

**Online Appendix for
“Gender Egalitarian Attitudes and Support for
Islamist Parties in the Middle East and North Africa”**

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Appendix A – Supplementary Analysis, Study 1

Appendix B – Supplementary Analysis, Study 2

Table A1. List of Countries and Survey Waves

Country	Survey Wave
Study 1: Arab Barometer	
Algeria ^a	3 (2013); 5 (2019)
Egypt ^a	3 (2013); 5 (2018)
Iraq	3 (2013); 5 (2019)
Jordan	3 (2014); 4 (2016); 5 (2018)
Kuwait ^a	3 (2014)
Lebanon	3 (2013); 4 (2016)
Libya	3 (2014); 5 (2019)
Morocco	3 (2013); 4 (2016); 5 (2018)
Sudan	3 (2013); 5 (2018)
Tunisia	3 (2013); 4 (2016); 5 (2018)
Yemen	3 (2013); 5 (2019)
Study 2: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies^b	
Egypt	2017-18
Iraq	2017-18
Kuwait	2017-18
Lebanon	2017-18
Mauritania	2017-18
Morocco	2017-18
Sudan	2017-18
Tunisia	2017-18

^a Although these countries were included in multiple Arab Barometer waves in our sample, the question for our dependent variable about “trust in Islamist parties” was not asked in certain country-wave surveys.

^b The Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies surveyed respondents in 11 countries during the 2017-2018 wave. The question for our dependent variable about support for the Muslim Brotherhood, however, was not asked in Saudi Arabia, hence we exclude it from the analysis. Jordan is excluded because data on our independent variable measuring gender egalitarianism was not asked in the 2017-18 wave. We also exclude Palestine from our analysis since the state-level controls that we include in the analysis are not available, although results are robust to including Palestine in a fixed-effects ordered logit model with no country-level controls.

Table A2. Gender Egalitarian Attitudes and Trust in Islamist Parties, Religiosity Measures

	Women in Politics				University Education			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Gender Egalitarianism	-.13** (.04)	-.13** (.05)	-.15 (.12)	-.20 (.16)	-.16*** (.05)	-.15* (.06)	-.29* (.13)	-.35* (.17)
Democracy (FH)	-.10 (.08)	-.16 (.09)	-.11 (.10)	-.20 (.11)	-.12 (.08)	-.20* (.09)	-.17 (.09)	-.30* (.12)
Gender X Democracy			.00 (.02)	.01 (.03)			.02 (.02)	.04 (.03)
<i>Individual-Level</i>								
Support for Democracy	-.14*** (.02)	-.13*** (.02)	-.14*** (.02)	-.13*** (.02)	-.12*** (.02)	-.12*** (.02)	-.12*** (.02)	-.12*** (.02)
Political Interest	.14*** (.02)	.12*** (.02)	.14*** (.02)	.12*** (.02)	.13*** (.02)	.11*** (.02)	.13*** (.02)	.11*** (.02)
Female	.14*** (.03)	.24*** (.04)	.14*** (.03)	.24*** (.04)	.13*** (.03)	.23*** (.04)	.13*** (.03)	.23*** (.04)
Education	-.07*** (.02)	-.03 (.02)	-.07*** (.02)	-.03 (.02)	-.05** (.02)	-.01 (.02)	-.05** (.02)	-.01 (.02)
Income	.18*** (.02)	.17*** (.02)	.18*** (.02)	.17*** (.02)	.18*** (.02)	.18*** (.02)	.18*** (.02)	.18*** (.02)
Age	-.00** (.00)	-.00 (.00)	-.00** (.00)	-.00 (.00)	-.00** (.00)	-.00 (.00)	-.00** (.00)	-.00 (.00)
Pray Daily	.24*** (.02)		.24*** (.02)		.25*** (.02)		.25*** (.02)	
Attend Service		.09*** (.02)		.09*** (.02)		.10*** (.02)		.10*** (.02)
<i>Country-Level</i>								
Percent Women	.03* (.02)	.03* (.01)	.03* (.02)	.03* (.01)	.03 (.02)	.03 (.02)	.03 (.02)	.03 (.02)
Cut 1	.71 (.58)	-.40 (.59)	.64 (.67)	-.59 (.72)	.47 (.62)	-.65 (.69)	.14 (.65)	-1.22 (.76)
Cut 2	1.66** (.58)	.50 (.59)	1.60* (.67)	.31 (.72)	1.43* (.62)	.25 (.69)	1.10 (.65)	-.33 (.76)
Cut 3	3.22*** (.58)	2.04*** (.59)	3.15*** (.67)	1.85* (.72)	2.99*** (.62)	1.79** (.69)	2.66*** (.65)	1.22 (.76)
Individual N=	16291	11037	16291	11037	16334	11053	16334	11053
Country-Year N=	16	11	16	11	16	11	16	11
Wald Chi ²	443.97	212.03	444.00	212.66	443.72	205.52	445.57	207.04

* p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001. Multilevel ordered logit coefficients (standard errors) estimated in Stata 17.0.

Note: Because religiosity could be correlated with both support for women’s rights and support for Islamist parties (i.e., could be a source of spuriousness), we control for it thoroughly by including other measures of religiosity here, specifically, frequency of prayer and frequency of attending religious services. Reading the Qur’an is the only question consistently asked across all waves of the Arab Barometer in our sample. Hence, we control for it in the analysis in Study 1. Nevertheless, our main result in support of H2 holds regardless of which measure of religiosity we control for (direct effects in Models 1-2 and 5-6).

Table A3. Gender Egalitarian Attitudes and Trust in Islamist Parties, Polity

	Women in Politics		University Education	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Gender Egalitarianism	-.13*** (.03)	-.13*** (.03)	-.15*** (.03)	-.15*** (.03)
Democracy (Polity)	-.04 (.04)	-.06 (.04)	-.07 (.04)	-.10** (.04)
Gender X Democracy		.00 (.01)		.02** (.01)
<i>Individual-Level</i>				
Support for Democracy	-.10*** (.02)	-.10*** (.02)	-.09*** (.02)	-.09*** (.02)
Political Interest	.14*** (.01)	.14*** (.01)	.14*** (.01)	.14*** (.01)
Female	.20*** (.03)	.20*** (.03)	.19*** (.03)	.19*** (.03)
Education	-.08*** (.01)	-.08*** (.01)	-.07*** (.01)	-.07*** (.01)
Income	.11*** (.01)	.11*** (.01)	.12*** (.01)	.12*** (.01)
Age	.00* (.00)	.00* (.00)	.00* (.00)	.00* (.00)
Religiosity	.14*** (.01)	.14*** (.01)	.15*** (.01)	.15*** (.01)
<i>Country-Level</i>				
Percent Women	.02 (.01)	.02 (.01)	.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)
Cut 1	.78* (.32)	.77* (.32)	.61* (.31)	.61* (.30)
Cut 2	1.74*** (.32)	1.74*** (.32)	1.57*** (.31)	1.58*** (.30)
Cut 3	3.27*** (.32)	3.27*** (.32)	3.11*** (.31)	3.12*** (.31)
Individual N=	23369	23369	23451	23451
Country-Year N=	24	24	24	24
<i>Wald Chi²</i>	418.99	419.78	417.35	431.00

* p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001. Multilevel ordered logit coefficients (standard errors) calculated in Stata 17.0.

Note: Given scholarly debates about the appropriateness of different quantitative measures of democracy (e.g., Cheibub, Gandhi, and Vreeland 2010), we show that our results are robust to an alternative regime type measure from the Polity Project. Our results are robust to using Polity instead of Freedom House.

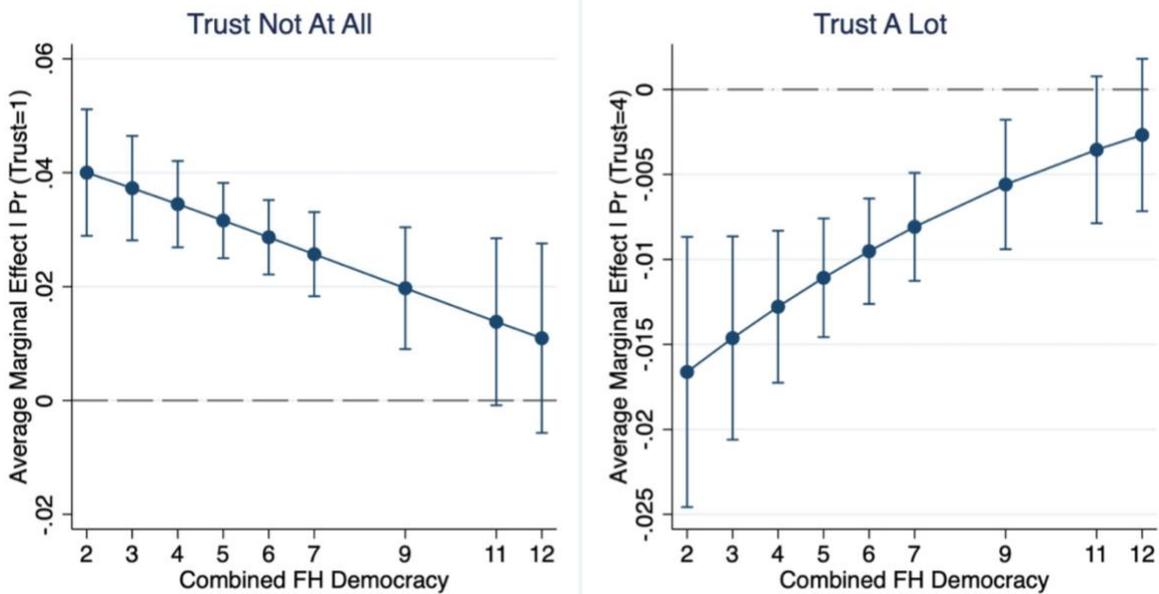
Table A4. Gender Egalitarian Attitudes and Trust in Islamist Parties, Random Intercepts

	Women in Politics			University Education		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Gender Egalitarianism	-.13*** (.01)	-.13*** (.01)	-.13*** (.04)	-.14*** (.01)	-.14*** (.01)	-.21*** (.04)
Democracy (FH)		-.08 (.07)	-.07 (.07)		-.08 (.07)	-.12 (.07)
Gender X Democracy			-.00 (.01)			.01* (.01)
<i>Individual-Level</i>						
Support for Democracy	-.11*** (.02)	-.10*** (.02)	-.10*** (.02)	-.09*** (.02)	-.09*** (.02)	-.09*** (.02)
Political Interest	.14*** (.01)	.14*** (.01)	.14*** (.01)	.14*** (.01)	.14*** (.01)	.14*** (.01)
Female	.20*** (.03)	.20*** (.03)	.20*** (.03)	.19*** (.03)	.19*** (.03)	.19*** (.03)
Education	-.08*** (.01)	-.08*** (.01)	-.08*** (.01)	-.07*** (.01)	-.07*** (.01)	-.07*** (.01)
Income	.11*** (.01)	.11*** (.01)	.11*** (.01)	.12*** (.01)	.12*** (.01)	.12*** (.01)
Age	.00* (.00)	.00* (.00)	.00* (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)
Religiosity	.14*** (.01)	.14*** (.01)	.14*** (.01)	.15*** (.01)	.15*** (.01)	.15*** (.01)
<i>Country-Level</i>						
Percent Women		.02 (.02)	.02 (.02)		.02 (.01)	.02 (.01)
Cut 1	.51** (.19)	.34 (.45)	.35 (.46)	.44* (.19)	.28 (.45)	.05 (.46)
Cut 2	1.47*** (.19)	1.30** (.45)	1.31** (.46)	1.40*** (.19)	1.24** (.45)	1.01* (.46)
Cut 3	3.00*** (.19)	2.83*** (.45)	2.84*** (.46)	2.94*** (.19)	2.78*** (.45)	2.54*** (.46)
Individual N=	23369	23369	23369	23451	23451	23451
Country-Year N=	24	24	24	24	24	24
<i>Wald Chi²</i>	482.10	483.98	483.98	485.45	487.59	492.15

* p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001. Multilevel ordered logit coefficients (standard errors) estimated in Stata 17.0.

Note: To ensure that the results presented in Study 1 of the main text do not hinge on modeling choice (multilevel ordered logit models with a random coefficient specification), we re-estimated our models using *only* random intercepts. Our main finding that gender egalitarian attitudes are negatively associated with trust in Islamist parties (H2) is robust to this specification. In the random intercept model, the p-value on the interaction term in Model 6 changes slightly from .24 in the main text to .03 here. Given this change, we replicate the findings in Figure 1 using the random intercept specification in Table A3, Model 6 below.

Figure A1. Gender Egalitarianism and Political Trust, Random Intercept Model



Note: Point estimates are the average marginal effect of an increase in our *gender egalitarian attitude* measure (women’s equality in education) on the probability of observing the lowest and highest response outcomes to the question about trust in Islamist parties. Lines represent 95 percent confidence intervals. Where confidence intervals cross $y=0$, the relationship between the IV and DV is statistically insignificant at the 95 percent confidence level.

Figure A1 replicates Figure 1 from the main text using the random intercept specification in Table A3, Model 6. The overall result and interpretation are not affected by modeling choice. As democracy strengthens, the relationship between *gender egalitarian attitudes* and *trust in Islamist parties* weakens. Above a combined Freedom House score of 11, the relationship becomes insignificant.

Table A5. Gender Egalitarian Attitudes and Trust in Islamist Parties, Country Fixed Effects

	Women in Politics			University Education		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Gender Egalitarianism	-.13*** (.03)	-.13*** (.03)	-.12 (.08)	-.15*** (.03)	-.15*** (.03)	-.24** (.09)
Democracy (FH)		-.07 (.12)	-.06 (.12)		-.01 (.11)	-.03 (.11)
Gender X Democracy			-.00 (.01)			.02 (.01)
<i>Individual-Level</i>						
Support for Democracy	-.10*** (.02)	-.10*** (.02)	-.10*** (.02)	-.09*** (.02)	-.09*** (.02)	-.09*** (.02)
Political Interest	.14*** (.01)	.14*** (.01)	.14*** (.01)	.14*** (.01)	.14*** (.01)	.14*** (.01)
Female	.20*** (.03)	.20*** (.03)	.20*** (.03)	.19*** (.03)	.19*** (.03)	.19*** (.03)
Education	-.08*** (.01)	-.08*** (.01)	-.08*** (.01)	-.07*** (.01)	-.07*** (.01)	-.07*** (.01)
Income	.11*** (.01)	.11*** (.01)	.11*** (.01)	.11*** (.01)	.11*** (.01)	.11*** (.01)
Age	.00* (.00)	.00* (.00)	.00* (.00)	.00* (.00)	.00* (.00)	.00* (.00)
Religiosity	.14*** (.01)	.14*** (.01)	.14*** (.01)	.15*** (.01)	.15*** (.01)	.15*** (.01)
<i>Country-Level</i>						
Percent Women		-.04 (.04)	-.04 (.04)		-.06 (.04)	-.06 (.04)
Egypt	-1.28** (.48)	-2.22* (1.04)	-2.22* (1.04)	-.87 (.49)	-2.18* (.95)	-2.19* (.94)
Iraq	-.45 (.50)	-.77 (.56)	-.76 (.56)	-.32 (.45)	-.67 (.49)	-.68 (.49)
Jordan	-.98* (.46)	-1.75* (.89)	-1.75* (.89)	-.84* (.42)	-1.92* (.80)	-1.93* (.80)
Kuwait	.08 (.60)	-.95 (1.23)	-.95 (1.23)	.72 (.69)	-.72 (1.12)	-.72 (1.11)
Lebanon	-1.35** (.50)	-2.37 (1.25)	-2.37 (1.25)	-.92 (.50)	-2.53* (1.13)	-2.54* (1.13)
Libya	-1.58** (.51)	-2.24** (.80)	-2.24** (.80)	-1.50** (.46)	-2.39*** (.71)	-2.39*** (.71)
Morocco	.19 (.45)	-.24 (.71)	-.24 (.71)	.36 (.43)	-.38 (.64)	-.38 (.64)
Sudan	.06 (.50)	-.29 (.61)	-.29 (.61)	.53 (.50)	.34 (.61)	.32 (.61)
Tunisia	-.67 (.44)	-.37 (.77)	-.37 (.77)	-.86* (.43)	-.95 (.75)	-.95 (.75)
Yemen	.24 (.49)	-1.17 (1.39)	-1.17 (1.39)	.07 (.45)	-1.86 (1.29)	-1.88 (1.29)
Cut 1	-.02 (.36)	-1.66 (1.49)	-1.63 (1.50)	.03 (.35)	-1.88 (1.35)	-2.00 (1.35)
Cut 2	.94** (.36)	-.70 (1.49)	-.67 (1.50)	.99** (.35)	-.92 (1.35)	-1.04 (1.35)

Cut 3	2.48*** (.36)	.84 (1.49)	.87 (1.50)	2.53*** (.35)	.62 (1.35)	.50 (1.35)
Observations	23369	23369	23369	23451	23451	23451
Country-Year N=	24	24	24	24	24	24
<i>Wald Chi²</i>	457.79	461.41	461.28	465.50	474.72	480.47

* p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001. Multilevel ordered logit coefficients (standard errors) estimated in Stata 17.0. Algeria is excluded as the reference category.

Note: The results we present in Study in in the main text are robust to estimating models with country fixed effects. The main result and interpretation (in support of H2) are robust to this specification.

Table B1. Gender Egalitarian Attitudes and Tolerance for Islamist Parties, Random Intercepts

	Women in Politics			Women in Society		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Gender Egalitarianism	-.15*** (.02)	-.15*** (.02)	-.11* (.05)	-.34*** (.03)	-.34*** (.03)	-.27*** (.08)
Democracy (FH)		.06 (.11)	.07 (.11)		.07 (.11)	.11 (.12)
			-.01 (.01)			-.01 (.01)
<i>Individual-Level</i>						
Political Interest	-.02 (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.01 (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.02 (.02)
Female	.10** (.04)	.10** (.04)	.10** (.04)	.16*** (.04)	.16*** (.04)	.16*** (.04)
Education	.02 (.02)	.02 (.02)	.02 (.02)	.03 (.02)	.04* (.02)	.04* (.02)
Income	-.10*** (.01)	-.10*** (.01)	-.10*** (.01)	-.07*** (.01)	-.09*** (.01)	-.09*** (.01)
Age	.05*** (.01)	.05*** (.01)	.05*** (.01)	.04*** (.01)	.04** (.01)	.04** (.01)
<i>Country-Level</i>						
Percent Women		.02 (.03)	.02 (.03)		.02 (.03)	.02 (.03)
Cut 1	-1.85*** (.29)	-1.13 (.73)	-1.04 (.74)	-2.43*** (.29)	-1.59* (.74)	-1.35 (.78)
Cut 2	-.30 (.29)	.42 (.73)	.51 (.74)	-.86** (.29)	-.03 (.74)	.20 (.78)
Cut 3	1.28*** (.29)	2.00** (.73)	2.10** (.74)	.80** (.29)	1.56* (.74)	1.79* (.78)
Individual N=	10251	10251	10251	11467	10251	10251
Country N=	8	8	8	8	8	8
R ²	137.59	138.82	139.47	182.77	187.77	188.93

* p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001. Multilevel ordered logit coefficients (standard errors) estimated in Stata 17.0.

Note: To ensure that the results presented in Study 2 of the main text do not hinge on modeling choice (multilevel ordered logit models with a random coefficient specification), we re-estimated our models using *only* random intercepts. Our main finding that gender egalitarian attitudes are negatively associated with support for Islamist parties' right to compete in elections (H2) is robust to this specification.

Table B2. Attitudes about Women in Politics, By Country

	Egypt	Iraq	Kuwait	Lebanon	Mauritania	Morocco	Sudan	Tunisia
Gender	-.35***	-.09	.09	.03	-.08	-.68***	-.01	-.10
Egalitarianism	(.05)	(.06)	(.08)	(.06)	(.07)	(.08)	(.06)	(.06)
Political Interest	-.01	-.07	-.09	-.01	.01	.03	-.02	-.05
	(.04)	(.05)	(.07)	(.05)	(.07)	(.06)	(.05)	(.06)
Female	.11	.24*	-.24	.16	.21	.58***	.12	-.11
	(.09)	(.11)	(.12)	(.10)	(.13)	(.13)	(.11)	(.11)
Education	.12**	-.04	-.12*	.14**	.08	-.10	.13*	-.10
	(.04)	(.05)	(.06)	(.05)	(.07)	(.06)	(.06)	(.07)
Income	-.16***	-.08*	-.13***	-.17***	-.25***	-.01	.07	-.01
	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.05)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)
Age	-.03	.01	.08*	.03	.06	.14**	.18***	-.04
	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)	(.03)	(.05)	(.05)	(.04)	(.04)
Cut 1	-1.51***	-.88**	-1.69***	-.87**	-3.23***	-3.60***	-1.03***	-2.34***
	(.21)	(.30)	(.35)	(.29)	(.36)	(.35)	(.30)	(.33)
Cut 2	.35	.49	.32	.32	-1.74***	-2.06***	.77**	-1.24***
	(.21)	(.30)	(.35)	(.29)	(.34)	(.33)	(.29)	(.32)
Cut 3	1.63***	1.56***	3.51***	1.53***	.14	-.16	2.89***	.14
	(.21)	(.30)	(.41)	(.30)	(.33)	(.33)	(.30)	(.32)
Observations	2248	1223	1126	1441	812	1034	1272	1095
<i>Pseudo R</i> ²	.017	.005	.009	.007	.017	.052	.009	.003

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. Ordered logit coefficients (standard errors).

Table B3. Attitudes about Women's Rights in Society, By Country

	Egypt	Iraq	Kuwait	Lebanon	Mauritania	Morocco	Sudan	Tunisia
Gender	-.60***	-.06	-.79***	.10	.11	-1.05***	-.12	-.19
Egalitarianism	(.08)	(.11)	(.13)	(.09)	(.12)	(.10)	(.10)	(.10)
Political Interest	.01	-.07	-.01	-.01	.00	.04	-.03	-.05
	(.04)	(.05)	(.07)	(.05)	(.07)	(.06)	(.05)	(.06)
Female	.16	.24*	.16	.15	.16	.62***	.14	-.06
	(.09)	(.11)	(.13)	(.10)	(.13)	(.13)	(.11)	(.12)
Education	.16***	-.04	-.10	.13*	.06	-.06	.13*	-.08
	(.04)	(.05)	(.06)	(.05)	(.07)	(.06)	(.05)	(.07)
Income	-.17***	-.08*	-.11**	-.18***	-.25***	.04	.08*	-.00
	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.05)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)
Age	-.05	.01	.06	.04	.06	.10*	.18***	-.04
	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)	(.03)	(.05)	(.05)	(.04)	(.04)
Cut 1	-2.21***	-.78*	-3.72***	-.70*	-2.83***	-4.60***	-1.28***	-2.57***
	(.26)	(.38)	(.45)	(.35)	(.44)	(.39)	(.36)	(.38)
Cut 2	-.34	.60	-1.66***	.49	-1.34**	-3.04***	.51	-1.46***
	(.25)	(.38)	(.44)	(.35)	(.42)	(.38)	(.36)	(.38)
Cut 3	.95***	1.64***	1.55**	1.71***	.56	-1.12**	2.63***	-.08
	(.26)	(.38)	(.49)	(.36)	(.42)	(.37)	(.37)	(.38)
Observations	2264	1237	1127	1451	826	1049	1290	1101
<i>Pseudo R</i> ²	.020	.005	.023	.008	.016	.060	.010	.003

* p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001. Ordered logit coefficients (standard errors).