

# POS 560 - Spring 2023

## International Relations

Thursdays 1-3:45 PM MST in Coor Hall 6605

### Contact Information

**Professor: Timothy M. Peterson**

Email: Timothy.M.Peterson@asu.edu

Office hours: email for an appointment

### About the Course

This course introduces students to the field of International Relations. This field is large and diverse, so no course could cover everything. Keeping this limitation in mind, I have designed this course to introduce students to major approaches to the study of international relations, as well as important research topics. The readings skew towards more recent contributions over the canonical classics. In particular, I have de-emphasized the major IR “paradigms” in favor of applied social science. We will begin the semester by focusing on the approaches and methods that IR scholars use. Later readings will emphasize contributions to the broadly scientific study of IR, developing and/or testing theories to explain phenomena of interest.

As a graduate seminar, the course is demanding: it requires significant investments of time for reading, thinking, and synthesizing; and it requires a commitment to embrace different ideas and arguments for the purpose of understanding them. The primary learning outcome is ***synthesis of prior work towards the end of developing new research projects***—arguably the single most important skill for aspiring social scientists.

### Course Requirements

#### Readings

Mastery of the readings is an important requirement for a good grade in the course. Expect to read a substantial body of material each week. Complete the required readings before coming to the class for which they are assigned. A good strategy is to keep notes in which you both describe the main arguments, evidence, research design, etc. of each article, while also recording your questions and making connections with other readings. As you read, consider the following (keeping in mind not all will apply to every reading):

- What is the research question or puzzle?
- How does this reading synthesize prior studies?
- What is the argument: what are the cause(s) and effect(s) and what logic links them?
- What hypotheses are being tested?
- What type of research design is used (and why)?
- How are theoretical concepts operationalized? Does the measure reflect the concept well?
- What evidence is provided in support of the argument or to test the hypotheses?
- To what degree does the researcher answer the research question?
- Where does the study fit into the theoretical landscape of IR?

All required readings are available through online from web sources free to ASU students, or will be uploaded to the course Canvas site. Any changes to the schedule listed below will be discussed in class and posted on Canvas in advance.

## Reaction Papers

Each student is responsible for writing six (6) reaction papers over the eleven (11) weeks for which readings are assigned. Reaction papers are due (uploaded to Canvas) due at the start of class. Reaction papers should synthesize the readings, critically evaluate contributions, and/or point to ideas for future research. Reaction papers should **not** be mere summaries of the readings. I know what the readings say; I instead want to see evidence of critical thinking, interpretation, and application of the arguments and empirical evidence presented. Engage the readings. If you think an argument or measure is flawed, explain why and, ideally, suggest and justify an alternative.

Note that reaction papers can be no longer than 500 words (approximately one page, single-spaced when using 12-point font). This word limit necessitates revision to present ideas as concisely as possible. I recommend writing a preliminary draft taking as much space as you need (which is likely to be much more than 500 words), and then editing that document down to fit the guidelines.

Students are free to choose which weeks to write papers, and need not inform the instructor in advance.

## Attendance and Participation

I list attendance and participation after readings and reaction papers because we cannot have a good discussion unless students first read closely and think carefully about the readings. Class provides the opportunity to discuss the ideas you wrote about, debate interpretations, and generally bounce ideas off each other. I expect students to attend our meeting each week prepared to take an active role in the conversation. My primary role is to facilitate discussion and answer questions, e.g., about advanced methods and related research beyond the material covered in class.

## Technology requirements

Students will need access to a computer with internet access in order to access the course Canvas site to upload weekly reaction papers. For students without their own equipment and/or internet service, ASU offers a number of on-site computer labs.

## Course Paper

Each student will write a seminar paper to be turned in during finals week via Canvas. There are two options for course papers.

1. **Complete research paper:** This paper includes all components of a research paper: literature review, theory, research design, and analysis – along with an introduction and conclusion. The paper must be an original contribution to IR, although primarily empirical papers are allowed. This option should be chosen only if data is available via existing sources; ambitious coding projects are discouraged.
2. **Analytical essay:** This paper engages and synthesizes prior work on a research question of the student's choice, towards the end of identifying worthwhile avenues for future research. Journals such as *Annual Review of Political Science* and *International Studies Review* publish these kinds of essays. As stated by *International Studies Review*, the goal of analytical essays is to “integrate scholarship, clarify debates, provide new perspectives on research, and identify new directions for the

field.” Keep in mind that analytical essays are **not** mere summaries of prior studies. You can think of the analytical essay as an expanded reaction paper with a central thesis.

All papers will be graded on substantive merit as well as on spelling, grammar, and style. Proposals are due at the beginning of class on week 8. Students will briefly present their idea to the class for discussion. Students will also give a short (8-10 minute) presentation of their paper during the final class meeting (week 15). Additional information about paper requirements and deadlines will be made available in class and on Canvas.

## Grading

Grades are tabulated as a weighted sum of: reaction papers and participation (50%) and the course paper (50%). Final grades are recorded as follows:

A+	100%	to 97.0%
A	< 97.0%	to 94.0%
A-	< 94.0%	to 90.0%
B+	< 90.0%	to 87.0%
B	< 87.0%	to 84.0%
B-	< 84.0%	to 80.0%
C+	< 80.0%	to 76.0%
C	< 76.0%	to 70.0%
D	< 70.0%	to 60.0%
E	< 60.0%	to 0.0%

## Academic Integrity

Students are responsible for knowing and abiding by the [ASU Student Code of Conduct](#) and [Academic Integrity Policy](#). Should I determine that a violation has occurred, I will determine whether the seriousness of the situation warrants (1) a penalty to the assignment, up to assigning a score of 0 for the work, (2) a penalty to the course, up to assigning an ‘E,’ or (3) a more severe penalty in accordance with the approved university procedure.

## Accommodating Disabilities

Reasonable accommodations are available for students with a documented disability. If you have a disability and may need accommodations to participate fully in this class, contact [Student Accessibility and Inclusive Learning Services](#).

## Class Behavior

This course will, at times, involve the discussion of controversial and sensitive ideas. Students should treat everyone with respect. Try to extend the benefit of the doubt to those who hold opinions contrary to your own. The instructor is expected to facilitate learning, to answer questions appropriately, to be fair and objective in grading, to provide timely and useful feedback on assignments, and to treat students as he would like to be treated in their place.

## Title IX Statement

Title IX is a federal law that provides that no person be excluded on the basis of sex from participation in, be denied benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity. Both Title IX and university policy make clear that sexual violence and harassment based on sex is prohibited. An individual who believes they have been subjected to sexual violence or harassed on the basis of sex can seek support, including counseling and academic support, from the university. If you or someone you know has been harassed on the basis of sex or sexually assaulted, you can find information and resources [here](#).

As a mandated reporter, I am obligated to report any information I become aware of regarding alleged acts of sexual discrimination, including sexual violence and dating violence. [ASU Counseling Services](#) is available if you wish to discuss any concerns confidentially and privately. ASU online students may access 360 Life Services [here](#).

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## Schedule

Note: In addition to the required material, you will find supplemental readings that flesh out each topic for those who want to learn more. I browsed through the CVs of SPGS faculty and listed studies that are related to our course material, indicating SPGS authors with square ■ bullets. For students pursuing or considering a PhD at ASU, I recommend checking out research by faculty with whom you might like to work. I also list a number of seminal works from the IR canon at the end of the syllabus.

### Week 1 (January 12): Course introduction

No required reading

### Week 2 (January 19): The field of IR and the scientific approach

Required

- Maliniak, Daniel, Susan Peterson, Ryan Powers, and Michael J. Tierney. 2018. "Is International Relations a Global Discipline? Hegemony, Insularity, and Diversity in the Field." *Security Studies* 27 (3): 448-484.
- Frieden, Jeffrey A., and David A. Lake. 2005. "International Relations as a Social Science: Rigor and Relevance." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 600: 136-156.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Stephan Haggard, David A. Lake, and David G. Victor. 2017. "The Behavioral Revolution and International Relations." *International Organization* 71: S1-S31.
- Wagner, R. Harrison. 2007. *War and the State*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Ch. 1: The Theory of International Politics. **Uploaded to Canvas**

Supplemental

- Snyder, Jack. 2004. "One World, Rival Theories." *Foreign Policy* 145: 52-62.
- Elman, Colin, and Mirium Fendius Elman. 2002. "How Not to Be Lakatos Intolerant: Appraising Progress in IR Research." *International Studies Quarterly* 46 (2): 231-262.
- Jackson, Patrick Thaddeus, and Daniel H. Nexon. 2009. "Paradigmatic Faults in International-Relations Theory." *International Studies Quarterly* 53 (4): 907-930.
- Rathbun, Brian C. 2012. "Politics and Paradigm Preferences: The Implicit Ideology of International Relations Scholars." *International Studies Quarterly* 56 (3): 607-622.

- Lake, David A. 2011. "Why 'isms' Are Evil: Theory, Epistemology, and Academic Sects as Impediments to Understanding and Progress." *International Studies Quarterly* 55 (2): 465-480.
- Reiter, Dan. 2015. "Should We Leave Behind the Subfield of International Relations?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 481-499.
- Grieco, Joseph M. 2019. "The Schools of Thought Problem in International Relations." *International Studies Review* 21 (3): 424-446.
- Most, Benjamin A., and Harvey Starr. 1989. *Inquiry, Logic, and International Politics*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. Ch. 1-Ch. 3.
- Allison, Graham T. 1969. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Political Science Review* 63 (3): 689-718.
- Bendor, Jonathan, and Thomas H. Hammond. 1992. "Rethinking Allison's models." *American Political Science Review* 86: 301-22.
- Ray, James Lee. 2001 "Integrating Levels of Analysis in World Politics." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 13 (4): 355-388.
- Cranmer, Skyler J., and Bruce A. Desmarais. 2016. "A Critique of Dyadic Design." *International Studies Quarterly* 60 (2): 355-362.
- Diehl, Paul F., and Thorin M. Wright. 2016. "A Conditional Defense of the Dyadic Approach." *International Studies Quarterly* 60 (2): 363-368.
- Chaudoin, Stephen, Helen V. Milner, and Xun Pang. 2015. "International Systems and Domestic Politics: Linking Complex Interactions with Empirical Models in International Relations." *International Organization* 69 (2): 275-309.
- Singer, J. David . 1961. "The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations." *World Politics* 14 (1): 77-92.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Miles Kahler, and Alexander H. Montgomery. 2009. "Network Analysis for International Relations." *International Organization* 63 (3): 559-592.
- Walt, Stephen M. 1999. "Rigor or Rigor Mortis? Rational Choice and Security Studies." *International Security* 23 (4): 5-48.
- Dunne, Tim, Lene Hansen, and Colin Wight. 2013. "The end of International Relations theory?" *European Journal of International Relations* 19 (3): 405-425.
- Avey, Paul C., and Michael C. Desch. 2014. "What Do Policymakers Want From Us? Results of a Survey of Current and Former Senior National Security Decision Makers." *International Studies Quarterly* 58 (2): 227-246.
- Colgan, Jeff D. 2016. "Where is International Relations Going? Evidence from Graduate Training." *International Studies Quarterly* 60 (1): 486-498.

### **Week 3 (January 26): The field of IR part II: other approaches**

#### Required

- Mahoney, James, and Gary Goertz. 2006. "A Tale of Two Cultures: Contrasting Quantitative and Qualitative Research." *Political Analysis* 14 (3): 227-249.
- Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 52 (4): 887-917.
- Tickner, J. Ann. 2005. "What is Your Research Program? Some Feminist Answers to International Relations Methodological Questions." *International Studies Quarterly* 49: 1-21.
- Henderson, Errol A. 2013. "Hidden in plain sight: racism in international relations theory." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26 (1): 71-92.
- Jackson, Patrick Thaddeus, Yosef Lapid, Yale H. Ferguson, Richard Mansbach, Cynthia Weber, Helena Rytövuori-Apunen, Richard Price, and Annick T. R. Wibben. 2017. "The 'Third Debate' 25 Years Later." *International Studies Quarterly* Online Symposium: [web link](#).

#### Supplemental

- Fearon, James D., and Alexander E. Wendt. 2002. "Rationalism vs. Constructivism: A Skeptical View." In Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse-Kappen and Beth A. Simmons (Eds.), *Handbook of International Relations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Ashley, Richard K. 1984. "The Poverty of Neorealism." *International Organization* 38 (2): 225-286.
- Cox, Robert W. 1983. "Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method." *Millennium Journal of International Studies* 12 (2): 162-175.
- Wendt, Alexander E. 1999. *Social Theory of International Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ruggie, John Gerard. 1998. "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge." *International Organization* 52 (4): 855-885.
- Sterling-Folker, Jennifer. 2000. "Competing Paradigms or Birds of a Feather? Constructivism and Neoliberal Institutionalism Compared." *International Studies Quarterly* 44 (1): 97-119.
- Knox, Robert. 2013 "Civilizing interventions? Race, war and international law." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26 (1): 111-132.
- Vitalis, Robert. 2015. *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Mitzen, Jennifer. 2006. "Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma." *European Journal of International Relations* 12 (3): 341- 370.
- Hudson, Valerie M., Mary Caprioli, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Rose McDermott, and Chad F. Emmett. 2008/09. "The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States." *International Security* 33 (3): 7-45.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2012. "Gender, Structure, and War: What Waltz Couldn't See." *International Theory* 4 (1): 1-38.

#### **Week 4 (February 2): International conflict**

##### Required

- Levy, Jack S., and William R. Thompson. 2010. *Causes of War*. West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell. Chapters 1-4. **Uploaded to Canvas**
- Leeds, Brett Ashley. 2003. "Do Alliances Deter Aggression? The Influence of Military Alliances on the Initiation of Militarized Interstate Disputes." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (3): 427-439.

##### Supplemental

- Schelling, Thomas. 1960. *The Strategy of Conflict*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Blainey, Geoffrey. 1988. *The Causes of War*, 3rd ed. New York: The Free Press.
- Huth, Paul, and Bruce Russett. 1993. "General Deterrence Between Enduring Rivals: Testing Three Competing Models." *American Political Science Review* 87 (1): 61-73.
- Doran, Charles F. 2003. "Economics, Philosophy of History, and the 'Single Dynamic' of Power Cycle Theory: Expectations, Competition, and Statecraft." *International Political Science Review* 24 (1): 13-49.
- Powell, Robert. 1999. *In the Shadow of Power*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- DiCicco, Jonathan M., and Jack S. Levy. 1999. "Power Shifts and Problem Shifts: The Evolution of the Power Transition Research Program." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43 (6): 675-704.
- Senese, Paul D., and John A. Vasquez. 2005. "Assessing the Steps to War." *British Journal of Political Science* 35: 607-633.
- Sartori, Anne E. 2007. *Deterrence by Diplomacy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Ch 1.
- Maoz, Zeev, Paul L. Johnson, Jasper Kaplan, Fiona Ogunkoya, and Aaron P. Shreve. 2019. "The Dyadic Militarized Interstate Disputes (MIDs) Dataset Version 3.0: Logic, Characteristics, and Comparisons to Alternative Datasets." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63 (3): 811-835.

## **Week 5 (February 9): International cooperation**

### Required

- Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. 2001. "The Rational Design of International Institutions." *International Organization* 55 (4): 761-799.
- Davis, Christina L. 2004. "International Institutions and Issue Linkage: Building Support for Agricultural Trade Liberalization." *American Political Science Review* 98 (1): 153-169.
- Gray, Julia. 2018. "Life, Death, or Zombie? The Vitality of International Organizations." *International Studies Quarterly* 62: 1-13.
- Downs, George W., David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom. 1996. "Is the Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation?" *International Organization* 50 (3): 379-406.
- Nuñez-Mietz, Fernando G., and Lucrecia García Iommi. 2017. "Can Transnational Norm Advocacy Undermine Internalization? Explaining Immunization Against LGBT Rights in Uganda." *International Studies Quarterly* 61 (1): 196-209.

### Supplemental

- Axelrod, Robert M., and Robert O. Keohane. 1985. "Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions." *World Politics* 38(1): 226-254.
- Grieco, Joseph M. 1988. "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism." *International Organization* 42 (3): 485-507.
- Lake, David A. 1993. "Leadership, Hegemony, and the International Economy - Naked Emperor or Tattered Monarch with Potential." *International Studies Quarterly* 37 (4):459-489.
- Martin, Lisa L. 1992. "Interests, Power, and Multilateralism." *International Organization*. 46 (4): 765-792.
- Deudney, Daniel, and G. John Ikenberry. 1999. "The Nature and Sources of Liberal International Order." *Review of International Studies* 25 (2 ): 179-196.
- Peskin, Victor. 2008. *International Justice in Rwanda and the Balkans – Virtual Trials and the Struggle for State Cooperation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Nexon, Daniel, and Thomas Wright. 2007. "What's at stake in the American empire debate?" *American Political Science Review* 101 (2): 253-271.
- Kono, Daniel Y. 2007. "Making Anarchy Work: International Legal Institutions and Trade Cooperation." *Journal of Politics* 69 (3): 746-759.
- Ikenberry, G. John. 2011. *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Meyerrose, Anna M. 2020. "The Unintended Consequences of Democracy Promotion: International Organizations and Democratic Backsliding." *Comparative Political Studies* 53 (10-11): 1547-1581.

## **Week 6 (February 16): Bargaining and information**

### Required

- Fearon, James D. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War" *International Organization* 49 (3): 379-414.
- Powell, Robert. 2006. "War as a Commitment Problem." *International Organization* 60 (1): 169-203.
- Goddard, Stacie E. 2006. "Uncommon Ground: Indivisible Territory and the Politics of Legitimacy." *International Organization* 60 (1): 35-68.
- Fearon, James D. 1994. "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes." *American Political Science Review* 88 (3): 577-592.
- Snyder, Jack, and Erica D. Borghard. 2011. "The Cost of Empty Threats: A Penny, Not a Pound." *American Political Science Review* 105 (3): 437-456.

### Supplemental

- Powell, Robert. 2002. "Bargaining Theory and International Conflict." *Annual Review of Political Science* 5 (1): 1-30.
- Morrow, James D. 1994. "Modeling the Forms of International Cooperation: Distribution Versus Information." *International Organization* 48 (3): 387-423.
- Fearon, James D. 1998. "Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation." *International Organization* 52 (2): 269-305.
- Gartzke, Eric. 1999. "War is in the Error Term." *International Organization* 53 (3): 567-587.
- Toft, Monica. 2014 "Territory and War." *Journal of Peace Research* 51 (2): 185-198.
- Hensel, Paul R., and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell. 2005. "Issue indivisibility and territorial claims." *GeoJournal* 64: 275-285.
- Fearon, James D. 1997. "Tying Hands versus Sinking Costs: Signaling Foreign Policy Interests." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41 (1): 68-90.

### **Week 7 (February 23): Past actions and reputation**

#### Required

- Crescenzi, Mark J. C. 2007. "Reputation and Interstate Conflict." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (2): 382-396.
- Tomz, Michael. 2007. *Reputation and International Cooperation: Sovereign Debt Across Three Centuries*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Ch. 1 and Ch. 2.
- Weisiger, Alex, and Keren Yarhi-Milo. 2015. "Revisiting Reputation: How Past Actions Matter in International Politics." *International Organization* 69: 473-495.
- Renshon, Jonathan, Allan Dafoe, and Paul Huth. 2018. "Leader Influence and Reputation Formation in World Politics." *American Journal of Political Science*. 62 (2): 325-339.

#### Supplemental

- Lupton, Danielle. 2020. *Reputation for Resolve: How Leaders Signal Determination in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- McManus, Roseanne W. 2017. *Statements of Resolve: Achieving Coercive Credibility in International Conflict*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Yarhi-Milo, Keren. 2018. *Who Fights for Reputation: The Psychology of Leaders in International Conflict*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Crescenzi, Mark J. C. 2018. *Of Friends and Foes: Reputation and Learning in International Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Press, Daryl G. 2005 *Calculating Credibility: How Leaders Assess Military Threats*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Mercer, Jonathan. 2010. *Reputation and International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Wolford, Scott. 2006. "The turnover trap: new leaders, reputation, and international conflict." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (4): 772-788.
- Peterson, Timothy M. 2013. "Sending a Message: The Reputation Effect of US Sanction Threat Behavior." *International Studies Quarterly* 57 (4): 672-682.

### **Week 8 (March 2): Paper topic discussions**

#### No required reading

*Note: project proposal due (uploaded to Canvas) by 1 PM*

### **Week 9 (March 9): Spring Break — class cancelled**

#### No required reading



## Week 10 (March 16): Regime type

### Required

- Schultz, Kenneth A. 1999. "Do Democratic Institutions Constrain or Inform? Contrasting Two Institutional Perspectives on Democracy and War." *International Organization* 53 (2): 233-266.
- Weeks, Jessica. 2012. "Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict." *American Political Science Review* 106: 326-347.
- Weiss, Jessica Chen. 2013. "Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China." *International Organization* 67 (1): 1-35.
- Tomz, Michael, and Jessica Weeks. 2013. "Public Opinion and the Democratic Peace." *American Political Science Review* 107 (4): 849-865.
- Hyde, Susan D., and Elizabeth N. Saunders. 2020 "Recapturing Regime Type in International Relations: Leaders, Institutions, and Agency Space." *International Organization* 74 (Spring): 363-95.

### Supplemental

- Maoz, Zeev, and Bruce Russett. 1993. "Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946-1986 ." *The American Political Science Review* 87 (3): 624-638.
- Jessica L. Weeks 2008. "Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve." *International Organization* 62 (1): 35-64.
- Bell, Mark, and Kai Quek. 2018. "Authoritarian Public Opinion and the Democratic Peace." *International Organization* 72 (1): 227-242.
- Barnhart, Joslyn N., Robert F. Trager, Elizabeth N. Saunders, and Allan Dafoe. 2020. "The Suffragist Peace." *International Organization* 74: 633-70.
- Schultz, Kenneth A. 1998. "Domestic Opposition and Signaling in International Crises." *American Political Science Review* 92 (4): 829-844.
- Tomz, Michael. 2007. "Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach." *International Organization* 61 (4): 821-40.
- Gelpi, Christopher. 2017. "Democracies in Conflict: The Role of Public Opinion, Political Parties, and the Press in Shaping Security Policy." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61 (9): 1925-1949.
- Saunders, Elizabeth N. 2015. "War and the Inner Circle: Democratic Elites and the Politics of Using Force." *Security Studies* 24 (3): 466-501.
- Debs, Alexandre, and H. E. Goemans. 2010. "Regime Type, the Fate of Leaders, and War." *American Political Science Review* 104 (3): 430-445.
- Carles, Boix. 2011. "Democracy, Development, and the International System." *American Political Science Review* 105 (4): 809-828
- Reiter, Dan, and Allan C. Stam. 2002. *Democracies at War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin. 2002. "A Kantian System? Democracy and Third-Party Conflict Resolution." *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (4):749-759.
- Rousseau, David, Christopher Gelpi, Dan Reiter, and Paul Huth, "Assessing the Dyadic Nature of the Democratic Peace, 1918-88." *American Political Science Review* 90 (3): 512-533.
- Joshi, Devin K., J.S. Maloy, and Timothy M. Peterson. 2015. "Popular vs. elite democratic structures and international peace." *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (4): 463-477.
- Mansfield, Edward, and Jack Snyder. 1995. "Democratization and the Danger of War." *International Security* 20 (1): 5-38.
- Gibler, Douglas M. 2007. "Bordering on Peace: Democracy, Territorial Issues, and Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 51 (3): 509-532.
- Dafoe, Allan. "Statistical Critiques of the Democratic Peace: Caveat Emptor." *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (2): 247-262.
- Milner, Helen, and Keiko Kubota. 2005. "Why the Move to Free Trade? Democracy and Trade Policy in the Developing Countries." *International Organization* 59: 107-143.
- Thomson, Henry. 2017. "Food and Power: Agricultural Policy Under Democracy and Dictatorship." *Comparative Politics* 49 (2): 273-293.

- Oneal, John R., and Bruce M. Russett. 1997. "The Classical Liberals Were Right: Democracy, Interdependence, and Conflict, 1950-1985." *International Studies Quarterly* 41 (2): 267-294.
- Oneal, John R., and Bruce Russett. 1999. "The Kantian Peace: The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885-1992." *World Politics* 52 (1): 1-37.

## **Week 11 (March 23): Domestic preferences**

### Required

- Tingley, Dustin. 2017. "Rising Power on the Mind." *International Organization* 71 (S1): S165-S188.
- Kertzer, Joshua D., and Thomas Zeitzoff. 2017. "A Bottom-Up Theory of Public Opinion about Foreign Policy." *American Journal of Political Science* 61 (3): 543-558.
- Herrmann, Richard K. 2017. "How Attachments to the Nation Shape Beliefs About the World: A Theory of Motivated Reasoning." *International Organization* 71 (S1): S61-S84.
- Brooks, Deborah Jordan, and Benjamin A. Valentino. 2011. "A War of One's Own: Understanding the Gender Gap in Support for War." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 75 (2): 270-286.
- Baker, Andy. 2015. "Race, Paternalism, and Foreign Aid: Evidence from U.S. Public Opinion." *American Political Science Review* 109 (1): 93-109.

### Supplemental

- Putnam, Robert D. 1988. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games." *International Organization*. 42 (3): 427-460.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1997. "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics." *International Organization* 51 (4): 513-554.
- Narizny, Kevin. 2017. "On Systemic Paradigms and Domestic Politics: A Critique of the Newest Realism." *International Security* 42 (2): 155-190.
- George, Alexander. 1969. "The 'Operational Code': A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making." *International Studies Quarterly* 13 (3): 90-222.
- Holsti, Ole. 1992. "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Challenges to the Almond-Lippmann Consensus." *International Studies Quarterly* 36: 439-66.
- Rose, Gideon. 1998. "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy." *World Politics* 51 (1): 144-172.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow. 2003. *The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Búzás, Zoltán I. 2013. "The Color of Threat: Race, Threat Perception, and the Demise of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902–1923)." *Security Studies* 22 (4): 573-606.
- Milner, Helen V. 1997. *Interests, Institutions, and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Martin, Lisa L. 2000. *Democratic Commitments: Legislatures and International Cooperation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Kertzer, Joshua D., and Dustin Tingley. 2018. "Political Psychology in International Relations: Beyond the Paradigms." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21: 319-339.
- Tversky, Amos, and Daniel Kahneman. 1982. "Judgment under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases." In Daniel Kahneman, Paul Slovic and Amos Tversky (Eds.), *Judgment under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levy, Jack S. 1997. "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly* 41 (1): 87-112.
- Holsti, K.J. 1970. "National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy." *International Studies Quarterly* 14 (3): 233–309.
- Iheduru, Okechukwu C. 2015. "Organized business and regional integration in Africa." *Review of International Political Economy* 22 (5): 910-940.

- Thies, Cameron G. 2009. "Role Theory and Foreign Policy." In *International Studies Association Compendium Project*. International Studies Association. [Link](#).
- Boucher, Jean-Christophe, and Cameron G. Thies. 2019. "'I am a Tariff Man!': The Power of Populist Foreign Policy Rhetoric under President Trump." *Journal of Politics* 81 (2): 712-722.
- Wood, Reed and Mark D. Ramirez. 2018. "Exploring the micro-foundations of the relationship between gender equality and peace." *International Studies Review* 20 (3): 345-367.

## **Week 12 (March 30): Domestic attitudes on international engagement**

### Required

- Hiscox, Michael J. 2001. "Class Versus Industry Cleavages: Inter-Industry Factor Mobility and the Politics of Trade." *International Organization* 55 (1): 1-46.
- Mansfield, Edward D., and Diana C. Mutz. 2009. "Support for Free Trade: Self-Interest, Sociotropic Politics, and Out-Group Anxiety." *International Organization* 63 (3): 425-457.
- Burgoon, Brian. 2009. "Globalization and backlash: Polayni's revenge?" *Review of International Political Economy* 16 (2): 145-177.
- Hangartner, Dominik, Elias Dinas, Moritz Marbach, Konstantinos Matakos, and Dimitrios Xefteris. 2019. "Does Exposure to the Refugee Crisis Make Natives More Hostile?" *American Political Science Review* 113 (2): 442-455.
- Myrick, Rachel. 2021. "Do External Threats Unite or Divide? Security Crises, Rivalries, and Polarization in American Foreign Policy." *International Organization First View*: 1-38.

### Supplemental

- Gourevitch, Peter. 1978. "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics." *International Organization* 32 (4): 881-912.
- Rogowski, Ronald. 1987. "Political Cleavages and Changing Exposure to Trade." *American Political Science Review* 81 (4): 1121-1137.
- Mosley, Layna. 2000. "International Financial Markets and National Welfare States." *International Organization* 54 (4): 737-774.
- Rogowski, Ronald. 1987. "Trade and the Variety of Democratic Institutions." *International Organization* 41 (2): 203-224.
- Guisinger, Alexandra. 2017. *American Opinion on Trade: Preferences without Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Grauvogel, Julia, Amanda A. Licht, and Christian von Soest. 2017. "Sanctions and Signals: How International Sanction Threats Trigger Domestic Protest in Targeted Regimes." *International Studies Quarterly* 61 (1): 86-97.
- Hainmueller, Jens, and Michael J. Hiscox. 2010. "Attitudes Towards Highly Skilled and Low Skilled Immigration: Evidence from a Survey Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 101 (4): 61-84.
- Kaire, José. 2019. "Compensating elites: How international demands for economic liberalization can lead to more repressive autocracies." *International Studies Quarterly* 63 (2): 394-405.
- Wright, Thorin M., and Shweta Moorthy. 2018. "Refugees, Economic Capacity, and Host State Repression." *International Interactions* 44 (1): 132-155.
- Gray, Mark, Miki Caul Kittilson, and Wayne Sandholtz. 2006. "Women and Globalization: A Study of 180 Countries, 1975-2000." *International Organization* 60(2): 293-333.
- Neuner, Fabian G. 2020. "Public Opinion and the Legitimacy of Global Private Environmental Governance." *Global Environmental Politics* 20 (1): 60-81.

## **Week 13 (April 6): Consequences of international economics for IR**

### Required

- Gartzke, Erik. 2007. "The Capitalist Peace." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (1): 166-191.
- Peterson, Timothy M., and Cameron G. Thies. 2012. "Beyond Ricardo: The Link Between Intra-industry Trade and Peace." *British Journal of Political Science* 42 (4): 747-767.
- Drezner, Daniel W. 2003. "The Hidden Hand of Economic Coercion." *International Organization* 57(3): 643-659.
- Farrell, Henry, and Abraham L. Newman. 2019. "Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion." *International Security* 44(1):42–79.
- Grinberg, Mariya. 2021. "Wartime Commercial Policy and Trade between Enemies." *International Security* 46 (1): 9-52.

### Supplemental

- Gowa, Joanne, and Edward D. Mansfield. 1993. "Power Politics and International Trade." *American Political Science Review* 87: 408-420.
- Baldwin, David A. 1985. *Economic Statecraft*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Barbieri, Katherine. 1996. "Economic Interdependence: A Path to Peace or a Source of Conflict?" *Journal of Peace Research* 33 (1): 29-49.
- Copeland, Dale C. 2015. *Economic interdependence and war*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Drezner, Daniel W. 1998. "Conflict Expectations and the Paradox of Economic Coercion." *International Studies Quarterly* 42 (4): 709-731.
- Early, Bryan R. 2015. *Busted Sanctions: Explaining Why Economic Sanctions Fail*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Whang, Taehee, Elena V. McLean and Douglas W. Kuberski. 2013. "Coercion, Information, and the Success of Sanction Threats." *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (1):65-81.
- Milner, Helen, and Keiko Kubota. 2005. "Why the Move to Free Trade? Democracy and Trade Policy in the Developing Countries." *International Organization* 59: 107-143.
- Crescenzi, Mark J. C. 2003. "Economic Exit, Interdependence, and Conflict." *Journal of Politics* 65 (3): 809-832.
- Findlay, Ronald and Kevin H. O'Rourke. 2007. *Power and Plenty: Trade, War, and the New World Economy in the Second Millennium*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Polachek, Solomon and Jun Xiang. 2010. "How Opportunity Costs Decrease the Probability of War in an Incomplete Information Game." *International Organization* 64: 133-144.
- Whang, Taehee. 2011. "Playing to the Home Crowd? Symbolic Use of Economic Sanctions in the United States." *International Studies Quarterly* 55: 787-801.

### **Week 14 (April 13): MPSA conference — class cancelled**

No required reading

### **Week 15 (April 20): Civil conflict**

Required

- Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97 (1): 75-90.
- Walter, Barbara F. 1997. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement." *International Organization* 51 (3): 335-364.
- Fortna, Virginia Page. 2004. "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War." *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (2): 262-292.
- Thomas, Jakana. 2014. "Rewarding Bad Behavior: How Governments Respond to Terrorism in Civil War." *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (4): 804-818.
- Cohen, Dara Kay. 2013. "Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Wartime Rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War." *World Politics* 65: 383-415.

## Supplemental

- Doyle, Michael, and Nicholas Sambanis. 2000. "International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 94 (4): 779-802.
- Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoefler. 2004. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56 (4): 563-595
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2011. "'New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?" *World Politics* 54 (1): 99-118.
- Cunningham, David E. 2006. "Veto Players and Civil War Duration." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (4): 875-892.
- Regan, Patrick M. 2002. "Third-party interventions and the duration of intrastate conflicts." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46 (1): 55-73.
- Ross, Michael L. 2004. "What Do We Know about Natural Resources and Civil War?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41 (3): 337-356.
- Cunningham, David E., and Douglas Lemke. 2013. "Combining Civil and Interstate Wars." *International Organization* 67 (3): 609-627.
- Chenoweth, Erica, and Maria Stepan. 2011. *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Non-Violent Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Gibler, Douglas M. 2017. "Combining Behavioral and Structural Predictors of Violent Civil Conflict: Getting Scholars and Policymakers to Talk to Each Other." *International Studies Quarterly* 61 (1): 28-37.
- Thomson, Henry. 2018. "Grievances, Mobilization, and Mass Opposition to Authoritarian Regimes: A Subnational Analysis of East Germany's 1953 Abbreviated Revolution." *Comparative Political Studies* 51 (12): 1594-1627.
- Piazza, James A. 2015. "The Determinants of Domestic Right-Wing Terrorism in the USA: Economic Grievance, Societal Change and Political Resentment." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 34 (1): 52-80.

## **Week 16 (April 27): Research project presentations**

No required reading

***Final paper due (uploaded to Canvas) on Friday, May 5 at 5 PM***

## **Classics to Know**

Note: some of these are repeats from the supplemental readings

- Waltz, Kenneth N. 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.
- Gilpin, Robert. 1981. *War and Change in World Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Jervis, Robert. 1976. *Perception and Misperception in International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Jervis, Robert. 1978. "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics* 30 (2): 167-214.
- Schelling, Thomas. 1966. *Arms and Influence*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Schelling, Thomas. 1960. *The Strategy of Conflict*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Baldwin, David A. 1985. *Economic Statecraft*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bull, Hedley. 1977. *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Keohane, Robert O (Ed.). 1986. *Neorealism and Its Critics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Wendt, Alexander E. 1992. "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46 (2): 391-425.
- Powell, Robert. 1999. *In the Shadow of Power*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Christensen, Thomas, and Jack Snyder. 1990. "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity." *International Organization* 44 (2): 137-68.
- Mearsheimer, John J. 2001. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: Norton.
- Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S. Nye. 1977. *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Krasner, Stephen D. 1976. "State Power and the Structure of International Trade." *World Politics* 28 (3): 317-347.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1997. "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics." *International Organization* 51 (4): 513-554.
- Putnam, Robert D. 1988. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games." *International Organization*. 42 (3): 427-460.
- George, Alexander. 1969. "The 'Operational Code': A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making." *International Studies Quarterly* 13 (3): 90-222.
- Rogowski, Ronald. 1987. "Political Cleavages and Changing Exposure to Trade." *American Political Science Review* 81 (4): 1121-1137.
- Rogowski, Ronald. 1989. *Commerce and Coalitions: How Trade Affects Domestic Political Alignments*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Doyle, Michael W. 1986. "Liberalism and World Politics." *American Political Science Review* 80 (4): 1151-1169.
- Grieco, Joseph M. 1988. "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism." *International Organization* 42 (3): 485-507.
- Ruggie, John Gerard. 1982. "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order." *International Organization* 36 (2): 379-415.
- Walt, Stephen M. 1985. "Alliance formation and the balance of power." *International Security* 9: 3-43.
- Hirschman, Albert O. 1980 (1945). *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade*, Expanded Ed. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. *Governing the commons: The evolution of institutions for collective action*. Cambridge University Press.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 2002. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon and Shuster.
- Olson, Mancur. 1982. *The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation, and Social Rigidities*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Milner, Helen. 1997. *Interests, institutions, and information: Domestic politics and international relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Organski, A. F. K., and Jacek Kugler. 1980. *The War Ledger*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Modelski, George. 1987. *Long Cycles in World Politics*. London: Macmillan.
- Modelski, George, and William R. Thompson. 1988. *Seapower in Global Politics, 1494-1993*. Houndmills: Macmillan Press.
- Martin, Lisa L. 1992. "Interests, Power, and Multilateralism." *International Organization*. 46 (4): 765-792.
- Kindleberger, Charles. 1973. *The World in Depression, 1929-1939*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Doran, Charles F. 2003. "Economics, Philosophy of History, and the 'Single Dynamic' of Power Cycle Theory: Expectations, Competition, and Statecraft." *International Political Science Review* 24 (1): 13-49.
- Lake, David A. 1993. "Leadership, Hegemony, and the International Economy - Naked Emperor or Tattered Monarch with Potential." *International Studies Quarterly* 37 (4):459-489.
- Allison, Graham T. 1969. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Political*

*Science Review* 63 (3): 689-718.

- Morgenthau, Hans. 2005. *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 7th edition. New York: Knopf.
- Carr, E. H. 1946. *The Twenty Years' Crisis*. Houndmills: Macmillan Press.
- Deutsch, Karl, and J. David Singer. 1964. "Multipolar Power Systems and International Stability." *World Politics* 16 (3): 390-406.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. 1959. *Man, the State and War*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Singer, J. David . 1961. "The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations." *World Politics* 14 (1): 77-92.
- Gourevich, Peter. 1978. "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics." *International Organization* 32 (4): 881-912.
- Hudson, Valerie M. 2005. "Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1(1): 1-30.
- Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. 1917. "Of the Culture of the White Folk." *The Journal of Race Development* 7 (4): 434-447.
- Thucydides. 1988 (≈ 411 BCE). *The Peloponnesian War*, Critical Edition, translated by Walter Blanco. New York: Norton.
- Kant, Immanuel. 1963 (1795). "Perpetual Peace, Section II: Containing the Definitive Articles for Perpetual Peace Among States." from Immanuel Kant, *On History*, 1st Ed., translated by Lewis White Beck, Robert E. Anchor and Emil L. Fackenheim. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Hobbes, Thomas. 1977 (1651). *Leviathan*. New York: Penguin Classics.
- Machiavelli, Niccolo. 1998 (1532). *The Prince*, 2nd ed., translated And edited by Harvey C. Mansfield. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Clausewitz, Karl Von. 1982 (1832). *On War*. New York: Penguin Classics.
- Angell, Norman. 1910. *The Great Illusion: A Study of the Relation of Military Power in Nations to Their Economic and Social Advantage*. London: Heinemann.