

Domestic Politics and International Relations

GOVT 6987

Friday 10:10 AM—12:05 PM

Uris Hall 301

Fall 2019

Professor Jessica Chen Weiss

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Office Hours Wednesday 1:45-2:45pm and Friday 1-2pm

Sign up at <https://calendly.com/jessicachenweiss/oh>

I. Course Overview

This seminar explores the relationship between domestic politics and international relations, particularly how politics at the domestic level affect preferences and interactions between states and in the international system. This seminar has two main goals: to familiarize students with the burgeoning literature on the relationship between domestic politics and international relations, and to help students develop valuable research and analytical skills. Topics will include regime type, war, and peace; diversionary conflict; public opinion; nationalism and democratization; individual leaders' personality traits and time in office; perceptions and misperceptions; signaling; international cooperation; and trade and economic policy. Each week students will be asked to consider applications to current events and debates.

The course is geared primarily at graduate students in political science, but others may enroll upon consultation. The seminar assumes some familiarity with international relations theory and an interest in research. Many of the readings utilize statistics or game theory; students not familiar with these tools should be prepared to commit some extra time to those readings. If you are unsure whether the course is right for you, please consult with me after the first session.

II. Requirements

- 1) 5 response memos on selections from the week's readings (25%; see below for details).
- 2) Class participation (25%): This is a graduate-level seminar in which all students are expected to contribute to weekly discussion of the readings. Active and thoughtful participation is necessary for a small graduate seminar to be productive.
- 3) A 15 to 20 page research paper on a topic of your choosing (50%)

Response Memos

Each student will submit five response memos analyzing a subset of the week's readings.

Response memos should be 2 to 3 double-spaced pages and should address the following kinds of questions:

- What are the central arguments of the readings, and are the arguments logically consistent and complete? To what extent are the arguments from different readings complementary or contradictory?
- What evidence does the author use to test, support, or illustrate the argument? Do you find the evidence compelling? If not, what kind of evidence would be more convincing?
- How do these readings speak to important debates or current developments in world affairs? Do these readings raise important questions for understanding contemporary foreign policy issues? Students are encouraged to reference one or more outside news reports or policy commentary in discussing the readings.

Response memos are due 24 hours before class (i.e. Thursday morning at 10:10am). Circulate your memos to the entire class by uploading to Canvas. Unexcused late assignments will be docked a half-letter grade per day the assignment is late.

Research Paper

Your major written assignment for the course is a research paper or design in which you develop a question of your choosing, review the relevant literature, develop an argument and consider competing hypotheses, and design a study to answer your question. The paper should be at least 15 but no more than 20 double-spaced pages. The paper should include the following components:

- a) Introduction: What is the “puzzle” that you are trying to solve and why is it important? (approx. 5 pages)
- b) Theoretical framework: A clear and succinct statement of a theoretical argument on an important question that you extract from the literature or develop yourself. (approx. 5 pages)
- c) Analysis: Define and operationalize your concepts. A characterization of the population of cases to which the theoretical argument/hypotheses apply, and the description of a sample (or way of sampling) from this population. (approx.. 3-5 pages)
- d) A preliminary assessment or “plausibility probe” based on brief examination of one or more cases, or a “quick” coding of variables for a simple descriptive analysis. (approx. 5 pages)

Paper due dates:

- September 13 - Schedule an appointment to discuss paper topic with me, no class
- October 11 - One to two page statement of research puzzle, question, abstract, and short bibliography; circulate for peer feedback

- November 15 - Ten page draft due (schedule a meeting with me to discuss your draft between 11/22 and 12/9)
- December 20 - Final draft due

III. Readings

Most but not all of the assigned readings are available electronically. Because we read large portions of the following books, I encourage you to obtain a physical copy of these books (also on reserve at Uris library):

- Sarah S. Bush, *The Taming of Democracy Assistance: Why Democracy Promotion Does Not Confront Dictators*. Cambridge University Press. 2015.
- Jessica Green, *Rethinking Private Authority: Agents and Entrepreneurs in Global Environmental Governance*. Princeton University Press, 2014.
- G. John Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan: The origins, crisis, and transformation of the American world order*. Vol. 128. Princeton University Press, 2011.

IV. Academic Integrity and Cornell University Policies and Regulations

Participation in this class commits students and the instructor to abide by Cornell's expectations and policies regarding equal opportunity and academic integrity. Further, it implies permission from students to submit their written work to services that check for plagiarism (such as Turnitin). Each student in this course is expected to abide by the Cornell University Code of Academic Integrity. It is your responsibility to familiarize yourself with university policies regarding plagiarism and other violations of academic integrity. In particular, please make yourself familiar with the definition of plagiarism, and be aware that you may not turn in the same piece of work (or part thereof) for credit in multiple classes, either in the same semester or while at Cornell in general. Violations of the University Code of Academic Integrity will be firmly dealt with in this class. Cornell has helpfully provided the following Essential Guide to Academic Integrity, available on the web at <https://theuniversityfaculty.cornell.edu/academic-integrity/>. A Cornell tutorial called "Recognizing and Avoiding Plagiarism" can be found at: <http://plagiarism.arts.cornell.edu/tutorial/index.cfm>. Please make yourself familiar with the contents of these documents.

In addition, I observe all university policies addressing racial, ethnic, gender, sexual preference, or religious discrimination and all forms of harassment. I conduct class in conformance with provisions of the Americans with Disabilities Act. Please familiarize yourself with policies that may apply to you, and bring any related to concerns to my attention.

V. Schedule

The readings for each week indicate the material that will be discussed during that session. Therefore, it is essential that students come to class having already read the material for that session. All of the course readings will be made available via hyperlinks in this syllabus or as course reserves via Canvas.

❖ denotes additional pertinent readings that are recommended but not required

NO CLASS August 30 due to the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association in DC.

Session 1 (9/6): Domestic Politics and the State of the Field

- Jack Levy, "[The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace.](#)" *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1998.
- Robert Putnam, "[Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of 2-Level Games,](#)" *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (1988), pp. 427-460.
- Andrew Moravcsik, "[Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics,](#)" *International Organization* 51, no. 4 (Autumn 1997): 513–53.
- James D. Fearon, "[Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes,](#)" *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 88, No. 3 (1994), pp. 577-592.
- Susan D. Hyde and Elizabeth N. Saunders, "[Recapturing Regime Type in International Relations: Leaders, Institutions, and Agency Space,](#)" *International Organization*, forthcoming (available on Canvas)
- Jeff D. Colgan, "Where Is International Relations Going? Evidence from Graduate Training," *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 60, Issue 3, September 2016, Pages 486–498, <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqv017>.

No class 9/13 – schedule individual meetings to discuss paper topic

Session 2 (9/20): Domestic Politics and International Order

- Deudney, Daniel, and G. John Ikenberry. "[The Nature and Sources of Liberal International Order.](#)" *Review of International Studies* 25, no. 2 (1999): 179–96. doi:10.1017/S0260210599001795.
- Ikenberry, G. John. *Liberal Leviathan: The origins, crisis, and transformation of the American world order*. Vol. 128. Princeton University Press, 2011. Focus on chapters 1-4, 6-7.
- Ruggie, John Gerard. "[International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order.](#)" *International Organization* 36, no. 2 (1982): 379–415. doi:10.1017/S0020818300018993.

- Stephen Chaudoin, Helen V. Milner, and Dustin H. Tingley, "[The Center Still Holds: Liberal Internationalism Survives](#)," *International Security* 35, no. 1 (Summer 2010): 75–94.
- Charles A. Kupchan and Peter L. Trubowitz, "[Dead Center: The Demise of Liberal Internationalism in the United States](#)," *International Security* 2007 32:2, 7-44
- Paul Musgrave (2019): "[International Hegemony Meets Domestic Politics: Why Liberals can be Pessimists](#)," *Security Studies*.

Recommended:

- ❖ Hemmer, Christopher, and Peter J. Katzenstein. "[Why is there no NATO in Asia? Collective identity, regionalism, and the origins of multilateralism](#)." *International Organization* 56, no. 3 (2002): 575-607.

Session 3 (9/27): Regime Type as Ideology: Democracy Promotion and Diffusion

- Gunitsky, Seva. "[From Shocks to Waves: Hegemonic Transitions and Democratization in the Twentieth Century](#)." *International Organization* 68, no. 3 (2014): 561–97. doi:10.1017/S0020818314000113.
- Sarah S. Bush, *The Taming of Democracy Assistance: Why Democracy Promotion Does Not Confront Dictators*. Cambridge University Press. 2015.
- Pevehouse, Jon C. "[Democracy from the outside-in? International organizations and democratization](#)." *International Organization* 56, no. 3 (2002): 515-549.

Recommended:

- ❖ John M Owen, "Liberalism and Its Alternatives, Again," *International Studies Review*, Volume 20, Issue 2, June 2018, Pages 309–316, <https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viy026>
- ❖ Boix, Carles. "Democracy, Development, and the International System." *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 4 (2011): 809–28. doi:10.1017/S0003055411000402.
- ❖ Edward Goldring and Sheena Chestnut Greitens, "Rethinking Democratic Diffusion: Bringing Regime Type Back In," *Comparative Political Studies*, forthcoming. (Canvas)

Session 4 (10/4): Regime Type as Ideology: Autocracy Promotion and Diffusion

- Kurt Weyland (2017) "[Autocratic diffusion and cooperation: the impact of interests vs. ideology](#)," *Democratization*, 24:7, 1235-1252.
- Kurt Weyland (2017) "[Fascism's missionary ideology and the autocratic wave of the interwar years](#)," *Democratization*, 24:7, 1253-1270.
- Koesel, Karrie J., and Valerie J. Bunce. "[Diffusion-proofing: Russian and Chinese responses to waves of popular mobilizations against authoritarian rulers](#)." *Perspectives on Politics* 11, no. 3 (2013): 753-768.
- Christopher Sebastian Parker and Christopher C. Towler, "[Race and Authoritarianism in American Politics](#)," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2019 22:1, 503-519.

- Way, Lucan. "[The Authoritarian Threat: Weaknesses of Autocracy Promotion.](#)" *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 27 no. 1, 2016, pp. 64-75. Project MUSE, [doi:10.1353/jod.2016.0009](https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2016.0009)

Recommended:

- ❖ Jessica Chen Weiss, "[A World Safe for Autocracy? China's Rise and the Future of Global Politics.](#)" *Foreign Affairs* July/August 2019.
- ❖ Nathan, Andrew J. "China's Challenge." *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 26 no. 1, 2015, pp. 156-170. Project MUSE, [doi:10.1353/jod.2015.0012](https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2015.0012)

Session 5 (10/11): International Influences: More Second Image Reversed Arguments

Due 24 hours before class: statement of research puzzle, question, abstract, and short bibliography; we will discuss these in class.

- Gourevitch, Peter. "[The second image reversed: the international sources of domestic politics.](#)" *International Organization* 32, no. 4 (1978): 881-912.
- McNamee, Lachlan, and Anna Zhang. "[Demographic Engineering and International Conflict: Evidence from China and the Former USSR.](#)" *International Organization* 73, no. 2 (2019): 291–327. [doi:10.1017/S0020818319000067](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818319000067).
- Hyde, Susan D. (2011), "[Catch Us If You Can: Election Monitoring and International Norm Diffusion.](#)" *American Journal of Political Science*, 55: 356-369. [doi:10.1111/j.1540-5907.2011.00508.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2011.00508.x)
- Weiss, Jessica Chen. "[Authoritarian signaling, mass audiences, and nationalist protest in China.](#)" *International Organization* 67, no. 1 (2013): 1-35.
- Ayşe Zarakol, "[Revisiting Second Image Reversed: Lessons from Turkey and Thailand.](#)" *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 57, Issue 1, March 2013, Pages 150–162, <https://doi.org/10.1111/isqu.12038>

Session 6 (10/18): Democracy and War

- Maoz, Zeev, and Bruce Russett. "[Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946-1986.](#)" *American Political Science Review*. 87.3 (1993).
- Oneal, John R., and Bruce Russett. "[The Kantian peace: The pacific benefits of democracy, interdependence, and international organizations, 1885–1992.](#)" *World Politics* 52, no. 1 (1999): 1-37.
- Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam, *Democracies at War*, 2004. Chapter 1.
- Tomz, Michael and Jessica Weeks. 2013. "[Public Opinion and the Democratic Peace.](#)" *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 107, No. 4.
- Joshua D. Kertzer, Kathleen E. Powers, Brian C. Rathbun, and Ravi Iyer, "[Moral Support: How Moral Values Shape Foreign Policy Attitudes.](#)" *Journal of Politics* 2014 76:3, 825-840.

Recommended:

- ❖ Jonathan Caverley, *Democratic Militarism: Voting, Wealth, and War*.
- ❖ Jason Lyall, "[Do Democracies Make Inferior Counterinsurgents?](#)" *International Organization* 64, Winter 2010, pp. 167-92.
- ❖ Liberman, Peter. "An eye for an eye: Public support for war against evildoers." *International Organization* 60, no. 3 (2006): 687-722.

Session 7 (10/25): Autocracy and War

- Jessica Weeks, "[Strongmen and Straw Men: Regime Type and the Initiation of International Conflict.](#)" *American Political Science Review* (2012)
- Weeks, Jessica L. "[Autocratic audience costs: Regime type and signaling resolve.](#)" *International Organization* 62, no. 1 (2008): 35-64.
- Brian Lai and Dan Slater. "[Institutions of the Offensive: Domestic Sources of Dispute Initiation in Authoritarian Regimes, 1950–1992.](#)" *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume 50, Issue 1, pages 113–126, January 2006.
- Talmadge, Caitlin. *The Dictator's Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes*. Cornell University Press, 2015. Chapter 1.
- Talmadge, Caitlin. "[The puzzle of personalist performance: Iraqi battlefield effectiveness in the Iran-Iraq war.](#)" *Security Studies* 22, no. 2 (2013): 180-221.

Recommended

- ❖ Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin. "A Kantian System? Democracy and Third-Party Conflict Resolution." *American Journal of Political Science* 46, no. 4 (2002): 749-59. doi:10.2307/3088431.
- ❖ Debs, Alexandre, and Hein E. Goemans. 2010. "[Regime Type, the Fate of Leaders, and War.](#)" *American Political Science Review* 104: pp. 430–445.
- ❖ Michaela Mattes, Mariana Rodríguez, "Autocracies and International Cooperation," *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 58, Issue 3, September 2014, Pages 527–538, <https://doi.org/10.1111/isqu.12107>

Session 8 (11/1): Domestic Audiences and Public Opinion

- Tomz, Michael. "[Domestic audience costs in international relations: An experimental approach.](#)" *International Organization* 61, no. 4 (2007): 821-840.
- Snyder, Jack, and Erica D. Borghard. "[The cost of empty threats: A penny, not a pound.](#)" *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 3 (2011): 437-456.
- Levy, Jack S., Michael K. McKoy, Paul Poast, and Geoffrey PR Wallace. "[Backing out or backing in? Commitment and consistency in audience costs theory.](#)" *American Journal of Political Science* 59, no. 4 (2015): 988-1001.

- Kertzer, Joshua D., and Ryan Brutger. "[Decomposing audience costs: Bringing the audience back into audience cost theory.](#)" *American Journal of Political Science* 60, no. 1 (2016): 234-249.
- Kertzer, Joshua D., and Thomas Zeitzoff. "A bottom-up theory of public opinion about foreign policy." *American Journal of Political Science* 61, no. 3 (2017): 543-558.
- Guisinger, Alexandra, and Elizabeth N. Saunders. "[Mapping the boundaries of elite cues: How elites shape mass opinion across international issues.](#)" *International Studies Quarterly* 61, no. 2 (2017): 425-441.

Recommended:

- ❖ Weiss, Jessica Chen and Allan Dafoe. "[Authoritarian Audiences, Rhetoric, and Propaganda in International Crises: Evidence from China,](#)" *International Studies Quarterly* (forthcoming).
- ❖ Quek, Kai, and Alastair Iain Johnston. "Can China back down? Crisis de-escalation in the shadow of popular opposition." *International Security* 42, no. 3 (2018): 7-36.
- ❖ Brutger, Ryan, and Joshua D. Kertzer. "A dispositional theory of reputation costs." *International Organization* 72, no. 3 (2018): 693-724.

Session 9 (11/8): Leaders

- Saunders, Elizabeth. "[Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy.](#)" *International Security* 34(2): 119-161 (Fall 2009).
- Colgan, Jeff. "[Domestic Revolutionary Leaders and International Conflict.](#)" *World Politics* vol. 65, issue 04, pp. 656-690.
- Yarhi-Milo, Keren. 2013. "[In the Eye of the Beholder: How Leaders and Intelligence Organizations Assess Intentions.](#)" *International Security*. 38.1: 7-51.
- Yarhi-Milo, Keren. *Who Fights for Reputation: The Psychology of Leaders in International Conflict*. Princeton University Press, Chapters 1-2.

Recommended:

- ❖ Kreps, Sarah E., Elizabeth N. Saunders, and Kenneth A. Schultz. "The Ratification Premium: Hawks, Doves, and Arms Control." *World Politics* 70, no. 4 (2018): 479–514. doi:10.1017/S0043887118000102.
- ❖ Mattes, M. and Weeks, J. L. (2019), "Hawks, Doves, and Peace: An Experimental Approach." *American Journal of Political Science*, 63: 53-66. doi:[10.1111/ajps.12392](#)
- ❖ Scott Wolford, 2007. "[The Turnover Trap: New Leaders, Reputation, and International Conflict.](#)" *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (4): 772-88.
- ❖ Horowitz, Michael and Allan Stam. 2014. "[How Prior Military Experience Influences The Future Militarized Behavior of Leaders.](#)" *International Organization* 68(3).

Session 10 (11/15): Domestic vulnerability and diversion

Ten page draft of final paper due before class; schedule a meeting with me to discuss your draft between 11/22 and 12/9)

- Oakes, Amy. 2006. "[Diversionsary War and Argentina's Invasion of the Falkland Islands.](#)" *Security Studies*. 15(3): 431-463.
- Mansfield, Edward and Jack Snyder. 2002. "[Democratic Transitions, Institutional Strength, and War.](#)" *International Organization* 56(2): 297-337.
- Vipin Narang and Rebecca M. Nelson. 2009. "[Who Are These Belligerent Democratizers? Reassessing the Impact of Democratization on War.](#)" *International Organization*, 63, pp 357-379.
- Lind, Jennifer. (2011) "[Democratization and Stability in East Asia.](#)" *International Studies Quarterly*, 55: 409-436.
- M. Taylor Fravel, "[Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation: Explaining China's Compromises in Territorial Disputes.](#)" *International Security* 30 (2):4, 2005.
- Levy, Jack S. 1989. "[The Diversionsary Theory of War: A Critique.](#)" In *Handbook of War Studies*, ed. Manus I. Midlarsky. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. pp. 259-88.

Session 11 (11/22): Domestic Politics and the Global Economy

- Gartzke, Erik. "[The capitalist peace.](#)" *American Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 1 (2007): 166-191
- Edward Mansfield and Diana Mutz. 2009. "[Support for Free Trade: Self-Interest, Sociotropic Politics, and Out-Group Anxiety.](#)" *International Organization* 63: 425-457.
- Caraway, Teri L., Stephanie J. Rickard, and Mark S. Anner. "[International negotiations and domestic politics: The case of IMF labor market conditionality.](#)" *International Organization* 66, no. 1 (2012): 27-61.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. "[The Domestic Politics of World Power: Explaining Debates over the United States Battleship Fleet, 1890-91.](#)" *International Organization* 73, no. 2 (2019): 435-68. doi:10.1017/S0020818318000449.
- Nelson, Stephen C. "[Playing favorites: how shared beliefs shape the IMF's lending decisions.](#)" *International Organization* 68, no. 2 (2014): 297-328.

Recommended

- ❖ Helen V. Milner and Dustin H. Tingley. 2011. "[Who Supports Global Economic Engagement? The Sources of Preferences in American Foreign Economic Policy.](#)" *International Organization*, 65, pp. 37-68.
- ❖ Flores-Macias, Gustavo A., and Sarah E. Kreps. "[Political Parties at War: A Study of American War Finance, 1789-2010.](#)" *American Political Science Review* 107.04 (2013): 833-848.

Session 12: Domestic Politics and Nontraditional International Challenges

(date TBD; no class on 12/6)

- Jessica Green, *Rethinking Private Authority: Agents and Entrepreneurs in Global Environmental Governance*. Princeton University Press, 2014. Chapters 1, 5, and 6.
- Henry Farrell and Abraham L. Newman, "[Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion](#)," *International Security* 2019 44:1, 42-79.

December 20 Final papers due

Upload your paper to Canvas by midnight. Papers will be marked down ½ letter each day they are late.