

## **Appendix for Who Tortures the Terrorists? Transnational Terror and Military Torture**

### *Missing Values on ITT Measures*

In the paper, we engage in listwise deletion and drop missing values on our measures of military torture. Our results are robust to two additional approaches, as recommended by Conrad and Moore (2011a). Our first approach replaces the missing observations with the modal value of the variable for each country over our temporal domain. We re-estimated the models presented in the paper using these alternative measures of the dependent variables. These results are presented in Table A1. Table A1 uses *Military Torture* as the dependent variable. All three forms of terrorism have a positive and statistically significant association with torture by the military. The statistical significance of transnational terrorism is at the .01 level, while those for domestic and for all terrorism are at the .10 level. These results are very similar to those reported in the paper. Table A2 shows our results testing the extent to which the effect of transnational terrorism on military torture is conditional on regime type. In these models, we replace missing data on Military Torture with the modal value of the variable for each country from 1995 to 2005.

Our second approach uses multiple imputation (specifically, Stata 11's mi package) to replace missing values of Military Torture with imputed data. These analyses are reported in Table A3. Results are quite similar to those reported in the paper. Finally, Table A4 shows our results testing the extent to which the effect of transnational terrorism on military torture is conditional on regime type, using multiple imputation to "fill in" the missing data on Military Torture.

**Table A1. Terrorism and Military (ITT) Torture, 1995 to 2005 (Replacing Missing Values with Mode)**

|                                   | Dependent Variable:       |                           |                           |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
|                                   | Military (ITT)<br>Torture | Military (ITT)<br>Torture | Military (ITT)<br>Torture |
| Domestic Terrorism (GTD)          | .010 (.005)*              |                           |                           |
| Transnational Terrorism (ITERATE) |                           | .095 (.031)***            |                           |
| All Terrorism (GTD)               |                           |                           | .009 (.005)*              |
| Regime Type                       | -.062 (.018)***           | -.059 (.018)***           | -.061 (.017)***           |
| GDP Per Capita                    | -.001 (.001)*             | -.001 (.001)*             | -.001 (.001)*             |
| Population                        | .001 (.001)               | .001 (.001)               | .001 (.001)               |
| Civil War                         | .914 (.231)***            | .976 (.228)***            | .888 (.235)***            |
| International War                 | -.623 (.626)              | -.664 (.741)              | -.664 (.635)              |
| CAT Signatory                     | .298 (.245)*              | .270 (.248)*              | .275 (.246)               |
| Restricted Access                 | .729 (.305)**             | .777(.307)***             | .730 (.303)**             |
| Domestic Dissent                  | 1.034 (.197)***           | 1.000 (.187)***           | 1.020 (.197)***           |
| Observations                      | 1301                      | 1,298                     | 1,299                     |
| Wald $\chi^2$                     | 120.00***                 | 113.27***                 | 117.68***                 |
| Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>             | .095                      | .098                      | .097                      |
| cut 1                             | 1.682 (.262)              | 1.691 (.259)              | 1.663 (.262)              |
| cut 2                             | 1.965 (.254)              | 1.977 (.251)              | 1.948 (.254)              |
| cut 3                             | 2.244 (.260)              | 2.257 (.258)              | 2.228 (.260)              |
| cut 4                             | 2.682 (.274)              | 2.687 (.269)              | 2.668 (.274)              |
| cut 5                             | 3.278 (.289)              | 3.280 (.286)              | 3.267 (.288)              |

Notes: \*  $p \leq .10$  \*\*  $p \leq .05$  \*\*\*  $p \leq .01$ . All models are ordered logistical regressions. Robust standard errors clustered on country reported in parentheses. All independent variables except Restricted Access lagged one period.

**Table A2. Terrorism and Military (ITT) Torture, 1995 to 2005 (Replacing Missing Values with Mode)**

|                                     | Dependent Variable:<br>Military (ITT)<br>Torture |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| Transnational Terrorism (ITERATE)   | -.053 (.036)*                                    |
| Regime Type                         | -.043 (.011)***                                  |
| Transnational Terrorism*Regime Type | .008 (.002)***                                   |
| GDP Per Capita                      | -.001 (.001)**                                   |
| Population                          | .001 (.001)                                      |
| Civil War                           | .562 (.128)***                                   |
| International War                   | -.142 (.242)                                     |
| CAT Signatory                       | .167 (.141)                                      |
| Restricted Access                   | .417 (.180)**                                    |
| Domestic Dissent                    | .598 (.105)***                                   |
| Observations                        | 1298   |
| Wald $\chi^2$                       | 140.07***  |
| Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>               | .101   |
| cut 1                               | .561 (.180)                                      |
| cut 2                               | .727 (.177)                                      |
| cut 3                               | .886 (.178)                                      |
| cut 4                               | 1.125 (.180)                                     |
| cut 5                               | 1.440 (.183)                                     |

Notes: \*  $p \leq .10$  \*\*  $p \leq .05$  \*\*\*  $p \leq .01$ . All models are ordered probit regressions. Robust standard errors clustered on country reported in parentheses. All independent variables except Restricted Access lagged one period.

**Table A3. Terrorism and Military (ITT) Torture, 1995 to 2005 (Replacing Missing Values Using Multiple Imputation)**

|                                   | Dependent Variable:       |                           |                           |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
|                                   | Military (ITT)<br>Torture | Military (ITT)<br>Torture | Military (ITT)<br>Torture |
| Domestic Terrorism (GTD)          | .009 (.004)**             |                           |                           |
| Transnational Terrorism (ITERATE) |                           | .032 (.010)***            |                           |
| All Terrorism (GTD)               |                           |                           | .009 (.003)***            |
| Regime Type                       | -.033 (.011)***           | -.037 (.013)***           | -.039 (.012)***           |
| GDP Per Capita                    | -.001 (.001)*             | -.001 (.001)**            | -.001 (.001)**            |
| Population                        | .001 (.001)               | .001 (.001)*              | .001 (.001)               |
| Civil War                         | .708 (.226)***            | .815 (.244)***            | .741 (.234)***            |
| International War                 | -.221 (.282)              | -.233 (.268)              | -.282 (.250)              |
| CAT Signatory                     | .248 (.163)*              | .283 (.171)*              | .272 (.173)*              |
| Restricted Access                 | .513 (.309)*              | .439 (.304)               | .414 (.298)**             |
| Domestic Dissent                  | .625 (.146)***            | .725 (.153)***            | .683 (.152)***            |
| Observations                      | 1159                      | 1375                      | 1378                      |
| F > 0                             | 0.00                      | 0.00                      | 0.00                      |

Notes: \*  $p \leq .10$  \*\*  $p \leq .05$  \*\*\*  $p \leq .01$ . Robust standard errors clustered on country reported in parentheses. All independent variables except Restricted Access lagged one period.

**Table A4. Terrorism and Military (ITT) Torture, 1995 to 2005 (Replacing Missing Values with Multiple Imputation)**

|                                     | Dependent Variable:<br>Military (ITT)<br>Torture |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| Transnational Terrorism (ITERATE)   | .003 (.058)                                      |
| Regime Type                         | -.041 (.013)***                                  |
| Transnational Terrorism*Regime Type | .003 (.004)                                      |
| GDP Per Capita                      | -.001 (.001)**                                   |
| Population                          | .001 (.001)*                                     |
| Civil War                           | .802 (.238)***                                   |
| International War                   | -.235 (.267)                                     |
| CAT Signatory                       | .244 (.180)                                      |
| Restricted Access                   | .521 (.325)*                                     |
| Domestic Dissent                    | .711 (.154)***                                   |
| Observations                        | 1326   |
| F > 0                               | 118.00***  |

Notes: \*  $p \leq .10$  \*\*  $p \leq .05$  \*\*\*  $p \leq .01$ . standard errors clustered on country reported in parentheses. All independent variables except Restricted Access lagged one period.

**Table A5. Terrorism and Military (ITT) Torture, 1995 to 2005 (Replacing Polity with Xconst Measure of Democracy)**

|                                   | Dependent Variable:       |                           |                           |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
|                                   | Military (ITT)<br>Torture | Military (ITT)<br>Torture | Military (ITT)<br>Torture |
| Domestic Terrorism (GTD)          | .009 (.004)**             |                           |                           |
| Transnational Terrorism (ITERATE) |                           | .038 (.051)               |                           |
| All Terrorism (GTD)               |                           |                           | .007 (.003)**             |
| Executive Constraints             | -.008 (.005)*             | -.006 (.005)              | -.007 (.005)              |
| GDP Per Capita                    | -.001 (.001)**            | -.001 (.001)**            | -.001 (.001)**            |
| Population                        | .001 (.001)               | .001 (.001)               | .001 (.001)               |
| Civil War                         | .997 (.245)***            | 1.08 (.235)***            | .982 (.246)***            |
| International War                 | -.395 (.551)              | -.361 (.561)              | -.397 (.554)              |
| CAT Signatory                     | .383 (.311)*              | .406 (.308)               | .394 (.312)               |
| Restricted Access                 | .974 (.285)***            | .993 (.286)***            | .987 (.282)***            |
| Domestic Dissent                  | .967 (.220)***            | 1.00 (.211)***            | .956 (.218)***            |
| Observations                      | 1246                      | 1246                      | 1246                      |
| F > 0                             | 0.00                      | 0.00                      | 0.00                      |

Notes: \*  $p \leq .10$  \*\*  $p \leq .05$  \*\*\*  $p \leq .01$ . Robust standard errors clustered on country reported in parentheses. All independent variables except Restricted Access lagged one period.

**Table A6. Random Effects Models of Terrorism and Military Torture (ITT), 1995 to 2005**

|                                   | Dependent Variable:       |                           |                           |                           |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
|                                   | Military (ITT)<br>Torture | Military (ITT)<br>Torture | Military (ITT)<br>Torture | Military (ITT)<br>Torture |
| Domestic Terrorism (GTD)          | .005 (.002)***            |                           | .005 (.002)**             |                           |
| Transnational Terrorism (ITERATE) |                           | .030 (.016)**             | .019 (.014)               |                           |
| All Terrorism (GTD)               |                           |                           |                           | .005 (.001)***            |
| Regime Type                       | -.008 (.012)***           | -.080 (.012)***           | -.080 (.012)***           | -.080 (.012)***           |
| GDP Per Capita                    | -.001 (.001)***           | -.001 (.001)*             | .001 (.001)*              | -.001 (.001)***           |
| Population                        | .001 (.001)***            | .001 (.001)               | .001 (.001)               | .001 (.001)               |
| Civil War                         | .378 (.140)***            | .452 (.142)***            | .364 (.148)***            | .371 (.147)***            |
| International War                 | -.191 (.193)              | -.210 (.195)              | .158 (.194)               | -.196 (.192)              |
| CAT Signatory                     | -.030 (.158)              | -.009 (.162)*             | -.020 (.159)              | -.025 (.158)              |
| Restricted Access                 | .189 (.184)               | .210 (.185)               | .259 (.185)               | .203 (.184)               |
| Domestic Dissent                  | .093 (.119)               | .119 (.117)               | .093 (.118)               | .081 (.122)               |
| Observations                      | 1235                      | 1235                      | 1235                      | 1235                      |
| LR $\chi^2$                       | 55.66***                  | 52.03***                  | 54.88***                  | 58.15***                  |
| cut 1                             | 1.012 (.152)              | 1.030 (.154)              | 1.003 (.152)              | 2.010 (.152)              |
| cut 2                             | 1.027 (.152)              | 1.045 (.155)              | 1.018 (.152)              | 1.025 (.152)              |
| cut 3                             | 1.284 (.154)              | 1.301 (.157)              | 1.274 (.153)              | 1.647 (.154)              |
| cut 4                             | 1.647 (.158)              | 1.659 (.161)              | 2.101 (.162)              | 2.111 (.157)              |
| cut 5                             | 2.108 (.163)              | 2.114 (.166)              | .664 (.048)               | .676 (.162)               |

Notes: \*  $p \leq .10$  \*\*  $p \leq .05$  \*\*\*  $p \leq .01$ . All independent variables except Restricted Access lagged one period.