

PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND FOREIGN POLICY

Professor: Gülseren Kozak-Işık
Fall Semester 2019

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This class studies the general conceptual and practical issues of foreign policy and international relations from a psychological perspective. Psychology has been an underutilized subject that needs to be given a more central role in international studies. Recent years, however, are witnessing a renewed interest for psychology in the field of international relations, which can be viewed as a part of broader changes that are occurring in the discipline. Earlier research has already demonstrated that incorporating psychological knowledge can enhance our understanding of effective leadership, the decision-making processes, the impact of leaders' personalities on foreign policy choices they make. More recent research is indicating to the significance of emotions in foreign policy choices as well as the successes or failures of their implementation. Overall, scholars agree that by paying careful attention to the psychological dimensions of international relations, we are able to broaden the scope and accuracy of political analysis and enhance our understanding of foreign policy choices, as well as their successes and failures.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COURSE:

I believe that learning is a joint effort and requires active participation on the part of both the students and the instructor. The course employs a seminar format. Therefore, participation of the students in class discussions -informed by an in-depth, critical reading of the assigned texts- is a necessary component of this class. Students will be expected to analyze and criticize the arguments that were put forth in the required readings. An engaged, informed, and active participation in class is crucial for students' success. For this system to work, and for students to benefit from it, each member of the seminar must complete all of the required reading prior to each class meeting and be prepared to discuss it. Each class is going to have 3 parts: 1- Student Presentations and class discussion of reading assignments; 2)- Lecture 3- Collaborative learning activities and/or media presentations.

REQUIRED READING:

The reading list for the class is deliberately eclectic, drawing on a wide array of research traditions, and employing a diverse set of methodologies. You can access to the electronic copies of the required readings in the course folder.

COURSE STANDARD AND POLICIES:

Attendance, active participation: According to Sciences Po policy, “Any student failing to attend more than two sessions of a course ... will be declared to have “failed”, whatever the reason for the absences. The same applies if a student fails to satisfy the assessment requirements for a course. This “fail” will appear on grade transcripts.”

The use of electronic devices (smartphones, iPads, laptops, etc.): Because of the class size and its seminar format, the course requires your full, close attention and participation. Therefore, I will impose a strictly “**screen-free**” learning environment (no cell phones, tablets, computer, etc.) Students should refrain from all other computer activities, as they prove distracting to themselves and fellow students. Please tuck your computers and cellphones away before the start of each course.

Assignment Submission and Late work: Submitting assignments on time is as important as doing them well. All the assignments for this course must be received on the due date specified for the assignment (bring hard copies to the class **and** email the instructor with an electronic copy) before the start time of class. If you are not in class, it is your responsibility to get the assignment to me via another student or put it in my mailbox prior to the class. **Lateness Penalty:** Assignments received later than the due date will be penalized (1 grade point, e.g. A+ → A, for every day the assignment is late). Exceptions to the lateness penalty for valid reasons such as illness, compassionate grounds, etc., may be entertained by the Course Instructor but will require supporting documentation (e.g., a doctor’s letter).

GRADING:

Final grade will be comprised of the following elements:

Attendance and participation	%15
Oral Presentations	%30
Weekly questions about the required readings	%20
Final Political Consultation Project	%35

Sciences Po uses the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) and grades students on a scale of 0 to 20, with 10/20 as the lowest passing grade. If a student is awarded credits for (passes) a course, he or she will be graded in relation to the rest of the class: the first 10% are given an A, the next 25% a B, the next 30% a C, the next 25% a D, and the remaining 10% receives an E.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

Oral Presentations: At the beginning of each class, students will lead a maximum 15 minutes discussion of the required class readings. Depending on class size, these presentations will be either a group or individual presentation. For the presentation, you are expected firstly to briefly summarize the reading(s)’ main argument and discuss important points, then lead the class in a discussion of a) any questions/comments they have about the reading and b) any parallels they can make to some situations in your/theirs more immediate experiences. Because of the background of

the students, in exploring each topic, I encourage you to make explicit comparison with American society and institutions. **Formulate 2 questions** that you think will elicit such a discussion. It is not necessary to summarize the readings in any detail, as we can assume that everyone has done the required reading for the week. Rather, the emphasis should be on briefly situating the reading(s) in the literature, identifying their primary contributions to the literature, noting any theoretical or methodological weaknesses, and highlighting additional analytic questions raised by the reading. The 10-15 minutes time allotment is short, so time management is important. You will have more time to elaborate in the follow-up discussion in class.

Weekly Discussion Questions on Readings: Students, other than the presenter, will email the class with one discussion question of their own about the compulsory reading **by 10 am** on the day of the class (you will submit questions minimum for 9 weeks which means you can skip 2 weeks). in order to get credit for your submissions, make sure the subject field of your emails clearly indicate “Required Reading Discussion Question for week X”. Also, bring **a hard copy of your question** to each class. The schedule for class presentations will be determined in the first day of the class.

Final Political Consultancy Project:

This is the final requirement of the course. For this assignment you will be giving political consultation on an international issue you will choose. Explain what strategic actions would you recommend to this nominal client in making a foreign policy decision/negotiating an agreement/resolving a conflict /maintaining peace etc.? Reports should be structured as follows:

- 1- Specify the issue e.g. the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict; Maintaining Peace between Serbia and Kosovo; Nuclear Arms negotiations between Korea and the U.S. etc. Then, explain the significance of the issue and provide a brief history of the issue and summarize long-range historical developments until the present day.
- 2- Specify your nominal client, such as the UN, European Union, Palestinian Authority, Boris Johnson negotiating the Brexit etc.
- 3- Briefly summarize how the issue has been dealt with so far and what the results are. In discussing this section make sure to give references to topics we covered in class e.g. various emotions, different perceptions, changing metaphors, different/similar motivations, beliefs, and values of the parties; characteristics of the leaders making the foreign policy choices etc.
- 4- Explain clearly the desired outcome e.g. ending the war, preventing escalation of the conflict, accomplishing peaceful withdrawal of foreign military powers; coming to a binding agreement among nations on global warming etc. Note that the desired outcomes can be different for the different parties involved. Indicate the desired outcome for the party you are giving consultation to but also at least other two parties involved in the process.
- 5- Explain what strategic actions you recommend to the party requesting your consultation service. (3-4 major recommendations). Justify your recommendations with reference to at

least 3 required class readings, 3 outside sources and optional references to lecture notes or class discussions.

- 6- Conclusion: Explicitly state the recommended 3-4 next steps for your client based on those recommendations.

The written project is expected to be around 5-7 pages long double spaced at 12-point font. The due date for the policy consultancy project is the last day of the class, Friday **29/11/ 2019**. Bring a hard copy of the project to the class and also send the project via email **before the class start time** with the subject heading: "Final Project: Business Consultation". You can work on the assignment individually or in groups. The format of the project is flexible, and you can be as creative as you want. However, if you plan to prepare the project in a format other than the written report please consult with the instructor in advance to discuss the length and form etc. Nevertheless, regardless of the format of the assignment you need to refer to at least 3 class sources e.g. readings/lecture notes and 3 outside sources for this assignment.

WEEKLY SCHEDULE:

Session 1 (09/06): Introduction: International Relations, Foreign Policy and Diplomacy in the 21st Century: Challenges and Prospects

Required Reading: Heine, Jorge. 2013. "From Club to Network Diplomacy." In Andrew F. Cooper, Jorge Heine and Ramesh Takur. *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, 54-69 Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Session 2 (09/13): Theories of International Relations

Required Reading: Fearon, James and Alexander Wendt. 2002. "Rationalism v. Constructivism: A Skeptical View." In Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. (Eds.). *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 52-72.

Session 3 (09/20): Cognitive Revolution and Psychology in International Relations

Required Reading: Hafner Burton. Emile, Alex Hughes and David G. Victor. 2013. The Cognitive Revolution and the Political Psychology of Elite Decision Making. *Perspectives on Politics*, 11(2):368-386.

Session 4 (09/27): Cognitive Revolution and Beyond

Kertzer, Joshua D. and Dustin Tingley. Political Psychology in International Relations: Beyond Paradigms. 2018. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 21:1-23.

Session 5 (10/04): Emotional Turn in International Relations

Required Reading: Mercer, Jonathan. 2014. Feeling Like a State: Social Emotion and Identity. *International Theory*, 6(3): 515-535.

Reus-Smit, Christian. 2014. Emotions and the Social. *International Theory*, 6(3): 568-573

Session 6 (10/11): Psychoanalysis and International Relations

Required Reading: Luxon, Nancy. 2015. Psychoanalysis and Politics. *Contemporary Political Theory*, February 2015: 1-20

Levine, Howard B. 2014. "Psychoanalysis and Political Conflict: Is Psychoanalysis Relevant?" In *Psychoanalysis, International Relations, and Diplomacy*. London: Routledge Press.

Session 7 (10/18): Role of Ethics, Values, Beliefs, Ideologies, and Norms

Nardin, Terry. 2008. International Ethics. *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, August 2018: 1-18.

Session 8 (10/25): Populist Turn and Foreign Policy

Verbeek, Bertjan and Andrej Zaslove. 2017. Populism and Foreign Policy. *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, October 2017.

Session 9 (11/8): Negotiations, Bargaining, Mediation, and Crises and Conflict Management

Carlsnaes, Walter et al. 2002. "Diplomacy, Bargaining and Negotiation." *Handbook of International Relations*, 1-29. London: Sage Publications.

Session 10 (11/15): Wars, Terrorism and Trauma

Horgan, John G. 2019. Psychological Approaches to the Study of Terrorism. *The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism*, March 2019: 1-18.

Session 11 (11/22): Leaders and Foreign Policy Decision Making

Dyson, Stephen. 2006. Personality and Foreign Policy: Tony Blair's Iraq Decisions. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 2: 289-306.

Session 12 (11/29): Conclusion and Future of Psychology in International Relations

Kertzer, Joshua and Dustin Tingley. 2018. Political Psychology in International Relations: Beyond the Paradigms. *Annual Review of Political Sociology*, 21: 1-23.

Bibliography

Week 1: International Relations: History and Challenges

Saunders, Harold H. 1990. "A Historic Challenge to Rethink How Nations Relate." In Vamik D. Volkan, Demetrios A. Julius and Joseph V. Montville (Eds.) *The Psychodynamics of International Relationships*. Massachusetts: Lexington Books.

Tethloach, Ruey. 2017. The history of diplomacy and the ancient Greek, Italian, Roman and French diplomatic traditions, Munich, GRIN Verlag, <https://www.grin.com/document/375814>

Hoebel, A. 1950. The beginnings of diplomacy: A sociological study of intertribal and international relations. *American Sociological Review*, 15(1): 810.

Reus-Smit, Christian and Duncan Snidal. 2008. "Between Utopia and Reality: The Practical Discourses of International Relations. In Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal (Eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Siracusa, Joseph. 2010. *Diplomacy: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Week 2: Theories of International Relations and Political Psychology

Waltz, Kenneth. 1979. *Theory of International Relations*. Massachusetts: Addison Wesley.

Goldgeier, James and Philip Tetlock. 2001. Psychology and International Relations Theory. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 4 (March): 67-92.

Glaser, Charles. 2010. *Rational Theory of International Politics: The Logic of Competition and Cooperation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

McDermott, Rose. 2004. *Political Psychology in International Relations*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
Houghton, David. 2009. *Political Psychology: Situations, Individuals and Cases*. New York: Routledge 2009.
Sears, Huddy and R. Levy. 2013. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*.
Lobell, Steven and Norrin Ripsman and Jeffrey Taliaferro (eds). *Neoclassical Realism, the State and Foreign Policy*.
New York: Cambridge University Press.
Shannon, Vaughn and Paul Kowart (eds.). 2012. *Psychology and Constructivism in International Relations*.
Achen, Christopher and Duncan Snidal. 1989. Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies. *World Politics*, 41(2): 143-169.

Weeks 3-4: Cognitive Revolution

Cognitions, Perceptions etc.

Nyhan, Brendan and Jason Reifler. 2010. When Corrections Fail: The Persistence of Political Misperceptions. *Political Behavior* 32: 303-30.

Hafner-Burton, Emile, Alex Hughes and David Victor. 2013. The Cognitive Evolution and the Political Psychology of Elite Decision Making. *Perspectives on Politics*, 11(2): 368-386.

Jervis, Robert. 2004. Logics of Mind and International System: A Journey with Robert Jervis. *Review of International Studies* 30 (October): 559-82.

Stein, Arthur. 1982. When Misperception Matters. *World Politics* 34 (July): 505-26.

Kruglanski, Rie and Lauren Boyatzi. 2012. Closed and Open Mindedness. *Critical Review*, 24(2): 217-32.

Barnett, Michael. 2002. *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Feith, Douglas. 2009. *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the dawn of the War on Terrorism*. New York: Harper.

Analogies

Ernest, May. 1973. "Lessons" of the Past: The Use and Misuse of History in American Foreign Policy. New York: Oxford University Press.

Jervis, R. 1976. "How Decision Makers Learn from History." In R. Jervis. *Perception and Misperception*, 217-287.

Lerner, J. S., & Tetlock, P. E. (2003). Bridging individual, interpersonal, and institutional approaches to judgment and choice: The impact of accountability on cognitive bias. In S. Schneider & J. Shanteau (Eds.) *Emerging Perspectives on Judgment and Decision Research*, 431-457. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Week 5: Emotional Turn, Anger, Fear, Trust... etc.

Kydd, Andrew. 2005. *Trust and Mistrust in International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Ross, Andrew A. G. *Mixed Emotions: Beyond Fear and Hatred in International Conflict*. University of Chicago Press, 2013.

Jeffery, Renée. *Reason and Emotion in International Ethics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Hunter, Shona. 2015. *Power, Politics and the Emotions: Impossible Governance?* London: Routledge Press.

Hutchison, Emma, and Roland Bleiker. 2014. 'Theorizing Emotions in World Politics'. *International Theory*, 6(3): 491-514.

Jeffery, Renée. 2014. *Reason and Emotion in International Ethics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Berman, Russell. 2008. *Anti-Americanism in Europe: A Cultural Problem*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press.

Bleiker, Roland and Emma Hutchison. 2014. Emotions and World Politics. *International Theory*, 6(3): 490-594.

Crawford, Neta. 2014. Institutionalizing passion in world politics: fear and empathy. *International Theory*, 6(3): 535-557.

Prior, Alex and Yuri van Hoef. 2018. Interdisciplinary Approaches to Emotions in Politics and International Relations. *Politics and Governance*, 6(4): 48-52

Jeffery, Renée. 2014. The Promise and Problems of the Neuroscientific Approach to Emotions. *International Theory*, 6(3): 584-589.

Bleiker, Roland and Emma Hutchison. 2014. Theorizing Emotions in World Politics. *International Theory*, 6(3): 492-513.

Week 6: Psychoanalysis and International Relations

Robert Schuett. 2007. *Freudian Roots of Political Realism: The Importance of Sigmund Freud to Hans J. Morgenthau's Theory of International Power Politics*. *History of the Human Sciences*, 20(4): 53-78.

Schuett, Robert. 2010. *Political Realism, Freud and Human Nature in International Relations*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Emery, Douglas B. 1993. Self, Creativity, Political Resistance. *Political Psychology*, 14(2): 347-362.

Dallmayr, Fred. 1993. Heidegger and Freud. *Political Psychology*, 14(2): 235-253.

Caspary, William. 1993. New Psychoanalytic Perspectives on the Causes of War. *Political Psychology*, 14(3): 417-446.

Volkan, Vamik. 1998. Ethnicity and Nationalism: A Psychoanalytic Perspective. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 47(1): 45-57.

Jacobsen, Kurt. 2013. Why Freud Matters: Psychoanalysis and International Relations Revisited. *International Relations*, 27(4): 393-416.

Week 7: The Role of Values, Beliefs, Ideologies, Norms, Culture

Snyder, Jack. 1970. *The Soviet Strategic Culture: Implications for Nuclear Options*. Santa Monica: Rand.

Jackson, Peter. 2013. *Beyond the Balance of Power: France and the Politics of National Security*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Rathbun, Brian. 2014. *Diplomacy's Value: Creating Security in the 1920s Europe and the Contemporary Middle East*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Hopf, Ted. 2002. *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities and Foreign Policies, Moscow 1955-1999*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press

Lebow, R. N. 2008. *A Cultural Theory of International Relations*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lebow, R. N. 2012. *The Politics of Ethics and Identity: In Search of Ourselves*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Jervis, R. 2006. Understanding Beliefs. *Political Psychology*, 25 (October): 641-805.

Nardin, Terry. 1983. *Law, Morality and the Relations of States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Week 8: Populist Turn

Plagemann, Johannes. 2019. Populism and Foreign Policy: The Case of India. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 15(2): 283-301.

March, Luke. 2012. Nationalism for Export? The Domestic and Foreign-Policy Implications of the New 'Russian Idea.' *Europe-Asia Studies*, 64(3): 401-425.

Moffitt, Benjamin. 2017. Transnational Populism? Representative Claims, Media and the Difficulty of Constructing a Transnational "People". *The Public*, 24(4): 409-425.

Hopf, Ted. 2002. *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities and Foreign Policies, Moscow 1955-1999*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Chryssogelos, Angelos. 2018. State Transformation and Populism: From the Internationalized to the Neo-Sovereign State? *Politics*, October 2018: 1-16.

Cederman, Lars-Erik. 2002. "Nationalism and Ethnicity." In Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse & Beth Simmons (Eds.) *Handbook of International Relations*, 409-428. London: Sage Publications.

Week 9: Negotiations, Bargaining, & Conflict Management

Jonsson, Christer. 2002. "Diplomacy, Bargaining and Negotiation." In Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse & Beth Simmons (Eds.) *Handbook of International Relations*, 212-234. London: Sage Publications

Autesserre, Severine. 2014. *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Brett, Jeanne and Leigh Thompson. 2016. Negotiation. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 136: 68-79.

- Batalha, Luisa, and Katherine Reynolds. 2012. Aspiring to Mitigate Climate Change: Superordinate Identity in Global Climate Negotiations. *Political Psychology*, 33(5): 743-760.
- Stein, Janice. 2008. Crisis Management: Looking Back to Looking Forward. *Political Psychology*, 29(4): 553-569.
- Gilady, Lilach and Bruce Russett. 2002. "Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution." In Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse & Beth Simmons (Eds.) *Handbook of International Relations*, 392-408. London: Sage Publications.
- Levy, Jack. 2008. Deterrence and Coercive Diplomacy: The Contributions of Alexander George. *Political Psychology*, 29(4): 537-552.

Week 10 Exposure to War, Violence & Terrorism

- Lebow, Richard. 2010. *Why Nations Fight: Past and Future Motives for War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Feith, Douglas. 2009. *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the dawn of the War on Terrorism*. New York: Harper.
- Horgan, John G. 2019. "Psychological Approaches to the Study of Terrorism." In Erica Chenoweth, Richard English, Andreas Gofas (Eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism*.
- Payne, Kenneth. 2015. Fighting on: Emotion and Conflict Termination. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 28(3): 480-497.
- Hutchison, Emma. 2016. *Affective Communities in World Politics: Collective Emotions after Trauma*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourne, Lyle et al. 2003. Military Conflict and Terrorism: General Psychology Informs International Relations. *Review of General Psychology*, 7(2): 189-202.
- Stein, Janice. 2002. "Psychological Explanations of International Conflict." In Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse & Beth Simmons (Eds.) *Handbook of International Relations*, 293-308. London: Sage Publications.
- Caspary, William. 1993. New Psychoanalytic Perspectives on the Causes of War. *Political Psychology*, 14(3): 417-446.

Week 11 Leaders

- Renshon, Jonathan. 2015. Losing Face and Sinking Costs: Experimental Evidence on the Judgement of Political and Military Leaders. *International Organization*, 69 (Summer): 659-96.
- Jervis, Robert. 2013. Do Leaders Matter and How Would We Know? *Security Studies*, 22 (April-June): 153-79.
- George, Alexander and Juliet George. 1956. *Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality Study*. New York: Day.
- Steinberg, Blema. 1996. *Shame and Humiliation: Presidential Decision Making in Vietnam*. Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press.
- Berman, Lerry and Richard Immerman. 1989. *How Presidents Test Reality: Decisions on Vietnam*. New York: Russel Sage Publications.
- Jervis, R. 2017. *How Statesmen Think*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Dyson, Stephen and Thomas Preston. 2006. Individual Characteristics of Political Leaders and the Use of Analogy in Foreign Policy Decision Making. *Political Psychology*, 27(2): 265-288

Week 12: Future of International Theory

- Dunne, Tim et al. 2013. The ends of International Relations Theory? *European Journal of International Relations* 19(3): 405-425.
- Smith, Steve. 2008. "Six Wishes for a More Relevant Discipline of International Relations." In Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal (Eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.