makes people’s incomes equal.
- V138. People obey their rulers.
- V139. Women have the same rights as men.

Figure 4a: Mean Scores of “Procedural Democracy” Variables, for Muslims and non-Muslims who highly value democracy; whose response for V140 > 8.

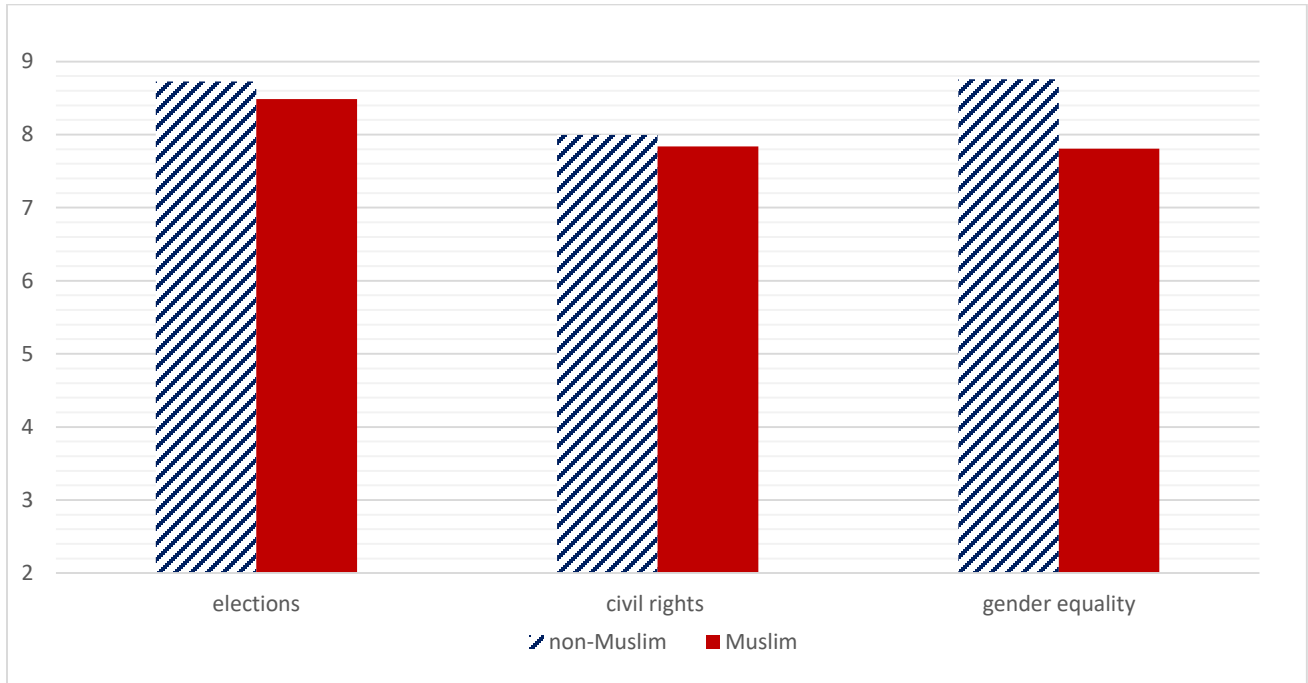


Figure 4b: Mean Scores of “Outcomes Democracy” Variables, for Muslims and non-Muslims, who highly value democracy; whose response for V140 > 8.

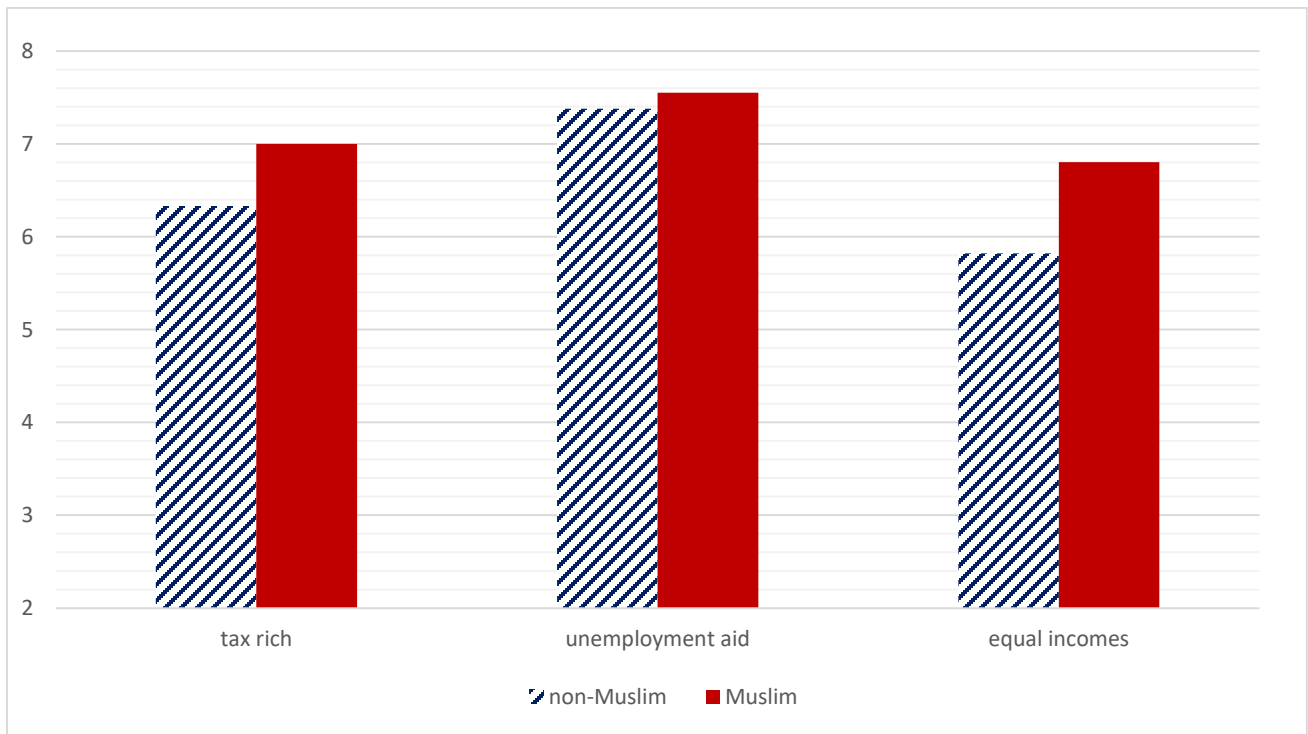
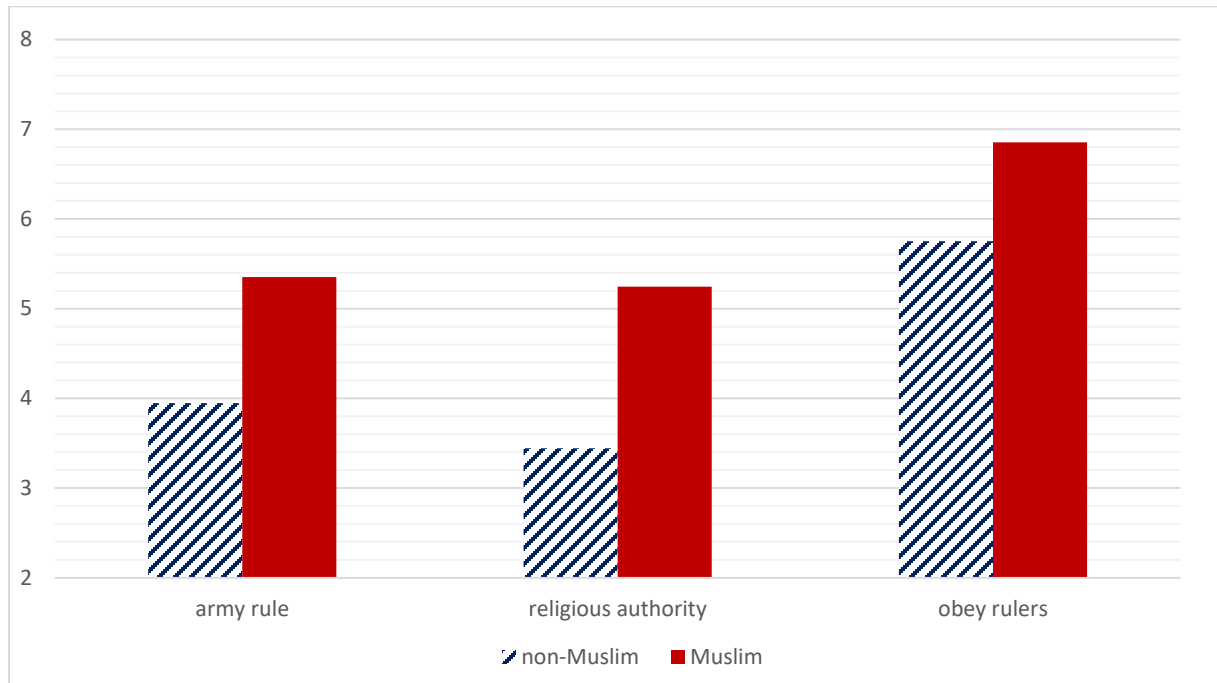


Figure 4C: Mean Scores of “Authoritarian Democracy” Variables, for Muslims and non-Muslims who highly value democracy; whose response for V140 > 8.



Source: Authors' calculations from WVS6 based on the questions that ask respondent to rank various aspects of democracy as an essential characteristic of democracy=10, or not an essential characteristic=1 for the following characteristics:

- V131. Governments tax the rich and subsidize the poor.
- V132. Religious authorities ultimately interpret the laws.
- V133. People choose their leaders in free elections.
- V134. People receive state aid for unemployment.
- V135. The army takes over when government is incompetent.
- V136. Civil rights protect people from state oppression.
- V137. The state makes people's incomes equal.
- V138. People obey their rulers.
- V139. Women have the same rights as men;

Limiting the sample to respondents who highly value democracy; i.e., those who selected 8 or higher for question V140: How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed democratically? On this scale where 1 means it is “not at all important” and 10 means “absolutely important” what position would you choose?”

Table 1: Sample Statistics of Variables used in the Regressions

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Individual micro-level variables					
Muslim	84,030	0.258979	0.438077	0	1
Age	90,167	42.05383	16.48077	16	99
Age squared	90,167	2040.138	1545.258	256	9801
male	90,350	0.480255	0.499613	0	1
Secondary & above	90,350	0.610814	0.487569	0	1
married	90,350	0.634499	0.481573	0	1
Number of children	62,896	2.640581	1.56599	1	8
unemployed	90,350	0.089751	0.285826	0	1
Interested in politics	90,350	0.463962	0.498702	0	1
religiosity	88,815	5.654007	2.304786	1	10
Income poor	90,350	0.295451	0.456248	0	1
Country macro-level variables					
Ln GDP per capita	86,082	21843.72	21080.11	1400.44	130989.8
Avg. Oil Exp Shr 05-14	86,612	25.64495	31.18816	0.012536	97.33094
Mean years of schooling (UNDP 2014)	87,112	8.964528	2.676664	2.51	12.95
Life expectancy at birth, 2014 (UNDP 2014)	87,112	72.65468	7.265543	52.51	83.58
Unemployment (% of total labor force), 2012	87,112	8.120523	5.731661	0.5	25.2
Control of Corruption 2012 (WGI 2014)	88,350	0.048584	1.043311	-1.4	2.32
Level of Democracy (Freedom House/Polity)	85,850	6.777268	2.963208	0.25	10
British colony	90,350	0.320509	0.466675	0	1
French colony	90,350	0.053182	0.224398	0	1
Predominant Protestant nation dummy	88,350	0.176186	0.38098	0	1
Predominant Catholic nation dummy	88,350	0.218359	0.413135	0	1
Predominant Muslim nation dummy	89,350	0.311002	0.462906	0	1
Predominant Orthodox nation dummy	88,350	0.117035	0.321463	0	1
Africa dummy	88,350	0.125286	0.331045	0	1
Asia dummy	88,350	0.273141	0.445575	0	1
Central and Eastern Europe dummy	88,350	0.184584	0.387962	0	1
Middle East dummy	88,350	0.17914	0.383472	0	1
North America dummy	88,350	0.0479	0.213557	0	1
South America dummy	88,350	0.106836	0.308907	0	1
Scandinavia dummy	88,350	0.01365	0.116035	0	1

Table 2: Regressions for importance of democracy question, Muslims and non-Muslims

	Muslim	Non-Muslim
Importance of democracy		
age	0.007 (0.008)	0.017*** (0.004)
Age squared	0 (0.000)	-0.000* (0.000)
male	0.045 (0.036)	0.055** (0.019)
Secondary & above	0.192*** (0.040)	0.200*** (0.021)
married	0.112 (0.062)	0.105*** (0.024)
Number of children	0.037*** (0.011)	0.001 (0.008)
unemployed	-0.191* (0.078)	-0.027 (0.035)
Interested in politics	0.180*** (0.035)	0.256*** (0.019)
religiosity	0.097*** (0.013)	0.056*** (0.005)
Income poor	-0.026 (0.038)	-0.123*** (0.022)
Ln GDP per capita	0.357*** (0.067)	-0.190*** (0.034)
Avg. Oil Exp Shr 05-14	-0.003* (0.002)	0 (0.001)
Mean years of schooling (UNDP 2014)	-0.005 (0.017)	0.078*** (0.011)
Life expectancy at birth, 2014 (UNDP 2014)	-0.036*** (0.009)	0.045*** (0.005)
Unemployment (% of total labor force), 2012	0.059*** (0.009)	-0.003 (0.002)
Control of Corruption 2012 (WGI 2014)	0.268*** (0.067)	-0.113*** (0.024)
British colony	-0.406*** (0.062)	-0.277*** (0.047)
French colony	0.182* (0.084)	-1.198*** (0.269)

Level of Democracy (Freedom House/Polity)	0.001 (0.015)	0.063*** (0.005)
Predominant Protestant nation dummy	-1.008*** (0.243)	-0.009 (0.052)
Predominant Catholic nation dummy	0.217 (0.191)	-0.097* (0.048)
Predominant Muslim nation dummy	0.439*** (0.088)	0.615*** (0.066)
Predominant Orthodox nation dummy	-0.614*** (0.174)	0.083 (0.059)
Africa dummy	-1.414*** (0.204)	0.006 (0.078)
Asia dummy	-0.940*** (0.191)	-0.328*** (0.048)
Central and Eastern Europe dummy	-0.974*** (0.197)	-0.551*** (0.050)
Middle East dummy	-1.314*** (0.200)	-0.195 (0.254)
North America dummy	-1.589 (1.207)	-0.186*** (0.056)
South America dummy	-0.378 (0.391)	-0.057 (0.049)
Scandinavia dummy	2.124* (1.071)	1.124*** (0.100)
N	11475	40581

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table 3: Procedural Aspects of Democracy

	Elections		Civil Rights		Gender Equality	
	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim
Age	0.011 (0.008)	0.022*** (0.004)	0.008 (0.008)	0.026*** (0.004)	0.014 (0.008)	0.011** (0.004)
Age squared	0 (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	0 (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	0 (0.000)	0 (0.000)
male	0.021 (0.036)	0.035 (0.019)	-0.019 (0.035)	0.023 (0.019)	-0.500*** (0.035)	-0.145*** (0.019)
Secondary & above	0.084* (0.039)	0.110*** (0.021)	0.093* (0.039)	0.108*** (0.021)	0.038 (0.039)	0.068** (0.021)
married	-0.073 (0.063)	-0.008 (0.024)	0.085 (0.063)	-0.025 (0.024)	0.006 (0.062)	0.026 (0.024)
Number of children	0.040*** (0.011)	-0.022** (0.008)	0.045*** (0.011)	-0.015 (0.008)	0.005 (0.011)	-0.017* (0.008)
unemployed	-0.201* (0.079)	-0.075* (0.035)	-0.145 (0.079)	-0.069* (0.035)	-0.026 (0.079)	-0.019 (0.035)
Interested in politics	-0.017 (0.035)	0.105*** (0.019)	0.023 (0.035)	0.109*** (0.019)	0.045 (0.035)	0.070*** (0.019)
religiosity	0.078*** (0.013)	0.019*** (0.005)	0.044*** (0.013)	-0.007 (0.005)	0.043*** (0.013)	-0.012* (0.005)
Income poor	-0.005 (0.038)	-0.138*** (0.022)	-0.077* (0.038)	-0.135*** (0.022)	0.054 (0.038)	-0.124*** (0.022)
Ln GDP per capita	0.420*** (0.068)	-0.059 (0.034)	0.464*** (0.066)	0.293*** (0.033)	0.234*** (0.067)	0.117*** (0.034)
Avg. Oil Exp Shr 05-14	0.003* (0.001)	0.001* (0.001)	0 (0.001)	-0.007*** (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002** (0.001)
Mean years of schooling (UNDP 2014)	-0.149*** (0.017)	-0.007 (0.010)	-0.092*** (0.017)	-0.043*** (0.010)	-0.096*** (0.017)	-0.038*** (0.011)
Life expectancy at birth, 2014 (UNDP 2014)	-0.072*** (0.009)	0.008 (0.005)	-0.094*** (0.009)	-0.050*** (0.004)	-0.029** (0.009)	-0.014** (0.005)
Unemployment (% of total labor force), 2012	0.059*** (0.009)	-0.013*** (0.002)	0.064*** (0.009)	0.001 (0.002)	0.007 (0.009)	-0.016*** (0.002)

Control of Corruption 2012 (WGI 2014)	0.577*** (0.067)	0.123*** (0.022)	0.470*** (0.064)	0.078*** (0.022)	0.299*** (0.064)	0.014 (0.023)
British colony	-0.465*** (0.055)	-0.182*** (0.046)	-0.725*** (0.055)	-0.709*** (0.045)	-0.507*** (0.055)	-0.542*** (0.046)
French colony	0.352*** (0.080)	-0.908*** (0.246)	0.606*** (0.080)	-1.084*** (0.251)	0.135 (0.081)	-0.974*** (0.249)
Level of Democracy (Freedom House/Polity)	0.044** (0.014)	0.086*** (0.005)	-0.003 (0.014)	0.021*** (0.005)	0.060*** (0.014)	0.078*** (0.005)
Predominant Protestant nation	0.344 (0.235)	0.312*** (0.049)	0.155 (0.222)	-0.174*** (0.048)	0.36 (0.249)	0.117* (0.049)
Predominant Catholic nation	0.436** (0.154)	-0.103* (0.045)	0.405** (0.152)	-0.254*** (0.044)	-0.092 (0.153)	0.018 (0.046)
Predominant Muslim nation	0.687*** (0.087)	0.373*** (0.064)	0.548*** (0.086)	0.149* (0.064)	0.434*** (0.086)	-0.041 (0.064)
Predominant Orthodox nation	0.521*** (0.147)	0.663*** (0.060)	0.342* (0.148)	0.384*** (0.058)	0.182 (0.147)	0.198*** (0.060)
Africa dummy	-0.954*** (0.123)	-0.382*** (0.067)	-1.005*** (0.120)	-0.467*** (0.066)	-0.712*** (0.121)	-0.483*** (0.068)
Asia dummy	0.304*** (0.085)	-0.262*** (0.035)	0.572*** (0.084)	-0.113*** (0.034)	-0.288*** (0.082)	-0.266*** (0.035)
Middle East dummy	-0.455*** (0.104)	-0.351 (0.228)	-0.289** (0.102)	0.311 (0.234)	-0.781*** (0.101)	0.103 (0.232)
Scandinavia dummy	0.485 (0.709)	0.867*** (0.099)	0.985 (0.651)	0.906*** (0.080)	0.334 (0.708)	1.360*** (0.112)
N	11251	40064	11005	39118	11317	40335

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table 4: Outcomes aspects of Democracy

	Tax the rich		Unemployment aid		Equal Incomes	
	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim
Age	-0.012 (0.008)	0.007* (0.004)	-0.002 (0.008)	0.011** (0.004)	0.003 (0.008)	0.003 (0.004)
Age squared	0 (0.000)	0 (0.000)	0 (0.000)	0 (0.000)	0 (0.000)	0 (0.000)
male	-0.062 (0.035)	-0.051** (0.018)	0.026 (0.035)	-0.103*** (0.018)	-0.006 (0.035)	-0.089*** (0.018)
Secondary & above	0.017 (0.039)	-0.113*** (0.020)	0.006 (0.039)	-0.124*** (0.020)	-0.101** (0.039)	-0.232*** (0.020)
married	-0.077 (0.062)	-0.042 (0.023)	-0.007 (0.062)	-0.072** (0.023)	-0.023 (0.061)	-0.090*** (0.023)
Number of children	0.042*** (0.011)	-0.023** (0.008)	0.023* (0.011)	-0.012 (0.008)	0.002 (0.011)	-0.005 (0.008)
unemployed	0 (0.078)	-0.001 (0.034)	0.041 (0.078)	0.097** (0.034)	-0.033 (0.078)	-0.022 (0.034)
Interested in politics	-0.026 (0.035)	-0.084*** (0.018)	-0.105** (0.035)	-0.025 (0.018)	-0.044 (0.035)	-0.181*** (0.018)
religiosity	0.009 (0.012)	-0.025*** (0.005)	-0.01 (0.013)	-0.028*** (0.005)	-0.004 (0.012)	-0.033*** (0.005)
Income poor	0.058 (0.038)	0.089*** (0.021)	0.093* (0.038)	0.014 (0.021)	-0.022 (0.037)	0.072*** (0.021)
Ln GDP per capita	0.498*** (0.065)	0.191*** (0.033)	0.309*** (0.066)	0.434*** (0.033)	0.243*** (0.065)	0.396*** (0.033)
Avg. Oil Exp Shr 05-14	-0.011*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.012*** (0.001)	0 (0.001)	-0.017*** (0.001)
Mean years of schooling (UNDP 2014)	-0.141*** (0.016)	-0.004 (0.010)	-0.223*** (0.016)	-0.139*** (0.010)	-0.156*** (0.016)	-0.133*** (0.010)
Life expectancy at birth, 2014 (UNDP 2014)	-0.074*** (0.009)	-0.048*** (0.004)	-0.079*** (0.009)	-0.068*** (0.004)	-0.051*** (0.009)	-0.080*** (0.004)
Unemployment (% of total labor force), 2012	0.032*** (0.008)	0.023*** (0.002)	0.039*** (0.009)	0.021*** (0.002)	-0.012 (0.009)	0.015*** (0.002)

Control of Corruption 2012 (WGI 2014)	0.256*** (0.063)	-0.039 (0.021)	0.591*** (0.063)	0.079*** (0.021)	0.380*** (0.064)	-0.106*** (0.021)
British colony	-0.267*** (0.053)	-0.417*** (0.044)	-0.845*** (0.054)	-0.780*** (0.044)	-0.648*** (0.054)	-0.360*** (0.044)
French colony	-0.033 (0.077)	-0.587* (0.249)	0.114 (0.078)	-1.200*** (0.256)	0.056 (0.079)	-0.006 (0.258)
Level of Democracy (Freedom House/Polity)	-0.097*** (0.013)	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.077*** (0.013)	0.017*** (0.005)	-0.028* (0.014)	-0.085*** (0.005)
Predominant Protestant nation	0.715*** (0.215)	-0.103* (0.045)	0.940*** (0.222)	-0.133** (0.046)	0.128 (0.226)	-0.001 (0.046)
Predominant Catholic nation	0.471*** (0.142)	-0.291*** (0.043)	0.381** (0.145)	-0.230*** (0.043)	-0.554*** (0.146)	0.015 (0.043)
Predominant Muslim nation	0.946*** (0.085)	-0.204** (0.063)	0.841*** (0.084)	0.458*** (0.063)	0.446*** (0.085)	0.227*** (0.063)
Predominant Orthodox nation	1.136*** (0.142)	-0.039 (0.057)	1.261*** (0.142)	0.810*** (0.057)	0.503*** (0.142)	0.285*** (0.058)
Africa dummy	-0.723*** (0.117)	-0.535*** (0.064)	-1.026*** (0.118)	-0.848*** (0.065)	-0.873*** (0.119)	-0.962*** (0.065)
Asia dummy	0.806*** (0.081)	0.457*** (0.033)	0.535*** (0.082)	0.015 (0.033)	-0.106 (0.080)	-0.205*** (0.033)
Middle East dummy	0.074 (0.100)	0.652** (0.232)	-0.161 (0.100)	-0.031 (0.240)	-0.385*** (0.099)	-0.671** (0.241)
Scandinavia dummy	0.75 (0.593)	0.230*** (0.070)	0.069 (0.582)	0.134 (0.072)	-2.340*** (0.572)	-1.222*** (0.074)
N	11214	39761	11273	39967	11171	39569

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table 5: Authoritarian Democracy Notions

	Army Rule		Religious Authority		Obey Rulers	
	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim
Age	0.006 (0.008)	-0.012** (0.004)	-0.008 (0.008)	-0.021*** (0.004)	0.006 (0.008)	-0.009* (0.004)
Age squared	0 (0.000)	0 (0.000)	0 (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	0 (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)
male	-0.087* (0.035)	0.027 (0.019)	-0.073* (0.035)	-0.001 (0.019)	0.028 (0.035)	0.114*** (0.019)
Secondary & above	0.048 (0.039)	-0.230*** (0.021)	-0.172*** (0.039)	-0.269*** (0.021)	-0.029 (0.039)	-0.208*** (0.020)
married	-0.015 (0.062)	-0.039 (0.024)	-0.042 (0.062)	-0.106*** (0.024)	-0.048 (0.062)	-0.024 (0.023)
Number of children	0.033** (0.011)	0.044*** (0.008)	0.026* (0.011)	0.061*** (0.008)	0.045*** (0.011)	0.056*** (0.008)
unemployed	0.002 (0.077)	0.078* (0.035)	-0.160* (0.078)	-0.011 (0.035)	-0.063 (0.078)	-0.056 (0.034)
Interested in politics	0.077* (0.035)	-0.133*** (0.019)	0.055 (0.035)	-0.141*** (0.019)	0.031 (0.035)	-0.128*** (0.019)
religiosity	0.055*** (0.012)	0.079*** (0.005)	0.124*** (0.013)	0.158*** (0.005)	0.108*** (0.012)	0.064*** (0.005)
Income poor	-0.003 (0.037)	0.176*** (0.021)	-0.089* (0.038)	0.158*** (0.021)	0.03 (0.037)	0.052* (0.021)
Ln GDP per capita	0.536*** (0.066)	0.525*** (0.033)	0.545*** (0.065)	0.357*** (0.033)	0.242*** (0.066)	0.094** (0.032)
Avg. Oil Exp Shr 05-14	-0.016*** (0.001)	-0.010*** (0.001)	-0.014*** (0.001)	-0.009*** (0.001)	-0.011*** (0.001)	0 (0.001)
Mean years of schooling (UNDP 2014)	-0.212*** (0.016)	-0.181*** (0.011)	-0.251*** (0.016)	-0.067*** (0.010)	0.100*** (0.017)	-0.063*** (0.010)
Life expectancy at birth, 2014 (UNDP 2014)	0.011 (0.009)	-0.060*** (0.005)	-0.008 (0.009)	-0.042*** (0.005)	-0.102*** (0.009)	-0.016*** (0.004)
Unemployment (% of total labor force), 2012	0.083*** (0.009)	0.006* (0.002)	0.055*** (0.009)	0.028*** (0.002)	0.102*** (0.009)	0.023*** (0.002)

Control of Corruption 2012 (WGI 2014)	-0.538*** (0.063)	-0.305*** (0.022)	-0.290*** (0.064)	-0.224*** (0.022)	0.179** (0.063)	-0.080*** (0.021)
British colony	-0.062 (0.055)	-0.097* (0.046)	0.101 (0.054)	0.103* (0.046)	0.147** (0.055)	0.072 (0.044)
French colony	-0.343*** (0.081)	0.051 (0.248)	-0.495*** (0.080)	-0.625* (0.252)	0.384*** (0.079)	-0.384 (0.254)
Level of Democracy (Freedom House/Polity)	-0.134*** (0.014)	-0.131*** (0.005)	-0.129*** (0.013)	-0.098*** (0.005)	-0.012 (0.014)	-0.064*** (0.005)
Predominant Protestant nation	-0.207 (0.247)	0.890*** (0.050)	0.788*** (0.232)	0.496*** (0.050)	-2.179*** (0.240)	-0.043 (0.048)
Predominant Catholic nation	0.618*** (0.149)	0.469*** (0.045)	0.927*** (0.148)	0.532*** (0.045)	0.014 (0.150)	0.428*** (0.044)
Predominant Muslim nation	0.114 (0.084)	0.033 (0.064)	0.782*** (0.085)	0.186** (0.064)	0.263** (0.085)	0.387*** (0.063)
Predominant Orthodox nation	0.475*** (0.142)	0.327*** (0.060)	0.864*** (0.142)	0.255*** (0.060)	-0.092 (0.144)	0.506*** (0.058)
Africa dummy	0.193 (0.119)	-0.504*** (0.066)	0.282* (0.118)	0.151* (0.066)	-0.474*** (0.118)	0.538*** (0.065)
Asia dummy	0.259** (0.082)	0.195*** (0.034)	0.375*** (0.082)	0.200*** (0.034)	0.409*** (0.081)	0.402*** (0.033)
Middle East dummy	-0.703*** (0.100)	0.27 (0.233)	-0.495*** (0.100)	0.593* (0.236)	-0.566*** (0.100)	0.056 (0.238)
Scandinavia dummy	1.310* (0.530)	-0.764*** (0.086)	-0.005 (0.613)	-0.711*** (0.092)	-0.506 (0.620)	-0.307*** (0.074)
N	10986	38725	11020	38642	11151	39222

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Standard errors in parentheses.