## The Status Component of Major Power Status and Its Consequences for International Politics.

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#### MAPPING THE NEW WORLD ORDER

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#### MAJOR POWERS AND THE QUEST FOR STATUS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Global and Regional Perspectives

EDITED BY

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#### Challenging Realist/Neorealist Assumptions

**Traditional Assumptions** 

Challenges

1) Anarchy (constant)

2) Inequality (constant)

3) Aggregate Power (constant)

4) Status = Power mirrored

Hierarchy (varying)

Inequality (varying)

Aggregate Power (varying)

Status = Power + (mirror distorted)

# Constancy of Inequality versus Changing Concentrations of Inequality

Figure 1: Gini Index of Inequality Using Military Expenditures (COW), for all States in the International System, 1816-2001.

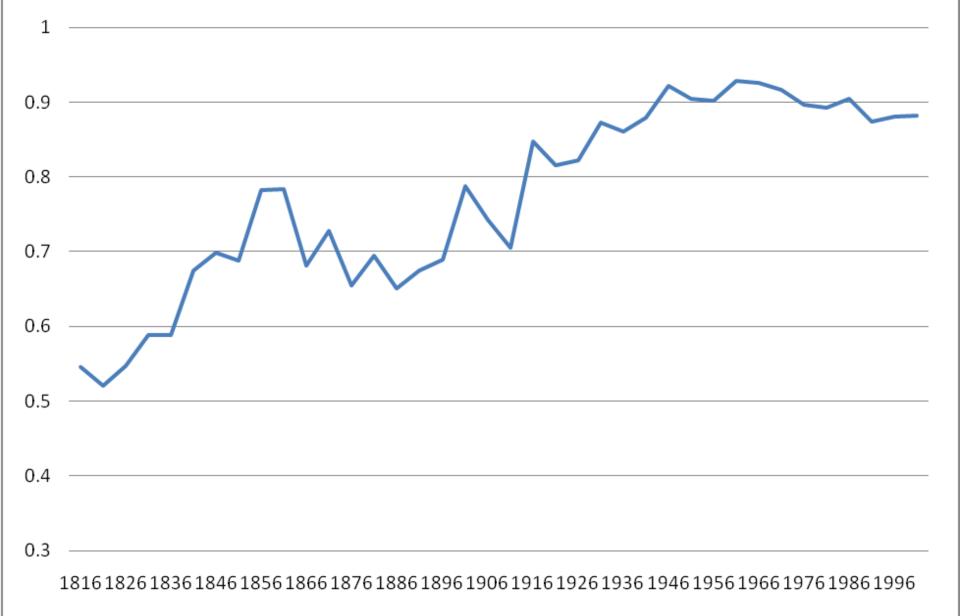
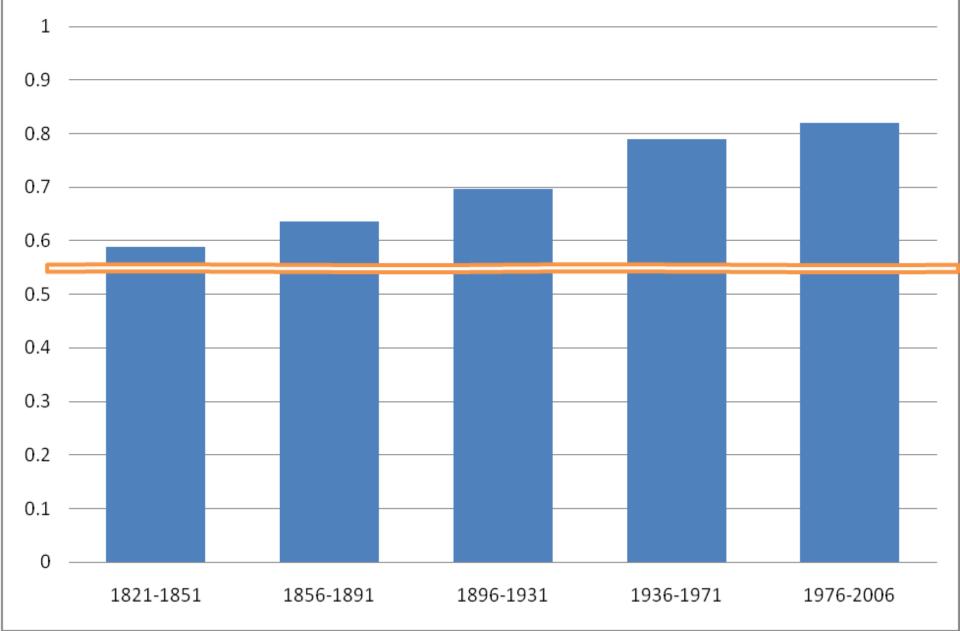


Figure 2: Average Gini Coefficient Scores, for five time periods, Using Maddison's GDP Data, 1821-2006.



## Two challenges to extant literature on major power status

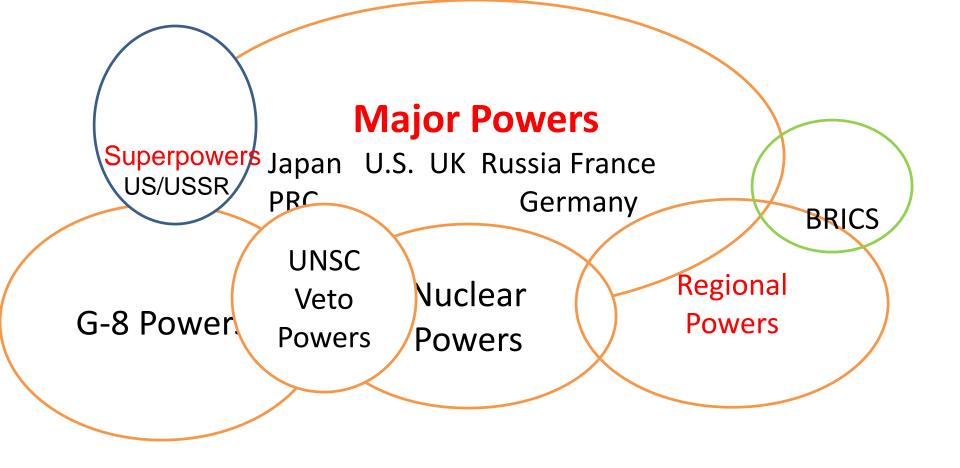
 The STATUS component of Major Power Status under-theorized;

2) Empirically, major power status mis-specified.

## Challenging Empirical Estimates of Major Power Status

## COW Major Power Status Designation, 1816-2002.

State	Years	Lost Status	Regained
Austria-Hungary	1816-1918	Yes (dissolved)	No
China	1950-2002	No	
France	1816-1940	Yes 1941-44	Yes 1945-2002
Germany/Prussia	1816-1918	Yes 1919-1924	Yes 1925-1945
		Yes 1946-1990	Yes 1991-2002
(Italy)	1860-1943	Yes 1944-	No
Japan	1895-1945	Yes 1946-1990	Yes 1991-2002
Russia/USSR	1816-1917	Yes 1918-1921	Yes 1922-2002
United Kingdom	1816-2002	No	
United States	1898-2002	No	



#### A Variety of Status Clubs In International Politics

## Mechanisms of Major Power Status Attribution

#### **Opportunity**

Military Strength
Military Reach

**Economic Size** 

**Economic Reach** 



#### Willingness

Active global engagement in conflict and cooperation



#### **Constraints**

- -major power independence
- -lead power influence on norms

#### Qualifying for Major Power Club Membership:

A state achieves membership in the major power club if it has

- a) the *opportunity* to act as one through unusual capabilities with which to pursue its interests in interstate relations;
- b) demonstrates its **willingness** to act as one by using those capabilities to pursue **unusually broad and expansive foreign policies beyond its own region** and seeks to influence the course of international affairs *relatively independent* of other **major powers**; and
- c) is **attributed** an unusual amount of **status** by policy makers of other states within the international community.

#### Status Differentiation within the Club

- Status Consistent Major Powers: states with high levels of status attribution consistent with their capabilities and demonstrated willingness to act.
- Status Overachievers: states with full status attribution but with mixed capabilities and/or willingness to act as major powers.

and

 Status Underachievers: states with substantial capabilities and willingness to act as major powers but with limited status attribution

## But why is Status Important if you have Major Power Capabilities and Intentions?

The attribution of major power status by other states = additional capacity + and legitimacy for major powers (both domestically and externally) for their activism

and

Status consistent states = capability and motivation to actively engage in broad variety of conflicts in international politics.

Status underachieving states = incentives to demonstrate activism (albeit less so than status consistent states) to generate more status and/or to change status quo to generate more status than provided by status quo conditions.

Status overachieving states = incentives to shade their weaknesses (and to hang on to the status being attributed to them) by engaging in activities not requiring substantial resource commitments

**Fully Status** 

Consistent

Figure 2: Threshold Criteria for Inclusion in Major Power Status Club											
Type of Member	Capabi	lities				Activit	ty	Status Attribu	tion		
	Mspen	d Mread	ch GD	P Ere	ach	Соор	Conflict	Dipcon	Vis	sits	
Underachievers	+ and	or + and	d/or +	and/	or +	+	+	+	or	+	
	+ and	d + and	d +	or	+	+	or +	+	or	+	
Overarchievers	+ 01	- + ar	nd +	or	+	+	+	+		+	
	+ and,	or + an	d/or +	-and/	or +	+	or +	+		+	

#### Status Types

No Major Power Status
+++++++++++++++++
Major Power Status (Club Membership)

**Status Consistent Major Powers** 

Status Inconsistent Major Powers

- Overachievers
- Underachievers

#### Major Power Status: Early Cold War Period

Major Powers Status	States and 1951-55	Time Frames 1956-60	1961-65
Status Consistent	US	US	US
Underachievers	USSR	USSR	USSR UK
	France	France	
Overarchievers			

#### Major Power Status: Late Cold War Period

Major Powers Status	States and 1976-80	Time Frames 1981-85	1986-90
Status Consistent	US	US	US
Underachievers	USSR UK	UK	UK
Overarchievers	France	USSR France	USSR France
N =	4	4	4

#### **Major Power Status: Post Cold War Period**

<b>Major Powers Status</b>	States and Time Frames						
	1991-95	1996-2000	2001-2010				
Status Consistent	US France	US France UK Japan	US				
Underachievers	UK	Germany	UK France Japan				
Overachievers	Russia/USSR China Japan	Russia China	Russia China				
N=	6	7	6				

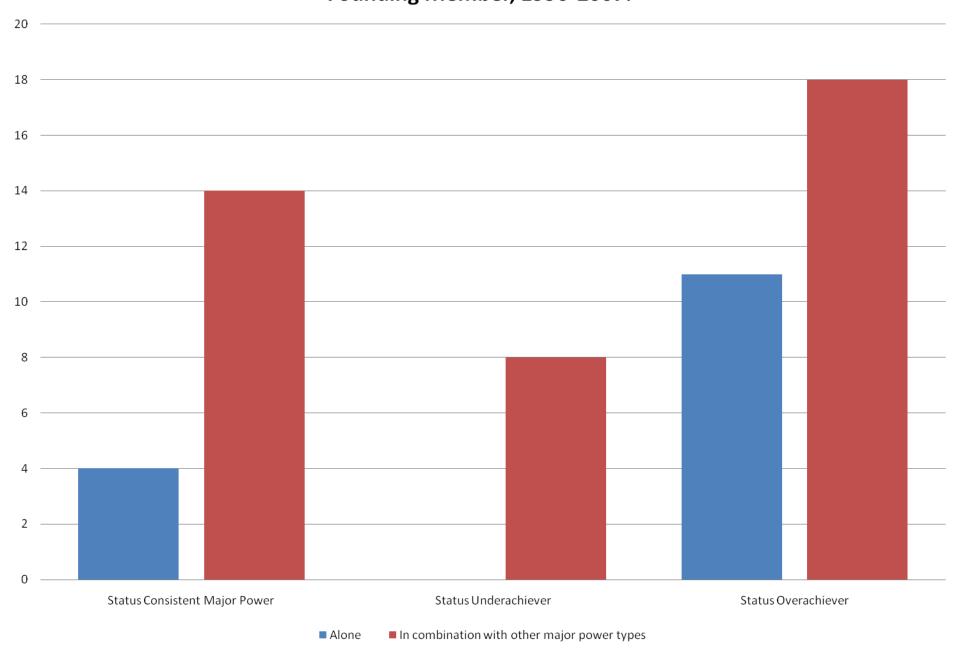
Q: So, What Does It Matter?

A: A Great Deal in Terms of How Major Powers Approach International Politics.

### Logit Models of Major Power Status and MID Intervention, 1950—2001.\*

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
All Major Powers	.83*** (.231)		
Status Consistent Major Powers		1.34*** (.332)	1.34*** (.333)
Status Inconsistent Major Powers		.59** (.200)	
Status Overachievers			.61 (.340)
Status Underachievers			.58*** (.224)
* Other control variables, including contiguity, regime type, peace years, and GDP/capita are not shown			
In (Capabilities)	.33*** (.048)	.32*** (.048)	.32*** (.048)
Constant	1.33*** (.369)	1.25*** (.372)	1.25*** (.375)
N	6,441	6,441	6,441
Chi 2	493.88***	732.81***	770.96***

#### New Post-Cold War FIGO Creation with Major Power Status Type as Founding Member, 1990-2007.



## And What States Are Likely to Join the Club in the Future?

#### Forecasting Assumptions (5)

- 1) The pursuit of status, including major power status, does not have to be a zero sum game, depending on the type of status pursuit strategy being pursued by the state in question, and how acceptant major powers are to increasing club membership to those with social mobility or social creativity strategies;
- 2) Entrance into the club typically follows a **linear pattern** of increased capabilities and increased engagement with regional and global orders. Huge, systemic disturbances have at times upset these linear changes, but more so to reduce, rather than increase membership;
- 3) **States have choices** to upgrade their capabilities and performance on the world stage by **increasing their political extraction capacity** endogenously; however, they are likely operating within **a given range** that is determined in part by the nature of their regimes, and by historical patterns of maximum and minimum performance.

#### Forecasting Assumptions (5)

- 4) Major powers also have choices about allowing entry into the club: whether or not they wish to constrain access to the club, or to facilitate it under certain conditions.
- 5) Both Brazil and India will retain their foreign policy independence relative to the U.S. while pursuing their membership into the club of major powers.

## Projections for Brazil and India, <u>Baseline/Status Quo</u> <u>Scenario (1)</u>.

				BRAZIL					Status
									Position
		Capabilities			Activity		Status		
Time	Milex	Milreach	GDP	EcReach	Соор	Conf	Dipcon	Visits	
2010-15			+						NIC
2016-20			+						NIC
2021-25			+						NIC
2026-30			+						NIC
2031-35			+				+		NIC
2036-40			+				+		NIC
2041-45			+				+		NIC
2046-50			+				+		NIC
				INDIA					
2010-15			+				+	+	NIC
2016-20			+				+	+	NIC
2021-25			+				+	+	NIC
2026-30			+				+	+	NIC
2031-35			+				+	+	NIC
2036-40			+				+	+	NIC
2041-45			+				+	+	NIC
2046-50	+		+				+	+	SIO

#### Projections for Brazil and India, <u>Status Quo Accelerated</u> <u>Scenario (2)</u>.

				BRAZIL					Status Position
		Capabilities			Activity		Status		
Time	Milex	Milreach	GDP	EcReach	Соор	Conf	Dipcon	Visits	
2010-15			+						NIC
2016-20			+						NIC
2021-25			+						NIC
2026-30			+						NIC
2031-35			+	+			+		NIC
2036-40			+	+			+		NIC
2041-45			+	+			+		NIC
2046-50			+	+			+		NIC
				INDIA					NIC
2010-15			+				+	+	NIC
2016-20			+				+	+	NIC
2021-25			+	+			+	+	NIC
2026-30			+	+			+	+	NIC
2031-35			+	+			+	+	NIC
2036-40			+	+			+	+	NIC
2041-45	+		+	+	+		+	+	SIO
2046-50	+		+	+	+		+	+	SIO

## Projections for Brazil and India, Minimally Contested Accelerated Scenario (3).

				BRAZIL					Status Position
		Capabilities			Activity		Status		
Time	Milex	Milreach	GDP	EcReach	Соор	Conf	Dipcon	Visits	
2010-15			+						NIC
2016-20			+						NIC
2021-25			+						NIC
2026-30			+						NIC
2031-35			+	+			+		NIC
2036-40			+	+			+		NIC
2041-45			+	+			+		NIC
2046-50			+	+			+		NIC
				INDIA					NIC
2010-15			+				+	+	NIC
2016-20			+				+	+	NIC
2021-25			+	+			+	+	NIC
2026-30			+	+			+	+	NIC
2031-35			+	+			+	+	NIC
2036-40			+	+			+	+	NIC
2041-45			+	+			+	+	NIC
2046-50			+	+			+	+	NIC

#### Conclusions and Consequences

 The increase in number of major powers, and/or the loss of status by one or more of the existing major powers, may change the dynamics of status competition:

More major powers may lead to more status competition

- But it also matters whether new members join the major power club as status consistent or inconsistent
- India and, to a lesser extent, Brazil see themselves as major power states already, although they are lacking on some dimensions; existing major powers face the policy puzzle of whether granting them early access, or, resisting their entry
- India's and Brazil's own ability to find and enact "creative" strategies for status pursuit will affect when and how they will join the major power club
- While focusing on which states are coming into the club is important, focusing at least as much on the consequences of which states may drop out of the club may be equally salient.

#### **Dropouts?**

#### In Jeopardy of Falling from the Club:

- Germany: primary focus on Europe/ loss of military capabilities;
- Japan: continued diminution of economic and military capabilities, grappling with regional role, ties to US
- Russia (?): depending on its ability to transform its economy, level of technology