# Foreign Aid as a Counterterrorism Tool: Can Democracy Aid Reduce Terrorism?

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### Research Question

Can foreign aid reduce the frequency of terrorist attacks in recipient countries?



# Argument in Brief

A particular type of foreign aid, i.e. democracy aid programs, can reduce the rate of domestic terrorist incidents by improving the political conditions in aid-receiving countries



### Political Conditions and Terrorism

- 1. State repression and weak rule of law increase support for terrorism:
  - grievances and dissatisfaction with the government
  - limited legal avenues for political dissent



### Political Conditions and Terrorism

- 2. Weak democratic governance and rule of law enable the operation of terrorist organizations:
  - easier to operate and solicit financing with low risk of capture
  - easier to distort information about the government activities



# Democracy Promotion Aid

Theory

Democracy promotion programs reduce terrorism by:

- helping democratizing states develop and strengthen political institutions
- strengthening judicial institutions and the rule of law
- supporting pro-reform civil society organizations
- support community participation in local governance



# Hypothesis<sup>1</sup>

### Hypothesis

States that receive high levels of democracy aid experience fewer terrorist incidents than states that receive no or low levels of democracy aid, holding everything else constant



# Research Design

- Sample: Non-OECD countries between 1996-2011
- Dependent Variable: Total Attacks; the number of domestic terror incidents in a country-year (Global Terrorism Database, Enders at al. 2011)
- Estimation Method: Zero-Inflated Negative Binomial and Modified Hurdle Model



# Research Design

**Primary Explanatory Variable**: Governance and Civil Society Aid: aid commitments in millions of constant 2009 USD (Aiddata.org, Tierney et al. 2011)

#### **Control Variables**

- Average Prior Attacks
- Other forms of foreign aid:
  - Development Aid: Aiddata
  - Conflict Aid: Aiddata
  - Military Aid: USAID
- GDP
- Population
- Democracy



# Research Design

| 1996-2011                              | Min | Max | Mean |
|--|-----|-----|------|
| Number of Domestic Terrorism Incidents | 0   | 673 | 7    |
| Incidents without a Civil War          | 0   | 101 | 1    |
| Incidents with a Civil War             | 0   | 673 | 32   |



### Zero Inflated Negative Binomial Model

| 2nd stage         | Pooled     | Non-Civil  | Civil War  |
|-------------------|------------|------------|------------|
|                   | Sample     | War States | States     |
| Governance and    | 0.000242   | -0.00146** | 0.000540   |
| Civil Society Aid | (0.000531) | (0.000733) | (0.000666) |
| Inflation Stage   |            |            |            |
| Lagged Total      | -1.438***  | -1.549***  | -0.467***  |
| Attacks           | (0.346)    | (0.374)    | (0.154)    |
| In(alpha)         | 1.093***   | 0.858***   | 0.714      |
|                   | (0.135)    | (0.163)    | (0.712)    |

Robust standard errors clustered by country in parentheses \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\*p<0.05



## **Analysis**

 A million dollar increase in Government and Civil Society Aid reduces the incidence of terrorist attacks by 0.16%, ceteris paribus

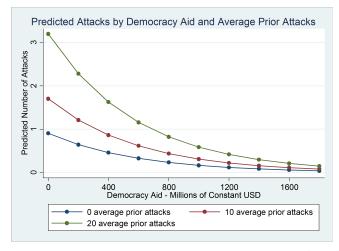


### **Analysis**

- A million dollar increase in Government and Civil Society Aid reduces the incidence of terrorist attacks by 0.16%, ceteris paribus
- An average aid allocation (~\$60 million) reduces the rate of terrorist attacks by 9.6%, ceteris paribus



### **Analysis**





### Robustness Tests

#### **Empirical Concerns**

- Construction of the inflation model
- Endogeneity of aid flows to terrorism
- Fixed Effects Model
- Regional Dummies
- Other Controls



### Conclusion

- Democracy aid can improve political conditions and thereby reduce participation in, and support for, terrorism
- Democracy aid can strengthen state institutions and rule of law and thereby dampen the ability of terrorist organizations to operate
- The security benefits of democracy aid are visible in countries that are not involved in an active civil war
- "Democracy promotion" and the "fight against terrorism" are not mutually exclusive foreign policy goals



Thank you



| Table 1. Summary Statistics      |       |        |           |         |         |
|----------------------------------|-------|--------|-----------|---------|---------|
|                                  |       |        | Standard  |         |         |
|                                  | N     | Mean   | Deviation | Minimum | Maximum |
| Terror Attacks                   | 1,885 | 7.396  | 33.49     | 0       | 673     |
| Average Prior Attacks            | 1,648 | 7.588  | 30.66     | 0       | 457     |
| Government and Civil Society Aid | 1,885 | 65.05  | 163.7     | 0       | 2,164   |
| Government Aid                   | 1,885 | 52.80  | 150.7     | 0       | 2,071   |
| Civil Society Aid                | 1,885 | 12.25  | 27.36     | 0       | 424.9   |
| Official Development Assistance  | 1,821 | 1,236  | 3220      | 0       | 58,685  |
| Conflict Aid                     | 1,885 | 8.951  | 39.43     | 0       | 998.2   |
| U.S. Military Aid                | 1,821 | 82.04  | 522.7     | 0       | 10,265  |
| Democracy                        | 1,788 | 1.792  | 6.276     | -10     | 10      |
| GDP                              | 1,662 | 83,611 | 279,405   | 116.7   | 4195000 |
| Population                       | 1,885 | 42.21  | 156.5     | 0.251   | 1,344   |
| Civil Conflict                   | 1,885 | 0.198  | 0.399     | 0       | 1       |
| Asia                             | 1,885 | 0.175  | 0.380     | 0       | 1       |
| Latin America                    | 1,885 | 0.212  | 0.409     | 0       | 1       |
| Middle East                      | 1,885 | 0.153  | 0.360     | 0       | 1       |



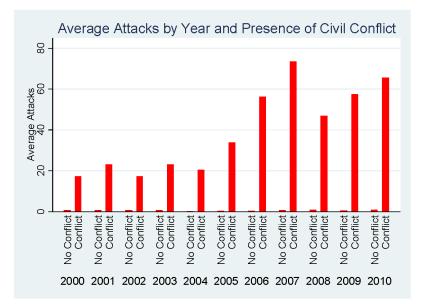
| Government and Civil Society Aid Official Development Assistance Conflict Aid | (2-1)<br>All<br>Observations<br>0.000242<br>(0.000531)<br>0.00005<br>(0.00005)<br>0.00634*** | (2-2)<br>Non-Civil<br>Conflict<br>-0.00146**<br>(0.000733)<br>0.000184**<br>(0.00007) | (2-3)<br>Civil<br>Conflict<br>0.000540<br>(0.000666)<br>0.00008 |
|---|--|---|---|
| Official Development Assistance Conflict Aid                                  | 0.000242<br>(0.000531)<br>0.00005<br>(0.00005)   | -0.00146**<br>(0.000733)<br>0.000184**  | 0.000540<br>(0.000666)<br>0.00008                               |
| Official Development Assistance Conflict Aid                                  | (0.000531)<br>0.00005<br>(0.00005)   | (0.000733)<br>0.000184**  | (0.000666)<br>0.00008   |
| Conflict Aid  | 0.00005<br>(0.00005)   | 0.000184**  | 0.00008   |
| Conflict Aid  | (0.00005)  |   |   |
|   |  | (0.00007)   | (0.000400)  |
|   | 0.00634***   |   | (0.000103)  |
|   |  | 0.0106**  | 0.00221   |
|   | (0.00195)  | (0.00448)   | (0.00162)   |
| J.S. Military Aid   | 0.000232   | -0.000275   | 0.00008   |
|   | (0.000204)   | (0.000185)  | (0.000141)  |
| Average Prior Attacks   | 0.0292***  | 0.0686***   | 0.00901   |
|   | (0.00926)  | (0.0165)  | (0.00855)   |
| Constant  | 1.463***   | -0.0223   | 2.683***  |
|   | (0.331)  | (0.234)   | (0.623)   |
| Inflation Model   |  |   |   |
| Total Attacks (lagged)  | -1.521***  | -1.452***   | -0.803  |
|   | (0.306)  | (0.301)   | (7.844)   |
| Constant  | 1.449***   | 1.187***  | -0.112  |
|   | (0.184)  | (0.240)   | (1.646)   |
| n(alpha)  | 1.093***   | 0.858***  | 0.714   |
|   | (0.135)  | (0.163)   | (0.712)   |
| Observations  | 1,404  | 1,168   | 236   |



| Table 3. Zero-Inflated Negative Binomial Estimations, Full Models |                     |             |             |
|---|---------------------|-------------|-------------|
|   | (3-1)               | (3-2)       | (3-3)       |
|   | All                 | Non-Civil   | Civil       |
|   | Observations        | Conflict    | Conflict    |
| Government and Civil Society Aid                                  | 0.000344            | -0.00157**  | 0.000880*** |
|   | (0.000508)          | (0.000654)  | (0.000285)  |
| Official Development Assistance                                   | 0.00006             | 0.000158**  | 0.000008    |
|   | (0.00006)           | (0.00008)   | (0.00005)   |
| Conflict Aid  | 0.00583***          | 0.00930**   | 0.00285     |
|   | (0.00190)           | (0.00425)   | (0.00174)   |
| U.S. Military Aid   | 0.000299            | -0.00451    | 0.000122**  |
|   | (0.000194)          | (0.00297)   | (0.00006)   |
| Democracy   | 0.0103              | 0.0225      | 0.0110      |
|   | (0.0332)            | (0.0228)    | (0.0267)    |
| GDP   | -0.000001           | -0.000001   | -0.0000006  |
|   | (0.0000006)         | (0.0000008) | (0.000002)  |
| Population  | 0.00146             | 0.00218     | 0.00174     |
|   | (0.00107)           | (0.00199)   | (0.00137)   |
| Average Prior Attacks   | 0.0237**            | 0.0641***   | 0.00388     |
|   | (0.0110)            | (0.0160)    | (0.00382)   |
| Constant  | 1.540***            | 0.0383      | 2.917***    |
|   | (0.407)             | (0.252)     | (0.355)     |
| Inflation Model   |                     |             |             |
| Total Attacks (lagged)  | -1.438***           | -1.549***   | -0.467***   |
|   | (0.346)             | (0.374)     | (0.154)     |
| Constant  | 1.460***            | 1.199***    | 0.0479      |
|   | (0.205)             | (0.263)     | (0.348)     |
| In(alpha)   | 1.055***            | 0.797***    | 0.572***    |
|   | (0.153)             | (0.176)     | (0.176)     |
| Observations  | 1,162               | 968         | 194         |
| Robust standard errors clustered by                               | country in parenthe | eses        |             |
| *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1                                    |                     |             |             |



| Table 4. Modified                | Table 4. Modified Hurdle Model |  |  |  |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|--|--|
|                                  | (4-1)                          | (4-2)                                      |  |  |
|                                  | First Stage                    | Zero-<br>Truncated<br>Negative<br>Binomial |  |  |
| Government and Civil Society     |                                |  |  |  |
| Aid                              | 0.00195***<br>(0.000661)       | -0.00391***<br>(0.00122)                   |  |  |
| Official Development             |                                |  |  |  |
| Assistance                       | -0.000001                      | 0.000172*                                  |  |  |
|                                  | (0.00002)                      | (0.000102)                                 |  |  |
| Conflict Aid                     | 0.00612*                       | 0.000723                                   |  |  |
|                                  | (0.00356)                      | (0.00292)                                  |  |  |
| U.S. Military Aid                | -9.38e-06                      | 0.00406                                    |  |  |
|                                  | (0.00139)                      | (0.00954)                                  |  |  |
| Democracy                        | 0.0145                         | -0.0690                                    |  |  |
|                                  | (0.0115)                       | (0.0513)                                   |  |  |
| GDP                              | 0.0000008*                     | -0.000002                                  |  |  |
|                                  | (0.0000005)                    | (0.0000009)                                |  |  |
| Population                       | -0.000620                      | 0.000719                                   |  |  |
|                                  | (0.000793)                     | (0.00239)                                  |  |  |
| Asia                             | 0.764***                       | , ,  |  |  |
|                                  | (0.183)                        |  |  |  |
| Latin America                    | -0.264*                        |  |  |  |
|                                  | (0.155)                        |  |  |  |
| Middle East                      | 0.270                          |  |  |  |
|                                  | (0.209)                        |  |  |  |
| Nonselection Hazard              | (0.200)                        | -2.659***                                  |  |  |
|                                  |                                | (0.733)                                    |  |  |
| Constant                         | -0.909***                      | -12.90***                                  |  |  |
|                                  | (0.0888)                       | (1.086)                                    |  |  |
| In(alpha)                        | (000)                          | 18.69***                                   |  |  |
| /la                              |                                | (0.0577)                                   |  |  |
| Observations                     | 643                            | 174  |  |  |
| Robust standard errors clustered |                                |  |  |  |
| *** p<0.01. ** p<0.05. * p<0.1   | ,                              |  |  |  |





### Robustness Tests

**Modified Hurdle Model** 

|                   | 1st stage | 2nd stage |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Governance and    | 0.0002*** | -0.004*** |
| Civil Society Aid | (0.001)   | (0.001)   |
| Non-Selection     |           | -2.659*** |
| Hazard            |           | (0.733)   |
| Observations      | 643       | 174       |

