

*Tunisian Post-Election Survey  
Presentation of Initial Results*

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with  
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Ecole Polytechnique de Tunisie, Séminaire MASE,  
February 22th, 2013.

## The survey

- ▶ 1201 Tunisian citizens sampled from different regions in Tunisia
- ▶ Sampling method: PPS, Kish Table (Probabilistic Sample).
- ▶ Duration of the survey: **October 10 - November 30, 2012.**
- ▶ Supported by the NSF, the Center for Maghrib Studies in Tunis/American Institute for Maghrib Studies, Portland State University, Yale University, Princeton University, and the Project on Middle East Political Science.

Tunis 1	100
Tunis 2	84
Ariana	78
Ben Arous	92
Manouba	64
Nabeul 1	69
Nabeul 2	54
Bizerte	91
Beja	57
Sousse	97
Mahdia	63
Sfax 1	65
Sfax 2	88
Sidi Bouzid	65
Mednine	80
Gafsa	55

# 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.

# Objectives

1. Determining the profil of Participants at the last elections and the profil of New/Old voters.
2. Profil of voters for each party: determining categories of Tunisian that have significantly voted different from the other.
3. Evaluation of the current situation (at **November 2012**) about
  - ▶ The feeling on the general situation in Tunisia.
  - ▶ The “performance” of the (*former*) Government and the Constituent Assembly.
4. Prediction of the results in the next elections.

# Methodology

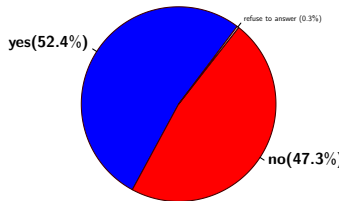
- ▶ Compute frequencies and cross tables: all the results presented in this presentation are significant at a level of significance equal to 5%.
- ▶ Decision trees using CHAID-algorithm (CHI-squared Automatic Interaction Detector).
- ▶ Multiple Correspondance Analysis: a factorial analysis on categorical variables.

## Participation at the election of October 23th

Evaluation of the current situation

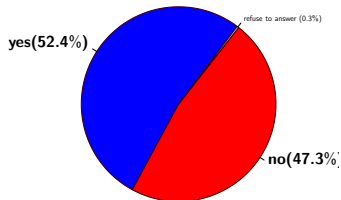
Next election

**Did you vote in the elections that took place in October 23rd?**

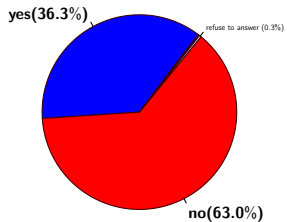


October 23th : 52.4%

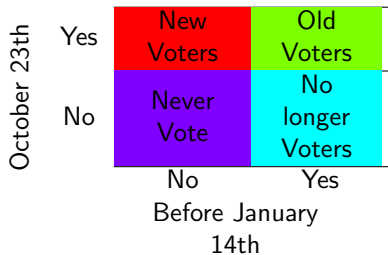


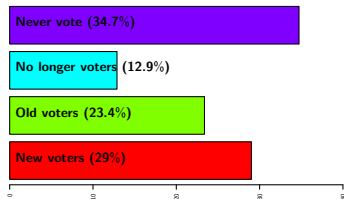
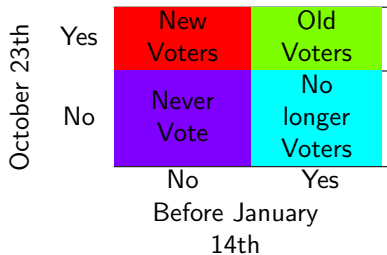


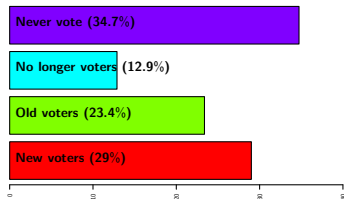
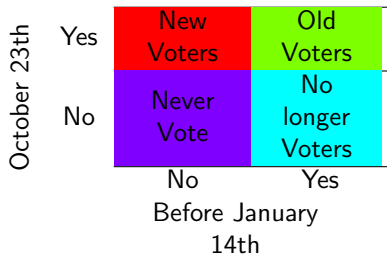
October 23th : 52.4%



Before January 14th : 36.3%

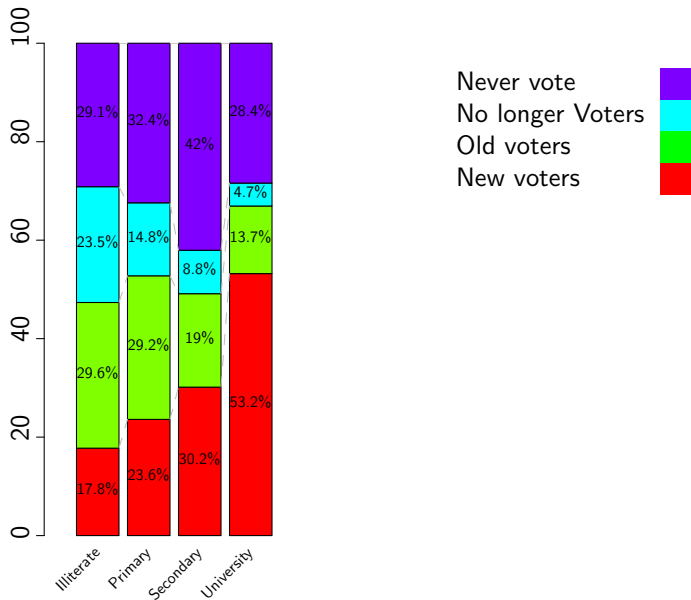




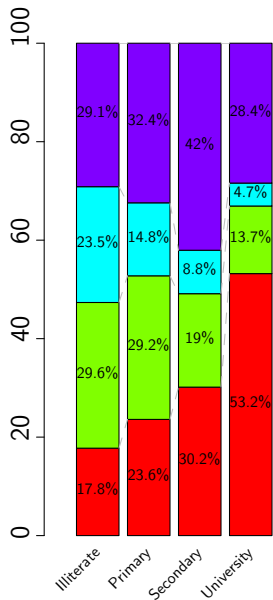


New voters  $\approx$  2 527 501.  
 Old voters  $\approx$  2 039 432.  
 No longer voters  $\approx$  1 124 302.  
 Never vote  $\approx$  3 024 285.

## New voters vs Old Voters : Education Level



## New voters vs Old Voters : Education Level

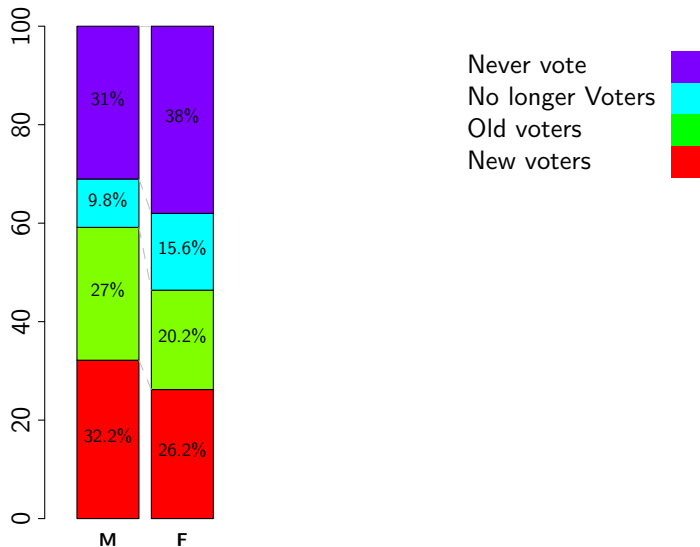


Never vote  
 No longer Voters  
 Old voters  
 New voters

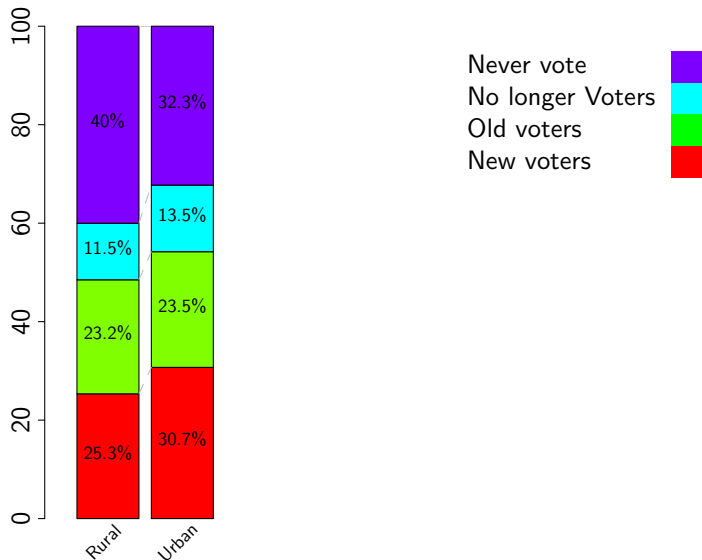


- ▶ 25% of the new voters have a University education level and more than 35% of them are illiterate or have a Primary education level.
- ▶ More than 60% of the old voters are illiterate or have a Primary education level and only 8% of them have a University education level.

## New voters vs Old Voters : Gender

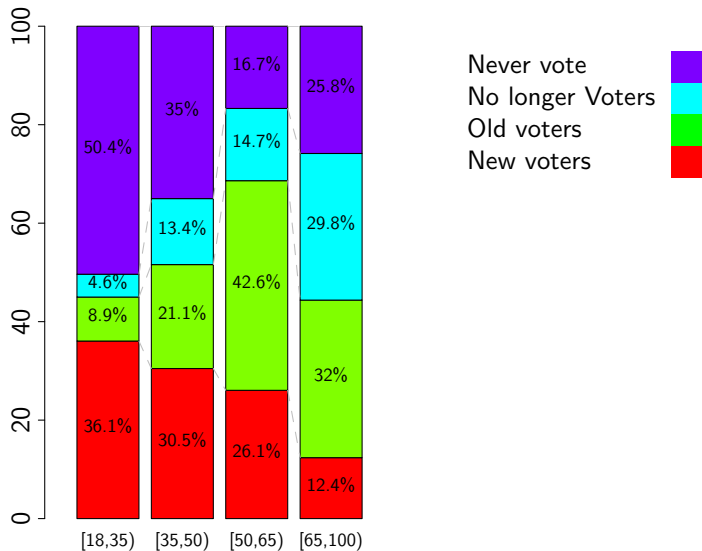


# New voters vs Old Voters : Area





## New voters vs Old Voters : Age

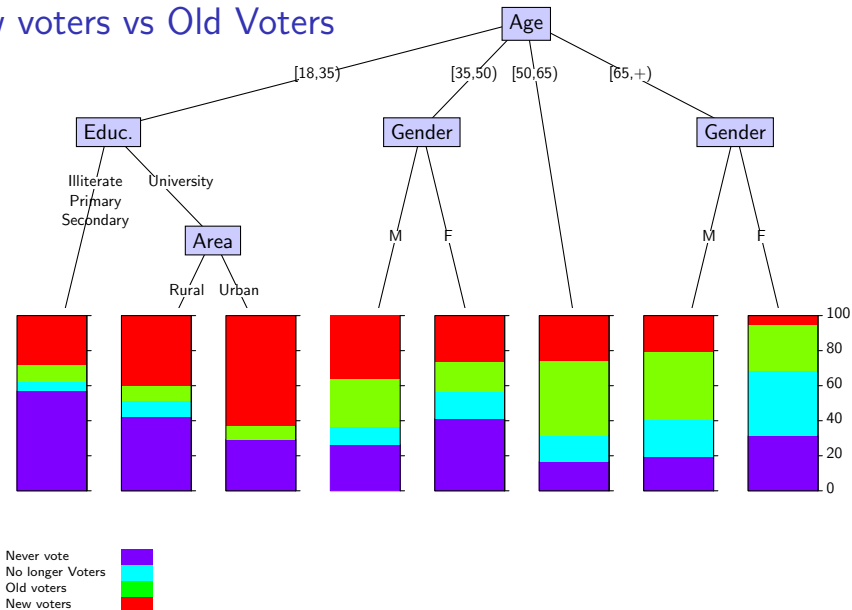


**The last elections was**

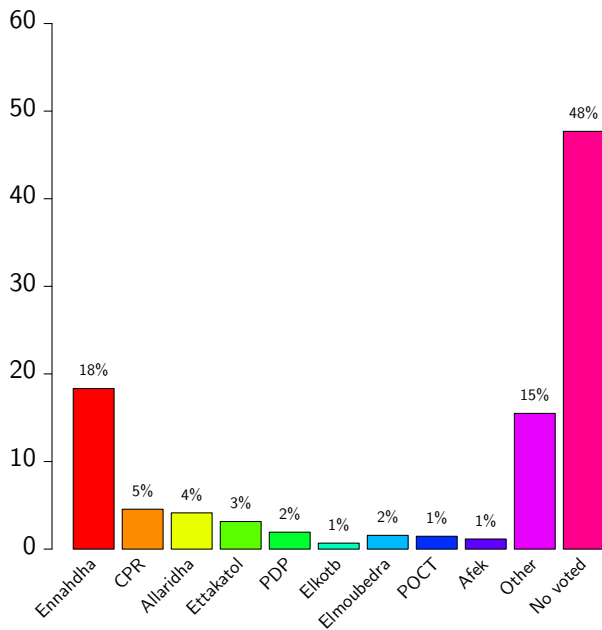
- 1. more attractive for young Tunisians and for High education levels.**
- 2. not so attractive for women and Rural Tunisians.**

**What are the differences between New and Old voters (Age, Education, Area, Gender) ?**

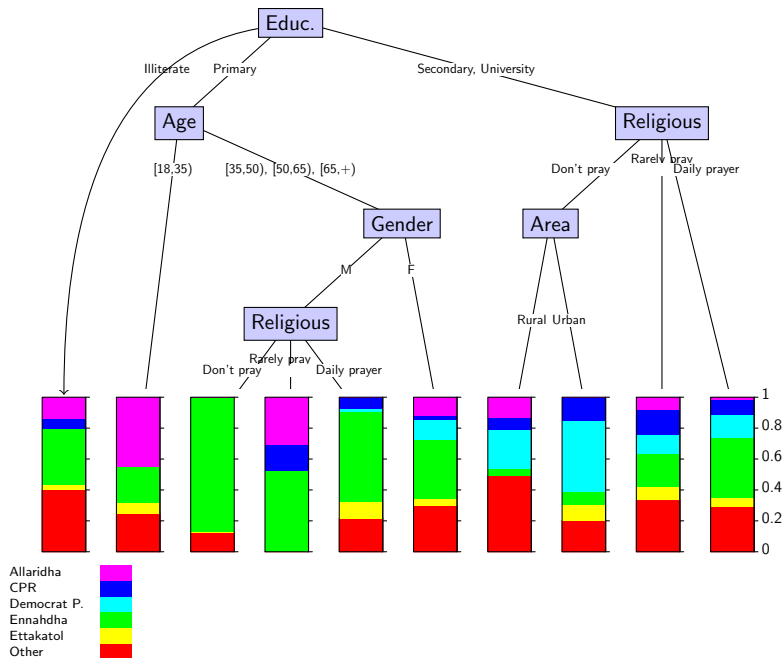
# New voters vs Old Voters



**In the last elections on October 23rd, 2011, which party did you vote for in your own electoral district?**



**What are the main factors that help Tunisians for their choice in the last elections (Age, Gender, Education, Religiosity, Decision Time, New/Old voters..) ?**





Participation at the election of October 23th

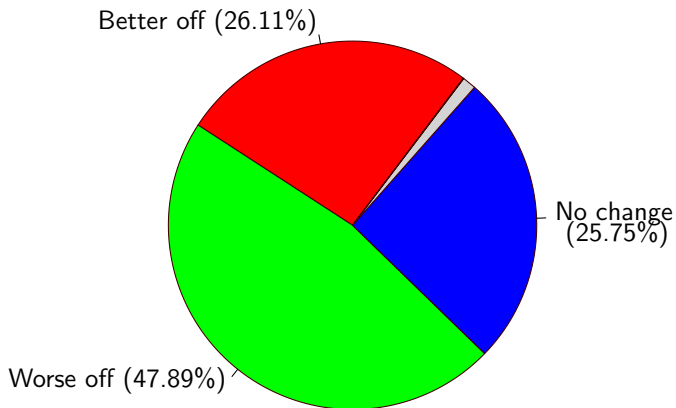
Evaluation of the current situation

Next election

## Current Situation:

**You think Tunisia is better off, worse off, or about the same as before the revolution?**

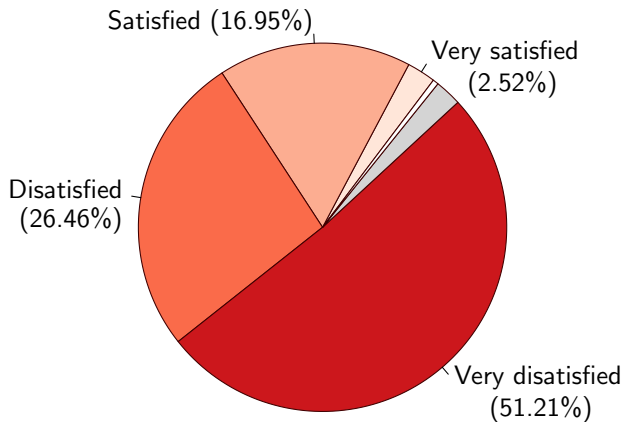
## Current Situation:



## Current Situation:

**How satisfied are you with the way the current government is handling the country's affairs?**

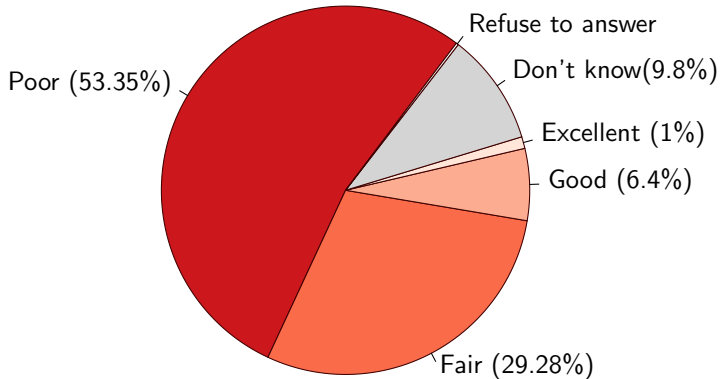
## Current Situation: Government



## Current Situation:

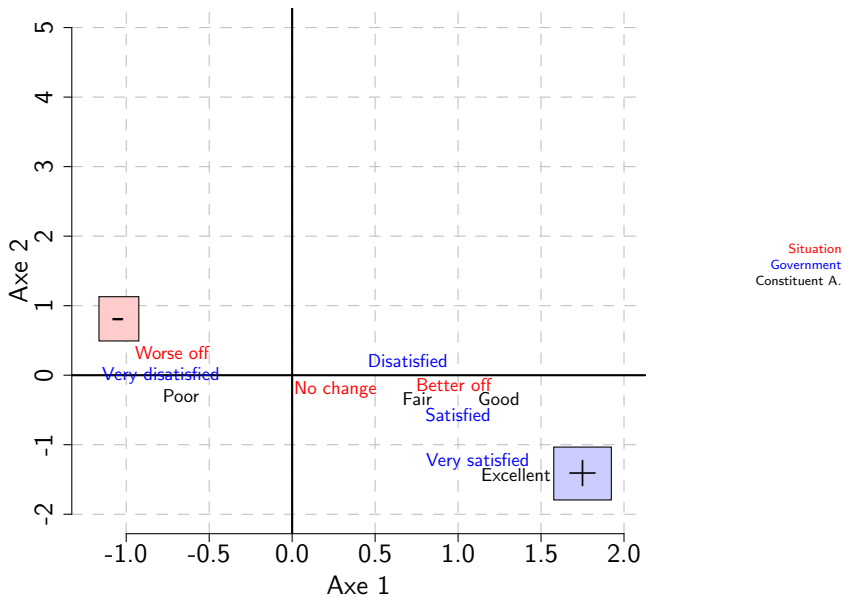
**Overall, do you think the current Constituent Assembly is doing a poor, fair, good, or excellent job?**

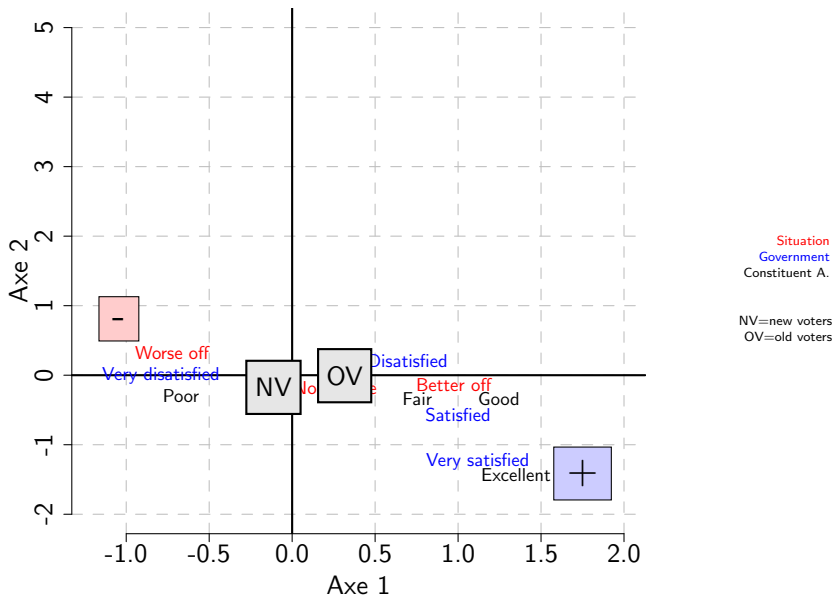
## Current Situation: Constituent Assembly

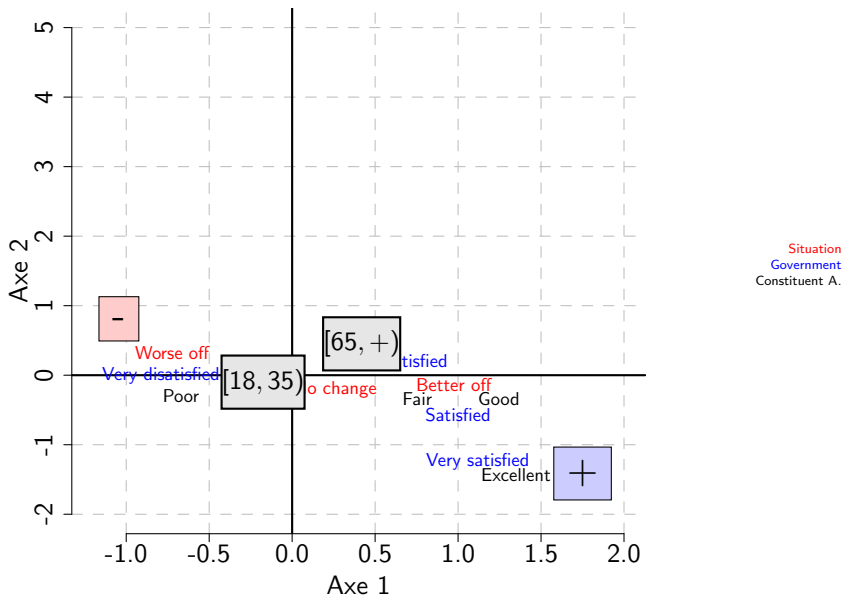


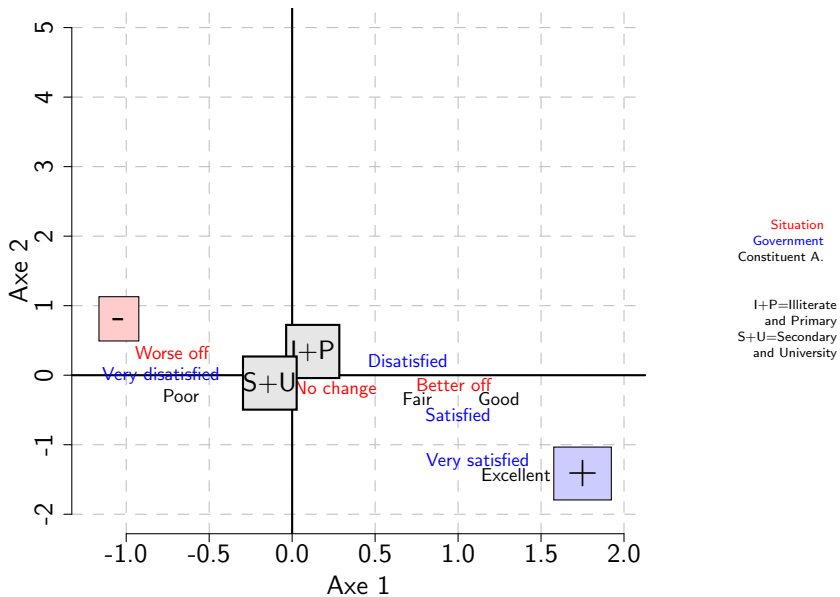
**Do we have the same opinion about the current situation, the government and the Constituent Assembly?**

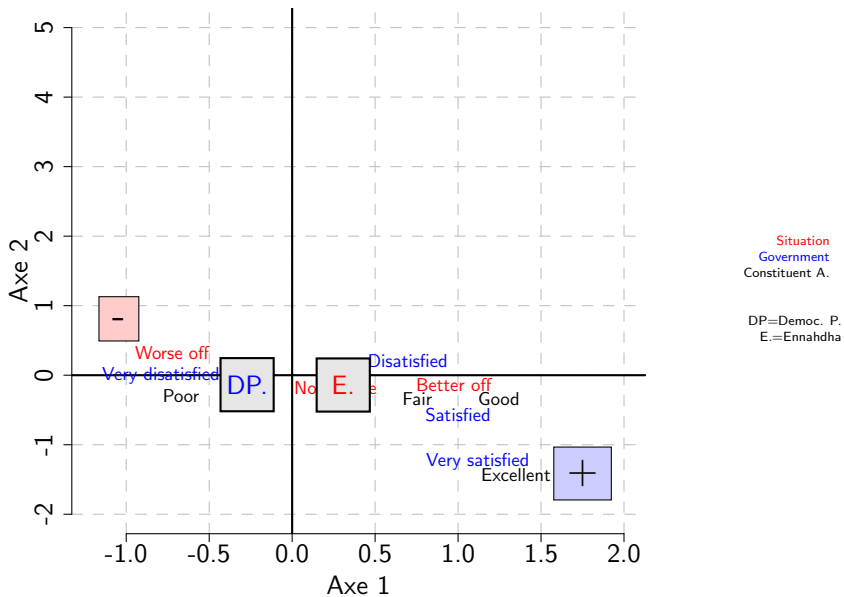


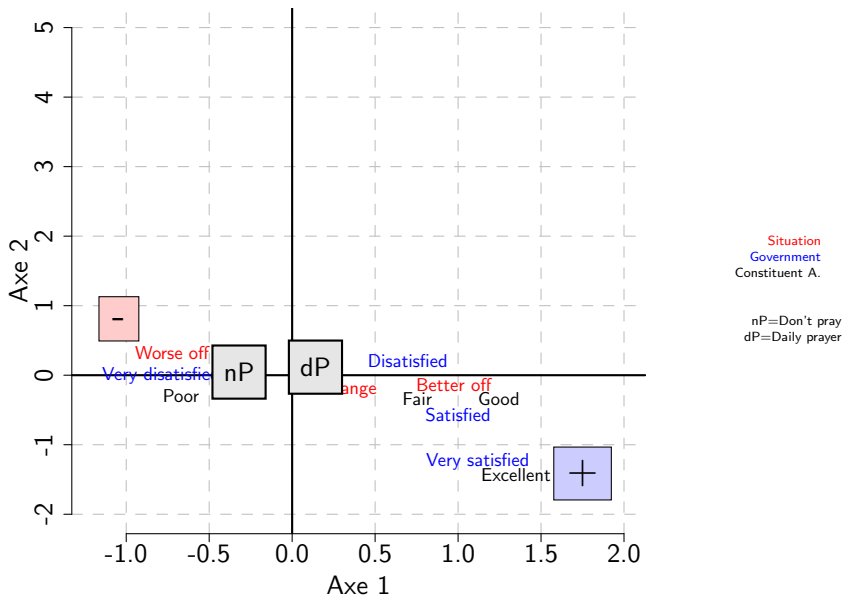












- ▶ **The satisfaction about the about the current situation, the government and the Constituent Assembly decreases with**
  - ▶ **Age class**
  - ▶ **Education level**
  - ▶ **Religiosity**
  
- ▶ **New voters are less satisfied than Old voters**
  
- ▶ **Ennahdha voters are more satisfied than than other groups.**

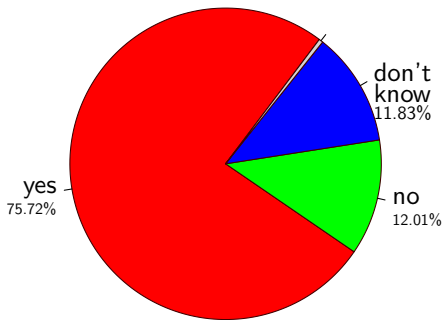
Participation at the election of October 23th

Evaluation of the current situation

Next election

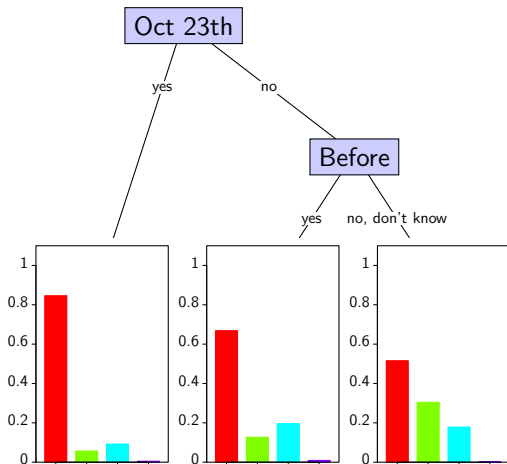


# Participation



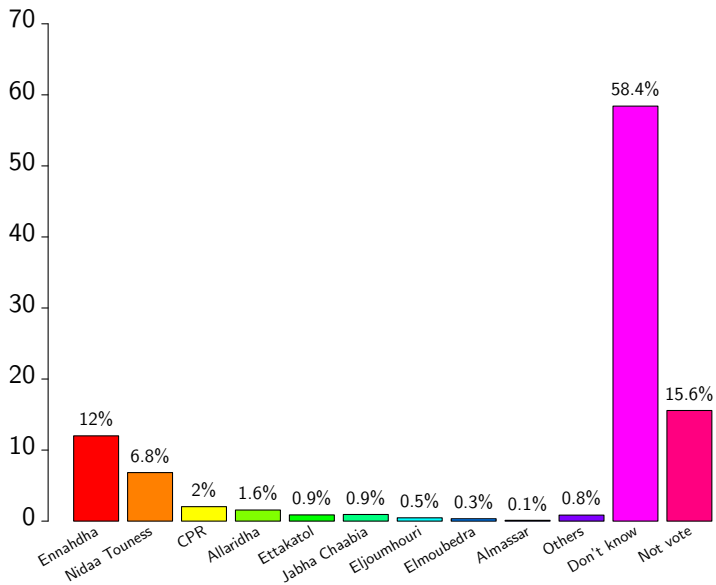
More than 75% want to vote again.

# Participation

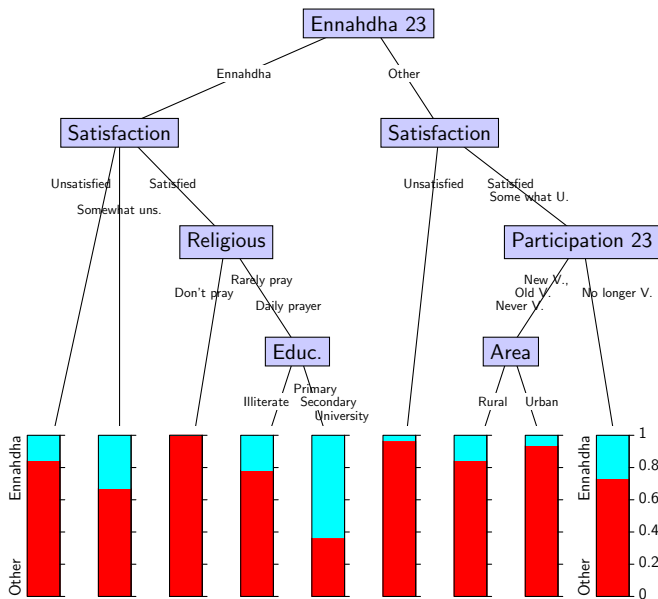


Yes  
No  
Don't know  
Refuse to answer

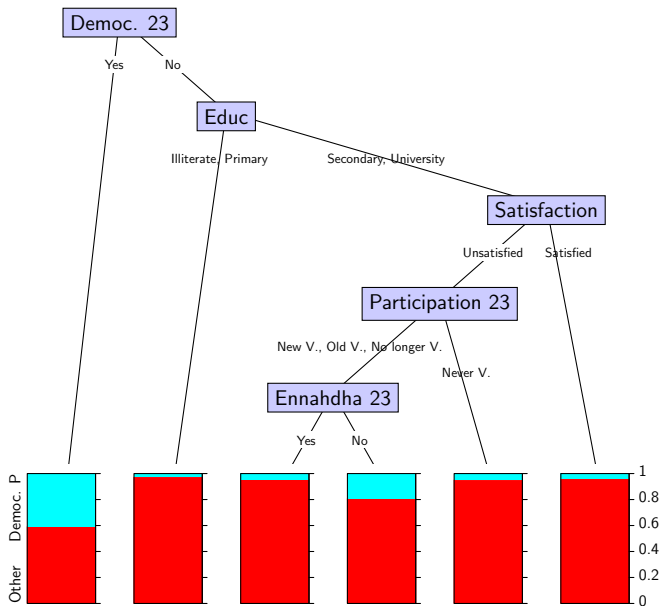




**Who will vote for Ennahdha again ?**

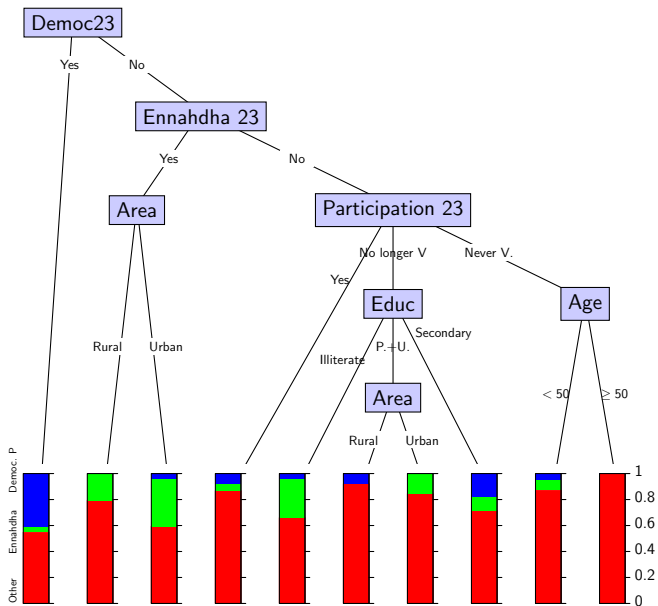


**Who will vote for Democ. P. (Nidaa, Joumhouri, Massar,...) ?**



## **Ennahdha vs Democ. P.**





- ▶ Published articles.
  - ▶ Tunisians do not want a second revolution, despite their dissatisfaction *at the Daily Star Lebanon*, January 2013.
  - ▶ Tunisian Revolution Is Work in Progress *at YaleGlobal Online*, January 2013.
  - ▶ Tunisian frustrated but still engaged *at Foreign Policy, Middle Channel*, December 2012.
  
- ▶ Forthcoming:
  - ▶ Institutions or Islamism: What really threatens democracy in Tunisia and Egypt? with L. Benstead, E. Lust, G. Soltan, J. Wichmann, *to appear at the Foreign Affairs Journal*.
  - ▶ Who Voted and Why? An Analysis of “New” and “Old” Voters in Tunisia and Egypt, with L. Benstead, E. Lust, G. Soltan, J. Wichmann, *CSID conference*, March 2013.
  - ▶ Is it Gender, Religion or Both? A Survey Experiment on Voter Preferences in Transitional Tunisia, with L. Benstead, E. Lust, *CSID conference*, March 2013.