

Tunisia Survey, Cornell University
Spring 2022

Attitudes on Social and Political Issues in Tunisia 2022

Hello my name is _____. I work with ONE TO ONE FOR RESEARCH AND POLLING. This survey is part of a study about social and political issues conducted by Cornell University. We would very much like to obtain your opinions and have a few questions to ask you. This will only take a few minutes. We are only interested in your opinions and all your answers will be treated as strictly confidential. The participation in the survey is voluntary. If at any point you wish to close this – you are entirely at liberty to do so.

Would you please give us 20 minutes of your time?

Yes

No

INSTRUCTIONS:

Please thank the participant in all the cases whether or not he or she accepted to participate in the survey.

Do you have any question before we start the survey?

1. Yes
2. No

INSTRUCTIONS:

PLEASE LISTEN CAREFULLY TO THE QUALITY OF THE VOICES.
RESPONDENTS MUST BE ARTICULATE, EASILY UNDERSTOOD, speaking fluently and COMMUNICATE FREELY. TERMINATE IF THEY MUMBLE and SOUND CONFUSED.

Part I: Demographic and Political Indicators

1. What is your age?

Age:

98. Don't know (Do not read)

99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

2. In which governorate do you currently live?

a. Ariana

b. Béja

c. Ben Arous

d. Bizerte

e. Gabès

f. Gafsa

g. Jendouba

h. Kairouan

i. Kasserine

j. Kebili

k. Le Kef

l. Mahdia

m. Manouba

n. Médenine

o. Monastir

p. Nabeul

q. Sfax

r. Sidi Bou Zid

s. Siliana

t. Sousse

u. Tataouine

v. Tozeur

w. Tunis

x. Zaghouan

98. Don't know (Do not read)

99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

3. In which Delegation do you currently live?

Delegation:

98. Don't know (Do not read)

99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

- 4. What is your gender? (INTERVIEWER: NOTE GENDER, DO NOT READ)**
- a. Male
 - b. Female

5. What is your marital status?

- a. Single
- b. Married
- c. Divorced or separated
- d. Widowed

99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

6. What is your highest level of education?

- a. Illiterate/No formal education
- b. Elementary
- c. Preparatory/Basic
- d. Secondary
- e. Some university education
- f. Vocational
- g. License/Bachelor's degree
- h. MA and above

98. Don't know (Do not read)

99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

7. What is your employment status?

- a. employed
- b. unemployed
- c. student
- d. housewife
- e. retired

98. Don't know (Do not read)

99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

7.1. If employed, do you work in the public or private sector?

- a. public sector
- b. private sector
- c. Other: specify

98. Don't know (Do not read)

99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

7.2. If employed, do you have a work contract? [INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT HAS MORE THAN ONE JOBS, RECORD MAIN OCCUPATION]?

- a. yes, short term contract

- b. yes, permanent contract
- c. no contract
- 98. don't know (do not read)
- 99. Declined to answer (do not read)

7.3. If employed, what is your occupation?

- a. Civil servant
- b. Professional such as a lawyer, accountant, teacher, doctor, etc.
- c. Employee in management position
- d. Manual labor
- e. Site worker
- f. Agricultural worker
- g. Owner of a farm
- h. Owner of a shop/grocery store
- i. Worker at a shop / store
- j. Working at the armed forces or the police
- k. Driver (taxi or other public transportation)
- l. Other (specify)

-
- 98. Don't know (Do not read)
 - 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

7.4 If unemployed, how long have you been unemployed?

Record value:

8. Have you ever served in the military? (at least one year)

- a. Yes, I have served in the military **in the past**
- b. Yes, I am **currently** serving in the military.
- c. No, I have **never** served in the military.
- d. Declined to answer (Do not read)

9. Are you or a household member currently employed in a mining or energy industry, including phosphate mining, lead mining, oil extraction, and natural gas extraction?

- a. **Yes**
 - 1. **Full time contract**
 - 2. **Short time contract**
- b. **No**
 - 98 Don't know (Do not read)
 - 99 Declined to answer (Do not read)

10. What is the total current monthly income for all household members? Pick the closest number. (INTERVIEWER: READ OPTIONS)

- a. No current income
- b. 250 TND
- c. 500 TND
- d. 750 TND
- e. 1000 TND
- f. 1250 TND
- g. 1500 TND
- h. 1750 TND
- i. 2000 TND
- j. 2250 or more TND
- 98. Don't know (Do not read)
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

11. In general, you would describe yourself as religious, somewhat religious, or not religious?

- a. Religious
- b. Somewhat religious
- c. Not religious
- 98. Don't Know (Do not Read)
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not Read)

12. Are you a current or former member of the UGTT?

- a. Yes, current
- b. Yes, former
 - i. When did you become a member?
- c. No
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

13. Are you a current or former member of any other civil society organizations or professional associations?

- a. Yes, current
- b. Yes, former
- c. No
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

14. Did you vote in the 2019 parliamentary elections?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

14.1. If yes, for which political party did you vote? ((INTERVIEWER: READ OPTIONS))

- a. Ennahda
- b. Qalb Tunis
- c. Free Destourian Party
- d. Democratic Current
- e. Karama
- f. People's Movement
- g. Tahya Tunis
- h. Other: _____
- 98. Blank or invalid ballot
- 99. Don't know / don't remember (Do not read)
- 100. Declined to answer (Do not read)

15. Did you vote in the 2019 presidential elections (first round)?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- 98. Don't know (Do not read)
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

15.1. If yes, for which candidate did you vote? (INTERVIEWER: READ OPTIONS)

- a. Kais Saied
- b. Nabil Karoui
- c. Abdelfattah Mourou
- d. Abdelkrim Zbidi
- e. Youssef Chahed
- f. Safi Saied
- g. Lotfi Mraïhi
- h. Saïfeddine Makhoulouf
- i. Abir Moussi
- j. Mohammed Abbou
- k. Moncef Marzouki
- l. Other: _____
- 98. Blank or invalid ballot
- 99. Don't know / don't remember (Do not read)
- 100. Declined to answer (Do not read)

16. Did you vote in the 2019 presidential elections (second round)?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- 98. Don't know (Do not read)
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

16.1. If yes, for which candidate did you vote? (INTERVIEWER: READ OPTIONS)

- a. Kais Saied
- b. Nabil Karoui
- 98. Blank or invalid ballot
- 99. Don't know / don't remember (Do not read)
- 100. Declined to answer (Do not read)

17. Did you vote in the 2018 municipal elections?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

18. Did you participate in street protests during the 2010/2011 revolution?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

19. Have you participated in any protests, sit-ins, or strikes during the last five years? If so, for how many days have you participated in total?

(INTERVIEWER: READ OPTIONS)

- a. Yes: more than 20 days of participation
- b. Yes: 10-19 days of participation
- c. Yes: **5-9 days of participation**
- d. Yes: 1-4 days of participation
- e. No
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

If you have participated in any protests (Q17 = a,b,c), which of the following types of protests, sit-ins, or strikes have you attended? Tell me "yes" or "no" for each option.				
	Yes	No	Don't know (don't read)	Refuse (don't read)
19a. Going on strike against an employer for labor demands	1	2	98	99
19b. Protest or sit-in demanding employment	1	2	98	99
19c. Protest or sit-in about social rights, like healthcare, infrastructure, prices, or clean environment	1	2	98	99
19d. Protest or sit-in about a political decision or event in Tunisia	1	2	98	99

19e. Protest or sit-in about repression or police brutality	1	2	98	99
10f. Protest or sit-in about an international issue, such as support for Palestine	1	2	98	99

Part I: Social and Economic Attitudes

Note: Respondent should be instructed to pick any number from 1 to 5.

20. On a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 being highest and 1 being lowest, rank the quality of state services, including schools, clinics, and hospitals, in your region.

- a. 1
- b. 2
- c. 3
- d. 4
- e. 5

98. Don't know (Do not read)

99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

21. On a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 being highest and 1 being lowest, rank the quality of infrastructure, including roads, electricity, and water provision, in your region.

- a. 1
- b. 2
- c. 3
- d. 4
- e. 5

98. Don't know (Do not read)

99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

22. On a scale of 1 to 5, how much corruption is there in your region? 5 is very high corruption, 1 is very low corruption.

- b. 1
- b. 2
- c. 3
- d. 4
- e. 5

98. Don't know (Do not read)

99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

23. On a scale of 1 to 5, to what extent do you feel like you have a voice in the political affairs of your region? Imagine that one means very little to no voice and 5 means a lot of voice

- a. 1
- b. 2
- c. 3
- d. 4
- e. 5

98. Don't know (Do not read)

99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

24. On a scale of 1 to 5, how much do you support taxation and redistribution of wealth in Tunisia? Imagine that 1 means no taxation and no redistribution, and 5 means that all income and wealth is collected and redistributed equally.

- a. 1
- b. 2
- c. 3
- d. 4
- e. 5

98. Don't know (Do not read)

99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

25. Some Tunisian regions have high levels of “natural resources,” such as phosphates, oil, and gas. On a scale of 1 to 5, how resource-rich is your region compared to other regions? 5 is very high resources, 1 is very low resources.

- a. 1
- b. 2
- c. 3
- d. 4
- e. 5

98. Don't know (Do not read)

99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

26. In Tunisia there are many extractive industries, including phosphate mining, lead mining, oil extraction, and natural gas extraction. Some people think that revenues from these industries should be controlled by the national government, and some people think that revenues should be reserved for the local communities where mining and drilling takes place. On a scale of 1 to 5, what proportion of revenues from mining and drilling should be reserved for the local communities? 1 means all revenues should be controlled by the national government, and 5 means that all revenues should be reserved for the local communities.

- a. 1
- b. 2
- c. 3
- d. 4
- e. 5

98. Don't know (Do not read)

99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

27. In Tunisia there are many extractive industries, including phosphate mining, lead mining, oil extraction, and natural gas extraction. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement? “Local residents in resource production areas have a right to full-time employment in these industries.” (INTERVIEWER: READ ANSWERS)

- a. Strongly agree

- b. Agree somewhat
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Disagree somewhat
 - e. Strongly disagree
98. Don't know (Do not read)
99. Decline to answer (Do not read)

28. In Tunisia there are many extractive industries, including phosphate mining, lead mining, oil extraction, and natural gas extraction. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement? "Extractive industries in Tunisia should be curtailed in order to protect the environment." (INTERVIEWER: READ ANSWERS)

- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree somewhat
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Disagree somewhat
 - e. Strongly disagree
98. Don't know (Do not read)
99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

29. In Tunisia, some mineral industries are state-owned, and others are privatized. In your opinion, what is the best ownership arrangement for mining companies? (INTERVIEWER: READ ANSWERS)

- a. Mining companies should be public, state-owned companies
 - b. Mining companies should be privately owned, by Tunisian investors only
 - c. Mining companies should be privately owned, and open to both Tunisian and foreign investors
 - d. Mining companies should be owned by Tunisian workers employed in these companies
98. Don't know (Do not read)
99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

30. Some areas of Tunisia are known to have many natural resources, such as phosphates or oil, but don't have any operational mines or wells. In your opinion, what should the government do in these cases? (INTERVIEWER: READ ANSWERS)

- a. The government should invest to open mines or wells, in order to access these resources.
 - b. The local community should be given the choice whether to open mines or wells.
 - c. The government should not open any new mines or wells.
98. Don't know (Do not read)
99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

31. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

“Protests and sit-ins help citizens to achieve their demands.”

(INTERVIEWER: READ ANSWERS)

- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree somewhat
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Disagree somewhat
 - e. Strongly disagree
98. Don't know (Do not read)
99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

32. Sometimes, protesters will use disruptive tactics, such as blocking roads, to achieve their demands. Which statement describes your views on this topic?

(INSTRUCTION: Read answers)

- a. All protests have a right to block roads in order to achieve their demands
 - b. Only some protests are justified to block roads, and only in **specific circumstances**
 - c. Protesters should **not disrupt** roads under any circumstances.
- 98 Don't know (Do not read)
- 99 Decline to answer (Do not read)

33. To what extent do you agree with the following statement. The Tunisian General Labor Union (UGTT) should intervene to help unemployed protesters gain their demands?

- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree somewhat
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Disagree somewhat
 - e. Strongly disagree
98. Don't know (Do not read)
99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

Part II: Political Attitudes

34. Do you agree with President Kais Saied decision to suspend parliament on 25 July 2021?

- a. Yes
 - b. No
98. Don't know (Do not read)
99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

35. What statement best characterizes the July 25 events in Tunisia?

(INTERVIEWER: READ ANSWERS)

- a. They represent a necessary correction to Tunisia's democratic transition
- b. They undermine the democratic transition
- 98. Don't know (Do not read)
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

36. To what extent do you agree with the following statement? "Tunisia should go back to the 2014 constitution" (INTERVIEWER: READ ANSWERS)

- a. Strongly agree
- b. Agree somewhat
- c. Neither agree nor disagree
- d. Disagree somewhat
- e. Strongly disagree
- 98. Don't know (Do not read)
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

37. A national dialogue that is needed to resolve the current political situation in Tunisia (INTERVIEWER: READ ANSWERS)

- a. Yes
- b. Yes but it should include all political parties
- c. Yes but it should include all parties except ones in power before July 2021
- d. No, the president should not be constrained by a dialogue
- 98. Don't know (Do not read)
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

38. Do you support the digital consultation on the Tunisian constitution?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- 98. Don't know (Do not read)
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

39. To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "Members of Parliament very quickly lose touch with ordinary people after they assume office." (INTERVIEWER: READ ANSWERS)

- a. Agree Strongly
- b. Agree Somewhat
- c. Neither agree, nor disagree
- d. Disagree Somewhat
- e. Disagree Strongly
- 98. Don't Know (Do not read)
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

40. To what extent do you agree with the following statement: “The people, not politicians, should make the most important policy decisions.”

(INTERVIEWER: READ ANSWERS)

- a. Agree Strongly
- b. Agree Somewhat
- c. Neither agree, nor disagree
- d. Disagree Somewhat
- e. Disagree Strongly
- 98. Don't Know (Do not read)
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

41. To what extent do you agree with the following statement: “Elected officials talk too much and take too little action.” (INTERVIEWER: READ

ANSWERS)

- a. Agree Strongly
- b. Agree Somewhat
- c. Neither agree, nor disagree
- d. Disagree Somewhat
- e. Disagree Strongly
- 98. Don't Know (Do not read)
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

42. To what extent do you agree with the following statement: “Officers from the Tunisian military should serve in the government.” (INTERVIEWER: READ

ANSWERS)

- a. Agree Strongly
- b. Agree Somewhat
- c. Neither agree, nor disagree
- d. Disagree Somewhat
- e. Disagree Strongly
- 98. Don't Know (Do not read)
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

43. To what extent do you agree with the following statement. “The UGTT should directly present candidates for political office.” (INTERVIEWER: READ

ANSWERS)

- a. Agree Strongly
- b. Agree Somewhat
- c. Neither agree, nor disagree
- d. Disagree Somewhat
- e. Disagree Strongly
- 98. Don't Know (Do not read)
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

44. To what extent do you agree with the following statement. “The UGTT played a positive role in Tunisia’s democratic transition from the revolution until July 2021.” (INTERVIEWER: READ ANSWERS)

- a. Agree Strongly
- b. Agree Somewhat
- c. Neither agree, nor disagree
- d. Disagree Somewhat
- e. Disagree Strongly
- 98. Don’t Know (Do not read)
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

45. To what extent do you agree with the following statement. “The UGTT played a positive role in Tunisia’s democratic transition since until July 2021.” (INTERVIEWER: READ ANSWERS)

- a. Agree Strongly
- b. Agree Somewhat
- c. Neither agree, nor disagree
- d. Disagree Somewhat
- e. Disagree Strongly
- 98. Don’t Know (Do not read)
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

46. To what extent do you agree with the following statement. “The UGTT should support a return to the 2014 constitutional order.” (INTERVIEWER: READ ANSWERS)

- a. Agree Strongly
- b. Agree Somewhat
- c. Neither agree, nor disagree
- d. Disagree Somewhat
- e. Disagree Strongly
- 98. Don’t Know (Do not read)
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

47. To what extent do you agree with the following statement. “The UGTT should support President Said.” (INTERVIEWER: READ ANSWERS)

- a. Agree Strongly
- b. Agree Somewhat
- c. Neither agree, nor disagree
- d. Disagree Somewhat
- e. Disagree Strongly
- 98. Don’t Know (Do not read)
- 99. Declined to answer (Do not read)

48. To what extent do you agree with the following statement. “The UGTT should support a national dialogue.” (INTERVIEWER: READ ANSWERS)

- a. Agree Strongly

- b. Agree Somewhat
 - c. Neither agree, nor disagree
 - d. Disagree Somewhat
 - e. Disagree Strongly
98. Don't Know (Do not read)
99. Declined to answer (Do not read)