

Political Science 697 // Spring 2018

Domestic Politics and International Relations

Ryan Powers

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Office: 438 RKZ

Office hours: Tuesdays, 1:30 p.m. to 3:30 p.m. and by appointment.

Class meetings: Wednesdays, 3:30 p.m. to 5:20 p.m.

Course Description

This course is a graduate seminar on the effects of domestic politics on international politics and vice versa. We will study how domestic political institutions, interest groups, and the mass public shape the foreign policy choices of political leaders. At the same time, we will consider how international institutions, the structure of the international system, and major power foreign policy choices shape the domestic politics of particular countries. We will engage work that applies a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches to research questions with implications for a wide array of substantive issue areas. This course should be of interest to those studying International Relations or Comparative Politics. Additionally, this course may be of use to students of American Politics with an interest in U.S. foreign policy.

Grading and Expectations

Grades

Your final grade will be calculated as follows:

- Class attendance and participation: 30%
- Response essays: 30%
- Research paper: 30%
- Final presentation: 10%

Attendance and Participation

Your participation in class discussions is vital to our success. You should come to class having read the assigned work closely enough to actively participate in a detailed and critical discussion of the arguments and evidence presented by the authors. If you must miss a class meeting, please let me know in advance and provide documentation excusing your absence.

Assignments

Assignments should be submitted directly to me via email (ryan.m.powers@yale.edu). With the exception of documented emergencies, late assignments will not be accepted.

- **Response papers.** You will write six response papers over the course of the semester in which you critically evaluate one or more of a given week's assigned readings. A successful response essay will quickly summarize the major claims of a given reading, discuss how those claims are evaluated, and then identify several strengths or weaknesses of the argument and/or the empirical evidence used to support that argument. Each essay should be on the order of 1,000 words and conclude with at least two ideas for in-class discussion questions. **Response papers are due at 6 p.m. the evening before we discuss the readings about which you have written.**
- **Research proposal.** You will write a 15-20 page research proposal in which you pose an original research question, situate the question in the relevant theoretical and empirical literature, and propose a research design that would allow you to answer your research question. The research design should make a theoretically-motivated argument, draw out empirical implications, and identify the method and data that is best-suited to helping you test your argument systematically. Your research question may be motivated by an original empirical puzzle or a new theoretical insight. If relevant, I encourage you to use this assignment to make progress on your dissertation project or a grant proposal. The content of the assignment, however, should be new and original work or be a *substantial* improvement and/or extension of past work. I expect to meet with each of you during office hours early in the semester to discuss your project. I will consider permitting co-authored proposals on a case by case basis, but both authors must be enrolled in the course. Co-authored work will also need to be 25-30 pages in length and include preliminary empirical tests of your argument. **The research proposal is due May 9, 2018 by 6:00 p.m.**
- **Final presentation.** You will give a *brief* presentation of your research proposal during our final class meeting. Your colleagues will provide comments and critiques in response. You will use these comments to make final adjustments to your research proposal. The length of your presentation will depend on the number of students enrolled in the course, but I anticipate presentations on the order of 8-12 minutes long.

Accommodations

Students with documented disabilities should speak with me privately in the first few weeks of the course. More information about accommodations that are available to students with disabilities is available from the [Resource Office on Disabilities](#).

Academic Integrity and Professional Conduct

I expect you to do your own work and to abide by Yale's policies on [academic integrity and professional conduct](#).

Course Outline

You will find citations for the required readings for each class below. All readings are available on Canvas.

1. Preliminaries (Jan. 17)

- Peter Gourevitch. 1978. "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics". *International Organization* 32 (4): 881–912
- James D. Fearon. 1998. "Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and Theories of International Relations". *Annual Review of Political Science* 1 (1): 289–313
- Bruce Bueno De Mesquita. 2002. "Domestic Politics and International Relations". *International Studies Quarterly* 46 (1): 1–9
- Stephen Chaudoin, Helen V. Milner, and Xun Pang. 2015. "International Systems and Domestic Politics: Linking Complex Interactions With Empirical Models in International Relations". *International Organization* 69 (2): 275–309

2. Domestic Politics and War (Jan. 24)

- George W. Downs and David M. Rocke. 1994. "Conflict, Agency, and Gambling for Resurrection: The Principal-Agent Problem Goes to War". *American Journal of Political Science* 38 (2): 362–380
- Bruce Bueno De Mesquita et al. 1999. "An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace". *American Political Science Review* 93 (4): 791–807
- Alexandre Debs and Hein E. Goemans. 2010. "Regime Type, the Fate of Leaders, and War". *American Political Science Review* 104 (3): 430–445
- Jessica L.P. Weeks. 2014. *Dictators at War and Peace*. Cornell University Press, Chapters 1 and 3
- Michael R. Tomz and Jessica L.P. Weeks. 2013. "Public Opinion and the Democratic Peace". *American Political Science Review* 107 (4): 849–865
- Jonathan Renshon, Keren Yarhi-Milo, and Joshua D. Kertzer. 2016. "Democratic Leaders, Crises and War Paired Experiments on the Israeli Knesset and Public"

3. Audience Costs and Bargaining (Jan. 31)

- James D. Fearon. 1994. "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes". *American Political Science Review* 88 (3): 577–592

- Michael Tomz. 2007. “Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach”. *International Organization* 61 (4): 821–840
- Jessica L. Weeks. 2008. “Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve”. *International Organization* 62 (1): 35–64
- Alexander B. Downes and Todd S. Sechser. 2012. “The Illusion of Democratic Credibility”. *International Organization* 66 (3): 457–489
- Marc Trachtenberg. 2012. “Audience Costs: An Historical Analysis”. *Security Studies* 21 (1): 3–42
- Alexandre Debs and Jessica Chen Weiss. 2016. “Circumstances, Domestic Audiences, and Reputational Incentives in International Crisis Bargaining”. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60 (3): 403–433

4. War Mobilization and Nuclear Weapons (Feb. 7)

- Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam. 2002. *Democracies at War*. Princeton University Press, Chapters 1–3
- William G. Howell and Jon C. Pevehouse. 2005. “Presidents, Congress, and the Use of Force”. *International Organization* 59 (1): 209–232
- Joshua D. Kertzer and Ryan Brutger. 2016. “Decomposing Audience Costs: Bringing the Audience Back Into Audience Cost Theory”. *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (1): 234–249
- Didac Queralt. 2016. “The Legacy of War on Fiscal Capacity”
- Etel Solingen. 1994. “The Political Economy of Nuclear Restraint”. *International Security* 19 (2): 126–169
- Jacques E.C. Hymans. 2012. *Achieving Nuclear Ambitions: Scientists, Politicians, and Proliferation*. Cambridge University Press, Chapters 1 and 2
- Daryl G. Press, Scott D. Sagan, and Benjamin A. Valentino. 2013. “Atomic Aversion: Experimental Evidence on Taboos, Traditions, and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons”. *American Political Science Review* 107 (1): 188–206

5. Cooperation and Compliance (Feb. 14)

- Robert D Putnam. 1988. “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-level Games”. *International Organization* 42 (3): 427–460
- Emanuel Adler. 1992. “The Emergence of Cooperation: National Epistemic Communities and the International Evolution of the Idea of Nuclear Arms Control”. *International organization* 46 (1): 101–145
- Lisa L. Martin. 2000. *Democratic Commitments: Legislatures and International Cooperation*. Princeton University Press, Chapters 1–4
- Stephen Chaudoin. 2014. “Audience Features and the Strategic Timing of Trade Disputes”. *International Organization* 68 (4): 877–911

- Sara McLaughlin Mitchell and Paul R. Hensel. 2007. "International Institutions and Compliance With Agreements". *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (4): 721–737
- Alexandra Guisinger and Elizabeth N. Saunders. 2017. "Mapping the Boundaries of Elite Cues: How Elites Shape Mass Opinion Across International Issues". *International Studies Quarterly* 61 (2): 425–441

6. Democratization and Regime Change (Feb. 21)

- Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder. 2002. "Incomplete Democratization and the Outbreak of Military Disputes". *International Studies Quarterly* 46 (4): 529–549
- Jon C. Pevehouse. 2005. *Democracy From Above: Regional Organizations and Democratization*. Cambridge University Press, Chapters 1–4
- Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Michael D. Ward. 2006. "Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization". *International Organization* 60 (4): 911–933
- Susan D. Hyde. 2007. "The Observer Effect in International Politics: Evidence From a Natural Experiment". *World Politics* 60 (1): 37–63
- Joseph Wright. 2009. "How Foreign Aid Can Foster Democratization in Authoritarian Regimes". *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (3): 552–571
- John S. Ahlquist and Erik Wibbels. 2012. "Riding the Wave: World Trade and Factor-Based Models of Democratization". *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (2): 447–464

7. Climate Change and the Environment (Feb. 28)

- Michèle B. Bättig and Thomas Bernauer. 2009. "National Institutions and Global Public Goods: Are Democracies More Cooperative in Climate Change Policy?" *International Organization* 63 (2): 281–308
- J. Lawrence Broz and Daniel Maliniak. 2010. "Malapportionment, Gasoline Taxes, and Climate Change"
- Michaël Aklin and Johannes Urpelainen. 2014. "The Global Spread of Environmental Ministries: Domestic–International Interactions". *International Studies Quarterly* 58 (4): 764–780
- Dustin Tingley and Michael Tomz. 2014. "Conditional Cooperation and Climate Change". *Comparative Political Studies* 47 (3): 344–368
- Matto Mildemberger and Dustin Tingley. 2017. "Beliefs about Climate Beliefs: The Importance of Second-Order Opinions for Climate Politics". *British Journal of Political Science*: 1–29
- Bentley B. Allan. 2017. "Producing the Climate: States, Scientists, and the Constitution of Global Governance Objects". *International Organization* 71 (1): 131–162

8. Foreign Aid (Mar. 7)

- Daniel L. Nielson and Michael J. Tierney. 2003. “Delegation to International Organizations: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform”. *International Organization* 57 (2): 241–276
- Helen V. Milner and Dustin H. Tingley. 2010. “The Political Economy of US Foreign Aid: American Legislators and the Domestic Politics of Aid”. *Economics & Politics* 22 (2): 200–232
- Richard A. Nielsen et al. 2011. “Foreign Aid Shocks as a Cause of Violent Armed Conflict”. *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (2): 219–232
- Lauren Prather. 2014. “Values at the Water’s Edge: Social Welfare Values and Foreign Aid”
- Andy Baker. 2015. “Race, Paternalism, and Foreign Aid: Evidence From US Public Opinion”. *American Political Science Review* 109 (1): 93–109
- Cesi Cruz and Christina J. Schneider. 2017. “Foreign Aid and Undeserved Credit Claiming”. *American Journal of Political Science* 61 (2): 396–408

9. Trade and International Politics (Mar. 28)

- Joanne Gowa and Edward D. Mansfield. 1993. “Power Politics and International Trade”. *American Political Science Review* 87 (2): 408–420
- Erik Gartzke. 2007. “The Capitalist Peace”. *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (1): 166–191
- Seung-Whan Choi. 2011. “Re-evaluating Capitalist and Democratic Peace Models”. *International Studies Quarterly* 55 (3): 759–769
- Gustavo A. Flores-Macías and Sarah E. Kreps. 2013. “The Foreign Policy Consequences of Trade: China’s Commercial Relations With Africa and Latin America, 1992–2006”. *The Journal of Politics* 75 (2): 357–371
- Sonal S. Pandya and Rajkumar Venkatesan. 2016. “French Roast: Consumer Response to International Conflict — Evidence From Supermarket Scanner Data”. *Review of Economics and Statistics* 98 (1): 42–56
- Stephen G. Brooks. 2013. “Economic Actors’ Lobbying Influence on the Prospects for War and Peace”. *International Organization* 67 (4): 863–888
- Allison Carnegie and Nikhar Gaikwad. 2017. “Public Opinion on Geopolitics and Trade: Theory and Evidence”

10. Trade and Domestic Politics (Apr. 4)

- Ronald Rogowski. 1989. *Commerce and Coalitions: How Trade Affects Domestic Political Alignments*. Princeton University Press, Chapters 1–3
- Edward D. Mansfield, Helen V. Milner, and B. Peter Rosendorff. 2002. “Why Democracies Cooperate More: Electoral Control and International Trade Agreements”. *International Organization* 56 (3): 477–513

- Helen V. Milner and Keiko Kubota. 2005. “Why the Move to Free Trade? Democracy and Trade Policy in the Developing Countries”. *International Organization* 59 (1): 107–143
- Daniel Y. Kono. 2006. “Optimal Obfuscation: Democracy and Trade Policy Transparency”. *American Political Science Review* 100 (3): 369–384
- Yotam Margalit. 2011. “Costly Jobs: Trade-Related Layoffs, Government Compensation, and Voting in US Elections”. *American Political Science Review* 105 (1): 166–188
- Erica Owen. 2017. “Exposure to Offshoring and the Politics of Trade Liberalization: Debate and Votes on Free Trade Agreements in the US House of Representatives, 2001–2006”. *International Studies Quarterly* 61 (2): 297–311

11. Migration (Apr. 11)

- Anna Oltman and Jonathan Renshon. 2017. “Immigration and Foreign Policy”. *Oxford Encyclopedia of Foreign Policy Analysis*
- Idean Salehyan. 2008. “The Externalities of Civil Strife: Refugees as a Source of International Conflict”. *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (4): 787–801
- Jens Hainmueller and Michael J. Hiscox. 2010. “Attitudes Toward Highly Skilled and Low-Skilled Immigration: Evidence From a Survey Experiment”. *American Political Science Review* 104 (1): 61–84
- David Leblang. 2010. “Familiarity Breeds Investment: Diaspora Networks and International Investment”. *American Political Science Review* 104 (3): 584–600
- David Andrew Singer. 2010. “Migrant Remittances and Exchange Rate Regimes in the Developing World”. *American Political Science Review* 104 (2): 307–323
- Margaret E. Peters. 2015. “Open Trade, Closed Borders Immigration in the Era of Globalization”. *World Politics* 67 (1): 114–154

12. Human Rights (Apr. 18)

- James R. Hollyer and B. Peter Rosendorff. 2011. “Why Do Authoritarian Regimes Sign the Convention Against Torture? Signaling, Domestic Politics and Non-Compliance”. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 6 (3–4): 275–327
- Beth A. Simmons. 2009. *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics*. Cambridge University Press, Chapters 1–3
- Sarah Sunn Bush. 2011. “International Politics and the Spread of Quotas for Women in Legislatures”. *International Organization* 65 (1): 103–137
- Brian Greenhill. 2010. “The Company You Keep: International Socialization and the Diffusion of Human Rights Norms”. *International Studies Quarterly* 54 (1): 127–145
- Emilie M. Hafner-Burton. 2013. *Forced to Be Good: Why Trade Agreements Boost Human Rights*. Cornell University Press, Chapters 1,2,6

- Sam R. Bell, K. Chad Clay, and Amanda Murdie. 2012. "Neighborhood Watch: Spatial Effects of Human Rights INGOs". *The Journal of Politics* 74 (2): 354-368

13. In-class presentations (Apr. 25)