Formative RESEARCH REPORT: Understanding the social and behavioral drivers of corruption in Manouba, Tunisia

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Magenta was commissioned by IRI to conduct formative research, identifying social and behavior drivers on corruption in youth, which is going to inform a communications campaign. The research is based on a situational analysis, five Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) conducted with the support of the youth center, in the municipality of Manouba and seven Key Informant Interviews (KIIs).

During the FGDs, youth reported that petty corruption has become so common that it is seen as a Tunisian 'mentality'. Though it is perceived to be widespread and with high prevalence, through this qualitative research Magenta has determined that corruption is not based on social norms, but on **social practices**, as there are no severe consequences for those engaging or not engaging.

However, significantly, there is a **belief that youth have a choice and the self-efficacy to resist corruption**. These anti-corruption values and confidence to resist often clashes with a **lack of planning** or the **desire to finish tasks at the municipality quickly.** There is however a potential to create intent to change within the youth.

Corruption, petty or grand, is one of the major causes of a **significant lack of trust of young people in the government and municipality.** This resulted in very low participation in the first ever municipal elections in May 2018 as youth did not see the point in engaging with the municipality. The qualitative research also showed that there is a **lack of knowledge on the process** of legalizing public documents in the Manouba municipality and that youth don't know where to find the right answers to their questions

It is recommended that any communication campaign, which should be attributed to the municipality, is closely linked to tangible and visual results to start establishing trust between citizens and the municipality. The campaign should further show different ways of how youth can engage and participate in the municipality and focus on creating a dialogue mechanism. Communication tactics and tools such as citizen monitoring and active social media accounts might be options to achieve this.

METHODOLOGY

OVERALL OBJECTIVE

The primary objective of this qualitative formative research is to identify the social and behavioural drivers of corruption in Manouba, Tunisia. While we recognize the importance of the role of environmental factors (such as structural barriers, legal framework, dire economic situation, etc.) in sustaining corruption in Tunisia, these are well researched and documented, and already addressed by donor programming across the country. To complement this approach and address social and behavioural drivers of corruption, this research specifically aims to identify the following:

1 **At the individual level – behavioural, psychological and cognitive drivers**

a. Attitude
b. Interest
c. Self-efficacy
d. Intent

2 **At the community level – social, moral and cultural norms underpinning corruption**

a. Normative expectations
b. Empirical expectations
c. Stigma
d. Punished vs rewarded behaviours

3 **Identifying the relevant reference groups sustaining social norms around corruption**

By gaining a better understanding of those three elements, Magenta will be able to recommend and develop tailored communications solutions aiming at shifting social norms around corruption.
While Magenta currently works under the following definition of corruption, it will not impose the word corruption or any definition to the participants. And ask their definition, should they bring the word **corruption**, nepotism or bribery into the discussion.

" Corruption

For the sake of this methodology and the research including in its fieldwork, corruption is defined as:

A dishonest or illegal behaviour by a person of authority, often to acquire a personal benefit. This may include, bribery, nepotism, favouritism, regionalism, favours, the exchange of services rendered or gifts.[1]

[1] La Petite Corruption, http://atcp.org.tn/wp-content/uploads/07/2017/petite_Corruption_Danger_Banalise_ATC_-2015.pdf, p 61, Published 2015. Accessed October 2018 ,15.

The approach chosen by Magenta to understand the social and behavioural factors behind corruption is a Citizen Journey Mapping (CJM) exercise conducted through Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and Key Informant Interviews (KIIs). The information gained from this exercise will allow us to identify the behavioural journey that takes place when legalising public documents in Manouba and design a human-centric solution.

CITIZEN JOURNEY MAPPING

Magenta has developed a behavioural sciences-led approach to address low-level corruption in Tunisia. In order to best understand the extent of corruption at play in the daily lives of Tunisians, Magenta will conduct research utilizing a combination of secondary research and qualitative assessment. At the first stage, a literature review has been conducted, which will inform the context through which Magenta approaches the qualitative assessment. Next, FGDs will be conducted with citizens that have had to legalise/verify/notarise documents at the municipality, the baseline on how this process should the oretically work will be obtained from a complementary consultancy work, conducted for IRI currently. Both the FGDs and interviews with municipal staff will be used to create a final infographic of the CJM in the third stage. Research Geographic Scope: The research will take place in Manouba governorate.

RESEARCH STAGES

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1   **STAGE 1:**

Magenta conducted an in-depth situational analysis of available academic and grey literature on the topic of corruption and its perception in Tunisia. The findings of it are in the chapter "Situation Analysis".

2   **STAGE 2:**

Part A: Magenta conducted five FGDs with citizens in Manouba. These were used to determine the extent to which citizens experience corruption when seeking out

legalisation/verification/notarisation of documents. The guidelines2 for the FGDs included the following topics:

- Level of awareness of the services3 that should be provided
- Experience of "customer" while engaging with service
- Instances of corruption, while engaging with service
- Quality of customer service delivered by the provider, i.e. level of respect
- Emotions felt during the engagement, i.e. frustration, anger
- Complaint mechanisms within the service, i.e. existence and utilisation
- Areas for improvement with the service

Participants of the FGDs were youth, as the communication campaign will target this group. Each participant had used this municipal service in the past (no longer than two years ago).4

In addition to the data collected from the FGDs, Magenta conducted seven KIIs5 with relevant stakeholders6 such as government officials, relevant civil society organisations and the donor community. The findings are incorporated into the Situational Analysis where appropriate.

3 **STAGE 3:**

After the initial discussion of the FGD, all participants were asked to spend 10 to 20 min to create their own citizens journey map based on the template given by Magenta[7]. After the individual maps, it was anticipated that the group will be asked to do a joint map on a flipchart paper. Based on two trials, this approach was abandoned, as the joint map was not done as a group, but rather by one or two eager individuals. Furthermore, the time constraint given did not allow for this part as it would have taken an extensive amount of time. The individualized approach ensured that everyone had a chance to be heard.

To explain the approach, the Magenta team used an example of an unrelated topic; the researcher going food shopping at a large well-known supermarket.

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[2] Annex I: Full FGD Guidelines
[3] Service includes the process as well as the outcome and where to find information about both
[4] In one FGD, an animateur from the youth centre participated.
[5] Annex II: KII Guidelines
[6] Annex III: List of KII Interviewees
[7] Annex IV : CJM Template

Methodology

CITIZEN JOURNEY MAPPING
NOTARIZING/ LEGALIZING DOCUMENTS AT THE MUNICIPALITY

Goals and expectations:

Going shopping on a Saturday Morning at Carrefour

	Transport	Arrival	Entering	Shopping	Paying	Going home
Tasks	Getting to Carrefour	Finding a parking spot	Going through security, and getting inside	Buying everything I need	waiting and paying at the cahier	Packing the car and going home
Positive / Neutral / Negative						
Expectations	I have my own car, so its easy to get to carrefour, traffic is not too bad	Finding parking will be a nightmare, people do not stick to rules	People are skipping the line, and I hate it	Buying fruit and veggies is bad, the system is not good	Cahiers are very slow, and some customers get new products while in line	I made it. And I am back home.
Opportunities		Provide better access with public transport	Have more structures for entering and exiting	Have the system at the cashier or self-service	More training to cashiers, better customer service	

This approach ensured that we gathered information for participants who may have been reluctant to talk much during the FGD and group session, by receiving their individual maps.

The M&E and Research specialist will review all maps prepared, after translations at the end. Based on these, one final Citizen Journey Mapping Infographic will be developed that seeks to bring life to the narratives gathered in Stage 2. The M&E and Research specialist will consider the typical, most frequent journey, while taking visual note of extreme experience, where possible and relevant. It is anticipated to be ready by the 18th October 2018.

SAMPLING

With the help of the Youth Centre of Manouba, Magenta was able to conduct all five FGDs, on the 5th and 6th October 2018 in the vicinity of the Youth Centre.

Governorate	Mixed FGD	All-Female FGD	All-male FGD	Totals
Manouba	3	1	1	5 FGDs
# of participants	5 (3 f, 2 m) 10 (4 f, 6 m) 15 (4 f, 11 m)	6	8	44 individuals

More demographic information can be found in Annex V: FGD Group Details.

LIMITATIONS

The fieldwork was conducted for two days to ensure youth could participate. The manager of the youth centre helped identify and engage the youth to participate in the FGDs.While the manager of the youth centre was helpful, more youth turned up than anticipated. This led to the last two FGDs conducted (mixed) with more participants than planned. Whilst this is not an issue for the research this generated delays in translation and obtaining the transcripts.

The manager of the youth centre potentially biased the youth to the length of the FGD. In his opinion, FGDs should not be longer than one hour in duration. He had mentioned this to some participants while the Magenta team were present and may have repeated this to others. As a result, in almost all FGDs participants were only willing to engage for one hour.

The questionnaire was adjusted and shortened to reflect this. Mainly questions surrounding facts and those that could potentially be repetitive were erased.

The planned joint work of each group on a citizen journey map did not work as planned. It was attempted with two of the five groups but in both it ended up being the work of just one person rather than the group. It was therefore decided to skip it for the remaining three groups for time-reasons. However, Magenta has the citizen map of 44 individuals. The final citizens map will be based on these individual maps to provide a full picture of the average journey citizens go on.

In every qualitative fieldwork there is potential bias in choosing participants. There is further potential bias by those youth accepting. Based on the profiles of the different participants, Magenta believes that there is no structural bias in these FGDs.

SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS

BACKGROUND

Since the overthrowal of Zine El Abidine Ben-Ali's regime, corruption has been 'democratised[8]' and is no longer contained to the president and his close circle.

The Tunisian constitution of 2014 references building a state without corruption as a post revolution aim[9] showing how damaging corruption was perceived to be. Furthermore, Article 13 of the constitution states that civil society should actively contribute to the fight against corruption[10], displaying the important role of civil society and aligning with the United Nations Convention Against Corruption[11]. Indeed, corruption is among the top three challenges facing Tunisia that the public want

the government to address[12].

A Transparency International corruption survey show that 9% of Tunisian public service users paid a bribe for a public service[13]. Regionally, the result is 30%[14]. The highest number of bribes are paid to public hospitals and the police (6-15%) while 1-5% of service users paid a bribe for IDs, voter's cards and permits[13]. These numbers do not include 'wasta'[15] or connections which may also influence the delivery of public services. Tunisians do, however, feel empowered to fight corruption (59% of respondents)[16] although a larger number (61%) also report a fear of retaliation if corruption is reported[16].

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[8] Yerkes S, Muasher M. Tunisia's Corruption Contagion: A Transition at Risk. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. **https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Tunisia_Corruption_Web_final.pdf** Published 2017. Accessed September 7, 2018.
[9] Tunisian Constitution Of 2014. Preamble.; 2014.
[10] Tunisian Constitution Of 2014. Article 13.; 2014.
[11] The United Nations. The United Nations Convention Against Corruption. **https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/corruption/convention-highlights.html** Accessed September 9 2018
[12] Yerkes S. Where Have All The Revolutionaries Gone?. Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institute; 2017. **https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/cmep_20160317_where_have_revolutionaries_gone.pdf**. Accessed September 9, 2018.
[13] Transparency International, People and Corruption: Middle East and North Africa Survey 2016, **https://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/people_and_corruption_mena_survey_2016** Accessed September 9 2018
[14] The regional result is from pooled responses from Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine, Sudan and Yemen
[15] From the Arabic word " وسيط ", literal meaning intermediary, someone who knows someone of importance with good connections.
[16] Perceptions Of Corruption In Tunisia. Afrobarometer; 2018. http://www.afrobarometer.org/fr/mediabriefings/perceptions-corruption-tunisia-0. Accessed October 15, 2018.

WHAT ARE THE MAIN DRIVERS OF CORRUPTION IN TUNISIA?

Based on an extensive literature review of 57 documents, news articles and research papers[17], and taking a socio-ecological model approach, we can identify the following drivers of corruption in Tunisia.

Structural

■ A complicated bureaucracy

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace found that low level corruption emerged in part due to Tunisia's complicated bureaucracy[8]. Citizens need to work through a complicated and opaque bureaucratic system to meet basic needs. A KII with the EU highlighted the need for simplified, transparent procedures and underscored that the lack of information and opacity of bureaucratic procedures is favourable for corrupt practices[18].

■ Dire economic situation

Economic growth since the revolution has been 'lacklustre' according to the Spectator[19]. Since the revolution, foreign debt has increased to nearly 80%, public debt has risen to 70% of GDP and the Tunisian Dinar has gone down in value[19]. The informal economy now accounts for half of the GDP20 and corruption on the border with Libya is more pervasive than it was during the regime[8].

■ Regionalism

Regional inequalities are also fostering corruption. The east coast of Tunisia and large urban centres along the coast and in the north have an established economic elite who benefit from existing regulations who wishes to preserve their positions. Those from marginalised regions, primarily the interior and southern part of the country, are partly confined to informal trade (across borders) and aspire to become part of the elite[21]. At the centre of the conflict between the groups is the monopolisation of administrative positions which control access to the formal economy and paralyse reform. This in turn reinforces regional inequalities stemming from favouritism of citizens and "friends" from

[17] Annex VI: Situational Analysis Reading List
[18] Varrenti, Mario. EU. Key Informant Interview with Magenta. Interview September 12 2018; La Petite Corruption, **http://atcp.org.tn/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/petite_Corruption_Danger_Banalise_ATC_-2015.pdf**, p 67, Published 2015. Accessed October 15, 2018,
[19] Ghiles F. Seven Years After the Arab Spring Tunisia Faces an Uncertain Future. The Spectator. **https://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2018/01/seven-years-after-the-arab-spring-tunisia-faces-an-uncertain-future/**. Published 2018. Accessed September 9, 2018.
[20] IBID
[21] Blocked Transition: Corruption and Regionalism in Tunisia. International Crisis Group. **https://www.crisisgroup.org/middleeast-north-africa/north-africa/tunisia/177-blocked-transition-corruption-and-regionalism-tunisia**. Published 2017. Accessed September 23, 2018.

the regions of those in power, a result of administrative officials' arbitrary powers, and contributes to the spread of corruption[22]. The growth of the informal economy also affects stability, while some point out that its growth takes power from state institutions and officials[23], others argue that is the only opportunity for many citizens.

Community

■ **Lack of Trust**
The public's lack of trust in the government is connected to Tunisia's poor economic growth as societal disparities grow. This in turn contributes to the growth of the informal economy as citizens do not believe the government can or will provide jobs[18].

Individual

■ **A sense of necessity**
The Carnegie Endowment for Peace cites 'a sense of necessity'[8] as a contributor towards petty corruption. For example, the poor are three times as likely to use a bribe to access public services in Tunisia[24] as they rely on government services more. Moreover, men are

twice as likely to be the perpetrator of petty corruption than women, and in 70% of cases they are under the age of 45 years (46% between 18 and 35 years). The last relevant factor is the educational background, with 85% of those engaging in petty corruption not having more than secondary education.[25] Carnegie further attributes Tunisians' 'forgiving attitude towards petty corruption' to this necessity[8].

HOW IS CORRUPTION PERCEIVED IN TUNISIAN SOCIETY?

■ **Corruption is higher than during the Ben-Ali era**
Tunisians perceive corruption to have increased. In a 2016 IRI poll, 78% of Tunisians said corruption is higher than it was during the regime[26], and World Bank found that youth in Tunisia perceive the labour market to be rife with corruption and therefore have poor self-efficacy in navigating it[27].

■ **Distrust of political elites**

[22] Ibid.
[23] Tunisia's Fight Against Corruption: An Interview with Chawki Tabib. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. **http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/69939**. Published 2017. Accessed September 24, 2018.
[24] Transparency International, People and Corruption: Middle East and North Africa Survey 2016, **https://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/people_and_corruption_mena_survey_2016** Accessed September 9 2018
[25] La Petite Corruption, **http://atcp.org.tn/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/petite_Corruption_Danger_Banalise_ATC_-2015.pdf**, Published 2015. Accessed October 15, 2018.
[26] International Republican Institute. Survey Of Tunisian Public Opinion. IRI; 2016:22. **http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/iri_tunisia_dec_2016_poll_public_1.pdf** Accessed September 9, 2018.
[27] World Bank. Tunisia: Breaking The Barriers To Youth Inclusion. Washington D.C.: World Bank; 2014.

Post revolution perceptions have remained suspicious of government interests[28]. There is a generational divide as the youth believes the older generation does not care about their interests and the older generation perceives youth to be unqualified to participate in politics[28].

Tunisia has fallen in Transparency International's perception index over the last two years[29], a sign that the public are losing trust. The passing of the Economic Reconciliation Bill[30] in 2017 contributed to the image of the government as out of touch with the Tunisian public. This perception is especially held by those who took part in the uprising[31].
Currently, 64% of the public believe that the government is handling the fight against corruption "very badly" or "fairly badly"[28]. This distrust in the government has the potential to present a serious challenge to the government's legitimacy as their popularity rapidly declines[28] and amidst a low turn-out in the recent municipality elections[34]. This distrust of elites also related to the perception that the wealthy are more likely to use 'wasta' for their benefit[28].

■ **Post-revolution Tunisia hasn't changed or progressed**
The uprising raised hopes for a change in living conditions, and economic and social equality[32]. However, the Tunisian economy is struggling, and unemployment has increased[29]. The Financial Times cited one unemployed graduate who called the revolution "a lie"[33]. The effects of this disappointment were seen in the 2018 municipal elections, which had a low turn-out, particularly from youth[34].

[28] Yerkes S. Where Have All The Revolutionaries Gone?. Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institute; 2017.
https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/cmep_20160317_where_have_revolutionaries_gone.pdf.
Accessed September 9, 2018.
[29] Corruption Perceptions Index 2017. Transparency International.
https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2017. Published 2018. Accessed September 7, 2018.
[30] The Economic Reconciliation Bill is was passed by parliament in 2015 and allows 'reconciliation' with public officials involved in corruption who served in government before 2011. According to the bill 'reconciliation' will not be extended to those who personally benefitted from corruption and only to individuals who engaged in corruption as they were not in a position to disobey orders.
[31] International Crisis Group. Tunisia: Transitional Justice And The Fight Against Corruption. Brussels: International Crisis Group; 2016.
https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/north-africa/tunisia/tunisia-transitional-justice-and-fightagainst-corruption.
Accessed September 5, 2018.
[32] Mohsen-Finan K. Tunisia's Disappointed Hopes. The Cairo Review. **https://www.thecairoreview.com/tahrir-forum/tunisiasdisappointed-hopes/**.
Published 2016. Accessed September 9, 2018.
[33] Saleh H. Tunisia: After the Revolution. The Financial Times. **https://www.ft.com/content/4f215d9c-d402-11e5-829b-8564e7528e54**.
Published 2016. Accessed September 9, 2018.
[34] Saidani a. Tunisia: Low Turnout in First Municipal Election after 2011 Revolution. Asharq Al-Awsat.
https://aawsat.com/english/home/article/1260651/tunisia-low-turnout-first-municipal-election-after-2011-revolution.
Published 2018. Accessed September 9, 2018.

WHAT STEPS HAVE LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS BEEN TAKING TO BATTLE CORRUPTION?

A number of interventions have been undertaken to battle corruption in Tunisia by local and international actors. Steps have been taken to change Tunisian legislation, set up the necessary infrastructure internally and join anti-corruption bodies in order to open up the country to foreign investment.

Following the uprising, an Anti-corruption agency INLUCC (Instance Nationale de Lutte Contre la Corruption) was set up by the transitional government to prevent, detect and investigate cases of corruption in the public and private sector[35]. The agency is not completely independent of the government[36] but is well perceived in general. It received 2,000 complaints in 2015 and 9,065 complaints in 2016[37]. This shows that the public's trust in the agency has increased, and that part of its complaint mechanism is working. The public's trust is especially important for its success and INLUCC's Facebook page also lists having the confidence of the people as a role[38].

Despite the trust given to INLUCC, the majority (61%) of Tunisians think that ordinary citizens cannot report incidents of corruption without the risk of retaliation or other negative consequences if they speak out.[39] In many instances, the repercussions of petty corruption are underestimated, while it is extremely serious. Petty corruption affects average citizens in their daily life, as they are often obliged to shell out money as bribes for achieving legal and illegal goals. These amounts (most commonly around 10 TND), are a financial burden individually and collectively, as they could instead be reinvested and contribute to the country's economy.[40] Furthermore, citizens are evenly split believing either that speaking out leads to authorities taking action or not taking action.[41]

The government in Tunisia is centralised and is the top employer, exporter and importer[23]. It's easy to see how a corruption could have been maintained by the Ben-Ali regime. Although there were five anti-corruption bills[42] before the uprising, political will was

[35] تقديم الهيئة . INLUCC. **http://www.inlucc.tn/** Accessed September 24, 2018.
[36] Preventing and fighting corruption in Tunisia. Giz.de. **https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/57464.html**. Published 2018. Accessed September 13, 2018.
[37] Blaise L. La corruption en Tunisie, un mal qui perdure. mediapartfr. 2018.
[38] About INLUCC. Facebook.com. **https://www.facebook.com/pg/inlucc/about/** Accessed September 24, 2018.
[39] Afrobarometer, Perceptions of corruption in Tunisia, **http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/tun_r7_presentation_corruption_eng.pdf**, Accessed October 15, 2018.
[40] La Petite Corruption, **http://atcp.org.tn/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/petite_Corruption_Danger_Banalise_ATC_-2015.pdf, p. 17**, Published 2015. Accessed October 15, 2018.
[41] Afrobarometer, Perceptions of corruption in Tunisia, **http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/tun_r7_presentation_corruption_eng.pdf**, Accessed October 15, 2018.
[42] التصوص الوطنية . INLUCC. **http://www.inlucc.tn.** Accessed September 24, 2018.

needed to implement them. With anti-corruption references in the constitution, INLUCC, public pressure and anti-corruption being a key promise of every government since 2011, it seems that there is now some political will, and even more societal demand, to target corruption, although its implementation remains politically rather than justice orientated. The Prime Minister initiated a crackdown in 2017 and arrested high level smuggling barons and mafia bosses including Chafik Jarrar, a smuggling baron who had also donated large sums of money to Nidaa Tounes, the Prime Minister's party[43]. The arrest was made after the public testimony of Ben-Ali's nephew before Tunisia's Truth and Dignity Commission (IVD), which the government has since voted to abolish[44].

While actions such as the implementation of INLUCC are seen by many politicians as a prime case of their political will, their dependency and underfunding are clear arguments for others that it is a smokescreen to whitewash their corruption[45]. The underfunding of the agency is a hot-topic for the donor community, GIZ[46] among many are supporting the INLUCC through current programming and funding.

In July 2018 a new law aimed at battling illegal enrichment was passed. The law forces the president, ministers, senior officials in the public sector, independent bodies, banks, judges, security forces, journalists and unions to declare their property[47]. The writing and passing of this law was supported by UNDP as part of their support for anti-corruption reforms in Tunisia[48]. The law has not been implemented yet so how the information will be made available and its impact is not yet fully known. Asset declaration laws existed prior to the illegal enrichment law, however, the information was difficult to access according to Sarah Yerkes, a Researcher at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In addition, officials were only required declare assets at the beginning of their role[49]. While the illegal enrichment law is an important one, its full potential is not yet known and will depend on how Tunisian society make use of it.

[43] Gall C. Corruption Crackdown Intensifies in Tunisia, and the People Cheer. Nytimes.com. **https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/25/world/africa/corruption-crackdown-intensifies-in-tunisia-and-the-peoplecheer.html.** Published 2017. Accessed September 13, 2018.
[44] Tunisia: Assembly votes to abolish human rights commission. Aljazeera.com. **https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/03/tunisia-assembly-votes-abolish-human-rights-commission-180327141027162.html?xif.** Published 2018. Accessed September 10, 2018.
[45] Yerkes S, Muasher M. Tunisia's Corruption Contagion: A Transition at Risk. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. **https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Tunisia_Corruption_Web_final.pdf** Published 2017. Accessed September 7, 2018.
[46] Fiegle, Thomas. GIZ. Key Informant Interview with Magenta. Interview October 12, 2018;
[47] Amara T. Tunisia approves illegal enrichment law to strengthen anti-corruption fight. Reuters. **https://www.reuters.com/article/us-tunisia-corruption-law/tunisia-approves-illegal-enrichment-law-to-strengthen-anticorruption-fight-idUSKBN1K72QJ.** Published 2018. Accessed September 10, 2018.
[48] UNDP. Le PNUD Continue Son Plaidoyer Et Son Soutien Stratégique Et Technique Aux Réformes Clés Sur La Lutte Contre La Corruption En Tunisie.; 2018. **http://www.tn.undp.org/content/tunisia/fr/home/presscenter/articles/2018/le-pnudcontinue-son-plaidoyer-et-son-soutien-strategique-et-tec.html.** Accessed September 10, 2018.
[49] Yerkes, Sarah. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Key Informant Interview with Magenta. Interview October 15, 2018

However, public distrust in the government is high. A recent survey conducted by Afrobarometer showed that support for President Beji Caid Essebsi declined from 32.3 percent in July 2018 to 18 percent in September 2018[39]. His declining popularity reveals public distrust in the sincerity of the government's efforts. Whilst this should not by principle stop the government carrying out reforms, the strong divide between the public and the government risks complacency and the legitimacy of the government.

Despite legislative efforts, the EU added Tunisia to a blacklist of countries at high risk of money laundering and terror-financing in February 2018[50]. The reason given was due to Tunisia's 'offshore' sector, a term for companies that export at least 70% of production[51]. The offshore sector is 'investment friendly'[52] as the label allows companies to import raw materials and components duty-free[51]. However, it is due to these exemptions that Tunisia was deemed to be high-risk. In response to the black-listing Foreign Minister Khemaies Jhinaoui said, "Naming Tunisia in these lists does not take into account the country's economic peculiarities or the ongoing structural reforms"[53]. Tunisia was also, however, moved from a black to 'grey' list, of countries deemed to be a safe haven for tax evasion[54].

According to the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) most laws in Tunisia are in line with international standards. However, when measuing the effectiveness of the law in practice, Tunisia was found to be in "low compliance" with international best practices. The EBRD attributes this to lack of policy and no real enforcement experience[55]. This is perhaps predictable as Tunisia is a young democracy.

The approach to battling corruption so far has been top down without public consultation which has led to mistrust and no public ownership of government schemes. There has been mixed success in using this approach, the EU has black listed Tunisia in two areas, a sign that government intent has not translated into meaningful or widespread reform.

[50] European Parliament. Meps Confirm Commission Blacklist Of Countries At Risk Of Money Laundering.; 2018.
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20180202IPR97031/meps-confirm-commission-blacklist-of-countriesat-risk-of-money-laundering. Accessed September 10, 2018.
[51] Tunisia's Economic Potential Held Back by Outdated Policies. World Bank.
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RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the literature review, consultations with informed parties and the subsequent situation analysis, the following research questions have been developed:

1 **What are the social norms underpinning corruption in Tunisia?**

a. What is the reference network (and the reference groups) for those social norms?
b. What are the reputational risks and stigma associated with refusing to engage in corruption?

2 **What are the cognitive and psychological drivers of corruption practices in Tunisia?**

3 **How do youth citizens see petty and grand corruption?**

a. What is the difference / cut-off point between the two?
b. Which of the two are seen as costlier? Why?
c. Do citizens believe petty and/or grand corruption are more harmful? Which is more harmful? Why?
d. Why is there a difference in the perception of petty corruption vs large scale corruption?

4 **Do citizens believe they have a choice to avoid corruption, if they wanted to? If yes, how would youth be able to avoid corrupt engagements?**

5 **Why is the perception of corruption high through various surveys56 and sources, but the number of people reporting to engage in corruption is so low?**

6 **What is the general perception of young citizens towards the municipality considering the recent elections?**

HYPOTHESES

A socially sensitive topic such as corruption can result in people believing in potentially mutually exclusive different ideas. To foster an open-minded approach that can cater for this factor, Magenta, in coordination with IRI, will work with the following competing hypotheses. This approach will further force us to consider a variety of alternative explanations.

As discussed during the kick-off meeting, Magenta will only focus on the citizen's perspective, as a complementary activity to IRI's ongoing research

01

Youth citizens engage in corruption because the benefits of doing so (in terms of more efficient services), outweigh the financial costs and stigma.

02

Youth citizens have low self-efficacy in terms of resisting corruption, due to lack of information about their rights and "correct" service provision, and the perception that complaint mechanisms are non-functional or could lead to retribution.

03

Youth citizens engage in corruption due to empirical expectations related to social norms around corruption.

04

Pluralistic ignorance[57] perpetuates petty corruption.

05

Youth underestimate their collective power to change social norms and overestimate the anticipated reaction and stigmatization of others.[58]

06

Gift-giving and nepotism to avoid local bureaucracies are not perceived as corruption per se.

[57] When we believe that behaviours are more typical and accepted than this can lead to behaviours being widespread even though people individually disapprove of them and would prefer to do otherwise.
[58] The focus will be solely on the behavioural side, noting but not exploring material issues further.

FINDINGS

The findings below are based on the discussions with youth during the five conducted FGDs and the seven KIIs. These are compared to the situational analysis where relevant and of interest to further programming. The findings are organised by research questions, with key findings highlighted at the beginning of each section.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1	**What are the social norms underpinning corruption in Tunisia?**

Key Finding	Key Finding
There are no social norms, but social practices underpinning corruption.	Many young people try to find answers online.

Magenta assumed that social norms are underpinning corruption in Tunisia. For a behaviour to be a social norm, it must meet the following thresholds and criteria:

- **Practiced widely (high prevalence)**
- **Individuals engage in it because their reference group engage in it**
- **Individuals think their reference group expects them to engage in it**
- **Individuals not engaging are shunned or suffer consequences**

High prevalence: The situational analysis showed that corruption, in the form of petty corruption, is believed to be widely practiced in Tunisia.

Reference group engage in the behaviour: Most youth were unmarried and therefore lived with their parents. All of the youth mentioned their parents as people they would ask for information, as well as searching the internet, leading to the determination that parents are part of their reference group.

In response to the question, **'How do you know that you get the photocopy from the municipality?'** Participants responded, "From our parents, because we saw our parents doing things there, so we learned from them" (group 4).

In addition, many young people do not rely on a reference group at all, but go to the relevant place for answers.
"I will go to the place where they provide the service and ask there."
Participant, Group 2

However, the high prevalence of petty corruption was mentioned when the FGD participants were asked why they would engage in corruption. No specific reference was made to the reference group when asked about engaging in corruption, so it is not clear if the reference group engages in corruption or not. Many also shared stories of a close relative (not necessarily parent) paying a bribe or engaging in other forms of corruption.

Belief that reference group expect the individual to engage in it: Furthermore, none of the participants felt that their parents (reference group) expected them to engage in it. Therefore, although parents are a reference group in some sense as the youth consult them on certain issues and replicate some, it is not clear that parents as a reference group are strong influencers when it comes to corruption.

Individual not engaging are shunned or suffering consequences: In addition, youth not engaging in corruption are neither shunned nor suffering any significant consequences other than waiting times. Anecdotal evidence suggests that bribes were more common when an individual went to the municipality for business related purposes and getting many paper photocopies or signatures confirmed at once, but rarely for every instance of personal business.

Based on this, we assume that there are no social norms, but rather social practices underpinning corruption. While the behaviour is strictly speaking not conditioned by social norms, the social and behavioural change approach is still valid.

For most Tunisians, corruption is rooted in empirical expectations ("everybody does it").

<div style="border:1px solid; padding:4px; display:inline-block">2</div> **What are the cognitive and psychological drivers of corruption practices in Tunisia?**

Key Finding	Key Finding
Youth believe they have the necessary selfefficacy (confidence and skills) to resist corruption.	The youth's aspiration of wanting to not engage in corruption clashes with the need to get things done.

Gaining a better understanding of cognitive and psychological drivers will allow us to have a better understanding of the youth individual decision-making process when engaging in corruption. Cognitive and psychological ones in this context are interest, selfefficacy, attitude, intent and quirks.

From the overall discussion it is clear that Tunisian youth **aspire to avoid corruption**, believe it is **morally wrong** and **against their values**, and believe that they have the skills and confidence to do so. However, it is clearly at odds with their actual behaviours either because of **doability** (urgent request, lack of planning), the **efforts needed** and the **perceived risks** of not getting things done in time.

While only two people reported to have actively resisted to pay a bribe[59], all the participants in the FGDs believed to have the **self-efficacy** to do so if they wanted. A lack of believed self-efficacy cannot be attributed to the practice of paying bribes.

"For me it happened to me in Bardo a month ago, I brought 25 pages, so he told me that's too much, so I started arguing with him and I asked for his boss. When he saw that I'm a journalist in my ID he got scared, to take it to media and stuff so his boss came we talked and then they did it for me." Participant, Group 1.

Magenta understands that there is a significant difference between the belief of having self-efficacy, and really having it, but due to the time constraints and scope of this formative research, we are not able to further explore how true this believed self-efficacy is.

However, there is an underlying tension between the perceived self-efficacy that youth can resist paying bribes, their attitude (aspirations, values and moral norms), and their interests (doability, efforts needed and perceived risks) which compel them to engage in petty corruption. Addressing the behavioural **quirks** behind this contradiction could be beneficial as it was mentioned that action to not pay them anymore must come from the citizens.

People speak of a "mentality of corruption" in Tunisians, and that "everyone does it", whether to bolster one's low government salary or not. Changing this empirical expectation is important.

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[59] One being unsuccessful.

| 3 | **How do youth citizens see petty and grand corruption?** |

Key Finding	Key Finding	Key Finding
There is no clear answer to whether grand or petty corruption is harming the country more	All government services are seen as corrupt	The municipality is perceived as just as corrupt as other services, but not the most corrupt.

Based on the FGDs there is no one-way that youth see petty and grand corruption. They agree that petty corruption is anything that citizens individually would engage in but would not put a monetary value to it. We saw in the situational analysis that most corrupt exchanges are less than 20 TND. One young woman was very outspoken against paying any bribes and said:

"Can you give me a bribe price? Because if its 2 dinars it's okay, if its more than 10 it's a problem."
Participant, Group 1.

Winning government contracts for municipal constructions for example, is seen as something that would be grand corruption.

Some youth think that grand corruption is what is hurting Tunisia the most, but others mentioned that the high prevalence of petty corruption is making it just as big of a problem.

"Imagine every small corruption in all the municipalities. It's going to turn to be a big corruption."
Participant, Group 5.

But many young people do not see a difference between the two:

"In my opinion corruption is corruption, even in our morals and religion its forbidden to bribe or take bribes that's why we can't justify bad acts of people."
Participant, Group 2.

"Corruption is corruption, it's something that anyone can do it no matter of his position."
Participant, Group 3.

During the FGDs, grand corruption was discussed in more detail. The participants were asked to rank different government services based on their corruption. In most instances, the youth felt that all government services, such as police, public hospitals, municipality, immigration or customs are equally corrupt, and all a lot. When asked who is most corrupt, groups were often consistent within themselves and agreed with whatever someone said first. In one group, the perceived most corrupt service was customs, in another the police, and in yet another the hospitals. This corresponds with the findings from the situational analysis, pointing to police and hospitals as the services receiving the most bribes.

| 4 | **Do citizens believe they have a choice to avoid corruption, if they wanted to?** |

Key Finding	Key Finding	Key Finding
Youth believe that they have a general choice of avoiding corruption	Only one example of successfully resisting to corruption	There may be a reason not to resist to corruption, but youth did not mention repercussions

Corruption is seen as a necessary evil for young people in Tunisia. As mentioned above, it is perceived to happen in every government service at petty and grand levels.

On the municipality level, the respondents reported that they have experienced corruption in various forms. They have seen people skip lines or go through the back-door. Some youth reported doing the same as it saves time. Paying something extra for a service has also been reported.

The costs for the three services are less than one Tunisian Dinar (TND) each, per document. Most young people are not sure how much the services cost exactly showing that when the benefits of corruption are analysed by those who engage in it, cost is not a significant factor.

In almost all instances, corruption happened when the respondents had either little time and have been under pressure to get something done, or had to get a lot of documents done at the same time (verifying photocopies and/or getting several signatures).

With this in mind, young people do think that there are several ways to avoid corruption:

- **Complain to supervisors;**
- **Take photo or video evidence and publish/complain on social media;**
- **"Make a fuss" on the spot and get the support of other people waiting;**
- **Have an app on the phones where one can report instances of corruption;**
- **Having surveillance cameras in the room and good supervision.**

While the first four are based on actions citizens can take, only one of the 44 youth in the focus groups actually mentioned that they have resisted corruption attempts actively and successfully. This is a strong indication that the perceived self-efficacy might not hold true in reality. However this should not be generalized as we did not ask if each person had been in a situation where they were personally asked to participate in corruption. To answer such questions purposefully, we would need to do a representative quantitative research approach, which was outside of the scope of this research.

This finding is particularly interesting as many youths mentioned outrage at the level of corruption happening in the county, saying that citizens need to step up and stop paying bribes. But only two people actively resisted and one of the was forced to engage into corruption at the end of it.

"It happened to me, I was waiting in line and I saw others taking birth certificates from another place. I had an argument and in the end I was obliged to do the same as them."
Participant, Group 1.

It is possible that young people have not been in a position where corruption was attempted against them. It may also be possible that they have not resisted as actively as they claimed they would, as mentioned above.

In a group setting with certain dynamics it is further possible that youth did not feel comfortable admitting to not resisting paying a bribe when asked for it

5	**Why is the perception of corruption high through various surveys and sources, but the number of people reporting to engage in corruption is so low?**

Key Finding	Key Finding	Key Finding
Youth believe that they have a general choice of avoiding corruption	There is a potential social desirability bias on answering questions on corruption	Some youth believe that using "wasta" is more acceptable than money bribes

As mentioned in the situational analysis, Transparency International found only 9% of Tunisians admitting to paying a bribe when using public services.

During the FGDs several youths mentioned that they knew someone at the municipality and would call them when they needed to use either of the services in discussion. Only one person actively mentioned that they have paid a bribe in cash.

The participants were not able to put a monetary value to corruption but one woman mentioned that anything under 10 TND was fine (see quote above), while some othern

people felt calling a friend to get something done at the municipality is not considered corruption. The latter was only true for those with access to such a person, everyone else does see favouritism as corruption.

"Sometimes even without going to the municipality I get what I need my cousin works there."
Participant, Group 2.

However, nepotism was widely acknowledged as corruption, albeit an understandable type.

In reference to a question about municipality staff:

"How they could be in their position if they didn't finish their studies?"
"Money deals:
"Or a father who puts his son instead of him once he retires."

"Be honest, if you had the same opportunity to get there with the same way would you do it?"
"Yes of course I will."
Participants, Group 2

Nevertheless, anecdotal evidence from all groups says that everyone knew someone who has paid a bribe. During these discussions there were no hard feelings

towards those who have paid bribes. Everyone seemed to regard corruption as the necessary evil in some situations as otherwise nothing would move or get done. The survey of Transparency International does not include instances of favouritism (wasta) or nepotism, which may explain why the instances of corruption are so low. Further, there is a potential social desirability bias of respondents, depending on who asked the question in what circumstances.

6	What is the general perception of young citizens towards the municipality considering the recent elections?

Key Finding	Key Finding	Key Finding
Lack of trust in the municipality	Wrong understanding of opening hours and service fees	Nepotism is believed to be the main factor in staff recruitment

Most youth mentioned correctly that the municipality have a duty to care for citizens. Examples were given on dealing with the infrastructure of the area and other services such as garbage collection or handling schools.

"I don't see that the role of the municipality stops in cleaning or fix the light, its stronger than this. The main role is to communicate with the citizens, because in our municipality we always try to put communications in first place, because through communication we can solve the other things, to improve the communication tools and ways."
Participant, Group 4.

In general, all young people pointed out that their lack of trust in the municipality is very strong. They feel excluded from their work and lied to, and therefore disengaged.

"Something else, there's no connection between the citizens and the municipality, for example if there's a meeting in the municipality, they inform people, but only few people are going to be present. We have a lack of trust between the citizens and the municipality, and the municipality doesn't trust the youth (when a youth talks in a meeting they will listen to him with one ear and all the talk will come out from the other)."
Participant, Group 5.

Only very few of them voted in the election in May and those who did not felt there was no point in doing so.
"I don't trust in the candidates."
Participant, Group 3.

During a meeting with the municipality, it became clear that most of the employees there think that their constituents only complain and will always complain. They point out that citizens in Tunisia have a "complaining mentality".

No participants in any of the five FGDs knew the actual opening times of the municipality nor the correct cost of service. All of the respondents believed the municipality was closed more often than it is in reality. This is interesting as the Manouba municipality is one of the only municipality in Tunisia opened seven days a week. This demonstrates an important communications issue. According to the municipality, their opening hours are from 8 am until 6 pm on weekdays and from 9 am to 1 pm on the weekend (both days).

"Yeah they don't work on the weekends, maybe some other municipalities that they work in weekends."
Participant, Group 3.

Young people felt that the way they would like to be informed and search for information is not supported as the municipality does not have an updated website or Facebook page (to their knowledge). Due to the structure of costs, most might prefer a Facebook page as ISP are having an exemption for Facebook and not costing mobile data charges on smartphones.

HYPOTHESES

One of the main assumption Magenta and IRI agreed upon was the belief that corruption is seen as a socially sensitive topic. This has not proven to be true. During the FGDs, only twice was the hypothetical story used without corruption being mentioned by the group first. As in the other three groups, someone mentioned corruption in one way or another and that example was then used to discuss the issues surrounding it further.

In all but one groups, Magenta did not introduce the term corruption into the discussion, and where we did, people strongly agreed with it and pointed out the magnitude of the problem in Tunisia.

Below is an overview of the six hypotheses that were assumed before the research and their findings. For a quick glance, the colour-code on the right side gives a quick answer if the hypotheses in questions holds true, while the text underneath will give the explanation behind the conclusion.

True

01 **Youth citizens engage in corruption because the benefits of doing so (in terms of more efficient services), outweigh the financial costs and stigma.**

Respondents reported that petty corruption involving the municipality would not exceed 10 TND (~3.5 USD). This means that the financial costs are very limited. Further, there is little to no stigmatisation on those engaging in corruption as citizens or government service providers. For citizens, there is an understanding that it is sometimes justified by no alternative given.

"There're some parents when they send their kids to do such things [at the municipality] they give them some extra money because they know that they are going to need to do that."
Participant, Group 1.

"I think it's wrong, if everyone stops giving bribes or make problems once he sees something like this it will end, but the problem in Tunisia, bribes became a normal thing to give or take a bribe."
Participant, Group 3.

For government officials, their salaries were mentioned as a justification for them asking for bribes. People mentioned the salaries being so low, that they are essentially forced into having to ask for bribes in order to sustain them and their own families.

"Me, I think it's a bit deeper than this. The people who do this small corruption usually they have financial problems like a police man who is taking a bribe because his salary is not enough or a teacher, or a judge, it's not enough for them so it leads to take bribes and it goes like a contagion."
Participant, Group 5.

However someone gave an example against this argument:
"I don't agree to let me tell you why, the police forces got a raised salary after the revolution, but this didn't stop them from taking bribes or how they call it, coffee, for me the solution is to make the citizens stop giving bribes, we start with the citizens to end this."
Participant, Group 3.[60]

Partly true

02 **Youth citizens have low self-efficacy in terms of resisting corruption, due to lack of information about their rights and "correct" service provision, and the perception that complaint mechanisms are non-functional or could lead to retribution.**

While it is true, that youth have not given more than one example of how they actively resisted corruption, in their own perception they all have the self-efficacy they need to resist.

"I go to another municipality. I oblige him to do it for me."
Participant, Group 3.

One participants pointed out, that she would resist paying a bribe to the municipality:

"Expose him, or I contact someone in the police that I know, to get my service, but I'm not giving him money."
Participant, Group 1.

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[60] Even though these two arguments are from two groups, the first argument was given in group 3 too.

This shows that some forms of corruption are perceived as acceptable, asking someone she knows at the police to help out is another form of corruption.

Having said that, it is true that no one knew all the "correct" prices for asking for the three government services in question in this report, as mentioned above.

Youth do not believe that complaint mechanisms could lead to retribution, but just believe they are non-functional and useless. As an example, reporting someone to the police for corruption was a hilarious thought for the youth, as they see the police as one of the most corrupt government services together with hospitals.

"We can find corruption in the big cities more than the countryside's, second it exists in any type of service and lot of corruption is in the police force."
Participant, Group 2.

"Hospitals are the worst, people die day and night and their cases are been overlooked, you pay money and you get nothing, our hospitals are like so nasty you don't want even to step foot into it."
Participant, Group 1.

Some also mentioned that they believe supervisors might be "in" on the corruption and receiving part of the bribes paid to look the other way and do nothing.

True

03 Youth citizens engage in corruption due to empirical expectations related to social norms around corruption.

As pointed out above in the first research question, Magenta concludes that corruption is based on social practices rather than social norms. Nonetheless, we believe this hypothesis holds true as corruption is clearly driven by empirical expectation; young people believe Tunisians have a mentality of engaging in corruption.

"Well from the small corruption we go to the big one because it sticks with us and became a mentality."
Participant, Group 5.

This is further emphasised through the fact that many young people shared stories of them or a close relative paying a bribe or engaging in other forms of corruption, while none of them offered an example of resisting to engage in corruption.

True

04 **Pluralistic ignorance perpetuates petty corruption.**

Magenta found that the vast majority of young people disapprove of corruption. This majority however is silent, and the practices are therefore still complied with based on the social misbelief.

With youth making up the majority of Tunisians, it is clear that there would be a majority wanting to resist. But young people have the assumption that resisting does not work and even if someone complains to the administration, nothing will change.

"Complain as [much as] you want but you are not going anywhere [with it]."
Participant, Group 2.

Partly true

05 **Youth underestimate their collective power to change social norms and overestimate the anticipated reaction and stigmatization of others.**

This is completely in line with the hypothesis above. While not a social norm, youth would have a collective power to change the social practice and they believe that there is a solution to end corruption in the future.

"By education and educating the young generation."
Participant, Group 4.

It does not hold true, that young people overestimate the reaction or stigmatisation by others. Based on the FGDs conducted, Magenta could not confirm any stigmatisation in either direction, either to pay or not to pay bribes and engage in corruption. While people said one should not pay bribes, this was never really followed up with what would happen if one does. The young woman who most strongly opposed paying a bribe did not see the police doing a favour to her as corruption, nor small amounts below 10 TND as an issue.

False

06 **Gift-giving and nepotism to avoid local bureaucracies are not perceived as corruption per se.**

For the absolute majority of youth in the FGDs, gift-giving, nepotism and favouritism are corruption just as paying a bribe is. One or two individuals disagreed, and they pointed out that they had access to the favouritism and therefore felt using connections should not be seen as corruption.

"Corruption is to do something against the law or to use his position and power for his own benefits. Like when you give the security man some money and he will bring a number for you, or if you know someone from the inside they will do your things faster without a waiting line number or anything. Or, for example, you are in the line waiting and you see someone entering and going straight to the guy without a number that because he knows him, or they live nearby."

Participant, Group 5.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the above findings, Magenta is providing the following recommendations that will be presented during the strategy workshop.

As the pilot intervention following this research will be a social and behavioural change communications campaign, it is essential to cautiously think about campaign attribution. Whether the campaign will be attributed to a CSO, the Manouba municipality or INLUCC we will be careful not to create expectations that can't be realised and hence deepens existing mistrusts and fatalism about corruption.

FGD participants highlighted that to stop petty corruption citizens must take action and stop paying bribes. Therefore, the obvious choice might be to attribute the campaign to the civil society. However, a key part of stopping the action is also changing mentalities. Presently, youth do not see a benefit to engaging with the municipality and have a lack of trust. Lots of young people did not vote because they do not believe that their voice would matter or be heard. A good communications campaign paired with tangible and visible actions, may start to shift those perceptions. Based on this research, we recommend ownership to lie with the municipality. This campaign is an opportunity to build relations between the public and municipality that will allow them to tackle corruption together.

Based on the key findings, the following tactics are recommended for the social and behavioural change communications strategy:

■ **Facts:**
None of the participants in the FGDs were able to correctly identify the opening hours of the municipal, it is thus crucial to identify better ways to inform all citizens of the opening hours and prices for municipal services in an easy and transparent way.

■ **Engagement:**
There was a low turn-out in the municipal elections in part because some youth did not trust in the candidates and others did not think anything would change. We thus recommend using a community-based approach to change perceptions. Invite youth to events, such as public meetings, and listen to them as a way to take their view into account, rather than using them as a tick-the-box group.

■ **Complaint Mechanism:**
61% report a fear of retaliation if corruption is reported16. To build trust, we recommend developing a professional and independent complaint mechanism, that includes what is happening after a report is done. The system could allow youth to send photo/video evidence or to use social media, potentially through

a hashtag. Results could be publicized to weaken the empirical expectation behind the practice and build knowledge of the change as well as dispel fears of reporting.

■ **Transparency:** A key word that emerged in the KIIs was 'transparency'. Key informants consistently cited this as important for battling corruption and building trust in anticorruption processes and government. We thus recommend inviting youth to ask questions and make as much of the work transparent and observable for civil society.
Examples are hiring and tendering processes in particular. Introduce a citizen monitoring approach, where interested citizens can join inspection visits to municipal construction, etc, in order to build an environment that supports new norms and behaviours.

■ **Two way communication:** There is a lack of two-way communication between the public and municipality. Youth don't know where to find accurate information about the municipality and they also want to be able to communicate in a way that is convenient for them such as through social media. Creating a feedback mechanism as part of any communication tool where youth can see responses is also important for building trust. One

suggestion is a communication channel for the youth with the municipality, where they can ask questions and make recommendations. This should be different from the invitations to in person meetings. A good approach for this might be a twitter account for the municipality, that is active and used and answered by municipal staff. Allow for thematic chats on given dates with the mayor (as an example). This interpersonal communication will assist in building a supportive environment for the behavioural change, whilst expanding knowledge of the change across different groups.

A social and behavioural change communication campaign cannot address an issue such as corruption on its own and it is important that the campaign is grounded in local efforts happening on the ground, whether it is interventions by the municipality, local CSOs or INLUCC.

Annex I: Full FGD Guidelines

Magenta will conduct a series of 5 FGDs (3 mixed, 1 with women only, 1 with men only) in the governorate of Manouba. These will determine the extent to which citizens experience corruption when seeking out to legalise document with the municipality.

The included Journey Mapping Exercise will bring life to the narratives. Involved participants of the FGDs will be asked to identify both levels of satisfaction and corruption at certain touch points through the service engagement.

Based on the findings a narrative report as well as an infographic poster will be developed to develop the situation on the ground.

FGD Details
Date:
Time:
Location:
Discussion
Leader
Facilitator:

#	Participant Name	Occupation	Age	Gender
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				

A. Social Network Analysis

1	**Whose opinion do you care about the most when you need to do administrative tasks?**

2	**Whom do you ask advice from, when you have to deal with the government?**

a. Why do you trust these people in particular?
b. How could you put these people into groups?[61]
c. Can you give examples of behaviours the different groups approve or disapprove of in terms of business or administrative decision? Especially those where the different groups in your life disagreeing with each other?
i. What happens when one of the groups approves or disapproves of something you do?
ii. How does this influence your behaviour?

B. Municipality

1	**Do you think that elections in Tunisia are credible?**

a. If yes, why?
b. If no, why not?

2	**Do you think that elections in Tunisia are credible?**

a. Why/why not?

3	**Do you think the elections were fair and free?**

a. What are their main tasks?

4	**What is the role of the municipality in your view?**

a. What are their main tasks?

5	**What are your expectations, now after the election?**

6	**Where should the municipality get their funding from?**

a. If not mentioned, what about tax revenue?

7	**Have you seen a difference since the revolution?**

8	**Have you seen any change in the work of the municipality since the elections in May?**

9	**What do you think are the biggest challenges of the municipality?**

10	**How can you get information about the municipality?**

11	**Do you think your municipality has enough resources (staff/space/money)?**

a. If no, why not, what is missing?

12	**Do you think the staff members have the necessary technical expertise and skills?**

a. If not, what is missing?

13	**Do you know of any form of complaint mechanism available in case of grievances with the municipality?**

a. If yes, please describe in detail.

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[61] Participants will be asked if they need paper to do this.

b. If no, please imagine what would be the best case for you, for a complaint mechanism?

14 **What could be improved in the municipality in general?**

C. Level of awareness of the services

After the general introduction, we now want to talk to one very specific task of the municipality. The verification/legalising/notarization of documents through them. All following questions are more or less in relation to this task of the municipality. First, we would like to know more about the last time you have had to get a document notarized. For this, we would like to ask you to fill this individual journey map template with your latest encounter. After this we will come back to our discussion.

1 **What are the steps involved in legalising/verifying/notarising a document?**

2 **Are there any fees to be paid?**

a. How do you know the amount of the fee?
b. Do you get receipts?

3 **Where did you learn what the official steps are?**

4 **What could be improved in the service of legalising documents?**

5 **What are your expectations, now after the election?**

D. Experience of "customer"

1 **How many times did you need to verify/legalise documents in your life so far?**

a. What kind of documents did you need to get verified/legalised?
b. What was your experience?
i. How long did it take?
ii. Were the staff friendly?
iii. Did they staff know what they were doing?
iv. What feelings did you experience while going through the process?

2 **How often do you anticipate needing it in the future?**

(It is assumed, that someone from the group will mentioned corruption in one of the answers to this section or the previous section. In case this does not hold true, the following leading questions will be asked until corruption is mentioned)

■ **Are there ways to speed the process up or get preferential treatments?**
● **What are these ways?**

E. Instance of corruption

1 **Someone from the group mentioned corruption before. Can you explain to me, in your words and to your own understand what corruption is?**

2 **Whom do you ask advice from, when you have to deal with the government?**

3 **Can you group [into two groups] the examples of corruption we have heard or that you know?**

a.What is distinctive for each group? [Guidance to come to the conclusion of petty and grand corruption]
b. Which of the two groups seems costlier and why?
c. Which of the two types is more harmful? Why?

4 **Where (geography and service) is corruption happening most in Tunisia?**

a. Is corruption more or less likely in municipalities than in other government services? Why?

5 **Is there corruption happening at the municipality level?**

a. If yes, how and in what way?

6 **Could you imagine that corruption could happen in the task of legalising and verifying documents or other daily tasks?**

a. If yes, why and how?
b. If no, why not?
c. How much is corruption affecting your daily life?

F. Social norms, self-efficacy and necessary evil

Note: Translation will either use the general term "wasta" to ensure the responses capture a wide range of instances of corruption, not only monetary one, or use the words and definitions discussed in the group beforehand but ensuring that all options are discussed and included.

Now, we will discuss a fictional story.

Imagine, that you had a lot of documents, for which you needed the photocopies to be verified by the municipality. The documents are important, and you need them today. The line at the municipality is really long, but you get your ticket and you wait for 2hWhen it is your turn, the staff tells you that you brought them a lot of work, and you should give them an incentive to get all this done for you now.

1 **What would you do in this scenario?**

a. If they chose to engage in corruption:

i. Why did you decide to do this?⁶²
ii. Who would approve/disapprove of you engaging in this behaviour?
iii. What would happen to you from those groups?
b. If they chose not to engage in corruption:
i. Why did you decide not to do this?
ii. Who would approve/disapprove of you not paying a bribe?
iii. What would happen from those groups who approve/disapprove?

2	**How would it be possible for an individual to resist resorting to wasta, but still get the services needed?**

3	**What do you need to do to be able not to resort to wasta?**

4	**What would you do, if you run into a problem by resisting resorting to wasta?**

5	**How can you make sure to not have to resort to wasta?**

6	**Do you think sometimes (or always) wasta is the only way to get things done?**

7	**What do you imagine would make petty corruption happen more or less often?**

All participants are now asked to prepare a joint CJM of a typical engagement with the municipality on notarizing a document. Flipchart paper (with a template drawn beforehand) will be used to document the process in as much detail as possible. After the process is drawn by the group, the Magenta team will ask further clarifying questions to them, ensuring that every part of the map is fully understood.

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⁶² Here, we will ask further, based on answers to get away from economic reasons, but understanding why it is acceptable to pay a bribe.

ANNEX II: KII GUIDELINES

Magenta will conduct a series of semi-structured Key Informant Interviews to understand the view of officials (municipal government workers and elected officials) involved in the legalisation of public documents and those working on the topic of corruption in Tunisia (donors, CSOs). This will give Magenta a thorough understanding of the issue as it stands.

Those guidelines serve as references and will be adapted to the informant.

FGD Details
Date:
Time:
Location:
Discussion:
Leader:
Facilitator:
Name and Position of
Interviewer:

A. Instance of corruption

1 **Is corruption pervasive in Tunisia?**

a. Please explain your answer

2 **How do citizens regard petty and grand corruption?**

a. What do they perceive is the difference between the two?
b. How do they regard both corruption types impact on the country?

3 **Why do you think ordinary citizens might decide to engage in corruption?**

a. What do you think are the driving factors?

4 **Can you identify a sector where corruption is the most prevalent?**

a. Why do you think corruption is a particular problem in this sector?

5 **What laws exist to tackle corruption in Tunisia?**

a. Are those laws adequate?
b. Are those laws being enforced?
c. Are those laws properly being communicated to citizens?

6 **What do you think can/should be done to address corruption in Tunisia?**

7 **Do you think that corruption is worse now than it was under Ben-Ali's regime?**

a. Please explain your answer

B. Current landscape

1 **What in your opinion is the most trustworthy source of information in Tunisia?**

a. Is it also regarded as trustworthy by a large segment of the public?

i. Please explain both answers

2 **Can you recall communications campaigns aiming at tackling corruption?**

a. If yes, do you believe they were successful? What did you like about them?

3 **How does the government, media and civil society talk about the issue of corruption?**

C. Questions about target audience

1 **In your opinion, who are the most trusted voices in Tunisia?**

2 **What CSOs would you recommend we reach out to for this project?**

D. Municipality

15 **What is the role of the municipality in your view?**

a. What are their main tasks?

1 **What could be improved in the Municipality in general?**

2 **What in particular in regard to the legalising/verifying of documents?**

3 **How is the municipality viewed by the public?**

a. Did the elections change any perceptions?

E. Questions specific to organisation of interviewee

1 **What is the role of donors in combatting corruption?**

2 **What is the role of CSOs in combatting corruption?**

3 **What is your organisation doing in the area of corruption?**

a. How have these activities been viewed/received by the public?

4 **What challenges have you faced?**

5 **What do you think is missing in the campaign against corruption?**

ANNEX III: LIST OF KII INTERVIEWEES

No	Name	Occupation
1	Mario Varrenti	European Union Delegation to Tunisia
2	Nahedh Sellami	Tunisian Forum for Youth Empowerment
3	Nejd El Khalfaoui	Radio Web Manouba
4	Sami Ben Yahia	ATID
5	Thomas Fiegle	Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer International Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)
6	Sarah Yerkes	Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
7	Lamine Benghazi	Al Bawsala

ANNEX IV : CJM TEMPLATE

CITIZEN JOURNEY MAPPING
NOTARIZING/ LEGALIZING DOCUMENTS AT THE MUNICIPALITY

" Goals and expectations:

	Tasks					
Positive						
Neutral						
Negative						
Expectations						
Opportunities						

ANNEX V: FGD GROUP DETAILS

Group 1:

No	Name	Gender	Age	Occupation
1	Synine	Female	25	Journalist
2	Meriem	Female	24	Student
3	Oumayma	Female	21	Student
4	Chaima	Female	23	Student
5	Sirin	Female	20	Student
6	Hiba	Female	18	High school

Group 2:

No	Name	Gender	Age	Occupation
1	Beiyzen	Male	10	Student
2	Saifeddine	Male	23	Student
3	Hamza	Male	28	CSO
4	Mohamed	Male	20	Unemployed
5	Khalil	Male	19	High school
6	Hishem	Male	23	Unemployed
7	Mohamed	Male	18	Unemployed
8	Hamza	Male	18	Student

Group 3:
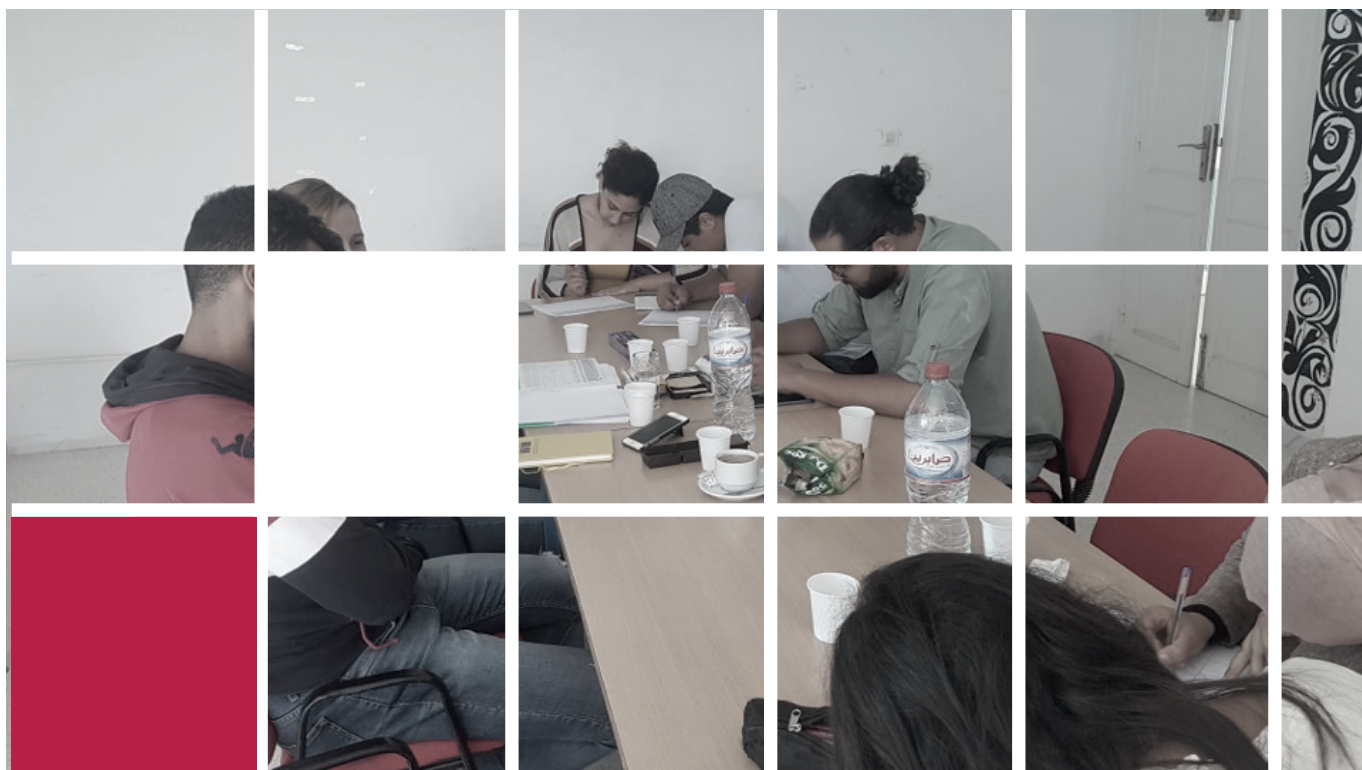
No	Name	Gender	Age	Occupation
1	Chidia	Female	21	Student
2	Skander	Male	21	Student
3	Khaled	Male	23	Student
4	Hajer	Female	20	Student
5	Rania	Female	21	Student

Group 4:

No	Name	Gender	Age	Occupation
1	Sarra	Female	21	Student
2	Mawal	Male	22	Student
3	Slam	Male	23	Student
4	Fatma	Female	20	CSO
5	Wael	Male	21	Student
6	Mervet	Male	20	Student
7	Mowa	Female	22	Student
8	Amine	Male	23	Student
9	Basma	Female	23	Working
10	Ichraf	Male	19	Student

Group 5:

ANNEX V: FGD GROUP DETAILS
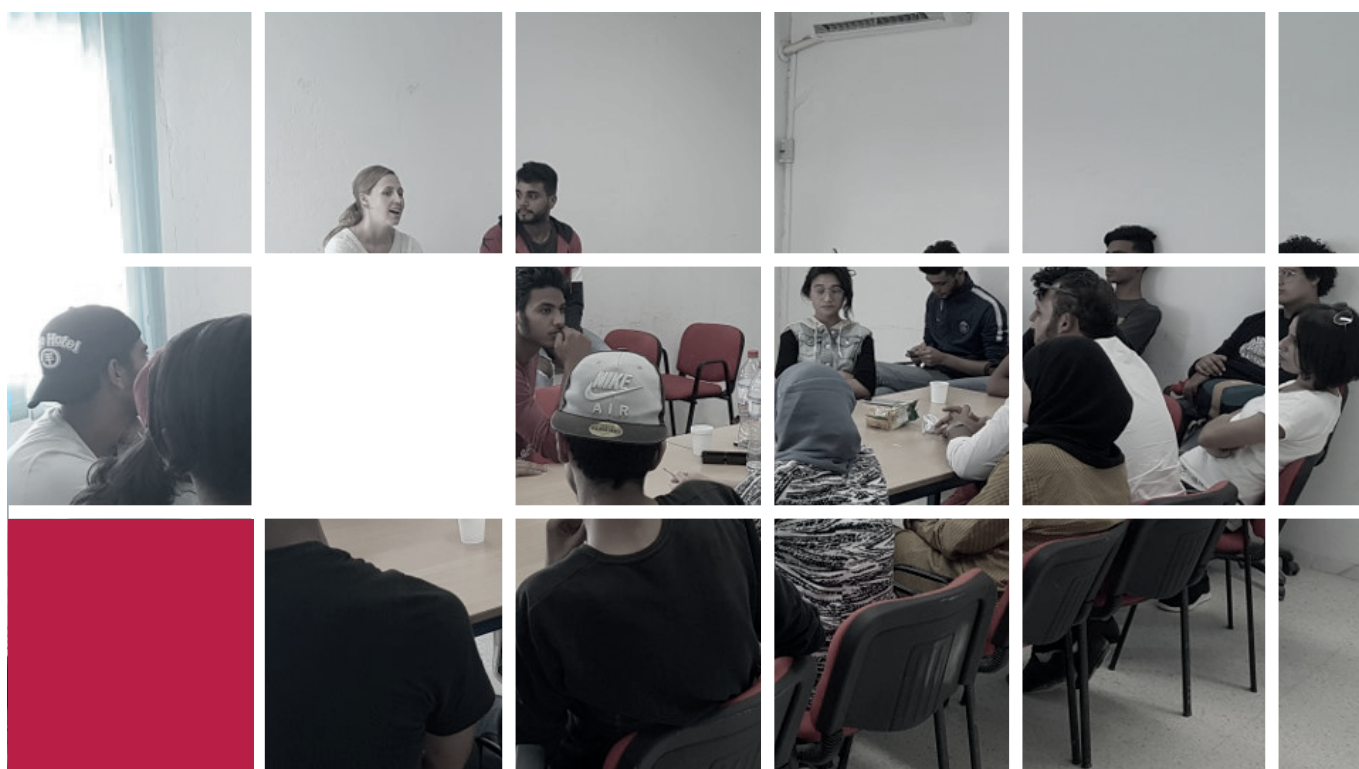
No	Name	Gender	Age	Occupation
1	Yosr	Male	19	Student
2	Yassine	Male	19	High school
3	Jasser	Female	20	High school
4	Mohamed	Male	15	High school
5	Lokmen	Male	20	Student
6	Ibissem	Female	39	Animateur
7	Mohamed	Male	25	Working
8	Sandos	Female	20	Student
9	Rihek	Female	19	Student
10	Samah	Male	18	High school
11	Khalil	Male	18	High school
12	Ali	Male	20	High school
13	Ahmed	Male	16	High school
14	Ala	Male	16	High school
15	Finas	Male	19	Prof Training

ANNEX VI: SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS READING LIST

#	Organisation	Title and Link	Category
1	Tunisian government	**Tunisian constitution of 2014**	Government document
2	OECD	**Accessing Vulnerabilities to Corruption: A Tool to Improve Global Trade**	Programmatic guidelines and framework
3	World Bank	Tunisia: Breaking the Barriers to Youth Inclusion(PDF)	Research papers
4	United Nations	**Anti-Fraud and Anti-Corruption Framework**	Programmatic guidelines and framework
5	UNDP	**Global Anti-Corruption Framework**	Programmatic guidelines and framework
6	UNDP	**UNDP Global Anti-Corruption Initiative (GAIN) 2014-2017 (PDF)**	Programmatic guidelines and framework
7	UNDP	**Building Transparency, Accountability and Anti-Corruption into the Post 2015 Development Agenda**	Programmatic guidelines and framework
8	International Crisis Group	**Tunisia: Transitional Justice and the Fight Against Corruption**	Research papers
9	International Crisis Group	**Blocked Transition: Corruption and Regionalism in Tunisia**	Research papers
10	Carnegie Endowment for Peace	**Tunisia's Corruption Contagion-A Transition at Risk**	Research papers
11	Carnegie Endowment for Peace	**Capitalising on Tunisia's Transition: The Role of Broad-Based Reform**	Research papers
12	Carnegie Endowment for Peace	**How the Nidaa-Ennahdha Alliance has Done More Harm than Good**	Research papers
13	Carnegie Endowment for Peace	Great Expectations in Tunisia (PDF)	Research papers

14	Transparency International	**Corruption Perceptions Index 2017**	Research papers
15	Transparency International	**Lessons Learnt in Recovering Assets From Egypt, Libya and Tunisia**	Research papers
16	Transparency International	**Lost Billions: Recovering Public Money in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and Yemen**	Research papers
17	Transparency International	**People and Corruption: Middle East and North Africa Survey 2016**	Research papers
18	Human Rights Watch	**New Reconciliation Law Threatens Tunisia's Democracy**	Research papers
19	Brookings Institute	**Where Have All the Revolutionaries Gone?**	Research papers
20	World Bank	**Tunisia's Economic Potential Held Back by Outdated Policies**	Research papers
21	International Republican Institute	**Survey Of Tunisian Public Opinion**	Research papers
22	Afrobarometer	**Perceptions of Corruption in Tunisia**	Research papers
23	Foreign Affairs	**The Quiet Threat to Human Rights in Tunisia**	Articles
24	Christian Science Monitor	**Can Fighting Corruption Help Arab States Sell Painful Economic Reforms?**	Articles
25	Oxford Business Group	**Uneven growth in Tunisia's industrial sector remains a challenge**	Articles
26	Al Jazeera	**Thousands Protest Tunisia's Corruption Amnesty Bill**	Articles
27	Financial Times	**Amnesty for Ben-Ali Era corruption in Tunisia Condemned**	Articles
28	Reuters	**Tunisia Parliament Approves Controversial Amnesty for Ben-Ali Era Corruption**	Articles
29	Reuters	**Tunisians March Against Contested Corruption Amnesty**	Articles
30	Reuters	**Tunisia Approves Illegal Enrichment Law to**	Articles

		Strengthen Anti-Corruption Fight	
31	The Guardian	Anger as Tunisia Grants Amnesty to Officials Accused of Corruption	Articles
32	The Guardian	'Amnesty of the Corrupt' Tunisia's Move to Heal Old Wounds Branded a Sham	Articles
33	New York Times	Corruption Crackdown Intensifies in Tunisia, and the People Cheer	Articles
34	The National (UAE)	From Petty Corruption to Crooked Cabinets, Corruption Thrives	Articles
35	The Spectator	Seven Years After the Arab Spring, Tunisia faces an Uncertain Future	Articles
36	The Financial Times	Tunisia: After the Revolution	Articles
37	The Arab Weekly	Tunisia's Long Delayed Municipal Vote Turns Focus to Local Politics	Articles
38	Asharq Al-Awsat	Tunisia: Low Turnout in First Municipal Election after 2011 Revolution	Articles
39	MediaPart	Corruption in Tunisia, an evil that persists (French)	Articles
40	MediaPart	An amnesty law paralyses the fights against corruption in Tunisia (French)	Articles
41	Al Bawaba	Tunisia Fires Central Bank Governor for 'Turning Blind Eye to Money Laundering'	Articles
42	Freedom Info	Tunisia Assembly Adopts Freedom of Information Law	Articles
43	Reuters	Tunisia approves illegal enrichment law to strengthen anti-corruption fight	Articles
44	New York Times	Corruption Crackdown Intensifies in Tunisia, and the People Cheer	Articles
45	Al Jazeera	Tunisia: Assembly votes to abolish human rights commission	Articles

46	Oxford Business Group	**Uneven growth in Tunisia's industrial sector remains a challenge**	Articles
47	The Cairo Review	**Tunisia's Disappointed Hopes**	Articles
48	European Parliament	**Meps Confirm Commission Blacklist Of Countries At Risk Of Money Laundering**	Press release
49	European Parliament	**Eight Jurisdictions Removed From EU List**	Press release
50	UNDP	**Le PNUD Continue SonPlaidoyer Et Son Soutien Stratégique Et Technique Aux Réformes Clés Sur La Lutte Contre La Corruption En Tunisie**	Press release
51	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development	Commercial Laws Of Tunisia (PDF)	Policy
52	INLUCC	**INLUCC commission**	Policy
53	GIZ	**Preventing and fighting corruption in Tunisia**	Policy
54	The United Nations	**The United Nations Convention Against Corruption**	Policy
55	INLUCC (Facebook page)	**About INLUCC**	Social media
56	Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	**Tunisia's Fight Against Corruption: An Interview with Chawki Tabib**	Interview
57	ATCP	**La Petite Corruption: Le Danger Banalisé**	Research Papers

TRANSCRIPT: GROUP 1[63][64]

[The conversation starts with an introduction of the researchers, permission for recording and taking the names, ages and occupation of participants. Participants are saying that they all understand English, and Katrina makes a joke pointing out that her translator is paid to translate, whenever they feel uncomfortable. The situation is relaxed].

[One participant is asking to take pictures (the journalist)].

Who do you talk to if you are going to do an administrative task? Can you be specific?

If you need to do something in one of the government services who would you ask?

[Everyone says family.]

And why?
Because they have been there before, they will have knowledge where I should go.

You have full trust on your family, I believe.

Obviously. [Laughter]

Would anyone also ask some others about this?
Yeah, I will ask in the administration once I'm there. If it's an ID for example I will ask in the police station if it's a birth certificate I will ask in the municipality.
Would you go there and ask, before asking your family?
Yes,

I can also go and see it in the internet.

Which kind of websites would you look at? Municipality or asking your friends on Facebook?

I don't want to be the first one answering always. [Laughter]

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[63] The transcripts are written based on the audio recordings done during each FGD. Everything in italic and parentheses are comments or observations of nonverbals. Questions from the researchers are in bold and answers from participants are not highlighted in any way.
[64] The language in the transcripts has not been modified in order to not unintentionally change or misrepresent the intended meaning

But it's also difficult because the website it's not updated.

Exactly, I guess it doesn't even exist.

Well you open google, then you check what you want and open the pictures to understand faster.

The digitalization is a problem here in Tunisia.

You may find a phone number there but when you call it's something else, not related.

Let's pretend you ask your family, what would they say? Is it easy or it's hard?

It's complicated of course!

They will ask you to go early in the morning and to take 2 numbers to not miss your turn.

My dad will be like, you need to get up at 6 and leave the house by 7 so you can find a spot in the front otherwise you are going to be stuck forever.

Well or if someone has a person from the inside that changes things,

What do you think about the election of May? You think it was real, the results?

Somehow, yes.

To some extent.

What do you mean by that?

Let me speak about my opinion, basically you guarantee that your contact is going to contact other people and that guarantees that they vote for you and some people they don't agree with his ideologue but you still going vote for him because he belongs to thisarea. So, a lot influences how it goes, even if you want someone else to be in that municipality you will be under pressure not voting for him because of your family.

So, you feel you can't be free to choose?

No personally, it didn't happen to me, but I saw it even when he didn't have a good program they voted for him.

So you expect the committee to vote for someone from here?

Yes, and if you don't, you kind of end up in the problem.

Would you do something different, voting for someone else, and tell your family that you voted for the person they wanted you to vote for?

Personally speaking I didn't vote, and if I did I will choose whoever I want.

You wouldn't find any explanation on their lists and projects, so it makes it harder to choose.

Who did vote in the elections in May?

[Only one person voted.]

I think their opinion on this election is wrong, as a start it's something good because it's a first in Tunisia to happen. It's a good thing for us in our democratic path, in this election I saw that its kind of real, not like the presidential or the other where there were other parts involved.

What make it clear and real that most of the people chose independent candidates not government parties like Nidaa Tounes or Ennahda. They said that the municipalities they didn't move to do anything, so I will say I don't see only your municipality because there is other who start working and as a journalist I saw some municipalities working for three months now.

Even here they start doing things, but now we are talking about administration? Did you see any changes?

Yes, there are changes! Now we have a town councillor.

No, no I'm talking to us as citizens? Did anything change?

You can't judge them now this election was 3 month ago it's not long enough.

And the change will happen in the structure of the municipalities not in the services, since the beginning it's the same.

Our problem doesn't stop only in taking out a birth certificate or confirmed photocopy, it's also our weekly market, public places etc.

Us we are talking about Manouba, every one of us we see through these problems.

Another thing that I don't agree with, the salary/allowance that they give for each municipality director in cars and money, they spend 14,000,000 TND as grants every year for the head of municipalities, that's huge number.

What do you need to happen that you would vote?

I don't have any reason to vote, because no one keeps their word.

Me I voted but I kept it empty, I wasn't sure until the voting morning.

But she did a mistake because if she didn't vote her voice might have been used for another person.

I'm a big believer in voting in general, in the presidential election I wanted to vote, and I kept it empty. I wanted to be there, but none of the parties I wanted to vote for was there. But for the municipality election, I didn't think even about it, because I was frustrated and angry. We didn't see any changes in 30 year or in 7 years after the revolution so what's going to change now?

We don't have trust in the government.

Have you seen any changes in Manouba since the election?

We are talking about Manouba, but let's keep in mind that this election is recent.

Yeah, lots has changed inside the municipality, more salaries, more benefits, and us?
Nothing has changed.

No change in Manouba, and if anyone tell you something different they are pranking you.

In Dandan they are working, fixing some streets, some places in schools. [Dandan is a part of Manouba municipality.

We suffer every year from the water of the rain that floods, so our municipality is changing a lot of systems, so the water can pass underground.

Is it a new project?

The movement started again this year.

What's the big challenge for the municipality?

I think their biggest challenge is not concrete, but rather abstract, the mentality. You have to convince people to be part of the society or community to make a change and help you overcome that challenge you may face.

You need to involve the citizens who live there, as a municipality director you leave early you get in your car and you don't care if it's raining or not. But me as a normal person and a student I will be suffering to go back home, we have been in meetings several times. but our presence was like for pictures only.

They need to work on gaining trust between the citizens and municipalities.

You think the municipality has enough resources?

Listen if you can give them a 7 million dinars, you can have resources to build the infrastructure though. It's not a problem of resources it's a problem of wanting to do something.

The problem is in the investment, because they already have funds but how they are going to use them.

And if you going to give them more money they will take advantage of it.

What about technical capacity of the staff?

I think they are lacking, but it's not that bad, they need some improvements.

Do you know any complain mechanism? How does it work?

One time we had an app for all the municipalities, for example if you find a hole in the street or find trash you take a picture and send it but now it doesn't exist anymore.

There's no way.

Me as journalist, I have other methods like social media. But as an official complaint there's no way.

Let's talk about 3 specific services in the municipality, 1 birth certificates, 2 confirming photocopies, 3 verifying signatures. Each of you has done one of these services once in their life?

[Everyone nods and says yes.]

[Katrina is explaining how they are going to fill the template, with their last journey to the municipality, with her own experience going

shopping at Carrefour in La Soukra on the weekend.]

[Jokes are made, that this will be very easy to draw for the municipality, as it will be one line all in the negative.]

[More jokes are done; about how hard it is to reach the municipality by public transport.]

[A joke is made by someone saying: "I should bribe everyone to pass fast.]

Let's talk about steps. Let's pretend you went to the municipality and you are going to take a birth certificate, what would you do?

Go get your ticket and wait on line.

Okay, you waited on line and now it's your turn, what do you do?

I ask for my service and hopefully I get it if the person is having a good day.

How much does it cost to get a birth certificate?

I think 150 millimes!!

What about confirmed copy? Anybody knows?

500 millimes for birth certificate, and 1500 for confirmed copy.

They took 1500 for three copies, ah no no, it was something else sorry.

Do you get a receipt for your payment?

I don't think so!!

Yes, they give you after paying.

For birth certificate they don't, but the others they give you one.

How often do you need these three services we talked about so far?

Mm for the birth certificate you need it especially when children are going back to school. As for the other two, we don't need them that often, but for me personally I got it years ago.

Would you say once a year or more?

Maybe you need it every three months for your job, like me. I work in freelance, and need to renew the contract every 3 months, and need a certified signature.

Once a year for studies.

A lot of times for a birth certificate.

How long it takes you to get it done?

Depend, you know it's like when you are going to take flight and you don't know if you going to find lot of people at the airport or not. You want to go in a time where there is no back to school business, also you need to choose which day of the week, etc.

What's the best-case scenario? When should you go?

Wednesday afternoon 3:30 pm.

When you go do you feel that the staff are friendly or not?

Sometimes, and it depends on the person there.

I think the problem starts since you reach the door.

If they had their breakfast and a coffee they will be fine, if not no.

Never had a problem with the one who's giving me the service always it happen before I even reach there. with the guard or whoever is taking a birth certificate from another door than it would be officially done, etc.

Sometime if there's a lot of stress in the room or screams they get angry and stressed so they don't do their services well.

Question, why would you apply for such a job if you don't have any social skills to handle the job.

One of you has mentioned corruption previously when you filled the template, can you explain to me what corruption is for you?

She just mentioned it, to see a birth certificate been taking from another door, so basically you can get your own verified signature without even showing up, so its fake or they call someone from the line to do him the services before the others just because they know him, but other corruption I will say paying money.

Corruption is also leaving before closing time, so we have to be there earlier or on lunch time.

Has any of you had anybody in your family that this happened to, they have been asked to give something?

No,

It happened to me, I was waiting in line and I saw others taking birth certificates from another place. I had an argument and, in the end, I was obliged to do the same as them.

Why did you have to use the backdoor?

Because I had an argument. That's why.

What if you didn't have a fight? How would you do it?

If you are a girl and you know how to play seduction, they will give it to you so fast, if you are an old women she will ask him because she is tired, but if you are a boy you are going to wait for ages.

There are different types of corruption, small/petty corruption and big corruption. Which is more harmful for Tunisia?

They both contribute, but obviously the big one is more and has bigger consequences.

Why because it's just bigger?

No

Big corruption harm trust more or small one?

I don't want to be always answering so let them talk.

Small one is more harmful

Why?

Because if we start fixing the small corruption you gain the trust of the citizens and that will fix other things/

For me, I think we need to change the whole system not the big or small.

For me I think we need to change the mentality.

Who is going to change it?

Us the people.

For example, why would you keep an old man working there he is already tired, and sick let him retire and bring the youth.

Are there any other services that they are more corrupt or other cities?

It's called corruption, so you find it everywhere.

Despite that, always big city has more corruption because the budgets of the municipalities in big cities is more, so you find more corruption. If we follow and go deep in corruption also we will find it in the interior [geographically] cities too.

I disagree with her, because this is Tunis and it's the capital. But when you go for example to the south there where you can find most corruption, because they are giving huge budgets, but they can't keep any investors, where does all that money go? So much money and ability are been waisted over there in the south and they are not the capital, so they overlook Tunis.

So, you think the other region has more corruption? The opposite with statistics these south cities is less corrupted then the north and coast.

Come on we never have an exact statistic in Tunisia, it's always a disappointment when it comes to research.

If you can see in the capital, you can find lot of municipalities, not like south cities.

I agree with her even in the budget and funds of the projects it's not the same the capital gets more.

[More arguing about statistics and if they should be believed or not.]

Let's agree to disagree.

Which services are more corrupted than others? Immigration, police, hospitals?

Hospitals are the worst, people die day and night and their cases are been overlooked, you pay money and you get nothing, our hospitals are like so nasty you don't want even to step foot into it.
Hospitals.

Where would you put the municipalities? Are they more corrupted or less than the other services?

In the top 3 for 4 corrupted institutions.

You agree with that?

No idea!

Maybe 2 or 3/

I don't know. Maybe 4 or less because there is a way to more corrupted services.

I'm a part of civil society and I've seen lot of corruption in other places, it's not a problem of waiting in line and these things. It's way bigger its always about money.

All the things how they got their position, the funds that they get so for me in the top 3.

Let's pretend a hypothetical story: I have these 30 documents and I must do verified signature for all of them. So, I go there, and I come with these documents and the person there gets really upset with me and says this will take ages you should give me something, what should I do and why?

It's not a favour!

Expose him, or I contact someone in the police that I know, to get my service, but I'm not giving him money.

I really, really need those documents?

I give him money and that's it.

Well he is right, it's a lot of paper/

No, he doesn't have the right to ask you that. It's his job to do it for you.

So, for you all what it matters is to be done with it as fast as you can?

Yes, because maybe I need those papers within the next hour and if I am going to stay and argue with him or complain I am going to lose a lot of time.

And that's wrong. It happened to me and I started complaining so the people there reacted too, so that solved the problem.

For me it happened to me in Bardo a month ago, I brought 25 pages, so he told me that's too much, so I started arguing with him and I asked for his boss. When he saw that I'm a journalist in my ID he got scared, to take it to media and stuff so his boss came we talked and then they did it for me.

If you pay a bribe and you told your father or family that you did that, what's his reaction?

My dad will kick me out of the house.

I tell them that I did, they will be upset, because they will tell me that you could've do it in other ways without paying.

Why would your father be upset?

Can you give me a bribe price? Because if its 2 dinars its okay, if its more than 10 it's a problem.

What is okay for you to pay to be like whatever?

1 dinar maybe 2.

But my dad will be asking me who is he, I can go there and physically be present and fix it.

I will tell my parents and they will be fine with it, the important is that I got it done.

Ah no, she's my cousin she's lying, and I know her parents well.

What would have to happen to stop this small corruption?

Surveillance cameras, but the supervisor need to be strict with it and responsible. Put yourself on my place if your daughter ends up in a similar situation would you like that to happen and not punish that employee.

For me stop giving money.

So, you think the citizens should stop giving money?

Yes, and changing mentality of people to stop giving money.

There're some parents when they send their kids to do such thing they give them some extra money because they know that they are going to need to do that.

TRANSCRIPT: GROUP 2

[The conversation starts with an introduction of the researchers, permission for recording and taking the names, ages and occupation of participants. The group seems rather reluctant. Everyone is leaning back in their chairs with folded arms.]

[When taking names of occupations one person points out that he is unemployed and did not finish secondary education. The others are making fun that we would be perfect to work in the municipality. Based on that he says that he was offered by someone he knows there, but declined, saying he would not be qualified to do so.]

First, thanks you for coming and participating. I want to know if you must go and deal with the government, whose opinion would you take for advice?

I will go to the place where they provide the service and ask there.

They will give information there.

I will look in the internet.

The internet you mean website or Facebook?

Website of course.

Would you ask any person, or you would try to deal with it yourself?

I will try to do it myself.

Depend on what you are going to do.

Who would you ask for help?

Family, friends, someone who did it before.

What do to think about this first municipality election?

Nice experience as a first time, after many years of dictatorship, we participated in theelection and we chose the representative of the municipality. It was great.

Total transparency did not happen, everything was done under the table. Its fake not real.

For the first time that it happens in Tunisia, it's a great thing. Let's hope to see better the next ones, but as a start it's good.

Us, we were close to this election through our association, we were supervisor on the election, so as a start its good and it could be better.

Who voted in this election?

[2-3 of them showing their hands or nodding.]

Why didn't you do?

I didn't vote because I was a member of the supervisors.

Me, when it came the period of election I lost my ID.

[All the other didn't have their ID cards yet and could not register.]

I wasn't interested in this election and I didn't have any clue about it. So, I didn't go to vote.

Did you try to find information out there or you thought information should be easier and more accessible?

At first, I knew there is election, but I didn't try to find information it was my fault.

I don't want to vote when I don't know anyone.

There was a lack of communication in this election. Lots of people said it's similar to presidential election and they didn't know the importance of this municipalities election.

Second, the list that they participated they had a lack of communication, they didn't show their projects, as independent lists they were missing funds, even the government parties. They weren't well prepared, it was a problem everywhere in the country.

Me personally, I didn't know anyone from the list.

What is the role of the municipality?

The municipality is responsible for all kind of things, streets, garden, services and such.

As it came in the recent Journal of Local Communities, the municipalities should take place of the state, no one can have a hand on that area beside the municipality. In the principle tasks for the municipalities they work close to do services and project to the citizens.

There are also local councils and Regional Councils that they came in the journal of local communities to be taking place of Prime minister.

For the municipalities they direct work is addressing the citizens directly.

We know that the municipality is the number one responsible for that area.

Until now there's only 6 rules for the municipality about the funds and projects, for now they are still working with the old rules.

I didn't see people participating in any decisions.

[The person working with civil society is talking about the rules and explaining to his friends how its going to change until 2027, and that they are currently still partly working under the old rules.]

For the municipalities we know some services.

Have you seen any change before or after the revolution?

Nothing has changed.

A lot of things have changed, the fact that we can express and talk about anything this is a big deal.

This is a talk and words on papers.

[The oldest participants are explaining to the others how he couldn't talk freely before the revolution, 2009 I was in university and we were going to do a manifestation for Gaza, before even we start the police force broke both of my arms.]

[People are interested now. No one is sitting back with crossed arms anymore.]
I wasn't saying you are wrong, but what's the purpose of those words on papers when we can't do anything with them.

Where the municipality gets their funding from?

Due to the new law of the municipalities, it should be independent in her funds. Nowadays the municipality should be evaluated and through that will be funded.

From taxes, and some investments.

For the municipalities their funds are divided, we find taxes and the government participation and the special work of the municipality.

In law the municipality can't do a project to gain money from it. They have the right to sell or rent a property and that called taxes, for the participation of the government it's not a big thing it doesn't pass 350,000,000 TND. For the funds in specific projects and the money goes directly to the contractors.

Where do you get information about the municipality?

From the municipality or the internet.

The municipality has a website?

Some of them yes

Does Manouba has a website?

No, but a Facebook page.

Is it up to date?

Yea yes somehow.

So, can you get all the information from the Facebook page?

No, you need to go there to know it.

Sometimes they publish flyers.

What is the biggest challenge to the municipality?

Challenges not challenge.

The most challenging thing for the municipality is to satisfy the people no matter how, it's a big problem.

Yesterday there was a conference and the prime minister said 5 years or 10 years and we can do a change.

There are some lists that they didn't give their programs, how would you judge them?

One list was called scissors of Manouba. [Some are making fun of the name.]

It's a hard thing because they have a lack of resources of course not talking about the big municipalities which they have everything like Tunis, Sousse, Nabeul or Sfax.

Do they have enough resources and equipment?

For the funds its obvious big municipalities get a lot of funds and equipment. the others nothing.

For the funds they are not a lot, they get 10,000,000,000 dinar and take 4,000,000,000 as salaries.

And, there is only 5,5% of the population are paying the taxes the others no.

We have a big problem in dividing the funds for example they say you shouldn't pass 50% for the salaries but they give 70%, there's a lot of charges on the municipalities.

There's a sort of discrimination between regions in Tunisia, not like the funds of the coast like the funds that goes to the south. They say it's because of the population but it's nottrue/

Us in Manouba we have people working only 2 hours and they get paid 800 dinars.

I didn't see any changes they take years to renew a street.

You see the public light works during the day and close at night.

Do you think that the people working in the municipalities have the technical expertise to be able to do their jobs?

Come on there is people working there when they didn't even finish their high school.

For the election it was supposed to be based on technical capacity but unfortunately it went differently.

They don't even have the skills. For example, you would find a teacher who became a municipality director or anyone else when he should be graduated from the administration university.

Take some ones in Tunis, but all the rest we can say wrong person in wrong place.

How they could be in their position if they

didn't finish their studies?

Money deals

Or a father who puts his son instead of him once he retires.

Be honest, if you had the same opportunity to get there with the same way would you

do it?

Yes of course I will.

If you have a complaint about the municipality, is there a way to make that complain officially or unofficially?

It's like you told me you going to complain to a police officer to his police station.

They cover for each other.

No one let his friends get down in all the services.

For the complaints in the municipalities there is a legal way that you can do it but the results no one know how it's going to be.

Complain as you want but you are not going anywhere.

By hearing most of these opinions, you will see that there is a lack of trust between the people and the government, so they don't find this solution working.

Now we are going to talk about 3 services of the municipality: birth certificates, confirmed photocopies and verified signatures. Has everyone done one of the services?

[Everyone raises their hand.]

[Katrina explains how the template works with the example of going shopping at Carrefour.]

[Two of the participants asked if they can leave once the exercise is done because they live far. We ask if they can stay 30 min more, and they agree.]

What are the steps for legalizing a copy?

You get there, you wait on line, 2 h to reach the box.

I didn't see this in our municipality.

Well you can try it in the time of going back to school.

You need your copy and your ID. It's easy to know what's the paper, there's no problem in that.

But they always have a problem with the

connection there always take time.

How much does it cost?

750 millimes, 3 for 750 millimes.

For verified signature it cost 750 too and depends on the municipality if it's the express one its more expensive.

Only the birth certificates it's for 500 and now you can find it online.

What can be improved in this process in specific?

Organization improves the service, so they don't tell us there is no network or something like that, last time I was in the municipality I waited for so long. So, I asked why it's taking ages, so they told me they were out of ink, so I had to go back home without doing my papers.

Who told you this is the procedure? Or you went and asked them? How did you know to do a confirmed copy in the municipality and not in the police station?

From a family member

How often you would need these services in the future?

Depend on your needs.

If you are looking for a job you going to need it weekly, if you start working you wouldn't need it, if you are not working at all you wouldn't need it either and if your studying maybe once a year or twice.

Sometimes you need it for other things like rental contract.

In average how long do you wait?

[Laughter.]

OH, hours.

Well, I don't wait at all. I just call someone I know, and I will get it done immediately when I arrive.

How would you describe the service he gets?

That helps, we all need that.

It's not a normal thing, but they force you to do it after hours of waiting.

Sometimes even without going to the municipality I get what I need my cousin works there.

How's this behaviour called?

Corruption.

This is someone giving you a service.

If that's not corruption, then what is corruption for you?

[Some of them are getting agitate by the topic and are very eager to voice their opinions.]

Corruption is to steal 2 billion and escape.

All of it called corruption.

If I will be waiting since eight in the municipality and someone arrives at 10 and he passes in front of me, that's not right. It's not fair, and sometimes people pay extra money to pass faster.

Is it the same thing that someone is using a person there and another paying someone?

It's both corruptions.

No, it's not the same.

Yes, it's the same.

Who takes the different path then all the others and it's something wrong it called corruption.

If you don't see me and I can get my service no one will be bothered.

Who thinks both are corruption? Raise your hand

[They all raised their hands, except the one whose cousin is working at the municipality.]

Which corruption harms the country more, big corruption or small one?

Both are harming the country.

One [the big] is only one time and a big amount the other [petty] is 12 million citizens pay every day small bribes you find it becomes big too.

That's corruption and we are the corrupted.

Its small but it going to get bigger and bigger.

In my opinion corruption is corruption, even in our morals and religion its forbidden to bribe or take bribes that's why we can't justify bad acts of people.

Do you think that there is a specific cities or services were there is more corruption?

We can find corruption in the big cities more than the countryside's, second it exists in any type of service and lot of corruption is in the police force.

Hospitals are corrupted a lot too.

It became a normal thing in Tunisia these days, and they will ask you straight to pay them.

Where would you put the municipality?

The biggest corrupt deals happen in the municipalities, if the municipalities want to gain billions in short time they will do, imagine you pay 500 dinars for a construction contract when you don't have the right to build anything there.

The biggest corruption that happens in Tunisia, it happens in the municipalities. For example, if we talk about industrial zones if they want to enter to an outbidding they will pay a lot to get it, the municipality projects are the most corrupt thing.

How could we avoid corruption in the municipalities?

To put punishments on those who do such things.

To put surveillance cameras.

Another revolution.

The day that they take out all the rules in 2027 then we can talk.

What you were saying about the rules is imaginary, they will happen only when a strong president takes over and make these words into action.

If everyone sees his mistakes we will try to fix ourselves and then we can change.

The problem started with the youth that they don't have awareness, if they were able to fix things it would change, if we didn't vote our voices will be used by someone else and that person will bring siblings to the power too and that's the problem.

TRANSCRIPT: GROUP 3

[The conversation starts with an introduction of the researchers, permission for recording and taking the names, ages and occupation of participants. The group is calm and interested in the topic of the municipality].

Who of you voted in the municipal election of May?

[Two did.]

May I ask you why you didn't vote?

Because I don't trust in the candidates.

I didn't have any idea of the tasks or what the municipality does, to vote for someone without knowing what they will do it doesn't make any sense.

It wasn't clear to me.

It was my fault that I didn't look in any of their programs.

You could do it? You think you could find information easily?

Yes yeah, well not really, maybe on tv. [Slightly shaking head.]

How should the information get to you?

Through the internet, websites.

What do you think is the role of the municipality?

To improve their areas, to improve them to organize activities, cleaning.

To find a solution for the existing problems, solve the problem that the citizens are facing.

Maybe also, they have a side of budget control and make a development policy.

Take decisions on projects.

What is the biggest challenge, problem for the municipalities?

To involve the citizens in taking decisions together, to involve youth by asking them for their needs and to improve communication. We don't have any idea about the budgets the projects, etc. Maybe we can be part of taking control of the work of the municipalities and we propose the projects that they should work on.

The biggest challenge is to gain the trust between the citizens and municipalities.

Do you think that the municipality has enough resources/staff to do anything?

No!!

What's missing?

That the things if they know how to address to people and let them know that they don't have enough funds. No one will blame them, and they will know that they worked with what they have. If they trust them they will not ask them to do more than what they are doing.

Communication is the key, through that we know what's the problems and like that the citizens will understand that they cannot do better because they have a short fund or anything.

Do you think that the staff has technical expertise? They know what they are doing is we talking about the staff inside the municipality or others?

Yeah, normally they should know what they are doing, they have been hired based on their skills and technical expertise.

You can't judge from outside.

For normal things or services, you can't judge because it's easy but if we talk about Town council and his members at that time we can ask this question.

For example, they don't have any idea about how the minority are living, handicapped people for example. In my opinion, the member of the town council needs a lot of trainings and skills to understand the situation and needs of the citizens in the area and if you go and complain they will say that they're new and they don't know how to do things.

Is there any way to make your voice reach the director in the municipality? Mechanism?

There is an office for relation with the citizen, and you can address them, but you don't know if they're going to take it seriously or are they going to drop it later.

That's the problem most citizen's face with the municipalities. They don't have any trust anymore, but their voices will reach the authority.

Nowadays in our mind if you fight with a worker in the municipality, you get angry and you leave, it's rare to see someone going to that office and complain.

Now we get to talk about three services that they do in the municipality one birth certificate, two confirm photocopies. three verify signatures. Did you all do any of these services?

[Everyone has done at least one of them. Everyone nods.]

[Katrina is explaining how they going to do the exercise through an explanation of how she did the shopping Saturday in Carrefour, in a way making everyone laugh.]

[Everyone is quiet and does the exercise.]

[The youth house social media assistant walks in to take pictures of the meeting.]

How much is the cost for a birth certificate?

500 millimes

Confirmed photocopy?

[One says 1500 dinars the other said 750 for each copy.]

Verified signature?

The same I guess.

What do you need for the official signature?

What do you bring with you?

Only you ID and the copy.

Where did you learn the steps? Who would you ask if you don't know how to do it?

You just try!

There's a paper in the municipality that explain the procedure.

My father.

When do you have to do it for the first time of your life? Who tells you where or how to do it?

Of course, from someone who did it before, parents or friends.

How many times did you need to go to the municipality to do something like this?

When your student once a year or maybe two.

Once you start working do you think you will use it more often or less?

More I guess, it depends.

How much you had to wait when you did it?

Around 45 minutes, maybe more maybe less.

Depend on the line and the municipality. Some of them they are empty, so it's fast sometimes it's more because you cannot even find a spot where to stand and wait.

In Manouba we have the chance to have numbers and enough places to sit and, I choose days where I know that's empty.

What are the opening times for these services?

8:30 till 17h and a break of mid-day.

Is open only from Monday to Friday?

Yeah, they don't work on the weekends, maybe some other municipalities that they work in weekends.

Let's say you have a whole bunch of documents that you urgently need verified. The municipality is super full, but you are in rush and really need them all today. What do you do?

I change the municipality or ask the permission of people around you. They may let you pass.

Do you think there's corruption in the municipality?

Hmm yeah. [General nodding.]

What is corruption for you?

To use your position of someone for his own benefits.

Sometimes you are in line and another one who knows the guy that works there passes in front of you and enters to his office.

Is that corruption?

Yes! [Nodding.]

So, corruption does not need to be money?

Yea corruption is using something not legal money or not.

Corruption usually appears inside deals like general transactions, projects. They publish an amount of money that should be spent on that project, but they don't invest it all and take ages, so corruption between municipalities and constructers is happening here.

Some time they chose even not do the project just to take money and they split it between each other [the contractor and municipality].

Even the material that they use is not good quality they buy the cheapest products and register it as the best quality.

Let's talk about two different types of corruption, big one like government level and small one like municipalities, which one is more harmful for Tunisia?

Let's take the small one for now because you need gain trust and work on making your relationship with the citizens better.

We should start fixing the small problems until we get to the bigger ones. The same person who works in small position and take bribes when he changes to higher position he will do big corruption.

For me corruption is bad, no matter big or small. It's similar between someone who uses his power to gain lots of money and someone using his power to accomplish something small.

Corruption is corruption, it's something that anyone can do it no matter of his position.

The same problems exist in several services. People should be aware of how dangerous this can be, we need awareness.

Do you think that there are some geographical regions more corrupted or all the same?

Yes, depends. Like the border cities there's a lot of corruption between smugglers and police or customs, and its linked to services not only the region.

Depend also on the cities, because it exists different corruption south not like cost etc!

I always say that the inner cities stayed in bad conditions due to the corruption like contractors, and for example in Tunis things are better because there's a kind of control. An example is, my dad works as a director in primary school when they fix something we see people coming to check the work and take pictures, and to try things to test it, in other cities like south as you know all of this doesn't exist.

Do you think that there's other government services are corrupt?

It exists everywhere.

In hospitals for example they take medications and the expensive ones, or national garden asking you for a coffee, a lot of things.

There are some more corrupt services, in some services like military we won't feel it but like hospitals we will because it touches the people more or in the municipality.

It's starting to be a culture, in general in Tunisia, the Tunisians they don't get bothered by general corruption only the one that harms him directly.

Where would you put the municipality? Up down or in the middle of this list?

Same, same, all similar.

Let's say that I you had a lot of papers for getting verified photocopies and the guy in the municipality tells you that he cannot do it and you should pay me an extra for it? What will you do?

I will start shouting and causing problems.

I will go to give a statement to the police station. [Some laughter.]

It's his job [the municipality] to do that for me.

I will take it to the head of the municipality.

I bring my phone and start recording him and ask him for how much to do it.

And if his boss arrives and he says I didn't say that it will be a win for me because he is going to do it for me.

What would you do with the recording?

Take it to the police station or higher position in the municipality. [Some strongly disagree, shaking their heads.]

You can publish it in social media. It's better these days because it will go viral.

Why would they do nothing in the police station?

Because they are corrupted.

The most corrupt sector.

That's why we said in the beginning that there's no trust between citizens and government services, so it doesn't have the idea to have a fight and complain about it in there.

In all the world they feel secure and safe around police force. In Tunisia, it's the opposite.

I can go and complain, but I'm in a hurry and I need my copies what do I do?

I go to another municipality. I obliged him to do it for me.

You think it's always possible to get the thing done without paying a bribe in the municipality?

Yes, we think that.

What do you think of people who pay bribes?

I can understand them a bit, sometimes the situation or the time is the cause of this bribe.

I think it's wrong, if everyone stops giving bribes or make problems once he sees something like this it will end, but the problem in Tunisia, bribes became a normal thing to give or take a bribe.

Never crossed a situation where they asked me for money just to do papers.

If you are in line and the person in front of you pay a bribe, do you say something?

Yes of course, I will make a problem for them.

Do you know how we could stop this small corruption in the municipality?

No solution for it unfortunately.

For me if we raise the salary of the people working there to satisfy him and to make him love his job. But, this is not possible in Tunisia, at least for now.

I don't agree to let me tell you why, the police forces got a raised salary after the revolution, but this didn't stop them from taking bribes or how they call it, coffee, for me the solution is to make the citizens stop giving bribes, we start with the citizens to end this.

Maybe we set a camera on every worker

Who's going to control this?

Someone in power, like the cameras in the clothes of marine force, now they can't take anything because they know someone is watching them.

Who should be watching?

A whole system of surveillance.

I will challenge you a bit, what if the person that supervises says well we share it [the bribe] and I delete the video?

Well yeah that's complicated.

So complicated.

Like they said it you never find a corrupt person unless someone else encouraged him to be, the only thing now is to aware people to not give bribes.

I think maybe we can do an application that people can share in its corruption, in the municipalities that will works.

TRANSCRIPT: GROUP 4

[The conversation starts with an introduction of the researchers, permission for recording and taking the names, ages and occupation of participants. The group is bigger than expected, and some people are whispering and talking about other things in the beginning].

Who of you voted in May election?

[4 of them voted.]

Those who didn't vote, why you didn't?

One of them was far away, another said she didn't care about voting without giving a reason.

Another one said, "Even though I'm a member to a political party, I didn't vote because I'm not convinced with what they said they will do." [His friend was asking him why he joined a political party if he doesn't believe in their plans].

Others turned 18 recently and were too young to vote.

What is the role of the municipality in your view? What should they do?

The role of the municipality is to keep the area clean and take care of it, to invest in it through the funds.

I don't see that the role of the municipality stops in cleaning or fix the light, its stronger than this. The main role is to communicate with the citizens, because in our municipality we always try to put communications in first place, because through communication we can solve the other things, to improve the communication tools and ways.

I don't see that the municipality is the only one responsible for everything in the area. I see that also the citizens of that neighbourhood should take care of their respective are. I don't see any results even if you complain to the municipality about a problem and that affects me in bad way, because I don't see myself voting, even if I am old enough to vote.

As I participated as a supervisor in this election I did not vote. But I could see that the municipalities invite the citizens to participate in their meetings. Maybe it's a democratic solution, some people see that that's a good thing, since they know their areas better

and they see it as a formal approach. In the past, we didn't know the budget or the funds that the municipality has, but now after the election everything is possible if you ask me.

What is the biggest challenge? The biggest problem that the municipality is facing?

Maybe the budget! Maybe the awareness of the citizens or the communications.

The municipality should be defending and fighting for the area because it's the link between the state and the citizens.

When you say they need better communication, what you want them to communicate with you?

When there's a meeting, they should call us, asks us.

Social media or to publish that there a meeting in that area.

Also like they do with other things they can go door to door (like for the electricity bills). People will start to notice that they care about them and that will make the citizens care about them as well.

Communication in Tunisia in general is weak, so they need to set a special communication administration only for them.

They can set a database with our email or number and make a budget to contact us.

There's something else like social media and in Tunisia it's a disaster because you never find their pages update.

I have an idea, they should retire all the old people in the municipalities because they are not giving any benefits or a plus and bring youth that have new methods and ideas. Because I see a lot of old people working without any new ideas, just sitting there.

I think the municipality should be doing the work that you [Magenta] are doing right now. That means listening to youth and people and ask them questions like what we are expecting from them and what should they do for their people.

We will talk about 3 specific services of the municipalities, birth certificates, confirmed photocopies and verifying signatures. Have you done one of these?

[Everyone has done at least one of those services. Magenta explains the CJM based on the example.]

[One of them asked why the birth certificate lasted only 3 months. Then we are explaining what we are doing with IRI and who asks for this research.]

[Side talks about the municipalities in Europe and how they work.]

Can you tell me how much it cost for a birth certificate?

[All they agreed to 500 millimes.]

Confirmed photocopy?

[All are saying 750 millimes.]

For 10 copies or one copy is the same?

3 for 750 and 1 for 750 too.

What if I have a 2 document of one page?

For that we didn't ask to be honest

Verified signature?

750 for it but if you go to the express one it costs double.

If we want to improve the budget of the municipalities then 750 millimes its nothing.

How do you know that you get the photocopy from the municipality?

From our parents, because we saw our parents doing things there, so we learned from them.

How often you need these services? Once a year or more?

If you're looking for a job you need it a lot, if you're a student you will need it once o twice a year only.

When you work only if they ask you for something you will need to go to the municipality. But we are going to need it for other things like a house contract etc.

How long do you wait when you are going to do it?

[Lots of shaken heads.]

Ohhhh a lot, depending on the line, municipality and time. For example, if it's the time to get back to school, it is going to take ages. Once I stayed from 10h00 till 13h00 and that leads to bribes and problems, once we were in line and the guy was doing a service under the table for other people.

There's a big problem in the verified signature if you don't have your original ID you can't do it even if your ID is in process and you have a receipt from the police station.

When the municipality opens?

8 o'clock

And finishing?

They will say they close at 17h but they will close the door around 16h.

If there's a lot of people inside they will close around 16h to be able to finish all of them,

16:30 h it close and they keep working on what they have inside till 17h

Do they work on the weekends?

[Laughter]

No of course they don't, I guess before they worked, on Saturday but now they don't.

In another place one municipality works one weekend and the other no.

When you see a lot of people in line and you cannot wait, what would you do? Is there any way to get done fast?

I take a ticket and I wait.

What if you are really in hurry?

This is a tricky question, it's a trap!!!

In the first place when you go to the municipality you know that you are going to find it full. So, you set your mind on waiting. Sometimes I take

two tickets, so I don't miss my turn and I can go away to do other things meanwhile.

Sometimes I ask someone in line if I can go in front of them, or if they could take my papers too [for confirmed copy].

Let's go back to the trap! I want to know why it's a tricky question?

For me I would take a ticket and wait in line until it's my turn.

Phones can fix problems. That means "from behind the door you can get what you want.".

How would you call someone? What do you call that?

Of course, fraud/corruption because I'm taking the people's time.

Let's pretend that that falls under the big umbrella of corruption. We have two types of corruption, petty corruption like a police officer stopping your car and asking for a coffee, or the municipality officer saying oh there's a lot of papers and you need to give me something, and we have the big corruption like a minister giving contract to a friend

instead of doing a public process. Which of these two corruptions is more harmful for Tunisia?

The small one because it always starts small and then it gets bigger.

All is the same, corruption is corruption.

Nowadays people are obliged to do it because they see it everywhere and every day.

Talking about different governments services like police, customs, hospitals, etc. Which one is more corrupted than the other? Or better and less corrupt?

Customs is the first and the most corrupted sector, asking Magenta team if they didn't steal anything from her suitcase, that shows everything.

Where would you put the municipalities? Up on the list, in the middle or down?

For the municipalities its less.

There's a kind of corruption that goes out and its obvious but there is other corruption that is deep under the table, like funds or lands or projects that doesn't show.

The municipality corruption effects more people because it's a daily activity not like the customs that effect special people.

I will say that the customs are the face of the country, if customs are doing that what do you expect.

Corruption is everywhere, like the people who goes shopping in the time of work or brings a home duty to his office or the one who steal papers, or the one who pretends to pray on Friday when he never prayed before just to skip work. I cannot put the municipality somewhere.

Do you see it as a corruption if someone calls his friend to do a paper for him?

Of course!

Is it possible to do a service in the municipality without bribing?

Yes, you can, and you should get it without paying anything or asking for a favour.

What if you see someone in front of you doing it, what would you do or what would you say?

Stop doing that, or we will contact a supervisor, or to go to the police station. [Some people laugh, others shake their head.]

Do you think you can take this to the police station?

Yes, we can but they will not do anything.

There's some resistance from the citizens, but it's difficult. Some they filmed such incidents and post it in social media.

What could be done to prevent the small corruption?

Putting cameras?

They already exist!

No there's no cameras in the municipalities.

Even if they exist they will turn them off because they know that they shouldn't do it.

We need to bring new system, the old one [French one] is already bad and won't change anything.

If you are going to do a weekly control.

Who would do the control?

They can put an inspector.

Now in Tunisia they do strikes to not put them the time-clock with their fingers print, so they can come late. They will resist that too.

Is there anything that citizens should do?

Both citizens and government must do something.

What can citizens do?

They shouldn't bribe or participate in any of this matter, and that will stop corruption.

And how that can happen?

By education and educating the young generation.

Also, we should pit strict rules and to pay fines, if you do it.

In the end it should be from both sides, people should stop using excuses and thinking in their benefits only, and the government to try to solve what they already have and to do an education system for the young generation, to raise awareness.

Sometimes if the head of the office is corrupted we take them off from their position to see changes.

[Some questions about the project were asks, if it will bring real changes or not.]

TRANSCRIPT: GROUP 5

[The conversation starts with an introduction of the researchers, permission for recording and taking the names, ages and occupation of participants. During the process some people are making jokes when others are trying to talk in English instead of Arabic. One male youth tries to make a joke offering his phone number to the researcher. The atmosphere is calm and relaxed].

Of those who were old enough, who voted in May for the municipality's election?

[3 people raised their hands]

For those who didn't vote, why didn't you do so?

[Female respondent]: No one is bringing a change, so I didn't vote.

[People are talking across each other. Several mention that they more recently turned 18 years old and did not have ID cards yet]

What's the main job of the municipalities? Why do they exist?

The duties of the municipalities involve improving the neighbourhoods where they belong, they should provide the comfort for the citizens.

Also, they need to work on the infrastructure, so we don't end up with flood problems.

[Male respondent]: in Tunis we are not like Europe. We don't have any system or things to take the rain water underground once we have rains.

[Some participants are having an argument if this fact is the fault of the municipality or constructers.]

What is the biggest problem of the municipality? Their challenge?

First thing they don't involve the youth in their work

They take ideas from the citizens, but they don't work with it.

They need to change the mentality, all of them from the head of the municipality to the other members.

Talking about the municipality in bizarre. There's a lot of promises to do training programs or animation but nothing happens.

The problem [with the municipality] has existed for a long time, and when I say long time I'm talking about infrastructure (we need a lot of time to fix this problem.) It is always going to exist unless they take a decision to fix it once and for all. Something else, there's no connection between the citizens and the municipality, for example if there's a meeting in the municipality, they inform people, but only few people are going to be present. We have a lack of trust between the citizens and the municipality, and the municipality doesn't trust the youth (when a youth talks in a meeting they will listen to him with one ear and all the talk will come out from the other).

What about the resources of the municipality?

Normally as we saw it, there was a sort of funding from the government to the municipalities to support them to be able to make or finish some projects. But the problem wasn't with money, but it was in the management of it [money went to the wrong places, some fake projects and a lot of stealing.]

There is a wrong way of managing the money but also there's another problem with the resources (taxes). It's not enough to fix all the problems that exist in their areas.

Now I want to talk about 3 specific services in the municipality: birth certificates, confirmation of photocopies and confirmation of signatures. Who of you has done one of these services?

[Everyone has done at least one of them.]

Please take a paper if you have done any one of the 3 services.

[The team explains how to fill out the citizen's journey map for the services they have done last with the municipality. There is laughter regarding the example Katrina is giving to them. There are some jokes made during the exercise and some people commenting that they should not copy each other's words like in school. The translator explains to some participants how this work. People are muttering how bad this will look, as everyone had a negative experience with the municipality. As soon as some people are finished they are talking amongst themselves on topics not related to the discussion.]

What is the opening time of the municipality?

Some saying 8 in the morning until 12 others saying 8h30 till 12 then 13h30 till 17h

Are they open on the weekends?

All of them they said no (only one said maybe an express one will be open, like the one in big mall.)

Let's talk about the cost of these 3 services!

How much it cost to take a birth certificate?

Some saying 600 millimes other saying 500.

Confirmed copy?

A lot of arguing about the prices between 750 millimes and 1.5 TND (3 copies for one dinar) not sure, in the end everyone is agreeing that for 1.5 TND you can do as much as you want.

Confirmed signatures?

Lokman was the first saying it cost 750 millimes.

And how long do you need to wait?

Sometimes from 10h00 until 15h00, other saying depends on the municipality.

In general, we wait a lot and what makes it worst that the security guy outside controls the lines sometimes. [By getting the tickets from the machine and giving them out as he pleases.]

[We are asking them to be quiet and to finish opening the biscuit as fast as they can.]

If you go around 11 for example they wouldn't give you a number and they will say it's closed, and we need to finish with the people we have already inside. in there are few people, you get in before they close the door and ask you to wait until they finish. If they feel like it, after finishing the others, they will do your things if not they will tell you come back in the afternoon or tomorrow.

A few of you have mentioned corruption in whispers before, when you were doing the exercise, can you explain what's corruption is?

Corruption is to do something against the law or to use his position and power for his own benefits. Like when you give the security man some money and he will bring a number for you, or if you know someone from the inside they will do your things faster without a waiting line number or anything. Or, for example, you are in the line waiting and you see someone entering and going straight to the guy without a number that because he knows him, or they live nearby.

Are we talking only about municipalities? I thought I can mention the corruption the police offices.

[The other giving an example of how one person for the inside calls all family members to do their things while he or she is working.]

Beside the financial and administration corruption in the municipalities there's another type if corruption.

[A person is saying that having lines with men and women mixed is bad because it leads to stealing and harassment. The other youth ask the translator not to translate this last sentence to the researcher, as this does not make sense and is not really on the topic.]

What we are talking about now is a small kind of corruption. There's another bigger corruption in the resources and the budgets and how they spend it, the way they chose the constructers and the deals, lot of projects they had funds but not all spent on it.

This is what I was about to ask next. Tell me more about the big corruption.

Like the birth certificate, it was 150 millimes and became 500, we said it's okay to pay that to give more money to the municipalities to improve and make changes [such as the electronic number system to be clear on lines.] But the money is going to the administration and corruption.

As we said there's a small corruption (few dinars from here and there and we have a big

corruption) which one is more harmful for Tunisia?

Corruption is corruption, small or big it's the same. In all cases it's going to affect us in a bad way
.
Well from the small corruption we go to the big one because it sticks with us and became a mentality.

Imagine every small corruption in all the municipalities. It's going to turn to be a big corruption.

If one is using someone in the municipality to do something out of law, tomorrow if he takes a good position in the municipality or some-where else he will use his power for his own benefits.

There's another corruption. The municipality members don't let the new generation that graduated to work there. Before they leave their job, they bring a relative to take their place. You don't find youth working in administrations.

Talking about the government services. Which of them are more corrupt than others in your opinions?

The most corrupt sector is the police and I confirm that. Beside they don't care about normal things, for example if you lost your phone and you go there to try to find it they will tell you to go back after a while but you're never going to get it again.

Or if a someone from the force finds it and it's a good phone he would keep it for himself/

I had similar case. Someone stole my friends' phone, we went to the police station and they told us we are not free to look for your phone we can't do anything, and next time take care of it.

For example, if you want to do an ID or passport they will keep telling you to go back every week. If a girl goes to them to complain about being harassed or anything they will tell her why you went there, why did you go out.

Where would you put the municipalities comparing to others?

In the middle, there's better and worse than the municipalities.

Let's pretend that I have a lot of copies and I wait in line. I get to my turn and he tells me that's a lot and you need to pay me something to do it. What should I do?

Give him something as he requested.

Depend on the person and the situation.

There is nothing to be given to him. I waited in line and I came in time, he should do his service by force. If he doesn't want to, I warn him that I will take it to his superior. If he does it in the end, it will be good if not, I will ask for the head of the municipality. Though even they are sometimes in on the corruption, at that time I don't know what to do, probably I will do a [verbal] fight and address the people there to support me.

Same idea for me, I don't give bribes.

What would your friends or family say if you tell them that you paid some extra money? They will understand or be mad?

They will say that's my boy, or they will understand because they know the situation, and it happened to them too.

[Other respondent would have a problem as their families would not like it.]

I needed to take out a paper, but I didn't have my ID yet, but I had a written confirmation from the police station that my ID is in the process of being done. But they didn't want to give me the paper I needed, for which I would have needed my ID card and were asking me what I was doing all summer I should've came earlier, and my father was next to me

and he was asking me to be quiet and avoid to talk with her to not make a problem because he was scared.

How we could prevent these small bribes?

We try to change the mentality of the citizens.

To not let such things, pass as easy as it should be when you see something like this, to try to talk to the people around me and try to make them understand that what happens to me can happen to any of them.

First thing to be done is to control the members of the municipalities and a control on the citizens who give bribes.

Second how to change mentality, we need to work on the next generation from the start to not have that mentality of bribes later in their lives. Also, to provide a good and decent salary for the workers so after if you blame them they will have no reasons or excuse [Some youth mumble that it will impossible to change the mentality.]

There's another thing that can help preventing this, the citizens need two things awareness and tools to work with in case of corruption. And I imagine in this case both, the government and citizens should work and collaborate to pass this awareness can start since school for the young generation, and the government gives tools to the citizens to defend their rights.

Let me challenge you for those who said we should educate people? You all know that it's wrong to pay bribes or ask for it even it was in the Quran!

It doesn't link to the Quran, how we were raised,

Personally, this kind of situation always ends up with a fight for me, but sometimes you find yourself stuck because it's in the last minute and there is no other way to do it, so you end up doing it. To be clear corruption became a tradition for us and this causes the biggest problem for us now.

Me, I think it's a bit deeper than this. The people who do this small corruption usually they have financial problems like a police man who is taking a bribe because his salary is not enough or a teacher, or a judge, it's not enough for them so it leads to take bribes and it goes like a contagion.

If a normal person sees his superior or anyone steals he would say why don't I do the same too if everyone is doing it. There are no role models, even the important people in the high position are giving the people the idea that they are taking their money.

Citizen Journey Mapping: Notarizing/Legalizing Documents at the Municipality

Leaving	Transport	Entering	Waiting	Service	Going home
TASKS					
Getting out of the house	Getting to public transport	Arriving at municipality (getting ticket)	Waiting to get to the "box"	Getting the service	Using public transport to go home

POSITIVE / NEUTRAL / NEGATIVE

Anecdotal Story

"Sometimes the security guardian is pulling all the ticketing numbers out of the machine, and gives them out to people directly. He then sometimes asks for money to give someone a lower number."

Legend:
— AVG
— AVG BC
— AVG CP
— AVG VS

DATA : 43 in total, 8 confirmed photocopies, 18 Birth Certificates, 11 verified signatures, 5 did not specify

EXPECTATIONS

Leaving
- Full metro
- Waking up early

Transport
- Bus to be on time
- Faster and less overcrowded
- Expect to find parking
- To have a lot of buses available
- Finding public transport

Entering
"I was hoping to get faster service and to see the staff care more about people"

Waiting
- Respect the line
- Long line
- Losing time

"The line is well organised"
"I expected it to be full"
"I expected it to be full, but it was empty, so I finished very quickly"

Service
- Angry agent
- Faster service 3 min to do the service

"Nobody should skip the line while on the phone"

AVG - General Average
AVG BC - Average Birth Certificates
AVG VS - Average Verified Signature
AVG CP - Average Certified Photocopies

OPPORTUNITIES

Leaving
- More public transport
- Opening in the evening

Transport
- Build Parking
- More public transport
- Organise the timing of buses
- Public transport on time
- Air-conditioning working

Entering
- Faster procedures
- To open other municipalities in different places (antennas)

Waiting
- Staff to be on time
- Organise the waiting line better
- More boxes (box being the service station)
- All people adhering to ticketing system
- Decrease waiting time

"For Manouba I am satis-fied with the waiting room"
"You can put books in the waiting area"

Service
- Taking care of people
- Add extra staff when its "back-to-school" time
- Trainer workers
- Special day for students only (19-15 Sep)
- Lack of employees
- Better social skills
- Free services

"Staff should be friendlier"
"Internet did not work, have 3G back-up"