Mobilizing for Jihad:
How Political Exclusion and Organized Protest Contribute to Foreign Fighter Outflows

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Table A1. Pairwise Correlation Coefficients, Explanatory Variables in Main Models

	GRD	SRD	Active Orgs	Politically Excluded	Politically Included	Non-Violent Events	Violent Events	HDI	GRS	Polyarchy	Muslim %	Country Population
GRD	1											
SRD	0.530***	1										
Active Orgs	-0.013	0.225*	1									
Pol Excluded	0.275**	0.221*	0.188*	1								
Pol Included	-0.066	0.145	0.182*	-0.116	1							
Non-Violent	0.097	0.295***	0.144	0.136	0.173	1						
Violent	0.185*	0.427***	0.279**	0.309***	0.228*	0.291**	1					
HDI	0.149	0.289**	0.013	0.121	-0.193*	0.173	-0.101	1				
Government Religious Support (GRS)	0.404***	0.441***	0.076	0.265**	0.003	0.013	0.208*	0.310***	1			
Polyarchy	-0.099	0.186*	0.037	0.039	0.028	0.141	0.029	0.510***	0.221*	1		
Muslim %	-0.006	0.152†	0.218*	0.035	0.446***	0.158†	0.475***	-0.298***	0.083	-0.159†	1	
Country Population	0.302***	0.199*	0.101	0.126	0.057	0.164†	0.247**	-0.023	0.121	-0.062	-0.009	1

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10

Table A2. Negative Binomial Regressions, Maximum Values 2005-2010, Pokalova Estimates, Excluding Muslim Population % for Endogeneity Concerns

	(1) GRD	(2) SRD	(3) Political Exclusion	(4) DDI – All	(5) Peaceful Mobilization	(6) Violent Mobilization	(7) All Mobilization	(8) Full Model
Governmental	0.099			0.069				0.081
Discrimination	(0.092)			(0.058)				(0.059)
Societal		0.207**		0.128***				0.036
Discrimination		(0.072)		(0.040)				(0.049)
Politically-Active			2.443***	2.014**				2.519***
Organizations			(0.708)	(0.781)				(0.771)
Excluded from			1.412*	1.674**				1.519**
Policy-making			(0.656)	(0.639)				(0.562)
Included in			1.774**	1.346*				1.249†
Policy-making			(0.627)	(0.666)				(0.694)
Non-Violent					1.992***		1.793**	1.312**
Mobilization					(0.473)		(0.552)	(0.441)
Violent						1.231*	1.180*	0.299
Mobilization						(0.541)	(0.526)	(0.413)
HDI (2011)	13.121***	12.165***	16.697***	12.068***	14.394***	15.069***	14.440***	13.663***
	(3.658)	(2.812)	(2.282)	(2.682)	(3.325)	(3.055)	(3.793)	(2.833)
Government Religious	-0.002	-0.048	0.000	-0.086	0.105	0.006	0.059	-0.064
Support	(0.065)	(0.058)	(0.062)	(0.063)	(0.082)	(0.089)	(0.109)	(0.078)
V-Dem Polyarchy	0.085	-0.477	-1.711	0.545	-1.571	-1.437	-1.223	-0.281
	(2.486)	(2.078)	(1.312)	(1.530)	(2.156)	(1.997)	(2.073)	(1.648)
Country Population	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	-7.337***	-6.466***	-11.859***	-9.619***	-8.526***	-7.719***	-8.658***	-11.046***
	(1.006)	(1.010)	(1.381)	(1.549)	(1.045)	(1.015)	(1.031)	(1.496)
Observations	122	122	122	122	122	122	122	122
Pseudo R^2	0.062	0.076	0.100	0.109	0.079	0.068	0.085	0.119
Log Pseudolikelihood	-392.311	-386.702	-376.654	-372.583	-385.510	-390.083	-382.807	-368.712
Wald Chi^2	169.595	182.910	168.842	241.714	143.133	160.460	149.140	295.898
(p value)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)

*Robust standard errors are in parentheses; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*

All independent variables set to maximum values for years 2005-2010 excepting HDI based upon the 2011 value.

Table A3. Negative Binomial Regressions, Mean Values 2005-2010, Pokalova Estimates

	(1) GRD	(2) SRD	(3) Political Exclusion	(4) DDI – All	(5) Peaceful Mobilization	(6) Violent Mobilization	(7) All Mobilization	(8) Full Model
Governmental	0.016			0.072				0.075
Discrimination	(0.039)			(0.054)				(0.052)
Societal		0.128		0.098†				0.047
Discrimination		(0.084)		(0.056)				(0.054)
Politically-Active			2.050**	2.167**				2.228**
Organizations			(0.783)	(0.814)				(0.746)
Excluded from			1.764*	1.921*				1.611**
Policy-making			(0.786)	(0.818)				(0.570)
Included in			1.428*	1.095				1.250
Policy-making			(0.677)	(0.761)				(0.818)
Non-Violent					4.218†		2.291	1.460
Mobilization					(2.166)		(3.071)	(1.990)
Violent						2.454	2.051	1.367
Mobilization						(1.729)	(2.082)	(1.234)
HDI (2011)	13.492***	12.819***	16.129***	12.472***	13.143***	13.644***	13.410***	13.416***
	(2.419)	(2.291)	(2.330)	(2.673)	(2.510)	(2.871)	(3.061)	(3.096)
Government Religious	0.008	-0.020	-0.041	-0.099	0.071	-0.040	-0.003	-0.112
Support	(0.064)	(0.065)	(0.064)	(0.075)	(0.069)	(0.088)	(0.112)	(0.093)
V-Dem Polyarchy	2.157	1.433	0.343	1.687	1.181	1.823	1.444	1.252
	(1.537)	(1.688)	(1.471)	(1.246)	(1.572)	(1.654)	(1.505)	(1.325)
Muslim Population %	0.090***	0.073***	0.059**	0.043*	0.077***	0.078***	0.071**	0.030
	(0.018)	(0.021)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.024)	(0.022)	(0.023)
Country Population	0.000†	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000†	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	-9.932***	-8.880***	-12.442***	-10.579***	-9.692***	-9.384***	-9.361***	-10.973***
	(1.300)	(1.468)	(1.271)	(1.710)	(1.244)	(1.386)	(1.335)	(1.832)
Observations	122	122	122	122	122	122	122	122
Pseudo R^2	0.081	0.084	0.107	0.113	0.085	0.087	0.088	0.118
Log Pseudolikelihood	-384.640	-383.235	-373.511	-371.167	-382.902	-381.870	-381.513	-369.045
Wald Chi^2	154.309	246.508	202.306	311.604	156.709	131.560	132.101	286.075
(p value)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)

*Robust standard errors are in parentheses; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*

All independent variables set to mean values for years 2005-2010 excepting HDI based upon the 2011 value.

Table A4. Negative Binomial Regressions, Maximum Values 2005-2010, Soufan Estimates

	(1) GRD	(2) SRD	(3) Political Exclusion	(4) DDI – All	(5) Peaceful Mobilization	(6) Violent Mobilization	(7) All Mobilization	(8) Full Model
Governmental	-0.007			0.005				0.047
Discrimination	(0.072)			(0.087)				(0.068)
Societal		0.351**		0.181†				0.061
Discrimination		(0.118)		(0.095)				(0.076)
Politically-Active			1.821*	0.997				2.205**
Organizations			(0.931)	(0.948)				(0.842)
Excluded from			2.765***	2.776***				2.664**
Policy-making			(0.732)	(0.818)				(0.829)
Included in			2.065**	2.183*				2.389**
Policy-making			(0.695)	(0.875)				(0.848)
Non-Violent					1.803**		0.820	1.755**
Mobilization					(0.626)		(0.572)	(0.634)
Violent						1.998***	1.643*	0.339
Mobilization						(0.597)	(0.645)	(0.563)
HDI (2011)	17.029**	13.789**	18.834***	16.142***	17.685**	15.006**	15.626***	16.282***
	(5.849)	(4.812)	(3.239)	(4.209)	(5.378)	(4.963)	(4.608)	(3.722)
Government Religious	0.126	0.065	0.098	0.040	0.203†	0.155	0.167†	0.068
Support	(0.120)	(0.114)	(0.071)	(0.106)	(0.108)	(0.101)	(0.093)	(0.112)
V-Dem Polyarchy	0.238	-1.766	0.334	0.054	-2.454	-0.349	-1.429	-0.941
	(3.741)	(3.002)	(2.059)	(2.296)	(3.202)	(2.897)	(2.735)	(1.965)
Muslim Population %	0.096**	0.077*	0.054*	0.033	0.064†	0.070**	0.055†	-0.003
	(0.036)	(0.034)	(0.024)	(0.034)	(0.038)	(0.026)	(0.029)	(0.027)
Country Population	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	-12.565***	-9.359***	-16.573***	-13.825***	-12.083***	-11.312***	-11.147***	-14.760***
	(2.629)	(1.878)	(1.902)	(2.594)	(2.732)	(2.409)	(2.440)	(2.600)
Observations	122	122	122	122	122	122	122	122
Pseudo R^2	0.066	0.078	0.098	0.104	0.072	0.077	0.078	0.113
Log Pseudolikelihood	-291.201	-287.274	-281.044	-279.240	-289.141	-287.733	-287.325	-276.567
Wald Chi^2	53.820	78.145	120.008	135.835	43.685	50.636	50.953	197.156
(p value)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)

*Robust standard errors are in parentheses; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*

All independent variables set to maximum values for years 2005-2010 excepting HDI based upon the 2011 value.

Table A5. Negative Binomial Regressions, Mean Values 2005-2010, Soufan Estimates

	(1) GRD	(2) SRD	(3) Political Exclusion	(4) DDI – All	(5) Peaceful Mobilization	(6) Violent Mobilization	(7) All Mobilization	(8) Full Model
Governmental	-0.032			0.006				0.039
Discrimination	(0.062)			(0.070)				(0.060)
Societal		0.437***		0.268**				0.140†
Discrimination		(0.117)		(0.100)				(0.085)
Politically-Active			2.073*	0.997				1.300
Organizations			(1.025)	(0.948)				(0.904)
Excluded from			2.587**	2.627***				2.141***
Policy-making			(0.877)	(0.740)				(0.668)
Included in			2.201**	2.187**				2.215*
Policy-making			(0.814)	(0.807)				(0.875)
Non-Violent					7.593***		2.885	3.245
Mobilization					(2.270)		(1.920)	(2.125)
Violent						3.617***	3.054***	1.419
Mobilization						(0.714)	(0.762)	(0.895)
HDI (2011)	20.209***	16.576***	18.925***	16.110***	18.198***	18.808***	18.119***	15.973***
	(4.637)	(3.647)	(4.663)	(4.341)	(4.848)	(4.881)	(4.799)	(4.420)
Government Religious	0.114	0.034	0.088	0.005	0.238**	0.089	0.133†	0.017
Support	(0.116)	(0.092)	(0.073)	(0.095)	(0.093)	(0.071)	(0.077)	(0.098)
V-Dem Polyarchy	-1.945	-3.788*	-0.251	-1.205	-3.470†	-2.641	-2.961	-1.658
	(2.156)	(1.866)	(1.758)	(1.823)	(1.991)	(1.911)	(1.832)	(1.709)
Muslim Population %	0.093*	0.074*	0.043†	0.023	0.073*	0.068**	0.060*	-0.001
	(0.036)	(0.032)	(0.024)	(0.035)	(0.034)	(0.023)	(0.025)	(0.033)
Country Population	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000*	0.000*	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	-13.307***	-10.070***	-16.029***	-12.519***	-12.451***	-12.257***	-11.962***	-12.522***
	(2.907)	(1.921)	(3.136)	(3.044)	(2.938)	(3.009)	(2.960)	(3.205)
Observations	122	122	122	122	122	122	122	122
Pseudo R^2	0.068	0.085	0.094	0.105	0.078	0.086	0.087	0.111
Log Pseudolikelihood	-290.616	-285.264	-282.398	-279.094	-287.246	-284.904	-284.459	-277.224
Wald Chi^2	44.405	93.257	65.535	120.247	44.903	59.517	66.630	161.462
(p value)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)

*Robust standard errors are in parentheses; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*

All independent variables set to mean values for years 2005-2010 excepting HDI based upon the 2011 value.

Table A6. Negative Binomial Regressions, Maximum Values 2005-2010, Pokalova Estimates, Distance to Syria

	(1) GRD	(2) SRD	(3) Political Exclusion	(4) DDI – All	(5) Peaceful Mobilization	(6) Violent Mobilization	(7) All Mobilization	(8) Full Model
Governmental	-0.019			0.069				0.097
Discrimination	(0.041)			(0.082)				(0.080)
Societal		0.114		0.099†				0.021
Discrimination		(0.073)		(0.051)				(0.053)
Politically-Active			1.816*	1.929†				2.517*
Organizations			(0.850)	(1.032)				(1.045)
Excluded from			1.548*	1.684*				1.617**
Policy-making			(0.736)	(0.793)				(0.621)
Included in			1.269*	1.154†				1.126†
Policy-making			(0.544)	(0.641)				(0.658)
Non-Violent					1.217*		1.153*	1.241**
Mobilization					(0.487)		(0.508)	(0.453)
Violent						0.811	0.726	0.177
Mobilization						(0.684)	(0.664)	(0.450)
HDI (2011)	13.442***	12.268***	16.076***	13.181***	13.599***	13.007***	13.703***	14.192***
	(2.556)	(2.443)	(2.305)	(2.668)	(2.803)	(2.629)	(3.213)	(2.793)
Government Religious	-0.009	-0.040	-0.060	-0.096	0.041	-0.043	0.014	-0.070
Support	(0.067)	(0.065)	(0.061)	(0.064)	(0.069)	(0.074)	(0.078)	(0.070)
V-Dem Polyarchy	2.163	1.772	0.352	1.097	1.057	2.153	0.867	0.231
	(1.803)	(1.764)	(1.669)	(1.319)	(1.912)	(1.778)	(2.155)	(1.551)
Muslim Population %	0.077***	0.062**	0.055**	0.041*	0.063**	0.072**	0.055*	0.030
	(0.020)	(0.022)	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.025)	(0.020)
Country Population	0.000*	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000†	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Distance to Syria	-0.000†	-0.000	-0.000	0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	-8.872***	-8.092***	-11.947***	-10.960***	-9.225***	-8.641***	-9.168***	-12.097***
	(1.446)	(1.704)	(1.371)	(1.688)	(1.598)	(1.607)	(1.652)	(1.905)
Observations	122	122	122	122	122	122	122	122
Pseudo R^2	0.084	0.087	0.108	0.113	0.090	0.087	0.092	0.121
Log Pseudolikelihood	-383.150	-381.799	-372.978	-371.025	-380.741	-382.163	-379.995	-367.910
Wald Chi^2	190.328	277.186	222.511	272.759	182.923	164.764	152.630	327.270
(p value)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)

*Robust standard errors are in parentheses; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*

All independent variables set to maximum values for years 2005-2010 excepting HDI based upon the 2011 value.

Table A7. Negative Binomial Regressions, Maximum Values 2005-2010, Pokalova Estimates, Distance to Iraq

	(1) GRD	(2) SRD	(3) Political Exclusion	(4) DDI – All	(5) Peaceful Mobilization	(6) Violent Mobilization	(7) All Mobilization	(8) Full Model
Governmental	-0.024			0.070				0.100
Discrimination	(0.042)			(0.082)				(0.079)
Societal		0.108		0.100†				0.021
Discrimination		(0.069)		(0.052)				(0.053)
Politically-Active			1.807*	1.934†				2.543*
Organizations			(0.859)	(1.036)				(1.051)
Excluded from			1.528*	1.691*				1.632**
Policy-making			(0.749)	(0.815)				(0.627)
Included in			1.267*	1.154†				1.125†
Policy-making			(0.544)	(0.638)				(0.649)
Non-Violent					1.174*		1.130*	1.250**
Mobilization					(0.480)		(0.505)	(0.453)
Violent						0.771	0.717	0.187
Mobilization						(0.687)	(0.671)	(0.449)
HDI (2011)	13.686***	12.419***	16.139***	13.144***	13.703***	13.180***	13.786***	14.125***
	(2.582)	(2.409)	(2.258)	(2.727)	(2.765)	(2.587)	(3.147)	(2.792)
Government Religious	-0.015	-0.045	-0.062	-0.096	0.035	-0.047	0.010	-0.068
Support	(0.068)	(0.067)	(0.061)	(0.064)	(0.071)	(0.076)	(0.079)	(0.069)
V-Dem Polyarchy	2.196	1.861	0.379	1.090	1.142	2.209	0.918	0.202
	(1.816)	(1.761)	(1.698)	(1.322)	(1.909)	(1.792)	(2.174)	(1.566)
Muslim Population %	0.077***	0.062**	0.056**	0.041*	0.064**	0.073**	0.056*	0.030
	(0.020)	(0.022)	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.025)	(0.021)
Country Population	0.000*	0.000†	0.000	0.000	0.000†	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Distance to Iraq	-0.000†	-0.000	-0.000	0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	-8.874***	-8.121***	-11.975***	-10.950***	-9.260***	-8.689***	-9.209***	-12.135***
	(1.449)	(1.698)	(1.349)	(1.664)	(1.588)	(1.581)	(1.625)	(1.863)
Observations	122	122	122	122	122	122	122	122
Pseudo R^2	0.085	0.088	0.109	0.113	0.090	0.087	0.092	0.121
Log Pseudolikelihood	-382.834	-381.646	-372.964	-371.021	-380.694	-381.998	-379.975	-367.860
Wald Chi^2	197.299	282.259	222.592	272.337	185.354	167.311	153.661	323.736
(p value)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)	(p<0.0001)

*Robust standard errors are in parentheses; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.10*

All independent variables set to maximum values for years 2005-2010 excepting HDI based upon the 2011 value.