

# The Making of International Status

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# 1

## How Do Countries Achieve Status?

With great power rivalry on the rise again, many worry that struggles for status among states could lead to war. Questions of status lie at the root of international order: as Gilpin notes, governance in international politics is partly a function of the hierarchy of prestige, which determines which states will exert authority in the international system.<sup>1</sup> It is no surprise that states care deeply about status. In fact, bilateral relations between the United States on the one hand, and China and Russia on the other, have reached a low point in part because of disagreements about status. Acting out of a perception that it does not receive the respect it deserves from other countries, Russia has adopted increasingly confrontational policies toward the West—from sponsoring cyber attacks and election interference campaigns against Western targets to ultimately invading Ukraine in 2022.<sup>2</sup> And when president-elect Joe Biden pledged to convene a global summit for democracy during his first year in office, Chinese and Russian leaders reacted with skepticism, suggesting that the U.S. should address problems at home before lecturing other countries.<sup>3</sup> Such disagreements can be dangerous. As a growing scholarly consensus indicates, status-dissatisfied states are more prone to conflict.<sup>4</sup> And historically, most hegemonic transitions have been violent: unable to reach an agreement about their relative status, established and emerging powers often resort to arms.

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<sup>1</sup>Gilpin 1981, 33–34.

<sup>2</sup>*Financial Times*, “Biden warns cyber attacks could lead to a ‘real shooting war,’” 27 July 2021, <https://www.ft.com/content/5bbbaa89b-2e85-4c5f-b918-566e6712d273>; *BBC News*, “Russia-Ukraine border: Why Moscow is stoking tensions,” 27 November 2021, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-59415885>.

<sup>3</sup>*New York Times*, “As Biden Plans Global Democracy Summit, Skeptics Say: Heal Thyself First,” 31 January 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/31/us/politics/biden-democracy-summit>.

<sup>4</sup>Barnhart 2020; Dafoe, Renshon, and Huth 2014; Lebow 2010; Murray 2018; Renshon 2017; Ward 2017.

But whether states are satisfied or not with their status, a fundamental question remains: how do states achieve status? There was scant research about status in International Relations (IR) during the twentieth century, as scholars privileged material factors over intangible ones when developing theories and choosing research questions. During this period, status appeared in two strands of research: in classic theories of international politics developed by realist scholars, and in early quantitative studies of the relationship between status dissatisfaction and war.<sup>5</sup> In the 1980s and 1990s, however, interest in status reached a low ebb as the discipline made a shift toward rationalism, emphasizing individual choice and material factors to explain political phenomena.<sup>6</sup> Only at the turn of the twentieth-first century did a few studies eventually give rise to the current wave of research on status.<sup>7</sup> Drawing from diverse traditions, studies in this wave provide overwhelming evidence that the search for status motivates state behavior and may even cause wars.<sup>8</sup> But while existing research focuses on the actor level, showing that actors want status and do things to achieve status, it neglects the question of how countries ultimately achieve status.

Even though scholars rely on status to explain important phenomena in international politics, such as hegemonic wars and the foreign policies of emerging powers, we still understand little about the sources of international status. Scholars traditionally assume that status is a function of the qualities of states, especially their military and economic capabilities—such that the richer or stronger a country is, the higher its standing should be. However, theories of status that begin and end with state attributes leave important questions unanswered. First, because most studies assume that status depends on a state's material capabilities, they cannot explain why status and material capabilities often mismatch in practice. Second, we still lack a general framework to explain why certain state attributes (but not others) matter for status recognition. Third, even if we assume that state attributes evoke international recognition, we still understand little about how they are converted

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<sup>5</sup>See, respectively, Gilpin 1981; Morgenthau 1948; and Doran, Hill, and Mladenka 1979; East 1972; Gochman 1980; Midlarsky 1975; Ray 1974; Wallace 1973.

<sup>6</sup>See Markey 1999, 130–32; Wohlforth and Kang 2009, 1.

<sup>7</sup>Larson and Shevchenko 2003; Markey 1999; O'Neill 2001; Schweller 1999; Volgy and Mayhall 1995.

<sup>8</sup>Barnhart 2016; de Carvalho and Neumann 2015; Gilady 2018; Lanoszka and Hunzeker 2015; Larson and Shevchenko 2010; Lebow 2008; Lindemann 2011; Murray 2010; Musgrave and Nexon 2018; Onea 2014; Paul, Larson, and Wohlforth 2014; Ringmar 2002; Wohlforth 2009; Wolf 2011.

into status—or, more broadly, about the relationship between attributes and status. As a result, we still have a poor grasp of the processes through which states ultimately achieve status.

Perhaps most importantly, although status is a relational concept, existing research does not study it relationally. Existing studies adopt an individualistic approach, treating status as a function of the qualities of states. In particular, existing research tends to treat status as a function of a state's material capabilities or the things that it has. But because status is insufficiently differentiated from material capabilities, it is not clear why we need the concept of status in the first place. As a result, status remains in the background in IR theories: When some aspect of international politics cannot be explained using traditional theories based on security or survival, status is called upon to fulfill the task. IR scholars are thus caught in a conundrum: they claim that status is a fundamental element of international relations, but ultimately render it a residual category.

Moreover, the supposed relationship between state attributes and status is assumed rather than tested; as such, it remains unverified from an empirical standpoint. To be sure, the assumption that status is a function of an actor's qualities makes intuitive sense, since it is consistent with how most of us experience status in our everyday lives, as actors rather than researchers. Such an assumption is also convenient to researchers, since it allows us to estimate status based on visible factors that can be easily measured, such as economic and military capabilities. However, IR scholars usually fail to examine this assumption systematically: they assume that certain state qualities influence its status, but rarely conduct empirical tests to assess this relationship.<sup>9</sup> The assumption that status depends on the qualities of states thus remains like a commonsense or folk theory of status—an explanation, based on practical and contextual understandings that people employ in their everyday lives, which is taken to be true even though it has not been put to the test.<sup>10</sup>

In this book, I adopt a consistently relational approach, from both a theoretical and an empirical standpoints, to investigate the sources of international status. Drawing on an interdisciplinary body of research, I develop *a network theory of status*—a theoretical framework that captures the

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<sup>9</sup>Notable exceptions are Duque 2018; Miller et al. 2015.

<sup>10</sup>See Boudon 1988; Watts 2011, 2014. As these authors note, commonsense or folk theories tend to be taken for granted rather than explicitly articulated. As a result, these theories often remain unchanged even after people have reasons to question their logical consistency or empirical validity.

fundamentally social nature of status. I argue that status depends on states' positions in a social arrangement, rather than on the qualities of states. To explain how states achieve status, I theorize the underlying relational effects that drive recognition in the international system. In particular, I argue that the structure of state relations itself shapes the conditions for status attainment. Status reinforces inequality, independently of material conditions, because it involves cumulative advantage: the higher standing a state enjoys, the more it tends to attract additional recognition simply by virtue of its position. Moreover, the relevance of a given state attribute for status recognition is socially defined: an attribute becomes relevant for status recognition not because of its intrinsic properties, but rather because of its symbolic value—which depends on the social context, and especially on who the great powers are and what they do.

My theoretical framework offers new answers to the fundamental questions about status that existing approaches insufficiently address. First, I argue that we should not expect status to go hand in hand with a state's material capabilities—or, more broadly, with its attributes—because status depends on a state's social position, rather than on its qualities or the things it has. Second, I argue that a given state attribute becomes relevant for status recognition when actors share the belief that it symbolizes state competence. Status evaluations are based on prevailing conceptions of state competence that change over time, depending on who the great powers are and how they behave. During critical junctures like the aftermath of major wars, the model of statehood put forward by the victorious state(s) shapes the standards that will be used to evaluate state competence thereafter. That is, besides updating the international pecking order, major wars also serve to update the standards that inform status recognition among states. Finally, I argue that state attributes play only an indirect role in the process of status recognition: they impact recognition because of their symbolic value, which can only be understood in the context of state relations.

My theoretical framework implies that, to investigate how countries achieve status, we need to examine *the configuration of state relations*, rather than merely ranking states based on their attributes. Therefore, I adopt an empirical strategy that is consistent with the social nature of status. Because status depends on recognition, I investigate empirically the factors that produce such recog-

nition. Since embassies express recognition among states, I use embassy exchange data as a proxy measure of status recognition. But instead of measuring status at the state level, like previous studies do, I use a relational unit of analysis: the network of embassies. This choice of unit enables me to use information about the structure of diplomatic relations that existing studies discard—and, therefore, to investigate the relational patterns that drive status recognition. To that end, I use social network analysis tools uniquely suited to the empirical study of status. These tools enable me to examine how the structure of state relations itself shapes the conditions for status attainment. Using network analysis, I detect relational patterns of status recognition that previous studies mention in passing but do not examine empirically.

This book contributes to existing scholarship from both a theoretical and an empirical standpoints. Although we are hitting a critical mass of research on status in IR, we still lack a basic understanding of fundamental questions related to status. In this context, this book makes four distinctive contributions to existing scholarship. To begin, while existing research treats status as an actor motivation, this book is the first to address the question of how countries achieve status, focusing on international relations rather than on the state level. In addition, I develop a theoretical framework that highlights the social nature of status and, accordingly, use social network analysis tools ideally suited to the empirical study of status. By integrating interdisciplinary insights to develop a consistently relational approach to status, this book brings research on status in IR in line with research in the social sciences more broadly. And given its innovative approach, this study offers new lessons in areas that have drawn increasing scholarly interest in recent years—such as international hierarchies, international order, and power transitions—but that are still rarely linked to status. By showing that status is a distinctive phenomenon both conceptually and empirically, this book aims to move status from its current position as a residual category in IR to its rightful place as a concept central to the study of international politics.

## 1.1 What We (Don't) Know

IR scholars traditionally assume that status is a function of the qualities of states or the things that states have. Conventional approaches define status as a state's ranking based on certain traits or attributes, especially material attributes like economic wealth and military capabilities. One of the most commonly used definitions of status in IR, for example, describes status as "collective beliefs about a given state's ranking in valued attributes (wealth, coercive capabilities, culture, demographic position, sociopolitical organization, and diplomatic clout)."<sup>11</sup> Other popular definitions of status likewise emphasize state attributes, positing that status "refers to attributes of an individual or social roles, especially those attributes related to position in a deference hierarchy"<sup>12</sup> or that status is "based on a group's standing on some trait valued by society."<sup>13</sup> Although recent research tends to list a broader range of state attributes when defining status, the current wave of research thus carries forward the tradition initiated by early realist studies, which define prestige as a state's reputation for power—or more precisely, as a state's reputation for military strength.<sup>14</sup>

According to the conventional approach, then, international status is a function of a state's qualities: the larger a state's share of certain attributes, the higher its standing should be. In particular, existing research mentions two types of state attributes as symbols of international status. Most often, scholars list as status symbols material resources—which typically include economic, military, or technological capabilities; as well as nuclear weapons.<sup>15</sup> In addition, some scholars also consider as symbols of status certain nonmaterial factors—more precisely, certain fundamental values such as political system or ideology, culture or civilization, or "moral superiority."<sup>16</sup>

The conventional approach is therefore consistent with two assumptions commonly adopted in

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<sup>11</sup>Larson, Paul, and Wohlforth 2014, 7.

<sup>12</sup>Dafoe, Renshon, and Huth 2014, 373.

<sup>13</sup>Larson and Shevchenko 2010, 69.

<sup>14</sup>Gilpin 1981, 30-31; Morgenthau 2006, 89-90. See also Wohlforth 2009, 39. These scholars tend to favor the term "prestige," sometimes using the terms "status" and "prestige" interchangeably—as I do in this chapter. But in the rest of the book, I use the term status, which is more in line with contemporary research in the social sciences more broadly.

<sup>15</sup>Art 1980; Gilpin 1981; Larson and Shevchenko 2003, 2010; Larson, Paul, and Wohlforth 2014; Luard 1976; Neumann 2008, 2014; O'Neill 2006; Schweller 1999; Thompson 2014; Wohlforth 2009.

<sup>16</sup>Larson and Shevchenko 2003, 2010; Larson, Paul, and Wohlforth 2014; Luard 1976; Neumann 2008, 2014; Schweller 1999; Thompson 2014; Wohlforth 2009.

IR. First, while the notion of inequality is not new in the study of international politics, IR scholars typically chalk it up to differences in the qualities of states. In other words, scholars usually rely on an *individualist framework* to account for inequalities among states. Based on this framework, actors differentiate themselves into unequal positions in a social hierarchy because they differ in salient qualities.<sup>17</sup> As such, differential access to privileges among actors results from disparities in their qualities. This assumption resembles the idea of meritocracy, according to which actors obtain differential access to resources or influence on the basis of their individual talent, ability, or effort. An individualist framework thus explains social outcomes based on the properties of actors. This framework is commonly used not only in IR, where it is sometimes called reductionism, but also in the social sciences more broadly.<sup>18</sup>

Second, the conventional approach usually ascribes inequality, in particular, to the uneven distribution of material capabilities among states. That is, IR scholars often combine an individualist framework with a *materialist approach* to status, assuming that the possession of material resources largely determines a state's standing. According to realist scholars, for example, certain states become great powers—enjoying special rights and responsibilities in the international system—because their material capabilities surpass those of other states.<sup>19</sup> And while the criteria used to identify great powers sometimes remain implicit, scholars from different research traditions typically mention military and economic capabilities as fundamental attributes (often, necessary conditions) for major power status.<sup>20</sup> Coupling an individualist framework with a materialism approach, most scholars thus treat status as a function of disparities in the qualities of states, and especially in their material capabilities.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>See Gould 2002, 1144. As I explain below, an individualist framework contrasts with a structural framework, which accounts for inequality based on the positions actors occupy in a social system, rather than based on the qualities of individual actors.

<sup>18</sup>As Goddard and Nexon note, “The majority of theories in the social sciences adopt a reductionist approach to the Hobbesian problem, explaining social order—international or otherwise—with reference to the properties and interactions of its component parts.” Goddard and Nexon 2005, 12. See also Jervis 1997, 12–13; Waltz 1979, 18–19.

<sup>19</sup>Morgenthau 1948, Ch. 25; Waltz 1979, 88, 109.

<sup>20</sup>See, for example, Bull 2002, 195; Levy 1983, 9–16; Buzan 2004, 69–72; Neumann 2008; Schweller 1993. Far from unique to realist approaches, materialism is a common assumption in IR research. As Gilpin notes, for example, realist and marxist approaches share this assumption. See Gilpin 1981, 93–94; Wallerstein 1984, 5. See also Baldwin 2002.

<sup>21</sup>As Wendt notes, this approach stems from the view that, because no supranational authority stands above states,

But as I discuss next, theories of status that begin and end with state attributes leave important questions unanswered.

### **1.1.1 Why Do Status and Material Attributes Often Mismatch?**

To begin, the assumption that status is a function of a state's material capabilities contradicts important empirical patterns. When examining the historical record, we find prominent examples of countries with high levels of material capabilities that nonetheless failed to achieve the desired international recognition. Wilhelmine Germany is a case in point. At the turn of the twentieth century, Germany's material capabilities—including its manufacturing output, share of world trade, and land forces—rivaled those of neighboring countries like Britain, France, or Russia.<sup>22</sup> In addition, Germany's growing colonial possessions and naval capabilities were increasingly perceived as a potential challenge to British hegemony. And yet, despite marked improvements in Germany's material conditions, German decision-makers continued to feel that they received less than their “fair share” of international recognition.<sup>23</sup>

Similarly, significant ink has been spent on Russia's dissatisfaction, since the time of Peter the Great, with the recognition it receives from other states, especially European or Western powers.<sup>24</sup> During the twentieth century, for example, Russia had at its disposal conventional forces large enough to cover half of Europe by the end of the Second World War. During the Cold War, Moscow exerted enough influence to institute pro-Soviet regimes throughout Eastern Europe; in addition, it acquired a sizable nuclear arsenal and often led the space race against the United States. And yet, despite repeated showings of military strength, Russian decision-makers felt throughout this period that Western countries did not recognize Russia as an equal.

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international relations resemble a competitive, self-help system. See Wendt 1992, Wendt and Friedheim 1995, 78. Yet, this assumption persists even in studies that treat international relations as hierarchic rather than anarchic. The measure of hierarchy most widely used in IR, for example, disaggregates hierarchy into two dimensions: (1) security hierarchy, measured by troop deployments and alliance portfolios; and (2) economic hierarchy, measured by exchange rate regimes and diversification in trade partners. See Lake 2009, Ch. 3. As such, most scholars treat international hierarchy as a ranking of states along certain attributes or issue areas, especially military and economic.

<sup>22</sup>Onea 2014, 144-51.

<sup>23</sup>Renshon 2017, 182-220. See also Barnhart 2016; Murray 2010.

<sup>24</sup>Clunan 2009; Larson and Shevchenko 2003, 2010; Neumann 2008; Ringmar 2002.

In fact, multiple studies indicate precisely that material capabilities are not a sufficient condition for international recognition. The mismatch between material capabilities and status is well documented, for example, in studies of the relationship between status dissatisfaction and war.<sup>25</sup> These studies show that states dissatisfied with their status—or that receive less recognition than their material capabilities would warrant—are more prone to conflict. That is, despite assuming a causal link between material capabilities and status, existing research deals precisely with states' difficulties in converting their material capabilities into status. The assumption that material capabilities determine status thus goes against the very research that applies it.<sup>26</sup> In addition, studies drawing on the Hegelian notion of the struggle for recognition emphasize the disjunction between a state's material capabilities and the recognition it receives. These studies highlight precisely that, even though decision-makers from states like Wilhelmine Germany or Soviet Russia felt that their country deserved more recognition as its material conditions improved, other countries refrained from recognizing either country as a great power.<sup>27</sup>

Other cases that illustrate well the disjunction between status and material capabilities. Take the example of North Korea. Even though IR scholars usually think of nuclear weapons as one of the accoutrements of great power status, the acquisition of these weapons consolidated North Korea's status as a pariah state, rather than earning it the status of a great power. North Korea may receive attention, and even gain leverage in negotiations, because of its weapons. But the attention given to North Korea is best described as the attention given to a low-status actor who misbehaves, rather than the attention given to a major power who shapes the contours of the international order.<sup>28</sup> Great powers do not invite North Korean leaders to sit at the main table and help manage international

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<sup>25</sup>Doran, Hill, and Mladenka 1979; East 1972; Gochman 1980; Maoz 2010; Midlarsky 1975; Ray 1974; Renshon 2017; Volgy and Mayhall 1995; Wallace 1973.

<sup>26</sup>The mismatch between material capabilities and status is sometimes explained away in this literature as a problem of perceptual bias or incomplete information about material capabilities. However, there are neither an explicit theory about this nor empirical tests to confirm that perceptual bias or incomplete information is indeed the mechanism at work in these cases.

<sup>27</sup>Murray 2018, 87-140; Ringmar 2002, 127-29.

<sup>28</sup>Although high status often commands attention, we should not conflate status with attention. As Magee and Galinsky note, the two constructs operate at different levels of complexity. As a process related to actor perception, attention is a more basic phenomenon than status. Giving attention to an actor is the same as taking notice or interest in them. But in and of itself, attention does not imply high status; in fact, low-status actors sometimes receive considerable attention, as the North Korean example illustrates. See Magee and Galinsky 2008, 360-61.

relations. In fact, repeated U.S. administrations even denied North Korea a bilateral summit until 2018, when the heads of government from each country held their first-ever face-to-face meeting.<sup>29</sup> Besides Donald Trump, no other head of state or government from a Western country participated in a bilateral meeting with a North Korean leader. And since Xi Jinping became president in 2013, even the high-level visits between North Korea and China, traditionally considered one of North Korea's closest allies, have reached a historical low.<sup>30</sup>

And yet, France received precisely this invitation—to sit at the main table and help manage international relations—in 1945, as it became a permanent member in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) despite having just been liberated by the Allied powers from years of German military occupation. By any metric, France was materially weak at the time:

France's resounding defeat by the German army, its humiliating surrender, and its occupation were clear evidence of the final descent of what once had been Europe's dominant power. Materially, France lay in ruins in the aftermath of liberation, with nearly its entire heavy industry destroyed or looted by the Germans. Militarily, France was a 'virtual pygmy'. The French army was reduced to eight divisions, equipped entirely with American weapons. Its economy was shattered and its institutions in chaos. (...) The French nation in 1945 was deemed to be 'internally divided, economically ruined and institutionally feeble'.<sup>31</sup>

Based on material factors alone, few would have expected France to acquire the privileges it did in the post-war international order. And in fact, the military occupation by Nazi Germany would not be France's last military defeat during this period. When fighting without help from its allies during the twentieth century, France would sustain unexpected losses in subsequent conflicts against smaller adversaries, both in Indochina (1954) and Algeria (1962). Yet historically, France is not alone in achieving an international standing disproportionate to its material capabilities in the

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<sup>29</sup>Council on Foreign Relations, "Timeline: North Korean Nuclear Negotiations, 1985-2019," <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/north-korean-nuclear-negotiations>, accessed 3 November 2021.

<sup>30</sup>Center for Strategic and International Studies, "Dataset: China-North Korea High Level Visits Since 1953," <https://beyondparallel.csis.org/china-dprk-high-level-visits-since-1953/>, accessed 3 November 2021.

<sup>31</sup>Heimann 2015b, 185-86. See also de Gaulle 1956, 81-82.

aftermath of a major war. Other countries—like China in 1945, or Italy and Japan in 1919—have similarly punched above their material weight during constitutional moments of the contemporary international order.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, we observe a similar trend in the Concert of Europe: as Morgenthau notes, countries like Portugal, Spain, and Sweden were accorded the diplomatic rank of great powers in the Congress of Vienna (1815) only “out of traditional courtesy,” rather than because their material capabilities justified such recognition.<sup>33</sup>

So what explains the observed mismatch between a state’s material capabilities and the international recognition it receives? If status is not a direct function of a state’s material capabilities, how do states ultimately achieve status?

### **1.1.2 Why Do Certain Attributes Matter for Status?**

In addition, the conventional approach leaves a second question unanswered: Even though existing research assumes that status depends on state attributes, we still understand little about why certain attributes become relevant for status recognition. Why do certain state attributes (but not others) symbolize status? On the one hand, IR scholars often emphasize material capabilities as status symbols. Behind this perspective is the often implicit assumption that material capabilities matter for status recognition because of their functional value—that is, because they increase a state’s ability to coerce other states. This assumption is formulated most explicitly by Gilpin, to whom the value of prestige lies in allowing a state to compel or deter others without having to use force.<sup>34</sup> Gilpin posits that the value of prestige (defined as a state’s reputation for material capabilities) lies in determining bargaining outcomes short of war, and sometimes even short of explicit threats of violence. Similarly, Morgenthau claims that the Cold War “was fought primarily with the weapons of prestige,” as the U.S. and the Soviet Union sought to assert their relative superiority without paying the costs of war.<sup>35</sup> Following this line of reasoning, the higher a state’s reputation for military strength, the less

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<sup>32</sup>See Buzan 2004, 62; Heimann 2015b, 186; Murray 2018.

<sup>33</sup>Morgenthau 1948, 270.

<sup>34</sup>Gilpin 1981, 31.

<sup>35</sup>Morgenthau 2006, 92.

other states will be willing to take disputes with it to the battlefield. By signaling a state's coercive capabilities, prestige thus dissuades weaker states from challenging stronger ones.

That is, the connection between material capabilities and status recognition relies on the traditional assumption that, because no supranational authority stands above states, force serves as the last resort in international relations—reflecting the maxim from Thucydides' Melian Dialogue according to which “the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must.”<sup>36</sup> In fact, this very assumption is present in Gilpin's work. While some parts of *War and Change* stress the similarity between domestic and international politics, tracing a parallel between authority and prestige, other parts of the book echo the conventional view of anarchy as the distinctive feature of international politics. As Gilpin claims in the introduction, “International relations continue to be a recurring struggle for wealth and power among independent actors in a state of anarchy.”<sup>37</sup> He thus conjectures in the conclusion that, were Thucydides to be “placed in our midst, he would (following an appropriate short course in geography, economics and modern technology) have a little trouble in understanding the power struggle of our age.”<sup>38</sup> According to this view, military capabilities provide the ultimate measure of state power under anarchy.

However, the assumption that material capabilities matter for status recognition because of their functional value—or because they allow a state to compel or deter others without having to use force—contradicts two important findings from existing studies. First, scholars typically notice that countries have acquired military equipment to “swagger,” in an attempt to achieve prestige, precisely because such equipment provides little strategic utility to the owner.<sup>39</sup> Status-seeking countries often forgo strategic utility to buy military equipment. Wilhelmine Germany, for example, built a

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<sup>36</sup>Thucydides 1951. This assumption is perhaps elaborated most explicitly in Waltz's work. To begin, Waltz posits a sharp distinction between domestic politics, where authority is the main ordering principle; and international politics, where anarchy is the main ordering principle. To explain how order results in the absence of a central authority, he then proposes an “analogy to microeconomic theory,” which “describes how an order is spontaneously formed from the self-interested acts and interactions of individual units.” See Waltz 1979, 88-89. When no central government can settle disputes, Waltz argues, force becomes the coin of the realm: “there is then constant possibility that conflicts will be settled by force.” See Waltz 1959, 188. Wars reveal information about military capabilities, telling apart the weak from the strong; and in a self-help system, states that fail to balance against threats risk falling by the wayside. See Blainey 1973; Waltz 1979, 112-18; but see also Fazal 2004.

<sup>37</sup>Gilpin 1981, 7.

<sup>38</sup>Gilpin 1981, 211; see also Gilpin 1981, 227-228.

<sup>39</sup>See Art 1973, 23-24, 36-37; Art 1980, 10-11; Morgenthau 1962, 303.

“luxury fleet” against its security interests in continental Europe.<sup>40</sup> More recently, China directed vast resources into aircraft carriers despite their limited strategic use.<sup>41</sup> And as Gilady notes, countries like Brazil and France have spent a sizable portion of their naval budgets to acquire one aircraft carrier each, even though at least three carriers are typically needed to ensure that one carrier will be operational at any given time. Carrier owners usually lack the resources to properly maintain a carrier or to make it fully operational. Outdated and poorly equipped, most of the existing carriers today are unable to project power commensurate with their costs.<sup>42</sup> Status-seeking states invest scarce resources in actions that provide little strategic utility, from developing space programs<sup>43</sup> or nuclear weapons<sup>44</sup> to buying fighter jets.<sup>45</sup> If status-seekers do not make choices based on strategic utility or functional value, why do they invest in certain attributes?

In addition, the assumption that material capabilities matter for status recognition because of their functional value contradicts a second important finding from previous studies: status symbols comprise not only material attributes but also nonmaterial ones. Fundamental values—such as political system, ideology, or culture—also symbolize international status. Some studies indicate, for example, that high status nowadays requires adopting fundamental values such as liberal democracy.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, Morgenthau argues that the policy of prestige became particularly important during the Cold War era, when the struggle for power between Washington and Moscow turned largely into a struggle for the minds of people around the world. In his words, “the Cold War [was] fought primarily in terms of competition between two rival political philosophies, economic systems, and ways of life.”<sup>47</sup> And yet, materialist approaches cannot explain why certain nonmaterial attributes become relevant for status recognition; unlike material capabilities, nonmaterial factors do not increase a state’s ability to coerce other states. In other words, there is no direct correspondence between a state’s fundamental values and its coercive capabilities.

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<sup>40</sup> Art 1973; Murray 2010. See also Herwig 1980.

<sup>41</sup> Ross 2009; Pu and Schweller 2014, 152-59.

<sup>42</sup> Gilady 2018, 69-88.

<sup>43</sup> Gilady 2018; Kinsella and Chima 2001; Musgrave and Nexon 2018; Paikowsky 2017; Van Dyke 1964.

<sup>44</sup> Hecht 2009; Hironaka 2017; Kinsella and Chima 2001; Miller 2014a; Sagan 1997.

<sup>45</sup> Eyre and Suchman 1996; Martin and Schmidt 1987.

<sup>46</sup> Neumann 2008, 2014; Pouliot 2014.

<sup>47</sup> Morgenthau 2006, 92.

Alternatively, some scholars argue that certain state attributes, like nuclear weapons, symbolize status because they are costly or hard to obtain. By acquiring rare or costly attributes, a state thus signals its superior military or economic capabilities. Based on this logic, high-status states have an incentive to restrict access to status-symbolizing attributes: If such attributes become widespread, they would no longer be informative as signals of high status.<sup>48</sup> But again, while this logic seems to apply well to certain material attributes like nuclear weapons, it is less applicable to nonmaterial attributes like liberal democracy. Much to the contrary: Rather than restricting access to nonmaterial symbols, dominant countries often attempt to diffuse their own values among the subordinate. As Gilpin notes, “every dominant state (...) promotes a religion or ideology that justifies its domination over other states.”<sup>49</sup> In the contemporary era, for example, repeated U.S. administrations have adopted a policy of promoting democracy abroad. Rather than restricting access to democracy by other states, Washington has spent significant resources on promoting democratic values.<sup>50</sup> This historical pattern suggests that, in and of itself, scarcity is insufficient to explain why certain state attributes become relevant for status recognition.

So why do actors consider nonmaterial attributes—or fundamental values like democracy, economic liberalism, or human rights—as symbols of international status? More broadly, why do certain state attributes (but not others) become relevant for status recognition?

### **1.1.3 How Are Attributes Converted into Status?**

Finally, we still understand little about how state attributes are ultimately converted into status. Even if we assume that a state’s attributes determine its status, it is not clear how different attributes would combine to produce status. Multiple attributes are considered relevant for status recognition. So what is the status of states that rank differently across dimensions? For example, does a country like Germany or Japan—which is wealthy but invests relatively little into military capabilities—rank higher or lower in status than a country like Russia, which has less than half of the respective gross

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<sup>48</sup>See Gilady 2018; O’Neill 2006.

<sup>49</sup>Gilpin 1981, 30.

<sup>50</sup>See Gordon 2020; Owen IV 2010.

national products of Germany and Japan but outspends either country in the military area? Similarly, while alliances and trade flows may reflect states' positions in the military and economic arenas respectively, it is not clear how these positions would combine to produce status.

Existing studies usually provide one of two answers to this question: either (1) they use certain criteria (that often remain implicit) to aggregate states' attributes or positions across dimensions; or (2) they compare states based on each dimension separately. However, either answer relies more on personal taste than on theoretical considerations or empirical evidence. To begin with the former, the aggregation of rankings across dimensions depends heavily on assumptions about the relative weight of different rank-dimensions that seem hard to justify *a priori*. The same limitation afflicts the latter strategy, as the decision to compare states based on a given dimension likewise depends heavily on the researcher's assumptions about which dimensions matter for status recognition. Yet, such assumptions seem hard to justify *a priori*, in the absence of clear theoretical considerations and empirical evidence. Waltz himself warns against the dangers of this approach—which tends to rely on the researcher's biases, rather than on the facts on the ground.<sup>51</sup> And as I discuss below, this approach goes against relevant research in related fields, which demonstrates that people form impressions about individuals and social groups based on multiple dimensions (or traits) simultaneously, rather than based on a single dimension separately.

In sum, a preliminary analysis suggests that the conventional approach of treating status as a function of state attributes, though intuitive, is not empirically tenable. In particular, theories of status that begin and end with state attributes leave four important questions unanswered. First, why is there a consistent mismatch between states' material capabilities and the international recognition they receive? Second, why do certain state attributes (but not others) become relevant for status recognition? Third, how are state attributes converted into status? That is, what is the relationship between state attributes and international status? Fourth, and more broadly, if status is not a direct function of states' qualities, how do states ultimately achieve status?

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<sup>51</sup>Waltz 1979, 130.

## 1.2 Why It Matters

The question of how countries attain status matters for several reasons. To begin, questions of status lie at the heart of international order. In any society, hierarchies of status have major political implications, providing an answer to the fundamental question of “who gets what, when and how.” As research across the social sciences shows, status is a fundamental aspect of life in society, which shapes relations among actors and groups.<sup>52</sup> Ubiquitous in social contexts, status hierarchies impact valued outcomes: in social environments, actors typically differentiate themselves into social positions that imply unequal expectations, rewards, and obligations. Within countries, for example, we observe durable inequality among groups despite socioeconomic change.<sup>53</sup> Even in developed democracies, women and racial minorities tend to earn lower incomes, get less prestigious jobs, and attain lower levels of education—outcomes that cannot be explained based on individual merit alone, in spite of what the negative stereotypes about these groups might imply.

Yet in domestic societies, state authority somewhat attenuates the effects of status hierarchies. Within states, a central government adjudicates disputes among actors, monopolizing the legitimate use of force. Actors share a system of norms, typically embodied in the state’s constitution and enforced by those that occupy formal positions of authority. In addition, governments usually establish a system of redistribution—including policies aimed at improving social welfare, providing public access to education, or even promoting affirmative action. Left to their own devices, many citizens might oppose redistributive policies for fear of losing status.<sup>54</sup> But under state authority, redistribution assumes a mandatory character regardless of individual political preferences: as the old saying goes, nothing is certain but death and paying taxes.<sup>55</sup>

When it comes to relations among states, matters of status take on particular importance. In international relations, no clear authority stands above states. Shared norms and institutional structures are much weaker than in domestic societies. To the extent that foundational treaties like the

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<sup>52</sup>Bourdieu and Passeron 1990; Tajfel and Turner 1979; Veblen 2007; Weber 1978.

<sup>53</sup>Ridgeway and Walker 1995; Ridgeway 2014; Tilly 1998.

<sup>54</sup>See McClendon 2018; Thal 2020.

<sup>55</sup>Except, of course, for the very rich.

UN Charter have a constitutional quality, no independent court with universal jurisdiction can enforce them. With few exceptions like the UN Security Council (UNSC), states rarely occupy formal positions of authority. And although the UNSC had an unusual period of activism in the 1990s, it has since reverted back to the gridlock that characterized most of its history. In the absence of a supranational authority to settle disputes, states often resort to more informal coordination channels, like the Group of Seven (G7), or to unilateral action. As such, the policies that could attenuate the impact of status hierarchies in world politics, like providing foreign aid or granting asylum to refugees, are not consistently enforced by a central authority. Rather, such policies are implemented at the discretion of each state, in a piecemeal fashion if at all.

Under the circumstances that characterize international relations, status becomes much more important in determining who gets what, when, and how. When no central authority can settle disputes, states might resort to the use of force (or its threat) to get what they want. However, major wars are increasingly costly, especially since the advent of nuclear weapons; and happen only rarely.<sup>56</sup> And in the aftermath of wars, status hierarchies determine the ensuing distribution of privileges among states. To the extent that shared norms and institutional structures exist in international politics, they are strongly influenced by those at the top.<sup>57</sup> High-status states play a key role during critical junctures like the aftermath of major wars, shaping the institutions that they will use to manage international relations thereafter.<sup>58</sup> As such, most of the time in international politics we are arguably in the realm of status—where actors adjudicate disputes based on social esteem and voluntary deference, rather than based on the use of force or its threat. As Gilpin puts it, status is the “everyday currency of international relations, much as authority is the central ordering feature of domestic society.”<sup>59</sup> While authority ensures that commands will be obeyed in domestic politics, in international politics “both power and prestige function to ensure that the lesser states in the system will obey the commands of the dominant state or states.”<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>Brooks 1999; Mueller 1989; Sagan and Waltz 1995.

<sup>57</sup>Hurd 2017; Kupchan 2014; Pitts 2018.

<sup>58</sup>Ikenberry 2001; Schroeder 1986.

<sup>59</sup>Gilpin 1981, 31.

<sup>60</sup>Gilpin 1981, 30.

In this context, it is not surprising that states and leaders care deeply about status. As Morgenthau notes, prestige “is as intrinsic an element of the relations between nations as the desire for prestige is of the relations between individuals.”<sup>61</sup> Accordingly, overwhelming evidence indicates that states and leaders value status, sometimes to the point of fighting wars for the sake of recognition. Drawing on a wide range of theoretical traditions and empirical methods, numerous studies show that status is a fundamental motivation behind foreign policy behavior. These findings are consistent with a rich tradition of research in related fields, which places status as a fundamental human motivation with important implications at the social or group levels.<sup>62</sup>

In fact, actors care so deeply about status that they may be willing to compromise other fundamental goals—such as survival, security, or profit—for the sake of status. Following the humiliating loss of Alsace and Lorraine to Prussia in the late nineteenth century, for example, France initiated a scramble for colonial territory in Africa at the expense of its continental security, even though its colonial exploits provided little material benefit.<sup>63</sup> Motivated by a desire for recognition as a great power, Germany pursued naval ambitions at the turn of the twentieth century at the expense of its continental security, risking a security dilemma with Britain in the lead up to the First World War.<sup>64</sup> And during this war, status considerations motivated the Entente powers to reject Germany’s peace overtures, unnecessarily prolonging the conflict.<sup>65</sup> Cumulative evidence indicates that actors care so deeply about status that they may sacrifice blood and treasure for the sake of recognition. As research from different traditions shows, states who receive less recognition than they think they deserve<sup>66</sup> or than their material capabilities would warrant<sup>67</sup> are more prone to conflict.

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<sup>61</sup> Morgenthau 2006, 83.

<sup>62</sup> As Ridgeway notes, “people care about status quite as intensely as they do about money and power.” See Ridgeway 2014, 2. In psychology, numerous studies using experimental methods indicate that people value status (or social esteem) independently of material gain. See Fiske 2011; Huberman, Loch, and ÖNçüler 2016; Tajfel and Turner 1979; and Anderson, Hildreth, and Howland 2015; Cheng, Tracy, and Anderson 2014 for reviews. Likewise, recent studies in American and comparative politics find that status motivates political behavior at the individual level, shaping preferences toward redistribution in domestic societies and driving support for right-wing populism in developed democracies. See, respectively, McClendon 2018; Thal 2020; and Gidron and Hall 2017; Mutz 2018.

<sup>63</sup> Barnhart 2016, 2020.

<sup>64</sup> Murray 2010; Murray 2018, 87-140.

<sup>65</sup> Lanoszka and Hunzeker 2015.

<sup>66</sup> Lindemann 2011; Murray 2018; Ringmar 2002; Ward 2017; Wolf 2011.

<sup>67</sup> Maoz 2010; Renshon 2017; Volgy and Mayhall 1995.

The question of how states achieve status matters especially today, when the future of the international order is uncertain. After a period of optimism following the end of the Cold War, great power rivalry is on the rise again. While Western powers initially harbored hopes of assimilating China and Russia into the liberal international order, such hopes have since subsided.<sup>68</sup> As Tooze observes, “In December 2017, the US issued its new National Security Strategy, which for the first time designated the Indo-Pacific as the decisive arena of great power competition. In March 2019, the EU issued a strategy document to the same effect. The UK, meanwhile, performed an extraordinary about-face, from celebrating a new “golden era” of Sino-UK relations in 2015 to deploying an aircraft carrier to the South China Sea.”<sup>69</sup> If U.S.-China relations during the Trump administration were marked by bravado and trade disputes, they have improved little in the Biden administration.<sup>70</sup> And when Biden hosted a Summit for Democracy in 2021 to rally more other countries against the autocratic models of China and Russia, Xi Jinping and Vladimir Putin held their own meeting to express mutual support, in Xi’s words, “on issues concerning each other’s core interests and safeguarding the dignity of each country.”<sup>71</sup>

But to understand whether a potential power transition will be peaceful—or whether the established powers will recognize the emerging powers’ claims to status as legitimate—we need to understand the sources of international status. As Clunan notes, “The question of peace and stability in the twenty-first century may (...) depend to a great extent on international status politics—the international social construction of criteria for status recognition, the status desired by rising powers (...) and the ability and willingness of others to grant these desires.”<sup>72</sup> Existing research on status examines the foreign policies of emerging powers with the goal of accounting for hegemonic wars. But to adequately answer this question, we need to understand how states achieve status. Status-

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<sup>68</sup>Sarotte 2021; Tan 2021.

<sup>69</sup>Adam Tooze, “Has Covid ended the neoliberal era?” *Guardian*, 2 September 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2021/sep/02/covid-and-the-crisis-of-neoliberalism>.

<sup>70</sup>*Economist*, “Talks between Xi Jinping and Joe Biden do not herald a thaw,” 18 November 2021, <https://www.economist.com/china/talks-between-xi-jinping-and-joe-biden-do-not-herald-a-thaw/21806328>; *New York Times*, “Tense Talks With China Left U.S. ‘Cleareyed’ About Beijing’s Intentions, Officials Say,” 19 March 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/19/world/asia/china-us-alaska.html>.

<sup>71</sup>*New York Times*, “Putin and Xi Show United Front Amid Rising Tensions With U.S.,” 15 December 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/15/world/asia/china-russia-summit-xi-putin.html>.

<sup>72</sup>Clunan 2014, 274.

seeking states may adopt different strategies to achieve recognition. But what determines whether status-seekers will be satisfied with their status? When should we expect the established powers to recognize an emerging power as an equal—or instead to deny it the desired recognition?

### 1.2.1 Limitations from Existing Approaches

Pressing as these questions may be, the conventional approach hinders our ability to tackle them. Because this approach treats status as a function of the qualities of states, it ultimately neglects the distinctive feature of status—its social nature. To be sure, the conventional approach does not deny that status is social. Larson and colleagues, for example, observe that status “cannot be attained unilaterally; it must be recognized by others”<sup>73</sup> and that status “reflects *collective* beliefs, transcending individual state perceptions.”<sup>74</sup> Similarly, Dafoe and colleagues consider status to involve second-order beliefs (or beliefs about what others believe) and to depend on the recognition of others.<sup>75</sup> But despite acknowledging the social nature of status, existing studies do not explore this aspect in depth. Because the conventional approach treats status as a function of state attributes, it is inconsistent with its own acknowledgement of status as a social phenomenon.

In particular, theories of status that begin and end with actor attributes impose three limitations. First, the conventional approach leads to what Elster calls *generalized fetishism*—the act of mistaking social relations for actors’ properties.<sup>76</sup> By treating status as a function of state attributes, IR scholars equate status with the possession of status symbols. However, status is not reducible to symbols. A symbol is an entity that stands for another entity, but should not be mistaken for it.<sup>77</sup> For instance, even though a flag represents a country, no one would claim that it *is* the country. In fact, the symbolic value of a given state attribute depends on the social context. A given attribute only matters for status recognition if actors share the belief that it symbolizes status.<sup>78</sup> Status symbols are part of

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<sup>73</sup>Larson, Paul, and Wohlforth 2014, 10.

<sup>74</sup>Larson, Paul, and Wohlforth 2014, 8. See also Renshon 2017, 21.

<sup>75</sup>Dafoe, Renshon, and Huth 2014, 374-76. See also O’Neill 2001, 193.

<sup>76</sup>Elster 1976, 252.

<sup>77</sup>Dittmar 1992, 6; Goffman 1951, 294-95.

<sup>78</sup>Dittmar 1992, 6, 79; Goffman 1951, 294-95.

a social, communicative process: they work as symbolic mediators in the relation between self and other.<sup>79</sup> By conflating status with symbols, however, the conventional approach neglects to specify the causal mechanisms whereby state attributes are converted into status. In doing so ignores the relational processes that drive status recognition among states.

Second, the conventional approach leads to *material reductionism*, since it often equates status with the possession of material resources. Influential scholars in the realist tradition define prestige as a state's reputation for military strength.<sup>80</sup> Based on the same notion, scholars in the status inconsistency tradition define status dissatisfaction as a mismatch between a state's material capabilities and the international recognition it receives.<sup>81</sup> This perspective reduces status dissatisfaction to a problem of perceptual bias or incomplete information about military capabilities. While some might claim that this perspective involves a social element, since it assumes that military capabilities are estimated collectively, such an element is treated as a nuisance rather than as an object of substantive interest. In this perspective, status refers to military capabilities plus an error term; if military capability estimations were accurate, the concept of status would no longer be needed. Moreover, such an element is more cognitive than social per se, as it focuses on subjective perceptions at the actor level rather than on social processes that take place among actors.

From a theoretical standpoint, this approach is dissatisfactory for two reasons. To begin, the observed mismatch between status and material capabilities is substantively important: as many studies indicate, states are more prone to conflict when they receive less recognition than their material capabilities would warrant. But by assuming that status is a function of material capabilities, scholars cannot explain why the two factors often mismatch in practice. Existing research treats cases in which material capabilities fail to evoke the corresponding recognition as empirical anomalies, rather than as information about how the world actually works. And by assuming that status refers to a state's military capabilities plus an error term, this perspective advances a concept of status that

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<sup>79</sup>Dittmar 1992, 9.

<sup>80</sup>Gilpin 1981, 31; Morgenthau 1948, 52, 55; Wohlfarth 2009, 39.

<sup>81</sup>East 1972; Midlarsky 1975; Renshon 2017. While the two strands of research (early realist studies and studies of the relationship between status dissatisfaction and war) differ in their methodological orientation, they share common assumptions—emphasizing state attributes (and especially material capabilities) in their treatment of status.

does not differ enough from material capabilities to prove analytically useful. Because scholars insufficiently differentiate status from military capabilities, it is unclear why we need the concept of status in the first place.<sup>82</sup> In fact, a term like “estimated military capability” would be more accurate than status in this case. The act of reducing status to material capabilities thus strips away the very aspects that make the concept useful analytically. Once stripped of its distinctive feature—its social nature—the concept of status has limited usefulness for IR theories.

Last but not least, the conventional approach incurs a *fallacy of composition*, since it assumes that we can study status in the international system simply by examining the system’s component parts (states) and their interactions, especially at the dyadic level.<sup>83</sup> In the study of status, this fallacy most often involves the assumption that we can understand how countries achieve status either (1) by examining the qualities of high-status states, and especially the things that they have; or (2) by examining the behavior of status-seeking states. On the one hand, the fact that high-status states often have a large portfolio of certain attributes is often taken as evidence that status depends on these attributes. As Tilly notes, “individualistic analyses of inequality ... lend themselves nicely to retroactive rationalization; confronted with unequal outcomes, their user searches the past for individual differences in skill, knowledge, determination, or moral worth that must explain differences in rewards.”<sup>84</sup> From this perspective, status achievement becomes an autonomous act, which depends on the individual merit of a given state rather than on the social environment. On the other hand, the fallacy of composition likewise afflicts those approaches that explain status attainment based on the behavior of status-seeking states. The key finding from status inconsistency studies—that states are more prone to conflict when they receive less recognition than their material capabilities would warrant—is often taken as evidence that status depends on material capabilities. That is, because some actors think that status *should be* based on military capabilities, scholars conclude that status *is* in fact based on military capabilities. In other words, this perspective makes the faulty assumption that outcomes follow from actors’ intentions—even though in complex systems like international

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<sup>82</sup>Clunan 2014, 274.

<sup>83</sup>See Jervis 1997, 12–13.

<sup>84</sup>Tilly 1998, 33. Tilly’s point refers more specifically to the analysis of inequality among groups in domestic societies, although it applies well to the study of inequality among states.

politics, actions often have unintended consequences.<sup>85</sup>

In sum, the conventional approach limits our understanding of international status and, consequently, the concept's usefulness for the study of international politics. Even though status is a social concept, existing studies treat it as a function of the qualities of states. This approach substantively conflates social relations with actors' qualities, leads scholars to reduce status to the possession of material resources, and reduces social outcomes to the behaviors or attributes of actors—ultimately diminishing the usefulness of status for IR theories. Notwithstanding its importance, status resides in the background in IR theories: When some aspect of international politics cannot be explained using traditional theories based on security or survival, status is called upon to fulfill the task. As such, scholars rely on status to explain a limited set of phenomena, focusing on instances of state behavior that cannot be explained based on traditional factors. Based on the conventional wisdom, it would seem that status can make only a limited contribution to our understanding of international relations. Scholars are thus caught in a conundrum: they posit that status is a fundamental aspect of international politics, but ultimately render it a residual category.

Far from new, this conundrum can be traced back to early studies of status in IR. Even though Morgenthau wants to highlight the importance of prestige for international politics, he ultimately renders it a residual category. At the outset, Morgenthau deems the policy of prestige “an indispensable element of a rational foreign policy” and one of the “basic manifestations of the struggle for power on the international scene.”<sup>86</sup> Yet, IR scholars neglect the policy of prestige because they usually (1) privilege “the material aspect of power in the form of force” over intangible aspects like prestige;<sup>87</sup> (2) associate the policy of prestige with the diplomatic world and its archaic traditions; and (3) treat the policy of prestige as a means to achieve other ends, rather than as an end in itself. However, Morgenthau ultimately reinforces precisely these trends, as (1) he treats prestige as a function of material capabilities, asserting that “military strength is the obvious measure of a nation’s power” to later define prestige as the reputation for power;<sup>88</sup> (2) his discussion of diplomacy

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<sup>85</sup>Jervis 1997, 61-68; Schelling 1978.

<sup>86</sup>Morgenthau 2006, 83, 92.

<sup>87</sup>Morgenthau 2006, 83.

<sup>88</sup>Morgenthau 2006, 89-90. Other work on international status from this period echoes this notion. See, for

includes mostly anecdotes about how diplomatic practices express prestige;<sup>89</sup> and (3) he treats prestige as a means to an end, claiming that “only foolhardy egocentrics are inclined to pursue a policy of prestige for its own sake.”<sup>90</sup> That is, Morgenthau reinforces precisely the aspects that lead IR scholars to neglect the fundamental role of prestige in international politics.

We observe a similar trend in Gilpin’s work. At the outset, Gilpin deems prestige a fundamental aspect of international politics, positing that governance among states is partly a function of the hierarchy of prestige, which determines which states will exert authority in the international system.<sup>91</sup> Moreover, he acknowledges the intangible nature of prestige, comparing it to what E. H. Carr calls “power over opinion”—a form of power that involves persuasion, propaganda, and the use of rhetoric.<sup>92</sup> Like authority, Gilpin argues, prestige has both moral and functional bases: less powerful states accept the leadership of a dominant state not only because they perceive the existing order as useful and predictable, since dominant states typically supply public goods; but also because they perceive the existing order as legitimate, since dominant states typically promote an ideology to justify their domination. Therefore, Gilpin concludes, “numerous factors, including respect and common interest, underlie the prestige of a state and the legitimacy of its rule.”<sup>93</sup> And yet, Gilpin ultimately argues that “the hierarchy of prestige in an international system rests on economic and military power.”<sup>94</sup> This argument implies that authority in the international system depends primarily on coercion, while legitimization is rendered epiphenomenal.<sup>95</sup> As a result, Gilpin allows only a limited scope for status: that of signaling coercive capabilities. Though initially acknowledged, the intangible aspects of prestige ultimately get lost in his argument.

The conventional approach to international status contrasts with research in the social sciences

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example, Lagos 1963, 131–32.

<sup>89</sup>While Morgenthau claims that states pursue a policy of prestige via diplomatic ceremonial and the display of military capabilities, his discussion of the former includes mostly anecdotes about how diplomatic practices express prestige. By contrast, his discussion of the latter includes specific examples like the acquisition of nuclear weapons and the development of navies with global reach, providing a clear intuition that future research could (and would) explore.

<sup>90</sup>Morgenthau 2006, 91.

<sup>91</sup>Gilpin 1981, 34.

<sup>92</sup>Carr 1981, 120–130; Gilpin 1981, 14.

<sup>93</sup>Gilpin 1981, 30.

<sup>94</sup>Gilpin 1981, 30.

<sup>95</sup>See Gilpin 1981, 10–11, 30, 34, 199.

more broadly, which understands status as fundamentally social. The premises that usually guide IR research contrast with the premises adopted in related disciplines that traditionally study status. On the one hand, status does not fit well with a materialist approach: as Ridgeway notes, “status, in contrast to resources and power, is based primarily in *cultural* beliefs rather than directly on material arrangements. That is, status is based on widely shared beliefs about the social categories or “types” of people that are ranked by society as more esteemed and respected compared to others.”<sup>96</sup> Neither does status fit well, on the other hand, with an individualist framework: as Ridgeway notes, “these cultural status beliefs work their effects on inequality primarily at the *social relational level* by shaping people’s expectations for themselves and others and their consequent actions in social contexts.”<sup>97</sup> Coupled with inadequate assumptions, the concept of status remains a residual category in the discipline’s lexicon and in the theories that apply it. Scholars’ reliance on conventional assumptions results in ad hoc accounts that often miss the distinctive features of status—or in what Goddard and Nexon call “inconsistent and arbitrary explanatory frameworks.”<sup>98</sup> As a result, the implications of status for international politics remain obscured.

In this project, I address these limitations by drawing on an interdisciplinary body of research to develop a network theory of status, which adequately captures its social nature. I couple the concept of status with assumptions that reflect its distinctive features: its relational and intangible aspects. Status inequalities depend on processes that take place among states and groups of states, rather than being a matter decided at the individual or the bilateral levels. Moreover, status recognition involves primarily intangible or symbolic aspects, rather than material ones. To adequately capture what status is and how it matters for international politics, we need to focus on relational processes and symbolic factors. By highlighting the distinctive features of status both analytically and empirically, this book aims to move status from its current position as a residual category in IR to its rightful place as a concept central to the study of international politics.

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<sup>96</sup>Ridgeway 2014, 2-3.

<sup>97</sup>Ridgeway 2014, 3.

<sup>98</sup>Goddard and Nexon 2005, 13.

## 1.3 The Argument

In this book, I argue that status depends on states’ positions in a social arrangement, rather than directly on the qualities of states or the things that they have. To understand how international hierarchies of status form, I trace their roots back to key transformations that magnified global inequality in the nineteenth century. As Europeans made a turn to imperialism, they increasingly relied on a self-proclaimed standard of civilization that distinguished between “civilized” Europeans entitled to indivisible sovereignty on the one hand, and “uncivilized” non-Europeans unable to govern themselves on the other hand. Status distinctions thus served to legitimate and stabilize inequality, drawing a boundary between those states deemed competent—and therefore deserving of privileges like indivisible sovereignty—and the rest. Once established, moreover, status distinctions have reinforced inequality, independently from material conditions, via cumulative advantage mechanisms: the higher standing a state enjoys, the more it attracts additional recognition. It is no coincidence that, to this day, status evaluations rely on values associated with the West.

My argument involves three new propositions about the relationship between status and inequality. First, I argue that status does much more than signal a state’s coercive capabilities to other states; crucially, status *legitimizes* inequality.<sup>99</sup> As Tilly notes, unequal relations based purely on coercion are inherently unstable, as they ultimately give rise to contention or struggles between dominant and subordinate actors.<sup>100</sup> Even an exploitative relationship like colonization cannot be sustained based on coercion alone, since such an arrangement would render domination too costly for the colonizers in the medium or long run. To become durable, inequality requires some form of legitimization. Status distinctions play an important role in this context: they involve not only categorization, or the drawing of a boundary between a group and outsiders; but also legitimization, or the establishment of a relation of superiority and inferiority between these types of actors.<sup>101</sup> Based on status distinctions, certain types are presumed to be “better” or superior to others.

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<sup>99</sup>See Jackman 1994; Ridgeway and Walker 1995; Ridgeway 2014, 3-4.

<sup>100</sup>Tilly 1998, 86-91. See also Weber 1978, 213, Goode 1978, Ch. 6.

<sup>101</sup>See Lamont 2012; Lamont and Fournier 1992.

By creating categorical differences among actors, status distinctions serve to justify why certain types are entitled to privileges that other types lack. That is, status distinctions rationalize inequality, framing as logical—or even natural—the differential access to privileges among actors. In the nineteenth century, for example, the distinction between “civilized” Europeans and “uncivilized” non-European peoples served to legitimize the exclusive access of European states to the privilege of indivisible sovereignty. Colonial exploitation was rendered normatively acceptable by the belief that, because non-Europeans were unable to govern themselves, Europeans should take on the responsibility of socializing them into European norms and beliefs, thus stewarding their progress toward civilization. On the one hand, the presumption of European civilization implied that they had earned the privilege of indivisible sovereignty fairly, on the basis of their own merit. On the other hand, this presumption justified European intervention abroad based on the alleged inability of non-European peoples to meet European standards of governance.

Second, I argue that international status *stabilizes* inequality by shaping social perceptions and behavior. As Ridgeway notes, status distinctions shape social perceptions: “by transforming mere control of resources into more essentialized differences among “types” of actors, status beliefs fuel social perceptions of difference.”<sup>102</sup> The creation of categorical differences leads actors “to focus on, exaggerate, and make broader, more systematic use of socially defined differences” during their interactions.<sup>103</sup> Moreover, status distinctions shape behavior: By drawing a boundary between those types perceived as superior and inferior, status distinctions create expectations about the ability of either type to exert authority in a given situation.<sup>104</sup> These expectations act as focal points, creating self-fulfilling prophecies—as an actor tends to act according to what is expected of its type, while expecting others to act according to what is expected of their type. At the same time, status distinctions generate backlash when behavior deviates from what is expected. In particular, high-status states tend to be wary of behavior by low-status states that may be perceived as challenging established expectations for authority in a given situation.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>102</sup>Ridgeway 2014, 4.

<sup>103</sup>Ridgeway 2014, 4.

<sup>104</sup>See Ridgeway 2014, 5-6; Berger and Webster 2006; Correll and Ridgeway 2003.

<sup>105</sup>See Bobo 1999; Ridgeway 2014, 7; Ridgeway, Johnson, and Diekema 1994.

Finally, I argue that, once status distinctions are established, status *reinforces* inequality, independently from material conditions, via cumulative advantage mechanisms.<sup>106</sup> To begin, consensus effects shape status recognition: the more a state receives recognition, the more others deem it worthy of recognition.<sup>107</sup> In addition, high-status states enjoy privileges that beget more status: they states act as standard-setters, shaping the criteria for status recognition, and as gatekeepers, shaping recognition decisions.<sup>108</sup> Finally, status distinctions involve social closure. On the one hand, high-status states differentiate themselves from outsiders by adopting a distinctive way of life, which is difficult to mimic.<sup>109</sup> On the other hand, high-status states share dense relations among themselves but sparse relations with outsiders. As such, status distinctions encourage solidarity among high-status states but undermine solidarity among low-status states. While well-connected states attract additional recognition, sparsely-connected states do not.

My argument couples the concept of status with assumptions that emphasize its distinctively social nature. In particular, I depart from the conventional approach in two ways. First, I develop theory using what Gould calls a *structural framework*—which ascribes inequality to the positions that actors occupy in a social arrangement, rather than to the qualities of actors.<sup>110</sup> Based on this framework, actors enjoy differential access to privileges in a social system to the extent that they occupy an advantageous social position. My approach contrasts with existing studies, which use an individualist framework. IR scholars typically assume that states differ in status because they differ in salient qualities—that is, on the basis of their individual talent, ability, or effort. By contrast, I argue that status depends on structural conditions beyond the control of any state. Status hierarchies are far from meritocratic systems: high-status states enjoy considerable advantages in status recognition, which result from their social position rather than from their attributes.

<sup>106</sup>See Smith and Faris 2015. Cumulative advantage is also known as positive feedback, the “Matthew Effect” (whereby the rich tend to get richer), or preferential attachment (whereby popular actors tend to receive more ties); in addition, it involves the dynamic of increasing returns that defines path dependence. See, respectively, Jervis 1997; Merton 1968; Newman 2001; Pierson 2000.

<sup>107</sup>See Betancourt, Kovács, and Otner 2018; Gould 2002; Salganik, Dodds, and Watts 2006.

<sup>108</sup>See Bourdieu 1993; Swartz 1997.

<sup>109</sup>Weber 1978, 932–33. See also Lamont and Fournier 1992; Lamont 2002.

<sup>110</sup>Gould 2002, 1144. This perspective is relatively more common in sociology. In IR, it is present in studies on hierarchical differentiation, as well as in relational or network analytic approaches. See Albert and Buzan 2013; Goddard 2009; Jackson and Nexon 1999; McConaughey, Musgrave, and Nexon 2018; Nexon 2010; Oatley et al. 2013.

Second, my argument departs from the conventional approach because I focus on *symbolic or intangible aspects*, rather than on material factors, to account for status inequalities among states. While status distinctions may initially stem from material arrangements, as in the case of nineteenth-century imperialism, status involves primarily symbolic aspects. To begin, status distinctions legitimate inequality because they create a social boundary between types of states considered superior, and therefore deserving of exclusive privileges, and the rest. Moreover, status distinctions stabilize inequality because they set expectations about which types of states should exert authority in a given situation. And once established, status distinctions reinforce inequality, independently from material conditions, via cumulative advantage mechanisms. As such, analyses that focus on material arrangements result in a superficial understanding of status.

By coupling the concept of status with a set of assumptions that highlight the concept's distinctive features, this study offers new answers to fundamental questions about status that the conventional approach insufficiently addresses, as I discuss next.

### 1.3.1 Status Depends on Relational Processes

To begin, my theoretical framework addresses the first question that the conventional approach leaves unanswered: Why do material capabilities and status often mismatch? While the conventional approach treats status as a function of a state's attributes, and especially its material capabilities, I argue that status depends on a state's position in a social arrangement. Therefore, we should not expect status to go hand in hand with material capabilities (or, for that matter, with state attributes). Because status depends on social recognition, systematic social processes—which cannot be reduced to the qualities of states—<sup>111</sup>influence status.<sup>111</sup>

In particular, three relational processes shape status recognition in the international system. First, status inequality results from a process of social closure—the establishment of a boundary between a status group and outsiders.<sup>112</sup> Social closure involves two aspects. To begin, social clo-

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<sup>111</sup>Previous work suggests the existence of relational patterns in status relations, but does not systematically investigate these patterns. See, for example, Miller et al. 2015, 786-87.

<sup>112</sup>Weber 1978, 43-46.

sure involves connectedness: high-status actors share dense relations among themselves but sparse relations with outsiders.<sup>113</sup> Therefore, a state's existing relations influence its propensity to receive recognition. In addition, social closure involves commonality: high-status actors differentiate themselves from outsiders by adopting a distinctive way of life.<sup>114</sup> Therefore, the relevance of a given attribute for status recognition is socially defined, rather than intrinsic to that attribute.<sup>115</sup> Finally, the structure of state relations itself shapes the conditions for status mobility. Because status depends on peer attribution, it is subject to consensus effects: the more a state is recognized, the more others deem it worthy of recognition.<sup>116</sup> In other words, popularity itself brings status.

These relational processes account for some puzzling cases from a conventional standpoint.<sup>117</sup> On the one hand, states at the margins of the international system struggle to earn recognition, even despite changes in their qualities. Despite acquiring nuclear weapons, for example, North Korea did not become a great power because it maintains only tenuous connections with other states—including most recently China, one of its traditional allies. Similarly, Taiwan receives less recognition than its material capabilities would warrant because, as the object of an intense diplomatic isolation campaign conducted by China, it maintains only sparse connections with other states. On the other hand, states at the core of the international system enjoy considerable advantage in gaining recognition. Even though its time as a major power passed long ago, Italy enjoys more recognition than its material capabilities would warrant because it maintains strong connections with other central states. Similarly, Egypt receives more recognition than its material capabilities would warrant. As a leader of the Non-Aligned Movement and a state at the crossroads between the Middle East and Africa, Egypt gets recognition from its relations with other states. As these cases illustrate, status depends on a state's position in a social arrangement. To understand why states achieve status, we thus need to examine the overall patterns of relations among states.

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<sup>113</sup>Abbott 1995; Lamont 1992; Lamont and Molnár 2002.

<sup>114</sup>Elias and Scotson 1994; Merton 1972; Tilly 2005.

<sup>115</sup>Mark, Smith-Lovin, and Ridgeway 2009; Ridgeway 1991; Ridgeway and Correll 2006.

<sup>116</sup>See Correll et al. 2017; Ridgeway 2014.

<sup>117</sup>See Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.3.

### **1.3.2 Symbolic Value Depends on the Social Context**

In addition, my theoretical framework addresses a second question the conventional approach leaves unanswered: Why do certain state attributes become relevant for status recognition? Existing studies claim that state attributes matter because of their functional value; according to realists, for example, material capabilities confer status because they enable the owner to compel or deter others without using force. But in practice, status-seeking countries often invest in military equipment that provides little strategic utility. Moreover, status symbols involve not only material attributes but also nonmaterial ones, which have no clear functional value.

By contrast, I argue that certain state attributes become relevant for status recognition because of their symbolic, rather than functional, value. Although the two kinds of value may overlap, each has a different source. For example, while a weapon's functional value depends on its intrinsic features, its symbolic value depends on the social context. For a given weapon to symbolize status, actors need to share the belief that it represents a given social standing.<sup>118</sup> In fact, weapons with similar levels of strategic value may nonetheless acquire disparate symbolic meanings. As Wendt and Barnett argue, for example, Western countries treat nuclear weapons as a symbol of great-power status, whose owners form an exclusive club recognized in the Non-Proliferation Treaty. And yet, the same countries consider other weapons of mass destruction—biological and chemical weapons—as symbols of “pariah” status, whose owners lie outside the club of “civilized” states.<sup>119</sup>

As many studies indicate, military equipment often appeals to buyers because it carries symbolic meaning. Drawing from sociological institutionalism, some scholars suggest that advanced weapons like fighter jets symbolize qualities such as modernity, efficacy, and independence.<sup>120</sup> As Hironaka argues, the weapons consumed by the winners of the last war often become attractive not only for their strategic value, which is uncertain, but because they symbolize military power.<sup>121</sup> Similarly, Gilady notes that the consumption of military equipment provides states with symbolic

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<sup>118</sup>See Dittmar 1992, 6, 79; Goffman 1951, 294-95; O'Neill 2001, 241.

<sup>119</sup>Wendt and Barnett 1993, 340.

<sup>120</sup>Eyre and Suchman 1996; Sagan 1997, 73-82; Wendt and Barnett 1993, 336-41.

<sup>121</sup>Hironaka 2017.

utility.<sup>122</sup> Because an aircraft carrier symbolizes great-power status, France and Brazil bought one carrier each, even though at least three carriers are needed to ensure that one carrier will be operational at any given time. The consumption of military equipment thus follows a “to have is to be” logic, whereby states express their identification through the things they buy.<sup>123</sup>

Building on these studies, I argue that state attributes become relevant for status recognition when actors share the belief that such attributes symbolize a latent quality: state competence.<sup>124</sup> To explain why certain state attributes matter for status recognition, we thus need to understand how prevailing conceptions of state competence form. In particular, it matters who the great powers are and what they do. Great powers act like standard setters, shaping definitions of state competence in a given era; and as gatekeepers, shaping group boundaries. Prevailing conceptions of state competence become malleable during critical junctures like major wars, when the way of life associated with the victorious state(s) shapes the standards that will be used to evaluate state competence thereafter. As such, critical junctures do more than establish a new pecking order: they also update the standards that inform status recognition among states.

In sum, my theoretical framework departs from the conventional approach in two ways. First, I emphasize symbolic rather than material aspects. I argue that status depends on estimations of social honor that may be connected to any kind of symbol. As such, my argument accommodates both material and nonmaterial attributes as symbols of international status. Moreover, material capabilities impact recognition because of their symbolic value—what they communicate about state competence—rather than because of their functional value, or their coercive potential. Second, while the conventional approach suggests that the best strategy to achieve status involves acquiring certain attributes, I argue that status depends on structural conditions beyond the control of any state. In particular, status depends on prevailing conceptions of state competence that change over time, depending on who the great powers are and how they behave. As such, state attributes play a secondary role in the process of status recognition, as I discuss next.

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<sup>122</sup>Gilady 2018.

<sup>123</sup>Pu and Schweller 2014, 143; Dittmar 1992.

<sup>124</sup>See Cuddy et al. 2009; Fiske and Haslam 2005.

### **1.3.3 State Attributes Play a Secondary Role**

Finally, my theoretical framework addresses a third question the conventional approach leaves unanswered: What is the relationship between state attributes and status? That is, how are attributes converted into status? While scholars consider multiple attributes as relevant for status recognition, it is not clear how different attributes would combine to produce status. By contrast, my theoretical framework specifies the causal mechanisms whereby state attributes are converted into status. I argue that, because status depends on social recognition, state attributes play only an indirect role in the process of status attainment. The relevance of a given attribute for status recognition is socially defined: attributes become relevant for status recognition because of their symbolic value, which depends on the social context, rather than because of their intrinsic properties.

My argument has three new implications for the relationship between state attributes and status recognition in the international system. First, states tend to recognize those states that are similar to them—rather than the states with the largest portfolio of a given attribute, as argued by the conventional approach. Because status involves social closure, high-status states differentiate themselves from outsiders by adopting a distinctive way of life. As such, it is attribute similarity, rather than the possession of attributes *per se*, that drives recognition among states. Second, my argument implies that, to evoke status recognition, state attributes need to go well together. Because high status involves a distinctive way of life, observers consider status symbols in combination, rather than in isolation. Status evaluations are based on a way of life, rather than on separate attributes like nuclear weapons or aircraft carriers, which can be more easily acquired. Finally, my argument implies that the relevance of a given state attribute for status recognition changes over time, along with the prevailing conceptions of state competence in the international system. In particular, because the great powers of an era act like standard-setters and gatekeepers, the relevance of a given state attribute for status recognition depends on who the great powers are and how they behave.

## **1.4 Contributions**

This book makes four distinctive contributions to existing scholarship. To begin, while existing research treats status as an actor motivation, this book is the first to investigate the sources of international status, focusing on international relations rather than the state level. As the first sustained, book-length effort to address the question of how countries achieve status, this book makes original contributions from both a theoretical and an empirical standpoints: it develops a theoretical framework that highlights the social nature of status and, accordingly, uses social network analysis tools ideally suited to the study of status. In doing so, this book aims to recast status as a concept central to the study of international politics. Integrating an interdisciplinary body of research, this book brings research on status in IR in line with research in the social sciences more broadly. Given its innovative approach, this study offers three new lessons in research areas that have drawn increasing scholarly interest in recent years, but that are still rarely linked to status—namely, international hierarchies, international order, and power transitions.

### **1.4.1 Investigating the Sources of Status**

To begin, this book addresses a new and noteworthy question: How do countries achieve status? While existing studies show that status motivates state behavior, we still understand little about the sources of international status. This book is the first to investigate this question, focusing on state relations rather than the state level. Scholars traditionally assume that status is a function of state attributes like economic or military capabilities, but do not put this assumption to the test. By assuming that certain state attributes evoke recognition, the conventional approach imposes on observations the categories chosen by the observer, while neglecting other potential sources of status. As a result, it provides incomplete accounts of status, while possibly exaggerating the importance of the state attributes chosen by the observer. Empirically, this approach relies on restrictive assumptions about which state attributes determine status, typically emphasizing military and economic capabilities to the detriment of other factors. But by choosing certain state attributes *a priori*, schol-

ars cannot assess whether these attributes actually drive status recognition. So how can we know if decision-makers value the same attributes that scholars consider important for status recognition—or if state attributes determine status to begin with?

In this study, I move beyond ranking states based on attributes to test hypotheses about the sources of status. Rather than assume the determinants of status *a priori*, I test hypotheses about status attainment in the international system. To be empirically tenable, the sources of status need to be treated as an analytical category separate from the experiences of observers, and therefore subject to falsification. Instead of taking actors' claims to status at face value, I assess the validity of these claims using social scientific methods. The fact that states are more prone to conflict when they receive less recognition than their material capabilities would warrant, for example, tells us that these actors think that status should be based on military capabilities; however, it does not tell us that status is in fact based on military capabilities. The empirical investigation of status calls for an empirical strategy that moves beyond commonsense assumptions to test hypotheses about the sources of status. Because status is historically contingent, for example, scholars need to develop strategies to detect when the conditions for status attainment have changed. While researchers may have strong priors about which state attributes matter for status recognition, it is important to develop strategies to update these priors over time, as I propose in this project.

#### **1.4.2 A Consistently Relational Approach**

In addition, this book makes a second distinctive contribution to the study of international status. Rather than taking an individualistic perspective, this book adopts a consistently relational approach to the study of international status: it uses a relational empirical strategy in the service of a relational theory of status. By deploying an appropriate set of analytical and methodological tools, this study adequately grasps the distinctive feature of international status (its social nature). In doing so, this book enables us to move status from its current standing as a residual category in IR—insufficiently differentiated from material capabilities or assumed status symbols such as nuclear weapons—to its rightful position as a concept central to the study of international politics.

Although status is a relational concept, previous work does not study it relationally. Existing studies adopt an individualistic approach, treating status as the property of individual states. From a theoretical standpoint, these studies assume that status is a function of a state's attributes. In Tilly's words, they conjure an image of individual actors "with variable attributes who pass through a screening process that sorts them according to those attributes into positions that give them differential rewards."<sup>125</sup> According to this approach, states are sorted into social positions—such as great power or emerging power—based on their qualities or the things that they have. This kind of argument derives social outcomes (in this case, status inequality) entirely from the properties of individual actors. Moreover, it neglects to specify the causal mechanisms whereby state attributes are converted into status. As a result, this approach leads scholars to ignore the relational processes that drive status recognition in the international system.

From an empirical standpoint, scholars typically study status at the state level, as the property of states. Some studies measure status by ranking states based on attributes like economic or military capabilities. Another common (and similarly individualistic) approach to measuring status is based on the proportion of diplomatic representations a state receives. Even though diplomatic exchange is a type of social relation, scholars typically treat it like a state attribute: to measure status, they rank states based on the proportion of diplomatic representations received. By doing so, researchers discard information about the structure of diplomatic relations—such as who sends a representation to whom, what their previous history of relations (or lack thereof) is, and what ties they share with third parties. And without this information, it is not possible to examine empirically the relational effects that drive status recognition among states.

By contrast, I adopt a consistently relational approach to the study of status, from both a theoretical and an empirical standpoints. To begin, I develop a network theory of status. I argue that status depends on states' positions in a social arrangement, rather than on the qualities of states. To explain how states achieve status, I theorize the underlying relational effects that drive status recognition in the international system. In particular, I argue that the structure of state relations

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<sup>125</sup>Tilly 1998, 21-22.

itself shapes the conditions for status attainment. Because status distinctions involve social closure (or the establishment of a boundary between a group and outsiders), a state's existing relations influence its ability to achieve status. That is, connectedness itself brings status. Moreover, consensus effects shape status recognition: the more a state is recognized, the more others deem it worthy of recognition. As such, popularity itself brings recognition. Finally, the relevance of a given state attribute for status recognition is socially defined: a given state attribute becomes relevant for status recognition because of its symbolic value—which depends on the social context, and especially on who the great powers are and what they do. My argument implies that, to understand how status hierarchies emerge, we need to examine the configuration of state relations, rather than merely ranking states based on certain attributes.

In line with my theoretical framework, I adopt a relational empirical strategy to investigate the sources of status. Since embassies express recognition among sovereign states, I use embassy exchange data as a proxy measure of status recognition. But instead of measuring status at the state level, like previous studies do, I use a relational unit of analysis: the network of embassies. This choice of unit enables me to capture information about the structure of diplomatic relations that existing studies discard and, therefore, to investigate the relational patterns that drive status recognition among states. To that end, I use social network analysis tools uniquely suited to the study of status. These tools enable me to examine how the structure of state relations itself shapes the conditions for status attainment. Using network analysis, I detect relational patterns that previous studies mention but do not examine empirically. In addition, my empirical approach provides the advantage of generalizability. Because my approach does not depend on assumptions about which state attributes symbolize status, it can be used to study status recognition during any historical period. This feature enables me to take a long-run perspective to examine status recognition in the international system since the early nineteenth century.

More broadly, this study contributes to existing knowledge by showing that status is a distinctive phenomenon both conceptually and empirically—and, as such, is a useful concept for theories of international relations. Although status appeared in two strands of research in IR during the

twentieth century, research on status eventually fizzled out. Insufficiently differentiated from material capabilities, status was ultimately reduced to a residual category. Compared to the first wave of status research in IR, the current wave seems to be at a lower risk of meeting the same fate, since it provides cumulative evidence that status motivates state behavior. At the same time, status has not reached its full potential in IR research yet. By studying status in its own right—as something analytically and empirically distinguishable from material capabilities and other state attributes—I hope to show why it matters for international politics. The concept of status can achieve its full potential in IR scholarship when we give due attention to its distinctive feature: its fundamentally social nature. By doing so, we can consider not only how status may increase a state’s propensity for conflict, as many existing studies argue, but also how status plays a key role in international cooperation and the maintenance of international order, as I discuss below.

### **1.4.3 An Interdisciplinary Approach**

In addition, this book makes a third distinctive contribution to the study of status: it adopts an interdisciplinary approach, integrating strands of research that rarely come into dialogue. Existing research on status relies on assumptions that, though commonly adopted in the IR discipline, have limited usefulness for the study of status. Crucially, the assumption that status depends on the qualities of states contrasts with research in the social sciences more broadly, which understands status as fundamentally social. This study overcomes this limitation by building off research on status in the social sciences.<sup>126</sup> At the same time, I contextualize status in the international realm by integrating these interdisciplinary insights with research that examines key economic and cultural developments in international society since the nineteenth century.<sup>127</sup> The book thus brings IR research on status in line with research in the social sciences more broadly.

In other words, this study differs from previous ones in its rejection of *particularism*. The conventional approach in IR assumes that status depends on a state’s qualities, especially its material

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<sup>126</sup>Elias and Scotson 1994; Ridgeway 2014; Tilly 1998, 2005.

<sup>127</sup>Buzan and Lawson 2015; Hobson 2004; Keene 2002; Pitts 2005.

capabilities. Behind this assumption is the often implicit notion that, because of anarchy (defined as a self-help system), status attainment among states follows causal processes unlike those in any other social realm. As Tilly notes, particularistic accounts were also common in research on inequality within domestic societies, which initially assumed that inequality based on gender, race, or nationality followed processes unique to each area. As such, “Observers often ground explanations for each form of inequality separately in perennial but peculiar forces. Each one seems *sui generis*, constituting its own mode of existence.”<sup>128</sup> As Tilly argues, however, “the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion in all these cases have such striking resemblances. They must have more common causal properties than particularistic accounts suggest.”<sup>129</sup> Following this insight, I argue that categorical inequalities among states result from mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion that are remarkably similar to those observed in other social realms.

#### 1.4.4 General Lessons

Finally, this book makes a fourth distinctive contribution to existing scholarship: it offers three new lessons for research on international hierarchies, international order, and power transitions respectively—areas that, despite drawing increasing scholarly attention in recent years, are still rarely linked to status. To begin with the first area, the book demonstrates that international hierarchies of status are far from meritocratic systems. By assuming that status is a function of states’ qualities, existing studies suggest that status results from the talent or effort of individual states; as such, the best strategy to achieve status involves acquiring certain attributes. By contrast, I demonstrate that the established powers enjoy a cumulative advantage in status attainment, which derives from their social position rather than from their attributes. For emerging powers, this result implies that recognition is not simply a matter decided at the state level. Rather, recognition as a great power depends on the broader social environment, as it ultimately involves reconfiguring social arrangements or reshaping predominant conceptions of state competence.

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<sup>128</sup>Tilly 1998, 16.

<sup>129</sup>Tilly 1998, 16.

In addition, this book demonstrates that the role of status in international politics is broader, and more complex, than commonly assumed. Existing studies tend to equate status-seeking behavior with aggressive behavior, showing that status-dissatisfied states are more prone to conflict.<sup>130</sup> But while status may exacerbate conflict, it can also promote global governance. Since fundamental values like liberal democracy shape status recognition, status hierarchies create structural incentives for states to adopt international norms. This carries with it important implications. Among them: status-seeking behavior may also be cooperative behavior—that is, status may contribute to the maintenance of international order, as status-seeking states have an incentive to adopt prevailing international norms. And while mainstream approaches posit that great powers maintain global stability using military or institutional instruments, this book demonstrates that great powers also lead by example, setting standards that other states adopt. As such, hegemony requires upholding existing standards not only internationally, but also domestically.

Finally, the book offers new insight on why disagreements about status can lead to hegemonic wars. Previous work argues that war can result when states receive less recognition than their capabilities would warrant, or when the established powers resist change. However, existing studies fall short of explaining why this happens. Why do the established powers treat some rising powers as legitimate but others as revisionist? My book suggests that disagreements about status emerge when the established and emerging powers have conflicting conceptions of state competence. This implies that, to assess whether hegemonic transitions will be violent, we should compare the models of statehood put forward by either side. If the hegemonic transition from Britain to the U.S. was peaceful, since both countries shared a similar conception of state competence, a potential transition from the U.S. to China is more likely to spell conflict—as China increasingly questions the liberal democratic foundations of the contemporary international order.

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<sup>130</sup>Notable exceptions are [de Carvalho and Neumann 2015](#); [Gilady 2018](#), 90-120; [Wohlfarth et al. 2018](#), which argue that status may motivate pro-social or cooperative behavior among states.

## 1.5 Plan of the Book

This book is presented in ten chapters. To begin, Chapter 2 defines status as a concept at the intersection of identity and power. Drawing on the concept formation methodology in the tradition of Giovanni Sartori, I define status as an effective claim to social esteem that involves privileges. As such, the concept involves two necessary dimensions. First, status requires recognition: for an actor to achieve status, others need to recognize it. Second, status involves hierarchy: depending on an actor's social esteem, they acquire certain privileges. Compared to existing definitions, my conceptualization provides three advantages. First, it emphasizes the social nature of status, rather than reducing status to individual or material factors. Second, it differentiates status from related terms like material capabilities or hierarchy. Finally, it integrates research traditions in IR that rarely come into dialogue: the mainstream literature on status and conflict, which treats status as a means to an end; and the literature on recognition, which treats status as an end in itself.

Next, Chapter 3 develops a network theory of status. Drawing on the Weberian tradition, I argue that status depends on states' positions in a social arrangement, rather than on the qualities of states. To explain how states achieve status, I theorize the underlying relational effects that drive status recognition in the international system. I argue that the structure of state relations itself shapes the conditions for status attainment. Because status distinctions involve social closure, a state's existing relations influence its ability to achieve status. Moreover, status reinforces inequality, independently of material conditions, because it involves cumulative advantage: the higher standing a state enjoys, the more it attracts additional recognition. Finally, the relevance of a given state attribute for status recognition is socially defined: an attribute becomes relevant for status recognition not because of its intrinsic properties, but rather because of its symbolic value—which depends on the social context, and especially on who the great powers are and how they behave.

Chapter 4 then operationalizes the concept of status developed in Chapter 2, linking this concept to observations intended to capture its main ideas. Because status is a quality that cannot be directly observed, I use embassy exchange data as a proxy measure of status recognition. Under interna-

tional law, embassy exchange is a longstanding practice that signifies recognition among sovereign states and that creates social inequalities among states. Compared to other potential measures of status—those based on states’ attributes, individuals’ perceptions of the status of states, or states’ positions in formal institutions—embassy exchange offers important advantages: it is relational, behavioral, and multidimensional; moreover, it covers all states over a significant period and avoids measurement bias. While embassy exchange data reasonably meet all of these operationalization criteria, alternative measures present limitations based on two or more of the criteria. Finally, I address potential concerns associated with my proposed measure, dispelling common misconceptions about embassy exchange and its use as a measure of status.

Next, Chapter 5 validates my proposed measure of status—the network of embassies—by examining its relation to my concept of status. Integrating qualitative and quantitative evidence, I conduct two types of validation: content validation and discriminant validation. Drawing from international law, network analysis, and cases involving countries like China and Israel, I first show that the network of embassies adequately captures both recognition and hierarchy, the two necessary dimensions of my concept of status. Next, I demonstrate that states’ positions in the diplomatic network closely match scholars’ qualitative assessments of status. At the same time, material capabilities cannot account for much of the variation in states’ positions in the diplomatic network, in line with the analytical distinction I draw between status and material resources.

Chapter 6 presents the empirical strategy I use to investigate the sources of international status in Chapters 7 through 9. Rather than examine status at the state level, I use the network of embassies as my unit of analysis—treating the network structure itself as an object of substantive interest. First, I derive observable implications from my theory for embassy exchange. Next, I explain that, because of its ability to infer social structure by examining the patterns of relations among actors, social network analysis is uniquely suited to investigate the observable implications from my theory. This approach enables me to uncover underlying network dynamics that are not observable using conventional methods. The chapter ends with a presentation of my empirical analysis plan.

To kick things off, Chapter 7 examines the implications of my argument for the formation of ties

in the diplomatic network. Leveraging inferential network analysis, which enables me to directly test hypotheses involving network effects, I assess why states send embassies to certain destinations and not others. I show that my relational model performs much better than conventional explanations in theorizing the underlying dynamics of the diplomatic network. To begin, a state's existing relations affect its ability to achieve status: states prove more likely to recognize states that recognize them in return or that share diplomatic partners with them. Moreover, status is self-reinforcing: the more a state receives recognition, the more it attracts additional recognition. In addition, it is attribute similarity—rather than the possession of attributes *per se*—that drives recognition: states recognize those states that are like them, rather than the states with the largest share of attributes. And while traditional approaches emphasize material resources as symbols of status, I show that fundamental values like democracy also matter for recognition.

Next, Chapter 8 examines the implications of my argument at the structural level of the diplomatic network. I show that the network is highly centralized, both in its structure and in its use of status symbols. First, the network has a core-periphery structure—whereby states can be divided into a well-connected core, comprised mostly of Western or Western-aligned states, and a sparsely-connected periphery. States in the core are very likely to exchange embassies among themselves but not to send embassies to the periphery. By contrast, states in the periphery are more likely to send embassies to states in the core than in the periphery. As such, the core's size and composition remain stable over time, even as the number of states in the system increases. Second, core membership depends on a Western way of life that includes fundamental values like liberal democracy. Predominant conceptions of state competence thus involve not only the ability to fend for oneself under anarchy, but also a Western standard of civilization.

Chapter 9 examines the implications of my argument for the symbolic value of state attributes. Using a long-run perspective, I show that the relationship between state attributes and status depends on changing structural conditions, rather than on the intrinsic value of a given attribute. The symbolic value of a given attribute depends on who the great powers are and what they do: Acting as standard-setters and gatekeepers, the great powers of an era shape predominant conceptions of

state competence. First, I assess whether the acquisition of nuclear weapons increases the number of embassies a state receives using the synthetic control method. I show that, since the nuclear powers colluded to stigmatize the bomb in the 1960s and 1970s, the acquisition of nuclear weapons does not improve the owner's standing. Next, I examine the effect of joint democracy on embassy exchange using time-varying effect models. I show that, since 1900, democratic states are more likely to recognize one another—but only during periods of democratic hegemony.

To conclude, Chapter 10 offers three general lessons based on this study for research on international hierarchies, international order, and power transitions.

## **Part I**

### **Theoretical Foundations**



## 2

# What Is International Status?

Although status is a relational concept, existing research does not study it relationally. Existing studies acknowledge that status is social, but do not explore this aspect in depth. In particular, this limitation manifests itself in two ways. To begin, existing research focuses on the state level, treating status as a motivation behind state action—or as something that comes from within states, rather than from relations among states. Moreover, scholars traditionally define status as a state's ranking based on valued attributes, especially its military and economic capabilities—such that the richer or militarily stronger a country is, the higher its international standing should be. Existing studies thus adopt an individualistic approach, treating status as a function of the qualities of states, and especially of the things that they have. According to this approach, the larger a state's share of certain attributes, the higher standing it should achieve.

However, the conventional approach to status in IR leads to generalized fetishism, as it mistakes social relations for actors' properties; induces material reductionism, as it often equates status with the possession of material resources; and incurs a fallacy of composition, since it assumes that social outcomes result from the intentions of actors. And because status is insufficiently differentiated from material capabilities, it is not clear why we need the concept of status in the first place. As a result, status remains in the background in IR theories: When some aspect of international politics cannot be explained using traditional theories based on security or survival, status is called upon to fulfill the task. IR scholars are thus caught in a conundrum: they claim that status is a fundamental element of international relations, but ultimately render it a residual category.

In this chapter, I draw from a rich tradition of research in the social sciences to develop a new conceptualization that highlights the fundamentally social (and relational) nature of status. Following the Weberian tradition, I define status as an effective claim to social esteem that involves privileges. As a concept at the intersection of identity and power, status involves two necessary dimensions: recognition (or respect) and hierarchy (or ranking). On the one hand, status requires recognition: for an actor to achieve a particular status, others need to recognize it. On the other hand, status involves hierarchy: depending on a group's level of social esteem, group members acquire certain privileges. By itself, neither dimension constitutes status; that is, status cannot be reduced to either recognition or hierarchy. Only when both dimensions are present are we dealing with status. By proposing a conceptualization of status that encompasses both recognition and hierarchy, this chapter thus integrates two traditions in IR research that rarely come into dialogue: the mainstream literature on status and conflict, which usually treats status as a means to an end; and the literature on recognition, which usually treats status as an end in itself.

Compared to existing definitions of status, the proposed conceptualization offers important advantages. Instead of reducing status to individual or material factors—such as states' properties, their material resources, or their intentions—my conceptualization emphasizes the fundamentally social nature of status. By integrating interdisciplinary insights to conceptualize status, this chapter helps bring research on status in IR in line with research in the social sciences more broadly. In addition, my conceptualization differentiates status from related terms like material capabilities and hierarchy. By showing that status is analytically distinct from either term, I aim to move status from its current position as a residual category in IR to its rightful place as a concept central to the study of international politics. The development of a clear conceptualization of status in this chapter allows me to develop a relational theory of status in Chapter 3 and, accordingly, to develop a relational empirical strategy to investigate the sources of international status in the following chapters. As such, this chapter lays the conceptual groundwork to consider the role that status plays in important phenomena in international relations—such as international cooperation and the maintenance of international order—that are still rarely associated with status.

Each of the chapter’s sections deals with a different aspect of the conceptualization of status. The first section begins by introducing the methodology I use to conceptualize status, which draws on the literature on concept formation in the tradition of Giovanni Sartori.<sup>1</sup> In particular, I use the framework of three-level concepts and the structure of necessary and sufficient conditions to define status. In addition, I consciously explore the trade-offs among the desirable features in a concept—such as differentiation, familiarity, parsimony, depth, field utility, and theoretical utility.<sup>2</sup> Drawing on an interdisciplinary body of research, I define status as a concept at the intersection of identity and power. At the abstract level, I define status as an effective claim to social esteem that involves privileges. At the intermediate level, the concept of status thus involves two necessary dimensions: recognition and hierarchy. The chapter’s second section then focuses on the former dimension, while the third section discusses the latter dimension. In each of these sections, I define the semantic field of status by examining the relationship between status and, respectively, two important concepts in the study of politics: identity and power.

## 2.1 Concept Formation Methodology

In this chapter, I move from the background concept of status to a systematized concept of status. As Adcock and Collier note, a background concept “encompasses the constellation of potentially diverse meanings associated with a given concept.”<sup>3</sup> As discussed below, a variety of definitions of status (and related terms) are used in IR. By contrast, a systematized concept refers to the specific formulation of a concept developed by a researcher. In this chapter, I first examine existing definitions of status and their limitations. Next, I develop a systematized concept of status based on an explicit definition and aimed at overcoming the limitations from existing definitions. This systematized concept serves as the foundation for the development of a relational theory of status in the next chapter, as well as for the operationalization of status in Chapter 4.

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<sup>1</sup>Sartori 1970, 1975.

<sup>2</sup>Gerring 1999, 2012.

<sup>3</sup>Adcock and Collier 2001, 530.

To conceptualize international status, I draw on the literature on concept formation in the tradition of Giovanni Sartori, which provides clear guidelines for the development of concepts in the social sciences. This approach offers two important advantages given my goals in this project. To begin, it provides a coherent framework for concept formation, allowing me to consciously explore the trade-offs involved in the process of defining status. Moreover, this approach provides a systematic way to address the “what is” question before dealing with the “how much” question.<sup>4</sup> In other words, a careful conceptualization of status in this chapter provides a clear roadmap for the operationalization of status conducted in Chapter 4.<sup>5</sup>

I use the framework of “three-level” concepts to conceptualize status.<sup>6</sup> My conceptualization comprises three levels that range from most to least abstract: the basic level, the secondary level, and the indicator level. While this chapter deals with the basic and secondary levels, Chapter 4 deals with the indicator level. At the basic, most abstract level, I define status as an effective claim to social esteem that involves privileges. At the secondary level—which connects the basic level to the more concrete indicator level—the proposed conceptualization involves two key dimensions: recognition and hierarchy. The two dimensions constitute status, rather than causing it. That is, the relationship between the basic-level concept and the secondary-level dimensions is one of identity rather than one of causation. In particular, I use the structure of necessary and sufficient conditions, rather than a family resemblance approach, to conceptualize status. I treat each of the secondary-level dimensions of the concept of status—recognition and hierarchy—as a necessary but not sufficient condition of status. I construct the concept of status as an ideal type; as such, the concept’s extension (or the range of cases covered by the concept) is zero or almost zero.<sup>7</sup>

To formulate a useful concept of status, I follow a set of criteria proposed by Gerring and deemed critical to concept formation. My conceptualization seeks a balance among the desirable features in a concept: differentiation, familiarity, parsimony, depth, field utility, and theoretical utility.<sup>8</sup> Fol-

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<sup>4</sup>Sartori 1970.

<sup>5</sup>See Adcock and Collier 2001, 531.

<sup>6</sup>See Goertz 2006.

<sup>7</sup>Goertz 2006, 83-85; Sartori 1970, 1041.

<sup>8</sup>Gerring 1999. See also Gerring 2012.

lowing this approach, a concept should be bounded or analytically *differentiated* from other concepts. A clear conceptualization differentiates a concept from neighboring concepts, delineating the semantic field in which that concept is located.<sup>9</sup> In some cases, further conceptual differentiation may be desirable. If there are aspects of a phenomenon that are important enough to justify the creation of subtypes, for example, differentiation may prove useful. As Collier and Levitsky point out, the creation of subtypes of democracy, such as parliamentary or federal democracy, provides an example of useful conceptual differentiation: while each subtype of democracy can be included in the general definition of democracy, it also highlights important aspects that the broader concept of democracy neglects.<sup>10</sup> But even though a concept should be differentiated from other concepts, the strategy of making a definition more specific to highlight certain aspects (or to capture new cases) should be used with caution because it (1) unsettles the semantic field in which scholars are working; (2) tends to provoke definitional gerrymandering (or scholarly disputes over definitions); and (3) is bound to create confusion and miscommunication among researchers.<sup>11</sup>

As Gerring points out, excessive differentiation tends to compromise the other desirable features in a concept—familiarity, parsimony, depth, field utility, and theoretical utility.<sup>12</sup> First, excessive differentiation compromises a concept's *familiarity*, or the extent to which the concept resonates with established usage. Since closely related terms are used interchangeably in everyday language and in social scientific research, fine-grained distinctions among them tend to be idiosyncratic, and therefore hard to comprehend and recall. Second, excessive differentiation compromises *parsimony*, since strict definitions tend to involve an extensive list of attributes that serve to distinguish one term from the other. Third, fine-grained distinctions are likely to reduce a concept's *depth*, or its “ability to bundle characteristics.”<sup>13</sup> As a concept gets more differentiated, it emphasizes more specific aspects of a phenomenon, and so tends to provide a narrower picture of the phenomenon of interest. Fourth, excessive differentiation undermines a concept's *field utility*. By emphasizing specific

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<sup>9</sup>Gerring 1999, 375-379; Gerring 2012, 127-30.

<sup>10</sup>Collier and Levitsky 1997, 435.

<sup>11</sup>Collier and Levitsky 1997, 444-445. See also Collier and Mahon 1993; Sartori 1970.

<sup>12</sup>Gerring 1999. See also Gerring 2012.

<sup>13</sup>Gerring 1999, 380.

aspects of a phenomenon, scholars unnecessarily limit the range of scholarly communities using a given concept, as well as the range of phenomena the concept is intended to cover. By highlighting certain aspects of a phenomenon while ignoring others, definitions that privilege differentiation ultimately narrow the scope of enquiry. Finally, the *theoretical utility* of such definitions—or their usefulness for theory development and assessment—is also restricted.

My conceptualization of status thus seeks a balance between differentiation and the other desirable features in a concept: familiarity, parsimony, depth, field utility, and theoretical utility. As such, the proposed conceptualization overcomes two limitations found in existing definitions of status in IR. On the one hand, certain definitions insufficiently differentiate status from terms like material capabilities or hierarchy. As a result, they render status a residual category. On the other hand, certain definitions excessively differentiate status either from related terms like honor and respect, or from existing definitions in the social sciences. As a result, they create conceptual confusion and an unnecessary fragmentation in the study of status. By contrast, I consciously explore below the trade-offs involved in the conceptualization of status.

### **2.1.1 Problem 1: Too Little Differentiation**

To begin, some definitions of status in IR insufficiently differentiate the concept of status from related terms such as material capabilities or hierarchy. On the one hand, some scholars define status as a state's reputation for military strength, insufficiently differentiating status from material capabilities. But as discussed above, status and material capabilities often mismatch in practice. And importantly, such a mismatch is theoretically interesting—since states are more prone to conflict when they receive less international recognition than their capabilities would warrant. Yet, by treating status as a function of states' material capabilities, the conventional approach cannot explain why the two aspects often mismatch. More broadly, this approach reduces the analytical usefulness of status. If status refers to material capabilities plus an error term, it is not clear why we need the concept of status in the first place. To prove analytically useful, the concept of status thus needs to be differentiated from the notion of material capabilities.

On the other hand, some scholars define status as a state's position in a hierarchy, but fall short of specifying the kind of hierarchy that status involves. For example, Renshon defines status as "*standing or rank in a status community*," whereas a status community refers to "a hierarchy composed of the group of actors that a state perceives itself as being in competition with."<sup>14</sup> Hierarchy thus seems to assume a subjective form, as actors may perceive a state as competing with different groups; by contrast, the social aspect of status becomes more muted. Similarly, Dafoe and colleagues define status as "attributes of an individual or social roles, especially those attributes related to position in a deference hierarchy."<sup>15</sup> In this definition, hierarchy becomes associated with deference. However, the authors do not elaborate on this point, leaving important questions unaddressed. In particular: What is a deference hierarchy, and how does it differ from other kinds of hierarchy? As existing research in other areas indicates, hierarchies may be based on different dimensions. Following a Weberian approach, for example, some IR scholars posit that states can differentiate themselves based on material capabilities, social esteem, or authority.<sup>16</sup> Drawing on this work, I posit below that status involves a specific kind of hierarchy: one based on social esteem, rather than based on either material capabilities or authority.

### 2.1.2 Problem 2: Too Much Differentiation

Yet other definitions of status in IR excessively differentiate the concept either from closely related concepts or from existing definitions of status in the social sciences. On the one hand, some scholars propose new definitions of status without much conceptual elaboration, neglecting a rich tradition of research on status in the social sciences. On the other hand, some scholars draw boundaries among status and closely related terms.<sup>17</sup> As Table 2.1 shows, IR scholars use a diversity of terms—

<sup>14</sup>Renshon 2017, 4; see also Ward 2017, 35. Renshon adds that status has three "critical attributes": it is "positional (relative, not absolute, values are most salient), perceptual (based on beliefs), and social (the beliefs that matter are those higher-order, collective beliefs about where a given actor "stands" relative to others)." However, this approach falls short of specifying the kind of hierarchy that status involves. See Renshon 2017, 21; for a similar list of conceptual attributes, see Larson, Paul, and Wohlforth 2014, 7-8.

<sup>15</sup>Dafoe, Renshon, and Huth 2014, 373.

<sup>16</sup>See Keene 2012; Schulz 2019. See also Scott 1996; Weber 1978.

<sup>17</sup>See, for example, Lebow 2008, 62-69; O'Neill 2001, 193-94, 244; Wolf 2011, 114-16.

**Table 2.1.** Definitions of Status and Related Terms in the IR Literature

Term	Definition	Author(s)
Status	Collective perceptions of one's position vis-à-vis a comparison group, based on estimations of how one's characteristics rank relative to others	Barnhart (2020, 16)
	Attributes of an individual or social roles, especially those attributes related to position in a deference hierarchy	Dafoe, Renshon, and Huth (2014, 373)
	Collective beliefs about a state's ranking in valued attributes	Larson, Paul, and Wohlforth (2014, 7)
	A group's standing on some trait valued by society	Larson and Shevchenko (2010, 69)
	An actor's standing or rank in a hierarchy composed of the group of actors that a state perceives itself as being in competition with	Renshon (2017, 4)
	An actor's position within a social hierarchy, as recognized by others based on consensually valued characteristics	Ward (2017, 35)
Prestige	A reputation for power, and military power in particular	Gilpin (1981, 31)
	The reputation for power, which is based on military strength	Morgenthau (1948, 55); Morgenthau (2006, 89-90)
Honor	The desire to stand out among one's peers	Lebow (2008, 5)
	A quality within the individual as perceived by the group	O'Neill (2001, 244)
Recognition	An inter-subjective relation constructed through rapport between an actor's asserted image and the image returned by others	Lindemann (2011, 70)
	A social act in which another actor is constituted as a subject with legitimate social standing	Murray (2010, 660)
	Acceptance by others of one's existence as a subject of a certain kind	Ringmar (2002, 119)
Respect	Acceptance by others of the position one expects to deserve	Wolf (2011, 106)

ranging from status to honor and respect—to discuss a similar notion, creating a cacophony of idiosyncratic definitions. As Gerring puts it:

Older concepts are redefined, leaving etymological trails that confuse the unwitting reader. New words are created to refer to things that were perhaps poorly articulated through existing concepts, creating a highly complex lexical terrain (given that old concepts continue to circulate). Words with similar meanings crowd around each other, vying for attention and stealing each other's attributes. Thus, we play musical chairs with words, in Giovanni Sartori's memorable phrase.<sup>18</sup>

The proliferation of definitions produces what Sartori calls a "Tower of Babel trend."<sup>19</sup> This trend compromises IR research on status in two ways. First, idiosyncratic definitions (or fine-grained distinctions among closely related terms) tend to cause conceptual confusion. As a result, they reduce a concept's familiarity as well as its parsimony. Second, the proliferation of definitions leads to an unnecessary fragmentation of the study of status across different intellectual traditions. As a result, it reduces the concept's field utility and theoretical utility. In particular, a review of existing research reveals a lack of dialogue between two research camps, which roughly map onto the different terms shown in Table 2.1. On the one hand, mainstream approaches emphasize hierarchy or rank, treating status (or prestige) as a means to an end. Existing work in the realist tradition, for example, draws from economics research to highlight the competitive or positional nature of status.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, alternative approaches emphasize honor, respect, or recognition—treating status as an end in itself. Drawing from political theory or social psychology, these approaches place status as an intrinsic human motivation, rather than as a means to achieve goals like security or wealth.<sup>21</sup> But by focusing on different dimensions of the same phenomenon, existing definitions ultimately reduce the concept's depth. In particular, fine-grained definitions ignore that status, much like power, can be either an end in itself or a means to other ends. In sum, like insufficient differentiation, excessive differentiation thus compromises the other desirable features in a concept.

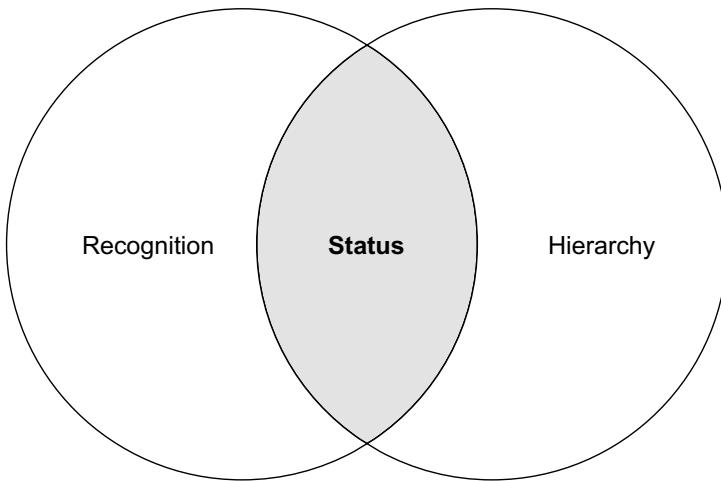
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<sup>18</sup>Gerring 2012, 113. See also Sartori 1975, 9; Sartori 1984, 38, 52-53.

<sup>19</sup>Sartori 1975, 7.

<sup>20</sup>Gilpin 1981; Morgenthau 1948; Schweller 1999; Wohlforth 2009. See also Frank 1985; Gurr 1970; Hirsch 1976.

<sup>21</sup>This idea is consistent with IR research on ontological security, which argues that states may become attached to relationships like enduring rivalries even at the expense of their physical security. See Mitzen 2006; Steele 2005.



**Figure 2.1.** Necessary Dimensions of the Concept of Status

### 2.1.3 A Goldilocks Approach: My Definition of Status

To develop my conceptualization of status, I draw from a rich tradition of research in the social sciences. I use as my point of departure Weber's classical definition of status, which sociologists have used extensively to investigate status in domestic societies.<sup>22</sup> Weber defines status as "an effective claim to social esteem in terms of positive or negative privileges."<sup>23</sup> Based on this definition, I develop a conceptualization of status that encompasses two dimensions: recognition and hierarchy. I understand each dimension as a necessary but insufficient condition of status. By itself, neither dimension constitutes status; that is, status cannot be reduced to either recognition or hierarchy. Only when both dimensions are present are we dealing with status. In other words, I consider status to operate at the intersection of both dimensions, as illustrated in Figure 2.1.

My conceptualization seeks a balance among the desirable features in a concept—differentiation, familiarity, parsimony, depth, field utility, and theoretical utility. On the one hand, I *differentiate* the concept of status from related terms in three ways. First, I differentiate status from material capabilities by proposing a conceptualization that emphasizes social esteem rather than the qualities

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<sup>22</sup>Lamont 2001; Ridgeway 2014; Scott 1996.

<sup>23</sup>Weber 1978, 305.

of states or the things that they have. Second, I differentiate status from hierarchy by connecting status to a specific kind of hierarchy, based on social esteem rather than material resources or authority. Finally, I define the semantic field of status by examining the relationship between status and, respectively, two important concepts in the study of politics: identity and power. As Gerring notes, a clear conceptualization requires differentiating the concept of interest from related concepts, or delineating the semantic field in which the concept is located.<sup>24</sup> I consider the concept of status as closely related to the concepts of identity and power, such that in practice they are rarely found in isolation. In particular, because the concept of status involves both recognition and hierarchy, we can place status at the intersection of identity and power, as I discuss in more detail below. Yet analytically, status cannot be reduced to either identity or power, since each concept involves distinctive dimensions that the other concepts lack.

On the other hand, I curtail excessive differentiation by incorporating both recognition and hierarchy into my concept of status. Instead of differentiating status from closely related terms—such as prestige, honor, recognition, or respect—I conceive of status as a complex phenomenon with two deeply interrelated dimensions: recognition and hierarchy. Based on the Weberian tradition in the study of status, I posit that both of these dimensions constitute necessary conditions of the broader concept of status, rather than independent dimensions that should be studied separately.<sup>25</sup> This approach enables me to reduce both conceptual confusion and the unnecessary fragmentation of the study of status. Compared to existing definitions, my conceptualization offers an important advantage: it integrates insights from two research traditions in IR that rarely come into dialogue. In particular, my definition straddles the divide between (1) mainstream approaches that emphasize the hierarchy dimension, treating status as a means to an end; and (2) alternative approaches that emphasize the recognition dimension, treating status as an end in itself.

Because it seeks just the right amount of differentiation between status and other concepts, the proposed conceptualization also reasonably meets the other criteria that make for a good concept in the social sciences. To begin, my definition is consistent with a rich tradition of status research in the

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<sup>24</sup>See Gerring 1999, 375-379.

<sup>25</sup>See, for example, Fraser 2000, 2001; Ridgeway 2014.

social sciences while avoiding the use of jargon—thus enhancing the concept’s *familiarity* to both scholars and non-specialists. Moreover, my definition of status reduces a complex phenomenon to a couple of dimensions with a few well-defined attributes, ensuring the concept’s *parsimony*. In addition, I bundle two aspects usually considered in isolation the IR literature—hierarchy and recognition—to develop a *deeper* conceptualization that captures the fundamental aspects of status. As a result, my definition broadens the range of scholarly communities that can use the concept, as well as the range of phenomena the concept is intended to cover, thus enhancing the concept’s *field utility*. Finally, the proposed conceptualization serves as the foundation for a relational theory of status that highlights the distinctive contribution of status to the study of international politics, thus enhancing the concept’s *theoretical utility*.

In the next two sections, I discuss in more detail each of the necessary dimensions of my concept of status—recognition and hierarchy.

## 2.2 The First Dimension: Recognition (or Respect)

Recognition is the first necessary dimension in my concept of status. As Weber puts it, status involves “an effective claim to social esteem:” for an actor to achieve a particular status, others have to recognize it. The mere aspiration for a given status is not enough to achieve it; a successful claim requires external recognition.<sup>26</sup> In other words, recognition has a constitutive effect on a state’s status, rather than merely a declaratory effect, whereby a previously existing status is simply acknowledged by others.<sup>27</sup> For example, a state may claim to be a great power, but great power status depends on whether other states (and especially the established great powers) consider that claim as legitimate. In fact, the historical record contains prominent examples of aspiring great powers, such as Wilhelmine Germany or Russia since the time of Peter the Great, that nonetheless failed to

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<sup>26</sup>IR scholars working on recognition emphasize this point. See Lindemann 2011; Murray 2010; Ringmar 2002; Wendt 2003. The intuition behind this argument also appears in mainstream scholarship on status, though it is not explored in depth. See Dafoe, Renshon, and Huth 2014, 375-76; Larson, Paul, and Wohlfarth 2014, 10.

<sup>27</sup>For reviews of the related literature on the constitutive and declaratory effects of recognition for state creation (rather than state status), see Agné et al. 2013; Bartelson 2013; Erman 2013.

achieve the desired recognition.<sup>28</sup> As such, status cannot be reduced to the intentions of a given state; rather, it requires recognition from a broader community. Recognition of great power status, for example, can be formal—as in the institution of permanent membership in the UN Security Council or in the Council of the League of Nations, or informal—expressed by equal treatment or frequent consultations with the established great powers.<sup>29</sup>

In particular, status involves the acknowledgment of a state's social esteem, rather than merely of its attributes. As Weber observes, status involves social esteem—a “social estimation of honor” that may be connected with any type of symbol or attribute with a socially recognized meaning.<sup>30</sup> Because status depends on social esteem, state attributes play only an indirect role in the process of status achievement. That is, state attributes do not affect status directly, because of their functional purpose. For example, North Korea acquired nuclear weapons that doubtlessly increased its coercive capabilities, since they allow Pyongyang to inflict considerable harm on its enemies. Nonetheless, North Korea was not recognized as a great power because of nuclearization. On the contrary, the acquisition of nuclear weapons consolidated North Korea's status as a pariah state.

State attributes affect status indirectly, because of what they communicate to others about a state's quality.<sup>31</sup> Status primarily involves identification processes in which an actor gains admission into a club once members deem the actor to follow the rules of membership.<sup>32</sup> As Weber notes, the main expression of status is the identification with the distinctive way of life, or set of behaviors and practices, expected from the members of a given group.<sup>33</sup> For example, admission into formal clubs in international relations—such as the European Union (EU), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), or the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)—depends on criteria such as democracy, human rights, and economic liberalism. On the other hand, deviations from a group's standards result in disapproval from members. In fact, a club

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<sup>28</sup>Neumann 2008; Renshon 2017, Ch. 6.

<sup>29</sup>See Levy 1983, 17-18.

<sup>30</sup>Weber 1978, 932. Social esteem does not imply friendship; that is, other actors do not necessarily perceive high-status actors as warm, considerate, or authentic. As sociology research indicates, low-status actors may privately question the considerateness and authenticity of high-status actors. See Hahl and Zuckerman 2014.

<sup>31</sup>Form and Stone 1957; Goffman 1951.

<sup>32</sup>See Clunan 2014, 279.

<sup>33</sup>Scott 1996, 31; Weber 1978, 305, 538, 932.

may even revoke an actor's membership when the actor's behavior violates the rules of membership. In 2014, for example, the G7 decided to suspend Russia from the group, noting that Russia's forceful annexation of Crimea contradicted the group's "shared beliefs and responsibilities."<sup>34</sup>

The symbolic value of a given state attribute—or what the attribute communicates about a state's quality—depends on social conventions, which shape a group's way of life or the standards for membership in a given group.<sup>35</sup> Social conventions regulate status relations, determining the kinds of symbols and privileges that should "go together." Conventions are socially shared, and can be written or unwritten. As social psychologists note, conventions provide the basis for informational social influence: they describe what is commonly done and inform behavior via example.<sup>36</sup> During social interactions, actors use the behavior of others as evidence of reality; by observing what relevant others do, one can choose how to act.<sup>37</sup> In particular, social conventions reflect prevailing interpretations of what it means to be an upstanding member in a given group. In international relations, for example, certain conventions have determined what it means to be a "modern" or "civilized" state since the nineteenth century, as I discuss in more detail below.

From a theoretical standpoint, social conventions are the most interesting feature of status. To Weber, the search for the ultimate status symbol—or the attribute originally used for status distinctions—is of little interest. Status symbols vary across societies, are frequently chosen in an arbitrary fashion, and may become less relevant over time. What is puzzling, instead, is how conventions can perpetuate social divisions, even the initial reasons for status distinctions are forgotten.<sup>38</sup> Because conventions depend on social legitimization, they are bound to change over time, along with the prevailing practices and discourse within a group. As Elster notes, conventions work like equilibria: they matter because actors converge around them, rather than because of their specific content.<sup>39</sup> As such, conventions reflect social equilibria, rather than an actor's intrinsic "good"

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<sup>34</sup>G7. "The Hague Declaration." 24 March 2014. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/03/24/hague-declaration>.

<sup>35</sup>Weber 1978, 34, 307, 319-24.

<sup>36</sup>Deutsch and Gerard 1955.

<sup>37</sup>Cialdini, Reno, and Kallgren 1990; Cialdini 2003; Shaffer 1983.

<sup>38</sup>Scott 1996, 32; Weber 1978, 387.

<sup>39</sup>Elster 1989, 12.

taste (or superior status). In Elster's words, "The snob follows the social norm, while believing that he simply has superior taste. When the norm changes, his preferences change with it. It is not that he has a taste for conformity, only that his tastes conform to those of others. The behavior of others is the cause of his utility function, not an argument in it."<sup>40</sup>

Importantly, recognition and conventions do not obviate one another. On the one hand, the existence of conventions does not imply that recognition is merely declaratory—or that membership in a club follows automatically once an actor fulfills the membership criteria, regardless of whether current members recognize the aspiring members as peers.<sup>41</sup> The political act of recognition cannot be reduced to a technical issue just because rules of membership exist. On the other hand, rules of membership do not become irrelevant just because recognition is a discretionary or political act. To the contrary: to be legitimate, acts of recognition typically have to be grounded on the pertinent rules of membership.<sup>42</sup> Conventions thus work as legitimating heuristics in the inherently political process of recognition.<sup>43</sup> Status recognition often involves public processes of justification—that is, the giving of reasons that require acceptance (publicly if not privately) from a group's members.<sup>44</sup> Understanding the dynamics of status recognition thus requires understanding processes of legitimization in international relations, as I discuss in Chapter 3.

### 2.2.1 A Social, Relational Definition

By defining status based on recognition and social esteem, I depart from the conventional approach to status in IR in three important ways. First, my conceptualization shifts the focus from state attributes to state relations. I define status in network terms, positing that high-status states are those

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<sup>40</sup>Elster 1989, 108.

<sup>41</sup>The literature on state creation in international law makes a similar point. Even though membership in international society is usually conditioned on criteria such as control over a territory and population, state recognition remains a matter at the discretion of the recognizing state. See Kelsen 1941, 605, 609-10.

<sup>42</sup>The literature on state creation in international law makes a similar point. The recognition of a new state that does not fulfill the criteria for statehood is considered a violation of international law, as it infringes upon the rights of the existing state from which the new state attempts to separate. See Kelsen 1941, 610; Lauterpacht 1944, 391-396. It is no coincidence that states usually coordinate their acts of recognition, so as to avoid positions that may be perceived as illegitimate. See Crawford 1996.

<sup>43</sup>See Wight 1972.

<sup>44</sup>See Goddard 2006; Jackson 2002, 2006.

that receive such recognition from the relevant peers.<sup>45</sup> In shifting the focus to state relations, my conceptualization overcomes the generalized fetishism that often characterizes studies of international status. Existing definitions of status tend to emphasize state attributes; as a result, they tend to neglect the relational processes whereby states ultimately achieve status. By contrast, my definition is agnostic about which state attributes should serve as a basis for social estimations of honor in a given context. Because the symbolic meaning of state attributes depends on inter-subjective understandings, we should expect it to vary over time and across contexts. My definition implies that, to examine how states achieve status, we should understand how actors define social esteem in a given context, rather than merely ranking states based on certain attributes.

Second, my conceptualization departs from the conventional approach because it highlights the fundamentally social (and relational) nature of status. In doing so, it overcomes the fallacy of composition that often characterizes studies of international status. Existing definitions of status tend to adopt an individualistic approach, treating status as a function of states' qualities. The conventional approach derives social outcomes (status inequalities) entirely from the properties of individual actors: the richer or militarily stronger a state is, the higher its standing should be. By contrast, my conceptualization focuses on social aspects—recognition, social esteem, and conventions—that cannot be reduced to the intentions or the behavior of individual actors. As discussed in more detail in the next chapter, I understand status as something that results from relations among states and groups of states, rather than from the qualities of individual states.

Third, my definition comports with the notion that status symbols can be material—things that states have—or ideational—norms that states adopt.<sup>46</sup> In doing so, it overcomes the material reductionism that often characterizes studies of international status. The conventional approach tends to treat status as a function of material capabilities, often to the detriment of other factors. But as some studies demonstrate, norms supply yardsticks for differentiating and ranking states, providing actors with the raw material for status distinctions.<sup>47</sup> The importance of norms for international status

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<sup>45</sup>My approach is consistent with a long tradition of studies on status in the social sciences. See, for example, Bothner, Smith, and White 2010; Gould 2002; Ridgeway 1978; Smith and Faris 2015.

<sup>46</sup>de Carvalho and Neumann 2015; Clunan 2014, 274; Miller et al. 2015; Neumann 2008; Pouliot 2014.

<sup>47</sup>Cooley and Snyder 2015; Kelley and Simmons 2015; Towns 2012.

becomes clear, for example, in then U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick's call in 2005 for China to become a "responsible stakeholder," or a state that matches its economic growth with a commitment to the principles of capitalism, human rights, and democracy.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, immediately following the 2016 presidential elections in the U.S., then German Chancellor Angela Merkel issued a statement that emphasized democratic values as the foundation for close transatlantic relations and for continued U.S.-Germany cooperation.<sup>49</sup>

As these examples indicate, material resources do not determine status, even though the two dimensions may correlate in practice. As Weber notes, status relations are analytically distinct from class relations: whereas wealth is the currency in the latter, social honor is the currency in the former.<sup>50</sup> In fact, high-status groups adamantly oppose claims to base social ranking exclusively on material resources, as the fulfillment of these claims would undermine the status hierarchy.<sup>51</sup> If material resources determined status, status relations would collapse into class relations, and the nouveau riche would enjoy access to the same privileges as old money does.<sup>52</sup>

### **2.2.2 Status and Identity**

Because recognition is a necessary dimension of status, the concepts of status and identity partially overlap. To clarify the conceptual relationship between status and identity, I compare next the main dimensions of each concept using Brubaker and Cooper's conceptualization of identity.<sup>53</sup> To begin, Brubaker and Cooper note that the term "identity" has disparate meanings in the social sciences, which results in ambiguity and conceptual confusion. To address this problem, Brubaker and Cooper suggest that scholars use instead a set of terms that focus on specific meanings associated with identity. In particular, they disaggregate the general concept of identity into five terms: (self- and

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<sup>48</sup>Zoellick 2005.

<sup>49</sup>Merkel 2016.

<sup>50</sup>Weber 1978, 926.

<sup>51</sup>Weber 1978, 936.

<sup>52</sup>This observation is consistent, for example, with popular accounts of relations among affluent families in New York during the Gilded Age, according to which established families looked down on newcomers despite the former's considerable wealth.

<sup>53</sup>See Brubaker and Cooper 2000.

external) identification, self-understanding, commonality, connectedness, and groupness.<sup>54</sup> Given their active and processual nature, these terms provide the added advantage of highlighting *who* conducts the identification or categorization of a given actor.

Figure 2.2 illustrates the conceptual relationship between status and identity. While the two concepts partially overlap, each involves distinctive features. On the one hand, status overlaps with identity through the recognition dimension, which is a necessary condition in my concept of status. In particular, recognition maps onto four of the dimensions proposed by Brubaker and Cooper. First, since effective claims to status require recognition, status implies *external identification*—or how an actor is identified by others. Second, because the principal expression of status refers to the identification with a group and its distinctive way of life, status also involves *groupness*—or “the sense of belonging to a distinctive, bounded, solidary group.”<sup>55</sup> In addition, status involves two other dimensions that I discuss in more detail in Chapter 3. Because high-status groups differentiate themselves from the rest of society by adopting distinctive symbols, status involves *commonality*—or the sharing of common attributes. And because identification with a group often imposes restrictions on social contact, relations tend to become dense within the group but sparse with outsiders. As such, status also involves *connectedness*—or the sharing of relational ties.

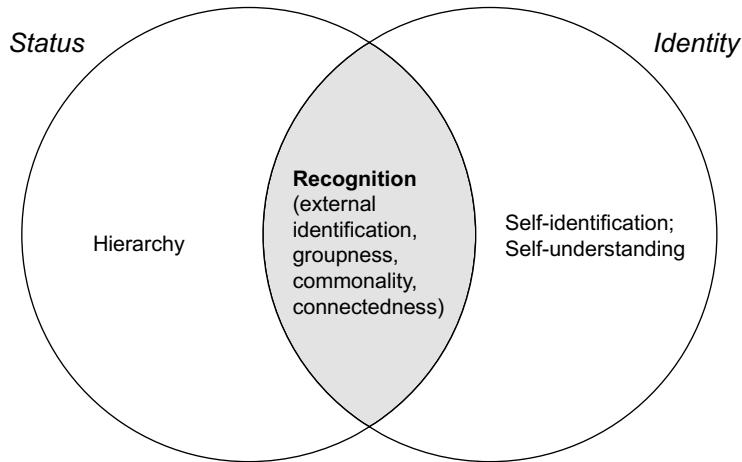
But if status overlaps with identity through the recognition dimension, each concept also involves distinctive dimensions. On the one hand, identity involves two dimensions—self-identification and self-understanding—that are not necessary conditions of status. While status involves identification processes that occur at the social level, both self-identification and self-understanding refer to processes that occur at the actor level. Status does not necessarily involve *self-identification*, or how the actor identifies themselves. As Brubaker and Cooper note, self- and external identification need not converge, even though the two aspects influence one another.<sup>56</sup> Likewise, status need not involve *self-understanding*—a dispositional term that designates “one’s sense of who one is, of

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<sup>54</sup>See Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 14, 20. We can treat each of these terms as a sufficient condition for the concept of identity, since each term can be used separately, in lieu of the more general concept of identity.

<sup>55</sup>Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 20.

<sup>56</sup>Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 15.



**Figure 2.2.** Conceptual Relationship Between Status and Identity.

Notes: Comparison between my concept of status and the concept of identity proposed by Brubaker and Cooper (2000).

one's social location, and of how (given the first two) one is prepared to act.”<sup>57</sup> In fact, the distinction between status (a social-level process) on the one hand, and self-identification or understanding (actor-level processes) on the other hand, enables us to understand why the two dimensions sometimes mismatch. The distinction between these terms captures precisely the notion of status dissatisfaction that is central in IR scholarship. Status-dissatisfied states lack the recognition they expect from other states—that is, they are treated in a way that does not comport with their self-identification or understanding. To account for status dissatisfaction, we thus need to keep status analytically distinct from these actor-level processes.

On the other hand, status involves a necessary dimension—hierarchy—that is not a necessary condition of identity. While status implies inequality, identity does not. To understand why, it is useful to consider the distinction sociologists make between symbolic and social boundaries. As Lamont and Molnar put it, *symbolic boundaries* are “conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space,” while *social boundaries* are “objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of

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<sup>57</sup>Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 17.

resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities.”<sup>58</sup> While social boundaries imply exclusion, symbolic boundaries do not; we can therefore think of symbolic boundaries as a necessary but insufficient condition for social boundaries. Likewise, social psychologists make a similar distinction between social categorization and prejudice.<sup>59</sup> On the one hand, social categorization refers to an automatic process whereby people are classified into groups, instead of perceived as individuals. This basic cognitive process simplifies the social world and gives it meaning. In and of itself, social categorization does not imply positive or negative attitudes toward a given group. By contrast, prejudice refers to a negative attitude toward a group. We can therefore think of social categorization is a necessary but insufficient condition for prejudice. Similarly, because status involves hierarchy, I understand recognition as a necessary but insufficient condition for status.

## 2.3 The Second Dimension: Hierarchy (or Ranking)

Hierarchy is the second necessary dimension in my concept of status. As Weber puts it, status refers to “an effective claim to social esteem *in terms of positive or negative privileges*.<sup>60</sup> Crucially, status involves privileges: depending on their level of social esteem, actors acquire differential access to certain opportunities and resources. Status inequalities among states thus have major political implications. On the one hand, high status comes with important privileges—culminating in the ability to act on behalf of the international community as a whole, as in the case of the great powers. During the twentieth century, for example, those states recognized as great powers acquired special rights and responsibilities, consolidated in institutions like permanent membership in the UN Security Council (UNSC) or its historical predecessor, the Council of the League of Nations.<sup>61</sup> By virtue of their status as great powers, some states got a permanent seat at the table, getting to decide which issues are brought into multilateral discussions and which potential resolutions are approved or vetoed. These states enjoy considerable latitude, for example, in determining which

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<sup>58</sup>Lamont and Molnár 2002, 168.

<sup>59</sup>Brewer 1999; Duckitt 2003.

<sup>60</sup>Weber 1978, 305. Emphasis added.

<sup>61</sup>Bukovansky et al. 2012, 26-34; Bull 2002, 196; Gilpin 1981, 34-39.

political units become recognized (or not) as sovereign states, which instances of force are deemed as legitimate acts of self-defense (or violations of international norms), and who becomes (or not) the object of multilateral sanctions or even military intervention.

Not only do the great powers of an era manage international relations through institutions like the Concert of Vienna or the UNSC, but they also set the foundations of international order in the first place<sup>62</sup>—typically in their own image, based on their own practices and values.<sup>63</sup> In so doing, the great powers arrogate to themselves the ability to act in the name of the international community as a whole.<sup>64</sup> Penned mostly by delegates from the U.S., Britain, and the USSR, for example, the UN Charter has universalistic ambitions nonetheless, purporting to save humanity from the scourge of war.<sup>65</sup> Signed by U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill a few years earlier, as Britain gradually transferred the baton of global hegemony to its most prosperous former colony, the Atlantic Charter conveyed similarly universalistic ambitions, laying out a set of goals for the entire world once the Second World War came to an end. Great powers often frame their actions in terms of the common good rather than their self-interest, downplaying the disputes that inevitably arise in pluralistic societies.

While high status implies exorbitant privilege, low status brings severe disadvantage.<sup>66</sup> In particular, low status implies exclusion, reaching its nadir with restrictions to state sovereignty itself, as in the case of pariah states. To begin, most states lack the prerogatives associated with great power status, as they exert only limited influence over the formation of international order or its management. In 1814, for example, as European diplomats came together in the Congress of Vienna to negotiate a continental treaty that would shape the international order, deliberations mostly happened during informal meetings among representatives from the great powers of the time—Austria, Britain, France, Prussia, and Russia. Even though the Congress's Final Act (1815) paid lip service to the principle of sovereign equality, the other delegates in attendance merely signed a treaty pre-

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<sup>62</sup>Gilpin 1981; Ikenberry 2001; Schroeder 1986.

<sup>63</sup>Hurd 2017; Kupchan 2014; Pitts 2018.

<sup>64</sup>Clunan 2014, 281-87; Hurd 2007; Thompson 2009.

<sup>65</sup>Hoopes and Brinkley 1997; Simpson 2004, Ch. 6.

<sup>66</sup>Adler-Nissen 2014; Zarakol 2011, 2014.

pared by the great powers, without being afforded the right to a formal vote.<sup>67</sup> Likewise, at San Francisco in 1945, the founding members of the UN voted on a treaty whose key principles had largely been defined by the Big Four—the U.S., Britain, the USSR, and China—in the previous year at Dumbarton Oaks.<sup>68</sup> Since then, non-permanent members in the UN Security Council participate in deliberations on a rotating basis, for a limited two-year period, and without the ability to veto draft resolutions. And while the UN General Assembly follows the principle of one state, one vote, its decisions lack the binding force of UNSC resolutions.

Moreover, marginalized states have often been stripped of basic rights associated with statehood itself. Since the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) put forth the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign actors, those states deemed as “uncivilized” or “outlaw” states have enjoyed limited sovereignty nonetheless.<sup>69</sup> In the nineteenth century, for example, European states coupled military force with the imposition of bilateral treaties with China, Japan, and Siam—who unilaterally ceded land, opened trade ports, or granted extraterritorial rights to European citizens, despite not obtaining similar privileges in return.<sup>70</sup> As I discuss in Chapter 3, Europeans justified such actions based on a self-proclaimed standard of civilization, which divided the world between “civilized” Europeans and “uncivilized” non-Europeans.<sup>71</sup> Whereas sovereign equality and mutual toleration served as cornerstones for relations among Europeans, relations between Europeans and non-Europeans took the mantle of a civilizing mission.<sup>72</sup> As European liberalism made a turn to empire in the nineteenth century, beliefs in the distinction between civilization and the barbarity became increasingly secure—such that the moral obligation to civilize non-Europeans, perceived as incapable of self-government or self-improvement, justified the use of illiberal means.<sup>73</sup> Unlike the sovereignty of Europeans, the sovereignty of non-Europeans became divisible: societies in areas like China, Japan, or Siam were considered sovereign enough to sign bilateral treaties but not to retain

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<sup>67</sup>Jarrett 2013, 69–157; Simpson 2004, 112–13.

<sup>68</sup>Hoopes and Brinkley 1997; Simpson 2004, Ch. 6. See also Steil 2013.

<sup>69</sup>Donnelly 2006; Simpson 2004.

<sup>70</sup>Kayaoglu 2010; Cassel 2012.

<sup>71</sup>Gong 1984; Schwarzenberger 1955.

<sup>72</sup>Keene 2002.

<sup>73</sup>Pitts 2005.

autonomous control of their own territories or trade policies.<sup>74</sup>

Other semi-sovereignty practices have existed during the Westphalian era. The international community restricts the sovereignty of those states recognized as “outlaw” states—those deemed to violate international norms, such as Iraq in the Gulf War—and subjects to forms of protection or guarantee those states seen as less than states due to their perceived weakness, backwardness, or decay—such as Kosovo, Bosnia, or Afghanistan in the 1990s and 2000s.<sup>75</sup> If anything, the range of domestic actions that may elicit international intervention has expanded since 1945. States deemed as disrespecting human rights norms, like South Africa during apartheid or the Bashar al-Assad regime in Syria, are subject to multilateral sanctions and military intervention.<sup>76</sup> In recent decades, moreover, the Responsibility to Protect doctrine legitimized intervention in states deemed unable to protect the human rights of their nationals. As the examples indicate, states need to uphold a certain way of life (or a set of behaviors and practices) to receive recognition as sovereign and enjoy the corresponding privileges. For those states that fail to meet these conditions, restrictions to sovereignty may be perceived as legitimate and even necessary.

In other words, while status requires recognition, it cannot be reduced to recognition because it involves privileges. As Fraser notes, disputes over status necessarily involve disputes over institutionalized social subordination, which can only be overcome through the redistribution of privileges among actors. Status recognition is costly; therefore, it cannot be reduced to a matter of discourse or identity politics.<sup>77</sup> To effectively recognize an actor as member of a group, current members need to walk their talk—that is, to share their privileges with the newcomer. It is not enough, for example, for the established powers to pay lip service to an emerging power’s desire to be acknowledged as an equal. Status recognition cannot be undertaken on the cheap, without the corresponding privileges.

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<sup>74</sup>Keene 2002.

<sup>75</sup>Donnelly 2006, 146-51; Simpson 2004.

<sup>76</sup>Donnelly 1998.

<sup>77</sup>Fraser 2000, 2001. My perspective is closer to the status model of recognition advanced by Fraser than to the identity model of recognition proposed by Honneth, on which most IR scholars draw. The status model of recognition, which draws on the Weberian tradition, takes a sociological perspective to define misrecognition as a form of institutionalized social subordination. The identity model, by contrast, takes a psychological perspective to see misrecognition as a mismatch between an actor’s self- and external identification that compromises the actor’s self-esteem. For comparisons between the two models, see Fraser and Honneth 2003; Zurn 2003.

To effectively recognize an emerging power as an equal, the established powers need to share with it the privileges of great power status. In this case, recognition involves inviting the emerging power, at a minimum, to sit at the main table and help manage international relations; and at a maximum, to help reshape the foundational institutions of the international order.

### **2.3.1 Hierarchy Based on Social Esteem**

If status cannot be reduced to recognition on the other hand, neither can it be reduced to hierarchy on the other hand. While status involves hierarchy, it cannot be equated with hierarchy because it requires recognition based on social esteem. Status involves a specific kind of hierarchy: one based on social esteem, rather than based on either material capabilities or authority. As some IR scholars point out, states can differentiate themselves based on material capabilities, social esteem, or authority—much like groups differentiate themselves in domestic societies.<sup>78</sup> Although the different kinds of hierarchy influence one another, they correspond each to an analytically distinct domain. Because hierarchies may be based on dimensions other than social esteem, the concepts of status and hierarchy should not be equated with one another.

Importantly, hierarchies based on social esteem differ systematically from hierarchies based on material capabilities. As Goode notes, status relations contrast with competitive exchange because each operates under a different logic.<sup>79</sup> To begin, status relations involve primarily social groups rather than individual actors or dyads.<sup>80</sup> Status evaluations rely on standards established at the group level, as an emerging property. No single actor can decide on a group's standards; rather, the group reaches a working consensus about how to evaluate status claims. Likewise, no single actor can determine the status of another actor; rather, the group is the ultimate evaluator of status claims. What is more, the group even evaluates members' responses to status claims. If the group judges a certain response as “incorrect,” the member's credibility within the group may be compromised. In the international context, for example, Saunders notes that many countries rejected the use by

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<sup>78</sup>See Keene 2012; Schulz 2019. See also Scott 1996; Weber 1978.

<sup>79</sup>Goode 1978, Ch. 2.

<sup>80</sup>Goode 1978, 8, 13, 65.

U.S. policymakers of the “rogue state” label to categorize countries like Iran and North Korea in the 1990s—and accordingly, opposed U.S. policies towards these countries.<sup>81</sup>

Moreover, status relations lack the voluntaristic character of competitive exchange. As Goode notes, “one can leave the economic market, except for consumption, but one cannot leave the realm of prestige.”<sup>82</sup> There is no way to opt out of status relations, since an actor will be evaluated even if they try to seclude themselves. In fact, this very act will be considered in status evaluations. In the context of international politics, for example, North Korea may sever its ties with most countries in the world. However, this action does not prevent other countries from evaluating North Korea as an autocratic or deviant state. As the example indicates, status evaluations involve different types of action, across domains or issue areas; unlike competitive exchange, they are not specific to domains like economic or security relations. And because status evaluations necessarily involve the group, actors cannot freely renegotiate the terms of their relations.

In addition, unlike competitive exchange, status relations require an element of authenticity: an actor cannot will admiration or respect. As Goode notes, status evaluations “must rely on beliefs about *worth*, or the justice of giving rewards to this or that organization or person, the rightness of privileges that are enjoyed by different [groups].”<sup>83</sup> In fact, actors who pursue status on the basis of self-interest alone—simply to obtain the privileges that come with high status—tend to be perceived as inauthentic or inconsiderate.<sup>84</sup> It is no surprise, then, that the legitimacy of high-status states often rests on their prosocial behavior. While U.S. hegemony was founded on the provision of public goods through institutions like the Bretton Woods system, China makes large investments abroad via the Belt and Road Initiative as it bids for global leadership.

Finally, while competitive exchange is a means to an end, status motivations are not purely instrumental for two reasons.<sup>85</sup> First, in status relations, violation of group expectations elicits disapproval, disesteem, or exclusion; that is, it affects the relationship itself, rather than involving a

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<sup>81</sup> Saunders 2006.

<sup>82</sup> Goode 1978, 14.

<sup>83</sup> Goode 1978, ix.

<sup>84</sup> Hahl and Zuckerman 2014.

<sup>85</sup> Goode 1978, ix–xi, 6–11.

mere penalty. Unlike competitive exchange, which is a means to obtain goods and services, status relations are often valued intrinsically. Without relations with other actors, actors cannot form a stable sense of self—which is a necessary condition for an actor to have preferences in the first place. While it may be tempting to treat an actor’s identity or self-worth as another term in their utility function, the findings from multiple studies provide reasons to treat this approach with caution. In the context of international politics, for example, studies of ontological security show that states may become attached to certain relationships even at the expense of their very physical security.<sup>86</sup> Similarly, studies of status-seeking behavior demonstrate that disrespected states may be willing to compromise their very security or survival for the sake of recognition.<sup>87</sup>

Second, status recognition involves a notion of fairness that escapes instrumental reasoning. Were status motivations purely instrumental, one would expect actors to strive for the highest standing possible, with an eye on the corresponding privileges. But instead, research at the individual level finds that people opt for lower status rank when they believe that they would fail to meet the group’s expectations toward high-status actors.<sup>88</sup> Likewise, we observe in the international context that not all states aim to be great powers. Rather, aspiring great powers tend to be those states who could plausibly fit the expectations for great power status in a given era. It is no coincidence that the intensity of status motivations varies in tandem with a country’s performance over time. For example, while status motivations were salient in Brazil under the favorable economic conditions of the 2000s, they waned as economic conditions subsequently worsened.

### **2.3.2 Status and Power**

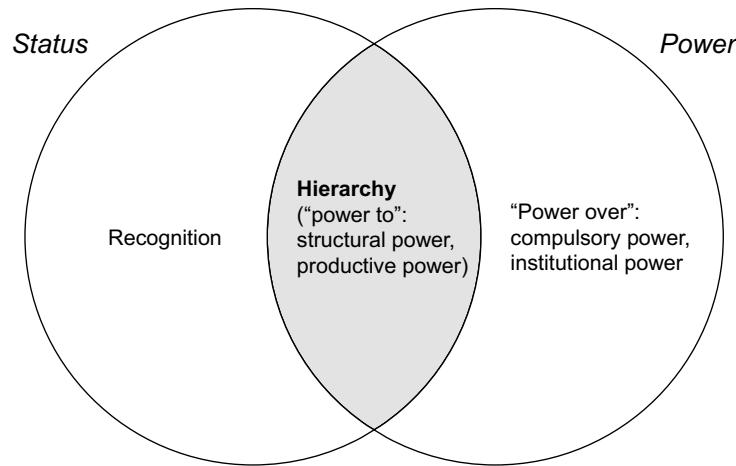
Because hierarchy is a necessary dimension of status, the concept of status partially overlaps with the concept of power. To clarify the conceptual relationship between status and power, I compare next the main dimensions of each concept using Barnett and Duvall’s conceptualization of power. Barnett and Duvall define power broadly as “the production, in and through social relations, of

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<sup>86</sup>Mitzen 2006; Steele 2005.

<sup>87</sup>Barnhart 2016; Lanoszka and Hunzeker 2015; Murray 2010.

<sup>88</sup>Anderson et al. 2012.



**Figure 2.3.** Conceptual Relationship Between Status and Power.

Notes: Comparison between my concept of status and the concept of power proposed by Barnett and Duvall (2005).

effects on actors that shape their capacity to control their fate.”<sup>89</sup> Their conceptualization offers the advantage of integrating, under a unified framework, different uses of the concept of power both in IR and in the social sciences more broadly.<sup>90</sup>

Figure 2.3 illustrates the conceptual relationship between status and power. While the two concepts partially overlap, each involves distinctive features. On the one hand, status overlaps with power through the hierarchy dimension, which is a necessary condition in my concept of status. In particular, status involves a specific kind of hierarchy based on social esteem. This type of hierarchy maps well onto Barnett and Duvall’s notion of “power to”—the socially produced power of an actor that derives from “how social relations define who the actors are and what capacities and practices they are socially empowered to undertake.”<sup>91</sup> As Barnett and Duvall note, “power to” is present in

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<sup>89</sup>Barnett and Duvall 2005, 45.

<sup>90</sup>Barnett and Duvall’s taxonomy roughly maps onto Digeser’s four faces of power. To Digeser, each face of power addresses a different question: “Under the first face of power the central question is, ‘Who, if anyone, is exercising power?’ Under the second face, ‘What issues have been mobilized off the agenda and by whom?’ Under the radical conception, ‘Whose objective interests are being harmed?’ Under the fourth face of power the critical issue is, ‘What kind of subject is being produced?’” See Digeser 1992, 980.

<sup>91</sup>Barnett and Duvall 2005, 46. In John Scott’s taxonomy of power, power that works in relations of social constitution is termed “persuasive influence” and is considered to have two main forms, signification and legitimization, which “operat[e] respectively through shared cognitive meanings and shared value commitments.” It is thus persuasive influence that Scott relates to status. However, Barnett and Duvall’s taxonomy is similar enough to Scott’s that I consider persuasive influence as synonymous with the notion of “power to.” See Scott 2001, 129.

social relations of constitution. Accordingly, status concerns primarily identification processes in which actors are recognized as members of a group (and entitled to the corresponding privileges) once they are deemed to follow the group's rule of membership. As such, status involves specifically the socially produced power of an actor that derives from how social relations constitute actors' identities, practices, and social capacities.

In Barnett and Duvall's taxonomy, "power to" takes two forms: structural power and productive power. Both of these forms are related to status. To begin, status hierarchies involve structural power—that is, the mutual constitution of actors' social positions in direct relation to one another.<sup>92</sup> Structural power shapes the circumstances and fates of actors by constituting the subjective interests of actors and differentially allocating social privileges and capacities. In status hierarchies, actors differential access to privileges depending on their levels of social esteem. Certain states acquire privileges like UNSC permanent membership, for example, on account of being recognized as great powers. Moreover, status hierarchies involve productive power—the diffuse constitution of social subjects in systems of signification and meaning through discursive practices.<sup>93</sup> Productive power shapes the circumstances of actors by situating their everyday practices, thus defining the imaginable and the possible; and by discursively constituting social identities and capacities. In status hierarchies, discursive practices constitute social identities and capacities by determining the kinds of symbols and privileges that should go together. Since the nineteenth century, for example, a Western standard of civilization has served to categorize certain states as "modern" or "civilized," and therefore entitled to privileges like indivisible sovereignty.

But if status overlaps with power through the hierarchy dimension, each concept also involves distinctive dimensions. On the one hand, the concept of status involves a necessary dimension (recognition) that is not a necessary condition for the concept of power. On the other hand, the second dimension of power—"power over," or the exercise of control over other actors—is not a necessary condition for the concept of status. In Barnett and Duvall's taxonomy, "power over" is present in social relations of interaction among previously constituted actors. This kind of power

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<sup>92</sup>Barnett and Duvall 2005, 52-55.

<sup>93</sup>Barnett and Duvall 2005, 55-57.

takes two forms: (1) compulsory power, or the ability to exert direct control over another state by means of coercion; and (2) institutional power, or the indirect control by one actor of another through the use of formal or informal institutions.<sup>94</sup> To be sure, in practice status may correlate with compulsory or institutional power. High-status actors may acquire privileges that enable them to coerce other actors, or may set their privileges in stone using institutions—like, for example, in the nonproliferation regime. However, neither compulsory nor institutional power is a necessary condition of status. Status works primarily through relations of constitution, which involve “power to,” rather than through relations of interaction among previously constituted actors, which involve “power over.” Status involves the creation of categorical differences among states that serve to justify, for example, why certain states are entitled to nuclear weapons but others are not.

## 2.4 Conclusion

This chapter moves from the background concept of status—the various potential meanings associated with status in IR—to a systematized concept, or a specific formulation of the concept based on an explicit definition, and which serves as the foundation for the rest of this study. To conceptualize status, I draw on the literature on concept formation in the tradition of Giovanni Sartori, which provides clear guidelines for concept formation in the social sciences and allows me to consciously explore the trade-offs involved in the definition of a concept like status. Importantly, my conceptualization seeks a balance between differentiation and the other desirable features in a concept, such as familiarity, depth, and theoretical utility. In doing so, the proposed conceptualization overcomes limitations from existing definitions in IR, which either (1) insufficiently differentiate status from terms like material capabilities or hierarchy; or (2) excessively differentiate status from existing definitions. In addition, a careful conceptualization of status in this chapter provides a clear roadmap for the operationalization of status in Chapter 4.

I posit that the concept of status, long treated as a residual category in IR, can be made tractable

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<sup>94</sup>Barnett and Duvall 2005, 49-52. See also Bachrach and Baratz 1962; Baldwin 2002.

when understood in the following way: as an effective claim to social esteem that involves privileges. Defined as such, status involves two necessary dimensions, recognition and hierarchy. First, status requires recognition: for a state to achieve a certain status, others have to recognize it. In particular, status involves the acknowledgment of a state's social esteem, rather than merely of its attributes. State attributes affect status indirectly, because of what they communicate to others about a state's quality. Moreover, the symbolic value of a given state attribute—or what it communicates about a state's quality—depends on social conventions, which shape the standards for membership in a given group. Second, status involves hierarchy. Depending on their level of social esteem, states acquire differential access to privileges. Status inequalities among states have major political implications: while high status comes with exorbitant privilege, low status brings severe disadvantage. As such, disputes over status can only be overcome through the redistribution of privileges.

By defining status based on recognition and social esteem, I depart from the conventional approach to status in IR in four important ways. First, the proposed conceptualization shifts the focus from state attributes to state relations. In doing so, it overcomes the generalized fetishism that often characterizes studies of international status. Second, my definition comports with the notion that status symbols can be material—things that states have—or ideational—norms that states adopt. In doing so, it overcomes the material reductionism that often characterizes studies of international status. Third, my conceptualization departs from the conventional approach because it highlights the fundamentally social (and relational) nature of status. In doing so, it overcomes the fallacy of composition that often characterizes studies of international status. Finally, the proposed conceptualization provides the added advantage of integrating two research traditions in IR that rarely come into dialogue: mainstream approaches that treat status as a means to an end; and alternative approaches that treat status as an end in itself. Rather than adopting an either/or approach, I define status as a concept at the intersection of identity and power.

Because status involves both recognition and hierarchy, it partially overlaps with the concepts of identity and power. To begin, status maps onto four dimensions of identity: external identification, or how an actor is identified by others; groupness, or the sense of belonging to a distinctive

group; commonality, or the sharing of common attributes; and connectedness, or the sharing of relational ties. At the same time, each concept involves distinctive dimensions. On the one hand, status involves identification processes that occur at the social level, while the concept of identity also involves certain processes that occur instead at the actor level. On the other hand, status involves a second necessary dimension—hierarchy—that is not a necessary condition of identity. And because hierarchy is a necessary dimension of status, the concepts of status and power partially overlap. In particular, status involves a kind of hierarchy based on social esteem, which refers to “power to”—the socially produced power of an actor that derives from how actors, their practices, and their capacities are defined in social relations. At the same time, each concept involves distinctive dimensions. On the one hand, the remaining dimension of power—“power over,” or the exercise of control over other actors—is not a necessary condition of status. On the other hand, status involves a necessary dimension (recognition) that is not a necessary condition of power.

Crucially, the proposed conceptualization emphasizes the relational nature of status—which makes the concept not only distinctive but also crucial to understanding phenomena of great interest in international politics, as will become clear in the next chapters. In particular, this chapter lays out the conceptual foundations for the development of a relational theory of status in Chapter 3 and a relational empirical strategy in chapters 4 and 6, which will be used to investigate the determinants of international status in the book’s remaining chapters. In this chapter, I posit that status depends on recognition and that such recognition implies privileges. To investigate the sources of international status, we thus need to understand why states are recognized, rather than merely examining which qualities states possess. As such, the question of why states are recognized will take center stage in the next chapter.



# 3

## A Network Theory of Status

Even though IR scholars rely on status to explain important phenomena, we still understand little about the sources of international status. Existing studies typically treat status as a left-hand (or independent) variable at the actor level, positing that status motivates foreign policy behavior and may even lead to war. On the other hand, existing research rarely treats status as an object of substantive interest, or as a right-hand (or dependent) variable. In the absence of a clearly articulated theory of status, scholars tend to fall back on prevailing assumptions in the discipline, adopting an individualist and materialist perspective to account for status inequalities among states. Conventional approaches define status as a state's ranking based on valued attributes, especially economic and military capabilities. In this view, the larger a state's share of certain attributes—and especially, the richer or stronger the state is—the higher its standing should be.

However, theories of status that begin and end with state attributes leave important questions unanswered. First, because the conventional approach treats status as a function of states' attributes, and especially of their material capabilities, it cannot explain why status and material capabilities often mismatch in practice. Second, while existing studies list certain state attributes as status symbols, we still lack a general framework to explain why certain state attributes (but not others) matter for status recognition. Third, even if we assume that state attributes do evoke international recognition, we still understand little about how state attributes are converted into status or, more broadly, about the relationship between state attributes and status. Finally, and as a result, we still have a poor grasp of the processes whereby states ultimately achieve status.

In this chapter, I draw on an interdisciplinary body of research to develop a network theory of status—a theoretical framework that captures the fundamentally social nature of status. I argue that status depends on states’ positions in a social arrangement, rather than on the qualities of states. To explain how states achieve status, I theorize the underlying relational effects that drive status recognition in the international system. I argue that the structure of state relations itself shapes the conditions for status attainment. Because status distinctions involve social closure (or the drawing of a social boundary between the established group and outsiders), a state’s existing relations influence its ability to achieve status. Moreover, status distinctions reinforce inequality, independently of material conditions, because status involves cumulative advantage: the higher standing a state enjoys, the more it attracts additional recognition. Finally, the relevance of a given state attribute for status recognition is socially defined. A given state attribute matters for status recognition not because of its intrinsic properties, but rather because of its symbolic value—which depends on the social context, and especially on who the great powers are and how they behave.

My theoretical framework offers new answers to the fundamental questions about status that the conventional approach insufficiently addresses. First, I argue that we should not expect status to go hand in hand with material capabilities—or with state attributes—because status depends on states’ positions in a social arrangement, rather than on their qualities of states. Second, I argue that a given state attribute becomes relevant for status recognition when actors share the belief that it symbolizes a latent quality: state competence. Status evaluations are based on prevailing conceptions of state competence that change over time, depending on who the great powers are and how they behave. During critical junctures like the aftermath of major wars, the way of life associated with the victorious state(s) shapes the standards that will be used to evaluate state competence thereafter. That is, besides updating the international pecking order, major wars also serve to update the standards that inform status recognition among states. Finally, I argue that state attributes play only an indirect role in the process of status recognition: they impact recognition because of their symbolic value, which can only be understood in the context of state relations. Moreover, to evoke status recognition, state attributes need to go well together.

Each of the chapter’s sections deals with an aspect of my theoretical framework. The first section begins by introducing the relational approach I use to develop my theory of status. I argue that the fundamental causal mechanisms behind status inequality operate in the domain of state relations, rather than inside individual states. In particular, my argument involves three new propositions about the relationship between status and inequality, which I develop in the chapter’s remaining sections. First, status distinctions *legitimate* inequality among states because they create categorical differences between types of states considered superior—and therefore deserving of exclusive privileges—and the rest. Second, status distinctions *stabilize* inequality because they set expectations about which types of states should exert authority in a given situation, shaping interaction outcomes. Third, once established, status distinctions *reinforce* inequality via cumulative advantage mechanisms: High-status states tend to attract more recognition because of their popularity, to enjoy privileges that beget more status, and to maintain levels of solidarity among themselves that low-status states cannot afford to establish with one another.

### 3.1 Relations before Status

In this chapter, I develop a theoretical framework that departs from the conventional approach to international in three aspects. To begin, I differ from the conventional approach by rejecting particularism. The conventional approach relies on assumptions that, though commonly adopted in IR, contrast with research on status in the social sciences more broadly, which understands status as fundamentally social. According to the conventional approach, status results from forces peculiar to international politics: it depends on the qualities of states, especially their material capabilities. Behind this assumption is the premise that, because the international system is distinctively anarchic, status attainment among states follows causal processes unlike those in any other social realm. In this view, the absence of a supranational authority above states turns international relations into a self-help system, in which force serves as the last resort. As such, the value of status lies in allowing a state to coerce others without using force. However, this approach is dissatisfactory for two rea-

sons. First, by assuming that status is a function of material capabilities, the conventional approach cannot explain why there is a (substantively important) disjuncture between status and material capabilities, which may lead to wars. Second, this approach advances a concept of status that does not differ enough from material capabilities to prove analytically useful. Once stripped of its distinctive feature—its social nature—the concept of status has limited usefulness for IR theories. IR scholars are thus caught in a conundrum: they claim that status is a fundamental element of international politics, but ultimately render it a residual category.

By contrast, I adopt an interdisciplinary approach to develop a network theory of status, integrating strands of research that rarely come into dialogue. On the one hand, I draw on a rich tradition of research in the social sciences, which examines the processes that drive status inequalities within domestic societies.<sup>1</sup> I argue that status inequalities among states result from mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion that bear remarkable resemblance to the mechanisms observed in other social realms. At the same time, I contextualize status in the international realm by integrating these insights with research on international order and international law, which examines key transformations in international society since the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> My interdisciplinary approach is consistent with contemporary research about status in the social sciences—which focuses on fundamental social processes that straddle different social realms, rather than on forces unique to specific domains such as race or gender relations. This research highlights causal processes that underpin all instantiations of status inequalities among groups, regardless of domain. Such an approach provides an important advantage: it enables theory development and refinement across domains, preventing the degeneration of research programs. The study of status across social realms not only promotes a cross-fertilization of ideas, but also enables researchers to detect underlying causal processes and scope conditions that are difficult to observe when we consider a given social realm, such as international relations, in isolation.

In addition, my theoretical framework departs from the conventional approach in a second way: I focus on symbolic aspects, rather than material ones, to account for status inequalities among

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<sup>1</sup>Elias and Scotson 1994; Ridgeway 2014; Tilly 1998, 2005; Weber 1978.

<sup>2</sup>Buzan and Lawson 2015; Hobson 2004; Keene 2002; Linklater 2016; Pitts 2005, 2018; Viola 2020.

states. The conventional approach treats status as a function of state attributes, and especially their material capabilities. However, this approach carries with it two limitations. First, it leads to generalized fetishism, or the act of mistaking social relations for actors' properties. Because the conventional approach treats status as a function of state attributes, it neglects to specify the causal mechanisms whereby state attributes are ultimately converted into status. Second, this approach often leads to material reductionism, as it tends to conflate status with the possession of material resources. And because this approach assumes that state attributes become relevant for status recognition because of their functional value (their coercive potential), it cannot explain why status symbols also include intangible attributes like liberal democracy.

By contrast, I argue that status involves primarily symbolic or intangible aspects. Instead of reducing status to the possession of attributes, I understand state attributes as part of a broader relational process: the institution of categorical inequalities among states. State attributes serve to mark the distinction between different kinds of states that receive more or less social esteem, and are therefore entitled (or not) to certain privileges. Status involves the drawing of a social boundary between types of states. Such a boundary is symbolic rather than physical: it delimits appropriate behavior within the established group, promoting within-group integration on the one hand; and stigmatizes deviant behavior, ensuring the exclusion of outsiders on the other hand. Based on my argument, the study of status requires understanding how categorical inequalities among states form, rather than merely ranking states based on the things they have.

In making this argument, I address two other questions that the conventional approach leaves unanswered. To begin, what is the relationship between state attributes and status? In my theoretical framework, state attributes play an indirect role in status recognition: they work as communication devices.<sup>3</sup> Actors rely on symbols to navigate the social world: through symbols, actors express their self-identification and categorize other actors. One side of this communication process—what Pu and Schweller call “status signaling”—is well documented in IR research, which demonstrates that status-seekers acquire things like nuclear weapons or aircraft carriers.<sup>4</sup> However, the other side

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<sup>3</sup>Form and Stone 1957; Goffman 1951.

<sup>4</sup>See Eyre and Suchman 1996; Gilady 2018; Pu and Schweller 2014.

of this communication process—signal reception—remains relatively unexplored. How do actors evaluate the status of a given state? I argue that observers assess if a state fits prevailing conceptions of state competence, or the way of life associated with high-status states. Status evaluations thus depend on an ensemble of attributes, rather than on separate attributes like nuclear weapons. In addition, my argument addresses another question that the conventional approach leaves unanswered: Why do certain state attributes become relevant for status recognition? I argue that state attributes matter for status recognition because of their symbolic value, which depends on the social context—and especially on who the great powers are and how they behave. For a given state attribute to symbolize status, actors need to share the belief that it represents high standing.<sup>5</sup> In my theoretical framework, status depends on estimations of social esteem that may be connected to any kind of symbol. State attributes become relevant for status recognition when actors share the belief that they symbolize a latent quality: state competence. As such, the study of status requires understanding how prevailing conceptions of state competence form and change over time.

Last but not least, my theoretical framework departs from the conventional approach in a third way: I adopt a relational approach, rather than an individualistic one, to account for status inequalities among states. According to the conventional approach, states sort themselves into unequal positions—such as great power or emerging power—based on their qualities or the things that they have. In other words, differential access to privileges among states results from disparities in the qualities of states. This assumption resembles the idea of meritocracy, according to which actors obtain differential access to privileges on the basis of their individual talent, ability, or effort. However, this approach incurs a fallacy of composition: it derives social outcomes (status inequalities) entirely from the properties of individual actors. As a result, it ignores the relational processes that shape status recognition in the international system.

By contrast, I adopt a relational approach to develop a network theory of status.<sup>6</sup> I argue that status depends on states' positions in a social arrangement, rather than on the qualities of states. As

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<sup>5</sup>See Dittmar 1992, 6, 79; Goffman 1951, 294-95; O'Neill 2001, 241.

<sup>6</sup>My approach draws on a growing number of relational or network analytic approaches to international relations. See, respectively, Jackson and Nexon 1999, 2019; Jervis 1997; Nexon 2010; and Cranmer and Desmarais 2016; Goddard 2009; Hafner-Burton, Kahler, and Montgomery 2009; Winecoff 2015.

such, the fundamental causal mechanisms behind status inequality operate in the domain of state relations, rather than inside states. To begin, status recognition is interdependent: it depends not only on the history of relations between any two given states, but also on their relations with third states. As such, status recognition is subject to nonlinear effects or emerging properties that differ from the properties of states. And because status distinctions involve social closure—the drawing of a social boundary between the established group and outsiders—connectedness itself brings status. As such, status distinctions reinforce inequality independently from material conditions. Moreover, state attributes play a secondary role in the process of status recognition: they communicate a latent quality (state competence) whose meaning depends on the social context, and especially on who the great powers are and how they behave. Therefore, the processes that drive status recognition cannot be reduced to the characteristics of states, or even to an aggregation of these characteristics. While the conventional approach treats status attainment as a meritocracy, suggesting that the best strategy to achieve status involves acquiring certain attributes, I argue that status depends on structural conditions beyond the control of any single state.

In other words, I argue that the structure of state relations itself shapes the conditions for status attainment among states. In making this argument, I overcome the fallacy of composition that afflicts the conventional approach to status in IR. Following Tilly, I argue that, when it comes to status recognition in the international system, “essential causal business” takes place within relations among states and groups of states, rather than within states.<sup>7</sup> In particular, my argument involves three new propositions about the relationship between status and inequality among states. I argue that status distinctions legitimate and stabilize inequality, drawing a boundary between those states deemed competent—and therefore deserving of privileges—and the rest. Once established, moreover, status distinctions independently reinforce inequality through cumulative advantage mechanisms: the higher standing a state enjoys, the more it attracts additional recognition. Next, I discuss each of these propositions in turn.

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<sup>7</sup>Tilly 1998, 33.

## 3.2 Legitimates Inequality

To begin, I argue that status does much more than signal a state's coercive capabilities to other states, as argued by the conventional approach; crucially, status *legitimizes* inequality.<sup>8</sup> As Tilly points out, unequal relations based purely on coercion are inherently unstable, as they ultimately give rise to contention or struggles between dominant and subordinate actors.<sup>9</sup> Even an exploitative relationship like colonization cannot be sustained based on coercion alone, since such an arrangement would render domination too costly for the colonizers in the medium or long run. To become durable, inequality requires some form of legitimization. As Ridgeway and Walker note, legitimization transforms unequal relations into “systems of rights and obligations”—whereby dominant actors acquire the right to demand obedience, and subordinate actors accept the obligation to obey. Over time, deference assumes a seemingly voluntary character.<sup>10</sup>

Status distinctions play an important role in the legitimization of inequality. To begin, status distinctions involve categorization—the creation of different types of actors, and the classification of actors into these categories. As Tilly notes, “Durable inequality depends heavily on the institutionalization of categorical pairs” such as man/woman, white/black, or citizen/foreigner.<sup>11</sup> In addition, status distinctions involve legitimization—the establishment of a relationship of superiority and inferiority between types of actors, or the evaluative ranking of certain types (e.g., man, white, or citizen) as better than others (e.g., woman, black, or foreigner).<sup>12</sup>

Status distinctions legitimate inequality because they involve a working consensus, across both sides of a social boundary, that certain types—those who belong in the dominant group—are better than the others.<sup>13</sup> In Bourdieusian terms, status distinctions entail a form of “symbolic violence,” as the dominant group smoothes over unequal relations by legitimizing its way of life as superior.<sup>14</sup> As

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<sup>8</sup>See Jackman 1994; Ridgeway 2014, 3-4.

<sup>9</sup>Tilly 1998, 86-91. See also Weber 1978, 213, Goode 1978, Ch. 6.

<sup>10</sup>Ridgeway and Walker 1995, 282.

<sup>11</sup>Tilly 1998, 7-8.

<sup>12</sup>See Lamont 2012; Lamont and Fournier 1992.

<sup>13</sup>Jackman 1994; Ridgeway and Correll 2006.

<sup>14</sup>Bourdieu 1984, 245; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990, 4.

Goode notes, status distinctions involve the “celebration of heroes,” as even low-status actors publicly concede their placement in a hierarchy.<sup>15</sup> And indeed, extensive research in social psychology demonstrates that members of disadvantaged groups often perceive status hierarchies as legitimate and fair. Research on system justification theory indicates that people have a tendency not only to defend their ego and their in-group, but also to defend and rationalize the status quo—sometimes even to the detriment of their self-interest or in-group interest, as in the case of low-status actors.<sup>16</sup> This program of research demonstrates that perceptions of legitimacy are not merely a function of an actor’s position in a status hierarchy.

But while its implications can be observed at the individual level, legitimization cannot be reduced to an individual-level phenomenon for two reasons. First, legitimization depends on mechanisms that are external to the actor. As Ridgeway notes, status beliefs—that is, beliefs about the relative standing of social groups—are “macro-level cultural beliefs” that result from social processes at both the micro and the macro levels.<sup>17</sup> As Elias and Scotson observe, stigmatization cannot be reduced to a matter of individual prejudice because it is a function of a figuration formed between two social groups.<sup>18</sup> Second, legitimization cannot be reduced to an individual-level phenomenon because it influences behavior through mechanisms that are external to the actor. As Ridgeway notes, “status beliefs are beliefs about what “most people” think. The presumption that “most people” would accept a given status belief gives that belief a social validity that allows it to constrain people’s behavior.”<sup>19</sup> For status beliefs to constrain behavior, an actor does not have to find these beliefs proper—that is, they need not internalize these beliefs or personally approve of them. Rather, the actor needs only recognize that “most people” treat these beliefs as valid, such that acting in accordance with them is “the way things are supposed to be done.”<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Goode 1978. See also Hahl and Zuckerman 2014.

<sup>16</sup> Jost, Banaji, and Nosek 2004; Jost 2019. The tendency to defend the status quo depends on psychological predispositions and seems to address epistemic, existential, and relational motives.

<sup>17</sup> Ridgeway 2002, 332.

<sup>18</sup> Elias and Scotson 1994, xx.

<sup>19</sup> Ridgeway 2002, 327. See also Ridgeway and Walker 1995, 297–98; Weber 1978, 31–33. For a similar discussion in IR, see Jackson 2002, 498–56.

<sup>20</sup> Ridgeway and Walker 1995, 298. Sociological research on legitimacy thus distinguishes between propriety, which refers to legitimacy at the individual level, and validity, which refers to legitimacy at the group level. While propriety implies that an actor personally approves of the standards of conduct, validity only implies that they recognize the

### 3.2.1 The Established-Outsider Figuration

As Elias and Scotson observe, this process of legitimization corresponds to “a universal human theme. One can observe again and again that members of groups which are, in terms of *power*, stronger than other interdependent groups, think of themselves in human terms as *better* than the others.”<sup>21</sup> In fact, social scientists have repeatedly uncovered this very theme in intergroup relations of all kinds, regardless of whether group lines are drawn on the basis of socioeconomic class, race, ethnicity, religion, gender, or nationality. In each case, the dominant group not only exerts more power but also views itself as inherently better than the disadvantaged group. While the basis for status distinctions may vary across cases, each case corresponds to a variation on the same theme.

In fact, status distinctions can legitimate inequality even when there are minimal differences between social groups. In the mid-twentieth century, for example, Elias and Scotson observed this universal theme in “miniature” as they set out to investigate intergroup relations in Winston Parva, a suburban community in the English midlands. In this community, Elias and Scotson identified a sharp distinction between two groups of people—who bore no discernible differences based on traits like nationality, socioeconomic class, ethnicity, or race. The two groups only differed along a single dimension: while one of the groups consisted of residents established in the area for a couple of generations, the other group consisted of newcomers to the neighborhood. And yet, despite the minimal differences between the groups, the study showed

a sharp division (...) between an old-established group and a newer group of residents, whose members were treated as outsiders by the established group. The latter closed ranks against them and stigmatised them generally as people of lesser human worth. They were thought to lack the superior human virtue—the distinguishing group charisma—which the dominant group attributed to itself.<sup>22</sup>

This sharp division between the established group and outsiders encapsulates what Elias and

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existence of such standards. See also Zelditch 2006, 329.

<sup>21</sup>Elias and Scotson 1994, xv.

<sup>22</sup>Elias and Scotson 1994, xv.

Scotson would call the *established-outsider figuration*—whereby members of an established group (1) ascribe “superior human characteristics” to themselves; (2) exclude outsiders from social contact with the established group; and (3) maintain restrictions on social contact via social control, for example by boosting the reputation of those members who observe the restrictions on social contact, while threatening to downgrade the reputation of those members who violate the restrictions.<sup>23</sup> As Weber notes, effective claims to status entail *social closure*—the establishment of a social boundary between a status group and outsiders. High-status actors differentiate themselves from outsiders by adopting a distinctive way of life. Based on its distinctiveness, a status group justifies its exclusive access to certain privileges.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, Bourdieu observes that the logic of distinction organizes social life. By establishing their own culture as superior, dominant groups justify the monopolization of privileges and exclude outsiders. Symbolic distinctions thus have major political implications: they “freeze a particular state of the social struggle, i.e. a given state of the distribution of advantages and obligations.”<sup>25</sup> Status distinctions legitimate inequality because they involve a symbolic distinction between the advantaged and the disadvantaged, which serves to rationalize their differential access to privileges in a social system.

As Elias and Scotson note, the establisher-outsider figuration involves two key elements. First, the establisher-outsider figuration is founded on *an imbalance of power* between an established group that occupies positions of power on the one hand, and outsiders that are excluded from such positions on the other hand. Second, the establisher-outsider figuration involves the *stigmatization* of outsiders by the established group, which serves to justify the exclusion of the former.<sup>26</sup> In fact, status construction studies show that, in the face of material inequalities, people can quickly develop the belief that some people—those with more resources—are “better” than other people when interacting in small groups.<sup>27</sup> As Ridgeway notes, status distinctions can be constructed when unequal

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<sup>23</sup>Elias and Scotson 1994, xvi.

<sup>24</sup>Scott 1996, 31-32; Weber 1978, 43-46, 935.

<sup>25</sup>Bourdieu 1984, 477. Besides the studies discussed here, a long tradition of sociological research highlights how symbolic boundaries organize social life by classifying actors into distinct social groups. See Becker 1963; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990; Douglas 1966, 1986; Durkheim 1995, 99-157; Goffman 1959, 1963; Mauss 2006, 57-74. For reviews of this literature, see Lamont 2001; Lamont and Molnár 2002.

<sup>26</sup>Elias and Scotson 1994, xx.

<sup>27</sup>Ridgeway 1991; Ridgeway et al. 1998; Ridgeway and Erickson 2000; Ridgeway et al. 2009.

control over resources in a social setting correlates at least partially with a salient categorical difference between types of actors, based for example on dimensions like gender, race, or occupation. By mapping material inequality onto a categorical difference, actors form the belief that the types with more resources are better than those with fewer resources. In so doing, they justify the unequal control over resources based on the assumed superiority of the advantaged group, transforming material inequality into a status difference.<sup>28</sup>

In what follows, I discuss how this universal theme—the established-outsider figuration—applies to a specific type of intergroup relations: those among states. I argue that categorical inequalities among states reflect, on a broader scale, the same theme uncovered in other social realms. To understand how status hierarchies are made in international politics, I trace their roots back to key transformations that magnified global inequality in the nineteenth century, a foundational moment for the contemporary international order. As I discuss next, both of the key elements of the establisher-outsider figuration characterized international relations during this period.

### 3.2.2 The Global Transformation

During the nineteenth century, a foundational moment for the contemporary international order, both of the key elements of the establisher-outsider figuration characterized international relations. To begin, the establisher-outsider figuration is founded on *an imbalance of power* between an established group that occupies positions of power on the one hand, and outsiders that are excluded from such such positions on the other hand. And indeed, the nineteenth century witnessed key transformations that magnified global inequality. In particular, two structural developments promoted a sharp increase in global inequality during this period: industrialization (starting in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in Britain) and colonization.<sup>29</sup> Industrialization brought about technological development that enabled more engagement with non-Europeans, which eventually turned into exploitation. Colonization and imperialism created more material inequality be-

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<sup>28</sup>Ridgeway 2014, 3.

<sup>29</sup>Milanovic 2016.

tween Europeans and non-Europeans. As Buzan and Lawson note, the global transformation in the nineteenth century—the confluence of industrialization, rational state-building, and ideologies of progress—“changed the distribution of power by generating a shift from a ‘polycentric world with no dominant center’ to a ‘core-periphery’ order in which the centre of gravity resided in the West.”<sup>30</sup> The global transformation created an unprecedented gap between core and periphery, at the same time that it increased the density of interactions between core and periphery actors. The globalization of the European society of states.<sup>31</sup>

### 3.2.3 The Standard of Civilization

During the nineteenth century, the second key element of the establisher-outsider figuration also characterized international relations. The establisher-outsider figuration involves not only an imbalance of power but also the *stigmatization* of the outsiders by the established group, which serves to justify the exclusion of the former from positions of power. And indeed, the nineteenth century witnessed a shift to anti-pluralism in Europe, as beliefs in European superiority and civilization spread along with status distinctions based on ideological credentials (e.g., liberal governance) or cultural practices (e.g., Christianity).<sup>32</sup> As Europeans made a turn to imperialism in the nineteenth century, they increasingly relied on a self-proclaimed standard of civilization that distinguished between “civilized” Europeans entitled to indivisible sovereignty on the one hand, and “uncivilized” non-Europeans unable to govern themselves on the other hand.<sup>33</sup> Whereas sovereign equality and mutual toleration served as cornerstones for relations among Europeans, relations between Europeans and non-Europeans took the mantle of a civilizing mission.<sup>34</sup> Over time, beliefs in the distinction between civilization and the barbarity became increasingly secure—such that the moral obligation to civilize non-Europeans, perceived as incapable of self-government or self-improvement,

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<sup>30</sup>Buzan and Lawson 2015, 1.

<sup>31</sup>Dunne and Reus-Smit 2017.

<sup>32</sup>Simpson 2004, Ch. 8.

<sup>33</sup>Gong 1984; Schwarzenberger 1955.

<sup>34</sup>Keene 2002.

justified the use of illiberal means.<sup>35</sup>

During the period of European colonial expansion, European states denied recognition to non-European peoples on the grounds that these peoples lacked sovereignty, were uncivilized, or both.<sup>36</sup> Relations between European states and political entities in other regions of the world were regulated by a standard of civilization that performed the dual functions of gatekeeping membership to the society of states and standard-setting—or assimilating non-European peoples into European standards.<sup>37</sup> Unlike the sovereignty of Europeans, the sovereignty of non-Europeans became divisible: societies in areas like China, Japan, or Siam were considered sovereign enough to sign bilateral treaties but not to retain autonomous control of their own territories or trade policies.<sup>38</sup> In the nineteenth century, European states coupled military force with the imposition of bilateral treaties with China, Japan, and Siam—who unilaterally ceded land, opened trade ports, or granted extraterritorial rights to European citizens, despite not obtaining similar privileges in return.<sup>39</sup>

Status distinctions thus served to legitimate global inequality, drawing a boundary between those states deemed superior—and therefore deserving of privileges like indivisible sovereignty—and the rest. The distinction between “civilized” Europeans and “uncivilized” non-European served to legitimate the exclusive access of European states to the privilege of indivisible sovereignty. Colonial exploitation was rendered normatively acceptable by the belief that, because uncivilized non-Europeans were unable to govern themselves, civilized Europeans should take on the responsibility of socializing them into European norms and beliefs, thus stewarding their progress toward civilization. On the one hand, the presumption that Europeans were more civilized than other peoples implied that they had earned the privilege of indivisible sovereignty fairly, on the basis of their own merit. On the other hand, the same presumption justified European intervention abroad based on the alleged inability of non-European peoples to meet European standards of governance and civilization. By creating categorical differences between types of actors, status distinctions rationalized

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<sup>35</sup>Pitts 2005.

<sup>36</sup>Keene 2007.

<sup>37</sup>Donnelly 1998; Fidler 2000; Okagaki 2013; Zhang 2014.

<sup>38</sup>Keene 2002.

<sup>39</sup>Kayaoglu 2010; Cassel 2012.

inequality, framing as logical—or even natural—the differential access to privileges among these types.

### 3.3 Stabilizes Inequality

My argument involves a second proposition about the relationship between status and inequality: I argue that status *stabilizes* inequality among states. In particular, status distinctions lock inequality into place by shaping not only social perceptions but also behavior. To begin, status distinctions shape social perceptions. As Ridgeway notes, “by transforming mere control of resources into more essentialized differences among “types” of actors, status beliefs fuel social perceptions of difference.”<sup>40</sup> The creation of categorical differences leads actors “to focus on, exaggerate, and make broader, more systematic use of socially defined differences” during their interactions.<sup>41</sup> As Hobson notes, for example, Europeans began to articulate the vision of a pristine West in the nineteenth century, as they downplayed the contributions of non-Europeans to world history. In doing so, they essentialized the differences between the West and the “rest.”<sup>42</sup>

In addition, status distinctions shape behavior. By drawing a boundary between types of actors perceived as superior or inferior, status distinctions create expectations about the ability of either type to exert authority in a given situation.<sup>43</sup> These expectations act as focal points, creating self-fulfilling prophecies—as actors tend to act according to what is expected of their type, while expecting that others will act according to what is expected of their type. Because actors often act according to social expectations about their group, status distinctions shape how different kinds of actors behave. And because status distinctions involve social expectations about relative competence, they shape how different kinds of actors are treated. As a result, actors from social groups deemed superior (inferior) enjoy or seek more (less) privileges. Moreover, status distinctions generate backlash when actor behavior deviates from what is expected. In particular, high-status actors

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<sup>40</sup>Ridgeway 2014, 4.

<sup>41</sup>Ridgeway 2014, 4.

<sup>42</sup>Hobson 2004.

<sup>43</sup>See Ridgeway 2014, 5-6; Berger and Webster 2006; Correll and Ridgeway 2003.

tend to be wary of behavior by low-status actors that may be perceived as challenging established expectations for authority in a given situation.<sup>44</sup>

### 3.3.1 Status and Presumed Competence

In particular, status divisions legitimate inequality because high-status actors are typically perceived as competent, whereas low-status actors are presumed to lack competence. An interdisciplinary body of research finds a persistent correlation between status and presumed actor competence: across social contexts, people tend to perceive high-status actors as competent and low-status actors, as incompetent. As Fiske and Cuddy note,

To an extraordinary degree, people assume that groups of high status deserve it. (...) people all over the world agree that rich people, professionals, employers, and entrepreneurial immigrants achieve their high status with traits reflecting intelligence, competence, capability, and skill. Conversely, people all agree that others who are poor, homeless, drug addicted, or unemployed likewise deserve it because they are stupid, incompetent, incapable, and unskilled.<sup>45</sup>

The presumption of (in)competence provides a powerful form of legitimization: it implies that high-status actors have won their privileges by virtue of their merit, while low-status actors have failed to achieve similar privileges for lack of merit. Based on this presumption, privileges are distributed fairly in society, in proportion to the relative merit of each type of actor. While the advantaged group is deemed as deserving of privileges on the basis of its superior human qualities (its competence), the disadvantaged group is excluded from such privileges on the basis of its perceived inferiority (its incompetence). As such, the presumption of (in)competence makes inequality seem merited, spontaneous, and even natural.

Status generalization process: Social esteem creates a halo effect, whereby an impression created

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<sup>44</sup>See Bobo 1999; Ridgeway 2014, 7; Ridgeway, Johnson, and Diekema 1994.

<sup>45</sup>Fiske and Cuddy 2005, 249. See also Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch 1972; Berger et al. 1977; Berger and Webster 2006; Cuddy et al. 2009; Hahl and Zuckerman 2014.

in one area influences perceptions in other areas; perceived expertise colors perceptions outside the influencer's area of expertise.

### 3.3.2 Critical Junctures

My argument implies that critical junctures like major wars do more than establishing a new hierarchy of prestige—or revealing information about the distribution of material capabilities among states, as argued by traditional approaches. Besides updating the international pecking order, critical junctures also serve to update the prevailing conceptions of state competence that inform status recognition among states. In making this argument, I depart from the conventional wisdom on the role of major wars. Following the conventional approach, hegemonic wars adjust the hierarchy of prestige by revealing the distribution of material capabilities among states. According to Gilpin, differential rates of growth lead to a mismatch between the existing hierarchy of prestige and the distribution of capabilities among states. Such a mismatch destabilizes the international system, calling for an adjustment of the hierarchy of prestige that could happen peacefully but is typically resolved via hegemonic wars.<sup>46</sup> Because “power and prestige are ultimately imponderable and incalculable,” powerful states need to put them to the test on the battlefield.<sup>47</sup> Hegemonic wars adjust the hierarchy of prestige by revealing the distribution of material capabilities among states; those states who won the last major war rank at the top of the hierarchy of prestige. As Gilpin puts it, “although prestige is largely a function of economic and military capabilities, it is achieved primarily through successful use of power, and especially through victory in war.”<sup>48</sup>

What happens after victory is the consolidation of a model of state competence. Not simply revealing information about military capabilities; legitimization of inequality. Predominant conceptions of state competence become more malleable during critical junctures like crises or the aftermath of major wars, when the way of life associated with the victorious state(s) shapes the standards that will be used to evaluate state competence thereafter. In such moments, the model of state-

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<sup>46</sup>Gilpin 1981, 15.

<sup>47</sup>Gilpin 1981, 32-33.

<sup>48</sup>Gilpin 1981, 32.

hood put forward by the victorious state(s) is taken to symbolize state competence—or the extent to which it is perceived as able to perform the functions attributed to the state. As Weber notes, status divisions give rise to “domination by virtue of prestige,” a type of legitimization that rests on personal authority.<sup>49</sup> As Scott observes, this kind of legitimization is “rooted in communal beliefs of a “charismatic” kind that allow actors to shape the actions of others through influence, persuasion and example.”<sup>50</sup> The source of legitimization is the social esteem of an actor, whom the community perceives as an example to follow. This kind of legitimization involves symbolic or cultural aspects, rather than merely physical coercion; moreover, it is based on personal authority rather than on a shared normative framework. As such, it is analytically distinct from the other kinds of legitimization in Weber’s framework of domination.

In other words, coercion alone cannot explain this process. While international orders may initially result from coercion (victory in a major war), it would be too costly to sustain them in the long run based on coercion alone. As Weber notes, domination by virtue of prestige differs from “domination by virtue of a constellation of interests,” whereby a calculative alignment of interests regulates interactions.<sup>51</sup> The latter kind of legitimization, which emerges from class (rather than status) divisions, is based on calculations of expediency that occur in competitive exchange relationships. In such contexts, actors exercise influence through coercion or inducement, which depend on the control of means.<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, the consolidation of a model of state competence is not about the principles themselves. As Weber notes, domination by virtue of prestige differs from “domination by virtue of authority,” which relies on a shared normative framework.<sup>53</sup> The latter kind of legitimization is typically observed within organizations—where actors assume positions that involve different levels of command, and influence is attached to positions of authority. In such contexts, deference assumes a mandatory (rather than voluntary) character. Actors in positions of authority issue decisions, which the other actors are expected to obey. Authority is based on a claim

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<sup>49</sup>Weber 1978, Ch. 10.

<sup>50</sup>Scott 1996, 24.

<sup>51</sup>Weber 1978, 943-46; Scott 1996, 25-30.

<sup>52</sup>Scott 2001, Ch. 1.

<sup>53</sup>Weber 1978, 943-46, 954; Scott 1996, 31.

to the legitimacy of the commands, which draws upon a normative framework to justify its validity: “Obedience is (...) given to the norms rather than to the person.”<sup>54</sup> Liberal scholars see liberal principles themselves as attractive. For example, the liberal order is considered legitimate because it is the most effective way to tackle certain challenges. Hidden assumptions: that the liberal order is good and desirable. By contrast, my argument involves no judgement of value about the prevailing conceptions of state competence, which are defined socially by states. Such conceptions are Western because of historical contingencies, rather than because the Western model is inherently superior. It could also be something else—for example, had the Axis powers had won the Second World War, or if we observe a power transition from the U.S. to China.

My argument implies that the relevance of state attributes for status recognition changes over time, since it depends the prevailing conceptions of state competence in the international system. And in fact, an extensive literature on foundational moments of the modern international order links critical junctures to changes in the shared understandings about state competence or responsibility. In late eighteenth century Europe, the transition from dynastic to popular rule implied a fundamental change in the principles of international society, including the definition of rightful membership in the family of nations.<sup>55</sup> The transition implied a redefinition of the moral purpose of the state—which became increasingly responsible for advancing the purposes and potentialities of individuals.<sup>56</sup> Moral purpose of the state; notion of legitimate statehood.<sup>57</sup> Conceptions of legitimate statehood that justify sovereignty. Ideas that legitimate the nation-state.<sup>58</sup>

Importantly, the hegemon does not set the standard by themselves; this is a social process of legitimization. In fact, this process pre-dates American hegemony, though American hegemony arguably reinforced it. The Second World War did not create a new order from scratch; in many aspects, it represented the continuation of the liberal international order, which precedes American hegemony.<sup>59</sup> Social groups establish membership standards—regarding, in particular, what kind

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<sup>54</sup>Weber 1978, 954.

<sup>55</sup>Clark 2007; Wight 1972.

<sup>56</sup>Reus-Smit 2001.

<sup>57</sup>Reus-Smit 1999.

<sup>58</sup>Barkin and Cronin 1994.

<sup>59</sup>Ikenberry 2011.

of actor belongs in a group, and what kind of actor is considered a model group member. Groups set standards by both positive and negative example; as Adler-Nissen notes, the stigmatization of deviant behavior is part and parcel of the definition of normal behavior.<sup>60</sup> Although actors differ in their ability to shape group standards and boundaries, it is important to note that these standards form at the group level—as an emerging property, or an equilibrium.<sup>61</sup> No single actor can determine a group's standards; rather, the group does. Neither can a single actor determine who belongs in the group; rather, the group is the ultimate evaluator of membership claims. What is more, the group evaluates members' responses to membership claims. If the group judges a member's response as “incorrect,” that member's credibility within the group may be compromised.

The definition of competent state performance is fraught with political struggles, as not all states may accept the prevailing conceptions as legitimate. Yet, there is a dominant perspective, which is Western. While there may be disagreements on the attributes needed for a certain status, there is also agreement. In fact, contestation often draws from an existing repertoire of practices and discourse. For example, Pouliot's analysis of the debates about UNSC reform finds that, even though states' criteria for UNSC reform tend to be self-serving, their competing claims are couched on the same vocabulary that defines the Western-led international order.<sup>62</sup> Similarly, Lagos notes that, even alternative forms of status-seeking by marginalized states, like for example the Non-Aligned Movement, draw from the same repertoire of Westphalian principles.<sup>63</sup> During the Cold War, developing countries adapted different strategies to establish independence from external influence, like for example Egypt's spearheading of the Non-Aligned Movement. However, these movements emphasized principles that emanate from the Western-led international order. Even the Chinese challenge to U.S. hegemony does not altogether deny the contemporary moral purpose of the state—to achieve the potentialities of individuals. Through its economic growth, China shows its ability to achieve a higher standard of living using a different economic model. In addition, China does not openly question democracy; rather, it shows a shallow commitment to it. Similarly, China's stance

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<sup>60</sup> Adler-Nissen 2014.

<sup>61</sup> Goode 1978, Ch. 2.

<sup>62</sup> Pouliot 2014, 199, 202, 206.

<sup>63</sup> Lagos 1963, Ch. 4.

involves a different conception of human rights, which emphasizes economic rights over political ones, rather than an open refutation of the idea of human rights. In other words, the disagreement is more about the means of achieving valued ends, rather than about the ends themselves.<sup>64</sup>

### 3.4 Reinforces Inequality

Finally, my argument involves a third proposition about the relationship between status and inequality. I argue that, once established, status distinctions reinforce inequality independently from material conditions, via cumulative advantage mechanisms: The higher standing a state enjoys, the more it attracts additional recognition. Via cumulative advantage processes, a small initial advantage (whether acquired by merit or chance) creates subsequent advantages that result neither from merit, nor from chance. As a result, the recognition gap between those states at the top and the bottom of an international hierarchy is bound to increase over time. Crucially, cumulative advantage encompasses purely structural effects, which result from a state's position in a social arrangement rather than from their qualities. These processes follow the principle according to which "nothing succeeds like success"—also known as the "Matthew Effect," whereby the rich tend to get richer;<sup>65</sup> or as referential attachment, whereby popular actors tend to receive more ties simply by virtue of their popularity.<sup>66</sup> In other words, cumulative advantage involves the dynamic of increasing returns that defines path dependence.<sup>67</sup> In the social sciences, cumulative advantage models have been applied to explain growing or persistent inequality in domains like academia and culture.<sup>68</sup> In addition, prominent studies identify cumulative advantage processes in status attainment in domestic societies.<sup>69</sup> In what follows, I argue that similar processes reinforce inequality among states independently from the qualities of states.

In particular, three mechanisms make international status self-reinforcing. First, status involves

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<sup>64</sup>See Allan, Vucetic, and Hopf 2018.

<sup>65</sup>Merton 1968.

<sup>66</sup>Barabási and Albert 1999; Newman 2001; Albert and Barabási 2002.

<sup>67</sup>Pierson 2000. See also Jervis 1997, 146-76.

<sup>68</sup>For a review, see Smith and Faris 2015.

<sup>69</sup>DiMaggio and Garip 2012; Gould 2002; Podolny 2005.

social closure, or the drawing of a boundary between the established group and outsiders. Social closure reinforces inequality because (1) it involves on a distinctive way of life, rather than separate attributes that can be easily acquired; (2) it follows a principle of transitivity, whereby connectedness with high-status states brings status; and (3) it encourages solidarity among high-status states but undermines solidarity among low-status states. Second, consensus effects shape status recognition: the more a state receives recognition, the more others deem it worthy of recognition. As such, high-status states tend to attract additional recognition simply by virtue of their popularity. Finally, high status involves privileges that beget more status: high-status states act as standard-setters, shaping the criteria for status recognition; and as gatekeepers, shaping recognition decisions. By defining the rules of the game, high-status states enjoy considerable advantage in status evaluations. Next, I discuss each of these mechanisms in turn.

### 3.4.1 Social Closure

To begin, status is self-reinforcing because status distinctions involve social closure, or the drawing of a boundary between the established group and outsiders. Social closure reinforces inequality via two aspects. First, social closure involves *commonality*, or the sharing of common attributes. High-status actors differentiate themselves from outsiders by adopting a distinctive way of life, or a set of behaviors and practices that sets them apart from outsiders. Based on its distinctiveness, a status group justifies its exclusive access to certain privileges.<sup>70</sup> In international relations, for example, high status depends on a Western way of life—a gestalt that involves not only material resources but also fundamental values associated with the West, such as liberal democracy. Myriad cases suggest that status recognition does not depend on a specific attribute, which status-seekers can acquire relatively easily. Despite its massive military capabilities, for example, Russia does not overall conform to the way of life of high-status states; as such, Russians remain dissatisfied with the recognition their country receives since the time of Peter the Great.

Because status involves a distinctive way of life, status recognition depends on an ensemble of

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<sup>70</sup>Weber 1978, 933. See also Elias and Scotson 1994; Merton 1972; Tilly 2005.

attributes that is difficult to acquire. To effectively communicate a certain way of life and evoke the corresponding recognition, actor attributes need to go well together. To infer status, observers examine the ensemble of attributes displayed by an actor, rather than specific attributes in isolation.<sup>71</sup> Actors who display a coherent set of attributes indicate that they master a way of life and are therefore worthy of recognition. In contrast, actors who display an incoherent set of attributes typically come across as arrivistes, who are trying to pass as high-status actors even though they fail to master the corresponding way of life. As Bourdieu notes, attempts to achieve status via the “naive exhibitionism of ‘conspicuous consumption,’ which seeks distinction in the crude display of ill-mastered luxury,” tend to be unsuccessful.<sup>72</sup> Mismatched attributes send out contradictory signals about an actor’s way of life and are therefore unlikely to evoke recognition.

Second, social closure involves *connectedness*, or the sharing of relational ties. High-status actors share dense relations among themselves but sparse relations with outsiders.<sup>73</sup> As Elias and Scotson note, members of an established group exclude outsiders from social contact with the established group and maintain restrictions on social contact via social control—for example by boosting the reputation of those members who observe the restrictions on social contact, while threatening to downgrade the reputation of those members who violate these restrictions.<sup>74</sup> As such, an actor’s existing relations influence their propensity to receive recognition. Connectedness, especially with high-status actors, brings status. In other words, status recognition follows the principle of transitivity, whereby two actors that have similar relational ties are likely to be connected themselves.<sup>75</sup> Transitivity has opposite implications for high- and low-status states. While well-connected states are likely to receive additional recognition, sparsely-connected states are not. By promoting the recognition of well-connected states while obstructing the recognition of sparsely-connected states,

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<sup>71</sup>Sociological research on status demonstrates that observers combine information to estimate status, weighing the different characteristics of an actor to produce an aggregate expectation of their competence. See Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch 1972, Ridgeway and Walker 1995, 290-94.

<sup>72</sup>Bourdieu 1984, 31.

<sup>73</sup>Weber 1978, 932. See also Lamont and Fournier 1992; Lamont 2002.

<sup>74</sup>Elias and Scotson 1994, xvi.

<sup>75</sup>See Wasserman and Faust 1994, 245. In IR, this effect is captured by the familiar notion that the friend of my friend is my friend, the enemy of my friend is my enemy, and the enemy of my enemy is my friend. See Jervis 1997, 210-52.

social closure perpetuates and accentuates inequality.

Moreover, status distinctions reinforce inequality because they encourage solidarity among high-status actors but undermine solidarity among low-status actors.<sup>76</sup> In a status hierarchy, actors must balance two needs: the desire for status, which is pursued by networking with high-status actors; and the desire for reciprocity, which is pursued by interacting with those actors that recognize oneself.<sup>77</sup> For high-status actors, both desires go hand in hand: By interacting with other high-status states, a high-status state satisfies not only the desire for status but also the desire for reciprocity. For low-status actors, however, the two desires are at odds. A low-status state must balance the desire for status, which is pursued by networking with high-status states, against the desire for reciprocity, which is pursued by interacting with other low-status states. The interests of low-status states are therefore divided between supporting their own group and trying to network with high-status states. As a result, we observe high levels of reciprocity among high-status states, whose relations are reinforced by many mutual ties, but low levels of interaction among low-status states, who cannot afford to maintain similar levels of solidarity. By promoting differential levels of solidarity based on status, social closure perpetuates and accentuates inequality.

### 3.4.2 Consensus Effects

In addition, status is self-reinforcing because status evaluations are interdependent. Status depends on peer attribution—that is, high-status actors are those recognized as such by other actors. But because status is difficult to ascertain, actors rely on each other's evaluations to decide how to rank others. Based on the type and direction of an actor's existing relationships, for example, observers infer the actor's status, even in the absence of information about the actor's qualities or behavior.<sup>78</sup> Actors thus influence each other's status evaluations, often leading to the emergence of a working consensus about who ranks where in a given status hierarchy.<sup>79</sup> Coordinating with one another,

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<sup>76</sup>See Berger, Anderson, and Zelditch 1972; Ridgeway 2014, 6-7; Sauder, Lynn, and Podolny 2012; Thye 2000.

<sup>77</sup>Gould 2002.

<sup>78</sup>Betancourt, Kovács, and Otner 2018.

<sup>79</sup>See Correll et al. 2017; Ridgeway and Erickson 2000.

observers evaluate status based on what “most people” think, even when they lack accurate information about the qualities of actors. As Singer and Small note, international status comes from a shifting consensus in the community regarding the state’s rank, which makes status “perceptual in the collective sense.”<sup>80</sup> Similarly, O’Neill describes status in terms of second-order beliefs (beliefs about beliefs) and higher-order beliefs (common beliefs) about a state’s quality.<sup>81</sup>

Such consensus effects make status self-reinforcing: the more a state receives recognition, the more others deem it worthy of recognition. As such, status recognition is not a meritocracy. High-status states enjoy considerable advantage in the status recognition process, which results from their social position rather than from their qualities. At the same time, status mobility constitutes the exception rather than the rule. On the one hand, it takes more effort to gain status than to maintain it. States at the margins of the international system struggle to gain recognition, even despite changes in their qualities or the things that they have. For example, North Korea failed to achieve recognition as a great power even though it acquired nuclear weapons, traditionally considered one of the accoutrements of great-power status. If anything, the acquisition of nuclear weapons consolidated North Korea’s status as a pariah state. This happened because North Korea, as a state at the margins of the international system, maintains only tenuous connections with other states—including most recently China, one of its traditional allies.

On the other hand, it takes less effort to maintain status than to gain it. While states at the margins of the international system struggle to gain recognition, states at the system’s core enjoy considerable advantage in maintaining their status. For example, the inclusion of France a permanent member in the UN Security Council (UNSC) in 1945 mostly resulted from France’s previous status as a great power, rather than from its meager material capabilities at the end of the Second World War.<sup>82</sup> Based on material factors alone, few would expect France to acquire the privileges it did in the post-war international order. And yet, France was invited to sit at the main table and help manage international relations. Similarly, other countries—such as Portugal, Spain, and Swe-

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<sup>80</sup>Singer and Small 1966, 238.

<sup>81</sup>O’Neill 2001, 193.

<sup>82</sup>Heimann 2015b.

den in 1815; Italy and Japan in 1919; or China in 1945—have also punched above their material weight during constitutional moments of the contemporary international order, achieving an international standing superior to their material capabilities.<sup>83</sup> As these cases illustrate, a state's position in a status hierarchy shapes the conditions for its recognition: High-status states tend to attract more recognition simply by virtue of their popularity.

### 3.4.3 Standard-Setting and Gatekeeping

Finally, status is self-reinforcing because high-status actors enjoy privileges that beget more status: they act as standard-setters, shaping the criteria that guide status recognition, and as gatekeepers, shaping decisions to recognize other actors or exclude them.<sup>84</sup> It is no coincidence that, to this day, status evaluations rely on governance ideals associated with the West. The globalization of the European society of states was regulated by a standard of civilization, which performed the functions of gatekeeping membership to international society and assimilating non-European peoples into European standards. As a result, predominant conceptions of state competence nowadays involve not only the ability to fend for oneself under anarchy, but also a Western standard of civilization that includes fundamental values like liberal democracy.

High-status states define the rules of the game in their favor, consolidating their superior position. High-status states shape recognition standards informally, leading by example; or formally, via international institutions. Since the globalization of the European society of states, Western countries enjoy advantages that come from their social position. The postwar international organizations institutionalized these advantages, consolidating the West's dominant position. We can see this trend more clearly since 1945, with the emergence and proliferation of governance performance indicators. Since 1945, intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) have performed a key role in selecting what aspects of state performance should be measured.<sup>85</sup> The practice of quantifying state performance gained momentum in the 1960s and blossomed in the 1990s. A survey conducted in

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<sup>83</sup>See Buzan 2004, 62; Heimann 2015b, 186; Morgenthau 1948, 270; Murray 2018.

<sup>84</sup>Bourdieu 1984, 1993; Swartz 1997.

<sup>85</sup>Ward 2004.

2008 identified as many as 178 indicators designed to measure governance performance.<sup>86</sup> Since the end of the Cold War, the approved goals for states have been defined in an increasingly explicit way. These goals now involve not only economic issues, which were the first to be considered by IGOs, but also social issues that were initially considered controversial.<sup>87</sup> The creation of performance indicators was strongly influenced by Western ideas such as liberal market ideology and Benthamite philosophy. Performance indicators not only provide a basis for social pressure that can influence policy adoption, but also form a “discursive field” that constitutes legitimate state responsibilities.<sup>88</sup> By providing quantifiable, comparable measures of state performance, indicators set a standard to be aspired by all states. That is, they define what competent state performance means. Based on shared notions of state competence, states rank each other, and act accordingly.<sup>89</sup> From this process emerges an international hierarchy of status—as different state identities such as “developed” or “developing” translate into different social positions.

Assimilation as a form of domination.<sup>90</sup> Even as non-Western peoples achieved sovereign statehood, they were often considered inferior for not upholding Western standards, and stigmatized.<sup>91</sup> As Lagos notes, mass communication served to spread information about inequalities (in standard of living) between developed and developing countries, leading the former to adopt the goals of the latter. Even the use of the terms “underdeveloped” (starting in the 1950s) and “backward” countries (before then) implies that developing countries should follow the example of developed ones, aspiring to become like them.<sup>92</sup> The ideals of social justice, for example, spread from the core to peripheral countries like Japan or Mexico.<sup>93</sup> As Dore notes, assimilation entails a psychic cost: deciding to “modernize” one’s country involves accepting that it is lacking in important respects. To this day, moreover, intervention policies typically target non-Western states.

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<sup>86</sup> Bandura 2008.

<sup>87</sup> Ward 2004, 151.

<sup>88</sup> See Kelley and Simmons 2015; Löwenheim and Heimann 2008.

<sup>89</sup> Davis et al. 2012; Davis, Kingsbury, and Merry 2012.

<sup>90</sup> Tilly 2005.

<sup>91</sup> Zarakol 2011, 2014.

<sup>92</sup> Lagos 1963, 25-30.

<sup>93</sup> Dore 1975.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

This chapter develops a network theory of status. I argue that status depends on states' positions in a social arrangement, rather than on the qualities of states. Therefore, relational processes—which cannot be reduced to the qualities of states—drive status recognition in the international system. In particular, the chapter presents three new propositions about the relationship between status and inequality among states. First, status legitimates inequality among states. Based on status distinctions, certain types of states are presumed to be better than others, and therefore deserving of exclusive privileges. Second, status stabilizes inequality among states. Status distinctions lock inequality into place by shaping social perceptions and behavior. By drawing a boundary between those types of states perceived as superior or inferior, status distinctions create expectations about the ability of either type to exert authority in a given situation, shaping interaction outcomes. In particular, status distinctions depend on shared conceptions of state competence that change over time, depending on who the great powers are and how they behave.

Third, once established, status distinctions reinforce inequality independently from material conditions: The higher standing a state enjoys, the more it tends to attract additional recognition. High-status states enjoy a cumulative advantage in status attainment, which derives from structural conditions rather than from their attributes. To begin, status distinctions encourage solidarity among high-status states but undermine solidarity among low-status states. On the one hand, social closure involves commonality (or distinction): High-status states differentiate themselves from outsiders by adopting a distinctive way of life, or a set of behaviors and practices that is difficult to mimic. On the other hand, social closure involves connectedness (or exclusion): high-status states share dense relations among themselves but sparse relations with outsiders. Therefore, sharing relational ties, especially with high-status states, brings status. In addition, consensus effects make status self-reinforcing: the more a state receives recognition, the more others deem it worthy of recognition. Therefore, it takes more effort to gain status than to maintain it. Finally, high-status states enjoy privileges that beget more status: they act as standard-setters, shaping the criteria that

guide status recognition, and as gatekeepers, shaping recognition decisions. It is no coincidence that, to this day, status evaluations are based on a Western way of life—a gestalt that includes not only material resources but also fundamental values like liberal democracy.

My theoretical framework implies that, to understand why states achieve status, we need to examine the overall patterns of state relations, rather than merely ranking states based on certain attributes. To investigate the sources of international status, I thus develop in the next chapters a relational empirical strategy that is consistent with the social nature of status.



## **Part II**

### **A Relational Empirical Strategy**



# 4

## Why Embassies?

How do we measure international status? Having developed the concept of status and its main dimensions in Chapter 2, I now consider the indicator level, in which the concept becomes concrete enough to guide data collection and empirical analysis.<sup>1</sup> In this chapter, I operationalize the systematized concept of status developed in Chapter 2, linking this concept to observations intended to capture the main ideas from the concept.<sup>2</sup> At the abstract level, I define status as an effective claim to social esteem that involves privileges. At the secondary or intermediate level, the proposed concept involves two necessary dimensions: recognition and hierarchy. At the indicator level, a good measure of status should therefore capture both recognition and hierarchy, the two necessary dimensions in my concept of status. More precisely, a valid measure of status should capture acts of recognition by states that create social inequalities among states.

Each of this chapter's sections deals with a different aspect of the operationalization of status. The first section begins by discussing my operationalization strategy. Because status is a quality that cannot be directly observed, I use embassy exchange data as a proxy measure of status. Based on international law, embassy exchange is a longstanding practice that signifies recognition among sovereign states and that creates social inequalities among states. Next, I discuss the operationalization criteria I use to choose this measure. Given the systematized concept of status developed in Chapter 2, a valid measure of status should be relational, behavioral, and multidimensional;

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<sup>1</sup>Goertz 2006, 50-53.

<sup>2</sup>See Adcock and Collier 2001, 531.

moreover, it should cover all states, cover a longer historical period, and reduce measurement bias. Compared to other possible measures of status—those based on states' attributes, individuals' perceptions of the status of states, or states' positions in formal institutions like international treaties or intergovernmental organizations—embassy exchange data offer the most advantages given the goals of this project. While embassy exchange data reasonably meet each of my operationalization criteria, alternative measures present limitations based on two or more of the criteria. Finally, I address potential concerns associated with my proposed measure, dispelling common misconceptions about embassy exchange data and their use as a measure of status.

## 4.1 A Proxy Measure of Status

Because status is a quality that cannot be directly observed or measured, I use a proxy measure of international status. My point of departure is the systematized concept of status developed in Chapter 2. Recognition is the first necessary dimension in my concept: for an actor to achieve a particular status, others have to recognize it. To find a proxy measure of status recognition, I turn to international law. As Agné and colleagues note, international law “is the primary resource for identifying empirical acts of recognition” in international relations.<sup>3</sup> As Peterson puts it, recognition is broadly defined in international law as the “acknowledgement of the existence of an entity or situation indicating that full consequences of that existence will be respected.”<sup>4</sup>

Under international law, three acts of recognition create status distinctions among actors, and could therefore serve as measures of status recognition: (1) the recognition of a state, (2) the establishment of diplomatic relations, and (3) the establishment of diplomatic representation.<sup>5</sup> On the one hand, each of these acts implies the previous one: diplomatic representation implies diplomatic relations, and diplomatic relations imply state recognition. On the other hand, each act does not imply the next one: a state may recognize another state without establishing diplomatic relations,

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<sup>3</sup> Agné et al. 2013, 101.

<sup>4</sup> Peterson 1997, 1.

<sup>5</sup> See Brown 1936; Kelsen 1941, 605.

or may establish diplomatic relations with a state without exchanging diplomatic representations.<sup>6</sup> Though distinct, the three acts of recognition share key features—most importantly, their discretionary nature. Under international law, a state does not have to recognize another entity or even to justify its decision to either recognize another entity or refrain from recognizing it. Due to their voluntary character, these acts are especially informative as acts of recognition.

In particular, I choose diplomatic representation as a measure of status recognition in this project. Among the three acts of recognition in international law, diplomatic representation is the most appropriate to measure international status because it creates status distinctions among sovereign states. By contrast, the other two acts of recognition (the recognition of a state, and the establishment of diplomatic relations) create distinctions between states and non-state actors, and therefore are not as useful to examine hierarchies of status among states. It is no coincidence that quantitative studies of status typically use diplomatic representation data to measure international status. For example, multiple studies have used diplomatic exchange data to measure status so as to examine the relationship between status inconsistency and war, both in the first wave of status research in IR (during the 1960s and 1970s) and in the current wave that began at the turn of the twentieth-first century.<sup>7</sup> In fact, no other measure of international status has been used in observational studies in IR that employ quantitative methods.<sup>8</sup>

Diplomatic representation can take various forms. In the contemporary period, I am particularly interested in embassies headed by an ambassador or high commissioner, who hold the highest rank in diplomatic protocol following the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961).<sup>9</sup> Unlike other types of diplomatic representation, embassies headed by an ambassador unambiguously signify recognition and imply costs to the sending state.<sup>10</sup> Embassies headed by a chargé d'affaires—a lower-ranking diplomatic official that fills in for an ambassador—indicate deteriorat-

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<sup>6</sup>Wouters, Duquet, and Meuwissen 2013, 511.

<sup>7</sup>East 1972; Renshon 2017; Volgy and Mayhall 1995; Wallace 1971.

<sup>8</sup>See, for example, Colgan 2014; Gartzke and Jo 2009; Jo and Gartzke 2007; Miller et al. 2015; Singer and Small 1966; Volgy et al. 2011.

<sup>9</sup>Heads of diplomatic representations exchanged between members of the Commonwealth are called high commissioners instead of ambassadors. Henceforth, I use the term “ambassador” to refer to both high commissioners and ambassadors.

<sup>10</sup>See Berridge and James 2003, 36, 55, 138, 177; Malone 2013, 123-24.

ing relations between states. In fact, recalling one's ambassador for consultations is the strongest form of diplomatic sanction short of closing an embassy or severing diplomatic relations.<sup>11</sup> Side accreditations—instances in which, for example, the Brazilian ambassador resident in Cambodia receives accreditation to also represent Brazil in Laos, even though there is no Brazilian embassy in Laos—serve to reduce costs, which results in only occasional bilateral interactions. Consulates perform a specific function, emitting visas to foreign visitors and providing assistance to nationals abroad. Finally, states use interest sections to maintain communication in the absence of diplomatic relations. In sum, either recognition or costs are absent in other types of diplomatic representation, which makes them less informative as an act of recognition than embassies headed by an ambassador. It is no coincidence, for example, that most bilateral visits by U.S. presidents or secretaries of state between 1965 and 2003 go to countries where the U.S. sends an embassy headed by an ambassador.<sup>12</sup> By contrast, the countries that lack an American ambassador receive only a small percentage of the high-level diplomatic visits from the U.S. during this period.

Importantly, an embassy headed by an ambassador refers to a bilateral act of recognition from the sending state ( $i$ ) to the receiving state ( $j$ ). Each embassy can only have one ambassador, who occupies the position of official representative of state  $i$  to state  $j$ . The sending state accredits the ambassador—or provides them with credentials—specifically to represent the head of state of the sending state in bilateral relations with the receiving state. As specified in Article 3, §1 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961), the functions of a diplomatic mission include: (1) representing the sending state in the receiving state; (2) protecting the interests of the sending state and its nationals in the receiving state; (3) negotiating with the government of the receiving state;

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<sup>11</sup>States often recall their ambassador for consultations to express disapproval of the host state. For example, several European countries withdrew their ambassadors from Moscow in 2018 following the alleged poisoning by the Russian government, using a nerve agent, of a former double agent in Salisbury, England. See *The Guardian*, “EU recalls ambassador from Russia as leaders back May over Salisbury,” 23 March 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/22/theresa-may-struggling-win-eu-support-russia-europe>. And in 2021, Moscow summoned its ambassador to the U.S. for consultations to signal disapproval after the Biden administration considered imposing additional sanctions on Russia in response to the alleged Russian interference in U.S. presidential elections, the Kremlin-backed cyber espionage campaign aimed at U.S. targets that culminated in the SolarWinds hack in 2020, and the detention of Russian opposition leader Alexei Navalny. See *Financial Times*, “Russia recalls ambassador to US amid deteriorating relations,” 18 March 2021, <https://www.ft.com/content/ec5d259d-0509-4ef5-9763-dd474fe1d7eo>.

<sup>12</sup>Renshon 2017, 133–35. See also Lebovic and Saunders 2016.

(4) ascertaining the conditions in the receiving state and reporting them to the sending state; and (5) promoting friendly relations between the sending state and the receiving state. By contrast, an ambassador lacks formal authorization to represent the sending state in relations with third states (that is, with states other than the receiving state).

Moreover, the appointment of an ambassador involves multiple procedures of high importance in diplomatic protocol—which typically include the heads of state at both the sending and the receiving states.<sup>13</sup> Before taking up an appointment, an ambassador usually meets with the head of state of the sending state, whom the ambassador is meant to personally represent in relations with the receiving state. Once despatched, the ambassador then presents their credentials to the receiving state, usually in a formal audience with the head of state of the receiving state. Following the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, a potential ambassador needs an *agrément* (a formal agreement by the receiving state) before they can be appointed as an ambassador to that state. Like diplomatic exchange itself, the *agrément* is a voluntary or discretionary act, as the receiving state may refuse *agrément* without justification. In sum, embassy exchange is a longstanding practice that signifies recognition and creates status distinctions among states.

## 4.2 Operationalization Criteria

Six criteria guide the operationalization of my concept of status in this project. Given the systematized concept of status presented in Chapter 2, a valid measure of international status should be relational, behavioral, and multidimensional; moreover, it should involve all states, cover a longer historical period, and reduce measurement bias. As I discuss next, embassy exchange data reasonably meet each of these criteria. As a proxy measure of status, these data offer important advantages when compared to other potential measures discussed below.

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<sup>13</sup>Berridge and James 2003, 6-7.

### **4.2.1 A Relational, Behavioral Measure**

To begin, embassy exchange data offer two important advantages. First, these data capture the relational nature of status. Status is a relational property: it emerges from state relations, rather than from their qualities. While actors use certain attributes to evaluate members in a given community, status ultimately depends on peer recognition. Accordingly, embassy exchange data reflect relations among states, rather than state attributes. Second, embassy exchange data capture the behavioral nature of status. Status has fundamental behavioral implications: it implies differential treatment to different kinds of states. Moreover, international hierarchies of status emerge from the practices of states—such as granting recognition to a state or withholding it, attaching symbolic meaning to certain state attributes, and granting privileges to states depending on their level of social esteem. As such, states' practices should be at the center of attempts to measure status.<sup>14</sup> According, embassy exchange data reflect acts of recognition among states, rather than merely state perceptions.

### **4.2.2 A Multidimensional Measure**

In addition, embassy exchange data offer another important advantage: they capture the multidimensional nature of status. Embassies reflect a state's overall importance, across issue areas, to all other states in the international system, rather than a state's importance in a given issue area. Because embassies are costly, a state only sends an embassy abroad if it considers the receiving state as an important player across multiple dimensions.<sup>15</sup> As Singer and Small note,

whether or not A sends a diplomatic representative to N (...) is seen as a reflection of a wide range of those external and internal considerations affecting those responsible for deciding upon each such assignment. Among these are general usage at the time, the rank sent by others, the host's preferences and customs, prior relations between sender and host, degree of interdependence between the two, domestic attitudes toward the

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<sup>14</sup>Pouliot 2014, 192-200.

<sup>15</sup>Brams 1966; East 1972, 305; Nierop 1994, Ch. 4.

host nation, anticipated importance of the host, and so on. No matter how we look at it, the decision about the rank of a diplomatic mission must reflect—and, in a subtle fashion, combine—almost all the considerations affecting the sending nation's foreign policy as well as its relations with the host nation. In a sense, no multidimensional combined index could be expected to tap, in so effective a synthesis, the factors which blend into the sum total and rank of all the missions in a given capital.<sup>16</sup>

When deciding to open, maintain, or close an embassy in a given foreign capital, the decision-makers of the sending state allocate scarce resources based on an estimate of the relative importance of the receiving state compared to the other states in the system. Comparisons among potential embassy destinations typically bridge across issue areas—including political, economic, security, and cultural factors to mention a few.<sup>17</sup> In addition, such decisions take into account considerations involving both domestic actors and foreign countries.<sup>18</sup> On the one hand, domestic interest groups or bureaucratic agencies may strongly support (or oppose) sending an embassy to a given state. On the other hand, influential states may pressure other states to send (or to not send) an embassy to a given state. During the Cold War, for example, the United States encouraged its diplomatic partners to exchange embassies within the capitalist bloc but refrain from sending embassies to states in the communist bloc. Moreover, the receiving state may be more or less eager to receive an embassy. As such, an embassy reflects the relative importance, across multiple dimensions, of the receiving state to the decision-makers of the sending state.

#### 4.2.3 Embassies Cover All States Over Time

Moreover, my proposed measure of status offers two additional advantages. First, because this measure covers decades of state relations, it enables me to investigate the sources of international status over time, increasing my confidence that the results of my empirical analysis are not specific to a

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<sup>16</sup>Singer and Small 1966, 241.

<sup>17</sup>Accordingly, embassies typically comprise multiple sections that deal with different issues—like, for example, political, economic and commercial, cultural, or consular affairs.

<sup>18</sup>Singer and Small 1966, 239–41; Small and Singer 1973, 578–82.

given historical moment. That is, this measure captures longstanding patterns in state relations that drive international recognition over time, rather than covering a specific period.

Second, this measure covers all states in the system. For both substantive and methodological reasons, my empirical analysis calls for a measure that covers as many states as possible. From a substantive standpoint, status emerges from the acts of recognition of all states, rather than from any single state or even a few states. Because status relations involve all states, rather than only a small group like the major powers, a valid measure of international status should cover all states in the system. From a methodological standpoint, relational data must be as complete as possible, so as to minimize the difference between the observed network structure and the true network structure (or the underlying pattern of relations). In general, missing data tend to limit the conclusions that can be drawn from quantitative analysis. But when it comes to relational data in particular, missing data become especially problematic.<sup>19</sup> Omitting even a small number of actors due to measurement error, for example, may result in significant distortions of the true network structure. For every actor that is missing, all the ties involving that actor remain unobserved, as do any patterns of ties surrounding that actor. Missing data thus result in biased estimates of network-level statistics, yielding biased inferences about the underlying patterns of relations.

Data availability sets embassy exchange data apart from other potential measures. No comprehensive data are available on other state practices that express recognition, and so could in principle be used to measure status. For example, diplomatic visits convey a measure of the importance attributed to different diplomatic partners, since high-level state representatives have scarce time and resources to visit other states. But currently, data are available only for bilateral visits originating from a few countries: China, France, Germany, Russia (or the Soviet Union), the United States, and the United Kingdom.<sup>20</sup> By contrast, there are no data on the visits received by these countries or the visits sent and received by all other countries. While the data available provide a measure of which countries the visitors consider important, they do not provide information about whom all other countries consider important. Although states like the U.S. or the UK exert significant influence

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<sup>19</sup>Holland and Leinhardt 1973; Kossinets 2006; Laumann, Marsden, and Prensky 1983.

<sup>20</sup>Lebovic and Saunders 2016; McManus 2018; Nitsch 2007.

over other states, international hierarchies of status ultimately emerge from the acts of recognition by all states. Moreover, the partial coverage of the existing data raises additional concerns about bias. The countries for which data are available differ systematically from the countries for which there are no data, in aspects like their levels of diplomatic engagement or material capabilities. As such, it is unclear that conclusions drawn from these data could be generalized to all states in the system. Neither are comprehensive data available for other potential measures of recognition—such as “choices of language and style in diplomatic communication; (...) dressing at official visits; attention to national memorial days and monuments of international partners; invitations to international meetings and organizations.”<sup>21</sup>

#### 4.2.4 Reducing Bias

Finally, embassy exchange data provide one last advantage: compared to other measures, they involve minimal bias. To be sure, embassy exchange provides an imperfect measure of international status because factors external to status influence it. For example, neighboring states are more likely to exchange embassies than geographically distant states; in addition, countries that host the headquarters of an intergovernmental organization (IGO), like Belgium, tend to receive more embassies due to economies of scale for sending states. However, this does not compromise my analysis because I control statistically for these extraneous factors. By including in the analysis variables like geographic proximity and IGO hosting, I address concerns about omitted variable bias—which results from omitting from a statistical model an independent variable that correlates with both the dependent variable and an independent variable already included in the model. Because I use control variables like geographic proximity, the effects estimated for my variables of interest are net of the effects of extraneous factors like geography. While my proposed measure involves potential sources of bias, I use a systematic, transparent approach to address this issue. As a result, there is much less reason for concern about bias associated with my proposed measure than with alternative measures of status, as I discuss in more detail below.

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<sup>21</sup> Agné et al. 2013, 100-101.

## 4.3 Alternative Measurement Strategies

While quantitative studies use diplomatic exchange data to measure international status, this is not the only measurement strategy possible. Besides diplomatic representation data, scholars have used three other kinds of data to measure international status: (1) comparing states based on attributes like military or economic capabilities (or relatedly, comparing states' positions in issue-specific relations, like military alliances or international trade); (2) measuring individuals' perceptions of the status of different countries; and (3) measuring states' positions in formal institutions, such as intergovernmental organizations or international treaties.

Compared to the measurement strategy I use in this project, each of these alternative strategies is more intuitive. To begin, these strategies focus on manifestations of status that are directly observable, such as status-symbolizing attributes or institutionalized status positions. In fact, these measurement strategies resemble the way we assess status in our everyday interpersonal interactions (as actors rather than researchers). People often use information about directly observable traits, like institutional affiliation, to assess the status of those with whom they interact. The reader might have heard, for example, of the common complaint among academics that some people decide with whom to interact during conferences by giving others' name tags the once-over, quickly deciding to cut an interaction short if the interlocutor hails from a less prestigious country or academic institution. Given the intuitive nature of these measurement strategies, it is not surprising that they were adopted in previous studies of status in IR. Likewise, early sociological studies of status in domestic societies tended to rely on similar strategies.<sup>22</sup>

Intuitive as these alternative strategies are, however, they also present important limitations given the purposes of this project. Table 4.1 summarizes the comparison among possible measures of international status based on six criteria that guided the above operationalization of my concept of status. In particular, given the systematized concept of status presented in Chapter 2, a valid measure of international status should be relational, behavioral, and multidimensional; moreover,

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<sup>22</sup> Adams 1953; Fenchel, Monderer, and Hartley 1951; Lenski 1954. For a useful discussion of some of the limitations found in early approaches, see Blalock 1966.

**Table 4.1.** Comparison of Possible Strategies to Measure International Status

	<i>Relational</i>	<i>Behavioral</i>	<i>Coverage (states)</i>	<i>Coverage (time)</i>	<i>Multidi- mensional</i>	<i>Reduces bias</i>
Diplomatic exchange	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Actors' properties (e.g., military, economic resources)	-	-	✓	✓	-	-
Issue-specific relations (e.g., alliances, trade)	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-
Actors' perceptions (e.g., surveys, ethnography, discourse/content analysis)	✓	-	✓*	✓*	✓	-
Formal institutions (e.g., IGOs, treaties)	✓	✓	-	✓	-	-

*Note:* \* Possible in principle, though it would be very costly in practice.

it should cover all states, cover a longer period, and reduce bias. But while diplomatic exchange data reasonably meet each of these criteria, the other possible measures of status present limitations based on two or more of these criteria, as I discuss next.

### 4.3.1 Actors' Attributes

First, an intuitive approach to measure status is to compare actors based on attributes considered important for status attainment. In IR, this strategy typically involves ranking states based on military or economic capabilities. For example, Lagos assesses international status by comparing countries based on rank-dimensions like gross national product and military expenditures.<sup>23</sup> Following a similar approach, many scholars propose criteria to categorize certain countries as the major or great powers of a given historical era.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, the Correlates of War (COW) major powers data

<sup>23</sup>Lagos 1963.

<sup>24</sup>Bull 2002, 194-222; Levy 1983, 16-24; Buzan 2004, 69-72; Neumann 2008; Schweller 1993.

**Table 4.2.** Major Powers According to the Correlates of War Project (1816–2011)

State	Period
Austria-Hungary	1816–1918
China	1950–
France	1816–1940; 1945–
Germany	1816–1918; 1925–1945; 1991–
Italy	1860–1943
Japan	1895–1945; 1991–
Russia	1816–1917; 1922–
United Kingdom	1816–
United States	1898–

set, commonly used in quantitative studies in IR, lists the countries that count as major powers in a given historical period since the early nineteenth century, as shown in Table 4.2.<sup>25</sup> While the criteria used to categorize some states as major powers sometimes remain implicit, in most cases scholars list military and economic capabilities as fundamental attributes—often, necessary conditions—for the achievement of major power status.

This approach provides a useful starting point for studies of international status in two ways. First, major power denominations like the one provided in Table 4.2 summarize the judgment of experts in the field about which states we should expect to find at the top of international hierarchies of status in the past couple of centuries. As such, I rely in part on COW’s classification of major powers to validate my proposed measure of status in the next chapter, confirming that those states that receive the most embassies are the same states scholars usually rank at the top in a given period. Second, I use the state attributes that IR scholars deem important for status attainment at the state level, such as military or economic capabilities, to develop hypotheses about the determinants of international status, to be tested in chapters 7 through 9.

But while this approach provides a useful starting point, it is not an appropriate strategy given my goals in this project. In particular, this approach suffers from a couple of limitations. First, because it measures status based on the properties of actors (or the things that they have) rather than based on social esteem, this approach does not capture the relational and behavioral nature of status.

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<sup>25</sup>Correlates of War Project 2011.

One could attempt to address this limitation by measuring status based on international trade flows or military alliances, moving beyond the properties of actors to capture relations among states in a given issue area. Such an approach would yield issue-specific measures of the importance of states.<sup>26</sup> However, status evaluations are based on the performance of actors across multiple dimensions, rather than in a single issue area.

This leads me to a second limitation that both approaches—based on either actors' properties or issue-specific relations—share: it is not clear how researchers should combine different state attributes (or states' positions in issue-specific relations) to form an aggregate measure of status. One may compare states based, for example on their economic or military capabilities; but to come up with an overall measure of status, one would need to decide on a rule to combine different rankings. Likewise, alliances and trade flows provide important information about states' positions in the military and economic arenas respectively. But how should a researcher combine these positions to measure international status? The aggregation of rankings across issue areas would depend heavily on assumptions about the relative importance of rank-dimensions that seem hard to justify *a priori*, and which would likely yield biased measures of status. Waltz himself acknowledges this challenge, though he ultimately does not propose a clear strategy to combine different rank-dimensions:

The economic, military, and other capabilities of nations cannot be sectorized and separately weighed. States are not placed in the top rank because they excel in one way or another. Their rank depends on how they score on *all* of the following items: size of population and territory, resource endowment, economic capability, military strength, political stability and competence. States spend a lot of time estimating one another's capabilities, especially their abilities to do harm. States have different combinations of capabilities which are difficult to measure and compare, the more so since the weight to be assigned to different items changes with time. We should not be surprised if wrong answers are sometimes arrived at. Prussia startled most foreigners, and most Prus-

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<sup>26</sup>The most widely-cited study of hierarchy in IR, for example, disaggregates hierarchy into two issue areas: security hierarchy, measured by troop deployments and alliance portfolios; and economic hierarchy, measured by exchange rate regimes and diversification in trade partners. See Lake 2009, Ch. 3.

sians, by the speed and extent of her victories over Austria in 1866 and over France in 1870. Ranking states, however, does not require predicting their success in war or in other endeavors. We need only rank them roughly by capability.<sup>27</sup>

This brings me to the final limitation that both attribute- and issue-specific measurement approaches share: by itself, neither approach enables the researcher to test hypotheses about the determinants of international status. Both approaches rely heavily on the researcher's assumptions about which state attributes (or issue areas) determine status attainment, but neglect to put such assumptions to the test. Well-informed as they may be, experts' evaluations of international status ultimately reflect the common sense in the discipline. As Waltz puts it, "common sense" can answer the question of counting the great powers of an era.<sup>28</sup> And yet, common sense often fails researchers—as it provides enough reasons to justify contradictory claims but no basis to prove any such claims wrong.<sup>29</sup> To be empirically tenable, both status and its determinants need to be considered as analytical categories that are separate from the experiences of observers, and therefore subject to falsification.<sup>30</sup> The study of status calls for an empirical strategy that moves beyond the assumptions of specialists to test hypotheses about the determinants of international status.

Because status is historically contingent, for example, scholars need to develop strategies to detect when states' positions in a status hierarchy have changed, or to detect when the conditions for status attainment themselves have changed. But as Volgy and colleagues note, there is "a remarkable degree of stability" in the experts' list of major powers since 1816 according to the COW classification, as shown in Table 4.2.<sup>31</sup> This suggests that specialists' perceptions about the determinants of international status may be subject to an anchoring bias. If a given state is identified as a major power for a significant period, scholars may choose as status symbols whichever qualities characterize that state at a given point. In other words, scholars may be tempted to mold the status criteria so as to fit those states perceived as major powers, instead of independently testing hypotheses about

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<sup>27</sup>Waltz 1979, 131.

<sup>28</sup>Waltz 1979, 131.

<sup>29</sup>Watts 2011.

<sup>30</sup>See Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Small 1977, 26.

<sup>31</sup>Volgy et al. 2014, 69.

the determinants of international status. But while researchers may have strong priors about which attributes matter for status recognition, it is important to develop strategies to update these priors over time, as I propose in this project.

#### 4.3.2 Actors' Perceptions

Another intuitive approach to measure status is to measure how individuals perceive the status of different actors. Following this approach, researchers can use either qualitative methods (such as ethnography or discourse analysis) or quantitative methods (such as surveys or content analysis) to assess individuals' perceptions of the status of different countries at a given moment. For example, Schwartzman and Mora y Araujo use survey methods to measure perceptions of the status of twenty Latin American countries among university students from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Norway.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, Wolf proposes using leaders' complaints about how their countries are treated to measure the lack of recognition, whereas the lack of complaints would denote recognition.<sup>33</sup> More broadly, one could measure status perceptions by conducting public opinion surveys, examining leaders' speeches, or comparing the portrayal of different countries in the national media or popular culture of a given country. On the one hand, this measurement strategy offers an advantage when compared to those strategies based on states' attributes or issue-specific relations: it can capture overall evaluations of an actor, not specific to a given attribute or issue area.

However, this strategy also suffers from a couple of important limitations. The first limitation involves bias. Research from different areas indicates that perceptions of a group's status depend on a person's group identification.<sup>34</sup> In particular, individuals' perceptions of the status of their own

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<sup>32</sup>Schwartzman and Mora y Araujo 1966. See also Armer 1966; Shimbori et al. 1963; Shunsuke 2009.

<sup>33</sup>Wolf 2011, 113-114. This approach has some limitations I do not discuss in detail here. As Agné and colleagues note, this approach fails to specify directly which practices count as recognition, as it measures recognition only indirectly (based on the absence of complaints). And because it measures recognition *ex post*, this approach conflates observed causes and effects: it detects recognition (the cause) by proxy of the assumed effects of misrecognition (actors' complaints). Yet, not all misrecognized states complain publicly, which reduces the measure's validity. To be empirically meaningful, acts of recognition need instead to be specified *ex ante*, independently of their alleged effects. See Agné et al. 2013, 101.

<sup>34</sup>See Bottero 2005, 26-27, 75; Pettit and Lount 2011. A related finding is that a person's position in a network shapes their perceptions of the network's structure; that is, perceptions of the network itself are situated. See Fischer and Sciarini 2015; Simpson, Markovsky, and Steketee 2011; O'Connor and Gladstone 2015. While perceptions of

group—like, for example, a citizen’s perception of the status of their country—tend to be inflated. Individuals often rate the status of their in-group higher than do others.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, individuals often emphasize as status symbols those attributes that characterize their in-group, adopting what social identity theorists call a social creativity strategy to manage the in-group’s identity.<sup>36</sup>

Such group-serving biases are observed at both the elite and population levels. At the population level, as Schwartzman and Mora y Araujo conclude in their study, “the best predictor of perceptions of rank-positions is, after the combination of power and development a country has, the nationality of the perceiver.”<sup>37</sup> When asked to justify their perceptions of the status of different Latin American countries in that study, survey participants gave different answers depending on their nationality. On average, Chileans (1) ranked Chile higher than did other participants; and (2) emphasized education—a dimension that favored Chile in regional comparisons—as a criterion for high status, as opposed to territory and population, two dimensions that did not favor Chile. We observe a similar bias at the elite level: as Pouliot’s analysis of the debates about reforming the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) around 2010 finds, diplomatic representatives tend to highlight their own country’s characteristics as criteria for UNSC reform:

For example, in order to pursue a permanent seat Japan emphasizes the principle of “no taxation without representation,” while India underlines the demographic aspect and African countries center on justice, fairness, and accountability. Meanwhile, Canada opposes new permanent seats by insisting on the value of the electoral mechanism (of nonpermanent UNSC members), Muslim countries call for more diversity on the Council, and Iceland decries the veto as an undemocratic privilege.<sup>38</sup>

Whether caused by deliberate self/group promotion or unconscious factors, group-serving bi-

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status at the group level tend to be biased, individuals’ perceptions of their own status (at the individual level) tend to be accurate. See Anderson et al. 2006; Anderson, Ames, and Gosling 2008.

<sup>35</sup>IR studies of status inconsistency (or misrecognition) and war at the state level highlight precisely this phenomenon. National perceptions of a country’s status—or the status that people think their own country deserves—often differ from the status ascribed to that country in the broader international community, and such a disjunction can make a country more prone to conflict.

<sup>36</sup>Larson and Shevchenko 2010; Tajfel 1974.

<sup>37</sup>Schwartzman and Mora y Araujo 1966, 236.

<sup>38</sup>Pouliot 2014, 199.

ases compromise our ability to draw generalizations based on studies of status perceptions conducted in a single country or even a group of countries that differ systematically from the others. Group-serving biases at the national level would be less of a problem if we could collect perception data for every country—since in the aggregate, such biases would likely cancel each other out. In practice, however, it is simply too costly to collect data on status perceptions in all countries, let alone in all countries *and* for multiple periods.

This brings me to a second limitation from this approach. Although in principle it is possible to measure perceptions by individuals from every state about all other states in the world, in practice it is too costly to do so, especially for a period long enough to allow for longitudinal analysis. For example, it would be impractical to get samples from every country of the world to fill out surveys about the status of all other countries. Likewise, using discourse analysis to examine status perceptions in all countries would be extremely time consuming, even for a single time period; and while content analysis would offer advantages in this respect, either method could cover only those texts whose language the researcher speaks. Finally, one could use ethnographic methods or interviews to recover intersubjective status perceptions among people from multiple countries.<sup>39</sup> This approach provides a rich snapshot of status evaluations in a given context. Nevertheless, it would not serve the purpose of this study—which is to examine status attainment in the international system historically, rather than in the present moment.

Coverage issues aside, perceptions provide a noisy measure of status for another reason: status perceptions are not the same as status itself. In particular, status differs from perceptions of status in two important ways. First, status is not merely perceptual; as I discuss above, status emerges from practices such as granting recognition, attaching esteem to attributes, and assigning privileges to certain groups. While perceptions refer to a person's attitudes toward a given actor, status has fundamental behavioral implications: it implies differential treatment to actors and groups. And as research in related fields shows, attitudes and behavior differ, even though they influence one another; in fact, attitudes and behavior influence one another precisely because they are different.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>See Pouliot 2016.

<sup>40</sup>Fazio 1986; Schuman and Johnson 1976.

Status perceptions provide a noisy measure of status because they measure an actor's attitudes, which do not necessarily correspond with the actor's behavior. Compared to status perceptions, behaviors that express status recognition, such as diplomatic exchange, thus provide a more accurate and informative measure of status.

Moreover, perceptions and status differ in a second way: while perceptions are subjective, status is a social fact—a phenomenon that transcends the individual and that constrains (or enables) individual action.<sup>41</sup> The fact that status is intangible does not imply that it is merely subjective or even an illusion inside actors' heads.<sup>42</sup> Although status is constructed by the practices of states, it is still real—as real as other social constructions like money or national identity. As Pouliot notes, “As symbolic as it may be, (...) status should not be reduced to belief or to perception. Like any social artifact, status is not a curtain standing in front of some sort of external reality; it *is* social reality in itself. Of course, beliefs and perceptions matter in politics; but as an intersubjective category, status is not reducible to either.”<sup>43</sup> This is not to say that status perceptions are irrelevant, only that they provide a noisy measure of status because they differ from status recognition itself.

#### 4.3.3 Formal Institutions

Finally, another intuitive strategy to measure status involves measuring actors' positions in formal institutions. In IR, this strategy usually involves examining states' positions in intergovernmental organizations or international treaties. Status sometimes is consolidated into formal positions in intergovernmental organizations, such as permanent membership in the UN Security Council (UNSC) or in the Council of the League of Nations. Similarly, intergovernmental organizations in specific issue areas—such as the World Trade Organization or the International Monetary Fund—often display tiered organizational structures, differentially allocating rights and responsibilities to

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<sup>41</sup>Durkheim 1982, 50-59.

<sup>42</sup>Noting the group-serving bias in status perceptions, Mercer concludes that prestige is an illusion. However, this perspective mistakes methodological (measurement) issues for conceptual ones. Subjective perceptions of status may be biased, but that does not imply that status itself is merely an illusion in actors' heads; it just means that we need to develop measurement strategies that do not rely exclusively on group-serving perceptions, as I do in this chapter. See Mercer 2017.

<sup>43</sup>Pouliot 2014, 196.

member states. In addition, bilateral treaties can draw in ink the relative status of the parties. In the nineteenth century, for example, the “unequal” treaties between European states and China, Japan, or Siam consolidated asymmetrical bilateral relationships, whereby Europeans established extra-territorial rights in Asian ports. Following this approach, Keene examines the system of treaties built by Britain to abolish the slave trade and finds that, while those treaties signed with European or American states emphasized reciprocity and sovereign equality, those treaties signed with African or Arab rulers typically mentioned neither principle.<sup>44</sup>

Formal institutions provide important insights about status because they make informal hierarchies of status visible. But in this study, I am interested in informal hierarchies of status, which permeate everyday relations among states. We know much less about informal hierarchies than about how they express themselves in formal organizations like the UNSC or the Council of the League of Nations. As a measure of informal hierarchies of status, formal institutions present a few limitations. To begin, most intergovernmental organizations and international treaties tend to be specific to a given issue area, such as security or trade. While examining issue-specific institutions provides insights about status in a specific arena, it creates the same problem discussed above. In particular, it is unclear how a researcher should aggregate states’ positions across issue-specific institutions to create an unbiased measure of international status.

A couple of institutions, like the United Nations or the League of Nations, do not present this limitation because they bridge across issue areas. But because these institutions do not vary much over time, they provide little information about changes in status. Both the UN and the League of Nations were established at the end of a major war. Since the end of the Second World War, for example, we have observed important variations in the distribution of status among states—most notably, the rise of China in the last couple of decades. Yet, institutions do not capture such variations; as Pouliot notes, they reflect states’ attempts to “set status in stone” or to “freeze in time a particular status configuration.”<sup>45</sup> That is, formal institutions provide relatively static snapshots of status hierarchies at the time when an institution was created. In addition, institutions provide

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<sup>44</sup>Keene 2007.

<sup>45</sup>Pouliot 2014, 193.

too coarse a measure of international status. Based on organizations like the UN or the League of Nations, for example, we can distinguish between two classes of countries: those with permanent representation in the organization's executive council, and those who lack such a position. However, this binary measure does not capture any status gradations in between.

Other institutions cover a limited number of states, limiting our ability to draw generalizations to the entire international system. For example, measures such as membership in international clubs like the Group of Seven (G7) provide information about the top of the status hierarchy. However, international hierarchies of status comprise all states in the system and cannot be reduced to those at the top. Examining only the major powers provides a partial picture of the distribution of social esteem among states. It is possible that recognition among major powers differs from recognition among different kinds of states. As such, it is unclear that one could generalize to all states the analysis of a specific group of states that shares distinctive traits and practices. The same limitations apply to states' leadership positions in international organizations. With a few exceptions like the UN, most organizations do not cover all states to begin with. In addition, organization-specific criteria or a geographic rotation principle often determine the assignment of leadership positions.<sup>46</sup> As such, it would be difficult to generalize from the findings. Similarly, bilateral treaties may provide information about specific dyads, but do not allow us to gauge the status of those states that did not sign a treaty. Yet, status emerges from the acts of recognition from all states, rather than from the acts of a single state or even a few states.

In sum, while alternative measures of status offer useful insights for this study, they also present important limitations given my goal—which is to measure the distribution of status among all states over a longer period. Given the purposes of this study, diplomatic exchange offers the most advantages, from both a substantive and a methodological standpoints, when compared to the other potential measures of international status: it is relational, rather than based on actors' attributes; it is behavioral, rather than reducible to actors' perceptions; it is multidimensional, rather than based on a specific state attribute or issue area; and it covers all states over an extended period, rather than

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<sup>46</sup>See Pouliot 2016.

focusing on a specific period or group of states. Embassy exchange thus offers a more appropriate measure of status than (1) measures based on state attributes, which capture actors' properties rather than their relations; (2) measures based on actors' perceptions, which capture actors' attitudes rather than their behavior; and (3) measures based formal institutions, which cover specific issue areas or groups of states and rarely change over time.

As such, my proposed measure of status offers one final advantage: it addresses potential sources of bias associated with other measures. First, because embassy exchange captures the recognition of a state's importance across multiple dimensions, my measure avoids two sources of bias associated with those measures based on specific state attributes or issue-specific relations: it obviates the need to decide on a rule to aggregate states' positions across rank-dimensions; and it enables the researcher to test hypotheses about the determinants of status, rather than assuming *a priori* that certain state attributes evoke recognition. Second, because diplomatic exchange is a behavioral measure, it avoids the group-serving biases that characterize those measures based on actors' perceptions. Third, compared to measures based on states' reactions to perceived (mis)recognition, my proposed measure offers the advantage of being specified *ex ante* and directly observable—rather than being measured *ex post*, based on the expected effects of (mis)recognition. Fourth, because diplomatic exchange covers all states in the system, it avoids the potential bias associated with those measures that focus on a few states like the major powers, who differ systematically from the other states. Finally, because embassy exchange captures variations in status attribution over time, it is more dynamic than measures based on states' positions in formal institutions, which tend to remain static in the absence of critical junctures like major wars. For these reasons, I use the embassy exchange data to investigate the sources of international status in this project.

## 4.4 Addressing Potential Concerns

In the next chapter, I validate my proposed measure of status, drawing on multiple sources of evidence to show that embassy exchange captures both recognition and hierarchy, the two necessary

dimensions in my concept of status. But before doing so, let me address in the rest of this chapter two sets of questions the reader might have at this point. First, is it possible to quantify something as intangible as international status? Should social scientists attempt to study intangible constructs like status, instead of focusing on other factors that are treated as material or objective? And related to this concern, is it possible to use quantitative methods to study intangible factors like status? Or are qualitative methods instead uniquely suitable to study intangible factors like status? Second, certain beliefs about embassy exchange might lead the reader to question its validity as a measure of status recognition. Are these beliefs accurate? Next, I discuss the two sets of questions in turn.

#### 4.4.1 Is Status Quantifiable?

While I answer “yes” to the question above, some readers might be less sanguine about the prospects of quantifying international status. In particular, reticence toward such an endeavor usually has two sources. One the one hand, some people might think that intangible aspects like status are simply not amenable to social scientific research. The first impulse is therefore not to measure international status at all. As discussed in Chapter 1, IR scholars followed this impulse for a long period, privileging material factors over intangible ones when developing theories and choosing research questions. On the other hand, some people might think that, due to their intricate nature, intangible aspects like status cannot be quantified; rather, these aspects can only be assessed qualitatively. The second impulse is therefore to claim that status can be studied—but since it is intangible, only qualitative methods are suitable to accomplish such a task.<sup>47</sup>

But even though it is challenging to measure something intangible like international status, it is also important to do so. To be sure, measurement challenges may explain in part why IR scholars have long neglected the question of how states achieve status. Moreover, this study presents an additional challenge because it focuses on informal status—rather than formal status, which can be observed more directly in formal institutions like intergovernmental organizations or international treaties. And yet, the measurement of status (whether using qualitative or quantitative methods) is

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<sup>47</sup>See Schroeder 1977; Small 1977.

also a necessary step toward understanding fundamental aspects about status. If we cannot measure status, we cannot investigate it empirically or test hypotheses about its determinants. That is, even though I acknowledge the challenges involved in quantifying status, I consider neither of the positions described above as productive from a social scientific standpoint. Either position gets the study of status entangled in epistemological debates that may be ultimately unsolvable.<sup>48</sup> As a result, the study of status falls through the cracks of disciplinary divides between scholars from different theoretical or methodological traditions. However, such disciplinary divides should not take precedence over the need to learn more about how countries achieve status.

There are additional reasons to question the view that intangible aspects like status cannot be studied using social scientific methods. To begin, this view is out of step with the development of social scientific research since the twentieth century. Much of contemporary political science research is dedicated precisely to the study of intangible constructs—such as democracy, partisanship, or development, to name a few. There is little reason to claim that status is inherently less amenable to social scientific research than each of these constructs, which have nonetheless received considerable attention from political scientists in the past half century. Moreover, social scientists have already developed sophisticated methods to study status empirically, as part of productive research programs that offer cumulative knowledge about status processes within domestic societies.<sup>49</sup> Rather than ruling out the study of status *a priori*, I thus draw on a rich tradition of studies in related fields to develop the empirical strategy that allows me to directly test multiple hypotheses about the sources of international status.

Likewise, there are additional reasons to question the view that only qualitative methods are suitable to studying intangible aspects like status. To begin, qualitative and quantitative methods have more in common than such a view would imply.<sup>50</sup> Like quantitative methods, qualitative methods involve measurement and categorization based on judgment calls made by the researcher. Classifying a given country as a major power or a middle power, for example, requires defining a set

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<sup>48</sup>See Fearon and Wendt 2002; Monteiro and Ruby 2009.

<sup>49</sup>See Cheng, Tracy, and Anderson 2014; Fiske 2010; Ridgeway and Walker 1995; Ridgeway 2014 for overviews.

<sup>50</sup>See Brady and Collier 2010; King, Keohane, and Verba 1994; George and Bennett 2005.

of features that distinguish major or middle powers from other types of states. Similarly, classifying a given country as satisfied or not with its status requires defines a set of features or behaviors that distinguish status-satisfied states from status-dissatisfied ones.

At the same time, both qualitative and quantitative methods provide distinct advantages—which will be more or less important depending on the research question at hand—and which often complement one another. On the one hand, qualitative methods provide for a deeper knowledge about specific cases, obtained via within-case analysis that typically involves tracing causal mechanisms or searching for “smoking guns” to make causal inferences. On the other hand, quantitative methods make causal inferences via cross-case comparisons. Quantitative methods are particularly apt to uncover broader patterns in a population (or average treatment effects), rather than to explain why we observe a certain outcome in a specific case. Therefore, a researcher’s choice of method should be based on an evaluation of the trade-offs involved, rather than based on a priori preferences for one kind of method or another.

While qualitative methods are productively employed to study international status, they would not be appropriate given the goal of this study—which is to map status hierarchies among all states over time, rather than to examine a specific historical period, specific interactions, or a small group of states like the great powers. Since qualitative methods enable the researcher to delve into specific cases, they would be more appropriate for studies that aim to investigate up to a few states. However, the task of measuring the status of all states (and over a longer historical period) using qualitative methods would get unwieldy very fast. Quantitative methods provide an important advantage in this context: namely, scale. By using a single indicator of international status, I can investigate broader patterns in status attainment among states over a long historical period.

To be sure, an indicator like embassy exchange condenses much information into a single measure, and may therefore be less precise in a few cases. However, this is not a fundamental problem given my goals in this project. Since I am primarily interested in uncovering broader patterns in status attribution—rather than in determining where a specific state ranks, or gauging the importance of a specific state to another state—the presence of a few outliers does not jeopardize my empirical

strategy.<sup>51</sup> And as I show in the next chapter, a descriptive analysis of the diplomatic network allays concerns about loss of precision, revealing that states' positions in the network closely match scholars' intuitions about which states rank at the top. In addition, the descriptive analysis reveals interesting patterns about countries other than the major powers, which tend to receive much less attention in qualitative studies due to resource constraints. Therefore, the advantages provided by my proposed measure of status far outweigh the disadvantages. By offering a single index of status recognition among states, diplomatic exchange data enable me to test hypotheses, at multiple levels of analysis, about the sources of international status over a long historical period.

By using a quantitative measure of status recognition, I aim to develop the best empirical strategy possible given both the purposes of this project and the existing constraints. I do not mean to take a position in the quantitative-versus-qualitative divide, which matters less to me than answering the question of what drives status recognition among states. My position is that researchers should not rule out any research methods *a priori*, based simply on whether these methods are classified as qualitative or quantitative. And while my analysis involves quantitative methods, I rely extensively on qualitative methods and evidence to conceptualize status, operationalize my concepts and validate my proposed; to specify my statistical models and evaluate their results in chapters 7 through 9; and to illustrate the broader relational patterns that drive status recognition according to my argument. Rather than adopting an either/or approach, I combine the strengths of both kinds of methods to better achieve the goal of investigating how countries achieve status.

#### 4.4.2 Misconceptions about Embassy Exchange

A second source of resistance to the use of embassy exchange data as a measure of international status involves some common misconceptions about embassy exchange.<sup>52</sup> Compared to other kinds of data—like, for example, those measuring states' material capabilities—diplomatic exchange data are examined much less often. As a result, scholars tend to know less about these data. But as I show

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<sup>51</sup>See Small and Singer 1973, 579.

<sup>52</sup>See, for example, Mercer 2017, 138; Ward 2020, 161-62.

in the next chapter, the data do not bear such concerns. That is, a descriptive analysis of embassy exchange data dispels existing misconceptions.

First, a common misconception is that the embassy exchange simply captures the behavior of a given state, like for example a major power. If that were true, it would be simpler to just observe the behavior of that state rather than to use embassy exchange data to measure status. However, embassy exchange data reflect the acts of recognition by all states in the system. I operationalize status in network terms—assuming that high-status states are those that receive many “votes” or “nominations” from their peers.<sup>53</sup> That is, I assume that status is *collectively* attributed to each state, with the resulting number of embassies reflecting the overall importance of the receiving state, across multiple dimensions, to all other states in the system. Any single state, no matter how high its status or its level of diplomatic engagement, is responsible for only a limited proportion of all the potential embassies in the world. The relative impact of any single state is small even if we account for the fact that some states are disproportionately active: for example, a central state in the diplomatic network, like the United States, is responsible for no more than 4% of the 7,380 embassies that exist in 2005, as I discuss in more detail in the next chapter.

In fact, an important advantage of embassy exchange is precisely that these data enable me to overcome the individualism present in existing approaches.<sup>54</sup> I understand status as a social phenomenon, rather than as a matter decided at either the monadic or the dyadic levels. In line with my argument, I assume that status depends on the aggregate vote of all states in the system on the relative importance of a given state. An embassy captures the relative importance of the receiving state—compared to those states that do not receive an embassy—to the decision-makers of the sending state. By tallying the votes from all states in the system on the relative importance of the receiving state, we can therefore estimate the status of the receiving state. I treat status as an emergent property, which cannot be reduced to the intentionality of actors. Instead of using diplomatic exchange data to examine status recognition at the monadic or dyadic levels of analysis, I use the

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<sup>53</sup>My approach is consistent with a long tradition of studies on status in the social sciences. See, for example, Bothner, Smith, and White 2010; Gould 2002; Ridgeway 1978; Smith and Faris 2015.

<sup>54</sup>See Ward 2020, 162.

network of embassies to investigate higher-order patterns in status recognition that are not observable when we focus on the monadic or the dyadic levels of analysis. My interest in this project is not to describe the individual decision of a given state to recognize (or not) another, but rather to detect *higher-order patterns that account for the totality of recognition relations*.

In other words, I depart from an individualistic approach in two important ways. To begin, I do not assume that status is a matter decided at the dyadic level. A state does not become a major power, for example, simply because it receives an embassy from an established major power. Because status is a social phenomenon, the status of a given state does not hinge on whether any single state, not even a major power, recognizes it. Rather, status depends on the aggregate votes from all states in the system. Neither is a state's status, on the other hand, a matter decided at the monadic (or state) level. Because status requires external recognition, a state's status rests beyond the control of its decision-makers. As discussed in the next chapter, states often try to persuade other states to send them embassies. But because embassy exchange is a discretionary act under international law, no state is compelled to establish an embassy at a given location. No matter the strategy used to influence states' decisions on whether to send an embassy to a given destination, status remains an emergent property that cannot be reduced to the intentionality of actors.

Second, another misconception is that embassies simply reflect the distribution of material capabilities among states, such that the wealthier or militarily stronger a state is for example, the more embassies it receives. If a state's position in the diplomatic network were a direct function of a specific state attribute, it would be just simpler to rank states based on that attribute rather than to use diplomatic exchange data to measure status. But as I show in the next chapter, a state's position in the diplomatic network—that is, the proportion of embassies a state receives—is not a direct function of attributes like military or economic capabilities. And even if we assumed that international status is a function of certain state attributes, despite the lack of a sound conceptual or theoretical basis for such a claim, it is not clear how we should aggregate different state attributes to measure status. Should military capabilities, for example, weigh more than economic capabilities? More broadly, what justifies the decision to weigh certain state attributes more than others?

Third, another common misconception is that countries typically send embassies everywhere. If every state sent an embassy to every state in the system, embassies would not be informative as an act of recognition. But as a descriptive analysis demonstrates in the next chapter, embassies are actually scarce: from 1970 to 2010, states send on average *only one out of the five embassies* they could send. Embassies are costly: they imply financial and personnel costs, to both developed and developing countries. Because embassies are costly, they are also scarce—and therefore informative as a measure of international recognition.

Fourth, another common misconception is that most countries receive many embassies, such that the lack of cross-country variation would render the measure moot. Because hierarchy is a necessary dimension of the concept of status, embassy exchange data would not be a valid measure of status if every state received a similar number of embassies. But in fact, the descriptive analysis in the next chapter shows that embassies are unevenly distributed across states: while a few states receive many embassies, most states receive only a few embassies. Moreover, those states that receive the most embassies closely match IR scholars' qualitative assessments about which states rank at the top of international hierarchies of status over time.

Fifth, one last misconception is that embassy exchange data are static because countries never open new embassies or close existing ones. If the data remained the same over time, they would not be very informative as a measure of international status. But as I show in the next chapter, the diplomatic network changes over time, as ties are constantly reconfigured between periods. On the one hand, states close on average 12% of the existing embassies in each period. On the other hand, states open on average 23% additional embassies relative to the previous period. As a result, the diplomatic network changes considerably during the period of analysis: from 1970 to 2010, for example, the number of states increases from 134 to 190, while the number of embassies exchanged more than doubles. This temporal variation enables me to conduct a longitudinal analysis of the network in chapters 7 through 9. In sum, embassy exchange data capture enough variation in status recognition, both across states and over time, to allow me to test hypotheses about the sources of international status over a long historical period.

## 4.5 Conclusion

This chapter proposes a measure of international status based on the systematized concept of status developed in Chapter 2. Because status is a quality that cannot be directly observed, I use embassy exchange data as a proxy measure of status. Embassies are especially informative as a measure of recognition because embassy exchange is a discretionary or voluntary act under international law. A state does not have to send an embassy to another state, and neither does it have to justify its decision to send (or not) an embassy to another state. Embassy exchange is a voluntary act of recognition among sovereign states that reflects the relative importance of the receiving state, across multiple dimensions, to the decision-makers of the sending state.

Compared to alternative measures, embassy exchange offers important advantages. Unlike measures based on state attributes, embassy exchange effectively captures the relational nature of status. Unlike measures based on actors' perceptions of the status of states, embassy exchange effectively captures the behavioral nature of status. Unlike measures based on specific issue areas, embassy exchange effectively captures the multidimensional nature of status. Unlike measures based on states' positions in formal institutions, embassy exchange captures acts of recognition among all states over a long historical period. Because of these features, my proposed measure avoids sources of bias found in other measures. While embassy exchange data meet each of my operationalization criteria, other possible measures fail to meet one or more of the criteria.

Finally, I address in this chapter two potential concerns associated with my proposed measure. First, while some readers might be skeptical about the prospects of quantifying something intangible like status, my approach builds on extensive research in related fields. In particular, a quantitative measure of status enables me to investigate broader patterns in status attainment that would not be observable in a small number of cases. Second, while certain common misconceptions about embassy exchange create resistance toward using these data to measure status, the data do not bear such concerns, as I show in the next chapter.



# 5

## Measurement Validation

Any choice of measure raises the question of validity: How effectively do the observations capture the concept they are supposed to measure?<sup>1</sup> As Adcock and Collier note, measurement validation involves the relation between the systematized concept—a specific conceptualization that involves an explicit definition—and the observations intended to measure it. That is, we assess measurement validity based on a specific conceptualization, rather than based on the constellation of possible meanings associated with a concept.<sup>2</sup> In Chapter 2, I addressed the conceptualization of status, moving from the background concept of status (or the various potential meanings associated with status in IR) to a systematized concept of status. In this chapter, I validate my proposed measure by examining the relation between the systematized concept of status developed in Chapter 2 and the observations intended to capture the main ideas from this concept.

In this chapter, I integrate qualitative and quantitative evidence to conduct two types of validation. The first type is *content validation*, which focuses on conceptual aspects. As Adcock and Collier put it, this type of validation asks: “does a given indicator (...) adequately capture the full content of the systematized concept?”<sup>3</sup> As I demonstrate below, diplomatic exchange adequately captures both recognition and hierarchy, the two necessary dimensions in my concept of status. In addition, this chapter also covers *convergent or discriminant validation*, which depends on descriptive expectations. As Adcock and Collier put it, this type of validation asks: “Are the scores (...)

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<sup>1</sup> Adcock and Collier 2001, 529.

<sup>2</sup> Adcock and Collier 2001, 530-31.

<sup>3</sup> Adcock and Collier 2001, 538.

produced by alternative indicators (...) of a given systematized concept (...) empirically associated and thus convergent? Furthermore, do these indicators have a weaker association with indicators of a second, different systematized concept, thus discriminating this second group of indicators from the first?”<sup>4</sup> As I demonstrate below, states’ positions in the diplomatic network closely match scholars’ qualitative assessments of status. At the same time, material capabilities cannot account for much of the variation in states’ positions in the diplomatic network, in line with the analytical distinction I draw between status and material resources.

In addition to the two types of validation covered in this chapter, the analysis conducted in chapters 7 through 9 provides the basis for a third kind of validation—*nomological or construct validation*, which is based on the expected causal relations involving a concept. As Adcock and Collier put it, this type of validation asks: “Is this hypothesis again confirmed when the cases are scored (...) with the proposed indicator (...) for a systematized concept (...) that is one of the variables in the hypothesis?”<sup>5</sup> As will become clear in chapters 7 through 9, the empirical analysis of the diplomatic network confirms the observable implications from my relational theory of status. That is, embassy exchange results from the relational processes that I expect to drive status recognition among states. The results from my analysis thus provide a nomological validation of embassy exchange data as a measure of international status.<sup>6</sup>

Each of this chapter’s sections focuses on one aspect of the validation of my proposed measure. The first section begins by introducing my relational measure of status recognition: the network of embassies. Next, I use multiple sources of evidence to validate this measure in two steps. First, I demonstrate that the network of embassies captures recognition, the first necessary dimension in my concept of status. Moreover, the distribution of embassies differs from the distribution of material capabilities among states. Second, I demonstrate that the network also captures hierarchy, the second necessary dimension in my concept of status.

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<sup>4</sup> Adcock and Collier 2001, 540.

<sup>5</sup> Adcock and Collier 2001, 542.

<sup>6</sup> Similarly, existing quantitative studies of status dissatisfaction and war also conduct a nomological validation of embassy exchange data as a measure of international status. In line with their hypothesis that status-dissatisfied states should be more likely to participate in wars, these studies show that states are more prone to conflict when they receive fewer embassies than they expect to receive based on their material capabilities.

## 5.1 The Data

IR scholars across research traditions have long noted the relationship between diplomacy and status. As Morgenthau observes,

The relations between diplomats lend themselves naturally as instruments for a policy of prestige, for diplomats are the symbolic representatives of their respective countries. The respect shown them is really shown their countries; the respect shown by them is really shown by their countries; the insult they give or receive is really given or received by their countries. History abounds with examples illustrating these points and the importance attributed to them in international politics.<sup>7</sup>

Not fortuitously, quantitative studies of status typically use diplomatic representation data to measure international status. For example, multiple studies have used diplomatic exchange data to measure status so as to examine the relationship between status inconsistency and war, both in the first wave of status research in IR (during the 1960s and 1970s) and in the current wave that started at the turn of the twentieth-first century.<sup>8</sup> In fact, no other measure of international status has been used in observational studies in IR that employ quantitative methods.<sup>9</sup>

Like previous studies, I use diplomatic exchange data to measure status. But while I use the same data, I also propose an innovation. Previous studies use these data at the state level: to measure a state's status, they count the number or proportion of representations the state receives, or calculate the state's centrality in the diplomatic network. By doing so, however, they throw away important information about the structure of diplomatic relations—including who sends a representation to whom, what their previous history of relations (or lack thereof) is, and what ties they share with third parties. Without this information, it is not possible to investigate relational patterns empirically. Since my theory involves relational patterns, I am interested precisely in the structure of diplomatic

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<sup>7</sup>Morgenthau 2006, 85.

<sup>8</sup>East 1972; Renshon 2017; Volgy and Mayhall 1995; Wallace 1971.

<sup>9</sup>See Colgan 2014; Gartzke and Jo 2009; Miller et al. 2015; Singer and Small 1966; Volgy et al. 2011.

relations. Therefore, I use relational data in this study: the network of embassies. As I explain in more detail in the next chapter, my basic unit of analysis is the entire network, rather than the state itself. In addition to using information at the unit level, my analysis relies on information about the structure of the network. This allows me to investigate empirically the observable implications of my theory, which involve the structure of the diplomatic network.

The main analysis employs data from the Diplomatic Contacts (DIPCON) Database, which cover the period from 1970 to 2010 with measurements at five-year intervals.<sup>10</sup> This dataset provides a list of all the country dyads that exchange embassies headed by an ambassador (or high commissioner) in a given year. Using these data, I obtain one directed unweighted network per year. In each network, the nodes are states, and state  $i$  sends a tie to state  $j$  when it has an embassy at state  $j$  headed by an ambassador.<sup>11</sup> The network is directed because it takes tie direction into account, distinguishing between an embassy sent from state  $i$  to state  $j$  and an embassy sent from state  $j$  to state  $i$ . Based on these data, only embassies headed by an ambassador count as ties; other types of diplomatic representation, like consulates or interest sections, do not count as ties. As discussed in the previous chapter, such a distinction is consistent with the diplomatic practices codified in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961), which apply during the historical period covered by the data. According to diplomatic protocol, embassies headed by an ambassador unambiguously express the recognition of the receiving state; moreover, they imply costs to the sending state. When using the DIPCON data, I thus use the term “diplomatic network” to refer to the network of embassies headed by an ambassador.

The network is unweighted because it relies on a binary measure of embassy exchange: for any given dyad, either state  $i$  sends a tie to state  $j$  or it does not; likewise, either state  $j$  sends a tie to state  $i$  or it does not. I use a binary measure of embassy exchange, rather than a continuous measure that captures the number of diplomatic personnel sent to a given country, for both substantive and methodological reasons. From a substantive standpoint, I am more interested here in whether state  $i$  considers state  $j$  important enough to merit an embassy headed by an ambassador. As such, a binary

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<sup>10</sup>Rhamey et al. 2013.

<sup>11</sup>Following network notation,  $i$  denotes the sending state, and  $j$  denotes the receiving state.

measure of embassy exchange is more appropriate for the purposes of this project than a continuous measure that either distinguishes among types of diplomatic representation or captures personnel size.<sup>12</sup> In addition, from a methodological standpoint, a binary measure avoids the bias that can result from using a continuous measure that captures personal size. As Russett and Lamb note, personnel size has decreasing marginal returns: “the difference in effect between adding one more diplomat to an existing two-[person] delegation is far greater than from adding a single [person] to an existing 50-[person] delegation.”<sup>13</sup> Because the relationship between personnel size and the importance given to the receiving state is nonlinear, weighted measures of bilateral recognition are bound to introduce bias in the analysis.

To complement the main analysis, I employ data from the Correlates of War (COW) Diplomatic Exchange data set, which cover the period from 1817 to 2006.<sup>14</sup> These data measure whether each directed dyad in the international system exchanged a diplomatic representation in a given year, at roughly five year intervals. While the COW data cover a longer historical period, they are relatively less precise. Unlike the DIPCON data, the COW data do not consistently distinguish between embassies headed by an ambassador and other types of diplomatic representation. Rather, the coding rules used in this data set change over time: for the 1950-65 period, the data do not specify the kind of diplomatic representation exchanged; and for the period until 1980, the data count side accreditations as embassies, even though there is no physical diplomatic representation present in the receiving state. However, this lack of distinction is less of a problem during earlier historical periods, when the use of ambassadors was far less common than it is in contemporary diplomacy. At the same time, the COW data enable me to measure status recognition over a longer historical period, increasing my confidence that the main findings are not an artifact of the period covered in the main analysis.

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<sup>12</sup>While the COW data set records the number of diplomatic personnel in each location (and, for some years, the level of diplomatic representation), the DIPCON data set does not.

<sup>13</sup>Russett and Lamb 1969, 41.

<sup>14</sup>Bayer 2006; Singer and Small 1966.

## 5.2 Embassies Capture Recognition

Recognition is the first necessary dimension in my concept of status: for an actor to achieve a particular status, others have to recognize it. As I discuss next, embassies effectively capture international recognition. Embassy exchange is a voluntary act of recognition among states that counts as a vote on the relative importance of the receiving state, across multiple dimensions, to the decision-makers of the sending state. And in fact, sending often states treat embassies as a measure of the status they confer (or not) on the receiving state. By choosing to send an embassy to state  $j$ , state  $i$  votes with its feet, revealing that it considers  $j$  more important than other states that do not receive an embassy from  $i$ ; in other words, it recognizes  $j$ .

### 5.2.1 The Sending State: Voting with One's Feet

As I demonstrate next using both qualitative and quantitative evidence, we can treat an embassy as a “vote” of the sending state on the importance of the receiving state. Because embassies are expensive, states need to prioritize, establishing embassies only in those states they consider the most important. In addition, states need to periodically revise their embassy portfolios to reallocate resources from low- to high-priority areas. Accordingly, states often use embassies to communicate their position toward the receiving state—sending embassies to bolster the receiving state’s legitimacy, or refraining from sending embassies to undermine the receiving state’s legitimacy.

#### Embassies Are Costly (And Scarce)

Embassies are expensive: they imply high financial and personnel costs. The cost of maintaining a government employee abroad, for example, may run three to four times the cost of an employee at home.<sup>15</sup> Importantly, embassies imply high costs not only to developing countries but also to developed ones. In the decade between 2006 and 2016, for example, more than half of the developed countries that participate in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

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<sup>15</sup> Malone 2013, 133.

**Table 5.1.** Basic Network Statistics

	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Nodes	134	148	157	162	164	183	187	188	190
Isolates	1	9	2	1	1	0	0	1	0
Ties	3,655	4,567	5,314	5,597	5,871	6,165	6,620	7,380	8,272
Density*	0.20	0.21	0.22	0.21	0.22	0.18	0.19	0.21	0.23
Symm. dyads†	0.88	0.89	0.91	0.91	0.90	0.91	0.91	0.91	0.92
Clustering‡	0.52	0.55	0.56	0.54	0.56	0.52	0.52	0.54	0.55

Notes: \*Measures the proportion of existing to potential ties.

†Measures the proportion of symmetric or requited dyads, which include both mutual dyads (embassies sent by both states) and null dyads (no embassies exchanged).

‡The global clustering coefficient measures the proportion of closed triads to all network triads.

(OECD) had to reduce their diplomatic footprint due to shrinking budgets.<sup>16</sup>

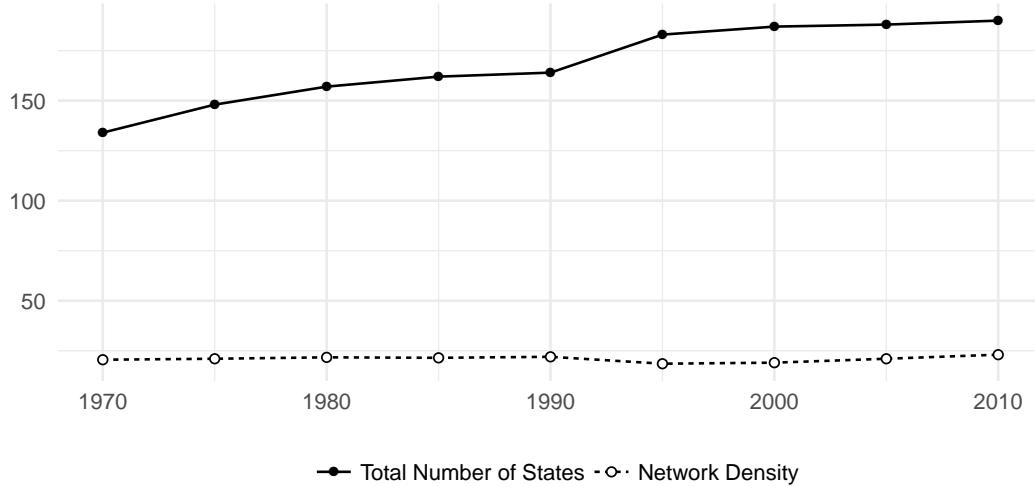
Accordingly, a descriptive analysis of the diplomatic network shows that ties (or embassies) are scarce: from 1970 to 2010, states send on average *only one out of the five embassies* they could send. That is, only 20% of all potential embassies exist. In fact, as Figure 5.1 shows, the density of the diplomatic network—or the proportion of existing to potential embassies—remains stable over time, even though the number of states in the system increases from 134 to 190 in the 1970–2010 period. Most states engage in embassy exchange selectively, rather than casting their net broadly. The data thus confirm the notion that embassies are costly, and therefore informative as a measure of international recognition, rather than mere cheap talk.

### Countries Periodically Revise Their Embassy Portfolios

Because embassies are expensive, states cannot establish an embassy in every other state in the world; rather, they must prioritize. As Small and Singer note, every country needs to periodically reassess how important it is to send an embassy to each state in the system. Since each state has limited resources at its disposal, such decisions involve trade-offs: allocating resources to a given diplomatic tie implies sacrificing resources that could be allocated to another potential tie.<sup>17</sup> In fact, states

<sup>16</sup>Oliver 2016.

<sup>17</sup>Small and Singer 1973, 582.



**Figure 5.1.** Network Density vs Total Number of States in the Network

Note: Network density is the proportion of existing to potential embassies in the network.

periodically revise their embassy portfolios to reallocate resources from low- to high-priority areas. As Britain's Foreign and Commonwealth Office had to shave off its annual budget in the 2010s, for example, "the agency's leaner profile (...) required it to prioritize and shift resources from its largest European posts, as well as dwindling priorities in Afghanistan and Iraq, to address new crises in Ukraine and West Africa."<sup>18</sup> Similarly, as the Brazilian government faced increasing budgetary constraints during the Bolsonaro administration, it decided to close the Brazilian embassies in seven countries in Africa and the Caribbean, so as to redirect its resources to existing missions considered more important and that needed more funds.<sup>19</sup>

In fact, a descriptive analysis of the diplomatic network demonstrates that ties are constantly reconfigured between periods, as states reallocate embassies from low- to high-priority areas. In a five-year interval, states close on average 12% of the existing embassies, as Table 5.2 shows. On the other hand, states create many new embassies as time goes by: in a five-year interval, states open on

<sup>18</sup> Oliver 2016.

<sup>19</sup> See *UOL Notícias*, "Governo Bolsonaro fecha embaixadas na África e no Caribe criadas por Lula," 14 May 2020, <https://noticias.uol.com.br/politica/ultimas-noticias/2020/05/14/bolsonaro-ernesto-araujo-fecha-embaixadas-africa-caribe.htm>; and *BBC Brasil*, "'Não adianta ter embaixada sem água e telefone', diz Ricupero," 21 May 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-36347502>.

**Table 5.2.** Embassies Opened and Closed Relative to the Previous Period

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
<i>Embassies opened</i>								
Count	1,435	1,317	890	781	1,564	1,042	1,324	1,463
Percent	39	29	17	14	27	17	20	20
<i>Embassies closed</i>								
Count	523	570	607	507	1,270	587	564	571
Percent	14	12	11	9	22	10	9	8

average 23% more new embassies. As a result, the diplomatic network changes considerably during the period of analysis, reflecting changes in states' priorities over time.

### Countries Use Embassies to Communicate Their Position

States often use embassies as a form of expression, or a way to officially communicate their position toward the receiving state. Embassies play an important symbolic role, which may even take precedence over strategic interests or functional reasons.<sup>20</sup> On the one hand, states may send embassies to bolster the legitimacy of the receiving state. For example, during the last wave of decolonization starting in 1945, many states opened embassies in the newly independent states to express solidarity, rather than because a previous relationship existed; such embassies would eventually specialize in providing foreign aid to the receiving state.<sup>21</sup> Likewise, as the first country in the Americas to win independence from its European colonizer, the U.S. sought to legitimize the newly-independent states in South America as independence movements swept the continent in the 1820s and 1830s, establishing diplomatic representations in many of the new states.<sup>22</sup> As such, the U.S. was the first country, for example, to recognize Brazil as an independent country in 1824, establishing a U.S. legation in Rio de Janeiro (then Brazil's capital) in the following year.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup>See Kinne 2014, 248-249; MacRae 1989.

<sup>21</sup>Malone 2013, 124-25.

<sup>22</sup>Small and Singer 1973, 581-82.

<sup>23</sup>See Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, "A Guide to the United States' History of Recognition, Diplomatic, and Consular Relations, by Country, since 1776: Brazil," <https://history.state.gov/countries/brazil>.

Similarly, most observers interpreted the Trump administration's announcement in 2017 that it would move the American embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem as a signal that the U.S. would favor Israel in the dispute with the Palestinians, by recognizing the Israeli annexation of east Jerusalem following the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. The embassy's move in 2018 exacerbated tensions with Palestinian leaders and Arab League member states, sparking violent protests in Gaza that culminated in the death of nearly sixty Palestinians and elicited international condemnation; by contrast, then Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu celebrated the event with a reception—which most European ambassadors to Tel Aviv skipped, likely to avoid involvement in the controversy.<sup>24</sup> Only three other countries would open embassies in Jerusalem since then: Guatemala, who followed the Washington's lead in 2018, Kosovo, who opened an embassy in Jerusalem after Israel recognized it as a sovereign state in 2021, and Honduras, who received an Israeli trade and cooperation office in Tegucigalpa in 2021.<sup>25</sup>

On the other hand, states may close embassies (or refrain from opening them) to undermine the legitimacy of the receiving state. For example, many countries imposed diplomatic sanctions on South Africa to express their condemnation of the apartheid policy from the country's independence in 1948 until the end of segregation in 1994.<sup>26</sup> As part of a concerted effort to isolate South Africa diplomatically and pressure it to respect human rights, most countries refused to establish or maintain embassies in Pretoria, or even to maintain bilateral diplomatic relations, during that period. South Africa's diplomatic isolation changed little even as Prime Minister John Vorster (1968-1977) pursued a policy of engagement to improve the country's status and security.<sup>27</sup> During the Vorster administration, Pretoria only secured recognition in the form of diplomatic rela-

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<sup>24</sup>See *The Wall Street Journal*, "U.S. Embassy in Jerusalem Opens to a Fraught Climate," 13 May 2018, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-embassy-in-jerusalem-opens-to-a-fraught-climate-1526237356>.

<sup>25</sup>Paraguay reallocated its embassy to Jerusalem in 2018 but moved it back to Tel Aviv a few months later. See *Politico*, "Following U.S. lead, Guatemala moves embassy to Jerusalem," 16 May 2018, <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/05/16/guatemala-embassy-jerusalem-590959>; *The Guardian*, "Kosovo opens embassy in Jerusalem after Israel recognises its independence," 14 March 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/mar/14/kosovo-opens-embassy-in-jerusalem-after-israel-recognises-its-independence>; and *The Associated Press*, "Honduras opens embassy in Jerusalem, 4th country to do so," 24 June 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/donald-trump-jerusalem-honduras-middle-east-religion-49d8foa908d2aobf16830071e2c6f5fo>.

<sup>26</sup>Christopher 1994.

<sup>27</sup>Barber and Barratt 1990.

tions (if temporarily) from a handful of Latin American countries ruled by military dictatorships. Moreover, only countries like Taiwan and Malawi maintained embassies in Pretoria, in exchange for recognition and economic aid respectively. By contrast, South Africa's international standing would improve quickly upon Nelson Mandela's inauguration as president in 1994, when Pretoria received more embassies than its nascent democratic government could reciprocate.<sup>28</sup>

Though symbolic, diplomatic sanctions are not merely a weapon of the weak; in fact, major powers are among those who often use embassies to express their position toward the receiving state. Since the Second World War, for example, the U.S. has frequently used diplomatic sanctions as a means to express disapproval of the receiving state or to pressure the receiving state to change its behavior in areas like terrorism, nuclear proliferation, or democratic stability.<sup>29</sup> During this period, Washington closed its embassies twenty-nine times—in host countries like Afghanistan, Iran, North Korea, and Sudan—even when the absence of diplomatic communication could hinder its ability to use other forms of coercion in its interactions with the receiving country.<sup>30</sup>

Not only do major powers express their position toward the receiving state by sending an embassy (or not), but they also attempt to persuade other states to follow suit. In the 1820s and 1830s, for example, while the U.S. sought to legitimize the newly-independent South American countries, the monarchist regimes forming the Holy Alliance (Austria, Prussia, and Russia) strongly opposed extending recognition to the new states; facing pressure from both sides, most European states ultimately delayed recognition until after the revolutions of 1848.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, the U.S. successfully pressured other states to withhold recognition from the Soviet regime in Russia in the 1920s and 1930s and from the communist regime in the People's Republic of China (PRC) in the 1950s and 1960s. As a result, most states outside of the Communist bloc withheld recognition from Eastern bloc states during the early years of the Cold War. But as the Non-Aligned Movement emerged in the 1950s, many developing countries started to establish embassies across the Berlin Wall as a

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<sup>28</sup>Christopher 1994.

<sup>29</sup>Maller 2011, 63.

<sup>30</sup>Maller 2011, 98.

<sup>31</sup>Small and Singer 1973, 581-82.

way to proclaim their independence from US influence.<sup>32</sup>

### 5.2.2 A Multidimensional Measure

Compared to other potential measures of international status, the diplomatic network offers an important advantage: it is multidimensional, rather than reflecting a state's importance based on a single attribute or issue area. Unlike alliance or trade relations, for example, diplomatic ties cannot be reduced to a specific issue area. To be sure, some correlation between a state's attributes and its position in the diplomatic network is to be expected. As I discuss in Chapter 3, decision-makers rely on status symbols, such as military or economic capabilities, to infer the status of other states—itself a latent, unobservable quality. Based on status evaluations, decision-makers then decide which countries are important enough to merit an embassy. Nevertheless, status evaluations are based on multiple dimensions, including relational patterns, rather than being a direct function of the receiving state's economic or military capabilities. As such, a valid measure of international status should not perfectly overlap with any specific attribute of the receiving state.

And indeed, a descriptive analysis reveals that a state's position in the diplomatic network—or the proportion of embassies a state receives—is not a direct function of attributes like military or economic capabilities. To begin, Figure 5.2 shows the relationship between military capability—measured by the log-transformed CINC score and military spending respectively—and the proportion of embassies a state receives, or the state's normalized in-degree centrality ( $d$ ) in the network of embassies.<sup>33</sup> We can see that, even though diplomatic centrality and military capability correlate, military capability cannot explain much of the variance in the proportion of embassies received, especially as military capability increases. Above the lines in each subfigure, states like France ( $d = 142$ ), Egypt ( $d = 119$ ), or Italy ( $d = 119$ ) punch above their military weight, receiving more embassies than their military capabilities would warrant. Conversely, below the lines in each subfigure, states like Myanmar ( $d = 25$ ), North Korea ( $d = 24$ ), or Taiwan ( $d = 20$ ) punch below

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<sup>32</sup>Newnham 2000, 262.

<sup>33</sup>Rhamey et al. 2013; Singer 1988.

their weight, receiving fewer embassies than their military capabilities would warrant. That is, independently of the measure of military capability used, military capability cannot explain much of the variance in the recognition that a state receives from other states.

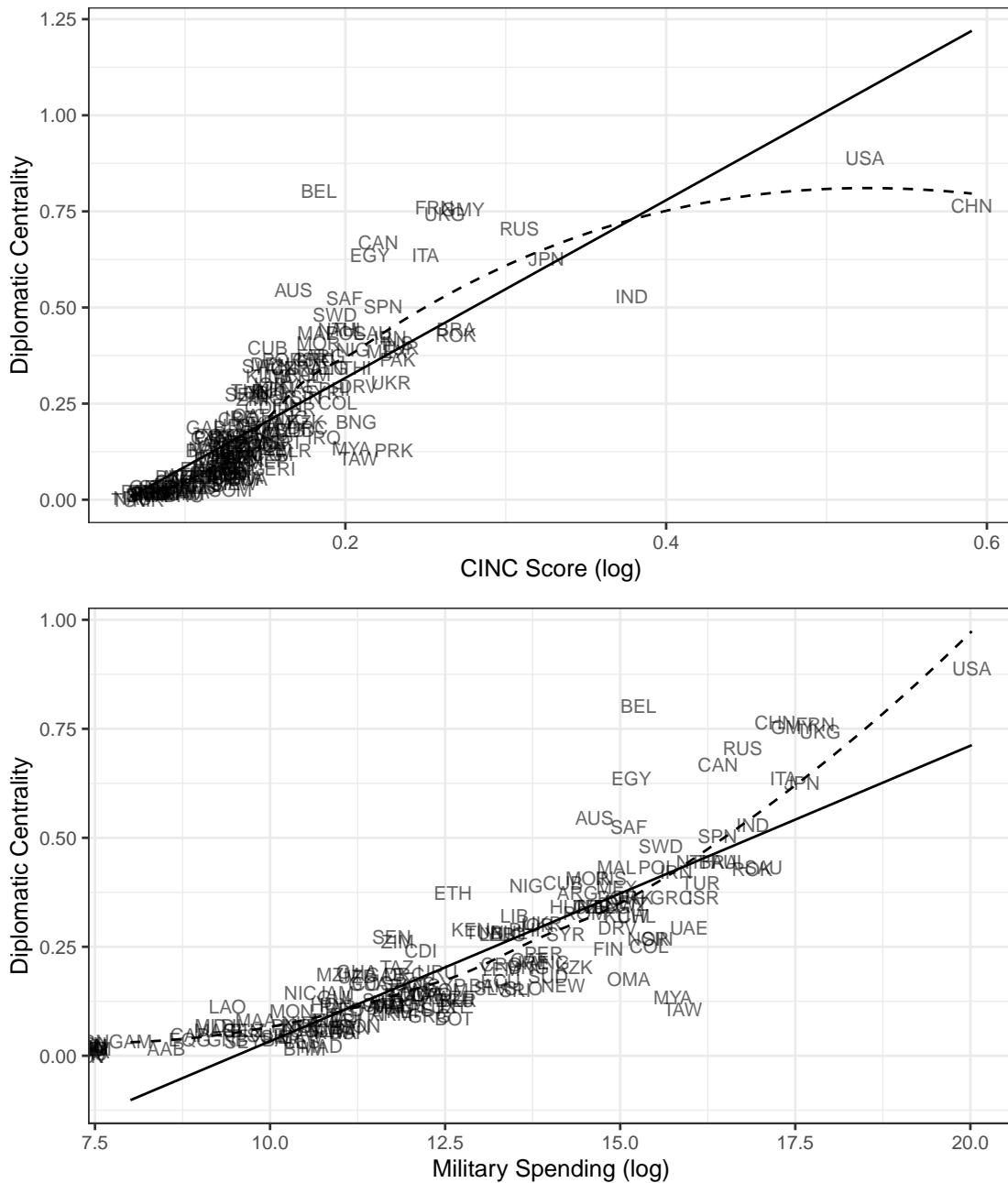
If a country's international standing is not a direct function of its military capabilities on the one hand, neither is it a direct function of its economic capabilities on the other. Figure 5.3 shows the relationship between economic capability—measured by the log-transformed GDP and per capita GDP respectively—and the proportion of embassies a state receives, or the state's normalized in-degree centrality ( $d$ ) in the network of embassies.<sup>34</sup> We can see that, even though diplomatic centrality and economic capability correlate, economic capability cannot explain much of the variance in the proportion of embassies received, especially as economic capability increases. Above the lines in each subfigure, states like Canada ( $d = 125$ ), South Africa ( $d = 98$ ), or Sweden ( $d = 90$ ) punch above their economic weight, receiving more embassies than their economic capabilities would warrant. Conversely, below the lines in each subfigure, states like Myanmar ( $d = 25$ ), Bielorus-sia ( $d = 24$ ), or Taiwan ( $d = 20$ ) punch below their weight. Like military capability, economic capability cannot explain much of the variance in the recognition a state receives from other states, regardless of the measure of economic capability used.<sup>35</sup>

This feature makes the network of embassies especially apt to measure international status. Using a single measure, researchers can capture the overall importance of the receiving state to all other states in the system. Because this measure is multidimensional, it obviates the need to decide *a priori* on a rule to aggregate states' rankings across dimensions. It is up to the decision-makers from all states, rather than the researcher herself, to decide which rank-dimensions matter for status recognition. As such, this measure enables researchers to test hypotheses about the determinants of international status, rather than assuming *a priori* that certain attributes evoke recognition. Many factors may shape international status; which factors become relevant for recognition in a given context is a matter of empirical investigation.

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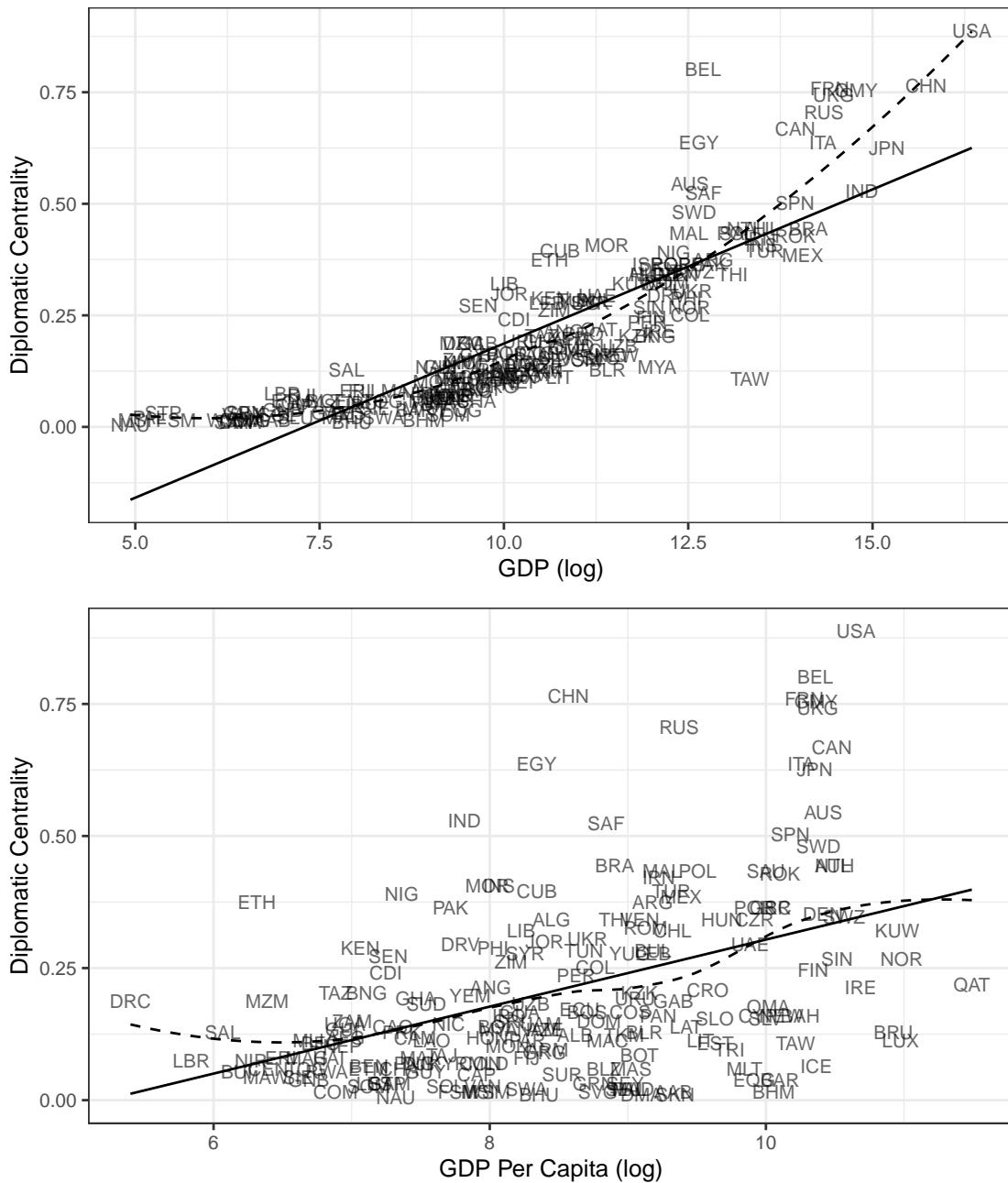
<sup>34</sup>Gleditsch 2002a; Rhamey et al. 2013.

<sup>35</sup>See also Renshon 2017, 135–40; Volgy et al. 2011, 14–15.



**Figure 5.2.** Military Capability vs. Diplomatic Centrality (2005).

Note: Military capability measured by the log-transformed CINC Score and the log-transformed military spending respectively. Diplomatic centrality measured by the normalized in-degree centrality (number of embassies received) in the network of embassies, ranging from 0 to 1. Continuous and dashed lines show the linear and LOESS fits respectively.



**Figure 5.3.** Economic Capability vs. Diplomatic Centrality (2005).

Note: Economic capability measured by the log-transformed GDP and the log-transformed per-capita GDP respectively. Diplomatic centrality measured by the normalized in-degree centrality (number of embassies received) in the network of embassies, ranging from 0 to 1. Continuous and dashed lines show the linear and LOESS fits respectively.

## 5.3 Embassies Capture Hierarchy

Besides recognition, hierarchy is a necessary dimension in my concept of status: depending on their level of social esteem, actors become entitled to certain privileges. As I discuss next, embassies not only capture recognition, the first necessary dimension in my concept of status, but they also capture hierarchy, the second necessary dimension. If sending states treat embassies as a measure of the status they confer (or not) on the receiving state, receiving states likewise treat embassies as a measure of the status attributed to the hosting state. Embassy exchange confers legitimacy on the receiving state; it is no coincidence that states often try to influence each others' decisions to recognize (or not) a potential receiving state. Not only are embassies unevenly distributed across states, but their distribution closely matches scholars' assessments about which states rank at the top. Importantly, the diplomatic network results from the acts of recognition by all states, rather than being reducible to the behavior of any single state.

### 5.3.1 The Receiving State: Gaining Legitimacy

Embassies provide a measure of the status of the receiving state among its peers. Hosting embassies is a key element of what makes a sovereign state a legitimate member of international society, entitled to the corresponding rights and obligations. The more embassies a state receives, the more legitimacy it enjoys among its peers. Such legitimacy has intrinsic value to a country's nationals, who derive esteem from their national identity.<sup>36</sup> In addition, legitimacy increases a country's ability to enter into legal contracts and to pursue its interests via cooperation with other actors on economic and military matters for example. On the one hand, a state that receives many embassies, like the U.S., enjoys high status—and has the representatives from the sending states competing for the attention of its decision-makers.<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, a state that receives almost no embassies, like apartheid-era South Africa, has the status of a pariah state, enjoying limited ability to interact with

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<sup>36</sup>See Tajfel 1974.

<sup>37</sup>Henrikson 2007, 62–63; Shaw 2007.

representatives from other countries and advance its foreign policy interests. As Christopher notes, a state's refusal to recognize the legitimacy of another state via embassy exchange is "the symbolically most severe form of sanctions that can be adopted in peacetime."<sup>38</sup> As such, we can treat the number of embassies received by a state as a measure of its international standing.

Given the symbolic value attributed to embassies, it is not surprising that states are eager to receive embassies from other states. As Rana notes, "the diplomatic corps in each capital symbolizes the international community and confirms the host state's membership of it."<sup>39</sup> In fact, embassy exchange constitutes one of the first practices adopted by newly-established states, along with signing landmark treaties such as the UN Charter and the Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT). Newly-established states seek the legitimacy afforded not only by establishing diplomatic relations with other states, but also by receiving embassies from as wide a group of states as possible. As Kosovo seeks broader international recognition as a sovereign state, for example, it has actively pursued diplomatic recognition by individual states.<sup>40</sup> As part of Kosovo's bid for recognition, Pristina has established over thirty embassies in capitals around the world—securing embassies in return from more than twenty countries, including the U.S., the UK, Germany, and Japan. As the example suggests, one of the strategies states adopt to increase the level of recognition they receive from other states is to send embassies abroad, in hopes of receiving embassies in return.

In fact, some countries compete fiercely for diplomatic recognition, using every foreign policy tool at their disposal as they seek international legitimacy. For example, in some of the disputes between countries divided during the twentieth century—such as East and West Germany, the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Taiwan, and North and South Korea—the countries involved in each dispute have sought to induce other countries to recognize it rather than its rival.<sup>41</sup> Following the One China principle—a bedrock of Chinese foreign policy, according to which Taiwan is an inalienable part of mainland China—Beijing has refused since 1949 to establish diplomatic relations with any country that recognizes Taiwan. As such, countries that send embassies to Taipei

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<sup>38</sup>Christopher 1994, 439.

<sup>39</sup>Rana 2007, 126. See also Bull 2002, 166, 176.

<sup>40</sup>Newman and Visoka 2018.

<sup>41</sup>Metzler 1996; Newnham 2000.

do not receive an embassy from Beijing. To counter Beijing's efforts, Taiwan started to leverage its economic success in the 1980s, offering technical and foreign aid to those countries that established embassies in Taipei.<sup>42</sup> As a result, Beijing and Taipei engaged in a direct competition for diplomatic recognition, especially from countries in Latin America and the South Pacific.<sup>43</sup> Beijing has largely succeeded in isolating Taipei diplomatically over time, especially since UN Resolution 2758 recognized the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate representative of China in 1971 (with U.S. support) and the U.S. ended diplomatic relations with Taiwan in 1979, replacing formal ties with the establishment of the American Institute on Taiwan and the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Washington. Today, only small or micro-states maintain embassies in Taipei, mostly as retribution for the technical and foreign aid they receive from Taiwan.<sup>44</sup>

Similarly, in the 1950s and 1960s, West Germany adopted the Hallstein doctrine, whereby it considered West Germany to be the only legitimate German government.<sup>45</sup> As such, West Germany severed diplomatic ties with any countries that established diplomatic relations with East Germany, like for example Yugoslavia in 1957 and Cuba in 1963. To help enforce the Hallstein doctrine, Bonn leveraged its superior economic capabilities, providing for example more than 200 million Deutsche Mark (DM) in aid to Indonesia, a leader of the Non-Aligned Movement; and more than 60 million DM in aid to Algeria, then a newly-independent state. Like Taiwan and West Germany, South Korea engaged in diplomatic competition with its rival during the twentieth century. In the early 1960s, Seoul started to build up its ties with Western-leaning states, opening thirty embassies abroad in 1962 alone.<sup>46</sup> Adopting its own version of the Hallstein doctrine, South Korea severed diplomatic ties with Congo (Brazzaville) and Mauritania in 1964, after these countries recognized North Korea.<sup>47</sup> That same year, Seoul started its foreign aid program by sending medical aid to Uganda as retribution for Kampala's diplomatic recognition.<sup>48</sup> South Korea ramped up its aid program in the

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<sup>42</sup>Gu 1995.

<sup>43</sup>Atkinson 2010; Erikson and Chen 2007; Rich 2009.

<sup>44</sup>See Long and Urdinez 2021.

<sup>45</sup>Newnham 2000, 263-64.

<sup>46</sup>Gills 1996, 162.

<sup>47</sup>Gills 1996, 105.

<sup>48</sup>Gills 1996, 163.

1970s, reaching across the Berlin Wall to countries like Sudan, Libya, and Iraq.<sup>49</sup> By the 1990s, Seoul had largely succeeded in its efforts to isolate Pyongyang diplomatically, especially after Russia and China—the two states that had provided ample support to North Korea in the Cold-War era—established diplomatic relations with South Korea in 1990 and 1992 respectively.

Another example illustrates the symbolic meaning that receiving states associate with embassy exchange. Immediately after Israel was recognized as a sovereign state in 1948, Israeli leaders began to pressure other countries to establish diplomatic missions in Jerusalem, rather than Tel Aviv, in an effort to legitimate Israel's claim over the disputed city as its capital.<sup>50</sup> Given the symbolic importance Israel attributed to the issue, Israeli leaders invested considerable efforts in this diplomatic initiative, offering material incentives to countries that moved their embassies to Jerusalem. From 1948 to 2018, successive U.S. administrations resisted Israeli pressure, as they recognized the symbolic message such a move would convey about Washington's position toward the Israeli-Palestinian dispute and did not wish to challenge the UN's authority on the matter. The U.S. not only refused to move its own embassy to Jerusalem, but also pressured other countries to follow its lead. During this period, the only countries to accede to Israel's requests were Latin American countries willing to assert their independence from U.S. influence and newly-independent African countries that received technical aid from Israel. But in 1980—as Israel passed a new law establishing Jerusalem as its capital, making official its territorial acquisitions during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war—all embassies left Jerusalem in response; only two of these embassies (from Guatemala and El Salvador) would return a few years later. As discussed below, while the Trump administration reverted the American position on this issue in 2018, only a handful of states have followed Washington's lead in moving their embassies in Israel to Jerusalem since then.

As myriad examples demonstrate, states treat embassies as a measure of the receiving state's international standing. As such, a state seeking international legitimacy invests time and resources into persuading other states to establish or maintain embassies in its capital. In addition, states try to influence one another's decisions to recognize (or not) a given state, investing time and re-

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<sup>49</sup>Gills 1996, 216-217; Gu 1995, 182.

<sup>50</sup>Heimann 2015a.

sources into persuading other states to send embassies to states they consider legitimate; or to not send embassies to states they consider illegitimate for any reason. International status is therefore collectively attributed to each state, with the resulting number of embassies reflecting the overall importance of each receiving state to all other states in the system. As Small and Singer put it, we can therefore treat the decisions from all states on whether to send an embassy to a given foreign capital as “a slowly changing and ongoing plebiscite among all the system’s members” on the relative importance of the receiving state across multiple dimensions.<sup>51</sup>

### 5.3.2 Embassies Are Unequally Distributed

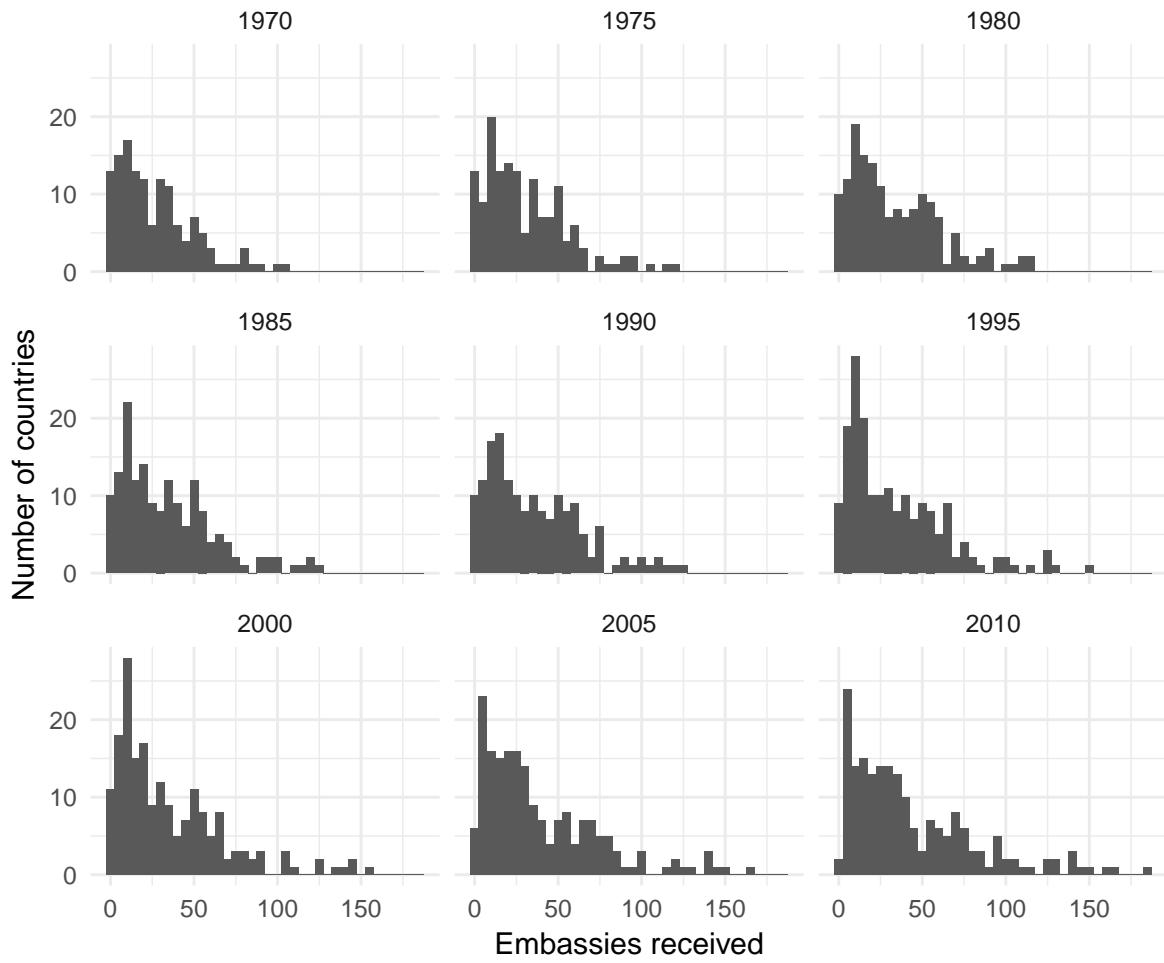
In fact, a descriptive analysis of the diplomatic network shows that embassies are unevenly distributed across states: while a few states receive many embassies, most states receive only a few embassies. As Figure 5.4 shows, the distribution of in-degree (the number of embassies received) is right skewed.<sup>52</sup> In 2005, for example, the number of embassies received ranges from 0 (Tuvalu) to 166 (United States), but the median state receives only 28 embassies—like, for example, the Dominican Republic, Zambia, and Sri Lanka. The uneven distribution of embassies among states suggests inequality, as one would expect of a valid measure of international status.

Not only are embassies unevenly distributed across states, but their distribution matches qualitative assessments among IR scholars about which states rank at the top of international hierarchies of status. That is, the states that host the most embassies tend to be those categorized as high-status states. Figure 5.5 shows the diplomatic network in 2005, with nodes representing states and lines representing embassies. Node size is proportional to in-degree,  $d$  (the number of embassies received), such that larger nodes at the center host the most embassies. Figure 5.5 shows some intuitive patterns. For example, researchers recognize as high-status states some of the states located

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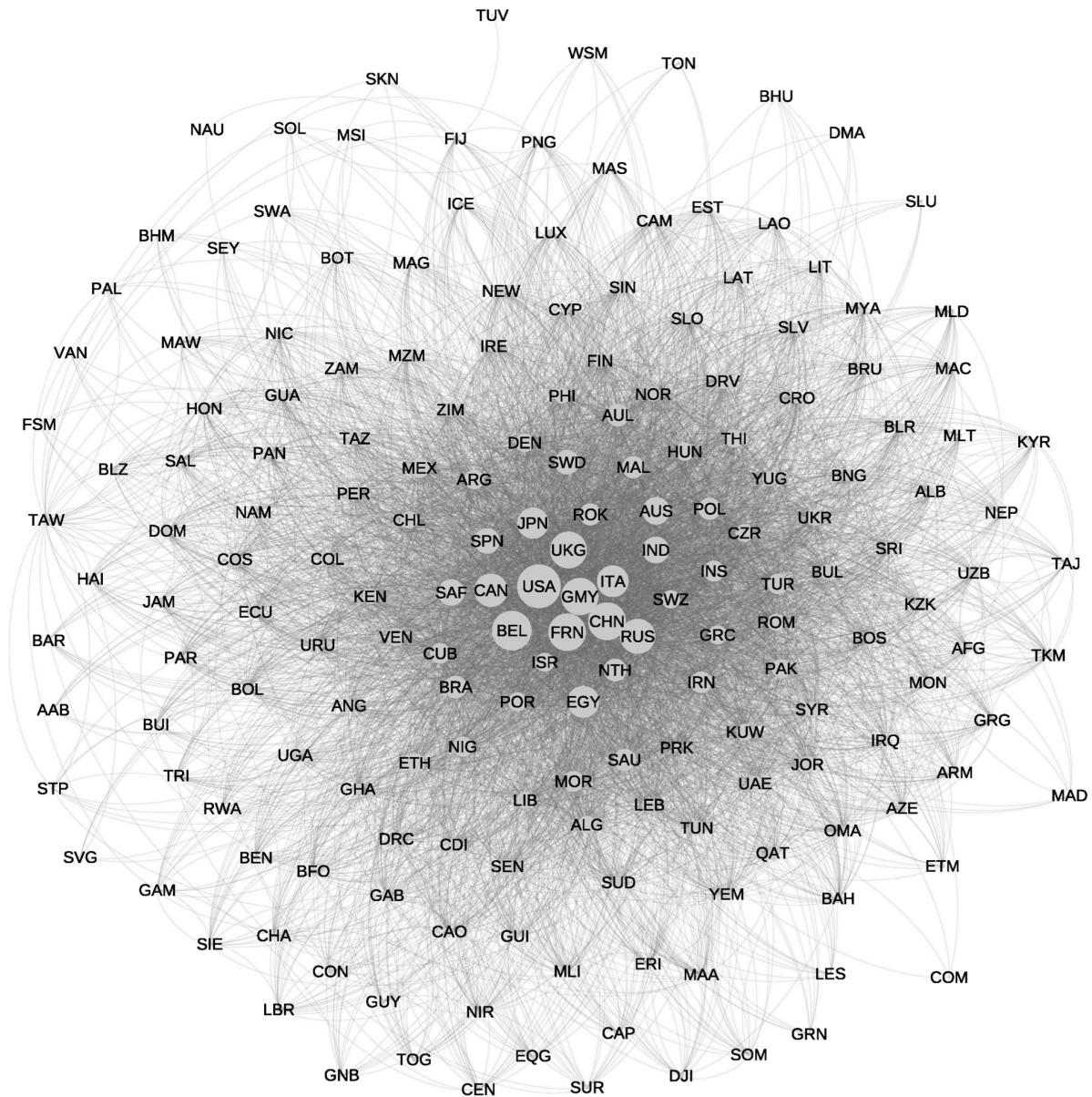
<sup>51</sup>Small and Singer 1973, 582-83.

<sup>52</sup>Table A.1 compares the distributions of normalized centrality measures (degree, closeness, betweenness, and eigenvector centrality) for the 2005 network. As the table shows, all centrality distributions are right skewed: few states have high centrality scores, while most states have low centrality scores. In addition, Table A.3 shows that the distribution of out-degree (embassies sent) is likewise right skewed. However, power law tests shown in Table A.4 indicate that neither the in-degree distribution nor the out-degree distribution follows a power law.



**Figure 5.4.** Distribution of In-Degree (Embassies Received)

at the network center, such as the United States ( $d = 166$ ), Germany ( $d = 141$ ), and the United Kingdom ( $d = 139$ ). Likewise, major powers cluster at the top in the other years. Table 5.3 shows the top ten countries by number of embassies received between 1970 and 2010. Shaded cells in the table indicate countries designated as major powers by the COW project for the same period. COW designates nine countries as major powers for at least some period between 1816 and 2011: Austria-Hungary, China, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. As Table 5.3 shows, all of the COW major powers consistently rank among the top ten countries by number of embassies received—with the exception of Austria-Hungary, which no longer exists as a country by 1970 and is therefore no longer in the diplomatic network.



**Figure 5.5.** The Diplomatic Network in 2005

Note: Nodes represent states, and lines represent embassies. Node size proportional to the number of embassies received.

In fact, states' trajectories over time are similar in the diplomatic ranking and the COW major power designation. The states listed as major powers by COW for the longest periods—France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States—rank consistently among the top ten states by number of embassies received between 1970 and 2010. In addition, countries that lose or gain

**Table 5.3.** Top Ten Countries by Number of Embassies Received (1970-2010)

1970		1975		1980		1985		1990	
Country	d								
USA	103	USA	119	FRN	115	USA	127	USA	127
FRN	100	UKG	114	UKG	114	BEL	121	FRN	118
GFR	90	FRN	103	USA	112	UKG	119	GFR	115
ITA	85	ITA	95	GFR	112	FRN	116	BEL	111
RUS	79	GFR	94	BEL	107	GFR	112	UKG	110
EGY	79	EGY	90	RUS	100	RUS	102	RUS	106
UKG	78	BEL	89	ITA	92	CHN	98	CHN	101
BEL	75	RUS	86	JPN	91	CAN	94	ITA	100
JPN	71	JPN	81	CAN	89	ITA	94	JPN	97
IND	66	IND	74	CHN	86	JPN	92	EGY	90
1995		2000		2005		2010			
Country	d	Country	d	Country	d	Country	d		
USA	151	USA	156	USA	166	USA	184		
RUS	131	FRN	144	BEL	150	BEL	163		
BEL	127	BEL	143	CHN	143	CHN	158		
FRN	126	GMY	138	FRN	142	UKG	152		
UKG	123	UKG	136	GMY	141	FRN	147		
GMY	114	CHN	124	UKG	139	GMY	140		
CHN	107	RUS	123	RUS	132	IND	140		
ITA	100	ITA	111	CAN	125	RUS	139		
JPN	99	EGY	107	ITA	119	CAN	130		
CAN	97	JPN	107	EGY	119	JPN	128		

Note: *d* denotes in-degree (number of embassies received). Shaded cells indicate countries designated as major powers by the COW Project at least once since 1816. GFR denotes the German Federal Republic, while GMY denotes unified Germany.

their major power designation accordingly lose or gain positions in the diplomatic ranking over time. Italy, which loses its major power designation in 1943, gradually falls in the diplomatic ranking until it no longer belongs among the top ten in 2010. China, the last country to receive a major power designation since 1950, is not among the top ten in the diplomatic ranking until 1980, but since then gradually rises in the diplomatic ranking to occupy the third position in 2010. That is, the longitudinal picture of the diplomatic network closely matches specialists' perceptions about which states rank at the top. The relative stability of states' network positions over time suggests path dependence, as one would expect of a valid measure of international status.

To be sure, a valid measure of international status should have a “sticky” quality. As discussed in Chapter 3, status is self-reinforcing. High-status states enjoy considerable advantage in status relations, as they tend to shape the rules of the game and usually distinguish themselves from the other actors by forming dense relations among themselves and adopting distinctive status symbols. Moreover, status evaluations are interdependent. As such, we should expect the distribution of embassies to remain relatively stable over time. And in fact, embassies tend to remain open once they are established. On average, most of the existing embassies in a given period (88%) continue to exist in the following period, as Table 5.2 shows.

### 5.3.3 More than The Great Powers

While major power designations help validate the diplomatic network as a measure of international status, the network offers an important advantage with respect to approaches that focus exclusively on the great powers: it measures the status of all states in the system, rather than just the status of those states at the top.<sup>53</sup> Because the network covers all states, it provides additional information about status that alternative measures miss. While Figure 5.5 confirms prevailing intuitions about which states rank at the top, it reveals some intriguing cases that remain unexplored. For example, Italy ( $d = 119$ ) occupies a central position in the network, even though its time as a major power passed decades ago. In addition, Brazil ( $d = 83$ ) and Cuba ( $d = 74$ ), despite their vastly different levels of material capabilities, receive almost the same number of embassies. These patterns suggest that there is more to international status than an analysis of the major powers alone could reveal. By using the network to measure status, my analysis relies on information about all states—which increases my confidence in the generalizability of the results.

An important advantage of using the network to measure status is precisely that the analysis does not depend on the behavior of any single state, or even on the behavior of a small group of

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<sup>53</sup>As Table 5.1 shows, the network has only a small number of isolates—states that do not send or receive any embassies—each year. And as I discuss in Chapter 8, isolates exist only temporarily. States typically lack embassies for a short period, immediately after their creation. As such, the lack of embassy exchange likely results from a lag between the formal recognition of a state as sovereign and the physical establishment of embassies to/from that state.

states like the major powers. Rather, the network measures the aggregate “votes” of all states in the system on the importance of all other states. Any single state—no matter how high its level of diplomatic engagement—is responsible for only a limited proportion of all potential embassies in the network. For example, a network with 188 states, like the 2005 network, could potentially have  $188 \times 187 = 35,156$  embassies. Yet, any single state in this network could send or receive at most 187 embassies. By construction, even if a given state sent and received embassies to/from all other states, it would only be responsible at most for 1% of all potential ties in the network (or 374 out of the 35,156 potential embassies). The relative impact of any single state is small even if we account for the fact that some states are disproportionately active. For example, in 2005 the U.S. sends 150 embassies and receives 166 embassies, being responsible for 4% of the 7,380 ties that exist that year. By using an aggregate measure of status, I thus avoid making generalizations about all states based on the behavior of any single state. As shown above, the U.S. is an atypical case, as it consistently ranks at the top in terms of both embassies sent and received each year; that is, its level of diplomatic engagement does not necessarily reflect the overall patterns in the network.

Importantly, this feature of the network is consistent with my argument that status emerges from the acts of recognition of all states, rather than the act of any single state. The case of Cuba illustrates this point. If the U.S. alone determined Cuba’s standing, Cuba would receive little recognition from other states. In the decades since Fidel Castro took power in 1959, successive U.S. administrations have implemented policies aimed at isolating Cuba. Washington closed its embassy in Havana in 1961, after cutting diplomatic ties with Cuba, and does not send an ambassador to Havana since then.<sup>54</sup> In 1977, each country opened an interests section in the other country’s capital to maintain communication in the absence of diplomatic relations. And in 2015, as both countries reopened their respective embassies, Washington accredited a chargé d’affaires—a lower-ranking diplomatic official that fills in for an ambassador—to lead the American embassy in Havana, rather than an ambassador, which indicates suboptimal relations between the two states.<sup>55</sup> In addition, successive

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<sup>54</sup>See Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, “Chiefs of Mission for Cuba,” <https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/people/chiefsofmission/cuba>, accessed 28 July 2021.

<sup>55</sup>In 2017, the U.S. withdrew all nonessential personnel from its embassy in Havana and expelled Cuban diplomats from the U.S. after the American embassy staff in Havana experienced health problems

U.S. administrations attempted to bestow upon Cuba a series of negative labels—from state sponsoring terrorism (from the Reagan to the Obama administrations, and then again in the Trump administration) to “rogue state” (during the Clinton administration) and a member of the “Troika of Tyranny” (during the Trump administration). No other country has been the target of American economic sanctions as severe and longstanding as those imposed on Cuba.<sup>56</sup>

Yet, despite U.S. efforts to isolate Cuba diplomatically, most countries do not follow Washington’s lead in their relations with Cuba. As Figure 5.5 shows, Cuba ( $d = 74$ ) receives in 2005 a similar number of embassies as Brazil ( $d = 83$ )—a relatively high number for a country of its size. In fact, some studies indicate that Cuba’s relatively high level of recognition may be due in part to its opposition to the United States. As Feinsilver noted in 1989,

Demography and Soviet aid can partially elucidate how Cuba is able to sustain its activist stance [in foreign policy]. But the reasons why Cuba plays such a major role with relative success can be more easily understood by considering the power of symbolism. Cuba’s success has resulted partly from the vehement opposition of the United States. The failure of U.S. policy to overthrow the Castro government or to force changes in domestic or foreign policy has cast Cuba as a David confronting the Goliath of the North. This role, in turn, has helped convert this otherwise small, insignificant island nation into a major Third World power.<sup>57</sup>

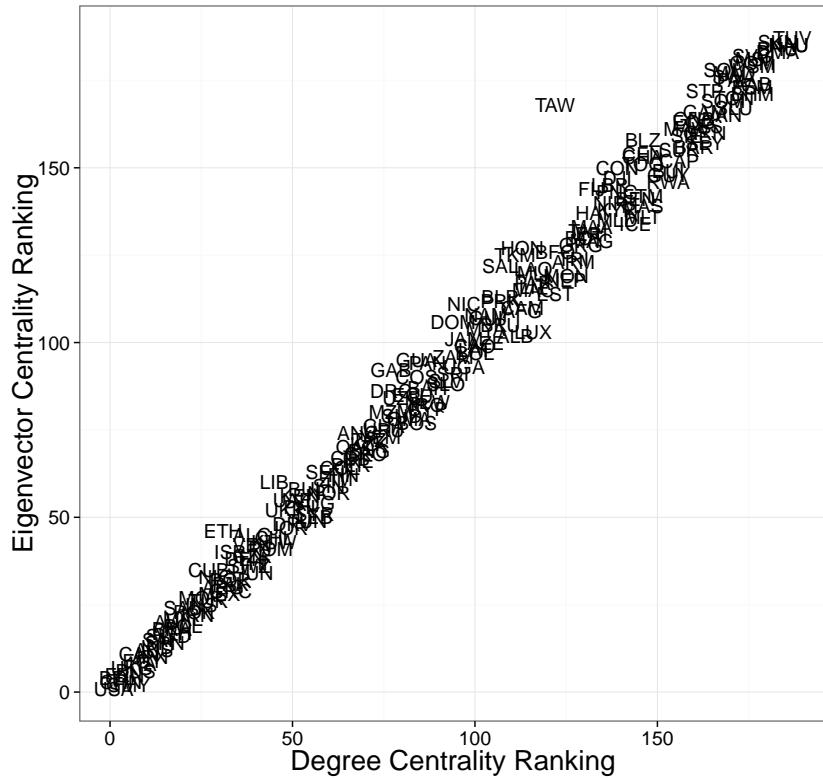
As influential as a country like the U.S. is, no single country can determine the status of another country. In fact, some attempts by major powers to influence overall relations with a given state may backfire, as illustrated by the Cuban case. By subjecting Havana to different forms of sanctions, Washington likely helped consolidate Cuba’s status as a David confronting the American Goliath. This case is thus consistent with my argument. As I discuss in Chapter 3, status emerges from the

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attributed to a possible foreign attack in 2016 using an unknown energy source. See *The New York Times*, “Illnesses at U.S. Embassy in Havana Prompt Evacuation of More Diplomats,” 29 September 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/29/us/politics/us-embassy-cuba-attacks.html>.

<sup>56</sup>Morgan, Bapat, and Kobayashi 2014.

<sup>57</sup>Feinsilver 1989, 2-3. See also Pérez Jr. 2012.



**Figure 5.6.** Degree and Eigenvector Centrality Rankings (2005)

acts of recognition of all states—or from the “votes” of all states in the diplomatic network—rather than being a matter determined strictly at the bilateral level.

Now, some readers may have the concern that my proposed measure has limited validity because it assigns the same weight to the acts of recognition by all states, regardless of the sending state’s centrality in the diplomatic network. That is, I assume that an embassy sent by Canada ( $d = 125$ ) counts about the same as an embassy sent by Nicaragua ( $d = 27$ ) or Senegal ( $d = 51$ ) as a vote on the relative importance of the receiving state. To deal with this concern, the reader may suggest weighting embassies differently depending on the centrality of the sending state.

However, a descriptive analysis of the network allays this concern. We can assess if weighing ties by the importance of the sending state would yield a different network configuration by comparing two different measures of an actor’s importance in a network: degree centrality, which measures the number of ties a node receives; and eigenvector centrality, which measures the extent to which

a node receives ties from central nodes in the network. If the acts of recognition from central states differ significantly from those from the other states, the measures of degree and eigenvector centrality will differ, therefore yielding different state rankings. But in the case of the diplomatic network, degree and eigenvector centrality are very similar. To begin, degree and eigenvector centrality scores are highly correlated (0.97).<sup>58</sup> That is, the states that receive the most embassies also tend to receive embassies from central states.

In addition, states' rankings based on degree and eigenvector centrality are likewise highly correlated (0.95). That is, the states recognized by central states tend to be the same states recognized by all states. Figure 5.6 compares the rankings of all states based on each centrality measure. As the figure shows, the only case in which the measures somewhat differ is Taiwan—a state that, due to Beijing's diplomatic pressure, tends to receive more embassies from states that are more central in the network, who are important enough to afford contradicting Beijing's designs. But with the exception of Taiwan, degree and eigenvector centrality yield highly similar state rankings. That is, weighing ties by the importance of the sending state does not provide more information about the structure of the network than a simple count of ties already provides.<sup>59</sup> Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that network ties count about the same (as a vote on the relative importance of the receiving state) regardless of the centrality of the sending state.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Table A.2 shows the correlations between the measures of node centrality most commonly used in network analysis: degree, betweenness, closeness, and eigenvector centrality. All centrality measures are positively correlated in the network: the more important a node is along one of these measures, the more important it is along the others. In fact, the correlation between degree and eigenvector centrality is the highest of all pairs. On centrality, see Bonacich 1972, 1987; Freeman 1978.

<sup>59</sup>Neither do outward ties (embassies sent) provide additional information about node importance in the diplomatic network. In some cases, outward ties may contain additional information about the importance of nodes that inward ties do not convey; while some actors may send ties only to the most important actors, others may cast the net wider, sending ties to less popular actors. But as Figure A.1 shows, hub and authority scores in the diplomatic network are highly correlated (0.96)—which indicates that good hubs (states that send many outgoing ties to authorities) also tend to be good authorities (or receive many incoming ties from hubs). Moreover, hub scores correlate highly with out-degree (0.97), while authority scores highly correlate with in-degree (0.97). On hub and authority scores, see Fowler and Jeon 2008.

<sup>60</sup>Other studies reach the same conclusion using slightly different methods. See Singer and Small 1966, 264–76; Small and Singer 1973, 587.

## 5.4 Conclusion

This chapter validates my proposed measure of status by examining the relation between the systematized concept of status developed in Chapter 2 and the observations intended to measure this concept. Leveraging multiple sources of evidence, I demonstrate on the one hand that embassies are not a direct function of states' material capabilities, in line with the analytical distinction I draw between status and material resources. On the other hand, embassy exchange adequately captures both of the necessary dimensions in my concept of status.

To begin, embassies capture recognition, the first necessary dimension in my concept of status. Embassy exchange is a voluntary act of recognition among states that counts as a vote on the relative importance of the receiving state, across multiple dimensions, to the decision-makers of the sending state. As myriad examples demonstrate, sending states treat embassies as a measure of the status they confer (or not) on the receiving state. States often use embassies to express their position toward the receiving state, sending embassies to countries they consider legitimate and refraining from sending embassies to states they consider illegitimate. Embassies are especially informative as a measure of international recognition because they are costly—and therefore scarce. States can only send embassies to those states they consider the most important. And in fact, states periodically revise their embassy portfolios to reallocate resources from low- to high-priority areas. By choosing to send an embassy to state  $j$ , state  $i$  thus reveals that it considers  $j$  more important than other states that do not receive an embassy from  $i$ .

In addition, embassies also capture hierarchy, the second necessary dimension in my concept of status. Not only do embassies refer to a voluntary act of recognition that confers legitimacy on the receiving state, but they are also unequally distributed among states. Moreover, the distribution of embassies closely matches scholars' qualitative assessments about which states rank at the top of the international hierarchy of status during a given historical period. As myriad examples demonstrate, states treat embassies as a measure of the status conferred on the receiving state. On the one hand, host states invest time and resources into persuading other states to establish or maintain embassies

in their capitals. On the other hand, states often try to influence one another's decisions to recognize or not a given state. The network of embassies thus emerges from the acts of recognition of all states, rather than from the behavior of a single state. Like status itself, the distribution of embassies is an emergent property that cannot be reduced to the intentionality of actors. Having validated my proposed measure in this chapter, in the next chapter I introduce the empirical strategy that I use to investigate the sources of international status in the rest of the book.

# 6

## Why Network Analysis?

This book addresses a new and noteworthy question: how do countries achieve status? While existing studies show that status motivates state behavior, we still understand little about the sources of international status. Scholars traditionally assume that status is a function of state attributes like economic or military capabilities, but do not put this assumption to the test. Because the conventional approach in IR assumes that certain state attributes evoke international recognition, it provides incomplete accounts of status, while potentially exaggerating the importance of certain state attributes for status recognition within the international system. Empirically, the conventional approach relies on restrictive assumptions about which state attributes determine status, typically emphasizing military and economic capabilities to the detriment of other factors. Yet, by choosing certain state attributes *a priori*, scholars cannot assess whether these attributes actually drive status attainment. So how can we know if decision-makers value the same attributes scholars consider important for status recognition—or if state attributes determine status to begin with?

In this project, I address precisely this question. My aim is to uncover the factors, including higher-order patterns, that drive status recognition among states. To accomplish this goal, I develop in this chapter an empirical strategy that involves two crucial departures from previous research. First, I treat status recognition as a matter of empirical investigation. Rather than assume the determinants of status *a priori*, I test hypotheses about the sources of international status. That is, I treat the determinants of status as an analytical category that is separate from the experiences of observers, and therefore subject to falsification. Instead of taking actors' claims to status at face

value—for example by assuming that status depends on the possession of certain qualities—I assess the validity of these claims using social scientific methods. Moving beyond commonsense assumptions, I investigate empirically the processes that shape recognition in the international system. Second, instead of treating status as a property of individual states, I adopt a consistently relational approach to the study of status: I use a relational empirical strategy in the service of my relational theory of status. Leveraging social network analysis, I investigate the underlying relational patterns that drive status recognition among states. By deploying an appropriate set of analytical and methodological tools, this study adequately grasps the distinctive feature of status: its social nature. This approach enables me to show in the next chapters that high-order patterns, which cannot be reduced to the qualities of states, shape status recognition.

Each of this chapter’s sections deals with a different aspect of my empirical strategy. In the first section, I explain why network analysis tools are ideally suited to accomplish my goals in this project. Social network analysis offers a unique set of advantages to the study of status. To begin, its premises closely match my theoretical framework: social network analysts assume that the social structure emerges not only from the distribution of attributes among actors, but also from the underlying patterns of relations among actors. In addition, social network analysis provides a coherent framework to integrate different levels of analysis. In the second section, I derive observable implications from my theory of status for the patterns of diplomatic relations among states since the early nineteenth century. My hypotheses involve two kinds of relational processes: (1) those involving network effects or structural dependencies, whereby the structure of relations itself influences recognition independently from state attributes; and (2) those involving state attributes, which capture how the relevance of state attributes for status recognition depends on the socially-ascribed (and therefore changing) meaning of these attributes. Finally, the last section concludes with a plan of the empirical analysis to be conducted in chapters 7 through 9.

## **6.1 A Network Approach to Status**

Although status is a relational concept, previous research does not study it relationally. Existing studies typically adopt an individualistic approach from both a theoretical and an empirical standpoints, treating status as a property of individual states. From a theoretical standpoint, these studies assume that status is a function of states' attributes, especially their military and economic capabilities. According to the conventional approach, states are sorted into social positions—such as great power or emerging power—based on their qualities or the things that they have. However, this kind of argument has important limitations: it derives social outcomes (status inequalities) entirely from the properties of actors, while it neglects to specify the causal mechanisms whereby state attributes are ultimately converted into status. As a result, existing theories tend to neglect the relational processes that shape status recognition in the international system.

Empirically, the individualistic approach implies that scholars typically investigate status at the state level, treating it as a property of individual states. Many studies measure status by ranking states based on certain characteristics chosen by the observer, especially economic or military capabilities. Another common approach measures status based on the proportion of diplomatic representations received. These studies treat diplomatic exchange like a state attribute: they measure status at the state level, ranking states based on the proportion of diplomatic representations a state receives. However, diplomatic exchange is a type of social relation, subject to the same relational processes that shape other kinds of social relations. By treating diplomatic exchange like a state attribute, researchers discard important information about the structure of diplomatic relations—including who sends a diplomatic representation to whom, what their previous history of relations (or lack thereof) is, and what ties they share with third parties. Existing studies thus “flatten” the network of diplomatic relations, extracting information at the state level while discarding information about the configuration of ties among states. Without information about the structure of diplomatic relations, however, it is not possible to examine empirically the relational processes that drive status recognition in the international system.

Because I am interested precisely in the relational processes that drive status recognition among states, I adopt in this project a consistently relational approach, from both a theoretical and an empirical standpoints. In Chapter 3, I developed a theoretical framework that captures the fundamentally social nature of status. I argue that status depends on states' positions in a social arrangement, rather than on the qualities of states or the things that they have. To explain how states achieve status, I theorize the underlying relational effects that shape status recognition in the international system. In particular, I argue that the structure of state relations itself shapes the conditions for status attainment. Because status distinctions involve social closure (or the establishment of a boundary between a group and outsiders), a state's existing relations influence its ability to achieve status. And because status reinforces inequality independently of material conditions, it involves cumulative advantage: those states that already enjoy high status are more likely to receive additional recognition. In addition, I argue that the value of state attributes is socially defined: a given state attribute becomes relevant for status recognition not because of its intrinsic or functional properties, but rather because of its symbolic value—which depends on the (changing) social context, and especially on who the great powers are and how they behave.

My argument implies that, to understand how international hierarchies of status emerge, we need to examine *how relations among states are configured*, rather than merely ranking states based on their attributes. In line with my theoretical framework, I develop in this chapter an empirical strategy that is consistent with the social nature of status. Because status depends on recognition, I investigate empirically the factors that produce such recognition. Since embassies express recognition among sovereign states, I use embassy exchange data as a proxy measure of status recognition. But instead of collapsing these data to the state level, by simply counting the proportion of embassies received by each state, I preserve the relational structure of embassy exchange data. In this study, my unit of analysis is the network of embassies, in which the nodes represent states and the links represent embassies sent from one state to the capital of another state. This choice of unit enables me to capture important information about the structure of diplomatic relations that existing studies discard—including who sends an embassy to whom, what their previous history of relations (or

lack thereof) is, and what ties they share with third parties. By using this information, I am able to investigate empirically the observable implications of my theory of status, which involve specific relational patterns at multiple levels of analysis. In the remainder of this book, I use social network analysis tools ideally suited to the empirical study of status. As I discuss next, these tools provide a unique set of advantages given my goals in this project.

### 6.1.1 The advantages of SNA

This project demonstrates the benefits of integrating a relational theory with a relational methodology.<sup>1</sup> In Chapter 3, I propose a network theory of international status. I argue that status depends on states' positions in a social arrangement, rather than directly on the qualities of states. The fundamental causal mechanisms behind status inequality operate in the domain of state relations, rather than inside states. My theoretical framework implies a switch from a substantialist perspective to a relational one—as I take as units of inquiry not self-subsistent or preformed entities (substances), but rather unfolding, dynamic relations whose changing meaning affects the very identity of actors.<sup>2</sup> In a relational perspective, relations come before states: status emerges from the way state relations are configured over time.<sup>3</sup> In line with my theoretical framework, I use network analysis tools to investigate the determinants of international status in the next chapters. Social network analysis is especially well suited to study relational phenomena like status; in fact, sociologists use it extensively to investigate status within domestic societies.<sup>4</sup>

#### Relations before Categories

Social network analysis is ideally suited to investigate the testable implications of my theory because it proceeds from a set of premises that closely match my theoretical framework. To begin, social network analysis starts with what Emirbayer calls the “anticategorical imperative”—the rejection of

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<sup>1</sup>See Goddard 2009; Hafner-Burton, Kahler, and Montgomery 2009, 584-85.

<sup>2</sup>See Emirbayer 1997, 282-91.

<sup>3</sup>See Jackson and Nesson 1999, 304-7.

<sup>4</sup>Blau 1977; Bourdieu 1984; Gould 2002; Lin 1999; Lynn, Podolny, and Tao 2009; Podolny 2005.

any attempts to account for social processes based exclusively on the categorical attributes of actors.<sup>5</sup>

In social network analysis, the social structure emerges not only from the distribution of attributes among actors, but also from the dynamics of interaction (or the underlying patterns of relations among actors).<sup>6</sup>

## The Importance of Structure

Key to network theory is the notion that the structure matters; that is, the patterns of relationships among actors affect outcomes of interest.<sup>7</sup> Specifically, network analysts typically assume that the patterns of relations within a system differentially constrain and enable actors.<sup>8</sup> In IR, network analytic approaches contend that actors derive power from their positions in social relations, rather than directly from their attributes.<sup>9</sup>

My relational theory is a *network theory* of status: I explain status attainment based on network effects—which fit Borgatti and Halgin’s notion of “network variables, such as having many ties or being centrally located.” [Borgatti and Halgin 2011, 1168](#)

network analysis tools enable me to directly test hypotheses about the relational patterns that I expect to drive status recognition among states. Using network analysis, I examine how the structure of state relations itself shapes the conditions for status achievement among states. This approach enables me to treat the network structure itself as an object of substantive interest—and thereby to uncover relational patterns that are not observable using conventional methods, which focus on the monadic or dyadic levels of analysis while assuming that outcome observations (acts of diplomatic recognition) are independent and identically distributed. By analyzing the patterns of diplomatic relations among states since the early nineteenth century, I can detect relational patterns in status recognition that previous studies mention but do not examine empirically. Since the early relational approaches to the study of diplomatic representations,<sup>10</sup> computational advances have enabled the

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<sup>5</sup>Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994, 1414.

<sup>6</sup>Goodreau, Kitts, and Morris 2009, 103; Mische 2011.

<sup>7</sup>Borgatti et al. 2009, 893-94.

<sup>8</sup>Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994, 1418.

<sup>9</sup>Hafner-Burton, Kahler, and Montgomery 2009, 570-74; Kahler 2009, 11-16.

<sup>10</sup>Alger and Brams 1967; Brams 1969; Russett and Lamb 1969.

development of tools that investigate higher-order patterns in relational data with greater precision and efficiency.

### Bridging the Micro-Macro Gap

Social network analysis bridges the micro-macro gap that often troubles social analysis.<sup>11</sup> Instead of considering each level of analysis as separate or autonomous, network analysis provides a coherent framework that enables researchers to integrate different levels of analysis. Given the ant categorial imperative, network analysis rejects methodological individualism, and instead considers multiple levels of analysis simultaneously.

The empirical component of this project takes advantage of this feature by exploring different levels of the diplomatic network. To investigate the sources of international status, I explore the topology of the diplomatic network at multiple levels. The reason for adopting a multi-level approach is twofold. First, the theoretical framework developed above has observable implications at more than one level of analysis. For example, while acts of recognition take place at the dyadic level, processes of social closure involve groups of states. Therefore, the empirical investigation of my argument calls for the consideration of multiple levels of analysis. As Ridgeway notes, status processes involve multiple levels of analysis.<sup>12</sup>

The second reason for considering multiple levels of analysis is empirical. When we are dealing with complex social systems such as international relations, emergent properties that do not result from the intentionality of actors. In fact, networks often have properties at one level that are different from their properties at another level.<sup>13</sup> Dyad-level interactions can aggregate to form a variety of large-scale patterns. If we examine only one level of analysis, we may miss important features of the social processes that give rise to the observed network configurations. Examining different level of the network may reveal structure that is not apparent when we consider only one level. By integrating different levels of analysis, we can get a more complete picture of the social processes

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<sup>11</sup>Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994, 1416-1418.

<sup>12</sup>Ridgeway 2014.

<sup>13</sup>Granovetter 1973; Newman 2006b.

at work. In other words, each level of the diplomatic network provides a different window into the determinants of international status. Patterns observed at the local level of the network, such as reciprocity or transitivity, can give rise to different configurations at the network's structural level.

network analysis enables me to assess the observable implications from my theory at multiple levels of analysis, thus increasing my confidence that the analysis effectively captures the underlying data generating process.

### **Generalizability**

My empirical approach provides the added advantage of generalizability: it enables me to take a long-run perspective in this study to examine status recognition in the international system since the early nineteenth century. Because my approach does not depend on assumptions about which state attributes are relevant for status recognition, it can be used to analyze how international hierarchies of status form during any historical period.

### **Distinguishing Status**

More broadly, this study contributes to existing knowledge about international status by showing that status is a distinctive phenomenon both conceptually and empirically—and, as such, is a useful concept for theories of international relations. Because status is insufficiently differentiated from material capabilities in existing research, it is ultimately reduced to a residual category in IR. In contrast, by studying status in its own right—as something analytically and empirically distinguishable from material capabilities and other state attributes—I hope to show why (and how) it matters for international politics. The concept of status can achieve its full potential in IR scholarship when we give due attention to its distinctive feature: its fundamentally social nature. By doing so, we can consider not only how status may increase a state's propensity for conflict, as many existing studies argue, but also how status plays a key role in international cooperation and the maintenance of international order, as I demonstrate in the next chapters.

## 6.2 Observable Implications

In Chapter 3, I developed a network theory of international status. I argue that status depends on a state's position in a social arrangement, rather than directly on its attributes. The fundamental causal mechanisms behind status inequality operate in the domain of state relations, rather than inside states. As such, systematic social processes—which cannot be reduced to the qualities of states—drive status recognition in the international system. In particular, three mechanisms make status self-reinforcing. First, status involves social closure, or the drawing of a boundary between the established group and outsiders. High-status actors differentiate themselves from outsiders by adopting a distinctive way of life, and by establishing dense relations among themselves but sparse relations with outsiders. Second, consensus effects shape status recognition: the more a state receives recognition, the more others deem it worthy of recognition. As such, high-status states tend to attract additional recognition simply by virtue of their popularity. Third, high status involves privileges that beget more status: high-status states act as standard-setters, shaping the criteria for status recognition; and as gatekeepers, shaping recognition decisions.

In what follows, I derive observable implications from my argument for diplomatic recognition in the international system. My theoretical framework offers two types of testable implications. On the one hand, my argument provides observable implications that involve network effects, whereby the structure of relations itself influences recognition independently of state properties. This kind of effect is purely structural: it emerges from the way state relations are configured—or from the structure of state relations—rather than from the qualities of states.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, my argument provides observable implications that involve state attributes. But while these observable implications involve state attributes, they do so in the context of state relations. State attributes play a secondary role in the process of status recognition: they impact recognition because of their symbolic value, which depends on the social context, and especially on who the great powers are and how they behave. The relevance of a given attribute for status recognition is socially defined: A

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<sup>14</sup>See Jackson and Nexon 1999, 304-7.

given state attribute matters for status recognition not because of its intrinsic properties, but rather because of its symbolic or socially-ascribed meaning.<sup>15</sup>

### 6.2.1 Social Closure

To begin, status is self-reinforcing because it involves social closure, or the drawing of a boundary between the established group and outsiders. Social closure reinforces inequality via two aspects. First, social closure involves connectedness, or the sharing of relational ties: High-status actors share dense relations among themselves but sparse relations with outsiders. Second, social closure involves commonality, or the sharing of common attributes: High-status actors differentiate themselves from outsiders by adopting a distinctive way of life. As I discuss next, each of these aspects entails a set of implications for diplomatic recognition in the international system.

#### Connectedness (or Exclusion)

Because social closure involves connectedness, a state's existing relations influence its propensity to receive recognition. Status distinctions reinforce inequality because they follow a principle of transitivity: Sharing relational ties, especially with well-connected states, brings status. Moreover, status distinctions encourage solidarity among high-status states but undermine solidarity among low-status states, whose interests are divided between supporting their own group and trying to network with high-status states. As such, the structure of state relations itself shapes the conditions for status attainment in the international system. High-status states enjoy considerable advantage in the process of status recognition. While well-connected states tend to attract additional recognition, sparsely-connected states do not.

Connectedness entails a set of effects that are purely structural, as they emerge from the configuration of state relations. To begin, connectedness has observable implications for the formation of ties in the diplomatic network. Because status involves social closure, a state's existing relations influence its propensity to be recognized. In particular, I expect states to be more likely to rec-

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<sup>15</sup>Mark, Smith-Lovin, and Ridgeway 2009; Ridgeway 1991; Ridgeway and Correll 2006.

ognize states that reciprocate recognition or states with whom they share diplomatic partners. As such, two states that have similar diplomatic ties are likely to be connected themselves. In addition, connectedness has observable implications at the structural level of the network. When examining diplomatic relations, I expect to find a densely-connected group of high-status states at the center and a sparsely-connected group of low-status states at the margins. In other words, the diplomatic network should have a core-periphery structure—in which central actors are very likely to share ties, and peripheral actors are more likely to connect to central actors than to other actors in the periphery.<sup>16</sup> States should thus be divided into two groups: (1) a well-connected core, where states favor within-core ties over ties with states in the periphery; and (2) a loosely-connected periphery, where states favor ties with states in the core over ties with other states in the periphery. That is, the core should be the preferred destination for embassies, regardless of whether the sending state belongs in the core or the periphery of the diplomatic network.

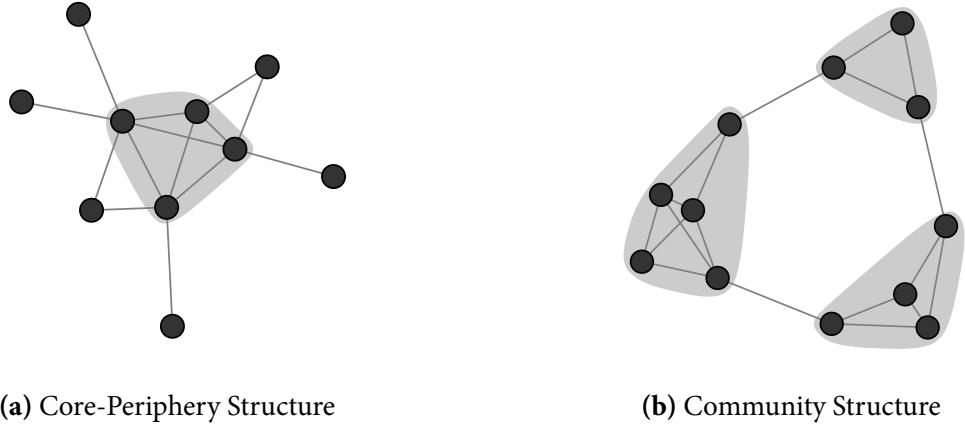
While the use of the terms “core” and “periphery” is not new in the study of international relations, my use of these terms differs from previous research in that I consider the core/periphery boundary to emerge from state relations, rather than from the properties of states. Some scholars treat the core/periphery distinction as resulting from differences in states’ material attributes, such as economic and military capabilities.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, world-systems theorists privilege economic relations over other issue areas, treating core and periphery as distinct locations in a division of labor based on unequal economic exchange.<sup>18</sup> By contrast, I do not assume that a state’s attributes (or its relations in a specific issue area) determine its position in the core or the periphery of the diplomatic network. Rather, I posit that a core-periphery structure emerges from a set of relational patterns, whereby a state’s existing relations influence its ability to attain recognition in the international system. At the same time, my argument coincides with previous approaches in that I use the terms “core” and “periphery” to refer to an unequal, centralized system that contributes to its own maintenance through positive feedback mechanisms.

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<sup>16</sup>Borgatti and Everett 1999, 377-78.

<sup>17</sup>See Buzan and Lawson 2015, 9; Galtung 1971; Goldgeier and McFaul 1992, fn. 7.

<sup>18</sup>See Cardoso and Enzo 1979; Wallerstein 1984.



**Figure 6.1.** Core-Periphery versus Community Structure: Example Networks

In particular, I expect the diplomatic network to exhibit a core-periphery structure, rather than a community structure. In a core-periphery structure, actors can be partitioned into two classes: a well-connected core, and a loosely-connected periphery. The partition of actors into core and periphery produces a structure like the one sketched in Figure 6.1a. In a community structure, by contrast, actors can be partitioned into multiple subgroups that share dense within-group ties but sparse ties across communities.<sup>19</sup> The partition of actors into communities produces a structure like the one sketched in Figure 6.1b. As Borgatti and Everett note, the two types of network structure are, by definition, mutually exclusive. Because it implies that nodes can only belong to the core or the periphery, a core-periphery structure is antithetical to a community structure.<sup>20</sup> While networks with a community structure can be partitioned into multiple subgroups, networks with a core-periphery structure can only be divided into two core and periphery. Compared to a community structure, a core-periphery structure thus involves a more centralized organization of network ties. While a community structure involves multiple subgroups of states, a core-periphery structure implies that the entire network is centered around a single subgroup: the core.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Newman 2004. In network analysis, a community is a set of actors who share many ties among themselves and fewer ties with actors from other communities.

<sup>20</sup> Borgatti and Everett 1999, 376, 391.

<sup>21</sup> Another feature of core-periphery structures is that high-degree actors—those with many connections—are connected to each other. This feature is not necessarily present in community structures.

## **Commonality (or Distinction)**

Besides connectedness, social closure involves commonality: High-status actors differentiate themselves from outsiders by adopting a distinctive way of life. Commonality entails a set of observable implications that involve state attributes. But importantly, state attributes play an indirect role in status attainment: they communicate a latent quality—state competence—that is socially defined. Observers gauge status by evaluating how well a given state fits prevailing conceptions of state competence, which involves a distinctive way of life associated with the West. To begin, commonality has an observable implication for the formation of diplomatic ties. I expect states to recognize those states that are similar to them, rather than the states with the largest portfolio of a given attribute. That is, similarity in both fundamental values and material resources should foster recognition. Contrary to what conventional explanations argue, I do not expect states to recognize those states with the most resources; rather, similar states should share denser relations.

In addition, commonality has two observable implications at the structural level of the diplomatic network. First, states in the core of the diplomatic network should have similar attributes, which states in the periphery lack. That is, the same attributes should be relevant for status recognition in the entire network. When examining diplomatic relations, I expect to find a densely-connected core, bound together by common attributes associated with the West, and a loosely-connected periphery. Second, commonality implies that, to evoke recognition, states attributes need to go well together. To infer status, observers examine the ensemble of attributes displayed by an actor, rather than specific attributes in isolation. Actors who display a coherent set of attributes indicate that they master a way of life and are therefore worthy of recognition. In contrast, actors who display an incoherent set of attributes typically come across as arrivistes, who are trying to pass as high-status actors even though they fail to master the corresponding way of life. Mismatched attributes send out contradictory signals about an actor's way of life and are therefore unlikely to evoke recognition. Therefore, I expect that membership in the core of the diplomatic network should depend on both material resources and fundamental values. That is, fundamental values should moderate the impact of material resources on core membership.

### **6.2.2 Consensus Effects**

Besides social closure, a second mechanism makes status self-reinforcing. Status depends on peer attribution, as high-status states are those recognized as such by their peers. But because status is difficult to ascertain, actors rely on each other's evaluations to decide how to rank others. Actors influence each other's status evaluations, often leading to the emergence of a working consensus about who ranks where in a given status hierarchy. Such consensus effects make status self-reinforcing: the more a state receives recognition, the more others deem it worthy of recognition. As such, status recognition is not a meritocracy. A state's position in a status hierarchy shapes the conditions for its recognition: High-status states tend to attract more recognition simply by virtue of their popularity. At the same time, status mobility constitutes the exception rather than the rule. While states at the margins of the international system struggle to gain recognition, states at the system's core enjoy considerable advantage in maintaining their status.

Consensus effects are purely structural effects, which emerge from the configuration of state relations. High-status states enjoy considerable advantage in the status recognition process, which results from their social position rather than from their qualities. To begin, consensus effects have an observable implication for the formation of ties in the diplomatic network. I expect high-status states to receive more recognition simply because of their position in diplomatic relations, rather than because of their attributes. That is, those states that already host many embassies should be more likely to receive additional embassies. In addition, consensus effects have two observable implications at the structural level of the diplomatic network. First, I expect the size of the network's core to remain stable over time. That is, the core's boundary should not be very permeable. Over time, we should observe little mobility from the network's periphery to its core. Second, the composition of the network's core should also remain stable over time. The core should be an exclusive club, which only a minority of states can access. But once a state reaches the core, it tends to remain there. Overall, there should thus be a high persistence over time in states' positions either in the core or the periphery of the diplomatic network.

### **6.2.3 Standard-Setting and Gatekeeping**

Finally, a third mechanism makes status self-reinforcing. High status involves privileges that beget more status: High-status states act as standard-setters, shaping the criteria for status recognition; and as gatekeepers, shaping recognition decisions. By defining the rules of the game, high-status states enjoy considerable advantage in the process of status recognition. It is no coincidence that, to this day, status evaluations rely on governance ideals associated with the West. The globalization of the European society of states was regulated by a Western standard of civilization, which performed the functions of gatekeeping membership to international society and assimilating non-European peoples into European standards. As a result, predominant conceptions of state competence nowadays involve not only the ability to fend for oneself under anarchy, but also a Western standard of civilization. Because status involves a distinctive way of life, status recognition depends on an ensemble of attributes that is difficult to acquire—that is, on a Western way of life that includes not only material resources but also fundamental values like liberal democracy.

Status evaluations are based on prevailing conceptions of state competence that change over time, depending on who the great powers are and how they behave. During critical junctures like the aftermath of major wars, the way of life associated with the victorious state(s) shapes the standards that will be used to evaluate state competence thereafter. That is, besides updating the international pecking order, major wars also serve to update the standards that inform status recognition among states. My argument implies that the relevance of a given state attribute for status recognition should change over time, along with the prevailing conceptions of state competence. Because the great powers of an era act like standard-setters and gatekeepers, the relevance of a given state attribute for status recognition should depend on who the great powers are and how they behave.

## **6.3 Empirical Analysis Plan**

In sum, my theoretical framework provides multiple observable implications for diplomatic recognition in the international system. Table 6.1 summarizes the observable implications from my net-

**Table 6.1.** A Network Theory of Status: Observable Implications

	<i>Tie formation level</i>	<i>Structural level</i>
Connectedness	States should be more likely to recognize states that reciprocate recognition or states with whom they share diplomatic partners.	The diplomatic network should have a core-periphery structure; The size of the network's core should remain stable over time.
Commonality	States should recognize those states that have similar fundamental values and material resources as them.	States in the network's core should have similar attributes, which states in the periphery lack; Fundamental values should moderate the impact of material resources on core membership.
Consensus effects	States that already host many embassies should be more likely to receive additional embassies.	The composition of the network's core should remain stable over time.
Standard-setting and gatekeeping	State attributes associated with the West should be relevant for status recognition.	The symbolic value of state attributes should depend on who the great powers are and how they behave.

work theory of status, which cover two levels of analysis: the formation of diplomatic ties between states, and the structural level of the diplomatic network. In chapters 7 through 9, I assess these observable implications using network analysis tools. Next, I discuss in more detail the plan for the empirical analysis to be conducted in the next chapters.

### 6.3.1 Tie Formation in the Diplomatic Network

In Chapter 7, I evaluate the observable implications from my theory for the formation of ties in the diplomatic network. The first two implications involve purely structural effects, which emerge from the way diplomatic relations are configured. To begin, I argue that consensus effects shape status: the more a state receives recognition, the more others deem it worthy of recognition. Therefore, high-status states should receive more recognition simply because of their position in diplomatic relations, rather than because of their attributes. That is, *those states that already host many embassies should be more likely to receive additional embassies*. In addition, I argue that status dis-

tinctions involve social closure. This argument has two observable implications. First, social closure involves connectedness: high-status states share dense relations among themselves but only sparse relations with outsiders. Therefore, a state's existing relations should influence its propensity to receive recognition. In particular, *states should be more likely to recognize states that reciprocate recognition or states with whom they share diplomatic partners*. Second, social closure involves commonality: high-status states differentiate themselves by adopting a distinctive way of life. Therefore, *states should recognize those states that have similar fundamental values and material resources as them*, rather than the states with the largest portfolio of a given attribute. As such, the relevance of a given state attribute for status recognition is socially defined: It is attribute similarity, rather than the possession of attributes per se, that fosters recognition among states.

To model tie formation in the diplomatic network, I use the most well established method for statistical inference with networks: the exponential random graph model (ERGM).<sup>22</sup> In particular, since I examine a longitudinal series of diplomatic networks, I use a longitudinal extension of the ERGM—the Temporal ERGM or TERGM—that allows me account for the persistence of network ties over time.<sup>23</sup> This model has a set of properties that fit very well with my purposes. Most importantly, the assumptions underlying the ERGM closely match my relational theory of status. The ERGM allows me to assess the possibility that the diplomatic network emerges not only from the properties of states but also from structural or network effects, whereby the network structure itself influences the establishment of ties. In line with my theory of status, the ERGM provides a way of assessing the influence of not only state attributes but also network structure on the formation of diplomatic ties. At the same time, the ERGM also enables me to test hypotheses derived from the conventional approach, which treat status as a function of state attributes. Finally, the ERGM provides another important advantage: it avoids the bias that likely results when we use conventional regression models to examine relational data like diplomatic exchange.<sup>24</sup> Unlike conventional regression models, the ERGM does not rely on the assumption that outcome observations

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<sup>22</sup>Holland and Leinhardt 1981; Wasserman and Pattison 1996.

<sup>23</sup>Desmarais and Cranmer 2012; Hanneke, Fu, and Xing 2010; Robins and Pattison 2001.

<sup>24</sup>Cranmer, Desmarais, and Menninga 2012, 282-83; Cranmer and Desmarais 2016, 358-61.

are independent and identically distributed.

### 6.3.2 The Structural Level of the Diplomatic Network

In Chapter 8, I evaluate five observable implications from my argument at the structural level of the diplomatic network. To begin, I argue that social closure shapes status recognition. Connectedness is the first aspect of social closure: high-status states share dense relations among themselves but sparse relations with outsiders. This leads me to the first hypothesis investigated in Chapter 8: *the diplomatic network should have a core-periphery structure rather than a community structure*. In a core-periphery structure, states are divided into two groups: (1) a well-connected core, where states favor within-core ties over ties with states in the periphery; and (2) a loosely-connected periphery, where states favor ties with states in the core over within-periphery ties. In a community structure, by contrast, states are divided into multiple communities with dense within-community ties but sparse cross-community ties. Compared to a community structure, a core-periphery structure involves a more centralized organization of network ties.

In addition, I evaluate two observable implications about the core of the diplomatic network. Because social closure involves connectedness, a state's existing relations influence its propensity to receive recognition. This leads me to the second hypothesis investigated in Chapter 8: *the size of the diplomatic network's core should remain stable over time*. In other words, there should be little mobility over time from the network's periphery to its core. In addition, I argue that consensus effects shape status: the more a state receives recognition, the more others deem it worthy of recognition. As such, high-status states should receive more recognition simply because of their social position. This leads me to the third hypothesis investigated in Chapter 8: *the composition of the diplomatic network's core should remain stable over time*. Once a state reaches the core, it tends to remain there. Taken together, these hypotheses imply that there should be a high persistence over time in states' positions either in the core or the periphery of the diplomatic network.

Finally, I evaluate two observable implications that involve state attributes. Social closure involves commonality: high-status states differentiate themselves by adopting a distinctive way of life.

This leads me to the fourth hypothesis investigated in Chapter 8: *states in the core of the diplomatic network should have similar attributes, which states in the periphery lack*. As such, the relevance of a given attribute for status recognition is socially defined: It is attribute similarity, rather than the possession of attributes per se, that fosters recognition among states. Moreover, state attributes serve to communicate a state's latent quality—state competence—that is socially defined. Predominant conceptions of state competence involve a Western way of life that includes not only material resources but also fundamental values like liberal democracy. To evoke recognition, attributes thus need to go well together. This leads me to the fifth hypothesis investigated in Chapter 8: *core membership should depend on both material resources and fundamental values*. That is, fundamental values should moderate the impact of material resources on core membership.

To evaluate these observable implications, I leverage social network analysis as well as statistical analysis. To begin, I probe the structure of the diplomatic network using core-periphery models, which enable me to measure the extent to which diplomatic ties exhibit a core-periphery structure. Next, I use a Boolean logit approach, which enables me to model binary outcomes as a function of interactions of latent variables, to examine whether membership in the core of the diplomatic network depends on a Western way of life—a gestalt that involves not only material resources but also fundamental values associated with the West. Finally, as a robustness check, I use community detection tools to assess if the diplomatic network can be meaningfully divided instead into multiple subgroups that may value different status symbols.

### 6.3.3 The Changing Meaning of State Attributes

In Chapter 9, I evaluate the observable implications from my argument for the relevance of state attributes in the process of status recognition. I argue that the symbolic value of a given state attribute depends on structural conditions. As such, it changes over time, along with the predominant conceptions of state competence in the international system. In particular, high-status states typically act as standard-setters, shaping the criteria for status recognition; and as gatekeepers, shaping recognition decisions. Therefore, I expect the symbolic value of state attributes to change over time,

depending on who the great powers are and how they behave.

Using a long-run perspective, I examine how the symbolic value of two state attributes commonly associated with status—nuclear weapons and democracy—changes over time. Because I argue that status results from relational processes rather than directly from state attributes, I do not expect the acquisition of nuclear weapons to improve a country's standing. Using the synthetic control method, I analyze the impact of nuclear weapons acquisition on diplomatic recognition. And since the nuclear powers colluded to stigmatize the bomb in the 1960s and 1970s, I do not expect to observe any homophily effects involving nuclear weapons. In other words, nuclear weapons states should not be more likely to recognize one another. On the other hand, I expect democratic states to be more likely to recognize one another—but only during periods of democratic hegemony, when the leading powers themselves are democratic states. Using time-varying effect models, I examine how the effect of joint democracy on tie formation in the diplomatic network changes throughout the twentieth century.

# **Part III**

# **Empirical Analysis**



## 7

## A Network Model of Diplomatic Status

In this chapter, I evaluate the observable implications of my relational theory of status for the formation of ties in the diplomatic network. I argue that status depends on a state's position in a social arrangement, rather than directly on its attributes. As such, systematic social processes—which cannot be reduced to the qualities of states—drive status recognition in the international system. In particular, I derive three observable implications from my theory of status for the formation of ties in the diplomatic network. First, I argue that consensus effects drive status recognition: the more a state receives recognition, the more others deem it worthy of recognition. As such, high-status states enjoy considerable advantage in status recognition. This leads me to the first hypothesis investigated in this chapter: *high-status states should receive more recognition simply because of their position in diplomatic relations, rather than because of their attributes.* In other words, popularity itself brings status. Importantly, this effect is purely structural: it emerges from the way diplomatic relations are configured, rather than from the characteristics of states.

In addition, I argue that social closure shapes status recognition among states. Social closure has two observable implications for the formation of diplomatic ties. To begin, high-status states share dense relations among themselves but sparse relations with outsiders. This leads me to the second hypothesis investigated in this chapter: connectedness, especially with high-status states, bring status. In other words, *a state's existing relations should influence its ability to achieve status.* Again, this effect is purely structural: it emerges from the way state relations are configured, rather

than from the characteristics of states. Moreover, social closure involves a second observable implication: high-status states differentiate themselves from outsiders by adopting a distinctive way of life. This leads me to the third hypothesis investigated in this chapter: similarity fosters status recognition. That is, contrary to what conventional explanations argue, states do not necessarily recognize those states with the most resources. Rather, *states should recognize those states that have similar fundamental values and material resources as them*. Importantly, while this observable implication involves state attributes, it does so in the context of state relations. The relevance of a given attribute for status recognition is socially defined: state attributes matter because of their symbolic (rather than intrinsic) value.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section begins by introducing the method I use to investigate tie formation in the diplomatic network—the temporal exponential random graph model (TERGM). In line with my theory of status, the TERGM enables to directly test hypotheses involving not only state attributes but also network effects, whereby the network structure itself influences the formation of ties. Next, the second section presents the results from the main analysis, which covers the period from 1970 to 2005. As a robustness check, the third section extends the analysis to the XXXX-XXXX period using different data, thus demonstrating that the results are not specific to the period examined in the main analysis. Finally, the chapter’s last section concludes with a discussion of the results.

## 7.1 The Exponential Random Graph Model

The empirical analysis in this chapter aims to investigate the formation of ties in the diplomatic network: why are embassies established in certain states but not others? To model the formation of ties in the diplomatic network, I use the most well established method for statistical inference with networks: the exponential random graph model (ERGM).<sup>1</sup> The ERGM estimates the probability of observing a given network among all of the possible permutations of the network. In other words,

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<sup>1</sup>Holland and Leinhardt 1981; Wasserman and Pattison 1996.

the ERGM estimates, given our model, how likely we are to observe the network that we observe among all the possible networks that we could have observed. The ERGM relies on simulation-based inference, in which the counterfactuals are given by the other possible network configurations that could have been observed, rather than on sample-based inference, in which we draw inferences about a population based on a sample drawn from that population (as in conventional regression models). In my case, I observe the entire population—the set of states and embassies that exist each year—rather than only a sample taken from the target population.

I choose this approach because the ERGM has a set of properties that fit very well with my purposes. To begin, the assumptions underlying the ERGM closely match my relational theory of status. In particular, the ERGM allows researchers to assess the possibility that a network emerges not only from the properties of actors but also from structural or network effects, whereby the network structure itself influences the establishment of ties. The theoretical framework developed in Chapter 3 anticipates that status results a set of relational processes, including consensus effects and social closure, rather than directly from the distribution of attributes among states. Empirically, my relational theory of status implies that ties in the diplomatic network should depend not only on the characteristics of states (in particular, attribute similarity among states) but also on structural dependencies (the existing configuration of ties among states).

An empirical model seeking to test the observable implications from my theory should be able to incorporate both network effects and state attributes. But because conventional regression models assume the independence of outcome observations, they exclude network effects by construction. Accordingly, prior research on status attainment does not examine structural dependencies empirically, even though it acknowledges their importance, because it uses a conventional regression framework.<sup>2</sup> And while other approaches to statistical inference in network analysis—such as the latent space model (LSM) or the quadratic assignment procedure (QAP)—take outcome interdependence into account, these approaches do not allow researchers to directly evaluate hypotheses that involve structural dependencies. As Desmarais and Cranmer observe, these other approaches

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<sup>2</sup>See Miller et al. 2015, 786-87.

treat outcome interdependence as a nuisance rather than as an object of substantive interest.<sup>3</sup> By contrast, the ERGM offers an important advantage in this context: it allows me to directly specify the relational patterns that I want to investigate empirically. In line with my relational theory of status, the ERGM provides a way of assessing the influence of not only state attributes but also of network structure on the formation of ties in the diplomatic network. At the same time, the ERGM also enables me to test hypotheses derived from the conventional approach to status, according to which status is a function of state attributes.

In addition, the ERGM provides an important advantage when compared to alternative approaches: it avoids the bias that likely results when we use conventional regression models to examine relational data like diplomatic exchange.<sup>4</sup> Conventional regression models rely on the assumption that outcome observations are independent and identically distributed. When this core assumption is violated, conventional regressions produce biased estimates. Yet, such an assumption is unlikely to hold when it comes to relational data like the diplomatic network, in which outcome observations—that is, network ties—are bound to be interdependent. As discussed in Chapter 6, states' decisions on whether to send an embassy to a given state depend on what other states do; in fact, states often try to persuade one another to send embassies to a given state or to refrain from doing so. Because diplomatic ties influence one another, the use of conventional regression models to examine embassy exchange would likely yield biased estimates. The ERGM offers an important advantage in this context: unlike conventional regression models, it does not rely on the assumption that outcome observations are independent and identically distributed.<sup>5</sup> Instead of treating relational data as a collection of independent dyadic observations, the ERGM treats the network

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<sup>3</sup>Desmarais and Cranmer 2017. A different approach to statistical inference with networks, the temporal network autocorrelation model (TNAM), allows researchers to estimate the effect of structural dependencies on actor attributes rather than on tie formation. But since I want to estimate the effect of structural dependencies on tie formation, this approach would not be appropriate here. See Hays, Kachi, and Franzese 2010.

<sup>4</sup>Cranmer, Desmarais, and Menninga 2012, 282-83; Cranmer and Desmarais 2016, 358-61.

<sup>5</sup>The ERGM only involves two basic assumptions also present in conventional regression models: that the average relationships in a dataset are representative of the population; and that the empirical model is completely and correctly specified. See Cranmer and Desmarais 2011, 70. An alternative approach to the ERGM, the Stochastic Actor Oriented Model (SAOM), involves additional assumptions unlikely to hold in diplomatic exchange data, such as the assumption that ties change one at a time. See Snijders, van de Bunt, and Steglich 2010.

itself as a single multivariate observation.<sup>6</sup> Using simulation-based inference, the ERGM estimates the likelihood of observing a given network among all the possible permutations of that network that could have been observed.

Finally, since embassies tend to remain open once established, I use a longitudinal extension of the ERGM—the Temporal ERGM or TERGM—that allows me account for the persistence of network ties over time.<sup>7</sup> Specifically, I estimate temporal exponential random graph models for a time series of networks at five-year intervals.

### 7.1.1 Dependent Variable

The empirical analysis in this chapter is divided into two sections, which cover different historical periods because they use different datasets. In the chapter's second section, the main analysis relies on the Diplomatic Contacts (DIPCON) Database, which covers the period from 1970 to 2010.<sup>8</sup> Using these data, I obtain a directed unweighted network in which the nodes are states, and state  $i$  sends a tie to state  $j$  when it establishes an embassy at state  $j$  headed by an ambassador or high commissioner.<sup>9</sup> In this network, only embassies headed by an ambassador or high commissioner count as ties.<sup>10</sup> Because of covariate availability, the main analysis uses data from 1995 to 2005. In addition, robustness checks include data from 1970 to 2005 to ensure that the results from the main analysis are not specific to the 1995–2005 period.

In the chapter's third section, I extend the main analysis by using the Correlates of War (COW) Diplomatic Exchange dataset, which covers the period from 1817 to 2005.<sup>11</sup> This dataset is less precise than the one used in the main analysis, since it does not consistently distinguish between embassies headed by an ambassador and other types of diplomatic representation, such as consulates

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<sup>6</sup>Cranmer and Desmarais 2011, 67–69.

<sup>7</sup>Desmarais and Cranmer 2012; Hanneke, Fu, and Xing 2010; Robins and Pattison 2001. This extension offers the additional advantage of improving computational tractability, since it relies on a bootstrapped pseudo-maximum likelihood algorithm.

<sup>8</sup>Rhamey et al. 2013.

<sup>9</sup>Following network notation,  $i$  denotes the sending state, and  $j$  denotes the receiving state.

<sup>10</sup>As I explain in Chapter 6, embassies headed by an ambassador or high commissioner unambiguously express the recognition of state  $j$  by the decision-makers of state  $i$ .

<sup>11</sup>(Bayer, 2006; Singer and Small, 1966).

or interest sections. On the other hand, the COW dataset enables me to measure diplomatic recognition over a longer historical period, increasing my confidence that my findings are not specific to the period covered by the main analysis. Using the COW data, I obtain a directed unweighted network in which the nodes are states, and state  $i$  sends a tie to state  $j$  when it establishes a diplomatic representation of any kind at state  $j$ . In this network, any kind of diplomatic representation between two states counts as a tie. Because of covariate availability, the empirical analysis in the third section uses data from 1xxx to 20xx.

### 7.1.2 Model Specification

Given the relational theory of status developed in Chapter 3, I expect ties in the diplomatic network to result from two types of effects: (1) network effects or structural dependencies, whereby the network structure itself (or the existing configuration of ties) shapes status recognition independently from state attributes; and (2) homophily effects or similarity, whereby those states that share similar status-symbolizing attributes are more likely to recognize one another. To assess the observable implications from my argument, my empirical model thus incorporates specific network effects, as well as dyadic state attributes that capture the degree of similarity between states. In addition, the empirical model includes monadic state attributes—so as to assess conventional explanations of status based on state attributes—as well as a set of control variables.

#### Network Effects

Based on my theoretical framework, I expect three network effects to drive tie formation in the diplomatic network. Each of these effects captures how the network structure itself drives the formation of diplomatic ties, independently from state attributes like material resources or fundamental values. To begin, I argue that consensus effects drive status recognition: the more a state receives recognition, the more others deem it worthy of recognition. Therefore, I expect to observe a popularity effect in the diplomatic network: the more embassies a state already hosts, the more it should attract additional embassies. To assess this effect, the *Popularity* term counts the number of distinct

2-instars in the network, where a 2-instar is defined as a node  $i$  and two incoming ties  $(j, i)$  and  $(k, i)$ . I expect to find a positive coefficient for the *Popularity* term, which would indicate that states with more embassies are more likely to receive additional embassies.

Moreover, I argue that social closure shapes status recognition. Social closure involves two dimensions: connectedness (the sharing of relational ties) and commonality (the sharing of common attributes). The first dimension of social closure thus involves the structure of relations: high-status actors share dense relations among themselves but sparse relations with outsiders. That is, a state's existing relations affect the state's tendency to receive recognition. Therefore, I expect to observe two additional network effects in the diplomatic network. The first effect is reciprocity: states should be more likely to send embassies to those states that send embassies in return. This effect captures the social nature of recognition. While reciprocal recognition is mutually gratifying, asymmetric recognition is inherently unstable because it tends to be costly and ultimately worthless.<sup>12</sup> In fact, as Berridge notes, a refusal to reciprocate an embassy denotes “a marked sense of material or moral superiority (or both) on the part of the receiving state,” which compromises bilateral relations.<sup>13</sup> To assess this effect, the *Reciprocity* term counts the number of dyads for which mutual ties exist. I expect to find a positive coefficient for the *Reciprocity* term, which would indicate that states prefer to send embassies to states that send embassies in return.

The second network effect derived from social closure is transitivity: states should be more likely to establish embassies where their diplomatic partners send embassies. That is, the more diplomatic partners any two states share, the higher their tendency to exchange embassies. This effect captures the notion that connectedness, especially with high-status actors, brings status. Although recognition is a discretionary act, states routinely coordinate acts of recognition to ensure legitimacy, as discussed in Chapter 4. Moreover, high-status states occupy a central position in status relations, which makes them particularly influential in determining who gets recognition. For example, Western states with close ties to the United States rarely recognize Palestine as a state, while states with

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<sup>12</sup>Wendt 2003, 512-14.

<sup>13</sup>Berridge and James 2003, 82.

ties to China rarely recognize Taiwan.<sup>14</sup> To assess this effect, the *Transitivity* term counts the number of closed triads—any set of ties  $(i, j)$  and  $(j, k)$  for which either  $(k, i)$  or  $(i, k)$  also exist. I expect to find a positive coefficient for the *Transitivity* term, which would indicate that states are more likely to exchange embassies the more diplomatic partners they share.

### Homophily Effects (Similarity)

Besides network effects, social closure involves a second dimension: commonality, or the sharing of common attributes. Status groups differentiate themselves by adopting distinctive values and consuming distinctive goods. Therefore, I expect states to recognize states with similar values and resources—rather than the states with the most resources, as traditional approaches argue. Homophily effects shape tie formation: similar states should be more likely to exchange embassies. To test this claim, I specify the state attributes considered in the status literature as dyadic attributes, measuring the absolute difference between states in every dyad. The more two states differ based on attributes such as military capability or democracy, the smaller their propensity to exchange embassies. As such, I expect to find negative coefficients for the homophily effects.

To measure similarity, I use the state attributes considered in the status literature, which include both material resources and fundamental values (see Table 7.1).<sup>15</sup> I measure homophily as the absolute difference between any two states along each attribute. Material resources include wealth, military capability, and nuclear weapons. In particular, I use three variables to assess the effects of material resources: *GDP per capita* measures the log-transformed real GDP per capita in 2005 US dollars; *Military Spending* measures the log-transformed military expenditure in current US dollars; and *Nuclear Weapons* indicates whether a state has nuclear weapons and an ongoing nuclear program.<sup>16</sup> When it comes to values, previous studies consider regime type, as well as more abstract notions such as civilization and moral superiority, to affect status. In addition, IR scholars argue that, besides democracy, the standard of civilization today includes capitalism and human

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<sup>14</sup>BBC News. “Sweden to recognise Palestinian state.” October 3, 2014. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-29479418>. For additional examples, see Chapter 4.

<sup>15</sup>See Appendix A for a more detailed description of the data.

<sup>16</sup>See, respectively, Gleditsch 2002a; Singer 1988; Singh and Way 2004.

**Table 7.1.** Status Attributes in the IR Literature

<i>Nature</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Author</i>
Material resources	Economic capability	Gilpin (1981) Larson and Shevchenko (2003, 2010) Larson, Paul, and Wohlforth (2014) Luard (1976) Neumann (2008, 2014) Schweller (1999) Wohlforth (2009)
	Military capability*	Gilpin (1981) Larson and Shevchenko (2003, 2010) Larson, Paul, and Wohlforth (2014) Luard (1976) Neumann (2008, 2014) Schweller (1999) Thompson (2014) Wohlforth (2009)
	Technological capability	Larson and Shevchenko (2003, 2010) Luard (1976) Schweller (1999) Wohlforth (2009)
	Nuclear weapons	Art (1980) Gilpin (1981) O'Neill (2006)
Fundamental values	Political system or ideology	Larson and Shevchenko (2003, 2010) Larson, Paul, and Wohlforth (2014) Luard (1976) Neumann (2008, 2014) Schweller (1999)
	Culture or civilization†	Larson and Shevchenko (2003, 2010) Larson, Paul, and Wohlforth (2014) Luard (1976) Neumann (2014) Schweller (1999)
	Moral superiority	Larson and Shevchenko (2003, 2010) Neumann (2008)

\*We can include in this category territory and population  
(Larson, Paul, and Wohlforth, 2014; Luard, 1976; Schweller, 1999).

†We can include in this category religion and education  
(Larson and Shevchenko, 2003, 2010; Luard, 1976; Schweller, 1999).

**Table 7.2.** Pairwise Correlations for State Attributes (2000)

	GDP/capita*	Military Spending*	Nuclear Weapons	Democracy	Human Rights	Econ Freedom	IGO HQ
GDP/capita*	-	0.54	0.05	0.35	0.57	0.56	0.13
Mil Spending*	0.54	-	0.37	0.05	-0.00	0.18	0.31
Nuc Weapons	0.05	0.37	-	-0.03	-0.23	-0.13	0.06
Democracy	0.35	0.05	-0.03	-	0.50	0.54	0.27
Human Rights	0.57	-0.00	-0.23	0.50	-	0.60	0.06
Econ Freedom	0.56	0.18	-0.13	0.54	0.60	-	0.17
IGO HQ	0.13	0.31	0.06	0.27	0.06	0.17	-

\*Log-transformed.

rights.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, I estimate the effects of the three fundamental values on recognition: democracy, human rights, and economic liberalism. Specifically, I use three variables: the modified Polity IV score measures *Democracy*<sup>18</sup>; the Political Terror Scale based on U.S. State Department reports measures *Human Rights*<sup>19</sup>; and the Index of Economic Freedom measures *Economic Freedom*.<sup>20</sup> As Table 7.2 shows, most of these state attributes are positively correlated—except for *Nuclear Weapons*, which correlates negatively with all fundamental values.

### The Conventional Approach

While I expect states to recognize states with similar values and resources, conventional explanations based on state attributes expect a state to achieve higher status the higher its share of status-symbolizing attributes. For example, the more economic or military capabilities a state has, the higher standing it should achieve. According to this approach, states with higher levels of attributes such as wealth or military capability should attract more embassies. To assess conventional explanations, I specify status attributes at the state (or monadic) level, by measuring how much each state has of that attribute. I use the same set of attributes described above, which includes both material

<sup>17</sup>Buzan 2014, Neumann 2014, 111.

<sup>18</sup>Gleditsch and Ward 1997.

<sup>19</sup>Gibney et al. 2015. To facilitate interpretation, I inverted the scale so that higher levels indicate a better human rights record.

<sup>20</sup>Heritage Foundation 2015.

resources and fundamental values.

## Control Variables

I control for other factors that may influence the establishment of embassies, both at the dyadic and monadic levels.<sup>21</sup> *Alliance* records whether  $i$  and  $j$  share an alliance, and *Trade* measures the log-transformed total trade between  $i$  and  $j$  in 2000 US dollars.<sup>22</sup> To control for geographical proximity, *Contiguity* measures whether  $i$  and  $j$  share a river, land, or maritime border (up to 24 nmi); and *Same Region* measures whether  $i$  and  $j$  are in the same geographical sub-region.<sup>23</sup> Since states that host IGO headquarters attract more embassies due to economies of scale for sending states, *IGO Headquarters<sub>j</sub>* records whether  $j$  hosts IGO headquarters.<sup>24</sup> Since richer states have more resources to send embassies abroad, *GDP per capita<sub>i</sub>* controls for the sending state's wealth.

In addition, I use a *Tie Stability* term to control for the persistence of embassies over time. This term acts like a lag of the dependent variable in a time series model, conditioning effects on the previous year. Because I include this term in the model, the effects observed are net of past network structure. Finally, I use a *Sociality* term to control for the possibility that states that already send many embassies are more likely to send additional embassies due to increasing returns to scale. Since the act of opening embassies has high fixed costs in bureaucratic terms, the marginal cost of opening an additional embassy should decrease as the overall number of embassies increases. To account for this, the *Sociality* term counts the number of distinct 2-outstars in the network, where a 2-outstar is a node  $i$  and two outgoing ties  $(i, j)$  and  $(i, k)$ .

## Model Summary

To recap, Table 7.3 compares the empirical expectations from my relational theory of status with the expectations from the conventional approach to international status. I use temporal exponen-

<sup>21</sup>See Kinne 2014; Neumayer 2008.

<sup>22</sup>See, respectively, Leeds et al. 2002; Barbieri, Keshk, and Pollins 2009.

<sup>23</sup>See, respectively, Stinnett et al. 2002; "Standard Country or Area Codes for Statistical Use," accessed February 20, 2015, <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm>.

<sup>24</sup>Rohn 1997.

**Table 7.3.** Model Specification Summary

<i>Approach</i>	<i>Effect Type</i>	<i>Variable</i>	<i>Expectation</i>
Relational approach (relations → status)	Network effects	Popularity Reciprocity Transitivity	+
	Homophily effects (dyadic)	Democracy Human rights Economic liberalism Wealth Military capability Nuclear weapons	-
Conventional approach (attributes → status)	State attributes (monadic)	Democracy Human rights Economic liberalism Wealth Military capability Nuclear weapons	+

tial random graph models (TERGM) to estimate the probability of tie formation in the diplomatic network over time as a function of both network structure (network effects) and attribute similarity (homophily effects). Specifically, I expect three network effects to drive embassy exchange: popularity, reciprocity, and transitivity. The coefficient for each of these effects should be positive. Moreover, I expect to observe homophily effects in the diplomatic network: the more similar any two states are based on material resources or fundamental values, the higher their propensity to exchange embassies. As such, I expect to observe negative coefficients for the homophily effects involving material resources and fundamental values. In contrast, the conventional approach treats status as a function of state attributes: the richer or more democratic a state is, for example, the higher standing it should achieve. According to the conventional approach, then, state attributes should correlate positively with the establishment of embassies.

## 7.2 Results (1970-2005)

Figure 7.1 presents the estimated parameters, which we can interpret either at the network or the dyad levels.<sup>25</sup> At the network level, we can use the parameters to estimate the impact of changes in specific network configurations—such as an increase in the number of reciprocal dyads or in the level of a state attribute—on the predicted probability of observing a given network. At the dyad level, we can use parameters to estimate the impact of changes in specific network configurations on the odds of observing a tie between  $i$  and  $j$ . Because the dyadic level of interpretation closely resembles how we interpret estimates from logistic regression, it is more intuitive than the network level of interpretation. Therefore, I interpret the results at the dyadic level, or in terms of the odds of observing a diplomatic tie between two states.

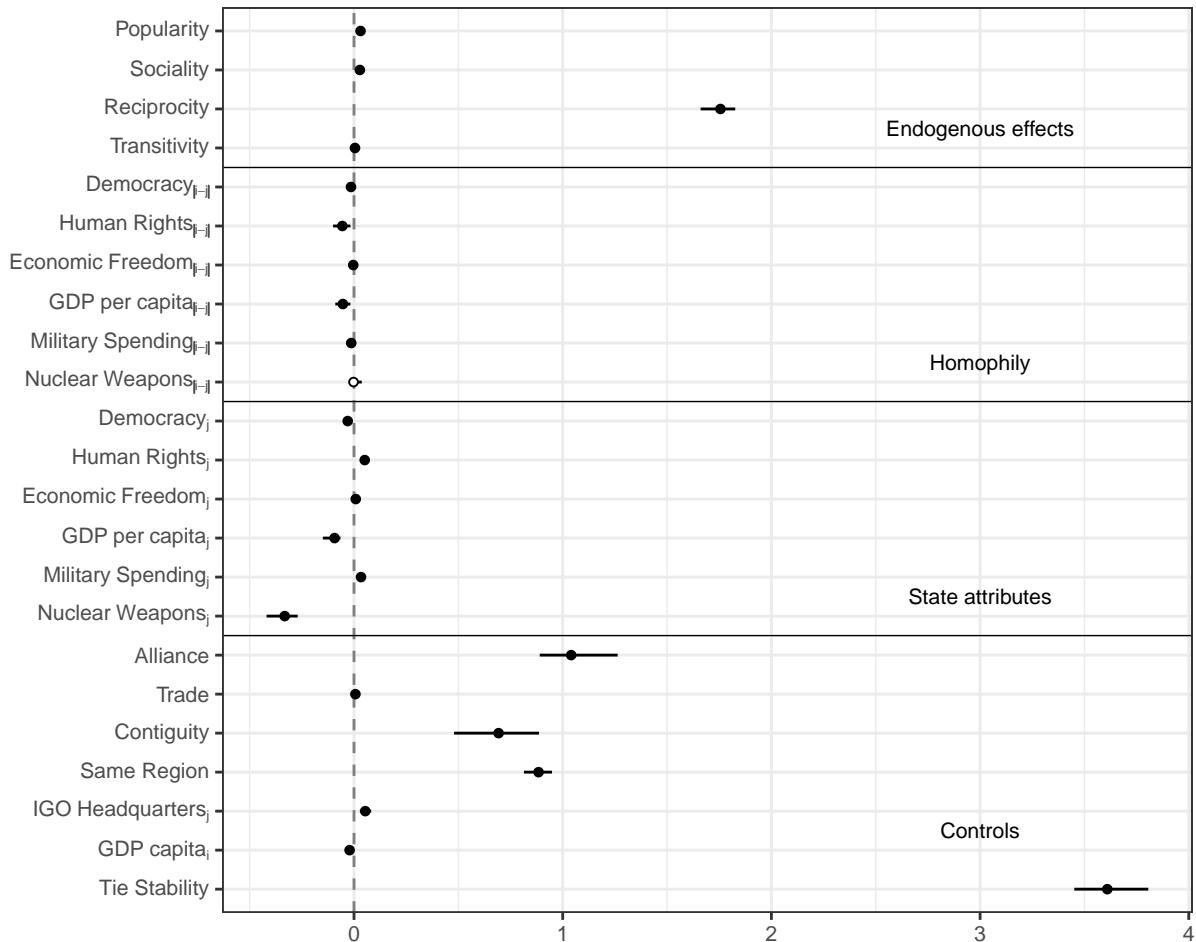
Because the variables have different scales, Figure 7.1 does not provide information about the size of the effects, which I discuss below. First, let us consider the direction and statistical significance of the coefficients. Filled circles in Figure 7.1 denote statistically significant coefficient estimates, while empty circles denote insignificant estimates. I divide the variables into categories that reflect either my relational model of status, which involves network effects and homophily, or conventional explanations based on state attributes.

### Mixed Support for The Conventional Approach

Conventional explanations argue that status is proportional to a state's share of certain attributes: for example, the richer or militarily stronger a state is, the higher its tendency to receive an embassy. Based on these explanations, we should expect to find positive coefficients for state attributes, which would indicate that state attributes determine status. However, the impact of attributes on the establishment of embassies is mixed: we find positive signs for half of the coefficients, but a negative sign for the other half. Although previous research prioritizes material resource as status attributes, among material resources only military capability has a positive effect on tie formation. Against

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<sup>25</sup>Cranmer and Desmarais 2011, 71-73.



**Figure 7.1.** TERGM of Diplomatic Ties for 1995-2005.

Notes:  $N_{1995} = 123$  and  $N_{2005} = 132$ . Bars denote 95% confidence intervals based on 1,000 bootstrap replications. Filled circles indicate statistically significant coefficient estimates, and empty circles indicate insignificant estimates.

Following network notation,  $i$  denotes the sending state and  $j$  denotes the receiving state.

expectations from previous research that state attributes should bring recognition, attributes only sometimes increase the odds of receiving an embassy.

### Strong Support for The Relational Approach

I derive two expectations from my relational model of status involving network effects. First, I argue that consensus effects drive status recognition: the more a state receives recognition, the more others deem it worthy of recognition. Therefore, I expect to find a positive coefficient for popularity. This

is what we observe: states that already host many embassies tend to attract additional embassies. Second, I argue that social closure—through the formation of tightly-knit groups that sparingly interact with outsiders—shapes status relations. Therefore, I expect to find positive coefficients for reciprocity and transitivity. The analysis supports this expectation: states are more likely to send embassies to states that send embassies in return; in addition, states are more likely to exchange embassies the more diplomatic partners they share. Together, these effects indicate that a state's existing relations affect its propensity to receive recognition.

I derive one expectation from my relational model of status involving state attributes. Social closure implies that status groups differentiate themselves from outsiders by adopting distinctive values and consuming distinctive goods. Therefore, I expect to observe homophily effects in the diplomatic network: similar states should be more likely to recognize each other. Accordingly, I expect to find negative coefficients for the variables that measure differences between states. This is what we observe: two states are less likely to exchange embassies the more different they are. That is, similar states are more likely to recognize each other. I find homophily effects for all state attributes except nuclear weapons. These results indicate that status is not just a matter of being rich or democratic. Rather, status is relational: similarity begets recognition.

Compared to conventional explanations that begin and end with state attributes, the relational model performs much better in explaining the establishment of embassies. As expected, relational dynamics influence tie formation in the diplomatic network. States recognize similar states, rather than the states with the highest levels of attributes. Moreover, a state's existing relations affect the state's ability to achieve recognition. Importantly, the observed network effects are purely structural dynamics that come from the structure of the network itself, rather than from state attributes. Since the analysis controls for factors such as geographical proximity and the wealth of the sending state, these factors cannot account for the observed structural dependencies.

Finally, most of the controls have statistically significant effects in the direction suggested by previous studies. On the one hand, states that send many embassies are more likely to send additional embassies (sociality effect). In addition, states are more likely to exchange embassies if they

share an alliance, trade more, share a border, or belong in the same geographic region. States that host IGO headquarters attract more embassies. On the other hand, richer states are less likely to send embassies. The positive tie stability effect indicates that embassies tend to persist over time.

### 7.2.1 Size of the Effects

Figure 7.1 shows log odds ratios, which we can exponentiate to obtain odds ratios for ease of interpretation. In particular, to assess the size of the effects, one can compute the odds ratio associated with a one-standard deviation change around the mean for each variable. To begin with the popularity effect, a one-standard deviation around the mean number of embassies received in 2000 increases the odds of receiving an additional embassy by a factor of 2.40. For example, Cuba, who hosts 51 embassies, is 2.40 times more likely to receive an additional embassy than Bolivia, who hosts 23 embassies. When it comes to the reciprocity effect, a tie is 5.79 times more likely to exist if it is mutual. That is, an embassy is almost six times more likely to exist if both states in a dyad exchange embassies. Finally, when it comes to the transitivity effect, a tie is 1.005 times more likely if it closes one additional triangle in the network. For example, Hungary is 1.14 times more likely to send a tie to Libya, which would close 36 triangles, than to Chad, which would close only nine triangles. Taken together, these results demonstrate that strong network effects or structural dependencies shape tie formation in the diplomatic network.

To assess the size of those effects involving state attributes, Table 7.4 shows the effect of a typical change in each variable on the odds that an embassy will be established. The table tells us two things that conventional approaches to status cannot explain. First, attribute similarity has a substantively significant impact on the establishment of embassies, as similar states are more likely to recognize each other. Even though conventional approaches treat status as a function of state attributes, the importance of attributes is socially defined: attribute similarity, rather than the possession of attributes per se, drives tie formation in the diplomatic network. Second, while conventional approaches emphasize material resources as status symbols, the effect of fundamental values on the establishment of embassies is substantively significant. For both homophily and monadic effects,

**Table 7.4.** Change in Odds of Tie from Typical Change in Variable

<i>Homophily effects</i>	
Democracy	9%
Human rights	11%
Economic liberalism	4%
GDP/capita	6%
Military spending	2%
Nuclear weapons	-

<i>State attributes</i>	
Democracy	-18%
Human rights	12%
Economic liberalism	10%
GDP/capita	-11%
Military spending	7%
Nuclear weapons	-28%

*Notes:* One-standard deviation for continuous variables and the interquartile range for discrete ones.

fundamental values have a large (and mostly positive) impact on the odds of observing an embassy. That is, states are more likely to send embassies to those states with similar levels of fundamental values as the sending state; and states with higher human rights or economic liberalism scores tend to attract more embassies. Contrary to approaches that prioritize material resources as status attributes, fundamental values matter for international recognition.

### 7.2.2 Model Fit and Robustness Checks

To assess model fit, I conduct goodness of fit tests and degeneracy checks, whose results are shown in Appendix A. Both diagnostic tests indicate that the model fits the data very well. As Figure A.2 shows, the statistical model provides a good fit, accurately recovering the underlying structure of the diplomatic network. And as Table A.7 shows, the empirical model is not degenerate; for all model terms and for both periods of analysis, the sample statistics cannot be statistically distinguished from the observed statistics.

To assess the robustness of the results, I employ alternative model specifications, whose results are shown in Appendix A. To begin, I estimate two models without network effects—equivalent to logit models—including either only monadic (or state) attributes, or both monadic and dyadic attributes (Table A.8).<sup>26</sup> In addition, I estimate models with alternative measures for wealth and military capability—such as GDP, population, and the CINC Score (Table A.10). To account for possible high collinearity among the fundamental values variables, I estimate baseline models for each of the variables, including one of the variables but excluding the other two. These models offer the added advantage of covering longer periods starting in 1970. Since the total number of embassies in the world more than doubled between 1970 and 2005, the models capture longer-term dynamics. Therefore, they address the potential concern that factors that precede the period of estimation may affect the main model’s results. As shown in Table A.9, the results are robust to these changes in specification. This indicates that potentially omitted longer-term dynamics do not drive the results, and that the findings are not specific to the 1995–2005 period.

The comparison of results across model specifications attests to the robustness of the main findings, indicating that these results reflect the underlying data generating process, rather than being an artifact of model specification. In particular, I consistently observe three main patterns across model specifications. First, regardless of specification, I find consistently significant and positive coefficients for all network effects—popularity, reciprocity, and transitivity. Second, I find homophily effects for both fundamental values and material resources; but while the homophily effects for fundamental values are robust across specifications, the homophily effects for material resources are somewhat sensitive to model specification. Third, across specifications, the possession of attributes only sometimes increase a state’s odds of receiving an embassy, against expectations from the conventional approach. And importantly, the negative effects of wealth and nuclear weapons on diplomatic recognition are robust to model specification. Having nuclear weapons or more wealth consistently reduces a state’s odds of receiving an embassy across models, which indicates that the results are not an artifact of model specification.

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<sup>26</sup>See Cranmer and Desmarais 2011, 79.

## **7.3 Results (1XXX-2005)**

## **7.4 Conclusion**

This chapter examines the implications of my argument for the formation of diplomatic ties. Leveraging network analysis, which enables me to test hypotheses involving relational patterns, I investigate why states send embassies to certain destinations and not others. The empirical results demonstrate the analytical leverage provided by my relational theory of status. Compared to conventional approaches based on state attributes, my relational model performs much better in theorizing the underlying dynamics of the diplomatic network. The analysis shows that status results from systematic social processes that cannot be reduced to the attributes of states. The empirical results indicate that status recognition depends on a state's position in a social arrangement, rather than directly on its attributes. And importantly, conventional approaches—those based on state attributes—cannot account for the main findings, which involve both network effects (or structural dependencies) and homophily (or similarity) effects. That is, a relational perspective reveals important patterns in status recognition that an individualist perspective cannot accommodate.

In particular, this chapter offers three new findings about the sources of international status. First, status results from a set of network effects, whereby the configuration of ties among states shapes recognition independently of state attributes. To begin, consensus effects drive status recognition: the more a state receives recognition, the more it attracts additional recognition. More broadly, a state's existing relations affect its ability to achieve status: states prove more likely to recognize states that recognize them in return or that share diplomatic partners with them. As such, self-reinforcing dynamics and social closure drive status recognition among states. This may explain, for example, why a state like Egypt occupies a more central position in the diplomatic network than we would expect based on its material capabilities. Recognized by other states as a leader in the Non-Aligned Movement and as a hub at the crossroads of the Middle East and North Africa, Egypt obtains status from its relations with other states, rather than from its material capabilities.

Second, against expectations from the conventional approach, it is attribute similarity—rather than the possession of attributes *per se*—that drives status recognition. States recognize those states similar to them, rather than those states with the largest amount of attributes. In other words, the relevance of a given attribute for status recognition is socially defined: it depends on whether others states share the same attribute, rather than on the intrinsic value of a given attribute. And finally, although traditional approaches emphasize material resources as symbols of international status, I show that fundamental values like democracy also matter for status recognition. States recognize those states that have similar fundamental values and material resources as them. Each of these findings brings with it important implications, which I discuss in Chapter 10. But before that, the next chapter complements the analysis conducted here by examining the observable implications of my relational theory of status at the structural level of the diplomatic network.

# 8

## The Core-Periphery Structure of the Diplomatic Network

In this chapter, I evaluate the observable implications of my relational theory of status at the structural level of the diplomatic network. I argue that status depends on a state's position in a social arrangement. As such, systematic social processes—which cannot be reduced to state attributes—drive status recognition. In particular, I derive five observable implications from my theory at the structural level of the diplomatic network. To begin, I argue that social closure shapes status recognition. Connectedness is the first aspect of social closure: high-status states share dense relations among themselves but sparse relations with outsiders. This leads me to the first hypothesis investigated in this chapter: *the diplomatic network should have a core-periphery structure rather than a community structure*. In a core-periphery structure, states are divided into two groups: (1) a well-connected core, where states favor within-core ties over ties with states in the periphery; and (2) a loosely-connected periphery, where states favor ties with states in the core over within-periphery ties. In a community structure, by contrast, states are divided into multiple communities with dense within-community ties but sparse cross-community ties. Compared to a community structure, a core-periphery structure involves a more centralized organization of network ties.

In addition, I evaluate two observable implications about the core of the diplomatic network. I argue that, because social closure involves a distinction between the established and outsiders, it implies exclusion. This leads me to the second hypothesis investigated in this chapter: *the size of the diplomatic network's core should remain stable over time*. In other words, there should be lit-

tle mobility from the network's periphery to the core. In addition, I argue that consensus effects drive status recognition: the more a state receives recognition, the more others deem it worthy of recognition. As such, high-status states should receive more recognition simply because of their position in the social structure. This leads me to the third hypothesis: *the composition of the diplomatic network's core should remain stable over time*. Once a state reaches the core, it tends to remain there. Taken together, these hypotheses imply that there should be a high persistence over time in states' positions either in the core or the periphery of the diplomatic network.

Finally, I evaluate two observable implications that involve state attributes. Social closure involves a second aspect: high-status states differentiate themselves by adopting distinctive values and consuming distinctive goods. This leads me to the fourth hypothesis: *states in the core of the diplomatic network should have similar attributes, which states in the periphery lack*. That is, the same attributes should be relevant for status recognition in the entire network. But importantly, attributes play an indirect role in status attainment: they communicate a state's latent quality—the extent to which it conforms to prevailing conceptions of state competence. To evoke recognition, attributes need to go well together. In particular, predominant conceptions of state competence involve a Western way of life that involves not only material resources but also fundamental values like liberal democracy. This leads me to the fifth hypothesis: *core membership should depend on both material resources and fundamental values*. That is, fundamental values should moderate the impact of material resources on core membership. While these observable implications involve state attributes, they do so in the context of state relations. The relevance of a given attribute for status recognition is socially defined, rather than intrinsic to that attribute.

The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section uses network analysis to assess if the diplomatic network has a core-periphery structure. Next, the second section examines the size and composition the network's core. Using statistical analysis, the third section then examines the relationship between state attributes and core membership. As a robustness check, the fourth section assesses if the network can be divided instead into multiple communities that may value different symbols. The last section concludes with a summary of the results.

## 8.1 A Strong Core-Periphery Structure

According to the first hypothesis, the diplomatic network should have a core-periphery structure, whereby states can be divided into a well-connected core and a loosely-connected periphery. To evaluate this hypothesis, I begin by conducting a connectivity analysis to assess if the diplomatic network shows signs of cohesion, consistent with a core-periphery structure; or signs of fragmentation, consistent with a community structure. Next, I use core-periphery models to assess more directly if the network has a core-periphery structure.

### 8.1.1 A Well-Connected Network

A descriptive analysis indicates that the diplomatic network is well connected, rather than fragmented into distinct communities of states that may value different status symbols. To begin, the network has only a small number of isolates—states that do not send or receive any embassies in a given year—as shown in Table 8.1. Moreover, isolates exist only temporarily, likely because there is a lag between state creation and the establishment of physical embassies in and from that state. The numbers between parentheses in Table 8.1 show the year when each state became a UN member, which typically marks the international recognition of a sovereign state in the contemporary international system. Nearly all isolates lack embassies for only one period, which coincides with the state’s accession to the UN; after one or at most two periods, all isolates send or receive at least one embassy from another state. The presence of isolates thus results from bureaucratic factors, rather than reflecting meaningful divisions in the network.

In addition, information or resources can flow through the network very easily. For any two states  $i$  and  $j$  that belong in the giant component—the largest connected component in the network, equivalent to the entire network minus isolates—there is at least one directed path in the network from  $i$  to  $j$ .<sup>1</sup> That is, if we start at a random node, we can easily reach the other nodes in the network

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<sup>1</sup>Wasserman and Faust 1994, 133. In technical terms, the network’s giant component is weakly connected. In a strongly connected component, for any two nodes  $i$  and  $j$ , there is a directed path not only from  $i$  to  $j$  but also from  $j$  to  $i$ .

**Table 8.1.** Isolates in the Diplomatic Network

Year	Country
1970	Bhutan (1971)
1975	Angola (1976), Bhutan (1971), Comoros (1975), Maldives (1965), Mozambique (1975), Papua New Guinea (1975), Vietnam (1977), Zimbabwe (1980)
1980	St. Lucia (1979), St. Vincent and the Grenadines (1980)
1985	Namibia (1990)
1990	Federated States of Micronesia (1991)
1995	-
2000	-
2005	Kiribati (1999)
2010	-

*Note:* Years between parentheses indicate when country became a UN member.

by moving through the existing ties. In particular, the network exhibits a small-world property—whereby it only takes a small number of steps to go from any nodes  $i$  and  $j$ , even if these nodes themselves do not share a tie.<sup>2</sup> The network statistics shown in Table 8.2 suggest a small-world property.<sup>3</sup> First, the shortest paths between any two states—the smallest distance we need to travel to go from  $i$  to  $j$ —are on average 1.83. That is, for any states  $i$  and  $j$ ,  $i$  can reach  $j$  in a small number of steps through the network, even when  $i$  and  $j$  do not share a tie. Second, the network diameter—the longest shortest path between any two states—is on average 3.89. That is, the longest distance between any states  $i$  and  $j$  is on average only four ties. Third, the proportion of closed triads to all network triads (both open and closed) is on average 54%. That is, for any three nodes  $i$ ,  $j$ , and  $k$ , if the ties  $(i, j)$  and  $(i, k)$  exist, a  $(j, k)$  tie also exists most of the time.

Finally, the diplomatic network is quite resilient. As Table 8.3 shows, there is a small number of articulation points—single nodes whose removal would transform the giant component into an unconnected component—in the diplomatic network. If we randomly removed a node from the network, it is not very likely that new isolates would appear. Moreover, removing the articulation points would create only a small number of isolates, most of which are Small Island Developing

<sup>2</sup>See Granovetter 1973; Milgram 1967.

<sup>3</sup>See Newman 2001; Watts and Strogatz 1998.

**Table 8.2.** Small World Property in the Diplomatic Network

	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Avg. path length*	1.84	1.77	1.83	1.82	1.84	1.87	1.88	1.83	1.80
Diameter†	4	3	4	3	4	4	5	4	4
Clustering‡	0.52	0.55	0.56	0.54	0.56	0.52	0.52	0.54	0.55
Nodes	134	148	157	162	164	183	187	188	190

Notes: \* Measures the smallest distance between any two states in the network.

†Measures the longest shortest path between any two states in the network.

‡The global clustering coefficient gives the proportion of closed triads to all network triads.

**Table 8.3.** Articulation Points in the Diplomatic Network

Year	Articulation Point	Potential Isolates
1970	New Zealand, UK	Gambia, Samoa
1975	-	-
1980	India, Portugal, UK	Brunei, Maldives, Sao Tome and Principe
1985	Canada	St. Kitts and Nevis
1990	Venezuela, Russia, US	Dominica, Namibia, Marshall Islands
1995	-	-
2000	Fiji	Tuvalu
2005	Fiji	Tuvalu
2010	-	-

Notes: Articulation points are nodes whose removal would make the network unconnected. Potential isolates are those that would become isolates were the articulation points to be removed.

States (SIDS) such as the Maldives or Tuvalu. In sum, the connectivity analysis provides initial evidence that the diplomatic network forms a fairly cohesive group—consistent with a core-periphery structure, rather than with a more fragmented community structure.

### 8.1.2 Modeling Core-Periphery Structure

To assess if the diplomatic network has a core-periphery structure, I employ the method most commonly used in network analysis.<sup>4</sup> Specifically designed to detect core-periphery structure in net-

<sup>4</sup>Borgatti and Everett 1999, 377–93. See Rombach et al. 2014 for a review of methods to detect core-periphery structure.

works, this method closely matches the formal definition of core-periphery structure.<sup>5</sup> It comprises two models: (1) the discrete model assumes that each actor in the network belongs either to the core or the periphery, such that the network can be divided into two discrete classes of actors: a well-connected core, and a loosely-connected periphery; (2) the continuous model ranks all actors according to a continuous measure of “coreness”—the property of belonging to the core. The main analysis uses the discrete model, which takes tie direction into account, while supplementary analyses use the continuous model.<sup>6</sup>

To begin, I estimate a discrete core-periphery model of the diplomatic network for each period from 1970 to 2010.<sup>7</sup> To partition actors into core or periphery, the discrete model uses a genetic algorithm that maximizes the Pearson correlation coefficient between the observed network structure and an ideal core-periphery structure—in which core actors share ties among themselves, and periphery actors do not share ties with one another.<sup>8</sup> Following this approach, a network has a core-periphery structure to the extent that we observe a high correlation between the observed network structure and the ideal core-periphery structure. Correlation values range from 0 to 1: while a correlation of 1 indicates an ideal core-periphery structure, a correlation of 0 denotes the absence of a core-periphery structure. To assess the robustness of the partitions detected, I run the algorithm multiple times from different starting configurations. For every year, the results are the same across estimations—that is, the same states appear in the core. As a robustness check, I also analyze the network using the continuous model. The results are similar regardless of the model used: As Table A.13 shows, the proportion of core states according to both models is very similar for all years, indicating a clear split of states into either the core or the periphery.

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<sup>5</sup>The notion that the world can be divided into core and periphery has a long tradition in the discipline. See Galtung 1971; Goldgeier and McFaul 1992; Wallerstein 1974. However, IR scholars rarely investigate this notion empirically. Most empirical studies of core-periphery structure in international relations are conducted by sociologists and typically examine commodity trade flows. See Snyder and Kick 1979; Steiber 1979; Nemeth and Smith 1985; Smith and White 1992; Mahutga 2006. These studies use blockmodeling techniques based on structural or regular equivalence to detect core-periphery structure. However, these techniques impose restrictive assumptions on the data that deviate from the formal definition of core-periphery structure. See Borgatti, Everett, and Johnson 2013, 225. As such, they are no longer used to detect core-periphery structure in network analysis.

<sup>6</sup>Borgatti, Everett, and Johnson 2013, 229. In the diplomatic network, ties are directed: an embassy can be sent from state  $i$  to state  $j$ , or from state  $j$  to state  $i$ .

<sup>7</sup>I use UCINET to detect the core-periphery partitions. See Borgatti, Everett, and Freeman 2002.

<sup>8</sup>Borgatti and Everett 1999, 381–83.

**Table 8.4.** Core-Periphery Structure in the Diplomatic Network (1970-2010)

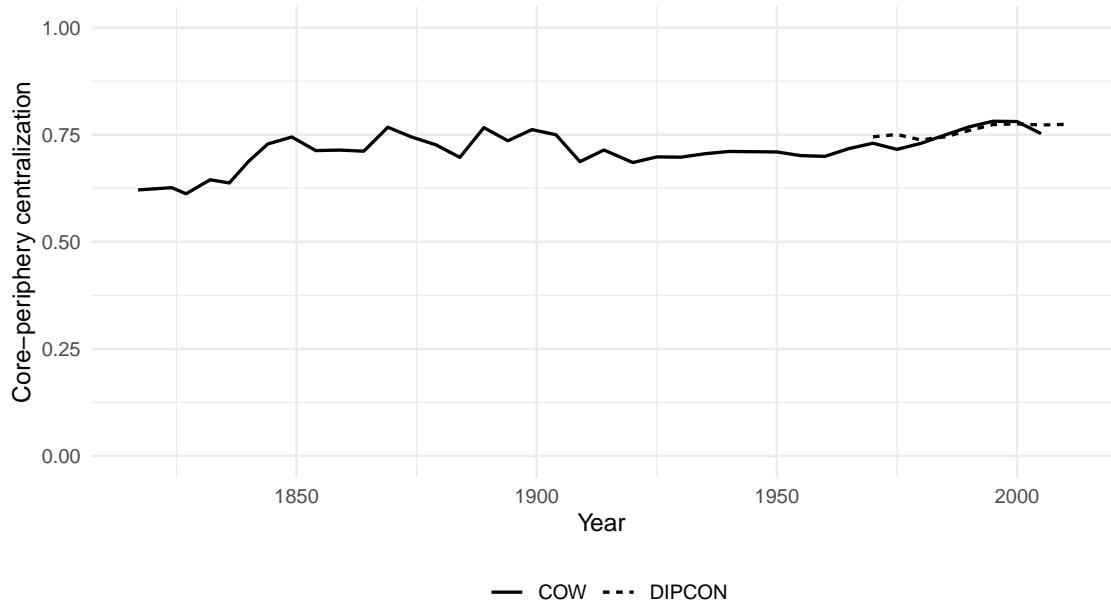
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Core-periphery fit									
Correlation	0.70	0.72	0.72	0.74	0.74	0.73	0.77	0.78	0.78
Density of ties									
Core-core	0.72	0.77	0.72	0.77	0.74	0.71	0.78	0.82	0.81
Core-periphery	0.21	0.27	0.20	0.24	0.22	0.19	0.22	0.24	0.24
Periphery-core	0.22	0.25	0.19	0.20	0.19	0.18	0.21	0.24	0.27
Periphery-periphery	0.05	0.06	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.04

*Note:* Results from discrete models using correlation (CORR) as the fitness function in UCINET.

## Results (1970-2010)

Results strongly indicate that the diplomatic network has a core-periphery structure. As Table 8.4 shows, the correlation between the observed network structure and the ideal core-periphery structure is high for all years, ranging from 0.70 to 0.78. Tie distribution closely matches the definition of core-periphery structure. First, states in the core are very likely to exchange embassies: On average, 76% of the potential ties within the core exist. Second, states in the core are less likely to send embassies to the periphery: Only 23% of the potential core-to-periphery ties exist. Third, states in the periphery are more likely to send embassies to states in the core than to other states in the periphery: While 22% of the potential periphery-to-core ties exist, only 4% of the potential within-periphery ties exist. In sum, the network is highly centralized: the core is the preferred embassy destination for all sending states, regardless of their position in the network's core or periphery.

Indeed, the structure of the diplomatic network becomes more similar to a core-periphery structure over time, in line with my argument that status is self-reinforcing. As shown in Table 8.4, the correlation between the observed networks and the ideal core-periphery structure gradually increases from 0.70 to 0.78 between 1970 and 2010. During this period, states in the core become more densely connected over time: the density of within-core ties—that is, the proportion of existing to potential embassies between any two states in the core—increases from 0.72 to 0.81. By contrast, connections between states in the periphery remain stable (and sparse) throughout the



**Figure 8.1.** Core-Periphery Structure in the Diplomatic Network (1817-2010)

Notes: Core-periphery centralization score measures how similar a network is to a perfect core-periphery structure.

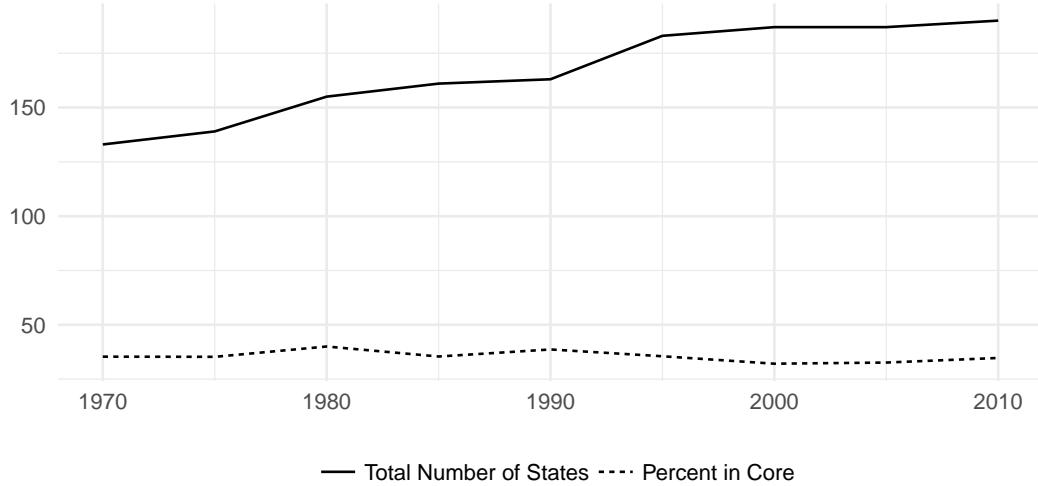
period of analysis. These patterns reflect the principle of cumulative advantage: the more densely connected a state is, the more it tends to receive additional ties.

### Results (1817-2010)

I replicate these results using the Correlates of War (COW) Diplomatic Exchange dataset, which covers the period from 1817 to 2005. For this long-run analysis, I use a similar method for core-periphery analysis that measures the core-periphery centralization score for each network—that is, how similar a network is to a perfect core-periphery structure.<sup>9</sup> As Figure 8.1 shows, the network of diplomatic representations has a high core-periphery centralization score, which ranges from 0.61 in 1817 to 0.78 in 1995. In addition, the network’s centralization score gradually increases over time, indicating that highly-connected states become more densely connected while sparsely-connected states do not. Importantly, the centralization scores detected using both datasets are very similar, increasing my confidence that the results are not specific to the 1970-2010 period. In sum, the

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<sup>9</sup>Rossa, Dercole, and Piccardi 2013.



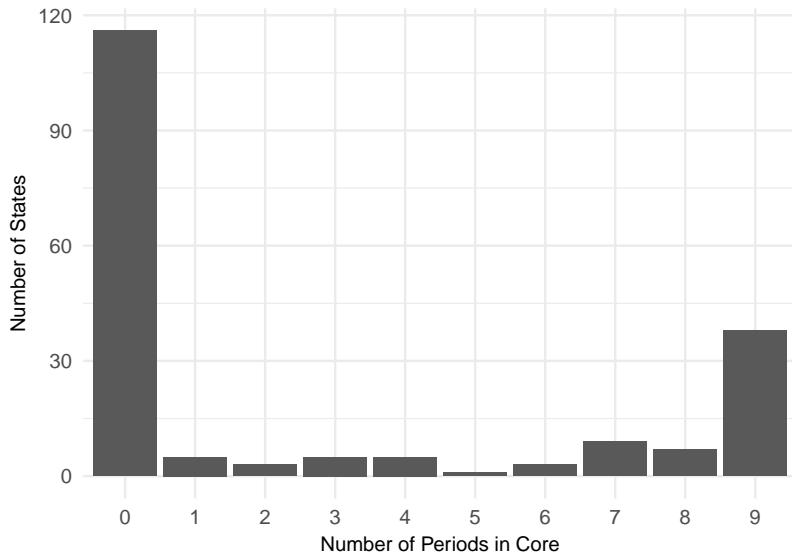
**Figure 8.2.** A Stable Core Size: Core Size vs Number of States in the Network

analysis demonstrates that diplomatic relations have a strong (and self-reinforcing) core-periphery structure since the early nineteenth century.

## 8.2 A Stable Core

Next, I evaluate two observable implications about the core of the diplomatic network. Both hypotheses posit that certain characteristics of the network's core should remain stable over time. According to the second hypothesis, the size of the core should remain stable over time. According to the third hypothesis, the composition of the core should remain stable over time.

As expected, a descriptive analysis reveals that there is little mobility between the core and the periphery of the diplomatic network over time. While states in the core tend to remain there, states in the periphery rarely move to the network's core. In line with the second hypothesis, the proportion of states in the core remains stable, even despite the considerable expansion in the number of sovereign states since the last wave of decolonization in the 1970s. As Figure 8.2 shows, on average only 36% of all states belong in the core of the diplomatic network, even though the number of states in the network increases from 134 to 190 during the period from 1970 to 2010. That is, even as the

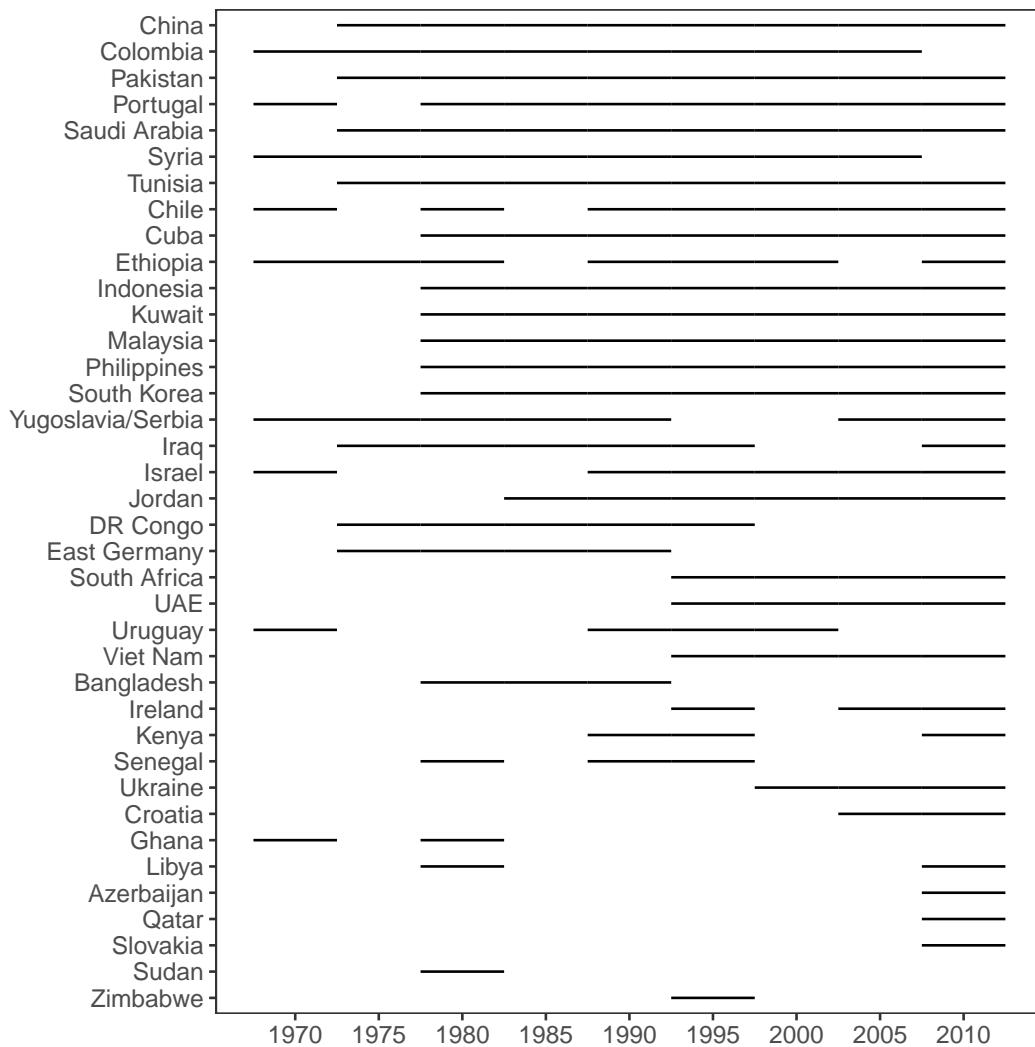


**Figure 8.3.** Core Membership Stability: Frequency of Core Membership

Note: Numbers on the *x*-axis denote number of periods between 1970–2010, at five-year intervals.

network becomes larger with the addition of new states, the core remains an exclusive group, which only a minority of states can join.

In addition, in line with the third hypothesis, states largely maintain their positions in the core or the periphery of the network—even as network ties are constantly reconfigured between periods. Figure 8.3 shows the frequency of core membership from 1970 to 2010. As the figure shows, most states (80%) keep the same position either in the core or the periphery during the entire period. On the one hand, 60% of all states never belong in the core. On the other hand, a minority of states (20%) belong in the core for the entire period. These states account for a large proportion (from 60% to 80%) of all core members in a given year—which suggests that once a state reaches the core, it tends to remain there. Finally, a small proportion of states (20%) appear in the core at least once during the period of analysis. Figure 8.4 shows their membership history, with states ordered by frequency of core membership. A few states are upwardly mobile over time: China, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia appear in the periphery during the first period but move to the core thereafter. Similarly, states like Cuba and South Korea move to the core after a couple of periods. However, this happens rarely: only 5% of all states are upwardly mobile over time.



**Figure 8.4.** States Sometimes in the Diplomatic Network's Core

Notes: Line indicates years in which state appears in the core. States ordered by frequency of core membership.

### 8.2.1 A Western Core

One final pattern emerges when we examine the composition of the network's core over time: While states in the periphery tend to be non-Western, states in the core are usually Western or Western-aligned. Table 8.5 shows the thirty-eight states that always belong in the core of the diplomatic network from 1970 to 2010, ordered by average coreness (the property of belonging to the core) based on a continuous core-periphery model. These states correspond to a large proportion (from

**Table 8.5.** States Always in the Diplomatic Network's Core (1970-2010)

France	Netherlands	Romania	Bulgaria
United States	Spain	Denmark	Iran
United Kingdom	Canada	Greece	Czech Republic/ Czechoslovakia
Germany/GFR	Brazil	Hungary	
Italy	Switzerland	Mexico	Morocco
Russia/USSR	Sweden	Australia	Nigeria
Japan	Turkey	Algeria	Lebanon
Egypt	Austria	Venezuela	Thailand
Belgium	Argentina	Norway	Peru
India	Poland	Finland	

*Note:* States ordered by average coreness (the property of belonging to the core) in 1970-2010, using a continuous core-periphery model.

60% to 80%) of all states in the core of the diplomatic network in any given year. As shown in Table 8.5, fourteen of the thirty-eight states are located in Western Europe, seven are located in Eastern Europe, and four are either located in North America or Anglo-Saxon (Australia). The same pattern emerges when we consider the distribution of states into core and periphery in a given year. As Figure 8.5 shows, core states in 2005 are concentrated in Europe and North America; in addition, they include Australia and Western-aligned states like Japan and Brazil.

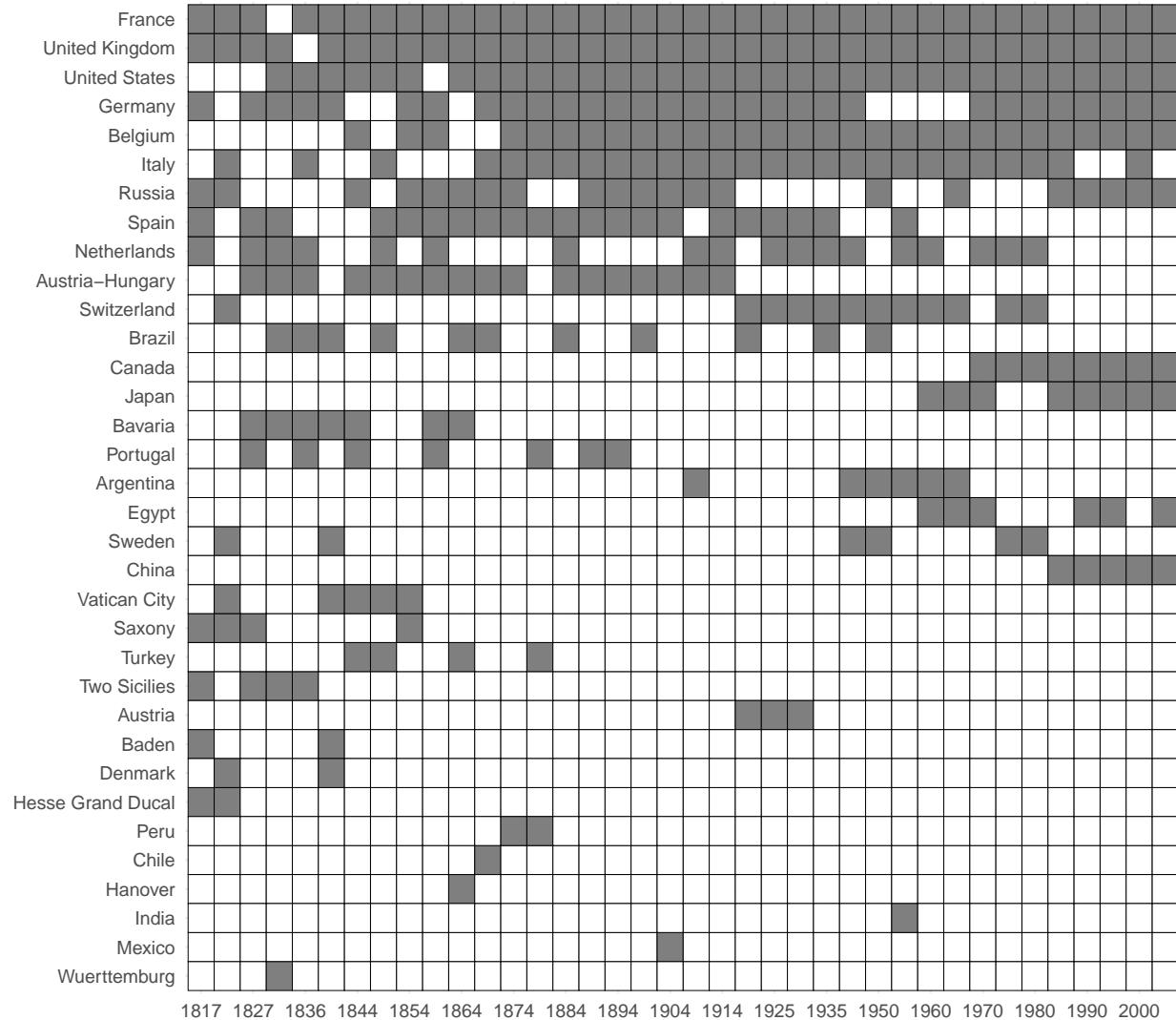
And importantly, these results reflect longstanding patterns in the international system. Using the Correlates of War (COW) Diplomatic Exchange data for the 1817-2005 period, I replicate the results from the main analysis. Figure 8.6 shows the top ten political units by coreness from 1817 to 2005. Dark tiles in the figure indicate the years in which a political unit appears in the top ten by coreness, and units are ordered by frequency of top ten appearances. As Figure 8.6 shows, Western states are disproportionately represented at the top. Out of the fifteen units that most frequently appear in the top ten by coreness since 1817, ten are located in Western Europe, two in North America (the United States and Canada), and two are Western-aligned states (Brazil and Japan). In other words, we observe the same pattern going back to the early nineteen century: those in the core of diplomatic relations tend to be Western or Western-aligned states that share dense ties among themselves, while those in the periphery are usually non-Western states.



**Figure 8.5.** Core and Periphery (2005)

Notes: Results based on a discrete core-periphery model using the Diplomatic Contacts (DIPCON) dataset.

In sum, Western or Western-aligned states make up the core of the diplomatic network since the early nineteenth century. As the analysis shows so far, diplomatic relations form a strongly hierarchical network centered firmly on the West. Despite significant changes in international relations since the early nineteenth century—from decolonization to legalization and increased international cooperation—diplomatic relations remain strongly hierarchical. And as I show next, admission into the core requires assimilation via the adoption of a Western way of life.



**Figure 8.6.** Top Ten Political Units by Coreness (1817-2005)

Notes: Dark tiles indicate years in which a political unit appears in the top ten using Correlates of War (COW) Diplomatic Exchange data. Units ordered by frequency of top ten appearances.

### 8.3 A Western Way of Life

Next, I evaluate two observable implications from my argument that involve state attributes. According to the fourth hypothesis, states in the core of the diplomatic network should have similar attributes, which states in the periphery lack. At the same time, the fifth hypothesis posits that core membership should depend on both material resources and fundamental values, rather than on

either type of attribute separately. In other words, high status depends on a Western way of life—a gestalt that involves not only material resources but also fundamental values associated with the West. To assess both hypotheses, I use the same state attributes used Chapter 7, which are traditionally considered in the literature as symbols of international status.<sup>10</sup>

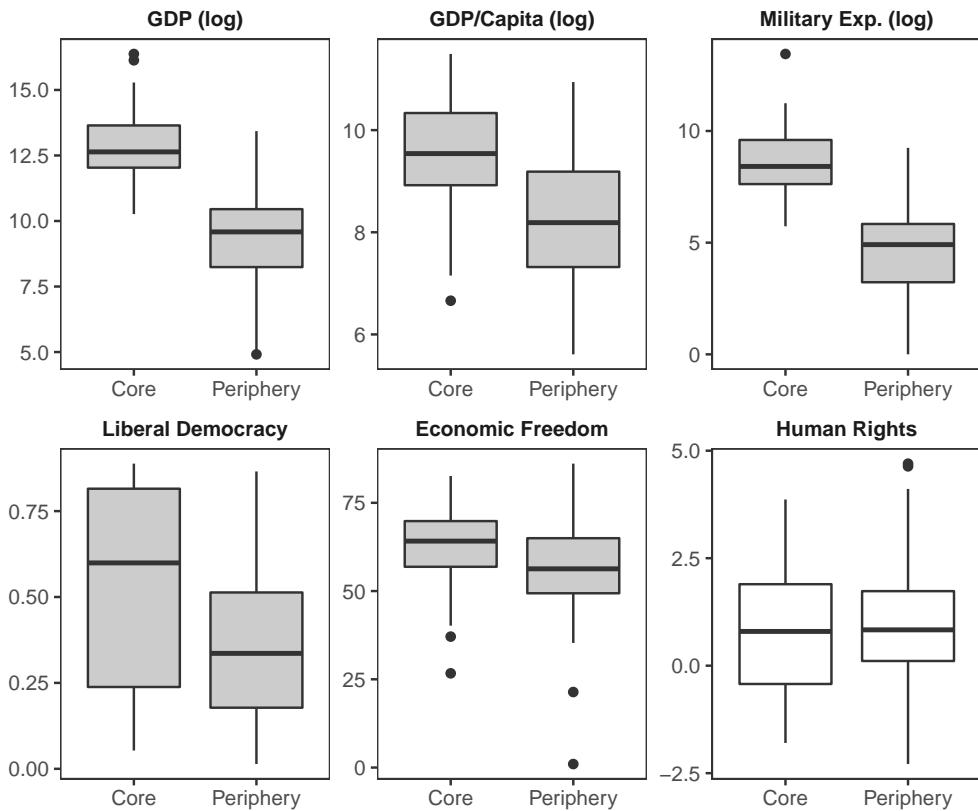
### 8.3.1 Descriptive Analysis

To begin, a descriptive analysis suggests that, as expected, states in the core of the diplomatic network systematically differ from states in the network's periphery. Figure 8.7 shows the difference in median attributes between states in the core and the periphery in 2010. As the figure shows, states in the core of the diplomatic network are richer (both overall and per capita), militarily stronger, more democratic, and more economically free than states in the periphery. The difference in median attributes for the core and the periphery is significant for all attributes, except human rights. This provides initial support to my fourth hypothesis, according to which states in the core share a set of attributes that states in the periphery lack.

In addition, a descriptive analysis suggests that, as expected, fundamental values moderate the effect of material resources on core membership. To examine the interaction between material resources and fundamental values, I use factor analysis to extract common factors for each kind of variable. While I expect core membership to depend on both material resources and fundamental values, each of these factors is latent or unobserved. Using factor analysis, I extract the maximum common variance among the variables of each kind to create a common score. On the one hand, the fundamental values factor includes democracy, economic liberalism, and human rights. On the other hand, the material resources factor includes GDP, per capita GDP, and military spending. I exclude nuclear weapons from the material resources factor because the inclusion of this variable reduces the amount of variance the factor can capture in the material resources variables. Figure 8.8 plots the first main factors for material resources and fundamental values respectively, with the lines denoting the median factors for each kind of variable.

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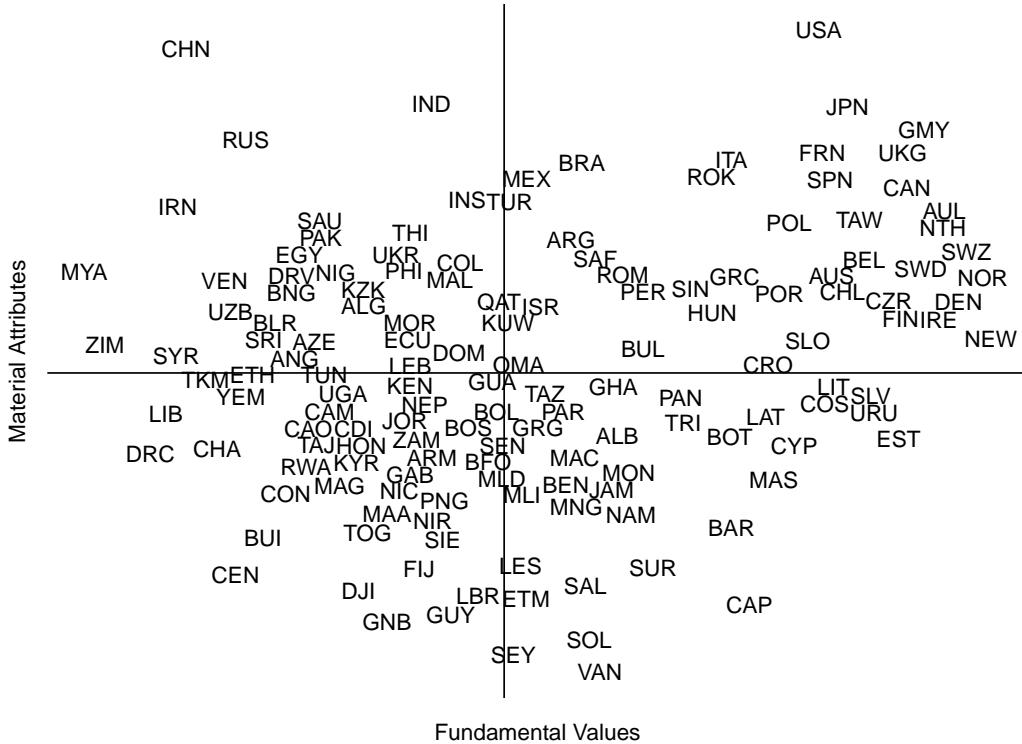
<sup>10</sup>See Appendix A for more detailed description of the data.



**Figure 8.7.** Core and Periphery: Difference in Median State Attributes (2010)

Note: Shaded boxplots denote statistical significance at the 5% level for a two-tailed Mann-Whitney U test.

Figure 8.8 illustrates well the expected interactive effect of material resources and fundamental values on core membership. The probability of core membership is highest when states have high levels of both material resources and fundamental values: Out of the 38 states that consistently belong in the core from 1970 to 2010, 27 states (71%) are located in the upper right quadrant of Figure 8.8. In this quadrant, we find Western and Western-aligned states—such as the United States, Germany, and Japan—that have high levels of both material resources and fundamental values. On the other hand, the probability of core membership is reduced for states that have high levels of material resources but low levels of fundamental values. The remaining 11 states that consistently belong in the core from 1970 to 2010 (29%) are located in the upper left quadrant of Figure 8.8. In this quadrant, we find non-Western states—such as Russia, Egypt, and India—that have high levels of material resources but low levels of fundamental values.



**Figure 8.8.** Factor Analysis: Material vs Ideational Attributes (2010)

Note: Lines denote median values for factors obtained using factor analysis. The material attributes factor excludes nuclear weapons.

### 8.3.2 Boolean Logit Analysis

To examine why states belong in the core of the diplomatic network, I use a conjunctural Boolean logit model.<sup>11</sup> The Boolean statistical approach is designed to model binary outcomes as a function of interactions of latent variables that can be described using a logical “and” or “or.” In my case, my fifth hypothesis posits that membership in the core of the diplomatic network should depend on both material resources *and* fundamental values, rather than on each type of attribute separately. I expect core membership to become increasingly likely in the presence of both factors, rather than in the presence of either factor alone. In addition, each of these factors is latent or unobserved, but measured using observed covariates like military spending or an economic liberalism score.

<sup>11</sup>Braumoeller 2003, 2004.

Accordingly, a conjunctural Boolean logit model effectively captures the interactive nature of my fifth hypothesis: it enables me to assess if membership in the core of the diplomatic network depends on both types of variables—material resources and fundamental values—rather than on each type of variable separately. This model groups each type of variable into a different path, while relaxing the assumption that they are equiprobable. In particular, it assesses core membership as a function of two sets of fitted values: a material resources score, and a fundamental values score. The equation of interest thus resembles

$$Pr(\text{core membership} = 1) = Pr(\text{material resources}) \times Pr(\text{fundamental values})$$

In Boolean logit form, this equation corresponds to

$$Pr(y_i = 1 | \alpha, \beta, x_i) = \Lambda(\alpha_1 + \beta_1 x_{i1}) \times \Lambda(\alpha_2 + \beta_2 x_{i2}),$$

where  $\Lambda(X\beta) = \frac{1}{1+e^{-(X\beta)}}$ ,  $\alpha_i$  denotes the constant,  $X_i$  denotes the independent variable (core membership),  $\beta_i$  denotes the parameter of the independent variable, and the  $i$  subscript denotes different paths—either material resources or fundamental values.

Compared to standard logistic regression models, a Boolean logit approach offers two important advantages given the purposes of my analysis. Using this approach, I can directly specify the interaction between two kinds of factors—material resources and fundamental values—to model membership in the core of the diplomatic network. By contrast, standard logistic regression models cannot adequately capture complex causation processes such as the one posited here, since these models assume that independent variables have an additive effect.<sup>12</sup> In addition, a Boolean logit approach offers a second advantage: it provides easily interpretable results. While in principle it is possible to represent the Boolean logit functional form as a simple logit with multiplicative interaction terms, this specification would render the results very difficult to interpret given the combinatorial nature of my hypothesis.<sup>13</sup> Using a Boolean logit approach, by contrast, I can easily interpret the results in two stages: (1) by assessing the effect of each kind of variable on core membership, in

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<sup>12</sup>See Braumoeller 2003, 212, 223.

<sup>13</sup>See Braumoeller 2004.

line with my fourth hypothesis; and (2) by examining the products of the two scores to model core membership interactively, in line with my fifth hypothesis. Given these advantages, I use a Boolean logit approach to evaluate both of the hypotheses that involve state attributes.

I estimate a series of Boolean logistical regression models that treat core membership in the diplomatic network as a function of both fundamental values and material resources. Besides the full model with all variables (Model 4), I also estimate models that include each of the fundamental value variables separately to account for possible collinearity. Model 1 includes *Democracy*, while Model 2 includes *Economic Freedom*, and Model 3 includes *Human Rights*. As Table 8.6 shows, the coefficient signs are consistent across models for all variables except *Nuclear Weapons*. In addition, results from the full model show wider confidence intervals, possibly due to collinearity among the fundamental values variables. Rather than discussing the results from each model separately, I group them together to better examine (1) the robustness of the results and (2) the relative contribution of fundamental values and material resources to core membership.

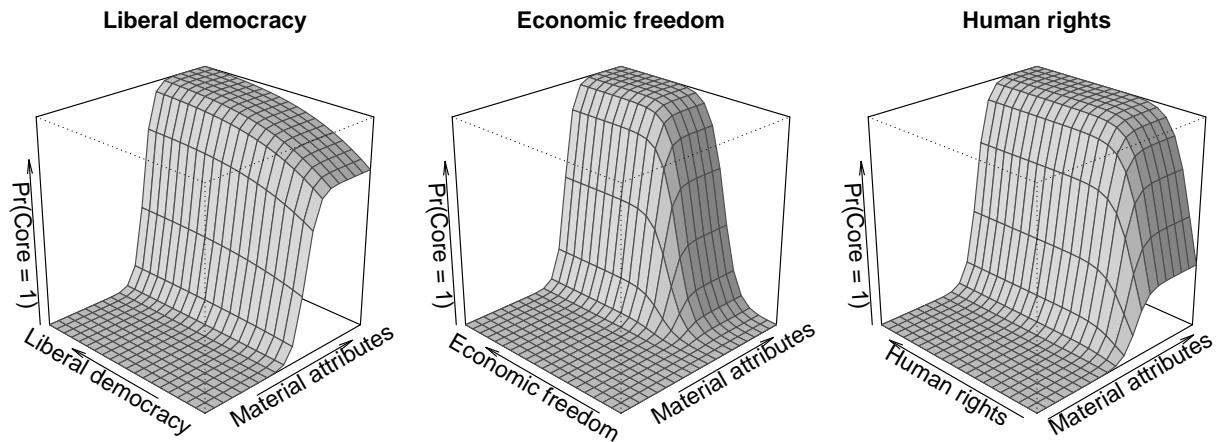
To begin, the results provide support to my fourth hypothesis, according to which states in the core of the diplomatic network share a set of status attributes that states in the periphery lack. As expected, the same state attributes are relevant for status recognition in the entire network. On the one hand, fundamental values mostly have a positive contribution to core membership. For all models, fundamental value variables are positively associated with membership in the core of the diplomatic network. Moreover, the coefficients for *Economic Freedom* reach statistical significance in both models, while the coefficient for *Democracy* reaches statistical significance in the first model. On the other hand, material resources mostly have a positive contribution to core membership. Higher levels of GDP or military spending are positively associated with membership in the core of the diplomatic network: for all models, the coefficients for *Military Spending* and *GDP* are positive and statistically significant. However, higher levels of per capita GDP are negatively associated with core membership: the coefficients for *GDP/capita* are consistently negative and statistically significant across models. Finally, the effect of nuclear weapons on core membership is less clear, as the coefficient signs flip depending on the model specification used.

**Table 8.6.** Boolean Logit Models of Core Membership

	<i>Dependent variable</i>			
	Probability of Core Membership			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Fundamental Values</i>				
Democracy	3.97*			406.87 (-226.48, 8758.00)
Econ. Freedom		0.23*		16.75* (0.03, 185.13)
Human Rights			2.30 (-1.91, 185.15)	418.20 (-0.08, 4751.10)
Constant	1.11* (0.50, 1.97)	-7.49* (-2243.43, -0.98)	6.34* (2.49, 513.06)	-63.83 (-2029.51, 1141.46)
<i>Material Resources</i>				
Mil. Spending	0.86* (0.58, 1.18)	0.90* (0.46, 1.96)	0.64* (0.41, 0.92)	0.86* (0.40, 1.45)
GDP	1.49* (1.13, 1.89)	1.18* (0.63, 2.01)	1.37* (1.09, 1.77)	1.09* (0.62, 1.68)
GDP/Capita	-0.46* (-0.77, -0.18)	-0.38* (-1.04, 0.00)	-0.38* (-0.68, -0.13)	-0.33* (-0.72, -0.01)
Nuclear Weapons	-2.54* (-3.98, -1.05)	17.63* (7.51, 2548.54)	-1.77* (-3.07, -0.38)	764.48* (15.66, 12218.03)
Constant	-17.32* (-20.47, -14.71)	-16.11* (-23.24, -12.07)	-15.75* (-18.73, -13.44)	-15.25* (-20.37, -11.83)
Observations	1284	565	1409	536

Note: 95% confidence intervals from 1,000 bootstrap samples.

\*Statistically significant at the 5% level.



**Figure 8.9.** Predicted Probability of Core Membership (Models 1-3)

Note: Predicted values represent an upper bound on the value of the outcome variable.

In addition, results provide support to my fifth hypothesis, according to which fundamental values should moderate the impact of material resources on core membership. To assess the interaction between material resources and fundamental values, Figure 8.9 plots the fitted values for each type of variable, calculated based on the coefficient estimates from Models 1 to 3, against the probability of core membership. The wire-frame plot illustrates the joint impact of material resources and fundamental values on core membership: As the material resources score (on the z-axis) increases, so does the probability of core membership. The curvature of the plot's surface shows the extent to which fundamental values moderate the impact of material resources: The probability of core membership is highest when both material resources and fundamental values scores are high (the back-right vertices in Figure 8.9). By contrast, when the material resources score is high but the fundamental values score is low, the probability of core membership is somewhat reduced (the front-right vertices in Figure 8.9). This interaction effect is particularly strong for economic liberalism: States with low *Economic Freedom* are unlikely to belong in the core of the diplomatic network, regardless of their level of material resources. In sum, compared to states that score highly on both types of attributes, states with a high material resources score but a low fundamental values score are less likely to belong in the network's core.

## 8.4 A Weak Community Structure

According to my first hypothesis, the diplomatic network should have a core-periphery structure rather than a community structure. As discussed in Chapter 6, the two possibilities are mutually exclusive. In a core-periphery structure, states are divided into two groups: a well-connected core, and a sparsely-connected periphery. The core is the preferred destination for sending embassies, regardless of whether the sending state belongs in the core or the periphery of the diplomatic network. In a community structure, by contrast, states can be divided into multiple communities with dense within-community ties and sparse cross-community ties. Moreover, different communities may value different attributes as symbols of international status. Compared to a core-periphery structure, a community structure thus involves a more decentralized organization of network ties. So far, the empirical analysis in this chapter demonstrates that the diplomatic network has a strong core-periphery structure since the early nineteenth century. As a robustness check, I investigate next if the diplomatic network has a community structure.

### 8.4.1 Community Detection Approach

To detect communities in the diplomatic network, I use a modularity maximization approach—the preferred approach to community detection in network analysis.<sup>14</sup> Compared to other potential approaches, the modularity maximization approach offers an important advantage: it provides a standard to evaluate the quality of the network partitions detected, captured by the measure of modularity. While in principle many networks can be partitioned into communities, we want to know whether a network has a *meaningful* community structure.<sup>15</sup> A community is a set of actors that

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<sup>14</sup>See Newman and Girvan 2004; Danon et al. 2005; Porter, Onnela, and Mucha 2009; Fortunato 2010 for reviews. This approach is more accurate than the methods used in early studies of community structure in diplomatic networks—such as hierarchical decomposition, direct factor analysis, and relocation clustering. See Brams 1966; Russett and Lamb 1969; Nierop 1994. Because other approaches to community detection fail to maximize modularity, they often produce suboptimal network partitions. See Reichardt and Bornholdt 2006, 016110-016115. For a detailed comparison between early sociological approaches and more recent community detection approaches, see Newman and Girvan 2004.

<sup>15</sup>Newman 2006a, 8578.

share many ties among themselves and fewer ties with actors from other groups. As such, a network has a meaningful community structure to the extent that there are fewer ties between communities than we would expect *based on random chance*. We can formalize this notion with the measure of modularity,  $Q$ —the observed number of ties within groups minus the expected number of ties within groups in a network with the same partition but randomly placed ties.<sup>16</sup> By construction, high values of modularity indicate strong community structures. Modularity scores range from  $-1$  to  $1$ , with positive values suggesting the existence of community structure. While  $Q = 0$  indicates that the number of ties within communities is not greater than expected by random chance, values approaching  $Q = 1$  indicate strong community structure.<sup>17</sup>

As a first step, I use four commonly-used modularity maximization methods to detect communities in a network: the fast greedy, leading eigenvector, Louvain (or multi-level modularity optimization), and spin-glass methods.<sup>18</sup> Because many modularity maximization methods exist, the recommended approach in network analysis is to compare results obtained using different methods.<sup>19</sup> Given the immense number of possible partitions that exist even for small networks, precise solutions to the modularity maximization problem are computationally intractable; as such, several algorithms aim to find reasonably good network partitions in a reasonable time frame.<sup>20</sup> Because there may be more than one optimal solution for each method depending on the starting point used, I run each procedure ten times from different starting points.

Based on these initial results, I use the Louvain method to measure community structure in the diplomatic network. Table 8.7 shows the number of communities and modularity scores obtained in more than half of ten iterations for each method and year. As shown by the shaded areas in Table 8.7, the Louvain and spin-glass approaches consistently have the highest modularity scores for each year. The Louvain method is preferable because yields consistent results across runs in terms of the

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<sup>16</sup> Newman 2006a, 8578; Newman 2004, 026113-026117.

<sup>17</sup> In practice, modularity usually ranges from 0.3 to 0.7, and values higher than 0.7 are rare. See Newman 2004, 026113-026117.

<sup>18</sup> See, respectively, Clauset, Newman, and Moore 2004; Newman 2006b,a; Blondel et al. 2008; Reichardt and Bornholdt 2006; Newman 2004.

<sup>19</sup> Danon et al. 2005; Porter, Onnela, and Mucha 2009.

<sup>20</sup> Fortunato see 2010, 100-101.

**Table 8.7.** Number of Communities and Modularity for Different Approaches

	<i>Fast Greedy</i>		<i>Leading Eig.</i>		<i>Louvain</i>		<i>Spin-Glass*</i>		<i>Geography</i> <sup>†</sup>	
	No.	Q	No.	Q	No.	Q	No.	Q	No.	Q
1970	3	0.15	3	0.15	4	0.18	4	0.18	5	0.08
1975	3	0.14	3	0.14	4	0.17	4	0.17	5	0.10
1980	3	0.14	3	0.13	5	0.14	5	0.15	5	0.09
1985	3	0.14	3	0.13	4	0.16	5	0.15	5	0.09
1990	3	0.14	3	0.12	5	0.15	5	0.14	5	0.10
1995	3	0.13	3	0.13	5	0.16	5	0.15	5	0.13
2000	3	0.13	1	0.00	5	0.16	5	0.15	5	0.13
2005	4	0.14	5	0.13	5	0.16	5	0.15	5	0.14
2010	4	0.12	4	0.14	4	0.17	5	0.16	5	0.14

*Notes:* Values reflect the results obtained in more than half of ten runs. Q denotes modularity. Shaded areas indicate the highest modularity scores obtained each year.

\* I used a cooling factor of 0.1 to increase accuracy (see [Danon et al., 2005](#)).

<sup>†</sup>World's macro-regions according to the UN Statistical Division: Africa, Americas, Asia, Europe, and Oceania.

number of both communities and states assigned to each community. In contrast, the results given by the spin-glass approach vary more depending on the starting point used.

#### 8.4.2 Results

Results indicate that the network has a weak community structure at best. As Table 8.7 shows, the highest modularity values for each year range between 0.15 and 0.18. That is, modularity values are close to zero, which indicates that the number of within-community ties is not much greater than would be expected based on random chance. In addition, the basic within-community statistics shown in Table 8.8 likewise suggest a weak community structure. Most communities are not very dense, and within-community clustering coefficients are similar to the network-level coefficient. Overall, the analysis indicates that states are not more likely to exchange embassies within a community rather than across communities, as would be expected if the diplomatic network had a meaningful community structure.

**Table 8.8.** Basic Within-Community Statistics (2005)

	Community					Network
	Orange	Purple	Pink	Green	Yellow	
Nodes	49	14	23	51	50	188
Ties	1239	109	101	840	777	7380
Density*	0.53	0.60	0.20	0.33	0.32	0.21
Symmetric Dyads†	0.87	0.77	0.90	0.83	0.89	0.91
Clustering‡	0.75	0.78	0.29	0.59	0.65	0.54

Notes: Community colors refer to those shown in Figure 8.10(b).

\*Measures the proportion of existing to potential ties.

†Measures the proportion of required dyads, which include mutual dyads (embassies sent by both states) and null dyads (no embassies exchanged).

‡Measures the proportion of closed triads to all network triads.

### 8.4.3 Geography Drives Community Membership

In addition, three factors indicate that the weak community structure detected in the diplomatic network results from geography rather than status. To begin, the communities detected using a modularity maximization approach are not much stronger than communities based on geography. Since previous studies suggest that states cluster regionally in the diplomatic network, I use as a baseline for comparison a set of communities created based on geographic location.<sup>21</sup> For each year, I partition the network into five communities corresponding to the world's five macro-regions according to the UN Statistical Division: Africa, Americas, Asia, Europe, and Oceania. I then calculate the modularity scores for these geographic partitions. As Table 8.7 shows, the modularity scores resulting from a geographic partition of the network are very similar to the scores found using a modularity maximization approach. In addition, the communities detected using a modularity maximization approach seem to follow a geographic pattern. Figure 8.10 shows the communities detected in 1975 and 2005, denoted by different colors. For both years, most states seem to cluster regionally rather than based on factors related to status.

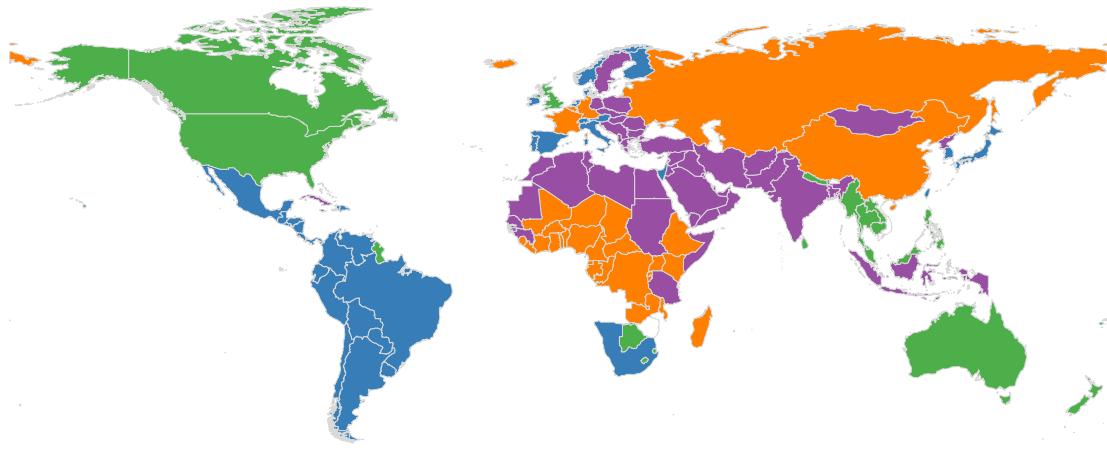
<sup>21</sup>See Brams 1966; Russett and Lamb 1969; Nierop 1994.

**Table 8.9.** Multinomial Logit Model of Community Membership (2005)

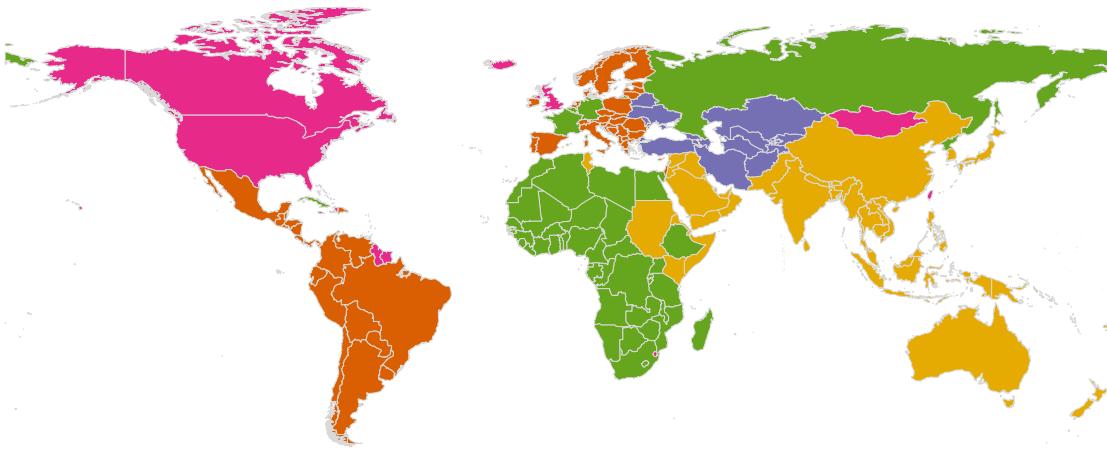
	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.
<i>Community 1 (Orange)</i>				
Constant	<b>-12.32</b>	(3.03)	-30.63	(4405.21)
GDP/capita	<b>1.28</b>	(0.52)	1.11	(1.72)
Military Spending	-0.06	(0.20)	-0.60	(0.49)
Nuclear Weapons	-2.71	(1.56)	-2.69	(2.49)
Democracy	<b>0.46</b>	(0.17)	<b>0.83</b>	(0.42)
Human Rights	-0.56	(0.41)	-1.17	(0.98)
Economic Freedom	0.02	(0.05)	0.07	(0.10)
<i>Community 2 (Purple)</i>				
Constant	<b>-8.49</b>	(3.29)	-13.34	(6246.39)
GDP/capita	0.81	(0.45)	0.28	(1.12)
Military Spending	-0.00	(0.21)	-0.56	(0.45)
Nuclear Weapons	-14.58	(763.11)	-20.60	(7258.40)
Democracy	-0.09	(0.07)	-0.08	(0.14)
Human Rights	-0.55	(0.48)	-0.73	(0.97)
Economic Freedom	0.05	(0.05)	-0.05	(0.10)
<i>Community 3 (Pink)</i>				
Constant	<b>-17.97</b>	(5.33)	-42.27	(2846.10)
GDP/capita	1.29	(0.96)	1.80	(1.88)
Military Spending	-0.56	(0.31)	<b>-1.16</b>	(0.58)
Nuclear Weapons	0.89	(2.32)	1.19	(3.65)
Democracy	0.59	(0.46)	0.73	(0.59)
Human Rights	-0.71	(0.69)	-0.82	(1.17)
Economic Freedom	0.16	(0.09)	0.23	(0.14)
<i>Community 5 (Yellow)</i>				
Constant	<b>-13.06</b>	(2.84)	-0.23	(5.97)
GDP/capita	0.06	(0.39)	-0.60	(0.91)
Military Spending	<b>0.51</b>	(0.20)	0.14	(0.37)
Nuclear Weapons	-1.25	(1.22)	-3.15	(5.23)
Democracy	<b>-0.14</b>	(0.05)	-0.10	(0.13)
Human Rights	-0.27	(0.38)	-0.04	(0.70)
Economic Freedom	<b>0.12</b>	(0.04)	0.01	(0.08)
Region dummies	No		Yes	
Observations	147		147	
Log-likelihood	-139.33		-60.31	

*Notes:* Numbers in bold denote statistical significance at the 5% level.

Community colors refer to those shown in Figure 8.10(b).



(a) 1975



(b) 2005

**Figure 8.10.** Communities in the Diplomatic Network  
Note: Detected using the Louvain method.

Finally, states that belong in the same community do not share similar attributes. To assess whether state attributes influence the assignment of states into communities, I estimate a multinomial logit model of community membership in 2005 that includes two types of attributes associated with status: (1) material resources like wealth, military capability, and nuclear weapons; and (2) fundamental values like democracy, economic liberalism, and human rights.<sup>22</sup> While Model 1 in-

<sup>22</sup>See Appendix A for a description of the data sources. Previous attempts to identify subgroups in the diplomatic network use descriptive analysis to examine which state attributes correlate with community membership. See Brams 1966; Russett and Lamb 1969; and Nierop 1994, 76. Unlike the simple correlations used in previous studies, a multinomial logit approach accommodates multiple factors simultaneously, allowing me to more accurately assess the

cludes only these attributes, Model 1 also controls for geographic location by including region dummies corresponding to the world's macro-regions according to the UN Statistical Division: Africa, Americas, Asia, Europe, and Oceania. Table 8.9 shows the estimation results, with coefficients in bold denoting statistical significance at the 5% level. For both models, the community formed by France, Germany, Russia and African states (shown in green in Figure 8.10b) serves as the baseline comparison group. The analysis shows that, once we take geography into account (Model 2), status attributes do not have a significant effect on community membership. Out of the twenty-four coefficients for status attributes in Model 2, only two reach statistical significance. And importantly, including region dummies improves model fit: The higher log-likelihood for Model 2 indicates that Model 2 explains more of the variation in the data than does Model 1. Taken together, these factors indicate that the weak community structure detected in the diplomatic network results from geography, instead of reflecting status distinctions among states.

## 8.5 Conclusion

This chapter examines the implications of my argument at the structural level of the diplomatic network. Leveraging network analysis, which enables me to test hypotheses involving relational patterns, I investigate how ties are organized in the diplomatic network, and why. As in the previous chapter, the empirical results demonstrate the analytical leverage provided by my relational theory of status. Based on this theory, I derive a new set of observable implications about the underlying dynamics of the diplomatic network. A relational perspective reveals important patterns in status recognition that an individualist perspective cannot accommodate. The analysis shows that status results from systematic social processes that cannot be reduced to the things that states have. And importantly, the empirical results from this chapter are consistent with those from the previous chapter. Overall, the analysis indicates that status depends on a state's position in a social arrangement, rather than directly on its attributes.

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effect of each factor on community membership.

In particular, this chapter offers two important findings about the sources of international status. First, status results from a set of network effects, whereby the configuration of ties among states shapes recognition independently of state attributes. To begin, status results from a process of social closure, whereby high-status states share dense relations among themselves but sparse relations with outsiders. As expected, the diplomatic network has a highly centralized form—a core-periphery structure rather than a community structure. States are divided into a densely-connected core, comprised mostly of Western or Western-aligned states; and a sparsely-connected periphery comprised mostly of non-Western states. The core is the preferred destination for sending embassies, regardless of whether the sending state belongs in the core or the periphery of the diplomatic network. While states in the core are very likely to exchange embassies among themselves rather than to the periphery, states in the periphery are more likely to send embassies to states in the core than to other states in the periphery. At the same time, the network has only a weak community structure, not much higher than one would expect based on random chance. This weak community structure structure is due mostly to geography: once geography is taken into account, status-symbolizing attributes do not have a significant effect on community membership.

Moreover, status is self-reinforcing: the more a state is recognized, the more it attracts additional recognition. In fact, the structure of the diplomatic network becomes more and more similar to a core-periphery structure over time. Since the early nineteenth century, states in the core are increasingly likely to recognize one another, while recognition between states in the periphery remains stagnant and rare. As expected, there is little mobility over time between the core and the periphery of the diplomatic network. On the one hand, the core remains stable in its size. Although the number of states substantially increases during the period of analysis, the core remains an exclusive club, which only a minority of states can join. On the other hand, the core remains stable over time in its composition. Most states maintain their positions either in the core or the periphery of the diplomatic network. While a minority of states consistently belongs in the core, most states never reach the core. By contrast, upward mobility is rare. Taken together, these results reveal that the club of high-status states is not very permeable.

In addition, this chapter offers a second important finding: it shows that the relevance of state attributes for status recognition is socially defined, rather than intrinsic to a given attribute. To begin, it is attribute similarity—rather than the possession of attributes per se—that drives status recognition among states. Commonality is the second aspect of social closure: high-status states differentiate themselves by adopting distinctive values and consuming distinctive goods. As expected, states in the core of the diplomatic network have similar attributes, which states in the periphery lack. But importantly, high status is not simply a matter of acquiring material resources, as argued by conventional approaches to status. Rather, recognition requires conformity to the predominant conceptions of state competence—a gestalt that involves not only material resources but also fundamental values associated with the West. While richer and militarily stronger states are more likely to belong in the core of the diplomatic network, fundamental values moderate the effect of material resources on core membership. Compared to states that score highly both on material resources and fundamental values, states with a high material resources score but a low fundamental values score are less likely to belong in the core. As such, high status involves not only the ability to fend for oneself under anarchy, as conventional approaches argue, but also a Western standard of civilization.

Each of these findings brings with it important implications, which I discuss in Chapter 10. But before that, the next chapter complements the analysis conducted here by examining how the relevance of state attributes for status recognition changes over time, especially as a result of what the great powers of an era say and do.

## 9

# Democracy, Nuclear Weapons, and Status in the Diplomatic Network

The analysis from the previous chapters indicates that the relevance of state attributes for status recognition is socially defined, rather than intrinsic to a given attribute. In Chapter 7, I show that, against expectations from the conventional approach, it is attribute similarity—rather than the possession of attributes per se—that drives recognition in the diplomatic network. Diplomatic recognition depends on whether states share similar attributes, rather than on the amount of attributes (such as economic and military capabilities) that a given state possesses. Similarly, Chapter 8 shows that states in the core of the diplomatic network share similar attributes, which states in the periphery lack. Moreover, high status is not simply a matter of having material resources. Rather, membership in the core of the diplomatic network depends on a Western way of life—a gestalt that involves not only material resources but also fundamental values associated with the West, such as liberal democracy. That is, high status involves not only the ability to fend for oneself under anarchy, as argued by conventional approaches, but also a Western standard of civilization.

Building on the findings from the previous chapters, this chapter addresses the question: When do state attributes become relevant for status recognition? In this chapter, I examine the relationship between attributes and recognition using a long-run perspective. I argue that the relevance of a given attribute for status recognition depends on the social context. In particular, high-status states typically act as standard-setters, shaping the criteria for status recognition, and as gatekeepers, shaping group boundaries. This chapter examines how the symbolic meaning of state attributes

changes over time by focusing on two interesting cases: democracy and nuclear weapons. Using the synthetic control method, I examine whether the acquisition of nuclear weapons increases the number of embassies a state receives. Next, using time-varying effect models, I examine how the effect of joint democracy on embassy exchange changes over time.

The chapter is organized into XXX sections.

## 9.1 Nuclear Weapons

IR scholars traditionally consider nuclear weapons as a symbol of international status.<sup>1</sup> According to the conventional approach in the discipline, status is a function of a state's qualities: the larger a state's share of certain attributes, the higher standing it should achieve. Based on this approach, two lines of reasoning can be used to justify the claim that the acquisition of nuclear weapons should improve a state's status. To begin, one might posit that nuclear weapons boost status because they increase a state's coercive abilities. Realist scholars assume that material capabilities matter for status recognition because of their functional value—or because they increase a state's ability to coerce other states.<sup>2</sup> Following this line of reasoning, the higher a state's reputation for military strength, the less other states will be willing to take disputes with that state to the battlefield. In other words, a reputation for military strength dissuades weaker states from challenging stronger ones. Given their immense destructive potential, nuclear weapons constitute a qualitative leap in a state's military capabilities. Based on this perspective, nuclear weapons states should therefore achieve a higher standing than non-nuclear weapons states.

Alternatively, some scholars argue that certain state attributes, like nuclear weapons, symbolize status because they are costly or difficult to obtain. By acquiring rare or costly attributes, a state thus signals its superior military or economic capabilities.<sup>3</sup> Following this line of reasoning, nuclear weapons have certain features that make them especially attractive as symbols of great power

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<sup>1</sup>Art 1980; O'Neill 2006.

<sup>2</sup>Gilpin 1981, 31; Morgenthau 2006, 92.

<sup>3</sup>See Gilady 2018; O'Neill 2006.

status.<sup>4</sup> To begin, nuclear weapons were initially developed by a great power and then acquired by only a small portion of states. The technology needed to develop nuclear weapons only became accessible to those states that could afford to invest considerable resources in this sector. In addition, the nonproliferation regime formalized the distinction between the nuclear haves and have-nots. A small group of states were recognized as the legitimate owners of nuclear weapons, whereas outsiders were barred from acquiring them. As such, nuclear weapons work as a costly signal, serving to differentiate between those states that have enough material capabilities to develop a nuclear program and those states that lack such capabilities.

But while the relationship between nuclear weapons and status is commonly assumed, such a relationship is rarely put to the test, and therefore remains unverified from an empirical standpoint. Existing research focuses on the actor level, showing that status may motivate the acquisition of nuclear weapons; at the same time, it neglects the question of whether states achieve status at the end of the day. Overwhelming evidence indicates that the search for international status—in addition to factors like security concerns or domestic politics—can motivate leaders to develop and maintain a nuclear weapons program.<sup>5</sup> But even though the existing evidence supports the claim that states acquire nuclear weapons to achieve status on the one hand, there is little evidence to support the claim that such a strategy effectively evokes international recognition on the other hand. That is, while status may motivate the acquisition of nuclear weapons, we still have scant evidence that nuclearization actually improves a country’s standing.<sup>6</sup>

In this project, I make two contributions to this debate. The first contribution is theoretical. My theory of status specifies the conditions under which a given state attribute should become relevant for international recognition. This chapter applies my theoretical framework to the case of nuclear weapons. The second contribution is empirical. Instead of assuming that nuclear weapons evoke international recognition, I develop an empirical strategy to test hypotheses about the relationship between nuclear weapons and status. Next, I discuss each of these contributions in turn.

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<sup>4</sup>Gilady 2018; Veblen 1899.

<sup>5</sup>Miller 2014a; Sagan 1997, 2011.

<sup>6</sup>See Gartzke and Jo 2009 for a rare exception.

### **9.1.1 The Symbolic Meaning of Nuclear Weapons**

While IR scholars traditionally consider nuclear weapons as a symbol of great power status, I argue that status depends on states' relations rather than their attributes. Rather than directly impacting status, state attributes influence status recognition through their symbolic meaning, which depends on the social context. The symbolic value of a given weapon depends on intersubjective understandings, rather than on the weapon's intrinsic features. In fact, some weapons have a distinctly negative symbolic meaning precisely because of their destructive capability, against expectations from the conventional approach. The use of certain weapons—such as chemical weapons or antipersonnel land mines—is prohibited by international law, amounting to outlaw behavior.<sup>7</sup> It is no coincidence, for example, that the Obama administration reacted strongly after receiving reports that the Assad regime was preparing to use chemical weapons against the opposition in Syria in 2012—issuing warnings “that the world was watching, and that Assad would be held accountable by the international community should he use those weapons.”<sup>8</sup> Destructive as certain weapons may be, their acquisition does not necessarily improve a country’s standing.

Crucially, my argument implies that the symbolic meaning of state attributes changes over time. The symbolic meaning of state attributes depends on prevailing conceptions of state competence—and especially, on what the great powers of an era say and do. Therefore, a weapon that once symbolized high international standing under certain historical conditions may no longer do so in the future. And indeed, important historical patterns call into question the expectation that nuclear weapons should boost a country’s status nowadays. To begin, Nuclear weapons are scarce today not just because of technological requirements, but also because their use has become stigmatized since 1945.<sup>9</sup> Although nuclear weapons were used in 1945, over time a taboo emerged around them. Existing research demonstrates that, during the Cold War, the nuclear powers colluded to restrict access to nuclear weapons, offering positive incentives for compliance while threatening to pun-

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<sup>7</sup>Carpenter 2001; Price 1995, 1998.

<sup>8</sup>Ben Rhodes, “Inside the White House During the Syrian ‘Red Line’ Crisis,” *The Atlantic*, 3 June 2018, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/06/inside-the-white-house-during-the-syrian-red-line-crisis/561887/>.

<sup>9</sup>Tannenwald 1999, 2005.

ish deviators.<sup>10</sup> despite their ideological disagreements Institution of the nonproliferation regime: the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) proscribed the development of nuclear programs by states other than the UNSC permanent members, while the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) controlled access to the resources needed for the development of nuclear weapons.

In addition, since nuclear nonproliferation became the norm, most countries have treated the acquisition of nuclear weapons as a sign of deviant behavior, rather than a signal of great power status. In fact, those states that acquired nuclear weapons after the NPT came into force in 1970—Israel, South Africa, India, Pakistan, and North Korea—have not been recognized as great powers. To the contrary, the decision to acquire nuclear weapons has arguably compromised the international standing of most of these countries. In a couple of cases, powerful states have worked to diplomatically isolate nuclear proliferators—as in the cases of South Africa during the apartheid regime, which coincided with its short-lived nuclear program; and North Korea since 1945. Similarly, Israel has often been the object of international condemnation for its decision to become a nuclear state—as expressed, for example, in the yearly UN General Assembly resolutions from 1978 to 1987 criticizing Israel's nuclear armament or calling it to place its facilities under supervision of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA);<sup>11</sup> or by dozens of UNSC resolutions condemning Israel for the use of force against states and non-state actors. Moreover, since the creation of the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) in 2006, Israel has been the object of a high proportion of the Council's country-specific resolutions.<sup>12</sup> Another recent nuclear proliferator, Pakistan, frequently features in official lists of states that sponsor terrorism.<sup>13</sup> That is, out of the five states that acquired nuclear weapons after the NPT came into force, only India has not been the object of international condemnation because of its behavior.

Rather than leading to upward status mobility, the acquisition of nuclear weapons in the past half century may instead signal opposition to core values from international society. As Sagan sug-

<sup>10</sup>Coe and Vaynman 2015; Miller 2014b; Montgomery 2005; Verdier 2008.

<sup>11</sup>See, for example, UNGA resolutions 33/71-A and 42/44.

<sup>12</sup>“Human Rights Council’s Resolutions - Question of Palestine.” United Nations. Accessed September 22, 2021. <https://www.un.org/unispal/human-rights-council-resolutions/>.

<sup>13</sup>See Byman 2005.

gests, the nonproliferation regime may have changed the symbolic meaning of nuclear weapons: while joining the nuclear club signaled prestige in the 1960s, joining the “club of nations adhering to the NPT” became a source of prestige in the 1990s.<sup>14</sup> As a landmark international treaty extended indefinitely in 1995, the NPT enjoys such widespread adherence among states that signing it constitutes a de facto requirement for upstanding membership in contemporary international society. Newly-sovereign states, such as the former Soviet republics in the 1990s, joined the NPT, as well as states transitioning to democracy. Accordingly, as Solingen observes, those states that pursue economic growth through integration into the global economy tend to refrain from pursuing nuclear weapons since the 1960s.<sup>15</sup>

Similar factors seemed to influence state decisions to join the nonproliferation regime after the Cold War. In the 1990s, Ukraine relinquished the nuclear weapons inherited from the Soviet Union, despite the history of Russian territorial expansionism in its region, because it sought recognition from Western powers of its national sovereignty and good standing.<sup>16</sup> Likewise, Brazil gave up its nuclear program as it sought integration into the liberal international order, even though key domestic actors considered the nonproliferation regime inherently unfair for institutionalizing the inequality between nuclear haves and have-nots.<sup>17</sup> In each of these cases, identification with the West influenced states’ decisions to adopt international norms.

And as I show next, the acquisition of nuclear weapons by the South African apartheid regime, for example, did not evoke international recognition; to the contrary, South Africa’s international standing quickly improved as it ended the apartheid regime and dismantled its nuclear program as it transitioned to democracy. Neither did the possession of nuclear weapons ensure recognition from other nuclear weapons states during the analysis period. Certain states—China, Israel, South Africa, and North Korea—have received limited recognition within the group despite their nuclear weapons.

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<sup>14</sup>Sagan 1997, 76.

<sup>15</sup>Solingen 2007.

<sup>16</sup>?Chafetz, Abramson, and Grillot 1996; Sagan 1997, 80-82.

<sup>17</sup>?, 157-90; Spektor 2016.

### **9.1.2 Nuclear Weapons Do Not Boost Status**

According to the conventional approach, status is a function of a state’s attributes. Moreover, nuclear weapons symbolize status because they are expensive, scarce, and require advanced technology. As such, nuclear weapons states should achieve higher standing than non-nuclear weapons states. *a state should receive more embassies after it acquires nuclear weapons.*

The results from the analysis conducted in Chapter 7 indicate that the acquisition of nuclear weapons does not increase a state’s odds of receiving international recognition. To the contrary, nuclear weapons states tend to receive less recognition than non-nuclear weapons states. Across model specifications, I find a consistently negative effect for *Nuclear Weapons*, on the odds of receiving an embassy. This variable only has a positive coefficient in only one of the models used—the basic logit model without network effects, which is likely to produce biased estimates since it assumes the independence of outcome observations. Once I account for structural dependencies in embassy exchange by directly modeling network effects, the impact of nuclear weapons on tie formation becomes consistently negative across model specifications.

### **The Synthetic Control Method**

To further probe into the relationship between nuclear weapons and status, I conduct additional analyses in this chapter. Using the synthetic control method, I estimate the effect of acquiring nuclear weapons on a country’s status, measured by the number of embassies it receives. The synthetic control method offers important advantages given the purposes of my analysis: with a view to reducing biases, this method provides a systematic way to choose comparison units in observational studies that rely on small samples, thus bridging qualitative and quantitative approaches.<sup>18</sup> On the one hand, it is challenging to estimate the impact of nuclear weapons on a country’s status using conventional quantitative methods because only a small number of cases exist during the period of analysis. Since 1970, only five countries have acquired nuclear weapons: Israel (1975), South

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<sup>18</sup> Abadie and Gardeazabal 2003; Abadie, Diamond, and Hainmueller 2010.

Africa (1980), India (1990), Pakistan (1990), and North Korea (2000).<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, the absence of explicit counterfactuals in this case makes it difficult to estimate precise causal effects using qualitative methods.<sup>20</sup> Since nuclear weapons states likely differ from non-nuclear weapons states in more than one dimension, any differences in the outcome of interest—the number of embassies received—may reflect disparities among countries in dimensions other than nuclear weapons. As such, it is difficult to determine if nuclear weapons themselves drive any observed differences in the international recognition a country receives.

The synthetic control method offers important advantages in this case: following Mill’s Method of Difference, it enables the comparison of outcomes between units that experienced an event and otherwise similar units that did not experience the same event. In particular, this method enables me to compare the number of embassies received by countries that acquired nuclear weapons to the number of embassies received by otherwise similar countries that did not acquire nuclear weapons. The method thus provides a systematic way of answering the question: Had Israel refrained from acquiring nuclear weapons, for example, would it have received fewer or more embassies than it in fact received? To reproduce the counterfactual for each case of nuclear weapons acquisition, the synthetic control models specify a “synthetic” unit (or synthetic control) that did not acquire nuclear weapons. The synthetic unit reflects a combination of similar countries that captures the relevant characteristics of the country of interest. Based on data from the period leading up to the event of interest, the synthetic unit differentially weighs the comparison units so as to most closely capture the relevant characteristics of the country of interest.<sup>21</sup> In this case, the synthetic control models account for country characteristics such as the log-transformed GDP, the log-transformed per capita GDP, the log-transformed military spending, nuclear weapons, democracy, number of alliances joined, the number of embassies sent, and the number of embassies received.<sup>22</sup>

To interpret the results from the analysis, we compare the outcome of interest for the unit that

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<sup>19</sup>Singh and Way 2004.

<sup>20</sup>See Geddes 2003; George and Bennett 2005.

<sup>21</sup>Because of missing covariate data since Pyongyang’s acquisition of nuclear weapons in 2000, the analysis does not include the North Korean case.

<sup>22</sup>Since I do not have strong prior beliefs about which characteristics drive the outcome, I use all the pre-treatment outcome lags as matching variables to account for confounders. See Ferman, Pinto, and Possebom 2020.

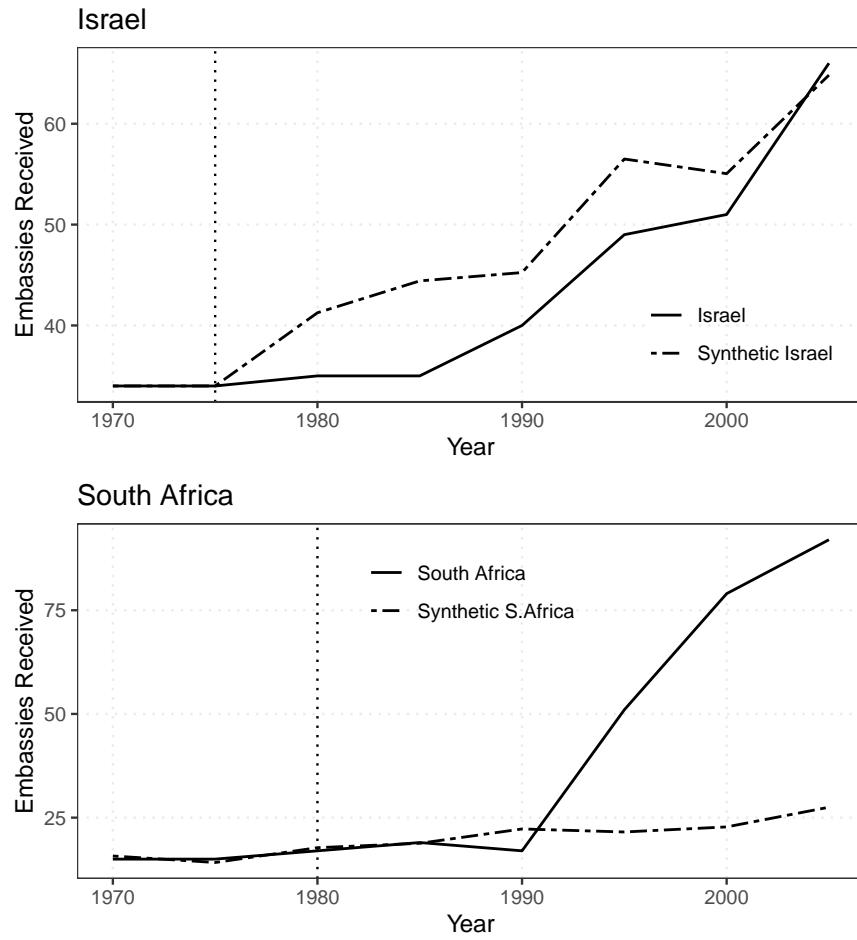
experienced an event to the outcome for the synthetic unit, which represents the counterfactual. In this case, we compare the number of embassies received by the country that acquired nuclear weapons to the number of embassies received by the synthetic unit, which represents the counterfactual. If nuclear weapons impact status, the number of embassies received by the country of interest should diverge from the number of embassies received by the synthetic control after the acquisition of nuclear weapons—denoting either a positive or a negative effect of weapons acquisition on the country’s international standing. By contrast, if nuclear weapons do not impact status, the number of embassies received by the state of interest should remain similar to those received by the synthetic control after the acquisition of nuclear weapons.

## Results

Against expectations from the conventional approach, the analysis indicates that the acquisition of nuclear weapons does not improve a country’s status. To begin, Figure 9.1 shows the results for Israel and South Africa. At the top of the figure, we can see that the number of embassies received by Israel does diverge from the number of embassies received by the synthetic unit after Israel acquires nuclear weapons in 1975; only in 2005 do the two trends converge again. However, against expectations from the conventional approach, Israel receives fewer embassies than the synthetic control after becoming a nuclear state, rather than receiving more international recognition. The results indicate that, had Israel refrained from acquiring nuclear weapons, it would have enjoyed a higher international standing than it actually did in the subsequent decades. Next, at the bottom of Figure 9.1, we find no difference between the number of embassies received by South Africa and by the synthetic unit after South Africa acquires nuclear weapons in 1980. However, once South Africa starts to dismantle its nuclear program in 1990, as it transitions to democracy, the number of embassies received increases rapidly, clearly diverging from the synthetic control.<sup>23</sup> The results thus indicate that, while the acquisition of nuclear weapons had a negligible impact on South Africa’s international standing, the act of giving up nuclear weapons during democratization was associated

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<sup>23</sup>See Liberman 2001.

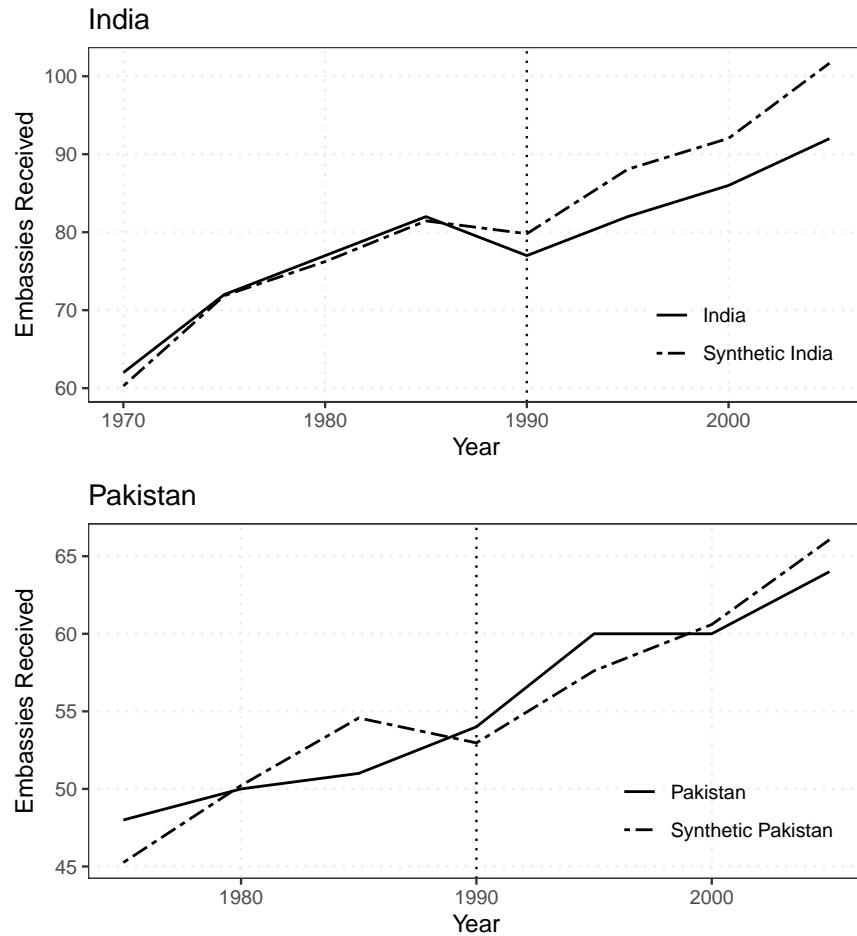


**Figure 9.1.** Nuclear Weapons Acquisition and Embassies Received.

*Note:* Dashed vertical lines denote the year when each country acquired nuclear weapons.

with a subsequent spike in international recognition. Against expectations from the conventional approach, it is the abdication of nuclear weapons—rather than their acquisition—that ultimately correlates with a boost in South Africa's international standing.

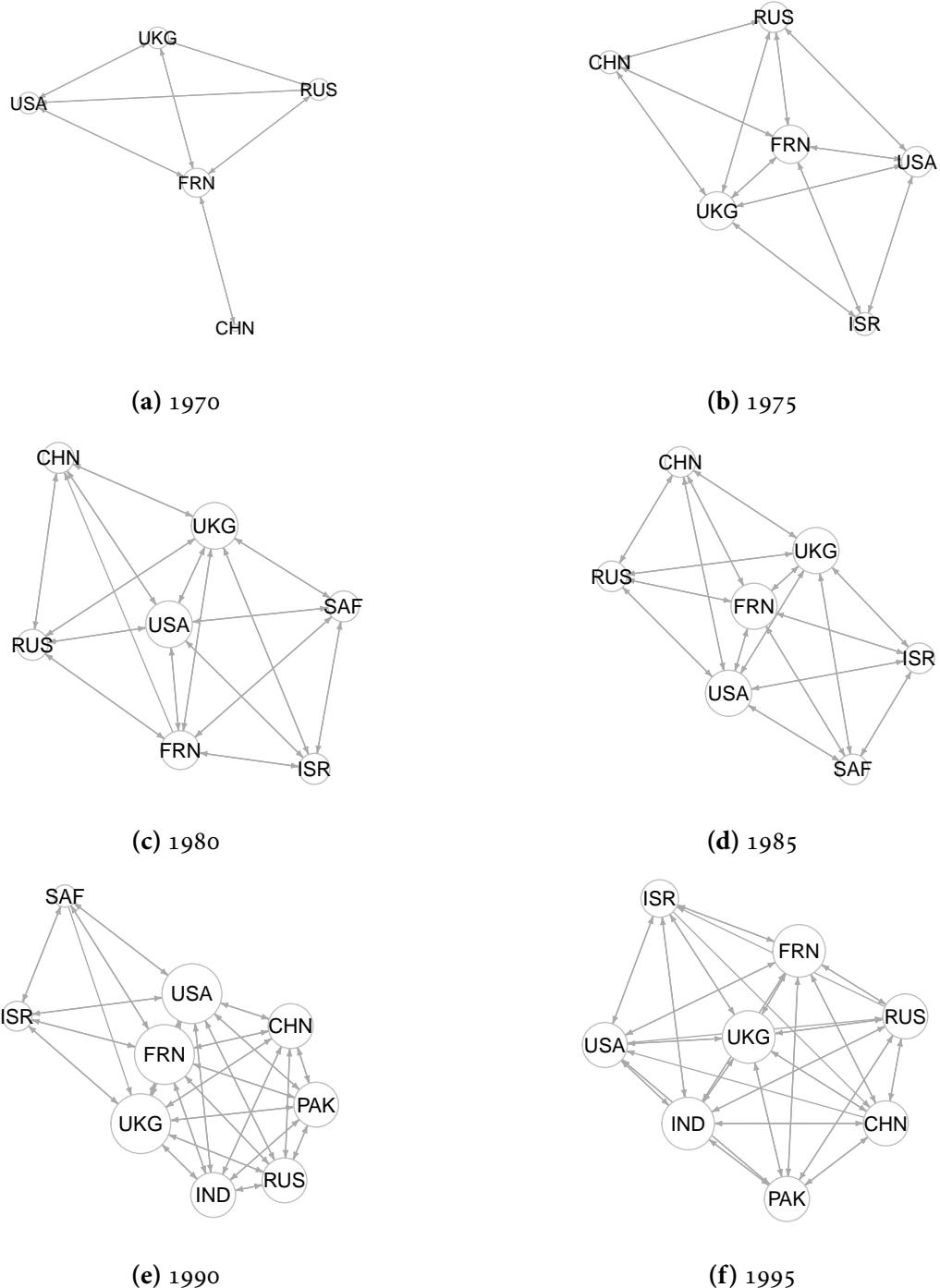
Similarly, in the Indian and Pakistani cases, the results indicate that the acquisition of nuclear weapons has no discernible impact on the number of embassies received, as shown in Figure 9.2. At the top of the figure, we can see that India receives fewer embassies than does the synthetic unit after New Delhi acquires nuclear weapons in 1990. If anything, nuclear weapons seem to have a negative impact on India's international standing. Finally, at the bottom of Figure 9.2, we can see that the number of embassies received by Pakistan resembles the number of embassies received by



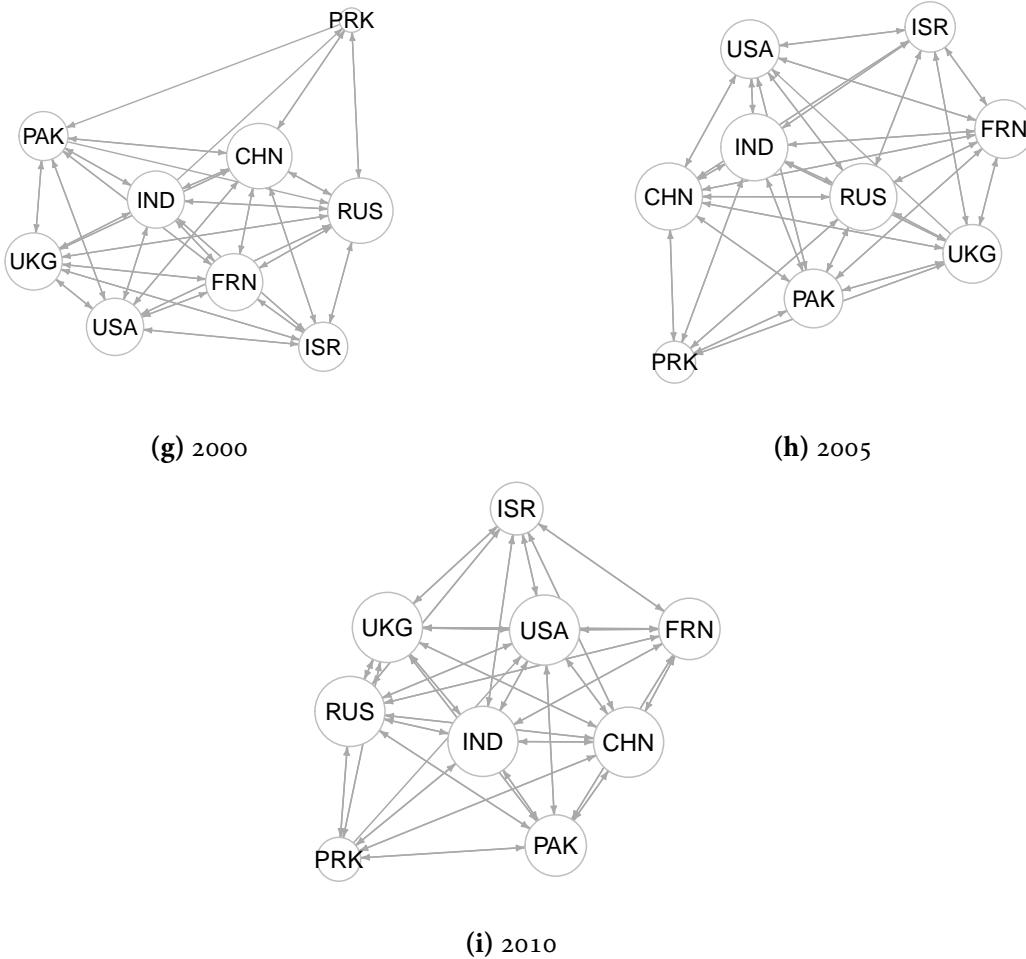
**Figure 9.2.** Nuclear Weapons Acquisition and Embassies Received.

*Note:* Dashed vertical lines denote the year when each country acquired nuclear weapons.

the synthetic unit after Pakistan acquires nuclear weapons in 1990. Rather than improving Pakistan's international standing, the acquisition of nuclear weapons has no discernible effect on the number of embassies sent to Islamabad, much like in the South African case. In sum, the analysis demonstrates that the acquisition of nuclear weapons has either no discernible impact or a negative impact on a country's international standing. Against expectations from the conventional approach, nuclear weapons do not boost a country's status.



**Figure 9.3.** Ties among Nuclear Weapons States (1970-2005).  
*Note:* Node size proportional to in-degree (number of embassies received within the group).



**Figure 9.3.** Ties among Nuclear Weapons States (1970-2005) (cont.).

Note: Node size proportional to in-degree (number of embassies received within the group).

### 9.1.3 Nuclear Weapons Do Not Serve as a Basis for Social Closure

While the acquisition of nuclear weapons does not directly improve a country's international standing, it is still possible that nuclear weapons are relevant for status recognition. I argue that status results from social closure, whereby high-status states differentiate themselves by adopting distinctive values and consuming distinctive goods. Based on my theoretical framework, it is attribute similarity—rather than the possession of attributes per se—that drives status recognition. I expect states to recognize those states similar to them, rather than those states with the largest amount of attributes. This leads me to the second observable implication involving nuclear weapons: *nuclear*

*weapons states should be more likely to exchange embassies among themselves.* If nuclear weapons symbolize status, we should observe a homophily (or similarity) effect involving nuclear weapons, whereby states with a similar weapons portfolio should be more likely to recognize one another.

However, the analysis in Chapter 7 indicates that nuclear weapons do not serve as a basis for distinction between high-status states and the rest—that is, for social closure. Regardless of model specification, I find no homophily effect involving nuclear weapons: the coefficient for *Nuclear Weapons<sub>|i-j|</sub>* does not reach statistical significance in any of the temporal exponential random graph models estimated. In other words, states are not more likely to send an embassy to states that have a similar weapons portfolio. A nuclear weapons state, for example, is not more likely to send an embassy to a state that has nuclear weapons than to a state that lacks nuclear weapons. Against the conventional wisdom, nuclear weapons do not seem to symbolize international status.

To help understand why, Figure 9.3 shows the ties among nuclear weapons states from 1970 to 2005. During this period, the density of ties within the group of nuclear weapons states—or the proportion of potential to existing ties among these states—ranges from 0.70 in 1970, when most nuclear weapons states do not send a tie to China; to 0.90 in 2010, when North Korea receives the smallest number of embassies within the group at five. We observe the largest increase in tie density between 1990 and 1995, as South Africa dismantles its nuclear program and therefore leaves the group of nuclear weapons states. On the other hand, the largest decrease in tie density occurs from 1995 to 2000, as North Korea enters the group by acquiring nuclear weapons. Most of the nuclear weapons states do not send embassies to Pyongyang in 2000; the only states to do so are China, India, and Russia. In 2005, Pyongyang receives two new embassies, from the United Kingdom and Pakistan respectively. But overall, Western states (and their allies) typically do not consider North Korea important enough to merit an embassy, even after it acquires nuclear weapons.

Overall, the patterns shown in Figure 9.3 suggests that by themselves, nuclear weapons are not enough to warrant recognition from the states that play a key role in the management of international order, such as the permanent members of the UN Security Council. Throughout the period of analysis, certain nuclear weapons states—China, Israel, South Africa, and North Korea—receive

fewer embassies than do members of the group on average, which denotes the relative low status of these countries within the group. Factors other than nuclear weapons—such as a country's conflictual relations with its neighbors, as in the case of Israel; or a country's deviation from liberal democratic standards, as in the cases of China, South Africa, and North Korea—seem to shape recognition within the group of nuclear weapons states. Rather than forming a cohesive group, nuclear weapons states thus seem to disagree over factors that take precedence over the similarities in their weapons portfolios. Countries that fall short of the predominant conceptions of state competence tend to receive less recognition from Western states.

it is also possible that, because status recognition hinges on way of life—a gestalt or a combination of attributes understood together—rather than on separate attributes, observers may be prone to consider the acquisition of nuclear weapons by an authoritarian state like as North Korea as a sign of pariah status rather than a signal of great power status. In fact, these days nuclear weapons states tend to be on average less democratic, less liberal in economic terms, and to respect human rights less than non-nuclear weapons states. As Table 7.2 shows, the possession of nuclear weapons correlates negatively with all fundamental values—democracy, economic liberalism, and human rights.

In sum, the analysis conducted in this chapter indicates that the relationship between state attributes and international recognition is more complicated than IR scholars usually anticipate. Although scholars traditionally consider nuclear weapons as a symbol of great power status, such weapons do not boost a country's status since 1970; neither do they seem to serve as a basis for social closure during the period of analysis. While these findings may seem surprising based on conventional approaches that treat a state's status as a function of its attributes, they are perfectly consistent with my relational approach to status. I argue that state attributes influence status recognition through their symbolic meaning, which depends on the social context. As such, I do not expect nuclear weapons to improve a country's standing if the use of these weapons becomes stigmatized or if the country in question lacks other status attributes. In addition, the findings suggest that, to understand how status attributes change over time, we need to examine how their symbolic

meaning evolves with the international context. The symbolic meaning of a given state attribute is not inherent to the attribute; rather, it depends on the changing social context.

## 9.2 Democracy

### 9.2.1 The Symbolic Meaning of Democracy

I argue that state attributes influence status recognition through their symbolic meaning, which depends on the social context.

It was not always the case that leading states were democratic. During the Concert of Vienna, democracy was associated with revolutionary states (revisionism).

Gunitsky: argues that, after victory, democracy spreads via coercion and inducements. However, his macro-level analysis does not provide direct evidence of these mechanisms. In addition, research on U.S. (?) democracy promotion abroad indicates that coercion is an effect means to spread democracy. It is counter-intuitive even (much like the idea of using coercion to protect human rights).<sup>24</sup>

I propose an additional mechanism (domination by virtue of prestige, rather than domination by virtue of a constellation of interests or domination by virtue of authority). Much like fashion. New observable implication: it is attribute similarity, rather than the possession of attributes per se, that fosters recognition. Homophily effects shown in Chapter 7 provide evidence for my argument.

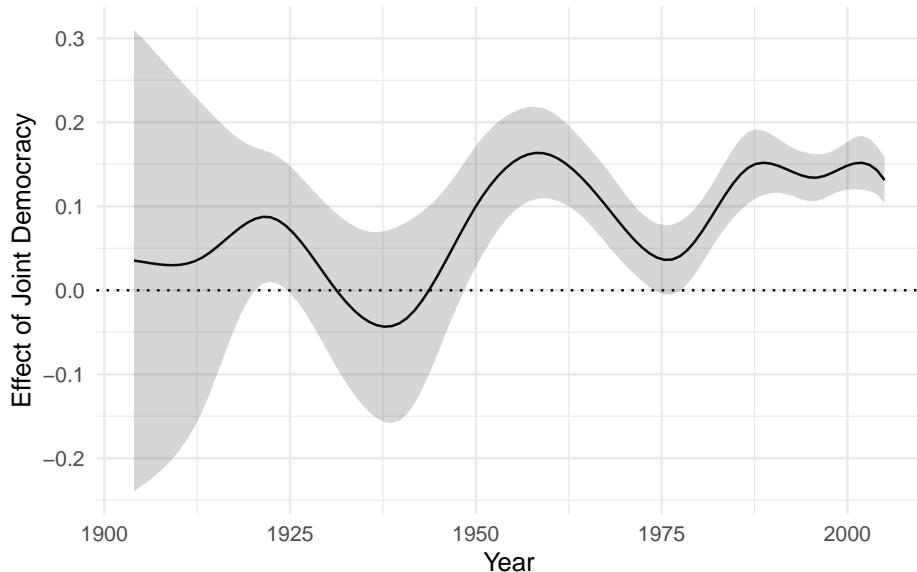
The analysis here is meant to show that homophily effects only occur when democracy is (the only game in town)?

### 9.2.2 Democratic Hegemony and Social Closure

Using time-varying effect models, I examine how the effect of joint democracy on embassy exchange changes over time.

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<sup>24</sup>Boix 2011; Gunitsky 2017.



**Figure 9.4.** Note:

## Results

The analysis shows that, since 1900, democratic states are more likely to recognize one another—but only during periods of democratic hegemony.

## 9.3 Conclusion

This chapter examines how the symbolic meaning of state attributes changes over time by focusing on two interesting cases: democracy and nuclear weapons. Using the synthetic control method, I examine whether the acquisition of nuclear weapons increases the number of embassies a state receives. I find that, since the nuclear powers colluded to stigmatize the bomb in the 1960s and 1970s, nuclear weapons do not improve a country's standing. Next, using time-varying effect models, I examine how the effect of joint democracy on embassy exchange changes over time. I find that, since 1900, democratic states are more likely to recognize one another—but only during periods of democratic hegemony. The analysis shows that the relevance of state attributes for status

recognition changes over time, along with predominant conceptions of state competence.

# 10

## Conclusion

In this book, I adopt a consistently relational approach, from both a theoretical and an empirical standpoints, to investigate the sources of international status. Drawing on an interdisciplinary body of research, I develop a network theory of status—a theoretical framework that captures the fundamentally social nature of status. I argue that status depends on states’ positions in a social arrangement, rather than on the qualities of states. To explain how states achieve status, I theorize the underlying relational effects that drive recognition in the international system. In particular, I argue that the structure of state relations itself shapes the conditions for status attainment. Status reinforces inequality, independently from material conditions, because it involves cumulative advantage: the higher standing a state enjoys, the more it attracts additional recognition. Moreover, the relevance of a given state attribute for status recognition is socially defined: an attribute becomes relevant for status recognition because of its symbolic value—which depends on the social context, and especially on who the great powers are and what they do.

Accordingly, I adopt in this study an empirical strategy that is consistent with the social nature of status. Because status depends on recognition, I investigate empirically the factors that produce such recognition. Since embassies express recognition among states, I use embassy exchange data as a proxy measure of status recognition. But instead of measuring status at the state level, like previous studies do, I use a relational unit of analysis: the network of embassies. This choice of unit enables me to use information about the structure of diplomatic relations that existing studies discard—and, therefore, to investigate the relational patterns that drive status recognition among states. To

that end, I use social network analysis tools uniquely suited to the empirical study of status. These tools enable me to examine how the structure of state relations itself shapes the conditions for status attainment. Using network analysis, I detect relational patterns of status recognition that previous studies mention in passing but do not examine empirically.

This book contributes to existing scholarship from both a theoretical and an empirical standpoints. Although scholars rely on status to explain important phenomena, such as hegemonic wars and the foreign policies of emerging powers, we still lack a basic understanding of fundamental questions related to status. Scholars traditionally assume that status is a function of the qualities of states, especially their military and economic capabilities; as such, the richer or militarily stronger a country is, the higher its standing should be. However, this assumption remains like a folk theory of status—an explanation based on practical understandings that people employ in their everyday lives, which is taken to be true even though it has not been put to the test. And yet, theories of status that begin and end with state attributes leave important questions unanswered. First, while most studies assume that status depends on a state's material capabilities, in practice status and material capabilities often mismatch. Second, we still lack a general framework to explain why certain state attributes (but not others) matter for status recognition. Third, we still understand little about how state attributes are converted (or not) into status or, more broadly, about the relationship between state attributes and status. Finally, and as a result, we still have a poor grasp of the processes through which states ultimately achieve status.

In this context, this book makes four distinctive contributions to existing scholarship. To begin, while existing research treats status as an actor motivation, this book is the first to address the question of how countries achieve status, focusing on international relations rather than on the state level. In addition, I develop a theoretical framework that highlights the social nature of status and, accordingly, use social network analysis tools ideally suited to the empirical study of status. By integrating interdisciplinary insights to develop a consistently relational approach to status, this book brings research on status in IR in line with research in the social sciences more broadly. My relational approach offers new answers to the fundamental questions about status that existing studies

insufficiently address. And given its innovative approach, this study offers new lessons in areas that have drawn increasing scholarly interest in recent years, but that are still rarely linked to status. By showing that status is a distinctive phenomenon both conceptually and empirically, this book aims to move status from its current position as a residual category in IR to its rightful place as a concept central to the study of international politics.

To conclude the analysis, this chapter begins by summarizing the main results from the previous chapters, and then offers three general lessons based on this study for research on international hierarchies, international order, and power transitions.

## 10.1 Results

While existing studies show that status motivates state behavior, this is the first book to investigate how countries achieve status. Scholars traditionally assume that status is a function of state attributes like economic or military capabilities, but do not put this assumption to the test.

this book adopts a consistently relational approach to the study of international status: it uses a relational empirical strategy in the service of a relational theory of status. By deploying an appropriate set of analytical and methodological tools, this study adequately grasps the distinctive feature of international status (its social nature). In doing so, this book enables us to move status from its current standing as a residual category in IR—insufficiently differentiated from material capabilities or assumed status symbols such as nuclear weapons—to its rightful position as a concept central to the study of international politics.

Even though diplomatic exchange is a type of social relation, scholars typically treat it like a state attribute: to measure status, they rank states based on the proportion of diplomatic representations received. By doing so, researchers discard information about the structure of diplomatic relations—such as who sends a representation to whom, what their previous history of relations (or lack thereof) is, and what ties they share with third parties. And without this information, it is not possible to examine empirically the relational effects that drive status recognition among states.

My relational approach offers new answers to the fundamental questions about status that existing studies insufficiently address. First, I show that we should not expect status to go hand in hand with a state's material capabilities—or, more broadly, with its attributes—because status depends on a state's social position, rather than on its qualities or the things it has. Second, I show that a given state attribute becomes relevant for status recognition when actors share the belief that it symbolizes state competence. Status evaluations are based on prevailing conceptions of state competence that change over time, depending on who the great powers are and how they behave. That is, besides updating the international pecking order, major wars also serve to update the standards that inform status recognition among states. Finally, I show that state attributes play only an indirect role in the process of status recognition: they impact recognition because of their symbolic value, which can only be understood in the context of state relations.

The empirical results demonstrate the analytical leverage provided by a relational approach to status. Compared to conventional approaches that begin and end with state attributes, my relational model performs much better in theorizing the underlying dynamics of the diplomatic network. This approach provides a more complete explanation of the sources of international status. My network theory of status provides a unified model with multiple observable implications at different levels of analysis. These observable implications involve not only state attributes, but also purely structural effects. uses a relational empirical strategy in the service of a relational theory of status. As such, it reveals higher-order patterns in status recognition that are not observable when we only consider dyads or small groups of states like the great powers. Furthermore, the empirical strategy tests hypotheses about the determinants of status, instead of imposing on observations a set of status attributes chosen a priori. Because it does not rely on strict assumptions about status attributes or the international status ranking, the empirical strategy introduced here provides a flexible approach that scholars can use to investigate the determinants of international status during any historical period. The analysis shows that status results from systematic social processes that cannot be reduced to the qualities of states or the things that they have. The empirical results indicate that status recognition depends on a state's position in a social arrangement, rather than directly on its attributes.

And importantly, conventional approaches—those based on state attributes—cannot account for the main findings, which involve both network effects (or structural dependencies) and homophily (or similarity) effects. That is, a relational perspective reveals important patterns in status recognition that an individualist perspective cannot accommodate.

Overall, status depends on relational processes. First, status results from a set of network effects, whereby the structure of state relations itself influences recognition independently of state attributes. This kind of effect is purely structural: it emerges from the way state relations are configured, rather than from the qualities of states.

Second, state attributes play a secondary role in the process of status recognition: attributes become relevant for status recognition because of their symbolic value—which depends on the social context, and especially on who the great powers are and how they behave. The relevance of a given attribute for status recognition is socially defined: it depends on whether other states share the same attribute, rather than on the intrinsic value (or the functional purpose) of that attribute. Because state attributes only acquire symbolic value in the context of state relations, we miss crucial aspects of status by focusing exclusively on state attributes.

The analysis shows that status depends on a state's position in a social arrangement, rather than directly on its attributes. The fundamental causal mechanisms behind status inequality operate in the domain of state relations, rather than inside states. Systematic social processes—which cannot be reduced to the qualities of states—drive status recognition in the international system. In particular, three mechanisms make status self-reinforcing. First, status involves social closure, or the drawing of a boundary between the established group and outsiders. High-status actors differentiate themselves from outsiders by adopting a distinctive way of life, and by establishing dense relations among themselves but sparse relations with outsiders. Second, consensus effects shape status recognition: the more a state receives recognition, the more others deem it worthy of recognition. As such, high-status states tend to attract additional recognition simply by virtue of their popularity. Third, high status involves privileges that beget more status: high-status states act as standard-setters, shaping the criteria for status recognition; and as gatekeepers, shaping recogni-

**Table 10.1.** The Relational Sources of Status: Findings

	<i>Tie formation level</i>	<i>Structural level</i>
Connectedness	States are more likely to recognize states that reciprocate recognition or states with whom they share diplomatic partners.	The diplomatic network has a core-periphery structure; The size of the network's core remains stable over time.
Consensus effects	States that already host many embassies are more likely to receive additional embassies.	The composition of the network's core remains stable over time.
Commonality	States recognize those states that have similar fundamental values and material resources as them.	States in the network's core have similar attributes, which states in the periphery lack; Fundamental values moderate the impact of material resources on core membership.
Standard-setting and gatekeeping	State attributes associated with the West are relevant for status recognition.	The symbolic value of state attributes depends on who the great powers are and how they behave.

tion decisions. summarized in 10.1.

### 10.1.1 Social Closure

To begin, status is self-reinforcing because it involves social closure, or the drawing of a boundary between the established group and outsiders. Social closure reinforces inequality via two aspects. First, social closure involves connectedness, or the sharing of relational ties: High-status actors share dense relations among themselves but sparse relations with outsiders. Second, social closure involves commonality, or the sharing of common attributes: High-status actors differentiate themselves from outsiders by adopting a distinctive way of life. As I discuss next, each of these aspects entails a set of implications for diplomatic recognition in the international system.

## **Connectedness (or Exclusion)**

Because social closure involves connectedness, a state's existing relations influence its propensity to receive recognition. Status distinctions reinforce inequality because they follow a principle of transitivity: Sharing relational ties, especially with well-connected states, brings status. Moreover, status distinctions encourage solidarity among high-status states but undermine solidarity among low-status states, whose interests are divided between supporting their own group and trying to network with high-status states. As such, the structure of state relations itself shapes the conditions for status attainment in the international system. High-status states enjoy considerable advantage in the process of status recognition. While well-connected states tend to attract additional recognition, sparsely-connected states do not.

Connectedness entails a set of effects that are purely structural, as they emerge from the configuration of state relations. As Chapter 7 shows, connectedness has observable implications for the formation of ties in the diplomatic network. States prove more likely to recognize (1) states that reciprocate recognition (reciprocity effect) or (2) states with whom they share diplomatic partners (transitivity effect). As such, two states that have similar diplomatic ties are likely to be connected themselves. Likewise, Chapter 8 shows that connectedness has observable implications at the structural level of the network. When examining diplomatic relations, I find a densely-connected group of high-status states at the center and a sparsely-connected group of low-status states at the margins. In other words, the diplomatic network has a core-periphery structure—in which central actors are very likely to share ties, and peripheral actors are more likely to connect to central actors than to other actors in the periphery. States are thus divided into two groups: (1) a well-connected core, where states favor within-core ties over ties with states in the periphery; and (2) a loosely-connected periphery, where states favor ties with states in the core over ties with other states in the periphery. That is, the core should be the preferred destination for embassies, regardless of whether the sending state belongs in the core or the periphery of the diplomatic network.

As expected, the diplomatic network has a highly centralized form—a core-periphery structure rather than a community structure. States are divided into a densely-connected core, comprised

mostly of Western or Western-aligned states; and a sparsely-connected periphery comprised mostly of non-Western states. The core is the preferred destination for sending embassies, regardless of whether the sending state belongs in the core or the periphery of the diplomatic network. While states in the core are very likely to exchange embassies among themselves rather than to the periphery, states in the periphery are more likely to send embassies to states in the core than to other states in the periphery. At the same time, the network has only a weak community structure, not much higher than one would expect based on random chance. This weak community structure structure is due mostly to geography: once geography is taken into account, status-symbolizing attributes do not have a significant effect on community membership.

### **Commonality (or Distinction)**

Besides connectedness, social closure involves commonality: High-status actors differentiate themselves from outsiders by adopting a distinctive way of life. Commonality entails a set of observable implications that involve state attributes. But importantly, state attributes play an indirect role in status attainment: they communicate a latent quality—state competence—that is socially defined. Observers gauge status by evaluating how well a given state fits prevailing conceptions of state competence, which involves a distinctive way of life associated with the West. To begin, commonality has an observable implication for the formation of diplomatic ties. I expect states to recognize those states that are similar to them, rather than the states with the largest portfolio of a given attribute. That is, similarity in both fundamental values and material resources should foster recognition. Contrary to what conventional explanations argue, I do not expect states to recognize those states with the most resources; rather, similar states should share denser relations. Against expectations from the conventional approach, it is attribute similarity—rather than the possession of attributes *per se*—that drives recognition. States recognize those states that are similar to them, rather than the states with the largest share of certain attributes. Specifically, states are more likely to recognize states that have similar levels of democracy, human rights, economic liberalism, and military capability as them. That is, although traditional approaches emphasize material resources as symbols of

international status, I show that fundamental values like democracy also matter for status recognition. States recognize those states that have similar fundamental values and material resources as them.

In addition, commonality has two observable implications at the structural level of the diplomatic network. First, states in the core of the diplomatic network should have similar attributes, which states in the periphery lack. That is, the same attributes should be relevant for status recognition in the entire network. When examining diplomatic relations, I expect find a densely-connected core, bound together by common attributes associated with the West, and a loosely-connected periphery. Second, commonality implies that, to evoke recognition, states attributes need to go well together. To infer status, observers examine the ensemble of attributes displayed by an actor, rather than specific attributes in isolation. Actors who display a coherent set of attributes indicate that they master a way of life and are therefore worthy of recognition. In contrast, actors who display an incoherent set of attributes typically come across as arrivistes, who are trying to pass as high-status actors even though they fail to master the corresponding way of life. Mismatched attributes send out contradictory signals about an actor's way of life and are therefore unlikely to evoke recognition. Therefore, I expect that membership in the core of the diplomatic network should depend on both material resources and fundamental values. That is, fundamental values should moderate the impact of material resources on core membership.

Chapter 8 shows that core membership depends on a Western way of life that includes fundamental values like liberal democracy. As expected, states in the core of the diplomatic network have similar attributes, which states in the periphery lack. But importantly, high status is not simply a matter of acquiring material resources, as argued by conventional approaches to status. Rather, recognition requires conformity to the predominant conceptions of state competence—a gestalt that involves not only material resources but also fundamental values associated with the West. While richer and militarily stronger states states are more likely to belong in the core of the diplomatic network, fundamental values moderate the effect of material resources on core membership. Compared to states that score highly both on material resources and fundamental values, states with a

high material resources score but a low fundamental values score are less likely to belong in the core. As such, high status involves not only the ability to fend for oneself under anarchy, as conventional approaches argue, but also a Western standard of civilization. The diplomatic network is highly centralized in its use of status symbols. States treat the same attributes as relevant for status recognition.

### **10.1.2 Consensus Effects**

Besides social closure, a second mechanism makes status self-reinforcing. Status depends on peer attribution, as high-status states are those recognized as such by their peers. But because status is difficult to ascertain, actors rely on each other's evaluations to decide how to rank others. Actors influence each other's status evaluations, often leading to the emergence of a working consensus about who ranks where in a given status hierarchy. Such consensus effects make status self-reinforcing: the more a state receives recognition, the more others deem it worthy of recognition. As such, status recognition is not a meritocracy. A state's position in a status hierarchy shapes the conditions for its recognition: High-status states tend to attract more recognition simply by virtue of their popularity. At the same time, status mobility constitutes the exception rather than the rule. While states at the margins of the international system struggle to gain recognition, states at the system's core enjoy considerable advantage in maintaining their status.

Consensus effects are purely structural effects, which emerge from the configuration of state relations. High-status states enjoy considerable advantage in the status recognition process, which results from their social position rather than from their qualities. To begin, consensus effects have an observable implication for the formation of ties in the diplomatic network. As Chapter 7 shows, states prove more likely to recognize those states that already receive recognition (popularity effect). High-status states tend to receive more recognition simply because of their position in a social arrangement, rather than because of their attributes. In other words, popularity itself brings status. In addition, consensus effects have two observable implications at the structural level of the diplomatic network. As expected, there is little mobility over time between the core and the periphery of

the diplomatic network. On the one hand, the core remains stable in its size. Although the number of states substantially increases during the period of analysis, the core remains an exclusive club, which only a small portion of states can join. That is, the core's boundary is not very permeable. On the other hand, the core remains stable over time in its composition. Most states maintain their positions either in the core or the periphery of the diplomatic network. While a minority of states consistently belongs in the core, most states never reach the core. Overall, there is a high persistence over time in states' positions either in the core or the periphery of the diplomatic network.

In fact, the structure of the diplomatic network becomes more and more similar to a core-periphery structure over time. Since the early nineteenth century, states in the core are increasingly likely to recognize one another, while recognition between states in the periphery remains stagnant and rare.

### **10.1.3 Standard-Setting and Gatekeeping**

Finally, a third mechanism makes status self-reinforcing. High status involves privileges that beget more status: High-status states act as standard-setters, shaping the criteria for status recognition; and as gatekeepers, shaping recognition decisions. By defining the rules of the game, high-status states enjoy considerable advantage in the process of status recognition. It is no coincidence that, to this day, status evaluations rely on governance ideals associated with the West. The globalization of the European society of states was regulated by a Western standard of civilization, which performed the functions of gatekeeping membership to international society and assimilating non-European peoples into European standards. As a result, predominant conceptions of state competence nowadays involve not only the ability to fend for oneself under anarchy, but also a Western standard of civilization. Because status involves a distinctive way of life, status recognition depends on an ensemble of attributes that is difficult to acquire—that is, on a Western way of life that includes not only material resources but also fundamental values like liberal democracy.

Status evaluations are based on prevailing conceptions of state competence that change over time, depending on who the great powers are and how they behave. Acting like standard-setters

and gatekeepers, great powers shape the predominant conceptions of state competence that shape status evaluations. During critical junctures like the aftermath of major wars, the way of life associated with the victorious state(s) shapes the standards that will be used to evaluate state competence thereafter. That is, besides updating the international pecking order, major wars also serve to update the standards that inform status recognition among states.

Chapter 9 examines the relationship between attributes and recognition using a long-run perspective. Using the synthetic control method, I examine whether the acquisition of nuclear weapons increases the number of embassies a state receives. I find that, since the nuclear powers colluded to stigmatize the bomb in the 1960s and 1970s, nuclear weapons do not improve a country's standing. Next, using time-varying effect models, I examine how the effect of joint democracy on embassy exchange changes over time. I find that, since 1900, democratic states are more likely to recognize one another—but only during periods of democratic hegemony. The analysis shows that the relevance of state attributes for status recognition changes over time, along with predominant conceptions of state competence.

## 10.2 Implications

The conventional approach limits our understanding of international status and, consequently, the concept's usefulness for the study of international politics. Even though status is a social concept, existing studies treat it as a function of the qualities of states. This approach substantively conflates social relations with actors' qualities, leads scholars to reduce status to the possession of material resources, and reduces social outcomes to the behaviors or attributes of actors—ultimately diminishing the usefulness of status for IR theories. Notwithstanding its importance, status resides in the background in IR theories: When some aspect of international politics cannot be explained using traditional theories based on security or survival, status is called upon to fulfill the task. As such, scholars rely on status to explain a limited set of phenomena, focusing on instances of state behavior that cannot be explained based on traditional factors. Based on the conventional wisdom, it would

seem that status can make only a limited contribution to our understanding of international relations. Scholars are thus caught in a conundrum: they posit that status is a fundamental aspect of international politics, but ultimately render it a residual category.

this study contributes to existing knowledge by showing that status is a distinctive phenomenon both conceptually and empirically—and, as such, is a useful concept for theories of international relations. Although status appeared in two strands of research in IR during the twentieth century, research on status eventually fizzled out. Insufficiently differentiated from material capabilities, status was ultimately reduced to a residual category. Compared to the first wave of status research in IR, the current wave seems to be at a lower risk of meeting the same fate, since it provides cumulative evidence that status motivates state behavior. At the same time, status has not reached its full potential in IR research yet. By studying status in its own right—as something analytically and empirically distinguishable from material capabilities and other state attributes—I hope to show why it matters for international politics. The concept of status can achieve its full potential in IR scholarship when we give due attention to its distinctive feature: its fundamentally social nature. By doing so, we can consider not only how status may increase a state's propensity for conflict, as many existing studies argue, but also how status plays a key role in international cooperation and the maintenance of international order, as I discuss below.

Given its innovative approach, this book offers three new lessons for research on international hierarchies, international order, and power transitions respectively—areas that, despite drawing increasing scholarly attention in recent years, are still rarely linked to status research.

### **10.2.1 Not a Meritocracy**

states and leaders care deeply about status. As Morgenthau notes, prestige “is as intrinsic an element of the relations between nations as the desire for prestige is of the relations between individuals.”<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, overwhelming evidence indicates that states and leaders value status, sometimes to the point of fighting wars for the sake of recognition. In fact, actors care so deeply about status

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<sup>1</sup>Morgenthau 2006, 83.

that they may be willing to compromise other fundamental goals—such as survival, security, or profit—for the sake of status. Cumulative evidence indicates that actors care so deeply about status that they may sacrifice blood and treasure for the sake of recognition. As research from different traditions shows, states who receive less recognition than they think they deserve<sup>2</sup> or than their material capabilities would warrant<sup>3</sup> are more prone to conflict.

This book demonstrates that international hierarchies of status are far from meritocratic systems. By assuming that status is a function of states' qualities, existing studies suggest that status results from the talent or effort of individual states; as such, the best strategy to achieve status involves acquiring certain attributes. By contrast, I demonstrate that the established powers enjoy a cumulative advantage in status attainment, which derives from their social position rather than from their attributes. Status hierarchies are far from meritocratic systems: high-status states tend to attract more recognition because of their popularity, to enjoy privileges that beget more status, and to exhibit levels of solidarity among themselves that low status states cannot afford to maintain with one another.

The relational sources of status have opposite implications for high- and low-status states. On the one hand, established powers On the other hand, it is more difficult to gain status than to maintain it. For emerging powers, these relational patterns imply that status recognition is not simply a matter of acquiring certain attributes, or something that can be decided at the state or even the dyadic levels. Rather, recognition as a great power depends on the broader social environment, as it ultimately involves reconfiguring social arrangements and reshaping predominant conceptions of state competence.

For status-seeking states, the findings imply that investing in material resources may be a counterproductive strategy to achieve status. First, although military capability does play a role in recognition, fundamental values such as democracy are important drivers of recognition. The effect of material resources depends on fundamental values: without fundamental values, material resources have less impact on core membership. Indeed, without fundamental values, material resources are

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<sup>2</sup>Lindemann 2011; Murray 2018; Ringmar 2002; Ward 2017; Wolf 2011.

<sup>3</sup>Maoz 2010; Renshon 2017; Volgy and Mayhall 1995.

less likely to evoke status recognition. Depending on a state's ensemble of symbols (or lack thereof), the acquisition of material resources may even downgrade a state's standing. For example, the acquisition of nuclear weapons by North Korea symbolized the status of a rogue state, rather than that of a great power. Moreover, investing in material resources such as military capability may create security dilemmas. In contrast, adopting fundamental values does not exacerbate conflict, and may therefore be a preferable strategy. Investing simultaneously in both types of status attributes—that is, adopting fundamental values while acquiring material resources—may be a preferable strategy for status-seeking states. That said, this mixed strategy may not be an option for states that question the legitimacy of the current international order and its normative foundations.

A central position in the status hierarchy depends on an expensive combination of status attributes—including both material resources and fundamental values—rather than isolated attributes. Core admission does not come cheap, and is therefore out of reach for most states. High standing usually involves a distinctive way of life, rather than isolated attributes such as aircraft carriers or fighter jets, which can be more easily acquired. High levels of fundamental values such as democracy require not only material resources, but also the human and social capital to effectively implement in the domestic realm imported values, which originated at core states with distinct political traditions.

Perhaps most importantly, results indicate that acquiring status attributes—whether material or not—has a limited impact on a state's status. Because states recognize states that are similar to them, the importance of status attributes is socially constrained: attributes only acquire symbolic value when this value is shared socially.

In recent decades, IR scholars have started to question the anarchy assumption. They argue that international relations are hierarchical rather than anarchical. IR research thus pays increasing attention to the hierarchical aspect of world politics.<sup>4</sup> But that literature rarely integrated into status research.

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<sup>4</sup>See Mattern and Zarakol 2016; Zarakol 2017 for reviews.

### **10.2.2 International Order**

this book demonstrates that the role of status in international politics is broader, and more complex, than traditionally assumed. Existing studies tend to equate status-seeking behavior with aggressive behavior, showing that status-dissatisfied states are more prone to conflict. But while status may exacerbate conflict, it can also promote global governance. Since fundamental values like liberal democracy shape status recognition, status hierarchies create structural incentives for states to adopt international norms. This carries with it important implications. Among them: status-seeking behavior may also be cooperative behavior—that is, status may contribute to the maintenance of international order, as status-seeking states have an incentive to adopt prevailing international norms.

And while mainstream approaches posit that great powers maintain global stability using military or institutional instruments, this book demonstrates that great powers also lead by example, setting standards that other states adopt. As such, hegemony requires upholding existing standards not only internationally, but also domestically. The US contradicted the principles of state competence it was supposed to represent, and it did so in a very public way (with the war on terror, voter suppression, unequal enforcement of civil rights, and more recently the rise of right-wing populism). Cracks in the legitimacy of this order, as indicated by the unusually candid statements by the leaders of China (Xi Jinping) and Russia (Vladimir Putin) after their first meetings with US President Joseph Biden in 2021. Idea that the US lacks authority to speak about the internal affairs of other countries given its own struggles (the January 6 US Capitol riots and the widespread issue of police violence against Black Americans make it not the shiny city on a hill, but rather a struggling democracy like many others). Post-Cold War (democratic) malaise.<sup>5</sup>

Domination by virtue of prestige (rather than interests or authority). Order not based on coercion alone (domination by virtue of a constellation of interests). If material capabilities drove status, war becomes a problem of incomplete information about material capabilities. Neither is the order based on abstract principles (domination by virtue of authority). Scholars that develop

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<sup>5</sup>Kupchan 2012; Shleifer and Treisman November/December 2014.

more the idea of legitimacy, but attribute it to abstract principles connected to liberal democracy.<sup>6</sup> This approach also leads to a focus on formal institutions (e.g., Ikenberry's argument about the decreasing returns to force and increasing returns to institutions. Even though institutions initially reflect the preferences of the strong, over time they acquire effects of their own).<sup>7</sup> However, this approach takes recognition criteria at face value, assuming that democracy is inherently linked to state competence, rather than the product of contingent processes (the making of international status hierarchies). But legitimization was not about the democratic principle itself. The principle is only imperfectly internalized, either in the US or abroad.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, this sets the bar too high for international relations. Weak institutions, rarely formal. Rather, status stabilizes international order because establishes a standard of state competence. whoever is at the top (the hegemon) is perceived as more competent (formation of status beliefs).

My argument involves three new propositions about the relationship between status and inequality. First, status does much more than signal a state's coercive capabilities to other states; crucially, status *legitimizes* inequality. To become durable, inequality requires some form of legitimization. Status distinctions play an important role in this context: they involve not only categorization, or the drawing of a boundary between a group and outsiders; but also legitimization, or the establishment of a relation of superiority and inferiority between these types of actors. Based on status distinctions, certain types are presumed to be “better” or superior to others. By creating categorical differences among actors, status distinctions serve to justify why certain types are entitled to privileges that other types lack. That is, status distinctions rationalize inequality, framing as logical—or even natural—the differential access to privileges among actors. Second, status *stabilizes* inequality by shaping social perceptions and behavior. By drawing a boundary between those types perceived as superior and inferior, status distinctions create expectations about the ability of either type to exert authority in a given situation. These expectations act as focal points, creating self-fulfilling prophecies—as an actor tends to act according to what is expected of its type, while

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<sup>6</sup>Lake 2014.

<sup>7</sup>Ikenberry 2011.

<sup>8</sup>Adler-Nissen and Zarakol 2021.

expecting others to act according to what is expected of their type. Finally, once status distinctions are established, status *reinforces* inequality, independently from material conditions, via cumulative advantage mechanisms. To begin, consensus effects shape status recognition: the more a state receives recognition, the more others deem it worthy of recognition. In addition, high-status states enjoy privileges that beget more status: they states act as standard-setters, shaping the criteria for status recognition, and as gatekeepers, shaping recognition decisions. Finally, status distinctions involve social closure. On the one hand, high-status states differentiate themselves from outsiders by adopting a distinctive way of life, which is difficult to mimic. On the other hand, high-status states share dense relations among themselves but sparse relations with outsiders. As such, status distinctions encourage solidarity among high-status states but undermine solidarity among low-status states. While well-connected states attract additional recognition, sparsely-connected states do not.

questions of status lie at the heart of international order. In any society, hierarchies of status have major political implications, providing an answer to the fundamental question of “who gets what, when and how.” Ubiquitous in social contexts, status hierarchies impact valued outcomes: in social environments, actors typically differentiate themselves into social positions that imply unequal expectations, rewards, and obligations. When it comes to relations among states, matters of status take on particular importance. In international relations, no clear authority stands above states. Shared norms and institutional structures are much weaker than in domestic societies. To the extent that foundational treaties like the UN Charter have a constitutional quality, no independent court with universal jurisdiction can enforce them. With few exceptions like the UN Security Council (UNSC), states rarely occupy formal positions of authority. In the absence of a supranational authority to settle disputes, states often resort to more informal coordination channels, like the Group of Seven (G7), or to unilateral action. As such, the policies that could attenuate the impact of status hierarchies in world politics, like providing foreign aid or granting asylum to refugees, are not consistently enforced by a central authority. Rather, such policies are implemented at the discretion of each state, in a piecemeal fashion if at all. Under the circumstances that characterize

international relations, status becomes much more important in determining who gets what, when, and how. When no central authority can settle disputes, states might resort to the use of force (or its threat) to get what they want. However, major wars are increasingly costly, especially since the advent of nuclear weapons; and happen only rarely.<sup>9</sup> And in the aftermath of wars, status hierarchies determine the ensuing distribution of privileges among states. To the extent that shared norms and institutional structures exist in international politics, they are strongly influenced by those at the top.<sup>10</sup> High-status states play a key role during critical junctures like the aftermath of major wars, shaping the institutions that they will use to manage international relations thereafter.<sup>11</sup> As such, most of the time in international politics we are arguably in the realm of status—where actors adjudicate disputes based on social esteem and voluntary deference, rather than based on the use of force or its threat. As Gilpin puts it, status is the “everyday currency of international relations, much as authority is the central ordering feature of domestic society.”<sup>12</sup> While authority ensures that commands will be obeyed in domestic politics, in international politics “both power and prestige function to ensure that the lesser states in the system will obey the commands of the dominant state or states.”<sup>13</sup>

### 10.2.3 Power Transitions

Finally, this book offers new insight on why disagreements about status can lead to hegemonic wars. Previous work argues that war can result when states receive less recognition than their capabilities would warrant, or when the established powers resist change. However, existing studies fall short of explaining why this happens. Why do the established powers treat some rising powers as legitimate but others as revisionist? to understand this, we need to understand the sources of international status. Status-seeking states may adopt different strategies to achieve recognition. But what determines whether status-seekers will be satisfied with their status? When should we expect the established

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<sup>9</sup>Brooks 1999; Mueller 1989; Sagan and Waltz 1995.

<sup>10</sup>Hurd 2017; Kupchan 2014; Pitts 2018.

<sup>11</sup>Ikenberry 2001; Schroeder 1986.

<sup>12</sup>Gilpin 1981, 31.

<sup>13</sup>Gilpin 1981, 30.

powers to recognize an emerging power as an equal—or instead to deny it the desired recognition? My book suggests that disagreements about status emerge when the established and emerging powers have conflicting conceptions of state competence. This implies that, to assess whether hegemonic transitions will be violent, we should compare the models of statehood put forward by either side. If the hegemonic transition from Britain to the U.S. was peaceful, since both countries shared a similar conception of state competence, a potential transition from the U.S. to China is more likely to spell conflict—as China increasingly questions the liberal democratic foundations of the contemporary international order.

The question of how states achieve status matters especially today, when the future of the international order is uncertain. After a period of optimism following the end of the Cold War, great power rivalry is on the rise again. While Western powers initially harbored hopes of assimilating China and Russia into the liberal international order, such hopes have since subsided.

In addition, the fact that there is already an established Western standard of state competence means that an emerging power like China will have a harder time changing the standards for competence in the international system. Even in the past, major wars did not completely wipe the slate clean (Pax Americana based on Western standards, liberal democracy). Western standards pre-date American hegemony. But now, emerging powers have to work within the constraints of the existing hierarchy of status.

We can speculate about what the new criteria for competence would be under a potential Chinese-led order.

Existing studies recommend that established powers recognize/appease emerging powers by giving them a more important position in international institutions. However, that answer negates the implications of recognition; a Chinese order will not be the same as the Pax Americana, as it implies a redefinition of status beliefs/prevailing criteria for state competence.

A potential power transition could happen even in the absence of a major war. It is about state competence more broadly, rather than about winning wars (or material capabilities) specifically; there are other ways for a state to signal competence besides victory in war. Given the increasing

costs of war (with the advent of nuclear weapons and increasing economic interdependence) as well as the decreasing benefits of conquest, we should not expect that power transitions to depend on a major war between the emerging and established powers. Rather, the disputes for superiority (or establishing standards of competence) will likely play out in multiple areas. For example, Russian and Chinese agents have conducted prominent cyber attacks against American targets. Importantly, this also involves disputes for legitimacy (or spheres of influence)—for example through the provision of foreign aid during the coronavirus crisis, or via programs like China's Belt and Road Initiative. Status is relational; persuasion process. Emerging powers will vie for global supremacy by trying to establish their competence in different areas. We should adopt more holistic approach when considering disputes among major powers. It is about competence rather than military capabilities alone.



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# A

## Supplementary Empirical Materials

### A.1 Supplementary Materials for Chapter 4

**Table A.1.** Distributions of Normalized Centrality Measures (2005)

Measure	Minimum	Median	Mean	Maximum
Degree	0	.15	.21	.89
Closeness	0	.35	.36	.49
Betweenness	0	0	0	.11
Eigenvector	0	.31	.36	1

**Table A.2.** Correlations Between Normalized Centrality Measures (2005)

	Degree	Closeness	Betweenness	Eigenvector
Degree	-			
Closeness	.75	-		
Betweenness	.72	.54	-	
Eigenvector	.97	.74	.59	-

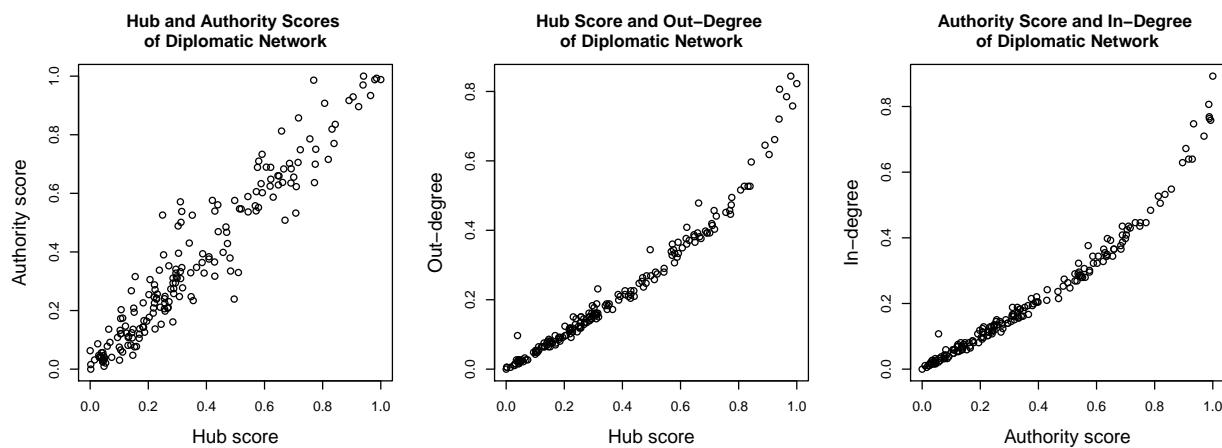
**Table A.3.** Distribution of Out-Degree (Embassies Sent)

	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Minimum	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Median	20	24	24	24	25	24	24	28	33
Mean	27	33	34	35	36	34	35	39	43
Maximum	108	120	127	131	134	148	151	157	160

**Table A.4.** Power Law Tests (2005)

Data	Alpha	Cut-off	Log-likelihood	KS	p
In-Degree	3.81	60	-207.17	.08	.90
Out-Degree	4.41	67	-174.89	.07	.99

Notes: Results obtained via Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests; low *p*-values indicate a power-law distribution. See [Clauset, Shalizi, and Newman 2009](#).



**Figure A.1.** Hub and Authority Scores (2005)

## A.2 Supplementary Materials for Chapter 7

**Table A.5.** Data Sources

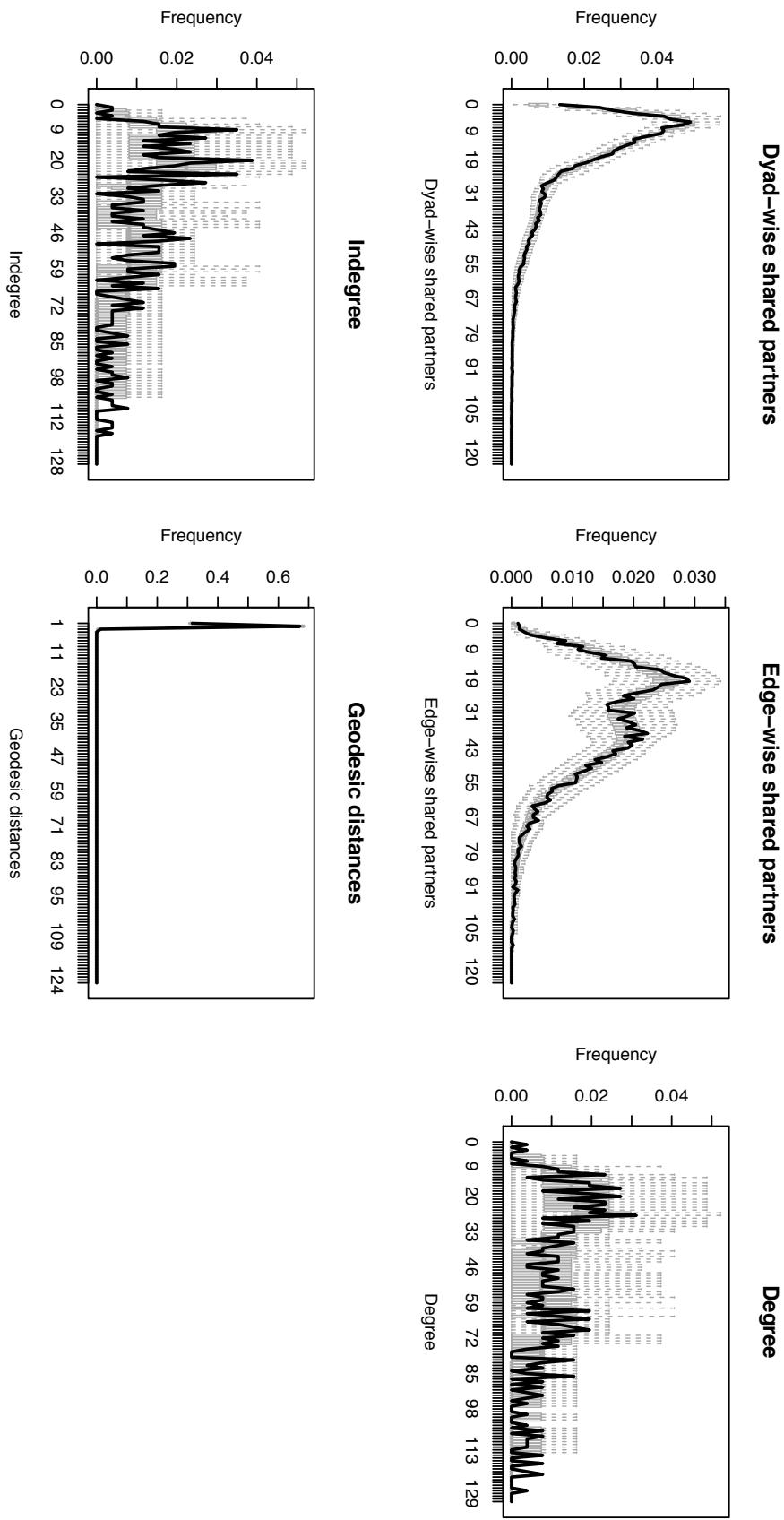
Measure	Source	Version	Coverage
Democracy	Gleditsch and Ward (1997)	4.0	1970-2005
Human Rights	Gibney et al. (2015)	-	1980-2005
Econ. Freedom	Heritage Foundation (2015)	-	1995-2005
GDP, GDP/capita	Gleditsch (2002b)	6.0	1970-2005
Mat. capability*	Singer, Bremer, and Stuckey (1972); Singer (1988)	4.0	1970-2005
Nuclear Weapons	Singh and Way (2004)	-	1970-2000
Alliance	Leeds et al. (2002)	3.0	1970-2003
Trade	Barbieri, Keshk, and Pollins (2009)	3.0	1970-2005
Contiguity	Stinnnett et al. (2002)	3.1	1970-2005
IGO Headquarter	Rohn (1997)	-	1970-1999

Note: \*Includes military spending, population, and the CINC Score.

**Table A.6.** State-Level Variable Distributions for Model 1 (2000)

	GDP/ capita*	Military Spending*	Nuclear Weapons	Demo- cracy	Human Rights	Econ Freedom	IGO HQ
Min.	5.98	8.01	0	-10	1	8.90	0
Median	8.49	13.24	0	6	4	59.55	0
Mean	8.55	13.09	0.06	3.59	3.69	58.73	0.26
Max.	11.12	17.77	1	10	5	87.80	1

Note: \*Log-transformed.



**Figure A.2.** Goodness-of-Fit of the TERGM of Diplomatic Ties (Model 1).

Note: Boxplots represent the distribution of statistics from 1,000 simulated networks generated from the estimated model. Solid lines represent predicted probabilities. Lines close to the simulated median indicate good model fit.

**Table A.7.** Degeneracy Checks: TERGM of Diplomatic Ties (Model 1)

	$t = 2$						$t = 3$					
	Observed	Simulated	Estimate	s.e.	$z$	$p$	Observed	Simulated	Estimate	s.e.	$z$	$p$
Popularity	133583.00	148412.18	14829.18	27089.58	0.55	0.58	166467.00	148412.18	-18054.82	27089.58	-0.67	0.51
Sociality	136244.00	149261.06	13017.06	24172.69	0.54	0.59	16534.00	149261.06	-16672.94	24172.69	-0.69	0.49
Reciprocity	1966.00	2107.56	141.56	267.62	0.53	0.60	2287.00	2107.56	-179.44	267.62	-0.67	0.50
Transitivity	202320.00	223329.84	21009.84	39483.86	0.53	0.59	251062.00	223329.84	-27732.16	39483.86	-0.70	0.48
Democracy $_{[i-j]}$	31945.00	32872.42	927.41	3253.02	0.29	0.78	34664.00	32872.42	-1791.59	3253.02	-0.55	0.58
Human Rights $_{[i-j]}$	6743.00	6674.53	-68.47	343.86	-0.20	0.84	6778.00	6674.53	-103.47	343.86	-0.30	0.76
Economic Freedom $_{[i-j]}$	58731.20	60601.42	1870.22	5305.65	0.35	0.72	64229.50	60601.42	-3628.08	5305.65	-0.68	0.49
GDP/capita $_{[i-j]}$	6306.80	6842.83	536.02	965.91	0.55	0.58	7555.39	6842.83	-712.56	965.91	-0.74	0.46
Military Spending $_{[i-j]}$	12162.09	12829.02	666.93	1474.09	0.45	0.65	13736.01	12829.02	-906.99	1474.09	-0.62	0.54
Nuclear Weapons $_{[i-j]}$	1133.00	1179.01	46.01	110.97	0.41	0.68	1248.00	1179.01	-68.99	110.97	-0.62	0.53
Democracy $_j$	19847.00	21936.68	2089.68	4116.79	0.51	0.61	24419.00	21936.68	-2482.32	4116.79	-0.60	0.55
Human Rights $_j$	17071.00	18805.14	1734.14	2800.57	0.62	0.54	20983.00	18805.14	-2177.86	20983.00	-0.78	0.44
Economic Freedom $_j$	286255.00	307397.91	21142.91	37981.87	0.56	0.58	33569.80	307397.91	-28301.89	37981.87	-0.75	0.46
GDP/Capita $_j$	42847.24	45714.27	2867.03	5283.01	0.54	0.59	49702.12	45714.27	-3987.84	5283.01	-0.75	0.45
Military Expenditure $_j$	69861.50	74078.51	4217.00	7989.10	0.53	0.60	80118.42	74078.51	-6039.91	7989.10	-0.76	0.45
Nuclear Weapons $_j$	583.00	609.39	26.39	73.08	0.36	0.72	650.00	609.39	-40.61	73.08	-0.56	0.58
Alliance	1443.00	1553.53	110.53	205.13	0.54	0.59	1678.00	1553.53	-124.47	205.13	-0.61	0.54
Trade	7610.53	7391.64	-218.89	925.77	-0.24	0.81	7401.20	7391.64	-9.57	925.77	-0.01	0.99
Contiguity	351.00	376.45	25.45	44.87	0.57	0.57	407.00	376.45	-30.55	44.87	-0.68	0.50
Same Region	596.00	639.34	43.34	86.44	0.50	0.62	688.00	639.34	-48.66	86.44	-0.56	0.57
IGO Headquarters	1822.00	2010.24	188.25	286.73	0.66	0.51	2193.00	2010.24	-182.75	286.73	-0.64	0.52
GDP/capita $_i$	43005.92	45825.48	2819.56	5235.73	0.54	0.59	49770.45	45825.48	-3944.97	5235.73	-0.75	0.45
Tie Stability	4183.00	4384.92	201.92	359.35	0.56	0.57	4667.00	4384.92	-282.08	359.35	-0.78	0.43
Edges	4823.00	5119.63	296.63	568.11	0.52	0.60	5546.00	5119.63	-426.37	568.11	-0.75	0.45

*Notes:* Checks compare the distributions from 1,000 simulated networks generated from Model 1 to the observed distributions for all model statistics at  $t = 2$  (year 2000) and  $t = 3$  (year 2005). Results from 2 “basis” networks (with 1,000 simulations each) and 2 observed “target” networks;  $p$ -values based on a two-sample  $t$ -tests. Small  $p$ -values indicate a significant difference between simulations and observed networks (or degeneracy).

**Table A.8.** TERGM of Diplomatic Ties for 1995–2005 (Robustness Checks)

	Model 2 <sup>†</sup>	Model 3 <sup>†</sup>	Model 1
	State Attributes; No Network Effects	State and Dyad Attributes; No Network Effects	Main Specification; With Network Effects
<b>Network Effects</b>			
Popularity		0.031 (0.028; 0.039)*	
Sociality		0.028 (0.026; 0.032)*	
Reciprocity		1.756 (1.661; 1.827)*	
Transitivity		0.005 (0.002; 0.006)*	
<b>Homophily</b>			
Democracy $ _{i-j} $	-0.006 (-0.021; 0.013)	-0.014 (-0.024; -0.002)*	
Human Rights $ _{i-j} $	-0.075 (-0.110; -0.030)*	-0.056 (-0.100; -0.017)*	
Economic Freedom $ _{i-j} $	-0.011 (-0.016; -0.005)*	-0.004 (-0.006; -0.001)*	
GDP/capita $ _{i-j} $	0.042 (0.006; 0.065)*	-0.053 (-0.090; -0.017)*	
Military Spending $ _{i-j} $	-0.069 (-0.100; -0.032)*	-0.013 (-0.030; -0.013)*	
Nuclear Weapons $ _{i-j} $	1.249 (1.247; 1.291)*	-0.002 (-0.025; 0.037)	
<b>State Attributes</b>			
Democracy $_j$	-0.004 (-0.008; 0.004)	-0.006 (-0.013; 0.006)	-0.030 (-0.044; -0.013)*
Human Rights $_j$	0.086 (0.057; 0.125)*	0.077 (0.062; 0.114)*	0.051 (0.051; 0.057)*
Economic Freedom $_j$	-0.004 (-0.011; 0.002)	-0.007 (-0.013; -0.001)*	0.008 (0.008; 0.011)*
GDP/capita $_j$	-0.094 (-0.168; -0.053)*	-0.070 (-0.169; -0.015)*	-0.093 (-0.149; -0.065)*
Military Spending $_j$	0.350 (0.332; 0.383)*	0.366 (0.340; 0.409)*	0.034 (0.027; 0.034)*
Nuclear Weapons $_j$	0.098 (0.014; 0.156)*	-0.969 (-1.136; -0.852)*	-0.332 (-0.419; -0.270)*
<b>Control Variables</b>			
Alliance	1.114 (0.945; 1.334)*	1.134 (0.912; 1.451)*	1.041 (0.890; 1.263)*
Trade	0.005 (-0.003; 0.012)	0.007 (-0.003; 0.014)	0.007 (0.006; 0.007)*
Contiguity	1.160 (0.896; 1.439)*	1.085 (0.798; 1.355)*	0.693 (0.479; 0.886)*
Same Region	0.688 (0.554; 0.807)*	0.638 (0.523; 0.731)*	0.884 (0.814; 0.949)*
IGO Headquarters	0.222 (0.189; 0.261)*	0.269 (0.246; 0.309)*	0.054 (0.028; 0.082)*
GDP/capita $_i$	0.274 (0.267; 0.284)*	0.271 (0.267; 0.277)*	-0.021 (-0.026; -0.013)*
Tie Stability	4.870 (4.802; 4.987)*	4.765 (4.708; 4.880)*	3.610 (3.451; 3.806)*
Edges	-9.204 (-9.511; -8.865)*	-9.056 (-9.455; -8.673)*	-5.677 (-5.687; -5.677)*

Notes: N<sub>1995</sub> = 123, N<sub>2005</sub> = 134. Following network notation,  $i$  denotes the sending state and  $j$  denotes the receiving state.

\*  $\alpha$  outside 95% confidence interval based on 1,000 bootstrap replications.

<sup>†</sup> A TERGM without network effects is equivalent to a logit model (Cranmer and Desmarais, 2011, 79).

**Table A.9.** TERGM of Diplomatic Ties (Robustness Checks)

	<i>Model 4</i> (Democracy)	<i>Model 5</i> (Human Rights)	<i>Model 6</i> (Economic Freedom)	<i>Model 1</i> (Main Specification)
Network Effects				
Popularity	0.030 (0.025; 0.034)*	0.023 (0.018; 0.028)*	0.029 (0.026; 0.035)*	0.031 (0.028; 0.039)*
Sociality	0.027 (0.024; 0.032)*	0.025 (0.023; 0.029)*	0.027 (0.026; 0.029)*	0.028 (0.026; 0.032)*
Reciprocity	1.888 (1.679; 2.078)*	1.674 (1.555; 1.796)*	1.739 (1.674; 1.792)*	1.756 (1.661; 1.827)*
Transitivity	0.005 (0.002; 0.007)*	0.006 (0.003; 0.008)*	0.004 (0.003; 0.005)*	0.005 (0.002; 0.006)*
Homophily	-0.017 (-0.024; -0.013)*	-0.044 (-0.061; -0.016)*	-0.003 (-0.004; -0.003)*	-0.014 (-0.024; -0.002)*
Democracy $ _{i-j} $				
Human Rights $ _{i-j} $				-0.056 (-0.100; -0.017)*
Economic Freedom $ _{i-j} $				-0.004 (-0.006; -0.001)*
GDP/capita $ _{i-j} $	-0.052 (-0.087; -0.005)*	-0.048 (-0.072; -0.022)*	-0.095 (-0.113; -0.073)*	-0.053 (-0.090; -0.017)*
Military Spending $ _{i-j} $	-0.003 (-0.022; 0.009)	-0.009 (-0.019; -0.001)*	-0.008 (-0.018; -0.008)*	-0.013 (-0.030; -0.013)*
Nuclear Weapons $ _{i-j} $	0.114 (-0.023; 0.239)	0.178 (0.102; 0.241)*	-0.091 (-0.170; -0.024)*	-0.002 (-0.025; 0.037)
State Attributes				-0.030 (-0.044; -0.013)*
Democracy $_j$	-0.027 (-0.036; -0.015)*	0.007 (-0.048; 0.051)	0.006 (0.001; 0.010)*	0.051 (0.051; 0.057)*
Human Rights $_j$				0.008 (0.008; 0.011)*
Economic Freedom $_j$				-0.093 (-0.149; -0.065)*
GDP/capita $_j$	0.063 (0.015; 0.082)*	-0.039 (-0.098; 0.029)	0.054 (0.041; 0.063)*	0.034 (0.027; 0.034)*
Military Spending $_j$	-0.059 (-0.087; 0.012)	0.034 (0.009; 0.059)*	-0.475 (-0.612; -0.336)*	-0.332 (-0.419; -0.270)*
Nuclear Weapons $_j$	-0.200 (-0.406; -0.043)*	-0.348 (-0.632; -0.079)*		
Control Variables				
Alliance	0.613 (0.425; 0.828)*	0.758 (0.538; 0.957)*	1.000 (0.876; 1.168)*	1.041 (0.890; 1.263)*
Trade	0.005 (-0.009; 0.021)	0.013 (0.003; 0.022)*	0.007 (0.006; 0.007)*	0.007 (0.006; 0.007)*
Contiguity	0.837 (0.684; 1.005)*	0.834 (0.598; 1.097)*	0.684 (0.461; 0.916)*	0.693 (0.479; 0.886)*
Same Region	0.759 (0.601; 0.898)*	0.826 (0.653; 0.983)*	0.886 (0.824; 0.947)*	0.884 (0.814; 0.949)*
IGO Headquarters	0.087 (0.012; 0.163)*	0.028 (-0.031; 0.134)	-0.045 (-0.045; -0.035)*	0.054 (0.028; 0.082)*
GDP/capita $_i$	-0.019 (-0.033; 0.002)	-0.010 (-0.043; 0.031)	-0.028 (-0.031; -0.025)*	-0.021 (-0.026; -0.013)*
Tie Stability	3.253 (2.901; 3.547)*	3.550 (3.423; 3.707)*	3.632 (3.469; 3.817)*	3.610 (3.451; 3.806)*
Edges	-5.010 (-5.720; -4.608)*	-5.475 (-6.149; -5.085)*	-5.391 (-5.420; -5.365)*	-5.677 (-5.687; -5.677)*
Period				1995-2005
N	N <sub>1970</sub> = 122, N <sub>2005</sub> = 144	N <sub>1980</sub> = 132, N <sub>2005</sub> = 159	N <sub>1995</sub> = 131, N <sub>2005</sub> = 140	N <sub>1995</sub> = 123, N <sub>2005</sub> = 134

Notes: Following network notation,  $i$  denotes the sending state and  $j$  denotes the receiving state.

\* outside 95% confidence interval based on 1,900 bootstrap replications.

**Table A.10.** TERGM of Diplomatic Ties for 1995–2005 (Robustness Checks)

	<i>Model 8</i> (GDP and Population)	<i>Model 9</i> (CINC Score)	<i>Model 1</i> (Main Specification)
Network Effects			
Popularity	0.032 (0.028; 0.039)*	0.032 (0.030; 0.037)*	0.031 (0.028; 0.039)*
Sociality	0.027 (0.027; 0.028)*	0.025 (0.023; 0.029)*	0.028 (0.026; 0.032)*
Reciprocity	1.757 (1.656; 1.837)*	1.744 (1.639; 1.818)*	1.756 (1.661; 1.827)*
Transitivity	0.004 (0.001; 0.006)*	0.007 (0.004; 0.008)*	0.005 (0.002; 0.006)*
Homophily			
Democracy <sub>[i-j]</sub>	-0.014 (-0.024; -0.001)*	-0.014 (-0.024; -0.001)*	-0.014 (-0.024; -0.002)*
Human Rights <sub>[i-j]</sub>	-0.074 (-0.105; -0.046)*	-0.057 (-0.103; -0.017)*	-0.056 (-0.100; -0.017)*
Economic Freedom <sub>[i-j]</sub>	-0.005 (-0.008; -0.002)*	-0.003 (-0.005; -0.000)*	-0.004 (-0.006; -0.001)*
GDP/capita <sub>[i-j]</sub>	-0.050 (-0.066; -0.028)*	-0.049 (-0.092; -0.013)*	-0.053 (-0.090; -0.017)*
Population <sub>[i-j]</sub>	0.035 (0.012; 0.061)*		
Military Spending <sub>[i-j]</sub>	0.000 (-0.016; 0.000)		-0.013 (-0.030; -0.013)*
CINC Score <sub>[i-j]</sub>	-0.011 (-0.013; 0.006)	1.206 (0.969; 1.414)*	-0.002 (-0.025; 0.037)
Nuclear Weapons <sub>[i-j]</sub>	-0.067 (-0.105; -0.022)*		
State Attributes			
Democracy <sub>j</sub>	-0.029 (-0.043; -0.013)*	-0.032 (-0.046; -0.015)*	-0.030 (-0.044; -0.013)*
Human Rights <sub>j</sub>	0.045 (0.045; 0.053)*	0.032 (0.019; 0.050)*	0.051 (0.051; 0.057)*
Economic Freedom <sub>j</sub>	0.008 (0.008; 0.010)*	0.009 (0.009; 0.011)*	0.008 (0.008; 0.011)*
GDP/capita <sub>j</sub>	-0.074 (-0.132; -0.049)*	-0.093 (-0.149; -0.065)*	
GDP <sub>j</sub>	-0.084 (-0.099; -0.073)*		
Population <sub>j</sub>	0.089 (0.063; 0.139)*		
Military Spending <sub>j</sub>	0.034 (0.008; 0.038)*	0.034 (0.027; 0.034)*	
CINC Score <sub>j</sub>	-0.352 (-0.435; -0.288)*	-1.143 (-2.075; -0.250)*	-0.332 (-0.419; -0.270)*
Nuclear Weapons <sub>j</sub>	-0.264 (-0.411; -0.165)*		
Control Variables			
Alliance	1.051 (0.884; 1.288)*	1.040 (0.900; 1.250)*	1.041 (0.890; 1.263)*
Trade	0.006 (0.005; 0.006)*	0.007 (0.006; 0.007)*	0.007 (0.006; 0.007)*
Contiguity	0.718 (0.509; 0.906)*	0.704 (0.494; 0.901)*	0.693 (0.479; 0.886)*
Same Region	0.901 (0.852; 0.945)*	0.882 (0.823; 0.942)*	0.884 (0.814; 0.949)*
IGO Headquarters <sub>j</sub>	0.049 (0.020; 0.085)*	0.055 (0.036; 0.086)*	0.054 (0.028; 0.082)*
GDP/capita <sub>i</sub>	-0.016 (-0.020; -0.008)*	-0.021 (-0.026; -0.013)*	
GDP <sub>i</sub>	0.024 (-0.040; 0.094)		
Tie Stability	3.612 (3.451; 3.818)*	3.603 (3.440; 3.804)*	3.610 (3.451; 3.806)*
Edges	-6.756 (-7.837; -5.966)*	-5.349 (-5.548; -5.229)*	-5.677 (-5.687; -5.677)*

Notes: N<sub>1995</sub> = 123, N<sub>2005</sub> = 134. Following network notation, *i* denotes the sending state and *j* denotes the receiving state.

\* o outside 95% confidence interval based on 1,000 bootstrap replications.

## A.3 Supplementary Materials for Chapter 8

**Table A.11.** Data Sources

Measure	Source	Version	Coverage
Democracy	Coppedge et al. 2017	7.1	1970-2010
Econ. Freedom	Heritage Foundation 2015	-	1995-2010
Human Rights	Fariss 2014	-	1970-2010
GDP, GDP/capita	Gleditsch 2002a	6.0	1970-2010
Military Spending	Singer, Bremer, and Stuckey 1972; Singer 1988	5.0	1970-2010
Nuclear Weapons	Singh and Way 2004	-	1970-2000

**Table A.12.** Variable Distributions (2000)

	Min.	Median	Mean	Max.	NA's
GDP	138	23,674	263,093	11,275,426	3
GDP/capita	217	4,474	9,749	67,507	3
Military Spending	0	277	4,524	303,136	5
Nuclear Weapons	0	0	0.05	1	6
Democracy	0.01	6	3.59	10	21
Economic Freedom	8.90	59.00	57.89	87.70	28
Human Rights	-2.70	0.43	0.59	4.34	-

**Table A.13.** Core-Periphery Structure Results (Continuous Model)

	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
<b>Core-periphery fit</b>									
Correlation	0.60	0.60	0.64	0.63	0.64	0.64	0.65	0.65	0.65
Gini coefficient*	0.42	0.40	0.43	0.43	0.44	0.45	0.43	0.42	0.39
Concentration†	0.87	0.86	0.87	0.88	0.88	0.87	0.87	0.87	0.87
<b>Proportion of states</b>									
In the core	0.33	0.37	0.38	0.37	0.34	0.29	0.30	0.33	0.33
In the periphery	0.67	0.63	0.62	0.63	0.66	0.71	0.70	0.67	0.67

*Notes:* Results from continuous models in UCINET using correlation as the fitness function.

\* Measures how unequally coreness scores are distributed over the population.

† Measures the difference in coreness between core and periphery.