

# What Do We Know About Rivalry and International Conflict?

POSC 3610 – International Conflict

Steven V. Miller

Department of Political Science



## Goal for Today

*Discuss why inter-state conflict is not IID (independent and identically distributed).*

# Confrontation of the Day: Operation Skerwe (MIC#3070)

pg. A1

## SOUTH AFRICA JETS BOMB MOZAMBIQUE

Pretoria Says Raids Retaliate  
for Black Guerrilla Attack

Special to The New York Times



Associated Press  
Three workers were killed in a Mozambican jam factory during South African air raid.

- *Who*: South Africa vs. Mozambique (13 April 1983 - 17 October 1983)
- *Why*: anti-apartheid/support for ANC, basically
- *What happened*:
  - 13 April: Mozambique detains a SAF fishing vessel
  - 20 May: car bomb in Pretoria, outside air force HQ
  - 23 May: Operation Skerwe
  - 17 Oct: another raid in Maputo, killing at least six

This rivalry had three total confrontations (MIC#1441 in 1975, MIC#2801 in 1987) before concluding with the end of apartheid.

# Rivalry and Conflict

Rivalry captures/explains two problems in the study of inter-state conflict.

- Conflict is not IID.
- States that fight once are likely to fight again.

“Rivalry” defines these relationships, explaining conflict clustering and conflict recurrence.

# Rivalry and Conflict

What explains conflict *within* the rivalry?

- i.e. we know to this point rivals are more likely to have (recurrent) conflict than non-rivals.

However, rivalry defines a relationship, and conflict varies inside it.

# What Can We Do Here?

Let's put our own spin on this.

- *Unit of analysis*: non-directed *rivalry* dyad-years
  - e.g. USA-CUB 1959, USA-CUB 1960, etc.
  - Temporal domain: 1900-2010
  - *N*: 6,712
- *DVs*: confrontation onset, confrontation fatalities (min., max.), escalation to dyadic war.
  - You've seen these before by now.

## *International/Dyadic Factors*

- CINC proportion (W/S)
- Alliance (defense)
- Major power status in dyad
- Land contiguity



# Domestic Factors

- Joint democracy
- Leadership change
- Min. GDP per capita
- Min. leader willingness to use force (Carter and Smith, 2020)

# Individual Factors

## *Individual Factors:*

- Rivalry type (positional, ideological, interventionary)
  - Benchmarked to spatial rivalry (i.e. fixed effect)

## “Shock” Factors

- Six-year period after Cold War ended [1990:1995]
- Six-year period after WW2 ended [1945:1950]
- Irregular leadership change
- Natural disaster category (a la Akcinaroglu and Radziszewski, 2021)

## Other Notes

Briefly:

- Adjustments for temporal dependence/sample selection.
- “Perfect predictors” (separation) should be obvious from results.
  - i.e. look for unreasonably large coefficients with comically larger standard errors.

Table 1: The Effect of International/Dyadic Factors on Inter-state Conflict in Rivalries

	<b>Conf. Onset</b>	<b>Min. Fatalities</b>	<b>Max. Fatalities</b>	<b>Dyadic War</b>
Land Contiguity	0.427*** (0.118)	0.042 (0.320)	-0.151 (0.346)	0.113 (0.201)
CINC Proportion	-0.110 (0.170)	0.294 (0.426)	0.313 (0.461)	-0.096 (0.280)
Both Major Powers	0.607*** (0.145)	0.948* (0.394)	0.596 (0.426)	0.990*** (0.237)
Major-Minor	0.274* (0.138)	0.906** (0.340)	0.813* (0.367)	0.802*** (0.197)
Defense Pact	0.013 (0.108)	-0.845** (0.271)	-1.042*** (0.294)	-0.732** (0.238)
Num.Obs.	4449	770	770	770

+ p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

## International/Dyadic Factors and Rivalry/Conflict

- Land-contiguous rivals are more likely to have confrontations, if not escalation/severe conflicts.
- Major power rivalries have a mostly robust effect across all models.
- Defense pacts among rivals don't deter onset, but do deter escalation.
- Wealthier rivals are less likely to see their confrontations escalate.

Table 2: The Effect of Domestic Factors on Inter-state Conflict in Rivalries

	<b>Conf. Onset</b>	<b>Min. Fatalities</b>	<b>Max. Fatalities</b>	<b>Dyadic War</b>
Leader Transition	-0.026 (0.116)	0.435 (0.293)	0.533+ (0.317)	0.199 (0.177)
Joint Democracy	0.087 (0.216)	-0.253 (0.543)	-0.478 (0.587)	-5.001 (217.057)
Min. Leader Willingness to Use Force	0.151* (0.077)	0.284 (0.192)	0.367+ (0.208)	0.003 (0.133)
Min. GDP per Capita in Dyad	-0.021 (0.042)	-0.249* (0.105)	-0.273* (0.114)	-0.102+ (0.056)
Num.Obs.	4449	770	770	770

+ p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

## Domestic Factors and Rivalry/Conflict

- No real effect of leader transitions and conflict within rivalries.
- No real effect of joint democracy (beyond the perfect predictor)
- The more hawkish the leaders in rivalry, the more likely the conflict



Table 3: The Effect of Individual Factors on Inter-state Conflict in Rivalries

	<b>Conf. Onset</b>	<b>Min. Fatalities</b>	<b>Max. Fatalities</b>	<b>Dyadic War</b>
Positional Rivalry (vs. Spatial)	0.372*** (0.107)	-0.477+ (0.282)	-0.691* (0.305)	-0.169 (0.190)
Ideological Rivalry (vs. Spatial)	0.031 (0.131)	-0.343 (0.336)	-0.424 (0.364)	-0.268 (0.243)
Interventionary Rivalry (vs. Spatial)	0.306 (0.193)	-1.068* (0.471)	-1.321** (0.510)	-4.585 (212.238)
Num.Obs.	4449	770	770	770

+ p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

# Individual Factors and Rivalry/Conflict

Some evidence spatial rivalries are more severe than other rivalries.

- Positional rivalries are more likely to have confrontations, but:
- ...those conflicts are less severe.
- Kinda the same with interventionary rivalries as well.

Table 4: The Effect of 'Shock' Factors on Inter-state Conflict in Rivalries

	<b>Conf. Onset</b>	<b>Min. Fatalities</b>	<b>Max. Fatalities</b>	<b>Dyadic War</b>
'Irregular' Leader Transition	0.036 (0.153)	-0.141 (0.380)	-0.219 (0.412)	0.123 (0.227)
Natural Disasters	0.065* (0.028)	-0.175* (0.070)	-0.198** (0.076)	-0.173*** (0.050)
Post-Cold War	-0.007 (0.171)	0.615 (0.423)	0.873+ (0.458)	0.263 (0.331)
Post-WW2	0.212 (0.206)	0.704 (0.493)	0.841 (0.533)	0.143 (0.274)
Num.Obs.	4449	770	770	770

+ p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

## Shock Factors and Rivalry/Conflict

- No real effect of 'irregular' leader transitions
- Natural disasters increase likelihood of confrontation onset, but decrease escalation.

# Conclusion

We focus on distinction between rivals and non-rivals and neglect patterns within them.

- Escalatory: major powers, spatial rivalries, leader hawkishness
- De-escalatory: defense pacts, wealth, joint democracy
- Even “shocks” can cut both ways

# Table of Contents

Introduction

Conclusion