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Terrorists or Philanthropists: Assessing the Effect of 9/11 on Nonprofits in the US and Pakistan

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Abstract

Terrorists or Philanthropists: Assessing the Effect of 9/11 on Nonprofits in the US and Pakistan

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This dissertation assesses the impact of 9/11 on nonprofits working in the US and Pakistan. In my first chapter, I find that 9/11 increased negative evaluations about Muslim nonprofits in the US media. However, I also find that while causing an increase in negative evaluations of Islamic nonprofits, 9/11 events also increased the media spotlight on the persecution and the Islamophobia Muslim nonprofits faced post 9/11. My second chapter dispels myths that donations to Muslim nonprofits reduced because of the events of 9/11. Several policymakers and nonprofit leaders had assumed that 9/11 caused a decline in the contributions to Islamic nonprofits in the US. However, my analysis helped dispel these myths. I find that despite widescale belief in policy and nonprofit actors that 9/11 caused a reduction in donations to Islamic nonprofits, there was no statistically significant reduction in their charitable contributions. In the third chapter, I study media evaluations of Western nonprofits in the Muslim world by exploring their representation in the Pakistani media. Here I do not find that 9/11 increased negative evaluations of Western NGOs in the media. However, I find that prior anti-Western biases of the media affect its framing and evaluation of the nonprofit sector.

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Introduction

This dissertation aims to understand the impact of exogenous shocks on nonprofits' operations by assessing the effect of 9/11 events on the activities of Islamic and Western nonprofits in the US and Pakistan. I focus on nonprofits as defined by IRS classification 501(c)(3)¹. I define an exogenous shock as a system-wide unexpected or unpredictable event that the nonprofit sector (as opposed to an individual nonprofit) has no control over. This definition could include factors such as new laws governing nonprofits (Dupuy et al., 2015) as well as scandals such as the Oxfam scandal that humanitarian nonprofits faced in 2018 (Scurlock et al., 2019). But it excludes changes that a single nonprofit might enact, such as by adopting a new governance structure.

I explore if and how 9/11 terrorist attacks impacted the fundraising and reputations of Islamic and Western Nonprofits (Bloodgood and Tremblay-Boire 2011). This issue is important to study because some sections of the population, especially in western democracies, probably began looking at Islamic Nonprofits as "moral suspects" as if they facilitated the terrorist activities (Thaut, Stein, and Barnett 2012). Similarly, in the context of Islamic countries, secular western Nonprofits were considered by some as facilitators in the

¹ <https://www.irs.gov/charities-non-profits/charitable-organizations/exemption-requirements-section-501-c-3-organizations>

War on Terror that the United States declared in the aftermath of 9/11 (O'Dempsey Munslow, and Shannon 2009).

I study the impact of exogenous shocks on nonprofit fundraising, as well as their effect on a nonprofit's reputation. Reputation is "an impression of public esteem or high regard judged by others" (Weiss, Anderson, and MacInnis 1999). Hence, in assessing reputations of entities or individuals, we need to specify the context in which objects are being evaluated, and the actors who are making the assessment (Marberg, Kranenburg, and Korzilius 2016a; de Souza 2010a). Typically, Nonprofits want to maintain a good reputation about their probity and effectiveness among their donors, policy enablers, supporters, and the media (Padanyi and Gainer 2003; Jacobs and Glass 2002). This reputation allows them to secure high visibility, receive more funds, as well as have a more substantial impact in their communities.

I hypothesize that in the United States, Islamic nonprofits suffered a reputation loss because of stereotyping. Similarly, in the case of Pakistan, secular nonprofits suffered a reputation loss based on their associations with the Western countries that were waging War on Terror, which is unpopular across Muslim countries².

² War on Terror impacted the reputation of western governments severely. For instance, US approval ratings went from 23% in 2000 in Pakistan to 10% in 2002. <http://www.pewglobal.org/2015/06/23/1-americas-global-image/>

Nonprofits have an individual and a collective reputation or stereotypes. The latter means the nonprofits have reputations held in common when outside observers are likely to assume that one organization in the group has the same attributes as other members of the groups based on an observable characteristic that is common across the members in the group (Prakash and Potoski 2007). While attributing the collective reputation to an individual nonprofit forms an ecological fallacy, the prevalence of stereotyping and other types of cognitive short cuts suggest that this is a common tactic employed by individuals in arriving at judgments about others. Therefore, organizations may suffer a reputation loss when another organization or an entity with an observable quality similar to it engages in bad behavior (Grant and Potoski 2015). The similarity between Islamic nonprofits located in the US and Al-Qaeda was that they shared a critical observable characteristic: promoting Islamic causes. Similarly, in the context of Muslim countries, secular nonprofits and western countries have one visible similarity: supporting western norms and causes.

I focus on how 9/11 affected media perceptions of nonprofits. The reason is that the media acts as a heuristic that enables various audiences to evaluate nonprofits' activities. Therefore, it has a major impact on public evaluations of the nonprofits sector. Concurrently, I also study the effect of 9/11 on donors' motivations to donate to Islamic nonprofits. Fundraising is essential for a nonprofit's growth and survival. However, exogenous shocks may affect a nonprofit's fundraising efforts as they often affect the

economy as well as the regulatory environment of nonprofit operations (Chen 2018).

Finally, because media sentiment should be expected to influence donor support, in the context of the US, I also study how 9/11 affected donations to Islamic nonprofits.

Islamic Nonprofits in the United States

Muslims arrived in the US in the 17th century. By some accounts, 10% of the enslaved individuals brought to the US from Africa were of Muslim origin (Gomez 1994). There are no exact estimates of the Muslim population as the US census does not ask questions about religion. Still, Pew Research Center estimated the Muslim community in the US is around 3.45 million in 2017 (Pew Center 2017). Demographically, Muslims are composed of a very young population, with fifty-six percent between the ages of 18 and 39. They comprise a variety of different income groups, with 24% Muslims reporting household incomes of \$100,000 or higher, which is comparable to 23% of Americans in general. But they also are more likely to be at the other end of the income scale: 40% of Muslim Americans report household incomes under \$30,000, which is higher than 32% for the US population. Religion is an essential part of the lived experience for Muslims, comparable to

the rest of the US: 65% of US Muslims report that religion is "very important" to them, which is similar to 68% for the US population as a whole (Pew Center 2017).³

In addition to mosques, schools,⁴ and professional associations, Muslim communities are taking part in multiple nonprofits that deal with issues such as domestic violence, poverty, hunger, and relief in Muslim countries. There are also several public advocacy organizations, including The Council of American-Islamic Relations, Muslim Public Affairs Council, MAS Freedom Foundation, and American Muslim Alliance.

The IRS determination specialists - the individuals who decide whether or not an organization is eligible to receive federal tax-exempt status, classify the organizations based on descriptive data in the organizations' applications for recognition of tax-exempt status ("National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities"). They categorize a nonprofit with a specifically Islamic identity in the category X40. Therefore Islamic organization means an organization that has a specific Islamic identity and has been recognized as such by IRS experts (Grønbjerg 1994). This classification excludes mosques as the IRS considers them as churches and therefore does not require them to file Form 990. However, some mosques do

³ 31% report that they attend mosque more than once a week

⁴ According to estimates, there are over 1,200 mosques and 200 full-time Islamic schools in the United States. The number of full-time Islamic schools is generally considered to be larger than 200: *Philanthropy in America* puts the number at 300, and a survey by The Islamic School's League of America found 235 full-time Islamic schools in America.

file Form 990s because it enables them to signal their credibility to their donors. Therefore, I focus on all nonprofits classified by the IRS as X40 as Islamic nonprofits.

The IRS often does not categorize religious organizations with a dual purpose as Islamic. For instance, the IRS classifies religious relief organizations like the Holy Land Relief Foundation as relief organizations and not as religious organizations. However, the literature on Islamic nonprofits categorizes them as Islamic nonprofits (Shariq Siddiqui 2013). Therefore, I also include organizations that reference Islam or Muslims in their names, as well as the X40 category nonprofits. The basic intuition behind it is that they are giving an unambiguous signal by their name and brand that Islamic values influence their mission.

Many of the activities supported by Islamic relief organizations take place outside the US. In the aftermath of 9/11. Many of their actions came under scrutiny, given the international character of the Al Qaeda network (J. Turner 2009; Siddiqui 2010; Najam 2007). Hence my expansive definition of Islamic that includes both X40 and Relief organizations provides a more realistic population to assess how 9/11 affected the Islamic nonprofit sector.

Western Nonprofits (NGOs) in Pakistan

In Pakistan, the term NGOs applies to nonprofit organizations that are either funded or managed by Western countries. Indeed, some scholars have coined the term ‘NGOization’ to describe the process through which the domestic nonprofit sector begins to depend on foreign funding as opposed to local funding, as in the case of saying Pakistan's Edhi Foundation (Chahim and Prakash 2014). In general, there are two categories of secular NGOs in Pakistan: international NGOs (INGOs) such as Save the Children or local NGOs, which generally refer to local nonprofits that are funded by donors abroad like Sungi Foundation (Evans 2014). Religious nonprofits (Madrasas) that are locally funded but at times receive funding from Muslims foreign countries, especially Saudi Arabia, typically do not come under the definition of NGOs.

As per estimates, Pakistan has more than 45,000 active and operational NGOs. Among them, a tiny percentage (around 75) are international NGOs (Ministry of Interior 2020). Some international NGOs have religious motivations (for instance, Christian Development Organizations and World Vision), while the vast majority are secular Western organizations (more than 95%) like Oxfam and UN agencies.

Most local NGOs receive funding from several international as well as religious and secular donors, making it impossible to distinguish between NGOs based on their donors' religious and national affiliation. As an illustration, Idara-e-Taleem-o-Agaahi, a local NGO

with 25 offices across Pakistan, is funded by several donors from the US, Canada, UK, and the European Union, various UN agencies, as well as religious donors like World Vision.

Dissertation Plan

My dissertation consists of 3 empirical chapters, along with the introductory and concluding chapters. The three empirical chapters are stand-alone papers connected via an overarching question and theoretical framework.

In the first chapter, I assess the effect of 9/11 events on the reputation of Muslim nonprofits by studying the US media's framing of the Muslim nonprofit sector. Overall, I find that the press was more likely to represent the Muslim nonprofit negatively post 9/11. Moreover, conservative newspaper outlets are more likely to present Islamic nonprofits negatively. In terms of the topics, while the media was more likely to make an association between Muslim nonprofits and terrorism, they were also more likely to represent Muslim nonprofits as organizations that faced persecution because of Islamophobia, government scrutiny, or hate attacks against them. These media frames may have contributed to public feelings that Muslim organizations support terrorism, while also raising the alarm amongst various stakeholders that the Government and the public are persecuting the Muslim nonprofit sector.

In the second chapter, I study the effect of 9/11 on fundraising by the Muslim nonprofits. Two different narratives have appeared about the impact of 9/11 on donations to Islamic charities in the US. Some civil rights groups and Islamic charities argue that Islamic charities' donations have declined because donors were afraid of getting indicted by law enforcement agencies for their contributions to Islamic organizations or are worried that they may inadvertently fund an organization that supports terrorism. The second narrative is that donations to Islamic charities have increased post 9/11 as donors push back against Islamophobia by supporting Muslim nonprofits. I systematically assess these narratives through IRS data.

I find that 9/11 had no significant impact on overall contributions to Islamic charities. While donations to international Islamic relief charities declined in the year following 9/11 when compared to other Islamic organizations, they also recovered shortly after that. Moreover, they did not decrease significantly when compared to non-Islamic relief organizations. Although we do not have data to test individual donors' motivations, these findings suggest that at least in the case of 9/11, the fear of government persecution may have not affected the fundraising efforts of faith-based organizations. Moreover, while the 9/11 events may have caused a reduction in the Muslim nonprofits' reputation among the media (based on the first chapter), this reduction in media reputation may not have affected the

fundraising efforts of the Islamic nonprofits. This finding suggests that negative media evaluations may not at times affect contributions to faith-based nonprofits..

In the third chapter, I switch my attention to the media sentiment towards Western NGOs in Pakistan. I do not find that 9/11 increased negative sentiment about NGOs in the Pakistani media. However, I do find that the media's anti-Western biases affect their portrayal of Western nonprofits (or NGOs) in Pakistan. This anti-western bias is less prevalent in English language media when compared to the local languages newspapers as the English language media target the elites who often hold less anti-western opinions than the general population. I find that Urdu newspapers portray NGOs more negatively than English language newspapers and are more likely to question NGOs' effectiveness and accountability. Therefore, NGOs' collective reputation or their similarities with Western countries affects their portrayal in the Pakistani media. Thus, in the context of NGOs, their association and funding from Western countries may be harming their media coverage in the Muslim world, especially in the conservative media.

Research Contributions

This dissertation contributes to nonprofit literature in several ways. For one, it brings a new perspective on how exogenous shocks affect nonprofits. Exogenous shocks such as acts of terrorism or earthquakes affect organizations as they influence public evaluations

regarding the nonprofit sector, as well as affecting their relationships with the society and the Government (Capoccia and Kelemen 2007; Collier and Collier 1991). Such shocks often affect nonprofits in unpredictable ways as they may cause a change in government rules and regulations that govern nonprofits, as well as affecting nonprofits' fundraising efforts.

Nonprofits' operations are further vulnerable to exogenous shocks when they affect nonprofits' advocacy efforts (Chen 2018; Geys 2017; Bloodgood and Tremblay-Boire 2011).

However, the nature of exogenous shocks varies. Some exogenous shocks may be beneficial to a nonprofit's operations as an earthquake, that allows the media to see a nonprofit's work. As an illustration, because of their dependence on nonprofits for relief efforts, communities may be more likely to trust nonprofits after a traumatic event like an earthquake (Teets 2009). Similarly, such humanitarian shocks may increase donors' willingness to donate to nonprofits causes (Geys 2017) as highlighted by the increase in individual donations to several nonprofit causes post 9/11 (Steinberg and Rooney 2005).

However, while scholarship recognizes that exogenous shocks may have a significant impact on nonprofits' activities, less research has focused on exogenous shocks with a stigma attached to them. As an illustration, nonprofit scandals are an exogenous shock that may affect the credibility of nonprofits other than those directly involved in the scandal. Thus, this dissertation extends the research on exogenous shocks by including an exogenous shock

of 9/11 that may have stigmatized Islamic nonprofits in the US and, ironically, western NGOs in Pakistan.

This dissertation also extends the literature on nonprofits and media by studying how media biases may affect their portrayal of the nonprofits. Previous research suggests that media plays a significant role in helping build nonprofit's legitimacy amongst various actors (Schlesinger, Mitchell, and Gray 2004a; Borchgrevink 2017; Popplewell 2018; Schlesinger, Mitchell, and Gray 2004b; Lee, Johnson, and Prakash 2012). Thus, nonprofits often attempt to gain favorable media attention and, at times, focus on activities that are more likely to gain media attention, even at the expense of their core aims (Cottle and Nolan 2007; Sobieraj 2011a). Similarly, there has been extensive research on how media frames nonprofits (Deacon, Fenton, and Walker 1995; Martens 1996; Marberg, Kranenburg, and Korzilius 2016; De Souza 2010; Jacobs and Glass 2002; Deacon, Fenton, and Walker 1995; Greenberg and Walters 2004). Earlier literature has not given much attention to the media biases in the newspapers despite preference being a central theme in many other fields, including political science, communications as well as sociology. Findings from this dissertation suggest that media biases do affect their portrayal of nonprofits.

Similarly, most of the research focuses on global North or English language newspapers in the global South (de Souza 2010b; Marberg, van Kranenburg, and Korzilius 2016). This dissertation is the first research project that also includes local language

newspapers in the study of nonprofits. These media channels are particularly important as most people in the global South read these "vernacular" newspapers. Thus, a substantial proportion of media discussion of nonprofits has been missing in the literature.

This dissertation also contributes to the study of Islamophobia in the US (SaeedResearch suggests that Islamophobic tropes in the media have a significant effect on public perceptions of Muslims 2007; Terman 2017; Alsultany 2013). This dissertation extends this research to include its portrayal of the Muslim nonprofit. More importantly, this dissertation suggests that while the media was more likely to make associations with Muslim nonprofits and terrorism, they were also more likely to highlight the hate attacks and Islamophobia these organizations faced post 9/11. These findings suggest that ironically 9/11 events may have also caused more sympathetic portrayals of Islamic nonprofits in the media.

Methodologically, this dissertation is one of the first in the field of nonprofit studies to apply machine learning to the study of nonprofits systematically. Previous research employed machine learning to categorize nonprofits' areas of activities (Litofcenko, Karner, and Maier 2020; Fyall, Moore, and Gugerty 2018) or advocacy efforts of advocacy organizations (Suárez, Husted, and Casas 2018). This paper is the first to apply it to the domain of studying nonprofit texts and media reports of nonprofits and use sentiment analysis to evaluate nonprofit evaluations by the media. In the future, similar computational approaches can be useful in studying various nonprofit texts, including donor reports, as

well as gauge different actors' sentiment towards the nonprofits, including the Government as well as the social media actors.

Chapter 1

Terrorists or Persecuted?: The portrayal of Islamic Nonprofits in U.S. Newspapers

Post 9/11

Abstract:

Media plays a major role in molding U.S. public opinions about Muslims. This paper assesses the effect of 9/11 events on the U.S. media's framing of the Muslim nonprofit sector. Overall it finds that the media was more likely to represent the Muslim nonprofit negatively post 9/11. However, post 9/11, the media framing of Muslim nonprofits was mixed. While the media was more likely to make an association between Muslim nonprofits and terrorism, they were also more likely to represent Muslim nonprofits as organizations that faced persecution because of Islamophobia, government scrutiny, or hate attacks against them. These media frames may have contributed to public perceptions that Muslim organizations support terrorism, while also raising the alarm amongst various stakeholders that the government and the general public are persecuting the Muslim nonprofit sector.

Keywords: Islam, Media, Machine Learning, Reputation

Word Count: 7,516 words

Introduction

Muslim nonprofit sector plays a prominent role in the U.S. as both a representative and defender of Muslim rights (Siddiqui 2013; GhaneaBassiri 2017). Civil Rights organizations like the Center for Arab-Islamic Relations (CAIR) are at the forefront of movements for American-Muslim civil rights. Other organizations like Islamic Relief have enabled Muslims to fulfill their philanthropic obligations towards their fellow Muslims as well as U.S. fellow citizens. Islamic education nonprofits have enabled American Muslims to provide K-12 education to their children inspired by Islamic values. Islamic Centers across

the U.S. have provided the Muslim community platforms to voice their collective concerns about Islamophobia. More importantly, with regards to debates on nonprofit diversity, Muslim nonprofits are essential to study as they cater to one of the most diverse and fastest-growing minorities in America. Muslims are one of the most racially diverse groups in the U.S., and according to projections, Muslims will become the second-largest religious group in the U.S. by 2040 (Mohamed 2018).

9/11 events affected the Muslim-American nonprofit sector. Soon after the attacks on twin towers, the FBI raided and shut down four leading Islamic charities in the U.S. These nonprofits, including Holy Land Foundation, the largest Muslim charity organization in the country. While scholars agree that the 9/11 incident affected the Islamic charity sector, most research has focused on the effect of 9/11 on charitable contributions to the Muslim nonprofits (Shariq Siddiqui 2013; Jamal 2011; GhaneaBassiri 2017a; Najam 2007)) primarily.

While donations arguably are intrinsic to an organization's survival, one crucial aspect that this debate has left out is the effect of 9/11 on the reputation of the Islamic nonprofit sector. Reputation is essential for nonprofits for the success of their work. One aspect of a nonprofit's reputation is its representation in the media. Media reputation is particularly salient for nonprofits; given stakeholders have limited observable indicators to gauge their performance. Research suggests that independent media increases the public's trust in the nonprofit sector (Lee, Johnson, and Prakash 2012) and enhances the nonprofit sector's legitimacy in the eyes of the people (Pollock and Rindova 2003; W. A. Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Baum and Powell 1995; Pollock and Rindova 2003). More importantly, for Muslim nonprofits, research suggests that media molds public evaluations

about Muslims, as well as support for policies that target them (Saleem et al. 2017; Sides and Gross 2013).

However, the media also has its biases, which may affect its portrayal of the nonprofit sector. Some suggest that the media tries to frame the problems in line with the feelings of its audiences (Gentzkow and Shapiro 2010; 2006). Scholarly research indicates that 9/11 caused a change in the public sentiments towards the Muslims. While public attitudes about Muslims became more negative post 9/11 because of their perceived association with terrorism (Nacos, Nacos, and Torres-Reyna 2007; Panagopoulos 2006), the 9/11 event also increased public perception that the public and government is unfairly targeting Muslims because of Islamophobia (Panagopoulos 2006).

Thus, we may expect that the media reputation of Islamic nonprofits may be affected because of observable similarities between them and other Islamic organizations. This sort of a collective reputation (or more precisely, reputations held in common) exists if outside observers are likely to assume that one organization in the group has same attributes as other members of the groups based on an observable characteristic that is common across the members in the group (Prakash and Potoski 2007). While this constitutes an ecological fallacy, stereotyping and other types of cognitive short cuts suggest that this is a usual tactic employed by individuals in arriving at judgments about others. In particular, media often uses and reinforces stereotypes by framing news around predominant themes and stereotypes, confirming these stereotypes, in particular how people think about race and ethnicity (Nacos, Nacos, and Torres-Reyna 2007).

In this paper, I assess if and how 9/11 affected the media portrayal of Islamic nonprofits in the U.S. Overall, my paper finds that there was an increase in negative

evaluation for Islamic nonprofits post 9/11 ($p < 0.05$), even those nonprofits that were never indicted in any act of terrorism. The media was also more likely to frame the Islamic nonprofit sector post 9/11 around issues of terrorism ($p < 0.05$). Interestingly, I also find that in addition to terrorism, there was also an increase in the persecution frame of Muslims wherein Muslim nonprofits was either depicted as being persecuted by the governments, victims of Islamophobia, or hate attacks.

Together, the findings shed light on a critical aspect of stereotypes about Muslims in the U.S. media by focusing on a specific set of Muslim actors, i.e., nonprofits. They also contribute to our understanding of the effect of racial/religious stereotypes on the reputation of nonprofits belonging to a particular ethnic/religious identity. Although I do not tackle media effects directly, this study identifies a key mechanism whereby media portrayals may have created the reputation of the Muslim nonprofit sector as a security threat. Most importantly, it contributes to our understanding of the effect of exogenous shocks on the reputations of nonprofits, especially an exogenous shock that may have a stigma attached to them.

Theoretical Motivation

Exogenous shocks like terrorism acts or earthquakes affect organizations as they influence public evaluations regarding them, as well as affecting their relationships with the society and the government (Capoccia and Kelemen 2007; Collier and Collier 1991). I define an exogenous shock as an unexpected or unpredictable event that nonprofits have no control over. The term 'exogenous' excludes shocks arising from policy choices, internal political instability, and internal conflict. Nonprofits often get affected by exogenous shocks

as these unpredictable events may change government rules and regulations that govern nonprofits. Nonprofits' operations are vulnerable to exogenous shocks as exogenous shocks affect nonprofits' advocacy efforts(Chen 2018; Geys 2017; Bloodgood and Tremblay-Boire 2011).

However, the nature of exogenous shocks varies. Some exogenous shocks may be beneficial to a nonprofit's operations as an earthquake, or a terrorist attack may help increase the scope of a nonprofit's work. As an illustration, because of their dependence on nonprofits for relief efforts, communities may be more likely to trust nonprofits after a traumatic event like an earthquake (Teets 2009). Similarly, such events may increase donors' willingness to donate to nonprofits causes (Geys 2017) as highlighted by the increase in individual donations to several nonprofit causes post 9/11 (Steinberg and Rooney 2005).

However, while scholarship generally recognizes that exogenous shocks may have a significant impact on nonprofits' activities, less research has focused on exogenous shocks with a stigma attached to them. As an illustration, nonprofit scandals are an example of an exogenous shock with a stigma that may affect nonprofits other than those directly involved in the scandal.

While nonprofits are still considered more trustworthy than the government and the public sector by the public, the overall public trust in the nonprofit is on a decline(Edelman Trust Barometer 2016). Exogenous shocks like nonprofit scandals drive part of this decline in public trust. These nonprofit scandals highlight that the nonprofits often act in ways that are at odds with their claims and that they may use nonprofit funding for personal gains. (Ruth McCambridge and Steve Dubb 2018; Greenlee 2000; Padanyi and

Gainer 2003; Fremont-Smith and Kosaras 2003; Gibelman and Gelman 2004). For instance, the recent Oxfam scandal has negatively affected public sentiment towards the nonprofit sector, even those who had nothing to do with the scandal(Prakash 2019; Scurlock, Dolsak, and Prakash 2020)

Exogenous shocks with stigma may be particularly harmful to nonprofits as they may affect the reputation of the nonprofit sector. Reputation is a judgment about the effectiveness or probity of an actor that is held by other actors (Prakash and Gugerty 2010; Grant and Potoski 2015). Reputation is multi-dimensional as a stakeholder can measure reputation on several performance metrics, in particular on an organization's reputation for effectiveness and probity. Some of these metrics may not overlap. For instance, a nonprofit can have a reputation for high integrity while having a poor reputation for efficiency. The reputation of an organization also varies depending on the stakeholder. For instance, an organization that may be promoting western values may have a reputation as an ethical actor amongst its donors in Western countries. In contrast, it may not have the reputation of a moral actor amongst its beneficiaries in the Global South due to different conceptions of ethics in different parts of the globe (Khan, Westwood, and Boje 2010).

In general, organizations are cognizant of their reputations because organizations with a better reputation generally do better than their competitors in the market (Greyser 1999). For instance, a car with a reputation for high mileage is more likely to be bought by a customer who values high mileage than a car with a reputation for lower mileage.

Reputation plays an essential role for nonprofits. Stakeholders take a nonprofit's reputation for effectiveness and probity into account while engaging with them(Santos, Laureano, and Moro 2019). For instance, governments consider a nonprofit's reputation for

efficiency when awarding them any contract (Van Slyke 2007). Nonprofits with higher charity navigator ratings usually receive higher than donations than charities with lower charity navigator ratings (Gordon, Knock, and Neely 2009; Grant and Potoski 2015). Nonprofits are often held hostage by their reputation with the government, as the government's assessment of its works may affect its reputation and prospects for future government contracts (Ashley and Van Slyke 2012).

Media Reputation

Media is a vital source of a reputation for the nonprofit sector. Media records information about a nonprofit's actions and stakeholder assessments about them. Given the lack of certifiable information about nonprofits and information asymmetry between nonprofits and their stakeholders, media reporting acts as a heuristic that donors, government, and recipients employ to assess the quality of a nonprofit's work. It thus reduces information uncertainty about a nonprofit's attributes, providing signals about a nonprofit's quality ((Akerlof 1970; Weigelt and Camerer 1988). Therefore, media reputation, the overall evaluation of a nonprofit presented in the media, heavily influences stakeholders' knowledge and opinions about a nonprofit (De Souza 2010). Considering the critical role played by media reputation, several studies have employed media reputation as a measure of the overall stature of the nonprofit and for-profit sector (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Fombrun and Shanley 1990; Lee, Johnson, and Prakash 2012; Hale 2007; Ron, Ramos, and Rodgers 2005).

Media representation is acutely critical for Muslim nonprofits. Several studies demonstrate the impact of media portrayals of Muslims on general public opinion about them (Dana et al. 2018; Terman 2017), as well as support for specific government policies towards Muslims (Saleem et al. 2017; Sides and Gross 2013).

Thus, it is plausible that the U.S. media's post 9/11 negative portrayal of Muslims may affect the representation of the Muslim nonprofit sector. In general, nonprofits are represented positively in the press (Marberg, Kranenburg, and Korzilius 2016b; de Souza 2010a; Jacobs and Glass 2002; Martens 1996; Greenberg and Walters 2004).

However, in deciding how to frame their news items, media outlets also look at proxies or heuristics to determine how they want to portray a news item, and thus they may employ collective reputation to assess how they want to frame a media object (Doris Appel Graber 1988; Doris A. Graber 2001; Entman 2010). A collective reputation (or more precisely, reputations held in common) exists if outside observers are likely to assume that one organization/individual in the group has same attributes as other members of the groups based on an observable characteristic that is common across the members in the group (Prakash and Potoski 2007). While this constitutes an ecological fallacy, stereotyping, and other types of cognitive short cuts suggest that this is a usual tactic employed by individuals in arriving at judgments about others.

The media has historically used racial heuristics and stereotypes to portray minorities, which serve to reinforce and magnify these stereotypes. As an illustration, the U.S. media has acted to reinforce stereotypes about Asian-Americans as industrious, while helping to increase the connection between Latino Americans as 'illegal' immigrants (Trussler and Soroka 2014).

Moreover, media biases affect its portrayals of media objects. In particular, newspapers are sensitive to the opinions of their readers and employ media frames that closely align with these views (Gentzkow and Shapiro 2010; 2006). For instance, in the media of the Muslim world, the U.S. is negatively portrayed because of the high anti-US sentiment across the region (Gentzkow and Shapiro 2003).

Post 9/11, there was a sharp increase in negative public attitudes about Muslims that associated Muslims with terrorism. For instance, a survey by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations revealed that exposure to media stories caused a sharp spike in Americans that perceived Islamic fundamentalism to be a "critical" threat to national security (from 34 percent in 1994, 38 percent in 1998 and 61 percent in 2002). Post- 9/11 Americans were also less likely to trust Arabs (Panagopoulos 2006).

In line with public opinion, media tropes connecting Muslims with terrorism have increased in the U.S. media. These media portrayals, while being driven by consumer sentiments, also serve to magnify them. Consequently, while there were some initial negative sentiments towards Muslim post 9/11 events, the media played a significant role in intensifying these sentiments (Boydston, Feezell, and Glazier 2018; Kalkan, Layman, and Uslaner 2009).

Thus, I hypothesize that based on the similar observable characteristic of religion between Islamic nonprofits and Islamic terrorists and the collective reputation problem, media is more likely to portray Islamic nonprofits more negatively post 9/11 based on the negative collective reputational spillover. Moreover, I would expect this reputational spill over to affect the Islamic nonprofits irrespective of whether they were ever indicted for terrorism charges or not;

Therefore, I hypothesize the following:

H1: In a given nonprofit industry or policy area, 9/11 led to the increased portrayal of Islamic Nonprofits in negative sentiment frames.

H2: In a given nonprofit industry or policy area, 9/11 led to the increased portrayal of Islamic Nonprofits in terrorist frames.

However, there is contrary evidence regarding the effect of 9/11 on public perceptions about Muslims. For instance, post 9/11, while public sentiments were more likely to connect Muslims with terrorism, there has also been an increase in public opinion that the government and the general public are unfairly singling out Muslims for association with terrorism due to Islamophobia. For instance, in the aftermath of September 11, most Americans felt it was "very likely" that people in the United States were singling out Arab-Americans, Muslims, and Middle Eastern immigrants unfairly (Panagopoulos 2006).

The effect of this public opinion on the media has been contrary. While causing an increase in discussion about Muslims around terrorism, 9/11 also caused a rise in sympathetic tropes surrounding Muslims in the media. As Al-Sultany argues, in media reports, images of the Muslims as terrorists are often offset by the descriptions of Muslims who were fighting the same promoters of terrorism. Thus, 9/11 also caused an increase of the media representations of Muslims as unjust targets of hate crime, or Islamophobia (Al-Sultany 2007; Reid 2015).

Therefore, we would expect that in addition to negative frames, persecution tropes will also increase in the media. Moreover, 9/11 caused an increase in real-world attacks on Muslim and Muslim organizations. For instance, documented hate crimes against Muslims

in the United States increased by 1600 percent (from 28 in 2000 to 481 by the end of 2001) and continue to remain above pre-9/11 levels even after dropping to 155 in 20021(FBI Hate Crime Statistics 2001). Therefore, the media is more likely to represent Muslims in the persecution frame. Thus, it is plausible that in addition to public sentiment, real-events would affect the media framing of Muslim nonprofits.

Therefore, I hypothesize the following:

H3: In a given nonprofit industry or policy area, 9/11 led to the increased portrayal of Islamic Nonprofits in persecution frames.

Data and Analysis

I collected 3466 newspaper articles from major US newspapers through Lexis Nexis. While choosing the publication, I looked at three main criteria: newspaper circulation, ideology (liberal versus conservative), as well as availability on Lexis Nexis. The details about the newspapers are given in Appendix A.^a

I look at articles from the 1996-2006 period. This period enables me to assess not only the effect of 9/11 events but also whether there was a 'decay' in sentiment after 9/11. I looked up the list of Islamic nonprofits from the IRS Form 990 dataset (they have a category X40). Therefore, my dataset is limited to organizations that file form 990 and not all 501(c) organizations. However, often, Islamic with dual categories are not categorized as Islamic. For instance, a prominent relief organization Islamic relief is classified by the IRS as a relief and not an Islamic organization. Therefore, I needed a more extensive list of Islamic nonprofits. Thus, I added the names of any Islamic nonprofit that mentioned "Islam" or "Muslim" in their name in the form-990. This signal will make it evident to the

journalist that they are supporting Islamic causes. I also added a list of Islamic relief organizations from the list of Muslim Student Organizations.^b Several Islamic relief charities are very prominent. However, they are not categorized as Islamic organizations by the IRS. For instance, the Holy Land Foundation, the largest Islamic relief charity, is not classified as Islamic.

Overall, my sample in form 990s included 397 Islamic nonprofits. However, among the 397 Islamic nonprofits that I found through form-990s, only 95 were mentioned in the newspaper collection. Among the most mentioned were Council on Arab-Islamic Relations (846), Holy Land Foundation (542), Muslim American Society (204), and the Global Relief Foundation (170). Out of the 95 Islamic nonprofits that the newspapers mention, law enforcement agencies indicted four for terrorism^c.

I conduct frame analysis in three steps. First, I divided the article into paragraphs that mention Islamic nonprofits. Thus, paragraphs that mention Islamic nonprofits are the unit of analysis. While it would be ideal if I could conduct text analysis of the whole article, the articles often have multiple perspectives about Islamic nonprofits, which often leads to confusion about the overall sentiment of the articles. Moreover, many times the Muslim nonprofits are not the main topic of the article, which may have much information about other issues. Thus, focusing on the overall article often leads to confusion regarding the central theme of the article. Therefore, to focus on Muslim nonprofits' portrayal, I focused on the paragraphs that specifically mention Muslim nonprofits.

To assess how the media represents Muslim nonprofits, I use machine learning. Machine learning (ML) employs computer algorithms to categorize a text by relying on patterns and inference in the text (Wilkerson and Casas 2017; Anastasopoulos and

Whitford 2019). Recently, scholars have started machine learning to understand patterns from large datasets for nonprofit studies (Ma, Jing, and Han 2018; Lecy and Thornton 2015; Litofcenko, Karner, and Maier 2020; Fyall, Moore, and Gugerty 2018; Ma and Konrath 2018; Suárez, Husted, and Casas 2018) For this paper, the main advantage of machine learning is that it enables the study of frames on a large corpus of newspapers, which would not have been possible otherwise. In this paper, I employ two different machine learning algorithms: unsupervised and supervised machine learning (discussed in more detail below). But before I conduct machine learning, I conduct standardized procedures to prepare the text for machine learning (removing stopwords, stemming the words, and removing numbers).

Framing Islam Post 9/11: Unsupervised Machine Learning

In the first phase, I employ unsupervised machine learning to discover the broader discussion themes around Muslim nonprofits. I employ structural topical model (STM), a probabilistic topic model used to code the content of a corpus of texts into substantively meaningful categories, or "topics," using the statistical correlations between words in a corpus. STM is a mixed-membership model, meaning that it considers each document to be a mixture of various topics. For instance, a hypothetical paragraph could be composed of topics of terrorism, political advocacy, and humanitarian aid if it covers 54 percent of its content to "terrorism," 14 percent of its content to "political advocacy," 7 percent of its content to "humanitarian aid," etc.

In unsupervised models, the computer identifies topics without any preconceived assumptions about the text given by the researcher. The unsupervised approach enables

me to discover important topics with less human input, and thus it reduces the problem of confirmation bias (Quinn et al. 2010)..

Another main advantage of STM over other unsupervised models is that it estimates the latent topics while incorporating document-level external covariates into the prior distributions for document topics or topic words. In this respect, the STM effectively allows me to estimate regression models that treat the prevalence of each identified topic as an "outcome variable" of the explanatory variables. STM is beneficial for this project as by using the 9/11 event as a document level covariate; I can assess if it caused a change in newspaper frames about the Muslim nonprofits.

Main Topics

As discussed above, I focus the analysis on the *occurrence* of specific topics under which the Muslim nonprofits are discussed, as a way of capturing the attention and scrutiny devoted to Muslim nonprofits in the U.S. media. For this analysis, the STM model simultaneously estimates the topics that best represent the Muslim nonprofits.

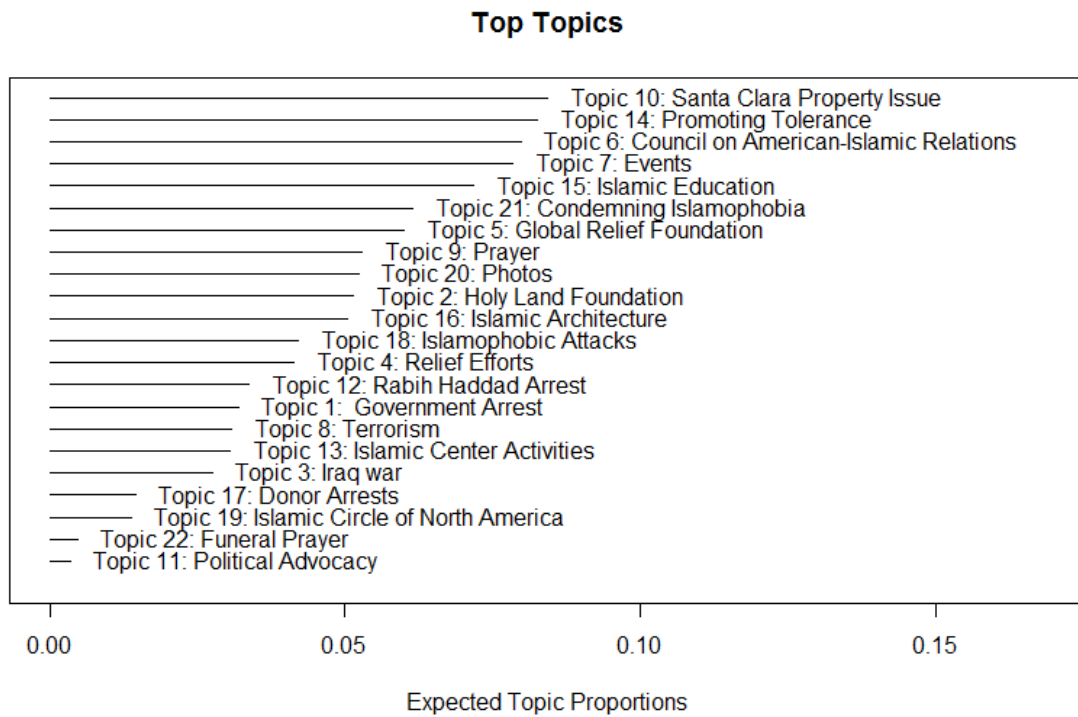
Scholars argue that there is no correct answer for choosing the appropriate amount of topics. However two measures (semantic coherence) and (exclusivity) are considered the best way to assess the number of topics that best represent a corpus. Semantically coherent means that the words which are most probable under a topic should co-occur within the same document(Mimno et al. 2011). Exclusivity attempts to find words that are both frequent in and exclusive to a topic of interest(Roberts et al. 2014). However, there is often a trade-off between semantic coherence and exclusivity as more semantic coherence

also often leads to less exclusivity. Thus it is better to choose a model that balances semantic coherence and exclusivity. As a diagnostic, I ran models on various amounts of topics. I chose the one with the most semantic coherence (22 topics) as the final number of topics as it offered the best number of exclusivity and semantic coherence. Appendices B and C give further details.

Topics

Graph 1 below presents the top 22 topics that discuss Muslim nonprofits.

Graph 1: Top 22 Topics



Some topics discuss the activities of some specific nonprofits. These nonprofits include the most prominent Islamic nonprofits, including the Islamic Society of North America, Council on Muslim-American Relations (CAIR), Global Relief Foundation, and the Holy Land Foundation.

On the other hand, several topics discuss specific service-oriented activities by Muslim nonprofits, including organizing relief efforts, funeral rites, promoting tolerance, conducting political advocacy, providing Islamic education, organizing various events, and prayer activities. Some topics focus on particular events like the Santa Clara Mosque land issue where some Muslim groups were fighting a legal battle for land in Santa Clara to build to a Mosque. Interestingly, there is a topic that focuses on the architecture of Muslim organizations. This topic highlights the uniqueness of Muslim buildings and Islamic architecture.

Predictably, several terrorism-related frames exist. For instance, two topics discuss linkages between the Holy Land Foundation and Global Relief Foundation in terrorism post 9/11. Another topic 'Rabih Hadad Arrest' discusses the arrest of the Global Relief Foundation head Rabih Hadad. In addition to frames that focus on these particular nonprofits, the terrorism frame discusses the Muslim nonprofit sectors' work with 9/11, Al-Qaeda, and Bin Laden.

Additionally, several frames depict Muslim nonprofits as persecuted or fighting persecution. For instance, the Islamophobia topic portrays Muslim nonprofits are speaking out Islamophobia against Muslims. In particular, it focuses on President Bush's visits to Islamic Centers post 9/11, wherein he tried to distance Islam from terrorism and spoke against increased Islamophobia post 9/11. Additionally, the government scrutiny frame

focuses on increased government scrutiny of Muslim nonprofit operations. Likewise, the hate crimes frame focuses on hate crimes against Muslim individuals and organizations post 9/11. The frame 'donor arrests' focuses on arrests of donors to Muslim organizations.

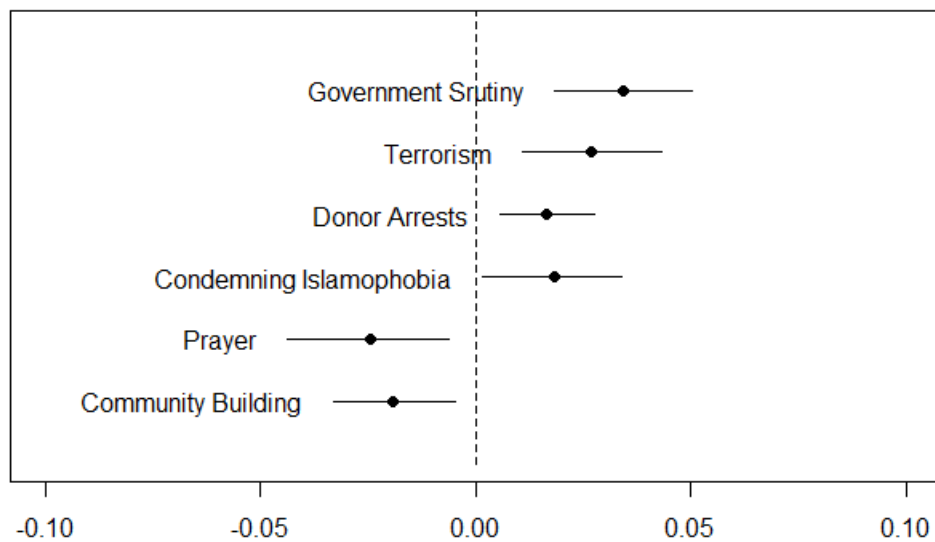
In addition to understanding the topics that best describe Muslim nonprofits in the U.S., I am interested in assessing the effect of 9/11 on the framing of Muslim nonprofits. To do this, I employ a regression discontinuity design. The regression discontinuity design analyzes the effect of 9/11, as an exogenous shock on the framing of Islamic organizations. I also control for many other factors that can affect the topic framing about nonprofits. For one, the nature of the nonprofit's work may affect its framing in the newspaper. As an illustration, the law enforcement agencies indicted several nonprofits like the Holy Land Foundation on charges for terrorism. Thus, it is likely that the newspapers will discuss it under the topic of terrorism. There were in total four of such nonprofits. One option may have been to remove them from the sample. However, we could not do so at the cost of eliminating data as these paragraphs also mention other nonprofits in addition to the Holy Land. To control for this, I control for the paragraphs that mention the nonprofits indicted for terrorism. Moreover, as discussed above, I also control for Islamic international relief nonprofits (50 Islamic relief nonprofits were in the list, but the newspaper paragraphs only mention 10). Thus, I control all of these factors in the STM model.

Topics may also vary by the newspaper and media outlet. For instance, conservative outlets like Wall Street may portray Islamic Nonprofits more negatively than liberal outlets like the New York Times. To account for this, I control for conservative newspaper type. I also control for the paragraph length as the length of the paragraph may affect the nonprofits' portrayal in the paragraph. Thus, to sum, overall, I controlled for a dummy of

post 9/11, and a dummy for the interaction of time (year) and post 9/11 which assessed if there was a change in topic proportion after the initial shock of 9/11. In addition, I also control for conservative newspapers, relief nonprofits, nonprofits indicted for terrorism, as well as the word count for individual paragraphs. Appendices (G-I) provide further details on the effect of the different covariates on the topic proportion of each topic.

Here I find that several topics were affected by the events of 9/11. For instance, Muslim nonprofits were less likely to be discussed around normal nonprofit activities like organizing prayer and community activities at Islamic centers.

Graph 2: Marginal Effect of 9/11 (Expected Change in Topics)



Overall, they were more likely to be framed under topics that would broadly fall under terrorism. The terrorism frame discussed alleged links between international terrorist groups like Bin Ladin and Muslim organizations.

Interestingly, 9/11 also caused an increase in topics broadly related to persecution. For instance, under the government scrutiny framework, paragraphs depicted the government scrutiny of the employees or donors of Muslim nonprofits. Islamophobia frame broadly represented the Muslim nonprofits as being affected by or speaking out against Islamophobia. Similarly, the donor persecution frame depicted Muslim organizations' donors as persecuted because of their donations due to their charity to Muslim organizations.

The interaction of post 9/11 and time (year) assess if there was a change in the framing of Muslim nonprofits after the initial shock of 9/11. It is not significant for most variables apart from Islamophobia, thus suggesting that there was not a significant increase or decrease in the framing of the Islamic nonprofits after the initial shock of 9/11. Thus, the trend did not change significantly after the initial shock of September 2001, except for a reduction in Muslim nonprofit's framing as condemning Islamophobia (Appendix F).

Supervised Machine Learning

While unsupervised machine algorithms are useful in discovering latent topics in a corpus without human involvement, they do not allow the validation of the computer's coding against human judgments. Thus, as a complement to the unsupervised machine, scholars often employ supervised machine learning to validate computer coding with that of humans. In supervised machine learning, human coders code a training set of representative newspaper paragraphs (called training data), to train the computers to code the rest of the paragraphs. As a check on validity, the computer also codes a small

proportion of human coded paragraphs, which enables the comparison of computer coding with humans.

For this project, while the 9/11 events may have caused a change in topics, it is not clear if 9/11 caused an increase in negative evaluations of the Muslim nonprofits in the newspapers. Thus, to evaluate whether Muslim nonprofits were more likely to receive an unfavorable review from the media, I conducted a sentiment analysis of newspaper paragraphs. I also use supervised machine learning to confirm if the terrorism framing of nonprofits also increases post 9/11.

Therefore, to summarize, for supervised machine learning, I was interested in two main frames: whether the paragraphs portrayed Islamic nonprofits negatively, and whether they depicted Islamic nonprofits in a terrorism frame.

For the first step, I assess if the frames employed by the media to describe Islamic nonprofits are more negative post 9/11 than pre 9/11 by conducting a sentiment analysis of the newspaper paragraphs. Sentiment Analysis is the analysis of the negativity of the media frames (Medhat, Hassan, and Korashy 2014). Corporate organizations employ similar tools to analyze reviews from customers and the media (Fan, Geddes, and Flory 2013). For instance, scholars have used Amazon reviews to measure sentiment about Amazon products (Fang and Zhan 2015). A growing body of information sciences research analyzes the sentiment or the negative or positive tone of newspapers (Balahur et al. 2013). Similarly, the terrorism frame assesses if the paragraph discusses nonprofits under the topic of terrorism.

A negative frame and a terrorism frame do not always overlap as a paragraph delineating a nonprofit in a terrorism frame may not be portraying it negatively. As an

illustration, the following paragraph on September 23, 2001 in the New York Times, discusses Muslim nonprofits under the frame of terrorism. However, it depicts the nonprofits as condemning terrorism and in a positive light. "Last week, Muslims and their representatives on Long Island were trying urgently to convey their shock and grief over the attacks, their allegiance to the United States, and their condemnation of terrorist acts ."

In other instances, the sentiment could be negative, and a terrorism frame could be present. For example, in the following paragraph on May 22, 2002, Orange County Register makes a clear link between the Holy Land Foundation (A Muslim nonprofit) and terrorism: "The impression we have is that he was helping to fund the Palestinian terrorists in Israel,' Siegel said. 'He was collecting money here in the United States and sending it to the Holy Land Foundation, which supported terrorism Most people believe he was part of that. There have been so many lies, we are bound to be suspicious. '

Often, the frame is neither negative or terrorism. For instance, the paragraph in Newsday on Januar 22, 1998, "Fasting for Muslims is ordained by God. Every practicing and believing Muslim would fast no matter what," said Al Haaj Ghazi Khankan, director of communications and interfaith relations for the Islamic Center of Long Island in Westbury." In this paragraph, there is no negative evaluation of a Muslim nonprofit, or mention of terrorism.

I hired two undergraduate coders to code a random sample of newspaper paragraphs. In the first phase, we extensively pre-tested the coding instructions to ensure that the coders arrive at similar conclusions while reading the newspapers. Journalists are often less explicit about their sentiment evaluations in the newspaper when compared to other kinds of media, like customer reviews or movie reviews(Balahur et al. 2013). Thus, it

is challenging to code the paragraphs on a 1-5 scale as there are often disagreements between coders on issues whether a paragraph is 3 on the scale versus being 4 on the scale.

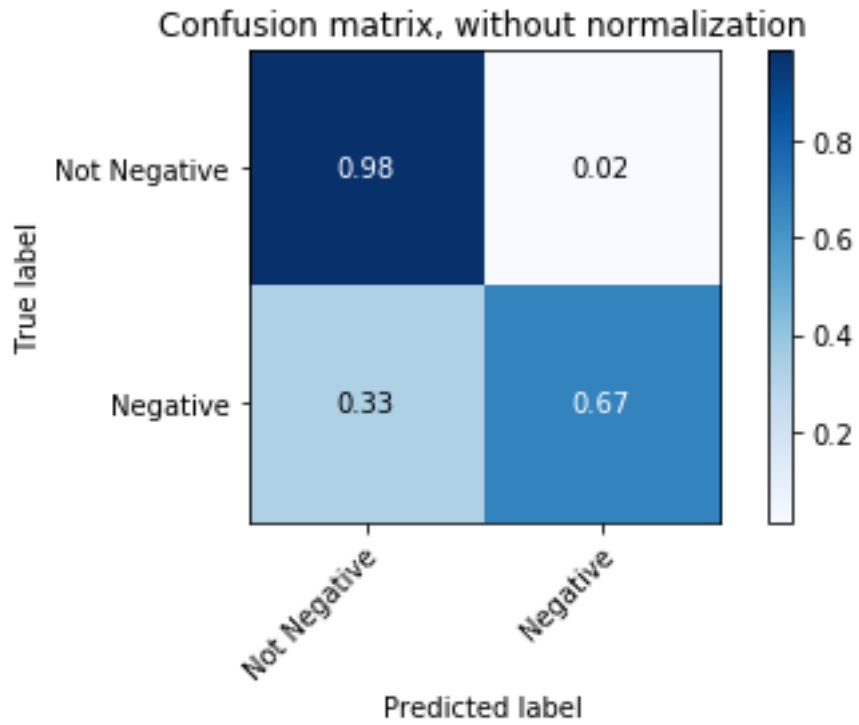
To deal with this issue of inter-rater reliability, I used various scales in the pre-testing phase to ensure that there is a higher degree of reliability in my measures. However, because of the difficulty of assessing sentiment in a newspaper paragraph, the coders will often not agree. We spent much time coming up with a reliable set of coding instructions to enable high inter-rater reliability between the coders. In the end, we decided on creating a dichotomy of coding (negative or not negative). As we are primarily interested in negative sentiment, I restricted the analysis to measure the negative sentiment as opposed to positive sentiment in the newspaper.

Thus, the coders coded any paragraph with a negative portrayal of nonprofits as a negative. Similarly, they would code a paragraph with a neutral or positive tone as a non-negative. This scale reduces some nuances in the sentiment (say between slightly negative and very negative tones). However, it makes the study highly replicable as a different individual will come at similar conclusions when reading these paragraphs (as illustrated by the very high degree of inter-rater reliability between coders). Overall, we continued to refine the coding in the pre-testing scheme until the coders come to a high level of agreement (Cohen's kappa 0.90). The coders agreed 95% of the time if the paragraph was depicting a nonprofit negatively, which is high, considering the subjective nature of the paragraph.

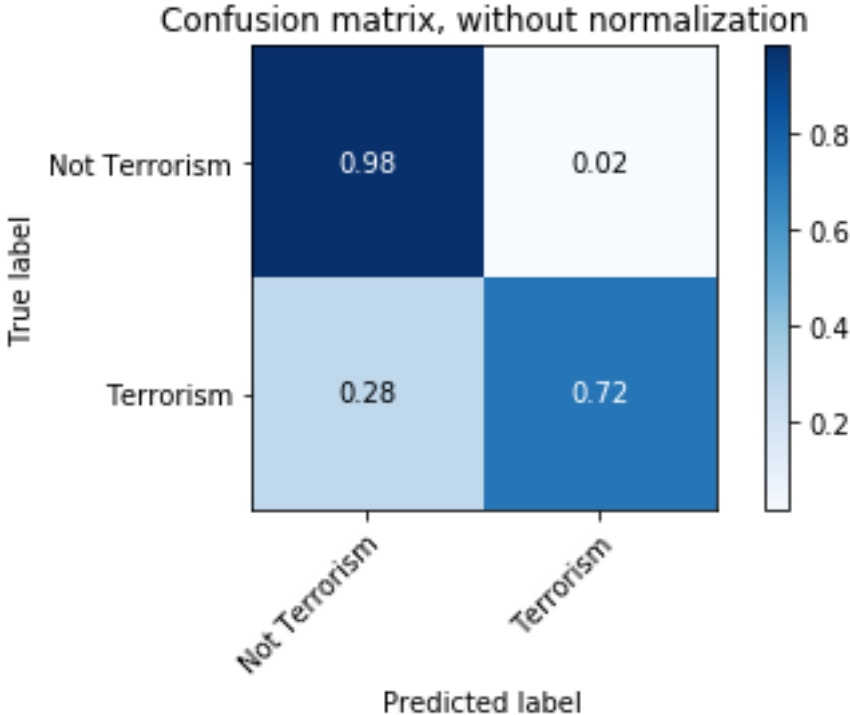
After coding the pilot paragraphs for the initial inter-reliability check, the coders coded a random 20% of the sample of paragraphs (I assigned ten percent each to each coder). To code the rest 80% of the paragraphs, I employed supervised machine learning.

I trained the model on the bag-of-words model, which gave the highest accuracy when compared to Tf-IDF. I also employed four different machine learning algorithms on the training set with a split of 80-20 (training data-test data), which included logistic regression, support vector machine, and k-nearest neighbor classifier. Overall, the support vector machine (SVM) provided the highest accuracy. Given below are the confusion matrices. Confusion Matrix compares the coding by the human coders with the coding by the machine learning. Overall, the accuracy was high (90% for the negative frame and 91% for a terrorism frame). Further statistics regarding precision, recall and F-1 score are provided in Appendiced M and N. Overall, precision, the number of true positives divided by the number of true positives plus the number of false positives is also very good. This is suggested by the high F-1 score which combines the recall and precision scores (0.94 for non-negative and 0.75 for negative, as well as 0.96 for non-terrorism and 0.80 for terrorism), The F1 score is the harmonic mean of precision and recall.

Graph 3: Confusion Matrix for Sentiment Analysis



Graph 4: Confusion Matrix for the Terrorism Frame



Tables below (Table I and Table II) provide details on the percentage of terrorism frame and negative frames in the paragraphs. The proportion of negative paragraphs increased from 5% pre 9/11 to 19% post 9/11. Likewise, the percentage of terrorism frame paragraphs risen from 6% pre-9/11 to 20% post 9/11.

Table I: Proportion of Newspaper Articles with a Negative Frame

	Pre-9/11	Post-9/11
Not Negative	95.00	81.00
Negative	5.00	19.00

Table II: Proportion of Newspaper Articles with a Terrorism Frame

	Pre-9/11	Post-9/11
Not Terrorism	94.00	80.00
Terrorism	6.00	20.00

Data and Analysis:

However, looking at the trend, we cannot control for many other factors that may affect the sentiment about nonprofits. Thus, I controlled for the same variables as the STM model discussed above. Similarly, I employ a similar regression discontinuity design as discussed above.

Since the dependent variable is the number of times a 'negative' sentiment exists in a paragraph (which is negative or non-negative), I run a binomial regression. The negative binomial distribution is a discrete probability distribution of the number of successes (0 or

1) in a dataset. Since the analysis is assessing the probability of successes or failures, a normal count distribution like Poisson or a simple linear regression over a continuous population would not be an appropriate model to use.

Overall, I find that when compared to pre 9/11, post 9/11 Islamic nonprofits are more likely to be portrayed in a negative frame ($p < 0.05$: H1) and terrorism frames ($p < 0.05$, H2). Islamic nonprofits provide relief abroad are more likely to be portrayed negatively than domestic Muslim nonprofits. Nonprofits charged with terrorism were more likely to be described both negatively and in a terrorism frame, which is not surprising. Conservative newspapers were also more likely to represent Islamic nonprofits negatively, thus giving more credence to the hypothesis that media bias does affect its portrayal of nonprofits. Interestingly, there was no significant difference in the terrorism frame in conservative and liberal newspapers. This finding may suggest that while the conservative newspapers may frame nonprofits negatively, the topics that they discuss them under may be pretty similar. To check the robustness of my findings, I run an interrupted time series for both sentiment and terrorism frame using monthly sentiment as the unit of analysis. The results remain the same (Appendix J and K), thus providing more confidence in the results.

Table III: Effect of 9/11 on Sentiment and Terrorism Framing

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Negative (1)	Terrorism (2)
Year	-0.089 (0.102)	0.072 (0.080)

Post_9/11	0.801*** (0.281)	0.966*** (0.209)
Conservative News	0.301** (0.149)	-0.063 (0.113)
Terrorism	3.366*** (0.140)	1.499*** (0.129)
Relief	1.895*** (0.142)	0.933*** (0.131)
Year x Post 9/11	0.185* (0.109)	-0.111 (0.084)
Constant	-4.110*** (0.275)	-2.900*** (0.202)
Observations	5,866	5,866
Log Likelihood	-1,243.856	-2,156.693
Akaike Inf. Crit.	2,501.711	4,327.386
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Media Framing Reputation of Islamic Nonprofits

Overall, these findings suggest that 9/11 caused an increase in the negative media evaluation of the Muslim nonprofit sector. It also caused an increase in discussions of them around themes of terrorism and persecution. Thus, on the one hand, the media was more likely to depict Muslim nonprofits as a security threat to the U.S. because of their potential association with terrorism. On the other hand, it was also more likely to represent Muslim nonprofits as organizations under persecution because of Islamophobia, government persecution, and hate crimes. Moreover, while the media highlighted the terrorism and persecution aspects of Muslim nonprofits, it was less likely to talk about the more humanitarian and religious elements of Islamic nonprofits' works like conducting religious services and community outreach.

Overall, it is beyond the scope of this data to make a causal argument that this media portrayal may have affected the Muslim nonprofit sector. However, we do have some evidence to suggest that these frames may have influenced the public's evaluation of the Muslim nonprofits. For instance, the terrorism frame may have strengthened the perceived association between Muslim nonprofits and terrorism in the eyes of the general public and policymakers. Post 9/11, several anti-terrorism laws like the Patriot Act have been passed, which have primarily targeted Muslim nonprofit organizations. Similarly, several Muslim nonprofits have either been raided or had their operations closed. Moreover, the nonprofit sector has mostly stayed silent over the targeting of the Muslim nonprofit sector by the government, thus possibly suggesting that there is some understanding in the nonprofit sector that there is some implicit link between the Muslim nonprofit industry and terrorism (Sidel 2006).

On the other hand, the persecution frames may have contributed to a fear among Muslim nonprofits, social justice organizations, and even some government officials that post 9/11, the Muslim nonprofit sector is being persecuted. For instance, despite mostly anecdotal evidence, a perception exists amongst some policymakers, the Muslim nonprofit sector, and social justice groups that post 9/11 the Muslim nonprofit industry is on a decline because of government restrictions and raids on charitable donors and officials. However, recent scholarship has not found evidence that the 9/11 events adversely affected donations to the Muslim nonprofit sector (Shariq Siddiqui 2013; Khan 2013; Abdelkarim 2006; Turner 2009). As GhaneBassiri suggests, 'since 9/11, U.S. Muslim philanthropy has generally been framed in terms of national security and civil liberties. In practice, however, U.S. Muslims' charitable giving has posed no threat to national security,

nor has the government's closing of some of the largest Muslim relief organizations after 9/11 had the chilling effect that many predicted it would have on U.S. Muslims' giving. Thus, the media scrutiny may have played a role in creating panic amongst some nonprofit and public sector groups that the Muslim nonprofit sector is on a decline.

Moreover, the media focus on Muslim nonprofits around themes of persecution and terrorism may have made the general public and policymakers more oblivious to the more humane and religious roots of the Muslim nonprofits' work as there were fewer discussions on these topics in the media post 9/11.

Conclusion

Overall, this paper finds that the 9/11 events affected media portrayals of Islamic nonprofits. However, it is crucial to understand these conclusions with their limitations. For instance, this study is limited to time 1996-2006. Thus, it does not cover events after this period that may have influenced the media's portrayal of Muslim nonprofits. In particular, with the recent debates along partisan lines about the status of Muslims in U.S. Presidential elections, a more significant difference along ideological lines may have also developed amongst the newspapers in their portrayal of the Islamic civic sector.

Similarly, the events themselves rather than just media bias may have caused an increase in the persecution and terrorism frames for Muslims. For instance, the Muslim nonprofit may have been more likely to discuss their activities around the topics of terrorism and persecution, which may have driven an increased reporting of them around these topics. Thus, we cannot ascertain if the media biases are the only reason that explains

the change in Muslim nonprofit framing post 9/11. However, while the events themselves may have partially driven the frames, it is up to the media to decide whether it wants to portray the Muslim nonprofits favorable or unfavorably in these stories. For instance, under the topic of terrorism, the media can either positively portray a Muslim organization by suggesting that it is fighting terrorism, or it can represent it negatively by implying that there is some link between it and terrorism. Therefore, the increase in negative sentiment for the Muslim nonprofits post 9/11 suggests that media bias affects their portrayal of nonprofit organizations. Similarly, the fact that the Muslim nonprofits were more likely to be portrayed negatively in conservative media does suggest that media biases did play a role in changing newspapers' framing of Muslim nonprofits. Moreover, by even controlling for organizations involved in terrorism, we still find an increase in negative evaluations, thus suggesting that media biases do affect its assessment of Muslim nonprofits.

This paper provides some vital insights into the media representation of nonprofits. For one, it suggests that media representations of nonprofits can be affected by the actions of other actors that are like them, even if they are not nonprofits themselves. In this case, the media portrayal of Muslim nonprofits was affected by the actions of terrorist organizations. This finding thus suggests that the nonprofits are at times affected by the actions of unprincipled actors that have some similarities with them. This finding is an important insight for nonprofit managers to consider. For instance, in the case of Western nonprofits working in the global South, the activities of their country-of-origin may affect their reputation. As an illustration, the actions of the U.S. government may affect the operations of U.S. nonprofits working across the globe.

Second, it provides insights into the effect of a nonprofit's identity on its representation in the media. While 9/11 is an exceptional case with its association with Muslim nonprofits, it may be worthwhile in the future to explore other nonprofits whose image may be affected by racial or religious identity. For instance, it may be beneficial to study different nonprofits like Latin nonprofits, African-American nonprofits, or even religious nonprofits influenced by the Catholic values. Thus, this article contributes to the role of nonprofit identity and its evaluation by external actors.

Third, it contributes to the literature on exogenous shocks by studying the effect of a shock that may have a stigma attached to it. For instance, recently, the Oxfam scandals may have shaken the public's confidence in the nonprofits. Therefore, considering the frequency that such scandals with stigma appear, it is crucial to study how they may or may not affect nonprofits' reputations.

Fourth, this paper builds on the literature that demonstrates the applicability of machine learning to study nonprofits. In future research, machine learning can facilitate the study of other text sources like newspaper data, social media data, as well as internal and external nonprofit communication.

- a. I used the list of conservative newspapers from media bias facts check website < <https://mediabiasfactcheck.com>>. I also confirmed the list from similar lists, including All sides media bias < <https://www.allsides.com/media-bias/media-bias-ratings>> as well as Pew Media Bias < <https://www.journalism.org/2014/10/21/political-polarization-media-habits/>>.
- b. Muslims Student Association (MSA) is the only available list of Islamic organizations available in the U.S. For more details http://www.msa-natl.org/resources/Relief_Orgs.html
- c. These organizations include the following: Holy Land Foundation, Global Relief Foundation, Benevolence International Foundation, and Al Haramain Islamic Foundation

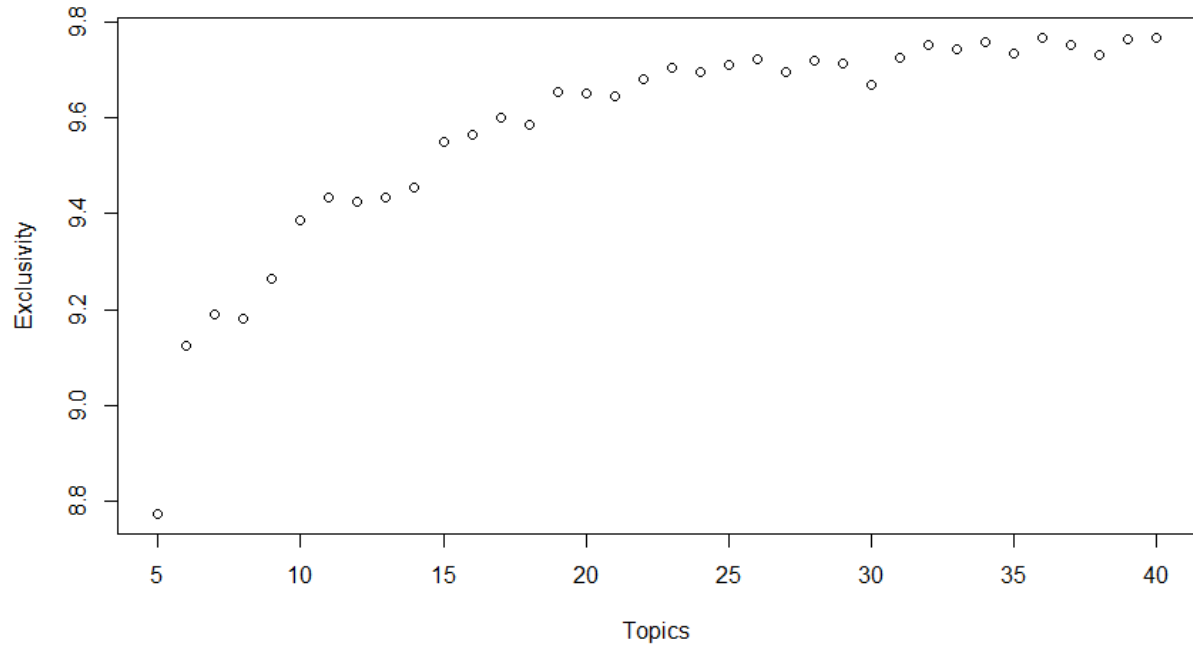
Appendices

Appendix A: Details of Newspapers

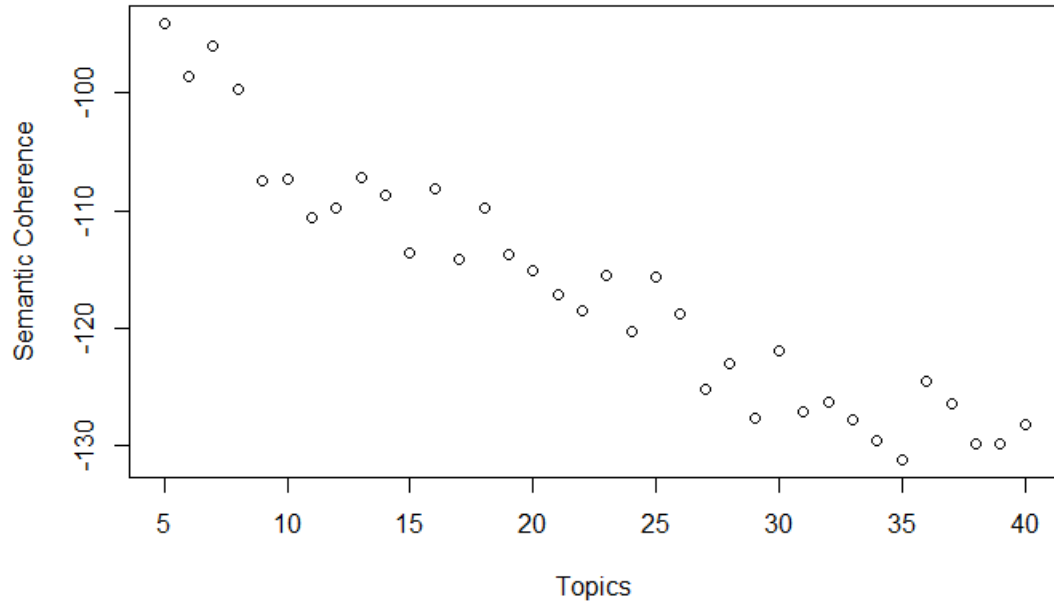
	Newspaper	Mean Sentiment	Number	Standard Dev (Sentiment)	Mean (Terrorism)	Standard Dev (Terrorism)
1	Daily News	0.14	195.00	0.35	0.23	0.42
2	Human Events	1.00	3.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
3	Human Events Online	0.76	50.00	0.43	0.74	0.44
4	Newsday	0.08	823.00	0.27	0.12	0.33
5	Orange County Register	0.09	570.00	0.29	0.08	0.28
6	Pittsburgh Tribune Review	0.12	69.00	0.32	0.19	0.39
7	Richmond Times Dispatch	0.04	335.00	0.19	0.07	0.26
8	San Jose Mercury News	0.07	549.00	0.26	0.10	0.30
9	St. Petersburg Times	0.15	296.00	0.36	0.13	0.34
10	Star Tribune	0.01	233.00	0.11	0.07	0.25
11	The Daily Oklahoman	0.00	9.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
12	The Detroit News	0.12	354.00	0.32	0.09	0.28
13	The New York Post	0.30	138.00	0.46	0.26	0.44
14	The New York Times	0.29	857.00	0.45	0.26	0.44
15	The Philadelphia Inquirer	0.20	254.00	0.40	0.19	0.40
16	The Tampa Tribune	0.09	162.00	0.29	0.15	0.36

17	The Washington Post	0.23	967.00	0.42	0.22	0.42
18	Washingtonpost.com	0.50	2.00	0.71	0.50	0.71

Appendix B: Exclusivity of Various Topics



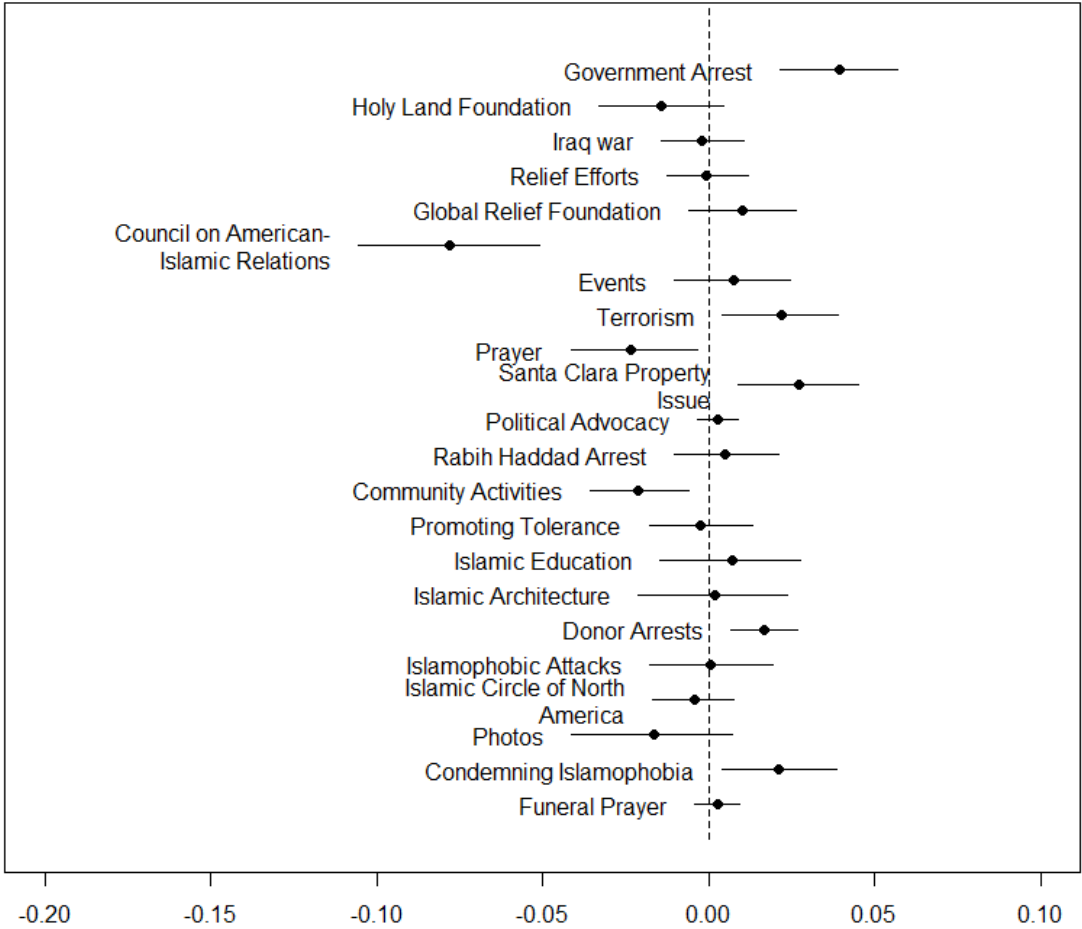
Appendix C: Semantic Coherence With Various Topics



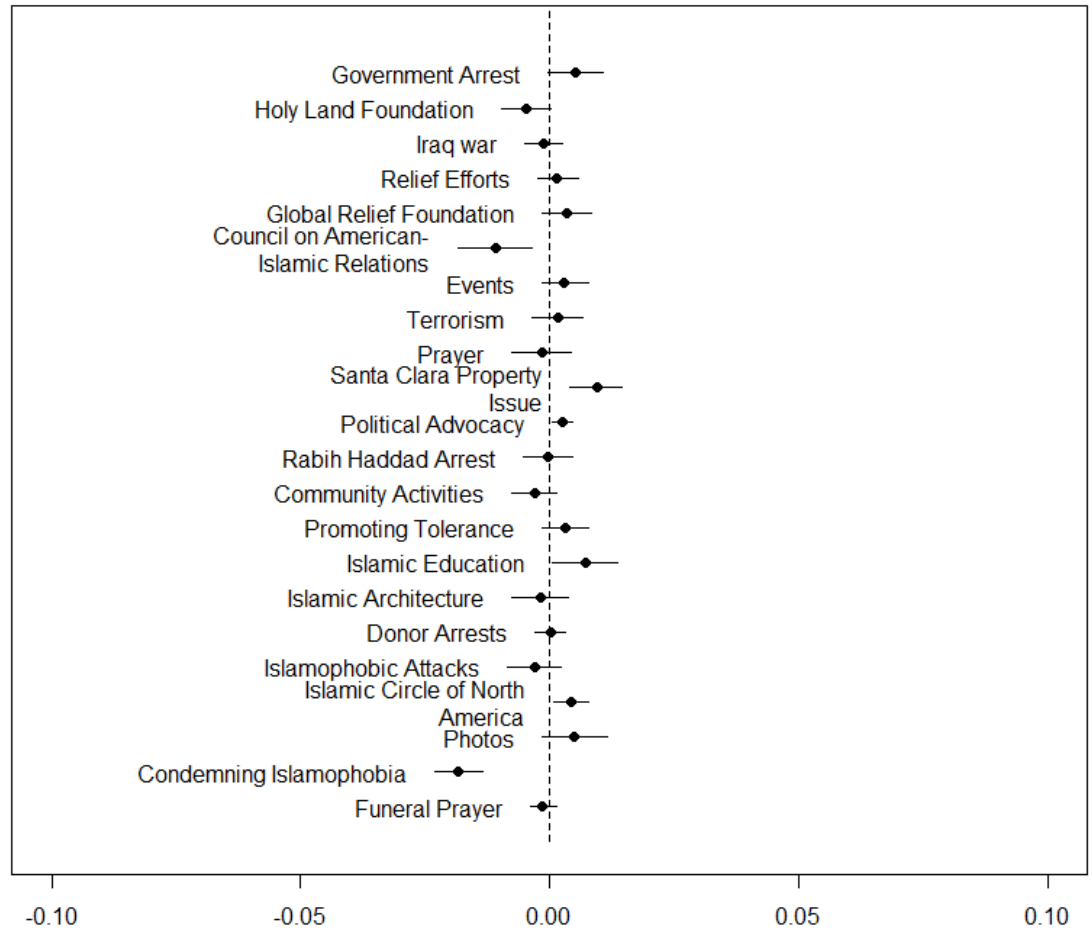
Appendix D: Topic with FREX Words (Most Exclusive and frequent words in each topic)

Topic	FREX						
Government Arrest	al-arian	goldstein	damra	al-timimi	timimi	cleveland	ballut
Holy Land Foundation	land	Holi	hama	texas-bas	palestinian	richardson	hamdan
Iraq war	iraqi	Iraq	saddam	Save	plane	live	remind
Relief Efforts	medic	Site	Web	Work	food	collect	famili
Global Relief Foundation	asset	Investing	chariti	Link	govern	frozen	treasuri
Council on American-Islamic Relations (Less post 9/11)	ayloush	Hussam	Nike	american-islam	relat	council	ibrahim
Events	qazwini	el-sawaf	Sah	shahe	coovadia	hamdi	fadhel
Benevolence International Foundation	fighter	chechnya	benevol	Laden	bin	arnaout	racket
Prayer)	feast	tomorrow	kippur	sunset	yom	calendar	prayer
Santa Clara Property Issue	clara	communiti	santa	associ	lsi	bay	student
Political Advocacy	prager	Adl	dornan	rohrabach	filibust	missil	vote
Rabih Haddad Arrest	bridgeview	---	haddad	agenc	arbor	relief	ann
Islamic Center Activities (Less post 9/11)	jersey	Diallo	Citi	York	new	shede	twin
Promoting Tolerance?	peopl	Feel	doesnt	Thing	god	said	get
Islamic Education	siddiqi	muzammil	bundakji	syeed	mahdi	umbrella	societi
Islamic Architecture	dome	Build	Car	Tour	massachusett	avenu	street
Donor Arrests	diego	alamoudi	saudi	august	islamist	arabia	libyan
Islamophobic Attacks	deen	farrakhan	Atta	moham	window	los	african-american
Islamic Circle of North America	circl	Ellison	candid	Iap	brotherhood	campaign	awad
Photos	westburi	khankan	ghazi	newsday	faroqu	al-haaj	island
Condemning Islamophobia	attack	Harass	Act	Hate	threat	anti-muslim	incid
Funeral Prayer	funer	Belov	Inter	cemeteri	grandchildren	bohemia	lieu

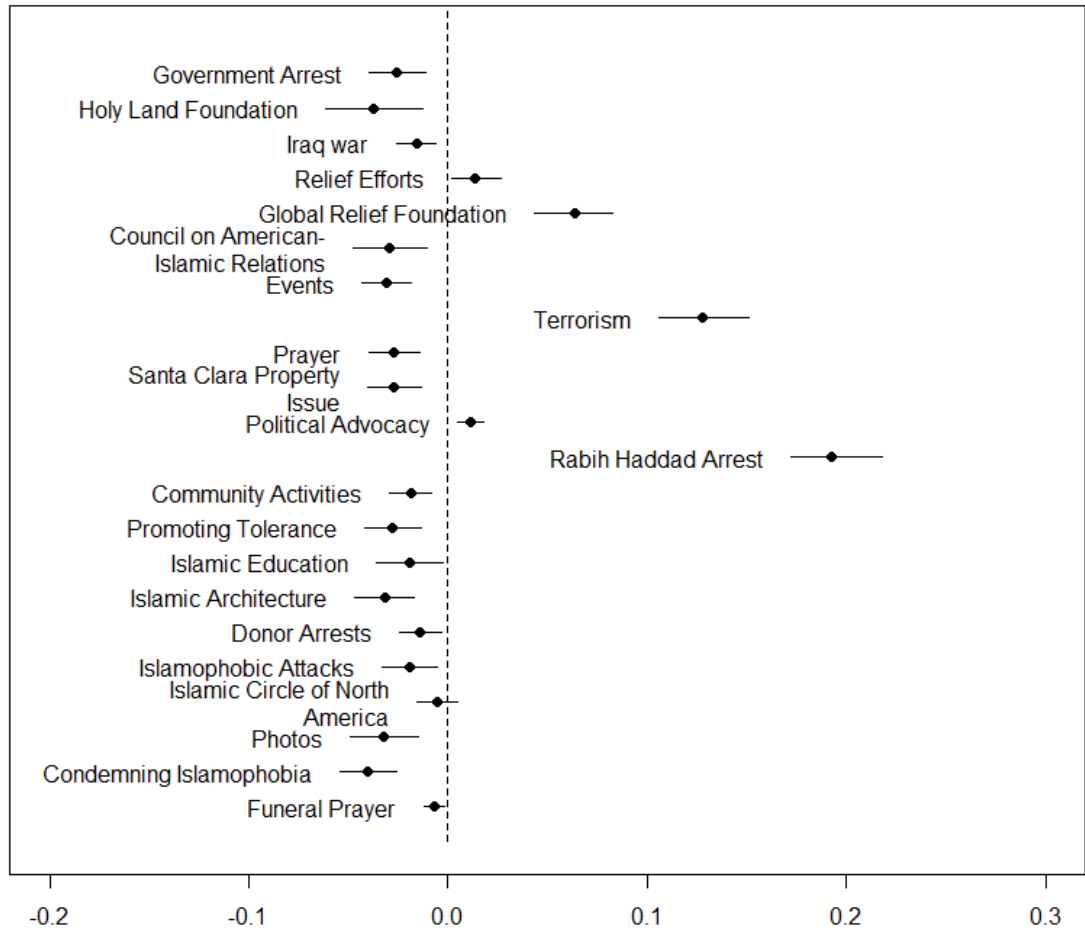
Appendix E: Effect of Increase in Topic Framing of 9/11 (from 0 to 1)



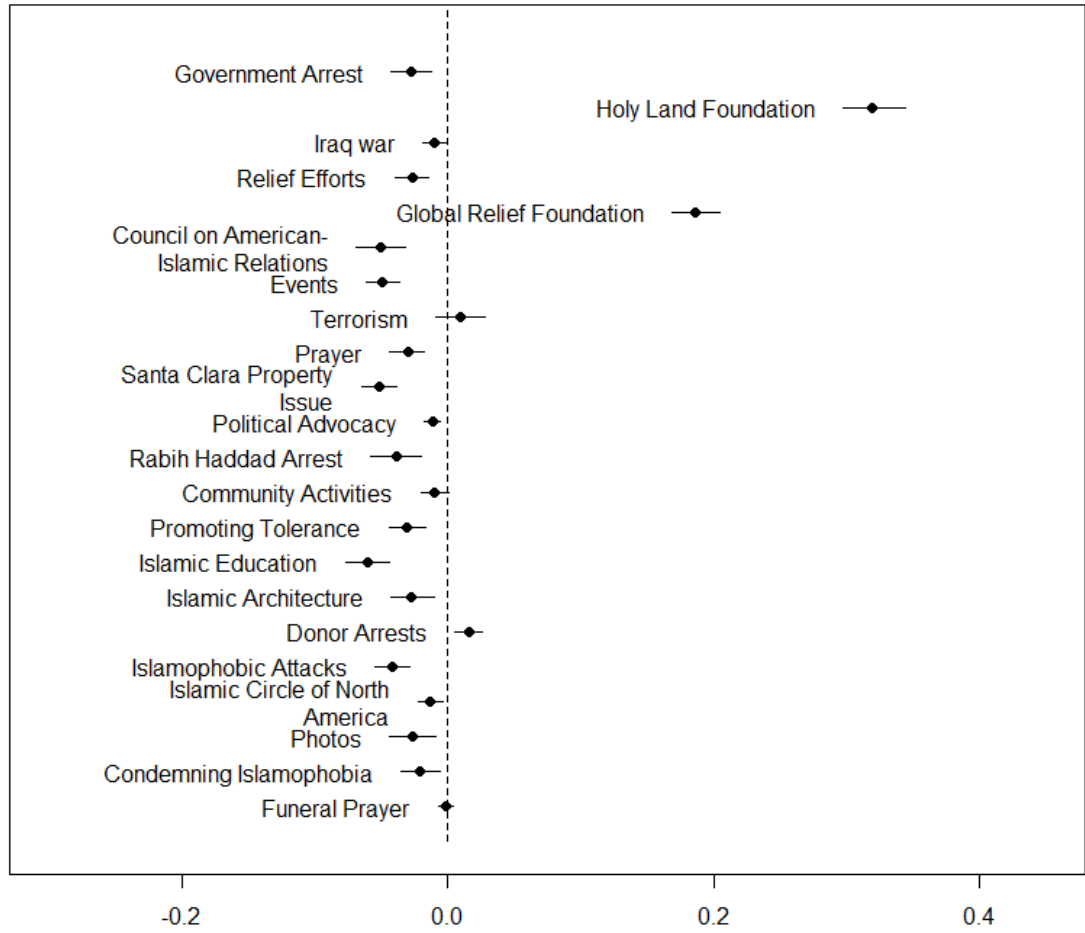
Appendix F: Marginal Effect of Interaction (Post 9/11 x Year) on Topics



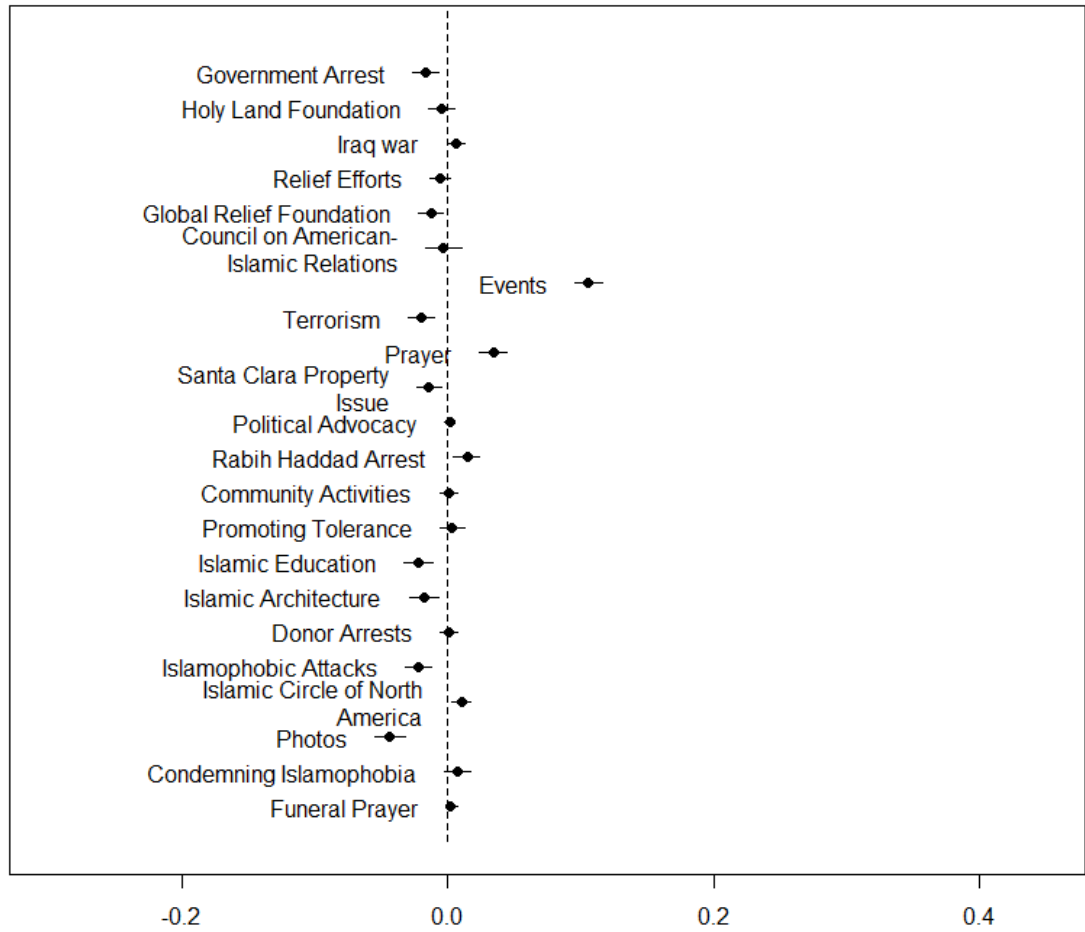
Appendix G: Marginal Effect of Relief Organizations on Topic Framing



Appendix H: Marginal Effect of Terrorism Organization on Topics



Appendix I: Marginal Effect of Conservative Newspaper on Topics



Appendix J: Interrupted Time Series with Sentiment

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
Auto Regression 1	0.283*** (0.084)
Post 9/11	0.053*** (0.013)
Terrorism	0.445*** (0.082)
Conservative Newspapers	0.030 (0.035)
Relief	0.364*** (0.089)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Appendix K: Interrupted Time Series with Terrorism Frame

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
intercept	0.034*** (0.012)
Post 9/11	0.072*** (0.014)
Terrorism	0.076 (0.109)
Conservative Newspapers	-0.015 (0.057)
Relief	0.484*** (0.121)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Appendix L (Covariate Details)

	Covariate	post_911	Mean Sentiment	Number (Paragraphs)	Standard Deviation (Sentiment)	Mean (Terrorism)	Standard Deviation (Terrorism)
1	Not Conservative	Pre-911	0.04	1174	0.20	0.05	0.22
2	Not Conservative	Post-9/11	0.19	3803	0.39	0.20	0.40
3	Conservative	Pre-911	0.09	188	0.31	0.09	0.28
4	Conservative	Post-9/11	0.17	701	0.37	0.16	0.37
5	Not Relief	Pre-911	0.02	1296	0.14	0.04	0.19
6	Not Relief	Post-9/11	0.07	3780	0.26	0.13	0.34
7	Relief	Pre-911	0.61	66	0.49	0.42	0.50
8	Relief	Post-9/11	0.78	724	0.41	0.53	0.50
9	Not Terrorism	Pre-911	0.02	1302	0.15	0.04	0.20
10	Not Terrorism	Post-9/11	0.05	3713	0.22	0.12	0.33
11	Terrorism	Pre-911	0.60	60	0.49	0.35	0.48
12	Terrorism	Post-9/11	0.82	791	0.39	0.55	0.50

Appendix M

Sentiment Analysis

	Precision	Recall	F-1 Score
Non-Negative	0.94	0.95	0.94
Negative	0.77	.73	0.75

Appendix N: Terrorism Frame

	Precision	Recall	F-1 Score
Non-Terrorism	0.93	0.98	0.96
Terrorism	0.90	0.72	0.80

Chapter 2

Effects of Exogenous Shocks?: Understanding the Impact of 9/11 on donations to Islamic Charities in the U.S.

Abstract

Two different narratives have emerged about the effect of 9/11 on donations to Islamic charities in the U.S. The first narrative promoted by civil rights groups. Some Islamic charities argue that donations to Islamic charities have declined as individuals are afraid of getting indicted by law enforcement agencies for their contributions to Islamic organizations, or are worried that they may inadvertently fund an organization that supports terrorism. The second narrative is that donations to Islamic charities have increased post 9/11 as donors push back against Islamophobia by supporting Muslim nonprofits. I systematically assess these narratives through IRS data. I find that 9/11 had no significant impact on overall contributions to Islamic charities. While donations to international Islamic relief charities declined in the year following 9/11 when compared to other Islamic organizations, they also recovered shortly after that. Moreover, they did not decline significantly when compared to non-Islamic relief organizations.

Keywords: Religious NGOs, Terrorism, Islamophobia, NGO-Government Relations, Patriot Act

Introduction

The World Trade Center attacks of September 11, 2001 (9/11) fueled negative perceptions of Muslims in the western world (Alsultany 2013; Poole 2002; Saeed 2007; Bail 2012; Mellor and Rinnawi 2016). Documented hate crimes against Muslims in the United States increased by 1600 percent from 28 in 2000 to 481 by the end of 2001 and continue to remain above pre 9/11 levels even after dropping to 155 in 2002¹(“Hate Crime Statistics” 2001). 9/11 also negatively affected Islamic non-governmental nonprofits because citizens and governments viewed them with increasing suspicion (Bloodgood & Tremblay-Boire 2011; Khan, 2015; Petersen 2012; Thaut, Stein, & Barnett 2012). In 2001, three prominent Islamic charities in the U.S. were raided for their alleged links to terrorism and shut down, and law-enforcement agencies raided five further charities in subsequent years²³. The government also charged some nonprofit donors for supporting terrorism, including the highly-publicized cases of Sami Al-Arian, Dr. Rafil Dhafir, and Mohamed Shorbagi (N. Turner 2011; Watanabe 2004; Watanabe and Esquivel 2009; MacFarquhar 2006; J. Turner 2009).

The overall proportion of raids to Islamic charities was small when compared to the whole universe of Islamic charities operating in the U.S. (445 Islamic charities filed their returns to IRS between 1998-2004). However, the media reports of these raids may have created a perception that donating to an Islamic charity could lead to arrest and prosecution of the donors. Islamic NGO officials later expressed a similar concern. At the World Congress of Muslim Philanthropists in 2008, as U.S. State Department and USAID officials listened, the executive director of the Council on American Islamic Relations stated that past indictments of donors had had a chilling effect on donations. The U.S. Treasury Department also later recognized this

impact: “The Treasury Department understands that the steps that it has taken to shut down charities that support terrorist groups (combined with other successful counter-terrorism efforts across the U.S. Government) have had the unfortunate and unintended consequence of causing a chilling effect on well-intentioned donor activity within Muslim-American communities” (“Protecting Charitable Giving Frequently Asked Questions” 2010). While there was a general feeling amongst public and nonprofit officials that 9/11 caused a reduction in donations to Islamic charities, there were no statistics or systematic studies to back up the claims. Most evidence was either anecdotal or based on a small sample of donors to Islamic charities.

More recently, some scholars have questioned whether 9/11 had a chilling effect on donations to Islamic charities. In particular, pushback against Islamophobia may motivate some donors to contribute more to such groups (Siddiqui 2013; GhaneaBassiri 2017; Khan 2015; Alsultany 2013, 9; Nagra 2011). GhaneaBassiri (2017) argues that more people are contributing to such groups, and cites the Chicago-based Inner-City Muslim Action Network (IMAN), whose budget increased from \$200,000 to \$2 million after 9/11. However, again most of the research is also anecdotal or study of a small subset of Islamic charities.

Although both of these narratives are plausible, there is currently no systematic evidence to support either one. This lack of systematic analysis “makes it difficult to argue for or against the narrative” of a decrease (or increase) in donations to Islamic charities (Siddiqui, 2013, p. 209). What is needed is a systematic comparison of the effect of the 9/11 “shock” on giving patterns. Besides, the type of organization may also matter, given that Islamic groups have different missions. Internationally-focused charities often work in territories where there can be a blurring between humanitarian and terrorist organizations. For example, Hamas is on the U.S. government’s list of terrorist organizations, and while it has been repressive to specific sections

of the society, in particular, the LGBT community in Palestine, but it is also the biggest provider of humanitarian aid in Palestinian territories(Berman 2009). Anecdotal evidence suggests that well-intentioned donors might be more concerned about their donations, especially if these charities are more likely to be accused of supporting terrorist activities (J. Turner 2009; Najam 2007; Goodstein 2003; Watanabe 2004).

In this paper, I use Internal Revenue Service (IRS) data on Islamic charitable contributions from 1998-2004 to test whether (compared to other religious organizations across the same period) Islamic charities in the U.S. experienced significant changes in contributions. I also check for differences in the impact of 9/11 on domestically focused versus internationally-focused Islamic charities. I find that 9/11 did not lead to a significant decrease or increase in contributions to Islamic charities compared to other charities. Donations to international Islamic relief NGOs did decline significantly in the year of 9/11 (2001) when compared to other Islamic organizations, but even donations to these charities gradually recovered in subsequent years. Moreover, they did not decline significantly when compared to other non-Islamic relief organizations, thus suggesting that the effect of 9/11 may not have been unique to Islamic relief organizations.

These findings contribute to the literature on exogenous shocks on nonprofit contributions by assessing how the exogenous shock of 9/11 may have affected donations to organizations that were widely expected by policymakers to be affected by 9/11, i.e., Islamic charities. While we do not have data on individual motivations and the lack of effect may suggest, anecdotal evidence hit that the effect of an exogenous shock may be complicated. While it may have reduced some donors' motivation to reduce their donations to the Muslim nonprofits sector, it may have increased the motivations of other donors to donate. More research needs to

look at how exogenous shock may affect an individuals' willingness to donate. Similarly, the widescale reporting of the nonprofit sector despite no effect to contributions hints of the effect that misinformation may have on the not-for-profit sectors. For nonprofit managers, it is especially important to reduce ways to reduce this information uncertainty to assure their donors as well as reduce panic within their organizations and the broader public.

Prior research on NGO giving

Exogenous shocks like terrorism acts or wars affect organizations as they affect public perceptions of an organization, their role in the society, and their relationship with the government (Capoccia and Kelemen 2007; Collier and Collier 1991). Nonprofits' operations are vulnerable to exogenous shocks as exogenous shocks affect nonprofits' advocacy efforts (Chen 2018), their member attitudes (Geys 2017), and the regulatory operating environment of nonprofits (Bloodgood, Tremblay-Boire, and Prakash 2014). In some instances, these exogenous shocks provide nonprofits new opportunities to engage with the local communities in case of exogenous events like earthquakes (Anasti 2020). Exogenous shocks also affect the donor's willingness to donate at any point in time to an organization, especially during catastrophes like earthquakes and floods (Geys 2017).

9/11 was a major exogenous shock that affected the socio-political environment in the U.S. (Bail 2012). The event also caused an immediate upsurge to philanthropy to 9/11 affectees (Steinberg and Rooney 2005). Post 9/11, Islam moved to the forefront of debates in the U.S. public sphere, leading to an upsurge in Islamophobia (Alsultany 2013b; Haddad and Harb 2014; Panagopoulos 2006). Predictably, the public and nonprofit officials and media conjectured that donors are afraid of donating to Muslim charities because of fear of government persecution.

Government policies often directly or indirectly influence the nature and scope of NGO activities through incentives and regulations to donors (Sommerfeld and Reisch 2003; Dupuy, Ron, and Prakash 2015; Stroup 2012; Bloodgood, Tremblay-Boire, and Prakash 2014). Most nonprofits depend on individual donor contributions for their survival (Prakash and Gugerty 2010b). The U.S. government has historically incentivized such donations through tax incentives (Wright 2001), but it can also exercise negative influence through regulations and behaviors that discourage contributions.

Post 9/11, the U.S. government introduced the Patriot Act, which included provisions aimed at reducing contributions to organizations suspected of promoting terrorism². These policy changes had two main consequences for Islamic NGOs. First, as per the Patriot Act, prosecutors did not need to demonstrate that a donor knew that they were offering material support to a terrorist organization if the nonprofit organization was caught in a terrorism-related charge (Brazeal 2004). Second, as per the act, a government only needed a “reasonable suspicion” that a nonprofit provided material support to designate it as a supporter of terrorism. As Laila Al-Marayati, Board Chair of the Islamic charity Kinder USA put it, Islamic “charities [and the people who contribute to them] are in the position of being guilty until proven innocent.” (Abdelkarim 2006)

There is little evidence to indicate that the U.S. government regularly abused this broad expansion of authority. However, the media extensively covered the few cases the government charged donors. Indeed, the narrative promoted by leading newspaper outlets including the New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times postulated that the threat of government persecution had a chilling effect on donations to Islamic charities and not just those alleged to have supported terrorist organizations (MacFarquhar 2006; Watanabe 2004; Watanabe and

Esquivel 2009; Lueck 2003; Goodman 2006; MacFarquhar 2008). Even President Obama acknowledged that “In the United States, rules on charitable giving have made it harder for Muslims to fulfill their religious obligation” (Obama 2009).

In addition to fear of government retaliation, donors may have also been afraid of unwittingly supporting a terrorist organization. Scholarly research suggests that donors employ the racial identity or activities of organizations similar to a nonprofit as a heuristic to assess their donations to organizations (Grant and Potoski 2015; Tremblay-Boire and Prakash 2019). Thus, there is a possibility that some donors may have been afraid of donating to Islamic organizations because of evident similarities between them and Islamist actors. Thus, overall, the fear of government persecution and the fear of unintentionally funding radicalization may have reduced donors’ willingness to donate to Islamic charities.

Therefore, I hypothesize the following:

H1: 9/11 led to a decline in individual contributions to Islamic NGOs

Recent scholarship challenges this narrative by arguing that reactions to increasing Islamophobia in the U.S. pointed to even higher support for Islamic NGOs post 9/11 (Siddiqui 2010; GhaneaBassiri 2017; Nagra 2011, 11; Persson and Musher-Eizenman 2005; Alsultany 2013b, 2007; Haddad and Harb 2014). Group identity and feelings of solidarity with a group represent one of the main reasons for donating towards a group-specific cause (John D. Hutcheson and Dominguez 2016; Wittberg 2013; Taniguchi and Thomas 2011). Political and social exclusion of religious and ethnic groups increase within-group donations as demonstrated by the examples of Jewish-Americans, and African-Americans (Stella Shao 1995; Chan 1991; Hamilton, Ilchman, and Fairfax 1995; Kosmin 1995; Werbner 2002; Brinkerhoff 2014). Even

non-Muslim donors may feel compelled to donate to Muslim organizations in response to hate crimes perpetrated against Muslims.

Limited anecdotal evidence supports this perspective. Siddiqui found that post 9/11, charitable giving to the 14 largest American Muslim organizations, “rose from a little more than \$29 million in 2002 to more than \$96 million in 2008” (Siddiqui 2010). Some Muslim organizations similarly report that 9/11 did not harm their fundraising (Jamal 2011).

Therefore, I hypothesize the following:

H2: 9/11 caused an increase in individual donations to Islamic charities.

Media and think-thanks also suggested that 9/11 primarily affected Islamic organizations working abroad as donors were more likely to trust local Muslim nonprofits than those working abroad (Najam 2007; Shariq Siddiqui 2013, 11; Watanabe 2004). Islamic nonprofits raided or closed by the U.S. government had a common trait. In essence, they were providing aid in Islamic countries abroad as the government insisted that it was trying to curb resource flows to terrorist organizations like Al-Qaeda (Goodstein 2003). Indeed, in some cases, the line between relief and terrorist organizations was blurred. In the criminal prosecution against the Holy Lands Foundation (HLF), for example, the government argued that even though HLF funding was intended for charitable activities, HLF was still guilty of promoting terrorism because HLF donated to organizations that were otherwise associated with terrorism (Guinane, Dick, and Adams 2008).

These government actions may have made donors warier of contributing to internationally-focused Islamic relief organizations. In interviews, several donors expressed fear that their donations to support humanitarian aid might come under scrutiny. For instance, a doctor told the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), “Most of us, including myself, are now

giving only to local causes instead of overseas issues because I fear the accusation at some point that the money went to supporters of terrorism” (Cooperman 2006;). Another interviewee noted that “people’s conscious perspective is that it is dangerous to give overseas, because of the fear of being related to an organization that will come under the scrutiny of the government (J. Turner 2009).” According to Najam (2007), Pakistani diaspora donated less to organizations working overseas post 9/11, while their donations to domestic organizations remained the same. We do not have any evidence to suggest that any other sub-category of Islamic charities apart from Muslim nonprofits faced similar ire.

Therefore, I hypothesize:

H3: 9/11 Caused a reduction in contributions to internationally-focused Islamic relief charities compared to domestic Islamic organizations.

H4: 9/11 Caused a reduction in contributions to internationally-focused Islamic relief charities compared to other Relief Organizations.

Data

This paper examines charitable contributions from 1998-2004 using data from the National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS), which provides financial information for all organizations required to file Form 990 annually by the IRS (Feng et al. 2014). I only look at all organizations that file form 990, which excludes some 501(c) organizations that do not file form 990. I assess seven years (1998-2004) as it enables me to assess the immediate shock of 9/11, as well as assessing if there was an improvement after the shock.

IRS determination specialists classify the organizations based on descriptive data in the organizations' applications for recognition of tax-exempt status ("National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities"). Category X40 includes tax-exempt Islamic organizations (Grønbjerg 1994) but does not include mosques as mosques are considered churches and are therefore not required to file 990s. Nevertheless, some mosques do file 990s because they also self-identify as Islamic Nonprofits and not merely as places of worship. Similarly, it does not include 501(3)c organizations that do not file form-990.

The dataset also does not include dual-purpose organizations that are simultaneously working for multiple causes as IRS categorizes an organization only under one category. For instance, the IRS classifies the Holy Land Relief Foundation as a relief organization rather than a religious organization, even though the literature considers HLRF to be a relief organization inspired by Muslim values (Siddiqui, 2013). Therefore, in my list, I also include organizations with Islamic or Muslim references in their names as they are unambiguously signaling that Islamic values by their title. Additionally, I draw on the database of Muslim Student Associations Nationwide (MSA) to identify Islamic relief organizations working outside the U.S. and confirm that they provide relief abroad by exploring their websites (J. Turner 2009; Siddiqui 2010; Najam 2007)⁴. Some relief organizations may provide relief solely in the U.S. Thus, I check the international nature of their work by checking their websites. Among the organizations, only the Islamic-American Zakat Foundation exclusively focused on Muslims living in the U.S. Thus, I do not categorize it as a relief organization.

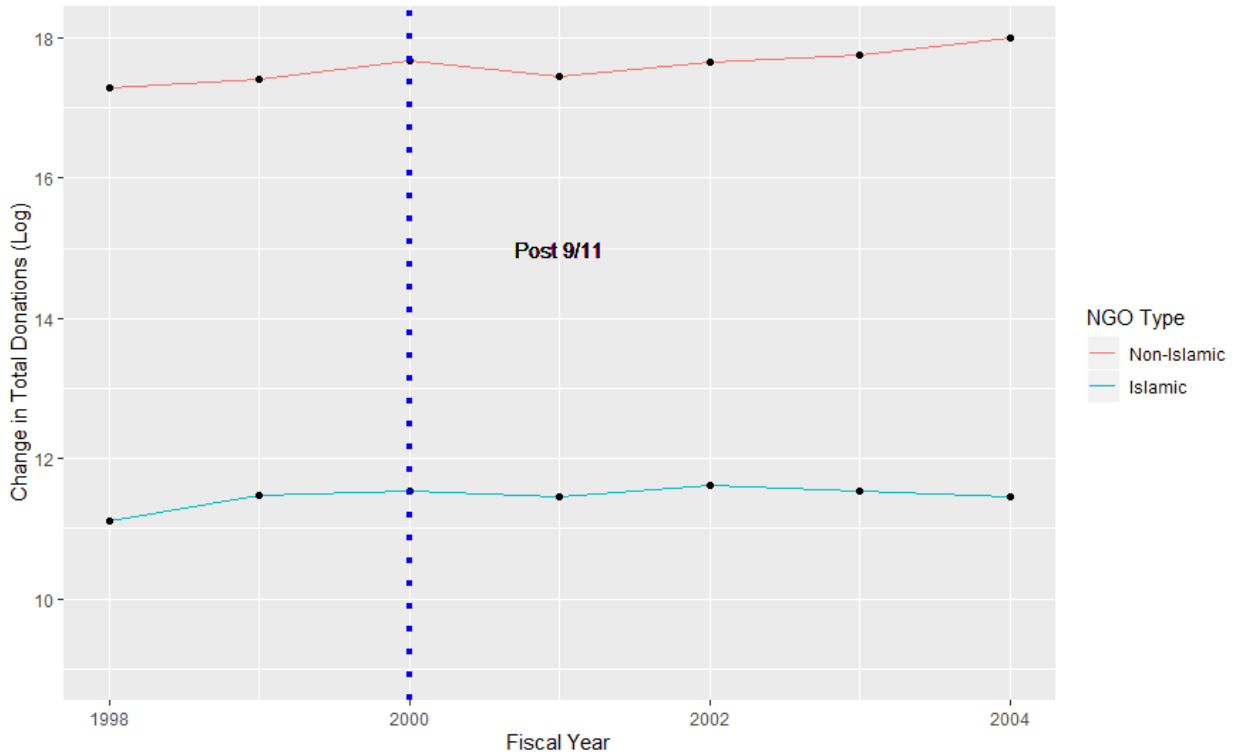
I use all religious nonprofit organizations as the reference group (category X). In addition to them, I also add nonprofit organizations that use religious names to indicate their religious roots (for Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, as well as Jewish organizations, which are the largest five

religious groups in the U.S. apart from Islam). I also explore existing relief religious organizations' lists to add religious more religious relief organizations from Actionaid, Evangelical Audit, Action Aid, as well as the list of faith-based relief organizations employed by Heist and Cnaan (2016). While this list is not comprehensive, it enables us to make a comparison of religious relief organizations.

The NCCS data are the best available, but they are still less than ideal. The Pension Protection Act of 2006 included a provision requiring the IRS to revoke the tax-exempt recognition of any nonprofit that did not file an annual Form 990 return for three consecutive years (Wyland 2018). Before its adoption, organizations had less incentive to report their activities regularly and accurately. However, it is impossible to know how inaccurate the data are for the pre-2006 period. I address this potential concern about missing data by using a mixed linear model. Linear mixed model is useful as it retains the data for all the NGOs that have filed for a particular year. It increases the power to calculate the effect of 9/11 on donations. For instance, for purely hypothetical purposes, if 160 NGOs filed pre-9/11, it would retain the data points for all the 160 NGOs instead of removing NGOs that may not have filed for one year post-2001 to estimate the year pre 9/11 means for NGOs. Likewise, if 180 NGOs filed their returns post 9-11, it will retain all the 340 NGOs to calculate the post-test mean. This model enables us to retain all the reported data to calculate our post and pre 9/11 means, in addition to accounting for within-unit NGO variation of donations. It also enables calculating unbiased results as long as the data is missing at random. Another possibility of dealing with missing data is imputation. However, for imputation to work, we need information about some variables for a year based on which other variable values can be imputed. In this case, for some years, the data is missing

altogether, and we will be imputing data from previous year values, which will not provide accurate estimates.

Mixed linear models are employed when there is non-independence in the data, which often arises from a hierarchical structure. In this scenario, there is a high level of correlation in the data over time of the data provided by the same nonprofit. Therefore, we assume that the variation in donations within a unit NGO may not be independent as the funds an NGO receives in a unit year is going to be dependent on its past donations as well as unobservable NGO characteristics like NGO size, and location among other issues. Consequently, we assume that a within-NGO unit level observations are not independent and have a random effect intercept for each NGO to account for the correlation of donations within a single unit NGO. On the other hand, we assume the units sampled at the highest level (in our example, separate Islamic NGOs) to be independent. Graph 1 illustrates the trend of average donations per year for both Islamic and non-Islamic charities. As the donations are considerably larger for non-Islamic charities, I use a log scale for better visual comparison of the overall trend. Appendix 1 provides details about the average donations received by Islamic and non-Islamic charities per year.



Graph 1: Trend of Log Change in Donations for Islamic and Non-Islamic Charities

I run a difference-in-difference model to assess if 9/11 increased donations to all Islamic NGOs from 1998-2004. Difference-in-difference models enable us to use a reference category that may not have been affected by 9/11 (in this case, non-Islamic religious organizations) to assess if the trend of donations to Islamic nonprofits changed post 9/11 when compared to the reference group. I code post 9/11 as any donation in the year 2001 and after. I employ this strategy because 9/11 happened in early September 2001, and if there is an effect on donations, it will show an impact in the last four months of 2001. Also, many nonprofit organizations start their year in July (Lyndsey Hrabik 2012). I control for the time trend (the time after 1998 which is the start of the dataset), as well as various types of charitable activities (Appendix 6), also

employing a nonprofit random effects intercept to control for the unobservable random effect that may affect donations to the same Islamic NGO. I run a difference-in-difference design and control for religious NGOs (category X) as the control group for Islamic NGOs. I do not find significant support that 9/11 either led to a decrease (hypothesis 1) or increase (hypothesis 2) in revenues of Islamic NGOs. As difference-in-difference design assumes a parallel pre-intervention trend between the control and the treatment group, I also check if there was a significant difference between the pre 9/11 trend of Islamic and non-Islamic NGOs and I do not find that there is a significant difference between the pre 9/11 trend of Islamic and non-Islamic NGOs (Appendix 2). Given below are the results of the DiD design (Table 1).

Table 1: Difference-in-difference Results for the effect of 9/11 on donations to Islamic NGOs when compared to non-Islamic Religious NGOs

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Total Revenue (1000 Dollars)
Post 9/11	-130.357** (51.012)
Islamic	-868.841 (651.912)
Year	94.799*** (12.830)
Relief	1,556.691 (2,591.980)
Culture	-468.916 (643.537)
Religious Activity	-670.664*** (147.645)
Education	1,393.084***

	(236.586)
Post 9/11 x Islamic	-87.565 (261.871)
Constant	1,123.780*** (107.530)
<hr/>	
Observations	116,121
Log Likelihood	-1,179,471.000
Akaike Inf. Crit.	2,358,963.000
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	2,359,070.000
<hr/>	
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Nevertheless, we do not have any valid information about the time each nonprofit started its year, so I also run results with years 2002 and above as post 9/11. The results are similar. I also visualize the log of donations to see if there is an abrupt change in donations around 9/11, and overall, there does not seem to be a substantial change in donations to Islamic charities when compared to non-Islamic charities. As a robustness check, I also run a simple regression discontinuity design (Appendix 4) without the control group (non-Islamic religious nonprofits) to assess if the pre 9/11 trend of Islamic charities was significantly different from post 9/11 trend of Islamic charities. Again I do not find any significant difference. I also run a simple interrupted time series model (Appendix 5) by cumulating the total revenue of Islamic charities in a year. The results are similar, thus suggesting there was no effect of 9/11 on Islamic charities.

I also study whether 9/11 may have affected domestic and international relief focused on Islamic NGOs differently by studying how 9/11 affected Islamic relief organizations by using non-Islamic relief as the control group. I do not find the support that donations to Islamic relief NGOs reduced significantly when compared to other Islamic NGOs post 9/11 (Table 3).

Table 2: Difference-in-difference Results for the effect of 9/11 on donations to Islamic NGOs when compared to non-Islamic Religious NGOs

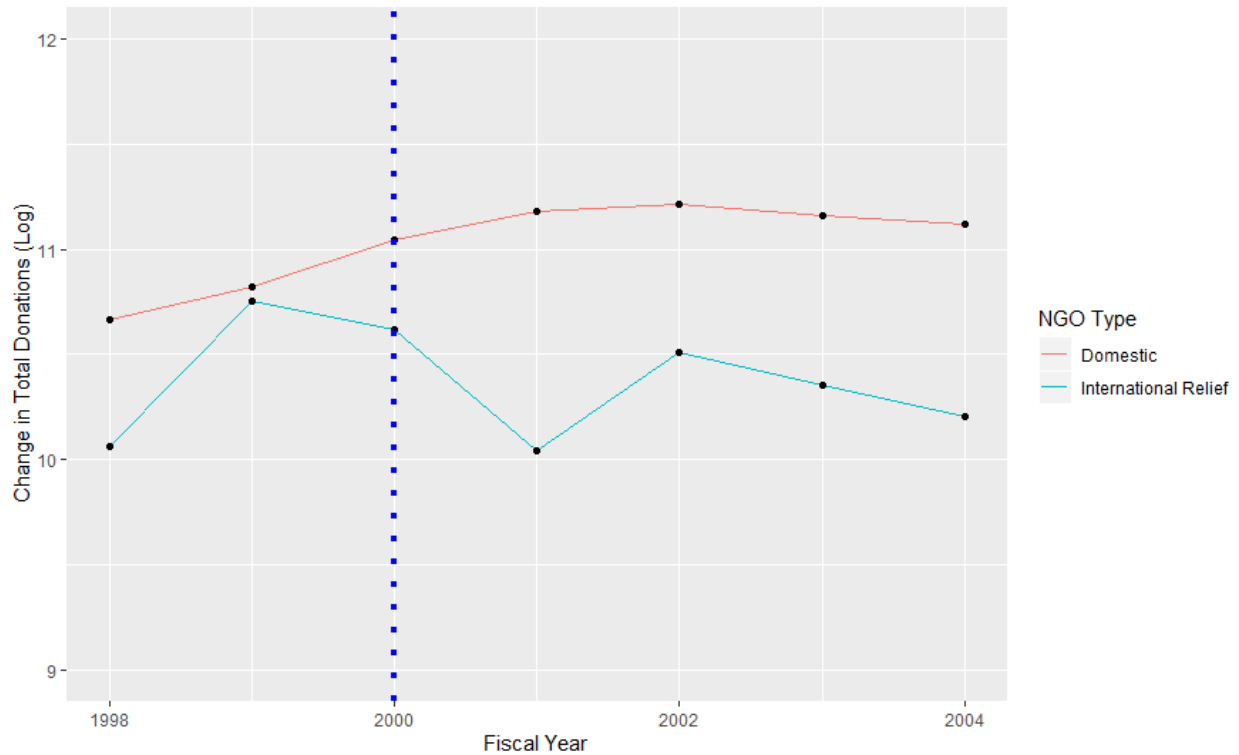
	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Total Revenue (1000 Dollars)
Post 9/11 (2002-2005)	-67.404 (51.147)
Islamic	-870.866 (641.038)
Year	81.761*** (13.061)
Relief	1,561.674 (2,591.614)
Culture	-469.165 (643.538)
Religious Activity	-670.940*** (147.645)
Education	1,392.896*** (236.587)
post_9/11 (2002-2005) x Islamic	-114.065 (255.459)
Constant	1,118.699*** (108.067)
Observations	116,121
Log Likelihood	-1,179,473.000
Akaike Inf. Crit.	2,358,968.000
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	2,359,074.000
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 3: Effect of 9/11 on Donations to Islamic Relief NGOs and non-Relief Islamic NGOs

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Revenue (1000 Dollars)
Post_9/11	-12.152 (51.520)
Relief	1,714.773*** (176.147)
Year	27.938** (12.943)
Culture	15.050 (250.319)
Religious Activity	77.990 (83.777)
Education	273.280 (168.886)
Post_9/11 x Relief	47.878 (97.534)
Constant	117.321* (61.924)
Observations	1,428
Log Likelihood	-11,174.430
Akaike Inf. Crit.	22,368.860
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	22,421.500
<i>Note:</i>	* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

However, graph 2 below illustrates that there was a possible immediate effect of 9/11 on donations to Islamic NGOs, but the effect on 9/11 on donations may have recovered afterwards.

Graph 2: Comparison of Islamic Relief Organizations with non-relief Islamic Organizations



To assess whether 9/11 caused an immediate reduction in donations to Islamic relief in 2001, I use a dummy for the interaction of relief organizations and 2001. I find support ($p < 0.05$) that donations to Islamic relief NGOs immediately reduced because of 9/11 in the year 2001 when compared to other non-relief Islamic NGOs. This effect still stands after controlling for the time trend as well as activity areas of Islamic nonprofits. To account for the lagged effect of 9/11 on donations to Islamic charities, I also control for years 2002 and onwards. Here I find that the effect of year 2001 remains significant ($p < 0.10$).

Table 4: Effect of 9/11 (Year 2001) to Islamic Relief and non-Relief Islamic Nonprofit

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Total Revenue (1000 Dollars)	
	(1)	(2)
Year 2001	36.861 (37.362)	8.329 (51.900)
Relief	1,773.684*** (171.062)	1,708.711*** (175.972)
Post_2001 (2002-2005)		-55.507 (72.004)
Culture	17.830 (250.115)	8.579 (250.122)
Religious Activity	79.432 (83.702)	77.798 (83.697)
Education	278.693* (168.755)	275.560 (168.710)
Year	26.859*** (7.139)	35.887** (17.060)
Year_2001 x Relief	-321.781** (136.320)	-248.216* (144.266)
Post 2001 x Relief		164.365 (105.888)
Constant	106.055* (61.824)	109.696* (63.133)
Observations	1,428	1,428
Log Likelihood	-11,171.730	-11,159.600
Akaike Inf. Crit.	22,363.450	22,343.200
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	22,416.090	22,406.370
<i>Note:</i>	* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01	

It is also plausible that the donations to Islamic relief NGOs may have reduced because of the closure of 3 leading Islamic relief NGOs. To account for that, I repeat my analysis on a balanced data of Islamic NGOs, which only considers NGOs that reported every year between

1998-2004 and were not shut down because of 9/11. Even within these NGOs, I find that there is a significant reduction ($p < 0.05$) in donations to Islamic relief NGOs (Appendix 7) when compared to other Islamic NGOs. This finding gives us more confidence that 9/11 affected donations to all Islamic relief NGOs when compared to other non-relief Islamic organizations.

Table 5: Effect of 9/11 (Year 2001) to Islamic Relief and non-Relief Islamic Nonprofit (Balanced Data)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Revenue (1000 Dollars)	
	(1)	(2)
Year 2001	41.740 (86.143)	29.980 (119.574)
Relief	3,535.486*** (606.013)	3,376.169*** (616.202)
Post_2001		-23.519 (165.872)
Culture	-109.765 (604.543)	-109.765 (604.542)
Religious_activity	107.568 (361.972)	107.568 (361.972)
Education	804.189 (640.357)	804.189 (640.356)
Year	35.359** (14.416)	34.588 (38.139)
Year 2001 x Relief	-991.384*** (295.283)	-832.067*** (315.649)
Post 2001 x Relief		318.634 (223.198)
Constant	80.230 (308.929)	94.303 (309.969)
Observations	329	329
Log Likelihood	-2,550.316	-2,536.946
Akaike Inf. Crit.	5,120.632	5,097.892
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	5,158.592	5,143.445

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

However, it is also possible that donations to other relief organizations may have been affected other than Islamic relief organizations as well. Therefore, to assess whether the effect of 9/11 was unique only to Islamic relief organizations, I compare them to other relief organizations (NTEE category Q33), as well as religious relief organizations (from the dataset on religious organizations created earlier). Here I do not find that there was a significant effect of 9/11 on Islamic relief organizations when compared to other relief organizations (Table 6) or religious relief organizations (Table 7). Thus, I do not find the support that 9/11 affected donations to Islamic charities when compared to other non-Islamic relief organizations.

Table 6: Comparison of Islamic Relief Organizations Compared to Other Relief Organizations for Year 2001

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Revenue (1000 Dollars)	
	(1)	(2)
Year 2001	385.846 (827.729)	-777.551 (1,157.477)
Islamic Relief	-1,230.254 (7,948.231)	277.707 (8,120.772)
Post_2001		-2,343.837 (1,618.550)
Culture	-5,054.826 (11,862.010)	-4,847.273 (11,866.330)
Religious_activity	-5,680.216** (2,765.325)	-5,643.189** (2,765.753)
Education	276.019 (6,424.465)	255.291 (6,424.947)
Year	1,281.765*** (161.840)	1,810.370*** (385.452)

Year 2001 x Islamic Relief	-974.796 (5,760.317)	-2,798.003 (6,092.692)
Post 2001 x Islamic Relief		-4,051.550 (4,419.803)
Constant	938.917 (1,369.017)	489.324 (1,394.083)
Observations	5,063	5,063
Log Likelihood	-58,787.170	-58,767.970
Akaike Inf. Crit.	117,594.300	117,560.000
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	117,659.600	117,638.300
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table 7: Islamic Relief Compared to Other Religious Relief Organizations for Year 2001

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Revenue (1000 Dollars)	
	(1)	(2)
Year_2001	-522.350 (3,923.745)	-3,099.537 (5,342.597)
Islamic Relief	-6,866.813 (14,365.530)	-2,893.365 (14,734.930)
Post 2001		-5,413.076 (7,272.251)
Culture	-7,846.683 (41,115.760)	-5,477.042 (41,182.380)
Religious Activity	24,289.340* (13,232.120)	24,688.780* (13,242.740)
Education	-20,257.560 (26,497.170)	-20,765.160 (26,516.260)
Year	2,369.553*** (702.305)	3,932.065** (1,707.752)
Year 2001 x Islamic Relief	46.153	-4,347.244

	(9,693.486)	(10,328.530)
Post_2001 x Islamic Relief	-9,057.707	(7,399.437)
Constant	3,167.797	924.895
	(7,500.330)	(7,639.091)
Observations	517	517
Log Likelihood	-6,101.292	-6,080.397
Akaike Inf. Crit.	12,222.580	12,184.800
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	12,265.070	12,235.770
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Discussion

This paper does not find support for the hypothesis that 9/11 decreased (hypothesis 1) or increased (hypothesis 2) donations to Islamic NGOs. However, it finds support that 9/11 immediately led to a deduction for contributions to Islamic relief NGOs in 2001 (hypothesis 3). Nonetheless, it seems likely that the donations to Islamic relief NGOs recovered after the immediate shock in 2001, thus suggesting that the shock of 9/11 to Islamic relief NGOs was short-term. Similarly, there was no significant effect of 9/11 on Islamic relief organizations when compared to other relief organizations (hypothesis 4), thus not providing us evidence to suggest that the effect of 9/11 was unique to Islamic relief organizations.

Looking at the trend of donations to Muslim nonprofits, it seems that contributions to them were increasing even before 9/11 (Graph 1), and this trend continued post 9/11. As a result, donations to these Islamic NGOs had improved with time, thus making some scholars believe that 9/11 may have caused an increase in donations to Islamic NGOs when they looked at donations of Islamic NGOs in the years after 2001. However, we can attribute these increases in donations can to the growing yearly trend of donations to Islamic NGOs before 9/11. The

pushback against Islamophobia from donors post 9/11 may have also partially caused an increase in these donations, but we do not find any significant evidence to back the claim.

Likewise, I also find that donations to Islamic relief nonprofits reduced immediately post 9/11. However, it appears that the donations to Islamic relief NGOs also recovered after the initial shock, thus suggesting that the effect of 9/11 to contributions to Islamic relief NGOs was also short-term and that it recovered with time. Moreover, there was a significant difference between the effect of 9/11 on Islamic relief and non-Islamic relief organizations, thus suggesting that the effect of 9/11 was not unique to Islamic relief organizations.

However, we also need to be mindful of our data limitations. Our mixed-effects model assumes that the data are missing at random. The data may not have been missing at random, considering some NGOs may have been shut down or lost their funding because of 9/11, and therefore they were not able to report their findings. Thus our data may be biased towards stable nonprofits. However, even if we have biased data for more stable organizations, we can more likely disallow for the possibility that 9/11 led to an increase in donations to Islamic charities (hypothesis 1). This possibility exists because if even stable NGOs even did not get a significant increase in donations because of 9/11. Likewise, we can suggest that even if the more stable Islamic relief NGOs suffered a decline in donations when compared to other stable non-Islamic non-relief organizations, it makes it more likely that the more unstable ones are even more likely to suffer a decline thus making us more confident of our results. Our data also looks at the immediate 'shock' of 9/11 from 1998-2004. The donations to Islamic charities may have increased or decreased after the immediate shock period. Therefore, future research may need to assess how contributions to 9/11 may have been affected in a more extended period than the instant shock of 9/11.

What does this incident suggest about nonprofit studies and exogenous shocks? For one, it indicates that the effects of exogenous shocks may be complicated and unpredictable. Previously scholarship suggests that organizations suffer an immediate drop in donations when exposed to certain exogenous shocks as was recently illustrated by Oxfam. In the case of 9/11, anecdotal evidence suggests that 9/11 may have affected donors' willingness to donate to Islamic charities differently; while some may have felt scared to donate, others may have felt more inclined to donate because of Islamophobia and other reasons. While the current research design does not enable us to study motivation, this issue needs to be further explored in future research, in particular with data available on different kinds of exogenous shocks. For instance, the effect of the Catholic Church scandal may have had a heterogeneous effect on individuals' donation preferences. Some donors may have felt repulsed to donating further to the Catholic Church by the scandal. For others, it may have increased their willingness to donate more to the Catholic Church as they may have felt that the Catholic Church was unfairly singled out because of the actions of some officials. Thus we need to study the effect of exogenous shocks on the motivations for various donors in the future. Other exogenous shocks may also be worthwhile to explore, for instance, recent U.S. elections and its effect on Muslim philanthropy as well as donations to civil rights organizations.

Another avenue worth exploring is the panic that 9/11 raids may have caused in the Islamic nonprofit sector as well as the broader nonprofit and civil rights sector. The question that we need to ask is why, despite no apparent shock and reports of a few arrests, there was so much panic? Again, the role of media in augmenting and distorting reality may have affected the perceptions amongst the Muslim nonprofit sector. Thus, future research needs to consider how

shocks may create misinformation about nonprofits. While the role of media in creating misinformation in politics is widely documented, however, it is crucial to study the media effects of such events on both donations and public perceptions of the nonprofit sector.

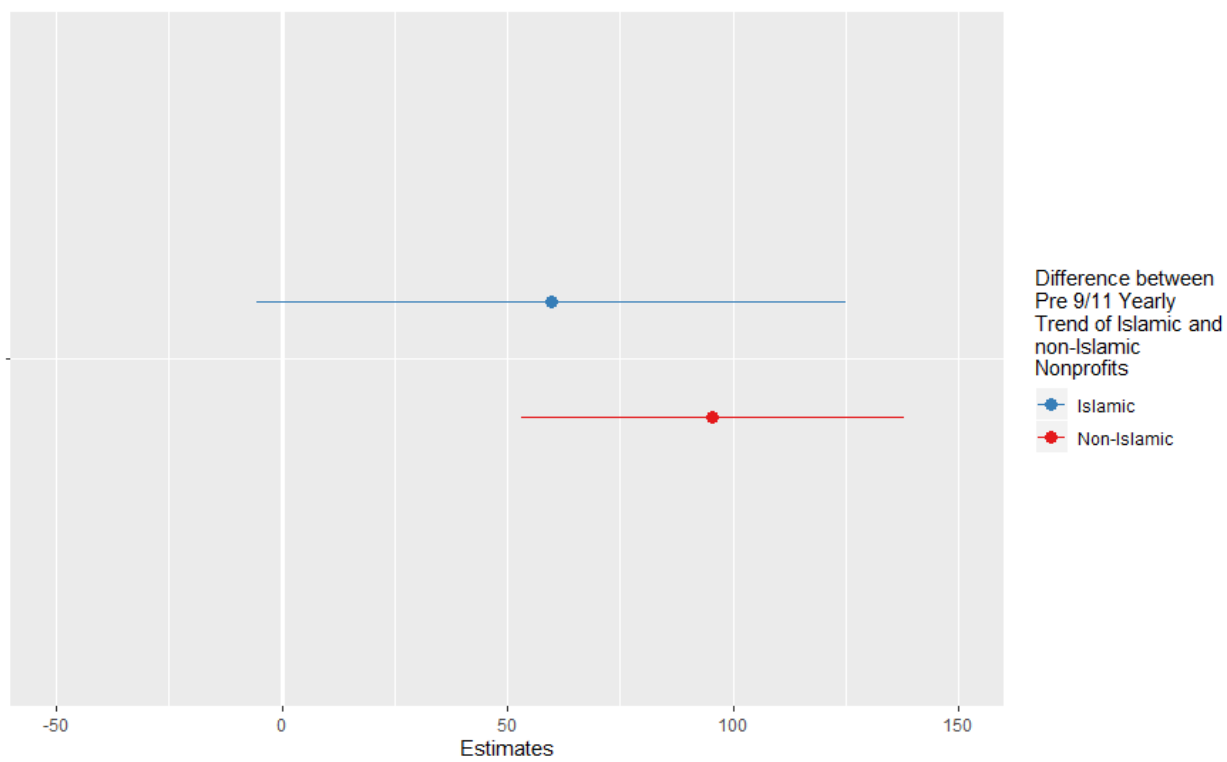
For nonprofit managers, the event of 9/11 shows the importance of conceiving ways to help mitigate this misinformation. These steps may include more extensive dissemination of the overall nonprofit financial trends and information, talking to peer nonprofits about similar strategies, and actively studying if and how events may affect the overall contributions to their operations. These insights can remove misinformation, as well as improve the overall transparency of the nonprofit sector.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Mean Donations Per Year (Islamic and non-Islamic Religious Organizations)

Non-Islamic							
Year	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Mean Revenue (1000 Dollars)	1576.61	1599.56	1633.56	1499.22	1472.12	1612.52	1578.67
Standard Deviation	13927.44	14133.29	14593.36	12422.94	12891.16	15559.57	15769.17
Islamic							
Year	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Mean Revenue (1000 Dollars)	422.73	559.91	495.68	421.15	478.05	407.31	394.17
Standard Deviation	933.87	1336.64	1343.61	969.64	1177.20	1029.00	997.12

Appendix 2: Testing whether there is no significant difference between the pre-9/11 trend of Islamic and non-Islamic NGOs.



Appendix 3: Variation of Donation by Year Islamic Relief and Non-Relief Organizations

Relief							
Year	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Mean Revenue (1000 Dollars)	1554.83	2440.84	2152.17	1627.09	2241.00	2190.40	2336.48
Standard Deviation	2213.07	3054.08	3337.10	1928.06	3152.97	3125.65	3251.53
Non-relief							
Year	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Mean Revenue (1000 Dollars)	297.86	320.06	318.86	337.15	343.73	297.83	297.49
Standard Deviation	550.45	607.83	735.24	809.63	722.73	597.09	604.47

Appendix 4: Comparing Post 9/11 Trend to Pre 9/11 Trend for Islamic Charities

<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
Revenue (1000 Dollars)	
Post_9/11	-7.607 (50.661)
Culture	18.044 (250.262)
Religious Activity	78.757 (83.765)
Education	274.614 (168.869)
Relief	1,736.514*** (170.485)
Year	27.877** (12.938)
Constant	113.923* (61.538)
Observations	1,428
Log Likelihood	-11,180.050
Akaike Inf. Crit.	22,378.100
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	22,425.480
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Appendix 5: Interrupted Time Series (Using Total Revenue of Donations for a Year)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Revenue
Year	13,059.940 (22,875.920)
Post_9/11	23,623.070 (53,531.820)
Number of Nonprofits	167.317 (918.608)
Year x Post_9/11	-14,857.570 (18,217.650)
Constant	43,343.150 (137,340.100)
Observations	7
R ²	0.728
Adjusted R ²	0.185
Residual Std. Error	12,402.910 (df = 2)
F Statistic	1.340 (df = 4; 2)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Appendix 6: Number of Islamic and Non-Religious Islamic Nonprofits by Activity Type

Nonprofit Activity	Islamic	Non-Islamic Religious Organizations
Religious Activities	161	12269
Education	24	2794
Relief	25	93
Culture	11	352

Appendix 7: Regression Using Balanced Data to assess the effect of 9/11 on Islamic relief and non-Islamic Relief NGOs

<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
TOTAL REVENUE (1000 DOLLARS)	
Year 2001	41.740 (86.143)
Relief	3,535.486*** (606.013)
Culture	-109.765 (604.543)
Religious_activity	107.568 (361.972)
Education	804.189 (640.357)
Year	35.359** (14.416)
Year 2001 x Relief	-991.384*** (295.283)
Constant	80.230 (308.929)
Observations	329
Log Likelihood	-2,550.316
Akaike Inf. Crit.	5,120.632
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	5,158.592
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

End Notes:

1. Anti-Islamic religious incidents were previously the second least reported, but in 2001, they became the second-highest reported among religious-bias incidents (anti-Jewish religion incidents were the highest), growing by more than 1,600 percent over the 2000 volume. In 2001, reported data showed there were 481 incidents made up of 546 offenses having 554 victims of crimes motivated by bias toward the Islamic religion.
2. The following Islamic charities were raided in 2001: Holy Land Relief Foundation (HLF), Benevolence International, and Global Relief Organization.
3. 31% report that they attend mosque more than once a week
4. The Treasury Department shut down following NGOs: the Al Haramain Islamic Foundation-USA (Oregon), the Benevolence International Foundation (Illinois), the Global Relief Foundation (Illinois), the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (Texas), the Islamic American Relief Agency–USA (Missouri), and the Goodwill Charitable Organization (Michigan). The federal government has surveilled and raided six additional Muslim American charities, but has not shut them down. These include KinderUSA (Texas), Life for Relief and Development (Michigan), Al-Mabarrat (Michigan), Child Foundation (Oregon), Help the Needy (New York), and Care International.
5. The Patriot Act explicitly tried to discourage donations to NGOs that were facilitating terrorism. It mentions “the means by which terrorist groups transfer funds around the world and within the United States, including through the use of charitable organizations, nonprofit organizations, and nongovernmental organizations, and the extent to which financial institutions in the United States are unwittingly involved in such finances and the extent to which such institutions are at risk as a result” Patriot Act Section 314 2 A
6. Muslims Student Association (MSA) is the only available list of Islamic organizations available in the U.S. For more details http://www.msa-natl.org/resources/Relief_Orgs.html

Chapter 3

Does the Media's Anti-Western Bias Affect its Portrayal of NGOs in the Muslim

World?: Assessing Newspapers in Pakistan

Abstract

The media has a major influence on public opinions and legitimacy for NGOs, which can have a serious impact on the effectiveness of NGOs' programs. However, media biases often affect the framing of media objects. For instance, western countries are often portrayed negatively by the media of the Muslims countries. This anti-western bias is less prevalent in English language media when compared to the local languages newspapers as the English language media generally target the elites who often hold less anti-western opinions than the general population. As NGOs are usually considered a western construct in the Muslim world, I test whether the media's sensitivity to its consumers' sentiments extends to the coverage of NGOs by comparing English and local language (Urdu) newspapers in Pakistan. I confirm that Urdu newspapers portray NGOs more negatively than English language newspapers, and are more likely to question NGOs' effectiveness and accountability.

Keywords: Media, Islam, Legitimacy, South Asia, NGOs, Text-as-data

Introduction

The Muslim world faces today issues resulting from abject poverty (Rahman 2013; Rubin 2014; Kuran 1997) which, in addition to a human catastrophe, also attracts some individuals to radical and extremist ideologies (Nasr 2000; Berman 2009; Bano 2012a). NGOs can help alleviate these social problems, but they often suffer from a lack of legitimacy in the Muslims world (Khan, Westwood, and Boje 2010; White 1999). The media can help improve public perceptions of NGOs as it helps to mold public opinions. Therefore, attaining public legitimacy through the media can enhance an NGO's impact and legitimacy

in its beneficiary communities (Borchgrevink 2017; Popplewell 2018; Schlesinger, Mitchell, and Gray 2004). Previous research suggests that the media generally portrays NGOs in a positive light (Deacon, Fenton, and Walker 1995; Martens 1996; Marberg, Kranenburg, and Korzilius 2016; De Souza 2010; Jacobs and Glass 2002; Deacon, Fenton, and Walker 1995; Greenberg and Walters 2004). Yet the media often has its own biases, and these biases affect its framing of media actors. For instance, in the Muslim world, the media portrays Western countries negatively because of the media's anti-Western bias (Gentzkow and Shapiro 2003; 2010). In the global South, NGOs are often considered a Western construct because of their close association with Western donor aid (Bano 2012). This poses an important question: does the media's anti-western bias in Muslims countries affect their portrayal of NGOs because of their association with aid from Western countries?

To answer this question, this paper analyzes the newspaper media in Pakistan. Pakistan is a Muslim-majority country where Western countries like the US have low public approval ratings for several reasons, including a history of colonialism, their support of Israel, and, more recently, the war on terror^a. The media is sensitive to its consumers' anti-Western sentiments, and they often portray the US as the central villain in its coverage. While arguably some Western countries like France and Germany have opposed some US policies in the Muslim world, Western countries are often referred to as the "Western civilization" as a whole, similar to how Muslim nations are labeled as part of the "Islamic civilization" by the Western media (Huntington 2007). Consequently, Western countries are often framed negatively in the Pakistani press (Tavernise 2010; Pintak and Nazir 2013; Hassan 2014).

However, in general, the language gap defines newspaper readership in Pakistan. The media frames its news to closely resemble its readers' views (Gentzkow and Shapiro 2010; 2003; 2006). English, Pakistan's official language, caters to the generally more liberal and anti-western elites (Rahman 2002). In contrast, local language newspapers focus on the generally more conservative and anti-Western non-elites. Consequently, the local language media frames are more anti-Western in sentiment than English language newspapers (Hassan 2014; Ricchiardi 2012).

NGOs emerged in the 1980s in Pakistan with financial support from Western donors (Brinkerhoff 2003; Salim, Sadruddin, and Zakus 2012; Bano 2018; Borchgrevink 2017). This funding structure creates the possibility that the international clientele and the local clients' expectations do not cohere. Consequently, citizens are often unaware of the "principals" NGOs serve, and some leaders exploit this confusion to portray NGOs as pawns of foreign agents (Lee, Johnson, and Prakash 2012).

Local citizens often consider NGOs as "Western" constructs, and the word "NGO" has become synonymous with organizations that are dependent on foreign donor funding (Bano 2008), and as such traditional nonprofit organizations prefer the label of an NGO. The distinction between NGOs and Western governments becomes further blurred because, in addition to humanitarianism, Western countries have advanced their military interests through NGOs (O'Dempsey, Munslow, and Shannon 2009b). For instance, NGO humanitarian camps were used by Western governments to train Afghan fighters against the Soviet Union during the Afghan War. Similarly, the CIA used Save the Children campaign to collect information on Bin Laden, leading to the expulsion of 29 NGOs for

allegedly helping collect intelligence for Western governments (Alexander Mullaney and Syed Amna Hassan 2015; Rodriguez 2011).

I hypothesize that the media's sensitivity to their readers' preferences affects their portrayal of NGOs because of their association with Western countries. To test my hypothesis, I conduct a media frame analysis of English and Urdu language newspapers in Pakistan. Urdu is Pakistan's national language, and it is widely understood irrespective of a Pakistani's ethnic background (Qadir and Alasuutari 2013). I find that Urdu language newspapers are more likely to portray NGOs negatively than English language newspapers in Pakistan. Moreover, Urdu language newspapers are more likely to question the effectiveness and accountability of NGOs and are less likely to cover the good work that NGOs are accomplishing in Pakistan. Similarly, I find support that the Urdu media is more likely to report on the government's attempts to restrict NGOs' activities.

These findings suggest that the media's anti-Western opinions influence its portrayal of NGOs, particularly in the local language newspapers, which are often the only media accessible to NGOs' target population. Their support is crucial for the success of NGOs' works in local communities. Therefore, to improve their representation in the local newspapers, the NGOs may have to distance themselves from association with Western countries and work more proactively with local language journalists to address their misapprehensions about their activities.

NGOs' Legitimacy, Foreign Funding, and Media

Western countries currently channel a large proportion of foreign aid (more than 13% of OECD countries' assistance in 2012) through NGOs (Aldashev and Navarra 2018).

Consequently, over time, the term “NGO” has become associated with organizations funded by Western governments. As an illustration, a survey in Pakistan discovered that most Western-donor funded organizations refer to themselves as NGOs and that anyone familiar with the term NGO immediately associates it with donor aid (Bano 2008). Other scholars also suggest that the public generally associates the word ‘NGO’ with Western-donor funded organizations (Lewis 2001; Anheier and Salamon 1998; F. R. Khan, Westwood, and Boje 2010)^b.

Thus funding sources mainly distinguish NGOs from a locally funded organization (e.g. Edhi Foundation) as most an NGO’s funding comes from donors abroad. In general, there are two categories of NGOs in Pakistan: international NGOs (INGOs) that are owned and managed from foreign countries like the Save the Children, or local NGOs which generally refer to locally owned and operated organizations that are funded by donors abroad like Sungi Foundation (Evans 2014).

As per estimates, Pakistan has more than 45,000 active and operational NGOs. Among them, a tiny percentage (around 75) are international NGOs (Ministry of Interior 2020). Some international NGOs have religious motivations (for instance, Christian Development Organizations and World Vision), while the vast majority are secular Western organizations (more than 95%) like Oxfam and UN agencies.

Most local NGOs receive funding from several international as well as religious and secular donors, making it impossible to distinguish between NGOs based on their donors’ religious and national affiliation. As an illustration, Idara-e-Taleem-o-Agaahi, a local NGO

with 25 offices across Pakistan, is funded by several donors from the US, Canada, UK, and the European Union, various UN agencies, as well as religious donors like World Vision.

Western donor funding affects NGOs' legitimacy as it signals to the citizens that the NGOs prioritize the donors' preferences over their needs because of their financial dependence on donors (F. R. Khan, Westwood, and Boje 2010; Ahmad 2000). NGOs rely heavily on legitimacy as they do not have any coercive power, and therefore usually employ legitimacy for soliciting voluntary cooperation from various stakeholders (Schlesinger, Mitchell, and Gray 2004a; Thaut, Stein, and Barnett 2012; Fowler 1991). A legitimacy deficit thus severely impacts an NGO's ability to garner funds, influence policy, and build trust within beneficiary communities (Schlesinger, Mitchell, and Gray 2004; Thaut, Stein, and Barnett 2012; Fowler 1991).

The media creates legitimacy for NGOs. Consequently, most large NGOs today have a dedicated public relations department to manage their image and pick up issues that garner the media's attention (Ron, Ramos, and Rodgers 2005; Sobieraj 2011; Martens 1996). However, the media is very selective about covering NGO news. It primarily covers activities of large and service-oriented NGOs and favors covering non-contentious NGO activities (Deacon, Fenton, and Walker 1995; Jacobs and Glass 2002; Greenberg and Walters 2004).

Previous research suggests that the media generally portrays NGOs positively (Marberg, Kranenburg, and Korzilius 2016a). However, research to date has focused on the media in the global North or on elite English newspapers in the global South (De Souza 2010). Yet, most people in the global South do not know the English language, as discussed

above. Similarly, research has not looked at media biases for NGOs (Fan, Geddes, and Flory 2013). Scholarly evidence suggests that the media is biased as newspapers are sensitive to their readers' opinions and align their frames with these views (Gentzkow and Shapiro 2010; 2006; Mullainathan and Shleifer 2005; Lord, Ross, and Lepper 1979).

In Muslim countries like Pakistan, the media often employs anti-western frames to adhere to its viewers' beliefs (Gentzkow and Shapiro 2003). For instance, while the European Union is viewed more favorably than the US (35 % versus 12 %), the approval rating of both the EU and the US is considered low (below 50 %) in Pakistan (Braghiroli and Salini 2014). We can trace this anti-Western sentiment to the anti-colonial struggle against the British (Gilmartin 1991). Other notable reasons for the anti-Western feelings include Western (mainly American) involvement in Pakistan's internal political and economic affairs, their support of Israel in the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Western countries' refusal to support Pakistan against India, their opposition to Pakistan's nuclear program, as well as their refusal to support Pakistan after the Afghan War against the Soviet Union (Kizilbash 1988; Blaydes and Linzer 2012). In some instances, this anti-Western sentiment has also turned into violence. For example, in 1979, an angry mob stormed the US embassy in Islamabad (Ullah 2013).

The War on Terror has accentuated these anti-western sentiments. In particular, drone strikes have generated considerable public suspicion and hostility towards Western countries (Yusuf 2011; Tavernise 2010; Hassan 2014). This anti-Western sentiment is not unique to Pakistan as a large proportion of the Muslim world views globalization and the

spreading influence of Western culture as potential threats to local beliefs (Esposito and Mogahed 2008; Demant 2006; Fisher 2012).

In line with the general public sentiment, the Pakistani newspapers are very critical of the West and the War on Terror. The New York Times described Pakistan's newspaper industry as 'rambunctious ... [weaving] a black-and-white narrative in which the West is the central villain' (Tavernise 2010)^c. These dramatized anti-western frames leverage better news ratings while also augmenting the readerships' anti-Western sentiment (Hassan 2014; Pintak and Nazir 2013; Ricchiardi 2012; Yusuf 2011).

While NGOs should maintain their neutrality in political conflicts (O'Dempsey, Munslow, and Shannon 2009b), several events have blurred the line between the humanitarian NGO activities and military activities of the Western countries. For instance, the CIA used Afghan refugee camps to train the Afghan Mujahideen in their fight against Soviet Unions (Baitenmann 1990). More recently, the US government used Save the Children vaccination program for gathering intelligence on Bin Ladin in Pakistan (Alexander Mullaney and Syed Amna Hassan 2015)^d.

The military use of NGOs blur the line between NGOs and Western governments' security interests and augments perceptions that all western NGOs are extensions of the Western countries' foreign policy. Consequently, militants often target NGOs for their perceived military links with the military, notably in Sudan, Pakistan, and Afghanistan (Shetty 2007). The western governments do not deny these associations. After 9/11, for instance, US Secretary of State Colin Powell called NGOs as "force multipliers," and the UK

Prime Minister Tony Blair called for the need for a military-humanitarian coalition (Lischer 2007).

Therefore, it is plausible the NGOs' close connection with Western donors affects their media representation. As mentioned above, scholarly evidence suggests that the media tailors its coverage with its audiences' political views (Mullainathan and Shleifer 2005; Lord, Ross, and Lepper 1979). However, there is a class and language divide among the media consumers in Pakistan. The elites are more likely to read English language newspapers while the non-elites are more likely to consume local language newspapers. Likewise, the elites are generally more liberal and hold less anti-west opinions than their non-elite counterparts.

British colonial policies kickstarted this divide in the liberal-conservative opinions based on language as these policies introduced English as the official language. The British also launched an English language education program, which taught "Western" values to the local elites. Through these institutions, the British formed "a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect"(Macaulay 1852).

Post-independence, this language divide between the elites and non-elites in Pakistan have persisted. As a result, English is associated with the Westernized elites in Pakistan who are exposed to the western media, travel abroad often, and have peers with similar experiences (Rahman 2002). Hence, their opinions are more likely to be less anti-Western. On the other hand, local language education system products do not gain similar experiences; therefore, they hold higher anti-western views. As an illustration, a survey of

Pakistani schools demonstrated that English language students are more likely to favor 'Western' values like equal rights for minorities and women than students in local-language schools (Rahman 2002). These views are not unique to Pakistan. Research across the global South illustrates that the elites are generally more westernized and hold less anti-west opinions than the general population (Haidar 2017; Hasan 2002; Hinnebusch 1982; Mysbergh 1957; B. R. Rubin 1992).

The media also reflects this difference in anti-western perceptions as English language newspapers are generally less anti-Western than local language newspapers (Gregory and Valentine 2009; Michaelsen 2011; Meinardus 2016). A study by International Media Support (IMS) described Pakistan's newspaper industry as "one in which language also defines coverage." The IMS report found that local newspapers were more popular and most influential among the general public, particularly in rural areas. The coverage was more "conservative and anti-Western." On the other hand, English-language newspapers tended to have more influence on opinion-makers, politicians, and business owners" and is more "urban and elitist" (International Media Support 2009).

I hypothesize that NGOs' association with Western donor aid will influence the media representation of NGOs as the word "NGO" has become synonymous with Western donor-funded organizations. There are already some suggestions that association with Western countries affects the media's evaluation of individuals and organizations because of their linkages with the West as the conservative Pakistani media often vilifies the Nobel laureate Malala Yousafzai because of her perceived association with Western countries (Kugelman 2017). Local language newspapers are, therefore, more likely to portray NGOs negatively because of their association with Western donor aid.

To assess whether the media portrayal of NGOs is different across the local and English language newspapers in Pakistan, I conduct an analysis of the frames that the media uses to describe them. I use Urdu language newspaper sources as a representative of local languages. Urdu is Pakistan's national language, and it is spoken and understood widely irrespective of Pakistani ethnicity. Most importantly, most of the media in Pakistan is in the Urdu language (Rahman 2002).

Media Frames

Media frames affect public evaluations of organizations and individuals. I define framing as the selection of some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text. Frames, therefore, "highlight some bits of information" thus "elevating them in salience" (Entman 1993). For instance, in media stories about crime, studies show that African Americans and Latinos are more likely to be portrayed as perpetrators of crimes than as victims or police officers, which, in turn, influences perceptions of race in the US (Bjornstrom et al. 2010). Therefore public opinions of organizations are affected by their representation in the media (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008; Gitlin 1980; Campbell 1995).

Framing has proven to be a useful tool in previous studies on nonprofit and nongovernmental organizations (Deacon, Fenton, and Walker 1995; Hale 2007). These frames could either be neutral, positive, or negative, which likewise influence public opinions about the NGOs. It is, therefore, imperative for NGOs to ensure that not only are they mentioned frequently, but that their media representations are positive (Sobieraj 2011b).

As discussed above, the Urdu newspapers' media framing of Western countries is more negative than English language newspapers. Therefore, I hypothesize that Urdu media's framing of NGOs is more likely to be more negative than English language newspapers.

H1: NGOs are more likely to obtain/acquire negative frames in Urdu newspapers than English newspapers.

Frames can either be negative or positive, but what frame topics do newspapers use to discuss NGOs? Following De Souza (2010) and Marberg, Kranenburg, and Korzilius (2016), I analyze the main topics that newspapers employ to describe NGOs' activities. While an article may discuss NGOs in multiple frame topics in the same article, in this article I will only be looking at the mainframe of each newspaper article. This method of analysis focuses on extracting and determining the primary theme of each article, which will help to engineer a more organized system of article classification. This method has been used in previous research, allowing scholars to classify articles systematically. As the system of assigning articles to the most suitable frame is critical to this paper, it is useful to define and explore the frames in more detail. I use frames that have been employed in previous research (Marberg, Kranenburg, and Korzilius 2016; De Souza 2010).

Table 1 below provides the details of the various frames.

Table I: Details of Various Frames Employed

Frame	Definition
Do Good	Articles on important, productive work that NGOs have done in recognizing and reducing societal problems.
Protest	Articles that involve NGOs speaking out against government or business activity that they deem unethical, harmful, irresponsible, illegal, or threatening.
Public Accountability	Articles that question NGO activity, specifically concerning issues such as corruption, accountability, and poor management.
Government Resistance	Articles which discussed limiting NGO rights in a Pakistan because the government was skeptical of their operations and/or concerned about their intentions.
None	The term NGO was mentioned, but the context did not meet any of the other frame criteria.

When there is more than one main article frame, I look at the most important frame in the newspaper article and code it accordingly (more discussion about it in the section below).

These topics may affect how media readers perceive NGOs. For instance, an NGO depicted as ‘doing good’ by helping resolve socio-economic problems may be more likely to be regarded as an ethical organization by the reader. On the other hand, the reader is

more likely to view an NGO depicted in a 'public accountability' frame as an organization that faces issues of corruption and poor management.

If the media perceives that NGOs are not doing good work in Pakistan, we would expect that they would be less likely to portray their work as 'Doing Good.' Therefore, I hypothesize that NGOs are less likely to be represented in the 'Doing Good' frame in Urdu than in English language newspapers.

H2: NGOs are less likely to obtain/acquire 'Doing Good' frames in Urdu newspapers than English language newspapers

If the media perceives that Western funding makes NGOs more responsive to western donors as opposed to local concerns, we will expect more articles to highlight the public accountability aspect of NGOs in Urdu language media.

H3: NGOs are more likely to obtain/acquire 'Public Accountability' frames in Urdu newspapers than English language newspapers.

Moreover, if the media is suspicious of NGOs' activities in Pakistan, they are more likely to portray NGOs in the 'government resistance' frame where the government is taking steps to curtail NGOs' activities in Pakistan.

H4: NGOs are more likely to obtain/acquire 'Government Resistance' frames in Urdu newspapers than English language newspapers.

Similarly, if the Urdu media is more likely to be suspicious of NGOs' activities, they may be less likely to portray them as organizations that speak out against government or business activities that are unethical, harmful, irresponsible, illegal, or threatening.

H5: NGOs are less likely to obtain/acquire 'Protest' frames in Urdu newspapers than English language newspapers.

Data and Analysis

I collected 656 newspaper articles from the newspaper archives at the Press Information Department (PID) at the Ministry of Information in Islamabad, Pakistan. The data includes 467 English-language newspaper articles and 189 articles from the Urdu language^e.

Based on the last authoritative figure available from 2008, the archive contains the most widely circulated newspapers in Pakistan in both Urdu (Jang, Nawa-i-Waqt, and Khabrian), as well as English (The News, and Dawn) (Banerjee and Logan 2008). While we do not have authoritative information about the circulation of the rest of the newspapers, the rest of the sample also comes from widely circulated, and prominent national newspapers like Ausaf, Khabrain, and Express as the majority of Pakistan's newspapers strive for national readership and simultaneously publish from several cities. (Shah 2010). However, various newspaper groups dominate the market in different parts of Pakistan which are included in the archive. As an illustration, Jang is the most circulated newspaper in Pakistan and holds a virtual monopoly of Urdu readership in all the major urban centers

in Pakistan in the five provinces of Pakistan. Likewise, Dawn holds dominance over English readership in Karachi, the largest city in Pakistan. Another newspaper Nawa-i-Waqt is very influential in both the urban and rural Punjab, the largest province of Pakistan. Thus in terms of geography, while we do not have any data to claim that the archive is covering the full diversity of the Pakistani newspaper industry, these newspapers include all the major population centers and the most circulated newspapers in Pakistan (Banerjee and Logan 2008).

Details of the number of articles from each newspaper are given in Appendix D. Very often, the name of the publication was not given in the archive, or the name of the paper was not clear to read, in which case the newspaper name was categorized as 'not clear.' The archive obtains newspaper articles from major newspapers in Pakistan and organizes them by topic and year. It is mostly for government use, but research scholars can access it after prior consent from the government. The archive is unique as it contains Urdu language newspapers by topics in its record as almost all online newspaper archives only contain only English language newspapers. I look at articles from the 1993-2005 period (details of newspapers by language per year in Annexure 1) because of the lack of availability of the latest newspaper data after 2005. The article also misses the data from 1995 as the archive did not collect the articles for 1995. Therefore, the paper cannot assess how newspapers are currently portraying NGOs. While we do not have the latest newspaper articles, we have some reason to believe that the framing of NGOs may be similar in newspaper articles today as it was during the period under consideration. For instance, post 9/11 events and the subsequent war on terror may have fueled anti-western sentiments in Pakistan, a period that this paper covers. Similarly, there was no major event

in Pakistan in 1995 that may have sparked a change in the media framing of NGOs in the English and Urdu language newspapers.

I conduct frame analysis in two steps. First, I assess the negative portrayal of NGOs in an article by performing sentiment analysis of each article. Second, I identify the mainframe/topic of the article. As an illustration, a 1994 article from the Daily Muslim titled “Government starts probing the validity of NGOs” discusses the steps the government is taking to close fake NGOs in Pakistan. The main topic is government resistance as it talks about the restrictions government is putting in place to limit NGOs’ activities, while the sentiment of the article towards NGOs is negative as it is suggesting that some NGOs are fake, and therefore they are not serving the interests of the local population.

In the next sections, I discuss how I conducted sentiment analysis and topic/frame analysis of the articles.

Sentiment Analysis

For the first step, I assess if the frames employed by the media to describe NGOs are more negative in Urdu when compared to English newspapers by conducting sentiment analysis of newspaper articles. Sentiment Analysis is the analysis of the negativity of the media frames (Medhat, Hassan, and Korashy 2014). Corporate organizations employ similar tools to analyze reviews from customers and the media (Fan, Geddes, and Flory 2013). For instance, scholars have used Amazon reviews to measure sentiment about Amazon products (Fang and Zhan 2015). A growing body of information sciences research

analyzes if the media frames employed by newspapers about different actors are negative or positive (Balahur et al. 2013).

In my paper, I use manual coders to read articles and assess if the overall sentiment of an article is negative or not. While computational sentiment analysis is very useful for analyzing a large corpus of documents, manual coders provide better accuracy than computational sentiment analysis (Young and Soroka 2012). I employed a pair of bilingual (Urdu language and English speaking) undergraduates from Pakistan to code the articles.

Individual evaluations of articles may vary as it is often difficult to assess the overall sentiment of the article. Journalists are often less explicit about their sentiment evaluations in the article when compared to other kinds of media like customer reviews or movie reviews (Balahur et al. 2013). Thus, it is challenging to code the articles on a 1-5 scale as there are often disagreements between coders on issues whether an article is 3 on the scale versus being 4 on the scale. To deal with this issue of inter-rater reliability, I used various scales in the pre-testing phase to ensure that there is a higher degree of reliability in my measures. However, because of the difficulty of assessing sentiment in a newspaper, the coders will sometimes not agree.

Thus, to assure that my results can achieve a high level of reliability, I ended up creating a dichotomy of coding (negative or not negative). As we are primarily interested in negative sentiment, I restricted the analysis to measure the negative sentiment as opposed to positive sentiment in the article. Any article that depicts NGOs negatively was coded as a negative article, while an article with a neutral or positive tone was coded as non-negative. While this scale may reduce some nuances in the sentiment (say between slightly negative and very negative), it enables us to make our study replicable as a different individual will

come at similar conclusions when reading these articles (as illustrated by the very high degree of inter-rater reliability between coders). For the tiny percentage of articles that the coders disagreed on, we held a meeting to decide the sentiment of the article. The coders usually came to a consensus about the sentiment. On the rare occasion that they did not, I used my vote as the third coder.

Overall, the interrater reliability score was high (0.90). The coders agreed 95% of the time if the article was depicting NGOs negatively, which is high, considering the subjective nature of the articles.

Some articles were easy to code. For instance, an article in daily Jang in June 1993 starts with the headline “European Embassies have stopped giving grants to fake NGOs.” Here both coders agreed that the NGO was being depicted negatively by the newspaper as some of them were framed as fake. Some articles, however, were more difficult to code. For instance, an article called “NGOs: A Double-Edged Sword” published in Daily News in June 1993 discussed the issues of NGO accountability in the first half of the article while praising NGOs in the second part of the article. The coders initially disagreed on the sentiment of these articles. However, to ensure more reliability, we made a rule of counting the number of lines in which negative or positive sentiment exists. If more lines exist in the article that talks about the negative aspects of NGOs’ works, then it was coded as negative. This coding has its limitations as it is often challenging to quantify articles from being extremely negative to negative. However, we had to come up with rules that allowed us to code articles systematically. We initially started without these rules and soon realized that coders would often not be able to agree on the sentiment of articles that portrayed NGOs

negatively as well as positively. If the coders were still not able to reach a consensus, I used my vote as the third coder to decide the frame.

As can be seen below, a higher percentage of Urdu language newspapers (63%) portray NGOs negatively than Urdu language newspapers (37%).

English	63%	37%
Urdu	37%	63%

Table II: Percentage of Negative Framing by Language

Table III below also gives the percentage of negative sentiment expressed by each newspaper. As can be seen, almost all English newspapers (The Muslim, The Nation, The News, Pakistan Times, Pakistan Observer and Frontier Post) express less negative sentiment towards NGOs than Urdu language newspapers (Nawa-i-Waqt, Khabrain, Jasarat, Ausaf, and Al-Akhbar). The only exception for the Urdu language newspapers is Jang and Daily Express, whose negative sentiment lies between English language newspapers.

Table III: Percentage of Negative Framing by Newspaper

Newspaper	Negative Sentiment (%)
Daily Express	0%
The Muslim	24.32%
The Nation	27.27%
The News	34.43%
Dawn	36.00%

Jang	48.28%
Pakistan Times	51.72%
Pakistan Observer	53.85%
Frontier Post	57.58%
Nawa-i-waqt	58.14%
Khabrain	80.00%
Jasarat	87.50%
Ausaf	92.86%
Al Akhbar	100.00%

Since our distribution is primarily composed of the number of times a ‘negative’ sentiment exists in a newspaper (which is negative or non-negative), I run a binomial regression. The negative binomial distribution is a discrete probability distribution of the number of successes (0 or 1) in a dataset. Since we are assessing the probability of successes or failures, a normal count distribution like Poisson or a simple linear regression over a continuous population would not be an appropriate model to use.

I control for various factors that may affect the framing of NGOs. For one, the framing may be affected by whether the story was an editorial or a news story. Authors are more likely to give their opinion and take a stance in an opinion piece as compared to when it is a news story, as they often feature events where the author’s opinion might be less apparent. I also control for the year as current events happening in a year (for instance after the year 2001 may have affected the portrayal of NGOs due to their close association

with the US and war on terror). I also control for the size of the article as the size of the article may affect sentiment as more space may allow the author to clarify their sentiment than a smaller article. I use the newspaper article size as a measure of the article prominence as an article that takes more space is going to be more important than a news item that takes less space. While it would be ideal to have the page number as a measure of the prominence of a newspaper article (for instance, front page), the archive does not mention what page number of the article.

It is also possible that the sentiment may be driven towards specific types of international NGOs. For instance, the sentiment may be driven by INGOs from the US. Thus, initially, we attempted to code articles for specific mention of the country. However, the practice proved futile as most articles would contain either mention of 'Western' NGOs, or donors and countries from several countries. Thus, to control for that, I made a category of international NGOs to control all International NGOs so I can control sentiment that maybe being driven by an INGO's association with a specific country like the US.

I also wanted to control for local NGOs that may be funded by specific countries as NGOs funded by the US may have particular negative sentiment attached to them. However, in the case of local NGOs, most of the time it is near impossible to associate any specific NGO with a country as local NGOs are often simultaneously funded abroad from multiple donors (US, Canada, UK, European Union) as well as several secular and religious western donors, thus making it impossible to associate these NGOs with a specific country or a specific religious cause. However, the sentiment may be driven by specific NGO activity areas rather than the NGO identity. For instance, the authors may be more supportive of

NGOs working on education than NGOs working on women’s rights, which is a much more controversial topic in Pakistan. Thus, I control for various NGO activities.

Surprisingly, issues about women’s rights are not significant, possibly suggesting that the media is not critical of NGOs’ role in promoting women’s rights in Pakistan. Sentiment in editorials is more likely to be negative than news articles, which shows that authors are more likely to express negative sentiment in editorials instead of news articles which may be more likely to give facts instead of opinions. Interestingly, authors are more likely to espouse negative sentiment in small-sized articles (Less than half A4 size or half A4 size). This finding may suggest that small-sized articles may have a less balanced portrayal of NGOs as the authors may not have enough space to talk about negative as well as positive aspects of NGOs’ work. INGOs are more likely to be portrayed negatively than local NGOs, thus providing some support that their association with western countries may partially drive the negative sentiment towards NGOs.

Table IV: Regression Results of Negative Sentiment in an Article

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Negative
Language: Urdu	1.051*** (0.194)
Education	-0.145 (0.256)
Health	-0.370 (0.254)
Women’s Rights	0.134 (0.236)
Article Type: Editorial	1.403*** (0.215)

Year	0.012 (0.023)
Article Size: Equal to A4	0.528* (0.306)
Article Size: Half A4	0.511* (0.284)
Article Size: Less than half A4	0.710** (0.277)
Article Size: More than A4	-0.120 (0.346)
International NGOs (INGOs)	0.918** (0.455)
Constant	-25.831 (45.777)
Observations	656
Log Likelihood	-399.537
Akaike Inf. Crit.	823.073
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Frame Topic

As a second step as discussed above, I also identify the main article topic of the frame. Two coders coded the main topic of the media frame of an article without looking at the coding of the other coder. The coders were less likely to agree on the main topic frame of articles that had multiple frames as it was a challenge to find the mainframe of an article that has multiple frames. For instance, in an article from the Daily News in 1996 titled “NGOs ask Prime Minister to enact Environmental Laws”, the NGOs are participating in a protest to ask the government to improve its environmental laws as well as educating the

public as an expert about the need to have environmental laws. The article could be coded in the protest, expert as well as a doing good frame. One coder would often code the article as doing good while the second coder may code it as a protest or expert, thus illustrating the difficulty of coding the article.

There were challenges involved in coding articles that may have multiple frames. In particular, there was often confusion between the 'expert' frame that previous research had employed and 'doing good' or 'protest' frame as there was often overlap between them. After multiple meetings, we decided that to get reliable results, we need to remove the 'expert' frame.

The results for inter-coder reliability are again high but lower than the sentiment analysis (Kappa = 0.81). On articles that the coders disagreed on, we decided to have a face-to-face conversation to resolve the disagreement. Very often, the coders will come to a consensus on the mainframe of the article, but in articles that they disagreed on, I will use my vote as the third coder to choose the frame that seemed more likely to fit on the article amongst the frames that the coders had selected. This method, while not perfect, does allow for the majority vote to decide the mainframe.

Some articles could be easily classified into one frame. For instance, a May 2005 article in Daily Nation called "NGO Networks: Question of Credibility" was easily categorized as a public accountability frame as it discussed issues of mismanagement and public accountability in NGO networks. Some other articles, however, were more difficult to code. For instance, using the example of "NGOs: A Double-Edged Sword" again, it was challenging to assess if the article would fit in the "doing good" or "public accountability" frame as the article discusses the good work that NGOs are doing as well as the issues of

mismanagement and accountability in NGOs. For such articles, we again made the rule that the mainframe should be the one that is discussed longer (counting the number of lines).

Another complication that often arose was on articles on NGO protests as the coders were not sure whether the article should be coded as “protest” or “doing good.” The NGOs were often “doing good” by protesting against injustices in society. For instance, an article called “Political Parties must give 33 percent seats for women” could be coded as either protest or doing good as NGOs were demanding that the government should give 33 percent seats in the Parliament to the women. For such articles, we made the rule that only articles in which the NGOs are physically protesting like holding a rally would be considered a protest. The above article was coded as “doing good” since there was no physical protest by NGOs on the issue.

Given below (Table V) is the percentage of each frame found in the newspapers. The public accountability frame is the most common frame employed (33% English and 45% Urdu). Doing good frame is the second most common frame (45% English and 23% in Urdu), followed by the government resistance frame (24% in Urdu and 12% in English). The protest frame is employed almost equally by English (7%) and Urdu language newspapers (5%). Very few articles (3% for both English and Urdu) did not use any of these frames, which suggests that these frames did a good job in covering the main topics around which NGOs are framed in the newspapers.

Frame	English	Urdu
Public Accountability	33%	45%
Government Resistance	12%	24%

Protest	7%	5%
Doing Good	45%	23%
None	3%	3%

Table V: Percentage of Frames Employed in Newspaper

I also ran negative binomial regressions to assess if the frames in Urdu language newspapers differ significantly from those used in English language newspapers. I control for various factors that may affect the framing of NGOs (same as those in sentiment analysis discussed above).

I find strong support that NGOs are less likely to acquire the ‘doing good’ frame in Urdu language newspapers than English newspapers (H_2 , $p < 0.01$). Similarly, I find strong evidence to suggest that NGOs are more likely to acquire the ‘public accountability’ frame in Urdu language newspapers than English newspapers (H_3 , $p < 0.05$). I also find support that NGOs are more likely to acquire the ‘government resistance’ frame in Urdu language newspapers than English language newspapers (H_4 , $p < 0.05$). I do not find evidence that NGOs are less likely to acquire a ‘protest’ frame in Urdu language newspapers than English language newspapers (H_5).

As far as topics are concerned, newspapers are more likely to report on NGOs’ work in women’s rights in a ‘government resistance’ framework, which may suggest that the government is more likely to clamp down on NGOs that are working in the domain of women’s rights. Likewise, NGOs are more likely to be discussed under the individual frames in editorial, which suggests that authors are more likely to express their opinions in editorials as opposed to newspaper articles.

Table VI: Regression Results of Topics/Frames Employed in the Newspapers

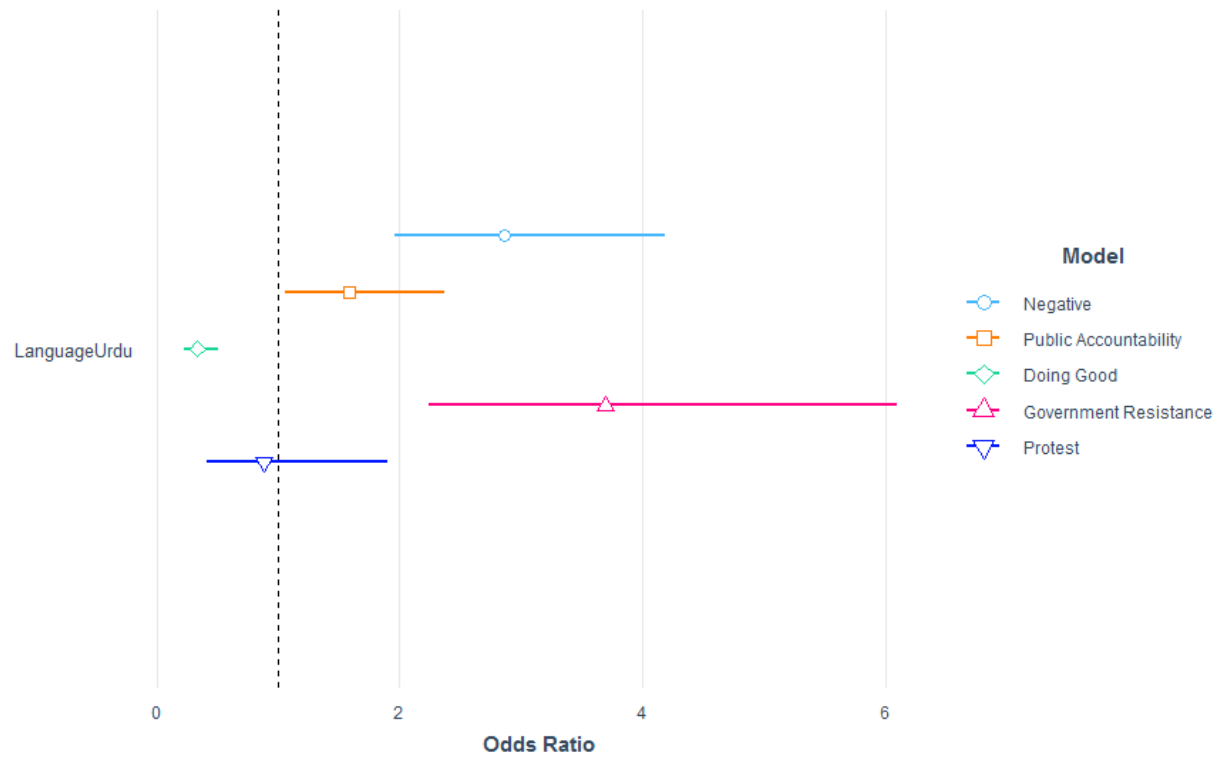
	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Public Accountability	Doing Good	Government Resistance	protest
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Language: Urdu	0.460** (0.204)	-1.087*** (0.208)	1.305*** (0.255)	-0.125 (0.390)
Education	-0.346 (0.282)	0.274 (0.247)	-0.017 (0.334)	-0.040 (0.466)
Health	-0.356 (0.270)	0.249 (0.242)	-0.166 (0.365)	0.326 (0.443)
Women Rights	-0.228 (0.255)	-0.084 (0.232)	0.581* (0.308)	0.075 (0.434)
Article Type: Editorial	1.921*** (0.226)	-0.815*** (0.210)	-1.572*** (0.344)	-1.500*** (0.488)
Year	0.005 (0.024)	0.057** (0.023)	-0.095*** (0.032)	-0.022 (0.043)
Article Size: Equal to A4	0.199 (0.312)	-0.007 (0.310)	0.121 (0.444)	-0.798 (0.691)
Article Size: Half A4	0.613** (0.299)	0.060 (0.270)	-0.820** (0.397)	-0.762 (0.482)
Article Size: Less than half A4	0.473 (0.299)	-0.138 (0.262)	-0.318 (0.338)	-0.732* (0.435)
Article Size: More than A4	0.141 (0.348)	0.560 (0.352)	-1.387* (0.797)	-0.464 (0.840)
International NGOs (INGOs)	1.178*** (0.456)	-0.883* (0.492)	-0.569 (0.787)	-0.396 (1.053)
Constant	-11.477 (48.653)	-114.124** (45.958)	188.907*** (63.301)	43.182 (86.880)
Observations	656	656	656	656
Log Likelihood	-364.873	-405.767	-227.268	-144.047
Akaike Inf. Crit.	753.746	835.534	478.536	312.094

Note:

* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Discussion

Graph 1: Odds Ratio of Newspaper Frames by Language



Graph 1 above gives the odds ratio of various frames that are employed by the Urdu language newspapers when compared to the English language newspapers. Overall, the Urdu language newspapers are more likely to portray NGOs negatively as the odds ratio of having a negative sentiment is 2.9 times in Urdu language newspapers to an English language newspaper. Urdu language newspapers are also less likely to portray the NGOs in a doing good framework as the odds ratio of having a doing good frame in an Urdu language newspaper is 0.3 to that of an English language newspaper. The odds ratio of having a public accountability frame in the Urdu newspaper is 1.6 to that to English language newspaper, and the odds ratio of having government resistance in the Urdu language newspaper is 3.7 to that of having the same frame in English language newspaper respectively. This finding suggests that the Urdu language newspapers are less likely to employ a doing good frame for NGOs, while they are more likely to portray NGOs negatively and employ public accountability and government resistance frame for NGOs than their counterparts in the English language newspapers.

Conclusion

Overall this paper suggests that Urdu language newspapers are more likely to frame NGOs negatively than English language newspapers (Hypothesis 1: Negative Frames). They are also less likely to discuss the NGOs' good work in Pakistan (Hypothesis 2: 'doing good' framework) and are more likely to address issues of NGOs' public accountability (hypothesis 3: public accountability frame). I also find strong support that they are also

more likely to highlight the steps that the government is taking to curb or restrict NGOs' activities (Hypothesis 4: government resistance frame) in Pakistan. This media framing may affect NGOs' legitimacy among the non-elite actors as their opinions are more likely to be informed by the Urdu language media.

However, we should be cautious in interpreting these results. For one, public opinion is not entirely informed by media as other cues like direct exposure to NGOs' work also influence these opinions. Similarly, the Pakistani public already holds anti-Western views, and these views may affect their perceptions of NGOs even without the media making the connection.

Some events not covered by this archive (after 2005) may have also influenced media representations of NGOs. For instance, Save the Children was involved in the US military's operation against Bin Laden in 2011. This event may have affected NGOs' representation in the media as NGOs seemed complicit with the US military. The archive does not cover this period, which is a limitation of this article. However, we have some reason to believe that even these events would not affect the overall difference between Urdu and English language media. For instance, if an NGO's role in Bin Laden's capture may have polarized the media depending on their opinion about Bin Ladin, we would expect an increase in the difference of the NGO's portrayal between English and Urdu language media as the media's opinion of Bin Laden may be highly correlated with their opinion about the West as more anti-Western papers may be more likely to be sympathetic to Bin Laden and vice versa.

With relatively low literacy rates in Pakistan overall, some segments of the population may not be able to read Urdu newspapers as well, relying on television and the

radio instead. While we do not have television and radio transcripts, we may expect that the Urdu media other than newspapers will also be affected by their anti-Western sentiment as they often hire Urdu newspaper journalists. Likewise, these media formats also frame issues to match their consumers' opinions. Thus their consumers' anti-Western sentiment may drive their portrayal of NGOs. The archive also does not contain regional newspapers. However, I do not think local newspapers will have a massive impact since the majority of the large papers are national rather than regional.

This study also adds nuance to the understanding of the relationship between the media and nonprofits. For instance, it suggests that the media is more critical of NGOs' work than what previous research has suggested. We may also need to seriously consider the effect of media bias on its portrayal of NGOs in various domains like health, security, and education, among others. The issue of bias may also be valuable in the study of nonprofits in the global North as well, where the media is often divided along ideological lines.

This paper is also instructional for NGO workers in Muslim countries, as it illustrates that their association with Western donors may be affecting their representation in the media. It might be difficult for these NGOs to separate themselves from their donors if they are heavily dependent on their funding. However, they may try to signal their separation by at least emphasizing their roots in local communities. Today NGOs do try to indicate their difference from Western donors by recognizing the need to signal their appreciation and respect for the local culture. For instance, in Muslim countries, NGOs increasingly frame issues around female education around religion by focusing on how Islam and local culture and not Western norms dictate equality for both men and women. Similarly, some NGOs

also include religious leaders in their activities to signal that their actions are acceptable and legitimized by religious authorities (UNFPA 2008).

In particular, NGOs involved in more suspicious activities need to signal their independence from western donors. For instance, polio campaigns in Pakistan are highly dubious because of their association with the CIA's attempt to capture Bin Laden (Mullaney and Hassan 2015). Thus polio campaigns may find it necessary to signal their difference from western donors by demonstrating their local roots.

Similarly, while there is limited evidence to suggest NGOs' sensitivity to the need for engaging local language journalists, we do have some suggestions that NGOs and western donors are taking media engagement more seriously. For instance, recently, the US embassy in Pakistan has been conducting training for NGOs to help them improve their involvement with the local press^f. This paper suggests that NGOs need to invest more time and effort in reaching out to local journalists and demonstrating their authenticity and respect for local culture.

Notes

a. As an illustration, only 11% of Pakistanis have a favorable opinion of the U.S., the lowest percentage among 38 countries polled by Pew Research in spring 2013 <

<http://www.pewglobal.org/2013/07/18/americas-global-image-remains-more-positive-than-chinas/>>

b. Arguably there are also some non-western donors to these NGOs as recently donors like China, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar have increased their donations to NGOs in Pakistan.

However, overall, the word 'NGO' is often associated with western donor aid.

c. Television media also portrays western countries negatively. As an illustration, The Los Angeles Times reported that Pakistani media 'television talk shows to try to gobble up ratings with sensationalism and demonization of the West (Rodriguez 2011)

d. In fact, the backlash and suspicion about US's involvement with NGOs were so intense that people in many Pakistan refused vaccination from NGO workers under the suspicion that they had been tempered by the US government

e. The archive is the official government repository and therefore focuses more on collecting English as opposed to Urdu language newspapers as English is the official language. Hence there are more English language articles in the archives than Urdu language articles. However, despite the fewer number of Urdu language newspaper articles, there is no systematic reason to suggest that the collection of the articles would be systematically affected by their sentiment in the article. Hence we can assume that the sample in both Urdu and English newspapers is random and that the collection of the newspapers is not being affected by the sentiment. While ideally, we will like to collect a complete newspaper archive, no other archive of Urdu newspapers exists.

f. For more information: <https://www.grants.gov/web/grants/view-opportunity.html?oppId=283200>

Appendices

Appendix A

Summary of Covariates

	No	Yes
Negative	368	288
Education	529	127
Health	565	91
Security	529	127
Women Rights	500	156
Public Accountability	416	240
Government Resistance	563	93
Doing Good	406	250
Protest	615	41
Local NGOs	28	628
International NGOs	628	28

Appendix B

Number of Articles by Year

Year	1993	1994	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Articles	51	67	7	51	14	12	123	60	74	64	33	100

Appendix C: Coding Scheme

1. Introduction

As a coder you will be given data from a single newspaper article and will be asked to decide whether or not the article is framing NGOs negatively. You will be asked to choose the topic that best represents how NGOs are being framed. You will receive the text of the article.

Once you determine what kind of frame exists in the newspaper article, you will code the article based on three categories:

- (1) Sentiment (0: Not Negative; 1: Negative)
- (2) Frame (DG: Doing Good, PA: Public Accountability, GR: Government Resistance, P: Protest)

2. Details on how to code each category:

2.1 Sentiment Analysis (0: Non-Negative; 1: Negative):

If an article is mostly neutral, and then portrays some part of the article as negative, code it as negative.

If the article is portraying NGOs positively, and then portrays NGOs negatively in another part of the article, count the amount of lines for positive and negative sentiment. If the number of lines for negative sentiment are more, code it as negative. If the number of lines for positive sentiment are more, code it as non-negative.

For an individual article to be scored a 1 (Negative) on this category, it must portray the NGOs negatively in the article.

Some examples, but not all, are the following:

Negative:

- 1) NGOs are portrayed as ineffective.
- 2) NGOs are portrayed as tools of foreign donors.
- 3) NGOs are portrayed as corrupt.
- 4) NGOs are portrayed as destroying local customs.
- 5) NGOs are portrayed as not able to achieve their aims and programs successfully.
- 6) NGOs are portrayed as being controlled by foreign donors. Example: Funding to NGOs gives donors control over NGOs' activities.
- 7) NGOs impose foreign agenda over the local population.

- 8) Government is trying to control NGOs' activities because of their foreign linkages.
- 9) Government is trying to control NGOs' activities because some of them may be involved in terrorism.
- 10) NGOs are threatening Islam.

Non-Negative: NGOs are either portrayed neutral or positive

Neutral:

- 1) NGOs are not neither portrayed negatively or positively.
- 2) Goods are stolen from an NGO's office.

Positive: NGOs are portrayed positively

Examples:

- 1) Helping local communities by promoting education, health, etc.
- 2) Protesting Human Rights abuses by the state.
- 3) Acting as experts on socio-economic issues.

Frames:

Read the article and come up with the best frame that explains the article. If there are more than two frames, count the number of lines for the frame. If the number of lines for one frame are more, then code that frame as the mainframe.

If the number of lines for each frame are equal, then look at heading of the article and code the article according to the frame present in the headlines. Look at the main headline to find the main frame.

Doing Good: Focuses on important, productive work that NGOs are doing in recognizing and reducing societal problems.

Examples:

- 1) NGOs are providing free education.
- 2) NGOs are providing relief aid.
- 3) NGOs discussed issues of children rights.
- 4) NGOs conducted a rally to raise funds for running schools.

Protest: NGOs speaking out against government or business activity that they deem unethical, harmful, irresponsible, illegal, or threatening. For protest frame, the protest has to be a physical protest.

Examples:

- 1) NGOs protested the infringement of human rights by the government by holding a vigil.
- 2) NGOs asked the government to fulfil its promises of providing free education by holding a protest on the road.
- 3) NGOs spoke out against rampant child labor issues in Pakistani society by holding a press conference.

Public Accountability: Articles that question NGO activity, specifically concerning issues such as corruption, accountability, and poor management.

Examples:

- 1) NGOs are corrupt.
- 2) NGOs are driven by western donor agenda.
- 3) NGOs waste resources.
- 4) NGOs are ineffective.
- 5) NGOs have not been able to successfully achieve their aims or programs.
- 6) NGOs are involved in doing business and making money instead of serving humanity.
- 7) NGOs are against Islamic values.

Expert: Articles in which NGOs are interviewed for their view on a subject or provided information.

Examples:

- 1) Save the Children representative talked about the issue of children rights in Pakistan.
- 2) The NGO representative talked about the challenges of education faced by Pakistan today.

Government Resistance: Government is portrayed as attempting to curb or restricting NGOs' activities.

Examples:

- 1) The Government is taking steps to force all NGOs to register.
- 2) Government has closed the headquarters of Save the Children.
- 3) Government has asked the NGOs' officials to leave the country.
- 4) If there is any mention of government restriction or new laws about government regulation, then code it as government resistance.
- 5) If there is any mention of government restriction or new laws about government regulation, then code it as government resistance.

None: An article that does not fit any of the frames above.

Examples:

1) NGO had goods stolen.

2) Article talks about charity but does not focus on NGOs.

Appendix D: Number of Articles by Newspaper

	Newspaper	number
1	Newspaper Name Not Given/Clear	178
2	Al Akhbar	10
3	Ausaf	14
4	Daily Express	1
5	Dawn	50
6	Frontier Post	33
7	Jang	29
8	Jasarat	8
9	Khabrain	10
10	Nawa-i-waqt	43
11	Pakistan Observer	26
12	Pakistan Times	29
13	The Muslim	37
14	The Nation	66
15	The News	122

Conclusion

This dissertation tries to delve into some of the issues that the nonprofit sector faced after 9/11. In my first chapter, I find that 9/11 increased negative evaluations about Muslim nonprofits in the US media. However, I also find that while causing an increase in negative evaluations of Islamic nonprofits, 9/11 events also increased the media spotlight on the persecution and the Islamophobia Muslim nonprofits faced post 9/11. My second chapter dispels myths that donations to Muslim nonprofits reduced because of the events of 9/11. Several policymakers and nonprofit leaders had assumed that 9/11 caused a decline in the contributions to Islamic nonprofits in the US. However, my analysis helped dispel these myths. I find that despite widescale belief in policy and nonprofit actors that 9/11 caused a reduction in donations to Islamic nonprofits, there was no statistically significant reduction in their charitable contributions. In the third chapter, I study media evaluations of Western nonprofits in the Muslim world by exploring their representation in the Pakistani media. Here I do not find that 9/11 increased negative evaluations of Western NGOs in the media. However, I find that prior anti-Western biases of the media affect its framing and evaluation of the nonprofit sector.

Broader Implications

While exogenous shocks are multiple and frequent, it is difficult to make a single coherent assertion about their effect on nonprofits. In this dissertation, I have assessed a specific kind of an exogenous shock i.e., 9/11 which focused the spotlight on specific types of nonprofits. In this context, it was the Islamic and Western nonprofits. Other exogenous shocks may increase focus on other subsectors of the nonprofit sectors. In other settings like Hurricanes, the focus can increase on relief nonprofits, while it may be health or humanitarian nonprofits in a health emergency like COVID-19. Thus, in each context, it necessary to specify the nature of the exogenous shock as it helps understand what kind of nonprofits are more likely to get affected by it.

This dissertation also suggests that exogenous shocks affect nonprofits through multiple channels, including fundraising, reputation, government regulatory environment, as well as legitimacy. These lessons are particularly relevant to study, given the current exogenous shock of COVID-19 that the nonprofit sector is facing. In comparison, COVID-19 is a different type of an exogenous shock to 9/11 because it has not increased scrutiny of a specific subset of nonprofits such as Islamic charities after 9/11. However, the lessons drawn from this dissertation can help us understand the effect of COVID-19 on nonprofit fundraising. My recent research suggests that COVID-19 may lead to an increase in donations to some humanitarian charities while it may reduce charitable contributions to other nonprofits.

This dissertation also speaks to a broader issue of racial and religious stereotyping in the nonprofit sector. The fact that Islamic nonprofits became 'moral suspects' post 9/11 because of their religious identity suggests that religious heuristics

could affect the operations of nonprofits. Moreover, the stereotyping of Western NGOs based on their association with Western countries in Muslim countries suggests that this stereotyping can also occur based on nation or country of origin. Thus, it may be difficult to have one theory of stereotyping based on either race and/or faith because, very often, they mix. For instance, recent research suggests that Islam and Muslims in the US have become associated with a racial rather than a purely faith-based identity (GhaneaBassiri 2010). For instance, some recent research suggests that Islam is seen as a 'foreign country' rather than a religious identity in America (Grewal 2014) and that Muslim Americans are considered a racialized minority rather than a religious minority in the US. Similarly, Western NGOs, despite coming from various secular as well as religious backgrounds, are also often perceived as Christian organizations in the Muslim world (Jafar 2007). What this suggests is that it is often challenging to entirely separate racial and faith-based categories in the context of nonprofits.

This dissertation has several policy implications. For one, it suggests that donors did not reduce their giving to the Muslim nonprofit sector post 9/11. Thus, it helps answer the policy question that had scared many Muslim nonprofits that donors might become afraid of donating to them. It may also be valuable in the light of the current environment where several anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim Executive order has passed, including travel bans on Muslim traveling from several countries. Based on these findings, we can conjecture that such future government actions may not always deter the fundraising efforts of these nonprofits. In the future, based on this precedent, Islamic nonprofits may feel less fearful of executive actions or legislations.

The public policy implications for media and nonprofits are clear. There seems to be a bias in the liberal media whereby nonprofits are portrayed in a positive light. I find this in my work on Islamic and Western nonprofits in the US and Pakistan. It is not clear what the source of the bias is. Arguably, nonprofits often do not engage sufficiently with conservative outlets based on the assumption that they are hostile to them. But this becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. The lesson is that nonprofits need an active media outreach even to the platforms that are often critical of them.

Limitations

The dissertation suffers from several limitations, which I have highlighted in individual chapters as well. First, the IRS data used in this dissertation is often missing when nonprofits did not report data. Likewise, this dissertation restricts its analysis upto 2005. Thus, we do not know how donations to Muslim nonprofits changed after this period which has included disenchantment with the Iraq war, 2008-2009 recession and the Presidencies of Barak Obama and Donald Trump.

For the chapter on media portrayal of Islamic nonprofits, one limitation is that some significant outlets like the Wall Street Journal are not included in the Lexis Nexis database. Similarly, I have looked primarily at major national newspapers only; arguably, local newspapers might have portrayed Islamic nonprofits differently in the aftermath of 9/11.

For the chapter on NGOs and Pakistani media, I have mostly focused on Urdu language newspapers because of the lack of data available in other regional languages such as Punjabi, Sindhi and Pashto. Future research needs to look at other local newspapers in

Pakistan, as well as other parts of the global South and the Muslim world, to assess how western NGOs are portrayed across the globe.

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