FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

Political Science 634

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Office Hours: Tues 2pm-3pm, after class and by appointment

This seminar focuses on how states formulate and implement their foreign policies. Our orientation in this course is more theoretical and process-oriented than substantive or interpretive. We focus on policy inputs and the decision-making process rather than on policy outputs. We implicitly assume that that the processes through which foreign policy is made influence the substantive content of policy (but think of this as a testable proposition).

We follow a levels-of-analysis framework to organize our survey of the theoretical literature on the making of foreign policy. We examine rational state actor, neoclassical realist, bureaucratic/organizational, institutional, societal, and psychological models. We look at the government decision-makers, advisory groups, bureaucratic organizations, political parties, private interests, social groups, and mass publics that have an impact on foreign policy. We analyze the various constraints within which each of these sets of actors must operate, the nature of their interactions with each other and with the society as a whole, and the processes and mechanisms through which they resolve their differences and formulate policy.

Although a disproportionate amount of the theoretical literature in the foreign policy analysis field and hence in this course is written by American scholars and supported by illustrations from American foreign policy, the conceptual frameworks themselves are intended to be general and applicable beyond the United States. So this is really a course in comparative foreign policy. I encourage students to bring comparative perspectives to bear on our class discussions and in their papers, and to continually question the extent to which these theoretical frameworks are generalizable beyond the United States. Also, while our primary focus is on the behavior of states, we include some literature on how inter- or supra-national organizations and non-state actors formulate their external policies.

Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) is a well-defined subfield within the International Relations field, with its own section in the International Studies Association (Foreign Policy Analysis) and in the American Political Science Association (Foreign Policy), and with a
distinct ISA journal (*Foreign Policy Analysis*). The subfield covers a lot of ground, the semester is fourteen weeks long, and we must emphasize some things and deemphasize other things. We focus primarily on internal rather than external causal influences on foreign policy, in part because that is the norm of the foreign policy analysis field, and in part because external variables are covered at length in other international relations courses. Second, again reflecting the FPA field, we give only minimal attention to particular American institutions such as the Departments of State or Defense, the National Security Council, or the Congress (though these are viable topics for student papers). Third, we give significant emphasis to decision-making by top political leaders. Fourth, reflecting the current state of the literature, we give more attention to issues of security than of political economy, environmental policy, human rights, or other areas. This focus has recently begun to change, and I encourage students with non-security interests to select paper topics in those areas. Finally, this syllabus gives more attention to psychological models than does the typical syllabus on foreign policy analysis. I leave it to you to decide whether that emphasis is warranted, perhaps with consideration to the recent political leadership of major states.

**Readings**

There is no required book for the class.

We will be reading a substantial number of articles and book chapters. All of the required reading will be available at my Canvas site ([https://canvas.rutgers.edu/](https://canvas.rutgers.edu/)). Log in to Canvas, look for the Foreign Policy Analysis tab, and click files. The reading is organized by week of the term. I recommend that each week you do the readings in the order listed on the syllabus, not the alphabetical order of Canvas. Also, the syllabus indicates restricted page numbers (rather than the entire reading on Canvas) for some readings.

**Course Requirements:**

There are three basic requirements for the course:

1) participation in class discussions of the readings and of student presentations;
2) final paper (literature review, research design, or research paper, described below); due December 16, by email attachment.
3) oral presentation, based on the paper, last three weeks of the term (possibly earlier for literature reviews)

Our weekly meetings will begin with my own introductory comments on the topics under consideration, and quickly open up to general discussion. Most weeks we will cover several distinct topics. For this system to work, and for students to benefit from it, each member of the seminar must complete all of the required reading prior to each class
meeting and be prepared to discuss them. Each week I will try to provide some guidance as to what to emphasize in the following week’s reading.

On the paper assignment: Given the different backgrounds and goals of those enrolled in the seminar, I have set up two alternative “tracks” for the paper requirement, a literature review track and a research design/paper track. You are free to select whichever track you prefer. However, I generally recommend the research design or research paper requirement to IR majors planning to write a dissertation that includes a component on how states formulate and implement their foreign policies (on security, economic, human rights, environmental policy, and other issues). It is perfectly reasonable, however, for first-year IR students who have limited exposure to a particular topic to do a literature review for this class, to pave the way for a more focused research effort in subsequent courses. I recommend that IR minors, whose dissertation work is not likely to focus on how states formulate foreign policy, adopt the literature review track. A good strategy there is to either pick a broad topic that is likely to serve you well in preparation for the IR minor exam, or to pick a topic overlapping with the research you plan to do in your major field. Please feel free to consult with me about which track best serves your interests. Regardless of which track you choose, I expect all students to do all the required readings, to come prepared to discuss those readings in class, and to participate in the discussions.

On the presentation based on your paper. 12-15 minutes (the norm for conventions), followed by 30 minutes of questions from the class. You should think of your presentation as a rough draft of your paper, as a way to get feedback for revising your papers. Presentations will be scheduled for the last three weeks of the term. However, if you are doing a literature review, we cannot have a situation in which we discuss the topic during the week it is scheduled and then you present your literature review towards the end of the class. There are two possibilities:
1) On some topics, I can delay the class discussion until the end of the term and schedule your presentation at that time.
2) Discussions of other topics cannot be delayed. This means that you either do your presentation the day that topic is scheduled in class or select another topic. This requires that you consult with me early on if you are considering doing a literature review.

1) literature review track (11-15 pages, single space, including footnotes and references). This should be a critical review of the literature on a well-defined theoretical question or set of interrelated questions relating to the foreign policy-making process. Good paper topics are often but not always equivalent to a sub-section of the syllabus – for example, the audience costs theory, Congress and foreign policy, foreign policy in parliamentary systems, the impact of race or ethnicity or economic interest groups or culture on foreign policy, civil-military relations, learning, prospect theory, emotions and decision-making, and intelligence failure, to name a few. The decision-making processes of sub-state
organizations (such as the Palestinian Authority) or inter-governmental or supra-national organizations (such as the U.N. Security Council or the European Union) are also viable topics as long as they have to do with world politics and not primarily domestic politics. Whatever topic you choose, you must secure my approval in advance – to avoid misunderstandings and to facilitate the scheduling of presentations. I would be happy to talk to you about what kinds of topics make the most sense given your background and objectives in your graduate program and beyond.

The readings from the relevant section of the syllabus generally serve as a useful guide to what literature you should cover in your review, but please consult with me for suggestions as to possible additions (if the list on the syllabus is short) and/or priorities among them (if the list is quite long). Please do not assume that by reading all of the items in a particular section of the syllabus you have adequately covered a particular topic for your review. I also encourage you to incorporate material from other courses where relevant. A typical literature review for this class includes 15 sources, less if most of the sources are books rather than articles.

In your literature review you should summarize the literature on your topic and at the same time organize it in some coherent way – preferably around a useful typology or theoretical theme or set of categories, not around a succession of books and articles. That is, I do not want fifteen paragraphs on fifteen different authors or books/articles. You should note the theoretical questions that this literature attempts to answer, identify commonalities and differences among the various readings, identify the key concepts and causal arguments, survey some of the empirical research that bears on these theoretical propositions, and relate it to the broader literature on war and peace. You should identify the logical inconsistencies, broader analytical limitations, and unanswered questions of the leading scholarship in this area. You should also suggest fruitful areas for subsequent research. If you have any thoughts on how particular hypotheses could be tested, please elaborate on that. But remember that space is limited.

I suspect that many of you will be uncertain what my expectations are for a literature review. To partially alleviate that uncertainty I will post a few literature reviews from past courses on my Canvas site (in folder #00). I will wait, however, until all members of the seminar have selected their paper topics, so as to avoid duplication.

2) Research paper track
This can be a research design or a research paper, depending on the stage of a student's work on a project. If you have been working on a particular project for a while, I expect you to carry out the empirical research, or at least a significant portion of it. If you are just starting on a research project, a research design will be sufficient. In this case, I expect you to identify the question you are trying to answer, ground it in the relevant theoretical
literature and in competing analytical approaches, specify your key hypotheses, offer a theoretical explanation for those hypotheses, and provide a detailed statement as to how you would carry out the research. This includes the specification of the dependent and independent variables and the form of the relationship between them, the operationalization of the variables, the identification (and theoretical justification) of the empirical domain of the study (i.e., case selection), the identification of alternative explanations for the phenomenon in question, and an acknowledgment of what kinds of evidence would confirm your hypotheses and what kinds of evidence would disconfirm them. Try to do this in 12-15 pages (single space). Please consult with me along the way. In most cases I will ask for a one-page statement of your research question and then a short outline (ungraded), just to make sure we are on the same wavelength.

I have high standards for the research designs. I think of them as roughly equivalent to rough drafts of dissertation proposals or grant proposals. As to your class presentations based on research papers, consult with me, but in most cases I prefer that you spend relatively little time on a literature review, especially if we have already discussed the theoretical background material earlier in the term, and to focus instead on your particular theoretical argument, specific hypotheses, and your design and method for testing them. If you are envisioning case studies, provide a theoretical justification for your case selection.


Research papers are more elaborate, and involve the completion of the empirical research detailed in the design of the project. There is no set length for a research paper, but one guideline is about 20-30 pages (single space, space between paragraphs and between bibliographic items). Thirty pages is a bit over 12,000 words, which is approximately the outer limit for most journal submissions. Although I tolerate incompletes for research papers, I still expect a presentation of the theory and research design during the term.

I should note that although I am generally quite open to very different methodological perspectives, the norms of mainstream IR favor research that aims to construct and test falsifiable (loosely defined) hypotheses about foreign policy or international behavior, or to construct interpretations of particular episodes and then support those interpretations with empirical evidence. I share these norms, and I am unenthusiastic about theoretical arguments that cannot be empirically disconfirmed. At the same time, I recognize the value some research communities place on formal theory construction independent of empirical test, or on radical constructivist critiques without systematic empirical analysis, and I would be willing to discuss the possibility of papers along these lines.
Style: All papers should be single space with spacing between paragraphs, with footnotes rather than endnotes, and submitted to me by email attachment. Any citation style is acceptable. You may use either a variation of the “Harvard” or APA style (American Psychological Association), with parenthetical in-text citations, or a more traditional style – as reflected in the Chicago Manual of Style and used in such journals as International Security. (Please note: I want a separate reference list of cited sources even if you use traditional Chicago-style footnoting, which does not normally include a separate reference list.) Each style has variations, I am not picky about details, but I want you to be consistent. See various journals for illustrations.

Paper Due Date (for either track): December 16, end of day

Grading
My evaluation of your grade is based on the following weighted items:

- Contributions to class discussion 20%
- Presentation based on your paper 10%
- Paper 70%

One implication of this grading scheme is that it is almost impossible to get an “A” in the course without strong contributions (quality as well as quantity) to class discussion. This includes comments on other students’ presentations at the end of the term.

Academic Integrity
The University, the Political Science Department, and I each take academic integrity seriously. The University imposes heavy penalties for plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty. If the meanings of plagiarism or other forms of academic dishonesty are not clear, please see the Rutgers policy on academic integrity: http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/academic-integrity-policy/.

Rutgers Disability Policy
See https://ods.rutgers.edu/. 
TOPICAL OUTLINE

The number refers to the week of the term, beginning with the week of 6 September 2021. Letters refer to multiple topics each week.

1. COURSE INTRODUCTION

THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION
Overviews of the Field
Levels of Analysis Framework
The Agent-Structure Debate

2. THE "RATIONAL" (ANALYTIC) MODEL
The Basic Paradigm
Expected Utility Theory
Preference Aggregation and Social Choice Theory

REALIST THEORIES OF FOREIGN POLICY
Are There Realist Theories of Foreign Policy? The Debate
Neoclassical Realism

3. GOVERNMENTAL-LEVEL EXPLANATIONS - I
The Bureaucratic Politics/Organizational Processes Model
Governmental Politics/Organizational Process: Applications
Evaluations of the Bureaucratic/Organizational Model
The March-Simon Research Program on Organizational Theory
Organizational Reform
Agenda Setting
Early Studies of the Politics of Decision-Making
Issue Areas

SMALL GROUP BEHAVIOR
Overview
Groupthink
Beyond Groupthink: The ‘t Hart, Stern, & Sundelius Research Program
Other Models of Small Group Behavior
Polythink
4. DECISION UNITS, PRESIDENTIAL ADVISORY SYSTEMS, AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY INSTITUTIONS

The “Decision Unit” Approach
Do Leaders Matter?

PRESIDENTS, LEADERSHIP STYLE, AND ADVISORY SYSTEMS

U.S. Presidential Power
Presidential Leadership Style and Advisory Systems
Some Recent U.S. Presidential Advisory Systems
Comparative Perspectives on Leadership Style
   Backgrounds and Characteristics of Leaders

OTHER U.S. FOREIGN POLICY INSTITUTIONS

General Institutionalist Models
Congress and Foreign Policy
War Powers
Other U.S. Constitutional Issues
The State Department
Civil-Military Relations
The National Security System

PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEMS

Parliamentary Systems
Comparing Presidential and Parliamentary Systems
Parliamentary Leadership Styles

5. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, I

General Approaches
Regime Type
The Foreign Policies of Democracies: Explaining the Democratic Peace
   Liberal Models
   The Selectorate Model
Democratic Political Oppositions
The Foreign Policies of Autocracies
Social Identity Theory
The Diversionary Theory of War
Other Approaches to Partisan Politics and Foreign Policy
Public Opinion
Audience Costs
The Media
6. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, II: PUBLIC OPINION & AUDIENCE COSTS
   Public Opinion – Early Studies
   Public Opinion
      Historians’ Perspectives on the Study of Public Opinion
   The Media
   Political Parties and Partisanship
   Public Opinion and War
      Sensitivity to Military Casualties
   Public Opinion and the Wars in Iraq
   Social Identity Theory
   Rally Effects and the Diversionary Theory of War
   Audience Costs Theory
   Neo-Marxist Theories
   The Military-Industrial Complex

7. SOCIETAL LEVEL THEORIES, III: INTEREST GROUPS AND COALITIONS
   Interest Groups
   Coalitional Politics
   Applications
      The 1930s
      The First World War
   Sectional Explanations
   Neo-Marxist Theories
   The Military-Industrial Complex
   Ethnicity and Race
   Debates over *The Israeli Lobby*

   FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY-MAKING
   Interests, Institutions, Ideas, and Politics
      Behavioral Approaches

8. IDEAS, CULTURE, AND CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACHES
   Ideas
   Ideology
   Political Culture
   Culture: Empirical Applications
   Strategic Culture
   Religion
   Constructivist Approaches
   The “Story Model”
   Rhetoric and Policy Legitimacy
Feminist Approaches
Psychology and Constructivism
Social Comparison
Honor, Respect, Recognition, Humiliation, and Status
   Theoretical Background
   Applications to International Relations and Foreign Policy

9. PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES – I
   Introduction to Political Psychology
   Early Psychological Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis
   Psychology and Foreign Policy - Overviews
   Beliefs and Images
   Operational Code
   Cognitive Biases
      Overconfidence
   Motivated Reasoning
   Emotions
      From Social Psychology
   Fear and Anger
   Negativity
   Face-to-Face Diplomacy
   Rationality and Emotions

10. BEHAVIORAL DECISION THEORY
   Introduction
   Useful Anthologies
   Heuristics and Biases
      “Smart” Heuristics
   Prospect Theory
      Applications
      Framing
      Aspiration Levels
      Probability Weighting
   Sunk Costs and Models of Entrapment
   Other Models of Risk Behavior
   Time Horizons and Intertemporal Choice
      Construal-Level Theory
   Poliheuristic Theory
   Dual Process Theories
11. PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES – III

LEARNING
Rational Models of Learning: Bayesian Updating
"Psychological" Models of Learning
Organizational Learning
Learning: Empirical Applications
Other Models of Foreign Policy Change

OTHER TOPICS IN THE PSYCHOLOGY OF IR
Crisis Decision-Making
   The Impact of Stress
Gender Differences in Decision-Making
Methodological Issues: External Validity of Experimental Designs
   Some Elite Samples
Other Methodological Issues
Neuroscience and Politics
Evolutionary Psychology and Biopolitics

PERSONALITY AND PSYCHOBIOGRAPHY
General Theoretical Approaches to Personality
Applied Personality Studies
Alexander George’s Research Program on Presidential Personality
Psychobiography
Psychoanalytic Studies of Decisions for War
Leader Illness

12. PRESENTATIONS

13. PRESENTATIONS

14. PRESENTATIONS
ADDITIONAL TOPICS

A1. Threat Perception

A2. Intelligence Failure
   Case Studies

A3. Psychology of Bargaining

A4. Psychology of Conflict Resolution

A5. Foreign Economic Policy-Making
   Interests, Institutions, Ideas, and Politics
   Behavioral Approaches

A6. Comparative Perspectives on Foreign Policy-Making
   General
   European Countries
   The European Union
   Russia
   China
   Small States and Developing States
COURSE OUTLINE AND READING LIST

Number indicates week of semester; letter indicates multiple topics in a given week. Asterisk (*) denotes required reading.

Note: The additional reading, beyond the asterisked required reading, is not really “recommended,” but instead a guide for those writing papers on a particular topic. I hope this analytically organized bibliography of the field of Foreign Policy Analysis will be helpful in your future research and teaching.

1. COURSE INTRODUCTION (September 7)
   Course objectives, organization, procedures, readings, requirements, etc.
   Required reading in sections 1a,b

THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

1a. Overviews of the Field


Eugene Meehan, "The Concept 'Foreign Policy."

1b. **Levels of Analysis Framework**

J. David Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations."

1c. **The Agent-Structure Debate**

Walter Carlnaes, "The Agency-Structure Problem in Foreign Policy Analysis."
2. THE "RATIONAL" (ANALYTIC) MODEL (September 14)
   Required reading in sections 2a,d,e

2a. The Basic Paradigm
   * Graham T. Allison, “Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis.” 

2b. Expected Utility Theory

2c. Preference Aggregation and Social Choice Theory
REALIST THEORIES OF FOREIGN POLICY

2d. Are There Realist Theories of Foreign Policy? The Debate

* Colin Elman, "Why Not Neorealist Theories of Foreign Policy?" Security Studies, 6, 1 (Autumn 1996), 7-53.
* Kenneth N. Waltz, “International Relations is Not Foreign Policy.” Security Studies, 6, 1 (Autumn 1996), 54-57. And Elman reply, pp. 58-61, each combined with the Elman pdf.


2e. Neoclassical Realism


Gidden Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy." World Politics, 51, 1 (October 1998), 144-72.


Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, eds., Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Brian Rathbun, “A Rose by Any Other Name: Neoclassical Realism as the Logical and Necessary Extension of Structural Realism.” *Security Studies* 17, 2 (2008), 294-321.


3. **GOVERNMENTAL-LEVEL EXPLANATIONS – I** (September 21)

Required reading in sections 3a,c,j,k

3a. **Bureaucratic Politics/Organizational Processes Model**


3b. **Governmental Politics/Organizational Process: Applications**


3c. Evaluations of Bureaucratic/Organizational Models

Stephen D. Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important? (or Allison Wonderland)" Foreign Policy #7 (Summer 1972): 159-79.
3d. The March-Simon Research Program On Organizational Theory

3e. Organizational Reform

3f. Agenda Setting
3g. Early Studies of the Politics of Decision-Making


3h. **Issue-Areas**


**SMALL GROUP BEHAVIOR**

3i. **Overview**


3j. **Groupthink**

  
  Ch. 1, 8 (pp. 174-77), 10. (note pages)


3k. **Beyond Groupthink: The ‘t Hart, Stern, & Sundelius Research Program**


Alexander L. George, “From Groupthink to Contextual Analysis of Policy-making Groups,” chap. 2.


31. **Other Models of Small Group Behavior**


**3m. Polythink**


4. **DECISION UNITS, PRESIDENTIAL ADVISORY SYSTEMS, AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY INSTITUTIONS** (September 28)

Required reading in sections 4a,d,g,h,i,l

4a. **The “Decision Unit” Approach**


4b. **Do Leaders Matter?**


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**PRESIDENTS, LEADERSHIP STYLE, AND ADVISORY SYSTEMS**

+++ We return to leaders and their individual characteristics and psychology in weeks 9-11.

4c. **U.S. Presidential Power**


**4d. Presidential Leadership Style and Advisory Systems**


4e. Some Recent U.S. Presidential Advisory Systems

4f. Backgrounds and Characteristics of Leaders
OTHER U.S. FOREIGN POLICY INSTITUTIONS

4g. General Institutionalist Models

4h. Congress and Foreign Policy


4i. **War Powers**


4j. **Other U.S. Constitutional Issues**


4k. **The State Department**


### Civil-Military Relations


4m. **The National Security System**


PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEMS

4n. **Parliamentary Systems**


Other articles in this special issue on parliamentary politics and foreign policy include

Sibel Oktay, “Chamber of opportunities: Legislative politics and coalition security policy,” pp. 104–120.

James Strong, “The war powers of the British parliament: What has been established and what remains unclear? pp. 19-34.

Juliet Kaarbo, “Prime minister leadership style and the role of parliament in security policy” pp. 35-51.


Comparing Presidential and Parliamentary Systems

Parliamentary Leadership Styles
5. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, I (October 5)
   Required reading in sections 5a,c,d,e

5a. General Approaches

5b. Regime Type
   Barbara Geddes, “What Do We Know about Democratization after Twenty Years?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 2, no. 1 (1999): 115-144. (classification of authoritarian regimes)

5c. **The Foreign Policies of Democracies: Explaining the Democratic Peace**

**Liberal Models**


**The Selectorate Model**


5d. **Democratic Political Oppositions**


5e. **The Foreign Policies of Autocracies**


6. **SOCIETAL LEVEL THEORIES, II: PUBLIC OPINION AND AUDIENCE COSTS** (October 12)

   Required reading in sections 6b,c,f,h

6a. **Public Opinion – Early Studies**


6b. Public Opinion


**Historians’ Perspectives on the Study of Public Opinion**


6c. The Media


6d. **Political Parties and Partisanship**


6e. **Public Opinion and War**


**Sensitivity to Military Casualties**


**The Wars in Iraq**


6f. **Social Identity Theory**


6g. **Rally Effects and the Diversionary Theory of War**


**6h. Audience Costs Theory**


Symposium on Audience Costs, Security Studies, 21, 3 (2012). Includes
Kenneth A. Schultz, “Why We Needed Audience Costs and What We Need Now,” 369-75.


7. **SOCIETAL LEVEL THEORIES, III: INTEREST GROUPS AND COALITIONS** (October 19)

Required reading in sections 7a,b,d,f,g,h

7a. **Interest Groups**


7b. Coalitional Politics


7c. Applications (with different analytic slants)

The 1930s


Kevin Narizny, “Both Guns and Butter, or Neither: Class Interests in the Political Economy of Rearmament.” *American Political Science Review*, 97, 2 (May 2003), 203-220.


For an ideological interpretation of underbalancing in the 1930s:

For realist interpretations of underbalancing in the 1930s:

The First World War

7d. Sectional Explanations

7e. Neo-Marxist Theories
Thomas E. Weisskopf, "Capitalism, Socialism, and the Sources of Imperialism." In G. John Ikenberry, ed., *American Foreign Policy*. 

7f. **The Military-Industrial Complex**


7g. **Ethnicity and Race**


**7h. Debates over The Israeli Lobby**


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FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY-MAKING

7i. Interests, Institutions, Ideas, and Politics


**Behavioral Approaches**


8. IDEAS, CULTURE, AND CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACHES
   (October 26)
   Required reading in sections 8a,c,g

8a. “Ideas”
   * Judith Goldstein and Robert Keohane, "Ideas and Foreign Policy: An Analytic
     Framework." In Judith Goldstein and Robert Keohane, eds., Ideas &
     Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change. Ithaca, NY:
   David Yee, "The Causal Effects of Ideas on Policies." International
   Thomas Risse-Kappen, “Ideas do not Float Freely: Transnational Coalitions,
   Domestic Structures, and the End of the Cold War.” International Organization
   Jeffrey Checkel. 1993. “Ideas, Institutions, and the Gorbachev Foreign Policy
   Nicholas Kitchen, “Ideas of Power and Power of Ideas.” In Asle Toje and Barbara
   Kunz, eds., Neoclassical Realism and European Politics: Bringing Power Back
   Bruce Kuklick, Blind Oracles: Intellectuals and War from Kennan to
   Mark Laffey and Jutta Weldes, ‘Beyond belief: Ideas and symbolic technologies in
   the study of International Relations’, European Journal of International

8b. Ideology
   Walter Carlsnaes, Ideology and Foreign Policy: Problems of Comparative
   Alexander L. George, “Ideology and International Relations: A Conceptual
   Miroslav Nincic and Jennifer M. Ramos, “Ideological Structure and Foreign Policy
   Michael Hunt, Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy. New Haven: Yale University
   Mark L. Haas, The Clash of Ideologies: Middle Eastern Politics and American


8c. **Political Culture**


**Political Culture**


8d. **Culture: Empirical Applications**


8e. **Strategic Culture**


Elizabeth Kier, "Culture and Military Doctrine: France between the Wars."


8f. **Religion**


8g. **Constructivist Approaches**


8h. **The “Story Model”**

8i. **Rhetoric and Policy Legitimacy**

8j. **Feminist Approaches**


8j. **Psychology and Constructivism**


8k. **Social Comparison**


81. Honor, Respect, Recognition, Humiliation, and Status

Theoretical Background

Applications to International Relations and Foreign Policy


### 9. PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES, I: BELIEFS AND INFORMATION PROCESSING (November 2)

Required reading in sections c,e,f,g,h,i,m

#### 9a. Introduction to Political Psychology


9b. Early Psychological Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis
Joseph de Rivera, *The Psychological Dimension of Foreign Policy*. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1968.

9c. Psychology and Foreign Policy - Overviews

9e. Beliefs and Images


**9f. Operational Code**


9g. Cognitive Biases
+++ see also 10c on Heuristics and Biases


Video: http://www.theinvisiblegorilla.com/gorilla_experiment.html


**Overconfidence**


**9h. Motivated Reasoning**


9i. Emotions


Andrew A. G. Ross, “Realism, emotion, and dynamic allegiances in global politics.”


**From Social Psychology**


9j. **Fear and Anger**


9k. Negativity

9l. Face-to-Face Diplomacy

9m. Rationality and Emotions
10. **BEHAVIORAL DECISION THEORY** (November 9)

Required reading in sections

**10a. Introduction**


(review of rational choice and behavioral decision theory)
10b. Useful anthologies


10c. Heuristics and Biases


- Daniel Kahneman, *Thinking, Fast and Slow*, Appendix A.


**“Smart” Heuristics**


10d. **Prospect Theory**


**Applications**


Rose McDermott, ed., special issue on prospect theory in *Political Psychology*, 25, 2 (April 2004) and 25, 3 (June 2004).


**Framing**


**Aspiration Levels**


**Probability Weighting**


**10e. Sunk Costs and Models of Entrapment**


**10f. Other Models of Risk Behavior**


10g. Time Horizons and Intertemporal Choice
**Construal-Level Theory**

**10h. Poliheuristic Theory**

10i. **Dual Process Theories**

11. **PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES, III: LEARNING, METHODS, ETC.**
(November 16)
required reading in sections b,f,j,i,o

**LEARNING**

11a. **Rational Models of Learning: Bayesian Updating**

11b. **“Psychological” Models of Learning**


11c. Organizational Learning


11d. Learning: Empirical Applications


Christopher Hemmer, "Historical Analogies and the Definitions of Interests: The Iranian Hostage Crisis and Ronald Reagan’s Policy toward the Hostages in Lebanon." Political Psychology. 20, 2 (June 1999), 247-66.

11e. Other Models of Foreign Policy Change
OTHER TOPICS IN THE PSYCHOLOGY OF IR

11f. Crisis Decision-Making

The Impact of Stress
11g. **Gender Differences in Decision-Making**


11h. **Methodological Issues: External Validity of Experimental Designs**


Some Elite Samples

Alex Mintz, Stephen B. Redd, and Arnold Vedlitz, “Can we generalize from student experiments to the real world in political science, military affairs, and international relations?” Journal of Conflict Resolution 50, 5 (2006), 757-76.

11i. Other Methodological Issues

Margaret P. Hermann, “Using Content Analysis to Study Public Figures.” In Audie Klotz and Deepa Prakash (eds.), Qualitative Analysis in International Relations, Palgrave, 2008.

### 11j Neuroscience and Politics


### 11k. Evolutionary Psychology and Biopolitics


### PERSONALITY AND PSYCHOBIOGRAPHICAL APPROACHES

#### 11. General Theoretical Approaches to Personality


11m. Applied Personality Studies


William R. Caspary, "New Psychoanalytic Perspectives on the Causes of War." 
*Political Psychology* 14 (September 1993): 417-46.

11n. Alexander George’s Research Program on Presidential Personality

11o. Psychobiography


11p. **Leader Illness**


12. **PRESENTATIONS** (November 23)

13. **PRESENTATIONS** (November 30)

14. **PRESENTATIONS** (December 7)
ADDITIONAL TOPICS

A1. Threat Perception
Keren Yarhi-Milo, *Knowing the Adversary: Leaders, Intelligence, and Assessment of Intentions in International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.

A2. Intelligence Failure
Intelligence Failure - Case Studies


A3. **Psychology of Bargaining**


A4. **Psychology of Conflict Resolution**


A5. **Comparative Perspectives on Foreign Policy-Making**
(These sections are incomplete.)

**General**

**European Countries**
The European Union


Russia
Fyodor Lukyanov, “Putin's Foreign Policy: The Quest to Restore Russia’s Rightful Place,” Foreign Affairs 95, no. 3 (May/June 2016): 30-37.

**China**


**Small States and Developing States**


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