

# **Reformability of the United Nations**

Franziska Brantner, Dirk Junge, Thomas König

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## **Abstract**

This study examines the latest United Nations reform round of 2005 using the positions of the participants for several reform areas. Compared to the insight into the reasons for international cooperation and the design of international institutions, we attempt to evaluate the performance of UN members for changing the organizational status quo of international cooperation. Collecting, assessing and comparing collective and individual positions of all participants in the UN reform, locating the status quo and the reform outcome in the multidimensional policy space of five UN reform areas, we distinguish three kinds of hypotheses for explaining their relative distance to the outcome, namely factors relating to the bargaining, hegemonic and politico-economic literature. We find two dimensions unfolding the latent conflict space in all five areas, a dimension on decision-making power and on the implementation and monitoring authority of UN activities. Our results show that the distances to both the status quo and other actors significantly explain their performance in these policy spaces: the closer an actor is located to these factors, the shorter is her distance to the outcome. This is also true for the distance to the U.S. which seems (still) being a hegemonic actor in the UN reform deliberations. Other factors, in particular those from a politico-economic perspective can hardly provide additional insight in the 2005 UN reform.

## **Reforming the UN – An Analysis of the 2005 Reform Outcome**

To celebrate the United Nations 60th birthday, the largest ever gathering of heads of states of 193 countries took place in New York in September 2005. Their task was to address the future of the UN and to decide on several reform proposals, which included the UN's Human rights machinery, the Security Council, the Peace-building Commission, the Economic and Social Council and the Management of the UN. Secretary-General Kofi Annan, two years earlier and following 9/11 terrorist attack and the U.S. led intervention in Iraq, had launched a broad reform effort and challenged Member States to render the UN fit for the 21st century. According to Slaughter (2005: 631), this proposal went beyond the topic of actual UN reform and opened the door to rethinking fundamental assumptions of the international legal system for the twenty-first century by “moving from a rights-based conception of sovereignty to a responsibility-based conception, from a perception of UN membership as validation of sovereign status to viewing signature of the Charter as acceptance of conditional sovereignty, and from organization based on and dedicated to state security to one that locates the value of states in their ability to guarantee human security”.

From a more general IR perspective, we believe that the analysis of the 2005 UN reform can provide insight into changing the organizational design of international cooperation, which has received little attention in the past. While the 2005 UN reform is about changing the institutional framework of an existing international organization, the literature on the role of international institutions and regimes has primarily examined the difficulties of creating international cooperation in an anarchic system (i.e., Keohane 1984, Oye 1986, Rittberger 1990, Krasner 1991, Ruggie 1993, Young 1994, Martin and Simmons 2001, Gourevitch 1999). This difference can have several ramifications for the study of international cooperation because little is known about the impact of an organizational status quo on the likelihood for a change in the organization of international cooperation. As Robert Keohane lately put it, “Although we are living in a period of unprecedented change, our understanding of change is much inferior to our understanding of fundamental long-term regularities.”<sup>1</sup> Theoretically, it is possible that the frequently cited obstacles to international cooperation under anarchy - uncertainty about repeated interaction and noise regarding the difficulty of observing others' actions clearly – do not exist in the event of a change of the organizational status quo.

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Keohane, *Big Questions in the Study of World Politics*, <http://www.princeton.edu/~rkeohane/workingpapers/OxfordHandbookchapter.pdf>, p. 4

More recently, Koremenos et al. (2001: 766) argued that institutional arrangements are best understood through “rational design” among multiple participants at important (historical) junctures. Following this rational design-concept, we will investigate whether and how participants chose incentive compatible rules in their interests in a historically troubling period about the UN’s role in the international arena. Hence, we concentrate on the reform issues at stake and use the corresponding positions of the participants as a measure for their performance in influencing the design of the institutional arrangements as dependent variables. For this purpose, we propose to uncover the policy space of each reform area which we observe being determined institutionally by the nature of the negotiation process, in which a specific negotiation committee was set up for each area, and decisions were taken within that forum. Furthermore, we test several sometimes rivalry explanations found in different strands of the literature, in particular from the bargaining (i.e. Bueno de Mesquita 2006, König and Slapin 2006), the hegemonic (Voeten 2000) and politico-economic literature (Alesina and Dollar 2000, Alesina and Weder 2002, Gates and Höffler 2004, Dreher und Sturm 2006).

Unfolding the policy space of these five areas is not a trivial empirical task and previous studies unsurprisingly concentrated on a few reform topics, most often on the Security Council, and used selected samples, mostly Western powers plus sometimes Russia or China (i.e., Knight 2000, Luck 2003). To provide a more complete picture of the 2005 UN reform, we gathered information by interviewing the 85% of UN members who often represented their issue-specific views in a collective manner meaning that we have to deal with both group and individual interests of 193 UN members on a total of 51 reform issues. We use the unfolded latent conflict structure on these 51 reform issues in order to determine actors’ performance by the distances between the participants’ position and the outcome.

From a bargaining perspective, we find that the distances to both the status quo and other actors significantly explain their performance: the closer an actor is located to these factors, the shorter is her distance to the outcome. This is also true for the distance to the U.S. which seems (still) being a hegemonic actor in the UN reform deliberations. Other factors, in particular from a politico-economic perspective can hardly provide additional insight in the 2005 UN reform.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. We first introduce a definition of reform and derive several hypotheses on actors’ performance from the literature. We then introduce into our data on the issue-positions of all participants in the 2005 UN reform. Next, we

present the five areas and discuss their latent conflict space, from which derive our dependent and several independent variables. Finally, we estimate the factors explaining actors' performance in each area and discuss our results

### **The Dimensionality of the 2005 UN Reform**

Attempts at reforming the UN are not new and rarely successful. Reference is often made to the Security Council as prime example of “non-reformability” (Russett et al. 1996). This time, however, the topic of security has been expanded to a common recognition of actual security threats, which extend to poverty, infectious disease and environmental degradation, war and violence within states as well as terrorism and organized crime. And even if some issues on the reform of the Security Council are delayed, we can observe alterations of the status quo in other areas by the 2005 UN reform, such as the replacement of the Commission on Human Rights by the new Human Rights Council, the new Peacebuilding Commission substituting ECOSOC Ad Hoc groups, or, in the development field, the transformation of existing accountability settings (Development Cooperation Forum and “Annual Ministerial Review”). An analysis of the 2005 UN reform hence calls for a closer examination of the actual variance we can find.

Regarding the 50th anniversary of the UN, Bruce Russett (1996a) proposed ten balances for weighing UN reform proposals. These balances on UN reform relate to a liberal internationalist project in the sense of Immanuel Kant which sees peace as a construct of political institutions, networks of economic interdependence, and international law and institutions (Russett 1996b). However, a common definition of “reform” is difficult to find. On closer inspection, the term “reform” raises questions on the scope and scale of the issues at stake and their location vis-à-vis the status quo. Edward Luck, who has written the most comprehensive historical overview of UN reform, defines reform as “the purposeful act of modifying the structure, composition, decision-making procedures, working methods, funding, or staffing of an institution in order to enhance its efficiency and/or effectiveness in advancing its core goals and principles.” (Luck 2003:4). Compared to Luck's “purposeful” view, Knight (2000) understands change as an ongoing learning process, which happens almost unconsciously by institutional entrepreneurs that adapt their work to the changing environment. In our view, both concepts are not exclusive because reform – as compared to the creation of international cooperation – directs to changing existing cooperation, from which actors have learnt in the past. Hence, a purposeful decision on UN reform, which is based on previous actions and outcomes, may raise fewer concerns by uncertainty and noise

which are considered as significant obstacles for international cooperation (Downs, Rocke and Siverson 1986).

Luck (2003) furthermore limits reform to changes of “the structure, composition, decision-making procedures, working methods, funding, or staffing of an institution”, which all relate to the ‘polity’ of the UN. But it is questionable whether reform is limited to the ‘polity’. Excluding ‘politics’ and ‘policy’ aspects runs the risk of adopting a division between ‘structure’ and ‘policy’ that is tainted by a ‘Western’ or ‘Southern’ understanding. With regard to Dejammet (2005), the scope of international cooperation in the UN can be divided into three broad categories, which are part of the 2005 UN reform:<sup>2</sup>

- structure (membership, decision-making procedures, working methods, boundary decisions concerning the organization’s relationship with other actors);
- basic principles;
- programmatic decisions that strategically allocate the organization’s resources, operational decisions regarding the use of the organization’s resources to provide services, also in terms of staffing.

In addition to defining the scope of the 2005 UN reform, a more substantial feature of reforming international cooperation is whether it changes the status quo in one or multiple directions. Substantially, we can expect that the UN reform is about further delegating authority to the UN which can be defined, according to Bradley and Kelley (2008:3), as “a grant of authority by two or more states to an international body to make decisions or take actions.” Using this definition, the scale of reform can therefore be assessed by looking at one of the fundamental balances governing the UN. It is the balance between, on one side, the respect of state sovereignty (Article 2 of the UN Charter) and, on the other, the enforcement capacities of the UN in order to pursue its purposes as defined in Article 1 of the UN Charter. Thus, in each reform area, proposals can be furthermore assessed based on the degree of legal obligations they entail. Delegations for legally-binding decisions are more extensive than pure advisory ones. A second dimension of the 2005 UN reform seems to center around the question of the decision-making mechanisms, in particular who is allowed to participate in these processes and how voting rights should be (re-)distributed.

Regarding the decision on the design of international cooperation, Koremenos et al. (2001: 769) raise the question why international institutions are designed as they are, but instead of

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<sup>2</sup> He identified three different levels of the UN in his analysis, which are similar to the categories identified by Ostrom (1990): institutions, basic principles (principles de base), major policy programmes (programmes majeures d’activité).

classifying them along a single measure like “stronger” and “weaker”, they propose to distinguish five key dimensions, namely membership, scope, centralization, control, and flexibility. Alternative to an exogenous definition of these dimensions for the evaluation of design decisions, we prefer a more policy-specific identification of the dimensions of the 2005 UN reform, which also define the boundaries for the incentives of the actors’ behavior. In other words, we believe that it is an important empirical question whether the participants relate their incentives for influencing, supporting or rejecting a change of the status quo only to a single issue, a set of issues in a reform area or the total reform of the UN. From an institutional perspective on the reform process, we find that committees were set up for each reform area, and decisions were taken within that forum. Hence, we will search for underlying dimensions in the policy space of each area which encompass on average ten issues. This policy space allows us to gradually determine how far the outcome is located from the status quo and in which direction it has actually shifted the UN in this area.

For the analysis of the 2005 UN reform we propose to follow an international intergovernmental framework and assess several claims from a bargaining, a hegemonic and politico-economic perspective. These views have in common that they conceive the UN as “an assembly of governments which represent sovereign states” (Krasno 1996: 333). This means that Member States’ preferences should be the ultimate variable explaining outcomes, either expressed singular as nation-state or via aggregated coalitions by groups. In accordance with the rational design-concept, Member States adhere to institutional change because doing so is in their interest; reform proposals must be Pareto resolving solutions, which means that the actors will be in a position (or consider to be in a position) where any other outcome would lead them to be in a less desired position - institutional change must be “incentive compatible” (Koremos et al. 2001: 768).<sup>3</sup> Preferences do however not necessarily have to be material; they can well reflect preferences for norms and principles or group identities and can be issue-specific or power-related (Hurrell 2005).

### **The Performance of the Participants in the 2005 UN Reform**

While the participants in the 2005 UN reform pursue different interests and differ in their individual and collective characteristics, analyzing this reform of international organization raises several empirical questions on the representation of actors’ positions and coalition formation, i.e. which country joins which group for which purpose. Secondly, we will investigate the performance of these groups and actors regarding their closeness to the

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<sup>3</sup> See also Keohane and Kelley 2006: 3

outcome. We accordingly examine whether and to what extent the outcome is consistently closer to the positions defended by one group or set of actors and whether one actor or one group, for example the U.S. or the EU, was always necessary to support a position in order to be adopted. In other words, what coalition constellation is effective when reforming the UN? This question relates to different theoretical strands in the international relations' literature which has focused on the kind and quality of specific actors, their resources to control other actors and to determine outcomes of international cooperation. Most commonly, such resources are defined by either the bargaining situation itself in terms of the actors' configuration, such as a location close to the status quo, having a cohesive position etc., or – following neo-realist research- by a hegemonic power, or, by a variety of politico-economic resources, such as GDP, military resources and organizational monetary contributions.

As independent variables we specify several claims and distinguish between a bargaining, hegemonic and politico-economic perspective. International bargaining theory wants to explain situations where cooperative and conflictual elements exist in parallel and which are characterized by interdependent decisions (Jönsson 2002). They are therefore particularly apt to illuminate the reform process at the UN where decisions are interdependent, iterative and cooperative and conflictual moments coexist. Nonetheless, bargaining theory largely focuses on bilateral, rather than multilateral settings. This literature argues that the best course of action of an actor depends on the positions and strategies of the other actors involved (Schelling 1960). Hence, in bargaining situations, an actor performs well when her bargaining position is advantageous. Such an advantageous position depends on several factors, among which the distance of an actor's position to the status quo and the distance to other actors (Slapin 2002). We therefore test whether these two factors promote an actor's performance in the UN reform. We expect distance from status quo and closeness to other actors to be sources of power (König and Slapin 2006). The baseline is that, given institutional inertia and path dependency (Pierson 2004) or risk adversity (Buono de Mesquita 2006), an actor opting for the maintenance of the status quo should be most likely to perform well. It should be more difficult to obtain radical rather than small changes. We hypothesize therefore that the closer an actor's position is to the status quo, the better should be its performance (H1).

Furthermore, the distance of an actor's position to the mean of all other actors should negatively impact its performance. König and Slapin (2006) argue that distance to the mean position allows for controlling for broader coalition dynamics. If an actor is to defend a position that is close to the majority of other actors, we should expect it to perform better, based on economies of scale arguments (Ginsberg 1989). We therefore hypothesize that the

closeness to other actors positively impacts an actor's performance (H2). Likewise, the outcome should be a matter of raw numbers, of rallying the right coalitions, a sufficient number of member states with the same preferences. Especially as reforms are decided upon within the General Assembly, where each country has a vote, reassembling a majority of members is a crucial pre-condition for change. We therefore expect a group's influence to go increasing with the number of its members (H3). Finally, another source of power is cohesiveness (König and Slapin 2006). Cohesiveness, e.g. heterogeneity of the group, is a more position-qualifying factor. Does cohesiveness, in contrast to pure numbers, impact the potential influence of a group? Studies about the EU at the UN highlight the importance of EU unity for increased influence of the EU in UN processes (Laatikainen and Smith 2006, Wouters, Hoffmeister and Ruys 2006). In contrast, recent studies on the EU's performance in the WTO suggest that internal heterogeneity might be an advantage. As less cohesive actor can use the difficulty involved in finding a common position as an argument against making concessions. Put differently: internal heterogeneity reduces the external bargaining space, which might be advantageous (Meunier 2005). We expect increasing influence with increasing unity (H4).

In contrast, hegemonic approaches argue that numbers or cohesiveness of actors have no impact, performance is not a question of how many but which states cooperate. Here, the quality of states is at stake. It is a realist notion that aggregate structural power explains outcome. But both liberal and realist IR scholar focus on the structural distribution of power, and more specifically on the role of a hegemon for the maintenance of a multilateral system (Ruggie 1993). In this context it is often argued that only with the support of the current hegemon, the United States of America, can reform be achieved. Puchala argues that "When Washington has been able to project visions that others could endorse and adopt; when it has been able to build coalitions to impel action; and when it has been willing to invest resources in the collective undertakings of the international community, it has led the UN" (Puchala 1994: 172). But can reform also work without the U.S.? Similarly, studies assessing UN voting behavior argue that member states align according to the hegemon – either bandwagoning or counterbalancing. Voeten (2000) found that member states' position could be identified based on one single dimension, with the United States and its Western allies on one side and a "counter-hegemonic" bloc of countries of rising powers (such as China and India) and a group of those countries often grouped under the label of "axis of evil countries" (Voeten 2000). In regards to the counter-hegemonic alliance, much has been written recently about emerging or re-emerging powers China, Russia, India, Brazil, and South



Africa. To what extent does it (still) pay off at the United Nations to align one's position with the hegemon? We assume that the United States are still the hegemon in the current multilateral system, based on its material capabilities (Zürn 2007) and hypothesize that closeness to the position of the US improves the performance of an actor, e.g. that it does (not yet) pay off to counter-balance against the US (H5).

A third factor is salience which represents the "political will" of an actor (mainly the lack thereof). Political will is of course closely linked to interest, but includes a degree of intensity. A government might not oppose a certain proposal, or even support it, but not consider it important enough to push for it at the UN, so political will is lacking (Bhatta 2005, Puchala 1994, Voeten 2005).<sup>4</sup> We expect that the saliency an actor attached to the issues of an area increased its performance (H6). At the same time, if the hegemon obtains its favored outcome, despite it not being important to her, the hegemon hypothesis would be strengthened.

Finally, states might decide to only challenge the hegemon on specific issues and act together in these cases. This is in line with increasing literature on issue-specific bargaining power (Jönsson 2002) that argues that the power a country holds is not evenly spread across all issues and issue areas. Hence, we assume actors focusing on one issue to a) attach particular importance to the issue and b) to combine specific characteristics that promise it a bargaining advantage – otherwise they would not group accordingly. We accordingly hypothesize that the issue-specificity of an actor increases its performance (H7).

A third category of factors is often used in political-economy studies. A structural view of international organizations argues that economically weak states share an interest in strong international regimes (Krasner 1985). "The voting behavior of developing countries is determined by their perception of powerlessness resulting from their position of relative (economic) power in the international system (Voeten 2000). Even though "translating power outside an organization into power inside the organization is never an exact science" (Smith, C. 2006: 24), the most obvious difference in capabilities potentially impacting member states performance lies outside the UN. The difference in (material) resources is often advanced by UN specialists, the so identified powerful determine the outcome of reform processes

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<sup>4</sup> Puchala identifies as the problem with the Clinton administration regarding UN reform that "it is not likely to be a major preoccupation of the Clinton administration" (Puchala 1994: 166) and continues, after describing in detail how the Clinton administration has positioned itself positively towards many reform issues, that "what continues to be missing in Washington is political will" (Puchala 1994:168). The political will to confront Congress on these issues was lacking. Voeten, in his account on non-reform of the SC argues that one explanation is that "Some executives publicly claim aspirations to permanent member status, while privately admitting that the issue is not pushed or even that they perceive more downsides than upsides to permanent membership. ...At the same time, the second and third largest contributors to the UN (Japan and Germany) continue to contribute to the UN and even have adopted laws that insist on UN authorization as a condition for active military participation in interventions. ...barely insist on reform."(Voeten) So in the end, one contributing factor is a lack of political will to really push the issue through.

(Hasbib, Bertrand, Luck, Weiss). Configuration of actors, such as the North-South divide, come into play. Boutros-Ghali for example explains that : « Il apparaît clairement, à travers cette brève analyse que les principaux obstacles auxquels se heurte une réforme de grande ampleur des Nations unies sont avant tout liés à la facture Nord-Sud et à la divergence d'intérêts entre les pas riches et les pays pauvres. » (Boutros-Ghali 2004: 13) In which cases are economic factors important in explaining coalition's influence?

We hypothesize the economically stronger an actor, the better its performance in the process (H8). Similarly, we hypothesize that national material capabilities more broadly defined, measuring military and war capabilities, increase the potential influence in the reform process (H9).

Finally, a large literature has studied the link between development aid and voting in UN forums. One argument goes that voting in UN forums determines the level of development aid received, hence countries voting in favor with donors are more likely to receive aid (Alesina and Dollar 2000, Alesina and Weder 2002, Gates and Höffler 2004). The reverse hypothesis is relevant for this study: recipients of either bilateral or multilateral aid are more likely to vote according to the preferences of the donors. This relationship has equally been investigated (for an overview see Dreher and Sturm (2006)). Dreher and Sturm's empirical analysis finds a positive relation, e.g. countries on the pay-list of the World Bank and IMF are more inclined to vote according to the preferences of the G7. Developing countries receive aid from UN funds and programs, which are largely financed by the OECD countries. We should expect that developing countries are more likely to align their positions with those of the donors, donors should hence have a higher change to obtain their favored outcome. Hence, the higher the share one shoulders of the UN budget, the better one's performance in the reform process (H10).

To summarize, we have three categories of factors, which are not mutually exclusive, but the hegemonic arguments clearly challenge the bargaining intuitions. Consequently, we are interested in the relative explanatory power of these claims and investigate to what extent the outcome depends on all actors, their interaction – hence on position constellations- , as compared to such factors when facing the hegemon. The final category is not directly challenging either or, but rather searches a middle way. It takes into account all actors, but also outside structural contexts as determinants of preferences and bargaining power.

**Data: Collective and Individual Actors and Gathering their Positions**

The 2005 UN reform splits into five reform areas, each constituting a boundary for the participants' incentives to vote in favor or against a change of the status quo. In addition to splitting in several areas, another feature of this reform process has been the representation of positions by collective groups and individual countries. Although the final votes are formally taken by individual countries, the collective representation of group positions provides particular insight into the UN's reform process. On the one hand, it is obvious that the complexity of UN decision making necessitates gathering (costly) information about alternatives and possible consequences. Moreover, for many countries, the collective representation should also be advantageous for influencing the outcome when compared to individual representation. However, on the other side, these advantageous effects should also depend on the cohesiveness of a group's position because a less cohesive group may gather less valuable information and beg higher risks for the representation of an individual country's position. Empirically, these groups sometimes vary across the five reform areas, sometimes their composition also varies from issue to issue within an area.

The major groups at the UN are, starting with the largest in numbers, the Non Aligned Movement (NAM), the Group of 77 (G77), the African group, the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), the European Union, the Latin American group, Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM), Canada, Australia and New Zealand (CANZ). In addition, a variety of ad hoc coalitions exists. As single actors, the USA, Japan, Russia and China are relevant. China however often joins the G77 as it seeks to increase its influence within the developing world, the G77 hence becomes 'G77 and China'.

The groups active in the United Nations are partially endogenous to the UN and have constructed their identity over the decades inside the UN, such as the Group of 77 or CANZ: Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Others are exogenous, such as the European Union or the Organization of the Islamic Conference. NAM is the child of decolonization and the Cold War, its origins are Yugoslav, Egyptian and Indian objectives to develop a common power base of "non-aligned" states, neither to the Soviet Union or the United States. It continues to rally the developing countries and middle-income countries around political questions. The G77 is concerned with economic questions and originally brought together 77 states and is largely identified with the drive for a "New Economic Order" and the creation of a trade conference within the United Nations (UNCTAD) to counterweigh GATT. The G77 also saw a revival over the last few years, after many had predicted its death with the end of the Cold War (Voeten 2000).

Even though the degree of “actorness” of the EU varies at the UN, it is certainly an important group.<sup>5</sup> When speaking with one voice, candidate and associated countries often align their positions with the EU, adding up the number of countries behind an EU position to a fifth of the membership. In fact, when looking at the variety of reform issues, the EU spoke with one voice on the vast majority of issues – except Security Council expansion. The African group’s membership is evident; CARICOM also exists outside the United Nations context and serves inside the UN to bring together the Caribbean states.

Regarding Latin America, the Rio group, which previously assembled most Latin American democracies, exists in theory as a possible group formation. But since the election of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela, this group has lost its usefulness for most of its members, and ad hoc coalitions of some Latin American countries have replaced it instead, which have not yet taken on any new formalized label or organization. The least organized continent is Asia, no formalized negotiation coalition exists; the Asian countries are only organized as Asian group for election purposes to UN bodies. Here as well, ad hoc coalitions among themselves or with great powers dominate the picture. To be mentioned as cross-continent, and instead religion-based coalition is the Organization of the Islamic Conference with 58 member states, representing 30% of the General Assembly. Finally, one small, but not negligible group is CANZ, as it brings together non-EU Western middle-power countries that are often active change promoters.

For the analysis of their bargaining performance we gathered data by standardized interviews with decision-makers, experts and UN secretariat staff and a thorough process-tracing of the different reform cases. The data set used contains individual countries’ and groups’ positions on 51 issues for five reform areas. Within each reform area, 10-15 reform issues were selected based on three criteria: their political importance, the amount of possible options, and issue characteristic. In order to select politically relevant issues, only those that made it from the High-Level Panel report over the Secretary-General report to the negotiating table were selected. Kofi Annan had tasked a “High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change” to present a coherent set of proposals for reform. The report of the panel has book length and

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<sup>5</sup> Smith and Laatikainen’s recent volume on the EU at the UN has shown that the EU actually operates together more often than one might expect. However, Jørgensen and Laatikainen explain that “The challenge of the UN context for the EU is that while it enjoys competence in some areas across the UN system, for the most part in the political organs of the UN, the EU depends upon the sovereignty of its member states in order to play a role. The UN thus contribute to the gestalt of the EU’s split personality, being both actor in its own right and an arena for the expression of member-state interests.” (Jørgensen and Laatikainen 2006: 10). For this study, the EU is an actor in terms of a coalition, as much as the G77 is or the African group.

includes many proposals that have been floating around for years. Kofi Annan, after consultation with member states, then presented in spring 2005 his synopsis of the report, containing his recommendations for reform. From there on, member states started to consult officially and the President of the General Assembly, Jean Ping, introduced a first draft in June 2005 containing either those proposals with enough consensus and willingness among the wider membership to engage in a discussion or those proposal pushed for by single actors or groups despite known opposition from others.

For this study we selected those issues for which at least two options beside the status quo existed. Finally, reform issue characteristics had to fall under the reform definition adopted in this paper. Controversial issues only pertaining to specific policies, for example precise policy proposals in the field of nuclear disarmament, were not included. A careful process-tracing and analysis of several negotiation documents then served to spot the relevant actors per reform area. Media reporting on the reform process (using LexisNexis) as well as interviews with representatives of the secretariat and the office of the President of the General Assembly allowed for a precise identification of involved groups and individual countries.

The interviews were conducted based on five standardized questionnaires, one for each reform area. The questionnaire addressed all reform issues per area and, per issue, requested the interviewee to identify the group's preferred option at the beginning of the process, as well as the group's coherence on the respective issue and its salience. It presented for all identified reform issues a set of possible options, including the status quo. For example, regarding the creation of the Peacebuilding Commission and its institutional location, the questionnaire asked if the group's preference at the beginning of the negotiations had been to create the PBC as a Security Council subsidiary body, or a body linked to the General Assembly, or to ECOSOC or any other preferred institutional location.

The questionnaire was developed based on an analysis of several unofficial negotiating documents, which contained, in addition to the original proposal, alternative formulations in brackets. Furthermore, an analysis of over 600 group and government statements made from April to September 2005 allowed further identification of alternative proposals. Most of these statements were publicly available on member states' websites and the website "Reform the UN", which managed to place online many of the statements made throughout the process that are not available elsewhere. In addition, unpublished position papers and internal documents were obtained by the researcher, which allowed for cross-checking of the publicly available documents. Whenever given answers were unclear or contradictory, a further

interview with either another member of the same group or an expert of the group was undertaken. All interviews were conducted with less than a year of time lapse and partially still during the time of negotiations. This was important in order for interviewees to still have original positions fresh in mind. Its consequence was that previous reform efforts of the 1990ies could not be studied.

The collected data was in turn coded. In order to compare across cases, a codification scheme had to be developed that allows conceptualization of very diverse decisions. The controversies and possible options are hence presented on one scale across issues. For each issue, the status quo, group positions and the outcome were placed on a continuum, which describes the degree of authority delegation the adoption of a proposal would entail, from 0, requiring no delegation, to 100 as most obliging. The received number of points was then used to establish the ordinal numbering of groups' positions per issue (the higher the number of points, the higher the number). For example, to follow up on the PBC example: a Security Council subsidiary body would have required more authority delegation than a General Assembly body, as Security Council decisions are binding, hence the SC option received a high 80, whereas the General Assembly option a low 40. Such a codification also allows predictions of which positions are closest or furthest from the status quo, and the outcome.

In order to code the status quo, for each reform issue, a careful evaluation of the status quo, identifying existing structures, processes and policies, was undertaken. This was done based on official UN documents, but also based on interviews with concerned actors as the status quo is often not codified in official documents. Furthermore, regarding cohesiveness and salience, interviewees had the option to select on a scale from 0 to 3, 0 meaning that the group actually had not managed to identify a common position and three reflecting a "very cohesive" position. Regarding salience, 0 meant that the issue had no importance at all for the group and three it being "extremely important". When interviewees declared that cohesiveness was very low (=1), the researcher requested the interviewee to identify the possible extremes that existed within the group and associate countries to these positions. This allowed for defining a range within which all countries of a given group fall for each issue. If cohesiveness is high, group members preferred option is the group position, if cohesiveness is low, member states have preferences that fall within the identified range.

Salience was often divided by interviewees in tactical and substantive importance. For example, regarding the PBC, negotiators argued that their substantive opposition to a SC only body was very strong, but that their opposition to a mixed SC and GA PBC was only

important for tactical reasons. Whenever possible, these distinctions have been maintained in the analysis of the dataset.

Regarding the factors against which coalition formation is checked, the external power will be measured based on the commonly used Composite Index of Material Capabilities of the Correlates of War Project, which includes values for total population, urban population, iron and steel production, energy consumption, military personnel, and military expenditure. The widely-used Composite Index of National Capability (CINC) index is based on these six variables and included in the data set, V3.02. The economic measurement will be based on 2005 World Bank Atlas indicators for measuring the gross domestic product (GDP) at purchasing power parity (PPP). Table 1 provides an overview on our dependent and independent variables:

	Explanation	Operationalization	Abbrev	Range
<b>Performance of actors (DV)</b>	Distance between position and outcome	Euclidian distance between outcome and position on two dimensions, based on factor analysis	Distanceout	Min: 0.366 Max: 2.3
<b>Bargaining factors (IV)</b>	Distance between position and status quo	Euclidian distance between status quo and position on two dimensions, based on factor analysis	distancesq	Min: 0.01 Max: 3.787
	Distance between the position of actor and the positions of other actors	Distance of actor's position to other actors positions divided by 'Mean distance of all actors' positions distance to central position'	Outlier	Min: 0.964 Max: 2.309
	Size of group membership	Number of members of group per issue summed up per case and divided by number of issues (can be <1 if actor not active on each issue within one case)	Groupsize (average)	Min: 0.143 Max: 128
<b>Actor-issue specific factors (IV)</b>	Importance attached to reform area	The collected salience values (0-3, 3 being very important) per issue were added up per case	Salience (sum)	Min: 1 Max: 3
	Single issue actors Groups/countries that only negotiate on one or few issues within	Relation between number of issues on which group has no position and number of issues of the case (very specific actor has a high value)	specificity	Min: 0 Max: 0.95

	one case			
	Heterogeneity of the group	The collected cohesion values (0-3, 3 being totally unified) per issue were added up per case and divided by the number of issues	Cohesion (average)	Min: 1 Max: 3
<b>Hegemon (IV)</b>	Distance between actor's and USA position	USA assumed as hegemon; 0= equals the position of the USA	distance USA	Min: 0 Max: 3.235
<b>Political economy factors (IV)</b>	Economic wealth	GDP PPP 2006 per country based on World Bank data; for groups the GDPs of all group members were summed up. (millions of international d \$)	sum gdp	Min: 2.833e+02 Max: 1.726e+07
	Global power	Correlates of War Project, National Material Capabilites indicator, for groups the indicators of all group members were summed up	sum warpower	Min: 0.0021 Max: 0.471
	Donor – Budget contributions	Members 2005 gross UN assessed budget contributions, for groups the amount each group member spend was summed up. (millions of \$)	sum budgetcontribution	Min: 1354993 Max: 745945974

### Unfolding Five Reform Areas

For the analysis of the 2005 UN reform, we distinguish between the five reform areas and use the issue-specific positions of the participant for unfolding the latent conflict space in each area, whether these positions are mentioned by individual or collective actors. This means that the size of the actors varies between seven and thirteen participants in each area. For each area, we use Bayesian factor analysis to unfold a two-dimensional policy space for each area, in which we locate the positions of the participants, the status quo and the outcome. We apply the approach developed by Quinn (2004) that can be viewed as a generalization of item response theory to polychotomous and continuous data (Quinn 2004: 339). The model is estimated by Markov Chain Monte Carlo and we run several independent chains with at least 10 million iterations from different starting points to ensure convergence. All of these chains reached the same distribution and strongly indicate that convergence has been reached. We find two dimensions that dominate conflict in all five reform areas: the reform of decision making power and the delegation of implementation and monitoring rights.



In the following, we will present and describe each area and the configuration in each policy space, from which derive our dependent variable, the distance between the participants' positions and the outcome as a measure for their performance. From these policy spaces, we also construct several other independent variables, such as closeness to the status quo and to other actors. The actor-specific variables, such as the number of actors, their cohesiveness, salience and issue-specificity, are derived from issue-related information which we aggregate to the area-level. Finally, we use macro-economic indicators such as GDP, war power resources and contribution to the UN budget for assessing the politico-economic view.

### *Human rights machinery*

On March 15th 2006, the General Assembly approved, 170 to 4 votes (U.S., Israel, Marshall Islands and Palau against) with 3 abstentions (Belarus, Iran and Venezuela), the new Human Rights Council (HRC). The HRC replaced the Commission on Human Rights, which had come under heavy criticism from the human rights community for being an extremely politicized and rather ineffective body. This was especially so after countries with despicable human rights records gained membership and Libya had been elected for the chairmanship of the Commission.

Kofi Annan proposed in his report "In larger freedom" the creation of a Human Rights Council, with a smaller membership and to elect its members by a two-thirds majority of members present and voting. Furthermore, "Those elected to the Council should undertake to abide by the highest human rights standards."<sup>6</sup> Member States relatively quickly came out supporting the idea of a new human rights council, but disagreement reigned from the beginning over status, membership, mandate and functions of such a new council. Also, an important debate turned around the reinterpretation of sovereignty and the "responsibility to protect": shall the United Nations recognize the responsibility to protect individuals from war crimes and genocide committed by their own governments?

The new Council is a bit smaller (47 instead of 53 members), now a subsidiary body of the General Assembly with a review clause in 5 years and the possibility to then become a principal organ<sup>7</sup>; it meets regularly<sup>8</sup>; its members are elected directly and individually by secret ballot by the majority of the members of the General Assembly (not just of the votes

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<sup>6</sup> In larger freedom , paragraph 183

<sup>7</sup>The Commission on Human Rights was a subsidiary body of the Economic and Social Council. The General Assembly is the highest organ with universal membership, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council both have limited membership. The idea was to elevate the institutional status of the UN human rights machinery in order to reflect the importance the UN now assigns to human rights.

<sup>8</sup> The CHR was limited to 6 weeks of meeting per year.

cast) – instead of regional groups in ECOSOC choosing their representatives- and, “when electing members of the Council, Member States shall take into account the contribution of candidates to the promotion and protection of human rights and their voluntary pledges and commitments made thereto”; finally, a “universal periodic review” of all member states’ human rights record is foreseen, with the elected members to undergo it first.<sup>9</sup>

Famously, the General Assembly adopted the “Responsibility to Protect”, which allows the Security Council to define a threat to international peace when a government is unable or unwilling to defend its own population against war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity and therefore to mandate the use of force in such cases. Main actors in this process were the EU, CANZ (Canada, Australia and New Zealand), Latin American countries such as Argentina and Brazil, the African group, the “like-minded group” of states opposing any reform<sup>10</sup>, CARICOM (Caribbean Community and Common Market), small states such as Switzerland and Liechtenstein and big ones such as the USA, China and Russia.

Briefly summarized, the status quo has been changed; the Commission on human rights has been replaced with the Human Rights Council, entailing further implementation authority, but not decision-making authority delegation. It must be said that the status quo level of decision-making authority, especially in terms of the scope of the UN human rights mandate, was already high. The US, EU, CANZ, Japan and the progressive Latin American countries had pro-reform positions; all other actors favored a change of the status quo, but a reduction in authority delegation on at least one dimension. The USA bet on further decision-making delegation, favoring a by far smaller body than the Commission. The EU and CANZ shared this ambition, but to a lesser degree. All other groups and actors opposed further decision-making authority delegation; some even wanted to retrieve decision-making authority.

In the two-dimensional policy space, the Like-Minded countries are diametrically opposed to the USA and were against a strong human rights machinery, which had no intentions to increase decision-making authority and preferred to reduce the scope of the UN mandate in the field of human rights. In the middle between the reform alliance around the USA, EU, CANZ, Japan and the progressive Latina Americans on one side and the opposing like-minded countries such as Iran, Sudan or Cuba were the African group and the Caribbean countries, with the Organization of the Islamic conference (OIC) tendentially favoring a like-minded position.

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<sup>9</sup> Resolution A/60/L.48

<sup>10</sup> Including Cuba, Venezuela, Burma, Turkmenistan, Pakistan, Belarus, Vietnam, Syria, Sudan, Egypt, Iran.

The reform alliance managed first of all to maintain the status quo as it relates to decision-making authority, hence blocking a change which would have reduced the UN's ability to address human rights abuses worldwide. If the African group and the Caribbean countries were in the middle on the decision-making dimension, they were also closer to the reform alliance in terms of implementation authority. In this regard, the difference was more between the EU, CANZ, Japan and the progressive Latin Americans on one side favoring stronger implementation powers and the like-minded countries and the OIC on the opposing side, with the USA, CARICOM and African group in the middle and favoring a similar level of implementation authority delegation. This is consistent with the general US refusal to increase effective UN implementation mechanisms. The outcome in terms of implementation reflects the American position; the Europeans, CANZ, Japan and Latin Americans did not obtain further implementation powers for the UN.

### *Security Council*

Security Council (SC) reform does not need much introduction: it is the perpetual quest for the right composition of permanent and non-permanent members. Linked to the membership question, but nonetheless independent: is the veto right for the permanent members still justifiable or really the most important element of the United Nations? A further reform strand concerned the working methods of the SC, which discussed how non members and other relevant actors such as troop contributors could be better involved in the work of the SC and how the SC relates to the other organs, such as the General Assembly. Finally, an important debate turned around the question if the membership should develop and adopt mandatory principles for the use of force, which should guide or even direct the decisions of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

The membership composition of the Security Council has not yet been changed, neither has the veto power been limited or refined. Nonetheless, the Security Council adopted in 2006 a resolution codifying and extending several so far informal procedures that allowed for information and cooperation with civil society actors, troop contributors and regional organizations. Main actors were the G4, the group around the four aspiring permanent members Germany, Japan, Brazil and India, the group called United for Consensus largely encompassing all secondary regional powers opposing the leading regional power to gain permanent membership, of course the P5, but also the S5, five small countries attempting to

improve the working methods of the Council (Jordan, Liechtenstein, Switzerland, and Singapore).

In the Security Council field, we only had three issues: improved and increased participation of non-members in the work of the Council, limitations of the veto power and a possible expansion. To date, the status quo has not been changed for the second and third issue. Member states are continuing negotiations, but with less steam and without a result in proximity. We therefore coded the outcome as status quo. The status quo has been changed in regards to non-SC members' participation in implementation, which resulted in a decrease of delegation of implementation authority, but not in terms of decision-making authority delegation entailed.

The US, China and Russia were all defending a position very close to the Status Quo. The S5 – five small countries- had lobbied for an even stronger degree of return of implementation as well as decision-making authority (limitations on the veto power) to member states. But the US, Russia and China strongly opposed any changes modifying their decision-making prerogatives and achieved the maintenance of the status quo in terms of decision-making. This is also visible in the two-dimensional policy space of this reform area where these countries are located close to the status quo. Here, the African group had a position requiring most increase in decision-making authority delegation, as they wanted more permanent members and these with veto power, both aspects requiring further decision-making delegation from the rest of the membership. The G4 around Germany, Brazil, India and Japan did also prefer new permanent members, but accepted a compromise deal, not offering immediate veto power rights to the new permanent members. Their position therefore required less decision-making delegation than the African group position. The group of countries supporting the idea of G4 permanent membership but in no case the extension of the veto was in turn even closer to the status quo in terms of decision-making delegation. Those countries opposing the introduction of any new permanent members, grouped under the label of “Uniting for consensus” around Italy, Pakistan, Argentina and Mexico, preferred the introduction of non permanent seat, hence requiring less delegation.

Nonetheless, all three just mentioned groups, G4, G4 without veto and UfC all supported calls for improvement of non-member participation, in order to gain the support of those countries never able to achieve member status – very small countries but high in numbers.

On December 30th 2005, the General Assembly and the Security Council each approved a resolution establishing the UN Peacebuilding Commission (PBC). The idea behind the PBC was to bridge an institutional, attention and cooperation gap. The Security Council deals with conflicts, but rarely with the prevention of conflicts or with their aftermath. The development machinery of the UN (as well as the Bretton Woods institutions and bilateral aid) helps countries in their economic and social development, but is less effective in situations of failed state-hood or not yet again established statehood. The fact that almost half of the countries emerging from conflict relapse into conflict rapidly afterwards increased the need for a mechanism that could address this gap. The PBC was meant to do just that. Even if member states agreed on this analysis, the institutional location between the Security Council and the General Assembly (the High-level panel had proposed the PBC to be a Security Council subsidiary body), its membership, mandate and function were up to fierce debate.

In its current form, the PBC is an intergovernmental advisory body. Its task is to bring together all relevant actors<sup>11</sup> in a post-conflict situation in order to propose strategies for recovery efforts, to ensure sustained international attention and financing, and to coordinate the activities of the parties involved in the post-conflict situation. The Commission has 31 members, seven are appointed each by the Security Council (including the 5 permanent members), ECOSOC, and the General Assembly to ensure overall geographical representation, plus five members selected among the 10 top financial contributors and the top 10 military contributors. The PBC will report directly to the Security Council on cases that are on the SC's agenda, and on an annual basis to the General Assembly. The relevant actors in the PBC negotiations were the P5, the EU and CANZ, the African group, the Latin Americans and on some aspects NAM. The EU was represented by the Presidency and spoke with one voice, even though on some issues it was more silent due to internal squabbles. However, the disagreements went not so far as for the member states to seek new alliances on this issue (as happened on Security Council reform) – with a special role of the two permanent members France and the UK.

In the reform area of United Nations Peacebuilding and nation building, the status quo was a situation in which the Security Council took most related decisions; other decisions were taken by the Secretary-General or actually not taken as they fell in-between the mandates of the Security Council and funds and programs. It was precisely this situation of limbo that led

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<sup>11</sup> Such as national authorities, neighboring countries, regional and international organizations, international financial institutions and non-governmental actors.

member states to create a new body. Hence, the status quo required a high degree of decision-making authority delegation to the Security Council.

It is not surprising therefore that the US, China and Russia are very close to the status quo in terms of decision-making authority. They opposed any body within which their decision-making prerogatives would not be guaranteed. In contrast, the like-minded countries, the African group as well as the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) wanted the new body to be institutionally close to the General Assembly, de facto leading to a decrease in required decision-making authority.

On the implementation dimension, the USA, Russia, China, NAM, African group and Japan were on one side, favoring less implementation delegation than the EU, CANZ or the Progressive Latin Americans. Interestingly, the US and the like-minded around Iran and Sudan had similar preferences in terms of UN implementation capacity. Important to mention is the group of Latin American countries, which are strongly in favor of strengthening UN implementation capacities but refuse further decision-making delegation in terms of giving the Security Council say in more non-essential SC fields.

The outcome is, on the decision-making dimension, closer to the USA, China and Russia, whereas it is in the middle between those countries willing to strengthen UN implementation and the more reluctant states.

### *Economic and social decision-making processes*

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) is the United Nations' principal organ for the formulation of policy guidelines in the economic and social field and for the coordination of activities of the UN system related to economic and social – today mainly development issues. ECOSOC is one of the six main bodies of the United Nations, but placed under the authority of the General Assembly; unlike the Security Council, ECOSOC was not granted decision-making power; it has to report to the General Assembly. De facto, the G7/8, the Bretton Woods Institutions, but also the OECD for example, are the places for normative policy setting. The reform struggle hence concerns an upgrading of ECOSOC, a restructuring that would allow it to play a more important normative agenda and policy setting role. Also, regarding the coordination function of ECOSOC, the central concern is to device the correct level of intergovernmental, ECOSOC, control over the work of the UN agencies and funds.

Finally, a more recent focus has been on designing accountability mechanisms via ECOSOC for the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals Framework.

Nothing changed in terms of ECOSOC's coordination function, but the MDG accountability mechanisms was strengthened, by transforming the existing format into a newly designed "Annual Ministerial Review". Furthermore, a "Development Cooperation Forum" was created with the purpose of increasing the normative leverage of the UN in the field of aid effectiveness. The relevant groups and actors in this case were the G77 and China, the EU, CANZ, the US, Japan, Russia and Mexico.

The status quo has been changed, in a direction entailing more implementation, but less decision-making authority delegation. The EU, Japan and the USA had pro-reform positions; all other groups and countries favored the change of the status quo but entailing at least on one dimension less delegation. All actors favor stronger implementation authority delegation than the status quo entails. Only the EU, Japan and the US favor in addition further decision-making authority delegation, whereas CANZ, Mexico, Russia and the Progressive Latin Americans want to see the status quo maintained; the G77 would prefer an outcome with reduced decision-making authority delegation.

The USA and Japan share the same position and are equally strongly in favor of further authority delegation, both decision-making and implementation. The EU is as willing as the USA and Japan to delegate decision-making authority, e.g. to delegate decisions to smaller membership bodies or third actors, but less so in terms of implementation authority. Mexico, CANZ have similar positions as the EU, whereas the G77 is only willing to delegate further implementation authority. In contrast to the EU, CANZ, Japan and the USA, the G77 prefers the outcome in regards to decision-making authority to be moved in the opposite direction.

The outcome equals the G77 position in terms of implementation delegation, and obtained that the status quo moved towards its preferred position in terms of decision-making authority.

### *Management of the organization*

The quest for improving the management of the UN secretariat and its funds, programs and agencies is as old as the UN. Since the 1950s, commissions were established to propose concrete steps that would make the secretariat work more effectively and efficiently (Jackson and then Gardner report). Interestingly, as Edward Luck has shown, they all recommended

more or less the same: A refocus of the secretariat on the priorities of the organization, streamlining of the budgetary process in terms of cutting the power of the General Assembly's budget and finance committee in favour of the Secretary General, increasing accountability and improving audit structures (Luck 2003). This time around, heads of states decided in September 2005, especially after the Oil-for-food and other secretariat scandals, to commission the Secretary General to write a report on possible management reforms, as well as to accept an outside evaluation of the UN oversight and accountability mechanism. Finally, a high-level panel on "system-wide coherence" was established, aiming at restructuring the relations between the many agencies and programs as well as the relation between headquarters and the field.

Kofi Annan presented in the spring of 2006 the report "Investing in the United Nations" suggesting vast management reforms, starting with forever-contenders such as moving budget decisions from the 5th Committee to a smaller group, and giving more flexibility to the Secretary General in terms of moving posts and resources, and outsourcing of secretariat services. Another reform strand addressed the oversight and accountability of the UN. The main proposals in this field aimed at creating an independent oversight mechanism.

The US linked the negotiations over management reforms to the 2006/07 budget. The US threatened to withhold payments if reforms were not deep enough. US ambassador Bolton introduced the spending cap during the budget negotiations at the end of 2005 in order to increase the pressure for developing countries to accept reforms in the field of secretariat management. Polarization flared up towards the end of June when the spending cap needed to be lifted and the US actually linked it to the pace of management reforms. After intense negotiations in June some reforms were adopted and the budget cap lifted on the last possible day. The independence of the oversight body was strengthened and an International Advisory Committee on Oversight created. The flexibility of the SG was only marginally increased and budgetary decision-making procedures remained unchanged. The major actors of the negotiations are the G77 and China, the EU, the US, Japan and to a lesser extent CANZ.

The status quo has been changed in the case of UN secretariat and funds and programs management, requiring further decision-making authority, but reducing the degree of implementation authority delegated. This is so because member states created an independent oversight advisory board, which requires further decision-making authority delegation, and, in terms of implementation, increased the degree of its centralization, which indicates less authority delegation.



The USA, Japan and the EU equally favored a higher degree of decision-making authority delegation, favoring smaller committees to take budgetary decisions and allowing the Secretary-General stronger say over the budget. This was strongly opposed by the G77, but also by Russia. At first it might seem surprising that the Status Quo requires more decision-making authority delegation than the position of the G77, even if management and budgetary decisions are officially taken by all member states. This is due to the coding of the de facto status quo. De facto, small, but informal negotiating groups decide on the budget. As they are informal, at least in theory, every member state can join them; the status quo therefore requires less authority delegation than a formalized and institutionalized small budgetary committee. The G77 insisted on a budgetary process that allows all members to participate, hence requiring less delegation than the status quo. This is why the G77 position entails less authority delegation than the status quo.

As in regards to implementation delegation, the G13 was an ad hoc coalition of donors, which advocated the merger of existing funds and programs into three entities, thus highly centralizing existing activities and limiting the current degree of implementation delegation. The G77 and Russia were less inclined towards such centralization, but not cohesively opposing such attempts.

The outcome is closer to the position of the USA, Japan and the EU, which is in line with the argument that donors impose their views when it comes to the spending of their money.

### **Explaining Performance in the 2005 UN Reform**

From the configuration in each reform area we can determine the distances between each participant and the outcome. This is our dependent variable which measures the two-dimensional Euclidean distance for 46 cases (actors times area). As independent variables we distinguish between a bargaining, hegemonic and politico-economic perspective. The bargaining factors relate to the distance between each actor and the status quo (H1), the closeness to other actors (H2), the size of a coalition (H3) and the cohesiveness of an actor's position (H4). The more actor-specific hegemonic factors concern the distance to the U.S. position (H5), the saliency that an actor attached to the issues of an area (H6) and the issue-specificity of an actor (H7). Furthermore, we evaluate macro-economic indicators such as the economic power in terms of GDP (H8), national material capabilities (H9) and the UN budgetary contribution of an actor (H10). We assume that the impact of these independent variables on the distance to the outcome is strictly additive and employ the following linear model for the analysis:

$$Y = \beta_1 H1 + \beta_2 H2 + \beta_3 H3 + \beta_4 H4 + \beta_5 H5 + \beta_6 H6 + \beta_7 H7 + \beta_8 H8 + \beta_9 H9 + \beta_{10} H10$$

The  $\beta$ -coefficients of this model can be estimated by ordinary least square regression (OLS) and we report the results of that regression in table 2.

Table 2: Explaining Performance in the 2005 UN Reform

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t )
(Intercept)	0,06732	0,7817	0,08612	0,9319
Distance sq (H1)	0,152*	0,0795	1,912	0,06454
Outlier (H2)	0,5117*	0,272	1,881	0,06879
Cohesion (H3)	-0,05022	0,1493	-0,3363	0,7388
Distance USA (H4)	0,2514**	0,1174	2,141	0,03975
Groupsize (H5)	3,69E-05	0,007033	0,005239	0,9959
Specificity (H6)	0,2391	0,2825	0,8463	0,4035
Salience (H7)	-0,07754	0,1806	-0,4294	0,6704
GDP (H8)	7,29E-08	4,60E-08	1,583	0,123
Military power (H9)	-3,34	3,153	-1,059	0,2971
UNbudget contribution (H10)	-3,13E-10	4,38E-10	-0,7132	0,4808

\*significant at 0.1 level

\*\*significant at 0.05 level

Multiple R <sup>2</sup>	0.4527	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.2868
F statistic	2.729	p value	0.01453
N	44		

For two of the 46 cases, no information on the cohesion of a group is available and these cases are dropped from the analysis, such that the sample is reduced to 44 cases. The results show that most coefficients indicate the direction we theoretically expect: coalitions that are closer to the status quo, closer to other groups and internally cohesive perform comparatively better in drawing the outcome in their direction. Also, closeness to the U.S., military power, saliency and the contribution to the UN budget have a positive impact on bargaining success. In contrast, group size, specificity and economic power seem to increase the distance to the outcome slightly. The fact that group size does not impact positively the performance is not surprising as long as other factors such as closeness to the hegemon play a role. We stated earlier that either raw numbers or the quality of actors is a relevant factor. This finding tends to support the quality argument. However, the result regarding the economic power challenges this reasoning. This might be due to the fact how we calculated groups' economic might, summing up all members GDP PPP. It might have been perhaps more accurate to use a relative measure, the average GDP per member.

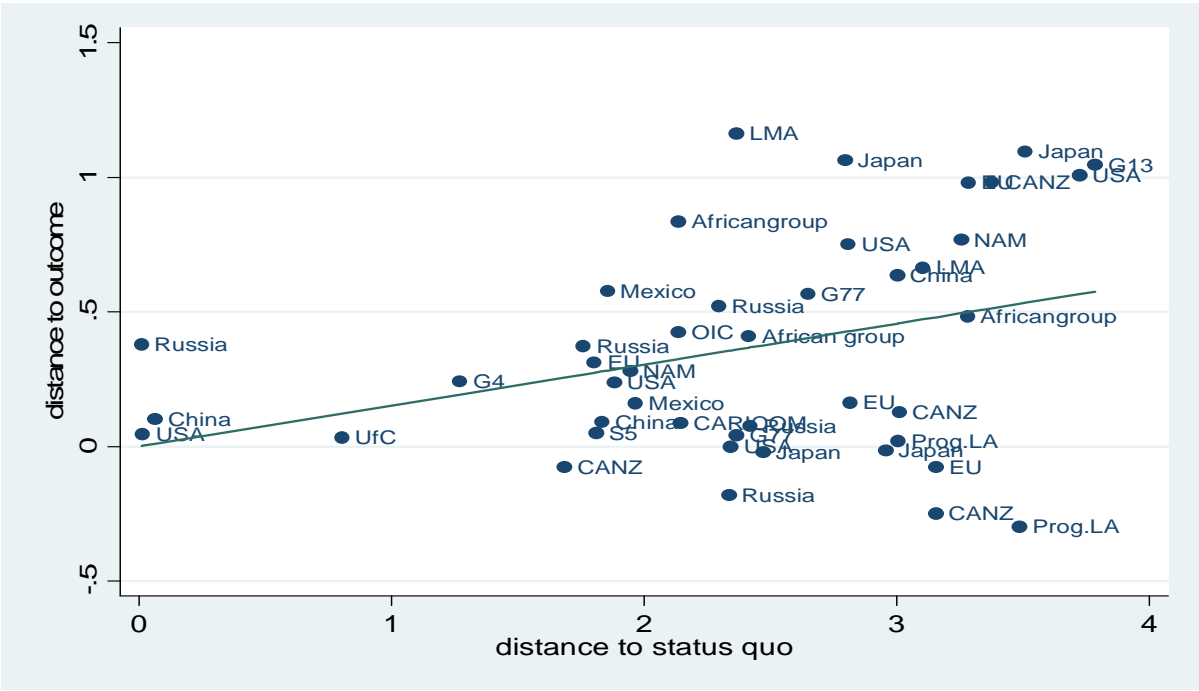
While the p value of the full model shows that the model is overall highly significant, the p-values of most coefficients are quite large. This is not uncommon for analyses with data sets of that size (and a comparatively large number of explanatory variables) since these values

critically depend on the number of cases and it is difficult to obtain precise estimates as the asymptotic properties of the estimation procedure do not hold well in such a situation. Another deficit could be autocollinearity but a quick inspection of the correlation matrix of the variables shows that this is not the case. However, despite this effect, we find a significant impact on the bargaining success for three of our ten explanatory variables: the distance of an actor to the status quo, the distance to all other actors and the distance to the United States. This also implies that each of these variables contributes quite independently to the model and the exclusion of any of these variables alters the explanatory power of the model drastically. In total almost 70% of the explained variance is accounted for by these variables.

In our view, this result favors bargaining as well as hegemonic explanations, but not conclusively. The significant relation between actor's closeness to the status quo and her performance confirms on one side that an actors' positions in the bargaining space entails power, and hints on the other side at the relevance of historical institutionalist approaches. This highlights the difficulty for actors to move the status quo far – put differently: existing inertia tends to favor those actors that are close to the status quo.

Figure 1 shows the predicted relationship between the distance to the outcome and the distance to the status quo according to the estimated model and the partial residuals of the observations to graphically check the goodness of fit of the argument. The straight upwards sloping line in the figure indicates that the distance to the outcome increases with the distance to the status quo. Although the model cannot perfectly predict all groups of actors, we do not find an obvious non-linear relationship in the data that would violate the assumptions of statistical model.

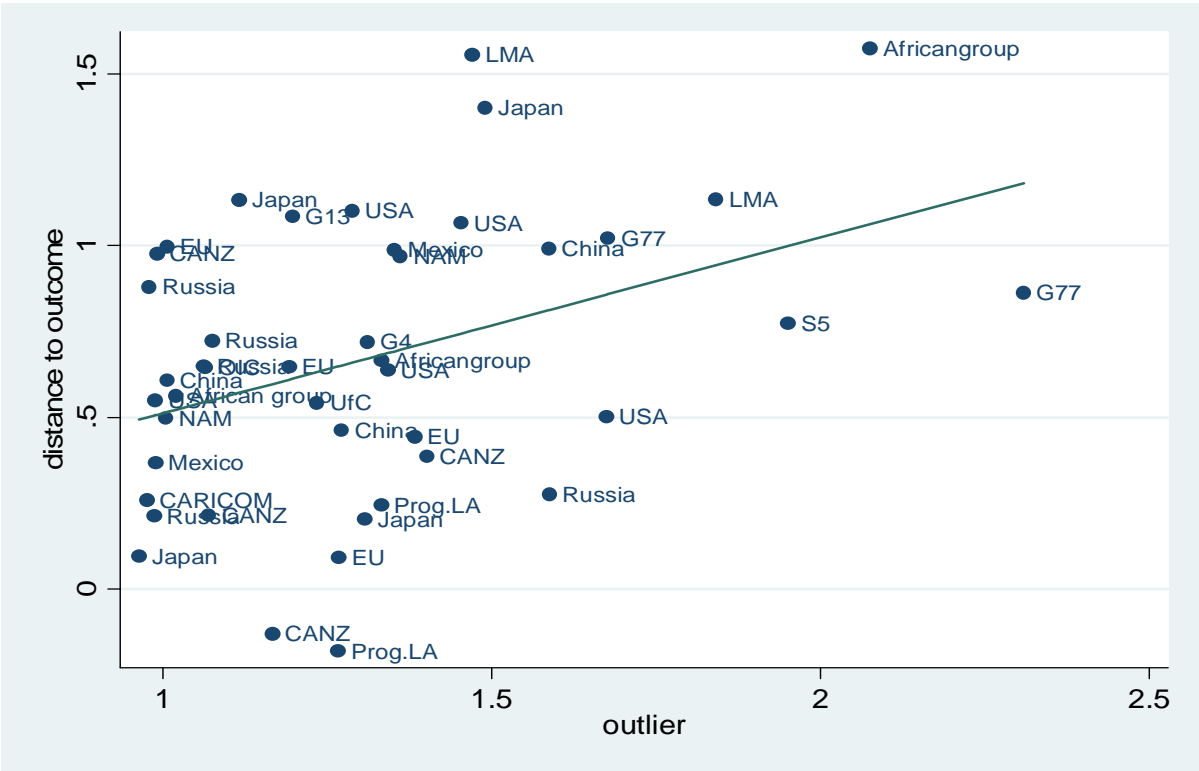
Figure 1: Predicted relationship between distance to outcome and distance to the status quo in the UN reform and partial residuals of observations



The outlier hypothesis assumed that countries or groups proposing a position that stands diametrically opposed to the majority of other actors’ position have a lower chance to perform well than “mainstream” actors. Again, we find that de facto the location of an actor in the bargaining space is important. Furthermore, our results show that significant coalition building is necessary in order to obtain change. An actor needs to promote and promulgate her position so as to mainstream it and receive broad support.

The plot of the predictions and the partial residuals for the outlier variable supports the positive association between the distance to the outcome and extreme positions according to this variable. As figure 2 illustrates we find again no violation of the non-linearity assumption of our model and no group specific differences from our predictions. Unsurprisingly, our model cannot explain all observations, but there seems to be no systematic pattern in the remaining errors.

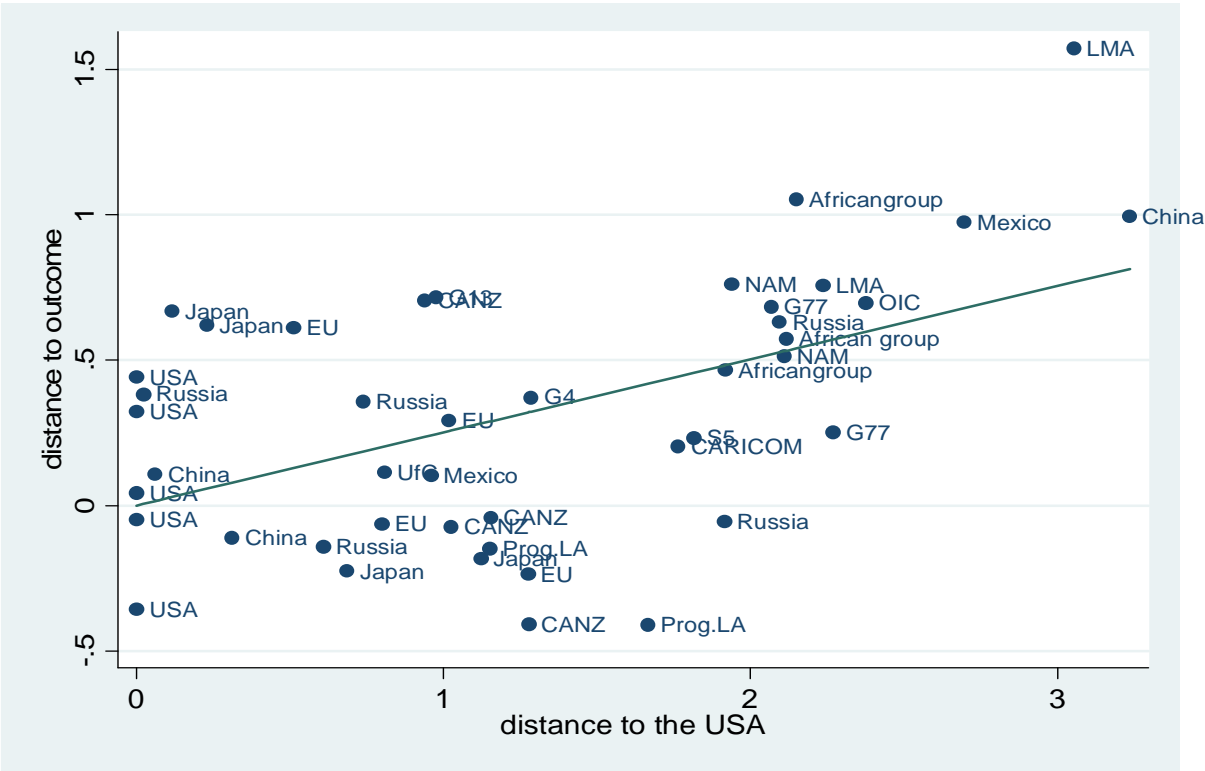
Figure 2: Predicted relationship between distance to outcome and positional outliers in the UN reform and partial residuals of observations



It is at first sight surprising that a group’s cohesion is not significant, but this hints at support for Meunier’s argument about the EU in the WTO: unity or dis-unity requires very careful analysis of the context in order to arrive at conclusive answers. This would require a qualitative analysis of the cases at hand and could be the avenue for future research. The closeness to the U.S. as an indicator for performance will not surprise any realist IR scholar. In addition, salience of an issue to an actor has no significant impact. This could be interpreted as strengthening the hegemon hypothesis if we combine these insights.

Figure 3 illustrates the positive relationship between the distance to the outcome and the distance to the United States. The relationship is quite robust and the comparatively even distribution of the data along the regression line supports this view. Again we find no sign of non-linearity or group specific patterns in the residuals.

Figure 3: Predicted relationship between distance to outcome and distance to the USA in the UN reform and partial residuals of observations



In contrast, our hypotheses based on external, e.g. not institutionalized, capabilities cannot be confirmed. There is no significant relation between these material factors and the performance of actors. A strategic positioning of the actor in the bargaining space seems more relevant. This might be due to the already mentioned difficulty of translating external power into bargaining power. However, the result has to be moderated: despite negotiators having been asked to identify their initial policy preference, it can not be excluded that powerful actors have used their economic power, e.g. bilateral aid or trade relations, or other forms of material capabilities, in advance in order to influence member states' position in the first place. In order to test such an assumption, we would have to test variation in position and bilateral aid flows over time. An interesting avenue for study would be to compare the level of Japanese and German development aid to country A and country A's position on the German and Japanese proposal to gain a permanent seat on the Security Council.

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