

The Concept of Reluctance in the Foreign Policy of Regional Powers

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Reluctant Regional Powers...

- India: a 'reluctant superpower' (Mattoo 2012), a 'reluctant hegemon' in South Asia (Mitra 2003)
- Brazil: ambivalent towards regional integration (Spektor 2010)
- South Africa's engagement in Africa full of 'ambiguities and contradictions' (Alden/Le Pere 2009: 145)
- Germany: 'reluctant hegemon' (Paterson 2011; *The Economist* 2013)





Structure of the Presentation

- 1) What is reluctance? The concept
- 2) Why are states reluctant? A proto-theory
- 3) Rising powers and reluctance in global governance

ambivalence
obstructionism
slowliness
shirking
hesitancy
delay
selectivity of commitment
incoherence

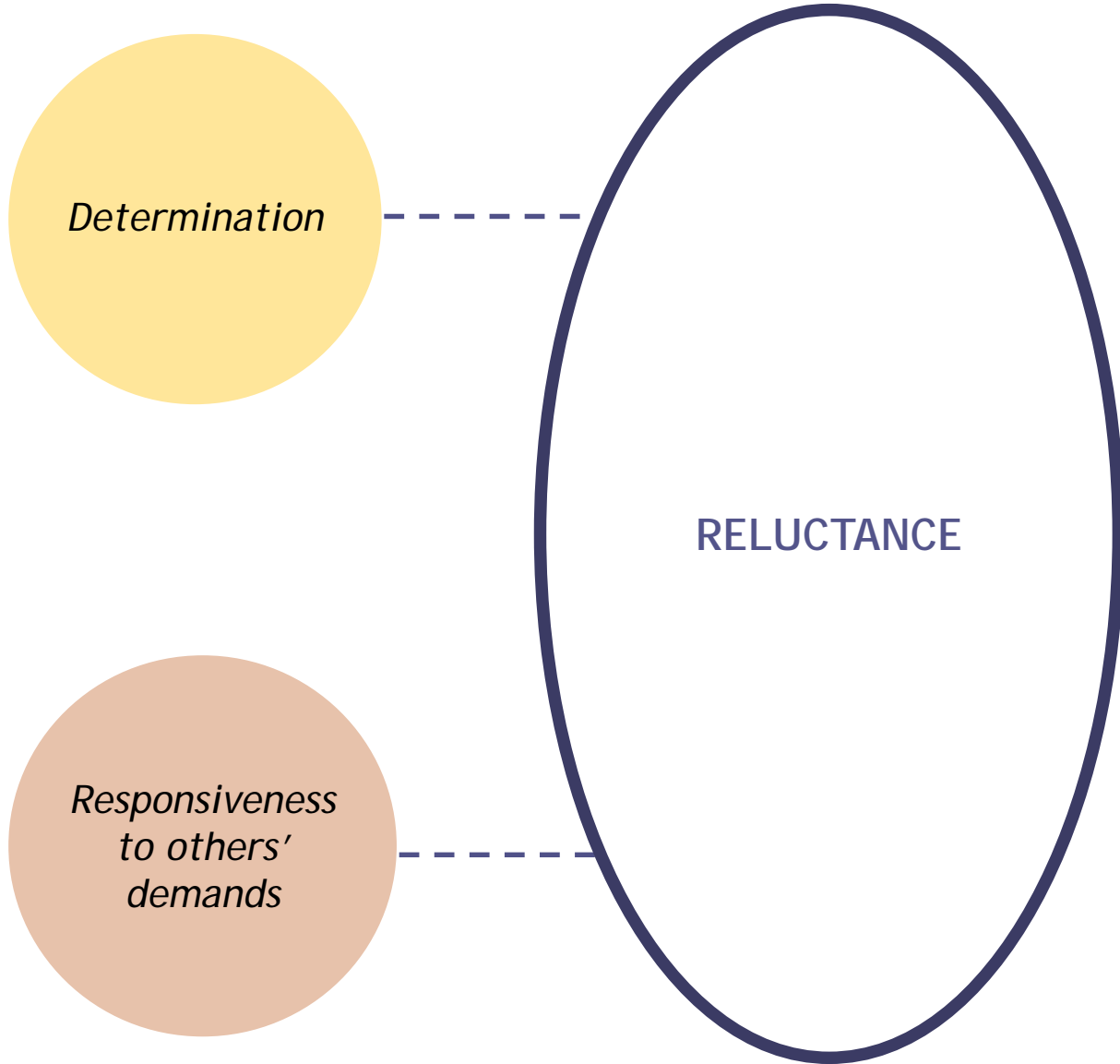
ambivalence on multilateralism
informed selectivity
go it alone
ambiguous position
dilute
dilution
withdraw support
incomplete implementation
hold itself above norms and rules
uneasy about burdens
wavering stance
opposition to binding rules
skittish
vacillate
retreat from obligations
unilateral withholding of arrears
bypass regimes
selectivity
neglecting support
block agreements
stall
uneven record
act unilaterally
opt out
unease with multilateralism
forum shopping
long delays before ratification
capriciousness
unilateralism
decline to ratify/implement agreements
split personality
not consistent policy
resistance
selective approach
no regard of followers' opinions
bypass organizations
pragmatic internationalism
declining to devote troops
ineffective efforts to coerce
act alone
repudiate treaty
scepticism
shortsighted
not proposing compelling alternatives
claim right to define interest
demand exemptions

NEGATIVE POLES

Determination

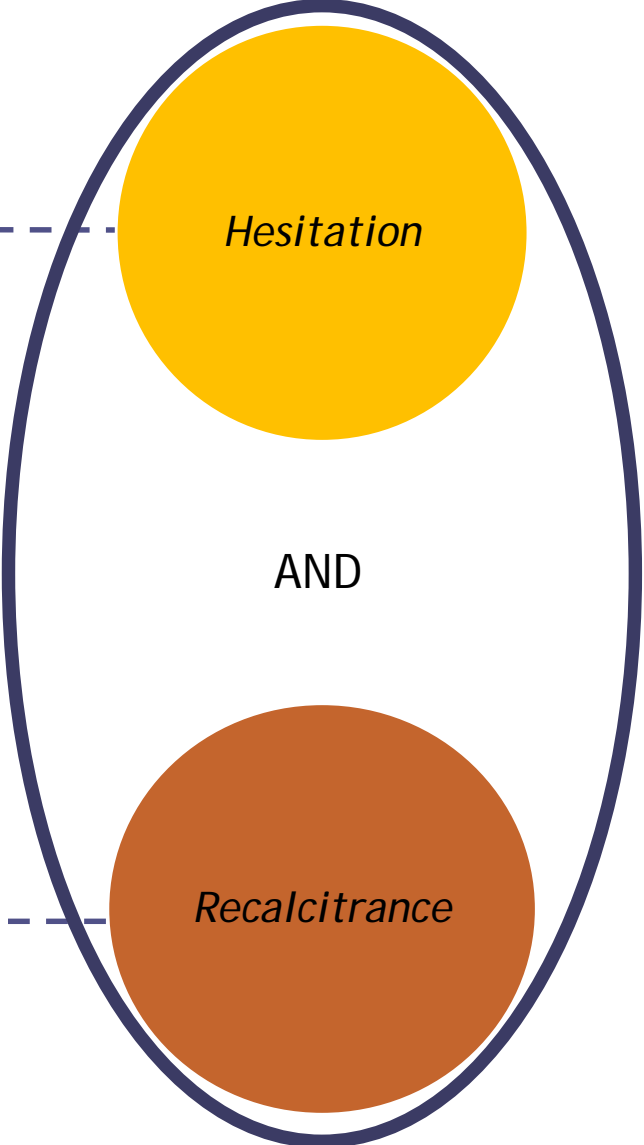
RELUCTANCE

*Responsiveness
to others'
demands*



NEGATIVE POLES

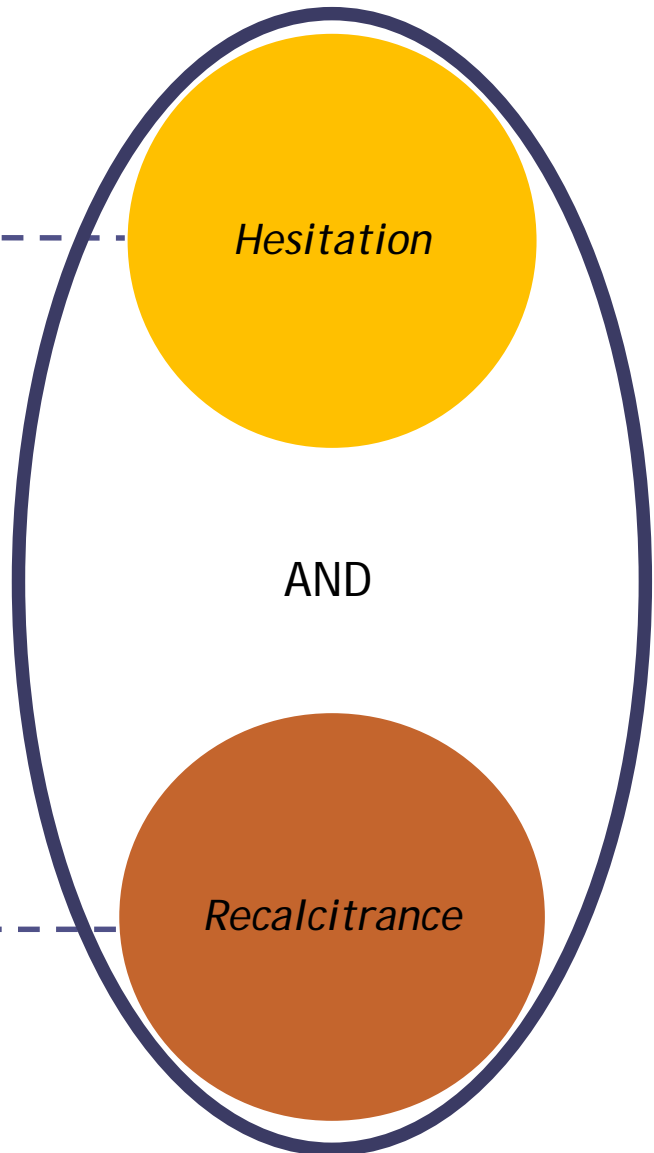
RELUCTANCE
CONSTITUTIVE DIMENSIONS



NEGATIVE POLES



RELUCTANCE
CONSTITUTIVE DIMENSIONS



INDICATORS

- Lack of initiative
- Delays
- Flip-flopping

- Ignoring requests
- Rejecting requests
- Obstructionism

Why are states reluctant?

- Reluctance emerges if states face (competing) international expectations and have difficulties with domestic preference formation.
- Regional powers will face different expectations by global vs. regional actors.
- Unclear domestic preferences might emerge as a result of government weakness; problems within the bureaucracy; domestic arguing over competing norms.

		Expectations	
		Homogeneous	Competing
Preferences	Clear	Non-reluctance: determination, responsiveness	Non-reluctance / „strategic“ reluctance
	Unclear	Reluctance	Reluctance

Rising Powers and Global Governance

- 'Responsibility' and reluctance
- 'With power comes responsibility'
- Tension between expectations of appropriate behaviour for aspiring great powers and their established foreign policy norms and traditions.

'Reluctance' and the E10 in the UNSC

- An analytical term
- Being reluctant does not mean being 'irresponsible'
- Keep in mind the constraints that governments are subjected to
- Think more about normative tensions within rising powers

Thank you