Detailed Methodology

• The survey was conducted on behalf of the International Republican Institute by Tunisian owned and operated marketing research firm ELKA Consulting under the supervision of David Williams from Williams and Associates of Salem, Massachusetts.

• Data was collected from May 30-June 8, 2015, by trained professional interviewers in Arabic using in-person, face-to-face methodology.

• The sample was 1,225 adult Tunisians aged 18 and older.

• Interviews were conducted using a multi-stage stratification proportionate to population sample distribution.

• Stratification was based on three stages: a proportional division among Tunisia’s 24 governorates, proportional division of urban and rural categories, and proportional division by gender and age group according to the most up-to-date data from Tunisia’s National Statistics Institute collected in 2014. The sample was then post-weighted to make it proportionate to national representation by province.

• Each of Tunisia’s 24 governorates was divided into territorial sections or districts. In every territorial section at least one point of survey was selected with the overall number of points determined by population density. In every point of survey, interviewers were called to do no more than 10 interviews. Points of survey were distributed proportionally between rural and urban areas in every governorate and in every geographical section of the governorate. Points of survey in a territorial section within a governorate were selected randomly.

• The Kish method was used to select respondents 18 years and older within randomly selected households. The left-hand method was used to select every third household in localities selected through an area probability sample.

• The overall margin of error is plus or minus 2.85 percent at the midrange of the 95 percent confidence level.

• The information in this report has been compiled in accordance with international standards for market and social research methodologies.

• Figures in charts and tables may not sum to 100 percent due to rounding.

• This poll was conducted with support from the Middle East Partnership Initiative.
Economic Reform Vital to Democratic Success
How would you say that things are going in Tunisia these days? Are things going in the right direction or the wrong direction?
How would you describe the current economic situation in Tunisia?

- Very good
- Somewhat good
- Somewhat bad
- Very bad
- Don't know/refused to answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Very good</th>
<th>Somewhat good</th>
<th>Somewhat bad</th>
<th>Very bad</th>
<th>Don't know/refused to answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1%</td>
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<td>21%</td>
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<td>Sep-14</td>
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<td>Jan-13</td>
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<td>33%</td>
<td>49%</td>
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<td>Aug-12</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>41%</td>
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<td>Apr-12</td>
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<td>20%</td>
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<td>Jun-12</td>
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<td>30%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>3%</td>
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<td>Sep-11</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>May-11</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
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<td>Mar-11</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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</table>
Which answer best describes your current economic situation?

- I have trouble feeding myself and my family and buying even the most essential things for survival.
- I have enough means for survival, but I do not have enough money for extra things.
- I am able to afford things like new clothes and eating at restaurants, but not very often.
- I am able to afford things like new clothes and eating out and also support other members of my family who cannot.
- Don't know/refused to answer

- Mar-11: 32% I have trouble feeding myself and my family and buying even the most essential things for survival.
- May-11: 28% I have enough means for survival, but I do not have enough money for extra things.
- Sep-11: 27% I am able to afford things like new clothes and eating at restaurants, but not very often.
- Jan-12: 28% I am able to afford things like new clothes and eating out and also support other members of my family who cannot.
- Apr-12: 22% Don't know/refused to answer
- Aug-12: 31% I have trouble feeding myself and my family and buying even the most essential things for survival.
- Jan-13: 31% I have enough means for survival, but I do not have enough money for extra things.
- Jun-13: 20% I am able to afford things like new clothes and eating at restaurants, but not very often.
- Oct-13: 19% I am able to afford things like new clothes and eating out and also support other members of my family who cannot.
- Feb-14: 17% Don't know/refused to answer
- Jun-14: 22% I have trouble feeding myself and my family and buying even the most essential things for survival.
- Sep-14: 24% I have enough means for survival, but I do not have enough money for extra things.
- Jun-15: 21% I am able to afford things like new clothes and eating at restaurants, but not very often.
- Jan-16: 25% I am able to afford things like new clothes and eating out and also support other members of my family who cannot.
- Jun-16: 18% Don't know/refused to answer
How would you rate the performance of the government?

- **Very good**: 4%
- **Somewhat good**: 42%
- **Somewhat bad**: 20%
- **Very bad**: 23%
- **Don't know/refused to answer**: 11%
What in your opinion is the single biggest problem facing Tunisia as a whole? (open-ended; top responses only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>First mention</th>
<th>Second mention</th>
<th>Third mention</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
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<td>22%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic and financial crisis</td>
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<td>22%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorism</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>47%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>24%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corruption and transparency</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>24%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strikes and sit-ins</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>22%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Political conflicts and tensions</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Violence, delinquency and vandalism</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>International conflicts and tensions</td>
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<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>31%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don’t know/refused to answer</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I am going to read you three statements. Please indicate which is closest to your own opinion.

- Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government
  - Jun-15: 43%
  - Sep-14: 46%
  - Jun-14: 40%
  - Feb-14: 44%
  - Oct-13: 46%
  - Jun-13: 52%

- In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable
  - Jun-15: 35%
  - Sep-14: 28%
  - Jun-14: 26%
  - Feb-14: 30%
  - Oct-13: 30%
  - Jun-13: 29%

- For someone like me, it doesn’t matter what form of government we have
  - Jun-15: 16%
  - Sep-14: 14%
  - Jun-14: 16%
  - Feb-14: 24%
  - Oct-13: 20%
  - Jun-13: 15%

- Don’t know/refused to answer
  - Jun-15: 7%
  - Sep-14: 12%
  - Jun-14: 6%
  - Feb-14: 7%
  - Oct-13: 6%
  - Jun-13: 11%
Thinking ahead to next year, do you expect your household’s financial situation to get much better, get somewhat better, get somewhat worse, get much worse or stay the same?
Continued Marginalization of Interior Regions Must be Addressed
Understanding that the government has limited resources to spend, what should be the government’s spending priority?

- Develop interior and southern regions: 22%
- Infrastructure improvements (roads, bridges, public sanitation systems, etc.): 16%
- Education: 16%
- Healthcare and hospitals: 7%
- Raise salaries of government employees: 6%
- Purchase arms and military equipment: 3%
- Other: 26%
- Don't know/refused to answer: 5%

*Significant responses under Other: Employment 12%; Improve living standards 4%; Investments 2%; Economy 2%.*
To provide more money for the government to spend in this priority area, what specific government policies should be enacted?

- Reduce the salaries of government employees: 21%
- Reduce subsidies on everyday items, like bread, tomato paste and fuel: 15%
- Seek additional loans from foreign governments and banks: 13%
- Raise taxes: 12%
- Reduce the number of people employed by the government and give them land and start-up funds: 10%
- Other: 8%
- Don't know/refused to answer: 22%

*Significant response under Other: Investments and projects 2%.*
Tunisia must determine the best way to improve the economy. Please rate the following choices on a scale of one to five, with one being among the worst options and five being among the best options:

(Mean calculations based on responses to scale position)

- Make it easier for Tunisian entrepreneurs to start businesses, obtain licenses and reach new markets: 4.5
- Increase investment in and improve the infrastructure of the interior and southern governorates: 4.3
- Bring more large foreign businesses to Tunisia that will hire Tunisian workers: 4.1
- Increase employment by hiring more people to work for the government: 3.7
- Find ways to bring informal businesses into the formal economy: 2.9
The new constitution says that the municipal and regional governments will be elected by citizens and will have the authority to choose how funds are spent in their region. Do you think that democratically elected municipal and regional councils with the power to decide how money is spent in their region will lead to economic improvements and better services from government?

- Yes, absolutely: 29%
- Mainly yes: 25%
- Mainly no: 9%
- Not at all: 22%
- Don't know/refused to answer: 15%
Positive Disposition toward Increased International Trade
What do you think about the growing trade and business ties between Tunisia and other countries?
In your opinion, when foreign companies build new factories in Tunisia, does this have a good or bad impact on our country?

Very good: 78%
Somewhat good: 13%
Somewhat bad: 3%
Very bad: 5%
Don't know/refused to answer: 1%
Some people say that the government bureaucracy of Tunisia is too big, too inefficient and too costly. Other people say that, while the government may be a little too large, the problems facing Tunisia, like rebuilding the country’s economic, social and political structures, are so big that a strong government presence is required to keep things moving forward. Which of these two views is closer to your own?
Some people say that there is a lot of land in Tunisia that is owned by the government that could be given to the people for farming or other innovative uses. If government reduced the number of people that it employs, but gave them land and start-up funds for a new project, would you support that idea?
Security Challenges and Democracy
Do you feel the government has adequately responded to the terrorist attack at the Bardo Museum?

- Yes, absolutely: 37%
- Mainly yes: 25%
- Mainly no: 15%
- Not at all: 16%
- Don’t know/refused to answer: 8%
Thinking about Tunisia’s current political system, do you believe Tunisia is a democracy at present?

- Not a democracy at all
  - Jun-15: 29%
  - Sep-14: 38%
  - Jun-14: 39%
  - Feb-14: 34%
  - Oct-13: 37%
  - Jun-13: 39%

- Flawed democracy
  - Jun-15: 29%
  - Sep-14: 29%
  - Jun-14: 40%
  - Feb-14: 36%
  - Oct-13: 36%
  - Jun-13: 36%

- Nearly full democracy
  - Jun-15: 19%
  - Sep-14: 19%
  - Jun-14: 17%
  - Feb-14: 14%
  - Oct-13: 14%
  - Jun-13: 14%

- Full democracy
  - Jun-15: 10%
  - Sep-14: 11%
  - Jun-14: 9%
  - Feb-14: 8%
  - Oct-13: 7%
  - Jun-13: 7%

- Don’t know/refused to answer
  - Jun-15: 8%
  - Sep-14: 5%
  - Jun-14: 5%
  - Feb-14: 5%
  - Oct-13: 5%
  - Jun-13: 5%
How satisfied are you with democracy in Tunisia at present? (Asked of respondents who chose full, nearly full or flawed democracy, n=772)

- Very satisfied
- Somewhat satisfied
- Not very satisfied
- Not satisfied at all
- Don't know/refused to answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Very satisfied</th>
<th>Somewhat satisfied</th>
<th>Not very satisfied</th>
<th>Not satisfied at all</th>
<th>Don't know/refused to answer</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jun-15</td>
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<td>59%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>8%</td>
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<td>Jun-14</td>
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<td>21%</td>
<td>65%</td>
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<td>Jun-13</td>
<td>9%</td>
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<td>8%</td>
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</table>
If you had a choice between a stable and prosperous Tunisia that was ruled by an authoritarian government or a democratic government that led to an unstable and insecure Tunisia which would you choose?
How much do you trust each of the following to protect you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Guard</th>
<th>A great deal</th>
<th>Fair amount</th>
<th>Only a little</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>Don't know/refused to answer</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jun-15</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>National Army</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jun-15</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
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<td>Sep-14</td>
<td>81%</td>
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<td>Jun-14</td>
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<td>10%</td>
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<td>Feb-14</td>
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<td>Aug-12</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>7%</td>
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<td>Apr-12</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Police</th>
<th>A great deal</th>
<th>Fair amount</th>
<th>Only a little</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>Don't know/refused to answer</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jun-15</td>
<td>54%</td>
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<td>Jun-14</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>23%</td>
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<td>Feb-14</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>23%</td>
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<td>Oct-13</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>7%</td>
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<td>Jan-13</td>
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<td>Jan-13</td>
<td>35%</td>
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<td>Aug-12</td>
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<td>Apr-12</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>10%</td>
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Note: In June 2015, respondents began to be asked to rate their level of trust in the national guard.
Policy Options and Reform
What should be the top priority for the new government?

*Significant response under Other: Educational system 2%.
If you had a choice, which of the following types of employment would you prefer?

- Self-employed owner of a small business: 36%
- Working for the Tunisian government: 29%
- Working for a foreign company based in Tunisia: 13%
- Working for a Tunisian business or company: 12%
- Other: 9%
- Don’t know/refused to answer: 1%
Do you think private companies can work with the government to make some services and economic projects better? If so, which services or sectors do you think could be improved with the help of private companies? (select all that apply)

- Transport: 7%
- Education: 4%
- Banks: 3%
- Highways: 2%
- Trash collection: 2%
- Electricity: 2%
- International shipping and transportation: 2%
- Water: 1%
- All of the above: 27%
- Other: 16%
- Don’t know/refused to answer: 12%
- No: 21%

*Significant responses under Other: Commerce and industry 5%; Agriculture 3%; Economy 2%; Health sector 2%; Employment 1%.
There has been a lot of debate about the education system in Tunisia. Some say the country’s education system needs some small targeted reforms. Others say that the government should rethink the entire education system. Which of the following two ideas do you agree with more?

- A few important targeted reforms are what we need
- The education system needs to be completely reconstructed
- Don’t know/refused to answer
Recently, teachers and other government employees have frequently gone on strike demanding salary increases. Do you support or oppose going on strike to demand higher salaries?

- **Strongly support**: 4%
- **Somewhat support**: 6%
- **Don't know/refused to answer**: 6%
- **Strongly oppose**: 82%
- **Somewhat oppose**: 2%
Which of the following statements best matches your own opinion of the role that religion should play in government and law making?

- The principles of Islam should be one consideration, but not the only consideration, when making policy or law
- Religion should be completely absent from government decision making
- Islamic texts should form the foundations of all policy and law making
- Religious views should not provide a source of justification for a policy or law
- Don't know/refused to answer
Perception of Elections
Did you vote in the 2014 parliamentary elections?

- Yes: 58%
- Was of age, but did not vote: 4%
- Was not of age to vote: 1%
- Don't know/refused to answer: 38%
Regardless of whether or not you voted, do you believe the elections were transparent and credible?

- Yes: 57%
- No: 30%
- Don't know/refused to answer: 13%
Did you vote in either of the 2014 presidential elections?

- Yes: 57%
- Was of age, but did not vote: 39%
- Was not of age to vote: 4%
- Don't know/refused to answer: 1%
Regardless of whether or not you voted, do you believe the presidential elections were transparent and credible?

- Yes: 57%
- No: 31%
- Don't know/refused to answer: 12%
In 2016, Tunisia may hold elections for municipal and governorate level government. How likely, if at all, are you to vote in those elections?
Perceptions of Government
I would like to ask you about your impressions of the following people. Do you approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove or disapprove of the following?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Approve</th>
<th>Disapprove</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President Beji Caid Essebsi</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prime Minister Habib Essid</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohamed Ennaceur</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taieb Baccouche</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chafik Sarsar</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>20%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yassine Brahim</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maher Ben Dhia</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>16%</td>
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<td>Mongi Rahoui</td>
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<td>Zied Adhari</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>-1%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salma Rekik</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>-4%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samira Merai</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>-4%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sihem Bensedrine</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>-4%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houssine Abbasi</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>-22%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do politicians in Tunis care about local problems in the rest of the country?
In general, are deputies in parliament doing a lot, enough, little or nothing to address the needs of people like you?
In general, are ministries doing a lot, enough, little or nothing to address the needs of people like you?
Do you feel like you know what the government is currently working on and what its priorities are?

- Yes, absolutely
- Mainly yes
- Mainly no
- Not at all
- Don’t know/refused to answer

9% Yes, absolutely  
24% Mainly yes  
16% Mainly no  
40% Not at all  
11% Don’t know/refused to answer
Do you know how to contact the deputy who represents your constituency?

- Yes: 91%
- No: 10%
Do you know how to contact a government ministry to report a problem or concern?

- Yes: 85%
- No: 15%
Perceptions of Women and Youth in Politics
What are the main challenges facing women’s political participation in Tunisia today?

- Cultural traditions: 15%
- Family resistance: 12%
- Lack of support: 12%
- Lack of education: 9%
- Islamic law: 7%
- Lack of desire to participate: 7%
- Lack of money: 6%
- Security fears: 5%
- Other: 5%
- Don't know/refused to answer: 23%
What are the main challenges facing young people’s political participation in Tunisia today?

- Lack of desire to participate: 19%
- Lack of support: 19%
- Lack of money: 18%
- Lack of education: 9%
- Security fears: 2%
- Family resistance: 1%
- Cultural traditions: 1%
- Islamic law: 1%
- Other: 11%
- Don't know/refused to answer: 20%

*Significant responses under Other: Inexperience 3%; Lack of confidence 2%; Lack of awareness 2%; Marginalization 1%.
Which political party has the strongest platform for women’s issues?

- **Nidaa Tounes**: 32%
- **Jebha Chaabia**: 8%
- **Ennahdha**: 8%
- **Afek Tounes**: 2%
- **Union Patriotique Libre**: 2%
- **Congrès Pour la République**: 1%
- **Al Joumhouri**: 1%
- **Other**: 3%
- **Don’t know/refused to answer**: 43%
Which political party has the strongest platform for youth issues?

- Nidaa Tounes: 19%
- Jebha Chaabia: 12%
- Ennahdha: 7%
- Afek Tounes: 4%
- Union Patriotique Libre: 3%
- Congrès Pour la République: 2%
- Al Joumhouri: 1%
- Other: 5%
- Don't know/refused to answer: 47%
Do you believe that the government is promoting policies and programs to support the rights of women?

- 29% Yes, absolutely
- 31% Mainly yes
- 12% Mainly no
- 15% Not at all
- 14% Don't know/refused to answer
Do you believe that the government in your country is promoting policies and programs that help youth succeed?

- Yes, absolutely: 18%
- Mainly yes: 28%
- Mainly no: 16%
- Not at all: 28%
- Don’t know/refused to answer: 10%
If two equally-qualified candidates, one man and one woman, are running for parliamentary elections, whom would you vote for?

- The woman: 26%
- The man: 65%
- Don't know/refused to answer: 9%
Have you ever voted for a person younger than the age of 40 for elected office?

- Yes: 91%
- No: 6%
- Don't know/refused to answer: 3%
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Politicians do not pay attention to the needs and ideas of women.

- Yes, absolutely: 28%
- Mainly yes: 22%
- Mainly no: 19%
- Not at all: 20%
- Don't know/refused to answer: 10%
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Politicians do not pay attention to the needs and ideas of young people.

Yes, absolutely 31%  
Mainly yes 22%  
Mainly no 19%  
Not at all 19%  
Don't know/refused to answer 8%
In your opinion, who is the strongest female leader in Tunisia?
(open-ended)

- Samia Abbou: 10%
- Meherzia Labidi: 8%
- Radhia Nasraoui: 6%
- Sihem Bensedrine: 3%
- Amel Karboul: 2%
- Bochra Ben Hmida: 2%
- Wided Bouchamaoui: 2%
- Maya Jribi: 2%
- Kalthoum Kannou: 1%
- Basma Khalfaoui: 1%
- Naziha Rjiba (Om Zied): 1%
- Maya Ksouri: 1%
- Salma Rekik: 1%
- Other: 2%
- No one: 4%
- Don't know/refused to answer: 54%
Do you have access to the Internet?

- Yes: 50%
- No: 50%

If yes, where do you usually access it? (n=612)

- Home: 54%
- Mobile: 34%
- Work: 7%
- School: 5%
- Other: 1%
Which specific media source do you trust most for your political news?

(open-ended)

- National 1: 26%
- El Hiwar Ettounsi: 10%
- Nessma TV: 8%
- France 24: 6%
- Hannibal: 4%
- Zitouna TV: 3%
- Al Jazeera TV: 2%
- Facebook: 1%
- Internet: 1%
- Other Radio: 4%
- Other Television: 3%
- Other: 3%
- No one: 5%
- Don't know/refused to answer: 22%
Which specific media source do you trust the least for your political news?

(open-ended)

- Nessma TV: 16%
- National 1: 13%
- El Hiwar Ettounsi: 9%
- Al Jazeera TV: 6%
- Hannibal TV: 4%
- Facebook: 3%
- Al Chourouk newspaper: 1%
- Internet: 1%
- Zitouna TV: 1%
- Almoutawasets TV: 1%
- Other Newspaper: 2%
- Other: 3%
- No one: 1%
- Don't know/refused to answer: 39%
# Demographics

## Gender
- Male: 50%
- Female: 50%

## Language Spoken
- Arabic: 92%
- French: 72%
- English: 41%
- Other: 13%

## Population Density
- Urban: 69%
- Rural: 31%

## Age Group
- 18-35: 47%
- 36-49: 25%
- 50-65: 19%
- 65+: 9%

## Education
- Never went to school: 11%
- Primary school: 25%
- Secondary: 41%
- Higher than secondary: 24%

## Household Income (Monthly)
- Under 200 Dinar: 18%
- 201-500 Dinar: 42%
- 501-1000 Dinar: 24%
- 1001-1500 Dinar: 7%
- 1501-2500 Dinar: 3%
- More than 2501 Dinar: 1%
- Don't know: 4%
- No answer: 2%