

# Online Appendix to *Costly Commitments in Authoritarian Regime Formation*

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## I The Effect of Populism

Table A1 shows the t-tests mentioned in the text.

Table A1: Populism and Regime Attitudes

	Mean (0)	Mean (1)	Difference	t-stat
Return to 2014 Constitution	0.561	0.490	0.071**	2.86
July 25 Threatens Democracy	0.572	0.484	0.088***	3.21

Notes: Welch two-sample t-tests. Group 1 corresponds to support for the outcome indicated.

\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

Table A2 shows the models behind Figure 3 in the text.

Table A2: The Effect of Populist Attitudes

	Return to 2014 constitution (1)	July 25th threatens democracy (2)
Populism	-0.126*** (0.046)	-0.147*** (0.044)
Education	-0.016 (0.010)	-0.013 (0.010)
Income	-0.023** (0.011)	0.001 (0.010)
Age	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)
Female	0.060* (0.034)	-0.022 (0.033)
Constant	0.641*** (0.079)	0.621*** (0.076)
Observations	815	765
Log Likelihood	-547.227	-456.101
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,106.455	924.203

Note:

\* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

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## II Afrobarometer Regime Questions

Table A3: Set of Regime Questions

	<b>Statement 1</b>	<b>Statement 2</b>	<b>Scale</b>
<i>Let's talk for a moment about the kind of society you would like to have in this country. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.</i>			
Freedom of association	The government should be able to ban any organization that goes against its policies.	We should be able to join any organization, whether or not the government approves of it.	1–5 scale*
Freedom of the press	The media should have the right to publish any views and ideas without government control.	The government should have the right to prevent the media from publishing things that it disapproves of.	1–5 scale*
Limits on the press	The news media should constantly investigate and report on government mistakes and corruption.	Too much reporting on negative events, like government mistakes and corruption, only harms the country.	1–5 scale*
Accountability	It is more important to have a government that can get things done, even if we have no influence over what it does.	It is more important for citizens to be able to hold government accountable, even if that means it makes decisions more slowly.	1–5 scale*
Government–people	The government is like the people's boss. People should respect the government and do what it directs.	The government is like the people's employee. It should respect citizens and do what they request.	1–5 scale*
Elected officials–people	Our elected officials should listen to voters' views and do what they demand.	Our elected leaders should follow their own ideas in deciding what is best for the country.	1–5 scale*
Elections	We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open, and honest elections.	Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country's leaders.	1–5 scale*
Parties	Political parties create division and confusion; it is therefore unnecessary to have many political parties in Tunisia.	Many political parties are needed to make sure that Tunisians have real choices in who governs them.	1–5 scale*

	<b>Statement 1</b>	<b>Statement 2</b>	<b>Scale</b>
Transfer of power	In a democracy, it is better if power sometimes changes hands in elections from one political party to another.	In a democracy, as long as a government is elected by the people in a free and fair election, it does not matter if one party always wins and continuously governs the country.	1–5 scale*
Exec–leg relations	Members of the Representative Assembly of the People represent the people; therefore they should make laws for this country, even if the President does not agree.	Since the President represents all of us, he should pass laws without worrying about what the Assembly of the People’s Representatives thinks.	1–5 scale*
Power of the purse	Representative Assembly of the People should ensure that the president explains to it on a regular basis how his government spends taxpayers’ money.	The president should be able to devote his full attention to developing the country rather than wasting time justifying his actions.	1–5 scale*
Opposition	After losing an election, opposition parties should monitor and criticize the government in order to hold it accountable.	Once an election is over, opposition parties and politicians should accept defeat and cooperate with government to help it develop the country.	1–5 scale*
Rule of law	Since the President was elected to lead the country, he should not be bound by laws or court decisions that he thinks are wrong.	The President must always obey the laws and the courts, even if he thinks they are wrong.	1–5 scale*
Term limits	The Constitution should limit the President to serving a maximum of two terms in office.	There should be no constitutional limit on how long the President can serve.	1–5 scale*
Military intervention	Tunisia’s armed forces should never intervene in the country’s political process.	It is legitimate for the armed forces to take control of government when elected leaders abuse power for their own ends.	1–5 scale*
<i>There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives?</i>			
Single party	Only one political party is allowed to stand for election and hold office.		1–5 scale

	<b>Statement 1</b>	<b>Statement 2</b>	<b>Scale</b>
Military rule	The army comes in to govern the country.		1–5 scale
Abolish elections	Elections and Representative Assembly of the People are abolished so that the President can decide everything.		1–5 scale

*Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?*

Democracy	For someone like me, it does not matter what kind of government we have.	In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable. Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.	1–3 scale
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\*1 = strongly agree with Statement 1; 2 = agree with Statement 1; 3 = neither; 4 = agree with Statement 2; 5 = strongly agree with Statement 2.

## II.1 Factor Analysis

Table A4: Exploratory Factor Analysis of Regime Attitudes

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Uniqueness
Freedom of association			0.338	0.856
Government accountability			0.594	0.653
Government as employee			0.466	0.792
Single party rule	0.553			0.743
Military rule	0.488			0.786
Abolish parliament	0.659			0.567
Executive over legislature (1)		0.467		0.694
Executive over legislature (2)		0.762		0.493
No term limits		0.285		0.862
SS loadings	1.037	0.900	0.688	
Proportion variance	0.115	0.100	0.077	
Cumulative variance	0.115	0.215	0.292	

Notes: Entries are factor loadings from exploratory factor analysis with promax rotation. Loadings below 0.20 in absolute value are suppressed. Uniqueness indicates the proportion of variance not explained by the common factors. The model fit statistic is 0.018.

### III Models

Table A5: Drivers of Support for Kais Saied

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Vote intention	Trust	Approval
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Liberals	-0.369*** (0.118)	-0.308*** (0.114)	-0.485*** (0.176)
Authoritarians	-0.224* (0.115)	-0.029 (0.106)	0.408** (0.171)
Hyper-presidentialists	0.362*** (0.116)	0.531*** (0.106)	0.544*** (0.158)
Tunisia is democracy	0.409*** (0.087)	0.491*** (0.088)	0.775*** (0.149)
Education	0.024 (0.040)	0.060* (0.037)	0.039 (0.053)
Age	0.028*** (0.006)	0.033*** (0.005)	0.002 (0.008)
Female	-0.019 (0.157)	0.093 (0.146)	-0.325 (0.221)
Rural	-0.047 (0.173)	-0.021 (0.157)	-0.054 (0.235)
Constant	-2.281*** (0.419)	-1.500*** (0.385)	0.899 (0.561)
Observations	744	1,116	1,029
Log Likelihood	-470.903	-577.002	-297.984
Akaike Inf. Crit.	959.806	1,172.004	613.968

*Note:* \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table A6: Drivers of Attitudes on Political Parties

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Parties are divisive	Party identification
	(1)	(2)
Liberals	-0.228** (0.100)	0.230 (0.187)
Authoritarians	0.022 (0.095)	-0.412** (0.193)
Hyper-presidentialists	0.513*** (0.096)	-0.496*** (0.179)
Tunisia is democracy	0.108 (0.073)	-0.114 (0.141)
Education	0.010 (0.033)	0.106* (0.059)
Age	0.017*** (0.005)	0.032*** (0.008)
Female	-0.283** (0.132)	-0.598** (0.264)
Rural	-0.057 (0.143)	0.172 (0.270)
Constant	-0.100 (0.346)	-4.340*** (0.676)
Observations	1,115	1,122
Log Likelihood	-679.409	-250.711
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,376.819	519.421

*Note:*

\*p&lt;0.1; \*\*p&lt;0.05; \*\*\*p&lt;0.01