Islamophobia and Media Portrayals of Muslim Women:

A Computational Text Analysis of U.S. News Coverage

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**1. Regional Groupings**

These regional groupings used in this study generally conform to the United Nations’ regional classification, with some exceptions. First, former countries are assigned to regions based on where their current territorial manifestations are classified. Second, due to ambiguity surrounding whether Pakistan and Afghanistan are part of the Middle East or Asia, I decided to code these countries based on their assignment in most U.S. higher education area studies programs, with Afghanistan going in MENA and Pakistan in Asia, as these assignments generally reflect the location of these nations in U.S. popular consciousness. Finally, the Powerful West is a region that Hafner-Burton and Ron include in their study and that I agree is important given the theoretical argument we wish to test. This region includes advanced industrialized countries of North American and Western Europe, along with three highly developed countries in Asia and the Middle East – Australia, Israel and New Zealand.

**2. Women’s Rights Data**

The *Women’s Political Rights* variable include the following rights: “The right to vote; the right to run for political office; the right to hold elected and appointed government positions; the right to join political parties; the right to petition government officials.” *Women’s Social Rights* includes: “The right to equal inheritance; the right to enter into marriage on a basis of equality with men; the right to travel abroad; the right to obtain a passport; the right to confer citizenship to children or a husband; the right to initiate a divorce; the right to own, acquire, manage, and retain property brought into marriage; the right to participate in social, cultural, and community activities; the right to an education; the freedom to choose a residence/domicile; freedom from female genital mutilation of children and adults without their consent; freedom from forced sterilization.” *Women’s Economic Rights* is coded based on the following: “Equal pay for equal work; free choice of profession or employment without the need to obtain a husband or male relative’s consent; the right to gainful employment without the need to obtain a husband or male relative’s consent; equality in hiring and promotion practices; job security (maternity leave, unemployment benefits, no arbitrary firing or layoffs, etc.); non-discrimination by employers; the right to be free from sexual harassment in the workplace; the right to work at night; the right to work in occupations classified as dangerous; the right to work in the military and police force” (Cingranelli 2012).

**3. Physical Integrity Rights Data**

The *Physical Integrity Rights* variable is composed of the four integrity rights variables, including disappearance, extra-judicial killing, political imprisonment, and torture. It is a nine-point scale that ranges from zero to eight, where zero indicates no respect for physical integrity rights and eight indicates full respect for those rights (Cingranelli 2012). The data is available to 2011. It should be noted that there are alternative measures for the state of human rights protections used in the literature, such as the CIRI’s Empowerment Rights Index, and the Political Terror Scale measures. I chose the Physical Integrity Index in the models discussed below, but I also estimated models using these two alternative measures, with the same substantive results.

**4. STM Selection and Labels**

When estimating an STM, the analyst must make a number of important decisions pertaining to model selection. First, she must specify the number of topics (*K*) to be estimated. The choice of *K* depends on a number of factors, including the nature of the documents under study and the level of granularity the analyst wishes to capture; there is no one solution to this problem (Roberts et al. 2014). In addition, STM depends on a multi-modal objective function, meaning that models with the same parameters (that is, the same data, covariates, and number of topic) may produce different results – that is, different topics – depending on the starting seed value.

Generally speaking, the best topic model is the one that generates the highest quality topics, and a higher quality topic is one that displays a higher degree of semantic interpretability. Two measures exist to evaluate interpretability quantitatively: cohesiveness and exclusivity. A topic is cohesive if its top words are likely to co-occur within documents. It is exclusive if top words are unique to that topic, or unlikely to appear in the top words for another topic (Roberts et al. 2014, p. 6). Oftentimes scholars will generate a number of candidate models and then discard those with low degrees of exclusivity and cohesiveness given a set K (Roberts et al. 2014).

Even with these tools, however, selecting a model usually requires human judgment to evaluate the semantic meaning of topics (Mohr and Bogdanov 2013). For instance, we can try to summarize a topic by seeing which words have the highest probability of appearing in a topic. But because LDA topics are a distribution over all words, this technique usually prioritizes words that have high frequency in the entire corpus, but may not be semantically informative (i.e. “women” in this case). Another technique is to identify words that are exclusive to that topic, such as simplified frequency-exclusivity scoring (FREX) (Lucas et al. 2015, p. 5). A third technique is to see which document is most representative of a topic and read it to infer the topic’s content. To address model specification issues, I estimated over 50 models varying the number of topics and starting seed values, and relied on the techniques described above to choose the highest quality model and apply semantic labels to each topic in that model. I did not look at corpus or region-level topic distributions before choosing a model to prevent bias.

Applying semantic labels is more of an art than a science, because topics are merely statistical distributions of words, not hermeneutic concepts. Thus the “Politics” topic should not be considered all-encompassing of every aspect of political life; rather, it is a heuristic shortcut for a constellation of words that relate to specifically electoral politics (e.g. *polit*, *presid*, *govern*, *elect*, *minist*, *parti*. Still, some topics are more easily interpretable than others. The “Sports” topic, for instance, is fairly straightforward. The “Human Interest” topic, on the other hand, requires more thought because its top frequency words are ubiquitous and vague (*said*, *say*, *like*, *one*, *just*, *peopl*, *women*). More enlightening are the “Human Interest” topic’s top FREX words (*think*, *feel*, *know*, *thing*, realli, see, *someth*), which suggest individual perspectives over facts and events. Reading the most representative documents, i.e. those with the highest percentage of its content devoted to the topic, offers the most insight. The most representative documents are interviews, profiles, inspiring stories of remarkable individuals, and so on. Taken together, I applied the label “Human Interest” because the topic appears to capture human interest reporting.

**5. Topic Coverage across Region**

Table 5 tabulates the proportion of each topic (using the number of words assigned to it in the model) devoted to each region. Unlike the prevalence comparisons, these statistics are not normalized for the total number of articles in the sample coming from each region.

Table 5: Topic Coverage Across Region

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Africa | Asia | EECA | LA | MENA | West | Total |
| Business | 7 | 40.79 | 5.34 | 6.92 | 13.26 | 26.69 | 100 |
| Sports | 4.03 | 20.43 | 5.62 | 9.57 | 7.62 | 52.73 | 100 |
| Public Health | 30.73 | 21.94 | 4.39 | 6.51 | 11.23 | 25.2 | 100 |
| Travel | 10.5 | 29.68 | 5.13 | 8.01 | 15.42 | 31.27 | 100 |
| Fashion | 6.3 | 25.59 | 7.36 | 7.34 | 12.09 | 41.32 | 100 |
| United Nations | 16.45 | 30.22 | 5.57 | 6.5 | 26.22 | 15.05 | 100 |
| Sexual Assault | 8.33 | 40.77 | 6.23 | 10.24 | 19.21 | 15.21 | 100 |
| Combat | 8.16 | 19.06 | 9.03 | 6.67 | 44.65 | 12.44 | 100 |
| Women's Rights & Gender Equality | 7.75 | 29.24 | 3.61 | 5.86 | 28.44 | 25.1 | 100 |
| Politics | 6.46 | 24.3 | 5.66 | 9.45 | 25.17 | 28.96 | 100 |
| Profiles | 8.81 | 29.22 | 5.45 | 8.23 | 18.17 | 30.12 | 100 |
| Human Interest | 10.27 | 29.68 | 5.65 | 6.51 | 20.76 | 27.12 | 100 |
| Marriage & Family | 15.19 | 38.79 | 4.54 | 5.68 | 24.23 | 11.56 | 100 |
| Religion | 10.64 | 13.5 | 3.11 | 2.21 | 52.15 | 18.4 | 100 |
| Reproductive & Personal Health | 9.26 | 25.18 | 4.84 | 7.79 | 7.03 | 45.89 | 100 |

# 6. Robustness Tests for Table 1

Table 6: H1 (Probit): Partial Models with *Muslim Majority* Measure

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | | | | |
|  | **Reported (Binary)** | | | | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** | **Model 4** | **Model 5** | **Model 6** |
|  | | | | | | |
| Women's Rights Index | 0.255\*\*\* | 0.206\*\*\* | 0.137\*\* | 0.163\*\* | 0.318\*\*\* | 0.110 |
|  | (0.042) | (0.046) | (0.052) | (0.054) | (0.058) | (0.065) |
| Muslim Majority | 0.697\*\*\* | 0.527\*\*\* | 0.710\*\*\* | 0.766\*\*\* | 0.995\*\*\* | 0.553\*\*\* |
|  | (0.116) | (0.134) | (0.141) | (0.141) | (0.158) | (0.166) |
| Country Reports |  | 0.005\*\*\* | 0.004\*\*\* | 0.004\*\*\* | 0.003\*\*\* | 0.002\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.001) | (0.0005) | (0.0005) | (0.0003) | (0.0003) |
| Democracy |  |  | 0.024\*\*\* | 0.024\*\*\* | 0.019\*\*\* | 0.008 |
|  |  |  | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.005) |
| Instability |  |  |  | 0.00003\* | -0.00003 | -0.00001 |
|  |  |  |  | (0.00002) | (0.00002) | (0.00002) |
| Population |  |  |  |  | 0.413\*\*\* | 0.438\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.024) | (0.023) |
| GDP per capita |  |  |  |  |  | 0.144\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.024) |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Majority | -0.571\*\*\* | -0.396\*\*\* | -0.458\*\*\* | -0.488\*\*\* | -0.755\*\*\* | -0.466\*\*\* |
|  | (0.092) | (0.104) | (0.109) | (0.110) | (0.125) | (0.128) |
| Constant | -1.061\*\*\* | -1.344\*\*\* | -1.290\*\*\* | -1.355\*\*\* | -8.137\*\*\* | -9.262\*\*\* |
|  | (0.075) | (0.083) | (0.087) | (0.094) | (0.413) | (0.444) |
| N | 4764 | 4396 | 4069 | 4004 | 4001 | 3934 |
| Log Likelihood | -2698.938 | -2093.924 | -1965.272 | -1937.026 | -1727.805 | -1671.856 |
| AIC | 5405.876 | 4197.848 | 3942.544 | 3888.051 | 3471.610 | 3361.712 |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | | | | |

Table 7: H1 (Probit): Women’s Political Rights

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Reported (Binary)** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Country Reports | 0.004\*\*\* | 0.004\*\*\* | 0.004\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0005) | (0.0005) | (0.0005) |
| Women's Political Rights | 0.249\* | 0.258\*\* | 0.277\*\* |
|  | (0.097) | (0.094) | (0.102) |
| Muslim Majority | 0.959\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.302) |  |  |
| MENA |  | 1.233\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.324) |  |
| Muslim Percentage |  |  | 1.128\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.339) |
| Democracy | 0.013 | 0.022\* | 0.015 |
|  | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.009) |
| Instability | -0.00002 | -0.00002 | -0.00002 |
|  | (0.00003) | (0.00003) | (0.00003) |
| Population | 0.761\*\*\* | 0.753\*\*\* | 0.750\*\*\* |
|  | (0.041) | (0.041) | (0.041) |
| GDP per capita | 0.259\*\*\* | 0.237\*\*\* | 0.258\*\*\* |
|  | (0.040) | (0.042) | (0.041) |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Majority | -0.565\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.170) |  |  |
| Women's Rights x MENA |  | -0.583\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.196) |  |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage |  |  | -0.604\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.191) |
| Constant | -16.335\*\*\* | -16.118\*\*\* | -16.224\*\*\* |
|  | (0.794) | (0.793) | (0.790) |
| N | 3925 | 3941 | 3925 |
| Log Likelihood | -1667.116 | -1670.601 | -1666.988 |
| AIC | 3352.232 | 3359.203 | 3351.977 |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |

Table 8: H1 (Probit): Women’s Social Rights

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Reported (Binary)** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Country Reports | 0.004\*\*\* | 0.004\*\*\* | 0.004\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Women's Social Rights | 0.087 | 0.114 | 0.131 |
|  | (0.086) | (0.084) | (0.090) |
| Muslim Majority | 0.249 |  |  |
|  | (0.209) |  |  |
| MENA |  | 0.639\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.236) |  |
| Muslim Percentage |  |  | 0.412 |
|  |  |  | (0.235) |
| Democracy | 0.006 | 0.020\* | 0.009 |
|  | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.010) |
| Instability | -0.00001 | -0.00001 | -0.00001 |
|  | (0.00003) | (0.00003) | (0.00003) |
| Population | 0.744\*\*\* | 0.727\*\*\* | 0.733\*\*\* |
|  | (0.047) | (0.046) | (0.047) |
| GDP per capita | 0.263\*\*\* | 0.235\*\*\* | 0.252\*\*\* |
|  | (0.052) | (0.054) | (0.052) |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Majority | -0.684\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.204) |  |  |
| Women's Rights x MENA |  | -0.685\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.254) |  |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage |  |  | -0.737\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.217) |
| Constant | -15.685\*\*\* | -15.357\*\*\* | -15.505\*\*\* |
|  | (0.902) | (0.898) | (0.900) |
| N | 2961 | 2972 | 2961 |
| Log Likelihood | -1221.926 | -1226.724 | -1222.961 |
| AIC | 2461.852 | 2471.449 | 2463.922 |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |

Table 9: H1 (Probit): Women’s Economic Rights

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Reported (Binary)** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Country Reports | 0.004\*\*\* | 0.004\*\*\* | 0.004\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0005) | (0.0005) | (0.0005) |
| Women's Economic Rights | 0.112 | 0.071 | 0.155 |
|  | (0.088) | (0.084) | (0.092) |
| Muslim Majority | 0.706\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.215) |  |  |
| MENA |  | 0.951\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.253) |  |
| Muslim Percentage |  |  | 0.898\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.249) |
| Democracy | 0.010 | 0.022\*\* | 0.014 |
|  | (0.009) | (0.008) | (0.009) |
| Instability | -0.00002 | -0.00003 | -0.00002 |
|  | (0.00003) | (0.00003) | (0.00003) |
| Population | 0.744\*\*\* | 0.743\*\*\* | 0.733\*\*\* |
|  | (0.041) | (0.040) | (0.041) |
| GDP per capita | 0.279\*\*\* | 0.257\*\*\* | 0.272\*\*\* |
|  | (0.042) | (0.043) | (0.042) |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Majority | -0.729\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.179) |  |  |
| Women's Rights x MENA |  | -0.662\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.212) |  |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage |  |  | -0.791\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.199) |
| Constant | -15.859\*\*\* | -15.680\*\*\* | -15.725\*\*\* |
|  | (0.781) | (0.783) | (0.778) |
| N | 3881 | 3897 | 3881 |
| Log Likelihood | -1649.988 | -1657.010 | -1650.002 |
| AIC | 3317.976 | 3332.019 | 3318.003 |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |

Table 10: H1 (Probit): Adding Lagged DV

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Reported (Binary)** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Lagged DV | 0.480\*\*\* | 0.479\*\*\* | 0.480\*\*\* |
|  | (0.061) | (0.061) | (0.061) |
| Country Reports | 0.002\*\*\* | 0.002\*\*\* | 0.002\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0003) | (0.0003) | (0.0003) |
| Women's Rights Index | 0.089 | 0.099 | 0.114 |
|  | (0.066) | (0.064) | (0.069) |
| Muslim Majority | 0.443\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.167) |  |  |
| MENA |  | 0.584\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.186) |  |
| Muslim Percentage |  |  | 0.531\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.186) |
| Democracy | 0.006 | 0.010\* | 0.007 |
|  | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| Instability | -0.00001 | -0.00001 | -0.00001 |
|  | (0.00002) | (0.00002) | (0.00002) |
| Population | 0.387\*\*\* | 0.386\*\*\* | 0.382\*\*\* |
|  | (0.024) | (0.024) | (0.024) |
| GDP per capita | 0.131\*\*\* | 0.118\*\*\* | 0.129\*\*\* |
|  | (0.024) | (0.026) | (0.024) |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Majority | -0.380\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.128) |  |  |
| Women's Rights x MENA |  | -0.392\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.152) |  |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage |  |  | -0.405\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.138) |
| Constant | -8.413\*\*\* | -8.328\*\*\* | -8.360\*\*\* |
|  | (0.450) | (0.452) | (0.448) |
| N | 3934 | 3950 | 3934 |
| Log Likelihood | -1638.940 | -1644.268 | -1638.933 |
| AIC | 3297.881 | 3308.536 | 3297.866 |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |

**7. Robustness Tests for Table 2**

Table 11: H1 (Negative Binomial): Partial Models with *Muslim Majority* Measure

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | | | | |
|  | | | | | | |
|  | **Reported (Count)** | | | | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** | **Model 4** | **Model 5** | **Model 6** |
|  | | | | | | |
| Women's Rights Index | 0.430\*\*\* | 0.305\*\* | 0.217\* | 0.235\* | 0.515\*\*\* | 0.206\* |
|  | (0.091) | (0.110) | (0.089) | (0.099) | (0.096) | (0.102) |
| Muslim Majority | 1.359\*\*\* | 1.249\*\*\* | 1.465\*\*\* | 1.488\*\*\* | 2.003\*\*\* | 1.339\*\*\* |
|  | (0.249) | (0.296) | (0.339) | (0.361) | (0.338) | (0.373) |
| Country Reports |  | 0.005\*\*\* | 0.005\*\*\* | 0.005\*\*\* | 0.002\*\*\* | 0.002\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.0001) | (0.0001) | (0.0001) | (0.0001) | (0.0001) |
| Democracy |  |  | 0.027\* | 0.026\* | 0.021\* | 0.003 |
|  |  |  | (0.011) | (0.011) | (0.010) | (0.011) |
| Instability |  |  |  | 0.00002 | -0.0001\* | -0.00002 |
|  |  |  |  | (0.00002) | (0.00002) | (0.00002) |
| Population |  |  |  |  | 0.605\*\*\* | 0.640\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.023) | (0.024) |
| GDP per capita |  |  |  |  |  | 0.226\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.041) |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Maj | -1.185\*\*\* | -0.928\*\*\* | -1.020\*\*\* | -1.033\*\*\* | -1.544\*\*\* | -1.088\*\*\* |
|  | (0.185) | (0.211) | (0.218) | (0.226) | (0.213) | (0.246) |
| Constant | -0.984\*\*\* | -1.760\*\*\* | -1.677\*\*\* | -1.712\*\*\* | -11.860\*\*\* | -13.627\*\*\* |
|  | (0.173) | (0.227) | (0.222) | (0.255) | (0.480) | (0.589) |
| N | 4764 | 4396 | 4069 | 4004 | 4001 | 3934 |
| Log Likelihood | -4935.680 | -4243.077 | -4016.625 | -3961.884 | -3671.746 | -3591.307 |
| theta | 0.183\*\*\* (0.008) | 0.412\*\*\* (0.021) | 0.442\*\*\* (0.024) | 0.435\*\*\* (0.023) | 0.771\*\*\* (0.050) | 0.837\*\*\* (0.056) |
| AIC | 9879.360 | 8496.153 | 8045.251 | 7937.769 | 7359.492 | 7200.614 |
|  | | | | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | | | | |

Table 12: H1 (Negative Binomial): Women’s Political Rights

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Reported (Count)** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Country Reports | 0.002\*\*\* | 0.002\*\*\* | 0.002\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0001) | (0.0001) | (0.0001) |
| Women's Political Rights | 0.066 | 0.101 | 0.097 |
|  | (0.137) | (0.134) | (0.147) |
| Muslim Majority | 1.000\* |  |  |
|  | (0.495) |  |  |
| MENA |  | 1.350\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.503) |  |
| Muslim Percentage |  |  | 1.165\* |
|  |  |  | (0.551) |
| Democracy | 0.004 | 0.015 | 0.006 |
|  | (0.011) | (0.011) | (0.011) |
| Instability | -0.00003 | -0.00003 | -0.00003 |
|  | (0.00002) | (0.00002) | (0.00002) |
| Population | 0.647\*\*\* | 0.640\*\*\* | 0.640\*\*\* |
|  | (0.023) | (0.023) | (0.024) |
| GDP per capita | 0.248\*\*\* | 0.223\*\*\* | 0.249\*\*\* |
|  | (0.040) | (0.041) | (0.041) |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Majority | -0.570\* |  |  |
|  | (0.232) |  |  |
| Women's Rights x MENA |  | -0.612\* |  |
|  |  | (0.248) |  |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage |  |  | -0.619\* |
|  |  |  | (0.261) |
| Constant | -13.704\*\*\* | -13.549\*\*\* | -13.687\*\*\* |
|  | (0.635) | (0.617) | (0.641) |
| N | 3925 | 3941 | 3925 |
| Log Likelihood | -3597.742 | -3595.957 | -3596.808 |
| AIC | 7213.483 | 7209.915 | 7211.616 |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |

Table 13: (Negative Binomial): H1B: Women’s Social Rights

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Reported (Count)** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Country Reports | 0.002\*\*\* | 0.002\*\*\* | 0.002\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0001) | (0.0001) | (0.0001) |
| Women's Social Rights | 0.165\* | 0.196\*\* | 0.204\*\* |
|  | (0.065) | (0.067) | (0.072) |
| Muslim Majority | 0.567\* |  |  |
|  | (0.270) |  |  |
| MENA |  | 0.982\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.313) |  |
| Muslim Percentage |  |  | 0.690\* |
|  |  |  | (0.308) |
| Democracy | -0.009 | 0.004 | -0.008 |
|  | (0.013) | (0.013) | (0.013) |
| Instability | -0.00001 | -0.00001 | -0.00001 |
|  | (0.00002) | (0.00002) | (0.00002) |
| Population | 0.633\*\*\* | 0.631\*\*\* | 0.626\*\*\* |
|  | (0.028) | (0.028) | (0.028) |
| GDP per capita | 0.232\*\*\* | 0.195\*\*\* | 0.226\*\*\* |
|  | (0.049) | (0.053) | (0.049) |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Majority | -0.924\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.223) |  |  |
| Women's Rights x MENA |  | -0.983\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.279) |  |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage |  |  | -0.970\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.237) |
| Constant | -13.400\*\*\* | -13.234\*\*\* | -13.299\*\*\* |
|  | (0.618) | (0.624) | (0.627) |
| N | 2961 | 2972 | 2961 |
| Log Likelihood | -2596.542 | -2597.843 | -2596.974 |
| AIC | 5211.084 | 5213.687 | 5211.948 |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |

Table 14: H1 (Negative Binomial): Women’s Economic Rights

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Reported (Count)** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Country Reports | 0.002\*\*\* | 0.002\*\*\* | 0.002\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0001) | (0.0001) | (0.0001) |
| Women's Economic Rights | 0.147\* | 0.146\* | 0.190\* |
|  | (0.069) | (0.067) | (0.075) |
| Muslim Majority | 0.918\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.242) |  |  |
| MENA |  | 1.354\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.284) |  |
| Muslim Percentage |  |  | 1.069\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.282) |
| Democracy | -0.003 | 0.012 | -0.001 |
|  | (0.010) | (0.011) | (0.011) |
| Instability | -0.00002 | -0.00003 | -0.00002 |
|  | (0.00002) | (0.00002) | (0.00002) |
| Population | 0.629\*\*\* | 0.632\*\*\* | 0.621\*\*\* |
|  | (0.025) | (0.025) | (0.025) |
| GDP per capita | 0.252\*\*\* | 0.210\*\*\* | 0.247\*\*\* |
|  | (0.040) | (0.040) | (0.041) |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Majority | -0.895\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.182) |  |  |
| Women's Rights x MENA |  | -0.940\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.211) |  |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage |  |  | -0.935\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.201) |
| Constant | -13.475\*\*\* | -13.303\*\*\* | -13.407\*\*\* |
|  | (0.576) | (0.560) | (0.585) |
| N | 3881 | 3897 | 3881 |
| Log Likelihood | -3559.983 | -3559.172 | -3560.113 |
| AIC | 7137.967 | 7136.345 | 7138.226 |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |

Table 15: (Negative Binomial): H1B: Adding Lagged DV

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Reported (Count)** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Lagged DV | 0.142\*\*\* | 0.140\*\*\* | 0.143\*\*\* |
|  | (0.013) | (0.013) | (0.013) |
| Country Reports | 0.001\*\*\* | 0.001\*\*\* | 0.001\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0002) | (0.0002) | (0.0002) |
| Women's Rights Index | 0.138 | 0.175 | 0.177 |
|  | (0.097) | (0.091) | (0.104) |
| Muslim Majority | 1.086\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.323) |  |  |
| MENA |  | 1.403\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.332) |  |
| Muslim Percentage |  |  | 1.211\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.355) |
| Democracy | 0.004 | 0.014 | 0.006 |
|  | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.010) |
| Instability | -0.00000 | -0.00001 | -0.00000 |
|  | (0.00002) | (0.00002) | (0.00002) |
| Population | 0.543\*\*\* | 0.545\*\*\* | 0.534\*\*\* |
|  | (0.025) | (0.026) | (0.025) |
| GDP per capita | 0.207\*\*\* | 0.173\*\*\* | 0.207\*\*\* |
|  | (0.036) | (0.037) | (0.037) |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Majority | -0.844\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.206) |  |  |
| Women's Rights x MENA |  | -0.885\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.223) |  |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage |  |  | -0.865\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.219) |
| Constant | -11.879\*\*\* | -11.766\*\*\* | -11.828\*\*\* |
|  | (0.619) | (0.602) | (0.627) |
| N | 3934 | 3950 | 3934 |
| Log Likelihood | -3539.673 | -3539.608 | -3539.259 |
| AIC | 7099.346 | 7099.215 | 7098.518 |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |

**8. Robustness Tests for Table 4**

Table 16: H2: Partial Models with *Muslim Majority* Measure

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Rights Focus** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Intercept | 0.093\*\*\* | 0.093\*\*\* | 0.094\*\*\* |
|  | (0.008) | (0.008) | (0.008) |
| Women's Rights Index | -0.004 | -0.004 | -0.014\*\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| Muslim Majority | 0.038\*\*\* | 0.039\*\*\* | 0.036\*\*\* |
|  | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.007) |
| Democracy |  | 0.0001 | -0.0004 |
|  |  | (0.0004) | (0.0004) |
| Physical Integrity Rights |  |  | 0.005\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.001) |
| IMR1 | -0.010\*\* | -0.010\* | -0.016\*\*\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| N | 1113 | 1113 | 1039 |
| R-squared | 0.573 | 0.573 | 0.580 |
| Adj. R-squared | 0.572 | 0.571 | 0.578 |
| Residual Std. Error | 0.077 (df = 1109) | 0.077 (df = 1108) | 0.076 (df = 1033) |
| F Statistic | 372.122\*\*\*  (df = 4; 1109) | 297.435\*\*\*  (df = 5; 1108) | 238.113\*\*\*  (df = 6; 1033) |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |

Table 17: H2: Women’s Political Rights

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Rights Focus** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Intercept | 0.097\*\*\* | 0.093\*\*\* | 0.092\*\*\* |
|  | (0.009) | (0.010) | (0.010) |
| Women's Political Rights | -0.012\*\* | -0.010\* | -0.011\*\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| Muslim Majority | 0.038\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.007) |  |  |
| MENA |  | 0.052\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.009) |  |
| Muslim Percentage |  |  | 0.044\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.008) |
| Democracy | -0.0004 | 0.00002 | -0.0004 |
|  | (0.0004) | (0.0004) | (0.0004) |
| Physical Integrity Rights | 0.004\*\*\* | 0.003\*\* | 0.004\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| IMR1 | -0.014\*\*\* | -0.011\*\* | -0.015\*\*\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| N | 1036 | 1037 | 1036 |
| R-squared | 0.580 | 0.583 | 0.581 |
| Adj. R-squared | 0.577 | 0.580 | 0.578 |
| Residual Std. Error | 0.076 | 0.075 | 0.076 |
| F Statistic | 236.798\*\*\* | 239.851\*\*\* | 237.690\*\*\* |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |

Table 18: H2: Women’s Social Rights

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Rights Focus** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Intercept | 0.087\*\*\* | 0.089\*\*\* | 0.082\*\*\* |
|  | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.008) |
| Women's Social Rights | -0.011\*\* | -0.012\*\* | -0.010\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| Muslim Majority | 0.047\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.008) |  |  |
| MENA |  | 0.056\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.009) |  |
| Muslim Percentage |  |  | 0.052\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.009) |
| Democracy | -0.0002 | 0.0003 | -0.0002 |
|  | (0.0005) | (0.0005) | (0.0005) |
| Physical Integrity Rights | 0.005\*\*\* | 0.004\*\* | 0.005\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| IMR1 | -0.016\*\*\* | -0.013\*\* | -0.017\*\*\* |
|  | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| N | 786 | 786 | 786 |
| R-squared | 0.590 | 0.592 | 0.590 |
| Adj. R-squared | 0.586 | 0.589 | 0.587 |
| Residual Std. Error | 0.077 | 0.077 | 0.077 |
| F Statistic | 186.784\*\*\* | 188.630\*\*\* | 187.341\*\*\* |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |

Table 19: H2: Women’s Economic Rights

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Rights Focus** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Intercept | 0.080\*\*\* | 0.082\*\*\* | 0.075\*\*\* |
|  | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.007) |
| Women's Economic Rights | -0.004 | -0.007 | -0.003 |
|  | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| Muslim Majority | 0.041\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.007) |  |  |
| MENA |  | 0.056\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.008) |  |
| Muslim Percentage |  |  | 0.048\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.008) |
| Democracy | -0.001 | -0.00005 | -0.001 |
|  | (0.0004) | (0.0004) | (0.0004) |
| Physical Integrity Rights | 0.004\*\*\* | 0.004\*\*\* | 0.005\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| IMR1 | -0.015\*\*\* | -0.013\*\* | -0.015\*\*\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| N | 1031 | 1032 | 1031 |
| R-squared | 0.577 | 0.582 | 0.578 |
| Adj. R-squared | 0.574 | 0.580 | 0.576 |
| Residual Std. Error | 0.076 | 0.076 | 0.076 |
| F Statistic | 232.933\*\*\* | 238.488\*\*\* | 234.211\*\*\* |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |

Table 20: H2: Adding Lagged DV

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Rights Focus** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Intercept | 0.092\*\*\* | 0.100\*\*\* | 0.090\*\*\* |
|  | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.011) |
| Lagged DV | 0.056 | 0.062 | 0.056 |
|  | (0.042) | (0.043) | (0.042) |
| Women's Rights Index | -0.020\*\*\* | -0.024\*\*\* | -0.020\*\*\* |
|  | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| Muslim Majority | 0.033\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.009) |  |  |
| MENA |  | 0.023\* |  |
|  |  | (0.009) |  |
| Muslim Percentage |  |  | 0.035\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.010) |
| Democracy | -0.0003 | -0.0004 | -0.0004 |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Physican Integrity Rights | 0.006\*\*\* | 0.006\*\*\* | 0.006\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| IMR1 | -0.008 | -0.006 | -0.008 |
|  | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| N | 608 | 608 | 608 |
| R-squared | 0.627 | 0.623 | 0.626 |
| Adj. R-squared | 0.623 | 0.619 | 0.622 |
| Residual Std. Error | 0.072 | 0.072 | 0.072 |
| F Statistic | 144.362\*\*\* | 141.962\*\*\* | 143.791\*\*\* |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |
|  | | | |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 21: H2: Fractional Logit | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Rights Focus** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Women's Rights Index | -0.138\* | -0.123\* | -0.132\* |
|  | (0.063) | (0.061) | (0.064) |
| Muslim Majority | 0.356\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.087) |  |  |
| MENA |  | 0.505\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.092) |  |
| Muslim Percentage |  |  | 0.402\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.097) |
| Democracy | 0.00003 | 0.004 | -0.0003 |
|  | (0.005) | (0.006) | (0.005) |
| Physical Integrity Rights | 0.056\*\*\* | 0.050\*\*\* | 0.059\*\*\* |
|  | (0.013) | (0.013) | (0.013) |
| Constant | -2.460\*\*\* | -2.481\*\*\* | -2.500\*\*\* |
|  | (0.097) | (0.091) | (0.105) |
| N | 1105 | 1109 | 1105 |
| Log Likelihood | -25603.640 | -25329.960 | -25594.650 |
| AIC | 51217.280 | 50669.930 | 51199.310 |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 22: H2: Alternative Measure of DV | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Rights (Binary)** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Intercept | 0.751\*\*\* | 0.731\*\*\* | 0.734\*\*\* |
|  | (0.042) | (0.041) | (0.045) |
| Women's Rights Index | -0.110\*\*\* | -0.105\*\*\* | -0.106\*\*\* |
|  | (0.025) | (0.025) | (0.026) |
| Muslim Majority | 0.087\* |  |  |
|  | (0.038) |  |  |
| MENA |  | 0.156\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.041) |  |
| Muslim Percentage |  |  | 0.108\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.042) |
| Democracy | -0.0004 | 0.002 | -0.0003 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.003) | (0.002) |
| Physical Integrity Rights | 0.005 | 0.002 | 0.005 |
|  | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| IMR1 | -0.054\* | -0.041 | -0.053\* |
|  | (0.023) | (0.023) | (0.023) |
| N | 1039 | 1040 | 1039 |
| R-squared | 0.687 | 0.688 | 0.687 |
| Adj. R-squared | 0.685 | 0.686 | 0.685 |
| Residual Std. Error | 0.393 | 0.392 | 0.392 |
| F Statistic | 377.319\*\*\* | 380.058\*\*\* | 377.988\*\*\* |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |

**9. Hypothesis 1, Before and After 9/11**

To explore change over time, I estimated the same models described in Tables 1 and 2 on two different subsamples, one for years 1980—2001, and the other for years 2002—2014. The results for the pre-9/11 sample are substantively identical to the original analysis. In some models, however, the coefficients on variables of interest lose significance in the post-9/11 sample.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 23: H1A: 1980—2001 | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Reported (Binary)** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Country Reports | 0.004\*\*\* | 0.004\*\*\* | 0.004\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Women's Rights | 0.165 | 0.303\* | 0.234 |
|  | (0.146) | (0.145) | (0.155) |
| Muslim Majority | 0.669 |  |  |
|  | (0.390) |  |  |
| MENA |  | 1.438\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.426) |  |
| Muslim Percentage |  |  | 0.895\* |
|  |  |  | (0.442) |
| Democracy | -0.005 | 0.014 | -0.0005 |
|  | (0.011) | (0.010) | (0.011) |
| Instability | -0.00002 | -0.00002 | -0.00002 |
|  | (0.00004) | (0.00004) | (0.00004) |
| Population | 0.765\*\*\* | 0.752\*\*\* | 0.752\*\*\* |
|  | (0.054) | (0.054) | (0.054) |
| GDP per capita | 0.348\*\*\* | 0.276\*\*\* | 0.331\*\*\* |
|  | (0.055) | (0.057) | (0.055) |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Majority | -0.822\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.297) |  |  |
| Women's Rights x MENA |  | -0.966\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.337) |  |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage |  |  | -0.899\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.324) |
| Constant | -16.777\*\*\* | -16.402\*\*\* | -16.575\*\*\* |
|  | (1.040) | (1.039) | (1.031) |
| N | 2511 | 2519 | 2511 |
| Log Likelihood | -1037.862 | -1042.097 | -1039.307 |
| AIC | 2093.724 | 2102.194 | 2096.615 |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 24: H1A: 2002—2014 | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Reported (Binary)** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Country Reports | 0.004\*\*\* | 0.004\*\*\* | 0.004\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Women's Rights | 0.247 | 0.135 | 0.280 |
|  | (0.188) | (0.180) | (0.193) |
| Muslim Majority | 1.363\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.462) |  |  |
| MENA |  | 1.148\* |  |
|  |  | (0.502) |  |
| Muslim Percentage |  |  | 1.486\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.487) |
| Democracy | 0.039\*\* | 0.041\*\* | 0.040\*\* |
|  | (0.014) | (0.014) | (0.014) |
| Instability | -0.00003 | -0.00003 | -0.00002 |
|  | (0.0001) | (0.0001) | (0.0001) |
| Population | 0.734\*\*\* | 0.743\*\*\* | 0.725\*\*\* |
|  | (0.064) | (0.063) | (0.064) |
| GDP per capita | 0.090 | 0.090 | 0.090 |
|  | (0.070) | (0.074) | (0.070) |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Majority | -0.893\* |  |  |
|  | (0.351) |  |  |
| Women's Rights x MENA |  | -0.800 |  |
|  |  | (0.423) |  |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage |  |  | -0.926\* |
|  |  |  | (0.367) |
| Constant | -14.634\*\*\* | -14.563\*\*\* | -14.565\*\*\* |
|  | (1.228) | (1.245) | (1.227) |
| N | 1423 | 1431 | 1423 |
| Log Likelihood | -622.608 | -626.580 | -622.267 |
| AIC | 1263.216 | 1271.161 | 1262.535 |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 25: H1B: 1980—2001 | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Reported (Binary)** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Country Reports | 0.002\*\*\* | 0.002\*\*\* | 0.002\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0002) | (0.0002) | (0.0002) |
| Women's Rights | 0.287\* | 0.384\*\*\* | 0.372\*\* |
|  | (0.114) | (0.114) | (0.126) |
| Muslim Majority | 1.893\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.398) |  |  |
| MENA |  | 2.424\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.415) |  |
| Muslim Percentage |  |  | 2.167\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.440) |
| Democracy | 0.008 | 0.020\* | 0.010 |
|  | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.009) |
| Instability | 0.00000 | 0.00000 | 0.00001 |
|  | (0.00002) | (0.00002) | (0.00002) |
| Population | 0.663\*\*\* | 0.665\*\*\* | 0.650\*\*\* |
|  | (0.032) | (0.033) | (0.033) |
| GDP per capita | 0.271\*\*\* | 0.209\*\*\* | 0.268\*\*\* |
|  | (0.050) | (0.052) | (0.051) |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Majority | -1.418\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.319) |  |  |
| Women's Rights x MENA |  | -1.487\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.323) |  |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage |  |  | -1.503\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.342) |
| Constant | -14.605\*\*\* | -14.404\*\*\* | -14.556\*\*\* |
|  | (0.666) | (0.659) | (0.674) |
| N | 2511 | 2519 | 2511 |
| Log Likelihood | -2287.724 | -2277.680 | -2285.806 |
| theta | 0.918\*\*\* (0.076) | 0.953\*\*\* (0.080) | 0.925\*\*\* (0.077) |
| AIC | 4593.449 | 4573.361 | 4589.611 |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |
| Table 26: H1B: 2002—2014 | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Reported (Binary)** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Country Reports | 0.002\*\*\* | 0.002\*\*\* | 0.002\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0002) | (0.0002) | (0.0002) |
| Women's Rights | 0.111 | 0.082 | 0.110 |
|  | (0.171) | (0.158) | (0.178) |
| Muslim Majority | 0.493 |  |  |
|  | (0.590) |  |  |
| MENA |  | 0.528 |  |
|  |  | (0.625) |  |
| Muslim Percentage |  |  | 0.477 |
|  |  |  | (0.625) |
| Democracy | 0.005 | 0.007 | 0.005 |
|  | (0.021) | (0.024) | (0.021) |
| Instability | -0.0001 | -0.0001 | -0.0001 |
|  | (0.00005) | (0.00004) | (0.00005) |
| Population | 0.618\*\*\* | 0.615\*\*\* | 0.614\*\*\* |
|  | (0.041) | (0.040) | (0.042) |
| GDP per capita | 0.101 | 0.120\* | 0.106 |
|  | (0.057) | (0.057) | (0.057) |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Majority | -0.572 |  |  |
|  | (0.297) |  |  |
| Women's Rights x MENA |  | -0.559 |  |
|  |  | (0.352) |  |
| Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage |  |  | -0.535 |
|  |  |  | (0.303) |
| Constant | -12.023\*\*\* | -12.113\*\*\* | -11.988\*\*\* |
|  | (0.983) | (0.933) | (0.981) |
| N | 1423 | 1431 | 1423 |
| Log Likelihood | -1285.869 | -1289.765 | -1286.615 |
| theta | 0.741\*\*\* (0.084) | 0.737\*\*\* (0.084) | 0.742\*\*\* (0.084) |
| AIC | 2589.739 | 2597.530 | 2591.229 |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |

**10. Hypothesis 2, Before and After 9/11**

I estimated the same model described in Table 4 with the same dummy variable *After 9/11* as an interactive term. The results are substantively identical to the original.

Table 27: H2: Before and After 9/11

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | |
|  | | | |
|  | **Rights (Binary)** | | |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | | | |
| Intercept | 0.094\*\*\* | 0.093\*\*\* | 0.089\*\*\* |
|  | (0.008) | (0.008) | (0.009) |
| Women's Rights Index | -0.014\*\* | -0.015\*\* | -0.013\*\* |
|  | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| Democracy | -0.0004 | 0.0002 | -0.0004 |
|  | (0.0004) | (0.0004) | (0.0004) |
| Physical Integrity Rights | 0.005\*\*\* | 0.004\*\*\* | 0.005\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Muslim Majority: Pre 9/11 | 0.036\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.009) |  |  |
| Muslim Majority: Post 9/11 | 0.037\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.009) |  |  |
| MENA: Pre 9/11 |  | 0.046\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.010) |  |
| MENA: Post 9/11 |  | 0.058\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.011) |  |
| Muslim Percentage: Post 9/11 |  |  | 0.040\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.010) |
| Muslim Percentage: Pre 9/11 |  |  | 0.043\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.009) |
| IMR1 | -0.016\*\*\* | -0.012\*\* | -0.016\*\*\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| N | 1039 | 1040 | 1039 |
| R-squared | 0.580 | 0.585 | 0.581 |
| Adj. R-squared | 0.578 | 0.582 | 0.578 |
| Residual Std. Error | 0.076 | 0.075 | 0.076 |
| F Statistic | 203.900\*\*\* | 208.085\*\*\* | 204.543\*\*\* |
|  | | | |
| \*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05 | | | |
| Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses. | | | |