

# ROBERT F. TRAGER

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## ACADEMIC POSITIONS

### University of California, Los Angeles, CA

Associate Professor of Political Science, 2013 – Present  
Assistant Professor of Political Science, 2006 – 2013

### Yale University, New Haven, CT

Visiting Associate Professor of Political Science, 2015 – 2017

### Oxford University, Oxford, UK

Fellow in Formal Analysis and International Relations, 2005-2006

### Harvard University, Cambridge, MA

John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies Pre-Doctoral Fellow in International Security, 2004-2005

## EDUCATION

### Columbia University, Department of Political Science

PhD. with Distinction, 2007; MPhil., 2002

Coursework includes advanced, graduate-level microeconomic theory, mathematics and statistics

Specializations: International relations, political economy, formal analysis

Dissertation: Diplomatic Calculus in Anarchy: The Construction and Consequences of the Space of Intentions

### London School of Economics, Faculty of International Relations

MSc. with Distinction, 1997

Specializations: International monetary system, international finance, politics of international trade

Thesis Topic: Liberalizing financial services in developing countries

### Middlebury College, B.A., *magna cum laude*, May 1995

Major: Philosophy Minor: Political Science

Thesis: Characterizing Difference: Holism, Social Construction and the Preconditions of Communication

## OTHER PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

2011 – Board Member, Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation.

2011 – Corporation Member, Marine Biological Laboratory, Woods Hole, MA.

2006 – Board Member and Director of Research, Burkle Center for International Relations.

## BOOK

*Diplomacy: Communication and the Origins of International Order.* Cambridge University Press, 2017.

## ARTICLES

1. **Is There a War Party? Party Change, the Left-Right Divide and International Conflict.**  
*Journal of Conflict Resolution*, forthcoming, 2018, with Andrew Bertoli and Allan Dafoe.
2. **A Preference for War: How Fairness and Rhetoric Influence Leadership Incentives in Crises.**  
*International Studies Quarterly*, v. 60, n. 2, pp. 243-257, 2016, with Matthew Gottfried.  
~ Subject of online symposium at *International Studies Quarterly*: War, Public Preferences, and Survey Experiments.
3. **Diplomacy of War and Peace.**  
*Annual Review of Political Science*, v. 19, pp. 205-228, 2016.
4. **Diplomatic Signaling Among Multiple States.**  
*Journal of Politics*, v. 77, n. 3, 2015, pp. 635-647.  
~ Winner of the 2015 *Best Article Award* of the Diplomatic Studies Section of the International Studies Association.
5. **How the Scope of a Demand Conveys Resolve.**  
*International Theory*, v. 5, n. 3, 2013, pp. 414-445.
6. **Long-Term Consequences of Aggressive Diplomacy: European Relations after Austrian Crimean War Threats.**  
*Security Studies*, v. 21, 2012, pp. 232-265.
7. **Multi-Dimensional Diplomacy.**  
*International Organization*, v. 65, Summer 2011, pp. 469-506.
8. **The Political Costs of Crisis Bargaining: Presidential Rhetoric and the Role of Party.**  
*American Journal of Political Science*, v. 55, n. 3, July 2011, pp. 526-545, with Lynn Vavreck.
9. **Diplomatic Calculus in Anarchy.**  
*American Political Science Review*, v. 104, n. 2, 2010, pp. 347-368.
10. **Taking a Chance on War.**  
*Foreign Policy*, May/June 2008. (Review Article.)
11. **Deterring Terrorism.**  
*International Security*, v. 30, n. 1, 2005, with Dessislava Zagorcheva.  
Reprinted in *Contending with Terrorism Roots, Strategies, and Responses* (MIT Press, 2010, Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Coté Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller eds.)
12. **America's Labor Pains.**  
*The New York Times*, May 15, 2000. (Letter to the Editor.)

## WORK IN PROGRESS

- 1. The Suffragist Peace – Paper and Book Project**  
Analyzes how women and men respond differently to international conflict survey experiments. Demonstrates that the evidence for a Suffragist Peace is stronger than for a Democratic Peace. With Joslyn Barnhart, Allan Dafoe and Elizabeth Saunders.
- 2. Autonomous Weapons and World Order**  
Agenda setting analysis of how autonomous weapons will influence bargaining and political order. With Allan Dafoe and Barbara Walter.
- 3. Virtue in Our Own Eyes: How Moral Identity Defines the Politics of Force**  
Derives a theory from constructivist and psychology literatures of the moral drivers of approval of the use of force and tests the theory in four survey experiments. Asked to revise and Resubmit at the *American Political Science Review*. With Richard Hanania.
- 4. The Young and the Reckless: Leaders and Interstate Conflict**  
Natural Experiments demonstrating that younger leaders are much more likely to engage in conflicts. Part of a larger project to determine the effects of party and leader traits on political outcomes through electoral regression discontinuities. With Andrew Bertoli, Allan Dafoe and Daniel Treisman.
- 5. Concessions for Concessions Sake: Injustice, Indignation and the Construction of Intractable Conflict in Israel-Palestine**  
Survey experiments in Israel and Palestine demonstrating that the settlement of disputes depends as much on the emotional framing of a settlement as the substance of agreements. With Philippe Assouline.
- 6. Preferences and the Construction of Conflict**  
Ongoing article and book projects investigating the origins and evolution of actor preferences. Large-scale survey experiments in Egypt, Israel, Turkey, the U.S., and the West Bank and Gaza as well as theoretical and observational analyses. With Cody Giddings.
- 7. Structural Balancing in Affinity Networks**  
With Art Stein, David Meyer, Sara Del Valle, Aila Matanock and Noah Friedkin.
- 8. The Changing Nature of Calls to Violence**  
Assembles and analyzes a new dataset of the changing nature of justifications for territorial claims. With Joslyn Barnhart.
- 9. Fairness or Finance: Popular Support for Global Environmental Cooperation**  
Examines the factors that determine support for costly global environmental policy. With Bronwyn Lewis.
- 10. Valence Politics in International Crises.**  
Asked to revise and resubmit at *International Organization*.
- 11. Nuclear Stability and Conventional War**  
With Matthew Kroenig.
- 12. Fighting Here, Fighting There: How Wealth and Democracy Influence War Choices**  
With Bronwyn Lewis.
- 13. Recovering Tarnished Reputations and Shared Understandings in International Politics**  
With Koji Kagotani.

## OTHER PUBLICATIONS

1. **Review of Todd Sechser and Matthew Fuhrmann, *Nuclear Weapons and Coercive Diplomacy*.**  
Invited review for H-Diplo.
2. **Review of Alexander Weisiger, *Logics of War*.**  
Invited review for roundtable in the International Security Studies Forum.
3. **Computer Exercises for *World Politics* by Frieden, Lake and Schultz.**  
Contracted by W.W. Norton & Co to design game simulation exercises of strategic situations in international politics for students using this textbook.
4. **International Relations Video Website for *World Politics* by Frieden, Lake and Schultz.**  
Designed website of videos illustrating core textbook concepts for W.W. Norton & Co.
5. **Review of Jonathan Renshon, *Fighting for Status*.**  
Invited review for H-Diplo.

## DATASETS

1. **British Inferences from the Confidential Print, 1855-1914.**  
Codes every inference made by the British about other European great powers. Distinguishes between inferences drawn from military matters, internal politics, public sentiment, private and public diplomacy, economic factors and many other sources. Source material: 50,000+ pages of British diplomatic documents.
2. **European Threats, Offers and Assurances, 1900-1914.**  
Codes all threats, offers and assurances (over 1,000) made by European great powers to other European great powers.
3. **Territorial Justifications, 1815-2000.**  
Codes all public and private justifications for disputed territorial claims. With Joslyn Barnhart. In progress.
4. **Close Presidential Elections, 1815-2015.**  
Data on all close elections for use in regression discontinuity analyses. With Andrew Bertoli and Allan Dafoe.

## GRANTS AND AWARDS

2018-21	Lab Fees Grant, <i>Political Conflict and Stability in Dynamic Networks</i> . \$1,003,111.
2018-19	Koch Foundation, <i>Restraint or Interventionism in Foreign Affairs</i> . \$46,350.
2017-18	Burkle Center for International Relations, <i>Natural Experiments in IR</i> . \$5,000.
2014-16	Gerde Henkel Stiftung, <i>Fairness and the Construction of Conflict</i> . \$105,000.
2011-13	Burkle Center for International Relations, <i>Diplomatic Calculus</i> . \$17,500.
2011-12	UCLA Faculty Senate Research Grant. \$10,000.
2011	UCLA, Office of Diversity, Faculty Research Grant. \$3,000.

## INVITED AND CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

2018	Los Alamos National Laboratory, “Advances in Modeling Affinity Network Dynamics” Stanford University, “The Suffragist Peace” UCLA, Faculty Seminar Series, Book Talk ISA, Roundtable on <i>Diplomacy: Communication and the Origins of International Order</i> , “Finance or Fairness in Global Environmental Policy,” “Cultures of Concessions and Conflict”
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## INVITED AND CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS (CONT.)

- 2018 (cnt.) APSA, "The Suffragist Peace," Discussant: The Microprocesses of Diplomacy, Discussant: Beyond Audience Costs
- 2017 University of California, Berkeley, "The Effects of Youth and Party Turnover on State Aggression: Evidence from Natural Experiments" University of Southern California, "The Suffragist Peace" Yale University, "Levers of Great Power Peace – Track II Diplomacy" APSA, "Fairness in Global Environmental Politics," "Cultures of Concessions and Conflict: Egypt, Israel, Turkey and the United States," "The Suffragist Peace," "Virtue in Our Own Eyes: How Moral Identity Defines the Politics of Force" ISA, "The Suffragist Peace," "Virtue in Our Own Eyes: How Moral Identity Defines the Politics of Force," "The Young and the Reckless." MPSA, "Fairness in Global Environmental Politics," "Cultures of Concessions and Conflict: Egypt, Israel, Turkey and the United States," "The Suffragist Peace," "Virtue in Our Own Eyes: How Moral Identity Defines the Politics of Force," "The Young and the Reckless"
- 2016 APSA, "Concessions for Concession's Sake," "The Young and the Reckless," and "Cultures of Concession and Conflict: Egypt, Israel, Turkey and the United States" ISA, "Topology of a Gordian Knot" Yale University, *Communication and the Origins of International Order*. University of Southern California, "Topology of a Gordian Knot"
- 2015 Princeton University, "Honor and Endorsement in the Construction of Conflict in Palestine" Convened conference on the *Origins of Preferences in International Affairs*, UCLA. Chair, discussant and presenter, "Topology of a Gordian Knot" Yale University, New Approaches to Regimes in International Politics, discussant at large. ISA, "Diplomatic Signaling: New Evidence From 1938-9," & discussant.
- 2014 Experimental Methods in the Social Sciences Conference MPSA, "Diplomatic Communication among Multiple States"
- 2013 Harvard University, "A Preference for War" Yale University, "A Preference for War" Lehigh University, "A Preference for War" APSA, "A Preference for War" ISA, President's Roundtable, "The Diffusion of Trust"
- 2012 APSA, "How the Scope of a Demand Conveys Resolve" EITM APSA Symposium, "The Political Costs of Crisis Bargaining"
- 2011 APSA, Round Table, Diplomacy in International Relations Theory University of Chicago, PISP series, "How the Scope of a Demand Conveys Resolve: New Evidence from 1938-39"
- 2010 Texas A&M, "Multi-Dimensional Diplomacy" APSA, Chair, Discussant and Presenter, "When Nuclear Powers Fight Conventional Wars" (with Barry O'Neill). University of California, Irvine, Invited presentation at *Institute for Mathematical Behavioral Sciences* conference. Vanderbilt University, "Multi-Dimensional Diplomacy"
- 2009 University of California, San Diego, "Managing the Maddening Crowd" APSA, Co-organized two panels on Diplomacy. Presented two papers: "Multi-Dimensional Diplomacy" and "Managing the Maddening Crowd". University of California, Irvine, "Multi-Dimensional Diplomacy"

## INVITED AND CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS (CONT.)

- 2009 (cnt.) Northwestern University, "Inference from Diplomatic Communication"
- 2008 APSA, Discussant for panel on network analysis.  
Stanford University, "Power and Agency: How Past Diplomacy Determines the Choice of Sides"
- 2007 University of California, San Diego, "The Diplomatic Determinants of Great Power Alignment Decisions in Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century Europe"  
University of Chicago, "Deterrence and WMD in the Al-Qaeda War"  
MPSA, Discussant and panel presenter: "Power and Agency: How Past Diplomacy Determines the Choice of Sides"  
University of Texas at Austin, "Managing the Maddening Crowd: Public Perceptions and Leadership Incentives in International Crises"  
APSA, Chair of panel on power transition theory. Also presenter on separate panel: "Managing the Maddening Crowd: Public Perceptions and Leadership Incentives in International Crises"
- 2006 University of California, Berkeley, "Diplomatic Calculus in Anarchy."  
University of Michigan, "Diplomatic Calculus in Anarchy."  
University of California, Los Angeles, "Diplomatic Calculus in Anarchy."  
Oxford University, *Changing Character of War Institute*, "'A New Situation in Europe': Bismarck's Tacit Threat of 1876."  
MPSA, "Past Diplomacy and the Choice of Sides."  
Stanley Foundation, Washington, DC, "New Directions in Counterterrorism Research."
- 2005 Harvard University, Olin Seminar, "Diplomatic Calculus in International Politics."  
University of Chicago, "Diplomatic Calculus in Anarchy."  
University of California, San Diego, "Diplomatic Calculus in Anarchy."  
MPSA, "Diplomatic Calculus in Anarchy."  
APSA, "Diplomatic Calculus in Anarchy."
- 2004 Columbia University, "Grand Strategy and Terrorism."  
Institute for Social Economic Research on Policy, New York, NY, "Fanaticism and Rationality in Counter-Terrorist Calculations"  
Public Policy Consortium, New York, NY, "Coercion and Terrorism."  
ISA, "Deterring Terrorism: It Can Be Done" and "Domestic Opposition before the War of 1812."  
MPSA, "Deterring Terrorism: It Can Be Done."  
APSA, "Grand Strategy in the War on Terrorism."
- 2003 Gokhale Institute, Pune, India, "Democratic Oppositions Have Depth."  
APSA, "Democratic Oppositions Have Depth."  
MPSA, "Valence Politics in International Crises."
- 2002 APSA, "Valence Politics in International Crises."

## FELLOWSHIPS AND OTHER RECOGNITION

- April 2016 Winner of the 2015 *Best Article Award* of the Diplomatic Studies Section of the International Studies Association.
- May 2007 PhD awarded with Distinction, Columbia University
- March 2006 Oxford University Research Grant. Awarded funds to attend 3 day workshop on structural equation modeling at Oxford University.

## FELLOWSHIPS AND OTHER RECOGNITION (CONT.)

2004 – 2005	Dwight D. Eisenhower Graduate Fellow, Eisenhower Institute, Washington, DC. Fellow for academic year.
2004 – 2005	Pre-Doctoral Fellow, John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University. In residence for academic year.
1999 – 2005	President's Fellow, Columbia University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Department of Political Science.
April 2004	Junior Master Class, Merriam Laboratory for Analytic Political Research, Program in Formal Theory in Political Science, Institute Fellow.
January 2004	Institute on Qualitative Research Methods, Arizona State University. Two-week institute on qualitative methodology in political science.
2003-4	George W. Ellis Dissertation Fellowship, Columbia University, Fellow for academic year.
2003-4	Center for International Conflict Resolution, Interdisciplinary PhD Research Award, Fellow for academic year.
2003-4	Public Policy Consortium (PPC), Fellow for academic year. Includes a seminar series component where PhD candidates present the policy implications of their work.
2003-4	Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy (ISERP), Fellow for academic year.
August 2003	Summer Workshop on Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy (SWAMOS), Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies, Summer Fellow.
July 2003	National Science Foundation, Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models Initiative (EITM), Testing Models of International Relations, Summer Institute Fellow.
April 2003	National Science Foundation, Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models Initiative (EITM), Travel Grant for Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting.
July 2002	National Science Foundation, Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models Initiative (EITM), Summer Institute Fellow.
Summer 2000	Summer Fellow, Columbia University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Department of Political Science.
June 1997	Awarded <i>MSc with Distinction</i> , London School of Economics, Faculty of International Relations.
Summer 1991	Everette Public Service Fellowship, Council on Economic Priorities.

## TEACHING EXPERIENCE

<i>Fairness in International Politics</i>	Undergraduate seminar exploring literatures in psychology and political science on the relationship between fairness heuristics and violent conflict. (UCLA)
<i>Dissertation Seminar</i>	Seminar for advanced graduate students in international relations. (UCLA)

## TEACHING EXPERIENCE (CONT.)

<i>Diplomacy and War</i>	Large undergraduate lecture course on role of diplomatic signaling in international politics. (Yale and UCLA)
<i>Introduction to Game Theory</i>	The course is the first in the UCLA department sequence on formal methods. Students are introduced to the theory of choice under uncertainty, static and dynamic games of perfect and imperfect information, mixed strategies, repeated games, and the partition approach to modeling knowledge. (Oxford and UCLA)
<i>Approaches to International Security</i>	Seminar on major topics in the international security literature. Required for the competitive Global Studies major at Yale. (Yale and UCLA)
<i>Communication, Construction and Conflict</i>	Graduate seminar on formal models of signaling in international politics. The course also explored the literature on diplomatic communication generally, and connections between rationalist and constructivist approaches. (UCLA)
<i>Quantitative Methods</i>	Graduate introduction to regression analysis (USC and Oxford).
<i>World Politics</i>	Undergraduate introduction to the study of international relations. (Yale and UCLA, 300+ students)
<i>Security Studies Seminar</i>	Organized and led seminar for post-doctoral and pre-doctoral fellows of the Olin Institute, Harvard University.
<i>Advanced Topics in Game Theory</i>	Teaching assistant for Macartan Humphreys and staff. Taught sections and graded exams of advanced graduate students. (Columbia)
<i>Introduction to International Relations</i>	Teaching assistant for Robert Jervis. (Columbia)
<i>Advanced Topics in Quantitative Analysis</i>	Teaching assistant for Greg Wawro. Graded exams and assisted advanced graduate students in maximum likelihood estimation and GAUSS programming. (Columbia)

## LANGUAGES

*German:* Formerly fluent.      *French:* Working knowledge.      *Russian:* Basic working knowledge.

## REVIEWER FOR

*American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Cambridge University Press, Foreign Policy Analysis, Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, International Interactions, International Organization, International Security, International Studies Quarterly, International Theory, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of Peace Research, Journal of Politics, Oxford University Press, Political Communication, Political Research Quarterly, Princeton University Press, Security Studies, World Politics.*

## PRESS APPEARANCES

2010-16    Commentator for Fox News, BBC Radio, NPR.

2011      Participated in C-SPAN panel on the impact of WikiLeaks disclosure on diplomatic relations.



## **OTHER PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES**

- 2001 – 2003      Research Assistant for Helen Milner, Columbia University, New York.
- 1997 – 1999      Corporate Analyst, M&A, Financial Institutions Group, Lehman Brothers, New York.
- 1996              English teacher, Business Weg, Berlin, Germany.
- 1995 – 1996      Intern, Salzburg Seminar, Salzburg, Austria.