



# CENTERPIECE

NEWSLETTER OF THE WEATHERHEAD CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Volume 26  
Number 2  
Spring 2012

HARVARD UNIVERSITY



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## From the Director

**A** couple of months ago while getting ready for work, I had National Public Radio's WBUR on and found myself listening to a story about a study underway by a graduate student in psychology at an area university. This student was conducting an observational study of how people behave in restaurants—specifically, how much they eat in restaurants. To be even more precise, this study revealed that women eat more when they dine with other women than when they dine with men. Of course, these were only preliminary findings, but they were of such an “isn't that fascinating?” nature that NPR had snapped them right up—and there I was, brushing my teeth, wondering if I had overeaten last time I took some of my female graduate students to lunch.

If gendered caloric intake in public settings can gain such publicity, why not the same for the cutting-edge research our affiliates are doing on international, transnational, and comparative social issues around the world? Often it does. The work of our affiliates has proven time and again to be at the leading edge of political, social, and economic research. There is little doubt that the oeuvres of some of our affiliates have hit the must-read charts in recent days. Tom Friedman recently centered an entire op-ed in the *New York Times* around our affiliate James Robinson's and Darron Acemoglu's *Why Nations Fail* (Crown Business, 2012). Another of our affiliates' blockbusters, Michael Sandel's *What Money Can't Buy* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, April 2012) is the basis of ticket-only sellout events. Harvard students and faculty colleagues, fortunately “can't buy” access—they are admitted free! And Niall Ferguson's *Civilization: The West and the Rest* (Penguin, November 2011) has been made into a UK television series entitled, “Civilization: Is the West History?”



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Cover: Graduate Student Associate, Steffen Rimner, teaches a class outside on one of the first warm, sunny days of spring. Photo credit: Kristin Caulfield

Right: The 2011–2012 Graduate Student Associates (and Molly) gather for their final lunch of the academic year. Photo credit: Megan Countey

Yet these successes are just the tip of a very deep and broad iceberg of research done by our affiliates from every corner of the university. This past year, we have turned our attention to the dissemination of that research to a world interested to know about international affairs, and especially what Harvard researchers might have to say about various aspects thereof. Several years ago, on the doorstep of the financial crisis that hit the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (and as result, the Center itself), we eliminated hard copies of our *Working Paper Series*, and have redoubled our efforts to harvest the work of our affiliates and put it on display on our website. If you have a look at <http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/publications>, you will find posted over 2000 books, working papers, journal articles, and news articles. For those who like to keep track of such things, Kristin Caulfield, our manager of communications, reports that the WCFIA website has attracted over 48,000 unique visitors and 137,00 page views by people from all over the world during this academic year alone. During this same time period, the most popular downloads have been Jorge I. Domínguez's journal article, "U.S.-Latin American Relations During the Cold War and its Aftermath" and Herbert C. Kelman's, "Compliance, Identification, and Internalization: Three Processes of Attitude Change." We also saw some significant spikes in web traffic to our record of Donna Hicks's foxnews.com op-ed, "Dignity...We All Crave It, So Why Do We Keep Ignoring It?" because of this article's general online popularity and dissemination via social media tools.

But we are doing much more than passively posting. Since we spend some \$900,000 annually on faculty research, we have decided it would be a good investment to actively promote the findings of our affiliates. This past winter we hired Robert David Sullivan, a freelance writer and editor, to work with faculty and communications staff and help coordinate our efforts to disseminate research using news and social media outlets as our primary tools. Our hope is that with the proper publicity we might be able to increase the visibility of the research of more of our affiliates, including those who are less advanced in their careers.

We have also decided to harness social media to our advantage (you can find us on Facebook at <https://www.facebook.com/WCFIA>). The Center's website is currently undergoing a major upgrade that includes a more robust integration of social media, analytics, and search tools to improve exposure of affiliate research to a broad world-wide audience via the web. The site will launch this summer, and we expect to see a marked increase in the visibility of affiliate research because of these improvements. We have also put more resources into video recording Center events—you can view all of our available lectures on Vimeo (<http://vimeo.com/wcfia>).

If you are reading this message, I hope you soon will seek out or perhaps catch wind of the research findings associated with the affiliates of the WCFIA. Who knows—someday we may even edge out gendered dining during the crucial morning personal hygiene hour!

Beth A. Simmons, Center Director



### Weatherhead Center Director Awarded John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship

Weatherhead Center Director and Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs **Beth A. Simmons** was awarded a fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. Simmons received this recognition with 180 other scholars, artists, and scientists “appointed on the basis of prior achievement and exceptional promise,” having been chosen from nearly 3,000 applicants. Professor Simmons’s Guggenheim proposal was sparked by a grant from the Weatherhead Center’s incubation fund. Her research focuses on cooperative exchanges in confronting transnational crime and trust relationships in transnational criminal justice.

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Receives Cundill Prize in History and Named Finalist for the George Washington Book Prize

History Professor **Maya Jasanoff** won a Recognition of Excellence Award as part of the 2011 Cundill Prize in History at McGill University for her book, *Liberty’s Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World*. The prize recognizes history books that have a profound literary, social, and academic impact.

“*Liberty’s Exiles* tells the story of loyalists who fled the US after the American Revolution and settled all over the British Empire, especially in Canada,” Jasanoff said. “It argues for the importance of taking history out of patriotic, national boxes and seeing it from many sides, so it’s wonderful to be recognized by an international history prize that’s also dedicated to crossing borders, and especially appropriate, given my subject, to receive this recognition from a Canadian university, at a ceremony in London.”

Jasanoff’s *Liberty’s Exiles* is also one of three finalists for the \$50,000 George Washington Book Prize. The prize—which is cosponsored by Washington College, the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, and George Washington’s Mount Vernon—recognizes the past year’s best books on the nation’s founding era, especially those that have the potential to advance broad

public understanding of American history. In praising Jasanoff’s *Liberty’s Exiles*, the jury applauded the book’s “impressive archival research, its sweeping conceptualization, perspectives and aims, its enviable prose style and the penetrating insights it yields into its characters’ lives.”

### Weatherhead Center Associate Inducted into Alumni Hall of Fame

**Amitabh Chandra**, professor of public policy, was inducted into the University of Kentucky Gatton College of Business and Economics Alumni Hall of Fame.

“Induction into the Gatton Hall of Fame is a prestigious honor for our business school alumni,” said Merl Hackbart, interim dean of the college. “The inductees represent several different professions and career paths, yet all have distinguished themselves in their business pursuits and in civic and community leadership.”

A total of 75 men and women have been recognized by Gatton College since the inception of the Hall of Fame in 1994. This is the eighteenth group of inductees to the hall.

Chandra’s research focuses on productivity, cost-growth, and racial disparities in health care.

### Institute Renamed after Weatherhead Center Associate

The Vienna-based Institute for Integrative Conflict Transformation and Peace Building was officially renamed the Herbert C. Kelman Institute for Interactive Conflict Transformation. **Herbert C. Kelman** is the Richard Clarke Cabot Professor of Social Ethics Emeritus, and for a decade directed the Center’s Program for International Conflict Analysis and Resolution. Kelman was also elected as the institute’s honorary president.

The Kelman Institute is affiliated with the Center for Peace Research and Peace Education at the University of Klagenfurt, Austria. Its primary focus is conflict transformation and peace building in international and intercommunal relations. Its work follows the tradition of interactive problem solving—an approach developed by Kelman and his associates. This approach was derived from the pioneering work of John Burton and is anchored in social-psychological principles, and which Kelman has applied most extensively to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict over the past four decades.

### Weatherhead Center Associate Wins 2011 National Humanities Medal and Receives Notre Dame Award for International Human Development and Solidarity

The Nobel Prize-winning economist and philosopher **Amartya Sen** will receive the 2012 Notre Dame Award for International Human Development and Solidarity in recognition of his contributions to the field of human development. The award was presented at a campus ceremony on April 17, 2012.

A visionary and spirited advocate for the world’s poorest people, Sen has worked for 50 years to illuminate the true causes of poverty and suffering. He has transformed how development is defined and measured by focusing attention on positive freedoms and human capabilities rather than income alone.

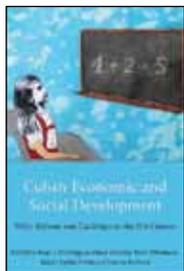
On February 10, 2012, President Obama announced the nine winners of the 2011 National Humanities Medals—awarded for outstanding achievements in history, literature, education, philosophy, and musicology. Sen was recognized “for his insights into the causes of poverty, famine, and injustice. By applying philosophical thinking to questions of policy, he has changed how standards of living are measured and increased our understanding of how to fight hunger.”

### Weatherhead Center Associate Named Director of the Reischauer Institute for Japanese Studies

In an announcement made by Dean Peter Marsden, **Theodore Bestor**, Reischauer Institute Professor of Social Anthropology and Chair of the Department of Anthropology, was named the next director of Harvard’s Reischauer Institute for Japanese Studies. The appointment becomes effective on July 1, 2012.

### Cuban Economic and Social Development: Policy Reforms and Challenges in the 21st Century

Edited By Jorge I. Domínguez, Omar Everleny Pérez Villanueva, Mayra Espina Prieto, and Lorena Barberia



The Cuban economy has been transformed over the course of the last decade, and these changes are now likely to accelerate. In this edited volume, prominent Cuban economists and sociologists present a clear analysis of Cuba's

economic and social circumstances and suggest steps for Cuba to reactivate economic growth and improve the welfare of its citizens. These authors focus first on trade, capital inflows, exchange rates, monetary and fiscal policy, and the agricultural sector. In a second section, a multidisciplinary team of sociologists and an economist map how reforms in economic and social policies have produced declines in the social standing of some specific groups and economic mobility for others.

A joint collaboration between scholars at Harvard University and in Cuba, this book includes the same editors and many of the same authors of *The Cuban Economy at the Start of the Twenty-First Century* (edited by Jorge I. Domínguez, Omar Everleny Pérez Villanueva, and Lorena G. Barberia), which is also part of the David Rockefeller Center Series on Latin American Studies.

(Harvard University Press, 2012)

Former Weatherhead Center director Jorge I. Domínguez is the Antonio Madero Professor for the Study of Mexico in the Department of Government. Omar Everleny Pérez Villanueva is a professor in the Department of Economics and a researcher at the Center for the Study of the Cuban Economy, University of Havana. Mayra Espina Prieto is a professor and researcher at Centro de Investigaciones Psicológicas y Sociológicas (CIPS), Havana, Cuba. Lorena Barberia is a program associate at the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University.

### The Rise and Fall of Arab Presidents for Life

By E. Roger Owen



The monarchical presidential regimes that prevailed in the Arab world for so long looked as though they would last indefinitely—until events in Tunisia and Egypt made clear their time was up. *The Rise and Fall of Arab Presidents for Life* ex-

poses for the first time the origins and dynamics of a governmental system that largely defined the Arab Middle East in the twentieth century.

Presidents who rule for life have been a feature of the Arab world since independence. In the 1980s their regimes increasingly resembled monarchies as presidents took up residence in palaces and made every effort to ensure their sons would succeed them. Owen explores the main features of the prototypical Arab monarchical regime: its household; its inner circle of corrupt cronies; and its attempts to create a popular legitimacy based on economic success, a manipulated constitution, managed elections, and information suppression.

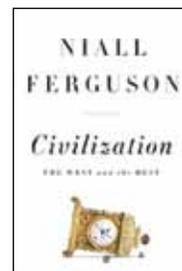
Why has the Arab world suffered such a concentration of permanent presidential government? Though post-Soviet Central Asia has also known monarchical presidencies, Owen argues that a significant reason is the “Arab demonstration effect,” whereby close ties across the Arab world have enabled ruling families to share management strategies and assistance. But this effect also explains why these presidencies all came under the same pressure to reform or go. Owen discusses the huge popular opposition the presidential systems engendered during the Arab Spring, and the political change that ensued, while also delineating the challenges the Arab revolutions face across the Middle East and North Africa.

(Harvard University Press, 2012)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate and Harvard Academy Senior Scholar E. Roger Owen is the A.J. Meyer Professor of Middle East History in the Department of History.

### Civilization: The West and The Rest

By Niall Ferguson



The rise to global pre-dominance of Western civilization is the single most important historical phenomenon of the past five hundred years. All over the world, an astonishing proportion of people now work for

Western-style companies, study at Western-style universities, vote for Western-style governments, take Western medicines, wear Western clothes, and even work Western hours. Yet six hundred years ago the petty kingdoms of Western Europe seemed unlikely to achieve much more than perpetual internecine warfare. It was Ming China or Ottoman Turkey that had the look of world civilizations. How did the West overtake its Eastern rivals? And has the zenith of Western power now passed?

In *Civilization: The West and the Rest*, Ferguson argues that, beginning in the fifteenth century, the West developed six powerful new concepts that the rest lacked: competition, science, the rule of law, consumerism, modern medicine, and the work ethic. These were the “killer applications” that allowed the West to leap ahead of the rest, opening global trade routes, exploiting newly discovered scientific laws, evolving a system of representative government, more than doubling life expectancy, unleashing the Industrial Revolution, and embracing a dynamic work ethic. *Civilization* shows just how fewer than a dozen Western empires came to control more than half of humanity and four-fifths of the world economy.

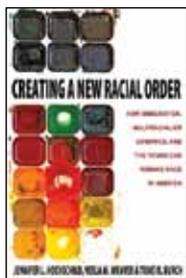
Yet now, Ferguson argues, the days of Western predominance are numbered—not because of clashes with rival civilizations, but simply because the rest have now downloaded the six killer apps we once monopolized—while the West has literally lost faith in itself.

(Penguin USA, 2011)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Niall Ferguson is the Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History in the Department of History and the William Ziegler Professor of Business Administration at Harvard Business School.

## Creating a New Racial Order: How Immigration, Multiracialism, Genomics, and the Young Can Remake Race in America

By Jennifer L. Hochschild,  
Vesla M. Weaver, and Traci R. Burch



The American racial order—the beliefs, institutions, and practices that organize relationships among the nation's races and ethnicities—is undergoing its greatest transformation since the 1960s. In *Creating a New*

*Racial Order*, the authors show that the personal and political choices of Americans will be critical to how, and how much, racial hierarchy is redefined in decades to come.

The authors outline the components that make up a racial order and examine the specific mechanisms influencing group dynamics in the United States: immigration, multiracialism, genomic science, and generational change. The authors show that individuals are moving across group boundaries, that genomic science is challenging the whole concept of race, and that economic variation within groups is increasing. Above all, young adults understand race differently from their elders: their formative memories are 9/11, Hurricane Katrina, and Obama's election—not civil rights marches, riots, or the early stages of immigration. However, blockages could stymie or distort these changes, so the authors point to essential policy and political choices.

Portraying a vision, not of a post-racial America, but of a different racial America, *Creating a New Racial Order* examines how the structures of race and ethnicity are altering a nation.

(Princeton University Press, 2012)

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Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Jennifer L. Hochschild is the Henry LaBarre Jayne Professor of Government in the Department of Government, and professor of African and African American studies in the Department of African and African American History. Vesla M. Weaver is an assistant professor in the Department of Politics at the University of Virginia. Traci R. Burch is an assistant professor of political science at Northwestern University.

## The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism

By Theda Skocpol and  
Vanessa Williamson



In this penetrating new study, Harvard University's Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson go beyond images of protesters in Colonial costumes to provide a nuanced portrait of the Tea Party. What they find is sometimes surprising. Drawing on grassroots interviews and visits to local meetings in several regions, they find that older, middle-class Tea Partiers mostly approve of Social Security, Medicare, and generous benefits for military veterans. Their opposition to "big government" entails reluctance to pay taxes to help people viewed as undeserving "freeloaders"—including immigrants, lower income earners, and the young. At the national level, Tea Party elites and funders leverage grassroots energy to further longstanding goals such as tax cuts for the wealthy, deregulation of business, and privatization of the very same Social Security and Medicare programs on which many grassroots Tea Partiers depend. Elites and grassroots members of the Tea Party are nevertheless united in their hatred of Barack Obama and their determination to push the Republican Party sharply to the right.

*The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism* combines fine-grained portraits of local Tea Party members and chapters with an overarching analysis of the movement's rise, impact, and likely fate.

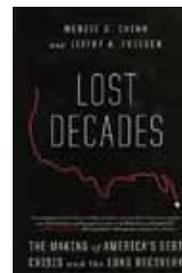
(Oxford University Press, 2011)

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Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Theda Skocpol is the Victor S. Thomas Professor of Government and Sociology in the Departments of Government and Sociology. Vanessa Williamson is a PhD candidate in Government and Social Policy at Harvard University.

## Lost Decades: The Making of America's Debt Crisis and the Long Recovery

By Menzie D. Chinn and Jeffrey Frieden



Two acclaimed political economists, Menzie D. Chinn and Jeffrey Frieden, explore the origins and long-term effects of the financial crisis in historical and comparative perspective.

By 2008, the United States had become the biggest international borrower in world history, with almost half of its 6.4 trillion dollar federal debt in foreign hands. The proportion of foreign loans to the size of the economy put the United States in league with Mexico, Pakistan, and other third-world debtor nations. The massive inflow of foreign funds financed the booms in housing prices and consumer spending that fueled the economy until the collapse of late 2008.

The authors explore the political and economic roots of this crisis as well as its long-term effects. They explain the political strategies behind the Bush administration's policy of funding massive deficits with the foreign borrowing that fed the crisis. They see the continuing impact of our huge debt in a slow recovery ahead. Their clear, insightful, and comprehensive account will long be regarded as the standard on the crisis.

(W.W. Norton & Company, 2011)

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Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Jeffrey Frieden is the Stanfield Professor of International Peace in the Department of Government. Menzie D. Chinn is a professor of public affairs and economics in the Robert M. La Follette School of Public Affairs at the University of Wisconsin.

## In Conversation with...

## Dustin Tingley

Interview by Kristin Caulfield &amp; Megan County



The major theme of Dustin Tingley's research is what he would call "domestic politics around international affairs." His research revolves around the relationships between political parties, the president, and interest groups in shaping different forms of foreign policy. According to Tingley, this focus contrasts with other approaches of international relations—approaches that believe domestic politics have little relevance. These contrasting beliefs are based on the idea that countries are only interested in maximizing their own self-interests. There is no need to think about the different complexities involved with domestic politics—we only need to focus on the distribution of economic and military power across countries.

Building on this emphasis on domestic politics, Tingley points out that there are many different components of foreign

policy: military relations, trade relations, immigration, foreign aid, etc. He is interested in the differences of coalitions behind different foreign policies. Tingley dissects the coalitions supporting different types of foreign aid—sending F-16 fighter jets to another country, providing food aid, and development economic assistance. His goal is to figure out how domestic politics underline each of these different types of foreign aid—and how they differ. For example, conservatives on average are more supportive of geo-strategically oriented aid to allies, and liberals are more supportive of developmental aid: food aid or economic assistance that is designed to make the lives of *individuals* better rather than shoring up our geo-strategic aid with another government. But most important is the general appreciation that different domestic political coalitions can support different types of foreign policy, and that these differences can have consequences on US foreign policy and international relations in general.

While Tingley's work on foreign policy is his main "Weatherhead hat," the *Centerpiece* had the chance to sit down with him and discuss his other ambitions. His latest projects stem from a passion for investigating the inner workings of individuals and their decision-making processes, enhancing the research and learning process for students and scholars, and aiding instructors in developing their teaching skills.

#### Tell us about your less publicized research.

The other research that I do is, in some ways, quite different from my foreign policy work. It's geared toward investigating the ways that individuals make strategic decisions. The scholarly community has a pretty established body of work in this field that uses game-theoretic models to help understand how countries and leaders strategically interact with each other. The problem is that it's really hard to test some of these models using data that you get from the real world. To give you an example, a common explanation for conflict goes something like, "I know that you are becoming more powerful in the future. You might promise that you will not take advantage of this, but that is not credible. When you become more powerful you'll take advantage of me, so I'm going to start a war while I'm still powerful." That's an intuitive type of situation—a cornerstone of many modern arguments about what begins a war—and it's really hard to measure some of the variables that go into that.

I've been using incentivized laboratory experiments where we recruit college students or adults to play bargain with each other over resources (i.e., money). These games are designed to parallel some of the theoretical variables that help explain state behavior. One immediate concern is that college students can't really compare to Donald Rumsfeld, and money doesn't neatly capture the costs of war. What I'm interested in is that while students are not Donald Rumsfeld, at the end of the day, they are still living, breathing human beings that are making decisions. I am interested in that larger question: how do we make strategic decisions?

It's very similar to the developing study of behavioral economics. The overall theme is about whether or not the systematic patterns of behavior match or depart from what our theoretical models predict. Recently, with graduate students Jonathan Renshon and Julia Lee, we've been taking physiological recordings while people play these games as well as take other surveys. We hook people up to measure their skin conductance and heart rates, which are rough proxies for emotional responses that individuals have a hard time consciously controlling. Emotion is really important to decision making. In the stale world of international relations, emotions oftentimes get suppressed. There are calculating army colonels and decision makers—but this does not mean that emotions do not get tapped. When things don't go their way, elite decision makers get emotionally stimulated. What we're trying to do is measure the extent to which emotional response is what mediates these relationships between the lab equivalent of, "You give me what I want, or I will start a war" and costly decisions that leave people with less money. In that sense, it's starting to borrow some statistical techniques that I have helped to develop.

**In your papers, you mention how ideology affects votes and the ways in which legislation works. Ideology is such an abstract thing—how do you turn ideology, personalities, and emotions into variables that can be used in scientific studies?**

It's hard. The way I like to think about these things, more generally, is to think about what we need to do to manipulate them. Take emotions—part of the studies that we've been doing with emotion is not just about trying to measure it, but also trying to explicitly manipulate it. If we are able to manipulate emotion, then we can randomly assign people to different conditions. One project I've been working on, along with Jonathan and Julia, is the influence of anxiety on attitudes toward immigra-

tion. Part of the experiment includes showing people short video clips to induce their anxiety. One clip is a scene from the movie *Cliffhanger*: Sylvester Stallone is trying to save a woman who is hanging from the edge of a mountain cliff (she falls and dies). The clip makes people very anxious. Then we ask subjects questions about their attitudes towards immigration. We are finding that our manipulation of emotion has incidental effects on other important political attitudes. By being able to randomly manipulate their anxiety we're more confident that what is doing the work in explaining whatever variable you're interested in, immigration attitudes, is that particular thing or emotion that we have manipulated.

Political ideology is a bit trickier. It's hard to think of straightforward ways to manipulate someone's relative liberalism or conservatism. What I can do is give you primes that will make you more attached to your particular political beliefs. For example, say you're a Democrat, I can probably make you a stronger Democrat by telling you that Republicans have been saying negative things about Obama. By doing this, I haven't been able to manipulate your deep ideological convictions, but at least the role of ideology and partisanship becomes more salient to your political decisions. Anytime I confront these really hard, mushy things like ideology, my approach has been to ask, "What are the things that we can manipulate that variable with?"—and see if that has an effect. Of course, that then means it's harder for me to do studies that closely connect to the real world—because, of course, I can't do this to a person in Congress—yet! That's a limitation of this type of work.

### Do you see your research being used to structure coalitions and influence politicians? Do you have an intended audience for your work outside of the scholarly community?

In regards to foreign aid, I would like both members of the public and congressional decision makers to be more aware of this work. When cutting the budget, people go straight for foreign aid. One reason people don't like foreign aid is because they don't realize giving foreign aid benefits the United States economy. Some of this money is going to be delivered by American consulting firms or manufacturing firms. I have a working paper that primes people with information about economic benefits of foreign aid and shows that it can increase support. It's a communication problem that prevents the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) from building coalitions—they haven't figured out a way to do this effectively. It's a quandary for them, though. How do they balance communicating their role in development overseas to the US public versus their use of US companies and workers? And while some object to aid delivered by US firms, there might be substantially less foreign aid given if some of it was not through US firms. Of course,

some people don't want the US to give any foreign aid, but that is a larger debate.

Another reason why the American public is so anti-foreign aid is that many think it's 30 percent of the total government budget. It's about 1 percent. Correcting people and helping them become aware of those systematic impressions would bring a more informed debate.

### Your research topics seem different at first glance—but they are very connected. Tell us about your efforts in developing resources for teachers.

Creating the Program on Experience Based Learning in the Social Sciences (PEBLSS) was, in some sense, me trying to focus some of my energy on my role as a teacher. I was a high school teacher before going to graduate school, and teaching is very important to me. One of the things I learned while teaching high school students, and have experienced here as well, is that students get really excited when they are actively doing things in the classroom, rather than just taking notes from a lecturer. In the educational community, there is a broad consensus that actively engaging students makes for better learning. But there are some problems, one of them being the costs that teachers incur in order to create and use these special activities (it's a lot easier to just lecture and test). I'm supposed to publish research—and have a life outside of my job—so tacking on pedagogic development is a big cost. What PEBLSS is designed to do is identify these common costs and try to do things to minimize them.

One of the projects we're doing within PEBLSS is collecting examples of lesson-plan activities. These activities can be a decision-making simulation, a debate, or any variety of ideas that teachers come up with. What we're doing is collecting all of these ideas, categorizing them, and putting them onto one website. As a result, a teacher can click on a category, let's say "debates," and see examples of questions that other teachers used. We're trying to minimize what you would consider a search cost of finding interesting and new innovations in pedagogy.

The second thing PEBLSS is doing, and this is in conjunction with The Institute for Quantitative Social Science (IQSS), is improving the ability of scholars to conduct research. Google can be really helpful but also really unhelpful. I've gone twenty pages into a search-result list to find what I was looking for, only to find out from a graduate student or colleague they already knew the answer—and then discover that several other people had the same question! What we're doing is collecting resources for conducting research. You can think of it as curating—we've created a research reservoir that is structured based on how lots of people do research. Some resources are about different types of data sets out there. Another section is on statistical analysis and coding tricks that are helpful. Other resources are about writing up research or presenting it. If you need to learn how to do

*Continued on page 15*

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Dustin Tingley is a Faculty Associate of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and an assistant professor of government.

*Photo credit: Megan Countey*

See page 15 for links to projects and surveys mentioned in this article.

## Photo Essay: Events



Photo credit: © John Heymann 2012

### Program on U.S.-Japan Relations

On March 26, the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations honored Dr. Yoichi Funabashi as its Distinguished Visitor for the 2011–2012 academic year. He is chairman of the Rebuild Japan Initiative Foundation and former editor in chief of *Asahi Shimbun*. His public seminar, “Rebuilding Japan after Fukushima,” examined his foundation’s independent investigative report on the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant accident after the earthquake and tsunami a year ago. He also offered a dinner talk, on “The Rise of China: A Japanese Perspective.” Dr. Funabashi is the program’s twenty-fifth Distinguished Visitor since 1987. Past Distinguished Visitors include former United Nations high commissioner for refugees Sadako Ogata, Columbia University economist Jeffrey Sachs, and Cornell University political scientist Peter Katzenstein.

### Undergraduate Thesis Conference February 9–11, 2012

The Weatherhead Center Undergraduate Thesis Conference featured a series of panels chaired by Faculty Associates and Graduate Student Associates. Clustered by regional or disciplinary themes, each student’s presentation was followed by questions, commentary, and feedback for the enhancement of their thesis work in its final stages.

Photo credits: Megan Countey and Kristin Caulfield



Center Director Beth A. Simmons (right) opens the conference. From left to right: Jim Dunn, William Lyon Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies and associate professor, Department of Health, Aging, and Society, McMaster University, chairs a session entitled, “Creations of Recreation in North America.” Christine J. Hu (Economics), presented “French Canadian to *Canadien* to Québécois: An Evolution of Fan Identity in Montreal.” Clare E. Miller (Anthropology), presented “Tourism and Nature in Banff National Park, Alberta.”





In a session entitled, "Varieties of Domestic Politics in the Southern Cone and Brazil," Mason A. Pesek (Government), presented "The Perfect Storm: How the Combined Effect of State Feudalization in Argentina and Diplomatic Misperception Contributed to the Outbreak of the Falklands/Malvinas War."



Above: Sharon Kim (Anthropology), presented "Cambodian Bureaucracy: Public Forms of Commemoration as Vehicles in Constructing Social Memory." Below: Sojourner Rivers (Sociology), presented "A Study of Rape in South Africa." Both Students participated in a panel entitled, "Crises and Intervention in the Developing World."



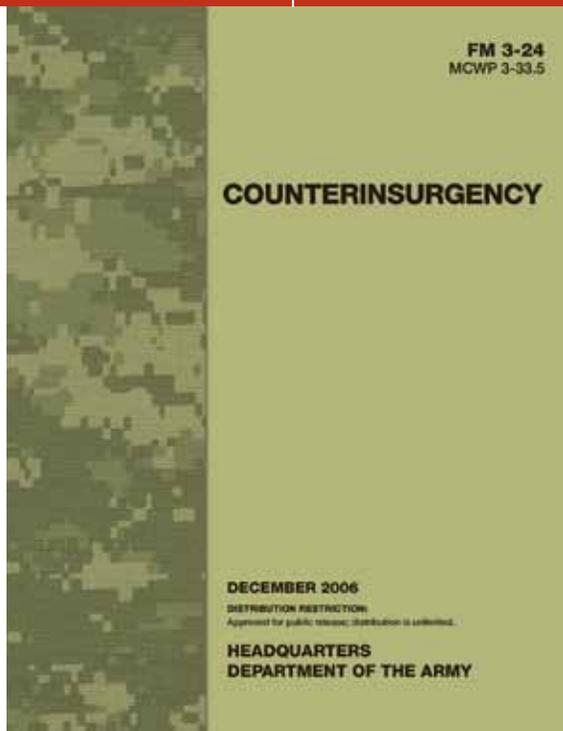
Above: Shalini K. Rao (Government), presented "Playing Defense: Generating a Strategy of Best-Practice Mobilization to Protect Housing Rights in Developing Democracies that Host Mega-Sporting Events" during a session entitled, "Aid and Modernization in the Developing World."

Left: Herrissa D. Lamothe (Sociology and Government), and Session Chair Robert L. Paarberg, Betty F. Johnson Professor of Political Science, Department of Political Science, Wellesley College, talk before their panel begins.



# Military Doctrine as Social Science

by Jeffrey A. Friedman



Jeffrey A. Friedman is a Weatherhead Center Graduate Student Associate and a PhD candidate in Public Policy. His research interests focus on the theoretical and empirical foundations of military doctrine and strategy.

Above: Cover of FM 3-24, the US Army field manual on counterinsurgency.

One of the more unlikely protagonists of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan has been the US Army field manual on counterinsurgency, known as *FM 3-24*.<sup>1</sup> Shortly after its publication in December 2006, *FM 3-24* was downloaded more than one million times, and a version published by the University of Chicago Press became a national best-seller. John Nagl wrote that “perhaps no doctrinal manual in the history of the Army has been so eagerly anticipated and so well received.”<sup>2</sup> Many analysts argue that General David Petraeus’s implementation of the new doctrine in Iraq is one of the main reasons why

violence declined there in 2007, although the manual has many critics, and its lessons have been hotly debated.<sup>3</sup>

The purpose of this essay is to place these debates in a broader context by arguing that *FM 3-24* is not only a topic for social science research, but that it is itself a form of social science—or at the very least, that military doctrine shares the basic goal of social science in attempting to articulate patterns that hold across cases, all else being equal. Seen in this light, doctrinal manuals offer a set of hypotheses and causal claims that demand rigorous, critical analysis like any others. Viewing military doctrine as social science helps to frame the reading of a text like *FM 3-24*, while suggesting a broad research program that should remain relevant long after current military operations have concluded.

Doctrine constitutes the Army’s “collective wisdom regarding past, present, and future operations,” a “body of thought on how Army forces intend to operate.”<sup>4</sup> Almost all military activity is guided by doctrine expressed in manuals like *FM 3-24*. There are more than 400 active field manuals in the Army alone, and most of them are publicly available on the internet.<sup>5</sup> Some of these manuals deal with general topics (e.g., *FM 2-0, Intelligence*, and *FM 3-0, Operations*). Others have a narrower focus (e.g., *FM 3-3-1, Nuclear Contamination Avoidance* and *FM 4-20.102, Rigging Airdrop Platforms*). Since the first US Army field manual was written under the direction of George Washington during the winter at Valley Forge, the

development and revision of doctrine has always been the subject of lively debate.<sup>6</sup> But the writing of *FM 3-24* was unprecedented in how much interest and input it drew from the broader public.<sup>7</sup>

As the authors of *FM 3-24* describe it, the manual articulates “fundamental principles” that form a “solid foundation for understanding and addressing specific insurgencies.”<sup>8</sup> Doctrine is not intended to be a rigid blueprint: the authors of *FM 3-24* stress that “every insurgency is contextual and presents its own set of challenges,” and that “users should assess information from other sources to help them decide how to apply the doctrine in this publication to the specific circumstances facing them.”<sup>9</sup>

The role of doctrine in military decision making is thus roughly equivalent to the role of prior assumptions in Bayesian analysis.<sup>10</sup> Doctrine helps to anchor decision making around common expectations. To give a sense of what this looks like in practice, here is the paragraph from *FM 3-24* which explains the Army’s official view on force sizing for counterinsurgency:

No force level guarantees victory for either side. During previous conflicts, planners assumed that combatants required a 10 or 15 to 1 advantage over insurgents to win. However, no predetermined, fixed ratio of friendly troops to enemy combatants ensures success in COIN [counterinsurgency]. The conditions of the operational environment and the approaches insurgents use vary too widely. A better force requirement gauge is troop density, the ratio of security forces (including the host nation’s military and police forces as well as foreign counterinsurgents) to inhabitants. Most density recommendations fall within a range of 20 to 25 counterinsurgents for every 1000 residents in an AO [area of operations]. Twenty counterinsurgents per 1000 residents is often considered the minimum troop density required for effective COIN operations; however as with any fixed ratio, such calculations remain very dependent on the situation. (*FM 3-24*: par. 1-67)

Force sizing has been a subject of intense debate throughout the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and in the above paragraph, *FM 3-24* supplies some structure for thinking about the issue. The doctrine, (a) claims that the best way to measure force size is in relation to the population in the area of operations; (b) says that force size should be calculated including both foreign and indigenous forces and both army and police, while implying that these are roughly equivalent; and (c) suggests that 20 counterinsurgents per 1,000 inhabitants is the minimum troop density required for success.<sup>11</sup>

These assumptions have cast a long shadow over recent experience. They are cited repeatedly in public debates, and when the US military devised its troop surges in Iraq and Afghanistan, the intent was at least partly to bring troop levels in line with doctrinal recommendations.<sup>12</sup> Similar assumptions play an important role for those who wish to critique these decisions. For instance, one could plausibly argue that the challenge in Afghanistan is unusually difficult and thus requires substantially more forces than the norm. But without making some assumption about what “normal requirements” entail, it is unclear what this argument means in practical terms.

Developing these kinds of assumptions is not much different from standard social science research that also speaks in the language of *ceteris paribus*, attempting to establish baseline expectations about patterns that hold, all else being equal. Evaluating these assumptions is thus a place where scholars can play an important role informing military debates. It is hard to imagine that many social scientists have access to the kinds of classified information that drive the specific outputs of military decision making. But the doctrinal assumptions that guide these decisions are based on “broad historical trends” that are intended to be “applicable worldwide.”<sup>13</sup> Establishing and evaluating those trends is generally a matter of defining the relevant case universe; collecting publicly available data, and studying these data in rigorous ways.

This is an enterprise in which scholars and practitioners have an unusual amount of overlapping interest. Military doctrine is typically written by officers who have a wealth of professional experience, but who often base their reasoning on knowledge of a few important cases.<sup>14</sup> Large-*n* research has its limits, too, but if doctrine-writers aim to identify “broad historical trends” that are “applicable worldwide” then their arguments should be able to stand up to cross-sectional analysis. Contemporary scholars specialize in performing that kind of analysis, and understanding the ways that problems like omitted variables, post-treatment bias, and selection effects can create misleading impressions.<sup>15</sup> Scholars have the time and resources necessary to analyze these patterns in rigorous fashion. And because even the most high-profile doctrinal manuals are not revised more than once or twice a decade, this is an opportunity for scholars to generate policy-relevant insight within an academically-relevant time frame. It is feasible to think that scholars can take a piece of doctrine, thoroughly analyze some of its components, and complete peer review in time to plug the results into the next round of doctrinal revisions.

Evaluating military doctrine is a research program that should appeal to scholars who wish to break new ground. For instance, many debates in the social sciences (especially in the field of international relations) involve analyzing standard data sets that have already been thoroughly studied. The main requirement for evaluating military doctrine, by contrast, is gathering new data. Until

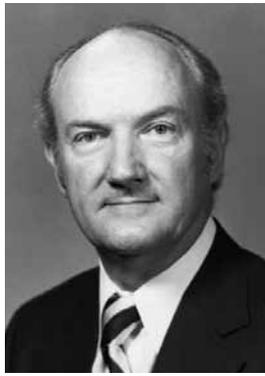
recently, there was not even a widely-accepted data set that listed a comprehensive case universe of insurgencies, let alone one that included variables of interest such as the strategies and forces that counterinsurgents employed.<sup>16</sup> With roughly 300 insurgencies on record since 1800 (and about 200 since World War I) there are enough cases to provide statistical power for large-*n* analysis, but not so many that gathering new data is infeasible. Scholars who make the effort to gather these data will be able to offer insight on important questions while providing new empirical foundations for future work.

Moreover, there is a relatively high probability that data on military doctrine, when analyzed, will say something interesting. There are many academic research programs whose success hinges on obtaining a positive finding. But the kinds of hypotheses advanced in manuals like *FM 3-24* are by and large open empirical questions for which any answer is potentially relevant. Is it indeed true that 20 troops per 1,000 inhabitants is the minimum troop density required for counterinsurgents to be successful? Is the minimum more like 10 troops per 1,000, or 40 troops per 1,000? Does there appear to be any meaningful minimum at all? In general, what is the relationship between manpower and success in counterinsurgency? Even basic, descriptive statistics on this subject can help to shed light on the surrounding debate, and if it turns out that there are no significant correlations, then this is a useful finding per se. When the value of empirical research does not depend on the outcome it is easier to maintain objectivity, and there is less potential downside involved with investing time and resources in gathering new data.

Finally, military doctrine engages a broad range of first-order theoretical issues. One of the essential purposes of doctrine is to state the military’s conception of what armed conflict is, and how informed observers should think about it. *FM 3-24*, for instance, staked an unambiguous claim that the primary goal in counterinsurgency is protecting the population and gaining popular support. This is in stark contrast to a wide range of literature that places much more emphasis on finding and eliminating opponents. Army doctrine on other subjects often speaks to similarly fundamental theoretical debates that also play a major role in the international relations literature: questions about the superiority of the offense versus the defense in conventional war; arguments about the nature of military power and the extent to which it relies on material preponderance, or technology, or force employment; and ideas about the ways in which nuclear weapons influence the prospects and conduct of war. The goal of military doctrine is to reduce these theoretical debates into actionable insights, and this entails advancing a broad variety of hypotheses and causal claims. These hypotheses and claims are bound to vary in their logical coherence and empirical validity. They offer an expansive research program to scholars who are willing and able to test them.

*Notes on page 16*

## FELLOWS' LIVES LIVED



Richard J. Bloomfield,  
WCFIA Fellow  
1971–1972.

**Richard J. Bloomfield**, a Fellow at the Weatherhead Center in 1971–1972, passed away on November 22, 2011, at the age of 84. Surviving him are his wife, Carey; his daughter, Ann Duvall, of Newton, Massachusetts; his sons, Thomas of Westminster, Maryland, John of Crofton, Maryland, Richard of Madison, Wisconsin, and William of Fairfax, Virginia; his stepsons, Eric Goodson of Wellesley, Massachusetts, and Christopher Goodson of Denver, Colorado; and five grandchildren.

Dick Bloomfield served for 30 years in the US Foreign Service, with postings in Latin America and in Europe. He served as US ambassador to Ecuador from 1976 to 1978 and then as US ambassador to Portugal until 1982. After his retirement from the Department of State, he led the World Peace Foundation in Cambridge for ten years.

Remembering Dick's influential vocation and his capacities as a teacher and scholar, former Center Director, Antonio Madero Professor for the Study of Mexico, and Vice Provost for International Affairs, Jorge Domínguez, stated, "Dick's 'Fellows paper' at the Center—four fascinating case studies of US relations with Brazil and Peru, two countries he knew admirably well—taught me both what I did not yet know and also why it was important to value the knowledge of diplomats to learn what I should learn.

He and I became friends and worked on several projects many years later when he led the World Peace Foundation and supported research-based books on the Caribbean and on US-Cuban relations. His insights, his practical sense, and his humanity informed his work and my admiration and friendship for him."

For the many years after his second retirement, Dick Bloomfield was a frequent and most welcome presence at the Center. He visited colleagues and sat with a sense of purpose among scholars and Fellows at seminars, expressing his endless fascination with issues of foreign policy, and insisting, in all that he said and did, on his unending faith in the possibilities for the improvement of the state of humankind.

## THE CANADA PROGRAM 2012–2013

The WCFIA Canada Program continues to experience growth with ten student and two faculty affiliates named for the 2012–2013 academic year.

**Francine McKenzie**, an associate professor of history at the University of Western Ontario, joins the Program as the William Lyon Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies. Professor McKenzie's research interests include the history of international trade in the twentieth century, the history of the British Commonwealth—especially from the perspective of the so-called peripheries (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa)—and international relations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Professor McKenzie is appointed through the Department of History and will teach one undergraduate and one graduate course while at Harvard.

**Ben Herzog**, most recently the Pierre Keller Postdoctoral Fellow in Transatlantic Relations with the Jackson Institute for Global Affairs at Yale University's Whitney and Betty MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies, will join the Canada Program as the William Lyon Mackenzie King Research Fellow. His research interests include citizenship and rights in the contemporary global world and comparative studies of Canada, the United States, and Israel. Professor Herzog is appointed through the Department of Sociology and will teach one undergraduate and one graduate course at Harvard.

Student recipients of dissertation or thesis research support represent the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, the School of Public Health, the Graduate School of Education, the Harvard Kennedy School, and Harvard College. Graduate and undergraduate grant recipients are known as Canada Research Fellows and are engaged in research across disciplines—including music, social studies, economics, and covering topics under public health policy, immigration policy, and economics.

The year was 1984. Henry Rosovsky, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and donor Ira Kukin concluded the terms of the gift that would create the Harvard Academy.

Both were concerned that universities were growing out of touch with the new realities of the world. They saw this happening for structural reasons. It was clear in 1984 that non-Western nations and cultures were becoming more and more important to the US and to the world. Yet, at the same time, there was a dwindling supply of academic training in these regions. Leaders of the founding generation of area studies centers and programs were retiring and not being replaced. American universities were losing expertise in non-Western areas of the world. "This situation...has had a significant adverse impact on our capacity to do business abroad, on the quality of information purveyed by our media, and on public policy..." their founding document lamented.

In the lobby of the Harvard Academy here at the corner of Cambridge and Sumner streets, a new bookcase reflects some of the results of that gift: a collection (still incomplete) of books and articles written by Harvard Academy Scholars. When I look for a book or reprint of articles that were produced while the author was here—it's usually their first. The collection, I offer, matches the expansiveness of the founders' hopes. Here are four examples:

Historian **Kristin Roth-Eg**'s recently published *Soviet Prime-Time: How the Soviet Union Built the Media Empire that Lost the Cold War* analyzes its attempt at successful mass-television culture in the 1950's and 1960's of the late Soviet Union. **Monika Nalepa**, a political scientist, wrote on the problems and strategies of lustration (exposure) of public figures in Eastern European states after the unraveling of the Iron Curtain in *Skeletons in the Closet: Transitional Justice in Post-Communist Europe*. Who would have thought of these outcomes in 1984?

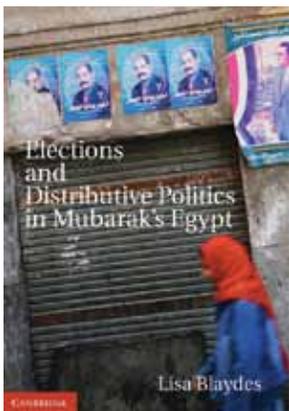
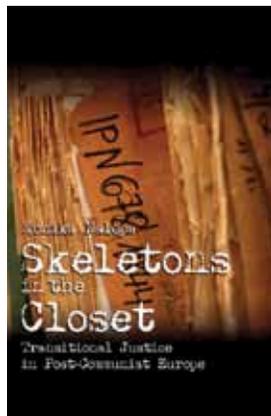
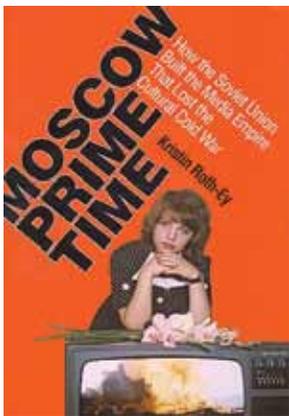


Left to right: Harvard Academy Chairman Jorge I. Domínguez, Executive Officer Laurence H. Winnie, and former FAS Dean Henry Rosovsky at this year's Academy Scholars end-of-year reception held on April 25, 2012. Photo credit: Megan County

Political scientist **Lisa Blaydes**'s *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt* explores the phenomenon of electoral competition in single-party states. While the country is now mostly Mubarak-free, this 30-year-long dynamic doubtlessly still influences the politics of present-day Egypt, and the many states like it. And then there is anthropologist **Saba Mahmood**'s book, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Mahmood offers a much more nuanced view of women and Islam than the less informed ones that remain useful to Western politicians, media, and the public since September 11, 2001.

These are just four from the shelves by Academy Scholars. I am struck by how they actively sought out the dramatic changes outside the West since the Academy was founded—and how well these area studies scholars were able to draw attention to the underlying structures as well as the essential subtleties of their regions outside of the West. Thankfully, they are part of a growing cohort.

Laurence H. Winnie, Executive Officer



## STUDENT PROGRAMS: UNDERGRADUATE ASSOCIATES 2012–2013

**Melissa Barber** (Social Studies) Simmons Family Research Fellow and Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Research Interests: Global occupy networks in Madrid, Spain (indignados) and Oakland, California.*

**Felix de Rosen** (Social Studies) Rogers Family Research Fellow. *Research Interests: Identity and nationalism in Cape Verde.*

**Rodolfo Diaz** (Government) Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Research Interests: Comparative Study of Taiwan's and Puerto Rico's economic development.*

**Katie Gallogly-Swan** (Anthropology) Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Research Interests: Examination of Scottish politics through contemporary Scottish popular music.*

**Julian Gewirtz** (History) Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Research Interests: History of Chinese economic reforms from 1978 to 1993.*

**Cara Guenther** (Anthropology and Health Policy) Rogers Family Research Fellow. *Research Interests: Local barriers and perceptions of Partners in Health (PIA) malnutrition programs in Rwinkwavu, Rwanda.*

**Noah Guiney** (Anthropology) Canada Undergraduate Research Fellow. *Research Interests: Social life of Persian pop; music and its networks of communication.*

**Eric Justin** (Social Studies) Rogers Family Research Fellow. *Research Interests: Economic and political power in Egypt.*

**Emily Keamy-Minor** (Social Studies) Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Research Interests: HIV/AIDS activism and the Russian state; research on health NGOs in Russia.*

**Julia Leitner** (History and Literature) Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Research Interests: Cultural and economic policy and protest art during the 2001 economic crisis in Argentina.*

**Tyler Logigian** (Social Studies and Romance Languages and Literatures) Rogers Family Research Fellow. *Research Interests: The challenges of using the South African judiciary to fight for the fulfillment of health and housing rights.*

**Sheba Mathew** (Anthropology) Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Research Interests: Funding practices of mobile health NGOs in South Africa.*

**Dustin Poore** (Romance Languages and Literatures) Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Research Interests: Ethnography of a credit default program in large international banks in the US in the wake of the 2008 economic crisis.*

**William Rafey** (Social Studies and Mathematical Sciences) Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Research Interests: South African climate change energy policy.*

**Annemarie Ryu** (Anthropology and Health Policy) Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Research Interests: Pregnancy and mental illness among young Hmong Americans; negotiating distinct belief systems.*

**Benjamin Wilcox** (History and Economics) Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Research Interests: 1866 Thayer Expedition to Brazil.*

**Joanne Wong** (Social Studies) Canada Undergraduate Research Fellow. *Research Interests: Effect of gentrification on immigrant-settlement patterns in the greater Toronto area.*

**Sandy Xu** (East Asian Studies) Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Research Interests: China's "Class of 1977" and how they experienced the college entrance exam, university, and the dichotomous experiences of the Cultural Revolution.*

**Brecia Young** (Applied Mathematics) Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Research Interests: Inequality among immigrants in France.*

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## 2012 Thomas Temple Hoopes Prize

The Weatherhead Center congratulates Undergraduate Associates **Tarek Austin** (Social Studies), **Jonathan Kaufman** (Social Studies), **Sharon Kim** (Anthropology), and **Timothy Lambert** (Social Studies) who were among the 81 Harvard undergraduates awarded 2012 Thomas Temple Hoopes Prizes on the basis of their outstanding scholarly work or research.

*Continued from page 7*

coding, you could search Google or blog posts and try to make sense of it. Or, you can use our site where we have gone and done the Google trolling and collected the most helpful resources. Hopefully, undergraduates who are writing their senior thesis can find needed resources in one place. I've used it for my research on public opinion about climate change. It helps me as a researcher by reducing my costs for searching and curating findings in one place. I hope others use it and suggest resources to us via an interface on the webpage.

### Do you think the work you're doing with PEBLSS influenced your move to behavioral research?

Absolutely. When I do an experiment in a class where I show half of the room behaving one way and the other half of the room behaving another based on the "treatment" condition—and that result either relates or is the opposite of the theory we're studying—that's a very crisp demonstration of an idea, or a debate generator. It's crisp because I've been able to control the set up. And it's also exciting for the students because they know they generated the data.

I also really like that students get to see the scientific process at work. One of the barriers a lot of undergraduates, government concentrators, and other social science concentrators hit is that they don't get to see enough of how "the sausage is made." They see the end product that I publish in a journal, but they don't get to see the process. Having in-class experiments is a great way for them to see the process of doing research. It then alerts them to thinking more like a social scientist rather than being absorbent students—we should be training people to think critically in a way that social scientists are trained to do.

### Did the high school students respond in the same way to these exercises?

It worked better in some classes than others. I was a math teacher and a political economy teacher. In algebra, I taught them a little bit about game theory by playing rock-paper-scissors, which is a game that a lot of people know, but it has a nice elegant mathematical way of analyzing what you should do that involves basic algebra. Being able to go through the math and let them sit there for five minutes playing the game reiterated what they were learning, but it also increased their enthusiasm. When they have fun with something, they will be more able to engage and connect with it. At the end of the day, this is what we want—we don't want it to be some alien thing. I want students to be enthusiastic about what they're learning.

### You have made a nice connection for students between looking at hard research and keeping a fresh eye to what they're learning. What advice do you have for undergraduates going into a political science graduate program?

#### Undergraduate Research Scholars:

<http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/undergradscholars/pages/research-resources>

#### Program on Experience Based Learning in the Social Sciences (PEBLSS):

<http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/peblss>

**Harvard Decision Science Laboratory:** <http://decisionlab.harvard.edu/>

**Survey:** [https://harvardgovernment.us2.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV\\_5zG3AuGezbs28Ac](https://harvardgovernment.us2.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_5zG3AuGezbs28Ac)

One piece of advice would be to make sure that you take classes covering a variety of sub-fields: international relations, comparative politics, American politics, methodology classes, and political philosophy. The reason is not just to have a broad view of the field, but you, as an undergraduate, probably don't know what you would be most interested in. It's very easy to label yourself—and that determines where you go to graduate school and who to study under. If you have broader exposure, you're better able to make the decision of what you want to focus on. It also helps students to see the similarities and differences in what political scientists do. There's an underlying set of issues that we all encounter. We often grapple with something called "selection effects." That is something that comparative politics say, American politics people say—political theorists, not so much, but they all appreciate it because they are master logicians and debaters. By getting exposure to these different classes, you're going to see these common themes coming up again and again.

The second piece of advice I would offer is more concrete: start getting some technical training, like taking statistics classes. There are many people in the department who may not agree, and they have some good arguments, but it is a very concrete way to build up skills. There are a variety of ways you can do that. In the real world, employers tend to hire people with concrete skills—and statistics is one that a lot of companies need. In most graduate programs, you will have statistics courses thrown at you, so it is something that you want to be more comfortable with earlier rather than later. There have been students that are surprised at how much math they end up having to know in graduate school.

And my last plug is this: become a research assistant. We need people, and this gives students essential experience.

### Your research projects must be all consuming—how do you manage to balance work and life? Do you find it difficult to turn off the researcher/scholarly side of your brain?

Wow, this is a hard one for me—especially because I'm about to get married (and by press time I will be!). I definitely find it difficult to turn off the research/work side of my brain. I used to be better about that. Graduate students make fun of me about how much I work. I try to get some exercise every day, and when I can, I enjoy playing guitar—though my "chops" are rusty these days. But, academia can be a guilty pleasure when you're surrounded by so many interesting people, from graduate students, to faculty, to practitioners. Speaking of which, perhaps your readers can help us out by taking a survey (above)!

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## Notes

1. The manual also serves as doctrine for the US Marine Corps, where it is listed as *Marine Corps Warfighting Publication 3-33.5*. In the interest of brevity, this essay deals only with US Army doctrine, though the discussion applies to the other military services.
2. LTC John A. Nagl (USA, ret.), "The Evolution and Importance of Army/Marine Corps Field Manual 3-24" in US Department of the Army, *Counterinsurgency Field Manual* (Chicago, 2007), p. xvii.
3. On the new doctrine in Iraq, see Stephen Biddle, Jeffrey A. Friedman, and Jacob N. Shapiro, "Testing the Surge: Why Did Violence Decline in Iraq in 2007?" *International Security* 37/1 (forthcoming 2012). Some of the manual's harshest critics include Ralph Peters (who accused *FM 3-24* of "cheating on the history exam"), Gian Gentile (who argued that the manual "removes the enemy from the essence of war"), and Edward Luttwak (who characterized the doctrine as "military malpractice"). Recent scholarly research on matters relating to *FM 3-24* include Eli Berman, Jacob N. Shapiro, and Joseph H. Felter, "Can Hearts and Minds Be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq," *Journal of Political Economy* 119/4 (2011); a 2008 roundtable in *Perspectives on Politics* with contributions from Stephen Biddle, Wendy Brown, Stathis Kalyvas, and Douglas Ollivant; and additional work by Fotini Christia, Luke Condra, Kelly Greenhill, Jacqueline Hazelton, Radha Iyengar, Jason Lyall, Paul Staniland, and Yuri Zhukov, among others. David Ucko's *The New Counterinsurgency Era* (Georgetown, 2009) describes doctrinal debates about counterinsurgency surrounding the development and implementation of *FM 3-24*. See also the work of Weatherhead Fellow COL Stephen Mariano (USA), "US Army Small Wars Doctrine and Foreign Policy" (PhD dissertation: Royal Military College of Canada, 2012).
4. US Army *Field Manual 3-0*, Operations (2008): pars. D-1, D-4.
5. See [http://armypubs.mil/doctrine/active\\_fm.html](http://armypubs.mil/doctrine/active_fm.html).
6. Walter Kretchik's *US Army Doctrine* (Kansas, 2011) offers a comprehensive history of the Army's "keystone" doctrine. Related works include Virgil Ney's *Evolution of the United States Army Field Manual* (Combat Operations Research Group, 1966), Robert Doughty's *Evolution of US Army Tactical Doctrine* (Army Command and General Staff College, 1979), and Jonathan House's *Toward Combined Arms Warfare* (Kansas, 2001).
7. In "Evolution and Importance of *FM 3-24*," John Nagl explains how the manual's drafting process "brought together journalists, human rights advocates, academics, and practitioners of counterinsurgency" for an "open transfer of ideas" in which "nearly every word of the manual was argued over by the military, by academics, by politicians, and by the press."
8. LTG David Petraeus (USA) and LTG James Mattis (USMC), "Foreword," *FM 3-24*: xlv, xlvii.
9. Petraeus and Amos, "Foreword": xlv, xlviii. See also *FM 3-0*: pars. D-3 and D-5: "Doctrine establishes a common frame of reference...fundamental principles provide the foundation upon which Army forces guide their actions..."
10. I developed the basis for this argument in Friedman, "Manpower and Counterinsurgency: Empirical Foundations for Theory and Doctrine," *Security Studies* 20/4 (2011).
11. I discuss these claims at length in "Manpower and Counterinsurgency."
12. The campaign plan for Iraq called for increasing the total number of Coalition and Iraqi forces in order to provide roughly 20 counterinsurgents for every 1,000 Iraqis. In Afghanistan, the campaign plan projected achieving a similar troop density over what was deemed to be the country's "key terrain."
13. Petraeus and Mattis, "Foreword": xlvii.
14. On this point, see Kelly Greenhill and Paul Staniland, "Ten Ways to Lose a Counterinsurgency," *Civil Wars* 9/4 (2007) and LTC Gian P. Gentile (USA), "The Selective Use of History in the Development of American Counterinsurgency Doctrine," *Army History* 72 (2009).
15. One of the most forceful proponents of this argument was US Army General William DePuy, the first commander of Training and Doctrine Command. In a representative quote, DePuy characterized warfighting as "an intellectual exercise being performed by nonintellectuals and scholarly leaders must help them." See Kretchik, *US Army Doctrine:193-204* and citations.
16. Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson published a data set that listed 286 insurgencies since 1800 in their article "Rage against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars," *International Organization* 63/1 (2009). It was the first data set on counterinsurgency designed to constitute such a comprehensive universe of cases.