

# Ethan Bueno de Mesquita

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## ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

### University of Chicago

Dean, Harris School of Public Policy, *2023–present (interim March 2023–June 2024)*  
Sydney Stein Professor, Harris School of Public Policy and the College, *2016–present*  
Faculty Associate, Department of Political Science, *2017–present*

Deputy Dean, Harris School of Public Policy, *2011–2023*  
Professor, Harris School of Public Policy, *2011–2016*  
Associate Professor (with tenure), Harris School of Public Policy, *2007–2011*

### Washington University in St. Louis

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, *2003–2007*  
Resident Fellow, Center in Political Economy, *2003–2007*

### Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Lady Davis Fellow, Department of Political Science, *2005–2006*  
Visiting Fellow, Center for the Study of Rationality, *2005–2006*

## EDUCATION

### Harvard University, Department of Government

Ph.D. in Political Science, *June 2003*  
M.A. in Political Science, *June 2000*

### Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Raoul Wallenberg Scholar of Leadership and Democracy, *1996–1997*

### University of Chicago

B.A. in Political Science with Honors, *June 1996*

## PUBLICATIONS

### *Books*

2021. *Thinking Clearly with Data: A Guide to Quantitative Reasoning and Analysis* (with Anthony Fowler). Princeton University Press. (Translated into Chinese, Korean, and Russian.)
2021. *Theory and Credibility: Integrating Theoretical and Empirical Social Science* (with Scott Ashworth and Christopher Berry). Princeton University Press.
2016. *Political Economy for Public Policy*. Princeton University Press.

*Peer Reviewed Articles*

2024. “Modeling Theories of Women’s Underrepresentation in Elections” (with Scott Ashworth and Christopher Berry). *American Journal of Political Science* 68(1):289–303.
2023. “From Investiture to Worms: A Political Economy of European Development and the Rise of Secularism” (with Bruce Bueno de Mesquita). *Journal of Politics* 85(3):867–891.
2023. “Social Norms and Social Change” (with Mehdi Shadmehr). *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 18(3):339–363.
2023. “Rebel Motivations and Repression” (with Mehdi Shadmehr). *American Political Science Review* 117(2):734–750.
2020. “Deterrence with Imperfect Attribution” (with Sandeep Baliga and Alexander Wolitzky). *American Political Science Review* 114(4):1155–1178.
2020. “The Commensurability Problem: Conceptual Difficulties in Estimating the Effect of Behavior on Behavior” (with Scott Tyson). *American Political Science Review* 114(2):375–391.
2020. “Territorial Conflict over Endogenous Rents.” *Journal of Politics* 82(1):162–181.
2018. “Learning About Voter Competence” (with Scott Ashworth and Amanda Friedenberg). *American Journal of Political Science* 62(1):37–54.
2017. “Unified vs. Divided Political Authority” (with Scott Ashworth). *Journal of Politics* 79(4):1372–1385.
2017. “Accountability and Information in Elections” (with Scott Ashworth and Amanda Friedenberg). *American Economic Journal: Microeconomics* 9(2):95–138.
2015. “Political Accountability with Sequential Policymaking” (with Dimitri Landa). *Journal of Public Economics* 132:95–108.
2015. “Measuring Political Violence in Pakistan: Insights from the BFRS Dataset” (with C. Christine Fair, Jenna Jordan, Rasul Bakhsh Rais, and Jacob N. Shapiro). *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 32(5):536–558.
2014. “Is Voter Competence Good for Voters?: Information, Rationality, and Democratic Performance” (with Scott Ashworth). *American Political Science Review* 108(3):565–587.
2013. “Rebel Tactics.” *Journal of Political Economy* 121(2):323–357.
2011. “Ideologues or Pragmatists?” (with Amanda Friedenberg) *Journal of the European Economic Association* 9(5):931–51
2011. “Disentangling Accountability and Competence in Elections: Evidence from U.S. Term Limits” (with James Alt and Shanna Rose). *Journal of Politics* 73(1):171–186
2010. “Regime Change and Revolutionary Entrepreneurs.” *American Political Science Review* 104(3):446–466
2009. “Elections with Platform and Valence Competition” (with Scott Ashworth). *Games and Economic Behavior* 67(1):191–216
2008. “Terrorist Factions.” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 3(4):399–418.

2008. “Public Protection or Private Extortion?” (with Catherine Hafer). *Economics and Politics* 20(1):1–32
2008. “Informative Party Labels with Institutional and Electoral Variation” (with Scott Ashworth). *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 20(3):251–273
2008. “Electoral Selection, Strategic Challenger Entry, and the Incumbency Advantage (with Scott Ashworth). *Journal of Politics* 70(4):1006–1025.
2007. “Regulatory Quality under Imperfect Oversight” (with Matthew Stephenson). *American Political Science Review* 101(3):605–620
2007. “The Propaganda of the Deed: Terrorism, Counterterrorism, and Mobilization” (with Eric Dickson). *American Journal of Political Science* 51(2):364–381
2007. “Politics and the Suboptimal Provision of Counterterror.” *International Organization* 61(1):9–36
2006. “Delivering the Goods: Legislative Particularism in Different Electoral and Institutional Settings” (with Scott Ashworth). *Journal of Politics* 68(1):168–179
2006. “Legal Institutions and Informal Networks” (with Matthew Stephenson). *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 18(1):41–68
2006. “Monotone Comparative Statics for Models of Politics” (with Scott Ashworth). *American Journal of Political Science* 50(1):214–231
2005. “The Quality of Terror.” *American Journal of Political Science* 49(3):515–530
2005. “The Terrorist Endgame: A Model with Moral Hazard and Learning.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(2):237–258
2005. “Conciliation, Counterterrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence.” *International Organization* 59(1):145–176
2002. “Informative Precedent and Intra-Judicial Communication” (with Matthew Stephenson). *American Political Science Review* 96(4):755–66. Reprinted in James R. Rogers, Jon R. Bond, and Roy B. Flemming (eds.). 2006. *Institutional Games and the U.S. Supreme Court*. University of Virginia Press
2002. “The Binds that Tie: Creating a Virtuous Cycle of Commitment through Communal Expectations.” *CCAR Journal: A Reform Jewish Quarterly* Winter:93–103
2000. “Strategic and Non-Policy Voting: A Coalitional Analysis of Israeli Electoral Reform.” *Comparative Politics* 33(1):63–80

#### *Other Academic Publications*

2015. “All Else Equal in Theory and Data (Big or Small)” (with Scott Ashworth and Christopher Berry). *PS: Political Science & Politics* 48(1):89–94.
2013. “Terrorism and Counterterrorism.” In *Handbook of International Relations, 2nd Edition*, ed., Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons. London: Sage, 635–655
2009. “The Factionalization of Terror Groups.” In *Guns and Butter: The Economic Causes and*

*Consequences of Violence*, ed. Gregory D. Hess. Cambridge: MIT Press, 157–180

2009. “Commentary on Dipak Gupta, *Understanding terrorism and political violence: the life cycle of birth, growth, transformation and demise*.” *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 2(2):327–329
2008. “The Political Economy of Terrorism: A Selective Overview of Recent Work.” *The Political Economist* 10(1):1–12
2007. Review of Alan Krueger’s *What Makes a Terrorist: Economics and the Roots of Terrorism* in *Science* 318
2005. Review of Jonathan Fox’s *Religion, Civilization, and Civil War* in *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 28(4)

#### *Other Writing*

- “The Future of Speech on Campus.” *Boston Review*, December 21, 2023.
- “Chicago city-owned supermarkets aren’t the right fix for food deserts”. *Chicago Tribune*, November 10, 2023.
- “American Geopolitical Strategy and the Israel-Hamas War”. *Irregular Warfare Initiative*, November 7, 2023.
- “Encouraging Informed Participation in Decentralized Governance: The Problem with Slashing or Majority Rewards” (with Andrew B. Hall) *a16crypto*, January 19, 2023.
- “Paying People to Participate in Governance” (with Andrew B. Hall). *a16crypto.com*, November 8, 2022.
- “Platforms Need to Work with Their Users—Not Against Them” (with Andrew B. Hall). *Harvard Business Review*, May 4, 2022.
- “Why it matters when Governor J.B. Pritzker wears a mask” (with Mehdi Shadmehr). *Chicago Tribune*, May 1, 2020.
- “The U.S. Can Deter Iran but Not Its Proxies.” *Foreign Policy*, January 23, 2020.
- “The Pitfalls and Possibilities of the Measurement Revolution for National Security” (with Liam Collins, Kristen G. Decaires, and Jacob N. Shapiro). *War on the Rocks*, January 16, 2020.
- “Getting Counterinsurgency Wrong.” *Boston Review*, December 23, 2019.
- “The Perils of Quantification.” *Boston Review*, March 11, 2019.
- “The Case for a Cyber Deterrence Plan that Works” (with Sandeep Baliga and Alexander Wolitzky). *The National Interest*, March 5, 2019.
- “Al-Shabaab Is Fighting For Its Survival.” *CNN.com*, September 27, 2013.
- “One Way to Defeat the NRA” (with Jens Ludwig). *CNN.com*, January 11, 2013.

## **CURRENT PROJECTS**

### *Working Papers*

“Hold-Up, Innovation, and Platform Governance”

“Partisan Traps” (with Wioletta Dziuda)

“Cyber Secrets and War: A Bargaining Approach” (with Ariel Roginsky)

“Information and Incumbency” (with Scott Ashworth and Amanda Friedenberg)

“On the Concept of Preference in Economics” (with Scott Ashworth)

“Regime Change and Equilibrium Multiplicity”

## **GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS, & HONORS**

National Science Foundation Grant, “Higher Order Beliefs during a Pandemic: Theory and Evidence to Test the Effects of Public Health Campaigns,” 2020 (\$198,852).

Becker Friedman Institute Research Grant, “Higher Order Beliefs during a Pandemic: An RCT to Test the Effects of Public Health Campaigns,” 2020.

Becker Friedman Institute Research Grant, “Coordination Problems and Social Distancing: Inertia in the Aggregate Response to COVID-19,” 2020.

CIC Academic Leadership Fellow, 2015–2016

Elected Member, Empirical Studies of Conflict Project, 2015

QJPS Referee Hall of Fame, 2005–2014

Office of Naval Research Grant, “Rebellion and Counter-Rebellion: Tactics and Targeting,” 2013–2016 (\$464,813)

National Science Foundation Grant, “Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models (EITM) Summer Institutes,” 2011–2015, Co-PI with Scott Ashworth, Brandice Canes-Wrone, Scott de Marchi, Sean Gailmard, Arthur Lupia, and Adam Meirowitz (\$2,239,812)

Office of Naval Research Grant, “Factions, Internal Competition, and Asymmetric Violence,” 2010–2013 (\$891,672)

National Science Foundation Grant, “Research on the Nature of Electoral Accountability,” 2008–2010 (\$89,973)

United States Institute of Peace, Unsolicited Grant for the Study of the Causes of Terrorism, 2005–2006

Lady Davis Fellow, Hebrew University, 2005–2006

Weidenbaum Center (Washington University) Small Research Grant, 2003–2004, 2005–2006

Center for American Political Studies (Harvard University) Seed Grant, 2002

National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship, 1998–2001

Derek Bok Certificate of Distinction for Excellence in Teaching, 2000

Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Dean’s Fellowship, 1998–2000

Center for Basic Research in the Social Sciences Math Fellowship, 2000

Raoul Wallenberg Scholarship of Leadership and Democracy, 1996–1997

Phi Beta Kappa, 1996

University of Chicago Student Marshal, 1995–1996

## **TEACHING**

### *Undergraduate*

Elections (Washington University)

Terrorism, Insurgency, and Civil Wars (Washington University, Harvard, University of Chicago)

### *Graduate*

Terrorism, Insurgency, and Civil War (University of Chicago, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Washington University)

Economic Models of Politics (University of Chicago)

Analytical Politics I: Strategic and Theoretical Foundations (University of Chicago)

Analytical Politics for International Development (University of Chicago)

Political Economy for Public Policy (University of Chicago)

Formal Models of Law and Politics (Washington University)

Game Theory I (Washington University, University of Chicago)

Game Theory II (University of Chicago)

Formal Models of Comparative Politics (Washington University)

### *Short Courses*

Thinking Clearly with Data Foundations of Evidence in Data Journalism

Leading Evidence-Based Decisions

Foundations of Public Policy

EITM Summer Institute, 2006 (Washington University), 2011 (Chicago), 2012 (Princeton), 2014 (Mannheim), 2017 (Berkeley), 2021 (Duke), 2022 (Berkeley)

Political Economy of Public Policy (Executive MPP Program, University of Chile)

Mathematical Models: Game Theory (ICPSR)

## **PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

### *Selected Disciplinary Service*

Advisory Editor, *Games and Economic Behavior*, 2014–2021

Editorial Board, *World Politics*, 2019–

Editorial Board, *American Journal of Political Science*, 2012–2014, 2017–2019

Editorial Board, *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 2014–2019

Editorial Board, *Journal of Politics*, 2011–2015, 2017–2019

Editorial Board, *International Studies Quarterly*, 2014–2019

Empirical Studies of Conflict Junior Faculty Mentor, 2018–

External Review Committee, Harvard Government Department, 2016

Co-Director, EITM Summer Training Institute, 2011

Section Head, Formal Modeling Section, 2009 Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association

Co-Founder and Co-Organizer, Political Economy in the Chicago Area Annual Conference, 2007–2015

### *Selected University Service*

Committee on AI and Computing (2024)

Chair, Taskforce on New Organizations for AI Discovery (2023–2024)

Pearson Institute Advisory Council (Member: 2020–2022, 2023–, Chair: 2022–2023)  
Steering Committee, PhD in Political Economy (2021–2022)  
Task Force on Non-Laboratory Based Research Resumption (2020–2021)  
Obama Presidential Center Faculty Partnership Advisory Committee (2016–2018)  
Graduate Student Unionization Steering Committee (2016–2018)  
SEIU Negotiation Advisory Group (2015–2018)  
Harper Lecture (2014 Los Angeles, 2015 Denver, 2016 Paris)  
Board, Graham School of Continuing, Liberal, and Professional Studies, University of Chicago  
(2012–2015)  
Provost’s Committee on Online Learning (2012–2013)

#### *Selected School Service*

Co-Chair, Diversity and Inclusion Advisory Board (2022–2023)  
Deanship Advisory Committee, Harris School, University of Chicago (2021–2022)  
Chair, Hiring Process Review Committee, Harris School, University of Chicago (2018)  
Co-Chair, Dean Search Committee, Harris School, University of Chicago (2013–2014, 2016–2017)  
Founding Director, Center for Policy Entrepreneurship, 2013–2016  
Keller Center Steering Committee, Harris School, University of Chicago (2010–2018)  
Aims of Public Policy Address (2013, 2015)  
Chair, Committee to Review the MPP Core, Harris School, University of Chicago (2010–2011)  
Chair, Committee on Research Support, Harris School, University of Chicago (2010–2011)  
Director, Program on Politician Institutions, 2009–2011  
Chair, Political Economy Curriculum Committee, Harris School, University of Chicago (2007–2008)

#### *Reviewer*

*American Economic Journal: Microeconomics, American Economic Review, American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, B.E. Journal of Theoretical Economics, British Journal of Political Science, Cambridge University Press, Comparative Political Studies, Conflict Management and Peace Science, Defence and Peace Economics, Econometrica, Economic Journal, Economics and Politics, Foreign Policy Analysis, Games and Economic Behavior, Global Governance, Harvard Law Review, International Economic Review, International Organization, International Studies Quarterly, Israel Science Foundation, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of Development Economics, Journal of Economic Dynamics and Control, Journal of Economic Theory, Journal of the European Economic Association, Journal of Global Security Studies, Journal of Peace Research, Journal of Politics, Journal of Political Economy, Journal of Public Economic Theory, Journal of Theoretical Politics, National Science Foundation, Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, Perspectives on Politics, Political Analysis, Politics and Gender, Political Research Quarterly, Political Science Quarterly, Political Studies, Princeton University Press, Public Choice, Quarterly Journal of Economics, Quarterly Journal of Political Science, Review of Economics and Statistics, Review of Economic Studies, Security Studies, Social Choice and Welfare, Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, World Politics.*

#### **INVITED TALKS**

2023–2024: Princeton

2022–2023: Harvard

2021–2022: UC Berkeley Political Economy Conference, UC Davis, Northwestern, Caltech

2020–2021: Stanford Political Economy Theory Lunch, Stanford GSB

2019–2020: NYU, Vanderbilt Formal Models of International Relations Conference, Texas A&M, DC Political Economy Center Webinar Series, Virtual Formal Theory Workshop

2018–2019: Rochester Wallis Conference, Harvard PIEP Conference, LSE, ECARES

2017–2018: Princeton Institutions & Inference Conference, Emory, UBC, Higher School of Economics

2016–2017: NYU, Rochester, Harvard, Berkeley EITM

2015–2016: Stanford, University of Zurich UBS Center Forum for Economic Dialogue, Emory, Vanderbilt

2014–2015: University of Michigan Ford Security Seminar, Warwick-Princeton Political Economy Conference in Venice

2013–2014: University of Pittsburgh Symposium on Political Violence, Georgetown Political Economy Conference

2012–2013: Emory, Juan March Institute, Washington University Conference in Honor of Norman Schofield, Washington University Conference on Political Economy and Public Law

2011–2012: Rochester Wallis Conference, MIT, Harvard Law School, Priorat Workshop on Theoretical Political Science, Maryland

2010–2011: Stanford GSB, Caltech, Maryland, Yale, LSE, Essex, Princeton

2009–2010: Erasmus School of Economics Rotterdam, CREED Amsterdam, European Center for Advanced Research in Economics and Statistics, Washington University in St. Louis, NYU, DePaul University

2008–2009: UCSD (Governance, Development, and Political Violence Summer Workshop), Berkeley (Workshop on Endogenous Institutions and Political Conflict), Minnesota, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (William W. Hay Railroad Engineering Seminar), Office of Naval Research (Workshop on Social, Cultural and Computational Science and the Department of Defense’s New Mission Areas: Peace Operations, Security, Stabilization and Reconstruction)

2007–2008: University of Chile, Princeton, Columbia Wisconsin, U.S. Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (Conference on Terrorist Organizations), Yale

2006–2007: Caltech, National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency

2005–2006: Bar Ilan University, Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Political Science), CESifo Berlin (Conference on Guns and Butter: The Economic Causes and Consequences of Conflict), Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Economic Theory)

2004–2005: College of William and Mary (Summer Workshop on Teaching Terrorism), Kellogg School of Management, Virginia Modeling, Analysis, and Simulation Center (Workshop on Human Behavioral Modeling), Berkeley, Tel Aviv University (Workshop on Rethinking Global Terrorism: New Directions and New Approaches)

2003–2004: Stanford, USC (Conference on the Political Economy of International Terrorism), Princeton, NYU, UCSD (IGCC Conference on WMD and Terrorism)

2001–2002: New York University, Washington University in St. Louis (William H. Riker Memorial Conference)