

Hotel: \*Harbor View Inn\*, 28 W Cabrillo Blvd, Santa Barbara, CA 93101 (ph. (805) 963-0780)

## Conference Schedule

### Friday, April 12, 2024

8:30am: Depart from Harbor View Inn to Mosher Alumni House on campus of UCSB.

9:00am – 9:15am: Welcome Remarks and Breakfast

**9:15am – 10:00am: Eric Min (UCLA)** – *"Private and Profitable? Assessing Information Advantages in Declassified Daily Intelligence Briefings"*; Discussant: Brad LeVeck (UC Merced)

**10:00am – 10:45am: Aila Matanock (UC Berkeley)** – *"Using Invited Intervention to Address Security Challenges"*; Discussant: Arthur Stein (UCLA)

10:45am – 11:00am: Break

**11:00am – 11:45am: Kai Thaler (UCSB)** – *"Bringing the Military Back In: Conceptualizing Militaries' Roles During Democratic Erosion"*; Discussant: Etel Solingen (UC Irvine)

**11:45am – 12:30pm: Heidi Hardt (UC Irvine)** – *"An Existential Threat Multiplier: Explaining Climate Adaptation in NATO"*; Discussant: Alison Brysk (UCSB)

12:30pm-2:00pm: Lunch

**2:00pm – 2:45pm: Andrew Shaver (UC Merced)** – *"Effects of International Affairs News Reporting on Knowledge and Perceptions – A Study of U.S. Residents and Foreign Affairs Elite"*; Discussant: Barry O'Neill (UCLA)

**2:45pm – 3:30pm: Erin Lockwood (UC Irvine)** – *"Economic International Organizations' Perceptions of and Responses to AI Risk"*; Discussant: Steven Liao (UC Riverside)

3:30pm – 3:45pm: Break

**3:45pm – 4:30pm: Juan Tellez (UC Davis)** – *"Youth Civic Engagement in the Shadow of War: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Ethiopia"*; Discussant: Daniel Masterson (UCSB)

4:30pm – 4:45pm: Closing Remarks

5:00pm: Depart from UCSB to Harbor View Inn in Santa Barbara.

6:00pm – 8:30pm: Dinner at the Flor De Maiz in Santa Barbara.

## Papers and Abstracts

### Private and Profitable? Assessing Information Advantages in Declassified Daily Intelligence Briefings

#### Authors:

Eric Min, University of California Los Angeles  
Austin Carson, University of Chicago

**Abstract:** Does intelligence reporting provide novel and more useful information to leaders than what is available in mainstream news reports? We assess this question through a same-day comparative analysis of almost 5,000 President's Daily Briefs (PDBs) and almost 2 million full-text articles on foreign affairs in the New York Times. We use a novel approach for systematically comparing an originally highly-classified knowledge source with a public knowledge source to measure informational differences and informational advantages for leaders. We find considerable and interesting divergence in the slate of countries are covered in each source. To assess informational advantage, we analyze relative success in anticipating coups. Intelligence material, we show, is more likely to mention unrest in a country as well as key facts related to an upcoming coup more quickly than traditional news reporting. The article contributes a novel methodological approach to measuring private information. It also offers a rare test of whether intelligence pays--that is, the value added of massive investments in intelligence bureaucracies made by modern states.

### Using Invited Intervention to Address Security Challenges

#### Authors:

Aila M. Matanock, University of California Berkeley  
Wendy Wagner, University of California San Diego  
Andrew Wojtanik, University of California Berkeley

**Abstract:** All states engage in some security provision, but many face a confounding tradeoff when it comes to various threats. Although leaders seek to fend off competitors, cope with crime, and generally police their territory. However, in some cases, developing police and military forces can produce their own threat to the regime, primarily through coups. Different domestic strategies help leaders coup proof, but they often entail tradeoffs between addressing these external and internal threats under the guardianship dilemma, and we argue that an overlooked international strategy is also often available. Specifically, we introduce the concept of "invited intervention," where host states allow foreign sovereign entities to conduct security functions within their territory, as a technique used by some leaders to manage their security. This paper presents a theory of when this strategy is useful for leaders, and then, using an original dataset of 168 invited interventions in 30 Sub-Saharan African countries from 1980 to 2015, it examines the factors that drive leaders to opt for invited intervention. We argue that leaders see a set of strategic advantages in allowing these outside actors into their security sectors, which mitigate the potential drawbacks, and we show this empirically with different measures of coup threat, in particular. The research sheds light on the agency of host states in international affairs, broadens our understanding of international intervention, and deepens our understanding of leaders' survival strategies.

### Youth Civic Engagement in the Shadow of War: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Ethiopia

#### Authors

Sewareg Adamu, Lodestar Associates Consult PLC  
David A. Dow, Naval Postgraduate School  
Fitsum Hailu, Initiative for Peace and Development  
Mesele Mengsteab, Addis Ababa University  
Jeremy Springman, University of Pennsylvania  
Juan Tellez, University of California Davis

**Abstract:** There are two large and fast-growing research programmes in the study of democratic participation. One is about how to increase civic engagement in the face of weak participation rates in many of the world's democracies. The other is about how to increase inter-group tolerance in countries where group tensions are the source of conflict. Yet these questions are rarely considered jointly despite their frequent interplay in contemporary politics and, as a result, we know little about how to make more, and more tolerant, engagement, especially in fragile contexts. Here, we present new evidence from a field experiment in Ethiopia, a country characterized by low participation that was also experiencing an intense ethnic conflict during the experiment. We randomized invitations to Tolerant Engagement Forums (TEFs), workshops designed with local input to increase engagement while mitigating the potential for increased ethnic tension. Four months out, intent-to-treat estimates show increases in certain forms of engagement, no changes in tolerance, and some evidence that new participation had an identitarian quality. Results suggest that fostering tolerant engagement is possible but highlight the oft-ignored importance of how countries' organizational environments structures participation.

## **An Existential Threat Multiplier: Explaining Climate Adaptation in NATO**

### **Authors:**

Heidi Hardt, University of California Irvine  
Jackie Burns, University of California Irvine

**Abstract:** Climate threats are increasingly compromising NATO's force posture, operations and assets. Extreme heat has rendered some helicopters useless in operations and cost the lives of soldiers; rising sea levels have damaged NATO bases and allies' military equipment. However, existing research suggests that, of international organizations, NATO has made the least progress on climate adaptation (Kural et al. 2021). We interrogate the nature such adaptation by answering the following question: in the shadows of war, why has NATO adapted to climate threats on some issue areas but stagnated on others? Currently, few studies exist across security studies, adaptation scholarship in organizational behavior literature (e.g. Moser et al. 2010) and organizational sociology to explain how international security organizations (ISOs) are adapting to climate threats; instead, relevant work focuses on one-off climate reforms in militaries, modeling climate governance (e.g. regime complex) or how individual governments are adapting. Aside from one (i.e. Lippert 2019), most relevant scholarship overlooks the constraints of NATO's unique structure on attempts at adaptation. This study therefore tests an original argument that, driven by shifts in public opinion, member states have publicly promoted areas of adaptation (e.g. resilience) most proximate to NATO's primary core task (e.g. collective defense) but privately implemented in areas least proximate (e.g. crisis management, etc.) to the primary core task. We find that doing so has allowed NATO to satisfy domestic publics without significantly disrupting the ways in which it carries out collective defense. Our findings draw on 61 structured, in-person and Zoom interviews, which are primarily with political and military elites working for member states across NATO's five regions and also include several NATO bureaucrats. Our research advances security studies scholarship by introducing a new argument for why ISOs adapt to climate threats in the ways that they do. We also reveal unique empirical insights into the political barriers, areas of consensus and practical military consequences of climate negotiations in the Alliance.

## **Effects of International Affairs News Reporting on Knowledge and Perceptions – A Study of U.S. Residents and Foreign Affairs Elite**

### **Authors**

Andrew Shaver; Assistant Professor, UC Merced  
Leonardo Dantas; current/former UC undergraduate/Political Violence Lab intern  
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Grady Thomson; current/former UC undergraduate/Political Violence Lab intern  
Aishvari Trivedi; current/former UC undergraduate/Political Violence Lab intern

**Abstract:** U.S. residents and international affairs elite surveyed for this project report significant reliance on news reporting for information on international affairs. They also acknowledge major gaps in international affairs coverage. Do these gaps predictably influence fundamental knowledge and perceptions of international affairs? We begin by analyzing tens of millions of recently published articles and find that 1) many major international issues receive minimal major news media attention, and 2) that many international issues, when they are reported on, are depicted in a manner that deviates from underlying empirical realities (e.g. reporting effectively stops even as crises continue). Through a series of surveys, we then analyze how these reporting patterns influence the knowledge and perceptions of international affairs of two distinct populations: 1) U.S. residents; and 2) international affairs professionals consisting of a) international relations faculty at colleges and universities across the United States, b) current and former senior U.S. government officials who collectively served across (at least) three presidential administrations on issues relating to U.S. trade, development, or national security, and c) international affairs-focused staffers at major U.S. think tanks. Results point to

significant causal effects of news media reporting practices on respondents' knowledge and perceptions of international affairs. More broadly, we argue that the major news media's role as an international affairs actor is omitted in much international relations theorizing and empirical work.

### **Economic International Organizations' Perceptions of and Responses to AI Risk**

#### **Author:**

Erin Lockwood, University of California Irvine

**Abstract:** Artificial intelligence (AI) experts, scholars, and policymakers have raised concerns about potential risks that AI poses to state and international security, flagging possibilities such as the weaponization of AI and machine learning; the systematic spread of misinformation and contributions to political extremism; the diminution of human capabilities; and the potential for access to AI to further consolidate wealth and power in global hierarchies. Understood as both a new digital technology and a source of transnational risk, AI is of acute interest to international organizations across a broad swath of issue areas – from the IMF to NATO to the WHO – who have developed statements, working groups, and task forces related to the use and risks of artificial intelligence. This paper maps the landscape of how economic IOs are perceiving and responding to AI risk, focusing in particular on AI's potential to exacerbate economic inequality and transform global economic structures. It develops a typology of IOs' responses, focusing on questions of measurement, qualitative assessment, and mitigation to argue that AI risk both challenges and reinforces IOs' dominant approaches to risk and the politics of knowledge and expertise.

### **Bringing the Military Back In: Conceptualizing Militaries' Roles During Democratic Erosion**

#### **Authors:**

Kai Thaler, UC Santa Barbara  
Risa Brooks, Marquette University

**Abstract:** Today, scholars tend to neglect the role of militaries in democratic erosion, reflecting a long-standing tendency to reduce the military's domestic influence to its coup-making capacity. This article offers a corrective by emphasizing the various ways that militaries can exploit other sources of power, including their domestic political and bureaucratic influence, to both support and oppose erosion. It outlines six roles—partnering, abetting, enabling, evading, dissenting and blocking—illustrating the typology with examples of militaries in states from diverse regions and levels of democratic development. The article then specifies future directions for scholarship, emphasizing the need to research variation in military roles in moments of backsliding, both within and across militaries over time; explore the sources of military responses, including both material and ideational factors; study when and why military actions are consequential for the trajectory of democratic erosion; and consider the normative implications of military opposition to backsliding. The article thus advances understanding of democratic erosion, integrates it with civil-military relations scholarship, and raises vital questions about the risks of looking to militaries to save democracy.

### **Fairness According to Whom?: Divergent Perceptions of Fairness Among White and Black Americans and its Effect on Trade Attitudes**

#### **Authors:**

Daniel Lobo  
Ryan Brutger

**Abstract:** What explains racial divides in American attitudes toward trade? Leading research proposes that discrimination in the labor market and differences in traits, such as nationalism, contribute to the racial divides in trade attitudes. However, recent work finds that American attitudes toward trade are significantly influenced by perceptions of fairness, with Americans exhibiting "asymmetric fairness" concerns that lead them to be especially concerned about "falling behind" other countries. We argue that connecting these two lines of inquiry provides important insights into American attitudes toward trade. Drawing on critical race theory and the literature on Black politics, we theorize that Black Americans do not think of international trade in terms of asymmetric fairness, like their white counterparts. Since Black Americans have not been privileged in the social, economic, and political hierarchy, we argue they do not have the same concern for falling behind. We theorize that Black Americans are more likely to think of fairness in terms of equality, and that this contributes to evaluations of trade based through a "principled fairness" lens, meaning they are likely to view trade agreements that are relatively equal for both parties as the most fair, as opposed to those favoring the United States. We test our theory using a national survey experiment and find strong support for this theory.