

Domestic Foundations of International Political Economy

Spring Semester, 2013

Graduate School of Law and Political Science

Graduate School of Public Policy

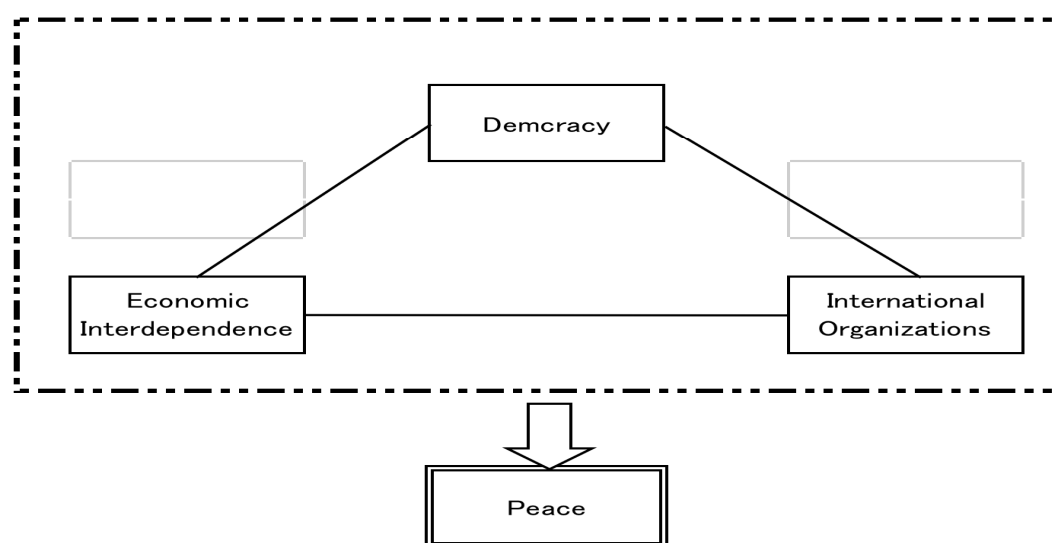
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Nowadays it is impossible to intelligently discuss the politics of international economic relations and foreign economic policies (hence, international political economy) without reference to political regimes and domestic institutions. Since the 1990s, the world has witnessed the broad spread of democracy and market-oriented economic reforms, an explosion in the numbers of free trade, investment, and financial agreements, and the increased presence of international economic organizations (such as the WTO, the IMF, the BIS, and the OECD), especially in the aftermath of frequent financial crisis. The trends are closely interrelated: the developments in international economic relations are closely related to developing countries democratizing and adopting economic reforms in a volatile globalizing economy, assisted and controlled by international economic organizations. Herein lies the need to understand domestic politics in order to understand current developments in international political economy.

This course is designed to introduce the basic analytical frameworks and arguments necessary to understand (a) how domestic politics make democracies compatible with an open international economy, (b) why dictatorships contemplate democratization and/or economic reforms, and (c) how democratization and/or economic reforms have facilitated the institutionalization/legalization of international economic relations under the auspices of international economic organizations. The course concludes with a general discussion on the basic puzzle: “if democracies are good for open economic development, why doesn’t every country democratize?”

The starting point of this course is the basic findings of Bruce Russett and his associates who found an empirical relationship between democracies, economic interdependence, and international organization participation in the break out of peace, as seen below.



However, the theoretical foundations of why such a relationship exists are still being explored and vigorously debated. In addition to such developments, there has been an explosion of scholarly works on how authoritarian and hybrid regimes adjust to the global economy, taking into account the existing literature of advanced democratic regimes, reflecting the ongoing situation of the past two decades. The course is designed to introduce these most recent developments in the literature in order to equip the participants the basic knowledge necessary to understand current developments in international political economy.

Course Format

The format of the course will be a combination of TA session type lectures and a seminar: in the former, I will go lecture by going through the reading materials with you. Class discussion of the assigned reading material will characterize the seminar format.

The way this mixed format is used corresponds to the structure of this course. During the first part (Week 1~6), the emphasis will be on lecturing the basic ideas necessary to understand the workings of various political regimes and how that affects their international economic strategy. The second part (Week 7~) will be seminars where the participants discuss how the basic ideas are applied in various topics of international political economy. Participants are required to submit a discussion memo every week during the second part although they are expected to read the assigned materials throughout the semester in order to obtain a better understanding of the relevant literature and arguments.

Evaluation

Evaluation will be based on class presentations and class participation.

Assigned and Preferred Reading

I. Democracies and the Open International Economy: Why Compatible?

WEEK 1. Democracies in the Open International Economy

1. Russett, Bruce M., John R. Oneal, and David R. Davis 1998. "The Third Leg of the Kantian Tripod for Peace: International Organizations and Militarized Disputes, 1950-85." *International Organization* 52 (3): 441-467.
2. Giavazzi, Francesco and Guido Tabellini. 2005. "Economic and Political Liberalization." *Journal of Monetary Economics* 52: 1297-1330.
3. Gartzke Erik. 2007. "The Capitalist Peace." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (1): 166-91.
4. Eichengreen, Barry, and David Leblang. 2008. "Democracy and Globalization." *Economics and Politics* 20 (3): 289-334.

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- Bearce, D. H., and S. Omori. 2005. "How Do Commercial Institutions Promote Peace?" *Journal of Peace Research* 42 (6): 659-78.
- Barbieri, Katherine, and Gerald Schnerder 1999. "Globalization and Peace: Assessing New Directions in the Study of Trade and Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 36 (4): 387-404.
- Gartzke, Eric, Quan Li, and Charles Boehmer. 2001. "Investing in the Peace: Economic Interdependence and International Conflict." *International Organization* 55 (2): 391-438.
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- Oneal, John R. and Bruce M. Russett. 1997. "The Classical Liberals Were Right: Democracy, Interdependence, and Conflict, 1950-1985." *International Studies Quarterly* 41: 267-294
- Oneal, J. R., and B. Russett. 1999. "The Kantian peace - The Pacific benefits of democracy, interdependence, and international organizations, 1885-1992." *World Politics* 52 (1):1-
- Oneal, J. R., and B. Russett. 2005. "Rule of three, let it be? When more really is better." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 22 (4): 293-310.
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- Peceny, Mark, Caroline C. Beer, and Shannon Sanchez-Terry. 2002. "Dictatorial Peace?" *American Political Science Review* 96 (1): 15-26.
- Pevehouse Jon C., and Bruce Russett. 2006. "Democratic International Governmental Organizations Promote Peace." *International Organization* 60 (Fall): 969-1000.

< Openness and Democracy >

- Li, Quan and Refael Reuveny. 2003. "Economic Globalization and Democracy: An Empirical Analysis" *British Journal of Political Science* 33: 29-54.
- Giavazzi, Francesco and Guido Tabellini. 2005. "Economic and Political Liberalization." *Journal of Monetary Economics* 52: 1297-1330.
- Gleditsch, K. S., and M. D. Ward. 2006. "Diffusion and the international context of democratization." *International Organization* 60 (4): 911-33.

WEEK 2: The Social Sources of the Democratic Advantage in Economic Adjustments

5. Ruggie, John. 1982. "International Regimes Transactions and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order." *International Organization* 31 (4): 379-415.
6. Rodrik, Dani. 1998. "Why Do More Open Economies Have Bigger Governments?" *Journal of Political Economy*. 106 (5): 997-1032

7. Rodrik, Dani. 1999. "Democracies Pay Higher Wages." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 114 (3): 707-738.
8. Hays, Jude C., Sean D. Ehrlich and Clint Peinhardt. 2005. "Government Spending and Public Support for Trade in OECD Countries: An Empirical Test of the Embedded Liberalism Thesis." *International Organization* 59: 473-494.

< Market Distribution >

- Alvarez, R. Michael, Geoffrey Garrett and Peter Lange. 1991. "Government Partisanship, Labor Organization, and Macroeconomic Performance." *American Political Science Review* 85 (2): 539-556
- Calmfors, Lars & John Driffill. 1988. "Bargaining Structure, Corporatism and Macroeconomic Performance." *Economic Policy* 6 :14-61.
- Cameron, David R. 1984. "Social Democracy, Corporatism, Labor Quiescence and the Representation of Economic Interests in Advanced Capital Society," in John Goldthorpe (ed.), *Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 143-178.
- Iversen, Torben. 2005. *Capitalism, Democracy, and Welfare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Iversen, Torben and John D. Stephens. 2008. "Partisan Politics, the Welfare State, and Three Worlds of Human Capital Formation." *Comparative Political Studies* 41 (4/5): 600-637.
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- Mares, Isabela. 2004. "Wage Bargaining in the Presence of Social Services and Transfers." *World Politics* 57: 99-142.
- Swenson, Peter 1991. "Bringing Capital Back In, or Social Democracy Reconsidered: Employer Power, Cross-Class Alliances, and Centralization of Industrial Relations in Denmark and Sweden." *World Politics* 43 (4): 512-544.

<Openness and Fiscal Size>

- Adsera, Alicia and Carles Boix. 2002. "Trade, Democracy, and the Size of the Public Sector: The Political Underpinnings of Openness." *International Organization* 56 (2): 229-262.
- Down, Ian. 2007. "Trade Openness, Country Size and Economic Volatility: The Compensations Hypothesis Revisited." *Business and Politics* 9 (2), Article 3.
- Iversen, Torben and Thomas R. Cusack. 2000. "The Causes of Welfare State Expansion: Deindustrialization or Globalization?" *World Politics* 52 (3): 313-349.
- Katzenstein, Peter J. 1983. "The Small European States in the International Economy: Economic Dependence and Corporatist Politics." in John Gerald Ruggie (ed.), *The Antinomies of Interdependence: National Welfare and the International Division of Labor* (New York: Columbia University Press), 91-130.
- Summers, Lawrence, Jonathan Gruber, and Rodrigo Vergara. 1993. "Taxation and the Structure of Labor Markets: The Case of Corporatism." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 108(2).
- Swank, Duane H. 1988. "The Political Economy of Government Domestic Expenditure in Affluent Democracies, 1960-80." *American Journal of Political Science* 32 (4): 1120-1150.
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WEEK 3: The Political Institutions of the Democratic Advantage in Economic Adjustments

9. Bawn, Kathleen and Frances Rosenbluth 2006. "Short Versus Long Coalitions: Electoral Accountability and the Size of the Public sector." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (2): 251-65.
10. Kang, Shin-Goo, and G. Bingham Powell Jr. 2010. "Representation and Policy Responsiveness: The median voter, election rules, and redistributive welfare spending." *The Journal of Politics* 72 (4): 1014-1028
11. Chang, E. C. C. 2008. "Electoral Incentives and Budgetary Spending: Rethinking the Role of Political Institutions." *The Journal of Politics* 70 (4): 1086-97.
12. Iversen, Toben, and David Soskice. 2006. "Electoral institutions and the politics of coalitions: Why some democracies redistribute more than others." *American Political Science Review* 100 (2): 165-81.

<Political Consequences of Electoral Institutions>

- Cary, John M. and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to cultivate a personal vote: a rank order of electoral formulas." *Electoral Studies* 14 (4): 417-39.
- Crepaz, M. M. L. 2002. "Global, constitutional, and partisan determinants of redistribution in fifteen OECD countries." *Comparative Politics* 34 (2): 169-+.
- Crepaz, M. M. L., and A. W. Moser. 2004. "The impact of collective and competitive veto points on public expenditures in the global age." *Comparative Political Studies* 37 (3): 259-85
- Edwards, M. S., and F. C. Thames. 2007. "District magnitude, Personal Votes, and Government Expenditures." *Electoral Studies* 26 (2): 338-45.
- Ikar, J. A., and S. A. Banducci. 2002. "Issues and party competition under alternative electoral systems." *Party Politics* 8 (1): 123-41.
- Ladner, M., and C. Wlezien. 2007. "Partisan preferences, electoral prospects, and economic expectations." *Comparative Political Studies* 40 (5): 571-96.
- Lindqvist, Erik and Robert Ostling. 2010. "Political Polarization and the Size of Government." *American Political Science Review* 104 (3): 543-565.
- Mansergh, L., and R. Thomson. 2007. "Election pledges, party competition, and policymaking." *Comparative Politics* 39 (3): 311-**
- Rahat, Gideon, Reuven Y. Hazan and Richard S. Katz. 2008. "Democracy and Political Parties: On the uneasy relationship between participation, competition, and representation." *Party Politics* 14 (6): 663-683.
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- Persson, Torsten, G. Roland, and Guido. Tabellini. 2007. "Electoral rules and government spending in parliamentary democracies." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 2 (2): 155-88.
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- Powell, G. B., and G. S. Vanberg. 2000. "Election laws, disproportionality and median correspondence: Implications for two visions of democracy." *British Journal of Political Science* 30: 383-411.
- Powell, G. B. 2006. "Election laws and representative governments: Beyond votes and seats." *British Journal of Political Science* 36:291-315.

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- Roubini, Nouriel and Jeffrey Sachs. 1989. "Government Spending and Budget Deficits in the Industrial Countries" *Economic Policy* 8: 100-132.
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- Tsebelis, George. 1995. "Decision-Making in Political-Systems: Veto players in presidentialism, parliamentarism, multicameralism and multipartyism." *British Journal of Political Science* 25: 289-325
- Tsebelis, George. 1999. "Veto Players and Law Production in parliamentary democracies: An empirical analysis." *American Political Science Review* 93 (3):591-608.
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13. Duch, Raymond M. and Randolph T. Stevenson. 2010. "The Global Economy, Competency, and the Economic Vote." *The Journal of Politics* 72-1: 105-123.
14. Ezrow, Lawrence, Catherine De Vries, Marco Steenbergen, Erica Edwards. "Mean Voter Representation and Partisan Constituency: Do Parties Respond to the Mean Voter Position or to Their Supporters." *Party Politics* 17(3): 275-301.
15. Ward, Hugh, Lawrence Ezrow, and Han Dorussen . 2011. "Globalization, Party Positions, and the Median Voter." *World Politics* 63(3): 509-47.
16. Buti, Marco, Alessandro Turrini, Paul Van den Noord, and Peitro Biroli. 2010. "Reforms and Re-elections in OECD Countries." *Economic Policy* (January): 61-110.

<Economic Voting>

- Evans, Geoffrey and Robert Andersen. 2006. "The Political Conditioning of Economic Perceptions." *The Journal of Politics* 68(1) 194-207.
- Evans, Geoffrey and Mark Pickup. 2010. "Reversing the Causal Arrow: The Political Conditioning of Economic Perceptions in the 2000--2004 U.S. Presidential Election Cycle." *The Journal of Politics* 72(4) 1236-51.
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- Soroka, Stuart N. and Christopher Wlezien. 2010. *Degrees of Democracy: Politics, public opinion, and policy* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press).
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- Ward, Hugh, Lawrence Ezrow, and Han Dorussen . 2011. "Globalization, Party Positions, and the Median Voter." *World Politics* 63(3): 509-47.
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- Adams, James, Andrea B. Haupt, and Heather Stoll. 2009. "What Moves Parties? The Role of Public Opinion and Global Economic Conditions in Western Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 42 (5): 611-639.
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- Andrews, Josephine T. and Robert W. Jackman. 2008. "If Winning Isn't Everything, Why Do They Keep Score? Consequences of Electoral Performance for Party Leaders." *British Journal of Political Science* 38(4): 657-75.
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- Ezrow, L. 2008. "Parties' policy programmes and the dog that didn't bark: No evidence that proportional systems promote extreme party positioning." *British Journal of Political Science* 38:479-97.
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<Democracy and Reforms>

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