Appendix

In this appendix we present results from alternative specifications of the OP and ZiOP regression models presented in the manuscript. Specifically, we examine specifications using alternate dependent variables from the CIRI physical integrity index (the political prisoners, extrajudicial killing, and forced disappearance scales) (Cingranelli and Richards, 2010), an alternate measure of the domestic NGO population, and a measure of non-violent dissident activity in place of our measure of violent dissident activity. In the interest of brevity we only discuss results that pertain to our main hypotheses.

Tables 1-3 report results using the other components of the CIRI physical integrity scale as dependent variables rather than the CIRI torture scale. The independent variables are exactly those included in the model presented in the manuscript. As reported in the manuscript, the results relevant to our three hypotheses only change slightly when using the political prisoners scale; we lose support for the claim that higher numbers of domestic NGOs lower the probability that AI makes a worst case assumption about government abuse (hypothesis 2), but retain support for the claims that media reports of abuse lower this probability and the W/S ratio lowers it (hypotheses 1 and 3). Though torture and political imprisonment are the issues most relevant to our theoretical argument (as discussed in the manuscript), we also estimate models using the extrajudicial killing and forced disappearance scales. Results using the extrajudicial killing scale also lend support to hypotheses 1 and 3. Only hypothesis 3 is supported when we use CIRI's forced disappearance scale.

Table 4 presents results using various measures of the domestic NGO population: the count of domestic human rights NGOs collected by Murdie (2009) (rather than the natural log of this count, which is included in the model reported in the manuscript), the lagged (by one year) value of the count of domestic human rights NGOs[1], and the CIRI measure of freedom of speech/the press (Cingranelli and Richards, 2010).[2] As discussed in the manuscript, the

[1]This variable is used to address the concern that the size of the NGO population may be responding to state abuse rather than the other way around, i.e. to address the concern that the NGO population is endogenous to state abuse.

[2]This variable is used to account for the possibility that press freedom may serve as an effective substitute

results obtained using the raw count of domestic human rights NGOs lead to results nearly identical to those obtained using the natural log of this count: all variables have the same sign and, excepting the count of domestic terror attacks (which nearly achieves statistical significance with a p value of .12), all variables that are statistically significant using the natural log remain so using the raw count, and thus all three hypotheses receive support. Using the lagged value of the natural log of the domestic human rights NGO count does not change the results pertaining to the domestic NGO population, which gives us confidence that our results are not due to endogeneity. Finally, when using the CIRI speech/press freedom indicator the coefficient for this variable is not statistically significant in either equation.

Finally, table 5 reports results using a measure of anti-government demonstrations from the Cross-National Time-Series Data Archive (Banks, 2006) in place of the measure of violent dissident activity from the Global Terrorism Database (LaFree and Dugan, 2007). The measure of anti-government demonstrations is not significant in either equation. Hypotheses 1 and 2 receive support from the results in Table 5, though hypothesis 3 does not.

for the size of the domestic NGO population.

References

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Table 1: Ordered Probit & ZiOPC Estimates, 1990-1997

Dependent Variable: CIRI Political Prisoners Scale		
Regressor	O. Probit	ZiOPC
Inflate (γ) Eq		
Media Reports	—	-0.323**
		(0.128)
AI Reports$_{t-1}$	—	-0.029*
		(0.017)
HR NGOs (logged)	—	-0.029
		(0.169)
W/S	—	1.988***
		(0.615)
Terror Attacks	—	-0.001
		(0.002)
Constant	—	0.154
		(0.637)
Outcome (β) Eq.		
HR NGOs (logged)	0.324**	0.456**
	(0.131)	(0.183)
W/S	2.642***	2.027***
	(0.406)	(0.656)
CAT Ratification	0.075	0.205
	(0.171)	(0.233)
Terror Attacks	-0.003**	-0.003**
	(0.001)	(0.001)
GDP per capita (logged)	0.087	0.148
	(0.074)	(0.112)
Population (logged)	-0.387***	-0.391***
	(0.068)	(0.089)
Constant	4.454***	4.860***
	(1.235)	(1.553)
τ_2	0.990***	1.309***
	(0.088)	(0.248)
ρ	—	-0.281
		(0.249)
Observations	855	855

*$p < 0.10$; **$p < 0.05$; ***$p < 0.01$(two-tailed)
(Standard errors are given in parentheses)

Table 2: Ordered Probit & ZiOPC Estimates, 1990-1997

Dependent Variable: CIRI Extrajudicial Killing Scale		
Regressor	O. Probit	ZiOPC
Inflate (γ) Eq		
Media Reports	—	-0.215*
		(0.117)
AI Reports$_{t-1}$	—	-0.006
		(0.014)
HR NGOs (logged)	—	-0.031
		(0.180)
W/S	—	1.209***
		(0.415)
Terror Attacks	—	-0.007***
		(0.002)
Constant	—	1.028*
		(0.595)
Outcome (β) Eq.		
HR NGOs (logged)	0.109	0.107
	(0.105)	(0.107)
W/S	0.870***	0.732**
	(0.292)	(0.324)
CAT Ratification	0.067	0.087
	(0.160)	(0.176)
Terror Attacks	-0.009***	-0.008***
	(0.001)	(0.002)
GDP per capita (logged)	0.303***	0.341***
	(0.061)	(0.078)
Population (logged)	-0.192***	-0.170**
	(0.055)	(0.081)
Constant	1.457	1.181
	(1.071)	(1.376)
τ_2	1.216***	1.449***
	(0.095)	(0.331)
ρ	—	0.208
		(0.224)
Observations	856	856

*$p < 0.10$; **$p < 0.05$; ***$p < 0.01$(two-tailed)
(Standard errors are given in parentheses)

Table 3: Ordered Probit & ZiOPC Estimates, 1990-1997

Dependent Variable: CIRI Forced Disappearance Scale Regressor	O. Probit	ZiOPC
Inflate (γ) Eq		
Media Reports	—	1.045
		(1.615)
AI Reports$_{t-1}$	—	-0.042**
		(0.017)
HR NGOs (logged)	—	-0.285
		(0.206)
W/S	—	2.426*
		(1.361)
Terror Attacks	—	0.003
		(0.006)
Constant	—	0.982
		(0.285)
Outcome (β) Eq.		
HR NGOs (logged)	0.117	0.150
	(0.120)	(0.125)
W/S	.427	0.229
	(0.386)	(0.452)
CAT Ratification	-0.301*	-0.341*
	(0.167)	(0.174)
Terror Attacks	-0.004***	-0.005***
	(0.001)	(0.001)
GDP per capita (logged)	0.255***	0.270***
	(0.067)	(0.074)
Population (logged)	-0.205***	-0.219***
	(0.060)	(0.064)
Constant	2.891***	3.246***
	(1.107)	(1.189)
τ_2	0.700***	0.785***
	(0.073)	(0.093)
ρ	—	0.806**
		(0.332)
Observations	856	856

*$p < 0.10$; **$p < 0.05$; ***$p < 0.01$(two-tailed)
(Standard errors are given in parentheses)

Table 4: Ordered Probit & ZiOPC Estimates, 1990-1997

	Dependent Variable: CIRI Torture Scale					
Regressor	O. Probit	ZiOPC	O. Probit	ZiOPC	O. Probit	ZiOPC
Inflate (γ) Eq						
HR NGOs	—	0.076*	—	—	—	—
		(0.040)				
HR NGOs$_{t-1}$ (logged)	—	—	—	0.431**	—	—
				(0.181)		
CIRI speech	—	—	—	—	—	0.467
						(0.701)
Media Reports	—	-0.352**	—	-0.386**	—	-0.268**
		(0.159)		(0.190)		(0.121)
AI Reports$_{t-1}$	—	-0.045**	—	-0.040***	—	-0.032***
		(0.018)		(0.015)		(0.010)
W/S	—	0.891***	—	0.611	—	0.256
		(0.326)		(0.431)		(1.738)
Terror Attacks	—	-0.003	—	-0.004	—	-0.004*
		(0.002)		(0.003)		(0.003)
Constant	—	0.529	—	0.749*	—	0.822
		(0.327)		(0.407)	—	(0.670)
Outcome (β) Eq.						
HR NGOs	0.018**	0.007	—	—	—	—
	(0.008)	(0.009)				
HR NGOs$_{t-1}$ (logged)	—	—	0.170*	0.013	—	—
			(0.096)	(0.111)		
CIRI speech	—	—	—	—	0.357***	0.192
					(0.092)	(0.303)
W/S	0.817***	0.720*	1.272***	1.021**	0.657**	0.546
	(0.329)	(0.436)	(0.342)	(0.472)	(0.255)	(0.834)
Terror Attacks	-0.004**	-0.001	-0.005**	-0.002	-0.006***	-0.003
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.003)
CAT Ratification	-0.108	-0.240	-0.167	-0.273	-0.215**	-0.276**
	(0.133)	(0.164)	(0.147)	(0.174)	(0.105)	(0.122)
GDP per capita (logged)	0.245***	0.343***	0.241***	0.332***	0.234***	0.286***
	(0.070)	(0.094)	(0.070)	(0.089)	(0.051)	(0.076)
Population (logged)	-0.284***	-0.271***	-0.286***	-0.265***	-0.210***	-0.200***
	(0.050)	(0.062)	(0.052)	(0.066)	(0.038)	(0.048)
Constant	2.273**	2.239**	2.256**	1.955*	1.364**	1.406*
	(0.930)	(1.063)	(0.935)	(1.076)	(0.679)	(0.755)
τ_2	1.437**	1.756***	1.467***	1.713***	1.364**	1.406*
	(0.096)	(0.158)	(0.105)	(0.152)	(0.075)	(0.755)
ρ	—	-0.293**	—	-0.309*	—	-0.366
		(0.137)		(0.177)		(0.223)
Observations	856	856	756	756	1380	1380

*$p < 0.10$; **$p < 0.05$; ***$p < 0.01$(two-tailed)
(Standard errors are given in parentheses)

Table 5: Ordered Probit & ZiOP Estimates, 1990-1997

Dependent Variable: CIRI Torture Scale		
Regressor	O. Probit	ZiOP
Inflate (γ) Eq		
Media Reports	—	-0.323**
		(0.128)
AI Reports$_{t-1}$	—	-0.029*
		(0.017)
HR NGOs (logged)	—	-0.029
		(0.169)
W/S	—	1.988***
		(0.615)
Anti-Gov. Dems.	—	-0.001
		(0.002)
Constant	—	0.154
		(0.637)
Outcome (β) Eq.		
HR NGOs (logged)	0.157**	0.051
	(0.077)	(0.084)
W/S	1.082***	0.926**
	(0.295)	(0.372)
CAT Ratification	-0.146	-0.167
	(0.129)	(0.147)
Anti-Gov. Dems.	-0.070	-0.050
	(0.044)	(0.049)
GDP per capita (logged)	0.269***	0.320***
	(0.067)	(0.082)
Population (logged)	-0.318***	-0.283***
	(0.046)	(0.053)
Constant	2.614***	2.081**
	(0.831)	(0.891)
τ_2	1.441***	1.551***
	(0.096)	(0.137)
ρ	—	-0.397**
		(0.154)
Observations	1081	1081

*$p < 0.10$; **$p < 0.05$; ***$p < 0.01$(two-tailed)
(Standard errors are given in parentheses)