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For a seat at the high table! Economic expression of National Power as an influencing factor for the reform of the United Nations Security Council

¡Por un asiento en la alta mesa! La expresión económica del poder nacional como factor influyente para la reforma del Consejo de Seguridad de las Naciones Unidas

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Abstract: This paper aims to compare the Economic Expression of National Power of permanent member countries and of potential candidates to occupy a seat, integrating the respective Regional Groups, as an influencing factor for the reform of the Security Council. The sample consisted of 55 countries, which were divided into groups: Permanent and Regional Members (African, Asia-Pacific, Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean and Western Europe and others). The Economic Expression was analyzed according to the indicators: National Material Capacities, Contribution to the regular budget of the United Nations and Gross Domestic Product. In order to verify the equality or difference between the mean values of the groups, the *One Way* ANOVA test was used and, sequentially, the Levene and Tukey tests. A significant difference was found between the groups, with the Permanent Members Group having higher average values, however, individually, candidate countries have economic indices similar to the permanent members, which may influence the perspective of Security Council reform.

Keywords: Security Council; United Nations; national power; economic expression.

Resumen: Este trabajo tiene como objetivo comparar la Expresión Económica del Poder Nacional de los países miembros permanentes y potenciales candidatos a ocupar un escaño, integrando los respectivos Grupos Regionales, como factor de influencia para la reforma del Consejo de Seguridad. La muestra estuvo compuesta por 55 países, que se dividieron en grupos: Miembros Permanentes y Regionales (África, Asia-Pacífico, Europa Oriental, América Latina y el Caribe y Europa Occidental y otros). Se analizó la Expresión Económica según los indicadores: Capacidades Materiales Nacionales, Contribución al presupuesto ordinario de las Naciones Unidas y Producto Interno Bruto. Para verificar la igualdad o diferencia entre los valores medios de los grupos se utilizó la prueba ANOVA *One Way* y, secuencialmente, las pruebas de Levene y Tukey. Se encontró una diferencia significativa entre los grupos, con el Grupo de Miembros Permanentes teniendo valores promedio más altos, sin embargo, individualmente, los países candidatos tienen índices económicos similares a los miembros permanentes, lo que puede influir en la perspectiva de la reforma del Consejo de Seguridad.

Palabras clave: Consejo de Seguridad; Organización de las Naciones Unidas; poder nacional; expresión económica.

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1 Introduction

The new global realities have exponentially increased economic conflict, bringing to light a set of non-military threats that could increasingly put at risk the security of a state. From this understanding, the economic component becomes a protagonist, in the context of globalization and strong economic integration, as a fundamental aspect for the projection and sovereignty of a state (VERÍSSIMO, 2005).

Keohane (1988), when addressing hegemony in the World Political Economy, questions the deterministic view of the theory of hegemonic stability, which was based only on the realistic concepts of interests and power. To be considered hegemonic, a country should have access to essential raw materials, control major sources of capital, sustain a large import market, and hold comparative advantages in high-value-added goods that produce relatively high benefits and wages. It should also be stronger, on those dimensions taken globally, than any other country. Within this scope, as commented and facing the previous assertion, the evolution of the global economy brought with it, from the end of the last century, the appearance of emerging markets (BRADFORD, 2003). Middle-income developing countries have achieved above-average growth rates in order to integrate into the world economy through trade and finance, promoting transformation in the economy to make it multipolar.

Reinforcing these findings, César & Sato (2012) state that international trade has undergone profound transformations in recent years. In turn, Bonaglia and Goldstein (2007) make reference to the existence of a new geography of international trade linked to the rapid advance of globalization of productive processes through global value chains.

Te Velde and Keane (2011) add the idea that it is unlikely that new forms of cooperative relations in relation to global economic governance will evolve unless the structures, objectives and norms of these institutions are better aligned with the preferences of emerging powers.

In addition, Souto Maior (2003) postulates that in the economic area, the contemporary scenario does not present a hegemonic power, but a group of developed countries that seek to actively promote their interests in those sectors in which they are more competitive and protect other fields, at the expense of consumers themselves and producers in developing countries.

Strong currents expect that the poles, until then existing in Europe and North America, will lose relative military and economic power, challenging Western values and culture domination (COX, 2007; IKENBERRY, 2001; ZAKARIA, 2008). In addition, the protagonist role of emerging powers in the world economy and global governance, after bipolarity, has been discussed under the labels of great powers (HURRELL, 2006), uncertain powers (MAULL, 2006), emerging powers, intermediate powers and pivotal states (CHASE *et al.*, 1996; FLEMES, 2007; HAKIM, 2004; LIMA; HIRST, 2006; SCHOEMAN, 2003) and new Titans, and these countries are now widely perceived in international relations.

In this new world order, Schirm (2010) points out that in the past decade, policy makers, the media and academic research have increased discussions about the new role of emerging powers in the world economy and global governance. It states that countries such as Brazil, China, India and South Africa, as well as Germany, Japan and Russia have stood out and increased their influences in the economic and political spheres, regionally and in world politics.

Observing this new international socio-economic landscape and questioning global representativeness, Weiss & Thakur (2010) posit that economic governance is the most advanced and comprehensive dimension of emerging global governance. For them, in the security sector there is a still growing gap, between the distribution of authority within existing international institutions and the international distribution of economic power.

Arraes (2005), considering the economic aspect as the most relevant for inclusion to the position of permanent member in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), states that two natural candidates have emerged in the current international panorama, Japan and Germany. He adds that both suffered, paradoxically, the greater defeat in the Second World War and are not significant exporters of military material to peripheral countries or nuclear powers. Considering the possibility that the international system moves towards the expansion of representation in its main organizations, Third World countries could claim presence with the most important segment of the United Nations. Thus, it points out that when balancing a set of factors, Brazil, India, Egypt, Nigeria, South Africa, Mexico, among others, emerge as potential candidates for a permanent seat in the UNSC.

As justification for reforms, in particular an expansion in the UNSC, Albright and Gambari (THE HAGUE INSTITUTE FOR GLOBAL JUSTICE; STIMSON CENTER, 2015) point out that the present international architecture is characterized by a hyperconnected global economy, added to the fragility of states, in the face of violent conflicts, which should be adapted with the inclusion of other global players.

From the founding of the UN until 1965, the council was composed of eleven members, the five permanent ones (China, USA, France, United Kingdom and Russia), with veto power (blocking any collective decision, even if unanimously by other countries) and another six rotating non-permanent members (FONTOURA, 2013). The body underwent a single reform that year, on which occasion four new non-permanent seats were created, whose terms were fixed at two years (without the possibility of immediate re-election), changing the number of members from eleven to the current fifteen. Despite the change, the composition and structure remained portraying the post-World War II context, with the greatest victors of the contest as permanent members.

Among other issues, this controversial issue of UNSC reform gained traction in 2005, when the then Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, presented a five-year report on the implementation of the 2000 Millennium Declaration (UNITED NATIONS, 2000), which had been requested by the United Nations General Assembly. Among other themes, the

document reflected the view, enshrined by the majority, that a change in the composition of the council was necessary to make it more representative of the international community as a whole, as well as geopolitical realities, and thus more legitimate in the eyes of the world (UNITED NATIONS, 2005).

Signaling the possibility of further reform, in 2008 The General Assembly unanimously approved the convening of intergovernmental negotiations to expand the Security Council, which continue indefinitely to this day.

Within the scope of the UN, Member States are unofficially divided into five groups of geopolitical regions (UNITED NATIONS, 2022), namely: African Group (with 54 Member States) and Asia-Pacific Group (54), each with three seats on the UNSC (considering the China permanent one); Eastern European Group (23) and Latin American and Caribbean Group (33), with two seats each (including the Russia permanent one); and Western Europe and others (29), with five seats (including the United States, France and the United Kingdom). The founders of the United Nations system believed that by dividing into Regional Groups, they would be providing a fair and reasonable opportunity for all members to share in the management of the system through periodic elections to key decision-making bodies, including the Security Council. Regional Groups can constitute elements of pressure at the UN, in particular in the case of questioning the legitimacy of the UNSC, where there is a lack of adequate representation of developing countries, especially from Latin America and Africa.

Regarding these power relations, one of the classic concepts that covers it in interpersonal relationships, but that can be easily extrapolated to relations between states, is the one defined by Robert Dahl (1957). In this, the author assumes that power can be measured, compared and scaled, resulting in mutual influences exerted between the actors.

Thus, National Power, defined as the capacity of the set of men and means that constitute the nation to achieve and maintain national objectives, in accordance with the national will (ESCOLA SUPERIOR de GUERRA, 2009b), is composed of the political, economic, psychosocial, military and scientific-technological expressions. Detailing the understanding of the economic expression, on which it is intended to shed light, it is established as the manifestation of a predominantly economic nature of National Power, which contributes to achieving and maintaining national objectives (ESCOLA SUPERIOR DE GUERRA, 2009a).

Thus, in the scenario of an eventual reform of the UNSC, from which a state actor has as a national objective the occupation of a permanent seat in such body, it is hypothesized that, the more developed the economic expression of the National Power of a state, integrating the respective Regional Group, the greater the possibilities of influencing said reform and aspiring to the effective occupation of a permanent seat.

2 Objective

This discussion aims to compare the economic expression of National Power of permanent member countries and potential candidates for seat, integrating the respective Regional Groups, as a factor of influence for the reform of the Security Council.

3 Methodology

This research presents quantitative evaluation methods. The comparative examination allows the empirical verification of the hypothesis regarding the approximation or remoteness of indicators of the economic expression of National Power of the possible candidates and permanent members of the UNSC, providing generalizations and assisting in the final production of a theory. For this purpose, the Comparative Policy method was used, interested in the development of comparative practice itself and in expanding the scope of explanations related to the topic.

To define the constituent countries of the sample, the criterion of temporal delimitation is presented, that is, the period in which the phenomenon to be studied will be circumscribed (GIL, 2002).

The methodology used to calculate the sample size, as well as for the definition of the sample are detailed in the work of Cunha (2020). Regarding the first, it was reached the number of 55 elements (countries) to be studied. Sequentially, in order to fill the defined sample, three or more participations of a state as a non-permanent member, in any period, or a minimum of two participations, with a mandate starting from 1990, also, excluding the most recent entries, were considered as inclusion criteria to characterize the potential candidacy for the permanent seat in the UNSC.

A total of fifty countries were selected as potential candidates for the UNSC. In addition to these, the five permanent members of the UNSC participate in the study, which represent the basis of comparison, making up the sample of 55 countries.

In order to bring the Member States closer and facilitate inferences from common characteristics, the potential applicants to the UNSC were stratified into the respective UN Regional Groups (Table 1), divided as follows: Permanent Members Group – P5 (five members), African Group – AG (eleven members), Asia-Pacific Group – APG (nine members), Eastern European group – EEG (four members), Latin America and Caribbean Group – LACG (eleven members) and Western Europe and Others Group – WEOG (fifteen members).

Table 1 – Study sample according to Regional Groups of UN Member States

Permanent Members (P5)	African (GA 11)	Asia-Pacific (GAP 9)	Eastern Europe (GLE 4)	Latin America and the Caribbean (GALC 11)	Western Europe and others (GEO 15)
China USA France United Kingdom Russia	South Africa Algeria Egypt Gabon Ghana Morocco Nigeria Rwanda Tunisia Uganda Zambia	South Korea Philippines India Indonesia Japan Jordan Malaysia Pakistan Syria	Bulgaria Poland Romania Ukraine	Argentina Brazil Chile Colombia Costa Rica Cuba Ecuador Mexico Panama Peru Venezuela	Germany Australia Austria Belgium Canada Denmark Spain Netherlands Ireland Italy Norway New Zealand Portugal Sweden Turkey

Source: The authors (2022).

For a better visualization of the scope of the study, Table 1 was elaborated below. This one can verify, in percentage, gross quantitative and percentage of countries surveyed, by Regional Group.

Table 1– Gross and percentage values of the study by Regional Group

Regional Groups	African	Asia-Pacific	Eastern Europe	Latin America and the Caribbean	Western Europe and others	Total
Total UN	54	54	23	33	29	193
% UN	28	28	11,9	17,1	15	100
Study Sample	11	10*	5*	11	18*	55
% Study	20	18,2	9,1	20,0	32,8	100
% representative	20,37	18,52	21,74	33,33	62,1	28,5

Source: The authors (2022).

Note: * included the permanent member in the UNSC.

The sample size of 55 countries corresponds to 28.5% of the total UN Member States and 46.2% of the 124 states that have already participated in the UNSC. The most representative groups in the UN are the African and the Asia-Pacific, with 54 countries each, making up 56% of the UN member countries. The study totalled 21 countries, concentrating just under 40% of the sample. Given the inclusion criteria, the largest Regional Group in the sample is the Western Europe and others, with 18 of 55 countries. This value corresponds to 32.8% of the countries to be studied and 62.1% of the group itself.

The study variables are quantitative in nature. The independent is represented by the "economic expression of National Power", whose comparative criteria between the respective Regional Groups and countries followed those established by the ESG, contained in the three volumes of its basic Manual (Fundamental Elements, Specific Subjects and Method for Strategic Planning/ESG), in addition to being based on internationally recognized indicators, detailed in Table 2, presented below.

Thus, for the ESG (2009a), the fundamental characteristic of the economic expression of National Power consists in activating the predominantly economic means through which man seeks not only to satisfy vital needs, but also to meet the welfare requirements originated by the constant evolution of the intellectual capacity at his disposal, increasing his needs and, therefore, the demand for consumption of goods and services.

Table 2 – Operational definition of the independent variable "economic expression of National Power"

Variable	Proxy	Indicators	Measurement method
Economic Expression of National Power	Economic Development	National Material Capabilities	CINC Index v 5.0 (CORRELATES OF WAR, 2017)
		Contribution to the UN regular budget	Rate and gross amount of taxation
		Gross Domestic Product (GDP)	Size of national economies and annual growth rate

Source: The authors (2022).

"Participation in the UNSC" is presented as a dependent variable, operationalized by the fact that a country is a permanent member or has already participated as a non-permanent member of the Council, constituting, for the purpose of this research, as a candidate for the permanent seat, which can be illustrated as Table 3, below:

Table 3 – Operational definition of the dependent variable "UNSC participation"

Variable	Proxy	Indicators	Measurement method
UNSC participation	Global governance	Permanent member	P5
		Non-permanent member	Regional Groups

Source: The authors (2022).

4 Data analysis

The application *IBM SPSS Statistics* was used to perform descriptive and inferential statistics of the quantitative variables of the study.

Given the normality criteria, the sample was considered large (n>30), which allowed the use of parametric tests, with greater statistical robustness (HOGG; TANIS, 2010). For the comparison between the means of the groups, the analysis of variance (ANOVA *One-Way*), of each of the quantitative variables dependent on the single factor variable (sample group), in order to verify which means are equal.

The ANOVA is robust for deviations from normality, based on the data considered as symmetric.To test this hypothesis, the Levene test was used, for homogeneity of variance of populations.

In order to locate the differences between the groups, the Tukey test was used, through two by two comparison techniques through confidence intervals for the sample difference.

5 Results and discussion

Following are the results related to the economic expression of National Power, with regard to the indicators of *proxy* of Economic Development, in order to evaluate what was proposed in the objective of this study.

6 Capacidades materiales nacionales

In order to detail each of the indicators, it is initially commented on the National Material Capabilities, which for measurement and establishment of the international hierarchy in economic and conflict issues, makes use of the composite index of national capability (*Composite Index of National Capability* - CINC). This constitutes the most widely used parameter of national capability based on the average of total world percentages in six different components: military expenditure, military personnel, energy consumption, iron and steel production, urban population, and total population (SINGER; BREMER; STUCKEY, 1972).

More recent studies tend to use CINC scoring, which focuses on measures that are most Noteble to the perception of state power, in addition to GDP (CORRELATES OF WAR, 2017)[1].

Thus, each component is a percentage to be calculated with the dimension of the world total:

$$\text{RATIO} = \frac{\text{Country}}{\text{World}}$$

$$\text{CINC} = \frac{\text{TPR} + \text{UPR} + \text{ISPR} + \text{ECR} + \text{MER} + \text{MPR}}{6}$$

Where:
TPR = total population of country ratio
UPR = urban population of country ratio
ISPR = iron and steel production of country ratio
ECR = primary energy consumption ratio
MER = military expenditure ratio
MPR = military personnel ratio

The information, detailed by component factor of the CINC formula, is provided by each Member State of the respective Regional Group, whose data are presented below in table format.

Below is Table 4 for the Permanent Members Group:

Table 4 – Permanent Members Group Components of National Capability and Composite Index

Permanent Member Group							
Country	Iron and steel production (ton)	Primary Energy Consumption (million tonnes of coal equivalent)	Military Personnel (in millions)	Military Expenditure (in billions Us$)	Urban Population (in millions)	Total Population (in millions)	CINC
China	494.899	4.177	2,26	46,17	748,53	1.325	0,198578
USA	98.102	5.548	1,51	552,57	82,97	302	0,142149
France	19.250	713	0,26	60,66	11,86	62	0,018924
United Kingdom	14.317	684	0,19	63,26	55,26	61	0,021158
Russia	72.387	1.559	1,03	32,22	68,23	142	0,039274

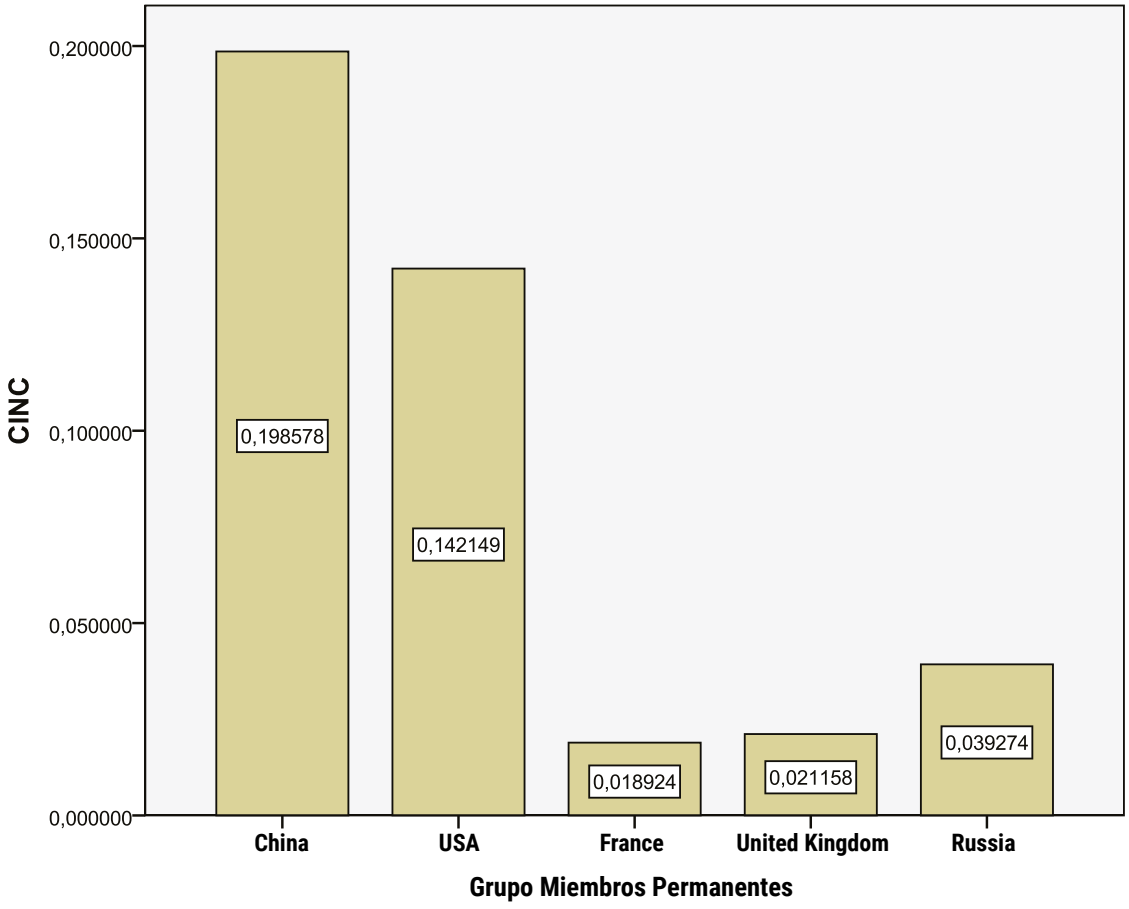
Source: adapted from Correlates of War (2017).

1 Data for CINC Index v 4.0 and 5.0 date back to 2007 and 2012, respectively.

From the observation of the total CINC values, it can be seen that China and the USA are the countries whose CINC values are the highest in the Permanent Members Group. The first probably influenced by population numbers and outstanding production of iron and steel, while the other, strongly linked to the values referring to their personnel and military spending.

For a better visualization of the results of the group members, Chart 1 is presented, in the sequence:

Chart 1 – National Material Capabilities of the Permanent Members Group



Source: The authors (2022).

For the African Group, the figures are shown in Table 5, below:

Table 5 – African Group Components of National Capability and Composite Index

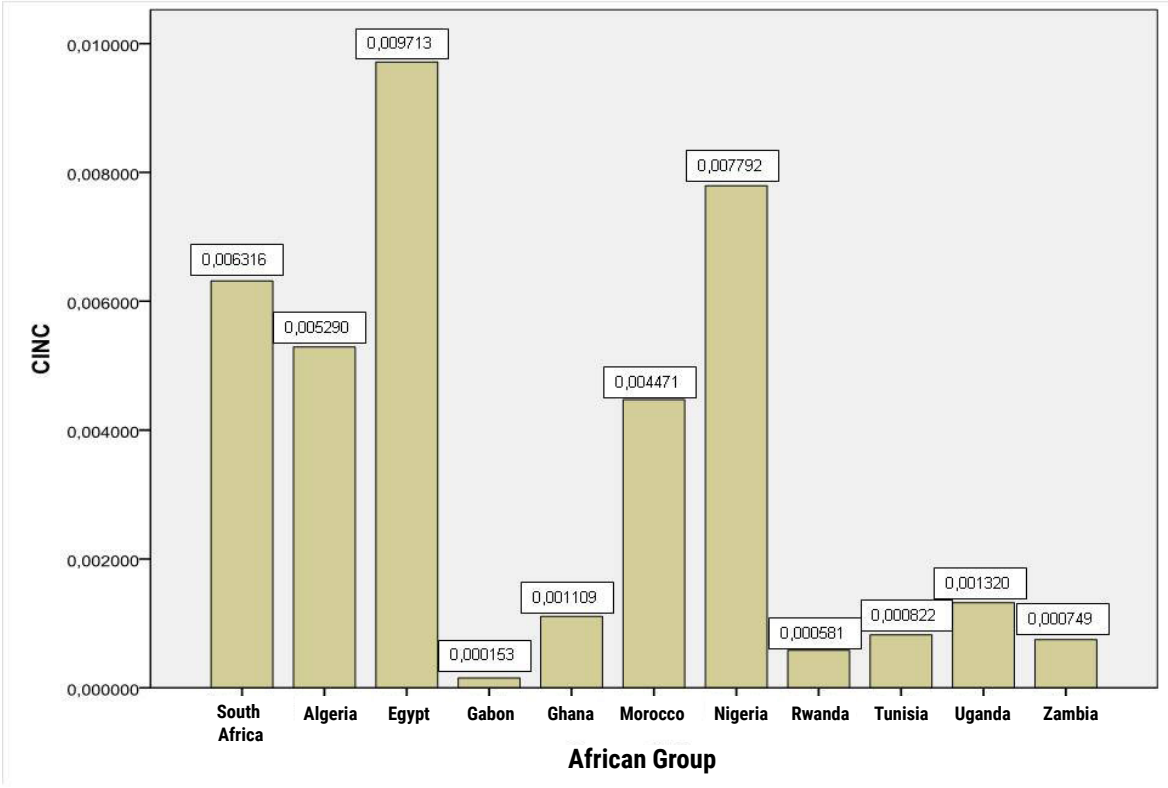
African Group							
Country	Iron and steel production (ton)	Primary Energy Consumption (million tonnes of coal equivalent)	Military Personnel (in millions)	Military Expenditure (in billions Us$)	Urban Population (in millions)	Total Population (in millions)	CINC
South Africa	9.098	326	0,062	3,75	15	48	0,006316
Algeria	1.278	306	0,138	4,27	11	34	0,005290
Egypt	6.224	129	0,469	4,64	30	77	0,009713
Gabon	0	3	0,005	0,123	0,58	1,3	0,000153
Ghana	25	13	0,014	0,104	4,5	22	0,001109
Morocco	512	31	0,201	2,41	19,4	31	0,004471
Nigeria	100	201	0,085	0,98	29,3	143	0,007792
Rwanda	0	3	0,033	0,062	0,52	9	0,000581
Tunisia	160	11	0,035	0,47	1,7	10	0,000822
Uganda	30	12	0,045	0,232	1,6	28	0,001320
Zambia	0	12	0,015	0,247	2,9	12	0,000749

Source: adapted from Correlates of War (2017).

In this, Egypt stands out, with the highest National Material Capability, which seems to be related to its highest effective and military spending. Followed by Nigeria, a country with a large total population, and South Africa, which has the largest iron and steel production and the highest primary energy consumption of the group.

Chart 2 shows the CINC values of each of the countries of the African Group.

Chart 2 – National Material Capabilities of the African Group



Source: The authors (2022).

The Asia-Pacific Group, made up of nine countries, has the National Material Capabilities set out below:

Table 6 – Asia-Pacific Group Components of National Capability and Composite Index

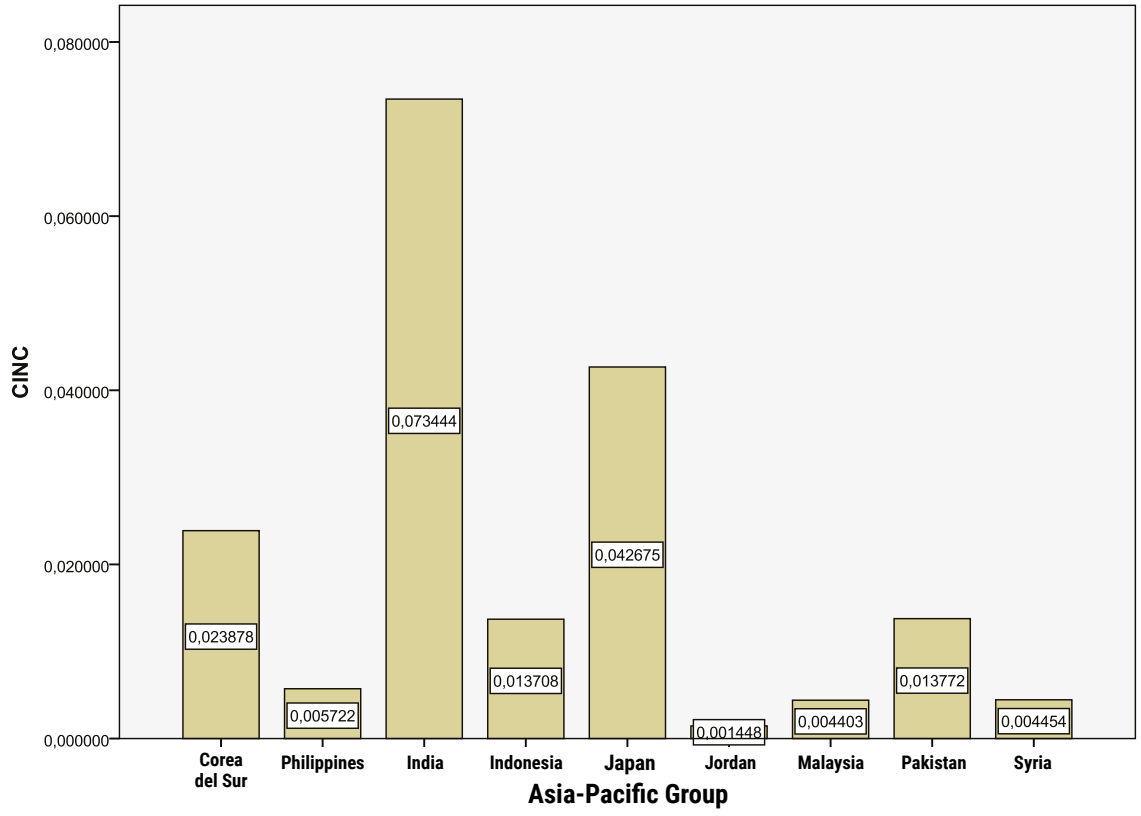
Asia-Pacific Group							
Country	Iron and steel production (ton)	Primary Energy Consumption (million tonnes of coal equivalent)	Military Personnel (in millions)	Military Expenditure (in billions Us$)	Urban Population (in millions)	Total Population (in millions)	CINC
South Korea	51.517	943	0,687	26,59	22,8	48	0,023878
Philippines	718	85	0,106	1,13	25,1	89	0,005722
India	53.080	1.573	1,32	26,51	198,1	1.134	0,073444
Indonesia	4.016	306	0,302	4,33	35,7	226	0,013708
Japan	120.203	1.935	0,24	41,04	84,4	128	0,042675
Jordan	150	11	0,101	1,62	2,2	5	0,001448
Malaysia	6.895	160	0,109	4,02	6,9	27	0,004403
Pakistan	1.090	134	0,62	4,53	40,9	160	0,013772
Syria	70	33	0,308	1,465	13,3	19	0,004454

Source: adapted from Correlates of War (2017).

The strong driving forces in the Asia-Pacific Group are India and Japan. The first is due to the significant indices in all components of the National Material Capability, with emphasis on its immense total population. Japan, in turn, due to its economic development, has the highest figures regarding iron and steel production and primary energy consumption. The South Korean indexes, although more modest, should also be highlighted, especially by high military spending, iron and steel production and primary energy consumption.

Countries can have their CINC values compared in the bar chart, which is shown below.

Chart 3 – Asia-Pacific Group National Material Capabilities



Source: The authors (2022).

The Eastern European Group, composed of four countries, has its National Material Capabilities data presented in Table 7.

Table 7 – Eastern European Group Components of National Capability and Composite Index

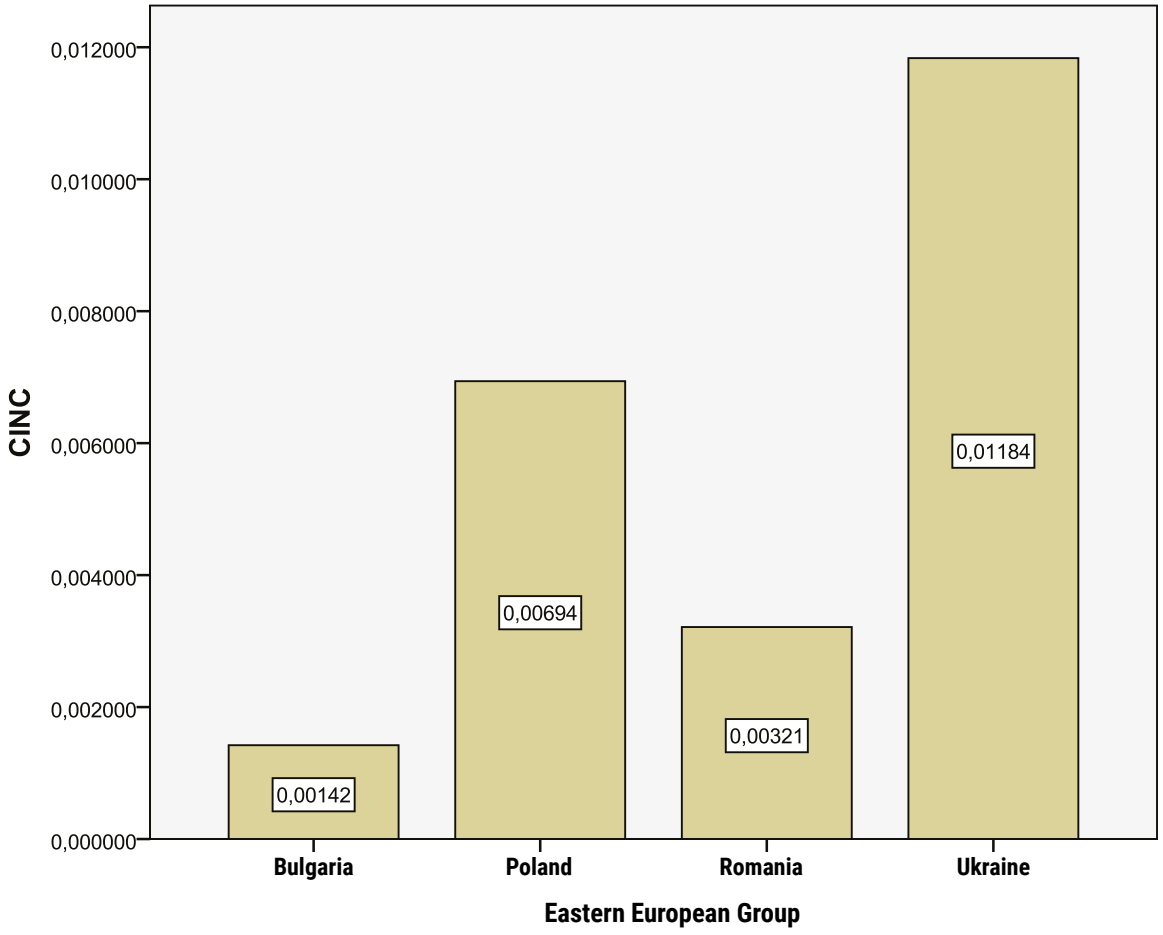
Eastern European Group							
Country	Iron and steel production (ton)	Primary Energy Consumption (million tonnes of coal equivalent)	Military Personnel (in millions)	Military Expenditure (in billions Us$)	Urban Population (in millions)	Total Population (in millions)	CINC
Bulgaria	1.909	47	0,051	0,881	2,4	8	0,001422
Poland	10.632	284	0,142	7,983	11	38	0,006939
Romania	6.261	76	0,070	3,044	6,4	22	0,003213
Ukraine	42.830	391	0,188	1,802	18	47	0,011835

Source: adapted from Correlates of War (2017).

In this, which is the smallest of the study groups, Ukraine reveals itself as the country with the most substantial levels of CINC, being the most populous in relation to the other members and holding the highest values of iron and steel production and primary energy consumption.

Details of the Eastern European group can be seen bellow in Chart 4.

Chart 4 – Eastern European Group National Material Capabilities



Source: The authors (2022).

The following presents the National Material Capabilities of the Latin America and Caribbean Group, which comprises eleven countries.

Table 8 – Latin America and the Caribbean Group Components of National Capability and Composite Index

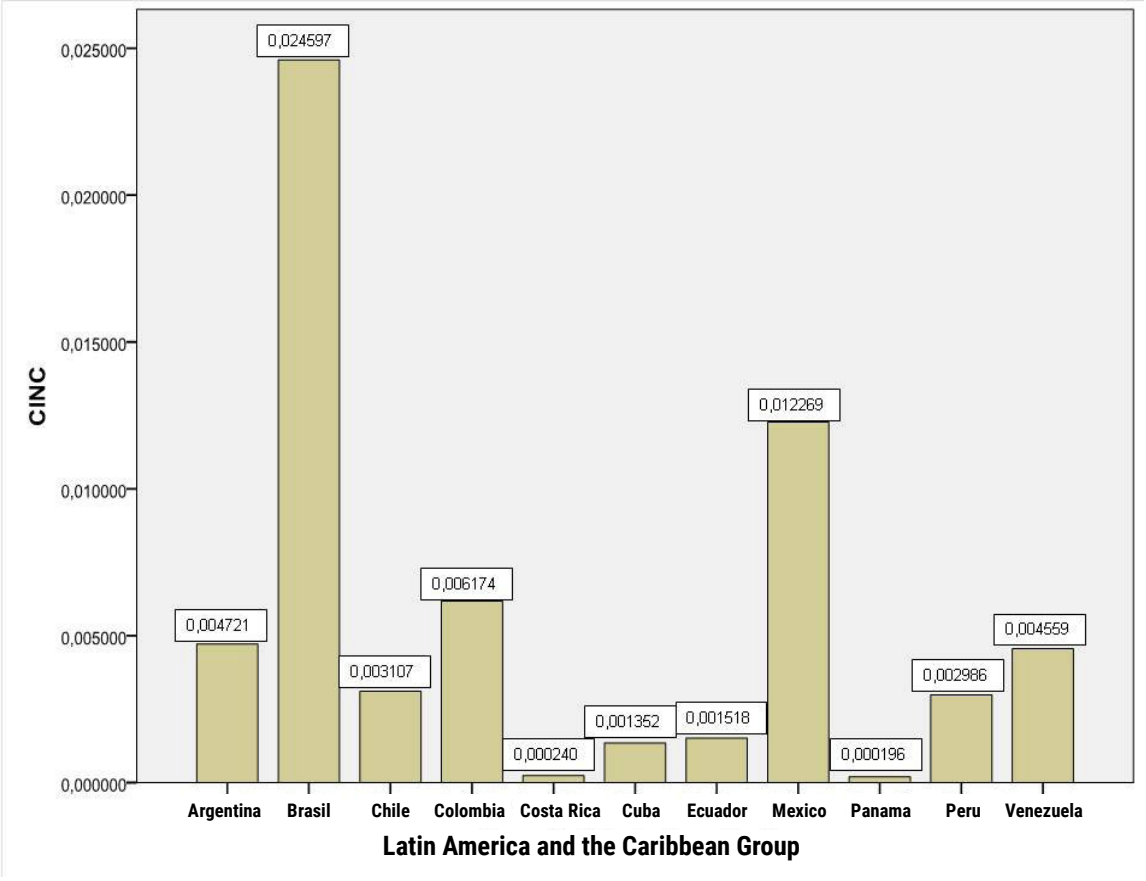
Latin America and the Caribbean Group							
Country	Iron and steel production (ton)	Primary Energy Consumption (million tonnes of coal equivalent)	Military Personnel (in millions)	Military Expenditure (in billions Us$)	Urban Population (in millions)	Total Population (in millions)	CINC
Argentina	5.387	146	0,072	2,09	18,2	39	0,004721
Brazil	33.782	511	0,29	20,56	103,3	188	0,024597
Chile	1.679	71	0,076	5,24	10,1	17	0,003107
Colombia	1.245	59	0,21	6,81	26	44	0,006174
Costa Rica	0	4	0	0,159	1,1	4	0,000240
Cuba	268	12	0,049	1,668	4,4	11	0,001352
Ecuador	87	20	0,057	0,773	6,3	14	0,001518
Mexico	17.573	300	0,238	3,982	43	106	0,012269
Panama	0	2	0	0,2	1	3	0,000196
Peru	881	37	0,08	1,226	15	28	0,002986
Venezuela	5.005	210	0,082	2,795	13,5	27	0,004559

Source: adapted from Correlates of War (2017).

In this group, Brazil is the country that holds the leadership in all sub-indicators of National Material Capabilities. It has the highest production of iron and steel, the highest consumption of primary energy, its personnel and military expenditures are the highest and the population, both urban and total, is the most representative of the analysis. Next, Mexico stands out with the second position in all the indicators commented.

The information is reaffirmed when looking at Chart 5, below:

Chart 5 – National Material Capabilities of Latin America and Caribbean Group



Source: The authors (2022).

The Western Europe and Others Group, the largest of the groups studied with fifteen members, has its data presented in Table 9, below.

Table 9 – Western Europe and others Group Components of National Capability and Composite Index

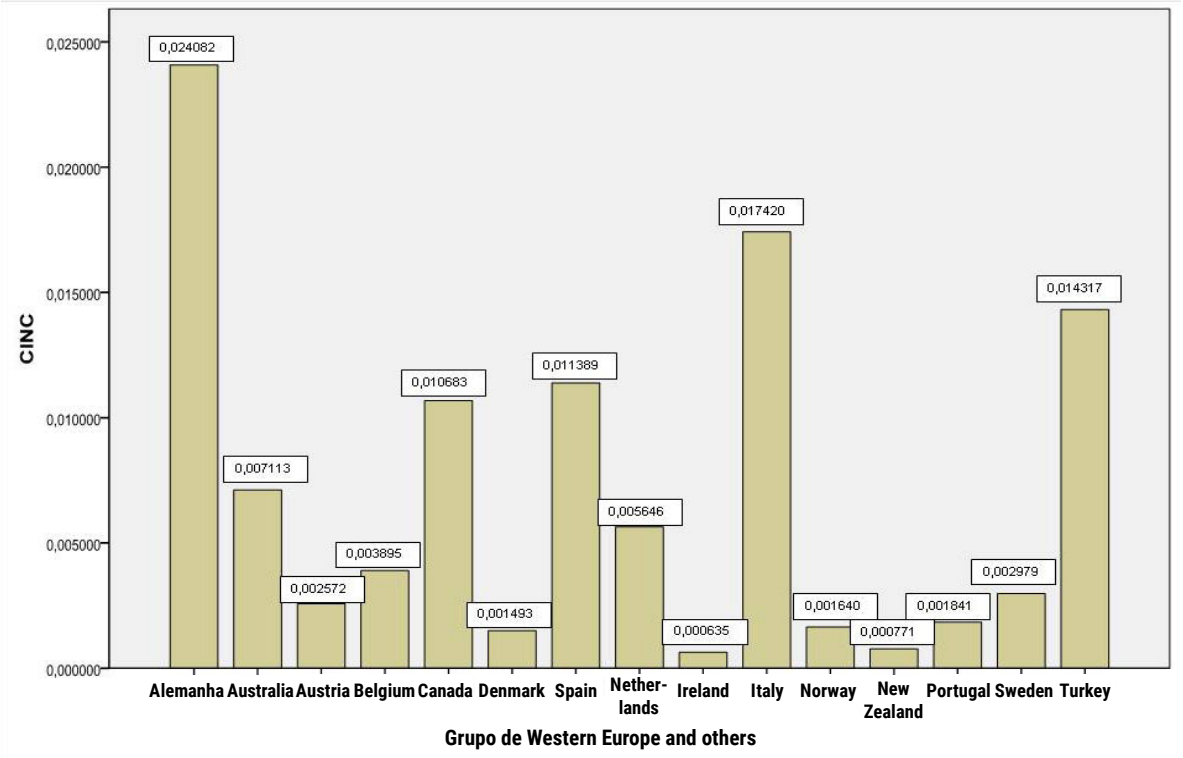
Grupo de Western Europe and others							
Country	Iron and steel production (ton)	Primary Energy Consumption (million tonnes of coal equivalent)	Military Personnel (in millions)	Military Expenditure (in billions Us$)	Urban Population (in millions)	Total Population (in millions)	CINC
Germany	48.550	1.158	0,25	42,11	25,34	82	0,024082
Australia	7.939	238	0,052	20,216	15,79	21	0,007113
Austria	7.578	78	0,040	3,603	2,4	8	0,002572
Belgium	10.692	213	0,040	5	1,5	11	0,003895
Canada	15.572	707	0,063	18,491	13,2	33	0,010683
Denmark	392	54	0,022	4,028	1,2	5	0,001493
Spain	18.999	529	0,147	17,495	18,8	45	0,011389
Netherlands	7.368	360	0,053	11,141	5,2	16	0,005646
Ireland	150	19	0,01	1,329	0,7	4	0,000635
Italy	31.553	790	0,19	37,77	13,61	59	0,017420
Norway	708	77	23	5,546	1,1	5	0,001640
New Zealand	845	24	0,009	1,388	2,2	4	0,000771
Portugal	1.400	92	0,044	3,389	0,9	11	0,001841
Sweden	5.673	129	0,028	6,773	2,6	9	0,002979
Turkey	25.754	370	0,515	13,643	14,2	74	0,014317

Source: adapted from Correlates of War (2017).

Regarding this group, Germany prevails with the most substantial values of National Material Capabilities. The country has the highest rates in almost all indicators, with the exception of military personnel, in which Turkey stands out. As a whole, Italy is in second place overall and in most of the indicators presented.

Again, the distribution of National material capacities can be seen in Chart 6, below

Chart 6 – Capacidades Materiales Nacionales del Grupo de Western Europe and others



Source: The authors (2022).

To understand the behavior of the studied groups, we present the descriptive statistics of the sample, composed of the respective means of the groups, standard deviations and maximum and minimum values of CINC, which can be completely analyzed in Table 2.

Table 2 – CINC descriptive statistics

Groups	n	Minimum	Maximum		S
Permanent Members	5	0,018924	0,198578	0,08401660	0,081691249
African	11	0,000153	0,009713	0,00348327	0,003376807
Asia-Pacific	9	0,001448	0,073444	0,02038933	0,023705092
Eastern Europe	4	0,001422	0,011835	0,00585225	0,004603154
Latin America and the Caribbean	11	0,000196	0,024597	0,00561082	0,007164043
Western Europe and others	15	0,000635	0,024082	0,00709840	0,007065209
Total	**55**				

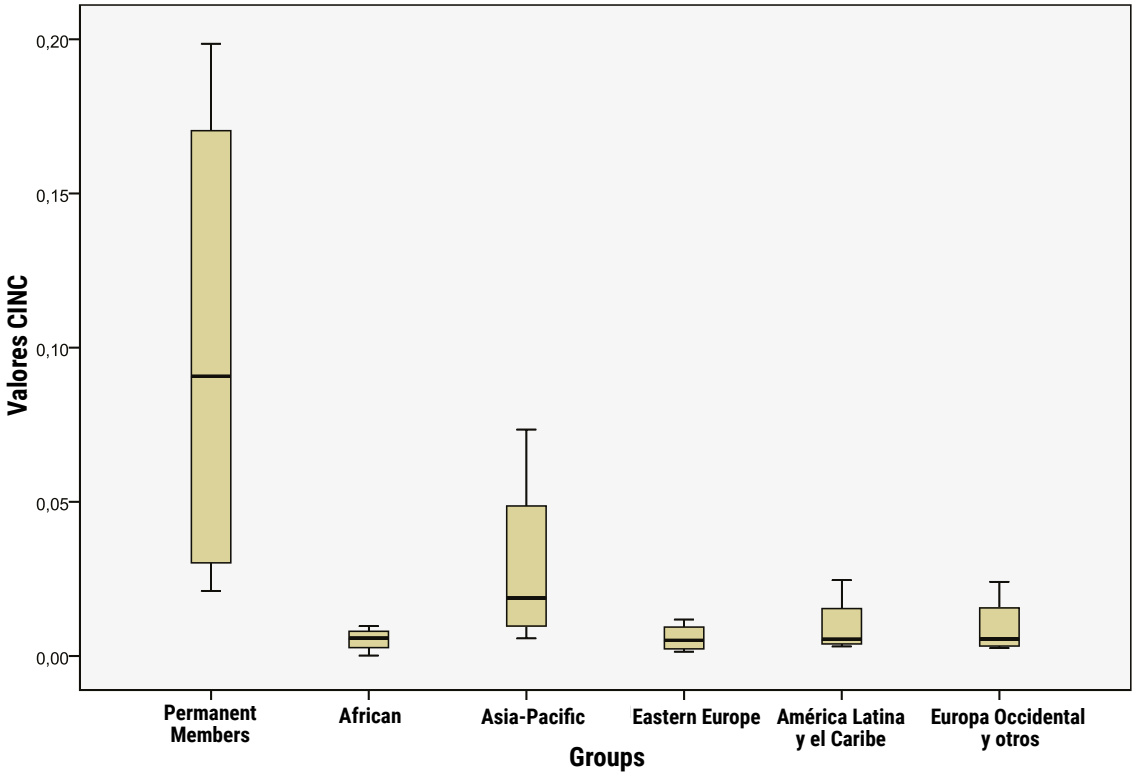
= sample mean Source: The authors (2022).

Caption: = sample mean; S = standard deviation

From the reading of this table, it can be seen that the Permanent Members Group has the highest average value of CINC (0,08401660), with the maximum value submitted by China (0.198578) and minimum of France (0.018924). The group that comes the closest, on average, to the permanent members is the Asia-Pacific Group (0.02038933), which includes India and Japan. The maximum value of the group consists of that of India (0.073444), while the minimum is that of Jordan (0.001448). Next, the Western Europe and others Group is indicated with an average of 0.00709840. Germany has the highest CINC value of the group (0.024082) and Ireland the lowest (0.000635). The next group is the Eastern European countries, whose average was 0.00585225. In this, the maximum value was presented by Ukraine (0.011835) and the minimum by Bulgaria (0.001422). With an average value slightly lower than the previous one, the Latin America and Caribbean Group is scored (0.00561082), which has Brazil at the forefront (0.024597) and, more modestly, Panama (0.000196). Finally, with the lowest average among the groups surveyed, the African (0.00348327) is noted, which presents as a maximum value that of Egypt (0.009713) and minimum that of Gabon (0,000153).

In Graph 7, the distribution of the means of the sample groups and the behavior of the quartiles can be compared using the box diagram (*blox plot*).

Chart 7 –*Box plot* National Material Capabilities



Source: The authors (2022).

From this analysis, it can be inferred that the Asia-Pacific Group is the closest to the Permanent Members Group. Moreover, it can be seen, from a more particular observation, that India, Japan, Brazil, Germany and South Korea stand out among the possible candidates for the UNSC permanent seat. India and Japan alone do not outperform China and the US, while the others perform higher than France and the UK. The figures obtained by Italy, Turkey, Pakistan, Indonesia and Mexico are also worth noting, revealing the economic prominence of these countries on the international scene, although with less expressive results than the permanent members.

In order to verify the equality or difference between the mean values of the groups, the ANOVA *One Way* was used, with 55 observations and 5 degrees of freedom. F (5.55) = 8.355 was found for a p-value of 0.000. Since the p-value is approximately zero, the null hypothesis of equality of means for any significance level is rejected. Thus, ANOVA allows us to conclude that the averages are not all the same, which means that there are significant differences in CINC values between Regional Groups and permanent members.

The Levene test was performed to verify the homogeneity of the variances, which confirmed the hypothesis. Table 3 shows the result of the Tukey test, from which the groups that presented different mean data were identified.

Table 3 – Tukey test for CINC indicator

			Difference from Means	Standard Error Lower Tail	Sig. Upper Tail	Confidence interval 95%	
P5		AG	,080533327*	,013907505	,000	,03929166	,12177500
		APG	,063627267*	,014382300	,001	,02097763	,10627690
		EEG	,078164350*	,017297241	,001	,02687067	,12945803
		LACG	,078405782*	,013907505	,000	,03716411	,11964745
		WEOG	,076918200*	,013315423	,000	,03743231	,11640409
AG		P5	-,080533327*	,013907505	,000	-,12177500	-,03929166
		APG	-,016906061	,011589588	,691	-,05127412	,01746200
		EEG	-,002368977	,015055316	1,000	-,04701439	,04227644
		LACG	-,002127545	,010994848	1,000	-,03473195	,03047686
		WEOG	-,003615127	,010235647	,999	-,03396817	,02673792
APG		P5	-,063627267*	,014382300	,001	-,10627690	-,02097763
		AG	,016906061	,011589588	,691	-,01746200	,05127412
		EEG	,014537083	,015494980	,935	-,03141212	,06048629
		LACG	,014778515	,011589588	,797	-,01958954	,04914657
		WEOG	,013290933	,010871997	,824	-,01894916	,04553103
EEG		P5	-,078164350*	,017297241	,001	-,12945803	-,02687067
		AG	,002368977	,015055316	1,000	-,04227644	,04701439
		APG	-,014537083	,015494980	,935	-,06048629	,03141212
		LACG	,000241432	,015055316	1,000	-,04440398	,04488685
		WEOG	-,001246150	,014510145	1,000	-,04427490	,04178260
LACG		P5	-,078405782*	,013907505	,000	-,11964745	-,03716411
		AG	,002127545	,010994848	1,000	-,03047686	,03473195
		APG	-,014778515	,011589588	,797	-,04914657	,01958954
		EEG	-,000241432	,015055316	1,000	-,04488685	,04440398
		WEOG	-,001487582	,010235647	1,000	-,03184063	,02886546
WEOG		P5	-,076918200*	,013315423	,000	-,11640409	-,03743231
		AG	,003615127	,010235647	,999	-,02673792	,03396817
		APG	-,013290933	,010871997	,824	-,04553103	,01894916
		EEG	,001246150	,014510145	1,000	-,04178260	,04427490
		LACG	,001487582	,010235647	1,000	-,02886546	,03184063

Source: The authors (2022).

Note: * the difference of the means is significant for level of 0.05.

From the reading of the previous table, it can be inferred that the average CINC of the Permanent Members Group is significantly different (higher) than the averages of the other regional groups, which, in turn, exhibit similar results in the light of statistics.

In short, regarding to the comparison of this first indicator, the superiority of the permanent members in relation to the other groups may consist in a possible obstacle to the negotiation to expand the UNSC, due to the more modest indices of CINC achieved by the Regional Groups, despite the prominent positions in the international scenario of some countries, when analyzed in isolation.

7 Contribution to the UN regular budget

Regarding this indicator, it is recalled that the UN is financed from voluntary contributions from its Member States. The budgets of the United Nations and its specialized agencies are evaluated every two years. The General Assembly approves the regular budget and determines the assessment for each member.

In accordance with resolution 73/271 (UNITED NATIONS, 2019a), the Assembly decided that the scale of contributions for the period 2019-2021 should be based on elements and criteria, taking into account: estimates of gross national income; the average statistical reference periods of three and six years; conversion rates based on market exchange rates, except for what would cause excessive fluctuations and distortions in result of some states, when exchange-price adjusted rates or other appropriate conversion rates should be employed, taking into account their resolution 46/221B (United Nations, 1991); the debt weight approach used in the contribution scale for the period 2016-2018; the adjustment for low per capita income of 80%, with a cap value of average per capita income of every Member States by statistical base periods; minimum tax rate of 0.001%; maximum tax rate for the least developed countries of 0.01%; and maximum tax rate of 22% (United Nations, 2020).

The contributions, including tax rates and gross value, are presented in the tables below, positioning the member state according to the global tax hierarchy (UNITED NATIONS, 2019b).

Table 10 – P5 Contribution to the UN regular budget, 2019-2021

Permanent Members Group			
Country	**Tax rate (%)**	**Gross value (in Us$)**	**World ranking**
USA	22	678.613.826	1º
China	12,005	370.307.226	2º
United Kingdom	4,567	140.874.061	5º
France	4,427	136.555.610	6º
Russia	2,405	74.184.830	10º
Σ	45,404	1.400.535.553	

Source: adapted from United Nations (2019b).

The Permanent Members Group concentrates part of the largest contributions to the regular UN budget , making up more than 45% of the total collected annually by the body. The US is the biggest contributor, reaching the top percentage rate of taxation of 22%, followed by China, just over half the rate. The United Kingdom and France are taxed at 4,5%, and Russia has a lower contribution, despite occupying 10° position in the contribution to the UN budget.

Table 11 below shows the information on the African Group:

Table 11 – African Group Contribution to the UN regular budget, 2019-2021

African Group			
Country	**Tax rate (%)**	**Gross value (in Us$)**	**World ranking**
South Africa	0,272	8.390.135	44º
Nigeria	0,250	7.711.521	46º
Egypt	0,186	5.737.372	50º
Algeria	0,138	4.256.760	54º
Morocco	0,055	1.696.535	68º
Tunisia	0,025	771.152	88º
Gabon	0,015	462.691	96º
Ghana	0,015	462.691	96º
Zambia	0,009	277.615	115º
Uganda	0,008	246.769	119º
Rwanda	0,003	92.538	146º
Σ	0,976	30.105.779	

Source: adapted from United Nations (2019b).

Naturally, according to the very rule established by the UN, in the face of the economic development of each Member States, countries from the African continent have lower contribution rates. In this Regional Group, South Africa is the largest contributor, with a tax rate of 0,272%, occupying only 44° World position. Together, the states that make up the African Group sample add up to less than 1% of the UN annual budget.

Details regarding the Asia Pacific Group are set out below:

Table 12 – Asia-Pacific Group Contribution of the to the UN regular budget, 2019-2021

Asia-Pacific Group			
Country	**Tax rate (%)**	**Gross value (in Us$)**	**World ranking**
Japan	8,564	264.165.855	3º
South Korea	2,267	69.928.070	11º
Índia	0,834	25.725.633	21º
Indonésia	0,543	16.749.423	29º
Malásia	0,341	10.518.514	38º
Philippines	0,205	6.323.447	48º
Paquistão	0,115	3.547.300	57º
Jordânia	0,021	647.768	90º
Síria	0,011	339.307	105º
Σ	12,901	397.945.317	

Source: adapted from United Nations (2019b).

This group turns out to be quite heterogeneous, since it encompasses countries such as Japan and South Korea, 3rd and 11th largest UN contributors, the former being taxed at 8.5%. However, it also covers countries with taxation below 0.1%, such as Jordan and Syria. The nine states that make up the Asia-Pacific Group sample are taxpayers with approximately 13% of the regular UN budget.

The contribution values for the regular budget of the UN, relating to the Eastern European group, are detailed in Table 13, below:

Table 13 – Eastern European Group Contribution to the UN regular budget, 2019-2021

Eastern European Group			
Country	**Tax rate (%)**	**Gross value (in Us$)**	**World ranking**
Poland	0,802	24.738.559	23º
Romania	0,198	6.107.525	49º
Ukraine	0,057	1.758.227	67º
Bulgaria	0,046	1.418.920	75º
Σ	1,103	34.023.231	

Source: adapted from United Nations (2019b).

From reading the information above, it can be seen that, despite the fact that Poland is the 23rd largest contributor to the UN, in general, the contribution rates of the countries of this group are intermediate, all less than 1%. Together, they make up just over 1% of the UN budget.

The Latin America and Caribbean Group can be further explored from the information presented below.

Table 14 – Latin America and Caribbean Group Contribution to the UN regular budget, 2019-2021

Latin America and the Caribbean Group			
Country	**Tax rate (%)**	**Gross value (in Us$)**	**World ranking**
Brazil	2,948	90.934.253	8º
México	1,292	39.853.139	16º
Argentina	0,915	28.224.166	19º
Venezuela	0,728	22.455.948	25º
Chile	0,407	12.554.356	33º
Colombia	0,288	8.883.672	42º
Peru	0,152	4.688.605	53º
Cuba	0,080	2.467.687	59º
Ecuador	0,080	2.467.687	59º
Costa Rica	0,062	1.912.457	66º
Panama	0,045	1.388.074	76º
Σ	6,997	215.830.044	

Source: adapted from United Nations (2019b).

Similar to the Asia-Pacific Group, Latin American and Caribbean countries show themselves to be quite heterogeneous when looking at contributions to the UN budget. Brazil and Mexico, 8th and 16th largest contributors, respectively, which together with the other members add up to almost 7% of the regular UN budget. However, the same group includes countries with a contribution of less than 0.1%, such as Cuba, Ecuador, Costa Rica and Panama.

A detailed reading of the rates and gross amounts of contribution to the UN for the Western Europe and others Group can be found below.

Table 15 – Western Europe and others Group Contribution to the UN regular budget, 2019-2021

Western Europe and others Group			
Country	**Tax rate (%)**	**Gross value (in Us$)**	**World ranking**
Germany	6,090	187.852.646	4º
Italy	3,307	102.007.997	7º
Canada	2,734	84.333.191	9º
Australia	2,210	68.169.844	12º
Spain	2,146	66.195.694	13º
Turkey	1,371	42.289.980	14º
Netherlands	1,356	41.827.289	15º
Sweden	0,906	27.946.551	20º
Belgium	0,821	25.324.634	22º
Norway	0,754	23.257.947	24º
Austria	0,677	20.882.798	26º
Denmark	0,554	17.088.730	28º
Ireland	0,371	11.443.897	35o
Portugal	0,350	10.796.129	37º
New Zealand	0,291	8.976.210	41º
Σ	23,938	738.393.537	

Source: adapted from United Nations (2019b).

In this group, as can be identified, some of the world largest economies are concentrated, a fact that justifies quite high contributions, such as those of Germany, Italy, Canada, Australia and Spain, all of which exceed 2%. The first country stands out, which is the fourth largest taxpayer in the world, with more than 6% taxation. The majority of the members are among the thirty largest contributors, revealing homogeneity of the group.

In order to provide a statistical understanding of the studied groups, regarding the indicator under study, Table 4 is presented, with the respective means, standard deviations and maximum and minimum values.

Table 4 – Descriptive statistics of Contribution to the UN regular budget

Groups	n	Minimum	Maximum		S
Permanent Members	5	2,405	22,00	9,08080	7,239547
African	11	0,003	0,272	0,08873	0,098986
Asia-Pacific	9	0,011	8,564	1,43344	2,606637
Eastern Europe	4	0,046	0,802	0,27575	0,309685
Latin America and the Caribbean	11	0,045	2,948	0,63609	0,829393
Western Europe and others	15	0,291	6,090	1,59587	1,498410
Total	55				

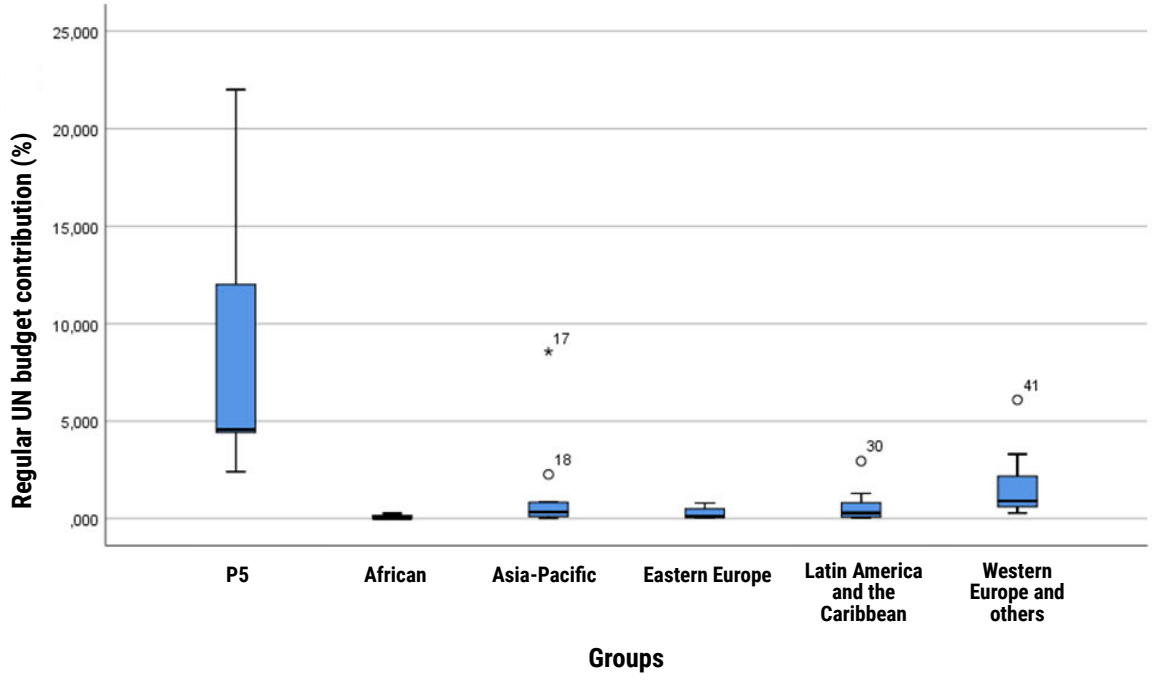
Source: The authors (2022).

Caption: = sample mean; S = standard deviation.

As can be seen in the table above, the Permanent Members Group has the highest average value of contribution to the UN budget (9,08080%), whose highest taxation is spent by the US (22%), as previously mentioned. The group that comes closest to the Permanent Members, on average, is the Western Europe and Others Group (1.59587%), which includes states with developed economies and, consequently, more taxed. The following is the Asia-Pacific Group with an average of 1.43344%, followed by other groups that already have contributions of less than 1% (Latin America and Caribbean Group - 0.63609%; Eastern European group - 0.27575% and African Group with an even lower average value, less than 0.1% - 0.08873%).

For better visualization, a box plot is presented in the graph below:

Chart 8 – *Box plot* of the contribution to the UN regular budget 2019-2021 (in%)



Source: The authors (2022).

Note: **Outliers*: 17- Japan; 18 - South Korea; 30 - Brazil; and 41- Germany.

Again, ANOVA One Way was used to test the equality or difference between the mean values of the groups, from 55 observations and 5 degrees of freedom. F (5.55) = 8.653 was found for a p-value of 0.000. Since the p-value is lower than 0.05, the null hypothesis of equality of means for any significance level is rejected. Thus, ANOVA allows us to conclude that the averages are not all the same, with significant differences in the amounts of contributions to the UN regular budget between Regional Groups and permanent members.

The Levene test was performed to verify the homogeneity of the variances, which confirmed the hypothesis. The result of the Tukey test is presented in the sequence, which exposes the groups that presented different mean data.

Table 5 – Tukey Test enter for the indicator contribution to the UN regular budget

		Difference from Means	Standard Error Lower Tail	Sig. Upper Tail	Confidence interval 95%	
P5	AG	8,992073*	1,471950	,000	4,62711	13,35703
	APG	7,647356*	1,522202	,000	3,13338	12,16133
	EEG	8,805050*	1,830715	,000	3,37620	14,23390
	LACG	8,444709*	1,471950	,000	4,07975	12,80967
	WEOG	7,484933*	1,409285	,000	3,30580	11,66406
AG	P5	-8,992073*	1,471950	,000	-13,35703	-4,62711
	APG	-1,344717	1,226625	,881	-4,98218	2,29275
	EEG	-,187023	1,593433	1,000	-4,91223	4,53818
	LACG	-,547364	1,163679	,997	-3,99817	2,90344
	WEOG	-1,507139	1,083326	,732	-4,71966	1,70538
APG	P5	-7,647356*	1,522202	,000	-12,16133	-3,13338
	AG	1,344717	1,226625	,881	-2,29275	4,98218
	EEG	1,157694	1,639966	,980	-3,70550	6,02089
	LACG	,797354	1,226625	,986	-2,84011	4,43482
	WEOG	-,162422	1,150676	1,000	-3,57467	3,24982
EEG	P5	-8,805050*	1,830715	,000	-14,23390	-3,37620
	AG	,187023	1,593433	1,000	-4,53818	4,91223
	APG	-1,157694	1,639966	,980	-6,02089	3,70550
	LACG	-,360341	1,593433	1,000	-5,08555	4,36487
	WEOG	-1,320117	1,535733	,954	-5,87422	3,23398
LACG	P5	-8,444709*	1,471950	,000	-12,80967	-4,07975
	AG	,547364	1,163679	,997	-2,90344	3,99817
	APG	-,797354	1,226625	,986	-4,43482	2,84011
	EEG	,360341	1,593433	1,000	-4,36487	5,08555
	WEOG	-,959776	1,083326	,948	-4,17230	2,25275
WEOG	P5	-7,484933*	1,409285	,000	-11,66406	-3,30580
	AG	1,507139	1,083326	,732	-1,70538	4,71966
	APG	,162422	1,150676	1,000	-3,24982	3,57467
	EEG	1,320117	1,535733	,954	-3,23398	5,87422
	LACG	,959776	1,083326	,948	-2,25275	4,17230

Source: The authors (2022).

Note: *The difference of the means is significant for level of 0.05.

Again, the Permanent Members Group had a significantly different mean than the averages of all Regional Groups, which showed no differences between themselves. Therefore, regarding the comparison of this second indicator, what was previously observed is repeated, with the superiority of the permanent members in relation to the other groups. In addition, the significant difference in the contribution to the UN budget, as an indicator of international economic projection, may represent an eventual obstacle to further develop negotiations regarding the reform of the UNSC, if sought by Regional Groups, as a means of pressure and influence, despite the high contributions of some of its members (as observed in the *outliers* states in their respective regional groups - Germany, Brazil, South Korea and Japan).

8 Gross Domestic Product

As a third indicator, GDP is studied, which represents the sum (in monetary values) of all final goods and services produced in a given region (whether countries, states or cities), during a given period. GDP is one of the most used indicators in macroeconomics with the aim of measuring the economic activity of a region.

In this research, the value of the nominal GDP of 2019 in dollars was used, available in the *World Economic Outlook Database of International Monetary Fund* (INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, 2019) to measure national economies, as well as the comparison of annual growth rates (in percentages), presented in graphs of the *Data Mapper*, in the period 1980 to 2019 (with the exception of Egypt and Pakistan, whose data were used in 2018, due to the lack of more recent information; in addition to Syria and Cuba, which do not have GDP figures released for approximately ten years).

Table 16 below consolidates the GDP of the sample groups, as well as presents the world economy *ranking* of each of the states.

Table 16 – 2019 Nominal gross domestic product of sample groups

2019 Gross Domestic Product (in billion U.S. dollars)											
Permanent Members		African		Asia-Pacific		Eastern Europe		Latin America and the Caribbean		Western Europe and others	
USA	21439,45 (1º)	Nigeria	446,54(28º)	Japan	5154,47 (3º)	Poland	565,85 (22º)	Brazil	1847,02 (9º)	Alemanha	3863,34 (4º)
China	14140,16 (2º)	South Africa	358,83(37º)	India	2935,57 (5º)	Romenia	243,69 (48º)	Mexico	1274,17 (15º)	Itália	1988,63 (8º)
United Kingdom	2743,58 (6º)	Egypt	302,25(42º)	South Korea	1629,53 (12º)	Ukraine	150,40 (58º)	Argentina	445,46 (29º)	Canada	1730,91 (10º)
France	2707,07 (7º)	Algeria	178,63(55º)	Indonesia	1111,71 (16º)	Bulgaria	66,25 (75º)	Colombia	327,89 (40º)	Spain	1397,87 (13º)
Russia	1637,89 (11º)	Morocco	119,04(60º)	Malaysia	365,30 (35º)			Chile	294,23 (43º)	Australia	1376,25 (14º)
		Ghana	67,07 (74º)	Philippines	356,81 (38º)			Peru	228,98 (50º)	Netherlands	902,35 (17º)
		Tunisia	38,73 (95º)	Pakistan	284,21 (44º)			Ecuador	107,91 (61º)	Turkey	743,70 (19º)
		Uganda	30,66(102º)	Jordan	44,17 (92º)			Venezuela	70,14 (71º)	Sweden	528,92 (24º)
		Zambia	23,94(109º)	Syria	unavailable			Panama	68,53 (73º)	Belgium	517,60 (25º)
		Gabon	16,87(119º)					Costa Rica	61,02 (79º)	Austria	447,71 (27º)
		Rwanda	10,20(142º)					Cuba	unavailable	Norway	417,62 (30º)
										Ireland	384,94 (33º)
										Denmark	347,17 (39º)
										Portugal	236,40 (49º)
										New Zealand	204,67 (53º)

Source: Adapted from International Monetary Fund (2019)

It is noted that some participants of the Permanent Members Group are also part of G7 (USA, France and United Kingdom), the most industrialized and economically developed countries in the world, with the exception of China (second largest world economy, still classified as an emerging market and developing economy by the IMF, a G20 and BRICS member) and Russia (also a part of G20 and BRICS), the latter excluded from the group in 2014, as a sanction for the military territorial dispute with Ukraine, regarding the Crimea region.

In the case of the Asia-Pacific Group, strong economies are concentrated, such as Japan (also a G7 member) and South Korea, as well as emerging markets of developing economies, such as India and Indonesia, countries that are part of the G20 economic group and the latter also of the MINT.

Regarding the Western Europe and Others Group, the presence of components of G7 (Germany, Canada and Italy), other advanced economies of the euro area and Oceania, represented by Australia (G20) and New Zealand, as well as the emerging economy of Turkey (G20 and MINT), stands out.

The Latin America and Caribbean Group is composed only of emerging markets and developing economies, among which the G20 members stand out: Brazil, Mexico (also MINT) and Argentina.

About the African Group, the members have more modest economies, still in development, with emphasis on Nigeria and South Africa, both participants in G20, and, respectively, MINT and BRICS.

Table 6 presents the descriptive statistics of the GDP of the studied groups, composed of the respective means, standard deviations and maximum and minimum values of the states.

Table 6 – 2019 Descriptive statistics of Gross Domestic Product

Groups	n	Minimum	Maximum		S
Permanent Members	5	1637,89	21439,45	8533,63	7912,2447
African	11	10,20	0.0.0.1. 446,54	0.0.0.2. 144,7964	0.0.0.3. 148,5890
0.0.0.4. Asia-Pacific	0.0.0.5. 8	0.0.0.6. 44,17	0.0.0.7. 5154,47	0.0.0.8. 1485,2213	0.0.0.9. 1649,7661
0.0.0.10. Eastern Europe	0.0.0.11. 4	0.0.0.12. 66,25	0.0.0.13. 565,85	0.0.0.14. 256,5475	0.0.0.15. 189,2840
0.0.0.16. Latinoamérica y el Caribe	0.0.0.17. 10	0.0.0.18. 61,02	0.0.0.19. 1847,02	0.0.0.20. 472,535	0.0.0.21. 572,0168
0.0.0.22. Europa Ocidental e outros	0.0.0.23. 15	0.0.0.24. 204,67	0.0.0.25. 3863,34	0.0.0.26. 1005,872	0.0.0.27. 938,2198
0.0.0.28.Total	0.0.0.29. 53				

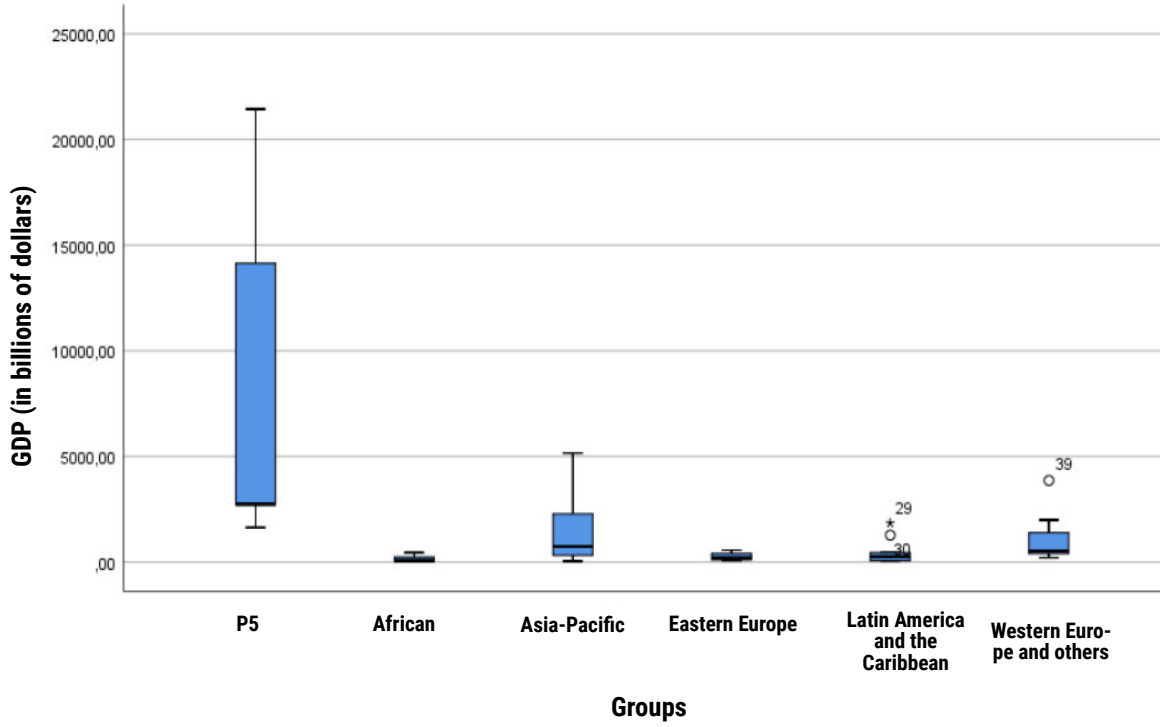
Source: The authors (2022).

Caption: = sample mean; S = standard deviation.

As stated above, the Permanent Members Group has the highest average value of GDP (8533.63 billion dollars), among which the maximum is presented by the USA (21439.45 billion dollars). Regarding this indicator, the group that comes closest to the permanent members, on average, is the Asia Pacific Group, with an average GDP of 1485,2213 billion, since it is composed by quite relevant economies, as already highlighted. Next, the Western Europe and Others Group is scored with an average of 1005.872 billion, followed by the other groups that already have average GDP less than half of the latter (Latin America and Caribbean Group - 472.535; Eastern European group - 256.5475 and African Group - 144.7964).

For better understanding, the diagram relating to the sample groups is presented:

Chart 9 – *Box plot* 2019 Gross Domestic Product



Source: The authors (2022).

Note: **Outliers*: 29-Brazil; 30-Mexico and 39-Germany.

To establish the equality or difference between the mean values of the groups, the ANOVA *One Way* statistical test was again used , resulting from 53 observations (data unavailable from Cuba and Syria) and five degrees of freedom. It was found F (5.53) = 7.694 for a p-value of 0.000. Since the p-value is lower than 0.05, the null hypothesis of equality of means for any significance level is rejected. Thus, ANOVA allows to conclude that the averages are not all the same, which means that there are significant differences in GDP values between Regional Groups and permanent members.

The Levene test was performed to verify the homogeneity of the variances, which confirmed the hypothesis. According to Table 7, the result of the Tukey test is presented, and the groups that presented mean data different from each other are perceived.

Table 7 – Prueba de Tukey para el indicador del PIB

		Difference from Means	Standard Error Lower Tail	Sig. Upper Tail	Confidence interval 95%	
P5	AG	8388,83364*	1475,32423	,000	4006,4246	12771,2427
	APG	7048,40875*	1559,37479	,001	2416,3299	11680,4876
	EEG	8277,08250*	1834,91134	,001	2826,5300	13727,6350
	LACG	8061,09500*	1498,19884	,000	3610,7376	12511,4524
	WEOG	7527,75800*	1412,51541	,000	3331,9208	11723,5952
AG	P5	-8388,83364*	1475,32423	,000	-12771,2427	-4006,4246
	APG	-1340,42489	1270,99632	,897	-5115,8837	2435,0339
	EEG	-111,75114	1597,08533	1,000	-4855,8481	4632,3458
	LACG	-327,73864	1195,14922	1,000	-3877,8957	3222,4185
	WEOG	-861,07564	1085,80923	,967	-4086,4414	2364,2901
APG	P5	-7048,40875*	1559,37479	,001	-11680,4876	-2146,3299
	AG	1340,42489	1270,99632	,897	-2435,0339	5115,8837
	EEG	1228,67375	1675,03722	,977	-3746,9771	6204,3246
	LACG	1012,68625	1297,47825	,970	-2841,4364	4866,8089
	WEOG	479,34925	1197,51820	,999	-3077,8448	4036,5433
EEG	P5	-8277,08250*	1834,91134	,001	-13727,6350	-2826,5300
	AG	111,75114	1597,08533	1,000	-4632,3458	4855,8481
	APG	-1228,67375	1675,03722	,977	-6204,3246	3746,9771
	LACG	-215,98750	1618,23970	1,000	-5022,9229	4590,9479
	WEOG	-749,32450	1539,25298	,996	-5321,6321	3822,9831
LACG	P5	-8061,09500*	1498,19884	,000	-12511,4524	-3610,7376
	AG	327,73864	1195,14922	1,000	-3222,4185	3877,8957
	APG	-1012,68625	1297,47825	,970	-4866,8089	2841,4364
	EEG	215,98750	1618,23970	1,000	-4590,9479	5022,9229
	WEOG	-533,33700	1116,69148	,997	-3580,4376	2783,7636

		Difference from Means	Standard Error Lower Tail	Sig. Upper Tail	Confidence interval 95%	
WEOG	P5	-7527,75800*	1412,51541	,000	-11723,5952	-3331,9208
	AG	861,07564	1085,80923	,967	-2364,2901	4086,4414
	APG	-479,34925	1197,51820	,999	-4036,5433	3077
	EEG	749,32450	1539,25298	,996	-3822,9831	4487,2578
	LACG	533,33700	1116,69148	,997	-2783,7636	3166,6965

Fonte: os autpres (2022).

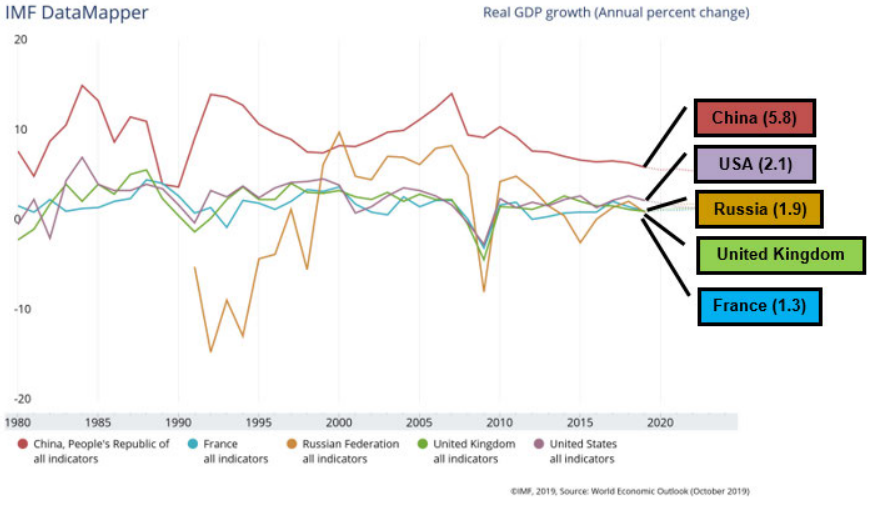
Note: *the difference of the means is significant for level of 0.05

From the analysis of this third indicator, it can be inferred that, once again, the Permanent Members group had a significantly different mean than the averages of all Regional Groups, which showed no differences between themselves. Based on the above, regarding the comparison of GDP, a similar situation is reproduced as previously postulated, with the superiority of the permanent members over the other groups, which may not give active voice to the Regional Groups in exerting pressure for possible aspirations for a Council reform. However, it should be considered the presence of thriving economies, developed and emerging markets, of states that also integrate groups such as G7, G20, BRICS and MINT, with economic potential for candidacy for the permanent seat, admitting the reform scenario.

In addition, annual GDP growth rates by sample group are reported graphically for the period between 1980 and 2019.

It begins with the Permanent Members Group, from the evaluation of Chart 10, below:

Chart 10 – Permanent Members Group annual GDP growth rate (1980-2019)

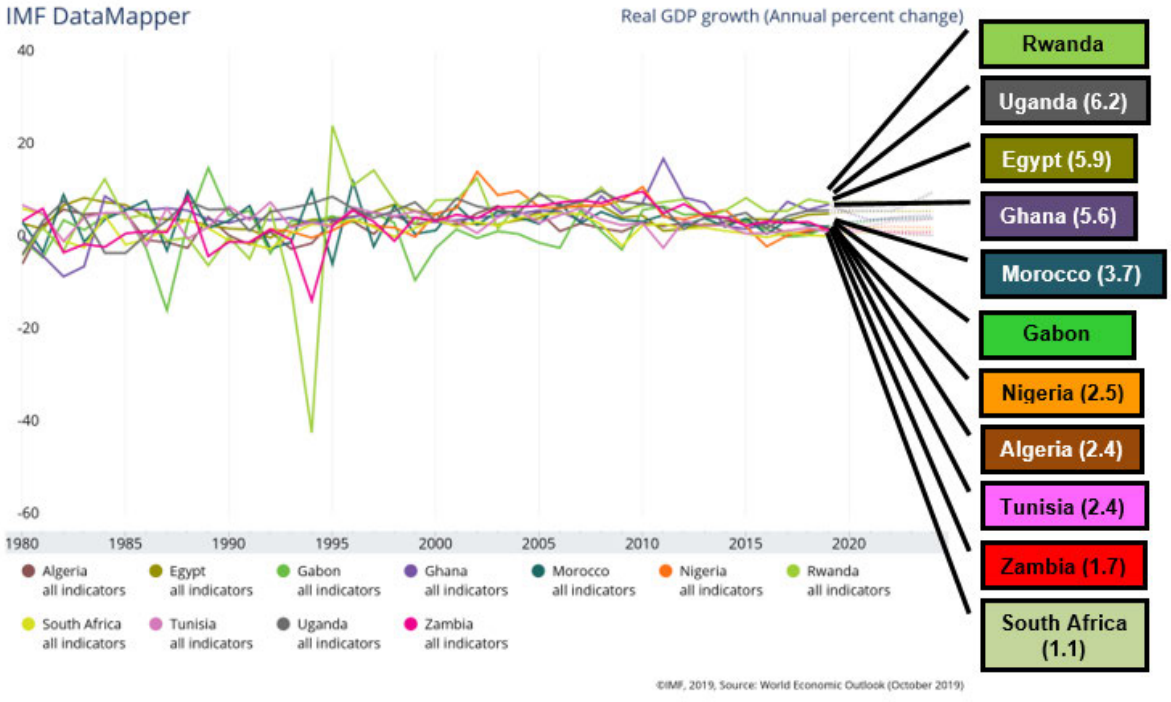


Source: Adapted from International Monetary Fund (2019).

According to the graphic reading, the Permanent Members Group shows a higher growth rate by China (5,8%), which has shown some negative oscillation in the last eight years period. The United States, France and the United Kingdom western economies were heavily impacted by the 2008 financial crisis, but they show recovery and growth stability. Unlike the others, Russia, which was in contraction, with negative growth, influenced by the devaluation of its currency and the sanctions imposed due to the crisis with Ukraine, has shown recovery since 2015.

Below is the fluctuation in GDP growth rates for the African Group:

Chart 11 – African Group annual GDP growth rate (1980-2019)

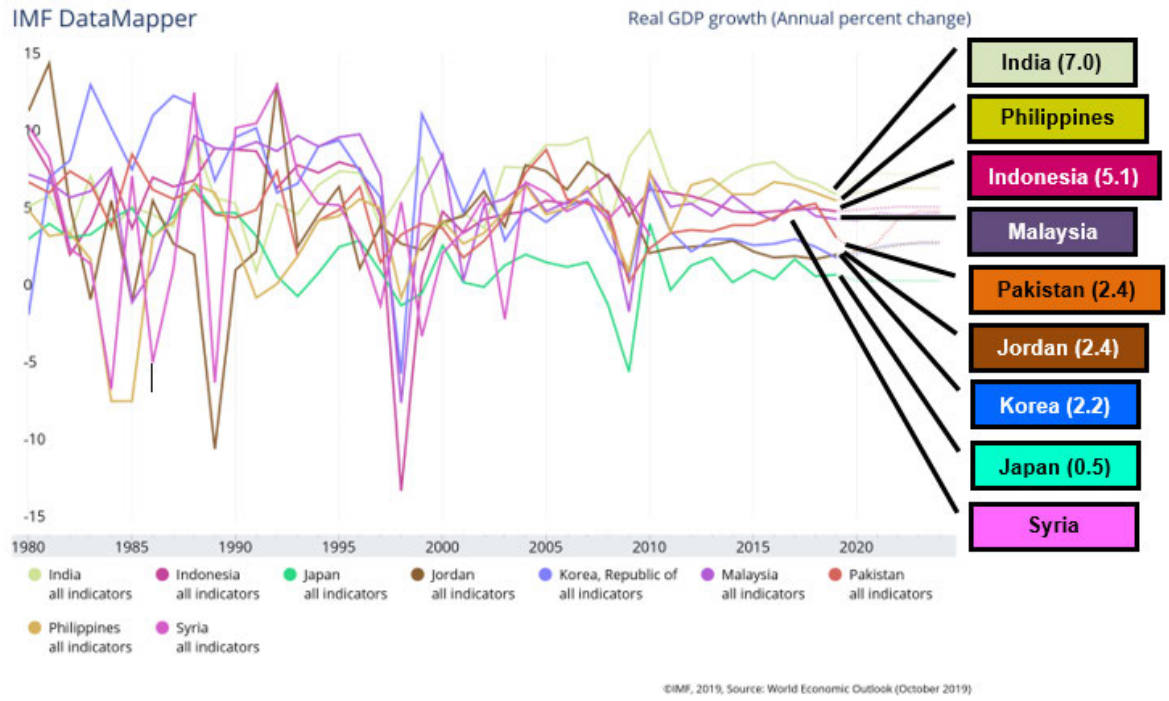


Source: Adapted from International Monetary Fund (2019).

The economies of the group, despite being the most fragile in the context of international markets, also present more room for growth. This way, currently, all exhibit positive values. The two most robust economies, Nigeria and South Africa, show lower growth rates than most other states, at 2.5% and 1.1%, respectively.

The chart below shows GDP growth for the Asia-Pacific Group.

Chart12 – Asia-Pacific Group GDP annual growth rate (1980-2019)

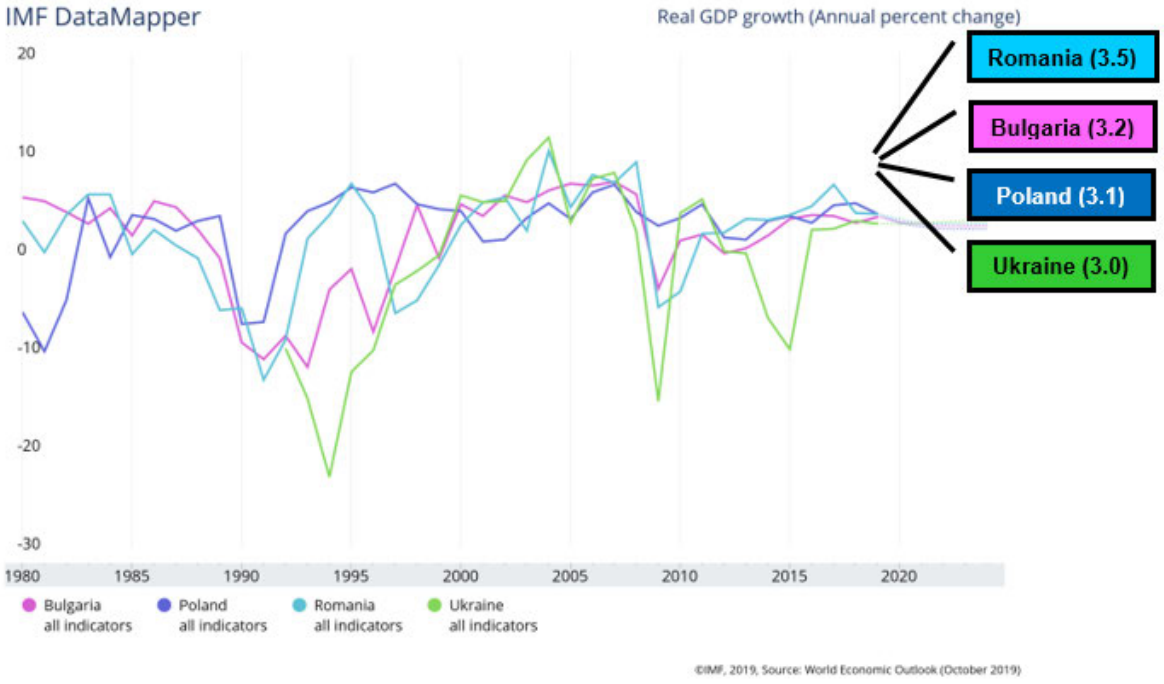


Source: Adapted from International Monetary Fund (2019).

The strength of the Indian economy is evident, with oscillations, but growth, occupying the fifth position in the world and the second in the group. Japan, which has the highest economic development of the group and the third largest GDP in the world, has shown more modest growth rates, currently in the range of 0.5%. The advanced economy of South Korea shows an intermediate growth rate for the group, in the range of 2.2%, while the emerging market of Indonesia, grows 5.1%, in 2019.

Considerations relating to the Eastern European Group are now carried out as it follows:

Chart 13 – Eastern Europe Group annual GDP growth rate (1980-2019)

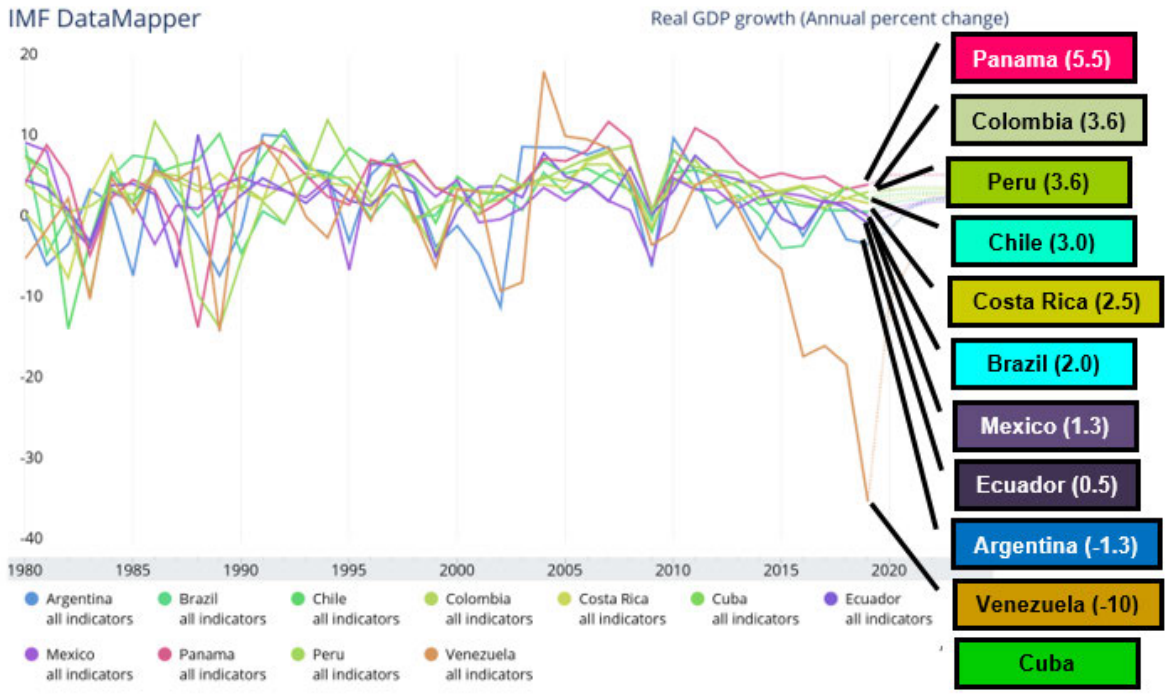


Source: Adapted from International Monetary Fund (2019).

All economies of the group have similar growth rates in the 3% range. The Ukrainian economy moves away from contraction, with negative development, especially in 2015, possibly as a reflection of the military crisis of territorial dispute with Russia, resuming growth from then on.

The characteristics of GDP growth for the Latin America and Caribbean Group are discussed below:

Chart 14 – Latin America and the Caribbean Group annual GDP growth rate (1980-2019)

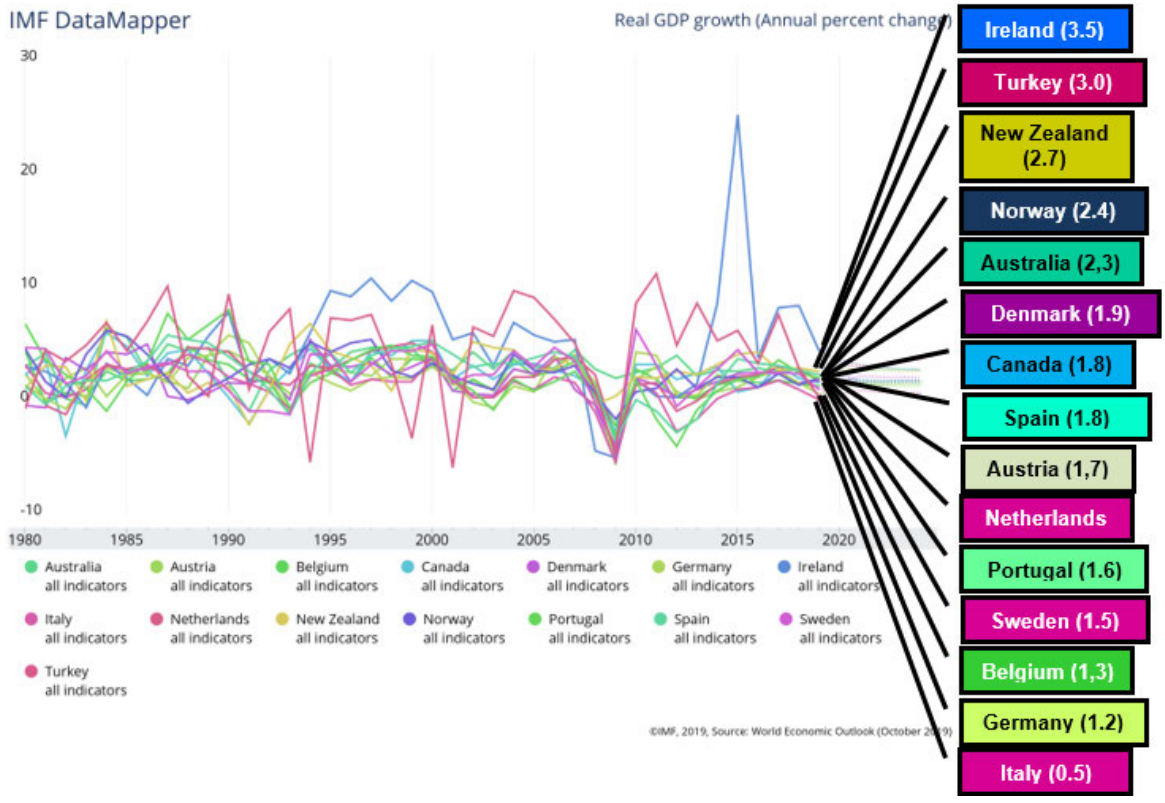


Source: Adapted from International Monetary Fund (2019).

Two of the most advanced economies in Latin America, members of G20, represented by Brazil and Argentina, present, at the moment, clear signs of retraction as a result of the crisis faced by the countries. The first suggests some signs of recovery from the negative growth of previous years, with the current growth of 2%. The second, still has its reduced economy slowing by 1.3%. Mexico, another emerging market from the continent, a participant in G20 and MINT, presents an equally moderate performance with GDP growth in the 1.3% range. Panama, Colombia, Peru and Chile have positive growth rates of more than 3%. Venezuela, which remains in economic and political crisis, appears at the bottom end of the group with negative growth of 10%.

The information for the Western Europe and others Group is shown below:

Chart 15 – Western Europe and Others Group GDP annual growth rate (1990-2015)



Source: Adapted from International Monetary Fund (2019).

As the permanent members in the past decade, this group has also been heavily impacted by the North American subprime crisis, which reinforced the public debt problem in the euro area, causing markets to shrink from 2008. However, it can be seen that all members show signs of recovery, some economies already stronger than others and, in general, with positive growth.

In that regard, from the analysis of the indicator annual GDP growth rate of *proxy* Economic Development, it can be inferred that, naturally, the aforementioned rates of each state are the accurate portrayal of performance in a period, and it is possible, from the graphic observation, to understand the evolutionary trends. It is presented, in this way, great variation and heterogeneity of behaviors. The most advanced economies, present in the Permanent Member Groups and Western Europe and others, have suffered from the effects of the crisis already described, however, they are in the process of strengthening and recovering. Countries with lower economic development, such as the developing markets of the African Group, have greater room for growth. The percentage assessment of annual economic growth, alone, does not seem to be a substantial indicator of the possibility of influence of states in the international system.

9 Conclusion

he period of transformation in global geopolitics and the apparent reordering in the post-Cold War instigate the imaginary of the possibility of a real restructuring in the governance of the international system. The new actors, whether emerging peripheral countries, non-governmental organizations, terrorist groups, internet social networks or even the individual himself, begin to exert increasingly forceful influences and pressures to change the hegemonic framework and the relationship of the exercise of world power.

Almost 75 years after the UN founding, new global challenges, reinforced by a differentiated power relationship between transnational actors, suggest the greater insertion of peripheral and emerging states, with the resulting need for a renewed and more prepared Security Council to face them. This study sought, therefore, to verify the behavior of the economic expression of National Power of the Regional Groups, with their respective members, before the referential constituted by the Permanent Members of the UNSC. The evaluation was carried out by means of criteria and indices of economic governance, within a system of established institutions and procedures used to measure the objectives in this field, that is, within a context of evaluation of economic progress.

The expectation was to identify the distances between groups and states, and, mainly, to point out the approximations that would allow inferring about the specific potential of candidacy for the permanent seat, in a possible context of reform in the UNSC, in the prospecting of the course of the planet economy as a factor of influence for a reform in the Council.

National Material Capabilities, Contribution to the United Nations regular budget and GDP were established as economic indicators in order to investigate the research objective and potentially confirm or refute the study hypothesis.

From the foregoing, it is concluded that there is a significant difference in the light of statistics in the average values of all indicators of proxy Economic Development of the variable "economic expression of National Power", between the Regional Groups and the Permanent Members, with the results of the latter, superior to the others. This information suggests the distancing of the permanent members and the apparent limitation of the exercise of power of the Regional Groups, as a possible obstacle to the possibility of influencing a Council reform.

Regarding National Material Capabilities, moreover, it can be seen, from a more particular observation, that there are states highlighted in their regional groups, such as India, Japan, Brazil, Germany and South Korea. The first two do not have indices higher than China and the USA, while the rest show higher results than France and the United Kingdom.

Regarding the Contribution to the United Nations regular budget, arguably the Permanent Members Group is superior to all others with almost half the annual membership rate. However, seeking individualized analysis, Japan and South Korea, from the Asia-Pacific Group, stand out, as, 3°and 11o largest contributors; Brazil and Mexico, at 8th and 16th positions respectively, as well as Germany, Italy, Canada, Australia, Spain, Turkey, the Netherlands and Sweden, from the Western Europe Group and others, all among the 10% of highest contribution to the UN.

Regarding the GDP of the Regional Groups, the African group, even with modest developing economies, Nigeria and South Africa markets, both participants in G20, and, respectively, of MINT and BRICS, should be mentioned; in the Asia-Pacific Group, the advanced economies of Japan (also a member of G7) and South Korea are considered, in addition to present important emerging markets of developing economies, such as India and Indonesia, countries that are part of the G20 economic, BRICS and MINT, respectively; in the Latin America and Caribbean Group the markets of emerging and developing economies of members of G20-Brazil, Mexico (also MINT) and Argentina; and, regarding the Western Europe and Others Group, the presence of components of G7 (Germany, Canada and Italy), and other advanced economies of the euro area and Oceania, represented by Australia (G20) and New Zealand, as well as the emerging economy of Turkey (G20 and MINT).

Thus, it corroborates with previously observed ideas of the growing economic interdependence between developed and emerging markets and, not as a constituted Regional Group, but in an individualized way, these countries can justify undertaking management, exercising power in the perspective of influencing a reform of the UNSC and consequent candidacy for the permanent seat.

Finally, it is expected that this research may contribute to Comparative Policy Studies, especially on the adoption of quantitative methods. It is expected that further work can continue the outline presented, in order to produce substantial and in-depth debates on the subject of UNSC reform.

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