

International Relations INR 6606
Political Psychology of International Relations

Summer C 2005
T 5:00 - 7:40 pm
Section 01

Dr. Paul A. Kowert
Office: DM 436A
Hours: T W 3:00-4:00

This course introduces students to psychological theories of international politics and is divided into two parts. The first part of the course poses a series of questions about the role of individuals in international relations and considers different theories of political decision making (including rational choice, cognitive, motivational, and organizational theories), personality and leadership, and the role of images, values, and identity in shaping international behavior. The second part of the course poses questions about the social psychology of international relations, focusing on public opinion, social identity, and national goals.

Course Requirements

As in any graduate seminar, active participation is essential. All required readings — indicated by an asterisk (*) on the syllabus — must be completed before class. Students should bring a brief (2 or 3 sentences) **written summary** of each required reading to class every week. Please note that the purpose of these written summaries is **not** to outline the reading (you should do this separately, in your notes), but rather to identify the main argument. The readings summaries will be collected in class periodically, and without advance warning. The course requires a brief (4-5 pages) **political leadership study**. For this study, students should choose a national leader (current or past) and should summarize and document a salient aspect of this leader's political decision style (personality, belief system, principle motivations, risk propensity, characteristic motivated errors, etc.). The course also requires a **short research paper**, of approximately 10-15 pages, that applies one of the psychological perspectives discussed in this course to a specific empirical case. In the weeks preceding completion of the final research paper, students will make a brief **presentation** (about 15 minutes) of their research findings to the class.

All written work must be typed and double-spaced with one-inch margins. Staple pages together, but do not place them in folders. Written work should conform stylistically to the standards of a prominent international relations journal (such as *International Organization*, *International Studies Quarterly*, or *World Politics*). Style manuals such as the following may also be helpful: Kate Turabian, *Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press); and William Strunk, Jr. and E. B. White, *The Elements of Style* (New York: Macmillan). Papers must also conform to university and professional standards for academic integrity. In particular, all students should review the relevant sections of the Student Handbook and of my website (<http://www.fiu.edu/~kowert/students.html>) on how to avoid plagiarism. All written work is due at the beginning of class on the assigned dates. Late papers will be accepted only at the professor's discretion and will be penalized. Grades will be determined on the basis of these course requirements as follows:

Participation & Readings Summaries	20%
Leadership Study	25%
Research Presentation	15%
Final Research Paper	40%

You are always welcome to discuss this course or other academic issues with me during my office hours. I will also be happy to make an appointment for another time if you cannot see me during office hours. Don't hesitate to ask if you have any questions or problems!

Syllabus

Topic 1 – Overview, Defining Political Psychology and Rationality (May 10)

- Barner-Barry, C. and R. Rosenwein, *Psychological Perspectives on Politics* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1985).
- Hermann, Margaret G., "Political Psychology: Fad, Fantasy, or Field?" paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, August 11-15, 1989.
- Singer, Eric and Valerie Hudson, *Political Psychology and Foreign Policy* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992).
- Jervis, Robert, *Perception and Misperception in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), chapter 1.
- *Jervis, Robert, Ole Holsti, David Sears, and M. Brewster Smith, "Political Psychology—Challenges and Opportunities," *Political Psychology* 10 (1989), pp. 481-516 (Jervis and Holsti assigned as background reading).**
- Lane, R. E., "Political Science and Psychology," in S. Koch, ed., *Psychology: A Study of A Science* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963).
- Ripley, Brian, "Psychology, Foreign Policy, and International Relations Theory," *Political Psychology* 14 (1993), pp. 403-416.
- Stone, W. F. and P. E. Schaffner, *The Psychology of Politics* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1974).
- Tetlock, Philip, "Psychological Advice on Foreign Policy: What Do We Have to Contribute?" *American Psychologist* 41 (1986), pp. 557-567.

Part I – Individual Psychology and International Relations

Topic 2 – Are political decisions rational? (May 17)

The Cognitive Revolution in Political Psychology

- Abelson, Robert P. et al., eds., *Theories of Cognitive Consistency: A Sourcebook* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1968).
- Baars, Bernard J., *The Cognitive Revolution in Psychology* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1986).
- Festinger, Leon, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957).
- Fiske, Susan and Shelley Taylor, *Social Cognition* (New York: Random House, 1984).
- Heider, Fritz, *The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations* (New York: Wiley, 1958).
- Herrmann, Richard, "The Empirical Challenge of the Cognitive Revolution: A Strategy for Drawing Inferences About Perceptions," *International Studies Quarterly* 32 (1988), pp. 175-204.
- Holsti, Ole, "Foreign Policy Viewed Cognitively," in Robert Axelrod, *Structure of Decision: The Cognitive Maps of Political Elites* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 18-54.
- Jervis, Robert, *Perception and Misperception in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).
- Nisbett, Richard and Lee Ross, *Human Inference: Strategies and Shortcomings of Social Judgment* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1980).
- Sherman, Steven, Charles Judd, and Bernadette Park, "Social Cognition," *Annual Review of Psychology* 40 (1989), pp. 281-326.

Information Processing Perspectives on Foreign Policy

- Burke, John P. and Fred I. Greenstein, *How Presidents Test Reality: Decisions on Vietnam, 1954 & 1965* (New York: Sage, 1989).
- George, Alexander, *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1980).
- * **Jervis, Robert, *Perception and Misperception in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), ch. 4.**
- Jervis, Robert, "Representativeness in Foreign Policy Judgments," *Political Psychology* 7 (1986), pp. 483-505.
- Kahneman, Daniel, Paul Slovic, and Amos Tversky, eds., *Judgment Under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
- Khong, Yuen Foong, *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).
- Koopman, Cheryl, Jack Snyder, and Robert Jervis, "Theory-Driven Versus Data Driven Assessment in a Crisis," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 34 (1990), pp. 694-722.
- Levy, Jack S., "Misperception and the Causes of War: Theoretical Linkages and Analytical Problems," *World Politics* 36,1 (1983), pp. 76-99.
- Lord, C. G., L. Ross, and M. Lepper, "Biased Assimilation and Attitude Polarization: The Effects of Prior Theories on Subsequently Considered Evidence," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 37 (1979), pp. 2098-2109.
- Simon, Herbert, *Administrative Behavior* (New York: Free Press, 1968).
- Tversky, Amos and Daniel Kahneman, "Availability: A Heuristic for Judging Frequency and Probability," *Cognitive Psychology* 5 (1973), pp. 207-232.
- Vertzberger, Yaacov, *The World in Their Minds: Information Processing, Cognition, and Perception in Foreign Policy Decision Making* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

Emotion and Decision Making

- Frank, Robert, *Passions Within Reason: The Strategic Role of the Emotions* (New York: Norton, 1988).
- Holsti, Ole R., *Crisis, Escalation, War* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1972).
- Holsti, Ole R. and Alexander L. George, "The Effects of Stress on the Performance of Foreign Policy-Makers," in Cornelius P. Cotter, ed., *Political Science Annual*, Vol. 13 (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1975), pp. 255-319.
- Janis, Irving, *Crucial Decisions: Leadership in Policymaking and Crisis Management* (New York: Free Press, 1989).
- Janis, Irving and Leon Mann, *Decision Making: A Psychological Analysis of Conflict, Choice, and Commitment* (New York: Free Press, 1977).
- * **Lebow, Richard Ned, *Between Peace and War: The Nature of International Crisis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), chapters 1, 5.**
- Lebow, Richard Ned, "Miscalculation in the South Atlantic," in Robert Jervis *et al*, *Psychology and Deterrence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), pp. 89-124.

Topic 3 — What do leaders really want? (May 24)

Aggression and Fear

- Anderson, C. A., "Temperature and Aggression: The Ubiquitous Effects of Heat on the Occurrence of Human Violence," *Psychological Bulletin* 106 (1989), pp. 74-96.
- Davies, James C., *Human Nature in Politics* (New York: Wiley, 1963), chapters 1-3.
- Geen, R. G., *Human Aggression* (Pacific Grove, California: Brooks-Cole, 1990).
- Glad, Betty, *Psychological Dimensions of War* (Newbury Park, California: Sage, 1990).
- Shalit, Erel, "The Relationship Between Aggression and Fear of Annihilation in Israel," *Political Psychology* 15 (1994), pp. 415-434.

- White, Ralph K., *Psychology and the Prevention of Nuclear War* (New York: New York University Press, 1986).
- Zillmann, D., *Hostility and Aggression* (Hillsdale, New Jersey: Erlbaum, 1979).

Theories of Motivation

- *Cottam, Richard, *Foreign Policy Motivation: A General Theory and a Case Study* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1977), chapters 1-4.**
- Fiske, Susan, "Schema-Triggered Affect: Applications to Social Perception," in Susan Fiske and Margaret Clark, eds., *Affect and Cognition* (1982), pp. 55-78.
- Herrmann, Richard, "Perceptions and Foreign Policy Analysis," in Donald Sylvan and Steve Chan, eds., *Foreign Policy Decision Making* (New York: Praeger, 1984), pp. 25-52.
- McClelland, David C., *Human Motivation* (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman, 1985).
- Tetlock, Philip and Ariel Levi, "Attribution Bias: On the Inconclusiveness of the Cognition-Motivation Debate," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 18 (1982), pp. 68-88.
- Weinberger, J. and D. C. McClelland, "Cognitive Versus Traditional Motivational Models: Irreconcilable or Complementary?" in E. T. Higgins and R. M. Sorrentino, eds., *Handbook of Motivation and Cognition* (New York: Guilford, 1990).
- Winter, David, *The Power Motive* (New York: The Free Press, 1973).
- Winter, David, "Enhancement of Enemy's Power Motivation as a Dynamic of Escalation in Conflict Situations," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 52 (1987), pp. 41-46.

Foreign Policy Images and Belief Systems

- Abelson, Robert, "Psychological Status of the Script Concept," *American Psychologist* 36 (1981), pp. 715-729.
- Axelrod, Robert, *Structure of Decision: The Cognitive Maps of Political Elites* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).
- Bronfenbrenner, Urie, "The Mirror-Image in Soviet-American Relations," A Social Psychologist's Report," *Journal of Social Issues* 17, pp. 45-56.
- Cottam, Martha, *Foreign Policy Decision Making: The Influence of Cognition* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986).
- Cottam, Martha L. and Chih-yu Shih, *Contending Dramas: A Cognitive Approach to International Organizations* (New York: Praeger, 1992).
- George, Alexander, "The 'Operational Code': A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision Making," *International Studies Quarterly* 13 (1969), pp. 190-222.
- Hart, Jeffrey A., "Cognitive Maps of Three Latin American Foreign Policy Makers," *World Politics* 30 (1977), pp. 115-140.
- Herrmann, Richard, "The Power of Perceptions in Foreign-Policy Decision Making: Do Views of the Soviet Union Determine the Policy Choices of American Leaders?" *American Journal of Political Science* 30 (1986), pp. 841-875.
- *Herrmann, Richard and Michael Fischerkeller, "Beyond the Enemy Image and Spiral Model: Cognitive-Strategic Research After the Cold War," *International Organization* 49 (1995), pp. 415-450.**
- Herrmann, Richard, James F. Voss, Tonya Y. E. Schooler, and Joseph Ciarrochi, "Images in International Relations: An Experimental Test of Cognitive Schemata," *International Studies Quarterly* 41 (1997), pp. 403-433.
- Holsti, Ole R., "Cognitive Dynamics and Images of the Enemy: Dulles and Russia," in David J. Finlay, Ole R. Holsti, and Richard R. Fagen, *Enemies in Politics* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967), pp. 25-96.
- Hurwitz, Jon and Mark Peffley, "Public Images of the Soviet Union: The Impact on Foreign Policy Attitudes," *Journal of Politics* 52 (1990), pp. 3-28.

- Hurwitz, Jon and Mark Peffley, "How are Foreign Policy Attitudes Structured? A Hierarchical Model," *American Political Science Review* 81 (1987), pp. 1099-1119.
- Lampton, David M., "The U. S. Image of Peking in Three International Crises," *Western Political Quarterly* 36 (1973), pp. 28-49.
- Leites, Nathan, *The Operational Code of the Politburo* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1951).
- Murray, Shoon Kathleen and Jonathan A. Cowden, "The Role of 'Enemy Images' and Ideology of Elite Belief Systems," *International Studies Quarterly* 43, 3 (1999), pp. 455-481.
- Rosati, Jerel, *The Carter Administration's Quest for Global Community: Beliefs and Their Impact on Behavior* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1987).
- Van Evera, Stephen, "The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War," *International Security* 9 (1984), pp. 58-107.
- Walker, Stephen, "The Interface Between Beliefs and Behavior: Henry Kissinger's Operational Code and the Vietnam War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 21 (1977), pp. 129-168.

Risk and Decision Making

- Kowert, Paul and Margaret Hermann, "Who Takes Risks? Daring and Caution in Foreign Policy Decision Making," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41, 5 (October 1997), pp. 611-637.
- Levy, Jack S., "An Introduction to Prospect Theory," *Political Psychology* 13 (1992), pp. 171-186.
- Levy, Jack S., "Prospect Theory and International Relations: Theoretical Applications and Analytical Problems," *Political Psychology* 13 (1992), pp. 283-310.
- McDermott, Rose, *Risk-Taking in International Politics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998).

Topic 4 — Are some leaders irredeemable? Are some especially virtuous? (May 31)

Modern Personality Research, Behavior, and Decision Making

- *Barber, James David, *The Presidential Character Predicting Performance in the White House* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1972), chs. 1, 10, 14.**
- Costa, Paul T. and Robert R. McCrae, "Personality in Adulthood: A Six-Year Longitudinal Study of Self-Reports and Spouse Ratings on the NEO Personality Inventory," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 54 (1988), pp. 853-863.
- Costa, Paul T. and Robert R. McCrae, "Four Ways Five Factors are Basic," *Personality and Individual Differences* 13 (1992), pp. 653-665.
- *Digman, John, "Personality Structure: Emergence of the Five-Factor Model," *Annual Review of Psychology* 41 (1990), pp. 417-440.**
- Etheredge, Lloyd, "Personality Effects on American Foreign Policy, 1898-1968," *American Political Science Review* 72 (1978), pp. 434-451.
- Eysenck, Hans J., "Four Ways Five Factors Are Not Basic," *Personality and Individual Differences* 13 (1992), pp. 667-673.
- George, Alexander and Juliette George, *Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality Study* (New York: John Day, 1956).
- Goldberg, Lewis, "The Structure of Phenotypic Personality Traits," *American Psychologist* 48 (January 1993), pp. 26-34.
- *Greenstein, Fred, *Personality and Politics: Problems of Evidence, Inference, and Conceptualization* (Chicago: Markham, 1969), chapter 2.**
- Hermann, Margaret, ed., *A Psychological Examination of Political Leaders* (New York: The Free Press, 1977).
- Hermann, Margaret G., "When Leader Personality Will Affect Foreign Policy: Some Propositions," in James Rosenau, *In Search of Global Patterns* (New York: The Free Press, 1976), pp. 326-333.

- Hermann, Margaret, "Personality and Foreign Policy Decision Making," in Donald Sylvan and Steve Chan, eds., *Foreign Policy Decision Making* (New York: Praeger, 1984), pp. 53-80.
- Knudsen, Olav and Maurice East, "Leeway for Personal Impact: The Case of Foreign-Policy Making in Norway," *Scandinavian Political Studies* 8 (1985), pp. 1-18.
- McCrae, Robert R. and Oliver P. John, "An Introduction to the Five-Factor Model and Its Applications," *Journal of Personality* 60 (1992), pp. 175-215.
- Post, Jerrold M., "The Defining Moments in Saddam's Life," in Stanley Renshon, ed., *The Political Psychology of the Gulf War* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993), pp. 49-66.
- Renshon, Stanley, ed., *The Clinton Presidency: Campaigning, Governing, & the Psychology of Leadership* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1995).
- Shephard, Graham, "Personality Effects on American Foreign Policy, 1969-1984: A Second Test of Interpersonal Generalization Theory," *International Studies Quarterly* 32 (1988), pp. 91-123.
- Simonton, Dean Keith, "Personality and Politics," in L. A. Pervin, ed., *Handbook of Personality Theory and Research* (New York: Guilford, 1990), pp. 670-692. chapter 10.
- Wayne, Stephen J., "President Bush Goes to War: A Psychological Interpretation," in Stanley Renshon, ed. *The Political Psychology of the Gulf War: Leaders, Publics, and the Process of Conflict* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1993), pp. 29-48.
- Winter, David, "Leader Appeal, Leader Performance, and the Motive Profiles of Leaders and Followers," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 52 (1987), pp. 196-202.
- Winter, David, "Personality and Foreign Policy: Historical Overview of Research," in Eric Singer and Valerie Hudson, eds., *Political Psychology and Foreign Policy* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), pp. 79-101.
- Zuckerman, Marvin, "What is a Basic Factor and Which Factors Are Basic? Turtles All the Way Down," *Personality and Individual Differences* 13 (1992), pp. 675-681.

Personality Assessment

- Hermann, Margaret, ed., *A Psychological Examination of Political Leaders* (New York: The Free Press, 1977), chapter 1.
- Hermann, Margaret, "Assessing the Personalities of Members of the Soviet Politburo," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 6 (1980), pp. 332-352.
- Kowert, Paul, "Where Does the Buck Stop? Assessing the Impact of Presidential Personality," *Political Psychology* 17, 3 (1996), pp. 421-452.
- Runyan, William McKinley, *Life Histories and Psychobiography: Explorations in Theory and Method* (New York: Oxford, 1982).
- Young, Michael D. and Mark Schafer, "Is There Method in Our Madness? Ways of Assessing Cognition in International Relations," *Mershon International Studies Review* 42 (1988), pp. 63-96.

Topic 5 — Are two heads better than one? Can governments learn? (June 7)

Foreign Policy Learning

- Breslauer, George and Philip Tetlock, *Learning in American and Soviet Foreign Policy* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1991).
- Etheredge, Lloyd, *Can Governments Learn? American Foreign Policy and Central American Revolutions* (New York: Pergamon, 1985).
- Hovland, Carl, Irving Janis, and Harold Kelley, *Communication and Persuasion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953).

- Jervis, Robert, "How Decision Makers Learn From History," in Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), chapter 6.
- Khong, Yuen Foong, *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).
- Larson, Deborah, *Origins of Containment: A Psychological Explanation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).
- Levy, Jack S., "Learning and Foreign Policy: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield," *International Organization* 48 (1994), pp. 279-312.
- Neustadt, Richard E. and Ernest R. May, *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision-Makers* (New York: Free Press, 1986).
- *Steinbruner, John, *The Cybernetic Theory of Decision* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), chapter 3.**
- Vertzberger, Yaacov, "Foreign Policy Decision-makers as Practical-Intuitive Historians: Applied History and its Shortcomings," *International Studies Quarterly* 30 (1986), pp. 223-247.

Political Decision Making in Groups

- Albanese, Robert and David Van Fleet, "Rational Behavior in Groups: The Free-Riding Tendency," *Academy of Management Review* 10 (1985), pp. 244-255.
- Cartwright, Dorwin, "Risk Taking by Individuals and Groups: An Assessment of Research Employing Choice Dilemmas," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 20 (1971), pp. 361-378.
- Etheredge, Lloyd, *Can Governments Learn? American Foreign Policy and Central American Revolutions* (New York: Peramon, 1985).
- George, Alexander, *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1980), Part 2.
- George, Alexander and Eric Stern, "Presidential Management Styles and Models," in Alexander George and Juliette George, *Presidential Personality and Performance* (Boulder: Westview 1998), pp. 199-280.
- Guetzkow, Harold, *Groups, Leadership, and Men* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Press, 1951).
- Hermann, Margaret and John Thomas Preston, "Presidents, Advisers, and Foreign Policy: The Effects of Leadership Style on Executive Arrangements," *Political Psychology* 15 (1994), pp. 75-96.
- Isenberg, D. I., "Group Polarization: A Critical Review and Meta-analysis," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 50 (1986), pp. 1141-1151.
- *Janis, Irving, *Groupthink: Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and Fiascoes*, 2nd ed., (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1982), chapters 1, 2, 6, 10, 11.**
- *Kowert, Paul, "Leadership and Learning in Political Groups: The Management of Advice in the Iran-Contra Affair," *Governance: An International Journal of Policy and Administration* 14, 2 (2001).**
- Kowert, Paul, *Groupthink or Deadlock: When Do Leaders Learn From Their Advisors* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002).
- Levine, John and Richard Moreland, "Progress in Small Group Research," *Annual Review of Psychology* (1990), pp. 585-634.
- Longley, J. and Dean G. Pruitt, "Groupthink: A Critique of Janis's Theory," *Review of Personality and Social Psychology* 1 (1980), pp. 74-93.
- McGrath, Joseph, "Time, Interaction, and Performance (TIP): A Theory of Groups," *Small Group Research* 22 (1991), pp. 147-174.
- Minix, Dean A., *Small Groups and Foreign Policy Decision-Making* (Washington, D. C.: University Press of America, 1982).
- Nemeth, Charlan J., "Differential Contributions of Majority and Minority Influence," *Psychological Review* 93 (1986), pp. 23-32.

- Pruitt, Dean G., "Choice Shifts in Group Discussion: An Introductory Review," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 20 (1971), pp. 339-360.
- Semmel, Andrew K., "Small-Group Dynamics in Foreign Policymaking," in G. W. Hoppo, ed., *Biopolitics, Political Psychology, and International Politics* (New York: St. Martins, 1982).
- Stasser, Gary, N. L. Kerr, and J. H. Davis, "Influence Processes and Consensus Models in Decision-making Groups," in P. B. Paulus, ed., *Psychology of Group Influence* (Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1989), pp. 279-326.
- 't Hart, Paul, *Groupthink in Government: A Study of Small Groups and Policy Failure* (Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1990).

Part II — Social Psychology and International Relations

Topic 6 — Are we merely pawns of our leaders? (June 14)

LEADERSHIP STUDY DUE

Influences on Public Opinion

- Gamson, William A., *Talking Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Gamson, William A. and Andre Modigliani, "Thinking about Politics," *Political Behavior* 1, 1 (Spring 1979), pp. 5-30.
- *Iyengar, Shanto, "Television News and Citizens' Explanations of National Affairs," *American Political Science Review* 81 (1987), pp. 815-831.**
- Iyengar, Shanto, *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
- Koch, Jeffrey, "Group Identification in Political Context," *Political Psychology* 15 (1994), pp. 687-698.
- Krosnick, Jon A., "Americans' Perceptions of Presidential Candidates: A Test of the Projection Hypothesis," *Journal of Social Issues* 46 (1991), pp. 159-182.
- Krosnick, Jon A. and Shibley Telhami, "Public Attitudes Toward Israel: A Study of the Attentive and Issue Publics," *International Studies Quarterly* 39 (1995), pp. 535-554.
- Northover, Mehroo, Sandra Harris, and Mary Duffy, "Politicians, Ideological Messages, and Voters," *Political Psychology* 15 (1994), pp. 713-730.
- Sloutsky, Vladimir M. and Joshua Searle-White, "Psychological Responses of Russians to Rapid Social Change in the Former U.S.S.R.," *Political Psychology* 14 (1993), pp. 511-526.
- Sniderman, Paul M. and Jack Citrin, "Psychological Sources of Political Belief: Self-Esteem and Isolationist Attitudes," *The American Political Science Review* 65, 2 (1971), pp. 401-417.
- Visser, Max, "Policy Voting, Projection, and Persuasion: An Application of Balance Theory to Electoral Behavior," *Political Psychology* 15 (1994), pp. 699-711.

The Structure and Effects of Public Opinion

- Cohen, Bernard C., *The Public's Impact on Foreign Policy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973).
- Converse, Philip, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in David Apter, ed., *Ideology and Discontent* (New York: Free Press, 1964).
- *Holsti, Ole, "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy," *International Studies Quarterly* 36 (1992), pp. 439-466.**
- Holsti, Ole R. and James Rosenau, *American Leadership in World Affairs: Vietnam and the Breakdown of Consensus* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1984).

- Jervis, Robert, Richard Ned Lebow, and Janice Gross Stein, *Psychology and Deterrence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985).
- Lebow, Richard Ned and Janice Gross Stein, "Deterrence: The Elusive Dependent Variable," *World Politics* (1990), pp. 336-369.
- Page, Benjamin and Robert Shapiro, "What Moves Public Opinion?" *American Political Science Review* 81 (1987), pp. 23-43.
- Renshon, Stanley, ed., *The Political Psychology of the Gulf War: Leaders, Publics, and the Process of Conflict* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993).
- *Sniderman, Paul, Richard Brody, and Philip Tetlock, *Reasoning and Choice: Explorations in Political Psychology*, chapters 1, 2, 6.**
- Wittkopf, Eugene R., *Faces of Internationalism : Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990).

Topic 7 – Who are "we?" (June 21)

Identity, Values, and Political Behavior

- *Adorno, Theodore W. et al, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper, 1950), chapters 1, 2, 7 (pp. 222-242, 265-279 only).**
- Archer, S. L., "Gender Differences in Identity Development: Issues of Process, Domain, and Timing," *Journal of Adolescence* 12 (1988), pp. 117-138.
- Bloom, William, *Personal Identity, National Identity, and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), chapters 1 & 2.
- DiRenzo, Gordon, *Personality, Power, and Politics* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967).
- Erickson, E. H., *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (New York: Norton, 1968).
- Hopple, Gerald, "Elite Values and Foreign Policy Analysis," in L. S. Falkowski, ed., *Psychological Models in International Politics* (Boulder: Westview, 1979), pp. 211-249.
- Lasswell, Harold D., *Psychopathology and Politics* (New York: Viking, 1960).
- Lasswell, Harold D., *World Politics and Personal Insecurity* (New York: Free Press, 1965).
- Martin, John Levi, "The Authoritarian Personality, 50 Years Later: What Lessons Are There for Political Psychology," *Political Psychology* 22 (2001), pp. 1-26.
- Rokeach, Milton, *The Nature of Human Values* (New York: Free Press, 1973).
- Rokeach, Milton, *The Open and Closed Mind* (New York: Basic, 1960).
- Walker, Stephen, "Symbolic Interactionism and International Politics: Role Theory's Contribution to International Organization," in Martha Cottam and Chih-yu Shih, *Contending Dramas: A Cognitive Approach to International Organizations* (New York: Praeger, 1992), pp. 19-38.

Nationalism and Psychology

- Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: The Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).
- Citrin, Jack et al, "Is American Nationalism Changing? Implications for Foreign Policy," *International Studies Quarterly* 38 (1994), pp. 1-31.
- Connor, Walker, "Nation-Building or Nation-Destroying," *World Politics* (1972).
- Cottam, Richard, "Nationalism in the Middle East," in Said Amir Arjomand, *From Nationalism to Revolutionary Islam*, pp. 28-51.
- DeRidder, R. and R. C. Tripathi, eds., *Norm Violation and Intergroup Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
- Deutsch, Karl, *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1966).
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Part III — Conclusions

Class Presentations of Research Paper (TBD)

Topic 8 — Persistent Debates in Political Psychology (August 9)

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