# Commitment: Threats and Promises, Wars and Parliaments

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LSE

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#### Introduction

#### Definition and example

#### Three political commitment problems

Predatory state

Transitional justice

War in response to changing power

#### Three solutions to political commitment problems

Reputation

Burning bridges/giving hostages

Delegation/power sharing

#### Conclusion

**Goal**: Understand **commitment problems** and a few important attempts to solve them

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- three political examples: predatory state, political transitions, war in response to changing power
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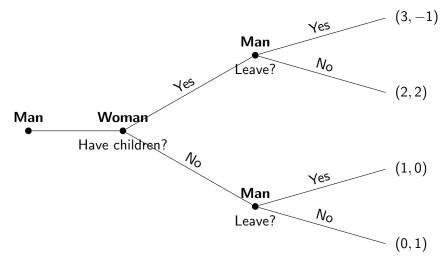
Cosmo: Unwillingness to commit.

### Commitment problem?



**Cosmo**: *Unwillingness* to commit. **GV478**: *Inability* to commit.

### Example: marriage game (with no marriage)



Note: payoffs are (man, woman)

### Marriage game (no marriage): normal form

|     |       | Woman    |       |  |
|-----|-------|----------|-------|--|
|     |       | No child | Child |  |
| Man | Stay  | 0,1      | 2,2   |  |
|     | Leave | 1,0      | 3,-1  |  |

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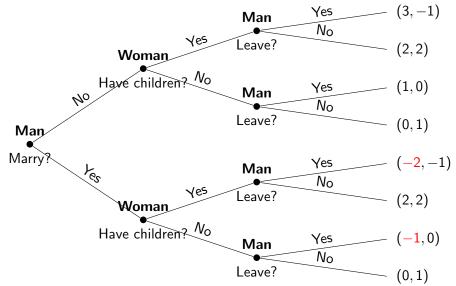
# Extensive form or normal form?

In this case, either is fine.

#### But:

- Extensive form emphasizes importance of *credibility* of strategies
- Order of play can be important (e.g. SPNE)

### Example: marriage game with marriage option



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### Marriage game with marriage option: normal form

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### Marriage game with marriage option: normal form

| No mar | riage |          |       | Marriag | e     |                   |       |
|--------|-------|----------|-------|---------|-------|-------------------|-------|
|        |       | Wom      | an    |         |       | Wom               | an    |
|        | _     | No child | Child |         |       | No child          | Child |
| Man    | Stay  | 0,1      | 2,2   | Man     | Stay  | 0,1               | 2,2   |
|        | Leave | 1,0      | 3,-1  |         | Leave | - <del>1</del> ,0 | -2,-1 |

➤ Order of play matters. If man could choose "stay/leave" before woman chooses "child/no child", both would be better off. (Compare to prisoners dilemma.)

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- ➤ Order of play matters. If man could choose "stay/leave" before woman chooses "child/no child", both would be better off. (Compare to prisoners dilemma.)
- Power is weakness. Man's problem is his ability to leave.
- Marriage is a commitment device an action that makes a promise (or threat, generally) credible. Types of commitment devices:
  - Take actions to invoke reputation.
  - Burn bridges: take actions now that reduce attractiveness of "leaving" later.
  - ► Share/delegate power now to reduce/eliminate discretion later.
  - ► Others in Dixit/Nalebuff.

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|        |            | Credible? |         |  |
|--------|------------|-----------|---------|--|
|        |            | Yes       | No      |  |
| Y is a | Punishment | Warning   | Threat  |  |
|        |            | Reward    | Promise |  |

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In the marriage game,

- if the woman tells the man she will not have children with him unless he marries her, it's a warning.
- if the man tells the woman he will not leave if she has children with him, it's a promise.

Today is about threats and promises as *strategic moves* and the **commitment devices** players can (sometimes) use to make them credible.

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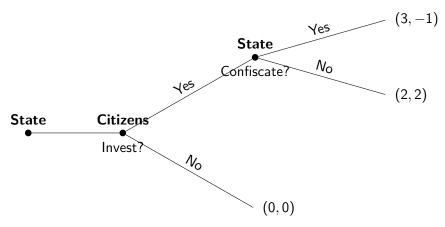
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### Predatory state: background

The fundamental political dilemma of an economic system is this: A government strong enough to protect property rights and enforce contracts is also strong enough to confiscate the wealth of its citizens. (Weingast 1995 JLEO, pg. 1)

### Predatory state: model



Note: payoffs are (State, Citizens)

### Transitional justice: background

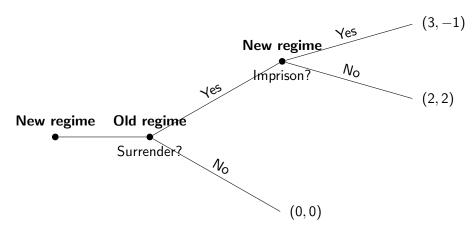
**Question 1**: When an existing regime is in danger of being toppled by rebels (a new regime), should its leaders be offered amnesty?

### Transitional justice: background

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Question 2: Should the existing regime believe an offer of amnesty?

### Transitional justice: model



Note: payoffs are (New regime, Old regime)

War is costly. In most conflicts, there is a peaceful solution that both sides would prefer to war. (Fearon 1995, Frieden et al 2010)

Fearon (1995) (popularized and extended in Frieden et al 2010) asks: Why then does war occur?

One reason: commitment problems resulting from changes in power over time.

- Suppose two players, A and B
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- Players divide it in each period; they can divide it peacefully or fight over it.

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- ▶ Suppose by fighting now, *B* could get more in the future, e.g. by weakening *A*.
- ▶ ⇒ B might choose to fight now, even though there is a peaceful division of the economy in each period that is better for both players.

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## War in response to changing power: basic idea (3)

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(See problem set for more.)

## War in response to changing power: applications

Applications of this idea (see Frieden et al (2010), Fearon (1995)):

- Preventive war:
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- Preventive war:
  - Germany and Russia in 1914: Russia rising; Germany seeing "window of opportunity"
  - ▶ U.S. et al. and Iraq in 2003: desire to change the regime before it gets strong
- ► Starting any revolution: the rebels' power is transitory (coordination, collective problems) ⇒ they may not trust promises by the government
- ▶ Ending any civil war: peace involves disarming the rebels  $\implies$  peace agreements rarely successful without military defeat (see appendix to Frieden et al (2010))

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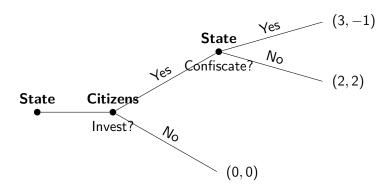
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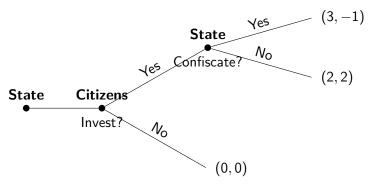
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## Reputation and the predatory state



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Clearly, game is repeated. ("Stationary bandit" vs. "roving bandit", Olson (1993).)

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North and Weingast (1989): Reputation often but not always enough to constrain the state.

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  - ▶ Burning ships: William the Conqueror in England, Cortes in Mexico
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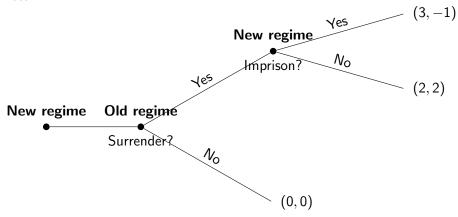
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- Giving hostages to seal agreements
  - ► Edo-era Japan (1603-1868): warlords' families stay in Tokyo
  - ➤ Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748): two English noblemen sent to France to ensure that England fulfills obligation to transfer Cape Breton

## Application to transitional justice (Nalepa 2010)

Recall:



Note: payoffs are (New regime, Old regime)

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Archivist, quoted in Nalepa (2010), on Polish transition:

The Communists promised not to come back to power in return for lack of transitional justice. The files of secret agents who had been Solidarity members were the guarantor of the promise. The contract was of the sort "we have something on you and you've got something on us".

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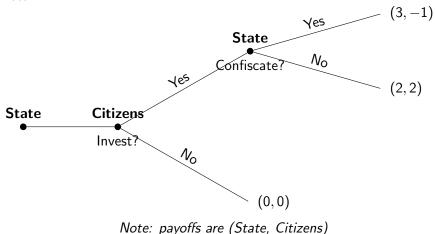
Note: In this case, the old regime had "hostages", but they were not voluntarily given.

Could voluntary/strategic hostage-giving have worked?

What secures commitment in e.g. South African transition?

## Delegation/power sharing: predatory state

#### Recall:



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Delegation of power to Parliament protected commercial interests, increased credibility of state's commitment not to predate.

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- ▶ Weingast (1997): citizens constrain the state through coordination (i.e. focus on effects of citizen behavior on state behavior)
- ▶ North and Weingast (1989): economic growth through constraints on the state (i.e. focus on effects of state constraints on citizen behavior)

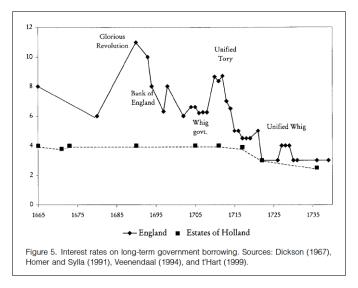
Evidence that delegation resolved commitment problem (North and Weingast 1989):

TABLE 3
GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT DEBT, 1618–1740
(£ million)

| Year                     | Governmental<br>Expenditure <sup>1</sup> | Debt <sup>2</sup> | $Prices^3$ (1701 = 100) |
|--------------------------|--|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Stuart England           |  |                   |                         |
| 16184                    | £0.5                                     | £0.8              |                         |
| mid-1630s <sup>5</sup>   | 1.0                                      | 1.0               |                         |
| 1680 <sup>6</sup>        | 1.4                                      |                   | 113                     |
| 1688 <sup>6</sup>        | 1.8                                      | $1.0^{7}$         | 99                      |
| Post Glorious Revolution |  |                   |                         |
| 1695                     | 6.2                                      | 8.4               | 116                     |
| 1697                     | 7.9                                      | 16.7              | 122                     |
| 1700                     | 3.2                                      | 14.2              | 115                     |
| 1710                     | 9.8                                      | 21.4              | 122                     |
| 1714                     | 6.2                                      | 36.2              | 103                     |
| 1720                     | 6.0                                      | 54.0              | 102                     |
| 1730                     | 5.6                                      | 51.4              | 95                      |
| 1740                     | 6.2                                      | 47.4              | 100                     |
| 1750                     | 7.2                                      | 78.0              | 95                      |

Note: Because these figures are obtained from a variety of sources, they are intended solely to provide an indication of underlying trends. Figures for expenditures and debt after the Glorious Revolution are most reliable.

Evidence that delegation resolved commitment problem (Stasavage 2002):



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**Commitment device:** democratization. Give power to the people, to avoid costly revolution.

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**Commitment problems** in game theory: actors want to make threats or promises that are not credible.

#### Examples:

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- Predatory state wants to commit to not steal, so that citizens will invest.
- ▶ New regime wants to commit to amnesty, so that old regime will hand over power.
- ► Autocrat wants to commit to future redistribution, so that revolutionaries will not fight.

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Next week: Signaling models.