Neighborhood Sectarian Displacement and the Battle for Baghdad: The Self-fulfilling Prophecy of Crimes Against Humanity in Iraq

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Abstract

Even when American decision-makers were denying it, ordinary Iraqis in the neighborhoods of Baghdad fearfully anticipated the dangerous consequences of the U.S.-led invasion. We use two unique Iraq datasets to analyze the self-fulfilling neighborhood specific forces set loose following the U.S.-led invasion. Sectarian criminal violence by Shia militia disproportionately forced Sunni residents from their Baghdad neighborhoods. The Mahdi Army, mobilized through the coercive entrepreneurship of Muqtada Al Sadr, used organized crime tactics of harassment, threats, and protection to defend and extend Shia influence in the remaking of the Iraq state. The Mahdi Army changed the neighborhood demography of Baghdad and helped leverage the Sadrist movement into the political leadership of Iraq. Ordinary Iraqis were victims of an amplified "self-fulfilling prophecy of fear" that created the momentum necessary for massive sectarian displacement in the battle for Baghdad.

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The Neglected Sociology of Iraq

"If any single person has come close to unlocking the secrets of the Iraqi character," writes former Iraqi defense and finance minister Ali Allawi (2007:12), "it is Ali al-Wardi." Al-Wardi (1913-95) was a U.S.-trained Iraqi sociologist who explored the persistent historical roots of sectarian conflict in Iraq. He argued this conflict was so deeply embedded in Iraqi society that, "[f]our decades of national rule have not been sufficient to eradicate or at least to make people forget their old conflicts" (2008:115). He implied this conflict would not merely outlive Saddam Hussein's authoritarian suppression, but also the Bush administration's occupation of Iraq. Even more than citizens of other Arab nations, Al-Wardi insisted Iraqis have long been divided along sharp lines of ethnic and tribal identity.

In Baghdad, the most acute sectarian division is between the Shia and Sunni groups, even though the Kurds and numerous other entities have populated this city's neighborhoods. The Shia-Sunni division is such that when the invading U.S. soldiers brought the statue of Saddam to the ground in Firdaus Square of Baghdad, observers (*e.g.*, Allawi 2007:133-4; Shadid 2006:149-50) sensed ambivalence among Iraqi onlookers that expressed their fears at least as much as their hopes. Yet, beyond such anecdotal descriptions, we know little empirically about *how* this fear was socially constructed and the *mechanisms* by which it would profoundly change – in ways unanticipated by U.S. policy makers – the social composition of Baghdad's neighborhoods.

Night Draws Near

Journalists frequently provoked and invoked fear in discussing the invasion of Iraq. American reporter Judith Miller's (2001) front page *New York Times* story cited a former Iraqi government informant about the existence of "secret facilities for biological, chemical and nuclear weapons [located] in underground wells, private villas and under Saddam Hussein Hospital in Baghdad." This story mistakenly corroborated fears of Saddam Hussein's "unwillingness to stop making weapons of mass destruction." The consequences of this reporting may have been unanticipated, but leads for the story were traced to the Vice President. Such reporting is suggestive of Merton's (1936:901) useful distinction between present and future foreseeable consequences following from the "imperious immediacy of interest": when a decision-maker is so absorbed with the intended goals of an action that the unintended consequences are purposefully ignored.

Arab-American journalist Anthony Shadid (2005) was the source of a different kind of *Washington Post* and *New York Times* reporting that emphasized the fears of ordinary Iraqis. He reported an Iraqi sense of foreboding with the Arabic word *ghamidh* and by metaphorically writing, "Night always seemed to be drawing near in Iraq, and now [in the first years of the occupation] the chaos and the sense of the unknown seemed to generate their own momentum" (2005:425).

Driving this momentum, Shadid saw a "logic of violence, ruled by men with guns" (426). This account is suggestive of Tilly's (1985; 2003) theory of state-making as organized crime and Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) opportunity theory of crime. These theories direct attention in different ways to the foreseeable consequences of collective criminal behavior that involves both opportunistic and coordinated violence. We apply concepts drawn from these theories of state-making and crime to analyze the organized role of the Mahdi Army and Shia perpetrators in a

sequence of harassment and threats that led, especially during the 2006 peak in violence, to widespread and systematic displacement of Sunni victims in the battle for Baghdad.

We specifically assess a Mertonian hypothesis about unanticipated consequences, namely that ordinary Iraqis were victims of an amplified "self-fulfilling prophecy of fear" that we conceptualize and test as a driving source of displacement in Baghdad. Iraqis fearfully anticipated dangerous consequences of the American invasion, and we show how this had predictable *neighborhood specific* consequences that American decision-makers either failed to anticipate or chose to ignore.

Organized Opportunistic and Coordinated Crime

Regime change in Iraq required an unmaking and remaking of the state. Charles Tilly's (1985; 2003) key insight is that state-making is often the product of organized criminal activity. He argues that state creation frequently involves "coercive entrepreneurship" based on organized criminal elements of threat and protection. He explains that state-makers often create and facilitate threats and then market protection from these threats to build power and capital. This entrepreneurial initiative uses "opportunistic violence" and "coordinated destruction" to expand and control territory, which Tilly calls "boundary activation." State-making therefore is often initiated and advanced through collectively organized crime.

Tilly's perspective parallels Cloward and Ohlin's opportunity theory of crime, with organized crime as the link. Cloward and Ohlin (1960) wrote in an era when many Americans feared a national spread of organized crime that would lead to the *Theft of a Nation* (Cressey 1979). Cloward and Ohlin articulated the ways organized criminals infiltrated state law-enforcement organizations and joined legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures to facilitate state-protected criminal enterprise. They explained how groups lacking legitimate

opportunities responded to their sense of injustice by seeking out opportunities for state-protected organized crime.

Cloward and Ohlin's theory can be read as a nostalgic lament for an era of American state-making when organized crime offered opportunities to disadvantaged ethnic immigrants for individual and group mobility. Nevertheless, their attention to the entrepreneurial opportunities of this perhaps idealized American past anticipates Tilly's theory of the role of ethnic violence in understanding the remaking of the Iraqi state.

In this paper, we can only indirectly assess Tilly and Cloward and Ohlin's ideas about state making and opportunity structures in a general way by tracing the sequence of Muqtada Al-Sadr's transition from organized criminal to political statesman and parliamentarian using his leadership of Iraq's largest social movement and the Mahdi Army. However, we directly assess with empirical measures the mechanisms of this transformation identified by both Tilly and Cloward and Ohlin. Thus we empirically observe in the Iraq context how the use of harassment and threats by Al-Sadr's Shia controlled Mahdi army against the lives and property of Sunni households led the latter victims to flee their neighborhoods, simultaneously serving the boundary-expanding territorial goals of a collective movement and providing opportunities for economic gain by the perpetrators. Green and Ward (2009:3) call this "dual purpose violence." Cloward and Ohlin's theory describes the perceived economic injustice that can motivate and organize such criminal tactics, while Tilly's theory predicts how such criminal mechanisms can be used for purposes of boundary activation involved in accomplishing collectively organized goals. We will see below how the targeted harassment and threats anticipated in the above theories and used by Al-Sadr's Mahdi Army against Sunni victims in Baghdad played an essential mediating role in depicting and explaining the effects of a Mertonian self-fulfilling prophecy of fear.

The Shia-Sunni Conflict and the Remaking of the Iraqi State

Few if any Americans fully understood the deeply suppressed dynamics of the subterranean Shia-Sunni conflict in Saddam Hussein's pre-invasion Iraq. Least understood was the potential of the Shia-based Sadarist movement led by Muqtada Al-Sadar. Allawi (2007:91) writes that "virtually nothing was known by the west before the war" about the underground Sadrist movement. The U.S. media eventually saw the young Al-Sadr as a mafia-type criminal and a religious zealot. Yet this account underestimated the significance of Muqtada's leadership of the Sadrist movement – the only truly mass movement in post-invasion Iraq – and his development of the Mahdi Army in response to the invasion and occupation (Cockburn 2008:13). In Tilly's terms, Muqtada was a coercive entrepreneur.

Muqtada followed in the footsteps of his father and his father's cousin who formed the Sadrist movement and were assassinated by Saddam Hussein. The followers of the Sadrist movement were young, uneducated, and intensely religious, with the kinds of socio-economic grievances and feelings of injustice emphasized by Cloward and Ohlin. Cole (2003:564) argued that the Sadrist movement was sectarian both in its demographic base and its commitment to themes of difference, antagonism, and separation.

The U.S. might have expected the aggrieved Shia followers of Muqtada to support the overthrow of Saddam's Sunni based regime in 2003. However, this vague hope ignored the Sadrists' acute sense of betrayal dating from the 1991 Gulf War, when President H.W. Bush withheld the support of U.S. forces in southern Iraq for the Shia insurgency – the "Al-Sadr intifada" – that tried to topple Saddam and was left instead to suffer massive repressive retribution. The Baath regime's counter-insurgency slogan emblazoned on its advancing Republican Guard tanks warned that "There will be no Shia after today" (Allawi 2007:49).

When the Shia insurgency failed and Saddam assassinated Muqtada's father and two brothers, Muqtada inherited an angry, underground, and youth-dominated Shia movement. The

movement was set loose by the U.S. removal of Saddam and the disbanding of Iraq's military, leading to a dual-purpose wave of criminality that linked Tilly's twin focus on opportunistic violence and coordinated destruction (Green and Ward 2009). Muqtada's leadership redoubled support for the Sadrist movement from urban underemployed Shia youth, "whom his opponents denounced and feared as a dangerous, criminalized mob" (Cockburn 2008:118).

The U.S. failure to contain a nascent Sunni-led insurgency and its alignment with Al Qaeda's attacks on Shia mosques and markets intensified the Sadrists' anger. After a U.S. helicopter knocked over a religious banner in Sadr City in August 2003, and then again when Al Qaeda bombed Shia mosques in Karbala and Kadhimiya in March 2004, the Sadrist movement lurched forward and built a new momentum that amplified the trepidations of ordinary Iraqis.

Muqtada announced formation of the Mahdi Army in July of 2003, and soon claimed more than 10,000 recruits (Cole 2003:564). Shadid (2006:435) reports that by 2004 the Mahdi Army began "to shed its makeshift quality and take on the air of a fighting force with an elaborate hierarchy and formidable organization." Rosen (2010:65) similarly observes that, "the Mahdi Army began forming into divisions and became more organized and hierarchical." The point is that, in Cloward and Ohlin's terms, the Mahdi Army was emerging as an organized illegitimate opportunity structure for young, underemployed Shia men.

The Mahdi Army also increasingly formed alliances and infiltrated the national and local police forces operating in Baghdad (Allawi 2007:422). From Cloward and Ohlin's perspective, this represents a linking of the legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures that also fits with Tilly's depiction of state-making as organized crime.

Of course, Al-Sadr's Mahdi Army was one among numerous armed ethno-sectarian groups in post-invasion Iraq. The Badr Corps (Now the Badr Organization) was also an influential Shia milita. It was trained in Iran and formed the militant wing of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI). In contrast with the Mahdi Army, the Badr

Corps aligned itself from 2003 with the U.S-backed Iraqi government. Although the Badr Corps established itself in eastern cities, such as Baquba and Kut, near the Iranian border, and although they played a notable role in the Interior Ministry of the Iraqi government in Baghdad, they were unable to gain a popular foothold on the streets and in the neighborhoods of Baghdad (Cole, 2003; Hashim 2006). This could have been the result of a class difference between Al-Sadr's followers, and the Badr Corps. While Al-Sadr's followers were the "poorest of the poor the *mustazafin* (dispossessed)…who had stayed in Iraq and borne the brunt of Saddam's megalomania and brutal tactics" (Hashim 2006: 267), the Badr Corps drew from the Shia commercial middle class who had managed to safely go into exile in Iran until the U.S.-led invasion.

By 2005, efforts to rebuild the Iraqi state's security forces were nearly entirely controlled by the Shia political parties who recruited young Shia men into their ranks. The International Crisis Group (2007) reported that "poor Shiites filled the ranks of the security forces and – even as they operated under SCIRI-appointed commanders – often expressed loyalty to Muqtada Al-Sadr." Rosen (2010:60) explained that "the interior ministry had had been given to Shiites.…Most poor young Shiite men supported Muqtada, so it followed that the security forces fell under the control of Sadrists and their Mahdi Army." While the American military saw 2006 as the year of the police, "[i]nstead it was the year the police and the Mahdi Army became one" (234).

The Sadrists and the Mahdi Army initiated an ethnic cleansing of the Sunni and mixed neighborhoods of Baghdad. They established checkpoints in neighborhoods to display their power, openly carrying weapons in defiance of the U.S. military, and harassing Sunni residents. They addressed letters threatening households with demands for protection money and warning of violent reprisals. Tilly's boundary-activation process set in and the dominant demography of Baghdad's neighborhoods began shifting from Sunni to Shia.

The units of the Mahdi Army meanwhile grew increasingly aggressive: "the militia began to act as the long dreaded arm of the movement, sending out death threats, intimidating people…." (Shadid 2006:437). In April of 2004, after U.S. Special Forces detained one of his leading lieutenants, Muqtada seemed to cross a line by urging his followers to "Terrorize your enemy." Paul Bremer, head of the Coalition Provisional Authority, responded by calling Muqtada an "outlaw." The battle for Baghdad was now fully pursued, with its neighborhoods as the battleground.

The 2006 Al Qaeda attack on the al-Askari Shia shrine in Samarra drove the violence to its peak by inflaming the Shia-Sunni divide. Cockburn (2008:181) recalled, "A pervasive sense of terror settled over Baghdad…." The Mahdi Army was now a dispersed force beyond Muqtada's close control. He had difficulty focusing his army on fighting the U.S. occupiers, probably because the Sunni homes and neighborhoods were more rewarding targets for Tilly's opportunistic violence as well as boundary activation.

By the end of 2006, the Mahdi Army had prevailed in the battle for Baghdad's neighborhoods; it had gained ethnic sectarian dominance over the previously advantaged Sunni – but Muqtada's legitimacy and control over his forces was simultaneously diminished. Bodies were literally piling up on the streets of Baghdad and even supporters of the Sadrists now feared the Mahdi Army. In late August 2007, Muqtada declared a six month *tajmid* – or freeze – on operations of the Mahdi Army.

The effects of the freeze and the concurrent U.S. surge were to leave the recently reconfigured neighborhoods of Baghdad in place. Cockburn reports, "At least ten neighborhoods that had been mixed a year earlier were entirely Shia" (2008:177). The local and federal governments were in Shia hands, and the neighborhoods increasingly were too. Figure 2 shows with diagonal lines the increase in Shia neighborhoods from 2003 to 2008. This map is reconfigured from the work of Michael Izady (http://gulf2000.columbia.edu/maps.shtml). Amos

(2010) called the loss of the battle for Baghdad the "eclipse of the Sunnis," while Nasr (2007) now called Iraq "the first Arab Shia State." The Mahdi Army had changed the balance of power and demography in Baghdad.

Anticipation and Amplification of the Shia-Sunni Conflict

The suppressed historical details and dynamics of the subterranean Shia-Sunni conflict in Saddam Hussein's pre-invasion Iraq were unfamiliar to or ignored by American decisionmakers. Yet throughout Saddam's regime, Iraqis lived with a silenced awareness of these deeply rooted sectarian divisions. Allawi (2007:456) observes that "the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iran broke the thick crust that had accreted over the country and…released powerful subterranean forces. The emergence of the Shia after decades, if not centuries, of marginalization was perhaps the most profound outcome." The result was the post-invasion foreboding described by Shadid. Our question is whether there was a neighborhood specific connection, and if so, of what form, between this fearful sense of foreboding and the process of displacement during the battle for Baghdad, which included four to five million – or about one in five – Iraqis by 2007 (Tripp 2010).

Our key hypothesis is that ordinary citizens of Baghdad's neighborhoods were victims of a "self-fulfilling prophecy of fear" that intensified displacement and changed the demography of the city. We hypothesize that this prophecy involved fearful anticipations of a looming Shia-Sunni conflict with results that would compound in an amplified and self-confirming way.

Quillian and Pager (2011; See also Sampson 2012: Chaps. 5-6) make an important and relevant point about a large sociological literature on the fear of crime: it has conflated objective risks of being a victim of crime with subjectively perceived consequences of victimization (see also Warr and Safford 1983; Roundtree and Land 1996; Bursik and Grasmick 1993). Subjective perceptions that extrapolate beyond actual experiences can provoke amplified expectations – if

not outright trepidations – of crime victimization. We empirically distinguish these two fearful processes in post-invasion Baghdad by identifying Iraqis' objective "historical anticipation" and their subsequent, subjective "expectation amplification" of victimization risk.

Our use of the concepts of "historical anticipation" and "expectation amplification" builds from the American research by Quillian and Pager (2011) on statistical discrimination and stereotype amplification. Quillian and Pager use the term statistical discrimination to conceptualize how, in the U.S., historical relationships between social conditions and crime are invoked to justify the use of group-level social characteristics to reduce uncertainty in anticipating risks of crime victimization. In contrast, stereotype amplification refers to the intrusion of culture- and media-based sources of distortion and exaggeration into the calculation of these victimization risks. We refer more specifically in Iraq to related processes of "historical anticipation" and "expectation amplification" to descriptively identify sources of self-fulfilling processes of fear and resulting displacement.

The historically based anticipation we consider is the process by which ordinary Iraqis fearfully gauged looming conflicts between the Shia and Sunni and correctly predicted the neighborhoods where victimization risks would be highest. Allawi (2007:248) pointed to the historically grounded extremes of identity politics within the Sunni and Shia groups that anticipated the post-invasion violence, noting that "[t]he Wahhabi and Salafi ascendancy amongst the Sunni Muslims was matched by an aggressive assertion of Shia consciousness, both of which played to the fears and anxieties of the mass of the people." Based on their knowledge of Iraq's sectarian history and the places where they lived, ordinary Iraqis anticipated specific neighborhoods where increasingly violent confrontations between Shia groups like the Mahdi Army and Sunni residents would occur.

Yet Quillian and Pager note that the accuracy of such empirically based predictions also feeds into cognitive stereotyping. The importance for our purposes of Quillian and Pager's

perspective on statistical discrimination and stereotype amplification is the implication that inaccurate stereotypes often add a self-fulfilling momentum to fearful perceptions of risk. In the context of the Shia-Sunni conflict, we call these neighborhood-based, momentum-building perceptions "amplified expectations."

We summarize in Figure 1 the hypothesized processes of historical anticipation and expectation amplification that emerged within neighborhoods during the battle for Baghdad. This displacement model begins with the historically grounded, everyday fears of ordinary Iraqis in their neighborhoods following the invasion in 2003. In the beginning, these fears were real but inchoate, as suggested by the title of Shadid's book, *Night Draws Near*, and as reflected in his reference to *ghamid*. We measure this neighborhood specific fear below with a set of items used in a Gallup Poll (GP) of Baghdad in 2003. The remainder of the model uses the Iraq History Project Current Violations Initiative (CVI) conducted in 2007 and 2008. This survey asked respondents to report if and when since the invasion they had experienced human-rights violations and crimes, including harassment and threats leading to displacement.

[Figure 1 About Here]

The model presented in Figure 1 includes an interior arrow at the center left indicating an indirect neighborhood specific effect of neighborhood fear on household displacement. This indirect effect is represented as flowing through experiences of Sunni respondents being victimized by Mahdi Army perpetrators with harassment and threats leading to displacement from their neighborhoods. We refer to this indirect effect as the cognitive product of historical anticipation. In addition, the model includes a horizontal arrow at the top of the figure indicating a further neighborhood specific direct effect. This direct effect is net of all other variables in the model and is interpreted as indicating amplified expectations involved in a self-fulfilling prophecy of fear that also led to neighborhood displacement.

A final arrow at the top right of Figure 1 indicates an expected peak in the effects of 2003 post-invasion neighborhood specific fears on displacement three years later, following the 2006 attack on the Samarra shrine. The effects in this model of historical anticipation and expectation amplification combine to create a Mertonian self-fulfilling prophecy of fear leading to widespread and systematic displacement of individuals from neighborhoods. In legal terms, a forced pattern of harassment and threats leading to widespread and systematic displacement of individuals and communities constituted a crime against humanity – as defined by Article 7 of the Rome Treaty adopted by the International Criminal Court (Scheffer 2011). In the sociological terms of Tilly and Cloward and Ohlin, the harassment and threats leading to displacement were organized crime tactics used to change the demography and control of the neighborhoods of Baghdad.

Linking Two Datasets

We draw on two studies: the 2003 Gallup Poll (GP) of Baghdad and the 2003-2008 Iraq History Project's Current Violations Initiative (CVI). Gallup conducted 1178 interviews about six months after the Coalition invasion using a random-probability, residential-household cluster design which achieved a more than 90 percent response rate. The CVI interviews were conducted in 2007-8 with 1929 self-identified Iraqi victims of human-rights and humanitarian violations in 2003-2008, more than half of whom were from Baghdad and are the focus of this research.

The majority of the CVI victims were displaced and therefore, by definition, unrepresented in GP because of its residential-household sampling frame. CVI sampled purposively: through contacts with victims' groups (*e.g.*, political prisoners associations), local NGOs, displacement camps, and interviewers' tribal and family affiliations. Although non-random, CVI's purposive sampling was essential to representing victims of human-rights crimes

during a violent and chaotic period in Baghdad. The challenge was to join the respective methodological strengths of GP and CVI for our purposes.

We first identified and matched respondents' neighborhood locations in the two studies. CVI interviewers recorded respondents' neighborhoods, and we acquired from Gallup a supplementary neighborhood identifier. We then used a U.S.-military satellite image of a grid-like boundary map of Baghdad and the *Baghdad-Districts and Neighborhoods* map (Humanitarian Information Centre for Iraq 2003) to link GP neighborhood identifiers and CVI residential locations. Despite missing data, we located 805 of 1028 respondents among the Baghdad portion of CVI, and 1112 of 1178 respondents in GP.

[Figure 2 About Here]

We drew before- and after-invasion measures of fear from the 1112 GP respondents in 25 Baghdad neighborhood clusters (see Figure 2), and measures involving human-rights violations in these neighborhoods experienced by 774 of the 805 CVI respondents in Baghdad. We have noted several key differences between these studies: GP did not include human-rights violations like displacement, GP pre-dated the post-invasion occupation period, and CVI considered crime victims rather than the general population. However, both GP and CVI asked about what we will call "crime index violations" – victimization by forms of assault, burglary, and theft. For comparison, we initially limited CVI's coverage to the early post-invasion years.

We first assessed the representativeness of CVI relative to GP by comparing the distributions of the victims of the three index crimes across Baghdad neighborhoods. We created a GP/CVI study-by-neighborhoods cross-tabulation of numbers of respondents reporting crime

index violations.[1] Table 1 summarizes results based on GP/CVI comparisons for 2003-4 and 2003-5, with and without displaced persons included in the CVI sample.

Our hypothesis is that if the GP and CVI samples are both representative of the victimized population of Baghdad, their distributions should only become significantly different in the later years (*i.e.*, beginning in 2005) when the CVI sample began to include increasing numbers of displaced respondents who were not represented in the GP residential-household sample. In the earlier years, and when displaced respondents are excluded from the CVI sample, the distributions of victims of index crimes across neighborhoods should not be significantly different if the samples are similarly representative.

[Table 1 About Here]

As predicted, the GP/CVI distributions of victimization are only significantly different when we include both victims of displacement and 2005 respondents; otherwise, the two datasets display similar distributions of index-crime victims across Baghdad neighborhoods. Specifically, we see in row 2 of Table 1 that it is only when displaced persons are included for 2003-5 that both Fisher's exact test ($p<.001$) and Pearson's chi-square ($p=.002$) are statistically significant (given small *n*'s, Fisher's test is more appropriate). When we remove displaced persons in rows 3 ($p=.380$ and $p=.533$) and 4 ($p=.184$ and $p=.184$), we find no significant evidence of difference. Moreover, in row 1 of Table 1 that is restricted to 2003-4, when fewer persons were yet displaced, even including the displaced does not reveal a statistically significant difference ($p=.275$ and $p=.225$).

There nonetheless remains the question of how selection of victims into the CVI survey during the later years of greater violence and displacement might impact on our analysis. To further address this question, we treated inclusion in CVI as contrasted with the general

[1] While CVI included measures of gender, ethnicity, and other demographic characteristics, GP did not include any measures of victims' characteristics beyond their family's location. Thus the unique way of comparing the two datasets' distributions of victims is through their neighborhood and district within Baghdad.

population represented by GP as a potential source of sample selection bias, with the results presented in the Appendix. Selection into CVI depended on respondents self-identifying as human-rights victims and being accessible to interviewers.

We first created a sample-selection probit equation with inclusion in CVI as contrasted with GP as a binary outcome, and with the locations of respondents in Baghdad neighborhoods prior to the invasion as the predictors. We treated Sadr City as the omitted reference category for this selection equation because this neighborhood was widely regarded as having the lowest levels of resident victimization following the invasion of Baghdad (e.g., Hagan, Kaiser and Rothenberg 2012). Muqtada Al-Sadr maintained a level of control inside this impoverished and densely populated neighborhood by asking police to return to their stations and to restore and maintain order after the invasion. His people also guarded mosques, manned checkpoints on the perimeter of the district, and provided social assistance to those in great need (Cockburn 2008).

As expected, the selection equation estimated in Table 1 of the Appendix reveals more victims were selected by interviewers for the CVI sample in almost all of the other neighborhoods compared to Sadr City. We created a sample-selection variable, λ, from the results of this equation and then added it to the final models estimated below in Tables 4 and 5. The results of these re-estimated equations are presented in Table 2 of the Appendix and can be thought of as adjusted for processes of sample selection. As expected, there are few notable differences between the unadjusted and adjusted results in this Table. The most notable difference is that killings positively and significantly impact on displacement in the first re-estimated equation. However, this variable is in itself not important for our purposes, and the other variables remain substantively unaffected.

We use the above results to justify treating CVI respondents as representative of Iraqi human-rights victims for the purposes of this analysis. We now describe the GP and CVI measures in further detail.

The Gallup Poll in Baghdad

The American-led invasion of Iraq began in March 2003 and Gallup conducted its interviews in August and September. Shadid (2006) observes that by May 2003, post-Saddam Baghdad was edgy and unsettled. The removal of the Sunni-led regime ended a long history of sectarian domination, and Shadid writes, "There was a growing apprehension and anxiety over the fate of a [Sunni] minority that, by virtue of its wealth, its education, and the favoritism of overlords, had ruled Iraq for centuries, through colonialism and coups, dictatorship and war" (23). Now a new and contested political reality included the prospect of Shia rule, with the likelihood that longstanding resentments would fuel inter-ethnic violence. This is the foundation of what we have called the "historical anticipation" of neighborhood specific violence leading to displacement.

Using a measure that invokes the ominous metaphor for Shadid's book title, *Night Draws Near*, GP asked respondents to report fear about going out at night in their neighborhoods during the last month (August 2003), during the month before that, since the invasion (in March 2003), and before the invasion. We created two variables from the responses. The first variable is a binary measure of the fear of going out in the neighborhood at night *before* the invasion. The second variable is a four-value measure of fear of going out in the neighborhood *since* the invasion, with (0) indicating not having this fear, (1) having this fear prior to the past two months, (2) also having this fear in the last two months but not in the last month, and (3) also having this fear in the past month. We aggregated these GP measures by neighborhoods to form a contextual indicator of neighborhood specific pre- and post-invasion fear that could be applied with the individual victimization measured by CVI.

These geographically based measures allow us to conduct a change-score analysis of effects of pre-invasion and early post-invasion neighborhood fear. We are particularly interested

in the extent to which this neighborhood-based fear is predictive of *later* displacement, *net* of the intervening historically grounded anticipation of displacement we describe in the next section. We argue that a net *direct* effect of neighborhood fear in 2003 would reflect the prominent influence of what we have called the "amplified expectations" of a self-fulfilling prophecy of fear looming as collective cognitive products and leading to displacement.

The Iraq History Project's Current Violations Initiative

CVI uniquely addresses the full range of human-rights crimes in post-invasion Iraq – including displacement, killings, assassinations, indiscriminant attacks, abductions, torture, threats, detentions, and other abuses – by a variety of armed factions, including U.S. led Coalition Forces, Iraqi government forces, Al-Qaeda, and various Sunni, Shia, and other militias.

More than three quarters (81.28%) of CVI respondents from Baghdad had been displaced since the invasion, which is consistent with evidence that displacement was many orders of magnitude more common than killings (Tripp 2010). The interviewers used a lengthy data-collection instrument with closed-ended as well as open-ended questions asking about mortality and morbidity, economic costs of the violence, forced displacement, and attitudes toward state agencies and security.

The CVI interviews charted the processes leading to displacement diagramed in Figure 1, including dating when the violations began. The respondents identified themselves as members of Shia, Sunni, and other groups, and they often identified perpetrators in these attacks, which most frequently involved Mahdi Army assailants, and next most often Al Qaeda of Mesopotamia and U.S. military forces. They described harassment, which frequently involved indiscriminant stops as well as detentions, and threats, which commonly involved demands delivered in writing for protection money to prevent assaults, blackmail, and killings.

The process diagramed in the interior box of Figure 1 unfolded over the five-year period (2003-8) addressed by the interviews. As expected, reports of harassment, threats, and displacements are all shown in Figure 3 as peaking in 2006, the year widely recognized as the peak of violence. To the extent that the displacement process is anticipated in the early post-invasion neighborhood specific fears and ensuing experiences of harassment and threats by ordinary Iraqis reported in our analysis of the GP and CVI data, we will refer to it as the collective cognitive product of a neighborhood based process of historical anticipation. To the extent that there is a net direct effect of the early post-invasion, neighborhood specific fear that exceeds the indirect harassment and threat process that links these fears to later displacement in Figure 1, we will refer to it as the collective, cognitive product of neighborhood-based amplified expectations leading to the self-fulfilling prophecy of fear.

[Figure 3 About Here]

Methods

Descriptive statistics summarizing individual and neighborhood data from GP and CVI are presented in Table 2. All of the individual-level data come from CVI. Males (75%) were much more likely to be the respondents in the CVI interviews who reported the familial experience, reflecting the patriarchal character of Iraq society. More than a third of the self-identified victims were Sunni (40%), while about a quarter of the victims self-identified as being from other non-Shia groups (24%); we treat Shia victims (36%) as the omitted comparison group. About two thirds of the respondents (63%) reported they were currently employed. Although respondents identified more than 20 perpetrator groups, the most frequently identified was the Shia Mahdi Army (33%), followed by Al Qaeda of Mesopotamia (13%), and U.S. military forces (10%). [None of the remaining groups were identified by more than two percent of the victims. The Iraqi army, police, and interior ministry commandos were reported by only

between one and two percent of the victims, and as anticipated above, these reports also indicated in about one third to one half of these cases that these perpetrators were also members of the Mahdi Army. Other groups were identified even less often.] We combined all other perpetrators as the omitted reference group. We also include an individual-level report of attacks in 2006 (35%). Finally, we include reports of killings of household members (56%), as well as harassment (35%), and threats (59%).

[Table 2 About Here]

Neighborhood-level measures were drawn from several sources. The 2003 sectarian identification of the Baghdad neighborhoods is derived from maps developed by Michael Izady (see above). The majority of neighborhoods were mixed in ethnic identity before they were "unmixed" by displacement following the invasion. In 2003, about a fifth of the neighborhoods (20%) were clearly majority Sunni, more than three quarters were mixed (80%), and just over ten percent (12%) were Shia – again, the comparison category. By 2008, there was a demonstrable shift to Shia-majority neighborhoods, displayed in Figure 2.

Fear of going out at night in the neighborhoods before and since the invasion was measured in GP, as indicated above. Only six percent of the GP respondents reported being fearful of going out in their own neighborhood at night before the invasion, which is consistent with Chehab's (2005:98) observation that "[h]owever vicious and murderous Saddam's regime was, under his iron rule there was virtually no crime – no burglaries, no rapes, no murders." Many more respondents were fearful at some point since the invasion, with the average neighborhood scoring .96 on the 0-3 scale of fear described above. Figure 4 shows the sharp jump in fear after the invasion. Finally, we aggregated the CVI reports of killings, harassment, and threats at the neighborhood level to consider their possible effects at this level.

[Figure 4 About Here]

We use multilevel models (Raudenbush et al. 2004) to consider the process of displacement. The advantage of a multilevel approach is that it allows a within-neighborhood, individual analysis of displacement outcome processes while incorporating information at the neighborhood level. Because displacement is a binary outcome, we estimate a multilevel model using the Bernoulli sampling distribution and the logit link function:

$$\eta_{ij} = \log[\varphi_{ij} / (1 - \varphi_{ij})]$$

Where η_{ij} is the log of the odds and φ_{ij} is the probability of being displaced.

Since in Figure 1 we conceive of harassment and threats as mediating the effects of victim and perpetrator characteristics on displacement, in Table 3 we first estimate models of harassment and threats with individual- and neighborhood-level predictors. The final equation for level 1 in Table 3 is

$$\eta_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(\text{male})_{ij} + \beta_{2j}(\text{Sunni})_{ij} + \beta_{3j}(\text{non-Shi'a})_{ij} + \beta_{4j}(\text{killing})_{ij}$$
$$+ \beta_{5j}(\text{harassment})_{ij} + \beta_{6j}(\text{currently working})_{ij} + \beta_{7j}(\text{Al Qaeda})_{ij}$$
$$+ \beta_{8j}(\text{Mahdi Army})_{ij} + \beta_{9j}(\text{U.S. forces})_{ij} + \beta_{10j}(2006)_{ij}$$

where all level-1 predictors are entered as binary variables. We further identify the Sunni-dominated and mixed neighborhoods and compare their impact to that of the Shia-dominated neighborhoods in the level-2 equation for the intercept as

$$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(\text{Sunni})_j + \gamma_{02}(\text{mixed})_j + v_{0j}$$

where the latter level-2 neighborhood predictors are entered as grand-centered dummy variables, and v_{0j} is the person-level error term assumed to be normally distributed with mean zero and unknown variance.

Further multilevel models with displacement as the outcome are presented in Table 4. The first of these models begins by considering displacement outcomes in the Sunni-dominated and mixed neighborhoods compared to Shia-dominated neighborhoods, taking into account neighborhood levels of killings and neighborhood levels of fear before the invasion. The second

model substitutes neighborhood levels of fear since the invasion for the prior fear measure. The third model includes both the before- and after-invasion measures of neighborhood fear along with the sectarian neighborhood-domination and neighborhood-killings variables, while also including the individual-level measures of gender, victim sect, perpetrator group, employment, the 2006 peak in attacks, and household-member killings. The fourth model brings in the mediating experience of harassment at the individual and neighborhood levels, and the fifth model introduces the intervening individual and neighborhood experience of threats. The final equation for the individual level in Table 4 is

$$\eta_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(\text{male})_{ij} + \beta_{2j}(\text{Sunni})_{ij} + \beta_{3j}(\text{non-Shi'a})_{ij} + \beta_{4j}(\text{killing})_{ij}$$
$$+ \beta_{5j}(\text{harassment})_{ij} + \beta_{6j}(\text{threats})_{ij} + \beta_{7j}(\text{currently working})_{ij}$$
$$+ \beta_{8j}(\text{Al Qaeda})_{ij} + \beta_{9j}(\text{Mahdi Army})_{ij} + \beta_{10j}(\text{U.S. forces})_{ij} + \beta_{11j}(2006)_{ij}$$

where all level-1 predictors are entered as binary variables. The final neighborhood-level equation for the intercept in Table 4 is

$$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(\text{Sunni})_j + \gamma_{02}(\text{mixed})_j + \gamma_{03}(\text{killing})_j + \gamma_{04}(\text{harassment})_j$$
$$+ \gamma_{05}(\text{threats})_j + \gamma_{06}(\text{pre-invasion fear})_j + \gamma_{07}(\text{post-invasion fear})_j + v_{0j}$$

where the level-2 neighborhood predictors are grand-centered dummy variables, and v_{0j} is the person-level error term assumed to be normally distributed with mean zero and unknown variance.

Table 5 finally presents displacement models that are trimmed to include previously significant effects and the year 2006 in order to estimate the cross-level interaction of the 2003, neighborhood-fear measure with the 2006 peak in attacks on the displacement outcome, as well as the 2003, neighborhood-fear measure with the U.S. forces as perpetrators. The importance of the former cross-level interaction was discussed above in relation to Figure 1, while the latter interaction is introduced in an effort to further understand the persistent negative U.S. forces

effect in previous models. The final equations in Table 5 are similar to those in Table 4, while including a neighborhood-level equation for the cross-level interactions:

$$B_{10j} = B_{11j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}\,(\text{post-invasion fear})_j + v_{1j}$$

where the level-2 neighborhood predictor is a grand-centered dummy variables, and v_{1j} is the person-level error term assumed to be normally distributed with mean zero and unknown variance.

We argue that to the extent there is a neighborhood specific effect of early post-invasion, neighborhood fear that exceeds the indirect processes of historical anticipation linking this fear to later displacement (Figure 1), this influence of neighborhood fear can be understood as the result of a process of expectation amplification – that is, as the predicted result of a prophecy of fear in the neighborhoods of Baghdad that compounded in a self-fulfilling way. The neighborhood measurement of this net prophetic effect of fear in a dataset separate from the neighborhood measurement of displacement, with a predicted cross-level peak in the year of the Samara Shrine attack, is a demanding test of the self-fulfilling effect of neighborhood specific sectarian fear in Baghdad.

The Results

Table 3 presents the log-odds of human-rights victims in Baghdad experiencing harassment and threats that we proposed in Figure 1 were mediators of the process of displacement. This table considers the historical anticipation of ordinary Iraqis that Sunni victims were at heightened risk. If this effect is observed, it shows that Iraqis fearfully anticipated the looming and dangerous confrontations that would develop between Shia groups like the Mahdi Army and Sunni residents.

[Table 3 About Here]

As expected, the first column in Table 3 reveals the Mahdi Army militia as primary perpetrators of harassment against Sunni victims in the Sunni and mixed neighborhoods of Baghdad. However, the Mahdi Army militia did not act alone as the only perpetrators of harassment – Al Qaeda of Mesopotamia and U.S. Army forces were also significantly involved.

Compared to other perpetrator groups, the expected odds of harassment at the hands of the Mahdi Army were 2.13 ($e^{.785}$) higher (*i.e.*, more than doubled), 1.80 ($e^{.661}$) higher at the hands of U.S. Army forces, and 1.22 ($e^{.448}$) higher at the hands of Al Qaeda. Compared to Shia victims, the increase in expected odds of harassment for individual Sunni victims was 1.01 ($e^{.369}$). The increases in the expected odds of harassment also were respectively 1.14 ($e^{.420}$) and .56 ($e^{.207}$) higher in Sunni and mixed neighborhoods than in Shia neighborhoods. At the same time, being employed reduced the expected odds of harassment by about 26 percent (1-e-.244).

The second and third columns of Table 3 consider the expected odds of being threatened. The second column includes the same predictors of threats that we considered for harassment, while the third column adds harassment as a mediator variable. The estimates reported in the second column indicate that most of the same predictors of harassment also similarly and significantly predict threats. One exception is that other non-Shia as well as Sunni individuals were significantly more likely to be threatened than were Shia individuals. A second exception is that the neighborhood effects that we saw for harassment do not appear for threats. This may be because, as described above, the threats were specifically communicated in writing directly to individuals. Consistent with this speculation, the expected odds of Sunni and other non-Shias being threatened are higher in columns two than those for harassment in column one.

In Table 3, we also see that the effect of U.S. forces is now negative rather than positive. U.S. forces were apparently more involved in harassment – especially by means of indiscriminant stops and detentions – than in threats against Iraqis. The highly significant effect of harassment reported in the third column is consistent with this variable playing the role

predicted in Figure 1 as a mediator of the Mahdi Army's victimization of the Sunni. Thus the inclusion of harassment in the third column of this table reduces the individual level expected odds of the Mahdi Army and Sunni variables in the prediction of threats, and the effect of the Sunni variable is reduced below statistical significance.

The results in Table 3 generally support the involvement anticipated in Figure 1 of the Mahdi Army in harassment aimed at Sunni individuals in Sunni and mixed neighborhoods and their displacement from their homes following threats. Our results thus corroborate the historically grounded fearful anticipation of ordinary Iraqis that Sunni and other non-Shia victims were at heightened risk of harassment and threats by Shia Mahdi Army perpetrators. The indication is that Iraqis correctly anticipated the danger of looming confrontations in their neighborhoods between Shia groups like the Mahdi Army and the Sunni, as well as other non-Shia residents. Even when individual Sunnis may have evaded the neighborhood harassment of the Mahdi Army, they were still at heightened risk of threats from this militia, which in turn frequently led to the displacement that we model next.

Table 4 presents the log-odds of human-rights victims in Baghdad experiencing displacement in a series of models that sequentially introduce neighborhood- and individual-level factors involved in the fears and ensuing displacement of ordinary Iraqis. This table incorporates the empirical grounding of the fearful historical anticipation of Iraqi citizens that Sunni victims were at heightened risk of harassment and threats from Shia Mahdi Army perpetrators. The key inference of the analysis presented in Table 4 is that when the effects of the historical anticipation of Iraqis of dangerous, looming confrontations between Shia and Sunni groups are taken into account, any remaining net direct effect on displacement of Iraqi fears represents an amplification that compounds the effects of their historical anticipations measured in the first six months after the invasion. In other words, the prediction is that the historical

anticipation of conflict by ordinary Iraqis created a self-fulfilling prophecy that was activated by the threats and harassment of the Mahdi Army.

[Table 4 About Here]

Model 1 in Table 4 includes the sectarian identification of the neighborhoods as Sunni and mixed, with Shia neighborhoods as the omitted comparison, along with neighborhood-level fear before the invasion and the neighborhood measure of killings since the invasion. The expected odds of displacement in a Sunni neighborhood compared to a Shia neighborhood are approximately doubled ($e^{.725}$=2.06, p<.05), and the odds of displacement in a mixed neighborhood compared to a Shia neighborhood approach this level ($e^{.680}$=1.77, p<.05). There is no evidence in this model that the measure of neighborhood fear at night *before* the invasion significantly predicts the odds of looming displacement.

The second model in Table 4 removes the non-significant effect of fear before the invasion and replaces it with a measure of fear in the early months after the invasion. The effect of this 2003 GP measure of fear at the neighborhood level is highly significant (β=4.153, p<.01) and it substantially mediates the Sunni and mixed neighborhood effects, reducing them below statistical significance (from β=.725 to β=-.040 and from β=.680 to β=.332, respectively; both p>.05). Since the neighborhood-fear measure is continuous, it is useful to standardize it by multiplying the coefficient by its standard deviation. Each standard deviation increment in neighborhood fear at night increases the odds of displacement by 1.45 (e4.153X.09).

Model (3) includes both the before- and after-invasion fear measures and the individual-level predictors of displacement. The before- and after-invasion fear measures are negatively correlated (*i.e.*, the Sunni neighborhoods that were less fearful during Saddam's regime were more fearful after the invasion), and including both measures together increases the effects of both measures on displacement, although only fear *after* the invasion is statistically significant (β=4.863, p<.01).

In addition, Model (3) reveals an increase in odds by 1.95 ($e^{.667}$) of displacement for Sunni compared to Shia respondents, while the odds of Mahdi Army compared to other forces being the perpetrator group are increased by 1.893 ($e^{.638}$). In contrast, involvement of U.S. forces reduces the odds of displacement by 61 percent ($1-e^{-.925}$). This latter effect remains relatively stable across the remaining models in this table. This effect implies some success of U.S. forces – most often identified by respondents as sources of harassment that included indiscriminate stops and detentions – in disrupting or reducing displacement. There are no statistically significant effects of Al Qaeda on displacement observed in Table 4. This is consistent with our suggestion that the goal of Al Qaeda was sustained violence between the Shia and Sunni groups rather than separation of the groups through the forced removal of either group.

Model (4) adds into the analysis the mediating effects of harassment at individual and neighborhood specific levels. Harassment has significant effects at both levels and its mediating role at the individual level reduces the effects of both Sunni victimization (β=.667 reduced to β=.576) and Mahdi army perpetration (β=.638 reduced to β=.547) by about 10 percent, with the latter effect reduced below statistical significance. The individual-level effect of harassment nearly doubles the odds of displacement ($e^{.651}$=1.92). Each standard deviation increment in neighborhood level of harassment increases the odds of displacement by 1.31 (e3.385X.08). Neighborhood level harassment also reduces the effect of fear after the invasion by nearly one fifth (β=4.863 to β=3.974), although this effect of neighborhood specific fear remains highly significant ($p<.01$).

Model (5) introduces the mediating effect of threats at the individual and neighborhood levels. Recall that threats characteristically were individually delivered by Mahdi Army perpetrators in letters or written communications. This again may explain why the effect of threats is highly significant at the individual (β=1.593, $p<.001$) but not at the neighborhood level. The individual-level effect of threats is the strongest in the analysis of displacement, nearly

increasing the odds of displacement by a multiple of five (e.593=4.92). The implication is that displacement is characteristically preceded by individuals receiving threats. The mediating effect of threats reduces both the individual- and neighborhood-level effects of harassment below statistical significance [respectively, from β=.651 to β=.315 (p>.05) and from b=3.385 to 1.970 (p>.05)]. However, although the effect of neighborhood specific fear after the invasion is reduced somewhat (from β=3.974 to β=3.763), it remains highly statistically significant (β=3.763, p<.01).

[Table 5 About Here]

Finally, Table 5 examines cross-level interaction effects on displacement of neighborhood fear soon after the 2003 invasion with (i) reports of actions by U.S. forces and (ii) the year of the Al Qaeda 2006 attack on the Samarra Shrine. We have trimmed the models in this table to include only variables with significant effects from Table 4 and the year 2006 for purposes of estimating the cross-level interactions. Model (1) introduces the first cross-level interaction of fear and actions of U.S. forces and reveals a negative and marginally significant (β=-3.011, p<.10) effect. As such, U.S. forces may have had a deterrent effect in disrupting and reducing displacement in the neighborhoods with higher levels of fear through their use of harassment tactics that included stops and detentions of suspected perpetrators.

Model (2) alternatively introduces the cross-level interaction of fear measured in 2003 and the 2006 year of the Samarra Shrine attack. This cross-level interaction effect is statistically significant (β=4.268, p<.05) and substantially reduces the main effect of 2003 neighborhood specific fear (from β=4.288 to β=1.990, p<.05). Thus, neighborhood fear measured in 2003 had its greatest impact three years later, during the panicked displacement that followed the 2006 Samarra Shrine attack.

The final Model (3) in Table 5 includes both of the above cross-level interactions. Although the fear and year interaction remains statistically significant (β=3.931, p<.05), the

interaction between fear and U.S. forces is reduced below statistical significance (β=-2.169, p>.05). The implication is that neighborhoods with the highest levels of fear after the 2003 invasion were the most likely to experience displacement during the 2006 Al Qaeda attack on the Samarra Shrine, notwithstanding the efforts of the U.S. forces to stabilize these neighborhoods through detentions and related measures.

[Figure 5 About Here]

Figure 5 gives a visual sense of the fearful neighborhood specific impact of the fear-by-year, cross-level interaction effect through HLM's graphic function. We used Model (3) in Table 4 to produce a graph with the significant variables in the model set at their mean effects. HLM allows the user to make the graph more visually meaningful by randomly selecting a specified number – in our case 15 – of the neighborhoods for presentation. Each line in the graph reflects movement up and down in a specific neighborhood on the odds of displacement associated with the year 2006, in which Al Qaeda struck the Samarra Shrine. About half the neighborhoods presented are in the lower half of the distribution of fear soon after the invasion and about half are in the upper half of this distribution. The lines indicate that while most of the neighborhoods in the lower half of the fear distribution were little affected by the Samarra Shrine attack, the neighborhoods in the upper half of the fear distribution were notably more likely to experience displacement in the aftermath of the 2006 attack. We interpret this cross-level interaction effect – net of other variables including the efforts of U.S. forces – as an indication of the amplified impact of the self-fulfilling prophecy of fear in the most fearful neighborhoods following the Samarra Shrine attack.

The Adhamiyah District of "Fear City"

Less than a year after the invasion, journalist Christian Parenti (2004: Chap. 2) called Baghdad "Fear City, the Capital of Chaos." The district of Adhamiyah was a focal point of this

chaos and instructively illustrates the kinds of effects observed in the preceding statistical models.

Located in northeast Baghdad along the Tigris River, the Adhamiyah district is composed of a number of neighborhoods, the most chaotic of which is also named Adhamiyah (see Figure 2). The district further includes the violent, Shia-dominated Shaab and Ur neighborhoods, and is precariously close to Sadr City and its Mahdi Army command posts.

The district of Adhamiyah was home to many prosperous Sunni before the invasion. As the battle for Baghdad unfolded, the district came under increasing attack from the Shia Mahdi Army as well as majority-Sunni Al Qaeda. The Sunni mosques of Adhamiyah were already becoming openly hostile and fearful of the Shia before the invasion. Allawi (2007:236) writes that Sunni clerics fanned the fires: "Some of the preachers were careful to maintain a public posture of sectarian accommodation, but others began to use code words behind which they could hide their true inclinations and fears."

Following the Al Qaeda 2006 attack on the Samarra Shrine, the district became a scene of mayhem. U.S. forces initially tried to avoid direct engagement with the violence: "the kind of fighting that broke out in April 2006 in the mainly Sunni Arab Al-Adhamiyya district of Baghdad escalated and the U.S. decided to stand aside rather than back the Shi'a forces as it had done so far" (Herring and Rangwala 2006:273). The effect was to cede contested neighborhoods to the control of the militias. Many Sunni residents were forced out of the district by the Mahdi Army.

Nir Rosen (2010:70) described the convulsive repercussions of the Samarra bombing for Baghdad and the district of Adhamiyah:

> In the days that followed, more than 1,300 bodies were found in Baghdad, most of them Sunni. Once these figures were revealed, the Interior Ministry – whose forces were probably responsible for a large number of the killings – asked the Shiite-controlled

> Ministry of Health to cover them up. Shiites took over dozens of Sunni mosques and renamed them after the Samarra shrine. Shiite militias targeted the Abu Hanifa Mosque in Adhamiyah with numerous mortars. Moqtada was said to have announced that 'we have the legitimate cover to kill al-Nawasib,' a pejorative term for Sunnis.

Mahdi Army militia members flooded the streets after the Samarra attack in protest against both the Americans and the new Iraqi government; the Adhamaiyah district and neighborhood became an epicenter of the escalation of fear and violence.

An aspiring journalist in the district described in a June 2006 *New York Times* blog how harassment and threats escalated and spread across the boundaries of both Shia and Sunni enclaves: "A relative of ours in Guraiat, a Shiite enclave just north of Adhamiya, found a note on his door ordering him to leave the area or else be slaughtered with his family. The guy had no place to go and desperately contacted clerics in the area. They told him he was considered one of them and that they would do their best to protect him, but he was advised to leave to save his life."

Forced displacements changed the ethno-sectarian make-up of the district. The result was that Adhamiyah district became predominantly Shia territory, even though the smaller Adhamiyah neighborhood remained predominately Sunni. When segments of the Mahdi Army increased their kidnappings and executions following the 2006 Samarra Shrine attack, Adhamiyah's Sunni residents sought protection from Al Qaeda forces. The opposing predominance of Shia residents in the nearby Sadr City, Shaab, and Ur neighborhoods made the Adhamiyah district into a prominent battleground for Al Qaeda and the Mahdi Army.

At least until the U.S.-led Surge, the neighborhoods of Adhamiyah, Shaab, and Ur were among the most dangerous in Baghdad. U.S.-led Coalition and Iraqi forces launched The Baghdad Security Plan and Surge in early 2007. Two battalions from the 3rd Stryker Brigade of the 2nd Infantry Division established a new presence in the District. The Surge targeted Al

Qaeda as well as the Sunni and Shia militias, with the latter most prominently including the Mahdi Army.

The *New York Times* (2010) later described the Sunni enclave of Adhamiyah as the village that had to be walled off from the rest of eastern Baghdad in order to save it. Coalition forces made the Adhamiyah neighborhood into a "gated community." New cement walls three miles long and twelve feet high separated it from the increasingly Shia surrounding areas. Muqtada Al Sadr and the Mahdi Army finally made their strategic retreat from the battle for Adhamiyah district in 2007, and Adhamiyah neighborhood is today the main enduring Sunni enclave in predominantly Shia eastern Baghdad. The effects in 2007 of the Surge and Al Sadr's strategic retreat were ultimately to freeze in place the new post-Samarra Shia domination of the demography of Baghdad.

Contextualizing Fight and Flight

There is an inclination to see the battle for Baghdad as having been entirely chaotic – analogous to a mass fight-or-flight syndrome – without predictable order or discernible direction. Yet as widespread and chaotic as the conflict was, it was also systematic, for example, in the patterns of forced displacement identified in our analysis.

Our findings generally support the involvement anticipated in Figure 1 of the Mahdi Army in harassment and threats aimed at Sunni individuals and in Sunni and mixed neighborhoods, and leading to the forced removal of Sunni residents from their neighborhoods. Ordinary Iraqis' fears accurately anticipated the patterns that followed the invasion, which placed Sunni and other non-Shia groups at heightened risk of a process of ethnic cleansing involving the harassment and threats that led to displacement by Shia militia. Even if ordinary Iraqis' inchoate fears did not specifically anticipate the rise of the Shia-based Mahdi Army, it would have been impossible for Iraqis not to know collectively about the history of their nation's

sectarian conflicts, and they therefore did foresee at the level of specific neighborhoods the danger of some form of a long repressed and dangerous Shia movement that would target the Sunni and massively and systematically disrupt Iraqi society.

We have argued that the opportunistic and coordinated "dual purpose" crimes of the Mahdi Army reflected the kinds of organized collective criminal behavior depicted in Tilly's (1985; 2003) and Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) theories. Muqtada Al Sadr and the Mahdi Army successfully applied organized criminal methods with results that changed the demography and control of Baghdad. The resulting population displacement from Baghdad peaked in 2006, and when Muqtada staged his strategic freeze in 2007, he and his Sadrist movement began a new phase of engagement with the Iraqi state that his mass movement and organized criminal methods had helped to shape. Our findings are in this way consistent with the role that Tilly argues organized criminality can play in making and remaking states.

Al Sadr began as a non-state actor and became the leader of the largest political movement in Iraq. The movement remained underground until the toppling of the Baathist regime, and it was initially largely unknown and vastly underestimated by the U.S.-led coalition. Muqtada built the Mahdi Army and led its use of the organized criminal tools of harassment, threats, and protection to gain control of Baghdad's Sadr City. He effectively made this impoverished slum of several million people into a city-state within Baghdad. From there, he spread his territorial control over much of eastern Baghdad, eventually entering Iraq's parliament and becoming a key part of the governing coalition. His methods and successes as a coercive entrepreneur and incipient statesman were better foretold by Tilly's theory than by U.S. policymakers.

In contrast with the misdirected U.S.-led coalition, the historically based fears expressed by Iraqi citizens in the 2003 Gallup post-invasion survey correctly anticipated the neighborhood specific danger of looming confrontations between Shia groups like the Mahdi Army and the

Sunni, as well as other non-Shia residents. To the extent that there was an observable effect of these early post-invasion neighborhood fears exceeding the indirect processes of historical anticipation linking these fears to later displacement, the added net direct effect of neighborhood fears can be understood as the result of a process of expectation amplification. The predicted result was a Mertonian prophecy of fear that compounded over time in a self-fulfilling way.

The final model we estimated included a cross-level effect on displacement of the interaction of neighborhood fear soon after the 2003 invasion with the Al Qaeda 2006 attack on the Samarra Shrine. This cross-level interaction effect was not only statistically significant but also substantially reduced the earlier observed main effect of 2003 neighborhood fear on displacement, as well as reducing below statistical significance the mitigating negative effects of U.S. forces on the relationship between fear and displacement. Thus, as predicted in our theoretical model displayed in Figure 1, neighborhood fear measured soon after the invasion had its most significant impact three years later during the 2006 peak in the panicked displacement that followed the Samarra Shrine attack. These results from the battle for Baghdad are persuasive confirmation for Robert Sampson's (2012:147) thesis, developed in a very different *Great American City*, that "the perceptual basis of action is contingent on neighborhood context, which in turn plays a role in shaping the long-term trajectories and identities of places." As Sampson more generally suggests, knowledge of place matters.

Much has been made in policy discussions about the unanticipated consequences of the American invasion and occupation of Iraq. The data presented in this paper suggest that in the very period when the U.S. Bush administration that launched this war was celebrating the "accomplished" mission of the invasion and toppling of the Saddam Hussein Baathist regime, Iraqis in vulnerable neighborhoods were already fearfully anticipating the dangerous consequences of sectarian violence that this American invasion would unleash. This fearful

anticipation was further amplified by a compounding self-fulfilling prophecy of fear whose further consequences were likely also anticipated by ordinary Iraqis – as night drew near.

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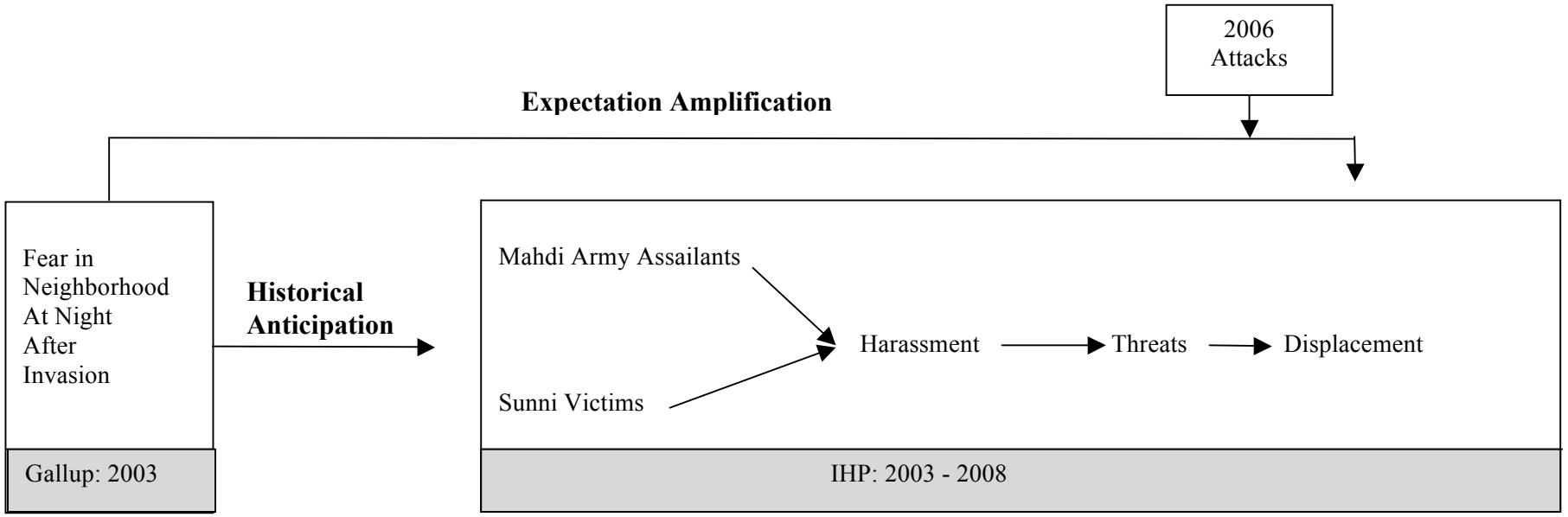
Figure 1: Historical Anticipation and Amplified Expectations of Fear in Iraq, circa 2003 through 2008



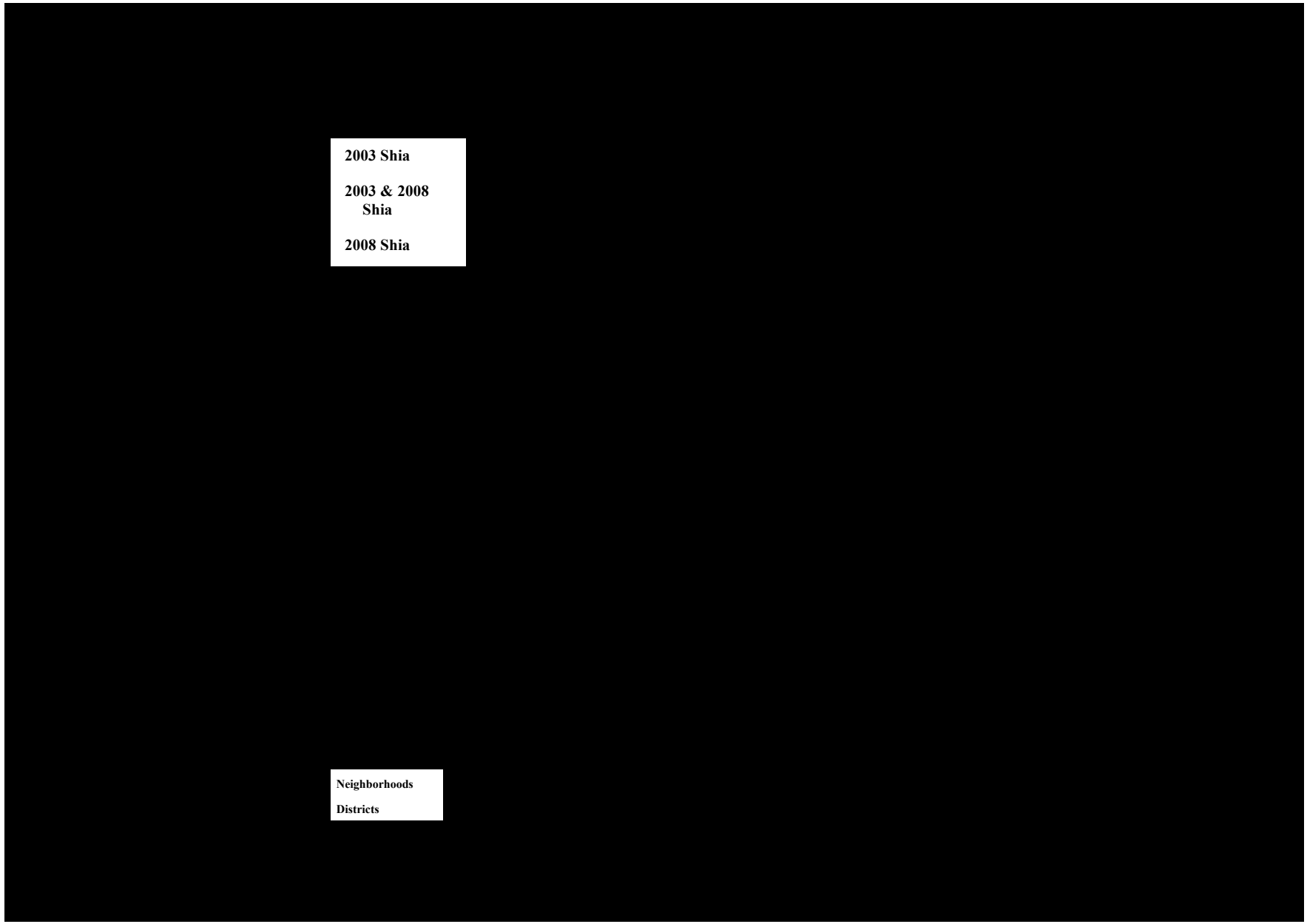

2003 Shia
2003 & 2008 Shia
2008 Shia
Neighborhoods
Districts

Table 1: Comparison between GP and CVI Datasets of Index-crime Distribution across Baghdad Neighborhoods

		Pearson's Chi-Square			Fisher's Exact Test	
		Value	Degrees of Freedom	Significance	Significance	N
All Victims	2003-2004	37.3864	32	0.275	0.225	105
	2003-2005	63.6822	34	0.002	0.000	166
Excluding Displaced Persons	2003-2004	32.7778	31	0.380	0.533	80
	2003-2005	39.0020	32	0.184	0.184	92

Figure 3: Estimated Displacement, Harassment, and Threats in Baghdad, circa 2003 through 2008

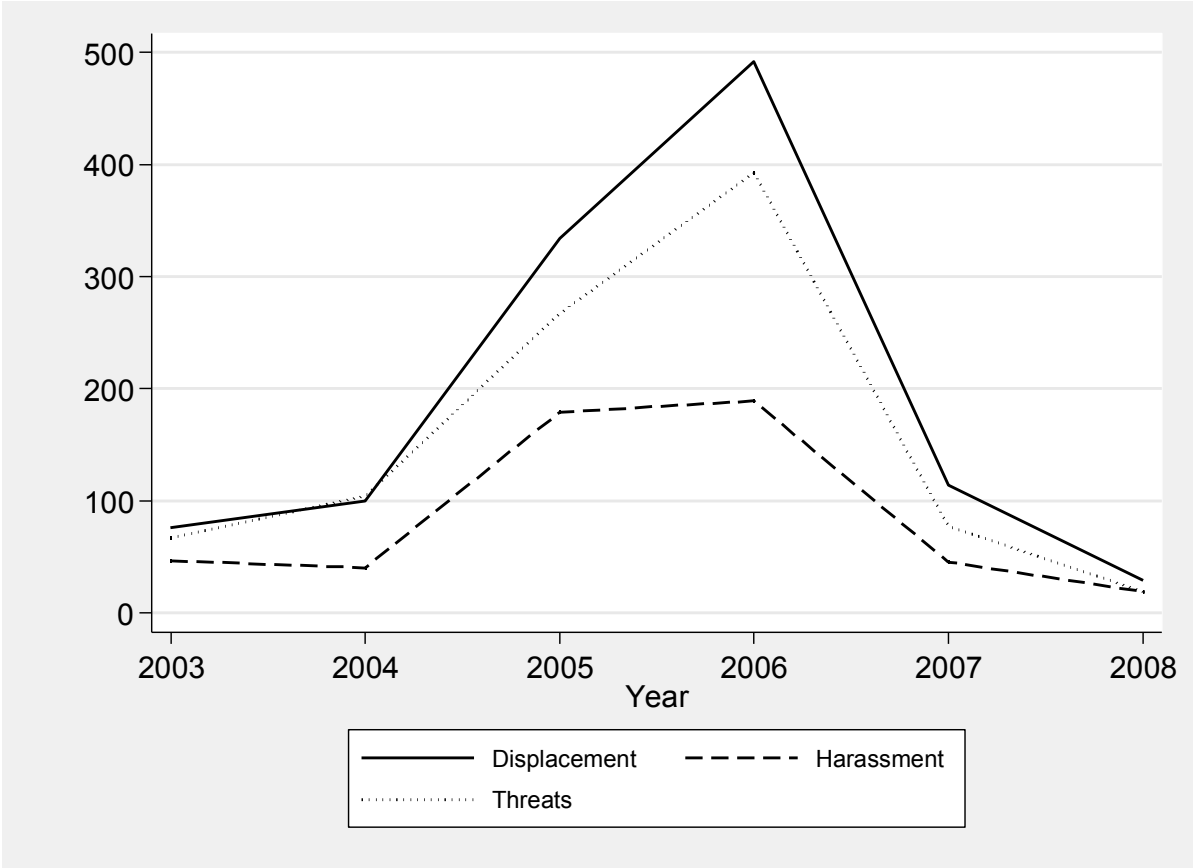


Figure 4: Fear of Going Outside in Baghdad Neighborhood, Before and After the Invasion

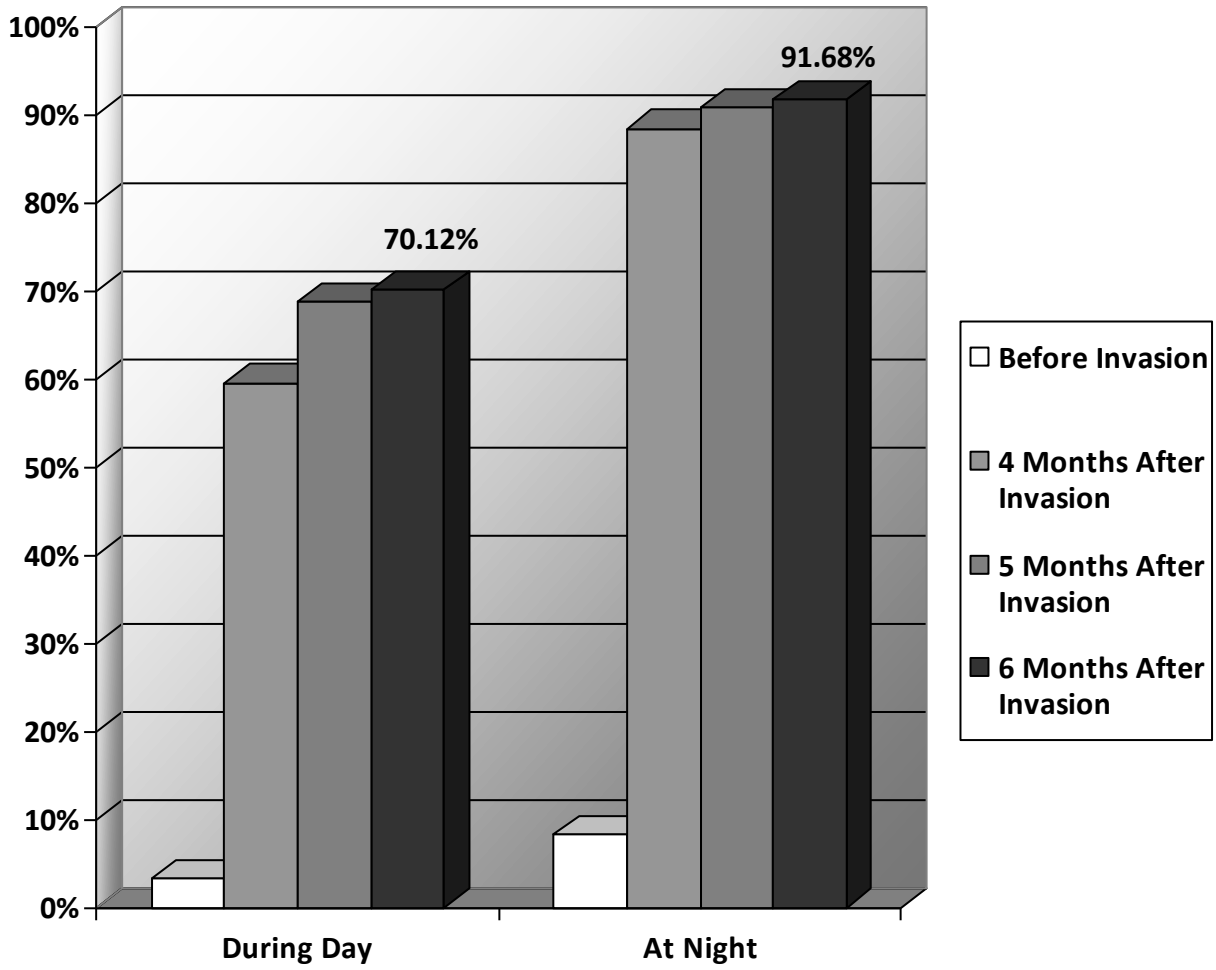


Table 2: Descriptive Statistics for Individual and Neighborhood Characteristics, Baghdad Gallup Poll (2003) & Current Violations Initiative (2004-2008)

Variables	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Outcome (CVI)				
Displaced (Displaced=1)	.81	.39	0	1
Individuals (CVI)				
Gender (Male=1)	.75	.43	0	1
Victim Self-Identification				
Sunni	.40	.49	0	1
Non-Shia Others	.24	.43	0	1
(Shia Reference Group)				
Employment (Employed=1)	.63	.48	0	1
Perpetrator Identification				
Al-Qaeda	.13	.34	0	1
Mahdi Army	.33	.47	0	1
U.S. Forces	.10	.31	0	1
(Other Perpetrators Reference Group)				
2006 Attacks	.35	.48	0	1
Killings (Household Member=1)	.56	.50	0	1
Harassment (Harassed=1)	.35	.50	0	1
Threats (Threatened=1)	.59	.49	0	1
Neighborhoods (CVI + Gallup)				
Neighborhood Identity				
Sunni (Sunni=1)	.20	.41	0	1
Mixed (Mixed=1)	.68	.48	0	1
(Shia Reference Group)				
Fear at Night After Invasion (Gallup)	.96	.09	.79	1.18
Fear at Night Before Invasion (Gallup)	.06	.05	.00	.15
Killings (CVI)	.55	.13	.36	.78
Harassment (CVI)	.35	.08	.17	.50
Threats (CVI)	.50	.65	.40	.93

n=764 Individuals; *N*=25 Neighborhoods

Table 3: Multilevel Estimates Predicting the Log-Odds of Harassment and Threats

	Harassment *b*(SE)		Threats *b*(SE)	
Intercept	-1.086		-.141	-.387
	(.212)		(.196)	(.222)
Individuals				
Male	-.014		.241	.245
	(.157)		(.186)	(.190)
Sunni	.369*		.411*	.361
	(.179)		(.207)	(.203)
Non-Shia Others	.318		.614**	.592***
	(.250)		(.191)	(.173)
Employed	-.244*		.281	.336
	(.114)		(.183)	(.187)
Al-Qaeda	.448**		.552*	.502*
	(.169)		(.225)	(.241)
Mahdi Army	.785***		.483***	.324**
	(.157)		(.107)	(.105)
U.S. Forces	.661*		-.533*	-.705**
	(.275)		(.242)	(.229)
2006	-.031		-.095	.076
	(.162)		(.145)	(.148)
Harassment	---		---	.972***
				(.196)
Neighborhoods				
Sunni	.420***		.217	.132
	(.089)		(.343)	(.353)
Mixed	.207		.186	.152
	(.102)*		(.189)	(.183)

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 4: Multilevel Estimates Predicting the Log-Odds of Displacement

	Model (1) *b* (SE)	Model (2) *b* (SE)	Model (3) *b* (SE)	Model (4) *b* (SE)	Model (5) *b* (SE)
Intercept	.843 (.205)	1.245 (.240)	.830 (376)	.694 (.398)	.187 (.488)
Individuals					
Male			.215 (.199)	.238 (.206)	.164 (.227)
Sunni			.667 (.243)**	.576 (.243)**	.464 (.229)*
Non-Shia			-.054 (.173)	.451 (.271)	.268 (.297)
Employed			.502 (.252)*	-.024 (.176)	-.121 (.169)
Al-Qaeda			.094 (.344)	.038 (.359)	-.185 (.333)
Mahdi Army			.638 (.303)*	.547 (.307)	.463 (.331)
U.S. Forces			-.925 (.224)***	-1.014 (.237)***	-.814 (.270)**
2006			.237 (.156)	.248 (.158)	.281 (.188)
Killings			-.324 (.179)	-.286 (.177)	-.247 (.183)
Harassment				.651 (.195)***	.315 (.225)
Threats					1.593 (.229)***
Neighborhoods					
Sunni	.725 (.331)*	-.040 (.431)	-.051 (.419)	-.069 (.424)	-.100 (.467)
Mixed	.680 (.283)*	.332 (.271)	.273 (.356)	.304 (.383)	.246 (.467)
Killings	.874 (1.040)	.512 (1.054)	.898 (.970)	1.436 (.892)	1.023 (.776)
Fear Before Invasion	2.062 (3.033)		3.581 (2.689)	3.981 (2.241)	2.855 (2.463)
Fear Since Invasion		4.153 (1.226)**	4.863 (1.340)**	3.974 (1.207)**	3.763 (1.375)**
Harassment				3.385 (1.310)**	1.970 (1.654)
Threats					.492 (.760)

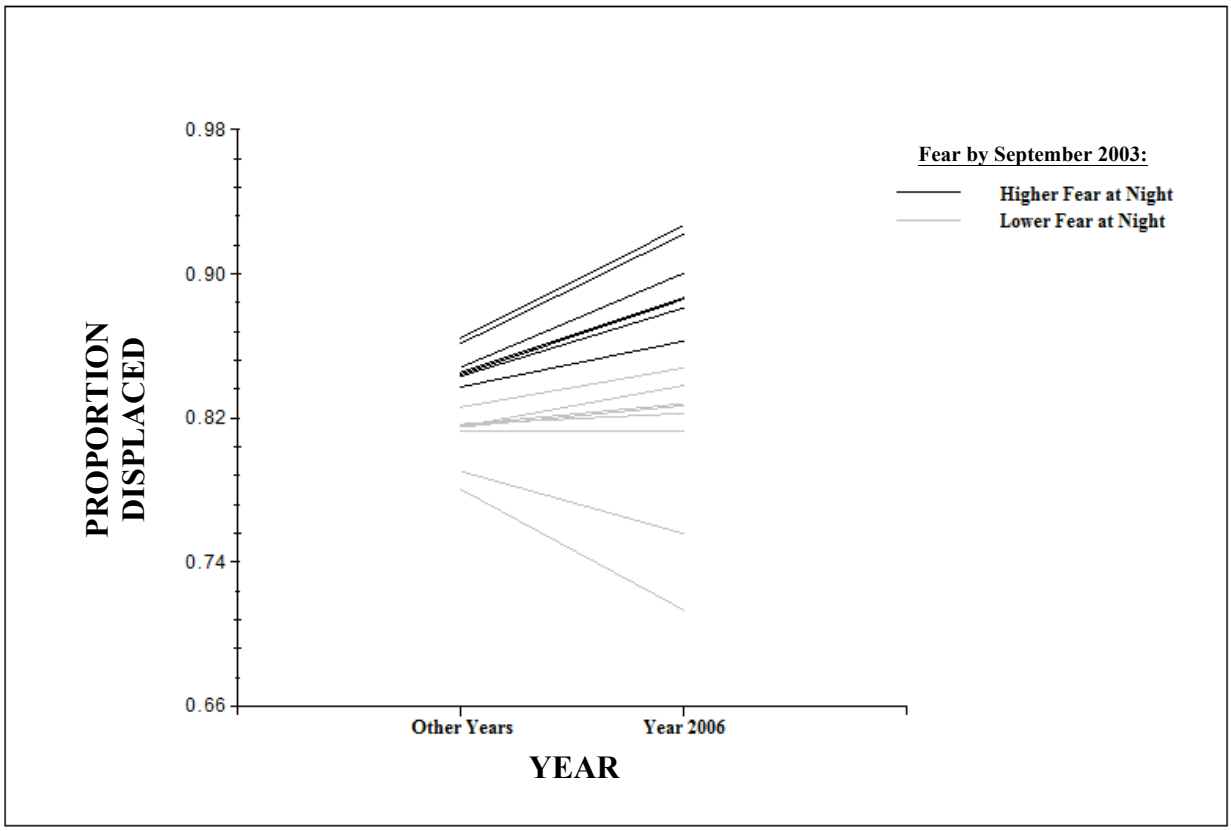
Robust standard errors in parentheses
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 5: Trimmed Models of Displacement with Cross-Level Interactions

	Model (1) *b* (SE)	Model (2) *b* (SE)	Model (3) *b* (SE)
Intercept	.341 (.197)	.323 (.201)	.316 (.197)
Individuals			
Sunni	.539 (.194)**	.541 (.198)***	.558 (.196)**
U.S. Forces	-.820 (.234)***	-.787 (.246)**	-.825 (.244)***
2006	.279 (.185)	.318 (.162)*	.557 (.196)**
Threats	1.793 (.199)***	1.800 (.993)*	1.809 (.197)***
Neighborhoods			
Fear After Invasion	4.288 (1.132)***	1.990 (.993)*	2.632 (1.219)*
Cross-Level Interactions			
Fear After Invasion x U.S. Forces	-3.011 (1.607)+		-2.169 (1.717)
Fear After Invasion x 2006		4.268 (1.890)*	3.931 (1.929)*

Robust standard errors in parentheses
+ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 5: Amplified Impact of the Self-fulfilling Prophecy of Fear on Displacement in Baghdad Neighborhoods with Varying Levels of Fear (2003) after the Samarra Shrine Attack (2006)



Appendix, Table 1: Selection Effect by Neighborhood

	Selection *b* (SE)
Intercept	-1.215 (.097)***
Neighborhoods	
Sadr City	(reference group)
Medical City	10.075 (49.8)
Sa'adoon	1.395 (.280)***
Fadhil	1.277 (.170)***
Adhamiyah	1.661 (.246)***
Sha'ab	1.027 (.163)***
Ur	1.263 (.172)***
New Baghdad	.996 (.154)***
Baladiyat	.872 (.177)***
Karadah	1.309 (.185)***
Jamia	1.029 (.203)***
Zafaraniyah	.685 (.228)**
Green Zone	.758 (.220)***
Kadhimiyah	.259 (.156)
Airport Road	1.143 (.215)***
Amiriya	10.075 (49.8)
Mansour	10.075 (49.8)
Yarmouk	10.075 (49.8)
Amil	1.040 (.240)***
Baya	1.312 (.187)***
Saidiya	1.887 (.229)***
Dora	1.890 (.147)***
Jihad	1.905 (.260)***
Rasheed	.640 (.176)***
Palestine Road	1.427 (.212)***

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Appendix, Table 2: Multilevel Estimates Predicting the Log-Odds of Displacement, Accounting for Selection

	Table 4, Model (5) *b* (SE)	Table 5, Model (3) *b* (SE)
Intercept	-.136 (.355)	-.042 (.302)
Individuals		
λ	.655 (.176)***	.470 (.200)*
Male	.173 (.230)	
Sunni	.514 (.225)*	.604 (.202)**
Non-Shia	.261 (.302)	
Employed	-.124 (.170)	
Al-Qaeda	.309 (.228)	
Mahdi Army	.406 (.340)	
U.S. Forces	-.881 (.252)***	-.875 (.234)***
2006	.313 (.191)	.338 (.165)*
Killings	-.256 (.180)	
Harassment	.309 (.227)	
Threats	1.608 (.238)***	1.839 (.208)***
Neighborhoods		
Sunni	.178 (.265)	
Mixed	.357 (.211)	
Killings	1.707 (.716)*	
Fear Before Invasion	1.323 (2.342)	
Fear Since Invasion	3.095 (1.352)*	2.946 (1.115)**
Harassment	1.338 (1.430)	
Threats	1.337 (.659)	
Cross-Level Interactions		
Fear After Invasion x U.S. Forces		-1.464 (1.787)
Fear After Invasion x 2006		3.996 (2.053)*

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$