

International Hierarchy

***Required**

By completing the survey, you will greatly contribute to our study of hierarchy in international relations.

We will only publish anonymous aggregated data and make no attribution to individual respondents.

Estimated time to complete the survey - 20-25 minutes.

1. How do you describe your professional level in International Relations (IR)? *

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Scholar / professor specialising in IR
- ☐ Scholar / professor of other social science disciplines
- ☐ Student specialising in IR
- ☐ Student of other social science disciplines
- ☐ Foreign policy practitioner
- ☐ I have no expertise in IR

International Hierarchy

Researcher Information

Please provide some personal information. It will make it possible for us to minimise sampling error and introduce control variables to our analysis.

2. Which International Relations theory paradigm(s) is (are) most relevant to your research and/or practice? *

Tick all that apply.

- ☐ Realism (including neorealism, neoclassical realism)
- ☐ Liberalism (including neoliberalism)
- ☐ Constructivism
- ☐ Marxism
- ☐ None (Non-Paradigmatic)

Other: ☐ _____

3. What country are you from? *

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Abkhazia
- ☐ Afghanistan
- ☐ Albania
- ☐ Algeria
- ☐ Andorra
- ☐ Angola
- ☐ Antigua and Barbuda
- ☐ Argentina
- ☐ Armenia
- ☐ Australia
- ☐ Austria
- ☐ Azerbaijan
- ☐ Bahamas, The
- ☐ Bahrain
- ☐ Bangladesh
- ☐ Barbados
- ☐ Belarus
- ☐ Belgium
- ☐ Belize
- ☐ Benin
- ☐ Bhutan
- ☐ Bolivia
- ☐ Bosnia and Herzegovina
- ☐ Botswana
- ☐ Brazil
- ☐ Brunei Darussalam
- ☐ Bulgaria
- ☐ Burkina Faso
- ☐ Burundi
- ☐ Cabo Verde
- ☐ Cambodia
- ☐ Cameroon

- ☐ Canada
- ☐ Central African Republic
- ☐ Chad
- ☐ Chile
- ☐ China
- ☐ Colombia
- ☐ Comoros
- ☐ Congo, Dem. Rep.
- ☐ Congo, Rep.
- ☐ Costa Rica
- ☐ Cote d'Ivoire
- ☐ Croatia
- ☐ Cuba
- ☐ Cyprus
- ☐ Czech Republic
- ☐ Denmark
- ☐ Djibouti
- ☐ Dominica
- ☐ Dominican Republic
- ☐ Ecuador
- ☐ Egypt, Arab Rep.
- ☐ El Salvador
- ☐ Equatorial Guinea
- ☐ Eritrea
- ☐ Estonia
- ☐ Eswatini
- ☐ Ethiopia
- ☐ Fiji
- ☐ Finland
- ☐ France
- ☐ Gabon
- ☐ Gambia, The
- ☐ Georgia
- ☐ Germany
- ☐ Ghana

- ☐ Greece
- ☐ Grenada
- ☐ Guatemala
- ☐ Guinea
- ☐ Guinea-Bissau
- ☐ Guyana
- ☐ Haiti
- ☐ Honduras
- ☐ Hungary
- ☐ Iceland
- ☐ India
- ☐ Indonesia
- ☐ Iran (Islamic Republic of)
- ☐ Iraq
- ☐ Ireland
- ☐ Israel
- ☐ Italy
- ☐ Jamaica
- ☐ Japan
- ☐ Jordan
- ☐ Kazakhstan
- ☐ Kenya
- ☐ Kiribati
- ☐ Korea, Dem. People's Rep.
- ☐ Korea, Rep.
- ☐ Kuwait
- ☐ Kyrgyz Republic
- ☐ Lao PDR
- ☐ Latvia
- ☐ Lebanon
- ☐ Lesotho
- ☐ Liberia
- ☐ Libya
- ☐ Liechtenstein
- ☐ Lithuania

- ☐ Luxembourg
- ☐ Madagascar
- ☐ Malawi
- ☐ Malaysia
- ☐ Maldives
- ☐ Mali
- ☐ Malta
- ☐ Marshall Islands
- ☐ Mauritania
- ☐ Mauritius
- ☐ Mexico
- ☐ Micronesia, Fed. Sts.
- ☐ Moldova
- ☐ Monaco
- ☐ Mongolia
- ☐ Montenegro
- ☐ Morocco
- ☐ Mozambique
- ☐ Myanmar
- ☐ Namibia
- ☐ Nauru
- ☐ Nepal
- ☐ Netherlands
- ☐ New Zealand
- ☐ Nicaragua
- ☐ Niger
- ☐ Nigeria
- ☐ North Macedonia
- ☐ Norway
- ☐ Oman
- ☐ Pakistan
- ☐ Palau
- ☐ Panama
- ☐ Papua New Guinea
- ☐ Paraguay

- ☐ Peru
- ☐ Philippines
- ☐ Poland
- ☐ Portugal
- ☐ Qatar
- ☐ Romania
- ☐ Russian Federation
- ☐ Rwanda
- ☐ Samoa
- ☐ San Marino
- ☐ Sao Tome and Principe
- ☐ Saudi Arabia
- ☐ Senegal
- ☐ Serbia
- ☐ Seychelles
- ☐ Sierra Leone
- ☐ Singapore
- ☐ Slovak Republic
- ☐ Slovenia
- ☐ Solomon Islands
- ☐ Somalia
- ☐ South Africa
- ☐ South Osetia
- ☐ South Sudan
- ☐ Spain
- ☐ Sri Lanka
- ☐ St. Kitts and Nevis
- ☐ St. Lucia
- ☐ St. Vincent and the Grenadines
- ☐ Sudan
- ☐ Suriname
- ☐ Sweden
- ☐ Switzerland
- ☐ Syrian Arab Republic
- ☐ Tajikistan

- ☐ Tanzania
- ☐ Thailand
- ☐ Timor-Leste
- ☐ Togo
- ☐ Tonga
- ☐ Trinidad and Tobago
- ☐ Tunisia
- ☐ Turkey
- ☐ Turkmenistan
- ☐ Tuvalu
- ☐ Uganda
- ☐ Ukraine
- ☐ United Arab Emirates
- ☐ United Kingdom
- ☐ United States
- ☐ Uruguay
- ☐ Uzbekistan
- ☐ Vanuatu
- ☐ Venezuela, RB
- ☐ Vietnam
- ☐ Yemen, Rep.
- ☐ Zambia
- ☐ Zimbabwe
- ☐ Other

4. What is your age? *

5. Is the categorisation of states into superpowers, great/major powers, middle powers, small powers and micro-states relevant today?

Mark only one oval.

☐ Yes

☐ No

6. If no, specify why?

7. What criteria would you say are essential to determine whether or not a state can be considered a superpower/ great power/ middle power (multiple choice)

Tick all that apply.

	Superpower	Great (Major) Power	Middle Power
Autonomy in foreign policy decision-making	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
International prestige	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Military might	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nuclear arsenal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Influence on international agenda	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Engagement with international organisations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Size of economy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Self-sufficiency in critical technologies and strategic resources	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Technological development	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Efficiency of domestic institutions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Human capital	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cultural influence (language, cuisine, movies, etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Commitments and progress in Green Transition	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Network of friends and allies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Advantageous geographical location	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Declared position on one's own power status	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other 1 (specify below)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other 2 (specify below)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other 3 (specify below)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8. If you chose "other", please specify

Separate with commas

9. Categorise as many countries as you can

Mark only one oval per row.

	Superpower	Great (Major) Power	Middle Power	Small Power
Argentina	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Australia	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Brazil	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Canada	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
China	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Egypt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
France	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Germany	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
India	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Indonesia	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Iran	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Israel	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Italy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Japan	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mexico	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Nigeria	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
North Korea	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pakistan	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Poland	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Russia	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Saudi Arabia	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
South Africa	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
South Korea	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Turkey	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
United States	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
United Kingdom	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

10. Which other ways of differentiating states do you consider relevant today, if any? (multiple choice)

Tick all that apply.

- ☐ Developed countries, developing countries, countries with transition economy
- ☐ Core states, semi-periphery states, periphery states
- ☐ The Nuclear Club (5 countries), unofficial Nuclear Club (Pakistan, India, North Korea, Israel), countries which have abandoned nuclear weapons, countries without nuclear weapons
- ☐ The West, the Rest
- ☐ Countries of Global North, Countries of Global South
- ☐ Global powers, Regional powers, Local powers
- ☐ First World, Second World, Third World
- ☐ Order-maker, order-taker

Other: ☐ _____

11. Choose key states for the following spheres

Tick all that apply.

	Global climate agenda	International security	Global economy	International humanitarian agenda
Argentina	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Australia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Brazil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Canada	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
China	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Egypt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
France	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Germany	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
India	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Indonesia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Iran	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Israel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Italy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Japan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mexico	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nigeria	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
North Korea	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pakistan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Poland	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Russia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Saudi Arabia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

South Africa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
South Korea	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Turkey	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
United States	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
United Kingdom	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12. Choose mainly revisionist (as opposed to status quo) states for the following spheres

Tick all that apply.

	Global climate agenda	International security	Global economy	International humanitarian agenda
Argentina	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Australia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Brazil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Canada	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
China	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Egypt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
France	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Germany	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
India	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Indonesia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Iran	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Israel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Italy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Japan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mexico	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nigeria	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
North Korea	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pakistan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Poland	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Russia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Saudi Arabia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

South Africa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
South Korea	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Turkey	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
United States	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
United Kingdom	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

13. Choose mainly providers (as opposed to takers or free-riders) for the following spheres

Tick all that apply.

	Global climate agenda	International security	Global economy	International humanitarian agenda
Argentina	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Australia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Brazil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Canada	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
China	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Egypt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
France	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Germany	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
India	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Indonesia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Iran	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Israel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Italy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Japan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mexico	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nigeria	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
North Korea	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pakistan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Poland	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Russia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Saudi Arabia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

South Africa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
South Korea	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Turkey	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
United States	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
United Kingdom	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

14. Are you willing to answer additional questions on the subject of international interventions to support a separate research project? (Estimated time - 5 minutes) *

You will greatly contribute to our research project on international interventions.

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Yes *Skip to question 15*
- ☐ No *Skip to question 19*

Additional Questions

15. In the context of a military intervention, an intervening state may find that international legitimacy (support of the international community) and freedom of action (the ability to independently select objectives, approaches, tools, etc) are incompatible. If you were a policymaker in a state undertaking an intervention, which would you prioritize?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Freedom of action
- ☐ International legitimacy
- ☐ Some freedom of action and some international legitimacy

16. Does a military intervention increase domestic support for the government of the intervening state? (multiple choice)

Tick all that apply.

- ☐ Yes, in the short-term (several weeks)
- ☐ Yes, in the middle term (several months)
- ☐ Yes, in the long-term (year and more)
- ☐ No, it doesn't increase domestic public support for the government

17. List several military interventions that you consider successful, if any

18. List several military interventions that you consider unsuccessful, if any

Concluding questions and contact info (optional)

19. Are you willing to participate in an in-depth research interview on state differentiation via Zoom in September?

Optional, if you are willing to give an interview, please provide contact information below

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

20. Do you want to receive an email when results of this research are published?

If you are interested in receiving research updates, please provide contact information below

Mark only one oval.

☐ Yes

☐ No

21. Name

Optional

22. Organisation (position)

Optional

23. Email

Optional

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