

Comparative Study of Electoral Systems

Module 5: Macro Report

Version: September 14, 2016

Country: Tunisia

Date of Election: October 6th, 2019

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NOTES TO COLLABORATORS

- There are eight sections (numbered A-H inclusive) in this report. Please ensure that you complete all the sections.
- The information provided in this report contributes to the macro data portion of the CSES, an important component of the CSES project. The information may be filled out by yourself, or by an expert or experts of your choice. Your efforts in providing these data are greatly appreciated.
- Any supplementary documents that you can provide (e.g.: electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports, district data) are also appreciated, and may be made available on the CSES website.
- Answers should be as of the date of the election being studied.
- Where brackets [] appear, collaborators should answer by placing an “X” within the appropriate bracket or brackets. For example: [X]
- If more space is needed to answer any question, please lengthen the document as necessary.

A) DATA PERTINENT TO ELECTION AT WHICH MODULE WAS ADMINISTERED

1a. Type of Election:

- Parliamentary/Legislative
 Parliamentary/Legislative and Presidential
 Presidential
 Other; please specify: _____

1b. If the type of election in Question 1a included Parliamentary/Legislative, was the election for the Upper House, Lower House, or both?

- Upper House
 Lower House
 Both
 Other; please specify: unicameral

2a. What was the party of the president *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential?

Nidaa Tounes

2b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was parliamentary?

Between 2014 and 2019, there have been two prime ministers: Habib Essid who is an independent (2015-2016), and Youssef Chahed who belongs to Nidaa Tounes (2016-2020).

In 2019, Youssef Chahed split from Nidaa Tounes party and formed his own party called “Tahya Tounes.”¹

2c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".) Please also provide a website link to this data if possible.

(Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings. Please also list cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties).

Two governments ruled the post 2014 elections period in Tunisia: The government of Habib Essid and the government of Youssef Chahed. Each of them had two cabinets. The following table lists the last cabinet that was in power prior to the most recent elections (2017-2020) and which had a total of 28 ministers and 15 secretaries of state².

¹ See article <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/6/2/tunisia-pm-chahed-elected-president-of-new-party-tahya-tounes> accessed 26.10.2020

² See full article

<https://www.aa.com.tr/ar/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%B1/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AA%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%A1%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D9%84%D9%88%D8%B2%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%A1-%D9%88%D9%83%D8%AA%D8%A7%D8%A8-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AF%D9%88%D9%84%D8%A9-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%AD%D9%83%D9%88%D9%85%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B4%D8%A7%D9%87%D8%AF-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AB%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A9/906943> accessed 26.10.2020

Party Name	Number of cabinet positions
Independent	9 ministers and 3 secretaries of state
Nidaa Tounes	7 ministers and 5 secretaries of state
Ennahda	4 ministers and 3 secretaries of state
Afek Tounes	2 ministers and 2 secretaries of state
Social Democratic Path	1 minister
National Destourian Initiative	1 minister
Republican party	1 minister
Machroua Tounes	2 secretaries of state
Tunisian General Labor Union (UGTT- trade union)	2 ministers
Tunisian Union of Agriculture and Fisheries (UTAP)	1 minister

2d. What was the size of the cabinet *prior* to the election (i.e.: total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 2c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count.

(Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings).

29 (1 prime minister + 28 ministers)

3a. What was the party of the president *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential?

Independent

3b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was parliamentary?

There have been two prime ministers since the 2019 elections:

- Elyes Fhakfakh (Feb 2020- Sept 2020) Ettakatol Party
- Hichem Mechichi (Sept 2020- now) Independent

3c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all"). Please provide a website link to this data if possible.

(Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings. Please also list cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties).

Cabinet of Hichem Mechichi (Sept 2020- now)³

Party Name	Number of cabinet positions
Independent	All

³ See article <https://theArabweekly.com/tunisian-pm-designate-announces-new-cabinet-independent-technocrats> accessed 26.10.2020

3d. What was the size of the cabinet *after* the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 3c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count.

(Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings).

1 prime minister + 28 ministers

4a. Please provide **a source** of data detailing the official election results at the **national level** (votes and seats) for **all** parties participating in the election. Please provide a website link to this data if possible. If the data is not available electronically, please provide the information in paper format.

(Note: There is no requirement to detail the results here. Instead, an official source where this data can be accessed is sufficient).

ISIE- Independent High Authority for Elections (Tunisia)

<http://www.isie.tn/actualites/2019/11/08/les-resultats-definitifs-des-elections-legislatives-2019/>

<https://www.webmanagercenter.com/2019/10/09/439855/legislatives-2019-repartition-officielle-des-sieges-a-lassemblee-isie/>

Data about the Assembly of the People's Representatives:
https://data.ipu.org/content/tunisia?chamber_id=13546

Data regarding the number of registered voters at the presidential elections:

<http://www.isie.tn/elections/election-presidentielle-anticipee-2019/statistiques/>

4b. Please provide **a source** of data detailing the official election results at the **district level** (votes and seats) for **all** parties participating in the election. Please provide a website link to this data if possible. If the data is not available electronically, please provide the information in paper format.

(Note: There is no requirement to detail the results here. Instead, an official source where this data can be accessed is sufficient).

ISIE- Independent High Authority for Elections (Tunisia)

<http://www.isie.tn/actualites/2019/11/08/les-resultats-definitifs-des-elections-legislatives-2019/>

4c. Can voters cast a ballot before Election Day(s)? (i.e.: Is early voting possible)?

Yes, for the whole electorate

Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:

No

4d. Can voters cast a ballot by mail?

Yes, for the whole electorate

Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:

No

4e. Can voters cast a ballot by the Internet?

Yes, for the whole electorate

Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:

_____ No

B) PARTY POSITIONS

5a. Ideological family of political parties: Please indicate the ideological party family for each party by using the numbered categories below. For this question, please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Ideological Family
A. Ennahda party	Islamist conservative party
B. Kalb Tounes	Center left party
C. Democratic Current	(4) Social Democratic party
D. Dignity Coalition	Islamist conservative party
E. Free Constitutional Party	Secular nationalist party, this party stems its ideology from the secular-nationalist movements/parties/leaders of post-independence Tunisia (1956). They also identify with Bourguibism as a reference to former president Habib Bourguiba who was a secular nationalist leader.
F. People’s movement	Secular nationalist party.
G.	
H.	
I.	

Ideological Party Families: (These are suggestions only. If a party does not fit well into this classification scheme, please provide an alternative and some explanation.)

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) Ecology Parties | (6) Liberal Parties | (11) Agrarian Parties |
| (2) Communist Parties | (7) Right Liberal Parties | (12) Ethnic Parties |
| (3) Socialist Parties | (8) Christian Democratic Parties | (13) Regional Parties |
| (4) Social Democratic Parties | (9) Conservative Parties | (14) Independents |
| (5) Left Liberal Parties | (10) National Parties | (15) Others |

5b: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? 1

6a1. Ideological Positions of Parties: Please indicate party positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator(s)). Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Left							Right			
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A. Ennahda party									X		
B. Kalb Tounes						X					
C. Democratic Current				X							
D. Dignity Coalition											X
E. Free Constitutional Party					X						
F. People's movement		X									
G.											
H.											
I.											

6a2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? _____

1 person

6a3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

Even though Ennahda party is an Islamist party, they advocate for a welfare system and redistributive policies, for this reason, I scored it 7.

6b1. If you have asked respondents to rank political parties on an alternative dimension, other than the left-right dimension, please also provide your own rankings of the parties on this dimension. Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Name of dimension: Secular-Islamist dimension

Label for 0 position: Secular

Label for 10 position: Islamist

Party Name	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	A. Ennahda party										
B. Kalb Tounes						X					
C. Democratic Current				X							
D. Dignity Coalition											X
E. Free Constitutional Party		X									
F. People's movement			X								
G.											
H.											
I.											

6b2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale?

1 person

6b3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

-Ennahda party and Dignity Coalition have definitely a clear Islamist agenda.

-Democratic Current, Free Constitutional Party, and People's movement support secular policies.

Kalb Tounes did not have a clear secular agenda, however, the party had an anti-Islamist agenda before the 2019 elections. After the elections, Ennahda party and Kalb Tounes together with Dignity Coalition party, formed a joint parliamentary front.

6c. Populist classification of parties: As Module 5 focuses in part on populism, please indicate the degree to which each of the parties (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator) can be characterized as a populist party? Please use the same parties used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire and label them the same way (A-I). The definition of populism advanced by the Module 5 theme committee is below:

DEFINITION: Populism can be defined as a thin-centred ideology that pits a virtuous and homogeneous people against a set of elites and dangerous ‘others’ who are depicted as depriving “the people” of their rights, values, prosperity, identity, and voice. The emphasis on anti-elite/ anti-establishment rhetoric and the contrast between the “pure people” and the “corrupt elite” are thus indications of the degree to which a party is populist. Populist parties can be found across the left-right ideological spectrum. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is “not at all populist” and 10 is “very populist”, where would you place each of the parties in your country?

Party Name	Not at all populist					Very populist					
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A. Ennahda party					X						
B. Kalb Tounes										X	
C. Democratic Current		X									
D. Dignity Coalition					X						
E. Free Constitutional Party											X
F. People’s movement		X									
G.											
H.											
I.											

6c2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale?

1 person

6c3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

C) SALIENT ISSUES IN THE ELECTION

7. In your view, what are the five most salient factors that affected the outcome of the election (e.g.: major scandals; economic events; the presence of an independent actor; specific issues)?

Note: Please rank the issues according to their salience (1 = most salient).

1. One of the candidates, Nabil Karoui, from the presidential elections was held in jail for suspicion of financial crimes. He was not allowed to take part in the presidential debates with other candidates. He was released when he won the first round. The move was considered by media and analysts as a strategy to undermine his popularity in the elections (both presidential and legislative). Nabil Karoui was running as a candidate in the presidential but also with his party, Kalb Tounes, in the legislative elections.

2. Scandal: Nabil Karoui was found dealing with Canadian lobbyist, who is also a former Israeli intelligence agent. The deal consisted of a contract of US\$ 1million to support Karoui's presidency and in return he would play the role of a regional peace-maker in the Libyan conflict. ⁴

3. Death of the president of the country, Beji Caid Essebsi in July 2019, which led to a change in the elections' dates. ⁵

4.

5.

⁴ See details <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/karoui-dickens-madson-libya-tunisia-ben-menashe-election-ennahda-kais-said> accessed 26.10.2020

⁵ See details <https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2019/07/25/tunisias-president-beji-caid-essebsi-has-died> accessed 26.10.2020

D) FAIRNESS OF THE ELECTION & ELECTION SCHEDULING

8a. How impartial was the body that administered the election law?

- Very impartial
- Mostly impartial
- Not very impartial
- Not impartial at all

8b. Was there a formal complaint against the national level results?

- Yes
- No

8c. Were there irregularities reported by international election observers?

- Yes
- No
- No international election observers

8d. On what date was the election originally legally scheduled to be held?

Presidential elections was originally planned for the 17th and 24th of November 2019.

8e. On what date was the election actually held? If different from 8d, please explain why.

September 15th, 2019 and October 14th, 2019.

E) ELECTION VIOLENCE

9a. To what extent was there violence and voter or candidate intimidation **during** the election campaign and on the election day?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

9b. If there was violence, was it geographically concentrated or national?

- Geographically concentrated
- National

9c. To what extent was there violence following the election?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

9d. To what extent was there protest following the election?

- No protest at all
- Sporadic protest
- Significant protest

F) ELECTORAL ALLIANCES

10. Joint Lists/Candidates

There are multiple types of electoral alliances/coalitions, but we are specifically interested in those involving joint lists or candidates - i.e. those where parties compete as a unit during the election.

Definitions: A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together. Apparentement refers to a legal agreement between two or more lists to pool their votes for the purposes of an initial seat allocation, with seats initially allocated to the alliance then reallocated to the lists in the alliance.

10a. Is this type of electoral coalition legally allowable?

Yes⁶

No

10b. Is this type of electoral coalition used in practice, even if not legally allowable?

Yes

No

10c. If “Yes” was answered to either of the above questions, then please complete the following table for the election at which the Module was administered. Please mention only alliances that received at least 1% of the vote nationally. Add additional lines to the table as necessary.

None during the 2019 elections in Tunisia.

Alliance Name

Participating Parties

(please indicate dominant members with an “*”)

Alliance 1:	
Alliance 2:	
Alliance 3:	
Alliance 4:	
Alliance 5:	

⁶ See Article 21 from Law No. 2019-76, on 30 August 2019 <https://legislation-securite.tn/fr/node/44286> accessed 01.11.2020

11. If joint lists are possible, are they subject to different regulations than single-party lists? For example, higher thresholds, different numbers of candidates that may appear on the list, etc. (please mark all applicable responses)

- Yes, joint party lists must satisfy higher thresholds
- Yes, joint party lists may present different numbers of candidates
- Yes, joint party lists are subject to other regulations that are different from the regulations governing independent parties; please specify: _____
- No⁷, joint parties are governed by the same rules as the other parties
- Not applicable; no joint party lists are allowed

12a. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?

- Yes
- No

12b. If apparentement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements:

- lists of the same party in the same constituency
- lists of the same party from different constituencies
- lists of different parties in the same constituency

13a. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?

- Yes
- No

13b. If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot?

- No
- No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper
- Yes, candidate's name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties
- Yes, candidate's name appears as many times as there are different parties endorsing him/her, each time with the name of the endorsing party
- Yes, other; please explain: _____

⁷ See Articles 49, from Law No. 2019-76, dated 30th of August 2019. <https://legislation-securite.tn/fr/node/44286>

G) ELECTORAL INSTITUTIONS

If possible, please supplement this section with copies of the electoral law, voters' handbooks, electoral commission reports, and/or any other relevant materials.

Please note: Questions 15a through 21d must be repeated for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature.

Electoral Tier (Segment) and House

14a. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which electoral tier (segment) is being referred to? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

On tier system

14b. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which house is being referred to (lower or upper)? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

Questions about Voting⁸

15a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast? In systems where voters rank order the candidates, if there are 10 candidates (for example), the response to this question should be 10.

Only 1 vote

15b. Do they vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists? (Note: Collaborators may select multiple answers, if appropriate.)

(Definition: Party bloc voting is used in multi-member districts where voters cast a single party-centered vote for their party of choice; the party with the most votes wins all of the district seats.)

Candidates

Party Lists

Party Bloc Voting

Other; please explain: _____

15c. How many rounds of voting are there?

1 round for legislative elections and 2 rounds for presidential.

15d. If there are lists, are they closed, open, flexible, or is there party bloc voting?

⁸ See full document at

https://www.ifes.org/sites/default/files/ifes_faqs_elections_in_tunisia_2019_parliamentary_elections_september_2019.pdf accessed 26.10.2020

- Closed (order of candidates elected is determined by the party and voters are unable to express preference for a particular candidate)
- Open (voters can indicate their preferred party and their favored candidate within that party)
- Flexible (voters can allocate votes to candidates either within a single party list or across different party lists as they see fit)

16. Are the votes transferable?

(Definition: In systems with preferential voting, a voter can express a list of preferences. E.g., votes can be cast by putting a '1' in the column next to the voter's preferred candidate, a '2' beside their second favorite candidate and so on. Votes are counted according to the first preferences and any candidates who have achieved the predetermined quota are elected. To decide which of the remaining candidates are elected the votes are transferred from candidates who have more than the necessary number to achieve the quota and from the candidate with the least number of votes. An example of this is the election in Ireland in 2002.)

- Yes
- No

17. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?

(Definition: Cumulative voting refers to systems in which voters are allowed to cast more than one vote for a single candidate.)

- Yes
- No

18. Is voting compulsory?

(Definition: Voting is compulsory if the law states that all those who have the right to vote are obliged to exercise that right.)

- Yes; Strictly Enforced Sanctions
- Yes; Weakly Enforced Sanctions
- Yes; Without Sanction for Violation
- No

19. Please list and describe any other features of voting that should be noted.

Voting takes place on closed lists and seats are distributed on the level of constituencies on the basis of proportional representation with the largest remainder method.

The Constitution of 26 January 2014, art. 55, 56: (9)

Organic Law n° 2014-16 of 26 May 2014 on Elections and Referenda, art. 107 ,
108: (10) (2014).

⁹ See full document <http://aceproject.org/ero-en/regions/africa/TN/tunisia-constitution-of-26-january-2014/view> accessed 27.10.2020

¹⁰ See full document <http://aceproject.org/ero-en/regions/africa/TN/tunisia-organic-law-on-elections-and-referenda/view> accessed 27.10.2020

Organic Law No.7, on 14th of February 2017, amending Law No.16-2014 of 26 May 2014. See Chapter 5 Art 101-117.¹¹

Organic Law No. 2014-16 of May 26, 2014, relating to elections and referendums as amended and supplemented by Organic Law No. 2019-76 of August 30, 2019.¹²

¹¹ See full document (available only in Arabic) <https://www.idea.int/answer/ans130355521457128> accessed 27.10.2020

¹² See the most recent legal text on electoral laws and referenda <https://legislation-securite.tn/fr/node/44286> accessed 27.10.2020

Questions about Converting Votes into Seats

20a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?

- Yes
 No

A threshold of 3% is applied to the municipal elections. The first municipal election took place in May 2018.

20b. If YES in Question 21a, what is the threshold?

There is a threshold of 3%¹³ but it was not applied to the 2019 elections.

20c. If YES in Question 21a, what is the unit for the threshold mentioned in Question 21b?

- Percent of total votes
 Percent of valid votes
 Percent of the total electorate
 Other; please explain: _____

20d. If YES in Question 21a, please specify to what House/ Electoral Tier (Segment) the threshold(s) apply.

Please repeat questions 15a through 21d for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature. Countries with only one tier should proceed to Question 22.

¹³ See article <https://www.aa.com.tr/fr/afrique/tunisie-le-parlement-adopte-l-amendement-de-la-loi-%C3%A9lectorale-/1508405> accessed 27.10.2020

H) References

21. Please list any resources that were consulted in the preparation of this report, or that the CSES community may find especially helpful in understanding the political system described. Include website links if applicable.