MEASURING AND FORECASTING CASUALTIES OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Benjamin J. Radford November 10, 2024

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Political methodologist

- Machine learning
- Bayesian statistics
- Forecasting
- Measurement
- Political conflict & violence

Assistant Professor at UNC Charlotte

- Political Science & Public Administration
- Public Policy PhD Program
- School of Data Science

· Data Scientist various companies

- Enhanced Attribution (Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency)
- Network Defense (DARPA)
- INCAS (DARPA)

- 1. Forecasting Battle Deaths
- 2. Forecasting Protests in Hong Kong
- 3. Measuring Battle Deaths
- 4. Conclusion



Companion Webpage (benradford.com)

Forecasting Battle Deaths

HIGH RESOLUTION CONFLICT FORECASTING

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High resolution conflict forecasting with spatial convolutions and long short-term memory

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ABSTRACT

The 2020 Violence Early Warning System (ViEWS) Prediction Competition challenged participants to produce predictive models of violent political conflict at high spatial and temporal resolutions. This paper presents a convolutional long short-term memory (ConvLSTM) recurrent neural network capable of forecasting the log change in battle-related deaths resulting from state-based armed conflict at the PRIO-GRID cell-month level. The ConvLSTM outperforms the benchmark model provided by the ViEWS team and performs comparably to the best models submitted to the competition. In addition to providing a technical description of the ConvLSTM, I evalu-

KEYWORDS

Forecasting; machine learning; neural networks; political conflict

Can we predict changes in state-based violence?

- Forecasting is about making *falsifiable* predictions.
- If we can forecast conflict, we can (perhaps) mitigate violence.
- Forecasting conflict has a long history in the social sciences:
 - War is in the Error Term [Gartzke, 1999]
 - · Forecasting to avoid overfitting observational models [Ward et al., 2013]
 - DARPA's Integrated Crisis Early Warning System
 - ...Lots of great research [Muchlinski et al., 2016, Colaresi and Mahmood, 2017]
 - PRIO's Violence Early Warning System (ViEWS)

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Uppsala University and the Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO) The Violence & Impacts Early-Warning System (VIEWS) ViEWS Prediction Competition (2020)

Shared Task

A collaborative research effort in which teams compete to accomplish a task given shared data and evaluation metrics.

Components of Shared Tasks

- · Objective or "task"
- Data
 - Training data
 - Validation data
 - Evaluation/Test data

← use to perform model search or tuning ← unobserved until eval time

 \leftarrow fit model to this

• Target metrics (e.g., MSE, Accuracy, ...)

SHARED TASKS



• Netflix Prize (2009)

- Build a better film recommendation engine
- $\cdot\,$ Dozens of NLP tasks for LLMs
 - The Abstract Reasoning Challenge [Chollet, 2019]
 - General Language Understanding Evaluation [Wang et al., 2018]
- Basically every other possible task:
 - Passenger Screening Algorithm Challenge \$1,500,000. Dept. of Homeland Security
 - Home Value Prediction \$1,200,000. Zillow
 - Deepfake Detection Challenge
 \$1,000.000, Amazon, Meta, Microsoft

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VIEWS GOAL (COUNTRY-MONTH)



Figure 1: ViEWS Competition illustration (cm) [Hegre et al., 2022]

VIEWS GOAL (PRIO GRID-MONTH)



Figure 2: ViEWS Competition illustration (pgm) [Hegre et al., 2022]

PRIO GRID-MONTH



The Target (DV)

Change in *Battle Related Deaths* / grid-cell month. UCDP-GED [Sundberg and Melander, 2013]

The Data

• 1990–2013: Training

• 2017–2019: Testing

• 2014–2016: Validation

• 2020–2021: True out-of-sample

Evaluation

Metrics: MSE, TADDA, MAL, pEMDiv Benchmark model: random forest

ViEWS Competition

- Make predictions of Δln (battle deaths + 1)_{t+s}
- Resolution: monthly grid cells
- Grid cells: ~2500.0 km² (one-half degree lat / lon)
- Time frame: 1990–2020

Let's consider what our data "look like" to motivate our modeling choices.

WHAT DOES THE TARGET LOOK LIKE?



Figure 4: Δln (battle deaths + 1)

FEATURES

	Variable	Description
1	ln_ged_best_sb	Current In(deaths + 1)
2	pgd_bdist3	Border distance (km)
3	pgd_capdist	Distance to capital (km)
4	pgd_agri_ih	Agricultural area %
5	pgd_pop_gpw_sum	Population
6	pgd_ttime_mean	Travel time to major city
7	<pre>spdist_pgd_diamsec</pre>	Diamond resources
8	pgd_pasture_ih	Pasture area %
9	pgd_savanna_ih	Savanna area %
10	pgd_forest_ih	Forest area %
11	pgd_urban_ih	Urban area %
12	pgd_barren_ih	Barren area %
13	pgd_gcp_mer	Gross cell product (USD)

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13	pgd_gcp_mer	Gross cell product (USD)

FEATURE MAPS



18

Feature per Month





Time (months)

RESHAPE



Input Size (single sample)

$$(12 \times 178 \times 169 \times 14) = 5,053,776$$

Output Size (single sample)

 $(7 \times 178 \times 169 \times 1) = 210,574$

Training Set Size	
	5,053,776/12 × 270 = 113 , 709 , 960

Attributes We Want

- Spatial effects
- Temporal effects
- · Additional features / covariates

This Looks Like...

Next frame prediction for generating videos [Lotter et al., 2017]

The Model

Convolutional Long Short-Term Memory Neural Network (ConvLSTM)







NEURAL NETWORKS



This is \hat{y} , our predicted value for y. It is the output of our neural network.


This is a neuron.



A neuron is a function.



Our neuron's input is $(w_1 \times x_1) + (w_2 \times x_2)$. w_1 and w_2 are weights, or coefficients.



This is another neuron.



It's value is a function of $(w_3 \times x_1) + (w_4 \times x_2)$.



A **layer** is a bunch of neurons shared inputs and different weights. Every arrow above is a unique weight (or coefficient).



The inputs to this neuron are the outputs of the previous layer.



The inputs to this neuron are the outputs of the previous layer.







These are hidden layers.















LSTM / RECURRENT NEURAL NETWORK



RESHAPE



Model



- Parameters: 281,016
- Loss: MSE
- Optimizer: RMSprop
- Batch Size: 8
- **Epochs**: 75



Training time: about 1.5 hours

MAX PREDICTIONS IN TEST SET (+2 MONTHS)



Figure 5: Observed Max

Figure 6: Predicted Max

MIN PREDICTIONS IN TEST SET (+2 MONTHS)



Figure 7: Observed Min

Figure 8: Predicted Min

ACTUAL: DECEMBER 2018 (+2 MONTHS)



Predicted: December 2018 (+2 Months)



What if...

- The model is only learning a reversion to the mode (0) when the current death count is greater than 0.
- And, when the current death count is 0, it just predicts something like the mean increase in deaths from the training set?

$$\hat{\Delta}_{s=X} = \begin{cases} -\ln(\text{deaths} + 1)_{s=0} & \text{if } \ln(\text{deaths} + 1)_{s=0} > 0 \\ \bar{\Delta}_{s\neq X} & \text{else} \end{cases}$$

ACTUAL VERSUS PREDICTED (VALIDATION + TEST SET)



Can we open up the "black box" of the neural network?

Methods to Inspect Model

- Shapley values
- · Local Interpretable Model-Agnostic Explanations (LIME)
- Attention Layer [Bahdanau et al., 2016]
- Occlusion Sensitivity [Zeiler and Fergus, 2014]
- Alternative Models

ATTENTION LAYER & OCCLUSION

Feature	Importance	
Current In(deaths + 1)	0.284	
Population	0.271	
Urban area	0.207	
Travel time to major city	0.051	
Agricultural area	0.040	
Gross cell product	0.035	
Forest area	0.029	
Diamond resources	0.017	
Barren area	0.016	
Border distance	0.014	
Savanna area	0.012	
Pasture area	0.011	
Missingness ind.	0.010	
Distance to capital	0.010	

Let's try the same ConvLSTM model with *only* one feature:

ln(battle deaths + 1).

	Competition Model ConvLSTM		Single Feature ConvLSTM	
Steps	MSE	TADDA	MSE	TADDA
s = 2	0.022	0.017	0.022	0.013
s = 3	0.022	0.016	0.022	0.013
S = 4	0.022	0.016	0.022	0.014
s = 5	0.022	0.016	0.022	0.013
S = 6	0.023	0.017	0.022	0.013
s = 7	0.023	0.017	0.022	0.014

Ин он.



Is this model...bad?

This ConvLSTM was among the two best models out of eight teams that submitted.

RADAR PLOTS



[Paola Vesco and Weidmann, 2022]


Figure 11: Views out-of-sample predictions

Forecasting state-based violence (*escalations*) is really hard.

- Different models.
- Higher-resolution time-varying predictors.
 - Evidence from Hong Kong Protests.
- Improved measurement.
 - "Estimating Conflict Losses and Reporting Biases"
- Understand the fundamental limits to prediction.

MODELS IN THE COMPETITION

- Elastic net regression
- Random forest
- Graph convolutional neural networks
- Dynamic time warping
- XGboost
- Hierarchical regression models
- State-space models
- \cdot Topic models
- \cdot AutoML
- Hidden Markov models
- ConvLSTM

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HONG KONG PROTESTS

HKMAP.LIVE



HKMAP.LIVE



HKMAP.LIVE



HKMAP ICONS

Approx. 195,262 Reports



Special Tactics Unit Closed Ambulance Firetruck Road Blocked Water Cannon Used Water Cannon Warning

Old Question

How many battle deaths do we expect to observe in this 2500km² cell during one month?

New Question

What is the probability that at least one of these events is reported within a $4km^2$ grid cell during a 2 hour period?



Structural Model	Limited Model	Full Model
Map & Building data	Map & Building data	Map & Building data
Roads data	Roads data	Roads data
	Weather data	Weather data
	Day of week	Day of week
	Time of day	Time of day
		HKMap.live reported events

 Table 1: Three sets of models.

https://pandas-lab.com/assets/sds_police_2km_2hr.mp4

https://pandas-lab.com/assets/sds_emergency_car_2km_2hr.mp4

POLICE PRESENCE P-R CURVE





Forecasting HK Events

High-resolution time-varying predictors (e.g., events) help!

Undercover Police Arrests (with Howard Liu)

- How does the geography of protest shape police tactics?
- We find undercover police are more likely to make arrests on the periphery of protests than in central areas.
- Currently under review...

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MEASURING BATTLE DEATHS

UCDP-GED

- Uppsala Conflict Data Program Georeferenced Event Dataset
- Sources:
 - Global newswires & BBC
 - Local and specialized news
 - IGO, NGO, government, and research reports

ESTIMATING CONFLICT LOSSES AND REPORTING BIASES

PNAS

BRIEF REPORT POLITICAL SCIENCES

Estimating conflict losses and reporting biases

Benjamin J. Radford^{a,b,1}, Yaoyao Dai^c, Niklas Stoehr^d, Aaron Schein^e, Mya Fernandez^{b,c}, and Hanif Sajid^a

Edited by David Laitin, Stanford University, Stanford, CA; received May 2, 2023; accepted July 17, 2023

Determining the number of casualties and fatalities suffered in militarized conflicts is important for conflict measurement, forecasting, and accountability. However, given the nature of conflict, reliable statistics on casualties are rare. Countries or political actors involved in conflicts have incentives to hide or manipulate these numbers, while third parties might not have access to reliable information. For example, in the ongoing militarized conflict between Russia and Ukraine, estimates of the magnitude of losses vary wildly, sometimes across orders of magnitude. In this paper, we offer an approach for measuring casualties and fatalities given multiple reporting sources and, at the same time, accounting for the biases of those sources. We construct a dataset of 4,609 reports of military and civilian losses by both sides. We then develop a

Old Question

How many battle deaths do we expect to observe in this 2500km² cell during one month?

New Question

- · Model-based measurement of battle deaths.
- Can we simultaneously account for source biases?

LONDON, Sept 21 (Reuters) - Russia will draft 300,000 reservists to support its military campaign in Ukraine, Defence Minister Sergei Shoigu said on Wednesday in televised remarks.

In Moscow's first update on casualty numbers in almost six months, Shoigu said 5,937 Russian soldiers had been killed since the start of the conflict.

Reuters (Sept. 21, 2022)



His action follows a Ukrainian counteroffensive that pushed Russian forces from Kharkiv and liberated more than 3,000 square kilometers of Ukrainian territory. In August, DOD Policy Chief Colin Kahl said the Russians have lost between 50,000 and 70,000 service members in its war on Ukraine.

U.S. D.O.D. (September 22, 2022)

WHAT ABOUT UKRAINIAN LOSSES?



- Collected 4,609 reports on battle losses (news and social media):
 - Deaths & casualties
 - Aircraft
 - Drones
 - Vehicles
 - Anti-aircraft systems
- Bayesian random effects generalized additive model (Stan)
- Source bias random effects

THE FULL MODEL

Likelihood	Latent time series
$y_i^{\text{daily}} \sim \text{Pois}(\exp(\mu_i^{\text{daily}}))$ (1)	$ heta_{ct,d} = (Beta_{ct}^{ ext{spline}})_d + eta_{ct}^{ ext{const}}$
$y_j^{cum} \sim NB(\exp(\mu_j^{cum}), {}^1\!\!/\!\!\exp(\phi_{ct[j]}))$ (2)	$+ \beta_{ct}^{\text{trend}} \left(\frac{d}{365} \right) \tag{5}$
Loss means	Priors
$\mu_i^{daily} = heta_{ct[i],d[i]} + eta_{c[i],st[i]}^{bias} + eta_{s[i]}^{min} I_i^{min}$	$\beta_c^{\text{const}} \sim N(\mu^{\text{const}}, \sigma^{\text{const}})$ (6)
$+ \beta_{s[i]}^{\max} I_i^{\max} \tag{3}$	$\beta_{ct}^{\text{trend}} \sim N(\mu^{\text{trend}}, \sigma^{\text{trend}})$ (7)
$\mu_i^{cum} = \ln(\Sigma_{k=1}^{d[j]} \exp(\theta_{ct[j], d[k]})) + \beta_{c[j], st[j]}^{bias}$	$\beta_{ct}^{\text{spline}} \sim N(0, \Sigma^{\text{spline}})$ (8)
$+ \beta_{a[i]}^{\min} I_{i}^{\min} + \beta_{a[i]}^{\max} I_{i}^{\max} $ (4)	$\beta_s^{\min} \sim N(\mu^{\min}, \sigma^{\min})$ (9)
$(s_{ij}) = (s_{ij}) + (s_{ij}) (s_{ij}) $	$\beta_s^{\max} \sim N(\mu^{\max}, \sigma^{\max})$ (10)
	$\beta_{c,st}^{\text{bias}} \sim N(\gamma_{st}^{\text{bias}}, \sigma_{st}^{\text{bias}})$ (11)
	$\gamma_{st}^{\text{bias}} \sim N(0, \sigma_1^{\text{bias}})$ (12)
	$\phi_{ct} \sim N(\mu^{\phi}, \sigma^{\phi})$ (13)

RESULTS

Military Deaths, Russia



Days

UKRAINIAN MILITARY FATALITIES

Military Deaths, Ukraine



Days

- Expected deaths as of day 365
 - RU 76,687 (38,670 139,772)
 - UA 17,223 (6,219 39,105)

• Expected deaths as of day 365

- RU 76,687 (38,670 139,772)
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• Casualties to deaths ratios on day 365

- RU 2.9:1
- UA 4.9:1

· Expected deaths as of day 365

RU 76,687 (38,670 - 139,772) UA 17,223 (6,219 - 39,105)

$\cdot\,$ Casualties to deaths ratios on day 365

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- UA 4.9:1

• Russian to Ukrainian troop loss ratio 5.53:1 (1.61:1 - 14.5:1)

· Expected deaths as of day 365

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$\cdot\,$ Russian to Ukrainian troop loss ratio

5.53:1 (1.61:1 - 14.5:1)

BIASES



In(bias)

- Different models.
- Higher-resolution time-varying predictors.
 - Evidence from Hong Kong Protests.
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CONCLUSION

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The Message

- Forecasting is important for science!
 - Falsify theories.
 - · Predict effects of interventions.
 - Avoid overfitting.
- Forecasting conflict escalation is really hard.

The Good News

- · There's never been a better time to study forecasting & measurement.
- Interesting data are more available than ever.
- Social science is benefiting machine learning and data science best practices.

Measurement

- Estimating complex concepts from text data:
 - Populism
 - Political ideology
 - Event attributes
- Measuring sub-national territorial control

Data Science for Cybersecurity

- Using language models to identify vulnerabilities in source code
- Machine learning to detect network intrusions

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INTERNATIONAL INTERACTIONS

ACTUAL VERSUS PREDICTED (TRUE OUT-OF-SAMPLE)



Out-of-sample forecasts

Table 2: Mean Sq. Error			Table 3: TADDA		
Steps	ConvLSTM	Benchmark	Steps	ConvLSTM	Benchmark
s = 2	0.024	0.053	s = 2	0.018	0.138
s = 3	0.028	0.059	s = 3	0.019	0.142
S = 4	0.025	0.052	S = 4	0.020	0.142
s = 5	0.036	0.064	s = 5	0.024	0.150
S = 6	0.036	0.063	S = 6	0.021	0.148
s = 7	0.035	0.064	s = 7	0.025	0.153

*Targeted Abs. Distance with Direction Augmentation

- Large language models are expensive.
- · Companies want to predict their return on performance.
- Researchers have found limits to their ability to predict language [Kaplan et al., 2020].
 - Irreducible error
 - Bayes error

We can apply this to social sciences:

Holding data size, compute resources, or model parameters constant, **estimate the limit** of our **ability to make predictions**.

Hong Kong



Figure 14: HKMap.live data over time

POLICE VEHICLES P-R CURVE





	Police Presence				
	Limited Model	Full Model			
Accuracy	0.92	0.93			
Precision	0.07	0.07			
Recall	0.95	0.91			
F-score	0.13	0.14			

n = 1766 / 289,138

Table 4: Evaluation set performance.

	Water Cannon Use				
	Limited Model	Full Model			
Accuracy	0.98	0.97			
Precision	0.02	0.01			
Recall	0.57	0.71			
F-score	0.02	0.02			

n = 97 / 289,138

Table 5: Evaluation set performance.



FORBES > BUSINESS

BREAKING

500 Or 10,000 Deaths? Russian Media Finally Seems To Report Dire Troop Casualty Numbers— And Then Deletes Them

Mason Bissada Former Staff

Forbes (March 22, 2022)

Even more data



Can we put all of this messy data together to obtain nice ("unbiased") estimates of losses?

We collected **4,357*** loss reports from Feb. 24, 2022 – Feb. 23, 2023.

- Date
- Loss type (21 types)
- Temporal unit (cumulative or daily)
- Ranges ("between XXX and YYY losses")
- Reporting sources
- Loss country (Ukraine or Russia)
- Newspaper or venue
- $\cdot\,$ Text of claim

THE MODEL DIAGRAM



- Bayesian random effects model (Stan)
- Outcomes:
 - + Daily counts \sim Poisson
 - + Cumulative counts \sim Negative binomial
- Predictors:
 - Daily latent time series for every type-target pair
 - Reporting source-target biases
 - Reporting source specific min and max scalar

 $v_i^{\text{daily}} \sim \text{Pois}(\exp(\mu_i^{\text{daily}}))$ $y_i^{\text{cum}} \sim \text{NB}(\exp(\mu_i^{\text{cum}}), 1\exp(\phi_{\text{type-target[j]}}))$ $\mu_i^{\text{day}} = \theta_{\text{type-target[i]}}$ $+ \beta_{\text{source-target}[i]}$ $+ \beta_{\text{source[i]}}^{\min} \times 1_{\min}(x_i^{\min})$ $+ \beta_{\text{source[i]}}^{\max} \times 1_{\max}(x_i^{\max})$ $\mu_i^{\text{cum}} = \ln(\text{CumSum}(\exp(\theta_{\text{type-target[i]}})))$:

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 - \cdot Cumulative outcomes

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Estimating this model was a nightmare.

RESULTS



POSTERIOR PREDICTIVE INTERVALS



UKRAINIAN MILITARY FATALITIES



TANK LOSSES



LOTS OF TYPES

ISO2	Loss type	n	Est.	95% CI
russian-gray RU	AA Systems	233	339	[76-1070]
ukrainian-gray UA	AA Systems	13	1105	[108-5247]
russian-gray RU	Artillery	380	1483	[701-2818]
ukrainian-gray UA	Artillery	35	2290	[519-6966]
russian-gray RU	Helicopters	389	172	[87-311]
ukrainian-gray UA	Helicopters	30	64	[14-183]
russian-gray RU	Jets	409	146	[68–273]
ukrainian-gray UA	Jets	38	122	[32-372]
russian-gray RU	Military Deaths	523	76687	[38670-139772]
ukrainian-gray UA	Military Deaths	67	17223	[6219-39105]
russian-gray RU	MLRS	261	488	[148-1222]
ukrainian-gray UA	MLRS	27	538	[155-1482]
russian-gray RU	Tanks	501	3380	[1704-6178]
ukrainian-gray UA	Tanks	33	2051	[385-5946]
russian-gray RU	UAVs	292	337	[153-707]
				[

- We don't know the true latent values, so we can't evaluate that way.
 - ...or do we?
- There is not a straight-forward way to compute R² with these models.
- We can compute AIC and BIC, but those only help internally.
- Let's use out-of-sample cross-validation!
 - Divide the data into 5 folds.
 - Estimate 5 models, leaving out one fold of the data each time.
 - Make predictions for y on the held out data.
 - Plot the out-of-sample predictions versus the actual values.

5-fold Cross Validation



MODEL VALIDATION



THE TOOLS

- \cdot R / RStudio
 - \cdot Data cleaning
 - $\cdot\,$ Graphics and tables
- Stan
 - Bayesian modeling
- University Research Computing
- вт_ЕХ
 - Overleaf.com
 - Manuscript
 - Slides
 - Poster
- \cdot Git / Github
 - Collaboration
 - Replication archive
- Harvard Dataverse
 - Data distribution

PUBLISHED



February 24, 2022:	Started data collection
Fall, 2022:	Started modeling
February 23, 2023:	Ended data collection*
May 2, 2023:	First submission to PNAS
June 5, 2023:	First round of reviews
	24 page response letter
July 3, 2023:	Second round of reviews
	18 page response letter
July 20, 2023:	Acceptance

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	INSTALLATION DOCUMENTATION COMMUNITY ABOUT US YOUR SUPPORT SEARCH	
	Stan	
Stan	Con 2023	
StanC	on 2023 June 20-21, at the Washington University in St. Louis was a great	

success.

Slides and materials from the talks and presentations are available at

PUBLICITY



Wizard_of_Armageddon @Wizard_of_A · Oct 6

Unanimous opinion: this article is garbage. Totally GIGO(Garbage In, Garbage Out).

Wizard_of_Armageddon @Wizard_of_A · Oct 5

The editor-in-chief asked me to review this article (because of my background in statistics). Currently viewing. theloop.ecpr.eu/estimating-tro...

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- \cdot The model is just too complicated
 - We could have made it simpler... probably.
- It's not efficient:
 - $\cdot\,$ could be the Negative Binomial / Poisson link functions
 - could be the exp(...) operator
- Should we assume:
 - $\cdot\,$ when data are scarce, losses regress to zero
 - $\cdot\,$ when data are scarce, losses regress to their mean

- Is there interest in this in political science?
 - If so, where?
 - Any suggestions for framing?
- \cdot Is there interest in follow-up on:
 - estimating daily "conflict intensity"
 - estimating source reporting biases
- Is there anything else we could use our data for?
- Do you think there's interest in a continuing dataset?

Thank you!

And thank you to my co-authors:

Yaoyao Dai Niklas Stoehr Aaron Schein Mya Fernandez Hanif Sajid

Contact me: bradfor7@uncc.edu






































APPENDIX























