# Political Science 598 - Spring 2024

Foreign Policy Analysis Mondays, 1-3:45 PM in Coor 6605

## **Contact Information**

Professor: Timothy M. Peterson Email: timothy.m.peterson@asu.edu

Office: Coor 6664

Office hours: after class and by appointment

## About the Course

This course introduces students to the study of foreign policy. This field is large and diverse, so no course could cover everything. Keeping this limitation in mind, I have designed this course as a survey of literature addressing two broad and interrelated questions. First: what influences states' foreign policy decision-making? Second: what affects individuals' attitudes on foreign policy? Course readings emphasize social science methods, paying less attention to the narrative approach to foreign policy analysis. We will also eschew focus on "classics" in favor of attention to recent contributions.

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 development of the ability to synthesize prior work towards the end of developing new research questions. This skill to identify and pursue next steps is arguably the single most important for those who seek careers in research.

## **Course Requirements**

## **Attendance and Participation**

Like any graduate seminar, this course depends heavily on student-led discussion and analysis. I expect each student to come to class prepared to take part in the discussion of the assigned readings each week. Discussion will focus on the theoretical arguments being made in the readings, the empirical evidence that is marshaled to test these arguments, weaknesses or shortcomings of the work so far, and potential directions for future research.

## 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 a reading log or notebook 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 research design is used?
- How are theoretical concepts operationalized?
- 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/foreign policy?

All required readings are available through online archives (e.g., JSTOR) or the course Canvas page. Any changes to the schedule listed below will be discussed in class and posted on Canvas at least one week in advance.

## **Reaction Papers**

Beginning in week 4, students must complete six reaction papers (uploaded to Canvas), due at the start of the associated class. Students can choose any six of the 11 possible reaction papers to complete. Reaction papers should synthesize the readings, critically evaluate contributions, and/or point to ideas for future research. Reaction papers should **not** be 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** rather than report on the readings. For example, if you think an argument or measure is flawed, explain why and describe how we might approach improving it in a new study. **The best reaction papers will be those that suggest a theoretically grounded idea for a new project, especially those with insights on conceptualization and operationalization.** 

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. You will likely be surprised by how much summary you can cut.

Also note that attendance and participation throughout the entire semester will be factored into reaction paper grades. While unlikely, this could lead to retroactive change in reaction paper grades (for example, if a student completed the first six available reaction papers and then stopped attending class).

#### **Course Paper**

Each student will write a seminar paper to be turned in during finals week (uploaded to Canvas). PhD students, traditional MA students, and 4+1 students in their MA year should work on a complete research paper (**exceptions might be possible with suitable justification, but must be requested by Feb 1**). 4+1 students in their senior year can choose between the complete research paper or the analytical essay.

- 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, although primarily empirical papers are allowed. Papers should be related to foreign policy at least indirectly. 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. Initial proposals are due January 17 at 5 PM (uploaded to Canvas). Initial proposals should include a research question (approximately one sentence), a research plan addressing how you will address your question (approximately one paragraph detailing e.g., what kind of analysis will you conduct, what your cases might be), and a reference list with 10 peer-reviewed academic sources you looked at (try to find at least five from the last decade, with most from broadly recognized outlets, e.g., journals on this syllabus). Complete proposals are due February 28 at 5 PM (uploaded to Canvas). Complete proposals should include an abstract (similar to what you would submit to a conference), an update on research plan (up to one page), and a reference list with 15 peer-reviewed academic sources, as well as a 1-2 sentence summary of what each reference contributes to your project. An optional first draft is due March 27 at 5 PM. Students will also give a conference-style (8-10 minute) presentation of their project during the final class meeting. The final papers are due on May 3 at 5 PM. 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%
Α	< 97.0%	to 94.0%
A-	< 94.0%	to 90.0%
B+	< 90.0%	to 87.0%
В	< 87.0%	to 84.0%
B-	< 84.0%	to 80.0%
C+	< 80.0%	to 76.0%
С	< 76.0%	to 70.0%
D	< 70.0%	to 60.0%
Ε	< 60.0%	to 0.0%
C+ C D	< 80.0% < 76.0% < 70.0%	to 76.0% to 70.0% to 60.0%

## **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 'F,' 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.

## **Schedule**

#### **Section 1: Introduction**

Week 1 (January 8): Course introduction

#### Required

• This syllabus!

#### Week 2 (January 15): Classes canceled for Martin Luther King Day

note: initial paper proposal due January 17 at 5 PM

No required reading

#### Week 3 (January 22): What is foreign policy and how do we study it?

#### Required

- Elman, Colin. 1996. "Horses for Courses: Why *Not* Realist Theories of Foreign Policy?" (with rebuttal by Kenneth Waltz and author response). *Security Studies* 6 (1): 7-58.
- Lake, David A. 2011. "Why 'isms' Are Evil: Theory, Epistemology, and Academic Sects as Impediments to Understanding and Progress." *International Studies Quarterly* 55: 465-480.
- Potter, Philip B.K. 2017. "Methods of Foreign Policy Analysis." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies.* **Available on Canvas**.
- 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.
- Davis, James W., and Rose McDermott. 2021. "The Past, Present, and Future of Behavioral IR." International Organization 75 (1): 147-77.

## Supplemental

• Hudson, Valerie M. 2005. "Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1 (1): 1-30.

- Snyder, Richard C., H.W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin. 2002. Foreign Policy Decision-Making (Revisited).
  New York: Palgrave.
- Leira, Halvard. 2019. "The Emergence of Foreign Policy." International Studies Quarterly 63: 187-198.
- Rose, Gideon. 1998. "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy." World Politics 51:144-72.
- Milner, Helen V. 1998. "Rationalizing Politics: The Emerging Synthesis of International, American, and Comparative Politics" *International Organizaton* 52 (4): 759-786.
- 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: 275-309.
- Fearon, James D. 1998. "Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and Theories of International Politics." Annual Review of Political Science 1: 289-313.
- Carlsnaes, Walter. 1992. "The Agency-Structure Problem in Foreign Policy Analysis." *International Studies Quarterly* 36 (3): 245-270.
- Kertzer, Joshua D., and Dustin Tingley. 2019. "Political Psychology in International Relations: Beyond the Paradigms." *Annual Review of Political Science*: 319-39.
- Allison, Graham T. 1969. "Conceptual Models of the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Political Science Review* 63 (3): 689-718.
- Bendor, Jonathan, and Thomas Hammond. 2002. "Rethinking Allison's Models." *American Political Science Review* 86: 301-322.
- Putnam, Robert D. 1988. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games." *International Organization* 42 (3): 427-460.
- Fearon, James, and Alexander Wendt. 2002. "Rationalism v Constructivism: A Skeptical View." In *Handbook of International Relations*, ed. Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons. London: Sage. Chapter 3.

## Week 4 (January 29): Conceptualization, operationalization, and research design

#### Required

- Bailey, Michael A., Anton Strezhnev, and Erik Voeten. 2017. "Estimating Dynamic State Preferences from United Nations Voting Data." Journal of Conflict Resolution 61 (2): 430-456.
- Kai, He, and Feng Huiyun. 2013. "Xi Jinping's Operational Code Beliefs and China's Foreign Policy."
  The Chinese Journal of International Politics 6: 209-231.
- Brutger, Ryan, Joshua D. Kertzer, Jonathan Renshon, Dustin Tingley, and Chagai M. Weiss. 2023.
  "Abstraction and Detail in Experimental Design." American Journal of Political Science 67 (4): 979-995.
- Kleinberg, Katja B., and Benjamin O. Fordham. 2018. "Don't Know Much about Foreign Policy: Assessing the Impact of 'Don't Know' and 'No Opinion' Responses on Inferences about Foreign Policy Attitudes." Foreign Policy Analysis 14: 429-448.
- Myrick, Rachel. 2021. "Do External Threats Unite or Divide? Security Crises, Rivalries, and Polarization in American Foreign Policy." *International Organization* 75 (4): 921-958.

- Erikson, Robert S., Pablo M. Pinto, and Kelly T. Rader. 2014. "Dyadic Analysis in International Relations: A Cautionary Tale." *Political Analysis* 22: 457-463.
- Cranmer, Skyler J., and Bruce A. Desmarais. 2016. "A Critique of Dyadic Design." *International Studies Quarterly* 60 (2): 355-362.
- Poast, Paul. 2016. "Dyads are Dead, Long Live Dyads!" International Studies Quarterly 60 (2): 369-374.
- Diehl, Paul F., and Thorin M. Wright. 2016. "A Conditional Defense of the Dyadic Approach." *International Studies Quarterly* 60 (2): 363-368.

• McDermott, Rose. 2011. "New directions for experimental work in international relations." *International Studies Quarterly* 55 (2): 503-20.

## Section 2: Foreign policy actors and processes

#### Week 5 (February 5): Leaders

### Required

- Hall, Todd, and Keren Yarhi-Milo. 2012. "The Personal Touch: Leaders' Impressions, Costly Signaling, and Assessments of Sincerity in International Affairs." *International Studies Quarterly* 56 (3): 560-573.
- Mattes, Michaela, Brett Ashley Leeds. and Royce Carroll. 2015. "Leadership Turnover and Foreign Policy Change: Societal Interests, Domestic Institutions, and Voting in the United Nations." *International Studies Quarterly* 59: 280-290.
- McManus, Roseanne W. 2021. "Crazy Like a Fox? Are Leaders with Reputations for Madness More Successful at International Coercion?" British Journal of Political Science 51: 275-293.
- DiLorenzo, Matthew, and Bryan Rooney. 2023 (forthcoming). "Leader similarity and international conflict." *Journal of Peace Research*.
- Balmas, Meital. 2018. "Tell Me Who Is Your Leader, and I Will Tell You Who You Are: Foreign Leaders' Perceived Personality and Public Attitudes toward Their Countries and Citizenry." American Journal of Political Science 62 (2): 499-514.

#### Supplemental

- Brummer, Klaus. 2021. "Advancing Foreign Policy Analysis by Studying Leaders from the Global South." *International Affairs* 97(2), 405-421.
- Thiers, Consuelo, and Leslie E. Wehner. 2022. "The Personality Traits of Populist Leaders and Their Foreign Policies: Hugo Chávez and Donald Trump." *International Studies Quarterly* 66: 1-11.
- Hermann, Margaret G., Thomas Preston, Baghat Korany, and Timothy M. Shaw. 2001. "Who Leads Matters: The Effects of Powerful Individuals." *International Studies Review* 3 (2): 83-132.
- Gallagher, Maryann E., and Susan H. Allen. 2014. "Presidential Personality: Not Just a Nuisance." Foreign Policy Analysis 10 (1): 1-21.
- Holsti, Ole, and James Rosenau. 1990. "The Structure of Foreign Policy Attitudes among American Leaders." *Journal of Politics* 52 (1): 94-125.
- Walker, Stephen G., Mark Schafer, and Michael D. Young. 1999. "Presidential Operational Codes and Foreign Policy Conflicts in the Post-Cold War World." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43 (5): 610-625.
- Walker, Stephen G. 2003. "Operational Code Analysis as a Scientific Research Program: A Cautionary Tale." In Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman, eds., *Progress in International Relations Theory:*Appraising the Field. Cambridge: MIT Press. Pp. 245-276.
- Goemans, Henk E., Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Giacomo Chiozza. 2009. "Introducing Archigos: A Dataset of Political Leaders." Journal of Peace Research 46 (2): 269-283.
- Mattes, Michaela, Brett Ashley Leeds, and Naoko Matsumura. 2016. "Measuring change in source of leader support: The CHISOLS dataset." *Journal of Peace Research* 53 (2) 259-267.

#### Week 6 (February 12): Regime type

#### Required

- Weeks, Jessica L. 2008. "Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve." *International Organization* 62 (1): 35-64.
- Hyde, Susan D., and Elizabeth N. Saunders. 2020. "Recapturing Regime Type in International Relations: Leaders, Institutions, and Agency Space." *International Organization* 74 (2): 363-395.

- Colaresi, Michael. 2012. "A Boom with Review: How Retrospective Oversight Increases the Foreign Policy Ability of Democracies." *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (3): 671-689.
- Bearce, David H., and V Ximena Velasco-Guachalla. 2019. "How Can We Explain Regime Type Differences If Citizens Don't Vote Based on Foreign Economic Policy?" *Foreign Policy Analysis* 16 (3): 492-503.
- McDonald, Patrick J. 2015. "Great Powers, Hierarchy, and Endogenous Regimes: Rethinking the Domestic Causes of Peace." *International Organization* 69 (3): 557-588.

## Supplemental

- Fearon, James. D. 1994. "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes."
  American Political Science Review 88 (3): 577-592.
- Schultz, Kenneth A. 1999. "Do Domestic Institutions Constrain or Inform? Contrasting Two Institutional Perspectives on Democracy and War." *International Organization* 52 (2): 233-266.
- Weeks, Jessica L. 2012. "Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict." *American Political Science Review* 106 (2): 326-347.
- Rosato, Sabastian. 2003. "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory." *American Political Science Review* 97 (4): 585-604.
- Stein, Rachel M. 2015. "War and Revenge: Explaining Initiation by Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 109 (3): 556-573.
- Schultz, Kenneth A. 2001. "Looking for Audience Costs." Journal of Conflict Resolution 45 (1): 32-60.
- Tomz, Michael. 2007. "Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach." *International Organization* 61: 821-840.
- 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.
- Valentino, Benjamin A., Paul K. Huth, and Sarah E. Croco. 2010. "Bear Any Burden? How Democracies Minimize the Costs of War." *Journal of Politics* 72 (2): 528-544.
- Leeds, Brett Ashley. 1999. "Domestic Political Institutions, Credible Commitments, and International Cooperation." *American Journal of Political Science* 43 (4): 979-1002.

#### Week 7 (February 19): Decision-making units

#### Required

- Barnes, Tiffany D., and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2018. "Defending the realm: The appointment of female defense ministers worldwide." *American Journal of Political Science* 62 (2): 355-368.
- Saunders, Elizabeth N. 2017. "No Substitute for Experience: Presidents, Advisers, and Information in Group Decision-Making." *International Organization* Supplement 2017: S219-S247.
- Carcelli, Shannon P. 2023 (forthcoming). "Bureaucratic Structure and Compliance with International Agreements." *American Journal of Political Science*.
- Kertzer Joshua D., Marcus Holmes, Brad L. LeVeck, and Carly Wayne. 2022. "Hawkish Biases and Group Decision Making." *International Organization* 76 (3): 513-548.
- Horowitz, Michael, Brandon M. Stewart, Dustin Tingley, Michael Bishop, Laura Resnick Samotin, Margaret Roberts, Welton Chang, Barbara Mellers, and Philip Tetlock. 2019. "What Makes Foreign Policy Teams Tick: Explaining Variation in Group Performance at Geopolitical Forecasting." *Journal of Politics* 81 (4): 1388-1404.

- Hermann, Margaret G. 2001. "How Decision Units Shape Foreign Policy: A Theoretical Framework." *International Studies Review* 3:47-81.
- Mintz, Alex, and Amnon Sofrin. 2017. "Decision Making Theories in Foreign Policy Analysis." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.

- Krasner, Stephen D. 1972. "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)." *Foreign Policy* 7: 159-179.
- Stern, Eric, and Bengt Sundelius. 1994. "The Essence of Groupthink." Mershon International Studies Review 38: 101-07.
- Mintz, Alex. 2004. "How Do Leaders Make Decisions? A Poliheuristic Perspective." Journal of Conflict Resolution 48: 3-13.
- Hermann, Margaret G., and Charles F. Hermann. 1989. "Who Makes Foreign Policy Decisions and How: An Empirical Inquiry." *International Studies Quarterly* 33 (4): 361-387.
- Drezner, Daniel W. 2000. "Ideas, Bureaucratic Politics, and the Crafting of Foreign Policy." *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (4): 733-749.

## Week 8 (February 26): Public opinion and individual attitudes

note: complete paper proposal due February 28 at 5 PM

#### Required

- Guisinger, Alexandra, and Elizabeth N. Saunders. 2017. "Mapping the Boundaries of Elite Cues: How Elites Shape Mass Opinion across International Issues." *International Studies Quarterly* 61 (2): 425-441.
- 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.
- Conrad, Courtenay R., Sarah E. Croco, Brad T. Gomez, and Will H. Moore. 2018. "Threat Perception and American Support for Torture." *Political Behavior* 40 (4): 989-1009.
- Kupatadze, A., and T. Zeitzoff. 2021 "In the Shadow of Conflict: How Emotions, Threat Perceptions and Victimization Influence Foreign Policy Attitudes." *British Journal of Political Science* 51: 181-202.
- Lee, Soyoung. 2023 (forthcoming). "Domestic Distributional Roots of National Interest." *American Political Science Review*.

- Kertzer, Joshua D., and Ryan Brutger. 2016. "Decomposing Audience Costs: Bringing the Audience Back into Audience Cost Theory." *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (1): 234-249.
- Jentleson, Bruce W., and Rebecca L. Britton. 2008. "Still Pretty Prudent: Post-Cold War American Public Opinion on the Use of Military Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42 (4): 395-417.
- Risse-Kappen, Thomas. 1991. "Public Opinion, Domestic Structure, and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies." *World Politics* 43 (3): 479-512.
- Holsti, Ole R. 1992. "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Challenges to the Almond-Lippmann Consensus." *International Studies Quarterly* 36 (4): 439-466.
- Berinsky, Adam J., 2007. "Assuming the Costs of War: Events, Elites, and American Public Support for Military Conflict." *Journal of Politics* 69 (4): 975-97.
- Groenendyk, Eric, and Yanna Krupnikov. 2021. "What Motivates Reasoning? A Theory of Goal-Dependent Political Evaluation." *American Journal of Political Science* 65 (1): 180-196.
- Tomz, Michael R., and Jessica L. P. Weeks. 2013. "Public Opinion and the Democratic Peace." American Political Science Review 107 (4): 849-865.
- Kreps, Sarah. 2010. "Elite Consensus as a Determinant of Alliance Cohesion: Why Public Opinion Hardly Matters for NATO-led Operations in Afghanistan." Foreign Policy Analysis 6 (3): 191-215.
- Bell, Mark S., and Kai Quek. 2018. "Authoritarian Public Opinion and the Democratic Peace." *International Organization* 72 (1): 227-242.
- Tir, Jaroslav. 2010. "Territorial Diversion: Diversionary Theory of War and Territorial Conflict." *Journal of Politics* 72 (2): 413-425.
- Jacobs, Lawrence R., and Benjamin I. Page. 2005. "Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy?" *American Political Science Review* 99 (1): 107-123.

#### Week 9 (March 4): Classes canceled for Spring Break

#### No required readings

#### Week 10 (March 11): The media

## Required

- Groeling, Tim, and Matthew A. Baum. 2008. "Crossing the Water's Edge: Elite Rhetoric, Media Coverage, and the Rally-Round-the-Flag Phenomenon." *Journal of Politics* 70 (4): 1065-1085.
- Gadarian, Shana Kushner. 2010. "The Politics of Threat: How Terrorism News Shapes Foreign Policy Attitudes." *Journal of Politics* 72 (2): 469-483.
- Peksen, Dursun, Timothy M. Peterson, and A. Cooper Drury. 2014. "Media-driven Humanitarianism? News Media Coverage of Human Rights Abuse and the Use of Economic Sanctions." *International Studies Quarterly* 58: 855-866.
- Chapman, Hannah S., and Theodore P. Gerber. 2019. "Opinion-Formation and Issue-Framing Effects of Russian News in Kyrgyzstan." *International Studies Quarterly* 63(3): 756-759.
- Pan, Jennifer, Zijie Shao and Yiqing Xu. 2022. "How government-controlled media shifts policy attitudes through framing." *Political Science Research and Methods* 10: 317-332.

## Supplemental

- Baum, Matthew A. 2002. "Sex, Lies, and War: How Soft News Brings Foreign Policy to an Inattentive Public." *American Political Science Review* 96 (1): 91-109.
- Baum, Matthew A., and Philip B.K. Potter. 2008. "The Relationships Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis." *Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 39-65.
- Baum, Matthew A., and Philip B. K. Potter. 2019. "Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy in the Age of Social Media." *Journal of Politics* 81 (2): 747-756.
- Robinson, Piers. 1999. "The CNN effect: can the news media drive foreign policy?" *Review of International Studies* 25: 301-309.
- Jakobsen, Peter Viggo. 2000 "Focus on the CNN Effect Misses the Point: The Real Media Impact on Conflict Management is Invisible and Indirect." *Journal of Peace Research* 37 (2): 131-143.
- Christopher Gelpi, Peter Feaver, and Jason Reifler, "Success Matters: Casualty Sensitivity and the War in Iraq." International Security, 30, 3 (Winter 2005/06)
- Berinsky, Adam J., and Donald R. Kinder. 2006. "Making Sense of Issues Through Media Frames: Understanding the Kosovo Crisis." *Journal of Politics* 68 (3): 640-656.
- Baum, Matthew A. 2013. "The Iraq Coalition of the Willing and (Politically) Able: Party Systems, the Press, and Public Influence on Foreign Policy." *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (2): 442-458.
- Zeitzoff, Thomas. 2017. "How Social Media Is Changing Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61 (9): 1970-1991.

#### Week 11 (March 18): Identity

#### Required

- Green-Riley, Naima, and Andrew Leber. 2023. "Whose War is it Anyway? Explaining the Black-White Gap in Support for the Use of Force Abroad." *Security Studies* 32 (4-5): 811-845.
- Nincic, Miroslav, and Donna J. Nincic. 2022. "Race, Gender, and War." *Journal of Peace Research* 39 (5): 547-568.
- Baker, Andy. 2015. "Race, Paternalism, and Foreign Aid: Evidence from U.S. Public Opinion." *American Political Science Review* 109 (1): 93-109.
- Lindstam, Emmy, Matthias Mader, and Harald Schoen. 2021. "Conceptions of National Identity and Ambivalence towards Immigration." *British Journal of Political Science* 51: 93-114.

• Ko, Jiyoung. 2022. "Not So Dangerous? Nationalism and Foreign Policy Preference." *International Studies Quarterly* 66 (3): 1-9.

## Supplemental

- Solingen, Etel. 2007. "Pax Asiatica versus Belli Levantina: The Foundations of War and Peace in East Asia and the Middle East." *American Political Science Review* 101 (4): 757-780.
- Warner, Carolyn M., and Stephen G. Walker. 2011. "Thinking about the Role of Religion in Foreign Policy: A Framework for Analysis." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7 (1): 113-135.
- Rathbun, Brian C., Joshua D. Kertzer, Jason Reifler, Paul Goren, and Thomas J. Scotto. 2016. "Taking Foreign Policy Personally: Personal Values and Foreign Policy Attitudes." *International Studies Quarterly* 60 (1): 124-137.
- Poloni-Staudinger, Lori, and Candice Ortbals. 2014. "The Domestic Determinants of Transnational Activity: An Examination of Women's Groups in the United Kingdom, France, and Germany." International Studies Quarterly 58: 68-78.
- 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.

## Section 3: Foreign policy issues and tools

#### Week 12 (March 25): Deterrence, signaling, and reputation

note: optional first drafts (for detailed feedback) due March 27 at 5 PM

## Required

- McManus, Roseanne W. 2018. "Making It Personal: The Role of Leader-Specific Signals in Extended Deterrence." Journal of Politics 80 (3): 982-995.
- Powers, Kathleen E., and Dan Altman. 2023. "The Psychology of Coercion Failure: How Reactance Explains Resistance to Threats." *American Journal of Political Science* 67 (1): 221-238.
- Renshon, Jonathan, Keren Yarhi-Milo, and Joshua D. Kertzer. 2023. "Democratic Reputations in Crises and War." *Journal of Politics* 85 (1): 1-18.
- Fuhrmann, Matthew, and Todd S. Sechser. 2014. "Signaling Alliance Commitments: Hand-Tying and Sunk Costs in Extended Nuclear Deterrence." *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (4): 919-935.
- Gannon, J Andrés. 2022. One if by Land, and Two if by Sea: Cross-Domain Contests and the Escalation of International Crises." *International Studies Quarterly* 66 (4): 1-12.

- Quackenbush, Stephen L. 2011. "Deterrence theory: where do we stand?" *Review of International Studies* 37: 741-762.
- Goldfien, Michael A., Michael F. Joseph, and Roseanne McManus. 2023. "The Domestic Sources of International Reputation." *American Political Science Review* 117 (2): 609-628.
- Crescenzi, Mark J. C. 2007. "Reputation and Interstate Conflict." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (2): 382-396.
- Lupton, Danielle L. 2018. "Reexamining Reputation for Resolve: Leaders, States, and the Onset of International Crises." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 3 (2): 198-216.
- Johnson, Dominic D.P., and Dominic Tierney. 2011. "The Rubicon Theory of War: How the Path to Conflict Reaches the Point of No Return." *International Security* 36 (1): 7-40.
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#### Week 13 (April 1): Foreign economic policy

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#### Week 15 (April 15): US hegemony, populism, and the liberal international order

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Week 16 (April 22): Research presentations

No required reading

Final paper due on Friday, May 3, at 5 PM