FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

(listed in catalogue as Theoretical Explanations of Foreign Policy)

Pol Sci 530

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Office Hours: after class and by appointment

This seminar focuses on how states formulate and implement their foreign policies. Foreign Policy Analysis is a well-defined subfield within the International Relations field, with its own sections in the International Studies Association and American Political Science Association (Foreign Policy Analysis and Foreign Policy, respectively). 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. An important assumption underlying this course is that the processes through which foreign policy is made have a considerable impact on the substantive content of policy.

We follow a loose a levels-of-analysis framework to organize our survey of the theoretical literature on foreign policy. We examine rational state actor, bureaucratic/organizational, institutional, societal, and psychological models. We look at the government decision-makers, 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 most (but not all) of our reading is written by Americans and although much of it deals primarily with American foreign policy, most of these conceptual frameworks are much more general and not restricted to the United States. One important question underlying many of our discussions is the extent to which hypotheses and models of foreign policy analysis developed for the United States or other advanced industrial states can be generalized to other countries and cultures. In that sense this is a course in comparative foreign policy, and I encourage students to bring comparative perspectives to bear on class readings and discussions and in their papers. While our primary focus, following the literature, is on the behavior of states, we might also speculate about the
extent to which models of foreign policy might also be applied to non-state actors, including terrorist organizations.

Any course must emphasize some things and deemphasize others. In this seminar, we focus primarily on internal rather than external causal influences on foreign policy, in part because this 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, we give only minimal attention to institutions such as the U.S. Departments of State or Defense, the National Security Council, or the Congress. This is due to time constraints, to my judgment that the field is now giving more attention to process models and to more general institutional models, and to an interest in more generalizable models of the foreign policy process that are valid across states. Third, we give significant emphasis to decision-making by top political leaders, both individual and collective, rationalist and non-rationalist. Fourth, there are more applications to the literature on security than political economy. This reflects the state of the literature on foreign policy analysis and the general neglect of decision-making variables in the subfield of International Political Economy. However, I encourage students with an interest in international political economy to think about how to apply decision-making models to their areas of interest. Finally, following my own interests, this syllabus might give a little more attention to psychological models than does the typical syllabus on foreign policy analysis.

Readings

The following required books (all paperback) are available for purchase at New Jersey Books (37 Easton Avenue, 732 253 7666) and at internet booksellers. In the order that we will read them, they are


We will also be reading a substantial number of articles and book chapters, because much of the important theoretical and empirical work in foreign policy analysis has been published in this form. There will be no formal reading packet, but all of the articles will be available at my Sakai site (https://sakai.rutgers.edu/portal).

**Course Requirements:**

I have organized our weekly meetings as follows. We will usually begin with my own introductory comments on a particular body of literature, though in weeks of student presentations my own remarks will be much briefer. We will then move to an open discussion of the material, including any student presentations. Most weeks we will cover several distinct topics, and we may have more than one presentation. 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 it. Each week I will try to provide some guidance as to what to emphasize in the following week’s reading.

Given the different backgrounds and goals of different members of the seminar, I have set up two alternative “tracks” or sets of requirements, a literature review track and a research track. You are free to select whichever track you prefer. I generally recommend, however, that IR majors planning to write a dissertation that involves some attention to how states formulate and implement their foreign policies (security, economic, human rights, environmental, etc.), especially those past their first year, write a research paper. I recommend that IR minors and those whose dissertation work is not likely to focus on how states formulate foreign policy adopt the literature review track. It is worth noting, however, that even a lot of system-level research includes a substantial foreign policy component, and that a case study of foreign policy making might nicely supplement a dissertation that employs a different methodology. 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.

1) **literature review track** (due May 9, by email attachment)
   The basic requirement is a literature review, along with a presentation in class on the subject of the paper and on the day that subject is scheduled, as specified in the syllabus. The literature review should be approximately 12-15 pages (double space, with single space footnotes [rather than endnotes] and references). It should be a critical review of the literature on a well-defined theoretical question relating to foreign policy analysis, often but not always equivalent to a sub-section of the syllabus. For example, good topics include the bureaucratic politics model, Congress and foreign policy, foreign policy in parliamentary systems, learning, prospect theory, ethnic groups and foreign policy, and
culture and foreign policy, to name a few. Decision-making by sub-state organizations, non-governmental organizations, and inter-governmental organizations is also a viable topic as long as it has to do with international relations. A student a few years ago, for example, did a literature review on foreign policy making in the European Union. Whatever topic you choose, you must secure approval in advance, both to avoid misunderstandings and to facilitate the scheduling of presentations (see below). I would be happy to talk to you about what topics make most sense given your background and objectives in your graduate program and beyond.

The required and optional readings from the relevant section of the syllabus in many cases serve as a useful guide to the literature on any given topic, but please consult me for suggestions as to possible additions to the list (if the list on the syllabus is short) and/or priorities among them (if the number of items is quite large). 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.

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, not around a succession of books and articles. (That is, I do not want twenty paragraphs on twenty different authors or books/articles.) You should note the theoretical questions that this literature attempts to answer, 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.

I expect rigorous analytical thinking that is well-grounded in the literature. You should include citations and a list of references. You may use either a variation of the “Harvard” style (with parenthetical in-text citations) or a more traditional bibliographic style (as reflected in the Chicago Manual of Style), but just be consistent. See various journals for illustrations. Note that I want a separate bibliography even if a traditional footnoting style is used. I prefer footnotes to endnotes.

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 Sakai site (in folder #00).
The presentation based on each literature review will be scheduled for the day we discuss that topic in class. This is important, and it requires you to plan in advance. This means that if you want to do a literature review on a topic that arises early in the term, you must get to work early.

The formal part of the talk will be 12-15 minutes. You will then have the opportunity to respond to questions from the class for another half hour or so. I expect you to benefit from the feedback from class discussion and incorporate it into your paper, which is due by email attachment Friday May 9 (anytime). There is no penalty for papers handed in within two weeks of that date, but papers handed in even a day late might receive an incomplete, given deadlines for handing in grades. Papers more than two weeks late will not be penalized, but I will have higher expectations. It is more important to get a paper right than to get it in on time, at least in this class. (This applies to the paper, not to the presentation.)

2) Research paper track (due in principle May 9, by attachment)

The requirement here is variable, depending on the stage of a student's work on a project. If you are just starting on a research project, a research design will be sufficient. If you have been working on a particular project for a while, I expect you to implement the research design and carry out the empirical research. If your paper for the class is a research design, I expect you to identify the question you are trying to answer, ground it in the 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 or falsify your hypotheses. Try to do this in 12-15 pages (single space). Please consult with me along the way. Submitting a short outline along the way would be helpful.

You should understand that 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 presentation based on the research, consult with me, but in most cases I prefer that you emphasize (in the presentation) the theoretical argument and the research design phase of the project rather than your findings. We will schedule these presentations for late in the term, though if it fits earlier and if you are ready at that time we could go earlier (which would be a good way for you to get feedback on your project). Note that while I am quite
tolerant of incompletes for research papers, I still expect a presentation of the theory and research design during the term.

Research papers are more elaborate, and involve the completion of the empirical research detailed in the research design/proposal. 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 toward the outer limit for most journal submissions.

I should note that while 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 about the empirical world for which there is no conceivable evidence that would lead to their rejection. 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.

**Paper Due Date** (for either track): May 7

**Grading**
The bulk of your grade consists of my evaluation of your paper and the presentation in class (figure about 20% presentation and 80% paper). In addition, the quality and quantity of your contribution to class discussion, including discussion of others’ presentations, will be an important factor in my evaluation of your performance in the course. Although I do not attach an explicit weight to your contributions to class discussion, my judgments here may be decisive in any borderline case. I suspect several of you will fall into this category.
TOPICAL OUTLINE

The number refers to the week of the term, beginning with week of 21 January 2014. Depending on student selections of paper topics, we might need to move a few things around.

1. Course Introduction

THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION
Introduction to Foreign Policy Analysis
Levels of Analysis Framework
The Agent-Structure Debate

2. DEFINITION AND EVOLUTION OF THE FIELD
Overviews
The Decision-Making Approach
The “Comparative Foreign Policy” Research Program
Issue-Areas
Other Early Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis

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

REALIST THEORIES OF FOREIGN POLICY
The Debate
Neoclassical Realism

3. GOVERNMENTAL-LEVEL EXPLANATIONS - I
The Bureaucratic Politics/Organizational Processes Model
Organizational Theory: Background
James March's Research Program on Organization Theory
Governmental Politics/Organizational Process: Applications
Agenda Setting
Evaluation of the Bureaucratic/Organizational Model
Organizational Reform
4. GOVERNMENTAL-LEVEL EXPLANATIONS - II
   The Decision Unit Approach
   Rational Institutionalism
   Other General Approaches
   Congress
   Constitutional Issues
   Presidential and Parliamentary Systems
   The State Department
   Organizational Reform
   Civil-Military Relations
      Comparative Perspectives
   Advisory Groups and Management Style

5. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, I
   General Approaches
   The Foreign Policy of Democracies: Explaining the Democratic Peace
   Presidential and Parliamentary Systems
   Social Identity Theory
   The Diversionary Theory of War
   Political Oppositions
   Public Opinion
   Audience Costs
   The Media

6. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, II: INTEREST GROUPS AND COALITIONS
   Neo-Marxist Theories
   The Military-Industrial Complex
   Interest Groups and Coalitional Politics
   Application: Coalitional Politics in the 1930s
   Sectional Explanations
   Ethnic Groups
   Debates over The Israeli Lobby
7. IDEAS, CULTURE, AND CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACHES
   "Ideas"
   Ideology
   Religion
   Culture
   Empirical Applications
   Strategic Culture
   Constructivist Approaches
   The “Story Model”
   Psychology and Constructivism

8. PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES - I
   Introduction to Political Psychology
   Early Psychological Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis
   Contemporary Theories of Psychology and Foreign Policy - Overviews
   Cognition, Beliefs, and Images
   Operational Code
   Emotions and Motivations

   March 18. No Class. Spring Break.

9. March 25. No Class. ISA

10. PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES - II

LEARNING
   Bayesian Updating
   "Psychological" Models of Learning
   Organizational Learning
   Learning: Empirical Applications
   Other Models of Foreign Policy Change
   Expert Judgment
   Methodological Issues

PERSONALITY AND PSYCHOBIOGRAPHY
   General Theoretical Approaches to Personality
   Applied Personality Studies
   Psychobiography
   Alexander George’s Research Program on Presidential Personality
   Psychoanalytic Studies of Decisions for War
POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND ADVISORY SYSTEMS
Political Leadership
Advisory Groups and Management Style

SMALL GROUP BEHAVIOR
Overview
Groupthink and Beyond

11. BEHAVIORAL DECISION THEORY
Introduction
   Useful Anthologies
Heuristics and Biases
Prospect Theory
Framing
Aspiration Levels
Sunk Costs and Models of Entrapment
   Dollar Auction Model
Other Models of Risk Behavior
Decision Rules
Time Horizons and Intertemporal Choice
Poliheuristic Theory
Dual Process Theories

12. CRISIS DECISION-MAKING, THREAT PERCEPTION, AND BARGAINING
Crisis Decision-Making
Threat Perception and Intelligence Failure
Case Studies of Intelligence Failure
Psychology of Bargaining

13. OTHER TOPICS IN FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS
Evolutionary Psychology, Cognitive Neuroscience, and Biopolitics
Gender Differences in Decision-Making
Feminist Approaches to Foreign Policy and International Relations
Foreign Policy-Making in Developing States
The Psychology of Conflict Resolution

14. RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS
COURSE OUTLINE AND READING LIST

Number indicates week of semester (though we may need to reschedule one or two sessions); letter indicates multiple topics in a given week.
Asterisk (*) denotes required reading; additional reading will be useful for papers or for future reference, but need not be read at this time.
If you have already read a particular piece for a previous class (or just for fun), it is not usually necessary to read it again.

1. **COURSE INTRODUCTION** (January 21)
   Course objectives, organization, procedures, readings, requirements, etc.

1. **THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION**

1a. **Introduction to Foreign Policy Analysis**

1b. **Levels of Analysis Framework**


**The Agent-Structure Debate**


2. **DEFINITION AND EVOLUTION OF THE FIELD** (January 28)

2a. **Overviews**


2b. **The Decision-Making Approach**


2c. **The “Comparative Foreign Policy” Research Program**


Bruce E. Moon, "Political Economy Approaches to the Analysis of Foreign Policy Behavior." In Hermann, Kegley, and Rosenau, eds., *New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy*, ch. 3.


*International Studies Notes*, 13, 2 (Spring 1987). Special Issue on "The Comparative Study of Foreign Policy."

2d. **Issue-Areas**


2e. **Other Early Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis**


THE "RATIONAL" (ANALYTIC) MODEL

2f.. The Basic Paradigm


2g. Expected Utility Theory


2h. Preference Aggregation and Social Choice Theory

REALIST THEORIES OF FOREIGN POLICY

2i. The Debate

2j. Neoclassical Realism
3. GOVERNMENTAL-LEVEL EXPLANATIONS - I (February 4)

3a. Bureaucratic Politics/Organizational Processes Model

3b. Organizational Theory: Background
3c. **James March's Research Program on Organization Theory**


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


3e. **Agenda Setting**

3f. **Evaluation of Bureaucratic/Organizational Models**
Stephen D. Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important? (or Allison Wonderland)" *Foreign Policy* #7 (Summer 1972): 159-79.
3g. **Organizational Reform**

4. **GOVERNMENTAL-LEVEL EXPLANATIONS - II** (February 11)

4a. **The “Decision Unit” Approach**
International Studies Review special issue on "Leaders, Groups, and Coalitions: Understanding the People and Processes in Foreign Policy Making," (3, 2 Summer 2001). Including


4b. **Rational Institutionalism**


4c. **Congress**


4d. **Constitutional Issues**


4e. **Presidential and Parliamentary Systems**


4f. **The State Department**

4g. **Civil-Military Relations**
Comparative Perspectives

5. **SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES - I** (February 18)

5a. **General Approaches**
5b. **The Foreign Policy of Democracies: Explaining the Democratic Peace**


5c. **Social Identity Theory**


5d. **The Diversionary Theory of War**


5e. **Political Oppositions**


+++ See also section 7 on ideas and constructivist approaches.
5g. **Audience Costs**


Jack S. Levy, Michael McKoy, Paul Poast, and Geoffrey Wallace], “Do Domestic Publics Punish Leaders for Backing Down or for Bad Policies? An Experimental Study.” 2014 ISA paper.
5h. **The Media**


6. **SOCIETAL LEVEL THEORIES - II: INTEREST GROUPS AND COALITIONS** (February 25)

6a. **Neo-Marxist Theories**


6b. **The Military-Industrial Complex**


6c. **Interest Groups and Coalitional Politics**


6d. **Application: Coalitional Politics in the 1930s**

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


for a realist alternative on the 1930s:

6e. **Sectional Explanations**


6f. **Ethnic Groups**


6g. **Debates over The Israeli Lobby**

www.lrb.co.uk


7. **IDEAS, CULTURE, AND CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACHES** (March 4)

7a. **“Ideas”**


7b. **Ideology**


7c. **Culture**


7d. **Empirical Applications**


7e. **Religion**

7f. **Strategic Culture**

7f. **Constructivist Approaches**


7g. **The “Story Model”**


7h. **Psychology and Constructivism**


*European Journal of International Relations*, 12, 197-222.

8. **PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES - I (March 11)**

8a. **Introduction to Political Psychology**

8b. **Early Psychological Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis**
Joseph de Rivera, *The Psychological Dimension of Foreign Policy*. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1968.
8c. **Contemporary Theories of Psychology and Foreign Policy - Overviews**


8d. **Cognition, Beliefs, and Images**


8e. **Operational Code**


8f. **Emotions and Motivations**


**8g. Methodological Issues**


(March 18 No Class. Spring Break)

9. **No Class - ISA** (March 25)

10. **PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES - II** (April 1)

LEARNING

10a. **Bayesian Updating**


10b. "Psychological" Models of Learning


10c. **Organizational Learning**


10d. **Learning: Empirical Applications**


10e. **Other Models of Foreign Policy Change**


**PERSONALITY AND PSYCHOBIOGRAPHICAL APPROACHES**

10f. **General Theoretical Approaches to Personality**


Applied Personality Studies


Psychobiography


10i. **Alexander George’s Research Program on Presidential Personality**


(Review of George & George)


10j. **Psychoanalytic Studies of Decisions for War**


**POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND ADVISORY SYSTEMS**

10f. **Political Leadership**


10g. **Advisory Groups and Management Style**


**SMALL GROUP BEHAVIOR**

10h. **Small Group Behavior: Overview**

10i. **Groupthink and Beyond**

Paul B. Paulus, ‘Developing Consensus about Groupthink after All These Years’, Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 73 (March 1998), 362–74.


11. **BEHAVIORAL DECISION THEORY** (April 8)

11a. **Introduction**


**Useful anthologies**


11b. **Heuristics and Biases**


11c. **Prospect Theory**


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


11d. **Framing**


11e. **Aspiration Levels**


11f. **Sunk Costs and Models of Entrapment**


Dollar Auction Model

11g. Other Models of Risk Behavior
Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky, "Variants of Uncertainty." In Kahneman, Slovic, and Tversky, eds., *Judgment under Uncertainty* ch. 35.

11h. Time Horizons and Intertemporal Choice


11i. **Poliheuristic Theory**


11j. **Dual Process Theories**


12. **CRISIS DECISION-MAKING, THREAT PERCEPTION, AND BARGAINING** (April 15)

12a. **Crisis Decision-Making**


12b. **Threat Perception and Intelligence Failure**


12c. **Intelligence Failure: Case Studies**


12d. **Psychology of Bargaining**


13. **OTHER TOPICS IN FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS** (April 22)

13a. **Evolutionary Psychology, Cognitive Neuroscience, and Biopolitics**


13b **Gender Differences in Decision-Making**

13c. **Feminist Approaches to Foreign Policy and International Relations**

13d. **Foreign Policy-Making in Developing States**

13e. **The Psychology of Conflict Resolution**


14. RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS (April 29)