

Chapter 6

Religion and politics in the Muslim world

In seeking to understand the role of religion in the Muslim world many popular commentators have turned to Samuel P. Huntington's provocative and controversial thesis of a 'clash of civilizations'. This account emphasized that the end of the Cold War brought new dangers. *"In the new world",* Huntington argued, *"...the most pervasive, important and dangerous conflicts will not be between social classes, rich and poor, or other economically defined groups, but between people belonging to different cultural entities. Tribal wars and ethnic conflicts will occur within civilizations...And the most dangerous cultural conflicts are those along the fault lines between civilizations... For forty-five years the Iron Curtain was the central dividing line in Europe. That line has moved several hundred miles east. It is now the line separating peoples of Western Christianity, on the one hand, from Muslim and Orthodox peoples on the other."*¹ For Huntington, Marxist class warfare, and even the disparities between rich and poor nations, have been overshadowed in the twenty-first century by Weberian culture.

This influential account appeared to offer insights into the causes of violent ethno-religious conflicts exemplified by Bosnia, the Caucasus, the Middle East, and Kashmir. It seemed to explain the failure of political reform to take root in many Islamic states, despite the worldwide resurgence of electoral democracies around the globe. The framework seemed to provide a powerful lens that the American media used to interpret the underlying reasons for the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center and subsequent developments in Afghanistan and Iraq. Commentators often saw 9/11 as a full-scale assault on the global hegemony of America, in particular, and a reaction by Islamic fundamentalists against Western culture, in general. Nevertheless, the Huntington thesis has been highly controversial. The claim of rising ethnic conflict in the post-Cold War era has come under repeated and sustained attack². Many scholars have challenging the existence of a single Islamic culture stretching all the way from Jakarta to Lagos, let alone one that held values deeply incompatible with democracy³. What has been less widely examined, however, is systematic empirical evidence of whether the publics in Western and Islamic societies share similar or deeply divergent values, and, in particular, whether any important differences between these cultures rest on democratic values (as Huntington claims) or on social values (as modernization theories suggest).

This chapter seeks to throw light on this issue by examining cultural values from the World Values Survey in almost 80 societies around the globe, including nine predominately Islamic societies. First we briefly outline the Huntington thesis and the response by critics. We then lay out and analyze the evidence. The data supports the first claim in Huntington's thesis: culture *does* matter, and matter a lot: religious legacies leave a distinct and lasting imprint on contemporary values. But Huntington is mistaken in assuming that the core 'clash' between the

West and Islamic societies concerns *political* values: instead the evidence indicates that surprisingly similar attitudes towards democracy are found in the West and the Islamic world. We do find significant cross-cultural differences concerning the role of religious leaders in politics and society, but these attitudes divide the West from many other countries around the globe, not just Islamic ones. The original thesis erroneously assumed that the primary cultural fault line between the West and Islam concerns democratic government, overlooking a stronger cultural divide based on issues of gender equality and sexual liberalization. Cohort analysis suggests that as younger generations in the West have gradually become more liberal towards sexuality, this has generated a growing cultural gap, with Islamic nations remaining the most traditional societies in the world. The central values separating Islam and the West revolve far more centrally around Eros than Demos.

The 'Clash of Civilizations' Debate

The 'clash of civilizations' thesis advances three central claims. First, Huntington suggests that 'culture matters'; in particular that contemporary values in different societies are path-dependent, reflecting long-standing legacies associated with core 'civilizations'. The concept of 'civilization' is understood by Huntington as a 'culture writ large': *"It is defined both by common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, and by the subjective self-identification of people."*⁴ Of these factors, Huntington sees religion as the central defining element (p.47), although he also distinguishes regional sub-divisions within the major world religions, such as the distinct role of Catholicism in Western Europe and Latin America, due to their different historical traditions and political legacies.

Second, the 'clash' thesis claims that there are sharp cultural differences between the core political values common in societies sharing a Western Christian heritage -- particularly those concerning representative democracy -- and the beliefs common in the rest of the world, especially Islamic societies. For Huntington, the defining features of Western civilization include the separation of religious and secular authority, the rule of law and social pluralism, the parliamentary institutions of representative government, and the protection of individual rights and civil liberties as the buffer between citizens and the power of the state: *"Individually almost none of these factors was unique to the West. The combination of them was, however, and this is what gave the West its distinctive quality."*⁵ Other accounts have commonly stressed that the complex phenomenon of 'modernization' encompasses many additional social values that challenge traditional beliefs, notably faith in scientific and technological progress, belief in the role of economic competition in the marketplace, and the diffusion of modern social mores, exemplified by sexual liberalization and equality for women⁶. But Huntington's claim is that the strongest distinguishing characteristic of Western culture, the aspect which demarcates Western Christianity most clearly from the Muslim and Orthodox worlds, concerns the values

associated with representative democracy. This claim is given plausibility by the failure of electoral democracy to take root in most states in the Middle East and North Africa⁷. According to the annual assessment made by the Freedom House (2002), of the 192 countries around the world, two-thirds (121) are electoral democracies. Of the 47 countries with an Islamic majority, one quarter (11) are electoral democracies. Furthermore, none of the core Arabic-speaking societies in the Middle East and North Africa falls into this category. Given this pattern, in the absence of survey evidence concerning the actual beliefs of Islamic publics, it is commonly assumed that they have little faith in the principles or performance of democracy, preferring strong leadership and rule by traditional religious authorities to the democratic values of pluralistic competition, political participation, and political rights and civil liberties.

Lastly, Huntington argues that important and long-standing differences in political values based on predominant religious cultures will lead to conflict between and within nation-states, with the most central problems of global politics arising from an ethno-religious 'clash'⁸. It remains unclear whether Huntington is claiming that the core cleavage concerns Western democratic values versus the developing world, or whether the main contrast lies as a fault line between the West and Islam, but the latter has been the primary popular interpretation of the thesis, and the one which has aroused the most heated debate.

Middle Eastern area studies specialists, scholars of the Koran, and students of Islamic law have contested a series of issues about the 'clash' thesis. Critics have challenged the notion of a single Islamic culture, pointing to substantial contrasts found among one billion people living in diverse Islamic nations, such as Pakistan, Jordan, Azerbaijan, Indonesia, Bangladesh, and Turkey, and the differences between Muslims who are radical or moderate, traditional or modern, conservative or liberal, hard-line or revisionist⁹. Observers stress the manifold differences within the Islamic world due to historical traditions and colonial legacies, ethnic cleavages, levels of economic development, and the role and power of religious fundamentalists in different states, claiming that it makes little sense to lump together people living in Jakarta, Riyadh, and Istanbul. Along similar lines, the idea that we can recognize a single culture of 'Western Christianity' is to over-simplify major cross-national differences, even among affluent postindustrial societies as superficially similar as the United States, Italy, and Sweden, for example the contrasts between Catholic Mediterranean Europe and Protestant Scandinavia, as well as among social sectors and religious denominations within each country.

Moreover, setting this issue aside for the moment, even if we accept the existence of a shared 'Islamic' culture, scholars have also argued that the core values and teaching of the Koran are not incompatible with those of democracy¹⁰. Edward Said decried Huntington's thesis as an attempt to revive the 'black-white', 'us-them', or 'good-evil' world dichotomy that had been so prevalent during the height of the Cold War, substituting threats from 'Islamic terrorists' for

those from ‘Communist spies’¹¹. Western leaders, seeking to build a global coalition against the followers of Osama Bin Laden, took pains to distance themselves from the clash of civilizations thesis, stressing deep divisions within the Islamic world between the extreme fundamentalists and moderate Muslims. Leaders emphasized that the events of September 11th arose from the extreme ideological beliefs held by particular splinter groups of Al-Qaeda and Taliban fundamentalists, not from mainstream Muslim public opinion. Just as it would be a mistake to understand the 1995 bombing in Oklahoma City as a collective attack on the federal government by all Christian fundamentalists, rather than the work of a few individuals, it may be inappropriate to view the attack by Al-Qaeda terrorists on symbols of American capitalism and financial power as a new ‘clash of civilizations’ between Islamic and Western cultures.

As well as challenging the basic premises of the ‘clash of civilizations’ thesis, alternative explanations of radical Islamic fundamentalism suggest that the underlying root causes lie in deep disparities between rich and poor within societies, buttressed by the pervasive inequalities in political power in Middle Eastern regimes¹². Structural or neo-Marxist theories suggest that the best predictors of radical disaffection lie in uneven patterns of modernization around the world and the existence of pervasive inequalities *within* many Muslim societies. The most important cleavage may be between middle class, more affluent, educated and professional social sectors on the one hand, - the teachers, doctors, and lawyers in Cairo, Beirut and Islamabad - and the sub-strata of poorer, uneducated, and unemployed younger men living in Saudi Arabia, Libya, and Syria who, if disaffected, may become willing recruits to Islamic fundamentalist causes. Huntington distinguishes certain demographic characteristics of Islamic societies, notably the phenomena of the ‘youth bulge’, but does not pursue the consequences of this generational pattern, in particular whether younger men from poorer sectors of society are particularly prone to political disaffection.

Yet there are plausible alternative theories about the major cultural contrasts we could expect to find between Islam and the West. In work presented elsewhere we document how the modernization process has transformed values by generating a rising tide of support for equality between women and men in post-industrial societies, and greater approval in these societies of a more permissive and liberal sexuality, including tolerance of divorce, abortion and homosexuality¹³. The version of modernization theory developed by Inglehart hypothesizes that human development generates changed cultural attitudes in virtually any society, although values also reflect the imprint of each society’s religious legacies and historical experiences. Modernization brings systematic, *predictable* changes in gender roles. The impact of modernization operates in two key phases:

- i. Industrialization brings women into the paid work force and dramatically reduces fertility rates. Women attain literacy and educational opportunities. Women are enfranchised

and begin to participate in representative government, but still have far less power than men.

- ii. The postindustrial phase brings a shift toward greater gender equality as women move into higher status economic roles in management and the professions, and gain political influence within elected and appointed bodies. Over half of the world has not yet entered this phase; only the more advanced industrial societies are currently moving on this trajectory.

These two phases correspond to two major dimensions of cross-cultural variation: (i) A transition from traditional to secular-rational values; and (ii) a transition from survival to self-expression values. The decline of the traditional family is linked with the first dimension. The rise of gender equality is linked with the second. Cultural shifts in modern societies are not sufficient by themselves to guarantee women equality across all major dimensions of life; nevertheless through underpinning structural reforms and women's rights they greatly facilitate this process¹⁴. If this theory is applied to cultural contrasts between modern and traditional societies, it suggests that we would expect one of the key differences between the Western and Islamic worlds to focus around the issues of gender equality and sexual liberalization, rather than the democratic values that are central to Huntington's theory.

Classification and measures

To summarize, many issues arising from the 'clash' thesis could be considered, but here we focus upon testing two alternative propositions arising from the theoretical debate. Huntington emphasizes that the political values of democracy originated in the West with the separation of church and state, the growth of representative parliamentary institutions, and the expansion of the franchise. As such, he predicts that, despite the more recent emergence and consolidation of 'Third Wave' democracies in many parts of the world, democratic values will be most deeply and widely entrenched in Western societies. If true, we would expect to find *the strongest cultural clash in political values would be between the Western and Islamic worlds*. In contrast, Inglehart's modernization theory suggests that a rising tide of support for women's equality and sexual liberalization has left a particularly marked imprint upon richer postindustrial nations, although traditional attitudes continue to prevail in poorer developing societies. Accordingly, given this interpretation, we also test the alternative proposition that *any deep-seated cultural divisions between Islam and the West will revolve far more strongly around social rather than political values, especially concerning the issues of sexual liberalization and gender equality*.

The issues of cultural conflict and value change have generated considerable controversy but, as yet, little systematic survey data has been available to compare public opinion towards politics and society in many Middle Eastern and Western societies.

Interpretations by area scholars and anthropologists have relied upon more qualitative sources, including personal interviews, observations and direct experience, and traditional textual exegesis of the literature, religious scriptures, and historical documents¹⁵. Recently commercial companies have started to conduct opinion polls that are representative of the public in a limited range of Muslim nations¹⁶; Gallup's survey examined attitudes towards other countries in nine Middle Eastern societies and the United States¹⁷, while Roper Reports Worldwide compared social values in the United States and Saudi Arabia¹⁸. Moreover a study by Mark Tessler examined orientations towards democracy in four Arab states (Egypt, Jordan, Morocco and Algeria), reporting that support for political Islam does not lead towards unfavourable attitudes towards democracy¹⁹. Richard Rose compared attitudes among Muslims in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, and also concluded that being a Muslim does not make a person more likely either to reject democracy or to endorse dictatorship²⁰. To build on previous studies, this chapter focuses on analyzing attitudes and values in the last two waves of the World Values survey, from 1995-2001. To test the evidence for the 'clash of civilizations' thesis, this study compares values at *societal*-level, based on the assumption that predominant cultures exert a broad and diffuse influence upon all people living under them.

Classifying cultural regions

In Huntington's account nine major contemporary civilizations can be identified, based largely on the predominant religious culture in each society:

- Western Christianity (a European culture that subsequently spread to North America, Australia and New Zealand),
- Muslim (including the Middle East, Northern Africa, and parts of South East Asia),
- Orthodox (Russian and Greek),
- Latin American (predominately Catholic yet with a distinct corporatist, authoritarian culture),
- Sinic/ Confucian (China, South Korean, Vietnam and Korea),
- Japanese,
- Hindu,
- Buddhist (Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia), and (possibly)
- Sub-Saharan Africa²¹.

Huntington treats states or societies as the core actors exemplifying these civilizations, although recognizing that populations with particular cultural and religious identities spread well beyond

the border of the nation-state. Moreover some plural societies are deeply divided, so there is rarely a clean one-to-one mapping, apart from exceptional cases such as Japan and India.

To analyze the survey evidence for these propositions, societies were classified into these categories, (see Table 6.1) based on the predominant religious culture within each nation. The comparison includes eleven societies with a Muslim majority (ranging from 71 to 96 percent), including Algeria, Jordan, Pakistan, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Albania, Morocco, Iran and Egypt. This compares diverse states within the Islamic world, including semi-democracies with elections and some freedoms, exemplified by Albania, Turkey and Bangladesh, as well as constitutional monarchies (Jordan), and suspended semi-democracies under military rule (Pakistan). Geographically these nations are located in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and South Asia. In addition, the comparative framework includes 22 nations based on a culture of 'Western Christianity' (using Huntington's definition to include both predominately Catholic and Protestant postindustrial societies, and countries like Australia and New Zealand which are not located regionally in the 'West' yet which inherited a democratic tradition from Protestant Britain). Other nations are classified into distinct religious cultural traditions including Latin America (10), Russian or Greek Orthodox (12), Central European (10 nations sharing a common Western Christian heritage with the West yet with the distinct experience of living under Communist rule), sub-Saharan Africa (5), South-East Asian (4 societies reflecting Sinic/Confucian values), plus Japan and India. In addition, ten societies contain a significant *minority* Islamic population (ranging from 4 to 27 percent), including Bosnia, Macedonia, Nigeria and India, although these nations have Orthodox, Protestant, or Hindu majority populations. In the multivariate regression models, each type of society was coded as a dummy variable and the 'Western' societies category was used as the (omitted) reference category. The models therefore measure the impact of living in each of these types of society, with controls, compared with living in the West.

[Table 6.1 about here]

To rule out intervening variables, multivariate regression models compare the influence of predominant religious cultures in each type of society controlling for levels of human and political development. Modernization theories suggest that this process brings certain predictable shifts in cultural values, including declining belief in traditional sources of religious authority and rising demands for more participatory forms of civic engagement²². Structural differences among societies are measured by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI) 2000, (combining levels of per capita income, literacy and schooling, and longevity), and levels of democratization, which are classified based on the 1999-2000 Freedom House analysis of political rights and civil liberties²³. The structural differences among groups within societies are measured by the standard social indicators,

including income (as the most reliable cross-cultural measure of socioeconomic status in different societies), education, gender, age, and religious values. The latter was included to see whether the *strength* of religious values was more significant than the predominant *type* of religious culture in any society. Religious values were measured by whether people said that religion was ‘very important’ in their lives.

Measuring Political and Social Values

Attitudes were compared towards three dimensions of political and social values: (i) support for democratic ideals and performance, (ii) attitudes towards political leadership, and (iii) approval of gender equality and sexual liberalization. As argued elsewhere, an important distinction needs to be drawn between support for the *ideals* of democracy and evaluations of the actual *performance* of democracy²⁴. Evidence from previous waves of the World Value Study suggests that citizens in many countries adhere strongly to the general principles of democracy, such as believing that it is the best form of government and disapproving of authoritarian alternatives, and yet at the same time many remain deeply dissatisfied with the way that democratic governments work in practice²⁵. The phenomenon of more ‘critical citizens’ or ‘disenchanted democrats’ has been widely observed²⁶. To examine these dimensions, attitudes towards the principles and performance of democracy are measured in this study using the items listed in Table 6.2, where respondents are invited to express agreement or disagreement with the statements. It should be noted that the performance items do not ask people about their experience of democracy in their own country, such as how well their government works, but rather taps their expectations of how well democratic governments generally function in taking decisions and maintaining order.

In addition, it is commonly assumed that one of the primary contrasts between Muslim and Western cultures relates to attitudes towards the role of religious leaders, who exercise power by virtue of their spiritual authority, or secular leaders who hold authority through elective office, reflecting deeper beliefs about the separation of church and state. We therefore also monitored support for the role of religious leaders in public life, with the items listed in Table 6.2. Neither leadership item cued respondents with any explicit reference to ‘democracy’ and indeed, in principle, there is no inconsistency in believing both in the important role of spiritual authorities and in the principles of democracy, if the religious leaders exercise power through elected office, exemplified by Christian Democrat parties in Germany or politicians from the Christian far right in the United States. We also sought to compare attitudes towards preferences for strong leadership, measured by questions tapping support for non-democratic forms of government by experts or by leaders unaccountable to parliament or elections. Factor analysis confirmed that these political items did indeed fall into four distinct dimensions.

Accordingly summary scales were constructed, each standardized to 100-points for ease of interpretation and consistent comparison across measures.

[Table 6.2 about here]

Yet the alternative proposition is that the transformation of social values towards sexuality and women's equality, which has profoundly affected the younger generation in postindustrial societies, may lie at the heart of any cultural clash between modern and traditional societies in general, and between the West and Islam in particular. In this regard, Huntington may have correctly identified the importance of civilizational values, but may have misdiagnosed the root causes of any cultural differences. To explore this proposition we can compare support for gender equality, using a standardized scale developed elsewhere, also based on factor analysis, monitoring attitudes towards the roles of women and men in the workforce, education, politics, and the family²⁷. The Gender Equality items are similar to those commonly contained in the more comprehensive psychological scales of sex roles. The gender equality scale was summed across the component items and standardized to 100-points for ease of interpretation. We also compared attitudes using 10-point scales monitoring approval or disapproval of three related dimensions of changing sexual mores, concerning homosexuality, abortion and divorce.

Attitudes towards democracy

The multivariate OLS regression models presented in Table 6.3 compared the impact of living within each type of religious culture after including controls for the societal-level of human and political development, and individual-level measures for age, gender, education, income, and strength of religiosity. In these models, each type of society was coded as a dummy (0/1) variable. The Western category was excluded from the analysis, so that the dummy coefficients can be interpreted as the effect of living in these societies, after applying prior controls, compared with the effect of living in the West. The data was entered in blocks, including development and social controls in the first block, then the additional effects of the full model in the second block, including the type of society as well.

[Table 6.3 about here]

The results show that after controlling for all these factors, contrary to Huntington's thesis, compared with Western societies, *there were no significant differences between the publics living in the West and in Muslim religious cultures in approval of how democracy works in practice, in support for democratic ideals, and in approval of strong leadership*. By marked contrast, lower support for democratic values were evident in many other types of non-Western society, especially countries in Eastern and Central Europe, and Latin America, while the Sinin/Confucian states showed the greater approval of strong government. At the same time,

after introducing all the controls, *Muslim publics did display greater support for a strong societal role by religious authorities than do Western publics*. This pattern persists despite controlling for the strength of religiosity and other social factors, which suggests that it is not simply reducible to the characteristics of people living in Muslim societies. Yet this preference for religious authorities is less a cultural division between the West and Islam than it is a gap between the West and many other types of less secular societies around the globe, especially in Sub Saharan Africa and, to a lesser extent, in Latin America.

[Figures 6.1 and 6.2 next to each other about here]

To examine these results in more detail, Figures 6.1 and 6.2 compares the location of each nation on these scales. Of all countries under comparison, Russia proved a striking outlier, displaying widespread disillusionment with the way that democratic processes worked, as well as little enthusiasm for democratic ideas. Other Orthodox societies also showed minimal faith in democracy, including the Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Georgia and Macedonia. A few other developing countries from different cultures proved extremely critical of the way that democracy worked in practice, although showing greater support for democratic ideals, including Tanzania, Brazil and Poland. Many diverse cultures were located in the middle of the distribution, including Turkey and Jordan as Islamic societies, as well as the United States, Italy, and the Netherlands. Nations that gave the strongest endorsement for democratic ideals and practices included the Scandinavian societies of Denmark, Iceland, and Sweden, along with Germany and Austria, but high support was also registered in Muslim Bangladesh, Egypt and Azerbaijan. Therefore in general slightly lower levels of support for democracy were evident in some Eastern European states, notably in Russia, lending some confirmation for claims of a division between the Orthodox and Western worlds. But attitudes towards democratic principles and performance generally showed a broad distribution across many diverse cultural groups, providing minimal support for the stronger claim that the West is particularly distinctive to Islam in its faith in democracy. Indeed the difference between public opinion in Eastern and Western Europe could be explained equally satisfactorily as reflecting a residual hangover from the Cold War era, and the poor performance of electoral democracies and states in these nations, rather than being interpreted as the result of cultural legacies or the emergence of any 'new' ethno-religious cleavage.

Figure 6.2 compared leadership attitudes by nation. Support for religious leaders was lowest in many secular societies in Scandinavia and Western Europe, as well as in certain nations in Eastern Europe like the Czech Republic. The United States proved distinctive, showing higher than average support for religious leaders, compared with other Western nations, while Greece was another outlier. At the other extreme, support for religious leaders was relatively strong in African societies including Nigeria, Tanzania, and South Africa, as well

as the Philippines, all countries with strong religiosity. Compared with Western nations, many of the Islamic nations expressed greater support for the principle of religious authorities, but they were far from alone in this regard. There is also a fascinating split over the issue of strong leadership evident within the Islamic world; more democratic countries with greater political rights and civil liberties and parliamentary traditions, exemplified by Bangladesh, and Turkey, expressed greater reservations about strong leadership. To a lesser extent, Jordan also fell into this category. In contrast the public living in Islamic countries characterized by more limited political freedoms, less democratic states, and by strong executives, expressed greater support for strong leadership, notably in Egypt, Iran, and Morocco.

[Table 6.4 about here]

Yet so far we have not compared the alternative modernization thesis that the social values of gender equality and sexual liberalization could plausibly lie at the heart of any ‘clash’ between Islam and the West. The analysis of these social attitudes in Table 6.4 reveals the extent of the gulf between Islam and the West, with a far stronger and more significant gap on these issues than across most of the political values. Many structural factors are also important; more egalitarian and liberal values are evident among the young, women, the well educated, and the more secular, as discussed later in Chapter 7, as well as in societies with greater human and democratic development. After these controls are introduced, the results show that there remains a strong and significant difference across all the social values (including approval of gender equality, homosexuality, abortion and divorce) among those publics living in Western v. Muslim societies. Figure 6.3 shows the distribution of nations on the scales for gender equality and homosexuality in more detail. The results confirm the consistency of the sharp differences between Islam and the West on these issues. All the Western nations, led by Sweden, Germany and Norway, strongly favor equality for women and also prove tolerant of homosexuality. Many other societies show a mixed pattern, falling into the middle of the distribution. In contrast the Muslim cultures, including Egypt, Bangladesh, Jordan, Iran and Azerbaijan, all display the most traditional social attitudes, with only Albania proving slightly more liberal.

[Figure 6.3 about here]

We lack time-series survey data that would allow us to trace trends in the post-war era, to see whether these cultural differences between societies have widened, as we suspect, due to the modernization process in post-industrial economies. Nevertheless, if we assume that people acquire their basic moral and social values as the result of the long-term socialization process, in the family, school and community, leading to generational rather than life-cycle effects, we can analyze these attitudes for different 10-year cohorts of birth. The results in Figure 5.4 confirm two striking and important patterns: first, there is a persistent gap in support

for gender equality and sexual liberalization between the West (which proves most liberal), Islamic societies (which prove most traditional), and all other societies (which are in the middle). Moreover, even more importantly, the figures reveal that the gap between the West and Islam is usually narrowest among the oldest generation, but that this gap has steadily widened across all the indicators as the younger generations in Western societies have become progressively more liberal and egalitarian, while the younger generations in Islamic societies remain as traditional as their parents and grandparents. The trends suggest that Islamic societies have not experienced a backlash against liberal Western sexual mores among the younger generations, but rather that young Muslims remain unchanged despite the transformation of lifestyles and beliefs experienced among their peers living in postindustrial societies.

[Figure 6.4 about here]

Conclusion and Discussion

The thesis of a ‘clash of civilizations’ has triggered something of a ‘clash of scholarship’ among those seeking to understand the causes and consequences of ethnic-religious conflict. This task has long been of interest to academe but it has received fresh impetus by the dramatic events and aftermath of 9/11. Alternative interpretations of these issues are important for themselves, but also because they carry important policy implications, not least for how far differences between the United States and Middle Eastern states primarily reflect the views of political elites and governing regimes, or whether they tap into deeper currents of public opinion. To summarize the core components of the Huntington thesis, the claims are threefold: societal values in contemporary societies are rooted in religious cultures; the most important cultural division between the Western and Islamic world relates to differences over democratic values; and, in the post-Cold War era, this ‘culture clash’ is at the source of much international and domestic ethnic conflict.

The comparative evidence from this chapter suggests four main findings:

- (i) First, when political attitudes are compared (including evaluations of how well democracy works in practice, support for democratic ideals, and disapproval of strong leaders), far from a ‘clash of values’, there is minimal difference between the Muslim world and the West.
- (ii) Instead the democratic ‘clash’ (if it can be called a clash) divides Post-Communist states in Eastern European (exemplified by Russia, Ukraine and Moldova), which display minimal support for democracy, from many other countries that display far more positive attitudes, including both Western *and* Islamic nations. This pattern could be explained equally well as reflecting the residual legacy of the Cold War and a realistic evaluation of the actual

performance of democracy in these states, rather than by the reemergence of ethnic conflict based on the values of the Orthodox church which are, after all, part of Christendom.

- (iii) Support for religious authorities is stronger in Muslim societies than in the West, but here it is not a simple dichotomy, as many other types of society also support an active role for religious leaders in public life, including the Sub Saharan African countries under comparison as well as many Catholic nations in Latin America.
- (iv) Yet there *is* a substantial cultural cleavage, although one underestimated by Huntington, in social values towards gender equality and sexual liberalization. In this regard, the West is far more egalitarian and liberal than all other societies, particularly Muslim nations. Moreover cohort analysis suggests that this gap has steadily widened as the younger generation in the West has gradually become more liberal in their sexual mores, while the younger generation in Muslim societies remains deeply traditional.

The results indicate that modern Western societies are indeed different, in particular concerning the transformation of attitudes and behavior associated with the ‘sexual revolution’ that has occurred since the 1960s, fundamental changes in the nature of modern families, and more expressive lifestyles. Equality for women has progressed much further, and transformed traditional cultural beliefs and values about the appropriate division of sex roles far more deeply, in affluent Western societies. But at the same time any claim of a ‘clash of civilizations’, especially of fundamentally different *political* values held by Western and Islamic societies, represents an over-simplification of the evidence. Across many political dimensions examined here, both Muslim and Western societies are similar in their positive orientation toward democratic ideals. Where Islam societies do differ significantly from the West, in supporting religious authorities, they are far from exceptional around the world. Any black-and-white ‘Islam versus the West’ interpretation of a ‘culture clash’ as conveyed by the popular media is far too simplistic. It would be desirable to be able to compare public opinion across more dimensions, and across a wider range of nations in the Middle East, Africa and Asia. Moreover it remains unclear how far different understandings of ‘democracy’ are culturally determined, giving rise to the familiar problems of equivalence in cross-national research. Nevertheless the results urge strong caution in generalizing from the type of regime to the state of public opinion in any particular country. Support for democracy is surprisingly widespread among Islamic publics, even among those who live in authoritarian societies. The most basic cultural fault line between the West and Islam does not concern democracy-- it involves issues of gender equality and sexual liberalization, as discussed further in Chapter 7.

Table 6.1: Classification of societies by religious cultures

| <i>Protestant</i> | <i>Catholic</i> | <i>Islamic</i> | <i>Orthodox</i> | <i>Central Europe</i> | <i>Latin America</i> | <i>Sinic/ Confucian</i> | <i>Sub-Saharan Africa</i> |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Australia | Austria | Albania | Belarus | Croatia | Argentina | South Korea | Nigeria |
| Britain | Belgium | Algeria | Bosnia | Czech Republic | Brazil | Taiwan | South Africa |
| Canada | France | Azerbaijan | Bulgaria | East Germany | Chile | Vietnam | Tanzania |
| Denmark | Ireland | Bangladesh | Georgia | Estonia | Colombia | China | Uganda |
| Finland | Italy | Egypt | Greece | Hungary | Dominican Rep | | Zimbabwe |
| Iceland | Malta | Indonesia | Macedonia | Latvia | El Salvador | | |
| New Zealand | Portugal | Iran | Moldova | Lithuania | Mexico | | |
| Netherlands | Spain | Jordan | Montenegro | Poland | Peru | | |
| Northern Ireland | Switzerland | Morocco | Romania | Slovakia | Uruguay | | |
| Norway | | Pakistan | Russia | Slovenia | Venezuela | | |
| Sweden | | Turkey | Serbia | | | | |
| United States | | | Ukraine | | | | |
| West Germany | | | | | | | |

Note: This study dividing states with distinctive historical traditions, religious legacies and political institutions, including the UK (Northern Ireland and Great Britain), Germany (East and West), and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The Catholic and Protestant societies are analyzed together as 'Western Christianity'. In addition, India and Japan are each treated as separate religious cultures.

Source: The World Values Survey/European Values Survey, 1995-2001

Table 6.2: Factor analysis of political values

| | Democratic performance | Democratic ideals | Religious leadership | Strong leadership |
|--|------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| V170 <i>Democracies are indecisive and have too much squabbling</i> | .862 | | | |
| V171 <i>Democracies aren't good at maintaining order</i> | .854 | | | |
| V172 <i>Democracy may have its problems but its better than any other form of government</i> | | .853 | | |
| V167 <i>Approve of having a democratic political system</i> | | .780 | | |
| V200 <i>Politicians who do not believe in God are unfit for public office</i> | | | .881 | |
| V202 <i>It would be better for [this country] if more people with strong religious beliefs held public office.</i> | | | .879 | |
| V165 <i>Approve having experts, not government, make decisions</i> | | | | .838 |
| V164 <i>Approve having a strong leaders who does not have to bother with parliament and elections</i> | | | | .721 |
| % Of total variance | 19.6 | 17.7 | 19.6 | 15.7 |

Note: Principal component factor analysis was used with varimax rotation and Kaiser normalization. The total model predicts 72.6% of cumulative variance. The democratic performance scale was reversed so that a positive response expressed greater satisfaction with democracy.

Source: The World Values Survey/European Values Survey, Waves III and IV (1995-2001)

Table 6.3: Political values by type of religious culture, with controls

| | Approve of democratic Performance | | | | Approve of democratic Ideals | | | | Favor religious leadership | | | | Favor strong leadership | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|----------------------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Scale | 0-100 | | | | 0-100 | | | | 0-100 | | | | 0-100 | | | |
| | B | St. Err. | Beta | Sig | B | St. Err. | Beta | Sig | B | St. Err. | Beta | Sig | B | St. Err. | Beta | Sig |
| Type of religious culture | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Muslim | 0.2 | .36 | .02 | N/s | 0.2 | .31 | .01 | N/s | 8.3 | .51 | .14 | *** | 0.3 | .38 | .01 | N/s |
| Orthodox | -10.2 | .28 | -.20 | *** | -9.1 | .24 | -.20 | *** | 9.1 | .39 | .12 | *** | 8.2 | 30 | .15 | *** |
| Central European | -7.6 | .23 | -.15 | *** | 6.0 | .20 | -.14 | *** | 2.4 | 31 | .04 | *** | 8.4 | .25 | .15 | *** |
| Latin American | -6.5 | .26 | -.12 | *** | -3.7 | .22 | -.08 | *** | 1.6 | .39 | .02 | *** | 5.3 | .28 | .09 | *** |
| Sinic/Confucian | 0.2 | .44 | .01 | N/s | -4.3 | .37 | -.05 | *** | -0.3 | .89 | -.01 | N/s | 13.3 | .467 | .12 | *** |
| Sub-Saharan African | -6.3 | .47 | -.10 | *** | -7.2 | .39 | -.13 | *** | 11.2 | .59 | .15 | *** | 2.8 | 50 | .04 | *** |
| Hindu | -8.0 | .67 | -.05 | *** | -4.6 | .55 | -.03 | *** | N/a | | | *** | 14.0 | .72 | .08 | *** |
| Japanese | 2.3 | .66 | .02 | *** | -4.1 | .55 | -.03 | *** | 4.8 | .61 | .03 | *** | 3.1 | .65 | .02 | *** |
| (Constant) | 70.7 | | | | 84.3 | | | | 71.3 | | | | 56.6 | | | |
| Adjusted R² Block 1 (Control variables only) | .02 | | | | .02 | | | | .38 | | | | .04 | | | |
| Adjusted R² Block 2 (Controls + type of society) | .07 | | | | .06 | | | | .39 | | | | .08 | | | |
| N. | 82865 | | | | 82536 | | | | 47703 | | | | 80986 | | | |

Note: OLS regression models with blockwise entry with the political value scales as the dependent variables. The full model is illustrated in Table A5.1. Block 1 in all models control for the *level of human development* (Human Development Index 1998), *level of political development* (Freedom House 7-point index (reversed) of political rights and civil liberties 1999-2000), age (years), gender (male=1), education (3 categories from low to high), income (10 categories), and religious values (importance of religion). Block 2 then enters the type of culture, based on the predominant religion, coded as dummy variables. Western culture represents the (omitted) reference category. The coefficients can be understood to represent the effect of living in each type of culture compared with living in Western culture, net of all prior controls. *Political value* scales: For details see Table 6.2. *Type of culture*: see Table 6.1. Sig. ***p.001 ** p.01 *p.05. N/s Not Significant

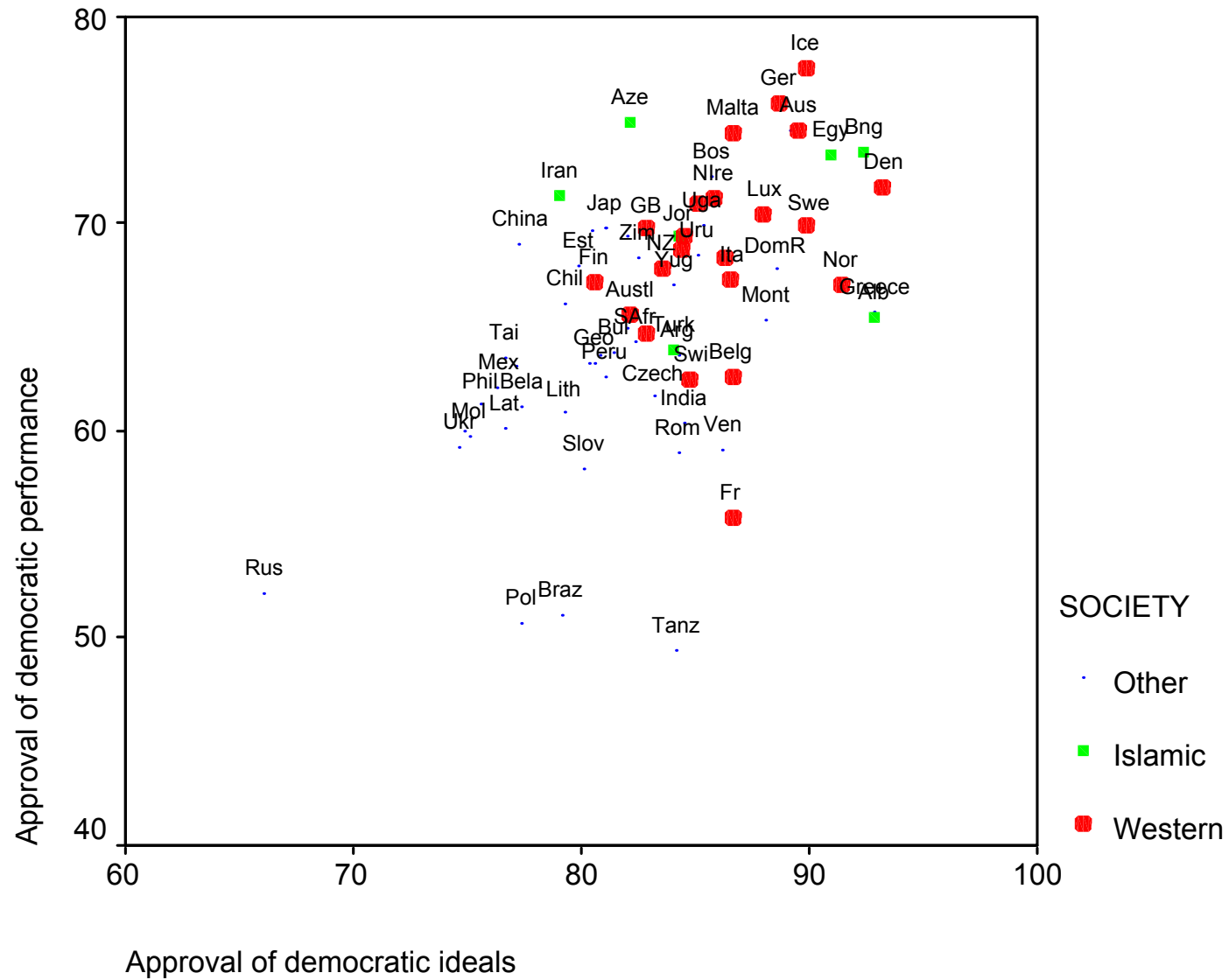
Source: All World Values Survey/European Values Survey (WVS), pooled sample 1995-2001.

Table 6.4: Social values by type of religious culture, with controls

| | Approve of gender equality | | | | Approve of homosexuality | | | | Approve of abortion | | | | Approve of divorce | | | |
|--|----------------------------|----------|------|-----|--------------------------|----------|------|-----|---------------------|----------|------|-----|--------------------|----------|------|-----|
| Scale | 0-100 | | | | 1-10 | | | | 1-10 | | | | 1-10 | | | |
| | B | St. Err. | Beta | Sig | B | St. Err. | Beta | Sig | B | St. Err. | Beta | Sig | B | St. Err. | Beta | Sig |
| Type of religious culture | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Muslim | -8.2 | .35 | -.18 | *** | -1.9 | .05 | -.18 | *** | -0.67 | .05 | -.07 | *** | -0.25 | .05 | -.03 | *** |
| Orthodox | -8.9 | .30 | -.17 | *** | -2.1 | .04 | -.26 | *** | 0.24 | .04 | .03 | *** | -0.20 | .04 | -.03 | *** |
| Central European | -6.6 | .30 | -.09 | *** | -1.6 | .03 | -.18 | *** | 0.24 | .03 | .03 | *** | 0.01 | .03 | .01 | N/s |
| Latin American | 2.6 | .25 | .05 | *** | -1.0 | .03 | -.11 | *** | -1.20 | .03 | -.14 | *** | 0.15 | .04 | .02 | *** |
| Sinic/Confucian | -0.3 | .69 | -.01 | N/s | -2.9 | .07 | -.13 | *** | -2.10 | .06 | -.10 | *** | -2.30 | .07 | -.11 | *** |
| Sub-Saharan African | 7.3 | .42 | .13 | *** | -0.6 | .06 | -.05 | *** | -0.08 | .06 | -.01 | N/s | 0.29 | .06 | .03 | *** |
| Hindu | 3.4 | .53 | .03 | *** | -1.2 | .08 | -.05 | *** | -0.05 | .08 | -.01 | N/s | -0.10 | .08 | -.01 | N/s |
| Japanese | -14.4 | .52 | -.09 | *** | -1.5 | .06 | -.06 | *** | -0.45 | .06 | -.02 | *** | -0.05 | .07 | -.01 | N/s |
| (Constant) | 32.7 | | | | 1.6 | | | | 3.1 | | | | 2.16 | | | |
| Adjusted R² Block 1 (Control variables only) | .26 | | | | .20 | | | | .23 | | | | .26 | | | |
| Adjusted R² Block 2 (Controls + type of society) | .33 | | | | .21 | | | | .26 | | | | .31 | | | |
| N. | 63476 | | | | 99980 | | | | 103290 | | | | 105432 | | | |

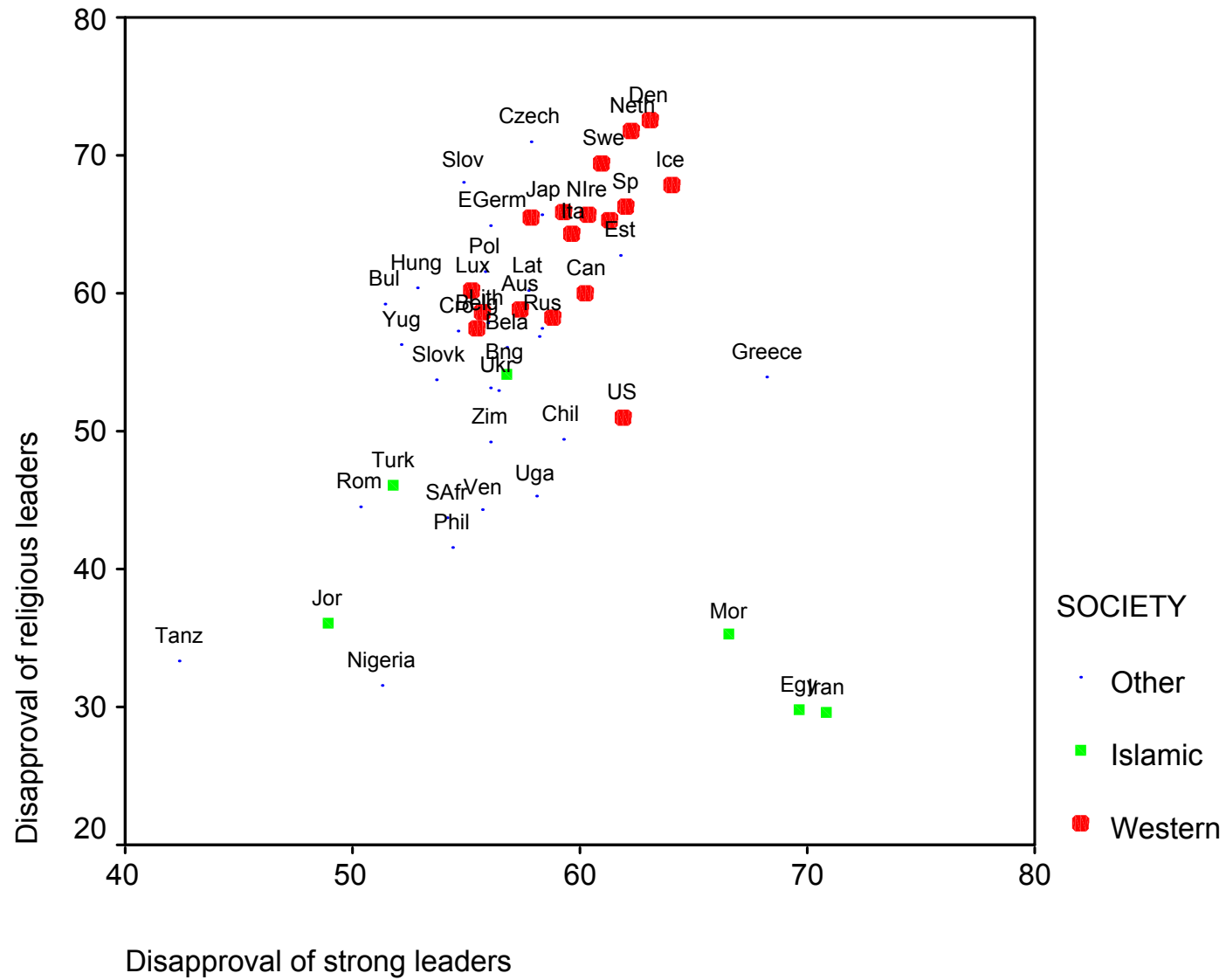
Note: Note: OLS regression models with blockwise entry with the social value scales as the dependent variables. The full model is illustrated in Table A5.1. Block 1 in all models control for the *level of human development* (Human Development Index 1998), *level of political development* (Freedom House 7-point index (reversed) of political rights and civil liberties 1999-2000), age (years), gender (male=1), education (3 categories from low to high), income (10 categories), and religious values (importance of religion). Block 2 then enters the type of culture, based on the predominant religion, coded as dummy variables. Western culture represent the (omitted) reference category. The coefficients can be understood to represent the effect of living in each type of culture compared with living in Western culture, net of all prior controls. *Type of culture*: see 6.1. *Gender equality scale*: For details see fn.7 and appendix B. *Sexual liberalization scales*: “Please tell me for each of the following statements whether you think it [Homosexuality/ abortion/ divorce] can always be justified, never be justified, or something in-between, using this card from 1 (never justifiable) to 10 (Always justifiable).” Sig. ***p.001 ** p.01 *p.05. N/s Not significant. Source: All World Values Survey/European Values Survey (WVS), pooled sample 1995-2001.

Figure 6.1: Democratic Values



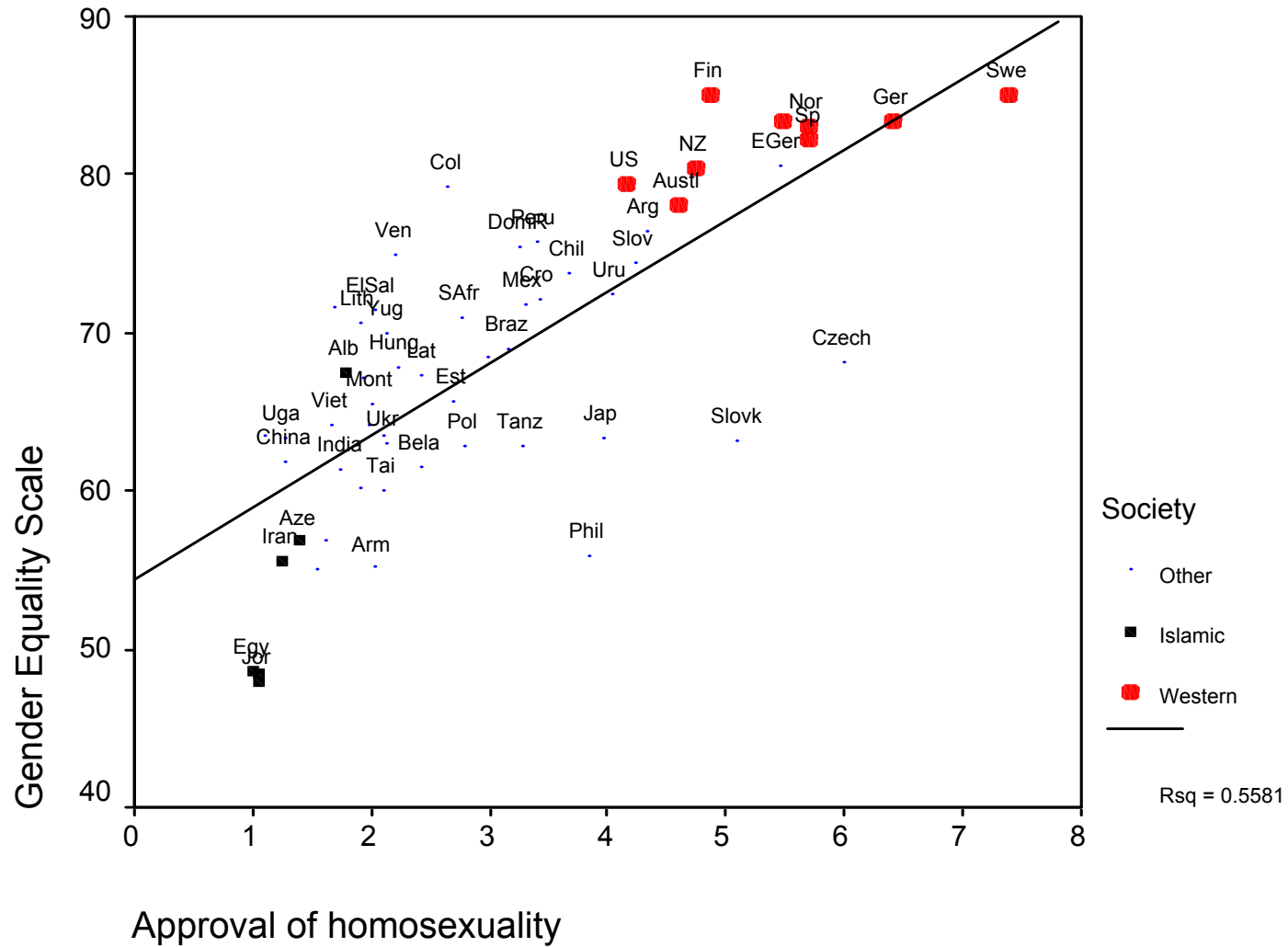
Source: World Values Survey/European Values Survey (WVS), pooled sample 1995-2001.

Figure 6.2: Leadership attitudes



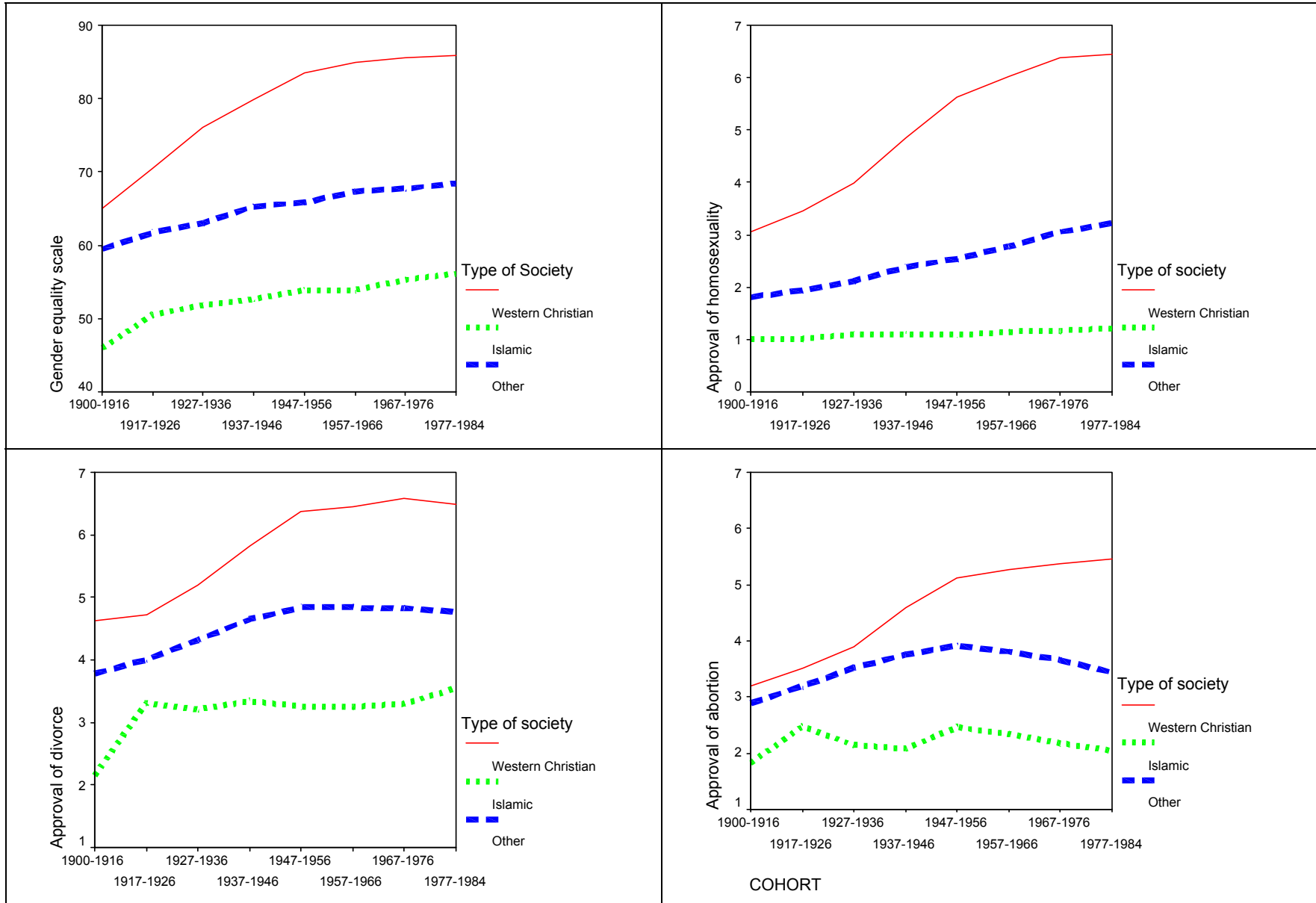
Source: World Values Survey/European Values Survey (WVS), pooled sample 1995-2001.

Figure 6.3: Social Values



Source: World Values Survey/European Values Survey (WVS), pooled sample 1995-2001.

Figure 6.4: Support for sexual liberalization values by cohort and society



Source: World Values Survey/European Values Survey (WVS), pooled sample 1995-2001.

Technical Appendix:**Table A1: Illustration of the full regression model used in Tables 6.3 and 6.4**

| Approve of Democratic Performance | | | | |
|--|------------|----------|------|-----|
| | B | St. Err. | Beta | Sig |
| Developmental controls | | | | |
| Level of human development (100-point scale) | -9.2 | 1.0 | -.07 | *** |
| Level of political development | .13 | .06 | .01 | * |
| Social controls | | | | |
| Age (Years) | -.03 | .01 | -.02 | *** |
| Gender (Male=1) | 0.15 | .12 | .01 | N/s |
| Education (3 categories low to hi) | 1.86 | .09 | .07 | *** |
| Income (10 categories low to hi) | 0.67 | .03 | .10 | *** |
| Religious values (importance of religion) | -0.42 | .07 | -.03 | *** |
| Type of religious culture | | | | |
| Muslim | .12 | .36 | .01 | N/s |
| Orthodox | -10.1 | .28 | -.20 | *** |
| Central European | -7.6 | .23 | -.15 | *** |
| Latin American | -6.5 | .26 | -.12 | *** |
| Sinic | .19 | .43 | .01 | N/s |
| Sub-Saharan African | -6.3 | .47 | 10 | *** |
| Hindu | -8.0 | .67 | -.05 | *** |
| Japanese | 2.3 | .66 | .01 | *** |
| (Constant) | 70.7 | | | |
| Adjusted R² Block 1 (Control variables only) | .02 | | | |
| Adjusted R² Block 2 (Controls + type of culture) | .07 | | | |

Note: This illustrates the full OLS regression model, with blockwise entry, in this case with the approval of democratic performance 100-point scale as the dependent variable. Block 1 of the model controls for the level of development of the society and the social background of respondents. Block 2 then enters the type of culture, based on the predominant religion, coded as dummy variables. Western societies represent the (omitted) reference category. The coefficients represent the effects of living in each type of society compared with living in Western societies, net of all prior controls. *Democratic performance* scale: For details see Table 6.2. *Level of human development*: Human Development Index (HDI) 2000, including longevity, literacy and education, and per capita GDP in \$US PPP (UNDP Development Report 2000). *Level of political development*: (Freedom House 7-point index (reversed) of political rights and civil liberties 1999-2000) (www.freedomhouse.org). *Type of culture*: see 6.1. Sig. ***p.001 ** p.01 *p.05. N/s Not significant. Source: World Values Survey/European Values Survey (WVS), pooled sample 1995-2001.

¹ Samuel P. Huntington. 1996. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon and Schuster. P.28.

² Edward Said. 2001. 'A Clash of Ignorance'. *The Nation*; B.M. Russett, J. R. O'Neal and M. Cox. 2000. 'Clash of civilizations, or realism and liberalism déjà vu? Some evidence.' *Journal of Peace Research*. 37(5): 583-608; Tedd Gurr 2000. *Peoples versus States*. Washington DC: US Institute for Peace Press.

³ Niaz Faizi Kabuli. 1994. *Democracy according to Islam*. Pittsburgh, PA: Dorrance Publications; John L. Esposito and John O. Voll. 1996. *Democracy and Islam*, New York: Oxford University Press; Anthony Shadid. 2001. *Legacy of the prophet: despots, democrats, and the new politics of Islam*. Boulder, Co: Westview Press.

⁴ Samuel P. Huntington. 1996. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon and Schuster. P.41-43.

⁵ Samuel P. Huntington. 1996. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon and Schuster. P.70-71.

⁶ Ronald Inglehart, and Pippa Norris. 2003. *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

⁷ M. I. Midlarsky. 1998. 'Democracy and Islam: Implications for civilizational conflict and the democratic process.' *International Studies Quarterly*. 42(3): 485-511.

⁸ International relations scholars have strongly challenged the evidence for Huntington's claim that ethnic inter-state conflict has increased during the 1990s although this body of work is not central to the argument presented here. See, for example, Tedd Gurr. 2000. *Peoples versus States*. Washington DC: US Institute for Peace Press; B. M. Russett, J. R. O'Neal and M. Cox. 2000. 'Clash of civilizations, or realism and liberalism déjà vu? Some evidence.' *Journal of Peace Research*. 37(5): 583-608.

⁹ Shireen T. Hunter. 1998. *The Future of Islam and the West: Clash of Civilizations or Peaceful Coexistence?* Westport, CT: Praeger; John Esposito. Ed. 1997. *Political Islam: Revolution, Radicalism or Reform?* Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner; Graham E. Fuller. 2002. 'The Future of Political Islam.' *Foreign Affairs* 81(2): 48-60

¹⁰ Niaz Faizi Kabuli. 1994. *Democracy according to Islam*. Pittsburgh, PA: Dorrance Publications; John L. Esposito and John O. Voll. 1996. *Democracy and Islam*, New York: Oxford University Press; Anthony Shadid. 2001. *Legacy of the prophet: despots, democrats, and the new politics of Islam*. Boulder, Co: Westview Press.

¹¹ Edward Said. 2001. 'A Clash of Ignorance'. *The Nation*.

¹² D. Chirot. 2001. 'A clash of civilizations or of paradigms? Theorizing progress and social change.' *International Sociology*. 16(3): 341-360.

¹³ Ronald Inglehart, and Pippa Norris. 2003. *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ See Bernard Lewis. 2002. *What went wrong? Western impact and Middle Eastern response*. New York: Oxford University Press.

¹⁶ The main exceptions are the first-ever Gallup survey in nine predominately Islamic societies that was conducted to monitor reactions to the events of 9/11. Gallup surveyed 10,000 people in December 2001 and January 2002, with researchers conducting hour-long, in-person interviews in Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan, Indonesia, Turkey, Lebanon, Kuwait, Jordan and Morocco. For details see <http://www.gallup.com/poll/releases/pr020305.asp>. In addition, Roper Reports Worldwide conducted an annual worldwide survey from October 2001-January 2002 in 30 nations, including an urban sample of 1000 residents in the metropolitan areas in Saudi Arabia. For details of the Roper results see Thomas A. W. Miller and Geoffrey Feinberg. 2002. 'Culture Clash.' *Public Perspective*. 13(2): 6-9.

¹⁷ The Gallup Poll. <http://www.gallup.com/poll/summits/islam.asp>

¹⁸ Thomas A.W. Miller and Geoffrey Feinberg. 2002. 'Culture Clash.' *Public Perspective*. 13(2): 6-9.

¹⁹ Mark Tessler. 2002. 'Islam and democracy in the Middle East: The impact of religious orientations on attitudes towards democracy in four Arab Countries.' *Comparative Politics* 34(1): 337-254; Mark Tessler. 2003 'Do Islamic Orientations Influence Attitudes toward Democracy in the Arab World? Evidence from Egypt, Jordan, Morocco and Algeria.' *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*: 43 (3-5): 229-249.

²⁰ Richard Rose. 2002. 'How Muslims view democracy: Evidence from Central Asia.' *Journal of Democracy* 14(4):102-111.

²¹ Although it should be noted that despite the centrality of the concept, there are ambiguities in the definition, labeling and classification of 'civilizations' in Huntington's study, for example it remains unclear whether Huntington believes that there is or is not a distinct African civilization, and the major discussion of types (pp.45-47) excludes the Orthodox category altogether.

²² Ronald Inglehart. 1997. *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic and Political Change in 43 Societies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

²³ These countries are ranked as equally 'free' according to the 2000-2001 Freedom House assessments of political rights and civil liberties Freedom House. 2000. *Freedom in the World 2000-2001*. www.freedomhouse.org.

²⁴ Pippa Norris. Ed. 1999. *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Robert D. Putnam and Susan Pharr. Eds. 2001. *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

²⁵ Hans Dieter Klingemann. 1999. 'Mapping political support in the 1990s: A global analysis.' In *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Governance*. Ed. Pippa Norris. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

²⁶ Pippa Norris. Ed. 1999. *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Robert D. Putnam and Susan Pharr. Eds. 2001. *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

²⁷ The combined 100-pt gender equality scale is based on the following 5 items: MENPOL Q118: "On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do." (Agree coded low); MENJOBS Q78: "When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women." (Agree coded low); BOYEDUC Q.119: "A university education is more important for a boy than a girl." (Agree coded low); NEEDKID Q110 "Do you think that a woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled or is this not necessary?" (Agree coded low); SGLMUM Q112 "If a woman wants to have a child as a single parent but she doesn't want to have a stable relationship with a man, do you approve or disapprove?" (disapprove coded low). Three items used statements with Likert-style 4-point agree-disagree responses, while two used dichotomies, and these items were all recoded so that higher values consistently represent greater support for gender equality. Principal component factor analysis revealed that all five items fell into a single consistent scale (not reproduced here), with a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.54. For details of the construction, reliability, validity, and distribution of this scale see Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris. 2003. *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.