Appendix

This appendix consists of three sections. The first section includes tables that list the primary and secondary sources that have been used to collect data in order to operationalize the dependent variables, independent variables, and control variables for the statistical analysis in chapters 4 and 5. The second section contains the details of the sample of survey respondents gathered from political elites in Turkey and Pakistan. This material includes the survey questionnaire and a brief description of the distribution of the survey respondents. This section also includes a list of the open-ended interviews carried out in Turkey and Pakistan. The third section lists the references used in the book. The data sources listed in the first section and the survey materials for Turkey and Pakistan in the second section can be found online at the author's website at https://sites.psu.edu/vineetayadav/datasets/. The variable operationalization for chapters 4 and 5 is included here in table A.4.

Tables

Table A.1 Region and Country-Specific Primary and Secondary Data Sources for *Islamist Religious Organization*

Region and countries in sample within each region	**Region and country-specific sources**
South and Southeast Asia Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Maldives, Pakistan	Grare 2001; Iqtidar 2011; Pirzada 2000; Nasr 1994; Ahmed 2017; Zaman 2002; Houben 2003: 163; Fealy 2003, 2004; Ramage 1996; Raymer 2001; Sum 1993; Metcalf 2002; Rabasa 2003; Yatim and Nasuhi 2002; Uddin 2006; Mistuo 2001
Central Asia and Eastern Europe Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan	Naumkin 2003; Wiktorowicz 2004; Rashid 2002
	Naumkin 2003; Wiktorowicz 2004; Rashid 2002; McGlinchey 2009; Balci 2012; McBrien 2008; Ro'i and Wainer 2009; Tazmini 2001; Di Maio and Abenstein 2011; Epkenhans 2011; *Eurasia Daily Monitor* 2012; Baran 2013
Middle East and North Africa Algeria, Bahrain, Chad, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Yemen	Clark 2004; Amuzegar 2003; Kurzman 1998; Volpi 2003; Wickham 2004; Burgat and Dowell 1993; Spiegel 2015; Diouf 2013; Anjum 2012; Beinin and Vairel 2013; Boyd 1982, 1993, 1999, 2003; Mitchell 2002; Hamid 2016; Ounissi 2016; Burgat 1997; Wiktorowicz 2000; Starrett 1998; Tessler 2002b

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Table A.1 *Continued*

Region and countries in sample within each region	**Region and country-specific sources**
Africa (*excluding* North Africa) Burkina Faso, Comoros, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Tanzania	Kurzman 1998; Suberu 2004; Clarke and Jennings 2008; Duh 2014; International Business Publications 2009; Salih 2004; Soares and Otayek 2007; Miles 2007; Birai 1993; Maquelier 2007; Schulz 2003

Table A.2 Islamist Political Parties in Muslim-Majority Countries

Country	**Islamist party**
Afghanistan	Hizb-e-Islam
Albania	None
Algeria	al-Jabha al-Islamiyya li'l-Inqadh / Islamic Salvation Front
	Harakat al-Mujtamaʿ al-Islami/Hamas
	Harakat al-Nahda al-Islamiyya /Islamic Renaissance Movement
	Justice and Development Party
	Harakat Mujtamaʾ al-Salim /Movement for the Society of Peace
	Harakat al-Islah al-Watani /Movement for National Reform - El-Islah
	Green Algeria Alliance
Azerbaijan	Azerbaycan İslam Partiyası / The Islamic Party of Azerbaijan
Bahrain	Jam'iyya al-Asala al-Islamiyya /Original Islamic Society
	Jam'iyyat al-'Amal al-Islami /Islamic Action Society)
	Jam'iyyat al-Minbar al-Watani al-Islami /National Islamic Tribune Society
	Jam'iyyat al-Wifaq al-Watani al-Islami /National Islamic Reconciliation Society
Bangladesh	Muslim League & Islamic Democratic League (1979)
	Jamaat-e-Islami
	Islami Oikkya Jote / Islamic Unity Front
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Stranka demokratske akcije / Party of Democratic Action
Burkina Faso*	
Chad	
Comoros	Front National pour la Justice / National Front for Justice
Djibouti*	
Egypt	Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun / Muslim Brotherhood
	Hizb al-Hurriya wa al-'Adala / Freedom and Justice Party
	Hizb al-Asala / Authenticity Party)

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Table A.2 *Continued*

Country	Islamist party
	Hizb al-Banna' wa al-Tanmiyya / Party of Construction and Development
	Hizb al-Islah wa al-Nahda / Party of Justice and Renaissance
	Hizb al-Fadyla / Virtue Party
	Hizb al-Nour / Party of Light
	Hizb al-Tayar al-Masry / Egyptian Current Party
	Hizb al-Wasat / Center Party
	Hizb al-Misr al-Qawiya / Strong Egypt Party
Gambia*	
Guinea*	
Guinea-Bissau*	
Indonesia	Nahdatul Ulama / Revival of the Ulama
	Partai Muslimin Indonesia / Muslim Party of Indonesia
	Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia / Indonesia Islamic Union Party
	Perti / Islamic Educators Association
	Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) / National Mandate Party
	Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB) / Crescent Star Party
	Partai Keadilan / Justice Party
	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) / National Awakening Party
	Partai Persatuan Nahdlatul Ummah Indonesia / Indonesian Nahdlatul Community Party
	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) / United Development Party
	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) / Prosperous Justice Party
	Partai Bintang Reformasi (PBR) / Reform Star Party
	Partai Matahari Bangsa (PMB) / National Sun Party
	Partai Kebangkitan Nasional Ulama (PKNU) / Ulema National Awakening Party
Iran	Islamic Republican Party (IRP)
	Combatant Clergy Association
	Coalition of Followers of the Line of the Imam (Conservatives)
	United Front of Conservatives
Iraq	al-Ittihad al-'Iraqi al-Muwahhad / United Iraqi Alliance
	The Islamic Kurdish Society
	The Islamic Labor Movement in Iraq
	Jabhat al-Tawafiq al-'Iraqiyya / Iraqi Accord Front

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Table A.2 *Continued*

Country	Islamist party
	Yekgirtuy Islami Kurdistan / Kurdistan Islamic Union
	al-I'tilaf al-Watani al-'Iraqi / Iraqi National Alliance
	al-Hizb al-Islami al-'Iraqi / Iraqi Islamic Party
	Komele Islami le Kurdistan/Iraq / Islamic Group in Kurdistan/Iraq
	Sadrist Movement
	I'tilaf al-Muwatin / Citizen Alliance
	Hizb al-Fadhila al-Islami / Islamic Virtue Party
Jordan	Jabhat al-'Amal al-Islami / Islamic Action Front (IAF)
Kazakhstan	None
Kuwait	Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun / Muslim Brothers
	Al-Tajammu' al-Islami al-Salafi / Salafi Islamic Association
	Al-Haraka al-Dusturiyya al-Islamiyya / Islamic Constitutional Movement
	Al-Tajammu' al-Islami al-Sha'bi / Popular Islamic Association
	Al-Harakat al-Salafiyya / Salafi Movement
	Hizb al-Umma / Umma Party
Kyrgyzstan*	
Lebanon	al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya / The Islamic Society
	Hizbullah / Party of God
	Jami'at al-Mashari' al-Khayriyya al-Islamiyya / The Association of Islamic Charitable Projects
Libya	al-'Adala wa al-Bina / Justice and Construction
	Hizb al-Watan / The Nation Party
Malaysia	Parti Islam Se-Malaysia – PAS / Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party
Maldives	Adhaalath Paatee / Justice Party
	Islamik Dimokretik Paatee / Islamic Democratic Party
Mali*	None
Morocco	Mouvement Populaire Démocratique et Constitutionnel / Constitutional and Democratic Popular Movement
	Hizb al-'Adala wa'l-Tanmiyya / Justice and Development Party
	Hizb al-Nahda wa'l-Fadila / Party of Renaissance and Virtue
Niger*	
Nigeria*	
Oman*	
Pakistan	Jamaat-e-Islami
	Jamaat-e-Ulema-e-Islam

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Table A.2 *Continued*

Country	Islamist party
	Jamaat-e-ahl-e-hadith
	Jamaat-e-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI-F)
	Islamic Jamhoori Mahaz
	Mutahida Deeni Mahaz
	Islami Inqalab Party
	Islami Tehreek Pakistan
	Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam Nazryati Pakistan
	Jamiat Ulma-e-Pakistan-Niazi
	Jamiat Ulma-e-Pakistan-Noorani
Qatar*	
Saudi Arabia*	
Senegal*	
Sierra Leone*	
Somalia*	
Sudan	Hizb al-Umma / Nation Party
	National Islamic Front
	Hizb al-Mu'tamar al-Watani al-Sudani (National Congress Party of Sudan
	Hizb al-Umma al-Qaumi al-Sudan / National Umma Party–Sudan
	al-Mu'tamar al-Sha`bi / Popular Congress
Syria	None
Tajikistan	Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan (IRPT)
Tunisia	Hizb an-Nahda / Renaissance Party
	Hizb al-'Adl wa al-Tanmiyya / Party of Justice and Development (PJD)
	Hizb al-Haraka al-Tunisiyya li'l-'Amal al-Magharibi / Tunisian Movement for Maghrebi Action (MTMA)
	Hizb al-Islah wa al-Tanmiyya / Party of Reform and Development (PRD)
	Hizb al-Karama wa al-Musawah / Party of Dignity and Equality (PDE)
	Hizb al-Karama wa al-Tanmiyya / Party of Dignity and Development (PDD)
	Hizb al-Muhafizin al-Taqaddumiyin / Progressive Conservative Party (PCP)
	al-Liqa' al-Islahi al-Dimuqrati / Democratic Reformist Encounter (RRD)
	Hizb Jabhat al-Islah al-Islamiyya al-Tunisiyya / Tunisian Islamic Reform Front
Turkey	Milli Selâmet Partisi / National Salvation Party

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Table A.2 *Continued*

Country	Islamist party
	Refah Partisi / Welfare Party
	Fazilet Partisi / Virtue Party
	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP) / Justice and Development Party
	Saadet Partisi / Felicity Party
	Büyük Birlik Partisi (BBP) / Great Union Party
Turkmenistan*	
United Arab Emirates*	
Uzbekistan*	None
Yemen (Unified)	Tajammu' al-Yamani li'l-Islah / Yemeni Congregation for Reform
Yemen North	Independents linked to Muslim Brotherhood
Yemen South	Independents linked to Muslim Brotherhood

* In these countries either political parties are banned (Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and Oman) or religious parties are banned (all other countries). Sources for this information are listed in table A.3.

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Table A.3 Data Sources for Party Presence, Seat Concentration, Seat Index, Islamist Partner, and Participation Variables

Country	Sources
Afghanistan	Lansford 2012: 1–14; Adamec 2011; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide, Democracy Assistance & Election News*; Adam Carr, *Election Archive*, http://psephos.adam-carr.net/; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Albania	Islami 2013; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1
Algeria	Tibi 2005; Hamladji 2002; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Azerbaijan	Baran, Zeyno 2013. "Central Asia" in Guide to Islamist Movements Vol. 1. Ed. Barry Rubin. New York: M.E. Sharpe
Bahrain	Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002; Sorcher 2011; Hiltermann and Matthiesen 2011; Reuters 2011; Bronner 2011,
Bangladesh	Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002; Riaz 2004, 2008, 2010; Center for Governance Studies 2006
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Bugajski 2013; Deliso 2007; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Burkina Faso	Soares and Otayek 2007; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*
Chad	Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002; Storm 2013; Gomez-Perez 2005; Gomez-Perez and LeBlanc 2012
Comoros	Bayat 2007a;; Beinin and Vairel 2013; Soares and Otayek 2007; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Djibouti	Miles 2007; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015
Egypt	Beinin and Vairel 2013; El-Ghobashy 2005; Haenni and Tammam 2008; McTighe 2014; Utvik 2014; Westerlund and Rosander 1997; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Gambia	Gomez-Perez 2005; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015
Guinea	Klausen 2007; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*
Guinea-Bissau	Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015
Indonesia	Hefner 2000; Mujani and Liddle 2009; Suryadinata 1988; Tanuwidjaja 2010; "Visi dan Misi" 2013; "Visi & Misi" 2014; Hamayotsu 2014; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*

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Table A.3 *Continued*

Country	Sources
Iran	Tezcur 2010b; Akhavane Kazemi 2009; Nozari 2001; "Political Parties in Iran," https://ipfs.io/ipfs/Political_parties_in_Iran.html Lansford 2017; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*
Iraq	Baram 1990, 1991; Davis 2005; al-Ha'iri 1986; Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett 2001; Tripp 2000; Wiley 1992; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*
Jordan	Brown 2006: 11; Fisher 1995; Nahar 2001; Robinson 1997: 384; Lust-Okar 2008; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Kazakhstan	Olcott 1995, 2002; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Kuwait	Utvik 2014; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Kyrgyzstan	Biard 2010; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*
Lebanon	El-Khazen 2000; Landau, Ozbudun, and Tachau 1980; "Lebanon," Political Reference Almanac, http://www.polisci.com/world/nation/LE.htm, Accessed September 8 2018; Suleiman 1967; Tachau 1994; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Libya	Tachau 1994; Storm 2013; Hatita 2011; Kadlec 2012; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Malaysia	Hussei 2002; McAmis 2002; Central Intelligence Agency 2004; Kingsbury 2001; Liow 2009; Ayoob 2008; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Maldives	Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Mali	Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015
Morocco	Storm 2013; Westerlund and Rosander 1997; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Niger	Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Sanneh 1997
Nigeria	Onu and Momoh 2005; Osaghae 1998; Omoruyi 2002; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015

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Table A.3 *Continued*

Country	Sources
Oman	Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*
Pakistan	Pirzada 2000; White 2008: 29; Nasr 1994: 28–43; Iqtidar 2011: 93–95. Ahmad 2010; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Qatar	Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015
Saudi Arabia	Nelson 2015; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*
Senegal	Brossier 2013; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*
Sierra Leone	Miles 2007; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*
Somalia	Miles 2007; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*
Sudan	Westerlund and Rosander 1997; Ellis and van Kessel 2009; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Syria	Lefèvre 2013; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Tajikistan	Mukhtorov and Toirov 2004; Blakkisrud and Nozimova 2010: 184. Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Tunisia	Torelli, Merone, and Cavatorta 2012; Schwedler 2013; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002; Werenfels 2014
Turkey	Tezcur 2010b; Angrist 2004; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Turkmenistan	Mecham and Hwang 2014; Corley 2010; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
United Arab Emirates	Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Uzbekistan	Karimov 1992: 18–19; Babadzhanov 2002; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002
Yemen (Unified; North and South)	Bonnefoy 2011a., 2011b; Klausen 2007; Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Election Guide*; Carr, *Election Archive*; Kurzman and Naqvi 2010, 2015; Rubin 2009, vol. 1; 2013, vol. 1; Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartmann 2002

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Table A.4 Definition and Data Sources for Control Variables in Tables for Chapters 4 and 5

	Definition	Sources
Log GDP per capita	Log of per capita income	World Bank (2017), *World Development Indicators*
Oil rent	Oil rents as % of GDP	World Bank (2017), *World Development Indicators*
Foreign aid	Foreign aid per capita per year from OECD democracies to MMCs in the sample. Data compiled by the OECD's Development Assistance Committee.	World Bank (2017), *World Development Indicators*
World Bank loan	Loan amount as a % share of GDP provided by the World Bank	IMF (2017), *International Financial Statistics*
IMF loan	Loan amount as a % share of GDP provided by the World Bank	IMF (2017), *International Financial Statistics*
Trade openness FDI flows	Sum of imports and exports / GDP (expressed as %) Foreign direct investment inflows (% GDP)	World Bank (2017), *World Development Indicators*; IMF (2016), *Government Financial Statistics*
Democracy	Polity V measure of democracy	Polity
Military	Dummy variable coded as 1 for countries in the sample that are observed as a military dictatorship as per the Geddes, Wright, and Frantz (2014) criteria	Geddes, Wright, and Frantz 2014
Monarchy	Dummy variable coded as 1 for countries in the sample that are observed as monarchy as per the Geddes, Wright, and Frantz (2014) criteria	Geddes, Wright, and Frantz 2014
Islamic laws	Defined in detail in chapter 4	Data sources for this variable are listed in a footnote in chapter 4
Religious court	Defined in chapter 4	Data sources for this variable are listed in a footnote in chapter 4
Output loss	Measured as the magnitude of growth contraction relative to growth trend; this is calculated from the three-year average of the real GDP growth rate	World Bank (2017), *World Development Indicators*; IMF (2016), *Government Financial Statistics*

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Table A.4 *Continued*

	Definition	Sources
Floating exchange rate	Dummy variable coded as 1 for countries with a floating exchange rate regime. Operationalized from Reinhart and Rogoff's coarse five-point scale of de facto exchange rate regimes. From this five-point scale, I discard observations that are classified as "freely falling" and those for which parallel market data are missing. I then classify the remaining observations as "fixed" (pegs and limited flexibility) or "floating" (managed float and free floating); the dummy variable fixed exchange rate is coded as 1 for observations that are classified as "floating."	Reinhart and Rogoff 2004, 2009
Public debt	Total central government debt as a % of GDP	World Bank (2017), *World Development Indicators*; IMF (2016), *Government Financial Statistics*
Government spending	Total central government expenditure as a % of GDP	World Bank (2017), *World Development Indicators*; IMF (2016), *Government Financial Statistics*
Terms of trade shock	Measured as trade-weighted average export prices divided by trade-weighted average import price	World Bank (2017), *World Development Indicators*; IMF (2016), *International Financial Statistics*
Veto players	Coded from the *checks* measure in the World Bank's (2016) *Database of Political Institutions*.	World Bank (2016), *Database of Political Institutions*
REER	Operationalized as the nominal effective exchange rate (a measure of the value of a currency against a weighted average of several foreign currencies) divided by a price deflator or index of costs. Data drawn from World Bank's (2016) REER index.	World Bank (2016), *Database of Political Institutions*
Oil price shock	Operationalized as the standard deviation of annual percentage changes in crude oil prices over the previous two trading years	Data on crude oil prices is from World Bank (2017), *World Development Indicators*; International Monetary Fund (2016), *International Financial Statistics*

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Table A.4 *Continued*

	Definition	Sources
Personalist regime British colony	Dummy variable coded as 1 for countries in the sample that are observed as monarchy as per the Geddes, Wright, and Frantz (2014) criteria Dummy variable coded as 1 for countries in the sample that were British colonies	Geddes, Wright, and Frantz 2014; World Bank (2016), *Database of Political Institutions*
Party ban	Dummy variable coded as 1 if Islamic parties are banned from participating in elections and hence banned from representation in the legislature	Sources listed in table A.3
Participation	Dummy variable coded as 1 for de facto Islamic parties that join and participate in the ruling coalition	Sources listed in table A.3
Elf (ethnolinguistic fractionalization)	Index of ethnolinguistic fractionalization (ELF), which measures the measures the probability that two randomly drawn individuals from the overall population belong to different ethnic groups	Drawn from Alesina, Michalopoulos, and Papaioannou 2012
Vote share of Islamic parties	Proportion of votes (%) won by de facto Islamic parties in elections	Sources listed in table A.3
Islamic party seats	Share of seats (%) held by de facto Islamic parties in the national legislature	Sources listed in table A.3
Hazard rate	Operationalized as the predicted probability with which the incumbent may lose office for each country-year in the sample. These predicted probabilities are derived from fully identified BTSCS logit models that estimate the impact of numerous covariates (drawn from the literature) on the probability with which the government loses power.	Data sources for the covariates in the BTSCS logit specifications are drawn from World Bank (2016), *Database of Political Institutions*; Geddes et al. 2014; Cheibub et al. 2010; World Bank (2017). *World Development Indicators*; International Monetary Fund (2016), *Government Financial Statistics*; Alesina, Michalopoulos, and Papaioannou 2012
Legislative opposition	Share of seats (%) held by de facto opposition parties in the national legislature	World Bank (2016), *Database of Political Institutions*; Geddes et al. 2014; Cheibub et al. 2010
Civil society	Ordinal measure described in chapter 4	Varieties of Democracy project (2016)

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Table A.4 *Continued*

	Definition	Sources
Economic growth	Growth in real GDP per year; expressed as a %	World Bank (2017), *World Development Indicators*; International Monetary Fund (2016), *Government Financial Statistics*
Economic recession	Dummy variable coded as 1 when real GDP economic growth declines by at least 1.5 standard deviations below the country-mean in the sample and remains at 1.5 standard deviations below the mean for more than three quarters (i.e., at least for a year)	Measure constructed from data provided in World Bank (2017) *World Development Indicators*; International Monetary Fund (2016), *Government Financial Statistics*

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Details of the Political Elite Surveys in Turkey and Pakistan

Sampling and Logistics

Turkey

The data used in the analysis in chapter 6 were collected in a three-wave panel survey of political elites. The first wave was carried out in May 2015, the second in October 2015, and the third in April 2017. *The data used for the analysis in this book come only from the third wave in April 2017.*

The sample for the first panel was drawn using a stratified, clustered, random sampling design. The population of interest was the complete set of candidates contesting parliamentary elections from the following political parties: the AKP, the CHP, HDP (*Halkların Demokratik Partisi*), MHP, Saadet Party, Demokrat Partisi, Anadolu Partisi, Bagimsiz, and Vatan Partisi. Turkey has 81 provinces with 85 electoral districts. With the exception of Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir, all the other electoral districts are coterminous with the provinces. Given the electoral and political salience of these three provinces, I identified Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir provinces as superstrata, while the 78 other electoral districts were treated as one stratum, for a total of four strata. I first picked clusters from the 78 electoral districts and then randomly sampled elites from the party lists of the selected parties for each electoral district. Respondents were randomly sampled from party lists for the three superstrata. Saadet Party members were oversampled in order to provide a sufficient number of non-AKP Islamist party respondents. This was driven by a concern to identify the results of membership in religious parties, as opposed to conflating religious party memberships and incumbency effects, due to the number of AKP respondents. The face-to-face interviews were conducted in Turkish by an experienced survey research institute, FREKANS, based in Istanbul.

Response rates varied for each round. Round 1 had a response rate of 64% for a sample size of 300. This sample was then subsequently reinterviewed for rounds 2 and 3. Round 3 had a response rate of 56% from round 1, which resulted in 173 interviews. An additional 53 new interviews were then conducted for a total sample of 226. *The data for the analysis in this book come only from round 3.* In the third round, 17.7% (40) interviews were conducted with each of the AKP, CHP, HDP, and MHP members and 18.1% (41) with Saadet Party members. The remaining 5% (11 interviews) came from Demokrat Partisi, Anadolu Partisi, Bagimsiz, and Vatan. Both religious parties (AKP and Saadet), the major secular parties (CHP and HDP), and the right-wing nationalist MHP parties are well represented in the sample. Eighty-one interviewees out of 226, or 35.9%, belonged to the two religious parties. Males comprised 69.5% of the sample. The age of candidates ranged from 24 to 78 years, with an average of 47.3 years. Among the interviewees, 64.5% had postgraduate degrees, and only 7.4% lacked a college education. In the sample 28.3% were of Kurdish ethnic origin. Finally, 51.4% of the interviewees had run for elections before, and almost 35% had also served in elected office. Thus, the sample offers us wide variation in demographic factors that could also influence individual opinions.

Pakistan

The survey in Pakistan was conducted in June–July 2018. A stratified, random sampling design was used to select the final sample of 154 politicians. There are more than 100

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political parties in Pakistan that compete in elections (Pakistan Election Commission 2018). Only respondents from the following political parties were considered part of the target survey population since these are the only parties that have been consistently relevant in Pakistani politics at the national and state levels through the last five elections: Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PMLN), Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI), Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), and the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam Fazlur (JUI-F). JI and JUI-F are the two religious parties in the sample. Pakistan has four provinces, Sindh, Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and Balochistan. In addition to these provinces, there are territories that are centrally administered, including Islamabad, the capital city, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), and Azad Kashmir. There were 272 electoral districts for the national parliament, 130 assembly districts in Sindh, 297 in Punjab, 51 in Balochistan, and 115 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Pakistan Election Commission 2018). In addition to these directly elected seats, seats are reserved for women and religious minorities at the provincial and state levels. These seats are awarded to parties based on their performance in the directly elected districts. The survey therefore only included as clusters the electoral districts for direct elections at the state and national level. The face-to-face interviews were conducted in Urdu and English by an experienced survey research institute, the Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, based in Islamabad.

The survey was held in the four provinces and the capital territory of Islamabad due to security issues in Azad Kashmir and the FATA, which prevented safe access for enumerators. These provinces are the politically relevant territorial units since most Pakistanis live in these regions and all political parties were founded and are politically based in these four provinces. To implement the stratified, clustered, random sampling design, each of these provinces and Islamabad was identified as a stratum, electoral districts within each stratum were then identified as clusters. Clusters (electoral districts) were then selected randomly within each province. Once a cluster had been selected, all parliamentary and provincial assembly candidates competing from these five parties were targeted for the survey. The overall response rate was 62%, ranging from 52% in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to 70% in Sindh. The final sample size of 154 represents 9.2% of the entire population of all candidates belonging to these parties who competed in the 2018 national and provincial elections.

These political parties nominated candidates for all national seats, and almost all assembly seats in the four provinces and Islamabad. Thus, candidate lists all the selected clusters included candidates from all five parties. The party-wise distribution of the sample is as follows: PML-N 22.9%, PPP 21.6%, PTI 20.3%, JI 17%, and the JUI-F 18.3% of the sample. The province-wise distribution of respondents was as follows: Punjab 30.7%, Sindh 26.2%, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa 24.2%, and Balochistan 18.9%. Balochistan is therefore slightly overrepresented. The percentage of respondents from religious parties was 37.3%. The average age of respondents was 48.6 years in Pakistan, ranging from 26 to 76 years. Among Pakistani politicians, 55% had a college education, 48% had run for elected office before, 39.5% had served in elected office before, and 6% were women.

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Survey Questions Used in the Case Studies Analysis in Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9

Dependent Variables

1. Some people have argued that certain human rights are universal and transcend all religions and cultures. Others argue that different religions and cultures protect human rights according to their own traditions and beliefs. Which of these two views comes closer to your view:
   - Human rights are universal.
   - Each religion has its own tradition of protecting human rights.
2. How would you describe government oversight of the social media in the last 5 years:
   - Not enough oversight, government needs to increase it.
   - Just the right amount of government oversight, no changes required.
   - Too much government interference, Turkey/Pakistan needs to reduce government oversight.
3. Some people believe that any government should support free media at any cost since the media provide transparency and support accountability. Others believe that it is the government's responsibility to oversee the media to ensure that the media act in the interests of social harmony and political stability. What do you think?
   - Government should let media decide what is in the interests of society.
   - Government should ensure media behave in the interests of society.
4. Some people argue that only a person belonging to the majority religion in a country should be allowed to form the head of government in that country. Others argue that any citizen should be allowed to assume the highest government position in a country no matter which religion they belong to. Which of these positions comes closer to your view?
   - Head of government must belong to the majority religion of a country.
   - Any citizen should be allowed to head government irrespective of their religious affiliation.
5. What is your position regarding the following policies: Please indicate whether you:

   1) Strongly Oppose 2) Moderately Oppose
   3) Moderately Support 4) Strongly Support

   - Religious education should be compulsory for children starting at age 6.
   - Pass a bill to criminalize sexual infidelity/adultery in marriage.

Independent Variables

1. Candidate of ___ Party. Only AKP, Saadet Party, and BBP candidates coded as religious parties in Turkey. Only candidates from Jamaat-e-Islami and Jamaat-e-Ullema-e-Islam-Fazlur coded as religious parties in Pakistan.
2. In your district, how much influence do you think the following groups have on the opinions and actions of voters in your district:
   0 no influence 1 some 2 high 3 decisive influence
   - Islamic religious groups

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Control Variables

1. Have you been a member of other parties? Yes/no
2. Have you run for elected office before? Yes/no
3. Have you held elected office before? Yes/no
4. What is your age? _____
5. What is the highest educational degree you hold? _____. Coded into a 4-category variable; less than high school, high school, bachelor's degree, post-graduate degree

List of Open-Ended Interviews in Turkey and Pakistan

Forty interviews were conducted in Turkey; further details are not provided due to the security situation there.

Category	Number	Details
Political party official and MP	9	Interviews with party organizational leaders from AKP (3), CHP (2), MHP (2), Saadet (1), and HDP (2)
Religious organization	6	From officials holding various organizational positions in the following religious orders: Gülen (2), Menzil (1), Süleymanci (1), Naqshbandi- Ismail Ağa (1), Halveti-Jerrahi (1)
Nonreligious association	11	Includes interviews with organizational leaders of business associations (4), labor unions (2), women's groups (4), and human rights groups (5)
Civil rights lawyer and bar association	7	Lawyers (3) and bar associations (4)
Journalist	6	Interviews with journalists in the *Daily Zaman* (2), *Hurriyet Daily News* (2), *Sabah* (2)

Thirty-seven interviews were conducted in Pakistan; further details are not provided due to the security situation there.

Category	Number	Details
Political party official and MP	11	Interviews with PPP (3), PML-N (3), PTI (2), JUI-F (1), JI (2)
Religious organization	6	Interviews with Minhaj-ul-Quran (1), Tableeghi Jamaat (1), Dawat-e-Islami (1), Markaz Jamiat Ahle Hadith (1), Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafaria (1), and the Sunni Ittehaad Council (1)

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Category	Number	Details
Nonreligious association	12	Business associations (2), labor unions (2), women's groups (4), human rights groups (4)
Civil rights lawyer and bar association	5	Lawyers (3) and bar associations (2)
Journalist	3	Interviews associated with D*awn*, *Geo News*, and *Daily Jung*

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