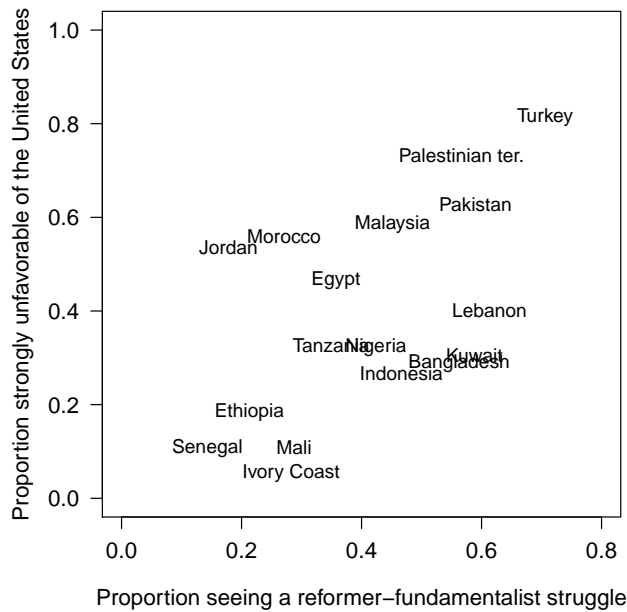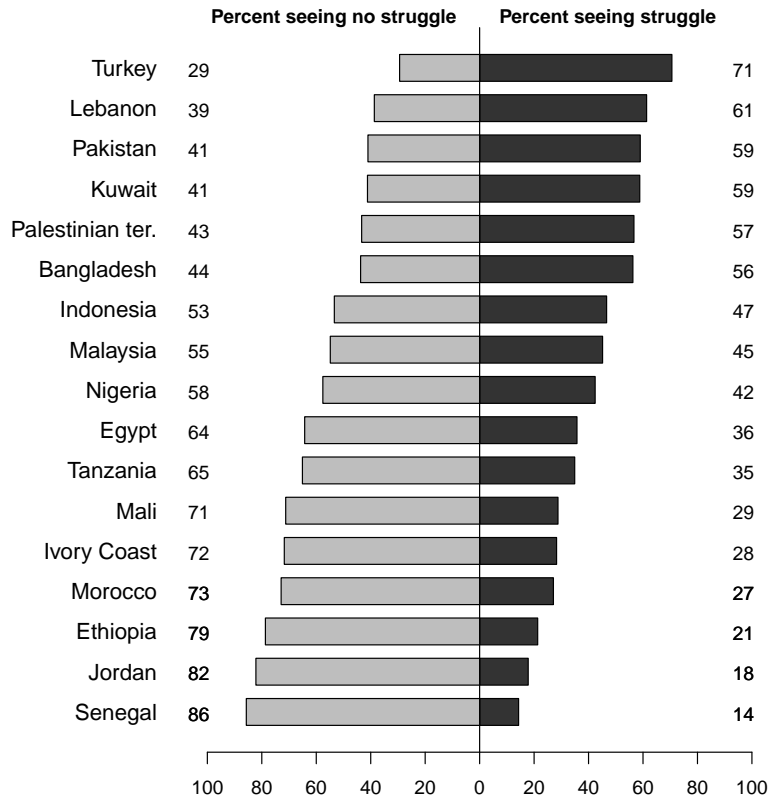# Losing Muslim Hearts and Minds: Religiosity, Elite Competition, and Anti-Americanism in the Islamic World
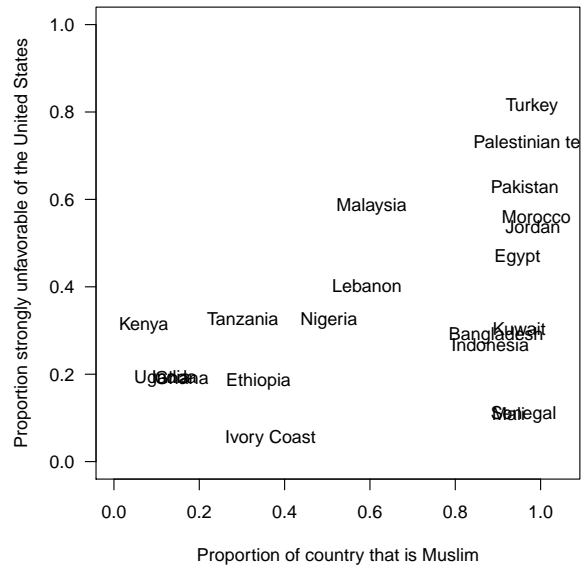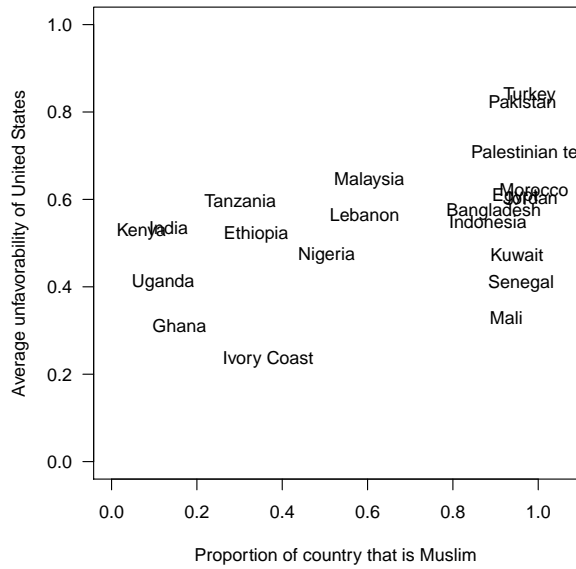
Online Appendix

This appendix first reports the the results of an alternative model specification using responses to the four-category anti-Americanism item as the dependent variable (Pew GAP question 16a; Figure 1), rather than the seven-item scale. Responses to this question are coded $y_i = 1$ for very favorable attitudes towards the U.S., through $y_i = 4$ for very unfavorable attitudes towards the U.S. Higher numbered responses thus reveal stronger anti-American sentiment. We rescale this variable to range from 0–1, to give the results a consistent interpretation with Table 1 in the paper.

Individual-level effects	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Piety	0.11 (0.03)	0.10 (0.03)	0.11 (0.03)	0.10 (0.03)
Follow international news	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
Age/100			0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Male			0.03 (0.01)	0.03 (0.01)
Income level			-0.05 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.02)
Secondary education			-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
University education			0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
Policy satisfaction			-0.16 (0.02)	-0.16 (0.02)
Country-level effects				
Constant	-0.08 (0.24)	0.09 (0.24)	0.02 (0.20)	0.18 (0.19)
Reformer-Islamist struggle	0.39 (0.26)		0.42 (0.22)	
Total religiosity		-0.50 (0.21)		-0.45 (0.18)
Proportion Muslim	0.32 (0.14)	0.28 (0.13)	0.31 (0.13)	0.26 (0.12)
GDP per capita, log	0.03 (0.04)	0.07 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.07 (0.03)
σ		0.30	0.30	0.30	0.30
ν_0	0.17	0.16	0.14	0.13
ν_1	0.10	0.10	0.08	0.08
ν_2	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06

Table 1: *Hierarchical linear model coefficient estimates and posterior standard deviations, in parentheses. The dependent variable is the four-category anti-Americanism item, Pew GAP question 16A. Positive coefficients indicate variables that have an increasing effect on levels of anti-Americanism. Dataset includes 12,831 respondents in 21 countries. Coefficients on the individual-level variables are the average effects μ_k across countries.*

Percent seeing no struggle | **Percent seeing struggle**

Country	No struggle		Struggle
Turkey	29		71
Lebanon	39		61
Pakistan	41		59
Kuwait	41		59
Palestinian ter.	43		57
Bangladesh	44		56
Indonesia	53		47
Malaysia	55		45
Nigeria	58		42
Egypt	64		36
Tanzania	65		35
Mali	71		29
Ivory Coast	72		28
Morocco	73		27
Ethiopia	79		21
Jordan	82		18
Senegal	86		14

Figures show the levels of perceived struggle between reformers and Islamists in each country, and a comparison of these values to the proportion of Muslims in each country who report a very unfavorable attitude towards the U.S., as just described (Q16a). The scatterplot is comparable to Figure 2 in the paper, except using the single-item measure of anti-Americanism as the outcome variable.

2

Scatterplots of two measures of anti-Americanism, against the proportion of each country that is Muslim. Left: the scaled measure of anti-Americanism used as the dependent variable in the paper, as seen in Figure 2. Right: the single-item measure; the proportion of Muslims in each country who report a very unfavorable attitude towards the U.S.