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What Friends Are Made Of: Bilateral Linkages and Domestic Drivers of Foreign Policy Alignment with China

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Abstract

With China's emergence as a global economic and political power, it is commonly assumed that its leadership's influence in international politics has increased considerably. However, systematic studies of China's impact on the foreign policy behavior of other states are rare and generally limited to questions regarding economic capabilities and the use of coercive power. This paper seeks to contribute to the literature on China's global political rise by taking a broader perspective. Drawing on voting data from the UN General Assembly for the last two decades, it explores the plausibility of different explanations for foreign policy similarity: economic, diplomatic and military linkages; domestic institutional similarities; and parallel problem-solving processes. The logistic regression analyses find that high similarity levels correlate with shared regime characteristics and comparable patterns of sociopolitical globalization. The results further indicate that foreign aid and arms trading seem to help buy support in global politics.

Keywords: China, foreign policy similarity, UN General Assembly, voting, panel data

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Article Outline

1   Introduction

The People's Republic of China (PRC) is emerging as a key player at the center of world politics. Regardless of whether the years 2004 and 2005 are cited as a "turning point in Chinese diplomacy" (Lam 2006: 160) or whether the first evidence of the state leadership's "growing assertiveness" in global politics is dated back to 2006 (Medeiros 2009: 187–188),[1] Beijing is reaping the rewards of three decades of an economic rise and of foreign policy adjustments

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in the 1990s, both of which laid the foundation for "increased international activism" (Goldstein 2005: 119) and the country's "emergence as an active player in the international arena" (Medeiros and Fravel 2003: 22). Be it through the world climate talks, the reform of the global economic and financial system or international security challenges, the country's leadership is seizing its chances to contribute to the building of a multipolar international system and to protect and pursue its interests in global politics.

In advancing its objectives, China's leadership does not operate by itself. A central feature of the country's rise in international affairs has been its ability to align and cooperate with other states. In recent years Beijing has coordinated policy positions and jointly enhanced diplomatic leverage by drawing on intergovernmental clubs with (re)emerging powers in the context of BRICS and BASIC, and with Russia and its Central Asian neighbors through the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) – although with varying degrees of success. Within the BRICS group, for instance, China finds rhetorical support for its commitment to multilateral diplomacy and the foreign policy principles of nonaggression and noninterference in domestic affairs. In 2011, Brazil, Russia, India and China abstained from the vote on the "No-Fly Zone" resolution in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), claiming that the Libyan crisis should be ended using diplomatic means.[2] Although this consensus crumbled in early 2012 when the council began voting on Syria, the BRICS members still managed to insist that any solutions to the crises in Syria and Iran should be based on political dialogue.[3]

However, support for Chinese foreign policy objectives does not just stem from other (re)emerging powers. Besides Russia, more than a quarter of the UN member states reflected China's position on Syria by not attending the respective UN General Assembly's (UNGA) plenary meeting in February 2012, by abstaining from the vote, or by voting against the Arab-backed resolution. In Latin America, for instance, the member states of the Alianza Bolivariana (ALBA), with the exception of Antigua and Barbuda, demonstrated their disagreement

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2   Although it initially voted in favor of the UNSC resolution, South Africa later adopted the BRIC members' position. See Security Council (2011), *Security Council Approves 'No-Fly Zone' over Libya*, Department of Public Information, News and Media Division, New York, online: <www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2011/sc10200.doc.htm> (12 September 2011), and Muni, S. D. (2011), *BRICS as a Block*, South Asian Sonundings, online: <http://blog.nus.edu.sg/southasiansoundings/2011/04/23/brics-as-a-block/> (12 September 2011). For the formal agreement on the principles, see *People's Daily Online* (2011), "Sanya Declaration of the BRICS Leaders Meeting," online: <http://english.people.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/7351064.html> (12 September 2011).

3   See BRICS Partnership for Global Stability, Security and Prosperity (2012), *Fourth BRICS Summit's Delhi Declaration*, New Delhi, online: <www.bricsindia.in/delhi-declaration.html> (29 March 2012), and *The Washington Post* (2012), "BRICS summit: Emerging economies condemn military threats against Iran, Syria," online: <www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/brics-summit-emerging-economies-condemn-military-threats-against-iran-syria/2012/03/29/gIQA48JuiS_story.html> (29 March 2012). For the UN voting records, consult the UNGA's resolution, Department of Public Information, News and Media Division (2011),*The situation in the Syrian Arab Republic*, New York, online: <www.un.org/News/Press/docs//2012/ga11207.doc.htm> (6 April 2012), and the UNSC's negotiations on The United Nations Security Council (2012), *The Situation in the Middle East*, online: <www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PV.6711> (7 August 2012).

with the UN resolution in one way or another. Half of the Southern African Development Community's (SADC) members did the same.

For China, a helping hand in pursuing core interests has not been restricted to global high politics. When China boycotted the Nobel Peace Prize Ceremony in 2010, another 16 states joined in. Not only were the usual suspects – such as Russia, Pakistan, Cuba and Sudan – absent, but Argentina and Colombia also expressed sympathy with Beijing's position by sending only low-ranking representatives and not their ambassadors to Oslo's City Hall.[4] In addition, since the early years of this century an increasing number of states, especially in the Global South, have been granting China full market economic status within the World Trade Organization – a core interest of the Chinese leadership not only for status reasons but also because it cushions against the penalties of WTO dispute settlements (Medeiros 2009: 64, 85).

The time in which China was "bereft of friends," "a beacon to no one – and, indeed, an ally to no one" is thus certainly over (Segal 1999: 33; see also Sutter 2003). Although this claim faces only limited objections in the academic and political debates and has attracted substantial attention within the "China rise" literature, little systematic research exists on why other states align with China. The few studies that do exist not only come to contradictory conclusions but also merely focus, narrowly, on the question of whether or not China's economic power is translated into direct political influence. They treat alternative causes, if at all, as secondary.

This paper contributes to the literature on China's international rise by asking what factors most often explain the similarities between other states' foreign policy choices and China's diplomatic interests. It argues that bilateral foreign policy similarity can be driven by economic, diplomatic and military linkages; institutional, socioeconomic and cultural affinities; and parallel problem-solving processes. To test the plausibility of the different explanations, I employ logistic regression estimations on a large panel of countries using available observations for the period from 1990 to 2008. To measure the dependent variable, I draw on UNGA voting data compiled by Strezhnev and Voeten (2012) and calculate a novel chance-corrected similarity measure that has been proposed by Häge (2011).

The paper proceeds as follows: First, I review the literature on China's economic and political rise, focusing on studies that assess the country's regional and global influence and relevant diplomatic strategies. Second, I discuss different explanations for foreign policy similarity, drawing mainly on literature on vote buying in the UN and on policy convergence, and formulate corresponding hypotheses. In the third section I present the research design and provide a more detailed description of the dependent variable, foreign policy similarity with China, and its development over the period from 1990 to 2011. In the fourth section, I

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4   See The Norwegian Nobel Committee (2010), *Embassies represented at the Nobel Prize Ceremony on December 10*, online: <http://nobelpeaceprize.org/en_GB/embassies-2010/> (13 September 2011), and *The Wall Street Journal* (2012), Empty Chair Emphasizes Nobel Schism, online: <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748770445760457601132100260582.html> (13 September 2011).

present and discuss the quantitative results. The conclusion summarizes the paper's findings and points out further areas of research.

2 China's Political Sway: Existing Research

Studies within the "China rise" literature address Beijing's ability to win other countries' support for its own political objectives in global and regional affairs mainly as a consequence of its trade and financial power. Lampton (2008) identifies five economic dimensions of China's growing international heft: the "power of the *buyer*, the *seller*, the *investor*, the *development assistance provider*, and the *innovator*" (ibid.: 88, italics in original). According to Zhu (2010: 2), the country's economic resilience and its stockpile of foreign exchange reserves make "it possible for China to expand trade and investment and enhance its political influence in every corner of the world." Due to its trade relations with weak and fragile states, China is in a particularly beneficial position to use its economic leverage to influence such countries (Hart and Jones 2010). In Africa, both trade and largely untied foreign aid (except for the One-China policy) translate into political power as they "help to cultivate the goodwill of African leaders who provide Beijing with diplomatic support and valuable contracts as a matter of reciprocity" (Tull 2006: 476, 468). In other regions, however, the payoff of such economic strategies seems less obvious. As Jenkins (2010: 830) has observed, except for in the smaller countries in Central America and the Caribbean, "there are limited opportunities in Latin America for China to increase its influence through grants and concessionary loans" (see also Breslin 2011; Drezner 2009).

If we take a closer look, we see that even in Asia evidence of China's economic leverage is less conclusive than is often assumed. After conducting several case studies on Chinese attempts to exert power in Southeast Asia, Goh (2011: 24) finds that "the most notable elements of China's growing power – its economic strength and integration into the world economy – are manifested in structural, and often unintentional, ways" and stresses that "China does not thus far have a significant record of managing to get its smaller Southeast Asian neighbors to do what they would not otherwise have done."[5] Medeiros et al. (2008: 239) conclude that "China does not appear to have had much success in translating economic interactions into political influence" in six Asian-Pacific countries. Finally, the only large-N cross-national study on this topic equally calls into question a straightforward link between China's growing economic might and its political influence. Drawing on states' dependence on Chinese in- and outbound foreign investments and exports to the PRC in 2007 as key explanatory variables, Kastner (2010) finds no systematic and significant relation between these economic ties and a state's

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5 Goh (2011) assesses Beijing's power as a multiplier (promoting economic regionalism), as well as its power to persuade (countering the "China threat" discourse) and its power to prevail (Taiwan status, South China Sea disputes) vis-à-vis ten Southeast Asian states.

propensity to meet Beijing's interests with regard to the referendum on Taiwan's UN participation in 2008, Beijing's Tibet policy, and the recognition of China's status as a market economy.

Outside the economic realm, China's rise in international affairs and its ability to win political support has been related to the Communist leadership's embracing of soft-power strategies and its appeal as a development model, particularly to authoritarian countries in less developed world regions (Lampton 2008: 141–142). For instance, with the exception of Singapore and Vietnam, the Southeast Asian countries did not approve Tokyo's bid for a permanent seat on the UNSC and thus gave in to Beijing's diplomatic campaigns (Yoshimatsu 2008: 15). Soft power is further believed to have helped China's leadership gain influence both in Asian and African countries, and to a lesser degree also in Latin American countries (Ellis 2011b; Kurlantzick 2007, 2009; Sutter 2003).[6] However, one has to bear in mind that soft power from a Chinese perspective entails "anything outside the military and security realm, including not only popular culture and public diplomacy but also more coercive economic and diplomatic levers like aid and investment and participation in multilateral organizations" (Kurlantzick 2007: 6; see also Glaser and Dooley 2009).

For other authors, China's emergence as an influential power in international politics has been facilitated by a general shift from a "responsive" to a "proactive diplomacy," state and public diplomacy, and attempts to reshape regional orders (Zhang 2010: 41; Zhu 2010: 6–7). One important aspect of this shift has been the establishment of comprehensive and strategic partnerships with individual countries, which serve as diplomatic instruments for China to expand international influence and "generate bargaining leverage in its bilateral interactions" (Medeiros 2009: 86; see also Cheng and Zhang 2002). This logic is also translated to the multilateral context, where it takes the form of "forum diplomacy," through which Beijing has been able to engage large groups of countries and facilitate Chinese influence in the respective regions (Medeiros 2009; Su 2009; Zhang 2010).

3 Drivers of Foreign Policy Similarity

The above-cited works provide a great deal of knowledge on China's use of diplomacy and economic statecraft to achieve its foreign policy objectives. Nevertheless, the empirical evidence supporting these assumptions is often anecdotal and, with regard to the more systematic studies, the results are not only ambiguous but also restricted to tools of economic statecraft as the main explanatory factors.

This paper argues that a better understanding of the similarities in the foreign policy interests of China and other states is gained by taking a step back and considering the Chinese

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6 Other authors, in contrast, argue that generally and despite the importance the Chinese leadership attaches to soft power and public diplomacy, the soft-power strategy has so far had only limited success (Gill and Huang 2006: 26; Li 2009: 16).

government's ability to coerce other states into accommodating its interests as just one of several explanatory factors. According to this broader perspective, similar interests may develop on the basis of shared institutional and socioeconomic characteristics in domestic and international affairs as well as through strong bilateral relations (or linkages).

3.1 Shared Institutional and Socioeconomic Attributes

Influence through bilateral linkages is regarded as an important driving force behind foreign policy similarity. However, the likelihood of influence transmission within bilateral relations depends on country-specific conditions: Studies on policy convergence, for instance, cite shared institutional characteristics, similar socioeconomic structures, and cultural likeness as factors which further facilitate cross-national policy transfers (Knill 2005). In addition, countries facing parallel problems are expected to choose similar solutions (Holzinger and Knill 2005). Countries integrated in comparable ways in global political and economic processes and exposed to similar problems, for instance, should be more likely to formulate parallel policy responses, especially in a context of shared institutional, socioeconomic and cultural attributes.

That said, foreign policy similarity may exist independently from bilateral linkages and China's diplomatic strategies. Politically like-minded countries may vote the same as China due to domestic interests. Empirical studies on voting behavior in the UNGA demonstrate that democratic governments are more inclined to vote with the US and other G7 countries because of shared principles (Dreher, Nunnenkamp, and Thiele 2008; Voeten 2000).[7] Taking the reverse of this argument, it can be assumed that countries characterized by nondemocratic principles and values such as restrictions on freedom of expression, limited possibilities to participate in the political process, low competitiveness of representation and weak rule of law tend to vote the same as China – independently of the intensity of economic, military or diplomatic ties. Many politically "like-minded" countries, for instance, voted together with China against the UNGA resolution on the human rights situation in Myanmar in 2010.[8] With its concern that "information transmitted via the Internet could threaten the 'stability' of states," China figures among several other authoritarian countries in the list of states which have co-sponsored Russian resolutions on cyber security in the UNGA (Gjelten 2010).

The arguments made above lead to an initial set of hypotheses:

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7 Wang (1999: 205) argues that "developing countries with higher levels of democracy would vote more frequently with the U.S. in the UN General Assembly than less democratic countries" because they "share such principles as free speech, private property, elected representation, and other political interests." See Kim and Russett (1996: 648) for further evidence that more democratic countries support resolutions on human and political rights whereas less democratic countries are more inclined to favor self-determination. These findings are corroborated by research on government ideology in OECD countries and voting alignment with the US (Potrafke 2009).

8 See the results of the UNGA vote on the "Situation of human rights in Myanmar" resolution, online: <www.un.org/News/Press/docs//2010/ga11043.doc.htm> (9 April 2012).

Hypothesis 1a: "Like-minded" countries tend to align more often with China's foreign policy interests independently of the existence of bilateral linkages due to shared institutional characteristics.

Hypothesis 1b: Pressure from parallel problems induces similar foreign policy choices independently of the existence of bilateral linkages.

3.2 Economic, Military, and Diplomatic Linkages

For the transmission of influence, bilateral linkage, understood as dense ties between China and other states, is nevertheless a precondition (Way and Levitsky 2007: 53, 54). It is anticipated that influence transmitted through bilateral ties is not limited to the direct imposition of policies but also operates on more indirect terms through the facilitation of anticipatory obedience as well as lesson-drawing, transnational policy coordination and political cooperation (Bennett 1991; Holzinger and Knill 2005).

Economic linkages not only facilitate denser bilateral contacts but also enable the Chinese government to use tools of economic statecraft (for example, control of imports, facilitation of trade, and direct investment, as well as the granting of aid) to exert influence over the policy decisions of its economically weaker partners (Baldwin 1985; Deibel 2007; Mastanduno 2008). High levels of foreign policy alignment should thus be expected in less developed countries where China has a significant presence as a buyer of natural resources, a provider of foreign investment or a donor of untied aid. In the run-up to the 2005 World Summit, for instance, the Chinese government demonstrated how its economic power may have contributed to convincing African states not to support India's bid for a permanent seat on the Security Council (Hart and Jones 2010: 73).

Quantitative studies on the influence of US aid disbursements and UNGA voting corroborate this mechanism: increased levels of development assistance and the provision of aid (general budget support, grants) indeed buys votes in the UNGA (Dreher, Nunnenkamp and Thiele 2008; Wang 1999).[9] In addition, trade dependence increases the responsiveness to external demands, including unspoken ones, due to fears of losing market access and other economic benefits, and causes the economically weaker states to accommodate the foreign policy interests of the more powerful one (Dreher , Nunnenkamp, and Thiele 2008; Keohane and Nye 1977).

Similar mechanisms should function through military trade. Sullivan, Tessman and Li (2011: 279) argue theoretically that controlling arms transfers enables the more powerful state in a dyad to impose foreign policy choices on the (weaker) recipient state according to the

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9   For a comparative study analyzing the effects of US and Soviet aid, see Rai (1980); on Soviet aid and trade, see Roeder (1985) and Imai (1992). To the best of my knowledge, no similar analysis exists for the Chinese case. Studies dealing directly with China in the UN concentrate on the identification of patterns of voting affinity with China in the UNGA (Chai 1979) or with China's general UN policy (Kim 1979).

former's core interests.[10] The link between arms trade and foreign policy alignment should, thus, be observable in "small, poor countries (mainly in Africa) who cannot afford more advanced systems, and countries such as Burma and Sudan whose access to the global arms market is restricted" (Medeiros 2009: 91–92). In addition, in those cases where China's arms trade is associated with further military activities such as high-level official visits and exchange programs, foreign policy similarity becomes even more likely due to the increased level of bilateral exchange (Ellis 2011a: 5–6).

Finally, strong political ties potentially further increase foreign policy similarity. The availability of manifold diplomatic links enables the exchange of nonmaterial goods such as knowledge and information, which may also facilitate bilateral policy coordination (Hafner-Burton, Kahler, and Montgomery 2009; Holzinger and Knill 2005). Additionally, in the context of an asymmetrical distribution of political power, the mechanisms operating through political ties are not restricted to transnational communication but can include political conditionality and coercion as well.

The assumptions made above lead to the following expectations regarding bilateral linkages and foreign policy similarity with China:

Hypothesis 2a: States with a high degree of trade and aid dependence on China tend to exhibit higher levels of foreign policy similarity.

Hypothesis 2b: States with strong military linkages with China through arms trade and regular military contacts tend to align more frequently with Chinese foreign policy interests.

Hypothesis 2c: Strong political linkages with China induce higher levels of bilateral foreign policy similarity.

4 Research Design

The data set used to test these assumptions includes annual observations on the voting practices of all UN member states except China for the period from 1990 to 2011.[11] The sample period accounts, on the one hand, for the dissolution of the former Soviet Union and changing alignment patterns in the post-Cold War international system (Kim and Russett 1996; Voeten 2000). On the other hand, it also includes the period during which China's external relations entered a phase of normalization and adjustment (in the 1990s) and Beijing began to promote its dip-

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10 However, the authors fail to prove this link in their statistical analysis (Sullivan, Tessman, and Li 2011: 290). Derouen and Heo (2004: 467) also find only limited support for the strategic use of military assistance by the US to induce the accommodation of US foreign policy interests.

11 The population of the data set was generated using the EUGene software and has a total of 4,067 observations (Version 3.204) (Bennett and Stam 2000).

lomatic interests by entering into the first special partnerships with individual countries as well as by stepping up bilateral and multilateral cooperation in general (Goldstein 2005).

4.1 Dependent Variable: Foreign Policy Similarity

The study's dependent variable measures foreign policy similarity with China on the basis of UNGA voting records. It is based on a similarity score ranging from -1 (least similar interests) to 1 (most similar interests) using the three main categories of UN voting data (approval, disapproval, abstentions). Drawing on this similarity score, I have created three binary dependent variables: The first two measure high and very high levels of *foreign policy similarity* and take a value of one for all countries belonging to the group of nations in the 75th and 90th percentiles, respectively. A third variable controls for *foreign policy dissimilarity* and takes a value of one if a country belongs to the group of countries in the 25th percentile.[12]

For the calculation of the similarity score, I draw on chance-corrected agreement indices (Häge 2011). The procedure addresses the question of affinity in the same way as the widely used *S* score by measuring distances between state positions and then converting the dissimilarity into a similarity score (Signorino and Ritter 1999). Häge, however, follows a different approach with regard to the standardization of dissimilarity values: for the "case where foreign policy ties are cheap" (for example, UNGA voting), he takes into account the fact that some differences between two countries' policy positions are "'harder' to achieve in the face of symmetrically unbalanced distributions (i.e., prevalence) than in the face of balanced marginal distributions" and, thus, corrects dissimilarity proportions upwards (Häge 2011: 294–295, 302). A major consequence of the correction is that agreement indices are on average lower than the *S* score, do not concentrate at high levels of similarity, and, thus, are expected to provide a more realistic and conservative depiction of foreign policy similarity with China.

Using UNGA votes to calculate the similarity of states' foreign policy positions with China offers the advantage that data is available for all states in the international system, and for a long time period. Although the votes in the General Assembly are often criticized as being purely symbolic, the data comes with a further advantage: It is precisely because of the more symbolic nature of UNGA resolutions that voting in the General Assembly exhibits a higher level of variance than other foreign policy decisions (for example, a country's choice of alliance partners) and thus contains more information on a nation's foreign policy interests (Gartzke 2006; Voeten 2000). However, one has to bear in mind that the resolutions' topics concentrate on international security, humanitarian and other political issues. Resolutions falling within the purview of the UNGA's Economic and Financial Committee account for only a small fraction of votes. Thus, the data has little meaning in terms of foreign policy similarity in this policy field.

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12 Table A-1 of the Appendix provides a country list for the 75th and 90th percentile in 1991, 2001 and 2011.

Figure 1 illustrates the development of the similarity score from the 44th/45th through the 65th/66th UNGA sessions. The graph indicates that countries' foreign policy similarity with China basically corresponds with their voting on social and humanitarian issues and on resolutions regarding disarmament and international security.

Figure 1: Foreign Policy Similarity with China, measured by Votes in the UNGA, 1990–2011
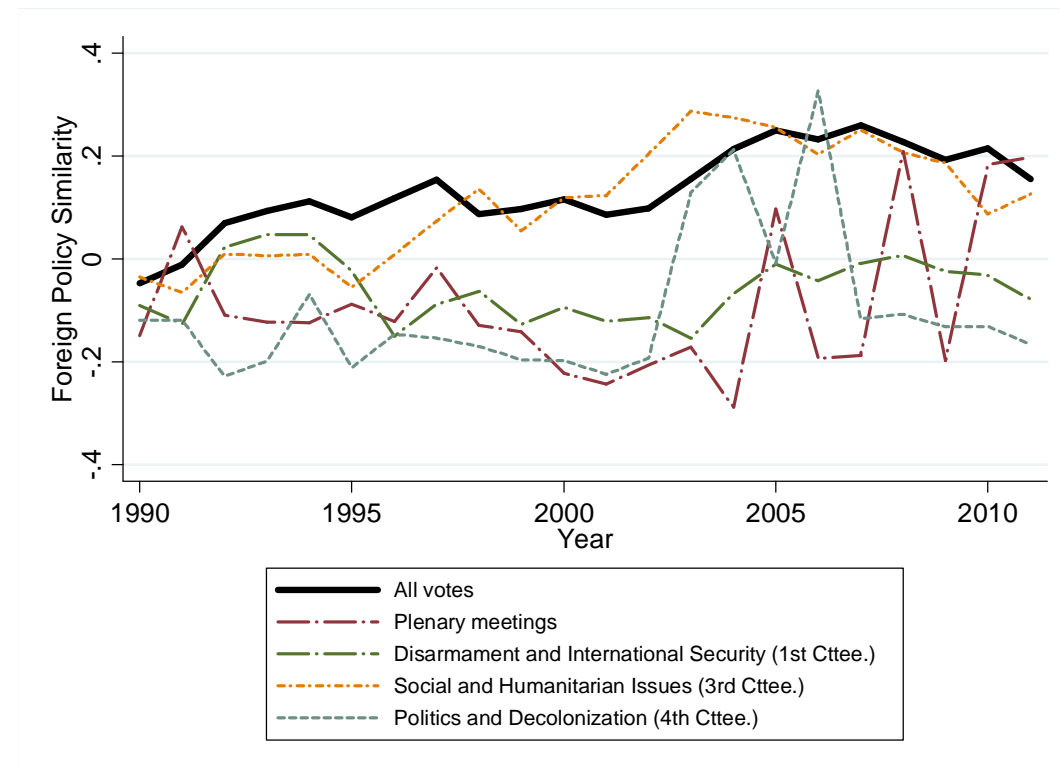
Source: Author's own compilation.

With regard to the regional distribution of the similarity score in the recent past, the data reveals that a high degree of affinity is found mainly in Southeast Asia and South Asia, as well as in Central Asian countries and North, South, and West African states (see Table A-2 in the Appendix). The findings also show that the Chinese government is receiving growing support for its foreign policy positions: particularly in the Caribbean, South America, Central and Western Asia, the proportion of shared votes has risen considerably in the last two decades. In contrast, very low (and decreasing) levels of similarity exist with the United States and Canada, as well as with European and Oceanian states.

4.2 Independent Variables

With regard to explanatory factors, the study contains two variables measuring shared institutional and socioeconomic characteristics in domestic and international affairs and a number of indicators for different dimensions of diplomatic, economic and military linkages with

China.[13] Due to limitations in data availability, however, I was not able to include China's outgoing foreign direct investments and other proxies for military linkage besides bilateral arms trade.

Regime Similarity. Countries that have political norms and values resembling those of China are more likely to pursue similar interests in international affairs and have less incentive to regard Chinese influence attempts as a normative threat. I have constructed an ordinal variable on the basis of Freedom House's average ratings of civil liberties and political rights and compared each country's score with China's (Teorell et al. 2011). The resulting variable ranges from zero (totally opposing political beliefs) to six (very close match in shared political norms and values).

Global Involvement. To compare a country's involvement in international politics and society with China's enmeshment, I have drawn on the KOF Index of Globalization (Dreher 2006).[14] The resulting ordinal variable combines the political and social dimension and ranges from one (low equivalence) to seven (high equivalence). Economic globalization is excluded because UNGA votes hardly touch on topics of international trade and finance.

Diplomatic Exchange. Turning to bilateral political relations, I control whether a country maintains diplomatic relations with Beijing at the level of chargé d'affaires, ministers, ambassadors or not at all.[15] As this constitutes a very weak indicator of dense diplomatic ties, the effects are expected to be very low.

Shared IGO Membership. This variable measures dense political ties through joint membership in international governmental organizations and draws on data collected by Pevehouse, Nordstrom and Warnke (2004) and Wallace and Singer (1970).[16] The ordinal four-point scale takes a value of one for weak diplomatic ties (0–15 joint memberships) and four if ties are strong (46–64 joint memberships).

Special Partnership. Special partners are defined as countries which maintain a cooperative, comprehensive or strategic partnership with China. Particularly since the early years of this century, Beijing has been intensifying its bilateral relations with countries in the Middle East, Latin America, Southeast Asia, and Central Asia (Goldstein 2005: 130–135; Zhu 2010: 9). The binary variable has been coded on the basis of information from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs' webpage, newspaper articles and secondary literature (Medeiros 2009: 79–81, 83–85).

Trade Dependence. With regard to economic linkages, I measure trade dependence on China assessing the volume of trade with China as a proportion of a country's total external trade. To test for Beijing's power as a buyer and seller, similar measures are calculated for a

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13 Descriptive statistics are reported in Table A-3 of the Appendix.

14 This paper draws on the version of the ETH (2011), *KOF Index of Globalization*, Zürich, online: <http://globalization. kof.ethz.ch/> (24 February 2012).

15 Bayer (2006), *Diplomatic Exchange Data Set (v2006.1),* online: <http://correlatesofwar.org> (26 September 2011).

16 *International Governmental Organization Data (v2.3),* online: <http://correlatesofwar.org> (26 September 2011).

state's export and import dependence. The raw trade data has been obtained from the UN International Merchandise Trade Statistics.[17]

Aid Projects. To examine whether or not Chinese aid functions as a channel for the transmission of influence, I include a binary variable that takes the value of one if a country received funding for any Chinese aid projects in a given year. As foreign aid is expected to be used to influence foreign policy behavior on the part of recipient states *ex ante* as well as to reward or punish partner countries *ex post*, I have added a variable measuring the two-year moving average of the number of Chinese aid projects reported by AidDATA.[18]

Arms Trade. Arms trade includes transfers of major conventional weapons from China to a country as reported in the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database. Following the coding and reasoning regarding aid projects, I have included a binary variable that takes the value of one if a country received any amount of major conventional weapons from China. I have further calculated a variable measuring the two-year moving average of the estimated value of a country's arms imports from China in US dollars.[19]

National Capabilities. Various studies suggest that more resourceful states experience less difficulty than weaker states in resisting influence attempts by third parties (Bueno de Mesquita and Smith 2007; Dreher, Nunnenkamp and Thiele 2008; Sullivan, Tessman and Li 2011). To differentiate between the effects of different dimensions of national capabilities, I use a disaggregated index containing three categories for measuring a state's industrial resource consumption, demographic attributes and military power, respectively (Singer 1988; Singer, Bremer and Stuckey 1972).[20]

4.3 Empirical Strategy

The study employs logistic regression estimation with robust standard errors to test the hypotheses. The basic assumption is that the effects of the explanatory variables on the outcome become stronger among the group of countries with (very) high levels of *foreign policy similarity* and insignificant and/or negative in the case of *foreign policy dissimilarity*. Furthermore, I separately estimate dynamic logistic models to test whether the explanatory variables affect the onset of foreign policy similarity, its duration or both.

The model's independent variables are all measured with a temporal lag of one year as it is assumed that the existence of interstate linkages and similarity in state attributes has to

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17 *United Nations Commodity Trade Statistics Database*, online: <http://comtrade.un.org/db/> (26 September 2011).

18 AidData collected project-level aid data reported by the Chinese Ministry of Commerce for the period from 1990 to 2005 (excluding 2002), online: <www.aiddata.org/research/china> (7 September 2011).

19 See Stockholm International Peace Research Institute's (SIPRI) (2011), *Arms Transfers Database, trade register and importer/exporter TIV tables*, online: <www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers> (5 September 2011).

20 The Composite Index of National Capability (CINC, v4.0) score combines data on military personnel and expenditure, total and urban population, iron and steel production, and energy consumption, online: <http://correlatesofwar.org> (6 January 2012).

precede the outcome of interest.[21] Further, I expect voting coincidence in the UNGA to have a high level of duration dependence. Under normal circumstances, states do not change their foreign policy priorities overnight. To minimize the problem of temporal dependence, I include a variable that counts the years from the previous time a country had a positive outcome on the dependent variable. In addition, the regressions apply different approaches to temporal splines (Beck, Katz, and Tucker 1998; Carter and Signorino 2010).

5 Quantitative Findings

To what extent do shared institutional and socioeconomic characteristics in domestic and international affairs and the presence of strong diplomatic, economic and military linkages help to explain foreign policy similarity? Tables 1 to 3 present the results of the empirical analysis on this question.

The statistical evidence strongly supports the assumption that much of the foreign policy similarity is related to shared political attributes and similar levels of sociopolitical globalization (Hypothesis 1a, 1b). The two respective variables' coefficients are positive and highly significant throughout models 1 to 5. The findings are corroborated by Model 6: when we choose *foreign policy dissimilarity* as the dependent variable, the coefficients of *regime similarity* and *global involvement* change numerical signs to become negative (Model 6 in Table 1). Expressed in odds ratios, a one-unit increase in *regime similarity* and *global involvement* reduces the chance of dissimilar foreign policy portfolios by approximately 16 and 14 percent, respectively, whereas it increases the probability of *foreign policy similarity* (*p75*) by 50 and 27 percent.[22]

The control variables operate largely in line with the findings of previous studies. According to the expectations, foreign policy similarity exhibits high temporal dependence. Each year that a country did not reach a high level of *foreign policy similarity* reduces the likelihood of future alignment significantly. Natural cubic splines generally support this claim. Also, resourceful countries share, on average, Chinese foreign policy positions less often. This effect, however, is restricted to industrial resources (*capabilities (resources)*). A large population, in fact, increases the likelihood of foreign policy similarity.[23]

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21 This assumption will be relaxed by testing the two-year moving averages of aid and arms trade to account for the fact that both can be made an instrument for *ex ante* inducement and *ex post* reward or punishment.

22 The coefficients and odds ratios of all models are summarized in Table A-4 of the Appendix. In addition, I have conducted an in-sample validation of the predictive power, as suggested by Ward, Greenhill and Bakke (2010), of the models in tables 1 and 2. It confirms in general that the coefficients' levels of statistical significance are positively associated with their predictive power. Only in the case of *export dependence* is a low level of statistical significance combined with a substantial impact on predictive power.

23 The military dimension of national capabilities is not included due to its high correlation with *capabilities (resources)*. Furthermore, when tested in a separate model, it was not significant at conventional statistical levels.

Turning to the impact of political linkages, the statistical evidence provides only limited support for hypothesis 1c. The inclusion of measurements for diplomatic ties and co-membership in intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) does not add much explanatory power to Model 1. Diplomatic recognition of the PRC, which ultimately entails the acceptance of the one-China principle, seems to be only partially correlated with foreign policy similarity (models 2 and 3). *Diplomatic exchange* fails to have an impact when the model is reestimated for the years after 1999. Rather surprisingly, specialized relations (*special partnerships*) between a country and China also generally do not increase the chance of foreign policy similarity (Model 5).

If we take a closer look, the data even indicates that maintaining a specialized partnership with China increases the chance of *foreign policy dissimilarity* on the one hand. On the other hand, special partnerships also help to explain very high levels of *foreign policy similarity* (*p90*) (Model 6 and Table A-4). Identifying influential observations within these models sheds light on this, at a first glance, contradictory result. With regard to *foreign policy dissimilarity* the results are driven by observations of democratic European countries such as Greece, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Spain, and the United Kingdom. On the other hand, Algeria, Egypt, Indonesia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Venezuela account for the influential observations regarding very high levels of *foreign policy similarity* (*p90*). The successful implementation of a partnership's objectives – such as "coordination in international affairs," "adopting common foreign policy positions," "cooperation on nontraditional security issues" and "promoting China's concepts of 'democracy and equality in international relations'" (Medeiros 2009: 86) – seems to be limited to countries in the Global South with medium to high levels of regime similarity.

The only diplomatic linkage observed that is fully in line with the assumptions is that of *shared IGO membership* (Model 4). A one-unit increase in the variable increases the likelihood of a country's foreign policy similarity with China by 85 percent.

Table 2 reports the results for economic and military linkages. With regard to trade relations, Model 7 and Model 8 indicate that China's influence stems less from its position as a major export destination in bilateral relations and more from its power as a seller (Lampton 2008). Only in the case of countries showing very high similarity levels (*p90*) does *export dependence* become statistically significant and, expressed in odds ratios, make it 14 times more likely that countries will demonstrate a high level of foreign policy similarity (Table A-4). In general, economic influence seems to function better through a country's general trade dependence on China and the PRC's position as a seller in particular. Typical country cases for the latter observation include Cuba, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Myanmar, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sudan, United Arab Emirates and Vietnam.

Table 1: Foreign Policy Similarity: Shared Attributes and Political Linkages

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	(p75)		*(p75)*		*(p75)* year >1999		*(p75)*		*(p75)*		*(p25)*	
Diplomatic exchange $_{t-1}$			0.606***	(0.223)	0.363	(0.326)						
Shared IGO membership $_{t-1}$							0.614****	(0.121)				
Special partnership $_{t-1}$									0.361	(0.365)	0.686**	(0.283)
Regime similarity $_{t-1}$	0.408****	(0.0447)	0.404****	(0.0490)	0.421****	(0.0734)	0.458****	(0.0525)	0.409****	(0.0447)	-0.165****	(0.0400)
Global involvement $_{t-1}$	0.238****	(0.0474)	0.227****	(0.0514)	0.329****	(0.0819)	0.216****	(0.0509)	0.235****	(0.0473)	-0.164****	(0.0467)
Capabilities (population) $_{t-1}$	26.21**	(10.26)	29.32***	(11.38)	17.71***	(6.365)	24.80***	(8.699)	26.25***	(9.617)	-51.41*	(27.19)
Capabilities (resources) $_{t-1}$	-34.90**	(16.16)	-41.53**	(19.26)	-24.14**	(11.95)	-55.78**	(24.19)	-39.23**	(17.07)	31.51***	(10.67)
Years	-1.424****	(0.189)	-1.149****	(0.196)	-1.654****	(0.294)	-1.193****	(0.192)	-1.422****	(0.189)	-1.623****	(0.181)
Spline1	-0.162***	(0.0588)	-0.0890	(0.0652)	-0.226**	(0.0930)	-0.109*	(0.0630)	-0.161***	(0.0587)	-0.268****	(0.0551)
Spline3	0.0432*	(0.0258)	0.0133	(0.0290)	0.0710*	(0.0414)	0.0216	(0.0281)	0.0429*	(0.0257)	0.0924****	(0.0242)
Spline7	0.00449	(0.00310)	0.00710**	(0.00356)	0.00164	(0.00530)	0.00643*	(0.00356)	0.00453	(0.00310)	-0.00136	(0.00295)
_cons	-1.916****	(0.285)	-2.454****	(0.389)	-2.333****	(0.639)	-3.686****	(0.501)	-1.912****	(0.284)	1.569****	(0.212)
N	3308		2877		1418		2959		3308		3308	
McKelvey & Zavoina's R²	0.592		0.615		0.628		0.634		0.598		0.551	
Wald chi²	499.24		470.08		313.49		474.88		498.89		594.26	
pseudo *R²*	0.430		0.435		0.500		0.442		0.430		0.370	

Source: Author's own compilation.

Notes: Robust standard errors clustered by country in parentheses. * p<.1, ** p<.05, *** p<.01, **** p<.001.

Table 2: Foreign Policy Similarity: Economic and Military Linkages

	Model 7		Model 8		Model 9		Model 10		Model 11		Model 12	
	(p75)		*(p75)*		*(p75)*		*(p75)*		*(p75)*		*(p75)*	
Export dependence $_{t-1}$	1.860	(1.271)										
Import dependence $_{t-1}$			5.059**	(2.006)								
Aid projects (binary) $_{t-1}$					0.201	(0.207)						
Aid projects (average) $_{t-1}$							0.372***	(0.138)				
Arms trade (binary) $_{t-1}$									0.864****	(0.217)		
Arms trade (average) $_{t-1}$											0.00876***	(0.00292)
Regime similarity $_{t-1}$	0.437****	(0.0560)	0.406****	(0.0511)	0.450****	(0.0533)	0.448****	(0.0521)	0.403****	(0.0447)	0.403****	(0.0449)
Global involvement $_{t-1}$	0.189***	(0.0668)	0.193***	(0.0589)	0.268****	(0.0541)	0.264****	(0.0537)	0.238****	(0.0464)	0.236****	(0.0460)
Capabilities (population) $_{t-1}$	20.21***	(6.706)	20.79***	(6.638)	30.19**	(13.40)	30.95**	(14.02)	23.52****	(7.145)	23.13***	(7.167)
Capabilities (resources) $_{t-1}$	-33.76*	(18.15)	-35.46*	(18.85)	-38.73**	(17.87)	-37.21**	(16.52)	-32.97**	(15.99)	-32.38**	(14.89)
Years	-1.324****	(0.222)	-1.169****	(0.219)	-1.582****	(0.209)	-1.526****	(0.211)	-1.381****	(0.190)	-1.404****	(0.189)
Spline1	-0.142*	(0.0730)	-0.103	(0.0712)	-0.202***	(0.0670)	-0.194***	(0.0670)	-0.153***	(0.0592)	-0.159***	(0.0591)
Spline3	0.0399	(0.0322)	0.0232	(0.0314)	0.0599**	(0.0298)	0.0574*	(0.0297)	0.0397	(0.0260)	0.0423	(0.0260)
Spline7	0.00273	(0.00385)	0.00456	(0.00374)	0.00304	(0.00371)	0.00300	(0.00363)	0.00477	(0.00312)	0.00450	(0.00311)
_cons	-1.529****	(0.386)	-1.696****	(0.347)	-2.179****	(0.377)	-2.249****	(0.358)	-1.992****	(0.283)	-1.938****	(0.282)
N	2122		2338		2809		2835		3308		3308	
McKelvey & Zavoina's R²	0.659		0.636		0.632		0.629		0.595		0.594	
Wald chi²	476.89		475.80		458.01		439.65		531.60		542.85	
pseudo *R²*	0.500		0.477		0.465		0.457		0.435		0.433	

Source: Author's own compilation.

Notes: Robust standard errors clustered by country in parentheses. * p<.1, ** p<.05, *** p<.01, **** p<.001.

A positive effect of foreign aid disbursements on foreign policy similarity, as reported in the cited studies on US aid and voting in the UNGA, also seems to be valid in the China case. Receiving funding for any number of aid projects from China makes bilateral foreign policy similarity more feasible. Although the coefficient for the binary aid variable does not reach significance at conventional statistical levels, it points in the right direction (Model 9). This link is demonstrated instead by the two-year moving average of the number of Chinese aid projects, which strongly correlates with the recipients' foreign policy similarity (Model 10). This effect may be driven by the fact that for many aid projects there is a considerable time lapse between the first agreement and the project's realization. Moreover, it may indicate that more aid buys more support.

The contrary may be true for arms trade. The fact that a country has received major conventional weapons from China is more important in encouraging governments to align with China's foreign policy choices than the actual size of these deals (models 11 and 12). Taken together, the results on China's economic and military linkages provide general support for the plausibility of hypotheses 2b and 2c.

Finally, the results from estimating a combined model containing indicators for political, economic and military linkages are presented in Table 3. Model 13 confirms the previous findings. The coefficients of the explanatory variables point in the same direction as in the separate estimations and, by and large, reach the 10 percent confidence level or better. Only aid disbursements reach a considerably lower confidence level of 21 percent.[24]

With regard to the question of whether the different explanatory factors are more likely to transmit influence in the form of *ex ante* inducements or *ex post* rewards, Table 3 further presents the separate estimations of dynamic logistic models.

The results of models 14 and 15 suggest that the explanatory variables can be divided into three groups with different effects on foreign policy similarity: First, initial evidence is provided that political ties through shared membership in a large number of intergovernmental organizations as well as significant trade dependence on China are less a prerequisite of foreign policy similarity than a consequence and help to maintain it. Second, shared regime characteristics and comparable patterns of sociopolitical involvement in the international system seem to be important facilitating factors for foreign policy similarity, independently from the focus on onset or duration. The respective coefficients throughout the models in Table 3 are all positive and statistically significant. Third, some evidence is provided that only the implementation of aid projects and the supply of major conventional weapons by China induce foreign policy similarity.

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24 As a nonrandom pattern of missing observations in time-series cross-sections may distort the results, I reestimated Model 13 after imputing the missing data. The reestimation yields qualitatively similar results. The multiple imputation was executed with the program Amelia II (version 1.6.1). See King, Gary (2012), *Amelia II: A Program for Missing Data*, online: <http://gking.harvard.edu/amelia/> (12 April 2012), and Honaker and King (2010). The results are available upon request.

Table 3: Foreign Policy Similarity: Onset and Duration

	Model 13		Model 14		Model 15	
	(p75)		*(p75)* in t_1=0		*(p75)* in t_1=1	
Diplomatic exchange $_{t-1}$	-0.316	(0.355)	0.519	(0.577)	-0.945*	(0.536)
Shared IGO membership $_{t-1}$	0.598****	(0.174)	0.335	(0.257)	0.869****	(0.252)
Trade dependence $_{t-1}$	4.605*	(2.521)	-1.004	(3.554)	9.804*	(5.151)
Aid projects (average) $_{t-1}$	0.218	(0.173)	0.765***	(0.259)	-0.218	(0.258)
Arms trade (average) $_{t-1}$	0.00750*	(0.00398)	0.0141**	(0.00673)	0.00375	(0.00643)
Regime similarity $_{t-1}$	0.519****	(0.0826)	0.665****	(0.0969)	0.623****	(0.122)
Global involvement $_{t-1}$	0.195***	(0.0748)	0.194**	(0.0959)	0.209**	(0.105)
Capabilities (population) $_{t-1}$	17.69***	(5.392)	65.09**	(26.13)	13.20***	(5.035)
Capabilities (resources) $_{t-1}$	-44.39**	(17.31)	-75.15	(56.70)	-53.30****	(11.92)
Years	-1.269****	(0.259)				
Spline1	-0.140*	(0.0848)				
Spline3	0.0407	(0.0373)				
Spline7	0.00210	(0.00441)				
_cons	-3.432****	(0.885)	-6.660****	(1.154)	-4.043****	(1.201)
N	1748		1288		460	
McKelvey & Zavoina's R^2	0.707		0.540		0.300	
Wald chi^2	492.77		115.78		54.15	
pseudo R^2	0.542		0.237		0.165	

Source: Author's own compilation.
Notes: Robust standard errors clustered by country in parentheses. * p<.1, ** p<.05, *** p<.01, **** p<.001.

5.1 Discussion of Results

The results have two major implications for the study of China's impact on global affairs and of the sources of the country's political clout. First, the statistical analysis provides evidence of the importance of shared regime characteristics and comparable patterns of global socio-political involvement in explaining the incidence as well as the onset and duration of foreign policy similarity. This emphasizes the need to disentangle the impact of bilateral linkages as transmitters of different types of influence from the effects of domestic regime characteristics and parallel problem-solving processes. The two latter factors function independently of indirect influence and the possible imposition by a dyad's more powerful actor of policies through the exploitation of asymmetrically distributed economic or political capabilities. As outlined in the theory section, regime characteristics and parallel problem-solving processes are regarded as facilitating factors for policy imposition as well as cooperation and policy coordination through transnational communication. Future analyses of China's ability to translate economic power into political influence should thus consider including interactions, with controls for country-related factors.

Second, this study provides initial statistical evidence for the concurrence of economic linkages and foreign policy similarity. On the one hand, aid projects and the supplying of arms enable China to buy influence from recipient countries. This stands in contrast to find-

ings "that at least the US tend to use aid more often as an reward for a country's prior voting alignment than as an *ex ante* inducement" (Derouen and Heo 2004: 468) and points to the diverse use of tools of economic statecraft in different political cultures. As prior studies have found that at least in Latin America the opportunity to employ economic statecraft is limited, with the exception of smaller countries in Central America and the Caribbean (Jenkins 2010: 830), future research could investigate whether the effects of aid disbursements are contingent upon the recipient country's size and developmental stage.

On the other hand, it seems that China's economic influence is not based on its power as a buyer. Rather, the results indicate that a good political understanding is conducive to high levels of economic exchange with China. Thus, contrary to common wisdom, the assumption that economic interdependence provides a source of direct political influence in asymmetrical relations, which goes back to Hirschman's (1980 [1945]) work on state power and international trade patterns, may be only one side of the story (Wagner 1988: 472). If we extend the liberal peace argument, we can expect that trade interdependence leads to converging foreign policy interests in the long run because it eases interstate cooperation (Dreher, Nunnenkamp, and Thiele 2008: 155; Oneal, Russett, and Berbaum 2003: 374).[25] This argument may be translated to the political dimension, as the results on shared membership in intergovernmental organizations suggest.

6 Conclusion

The primary aim of this paper has been to assess the plausibility of different theoretical explanations for similarities between a state's foreign policy choices and China's diplomatic interests. It has been argued that a better understanding of China's rise in international affairs and of the underlying patterns of international support is gained by taking a step back and considering the Chinese government's ability to coerce other states into accommodating its interests as just one of several explanatory factors. Thus, in addition to China's economic relations with other countries, I have included diplomatic and military linkages as well as shared institutional and sociopolitical characteristics in domestic and international affairs in the investigation.

The paper's findings support the claim that China's exertion of direct influence over other states' diplomatic choices is only one possible explanation for general foreign policy similarity. Important prerequisites for foreign policy alignment are also rooted in shared regime characteristics and comparable levels of socioeconomic globalization. Dense trade linkages and co-membership in intergovernmental networks result from shared interests and help to explain the duration of high levels of foreign policy affinity.

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25 In a classical realist's world, this is especially likely since "economic relations between states strengthened 'like-minded' groups at the expense of others, and influenced the trajectory of how the national interest was defined" (Kirshner 2012: 69).

Despite statistical evidence in support of the main theoretical explanations, the results should not be overinterpreted, nor should the analysis be regarded as a definite test of specific causal channels. A causal link between foreign policy similarity and the study's explanatory factors has not been established. The main contribution of this study can be seen as the provision of a broader perspective on possible explanations for foreign policy similarity with China and of initial plausibility tests. More quantitative and qualitative work is needed to better understand the nature of China's political clout in international relations. It should also be highlighted that the present study is concerned with general patterns of support for China's political interests and principles in international politics and less with incidences of China's exertion of direct power over other states.

With regard to future comparative small-N studies on China's (in)direct influence on the foreign policy behavior of other states and its ability to spread political values and principles, the data provided in this paper could serve as starting point and help to identify cases for in-depth study.

In addition to a more detailed analysis of the mechanisms at hand, there are many interesting directions for future research. With regard to China's bilateral political relations, on the one hand, the scope of the analysis could be broadened by considering data on the travel of China's leadership, as Kastner and Saunders (2012) have done, or by introducing alternative and updated measurements for diplomatic linkages. Future analyses should also test the robustness of this paper's results by drawing on different measurements of the dependent variable, such as key votes and resolutions that have been proposed or sponsored by China.

On the other hand, Beijing has also stepped up efforts to engage states in multilateral institutional settings, not only in Asia but also in Africa, Latin America and the Middle East. To date, this has resulted in the establishment of the Shanghai Five/SCO in 1996/2001, the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation in 2000 and the China–Arab Cooperation Forum in 2004, among other organizations. China has further increased its presence in regional organizations in recent years, for example, in Latin America. Such "forum diplomacy" allows Beijing to engage large groups of countries and facilitates China's influence globally and in the respective regions (Medeiros 2009: 77–78, 159–160; Zhang 2010: 40). Thus far, little systematic research has been done on the PRC's ability to exert influence over political outcomes in global affairs through such forums and as a result of its position in intergovernmental networks (Hafner-Burton, Kahler, and Montgomery 2009).

Finally, future studies on China's rise and the country's perceived growing influence in international relations should abandon the rigid concentration on economic statecraft. Instead, they should focus on China's ability to mobilize supporters among "like-minded" countries in order to achieve its goals in international politics, and on its establishment of intergovernmental foreign policy networks in order to ease policy coordination and cooperation with major countries in the Global South. This paper's findings further suggest that over the course of its economic and political rise China has indeed become a "friend" or "beacon" to many leaders of developing countries in the Global South.

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Appendix

Table A-1: Countries' Level of Foreign Policy Similarity with China

Foreign Policy Similarity		1991	2001	2011
High (>p75)	**Very high (>p90)**	– Cuba – Zimbabwe – Vietnam, Libya – Iran – Sri Lanka, Brunei Darussalam – Malaysia – Tunisia – Myanmar, Laos – Indonesia – Iraq – Uganda – Syria – Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Namibia	– Myanmar – Egypt – Libya – Lebanon – Syria – Oman, Algeria – Jordan, Bahrain – Vietnam, Pakistan, Laos, Cuba – Malaysia – Iran – Morocco – Tunisia – Indonesia – Saudi Arabia	– Vietnam – Brunei, Bangladesh – Sri Lanka – Algeria – Singapore – Oman – Laos – Iran – Sudan – Belarus – Cuba – Russia – Uzbekistan – Zimbabwe – Nepal – Malaysia – Egypt – Syria – Pakistan
		– Mauritania, Bangladesh – Jordan, Algeria – Mexico, Kuwait, Guinea – Yemen – Guatemala – Tanzania, Philippines, Morocco, Djibouti – United Arab Emirates, Qatar – Somalia – North Korea – Mali – Comoros – Lebanon – Afghanistan – Sudan – Belize – Chile	– Qatar – Sudan – Djibouti – Sri Lanka – Kuwait, Brunei – Togo, Bangladesh – Tanzania, Burkina Faso – Azerbaijan – North Korea – United Arab Emirates – Mauritania – Senegal – Yemen – Zambia, Thailand, Nepal, Ghana – India – Mali – Philippines, Nigeria, Cambodia – Singapore – Russia – Comoros	– Ecuador – Cambodia – Nicaragua – Mali – Venezuela – India – Qatar – Brazil – Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Indonesia, Guyana – Myanmar – Kenya – Tajikistan – Yemen, Guinea, Burkina Faso – Mozambique – Zambia – North Korea – Turkmenistan – Congo – Lesotho – Bolivia – South Africa – Trinidad and Tobago – Chad – Azerbaijan

Source: Author's own compilation.

Notes: The countries are displayed in descending order of foreign policy similarity score. Countries separated with a comma have identical similarity measures.

Table A-2: Foreign Policy Similarity with China by Subregion

Region	Subregion	1990–1995	1996–2001	2002–2006	2007–2011
Africa	Eastern Africa	0.132	0.170	0.339	0.318
	Middle Africa	0.002	0.053	0.081	0.104
	Northern Africa	0.375	0.607	0.770	0.606
	Southern Africa	0.072	0.135	0.367	0.411
	Western Africa	0.231	0.306	0.380	0.359
Americas	Caribbean	-0.009	0.064	0.254	0.382
	Central America	-0.019	0.004	0.030	0.142
	Northern America	-0.435	-0.384	-0.482	-0.517
	South America	0.062	0.050	0.198	0.316
Asia	Central Asia	-0.187	-0.113	0.325	0.476
	Eastern Asia	0.093	0.117	0.184	0.218
	South-Eastern Asia	0.373	0.540	0.579	0.586
	Southern Asia	0.348	0.491	0.558	0.538
	Western Asia	0.189	0.286	0.425	0.380
Europe	Eastern Europe	-0.140	-0.021	0.006	0.011
	Northern Europe	-0.232	-0.157	-0.158	-0.159
	Southern Europe	-0.194	-0.149	-0.163	-0.120
	Western Europe	-0.234	-0.158	-0.173	-0.157
Oceania	Australia and New Zealand	-0.169	-0.105	-0.192	-0.196
	Melanesia	-0.064	-0.004	-0.051	0.064
	Micronesia	-0.260	-0.480	-0.518	-0.549
	Polynesia	-0.131	-0.276	-0.109	-0.041
Total		0.053	0.110	0.190	0.210

Source: Author's own compilation.

Notes: The table displays the mean of foreign policy similarity scores by UN geographical subregion.

Table A-3: Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Observations	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Country code	4067	2	990	461.8	261.3
Year	4067	1990	2011	2000.7	6.286
Foreign policy similarity (p25)	4067	0	1	0.254	0.435
Foreign policy similarity (p75)	4067	0	1	0.254	0.435
Foreign policy similarity (p90)	4067	0	1	0.105	0.306
Regime similarity	3830	0	6	3.028	1.930
Global involvement	3570	1	7	4.087	1.488
Diplomatic exchange	2972	0	1	0.815	0.389
Shared IGO membership	3069	1	4	2.621	0.795
Special partnership	4029	0	1	0.062	0.241
Trade dependence	2505	9.14e-06	0.546	0.038	0.047
Export dependence	2533	1.53e-07	0.847	0.027	0.069
Import dependence	2764	9.18e-06	0.342	0.042	0.042
Aid projects (binary)	2919	0	1	0.126	0.332
Aid projects (average)	2945	0	5	0.167	0.396
Arms trade (binary)	4029	0	1	0.062	0.240
Arms trade (average)	4029	0	818	3.831	28.516
National capabilities	3451	2.43e-07	0.153	0.005	0.014
Capabilities (population)	3448	7.22e-07	0.131	0.004	0.012
Capabilities (resources)	3385	0	0.193	0.005	0.017
Capabilities (military)	3192	0	0.266	0.005	0.020
Years (p25)	4067	0	33	8.625	9.229
Years (p75)	4067	0	33	8.722	9.064
Years (p90)	4067	0	33	13.677	9.772

Source: Author's own compilation.

Table A-4: Summary of Effects of Explanatory Variables

Model	Variable	Foreign Policy Similarity					
		(p25)		*(p75)*		*(p90)*	
		Coeff.	OR	Coeff.	OR	Coeff.	OR
1	*Regime similarity t-1*	-0.169****	0.844	0.408****	1.504	0.556****	1.744
	Global involvement t-1	-0.159***	0.853	0.238****	1.269	0.210***	1.234
2	*Diplomatic exchange t-1*	-0.030	0.970	0.606***	1.833	1.515***	4.551
3	*Diplomatic exchange t-1*	0.176	1.193	0.363	1.438	1.804**	6.072
4	*Shared IGO membership t-1*	0.029	1.030	0.614****	1.848	0.616****	1.851
5, 6	*Special partnership t-1*	0.686**	1.985	0.361	1.435	1.118***	3.058
7	*Export dependence t-1*	-7.999**	0.000	1.860	6.422	2.682**	14.620
8	*Import dependence t-1*	-3.310	0.0365	5.059**	157.4	10.625****	41144
9	*Aid projects (binary) t-1*	-0.402*	0.669	0.201	1.223	-0.099	0.906
10	*Aid projects (average) t-1*	-0.534**	0.587	0.372***	1.451	0.049	1.051
11	*Arms trade (binary) t-1*	-0.814	0.443	0.864****	2.373	0.957****	2.603
12	*Arms trade (average) t-1*	-0.005	0.995	0.009***	1.009	0.007****	1.007

Notes: OR = Odds ratios. For details, see tables 1 to 3. * $p<0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$, **** $p<0.001$.
Source: Author's own compilation.

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