

Bureaucrat-Local Politician Relations and Hierarchical Local Governance in Emerging Democracies: A Case Study of Tunisia

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1 Appendix

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Interview Questionnaire:

Questions for mayors and municipal council members:

1. How long have you been serving the local community?
2. Why did you decide to join the local / municipal community?
3. Is this the first time that you exercise an official role in state institutions?
 - Before or after the revolution?
4. Do you think that the constitution and the the Code of Local Collectives have helped Tunisia to move to a more inclusive form of government for all? Why not?
5. What is the role of citizens in local government in your area?
6. What are the main projects and the main problems in your municipality?
7. Do you think that personal relations with the central government are important for obtaining resources?
 - Does your party help in establishing personal relations?
 - Does your past experience help in establishing personal relations?
 - Are your personal relations good with the central government?
8. What do your constituents usually ask of local government?
9. Many projects require resources from the central government. Do you think that focusing resources on the central level affects your performance in municipal service? Do you think that the centralization of resources hinders the participatory mechanisms of local governance? Why and why not?
10. Do you think that there are conflicts between the parties in your municipal council?
11. Do you think that the administration affects the decisions of the municipality?

12. Do you think that civil society is strong in your area?
13. Statistics indicate that the participation rate of Tunisians in local government is low. Why do you think?
14. What do you think your municipality can do to increase the effective participation of citizens in local government?
15. Do you have any additional comments?

Questions addressed to members of the municipal council:

1. How long have you been serving the local community?
2. Why did you decide to join the local / municipal community?
3. Is this the first time that you exercise an official role in state institutions?
 - Before or after the revolution?
4. Do you think that the constitution and the municipal law (the Code of Local Communities) have helped Tunisia to move to a more inclusive form of government for all? Why not?
5. Do you think that participatory democracy mechanisms are in your municipality?
6. What is the role of citizens in local government in your area?
7. What are the main projects in your municipality?
8. Do you think that the decision-making process in your area is done in an all-inclusive way?
9. Do you think that personal relations with the central government are important for obtaining resources?
 - Does mayor's/your party help in establishing personal relations?
 - Does mayor's/your party help in establishing personal relations?
 - Are your/mayor's personal relations good with the central government?
10. Do you think that the mayor takes decisions alone or after consulting the municipal council and citizens? Why?
11. Do you think that there are conflicts between the parties in your municipal council?
 - Are decisions made based on partisan alliances? What are the most prominent party alliances?
12. Do you think that the lack of transparency and corruption are problems in your area?
13. Do you think that the administration affects the municipal decisions?

14. Do you think that services in your area are given on the basis of party loyalty? If so, Why do they act on the basis of their party affiliation?
15. Do you think that your municipality's budget is sufficient to meet the needs of the region?
16. Do you think civil society is strong in your area?
17. The statistics indicate that the participation rate of Tunisians in local government is low. Why do you think?
18. What do you think your municipality can do to increase the effective participation of citizens in local government?
19. In your opinion, what determines the size of the budgets distributed to the municipalities? Do you think the mayor's personal relationships are a factor in determining the size of the budget?
20. Do you have any additional comments?

Questions addressed to civil society organizations:

1. How long have you been active in civil society?
2. What are the goals of your organization in general?
3. What are the main goals of your organization regarding local governance?
4. What kind of methods do you use to achieve your primary goals?
5. Why do you think that the participation rate in local government is low in Tunisia and low or high in your region?
6. Do you think that the decision-making process in your area is done in an all-inclusive way? Why and why not?
 - What do you think civil society organizations and citizens can do to obtain a more effective form of local government?
 - What do you think municipal councils and mayors can do to increase citizen participation in local government?
7. Do you think that the constitution and the municipal law (Local Communities Magazine) have helped Tunisia to move to a more inclusive form of government for all? Why not?
8. What is the role of citizens in local government in your area?
9. What are the main projects in your municipality?
10. Do you think the relationship between the mayor and the central government is good? Why?
11. Do you think that the relationship between the mayor and the central government helps the president in obtaining resources?

12. Do you think that the mayor takes decisions alone or after consulting with the municipal council and the citizens? Why?
13. Do you think that there are conflicts between the parties in your municipal council?
14. Are decisions made based on partisan alliances? What are the most prominent party alliances?
15. Do you think that the lack of transparency and corruption are problems in your area?
16. Do you think that the administration affects the municipal decisions?
17. Do you think that services in your area are provided on the basis of party loyalty? Why do they act on the basis of their party affiliation?
18. Do you think that your municipality's budget is sufficient to meet the needs of the region?
19. In your opinion, what determines the size of the budgets distributed to the municipalities? Do you think the mayor's personal relationships are a factor in determining the size of the budget?
20. Do you have any additional comments?

The transparency score in municipalities where the ties of governors are identified:

	Municipality	Mayor's Party	Governor's Party	Governorate	Transparency
1	Maagoula	Ennahda	Union	Baca	44.00
2	Medjez el-Bab	Ennahda	Union	Baca	66.00
3	Ouchteta Jmila	Ennahda	Union	Baca	0.00
4	Goubellat	Independent	Union	Baca	1.67
5	Sidi Ismail	Independent	Union	Baca	0.00
6	Teborsouk	Independent	Union	Baca	32.00
7	Slougueya	Left/Other	Union	Baca	0.00
8	Testour	Left/Other	Union	Baca	27.00
9	Beja	Nidaa	Union	Baca	63.02
10	Nefza	Nidaa	Union	Baca	44.00
11	Thibar	Nidaa	Union	Baca	0.00
12	Zahret Medien	Nidaa	Union	Baca	40.00
13	Bizerte	Ennahda	Ennahda	Bizerte	41.67
14	El Alia	Ennahda	Ennahda	Bizerte	45.94
15	Ghar-El-Melh	Ennahda	Ennahda	Bizerte	45.83
16	Menzel Bourguiba	Ennahda	Ennahda	Bizerte	57.92
17	Menzil El Jemil	Ennahda	Ennahda	Bizerte	61.98
18	Raf Raf	Ennahda	Ennahda	Bizerte	25.21
19	Sejnane	Ennahda	Ennahda	Bizerte	56.88
20	Tinja	Ennahda	Ennahda	Bizerte	1.67
21	Aousja	Independent	Ennahda	Bizerte	39.79
22	Hachechna	Independent	Ennahda	Bizerte	25.73

23	Joumine	Independent	Ennahda	Bizerte	0.00
24	Metline	Independent	Ennahda	Bizerte	36.98
25	Ras-Jebel	Independent	Ennahda	Bizerte	48.44
26	Menzil Abd Alrahman	Left/Other	Ennahda	Bizerte	47.92
27	Ghezala	Nidaa	Ennahda	Bizerte	30.31
28	Mateur	Nidaa	Ennahda	Bizerte	50.21
29	Utique	Nidaa	Ennahda	Bizerte	18.33
30	Bouchemma	Ennahda	Ennahda	Gabes	0.00
31	Chenini Nihal	Ennahda	Ennahda	Gabes	35.21
32	Dkhilet Toujen	Ennahda	Ennahda	Gabes	0.00
33	Gabes	Ennahda	Ennahda	Gabes	52.19
34	Ghannouche	Ennahda	Ennahda	Gabes	42.00
35	Habib Thamer	Ennahda	Ennahda	Gabes	14.00
36	Hamma	Ennahda	Ennahda	Gabes	44.90
37	Ktana	Ennahda	Ennahda	Gabes	30.31
38	Mareth	Ennahda	Ennahda	Gabes	33.33
39	Menzel-Habib	Ennahda	Ennahda	Gabes	0.00
40	Teboulbou	Ennahda	Ennahda	Gabes	0.00
41	Matmata	Independent	Ennahda	Gabes	33.65
42	Metouia	Independent	Ennahda	Gabes	41.67
43	Nouvelle Matmata	Independent	Ennahda	Gabes	24.06
44	Oudref	Independent	Ennahda	Gabes	46.88
45	Zarat	Independent	Ennahda	Gabes	41.40
46	Belkhir	Ennahda	Ennahda	Gafsa	27.29
47	El Ksar	Ennahda	Ennahda	Gafsa	0.00
48	Lela	Ennahda	Ennahda	Gafsa	0.00
49	Metlaoui	Ennahda	Ennahda	Gafsa	37.19
50	El Guettar	Independent	Ennahda	Gafsa	20.52
51	Oum El Araies	Independent	Ennahda	Gafsa	33.02
52	Sened	Independent	Ennahda	Gafsa	36.77
53	Sidi Aich	Independent	Ennahda	Gafsa	15.21
54	Sidi Bouebekour	Independent	Ennahda	Gafsa	0.00
55	Zanush	Independent	Ennahda	Gafsa	1.67
56	Redeyef	Left/Other	Ennahda	Gafsa	30.21
57	Gafsa	Nidaa	Ennahda	Gafsa	56.56
58	Mdhilla	Nidaa	Ennahda	Gafsa	1.67
59	Ayn Jalulah	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Kairouan	1.67
60	Bou Hajla	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Kairouan	36.77
61	Chouachi	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Kairouan	0.00
62	Echrarda	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Kairouan	26.56
63	El Alaa	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Kairouan	41.15
64	Kairouan	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Kairouan	25.42
65	Sbikha	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Kairouan	53.75
66	Abida	Independent	Bourguibist	Kairouan	0.00
67	Haffouz	Independent	Bourguibist	Kairouan	44.38
68	Hajeb El Ayoun	Independent	Bourguibist	Kairouan	36.77
69	Menzel Hehiri	Independent	Bourguibist	Kairouan	27.40
70	Nasrallah	Left/Other	Bourguibist	Kairouan	11.04

71	Ragueda	Left/Other	Bourguibist	Kairouan	0.00
72	Al-Ain Al-Baida	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Kairouan	0.00
73	Chebika	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Kairouan	12.60
74	Echrarda El Ksour	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Kairouan	20.31
75	Johaina	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Kairouan	0.00
76	Oueslatia	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Kairouan	30.63
77	Siseb Driat	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Kairouan	1.67
78	Bahra	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Kef	0.00
79	Manzil Salim	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Kef	51.15
80	Sakiet Sidi Youssef	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Kef	35.31
81	El Ksour	Independent	Bourguibist	Kef	15.52
82	Kalaa-El-Khasba	Independent	Bourguibist	Kef	6.88
83	Nebeur	Independent	Bourguibist	Kef	24.79
84	Sers	Independent	Bourguibist	Kef	9.48
85	Tajerouine	Independent	Bourguibist	Kef	52.71
86	Zaghaouan	Independent	Bourguibist	Kef	0.00
87	Dahmani	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Kef	1.67
88	Jerissa	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Kef	45.83
89	Kalaat Senan	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Kef	4.90
90	Kef	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Kef	0.00
91	Marja	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Kef	34.48
92	Touiref	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Kef	3.33
93	Den Den	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Manouba	45.83
94	Douar Hicher	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Manouba	1.67
95	jedaida	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Manouba	23.85
96	Mornaguia	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Manouba	33.75
97	Oued Ellil	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Manouba	49.06
98	Tebourba	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Manouba	51.46
99	Manouba	Independent	Bourguibist	Manouba	50.21
100	Bassatine	Left/Other	Bourguibist	Manouba	0.00
101	El Batan	Left/Other	Bourguibist	Manouba	58.44
102	Borj El Amri	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Manouba	20.21
103	Ajim	Ennahda	Ennahda	Mednine	43.00
104	Ben Gardane	Ennahda	Ennahda	Mednine	54.38
105	Beni Kedache	Ennahda	Ennahda	Mednine	1.67
106	Boughrara	Ennahda	Ennahda	Mednine	20.42
107	Houmt Souk	Ennahda	Ennahda	Mednine	41.00
108	Medenine	Ennahda	Ennahda	Mednine	1.67
109	Midoun	Ennahda	Ennahda	Mednine	54.00
110	Sidi Makhlouf	Ennahda	Ennahda	Mednine	0.00
111	Zarzis	Ennahda	Ennahda	Mednine	50.00
112	Zarzis Nord	Ennahda	Ennahda	Mednine	28.75
113	Amiret Touazra	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Monastir	6.56
114	Khanis	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Monastir	39.06
115	Menzel Ennour	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Monastir	35.83
116	Menzel Kamel	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Monastir	42.19
117	Teboulba	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Monastir	6.46
118	Amiret El Fhoul	Independent	Bourguibist	Monastir	42.60

119	Bennane-Bodheur	Independent	Bourguibist	Monastir	22.60
120	Cherahil	Independent	Bourguibist	Monastir	6.35
121	El Gnada	Independent	Bourguibist	Monastir	36.25
122	Jemmal	Independent	Bourguibist	Monastir	51.56
123	Ksar Hellal	Independent	Bourguibist	Monastir	53.75
124	Ksibet-El-Mediouni	Independent	Bourguibist	Monastir	14.90
125	Lamta	Independent	Bourguibist	Monastir	45.00
126	Manzil Farsiy	Independent	Bourguibist	Monastir	38.75
127	Menzel Hayet	Independent	Bourguibist	Monastir	14.38
128	Monastir	Independent	Bourguibist	Monastir	50.42
129	Sidi Bunur	Independent	Bourguibist	Monastir	40.00
130	Touza	Independent	Bourguibist	Monastir	20.00
131	Bouhjar	Left/Other	Bourguibist	Monastir	14.90
132	Zeramidine	Left/Other	Bourguibist	Monastir	1.67
133	Amiret Hajjaj	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Monastir	23.13
134	Bekalta	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Monastir	0.00
135	Bembla	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Monastir	44.58
136	Beni Hassen	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Monastir	1.67
137	El Masdour	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Monastir	0.00
138	Moknine	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Monastir	34.58
139	Ouerdanine	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Monastir	14.79
140	Sahline Mootmar	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Monastir	16.67
141	Sayada	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Monastir	1.67
142	Sidi Ameer	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Monastir	3.13
143	Zaouiet Kontoch	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Monastir	0.00
144	Beni Khiar	Ennahda	Afek	Nabeul	9.48
145	El Mida	Ennahda	Afek	Nabeul	18.96
146	Fondok Jdid Selten	Ennahda	Afek	Nabeul	0.00
147	Hamam Ghezeze	Ennahda	Afek	Nabeul	37.71
148	Menzel-Temime	Ennahda	Afek	Nabeul	14.17
149	Soliman	Ennahda	Afek	Nabeul	43.02
150	Somaa	Ennahda	Afek	Nabeul	4.79
151	Tezghran Zewiyet Mgayez	Ennahda	Afek	Nabeul	30.31
152	Beni Khalled	Independent	Afek	Nabeul	15.73
153	Boucharay Chrifet	Independent	Afek	Nabeul	0.00
154	Dar Allouch	Independent	Afek	Nabeul	40.00
155	Grombalia	Independent	Afek	Nabeul	18.96
156	Hammamet	Independent	Afek	Nabeul	51.00
157	Kelibia	Independent	Afek	Nabeul	29.17
158	Korba	Independent	Afek	Nabeul	53.75
159	Korbous	Independent	Afek	Nabeul	1.67
160	Maamoura	Independent	Afek	Nabeul	23.65
161	Sidi Jdidi	Independent	Afek	Nabeul	0.00
162	Takelsa	Independent	Afek	Nabeul	39.48
163	Zaouiet Djedidi	Independent	Afek	Nabeul	22.71
164	Azmour	Nidaa	Afek	Nabeul	31.88
165	Bou Argoub	Nidaa	Afek	Nabeul	1.67
166	Dar Chaabane El Fehri	Nidaa	Afek	Nabeul	55.00

167	El Haouaria	Nidaa	Afek	Nabeul	45.00
168	menzel-bouzelfa	Nidaa	Afek	Nabeul	45.33
169	Menzel Horr	Nidaa	Afek	Nabeul	22.00
170	Nabeul	Nidaa	Afek	Nabeul	28.33
171	Tazarka	Nidaa	Afek	Nabeul	30.00
172	Bir Ali Ben Khalifa	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Sfax	23.54
173	Chihia	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Sfax	38.69
174	El Ain	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Sfax	23.00
175	El Amra	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Sfax	0.00
176	El Hencha	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Sfax	6.35
177	Gremda	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Sfax	24.73
178	Hazeg Ellouza	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Sfax	0.00
179	Menzel-Chaker	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Sfax	31.98
180	Ouabed Khazanet	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Sfax	0.00
181	Sakiet Eddaier	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Sfax	37.00
182	Sakiet Ezzit	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Sfax	19.00
183	Sfax	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Sfax	1.67
184	Sidi Ali Belabed	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Sfax	0.00
185	Thyna	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Sfax	1.67
186	Aachech	Independent	Bourguibist	Sfax	0.00
187	Agareb	Independent	Bourguibist	Sfax	0.00
188	Ennasr	Independent	Bourguibist	Sfax	0.00
189	Hadjeb	Independent	Bourguibist	Sfax	0.00
190	Mahras	Independent	Bourguibist	Sfax	63.02
191	Skhira	Independent	Bourguibist	Sfax	1.67
192	Jebiniana	Left/Other	Bourguibist	Sfax	1.67
193	Graiba	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Sfax	18.00
194	Kerkenah	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Sfax	17.92
195	Kalaa Kebira	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Sousse	38.02
196	Kalla Seghira	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Sousse	46.00
197	M'saken	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Sousse	65.00
198	Messadine	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Sousse	62.00
199	Chat Mariem	Independent	Bourguibist	Sousse	36.15
200	Enfida	Independent	Bourguibist	Sousse	37.50
201	Ezzouhour	Independent	Bourguibist	Sousse	16.88
202	Krimet Hicher	Independent	Bourguibist	Sousse	1.67
203	Ksibet Thrayet	Independent	Bourguibist	Sousse	48.00
204	Sidi Bou Ali	Independent	Bourguibist	Sousse	27.40
205	Zaouiet Sousse	Independent	Bourguibist	Sousse	55.00
206	Hamam Sousse	Left/Other	Bourguibist	Sousse	56.00
207	Akouda	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Sousse	59.00
208	Bouficha	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Sousse	1.67
209	Hergla	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Sousse	58.23
210	Kondar	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Sousse	45.83
211	Sidi El Hani	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Sousse	46.00
212	Sousse	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Sousse	64.00
213	Tamegzha	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Touezur	47.71
214	Degache	Independent	Bourguibist	Touezur	41.00

215	Hama al-ceriyd	Independent	Bourguibist	Touezur	28.00
216	Hezoua	Independent	Bourguibist	Touezur	0.00
217	Nefta	Independent	Bourguibist	Touezur	44.00
218	Tozeur	Independent	Bourguibist	Touezur	28.00
219	Bardo	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Tunis	44.69
220	Kram	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Tunis	64.58
221	Sidi Hassine	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Tunis	31.56
222	Tunis	Ennahda	Bourguibist	Tunis	24.79
223	Marsa	Independent	Bourguibist	Tunis	61.56
224	Carthage	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Tunis	55.94
225	Halaq Al Wadi	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Tunis	22.60
226	Sidi Bousaid	Nidaa	Bourguibist	Tunis	39.38
227	Jebel Oust	Ennahda	Ennahda	Zagouan	35.00
228	Amayem	Independent	Ennahda	Zagouan	0.00
229	Bir Mcherga	Independent	Ennahda	Zagouan	1.67
230	El Fahs	Independent	Ennahda	Zagouan	1.67
231	Nadhour	Independent	Ennahda	Zagouan	41.33
232	Souaf	Independent	Ennahda	Zagouan	21.04
233	Zaghouan	Independent	Ennahda	Zagouan	31.00
234	Zriba	Nidaa	Ennahda	Zagouan	64.06

Table 1: Transparency Score in Municipalities (Governors' ties are identified)