

**Political Confidence Barometer**

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| (Tenth wave) |  |
| Estimated date for the project completion | 22 May – 3 June 214 |
| The International Institute for the Study of Opinion polls | Institution |
| 3424 | Total Sample |
| 3002 | Net Sample |
| 422 | non- answers/ cancelled answers |
| Face-to-Face interviews  | Methodology |
| GPS control system on Android and 7 supervisors in 7 regions  | Regulatory structure, quality guarantee |
| 27 | Number of interviewers |

During the period between May 22 and June 3, 2014, The International Institute for Public Opinion Studies (IIPOS), in collaboration with the Applied Social Sciences Forum (ASSF), succeeded in completing Wave 10 of *The political Barometer* that revealed the government’s compliance with the principles of the road map, its position with regard to the economic crisis, and the voting intentions of parliamentary and presidential elections.

**Unconditional confidence in the quartet**

Tunisians have dealt cautiously with the national dialogue brokered by the quartet- an alliance between the General Union of Tunisian Workers (UGTT), the employers’ union, the Tunisian Bar Association, and the country’s Human Rights League- without withdrawing confidence from them.

Those who expressed their confidence in this dialogue are more than 60 percent; that is the majority of Tunisians. This stresses the harmony among quite an interesting number of Tunisians. Even though 40 percent of them have little confidence in this initiative, the majority holds fast to the quartet and is committed to the continuity of its mission. It believes that the continuation of the dialogue is the only and best option that is left for them, despite the challenges.

This equally applies to the importance of developing a sense of optimism regarding the economic-problem-solving. To do so the quartet aimed to follow the steps of the political dialogue in order to foster the economic dialogue. This is reflected in the 58 percent of respondents who believe that the economic dialogue can provide a solution to the crisis as opposed to 42 percent who do not expect any result. This indicator confirms the division and instability of the public opinion on the ability of political parties and the civil society to overcome the economic crisis.

**Tunisians, high prices, and Domestic Borrowing**

The survey clearly shows that 69 percent of Tunisians will reluctantly accept the rise in fuel prices, and 17 percent of them are not ready to shoulder the burden of rising food prices. This attitude is expected because the purchasing power in general has fallen to a large extent. Despite the controversy that has erupted over the government’s decision to rationalize the consumption within the administration, 33 percent of Tunisians believe that the deletion of administrative privileges can be one of the procedures that will alleviate the economic crisis. Additionally, 36 percent respondents are with fighting smuggling and parallel economy. This means that tackling the compensation fund at the expense of purchasing power is not a popular decision par excellence.

On the one hand, it is worth noting that 60 percent of respondents declare that they do not intend to participate in the national domestic borrowing, versus 40 percent who support this procedure; a quite high proportion of respondents that emphasizes the relative success of the process of domestic borrowing as confirmed by the Finance Minister a few days earlier. On the other hand, the survey records the presence of an anti-attitude to the phenomenon of sit-ins and strikes that are considered by 51 percent of respondents as being responsible for the current crisis, and this conveys an implicit message to the General Union of Tunisian Workers.

With the exception of 6 percent of those who put responsibility for the crisis on the security situation, others do not connect the security situation to the economic one. It is worthy of mention that Tunisians do not believe that the global economic crisis has a significant impact on the national economy, and the percentage of those who hold to this view is only 4 percent.

In this context, Tunisians top priority concern is employment; that is why it was placed at the top of priorities within regions. We came to notice this while asking a question about the most important sector that needs to be addressed at the regional level. Tunisians preference falls on employment that succeeds over health and education sectors.

**Confidence in the political elite**

The results of this survey reflect an improvement in the indicators of political confidence. The level of confidence in the Prime Minister, the Head of State, as well as the Head of the National Constituent Assembly has witnessed an increase as compared to the previously recorded waves (especially waves 8 and 9). Regardless of whether Mr. Mustapha Ben Jaafar (60 percent confidence in his person) has benefited from the post-ratification of the Constitution, as well as respect for the President of the Republic, Mr. Moncef Marzouki (44% confidence), the biggest winner is the undisputed Prime Minster, Mr. Mehdi Jomaa, who ranks first on the list with 82 percent of level of confidence between medium and strong. This positive evaluation does not diminish the importance of the reservations that were recorded at the level of the expectations of development, and size of achievements, as 52.10 percent of the respondents see that development in those situations have not changed, 58.50 percent think there is a continuous rise in prices, despite the declaration of 66.80 percent of respondents that the security situation has improved, as there is an improvement in the image of the security (87 percent) and the military (95 percent), which does not apply to the position of those who expressed concerns about the “mysterious” role of the security unions.

In the same vein, 63 percent of respondents believe that the military court that has been dealing with the case of the martyrs and the wounded of the revolution had been hindered in its work. This means that a considerable number of the public opinion calls into question the credibility of the sentences, and they do not trust the independence of the court. As for the government’s respect of the requirements of the road map, the poll confirms that 48.30 percent believe that there a remarkable progress in the neutralization of mosques; an indicator that should be taken into account at this critical stage that the country faces, especially after the decisions taken by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, although there are still more required important decisions to be taken.

**Local authorities: Representative void**

On the contrary, confidence in the representatives of the local authority is still weak. The governors only have 8 percent of strong level of confidence, as opposed to 92 percent of those who do not have trust or confidence in them. This explains the weakness of this category of officials and their significant decline in their influence and status as compared to what it was before the revolution: This paradox is eye-catching. The situation of the private prosecutions is not much different, since 90 percent of respondents do not have confidence in them, by more than half, which could explain the weakness of the local electoral legitimacy (to postpone the municipal elections).

**News sources**

79.2 percent of Tunisians believe that TV channels represent their main source of politics news. We can explain this by the consistently interest of all citizens in public affairs after the revolution, despite the fact that the confidence of quite an interesting number of them has been shaken in the political actors. The news is still diffused at eight o’clock in the evening on the national news channel which is viewed in different regions of the country (72 percent). While radio stations ranked second by 15.5. It is noticeable that whenever the age of audience declines, the volume of demand for the Internet among youth reaches 43 percent, and Facebook is still an important source for politics news, though this figure does not exceed 18 percent at the national level.

The widespread interest in the media does not necessarily reflect satisfaction about Tunisian media. There are 36.70 percent of respondents who believe that the revolution does not have influence on the media, while 32.90 per cent stated that the media is at its first stages of success. Only 30 per cent did not consider that the revolution had succeeded in the media sector. This calls for the media to assess their performance and review their relationship with the public.

**About the performance of the parties**

53 percent of Tunisians believe that the political parties are ready today to compete for the elections as compared to 47 percent. This indicator largely reflects the citizens’ evaluation of the performance of the parties and their capabilities. A wider section of the public opinion has a critical opinion about the opposition, as 60 percent believe that the role of the opposition is exaggerated, while there are only 9 percent who believe that the opposition is right in everything they say and do, and that 35 percent were satisfied by saying that the opposition is doing its job. In general there is a dominating view that expresses dissatisfaction with the performance of the opposition.

As for the anticipated conditions of the next election, 64 percent of respondents say that it will be peaceful and not violent, which reflects the continuous citizens’ confidence in the improved security, and the ability of military and security services for the protection of the election. They are expected to be not affected by the threats exerted by armed groups.

**Voting intentions**

52 percent declared they voted during the last election as compared to 48 percent; that is close to what happened on October 23, 2011. This reveals five dynamics of voting intentions, namely:

- Continuity of bipolarity between the Al-Nahda and Nidaa Tounes.

- Re-positioning of the Al-Nahda party after the recession coupled with its experience in the government through the Tripartite Alliance (the troika)

- Relative decline of the very voting intentions for the benefit of Nida Touness, compared to the last summer

- The Democratic Forum for Labour and Liberties restore its health after it has been nearly considered among one of the most endangered parties.

- The Congress for the Republic gains back some confidence from the public which puts it close to the Popular Front and ahead from Tayar AlMahaba.

With regard to the voting intentions, Al-Nahda ranks first by 38 percent of the votes, versus 33 percent in favor of Nidaa Touness, and 6 percent in favor of the The Democratic Forum for Labour and Liberties, and 5 percent for each of the The Congress for the Republic and the Popular Front. Tayar Al-Mahaba is present by a weak percentage that did not exceed 4 percent. It is not clear whether it will be able in the coming months to regain its past position that surprised everyone. As far as election apathy is concerned, the survey revealed that the north-west has recorded the largest drop in the number of people who announced they will not vote, reaching 57.8, the region that ranks second is the south-east by 53.3 percent (not voting intentions). In fact, these regions are deemed to have not benefited from the revolution.

It is worth noting again that the possible rate of participation for Al-Nahda Party is still low among those aged between 18 and 35 years, while the percentage rises between 51 and 65 years. This means that Al-Nahda still faces difficulties among young people, despite the improvement of its image among women with an average education level and mainly the housewives. Nida Touness does not differ much from Al-Nahda in this regard, but it is characterized by relatively larger viability among young people, and it is found that the fifties generation seems less willing to interact with the discourse of the party. Whenever the educational level of respondents is low, they tend to vote for Al-Nahda. While the more elevated the educational level, the more other parties and mainly Nida Touness enjoy votes. Well find that Al-Nahda discourse is more influential among the widows, the unmarried, retirees, job seekers and professionals and housewives, while the ability of Nidaa Touness is stronger among the divorced, the liberal professions, students, workers and street vendors. The largest share of Nidaa Touness in the private sector cas ompared to Al-Nahda that is favored in the broader public sector.

There is a question that needs to be asked about the causes of social, economic and even psychological reasons that could explain this discrepancy. For the intentions of voting in the presidential elections, Beji Kaid Essebsi remains on top of list by 23.2 percent, followed by a tremendous amount of intentions in the direction of not knowing who will be elected and in the direction of not wanting to vote, to be followed by Hamadi Jebali 14.4 percent, and Moncef Marzouki 9 percent.

**Confidence in State institutions**

The first question was about the status of the judicial institution, and 62 percent of the respondents considered that the revolution did not succeed to impact positively on the status of the judiciary. This came as a result of the delay of reforms of the judiciary, which is still subject to widespread scepticism among citizens. Those who believe that the judiciary is making progress do not exceed 22.50 percent as compared to 16 percent who thought the revolution had succeeded in influencing the judiciary. This may be due to the confrontation that took place between the lawyers and judges, as well as the sentences on the cases of the martyrs and wounded of the revolution. But certainly that confidence in the Tunisian judiciary remained somewhat shaky.

As for the extent of the impact of the revolution on the executive branch, with 62.50 percent said they believe that the revolution failed to change the reality of this power. This reflects that the situation is disappointing. This means that the executive branch does not meet the expectations of the majority of Tunisians. This may be due to the rapidly changing governments, and the frequency of political crises, in addition to poor results in various fields, especially in social and economic development.

Concerning the legislative branch, 50.80 percent of respondents believe that the revolution does not have any impact on it; 26.80 percent welcomed it, and 22.40 percent believe that it is in its way for success. Despite the completion of the constitution, however, people still hold negative impressions about the performance of the Constitutional Assembly that is under a cloud of criticism by a considerable number of Tunisians.

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