Military Defection During Localized Protests: The Case of Tataouine

Supplementary Appendix

Sharan Grewal

July 8, 2018

Forthcoming, *International Studies Quarterly*

Data and replication files for producing the tables and figures in the manuscript will be made available on the author's website and at the *International Studies Quarterly* data archive upon publication. Below are four appendices providing additional information on the survey of retired military officers (Appendix A), the dataset of retired military officers (Appendix B), the representativeness of the survey sample (Appendix C), and robustness checks (Appendix D).

1 Appendix A: Survey of Retired Military Officers

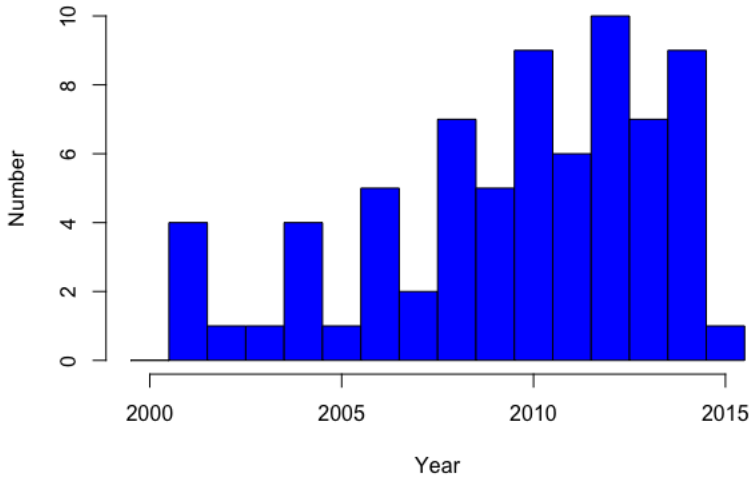
The survey of retired senior officers was conducted between August and December 2016 with the help of the Association of Former Officers of the National Armed Forces.

Figure 1: Association of Former Officers of the National Armed Forces

1.1 Retirement Years

Below is the retirement years of the 72 officers surveyed.

Figure 2: Year of Retirement



1.2 Questionnaire

Survey questions used in this paper include:

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

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

    - Army
    - Navy
    - Air Force
    - Military Security
    - Joint services

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

4. Where did you grow up? _____

    - Governorate: _____
    - City/Village: _____

5. Where did you perform your basic training?

    - Tunisia
    - Other country: _____

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

    - The United States
    - France
    - Belgium

- Italy
- Greece
- Turkey
- Other: _____

7. Please indicate your level of support for the following political parties on a 1-5 scale, where 1 indicates the lowest level of support and 5 indicates the highest level of support.
   - Nidaa Tounes
   - Ennahda
   - Haraka Mashrou' Tunis
   - Free Patriotic Union
   - Popular Front
   - Afek Tounes
   - Democratic Current
   - Al-Moubadara
   - Al-Irada
8. Suppose, hypothetically, that President Essebsi asks the military to fire upon protesters. How appropriate would it be for the military to refuse this order? (very appropriate, somewhat appropriate, somewhat inappropriate, very inappropriate, don't know)
9. The President's National Security Council currently includes two military officers as permanent members: the chief of staff of the armed forces and the director of military security. Do you agree that the council should have a larger number of permanent military figures? (strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree).

2 Appendix B: Dataset of Retired Senior Officers

The dataset of all 662 senior military officers retired by 2009 was created from a collection of biographies in an internal Ministry of Defense publication, "Registry of Retired Officers: Commanders and Senior Officers." Below is the cover and a sample biography of retired Colonel Major Mahmoud Mezoughi, head of the retired officers association.

Figure 3: Registry of Retired Officers

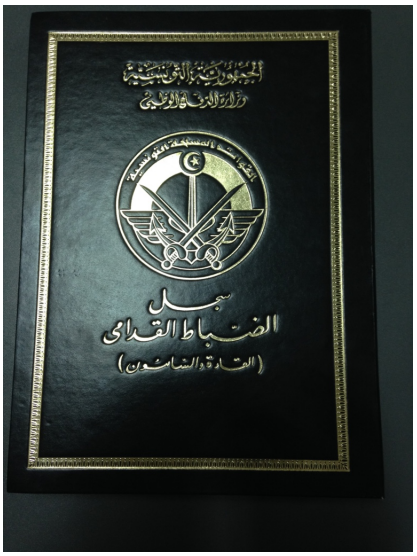


Figure 4: Colonel Major Mahmoud Mezoughi biography

العميد محمود بن محمد المزوغي

ولد في 30 أكتوبر 1947 بمرناق، له ثلاثة أبناء.

انخرط بصفوف الجيش في 09 أكتوبر 1967. تلقى تكوينه العسكري بالأكاديمية العسكرية بفندق الجديد دورة "حجر الدين"، وتخرج في اختصاص مدفعية ثم تلقى تكوينا في المجال بتركيا. تابع دروس الأركان بالولايات المتحدة الأمريكية والمدرسة الحربية العليا بكل من فرنسا والولايات المتحدة الأمريكية ودروس معهد الدفاع الوطني بتونس.

تولى عدة مسؤوليات أهمها : آمر فوج،رئيس قسم بأركان جيش البر، آمر لواء، آمر المدرسة الحربية العليا، مدير معهد الدفاع الوطني، وملحق عسكري بحري وجوي لدى سفارة تونس بباريس.

تحصل على الوسام العسكري، الصنف الرابع من وسام السابع من نوفمبر والصنف الثالث من وسام الجمهورية.

غادر الجيش في 01 فيفري 2008.

3 Appendix C: Representativeness of Survey Sample

Table 1: Officers Survey (N=72)

Demographic	Percent
Rank	
General	0
Colonel Major	43
Colonel	50
Lt. Col.	4
Major	3
Branch	
Army	46
Navy	11
Air Force	13
Military Security	4
Joint Services	31
Birthplace	
Tunis	26
Sahel	33
North	24
Center	6
South	11
Foreign Training	
U.S.	54
France	56
Other	10
None	0
Total N	72

Table 2: Retired Officers Dataset (N=662)

Demographic	Percent
Rank	
General	5
Colonel Major	11
Colonel	24
Lt. Col.	23
Major	36
Branch	
Army	43
Navy	11
Air Force	14
Military Security	?
Joint Services	32
Birthplace	
Tunis	20
Sahel	44
North	21
Center	3
South	11
Foreign Training	
U.S.	11
France	34
Other	5
None	50
Total N	662

Note: Biographies did not mention whether officers were also members of the directorate of military security. Officers in military security are also housed in one of the other main branches.

3.1 Comparing Colonels and Colonel Majors

These tables compare just Colonels and Colonel Majors, who had made up 93% of the survey sample.

Table 3: Officers Survey (N=67)

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
Total N	67

Table 4: Retired Officers Dataset (N=219)

Demographic	Percent
Rank	
Colonel Major	32
Colonel	68
Branch	
Army	41
Navy	11
Air Force	14
Military Security	?
Joint Services	35
Birthplace	
Tunis	22
Sahel	43
North	19
Center	2
South	13
Foreign Training	
U.S.	20
France	61
Total N	219

4 Appendix D: Ordered Logistic Regression

Table 5: Ordered Logit

	DV: Appropriateness of Defection		
	Exc. DK (1-4)		Inc. DK (1-5)
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Interior	3.546***	4.421***	1.797***
	(1.236)	(1.565)	(0.666)
NSC	1.391**	2.441**	1.236**
	(0.656)	(1.057)	(0.503)
Apolitical	0.722	0.135	1.036
	(1.085)	(1.283)	(0.636)
Rank		0.768	0.660
		(1.004)	(0.469)
Army		0.089	0.163
		(1.211)	(0.580)
Ret. Year			−0.385
			(0.649)
U.S. Training		2.312	−0.177
		(1.608)	(0.642)
Essebsi		−0.155	−0.132
		(0.461)	(0.273)
Observations	20	20	70
Residual Deviance	40.155	36.915	120.470
AIC	52.155	56.915	144.470

*Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01*
Note: Retirement year was excluded from model 2 so model could converge.