

*Who Voted and Why?  
An Analysis of “New” and “Old” Voters in  
Tunisia and Egypt*

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A joint work with

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CSID Conference,  
Democratic Transitions in the Arab World,  
March 29, 2013

# Two Surveys



	Tunisia	Egypt
Sample Size	1200	4080
Duration of the survey	October-November 2013	Different Waves
<b>Post-Elections Survey</b>		
	Constituent Elections	Presidential Elections
Executive Organisation	Center for Maghrib Studies in Tunis, Portland State University, Yale University, Princeton University, and the Project on Middle East Political Science	Al-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies and the Danish Egyptian Dialogue Institute

# The Questionnaire

- ▶ Voting Behaviour and the Electoral Process.
- ▶ Contacting Elected Officials at the National Level.
- ▶ Local Councils.
- ▶ Political Parties.
- ▶ Values: Democracy, Political Regime, Religion.
- ▶ Trust in Institutions: Government, Constituent Assembly.
- ▶ Political Efficacy: Political Parties, Civil Societies, Unions...
- ▶ Social Networks and Candidate Voter Linkages.
- ▶ Activism and Social Movement Participation.
- ▶ Gender.

## New/Old Voters

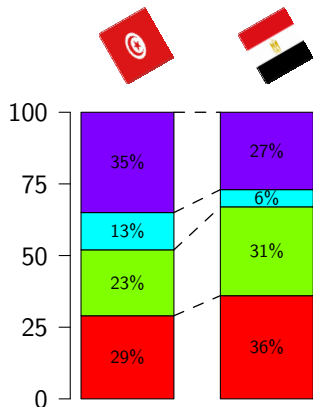
October 23rd	Yes	New Voters	Old Voters
	No	Never Vote	No longer Voters
		No	Yes
		Before January 14th	

- ▶ New Voters : never voted before revolution
- ▶ Old Voters : voted at the elections organized before revolution.

## New/Old Voters

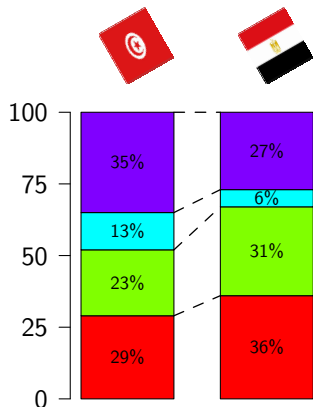
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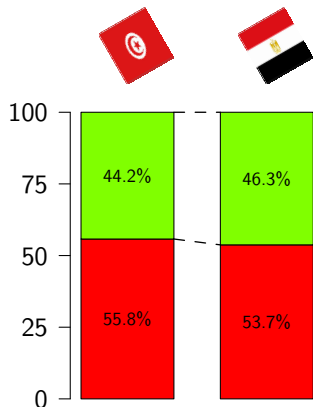
## New/Old Voters

- ▶ Tunisia : 29% of the Tunisians vote for the 1st time.
- ▶ Egypt : 36% of the Egyptians vote for the 1st time.
- ▶ 48% did not participate to the last elections in Tunisia and 33% did not participate in Egypt.



## New/Old Voters

**Almost half of the voters are New Voters**



# Motivation

- ▶ Who are these new voters? (Age, Education, Social Class)
- ▶ Are they ideologically different from the others?
- ▶ Have they voted differently?
- ▶ Are they more satisfied with the current situation?
- ▶ How they will vote in the future?



# Outline

Profile of the New/Old voters

New/Old Voters and The last elections

Voting movements: the Tunisian case

## Profile of the New/Old voters

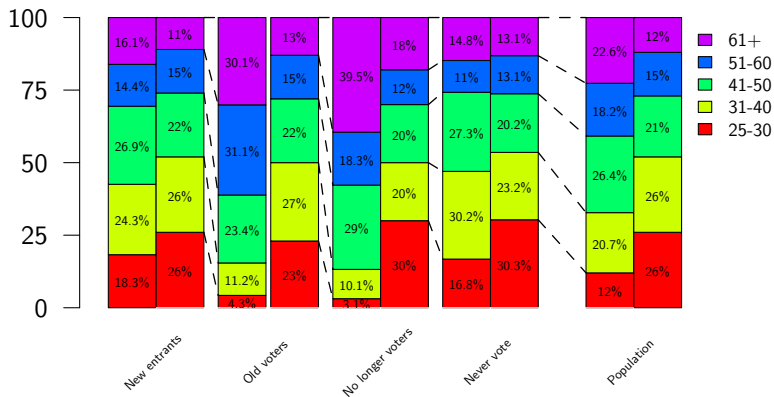
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Voting movements: the Tunisian case

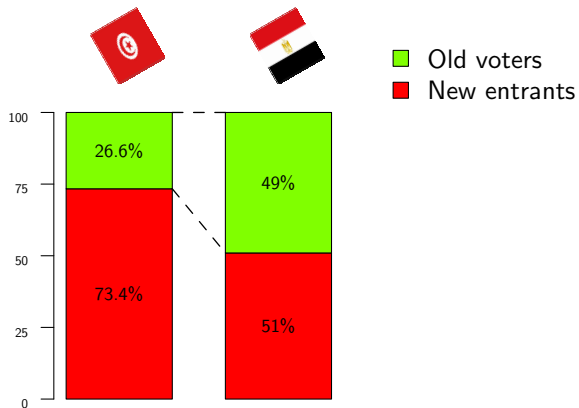
# Age

**We consider voters aged at least 25 years**

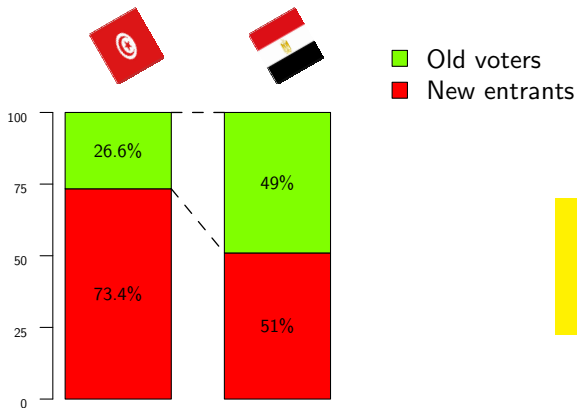
# Age



## Age: Voters less than 40 years old

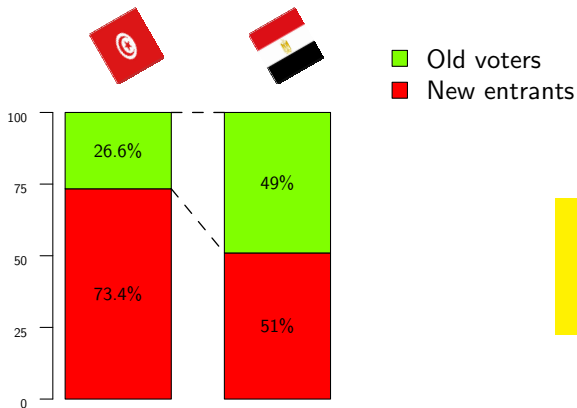


## Age: Voters less than 40 years old



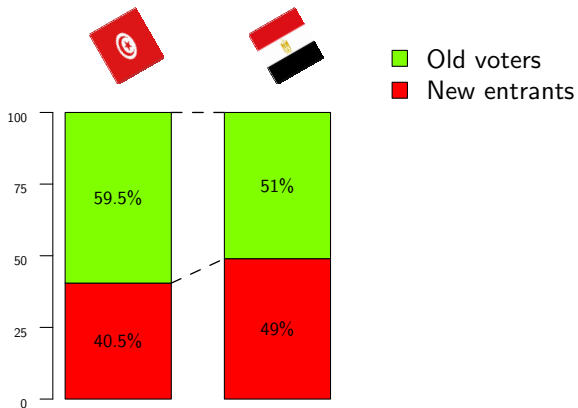
In Tunisia 73% of voters 40 years or younger voted for the 1st time.

## Age: Voters less than 40 years old



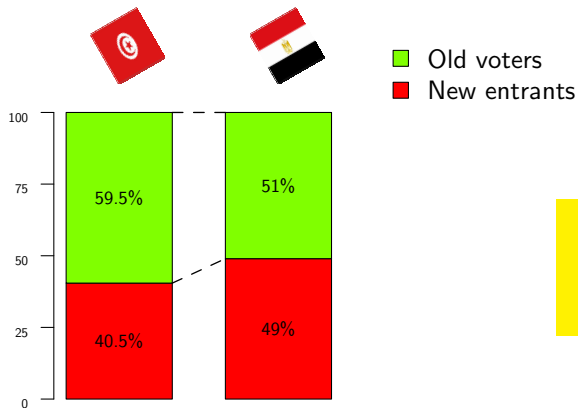
In Egypt 51% of voters 40 years or younger voted for the 1st time.

## Age: Voters 41 years and older



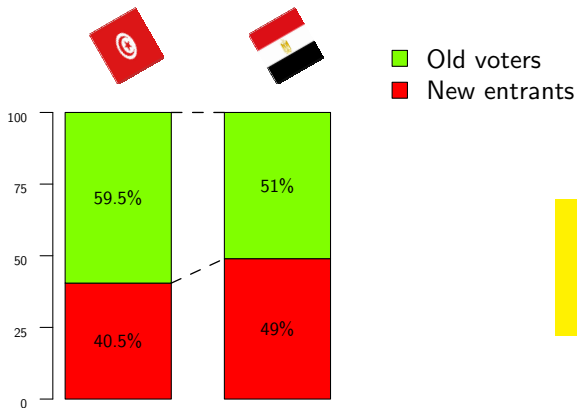


## Age: Voters 41 years and older



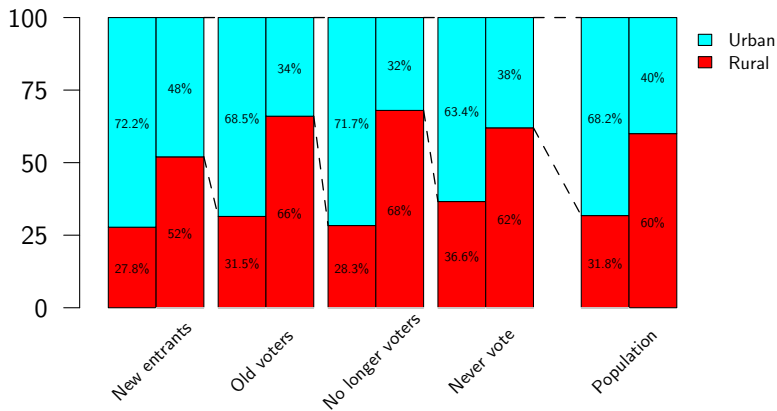
In Tunisia 41% of 41 years and older voted for the 1st time.

## Age: Voters 41 years and older

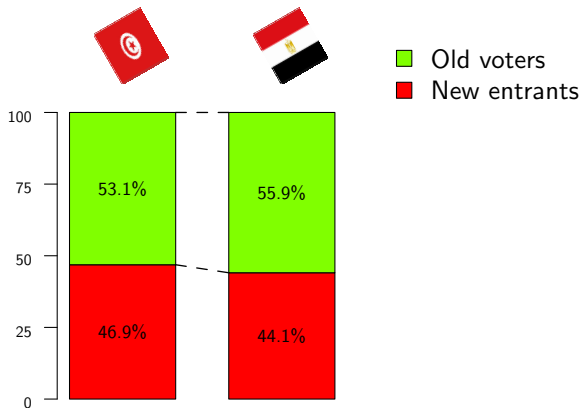


In Egypt 49% of 41 years and older voted for the 1st time.

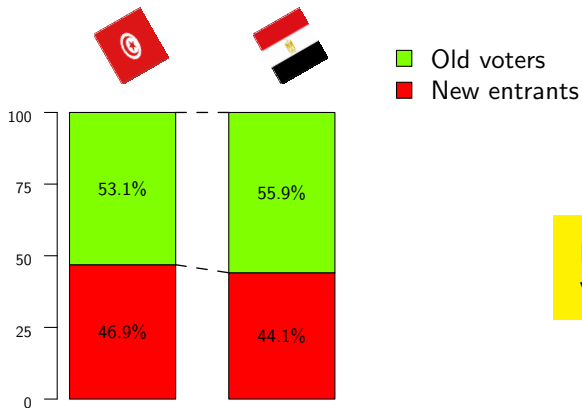
# Urban/Rural



# Rural

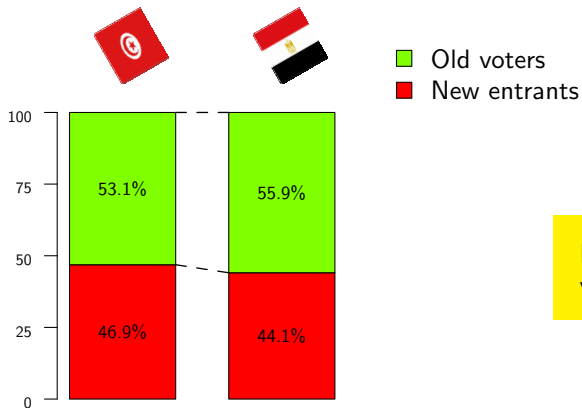


# Rural



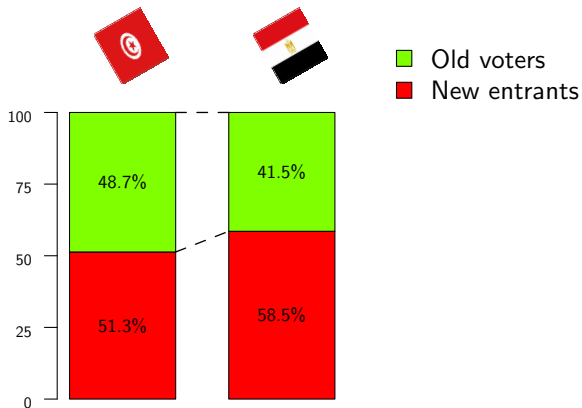
In Tunisia 47% of the rural voters vote for the 1st time.

## Rural

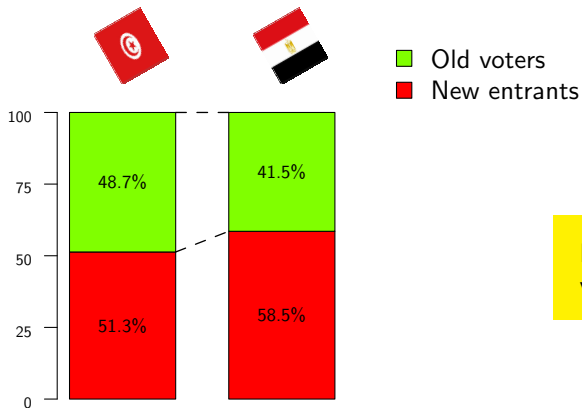


In Egypt 44% of the rural voters vote for the 1st time.

# Urban



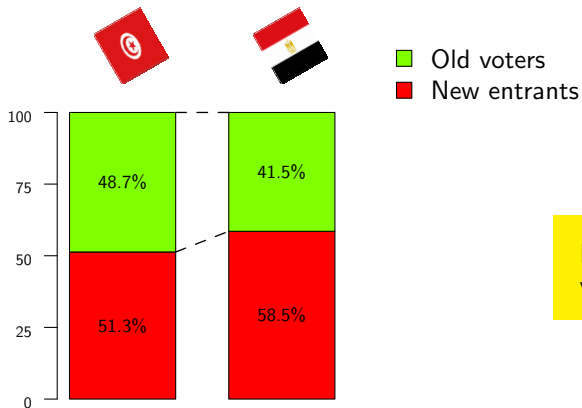
# Urban



In Tunisia 51% of the urban voters vote for the 1st time.

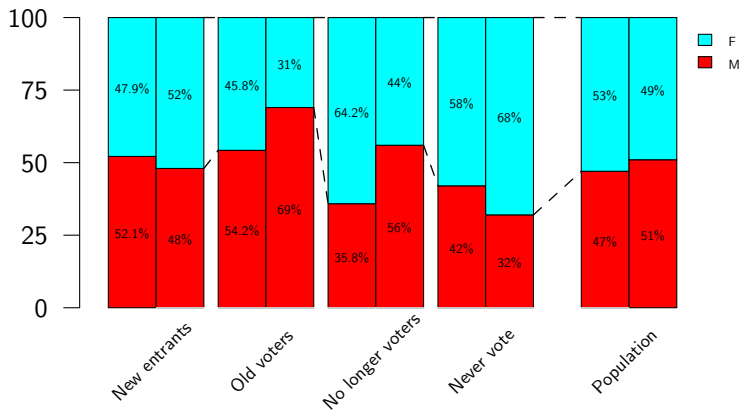


# Urban

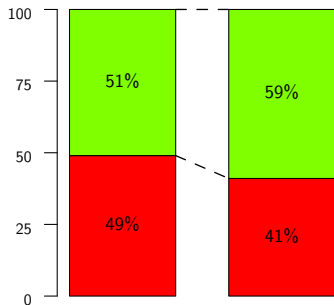


In Egypt 58% of the urban voters vote for the 1st time.

# Gender

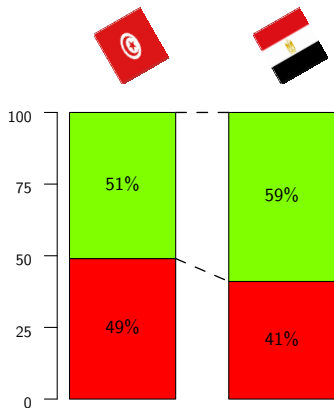


# Male



■ Old voters  
■ New entrants

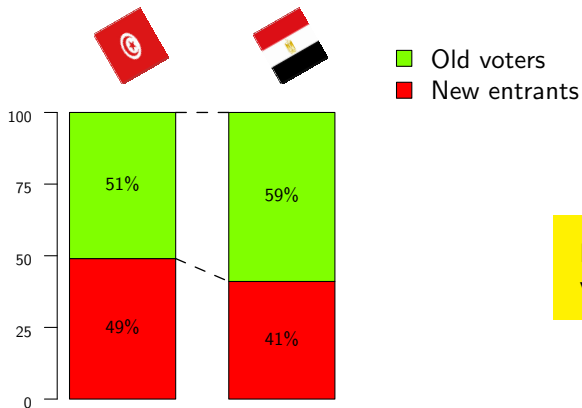
# Male



■ Old voters  
■ New entrants

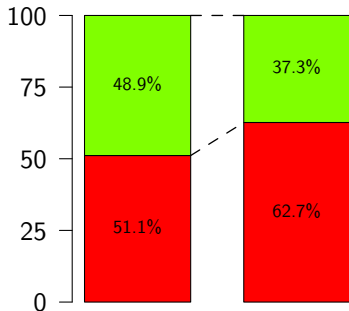
In Tunisia 49% of the male voters vote for the 1st time.

# Male



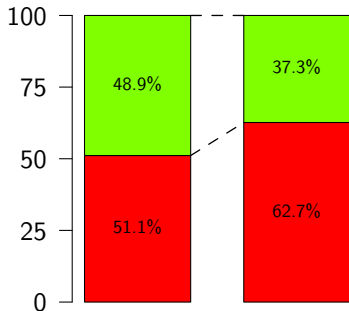
In Egypt 41% of the male voters vote for the 1st time.

# Female



Old voters  
New entrants

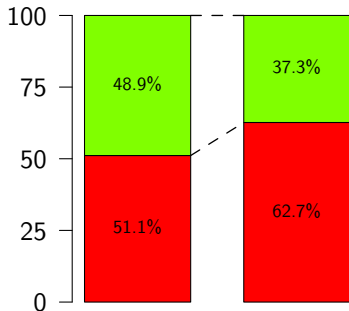
## Female



- Old voters
- New entrants

In Tunisia 51.1% of the female voters vote for the 1st time.

# Female

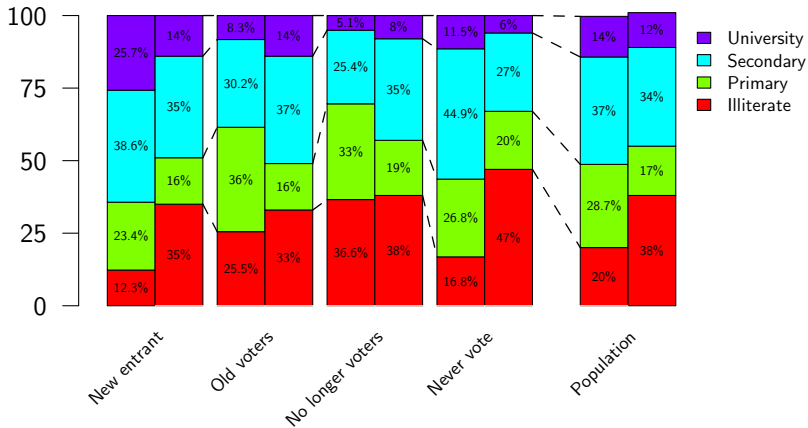


- Old voters
- New entrants

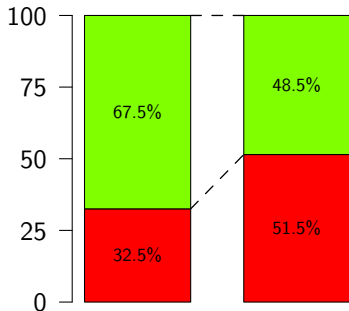
In Egypt 62.7% of the female voters vote for the 1st time.



# Education

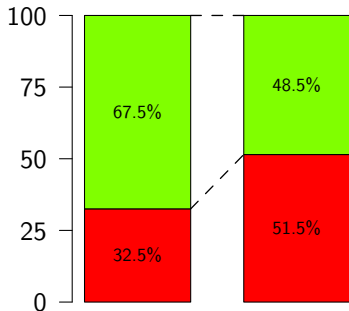


# Illiterate



- Old voters
- New entrants

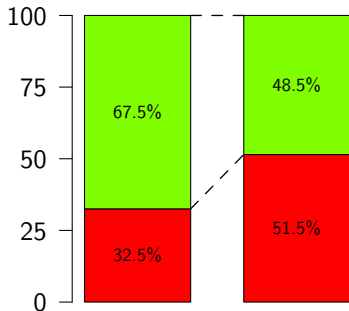
# Illiterate



- Old voters
- New entrants

In Tunisia 32% of the "Illiterate" voters vote for the 1st time.

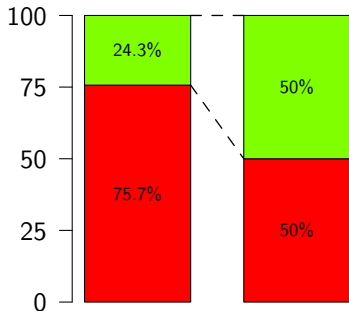
# Illiterate



- Old voters
- New entrants

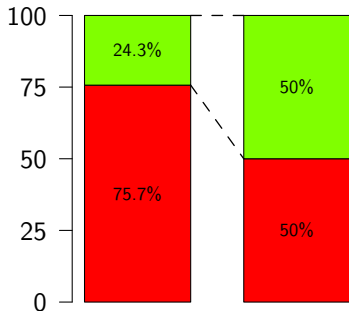
In Egypt 51.5% of the "Illiterate" voters vote for the 1st time.

# University



■ Old voters  
■ New entrants

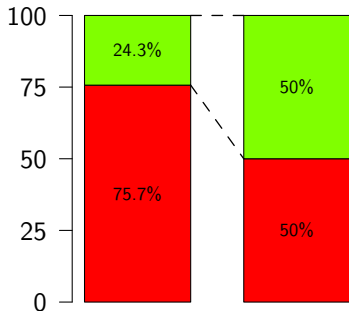
# University



- Old voters
- New entrants

In Tunisia 75.7% of the voters with a University education vote for the 1st time.

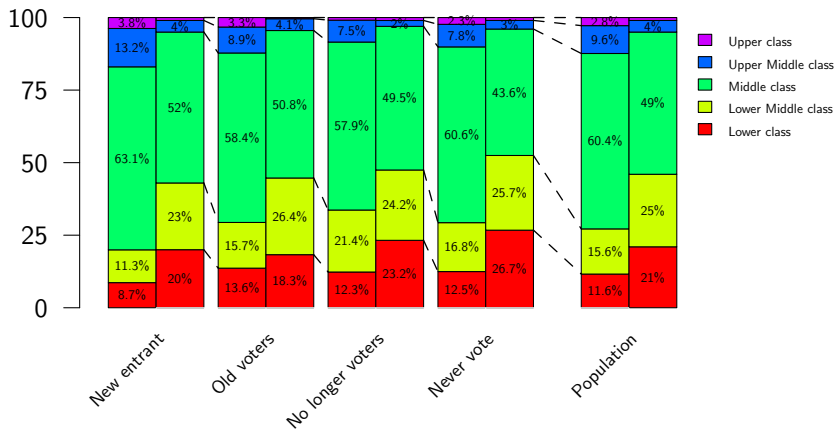
# University



- Old voters
- New entrants

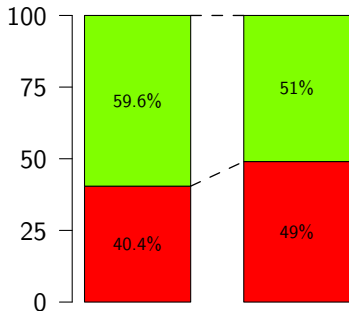
In Egypt 50% of the voters with a University education vote for the 1st time.



# Social Class



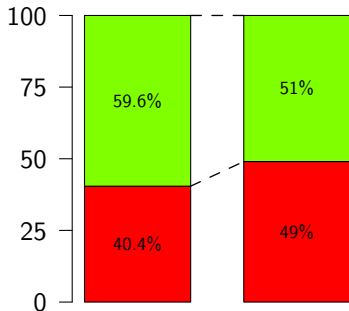


## Lower class



-  Old voters
-  New entrants

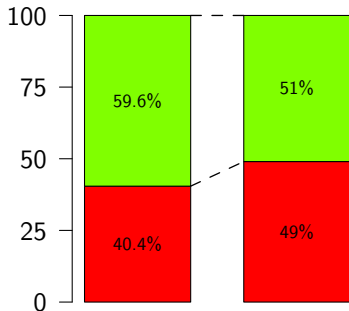
## Lower class



- Old voters
- New entrants

In Tunisia 40% of the voters from the lower class vote for the 1st time.

## Lower class



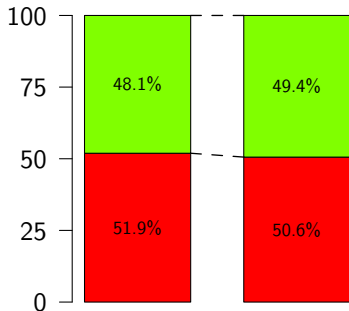
- Old voters
- New entrants

In Egypt 49% of the voters from the lower class vote for the 1st time.

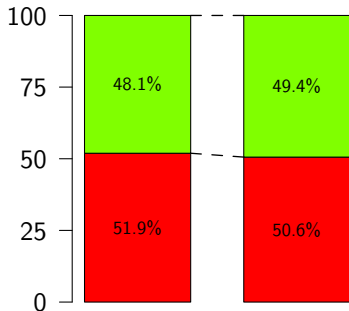
## Middle class



- Old voters
- New entrants



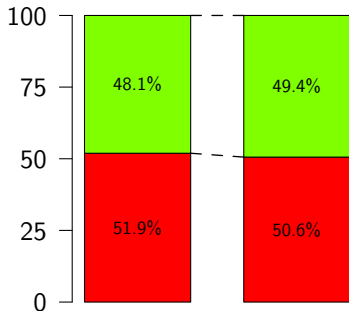
## Middle class



■ Old voters  
■ New entrants

In Tunisia 52% of the voters from the middle class vote for the 1st time.

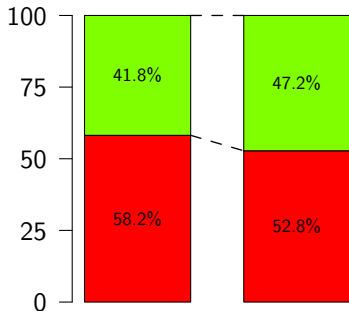
## Middle class



- Old voters
- New entrants

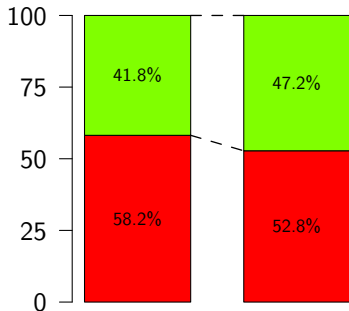
In Egypt 51% of the voters from the middle class vote for the 1st time.

## Upper class



- Old voters
- New entrants

## Upper class

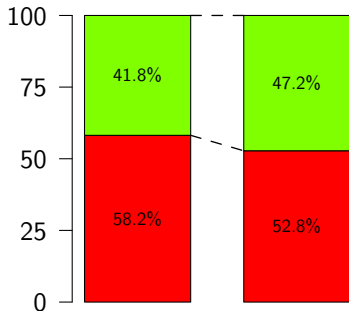


- Old voters
- New entrants

In Tunisia 58.2% of the voters from the upper class vote for the 1st time.



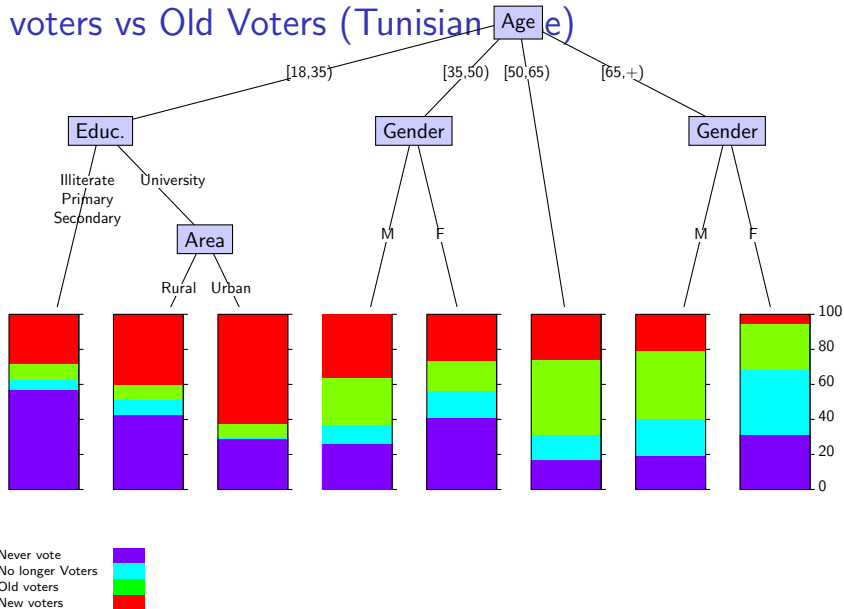
## Upper class



- Old voters
- New entrants

In Egypt 52.8% of the voters from the upper class vote for the 1st time.

# New voters vs Old Voters (Tunisian e)

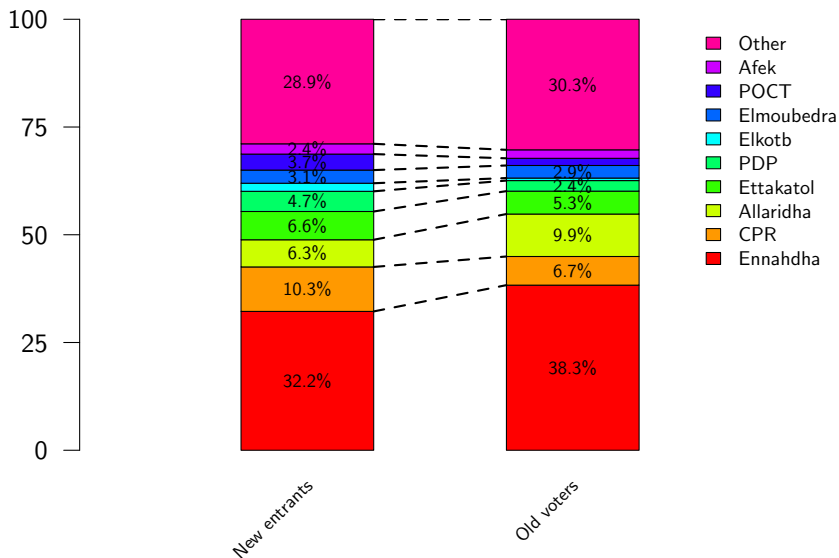


Profile of the New/Old voters

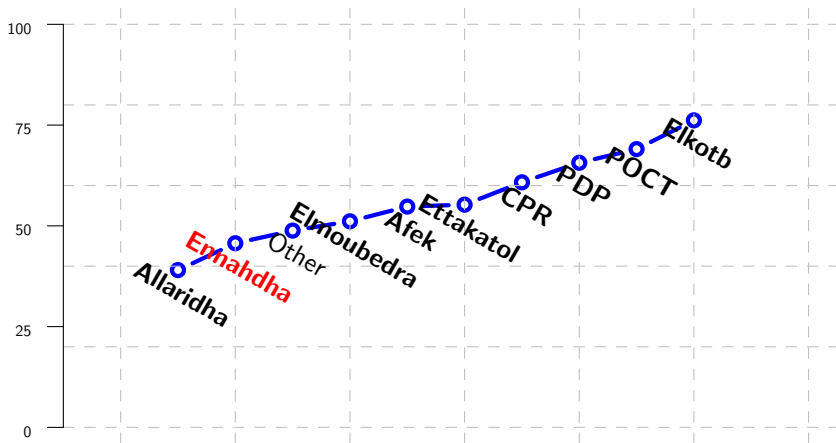
New/Old Voters and The last elections

Voting movements: the Tunisian case

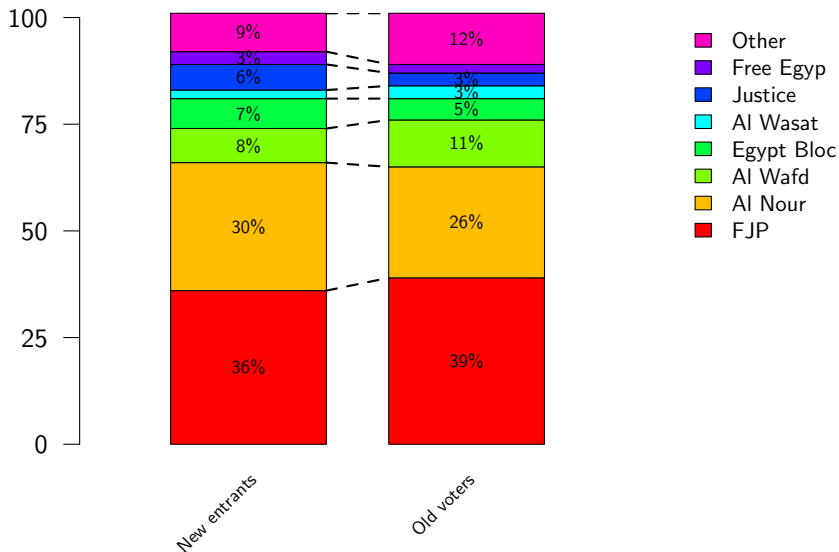
## Votes in the last Elections: Tunisia



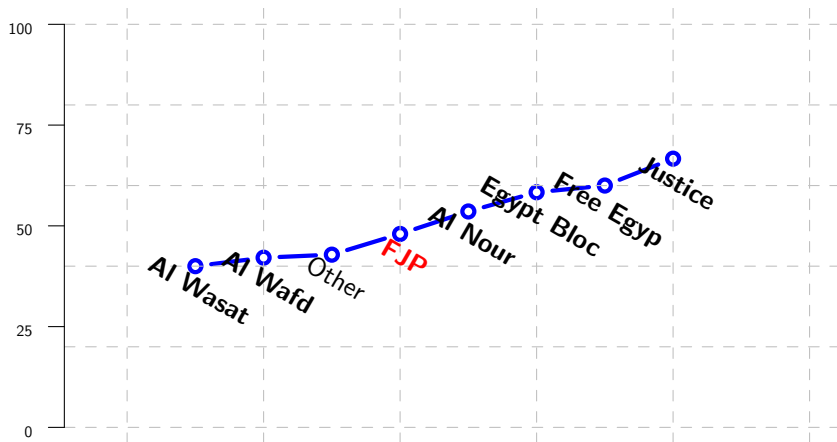
## Attracting new voters: Tunisian case



## Voting in the last Elections: Egyptian case



## Attracting new voters: Egyptian case



## Conclusion

- ▶ Almost half of “Ennahdha” and “FJP” voters are new voters
- ▶ “Justice Party” for Egypt and “El Kotb” for Tunisia were the most attractive for new voters.

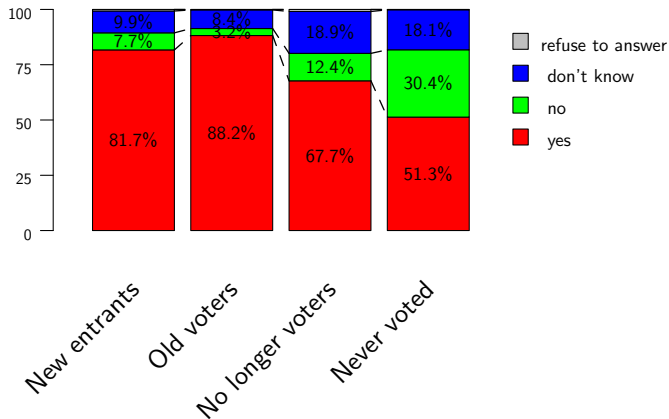


Profile of the New/Old voters

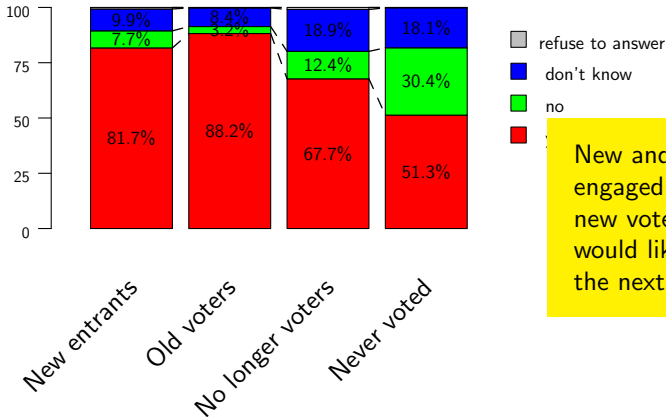
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## Will you vote for the next elections?

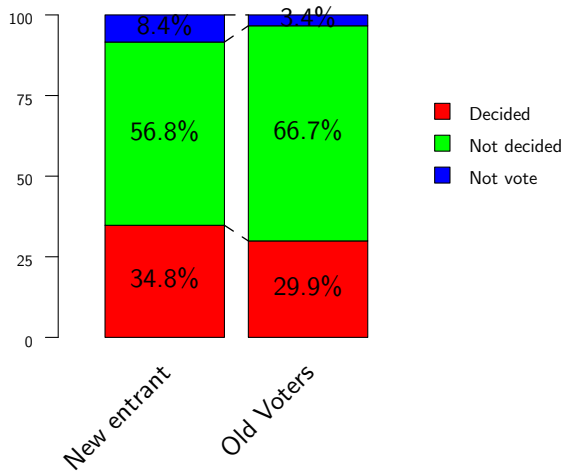


# Will you vote for the next elections?

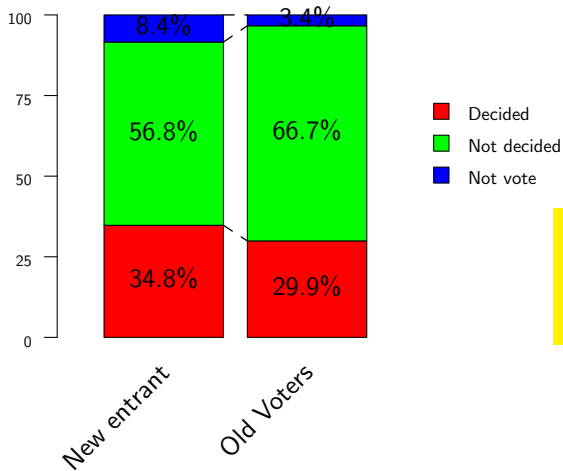


New and Old voters are still engaged : almost 81% of the new voters declare they would like to participate in the next elections.

## Will you vote for the next elections?

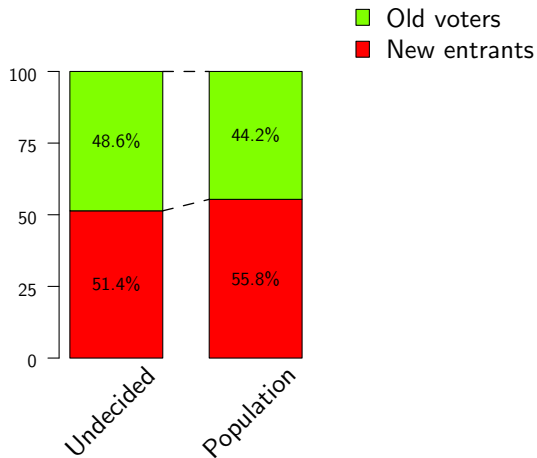


## Will you vote for the next elections?

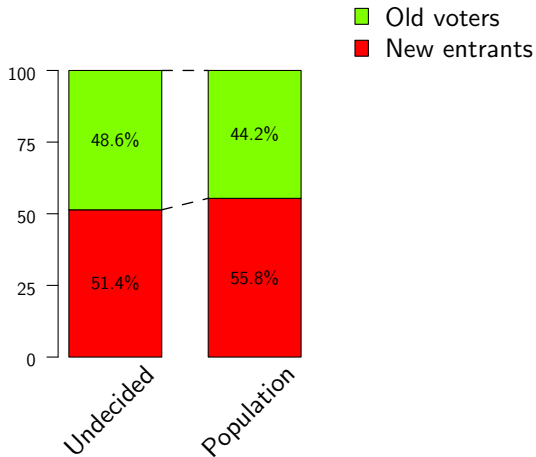


56.8% of the New voters and 66.7% of the Old voters are **undecided**.

## The undecided voters for the next elections

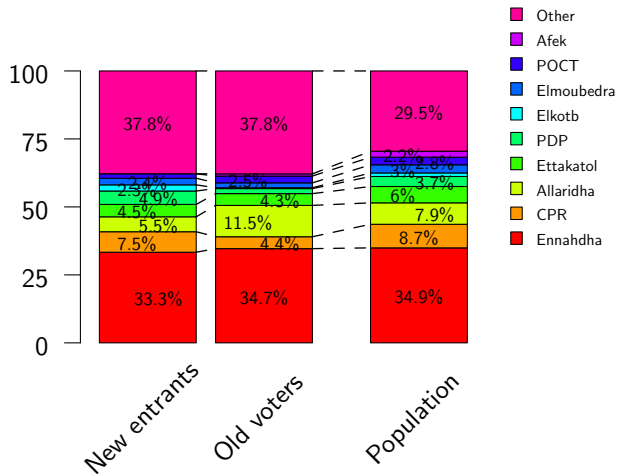


## The undecided voters for the next elections



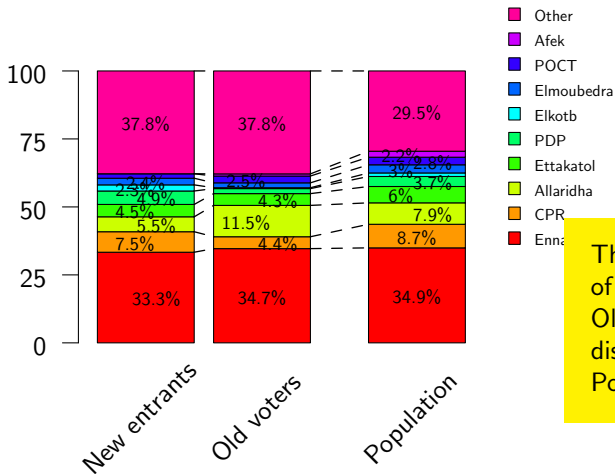
Half of the undecided voters for the next elections were New voters.

# The undecided voters for the next elections



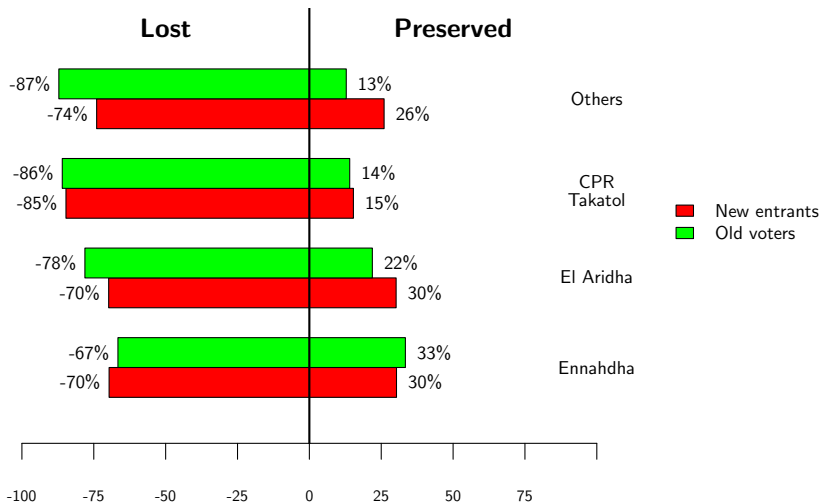


# The undecided voters for the next elections

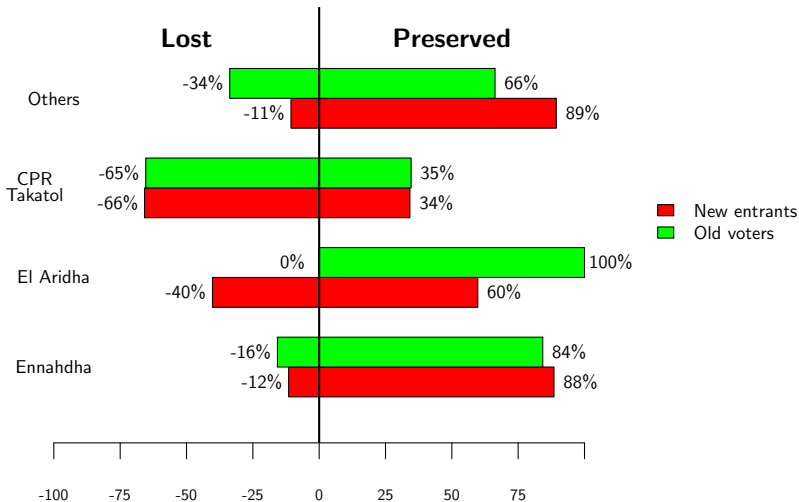


The distribution of the votes of the "Undecided New and Old voters" is similar to the distribution of the Population votes.

# Votes movement



## Voters still engaged and decided



## Further Reading

- ▶ Islamists Aren't the Obstacle How to Build Democracy in Egypt and Tunisia with L. Benstead, E. Lust, G. Soltan, J. Wichmann, *Foreign Affairs*, February 14, 2013.
- ▶ Tunisians do not want a second revolution, despite their dissatisfaction, with L. Benstead and E. Lust, *at the Daily Star Lebanon*, January 2013.
- ▶ Tunisian Revolution Is Work in Progress, with L. Benstead and E. Lust, *at YaleGlobal Online*, January 2013.
- ▶ Tunisian frustrated but still engaged, with L. Benstead and E. Lust, *at Foreign Policy, Middle Channel*, December 2012.
- ▶ Slides (and others) and papers are available at : [essai.academia.edu/DhaferMalouche](http://essai.academia.edu/DhaferMalouche)..