

CONFERENCE IN THE CONFERENCE AT SPSA 2016

DOMESTIC POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN AUTHORITARIANISM

Although most of the human beings have historically and geographically lived under authoritarian rule, majority of the studies in comparative politics have focused on domestic politics in democratic countries. Moreover, although the international system is anarchic, majority of the studies in international relations have focused on foreign policy making in the democratic system—or disregarded the differences of domestic political regimes after all. The papers in this “conference in the conference” try to fill this hole in studies of comparative politics and international relations.

We will try to answer the following questions. Why has some authoritarian regimes been resilient (like China so far)? How do domestic institutions—often seemingly democratic—help the regime to sustain authoritarian rule, if at all? How do authoritarian regimes face the challenges from popular protests and democratization movements? What explanations would account for the variation of the regime’s response when it faces social unrest? What implications does domestic politics and foreign policy making in the authoritarian context have on U.S. foreign policy making?

To answer these questions, the papers in the panels draw empirical evidence from politics in China, the Middle East, and other authoritarian countries. Panel 1 focuses on the public goods provision, social response, and their impacts on local economy and security in the authoritarian context. Panel 2 explores how authoritarian countries (both the regime and society) respond to external pressure from the increasingly globalized world. Panel 3 focuses on the implications of the regime’s attempt to sustain one-party rule on domestic and international political economy in the Chinese authoritarian context.

PANEL 1: PUBLIC GOODS AND SOCIAL RESPONSE IN AUTHORITARIANISM

Chair/Discussant: Hiroki Takeuchi (Southern Methodist University: htakeuch@smu.edu)

Expansion and Diffusion: Two Dimensions of the Islamic State’s Growth

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Expansion and diffusion are two distinct modes of development of the Islamic State (IS). The IS has expanded territorially in Iraq and Syria. Expansion has taken place in geographically continuous and contiguous area. Regions and prefectures were conquered within a short period of time. Breakdown of political consultation and lack of trust between local communities and the central government has caused swift seizure of territory in Iraq and Syria. Expansion was partially accelerated by collapse of the garrison force and tacit connivance of the population. The military option is not the solution but could be part of the preconditions, setting the stage for the political negotiation.

Another mode of the IS phenomenon is diffusion. The idea of the IS has proliferated around the world and enticed various groups and individuals to participate on their own terms. Their concrete actions and the levels of organization vary. There are pockets or spots of control in Libya and Egypt taken by the groups composed by IS returnees and local participants. Self-claimed IS fighters are sporadically making attacks in Tunisia, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait. Lone-wolf attackers inspired or invigorated by the IS carried out attacks in France, the United States, and Canada. In more than 18 countries, the militia voluntarily made oaths of allegiance to the IS. The diffusion of a variety of IS-inspired activities is taking place by no means in a contiguous or continuous area. Diffusion is ideological. Those insinuated of the IS ideology through direct and indirect contacts are dispersed in global, physical, and media landscapes. Direct communications between those individuals and groups are scarce, and sometimes none. Chains of the post-fact cooperation by multiple actors make up the phenomenon of IS-related terrors. Military option is not applicable to the dispersion of ideas. To cope with the IS diffusion, war of ideology and counter-propaganda have to be seriously considered.

Individual Preferences for FDI in Developing Countries: Experimental Evidence from China

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Foreign direct investment (FDI) into developing countries like India and China is often met with domestic backlash by the citizens of the host country, and the backlash in the form of protest and other disruptive behavior has raised the salience of public opinion in FDI policy. As one of the first survey experiments of Chinese citizens' attitudes toward FDI, this paper adopts a novel conjoint design to evaluate the impact of both individual characteristics and specific features of the proposed project on FDI preferences. Importantly, we find that skill level is not a significant predictor of public support for labor-intensive FDI, a result that challenges the conventional wisdom that individuals in developing countries abundantly endowed in labor should be more likely to support low-skilled FDI. Instead, citizens are more concerned about the country of origin, entry mode, and the FDI project's impact on the local job market when forming their preferences.

Kan Bing Nan, Kan Bing Gui: Local Governance and Health Service Delivery in Multiethnic China

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For authoritarian regimes, providing high-quality public services can be an important means of forestalling citizen discontent. Like many such regimes, China has made dramatic improvements in its social welfare system. However, the ethnically diverse areas in the greatest need of these improvements remain underserved. These areas have fallen farther and farther behind once comparably poor Han areas, despite myriad programs designed to help them catch up. Explaining why local governments in these areas provide poor-quality services to citizens can

help us understand both the limitations of the Chinese Communist Party's rural development strategy and the challenges to effectively governing ethnically diverse areas.

This paper shows that both health service *uptake* and health service *outcomes* are poor in ethnically diverse areas, even though *expenditures* are the same (or even higher). Finite resources thus cannot explain the poor public service provision in ethnically diverse areas: instead, local officials are doing less with more. Ethnic minorities are reluctant to use the health services that local governments provide, and receive little benefit from the services they *do* use. Finally, I explore two important explanations for these outcomes. First, ethnically diverse areas are subject to weak monitoring by higher-level officials. As a result, local officials who work hard to provide public services are unlikely to be rewarded with promotion for doing so, giving them little formal incentive to provide high-quality public services. Second, professional incentives give health service providers little incentive to maintain strong cultural ties to minority communities. As a result, health providers often misunderstand the needs and preferences of ethnic minority populations, and cannot be held accountable through informal means such as social networks.

The Impact of China's Xinjiang Policy on Chinese Security Involvement in Central Asia

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The main purpose of this paper is to examine the linkage between China's domestic policy toward Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) and China's multilateral security cooperation in Central Asia. China's participation in bilateral and multilateral frameworks in this region is often understood as primarily driven by its energy interests. But Beijing's engagement in the struggle against the so-called "Three Evils" (i.e., extremism, separatism, and terrorism) can shed light on yet another significant domestic driver of China's strategy toward Central Asia that is stability in XUAR. Many studies tend to take this linkage between the two as given, and thus, detailed analysis is relatively limited. This paper focuses on the period of time since the collapse of the Soviet Union, when new independent republics were formed at China's border along XUAR. We seek to define the complex links between Chinese domestic and external politics based on qualitative and quantitative research methods. For this purpose, we collect detailed data on China's XUAR policy, including counter-terrorism policy measures in the observation period and trace back China's participation in multilateral frameworks during the same period of time, also observing the number of anti-terrorist exercises. We then compare how these two sets of data correlate.

PANEL 2: AUTHORITARIAN REGIME'S RESPONSE TO EXTERNAL PRESSURES

Chair/Discussant: Erica Frantz (Michigan State University: ericaemilyfrantz@yahoo.com)

Political Manipulation and Fiscal Maneuvering in Electoral Authoritarianism: The Case of Kazakhstan

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This paper explores when dictators rely more on electoral fraud rather than manipulation of policy instruments before elections. This paper first suggests a dilemma that dictators face in authoritarian elections: rigged elections facilitate obtaining supermajorities but such dirty tricks do not guarantee informational benefits that dictators anticipate through elections. Under this constraint, the dictator's fiscal ability to buy-off popular support determines the extent to which they need to be dependent on political manipulation. Specifically, this paper argues that the dictators capable of distributing economic favors in an efficient way rely less on electoral fraud, since rich money enables autocrats to win big without fraudulent strategies such as election violence, ballot stuffing, and electoral law manipulation.

The validity of this paper's argument is illustrated through the case of Kazakhstan. Since 1995, President Nursultan Nazarbaev has successfully maintained his rule. The intriguing puzzle here is that blatant electoral manipulation has become gradually less severe in the country. This paper argues that these "electoral reforms" were possible because he could increase his ability to distribute economic favors to at least some portions of citizens by utilizing rich natural resource wealth and extensive organizational networks of the government as well as the dominant party Nur Otan. To corroborate my qualitative analysis, this paper also provides quantitative evidence demonstrating that pre-electoral economic distribution as manifestation of the president's mobilization power tended to be larger when the government was able to enjoy the rich state resources and strong ruling parties.

Pre-Colonial Kingdoms and the Coup-Civil War Nexus in Sub-Saharan Africa

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Recent research on how horizontal ethnic inequalities affect civil war propensity has demonstrated ethnic groups systematically excluded from power at the center rebel at higher rates. This paper builds on this important finding by addressing two questions about political coalitions in authoritarian governments. (1) Why would an authoritarian ruler strategically choose to undermine inter-ethnic relationships? (2) What historical factors explain variance in ethnopolitical exclusion in Sub-Saharan Africa? A formal model addresses question #1 by allowing an authoritarian government to politically include or exclude a challenger. It shows that because the prospect of military coups creates an internal security dilemma, weak inter-ethnic commitment ability causes a coup-civil war nexus and induces strategic rulers to pursue ethnic exclusion. To address question #2, I argue ethnic groups in Sub-Saharan Africa that were organized as kingdoms prior to colonization undermined possibilities for developing strong inter-

ethnic political coalitions through reinforcing pre-colonial and colonial epochs. This diminished government commitment ability after independence. Statistical evidence at the ethnic group level, alongside case evidence, shows pre-colonial kingdom groups are an important explanation for ethnic exclusion, coups, and civil wars in Sub-Saharan Africa during the Cold War era.

The “New Effect” of Institutionalized Autocracy: How “Democratic” Institutions Affect Internet Access and Leaders’ Survival Rates in Authoritarian Regimes

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This paper argues that autocratic leaders with longer time horizons—specifically those who benefit from nominally democratic institutions such as institutionalized succession rules—are more risk accepting than leaders who lack such protections. In particular, we believe that leaders with institutionalized succession rules, who survive longer on average, have been more prone to extend access to Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) than their counterparts who are not protected from such institutions. Building on the previous research that shows that nominally democratic-like institutions—such as elections, legislatures, political parties, nominally free media, and institutionalized leader succession—have higher rates of survival, this paper hypothesizes that autocratic leaders who benefit from institutions that protect and promote their political longevity will invest in ICT infrastructure at higher rates because they perceive the long-term gains from increased ICT access in political, economic, and human capital as outweighing any short-term increases in the risk associated with ICT-facilitated mobilization. Using a cross-national time-series database, this paper empirically tests whether countries in which authoritarian leaders have nominally democratic institutions also have invested more in information and communication technology and whether these institutions lead autocrats to permit more open access given they have more secure job tenure.

Domestic Politics and the Credibility of U.S. Pressure over China’s Currency Manipulation

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How do domestic political pressures affect international monetary relations? Trade deficits often give rise to accusations of “currency manipulation” and legislative efforts to remedy these purported imbalances and unfair practices. This paper investigates the efficacy of these coercive pressures and threats in the context of U.S.-China relations and Chinese responses to U.S. signals concerning the revaluation of the RMB. Analyzing more than a thousand statements and actions by U.S. executive and legislative officials, this paper shows that political pressures can under certain conditions have an effect on foreign exchange rate decisions.

PANEL 3: POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CHINA'S AUTHORITARIANISM

Chair/Discussant: Sara A. Newland (Harvard University: Sara_Newland@hks.harvard.edu)

Networks of Chinese Social Organizations

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This paper provides introductory analyses on the networks of Chinese social organizations. There are a number of previous studies on Chinese social organizations, most of which put the primary focus on how much autonomy the Chinese social organizations have enjoyed in the authoritarian regime. However, it seems necessary to figure out the formation of the harmonious and cooperative networks of social organizations, which involve wider range of actors such as companies, other social organizations, other than the party and the government, in order to understand the roles of the Chinese social organizations as bearers of “public sphere.” This paper’s analyses are mostly based on the data obtained from the questionnaire survey (2009–2011) on the social organizations registered at province, prefecture, and county level in Beijing, Zhejiang, and Heilongjiang (valid samples: 1252, response rate: 59.1%). From a theoretical perspective, this paper addresses the issue of the networks of Chinese social organizations within the wider debates on the relationship among the party, the government, the companies and the civil society organizations in Chinese regional politics.

The Impact of Official Investment Policy on the Location Patterns of China’s Outward FDI

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The main purpose of this paper is to explore the relationship between China’s outward foreign direct investment (OFDI) policy and the actual location patterns of investment overseas by Chinese companies. It seeks to evaluate the ability of the regime to control and direct the companies in their investment activities abroad. It has become nearly conventional wisdom that state-owned enterprises (SOEs), the major actors in China’s OFDI, act as the agents of the state. Yet, the remaining question is what tools the regime possesses and employs, if at all, to secure preferred outcomes. Moreover, how does it reconcile economic interests with overall foreign policy objectives? This paper observes the legal framework that the regime has created to control and the incentive system to direct the Chinese companies, and evaluates how effective this framework has been. To do so, it first examines how China’s OFDI policy objectives fit into its overall foreign policy strategy and how they reflect the challenges of domestic economic growth. Using logistic analysis, the paper examines what factors determine whether or not the country was recommended as an OFDI target by China’s *Guidelines Catalogue of Outward FDI in Foreign Countries and Industries* in different periods of time since 2004. The analysis shows that over the time, the policy has not only incorporated economic objectives but also become considerate of political goals. Second, the paper reviews the evolution of the OFDI regulatory framework since the announcement of “going global” strategy. Finally, it surveys the actual patterns of Chinese OFDI locations and evaluates it in the light of the official OFDI policy. The

paper reveals that contrary to the conventional argument, the official OFDI policy incorporates limited tools to direct the actual OFDI by Chinese companies.

Information Problems, Migration Restrictions, and Public Service Provision in China

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Population migration places pressure on the information collection mechanisms of the state and the distribution of public services. China has urbanized rapidly without the massive slums that plague the large cities of other developing countries, with its system of migration restrictions (the hukou system) often given credit. Until recently, central policy decisions dominated the migration control regime, yet such powers have devolved to cities and lower level governments. This paper uses local variation in reform of the hukou system to analyze its ability to prevent slums—coded as high density areas with low public service provision. Using multiple waves of local reforms, the Chinese regime selectively relaxed restrictions on migrants to over 400 cities at various levels. The analyses evaluate the effects of freer migration on the variance of public spending patterns and the development of slums, showing strong differences between local and national priorities and reemphasizing the significance of legibility from the state's perspective.

Resource Conflict Resolution in an Authoritarian Regime

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Comparative studies find that resource-rich countries, especially developing countries with weak political institutions, tend to suffer high tendencies of social conflicts. But how states respond to such conflicts remains understudied. This research looks at China, which hosts rich mineral resources in many of its localities, and examines the strategies of the authoritarian regime to deal with resource-triggered conflicts. Through extensive field research in Chinese mining areas, we find that the Chinese state devises both reactive and preemptive strategies to resolve and prevent resource conflicts. On the one hand, Chinese local governments actively intervene in the clashes between the mining sector and local communities to stifle popular protests. On the other hand, they hand out economic appeasements to the citizens to prevent any direct challenge to the regime. The relatively effective resolution and prevention of resource conflicts are ultimately enabled by the strong state capacity and central control in China.