Jana Belschner, ‘Electoral Engineering in New Democracies. Strong Quotas and Weak Parties in Tunisia’, published in *Government and Opposition*

**Online Appendix**

This appendix provides detailed information about the process of data collection and analysis. It gives an overview over the collection of interviews, the conduction of interviews including the interview guide and finally over the methods and procedures used to analyse the interview data.

1. Collection of interviews

*NB: Due to some sensitive information touched upon during the interviews, in particular regarding candidates and individuals’ evaluation of party leadership decisions, I assured all interviewees of using the material anonymously. I will however give as much information as possible (besides the exact names of the sources) to support transparency for the article’s central findings and claims. This procedure was checked and approved by the National Center for Research Data.*

The interviews on which this article builds have been collected during two fieldwork stays in Tunisia. A first round of 8 interviews was conducted in November 2017. This round focused on policy experts and their views on political parties’ preparations of the 2018 local elections, with a particular focus on their assessment of parties’ and the public’s reaction to electoral quotas. A second round of interviews, building on the insights gained in the first round, were then conducted in April 2018, in the first week of the three-week electoral campaign period preceding the local elections that took place on May 6, 2018. Here, the focus was on list candidates and party selectors. To identify sources and potential interviewees, I employed a multidimensional approach. First, I contacted all political parties and coalitions with an official request, describing the purpose of my research and asking them to provide me with the contact of a person with selector functions, i.e. either one from the party headquarters and/or a top candidate of a list (those often acted as selectors for list candidates in practice). To identify candidates, I did not go through the party headquarters, since I wanted to make sure to not primarily gain my information from party-selected candidates, but rather to talk to people who would provide me with a complimentary account to the ‘party-narrative’. I achieved this by activating personal networks in Tunisia, who pointed out several candidates of different lists and parties to me. I then asked the candidates whom I interviews if they knew other ones, preferably women or young candidates, who would agree to talk to me. In this way, I constructed a snowball-sample of in total 25 interviews comprising 12 individual candidates and 10 party selectors (3 candidates and 5 party selectors were interviewed together in longer group interviews).

Since I was based in Tunis, most of the interviews were collected in the area of Grand Tunis. I did however make sure to include diverse municipalities in terms of urbanity/rurality and party dominance. I also collected two interviews in Sousse as well as a nearby village.

Table A1 provides an overview over the interviews. I attached an identifier (ID) to each interview in order to indicate a specific interview in quotations.

**Table A1 Overview interviews**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| candidates | | | |
| ID | **Personal characteristics** | **Party/group** | **Governorate/ municipality** |
| IC1 | Female, middle-aged | Afek Tounès | Tunis / Le Kram |
| IC2 | Female, middle-aged | Independent | Tunis / Ariana |
| IC3 | Female, middle-aged | Beni Watani | Tunis / Ariana |
| IC4-6 | Group interview:  3 young females | Afek Tounès | Tunis / Raoued |
| IC7 | Male, middle-aged | Courant Démocrate | Tunis / Tunis Ville |
| IC8 | Female, young, PwD | Afek Tounès | Sousse / Hammam Sousse |
| IC9 | Female, middle-aged | Front Populaire | Sousse / Sousse ville |
| IC10 | Female, middle-aged | Independent | Tunis / La Marsa |
| IC11 | Male, young | Nidâa Tounès | Tunis / Sidi Bou Said |
| IC12 | Female, young | Courant Démocrate | Tunis / La Marsa |
| Party Selectors | | | |
| IS1-5 | Group interview: 5 male party selectors | Afek Tounès | Tunis / Raoued |
| IS6 | Female,  communication advisor | Beni Watani | Tunis /  general headquarters |
| IS7 | Male, top candidate and list selector | Courant Démocrate | Tunis /  general headquarters |
| IS8 | Male, member of executive office | Ennahdha | Tunis /  general headquarters |
| IS9 | Male, executive director for local elections | Ennahdha | Tunis /  general headquarters |
| IS10 | Female, top candidate and member of executive office | Nidâa Tounès | Tunis /  general headquarters |
| Policy experts | | | |
| IE1 | Female, member of executive office | Ligue des Electrices Tunisiennes | Tunis /  general headquarters |
| IE2 | Male, member of communications office | ISIE | Tunis /  general headquarters |
| IE3 | Male, member of executive office | AlBawsala (youth organization) | Tunis /  general headquarters |
| IE4 | Female, member of staff | GiZ | Tunis /  general headquarters |
| IE5 | Male, policy consultant (focus: political parties) | FES (policy foundation) | Tunis /  general headquarters |
| IE6 | Female, policy consultant (focus: women’s participation) | FES (policy foundation) | Tunis /  general headquarters |
| IE7 | Female, member of executive office | Crédif (research centre) | Tunis /  general headquarters |
| IE8 | Male, policy consultant (focus: political parties) | KAS (policy foundation) | Tunis /  general headquarters |
| IE9 | Female, policy consultant (focus: women and youth participation) | HBS (policy foundation) | Tunis /  general headquarters |
| IE10 | Female, politician and women’s rights activist | former member of Constitutional Assembly | Tunis |

1. Conduction of interviews and interview guide

All interviews used an interview guide that was slightly different for all three groups addressed (candidates, party selectors, policy experts; all interview guides attached under the headings 2a/b/c). The interviews were semi-structured and about 30 to 45 minutes long. I conducted all interviews in French (without interpreter). The original interview guides were in French, see the translated questions below.

**(2a) interview guide candidates**

INTRODUCTION

* Presentation of research project and focus
* Consent for using the interview material anonymously

THE LOCAL ELECTIONS

* What municipality are you running for ?
* Are you a candidate on an independent or on a party list ? Why ?
* Why did you decide to run for local election in general ?

RECRUITMENT & NOMINATION

* How long have you been active in politics ?
* Have you been involved with other parties and/or civil society organizations ?
* Was it your initiative to run for elections ? Or were you approached/encouraged by someone ?
* What are, in your opinion, the most important criteria for the political parties/list when they compile their electoral lists ?
* What do you think are the most important criteria for voters ?
* How important do you perceive the electoral quotas (women, youth, PwD) to be in the process of list compilation ?

CAMPAIGNING

* How did you experience the electoral campaign ?
* How much and which support did you receive from your party/list during the campaign ?
* How was your campaign financed ?
* How much time did you invest in the campaign ?
* Do you see disadvantages for female candidates regarding the realization of the campaign ?
* How do you evaluate young candidates’ experiences during the campaign ?
* Do you think you have a chance winning a seat ? Why (not) ?

**(2b) interview guide party selectors**

INTRODUCTION

* Presentation of research project and focus
* Consent for using the interview material anonymously

THE LOCAL ELECTIONS

* In how many municipalities does your party present lists ? (if few : in which ones ?)
* How important do you think the local elections are, especially regarding the legislative elections in 2019 ?

RECRUTEMENT & NOMINATION

* How many candidates did you have to identify approximately ?
* How are the candidates identified and recruited ?
* Are there specific routines for local elections ? If yes, which ? If yes, how do they differ from legislative elections ?
* How exactly does the nomination of candidates proceed ?
* What are the most important criteria when you compile the lists ?
* What role do the electoral quotas (for women, youth, PwD) play in this process ?
* How do you ensure compliance with the quotas ?
* Do you fin dit difficult to compile your lists in a way that they comply with the electoral quotas ?
* Do you think that equal representation of groups (women, youth, PwD) is important ? Why ?
* Do you think that electoral quotas are a suitable means to achieve that goal ? Why (not) ?

WOMEN AND YOUTH IN LOCAL POLITICS AND CAMPAIGN

* How are electoral campaigns financed ?
* How much monetary investment do you expect the candidates to make for their campaign?
* How much time do you expect candidates to invest in the campaign ?
* Do you see disadvantages for women candidates with regards to their financial and temporal reosurces ?
* Do you see disadvantages for young candidates with regards to their financial and temporal reosurces ?
* Do you think that local politics is a good place to start a political career in Tunisia ?

**(2c) interview guide policy experts**

INTRODUCTION

* Presentation of research project and focus
* Consent for using the interview material anonymously

PARTIES IN TUNISIA AND LOCAL ELECTIONS

* What are the most important parties in Tunisia ?
* Which one of those would you think is most inclusive ? Why ?
* Are the parties already preparing for the local elections (candidate nominations)?
* What do you think are the most important criteria for the parties when they compile their electoral lists ?
* What do you think are the most important criteria for voters ?

TEMPORAL AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES

* How are the Tunisian parties financed ? What are the main sources of their budget ?
* To what extent is time important for a political career in Tunisia ?
* And money ?
* Do you see disadvantages for women candidates with regards to their financial and temporal reosurces ?
* Do you see disadvantages for young candidates with regards to their financial and temporal reosurces ?

ELECTORAL QUOTAS

* What electoral quotas exist in Tunisia ?
* Do you know how the adoption of the youth quota came about ?
* In your opinion, do all parties in general comply with all quotas ?
* I would like to ask you to assess the effectiveness of several Tunisian regulations (national level) to ensure equal representation of groups.
  + Gender parity quota
  + Youth quota
  + In general : The use of financial sanctions to convince parties to comply with electoral quotas
  + In general : The direct provision of funds to support the campaigns of female/youth candidates

1. Analysis of interviews

I transcribed all interviews manually using the software Nvivo. The analysis then proceeded in four steps (with some back and forth in-between the single steps).

1. Preparation/Cleaning: Careful reading of the whole interview. Deletion of irrelevant passages (mainly off-topic historical explanations, incomplete or inaudible sentences, etc.). Manual note taking about occurring frames to build a codebook.
2. Building of codebook, based on the inductive reading of the interview, deduction from existing literatura theories, and guided by the research questions of the bigger research Project.
3. Coding of interview passages for the following frames:

GENERAL IMPORTANT INFORMATION

ELECTORAL SYSTEM

RECRUITMENT & NOMINATION

QUOTAS GENERAL

POLITICAL FINANCE

PWD QUOTA

YOUTH QUOTA

GENDER QUOTAS

1. Interpretation of frames and data: What frames were singular/recurring? Differences after parties/groupings? Where (regarding which questions/subjects) did the differences arise?

NB: I did not translate the transcripts from French to English, but conducted all analyses in French. I later only translated the passages that I use as quotations in the text.