

APPENDIX

Table A.1: Construction of Indices

Index	Questions	Coding
Religion and Politics	Afro Barometer	
	– Religious leaders like imams, preachers and priests should not interfere in voters’ decisions in elections.	– Strongly disagree/ disagree=1, else=0
	– [Country name] is better off if religious people hold public positions in the state.	– Strongly agree/ agree=1, else=0
	Arab Barometer	
	– Religious leaders (imams, preachers, priests) should not interfere in voters' decisions in elections.	– Disagree/ Strongly disagree==1, else ==0
	– Your country is better off if religious people hold public positions in the state	– Agree/ Strongly Agree==1, else==0
Gender	World Values Survey	
	Do you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly?	
	– University is more important for a boy than for a girl	– agree strongly/ agree==1, else==0
	– On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do	
	Afro Barometer	
	– Statement 1: Men make better political leaders than women, and should be elected rather than women. Statement 2: Women should have the same chance of being elected to political office as men.	– agree/ agree very strongly==1, else=0
	– Statement 1: If funds for schooling are limited, a boy should always receive an education in school before a girl. Statement 2: If funds for schooling are limited, a family should send the child with the greatest ability to learn.	
	Arab Barometer	
	– In general, men are better at political leadership than women	– agree/ agree very strongly==1, else=0
	– University education for males is more important than university education for females.	
Democracy	WVS	
	– 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? <i>Having a democratic political system</i>	– Values 8/10 & democracy very good=1, else=0
	– 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?	
	Afro Barometer	
	– Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion? STATEMENT 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government. STATEMENT 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable. STATEMENT 3: For someone like me, it doesn’t matter what kind of government we have.	– Agree with Statement 1=1, else=0

	<p>Arab Barometer</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A democratic system may have problems, yet it is better than other systems. - I will describe different political systems to you, and I want to ask you about your opinion of each one of them with regard to the country's governance – for each one would you say it is very good, good, bad, or very bad?. - A democratic political system (ensures public freedom, equality in political and civil rights, devolution of authority, and accountability and transparency of the executive authority). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - agree/ agree very strongly==1, else=0 - good/very good==1, else==0
	<p>World Values Survey</p> <p>Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.</p>	
Redistribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Incomes should be made more equal vs We need larger income differences as incentives - People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves vs The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1/5=1, 6/10=0 - 1/5=0, 6/10=1
	<p>World Values Survey</p> <p>Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.</p>	
Competition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas vs Competition is harmful. It brings the worst in people - Private ownership of business should be increased vs Government ownership of business should be increased 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1/5=1, 6/10=0
	<p>Arab Barometer</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Generally speaking, do you think that trade with other countries should increase, decrease, or remain at its current level? - People differ whether the increase in the global connectivity is a good thing. Some people think that it is a good thing because it enriches cultural diversity in the society. Some other people believe that it is a bad thing because it threatens traditional values. Do you think that the increase in global connectivity is a good or a bad thing for the society? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strongly increase/ increase=1, else=0. - Very good/ somewhat good==1, else=0

Table A.2: Overview of Indices

Index	Variables	Mean	N	Surveys
<i>Religion in Politics</i>	Ok if religious leaders interfere with voters' decisions	0.20	12291	Afro, Arab
	better if public officials are religious	0.35	11968	Afro, Arab
<i>Gender Values</i>	education more important for boys	0.26	20666	All
	men better leaders	0.66	21565	All
<i>Democracy</i>	democracy best system	0.58	22375	All
	democracy very good	0.45	21469	All
<i>Redistribution</i>	incomes should be made more equal	0.45	8478	WVS
	government should take care of poor	0.79	8782	WVS
<i>Competition</i>	companies should be privately owned	0.45	8221	WVS
	economic competition good	0.87	8588	WVS
<i>Globalization</i>	foreign trade should increase	0.86	7992	Arab
	global connectivity good	0.74	7794	Arab

Table A.3: Party Coding

As in any selection there are objective and subjective criteria at play. First, we selected secular/leftist parties that have their roots firmly in a clear leftist history (although they might have changed name) and still stick to a leftist rhetoric, although we recognize that they might not then undertake the leftist policies they set forth because of institutional constraints (USFP and PPS in Morocco qualify; PT and FFS in Algeria qualify; CPR and al-Jabha in Tunisia qualify; Tagammu, Egypt Youth Party, Dignity Party, and Popular Current in Egypt qualify; YSP and Nasserist Union Party qualify in Yemen). Second, we selected parties whose ideological foundations emphasize secularism and offer a liberal leftist agenda in line with mainstream centre-left parties (Nida Tounes in Tunisia qualifies because of this and because it has a strong leftist constituency within the party as does the RCD in Algeria; New Wafd, the Constitution Party and Freedom Egypt Party qualify in Egypt; Fatah in Palestine). Third, we selected parties because of their avowedly anti-Islamist rhetoric in the name of different values and policies, although this does not necessarily translate into effective policies (National Forces Alliance in Libya). Third, we selected secular/left parties on electoral scores that are reasonably significant.

Building on Denoex (2001), we define Islamist parties as political organizations that mobilize the language, symbols and tradition of Islam to pursue political objectives that would respond to the social, institutional and economic challenges Arab societies (in our case) have faced and still face in their adaptation to a pre-conceived West-derived model of modernity. For selection, we focus first on the ideological foundations and rhetoric emphasizing religion and second, on the on the historical roots of such parties and their links with Islamist social movements (although they might have been severed as in the case of the PJD and al-Nahda).

	Islamist	Secular/Left
Morocco	PJD	USFP, PPS
Algeria	Hamas, Nahda, Islah, FJD	RCD, FFS, PT
Tunisia	Nahda	Nida Tounes, Al-Jabha, CPR
Libya	Justice and Construction (MB)	National Forces Alliance
Egypt	Freedom and Justice Party (Muslim Brotherhood); El Nour (Salafists); Al-Wasat	Tagammu, New Wafd Party, Egypt Youth Party, Constitution Party, Dignity Party, Popular Current, Freedom Egypt Party
Palestine	Hamas, Islamic Jihad	Fatah
Yemen	Islah (Yemeni Congregation for Reform)	YSP (Yemeni Socialist Party), Nasserist Unionist Party

Table A.4: Gender Conservative Values

	All Respondents			Voters Only	
	secular-left	Islamist	other	Islamist	other
gender conservative	-0.009*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.005 (0.003)	0.021*** (0.006)	0.001 (0.005)
female	-0.000 (0.005)	0.009 (0.005)	-0.023*** (0.006)	0.023 (0.012)	-0.017 (0.011)
age	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.002*** (0.000)	-0.001 (0.000)	0.003*** (0.000)
Secondary or more	0.037*** (0.005)	0.021*** (0.006)	0.002 (0.006)	-0.028* (0.013)	-0.017 (0.012)
employed	0.026*** (0.006)	0.008 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.006)	0.005 (0.013)	-0.030* (0.012)
very poor	-0.012 (0.006)	-0.010 (0.006)	-0.014* (0.006)	-0.008 (0.012)	0.010 (0.011)
Algeria	0.147*** (0.013)	-0.117*** (0.012)	0.197*** (0.009)	-0.377*** (0.027)	0.132*** (0.020)
Tunisia	0.257*** (0.011)	0.063*** (0.008)	0.038*** (0.010)	-0.035 (0.023)	-0.344*** (0.021)
Libya	0.185*** (0.013)	-0.002 (0.010)	-0.184*** (0.016)	-0.031 (0.028)	-0.396*** (0.028)
Egypt	0.103*** (0.013)	-0.013 (0.009)	0.162*** (0.009)	-0.106*** (0.024)	-0.026 (0.020)
Palestine	0.341*** (0.012)	0.110*** (0.009)	0.058*** (0.012)	-0.065** (0.024)	-0.399*** (0.022)
Yemen	-0.018 (0.019)	0.061*** (0.011)	0.220*** (0.010)	-0.060 (0.033)	0.128*** (0.025)
Arab Barometer	-0.057*** (0.006)	-0.009 (0.006)	-0.183*** (0.006)	0.152*** (0.014)	-0.173*** (0.014)
Afro Barometer	-0.032*** (0.007)	-0.002 (0.007)	-0.208*** (0.007)	0.137*** (0.016)	-0.228*** (0.014)
Observations	18703	18703	18703	6092	6092

Average marginal effects from multinomial logistic regressions; DV=Party Preference Categorical Variable; Base Category Columns 1-3: Respondents not indicating party preference; Base Category Columns 4-5: Supporters of Sec/Left Parties

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.5: Religion in Politics

	All Respondents			Voters Only	
	secular-left	Islamist	other	Islamist	other
more religion in politics	-0.024*** (0.003)	0.058*** (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)	0.126*** (0.006)	-0.037*** (0.006)
female	-0.011 (0.006)	-0.004 (0.007)	-0.023*** (0.006)	0.038* (0.017)	-0.016 (0.015)
age	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.002*** (0.000)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.003*** (0.000)
Secondary or more	0.055*** (0.007)	0.025*** (0.007)	0.026*** (0.007)	-0.053** (0.018)	-0.007 (0.016)
employed	0.013* (0.006)	0.009 (0.007)	0.015* (0.006)	0.030 (0.018)	-0.016 (0.015)
very poor	-0.005 (0.006)	-0.009 (0.006)	-0.007 (0.007)	-0.016 (0.014)	0.002 (0.012)
Algeria	0.115*** (0.015)	-0.158*** (0.015)	0.126*** (0.008)	-0.476*** (0.034)	0.186*** (0.019)
Tunisia	0.218*** (0.013)	0.054*** (0.009)	-0.101*** (0.013)	-0.020 (0.028)	-0.338*** (0.025)
Libya	0.197*** (0.015)	-0.046** (0.014)	-0.160*** (0.022)	-0.200*** (0.043)	-0.328*** (0.044)
Egypt	0.113*** (0.014)	-0.031** (0.010)	-0.078*** (0.012)	-0.079** (0.030)	-0.181*** (0.023)
Palestine	0.293*** (0.014)	0.089*** (0.011)	-0.005 (0.013)	-0.109*** (0.031)	-0.314*** (0.028)
Yemen	0.013 (0.024)	0.085*** (0.012)	0.166*** (0.010)	-0.071 (0.040)	0.103*** (0.026)
Arab Barometer	-0.035*** (0.007)	-0.008 (0.007)	-0.009 (0.007)	0.040* (0.019)	0.013 (0.016)
Afro Barometer	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)
Observations	12236	12236	12236	3302	3302

Average marginal effects from multinomial logistic regressions; DV=Party Preference Categorical Variable; Base Category Columns 1-3: Respondents not indicating party preference; Base Category Columns 4-5: Supporters of Sec/Left Parties

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.6: Support for Democracy

	All Respondents			Voters Only	
	secular-left	Islamist	other	Islamist	other
care about democracy	0.018*** (0.003)	0.007** (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.006 (0.006)	-0.016** (0.005)
female	0.003 (0.005)	0.003 (0.005)	-0.025*** (0.005)	0.014 (0.012)	-0.018 (0.011)
age	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.002*** (0.000)	-0.001 (0.000)	0.003*** (0.000)
Secondary or more	0.035*** (0.005)	0.017** (0.006)	0.002 (0.006)	-0.031* (0.013)	-0.015 (0.012)
employed	0.026*** (0.006)	0.007 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.006)	0.005 (0.013)	-0.030* (0.012)
very poor	-0.009 (0.006)	-0.009 (0.006)	-0.015* (0.006)	-0.009 (0.012)	0.008 (0.011)
Algeria	0.148*** (0.013)	-0.118*** (0.012)	0.198*** (0.009)	-0.382*** (0.027)	0.130*** (0.020)
Tunisia	0.258*** (0.011)	0.062*** (0.008)	0.039*** (0.010)	-0.038 (0.023)	-0.344*** (0.021)
Libya	0.187*** (0.013)	-0.001 (0.010)	-0.184*** (0.016)	-0.034 (0.028)	-0.397*** (0.028)
Egypt	0.104*** (0.013)	-0.012 (0.009)	0.163*** (0.009)	-0.109*** (0.024)	-0.026 (0.020)
Palestine	0.342*** (0.012)	0.111*** (0.009)	0.058*** (0.012)	-0.068** (0.024)	-0.400*** (0.022)
Yemen	-0.018 (0.019)	0.062*** (0.011)	0.219*** (0.010)	-0.060 (0.033)	0.127*** (0.025)
Arab Barometer	-0.057*** (0.006)	-0.008 (0.006)	-0.183*** (0.006)	0.153*** (0.014)	-0.173*** (0.014)
Afro Barometer	-0.032*** (0.007)	-0.002 (0.007)	-0.209*** (0.007)	0.136*** (0.016)	-0.228*** (0.014)
Observations	18644	18644	18644	6084	6084

Average marginal effects from multinomial logistic regressions; DV=Party Preference Categorical Variable; Base Category Columns 1-3: Respondents not indicating party preference; Base Category Columns 4-5: Supporters of Sec/Left Parties

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.7: Support for Redistribution

	All Respondents			Voters Only	
	secular-left	Islamist	other	Islamist	other
redistributive values	0.015*** (0.004)	0.005 (0.004)	-0.010* (0.005)	0.006 (0.008)	-0.002 (0.008)
female	0.008 (0.009)	0.017 (0.009)	0.027** (0.010)	-0.007 (0.017)	0.027 (0.017)
age	-0.001* (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.002*** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.001)	0.001* (0.001)
Secondary or more	-0.008 (0.009)	0.012 (0.009)	0.001 (0.011)	0.000 (0.017)	-0.002 (0.018)
employed	0.022 (0.011)	-0.002 (0.011)	-0.035** (0.013)	-0.008 (0.020)	-0.041* (0.020)
very poor	-0.013 (0.013)	-0.019 (0.013)	0.020 (0.014)	-0.037 (0.023)	0.076*** (0.022)
Algeria	0.165*** (0.023)	-0.026 (0.021)	0.110*** (0.020)	-0.130** (0.044)	-0.050 (0.035)
Tunisia	0.823 (19.682)	0.698 (21.419)	1.216 (38.419)	-0.009 (0.038)	-0.278*** (0.033)
Libya	0.193*** (0.023)	0.086*** (0.019)	-0.210*** (0.026)	0.101* (0.040)	-0.370*** (0.037)
Egypt	0.046* (0.023)	0.086*** (0.017)	0.402*** (0.016)	-0.033 (0.040)	0.124*** (0.032)
Palestine	0.916 (26.810)	0.738 (29.177)	1.113 (52.334)	0.006 (0.038)	-0.399*** (0.034)
Yemen	-0.068* (0.033)	0.017 (0.023)	0.209*** (0.022)	-0.003 (0.055)	0.165*** (0.045)
Observations	6467	6467	6467	2790	2790

Average marginal effects from multinomial logistic regressions; Standard Errors in Parentheses; DV=Party Preference Categorical Variable; Base Category Columns 1-3: Respondents not indicating party preference; Base Category Columns 4-5: Supporters of Sec/Left Parties

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.8 Support for Economic Liberalization

	All Respondents			Voters Only	
	secular-left	Islamist	other	Islamist	other
economically liberal	0.002 (0.004)	0.001 (0.004)	-0.009 (0.005)	-0.005 (0.008)	0.004 (0.008)
female	0.007 (0.009)	0.017 (0.009)	0.027** (0.010)	-0.007 (0.017)	0.027 (0.017)
age	-0.001* (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.002*** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.001)	0.001* (0.001)
Secondary or more	-0.009 (0.009)	0.012 (0.009)	0.002 (0.011)	0.000 (0.017)	-0.002 (0.018)
employed	0.021 (0.011)	-0.003 (0.011)	-0.036** (0.013)	-0.008 (0.020)	-0.041* (0.020)
very poor	-0.015 (0.013)	-0.020 (0.013)	0.021 (0.014)	-0.039 (0.023)	0.078*** (0.022)
Algeria	0.164*** (0.023)	-0.026 (0.021)	0.110*** (0.020)	-0.132** (0.044)	-0.049 (0.035)
Tunisia	0.825 (19.772)	0.699 (21.461)	1.215 (38.362)	-0.011 (0.038)	-0.278*** (0.033)
Libya	0.193*** (0.023)	0.086*** (0.019)	-0.211*** (0.026)	0.099* (0.040)	-0.368*** (0.037)
Egypt	0.046* (0.023)	0.086*** (0.017)	0.403*** (0.016)	-0.034 (0.040)	0.124*** (0.032)
Palestine	0.919 (26.976)	0.739 (29.280)	1.111 (52.341)	0.004 (0.038)	-0.398*** (0.034)
Yemen	-0.068* (0.033)	0.017 (0.023)	0.208*** (0.022)	-0.004 (0.055)	0.166*** (0.045)
Observations	6467	6467	6467	2790	2790

Average marginal effects from multinomial logistic regressions; Standard Errors in Parentheses; DV=Party Preference Categorical Variable; Base Category Columns 1-3: Respondents not indicating party preference; Base Category Columns 4-5: Supporters of Sec/Left Parties

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.9: Support for Globalization

	All Respondents			Voters Only	
	secular-left	Islamist	other	Islamist	other
globalization good	0.016*** (0.004)	0.008 (0.004)	0.004 (0.003)	-0.023* (0.011)	-0.001 (0.009)
female	-0.023** (0.008)	-0.005 (0.008)	-0.027*** (0.008)	0.066** (0.023)	-0.010 (0.019)
age	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.002*** (0.000)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.002*** (0.001)
Secondary or more	0.037*** (0.009)	0.022* (0.009)	0.015 (0.009)	-0.048* (0.025)	0.005 (0.021)
employed	0.004 (0.008)	-0.001 (0.009)	0.008 (0.008)	0.027 (0.024)	-0.001 (0.020)
very poor	-0.032*** (0.009)	-0.017 (0.009)	-0.009 (0.008)	0.026 (0.024)	0.036 (0.021)
Algeria	0.124*** (0.021)	-0.181*** (0.024)	0.132*** (0.011)	-0.462*** (0.053)	0.207*** (0.028)
Tunisia	0.213*** (0.019)	0.082*** (0.014)	-0.067*** (0.016)	0.009 (0.042)	-0.287*** (0.033)
Libya	0.185*** (0.019)	-0.040* (0.017)	-0.155*** (0.022)	-0.174*** (0.052)	-0.300*** (0.046)
Egypt	0.046* (0.023)	-0.053** (0.018)	-0.140*** (0.022)	0.025 (0.052)	-0.202*** (0.042)
Palestine	0.276*** (0.018)	0.091*** (0.014)	-0.007 (0.014)	-0.077 (0.041)	-0.293*** (0.030)
Yemen	-0.017 (0.026)	0.092*** (0.015)	0.158*** (0.011)	-0.029 (0.048)	0.121*** (0.028)
Observations	8021	8021	8021	2110	2110

Average marginal effects from multinomial logistic regressions; Standard Errors in Parentheses; DV=Party Preference Categorical Variable; Base Category Columns 1-3: Respondents not indicating party preference; Base Category Columns 4-5: Supporters of Sec/Left Parties

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.10: Multivariate Analyses

	secular-left	Islamist	other	secular-left	Islamist	other
gender conservative	-0.008** (0.003)	0.008** (0.003)	0.006* (0.003)			
more religion in politics	-0.022*** (0.003)	0.058*** (0.003)	-0.004 (0.003)			
care about democracy	0.019*** (0.003)	0.014*** (0.003)	-0.004 (0.003)			
redistributive				0.025*** (0.007)	0.009 (0.007)	-0.017* (0.008)
economically liberal				0.002 (0.004)	0.001 (0.004)	-0.008 (0.005)
female	-0.014* (0.006)	-0.000 (0.007)	-0.020** (0.006)	0.008 (0.009)	0.017 (0.009)	0.027* (0.010)
age	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.002*** (0.000)	-0.001* (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.002*** (0.000)
Secondary or more	0.051*** (0.007)	0.022** (0.007)	0.028*** (0.007)	-0.008 (0.009)	0.012 (0.009)	0.002 (0.011)
employed	0.011 (0.006)	0.009 (0.007)	0.014* (0.006)	0.022 (0.011)	-0.002 (0.011)	-0.036** (0.013)
very poor	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.008 (0.006)	-0.008 (0.007)	-0.013 (0.013)	-0.020 (0.013)	0.019 (0.014)
Algeria	0.115*** (0.015)	-0.160*** (0.015)	0.126*** (0.008)	0.167*** (0.023)	-0.025 (0.021)	0.108*** (0.020)
Tunisia	0.217*** (0.013)	0.053*** (0.009)	-0.100*** (0.013)	0.825 (19.670)	0.698 (21.414)	1.213 (38.392)
Libya	0.200*** (0.015)	-0.046** (0.014)	-0.159*** (0.022)	0.193*** (0.023)	0.086*** (0.019)	-0.211*** (0.026)
Egypt	0.113*** (0.014)	-0.030** (0.010)	-0.078*** (0.012)	0.041 (0.023)	0.084*** (0.017)	0.406*** (0.016)
Palestine	0.294*** (0.014)	0.088*** (0.011)	-0.005 (0.013)	0.917 (26.793)	0.738 (29.169)	1.111 (52.296)
Yemen	0.011 (0.024)	0.084*** (0.012)	0.166*** (0.010)	-0.064* (0.033)	0.018 (0.023)	0.205*** (0.022)
Afro Barometer	0.034***	0.007	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000

	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Arab Barometer	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Observations	12177	12177	12177	6467	6467	6467

Average marginal effects from multinomial logistic regressions; Standard Errors in Parentheses; DV=Party Preference Categorical Variable; Base Category: Respondents not indicating party preference

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.11 Demographic Characteristics

	secular-left	Islamist	other	Islamist	other
Secondary or more	0.038*** (0.005)	0.019*** (0.006)	0.002 (0.006)	-0.032* (0.013)	-0.017 (0.012)
very poor	-0.012+ (0.006)	-0.010+ (0.006)	-0.014* (0.006)	-0.009 (0.012)	0.010 (0.011)
employed	0.027*** (0.006)	0.013* (0.006)	-0.001 (0.006)	0.005 (0.013)	-0.030* (0.012)
female	0.003 (0.005)	0.003 (0.005)	-0.025*** (0.005)	0.014 (0.012)	-0.017 (0.011)
age	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.002*** (0.000)	-0.001 (0.000)	0.003*** (0.000)
Algeria	0.147*** (0.013)	-0.118*** (0.012)	0.197*** (0.009)	-0.380*** (0.027)	0.132*** (0.020)
Tunisia	0.258*** (0.011)	0.062*** (0.008)	0.038*** (0.010)	-0.037+ (0.023)	-0.344*** (0.021)
Libya	0.185*** (0.013)	-0.002 (0.010)	-0.184*** (0.016)	-0.033 (0.028)	-0.396*** (0.028)
Egypt	0.103*** (0.013)	-0.013 (0.009)	0.162*** (0.009)	-0.109*** (0.024)	-0.026 (0.020)
Palestine	0.340*** (0.012)	0.110*** (0.009)	0.058*** (0.012)	-0.066** (0.024)	-0.399*** (0.022)
Yemen	-0.018 (0.019)	0.061*** (0.011)	0.220*** (0.010)	-0.061+ (0.033)	0.129*** (0.025)
Afro Barometer	-0.032*** (0.007)	-0.002 (0.007)	-0.208*** (0.007)	0.135*** (0.016)	-0.229*** (0.014)
Arab Barometer	-0.057*** (0.006)	-0.009 (0.006)	-0.183*** (0.006)	0.153*** (0.014)	-0.173*** (0.014)
Observations	18703	18703	18703	6092	6092

Average marginal effects from multinomial logistic regressions; Standard Errors in Parentheses; DV=Party Preference Categorical Variable; Base Category Columns 1-3: Respondents not indicating party preference; Base Category Columns 4-5: Supporters of Sec/Left Parties

+ p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

Table A.12: Offers of Vote Buying

	secular-left	Islamist	other
Election incentives offered	0.004 (0.012)	-0.048*** (0.012)	-0.013 (0.011)
female	0.011 (0.011)	-0.006 (0.011)	-0.018 (0.010)
age	-0.001* (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.003*** (0.000)
Secondary or more	0.070*** (0.011)	-0.001 (0.011)	0.033** (0.011)
very poor	0.005 (0.009)	-0.010 (0.010)	-0.003 (0.010)
employed	0.026* (0.011)	0.032** (0.011)	0.028** (0.011)
Algeria	-0.049** (0.015)	-0.152*** (0.020)	0.162*** (0.013)
Morocco	-0.158*** (0.019)	0.000 (0.013)	0.043** (0.015)
Tunisia	0.072*** (0.012)	0.008 (0.013)	-0.110*** (0.023)
Observations	4145	4145	4145

Average marginal effects from multinomial logistic regression; Standard Errors in Parentheses; DV=Party Preference Categorical Variable; Base Category: Respondents not indicating party preference; Afro Barometer Only

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

A.13 Robustness

The tables below display the coefficients from individual regressions *by survey*. To increase convenience for the reader, each table combines the coefficients for one particular value index.

Table A.13. 1 Gender Conservative values

	secular-left	Islamist	other
WVS - gender conservative	-0.003 (0.004)	0.010* (0.004)	0.005 (0.005)
Afro Barometer – gender conservative	-0.023*** (0.005)	0.010+ (0.005)	0.007 (0.005)
Arab Barometer – gender conservative	-0.005 (0.004)	0.019*** (0.004)	0.006+ (0.003)

Table A.13.2 Care About Democracy

	secular-left	Islamist	other
WVS - care about democracy	0.016*** (0.004)	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.007 (0.005)
Afro Barometer - care about democracy	0.020*** (0.005)	0.015** (0.005)	-0.003 (0.005)
Arab Barometer - care about democracy	0.020*** (0.004)	0.009* (0.004)	-0.005 (0.003)

Table A.13.3 Support more religion in politics

	secular-left	Islamist	other
Afro Barometer – more religion in politics	-0.028*** (0.005)	0.047*** (0.004)	0.011* (0.004)
Arab Barometer – more religion in politics	-0.021*** (0.004)	0.065*** (0.003)	-0.011*** (0.003)

All tables show average marginal effects from multinomial logistic regression; Standard Errors in Parentheses; DV=Party Preference Categorical Variable; Base Category: Respondents not indicating party preference;

Controls: sex, age, education, employed, poor, country

+ p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001