

Political Survival and Sovereignty in International Relations

Why do political actors willingly give up sovereignty to another state, or choose to resist, sometimes to the point of violence? Jesse Dillon Savage demonstrates the role that domestic politics plays in the formation of international hierarchies, and shows that when there are high levels of rent-seeking and political competition within the subordinate state, elites within this state become more prepared to accept hierarchy. In such an environment, members of society at large are also more likely to support the surrender of sovereignty. Empirically rich, the book adopts a comparative historical approach with an emphasis on Russian attempts to establish hierarchy in post-Soviet space, particularly in Georgia and Ukraine. This emphasis on post-Soviet hierarchy is complemented by a cross-national statistical study of hierarchy in the post-World War II era, and three historical case studies examining European informal empire in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Jesse Dillon Savage is Assistant Professor of Global Politics in the Department of Political Science at Trinity College Dublin.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-49450-2 — Political Survival and Sovereignty in International Relations
Jesse Dillon Savage
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-49450-2 — Political Survival and Sovereignty in International Relations
Jesse Dillon Savage
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Political Survival and Sovereignty in International Relations

Jesse Dillon Savage
Trinity College, Dublin



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-49450-2 — Political Survival and Sovereignty in International Relations
Jesse Dillon Savage
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India
79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108494502

DOI: 10.1017/9781108658461

© Jesse Dillon Savage 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Savage, Jesse Dillon, author.

Title: Political survival and sovereignty in international relations / Jesse Dillon Savage.

Description: Cambridge ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2020. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019042232 (print) | LCCN 2019042233 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108494502 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108658461 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: International relations. | Sovereignty. | Great powers.

Classification: LCC JZ1310 .S28 2020 (print) | LCC JZ1310 (ebook) | DDC 327.1–dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2019042232>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2019042233>

ISBN 978-1-108-49450-2 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-49450-2 — Political Survival and Sovereignty in International Relations
Jesse Dillon Savage
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

For Elaine Corbett

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-49450-2 — Political Survival and Sovereignty in International Relations
Jesse Dillon Savage
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	page viii
<i>List of Tables</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
Introduction: Hierarchy and International Politics	1
1 Political Survival and the Surrender of Sovereignty	21
2 Submission, Resistance, and War: National Politics and Russian Hierarchy in Georgia and Ukraine since Independence	49
3 Subnational Politics and Sovereignty in Post-Soviet Georgia	97
4 Mass Politics and the Surrender of Sovereignty	125
5 European Informal Empire in China, the Ottoman Empire, and Egypt: Hierarchy and Informal Empire in Historical Context	150
6 Cross-National Variation in Sovereignty and Hierarchy	181
7 Hierarchy, Political Order, and Great Power Politics	217
<i>Appendix A</i>	227
<i>Appendix B</i>	237
<i>Bibliography</i>	243
<i>Index</i>	266

Figures

1.1 Causal process and predicted outcomes with perfect information	<i>page 39</i>
4.1 Change in predicted probabilities on Russian influence as (a) belief in the rule of law and (b) accountability vary from strongly disagree to strongly agree	132
4.2 Change in predicted probabilities for relationship with Russia as Attitudes to Corruption changes from few involved to everyone involved	135
4.3 Changes in predicted probabilities for (a) Trust Local, (b) Trust Executive, (c) Trust Neither, and (d) Trust Both as Rule of Law changes from strongly disagree to strongly agree	141
4.4 Changes in predicted probabilities for (a) Trust Parliament, (b) Trust President, (c) Trust Neither, and (d) Trust Both as Attitudes to Corruption changes from few involved to everyone involved	143
6.1 Marginal effect of competition when modified by corruption	191
6.2 Marginal effect of corruption when modified by competition	192
6.3 Mean level of hierarchy and standard errors conditional on regime type	200
6.4 Mean level of hierarchy across time conditional on regime type	200
6.5 Relationship between hierarchy and independent variables	202
6.6 Marginal effects of competition (CGV) on (a) external control over international autonomy and (b) domestic autonomy as corruption varies	210
6.7 Marginal effects of competition (Polcomp) on (a) external control over international autonomy and (b) domestic autonomy as corruption varies	210
6.8 Marginal effects of corruption modified by competition (CGV) on (a) external control over international autonomy and (b) domestic autonomy as competition varies	211

List of Figures	ix
6.9 Marginal effects of corruption modified by competition (Polcomp) on (a) external control over international autonomy and (b) domestic autonomy as competition varies	212
6.10 Level of hierarchy over Dominican Republic using V-Dem's measure of autonomy	213

Tables

1.1 Preference ranking of the dominant unit conditional on costs of formal expansion	<i>page 28</i>
1.2 Preference ranking of subordinate groups conditional on domestic institutions	38
3.1 Comparison of Adjara, Abkhazia, Javakheti, and Kvemo Kartli, 1991–2012	101
4.1 Predicted effects as perceptions of rule of law change for Georgia	139
4.2 Predicted effects as perceptions of corruption change for Ukraine	142
6.1 Relationship results for Models 1–4	193
6.2 Predicted relationship between regime type and hierarchy	199

Acknowledgments

The project began in 2007, and since then, the meandering path that it took to completion and the wide range of empirical evidence and subjects mean that I have racked up many debts along the way.

From the very beginning of the project, Hendrik Spruyt has shown extraordinary generosity in giving both his time and his advice. His willingness to read multiple drafts at both the project's genesis and its completion was far beyond what I could have expected. His comments and help over the years have been crucial to the development of this book and, more importantly, to my development as a political scientist and scholar. I am also very grateful to James Mahoney, who was essential in the development of this project. After every meeting with him, I walked away assured that the project was possible to complete and with numerous ways to improve the work. Jon Caverley's forthright willingness to express when the work was not up to the appropriate standard was always followed by constructive comments and advice about how to improve things. He gave more time than he should have going over my work chapter by chapter on several occasions. His advice and criticism always kept me honest and forced me to clarify my thinking and arguments; for this, I am very grateful.

Jason Seawright has always been very generous with his time, providing advice about methodological and theoretical issues. He has played a large role in my development as a scholar, helping me refine my views about political and social science more generally. Anne Sartori also provided me consistently excellent feedback and sharpened my thinking. Risa Brooks and Ian Hurd read early versions of this project and were instrumental in getting it off the ground. Georgi Derluguian brought a unique perspective to the project. I learned a lot from sitting in his office and discussing post-Soviet politics. Intellectually, his ability to draw connections from macro- to very micro-processes was a pivotal inspiration. He also helped me greatly with my fieldwork, providing contacts and advice about doing research in the region. Will Reno provided great guidance during the early years of this project. Stephen Nelson also provided helpful advice. I

xii Acknowledgments

amassed many debts to my fellow Northwestern University graduate students at the time: Andrew Kelly, Larkin Terrie, Marissa Brookes, Chris Day, Jen Cyr, Ross Carroll, Rick Hay, Marina Zaloznaya, Mauro Gili, Olivier Henripin, and Natalia Forrat. More generally, those involved with interdisciplinary groups like the Comparative Historical Social Science group, the Formal and Quantitative International Relations group, and the Quantitative methods group provided a welcoming forum for parts of this work.

I owe a huge debt to the Harriman Institute at Columbia University. I was very fortunate to spend nine months there as a postdoctoral fellow. The time and the stimulating intellectual life there provided me with an enviable opportunity to improve the manuscript and sharpen my ideas. I'm very grateful to Kimberly Marten, Alex Cooley, Lincoln Mitchell, Fredrik Sjoberg, and Timothy Frye, among many others who provided support, advice, and feedback during my time at Columbia.

While putting the finishing touches on the book, I have been very lucky to have supportive colleagues in the Department of Political Science at Trinity College Dublin. I have benefited greatly from the support, feedback, and advice of Constantine Bousallis and Will Phelan. Thomas Chadefaux was especially helpful with his feedback.

I also need to thank several people who helped with my fieldwork or on other occasions. In Georgia, I thank Kornely Kakachia, Kety Rostiashvili, Anna Dolidze, and Geta; in Ukraine, I thank Pavlo Kutuev and Serhiy Kudelia. Greg Walters also provided me with contacts in both countries and general advice and conversation about the region. All these people helped me navigate my way through my times in these countries. This fieldwork was partly funded by the Buffet Centre for International and Comparative Studies and the Dispute Resolution Research Centre at Northwestern University and through a Joan Rydon Scholarship from the University of Sydney. In addition, I have at various stages received feedback or advice on the project from Charles Butcher, Victoria Tin-Bor Hui, Dan Nexon, and Andrew Walter, among others.

I am very grateful for the help and advice of the people at Cambridge University Press. John Haslam and Tobias Ginsberg have been a pleasure to work with. In addition, the anonymous reviewers provided invaluable feedback that has strengthened the arguments, the empirics, and the readability of the book. I am very grateful for their careful reading and insightful comments.

While I have been extremely fortunate to have found so many people prepared to help me during the research and writing of this book, my family have been central to this and provided amazing support and encouragement. However, the most crucial person to thank is Elaine

Acknowledgments

xiii

Corbett. She provided me with much love, support, and advice during the years that I worked on this project. The book would be a much poorer product without her reading of drafts and advice on improving the manuscript. Her suggestions have greatly improved the clarity of the arguments and the presentation of the results, while her love, encouragement, and support were essential to keeping me going. I've been incredibly fortunate to have her with me along the way.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-49450-2 — Political Survival and Sovereignty in International Relations
Jesse Dillon Savage
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)
