The Relational Politics of Shame: Evidence from the Universal Periodic Review

Appendix

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1 Action/Severity Codes

UPR Info hand-labeled each recommendation with an *Action* code based on the first verb and the overall action contained in the recommendation. The categories are as follows:

1. Recommendation directed at non-SuR states, or calling upon the SuR to request technical assistance, or share information (Example of verbs: call on, seek, share).
2. Recommendation emphasizing continuity (Example of verbs: continue, maintain, persevere, persist, pursue).
3. Recommendation to consider change (Example of verbs: analyze, consider, envisage envision, examine, explore, reflect upon, revise, review, study).
4. Recommendation of action that contains a general element (Example of verbs: accelerate, address, encourage, engage with, ensure, guarantee, intensify, promote, speed up, strengthen, take action, take measures or steps towards).
5. Recommendation of specific action (Example of verbs: conduct, develop, eliminate, establish, investigate, undertake as well as legal verbs: abolish, accede, adopt, amend. implement, enforce, ratify).

We recoded this variable as an ordinal measure that rank from 1 (minimal action and most likely accepted), to 3 (most specific, and least likely to be accepted) and renamed it *Severity*, as follows:

Table 1: Action and Severity Codes

***Action* Code**	***N***	**Percent accepted**	***Severity* Code**
1	603	96.02	1
2	6981	95.56	1
3	3449	57.38	3
4	16261	84.24	2
5	13772	54.79	3

2 *Issue* Codes

UPR Info hand-labeled each recommendation according to the specific human rights issue(s) it addresses. We used an unsupervised clustering analysis to group recommendations into thematic categories. We first calculated pair-wise similarities between issues using a correlation matrix based on their frequencies in individual recommendations. With this metric, we grouped themes into a tree-like structure using McQuitty's method for hierarchical clustering (McQuitty 1967).[1] This allows us to visualize how themes co-occur in the corpus of the recommendations.[2] The dendrogram in Figure 3 illustrates the clusters. We clustered these codes into 8 aggregated groups, as detailed in Table 5.

[1] Estimations were done using the *hclust* package in R.

[2] We removed codes that did not correspond to a specific human rights issue, such as "General" and "International Instruments."

Figure 1: Hierarchal Clustering of Themes.

The X-label indicates distance between the clusters as measured by 1 minus the correlation between categories.

Table 2: Issue Codes

Original Code (UPR Info)	Thematic Cluster
Asylum-seekers - refugees	Migration
Civil society	Speech and Political Participation
Corruption	Justice
Counter-terrorism	Justice
CP rights - general	*NA*
Death penalty	Physical Integrity Rights
Detention conditions	Physical Integrity Rights
Development	Socio-Economic Rights
Disabilities	Vulnerable Populations
Elections	Speech & Political Participation
Enforced disappearances	Physical Integrity Rights
Environment	Socio-Economic Rights
ESC rights - general	*NA*
Extrajudicial executions	Physical Integrity Rights
Freedom of association and peaceful assembly	Speech & Political Participation
Freedom of movement	Migration
Freedom of opinion and expression	Speech & Political Participation
Freedom of religion and belief	Race, Ethnic & Religious Discrimination
Freedom of the press	Speech & Political Participation
General	*NA*
HIV - Aids	Vulnerable Populations
Human rights defenders	Speech & Political Participation
Human rights education and training	*NA*
Human rights violations by state agents	Physical Integrity Rights
Impunity	Physical Integrity Rights
Indigenous peoples	Socio-Economic Rights
Internally displaced persons	Migration
International humanitarian law	*NA*
International instruments	*NA*
Justice	Justice
Labor	Migration
Migrants	Migration
Minorities	Race, Ethnic & Religious Discrimination
National plan of action	*NA*
NHRI	*NA*
Other	*NA*
Poverty	Socio-Economic Rights
Public security	Justice
Racial discrimination	Race, Ethnic & Religious Discrimination
Right to education	Socio-Economic Rights
Right to food	Socio-Economic Rights
Right to health	Socio-Economic Rights
Right to housing	Socio-Economic Rights

Right to land	Socio-Economic Rights
Right to water	Socio-Economic Rights
Rights of the Child	Women, Children & Trafficking
Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity	Vulnerable Populations
Special procedures	*NA*
Technical assistance	*NA*
Torture and other CID treatment	Physical Integrity Rights
Trafficking	Women, Children & Trafficking
Treaty bodies	*NA*
UPR process	*NA*
Women's rights	Women, Children & Trafficking

3 Selection (Heckman) models of *Response*

Table 3: Heckman Models of UPR Participation and SuR Response

	(1)		(2)	
VARIABLES	*Participation*	*Response*	*Participation*	*Response*
Women, Children & Trafficking		0.05***		0.05***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Physical Integrity Rights		-0.05***		-0.06***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Justice		-0.00		-0.00
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Speech & Political Participation		-0.01*		-0.03***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Race, Ethnic, & Religious Discrimination		-0.01		-0.02***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Migration		-0.05***		-0.07***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Socio-Economic Rights		0.03***		0.04***
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Vulnerable Populations		-0.01**		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Geopolitical Affinity	0.05***	0.06***		
	(0.01)	(0.00)		
Alliance	0.44***	-0.01	0.45***	0.00
	(0.04)	(0.01)	(0.04)	(0.01)
Arms (Reviewer to Target)	0.03	0.06***	0.03	0.07***
	(0.09)	(0.02)	(0.09)	(0.02)
Aid (Reviewer to Target)	1.14***	0.10**	1.08***	0.03
	(0.27)	(0.04)	(0.27)	(0.04)
UPR Review (Reviewer)	0.12***	0.00	0.12***	0.00
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Same Region	0.60***	-0.02**	0.62***	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Physical Integrity Rights Protections	0.08**	0.03***	0.08**	0.03***
(Reviewer minus Target)	(0.04)	(0.01)	(0.04)	(0.01)
HRC Member (Target)	0.02		0.02	
	(0.03)		(0.03)	
HRC Member (Reviewer)	0.34***		0.34***	
	(0.02)		(0.02)	
Constant	0.81***	-0.88***	0.60***	-1.10***
	(0.20)	(0.05)	(0.19)	(0.05)
Observations	56,976	56,976	56,976	56,976

Note: Fixed SuR, Reviewer State, and Year Effects Omitted from the Table.
*Standard errors in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1).*