Accommodation in the Shadow of Hierarchy: Explaining which Countries Welcome China's Rise

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Abstract

Across the globe, states vary greatly in their willingness to accommodate China's interests. How can we explain this variation? Recent studies look to economic dependence theories for answers, but the conclusions of these studies are mixed. We argue that states' accommodative postures are contingent on the nature of the issue at stake, as well as the position of a particular country within different dimensions of the contemporary US-led global order. When China's interests challenge established liberal norms, countries that are more marginalized in the liberal political order are likely to support China. When China's interests directly threaten US military interests, states' position in the US security hierarchy shapes their response. When states are marginalized in the global economic order, they are more likely to be accommodating across a range of issue areas. Employing novel measures of the liberal political order, economic order and US security hierarchy, we test our hypotheses on a data set of countries' responses to China's 2005 Anti-Secession Law, the 2008 crackdown in Tibet, and the 2016 South China Sea UN Tribunal. Our findings indicate that while integration into the liberal world order strongly and consistently predicts who accommodates China, a state's position in the US security hierarchy performs less well.

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This paper is motivated by a straightforward observation: as China continues its dramatic rise to great power status, countries across the world are responding to that rise in very different ways. More specifically, countries vary considerably in how far they are willing to go to accommodate a rising China's interests, across a range of issue areas. In East Asia, for instance, some countries have been more willing than others to balance (or at least hedge) against growing Chinese power (Kang 2007; Ross 2006). How to deal with a rising China has likewise generated significant debate within Europe. In 2005, for example, while a number of countries—led by France—sought to lift Europe's post-Tian'anmen arms embargo on China, other countries, including some of the Scandinavian countries, were more reluctant to do so, and ultimately the embargo remained in place. And countries across the globe vary greatly in their willingness to criticize China on human rights issues, and in the extent to which they accept Chinese sovereignty claims with regard to Taiwan.

How can we account for this variation? Why are some countries more accommodating than others of Chinese interests? Seeking answers to this question is an important task in its own right, as it can provide insight into which countries are likely to gravitate in Beijing's direction as—and if—China's power continues to grow. But exploring this question also has the potential to shed light more broadly on how power transitions unfold in international politics. Which countries are most likely to welcome and accommodate the rise of a new great power, and which countries are most likely to resist such a rise? Systematic study of this topic is challenging, however, because the variable of interest—accommodation of Chinese interests—is difficult to measure consistently across a broad range of countries.

In the pages that follow, we develop a theoretical argument that considers which countries, under what conditions, are most likely to accommodate Chinese interests. We focus in particular on three broad variables: the degree to which countries are integrated in to the US-led security hierarchy; the degree to which countries are integrated into the liberal international political order; and the degree to which countries are integrated into the liberal international economic order. For all three variables, we have a broad expectation that more highly integrated countries will tend on balance to be less accommodating of Chinese interests. But we further argue that the salience of these variables is likely to be highly context-dependent. More specifically, we hypothesize integration into the contemporary global political order is most likely to shape state behavior in situations where accommodation of China contradicts norms at the heart of the order. In situations where accommodation undercuts US interests, we expect integration into the US security hierarchy is most likely to shape state behavior. And we hypothesize integration into the global economic order is likely to shape state behavior across a wide range of issue areas.

After outlining our theoretical framework in some detail, we proceed to some pre-

liminary empirical analyses. Here we examine cross-national variation in the willingness of individual countries to accommodate Chinese interests on issues pertaining to Tibet, Taiwan, and the South China Sea. We conclude with suggestions for further development.

Who Accommodates? Theorizing National Responses to China's Rise

Understanding how countries are responding to China's rise has generated a growing amount of scholarly interest.[1] In this section, we develop a theoretical framework to help us better understand when countries are likely to be more or less accommodating of Chinese interests. We theorize that a country's position within the current US-led global order should have a large impact on the policies that a particular country is likely to adopt towards China. More specifically, we argue that three variables—the degree to which a country is integrated into the US-led security hierarchy, the degree to which a country is embedded into the contemporary liberal international political order, and the degree to which a country is integrated into the contemporary liberal economic order—are likely to offer considerable explanatory leverage in this regard.

We proceed as follows. We begin by presenting a conceptualization of our dependent variable, which we define as the degree to which a particular country takes actions that advance PRC interests and avoids actions that undercut PRC interests. Next, we introduce our main explanatory variables; here we define what we mean by each, and we explain why each is likely to shape how countries respond to China's rise. We argue, however, that effects of the three variables are likely to be issue-specific, and we outline a theoretical schema in this regard. We conclude the section with some qualifications.

Conceptualizing Accommodation

Broadly speaking, we wish to understand when countries are more or less accommodating toward China. We conceptualize countries as pursuing accommodation to the degree that they take actions that advance PRC interests and to the degree that they avoid actions that undercut PRC interests. Accommodation, in other words, is a continuous variable.

Observing our dependent variable in practice requires first some understanding of China's interests. China's national interests, as is true for any country, are diverse and contested: that is, different actors in China have different conceptions of what constitutes the national interest, and how the country's priorities (such as development and

[1] On how countries in Asia are responding to China's rise, see for instance Kang 2007; Ross 2006; Ross 2018; Ikenberry 2016; Medeiros et al. 2008; Chan 2012; Goh 2016. On the degree to which China's foreign economic ties shape foreign policy choices in other countries, see e.g. Flores-Macias and Kreps 2013; Struever 2014; Kastner 2016. On how countries' positions within the current liberal global order might shape a country's response to China's rise, see e.g. McDowell and Liao 2016; Broz et al. 2018.

regional security) should be ranked. Among external observers, there is also considerable uncertainty about the expansiveness of China's long-term aims, such as whether the PRC seeks regional or even global hegemony. Nevertheless, there is fairly wide agreement that Chinese leaders at a minimum view the PRC's principle national interests as including regime stability; territorial integrity; and continued economic development.[2] The current Chinese leadership under Xi Jinping also appears to view enhanced national status as an important Chinese interest. China's status can be enhanced in symbolic ways (as when, for instance, national leaders traveled to Beijing to participate in Victory Day celebrations in 2015), as well as in more concrete fashion (such as increased representation and influence within international institutions).[3]

Given that China's national interests are diverse, contested, and in some cases ambiguous, assessing the degree to which different countries are accommodating these interests presents significant challenges. Many observers note, for instance, that countries in the Asia-Pacific region tend to hedge against growing Chinese power: countries such as South Korea and Australia maintain close security relations with the United States even as they have sought cooperative relations with China, particularly on economic issues.[4] More generally, the degree to which many—perhaps most—countries accommodate Chinese interests likely varies considerably within particular countries depending on the issue at hand.

Indeed, the degree of accommodation displayed by a particular country is likely to vary even within broad issue-areas such as the Taiwan issue. For instance, the United States at times has accommodated PRC interests relating to Taiwan, such as when it criticized the Taiwanese government for holding a 2008 referendum on UN membership. At other times, the US has been less accommodating, as when it sells weapons to Taiwan. This sort of variation suggests to us that, to be useful, theorizing about the conditions under which a particular country will be more or less accommodating of Chinese interests will require disaggregating national behavior to specific issues. In the case of US policy toward Taiwan, for instance, we would ideally like a theory that can help explain why US policy was more accommodating on the UN referendum than it has been on arms sales.

[2]See, for instance, Sutter 2008; Shirk 2007; Christensen 2002/3; Zheng 2005; Saunders 2006, though note that there are some differences in how, specifically, analysts categorize these interests. In 2009 Dai Bingguo, then a member of the State Council and China's senior foreign policy official, characterized China's core interests (hexin liyi) as follows: maintaining basic order and national security; national sovereignty and territorial integrity; and the continued steady development of China's economy and society. Clearly this formulation includes all three elements outlined above. See: "Dai Bingguo: Zhongguo de Hexin Liyi Shi Shenme?" Zhongguo Wang, 29 July 2009 (in China Elections: www.chinaelections.org). On Dai's formulation, see also Swaine 2011. Although the scope of China's "core" interests relating to territory has been the subject of some recent debate among analysts, PRC officials have repeatedly and unambiguously emphasized that they view Taiwan and Tibet (along with Xinjiang) as constituting core national interests in this regard. See, e.g., Swaine 2011.

[3]On status-seeking behavior by China, see Pu 2017.

[4]See, for instance, Kang 2007; Ikenberry 2016.

So, our theory tries to explain the degree to which a state is more or less accommodating of Chinese interests on some given issue, and we try in practice to be as fine-grained as possible when identifying different issues—to consider, for instance, not simply a country's approach to the Taiwan, but a country's approach to Taiwan in a particular context at a given time.

The US-led International Order and China

Some recent studies have suggested that a country's integration into the contemporary liberal international order may shape its propensity to be more or less accommodating of Chinese interests. Liao and McDowell (2016) suggest, for instance, that state preferences concerning the US-led international order (and, in particular, whether states view a Chinese alternative order as preferable) shape state decisions on whether to include the Renminbi as a reserve currency.[5] We likewise view integration into the US-led international order as an important factor shaping a particular country's approach to China.

We follow Ikenberry (2016, p. 13; see also 2001) in defining order as "the settled arrangements—rules, institutions, alliances, relationships, and patterns of authority—that guide the interactions of states." As Ikenberry (2001, p. 170) writes, the contemporary US-led international order dates back to the defeat of the Axis powers at the end of the Second World War. The war resulted in two broad settlements: a "containment order" structured around balancing the power of the Soviet Union, and an "American-led liberal political order" that was "build around economic openness, political reciprocity, and multilateral management." The US-led order that has emerged from these settlements has been characterized by a security hierarchy (Lake 2009), where Washington has constructed a vast network of formal and informal security ties with countries across the globe to protect its interests. The US-led order has also been characterized by a set of liberal principles that include economic openness, multilateralism, and—increasingly over time—commitment to democracy and human rights.

Broadly speaking, we expect that countries less integrated into the US-led order will tend, on balance, to be more accommodating of Chinese interests. As a new power rises to preeminence, there is likely to be some uncertainty concerning how revisionist the new power is likely to be: that is, to what degree will the rising power seek to redesign the global order to be more in line with its own preferences. This uncertainty is quite evident in the current academic and policy debate concerning whether China is—or is likely to become—a revisionist power (Johnston 2003; Chan 2008; Kastner and Saunders 2012; Mearsheimer 2001; Layne 2012; Friedberg 2011; Lim 2013). But to the extent that the PRC is viewed by other countries as potentially revisionist, how those countries stand in

[5]For an earlier study that ties integration into the global order to accommodation of Chinese interests, see Kastner (2013).

relation to the current global order should help shape how they will approach China.

In particular, countries on the fringes of the current global order have reason to welcome the rise of a new great power that might someday challenge existing arrangements. For instance, countries that reject key norms embedded in the current order are likely to welcome the rise of a country that itself questions current norms, and that may one day be in a position where it can help reconstruct them. Countries not benefiting greatly from the current international economic order may likewise welcome the rise of a new great power that could one day have the wherewithal to restructure existing international economic institutions. And countries in hostile security relations with the leading state(s) of the current order may welcome the rise of a new power that could one day provide security assurances. In short, countries on the fringes of the current US-led order have reason to welcome the rise of a China that might one day be in a position to challenge that order. In turn, they should on balance adopt accommodating policies toward China, for several reasons.

First, and most directly, states on the fringes of the global order may wish to curry favor with a rising China that might—in the future—be able to shield them from sanction, and provide benefits denied to them, in the current system. Consider, for instance, countries that run afoul of current international norms, such as human rights norms. In today's world, such countries sometimes face sanctions from the United States and other Western countries. As such, they have a clear incentive to seek a favorable relationship with a rising power that might challenge those norms, in the hopes that the rising state will use its growing international clout to block or water down sanctions.[6]

Second, accommodation of China's interests might, at least on the margins, facilitate China's continued rise. In some cases this point is straightforward. For instance, European Union countries have had different views concerning the EU arms embargo on China. When an EU country advocates for lifting the embargo, it should marginally affect the probability that EU policy will shift, and a shift in EU policy on this issue would make it easier for the PRC to import military hardware. At least to some degree, then, accommodation on this particular issue facilitates China's continued rise as a military power.

Finally, accommodation signals a country's support for China, which can be especially important on high-profile issues where China's behavior might conflict with the fundamental norms of the current order. Ikenberry notes that one feature of today's Western order that makes it especially durable is the "coalition-based character of its

[6]As a further example from today's world, many have noted that China's foreign aid policies differ significantly from those of Western countries and US-led institutions like the World Bank. Perhaps most importantly, China does not impose the same good governance conditions on aid, which some have argued has the potential to undermine the effectiveness of that conditionality (see, for instance, Kurlantzick 2007, Naim 2007). States in need of aid but seeking to avoid conforming to good-governance norms, then, may have reason to seek a more favorable relationship with China.

leadership." For a rising power to challenge the contemporary order, it would need to overtake not only the United States, but the United States in combination with the other industrialized democracies that stand at the core of the current order (Ikenberry 2008). Accommodation, then, could help signal the broad support that would ultimately be required for a rising state like China to challenge existing arrangements and bring about change.

Thus, like McDowell and Liao (2016), we have a broad expectation that countries less integrated into the US-led order will tend, on balance, to be more accommodating of Chinese interests. However, this is clearly a blunt hypothesis that cannot explain a considerable amount of interesting variation. Most obviously, the hypothesis doesn't offer us any guidance in explaining why the same country may be accommodating of Chinese interests on some issues, but not others. More broadly, the constellation of countries that accommodate China appears to vary across issues. For instance, many of the countries that were willing to buck the US and join China's Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) have also been, at times, quite willing to challenge China on human rights. We thus believe that some finer-grained analysis is likely to prove useful.

Unpacking the US-led Order: Hierarchy, Norms, and Accommodation of Chinese Interests

We suspect that beginning to unpack the different ways that countries are integrated into the US-led order will likely provide some further leverage concerning which countries, under what conditions, are most likely to be accommodating of Chinese interests. As a first cut, we propose conceptualizing a country's integration into the US-led order as a three dimensional space, where one dimension is defined by the degree to which a country occupies a subordinate role in the US-led security hierarchy, a second dimension is defined by the degree to which a country is enmeshed in the liberal rules and norms of the international political order, and a third dimension is defined by the degree to which a country is integrated into the liberal international economic order. Before proceeding, we first say a few words about each of these dimensions in turn.

We follow Lake (2009) in conceptualizing hierarchy as being present when one actor possesses authority over another. A country occupies a more subordinate role in the US-led security hierarchy to the degree that the US has more authority to make decisions concerning the security of that country. For many countries in the world, of course, the US possesses no such authority—these countries, including for instance contemporary Russia or China, have what Lake refers to as "diplomatic" security relations with the US. At the other end of the continuum, Washington makes all important security decisions for some countries (which Lake describes as being in a "protectorate" relationship with the US): examples here include contemporary Micronesia, and post-World War II era Japan. In between lie a range of relationships that are more or less hierarchical depending on

the degree to which authority to act on security-related issues resides in Washington. Lake suggests that, in concrete terms, factors such as the number of troops the US deploys to a particular country, and the degree to which a particular country has alliances independent of an alliance with the US, determine the degree to which that country's security relationship with the US is hierarchical.

What does it mean to be more or less enmeshed into the liberal rules and norms of the US-led political order? Here, we focus on two factors. First, to what degree do countries pursue policies and have institutions that are consistent with liberal political principles, such as democracy and human rights? Second, to what degree do countries join and actively help to maintain the global institutions that underpin the international order? So, for instance, a liberal democracy that invests resources in efforts to advance international human rights regimes might be thought of as being highly enmeshed into the liberal rules and norms of the US-led political order.

Finally, countries are more integrated into the liberal international economic order to the degree that they pursue open foreign economic policies, are party to and comply with international institutions that promote cross-border economic exchange, and are benefiting from the global economic order. Thus, a country that has low barriers to trade and capital flows, that is party to key institutions like the World Trade Organization and that is party to a large number of trade and investment agreements with other countries, and that enjoys good access to international credit might be thought of as highly integrated into the current liberal international economic order.

Although these three dimensions of the US-led order are likely correlated to some degree, clearly this correlation is only partial. For instance, we can easily point to countries that are not in a subordinate security relationship with the US (such as Sweden) that nevertheless appear highly enmeshed into the liberal rules and norms of the contemporary international political and economic orders. And we can think of countries, such as perhaps Saudi Arabia on the eve of the 1990 Iraq War, that are in highly subordinate security relationships with the US, but whose commitment to the liberal rules and norms underpinning the contemporary order appears more questionable.

We outline these three dimensions of a country's integration into the US-led order because we suspect that they have differential effects on the likelihood that a particular country will be more or less accommodating of Chinese interests in a given context. Our argument is straightforward and intuitive.

First, we expect that subordination in the US-led security hierarchy is likely to be an especially salient predictor of accommodation on issues that have clear implications for US security interests. Being in a subordinate security relationship with the US implies some level of US authority on security-related issues; countries that depend on the US for their security, in turn, are likely to follow the US-lead on issues where the US signals

that accommodation of Chinese interests puts US security interests in jeopardy. More concretely, countries that depend on Washington for security themselves have a stake in US security interests: when those interests are harmed, then also harmed is Washington's ability to serve as a security guarantor, at least on the margins. But subordination in the US-led security hierarchy should be less important as a predictor of accommodation on issues that are tangential or irrelevant to US-security interests: on these sorts of issues, we expect that the US will exercise less authority and other countries will perceive that accommodating China will not undercut US—and by extension their own—security interests.

Second, we expect that enmeshment into the liberal rules and norms of the US-led political order is likely to be an especially salient predictor of accommodation on issues that directly relate to those rules and norms. Simply put, countries that have a stake in the rules and norms of the liberal political order will wish to avoid actions that undermine those rules and norms. Their leaders, moreover, might pay a political price for taking actions that run counter to the ideals and norms that their countries have embraced as part of the liberal world order. As such, countries enmeshed into the liberal rules and norms of the US-led order will be less likely to accommodate Chinese interests in instances where doing so contradicts or undermines those rules and norms. This effect should be stronger the degree that accommodation of Chinese interests is unambiguously at odds with key liberal political norms, such as democracy and human rights.

Finally, we expect integration into the liberal international economic order will be a salient predictor of accommodation across a wide range of issues. Countries that aren't deriving benefits from the contemporary international order–for instance, countries with poor credit, or limited foreign investment flows–are likely to look at contemporary China, which has become a trade juggernaut and which is increasingly investing abroad and providing aid to developing countries, as a potential economic opportunity. These countries, in turn, should be reluctant to challenge Chinese interests across a range of issue-areas, for fear of putting actual or potential economic ties with China at risk. One recent study (Fuchs and Klann, 2011) has found, for instance, that countries that challenge China by hosting the Dalai Lama pay a price for doing so, in terms of reduced trade with China. More generally, it is easy to find anecdotal evidence where countries accommodate Chinese concerns on a particular issue to avoid undercutting economic ties with China.[7]

Together, these expectations can be formalized into three hypotheses:

H1: *The more (less) integrated a country is in the liberal international political order,*

[7]For instance, after China-UK relations soured following a meeting between Prime Minister David Cameron and the Dalai Lama in 2012, Cameron shifted course and agreed to distance himself from the Dalai Lama in the future. See: "David Cameron to Distance Britain from Dalai Lama During China Visit," *The Guardian*, 30 November 2013: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/nov/30/david-cameron-distance-britain-dalai-lama-china-visit.

the less (more) likely it will be to accommodate China's interests when such interests challenge liberal rules and norms.

H2: *The more (less) subordinate a country is in the US-led security hierarchy, the less (more) likely it will be to accommodate China's interests when those interests harm US security interests.*

H3: *The less (more) integrated a country is in the liberal international economic order, the more (less) likely it will be to accommodate China's interests across different issue areas.*

Table 1 presents a simple two-by-two matrix that summarizes our expectations emerging from the first 2 hypotheses (since H3 is not conditional, we do not incorporate it into the table). In the upper-left quadrant are issues where accommodation is both harmful to US national security interests, and at odds with global liberal rules and norms. An example here might be a willingness to support China's position on the South China Sea dispute (such as supporting China's opposition to international arbitration).[8] The US clearly sees its security interests at stake in the South China Sea dispute, and has been willing to challenge PRC actions and positions by, for instance, undertaking freedom of navigation operations in the area; countries supporting the PRC in this case, then, are at least on the margins undercutting US security interests. And when states support China by opposing arbitration in this case, they are also undercutting the legitimacy of established international institutions meant to help manage such disputes. For issues like these, we expect that both subordination in the US-led security hierarchy, and enmeshment into global liberal rules and norms, make a country less likely to accommodate Chinese interests.

In the upper-right quadrant are issues where accommodation is harmful to US national security interests, but is not clearly at odds with global liberal rules and norms. An example here might involve the sale of weapons to the PRC. Clearly, a broad range of countries sells weapons internationally (including countries such as the US, the UK, Germany, and the Netherlands that are highly integrated into the liberal global order), so doing so is not clearly at odds with global liberal norms and rules.[9] But selling weapons to China in particular is harmful to US security interests, as those weapon could be used against US formal and informal allies in the region (i.e., Taiwan, Japan, etc.) or even the US itself in the event of military conflict. As such, the US has for instance pushed the EU to maintain an arms embargo on China that first was imposed in the aftermath

[8]For instance, a number of countries (such as Pakistan) have explicitly opposed the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague's ruling on the case brought by the Philippines. See Wang and Chen (2016) for a discussion and list of how different countries stand on this issue.

[9]For a summary of arms sales by country, see the SIPRI fact sheet "Trends in International Arms Transfers, 2016": https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/Trends-in-international-arms-transfers-2016.pdf.

Table 1: State Behavior by Position in the Liberal Political Order and US Security Hierarchy

US Security Interests	*Liberal Norms and Rules*	
	Challenged	Not Challenged
Harmed	Both structures matter	Position in US security hierarchy shapes behavior
Not Harmed	Position in liberal political order shapes behavior	Neither structure matters

of the Tian'anmen Square crackdown. In cases like this, we expect that increased subordination in the US-led security hierarchy will be correlated with a reduced likelihood of accommodating Chinese interests; on the other hand, the degree to which a country is enmeshed into global liberal rules and norms will not be correlated with accommodation.

In the lower-left quadrant are issues where accommodation is at odds with global liberal rules and norms, but does not have clear implications for US security interests. Human rights issues serve as a good example. At times China has sought the support of other countries on human rights issues, such as when Liu Xiaobo was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2010. China boycotted the awards ceremony and encouraged other countries to follow suit. Accommodating China in this way does not have obvious implications for US security interests, but it does undercut the legitimacy of liberal human rights norms and the institutions (such as the Nobel Prize) that promote them. In these sorts of cases, we expect that countries more enmeshed into the global liberal order will be less likely to accommodate Chinese interests, but we expect that integration into the US-led security hierarchy will not be a good predictor of accommodation.

Finally, in the lower-right quadrant are issues where accommodation neither has implications for US security interests, nor is inconsistent with liberal rules and norms. The decision by many countries to join China's Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank represents a good example here. Although the US encouraged its allies to stay out of the new bank, it is not clear that a new development finance bank undercuts US security interests in any way. Moreover, it isn't obvious that the AIIB is at odds with any liberal political norms. Indeed, the bank appears largely consistent with even liberal economic norms: early reports suggest that China has sought to make the bank consistent with international development finance norms, and indeed the AIIB has undertaken joint financing projects with both the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. In cases like this, we expect that neither integration into the US-led security hierarchy, nor enmeshment into global liberal rules and norms, is likely to be a good predictor of whether or not a state accommodates Chinese interests.

Research Design

The remainder of this paper is dedicated to developing measures of our two key variables, position in the liberal world order and subordination in the US-led security hierarchy, and testing our hypotheses. We outline our approach below.

Measuring Accommodation

To measure accommodation, we focus on the positions individual countries take regarding Taiwan, Tibet, and the South China Sea; all of which the PRC views as "core," or at least important, national interests. More specifically, we use three data sets focusing on the policies countries across the world adopted in response to events that touched on one of these interests. The first two data sets come from Kastner (2016) and measure countries' official responses to the PRC's passage of the 2005 Anti-Secession Law and 2008 Chinese crackdown on unrest in Tibet.[10] The third data set measures countries' positions regarding a 2016 international tribunal decision on a South China Sea brought by the Philippines against China. These data were collected based on extensive searches using LexisNexis, World News Connection and Google, as well as *China's Foreign Affairs*, an annual publication of China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) that includes a summary of China's relations with each country of the world.[11] Below we briefly summarize the first two variables, and then introduce our new coding of responses to the 2016 South China Sea international tribunal.

The 2005 Anti-Secession Law. The PRC's National People's Congress (NPC) passed the Anti-Secession Law (ASL) in March of 2005, at a time of considerable tension in cross-Strait relations. Chen Shui-bian, the Democratic Progress Party candidate, had recently won re-election as Taiwan's President on a provocative platform that emphasized sovereignty issues. In response, the ASL threatened the use of force against Taiwan in the event Taiwan declared independence. Although short of a unification law in terms of severity, the ASL signaled China's resolve regarding the sovereignty issue and heightened regional tensions.

International response to the law ranged from open criticism to endorsement. Kastner (2016) codes responses according to a three-way ordinal scale of support—strong, moderate, and none—in addition to a binary variable that collapses strong and moderate support. After dropping missing cases, countries with less than a population of 250,000

[10]Kastner (2016) examines whether economic ties affect accommodation in two of these cases. He finds limited evidence linking economic ties to accommodating policies.

[11]Department of Policy Planning, PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs. China's Foreign Affairs 2006. (Beijing: World Affairs Press.) Only statements that represented an official position of the country in question were coded. Examples include: a foreign ministry press release; a statement issued by a foreign ministry official; or a statement issued by a country's president. Not included, for instance, were statements made by individual members of a country's legislature, or statements issued by officials associated with bureaucracies not directly related to foreign affairs.

and countries that do not formally recognize the PRC, the data set contains 52 strong supporters, 19 moderate supporters, and 65 states that either made no statement or criticized the law.

The 2008 Crackdown on Tibetan Unrest. In March 2008, unrest in the form or peaceful protests, riots, and self-immolations broke out across Greater Tibet. Arising out of grievances over cultural and development issues, somewhere between 95 and 150 or more separate events took place between March 10 and April 5 (Barnett 2009: 8-14). Some protests devolved into rioting, with protesters targeting state and private, ethnic Chinese property. Beijing responded with a harsh crackdown, sending in the People's Armed Police to violently put down riots and other non-violent protests that risked emboldening further social unrest (Bonnin 2009). Estimates of the death toll range from the PRC official count of 8 to 219 as argued by the Tibetan Exile Government (Barnett 2009: 14).

As with the ASL, many countries issued statements responding to the situation, however both criticism and support was more tempered. Altogether 33 countries issue statements strongly supporting the PRC's handling of the situation, 37 countries offered moderate support, and 86 countries remained silent or criticized Beijing. Again, we collapsed this three way coding into a binary measure of support versus no-support.

The 2016 South China Sea Arbitration. Brought by the Philippines against China under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) compulsory dispute resolution process in 2013[12], the South China Sea Arbitration examined and ruled on multiple issues in the disputed waters, namely the legality of China's 'nine-dashed line' claim. Prior to the case, the PRC's 1996 ratification of UNCLOS and incorporation of UNCLOS text into domestic legislation thereafter was viewed as a win for the engagement doctrine (Kardon 2018: 5). Yet almost immediately after the case's initiation, China submitted a note verbale to the court declaring its intent to not participate and ignore any of its future judgments as non-binding.[13]

China's behavior was notable not for its decision to renounce the tribunal—PRC legal scholars have rejected third-party dispute resolution mechanisms regarding sovereignty issues since the 1960s (Gao 1995), and great powers have generally been loathe to subjugate themselves to international law—but its unofficial campaign to undermine the arbitration proceedings and its official diplomatic efforts to garner support of its position on the illegitimacy of the tribunal from other states.[14] As Kardon (2018: 3) argues, China's

[12]See *The Republic of Philippines v. The People's Republic of China*, PCA CASE Repository Permanent Court of Arbitration, Case No. 2013-19 (Perm. Ct. Arb. 2016), `https://www.pcacases.com/web/sendAttach/1503`, accessed Aug 13, 2018.

[13]Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, *Position Paper of the Government of the People's Republic of China on the Matter of Jurisdiction in the South China Sea Arbitration Initiated by the Republic of the Philippines*, `http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/t1217147.shtml`, accessed Aug 13, 2018.

[14]For greater detail of China's multi-faceted efforts to derail the arbitration see Kardon (2018: 27-

diplomatic efforts were not simply about delegitimizing the arbitration procedure, but "...seeking to champion an UNCLOS with Chinese characteristics."

Depending on how one qualifies support, responses to China's diplomatic efforts vary widely. On the high end, the PRC claims over 60 countries opposed the ruling, counting any state that indicated support for the principle of resolving disputes bilaterally through consultation and dialogue. On the low end, China only acquired five clear statements of support from Montenegro, Russia, Pakistan, Sudan, Taiwan, and Vanuatu.[15] Yet only seven countries openly called for the ruling to be upheld: Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, the Philippines, the United States, and Vietnam.[16] Indeed, the international community was largely quiet on the final ruling, and, apart from the countries above, those that did issue statements took an equivocal or neutral position. Thus, rather than focus on responses to the ruling, we analyze countries' responses to China's diplomatic calls for support prior to the ruling.

Opposition to the arbitration process suggests at minimum a disdain for what some countries see as politicized overreach by international law into the sovereign affairs of countries. More importantly, statements of support for China's interpretation of UNCLOS and its emphasis on bilateral resolution of the disputes indicates a willingness to endorse and legitimize China's reinterpretation of certain liberal rules and norms; in a sense, conferring it with leadership attributes. Additionally, endorsing China's position ran directly afoul of the United States' long adherence to resolving the disputes according to international law, and thus risked angering it.

Our data set includes 160 countries, 71 of which issued statements supporting at least one tenet of China's approach to the dispute. Restricting the coding to include only countries that reaffirmed their support of China's position via a joint declaration or independent official statement results in 31 countries. Of those 31 countries, 24 are Arab states that signed the Doha Declaration issued at the 7^{th} Ministerial Meeting of the China-Arab States Cooperation Forum which contained some language supporting China's position.[17] Dropping missing cases, micro-states, and Taiwan recognizing countries, we end up with a total of 149 observations in which 85 countries did not support China and 64 either directly or indirectly reaffirmed their support. We do not use the reaffirmed support measures because it is almost entirely driven by the Doha Declaration. One could easily contend that a few clauses in the Doha Declaration does not constitute reaffirmed support. If so, this leaves us with only 7 supporters.

29)

[15]Taiwan opposed the ruling as well, not in support of the PRC's position, but rather in protest over it being excluded from observing the proceeding due to its prohibition from most international organizations, including UNCLOS III.

[16]Poling, Greg. Arbitration Support Tracker. *Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative.* June 16, 2016. `https://amti.csis.org/arbitration-support-tracker/`. Accessed Aug 13, 2018.

[17]Unfortunately, as of June 29, 2018 links to both the Arabic and Mandarin version of the statement are broken.

Measurement Challenges

One clear drawback associated with these indicators is that they measure relatively low-cost ways of accommodating PRC interests: for instance, it is easy for a country to issue a statement supportive of Chinese policies regarding Tibet or Taiwan. Still, simply because these expressions of support are relatively "cheap," it does not mean they are meaningless. Rather, it is—in our view—quite interesting that many countries of the world would be willing openly to support thinly veiled threats of military force against Taiwan, or a tough crackdown in Tibet, even though these actions drew criticism from many states at the core of the current order (including the US) and—in the latter case—from human rights groups as well. Countries openly endorsing Beijing's actions in these cases were potentially also opening themselves to criticism. Moreover, traditionally-conceived "cheap talk" statements that contradict *ex ante* expectations could be viewed by China and other third parties as credibly conferring legitimacy upon Chinese actions.[18] For example, witnessing an extremely marginalized country such as Syria or Venezuela support China's position on the South China Sea is uninformative. However, support from a developing democracy such as South Africa sends a more credible signal about the legitimacy of China's position.

In general, there a number of challenges when developing meaningful indicators of accommodation. First, there exist no easily identifiable quantitative measures of accommodation. Realists often talk about submissive behavior by secondary states such as bandwagoning, accommodation, hedging, or hiding, but these concepts are not clearly delineated from one another nor well-defined (Kang 2004: 172). These behaviors often occur at the political and economic margins. One cannot easily point to any one action or policy by a state and argue it definitively captures accommodation. Second and relatedly, although accommodation is a slow, marginal process, there are no continuous quantitative measures available to capture it. Other studies (Flores-Macias and Kreps 2013; Liao and McDowell 2016) use UNGA ideal point estimates to measure foreign policy convergence with China. Although these scores may capture relative latent proximity between China and any given country in the United Nations, ideological proximity by itself does not equal accommodation. There is no way to know whether countries use votes in the UNGA to signal their support of Chinese positions or if their preferences are simply harmonized with China's.

These two challenges involve an inherent trade-off in measurement choices: the more valid the measure, the less broad its temporal and geographic coverage. Clear-cut instances of accommodation oftentimes entail discrete, bi- or tri-lateral issues such as South Korea backing down over Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) in 2017. While

[18]See Chapman (2011) for the application of this logic to why states seek multilateral authorization for war from international organizations.

insightful, one case study offers us little generalizable causal leverage. Our measures represent what we believe is a reasonable compromise between these two opposing forces.

Measuring the Liberal Order, US-led Security Hierarchy, and Economic Satisfaction

The first two elements of our theory, liberal order and US-led security hierarchy, are latent constructs. As such, the are not directly observable, but rather they manifest through various observable behaviors, none of which wholly captures the underlying construct. For example, enmeshment in the liberal world order manifests in domestic institutions that protect civil liberties and political rights or support of international human rights regimes, and so on. Therefore, we use Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) in combination with a range of measures related to a country's commitment to liberal norms and rules and its dependence upon the US for security. Using the fitted models, we estimate factor loadings for each country to identify its relative position in each dimension. The economic dimension is not a latent construct, but rather an index of each country's satisfaction with the economic status quo. Therefore, we simply combine and average multiple economic indicators to build this index. All our measures are lagged by one year to ameliorate concerns of endogeneity.

Liberal Order. To construct the liberal order variable, we use three measures. The first two come from Freedom House's *Freedom in the World Survey* scores of respect for citizen's `political rights` and `civil liberties`. We reverse the scale so that stronger respect for rights and liberties corresponds to higher scores. The last measure, is a measure of support for international human rights law. We create a binary variable `OPCAT Signed` to indicate whether a country has signed the Optional Protocol of the Convention Against Torture. Before fitting the CFA, we transform the political and civil rights measures to fit the unit scale [0,1] so that all three measures are similar in scale.

Security Hierarchy. The three observable measures used in the security hierarchy dimension are US weapons sales, the number of US troops stationed in a country, and whether a country has a defense pact with the US. We draw heavily on Lake (2009) in selecting these measures. To code `Arms Sales`, we sum each country's total arms imports from the United States over the five year period prior to each dependent variable. Data come from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute's Arms Transfers Database.[19]. For `Troops`, we use the US Department of Defense's Active Duty Military Personnel data. `Defense Treaty` is a binary variable capturing whether a country has a formal defense pact with the US. For the ASL and Tibetan Crackdown, the defense treaty variable relies on the Alliance Treaty and Provisions Project (Leeds et. al 2002). For the South China Sea Arbitration case, we use the Correlates of War Formal Alliances (v4.1) data set (Gibler 2009). The arms sales and troops measures are heavily right-skewed. We

[19] `http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/values.php`

take the natural logarithm to normalize then and rescale them to [0,1] before estimating the CFA model.

Economic Satisfaction. The economic satisfaction index consists of four measures which capture different elements of a country's economic profile. `Degree` is the logged number of bilateral or multilateral preferential trade agreements (PTA) a country has signed. While some countries such as EU member states have signed the most PTAs due to the EU's mission to economically integrate the Eurozone, others such as Mongolia have signed none despite their proximity to China. We believe degree captures one aspect of economic satisfaction. Countries that are not content with the economic norms such as liberalization are less likely to sign PTAs, on the whole. The data come from the Design of Trade Agreements (DESTA) project (Dür, Baccini, and Elsig 2014). `Trade Flows` is the logged 5-year average of total trade flows per capita. Countries with smaller average trade flows per capita are not benefiting from the lower consumer prices or foreign markets brought by trade. `GNI` is a measure of a country's logged 5-year average gross national income per capita. This is a straightforward development indicators, lower values suggest a country's citizens are less wealthy and its government may blame the international economic system for its lagging development. Finally, `IFDI` measures logged 5-year average inward foreign direct investment per capita. Foreign direct investment has been shown to have positive spillover effects on recipient economies, helping to develop new industries (Markusen and Venables 1999) or increase productivity of domestic firms (Haskel, Pereira, and Slaughter 2007). As such, many governments have developed strategies to attract FDI (Harding and Javorcik 2007) and those that have struggled to secure it are likely to be less satisfied. `Trade Flows`, `GNI`, and `IFDI` come from the United Nation's Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) statistics database. All four measures were standardized and averaged to produce an index of economic satisfaction that ranges from -3 to 3.

Controls. Previous studies examining which countries are most likely to accommodate China's interests do so through the lens of economic dependence upon China (Flores-Macias and Kreps 2013; Kastner 2016; Strüver 2016). While the conclusions from these studies are mixed, there is a clear theoretical logic that as a country's economic dependence upon China grows, it will become increasingly likely to align its foreign policy with China's interests either from fear of economic repercussions or, more simply, a natural convergence of national interests over time. Therefore, we include an economic control variable Kastner (2016) finds has an impact on the likelihood of foreign policy convergence. `Import Dependence` is measured as imports from China as a percentage of overall trade. The data come from the UN Conference on Trade and Development Statistical Database.

Given China's growing economic and military clout within East, Central, and South-

east Asia, we also suspect countries closer to China will be more likely respond to our three dependent variables in an accommodative fashion. As Lake (2017) argues, countries in closer geographic proximity to China should be most likely to enter in a hierarchical, or subordinate, relationship with China. Therefore, we include a measure of *distance*, in kilometers, from a country's capital to Beijing asa control variable.[20] As an ode to realism's emphasis on power, we also expect that the stronger (weaker) a country is, the less (more) likely it should be to accommodate China's interests. We use the Correlates of War (version 4.0) Composite Index of National Capability (*CINC*) (Singer, Bremer and Stuckey 1972) as a proxy for national power.

We also drop all countries with a population less than 250,000. Population values come from the Penn World Table version 9.0 (Feenstra et al. 2015).

Estimation Strategy

Although the first two data sets contain ordinal dependent variables, the South China Sea data is binary. To maintain consistency across all three dependent variables, we estimate logit models on the collapsed binary variables. While this may lead to some loss of information, we find the estimate do not differ greatly from the results using the ordinal data. We only report the logit results and include the ordinal results in the appendix. For comparative value, we estimate two models for each dependent variable. The first only contains the indices and controls while the second decomposes the indices into their constituent parts.

Missing data also presents a slight issue. In the UNCTAD trade statistics used to calculate import dependence there is up to 7 percent missingness. These missing observations are unlikely to be completely random. Instead, they are associated with extremely underdeveloped and marginalized countries such as the North Korea and Eritrea. Missing responses on trade flows could very well be a function of the flows themselves. In other words, countries with extremely small flows systematically censor their reporting. However, data is available for many underdeveloped countries. We believe, rather, the missing data is more likely a function of other observed predictors than the missing values themselves. For instance, countries that are less integrated into the liberal order are less likely to accurately track and report their economic data to international institutions. Therefore, we impute the missing variables using multivariate imputation and control for other observed measures of integration into the liberal order and economic indicators that are likely correlated with the missingness. We run twenty imputations and pool the results according to Rubin's (1987) rules. We present the results from imputed data. They concord closely with the results when using only complete cases which are reported in the appendix.

[20]Data is from Kristian Gleditsch's Distance Between Capital Cities dataset. `http://ksgleditsch.com/data-5.html`

Results

Before discussing the results, we outline our expectations for each of the three dependent variables.

The Anti-Secession Law had implications for US security interests. Its blunt language about "nonpeaceful means" clearly had the potential to raise tensions in the Taiwan Strait.[21] Given that the US has a stake in Taiwan's security (the US, for instance, has extensive unofficial ties with Taiwan's military, and continues to sell defensive weapons to the island), accommodation in this case would–at least incrementally–harm US security interests by helping to legitimize PRC use of force in the Taiwan Strait. Therefore, we expect countries more subordinated in the US security hierarchy will be less likely to support the law. It is less obvious, however, that supporting the law is at odds with global liberal rules and norms. The reference to nonpeaceful means may rise to this level, but at the same time, the law is framed around Taiwan's secession from China, and most countries recognize Taiwan to be a part of China. In short, whether or not accommodation in this instance is at odds with global liberal rules and norms is somewhat ambiguous.

Unlike its relationship with Taiwan, the US does not have even implicit security ties to Tibet. Instead, the US unambiguously views Tibet as a part of China. As such, although the US is at times critical of PRC policy in Tibet, it does not have a security stake in the issue. In contrast, the promotion and protection of human rights, in particular, and ethnic minorities lies at the core of the liberal order. We therefore expect that a country's enmeshment into global liberal rules and norms will be a good predictor of national behavior in this case.

The South China Sea Arbitration case fits into the upper left corner of our expectation matrix. China's active efforts to undermine the arbitration process coupled with its diplomatic solicitation of support represents an attempt to reinterpret, if not overturn, established norms of UNCLOS. The United States has direct military interest in upholding these norms, particularly the freedom of navigation rules under which it conducts its naval operations in the region. Thus, we expect countries will take their cues on how to respond to China's campaign from their position in both structures.

Table 2 presents the results from our pooled logit models for all three dependent variables. While the results confirm our expectations in the Tibet case, they only partially support our expectations in the South China Sea case, and do not concord with our expectations regarding the Anti-Secession Law. The models indicate that a country's position in the liberal order has the most consistent and strongest effect on its likelihood of accommodating Chinese interests. In the ASL and SCS models, the coefficients on

[21]The statements issued by US officials suggests they viewed the law in this way.

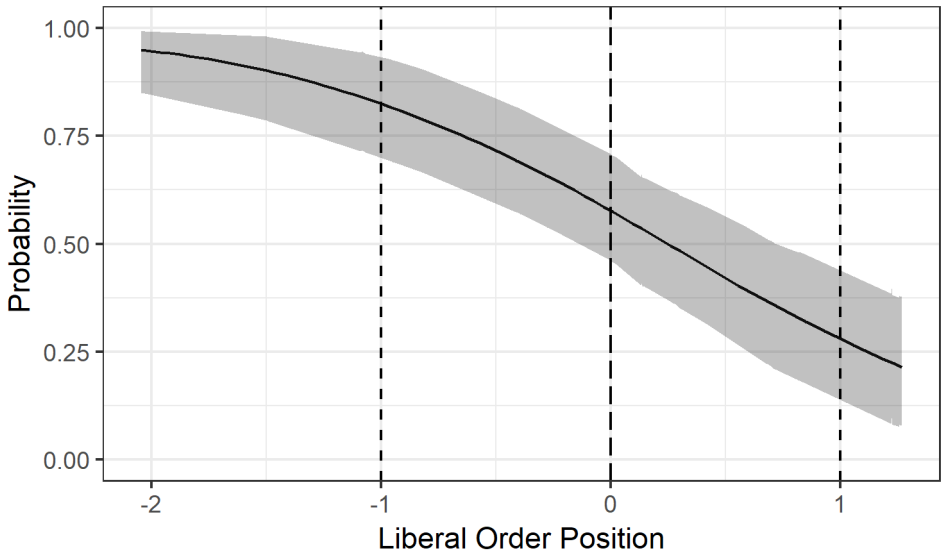
Table 2: Pooled Logit Results: All Dependent Variables

	ASL		*Tibet*		*SCS*	
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Liberal Order	-1.075 ***		-0.620 *		-1.689 ***	
	(0.299)		(0.241)		(0.329)	
Security Hierarchy	0.016		0.221		0.505	
	(0.335)		(0.297)		(0.332)	
Economic Satisfaction	-0.553		-0.666 *		-0.833 *	
	(0.350)		(0.282)		(0.363)	
Political Rights		-0.495		-1.000		-1.508
		(0.768)		(0.649)		(0.836)
Civil Liberties		-0.711		0.592		-0.069
		(0.847)		(0.700)		(0.893)
OPCAT Signed		1.097		-1.672 **		0.465
		(0.729)		(0.518)		(0.629)
Defense Treaty		-0.618		0.377		-2.791 **
		(0.658)		(0.642)		(1.027)
Arms Sales (ln)		0.657		-0.096		1.268 *
		(0.381)		(0.298)		(0.511)
Troops (ln)		-0.534		0.184		-0.185
		(0.345)		(0.273)		(0.465)
Degree (ln)		0.050		-0.298		-0.241
		(0.349)		(0.305)		(0.406)
Trade Flows (ln)		-0.701		-0.918		0.257
		(1.230)		(0.953)		(1.153)
IFDI (ln)		0.525		0.349		-0.131
		(0.690)		(0.560)		(0.854)
GNI (ln)		-0.649		0.129		-1.227
		(1.111)		(0.866)		(1.005)
CINC (ln)	-0.264	-0.189	-0.453	-0.354	-1.219	-0.544
	(0.330)	(0.376)	(0.396)	(0.331)	(0.735)	(0.569)
Distance (ln)	0.863 **	0.721 *	0.011	0.110	0.678 **	1.134 **
	(0.294)	(0.360)	(0.207)	(0.267)	(0.253)	(0.362)
Import Dependence (ln)	1.892	1.826	0.321	0.482	0.532	0.608
	(1.079)	(1.104)	(0.270)	(0.282)	(0.335)	(0.380)
Constant	0.417	0.406	-0.285	0.098	-0.632 *	-0.285
	(0.300)	(0.424)	(0.192)	(0.331)	(0.262)	(0.409)
N	153	153	156	156	158	158
AIC	153.352	155.236	188.118	187.342	135.384	129.061
BIC	174.565	197.662	209.467	230.040	156.823	171.937

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.

`liberal order` are relatively large, negative and achieve significance at the $p < 0.001$ level. The negative sign on the coefficients indicates that greater inculcation of liberal norms and rules decrease the odds of accommodation or, conversely, marginalization increases the odds. `Economic satisfaction` also achieves significance at the $p < 0.05$

Figure 1: Predicted Probability of Supporting
2005 Anti-Secession Law



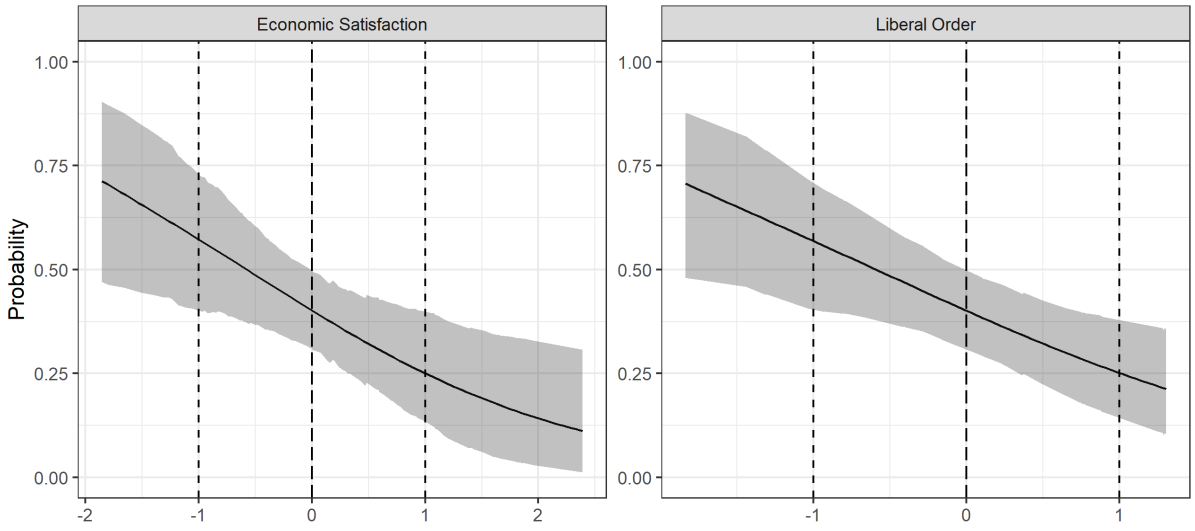
level and in the expected direction, but only in the Tibet and SCS instances. The effects are consistently weaker than liberal order. As we expected in hypothesis 3, countries appear to behave in economically instrumental ways; marginalized countries that have failed to attract investment and reap the rewards of free trade are more likely to court China by accommodating it on issues it cares deeply about. `Security hierarchy` not only fails to have an impact in all three models, its sign points in the wrong direct. Thus, hypothesis two is not supported by any of the models.

Looking at the fully decomposed models offers further insights into why this might be the case and also helps validate the need treating the liberal order and US security hierarchy as latent constructs. Independently, most of the composite variables fail to reach significance and either indicate much weaker or stronger (e.g. `OPCAT Signed` for Tibet, and `Defense Treaty` and `Arm Sales` for SCS) than suggested by the latent variables. Comparing the AIC and BIC from the latent versus decomposed models also provides no clear superior model. While the BICs are consistently lower (better fit) for the latent models, the AICs are nearly indistinguishable. Therefore, we opt in favor of the more parsimonious and theoretically consistent, latent variable model.

To substantiate the effects of `Liberal Order` and `Economic Satisfaction`, we present predicted probability plots for the ASL, Tibet, and SCS in Figures 1, 2, and 3, respectively.[22] The ribbon around each curve represents a 95 percent prediction interval and, moving from left to right, the dashed lines represent one standard deviation below the mean value of the variable, the mean, and one standard deviation above the

[22]To calculate these probabilities, we hold all other variables constant at their mean values and manipulate the variable of interest.

Figure 2: Predicted Probability of Supporting
2008 Tibet Crackdown



mean. As figure 1 shows, a country's position in the liberal order has a strong effect on its likelihood of supporting China's Anti-Secession Law. The predicted probability of support is 57% at the mean and 27% one standard deviation above. The scales of the latent variables are arbitrary, so it makes more sense to provide a concrete example. The example is tantamount to moving in position from Ukraine or Tanzania (approximately at the mean) to South Korea (one standard deviation higher). One standard deviation below the mean the probability of support is 83% and is can be depicted by countries like Burundi or Egypt, both of which supported the law.

In the case of the 2008 Tibetan crackdown, a country's position in the liberal order and its overall economic satisfaction drive accommodating actions. The effect of these two variables on the predicted probability of supporting China's response to the upheaval are plotted in figure 2. Both variables have very similar effects, moderately decreasing the likelihood of accommodation. Moving from one standard deviation below the mean value to one standard deviation above the mean of economic satisfaction equates to a change from 57% to 25% probability of accommodation. A substantive example entails comparing Yemen or Comoros to Hungary or the United Arab Emirates. The same move in the liberal order equates to roughly the same probabilities, yet the country profiles differ. Here a more marginalized country could be represented by Iraq and a more integrated one by Ireland. In terms of observed behavior, Iraq, the United Arab Emirates, and Comoros actually supported China's actions.

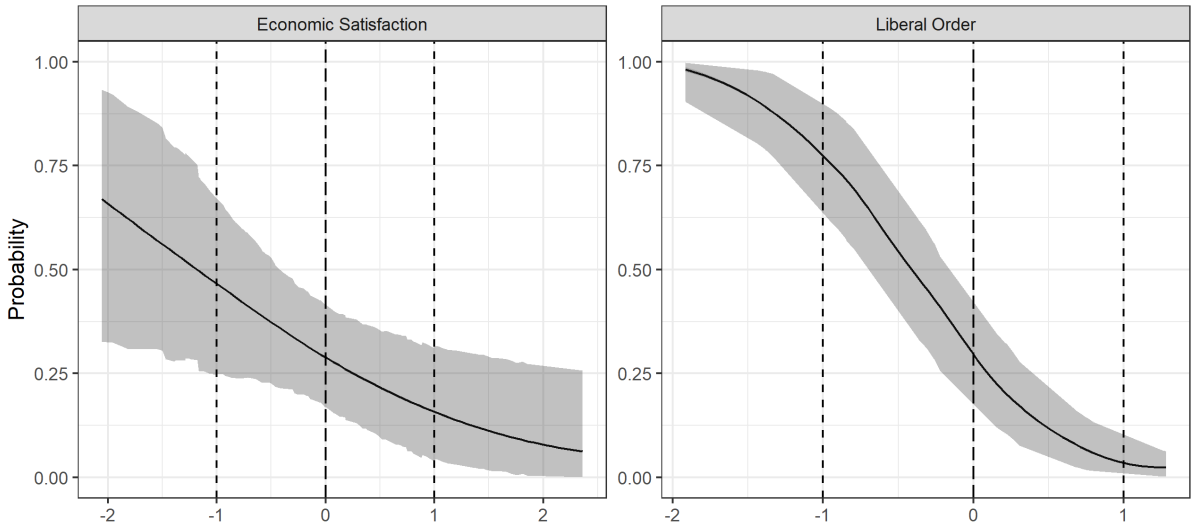
The predicted probabilities for the South China Sea case are shown in figure 3. Relative to the 2008 Tibet crackdown, liberal order and economic satisfaction have strong effects, especially enmeshment in the liberal order. Countries located near the mean

position in the liberal order such as Indonesia or Turkey only have a 29% chance of supporting China's position on the tribunal, and indeed neither of those two countries did offer support. Comparatively, a marginalized country located one standard deviation below the mean such as Burundi or Vietnam have a nearly 80% chance of accommodation. Only Burundi actually offered support, but this is not surprising given that Vietnam is one of China's rival claimants in the South China Sea disputes. At the upper end of the distribution are countries like Croatia or Slovenia which have only 6% and 2% respective predicted probability of support. The influence of economic satisfaction is more attenuated. More economically dissatisfied countries (one standard deviation below the mean) have a 47% predicted chance of siding with China whereas an economically satisfied country only has a 16% predicted chance. The example set of countries for economic satisfaction is Senegal versus Australia.

Turning to the controls, the only variable that finds tentative support is `Distance` which is significant and positively signed in two-thirds of the models. In some of the models, its coefficients closely match the strength of liberal order. Rather than challenging our theory, this result helps paint a clearer picture of the average accommodating state. They tend to be economically dissatisfied, politically marginalized, and further from China's borders or some combination of the three. For these countries, a rising China presents many potential benefits and few risks. Countries close to China appear more likely to balance against it, or at least hedge their bets while those further away are more likely to bandwagon or open to the idea of China-centric economic and political orders. Taken together, our results reaffirm previous findings about regional balancing (Kang 2007; Ikenberry 2016) and challenge others who argue geographic proximity and marginalization should some states to subordinate themselves to China (Lake 2017). Rather, the two appear to be opposing forces: economic dissatisfaction and marginalization in the liberal order draw countries toward China and geographic proximity pushes them away, or at least tempers the effects of the former two.

Finally, the insignificance and incorrect direction of `Security Hierarchy` merits some discussion. We see two potential explanations. The first is that our variable is not well-constructed. The constituent components—arms sales, troop levels, and defense pact—may be pulling in different directions in some cases and thus neutralizing the variable. We can see some evidence of this in model 6, where the coefficient on `Defense Treaty` is large and negative but `Arms Sales` is strong and positive. The coefficient on arms sales may be driven by the fact that the US supplies many Arab states with weapons and many of these were coded as supporters via the Doha Declaration. The second possibility is that the Security Hierarchy is well-constructed, but the United States does not leverage its leadership of the hierarchy to pressure countries on issues that do not have explicit and immediate ramifications for US military interests. Although the

Figure 3: Predicted Probability of
China's Position on 2016 South China Sea Tribunal



Anti-Secession Law and South China Sea Tribunal posed potential threats to East Asian regional stability, they did not acutely alter the status quo and so did not pose major ramification for US military interests. We believe this second option is more likely.

Conclusions

We set out to answer a simple question of why some countries are more accommodating of Chinese interests than others. Our theory of accommodation argues that explaining accommodation is not as simple as the question implies. We develop a three part theory. First, accommodation is context dependent. The likelihood that a country accommodates Chinese interests is not a straight-forward function of its dyadic relationship with China, power differentials, or economic dependence, but varies greatly by issue. Second, countries interpret this context through two key lenses: their position in the US-led security hierarchy and their enmeshment in the global liberal order. China's ascension dynamically impacts countries; its actions challenge the status quo in different ways. And not all states benefit from the status quo equally or in identical ways. When Chinese interests are at odds with the liberal norms, we expected a country's position in the global liberal order to best explain accommodation. And the same logic applied to the US-led security hierarchy. Third, for countries that have traditionally been excluded from accessing capital or left behind in terms of development and trade, China is a harbinger of economic alternatives which dissatisfied countries will uniformly seek to capitalize on.

Our findings are largely confirmatory of our theoretical argument, though with some significant qualifications. In the case of the Anti-Secession Law, we expected to find

that position within the US-led security hierarchy would be a strong predictor of state reactions, and that enmeshment in the liberal order would not be a strong predictor. Our reasoning here was that, while the ASL clearly affected US security interests, the degree to which it contradicted liberal international norms was less clear-cut. However, the security hierarchy did not perform well while position in the liberal order turned out to be a strong predictor of state behavior. One possible interpretation here is that many states viewed the ASL's emphasis on "nonpeaceful means" to be more of an affront to liberal norms than we assumed it to be at the outset of our analysis.

In the case of the Tibet crackdown, which seemed at odds with liberal human rights norms but not necessarily US security interests, we expected the liberal order index would be a strong predictor of state behavior, but the security hierarchy index would not be. Our results in this case confirmed our expectations, and moreover we found that the human rights component of the liberal order index was doing much of the "heavy lifting" here.

In the case of the South China Sea dispute, we expected to find that both indexes would be important predictors, reasoning that accommodating Chinese interests in this case would be at odds with both liberal international principles and US security interests. However, only integration into the liberal order was a consistently strong predictor of state behavior; subordination in the US security hierarchy was either insignificant or, as in the decomposed model, actually a positive predictor of state behavior. Further probing revealed that security alliance with the United States was associated with a reduced probability of supporting China's position, but that this was canceled out by other components of the security index (notably arms sales).

The third dimension, integration into the liberal economic order, also found support apart from the Anti-Secession Law case where it fell slightly short of significance. Our findings suggest satisfaction with the economic status quo plays an auxiliary, albeit consistent, role in shaping how states approach China. While position in the liberal political order leads countries to either support or criticize China when it's actions challenge liberal norms and rules, economic dissatisfaction leads disgruntled countries to instrumentally court China in hopes of receiving economic benefits. However, this process is not necessarily unidirectional; China too can leverage economic carrots to draw the support of economically marginalized nations. The disgruntled states as first-movers narrative concords with literature that suggests China's foreign aid process is demand-driven (Bräutigam 2011a/b; Corkin 2011; Davies et al. 2008; Kragelund 2011) whereas the China as first-mover narrative reflects broader debates about China's motivations behind the Belt and Road Initiative, establishing the AIIB and other international economic activities (Callaghan and Hubbard 2016; Swaine 2015; Yu 2017; Wang 2016). Although we do not speak directly to either of these narratives, recent research explicitly explores

the role of economic grievances in shaping which states court China (Broz et al. 2018). We see this is a fruitful avenue for further study.

Overall, we believe our theory of accommodation provides significant improvements over prominent explanations that often fail to address significant variation in accommodative behavior within countries over time and by issue (e.g., Li and Kemburi 2015). By conceptually deconstructing accommodation and explaining how context matters, we provide a typology that accounts for a broader range of variance in countries' likelihood of accommodating Chinese interests. Furthermore, our theory provides a rational, intuitive decision-making mechanism for leaders. Countries that are more marginalized within current global structures—the US security hierarchy and liberal order—are more likely to accommodate a rising power whose interests are at odds with the current status quo. In a sense, these leaders prefer a risky gamble on what the future distribution of power will look like under Chinese leadership than a fixed status quo that disadvantages them.

Clearly, testing our theory presents significant challenges. Most obviously, accommodation is a notoriously difficult concept to measure. Our approach has been to examine a set of cases where China has sought expressions of international support on security issues that are viewed as highly important in Beijing. Countries that were willing to go on record publicly endorsing China's behavior in these cases were coded as accommodating Chinese interests. This approach has enabled us to assess our theory quantitatively on a large sample of countries, but there are clear drawbacks. For instance, public statements are a fairly weak form of accommodation, and it is hard to know how well our findings might generalize to other types of accommodative behavior that are more difficult to quantify consistently across countries. Furthermore, measuring our key independent variables—centering on integration into different dimensions of the US-led international order—was also far from straightforward. Future work should thus consider the use of additional indicators of accommodative behavior (that might in turn, necessitate the use of qualitative case studies in addition to quantitative analysis along the lines that we have undertaken here), as well as additional components that might usefully be incorporated into our indexes of integration into the US-led order.

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