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Sovereignty Relinquished? Explaining Commitment to the International Human Rights Covenants, 1966-1999

Wade M. Cole
Stanford University

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Table A. Dates of Ratification of the Economic Rights Covenant, Political Rights Covenant, and Optional Protocol

Country	ICESCR	ICCPR	OP	Country	ICESCR	ICCPR	OP
Afghanistan	1983	1983	—	Djibouti	2002	2002	—
Albania	1991	1991	—	Dominica	1993	1993	—
Algeria ^a	1989	1989	1989	Dominican Rep.	1978	1978	1978
Angola	1992	1992	1992	Ecuador ^a	1969	1969	1969
Argentina ^a	1986	1986	1986	Egypt	1982	1982	—
Armenia	1993	1993	1993	El Salvador	1979	1979	1995
Australia ^a	1975	1980	1991	Equatorial Guinea	1987	1987	1987
Austria ^a	1978	1978	1987	Eritrea	2001	2002	—
Azerbaijan	1992	1992	—	Estonia	1991	1991	1991
Bangladesh	1998	2000	—	Ethiopia	1993	1993	—
Barbados	1973	1973	1973	Finland ^a	1975	1975	1975
Belarus ^a	1973	1973	1992	France	1980	1980	1984
Belgium ^a	1983	1983	1994	Gabon	1983	1983	—
Belize	—	1996	—	Gambia ^a	1978	1979	1988
Benin	1992	1992	1992	Georgia	1994	1994	1994
Bolivia	1982	1982	1982	German Dem. Rep.	1973	1973	—
Bosnia-Herzegovina ^a	1992	1993	1995	Germany, Fed. Rep. ^a	1973	1973	1993
Botswana	2000	2000	—	Ghana	2000	2000	—
Brazil	1992	1992	—	Greece	1985	1997	1997
Bulgaria ^a	1970	1970	1992	Grenada	1991	1991	—
Burkina Faso	1999	1999	1999	Guatemala	1988	1992	—
Burundi	1990	1990	—	Guinea	1978	1978	1993
Cambodia	1992	1992	—	Guinea-Bissau	1992	—	—
Cameroon	1984	1984	1984	Guyana ^a	1977	1977	1993
Canada ^a	1976	1976	1976	Haiti	—	1991	—
Cape Verde	1993	1993	2000	Honduras	1981	1997	—
Central African Rep.	1981	1981	1981	Hungary ^a	1974	1974	1988
Chad	1995	1995	1995	Iceland ^a	1979	1979	1979
Chile ^a	1972	1972	1992	India	1979	1979	—
China	2001	—	—	Iran	1975	1975	—
Colombia	1969	1969	1969	Iraq	1971	1971	—
Congo ^a	1983	1983	1983	Ireland ^a	1989	1989	1989
Costa Rica	1968	1968	1968	Israel	1991	1991	—
Cote d'Ivoire	1992	1992	1997	Italy ^a	1978	1978	1978
Croatia ^a	1991	1992	1995	Jamaica	1975	1975	1975
Cyprus	1969	1969	1992	Japan	1979	1979	—
Czech Republic ^a	1993	1993	1993	Jordan	1975	1975	—
Czechoslovakia	1975	1975	1991	Kenya	1972	1972	—
Denmark ^a	1972	1972	1972	Korea, D.P.R.	1981	1981	—

Note: ICESCR = International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; ICCPR = International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; OP = First Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

^a Country recognizes the Human Rights Committee's competence to receive interstate communications under Article 41 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

(Continued on next page)

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT
to article in
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, 2005, VOL. 70 (JUNE:XX-XX)

Table A. Dates of Ratification of the Economic Rights Covenant, Political Rights Covenant, and Optional Protocol (*continued*)

Country	ICESCR	ICCPR	OP	Country	ICESCR	ICCPR	OP
Korea, Republic of ^a	1990	1990	1990	San Marino	1985	1985	1985
Kuwait	1996	1996	—	Senegal ^a	1978	1978	1978
Kyrgyzstan	1994	1994	1995	Seychelles	1992	1992	1992
Latvia	1992	1992	1994	Sierra Leone	1996	1996	1996
Lebanon	1972	1972	—	Slovakia ^a	1993	1993	1993
Lesotho	1992	1992	—	Slovenia ^a	1992	1992	1993
Libya	1970	1970	1989	Solomon Islands	1982	—	—
Liechtenstein ^a	1998	1998	1998	Somalia	1990	1990	1990
Lithuania	1991	1991	1991	South Africa ^a	1998	1998	—
Luxembourg ^a	1983	1983	1983	Spain ^a	1977	1977	1985
Macedonia, FYR of	1994	1994	1994	Sri Lanka ^a	1980	1980	1997
Madagascar	1971	1971	1971	St. Vincent/Grenadines	1981	1981	1981
Malawi	1993	1993	1996	Sudan	1986	1976	—
Mali	1974	1974	—	Suriname	1976	1976	1976
Malta ^a	1990	1990	1990	Sweden ^a	1971	1971	1971
Mauritius	1973	1973	1973	Switzerland ^a	1992	1992	—
Mexico	1981	1981	—	Syria	1969	1969	—
Moldova, Rep. of	1993	1993	—	Tajikistan	1999	1999	1999
Monaco	1997	1997	—	Tanzania	1976	1976	—
Mongolia	1974	1974	1991	Thailand	1999	1996	—
Morocco	1979	1979	—	Togo	1984	1984	1988
Mozambique	—	1993	—	Trinidad and Tobago	1978	1978	1980
Namibia	1994	1994	1994	Tunisia ^a	1969	1969	—
Nepal	1991	1991	1991	Turkmenistan	1997	1997	1997
Netherlands ^a	1978	1978	1978	Uganda	1987	1995	1995
New Zealand ^a	1978	1978	1989	Ukraine ^a	1973	1973	1991
Nicaragua	1980	1980	1980	United Kingdom ^a	1976	1976	—
Niger	1986	1986	1986	United States ^a	—	1992	—
Nigeria	1993	1993	—	Uruguay	1970	1970	1970
Norway ^a	1972	1972	1972	USSR (Russian Fed.) ^a	1973	1973	1991
Panama	1977	1977	1977	Uzbekistan	1995	1995	1995
Paraguay	1992	1992	1995	Venezuela	1978	1978	1978
Peru ^a	1978	1978	1980	Vietnam	1982	1982	—
Philippines ^a	1974	1986	1989	Yemen, PDR	1987	1987	—
Poland ^a	1977	1977	1991	Yugoslavia	2001	2001	—
Portugal	1978	1978	1983	Zaire (Congo, DR)	1976	1976	1976
Romania	1974	1974	1993	Zambia	1984	1984	1984
Rwanda	1975	1975	—	Zimbabwe ^a	1991	1991	—

Note: ICESCR = International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; ICCPR = International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; OP = First Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

^a Country recognizes the Human Rights Committee's competence to receive interstate communications under Article 41 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

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Table B. Descriptive Statistics for Variables Used in the Analysis, by Risk Set

Variables	Economic Rights Covenant					Political Rights Covenant				
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
Dependent variables										
Ratification at time <i>t</i>	.04	.20	0	1	144	.04	.20	0	1	146
Rationalism										
Autocracy/Democracy	-2.32	7.11	-10	10	2,771	-2.28	7.12	-10	10	2,804
Autocracy/Democracy change	.07	2.08	-18	16	2,771	.06	2.04	-18	16	2,804
Human rights practices	3.57	1.04	1	5	3,027	3.56	1.04	1	5	3,057
Communist	.09	.28	0	1	292	.09	.28	0	1	292
Cold war period (1966-89)	.80	.40	0	1	2,649	.80	.40	0	1	2,672
GDP per capita (logged)	7.31	1.53	3.90	10.74	2,573	7.31	1.52	3.90	10.74	2,602
World polity institutionalism										
INGO memberships (in 100s)	2.90	3.58	0	26.48	3,281	2.91	3.52	0	24.27	3,311
IGO memberships	33.08	19.25	0	104	3,281	33.18	19.23	0	104	3,311
World Human Rights Conf.	.07	.25	0	1	219	.07	.25	0	1	227
Cumulative ratifications (<i>t</i> -1)	54.03	43.53	0	140	3,320	52.81	42.54	0	143	3,350
Clash of civilizations										
African	.24	.43	0	1	789	.24	.43	0	1	797
Buddhist	.05	.21	0	1	153	.04	.21	0	1	150
Hindu	.03	.18	0	1	115	.03	.18	0	1	115
Islamic	.24	.43	0	1	810	.24	.43	0	1	802
Japanese	<.01	.06	0	1	14	<.01	.06	0	1	14
Latin American	.13	.33	0	1	424	.13	.34	0	1	433
Sinic (Chinese)	.04	.20	0	1	136	.04	.20	0	1	136
Slavic-Orthodox	.03	.18	0	1	108	.04	.19	0	1	122
Western	.23	.42	0	1	771	.23	.42	0	1	781

Note: N = number of country-year spells; GDP = gross domestic product; INGO = international nongovernmental organization; IGO = international governmental organizations.

(Continued below)

Table B. Descriptive Statistics for Variables Used in the Analysis, by Risk Set (continued)

Variables	Optional Protocol				
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
Dependent variables					
Ratification at time <i>t</i>	.02	.15	0	1	97
Rationalism					
Autocracy/Democracy	-2.00	7.18	-10	10	3,769
Autocracy/Democracy change	.11	2.01	-18	16	3,769
Human rights practices	3.50	1.08	1	5	4,035
Communist	.10	.31	0	1	455
Cold war period (1966-89)	.74	.44	0	1	3,248
GDP per capita (logged)	7.32	1.52	3.90	10.74	3,440
World polity institutionalism					
INGO memberships (in 100s)	3.71	4.51	0	33.21	4,310
IGO memberships	36.46	19.52	0	104	4,310
World Human Rights Conf.	.08	.28	0	1	363
Cumulative ratifications (<i>t</i> -1)	32.06	28.13	0	95	4,371
Clash of civilizations					
African	.22	.41	0	1	948
Buddhist	.04	.21	0	1	194
Hindu	.03	.18	0	1	151
Islamic	.26	.44	0	1	1,130
Japanese	<.01	.09	0	1	34
Latin American	.12	.32	0	1	519
Sinic (Chinese)	.04	.19	0	1	171
Slavic-Orthodox	.05	.22	0	1	215
Western	.23	.42	0	1	1,009

Note: N = number of country-year spells; GDP = gross domestic product; INGO = international nongovernmental organization; IGO = international governmental organizations.

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT
to article in
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, 2005, VOL. 70 (JUNE:XX-XX)

Table C. Correlations for Variables Used in Analyses

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
(1) Autocracy/Democracy	1.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(2) Autocracy/Democracy change	.13	1.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(3) Human rights practices	.39	.01	1.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(4) Communist	-.18	.02	-.06	1.00	—	—	—	—	—	—
(5) Cold war (1966–89)	-.19	-.06	.09	.04	1.00	—	—	—	—	—
(6) GDP per capita (logged) ^a	.54	-.01	.52	-.13	.02	1.00	—	—	—	—
(7) INGO memberships ^a	.55	-.00	.28	-.07	-.26	.65	1.00	—	—	—
(8) IGO memberships ^a	.36	.00	.16	-.14	-.05	.52	.71	1.00	—	—
(9) Cumulative ratifications, ICESCR ^a	.16	.06	-.09	.01	-.80	-.00	.31	.14	1.00	—
(10) Cumulative ratifications, ICCPR ^a	.16	.05	-.09	.01	-.80	-.00	.31	.14	.99	1.00
(11) Cumulative ratifications, OP ^a	.18	.04	-.09	-.01	-.87	-.01	.31	.11	.97	.98
(12) World Human Rights Conference	.09	.04	-.05	-.02	-.47	-.01	.09	-.01	.34	.32
(13) African	-.31	-.00	-.10	-.08	.01	-.46	-.30	-.25	-.01	-.01
(14) Buddhist	.02	.01	-.08	.21	-.03	-.12	-.07	-.11	.04	.04
(15) Hindu	-.02	.00	-.06	-.04	.01	-.18	-.06	-.13	-.00	-.00
(16) Islamic	-.35	-.02	-.18	-.07	-.02	-.17	-.23	-.07	.03	.03
(17) Japanese	.11	-.01	.11	-.02	.01	.16	.10	.08	-.01	-.01
(18) Latin American	.06	.02	-.25	-.07	.05	.05	-.03	.06	-.06	-.06
(19) Sinic	-.10	-.01	-.05	.34	.00	-.00	-.03	-.13	-.00	-.00
(20) Slavic-Orthodox	.08	.03	.04	.12	-.12	.06	.00	-.06	.12	.12
(21) Western	.57	-.01	.52	-.04	.02	.64	.59	.42	-.04	-.04

(continued below)

Table C. Correlations for Variables Used in Analyses *(continued)*

Variables	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)
(11) Cumulative ratifications, OP ^a	1.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(12) World Human Rights Conference	.32	1.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(13) African	-.01	-.01	1.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(14) Buddhist	.04	.01	-.10	1.00	—	—	—	—	—	—
(15) Hindu	-.01	-.00	-.10	-.03	1.00	—	—	—	—	—
(16) Islamic	.03	.01	-.30	-.09	-.09	1.00	—	—	—	—
(17) Japanese	-.01	-.01	-.05	-.02	-.02	-.05	1.00	—	—	—
(18) Latin American	-.06	-.03	-.25	-.07	-.08	-.23	-.04	1.00	—	—
(19) Sinic	-.00	-.00	-.10	-.03	-.03	-.09	-.02	-.08	1.00	—
(20) Slavic-Orthodox	.12	.06	-.12	-.04	-.04	-.11	-.02	-.09	-.04	1.00
(21) Western	-.03	-.01	-.32	-.10	-.10	-.29	-.05	-.25	-.10	-.12

^a GDP = gross domestic product; INGO = international nongovernmental organization; IGO = international governmental organizations; ICESCR = International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; ICCPR = International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; OP = First Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT
to article in
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Table D. Analyses for the Ratification of the International Human Rights Covenants, with Alternative Civilization Specification

Variables	Economic Rights Covenant	Political Rights Covenant	Optional Protocol
Rationalism			
Autocracy/Democracy	.048* (.020)	.041* (.019)	.036 (.030)
Autocracy/Democracy change ($t-1$)	.085** (.031)	.079 (.042)	.048 (.036)
Human rights practices	.082 (.125)	.127 (.114)	.395** (.153)
Communist	-.566 (.871)	-.591 (.874)	-1.414** (.533)
Cold war (1966–189)	-.703* (.324)	-.775** (.305)	-.796 (.479)
GDP per capita (logged)	-.073 (.089)	-.083 (.091)	-.056 (.143)
World Polity Institutionalism			
International organization memberships	.069 (.075)	.098 (.068)	-.292*** (.079)
World Human Rights Conf. (1992–1994)	.740* (.306)	.655* (.285)	.123 (.305)
Cumulative ratifications ($t-1$)	.033*** (.008)	.026*** (.008)	-.047* (.019)
Cumulative ratifications ²	-.002e-1** (.007e-2)	-.002e-1** (.006e-2)	.003e-1 (.002e-1)
Clash of Civilizations			
Islamic	-.281 (.492)	-.439 (.463)	-1.181* (.567)
“Other”	-.073 (.424)	-.170 (.381)	-.435 (.374)
Intercept	-3.003***	-2.895***	-1.062
Wald χ^2 (vs. null)	90.37***	112.20***	135.50***
<i>df</i>	12	12	12
Number of Ratifications	110	112	82
Number of Countries	137	137	122
Number of Spells	2,221	2,253	873

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. GDP = gross domestic product.

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$ (two-tailed tests).

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT
to article in
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Table E. Historically Contingent Effects of Independent Variables on Ratification of the International Human Rights Covenants after the Cold War (1990–1999)

Variables	Economic Rights Covenant		Political Rights Covenant		Optional Protocol	
	All Ratifications	Without Reservations	All Ratifications	Without Reservations	All Ratifications	Without Reservations
Rationalism Main Effects						
Autocracy/Democracy	.044* (.022)	.073** (.026)	.035 (.022)	.013 (.033)	.073* (.037)	.061 (.040)
Autocracy/Democracy change ($t-1$)	.094* (.038)	.089* (.041)	.103* (.044)	.160** (.057)	.088 (.052)	.077 (.055)
Human rights practices	.107 (.150)	.148 (.162)	.414* (.182)	.301 (.233)	-.574 (.314)	.681 (.353)
Communist	.600 (.447)	.504 (.552)	1.137 (.641)	.147 (1.273)	-.247 (.603)	.158 (.703)
Post-cold war (1990–99)	3.349* (1.509)	4.309* (1.694)	3.104 (1.834)	1.084 (2.555)	-.186 (2.908)	-2.157 (3.609)
GDP per capita (logged)	— ^a	— ^a	-.179 (.147)	-.260 (.189)	-.077 (.276)	-.335 (.320)
World Polity Institutionalism Main Effects						
Int'l organization memberships	.128 (.074)	.063 (.099)	.270** (.087)	.105 (.164)	-.251 (.154)	-.422** (.162)
World Human Rights Conf. (1992–94)	.672* (.294)	.794** (.302)	.611* (.286)	.559 (.297)	.010 (.295)	.176 (.309)
Cumulative ratifications ($t-1$)	.010** (.003)	.010** (.003)	.009* (.004)	-.004e-1 (.005)	-.016 (.014)	-.004 (.017)
Clash of Civilizations Main Effects						
African	-.168 (.519)	.255 (.620)	-.182 (.604)	.591 (.977)	.509 (.835)	.191 (1.065)
Buddhist	-.513 (.843)	.446 (.892)	-.436 (1.027)	.462 (1.240)	-14.114*** (1.081)	-16.179*** (1.386)
Hindu	.060 (.699)	.942 (.736)	.220 (.803)	-15.640*** (1.072)	-13.861*** (1.121)	-15.101*** (1.300)
Islamic	.100 (.506)	.780 (.626)	.231 (.519)	.694 (.917)	-.848 (.974)	-1.029 (1.247)
Japanese	.167 (.184)	-13.592*** (1.038)	.323 (.215)	-15.374*** (1.086)	-14.681*** (1.065)	-14.706*** (1.082)
Latin American	.503 (.490)	1.505** (.560)	.779 (.491)	1.538 (.889)	.916 (.599)	1.427 (.808)
Sinic (Chinese)	-1.031 (1.105)	.010 (1.163)	-14.003*** (.854)	-15.226*** (1.057)	-13.222*** (1.381)	-15.643*** (1.572)
Slavic-Orthodox	.263 (.621)	.190 (.861)	-14.703*** (1.031)	-15.380*** (.921)	-14.391*** (.988)	-15.394*** (.963)

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. GDP = gross domestic product.

^a Logged GDP per capita was removed from analyses of the economic rights covenant due to collinearity.

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$ (two-tailed tests).

(Continued on next page)

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT
to article in
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Table E. Historically Contingent Effects of Independent Variables on Ratification of the International Human Rights Covenants after the Cold War (continued)

Variables	Economic Rights Covenant		Political Rights Covenant		Optional Protocol	
	All Ratifications	Without Reservations	All Ratifications	Without Reservations	All Ratifications	Without Reservations
Post-Cold War Interaction Effects						
Autocracy/Democracy	-.008 (.030)	-.033 (.037)	-.022 (.035)	-.015 (.043)	-.033 (.056)	-.015 (.060)
Autocracy/Democracy change (<i>t</i> -1)	-.045 (.055)	-.049 (.056)	-.076 (.082)	-.119 (.091)	-.109 (.069)	-.092 (.073)
Human rights practices	-.175 (.182)	-.263 (.200)	-.388 (.220)	-.338 (.265)	-.129 (.380)	-.316 (.423)
Communist	-13.571*** (.616)	-14.365*** (.714)	-16.737*** (.996)	-17.696*** (1.388)	-1.092 (2.299)	-1.394 (2.441)
GDP per capita (logged)	— ^a	— ^a	.073 (.190)	.108 (.238)	.135 (.308)	.446 (.346)
Int'l organization memberships	-.316* (.136)	-.470** (.152)	-.308* (.127)	-.439* (.220)	-.102 (.178)	-.061 (.190)
Cumulative ratifications (<i>t</i> -1)	-.022* (.010)	-.025* (.011)	-.010 (.009)	.006 (.011)	.010 (.018)	-.001 (.020)
African	.003 (.675)	-.325 (.705)	-.477 (.707)	.069 (1.141)	-.684 (1.119)	.302 (1.341)
Buddhist	.050 (1.074)	-.640 (1.199)	.275 (1.041)	.606 (1.441)	13.985*** (1.561)	16.731*** (1.825)
Hindu	-.521 (1.439)	-1.276 (1.502)	-1.179 (1.591)	14.979*** (1.739)	14.335*** (1.171)	16.370*** (1.357)
Islamic	-.642 (.695)	-1.192 (.772)	-1.553* (.764)	-.940 (1.119)	.307 (1.159)	1.285 (1.421)
Japanese	— ^b	.876 (.668)	— ^b	.274 (.797)	.335 (.581)	.138 (.561)
Latin American	-.751 (1.057)	-1.297 (1.125)	-.586 (.704)	-.080 (1.030)	-1.387 (.929)	-1.682 (1.271)
Sinic (Chinese)	1.040 (1.764)	.635 (1.785)	13.550*** (1.733)	.069 (1.208)	13.985*** (2.364)	17.157*** (2.597)
Slavic-Orthodox	-.175 (.791)	-.381 (.934)	14.636*** (1.140)	16.111*** (1.254)	14.602*** (1.075)	16.204*** (1.110)
Intercept	-4.152***	-5.259***	-4.161***	-3.886*	-3.451	-2.442
Wald χ^2 (vs. null)	1,305.74***	1,370.05***	1,101.60***	4,207.17***	3,032.30***	3,101.01***
<i>df</i>	29	30	31	32	32	32
Number of Ratifications	126	105	112	80	82	70
Number of Countries	158	158	137	142	122	122
Number of Spells	2,706	3,182	2,253	2,944	873	1,063

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. GDP = gross domestic product.

^a Logged GDP per capita was removed from analyses of the economic rights covenant due to collinearity.

^b Japan ratified the economic and political rights covenants in 1979, and therefore does not enter the post-cold war analysis. However, Japan issued reservations to both treaties that were not rescinded by 1990, making it eligible for the analyses of ratification without reservations.

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$ (two-tailed tests).