

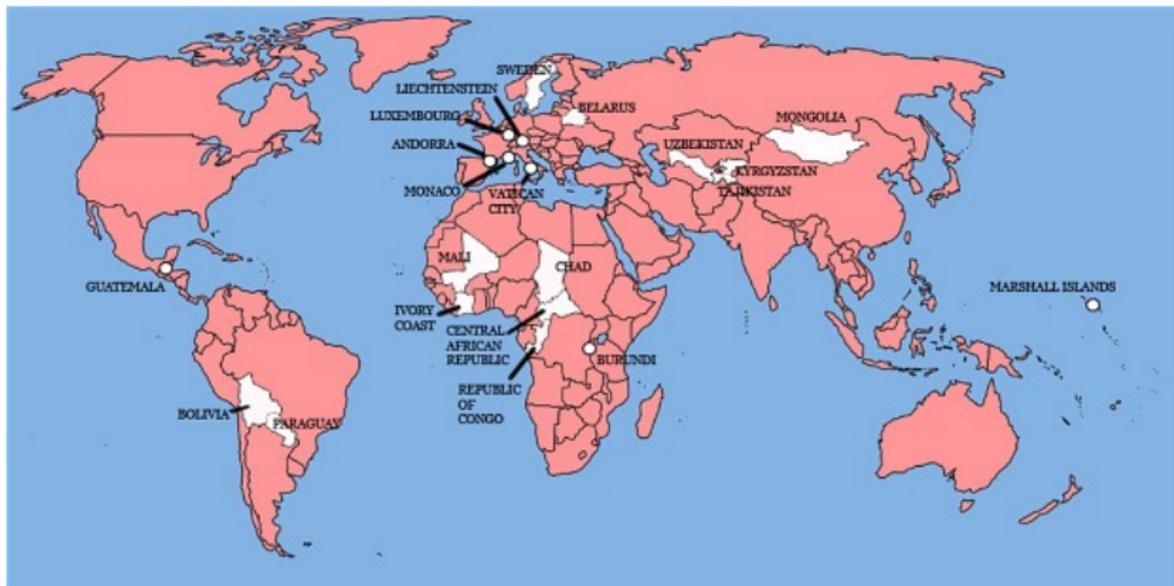
Just War or Just Politics? The Determinants of Foreign Military Intervention

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Territorial Conquest Used to Be Common...



Source: www.telegraph.co.uk

...But Now It Is Not.

<i>Period</i>	<i>Territorial conflicts</i>	<i>Conflicts resulting in redistribution of territory</i>	<i>Conflicts in which territory was redistributed</i>	<i>Territorial redistributions per year</i>
1651–1700	14	11	79%	0.22
1701–1750	16	14	88%	0.28
1751–1800	12	8	67%	0.16
1801–1850	13	11	85%	0.22
1851–1900	14	10	71%	0.20
1901–1950	26	23	89%	0.46
1951–2000	37	10	27%	0.20

Source: Zacher (2001), “The Territorial Integrity Norm: International Boundaries and the Use of Force”

What Happened to Empire?

Why was it replaced?

- Technological Changes (e.g. Gartzke and Rohner 2011)
- Institutional Changes (e.g. Lake 1992)
- Normative Changes (e.g. Fazal 2007)

How was it replaced?

- What were the motivations?
- Where do those motivations lead states today?

Foreign Military Intervention

The movement of regular troops or forces of one country inside another, in the context of some political issue or dispute.

- Pearson and Baumann 1993

Fazal 2007:

- “Would-be conquerors will turn to alternative means to achieve the ends formerly sought through conquest.”
- Globally: decrease in conquest → increase in foreign military intervention

More Similarities

- Short-term intervention for long-term goals
 - Installing new leader
 - During a crisis
- Territory economically, rather than strategically, important
 - Some industries require certain type of territory (e.g. mining)
 - If economic motivations drive imperialism, they can drive new policies too

Two Theories of Empire

Metrocentric:

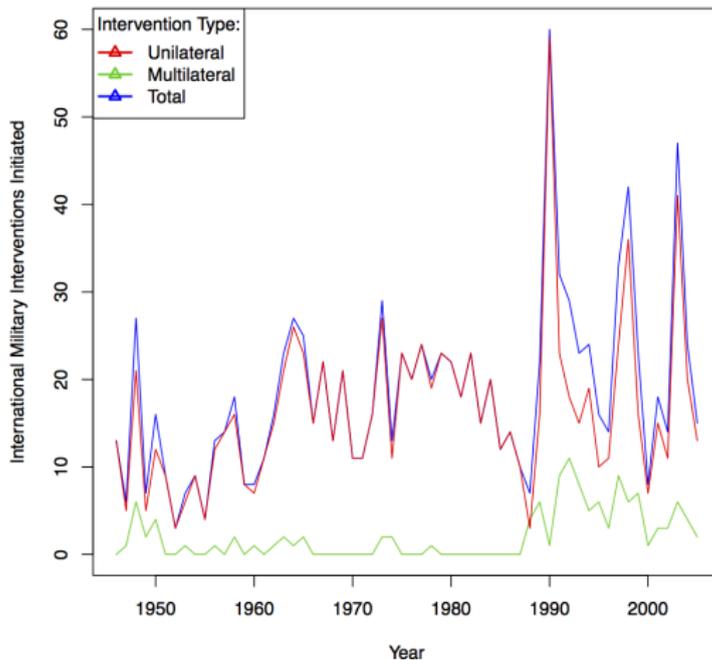
- Imperial ambitions driven by home states' protection of vulnerable investments (Frieden 1994)
- Site-specific investments vulnerable to nationalization/hold-ups
- More primary production investments (e.g. raw materials, agricultural goods) → More intervention

Pericentric:

- Imperial expansion into host states that can't protect domestic industry (Blanken 2012)
- Lack of “assurance institutions” makes it hard for a host state to work with anyone
- Better rule of law → Less intervention

International Military Intervention Dataset

Worldwide Count of Foreign Military Interventions, 1946 – 2005



Independent Variables

Primary Production Model:

- Disaggregated trade data (Comtrade); 1962-2013
- Raw Materials, Agricultural Goods, Manufactured Products
- $Int_{ijt} = \alpha + \beta_1 raw_{ijt} + \beta_2 agr_{ijt} + \beta_3 man_{ijt} + \beta_4 controls_{jit} + \theta_t + \phi_i + \epsilon_{ijt}$

Assurance Institutions Model:

- Property rights data; 1984-2013
- “Law and Order Tradition,” International Country Risk Guide (ICRG)
- $Int_{it} = \alpha + \beta_1 RuleofLaw_{it} + \beta_2 controls_{it} + \theta_t + \epsilon_{it}$

Methods

- Units: Country-year; dyad-year
- Controls: GDP, Wars, GDP/capita, Military Power, Polity, Alliance, S-Score, Contiguity, Splines, Fixed Effects
- Rare Events Logit
- Intervention onset as DV; drop ongoing interventions
- Alternative: Quasi-poisson

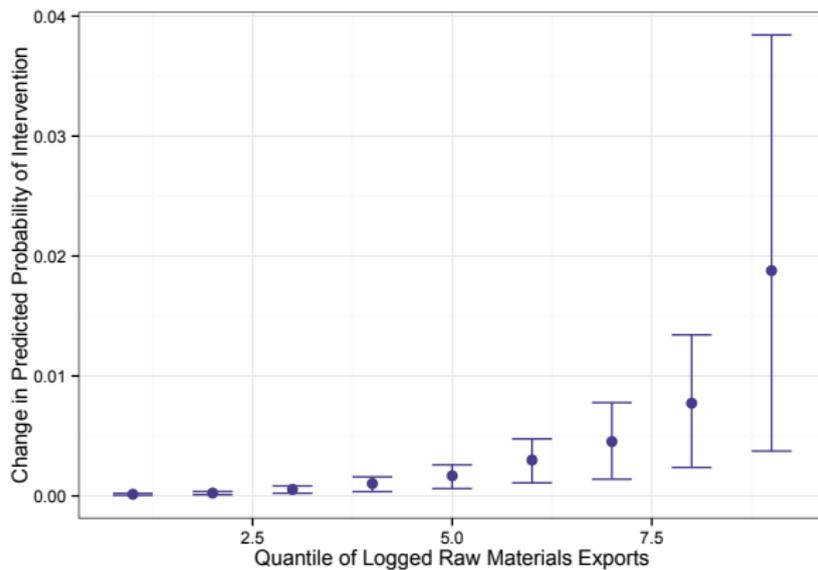
Primary Production Model

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Monadic Models			Dyadic Model
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Raw Materials	0.027***	0.028**	0.029**	0.135***
Manufactured Goods	0.002	0.023	0.028	-0.039
Agricultural Products	-0.112	-0.168	-0.176	-0.013
Civil War		0.788***	0.687***	0.966***
GDP_i		-0.000	-0.000	-0.000
CINC		24.895***	26.334***	-5.949
$Polity_i$		-0.020	-0.016	-0.079***
MID		1.610***	1.561***	1.620***
Contiguous				2.858***
$GDP_i pc$				-0.0001**
$GDP_j pc$				0.0001***
GDP_j				-0.000
S-Score				-0.339
$Polity_j$				-0.035
Alliance				0.819***
Fixed Effects			Year	Year, Int
Constant	-3.201***	-3.996***	-3.532***	-6.648***
Observations	2,539	2,163	2,163	233,199
Log Likelihood	-446.573	-341.575	-324.289	-903.941
Akaike Inf. Crit.	907.146	707.150	754.577	2,247.883

Note:

* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

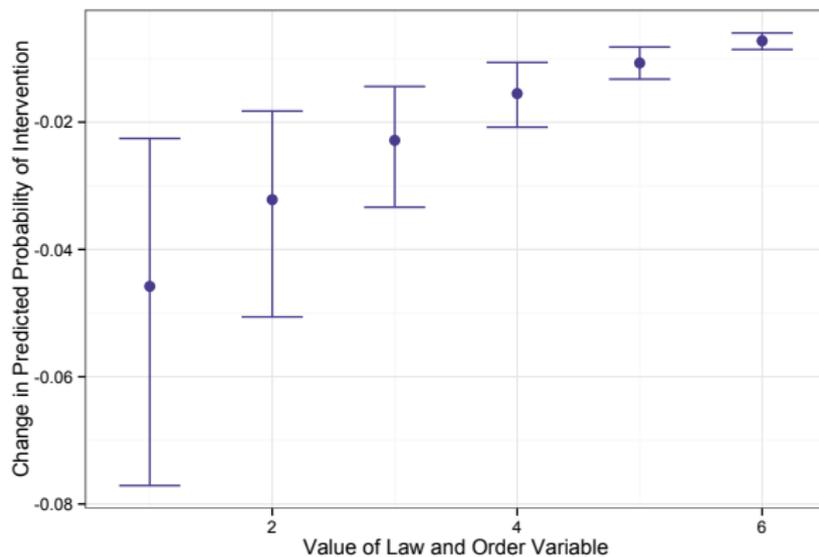
Primary Production Model



Assurance Institutions Model

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Unilateral Intervention		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Rule of Law	-0.329*** (0.070)	-0.286*** (0.085)	-0.342*** (0.093)
Civil War		0.462* (0.242)	0.433* (0.241)
GDP		-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
CINC		14.129** (6.101)	13.159** (6.005)
Polity		-0.011 (0.016)	-0.013 (0.016)
MID		1.342*** (0.220)	1.272*** (0.232)
Fixed Effects			Y
Constant	-1.590*** (0.323)	-2.490*** (0.410)	-2.071*** (0.594)
Observations	2,698	2,432	2,432
Log Likelihood	-449.345	-378.988	-369.129
Akaike Inf. Crit.	908.690	777.975	802.257

Assurance Institutions Model



Conclusion

- Foreign military intervention a modern-day substitute for imperialism
- Economic motivations explain it, both metrocentric and pericentric
- More Questions:
 - What other substitutes (foreign aid, sanctions, etc.)?
 - Multilateralism

Thank you!

SITC Codes

Table: UN Comtrade Category Coding

Raw Materials	
SITC Code	Category Description
2	Crude materials, inedible, except fuels
3	Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials
5	Chemicals
Agricultural Goods	
SITC Code	Category Description
0	Food and live animals
1	Beverages and tobacco
4	Animal and vegetable oils and fats
Manufactured Products	
SITC Code	Category Description
6	Manufact goods classified chiefly by material
7	Machinery and transport equipment
8	Miscellaneous manufactured articles