

# The Political Economy of Territorial Ambitions

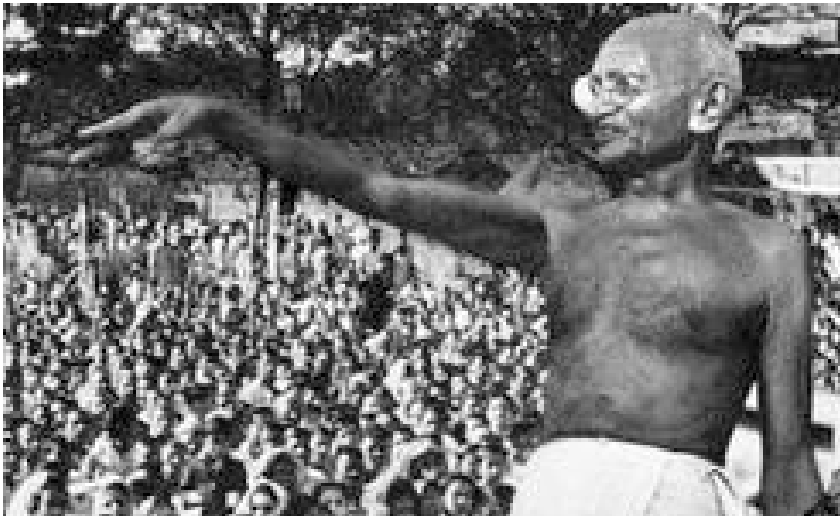
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# Great transformations

End of empire



Democratic peace



# Core claim

Why did states' territorial preferences change in the 20<sup>th</sup> century?

*Claim:* Preferences shaped by combination of

- Energy modernization
- Regime type

# Two Intellectual Moves

- Democratic Peace is fundamentally intertwined with economic factors
  - Not just economic
  - But ‘democratic triad’ is inaccurate
- Key role of economics is within states, not interdependence

# Energy modernization

- Energy modernization = stage of development when engines powered by fossil fuels or electricity become dominant.
  - Distinct from 19<sup>th</sup>C industrialization
- Multiple effects, but key is shift in domestic political coalitions

# Dates of energy modernity

Country	Energy Modernization
United Kingdom	1952
Netherlands	1960
Belgium	1955
France	1955
Portugal	1977
West Germany	1958
East Germany	1957
Austria	1960
Italy	1963
Japan	1968
China	--
Russia	1967
USA	1918

-- indicates transition had not occurred by 2008

# Theory

- Energy modernity empowers sectors that do not favor foreign occupation (generally)
  - Primary sector shrinks, in relative terms
  - Finance sector grows, and changes its interests
- Regime type affects probability that narrow interests favoring war can seize power

# Monadic Predictions

*DV: Preference for Foreign Territory*

<i>Regime Type</i>	Democracy/ Coalition Rule	Strong	Weak
	Personalist / Narrow	Strong	Varies, but weaker on average
		Low	High

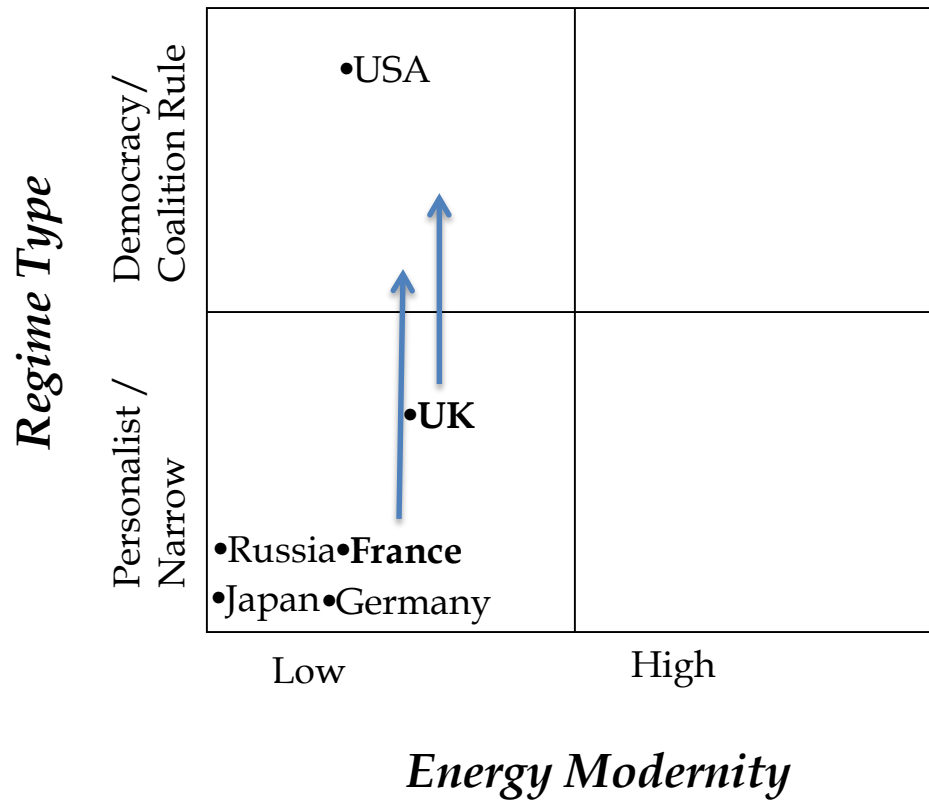
*Energy Modernity*



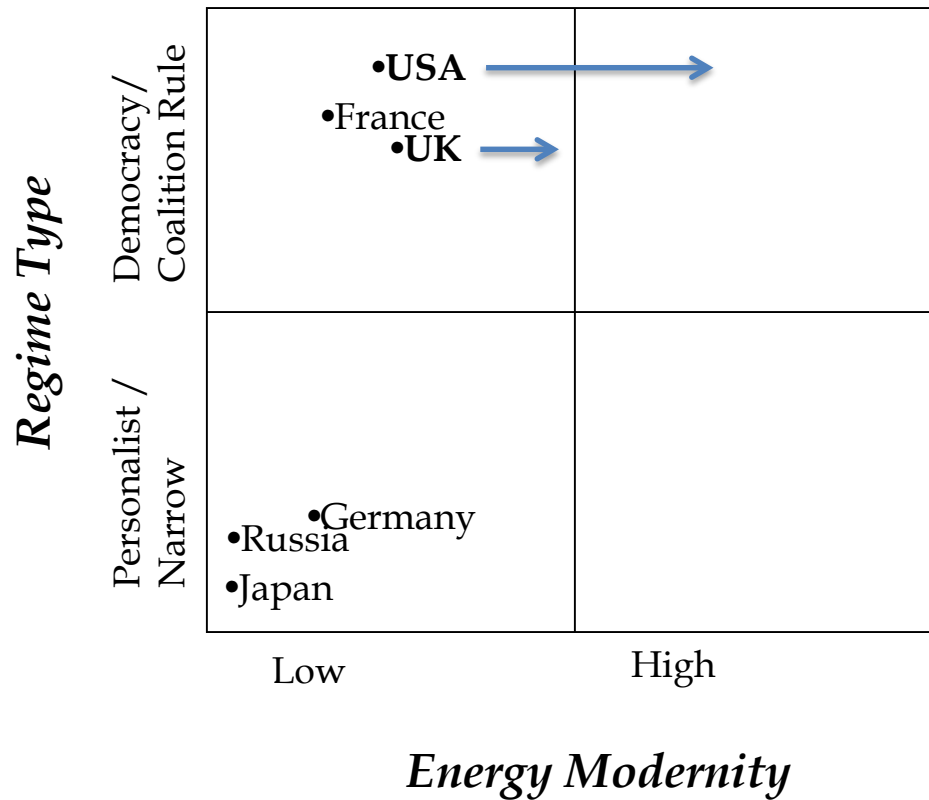
# Research design

- Qualitative perspective on four time periods
  - DV = preferences; not directly observable
  - Correspondence testing on the IVs and DV for each of 6 states in each period
  - But *also* check the causal mechanisms by process tracing
- Quantitative approach: dyadic regression analysis of conflict
  - Existing analysis of MIDs supports theory
  - Analysis awaits better measure of “territorial conflict”

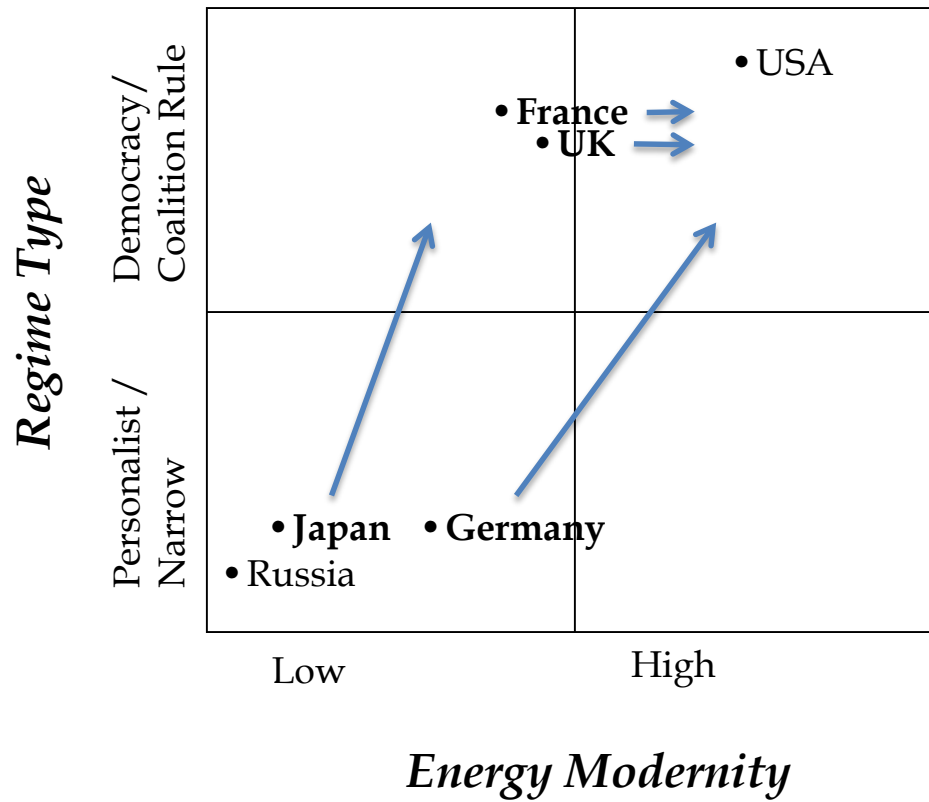
# 1850-1900



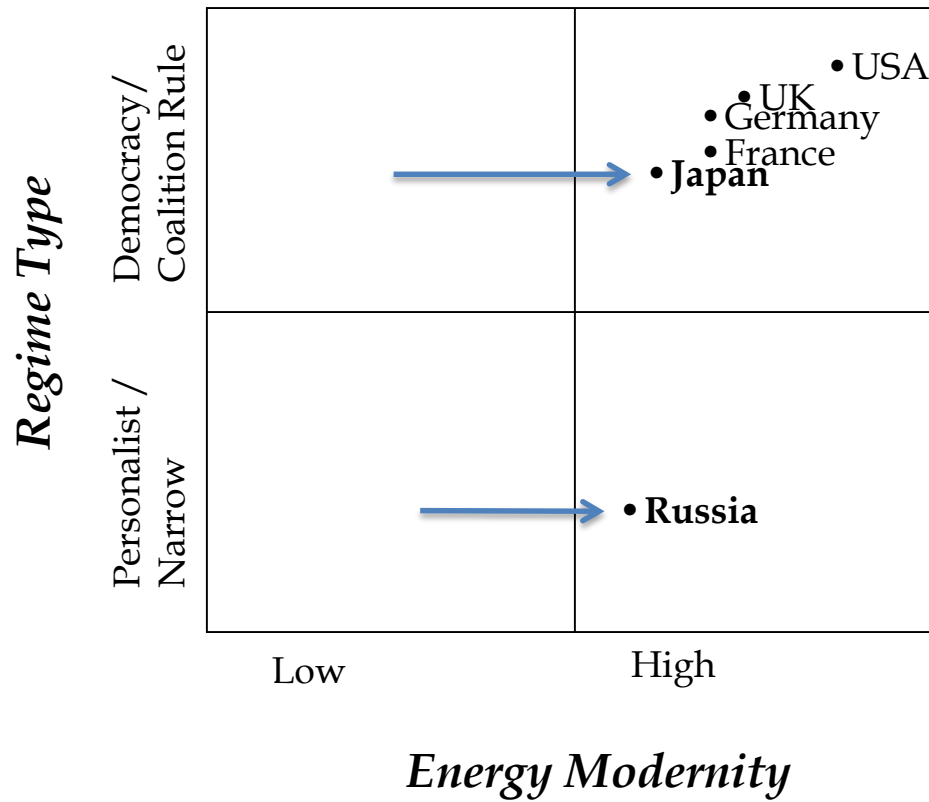
# 1900-1930



# 1930-1960



# 1960-2000

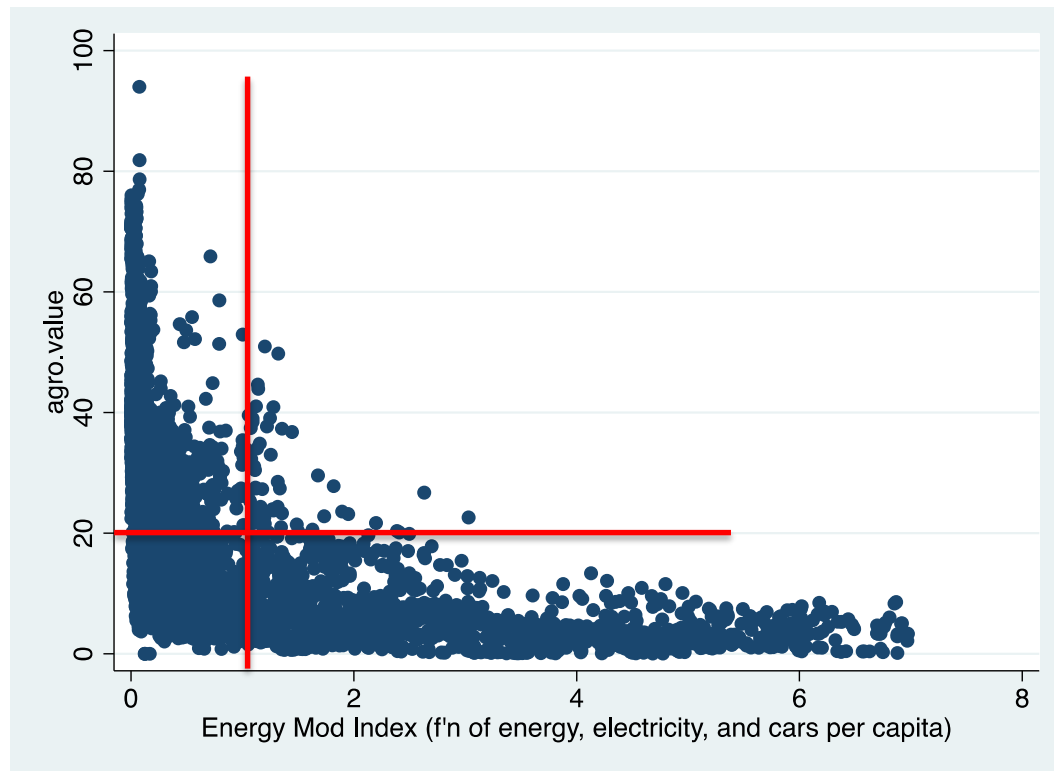


# Conclusion

- Energy modernization lowers preferences for territory and imperialism
- Contributions:
  - Provides more satisfying account of Long Peace
  - Provides a corrective to the negative way energy is often view in the existing literature
  - But: Israel as a deviant case

# Appendix

# Energy Modernity Index



*WB sector data covers 1960-2014*  
*Energy data covers 1816-2014*

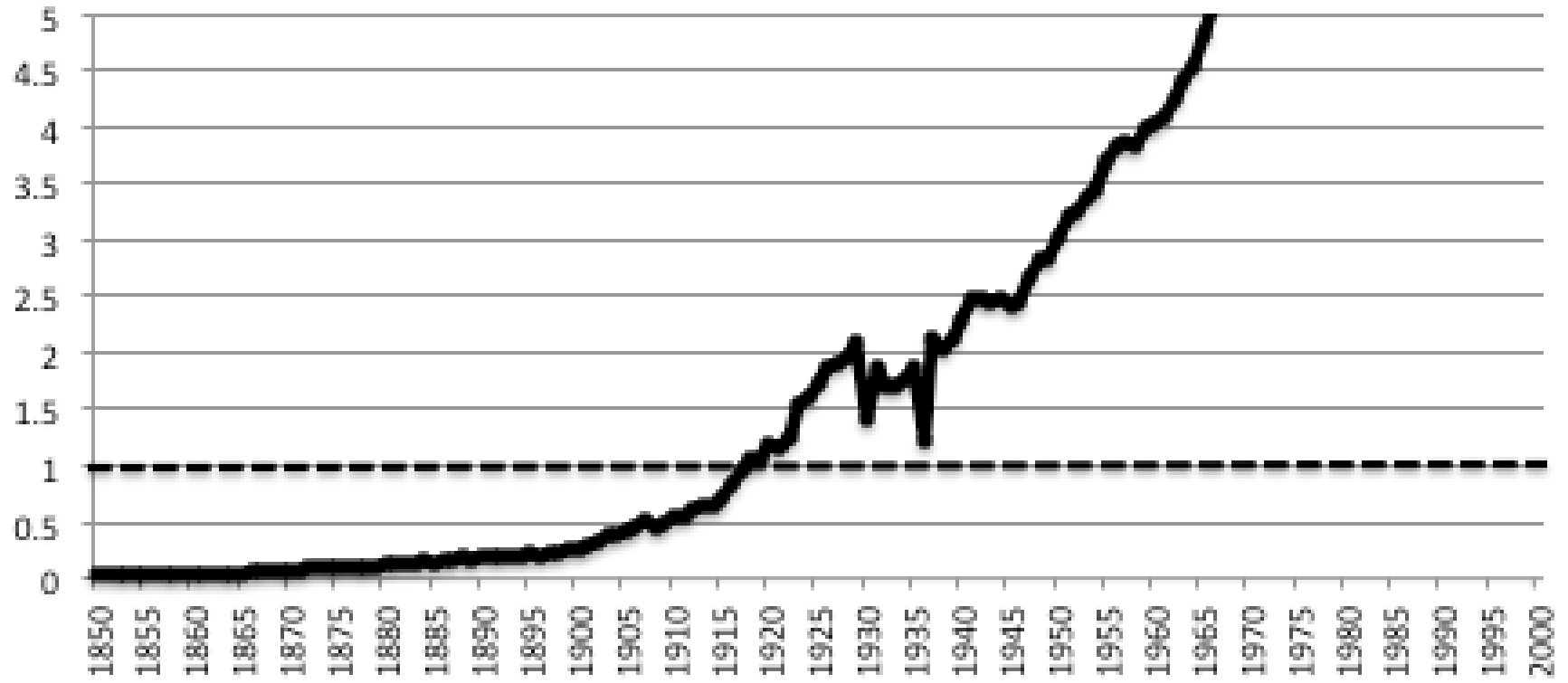


# Methods

- DV: Territorial preferences
  - Not directly observable
  - Inferred from three behaviors
    - Territorial conflicts
    - Long-term occupation after military victory
    - Decolonization
- IV1: Energy modernization
  - Quantified index based on three variables
- IV2: Democracy
  - Dichotomous measure based on Polity IV score

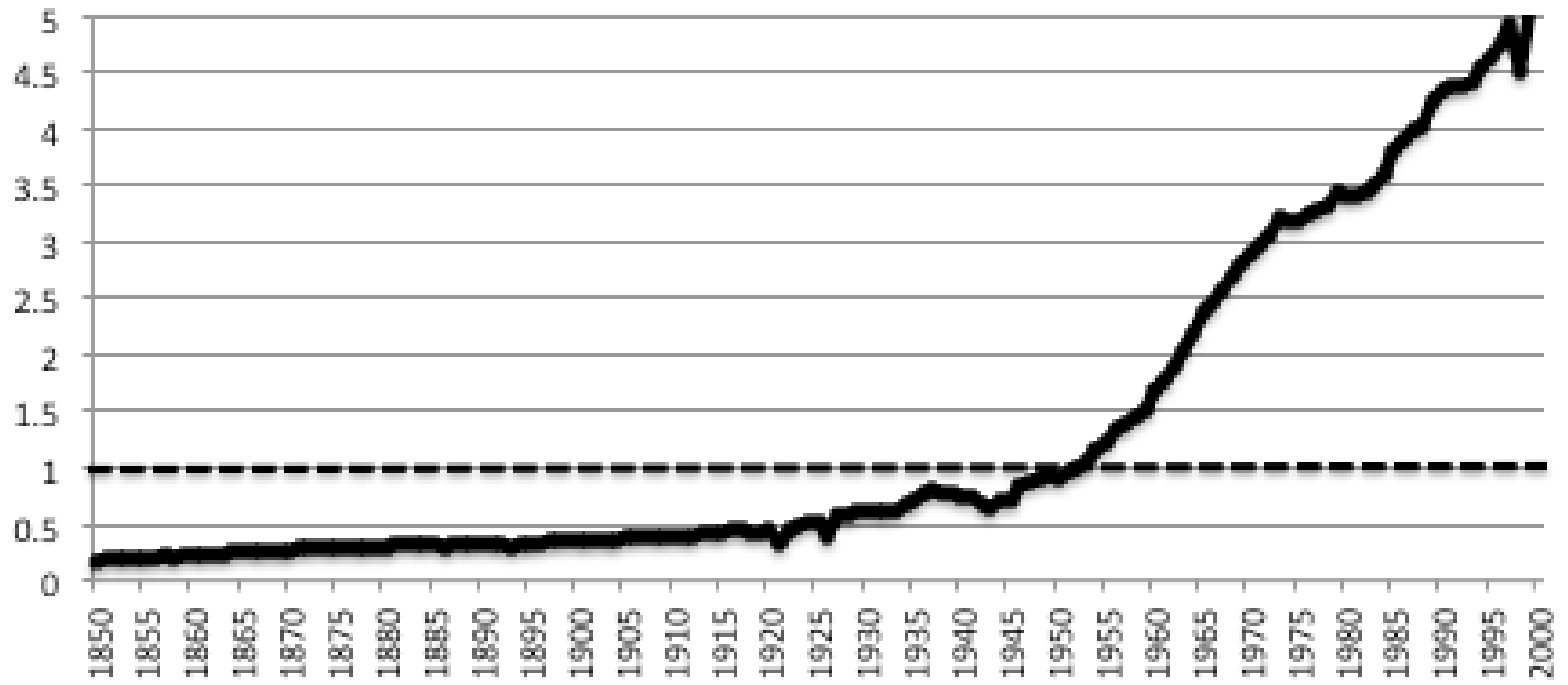
# USA

## USA



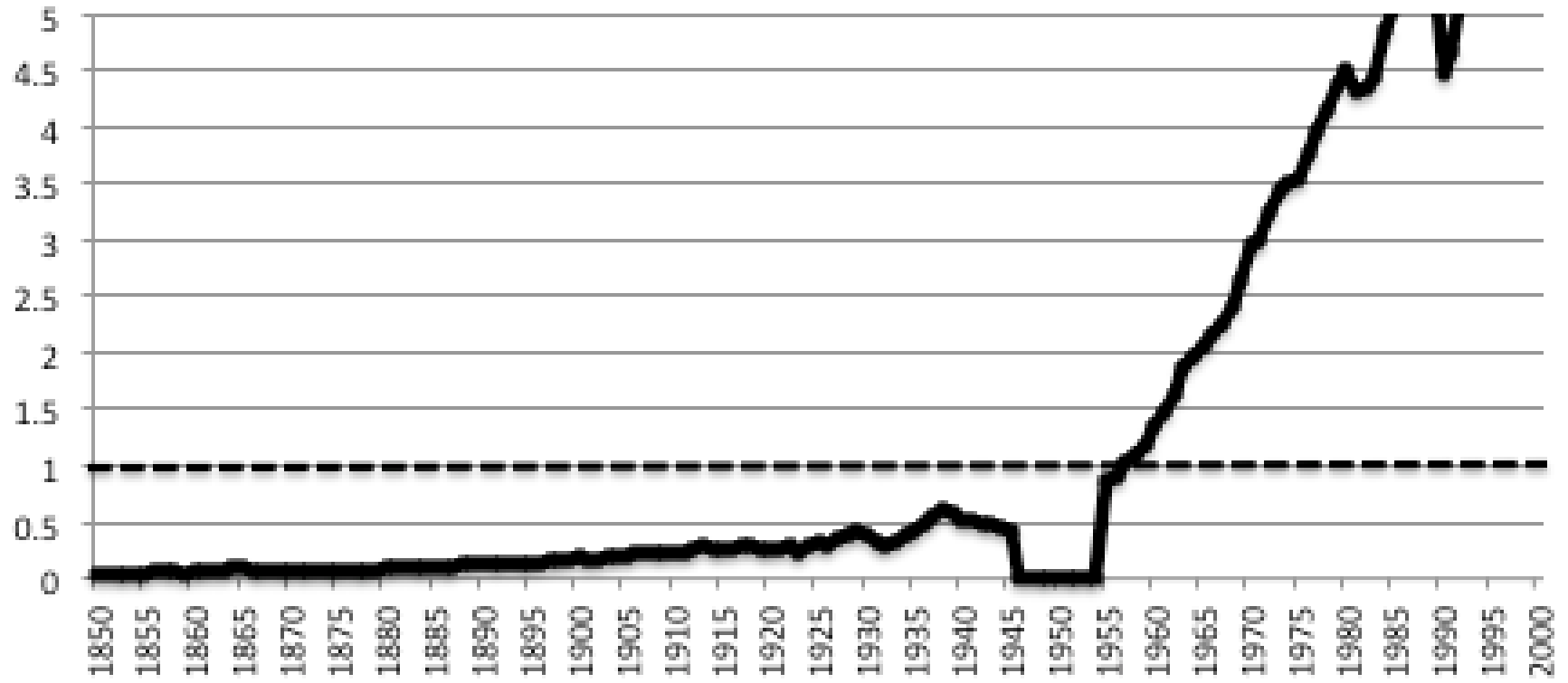
# UK

## Britain



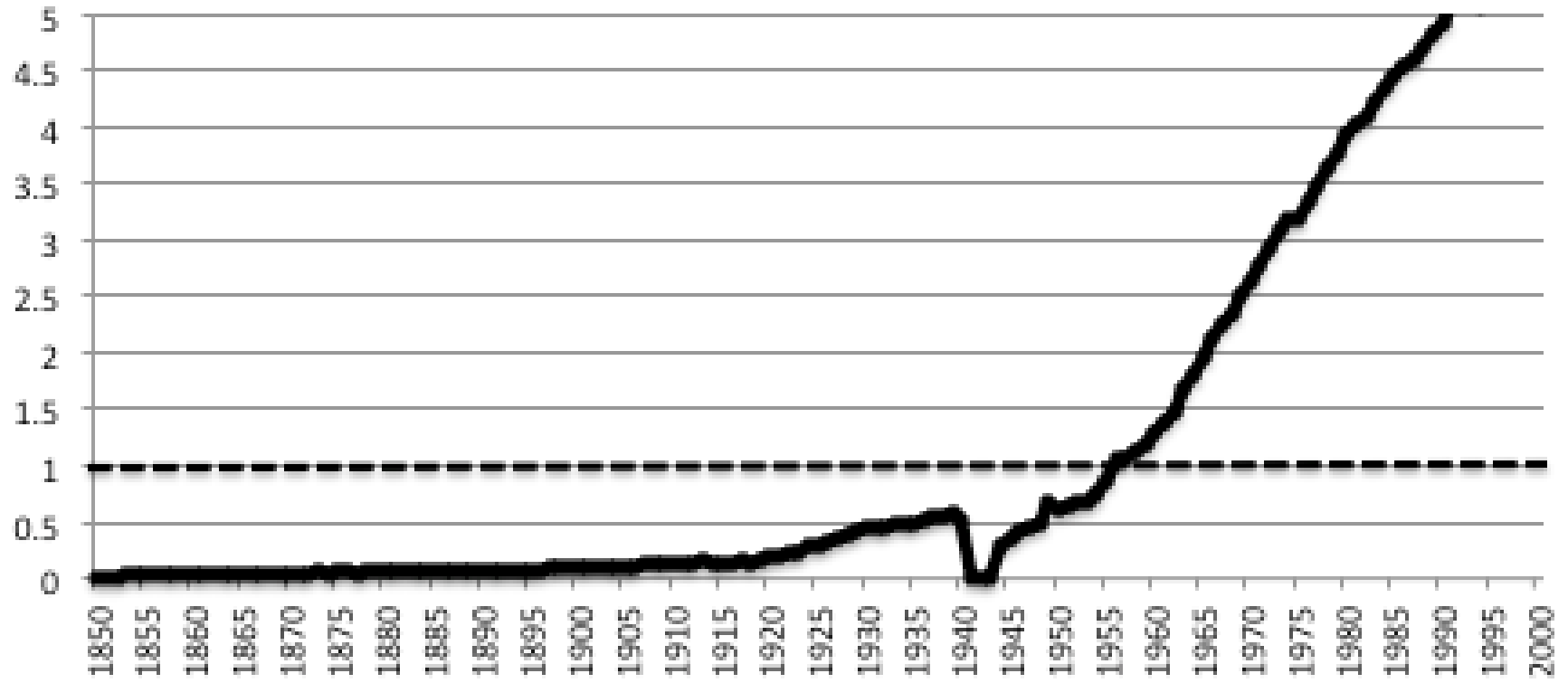
# Germany

## Germany



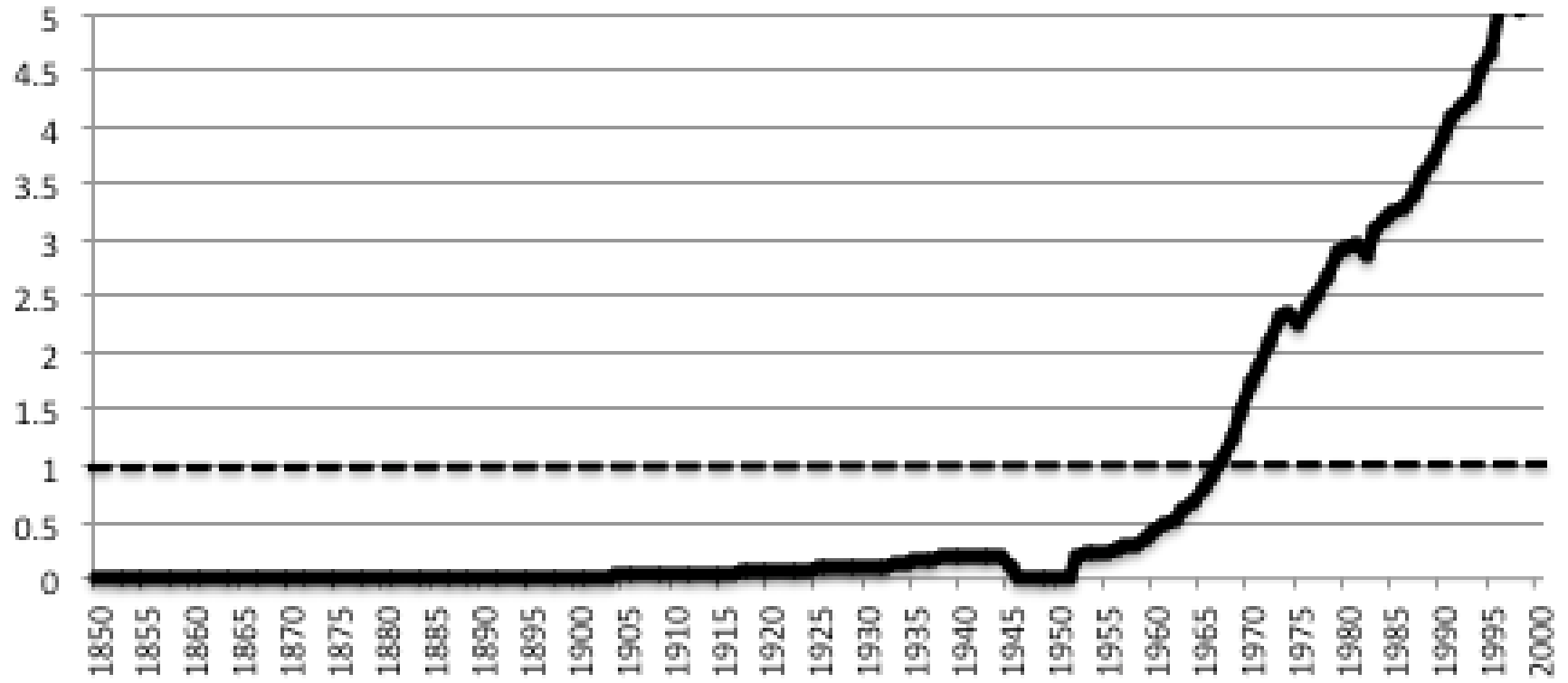
# France

## France



# Japan

## Japan



# USSR

## Russia

