A Quantitative Bargaining Theory of War

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- Military strength
- Resolve/cost of fighting
- Prior beliefs/uncertainty

How can we measure these theoretical quantities in terms of observable characteristics of states?

- 1. Write down bargaining model of war
- 2. Model exogenous parameters as functions of data
- 3. Assume data generated by equilibrium behavior
- 4. Structurally estimate

Sides A and B, each with \geq 1 constituent states

- 1. Side A offers $x \in \mathbb{R}$
- 2. Side *B* accepts or rejects
 - · Accept \rightarrow A gets x, B gets 1 x
 - Reject \rightarrow each pays θ_k , war occurs

War costs θ_A , θ_B i.i.d. Exponential(λ)

Each state expends effort $e_i \ge 0$

Probability Side A wins:

$$p_A = \frac{\sum_{j \in A} m_j e_j}{\sum_{j \in A} m_j e_j + \sum_{j \in B} m_j e_j}$$

War payoffs:

$$u_A = p_A - \theta_A - \sum_{j \in A} c_j e_j$$
$$u_B = 1 - p_A - \theta_B - \sum_{j \in B} c_j e_j$$

Crisis level

- Shape of prior beliefs: λ

State level

• Military effectiveness: *m*_i

Crisis level

• Shape of prior beliefs: $\lambda = \exp(W\alpha)$

State level

• Military effectiveness: *m*_i

Crisis level

- Shape of prior beliefs: $\lambda = \exp(W\alpha)$
 - Contiguity
 - Preference Similarity
 - Rivalry
 - Major Power Involvement
 - Peace Years

State level

• Military effectiveness: m_i

Crisis level

- Shape of prior beliefs: $\lambda = \exp(W\alpha)$
 - Contiguity
 - Preference Similarity
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State level

• Military effectiveness: $m_i = \exp(X_i\beta)$

Crisis level

- Shape of prior beliefs: $\lambda = \exp(W\alpha)$
 - Contiguity
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 - Peace Years

State level

- Military effectiveness: $m_i = \exp(X_i\beta)$
 - GDP
 - \cdot Population
 - Military Quality
- Marginal cost of effort: c_i

Crisis level

- Shape of prior beliefs: $\lambda = \exp(W\alpha)$
 - Contiguity
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State level

- Military effectiveness: $m_i = \exp(X_i\beta)$
 - GDP
 - \cdot Population
 - Military Quality
- Marginal cost of effort: $c_i = \exp(Z_i \gamma)$

Crisis level

- Shape of prior beliefs: $\lambda = \exp(W\alpha)$
 - Contiguity
 - Preference Similarity
 - Rivalry
 - Major Power Involvement
 - Peace Years

State level

- Military effectiveness: $m_i = \exp(X_i\beta)$
 - GDP
 - \cdot Population
 - Military Quality
- Marginal cost of effort: $c_i = \exp(Z_i \gamma)$
 - Imports/GDP
 - Democracy

Militarized Interstate Disputes, 1816–2001

- N = 2,295 disputes, with 5,451 total participants
- War: 0 or 1
- Winner: A, B, or censored

Data structure

Crisis level

Dispute	War	Winner	Contiguity	Rivalry	•••
1	0	•	Θ	0	
2	1	А	1	Θ	
3	Θ		Θ	1	

State level

Dispute	Side	GDP	Population	
1	А	0.4	6.4	
1	В	7.8	3.1	
2	А	0.8	5.6	
2	А	4.2	6.4	
2	В	6.2	8.6	
3	А	1.3	2.0	
3	В	7.9	8.4	

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Parameter estimates



Equilibrium quantities: USA vs. Russia

Probability USA wins war



Equilibrium quantities: USA vs. Russia

Optimal offer by USA



Equilibrium quantities: USA vs. Russia



Conclusions

- Bargaining model has empirical content
- $\cdot\,$ Major powers, similar preferences \rightarrow more uncertainty
- + Rivals, long time at peace \rightarrow less uncertainty
- No discernible effects of economic/political characteristics on states' ability and willingness to wage war

Next steps

- Different variables in the effectiveness/cost equations?
- Benchmark models for predictive comparison?
- Other substantive applications of estimator?