

The Impact of International Economics and Security on Developing Countries: Political Economy of Security Policy

Government and Politics 808I

Spring 2023

Masters in International Relations

SQH 1103 Th 2-4:45pm

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Office Hours: Wednesday 12-1 pm and by Appointment

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Course Description

This seminar focuses on the intersection of economic and military power in international relations and explores how the academic literature applies to the concerns of both traditional great powers and the developing countries. Traditionally, IR scholars have treated the dynamics of security and economics as distinct subfields, but they have come to realize that security and economy are deeply connected. This course lies at the intersection of security and economy and explores the implications of their profound linkage. Specifically, this course examines 1) the impact of increased interdependence on the incentives to use force and the impact of doing so, 2) the ways in which states pursue their security objectives through economic instruments, 3) the economic determinants of protests, coups, and civil wars, and 4) the relevance of theoretical and policy implications of the scholarly works to the developing world.

Course Reading

All readings in this course will be in the format of research articles from political science journals. PDFs of readings will be available on ELMS. Students should take notes on the article to enable class participation and bring either a printed copy of the article or a digital copy (on a tablet) to class. Needless to say, participation in this seminar will depend on coming to class prepared to discuss the contents of the reading. Students may be asked questions on the concepts and scholarly debates that are introduced in the readings.

Course Requirements

- 1) Class participation (20%)
- 2) Presentation and discussant roles (20%)
- 3) Case report (30%)
- 4) Replication and extension project (30%)

Class Participation

Your participation grade will be based on your attendance (10%) and contribution (10%) in class. You are expected to attend all seminars and be on time unless you have a valid, excusable reason. Points will be deducted for unexcused absences and lateness. The second component of your participation grade is based on your class discussion. This is a graduate-level seminar, meaning that you are expected to be the agent of your own learning. You are expected to read all the materials in advance and come to class prepared to discuss them. Even if you are not serving as a presenter or a discussant, you are expected to contribute to class discussion. Your participation in class will be graded based on the following rubric:

9-10 = highly effective participant; insightful questions/comments; always prepared for class.

8-9 = consistent participant; thoughtful questions/comments; frequently prepared for class.

7-8 = occasional participant; regularly attends class, sporadic involvement in discussions, often based more on personal opinion than careful reading and analysis of the material.

6-7 = observer; regularly attends class but usually does not get involved in class discussions.

<6= occasional visitor to the class; sporadic attendance, no participation.

Presentation and discussant roles

Each session will spend about 30 minutes on each paper. Each paper will be assigned a presenter and a discussant who will lead and open the discussion. The presenter will give about 5-6-minute presentation of the paper as if it were her/his own work. The presenter should consider the following elements. First, framing of the paper: how is the author's research question motivated and what literature does the work address and build on? Second, the theoretical component: what are the author's main arguments and causal mechanisms? Third, the empirical component: what evidence and data are used to test the author's argument and what are the implications of the main findings? Presenters should "pitch" their assigned papers and present them as they would in a conference. Naturally, the discussant remarks (3-4 minute) will be structured around the framing, theory, and findings to offer thoughtful comments on how the author can improve their work. Discussants should review and critique the article as they would in a workshop or conference, providing realistic yet insightful comments. The presenter may choose to respond to the discussant remarks as they would in a workshop. We will then open up for class discussion and consider the critiques that have been raised by the discussant, examine the ways in which the paper can be improved and discuss any relevant policy implications.

We will assign presenter and discussant roles for 50 readings throughout the course which means that each student will be assigned to two presentation (10%) and two discussant roles (10%).

Case Report

You will write two case reports (each 15%) for the readings you are not serving as a presenter or a discussant. In the report, you will discuss the theoretical contributions and implications of the main findings of the reading that you chose. You will then discuss the policy implications of the main findings and apply them to a current event involving a developing country. The current event does not have to be limited to armed conflicts but can be any political event that is ongoing or occurred within the past 5 years. Your report should assess if and how the theoretical and policy implications apply to your case study and discuss the article's generalizability and applicability in explaining cases in the developing world. The case report should be about 5-6

pages double-spaced in length. The first case report is due on **March 10th, by 11:59pm** and the second case report is due on **April 14th, by 11:59pm**.

Replication and Extension Project

As a final project (30%) for the class, you are required to replicate and extend a quantitative paper in the field. This entails replicating the original study but adding to it some way. You will present your results to the class in a short presentation of approximately 10 minutes during the last two sessions of our class and be required to submit a write-up of approximately 15 pages double spaced by **May 19th**. To be complete the project, you should select an article that is broadly related to the course theme, and select from a journal that requires authors to upload their replication materials. You need to email me the citation to the article that you plan to replicate no later than **April 21st** which I will then approve.

These are the components of the extension project.

- 1) Replication: You will use the authors code and data to replicate the main results presented in the article. If there are multiple tables, including various robustness checks, you do not need to replicate them.
- 2) Extension: Next, extend the model by adding something that you think is theoretically important. For example, if you think the author has omitted a variable that is theoretically important, re-run the analysis by adding that control variable. An extension does not have to be limited to adding another variable. You may want to modify the model specification if you believe doing so is theoretically and empirically meaningful. After you have re-run the analysis, consider how the extension changes the main findings and the theoretical interpretation.
- 3) Presentation: You will give a short presentation of your replication and extension during the last two seminars. In your presentation, you should do the following: 1) introduce the framing of the article 2) explain the theory and the empirical strategy of the paper 3) present the results of your replication 4) explain and justify how you choose to extend 5) present the results of the extension and discuss the implications.
- 4) Write-up: The final submission should be about 15 pages in length and include the following elements. 1) Introduce and summarize what you did and found, 2) replication results including any figures and tables 3) extension results including the justification behind what you chose to do and the implications, discussing whether the extension changes the original findings and 4) finally, what does your extension mean for the validity of the study and for the contribution to the larger literature? Discuss other things (especially what you couldn't do in the extension) that could be done to advance the study and the literature it addresses. The final write-up is due on **May 19th, by 11:59pm**.

Grading

Grades will be based on the following scale and there will not be a curve.

<i>97 and above = A+</i>	<i>77 to 79 = C+</i>
<i>93 to 96 = A</i>	<i>73 to 76 = C</i>
<i>90 to 92 = A-</i>	<i>70 to 72 = C-</i>
<i>87 to 89 = B+</i>	<i>67 to 69 = D+</i>

83 to 86 = B
80 to 82 = B-

63 to 66 = D
60 to 62 = D-
59 and below = F

If students have questions about the grade they receive, please schedule an office hour appointment to discuss their grade breakdown and what they can do in the future to improve their grade.

Campus polices

Copyright

Course materials that exist in a tangible medium, such as written or recorded lectures, PowerPoint presentations, handouts and tests, are copyright protected. This means that class lectures are copyrighted. You may not copy and distribute such materials except for personal use, and with my express permission. This means you may not audio-record or video-record class sessions without my permission, and you may not sell course materials or post them on a website. Be aware that copyright infringements may be referred to the Office of Student Conduct.

Absence Policy

Students are expected to attend classes regularly. Students claiming an excused absence must notify the course instructor in a timely manner, preferably prior to the excused absence, and provide appropriate documentation. For an excused absence, students are responsible for information and material missed on the day of excused absence, and within reason are entitled to receive materials provided to the class during the excused absence. The Undergraduate Catalog defines an excused absence as follows:

“Events that justify an excused absence include religious observances; mandatory military obligation; illness of the student or illness of an immediate family member; participation in university activities at the request of university authorities; and compelling circumstances beyond the student’s control (e.g., death in the family, required court appearance). Absences stemming from work duties other than military obligation (e.g., unexpected changes in shift assignments) and traffic/transit problems do not typically qualify for excused absence.”

In the case of religious observances, athletic events, and planned absences known at the beginning of the semester, the student must inform the instructor during the schedule adjustment period (the first 10 days of class). Medically necessary absences must be corroborated with documentation by a health professional, which may be submitted within one week of your absence. If you are not able to attend the class for any other reason, you will be required to submit a written make-up assignment reviewing assigned readings. **You can use this option twice during the semester.** Please note that this assignment should be submitted within a week of your absence.

Policy for Late Papers

Due dates for assignments are listed on the syllabus. Papers that are submitted late, without arranging with the instructor for an extension based on a university-approved excuse, will be penalized a third of a grade per day.

Academic Integrity

The University has an active Student Honor Council. The Honor Council sets high standards for academic integrity, and I support its efforts. It has a nationally recognized Honor Code, involving the Honor Pledge. The Honor Pledge prohibits students from cheating on exams, plagiarizing papers, submitting the same paper for credit in two courses without authorization, buying papers, submitting fraudulent documents and forging signatures.

Compliance with the code is administered by the Student Honor Council, which strives to promote a community of trust on the College Park campus. Allegations of academic dishonesty should be reported directly to the Honor Council by any member of the campus community. For additional information, consult the Office of Student Conduct.

Students with Disabilities

Students with disabilities who will need accommodations must contact the Accessibility and Disability Service (ADS) to discuss accommodations and obtain documentation applicable to the current semester. (For updated policies, see <https://counseling.umd.edu/ads/>.) Students are responsible for presenting this documentation to the instructor in a timely fashion to discuss and obtain signed approval for accommodations, so that appropriate accommodations can be arranged.

Statement on Diversity and Inclusivity

The Government and Politics department deeply values the voices and perspectives of all people. We are committed to having a diverse department that recognizes and appreciates the differences in race, ethnicity, culture, gender, sexual orientation, religion, age, abilities, class, nationality, and other factors. Our department prioritizes diversity and seeks to foster a diverse community reflected in its faculty, staff, and students.

In this class, students are invited to share their thoughts and a diversity of opinions is welcome. Respectful communication is expected, even when expressing differing perspectives. Supporting one's statement with research findings is encouraged. In accordance with free speech statutes, speech that contains threats of violence is prohibited.

Reporting Racism and Other Forms of Hate and Bias

If you experience racism or other forms of bias in this class or any GVPT course, I encourage you to do at least one of the following:

- Please report the experience to me.
- Report the experience to David Cunningham, the GVPT Director of Undergraduate Studies at dacunnin@umd.edu
- Report the experience to the GVPT Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion committee, led by Professor Antoine Banks at abanks12@umd.edu

Please also report all incidents of hate and bias to the Office of Diversity and Inclusion at <https://diversity.umd.edu/bias/>.

Names/Pronouns and Self-Identifications

The University of Maryland recognizes the importance of a diverse student body, and we are committed to fostering inclusive and equitable classroom environments. I invite you, if you wish, to tell us how you want to be referred to both in terms of your name and your pronouns

(he/him, she/her, they/them, etc.). The pronouns someone indicates are not necessarily indicative of their gender identity. Visit trans.umd.edu to learn more.

Additionally, how you identify in terms of your gender, race, class, sexuality, religion, and dis/ability, among all aspects of your identity, is your choice whether to disclose (e.g., should it come up in classroom conversation about our experiences and perspectives) and should be self-identified, not presumed or imposed. I will do my best to address and refer to all students accordingly, and I ask you to do the same for your fellow Terps.

Course Schedule

January 26th: Introduction

We will review the syllabus and set course expectations. **Students will sign up for readings for which they will serve as a presenter and discussant.**

February 2nd: Guns versus Butter Trade-off

Anders, T., Fariss, C. J., & Markowitz, J. N. (2020). Bread before guns or butter: introducing Surplus Domestic Product (SDP). *International Studies Quarterly*, 64(2), 392-405.

Williams, L. K. (2019). Guns yield butter? An exploration of defense spending preferences. *Journal of conflict resolution*, 63(5), 1193-1221.

DiGiuseppe, Matthew. 2015. "Guns, Butter, and Debt." *Journal of Peace Research* 52(5): 680-93.

Cappella Zielinski, R., Fordham, B. O., & Schilde, K. E. (2017). What goes up, must come down? The asymmetric effects of economic growth and international threat on military spending. *Journal of Peace Research*, 54(6), 791-805.

February 9th: Political Economy of Military Alliances

Fordham, B. O. (2010). Trade and asymmetric alliances. *Journal of Peace Research*, 47(6), 685-696.

DiGiuseppe, M., & Poast, P. (2018). Arms versus democratic allies. *British Journal of Political Science*, 48(4), 981-1003.

Horowitz, M. C., Poast, P., & Stam, A. C. (2017). Domestic signaling of commitment credibility: Military recruitment and alliance formation. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 61(8), 1682-1710.

Alley, J. (2021). Alliance Participation, Treaty Depth, and Military Spending. *International Studies Quarterly*, 65(4), 929-943.

Fuhrmann, M. (2020). When Do Leaders Free-Ride? Business Experience and Contributions to Collective Defense. *American Journal of Political Science*, 64(2), 416-431.

February 16th: War Finance and the Public Support for War

Poast, P. (2015). Central banks at war. *International organization*, 69(1), 63-95.

Shea, P. E., & Poast, P. (2018). War and default. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 62(9), 1876-1904.

Garriga, A. C. (2022). Central banks and civil war termination. *Journal of Peace Research*, 59(4), 508-525.

Kriner, D., Lechase, B., & Cappella Zielinski, R. (2018). Self-interest, partisanship, and the conditional influence of taxation on support for war in the USA. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 35(1), 43-64.

Fazal, T. M. (2021). Life and Limb: New Estimates of Casualty Aversion in the United States. *International Studies Quarterly*, 65(1), 160-172.

February 23rd: Economic Interdependence and Conflict

Barbieri, K., & Levy, J. S. (1999). Sleeping with the enemy: The impact of war on trade. *Journal of peace research*, 36(4), 463-479.

Keshk, O. M., Pollins, B. M., & Reuveny, R. (2004). Trade still follows the flag: The primacy of politics in a simultaneous model of interdependence and armed conflict. *The Journal of Politics*, 66(4), 1155-1179.

Gartzke, E., & Lupu, Y. (2012). Trading on preconceptions: Why World War I was not a failure of economic interdependence. *International Security*, 36(4), 115-150. (no presentation)

Feldman, N., Eiran, E., & Rubin, A. (2021). Naval power and effects of third-party trade on conflict. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 65(2-3), 342-371.

Chatagnier, J. T., & Kavaklı, K. C. (2017). From economic competition to military combat: Export similarity and international conflict. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 61(7), 1510-1536.

March 2nd: Economic Interdependence and Conflict

Gartzke, E. (2007). The capitalist peace. *American journal of political science*, 51(1), 166-191.

Dafoe, A., & Kelsey, N. (2014). Observing the capitalist peace: Examining market-mediated signaling and other mechanisms. *Journal of Peace Research*, 51(5), 619-633.

Lupu, Y., & Traag, V. A. (2013). Trading communities, the networked structure of international relations, and the Kantian peace. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 57(6), 1011-1042

Powell, J., & Chacha, M. (2016). Investing in stability: Economic interdependence, coups d'état, and the capitalist peace. *Journal of Peace Research*, 53(4), 525-538.

Karakaya, S. (2018). Globalization and contentious politics: A comparative analysis of nonviolent and violent campaigns. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 35(4), 315-335.

March 9th: Economic Interdependence and Conflict

Kinne, B. J., & Bunte, J. B. (2020). Guns or money? Defense co-operation and bilateral lending as coevolving networks. *British Journal of Political Science*, 50(3), 1067-1088.

Carter, D. B., Wellhausen, R. L., & Huth, P. K. (2019). International Law, Territorial Disputes, and Foreign Direct Investment. *International Studies Quarterly*, 63(1), 58-71.

Davis, C. L., & Morse, J. C. (2018). Protecting trade by legalizing political disputes: Why countries bring cases to the international court of justice. *International Studies Quarterly*, 62(4), 709-722.

Osgood, I., & Simonelli, C. (2020). Nowhere to go: FDI, terror, and market-specific assets. *Journal of conflict resolution*, 64(9), 1584-1611.

March 16th: Political Economy of Civil Conflict

Lujala, P. (2010). The spoils of nature: Armed civil conflict and rebel access to natural resources. *Journal of peace research*, 47(1), 15-28.

Whitaker, B. E., Walsh, J. I., & Conrad, J. (2019). Natural resource exploitation and sexual violence by rebel groups. *The Journal of Politics*, 81(2), 702-706.

Faulkner, C. M., & Doctor, A. C. (2021). Rebel Fragmentation and the Recruitment of Child Soldiers. *International Studies Quarterly*, 65(3), 647-659.

Collier, P., & Duponchel, M. (2013). The economic legacy of civil war: firm-level evidence from Sierra Leone. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 57(1), 65-88.

de Groot, O. J., Bozzoli, C., Alamir, A., & Brück, T. (2022). The global economic burden of violent conflict. *Journal of Peace Research*, 59(2), 259-276.

March 23rd: Spring break (No Class)

March 30th: Political Economy of International Institutions

Haftel, Y. Z., & Hofmann, S. C. (2019). Rivalry and overlap: Why regional economic organizations encroach on security organizations. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 63(9), 2180-2206.

Davis, C. L., & Pratt, T. (2021). The forces of attraction: How security interests shape membership in economic institutions. *The Review of International Organizations*, 16(4), 903-929

Broz, J. L., Zhang, Z., & Wang, G. (2020). Explaining Foreign Support for China's Global Economic Leadership. *International organization*, 74(3), 417-452.

Dreher, A., Lang, V., Rosendorff, B. P., & Vreeland, J. R. (2022) Bilateral or Multilateral? International Financial Flows and the Dirty-Work Hypothesis. *The Journal of Politics*, 84(4), 1932-1946.

Cammett, M., & Şaşmaz, A. (2022). The IO Effect: International Actors and Service Delivery in Refugee Crises. *International Studies Quarterly*, 66(4).

April 6th: Economic sanctions

Drezner, D. W. (2011). Sanctions sometimes smart: targeted sanctions in theory and practice. *International studies review*, 13(1), 96-108. (No presentation)

Early, B. R. (2009). Sleeping with your friends' enemies: An explanation of sanctions-busting trade. *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(1), 49-71.

Peksen, D. (2009). Better or worse? The effect of economic sanctions on human rights. *Journal of Peace Research*, 46(1), 59-77.

Allen, S. H., & Lektzian, D. J. (2013). Economic sanctions: A blunt instrument?. *Journal of Peace Research*, 50(1), 121-135.

Sung, R., & Park, J. (2022). How Do Economic Sanctions Affect Public Opinion and Consumer Behavior in Target States? Evidence from China's Economic Sanctions on South Korea. *International Studies Quarterly*, 66(3)

April 13th: No class (MPSA)

I will host additional office hours on April 11th from 10am- 12pm to answer any questions that you might have about the extension project. Please email me in advance to schedule an appointment slot.

April 20th: Climate Change and International Security

Hendrix, C. S., & Salehyan, I. (2012). Climate change, rainfall, and social conflict in Africa. *Journal of peace research*, 49(1), 35-50.

Ash, K., & Obradovich, N. (2020). Climatic stress, internal migration, and Syrian civil war onset. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 64(1), 3-31

Petrova, K. (2021). Natural hazards, internal migration and protests in Bangladesh. *Journal of Peace Research*, 58(1), 33-49.

Conevska, A. (2021). International Cooperation and Natural Disasters: Evidence from Trade Agreements. *International Studies Quarterly*, 65(3), 606-619.

Arias, S. B. (2022). Who Securitizes? Climate Change Discourse in the United Nations. *International Studies Quarterly*, 66(2).

April 27th: Political Economy of Artificial Intelligence and Robotics

Fuhrmann, M., & Horowitz, M. C. (2017). Droning on: Explaining the proliferation of unmanned aerial vehicles. *International organization*, 71(2), 397-418.

Lin-Greenberg, E., & Milonopoulos, T. (2021). Private eyes in the Sky: emerging technology and the political consequences of eroding government secrecy. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 65(6), 1067-1097.

Schwartz, J. A., Fuhrmann, M., & Horowitz, M. C. (2022). Do Armed Drones Counter Terrorism, Or Are They Counterproductive? Evidence from Eighteen Countries. *International Studies Quarterly*, 66(3), sqac047.

Horowitz, M. C., & Lin-Greenberg, E. (2022). Algorithms and Influence Artificial Intelligence and Crisis Decision-Making. *International Studies Quarterly*, 66(4).

May 4th: Student presentations

May 11th: Student presentations