

# New Entrants and Old Voters: What They Tell Us about Voting in Egypt's Authoritarian and Transitional Elections



## Key Questions

### **Who Voted in Elections under Authoritarianism, and Why?**

- Clientelism and Vote-Buying
- “Wasta” and Competition over State Resources
- Social Ties

\*\* Little concern with “political” (ideological/policy) preferences of voters

### **Who Votes in Transitional Elections, and Do They Differ from “Old Voters”?**

#### *Voting in Transitional Regimes*

- Influence of New Voters – new demands and preferences

#### *Voting in “Weak Democracies”*

- Clientelism and Vote-buying, with Programmatic vs Patronage parties

# Overview of the Data

Unique, Time-Series Survey Data in Egypt:  
7 surveys, 13,200 respondents, social and political questions

Survey Data in Tunisia: post-election survey (in-progress)

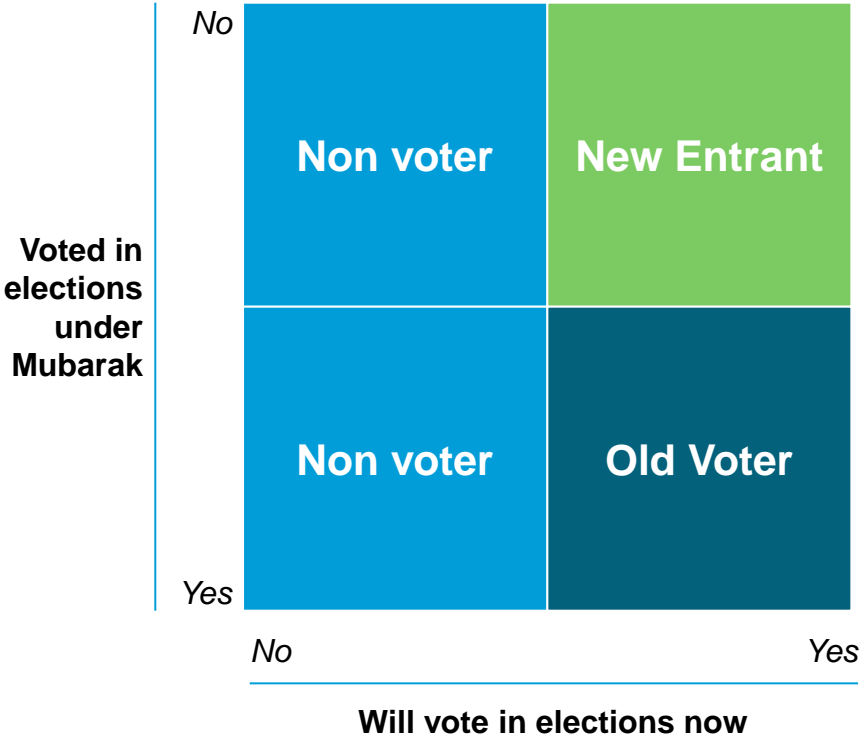
Interviews with Egyptians and Tunisians:  
Voters, party elites, scholars, journalists

Observation: Elections and other events

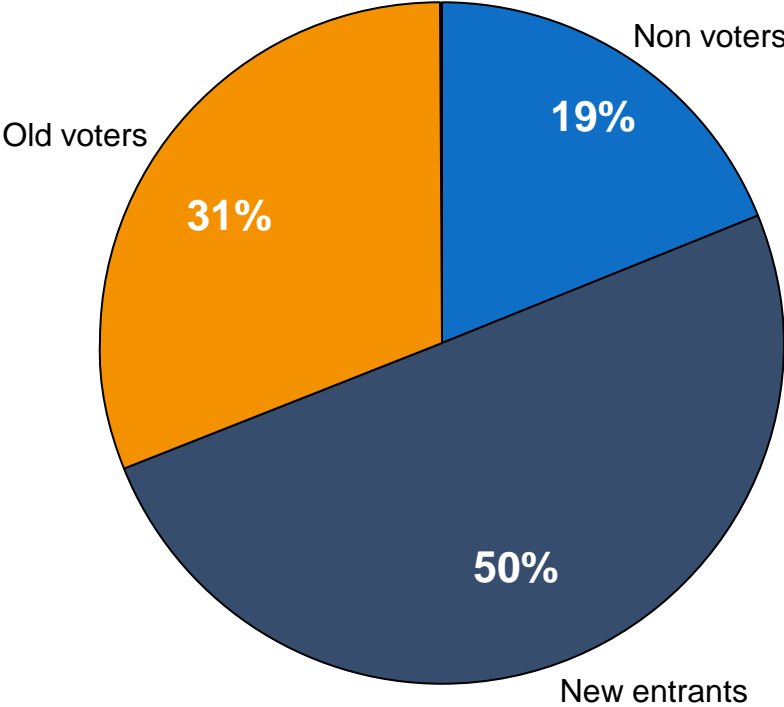
Secondary sources

# Definition and Size of New Entrants and Old Voters

**Definition**



**Size**



# Electoral Rules: Egyptian Lower House Elections, 2010 and 2011

## *Elections, 2010*

- 222 constituencies
- Dual Member: Worker/Farmer and Professional seats
- Required to cast two ballots
- At least one MP required to be worker/farmer
- 2 stages: First round and run-off elections, majority (50%+1)
- Gender quota: 64 reserved seats, larger districts
- 10 seats appointed by president
- Total: 518 seats

## *Elections, 2011-12*

- 83 2-member IC (166 seats) + 46 multi-member PR districts (4-12 seat districts = 332 seats)
- Worker/Farmer and Professional seats (min. 50% total seats W/F)
- Voters cast 3 ballots
- 3 rounds, 2 stages each
- Party lists required to include at least one woman candidate (anywhere)
- Up to 10 seats appointed by SCAF
- Total: 498 seats

## District Level Analysis: Voting in Elections under Mubarak

Independent Variable	Egyptian Parliamentary Elections	Egyptian Local Elections
% Working in Agriculture	.10** (.04)	.26** (.08)
% Working in Government	.05 (.05)	.05 (.10)
% Unfit Schools	.49** (.03)	.80** (.07)
Demographic Dependency Ratio	-.17** (.06)	-.31** (.12)
% w/Secondary Education	-.03 (.07)	.80** (.08)
Human Development Index	-4.61 (19.35)	-14.9 (38.8)
Constant	19.8 (14.78)	38.4 (29.6)
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	.395	.31
N	451	451

# Individual Level Analyses: Egyptian Voting under Mubarak

VARIABLES	EGYPT	
	(1)	(2)
NDP Supporter	1.231*** (0.0953)	1.280*** (0.0947)
Urban	-0.902*** (0.121)	
log Age	0.485*** (0.137)	0.393*** (0.136)
Household Income	-0.0181 (0.0241)	-0.0288 (0.0242)
Male	1.295*** (0.0947)	1.164*** (0.0959)
Married	0.539*** (0.113)	0.560*** (0.112)
Unemployed	0.593*** (0.223)	0.663*** (0.218)
Illiterate	-0.123 (0.107)	-0.0691 (0.107)
Farmer		0.544*** (0.197)
Constant	-4.095*** (0.512)	-3.917*** (0.509)
Observations	3,035	3,035

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Source: Analysis of WVS, 2006 in Ellen Lust and Tarek Masoud, "Cash or Commitment?" unpublished manuscript, 2011.

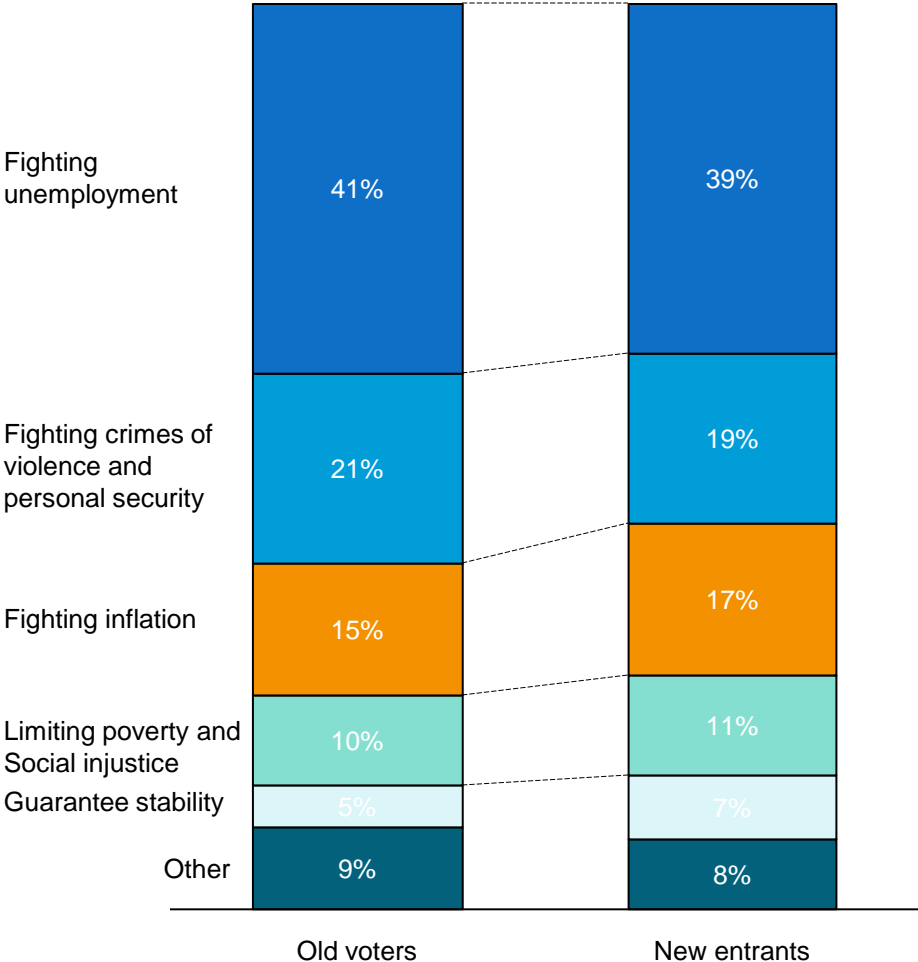
## Exploring Attitudes of Voters under Mubarak:



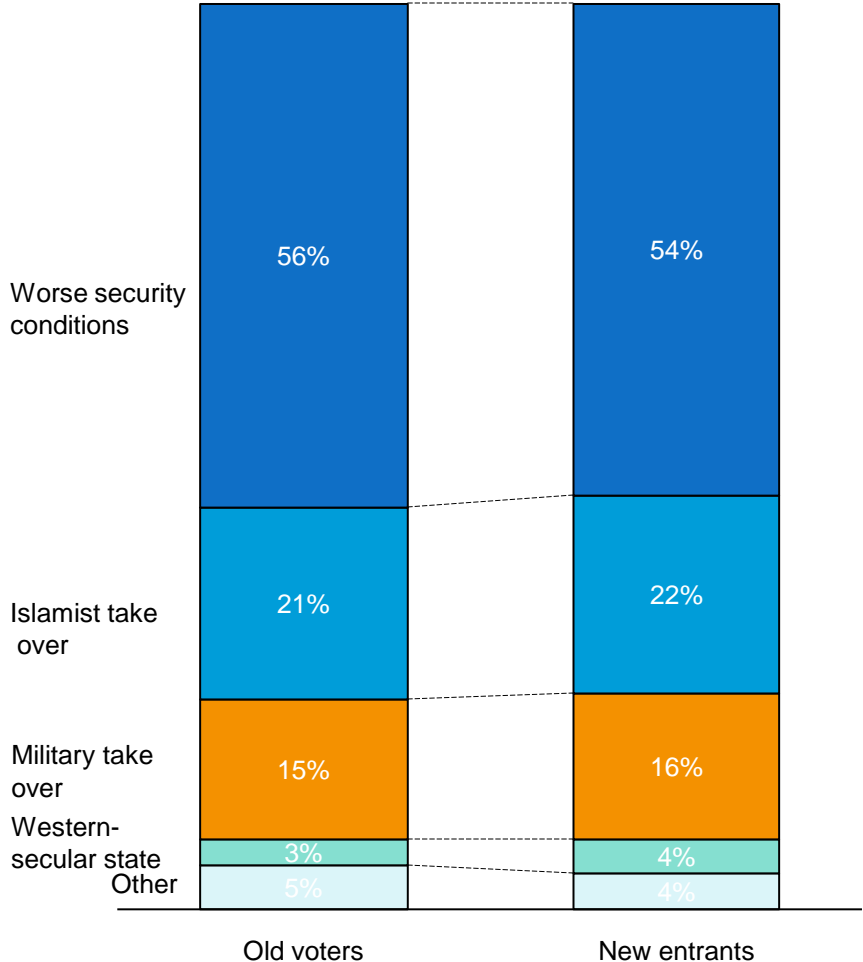


# Old Voters Share the Same Concerns about Egypt as Non-Voters

1 Similar concerns regarding most pressing issues facing Egypt



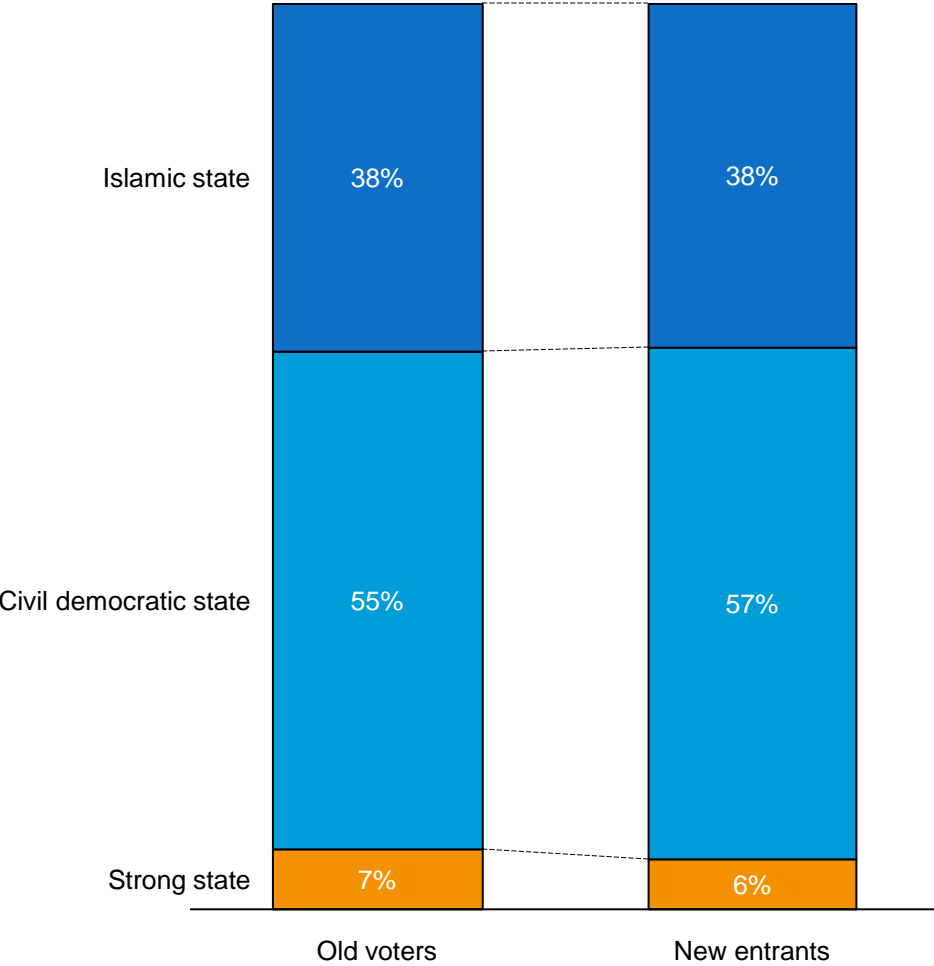
2 Similar concerns regarding worst-case scenarios for Egypt



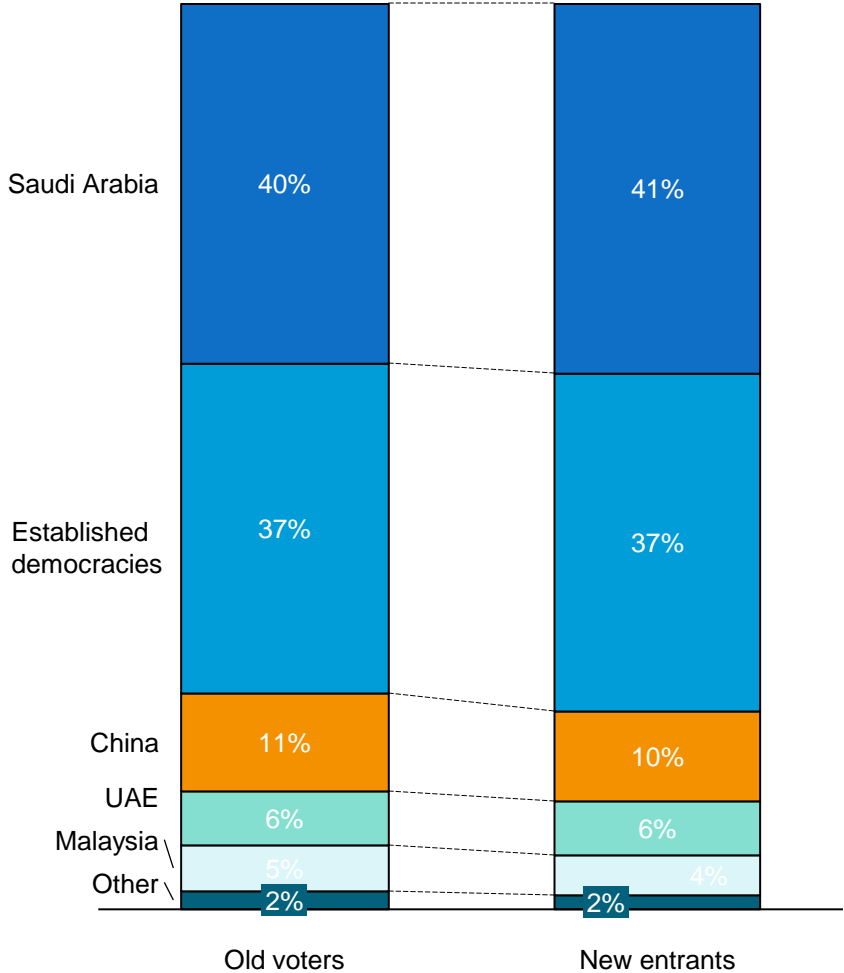
Source: Presidential survey 1, parliamentary survey 1

# Old Voters have same preference on State Model

**1**  
Same view on the best state model for Egypt



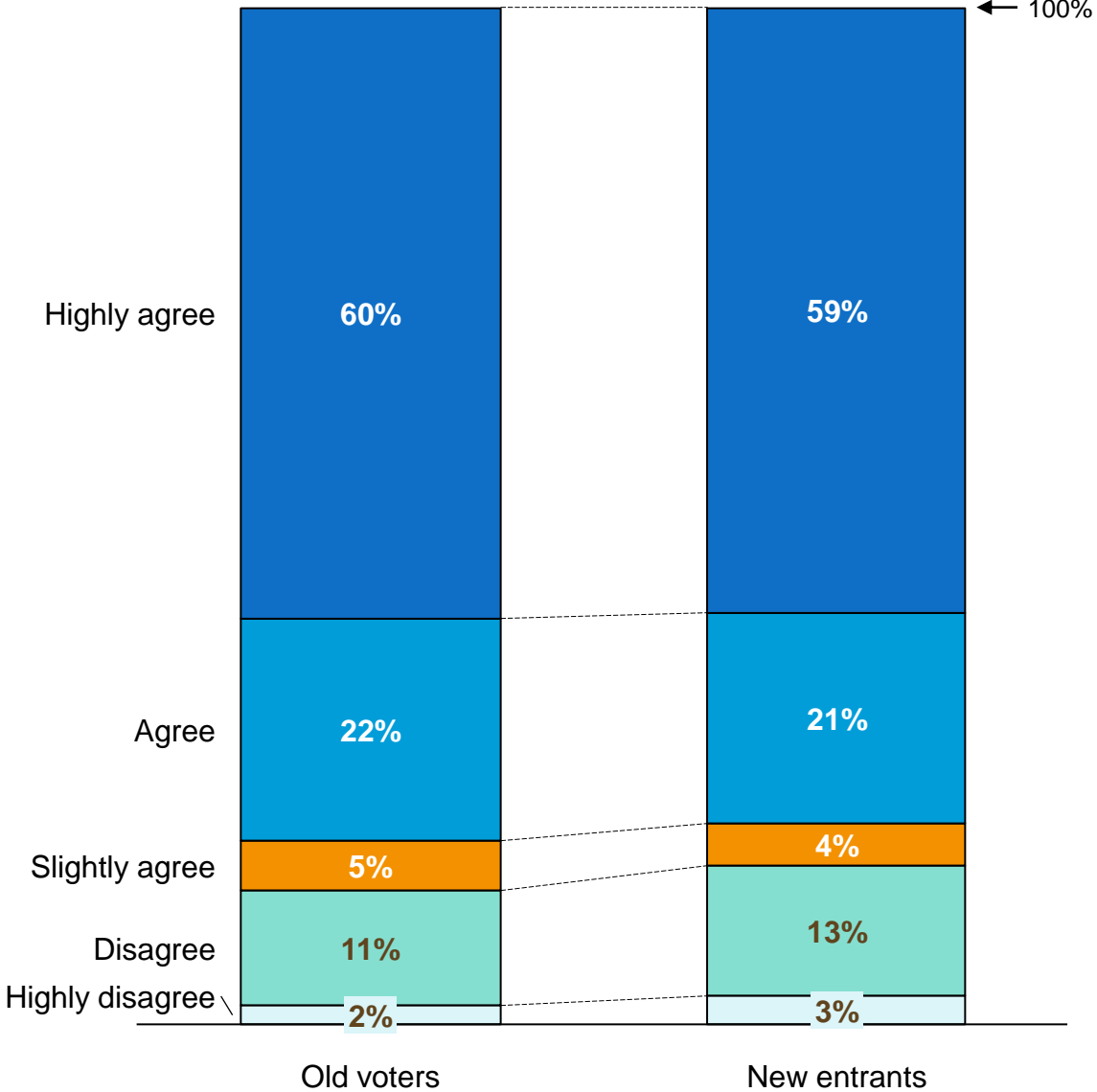
**2**  
Same view on the country model Egypt should follow



Source: Parliamentary survey 1

# And on Religion's Influence on Politics

Agreement on the statement: "Religious leaders should influence government decisions"



Source: Parliamentary survey 1

# They were **\*More\*** Likely to Participate in Protests before 2011, Equally likely to do so During and After 2011

**Participation in protest  
prior to revolution**

	B	S.E.	Sig.
Age	,029	,014	,037
Sex	1,113	,430	,010
Education	-,413	,112	,000
Urban/ Rural	,992	,380	,009
New/Old Voters	,887	,368	,016
Constant	-,505	1,395	,717

**Participation in protest  
during revolution**

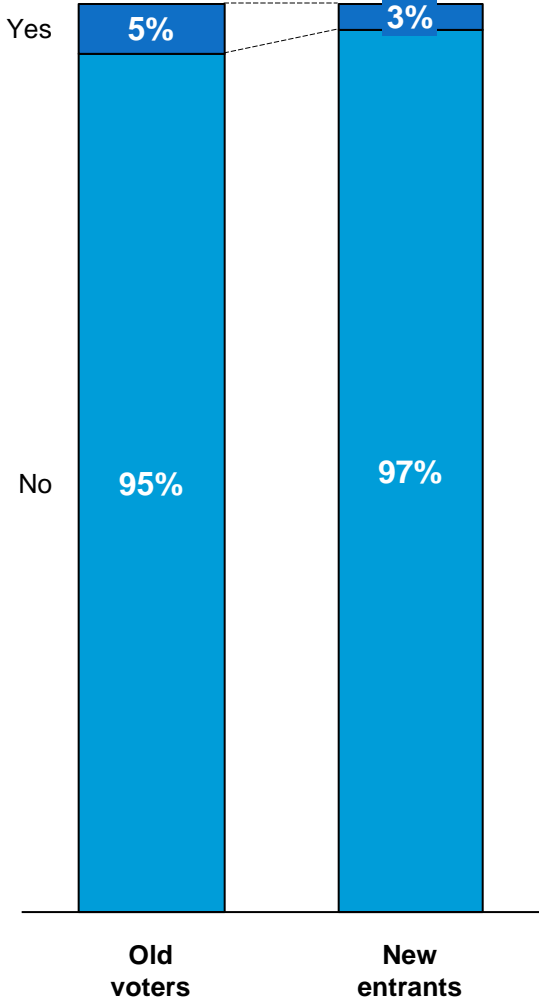
	B	S.E.	Sig.
Age	,038	,011	,001
Sex	1,723	,378	,000
Education	-,357	,090	,000
Urban/ Rural	1,495	,319	,000
New/Old Voters	,192	,303	,527
Constant	-2,016	1,131	,075

**Participation in protest  
after the revolution**

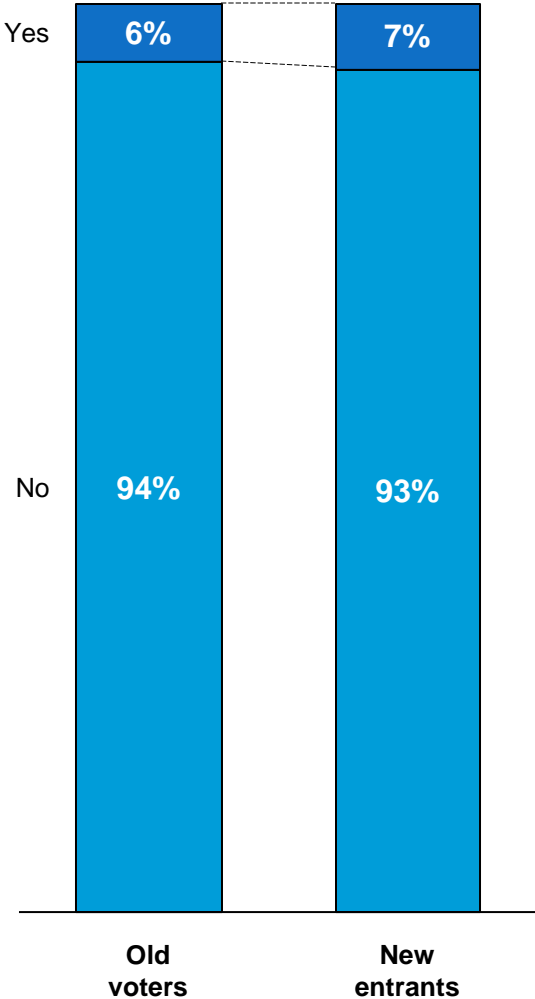
	B	S.E.	Sig.
Age	,038	,013	,003
Sex	1,606	,425	,000
Education	-,367	,105	,000
Urban/ Rural	2,088	,424	,000
New/Old Voters	,436	,346	,207
Constant	-2,570	1,303	,049

# Protests by Old and New Voters: Before, During and After the Revolution

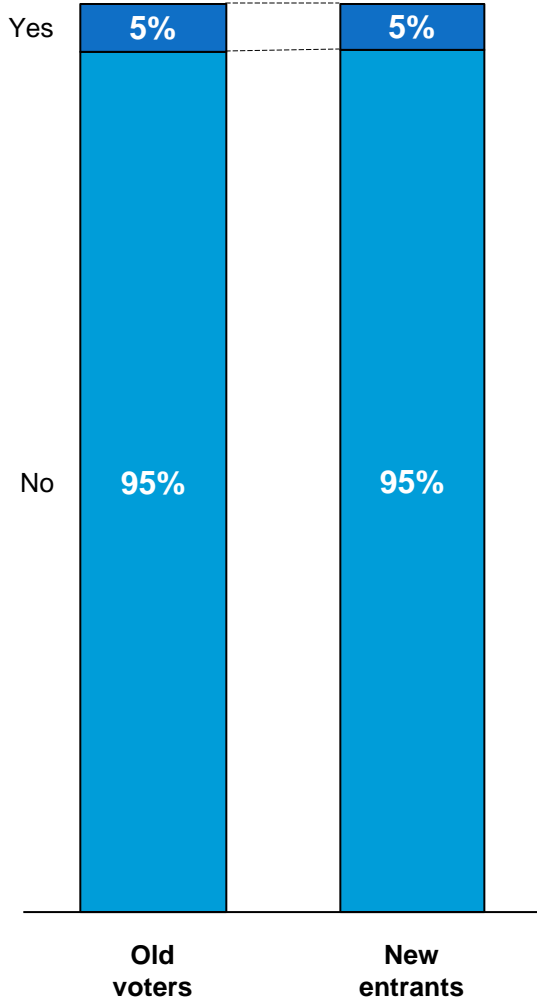
1 Old voters protest more *prior* to the revolution



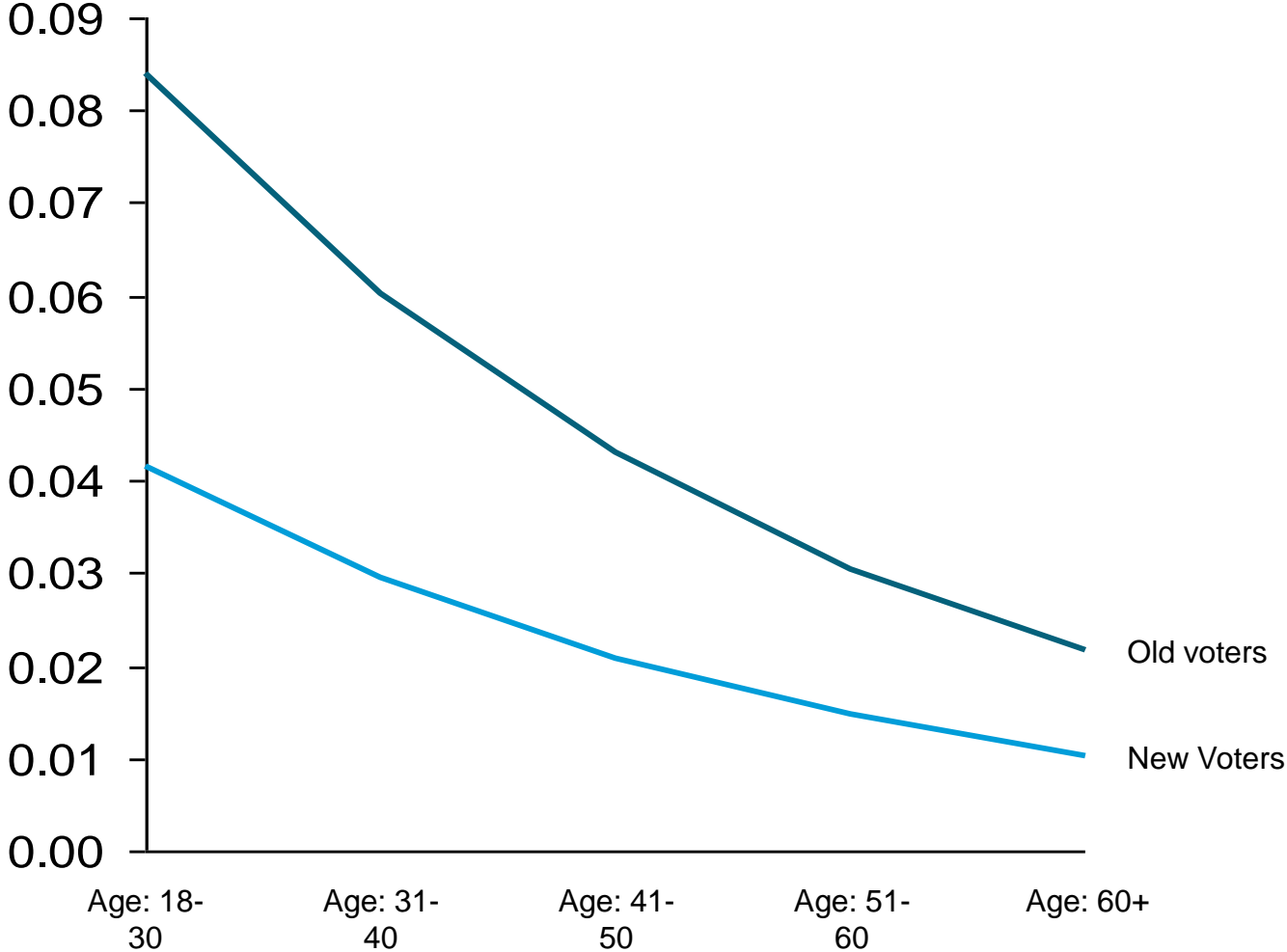
2 Old voters protest as much *During* the revolution



3 Old voters protest *after* the revolution



# Predicted probabilities of protesting before the revolution, by age



Source: Presidential survey 1

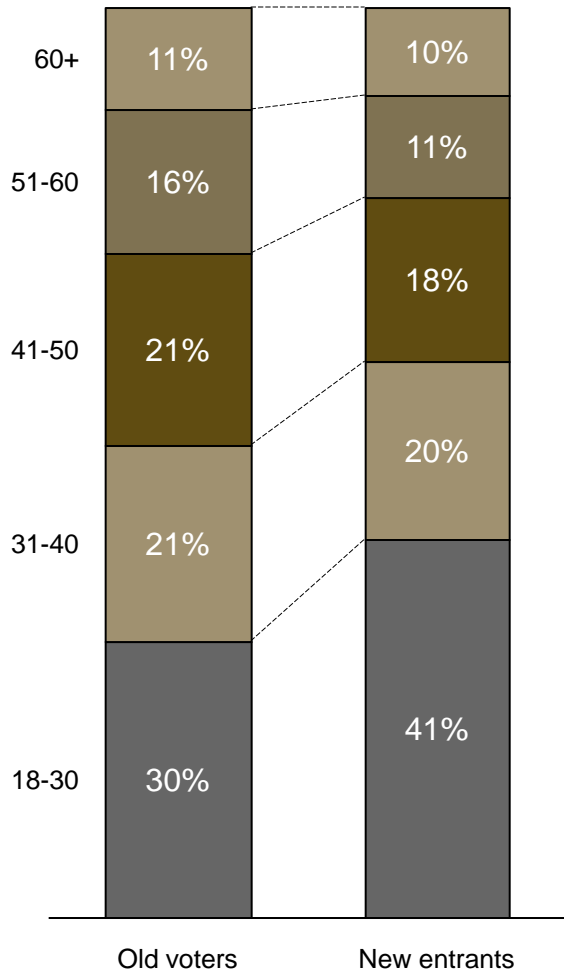
# What Difference an Uprising Makes? The Profile and Participation of New Entrants



# New Voters are Urban, Youth and Women

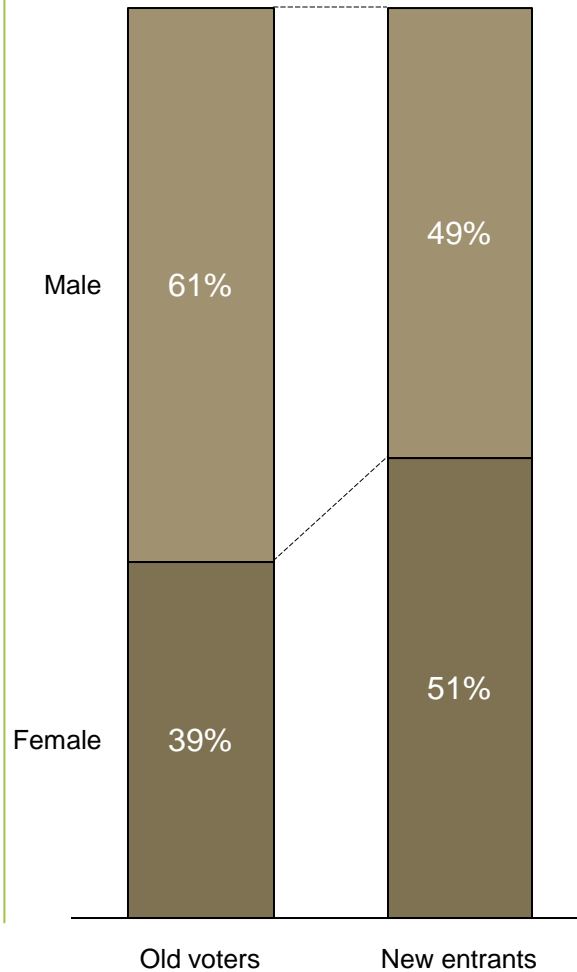
1

New entrants are younger



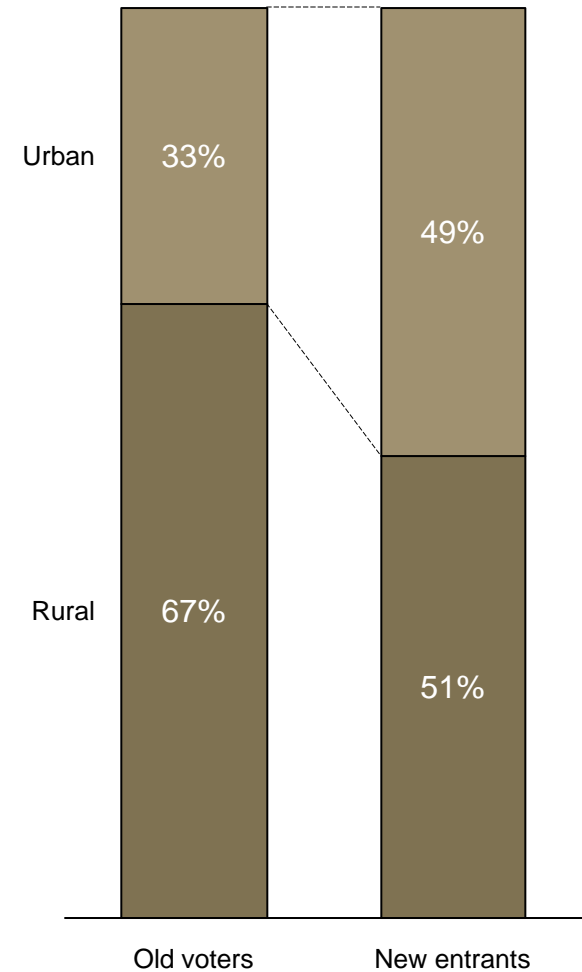
2

New entrants are more likely to be female



3

New entrants are more urbanized

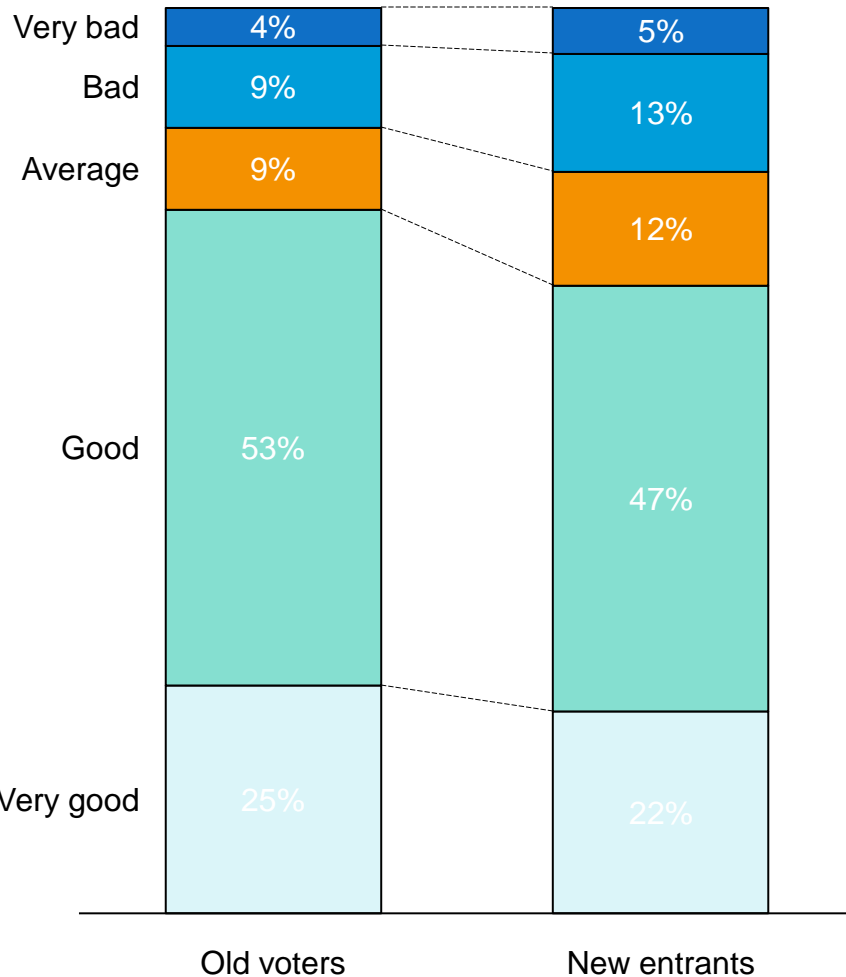




# New Entrants are More Critical towards Governing Institutions

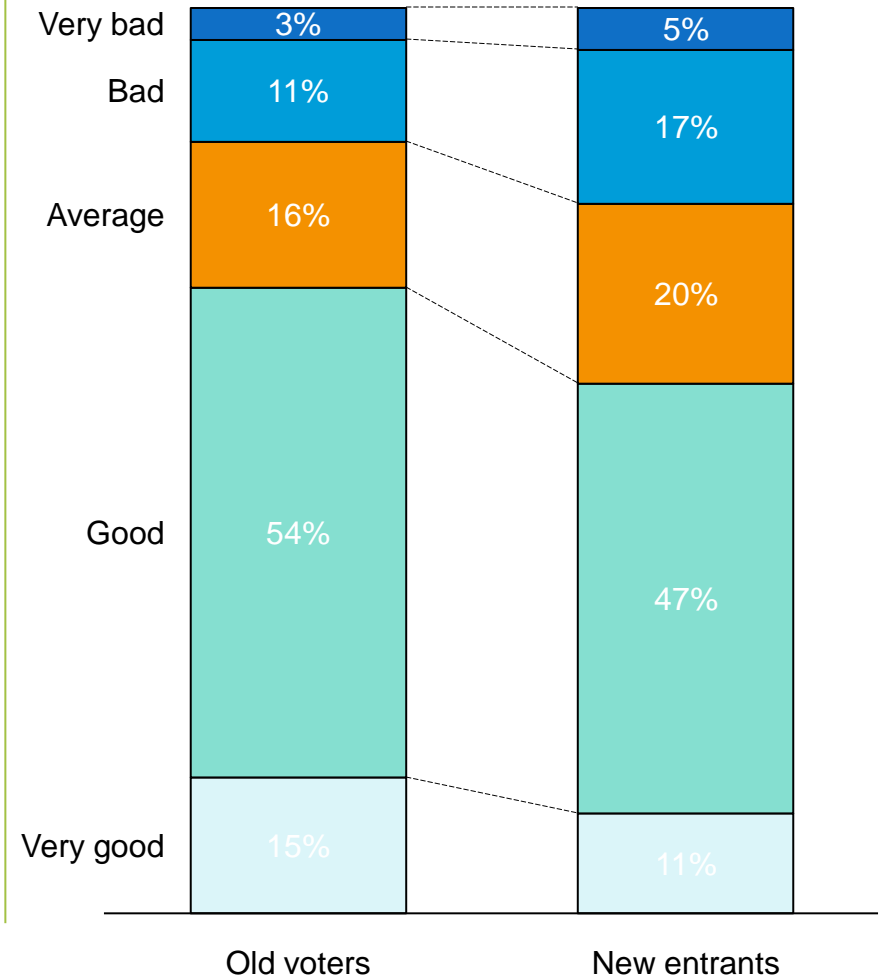
1

More critical towards the Supreme Council of Armed Forces



2

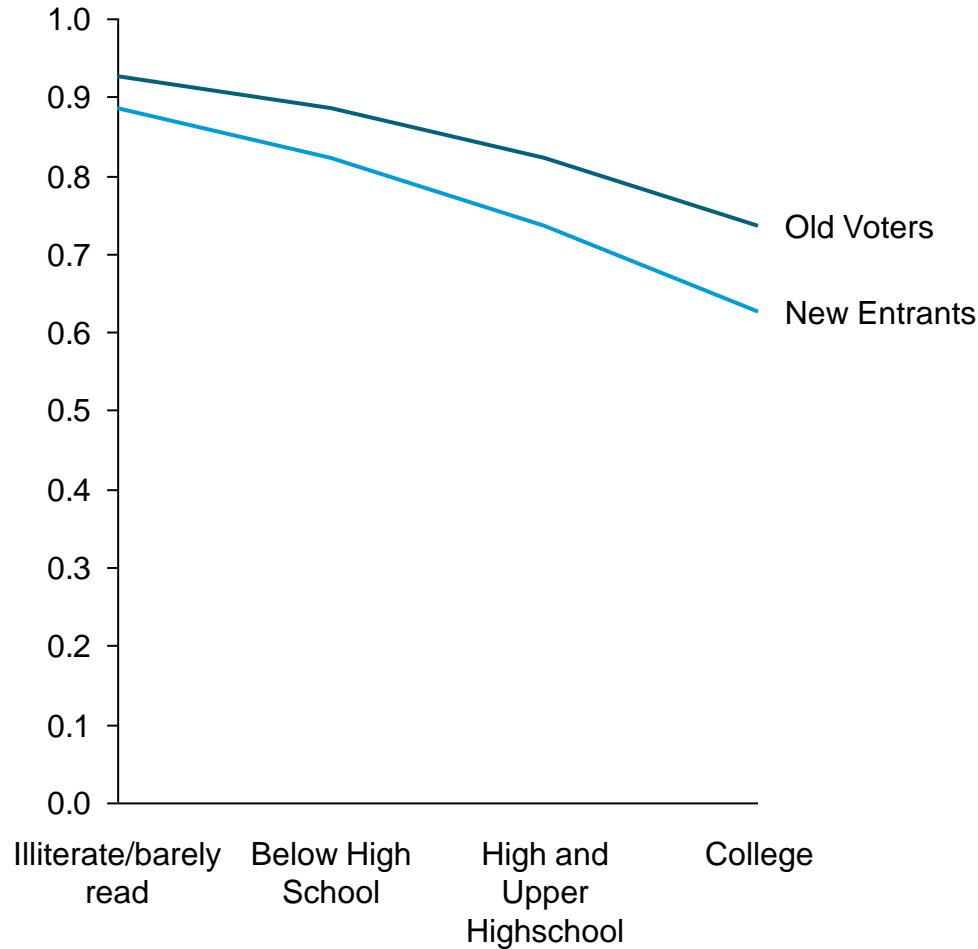
And the Transitional Ganzhoury government



# New Entrants are More Critical of the SCAF

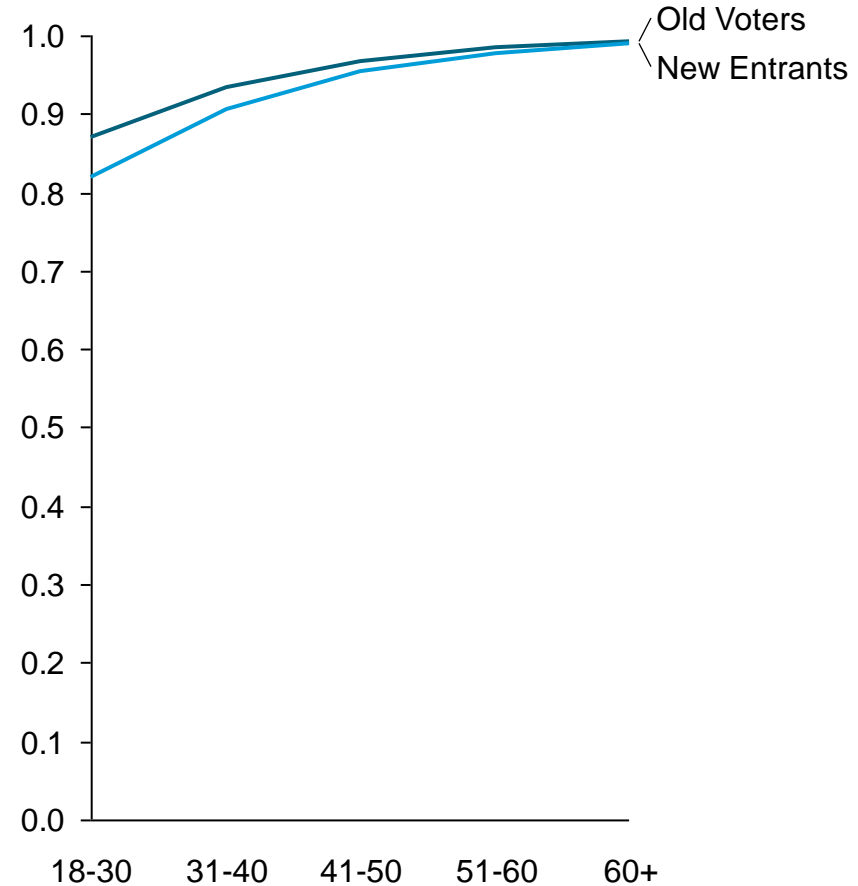
1

New Entrants and better educated are more critical towards the Supreme Council of armed forces



2

Younger people are more critical towards SCAF



Source: Presidential survey 1. Probability of being positive towards SCAF.

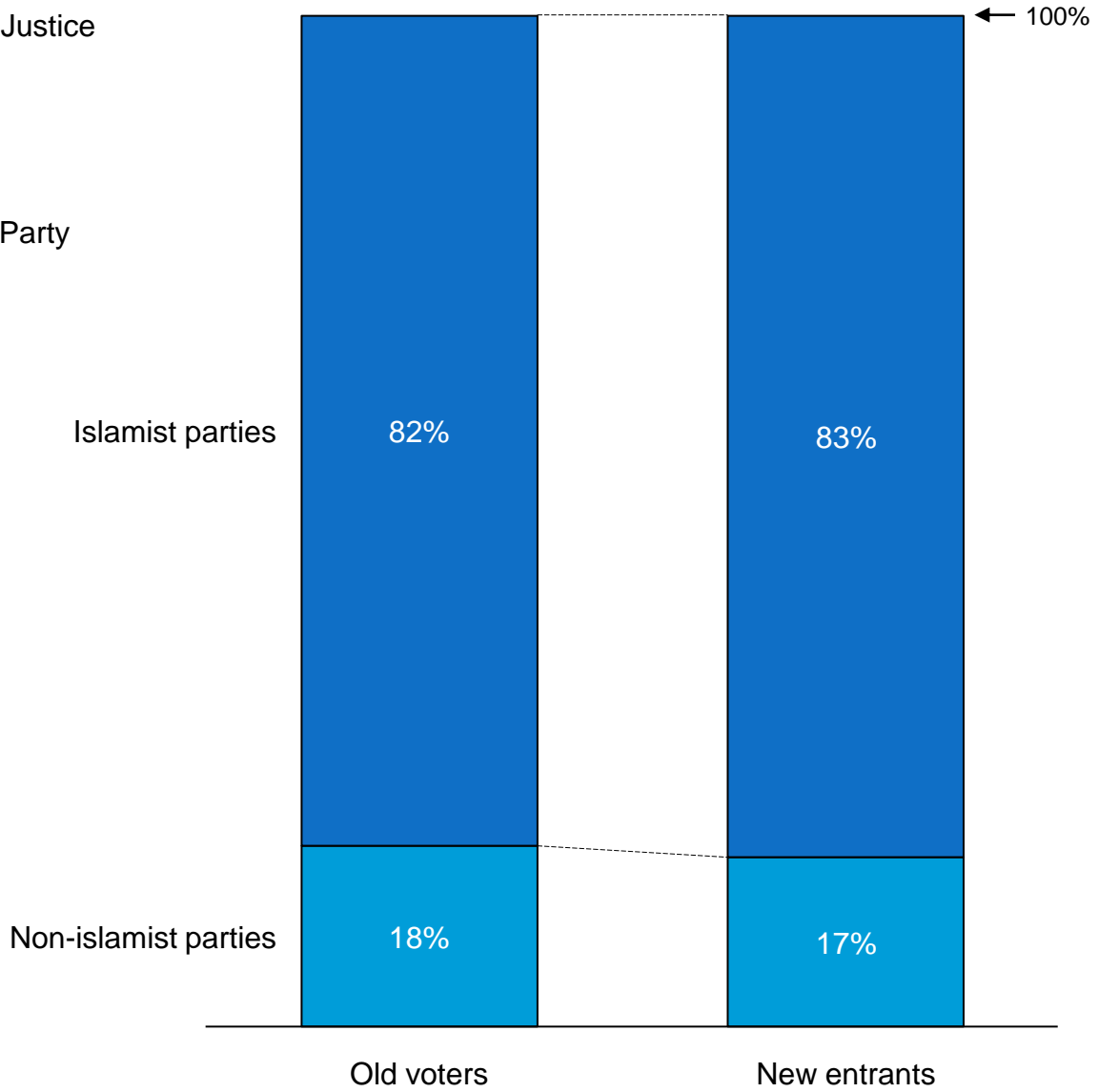
# Old and New Voters Support Islamists to Same Extent, People's Assembly elections in 2011

### Islamist parties:

- Freedom and Justice Party,
- Nour party,
- Wasat party
- Building and Development Party

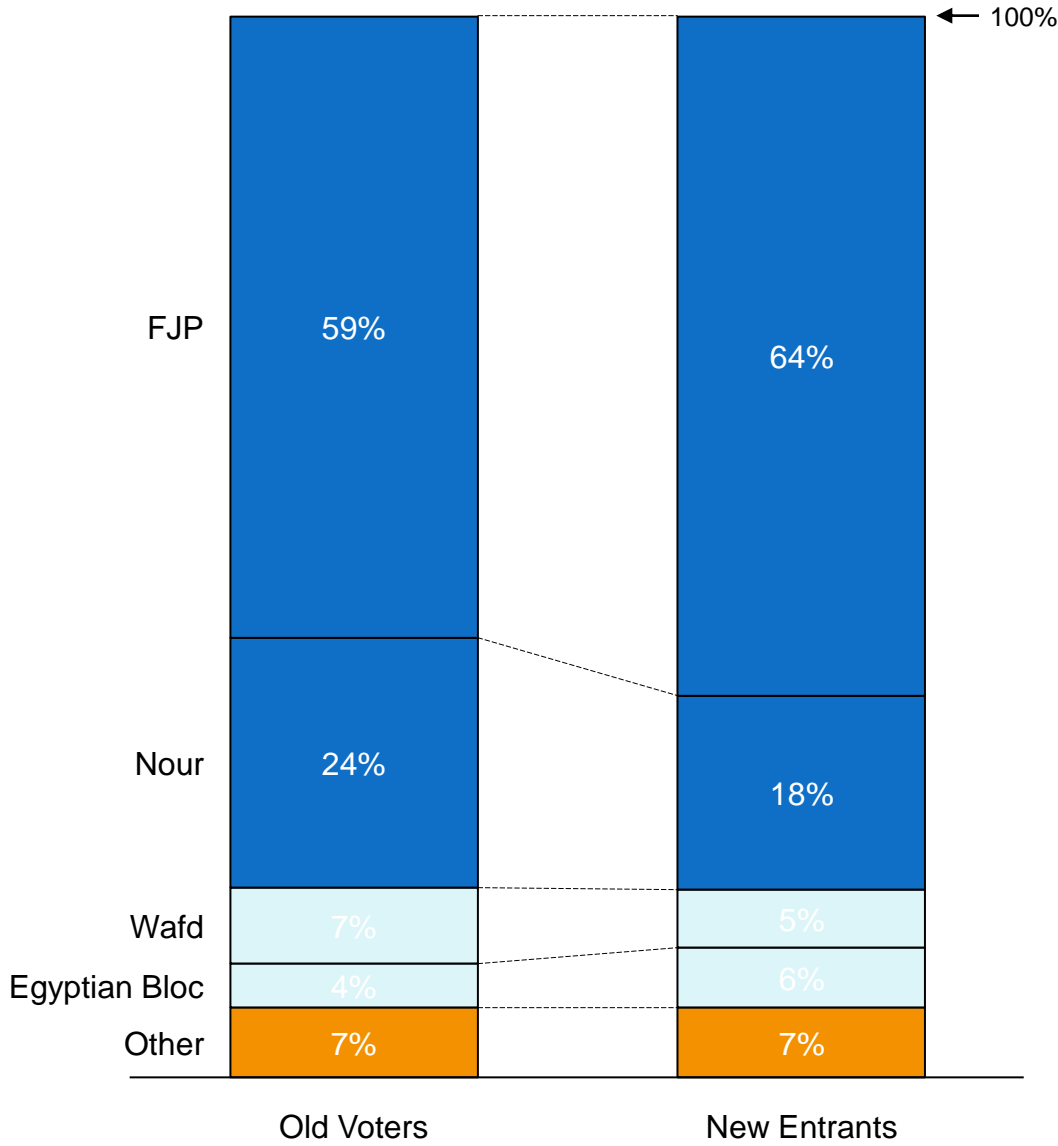
### Non-islamist parties:

- Wafd party
- Egyptian bloc
- Egypt Freedom party
- Former NDP party
- And other minor parties



Source: Presidential survey 1

# ...however some differences existed in the voting for the parties on the two sides of the divide



Source: Presidential survey 1

# Key Conclusions

## **Who Voted in Elections under Authoritarianism, and Why?**

- Voting under authoritarian elections seems to be more attractive to men and the rural population
- Voters under authoritarian elections do not vote on bases of political preferences
- Those voting under authoritarianism express greater trust in the state and its institutions
- Voters under Authoritarian elections are not necessarily more committed to maintaining regime

## **Who Votes in Transitional Elections, and How do they Differ from “Old Voters”?**

- Women, Youth and Urban vote most new entrants in Transitional Elections
- Little difference in preferences
- Some differences in levels of criticism toward governing institutions

# Appendix

Dependent variable: Evaluating SCAF

**Coefficientsa**

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	4,108	,187		21,976	,000
	Age	,006	,002	,080	2,361	,018
	Level of education	-,103	,020	-,177	-5,223	,000
	New_old_voters	-,166	,071	-,075	-2,334	,020

Dependent: Evaluating SCAF (1,0)

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.
Step 1a	Age_recode	,153	,079	3,789	1	,052
	Education_recode	-,450	,096	21,809	1	,000
	New_old_voters	-,459	,198	5,373	1	,020
	Constant	3,006	,510	34,755	1	,000

# Appendix II

Dependent: Islamist vote or other

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.
Step 1a					
Age_recode	-,192	,062	9,693	1	,002
Education_recode	-,370	,079	22,118	1	,000
Constant	1,977	,281	49,669	1	,000

Dependent: Participated in protest before the revolution

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.
Step 1a					
Age_recode	,357	,147	5,915	1	,015
Recode_new_old	,748	,339	4,880	1	,027
Constant	2,032	,378	28,893	1	,000

Dependent: Participated in protest in the midst of the revolution

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.
Step 1a					
Age_recode	,401	,116	11,928	1	,001
Recode_new_old	-,011	,270	,002	1	,968
Constant	1,775	,316	31,537	1	,000

Dependent: Participated in protest after Februar 11.

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.
Step 1a					
Age_recode	,331	,128	6,643	1	,010
Recode_new_old	,087	,307	,081	1	,776
Constant	2,170	,358	36,797	1	,000

## Appendix III

Dependent: participate in protest before rev.

### Variables in the Equation

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1a Age_rec ode	,137	,131	1,108	1	,293	1,147
New_old _voters	-,041	,314	,017	1	,897	,960
Educatio n_recode	-,998	,187	28,487	1	,000	,369
Constant	5,457	,890	37,578	1	,000	234,500

Dependent: participate in protest before rev.

### Variables in the Equation

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1a Age_rec ode	,218	,118	3,381	1	,066	1,243
New_old _voters	-,131	,277	,225	1	,635	,877
Educatio n_recode	-,893	,158	31,859	1	,000	,409
Constant	4,788	,768	38,899	1	,000	120,098

Dependent: participate in protest before rev.

### Variables in the Equation

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1a Age_rec ode	,165	,149	1,223	1	,269	1,179
New_old _voters	,643	,346	3,467	1	,063	1,903
Educatio n_recode	-1,025	,215	22,696	1	,000	,359
Constant	4,716	,972	23,514	1	,000	111,699



Dependent: Evaluating SCAF (0=bad) (5=good)

**Coefficientsa**

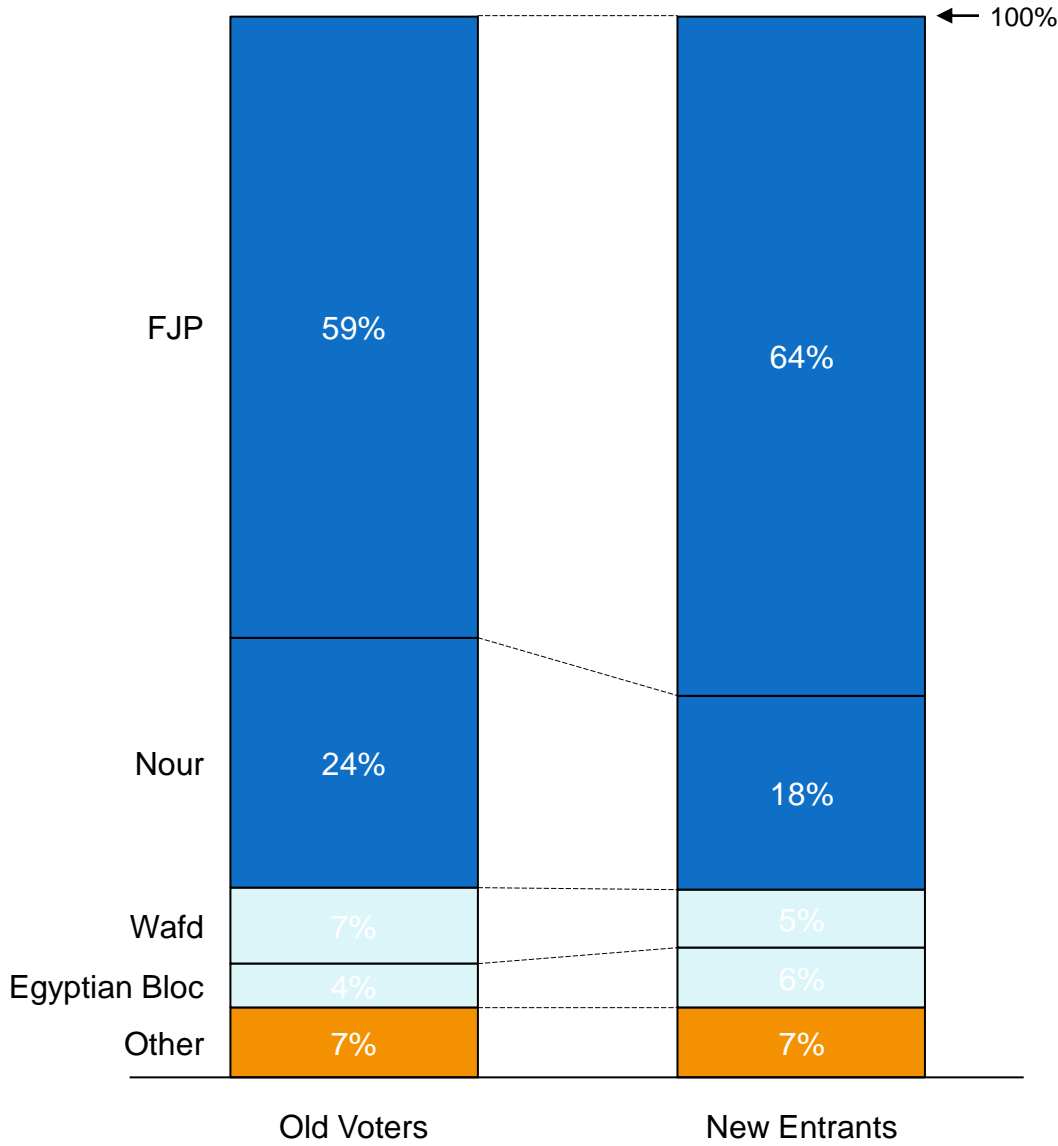
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	4,372	,214		20,398	,000
	Age	,006	,002	,076	2,250	,025**
	New_old_voters	-,147	,071	-,067	-2,069	,039**
	Level of education	-,111	,020	-,192	-5,590	,000***
	Sex	-,176	,070	-,081	-2,499	,013**

Dependent: Evaluating Al Ganzoury's government's performance throughout the transitional period (bad=0) (good=5)

**Coefficientsa**

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	3,935	,210		18,728	,000
	Age	,006	,002	,086	2,428	,015**
	New_old_voters	-,204	,071	-,097	-2,898	,004***
	Level of education	-,058	,020	-,106	-2,989	,003***
	Sex	-,095	,070	-,046	-1,363	,173

# ...however some differences existed in the voting for the parties on the two sides of the divide



Source: Presidential survey 1

Dependent: ]Evaluating political parties' performance throughout the transitional period (0=bad) (5=good)

**Coefficientsa**

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	2,889	,231		12,529	,000
	Age	-,007	,003	-,095	-2,591	,010 **
	New_old_voters	,027	,076	,012	,351	,726
	Level of education	-,105	,021	-,184	-4,969	,000 ***
	Sex	,176	,075	,083	2,349	,019

Dependent: Evaluating police force's performance throughout the transitional period (bad=0) (good=5)

**Coefficientsa**

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	3,518	,221		15,895	,000
	Age	-,002	,003	-,024	-,696	,486
	New_old_voters	-,029	,074	-,013	-,387	,699
	Level of education	-,108	,020	-,182	-5,257	,000 ***
	Sex	-,049	,073	-,022	-,679	,497

Dependent: Evaluating civil judiciary's performance throughout the transitional period (bad=0)  
(good=5)

**Coefficientsa**

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	3,927	,220		17,886	,000
	Age	,000	,003	-,005	-,129	,897
	New_old_voters	-,069	,073	-,032	-,942	,346
	Level of education	-,099	,020	-,175	-4,882	,000
	Sex	-,099	,072	-,047	-1,382	,167

\*\*\*