

POLI 750: THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS I

FALL 2023 · UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL

INSTRUCTOR

Stephen Gent
Email: gent@unc.edu
Office: Hamilton 364
Office Hours: Thursdays 1:00–4:00PM

COURSE INFORMATION

Class Meetings: Tuesdays 12:30–3:20PM in Hamilton 420
Credit Hours: 3
Course Website: Canvas

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This seminar is a graduate-level introduction to the study of international relations, with a primary focus on peace and conflict. (The other core seminar, POLI 751, focuses on international political economy.) The goal of the course is to expose you to core literatures in the field and to help you develop a foundation to serve you throughout your future coursework and research. To do this, we will cover a wide selection of readings to survey the field.

It impossible to provide a comprehensive review of the entire field of international relations in a single semester. The readings and discussions in this course seek to strike a balance between traditional works that define the evolution of the field and contemporary works that highlight the development of our knowledge and possible directions for future research. Some of the materials in this course rely on technical tools (such as statistics or formal theory). Students are not expected to be familiar with these tools prior to enrolling in the course, but will become familiar with them during the semester.

COURSE GOALS AND LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This course will enable students to:

- Understand the scope and breadth of the theoretical literature that has defined the study of international relations.
- Evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of published research on interstate and intrastate peace and conflict.
- Define specific research questions and issues that should be addressed by future research.

COURSE MATERIALS

All readings for the course will be available on Canvas.

GRADING

Participation	20%
Response Papers	40%
Final Exam	40%

CLASS PARTICIPATION

You will be expected to come to class fully prepared to engage in a robust, informed discussion of the readings and the problems for the field of international relations raised by the readings.

RESPONSE PAPERS

In order to encourage active thinking about the readings and discussion in class, you will write six brief commentaries (3–5 pages) on the readings for a particular week. You should seek in these notes to engage one or more themes in the works, discuss their strengths and weaknesses, and suggest future research questions facing that area of the literature. Students will sign up for their weeks at the first class meeting of the seminar. The papers should be uploaded to Canvas and will be due at 11:00 AM on the relevant class day.

FINAL EXAM

There will be a take-home final exam that will be patterned on the comprehensive exams that graduate students must pass before they may advance to the dissertation stage of the PhD program.

HONOR CODE

The Honor Code is in effect in this class. I am committed to treating Honor Code violations seriously and urge you to become familiar with its terms set out at <http://instrument.unc.edu>. If you have questions, it is your responsibility to ask about the Code's application.

It is important that you cite any material that you rely upon to write the papers for this course. You are welcome to use any citation style that you prefer. What is important is that you give credit to the sources that you use. If you have questions about when you need to provide citation for a source, please see the UNC Writing Center plagiarism handout. If you have questions about how to provide citation on your sources, please see the UNC Libraries citation tutorial.

UNIT 1: APPROACHES TO STUDYING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

AUGUST 22: THEORIZING ABOUT INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- Zinnes, Dina. 1980. Three Puzzles in Search of a Researcher. *International Studies Quarterly* 24(3):315–42.
- Lake, David A., 2011. Why “isms” Are Evil: Theory, Epistemology, and Academic Sects as Impediments to Understanding and Progress. *International Studies Quarterly* 55(2): 465–480.

AUGUST 29: (NEO)REALIST AND (NEO)LIBERAL PERSPECTIVES

- Waltz, Kenneth N. 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. Addison-Wesley. Ch. 5–6.
- Vasquez, John A. 1997. The Realist Paradigm and Degenerative versus Progressive Research Programs: Appraisal of Neotraditional Research on Waltz’s Balancing Proposition. *American Political Science Review* 91(4): 899–912.
- Axelrod, Robert, and Robert O. Keohane. 1985. Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions. *World Politics* 38(1):226–254.
- Powell, Robert. 1994. Anarchy in International Relations Theory: The Neorealist-Neoliberal Debate. *International Organization* 48 (2): 313–344.
- Zvobgo, Kelebogile, and Meredith Loken. 2020. Why Race Matters in International Relations. *Foreign Policy* 237: 11–13.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Keohane, Robert O., ed. 1986. *Neorealism and Its Critics*. Columbia University Press.
- Baldwin, David A., ed. 1993. *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate*. Columbia University Press.
- Walt, Stephen. 1985. Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power. *International Security* 9(4): 3–43.
- Keohane, Robert O. 1984. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton University Press.

SEPTEMBER 5: NO CLASS (WELLBEING DAY)

SEPTEMBER 12: CONSTRUCTIVIST AND FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES

- Wendt, Alexander. 1992. Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics. *International Organization* 46(2): 391–425.
- Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink, 1998. International Norm Dynamics and Political Change. *International Organization* 52(4): 887–917.

- Tickner, J. Ann. 2005. What is Your Research Program? Some Feminist Answers to International Relations Methodological Questions. *International Studies Quarterly* 49(1): 1–21.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2012. Gender, Structure, and War: What Waltz Couldn't See. *International Theory* 4(1): 1–38.
- Cohen, Dara Kay and Sabrina M. Karim. 2022. Does More Equality for Women Mean Less War? Rethinking Sex and Gender Inequality and Political Violence. *International Organization* 76(2): 414–444.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Adler, Emmanuel. 2013. Constructivism in International Relations: Sources, Contributions, and Debates. *Handbook of International Relations*, Ch. 5
- Sjoberg, Laura, and J. Ann Tickner. 2013. Feminist Perspectives on International Relations. *Handbook of International Relations*, Ch. 7
- Sjoberg, Laura, Kelly Kadera, and Cameron Thies. 2018. Reevaluating Gender and IR Scholarship: Moving Beyond Reiter's Dichotomies toward Effective Synergies. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62(4): 848–870.

SEPTEMBER 19: RATIONALIST AND BEHAVIORAL PERSPECTIVES

- Lake, David A., and Robert Powell. 1999. International Relations: A Strategic Choice Approach. [Chapter 1 of *Strategic Choice and International Relations*. Princeton University Press.]
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie, Stephan Haggard, David A. Lake, and David G. Victor. 2017. The Behavioral Revolution and International Relations. *International Organization* 71(S1): S1–S31.
- Rathbun, Brian C., Joshua D. Kertzer, and Mark Paradis. 2017. Homo Diplomaticus: Mixed-Method Evidence of Variation in Strategic Rationality. *International Organization* 71(S1): S33–S60.
- Sullivan, Patricia L. 2007. War Aims and War Outcomes: Why Powerful States Lose Limited Wars. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51(3): 496–524.
- Kertzer, Joshua D. 2017. Resolve, Time, and Risk. *International Organization* 71(S1): S109–S136.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Lake, David A., and Robert Powell, eds. 1999. *Strategic Choice and International Relations*. Princeton University Press.
- Levy Jack S. 1997. Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations. *International Studies Quarterly* 41(1): 87–112.

UNIT 2: INTERSTATE CONFLICT

SEPTEMBER 26: BARGAINING MODEL OF WAR

- Fearon, James D. 1995. Rationalist Explanations for War. *International Organization* 49(3): 379–414.
- Wagner, R. Harrison. 2000. Bargaining and War. *American Journal of Political Science* 44(3): 469–484.
- Slantchev, Branislav. 2004. How Initiators End Their Wars: The Duration of Warfare and the Terms of Peace. *American Journal of Political Science* 48(4): 813–829.
- Fortna, Virginia Page. 2003. Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace. *International Organization* 57(2): 337–372.
- Werner, Suzanne, and Amy Yuen. 2005. Making and Keeping Peace. *International Organization* 59(2): 261–292.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Powell, Robert. 2006. War as a Commitment Problem. *International Organization* 60(1): 169–203.

OCTOBER 3: DOMESTIC POLITICS AND WAR

- Schultz, Kenneth A. 1999. Do Democratic Institutions Constrain or Inform? Contrasting Two Institutional Perspectives on Democracy and War. *International Organization* 53(2): 233–266.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith. 1999. An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace. *American Political Science Review* 93(4): 791–808.
- Henderson, Errol A. 2009. Disturbing the Peace: African Warfare, Political Inversion and the Universality of the Democratic Peace Thesis. *British Journal of Political Science* 39(1): 25–58.
- Croco, Sarah E. 2011. The Decider's Dilemma: Leader Culpability, War Outcomes, and Domestic Punishment. *American Political Science Review* 105(3): 457–477.
- Weeks, Jessica L. 2012. Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict. *American Political Science Review* 106(2): 326–347.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Fearon, James D. 1994. Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes. *American Political Science Review* 88(3): 577–592.

UNIT 3: INTRASTATE CONFLICT

OCTOBER 10: CIVIL WAR AT THE MACRO LEVEL

- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Nils Benedikt Weidmann, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2011. Horizontal Inequalities and Ethno-Nationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison. *American Political Science Review* 105(3):478–95.
- Walter, Barbara F. 2009. Bargaining Failures and Civil War. *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 243–261.
- Cunningham, David E., Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Idean Salehyan. 2009. It Takes Two: A Dyadic Analysis of Civil War Duration and Outcome. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(4): 570–597.
- Cunningham, Kathleen Gallagher. 2013. Actor Fragmentation and Civil War Bargaining: How Internal Divisions Generate Civil Conflict. *American Journal of Political Science* 57(3): 659–672.
- Gent, Stephen E. 2008. Going in When it Counts: Military Intervention and the Outcome of Civil Conflicts. *International Studies Quarterly* 52(4): 713–735.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Fearon, James D., and David Laitin. 2003. Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75–90.
- Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. Greed and Grievance in Civil War. *Oxford Economic Papers* 56(4): 563–595.

OCTOBER 17: THE POLITICS OF REBELLION

- Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2008. Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War. *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 436–455.
- Staniland, Paul. 2012. Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia. *International Security* 37 (1): 142–177.
- Wood, Reed M., and Jakana L. Thomas. 2017. Women on the Frontline: Rebel Group Ideology and Women’s Participation in Violent Rebellion. *Journal of Peace Research* 54(1): 31–46.
- Chenoweth, Erica. 2023. The Role of Violence in Nonviolent Resistance. *Annual Review of Political Science* 26: 55–77.
- Gustafson, Daniel. 2020. Hunger to Violence: Explaining the Violent Escalation of Nonviolent Demonstrations. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64(6): 1121–1145.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Weinstein, Jeremy M. 2007. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge University Press.
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UNIT 4: CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH ON PEACE AND CONFLICT

OCTOBER 24: ALLIANCES, CREDIBILITY, AND REPUTATION

- Fuhrmann, Matthew, and Sechser, Todd S. 2014. Signaling Alliance Commitments: Hand-Tying and Sunk Costs in Extended Nuclear Deterrence. *American Journal of Political Science* 58(4): 919–935.
- Yarhi-Milo, Keren, Joshua D. Kertzer, and Jonathan Renshon. 2018. Tying Hands, Sinking Costs, and Leader Attributes. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62(10): 2150–2179.
- Donahue, Bailee, and Mark J. C. Crescenzi. 2023. Weathering the Storm: Discordant Learning about Reputations for Reliability. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 19(2): orac037.
- Mattes, Michaela. 2012. Reputation, Symmetry, and Alliance Design. *International Organization* 66(4): 679–707.
- Narang, Neil, and Brad L. LeVeck. 2019. International Reputation and Alliance Portfolios: How Unreliability Affects the Structure and Composition of Alliance Treaties. *Journal of Peace Research* 56(3): 379–394.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Leeds, Brett Ashley. 2003. Alliance Reliability in Times of War: Explaining State Decisions to Violate Treaties. *International Organization* 57(4): 801–27.
- Crescenzi, Mark J.C. 2007. Reputation and Interstate Conflict. *American Journal of Political Science* 51(2): 382–396.
- Yarhi-Milo, Keren. 2013. In the Eye of the Beholder: How Leaders and Intelligence Communities Assess the Intentions of Adversaries. *International Security* 38(1): 7–51.
- Jervis, Robert, Keren Yarhi-Milo, and Don Casler. 2021. Redefining the Debate over Reputation and Credibility in International Security: Promises and Limits of New Scholarship. *World Politics* 73(1): 167–203.

OCTOBER 31: LEADERS AND DOMESTIC AUDIENCES

- Levendusky, Matthew S., and Michael C. Horowitz. 2012. When Backing Down Is the Right Decision: Partisanship, New Information, and Audience Costs. *Journal of Politics* 74(2): 323–338.
- Quek, Kai, and Alastair Iain Johnston. 2018. Can China Back Down? Crisis De-escalation in the Shadow of Popular Opposition. *International Security* 42(3): 7–36.
- Weiss, Jessica Chen, and Allan Dafoe. 2019. Authoritarian Audiences, Rhetoric, and Propaganda in International Crises: Evidence from China. *International Studies Quarterly* 63 (4): 963–973.
- Clary, Christopher, Sameer Lalwani, and Niloufer Siddiqui. 2021. Public Opinion and Crisis Behavior in a Nuclearized South Asia. *International Studies Quarterly* 65 (4): 1064–1076.
- Myrick, Rachel. 2021. Do External Threats Unite or Divide? Security Crises, Rivalries, and Polarization in American Foreign Policy. *International Organization* 75(4): 921–958.

NOVEMBER 7: POLITICAL VIOLENCE

- Balcells, Laia, and Jessica A. Stanton. 2021. Violence Against Civilians During Armed Conflict: Moving Beyond the Macro- and Micro-Level Divide. *Annual Review of Political Science* 24: 45–69.
- Karim, Sabrina, and Kyle Beardsley. 2016. Explaining Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Peacekeeping Missions: The Role of Female Peacekeepers and Gender Equality in Contributing Countries. *Journal of Peace Research*. 53(1): 100–115.
- Huber, Laura. 2019. When Civilians Are Attacked: Gender Equality and Terrorist Targeting. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 63(10): 2289–2318.
- Oswald, Christian, Melanie Sauter, Sigrid Weber, and Rob Williams. 2020. Under the Roof of Rebels: Civilian Targeting After Territorial Takeover in Sierra Leone. *International Studies Quarterly* 64(2): 295–305.
- Schubiger, Livia Isabella. 2023. One for All? State Violence and Insurgent Cohesion. *International Organization* 77(1): 33–64.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Kalyvas, Stathis. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press.
- Davenport, Christian. 2007. State Repression and Political Order. *Annual Review of Political Science* 10: 1–23.

NOVEMBER 14: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND RESOLUTION

- Menninga, Elizabeth J., and Alyssa Prorok. 2021. Battles and Bargains: Escalation, Commitment, and Negotiations in Civil War. *International Studies Quarterly* 65(2): 406–422.
- Reid, Lindsay. 2017. Finding a Peace That Lasts: Mediator Leverage and the Durable Resolution of Civil Wars. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(7): 1401–31.
- Duursma, Allard. 2020. African Solutions to African Challenges: The Role of Legitimacy in Mediating Civil Wars in Africa. *International Organization* 74(2): 295–330.
- Matanock, Aila M. 2017. Bullets for Ballots: Electoral Participation Provisions and Enduring Peace after Civil Conflict. *International Security* 41(4): 93–132.
- Thomas, Jakana L. 2023. Sisters Are Doing It for Themselves: How Female Combatants Help Generate Gender-Inclusive Peace Agreements in Civil Wars. Forthcoming, *American Political Science Review*.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Walter, Barbara F. 1997. The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlements. *International Organization* 51(3): 335–64.
- Wantchekon, Leonard. 2004. The Paradox of “Warlord” Democracy: A Theoretical Investigation. *American Political Science Review* 98(1): 17–33.
- Beardsley, Kyle. 2008. Agreement without Peace? International Mediation and Time-Inconsistency Problems. *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4): 723–740.
- Svensson, Isak. 2009. Who Brings Which Peace? Neutral versus Biased Mediation and Institutional Peace Arrangements in Civil Wars. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50(3): 446–449.
- Mattes, Michaela, and Burcu Savun. 2010. Information, Agreement Design, and the Durability of Civil War Settlements. *American Journal of Political Science* 54(2): 511–524.

NOVEMBER 21: INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS

- Murdie, Amanda M., and David R. Davis. 2012. Shaming and Blaming: Using Events Data to Assess the Impact of Human Rights INGOs. *International Studies Quarterly* 56(1): 1–16.
- Conrad, Courtenay R., and Emily Hencken Ritter. 2013. Treaties, Tenure, and Torture: The Conflicting Domestic Effects of International Law. *Journal of Politics* 75(2): 397–409.
- Howard, Lisa Morjé, and Anjali Kaushlesh Dayal. 2018. The Use of Force in UN Peacekeeping. *International Organization* 72(1): 71–103.

- Hultman, Lisa, Jacob Kathman, and Megan Shannon. 2014. Beyond Keeping Peace: United Nations Effectiveness in the Midst of Fighting. *American Political Science Review* 108(4): 737–753.
- Fjelde, Hanne, Lisa Hultman, and Desirée Nilsson. 2019. Protection Through Presence: UN Peacekeeping and the Costs of Targeting Civilians. *International Organization* 73(1): 103–131.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Walter, Barbara F., Lise Morje Howard, and V. Page Fortna. 2021. The Extraordinary Relationship between Peacekeeping and Peace. *British Journal of Political Science* 51(4): 1705–22.

NOVEMBER 28: ECONOMIC SHOCKS AND SANCTIONS

- Savun, Burcu, and Daniel C. Tirone. 2012. Exogenous Shocks, Foreign Aid, and Civil War. *International Organization* 66(3): 363–93.
- Estancona, Chelsea L. 2021. Rebel Primary Commodity Markets, Price Shocks, and Supplier Victimization. *International Studies Quarterly* 65(4): 1111–1123.
- Buhaug, Halvard, Mihai Croicu, Hanne Fjelde, and Nina von Uexkull. 2021. A Conditional Model of Local Income Shock and Civil Conflict. *Journal of Politics* 83(1): 354–366.
- Bapat, Navin, and Bo Ram Kwon. 2015. When are Sanctions Effective? A Bargaining and Enforcement Framework. *International Organization* 69(1): 131–162.
- Cilizoglu, Menevis. 2023. Ending Economic Sanctions in the Shadow of Bargaining Problems. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 19(2): orad006.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Early, Brian R., and Menevis Cilizoglu. 2020. Economic Sanctions in Flux: Enduring Challenges, New Policies, and Defining the Future Research Agenda. *International Studies Perspectives* 21(4): 438–477.

DECEMBER 5: MARKETS AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

- Bapat, Navin A. 2019. *Monsters to Destroy: Understanding the War on Terror*. Oxford University Press. Ch. 1–3.
- Gent, Stephen E., and Mark J.C. Crescenzi. 2021. *Market Power Politics: War, Institutions, and Strategic Delay in World Politics*. Oxford University Press. Ch. 1–3.