POLI 228: HISTORICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

University of California, San Diego | Fall 2018 | Tue 1:10-4pm | SSB 104

Prof. Agustina Paglayan

apaglayan@ucsd.edu | www.agustinapaglayan.com

Office hours: Tuesdays 4-6pm, SSB 352

1 Learning Goals

The three main goals for this course are to: (a) familiarize you with the field of historical political economy including some seminal studies and, especially, the frontiers of research; (b) teach you to evaluate the quality and significance of research; and (c) help you make progress towards your own research.

2 Course Description

Historical political economy is a thriving field that employs quantitative historical datasets, econometrics, and qualitative case knowledge to study a wide range of political economy questions. In this course, students will gain exposure to the frontiers of research on the historical determinants of economic and political development, with a focus on five broad questions: Why are some countries richer than others? Why do some have higher levels of human capital than others? Where do cultural differences across countries stem from? What factors explain transitions to democracy? What factors lead to the formation of strong states? We will examine research that seeks to determine whether differences in economic and political development today have historical roots; and, more important, we will study different mechanisms and channels through which the past can affect the present. Particular attention will be paid to the role of institutions, conflict, geography, and culture in explaining historical persistence.

The material covered in this class is grounded in multiple disciplines including political science, economics, and history. There are at least four reasons why political scientists and economists are increasingly turning their attention to history to answer these and other political economy questions. First, some of the big patterns we see in the world today—e.g., which countries are richer or more democratic—have deep historical roots; they were at least partly determined by historical events and dynamics that have unfolded over long periods of time. Therefore, knowledge of history can go a long way toward building theories that explain these patterns. Second, historical research is attractive because it often enables access to detailed micro-data that might be difficult to obtain if we were studying the present period. Third, history is full of natural experiments that enable us to conduct well-identified studies of the effects of X on Y. Finally, knowledge of history can help us discard alternative (and logically plausible) hypotheses and mechanisms.

In addition to gaining exposure to the frontiers of historical political economy research, a main goal of the course is to involve students in research, from identifying and posing interesting research questions in historical political economy (broadly conceived), to applying historical research methods to a research project of their choice, to presenting their ideas.

3 Assignments and Grading

Class participation (30%). You are expected to read carefully the papers marked with (*) prior to class; and participate actively in the discussion of these papers. To prepare for class discussion, you must come to class with a response to the following three questions for each required reading:

- 1. What do you think is the main contribution of the paper? (e.g., novel theory/ original data/ credible identification strategy/ other)
- 2. What is a weakness of the paper?
- 3. A suggestion for improvement or ideas for further research.

Every week, I will randomly ask one of you to outline your responses to these questions. The hope is that this will serve as a starting point for an active discussion, contribute to create a seminar-like environment where you feel comfortable both talking in front of an audience and asking questions, and help you engage thoughtfully with the readings.

Referee report (20%). Write a referee report for one job market paper, in which you summarize it briefly, place the contribution within the relevant literature, and point out its strengths and weaknesses (1-2 pages single-spaced). A list of possible papers will be provided. A <u>hard copy</u> of the referee report is <u>due at the beginning of lecture 6</u>.

The *final assignment* (50%) is an opportunity to work on a publishable paper and to receive feedback on it. It consists of writing an empirical paper which may take the form of a short paper (around 4,000 words, akin to the "letters" published by the APSR) or a regular article (around 8,500 words, akin to the "articles" published by the JOP). In general, a short paper's contribution is empirical, while regular articles make both empirical and theoretical contributions. In either case, you will need to pose and motivate a research question related to historical political economy (broadly defined), discuss the paper's contribution to the existing literature, and use quantitative data (original or not) to address this question. Your grade for the final assignment will stem from two components:

Presentation of final paper proposal (15% of final grade). During weeks 9 and 10, students will give a short presentation during class in which you will present a research proposal. Please come see me during office hours to discuss your project idea (ideally before week 5 and no later than week 7). The presentation to the class should pose and motivate a research question related to historical political economy (broadly defined), discuss the related literature, possible methodological approaches to address this question, and potential data sources. This is an opportunity to get early feedback from your classmates and me on your final paper. I will provide a template that you

can use to structure your presentation. Also, feel free to send me your slides 72 hours in advance if you want feedback beforehand.

- **Final paper** (35% of final grade). A final empirical paper of 4,000-8,500 words (ideally based on your proposal) is <u>due March 26, 2019</u>.

4 Requesting Accommodations

Students requesting accommodations for this course must provide a current Authorization for Accommodation (AFA) letter issued by the Office for Students with Disabilities (OSD) which is located in University Center 202 behind Center Hall. Students are required to present their AFA letters to faculty (please make arrangements to contact me privately) and to the OSD Liaison in the department in advance so that accommodations may be arranged.

Contact the OSD for further information: 858.534.4382 (phone); osd@ucsd.edu (email); http://disabilities.ucsd.edu (website)

5 Academic Honesty

You are expected to be the sole author of all your work, and to properly attribute ideas, quotations, and sources. If you are unsure how to do this, please come to office hours or ask in class. If you are unsure what constitutes plagiarism, please see UCSD's <u>academic honesty policy</u>. All suspected cases of plagiarism, cheating, or other violations of academic integrity standards will be referred to the Office of Academic Integrity. Any violation for which a student is found responsible is considered grounds for failing the course, not just the assignment.

6 Electronics Policy

Laptops, tablets, phones, digital recorders, and other electronic devices are not allowed in class, except for students with disabilities by prior agreement of the instructor. The research to date shows that (a) students tend to learn less when they use laptops during lectures; and (b) laptop use by one student harms the learning of students around them.

7 Readings and Schedule

Starred (*) articles are required reading before each class. The remaining readings are recommended if you are particularly interested in a given topic.

Week 1 (October 2, 2018)

Why Historical Political Economy? What Do We Want to Explain?

- (*) Nunn, Nathan. 2009. "The Importance of History for Economic Development." *Annual Review of Economics* 1:65-92. [link]
- (*) Przeworski, Adam. 2004. "Institutions Matter?" Government and Opposition/Leonard Schapiro Lecture, delivered to the British Political Science Association. [link]

- (*) Greif, Avner. 1997. "Cliometrics After 40 years." American Economic Review 87(2):400-403. [link]
- (*) Acemoglu, Daron. 2003. "Root Causes. A Historical Approach to Assessing the Role of Institutions in Economic Development." Finance and Development: 27-30. [link]
- (*) Paglayan, Agustina. Forthcoming. "Public-Sector Unions and the Size of Government." *American Journal of Political Science*. [link]

Alkire, Sabina, Florent Bedecarrats, Angus Deaton, Gael Giraud, Isabelle Guerin, Barbara Harriss-White, James Heckman, Jason Hickel, Naila Kabeer, Solene Morvant-Roux, Judea Pearl, Cecile Renouard, Francois Roubaud, Jean-Michel Servet, Joseph Stiglitz. July 16, 2018. "Buzzwords and tortuous impact studies won't fix a broken aid system." *The Guardian*. [link]

Allen, Robert. 2001. "The Great Divergence in European Wages and Prices from the Middle Ages to the First World War." *Explorations in Economic History* 38:411–447.

Maddison, Angus. 2003. The World Economy: Historical Statistics. OECD, Paris.

Our World in Data: https://ourworldindata.org/

Week 2 (October 9, 2018)

Seminal Studies

- (*) Engerman, Stanley, and Kenneth Sokoloff. 2002. "Factor Endowments, Inequality, and Paths of Development among New World Economies." NBER Working Paper 9259. [link]
- (*) Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson. 2001. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation." *American Economic Review* 91(5): 1369–1401. [link]
- (*) North, Douglass, and Barry Weingast. 1989. "Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England." *The Journal of Economic History* 49(4):803-832. [link]
- (*) Putnam, Robert, Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Nanetti. 1993. *Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 1 and 5.
- (*) Tilly, Charles. 1990. Coercion, Capital, and European States. Cambridge: Blackwell. Pp. 1-32.
- (*) Lipset, Seymour. 1960. Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics. Chapter 2.

Weber, Max. 1958. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. Charles Scribner's Sons.

Week 3 (October 16, 2018)

Historical Origins of Aggregate Wealth and Inequality

- (*) Albouy, David. 2012. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation: Comment." *American Economic Review* 102(6): 3059–3076. [link]
- (*) Coatsworth, John. 2008. "Inequality, Institutions and Economic Growth in Latin America." Journal of Latin American Studies 40(3):545-569. [link]
- (*) Bruhn, Miriam, and Francisco Gallego. 2012. "Good, Bad, and Ugly Colonial Activities: Do They Matter for Economic Development?" *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 94(2):433–461. [link]
- (*) Gorodnichenko, Yuriy, and Gerard Roland. 2017. "Culture, Institutions, and the Wealth of Nations." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 99(3):402-416. [link]
- (*) Scheve, Kenneth, and David Stasavage. 2012. "Democracy, War, and Wealth: Lessons from Two Centuries of Inheritance Taxation." *American Political Science Review* 106(1):81-102. [link]

Charnysh, Volha. "Long-Run Effects of Post-War Displacement: Diversity and Economic Development." Working Paper.

Glaeser, E. L., La Porta, R., Lopez-de Silanes, F., and Shleifer, A. 2004. "Do institutions cause growth?" *Journal of Economic Growth* 9:271–303.

Acemoglu, Daron, Suresh Naidu, Pascual Restrepo, and James Robinson. Forthcoming. "Democracy does cause growth". *Journal of Political Economy*.

Stasavage, David. 2007. "Partisan Politics and Public Debt: The Importance of the 'Whig Supremacy' for Britain's Financial Revolution." *European Review of Economic History* 11(1):123-153.

Trounstine, Jessica. 2018. "The Geography of Inequality: How Land Use Regulation Produces Segregation and Polarization." Working Paper.

Week 4 (October 23, 2018)

Historical Origins of Education and Human Capital

- (*) Lindert, Peter. 2004. Growing Public. Social Spending and Economic Growth Since the Eighteenth Century. Chapter 5 ("The Rise of Mass Public Schooling Before 1914"). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- (*) Becker & Woessman. 2009. "Was Weber Wrong? A Human Capital Theory of Protestant Economic History." Quarterly Journal of Economics: 531-596. [link]
- (*) Aghion, Philippe, Xavier Jaravel, Torsten Persson, and Dorothee Rouzet. 2012. "Education and Military Rivalry." *Journal of the European Economic Association*. [link]

- (*) Bandiera, Oriana, Myra Mohnen, Imran Rasul, and Martina Viarengo. 2018. "Nation-Building Through Compulsory Schooling During the Age of Mass Migration." Forthcoming, *Economic Journal*. [link]
- (*) Paglayan, Agustina. 2017. "Civil War, State Consolidation, and the Spread of Mass Education." Paper presented at the APSA Annual Conference 2017. San Francisco, CA. [link]

Paglayan, Agustina. 2018. "Democracy and Educational Expansion: Evidence from 200 Years." Paper presented at the APSA Annual Conference 2018. Boston, MA.

Mariscal, Elisa, and Kenneth Sokoloff. 2000. "Schooling, Suffrage, and the Persistence of Inequality in the Americas, 1800-1945" in *Political Institutions and Economic Growth in Latin America: Essays in Policy, History, and Political Economy*, edited by Stephen Haber. Stanford, California: Hoover Institutions Press.

Ansell, Ben. 2008. "Traders, Teachers, and Tyrants: Democracy, Globalization, and Public Investment in Education." *International Organization* 62(2):289-322.

Ansell, Ben. 2010. From the Ballot to the Blackboard: The Redistributive Political Economy of Education. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stasavage, David. 2005. "Democracy and Education Spending in Africa." American Journal of Political Science 49(2): 343-358.

Darden, Keith, and Harris Mylonas. 2015. "Threats to Territorial Integrity, National Mass Schooling, Linguistic Commonality." *Comparative Political Studies*: 1-34.

Lee, Jong-Wha, and Hanol Lee. 2016. "Human Capital in the Long Run." *Journal of Development Economics* 122: 147-169.

Week 5 (October 30, 2018)

Historical Origins of Political Development

- (*) Hariri, Jacob. 2012. "The Autocratic Legacy of Early Statehood." *American Political Science Review* 106(3):471-494. [link]
- (*) Woodberry. Robert. 2012. "The Missionary Roots of Liberal Democracy." American Political Science Review 106(2):244-274. [link]
- (*) Dasgupta, Aditya. 2018. 2018. "Technological Change and Political Turnover: The Democratizing Effects of the Green Revolution in India." *American Political Science Review*. [link]
- (*) Fresh, Adriane. 2018. "Industrial Revolution and Political Change: Evidence from the British Isles." Working Paper. [link]

Week 6 (November 6, 2018)

Historical Origins of Culture and Values

- (*) Nunn, Nathan, and Leonard Wantchekon. 2011. "The slave trade and the origins of mistrust in Africa." *American Economic Review* 101(7):3221-52. [link]
- (*) Acharya, Avidit, Matt Blackwell, and Maya Sen. 2016. "The Political Legacy of American Slavery." *Journal of Politics* 78:621-641. [link]
- (*) Fouka, Vicky, Shom Mazumder, and Marco Tabellini. 2018. "From Immigrants to Americans: Race and Assimilation during the Great Migration." Working Paper. [link]

Week 7 (November 13, 2018)

Historical Origins of Culture and Values (cont.)

- (*) Greif, Avner. 1994. "Cultural Beliefs and the Organization of Society: A Historical and Theoretical Reflection on Collectivist and Individualist Societies." *Journal of Political Economy* 102(5):912–50. [link]
- (*) Guiso, Luigi, Paola Sapienza, and Luigi Zingales. 2016. "Long-Term Persistence." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 14(6):1401-1436. [link]
- (*) Darden, Keith, and Anna Grzymala-Busse. 2006. "The Great Divide: Literacy, Nationalism, and the Communist Collapse." World Politics 59(1):83-115. [link]
- (*) Voigtlaender, Nico, and Joachim Voth. 2012. "Persecution Perpetuated: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Semitic Violence in Nazi Germany." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 127(3): 1339-1392. [link]
- (*) Fouka, Vicky. 2018. "Backlash: The Unintended Effects of Language Prohibition in US Schools after World War I." Working Paper. [<u>link</u>]

Alesina, Alberto, and Paola Giuliano. 2015. "Culture and Institutions." *Journal of Economic Literature* 53(4):898–944.

Week 8 (November 20, 2018)

Historical Origins of State Formation and State Capacity

- (*) Dincecco, Marc, Giovanni Federico, and Andrea Vindigni. 2011. "Warfare, Taxation, and Political Change: Evidence from the Italian Risorgimento." *The Journal of Economic History* 71(4):887-914. [link]
- (*) Queralt, Didac. 2018. "The Legacy of War on Fiscal Capacity." Revise & Resubmit, International Organization. [link]
- (*) Blaydes, Lisa, and Christopher Paik. 2016. "The Impact of Holy Land Crusades on State Formation: War Mobilization, Trade Integration, and Political Development in Medieval Europe." *International Organization* 70(3):551-586. [link]

- (*) Abramson, Scott. 2016. "The Economic Origins of the Territorial State." *International Organization*. [link]
- (*) Garfias, Francisco. 2018. "Elite Competition and State Capacity Development: Theory and Evidence from Post-Revolutionary Mexico". *American Political Science Review* 112(2):339-357. [link]
- (*) Suryanarayan. Pavithra. 2017. "Hollowing out the State: Franchise Expansion and Fiscal Capacity in Colonial India." Working Paper. [link]

Blaydes, Lisa, and Eric Chaney. 2013. "The Feudal Revolution and Europe's Rise: Political Divergence of the Christian West and the Muslim World before 1500 CE." *American Political Science Review* 107(1): 16-34.

Dincecco, Marc. 2015. "The Rise of Effective States in Europe." *Journal of Economic History* 75(3):901-918.

Besley, Timothy, and Torsten Persson. 2010. "State Capacity, Conflict, and Development." *Econometrica* 78(1): 1-34.

Hoffman, Philip. 2015. "What Do States Do? Politics and Economic History." *Journal of Economic History* 75(2):303-332.

Centeno, Miguel Angel. 2002. Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America. Penn State Press.

Paglayan, Agustina. 2017. "Civil War, State Consolidation, and the Spread of Mass Education." Paper presented at the American Political Science Association 2017 Annual Meeting.

Acharya, Avidit, and Alexander Lee. 2018. "Economic Foundations of the Territorial State System." American Journal of Political Science.

Week 9 (November 27, 2018)

Student Proposal Presentations

Week 10 (December 4, 2018)

Student Proposal Presentations & Wrap-Up