

From Islamists to Muslim Democrats:  
The Case of Tunisia's Ennahda  
(Supplementary Materials)

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December 4, 2019

## 1 Appendices

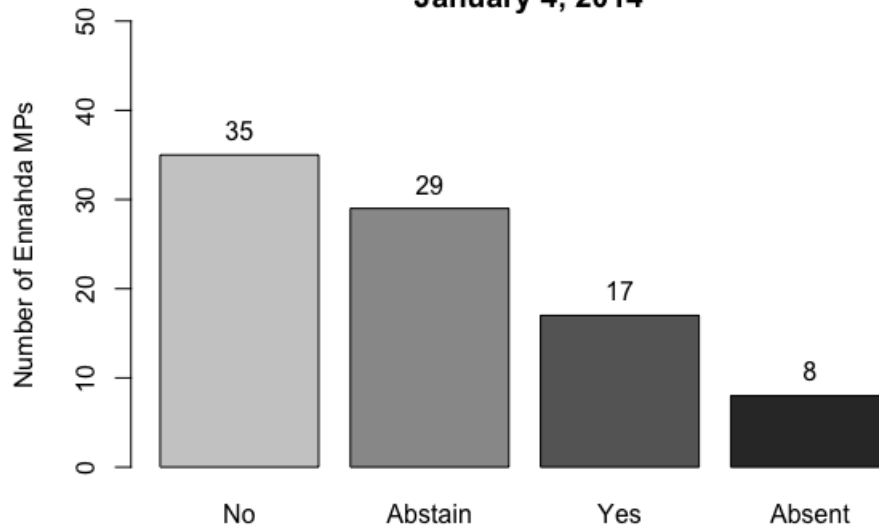
- Appendix A presents the distribution of Ennahda votes and descriptive statistics for the two alternative measures of secularism: freedom of conscience and the prohibition of *takfir*, as well as a histogram of years spent in the West.
- Appendix B shows the cost of voting: that MPs who diverged from the party line and voted most 'Islamist' were less likely to be renominated by the party to run in the 2014 elections, even controlling for relevant demographic and political variables.
- Appendix C shows four supplementary results: 1) that results hold with a dichotomous coding of living in secular democracies, and 2) when separating those who went abroad for education v. for exile; 3) living in secular democracies is not correlated with a lower latent propensity to diverge from the party line, and 4) results hold when subsetting to the 1991 crackdown, when fleeing the country was more plausibly uncorrelated with secularism.
- Appendix D provides details of each interview conducted for this project.
- Appendix E presents an initial test of external validity using Arab Barometer surveys.

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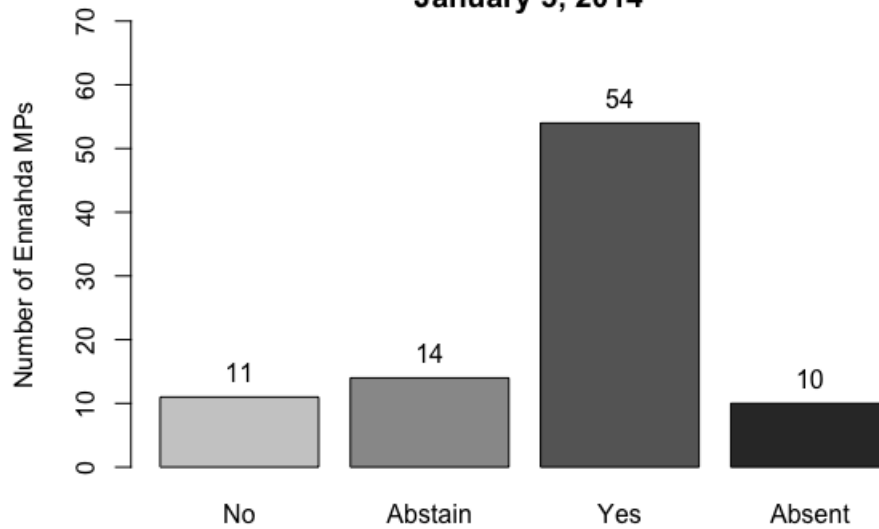
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1.1 Appendix A

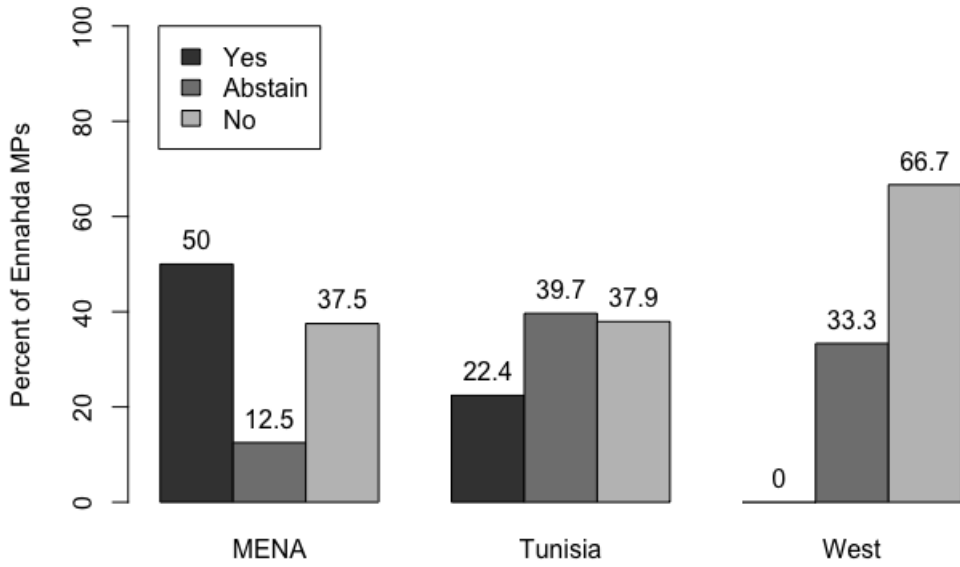
**Distribution of Ennahda Votes  
Removing Freedom of Conscience  
January 4, 2014**



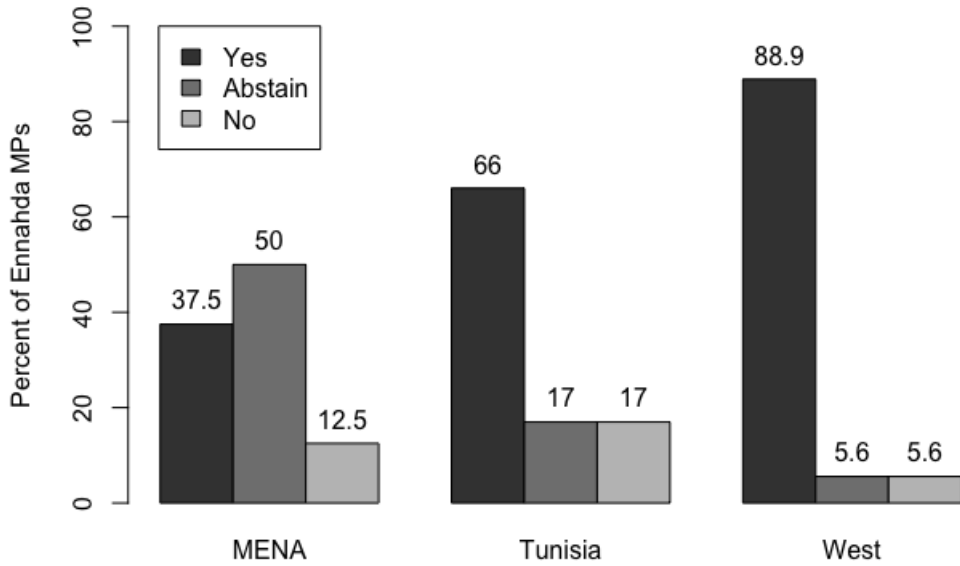
**Distribution of Ennahda Votes  
Banning Takfir  
January 5, 2014**



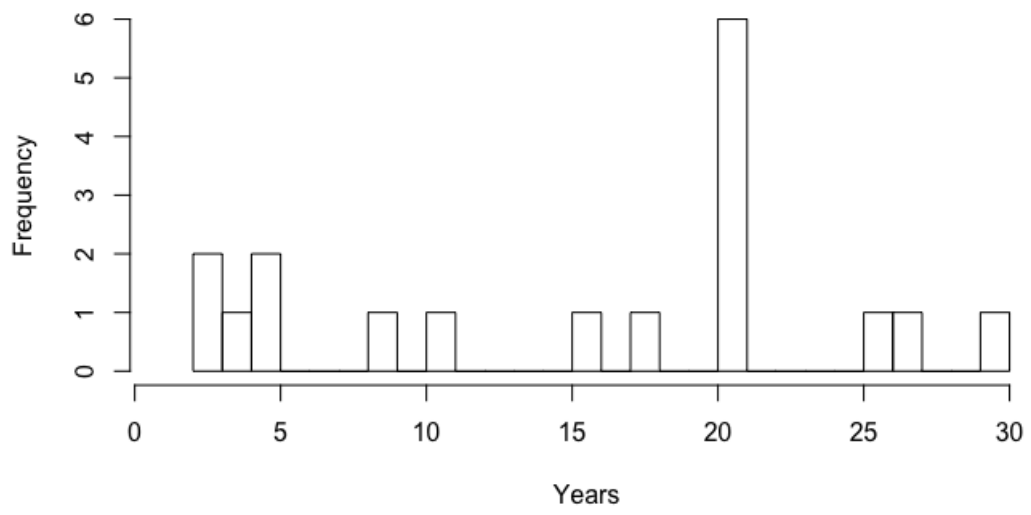
### Descriptive Statistics, Removing Freedom of Conscience



### Descriptive Statistics, Prohibiting Takfir



**Histogram: Length of Time in West**



## 1.2 Appendix B

Table 4: Likelihood of Renomination (OLS)

	<i>Dependent variable: Renomination (0-1)</i>			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Party Line	0.306*** (0.110)	0.270** (0.127)		
Liberal Ideal Point			0.146*** (0.046)	0.134** (0.056)
Female		-0.116 (0.119)		-0.047 (0.118)
Age		-0.272* (0.138)		-0.227 (0.140)
Education		0.037 (0.116)		0.067 (0.115)
Ennahda Vote Share		-0.267 (0.346)		-0.347 (0.340)
Place on Party List		0.083 (0.065)		0.067 (0.065)
Constant	0.185** (0.091)	0.643 (0.476)	0.380*** (0.051)	0.722 (0.464)
Occupation FE		✓		✓
Hometown FE		✓		✓
Observations	86	86	86	86
R <sup>2</sup>	0.085	0.251	0.107	0.263
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.074	0.035	0.096	0.051

*Note: \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$*

*Note: Excluded are three MPs who left Ennahda: Farah Nsibi, Khaled Belhaj, and Nafti Mahdhi.*

## Ennahda MPs, Constituent Assembly 2011–2014

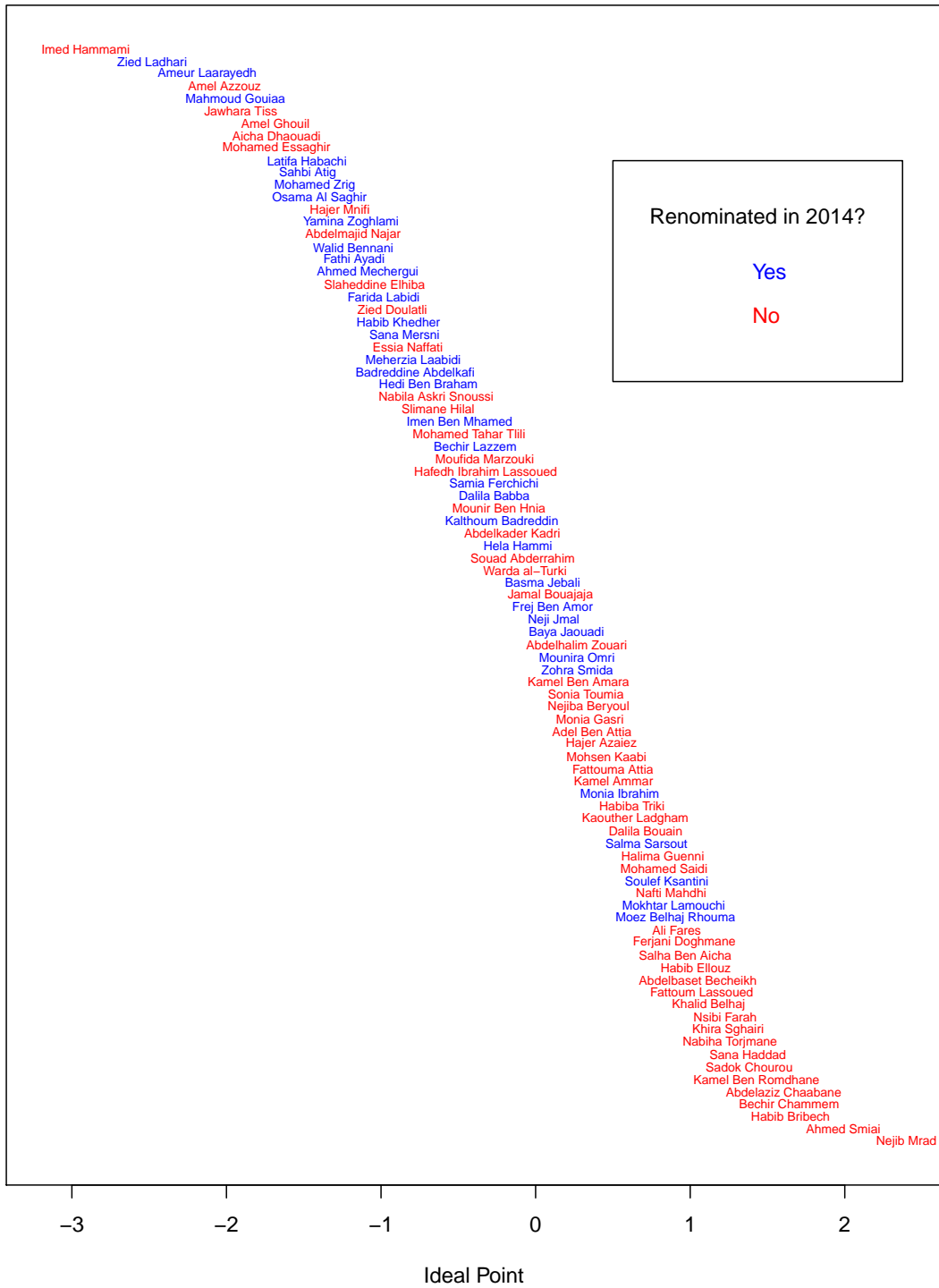


Figure 6: Likelihood of Renomination by Ideal Point (Left=Liberal)

### 1.3 Appendix C

Table 5: Individual Secularism Votes (Dichotomous West variable)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	No Quran/Sunna		Freedom of Conscience		Prohibit <i>takfir</i>		PCA	
	<i>ordered logit</i>		<i>ordered logit</i>		<i>ordered logit</i>		<i>OLS</i>	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
West	1.397** (0.698)	1.870** (0.848)	2.103*** (0.808)	2.511*** (0.917)	2.822** (1.185)	2.862* (1.473)	1.065** (0.461)	1.195** (0.509)
MENA	-0.756 (1.020)	-0.640 (1.127)	-0.131 (0.918)	0.228 (1.014)	-0.279 (1.051)	1.804 (1.488)	-0.451 (0.626)	-0.383 (0.639)
Female	1.161** (0.568)	1.302* (0.670)	0.159 (0.507)	0.246 (0.594)	1.132 (0.728)	0.350 (1.077)	0.544 (0.378)	0.445 (0.415)
Age	0.184 (0.602)	-0.735 (0.707)	-0.843 (0.616)	-1.232* (0.721)	-0.126 (0.770)	-1.849* (1.101)	-0.247 (0.423)	-0.682 (0.445)
Education	0.401 (0.552)	-0.116 (0.617)	0.003 (0.559)	-0.525 (0.639)	-1.190* (0.684)	-2.881** (1.218)	0.077 (0.336)	-0.213 (0.357)
Theology Degree	-0.711 (0.804)	-0.678 (0.883)	0.131 (0.812)	0.377 (0.868)	-1.007 (0.941)	-1.779 (1.454)	-0.715 (0.537)	-0.520 (0.556)
Activist		0.625 (0.651)		0.863 (0.611)		1.951* (1.113)		0.581 (0.416)
Prison		0.187 (0.677)		0.062 (0.681)		-0.140 (1.147)		0.147 (0.434)
Ennahda Vote Share		-5.794*** (2.182)		1.679 (1.723)		-10.526** (4.275)		-3.048** (1.437)
CPR Vote Share		-3.335 (2.079)		-3.524* (1.850)		-6.195** (2.886)		-2.088* (1.236)
Place on Party List		0.873*** (0.315)		0.118 (0.321)		0.933* (0.532)		0.309 (0.208)
Constant							0.351 (1.233)	3.040* (1.804)
Occupation FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hometown FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
District FE		✓		✓		✓		✓
Observations	77	77	81	81	79	79	65	65
R <sup>2</sup>	0.284	0.442	0.280	0.392	0.442	0.605	0.460	0.557
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>							0.232	0.273

Note: \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

Table 6: Ideal Point Analysis (Dichotomous West Variable)

	<i>Dependent variable: Ideal Points</i>			
	ordinal		binary	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
West	0.653* (0.330)	0.584* (0.326)	0.274* (0.163)	0.304* (0.161)
MENA	-0.579 (0.450)	-0.433 (0.430)	-0.298 (0.222)	-0.291 (0.213)
Female	0.035 (0.267)	-0.037 (0.267)	-0.029 (0.132)	-0.067 (0.132)
Age	-0.098 (0.304)	-0.242 (0.298)	-0.032 (0.150)	-0.102 (0.148)
Education	-0.134 (0.261)	-0.266 (0.254)	-0.085 (0.129)	-0.122 (0.125)
Theology Degree	0.199 (0.390)	0.083 (0.370)	0.046 (0.193)	-0.027 (0.183)
Activist		0.575** (0.252)		0.098 (0.125)
Prison		-0.324 (0.295)		-0.159 (0.146)
Ennahda Vote Share		0.049 (0.724)		0.467 (0.359)
CPR Vote Share		0.112 (0.770)		0.253 (0.381)
Place on Party List		0.426*** (0.135)		0.216*** (0.067)
Constant	0.468 (0.942)	0.218 (1.060)	0.221 (0.466)	-0.128 (0.524)
Occupation FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hometown FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	89	89	89	89
R <sup>2</sup>	0.241	0.407	0.196	0.370
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.032	0.185	-0.025	0.134

Note: \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$



Table 7: Exile or Education, Individual Secularism Votes

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	No Quran/Sunna		Freedom of Conscience		Prohibit <i>takfir</i>		PCA	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
West-Exile	0.214 (0.868)	0.396 (0.964)	0.756 (0.911)	1.944* (1.104)	0.619 (1.226)	1.865 (2.172)	-0.065 (0.628)	0.316 (0.654)
West-Education	1.220 (0.908)	1.229 (0.949)	0.602 (0.729)	0.206 (0.826)	2.929*** (1.078)	2.232* (1.316)	1.028* (0.608)	0.775 (0.642)
MENA	-2.112* (1.279)	-2.262* (1.325)	-1.050 (0.973)	-0.872 (1.028)	-2.186 (1.342)	-0.704 (1.817)	-1.417* (0.742)	-1.332* (0.743)
Female	1.030* (0.559)	1.016 (0.632)	0.036 (0.492)	-0.060 (0.568)	1.448* (0.826)	0.656 (1.142)	0.435 (0.386)	0.280 (0.421)
Age	0.206 (0.606)	-0.639 (0.702)	-0.818 (0.615)	-1.206 (0.741)	0.308 (0.840)	-1.370 (1.057)	-0.272 (0.435)	-0.682 (0.467)
Education	0.274 (0.574)	-0.178 (0.642)	0.145 (0.538)	-0.417 (0.604)	-1.399* (0.734)	-2.863** (1.284)	-0.103 (0.394)	-0.295 (0.408)
Theology Degree	-0.800 (0.795)	-0.893 (0.850)	-0.088 (0.785)	0.017 (0.835)	-1.402 (0.968)	-1.894 (1.413)	-0.690 (0.559)	-0.571 (0.586)
Activist		0.694 (0.641)		0.812 (0.600)		1.980* (1.168)		0.604 (0.434)
Prison		-0.037 (0.653)		-0.437 (0.662)		-0.690 (1.243)		0.002 (0.452)
Ennahda Vote Share		-5.907*** (2.168)		0.990 (1.648)		-9.723** (4.246)		-3.193** (1.543)
CPR Vote Share		-2.761 (2.040)		-3.958** (1.941)		-6.749** (3.035)		-2.012 (1.321)
Place on Party List		0.842*** (0.314)		0.220 (0.320)		1.007* (0.567)		0.305 (0.222)
Constant							1.162 (1.405)	3.526* (1.897)
Occupation FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hometown FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
District FE		✓		✓		✓		✓
Observations	77	77	81	81	79	79	65	65
R <sup>2</sup>	0.271	0.422	0.211	0.346	0.467	0.613	0.442	0.529
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>							0.188	0.207

Note: \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

Table 8: Exile or Education, Ideal Point Analysis

	<i>Dependent variable: Ideal Points</i>			
	ordinal		binary	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
West-Exile	0.826** (0.403)	0.845** (0.385)	0.451** (0.197)	0.438** (0.191)
West-Education	-0.009 (0.355)	-0.216 (0.341)	-0.048 (0.173)	-0.061 (0.169)
MENA	-0.994** (0.474)	-0.693 (0.454)	-0.482** (0.231)	-0.453** (0.225)
Female	0.044 (0.270)	-0.049 (0.265)	-0.015 (0.132)	-0.065 (0.131)
Age	-0.062 (0.305)	-0.218 (0.295)	-0.015 (0.149)	-0.087 (0.146)
Education	0.006 (0.275)	-0.164 (0.261)	-0.008 (0.134)	-0.074 (0.129)
Theology Degree	0.071 (0.386)	-0.063 (0.365)	-0.011 (0.188)	-0.091 (0.181)
Activist		0.585** (0.260)		0.106 (0.129)
Prison		-0.357 (0.288)		-0.175 (0.142)
Ennahda Vote Share		-0.242 (0.725)		0.333 (0.359)
CPR Vote Share		-0.345 (0.801)		0.039 (0.396)
Place on Party List		0.422*** (0.135)		0.215*** (0.067)
Constant	0.109 (0.984)	0.058 (1.058)	-0.001 (0.480)	-0.200 (0.524)
Occupation FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hometown FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
District FE		✓		✓
Observations	89	89	89	89
R <sup>2</sup>	0.250	0.434	0.227	0.399
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.030	0.197	-0.001	0.147

Note: \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

## Party Discipline Among Ennahda MPs

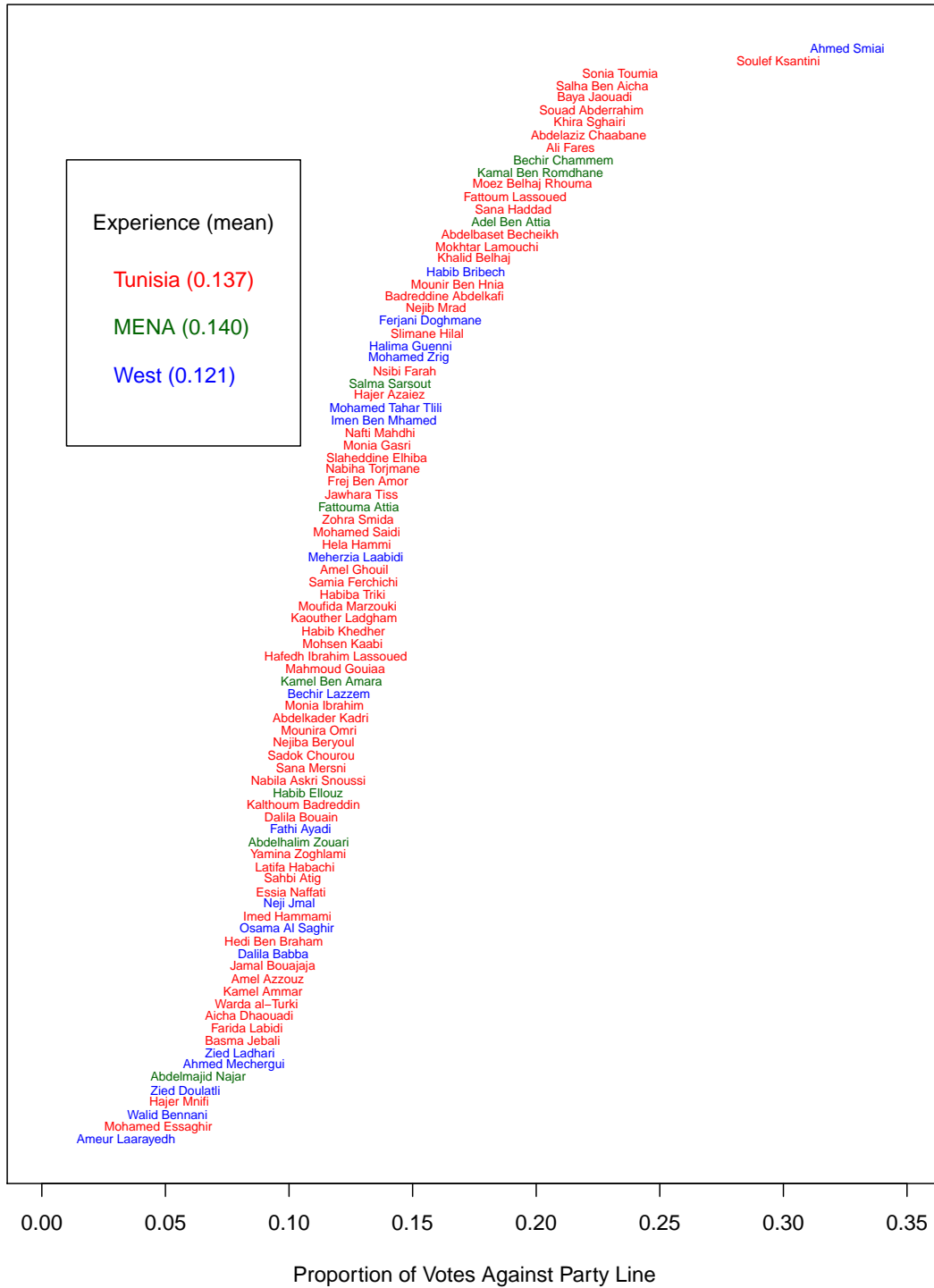


Table 9: Subset: 1991 Crackdown

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Ideal (ord)	Ideal (bin)	Quran/Sunna	Conscience	Ban <i>takfir</i>	PCA
	<i>OLS</i>	<i>OLS</i>	<i>ordered logit</i>	<i>ordered logit</i>	<i>ordered logit</i>	<i>OLS</i>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Exile 1991	1.018** (0.474)	0.437* (0.234)	3.368*** (1.222)	2.126* (1.245)	9.181*** (3.542)	2.050** (0.790)
Female	-0.054 (0.285)	-0.072 (0.140)	2.044** (0.815)	-0.026 (0.603)	1.176 (1.306)	0.210 (0.466)
Age	-0.361 (0.360)	-0.127 (0.178)	-0.406 (0.914)	-1.509* (0.859)	-1.259 (1.328)	-1.243* (0.645)
Education	-0.316 (0.276)	-0.129 (0.136)	0.018 (0.681)	-0.798 (0.697)	-5.259** (2.627)	-0.486 (0.409)
Theology degree	-0.132 (0.377)	-0.163 (0.186)	-0.878 (0.931)	-0.225 (0.866)	-1.496 (1.441)	-0.613 (0.575)
Activist	0.766*** (0.265)	0.218 (0.130)	1.241* (0.721)	1.072* (0.634)	2.742** (1.228)	1.043** (0.457)
Prison 1991	-0.084 (0.335)	-0.048 (0.165)	1.270 (0.871)	-0.119 (0.692)	0.519 (1.271)	0.137 (0.496)
Ennahda Vote Share	-0.165 (0.768)	0.408 (0.378)	-7.008*** (2.609)	0.878 (1.687)	-13.284*** (4.029)	-4.515** (1.654)
CPR Vote Share	-0.796 (0.908)	-0.129 (0.447)	-4.955** (2.446)	-4.620** (2.114)	-11.464** (5.172)	-4.246** (1.604)
Place on Party List	0.409*** (0.147)	0.196*** (0.072)	0.721** (0.343)	0.251 (0.330)	1.077* (0.571)	0.463* (0.235)
Constant	0.120 (1.164)	-0.318 (0.573)				4.781** (2.208)
Occupation FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hometown FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	78	78	67	71	70	56
R <sup>2</sup>	0.442	0.392	0.502	0.341	0.690	0.584
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.189	0.117				0.262

Note: \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

## 1.4 Appendix D

Table 10: Interviews

ID	Name	Position	Language	Date	City	Duration	Record
1	Imed Daimi	Presidential Chief of Staff (CPR)	Arabic	9-22-15	Tunis	1.5 hr	Audio
2	Mohamed Sidhom	MP and Governor (Ennahda)	Arabic	11-25-15	Tunis	1.5 hr	Audio
3	Ali Laarayedh	Prime Minister (Ennahda)	Arabic	12-7-15	Tunis	2 hr	Audio
4	Mohamed Zrig	MP (Ennahda)	Arabic	12-8-15	Tunis	1.5 hr	Audio
5	Samir Dilou	Minister (Ennahda)	Arabic	12-10-15	Tunis	1 hr	Audio
6	Hamadi Jebali	Prime Minister (Ennahda)	Arabic	12-17-15	Sousse	2 hr	Audio
7	Dalila Babba	MP (Ennahda)	Arabic	1-22-16	Tunis	1.5 hr	Audio
8	Sahbi Atig	MP (Ennahda)	Arabic	1-25-16	Tunis	1 hr	Audio
9	Mohamed Saidi	MP (Ennahda)	Arabic	6-1-16	Tunis	2 hr	Audio
10	Habib Khedher	MP (Ennahda)	Arabic	6-1-16	Tunis	30 min	Audio
11	Walid Bennani	MP (Ennahda)	Arabic	6-15-16	Tunis	1 hr	Audio
12	Anonymous	Ret. Colonel Major (Military)	Arabic	6-20-16	Tunis	2 hr	Audio
13	Badreddine Abdelkafi	MP (Ennahda)	Arabic	6-21-16	Tunis	30 min	Audio
14	Noureddine Arbaoui	Executive Bureau (Ennahda)	Arabic	6-30-16	Tunis	1 hr	Audio
15.	Said Ferjani	Executive Bureau (Ennahda)	English	2-2-18	Tunis	2 hr	Audio
16.	Sadok Chourou	MP (Ennahda)	Arabic	2-6-18	Tunis	1.5 hr	Audio
17.	Rached Ghannouchi	President (Ennahda)	English	2-7-18	Tunis	30 min	Audio
18.	Habib Ellouze	MP (Ennahda)	Arabic	2-8-18	Tunis	2 hr	Audio
19.	Mohamed Akrouf	Shura Council (Ennahda)	Arabic	2-8-18	Tunis	1 hr	Audio
20.	Rafik Abdessalem	Foreign Minister (Ennahda)	English	2-10-18	Tunis	1 hr	Audio
21.	Abdelhamid Jelassi	Shura Council (Ennahda)	Arabic	2-12-18	Tunis	30 min	Audio
22.	Anonymous	MP (Ennahda)	English	12-17-18	Tunis	1 hr	Audio
23	Mehrezia Laabidi	VP, NCA (Ennahda)	English	1-17-19	Tunis	1 hr	Audio
24.	Osama al-Saghir	MP (Ennahda)	English	1-21-19	Tunis	1 hr	Audio

## 1.5 Appendix E

### External Validity: Arab Barometer Surveys

Wave 3 of the Arab Barometer, conducted in twelve Arab countries between 2012-2014 (see below for dates and sample sizes), provides a unique sample to test the observable implications of the secular diffusion theory. It is the first wave of the Barometer – and for that matter, the first survey – to ask about support for Islamist groups across the Arab world. As such, it allows us to examine whether Islamists who had lived in the West are more secular in their political orientations than Islamists who have not. To capture Islamists, I subset the data to Muslims who have at least some trust in their mainstream Islamist party (tailored to each country: Ennahda in Tunisia, the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, etc.).

The primary independent variable is Q702: “During the past five years, did you spend time in a Western country (European country, Canada, the United States)?” Answers are coded dichotomously. Of 7644 Islamist supporters in the dataset, 1216 (16%) had lived in the West in the past five years.

I examine whether these Islamists who had lived in the West were more secular than those who did not. Two questions help to capture secularism. First, respondents were asked for their level of agreement, from strongly agree to strongly disagree, with the statement: “the government and parliament should enact laws in accordance with Islamic law (*shari‘a*).” This captures precisely the main compromise Ennahda made in Tunisia’s transition: not to pursue Islamic law, or its sources (the Quran and the Sunna), as the basis of legislation. Second, respondents were also asked for their level of agreement (on the same 4 point scale) with a more general statement: “Your country is better off if religious people hold public positions in the state.” This question similarly captures respondent’s beliefs regarding the separation of religion and the state. I code both variables on a 1-4 scale with higher values indicating greater secularism (i.e., 4=strongly disagree). If the secular diffusion hypothesis is correct, living in the West should be positively correlated with these dependent variables.

The primary inferential obstacle is that Islamists who have spent time in the West may be different on some covariate than Islamists who have not, and that covariate may confound the relationship. I address this concern in two ways. First, I control for a number of demographic variables in the regression, including **age**, **gender**, **education**, **income**, refused to answer **income (DK)**, and whether the respondent is a **student**, **married**, and from an **urban** area. I also control for the Islamist’s level of trust in the mainstream Islamist party (limited, medium, or great trust), and include country fixed effects.

An alternative approach is to pre-process the data by matching Islamists who went abroad with Islamists who did not on these same covariates. I employ “nearest” matching, which pairs up each Islamist who went

abroad with his or her closest demographic match among the Islamists who did not go abroad.<sup>1</sup> While this significantly reduces the number of observations, it ensures that each individual Islamist who went abroad is compared to his or her perfect match who did not. This pre-processing of the data helps ensure the validity of the comparison and thereby increase confidence in the results.

Table 11 presents the results using both the unmatched (models 1-2) and matched (models 3-4) data. Across all four models, Islamists who have lived in the West were significantly more secular than Islamists who had not. This effect holds using either measure of secularism, and either the matched or unmatched sample. These results provide strong evidence that among Islamists across the Arab world, living in the West is correlated with more secular attitudes. They provide important external validity to the results in the Ennahda case, demonstrating that secular diffusion may occur even outside of the particular case of Tunisia.

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<sup>1</sup> Results are robust to alternative matching specifications such as full or genetic matching.

Table 11: Secular Diffusion in the Arab World (OLS)

	<i>DV: Secularism (1-4)</i>			
	<u>Unmatched</u>		<u>Matched</u>	
	Shari'a (1)	Religion in Politics (2)	Shari'a (3)	Religion in Politics (4)
West	0.106*** (0.028)	0.084** (0.033)	0.097** (0.040)	0.075* (0.044)
Age	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.002** (0.001)	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)
Female	-0.012 (0.018)	-0.013 (0.021)	0.030 (0.042)	0.095** (0.046)
Education	-0.001 (0.006)	0.014** (0.007)	0.015 (0.012)	0.048*** (0.014)
Student	0.055* (0.033)	0.003 (0.038)	0.055 (0.073)	-0.088 (0.080)
Urban	-0.001 (0.019)	-0.007 (0.022)	0.036 (0.044)	0.022 (0.048)
Married	0.028 (0.021)	0.009 (0.025)	-0.044 (0.052)	-0.027 (0.057)
Income	0.005 (0.009)	-0.0004 (0.010)	-0.029 (0.018)	0.005 (0.020)
Income (DK)	0.094 (0.080)	0.060 (0.093)	-0.192 (0.177)	0.181 (0.194)
Trust	-0.122*** (0.012)	-0.235*** (0.014)	-0.161*** (0.028)	-0.278*** (0.030)
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Constant	2.185*** (0.101)	2.997*** (0.118)	2.530*** (0.217)	2.823*** (0.237)
Observations	6,758	6,576	1,410	1,410
R <sup>2</sup>	0.166	0.128	0.198	0.196
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.164	0.125	0.186	0.184

Note: \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$



Table 12: Arab Barometer, Wave 3

Country	Sample Size	Date(s)
Algeria	1220	Mar-Apr 2013
Egypt	1196	Mar-Apr 2013
Iraq	1215	Jun 2013
Jordan	1795	Dec 2012-Jan 2013
Kuwait	1021	Feb-Mar 2014
Lebanon	1200	Jul 2013
Libya	1247	Mar-Apr 2014
Morocco	1116	Apr-Jun 2013 and Mar 2014
Palestine	1200	Dec 2012
Sudan	1200	Apr-May 2013
Tunisia	1199	Feb 2013
Yemen	1200	Nov-Dec 2013

Questions used in the analysis:

- To subset to Islamists:
  - Q1012: Religion (Muslim)
  - Q201.12: Trust in the Muslim Brotherhood (limited, medium or great extent of trust)
- Independent Variable: Lived in the West
  - Q702: “During the past five years, did you spend time in a Western country (European country, Canada, the United States)?” (dichotomous)
- Dependent Variable: Secularism
  - Q 605.2: “The government and parliament should enact laws in accordance with Islamic law” (strongly disagree to strongly agree)
  - Q 606.2: “Your country is better off if religious people hold public positions in the state” (strongly disagree to strongly agree)
- Controls
  - Q1001: Age
  - Q1002: Gender
  - Q1003: Education
  - Q1005.3: Student
  - Q1010: Married

- Q1015: Income
- Q13: Urban
- Country Fixed Effects