

GOVERNMENT 98

Domestic Politics and International Relations

Fall 2010, Tuesdays, 2-4

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Office Hours: by appointment

Description

Do political debates between Americans or the institutions of the US government matter in the formation of US foreign policy? Or are US foreign policy choices determined by external factors like threats from terrorism or increased globalization? This course will review the scholarly literature on the relationship between domestic politics and international relations. Our primary focus will be on domestic politics in the United States, but the principles we study will often port to other countries. The course material will cover both security and economic relations between states, and emphasize the ways domestic political groups influence these relations. Several specific substantive areas will be given special attention, including the domestic politics surrounding trade, foreign aid, immigration, and the use of force. We will cover different methodological approaches, including public opinion surveys, analysis of legislative voting, and game theoretic modeling. This course is *designed primarily as a research course*. We will spend time preparing for both group and individual research projects. Classes will primarily be discussion based. Discussions will probe the research designs, methodologies, and conclusions of the material we read.

Assignments

The class will have three main assignments. First, each student will participate in a small group research project, culminating in a 20-25 page paper. Second, each student will conduct the initial stages of their own individual project, culminating in a 10 page paper. Third, each student will give 1-2 short in class presentations and written critiques (10/3 pages) based on the student's selection from "additional" readings.

Grades

10% Class participation

20% In class presentation on reading and written critique

10% Individual Project outline

30% Individual Project

30% Group Project

Course Policies and Expectations

Written assignments are to be double spaced with normal margins and submitted both electronically and in written form. Students are expected to hand in assignments on due dates unless receiving approval from the relevant University official (Dean, Doctor, etc.). Late assignments will not be accepted. Office hours will be by appointment. I hope within the first 5 weeks of class everyone will arrange a meeting with me! In addition to the graded assignments,

there are also several small assignments that will not be graded but will help in building research skills.

Accommodations for students with disabilities (mandatory on all syllabi)

Students needing academic adjustments or accommodations because of a documented disability must present their Faculty Letter from the [Accessible Education Office](#) (AEO) and speak with the professor by the end of the second week of the term. Failure to do so may result in the Course Head's inability to respond in a timely manner. All discussions will remain confidential, although Faculty are invited to contact AEO to discuss appropriate implementation.

Required Textbook

G. John Ikenberry, ed., *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*, Fifth edition (New York: Pearson Longman, 2005) (used copies available online)

All additional readings will be supplied electronically and will not pose an additional cost to the student.

Week 1 (Sept 7): Overview I

Overview

- 1) Class expectations/syllabus review
- 2) Overview of the debate: what determines a state's foreign policy choices, domestic or international pressures?

Required Readings

- Holsti, Ole, "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy", in Ikenberry
- Walt, Stephen, 1998, International relations: one world, many theories, Foreign Policy, Iss. 110
- F Zakaria, Realism and domestic politics: A review essay, International Security, 1992

Assignments

Next week come prepared to discuss the topics you are interested in (1-2 minutes).

Week 2 (Sept 14): Overview II and Research Strategies I

Overview

- 1) Continued: Overview of the debate: what determines a state's foreign policy choices, domestic or international pressures?
- 2) Introduction to research strategies

Required Readings

- Holsti, Ole, "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy", in Ikenberry
- Walt, Stephen, 1998, International relations: one world, many theories, Foreign Policy, Iss. 110
- F Zakaria, Realism and domestic politics: A review essay, International Security, 1992
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Principles of International Politics, chapters 1 and 2

Class Exercise

Students report to class topic they are interested in (1-2 minute presentation).

Week 3 (Sept 21): Research strategies II

Overview

- 1) Introduction to theory formation and hypothesis formation and testing in international relations
- 2) How do we use statistical techniques to test hypotheses?
 - difference in means
 - regression
- 3) How do we use qualitative information/case studies to test hypotheses?
- 4) How do we use experiments to test hypotheses?

Required Readings

- Most, Benjamin A. and Harvey Starr, "Basic Logic and Research Design: Conceptualization, Case Selection, and the Form of Relationships," pp. 25-45, in Gary Goertz and Harvey Starr (eds.), *Necessary Conditions: Theory, Methodology, and Applications* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003).
- Gerring, John. "What Is a Case Study and What Is It Good For?" *American Political Science Review*. 98:2 (May 2004): 341-54.
- Green, Donald P. and Gerber, Alan S. "Reclaiming the Experimental Tradition in Political Science." in Katznelson, Ira and Milner, Helen V., eds. *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*. (New York: WW Norton, Year?).
- McDermott, Rose. "Experimental Methods in Political Science." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 5(2002), 31-61.

Week 4 (Sept 28): Public Opinion and Interest Groups

Overview

- 1) Public Opinion
 - trends in mass attitude research
 - PO and representation
- 2) Interest Groups
 - economic interests
 - ethnic interest groups

Required reading

- Aldrich, John H., John L. Sullivan and Eugene Borgida. 1989. "Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting: Do Presidential Candidates 'Waltz Before a Blind Audience'". *American Political Science Review* 83:123-141;

-Jacobs, Lawrence and Benjamin Page, "Business Versus Public Influence in US Foreign Policy", in Ikenberry

-Hiscox, Michael J. Through a Glass and Darkly: Framing Effects and Individuals' Attitudes towards International Trade, *International Organization*, Vol. 60, No. 3 (Summer, 2006): 755-780.

Focus section: The Israel lobby and US foreign policy (from critics choose 1)

From Mearsheimer and Walt

-“The Israel Lobby”, in Ikenberry

Critics

-Little, Douglass, 2008, "Summary of Argument (David or Goliath? The Israel Lobby and Its Critics)", *Political Science Quarterly*

-Drezner, Daniel, Methodological Confusion, February 22, 2008, *Chronicle of Higher Education*

Assignment

Online Research task: design a survey with a framing experiment. Include a discussion of the framing manipulation (a treatment condition and a control condition), dependent and independent variables, and a hypothesized relationship. Include a brief discussion of the survey's motivation. Format the survey in a document and send it to your assigned "survey takers" (assigned in class), splitting them into a treatment and control group. "Takers" return survey prior to next class meeting.

Week 5 (Oct 5): Paths to War: The Role of Institutional Structure and Bureaucracy

Overview

1) Are executives constrained/enabled in international negotiations by their domestic legislatures?

2) Do bureaucracies matter?

3) Are democracies less likely to fight each other?

- what are the mechanisms?

-has a Democratic Peace ever existed?

Required Reading

-Putnam, Robert. 1988. Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games. *International Organization* 42: 427-460.

-Pevehouse, Jon, 2009 "Presidents and International Cooperation" in *The Oxford Handbook of the American Presidency*, Edwards and Howell, editors.*

-Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," In Ikenberry, *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*.

-Stephen D. Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)," In Ikenberry, *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*.

-Goerivitch, Peter, Second image reversed. *International Organization* (1978), 32 : 881-912

Student Presentations

- Schultz, Kenneth, 2003, "Do Democratic Institutions Constrain or Inform?: Contrasting Two Institutional Perspectives on Democracy and War", *International Organization*, 53, pp 233-266
- Gowa, Joanne, *The Democratic Peace after the Cold War*, working paper

Week 6 (Oct 12)

No class; individual and group meetings with instructor (times TBD)

Week 7 (Oct 19): Trade Policy

Overview

- 1) Who gains and loses with free trade? Who favors and opposes it?
- 2) How can we tell?
 - public opinion
 - legislative voting
 - cross-sectional data

Required reading

- Stoohr, James, "Contesting Globalization", in Ikenberry
- Jeff Frieden, "Sectoral Conflict and U.S. Foreign Economic Policy, 1914-1940", in Ikenberry
- Simmons, Beth A. 1994. *Who Adjusts? Domestic Sources of Foreign Economic Policy During the Interwar Years*. Princeton: Princeton University Press., Ch1 and 6 (photocopies)
- Milner, Helen, 2004, "Partisanship, Trade Policy, and Globalization: Is There a Left-Right Divide on Trade Policy?" *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 48, pp. 95-119
- Kenneth Scheve and Matthew Slaughter, 2001. "What Determines Individual Trade-Policy Preferences?" *Journal of International Economics* Vol. 54 No. 2 (August):267-292.

Student Presentations

- Kenneth Scheve, Xiaobo Lu and Matthew Slaughter 2010. Envy, Altruism, and the International Distribution of Trade Protection (with). National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper #15700 (Leitner Working Paper 2010-01).

Week 8 (Oct 26): Foreign aid and international financial institutions

Overview

- 1) What is foreign aid?
- 2) How is aid policy determined in the US?

Required reading

- Lancaster, Carole, "Danish and US Foreign Aid Compared: A View from Washington", *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook*, 2008

http://www.diis.dk/graphics/Publications/Books2008/Yearbook08/DIIS_Yearbook_2008.pdf
-Milner/Tingley, Who Supports Global Economic Engagement? The Sources of Preferences in American Foreign Economic Policy, *International Organization*. Forthcoming.
-Broz, Lawrence Congressional Politics of Financing the International Monetary Fund (with Michael Brewster Hawes). 2006. *International Organization* 60, 2 (Spring): 367-399.
-Benjamin Most and Harvey Starr, "International Relations Theory, Foreign Policy Substitutability, and 'Nice' Laws." *World Politics* 36 (April 1984): 383-406.

Student presentations

-working paper 1 (TBD)
-working paper 2 (TBD)

Week 9 (Nov 2): Immigration

Overview

- 1) Why do some people oppose immigration and others support it?
- 2) What are the national and international politics around Arizona's SB1070?

Required Readings

-Wayne A. Cornelius and Marc R. Rosenblum, 2005 Immigration and Politics, *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 8: 99-119
-Jack Citrin, Donald P. Green, Christopher Muste and Cara Wong, Public Opinion Toward Immigration Reform: The Role of Economic Motivations. *The Journal of Politics* (1997), 59:858-881
-GH Hanson, K Scheve, MJ Slaughter Public finance and individual preferences over globalization strategies *Economics & Politics*, 2007
-The Economist, An Unappetising Menu, May 22, 2010
-Department of Justice Suit Against SB1070

Student presentations

-Sarah Bermeo and David Leblanc, Immigration and Foreign Aid
- Jens Hainmueller and Michael Hiscox "Attitudes toward Highly Skilled and Low-skilled Immigration: Evidence from a Survey Experiment" *American Political Science Review* (2010), 104:61-84
-Terri Givens and Adam Luedtke "The Politics of European Union Immigration Policy: Institutions, Salience, and Harmonization" *Policy Studies Journal*, Volume 32 Issue 1, Pages 145 – 165

Week 10 (Nov 9): Use of force

Overview

- 1) Who Controls the Use of Force in the United States?
- 2) Do domestic politics make democracies “stronger”/”weaker”?

Required Readings

- Meernik, James 2001. “Domestic Politics and the Political Use of Military Force by the United States”. *Political Research Quarterly*. 54:889-904;
- Monten, Jonathan, “The Roots of the Bush Doctrine: Power, Nationalism, and Democracy Promotion in US Strategy, in Ikenberry
- WG Howell, JC Pevehouse - *Presidents, Congress, and the use of force*, International Organization, 2005
- Tomz, Mike, Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach. *International Organization* 61, no. 4 (Fall 2007): 821–40.*

Student Presentations

- Alastair Smith *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 92, No. 3 (Sep., 1998), pp. 623-638 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2585485.pdf> International Crises and Domestic Politics
- Weeks, Jessica, “Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve,” *International Organization*, Winter 2008 (62.1)

Individual project outlines due

Week 11 (Nov 16): Domestic politics and interstate relations in the EU OR Domestic politics and interstate relations in the developing world

EU

Overview

- 1) What are the relevant domestic actors in the EU
- 2) How do supranational institutions respond to national level pressures, and how are national level pressures determined
- 3) Is the role of domestic politics in international relations different for Europe than the US; what explains these differences?

Required Readings

- Moravcsik, Andrew, SEA Negotiations *International Organization*, Winter 1991
- Milner, Helen, Interests, Institutions, and Information, chapters 7-8 (photocopied).
- Hix, Simon, Abdul Noury and Gerald Roland, 2006, “Dimensions of Politics in the European Parliament”, *American Journal of Political Science* Volume 50 Issue 2, **Pages 494 – 520**, <http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/118570870/abstract>
- Simon Hix and Christopher Lord, *Political Parties in the European Union*, Chapters 1 and 2 [get from library]

Developing World

Overview

- 1) How is the relationship between domestic politics and international relations in the developing world different from the developed world?
- 2) What role do institutions versus preferences have in explaining these differences

Required Readings

- Steven R. David Explaining Third World Alignment *World Politics*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Jan., 1991), pp. 233-256
- Tanja Ellingsen 2000 Colorful Community or Ethnic Witches' Brew? Multiethnicity and Domestic Conflict during and after the Cold War *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (Apr., 2000), pp. 228-249
- Johnston, Iain "Chinese Public Opinion Towards International Affairs", working paper OR "Chinese Attitudes toward the United States and Americans" (co-authored with Daniela Stockmann) in Peter Katzenstein and Robert Keohane, editors, *Anti-Americanisms and World Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007)

Student Presentations

- Papers TBD

Week 12 (Nov 23): Group Presentations

- Group Presentations
- Group papers due
- Individual papers due

Week 13 (Nov 30): Individual Presentations

- Individual project presentations