Preferences or blocs?
Voting in the United Nations Human Rights Council*

Replication material and web-appendix

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Replication data and informtion

The replication material for our article *Preferences or blocs? Voting in the United Nations Human Rights Council* is composed of three parts: 2 data files (`R` dump files) and an initialization file for our `jags` model (`hrirt1at.ini`), `jags`-code used to estimate our models, and `R`-code used to generate our graphs and tables contained in our paper.

Data

We make available two `R`-dump files used in our paper, one for the basic analysis (`hrirtnat.Rmp`), and a second one for our robustness checks (`hrirtnat.Smp`). They have the same structure

- y is the vote matrix, with votes in columns and countries in rows.

- NE number of countries in analysis

- NI number ov votes analyzed

- $xt1$ democracy (*Source:* **?**

- $xt2$, $xt3$, $xt4$, $xt5$ torture (NA, no, often, frequently) *Source:* **?** (in the dataset `hrirtnat.Smp` these variables come from the political terror scale (NA, 1, 3, 4 and 5) *Source:* **?**)

- $xt6$ EU member

- $xt7$ OIC member

- $xt8$ number of human rights treaties ratified *Source:* **?**

- $xt9$ GDP *Source:* **?**.

- $xt10$ Net Development Assistance and Aid (in constant USD) from the World Development Indicators (*Source:* `http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog`).

- $xa1$ proposer is EU member country

- $xa2$ proposer is Pakistan

- *xa3* proposer is Cuba

- *xa4* proposer is Egypt

In addition for our `jags` model we need a file to initialize the parameters which are in file `hrirt1at.ini`.

jags-code

Base model without proposer

```
model
{
for (i in 1:NE){
 thetaStar[i]~dnorm(tm[i],1)
   theta[i] <- (thetaStar[i]- mean(thetaStar[]))/sd(thetaStar[]))
 tm[i]<-bb1*xt1[i]+bb2*xt2[i]+bb4*xt4[i]+bb5*xt5[i]+bb6*xt6[i]+bb7*xt7[i]+bb8*xt8[i]+bb9*xt9[i]+bb10*xt10[i]
   for (j in 1:NI){
     p[i,j] <- phi(a[j]*theta[i] - b[j])
     y[i,j] ~ dbern(p[i,j])
   }
 }
  for (i in 1:NI){
#    a[i] ~ dnorm(mua[i],siga)
    a[i] ~ dnorm(mua,siga)
#    mua[i] <-bz0+bz1*xa1[i]+bz2*xa2[i]+bz3*xa3[i]+bz4*xa4[i]
   b[i] ~ dnorm(mub,sigb)
  }

 mua ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
 mub ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
# bb0 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
 bb1 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
 bb2 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
# bb3 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
 bb4 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
 bb5 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
 bb6 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
 bb7 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
 bb8 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
 bb9 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
 bb10 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
# bz0 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
# bz1 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
# bz2 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
# bz3 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
# bz4 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
 siga ~ dchisqr(.5)
 sigb ~ dchisqr(.5)
}
```

Model with proposer equation

```
model
{
for (i in 1:NE){
 thetaStar[i]~dnorm(tm[i],1)
   theta[i] <- (thetaStar[i] - mean(thetaStar[]))/sd(thetaStar[]))
 tm[i]<-bb1*xt1[i]+bb2*xt2[i]+bb4*xt4[i]+bb5*xt5[i]+bb6*xt6[i]+bb7*xt7[i]+bb8*xt8[i]+bb9*xt9[i]+bb10*xt10[i]
   for (j in 1:NI){
     p[i,j] <- phi((aa[j]+bz1*xa1[j]+bz2*xa2[j]+bz3*xa3[j]+bz4*xa4[j])*theta[i] - b[j])
     y[i,j] ~ dbern(p[i,j])
   }
 }
  for (i in 1:NI){
#    a[i] ~ dnorm(mua[i],siga)
    aa[i] ~ dnorm(mua,siga)
#    mua[i] <-bz0+bz1*xa1[i]+bz2*xa2[i]+bz3*xa3[i]+bz4*xa4[i]
   b[i] ~ dnorm(mub,sigb)
  }

 mua ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
```

```
  mub ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
#  bb0 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
  bb1 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
  bb2 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
#  bb3 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
  bb4 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
  bb5 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
  bb6 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
  bb7 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
  bb8 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
  bb9 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
  bb10 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
#  bz0 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
  bz1 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
  bz2 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
  bz3 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
  bz4 ~ dnorm(0,.0001)
  siga ~ dchisqr(.5)
  sigb ~ dchisqr(.5)
}
```

R-code

```
library(coda)
resultn = read.coda("irtnnchain1.txt", "irtnnindex.txt")
resultn.sum<-summary(resultn)

ccc<-c("beta_proposer EU",  "beta_propoesr Pakistan",
 "beta_propoesr Cuba", "beta_propoesr Egypt",
"beta_democracy","beta_torture NA","beta_torture often",
 "beta_torture frequently","beta_EU", "beta_OIC", "beta_ratified treaties",
"beta_GDP","beta_Aid")
colnames(resultn)[1:13]<-ccc

pdf("e:/tex/a/pobg1.pdf")
geweke.plot(resultn[,5:13],nbins=5)
dev.off()

pdf("e:/tex/a/pobg2.pdf")
geweke.plot(resultn[,c(1:4,16:17,length(colnames(resultn)))],nbins=5)
dev.off()

pdf("e:/tex/a/pobg3.pdf")
geweke.plot(resultn[,18:25],nbins=5)
dev.off()

pdf("e:/tex/a/pobg4.pdf")
geweke.plot(resultn[,26:33],nbins=5)
dev.off()

pdf("e:/tex/a/pobg5.pdf")
geweke.plot(resultn[,34:41],nbins=5)
dev.off()

pdf("e:/tex/a/pobg6.pdf")
geweke.plot(resultn[,42:48],nbins=5)
dev.off()

pdf("e:/tex/a/pobg7.pdf")
geweke.plot(resultn[,49:56],nbins=5)
dev.off()

pdf("e:/tex/a/pobg8.pdf")
geweke.plot(resultn[,57:64],nbins=5)
dev.off()

pdf("e:/tex/a/pobg9.pdf")
geweke.plot(resultn[,65:72],nbins=5)
dev.off()

pdf("e:/tex/a/pobg10.pdf")
geweke.plot(resultn[,73:80],nbins=5)
dev.off()


xx<-seq(1:8)

pdf("E:/tex/a/pobfn1.pdf")
par(ps=7)
plotCI(resultn.sum$quantiles[5:12,3],xx,
li=resultn.sum$quantiles[5:12,1],ui=resultn.sum$quantiles[5:12,5],err='x',
 gap=0,xlab="effect on preferences (and 95 percent credible intervals)
50000 burnin, 5000 mcmc (thin 5)",ylab="",yaxt="n")
axis(side=2, at=1:8, labels=c("democ.", "tort. pf", "tort. po"
, "EU", "OIC", "ratifications","GDP p.c.","aid"), cex=0.7)
lines(xx*0,xx,add=T)
```

```
dev.off()
names(idi.sum$quantiles[66:72,5])

xx<-seq(1:9)

pdf("E:/tex/a/pobfn1r.pdf")
par(ps=7)
plotCI(resultn.sum$quantiles[5:13,3],xx,
li=resultn.sum$quantiles[5:13,1],ui=resultn.sum$quantiles[5:13,5],err='x',
 gap=0,xlab="effect on preferences (and 95 percent credible intervals)
50000 burnin, 5000 mcmc (thin 5)",ylab="",yaxt="n")
axis(side=2, at=1:9, labels=c("democ.", "PTS 2", "PTS 3", "PTS 4,5"
, "EU", "OIC", "ratifications","GDP p.c.","aid"), cex=0.7)
lines(xx*0,xx,add=T)
dev.off()
```

Web-appendix

Table **??** lists the set of controversial resolutions employed in the empirical analysis, while the figures that follow depict Geweke-diagnostics plots for all main parameters of the hierarchical model with the θs depending on some country characteristics where the identity of the proposer affects the item discrimination parameter (Figures **??-??**).

Table 1: The resolutions voted upon in the UNHRC from session 1 to 13; categorized

no	resolution	topic
1.1	Human rights situation in Palestine and other occupied territories	Palestine/Israel
1.2	Incitement to racial and religious hatred and the promotion of tolerance	Racism / Religion
2.1	Intergovernmental Working Group on the Review of Mandates	
2.2	Human rights in the occupied Syrian Golan	Syria/Israel
2.3	Effects of economic reform policies and foreign debt on the full enjoyment of all human rights	Economics (foreign debt)
2.4	Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem and the occupied Syrian Golan	Syria/Palestine/Israel
2.5	Impunity	Impunity
2.6	Darfur	Sudan (Darfur)
2.61	Amendment to 2.6 (Darfur)	Sudan (Darfur)
3.1	Human rights situation in the Occupied Palestinian Territory: follow-up to Human Rights Council Resolution S-1/1	Palestine
3.2	Preparations for the Durban Review Conference	Racism
3.3	Global efforts for the total elimination of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and the comprehensive follow-up to the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance and the effective implementation of the Durban Declaration and Program of Action	Racism
4.1	Globalization and its impact on the full enjoyment of all human rights	Economics (globalization)
4.2	Strengthening of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights	Internal

4.3	Combating defamation of religions	Religion
4.4	Human rights and unilateral coercive measures	Coercive measures
6.1	Human rights and international solidarity	Economic (solidarity)
6.2	Human rights and unilateral coercive measures	Coercive measures
6.3	Religious and cultural rights in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem	Palestine/Israel
6.4	Elaboration of international complementary standards to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination	Racism
6.5	From rhetoric to reality: a global call for concrete action against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance	Racism
6.6	Preparations for Durban Review Conference	Racism
6.7	Elimination of all forms of intolerance and of discrimination based on religion or belief	Religion
7.1	Human rights violations emanating from Israeli military attacks and incursions in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, particularly the recent ones in the occupied Gaza strip	Palestine/Israel
7.2	Composition of the staff of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights	Staff
7.3	Mandate of the independent expert on the effects of foreign debt and other related international financial obligations of States on the full enjoyment of all human rights, particularly economic, social and cultural rights	Economics (foreign debt)
7.4	Mandate of the independent expert on human rights and international solidarity	Economics (solidarity)
7.5	The role of good governance in the promotion and protection of human rights	Governance
7.51	Amendment to 7.5	
7.6	Situation of human rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	North-Korea
7.7	Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and the occupied Syrian Golan	Palestine/Israel/Syria
7.8	Combating defamation of religions	Religion

7.9	Mandate of the Working Group on the use of mercenaries as a means of violating human rights and impeding the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination	Mercenaries
7.10	Human rights in the occupied Syrian Golan	Syria/Israel
7.11	From rhetoric to reality: a global call for concrete action against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance	Racism
7.12	Mandate of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right of freedom of opinion and expression	Internal
7.121		Amendment to 7.12 (Pakistan)
7.122		Oral amendment to 7.12 (Cuba)
8.1	Promotion of a democratic and equitable international order	Security
8.2	Promotion of the right of peoples to peace	Peace
9.1	Human rights and international solidarity	Economics (solidarity)
9.2	Human rights and unilateral coercive measures	Coercive measures
9.3	Follow up to resolution S-3/1: human rights violations emanating from Israeli military incursions in the Occupied Palestinian Territory and the shelling of Beit Hanoun	Palestine/Israel
10.1	Composition of the staff of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights	Staff
10.2	The use of mercenaries as a means of violating human rights and impeding the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination	Mercenaries
10.3	Situation of human rights in the Democratic People's Republic Korea	North-Korea
10.4	Human rights in the occupied Syrian Golan	Syria/Israel
10.5	Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and the occupied Syrian Golan	Palestine/Israel/Syria
10.6	Human rights violations emanating from the Israeli military attacks and operations in the Occupied Palestinian Territory	Palestine/Israel

10.7	Follow-up to Council resolution S-9/1 on the grave violations of human rights in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, particularly due to the recent Israeli military attacks against the occupied Gaza Strip	Palestine/Israel
10.8	Combating defamation of religions	Religion
10.9	Torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment: the role and responsibility of medical and other health personnel	Torture
10.91		Amendment to 10.9 (XXXX); Takes note of the report of the Special Rapporteur
10.10	Discrimination based on religion or belief and its impact on the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights	Religion
10.11	Elaboration of complementary standards to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discriminations	Racism
10.111		Amendment to be made draft resolution (Egypt)
10.12	Situation of human rights in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the strengthening of technical cooperation and consultative services	Congo
10.121		Amendment to 10.12 (Congo)
10.122		Amendment to 10.12 (Germany)
10.13	Publication of reports completed by the Subcommission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights	internal
11.1	Promotion of the right of peoples to peace	Peace
11.2	The effects of foreign debt and other related international financial obligations of States on the full enjoyment of all human rights, particularly economic, social and cultural rights	Economic (Foreign debt)
11.3	Situation of human rights in the Sudan	Sudan

11.31		Amendment (Germany)
12.1	Human rights and international solidarity	Economic (solidarity)
12.2	Right to development	Economic (development)
12.3	Promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms through understanding of traditional values of humankind	Culture
12.4	Human rights and coercive measures	Coercive measures
12.5	The effects of foreign debt and other related international financial obligations of States on the full enjoyment of all human rights, particularly economic, social and cultural rights	Economic (foreign debt)
13.1	Composition of the staff of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights	Staff
13.2	Human rights situation in the occupied Syrian Golan	Syria/Israel
13.3	The rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination	Palestine
13.4	Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and in the occupied Syrian Golan	Palestine/Israel/Syria
13.5	The grave human rights violations by Israeli in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem	Palestine/Israel
13.6	Follow-up to the report of the United Nations independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict	Gaza (Palestine/Israel)
13.7	Situation of human rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	North-Korea
13.8	Combating defamation of religions	Religion

Figure 1: Geweke-plots: general parameters of hierarchical IRT model with pro-posers
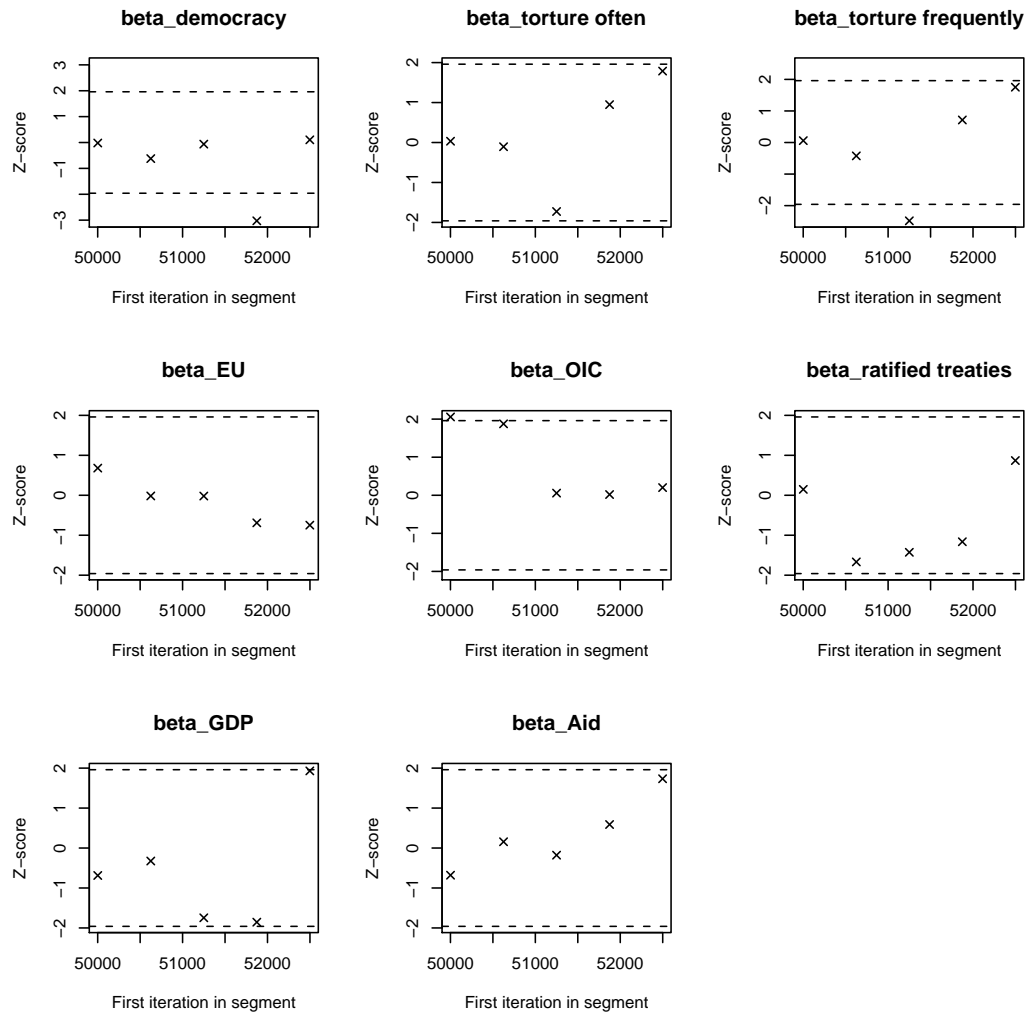
Figure 2: Geweke-plots: general parameters of hierarchical IRT model with proposers
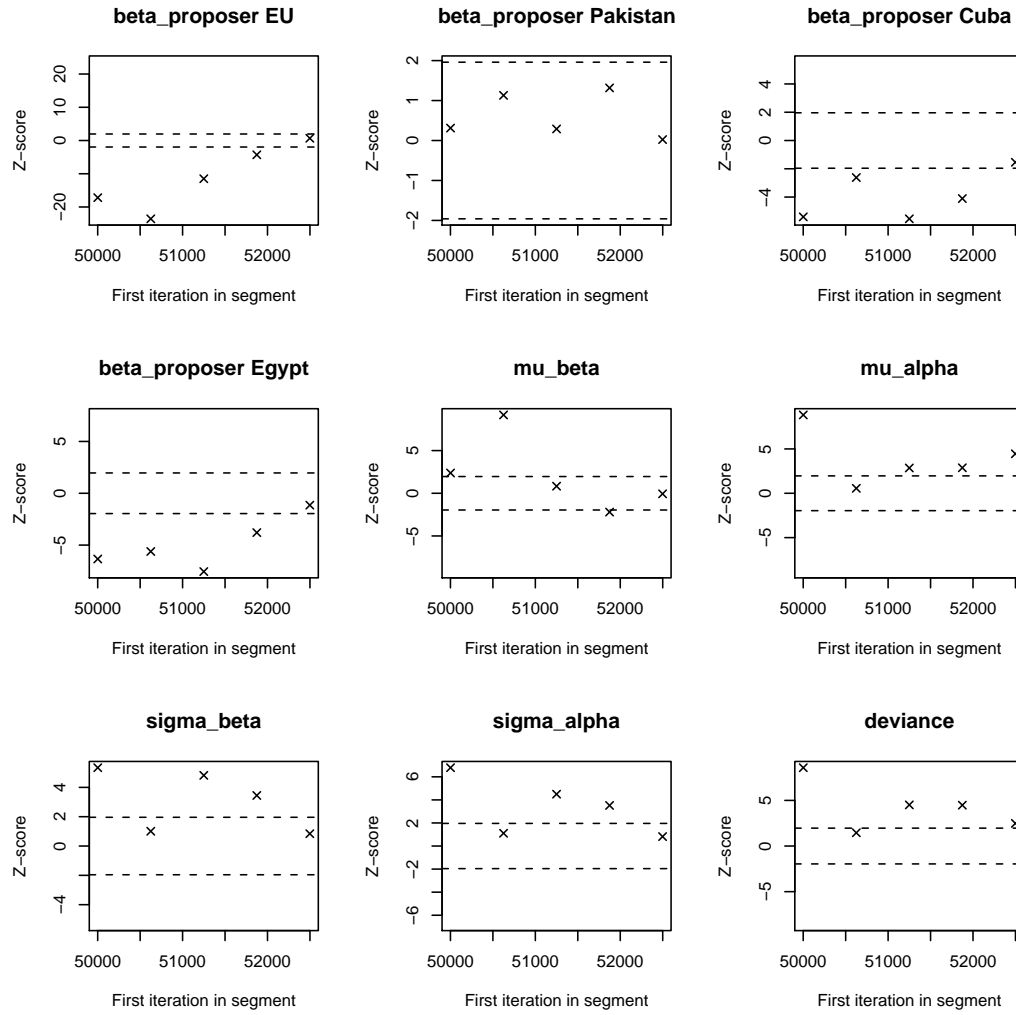
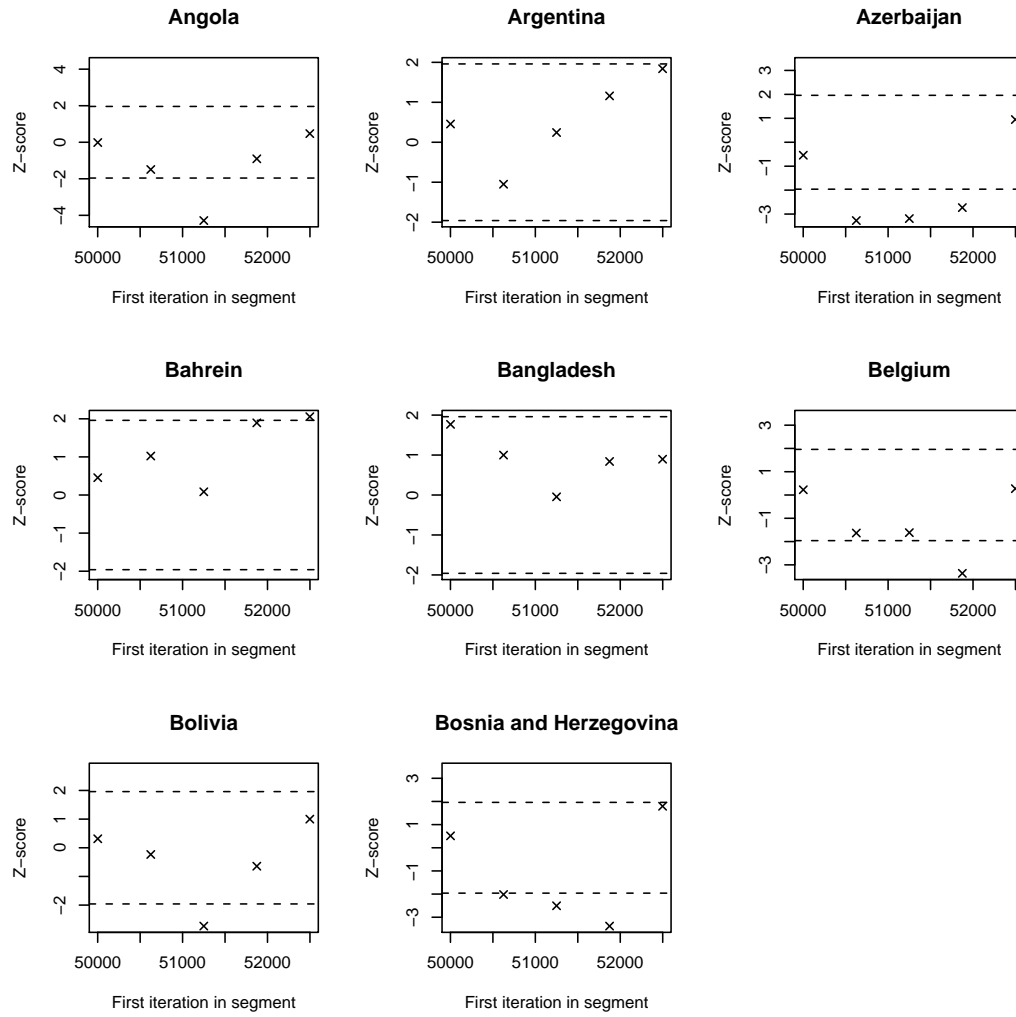Figure 3: Geweke-plots: θs 1-8 of hierarchical IRT model with proposers

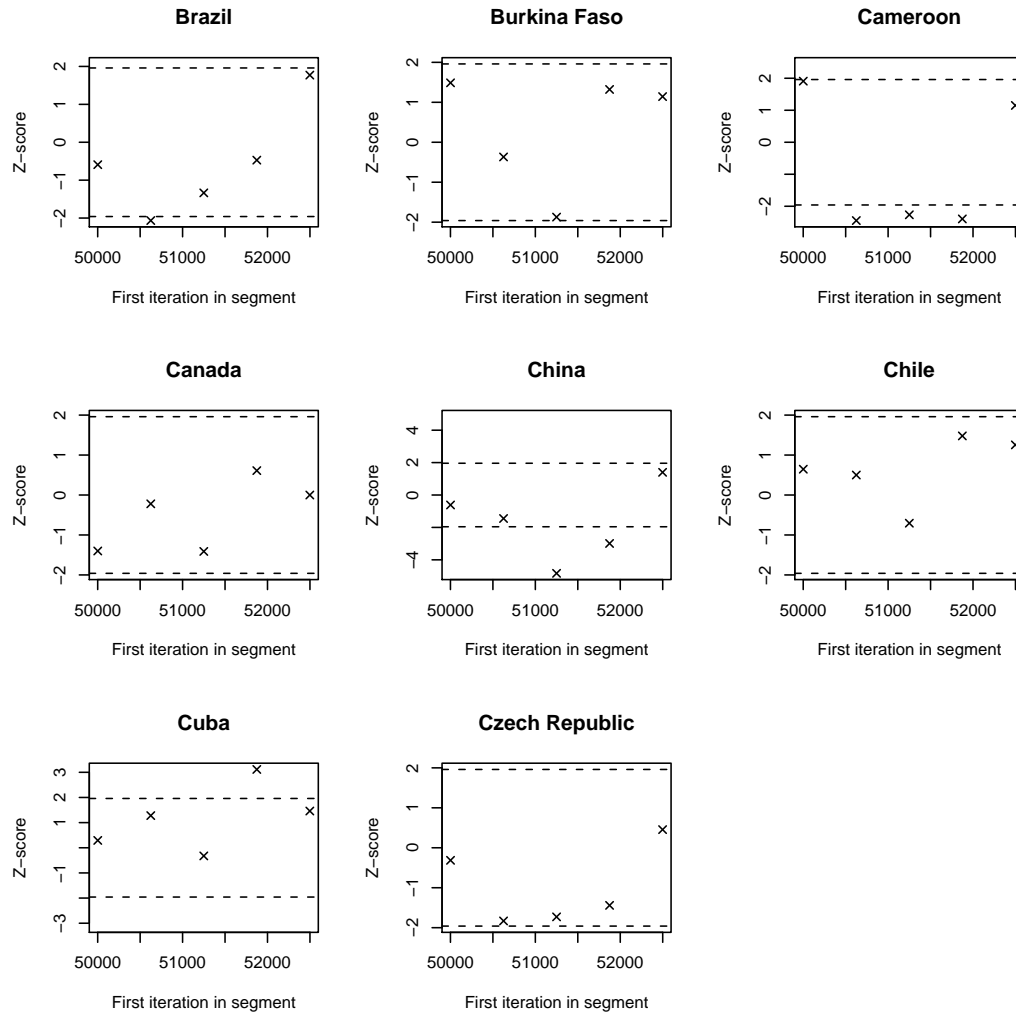Figure 4: Geweke-plots: θs 9-16 of hierarchical IRT model with proposers

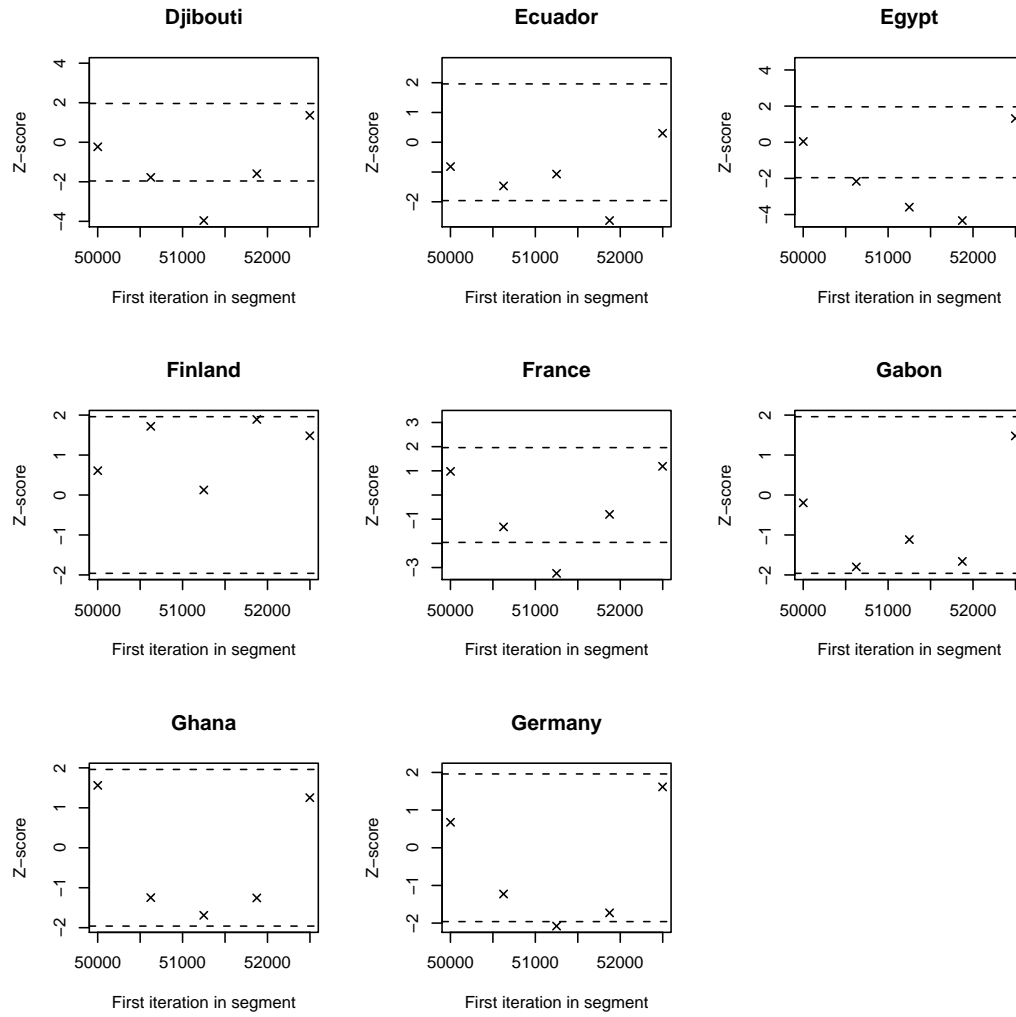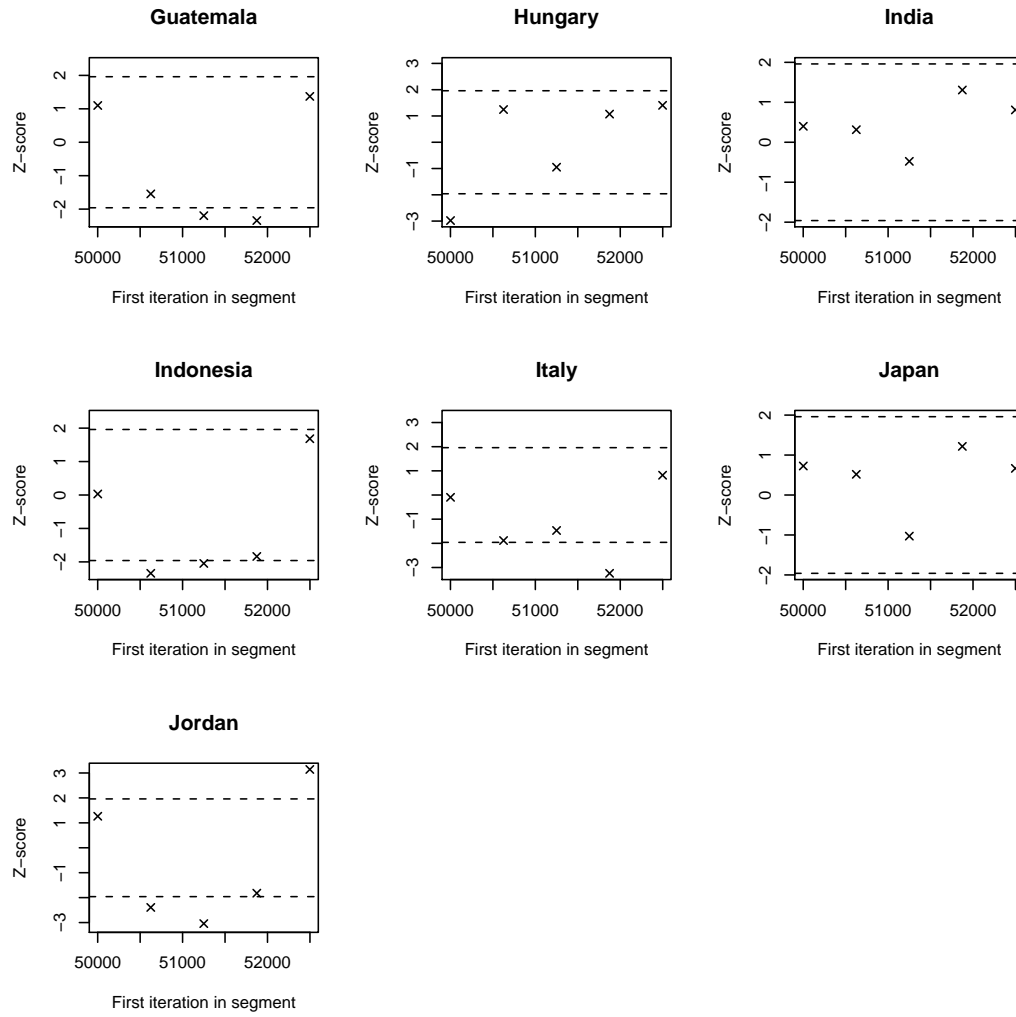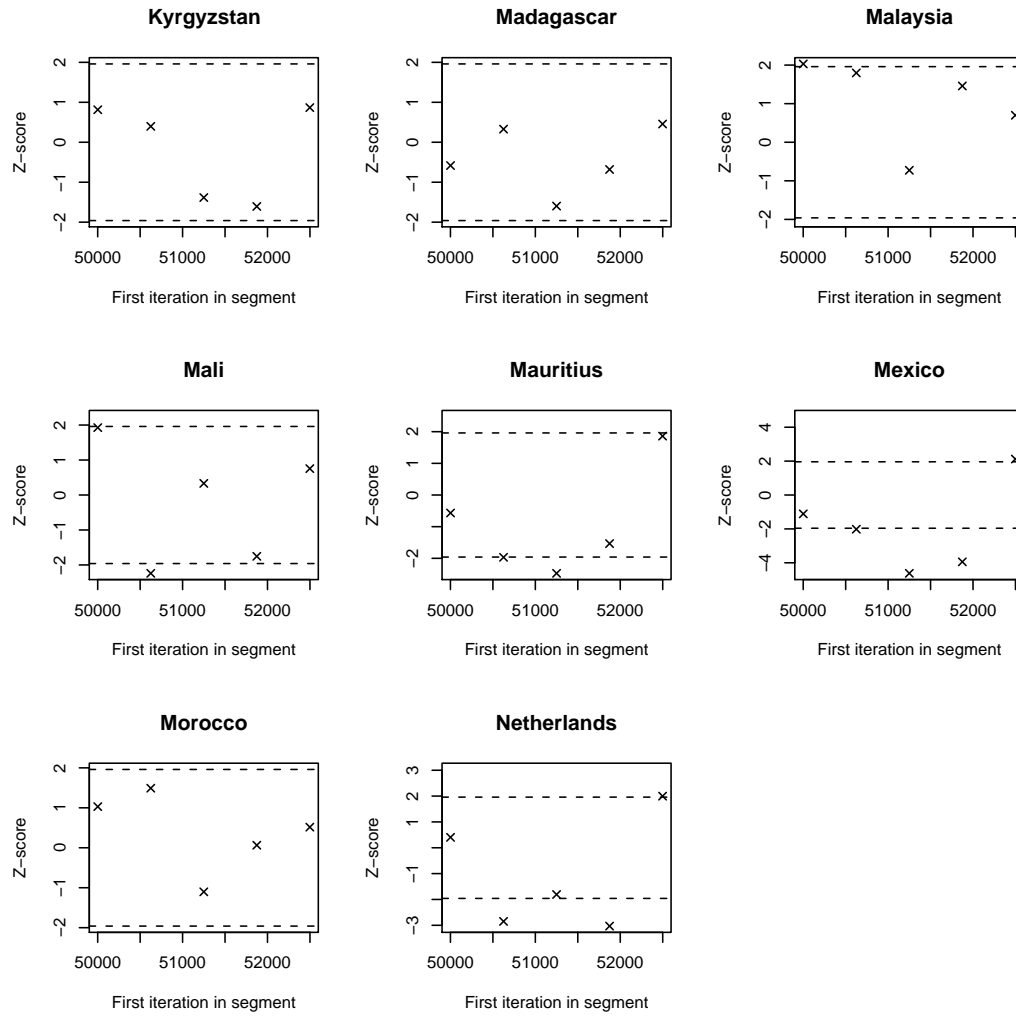Figure 5: Geweke-plots: θs 17-24 of hierarchical IRT model with proposers

Figure 6: Geweke-plots: θs 25-32 of hierarchical IRT model with proposers

Figure 7: Geweke-plots: θs 33-40 of hierarchical IRT model with proposers

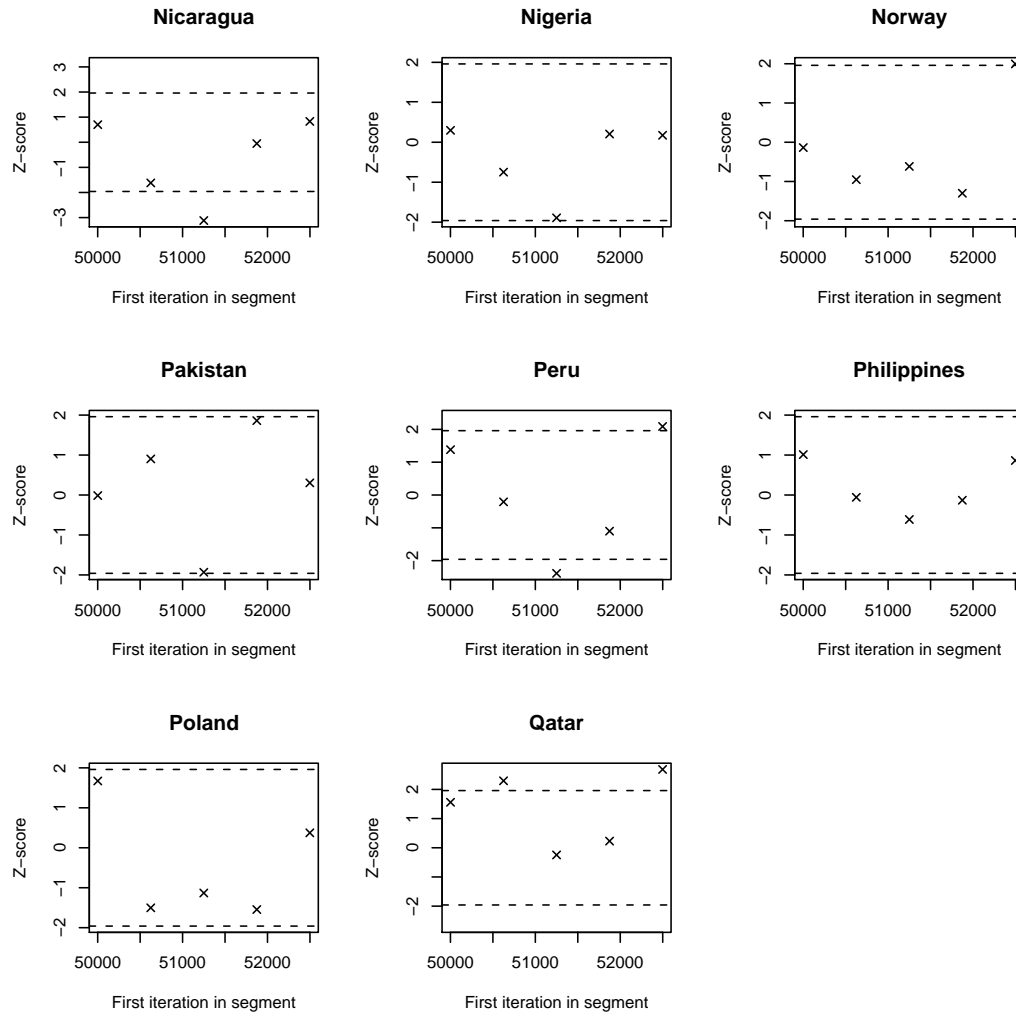Figure 8: Geweke-plots: θs 41-48 of hierarchical IRT model with proposers

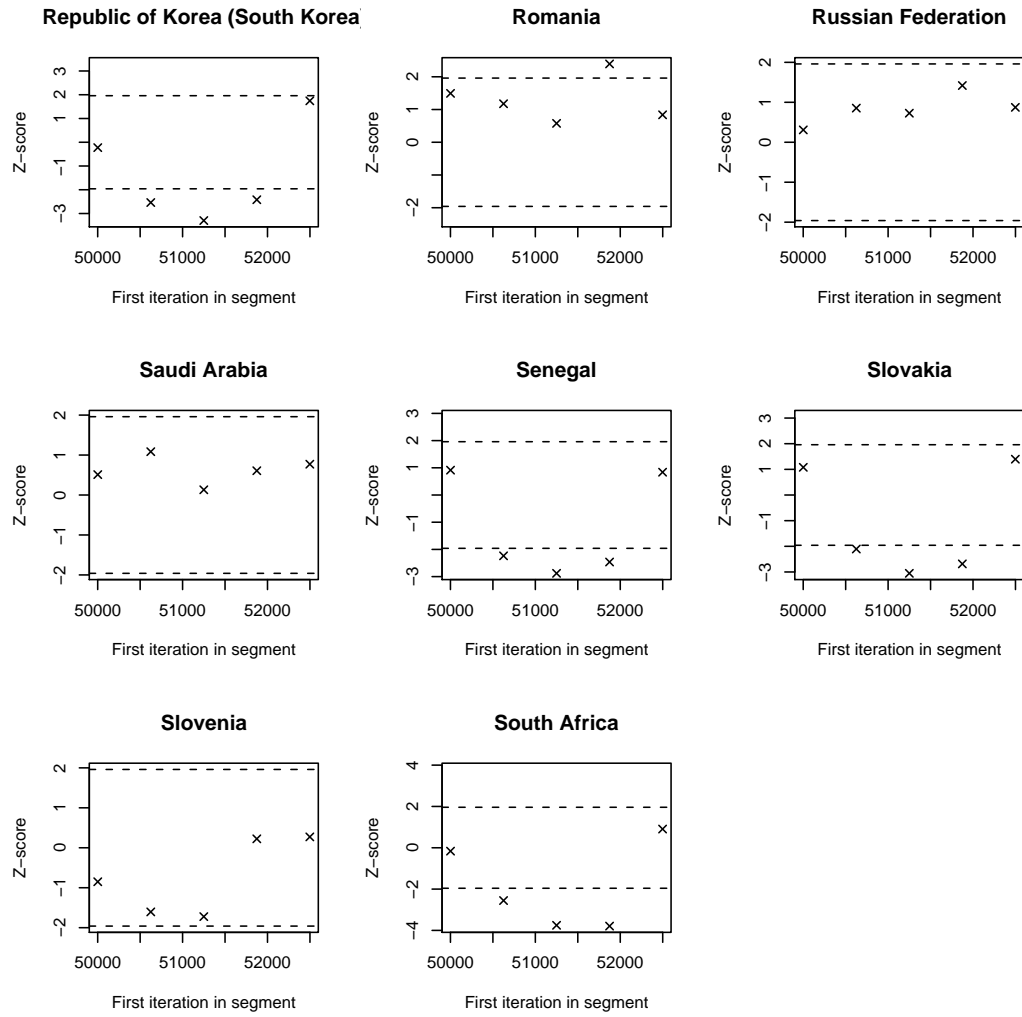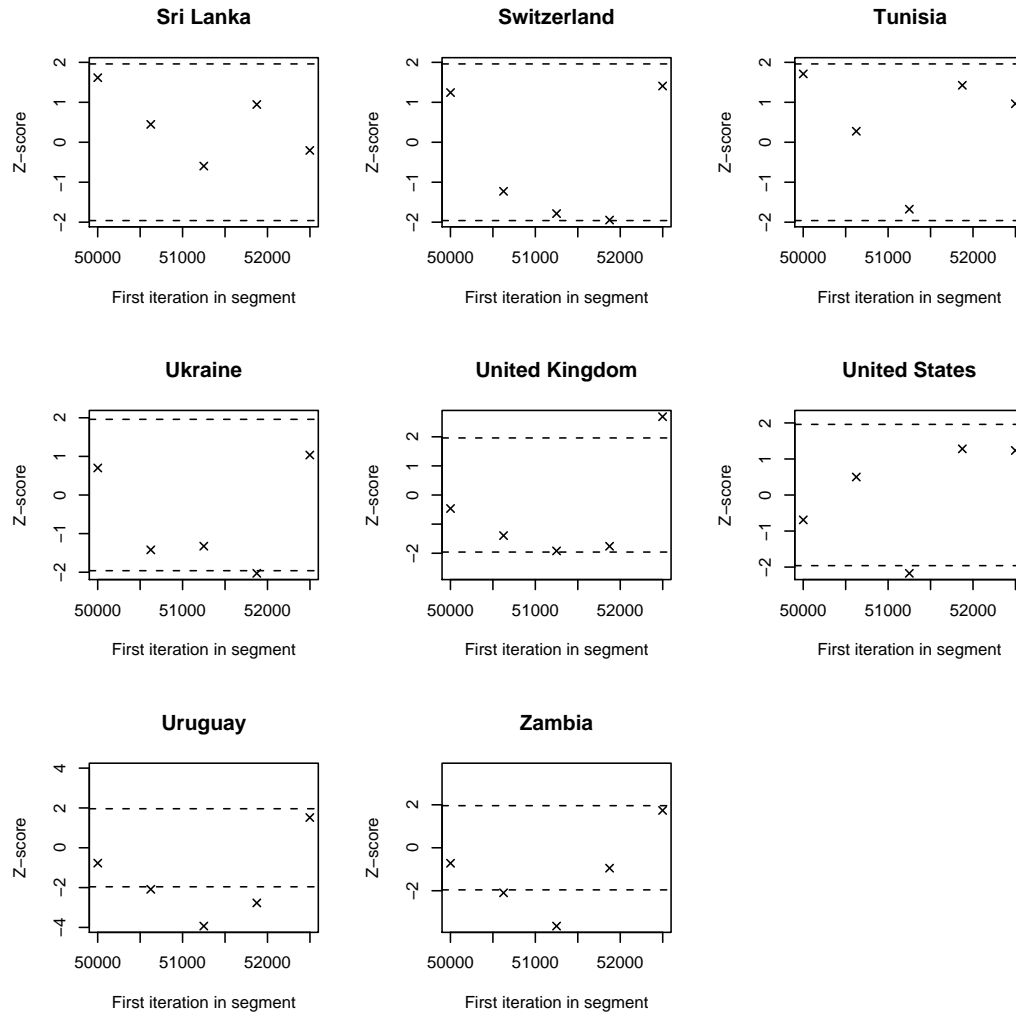Figure 9: Geweke-plots: θs 49-56 of hierarchical IRT model with proposers

Figure 10: Geweke-plots: θs 57-64 of hierarchical IRT model with proposers

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