Political Parties and Public Opinion in Egypt.

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AFA

Global Partners
Governance

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Mohamed El-Agati	:	(Political researcher and the executive Director of the AFA)
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Researchers in the order of the papers

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Greg Power is the Director of Global Partners Governance. Greg has been involved in political and parliamentary reform for around 20 years. He co-founded Global Partners in 2005 to deliver projects to strengthen representative politics, and has since worked in the Middle East, sub-Saharan Africa, Central and Eastern Europe and Latin America.

He provides direct support to politicians and ministers in such countries, developing strategies and managing the process of political reform. He has also provided advice to a variety of international organisations and donor agencies helping, amongst others, the Danish foreign ministry to establish their multi-party institute, and International IDEA to evaluate their work on political parties. He writes widely on issues such as the application of political economy analysis, donor approaches to reform, and parliamentary transparency. He was the author of the first Global Parliamentary Report, published by the UNDP and IPU in 2012.

He was previously a special adviser to British ministers Rt Hon Robin Cook MP and Rt Hon Peter Hain MP, working on strategies for parliamentary reform, constitutional change and the wider democratic agenda in conjunction with the Prime Minister's Strategy Unit and Downing Street policy staff. Greg directed the Parliament and Government Programme at the Hansard Society, the UK's leading think tank on parliament and parliamentary reform. He also ran their Commission on Parliamentary Accountability.

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Researcher & Director of the Arab Forum for Alternatives.

He is a social science researcher and civil society expert; he holds a MSc. degree in Political Development from Cairo University, Faculty of Economics & Political Sciences, in 2001.

He has conducted research on civil society, social movements, and political reform in the Arab Region, including policy analysis and

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He has extensive experience in the field of non-profit management, as well as coordinating research teams,events, workshops and projects.He has also worked with a significant number of civil society organizations which are active in the fields of development and rights from different countries.

He is an expert in civil society organizations' strategic planning, training, capacity building and evaluation.

Nick Sigler

Nick Sigler was the Head of International Relations for UNISON, Britain's largest public service union from 2003 until his retirement in 2013. His responsibilities included overall management and development of all the union's international activities and policies, including its international development fund and major projects funded through DFID.

Nick started work for the Labour Party in 1976 as a Research Officer with responsibilities for agriculture and Europe. In 1985 he was seconded to the Socialist Group in the European Parliament where he worked for a year as the British Liaison Officer. He was promoted to the position of Senior Research Officer for the Labour Party in 1986, with additional responsibilities for environmental policy. In September 1993 he was appointed the Labour Party's International Secretary. In 2002 he was seconded by the British Government to work as the Senior Parliamentary Officer at the OSCE Mission in Belgrade, Serbia. Nick is part of the GPG team working with the parliament and political parties in Jordan. He has also assisted with GPG's work with political parties in Egypt.

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Sir Nick Harvey has been a Liberal Democrat MP for over twenty years, and was until recently a Defence Minister in the UK's coalition government. Before entering Parliament he worked as a financial communications consultant in the City of London, and was first involved in politics as a student.

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In Parliament he has been party spokesman on transport, industry, health and defence. He has also served on the House of Commons management board, and on Parliamentary committees on industry and home affairs. Nick Harvey contributed to GPG's work to support the parliament and political parties in Egypt.

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Israeli Public Opinion: Shift towards the Right in the Light of Peaceful Settlement Process. (Published by Al-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies, 2008)

What is the Role of the Media in Covering General Elections (Cairo Centre for Human Rights' Studies, 2010)

Reality of Regional Press and Journalists: An Inside Vision (United Group, 2008)

He has obtained a PHD in Political Philosophy from Cairo University on "the Role of the Public opinion in the Egyptian Foreign Policy towards Israel."

Challenges for political parties in transitional elections - organisation, policies and identity

Greg Power

**Director of Global Partners
Governance**

Political parties play a vital role in determining the quality of any political system. They are the principal vehicles for representing and articulating public concerns, and at elections are the main way of offering voters a choice as to what the state should look like, and what it should provide to citizens. The organisation, effectiveness and policies of the political parties will go a long way to determining the wider political culture, and the way in which different sections of society engage with each other. Yet, despite their critical role, political parties are amongst the least trusted institutions in most parts of the world. Political parties, it seems, need to work harder to convince the public that they understand, and can provide the solutions to, the problems which citizens face.

All of this is especially true in Egypt. The political parties were invested with huge public expectations following the 2011 January uprising. But opinion polls since highlight the extent to which people have become disillusioned. The upcoming elections will be a test for all the political parties as to whether they can respond to public concerns and articulate those worries through meaningful policies which the people believe will make a difference.

The purpose of commissioning this poll was to offer all the political parties in Egypt some insight into the issues that most concern the public, the public's opinion of parties as a whole, and what would be more likely to make them vote for particular candidates and parties.

Two key findings of the poll should be at the forefront of the parties' thinking. First, despite disillusion, two thirds of the respondents stated that they were willing to accept the result, regardless of who won a majority. Second, more than two-thirds still have not decided who they will vote for.

In other words, the poll suggests that the people will give the majority party (or parties) a mandate, and the parties have scope to distinguish themselves in the public mind. All of the parties have the opportunity to maximise their votes if they can convince the public they are capable and organised, with a clear and distinct set of policy proposals.

But the political parties face three significant challenges between now and the election campaign around organisation, policy and identity.

First, is the challenge of organisation. New political parties, in particular, face the most basic of organisational challenges, and often have very few resources with which to manage these difficulties. Simply recruiting members, building databases and identifying reliable candidates is a time-consuming and laborious task. And this is before the party starts to set up its internal structures, decide policy, build an election manifesto, identify potential supporters and then start campaigning in earnest.

Yet, these tasks are fundamental to convincing voters. The poll shows that the public has very little confidence in any of the political parties to form a government and most people believe that the parties have little capacity to influence the political situation. A party that can convince the public that it is organised, efficient and can deliver on its promises is likely to win more votes.

Second, is the challenge of policy The political parties need to be clear, not only about what they stand for, but which policies reflect those core beliefs. More importantly, those policies need to mean something to the public. They need to be rooted in an understanding of the public's concerns. Here political parties with many members have an immediate advantage in that, first, the membership provides a sense of what is in the public mind and, second, offer an internal test as to whether the parties' programme is likely to convince voters.

Opinion polls also provide those insights. This survey suggests that unemployment, education and the economy are the policy issues at the top of people's minds. But, equally important, is the finding that at the last election only 26% voted for a party because they were convinced by its policies, but that 91% believe a clear

programmewould be a very important factor influencing which party they vote for.

Third is the challenge of identity. Apart from parties such as Wafd and the FJP, the poll suggests that people found it difficult to distinguish between many of the other parties, and as a result depended on other factors to determine which way they voted.

It is clear that most of the political parties have policies on many of the key issues, but the bigger challenge is in a) getting the public to understand those policies, b) explaining how they differ from those of the other parties, and c) convincing the public that they will actually work. The lack of public faith in party policies reflects the deeper problem that the people simply do not believe what most of the parties say they can do.

Conclusion – Campaigns based on distinctive and realistic policies

The poll in this publication we hope will provide the political parties with insights that will help them understand how the public views them, and what they need to do to convince the public to vote for them.

Its is clear that people want parties that are efficient, well-organised and to have a set of policies which they believe will address the country's concerns. It is also clear that the political parties could be more astute in the way that they campaign and how they differentiate themselves from others.

Perhaps more importantly though, the parties need to convince the public that they are competent. Looking at the poll findings it would be tempting to develop a comprehensive set of policies to deal with every problem in Egypt. But the poll shows that the people don't believe the parties will deliver.

The job of political parties is not just to respond to public opinion, but also to lead and shape expectations of what is realistic. Parties need to be honest with voters that deep-seated structural problems will take time to solve, and the ability of the parties to manage them is limited.

A party that makes modest campaign commitments, but which look more achievable, will distinguish the party from others, and increase its chances of winning votes. Serious political parties are judged less by what they do during election campaigns, than what they do between those campaigns. A political party that makes realistic campaign promises, and sticks to them while in parliament, is likely to secure a long-term future, and address some of the issues of trust highlighted in this poll.

We hope the poll will aid all the political parties in their forthcoming campaign.

Analysis of a study on the orientation of Egyptians regarding political participation and political parties

Mohammad Al-Agati

Political researcher and the executive Director of the AFA

The experience of Egyptians in the public and political field is still a very recent experience that followed years of deliberately weakening political work and of people's reluctance to take part in political activities regardless of the form of their participation. This is why the orientation of Egyptians regarding traditional political players like political parties and citizens' ideas about their role are really new issues that require close studies and inspections, which also underlines the importance of this survey and the figures and ratios it provides. These can be useful in the process of establishing political parties and in building their strategies and bases when dealing with citizens.

Despite the existence of several perspectives through which the figures and ratios of the survey can be perceived, the submitted analysis focuses on the quadrilateral analysis model based on 4 main axes (strength factors, weakness points, major challenges, potential opportunities) as the perspective through which political parties and the people responsible for them can read these ratios and later on build on them in the parties' future strategies. The reason behind choosing this analysis model lies in the fact that it is most capable of providing a clear, simplified and pragmatic image of the parties and of the nature of handled causes without over-elaboration in the analysis whose effect is usually limited. This doesn't deny the importance of paying attention and being cautious when dealing with figures and ratios outside their general contexts and the effects surrounding them.

First: Strength points of political parties

They can be summed up as follows:

1. **Citizens' readiness to support political parties and to vote for them, because they are convinced of their programmes:** This is revealed by a percentage of survey participants that has reached 26.9%, which is a relatively good percentage despite the fact that it is a low one, because it represents around a quarter of the citizens. These are the citizens who stated that they have voted for political parties because they were convinced of their electoral programmes, which also indicates that there were serious programmes that succeeded in attracting people and convincing them of their seriousness. It also reveals citizens' keenness on the existence of serious programmes.

2. **Citizens' demands and their expectations for clear policies to be adopted by political parties:** This is revealed by the fact that the percentage of citizens who stressed the importance of political parties adopting clear policies that can help them make up their mind has reached 93.7% of surveyed citizens.

3. **Wide varieties of citizen categories:** It turns out that this is also a strength point parties can build on in their work and their strategies. The existence of different categories and backgrounds of citizens represents a strong motivation for the different political parties and encourages them to further develop their programmes and thereby minimize the chances of polarization that negatively affects parties with a true vision for change.

Second: Weakness points of political parties

- **Personalization of parties:** This is the major weakness point characterizing party structure in Egypt, according to the ratios of survey participants in light of the different personalization forms. Of the surveyed citizens, 31.4% stated that they voted for certain parties because they are attached to certain party members as opposed to their belonging to the party as an institutional structure. This was also revealed through the different elections they have taken part in where they voted for certain people they preferred, which is a process in which there

is no difference between voting for individuals and voting for a list. Accordingly, people voted for a certain list only because it contained someone they prefer and trust; this is very clear in the case of the individual electoral system. Personalization also has another dimension which was evident in cases where people voted for a certain list only because a public figure they trust supports this list. This was evident the case of Al-Nour Party being supported by Sheikh Mohammad Hassan. This unveils another problem that lies in political cadres that are keen on presenting themselves without highlighting the party's role or its concept.

- **Misconceptions about the role of political parties:** The survey revealed that a large percentage of surveyed participants (99.1%) believe that the main role of political parties is providing citizens with services. This role was more important for people than other roles played by political parties like representative and regulatory roles, which represents a problem for any party because it will have to exert intensive efforts to provide poor medical services to people, for example, in order not to lose its supporters, or to provide infrastructure services in which municipalities should play the major role. Thus, effective means to solve this problem might lie in strengthening political parties' presence within municipalities.

- **Lack of confidence and scepticism about parties:** Of the survey participants, 82.9% stated that they don't believe that political parties are successful entities, while 84.7% described political parties as opportunist entities that only serve the interests of their leaders. This requires great effort by the parties to correct people's misconceptions, because it is a high percentage that also requires internal solutions from within the parties. It is noteworthy that people are somehow right, as many parties were used in private businesses before the revolution. A total of 80% of participants believed that political parties are not capable of forming the government.

- **Lack of knowledge about political parties:** The survey results revealed people's lack of knowledge about political parties, which requires great effort in order for political parties

to inform people about it. This effort should be exerted on more than one level, and the first among them is clearly determining target groups and drawing their attention. In the next stage, citizens are provided with simple and clear stances, followed finally by the state of presenting details of the party's electoral programme.

- **Weak communication between citizens and political parties:** This is the main weakness point of many parties, as around 88.8% of the survey participants stated that they don't prefer joining political parties, which indicates failure in partisan work. Mechanisms of communication with the people contain many problems either on the level of discourse used to address groups or on the level of organized events. Weakness in events organized to attract citizens was among the major factors for weakness in party popularity, which was proven through the ratio of participating citizens reaching 96.3%. It needs solutions to which the answers to the following questions cannot contribute: Are these events suitable or not? Are they sufficient or not, and what are the available opportunities in this regard?

Third: Opportunities available for political parties

- **Citizen priorities that political parties can benefit from:** The survey revealed that 72.7% of the surveyed citizens believed that economic issues are of top priority while 10.4 % of the participants stated that security issues are their top priority. This can be used by political parties to increase their popularity by working on the development and suggestion of economic alternatives that can convince the people, in light of the fact that security affairs are the responsibility of security authorities and government bodies and they are not among political party responsibilities according to citizens' point of view.

- **Openness to establishment of new bases for political parties:** The balance of power has changed in Egypt through the last three years. Prior to that, the National Democratic Party (NDP) dominated almost all public and political fields and citizens were keen on joining it to benefit from services

provided to its members. These are the loyalist bases that have tried to find alternatives after dissolution of the National Democratic Party and its exit from the ruling system and the loss of its power. The Freedom and Justice Party was the alternative for many of these bases after the dissolution of the National Democratic Party and this is why political parties must invest in grassroots that cannot find political parties to join in order to win their loyalty and support.

- **Citizens' keenness on political participation:** The survey results revealed that 61% of the surveyed citizens have expressed their willingness to participate in the upcoming elections. Also, 4.7% of them believe that the upcoming elections will be better than former ones, which reflects citizens' keenness on the existence of political alternatives they can vote for in the upcoming elections.

- **Increasing numbers of citizens who cannot choose between participants:** The survey results revealed that 66.9% of the surveyed citizens still haven't made up their mind about the political parties they will vote for during upcoming elections, which is a large bloc political parties can invest in to guarantee winning the upcoming elections.

- **Citizens' readiness to accept the fact of parties they disagree with coming to power:** This was expressed by 66.8% of the survey participants, which reflects high flexibility of the grassroots and their readiness to accept the people's choice resulting from a democratic political process. Citizens' flexibility in supporting political parties represents a strong motivation for political parties to do their utmost to provide citizens with a strong and convincing alternative, or they will vote for other political alternatives. This was also underlined by citizens, as 99.4% of them stressed that their support for a certain party depends on its ability to implement its programme and its policies. A high and significant percentage of survey participants believed that political parties' main role is within the parliament, which is a factor that increases parties' opportunities to prepare for a better programme and better policies and eventually better performance within the

parliament. Some of the participants (not more than 50%) even count on the future of political parties.

- **Existence of supportive arenas:** This is a political variable that cannot be disregarded by political parties aiming at setting up new strategies to establish and win a grassroots base. Taking a close look at electoral paths in Egypt from the geographic point of view, we find out that civil political parties have basic arenas to invest in and to increase their popularity like high-level urban areas, the poorest areas, areas that witness the most protests, areas with the lowest illiteracy rates, areas with the highest youth rates as well as central Egypt areas and coastal areas.[1]

Fourth: Challenges political parties have to face

- **Limited mass support for political parties:** Although the survey revealed that participation rates are higher compared to previous times, participation rates still haven't exceeded 60%, which is also confirmed by participation rates in the different elections following the revolution that haven't exceeded 50% of the total numbers of citizens that have the right to vote in Egypt.
- **Increasing numbers of people who cannot make up their mind:** This is a double-sided weapon as the ratio of people who still cannot make up their mind on which political parties to vote for has reached 25% of the surveyed citizens. This can be a good opportunity for political parties to intensify their efforts to win their support, but their support is not guaranteed and cannot be strongly depended on in future elections or in the process of drafting a party's electoral map.
- **Media's role:** This is a serious challenge political parties have to deal with as media in its different forms (newspapers, TV channels) usually broadcast material that distorts political parties' image perceived by the people, and they hold parties responsible for mistakes they haven't committed in addition to campaigns against these political parties. This is partially

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[1]Mohammad Al-Agati, "How Egyptians voted during the transitional phase, from the revolution to the referendum", Rawafed Publishing, 2013

affected by the issue of ownership of media outlets as many media outlets that are owned by parties' leaders or people supporting them adopt intensive propaganda campaigns for these parties while leading counter-campaigns against other political parties. This in itself reflects injustice and inequality in parties' chances to propagate themselves and requires more efforts by the different political parties to deal with this disadvantage. They must also aim at more joint coordination between them to clear misconceptions propagated by media and they must also exert more efforts to use new mass media as an alternative for traditional media that parties cannot always benefit from due to lack of permanent capacities and financial resources.

- **Inadequate vision and misconceptions about parties' role:** Of those surveyed, 19.6% believe that political parties' role is providing citizens with basic services, while many citizens are not aware of the role of the party as a political party, but citizens usually know which movement they will vote for (leftist, Islamist, liberal, etc.).

- **Problem of ratio and numbers:** It is very important to pay attention to the way ratios and numbers are interpreted, as ratios can be deceiving to political parties. In some cases ratios of membership of political parties are low, but they actually reflect large numbers if measured in light of other variables like the country's block population. The ratio thereby refers to large numbers especially in countries with high population. This applies to the Egyptian case, where rates of people's participation in referendums are extremely low although they are equivalent to millions of people. This does not deny the fact that there is a large gap between numbers of people who actually take part in elections and numbers of people who have the right to vote.

- **Existence of conflict arenas:** It is noteworthy that there are arenas referred to as conflict arenas where people once vote for the Islamists and other times vote for liberal movements, which proves that they are constantly searching for an alternative; on the other hand, their support is also not guaranteed. These are the areas that witness medium protests,

where illiteracy rates are medium, where unemployment rates are high, where youth blocks are medium-sized as well as areas in Lower Egypt, but areas in Upper Egypt (Southern Egypt) still represent the main conflict areas or challenges facing political forces with the aim of winning ground in them. This requires political parties to exert great efforts to attract these areas to their programmes through intensive presence there.

- **Interior structure of political parties:** Although this is a common problem in most of the political parties with their different forms, we will focus on the outstanding crisis which is the phenomenon of new young members of the different political parties. They have joined the parties after the revolution and adopt different cultures than the cultures adopted by the parties. Their culture is highly flexible on the contrary to the institutional nature of partisan work and the decision-making process within political parties, especially that many of the members of old parties that were established before the revolution tend to be on the safe side and resort to understandings with the authorities. This is the result of long years of political dredging.

Conclusion:

It seems that political parties suffer from an number of weakness points unveiled by this study, which can be summed up in the personalization of political parties, misconceptions about parties' role, lack of confidence and scepticism about parties, lack of knowledge about political parties and weak communication between citizens and political parties. They are much more than the strength points demonstrated by political parties, which are represented in citizens' readiness to support parties and to vote for them, citizens' conviction of importance of parties adopting clear policies as well as a wide variety of citizens' backgrounds which gives the different political parties the chance to develop different political and intellectual theses to win support of grassroots.

This underlines the importance of parties strengthening their organizational structure in order to contain all capacities, especially

young ones, and developing their programmes to meet expectations of the people more than reflecting the vision the party sets for the people.

The parties must also replace the culture of authoritarian systems where political parties are partners of the ruling regime with other cultures where political parties can be the alternative of the existing authorities.

This situation still does not deny the existence of many opportunities on the political scene that parties can highlight and benefit from.

This doesn't mean that political parties will not face real challenges while setting up their strategies like limited mass support for political parties, increasing numbers of people who cannot make up their mind on which party to vote for, media's negative role, inadequate vision and misconceptions about parties' roles in addition to open conflict areas or arenas.

This means that political parties have to significantly change their work strategies while dealing with targeted grassroots and be capable of developing their mechanisms of mass mobilization in order to get closer to citizens and to face the existing challenges through these masses. Without being backed by the people, political parties will not reach their goals aiming at convincing people of adopting their visions and political stances.

OPINION POLLS AND EGYPTIAN POLITICAL PARTIES (Benefitsand pitfalls)

Nick Sigler

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January 2014

Politicians say that the only poll that matters is the real one – the election. Don't believe them! All politicians follow opinion polls avidly and with a microscope, pouring over them, dissecting them, analysing them, praising them, denouncing them. But the fact is that they couldn't operate effectively without them. Polls are a vital element of any modern political democracy, a key tool for all political campaigning, a barometer of shifting attitudes and opinions. But opinion polls, have to be properly understood, have to be used correctly and responsibly and have to be seen for what they are – one part of a wide collection of political instruments.

The opinion poll which we are considering here is but one of a large number of different types of polls, 'formal' and 'informal'. Each can serve a different function and all have benefits and drawbacks. The sort of formal poll we have here is seeking to gauge a range of different attitudes amongst a cross section of the Egyptian population. For a poll to have credibility one of the most important things, therefore, is to ensure that the sample being asked the questions is in fact truly representative of the people's opinions you are seeking to obtain – in this case those people in Egypt eligible to vote. It is also of vital importance that the terminology used is both accurate and properly understood. So if we look at the table at 1(d) we see that 55% of the sample are stated to be 'unemployed'. Official statistics for Egypt suggest that the unemployment rate is about 13.5%. What the table is in fact telling us is something slightly different from the initial interpretation because, what unemployed means here, includes pensioners, those working in the home, students etc. – it is not a

measure of people out of work and seeking work. For polls to be of benefit and to be an asset in campaigning it is crucial that the information provided by polls is both accurate and interpreted correctly.

Different types of polls serve different purposes. Formal polls can give a snapshot of the level of support for political parties; they can measure trends in attitudes on major policy issues; they can give delve more deeply into how people respond to politicians and parties. Informal polls such as phone–ins, internet polls and the like can be helpful but are far less accurate and therefore need to be treated with caution. But is not just polls that we can use to assess the state of public opinion. Perhaps the most important 'tool' for a politician is face-to-face contact with the voter. Done systematically, and with a proper record being kept, this sort of activity can be invaluable not only in terms of gauging public opinion but also as a means to raise the profile of a candidate or party and in helping to overcome the notion that politicians are out of touch.

The overriding benefit of any opinion poll is that it helps politicians better understand what the electorate is thinking. Too often politicians think they know what the electorate are thinking but in fact they are only reflecting their own concerns or the views of the 'political village'. By and large the electorate are not interested or engaged in 'politics'. They are interested in improving their everyday life. As the poll clearly shows (Paragraph 2(a)) the issue of greatest importance to the electorate is – by a very long way – the economy. Taking all the different elements together the answer to this question shows that nearly three quarters of the sample think this is the key issue – compared to just over one in a hundred who think that democratic reform is the most pressing issue. That may not be an answer that politicians and activists want to see but it does show, without any doubt, where the concerns of the people in the street lie and what they want their politicians to act on.

Looking at another aspect of the use of opinion polls we can see from the results that by far the most important media outlet in Egypt for people to get information about the views of political parties is private TV channels and only a tiny proportion get their information from newspapers, the internet and social media. If you take that result alongside the information that about a third of the electorate –

according to the survey – are either illiterate or have only primary education, then you have the first component of any political media campaign strategy.

In-depth polls will also allow us to get more information about how specific groups in society – women and young people, for instance – are thinking, or the views of people in a specific area. Unless the poll has a very large sample the results derived from the overall poll can be somewhat less reliable but nevertheless they still provide helpful indicators and can allow parties to refine their policies, sharpen up the language they use and better target their campaigns.

As well as highlighting the key concerns of the electorate, polls can also tell you how those concerns are changing – and to a limited extent what is stimulating that change. By conducting a tracking poll – asking the same question in series of polls over a period of time – one can determine how opinion alters and by comparing those results to events, campaign activity and so on one can begin to better understand what changes peoples minds, whether your campaigning is effective and whether you are targeting the right people.

There is no doubt that opinion polls are of enormous benefit to politicians and political parties in helping them to get a clearer picture of the political arena in which they are operating. But as already stated they have to be used correctly and responsibly and they have to be conducted professionally to be of any real use. To touch on a few of the dangers. Apart from a number of 'technical issues' about how polls are constructed, probably the most important drawback is the nature of the question asked. It is often the case that the way in which an issue is put can determine the outcome of the answer. Thus in Britain if you ask people if they are in favour of increased spending on public services the majority will give a positive response. But if you ask the same people if they are in favour of increased taxation they will say 'no'. Clearly the two positions are not compatible. Timing of opinion polls can also be significant in that major events can easily affect – often only for a short period – people's opinions. Thus, for example, if there had been a major environmental incident such as an accident at a nuclear power plant which was given prominent news coverage just before a poll was conducted, then one would expect to see a significant spike in the number of people who opposed the

development or use of nuclear power but that this would tail off rapidly after the news coverage was over.

There are other dangers too, but one that is often overlooked is that opinion polls tend to encourage politicians to speak in 'percentages' which most people simply don't understand. People in the street don't use percentages. Politicians have to be constantly reminded that they need to communicate with the electorate in a way which the electorate understands!!

Returning to the results of the poll in front of us it would seem that there are a number of key issues that political parties have to be concerned about. Taking a number of the questions together it is clear that political parties are neither well known nor well regarded. Two statistics are particularly telling. Six out of ten say they will vote in the next election – but two thirds don't know which party they will vote for. The first conclusion, which is reinforced by many of the other findings, is that parties have a very weak following, there is virtually no 'party loyalty' and that few people know what the parties stand for. But the second conclusion is more positive in that it is clear that there is still 'everything to play for'. A party that understands the concerns of the electorate – and can address them with effective policies - has a good chance of capturing the votes of that two thirds who are yet to make up their mind. But the parties have a long way to go to gain the confidence of the voters. Less than 15% had any confidence that the existing parties are capable of forming the government.

Over 90% think it is very important that a party should have a clear programme but roughly the same number say that 'Party programmes do not deal with issues essential for the people'. This indicates a clear disconnect between politicians and the man and woman in the street. Unless political parties reflect the essential concerns then parties will not gather support either through the ballot box or party membership and they will not have long term credibility - an essential factor for a good stable democracy.

To end on a couple of controversial points – at least from a British perspective. From section 2(i) we learn that while about two thirds of the electorate are ready to accept that 'parties with different orientation to theirs' may come to power, one third of the voters are not prepared to accept this possibility. Effective democratic systems are based on tolerance and the acceptance that people have different

interests and views and that the voters have the right to change the political colour of their government if they so choose. And good government within a progressive democracy needs a strong and credible opposition. While this result might reflect a healthy level of political commitment it also reflects an unhealthy degree of intolerance which is anathema to good democracy.

The second point crops up at a number of places in the results and refers to 'providing citizens with services'. 94% think that that is a very important role for political parties while about 85% think that is the main role of members of parliament – and over 12 times more important than MPs overseeing the government or discussing legislation. That suggests a fundamental flaw in the political system and people's understanding of what a democratic, parliamentary process should be. It is a view no doubt linked to how things have been done in the past. But if Egyptian democracy is to develop then it is a view which needs to be updated with politicians and political parties being seen as a vehicle for bringing about change through Parliament and ensuring that the state is in a position to develop an economic system and to provide the services that are essential for the improvement of the everyday life of the Egyptian citizen.

Political Parties and Campaigning: Conclusions from the Poll

NICK HARVEY MP

**Member of House of Commons
and Former Minister
CAIRO – 6 FEBRUARY 2014**

PART ONE – FINDINGS OF THE OPINION POLL

My first observation would be to endorse this poll: it is more than big enough to be statistically reliable; indeed it is a bigger sample than used by most reputable western polls, and the weighting it uses to represent correctly the balance of Egypt's electorate is scientific and valid. A poll with a sample of 1,000 is correct to within a 3% margin of error, so this is better even than that.

Its conclusions are clear and unambiguous and all political parties standing in Parliamentary elections later this year <u>NEED</u> to take heed of its findings.

Summary of findings

In summary, the public have a very negative picture of political parties in Egypt. They do not believe political parties are capable of forming a government. Secondly, and to me this is slightly bizarre, they mainly expect parties to provide direct services to the citizens – which in Britain would come quite close to contravening our rules on bribery. Thirdly there is lack of awareness and knowledge about the parties. But above all else, and I entirely concur with this, there is an overwhelming view that there are too many parties!

What is the current mind of the Egyptian electorate?

About 61% say they will definitely vote, which is encouraging and compares with turnout levels across the democratic world. Two

thirds – 66.9% – have yet to decide how they will vote, <u>so there is still much to play for.</u> Key factors in determining which party voters will support include the ability to implement a clear programme, a vision for developing education, a clear economic policy and plan for reducing unemployment, integrity and "ability to change".

Interestingly "trustworthy and impressive leadership" trailed all of these by a long way, but with 71% nevertheless viewing it as very important, **it should NOT be overlooked**. It is also clear that mainstream media – TV and satellite channels – are the principal means by which people get information about candidates and parties. **They are therefore crucial to the outcome**.

Reasons for supporting candidates or parties

The main reason for supporting a candidate differed according to the level of education. Those with a low level of education typically want to "join the winning team" whereas those with higher levels of education are interested in charity activities, family recommendations and political orientation.

It is also notable that support for liberal-leaning parties is currently firmer *[not necessarily larger – just more solid]* than for others – possibly reflecting that more educated voters are committed to their ideologies, while less educated voters will decide later, when they have had more of a look at candidates individually and "asked around".

What do people want from parties?

The poll identifies the things people expect as: representing citizens, probing the government, working with other parties in parliament, scrutinising legislation and as mentioned "providing services".

But voters say that parties do not match up to these expectations at present: 71% think parties do not affect the political situation in Egypt; 83% think parties do not adopt successful practical policies; 85% think parties only serve the interests of their leaders; and 66% think parties are not even capable of influencing government decisions.

Only four parties are recognised by over 20% of voters: 71% know the Freedom and Justice Party; 57% know the Al-Nour Party; 46% the Al-Wafd party and 24% Nasserist Party. Asked what puts them off parties 83% cite insufficient organisational ability; 86% believe parties haven't influenced the course of events, and an <u>overwhelming 92% believe there are too many parties!</u>

Only limited numbers of people join the parties and 89% stated that they haven't been invited to join any of the existing parties. I don't think you should worry too much about actual membership levels. In Britain the combined membership of all our major parties comes to less than 1% of the electorate. This doesn't prevent many more from getting involved in election campaigns and turnout levels remain in line with international norms. All over the world, as demands on people's time and attention becomes more diverse, membership-based organisations find themselves shrinking. But their activities continue.

Yet there is hope. Despite all those negative views 81% think parties should be included in government, although 38% think the existing parties are currently only *capable* of playing a subsidiary role, and 81% of the poll sample believed parties should merge to form bigger parties.

Merging parties

I am told that there are currently 84 registered political parties. Looking in from outside I can tell you unhesitatingly that this is about 80 too many. Voters are baffled and confused – there is far too much choice, and that means there is no real choice. There has to be a limited number of clearly defined alternatives if the electorate is to make an informed decision and the winners are to have a valid mandate.

The multitude of leftist and socialist parties needs to come together into one party of the left. The liberal parties need to come together as one centrist party. There may be room for a capitalist party of the right and – possibly, I cannot judge – an element faintly derived from the former regime's supporters would be viable? But really four choices is plenty enough to provoke a robust debate and a valid and clear decision.

Of course, because Egypt has been through a period of rapid change many diverse elements have come forward wanting a say in what the future will look like, and that is great. But it is just not sustainable for each and every one of them to be a separate political party. In Britain and other western democracies many diverse groupings exist INSIDE political parties: these may be pressure groups, issue campaigns, dining and debating circles, think tanks and even organised factions for contesting internal party elections. But at election time they rally behind an agreed programme and don't confuse the public by playing their private debates out in public.

It takes time for a party to build up its brand, image, personalities and identity in the minds of voters, which can be done with the help of a party colour, nickname, slogan, logo or symbol (helpful with illiterate voters). But there is only room in the market place for a limited number of options. Little wonder that the army and the Muslim Brotherhood have more credibility in the minds of some voters than do all the parties put together! The party contest borders on anarchy! If it proves impossible to resolve this, ask your international colleagues – for example in Socialist International or Liberal International – to come in and facilitate some sort of brokering or mediation.

PART TWO – POLITICAL AND CAMPAIGNING CONCLUSIONS FROM THE POLL

There are clear political priorities on the minds of the voters:

- 95% want to see improved access to **medical** services
- 91% want a vision for developing **education**
- 85% want a clear **economic** policy and a solution to high unemployment
- 85% want more measures to protect the **environment**
- 81% want people's **freedom** to choose what suits them best

The parties which succeed will be those which focus on these issues which concern the voters, rather than on whatever the parties themselves may consider to be the priorities.

What must parties do to improve their position?

Firstly, define your <u>message.</u>You must have a simple message about why people should vote for you. This doesn't want to be an essay – it should be no more than one sentence long or better still be captured in a slogan of 5 or 6 words. Then your task is to repeat it, repeat it and repeat it again, and again and again!

Secondly, establish your <u>policies</u>. Make sure you address the voters' priorities and NOT your own pet concerns. The voters' priorities are: Health, Education, the Economy/Jobs, the Environment and Freedom.

You don't need a long manifesto – nobody reads them – you just need headline ideas in these key areas.

Thirdly, appoint your figureheads and <u>spokesmen.</u>Promote a maximum of about three national spokespeople. They need to be good communicators putting forward positive reasons to vote for your party. But they also need the emotional intelligence to "tell a story". And they need to be calm and practical, and to be credible – able to "walk the talk".

Once you have message, policies and spokesmen, <u>plan your campaign</u>:

Decide your **<u>objectives</u>**: how widely are you fighting to win at this particular election? If you set realistic goals, you can be a winner no matter how big or small you are! The more you grow your resources over time, the more you can take on and eventually win. What share of the vote do you need (or what can you achieve) in the key battlegrounds?

Identify your **<u>target market</u>** – who is your campaign aiming at, and what resonates with them? If possible conduct more polling to understand the electoral marketplace, nationally, regionally and locally. Are certain key groups of voters – maybe young people, or manual workers – vital to you? What will be the most effective means of communicating with and reaching these people? Your challenge is to retain existing supporters and win new votes.

Now build your **<u>communications strategy</u>** to reach your target market. Map the media landscape and analyse TV/radio station and

newspaper coverage in key areas. Don't forget that alongside these "old media" you need also to use newer social media to push your messages directly and tightly.

To win votes, parties must communicate "on-message, in-volume, over time". <u>On message</u> means everyone in the party using the same phrases again and again and again.<u>In volume</u>means doing enough of it to get your message heard and noticed by the electorate. <u>Over time</u> means that when you are totally bored with it the public is just beginning to hear it! If possible, constantly monitor the media to measure how far the message is getting through

Then think about everything else....

Are you going to fight in a coalition or electoral alliance? If you do, what will be the impact on your identity or name recognition, now or over time? What is the right balance of devolved organisation down to the helpers you have on the ground, but disciplined messaging and image? Are you appealing to a great enough diversity of voters to achieve your targeted objectives? How many seats can you win and what will you do with them afterwards?

Three things to remember about fighting election campaigns

- Know your message, know your voters, know your objectives, know the media landscape
- Targeting is the key to building long-term, sustainable success
- If you can't communicate your message strongly, effectively and consistently, you won't win!

Perfecting that message

Your message needs to give positive reasons to vote for you. It needs to reinforce good views of your party and candidates. It needs to create momentum – that winning feeling. Your aim is to build a sense of loyalty from your supporters <u>and</u> to address the things your target voters care about. *Watch out – it's very easy to focus on your hard supporters and miss most voters!*

What is your UNIQUE SELLING PROPOSITION (USP)?

Voters are looking for solutions to everyday problems, and are anxious in times of change. They want economic plans for jobs and growth; they want solutions on particular issues – like education, health and transport; and they want social justice – freedom, equality and opportunities.

What are you saying which no one else is saying? What – in summary – is the reason people should vote for you and not the others?

Egyptians' perspectives on political parties and participation

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Summary Poll Results[2]

1. Orientation of Egyptians regarding political participation and political parties

a. The most pressing issue

Results reveal that economic issues are still the main concern of the Egyptian people and citizens believe that it is the most pressing issue that the government needs to deal with. Most of them (72.7%) believe that the government must focus on economic issues; high unemployment rates among young Egyptians and providing them with new job opportunities are considered the most important issues among economic causes, accounting for 65.3% of total issues. Of the participants, 10.4% stated that promoting the country's security and stability must be the top priority of the government, which underlines the improving security situation and the decline of people's sense of insecurity since the emergence of the January 25 revolution. Also, 13.5% of the participants believed that the government should focus on combating corruption. These results clearly indicate the current severity of the economic crisis and inefficient government performance in dealing with this issue.

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[2] - Please see Methodology in Annex 2

Table (7)[3]

Most pressing issue the government needs to pay attention to

	Ratio of actual responses
Unemployment among young people	52.8
Combating corruption	13.5
Providing new job opportunities	12.7
Security/stability	10.4
Economic growth	4.3
Controlling prices of basic goods	2.9
Educational reform	1.7
Democratic reform	1.2
Completion of the process of narrowing and terminating the remains of the old regimen	0.2
Raising salaries	0.1
Achieving social justice	0.1
Combating terrorism	0.1

b. People's Assembly elections

Sixty percent of the people surveyed stated that they took part in the People's Assembly elections of 2011, which is the same ratio of actual participation in these elections. The actual participation rates in the 2011 People's Assembly elections reached 60% according to the

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[3] - This is a shorter version of the poll study, tables' and figures' numbers are kept as they are in the original full version of the study

Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics; this was the highest participation rate among Egyptians when compared to previous elections. Of the people included in the sample, 60.6% stated that they voted for the Justice and Freedom Party in the previous People's Assembly elections; 15.1% stated that they voted for Al-Noor Party; 8.7% voted for Al-Wafd Party; and 5.8% voted for the Egyptian Bloc.

Figure (6)

Voting in the previous People's Assembly elections
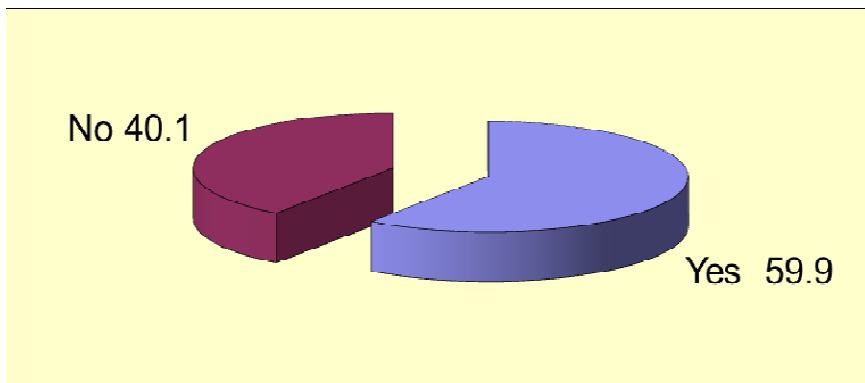
Table (8)

List voting in the previous People's Assembly

	Ratio of actual responses
Freedom and Justice Party	60.6
Al-Noor Party	15.1
Al-Wafd Party	8.7
The Egyptian Bloc	5.8
Al-Wasat Party	2.6
Free Egyptians Party	1.3
Continuous Revolution Party	1.3

	Ratio of actual responses
National Party of Egypt	1.1
Egyptian Revolution Party	0.8
Al-Dostour Party	0.6
Nasserist Party	0.5
Strong Egypt Party	0.3
Freedom Party	0.3
Al-Watan Party	0.3
The Egyptian Citizen Party	0.2
Reform and Development Party	0.2
The Egyptian Democratic Party	0.2
Workers Party	0.2

c. Reasons for voting for a list and for individuals

Remarkably, those parties were voted for in the first place for reasons related to the candidates as individuals, and not to the party itself.

Of the voters who took part in these elections, 31.9% stated that they voted for the list because it included candidates considered trustworthy by the voters. In addition to that, 6.4% of the voters stated that they were pressured by the people of their village who preferred a certain list. Another 2.4% of those surveyed said that the reason behind their voting for a certain list is the opinion of their families and their preference for a certain list. Also, 2.1% stated that they voted for the list because its candidates are people they know who have promised to provide jobs. This way, the total of people who elected a list based on individual considerations accounted for 42.8%. As for reasons related to the party itself, 26.9% of people stated that they

voted for a certain list because they were convinced with its program. An additional 9.8% of people surveyed stressed that they voted for a certain list because it belongs to the political movement they prefer. Of the remaining individuals, 3.8% said they voted for a certain list due to religious considerations; 0.7% pointed out the fact that they voted for a certain list because it was a civil one; and 5.8% stated that they voted for a certain list because it represents the revolution.

Table (9)
Reasons for voting for a certain list

	Ratio of actual responses
Because it included trustworthy candidates	31.9
Because I was convinced of its program	26.9
Because it belonged to my preferred political movement	9.8
Because it did not include members of the old regime	8.8
People of our village told us to vote for the Freedom and Justice Party	6.4
Because it represented the revolution	5.3
Based on religious considerations	3.8
Because my family recommended it	2.4
Because we know them and they promised to provide jobs	2.1
Because they are more organised and capable of conducting reforms	1.3
Because it is a civil list	0.7
Other	0.6

With regard to the influence of the level of education on the main reason for voting for a certain list, it is obvious that the existence of candidates trusted by the voters was the first reason for people from all levels of education, except for people who have only reached the preparatory stage of education. The votes of people who hold a bachelor's degree depended mostly on the existence of trustworthy candidates, by a ratio of 50%. This reached its lowest ratio in people who have only reached the preparatory education stage, with a ratio of 25.8%. As for voting that depends on being convinced of a list's program, it was obvious that the educational category that depends on it the most consisted of people holding a Ph.D., while the category of illiterate people depended the least on the electoral program, with a ratio of 22.2%.

Table (10)Relationship between the level of education and reasons for voting for a certain list

	It included candidates I trust	It belonged to the political movement I prefer	I am convinced of its program	It did not include members of the old regime	It represented the revolution	People of the village told us to vote for Freedom and Justice Party	Based on religious considerations	My family recommended it	They are more organised and capable of conducting reform	We know them
Illiterate/literate	30.4	4.4	22.2	10.1	7.0	13.9	3.8	5.7	1.3	0.6
Primary	34.9	10.8	18.1	13.3	3.6	10.8	4.8	1.2	0.0	1.2
Preparatory/Basic	25.8	4.8	30.6	3.2	1.6	9.7	11.3	1.6	0.0	6.5
High school	34.2	2.6	31.6	5.3	10.5	7.9	0.0	2.6	2.6	2.6
Intermediate diploma	33.1	11.4	27.4	10.0	4.6	4.3	3.2	1.8	1.1	1.1
Bachelor's degree	30.6	13.9	31.0	7.4	6.0	0.9	2.3	1.4	2.3	0.9
Master's	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ph.D.	33.3	33.3	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

With regard to voting for individual candidates, the following chart indicates that being influenced by other citizens' support for a certain candidate was the first factor upon which voters depended in their decision to vote for a certain candidate. Of the people who cast their ballots in the parliamentary elections for individual candidates, 22.9% stated that their decision was based on the fact that most people in their district supported this candidate. The candidate's election was mainly based on his personal qualities and services he provided to citizens. Next, 21.2% of those surveyed stated that they voted for certain individual candidates because of their charity activities. A total of 1.3% voted for certain candidates upon recommendations of their families who supported certain candidates, while 14.5% stated that they voted for certain candidates known for their integrity. Another 1.4% voted for certain candidates because they trusted them and were convinced of their program, and 7.4% said that their decision was based on the candidate's political orientation. It seems that the fact that the candidate belonged to a certain political party was of minimal influence on the voting decision compared to other factors, as only 7.3% of people surveyed voted for candidates who were members of their own political party.

Table (11)

Main reason for voting for a certain candidate

	Ratio of actual responses
A large number of people supported him	22.9
His charity activities	21.2
He belongs to the same neighbourhood	19.4
Integrity	14.5
His political orientation	7.4
He belongs to the party I support	7.3
He is a relative of mine	2.7

	Ratio of actual responses
I trust him and am convinced of his program	1.4
My family recommended him	1.3
Based on religious considerations	0.8
He does not belong to the old regime	0.4
Other	0.6

It was observed that the main reason for electing a certain individual candidate differed according to the level of education of the voter. The support of many citizens for a certain candidate was the first reason for electing him among illiterate people, people who only received primary education, and people who only finished high school. Among people who have only finished high school, 37.1% believed that support of many other citizens for a certain candidate was their main reason for electing him; this ratio reached 31.9% for illiterate people, and decreased to 27% among people who only received a primary education. It was at its lowest levels for people who hold a master's degree or a Ph.D. As for people who have only received preparatory education, their first reason for voting for a certain individual candidate is that he belongs to the same neighbourhood or area of their residence, at a ratio of 32.7%.

Table (12) Relationship between the level of education and the reasons for voting for a certain individual candidate

	Illiterate/literate	Primary	Preparatory/Basic	High school	Intermediate diploma	Bachelor's degree	Master's degree	Ph.D
Based on religious considerations	0.7	1.4	3.6	0.0	0.4	0.5	0.0	0.0
My family's recommendation of him	3.5	1.4	1.8	0.0	0.0	1.1	50.0	0.0
He is a member of the party I support	6.3	2.7	3.6	5.7	6.4	13.0	0.0	0.0
A large number of people support him	31.9	27.0	23.6	37.1	19.6	16.8	0.0	50.0
His political orientation	4.2	2.7	1.8	14.3	7.9	10.8	0.0	0.0
He belongs to the same area I live in	20.1	25.7	32.7	14.3	19.2	14.1	0.0	0.0
He is a relative of mine	2.1	5.4	0.0	2.9	3.0	2.7	0.0	0.0
His charity activities	22.2	14.9	20.0	20.0	23.4	19.5	50.0	50.0
Integrity	8.3	16.2	10.9	5.7	15.8	19.5	0.0	0.0

d. Egyptians and the People's Assembly elections

The upcoming People's Assembly elections are of special significance to Egyptians as they are part of the entitlements of the road map that resulted from the June 30 revolution. These elections have also gained additional importance, because they are the only parliamentary elections in which citizens will take part after the Shura Council was eliminated according to the new constitution. Within this context, 60.7% of the surveyed people stated that they intend to take part in the upcoming elections, while 12.7% stated that they might take part in them and 14.2% stressed that they will not take part in the upcoming parliamentary elections. Also, 12.4 % stated that they will probably not vote in the upcoming parliamentary elections. This means that the ratio of people who still haven't made up their minds has reached 25.1%, or around a quarter of the voters.

It seems that the decision to participate in the parliamentary elections or not is to a great extent linked to people's expectations on the course of the upcoming elections compared to the previous elections. Of those surveyed, 71.6% stated that they expect the upcoming elections to be much better or at least better than the previous elections, while 11.3% expect the upcoming elections to be similar to the previous ones. An additional 17% expect the upcoming elections to be much worse or at least worse than previous elections. It was observed that there is a relation between people's participation in the upcoming elections and the expectation for elections better than previous ones. Among those who believe that the upcoming elections will be better than previous elections, 84.2% will take part in them, in addition to 6.5% who will probably take part in the upcoming elections. As for those who believe that the upcoming elections will be worse than previous ones, 19.8% of them will certainly take part in the elections and 9.9% will probably take part.

Expectations for the upcoming People's Assembly elections [4]

Expectations for the upcoming People's Assembly elections	
It will be much better than the previous People's Assembly elections	47%
It will be a bit better than the previous People's Assembly elections	24.6%
It will be the same like the previous People's Assembly elections	11.3%
It will be a bit worse than the previous People's Assembly elections	8.8%
It will be much worse than the previous People's Assembly elections	8.2%

Position from participation in the upcoming parliamentary elections[5]

Position on participation in the upcoming parliamentary elections	
I will certainly take part	60.7%
I will certainly not take part	14.2%
I will probably take part	12.7%
I will probably not take part	12.4%

As a reflection of the current fragmentation dominating the political scene and the absence of a political or partisan alternative that can be trusted by the majority of the Egyptian people, the answers on questions about the political movement that will be voted for in the upcoming elections revealed the following: Liberal parties got 31.1%, Islamist parties got 17.8%, leftist movements got 11.8% and Nasserist parties got 11%, while 21% of the surveyed people stressed that they will not vote for any movement.

When we asked a more specific question on the party that can be voted for in the upcoming elections, one-third of the surveyed Egyptians (66.9%) stated that they haven't decided yet which party to

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[4] -Translation of Figure(7) in the Arabic version of the poll study

[5] -Translation of Figure (8) in the Arabic version of the poll study

vote for in the future, while 8.4% of them stated that they won't vote for any party.

In addition, 6.7% stated that they will vote for Al-Wafd Party, 4.6% will vote for the Nasserist Party, 4.1% will vote for Al-Noor Party, and only 1.7% will vote for the Freedom and Justice Party.

Voting for the political movements in the upcoming People's Assembly elections[6]

Voting intention for political movements in the upcoming People's Assembly elections	
Communist/ leftist political movement	11.8%
Islamist political movement	17.8%
Liberal political movement	31.1%
Nasserist political movement	11%
None	21%
Independent	2.1%
The army	1.3%
Depends on the programme and the best movement	1.8%
Moderate and civil party	1.3%
Other	0.7%

Table (13)

The party that will be voted for in the upcoming People's Assembly elections

	Ratio of actual responses
I haven't decided yet	66.9
None	8.4
Al-Wafd Party	6.7
Nasserist Party	4.6

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[6] -Translation of Figure (9) in the Arabic version of the poll study

	Ratio of actual responses
Al-Nour Party	4.1
Free Egyptians Party	2.5
Freedom and Justice Party	1.7
The Egyptian Democratic Party	0.9
Al-Dostour Party	0.9
A party that belongs to the armed forces	0.9
The National Democratic Party	0.3
Al-Wasat Party	0.3
Strong Egypt Party	0.2
Congress Party	0.2
Al-Watan Party	0.1
Al-Karama Party	0.1
Other	0.7

e. Factors stimulating voting for parties

There are a number of reasons that might lead voters to vote or not to vote for political parties. We have discussed the most important of these reasons and asked the citizens to specify how important they are as reasons to vote for a certain party. Of the surveyed citizens, 99.4% stated that confidence in the party's ability to implement the promised program will encourage them to vote for the party, while 99% stated that a party's vision on the development of education is a strong reason to vote for it. Also, 98.7% stated that they will be encouraged to vote for a party if it adopts policies to reduce unemployment in addition to its ability to provide citizens with direct services. While 98.2% stated that integrity of the party is among

reasons that would encourage them to vote for it, 98% stressed that the party's ability to change represents a strong reason to vote for it. A total of 97.9% believed that existence of a clear economic policy is among the important reasons that will encourage them to vote for a party and 96.8% that the party's adoption of a plan to develop the district or the area of the voters is among strong reasons to vote for a certain party. Finally, 96.7% stated that the existence of a strong electoral program is among important reasons for voting for a certain party.

Table (14)The degree of importance of the different reasons that lead the voters to vote in Elections

	Very important	Relatively important	Relatively unimportant	Not important at all
Importance of "the party possessing a clear program" as a reason for voting for a certain party	91.2	5.5	2.2	1.0
Importance of "opinions spread by media about a certain party" as a reason to vote for a certain party	22.2	24.8	29.4	23.5
Importance of "family and friends recommending a certain party" as a reason for voting for it	38.2	21.8	20.3	19.7
Importance of the party "representing my interests" as a reason to vote for a certain party	78.1	16.2	4.6	1.1
Importance of the party "representing the revolution" as reason for voting for a certain party	72.2	16.6	7.4	3.8
Importance of "confidence in the party's ability to keep its promises" as a reason to vote for it	94.2	5.2	0.4	0.3
Importance of "the party's ability to provide citizens with direct services" as a reason to vote for a certain party	93.8	4.9	0.9	0.5

	Very important	Relatively important	Relatively unimportant	Not important at all
Importance of the party "possessing a plan to develop my area" as a reason to vote for a certain party	84.4	12.4	2.8	0.4
Importance of the party "adopting policies to reduce unemployment" as a reason to vote for a certain party	92.0	6.7	1.1	0.2
Importance of the party "possessing a vision to develop education" as a reason to vote for a certain party	91.2	7.8	0.9	0.1
Importance of "integrity of the party" as a reason for voting for a certain party	88.2	10.0	1.6	0.2
Importance of "the party's ability to change" as a reason for voting for a certain party	85.4	12.6	1.8	0.2
Importance of the "party being led by a trustworthy and impressive leadership" as a reason to vote for a certain party	71.2	20.8	5.8	2.2
Importance of the "party possessing a clear economic policy" as a reason to vote for a certain party	85.0	12.9	1.8	0.3
Importance of the "party being capable of maintaining the statut quo" as a reason for voting for a certain party	65.6	13.8	9.1	11.5

Through the results previously highlighted, we can stress that economic and practical factors as well as the party's ability to directly communicate with citizens and to make tangible achievements regarding their daily-life issues represent major reasons for the citizens to vote for certain parties. In confirmation of this, the

importance of the media's opinions about the parties has significantly declined as a reason for voting for a certain party, with only 47% believing that this is an important reason - despite the fact that the media is the main source for citizens to inform themselves on opinions and orientations of the different parties. Of the surveyed citizens, 79.1% stated that they get acquainted with the orientations of the different political parties through visual media, print media, audio media and the Internet. Private Egyptian satellite channels came out on top among media outlets that citizens depend on to get informed about the orientations of political parties, with a ratio of 60%. These were followed by the Arab news channels at 17.8%, with Egyptian Television coming in third at 12.2%. Newspapers accounted for only 1.2%.

Importance of voting stimuli in elections[7]

Importance of voting stimuli in elections	
Trust in the ability of the political party to fulfil its promises	99.4%
A party should adopt a clear vision about the educational system	99%
Ability of a political party to provide the citizens with direct services	98.7%
A party should have clear policies to fight unemployment	98.7%
Integrity of political parties	98.2%
A party's ability to change	98%
A party should have a clear economic policy	97.9%
A party should have a clear plan to develop my area	96.8%
A party should have a clear programme	96.7%
A party should express my interests	94.3%
A party should have a prominent and trustworthy leader	92%
A Party should express the Revolution	88.8%
A party should maintain the current status quo	79.4%

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[7] -Translation of Figure (10) in the Arabic version of the poll study

Importance of voting stimuli in elections	
Family and Friends prefer a party	60%
What I hear in the media about a party	47%

Sources for identifying orientations of the different parties[8]

Sources for identifying orientations of the different parties	
Local television	12.2%
Private Egyptian satellite channels	60%
Arab news satellite channels	17.8%
Foreign news satellite channels	0.7%
Radio	0.4%
Daily newspapers	1%
Local newspapers	0.2%
Internet	4.8%
SMS	0.1%
Family and neighbours	2.6%
Through work and contact with people	0.2%

When we asked the citizens to specify the most important reason among those previously mentioned to vote for a certain party, the party's ability to provide citizens with direct services came in first place among reasons for voting for a certain party, with a ratio of 19.6%. At second place was the party's possession of a clear program (15.6%), then the party's adoption of policies aiming at reducing unemployment (15.3%). Next came confidence in the party's ability to fulfill its promises to the citizens, while importance of opinions spread by media about the party significantly declined to reach only 0.2%. The same applies to influence of the party's leadership, accounting for 0.7% of the reasons encouraging people to vote for certain parties.

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[8] -Translation of Figure (11) in the Arabic version of the poll study

Table (15)Most important reason to vote for a certain party

	Ratio of actual responses
The party's ability to provide citizens with direct services	19.6
The party's possession of a clear program	15.6
The party's adoption of policies to reduce unemployment	15.3
Confidence in the party's ability to fulfill its promises	15.1
The party's possession of a plan to develop my area	5.8
The party represents my interests	5.8
The party possesses a vision for the development of education	4.4
The party's ability to change	4.1
Integrity of the party	3.7
The party represents the revolution	3.5
The party adopts a clear economic policy	1.9
The party's ability to maintain the current status	1.9
Family and friends prefer this party	1.6
News spread through the media about the party	0.2
The party possesses an impressive and trustworthy leadership	0.7
Other	0.9

As for citizens who have decided not to take part in the upcoming elections, we asked them about the main reason behind their decision and the majority of them (18%) stated that they will not take part in upcoming elections because they don't expect significant results. The second reason for people not to take part in the elections is their conviction that the electoral vote is infeasible; 14.7% believe that their vote is unnecessary, and this is the reason behind their reluctance to take part. Another 13.5% stated that their reluctance is because the elections results will be forged. In addition, 8.3% stated that they will not take part in the elections because their husbands are against their participation. Strikingly, 4% of the surveyed citizens stated they will not take part in the upcoming elections because they are against the June 30 revolution and the procedures that resulted from it, while 5.7% stated that the reason behind their reluctance is the current deteriorated situation in Egypt in general.

Table (16)
Reasons for not taking part in the upcoming elections

	Ratio of actual responses
Nothing important expected to result from them	18.0
My voice is not important and I don't care about elections	14.7
Due to forgery	13.5
Due to health considerations	11.3
Husband's disapproval	8.3
I'm not interested in politics and will boycott elections	6.6
I haven't decided yet	6.1
Deteriorating conditions in the country	5.7
I'm not convinced of the current coup government	4.0
Absence of ballot card	3.8
Due to work nature	2.1

	Ratio of actual responses
Traveling	1.7
The election commission is in another governorate	1.7
Other	2.4

f. The role of parties in political life

At the beginning of the study, we asked citizens about the roles political parties are expected to play on the current political scene to find out their views regarding the importance of these roles. Of the surveyed citizens, 99.1% stated that providing citizens with services is a very important role or at least an important role parties should play. The following important role was representing citizens, for which 98.7% of the surveyed citizens have voted; 95.7% believed that a party's role is probing the government; 91.7% said that a party's role is cooperating with other parties within the parliament; and 90.6% stated that the main role of parties is auditing legislations.

When we asked citizens to specify the most important roles of political parties, the answers matched the previous orientation that focused on providing citizens with services and urging the government to deal with issues of their daily lives. A total of 54.1% of the surveyed citizens stated that the most important role of parties is providing citizens with services, while 35.8% stated that their most important role is representing citizens, followed by 10% who believed that probing the government is the most important role of parties. Another 2.9% believed that the main role parties should play is auditing legislation. This proves that party roles that don't directly affect people's economic conditions are less important for the people.

The role that should be played by political parties in Egypt[9]

Role	
Providing citizens with services	51.4%
Representing citizens	35.8%
Probing the government	10%
Auditing legislations	2.9%

Table (17)

Egyptian public opinion and roles played by political parties

	Very important	Relatively important	Relatively unimportant	Not important at all
Importance of "representing citizens" as a role that should be played by parties	83.0	15.7	0.7	0.6
Importance of "probing the government" as a role that should be played by parties	67.5	28.2	3.0	1.3
Importance of "auditing legislations" as a role that should be played by parties	57.2	33.4	7.5	1.9
Importance of "providing citizens with services" as a role that should be played by parties	93.9	5.2	0.7	0.2
Importance of "cooperating with other parties within the parliament" as a role that should be played by parties	62.0	29.7	6.6	1.7

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[9] -Translation of Figure (14) in the Arabic version of the poll study

The fact that political parties do not focus on the roles seen as important ones by the citizens largely explains their orientation regarding the ability of parties to influence the political situation in Egypt. It also explains their evaluation of parties' political practices in general. Of the surveyed people, 71.2% stated that political parties do not affect the political situation in Egypt, while only 28.9% believed that parties influence the political situation in Egypt. Also, 82.7% stated that political parties do not adopt successful political practices, while only 17.3% believed that the practices of political parties are successful.

Table of Figure (15)Parties' efficiency in influencing the political situation in Egypt

Parties' efficiency in influencing the political situation in Egypt	
Not effective at all	47.5%
Somewhat ineffective	23.7%
Somewhat effective	24.1%
Very effective	4.8%

Figure (16)

Evaluation of parties' political practices in Egypt
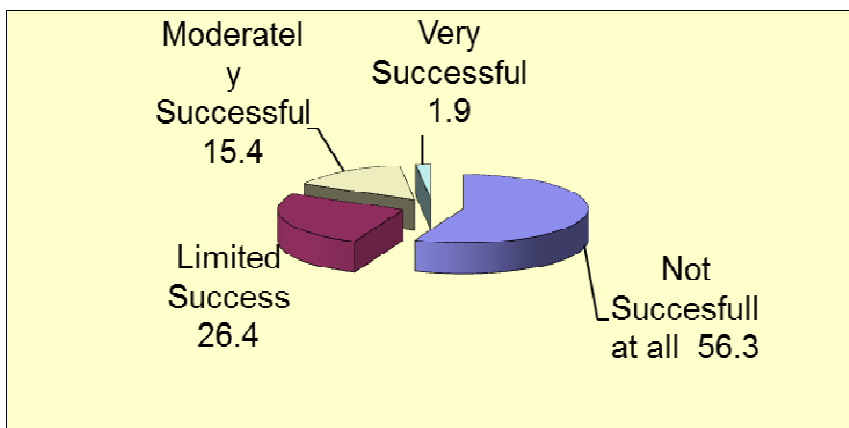
g. Confidence in political parties

The results we have obtained reveal that people's confidence in political parties is very modest. The majority of people believed that political parties should adopt clear policies that reflect their electoral program, which clearly indicates a lack of these policies. People's conviction that political parties mainly represent the personal interests of their leaders explains to a great extent the reason behind people's limited confidence in political parties. A total of 93.7% of the citizens stressed the importance of a party possessing a number of clear policies that are represented in its electoral program. As for services provided to citizens, the majority of the people (84.7%) believed that political parties only serve interests of their leaders while only 15.3% stated that political parties serve interests of the people of their district. When people were asked about the party that most represents their political, social and economic expectations, the majority (61.6%) stated that none of the existing parties represents their expectations. Al-Wafd Party won the confidence of 10% of the citizens, while the Freedom and Justice Party won the confidence of 6.6% of the citizens; Al-Noor Party won 6.1%; the Nasserist Party, 4.9%; and the Free Egyptians Party won the confidence of 2.5% of the surveyed citizens.

Figure (17)

Importance of the party possessing a number of clear policies that are represented in its electoral program
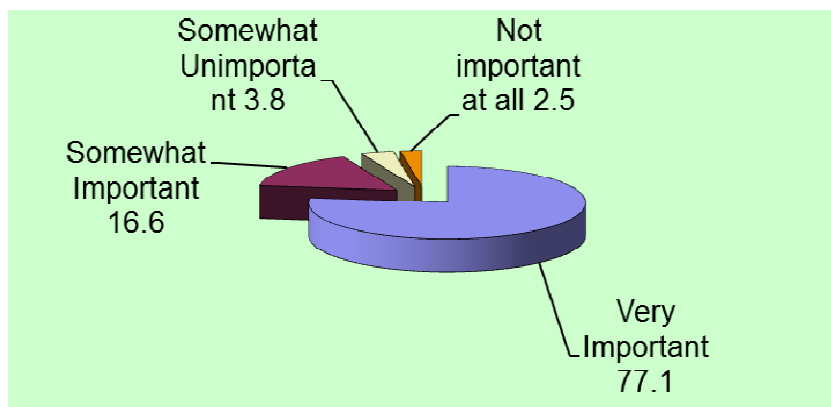
Figure (18)

If people believe that political parties serve people's interests or personal interests of their leaders
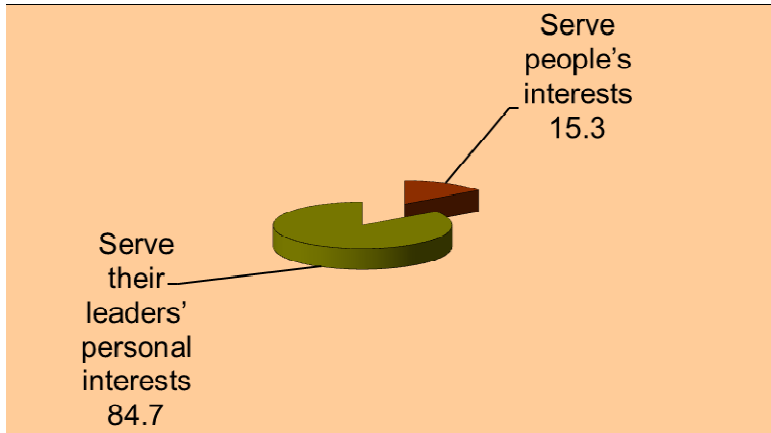
Table (18)
The party that most represents people's political, social and economic expectations

	Ratio of actual responses
None	61.8
Al-Wafd Party	10.0
Freedom and Justice Party	6.6
Al-Nour Party	6.1
Nasserist Party	4.9
Free Egyptians Party	2.5
Al-Dostour Party	1.3
Al-Wasat Party	1.2
Strong Egypt Party	1.0
The Democratic Party	0.6

The Egyptian Democratic Party	0.5
A party that belongs to the armed forces	0.5
National Progressive Unionist Party	0.3
Building and Development Party	0.3
The National Democratic Party	0.3
The Democratic Front	0.3
The Egyptian Bloc	0.2
I haven't decided yet	0.2
Socialist Union Party	0.2
Congress Party	0.2
Al-Karama Party	0.2
Continuous Revolution Party	0.1
Justice Party	0.1
Egypt is my country front	0.1
Salvation front	0.1
Al-Ghad Al-Youm Party	0.1
Umma Party	0.1
Tamarod Movement	0.1
Socialist Popular Alliance Party	0.1
Egypt Freedom Party	0.1
Egypt's Knights Party (Forsan Misr)	0.1

In addition to that, 66.5% of the surveyed citizens stated that the existing parties are not capable of influencing government decisions in

accordance with their orientations by any means. Only 3.2% believed that parties are capable of influencing government decisions in all cases, while 30.2% stated that parties can influence government decisions in accordance with their orientations only in certain cases. What's more important is that half of the citizens (50%) believe that existing parties are not at all capable of influencing the People's Assembly in accordance with their orientations, while 7.9% stated that parties are capable of influencing the People's Assembly in all cases. In addition, 42.1% stated that parties are only capable of influencing the People's Assembly in certain cases in accordance with their orientations. This explains why few citizens believe in the influence of existing parties and why the degree of this influence on the People's Assembly is different than the degree of this influence on government decisions, because the People's Assembly is the main field for parties' work.

Ability of existing parties to influence government decisions, People's Assembly in accordance with their goals[10]

	Ability of existing parties to influence government decisions	Ability of existing parties to influence the People's Assembly
Capable in all cases	3.2%	7.9%
Capable in some cases	30.2%	42.1%
Not capable in all cases	66.5%	50%

h. Confidence in existing parties to form the government

Of the surveyed citizens, 85.2% stated that they don't trust the ability of the existing parties to form the government, while 14.8% believed that they are capable of forming the government. Among the parties that were trusted to form the government, Al-Wafd got the highest votes with a ratio of 36.5%, followed by Al-Nour Party and the Freedom and Justice Party with ratios of 14.3%. Then came the Nasserist Party with a ratio of 13.8% and finally the Free Egyptians Party with a ratio of 9.5%.

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[10] -Translation of Figure (19) in the Arabic version of the poll study

Figure (20)

Confidence in existing parties to form the government
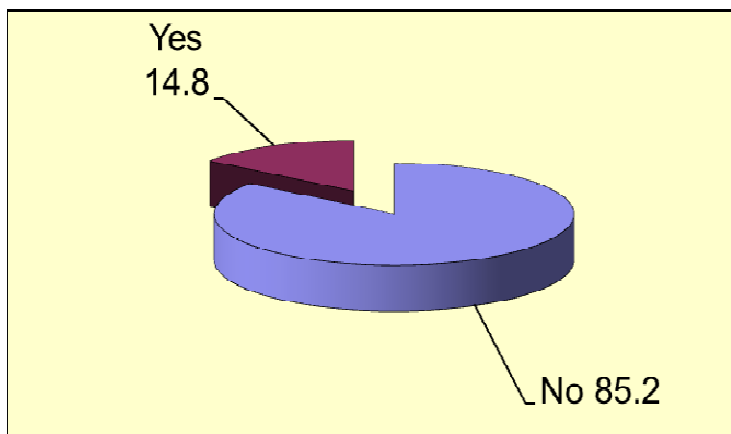
Table (19)

Political parties that can be trusted to form the government

	Ratio of actual responses
Al-Wafd Party	36.5
Salvation front	1.1
Freedom and Justice Party	14.3
Al-Nour Party	14.3
Nasserist Party	13.8
Free Egyptians Party	9.5
Strong Egypt Party	2.1
Al-Wasat Party	1.6
Al-Dostour Party	1.6
A party that belongs to the armed forces	1.1
Justice Party	1.1

	Ratio of actual responses
The Democratic Party	0.5
The Egyptian Bloc	0.5
The Socialist Union Party	0.5
Tamarod Movement	0.5
Egypt Freedom Party	0.5
Al-Thawra Party	0.5

i- Knowledge about parties and acceptance of a different party's formation of the government

In confirmation of the results previously referred to regarding the opinions of citizens on the role political parties should play and whose focus on services is represented in providing citizens with services and dealing with daily-life issues of an economic nature, the results have proven that the majority of the Egyptian people are ready to accept the fact that parties with different orientations than theirs may come to power. This can be observed despite the declining importance of relatives' knowledge about the existing parties as well as the declining importance of degree of awareness of the party's goals and orientation in general, including parties that are known to the citizens as outlined in the chart highlighting citizen knowledge about the political parties. A third of surveyed citizens (66.8%) stated that they were ready to accept the fact that parties with different orientation than theirs may come to power and form the government, while 33.2% stressed that they are not willing to accept that. When citizens were asked to express their opinion on certain parties, their answers showed that readiness to accept the fact that an Islamist party may come to power and form the government was at a low level compared to readiness to accept assumption of power by other parties. A total of 41.3% of the surveyed citizens expressed that they were ready to accept the fact of an Islamist party coming to power and forming the government, while the ratio increased to reach 46.1% of the citizens in the case of leftist parties and jumped to 56.9% in the

case of liberal parties, reaching its maximum of 57.4% in the case of Nasserist parties.

Figure (21)

Egyptians' readiness to accept the fact that parties with different orientation than theirs come to power
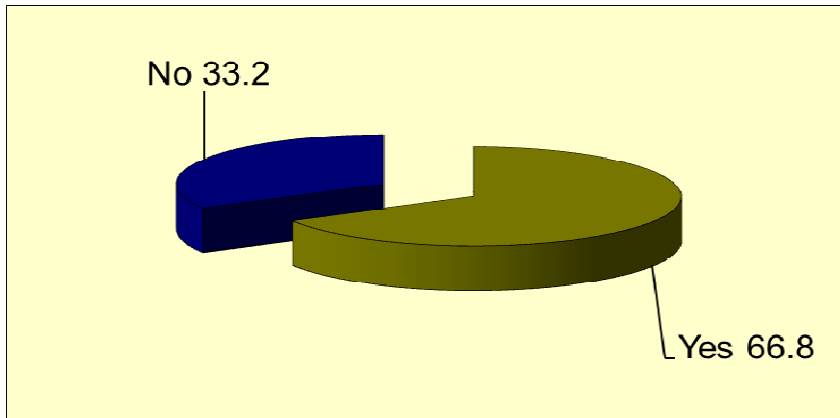

No 33.2
Yes 66.8

Table (20)

Readiness to accept the fact that parties with different orientations get the majority of votes to form the government

	Islamist party	Leftist/Communist party	Liberal party	Nasserist party
Yes	41.3	46.1	56.9	57.4
No	52.4	44.7	35.0	32.8
Not sure	6.2	9.2	8.1	9.8

Table (21)

Knowledge about existing parties and awareness of their goals

Party	Knowledge about existence of the party				Awareness of the party's goals and orientation			
	Automatically knew about its existence	Knew about its existence after reminder	Didn't know about its existence after reminder		High level	Medium level	Low level	Not at all aware
1. Socialist Union Party	12.9	33.2	53.9		2.5	10.2	20.9	66.4
2. The Egyptian Social Democratic Party	5	24.3	70.7		2.2	11.1	18.8	68
3. Al-Wafd Party	46.5	37.2	16.3		8.5	20.8	21	49.7
4. Democratic Front Party	4.2	21.8	74		2.9	9.9	16.6	70.6
5. Justice Party	4.2	20.1	75.7		0.9	9.5	15	74.6
6. Socialist Popular Alliance Party	4.7	21.1	74.2		1.9	9.5	21.5	67
7. Freedom and Justice Party	70.6	22.5	6.9		14.1	15.7	23.7	46.5
8. Al-Wasat Party	18.2	36.2	45.7		5.1	16.8	19.1	59.1
9. Nasserist Party	24	36.3	39.7		7.4	18.2	24.4	50
10. Free Egyptians Party	16.5	32.2	51.2		5.1	13	19.7	62.2
11. Strong Egypt Party	11.6	25.1	63.3		2.3	13.7	18.8	65.3
12. Egypt Freedom Party	3.2	17.3	79.4		1.3	13.8	18.5	66.3
13.Al-Nour Party	57.4	28.3	14.3		9.6	16.4	22.2	51.8

Party	Knowledge about existence of the party				Awareness of the party's goals and orientation			
	Automatically knew about its existence	Knew about its existence after reminder	Didn't know about its existence after reminder		High level	Medium level	Low level	Not at all aware
14. Al-Karama Party	6.3	26.4	67.3		2.2	11.3	21.3	65.2
15. Al-Dostour Party	14.8	37.1	48.1		3.8	10.6	21.2	64.4
16. Building and Development Party	8.1	31.1	60.8		2.9	12.9	20.4	63.8

j. Egyptians and parties

The results we have obtained reveal that the number of Egyptians who are members of political parties or who have at any time joined political parties is limited. Of the surveyed citizens, 4.9% stated that they belong or have belonged to a political party, while 95.1% of the people stated that they are not members of any political party. As for parties to which people belong or have previously belonged, the National Democratic Party came in at first place with a ratio of 34.2%, followed by the Freedom and Justice Party with a ratio of 23.3% and Al-Wafd for a ratio of 20.5%. Indicators on real ratios of party members have shown that 69.2% of the people who had joined political parties have left them, while 30.8% are still members of the parties they joined. This means that current party members form less than one-third or only around 1.5% of the people who stated that they have joined political parties at a certain time.

Figure (22)

Membership of political parties
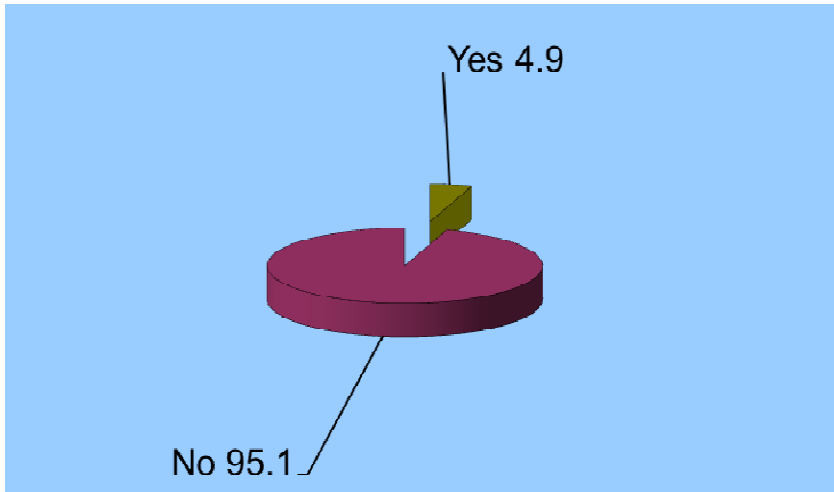
Table (22) Name of the joined party

	Ratio of actual responses
National Democratic Party	34.2
Freedom and Justice Party	23.3
Al-Wafd Party	20.5
Al-Nour Party	8.2
Free Egyptians Party	4.1
Socialist Union Party	2.7
The Socialist Union Party	1.4
The Democratic Party	1.4
Al-Dostour Party	1.4
The Democratic Front	1.4
April 6 Movement	1.4

Figure (23)
Maintaining party membership

Figure (23)
Maintaining party membership
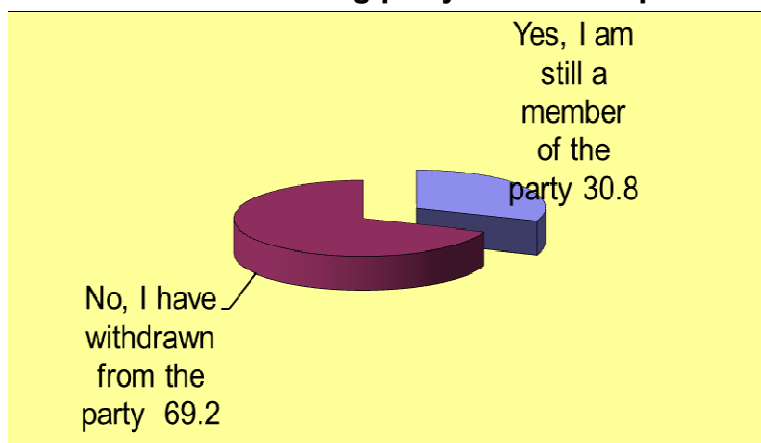
Remarkably, the majority of the people who had withdrawn from the parties they previously joined made the decision in the period following the January 25 revolution. A total of 64.2% of this group stated that they left the parties during the last three years, while 35.8% of the people withdrew between the years 1981 and 2010. As to their reasons for leaving the parties, 34.9% of the people stated that they have left the parties because they were dissolved (which applies to former members of the National Democratic Party). An additional 16.3% of the people left their party because it did not fulfil its promises; 7% left because their party did not possess a program; and another 7% left their parties because they haven't added anything new.

Timing of leaving the party[11]

Timing of leaving the party	
Before the revolution	35.8%
After the revolution	64.2%

[11] -Translation of Figure(24) in the Arabic version of the poll study

Table (23)

Reason for withdrawing from the party

	Ratio of actual responses
The party was dissolved	34.9
The party did not fulfill its promises	16.3
I'm occupied with personal issues	11.6
Nothing new added	7.0
The party does not have a clear program	7.0
The party's policy is not consistent with my goals	7.0
It has killed young people and army officers	2.3
It only serves personal interests	2.3

When we asked the citizens about their position on parties that belong to certain political movements and asked them to express their opinion on certain statements, it was evident that the citizens considerably understood the role of the party as a political organisation. When we discussed the statement "the party is a political organisation that aims at political participation through the parliament", 89% of the surveyed people agreed with it while 11% disagreed. When we asked them their opinion about the statement "the party is a political organisation that aims at political participation through remaining within the opposition", only 69% agreed with the statement while 31% disagreed with it. This means that citizens believe that the main goal of a political party is firstly membership of the parliament, then being a part of the government.

Table (24)

Position on statements related to the party's role as a political organisation

	Agree	Disagree
The party is a political organisation that aims at political participation through the government	72.4	26.7
The party is a political organisation that aims at political participation through the parliament	89	11
The party is a political organisation that aims at political participation through remaining within the opposition	69	31

In an attempt to find out the reasons behind citizens' reluctance to join political parties, we provided the citizens with a list of the most important reasons that are usually mentioned to explain the reluctance to join political parties. A total of 88.4% of them agreed that the failure of a party's programs in dealing with issues of concern to the citizens is the main reason for not joining political parties. The second reason according to 86.2% of the people was the party's inability to influence the course of events. Also, 82.7% stated that insufficiency of the party's organisational abilities is the main reason behind people's reluctance, while the main reason for another 82.7% was the personalization the party suffered from. In addition, only 45.4% agreed with the statement that claimed that the government does not encourage people to join political parties. Finally, 53.4% believed that the fact that religious values were against dividing the nation into parties is the reason for people's reluctance to join parties.

Table (25)

Reasons for not joining political parties

	Agree	Disagree
Parties' programs do not deal with issues essential for the people	88.4	11.6
Some parties depend on personal influence	81.9	18.1
The government does not encourage citizens to join parties	45.4	54.6
The parties haven't influenced the course of events until now	86.2	13.8
Religious values are against dividing the nation into parties and groups	53.4	46.6
Increasing number of parties	70.6	29.4
Previous party experience does not encourage joining new parties	76.3	23.7
Insufficient financial capacities of the parties	60.2	39.8
Parties' insufficient organisational abilities (lack of organisational expertise)	82.7	17.3
Parties are personal parties (dominance of the phenomenon of personal parties)	82.7	17.3
Short period on establishment of the party	75.5	24.5

When we asked the citizens to specify the most important among mentioned reasons for citizens' reluctance to join political parties, the results confirmed the previous orientation. 33.8% of the surveyed citizens stated that the first reason for their reluctance to join parties is the fact that the party is not keen on dealing with issues of concern to the citizens. Another 15.4% of the citizens believed that the main reason behind people's reluctance is inability of the parties to influence the course of events until now, while 0.8% of the people

believed that limited financial capacities of the parties are the reason behind people's reluctance. Another reason expressed by 2.5% of the people was the short period on establishment of the party, which proves that citizens are not convinced with the reasons propagated by the parties to justify the decline in their memberships like insufficient financial capacities and the fact that they were recently established.

Table (26)

Most important reasons behind people's reluctance to join political parties

	Ratio of actual responses
The parties' programs do not focus on issues of concern to the people	33.8
The parties' inability to clearly affect the course of events until now	15.4
Some parties depend on personal influences	12.7
Increasing number of parties	7.7
Parties' insufficient organisational abilities (lack of organisational expertise)	6.7
Parties are personal parties (dominance of the phenomenon of personal parties)	6.5
Previous party experience does not encourage joining new parties	5.8
The government does not encourage citizens to join parties	3.1
Religious values are against dividing the nation into parties and groups	2.9
Short period on establishment of the party	2.5
Insufficient financial capacities of the parties	0.8

The question that arises in the meanwhile is about the reasons that encourage people to join political parties. We asked this question without providing certain choices and we left the citizens to freely express their reasons to join political parties. Of those surveyed, 20.5% stated that they might join a political party that helps in solving people's problems, while 18.9% stated that they would consider joining a party because it serves national interests. Another 12.3% stated the party must represent the citizens' point of view in order for them to join it; 10.3% stressed that the party must be influential; and 8.6% stated that they would join a party if it is keen on achieving social justice.

Table (27)

Main reason encouraging people to join political parties

	Ratio of actual responses
It helps in solving people's problems	20.5
It serves the country's national interests	18.9
It represents the citizens' point of view	12.3
It is a good and influential party	10.3
No particular reason	9.5
Achieving social justice and fulfilling the party's promises	8.6
Providing young people with jobs	7.1
It has a clear program different than other programs	6.2
Integrity	2.7
Stability	1.3
It implements the Islamic Sharia law	1.0
It is characterized by equality between its members	0.5
Other	1.2

In light of the fact that only very limited numbers of citizens join political parties, a question about the possibility to join parties had to be asked. When we asked citizens whether they might consider joining any of the existing political parties, the majority of them (94.3%) stated that they wouldn't consider joining existing parties, while only 3.2% stated that they might consider joining parties. We asked citizens who stated that they might consider joining political parties about the parties they might join, and 30.6% of the people chose Al-Wafd Party. Then came the Free Egyptians Party with a ratio of 22.2%, followed by the Nasserist Party with a ratio of 13.9% and finally Al-Nour Party with a ratio of 8.3%.

Considering joining any of the existing political parties[12]

Considering joining any of the existing political parties	
No	94.3%
Yes	3.2%
Not sure	2.5%

Table (28)

Name of the party you consider joining

	Ratio of actual responses
Al-Wafd Party	30.6
Free Egyptians Party	22.2
Nasserist Party	13.9
Al-Nour Party	8.3
Al-Dostour Party	5.6
The Socialist Union Party	2.8

[12] -Translation of Figure (26) in the Arabic version of the poll study

	Ratio of actual responses
Freedom and Justice Party	2.8
A party that belongs to the armed forces	2.8
Justice Party	2.8
None	2.8
Congress Party	2.8
Tamarod Movement	2.8

The fact that political parties are not keen on communication with the people explains why only limited numbers of people join political parties. We asked citizens if they have been invited to join any of the existing parties and the majority (88.8%) stated that they haven't been invited to join any of the existing political parties, while 11.2% of stated that they have been invited to join parties. Remarkably, people who have been invited to join parties were invited by the Freedom and Justice Party and Al-Nour Party. Of the people invited to join parties, 61.5% were invited by the Freedom and Justice Party while 14.3% were invited by Al-Nour Party. If we add people who were invited by Al-Wasat Party and Strong Egypt Party, it is obvious that Islamist parties are the most active parties, as 78.8% of Egyptians have received invitations to join parties of the Islamist movement. Parties of the civil movement, on the contrary, have been characterized by leniency and inactivity, as less of one-quarter of Egyptians have been invited to join parties of the civil movement; under them comes Al-Wafd Party with a ratio of 8.7%, followed by the Free Egyptians Party with a ratio of 5%.

Figure (27)

Have you been invited to join any of the existing political parties?
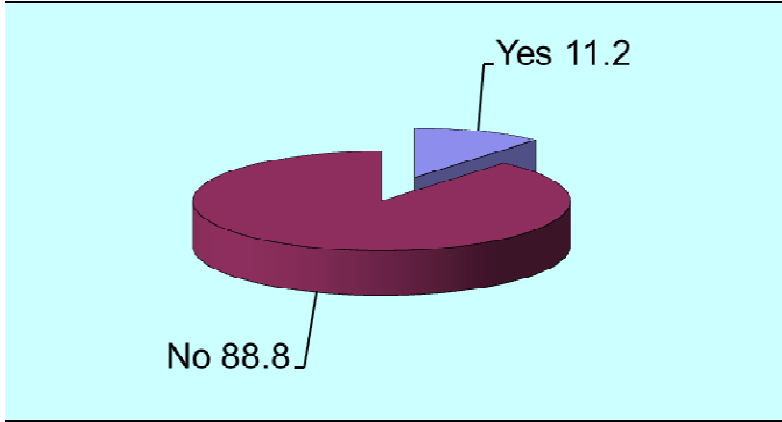
Table (29)

Parties that invited people to join them

	Ratio of actual responses
Freedom and Justice Party	61.5
Al-Nour Party	14.3
Al-Wafd Party	8.7
The National Democratic Party	1.2
Al-Wasat Party	1.2
Nasserist Party	1.2
April 6 Movement	1.2
Strong Egypt Party	1.2
National Progressive Unionist Party	0.6
Al-Ghad Al-Youm Party	0.6
Al-Dostour Party	0.6

	Ratio of actual responses
The Egyptian Popular Current	0.6
Justice Party	0.6
Justice and Equality Party	0.6
Egypt is My Country Front	0.6
Free Egyptians Party	5.0

The problems of parties are actually not limited to the small number of members but are also about the parties' inability to organise events and activities to attract citizens to join them. When we asked the citizens if they have taken part in any of the events or activities organised by political parties, 93.6% of them stated that they have never taken part in events or activities organised by parties, while only 3.7% have taken part in them.

Participation in event or activity called for by a political party[13]

Participation in event or activity called for by a political party	
Yes	3.7
No	96.3

With regard to the nature of the activities and events they have taken part in, they were mainly conferences and seminars. Of the surveyed people, 30.6% stated that they have taken part in the seminars and conferences organised by some political parties in addition to 24.5% who have participated in educational conferences about Egypt after the revolution. This means that 55.1% of the people who have taken part in activities organised by political parties have attended seminars and party conferences. Only 8.2% responded to

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[13] -Translation of Figure (28) in the Arabic version of the poll study

invitations for charity and humanitarian work in addition to 2% who have taken part in medical convoys. On the other hand, 6.1% stated that they have taken part in "No to the constitution" events as well as the "Legitimacy and Sharia" million-man marches called for by Islamist movements. This can be confirmed when taking the party that has called for the event into consideration. Of the people who have taken part in these activities, 55.7% stated that they were invited by an Islamist party (42.3% invited by the Freedom and Justice Party, 11.5% by Al-Nour Party and 1.9% by the National Alliance Supporting Legitimacy). As for civil parties, Al-Wafd Party comes out on top of parties that have invited people to take part in its activities with a ratio of 17.3%, followed by the Free Egyptians Party with a ratio of 7.7% as well as the National Democratic Party with a ratio of 5.8%.

Table (30)

Activities people have participated in

	Ratio of actual responses
Seminars and conferences	30.6
Educational conferences about Egypt after the revolution	24.5
During the elections	10.2
Charity and humanitarian work	8.2
To protest against the regime on June 30	4.1
"Legitimacy and Sharia" million-man marches	4.1
Protests to overthrow the Muslim Brotherhood	2.0
Second Mohammad Mahmoud incidents	2.0
Sports program	2.0
"No to the constitution" events	2.0
March	2.0

	Ratio of actual responses
To hang banners for the party	2.0
Teaching people how to memorize the Quran	2.0
Medical convoys	2.0
Interaction with the citizens and participation in municipality events	2.0

Table (31)

The party organising the event or the activity

	Ratio of actual responses
Freedom and Justice Party	42.3
Al-Wafd Party	17.3
Al-Nour Party	11.5
Free Egyptians Party	7.7
National Democratic Party	5.8
Salvation Front	1.9
National Progressive Unionist Party	1.9
Nasserist Party	1.9
Socialist Union Party	1.9
Al-Dostour Party	1.9
Strong Egypt Party	1.9
National Alliance Supporting Legitimacy	1.9
April 6 Movement	1.9

k. Egyptians and the future of political parties

Despite the large number of political parties on the current scene (which is seen by 91.9% of the people as too large), the results show that Egyptians are not credibly optimistic about the future role of political parties in Egypt's political life. A total of 41.2% of people believe that the future role of political parties in the political life will be better than their current role; 37.5% of the people believe that parties will continue to play the same role in the future, while 21.3% think that parties' future role will be worse than their current one. The majority of surveyed Egyptians (80.6%) think that parties should be included in the future formation of the government while believing that existing parties are not qualified for this role. This is why their pessimism about the future role of political parties can be understood and justified.

Future of parties' role in the political life[14]

Future of parties' role in the political life	
Bigger than the current role	41.2%
The same as current role	37.5%
Worse than current role	21.3%

Table (32)

Position on the possibility of parties playing a significant role in the formation of the government

	Ratio of actual responses
Yes, a major role	42.9
Yes, a subsidiary role	37.7
No, I prefer that they don't play a role in the formation of the government	19.3

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[14] -Translation of Figure (29) in the Arabic version of the poll study

Position from the number of current political parties in Egypt[15]

Position on the number of current political parties in Egypt	
Large	91.9%
Suitable	7.4%
Small	0.7%

Within this context, 80.7% of the citizens agreed on the importance of merging existing parties to form bigger political parties, while 67% agreed on the importance of merging existing parties to form alliances or electoral coalitions. This might enable political parties to play the role assigned to them or the role citizens demand them to play, which are roles they cannot play in their current condition. When we asked the citizens about the most important issue they think parties should focus on, 86.8% of them stated that parties should focus on reform and improvement of economic conditions, 1.6% stated that parties should focus on social reforms and 11.7% said that parties should focus on political issues and freedom demands.

Table (33)

Position from merging of parties

	Yes	No
Position on merging parties to form bigger ones	80.7	19.3
Position on merging parties to form coalitions/electoral alliances	67.0	33.0

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[15] - Translation of Figure (30) in the Arabic version of the poll study

Table (34)

Issues parties should focus on

	Ratio of actual responses
To focus on reforms and Economic improvements	86.8
To focus on reforms and political improvements	8.6
A program demanding more freedom	3.1
To focus on social reforms	1.6

Table (35)

The main role parliament members should play

	Ratio of actual responses
Providing citizens with services	84.9
Overseeing the government	6.8
Discussing and suggesting legislation	5.3
Combating corruption	2.6
Financial control on performance of government bodies	0.2
Submitting suggestions to solve the country's problems	0.1
Pricing	0.1
Raising salaries	0.1

Communication with a member of the parliament[16]

Communication with a member of the parliament	
No, it hasn't taken place	84.8%
Yes, face to face	13.6%
Yes, through phone	1.1%
Yes, through letters and correspndances	0.4%

Figure (32)

Response of parliament members to demands of the people of the district
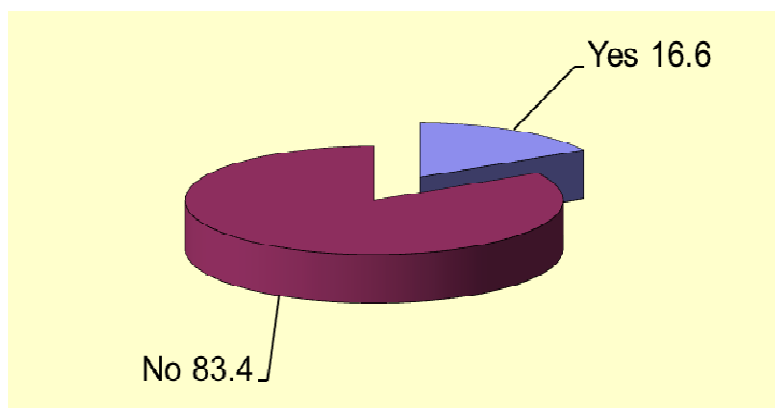
Finally, we asked citizens to express their opinion on some statements and whether they agree with them or not, and we have obtained the following results:

Of the surveyed citizens, 68.6% stated that "the government must help needy people, even if this means increasing debts" while 31.4% were against this. Almost all of the citizens (99.4%) agreed that "the government should exert more effort to reduce prices of medical services and to make them easier to access" while 0.6% disagreed with that. Also, 75.8% of the citizens agreed that "more government controls on work will be more harmful than useful" while 24.2% of them disagreed with this statement.

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[16] -Translation of Figure (31) in the Arabic version of the poll study

The majority of the citizens (96.2%) agreed that "trade unions are essential to protect workers" while 3.8% disagreed. In addition, 70.6% agreed on the statement regarding "poor people being more dependent on government aid programs" while 29.4% disagreed with it; 90.7% agreed that "business companies make big profits" while 19.3% disagreed; 70.1% of the citizens agreed with the statement saying that "it is normal for men to work outside their homes while women work inside the house" while 29.9% disagreed; 95.6% agreed with the statement that stressed that "it is people's natural right to freely choose what suits them best regardless of any other considerations" while 4.4% disagreed with it.

With regard to the environment, 98.3% of the people agreed with the statement that "stressed the need for stricter laws and systems to protect the environment" while 1.7% disagreed with it.

Table (36)
Egyptians' position from some general statements

The statements	Fully agree	Probably agree	Probably disagree	Fully disagree
1.The government must help needy people, even if this means increasing debts.	55.6	13	11.8	19.6
2. The government should exert more effort to reduce prices of medical services and to make them easier to access.	95	4.4	0.5	0.1
3. More government controls on work will be more harmful than useful.	55.3	20.5	10.1	14.1
4. Trade unions are essential to protect workers.	78.7	17.5	2.5	1.3
5. Poor people are more	50.7	19.9	11.9	17.5

The statements	Fully agree	Probably agree	Probably disagree	Fully disagree
dependent on government aid programs.				
6. Business companies make big profits.	77	13.7	4.3	5
7. It is normal for men to work outside their homes while women work inside the house.	60.2	9.9	12.6	17.2
8. It is people's natural right to freely choose what suits them best regardless of any other considerations.	81	14.6	2.7	1.7
9. Stricter laws and systems are needed to protect the environment.	84.6	13.7	1.1	0.6

Annex 1Questionnaire

Citizens orientations regarding

Political Participation and Political Parties

Data in the questionnaire is confidential and is not used except in scientific research purposes according to the decision of the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics

No.(1516)

Cairo 2013

Form no.				

Introductory data

1. Province		|__||__|
2. district/centre		|__||__|
3. Village		|__||__|
4. Urban / Rural:		|__||__|
5. Family serial number		|__||__|
6. Number of family members		|__||__|
7. Constituency		|__||__|

Researcher's   Name………………Date: 2011 /   /
Researcher's Number |__|__|

Observer's   Name………………Date: 2011 /   /
Observer's   Number ||__|__|

Coder's   Name………………Date: 2011 /   /   Coder's
Number ||__|__|

Data   Enterer's   Name………………Date: 2011 /   /   Data
Enterer's   Number ||__|__|

Good morning/ Good afternoon, I am from ………………………..centre. We are conducting a field study regarding (political parties) and I would like to assure you that all information collected in this form is for academic, statistical purposes only and not for any other purpose.

Choosing the

           1-Male   2- Female

Gender:

Number	Family members age 18 and more in descending order	Family serial number														
Individual		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2		2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
3		3	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1
4		4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2
5		5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
6		6	5	4	3	2	1	6	5	4	3	2	1	6	5	4

Note: Researcher, please place a circle O around the number of the answer/s that apply

101	What are the most important and critical issues that you want the government to take care of? (Researcher, don't just read the options; write down what the research subject mentions according to the categories listed below. (Researcher: 3 answers)

1- Unemployment among youth	
2- Fighting corruption	
3- Democratic corrections	
4- Providing new jobs	
5- Economic growth	
6- Security and stability	|__||__|
7- Educational corrections	|__||__|
8- Controlling the pricing of essential goods	|__||__|
9- Continuing the process of narrowing and terminating the remains of the old regimen	

101	What are the most important and critical issues that you want the government to take care of? (Researcher, don't just read the options; write down what the research subject mentions according to the categories listed below. (Researcher: 3 answers)	
10- Increasing income		
11- Attaining social justice		
12- Achieving transactional justice		
13- Reform of the justice system		
14- Reform of the social and health systems		
15- Sustaining external support		
16- Developing the public transportation network		
17- Ending terrorism		
11- Other, please mention ( )		
96- I don't know		
97- Refused to answer		

102	Did you vote in the last parliamentary elections?	
1-Yes		
2-No (Move to Q.106)		|__||__
96- I don't know (Move to Q.106)		
97- Refused to answer (Move to 106)		

103	Whom did you vote for?	
1-List		|__||__|
2-Individual		|__||__|
96- I don't know		
97- Refused to answer		

104	What is the main reason that made you vote for a certain list?	
It contained candidates who I trust		|__||__|
Because it was from a political wing I prefer		|__||__|
Because I was convinced of its program		
Because it didn't contain members from the former regimen		
Because it symbolized the revolution		
Other, please mention ( )		
96. I don't know		
97. Refused to answer		

105	What is the main reason that made you vote for a certain candidate?	
Integrity		|__||__|
His charity work		|__||__|
He's a relative		
He belongs to my neighbourhood		
His political wing		
He has many supporters		
Because he wasn't part of the former regimen		
Other, p ( )		
96. I don't know		
97. Refused to answer		

106	What do you expect regarding the next parliamentary elections?	
1- Much better than the previous parliamentary elections.		|__||__|
2- Slightly better than the previous parliamentary elections.		|__||__|
3- Like the former parliamentary elections		
4- Slightly worse than the previous parliamentary elections.		
5- Much worse than the previous parliamentary elections.		
96. I don't know		
97. Refused to answer		
107	Will you participate in the next elections?	
1-I will definitely participate		|__||__|
2- Most Probably I will participate		|__||__|
3- Most Probably I will not participate (move to Q.112)		

4- I will definitely will not participate (move to Q.112)	
96. I don't know /didn't decide yet *don't read (move to Q.112)	
97. Refused to answer *don't read (move to Q.112)	

108	Which of the following political trends will you probably give your voice to? Will you probably vote for a candidate from:	
1-The leftist/communist wing		|_|_|_|
2- The Islamist wing		|_|_|_|
3-Liberal Wing		
4- Nasserist wing		
5- None *don't read		
6- Other, specify ( )		
96. I don't know *don't read		
97. Refused to answer *don't read		

109	What is the political party that you intend to vote for?	
--		|_|_|_| |_|_|_|

110	What are the factors that affect your decision to vote for a certain party?	V.Imp	Rel. Imp	Rel. Not imp	Not Imp	Don't know	Refuse answer	
1-The party has a clear programme		1	2	3	4	96	97	||_|
2-What I hear about the party in the media		1	2	3	4	96	97	||_|
3-My friends and family's preference of the party		1	2	3	4	96	97	||_|
4-The party expresses my concern		1	2	3	4	96	97	||_|
5-The party reflects the revolution		1	2	3	4	96	97	||_|
6-Confidence in the party's ability to implement its promises		1	2	3	4	96	97	||_|
7-The party's ability to		1	2	3	4	96	97	||_|

110	What are the factors that affect your decision to vote for a certain party?	V.Imp	Rel. Imp	Rel. Not imp	Not Imp	Don't know	Refuse answer	
	provide the citizens with direct services							
	8- The party has a plan to develop my neighbourhood	1	2	3	4	96	97	‖__‖
	9-The party has policies to eliminate unemployment	1	2	3	4	96	97	‖__‖
	10-The party has a vision to develop education	1	2	3	4	96	97	‖__‖
	11-The party has integrity	1	2	3	4	96	97	‖__‖
	12-The party has the ability to change	1	2	3	4	96	97	‖__‖
	13-The party has an admirable and trustworthy leadership	1	2	3	4	96	97	‖__‖
	14-The party has a clear economic policy	1	2	3	4	96	97	‖__‖
	15-The party's ability to preserve the status quo	1	2	3	4	96	97	‖__‖
	16-Other, please mention ( )	1	2	3	4	96	97	‖__‖
	96-I don't know	1	2	3	4	96	97	‖__‖
	97-Refused to answer	1	2	3	4	96	97	‖__‖

111	According to your point of view, which of the above reasons in Q.110 is the most important?
-- --	｜__‖__｜ ｜__‖__｜

112	Why won't you participate in the upcoming elections?
-- --	｜__‖__｜ ｜__‖__｜

2. Data of the political parties

201	From your point of view, what is the role that the political parties must play?
	Representing Citizens
	Questioning the government
	Legislative Scrutiny in Parliament
	Presenting services to the citizens
	96. I don't know
	97. Refused to answer

202	From your point of view, what is the importance of the party's role in the following:							
		Very important	Important to an extent	Unimportant to an extent	Not important	I don't know	Refused to answer	
	Representing citizens	1	2	3	4	96	97	|__|
	Questioning the government	1	2	3	4	96	97	|__|
	Legislative Scrutiny	1	2	3	4	96	97	|__|
	Presenting services to the citizens	1	2	3	4	96	97	|__|
	Cooperating with other political parties within the parliament	1	2	3	4	96	97	|__|

203	To what extent do you see that political parties are effective in the political process in Egypt?	Very effective Effective to an extent Not effective to an extent Not effective at all 96. I don't know (Don't read) 97.Refused to answer	|__|
204	What is the most important source by which you were able to recognize different political Parties and wings in Egypt? (Read) One answer( )	Local television Private Egyptian satellite channels Arab news satellite channels Foreign news satellite channels Radio Press Local press Internet Text messages SMS. Other: Specify I don't know (Don't read) Refused to answer (Don't read)	|__||__|
205	Do you believe that the practice of the political parties in Egypt up until now was:	1.Very successful 2. Fairly successful 3. Slightly successful 4. Was not successful at all .96I don't know (Don't read) .97Refused to answer (Don't read)	|__|

206	In your opinion, how important is it for the party to have a group of clear policies expressed in its program?	1-Very important 2-Important to an 3-Unimportant to an extent 4-Not important 5-I don't know 6-Refused to answer	|__|

208	Can you mention the names of the political parties that you are aware of?									
Party	Knowledge about existence of the party					Whoever has known the name of the party automatically or after reminding, to what extent do you know the goals and orientation of the party?				
	Automatically knew about its existence	Knew about its existence after reminder	Didn't know about its existence after reminder			High level	Medium level	Low level	Not aware at all	
1. Socialist Union Party	1	2	96	|__||__|		1	2	3	4	|__||__|
2. The Egyptian Social Democratic Party	1	2	96	|__||__|		1	2	3	4	|__||__|
3. Al-Wafd Party	1	2	96	|__||__|		1	2	3	4	|__||__|
4. Democratic Front Party	1	2	96	|__||__|		1	2	3	4	|__||__|
5. Justice Party	1	2	96	|__||__|		1	2	3	4	|__||__|
6. Socialist Popular Alliance	1	2	96	|__||__|		1	2	3	4	|__||__|

208	Can you mention the names of the political parties that you are aware of?									
Party										
7. Freedom and Justice Party	1	2	96	|__||__|		1	2	3	4	|__||__|
8. Al-Wasat Party	1	2	96	|__||__|		1	2	3	4	|__||__|
9. Nasserist Party	1	2	96	|__||__|		1	2	3	4	|__||__|
10. Free Egyptians Party	1	2	96	|__||__|		1	2	3	4	|__||__|
11. Strong Egypt Party	1	2	96	|__||__|		1	2	3	4	|__||__|
12. Egypt Freedom Party	1	2	96	|__||__|		1	2	3	4	|__||__|
13. Al-Nour Party	1	2	96	|__||__|		1	2	3	4	|__||__|
14. Al-Karama Party	1	2	96	|__||__|		1	2	3	4	|__||__|
15. Al-Dostour Party	1	2	96	|__||__|		1	2	3	4	|__||__|
16. Building and Development Party	1	2	96	|__||__|		1	2	3	4	|__||__|
Other										
Other										
Other										

209	Which of the existing parties do you feel best represents your political, social, and economic development aspirations?	
	1-Party Name:…………….. 00-No one (don't read) 96-I don't know (don't read) 97-Refused to answer (don't read) 98-Not concerned (don't read)	

210	Do you think that the political parties in Egypt (at the moment) are able to influence the government's decisions in line with the orientations and objectives of these parties?

	1-Capable in all cases 2-Capable in some cases 3-Incapable in all cases 96-I do not know (do 97-Refused to answer (do not read)	|_|_|

211	Do you think that the political parties in Egypt are able to influence the parliament in line with the orientations and objectives of these parties?

	1-Capable in all cases 2-Capable in some cases 3-Incapable in all cases 96-I do not know (do not read) 97-Refused to answer (do not read)	|_|_|

212	Generally, do you think that the political parties in Egypt are working to serve the people, or to serve their own leaders' agendas?

1- Serve people 2- Serve their leaders' agendas 96-I don't know (Don't read) 97-Refused to answer (Don't read)	|__|

213	In your opinion, are any of the present Egyptian political parties trustworthy to form the government?

1- Yes 2- No (move to 96-I don't know *don't read (move to 97-Refused to answer *don't read (move to Q.215)	|__|

214	Name the political party that you think is trustworthy to form the government in Egypt

_____ _	__||__|

215	As a matter of principle, do you personally accept that a party that you oppose and who has won the majority of the parliament seats, form the government?

1-Yes 2-No 96-I don't know (Don't read) 97-Refused to answer (Don't read)	|__|

216		As a matter of principle, do you personally accept that an "Islamic political party," that won the majority of parliamentary votes through elections, could form the government?					
		Yes	No	Not sure	I don't know (Don't read)	Refused to answer (Don't read)	
1	Islamic political party	1	2	3	96	97	|__|
2	Leftist political party (communist)	1	2	3	96	97	|__|
3	Liberal political party	1	2	3	96	97	|__|
4	Nasserist Party						

217	Do you agree or disagree on each the following sentences: 'The political party is a political organization that aims to participate politically through:"				
	Agree	Disagree	I don't know (Don't read)	Refused to answer (Don't read)	
The government	1	2	96	97	|__|
The parliament	1	2	96	97	|__|
Staying in opposition	1	2	96	97	|__|

218	The following are some of the reasons declared by those who are reluctant to join political parties; please tell me if you agree or disagree with these reasons:					
Reasons		Agree	Disag-ree	I don't know (Don't read)	Refused to answer (Don't read)	
1.The political party's programs do not solve the people's essential issues		1	2	96	97	|__|
2. The dependence of some political parties on personal power and relations		1	2	96	97	|__|
3.The Government does not encourage joining political parties		1	2	96	97	|__|
4.The absence of their effect on the current political situation		1	2	96	97	|__|
5.The religious values that oppose dividing the nation into parties and groups		1	2	96	97	|__|
6.The increasing number of political parties		1	2	96	97	_|
7. Previous experience does not encourage to join the party		1	2	96	97	|__|
8. Insufficient financial capacity of a		1	2	96	97	|__|

218	The following are some of the reasons declared by those who are reluctant to join political parties; please tell me if you agree or disagree with these reasons:					
notch in August						
9. Insufficient organizational capacity of a notch in August (lack of organizational expertise)	1	2	96	97	|__|
10. Parties tend to be personal parties (the phenomenon of personally controlled parties)	1	2	96	97	|__|
11. The short time that has passed since the establishment of political parties	1	2	96	97	|__|
Other: specify……………….					|__||__|

219	In your opinion, which of the reasons (from question 219) is the most important reason for the reluctance of people to join political parties?	Record the number of the answer in question No. 218	|__||__|

220	Have you been invited to join any established political party?

	1-Yes 2-No　　　　　(move to Q.225) 97-Refused to answer (don't read)　(move to Q.225)	|__|

221	What is the name of the party you have joined?	
	The name of the party:……………………..	|__|

222	Are you still a member in that party?	
	1-Yes 2-No　　　　　(move to Q.225) 97-Refused to answer (don't read)　(move to Q.225)	|__|

223	When did you quit the party?	--	|__||__|

224	Why did you quit the party?	Most Imp. Reason: -- ----------------------	||__| |__

225	What is the main reason of making you join a certain party?	Most Imp. Reason: ---	|__||__|

226	Do you consider joining	1-Yes	|__||__|

	any of the current political parties?	2- No (move to Q.228) 5- Not sure *don't read (move to Q.228) 96- Not concerned *don't read (move to Q.228) 97-Refuse to answer *don't read (move to Q.228)	

227	What is the name of the party that you think about joining it?	--	|__||__|

228	During the past three years, have you been invited to join any established political party?	
	1-Yes 2-No (move to Q.230) 97-Refused to answer (move to Q230) *don't read	|__|

229	To which party have you been invited to join?	
	The party I was invited to join:……………………..	|__||__|

230	Have you ever participated in any activity at your political party?	
	1-Yes 2-No (move to Q.233) 97-Refused to answer *don't read (move to Q.233)	|__|

231232	What is the activity? Which party organized this activity?	
	The activity:…………….. The party that has organized the activity:………………	|__||__|

233	What do you think the role of political parties in the future of the political life will be?	
	1-Greater than it is now 2-Will remain as it is now 3-Worse than it is now 96-I do not know *do not read 97-Refused to answer *do not read	|__|

234	Do you think that the political parties should have an active role in the formation of the governemnt?	
	1-Yes, major role 2-Yes, secondary role 3-No, I am not pro that 96-I do not know *do not read 97-Refused to answer *do not read	|__|

235	There are more than 70 political parties in Egypt; do you think that this number is:

	1-Large 2-Appropriate 3-Few 96-I do not know *don't read 97-Refused to answer *don't read	|_|_|

236		Are you with merging these parties to form larger parties?				
		Yes	No	I don't know (Don't read)	Refused to answer (Don't read)	
1-Merge parties to form a bigger one		1	2	96	97	|_|_|
2-Merge parties to form an coalition/electoral aliances		1	2	96	97	|_|_|

237	In your opinion, what are the most important two issues that parties should focus on?	
	1-Economic reform and improvement 2-Political reform and improvement 3-Programs that call for more freedom 4-Social reforms 96-I do not know *do not read 97-Refused to answer *do not read	|_|_
_	_	

238	In your opinion, what are the most important roles that must be carried out by a member of the Parliament?	
1-Provide services to citizens 2-Discuss and propose legislation 3-Observing and questioning the government 4-Fight corruption 5-Financial control of the performance of government institutions 6-Other 96-I do not know (do not read) 97-Refused to answer (do not read)		|_| |_|

233	Have you ever communicated with a member of the parliament?	
	1-Yes, through a personal interview 2-Yes, by phone 3-Yes, by sending letters 4-Other 96-I do not know (do not read) 97-Refused to answer (do not read)	|_| |_|

239	Do the members of the parliament in your district respond to the demands of the people?	
	1. Yes 2. No 96. I do not know 97. Refused to answer	|_||_|

240	I will read you a series of statements, please let me know if you agree completely, often, often not OK, not OK at all, on all of them						
Phrases	Quite OK	OK often	Often not OK	Absolutely not OK	I do not know (Do not read)	Refused to answer (Do not read)	
1. The government should help people in need even if it means increasing the debt.	1	2	3	4	96	97	|__|
2. The government should do more to make health services cheaper and easier to access	1	2	3	4	96	97	|__|
3. The more the government controls businesses, the more harm it will usually cause	1	2	3	4	96	97	|__|
4. Labour unions are necessary to protect workers	1	2	3	4	96	97	|__|

240		I will read you a series of statements, please let me know if you agree completely, often, often not OK, not OK at all, on all of them					
5. Poor people often become dependent on government aid programs	1	2	3	4	96	97	|__|
6. Businesses make a lot of profit	1	2	3	4	96	97	|__|
7. It is natural for a man to work outside the home and a women to work inside the home	1	2	3	4	96	97	|__|
8. Regardless of any other matter, the freedom of individuals to choose what suits them in their lives is a natural right	1	2	3	4	96	97	|__|
9. There is a need for laws and stricter regulations to protect the environment	1	2	3	4	96	97	|__|

Demographic data		
1	Age:	|__||__|
2	Type: 1. Male 2. Female	|__||__|
3	The social status: 1. Single 2. Engaged 3. Married 4. Divorced 5. Widower 6. Separated	|__||__|
4	Education Level: 1. Illiterate 2. Primary 3. Preparatory /Basic 4. Secondary 5.Intermediate Diploma 7. Bachelor 7. Higher Diploma 8. Masters 9. Doctorate	|__||__|
5	Do you work? 1. Yes 2. No	|__||__|
6	Industry: 1. Public 2. Private 3. Other	|__||__|
7	Primary Occupation:	|__||__|

8	What is the average monthly income in Egyptian pounds? One answer: (Income includes all wages, salaries, rent compensations, etc.)	
200 Egyptian Pounds	1	
201-500 Egyptian Pounds	2	
501-1000 Egyptian Pounds	3	
1001-2000 Egyptian Pounds	4	
2001-5000 Egyptian Pounds	5	
More than 5000 Egyptian Pounds	6	

10	What is the average monthly primary income in Egyptian pounds? One answer: (Income includes all wages, salaries, rent compensation, etc.)	
200 Egyptian Pounds	1	
201-500 Egyptian Pounds	2	
501-1000 Egyptian Pounds	3	
1001-2000 Egyptian Pounds	5	
2001-5000 Egyptian Pounds	6	
More than 5000 Egyptian Pounds	7	

Annex 2 Methodology

First: Methodological report

1: Sample design

The sample included in this research is a national cluster and class sample of multiple stages representing the different segments of Egyptian society in the age group above 18 years. A cluster sample of multiple stages and classes covering 1500 cases has been chosen to meet the following conditions:

A. Representation of all Egyptian governorates except for a number of border governorates (North and South Sinai, MersaMatrouh, Al-Wadi al-Gadid, Red Sea in addition to the city of Luxor) whose population does not exceed 2% of the total Egyptian population. The decision to exclude a number of border governorates from the research was aimed at reducing costs and time and was based on current security considerations.

B. The representation rate of each governorate in the sample equals the percentage of its population in the targeted age group as part of Egypt's total population in the same age group.

C. The cases of each governorate included in the sample were distributed between urban and rural areas in proportion to the distribution of population between these two categories in the different governorates.

These conditions have been met through the design and selection process of the sample. The sampling unit used in this research is the areal plot in rural and urban areas and these plots were randomly chosen for the research with the help of the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics. After that, a uniform random selection process was conducted to choose families included in the sample of each sampling unit (chosen from a list of all families in the sampling unit provided by the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics) so that each areal plot was represented by 15 families.

Table (1)

Sample distribution of the different governorates

Governorate	Number
Cairo	165
Alexandria	90
Port Said	15
Suez	15
Damietta	15
Daqahliya	105
Al-Sharqiya	120
Al-Qalyoubiya	75
Kafr el-Sheikh	60
Al-Gharbiya	75
Al-Monoufiya	75
Al-Beheira	90
Ismailiya	30
Giza	75
Beni Suef	75
Fayyoum	60
Menya	90
Assiout	75
Sohag	105
Qena	60
Assuan	30
Total	1500

Table (2)

Sample distribution of the different districts

District	Number
Cairo 1	45
Cairo 2	45
Cairo 3	30
Cairo 4	30
Giza 1	30
Giza 2	45
Al-Qalyoubiya 1	15
Al-Qalyoubiya 2	60
Al-Sharqiya 1	60
Al-Sharqiya 2	60
Port Said	15
Suez	15
Ismailiya	45
Fayyoum 1	30
Fayyoum 2	30
Daqahliya 1	75
Daqahliya 3	30
Kafr el-Sheikh 1	45
Kafr el-Sheikh 2	15
Sohag 1	75
Sohag 2	30

District	Number
Assiout 1	60
Assiout 2	15
Menya 1	75
Al-Beheira 1	75
Al-Beheira 2	15
Damietta	30
Alexandria 1	60
Alexandria 2	30
Beni Suef 1	45
Beni Suef 2	15
Al-Gharbiya 1	30
Al-Gharbiya 2	60
Al-Monoufiya 1	30
Al-Monoufiya 2	45
Qena 1	30
Qena 2	30
Assuan	30
Total	1500

2: Training

Thirty-two efficient field researchers who have previously worked with us on similar research have been chosen for this research, in addition to eight supervisors. The selected team (forty researchers

and supervisors) took part in a training program held on December 16, 2013. The training program consisted of the following stages:

1. Introduction to the idea of the research and the concepts it is based on; reading and discussing the different questions of the questionnaire
2. Formation of the field research team and assigning tasks to each team

The training program was very useful for the field researchers and enabled them to understand the concepts on which the research is based and to relate them to the social and cultural facts characterizing Egyptian society. It was also very helpful in developing standardized methods to ask the different questions in order to avoid disparities resulting from differences in the researchers' methods and skills.

3: Main phase data collection

All data collected as part of this research was collected through personal interviews in all governorates included in the implementation process. Researchers were trained to use the attached table as a tool to choose individuals to interview within each family, which is a scientific way to guarantee that all genders, ages and people from different educational backgrounds are represented in the sample in a uniform and random way. This method was applied during the period of December 19 - 29, 2013 by research teams consisting of four researchers plus a field supervisor.

Under the directives of the main research team and the field supervisors, researchers headed to the residences of selected families, introduced themselves to the people living there, and determined whether any member of the family met the required conditions. Whenever an individual was chosen to be interviewed, the researcher started asking the questions and recording the received answers in the designated place on the questionnaire.

Number of the Individual	Family members aged 18 years and above starting with the older members	Family serial number														
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2		2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
3		3	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1
4		4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2
5		5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
6		6	5	4	3	2	1	6	5	4	3	2	1	6	5	4
7		7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7
8		8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	8	7	6	5	4	3	2
9		9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	9	8	7	6	5	4
10		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	10	9	8	7	6

4: Data processing

A. Desk audit and data encoding:

The desk audit team was responsible for auditing the questionnaires arriving from the field, focusing on auditing data consistency and completeness. After that, the encoding process started

by allocating the best cadres with previous experience in data encoding.

B. Data entry and audit:

This stage included a number of steps:

1. Developing data entry and audit programs; training of data entry personnel
2. Auditing data entry for completeness and guaranteeing that encoded values fall within the correct range
3. After preparation of the clean data file, supervisors overseeing the study studied and reviewed the frequency tables designed for all variables

Second: Basic Results

1. Demographic data of the sample

a.Age and gender

As previously mentioned, the sample of the poll consisted of 1500 individuals who were randomly chosen. Of the sample, 50.7% were males and 49.3% were females. As for the ages of people included in the sample, the age group between 18 and 30 years formed the majority with 30%, followed by the age group between 31 and 40 years, which accounted for 23.5%. Then came the age group between 41 and 50 years with a ratio of 19.1%; the age group between 51 and 60 years that formed 15.2%; and finally the age group over 60 years which accounted for 12.1%.
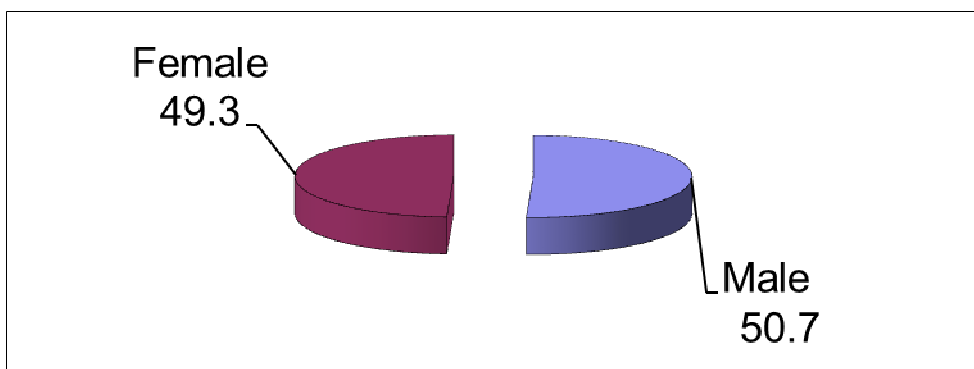
Shape (1)Gender

Age

Age	
18-30 years	30%
31-40 years	23.5%
41-50 years	19.1%
51-60 years	15.2%
Older than 60 years	12.1%

b. Marital status

With regard to the marital status of the sample's individuals, the majority of them were married, accounting for 73.7% of all individuals, while unmarried individuals (engaged/single) accounted for 15.6% and widows 9.6%.

Table (3)

Marital status

	Ratio of actual responses
Single	13.0
Engaged	2.6
Married	73.7
Divorced	0.8
Widow	9.6
Separated	0.4

c. Level of education

With regard to the level of education of the sample's individuals, the majority of them were illiterate people or people who have only passed their primary education; this group accounted for

32.9% of the total number of individuals. Then came the category of people who hold an intermediate diploma, with a ratio of 31.4%, followed by people who hold a bachelor's degree or higher, with a ratio of 21.2%, and finally people who hold a high school certificate or less (preparatory and high school), who accounted for 14.5%.

Table of Figure (3)

Level of education

Level of education	
Illiterate/literate	23.4%
Primary	9.5%
Preparatory/ basic	8.6%
High school	5.9%
Intermediate diploma	31.4%
Bachelor's degree	20.8%
Master's degree	0.2%
Ph.D.	0.2%

d. Employment status

With regard to employment status, 45% of the sample's individuals stated that they are employed while 55% stated that they are currently unemployed. The majority of the employed people were working in the private sector, accounting for 67.8%, while 32.2% worked in the public sector.
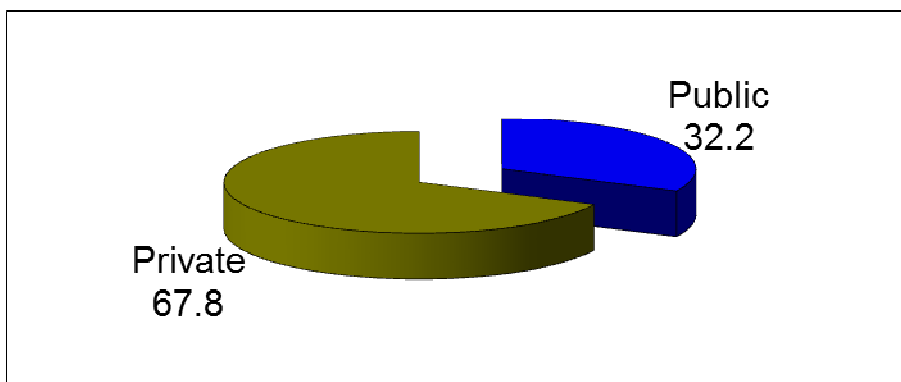
Shape (4)

Employment status
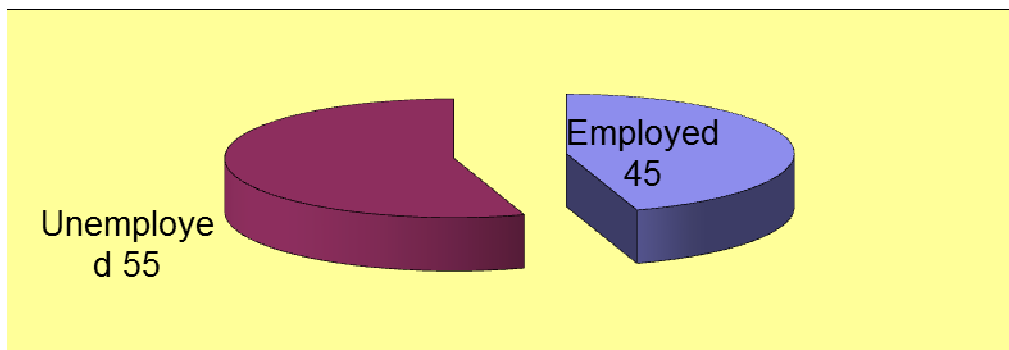
Shape (5)

Job sector

Table (4)Profession

	Ratio of actual responses
Housewife	35.8
Shop vendor	4.4
Driver	2.5
Pensioner	9.2
Craftsman	3.4
Government employee	7.9
Farmer	8.3
Trader	2.9
Worker	4.4
Student	3.7
Chef	0.4
Director General	1.0
Teacher	4.9
Secretary	0.3

	Ratio of actual responses
Officer in armed forces	0.1
Salesperson	1.2
Lawyer	0.6
Marriage officiant	0.2
Maid	0.1
University professor	0.1
Engineer	1.3
Accountant	2.3
Laboratory physician	0.4
Advertising designer	0.1
Coffee shop worker	0.1
Casual worker	1.2
Security guard	0.3
Supervisor	0.2
Imam and preacher	0.4
Technician	1.7
Police officer	0.1
Optician	0.1
Journalist	0.1
Pharmacist	0.1

e. Average monthly income

With regard to the average monthly income of the sample's individuals, the majority of them belonged to the category whose average monthly income is less than EGP 500, with a ratio of 39.1%, followed by the category whose average monthly income ranges between EGP 500 and EGP 1000, with a ratio of 32.1%. Then came

the category whose monthly income ranges between EGP 5000 and EGP 2000, which accounted for 23.2%. The category least represented was the category whose average monthly income ranges between EGP 1000 and EGP 2000, with a ratio of 0.3%. As for the average monthly income of the family to which the sample individual belongs, the majority of them received an average monthly income ranging between EGP 1000 and EGP 2000 followed by the category whose average monthly income ranges between EGP 500 and EGP 1000, with a ratio of 33.9%, then the category with an average monthly income less than EGP 500, with a ratio of 15.5%. The category least represented in the sample was the category whose average monthly income exceeds EGP 5000, accounting for 1.1% of total families.

Table (5)Average monthly income in EGP

	Ratio of actual responses
EGP 200 and less	20.4
EGP 201-500	18.7
EGP 501-1000	32.1
EGP 1001-2000	0.3
EGP 2001-5000	23.2
More than EGP 5000	5.2

Table (6)Average monthly income of the family in EGP

	Ratio of actual responses
EGP 200 and less	1.8
EGP 201-500	13.7
EGP 501-1000	33.9
EGP 1001-2000	36.2
EGP 2001-5000	13.3
More than EGP 5000	1.1