

## **International Relations/Political Science**

Academic year 2020-2021

### **Foreign Policy Analysis**

#### **RI-SP045 - Printemps - 6 ECTS**

Monday 16h15 - 18h00

### **Course Description**

Introduction to the study of how states make and carry out policy pertaining to the "external" world. Theories of decision-making and its antecedents, of agenda structuring, and of interactions among policy makers. Approaches include rational choice analysis; cognitive, developmental, and social psychology; and organizational behavior. This course is both a survey of the FPA subfield and an introduction to how to reason, in written form, about FPA-related questions specifically and political science questions more generally.

### **PROFESSOR**

[Cameron Thies](#)

[Office hours](#)

### **ASSISTANT**

Asees Puri

[Office hours](#)

## **Syllabus**

### **Course Policies:**

#### Participation

This course will be run as a seminar in which everyone is expected to participate. You must come to class having thoroughly read the assigned readings. Bring your questions and comments to class; a seminar depends upon the quality of the discussion among the participants. The quantity of your comments can never make up for the quality of what you are saying, so please offer comments when you have something meaningful to say. The discussion should always be grounded in the literature

we are reading. Your comments and interactions with other seminar participants should also be respectful even when you disagree with them.

### Oral Presentations

In addition to doing the weekly readings, seminar participants will be asked to take turns leading the class discussion. This should involve a short summary of the articles assigned to the entire class and an overview of the additional articles assigned to the discussion leader. The presentation should take no more than 20 minutes to refresh our memories of what we read and acquaint the class with the discussion leader's articles, followed by a series of observations and questions designed to provoke discussion of the readings. The quality of the questions used to guide our discussion is much more important than the summary of material. You may prepare a PowerPoint, handouts, or present verbally as you see fit.

### Paper

The subject of the research paper is at your discretion, but must be approved by the professor. You should use it to explore an area of substantive interest in foreign policy. The paper cannot be purely conceptual in orientation; instead, it should make use of a theoretical framework that is assessed against some form of empirical evidence.

The typical components of a paper include an abstract, introduction, literature review, theory, data and methods, analysis, conclusion and references. You may use whatever citation style you are comfortable with, but please be consistent throughout the paper. The final paper should be 15-20 pages in length in 12-point font, double-spaced with one-inch margins.

### Grading

The final grade is based equally on seminar participation and oral presentation, and the research paper.

### **Course Readings:**

All articles are available in XXXXXXXX

Other resources to draw upon while researching your paper in foreign policy analysis include:

Thies, Cameron G., Editor. 2018. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Foreign Policy Analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press.

*Foreign Policy Analysis*, which is the International Studies Association journal dedicated to work in the subfield.

### **Schedule of Topics:**

#### **February 22: Course Introduction**

Review expectations set forth on the syllabus  
Sign up for discussion leadership

### **March 1: Overview: What is Foreign Policy Analysis?**

#### Class:

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

Smith, Steve. 1986. Theories of Foreign Policy: An Historical Overview. *Review of International Studies* 12: 13-29.

Lepgold, Joseph. 1998. Is Anyone Listening? International Relations Theory and the Problem of Policy Relevance. *Political Science Quarterly* 113(1): 43-62.

#### Discussion Leader:

Rosenau, James. 1968. Comparative Foreign Policy: Fad, Fantasy, or Field. *International Studies Quarterly* 12: 296-329.

White, Brian. 1999. The European Challenge to Foreign Policy Analysis. *European Journal of International Relations* 5: 37-66.

Leira, Halfard. 2019. The Emergence of Foreign Policy. *International Studies Quarterly* 63(1): 187-198.

### **March 8: External Factors and Models of Their Effects on Foreign Policy**

#### Class:

Telhami, Shibley. 2002. Kenneth Waltz, Neorealism, and Foreign Policy. *Security Studies* 11:158-70.

Putnam, Robert D. 1988. Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games. *International Organization* 42: 427-460.

Carlsnaes, Walter. 1992. The Agency-Structure Problem in Foreign Policy Analysis. *International Studies Quarterly* 36: 245-270.

#### Discussion Leader:

Rose, Gideon. 1998. Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy. *World Politics* 51(1): 144-172.

Elman, Miriam Fendius. 1995. The Foreign Policies of Small States: Challenging Neorealism in Its Own Backyard. *British Journal of Political Science* 25: 171-217.

Fearon, James D. 1998. Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy and Theories of International Relations. *Annual Review of Political Science* 1: 289-313.

### **March 15: Societal Sources of Foreign Policy: Culture, Identity and Discourse**

Class:

Nye, Joseph S. 2004. Soft Power and American Foreign Policy. *Political Science Quarterly* 119: 255–270.

Barnett, Michael. 1999. Culture, Strategy and Foreign Policy Change: Israel's Road to Oslo. *European Journal of International Relations* 5: 5-36.

Doty, Roxanne Lynn. 1993. Foreign Policy as Social Construction: a Post-Positivist Analysis of U.S. Counterinsurgency Policy in the Philippines. *International Studies Quarterly* 37(3): 297-320.

Discussion Leader:

Wick, Shelley. 2014. Capabilities, Cooperation and Culture: Mapping American Ambivalence Toward China. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 10(3): 289-309.

Duffield, John. 1999. Political Culture and State Behavior: Why Germany Confounds Neorealism. *International Organization* 53 (Autumn): 765-803.

Hansel, Mischa, and Kai Oppermann. 2016. Counterfactual Reasoning in Foreign Policy Analysis: The Case of German Nonparticipation in the Libya Intervention of 2011. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 12(2): 109-127.

**March 22: Societal Sources of Foreign Policy: Public Opinion and the Media**

Class:

Baum, Matthew A. and Philip B. K. Potter. 2008. The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Toward A Theoretical Synthesis. *Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 39-65.

Jacob E. Rothschild & Richard M. Shafranek. 2017. Advances and Opportunities in the Study of Political Communication, Foreign Policy, and Public Opinion. *Political Communication* 34(4): 634-643.

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.

Discussion Leader:

Eshbaugh-Soha, Matthew and Christopher Linebarger. 2014. Presidential and Media Leadership of Public Opinion on Iraq. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 10(4): 351-369.

de Sá Guimarães, Feliciano, Ivan Filipe Fernandes, and Gerardo Maldonado. 2020. Domestic Attitudes Toward Regional Leadership: A Survey Experiment in Brazil. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 16(1): 98-117.

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(3): 429-448.

## **March 29: Governmental Sources of Foreign Policy**

### Class:

Allison, Graham T. 1969. Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis. *American Political Science Review* 63: 689-718.

Kaarbo, Juliet. 2008. Coalition Cabinet Decision Making: Institutional and Psychological Factors. *International Studies Review* 10:57-86.

Kesgin, Baris and Juliet Kaarbo. 2010. When and How Parliaments Influence Foreign Policy: The Case of Turkey's Iraq Decision. *International Studies Perspectives* 11: 19–36

### Discussion Leader:

Stern, Eric and Bertjan Verbeek, Eds. 1998. Whither the Study of Governmental Politics in Foreign Policymaking: A Symposium. *Mershon International Studies Review* 42: 205-255.

Marsh, Kevin. 2014. Obama's Surge: A Bureaucratic Politics Analysis of the Decision to Order a Troop Surge in the Afghanistan War. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 10(3): 265-288.

Lantis, Jeffrey S., and Patrick Homan. 2019. Factionalism and US Foreign Policy: A Social Psychological Model of Minority Influence. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 15(2): 157-175.

## **April 12: Foreign Policy Role Theory**

### Class:

Thies, Cameron G. 2010. "Role Theory and Foreign Policy," in Robert A. Denemark, ed., *The International Studies Encyclopedia*, Vol. X, pp. 6335-6356. West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Thies, Cameron G. 2012. International Socialization Processes v. Israeli National Role Conceptions: Can Role Theory Integrate IR Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis? *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8(1): 25-46.

Cuhadar, Esra, Juliet Kaarbo, Baris Kesgin, and Binnur Ozkececi-Taner. 2017. Personality or Role? Comparisons of Turkish Leaders Across Different Institutional Positions. *Political Psychology* 38(1): 39-54.

### Discussion Leader:

Cantir, Cristian and Juliet Kaarbo. 2012. Contested Roles and Domestic Politics: Reflections on Role Theory in Foreign Policy Analysis and IR Theory. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8: 5–24.

Thies, Cameron G., and Angguntari Ceria Sari. 2018. A Role Theory Approach to Middle Powers: Making Sense of Indonesia's Place in the International System. *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 40(3): 397-421.

Wehner, Leslie E. 2015. Role Expectations as Foreign Policy: South American Secondary Powers' Expectations of Brazil as a Regional Power. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 11(4): 435-455.

## **April 19: Personality: Leadership Trait Analysis**

### Class:

Hermann, Margaret G. 1980. Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders. *International Studies Quarterly* 24(1): 7-46.

Dyson, Stephen Benedict. 2009. "Stuff Happens": Donald Rumsfeld and the Iraq War. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 5: 327-347.

Foster, Dennis M. and Jonathan W. Keller. 2014. Leaders' Cognitive Complexity, Distrust, and the Diversionary Use of Force. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 10(3): 205-223.

### Discussion Leader:

Dyson, Stephen Benedict. 2006. Personality and Foreign Policy: Tony Blair's Iraq Decisions. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 2(3): 289-306.

Winter, David G., Margaret G. Hermann, Walter Weintraub and Stephen G. Walker. 1991. The Personalities of Bush and Gorbachev Measured at a Distance: Procedures, Portraits, and Policy. *Political Psychology* 12(2): 215-245.

## **April 26: Personality: Operational Code Analysis**

### Class:

Walker, Stephen G., Mark Schafer, and Michael Young. 1998. Systematic Procedures for Operational Code Analysis: Measuring and Modeling Jimmy Carter's Operational Code. *International Studies Quarterly* 42: 175-190

He, Kai, and Huiyun Feng. 2013. Xi Jinping's Operational Code Beliefs and China's Foreign Policy. *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 6(3): 209-231.

Malici, Akan. 2006). Germans as Venetians: The Culture of German Foreign Policy Behavior. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 2: 37-62.

### Discussion Leader:

Renshon, Jonathan. 2008. Stability and Change in Belief Systems: The Operational Code of George W. Bush from Governor to Second-term President. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52: 820-849.

Feng, Huiyun. 2005. The Operational Code of Mao Zedong: Defensive or Offensive Realist? *Security Studies* 14(4): 637-662.

## **May 3: Personality: Prospect Theory and Poliheuristic Theory**

### Class:

Levy, Jack. 1997. Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations. *International Studies Quarterly* 41:87-112.

Kowert, Paul A. and Margaret G. Hermann. 1997. Who Takes Risks? Daring and Caution in Foreign

Policy Making. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41(5): 611-637.

James, Patrick, and Enyu Zhang. 2005. Chinese Choices: A Poliheuristic Analysis of Foreign Policy Crises, 1950–1996. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1: 31–54.

Discussion Leader:

Boettcher, W. A. 2004. The Prospects for Prospect Theory: An Empirical Evaluation of International Relations Applications of Framing and Loss Aversion. *Political Psychology* 25: 331–362

Mintz, Alex. 2005. Applied Decision Analysis: Utilizing Poliheuristic Theory to Explain and Predict Foreign Policy and National Security Decisions. *International Studies Perspectives* 6: 94-98.

Brule, David J. 2005. Explaining and Forecasting Leaders' Decisions: A Poliheuristic Analysis of the Iran Hostage Rescue Decision. *International Studies Perspectives* 6: 99-113.

Redd, Steven B. 2005. The Influence of Advisers and Decision Strategies on Foreign Policy Choices: President Clinton's Decision to Use Force in Kosovo. *International Studies Perspectives* 6: 129–150.

**May 10: Advisory Systems/Leadership Style/Small Group Dynamics**

Class:

Hermann, Margaret G. 2001. "How Decision Units Shape Foreign Policy: A Theoretical Framework" *International Studies Review* 3(2): 47-81.

Mitchell, David. 2005. Centralizing Advisory Systems: Presidential Influence and the U.S. Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 2: 181-206.

Badie, Dina. 2010. Groupthink, Iraq, and the War on Terror: Explaining US Policy Shift Toward Iraq. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 6(4): 277-296.

Discussion Leader:

Hermann, Margaret G., and Preston, Tom. 1994. Presidents, Advisors and Foreign Policy. *Political Psychology* 15: 75-96.

Kaarbo, Juliet. 1997. Prime Minister Leadership Styles in Foreign Policy Decision-Making: A Framework for Research. *Political Psychology*, 18: 553–581

Keller, J. W. 2005. Leadership Style, Regime Type, and Foreign Policy Crisis Behavior: A Contingent Monadic Peace? *International Studies Quarterly*, 49: 205–232

**May 17: Foreign Policy Change**

Class:

Hermann, Charles F. 1990. Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy. *International Studies Quarterly* 34(1): 3-1.

Gustavsson, Jakob. 1999. How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change? *Cooperation and Conflict* 34(1): 73-95.

Subotić, Jelena. 2016. Narrative, Ontological Security, and Foreign Policy Change. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 12(4): 610–627.

Discussion Leader:

Doeser, Frederik. 2011. Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy Change in Small States: The Fall of the Danish 'Footnote Policy.' *Cooperation and Conflict* 46(2): 222-241.

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(2): 280-290.

Wajner, Daniel F. 2019. Learning for Legitimacy: The Gaza Flotilla Case of Meaningful Learning in Foreign Policy Strategic Planning. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 15(4): 548-569.

**May 24: Populism and Foreign Policy Analysis**

Class:

Verbeek, Bertjan, and Andrej Zaslove. 2017. "Populism and Foreign Policy," in Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy, Eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, pp. 384-405.

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

Sagarzazu, Iñaki, and Cameron G. Thies. 2019. The Foreign Policy Rhetoric of Populism: Chávez, Oil and Anti-Imperialism. *Political Research Quarterly* 72(1): 205-214.

Discussion Leader:

Boucher, Jean-Christophe, and Cameron G. Thies. 2019. "I am Tariff Man!": The Power of Populist Foreign Policy Rhetoric under President Trump. *Journal of Politics* 81(2): 712-722.

Wojczewski, Thorsten. 2020. Trump, Populism, and American Foreign Policy. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 16(3): 292-311.

Destradi, Sandra and Johannes Plagemann. 2019. Populism and International Relations: (Un)predictability, Personalization, and the Reinforcement of Existing Trends in World Politics. *Review of International Studies* 45(5): 711-730.

**May 31: Future Directions in Foreign Policy Analysis**

Class:

Kaarbo, Juliet, Symposium Editor. 2003. Foreign Policy Analysis in the Twenty-First Century: Back to Comparison, Forward to Identity and Ideas. *International Studies Review* 5: 156–202.

Kaarbo, Juliet. 2015. A Foreign Policy Analysis Perspective on the Domestic Politics Turn in IR Theory. *International Studies Review* 17(2): 189-216.



Smith, Karen E. 2020. Missing in Analysis: Women in Foreign Policy-Making. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 16(1): 130-141. (See Volume 16, Issue 2 for a special issue on gender and FPA).

Discussion Leader:

Baumann, Rainer, and Frank A. Stengel. 2014. Foreign Policy Analysis, Globalisation and Non-State Actors: State-Centric After All? *Journal of International Relations and Development* 17: 489-521.

Houghton, David P. 2007. Reinvigorating the Study of Foreign Policy Decision Making: Toward a Constructivist Approach. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3: 24-45.