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## **Patchwork compliance: political dialogues about contested human rights**

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# **APPENDIX**

**Appendix A:  
Scope conditions coding**

**Appendix B:  
Comparing sample means with global means**

**Appendix C:  
Additional CEDAW models**

**Appendix D:  
Additional ICCPR models**

**Appendix E:  
Qualitative data sources**

## Appendix A: Scope conditions coding

Country	Trades more than average with US/EU (>37% of GDP)	Aid dependency		
Algeria	1	1	Malaysia	1 0
Argentina	0	0	Mali	0 1
Armenia	0	1	Mexico	1 1
Australia	0	0	Moldova	1 1
Azerbaijan	1	1	Morocco	1 1
Belarus	0	1	Netherlands	1 0
Brazil	0	0	New Zealand	0 0
Bulgaria	1	0	Nigeria	0 1
Burkina Faso	0	1	Norway	1 0
Canada	1	0	Pakistan	0 1
Chile	0	1	Peru	0 1
China	0	0	Philippines	0 1
Colombia	0	1	Poland	1 0
Cyprus	0	0	Qatar	0 0
Ecuador	1	1	Romania	1 0
Egypt	0	1	Russia	0 0
Estonia	1	0	Rwanda	0 1
Ethiopia	0	1	Singapore	1 0
Finland	1	0	Slovenia	1 0
France	0	0	South Africa	0 1
Georgia	0	1	South Korea	0 0
Germany	1	0	Spain	0 0
Ghana	0	1	Sweden	1 0
Guatemala	0	1	Switzerland	1 0
Hungary	1	0	Thailand	0 1
India	0	1	Trinidad and Tobago	1 0
Indonesia	0	1	Tunisia	1 1
Iran	0	1	Turkey	0 1
Iraq	1	1	Ukraine	1 1
Italy	0	0	United States	0 0
Japan	0	0	Uruguay	0 1
Jordan	1	1	Uzbekistan	0 1
Kazakhstan	1	1	Vietnam	0 1
Kuwait	0	0	Yemen	0 1
Kyrgyzstan	0	1	Zambia	0 1
Lebanon	0	1	Zimbabwe	0 1
Libya	1	1		

(0) Not present, (1) Present

## Appendix B: Comparing sample means with global means

In these tests, the means of the scope conditions and other factors known to influence levels of compliance, such as economic development and civil war, were compared to the mean of those variables in all states.<sup>610</sup> These tests suggest that the WVS sample is not significantly different on any of those indicators, as is visible in the table below.

Variables	Mean sample	Mean total <sup>611</sup>	Mean difference
Men make better political leaders than women do (%)	49	-	-
Do not trust people with a different religion (%)	56	-	-
GDP (in billions \$)	599	267	332
GDP per capita (\$)	15131	15146	15
GDP growth (%)	4.3	4.4	0.1
Population size (millions)	74	35	39
Population growth (%)	1.4	1.6	0.2
Level of democracy (1-10)	6.9	6.7	0.2
Regime durability	31	26	5
Total commitments received from donor countries (in millions \$)	1033	644	389
Trade (% of GDP)	83	94	11
Religious fractionalization (0-1)	0.4	0.4	0.0
Magnitude civil war	0.09	0.10	0.01
Magnitude international war	0.10	.06	0.04

*\*Significantly different at 95%*

<sup>610</sup> Davenport, 2007

<sup>611</sup> Means are calculated from all countries in the Quality of Government Dataset, 2008 (N>150).



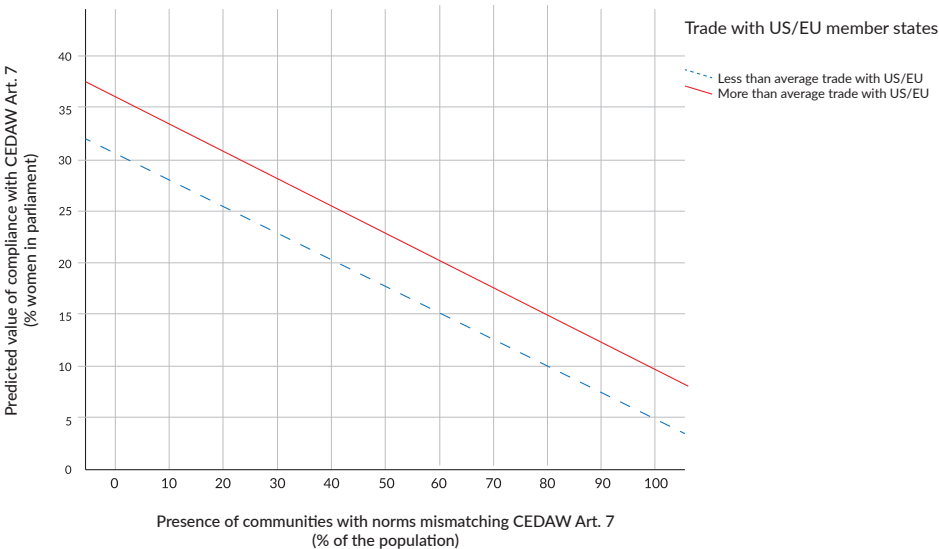
# Appendix C: Additional CEDAW models

- CEDAW Models 1 to 5 including control variable for US/EU member states.

	Model 1 B (SE)	Model 2 B (SE)	Model 3 B (SE)	Model 4 B (SE)	Model 5 B (SE)
Presence of communities mismatching with CEDAW Art.7 (0-100%)	-0.27 (0.05)***	-0.30 (0.053)***	-0.28 (0.14)	-0.68 (0.17)***	-0.70 (0.23)**
More than average trade with US/EU (1)		5.43 (2.09)*	5.42 (2.11)*	4.83 (2.05)*	4.83 (2.06)*
Received aid from US/EU (1)		3.86 (2.56)	3.93 (2.60)	3.67 (2.50)	3.63 (2.53)
Mismatching norms * Trade			-0.02 (0.09)		0.01 (0.09)
Mismatching norms * Aid				0.24 (0.10)*	0.24 (0.11)*
US/EU member state (1)		-0.32 (3.19)	-0.30 (3.21)	-2.27 (3.21)	-2.30 (3.24)
Constant	33.71 (2.44)***	21.67 (7.51)**	20.21 (10.27)	41.80 (11.50)**	42.91 (14.21)**

N=72 Notes: All tests are two-tailed. \*Significant at 5%; \*\*Significant at 1% \*\*\*Significant at 0.1%

- Visualization of the non-significant interaction effect between trade and mismatching norms on compliance with CEDAW Article 7



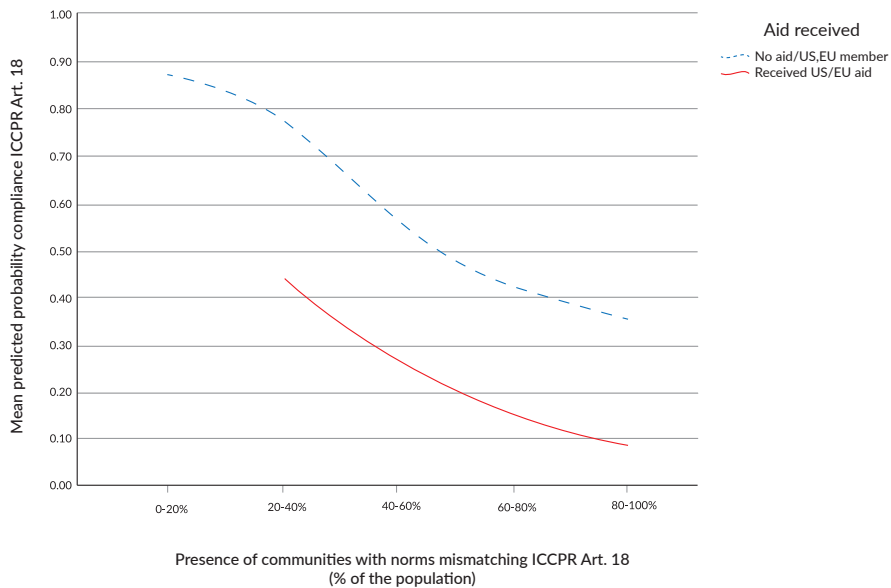
## Appendix D: Additional ICCPR models

- ICCPR Models 1 to 5 including control variable US/EU member states

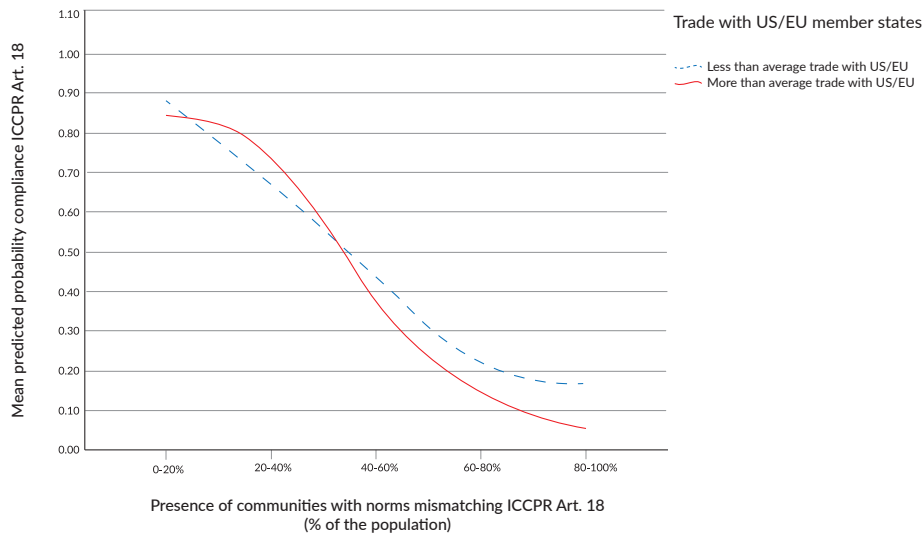
	Model 1 Odds (SE)	Model 2 Odds (SE)	Model 3 Odds (SE)	Model 4 Odds (SE)	Model 5 Odds (SE)
Presence of communities mismatching with ICCPR Art.18 (0-100%)	0.95 (0.02)***	0.96 (0.02)*	0.97 (0.02)	0.97 (0.02)	0.98 (0.03)
More than average trade with US/EU (1)		0.55 (0.64)	0.51 (0.68)	0.58 (0.66)	0.52 (0.69)
Received aid from US/EU (1)		0.21 (0.75)*	0.25 (0.77)	0.23 (0.75)	0.25 (0.78)*
Mismatching norms * Trade			0.97 (0.04)		0.99 (0.04)
Mismatching norms * Aid				0.98 (0.04)	0.97 (0.04)
US/EU member state		1.05 (0.85)	1.04 (0.88)	0.99 (0.04)	1.04 (0.86)
Constant	11.10 (0.89)**	14.40 (1.08)*	8.81 (1.39)	11.26 (1.30)	4.31 (0.04)

N = 71 Notes: All tests are two-tailed. \*Significant at 5%; \*\*Significant at 1% \*\*\*Significant at 0.1%

- Visualization of the non-significant interaction effect of aid with mismatching norms on compliance with ICCPR Art.18



- Visualization of non-significant interaction effect of mismatching norms with trade with US/EU member states on compliance with ICCPR Art. 18



## Appendix E: Qualitative data sources

### **CEDAW Committee documents**

<https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CEDAW/Pages/CEDAWIndex.aspx>

CEDAW/C/JOR/1 (November 10, 1997)

CEDAW/C/JOR/2 (October 26, 1999)

CEDAW/C/SR. 448 (July 27, 2000)

CEDAW/C/SR. 449 (July 27, 2000)

CEDAW/C/SR./456 (August 2, 2001)

CEDAW/C/JOR/3-4 (March 10, 2006)

CEDAW/C/JOR/Q/4 (February 27, 2007)

CEDAW/C/JOR/Q/4/Add.1 (May 17, 2007)

CEDAW/C/JOR/CO/4 (August 10, 2007)

CEDAW/C/JOR/5 (September 24, 2010)

CEDAW/C/JOR/Q/5 (August 10, 2011)

CEDAW/C/JOR/Q/5/Add.1 (January 18, 2012)

CEDAW/C/JOR/CO/5 (March 9, 2012)

CEDAW/C/JOR/CO/5 (March 23, 2012)

CEDAW/C/JOR/6 (June 25, 2015)

CEDAW/C/JOR/Q/6 (July 29, 2016)

CEDAW/C/JOR/Q/Add.1 (January 11, 2017)

CEDAW/C/JOR/CO/6 (March 9, 2017)

### **ICCPR Committee documents**

<https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/ICCPR/Pages/ICCPRIndex.aspx>

ICCPR/C/76/Add.1 (January 18, 1993) (state party report)

ICCPR/C/79/Add.35 (August 10, 1994) (Comments)

ICCPR/C/JOR/3 (March 30, 2009) (state party report)

ICCPR/C/JOR/Q/4 (April 12, 2010) (LoIs)

ICCPR/C/JOR/Q/4/Add.1 (September 16, 2010)

ICCPR/C/JOR/CO/4 (November 18, 2010)

ICCPR/C/JOR/5 (July 27, 2016)

ICCPR/C/JOR/Q/5 (April 11, 2017)

ICCPR/C/JOR/Q/5/Add.1 (August 21, 2017)

ICCPR/C/JOR/CO/5 (December 4, 2017)

### **Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief documents**

<https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/FreedomReligion/Pages/FreedomReligionIndex.aspx>

A/HRC/7/10/Add.1 (February 28, 2008)

A/HRC/25/58/Add.2 (January 27, 2014)

A/HRC/25/58/Add.4 (February 17, 2014) [translated from Arabic]

### **Universal Periodic Review Documents**

<https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/UPR/Pages/Documentation.aspx>

A/HRC/WG.6/4/JOR/2 (November 21, 2008)

A/HRC/WG.6/4/JOR/3 (November 19, 2008)

A/HRC/WG.6/4/JOR/1 (February 9, 2009)

'Questions in Advance' (UPR review round February 11, 2009)

'Questions in Advance Add.1' (UPR review round February 11, 2009)

'Questions in Advance Add.2' (UPR review round February 11, 2009)

A/HRC/11/29 (May 29, 2009)

A/HRC/11/37 (October 16, 2009)

### **General comments**

ICCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.4 (September 27, 1993), [http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/\\_layouts/treatybodyexternal/TBSearch.aspx?Lang=en&TreatyID=8&DocTypeID=11](http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/treatybodyexternal/TBSearch.aspx?Lang=en&TreatyID=8&DocTypeID=11)

### **Other UN documents and reports**

G.A/55/38 (August 17, 2000) G.A/55/38 (August 17, 2000)

<https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CEDAW/Pages/CEDAWIndex.aspx>

Annex VI, Excerpt taken from A/61/38

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## Newspaper articles

145 articles were collected at the Jordan Times Office in Amman, as most are not available online. Of those articles, some were searched for through a digitalized database that is accessible through a computer at the Jordan Times office archive in Amman (using keywords 'CEDAW', 'Women's rights', 'quota', 'ICCPR', 'religious freedom', 'religion', 'reform', 'Jordan First', 'National Agenda', 'National Dialogue', 'Greater Middle East Initiative'). Those digitalized articles are referenced to as from the 'Jordan Times Digital Archive in Amman'. Other articles were only available in paper version, and were pre-categorized by the Jordan Times in folders (with categories such as 'women's rights', 'human rights treaties', 'religion'). Those are referenced to as from the 'Jordan Times Paper Archive in Amman'.

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