Effective Development in Conflict Zones
United States Institute of Peace and Empirical Studies of Conflict Meeting
at the University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation,
UC San Diego

May 29-30, 2014
Final Report

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with the assistance of
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SUMMARY
The “Effective Development in Conflict Zones—An Empirical Studies of Conflict Meeting” was hosted at the UC Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC) on May 29-30, 2014. The meeting was held at UC San Diego and brought together academic researchers and experts from the Department of Defense, U.S. military, USAID, USIP, NGOs and the technology industry. This interdisciplinary meeting linked topical research on security issues to the needs of policymakers. There were 63 participants and speakers at the meeting over the two days. Please see the attached Agenda, Participant List, and Speaker Biographies for more details.

BACKGROUND
The American Government and our allies face a tremendous need to better understand how our efforts to rebuild social and economic order in conflict and post-conflict regions can effectively reduce violence. This need is growing more critical as the world’s major powers emerge from the end of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and look to build stability with smaller military footprints in a number of regions. Given the gravity of the human suffering in conflict-ridden regions, the personal sacrifices made by many military, diplomatic, and aid professionals, and the financial cost of aid interventions, academics have a duty to employ their most innovative research tools to study and evaluate these interventions. While most policymakers embrace an approach that combines security provisions (by U.S. forces and allies), economic development and political development, neither the general strategy nor the particular tactics have been methodically evaluated, with exception of a few recent studies, including some by our team.

Over the past five years, a group of economists and political scientists have established the Empirical Studies of Conflict Project (ESOC) to address these needs. ESOC is a growing network of researchers who utilize a broad range of research methodologies on specific questions and make better quality data publicly available to raise the bar for security research. Our researchers employ methods ranging from interviews, to randomized trials, to econometric studies, as appropriate for evaluating specific governance and development efforts in unstable regions. Effective studies in this area also require researchers to have a good understanding of the realities facing policymakers, military actors, and local citizens. Building strong ties between these groups is thus critical to finding better solutions.

1 Funding for the first day of the meeting was provided by USIP. Funding for the second day was provided by the Department of Defense Minerva Research Initiative.
ESOC researchers are committed to the dual objectives of (1) making substantive contributions to the academic literature and (2) providing the results to policy makers and practitioners in accessible and meaningful ways. ESOC members and affiliated researchers routinely brief leaders in the U.S. government, military, and development agencies on the results of our analyses. The team also strives to provide similar support to host-nation officials, government and non-government organizations in the countries where research is conducted.

As part of these efforts, ESOC researchers come together annually to discuss the latest findings, and to connect with policymakers to understand and address their needs for topical security research.

PROGRAM MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
Professor Eli Berman organized the event with input from Ethan Kapstein (USIP), and ESOC co-chairs Jacob Shapiro (Princeton University) and Joseph Felter (Stanford University). An IGCC project manager coordinated the invitations and travel arrangements, and the IGCC Conference Manager coordinated the hotel, meeting room, and meal logistics. Funding for the first day of the meeting was provided by USIP. Funding for the second day was provided by the Department of Defense Minerva Research Initiative.

PROGRAM CONTENT – THURSDAY MAY 29, 2014
OPENING ADDRESS
John F. Sopko, Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction
Oversight and accountability problems compromised the effectiveness of Afghanistan reconstruction efforts. Future reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan and elsewhere should prioritize these issues in order to achieve reconstruction’s end goal: a viable economy.

APPROACHES TO COUNTERINSURGENCY
Chair: Stephen Biddle, The George Washington University
Discussant: Ethan B. Kapstein, US Institute of Peace and Arizona State University

- Leaving Afghanistan: Enduring Lessons from the Soviet Politburo
  Katya Drozdova, Seattle Pacific University and Joseph H. Felter, Stanford University
  The international community can learn important lessons from the Soviet withdrawal experience in Afghanistan, in which Soviet-trained Afghan forces withstood insurgents and a Soviet-installed president ruled successfully for three years, only to have the government collapse from internal strife (not insurgency). Drozodva and Felter analyzed formerly classified Soviet Politburo internal communications documents to identify explicit lessons for current stabilization efforts: linking policy goals to the strategic environment, seeking governance solutions rooted in local tradition, and supporting trained Afghan security forces post-withdrawal.

- Mining Royalties and State Violence in India: an Iron Logic?
  Oliver Eynde, Princeton University and Paris School of Economics
  Counterinsurgency often takes place in fragmented states in which the national government must coordinate efforts between subnational actors. Vanden Eynde demonstrated that tax policy is a potential tool for coordination by showing that increased mining royalties retained by states in India’s Maoist belt caused subnational governments to increase counterinsurgency efforts.
TECHNOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT
Chair: Karim Khoja, Roshan
Discussant: Craig McIntosh, UC San Diego

- Violence and Financial Decisions: Evidence from Mobile Money in Afghanistan
  Tarek Ghani, UC Berkeley
  Insurgent violence can be an impediment to financial sector development. Ghani and his coauthors use three separate data sources to show that people experiencing insurgent violence are more likely to hold cash rather than hold money in a more secure mobile money account, likely due to uncertainty about their ability to convert mobile money to cash in the case of future violence.

- Personalities and Public Sector Performance: Evidence from a Health Experiment in Pakistan
  Arman Rezaee, UC San Diego
  Understanding how and why accountability policies often fail in the public sector is a critical question for developing country governance, since poor governance quality often undermines support for government as opposed to insurgents. Rezaee and coauthors randomize the implementation of a doctor accountability program in Punjab, Pakistan’s health ministry to show that personality (measured using two standard tests) is an important predictor of how public sector doctors respond to the accountability program. Even within an entrenched bureaucracy rife with patronage, predictable types of individuals will enable reform.

LINKING RESEARCH AND POLICY ON FRAGILE AND CONFLICT-AFFECTED ENVIRONMENTS
Chair: Erin Fitzgerald, Department of Defense Minerva Research Initiative
Gene Aloise, Office of the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction
Joseph Hewitt, US Agency for International Development
Sharon L. Morris, United States Institute of Peace

Practitioners and policymakers are open to using academic research to help make policy decisions. To do so, they need digestible and actionable recommendations from academics.

DEMOCRATIZATION AND ELECTIONS
Chair: Joseph Hewitt, US Agency for International Development
Discussant: Eli Berman, UC San Diego

  Aila M. Matanock, UC Berkeley
  Peace agreements with election participation provisions are much more likely to last than those without such provisions. Matanock argues that these provisions create a formal, non-violent system for rival factions to participate in, with the guarantees provided by international presence increasing the likelihood that peace will last.

- Election Fraud and Post-Election Conflict: Evidence from the Philippines
  Benjamin Crost, University of Colorado Denver and Joseph H. Felter, Stanford University
  Election fraud can cause post-election violence when actors dissatisfied with the fraudulent outcome use alternative violent means to gain power. Crost and Felter use a clever
measure of fraud to show that when an incumbent mayor fraudulently wins an election, violent incidents increase in Philippine municipalities.

PROMOTING CIVIL SOCIETY  
Chair: Lynn Carter, Management Systems International  
Discussant: David A. Lake, UC San Diego

- Natural Disasters, Economic Shocks, and Political Behavior: Evidence from the 2010-11 Pakistani Floods  
  Jacob N. Shapiro, Princeton University
  Natural disasters are often thought to undermine democratic institutions in fragile places. Shapiro and coauthors show the opposite: during Pakistan’s disastrous floods in 2010 and 2011, people who were affected by the floods were more likely to be civically engaged and politically informed than those who were unaffected by the floods.

- Protesting Together: Education and Participation in Nationalist Resistance in Palestine  
  Yael Zeira, University of Mississippi
  Participants in political conflict are often seen either as uneducated, poor laborers or highly educated, disaffected college graduates. Zeira uses a survey conducted in the West Bank to show that students with a preparatory school (9 years of education) education are more likely to participate in political conflict than their less educated peers. Higher levels of education beyond preparatory school have little impact on participation.

TRANSITIONING TO ‘BOOTS OFF THE GROUND’: DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES IN CONFLICT ZONES  
J.B. Vowell, US Army

Col. Vowell reviewed the transition of the Afghan security situation over the past decade, focusing on the challenges U.S. forces will face over the next nine months in completing a transition to full Afghan security control. He suggested taking the opportunity offered by the drawdown to see if doctrine could be improved regarding limited interventions.

DINNER  
Robert Jenkins, Deputy Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance, US Agency for International Development

Mr. Jenkins provided an off-the-record explanation of the challenges facing senior officials in implementing policies abroad. He echoed the call for more academic engagement, and for digestible, actionable recommendations.

Many of the participants remained for the Empirical Studies of Conflict sessions on the following day.
Effective Development in Conflict Zones

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at the University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, UC San Diego

Thursday, May 29, 2014

AGENDA

All sessions will take place at UC San Diego’s Village at Torrey Pines on the 15th floor unless otherwise noted.

7:45 am Please meet in the lobby of the Estancia if you would like to walk to the meeting location as a group.

8:00 am BREAKFAST AVAILABLE

8:30 am WELCOME REMARKS
   Eli Berman, UC San Diego
   Ethan B. Kapstein, United States Institute of Peace and Arizona State University

8:45 am OPENING ADDRESS
   John F. Sopko, Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction

9:30 am APPROACHES TO COUNTERINSURGENCY
   Chair: Stephen Biddle, The George Washington University
   Discussant: Ethan B. Kapstein, US Institute of Peace and Arizona State University
   o Leaving Afghanistan: Enduring Lessons from the Soviet Politburo
      Katya Drozdova, Seattle Pacific University
      Joseph H. Felter, Stanford University
   o Mining Royalties and State Violence in India: an Iron Logic?
      Oliver Vanden Eynde, Princeton University and Paris School of Economics

10:45 am BREAK

11:00 am TECHNOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT
   Chair: Karim Khoja, Roshan
   Discussant: Craig McIntosh, UC San Diego
   o Violence and Financial Decisions: Evidence from Mobile Money in Afghanistan
      Tarek Ghani, UC Berkeley
   o Personalities and Public Sector Performance: Evidence from a Health Experiment in Pakistan
      Arman Rezaee, UC San Diego
12:15 pm  LUNCH

LINKING RESEARCH AND POLICY ON FRAGILE AND CONFLICT-AFFECTED ENVIRONMENTS
Chair: Erin Fitzgerald, Department of Defense Minerva Research Initiative
Gene Aloise, Office of the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction
Joseph Hewitt, US Agency for International Development
Sharon L. Morris, United States Institute of Peace

2:00 pm  DEMOCRATIZATION AND ELECTIONS
Chair: Joseph Hewitt, US Agency for International Development
Discussant: Eli Berman, UC San Diego
  Aila M. Matanock, UC Berkeley
- Election Fraud and Post-Election Conflict: Evidence from the Philippines
  Benjamin Crost, University of Colorado Denver
  Joseph H. Felter, Stanford University

3:15 pm  BREAK

3:30 pm  PROMOTING CIVIL SOCIETY
Chair: Lynn Carter, Management Systems International
Discussant: David A. Lake, UC San Diego
- Natural Disasters, Economic Shocks, and Political Behavior: Evidence from the 2010-11 Pakistani Floods
  Jacob N. Shapiro, Princeton University
- Protesting Together: Education and Participation in Nationalist Resistance in Palestine
  Yael Zeira, University of Mississippi

4:45 pm  TRANSITIONING TO ‘BOOTS OFF THE GROUND’: DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES IN CONFLICT ZONES
J.B. Vowell, US Army

5:30 pm  DAY 1 CONCLUDES

6:30 pm  DINNER
Robert Jenkins, Deputy Assistant Administrator
Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance
US Agency for International Development
Location: Great Hall, UC San Diego