

# Recent Debates in International Relations

PLSC 40605

Spring 2017

**Time:** Thursdays, 9am – 11:50pm

**Room:** Pick Hall 506

**Professor:** Austin Carson, Department of Political Science, [acarson@uchicago.edu](mailto:acarson@uchicago.edu)

**Office Hours:** Thursdays, 12:30pm – 2:30pm (Pick Hall 428) and by appointment. Sign up for a slot here: <http://acarson.uchicago.edu/page/office-hours>.

## Course description

This course builds on the canonical works in International Relations (IR) theory covered in PLSC 40600 (Seminar on International Relations Theory), leading students through ten weeks of recent debates in IR research organized along substantive and methodological lines. There is an intentional absence of thematic unity among the topics. Some units look more closely at recent debates within the classic paradigms (e.g. “the practice turn in constructivist research”) while others are not easily categorized along these lines (e.g. “emotions in IR”). Some focus on work across empirical domains that shares a recently popular methodological innovation (e.g. “the experimental turn in IR”); other topics are located closer towards the fringe of mainstream IR. Specific topics will change with each offering and are chosen based on a combination of importance to the field, value as exemplars of creative and rigorous research, and my own personal interests. Participants will demonstrate fluency in these debates and develop opinions about their significance and staying power. A secondary goal is for students to expand their own research interests and draw lessons about how debates and fads evolve in IR to maximize the impact of their own work.

## Required Texts

All readings will be available through UChicago library resources or posted to Chalk.

## Requirements

Students are expected to attend every session and complete the assigned readings. The class grade will be based on the following. More details will be provided in class.

- Discussion participation (20%)
- Mock comprehensive exam exercise (15%)
- Final paper (65%)

*Discussion participation.* The usual graduate seminar expectation: come prepared to every session, thoughtfully contribute to discussion each week, and be mindful of over-participating. I try to take student discomfort with verbal contributions in a seminar setting seriously. Please meet with me during office hours early in the quarter to discuss strategies and alternatives if you are struggling with participation.

*Mock comp exam exercise.* Each student will write a short essay modeled on the typical Ph.D. comprehensive exam in International Relations at Chicago. The question will cover a larger and enduring question in International Relations; student answers are only expected to draw on readings on this syllabus. Students will be sent the essay prompt by email and have eight hours to complete their essay. The format is open book/note so students are encouraged to develop a system for managing their notes on assigned readings. The goal is to expose students to exam-style questions and approaching time-limited writing. The goal is *not* to replicate the stress of comprehensive exams! (Hence the assignment only being worth 20% of the grade.) This exercise will be administered two-thirds of the way through the quarter.

*Final paper.* Students must write a critical literature review. This should not be a plodding summary of key works in a research program. Instead, a *critical* literature review exercises creativity in 1) concisely summarizes existing research into thematic “buckets,” and 2) advances an argument for one or more directions this literature could go that would push beyond its current state. Note that #2 typically involves identifying in the existing literature a common theme(s), assumption(s), point(s) of view, etc.; this is often implicit or “present by its absence.” Then you must develop some kind of alternative theme, assumption, point of view, etc. There are two basic options to choose from. Option 1 analyzes one of the syllabus week’s literature. These papers must go beyond class discussion and draw on supplementary readings as well as assigned readings; additional articles/books are also welcome. Option 2 uses your own research interests as the starting point. Students must identify a discrete topic, build a preliminary reading list, and get my approval. Topics need not be at the center of traditional International Relations debates but need to be somewhat related to IR. Students choosing Option 2 should plan on at least one office hours meeting with me to hone the topic. Both options have a firm maximum of 20 pages (double-spaced, Times New Roman, 12 pnt).

### **Professionalism**

Our seminar is its own term-long community with an intellectual culture we co-create. My goal is for all of us to feel comfortable participating in developing and rigorously testing our ideas. To ensure this, all of us must follow basic norms of respectful intellectual exchange. Be professional in all communications (including emails). Comments in class should be respectful of other students. Avoid a confrontational tone; respectfully disagree by suggesting a different view rather than forcefully contradicting. Essential to this environment is abstaining from acts of sexual misconduct, which encompass a range of conduct from sexual assault to sexual harassment. These will be treated as violations of the standards of our community and are unacceptable. Other forms of misconduct based on race, religion, or sexual orientation are equally unacceptable. A new and useful university resource on gender-based misconduct is [here](#).

### **Email policy**

Note that in general I may not read or respond to student emails until the evening; on weekends, I often do not read/respond at all. Do not expect immediate replies.

### **Late policy**

All deadlines are strict. Papers/assignments received late will be dropped one letter grade for each 24 hours past the deadline.

### **Incompletes policy**

While rare, I will consider granting incompletes to students in two situations: 1) under extreme personal/family duress; or, 2) after being convinced that only with extra time can the student execute a particularly ambitious, creative, and promising final paper.

### **Academic integrity**

I will strictly follow the University’s policy on academic integrity: “It is contrary to justice, academic integrity, and to the spirit of intellectual inquiry to submit another’s statements or ideas as one's own work.” More details on the policy are [here](#).

### **Disability accommodations**

If you need any special accommodations, please provide me with a copy of an Accommodation Determination Letter (provided to you by the Student Disability Services office) as soon as possible so that you may discuss with him/her how your accommodations may be implemented in this course.

## **Overview**

<b>Week 1 (3/30/17). Leaders: Praising Great (Wo)men?</b> .....	4
<b>Week 2 (4/6/17). Audience Costs: Rise...Fall...Comeback?</b> .....	6
<b>Week 3 (4/13/17). Emotions in IR</b> .....	8
<b>Week 4 (4/20/17). Race and IR</b> .....	10
<b>Week 5 (4/27/17). Norms: The Second Wave (Constructivism I)</b> .....	12
<b>Week 6 (5/4/17). Authoritarian Regimes and IR</b> .....	14
<b>Week 7 (5/11/17). The Experimental Turn in IR</b> .....	16
<b>Week 8 (5/18/17). The “Practice Turn” (Constructivism II)</b> .....	18
<b>Week 9 (5/25/17). Archives in IR</b> .....	19
<b>Week 10 (6/1/17). Secrecy and IR</b> .....	21

## **Week 1 (3/30/17). Leaders: Praising Great (Wo)men?**

### **Background**

Waltz, Kenneth N. *Man, the State, and War*. Columbia University Press, 1959.

Suri, Jeremi. "Explaining the End of the Cold War: A New Historical Consensus?" *Journal of Cold War Studies* 4, no. 4 (September 1, 2002): 60–92.

### **Required reading**

Byman, Daniel L., and Kenneth M. Pollack. "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In." *International Security* 25, no. 4 (April 1, 2001): 107–46.

Croco, Sarah E. "The Decider's Dilemma: Leader Culpability, War Outcomes, and Domestic Punishment." *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 03 (2011): 457–77.

Dafoe, Allan, and Devin Caughey. "Honor and War: Southern US Presidents and the Effects of Concern for Reputation." *World Politics* 68, no. 02 (2016): 341–381.

Saunders, Elizabeth. "No Substitute for Experience: Presidents, Advisers, and Information in Group Decision-Making." *International Organization*, forthcoming.

<https://profsaunders.files.wordpress.com/2016/07/nosubstitute3.pdf>

Jervis, Robert. "Do Leaders Matter and How Would We Know?" *Security Studies* 22, no. 2 (2013): 153–79. [SKIM ONLY]

### **Supplemental readings**

Horowitz, Michael C., and Allan C. Stam. "How Prior Military Experience Influences the Future Militarized Behavior of Leaders." *International Organization* 68, no. 03 (2014): 527–559.

Saunders, Elizabeth N. *Leaders at War: How Presidents Shape Military Interventions*. Cornell University Press, 2011.

Colgan, Jeff D. "Domestic Revolutionary Leaders and International Conflict." *World Politics* 65, no. 04 (2013): 656–690.

Gift, Thomas, and Daniel Krmaric. "Who Democratizes? Western-Educated Leaders and Regime Transitions." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2015, 0022002715590878.

Saunders, Elizabeth N. "Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy." *International Security* 34, no. 2 (September 30, 2009): 119–61. doi:10.1162/isec.2009.34.2.119.

Horowitz, Michael C., Allan C. Stam, and Cali M. Ellis. *Why Leaders Fight*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.

George, Alexander L. "The 'Operational Code': A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making." *International Studies Quarterly* 13, no. 2 (1969): 190–222.

Hermann, Margaret G., Thomas Preston, Baghat Korany, and Timothy M. Shaw. "Who Leads Matters: The Effects of Powerful Individuals." *International Studies Review* 3, no. 2 (January 1, 2001): 83–131.

Horowitz, Michael, Rose McDermott, and Allan C. Stam. "Leader Age, Regime Type, and Violent International Relations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, no. 5 (October 1, 2005): 661–85.

Grynaviski, Eric. "Brokering Cooperation: Intermediaries and US Cooperation with Non-State Allies, 1776–1945." *European Journal of International Relations* 21, no. 3 (September 1, 2015): 691–717.

- Evangelista, Matthew. "Norms, Heresthetics, and the End of the Cold War." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 3, no. 1 (January 1, 2001): 5–35.
- Fuhrmann, Matthew and Michael C. Horowitz. 2015. "When Leaders Matter: Rebel Experience and Nuclear Proliferation." *Journal of Politics* 77 (1): 72-87.

## **Week 2 (4/6/17). Audience Costs: Rise...Fall...Comeback?**

### **Background**

- Schelling, Thomas. *The Strategy of Conflict*. Harvard University Press, 1960, pp. 22-28.
- Fearon, James D. "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes." *The American Political Science Review* 88, no. 3 (September 1994): 577–92.

### **Required reading**

- Weeks, Jessica L. "Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve." *International Organization* 62, no. 01 (2008): 35–64.
- Downes, Alexander B., and Todd S. Sechser. "The Illusion of Democratic Credibility." *International Organization* 66, no. 3 (2012): 457–89.
- Trachtenberg, Marc. "Audience Costs: An Historical Analysis." *Security Studies* 21, no. 1 (2012): 3–42, and the related symposium "Do Audience Costs Exist?" in *Security Studies* (2012, Vol 21, Issue 3).
- Kertzer, Joshua D., and Ryan Brutger. "Decomposing Audience Costs: Bringing the Audience Back into Audience Cost Theory." *American Journal of Political Science* 60, no. 1 (January 1, 2016): 234–49.

### **Supplemental readings**

- Snyder, Jack, and Erica D. Borghard. "The Cost of Empty Threats: A Penny, Not a Pound." *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 3 (August 2011): 437–56.
- Kurizaki, Shuhei, and Taehee Whang. "Detecting Audience Costs in International Disputes." *International Organization* 69, no. 04 (September 2015): 949–80.
- Brown, Jonathan N., and Anthony S. Marcum. "Avoiding Audience Costs: Domestic Political Accountability and Concessions in Crisis Diplomacy." *Security Studies* 20 (April 2011): 141–70.
- Levy, Jack S.; Michael K. McKoy, Paul Poast, and Geoffrey P.R. Wallace. "Backing Out or Backing In? Commitment and Consistency in Audience Costs Theory." *American Journal of Political Science*. Forthcoming.
- Baum, Matthew A. "Going Private: Public Opinion, Presidential Rhetoric, and the Domestic Politics of Audience Costs in U.S. Foreign Policy Crises." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 5 (October 2004): 603–31.
- Brown, Jonathan N., and Anthony S. Marcum. "Avoiding Audience Costs: Domestic Political Accountability and Concessions in Crisis Diplomacy." *Security Studies* 20 (April 2011): 141–70.
- Trager, Robert F., and Lynn Vavreck. "The Political Costs of Crisis Bargaining: Presidential Rhetoric and the Role of Party." *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 3 (2011): 526–45.
- Partell, Peter J., and Glenn Palmer. "Audience Costs and Interstate Crises: An Empirical Assessment of Fearon's Model of Dispute Outcomes." *International Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (June 1999): 389–405.
- Schultz, Kenneth A. "Looking for Audience Costs." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45, no. 1 (February 2001): 32–60.
- Croco, Sarah E. "The Decider's Dilemma: Leader Culpability, War Outcomes, and Domestic Punishment." *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 03 (2011): 457–77.

- Schultz, Kenneth A. "Why We Needed Audience Costs and What We Need Now." *Security Studies* 21, no. 3 (2012): 369–75.
- Slantchev, Branislav L. "Politicians, the Media, and Domestic Audience Costs." *International Studies Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (June 2006): 445–77. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2478.2006.00409.x.
- Smith, Alastair. "International Crises and Domestic Politics." *The American Political Science Review* 92, no. 3 (September 1998): 623–38.
- Weiss, Jessica Chen. "Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China." *International Organization* 67, no. 01 (January 2013): 1–35.
- Tomz, Michael. "Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach." *International Organization* 61, no. 04 (2007): 821–40.
- Levendusky, Matthew S., and Michael C. Horowitz. "When Backing Down Is the Right Decision: Partisanship, New Information, and Audience Costs." *The Journal of Politics* 74, no. 02 (2012): 323–38.
- Chaudoin, Stephen. "Promises or Policies? An Experimental Analysis of International Agreements and Audience Reactions." *International Organization* 68, no. 01 (2014): 235–256.
- Davies, Graeme AM, and Robert Johns. "Audience Costs Among the British Public: The Impact of Escalation, Crisis Type, and Prime Ministerial Rhetoric." *International Studies Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (2013): 725–737.
- Gibler, Douglas M., and Marc L. Hutchison. "Territorial Issues, Audience Costs, and the Democratic Peace: The Importance of Issue Salience." *The Journal of Politics* 75, no. 4 (2013): 879–893.

### **Week 3 (4/13/17). Emotions in IR**

#### **Required reading**

- Ross, Andrew A. G. "Realism, Emotion, and Dynamic Allegiances in Global Politics." *International Theory* 5, no. 2 (July 2013): 273–99.
- Hall, Todd H., and Andrew A.G. Ross. "Affective Politics after 9/11." *International Organization* 69, no. 04 (September 2015): 847–79.
- McDermott, Rose. "The Feeling of Rationality: The Meaning of Neuroscientific Advances for Political Science." *Perspectives on Politics* 2, no. 04 (December 2004): 691–706.
- Renshon, Jonathan, Julia Lee, and Dustin Tingley. "Emotions and the Micro-Foundations of Commitment Problems." *International Organization*, forthcoming. [available [here](#)]
- Holmes, Marcus. "The Force of Face-to-Face Diplomacy: Mirror Neurons and the Problem of Intentions." *International Organization* 67, no. 04 (2013): 829–61.

#### **Supplemental readings**

- Pearlman, Wendy. "Emotions and the Microfoundations of the Arab Uprisings." *Perspectives on Politics* 11, no. 02 (June 2013): 387–409.
- Stein, Rachel M. "War and Revenge: Explaining Conflict Initiation by Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 109, no. 03 (2015): 556–73.
- Forum on "Emotions and World Politics" in *International Theory* (2014), Vol. 6, No. 3.
- Mercer, Jonathan. "Emotion and Strategy in the Korean War." *International Organization* 67, no. 02 (2013): 221–52.
- Mercer, Jonathan. "Emotional Beliefs." *International Organization* 64, no. 01 (2010): 1–31.
- Mercer, Jonathan. "Feeling Like a State: Social Emotion and Identity." *International Theory* 6, no. 03 (2014): 515–535.
- Holmes, Marcus. "The Force of Face-to-Face Diplomacy: Mirror Neurons and the Problem of Intentions." *International Organization* 67, no. 04 (2013): 829–61.
- Wong, Seanon S. "Emotions and the Communication of Intentions in Face-to-Face Diplomacy." *European Journal of International Relations* 22, no. 1 (2016): 144–167.
- Bially Mattern, Janice. "A Practice Theory of Emotion for International Relations." In *International Practices*, edited by Emanuel Adler and Vincent Pouliot, 63-86. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Bleiker, Roland, and Emma Hutchison. "Fear No More: Emotions and World Politics." *Review of International Studies* 34, Supplement S1 (January 2008): 115–35.
- Lind, Jennifer. *Sorry States: Apologies in International Politics*. Cornell University Press, 2008.
- Ross, Andrew A. G. "Coming in from the Cold: Constructivism and Emotions." *European Journal of International Relations* 12, no. 2 (June 1, 2006): 197–222.
- Lebow, Richard Ned. "Reason, Emotion and Cooperation." *International Politics* 42, no. 3 (September 1, 2005): 283–313.
- Crawford, Neta C. "The Passion of World Politics: Propositions on Emotion and Emotional Relationships." *International Security* 24, no. 4 (April 1, 2000): 116–56.
- Solomon, Ty. "The Affective Underpinnings of Soft Power." *European Journal of International Relations* 20, no. 3 (September 1, 2014): 720–41.
- Michel, Torsten. "Time to Get Emotional: Phronetic Reflections on the Concept of Trust in International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations* 19, no. 4 (December 1, 2013): 869–90



- Dolan, Tom. "Emotion and Strategic Learning in War." *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Aug 1, 2014.
- Holmes, Marcus. "Believing This and Alieving That: Theorizing Affect and Intuitions in International Politics." *International Studies Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (December 1, 2015): 706–20.
- Petersen, Roger D. *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Petersen, Roger D. *Western Intervention in the Balkans: The Strategic Use of Emotion in Conflict*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Solomon, Ty. "Human Nature and the Limits of the Self: Hans Morgenthau on Love and Power." *International Studies Review* 14, no. 2 (June 1, 2012): 201–24.
- Mercer, Jonathan. "Human Nature and the First Image: Emotion in International Politics." *Journal of International Relations and Development* 9, no. 3 (September 1, 2006): 288–303.

## **Week 4 (4/20/17). Race and IR**

### **Background**

Lake, David A. "Anarchy, Hierarchy, and the Variety of International Relations." *International Organization* 50, no. 01 (1996): 1–33.

### **Required reading**

Bell, Duncan. "Before the Democratic Peace: Racial Utopianism, Empire and the Abolition of War." *European Journal of International Relations* 20, no. 3 (September 1, 2014): 647–70.

Vitalis, Robert. *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations*. Cornell University Press, 2015. Part II, III, Conclusion.

Pedersen, Susan. "Destined to Disappear." *London Review of Books*, October 20, 2016. [Note: this is a review of Vitalis's book.]

Grovogui, Siba N'Zatioula. *Sovereigns, Quasi Sovereigns, and Africans: Race and Self-Determination in International Law*. U of Minnesota Press, 1996. Chapt 1, last para p. 76, pp. 77-88, 111-134, Chpt 5.

Henderson, Errol A. "Hidden in Plain Sight: Racism in International Relations Theory." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26, no. 1 (March 1, 2013): 71–92.

Lake, David A. "White Man's IR: An Intellectual Confession." *Perspectives on Politics* 14, no. 4 (December 2016): 1112–22.

### **Supplemental readings**

Reviews and reactions to Vitalis's *White World Order, Black Power Politics*

--Author's introduction, "White World Order, Black Power Politics: A Symposium," *The Disorder of Things*, June 6, 2016, <https://thedisorderofthings.com/2016/06/06/white-world-order-black-power-politics-a-symposium/>

--Contributions in "Review Symposium: *White World Order, Black Power Politics*" *Perspectives on Politics*, Volume 14, Issue 4, December 2016.

Symposium on "Confronting the Global Colour Line: Space, Race and Imperial Hierarchy in World Politics," in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol 26, 2013.

Anievas, Alexander, Nivi Manchanda, and Robbie Shilliam. *Race and Racism in International Relations: Confronting the Global Colour Line*. Routledge, 2014.

Kaufmann, Chaim D., and Robert A. Pape. "Explaining Costly International Moral Action: Britain's Sixty-Year Campaign against the Atlantic Slave Trade." *International Organization* 53, no. 4 (1999): 631–68.

Lake, Marilyn, and Henry Reynolds. *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Shilliam, Robbie. "'Open the Gates Mek We Repatriate': Caribbean Slavery, Constructivism, and Hermeneutic Tensions." *International Theory* 6, no. 2 (July 2014): 349–72.

Krishna, Sankaran. "Race, Amnesia, and the Education of International Relations." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 26, no. 4 (2001): 401–24.

Barkawi, Tarak. "Decolonising War." *European Journal of International Security* 1, no. 02 (2016): 199–214.

Anghie, Antony. *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

- Hobson, John M. *The Eurocentric Conception of World Politics: Western International Theory, 1760-2010*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Búzás, Zoltán I. "The Color of Threat: Race, Threat Perception, and the Demise of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902–1923)." *Security Studies* 22, no. 4 (October 1, 2013): 573–606.
- Jones, Branwen Gruffydd. *Decolonizing International Relations*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2006.
- Vitalis, Robert. "The Graceful and Generous Liberal Gesture: Making Racism Invisible in American International Relations." *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 29, no. 2 (June 1, 2000): 331–56.
- Hemmer, Christopher, and Peter J. Katzenstein. "Why Is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism." *International Organization* 56, no. 3 (July 2002): 575–607.
- Karp, Matthew. *This Vast Southern Empire: Slaveholders at the Helm of American Foreign Policy*. Harvard University Press, 2016.
- Grovogui, Siba N. "Come to Africa: A Hermeneutics of Race in International Theory." *Alternatives* 26, no. 4 (2001): 425–448.
- Grovogui, Siba N. "Rituals of Power: Theory, Languages, and Vernaculars of International Relations." *Alternatives* 23, no. 4 (1998): 499–529.
- Jones, Branwen Gruffydd. "Race in the Ontology of International Order." *Political Studies* 56, no. 4 (2008): 907–927.
- Thompson, Debra. "Through, Against and Beyond the Racial State: The Transnational Stratum of Race." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26, no. 1 (March 1, 2013): 133–51. doi:10.1080/09557571.2012.762898.
- Doty, Roxanne Lynn. *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations*. U of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Biswas, Shampa. "'Nuclear Apartheid' as Political Position: Race as a Postcolonial Resource?" *Alternatives* 26, no. 4 (2001): 485–522.
- Vucetic, Srdjan. *The Anglosphere: A Genealogy of a Racialized Identity in International Relations*. Stanford University Press, 2011.
- Dower, John W. *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*. Pantheon, 1987.
- Jones, Matthew. *After Hiroshima: The United States, Race and Nuclear Weapons in Asia, 1945–1965*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Getachew, Adom. "Worldmaking after Empire," Book Manuscript.

## **Week 5 (4/27/17). Norms: The Second Wave (Constructivism I)**

### **Background reading**

Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 52, no. 04 (1998): 887–917.

### **Required reading**

Acharya, Amitav. "How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism." *International Organization* 58, no. 2 (2004): 239–75.

Panke, Diana, and Ulrich Petersohn. "Why International Norms Disappear Sometimes." *European Journal of International Relations* 18, no. 4 (December 1, 2012): 719–42.

Ann E. Towns, "Norms and Social Hierarchies: Understanding International Policy Diffusion 'From Below'," *International Organization* 66, no. 02 (2012): 179–209

Ayoub, Phillip M. "Contested Norms in New-Adopter States: International Determinants of LGBT Rights Legislation." *European Journal of International Relations* 21, no. 2 (June 1, 2015): 293–322.

Krook, Mona Lena, and Jacqui True. "Rethinking the Life Cycles of International Norms: The United Nations and the Global Promotion of Gender Equality." *European Journal of International Relations* 18, no. 1 (2012): 103–27.

### **Supplemental readings**

Hyde, Susan D. "Catch Us If You Can: Election Monitoring and International Norm Diffusion." *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 2 (April 1, 2011): 356–69.

Bailey, Jennifer L. "Arrested Development: The Fight to End Commercial Whaling as a Case of Failed Norm Change." *European Journal of International Relations* 14, no. 2 (June 1, 2008): 289–318.

Christian Reus-Smit, "The Constitutional Structure of International Society and the Nature of Fundamental Institutions," *International Organization* 51, no. 04 (1997): 555–589

Bernd Bucher Acting abstractions: Metaphors, narrative structures, and the eclipse of agency *European Journal of International Relations* September 2014 20: 742-765

Percy, Sarah V. "Mercenaries: Strong Norm, Weak Law." *International Organization* 61, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 367–97.

Sandholtz, Wayne. "Dynamics of International Norm Change: Rules against Wartime Plunder." *European Journal of International Relations* 14, no. 1 (2008): 101–31.

Coleman, Katharina P. "Locating Norm Diplomacy: Venue Change in International Norm Negotiations." *European Journal of International Relations*, August 23, 2011.

Linde, Robyn. "The Globalization of Childhood: The International Diffusion of Norms and Law Against the Child Death Penalty." *European Journal of International Relations* 20, no. 2 (June 1, 2014): 544–68.

Schmidt, Sebastian. "Foreign Military Presence and the Changing Practice of Sovereignty: A Pragmatist Explanation of Norm Change." *American Political Science Review* 108, no. 04 (November 2014): 817–29.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. "Sticks and Stones: Naming and Shaming the Human Rights Enforcement Problem." *International Organization* 62, no. 4 (October 1, 2008): 689–716.

- Van Kersbergen, Kees, and Bertjan Verbeek. "The Politics of International Norms: Subsidiarity and the Imperfect Competence Regime of the European Union." *European Journal of International Relations* 13, no. 2 (2007): 217–38.
- Zwingel, Susanne. "How Do Norms Travel? Theorizing International Women's Rights in Transnational Perspective." *International Studies Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (2012): 115–29.
- Bettiza, Gregorio, and Filippo Dionigi. "How Do Religious Norms Diffuse? Institutional Translation and International Change in a Post-Secular World Society." *European Journal of International Relations* 21, no. 3 (September 1, 2015): 621–46.

## **Week 6 (5/4/17). Authoritarian Regimes and IR**

### **Background**

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow. *The Logic of Political Survival*. MIT Press, 2005.

### **Required reading**

Talmadge, Caitlin. "The Puzzle of Personalist Performance: Iraqi Battlefield Effectiveness in the Iran-Iraq War." *Security Studies* 22, no. 2 (2013): 180–221.

Weiss, Jessica Chen. "Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China." *International Organization* 67, no. 01 (January 2013): 1–35.

Steinberg, David A., and Krishan Malhotra. "The Effect of Authoritarian Regime Type on Exchange Rate Policy." *World Politics* 66, no. 03 (2014): 491–529.

Debs, Alexandre, and H.E. Goemans. "Regime Type, the Fate of Leaders, and War." *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 03 (August 2010): 430–45.

Gallagher, Mary E., and Jonathan K. Hanson. "Power Tool or Dull Blade? Selectorate Theory for Autocracies." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18, no. 1 (2015): 367–85.

### **Supplemental readings**

Yom, Sean L. *From Resilience to Revolution: How Foreign Interventions Destabilize the Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015). Chapter 1.

Colgan, Jeff D. "Oil and Revolutionary Governments: Fuel for International Conflict." *International Organization* 64, no. 04 (2010): 661–94.

Weeks, Jessica L. "Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve." *International Organization* 62, no. 01 (2008): 35–64.

Chiozza, Giacomo, and H. E. Goemans. *Leaders and International Conflict*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan A. Way. "Linkage versus Leverage. Rethinking the International Dimension of Regime Change." *Comparative Politics* 38, no. 4 (2006): 379–400.

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith. "An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace." *The American Political Science Review* 93, no. 4 (December 1999): 791–807.

Giacomo Chiozza and H. E. Goemans, *Leaders and International Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Colgan, Jeff. *Petro-Aggression: When Oil Causes War*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Talmadge, Caitlin. *The Dictator's Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes*. Cornell University Press, 2015.

Weeks, Jessica L. P. *Dictators at War and Peace*. Cornell University Press, 2014.

Gallagher, Mary E., and Jonathan K. Hanson. "Power Tool or Dull Blade? Selectorate Theory for Autocracies." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18, no. 1 (2015): 367–85.

Steinberg, David A., and Victor C. Shih. "Interest Group Influence in Authoritarian States The Political Determinants of Chinese Exchange Rate Policy." *Comparative Political Studies* 45, no. 11 (2012): 1405–34.

Svolik, Milan W. "Contracting on Violence The Moral Hazard in Authoritarian Repression and Military Intervention in Politics." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57, no. 5 (October 1, 2013): 765–94.

- Byman, Daniel. “‘Death Solves All Problems’: The Authoritarian Model of Counterinsurgency.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 39, no. 1 (January 2, 2016): 62–93. =
- Escribà-Folch, Abel. “Authoritarian Responses to Foreign Pressure: Spending, Repression, and Sanctions.” *Comparative Political Studies* 45, no. 6 (2012): 683–713.
- Croco, Sarah E. “The Decider’s Dilemma: Leader Culpability, War Outcomes, and Domestic Punishment.” *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 03 (2011): 457–77.
- Escribà-Folch, Abel, and Joseph Wright. “Human Rights Prosecutions and Autocratic Survival.” *International Organization* 69, no. 02 (2015): 343–73.

**Mock comp exam**  
**Essay prompt sent @ 9 am, Saturday 5/13**  
**Response due same day by 5 pm**  
**Send to [acarson@uchicago.edu](mailto:acarson@uchicago.edu)**

## **Week 7 (5/11/17). The Experimental Turn in IR**

### **Required reading**

- Hyde, Susan D. "Experiments in International Relations: Lab, Survey, and Field." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18, no. 1 (2015): 403–24.
- Hiscox, Michael J. "Through a Glass and Darkly: Attitudes Toward International Trade and the Curious Effects of Issue Framing." *International Organization* 60, no. 03 (July 2006): 755–80.
- Renshon, Jonathan. "Losing Face and Sinking Costs: Experimental Evidence on the Judgment of Political and Military Leaders." *International Organization* 69, no. 03 (June 2015): 659–95.
- Monteiro, Nuno and Matthew Kocher. "Lines of Demarcation: Causation, Design-Based Inference, and Historical Research," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (December 2016).

### **Supplemental readings**

- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Brad L. LeVeck, David G. Victor, and James H. Fowler. "Decision Maker Preferences for International Legal Cooperation." *International Organization* 68, no. 04 (2014): 845–76.
- Kertzer, Joshua D. "Microfoundations in International Relations." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 34, no. 1 (January 1, 2017): 81–97.
- Press, Daryl G., Scott D. Sagan, and Benjamin A. Valentino. "Atomic Aversion: Experimental Evidence on Taboos, Traditions, and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons." *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 01 (February 2013): 188–206.
- Hyde, Susan D. "The Observer Effect in International Politics: Evidence from a Natural Experiment." *World Politics* 60, no. 01 (2007): 37–63.
- Tomz, Michael, and Jessica Weeks. "Public Opinion and the Democratic Peace." *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 4 (2013): 849–65.
- Beath, Andrew, Fotini Christia, and Ruben Enikolopov. "Empowering Women through Development Aid: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Afghanistan." *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 03 (August 2013): 540–57.
- Levendusky, Matthew S., and Michael C. Horowitz. "When Backing Down Is the Right Decision: Partisanship, New Information, and Audience Costs." *The Journal of Politics* 74, no. 02 (2012): 323–38.
- Findley, Michael G., Daniel L. Nielson, and Jason Campbell Sharman. "Using Field Experiments in International Relations: A Randomized Study of Anonymous Incorporation." *International Organization* 67, no. 04 (2013): 657–93.
- Mintz, Alex, Yi Yang, and Rose McDermott. "Experimental Approaches to International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly* 55, no. 2 (2011): 493–501.
- Kertzer, Joshua D., and Kathleen M. McGraw. "Folk Realism: Testing the Microfoundations of Realism in Ordinary Citizens." *International Studies Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (June 1, 2012): 245–58.
- Tomz, Michael. "Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach." *International Organization* 61, no. 04 (2007): 821–40.



- Ardanaz, Martin, M. Victoria Murillo, and Pablo M. Pinto. "Sensitivity to Issue Framing on Trade Policy Preferences: Evidence from a Survey Experiment." *International Organization* 67, no. 02 (2013): 411–37.
- Hyde, Susan D. "The Future of Field Experiments in International Relations." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 628, no. 1 (March 1, 2010): 72–84.
- Hainmueller, Jens, and Michael J. Hiscox. "Attitudes Toward Highly Skilled and Low-Skilled Immigration: Evidence from a Survey Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 01 (2010): 61–84.
- Lyall, Jason, Graeme Blair, and Kosuke Imai. "Explaining Support for Combatants During Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan." *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 04 (2013): 679–705.
- Chaudoin, Stephen. "Promises or Policies? An Experimental Analysis of International Agreements and Audience Reactions." *International Organization* 68, no. 01 (2014): 235–56.
- Grieco, Joseph M., Christopher Gelpi, Jason Reifler, and Peter D. Feaver. "Let's Get a Second Opinion: International Institutions and American Public Support for War1." *International Studies Quarterly* 55, no. 2 (2011): 563–83.
- Milner, Helen V., and Dustin Tingley. "The Choice for Multilateralism: Foreign Aid and American Foreign Policy." *The Review of International Organizations* 8, no. 3 (2013): 313–41.
- Caverley, Jonathan D., and Yanna Krupnikov. "Aiming at Doves: Experimental Evidence of Military Images' Political Effects." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, October 9, 2015.

## **Week 8 (5/18/17). The “Practice Turn” (Constructivism II)**

### **Required reading**

- Adler, Emanuel, and Vincent Pouliot. “International Practices.” *International Theory* 3, No. 01 (February 2011): 1–36.
- Adler-Nissen, Rebecca, and Vincent Pouliot. “Power in Practice: Negotiating the International Intervention in Libya.” *European Journal of International Relations*, January 29, 2014
- McNamara, Kathleen R. “JCMS Annual Review Lecture: Imagining Europe: The Cultural Foundations of EU Governance.” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (September 1, 2015): 22–39.
- Bueger, Christian, and Frank Gadinger. “The Play of International Practice.” *International Studies Quarterly* 59, no. 3 (September 1, 2015): 449–60, and the symposium on Bueger and Gadinger’s article at [here](#).

### **Supplemental readings**

- Adler, Emanuel, and Vincent Pouliot. *International Practices*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Bourbeau, Philippe. “The Practice Approach in International Relations,” *Journal of Global Security Studies*, forthcoming.
- Pouliot, Vincent. *International Pecking Orders: The Politics and Practice of Multilateral Diplomacy*. Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Pouliot, Vincent. *International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO-Russia Diplomacy*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Neumann, Iver B. *At Home with the Diplomats: Inside a European Foreign Ministry*. Cornell University Press, 2012.
- Neumann, Iver B. “Returning Practice to the Linguistic Turn: The Case of Diplomacy.” *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 31, no. 3 (July 1, 2002): 627–51.
- Pouliot, Vincent. “The Logic of Practicality: A Theory of Practice of Security Communities.” *International Organization* 62, no. 02 (2008): 257–88.
- Adler-Nissen, Rebecca. *Bourdieu in International Relations: Rethinking Key Concepts in IR*. Routledge, 2012.
- Adler-Nissen, Rebecca. *Opting Out of the European Union: Diplomacy, Sovereignty and European Integration*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Brown, Chris. “The ‘Practice Turn’, Phronesis and Classical Realism: Towards a Phronetic International Political Theory?” *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 40, no. 3 (June 1, 2012): 439–56.
- Hopf, Ted. “The Logic of Habit in International Relations.” *European Journal of International Relations* 16, no. 4 (December 1, 2010): 539–61.
- Pouliot, Vincent. “The Materials of Practice: Nuclear Warheads, Rhetorical Commonplaces and Committee Meetings in Russian–Atlantic Relations.” *Cooperation and Conflict* 45, no. 3 (2010): 294–311.
- Bigo, Didier. “Pierre Bourdieu and International Relations: Power of Practices, Practices of Power.” *International Political Sociology* 5, no. 3 (2011): 225–58.
- Friedrichs, Jörg, and Friedrich Kratochwil. “On Acting and Knowing: How Pragmatism Can Advance International Relations Research and Methodology.” *International Organization* 63, no. 04 (2009): 701–31.

## **Week 9 (5/25/17). Archives in IR**

### **Required reading**

- Yarhi-Milo, Keren. "In the Eye of the Beholder: How Leaders and Intelligence Communities Assess the Intentions of Adversaries." *International Security* 38, no. 1 (2013): 7–51.
- Morrison, James Ashley. "Shocking Intellectual Austerity: The Role of Ideas in the Demise of the Gold Standard in Britain." *International Organization* 70, no. 01 (2016): 175–207.
- Gaikwad, Nikhar. "East India Companies and Long-Term Economic Change in India." Manuscript. Yale University, 2016. (available [here](#))
- Brian C. Rathbun, Joshua D. Kertzer and Mark Paradis, "Homo Diplomaticus: Mixed-Method Evidence of Variation in Strategic Rationality", *International Organization*, Forthcoming (available [here](#)).

### **Supplemental readings**

- Trachtenberg, Marc. "Transparency in Practice: Using Written Sources," *Qualitative & Multi-Method Research*, Spring 2015, pp. 13-17.
- Lustick, Ian S. "History, Historiography, and Political Science: Multiple Historical Records and the Problem of Selection Bias." *The American Political Science Review* 90, no. 3 (September 1996): 605–18.
- Caverley, Jonathan D. "The Myth of Military Myopia: Democracy, Small Wars, and Vietnam." *International Security* 34, no. 3 (January 1, 2010): 119–57.
- McAllister, James. "Who Lost Vietnam?: Soldiers, Civilians, and U.S. Military Strategy." *International Security* 35, no. 3 (2010): 95–123.
- Zhukov, Yuri M. "Population Resettlement in War: Theory and Evidence from Soviet Archives." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(7): 1155-1185.
- Trachtenberg, Marc. *The Craft of International History: A Guide to Method*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Brands, Hal, and David Palkki. "Saddam, Israel, and the Bomb: Nuclear Alarmism Justified?" *International Security* 36, no. 1 (2011): 133–66.
- Sagan, Scott D., and Jeremi Suri. "The Madman Nuclear Alert: Secrecy, Signaling, and Safety in October 1969." *International Security* 27, no. 4 (2003): 150–83.
- Tomz, Michael. *Reputation and International Cooperation: Sovereign Debt Across Three Centuries*. Princeton University Press, 2007, Chapter 3.
- James Ashley Morrison, "Before Hegemony: Adam Smith, American Independence, and the Origins of the First Era of Globalization," *International Organization* 66, no. 03 (2012): 395–428.
- Goddard, Stacie E. "When Right Makes Might: How Prussia Overturned the European Balance of Power." *International Security* 33, no. 3 (2011): 110–42.
- Mylonas, Harris. *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Green, Brendan Rittenhouse. "Two Concepts of Liberty: U.S. Cold War Grand Strategies and the Liberal Tradition." *International Security* 37, no. 2 (October 1, 2012): 9–43.
- Trachtenberg, Marc. *The Craft of International History: A Guide to Method*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Trachtenberg, Marc. "Audience Costs: An Historical Analysis." *Security Studies* 21, no. 1 (2012): 3–42.

- Moravcsik, Andrew. "Active Citation: A Precondition for Replicable Qualitative Research." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 43, no. 1 (2010): 29–35.
- Elman, Colin, and Miriam Fendius Elman, eds. *Bridges and Boundaries: Historians, Political Scientists, and the Study of International Relations*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2001.
- Elman, Colin, Diana Kapiszewski, and Lorena Vinuela. "Qualitative Data Archiving: Rewards and Challenges." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 43.1 (2010): 23-27.
- Kaufmann, Chaim D. "Out of the Lab and into the Archives: A Method for Testing Psychological Explanations of Political Decision Making." *International Studies Quarterly* 38, no. 4 (December 1994): 557–86
- Ovodenko, Alexander. "(Mis)interpreting Threats: A Case Study of the Korean War." *Security Studies* 16, no. 2 (April 1, 2007): 254–86.
- Yarhi-Milo, Keren. *Knowing the Adversary: Leaders, Intelligence, and Assessment of Intentions in International Relations*. Princeton University Press, 2014.

## **Week 10 (6/1/17). Secrecy and IR**

### **Required reading**

- Scott D. Sagan and Jeremi Suri, "The Madman Nuclear Alert: Secrecy, Signaling, and Safety in October 1969," *International Security* 27, no. 4 (2003): 150–83.
- Carson, Austin, and Keren Yarhi-Milo. "Covert Communication: The Intelligibility and Credibility of Signaling in Secret." *Security Studies* 26, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 124–56.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Zachary C. Steinert-Threlkeld, and David G. Victor. "Predictability versus Flexibility: Secrecy in International Investment Arbitration." *World Politics* 68, no. 3 (June 23, 2016): 413–53.
- Carson, Austin. "Facing Off and Saving Face: Covert Intervention and Escalation Management in the Korean War." *International Organization* 70, no. 01 (2016): 103–31.

### **Supplemental readings**

- Michael Poznansky, "Stasis or Decay? Reconciling Covert War and the Democratic Peace," *International Studies Quarterly*, March 1, 2015, doi:10.1111/isqu.12193.
- Meirowitz, Adam, and Anne E. Sartori. "Strategic Uncertainty as a Cause of War." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 3, no. 4 (December 2008): 327–52.
- Carson, Austin. "Rethinking Secrecy in International Politics." Manuscript. University of Chicago, 2016.
- Van Evera, Stephen. *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict*. Cornell University Press, 1999, pp. TBD.
- Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 94–95.
- Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," *International Organization* 42, no. 3 (Summer 1988): p. 445.
- Kurizaki, Shuhei. "Efficient Secrecy: Public Versus Private Threats in Crisis Diplomacy." *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 03 (2007): 543–58.
- Baum, Matthew A. "Going Private: Public Opinion, Presidential Rhetoric, and the Domestic Politics of Audience Costs in U.S. Foreign Policy Crises." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 5 (October 2004): 603–31.
- Anderson, Elizabeth E. "The Security Dilemma and Covert Action: The Truman Years." *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* 11, no. 4 (1998): 403–427.
- Yarhi-Milo, Keren. "Tying Hands Behind Closed Doors: The Logic and Practice of Secret Reassurance." *Security Studies* 22, no. 3 (2013): 405–35.
- John M. Schuessler, "The Deception Dividend: FDR's Undeclared War," *International Security* 34, no. 4 (2010): 133–65.
- Dan Reiter, "Democracy, Deception, and Entry into War," *Security Studies* 21, no. 4 (2012): 594–623.
- Alexander B. Downes and Mary Lauren Lilley, "Overt Peace, Covert War?: Covert Intervention and the Democratic Peace," *Security Studies* 19, no. 2 (2010): 266.
- David P. Forsythe, "Democracy, War, and Covert Action," *Journal of Peace Research* 29, no. 4 (November 1, 1992): 385–95.
- David N. Gibbs, "Secrecy and International Relations," *Journal of Peace Research* 32, no. 2 (May 1995): 213–28.

- John J. Mearsheimer, *Why Leaders Lie: The Truth about Lying in International Politics* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2011).
- Daniel Y. Kono, "Optimal Obfuscation: Democracy and Trade Policy Transparency," *American Political Science Review* 100, no. 03 (2006): 369–84.
- Bas, Muhammet, and Robert Schub. "Mutual Optimism as a Cause of Conflict: Secret Alliances and Conflict Onset." *International Studies Quarterly*, March 12, 2016. doi:doi:10.1093/isq/sqw002.
- Ritter, Jeffrey. "'Silent Partners' and Other Essays on Alliance Politics." Ph.D. dissertation. Harvard University, 2004. Chapter 2 "Silent Partners."
- Stasavage, David. "Open-Door or Closed-Door? Transparency in Domestic and International Bargaining." *International Organization* 58, no. 04 (2004): 667–703.
- Brown, Jonathan N., and Anthony S. Marcum. "Avoiding Audience Costs: Domestic Political Accountability and Concessions in Crisis Diplomacy." *Security Studies* 20 (April 2011): 141–70.
- Axelrod, Robert. "The Rational Timing of Surprise." *World Politics* 31, no. 2 (January 1979): 228–46.
- Betts, Richard K. "Surprise Despite Warning: Why Sudden Attacks Succeed." *Political Science Quarterly* 95, no. 4 (1981): 551–72.
- Slantchev, Branislav L. "Feigning Weakness." *International Organization* 64, no. 3 (2010): 357–88.

**Final paper due Thursday June 9 by 5 pm**  
**Send to [acarson@uchicago.edu](mailto:acarson@uchicago.edu)**