

Coercion, Capacity, and Coordination: A Risk Assessment Model of the Determinants of Political Violence

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Research Question

- 1 **What factors make domestic political violence more likely and can we forecast it?**
 - 1 domestic political violence: actions from organized anti-government violence that occurs within a state by a domestic population against their own government or agents of their government
 - 2 Recent examples of violence: Ireland, Egypt, Tunisia, U.K.
 - 3 Compared to other forecasting models, this is especially useful in the European context.
 - 1 We are examining violence of any type, not just large scale mass casualty violence.

Argument in a Nutshell

- **Three C's Matter for Predicting Political Violence:**
 - coercion: human rights abuses
 - coordination: ability for population to come together against state
 - capacity: ability of state to project itself throughout its territory
- Using this theoretical framework provides a model for assessing risk of future political violence

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Why take to the street violently?

- Desire - “grievances”
- Opportunity - “mobilization”

Desire for Political Violence

- “Relative Deprivation” & *Coercion* (Human Rights Abuses) - leads to “micro-mobilization” (rallying cries)
 - most research doesn’t distinguish between human rights abuses
 - **Hypothesis 1: The use of (highly visible tactics) of coercion will lead to increases in domestic political violence**

Opportunity for Political Violence

- Even if have grievances, still have to *coordinate* to get to the street
 - a government's practices for freedom of assembly and association make this coordination less costly
 - resources matter for coordination: NGOs, mobile phones, Internet
 - **Hypothesis 2: The availability of coordination resources, either in the form of respect for citizen rights to freedom of assembly and association or in the form of mobile phone/Internet technologies, will lead to increases in domestic political violence.**

Opportunity for Political Violence

- A *capable* state makes for less opportunities for violence
 - raises costs of protest without coercion, serves as signal that violence will not be successful
 - **Hypothesis 3: State capacity will lead to decreases in domestic political violence.**

Dependent Variable: Measuring Domestic Political Violence

- **New measure of all events and intensity of these events of domestic political violence in Reuters Global News Service in a country-year**
 - Integrated Data for Events Analysis (IDEA) project - 1990-2009
 - Virtual Research Associates augmented Goldstein (1992) scores of the intensity of each event
- example:
 - groups in Nepal threaten blockade of government - 6.8135
 - suicide bombing of government office in Chechnya - 10.8125

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Independent Variables: Coercion

- **Cingranelli and Richards (CIRI) dataset**
 - Torture, Political Killings, Disappearances, and Political Prisoners
 - 0-2 on each variable (higher values = more respect)

Independent Variables: Coordination

- **Cingranelli and Richards (CIRI) - Freedom of Association**
- **Mobile Phone Subscribers**
- **Internet Users**
- **Aid to NGOs**

Independent Variables: Capacity

- **GDP per Capita**
- **Military Personnel²**
- **Electric Power Consumption**
- **Aid to Security System Management**

- **Controls:** Ethno-Linguistic Fractionalization, Regime Type, Non-Violent Protest, Media Coverage (ln)
- **GLS Model with Random Effects and Robust Standard Errors, lag all i-vars one year**

Independent Variables: Capacity

- GDP per Capita
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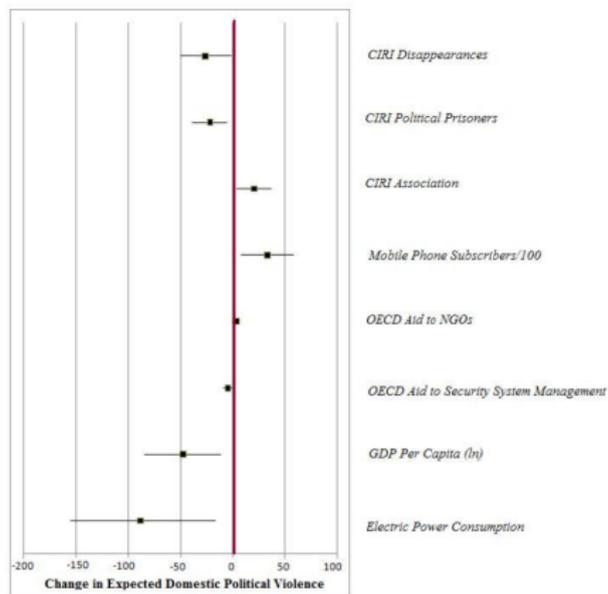
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Model Specifications

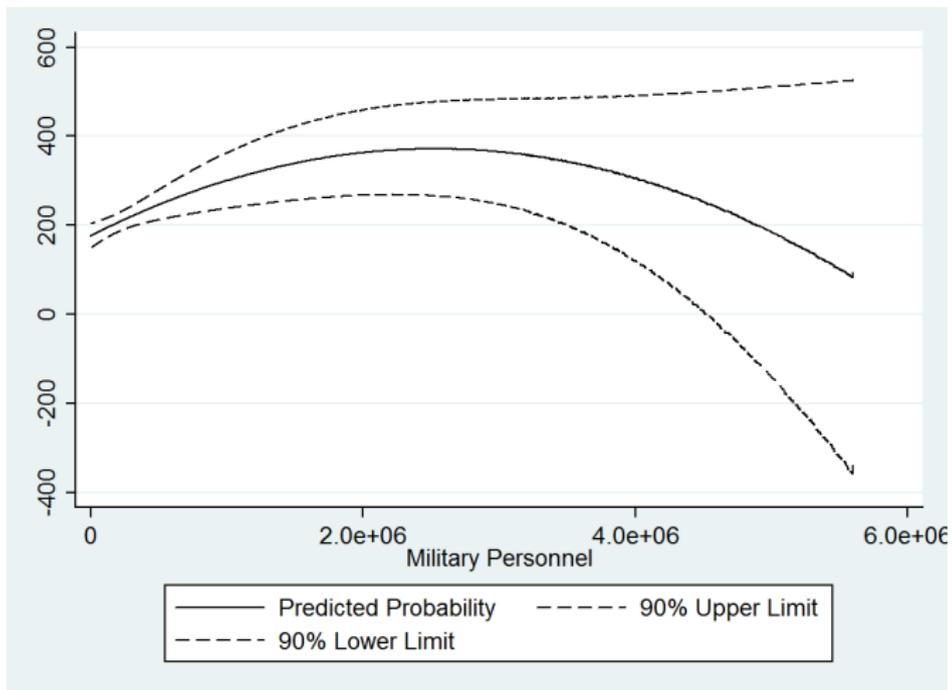
- **Model 1** - all measures of coercion, capacity, and communication, except aid based measures (all lagged 1 year), Non-violent protest measured in same year
- **Model 2** - same as Model 1 but Non-Violent protest lagged one year
- **Model 3** - alternative coding of dependent variable - include country-years with no violent/non-violent protest in Reuters as zeros, same specification as Model 1
- **Model 4** - same coding of dependent variable as Model 3, same specification as Model 2
- **Model 5** - same as Model 1 but without a lagged d-var
- **Model 6** - same as Model 1 but with the addition of the aid based measures

Baseline Model Results

Figure 1: Substantive Effects with 95% Confidence Intervals



Military Personnel Squared



Risk Assessment Metrics

- Risk Assessment generated through method implemented by Gurr and Moore (1997)
- 3 metrics used to assess the quality of both in-sample and out-of-sample predictions (O'Brien 2002, 2010):
 - **Accuracy = # of correct predictions / # of predictions made**
 - **Recall = # of correctly predicted increases / # of increases occurred**
 - **Precision = # of correctly predicted increases / # of increases predicted to occur**
- Guidelines: 80% Accuracy, 80% Recall, 70% Precision
 - when O'Brien (2010) focuses only on domestic crises - performance less than 50% on recall and precision (& only in Pacific Command)

In Sample Performance Metrics

TABLE 2: Summary Model Performance Metrics, Using O'Brien (2002, 2010)

Model Name	Accuracy	Recall	Precision
Baseline Data and Model Specification	.68	.58	.68
Baseline Data with Lagged Nonviolent Protest Model	.68	.67	.71
Expanded Data, Baseline Model	.63	.57	.67
Expanded Data with Lagged Nonviolent Protest Model	.64	.65	.69
No Lagged DVAR	.64	.66	.65
Aid Categories Specification	.68	.57	.67

Regional Performance Metrics

TABLE 3: Regional Variation in Performance Metrics, Using O'Brien (2002, 2010)

Region	Accuracy	Recall	Precision
O'Brien Countries (Pacific Command)	.72	.72	.75
North & South America	.68	.65	.71
Middle East	.70	.60	.71
Africa	.65	.67	.65
Asia	.70	.68	.69
Europe	.70	.59	.69

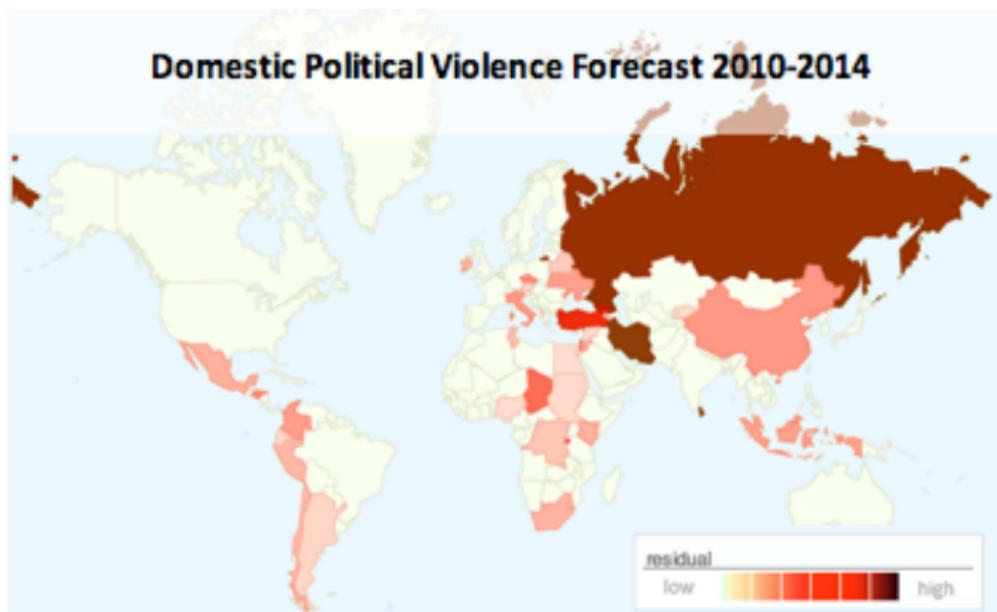
*all calculated using baseline model

Out of Sample Performance Metrics, Baseline Model

TABLE 4: Out of Sample Model Performance Metrics, Using O'Brien (2002, 2010)

Model Name	Accuracy	Recall	Precision
1998	.82	.71	.85
1999	.81	.68	.85
2000	.79	.69	.78
2001	.77	.73	.75
2002	.69	.55	.71
2003	.79	.45	.79
2004	.70	.49	.53
2005	.67	.53	.63

2009: Predictions for Increases in Political Violence 2010-2014



2010: Predictions for Increases in Political Violence 2011-2015

Very High Risk

U.K.

Israel

Sri Lanka

Iran

Colombia

Zimbabwe

South Africa

Haiti

Egypt

Philippines

Guinea-Bissau

Venezuela

Chile

Syria

Chad

Belarus

Guinea

Kyrgyzstan

Greece

High Risk

China

Gambia

Brazil

Indonesia

Italy

Eritrea

Saudi Arabia

Ecuador

Estonia

Libya

Canada

High Risk

UAE

Moldova

Japan

CAR

Congo Kinshasa

Angola

Romania

Ghana

Zambia

Bulgaria

Spain

Lebanon

Honduras

Quarterly Forecast: First Cut

- Need to identify quarterly level variables to make quarterly level predictions.
 - We can go back to events data to capture both government repression and accommodation as independent variables.
 - Political Killings, Beatings, Arrests, Censorship.
 - We also include some yearly indicators.

Quarterly Results

- When looking at specific types of repression, political killings seem to lead to increased violent protest.
- Also, when we look government repression and accommodation in general, repression increases the amount of violent protest, while accommodation decreases the level of political protest.
- The quarterly analysis also allows us to assess the effects of the government actions in the short-term and long-term.

Quarterly Forecast-Five Quarter Predictions

Accuracy	Recall	Precision
.8266	.6449	.8549

- *Venezuela, Peru, Argentina, United Kingdom, Ireland, Belgium, France, Greece, Niger, Nigeria, Chad, South Africa, Sudan, Turkey, Israel, Kazakhstan, India, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines, Indonesia*

Conclusion

- Three C's matter: Coercion, Capacity, and Coordination
- Built risk assessment model that is better than existing published work coming from government agencies (O'Brien 2010)
- List of predictions from 2009: *so far, so bad: Ireland, Ecuador, Tunisia, Egypt, Russia, Albania, Ukraine, Honduras, Italy, Libya, Bahrain*
- Starting to assess more short-term forecasts and incorporating environmental and third-party variables.

We look forward to your questions and suggestions

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- Alper Caglayan (acaglayan@milcord.com)

Results Table

Table 1: Predicting Domestic Violence Through 2009, RE GLS Regression

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Baseline Data and Model Specification	Baseline Data with Lagged Nonviolent Protest Model	Expanded Data, Baseline Model	Expanded Data with Lagged Nonviolent Protest Model	No Lagged Dependent Variable Model	Aid Specification Model
Lagged DVAR _{t-1}	0.48119*** (0.085)	0.59898*** (0.043)	0.39088*** (0.087)	0.51746*** (0.054)	--	0.47090*** (0.085)
CIRI Torture _{t-1}	-18.33126 (11.753)	-23.68687* (12.530)	-13.00912* (7.836)	-14.44185* (8.487)	-15.66322 (10.060)	-15.97275 (11.022)
CIRI Kill _{t-1}	-16.49818 (11.485)	-22.40203* (12.150)	-13.94877 (8.627)	-17.46907* (8.960)	-38.10539*** (12.110)	-20.08616 (12.372)
CIRI Disappearances _{t-1}	-40.49785* (23.675)	-28.08799 (17.480)	-36.35120** (15.932)	-30.07804** (13.230)	-58.93379*** (17.072)	-39.70719 (24.481)
CIRI Political Prisoners _{t-1}	-26.47926*** (9.473)	-16.44115 (11.614)	-14.05563** (6.010)	-10.72119 (6.944)	-19.05540* (10.323)	-25.49245*** (9.641)
CIRI Association _{t-1}	25.33802* (12.932)	13.69280 (10.759)	16.12004* (8.587)	11.53461 (7.968)	20.09285 (13.932)	26.26752* (13.500)
Ethnic Linguistic Fractionalization _{t-1}	42.79459 (30.989)	36.89173 (26.296)	50.41765 (31.956)	50.95170* (28.426)	74.96971 (62.029)	40.33563 (30.897)
GDP per Capita (ln) _{t-1}	-25.69476** (10.620)	-29.75316** (12.001)	-24.41396** (10.763)	-24.37068** (11.208)	-27.24240 (18.864)	-28.24492** (11.086)
Electric Power Consumption _{t-1}	-0.00000* (0.000)	-0.00000 (0.000)	-0.00000 (0.000)	-0.00000 (0.000)	-0.00000 (0.000)	-0.00000 (0.000)
Mobile Phone Subscribers/100 _{t-1}	0.92415*** (0.348)	0.78281** (0.320)	0.71568** (0.296)	0.60467** (0.283)	0.77927* (0.440)	1.05162*** (0.465)
Internet Users/100 _{t-1}	0.00000 (0.000)	-0.00000 (0.000)	0.00000* (0.000)	-0.00000 (0.000)	0.00000* (0.000)	0.00000 (0.000)
Military Personnel _{t-1}	0.00016*** (0.000)	0.00020*** (0.000)	0.00013* (0.000)	0.00022*** (0.000)	0.00014 (0.000)	0.00016** (0.000)
Military Personnel ² _{t-1}	-0.00000* (0.000)	-0.00000** (0.000)	-0.00000 (0.000)	-0.00000** (0.000)	-0.00000 (0.000)	-0.00000 (0.000)
Population (ln) _{t-1}	-54.21807*** (18.355)	-53.47934*** (20.163)	-40.43182*** (14.102)	-39.80961** (15.717)	-43.26529** (18.894)	-55.26262*** (18.990)
Polity (ln) _{t-1}	0.22979 (2.281)	-0.07915 (2.509)	0.67048 (1.464)	0.24064 (1.735)	1.79650 (1.976)	-0.24367 (2.401)
Coverage (ln) _{t-1}	35.73271*** (10.274)	71.50373*** (23.578)	25.19335** (7.582)	53.56487*** (16.762)	43.12400*** (12.080)	36.76025*** (10.647)
Non Violent Protest	4.73602** (2.148)	--	5.20230** (2.333)	--	6.05177** (2.370)	4.79288** (2.201)
Non Violent Protest _{t-1}	--	0.76950** (0.332)	--	0.81469** (0.341)	--	--
OECD Aid to NGOs _{t-1}	--	--	--	--	--	3.06178** (1.556)
OECD Aid to Security Manage. & Reform _{t-1}	--	--	--	--	--	-1.46423** (0.622)
Constant	874.11800*** (320.829)	700.50147*** (269.990)	706.36411*** (270.768)	560.04454** (228.362)	756.75748** (331.291)	902.10636*** (333.739)
Observations	2,024	2,024	2,686	2,686	2,219	1,925
Number of Countries	150	150	155	155	150	149

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

List of Countries Predicted "At Risk", 1 of 3

TABLE 5: List of Countries Predicted "At Risk" For Increases in Political Violence

Country	Baseline Data and Model Specification	Baseline Data with Lagged Nonviolent Protest Model	Expanded Data, Baseline Model	Expanded Data with Lagged Nonviolent Protest Model	Mean of Residual Size Across All Models
Russia	-324.3577	-462.4163	-275.4882	-451.0105	-378.3182
Sri Lanka	-346.4661	-380.2827	-297.9517	-342.1942	-341.7237
Georgia	-215.882	-249.497	-170.5903	-230.5962	-216.6414
Iran	-348.1688	-57.93234	-382.7345	-74.42905	-215.8162
Turkey	-180.9042	-177.1222	-171.685	-165.1552	-173.7167
Eritrea			-139.5406	-122.5177	-131.0292
Bahrain			-140.1455	-118.034	-129.0898
Burundi	-138.6562	-78.74313	-136.0989	-95.40971	-112.227
Indonesia	-65.36892	-130.6523	-83.59263	-167.7971	-111.8528
Chad	-117.3807	-78.83936	-135.3075	-113.4527	-111.245
South Africa	-49.02115	-148.514	-54.47628	-152.87	-101.2203
Kenya	-51.39542	-122.3273	-70.05183	-137.3986	-95.29327
Colombia	-68.20012	-110.481	-58.88278	-137.5263	-93.77256
Mexico	-51.95572	-100.5864	-70.80586	-105.8861	-82.30853
Israel	-200.7762	-4.520111	-170.6665	47.16153	-82.20033
Cyprus			-88.57542	-72.01964	-80.29753
Ukraine	-66.71009	-70.80141	-81.30573	-92.82246	-77.90993
Estonia			-127.9995	-27.50226	-77.50885
China	-74.67465	-56.62302	-140.8531	-37.46716	-77.4045
Egypt	-5.501236	-144.0039	16.42726	-155.5395	-72.15434
Malaysia	-63.87215	-51.51488	-75.54803	-72.68024	-65.90382
Bulgaria			-83.02445	-42.65302	-62.83873
Peru	-42.4762	-57.28321	-54.81584	-94.01176	-62.14675
Italy	-72.95956	-18.53414	-101.3983	-49.58896	-60.62023
Democratic Republic of the Congo	-29.85177	-49.66229	-58.12022	-100.8627	-59.62424
Honduras	-87.34245	-18.72708	-94.04539	-30.67479	-57.69743
Ghana			-84.96844	-30.35446	-57.66145
Bhutan			-101.0558	-10.73494	-55.89536
Chile	-39.44547	-56.50108	-36.86127	-69.49214	-50.57499
Syria	-7.583009	-71.39603	-13.19892	-109.2049	-50.34595
Sudan	-11.34547	-98.45276	11.2074	-94.69229	-48.32078
Jordan	-58.35277	-28.80015	-56.23174	-47.97966	-47.84108
Czech Republic	-85.25447	44.57085	-114.2381	14.86582	-35.01397
Brazil	15.55396	-38.71767	-32.40176	-72.72609	-32.07289
Macedonia			-56.479	-5.303418	-30.89121
Comoros			-70.14388	11.24872	-29.44758
Latvia			-48.87636	-7.696138	-28.28625

Prediction, Part 2 of 3

Ecuador	-11.38089	-18.11699	-34.23196	-46.44695	-27.5442
Australia	5.980025	-59.27469	3.866045	-58.70078	-27.03235
Mauritius			-27.49712	-22.39296	-24.84504
Niger	1.3466	-11.92773	-29.74432	-48.0741	-22.09989
Gabon			-33.69754	-8.927674	-21.31261
Libya			-1.168441	-33.57414	-18.87129
Moldova			-16.67138	-21.02358	-18.84748
Mongolia			-43.8176	7.84394	-17.98683
Singapore	7.935663	-38.79159	21.14594	-57.35176	-16.76544
Ireland	-47.60492	14.60489	-39.59268	10.97665	-15.40401
New Zealand			-1.835711	-25.25901	-13.54736
Belgium	-0.1620827	-7.397513	-9.352086	-35.91707	-13.20719
Argentina	-14.33882	25.78511	-42.45795	-15.19946	-11.55278
Fiji			-43.87447	21.95609	-10.95919
Myanmar	59.9673	-37.75277	39.41175	-98.75523	-9.282239
India	107.4797	-98.70868	115.7841	-144.6802	-5.031288
Spain	38.08701	-28.52489	25.39676	-53.19111	-4.558059
Belarus	-22.75567	30.00202	-22.86417	1.952656	-3.416292
Zambia			1.616804	-6.627533	-2.505365
Nigeria	-8.128128	7.491318	-20.82913	14.18788	-1.819515
Kyrgyz Republic	-6.549953	29.34303	-28.26139	1.371822	-1.024123
Nepal	32.56787	-6.543861	12.0263	-37.73415	0.0790377
Trinidad and Tobago			-9.507099	10.79222	0.6425586
Armenia	-36.33119	44.54551	-28.90515	-29.48014	2.197326
Venezuela	21.14904	9.89748	-3.559315	-9.155491	4.56203
Cambodia	40.2865	-7.989218	25.6661	-35.89238	5.517748
Switzerland			32.87271	-18.15337	7.359674
Botswana			-5.564039	20.33624	7.386101
Congo	2.148792	29.38791	0.3426285	-1.403351	7.618994
Tunisia	-33.66959	61.16664	-33.97773	39.87417	8.348371
Bangladesh	24.62643	17.84277	7.88913	-16.29328	8.516263
Romania	24.00501	20.73499	1.958323	-11.34125	8.839268
Angola	44.75329	9.921322	16.24591	-34.48528	9.108812
Equatorial Guinea			-24.72332	46.05106	10.66387
Guinea	12.52593	45.00758	-18.87946	9.500682	12.03868
Albania	-12.44811	62.10149	-22.79567	31.20946	14.51679
Austria	-8.588543	65.09354	-27.71342	30.97659	14.94204
Slovenia			-14.09187	52.9136	19.41086
Kuwait	52.33564	3.305194	64.20415	-15.56619	26.0697
Saudi Arabia			85.2878	-23.67609	30.80585
Guyana			-19.77036	87.88094	34.05529
Kazakhstan	67.69891	24.86557	51.00981	-1.33436	35.55998
Ghana	77.11193	42.07012	29.41759	-6.346973	35.56317

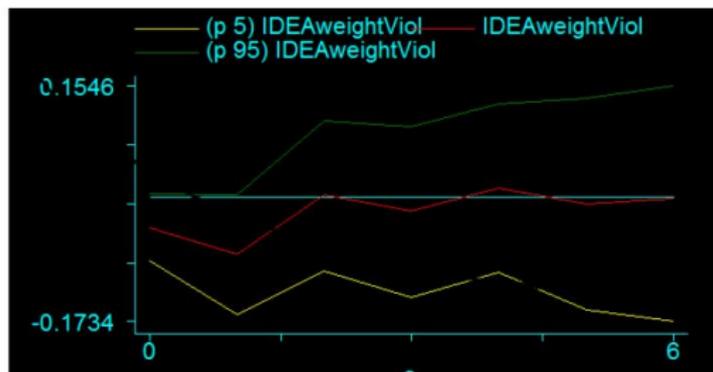
Prediction, Part 3 of 3

Sierra Leone	39.58367	111.8396	-4.018354	47.81608	48.80524
South Korea	113.9766	16.44154	105.5381	-6.789619	57.29166
Swaziland	29.58861	231.2453	-6.876611	182.3026	109.065

Impulse Response - An Exogenous increase in Violence has no discernible impact on Physical Integrity

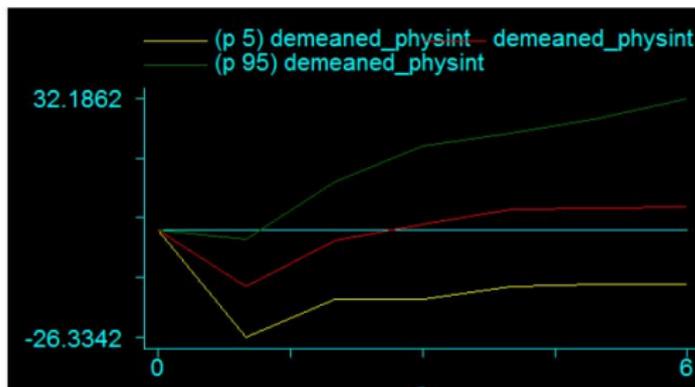
Impulse-Response Functions based on Panel VAR Model with lags of 5

Response of CIRI Physical Integrity to Domestic Political Violence (Results based on Monte-Carlo with 500 reps)



Impulse Response - An Exogenous increase in Physical Integrity respect has short term negative impact on Violence

Response of Domestic Political Violence to CIRI Physical Integrity (Results based on Monte-Carlo with 500 reps)



Quarterly Level Results

VARIABLES	(1) Baseline Data and Model Specification	(2) Alternate Model
Lagged DVAR	0.62088*** (0.07017)	0.49747*** (0.05771)
Non Violent Protest _{t-1}	0.37859* (0.20168)	-0.62160*** (0.21554)
IDEA Political Killings _{t-2}	25.83337** (13.02210)	
IDEA Censorship _{t-2}	0.75697 (2.67062)	
IDEA Political Beatings _{t-2}	10.55989 (9.68997)	
IDEA Political Arrests _{t-2}	3.16915 (2.20046)	
Population (ln) _{t-4}	-0.76068 (2.83455)	-4.11575 (3.06185)
Coverage (ln) _{t-4}	8.89493*** (2.67493)	3.57972* (1.88775)
Polity	-0.15688 (0.41033)	0.21228 (0.33170)
GDP Per Capita (ln) _{t-4}	-4.01438*** (1.31941)	-3.62792*** (1.32683)
Non Violent Protest		3.00130*** (0.96879)
IDEA Accommodation _{t-2}		-0.93052** (0.38346)
IDEA Repression _{t-2}		1.93736*** (0.42833)
Constant	-5.48460 (37.42068)	71.70176 (47.20548)
Observations	7590	7590
Number of Countries	149	149