Supplementary Appendix:

Survey of Tunisia's Retired Officers Association

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1 The Association

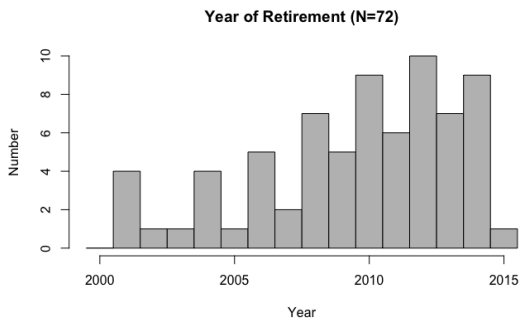
The survey of retired senior officers was conducted between August and December 2016 with the help of the Association of Former Officers of the National Armed Forces (AAOAN). The association, created in 2011, is currently led by retired Colonel-Major Mahmoud Mezoughi. At the time of the survey, the association had 174 members. The association organizes social gatherings and excursions for its members, as well as intellectual discussions on security-related topics. In recent years, it has worked with the Ministry of Defense to try to rethink the system of military conscription and to help draft a white paper on defense policy.

After a year of interviewing its members, the association allowed me to conduct a more formal survey (see English translation of the questionnaire below). A link to an online (Qualtrics) version of the survey was emailed out to the association by Colonel-Major Mezoughi in August 2016. In addition, between August and December 2016, officers who passed by the association for meetings or social gatherings were asked to fill out paper copies of the survey. Of the 174 members, 72 completed the survey (10 online, 62 in paper), achieving a 41% response rate.

2 The Survey Sample

The 72 officers surveyed retired between 2001 and 2015. About 46% retired after the 2011 revolution (Figure 1):

Figure 1: Year of Retirement



The representativeness of the survey sample can be assessed by comparing it to the dataset mentioned in Chapter 8 of all senior officers who retired by 2009, collected from a June 2009 Ministry of Defense publication: "Registry of Retired Officers: Commanders and Senior Officers." I subset that dataset to just those who retired between 2001 and 2009. While still not a perfect comparison – the survey sample includes officers who retired up to 2015 – they allow us to roughly gauge the representativeness of the sample.

Table 1: Officers Survey (N=67)

Retired 2001-2015

Demographic	Percent
Rank	
Colonel Major	46
Colonel	54
Branch	
Army	48
Navy	10
Air Force	13
Military Security	3
Joint Services	27
Birthplace	
Tunis	27
Sahel	33
North	24
Center	4
South	12
Foreign Training	
U.S.	55
France	55
Other	10
None	0
Gender	
Male	97
Female	3
Total N	67

Table 2: Retired Officers Dataset (N=124)

Retired 2001-2009

Demographic	Percent
Rank	
Colonel Major	47
Colonel	53
Branch	
Army	36
Navy	17
Air Force	13
Military Security	?
Joint Services	34
Birthplace	
Tunis	14
Sahel	46
North	23
Center	2
South	16
Foreign Training	
U.S.	19
France	52
Other	7
None	23
Gender	
Male	100
Female	0
Total N	124

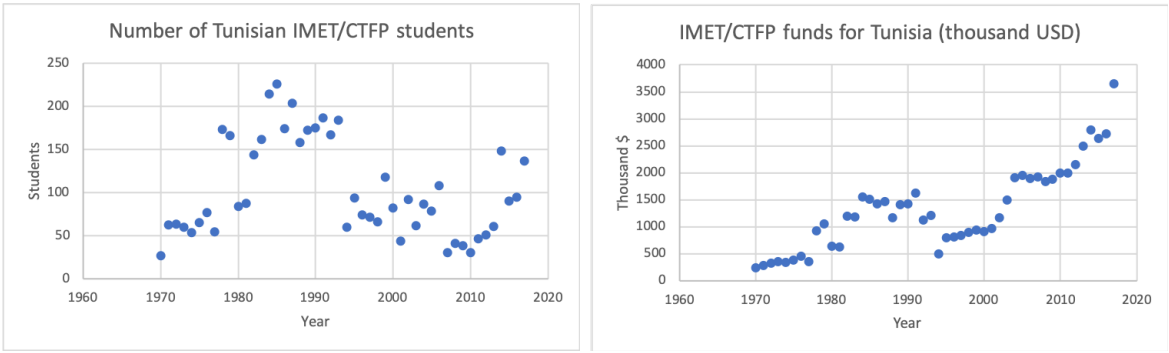
Note: The two female colonels in the survey retired after 2009, and therefore do not appear in the retired officers dataset.

Since 93% of the survey respondents were Colonels and Colonel-Majors, Tables 1 and 2 presents a comparison just for this subset (though results are similar when including Majors and Lt Colonels). The comparisons suggest that the survey sample is fairly representative in terms of branches of the military, with the vast majority in the land army or joint services.

The survey sample is also somewhat representative in terms of birthplace, although with a higher proportion of officers hailing from the capital, Tunis, where the association was located. The vast majority of the survey sample, like the actual military, are men.

The primary imbalance in the survey sample, when compared to the retired officers dataset, is the higher proportion of US-trained officers. This is the likely the result of the later end date – the survey sample includes officers who retired as late as 2015, while the dataset only goes up to 2009. Yet the officers who retired after that are the ones who benefited from the sharp increase in US military trainings in the 1980s. Figure 2 plots the US-Tunisia military relationship since the 1970s. On the left is the number of Tunisian officers trained in the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program and Countering Terrorism Fellowship Program (CTFP); on the right is the amount of money allocated to these two programs. Both show a steep increase in the 1980s, whose beneficiaries have begun retiring in the 2010s. Indeed, in the survey sample, only 33% of those who retired by 2009 have US training, compared to 69% of those who retired after 2009.

Figure 2: Increase in US training of Tunisian military, 1980s and 2010s



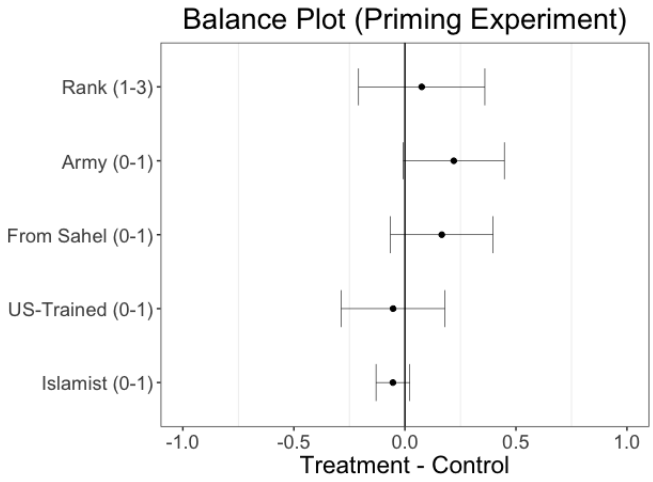
In addition to the measurable demographics in Tables 1 and 2, there may be other differences between the survey sample and the population. It is possible, indeed likely, that the retired officers who chose to be members of the association and/or who decided to take the survey are different in some way than the retired officers who did not. For instance, they may be better networked or more political than the average retired officer, especially given the intellectual, 'think tank' nature of the association. Yet such a bias would only enhance

the appeal of the survey sample as the most likely group of officers to consider a military coup, and hence the most important to survey for this particular book.

3 Balance Plot (Priming Experiment)

Despite the small sample size, the two primes are not significantly different on any covariates:

Figure 3: Covariate Balance across Experimental Treatments



4 Questionnaire

Survey questions used in this paper include:

1. What is your age? _____

2. What year did you retire from the armed forces? _____

3. What was your specialty in the armed forces? [Check all that apply]

    - Army
    - Navy
    - Air Force

- Military Security
- Joint services

4. What was the highest rank you reached in the armed forces? _____

5. Where did you grow up? _____

   - Governorate: _____
   - City/Village: _____

6. Where did you perform your basic training?

   - Tunisia
   - Other country: _____

7. In which countries did you receive additional training? [Check all that apply]

   - The United States
   - France
   - Belgium
   - Italy
   - Greece
   - Turkey
   - Other: _____

8. Please indicate your level of support for the following individuals on a 1-5 scale, 1 indicates the lowest level of support and 5 indicates the highest level of support.

   - Habib Bourguiba
   - Zine El Abidine Ben Ali

- Moncef Marzouki
- Beji Caid Essebsi
- Rached Ghannouchi
- Hamma Hammami
- Kamel Morjane
- Houcine Abassi
- Ouided Bouchamaoui

9. Please tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree with these statements (strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree, other/comment).

   (a) The military was neglected by President Ben Ali in terms of budget, weapons, and salaries.

   (b) President Ben Ali favored the police and national guard over the military.

   (c) President Ben Ali favored officers hailing from the Sahel in promotions, especially to the rank of General.

10. [**Priming Experiment**] *Many officers claim that the position of the military has improved since the 2011 uprising, in terms of budget, weapons, salaries, and influence over national security decisions.*

    OR

    Many officers claim that the position of the military has worsened since the 2011 uprising, in terms of security threats and interference by political leaders.

11. Overall, in your opinion, has the position of the military gotten better or worse since the 2011 uprising? (significantly worse, somewhat worse, neither better nor worse, somewhat better, significantly better, don't know)

12. Suppose there was a scale from 1-5 measuring the extent to which democracy is suitable for Tunisia, with 1 meaning that democracy is absolutely inappropriate for Tunisia and 5 meaning democracy is completely appropriate for Tunisia. To what extent do you think democracy is suitable for Tunisia?