

**Workshop *Economics, Security and Politics***  
**Ecole Militaire, Paris**  
**Amphithéâtre Moore**  
**May, the 23<sup>rd</sup>**

The Chair of Defense Economics and the Institute for Strategic Research (IRSEM, Paris) organize a workshop on the theme “*Economics, Security and Politics*”. Throughout this day, we will explore the links between democracy, its construction, public opinions and military actions or conflicts.

Topics addressed in this workshop were inspired by the book of Elie Baranets *Comment perdre une guerre. Une théorie du contournement démocratique (How to lose a war. A theory of democratic circumvention)*, published in 2017, CNRS editions.

We will mostly focus on the relationships between citizenship and military actions. The term “citizenship” embraces here elements related to public opinion and the rise of nationalism or populism in modern societies. Contributions on how public opinion (*via* twitter for example) shapes military interventions, defense or international politics (e.g. defense spending, arms trade) will be discussed. Moreover, the role of conflicts – wars, military interventions, civil conflicts – on the popularity of the government or the army will also belong to the scope of this workshop.

## PROGRAM

- 9h-9h15 *Welcome Coffee*
- 9h15-9h30 *Welcome address – **Elisa Darriet** (Chaire Economie de défense, fonds de dotation de l'IHEDN) & **Antoine Pietri** (IRSEM)*
- 9h30 – 10h20 **Elie Baranets** (IRSEM, Ecole Polytechnique), “How to lose a war. A theory of democratic circumvention”
- 10h20-10h40 *Coffee Break*
- 10h40-11h30 **Stergios Skaperdas** (University of California, Irvine), “External Intervention, Identity, and Civil War” (with N. Sambanis and W. Wohlforth)
- 11h30-12h20 **Alessandro Riboni** (Ecole Polytechnique, CREST), “Nation-building, nationalism and wars” (with A. Alesina and B. Reich)
- 12h20-14h *Lunch*
- 14h-14h50 **Margit Bussmann** (University of Greifswald), “France’s military interventions: Diversion from economic problems?”
- 14h50-15h40 **Sophie Hatte** (ENS Lyon, GATE), “Twitter Revolution” (with E. Madinier and E. Zhuravskaya)
- 15h40-16h00 *Coffee Break*
- 15h00-16h50 **Béatrice Boulu-Reshef** (University Paris 1, CES), “Social Distance and Parochial Altruism: An Experimental Study” (with J. Schulhofer-Wohl)
- 16h50-17h40 **Marion Mercier** (University Paris Dauphine, LEDa), “Fighting from abroad: Do refugees affect violence in the home country?” (with F. Mariani)
- 17h40-18h00 *Closing Remarks*

## **ELIE BARANETS**

Élie Baranets completed his Ph.D. in Political Science at the University of Bordeaux in 2015. He is a post-doctoral researcher at the Institute for Strategic Research since 2017, in collaboration with the LinX (École Polytechnique). His current research focuses on the causes of armed conflicts, on the link between political regime and war and more specifically on the strategic impact of political discourses.

### **How to lose a war. A theory of democratic circumvention**

#### *Abstract*

*Does regime type have any importance in explaining the outcomes of a war? I argue that democracy does indeed play a major role, but quite unlike the one usually ascribed to it within the specialized literature. When it comes to national security, democratic leaders can act without being heavily constrained by legal procedures. Few things can therefore prevent them from circumventing democracy, meaning engaging in a war whose real war aims exceed publicly announced war aims. Leaders, however, would be wrong to assume that this practice does not backfire. After having circumvented democracy, leaders manoeuvre so as to conceal the existing discrepancy between proclaimed war aims and actual ones. Therefore, their war-making is subjected to a set of restrictions. They encounter obstacles on the battlefield, and cannot prevent human costs from growing. This is how protest movements against war are fomented on the internal stage. This process can ultimately lead to losing a war. I explore these hypotheses by focusing on the war Israel fought in Lebanon in 1982.*

## **STERGIOS SKAPERDAS**

Stergios Skaperdas is Professor of Economics and holds the Clifford S. Heinz Chair (on the economics of peace) at the University of California, Irvine. In July 2016 he was appointed Director of the Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies. His research examines circumstances in which individuals and groups can make a living not just by producing and trading but also by taking – appropriating – the production of others. His research has been published in a variety of economics and political science journals, including the *American Economic Review*, the *American Political Science Review*, or the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

### **External Intervention, Identity, and Civil War (with N. Sambanis and W. Wohlforth)**

#### *Abstract*

*We examine how external intervention interacts with ethnic polarization to induce rebellion and civil war. Previous literature views polarization as internally produced — the result of demographic characteristics or inter-group differences made salient by ethnic entrepreneurs. We complement these approaches by showing that polarization is also affected by international politics. We demonstrate that polarization is correlated with civil war when the potential for actual or anticipated intervention is high. We provide a model in which external*

*intervention is the catalyst for civil war in combination with ethnic or social identification – a pathway not previously considered in the literature. In our model, local actors representing different groups are emboldened by foreign patrons to pursue their objectives violently. This, in turn, makes ethnic identity salient and induces inter-group polarization. Without the specter of intervention, polarization is often insufficient to induce war and, in turn, in the absence of polarization intervention is insufficient to induce war. We illustrate the model with case evidence from Ukraine.*

### **ALESSANDRO RIBONI**

Alessandro Riboni is an Associate Professor at Ecole Polytechnique and a research member of CREST. He received his undergraduate degree from Bocconi University, and a PhD in Economics from the University of Rochester. His work lies at the intersection between macroeconomics and political economy. Before joining Ecole Polytechnique, he was an associate professor at the University of Montreal

#### **Nation-building, nationalism and wars (with A. Alesina and B. Reich)**

##### *Abstract*

*This paper explores how wars make nations above and beyond raising fiscal capacity to finance the warfare. As army size increases, states change the conduct of war, switching from mercenaries to mass conscript armies. In order for the population to accept fighting and enduring war, government elites provide public goods, reduce rent-extraction and adopt policies to build a nation, i.e., homogenize the population. Governments can instill “positive” national sentiment in the sense of emphasizing the benefit of the nation, but they can also instill “negative” sentiment in terms of aggressive propaganda against the opponent. We analyze these two types of nation-building and study their implications.*

### **MARGIT BUSSMANN**

Margit Bussmann holds the Chair of International Relations and Regional Studies at the University of Greifswald (Germany) since 2010. She received her Ph.D. at the University of Alabama in 2001 and her Habilitation at the University of Konstanz in 2009. Her work has been published in *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Peace Research*, and *World Development* among others.

#### **France’s military interventions: Diversion from economic problems?**

##### *Abstract*

*A large body of research investigates whether democracies’ decisions to intervene militarily are guided by external threats and strategic considerations or whether domestic factors play the predominant role. Foreign military intervention can create a “rally-round-the-flag” effect and might be used to divert attention away from domestic problems. Empirical research on diversionary conflicts has not shown conclusive results yet. A reassessment of diversionary*

*theory for France, as one of the most militarily active European powers, which has hardly been subject to rigorous empirical research so far, can provide new insights. Preliminary tests provide no indication of a systematic rally effect after France gets involved in military disputes. With few exceptions presidential approval ratings do not improve. There is also no indication that France is more likely to intervene in months with low presidential popularity or prior to elections. France is also not more likely to intervene militarily if confronted with economically difficult times at home.*

### **SOPHIE HATTE**

Sophie Hatte is an Assistant Professor in Economics at ENS de Lyon since September 2018. Her research projects focus on microeconomic questions, in particular in the field of political economy, with a focus on news disclosure and its effect on behavior. During her postdoc in Lausanne, she has started a set of research projects focusing on two novel, first-order questions in media economics: (i) the complex interplay between the media coverage of particular issues and the current success of many populist campaigns in the world, and (ii) how the emergence of social media has affected the news release strategies of traditional media.

**“Twitter Revolution”**(with E. Madinier and E. Zhuravskaya)

#### *Abstract*

*This paper examines how Twitter affects the likelihood and extent to which US TV channels report information. To this aim, we use the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as an ideal framework and study the effect tweets have on US TV coverage of attacks perpetrated between 2000 and 2016. Exploiting machine learning techniques, we characterize the type of information released on Twitter and thus investigate potential heterogeneous effects.*

### **BEATRICE BOULU-RESHEF**

Béatrice Boulu-Reshef is an Associate Professor (Maître de conférences) of Economics at the Centre d'Economie de la Sorbonne, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. Her research and teaching fall primarily within the area of managerial economics, behavioral economics, experimental economics, law and economics and finance. Her research revolves around the theme of decision-making in organizational and market settings. In particular, she studies managerial decision-making and resource allocation behavior. She uses both framed-field and laboratory experiments.

**“Social Distance and Parochial Altruism: An Experimental Study”** (with J. Schulhofer-Wohl)

#### *Abstract*

*Parochial altruism – individual sacrifice to benefit the in-group and harm an out-group – undermines inter-group cooperation. This article examines the impact of variation in social distance within the in-group together with variation in social distance between the in- and*

*out-groups on parochial altruism. We use a minimal group paradigm set-up as a foundation for our experiment. We find that differential social distance has a systematic effect on individual choice in a setting of potential inter-group conflict. In particular, parochial altruism is stimulated when individuals' distance to both their in- and out-group is high. A long-standing finding in the social sciences concerning individual behavior in human societies is that low social distance facilitates collective action. Our results challenge this and suggest that the effects of high social distance may create a potential additional pathway to group-based individual action. The research agenda on parochial altruism can be furthered by investigating such effects.*

### **MARION MERCIER**

Marion Mercier is an associate professor at the department of economics of Paris-Dauphine. She did her PhD thesis at Paris School of Economics on the links between migration, development and politics in migrants' country of origin. After graduating in 2014, she spent one year at the Université Libre de Bruxelles as a post-doc and two years at the Université catholique de Louvain as a Marie Skłodowska-Curie fellow, working on the micro-level consequences of war and on the role of migration in the evolution of conflicts. Most of her research focuses on development, migration, political economy and conflicts.

**“Fighting from abroad: Do refugees affect violence in the home country?”** (with F. Mariani)

#### *Abstract*

*We document the interactions between local violence and one specific category of emigrants, namely refugees. We combine the UCDP - GED data on local violent events, which provide information on the actors involved in violence, with the EPR - ER data, which provide stocks of refugees by country of origin and destination and by ethnic group, to investigate the relationship between the stocks of refugees living abroad and the evolution of violence in their homeland between 1989 and 2009. Each observed group of refugees is associated to violent events in which insurgent groups from the same ethnic background are involved in the home country. This disaggregated approach allows us to purge the estimated correlation between refugees and violence at home from both fixed and time-varying country-level characteristics, as well as from ethnic group fixed-effects. Given the multiple sources of potential endogeneity in the refugees - violence relationship, we implement an IV strategy exploiting the bilateral nature of the refugee data. Our results point to a heterogeneity of the impact of refugees on violence intensity depending on the nature of violence. We discuss theoretical intuitions helping to understand these results.*



# IRSEM

INSTITUT DE RECHERCHE STRATÉGIQUE  
DE L'ÉCOLE MILITAIRE



Chaire  
Economie  
de Défense

