Go global or go home:

Comparing the regional vs. global engagement of Brazil and South Africa at the UN General Assembly

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Part A – Downloading, sorting and editing the corpus

1. Downloading drafts authored by Brazil and South Africa

We downloaded from the UN's repository all drafts for which the regional powers of interest (Brazil and South Africa) were listed as authors. The search was carried out through the UNBISnet system (http://unbisnet.un.org). Information on the authors (henceforth "sponsors") can be retrieved in three different fields at UNBISnet: "Title" (the list of sponsors usually accompanies the document title), "Author keyword" (lists all sponsors except those that join later verbally or through addendum) and "Notes" (lists additional sponsors that join verbally or through addendum).

For **Brazil**, we searched all entries containing the words "draft resolution" in its title, and for which the name "Brazil" was present in the "Title and Notes" field. This was done so as to also locate cases where Brazil only joined later on as sponsor. Publication date was restricted to 1991-2014. This resulted in a total of **2602** entries published between 1991 (45th Session) and 2014 (69th Session) – though for the present article only entries from 1994-onwards were considered[1].

These 2602 drafts included original proposals, revised version and addenda, and originated from different bodies in the UN system, such as the ECOSOC, the HRC, SC and others.

For **South Africa** we also searched for entries with "draft resolution" at the title and "South Africa" in author keywords, as well as publishing years between 1991 and 2014. A total of **1720** drafts were found[2]. These included drafts not destined to the GA (E/,

[1] The following search link yields our search results for Brazil:
http://unbisnet.un.org:8080/ipac20/ipac.jsp?session=15C1831J07067.1062&menu=search&aspect=subtab124&npp=50&ipp=20&spp=20&profile=bib&ri=&matchopt=0%7C0&index=.TW&term=%22draft+resolution%22&matchoptbox=0%7C0&oper=AND&x=12&y=8&aspect=subtab124&index=.TN&term=Brazil&matchoptbox=0%7C0&oper=AND&index=.TN&term=&matchoptbox=0%7C0&oper=AND&index=.AW&term=&matchoptbox=0%7C0&ultype=PD01&uloper=%3E&ullimit=1990&ultype=PD01&uloper=%3C&ullimit=2015&sort=3100054

[2] The following search link yields our search results for South Africa:
http://unbisnet.un.org:8080/ipac20/ipac.jsp?go_sort_limit.x=5&go_sort_limit.y=5&npp=50&ipp=20&spp=20&profile=bib&aspect=subtab124&term=%22draft+resolution%22&index=.TW&uindex=&oper=AND&term=South+Africa&index=.AW&uindex=&oper=&session=1K12299E3O644.38763&ultype=PD01&uloper=%3E&ullimit=1991&ultype=PD01&uloper=%3C&ullimit=2015&menu=search&aspect=subtab124&npp=50&ipp=20&spp=20&profile=bib&ri=5&source=~%21horizon&sort=3100053

HRC and others). Because search for "South Africa" had been carried out on the "Author keywords" field, drafts in which South Africa only joined later verbally or through addenda were omitted. Therefore, these results had to be complemented. We searched for drafts which had "draft resolution" in its title, "South Africa" in the "Title and Notes" field, while also omitting those entries where "South Africa" had already been mentioned in the "Author keywords" field, so as to avoid duplicating our previous findings. This yielded another 261 drafts which South Africa had joined verbally[3].

From this amount, 44 drafts were excluded because: they did not belong to the GA; were not submitted by a member state (e.g.: the vice-chairman of a committee); were submitted on behalf of UN groups and therefore had been already detected by other queries (see item 2 next); had been withdrawn; mentioned South Africa as a topic instead of a sponsor; or consisted of mere corrigendum.

Of the remaining 217, 10 were redundant (had already been detected), 6 were actually not a case of verbal sponsorship but original authorship (and thus should have been detected in previous searches) and 13 others were cases where the verbal sponsorship was followed by the drafting of a Rev. or Add. version of the document, in which case we disregarded the verbal sponsorship in favor of the written sponsorship of the later version of the document. Thus, we had in total 188 cases of verbal sponsorship (and 6 other additions that should have been detected before, totaling 194 new drafts). Our new total for South Africa was 1914.

For Brazil, cases of verbal sponsorships had already been detected from the start, since our search targeted the "Title and Notes" field.

[3] The following link yields the search results for South Africa's cases of verbal sponsorship: http://unbisnet.un.org:8080/ipac20/ipac.jsp?session=1519PS23B1377.491733&menu=search&aspect=subtab124&npp=50&ipp=20&spp=20&profile=bib&ri=&matchopt=0%7C0&index=.TW&term=%22draft+resolution%22&matchoptbox=0%7C0&oper=AND&x=14&y=12&aspect=subtab124&index=.TN&term=South+Africa&matchoptbox=0%7C0&oper=NOT&index=.AW&term=South+Africa&matchoptbox=0%7C0&oper=NOT&index=.UD&term=Add.&matchoptbox=2%7C0&ultype=PD01&uloper=%3E&ullimit=1993&ultype=PD01&uloper=%3C&ullimit=2015&sort=3100054

2. Multilateral and regional UN groups

A large number of drafts could not be captured by the previous method. The reason being that UNBISnet's search engine requires the sponsor's name to be explicit on the record. This does not happen when drafts are submitted by a formal group. Such groups include the UN's own five geographical groups (African Group, Asia-Pacific Group, Eastern European Group, GRULAC, WEOG) and other extra-UN ones (e.g.: European Union, G77, Non-Aligned Movement, Group of Like-Minded States), including at times economic blocs (e.g. Southern African Development Community). On such occasions, only one of the members of the group is named and presents the draft "on behalf of" the collectivity. So, except for those cases in which Brazil or South Africa were the representatives making the corporate proposition, such drafts could not be located, because the name of the countries remains "hidden" under the organization.

Those drafts are of interest to us, since both Brazil and South Africa participate in UN and extra-UN groups. In order to correct that, we searched for the names of the groups to which both countries belong. We adapted the search so as to locate only those entries in which Brazil and South Africa's names were not mentioned, between 1991 and 2014.

In total, we downloaded 1161 for the G77 (between 1991 and 2014; the figure was 1042 for 1994 to 2014); 70 for the GRULAC (1991-2014); 246 for the NAM (1994-2014) and 442 for the African Group (1994-2014).

We combined each country's own drafts with these collective submissions. Thus, we added Brazil's original 2602 drafts with those from its groups (G77: 1161; GRULAC: 70) totaling 3833 drafts. After correcting for 14 redundant entries and 3 false positives, we arrived at 3816 drafts for Brazil. A set of 37 drafts from the South African corpus were also added to the Brazilian set, because they had been submitted by Pretoria on behalf of the whole G77, to which Brazil also belongs. We thus reached 3853 drafts for Brazil.

For South Africa, we combined its 1914 drafts with its groups' totals (G77: 1042, NAM: 246, African Group: 442). After eliminating some additions on the grounds of redundancy, being a false positive, duplication, or referring to some extraordinary GA or extra-GA body, we arrived at 3619 drafts.

3. Retaining only GA drafts

The corpus had drafts belonging to varied UN bodies, such as the ECOSOC, SC, HRC and others. As our interest lied exclusively in the General Assembly (GA), we kept the drafts assigned to this body, as indicated by the "A/" prefix on their UN Symbol. Though some extraordinary pieces are also coded "A/", as well as all the drafts relating to the HRC, we chose not to keep these, as they could distort the picture from the regular functioning of the GA or, in the case of the HRC, represented an altogether different legislative dynamic.

After removing non-GA drafts, we arrived at 3016 drafts for Brazil and 2644 for South Africa.

4. Calendar adjustments

UN sessions start on September of each calendar year and finish late into the first semester of the following year. As we filtered our UNBISnet search results by calendar year, we also received some drafts which belonged either to a preceding or to a later session. Our interest lays only in sessions 49 (starting on September 1994) to 68 (starting on September 2013). In order to trim unwanted drafts from the margins of that timespan, we deleted drafts pertaining to sessions 48 (which started on September 1993) and earlier, and session 69 (which started on September 2014 and ran up to 2015). After removing entries belonging to those early/late sessions, we arrived at 2555 (Brazil) and 2514 (South Africa) drafts.

5. Sequencing

Though each L-Document in our corpus has its own identification symbol and entry at the UNBISnet database, they cannot be considered independent pieces. Many were later versions of a preceding document. Therefore, we have organized our dataset so as to identify, for every document, what was its "root" piece and what were the complementary additions (revisions and addenda). We refer to this process as "sequencing".

From the total of 2555 GA pieces authored by Brazil, 344 were revisions, 390 addenda, 154 were cases of verbal sponsorship and 145 were a combination of those three instances. After sorting all documents according to their linkage to previous pieces, we had a total of 1988 separate documents. For South Africa, from its 2514 drafts, 355 were revisions, 127 were addenda[4], 119 were verbal sponsorships, and 94 were a combination of those possible edits. After sequencing, we arrived at 2169 separate documents.

6. Matching drafts to resolutions

The GA website lists, for all resolutions adopted with or without a vote during any given session, what were the L-Documents used as input to generate the final piece[5]. Between 1991 and 2013 (Sessions 46 to 68), 7445 resolutions were adopted by the GA, originating from over 8000 different drafts, addenda and other input material. We set out to match which of those resolutions originated from drafts sponsored by Brazil or South Africa.

In the course of the legislative process at the UNGA, an original L-Document tabled by a country may or may not arrive "as it is" in the Plenary. If it does arrive unchanged, then the original UN Symbol attributed to the L-Document will also appear as the input material on the list available at the GA website. It is also worth stressing that at times a single L-Document can be dismembered and thus produce more than one resolution. A total of 147 Brazilian drafts, and 165 South African ones, could be matched with resolutions because their UN Symbol was exactly the same as the one listed on the pool of resolution input material.

However, in practice, this process only applies to a minority of drafts in the GA. Most drafts tabled by countries undergo the lengthier process described in the paper. When countries table a document, that will be discussed, edited and voted upon. This

[4] Brazil's count of addenda was overall higher because the search in the "Title and Notes" field which yielded its corpus also brought many addenda for "root" L-documents which Brazil had already sponsored at origin. Such results were ignored in the South African search query. The difference is nonetheless irrelevant, because the sequencing procedure standardizes output count.

[5] The directory of all sessions is available in this link: http://www.un.org/en/sections/documents/general-assembly-resolutions/index.html

procedure is registered in documents named "Committee Reports", which contain the appraisal of drafts presented, reactions from the member countries, voting results and the decision on the matter. These reports have their own UN Symbol identification and often aggregate discussions involving many separate propositions (e.g.: Committee Report A/46/721 contains an appraisal of tabled L-Documents A/C.3/46/L.26 and A/C.3/46/L.46). On the GA website, the resulting resolutions will be traced just to these reports, instead of all the way back to the original L-Document.

This was potentially the case for our remaining un-matched L-Documents. They either were not pressed forward past early negotiations, withdrawn, adapted after negotiations or became part of a new piece which made it to the Plenary.

To be able to capture those entries as well, we matched the remaining Brazilian and South African drafts no longer by their UN Symbol, but by their title. This is effective since titles tend to stay unchanged through different version of a document. We controlled for the fact that the titles had to match drafts proposed within the same UNGA session (since there are many recurring titles that reappear year after year). We paired drafts and resolutions which had perfectly similar titles and sessions, or that had nearly identical titles (as there can be some accidental, minor differences in the wording used at each stage – e.g.: "40th UN meeting" vs. "fortieth United Nations meeting"). Near-identical matches were detected using the "Fuzzy Lookup" Add-in for Microsoft Excel at similarity thresholds 0.8 and 0.65[6]. In total, 1927 Brazilian and 1894 South African drafts were paired to resolutions through their titles. The remaining drafts were manually paired to their respective resolutions by inspecting their UNBISnet entries. Each draft entry at the system has a field called "Related documents", which should mention any resolution that eventually came out of that L-Document. After manual inspection, 32 (Brazil) and 27 (South Africa) drafts were paired. Hence, 56 (Brazil) and 83 (South Africa) drafts could not be matched to any resolution.

[6] Add-in available at https://www.microsoft.com/en-us/download/details.aspx?id=15011

7. Calculating the number of co-sponsors

States can co-sponsor a draft in different moments. This means that a draft can start out with a given number of sponsors, but on the way to becoming a UNGA resolution, ends up aggregating more sponsors through revisions and addenda. This gives us two different possibilities for counting the number of sponsors: how many countries sponsored a bill from the outset vs. how many sponsored it eventually, through later edits. Take, for instance, draft A/C.3/48/L.39: Brazil was the co-sponsor of its original version (with 33 total co-sponsors), but also of its revision (A/C.3/48/L.39/Rev.1), which in turn had 40 co-sponsors. Or A/C.3/68/L.27: it originated with 15 sponsors. Brazil only joined this draft in its first revision (A/C.3/68/L.27/Rev.1), which had now 51 sponsors. Which quantity should be regarded as Brazil's tally of co-sponsors?

For this study, one of our driving interests is to find out which countries collaborate more intensively with Brazil and South Africa. We believe this involves states that step in a draft *as soon as* those regional powers also join. Therefore, in order to measure the number of co-sponsors, we monitored, for all UNGA drafts, what was the number of co-sponsors at the moment when Brazil/South Africa joined as sponsors too. It was not taken into account whether this number increased or decreased in later edits.

In order to arrive at that number for cases when Brazil/South Africa joined only later (through revisions, addenda or verbal sponsorship), it was necessary to subtract the original number of sponsors from the amount that entered in the subsequent edit. Those lists of original, preceding sponsors had to be manually retrieved from the UNBISnet. This was the case for 513 Brazilian and 453 South African drafts.

Thus, in our previous examples, A/C.3/48/L.39 would score 33 sponsors together with Brazil, and A/C.3/68/L.27/Rev.1 would register 51 – 15 = 36.

8. Obtaining the total production of all UNGA members

Brazil and South Africa's legislative output is not very informative on its own. It must be set against a backdrop, which allows us to infer whether their activity is standard or deviant. Thus, in order to compare our corpus to the total UNGA output, we also downloaded all of the L-Documents circulated at the Assembly between sessions 46 and

68 – though only drafts from sessions 49 onwards were used for the final comparison[7]. It is noteworthy that this download option brought results confined to sessions, not calendar years. Also, it yielded a slightly different mix of drafts: it showed no HRC pieces, and it brought documents other than draft resolutions, called "draft decisions" and "notes". As they can also become resolutions in the end, we kept them in the corpus. We downloaded a total of **11281** pieces. These drafts did not undergo a process of sequencing and therefore their volume can only be compared to the "un-sequenced" totals retrieved early on for Brazil and South Africa.

Part B – UN Groups

Special attention had to be given to multilateral and regional groups for two reasons. Firstly, drafts presented by groups do not list its individual members as sponsors. Thus, in order to arrive at an accurate count of how many and which countries supported a draft, we replace those group names for its individual participants. Secondly, our paper sought to verify whether Brazil and South Africa's regional groups behaved as followers. We considered the GRULAC and South American countries, and the African Group and Southern African countries as regional groupings for each of those countries. Our list of which countries comprise the Southern African region followed the membership list of the SADC.

In light of those two issues, i.e. the need to accurately arrive at the number of co-sponsors per draft and also to test our regional leadership hypothesis across specific regional groups, we listed all countries participating in several multilateral and regional blocs. We also took notice of eventual membership changes that took place over the years.

[7] The following link yields the results for session 46 alone as an example: http://unbisnet.un.org:8080/ipac20/ipac.jsp?session=15C88Y21329X5.5219&menu=search&aspect=subtab124&npp=50&ipp=20&spp=20&profile=bib&ri=2&source=~%21horizon&index=.TM&term=b02+AND+.SU%3Da46+AND+.UD%3DL&x=0&y=0&aspect=subtab124

Below we present a list of all interstate groups that appeared at a given moment at our corpus, which countries were listed under them, and whether the membership list varied over time. Base year for listings is 1991 except where otherwise noted.

1. African Group

- Algeria, Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cape Verde, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Republic of the Congo, Ivory Coast, Djibouti, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, Swaziland, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Tanzania, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

- Change of name in 1997

  From Zaire to Democratic Republic of the Congo

- Entry in 2013

  South Sudan

2. European Union

- Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

- Entry in 2004

Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia

- Entry in 2007

  Romania, Bulgaria

- Entry in 2013

  Croatia

3. Group of Arab States / Arab League

- Algeria, Bahrain, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Yemen

- Suspended since 2011

  Syria

4. GRULAC

- Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, Venezuela

5. Group of 77

- Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cape Verde, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Republic of the Congo, Costa Rica, Ivory Coast, Cuba, Cyprus, North Korea, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kiribati, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Micronesia, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nauru, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syria, Tajikistan, Thailand, Togo, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkmenistan, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

- Suspension in 1992 and eventual exit:

  Yugoslavia

- Exit in 1994:

  Mexico

- Entry in 1994:

  Bosnia and Herzegovina, South Africa

- Exit in 1996

  South Korea

- Change of name in 1997

  From Zaire to Democratic Republic of the Congo

- Entry in 2002

  Palau

- Entry in 2003

  Timor-Leste

- Exit in May 2004

  Cyprus, Malta, Palau

- Exit in 2007

  Romania

- Entry in 2014

  South Sudan

6. Like-Minded Group

- Algeria, Bangladesh, Bolivia, China, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Malaysia, Mali, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Venezuela, Viet Nam

7. Non-Aligned Movement

- Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Republic of the Congo, Ivory Coast, Cuba, Cyprus, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, North Korea, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine, Panama, Peru, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saudi Arabia, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syria, Tanzania, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

- Exit in 1992:

  Yugoslavia

- Entry in 1993:

  Brunei Darussalam, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Guatemala, Thailand, Uzbekistan

- Entry in 1994:

  South Africa

- Entry in 1995:

  Eritrea, Honduras, Turkmenistan

- Change of name in 1997:

  From Zaire to Democratic Republic of the Congo

- Entry in 1998:

  Belarus

- Entry in 2000:

  Dominican Republic

- Entry in 2003:

  Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Timor-Leste

- Exit in 2004:

  Cyprus, Malta

- Entry in 2006:

  Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Haiti, Saint Kitts and Nevis

- Entry in 2011:

Azerbaijan, Fiji

8. Organization of Islamic Cooperation

- Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Guyana, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Maldives, Mauritania, Morocco, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Palestine, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Suriname, Syria, Tajikistan, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, Uzbekistan, Yemen (as of 2001)

- Suspended since 2012

  Syria

9. Southern Africa (Southern African Development Community)

- Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe

- Entry in 1994

  South Africa

- Entry in 1995

  Mauritius

- Entry in 1998

  Democratic Republic of the Congo, Seychelles

- Entry in 2005, suspension from 2009 to 2014

Madagascar

10. South America

- Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, Uruguay, Venezuela

Part C – Content analysis

Through content analysis, we sought to verify which drafts sponsored by Brazil/South Africa dealt with regional matters. We elaborated keyword dictionaries, containing the names of counties in the region, regional institutions, geographical subregions and formal pacts or conferences involving regional actors. The dictionaries contained 62 terms for Brazil and 83 for South Africa.

In selecting keywords, we were attentive so as to capture only regionally important mentions and avoid false positives, that is, accidental references that were not actually related to regional matters. For instance, the Latin American country "Uruguay" is mentioned in resolutions which address this nation, but also in those that make reference to the World Trade Organization Uruguay Round. Evidently, the WTO reference does not bear a clear regional content, as this is a mainly multilateral venue, and resolutions containing such reference are not be counted as signs of regional engagement. Thus, our dictionaries also contain a list of excluded events and entities.

The software QDA Miner 5 and WordStat 8 were utilized to apply the dictionaries to the corpus of resolutions. Analysis could only be applied to final resolutions since drafts and L-Documents normally bring an extensive list of co-sponsors in the opening paragraph. As our keyword dictionary is composed of country names, this would lead to an artificial inflation in keyword frequency. Final resolutions do not mention co-

sponsorships in their text, so that any mention to a country name in it is expected to be substantively relevant.

Word-format files of the resolutions were downloaded from the undocs.org repository. Availability was high but not complete. The table below shows the total number of Resolutions per session/year (that is, resolutions which had Brazilian/South African input) and the amount that was possible to retrieve online.

	Resol. w/ BR input		**Resol. w/ SA input**	
Session (year)	***Total***	***Downloaded***	***Total***	***Downloaded***
S.49 (1994)	78	75	78	69
S.50 (1995)	85	76	81	68
S.51 (1996)	75	71	75	64
S.52 (1997)	71	64	59	54
S.53 (1998)	66	54	74	62
S.54 (1999)	92	77	91	78
S.55 (2000)	93	86	105	94
S.56 (2001)	100	96	117	108
S.57 (2002)	100	100	143	143
S.58 (2003)	100	98	137	136
S.59 (2004)	94	94	125	125
S.60 (2005)	107	104	124	124
S.61 (2006)	95	75	121	121
S.62 (2007)	91	90	105	104
S.63 (2008)	114	114	117	117
S.64 (2009)	108	108	110	110
S.65 (2010)	116	116	110	110
S.66 (2011)	111	111	103	103
S.67 (2012)	109	111	107	107
S.68 (2013)	104	104	96	96
Total	**1909**	**1824**	**2078**	**1993**

As the table indicates, retrieval rate was high, though the early years of the series tended to have more missing cases. In total, we only failed to collect 4% of resolutions for both cases, which should not compromise our inferences.

Our dictionaries are presented below. The format is preserved from WordStat 8: terms preceded by @ contain proximity rules so as to condition their detection to user-defined criteria (e.g.: term occurring not near the word “Round”); wild characters * and ? allow for variations in orthography.

1. Latin American keywords

- **COUNTRIES**
  - @BARBADOS [BARBADOS NOT BEFORE DECLARATION NOT BEFORE PROGRAMME /A /S1/S1] (1)
  - @BOLIVIA [BOLIVIA NOT NEAR COCHABAMBA /A /S6] (1)
  - @COLOMBIA [COLOMBIA NOT AFTER CARTAGENA /A /S6] (1)
  - @MEXICO [MEXICO NOT NEAR TLATELOLCO NOT NEAR MONTERREY NOT NEAR WORLD_TRADE_ORGANIZATION /A /S5/S5/S5] (1)
  - @URUGUAY [URUGUAY NOT BEFORE ROUND /A /S2] (1)
  - ANGUILLA (1)
  - ANTIGUA_AND_BARBUDA (1)
  - ANTILLES (1)
  - ARGENTINA (1)
  - ARUBA (1)
  - BAHAMAS (1)
  - BELIZE (1)
  - BRITISH_VIRGIN_ISLANDS (1)
  - CAYMAN_ISLANDS (1)
  - CHILE (1)
  - COSTA_RICA (1)
  - CUBA (1)
  - DOMINICA (1)
  - DOMINICAN_REPUBLIC (1)
  - ECUADOR (1)
  - EL_SALVADOR (1)
  - FRENCH_GUIANA (1)
  - GRENADA (1)
  - GUATEMALA (1)
  - GUYANA (1)
  - HAITI (1)
  - HONDURAS (1)
  - JAMAICA (1)
  - NICARAGUA (1)
  - PANAMA (1)
  - PARAGUAY (1)
  - PERU (1)
  - PUERTO_RICO (1)
  - SAINT_KITTS_AND_NEVIS (1)
  - SAINT_LUCIA (1)
  - SAINT_PIERRE_AND_MIQUELON (1)
  - SAINT_VINCENT_AND_THE_GRENADINES (1)
  - SURINAME (1)
  - TRINIDAD_AND_TOBAGO (1)
  - TURKS_AND_CAICOS_ISLANDS (1)
  - VENEZUELA (1)
  - WALLIS_AND_FUTUNA_ISLANDS (1)
- **INSTITUTIONS**
  - ANDEAN_COMMUNITY (1)
  - CARIBBEAN_COMMUNITY (1)
  - COMMON_MARKET_OF_THE_SOUTH (1)
  - ECONOMIC_COMMISSION_FOR_LATIN_AMERICA_AND_THE_CARIBBEAN (1)
  - GROUP_OF_LATIN_AMERICAN_AND_CARIBBEAN (1)
  - INTER*AMERICAN (1)
  - MERCOSU? (1)
  - OAS (1)
  - UNASU? (1)
  - ORGANIZATION_OF_AMERICAN_STATES (1)
  - UNION_OF_SOUTH_AMERICAN_NATIONS (1)
- **SUB_REGS**
  - @ANDEAN [ANDEAN NOT NEAR COMMUNITY /A /S2] (1)
  - @CARIBBEAN [CARIBBEAN NEAR LATIN_AMERICA_AND_THE NOT BEFORE COMMUNITY NOT NEAR WIDER /A /S1/S3/S3] (1)

        - @LATIN_AMERICA* [LATIN_AMERICA* NOT BEFORE CARIBBEAN NOT AFTER ECONOMIC_COMMISSION_FOR NOT NEAR TLATELOLCO /A /S4/S4/S5] (1)
        - @LATIN_AMERICA_AND_THE_CARIBBEAN [LATIN_AMERICA_AND_THE_CARIBBEAN NOT NEAR TLATELOLCO NOT NEAR CENTRE_FOR_PEACE_DISARMAMENT_AND_DEVELOPMENT /A /S8/S12] (1)
        - CENTRAL_AMERICA* (1)
        - SOUTH_AMERICA* (1)
- **PACTS_CONFS_REG**
    - CONVENTION_FOR_THE_PROTECTION_AND_DEVELOPMENT_OF_THE_MARINE_ENVIRONMENT_OF_THE_WIDER_CARIBBEAN_REGION (1)
    - TLATELOLCO (1)
    - UNITED_NATIONS_REGIONAL_CENTRE_FOR_PEACE_DISARMAMENT_AND_DEVELOPMENT_IN_LATIN_AMERICA_AND_THE_CARIBBEAN (1)

The following pacts, institutions and events were mentioned in the analyzed corpus, but were regarded as non-regional in nature. Their names were used in building proximity rules so as to ensure that these extra-regional events would not influence the keyword count of countries incidentally mentioned.

- Eleventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, from 18 to 20 October 1995
- The United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, from 20 to 22 June 2012
- Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations
- Peoples' World Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth, hosted by the Plurinational State of Bolivia in Cochabamba from 20 to 22 April 2010

2. African keywords

- **COUNTRIES**
    - @EGYPT [EGYPT NOT NEAR SHARM_EL-SHEIKH, /A /S5] (1)
    - @GUINEA [Guinea NOT BEFORE -BISSAU NOT NEAR PAPUA_NEW /A /S2/S4] (1)
    - @MAURITIUS [MAURITIUS NOT NEAR STRATEGY NOT NEAR DECLARATION NOT NEAR SMALL_ISLAND_DEVELOPING_STATES /A /S8/D5/D10] (1)
    - @MOROCCO [MOROCCO NOT NEAR Marrakesh, /A /S2] (1)
    - @REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO [Republic of the Congo NOT AFTER DEMOCRATIC /A /S5] (1)
    - @SUDAN [SUDAN NOT AFTER SOUTH_ /A /S1] (1)
    - @TOGO [TOGO NOT NEAR PERU_AND /A /S3] (1)
    - ALGERIA (1)
    - ANGOLA (1)
    - BENIN (1)
    - BOTSWANA (1)
    - BURKINA_FASO (1)
    - BURUNDI (1)
    - C?TE_D?IVOIRE (1)
    - CAMEROON (1)
    - CAPE_VERDE (1)
    - CENTRAL_AFRICAN_REPUBLIC (1)
    - CHAD (1)
    - COMOROS (1)
    - DEMOCRATIC_REPUBLIC_OF_THE_CONGO (1)
    - DJIBOUTI (1)
    - EQUATORIAL_GUINEA (1)
    - ERITREA (1)
    - ETHIOPIA (1)
    - GABON (1)
    - GAMBIA (1)

- GHANA (1)
- GUINEA-BISSAU (1)
- KENYA (1)
- LESOTHO (1)
- LIBERIA (1)
- LIBYA* (1)
- MADAGASCAR (1)
- MALAWI (1)
- MALI (1)
- MAURITANIA (1)
- MOZAMBIQUE (1)
- NAMIBIA (1)
- NIGER (1)
- NIGERIA (1)
- RWANDA (1)
- S?O_TOM?_AND_PR?NCIPE (1)
- SENEGAL (1)
- SEYCHELLES (1)
- SIERRA_LEONE (1)
- SOMALIA (1)
- SOUTH_SUDAN (1)
- SWAZILAND (1)
- TANZANIA (1)
- TUNISIA (1)
- UGANDA (1)
- WESTERN_SAHARA (1)
- ZAIRE (1)
- ZAMBIA (1)
- ZIMBABWE (1)

- **INSTITUTIONS**
  - AFRICAN_GROUP (1)
  - AFRICAN_UNION (1)
  - ARAB_MAGHREB_UNION (1)
  - COMMON_MARKET_FOR_EASTERN_AND_SOUTHERN_AFRICA (1)
  - COMMUNITY_OF_SAHEL-SAHARAN_STATES (1)
  - EASTERN_AFRICA_STANDBY_FORCE (1)
  - EAST_AFRICAN_COMMUNITY (1)
  - ECONOMIC_AND_MONETARY_COMMUNITY_OF_CENTRAL_AFRICA (1)
  - ECONOMIC_COMMUNITY_OF_CENTRAL_AFRICAN_STATES (1)
  - ECONOMIC_COMMUNITY_OF_WEST_AFRICAN_STATES (1)
  - INDIAN_OCEAN_COMMISSION (1)
  - INTERGOVERNMENTAL_AUTHORITY_FOR_DEVELOPMENT (1)
  - INTERNATIONAL_CONFERENCE_ON_THE_GREAT_LAKES_REGION (1)
  - ORGANIZATION_OF_AFRICAN_UNITY (1)
  - SOUTHERN_AFRICAN_DEVELOPMENT_COMMUNITY (1)
  - SOUTHERN_AFRICA_CUSTOMS_UNION (1)
  - WEST_AFRICA_ECONOMIC_AND_MONETARY_UNION (1)
- **SUB_REGS**
  - @CENTRAL_AFRICA [CENTRAL_AFRICA NOT AFTER Human Rights and Democracy in NOT AFTER SECURITY_QUESTIONS /A /S5/S5] (1)
  - @SOUTHERN_AFRICA [SOUTHERN_AFRICA NOT AFTER TRAINING_PROGRAMME_FOR_ /A /S5] (1)
  - NORTH*_AFRICA (1)
  - EAST*_AFRICA (1)
  - WEST*_AFRICA (1)
  - SUB-SAHARA* (1)
- **PACTS_CONFS_REG**
  - REGIONAL_CENTRES_FOR_PEACE_AND_DISARMAMENT (1)
  - SUBREGIONAL_CENT*_FOR_HUMAN_RIGHTS_AND_DEMOCRACY_IN_CENTRAL_AFRICA (1)
  - COMMITTEE_ON_SECURITY_QUESTIONS_IN_CENTRAL_AFRICA (1)
  - UNITED_NATIONS_EDUCATIONAL_AND_TRAINING_PROGRAMME_FOR_SOUTHERN_AFRICA (1)
  - UNITED_NATIONS_REGIONAL_CENTRE_FOR_PEACE_AND_DISARMAMENT_IN_AFRICA (1)

The following pacts, institutions and events were considered as non-regional.

- International Conference in Support of the Palestinian Economy for the Reconstruction of Gaza, held in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, on 2 March 2009
- Fifteenth Summit Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, from 11 to 16 July 2009
- The Mauritius Declaration and the Mauritius Strategy for the Further Implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States
- Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change at Marrakesh, Morocco, from 29 October to 9 November 2001