

# Index

---

- Age of Revolutions 2, 3  
anachronism, overcoming 5–7
- barbarian(s)  
  by design 212–13  
  new 214  
  states 17
- bellicist theory 9–10, 85–6, 204, 222–3  
  application of 94–5  
  critical junctures theory 88–9  
  de-centering 89  
    conditional relationships 92–3, 96  
    timing 92–3  
  tranhistorical validity 89–92  
  fiscal contract theory 87–8  
  incremental change theory 88–9  
  influence of 85  
  natural selection/adaptation theory 88  
  protection racket theory 86, 87–8  
  state formation in 60, 61–2, 86–9  
  war made the state, and states made war 17  
  war/rivalries theory 88  
  *see also* state formation
- Bosnia-Herzegovina 131, 135  
  Bosniak-Croat Federation 141, 146  
  constitution 137  
  declaration of independence 136  
  ethno-nationalist imaginaries  
    damaging 136
- Herceg-Bosna 132, 135, 143  
  Bosnian-Croat 143, 146  
  constitution 146  
  continuous constitution of 147–8  
  Croat National Congress 147  
  imaginaries constituting 143–4  
  peace making 145–6  
  performing 144, 147  
  state making 146–7  
  war making 144–5
- inter-entity boundary line 140–41  
  materializing 142
- Republika Srpska 132, 141  
  Bosnian-Serb 139, 140  
  continuous constitution of 142–3  
  Dan Republike 142  
  declaration of independence 136, 139, 141, 142  
  East Sarajevo 142  
  ethno-territorial idea of 141  
  imaginaries constituting 137–9  
  peace making 140–41  
  performing 139, 141–2  
  state making 141–2  
  war making 139–40
- Bosnian space 131–2  
  Bosnia-Herzegovina *see* Bosnia-Herzegovina  
  Croatia 135  
  Herceg-Bosna *see* Bosnia-Herzegovina  
  imaginary in *see* imaginary; imagined state  
  irredentism in 132  
  Kosovo 135  
  Macedonia 135  
  Montenegro 135  
  post-war 131, 137  
  Republika Srpska *see* Bosnia-Herzegovina  
  Republika Srpska Krajina 135, 137  
  Serbia 135  
  Slovenia 135  
  war in 136, 139–40, 144–5  
    Dayton Peace Accords 136–7  
    ethnic cleansing 139, 140, 145  
  *see also* Yugoslavia
- British Empire 47  
  annexation in 49  
  Ionian Islands 164  
  India *see* India

- China 20  
 bellicist theory, and 90  
 conquest of 28  
 IO membership 179, 182, 183, 193  
 maximizing autonomy 190  
 nomadic states and 24, 25, 30–31  
 tributary system in 31
- co-constitution 5–6, 132
- colonialism 3, 20–21, 208–9, 213–14  
 British 50, 54–5  
 horizontal legitimacy, and 63  
 hybrid 48  
 internal 21, 213  
 post- 38, 42–6, 66, 209–10, 223  
 present-day state capacity  
 relationship 47–8, 65–6, 77
- comparative politics 1, 46–7  
 approach to state 5, 7, 60, 218, 219, 221, 222  
 /international relations divide 6, 12  
 bridging 128, 224–5
- competition 7  
 international 10, 62, 64, 112–13, 204  
 driving force, as 9, 119, 121–2, 222  
 interaction capacity and 118–19, 128–9, 223  
 militarized 97  
 political 66  
 shifting boundary between ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ 122  
*see also* interaction capacity
- configuration 167–9  
 reconfiguration 169  
 relationism, in 159
- Congress of Panama (1856) 188  
 Congress of Vienna (1815) 179
- constructivism 132, 221–2, 225, 226  
 conceptualization of state 7
- cross-national heterogeneity 96, 104–6  
 data 97  
 long-term effects 104  
 models 96–7, 105  
 results 98  
 short-term effects 98, 104  
 tax ratios 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103
- developing states 9  
 current 59  
 UN, in 189, 193  
*see also* state formation
- East India Company 47, 126, 127–8
- Egypt, semi-sovereignty of 155–6, 157, 161, 165
- empire 213–14  
 age of, long nineteenth century as 176  
 British 47  
 Ottoman 179  
 Oyo 122–5  
 shadow empire thesis 24–5
- ethnic cleansing 10, 137, 139–40, 145
- Eurasia 8, 17  
 historical perspective 20–21  
 international political economy of 17, 32, 33, 34  
 nomads of *see* nomad societies  
 Silk Road 33–4  
 steppe state making *see* steppe state making
- Eurocentrism 17, 19, 112, 218–19, 200  
 contesting 209, 212  
 denying 20  
 overcoming 5–7
- Europe 3, 6, 21  
 deforming of state in 20  
 demi-sovereign states *see* semi-sovereignty  
 primary institutions in 32  
 state making in 8, 18, 31, 44, 112, 218  
 bellicist theory *see* bellicist theory  
 benchmark as 20  
*see also* state formation
- federalism  
 coming-together 44, 45  
 holding together 44
- Indian  
 conditions of 42–6  
 delimiting subunits 54–5  
 imposition of 42, 43, 50–51  
 origins of 39–40, 56  
 reorganization of states 41, 55  
 transition to 40–41
- fiscal capacity 1, 64, 227
- fiscal extraction *see* taxation

- Hague Conferences (1888–1907) 188
- hierarchy 158–9
- aristocratic 29
  - authority, as 159, 167
  - ranks, as 159, 167, 168
  - semi-sovereignty, in 159, 168
  - social 23
  - sovereign bargain, as 112, 115, 117
  - symbolic 124
  - theory 167
- historical sociology 1, 85, 86, 89–90, 158, 201–2
- approach to state 203, 205–6
  - Eurocentrism of 3, 19
  - state formation in 203–4, 212
- imaginary 10, 136
- social 132–4
- imagined state 132, 134, 148–9
- Herceg-Bosna 143–8
  - recognition of 135
  - Republika Srpska 137–43
- India 8–9, 38–9, 56–7
- 1857 Mutiny 39
  - colonial 45
    - direct rule 46, 47, 48
    - indirect rule 46, 48, 49–50  - Congress 38, 50, 53
  - Constituent Assembly 39, 51–4
    - boycott of 52
    - debates (1946, 1950) 42, 52
    - tensions in 53  - Constitution 51
    - Draft 53–4  - cultural commonalities 41
  - Dar Committee 40
  - decolonization 38, 47
  - democratic overperformer, as 38
  - federalism
    - conditions of 42–6
    - delimiting subunits 54–5
    - imposition of 42, 43, 50–51
    - origins of 39–40, 56
    - reorganization of states 41, 55
    - transition to 40–41  - independence 38–9, 40, 43, 50, 52
  - JVP Committee 40
  - Muslim League 39, 43, 50
  - partition 41, 42–3
  - princely states 39, 45–6, 49
  - abolition of 55
  - Chamber of Princes 54, 56
  - distinctiveness of
  - highly individual rule of 55
  - integration into Indian Union 43, 51, 53, 55
  - internal sovereignty 50
  - isolation of 54
  - semi-sovereignty 156
  - sovereign rights of 54
  - Standing Committee 51
  - status of subjects 51
- provinces 39
- Round Table Conferences on constitutional reform 50
- Round Table Conference Consultative Committee (1932) 50
- state-building political core of 43–4
  - States Reorganisation Committee 52
  - report (1955) 54
  - territorial anxiety 40
- indirect rule 39, 46, 47–8, 49–50, 56
- /direct rule transition 119, 122
- Industrial Revolution 185, 189
- interaction capacity 122
- international competition, and
- 118–19, 128–9
  - high-density environments, in 121–2
  - low-density environments, in 119–21
- Mysore 125–8
- nomad societies, of 32
- Oyo empire 122–5
- see also* sovereign bargains
- international organizations 175–6, 178, 192–3
- Central American Union 180
- Central Office for International Railway Transport 180
- colonies, and 177, 188
- Convention for the Protection of Submarine Cables 181
- crucial to provision of modern services 190
- development aid 191
- European-based 179–80
- governance 186

- implementation of regulations 184, 185
- International Arbitration Tribunal 180
- International Committee of the Red Cross 181
- International Exchange Service 181
- International Institute of Administrative Services 190–91
- International Labour Organization 175
- International Penitentiary Commission 190
- International Telegraph Union 178, 181–2, 191
  - colonies, and 188
  - non-European state entry 183
- International Union for Publication of Customs Tariffs 181
- International Union for the Protection of Commerce in Time of War 181
- language of international diplomacy, using 184, 186–7
- League of Nations 177
- legitimacy 184
- membership 167, 180–81
  - Argentina 179
  - Britain 179
  - domestic state making, facilitating 189–92
  - France 178–9
  - Germany 179
  - Italy 179
  - Japan 179, 187
  - Latin American states 187–8, 189
  - Ottoman Empire 179
  - Peru 179
  - policies 180, 185
  - providing international recognition 182, 184, 188–9
  - rights and obligations 184, 185, 187
  - Turkey 182
  - United States 178, 179
- non-European nations, and 176–7, 178, 179, 187–8, 189
- Correlates of War 2 International Governmental Organizations Data Version 2 177
  - equal treatment 187
  - factors affecting 181–2
  - recognition as sovereign states 184
- Pan-American Union 180, 188
- protection of state sovereignty 185–7
- purposes 190–91
  - at-the-borer governance 184, 185, 191
  - extending national governmental powers 191–2
- Rhine River Commission 179–80
- United Nations 175, 189
  - membership as proxy for statehood 184
- Universal Postal Union 178, 181, 182
  - colonies, and 188
  - non-European state entry 183
- World Bank 175
- voting rules 184, 185
- see also* recognition
- international relations
  - /comparative politics divide 6, 12
  - bridging 224–5
- international system 11, 21, 77, 118
  - anarchic 19
  - bellicist theory and 88
  - changes in nature of 62
  - comparative approach 10
  - East Asian 22
  - full 31
  - modern 208, 227
  - nomadic societies *see* nomadic societies
  - preceding states 31
  - sovereignty as defining characteristic of 220
- linguistic and ethnic multiplicity, dealing with 28, 52, 62–3
  - accommodation of diversity 44, 46, 55
  - capstone governance 28, 35
  - creation of continuity 27, 28
  - elimination of diversity 28
- living ancestors 19–20
- long nineteenth century *see* nineteenth century
- materialism 7, 132, 207
  - /ideational understanding of state,

- tension between 12, 132, 225, 226, 228
- modernity 200
  - IO membership signalling
    - commitment to 11, 190
  - territoriality emerging with 206
- modern state
  - characteristics of 2, 205
  - different, as 62
  - emergence of 1
  - origins of 1
  - /traditional state differentiation 205
- nineteenth century
  - age of empire, as 176
  - international organizations during
    - see* international organizations
  - long 155
    - semi-sovereignty during 156–7
- nomad societies
  - historical perspective 20–21
  - interaction capacity of 32
  - low population density 32
  - physical mobility 32
  - primary institutions in 31–2
  - raiding 24, 25
  - social stratification among 24
  - sociocultural mobility 32
  - state making *see* steppe state making
- Pakistan 43, 44
- peace making 134–5
  - Herceg-Bosna, in 145–6
  - Republika Srpska, in 140–41
- Peace of Westphalia (1648) 1, 3, 176
- performance 134
  - Herceg-Bosna, of 144, 147
  - performativity 134
  - Republika Srpska, of 139, 141–2
- political development 47, 86, 91–2, 93
- political institutions 45
  - fiscal contract, and 87
- political ontology 21, 158, 200–202, 205, 212
- polity 113, 221
  - formation 45, 157
  - index, change in capacity and 73, 76
  - Polity dataset 68, 71–2
  - sovereignty having 113, 162
  - subordinate 10, 11, 112, 113, 162, 170
  - territorial entity, as 113
  - types 156, 161
- primary institutions 26, 33
  - European 32
  - nomad societies, in 31–2, 34
- recognition
  - defining 184
  - dilemma of 211
  - IO membership providing 182, 184
- relationism 158–9, 221
  - configuration in 159
- rentier states 65
- rivalry
  - bellicist theory, in 60, 88
  - eliminating domestic 87, 88
  - New rivalry dataset 72
  - state capacity-building, and 67, 77, 79, 224
  - state security, and 67
  - taxation, and 9–10, 62, 85, 87, 89, 94–5, 101, 103
- semi-sovereignty 10–11, 39, 155, 157–8
  - characteristics of 158, 159
  - contested concept, as 161, 162–3
  - hierarchy in 168
  - historically specific idea, as 160–61
  - law as constitutive of 159–63
  - long nineteenth century, during 156–7, 158, 170
    - cultural differentiation 166–7, 168, 169
    - external sovereignty limitations 162
    - internal sovereignty limitations 162
    - legal standing 159, 160, 161
    - management 164–5
    - rights in 162, 163–4
    - suzerainty 165–6, 168, 169
- protectorates, of 155–6, 168–9
  - Belgium 156, 164, 168, 170
  - Duchy of Courland 156, 160, 165, 170
  - Egypt 155–6, 157, 161, 165
  - German Confederation post-1815 156, 161

- Ionian Islands 156, 167, 168–9
  - Indian princely states 156, 170
- social evolution 19
  - state not apex of 20
- sovereign bargains 10, 112–13, 116, 128–9, 223
  - absorption 115, 116
  - extraction 114, 118
  - factors influencing 113
  - full sovereignty 115, 116
  - heteronomy 115, 116–17
  - hierarchy 115, 117
  - independence 112, 117
  - model 113–18
  - payoffs 116–17, 118
  - shell states 115
  - suzerainty 115, 116
  - transfers 114
  - tributary 115, 116
  - see also* interaction capacity
- sovereignty 115, 116, 208, 220–21
  - articulation of distinction between
    - core and periphery, as 210
  - complicating concept of 213
  - domestic 113, 162, 221
  - external 113–14, 221
    - /internal distinction 162
  - interdependence 185–6
  - international organizations
    - strengthening 185–7
  - preconditions for 2
  - semi- *see* semi-sovereignty
  - standard of civilization 166, 190, 209–11, 214
- state
  - building *see* state formation
  - changing meaning of concept 2–3
  - characteristics of 2
  - de-centering 11–12, 199–200, 225–9
    - spatially 207–11
    - temporally 202–7
  - defining 18, 114, 202–3, 206, 209, 219–20
  - developing *see* developing states
  - emergence 1
  - evasion 212–13
  - formation *see* state formation
  - international society of states 208–9
  - modern *see* modern state
  - not apex of social evolution 20
  - re-centering 201–2
    - spatially 207–11
    - temporally 202–7
  - reification of 199
  - socially constructed space, as
  - sovereignty *see* sovereignty
  - territorial boundedness 2, 206
  - theories of 3, 224
  - traditional 205
- state capacity building 65–6, 68–9, 78–9
  - access to water supporting 66, 76
  - administrative capacity 68
  - changes in 73, 74
    - isolated conflicts not affecting 67
  - coercive capacity 68
  - democracy supporting 66–7, 190
  - empirical analysis 72–8
    - multivariate 72, 74
  - evolution of 61, 69, 70
  - extractive capacity 68
  - high population density 66, 76
  - incentives for 60
  - international assistance, and 77–8
  - large land area, hindering 66, 78
  - methodology 68–72
    - Markov Chain Monte Carlo
      - estimation 68–9
    - State Capacity Dataset 68
    - descriptive statistics 70, 71
    - limitations 69
    - New rivalry dataset 72
    - Polity dataset 71–2
  - political rivalries supporting 67, 77
  - post-colonial status and 66
  - rentier states 67
  - road density 66, 76
  - rough terrain hindering 66
  - social diversity hindering 66
- state formation 4, 59, 60–61
  - bellicist theory of 60, 61–2
  - causal factors
    - creation of political community 62–3
    - provision of security 61–2
    - revenue imperative 64–5
  - conceptualizing 219–22
  - de-centering 1–2, 61, 200–201, 211–15

- spatially 219
- temporally 218–19
- endogenous/exogenous explanation
  - gap 5, 6
- horizontal legitimacy 62–3
- integrated 60–61
- IOs facilitating 189–92
- modern, as different 62
- multifaceted nature of 60
- preconditions of 3
- steppe *see* steppe state making
- theories of 3, 218, 222–3, 227
  - challenges to 227–8
- vertical legitimacy 63
  - see also* bellicist theory
- steppe state making 17–18, 223
  - constructing internal order 27–8
  - Di Cosmo model of
    - centralization 29–30
    - crisis 29
    - militarization 29
    - revenue extraction 30
  - periodization of 26
  - shadow empire thesis 24–5
  - sovereignty and territoriality not
    - part of process 30–31, 32
  - steppe v sown 23–4
  - theories of 22–3
- trade in 8, 17, 22, 25–6, 30, 223
  - translatio imperii* 26
  - see also* Eurasia; nomad societies
- taxation
  - effects of military pressures on
    - 86
  - evolution of tax ratio and war
    - 99–100
    - Japan, in 101
  - rivalry, and 9–10, 62, 85, 87, 89, 94–5, 101, 103
- trade
  - engine of wealth, as 64
  - inverted tributary relation, as 25
  - primary institution, as 32, 33
  - Silk Road 33–4
  - steppe state making, in *see* steppe state making
- war 9
  - coefficients for 102, 103
  - historically 134
  - intra-state 134
- Yugoslavia 131
  - break-up of 135–6
  - Yugoslav People's Army 136

