

Government 2749: Political Psychology and International Relations

Spring 2025
Mon 3 PM - 5 PM ET
Classroom: CGIS K107
Harvard University

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CGIS K206
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Preliminary syllabus – contents may change (January 25, 2025)

Course description

This graduate seminar explores the intersection of political psychology and international politics. Despite the proliferation of research at this intersection, many (most?) seminars on political psychology cover hardly any IR; many (most?) seminars in IR feature barely any political psychology. This class is an effort to bridge that divide.

Because of the “big tent” nature of IR, the interdisciplinary nature of the topic (spanning political science, various fields of psychology, and behavioral economics), and the ambiguity about what falls under its purview (can you have a theory of politics without a theory of mind? If not, what *doesn't* count as psychological? As Stanley Hoffmann argued in his presidential address to the International Society of Political Psychology in June 1985, “The term political psychology is a pleonasm: not all psychology is about politics, thank goodness, but politics is wholly psychological.”), it is impossible to cover the entire field in a twelve week seminar (even with additional reading lists! Including non-required readings, there are about 1350 articles and books on the syllabus this year, and this barely scratches the surface). The course is thus designed as a curated overview, in the hopes that it will familiarize you with some of the debates in the field and introduce you to material you might have not encountered elsewhere, opening up new lines of inquiry, and providing inspiration for future research. The class is normally intended for Gov and HKS PhD students who have taken graduate-level IR courses before.

The reading list for the class is deliberately eclectic, drawing on a wide array of research traditions, and employing a diverse set of methodologies. It includes:

- Foundational works in social psychology and behavioral economics (which I'll group together here as “behavioral approaches”), which much of the psychological work in IR continues to draw from (with varying degrees of fidelity).
- Classic works in IR that draw on behavioral approaches, because it's important to know where the field has been.
- New works in IR that draw on behavioral approaches, which give a sense of where the field is going.

- Cutting edge research in social psychology and behavioral economics, which may give a sense of where the field will be going in the future.

Table 1: Tentative Class Schedule

1	Introduction: Psychology and rationality	January 27, 2025
2	Cold cognition I: Heuristics, biases and prospect theory	February 3, 2025
3	Cold cognition II: Updating, learning, signaling, and predicting	February 10, 2025
4	Hot cognition I: Motivated reasoning, images, stereotypes, and perceptions	February 24, 2025
5	Hot cognition II: Emotions, morality, taboos, and indivisible issues	March 3, 2025
6	Dispositions I: Personality, operational codes, integrative complexity	March 10, 2025
7	Dispositions II: Values, ideology, and culture	March 24, 2025
8	Intergroup I: Small groups, social categorization, social identity, and social dominance	March 31, 2025
9	Intergroup II: Honor, reputation, status, reciprocity, revenge	April 7, 2025
10	Intergroup III: National and transnational identities, and constructing the nation	April 14, 2025
11	Violence as cause and effect: political violence and exposure to threat and repression	April 21, 2025
12	Genetic, neurobiological, evolutionary, and quantum psychology	April 28, 2025

We begin the semester with an introductory class that both reviews course logistics and explores the relationship between psychology and rationality, which we use as a launching pad from which to investigate the landscape of political psychology in international relations.

We spend the following two weeks on what loosely might be thought of as “cold,” cognitive models of information processing: heuristics and biases, prospect theory, learning and updating from the past, predicting the future, and communicating through the use of signals. In contrast, the following two weeks focus on what generally might be thought of as “hot,” motivated models of decision-making: motivated reasoning, images and stereotypes, inhumanization and dehumanization, perception, as well as emotions, morality, taboos, and indivisible issues. The divisions here are somewhat arbitrary — signaling and perception are mirror images of one another, and a number of the topics covered in subsequent weeks could easily be inserted here instead — but a broader level, what unites these latter two weeks is the way in which political judgments are often affect-laden.

The next two weeks focus on different dispositional theories and individual differences: personality, operational codes, integrative complexity, values, ideology, and culture.

Historically, much of the work on personality and operational codes in IR has focused on the leader-level, while much of the work on values and ideology has focused on the mass public, but as the gap between the study of elite and mass political behavior has begun to dissipate, these two weeks might be better thought of as exploring the ways that different types of actors systematically differ from one another more generally.

The next three weeks all explore interaction and intergroup behavior: the psychology of small groups (how do these individual-level differences aggregate?), social categorization, social identity, and social dominance (how do individuals identify with and act as a part of groups in the first place?), honor, reputation and status, reciprocity and revenge, and thinking about collective identity at both the national, subnational, and supranational levels. If weeks 6-7 are

dispositional, the penultimate week turns to the power of the situation, looking at the effects of violence, threat and political repression, and in turn, terrorism and radicalization. Finally, we conclude with genetic, biological, and evolutionary theories, which portray many of the above mechanisms in a new light.

Course time

Class will take place on Mondays at 3-5 PM in CGIS K107.

Technology

We'll be using two different platforms for the course, each for a different purpose.

Canvas

- The course website (<https://canvas.harvard.edu/courses/142857>), which contains the syllabus and course readings.
- There are *no required texts to purchase* for this class; all readings are available electronically on the course website as PDFs.

Slack

- Used for all class communication and asynchronous participation/discussion about course material.
- The Gov 2749 Slack workspace has two channels:
 - #announcements. All class announcements will appear here.
 - #general. This channel is for general discussion about the course material. Participation in this channel counts towards your participation grade in the class (see below for details).
- The link to the Slack workspace is posted on Canvas. Note that HUIT has gotten more militant about its Slack IT protocols in the past year and auto-logs users out once a month, so if you think you're missing Slack notifications, that's probably why.

If you have technical difficulties with any of these platforms, more detailed information is available via [HUIT](#).

Course requirements and grading

15% Class participation (synchronous)

15% Slack participation (asynchronous)

20% In-class presentations/facilitation

15% Paper proposal and peer review exercise: March 10-14, 2025

35% Final paper due: May 5, 2025

This is a seminar-style class that revolves around class discussion; students should come to class having done the readings and ready to talk about them. Enrollment is normally limited to graduate students, and auditing is not normally permitted. After the first week, each week will be led in collaboration with graduate student facilitators, who will introduce the week's topic, place the course readings in a broader perspective, before opening the floor for broader class discussion.

Because the class is designed to be helpful for your research, the main assignment in the class is to write an original research paper. The paper should either propose or test a psychological theory on a topic related to international politics, with the goal of producing something that, after some revision, could eventually be published in a top journal. A number of the works on this syllabus began as papers written in graduate seminars (including here in the Harvard Government department!); think of this assignment as a chance to write something that will make it on this syllabus in the future.

Since so much of what we do as scholars is a collective enterprise, mid-way through the semester, the class also has a peer review exercise. You'll work up a short (3-5 page) proposal for your research paper, and submit it to me electronically. I'll then send each proposal to 2-3 other students in the class, who will provide written feedback on each proposal, so that you'll begin the second half of the semester with helpful advice about how to move forward with the project. I'll provide more information about the paper and review requirements early in the semester.

In addition to in-class participation, we'll also use the course's Slack channel for asynchronous participation. Starting on February 3, a short (e.g. 1 paragraph) reaction post will be due on the course's #general Slack channel at 12 PM the day of each class meeting. This will be a chance for you to ask questions, flag the parts of the material that was of the most interest to you, engage with one another's comments and questions, and help set the agenda for the seminar later that day. Please treat discussions on Slack the same way that you would treat in-person interactions in class: engaging with one another other respectfully and constructively.

While 15% of the course grade comes from synchronous participation in class and 15% comes from asynchronous participation over Slack, asynchronous participation through Slack can also be supplementary to synchronous participation in class: students who may not be as comfortable speaking during class can make up for it by being more active in asynchronous

participation over Slack, provided they have the preapproval of the instructor.

Collaboration and academic integrity policy

Discussion and the exchange of ideas are essential to academic work. For assignments in this course, you are encouraged to discuss the material presented in the course with your classmates. However, you should ensure that any written work you submit for evaluation is the result of your own research and writing and reflects your own approach to the topic. You must also adhere to standard citation practices in political science and properly cite any books, articles, websites, etc. that have helped you with your work. We specifically forbid the use of generative artificial intelligence (AI) tools for any written assignments in the class. Violations of this policy will be considered academic misconduct.

Special accommodations

Harvard has an office dedicated to students seeking accessibility accommodations, the Disability Access Office (DAO). They're happy to help with any accommodation requests you require. Students requiring academic accommodations are requested to present their letter from the DAO and speak with me by the end of the second week of the term. Failure to make these arrangements by this date may negatively affect my ability to implement the arrangements on time.

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Introduction: Psychology and rationality

- Lake, David A., and Robert Powell. 1999. "International Relations: A Strategic-Choice Approach." In *Strategic Choice and International Relations*, ed. David A. Lake and Robert Powell. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Riker, William H. 1995. "The Political Psychology of Rational Choice Theory." *Political Psychology* 16 (1): 23-44.
- Elster, Jon. 2007. *Explaining Social Behavior: More Nuts and Bolts for the Social Sciences*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, pp. 191-231.
- Thaler, Richard H. 2016. "Behavioral Economics: Past, Present, and Future." *American Economic Review* 106 (7): 1577-1600.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Stephan Haggard, David A. Lake, and David G. Victor. 2017. "The Behavioral Revolution and the Study of International Relations." *International Organization* 71 (S1): S1-S31.
- Mercer, Jonathan. 2005b. "Rationality and Psychology in International Politics." *International Organization* 59 (1): 77-106.
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Recommended

Rationality and its discontents

- Verba, Sidney. 1961. "Assumptions of Rationality and Non-Rationality in Models of the International System." *World Politics* 14 (1): 93-117.
- Sen, Amartya K. 1977. "Rational Fools: A Critique of the Behavioral Foundations of Economic Theory." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 6 (4): 317-344.
- Simon, Herbert A. 1978. "Rationality as a Process and Product of Thought." *American Economic Review* 68 (2): 1-16.
- Simon, Herbert A. 1985. "Human Nature in Politics: The Dialogue of Psychology with Political Science." *American Political Science Review* 79 (2): 293-304.
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- Satz, Debra, and John Ferejohn. 1994. "Rational Choice and Social Theory." *The Journal of Philosophy* 91 (2): 71-87.
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- Stein, Arthur A. 1999. "The Limits of Strategic Choice: Constrained Rationality and Incomplete Explanation." In *Strategic Choice and International Relations*, ed. David A. Lake and Robert Powell. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Walt, Stephen M. 1999. "Rigor or Rigor Mortis?: Rational Choice and Security Studies." *International Security* 23 (4): 5-48.
- Martin, Lisa L. 1999. "The Contributions of Rational Choice: A Defense of Pluralism." *International Security* 24 (2): 74-83.
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- Camerer, Colin. 2003. *Behavioral game theory: Experiments in strategic interaction*. Princeton University Press.
- Fudenberg, Drew. 2006. "Advancing beyond advances in behavioral economics." *Journal of Economic Literature* 44 (3): 694-711.
- Pesendorfer, Wolfgang. 2006. "Behavioral economics comes of age: A review essay on advances in behavioral economics." *Journal of Economic Literature* 44 (3): 712-721.
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- Wilson, Rick K. 2011. "The Contribution of Behavioral Economics to Political Science." *Annual Review of Political Science* 14: 201-223.
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- Friedman, Jeffrey A. 2025. "Defining Rationality in Security Studies: Expected Utility, Theory-Driven Reasoning, and the Vietnam War." *Critical Review* Forthcoming.

The landscape of political psychology (inside and outside of IR)

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- Tetlock, Philip E. 1998. "Social Psychology and World Politics." In *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, ed. Daniel T. Gilbert, Susan T. Fiske, and Gardner Lindzey. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Goldgeier, J.M., and P.E. Tetlock. 2001. "Psychology and International Relations Theory." *Annual Review of Political Science* 4: 67-92.
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- Walker, Stephen G. 2007. "Back to the Future? Behavioral IR as a Case of Arrested Development." *International Studies Review* 9 (1): 165-172.
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- Stein, Janice Gross. 2017. "The Micro-Foundations of International Relations Theory: Psychology and Behavioral Economics." *International Organization* 71 (S1): S249-S263.

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- van Aaken, Anne, and Tomer Broude. 2019. "The Psychology of International Law: An Introduction." *European Journal of International Law* 30 (4): 1225-1236.
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- Davis, James W, and Rose McDermott. 2021. "The Past, Present, and Future of Behavioral IR." *International Organization* 75 (1): 147-177.
- Kertzer, Joshua D. 2025. "How Political Psychologists Think." *Critical Review* Forthcoming.

Cold cognition I: Heuristics, biases, and prospect theory

- Kahneman, Daniel, and Amos Tversky. 2000. *Choices, Values and Frames*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapters 2,8,12.
- Zhou, Andi, H. E. Goemans, and Michael Weintraub. 2025. "Loss Framing and Risk-Taking in Territorial Disputes." *Journal of Politics* Forthcoming.
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- Johnson, Dominic D. P. 2020. *Strategic Instincts: The Adaptive Advantages of Cognitive Biases in International Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, excerpts.
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Recommended

Heuristics and biases

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- Tversky, Amos, and Daniel Kahneman. 1974. "Judgment under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases." *Science* 185 (4157): 1124-1131.
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- Shi, Dihan, and Guillermo Rosas. 2024. "'If Foreign, Then Cleaner': Individual Corruption Perceptions and Support for Free Trade in Developing Nations." *International Studies Quarterly* 68 (June): sqae079.
- Furnas, Alexander C., and Timothy M. LaPira. 2024. "The people think what I think: False consensus and unelected elite misperception of public opinion." *American Journal of Political Science* 68 (July): 958-971.

Prospect theory

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