

Political Parties in Egypt and the Region

Amman

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Sources of today's presentation

- Public Opinion Surveys in Egypt and Tunisia during the transitional period
 - Nine surveys from August 2011-November 2012 in Egypt
 - Post-Election Survey in Tunisia in November 2012
- Study of the political parties in Egypt and Libya with interviews with all the leading parties for the Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy and the National Democratic Institute
- Study of the political-economy of the transition in Egypt for the World Bank
- Various articles published in:
 - Foreign Affairs
 - Current History
 - Yale Global
- Ongoing research on the transitional process in the region
- Key collaborators on these studies:
 - Ellen Lust from Yale University and Lindsay Benstead from Portland State University
 - Dhafer Malouche (ESSAI)

Purpose of the Presentation Today

- Introduce the current political and public debate in Egypt and the region
- Show how the Islamist-Secular divide shapes the transitional processes and the political parties in Egypt and Tunisia, but not in Libya
- What are the relevant public priorities and attitudes
- Discuss how to approach political parties in Egypt and elsewhere

Content

- 1 Political situation and public attitudes
- 2 Cleavages and Fault lines in Transitional Processes
- 3 Political Parties and how approach
- 4 Conclusions

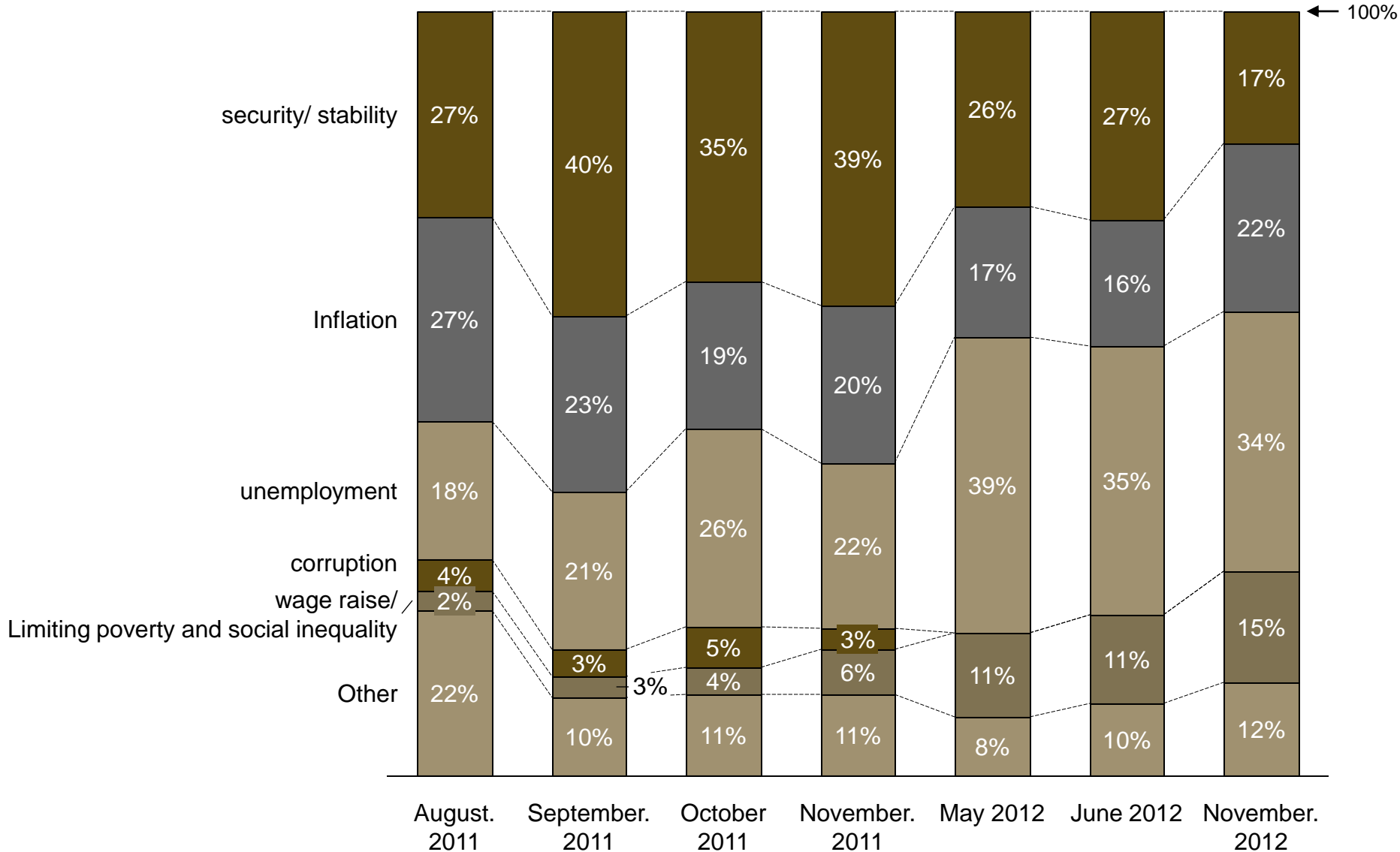
Introduction

- Political transition, or graduation from authoritarianism, is a new phenomenon in the Arab World
- But it is fairly an old and worldwide phenomenon
- Research on political transition has been building up since the collapse of dictatorships in Southern Europe (Greece, Spain, and Portugal) in the mid of the 1970s
- Political transition in Eastern America, Latin America , Asia, and even in some African countries, helped accumulated huge and diverse experience with transition
- Studying and comparing the different experience with transition, Scholars have identified a number of generalizable patterns typically associated with transition

Two of these patterns are used in this presentation to help explain the current situation in Egypt and Tunisia

- Political transition, or graduation from authoritarianism, is a new phenomenon in the Arab World
- The dismantlement of authoritarian regimes unleash strong wave of high economic expectation. With economic transition, citizens expect rapid improvement of their socio-economic conditions
- High economic expectations are difficult to meet in short period of time because of
- The decline in economic output that immediately follows regime change
- The structural constraints that would not allow rapid economic growth until structural reforms are put to work
- The limitations on ready-to-use resources

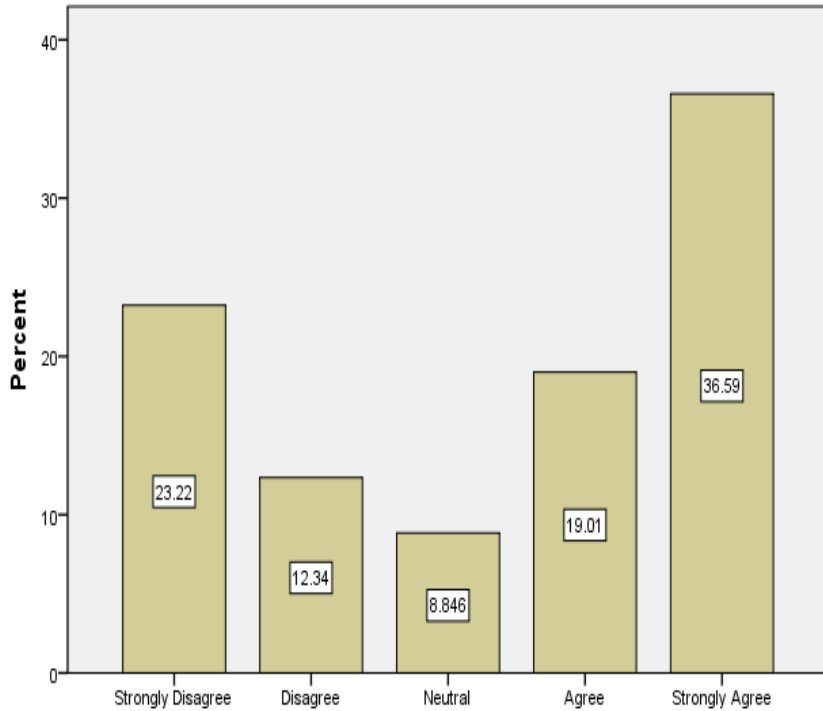
Current issues: The Economy in Increasingly the issue that concerns people



Source: Survey from November XPC-XPQ with representative sample of 4080 respondents of Egyptian Nationality above 18 years of age across 22 governorates, excluding the border governorates

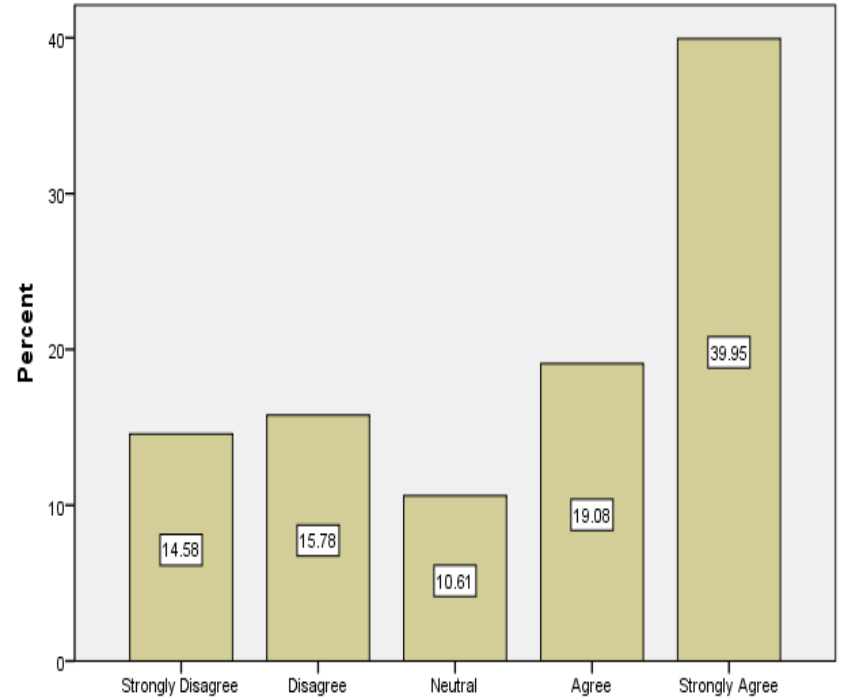
Attitudes Towards Market Economics

Economic Copetion Should be Respected and Government Intervention should be kept to minimum



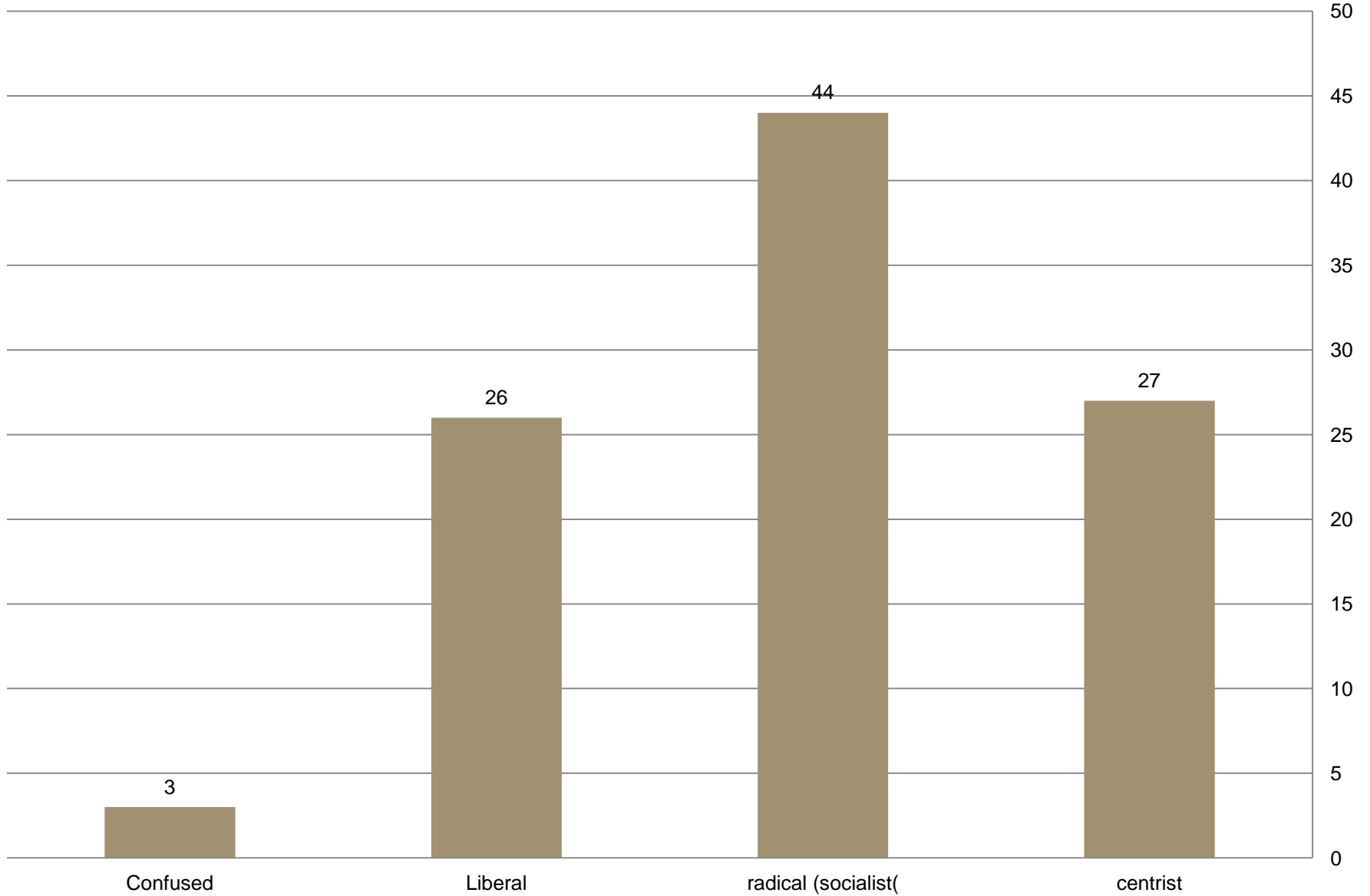
Cases weighted by wgt3_normal

Government has a big role in the economy including ownership of bussiness



Cases weighted by wgt3_normal

Attitudes Towards Market Economics



The Political-Economic Situation in Egypt

- The Egyptian transition both resulted from and continues to face political and economic challenges.
- Political challenges that have seemed most pressing and received most attention; critical economic reforms have been pushed to the side-lines.
- Decisions such as increase public sector employees wages, delaying subsidies reform were taken to please certain constituencies and certain social basis
- Jeopardising long term macroeconomic stability and the long term sustainable economic reform.
- Consequently, the transition process has thus seen deteriorating governance and transparency indicators with no structural economic reforms undertaken to deal with inefficiencies of the Egyptian economy (e.g., to improve the quality of the public administration, address needs of micro businesses, reduce debt or stimulate investment).

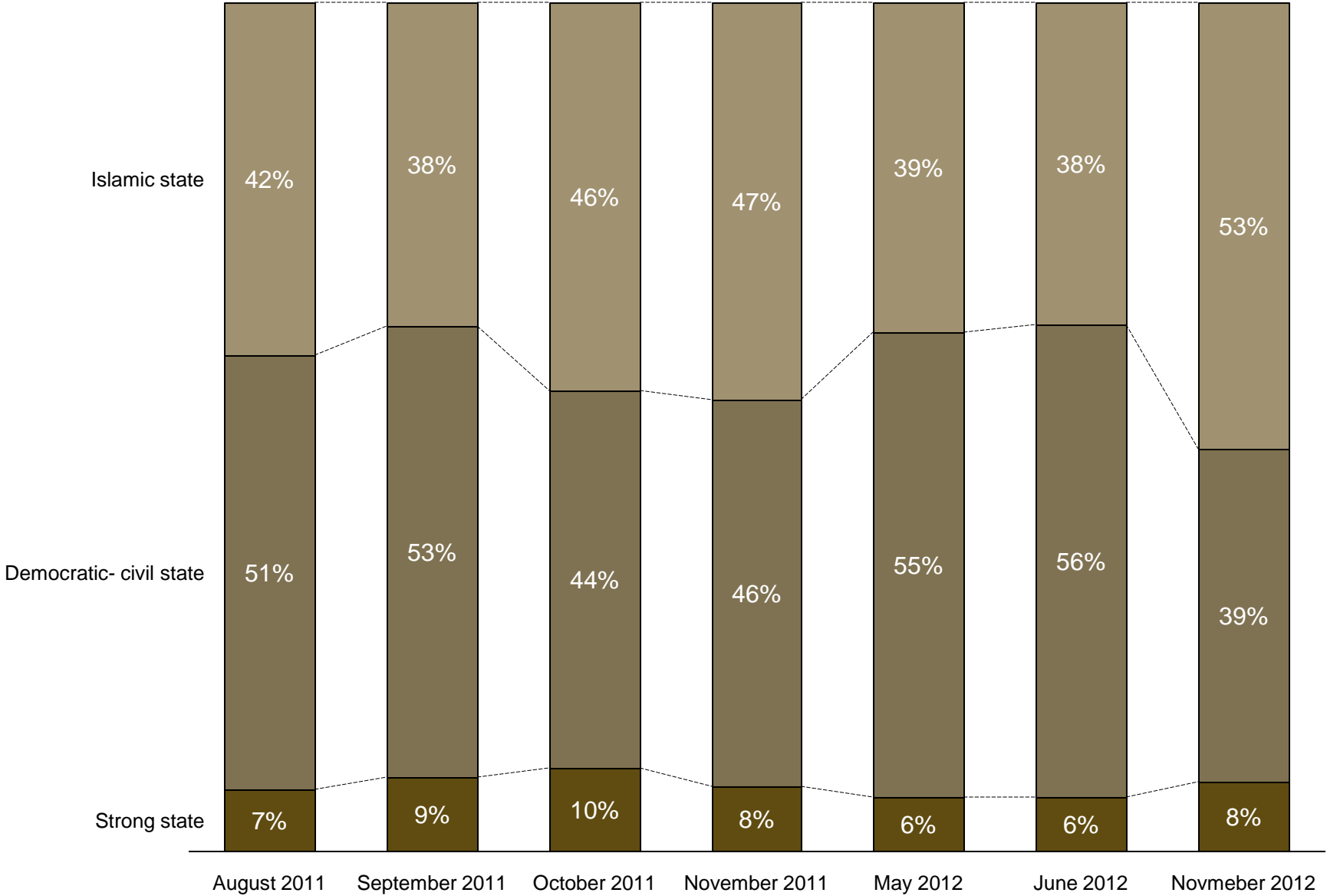
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Political Strategies and Cleavages

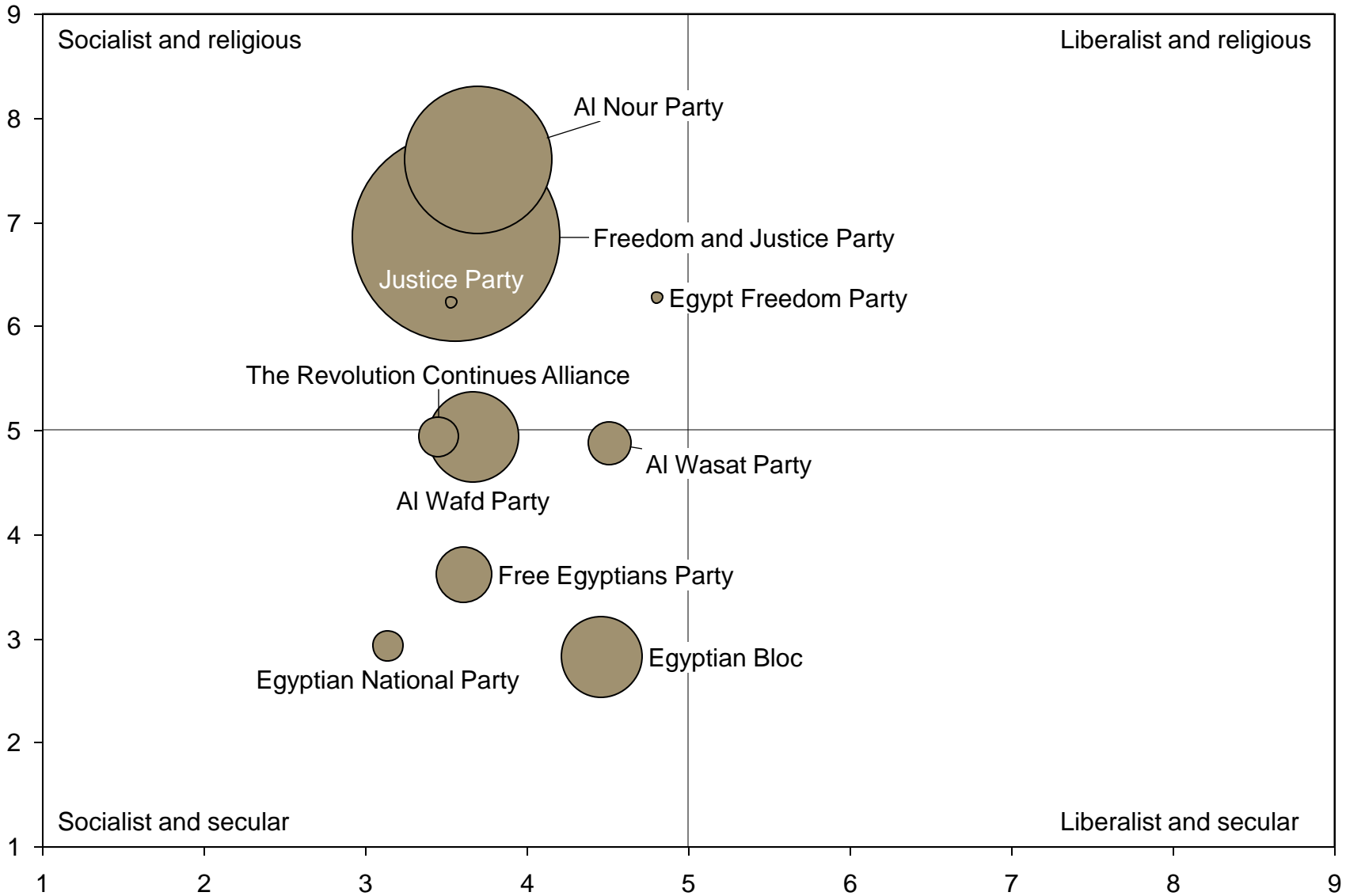
	Egypt	Libya	Tunisia
Authoritarian Strategy	<p>Illegal: Muslim Brotherhood technically illegal, as well as parties formed on the basis of religion.</p> <p>Legal: Al Wafd Party, National Accord and Democratic Front legal parties.</p> <p>Independents allowed to run for parliamentary seats (MB members ran for office in this manner).</p> <p>National Democratic Party (Mubarak's Party) maintained parliamentary majority.</p>	<p>All parties banned under Qaddafi.</p> <p>Non partisan elections held. Each town had local council that met in the General People's Congress.</p>	<p>Legal: Democratic Forum for Labour and Liberties, Ettajdid Movement, Green Party for Progress, Movement of Socialist Democrats, Party of People's Unity, Social Liberal Party, Unionist Democratic Union.</p> <p>Illegal: Ba'ath Movement, Congress for the Republic, Ennahda, Republican Party, Tunisian Workers' Party</p>
Historical Cleavages	<p>Secularist-Islamist cleavage from early 20th c (MB est. 1928)</p>	<p>3 Ottoman Provinces: Tripolitania, Fezzan and Cyrenaica unified under Italians in 1912.</p>	<p>Pro-active secularism of independent Tunisia under Bourguiba</p>
Major Political Cleavages in Transition Period	<p>Islamist-secularist</p>	<p>Regional, lesser extent Ethnic and Islamism</p>	<p>Islamist-secularist</p>

Although values appear stable over past year: Preferences for Islamic, democratic and strong state model



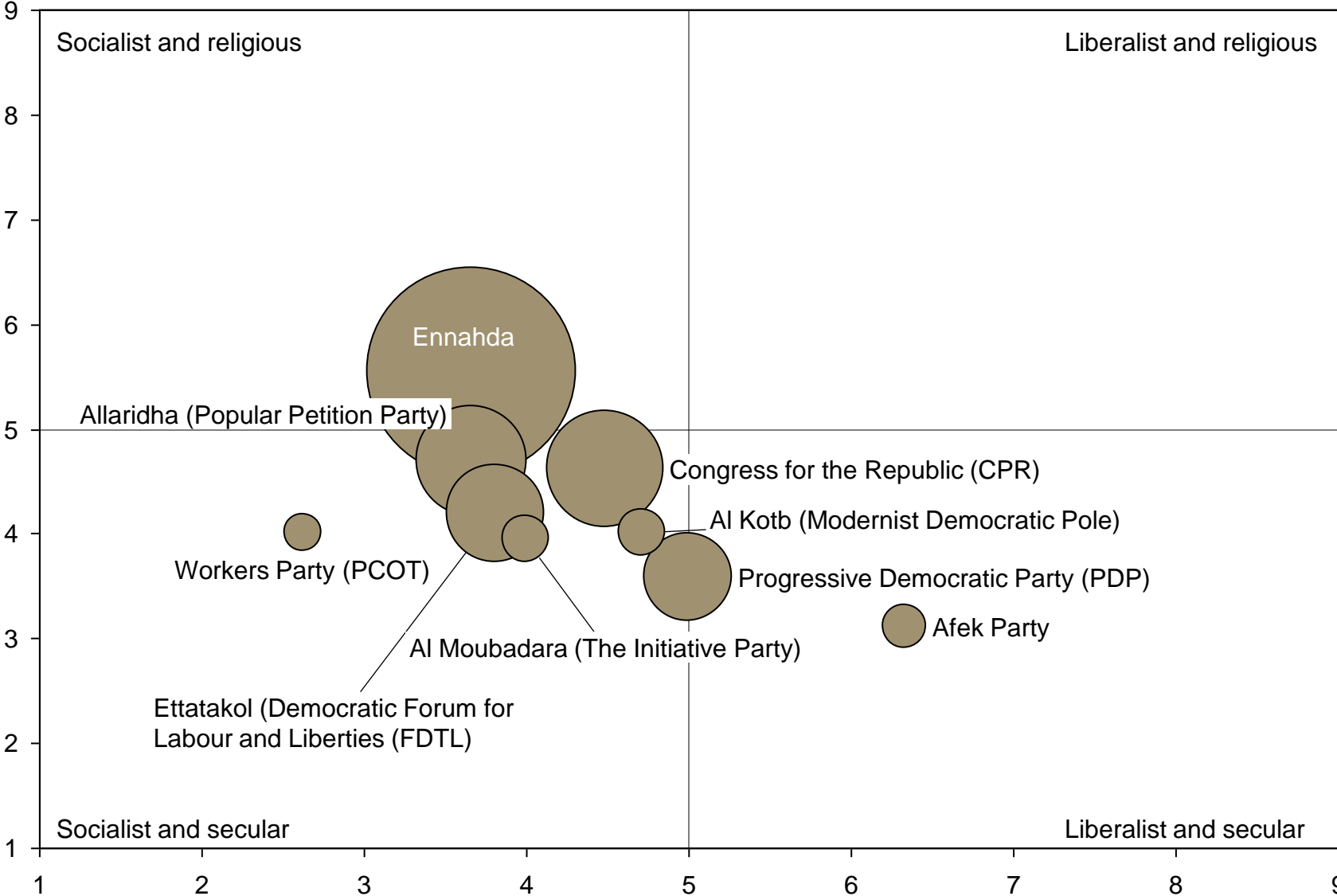
Source: Parliamentary survey 1,2,3 4,5 & 6. Presidential survey 1, 2

Voter placement: Egypt



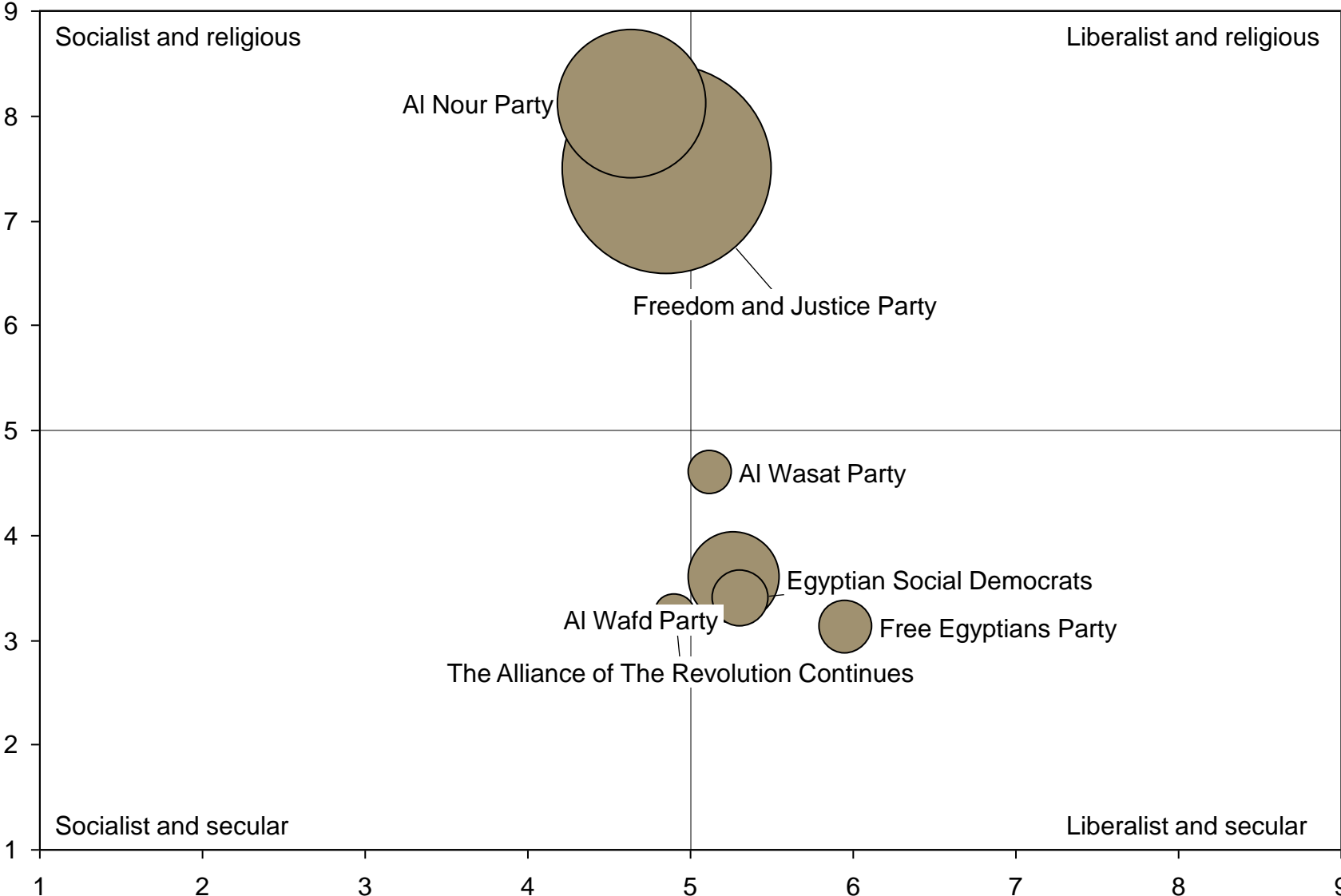
Source: Post-election survey Egypt

Voter placement: Tunisia



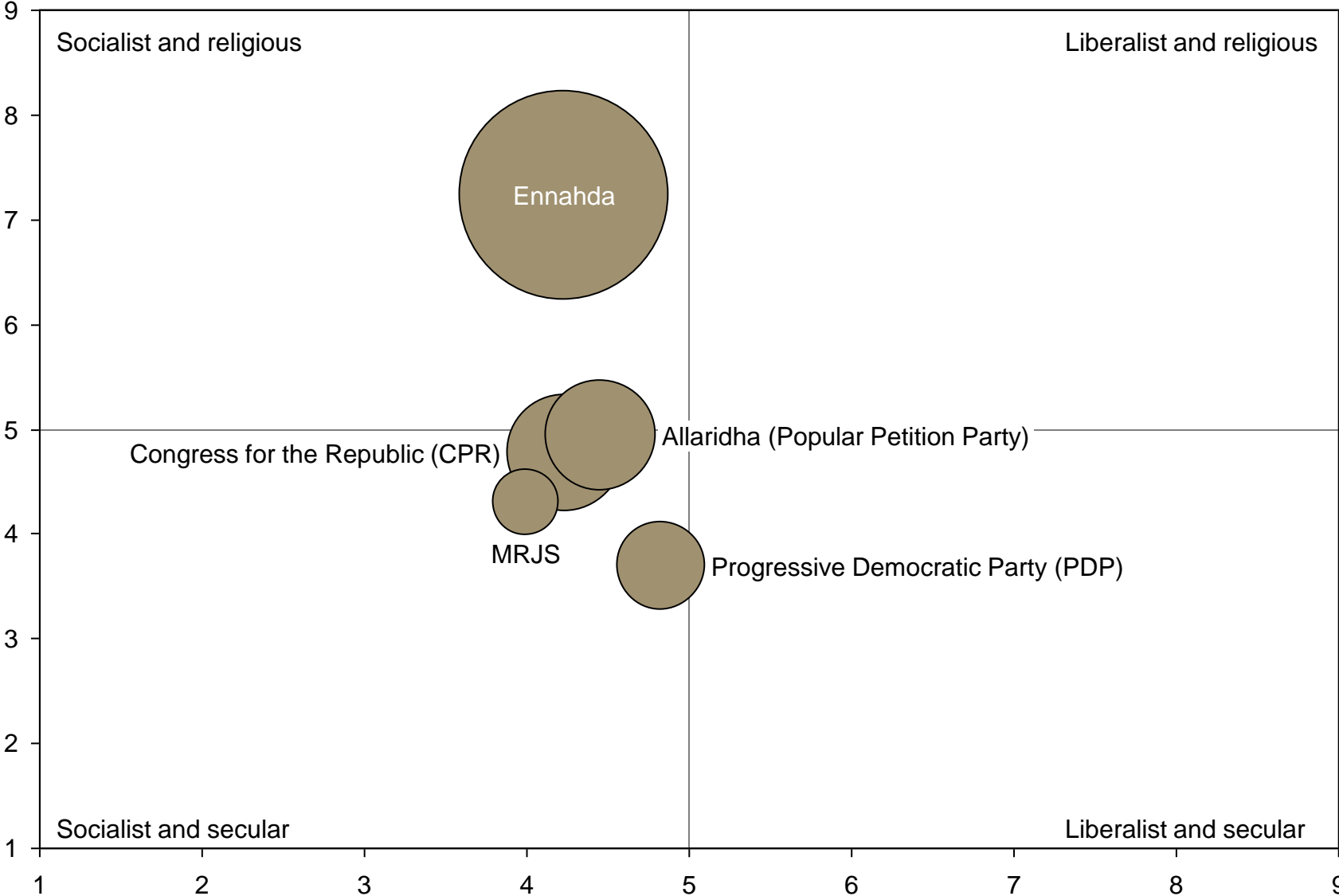
Source: Post-election survey Tunisia

Party placement: Egypt



Source: Post-election survey Egypt

Party placement: Tunisia



Source: Post-election survey Tunisia

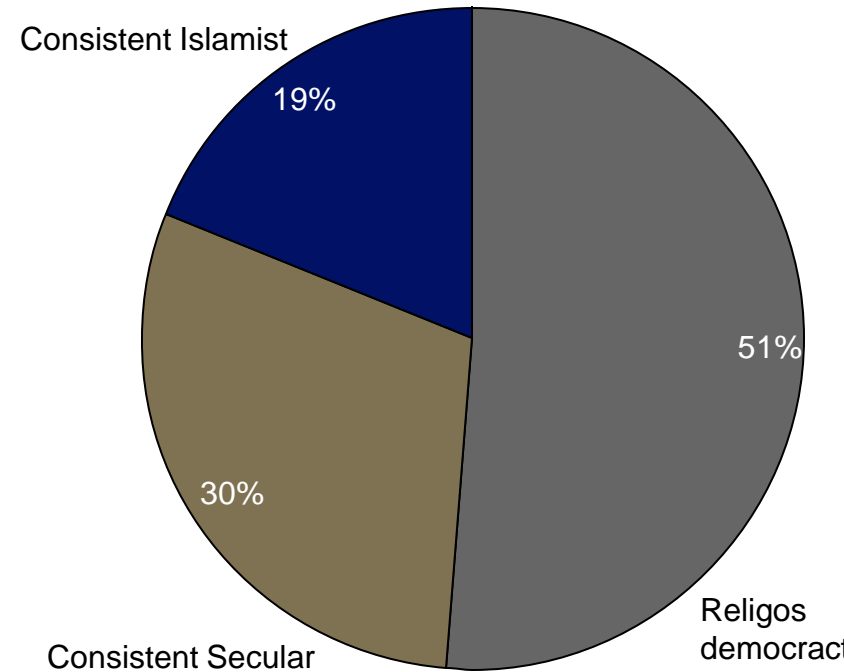
But the Center is the Largest Group of Egyptians

Segment Definitions

Party preference	<i>Islamist party</i>	Religious democrats Secular political values and voted FJP and Nour	Consistent Islamist Religious political values and voted for FJP and Nour
	<i>Secular party</i>	Consistent Secular Secular political values and voted for secular party	Religious democratic Religious political values and voted for secular parties
		<i>Secular</i>	<i>Religious</i>

Political Values

Size of Segments



Implications: Transition Processes

	Egypt	Tunisia	Libya
Nature of Cleavage	Ideological, strongly divided	Ideological, divided	Tribal regional Identity
Nature of Debate	Major divisions over role of religion, women, institutional structures and safeguards	Heightened tensions over Islamism vs. Secularism	Divisions over federalism, transitional justice
Examples: Critical Moments in Transition Process	<p>March 19, 2011 referendum</p> <p>Supra constitutional principles, Sept 2011</p> <p>Disbandment of Parliament, June 2012</p> <p>Constitutional Referendum, November 2012</p> <p>Role of Al-Azhar in legislative oversight</p>	<p>Proposed (and defeated) blasphemy clause, August 2012</p> <p>Debates over women clause in constitution, Late summer/early fall 2012</p>	<p>Demonstrations vs. electoral law (Benghazi), January 2012</p> <p>Stand-off on political exclusion law, May 2013</p>
Threats	Military intervention vs. Islamist taken over	Islamist closing, more mild threat	Civil conflict

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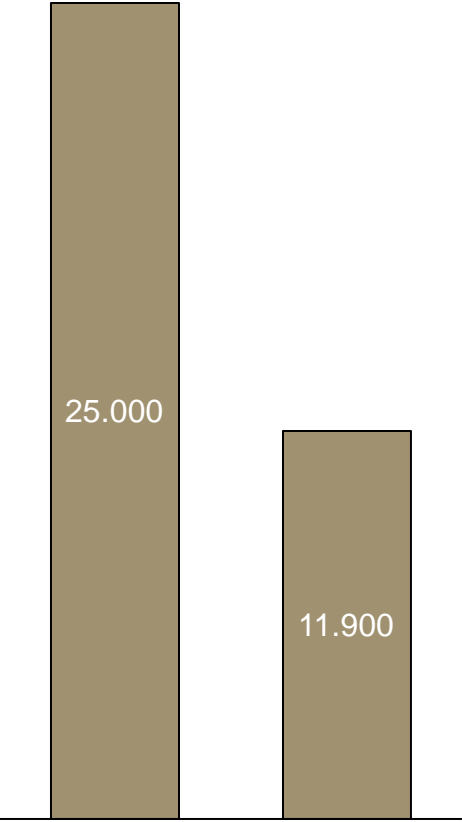
A second identifiable pattern of political transition:

- Competition, rivalry, and even enmity between political parties and factions of the political class develop short time after the ouster of the dictator
- The divide between radicals and moderates is the typical identifiable divide in that regards, where
- Radicals seek fundamental transformation of the old socio-economic structures, while moderates seek limited reforms to the existing structures

Islamist parties have superior organizational resources

1 More campaign volunteers

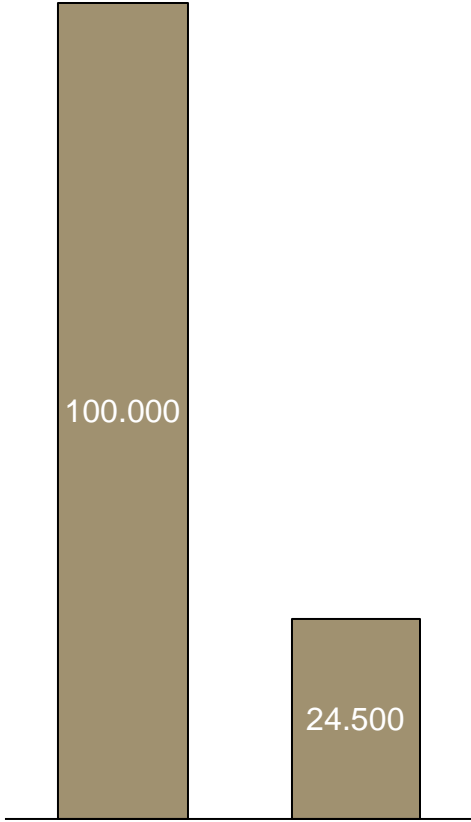
Total number of campaign volunteers



Islamic parties Non-Islamic parties

2 More active members

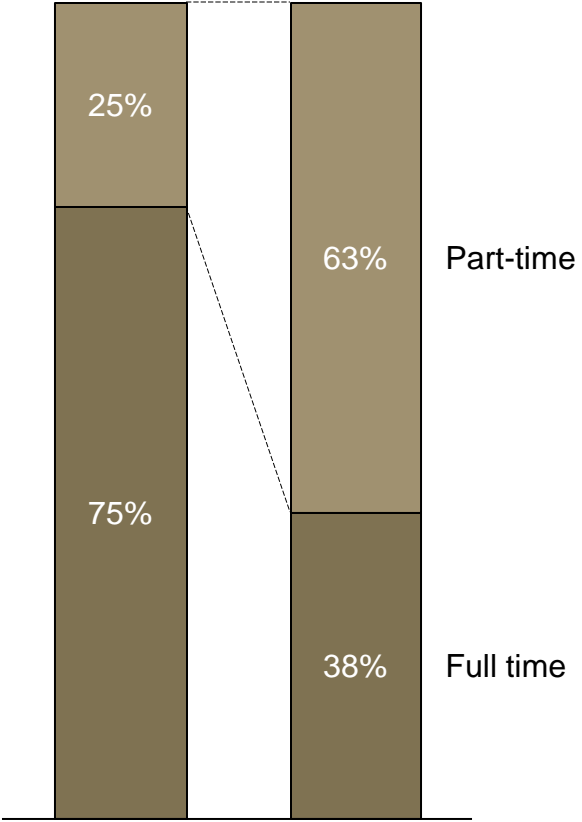
Total number of active members



Islamic parties Non-Islamic parties

3 More full time staff

Type of staff in parties



Islamic parties Non-Islamic parties

Source: Interview with 7 political parties in Egypt, August – September 2012

Main conclusions of the study

Conclusions

Description

Organizational challenges for most of the parties

- Many of the parties have seen internal disputes, defection of members
- Many of the parties are overly reliant on single sources of finances
- Few of the parties have developed strong internal democratic governance mechanisms

Political parties are challenged in their ability to mobilise citizens

- Political parties have generally found it difficult to attract members to the parties
- Furthermore the parties have found it difficult to establish a broadbase in society through local level outreach and

Lack of collaboration between the parties

- The parties generally feel that collaboration among like-minded parties have been hampered by their poor negotiation skills and lack of ability to compromise
- Furthermore there has been a lack of dialogue between the Islamist and non-Islamist parties even on issues where there is seemingly common ground

Difficulty with policy and platform development

- In the hectic transition period in Egypt most of the parties have neglected focusing on developing policy responses and political platforms to tackle Egypt's pressing problems.
- The parties have rather relied on their general image or well-known candidates for attracting voters

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Recommendations for business organizations in engaging political parties and the sphere in general

- The business organizations should reach out to the public via studies, events and newspaper articles to generate general interest in and support for a better business environment and other causes
- The businesses organizations should reach out to the unions to facilitate a dialogue in order to limit the number strikes, engage in conflict resolution and general negotiations.
- The businesses organizations should reach out to political parties to build a relationship and influence policy development and policy making. Political parties are open to help and assistance in their policy development.
- The business confederations should re-introduce "the brand of business" to their societies by focusing SMEs as well as big business. A more inclusive brand across sizes of businesses will make the the public and political parties more responsive to the wishes of the business organizations.