

RIS Review of International Studies

Editors

Soumita Basu

Priya Dixit

Andrew Hom

Sebastian Kaempf

Maria Mälksoo

Benjamin Martill

Cian O'Driscoll

Dahlia Simangan

BISA

VOLUME 50

ISSUE 4

JULY 2024

ISSN 0260-2105

Review of International Studies

Editors

Soumita Basu, *South Asian University* (Lead Editor)
 Priya Dixit, *Virginia Polytechnic University*
 Andrew Hom, *University of Edinburgh* (Lead Editor)
 Sebastian Kaempf, *University of Queensland*

Maria Mälksoo, *University of Copenhagen*
 Benjamin Martill, *University of Edinburgh*
 Cian O'Driscoll, *Australia National University*
 (Lead Editor)
 Dahlia Simangan, *Hiroshima University*

Editorial Board

Oumar Ba, *Cornell University*
 Ruth Blakely, *University of Sheffield*
 Srinjoy Bose, *University of New South Wales*
 Antoine Bousquet, *Swedish Defence University*
 Scott Brown, *University of Dundee*
 Martin Coward, *Queen Mary University of London*
 Alena Drieschova, *University of Cambridge*
 Maya Eichler, *Mount Saint Vincent University*
 Juanita Elias, *University of Warwick*
 Cathy Elliott, *University College London*
 Kyle Grayson, *Newcastle University*
 Thomas Gregory, *University of Auckland*
 Nicole Sunday Grove, *University of Hawai'i at Mānoa*
 Roberta Guerrina, *University of Bristol*
 Karl Gustafsson, *Stockholm University*
 Stephanie Hofmann, *European University Institute*
 Heidi Hudson, *University of the Free State*
 Sarah Jenkins, *University of Galway*

Elif Kalaycioglu, *University of Alabama*
 Pablo Kalmanovitz, *Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México*
 Catarina Kinnvall, *Lund University*
 Katrina Lee Koo, *Monash University*
 Nimmi Kurian, *Centre for Policy Research*
 Dina Osama Lotfy, *University of Cairo*
 Jittipat Poonkham, *Thammasat University*
 Salvador Santino Regilme, *University of Leiden*
 Yoichiro Sato, *Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University*
 Olivier Schmitt, *University of Southern Denmark*
 Sinderpal Singh, *Nanyang Technological University*
 Samuel Alves Soares, *São Paulo State University*
 Andrea Steiner, *Pernambuco Federal University Brazil*
 Thomas Tieku, *King's University College*
 Charmaine M. Willoughby, *De La Salle University*
 Poppy S. Winanti, *Universitas Gadjah Mada*
 Elisa Wynne-Hughes, *Cardiff University*

© British International Studies Association 2024

Subscriptions

Review of International Studies (ISSN 0260-2105) is published five times per annum for the British International Studies Association by Cambridge University Press.

Review of International Studies is only available as part of the British International Studies Association package with *European Journal of International Security*. The 2024 subscription price for institutions (excluding VAT) of this package, which includes print and electronic access, is £858.00 (US \$1495.00 in USA, Canada and Mexico). The electronic-only price available to institutional subscribers is £563.00 (US \$899.00 in USA, Canada and Mexico). The print-only price available to institutional subscribers is £862.00 (US \$1463.00 in USA, Canada and Mexico).

Review of International Studies is available to individuals ordering directly from the publishers and certifying that the journal is for their personal use. The prices of a 2024 individual subscription, which includes print and electronic access, is £100.00 (US \$149.00 in USA, Canada and Mexico). EU subscribers (outside the UK) who are not registered for VAT should add VAT at their country's rate. VAT registered subscribers should provide their VAT registration number. Orders, which must be accompanied by payment, may be sent to any bookseller or subscription agent or to the publisher: Cambridge University Press & Assessment, Journals Fulfillment Department, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge, CB2 8EA, UK. Orders from the USA, Canada and Mexico should be sent to Cambridge University Press, 1 Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006, USA. Prices include delivery by air. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices.

Copying

This journal is registered with the Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Organisations in the USA who are also registered with the CCC may therefore copy material (beyond the limits permitted by sections 107 and 108 of US copyright law) subject to payment to CCC of the per-copy fee of \$15.00. This consent does not extend to multiple copying for promotional or commercial purposes. Code 0260-2105/2021 \$15.00. Organisations authorised by the Copyright Licensing Agency may also copy material subject to the usual conditions.

ISI Tear Sheet Service, 3501 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104, USA, is authorised to supply single copies of separate articles for private use only.

For all other use, permission should be sought from Cambridge or the American Branch of Cambridge University Press.

This journal is included in the Cambridge Core service which can be found at cambridge.org/core.

Review of International Studies

VOLUME 50 · NUMBER 4 · JULY 2024

Lead Editors: Soumita Basu, South Asian University
Andrew Hom, University of Edinburgh
Cian O'Driscoll, Australia National University
Editors: Priya Dixit, Virginia Polytechnic University
Sebastian Kaempf, University of Queensland
Maria Mälksoo, University of Copenhagen
Benjamin Martill, University of Edinburgh
Dahlia Simangan, Hiroshima University

CONTENTS

Research Articles

- Infrastructure and the integral state: Internal Relations, processes of state formation, and Gramscian state theory
DANIEL R. MCCARTHY 619
- Armed group formation in civil war: 'Movement', 'insurgent', and 'state splinter' origins
ANASTASIA SHESTERININA AND MICHAEL LIVESEY 638
- Legitimate governance in international politics: Towards a relational theory of legitimation
WOLFGANG MINATTI 662
- 'The nation has conquered the state': Arendtian insights on the internal contradictions of the nation-state
PETER J. VEROVŠEK 682
- Becoming a humanitarian state: A performative analysis of 'status-seeking' as statecraft in world politics
ALI BILGIC 700
- Resilience as a 'concept at work' in the war in Ukraine: Exploring its international and domestic significance
JANINE NATALYA CLARK 720
- Coping with international politics: A case study of Hong Kong
MALTE PHILIPP KAEDING AND HEIDI WANG-KAEDING 741
- Imperial power, anti-imperial resistance, and the shaping of international hierarchies: Lessons from 1930s Persia
EVALEILA PESARAN 760
- Post-Soviet power hierarchies in the making: Postcolonialism in Tajikistan's relations with Russia
KAROLINA KLUCZEWSKA 777

Erratum

- Imperial power, anti-imperial resistance, and the shaping of international hierarchies: Lessons from 1930s Persia – ERRATUM
EVALEILA PESARAN 798