

The Territorial Integrity Norm and Interstate Territorial Claims

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Abstract: We evaluate the territorial integrity norm that has been said to characterize international relations in recent decades. Despite discussion by both scholars and international leaders, this norm has received little systematic scholarly attention. We use multiple ways to measure the strength of the norm, and conduct both global and dyadic analyses of its effects. Generally speaking, as the norm has strengthened, new territorial claims have become less likely and ongoing claims have been less likely to end through military conquest, but there has been little systematic impact on claim militarization or peaceful settlement of claims.

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The Territorial Integrity Norm and Interstate Territorial Claims

Territorial issues are among the most contentious in international relations. Territorial conflicts are more likely to escalate to violence and to recur than conflicts motivated by other issues. (Hensel 1996, 2012; Vasquez 1993; Vasquez and Henehan 2011) It is therefore noteworthy that recent research has shown that territorial claims have become less prevalent in recent decades. (Frederick, Hensel, and Macaulay 2017) Some scholars have attributed this decline in territorial claims to a global norm that promotes the territorial integrity of states. However, relatively little empirical work has been done to evaluate this possibility.

This paper assesses the extent to which a global norm promoting the territorial integrity of states has been responsible for the recently observed decreases in territorial claims, using analyses at the global and dyadic levels. The results vary across a number of ways that the strength of the norm can be measured, but we find evidence that the norm has had a systematic impact on territorial contention, particularly when its strength is measured by treaties obligating respect for international borders (and not just the rejection of violent transfers of territory). New territorial claims in the interstate system have become less likely as the norm has strengthened. There has been little impact on the militarization of ongoing territorial claims or on the peaceful management of claims, but claims have been far less likely to end through military action as the norm has strengthened. We conclude by discussing avenues for future research.

The Territorial Integrity Norm

The recent release of the Issue Correlates of War Territorial Claims data from 1816 to 2001 allows us to identify longer-term trends in the frequency of interstate territorial claims.

(Frederick, Hensel, and Macaulay 2017) As shown in Figure 1, the total number of these claims gradually increased in frequency throughout the nineteenth century as states expanded to colonize the globe. These claims then spiked around the First World War, the most intense period of territorial contestation recorded, before declining and then levelling off throughout the second half of the twentieth century.

[Figure 1 about here]

While the overall number of territorial claims over the past 50 years has been relatively consistent, this has occurred despite a dramatic increase in the number of independent states in the international system, which can also be seen in Figure 1. As Figure 2 shows, the average number of active territorial claims per state has declined sharply over the past century. The rapid decolonization after World War II greatly increased the number of states in the system, and the incidence of territorial claims has not increased to keep pace.

[Figure 2 about here]

The data clearly show a sharp decline in the frequency with which state have pursued territorial claims in the latter half of the twentieth century relative to previous historical eras. Yet certain related phenomena, including the rarity in recent years with which armed conquest of new territory has been attempted, let alone successful, had previously prompted scholars to search for explanations. While a number of political, economic, and strategic explanations have been discussed, it is the possibility that a norm guaranteeing the territorial integrity of states may be responsible that is the focus of our investigation. (Jackson and Zacher 1997)

Normative factors have previously been theorized to have important effects on the incidence of territorial claims. Forsberg (1996) highlighted the strong political and emotional resonance of territorial issues, which make them difficult to explain using only power-politics

considerations. He instead emphasized the utility of looking at subjective perceptions of international norms or the concept of justice to explain such disputes. Since then, a substantial body of literature has emerged investigating the territorial integrity norm. Zacher (2001: 215) defines the territorial integrity norm as “the proscription that force should not be used to alter interstate boundaries.” As Barnett and Finnemore note, however, the norm has prohibited both transfers of territory between existing states as well as secessionist attempts to create new states. (Barnett and Finnemore 1999: 713) It is this later prohibition that has drawn the most scrutiny from analysts, as will be detailed below. The norm has its theoretical roots in the concept of *uti possidetis* that developed among Latin American states in the nineteenth century (Hensel et al 2004, 2006), but its influence has largely been felt in the post-1945 world. The norm was initially promoted by the Western democratic states through the League of Nations and the UN Charter. (Zacher 2001, Barnett and Finnemore 1999: 713) Other influential expressions of the Norm were the Organization of African Unity’s Charter in 1963 and the CSCE Helsinki Final Act in 1975. (Holsti 2006: 144) Drawing on a classification developed by Finnemore and Sikkink (1999), Zacher outlines the three phases of the growth of the Norm: emergence from 1919-1945, acceptance from 1945 to 1975, and finally institutionalization from 1976 to the present. It is in this final stage that the effects of the norm are theorized to be strongest.

However, most of the research on the territorial integrity norm in recent years has focused on its potential unintended consequences, and how the goal of preventing territorial conflict between states may have either backfired or lead to increased intrastate conflict. (Jackson 1990, 1992, and Atzili 2006, 2007) The concerns raised are certainly important to account for. However, whether the norm has actually reduced interstate conflict over territory has been evaluated much less frequently. The analysis in this paper will seek to close this gap.

One set of scholars has previously attempted to evaluate the effects of the territorial integrity norm more broadly, and it is their approach upon which this paper builds.¹ Hensel et al (2009) attempted to measure the strength and growth of the norm by looking at the adoption of multilateral treaties that include provisions embodying the Norm.² Their research clarifies that there have been two different versions of the Norm that have developed since 1919: a prohibition of violent transfers of territory between states (matching the definition used by Zacher, above), and a general prohibition of any transfer of territory between states. The prohibition of violent territorial transfers developed much earlier, starting with the League of Nations Covenant in 1919, while the general prohibition of territorial transfers did not become widespread until after the adoption of the OAU Charter in 1964. (Hensel et al 2009)

Hensel et al's results indicate that the prohibition of the violent transfer of territory has not been associated with any reduction in the likelihood of violent territorial conflicts, and indeed might be associated with an increased likelihood of such conflicts. The general prohibition of territorial transfer, however, has been associated with such a reduction. Further, they find that the level of support for the norm within the international system as a whole was more predictive of a decrease in the likelihood of a violent territorial conflict between two states in the same region than whether those same states had themselves acceded to treaties embodying the norm, suggesting that it is international pressure that has made the norm effective, rather than

¹ Huth et al (2011) also analyze the effects of international legal norms on territorial claims from 1945 to 2000. However, their analysis is focused on the resolution of territorial claims, including why some claims lead to violence while others do not, and some are adjudicated through arbitration while others are negotiated bilaterally. They find that if international law is unambiguous as to which side's territorial claims are supported, then the claim will be easier to resolve in a pacific manner. This is certainly an important finding. However, their article does not deal with what factors lead to the initiation of territorial claims in the first place, which as will be discussed below is precisely what the Norm is most likely to affect.

² The data on treaty provisions they employ come from the Multilateral Treaties of Pacific Settlement dataset, collected by the Issues Correlates of War Project. (Hensel 2005)

the commitment to the norm by potentially conflict-prone states themselves. This paper will test whether Hensel et al's findings extend to territorial claims, rather than violent territorial disputes.

Research Design

This paper makes use of the recently released Issue Correlates of War data set of all interstate territorial claims from 1816 to 2001. (Frederick, Hensel, and Macaulay 2017) A territorial claim is identified when the recognized government of one state makes an explicit claim calling for the annexation of territory that belongs to another.³ These territorial claims are therefore dyadic in nature. The coding rules exclude from consideration purely maritime claims, claims between a state and a non-state actor, as well as agitations for secession if the party wishing to secede has not achieved international recognition. They also exclude claims over *terra nullius*, territory where no state or colony has yet been established. The target state must have some administrative presence or control over the territory in question. The data set does seek to include all instances of colonial claims between colonial powers; the territory in question does not have to belong to the homeland territory of a state, only be under its control. The territorial claims data set records the challenger and target of each claim, and both states are required to be Correlates of War system members. It includes the start and end date of each claim, as well as a twelve-point measure of the salience of each claim so that, for example, claims over uninhabited offshore islands can be distinguished from claims to entire countries.⁴

³ Such claims need not be made publicly. Many Nazi-era German claims were identified on the basis of then-secret documents. The purpose of the standard is to be certain of the state's policy, not to limit the data to claims made through public or legal declarations.

⁴ The salience measure is constructed by identifying whether the territory being claimed had six different tangible and intangible characteristics. The three tangible characteristics included whether the claimed territory was known or believed to contain valuable natural resources, whether the territory included a (militarily and/or economically) strategic location, and whether the area was populated, rather than uninhabited. The three intangible measures of salience included whether the claim involved territory that one or both states claim as homeland territory, rather than a colony or dependency, whether one or both states have a (religious, ethnic, linguistic, or similar) identity-related

The territorial claims data also include information regarding the extent to which the claim became militarized, as reflected by Militarized Interstate Disputes (MIDs) associated with the claims.

The strength of the territorial integrity norm can be measured in many different ways, and in order to gain the most complete understanding of this norm's impact, we employ as many of these as possible. The simplest way is to measure it chronologically by year; when we have presented papers about this topic at academic conferences, discussants or audience members have frequently asked how the impact of the norm can be distinguished from a simple year counter, which might measure general international progress or other factors that could account for the same observed phenomena. Another simple way is to measure the strength of the norm by the historical periods that Zacher (2001) used to distinguish the development of the norm, with the norm assumed to strengthen between the emergence phase from 1919-1945, acceptance phase from 1945 to 1975, and institutionalization phase since 1976 to the present.

Our remaining measures of the strength of the norm are calculated from the Multilateral Treaties of Pacific Settlement (MTOPS) data set, version 1.6. (Hensel 2016) As described by Hensel et al. (2009), this data set records state membership in multilateral treaties with five or more member states that obligate members to recognize the territorial integrity of fellow members. The data set includes two different types of territorial integrity obligations. "Violent" obligations prevent the transfer of territory through the threat or use of force, as in the League of Nations Charter ("The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League."). More restrictively, "general" obligations call for complete recognition of the

connection with the claimed territory or its inhabitants, and whether one or both states administered the territory within the past two centuries, meaning that they have a relatively recent experience of historical sovereignty.

territorial integrity of member states, as with ASEAN's Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia ("Each High Contracting Party shall not in any manner or form participate in any activity which shall constitute a threat to the political and economic stability, sovereignty, or territorial integrity of another High Contracting Party.").

The MTOPS data can be used in several ways. We examine the average number of commitments of each type (total, violent, and general) for all states in the interstate system to estimate the global strength of the norm. This can help us understand the impact of the interstate system on states' behavior, as other states that have accepted the norm can attempt to influence other states to follow the norm as well. We also measure the specific number of commitments shared by the two states in a given dyad, to estimate the dyadic strength of the norm for relations between those two states.

[Figure 3 about here]

Figure 3 shows the average number of treaty obligations per state in the interstate system. Neither type of territorial integrity obligation had been explicit in treaties until the League of Nations Charter. Almost all of the initial treaties with these obligations were limited to violent obligations, but most of the treaties since the mid-1960s have involved general obligations.⁵ This spread of the territorial integrity norm in Figure 3 roughly corresponds with the decline in territorial claims in the post-1945 period, seen earlier in Figure 2, and the evidence presented to this point suggests that the possibility that the norm is responsible for the decline in territorial claims is broadly plausible. However, a more sophisticated investigation will be required before

⁵ This corresponds loosely with Zacher's phases, as the early development of the norm was limited to the simpler prohibition of violent transfers of territory, and the more comprehensive respect for the general territorial integrity of member states did not appear until the norm had become more established in the interstate system.

we can isolate the effects of the norm from many other factors that have also increased in prevalence over the same time period.

Empirical Analyses

The first set of analyses involve global patterns, using global measures of respect for the territorial integrity norm to investigate global patterns in the occurrence of territorial claims. Table 1 presents the results of a series of negative binomial regression analyses of new territorial claims in the interstate system. In each analysis, the alpha parameter is positive and statistically significant, indicating that a negative binomial model is more appropriate than a Poisson regression, which assumes that the value of alpha is zero. Each model controls for the number of states in the interstate system, which seems likely to increase the amount of conflict as the system has grown, although this effect is not always statistically significant.

[Table 1 about here]

The simplest measure of territorial integrity, the year counter, shows a significant increase ($p < .001$) in the number of new territorial claims as the norm supposedly strengthens. Model 2, using Zacher's three temporal phases in the development of the norm, suggests that the norm has been increasingly effective over time -- the 1919-1945 phase shows a significant increase in new claims ($p < .05$), while the 1946-1975 period shows a non-significant increase ($p < .62$) and the 1976-2001 period shows a non-significant decrease ($p < .17$). Turning to the global MTOPS measures, there is no impact of the total measure ($p < .38$), while the average number of violent obligations significantly increases new claims ($p < .01$) and the average number of general obligations significantly decreases new claims ($p < .001$).

These results indicate that the specific measure being used has a major impact on the conclusions one draws. The year counter does not seem to fit as well with the pattern of decreased territorial claims since the early 20th Century that was seen in Figures 1 and 2, even if it fits well with events up to that time. Zacher's historical phases and the MTOPS-based measures are surprisingly consistent, as violent territorial integrity obligations -- which make up the bulk of all obligations until around 1960 -- are associated with a significant increase in new claims, much like Zacher's 1919-45 phase, and general territorial integrity obligations -- which make up the bulk of new obligations since around 1960 -- are associated with a significant decrease in new claims (when Zacher's 1976-2001 phase produces a non-significant negative effect).

Table 2 examines the impact of the territorial integrity norm on the ending of ongoing territorial claims. Whereas Table 1 controlled for the number of states in the interstate system when studying the outbreak of new territorial claims, Table 2 controls for the number of ongoing territorial claims, as this is the population at risk for the ending of territorial claims. Surprisingly, the most typical result across the various measures of the norm is that territorial claims are less likely to end when the norm is stronger. This result holds for the most recent 1976-2001 Zacher phase, and for both the total and general MTOPS-based measures. The year counter, Zacher's 1946-1975 phase, and the violent MTOPS measure show no significant effect, while only Zacher's earliest 1919-1945 phase is associated with a significant increase in claims ending. These results are largely unexpected, but there are several reasons to be skeptical at this stage: this analysis has not distinguished between different ways that territorial claims can end, not all of which necessarily violate the norm, and this global analysis has not considered factors unique to each territorial claim that might help to account for claim termination or persistence.

Table 3 turns to a dyadic analysis of the militarization of territorial claims, which allows the inclusion of control variables related to the characteristics of the claim itself or of the claimant states. This might well account for some of the surprising results seen in the analyses at the global level that have been discussed thus far. This table controls for the salience of the claimed territory, the amount of recent militarized conflict over the territory, the relative capabilities of the claimants (measured as the percent of total dyadic capabilities held by the challenger in the claim), and joint democracy (measured by whether or not both states have Polity scores of at least 7 on the -10 to +10 Polity scale).

[Table 3 about here]

To save space, two of the six measures of territorial integrity that have been used in the first tables -- year and Zacher phases -- are removed, to make room for the inclusion of both global and dyadic versions of the MTOPS-based measures. If those models were to be included both year and each Zacher phase would show a significant increase in claim militarization ($p < .001$), with the sole exception being the most recent Zacher phase, which shows an increase that barely misses conventional standards of significance ($p < .06$).

Of the six measures included in Table 3, two show significant increases in militarization: total global obligations ($p < .04$) and violent global obligations ($p < .001$). One shows a borderline increase: total dyadic obligations ($p < .09$). The other three show no systematic impact ($p < .70$, $p < .20$, and $p < .14$). It is difficult to conclude from this that there is a systematic impact of the territorial integrity norm on territorial claim militarization.

[Table 4 about here]

The two remaining tables present a dyadic analysis of two different forms of claim termination.⁶ Beyond the control variables noted earlier, each of these models includes the duration of the claim up to the point of current observation as well as this duration variable squared, in order to control for any possible impact of duration dependence. Table 4 examines the probability that a claim will end through military action, typically involving military conquest or successful military threats. Three of the six measures in this table show significant decreases in this probability, a fourth shows a borderline decrease, and none show a significant increase.⁷ Claims are less likely to end militarily when there is a stronger global general territorial integrity obligation ($p < .001$) and when there is either a stronger dyadic total ($p < .01$) or general territorial integrity obligation ($p < .02$), and the dyadic violent obligation reaches borderline status ($p < .10$).

[Table 4 about here]

The most surprising results come from Table 5, which examines the probability that a claim will end through peaceful agreement -- whether this involves bilateral negotiations, non-binding third party activity such as mediation, or binding third party activity such as arbitration or adjudication. As with Table 4, these models all include both the regular and squared claim duration terms to control for possible duration dependence.⁸ The three global measures all show

⁶ These two forms are not exhaustive. Some claims are dropped by the challenger, while others end for other rare reasons (such as one state leaving the COW interstate system or the territory ceasing to be relevant, as might happen when an island falls below the sea or a given interstate border vanishes because one state cedes the bordering territory to a different state).

⁷ Of the two earlier measures not reported in this table, the year has no significant impact ($p < .77$); Zacher's 1919-1945 period sees a significant increase ($p < .001$), while his 1946-1975 period sees no significant impact ($p < .85$) and his 1975-2001 period sees a significant increase ($p < .03$).

⁸ Of the two measures not reported in this table, the year has no significant impact ($p < .14$); Zacher's 1919-1945 period sees a significant increase ($p < .001$), while his 1946-1975 period sees no significant impact ($p < .14$) and his 1975-2001 period sees a significant decrease ($p < .01$).

statistically significant decreases in peaceful claim termination when the norm is considered strongest ($p < .01$ total, $p < .01$ general, $p < .03$ violent). The three dyadic measures all show no systematic impact on peaceful claim termination ($p < .70$ total, $p < .58$ general, $p < .92$ violent). These results, together with the global results for claim termination discussed earlier, suggest that much more than this norm is at work in considerations about ending ongoing territorial claims. At the global level, we have already seen that most measures of the territorial integrity norm seem to reduce the number of claims that are ended in a given year, and we see somewhat consistent results at the dyadic level. It appears likely that the norm may decrease the likelihood of claim onset and claim resolution by military conquest, but that it does not increase the likelihood that ongoing territorial claims will be settled peacefully.⁹

Discussion

This paper has investigated the possible impact of the territorial integrity norm on the onset, militarization, and ending of territorial claims. The results have varied based on the specific measure of the territorial integrity norm that is used, but some important patterns have emerged. Table 6 summarizes the results across all of the measures of territorial integrity that have been employed.

[Table 6 about here]

The simplest measure of the strength of the territorial integrity norm, the year counter that assumes that the norm has strengthened roughly linearly over time, generally produces weak results. Likely because this measure assumes a linear growth of the norm over the 19th and early

⁹ Similar results hold for each of the types of settlements that are combined in this category of peaceful settlements: bilateral negotiations, non-binding third party activity, and binding third party activity.

20th century when the other measures suggest little impact of the norm, this measure produces results that are not consistent with most other measures or with the conventional wisdom of the norm's impact. Zacher's three phases in the norm's evolution also show inconsistent results. Territorial claims are more likely to begin in the earliest phase of the norm's development (1919-1945) than before the norm began taking effect in 1919, and all three phases suggest that claim militarization is significant more likely than before the norm began taking effect, although claims are less likely to end militarily in the latest 1976-2001 phase.

Among the MTOPS-based measures, the violent territorial integrity obligations did not seem to have many of the expected effects, perhaps because these obligations were most common in treaties signed while the norm was still developing globally. New claims are more likely to begin, and claims are more likely to be militarized, when there are more states with global violent territorial integrity obligations -- although none of the dyadic measures of violent obligations are statistically significant. The results that are most consistent with the conventional wisdom on the territorial integrity norm involve general territorial integrity obligations. New territorial claims are less likely at the global level when states have higher average general territorial integrity obligations, and claims are less likely to end through military measures when either global or dyadic general territorial integrity obligations are higher. None of these measures have the expected effect of increasing peaceful termination of territorial claims, but that lies beyond the scope of most or all territorial integrity treaties and likely involves additional factors that have not been considered here.

Future research could benefit from additional consideration of factors that have been beyond the scope of the present paper. In particular, we have not attempted a dyadic analysis of territorial claim onset in this paper. A meaningful analysis of this topic would require the

identification of potential territorial claims -- which would likely require the analysis of both interstate and colonial borders -- for a meaningful dyadic analysis.

Furthermore, we have not gone into great detail here in investigating additional factors that might help to account for the avoidance or settlement of territorial claims. Here we have controlled for a few factors that have been shown to be important in a variety of past research, but there are many other factors that scholars have suggested might account for improved relations between states. Prominent examples include economic interdependence or other aspects of the liberal peace, beyond the omnipresent joint democracy variable that we have included here. In future research we plan to incorporate more of these factors in order to improve our understanding of the conditions under which states begin, escalate, or end their territorial claims.

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Figure 1: Territorial Claims Underway

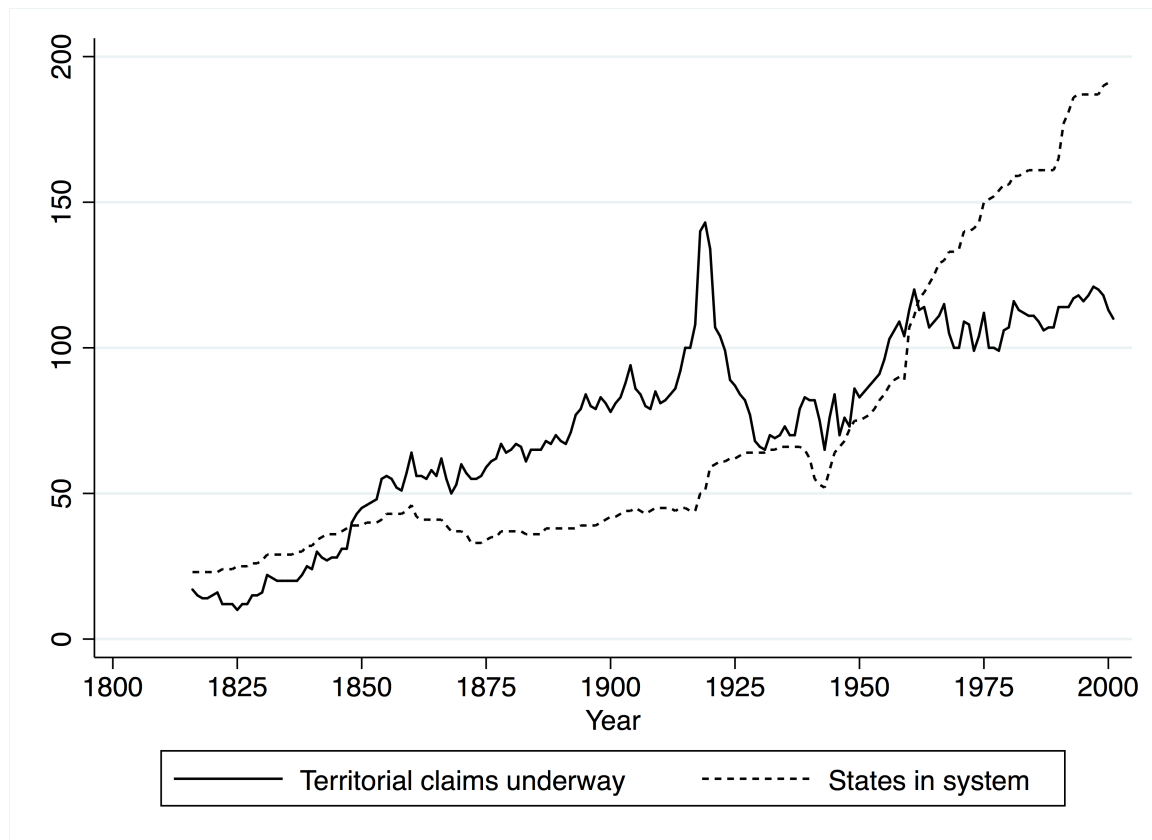


Figure 2: Territorial Claims Underway per State

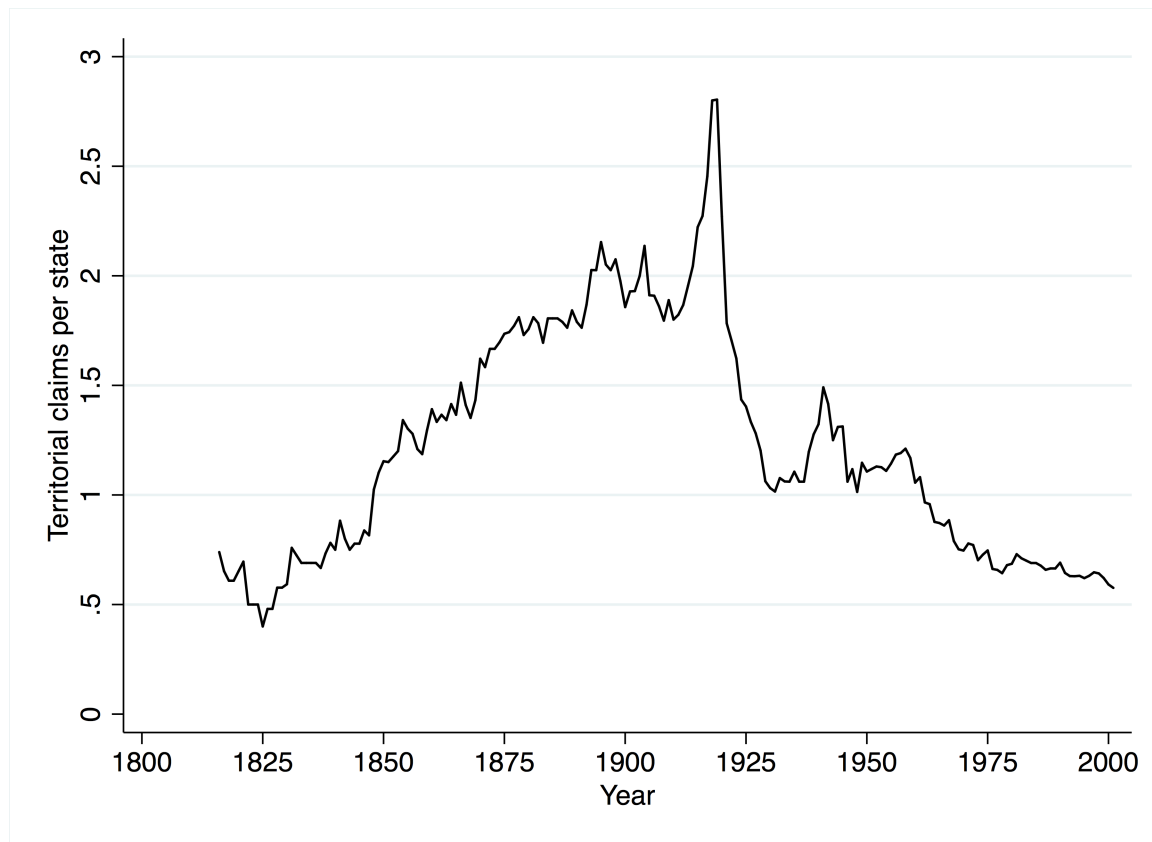


Figure 3: Territorial Integrity Obligations per State

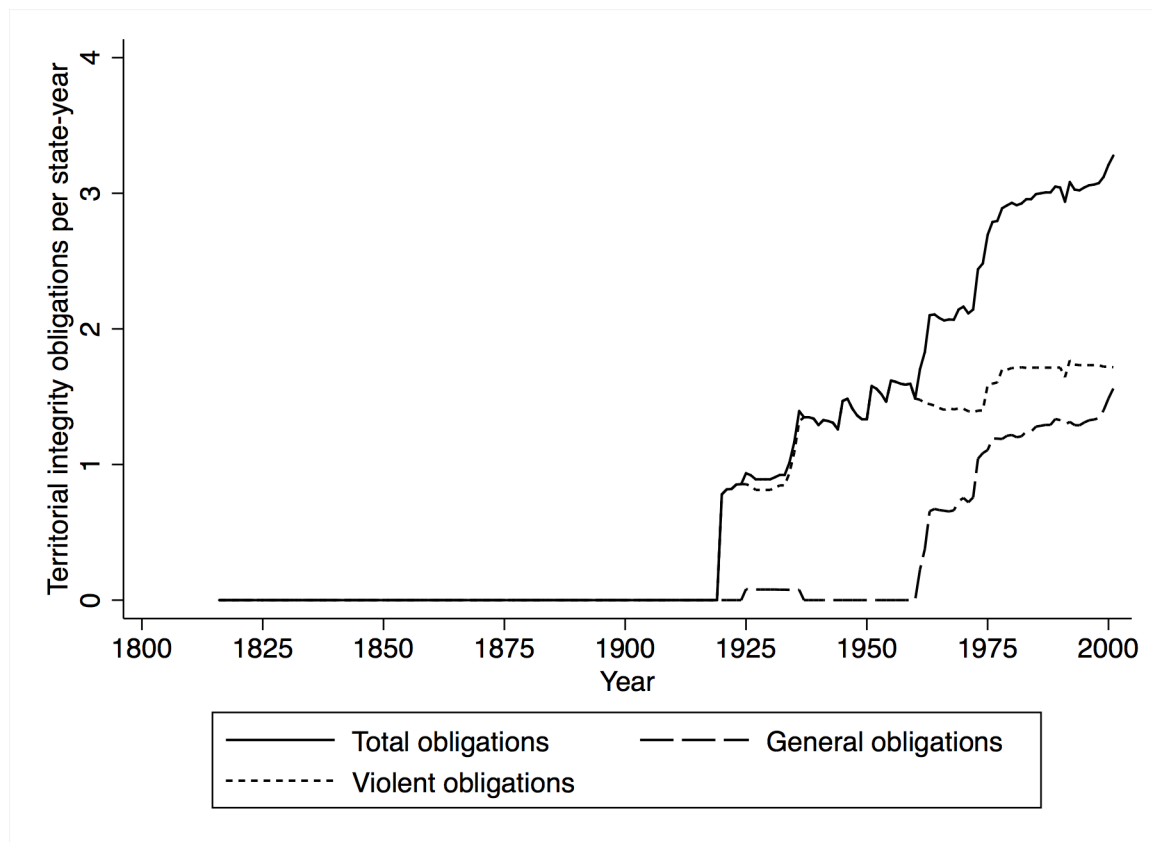


Table 1: Negative Binomial Analysis of New Territorial Claims in the Interstate System

Variable	Model 1: Coeff. (SE)	Model 2: Coeff (SE)	Model 3: Coeff (SE)
<i>Territorial Integrity:</i>			
Year	0.02 (.002)***	--	--
1919-45	--	0.46 (0.23)**	--
1946-75	--	0.19 (0.37)	--
1976+	--	- 1.00 (0.72)	--
Total obligations	--	--	0.20 (0.22)
States in System	- 0.01 (.002)***	0.01 (0.01)	- .002 (.01)
Constant	- 30.72 (4.75)***	0.99 (0.22)***	1.52 (0.21)***
N:	186	186	186
LL:	-463.92	-475.04	-484.09
X ² :	42.30	20.04	1.95
	(2df, p<.001)	(4df, p<.001)	(2df, p<.38)
α:	.582 (.09)***	.699 (.10)***	.800 (.11)***
Variable	Model 4: Coeff. (SE)	Model 5: Coeff (SE)	
<i>Territorial Integrity:</i>			
General obligations	- 2.63 (0.48)***	--	
Violent obligations	--	0.49 (0.18)***	
States in System	0.03 (.004)***	- .005 (.003)	
Constant	0.27 (0.24)	1.51 (0.14)***	
N:	186	186	
LL:	-469.27	-480.79	
X ² :	31.59	8.55	
	(2df, p<.001)	(2df, p<.02)	
α:	.641 (.10)***	.759 (.11)***	

*p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01

Table 2: Negative Binomial Analysis of Ending Territorial Claims in the Interstate System

Variable	Model 1: Coeff. (SE)	Model 2: Coeff (SE)	Model 3: Coeff (SE)
<i>Territorial Integrity:</i>			
Year	- .005 (.003)	--	--
1919-45	--	0.62 (0.17)***	--
1946-75	--	- 0.20 (0.20)	--
1976+	--	- 1.09 (0.23)***	--
Total obligations	--	--	- 0.27 (0.09)***
Ongoing Claims	0.03 (.005)***	0.03 (.003)***	0.03 (.003)***
Constant	7.71 (5.02)	- 0.89 (0.22)***	- 0.75 (0.23)***
N:	186	186	186
LL:	-425.32	-401.58	-422.10
X ² :	76.06	123.54	82.51
	(2 df, p<.001)	(4 df, p<.001)	(2 df, p<.001)
α:	.595 (.10)***	.335 (.07)***	.555 (.10)***
Variable	Model 4: Coeff. (SE)	Model 5: Coeff (SE)	
<i>Territorial Integrity:</i>			
General obligations	- 0.97 (0.17)***	--	
Violent obligations	--	- 0.09 (0.12)	
Ongoing Claims	0.03 (.003)***	0.02 (.003)***	
Constant	- 0.96 (0.23)***	- 0.55 (0.22)**	
N:	186	186	
LL:	-411.34	-426.41	
X ² :	104.02	73.87	
	(2 df, p<.001)	(2 df, p<.001)	
α:	.446 (.08)***	.614 (.10)***	

*p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01

Table 3: Logit Analysis of Territorial Claim Militarization (Fatal MIDs)

Variable	Model 1: Coeff. (SE)	Model 2: Coeff (SE)	Model 3: Coeff (SE)
<i>Territorial Integrity:</i>			
Global: total	0.12 (0.06)**	--	--
Global: general	--	- 0.05 (0.12)	--
Global: violent	--	--	0.39 (0.10)***
Claim Salience	0.22 (0.03)***	0.22 (.03)***	0.20 (.03)***
Recent Fatal Conflict	0.99 (0.08)***	1.03 (0.08)***	0.96 (0.08)***
Challenger Cap.s	0.48 (0.20)**	0.50 (0.20)**	0.47 (0.20)**
Joint Democracy	- 0.81 (0.35)**	- 0.73 (0.35)**	- 0.87 (0.35)**
Constant	- 6.19 (0.28)***	- 6.09 (0.27)***	- 6.31 (0.28)***
N:	13,026	13,026	13,026
LL:	-1143.29	-1145.51	-1137.91
X ² :	279.04 (5 df, p<.001)	274.61 (5 df, p<.001)	289.80 (5 df, p<.001)
Variable	Model 4: Coeff. (SE)	Model 5: Coeff (SE)	Model 6: Coeff (SE)
<i>Territorial Integrity:</i>			
Dyadic: total	0.09 (.05)*	--	--
Dyadic: general	--	0.10 (0.08)	--
Dyadic: violent	--	--	0.13 (0.08)
Claim Salience	0.23 (0.03)***	0.22 (0.03)***	0.23 (0.03)***
Recent Fatal Conflict	1.01 (0.08)***	1.01 (0.08)***	1.02 (0.08)***
Challenger Cap.s	0.50 (0.20)**	0.48 (0.20)**	0.52 (0.20)***
Joint Democracy	- 0.79 (0.35)**	- 0.74 (0.35)**	- 0.81 (0.35)**
Constant	- 6.21 (0.28)***	- 6.13 (0.28)***	- 6.23 (0.29)***
N:	13,026	13,026	13,026
LL:	-1144.17	-1144.78	-1144.53
X ² :	277.29 (5 df, p<.001)	276.06 (5 df, p<.001)	276.56 (5 df, p<.001)

*p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01

Table 4: Logit Analysis of Territorial Claim Ending via Military Action

Variable	Model 1: Coeff. (SE)	Model 2: Coeff (SE)	Model 3: Coeff (SE)
<i>Territorial Integrity:</i>			
Global: total	- 0.14 (.011)	--	--
Global: general	--	- 1.13 (0.34)***	--
Global: violent	--	--	0.13 (0.18)
Claim Salience	0.17 (0.06)***	0.17 (0.06)***	0.16 (0.06)***
Recent Fatal Conflict	0.79 (0.15)***	0.82 (0.40)***	0.74 (0.15)***
Challenger Cap.s	1.54 (0.40)***	1.58 (0.40)***	1.54 (0.40)***
Claim Duration	- 0.06 (0.01)***	- 0.05 (0.02)***	- 0.06 (0.02)***
Claim Duration ²	- 0.00 (0.00)***	0.00 (0.00)**	0.00 (0.00)***
Constant	- 6.79 (0.56)***	- 6.75 (0.56)***	- 6.93 (0.57)***
N:	13,656	13,656	13,656
LL:	-385.70	-378.99	-386.24
X ² :	85.39	98.82	84.31
	(7 df, p<.001)	(7 df, p<.001)	(7 df, p<.001)
Variable	Model 4: Coeff. (SE)	Model 5: Coeff (SE)	Model 6: Coeff (SE)
<i>Territorial Integrity:</i>			
Dyadic: total	- 0.42 (0.16)***	--	--
Dyadic: general	--	- 1.07 (0.45)**	--
Dyadic: violent	--	--	- 0.37 (0.22)*
Claim Salience	0.16 (0.06)***	0.17 (0.06)***	0.17 (0.06)***
Recent Fatal Conflict	0.78 (0.14)***	0.78 (0.14)***	0.76 (0.14)***
Challenger Cap.s	1.50 (0.39*)***	1.57 (0.39)***	1.49 (0.40)***
Claim Duration	- 0.06 (0.01)**	- 0.06 (0.01)***	- 0.06 (0.02)***
Claim Duration ²	0.00 (0.00)***	0.00 (0.00)***	0.00 (0.00)***
Constant	- 6.61 (5.56)***	- 6.76 (0.56)***	- 6.68 (0.56)***
N:	13,656	13,656	13,656
LL:	-381.81	-380.23	-384.97
X ² :	93.17	96.33	86.84
	(7 df, p<.001)	(7 df, p<.001)	(7 df, p<.001)

*p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01

• Joint democracy perfectly predicts the outcome (no territorial claims ended through military action while both claimants were democratic), so that variable had to be removed from the model.

Table 5: Logit Analysis of Territorial Claim Ending via Peaceful Agreement

Variable	Model 1: Coeff. (SE)	Model 2: Coeff (SE)	Model 3: Coeff (SE)
<i>Territorial Integrity:</i>			
Global: total	- 0.14 (0.05)***	--	--
Global: general	--	- 0.34 (0.11)***	--
Global: violent	--	--	- 0.17 (0.08)**
Claim Salience	- 0.06 (0.02)***	- 0.07 (0.02)***	- 0.07 (0.02)***
Recent Fatal Conflict	0.47 (0.11)***	0.46 (0.11)***	0.46 (0.11)***
Challenger Cap.s	0.94 (0.16)***	0.96 (0.16)***	0.92 (0.16)***
Joint Democracy	0.33 (0.19)*	0.32 (0.19)*	0.32 (0.19)**
Claim Duration	- 0.03 (0.01)***	- 0.02 (0.01)***	- 0.03 (0.01)***
Claim Duration ²	0.00 (0.00)***	0.00 (0.00)***	0.00 (0.00)***
Constant	- 3.14 (0.20)***	- 3.17 (0.20)***	- 3.13 (0.20)***
N:	13,026	13,026	13,026
LL:	-1560.80	-1559.97	-1562.23
X ² :	100.65 (7 df, p<.001)	102.30 (7 df, p<.001)	97.79 (7 df, p<.001)
Variable	Model 4: Coeff. (SE)	Model 5: Coeff (SE)	Model 6: Coeff (SE)
<i>Territorial Integrity:</i>			
Dyadic: total	- 0.02 (0.05)	--	--
Dyadic: general	--	- 0.05 (0.08)	--
Dyadic: violent	--	--	- 0.01 (0.07)
Claim Salience	- 0.08 (0.02)***	- 0.08 (0.02)***	- 0.08 (0.02)***
Recent Fatal Conflict	0.42 (0.11)***	0.43 (0.11)***	0.42 (0.11)***
Challenger Cap.s	0.93 (0.16)***	0.93 (0.16)***	0.93 (0.16)***
Joint Democracy	0.27 (0.19)	0.26 (0.19)	0.27 (0.19)
Claim Duration	- 0.03 (0.01)***	- 0.03 (0.01)***	- 0.03 (0.01)***
Claim Duration ²	0.00 (0.00)***	0.00 (0.00)***	0.00 (0.00)***
Constant	- 3.18 (0.21)***	- 3.18 (0.20)***	- 3.18 (0.21)***
N:	13,026	13,026	13,026
LL:	-1564.71	-1564.62	-1564.78
X ² :	92.84 (7 df, p<.001)	93.01 (7 df, p<.001)	92.69 (7 df, p<.001)

*p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01

Table 6: Summary of Results

	Global Impact:		Dyadic Impact:		
Measure	New Claims	End Claims	Militarization	End-Military	End-Peaceful
Year	+	NS	+	NS	NS
1919-45	+	+	+	+	+
1946-75	NS	NS	+	NS	NS
1976+	NS	-	+	-	-
<i>Global Obligations:</i>					
Total	NS	-	+	NS	-
General	-	-	NS	-	-
Violent	+	NS	+	NS	-
<i>Dyadic Obligations:</i>					
Total	(N/A)	(N/A)	+	-	NS
General	(N/A)	(N/A)	NS	-	NS
Violent	(N/A)	(N/A)	NS	NS	NS

- NS: no statistically significant effect ($p < .05$ or better).
- The dyadic results for year and for the Zacher periods are not reported in Tables 3-5 for reasons of space.