

Gov 50.08: Moral Values

Prof. Kathleen E. Powers

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Logistics

- Paper proposal feedback on Canvas
- Draft due next week
- Draft peer review

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Logistics

- **Paper Draft: (this will be on Canvas)**
- You must submit a draft of your final paper for peer review. The draft **must include at least 5 pages of written text** (12 point, Times New Roman font, 1 inch margins, double-spaced). This written text must include the introduction. **All of the central components of the argument, i.e. each step in the argument necessary to defend your central thesis (think topic sentences) must appear in the paper either in written text or a thick outline.** Less central points, like implications or responses to potential objections, might appear in bullet point form. It is also ok if the draft exceeds the 10-page limit for the assignment.
- If you do submit your paper draft after the deadline, you will not receive peer comments on your draft, and a late penalty will be reflected in your final paper grade. Your paper draft will not be graded, though I encourage you to come to office hours if you would like to discuss questions that come up in the drafting or peer review process.

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Learning Objectives

- Explain the social intuitionist model of moral judgment, and differentiate it from moral reasoning based arguments.
 - Connect these two models to "system 1" and "system 2" models of information processing.
- Describe retribution/moral punitiveness.
 - Explain the connection between retribution and a) foreign policy attitudes and b) international conflict. Explain how moral retribution differs from strategic/pragmatic retribution.
- Explain moral foundations theory, and connect moral values to debates about morality in IR paradigms.
 - Identify and describe the 5 foundations, and cooperative vs. militant internationalism. Categorize the individualizing/binding foundations.
 - Explain the connection between moral foundations and foreign policy attitudes.
- Make an argument about the role of morality in international politics (what role should it play, what constitutes moral foreign policy, how can leaders draw from what we have learned to increase support for foreign policy choices).

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Morality in IR

- The **realist** version of morality in international politics:
 - "Intoxication with moral abstractions [is] one of the great sources of weakness and failure in American foreign policy" (Morgenthau 1951, 4).
- The **liberal idealist** version of morality in international politics:
 - "Human beings are rational, intelligent creatures capable of recognizing the good and willing to implement it purely on the strength of its moral worth" (Wilson 1998, 8).
- The **constructivist** version of morality in international politics:
 - "... one of its main substantive contributions to the field has been to show that moral norms... matter in world politics" (Price 2008, p. 317).
- In your estimation, what constitutes a "moral" foreign policy?

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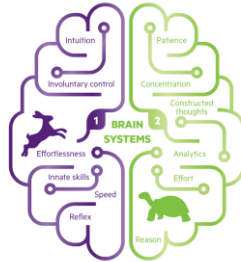
Moral Judgment

- **System 1 vs. System 2** (dual process model)

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Moral Judgment

- System 1 vs. System 2 (dual process model)



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Moral Judgment

- How do people make judgments about what is right or wrong?

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Moral Judgment

- How do people make judgments about what is right or wrong?
 - The rationalist/reasoning model (system 2)



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Moral Judgment

- How do people make judgments about what is right or wrong?
 - The rationalist/reasoning model (system 2)
 - The social intuitionist model (system 1)
- In this respect, morality is emotional.
 - Evidence:
 - People have a hard time articulating why certain things are right or wrong – often stating “it just is” (e.g., death penalty).
 - Moral judgments are quicker than non-moral judgments (Van Bavel et al. 2012).



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Revenge in International Politics

- **Revenge**: the idea that “wrongdoers *deserve* to be repaid for their crimes” (Stein 2015, p. 558).
 - Aka retribution, moral punitiveness, “eye for an eye” justice.
- How do we know that belief in retribution/revenge is moral, not pragmatic or utilitarian?



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Revenge in International Politics

- Liberman (2006) argues that revenge can help explain public attitudes toward the use of force in the 1990-91 Gulf War and 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq.
 - What is his argument?
 - How does he measure his key independent variable (moral punitiveness)? What are the strengths and weaknesses of this approach?
 - What are his key findings?
 - 1990-91: retribution...
 - + support for war, desire to topple Saddam, support for bombing that risked civilian casualties, pride in war.
 - - feelings of sympathy for Iraqis
 - 2003: retribution...
 - + support for war, perceptions of threat from Iraq
 - + belief that U.S. did the right thing (2 years post-invasion)
 - Unrelated to support for sustained intervention

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Revenge in International Politics

- What role do leaders play in Liberman's theory? What are the implications, if any, for foreign policy decision-making?
- Would you expect cultural variation in moral punitiveness/retribution/vengeance? Why? Does this have implications for foreign policy?
- What is one thing that you found surprising, or one implication of this argument for other issues in IR?



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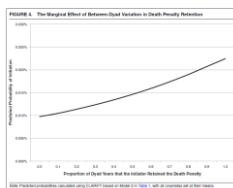
Revenge in International Politics

- 1990-91:
 - "President George H. W. Bush initially tried making balance-of-power and energy-supply arguments for intervention, but these gained little traction with the public.... [He] quickly shifted to the twin themes that naked aggression had to be reversed for the sake of deterrence, and that *Saddam was an evil aggressor who must be punished*" (Liberman 2006, p. 697).
 - "if armed men invaded a home in this country, killed those in their way, stole what they wanted and then announced that the house was now theirs --- *no one would hesitate about what must be done*" (Bush qtd in Liberman 2006, p. 698).
- 2003:
 - "We know that Iraq and al Qaeda have had high-level contacts that go back a decade... *And we know that after September 11th, Saddam Hussein's regime gleefully celebrated the terrorist attacks on America...* Terror cells and outlaw regimes building weapons of mass destruction are different faces of the same evil" (Bush qtd in Liberman 2006, p. 706).

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Revenge in International Politics

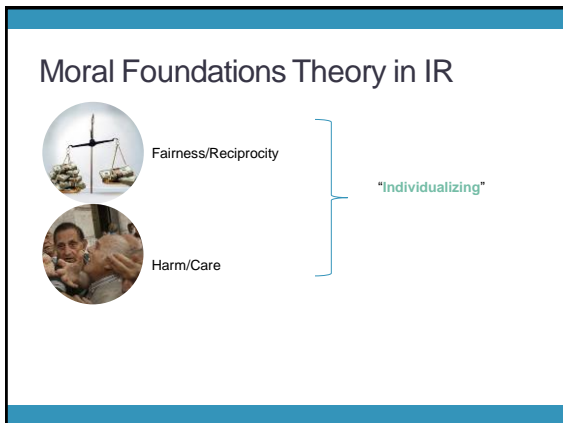
- Stein (2015) shows that democracies who retain the death penalty for crimes are more likely to initiate militarized interstate disputes (MIDs).
- "democracies with a higher average level of vengefulness are generally more likely to engage in belligerent behavior" (p. 568).



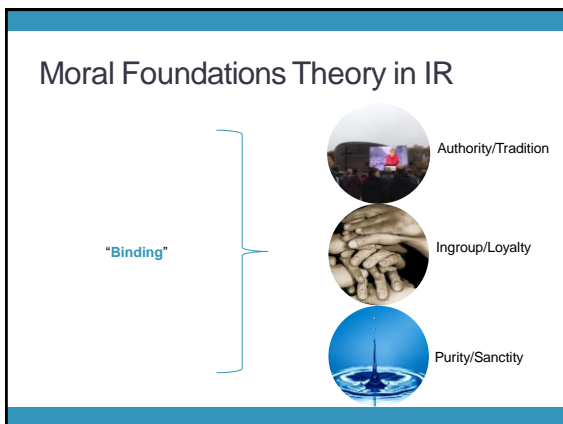
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Moral Foundations Theory in IR

- How do moral values shape public opinion about foreign policy (militant & cooperative internationalism)? In other words, what are Kertzer et al.'s (2014) theoretical expectations?



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Moral Foundations Theory in IR

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- The United States needs to cooperate more with the United Nations.
- It is essential for the United States to work with other nations to solve problems such as over-population, hunger, and pollution.
- Promoting and defending human rights in other countries is of utmost importance.
- Helping to improve the standard of living in less developed countries is of utmost importance.
- Protecting the global environment is of utmost importance.

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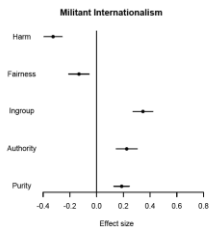
- The United States should take all steps including the use of force to prevent aggression by any expansionist power
- Rather than simply countering our opponents' thrusts, it is necessary to strike at the heart of an opponent's power.
- Going to war is unfortunate but sometimes the only solution to international problems.
- There is considerable validity in the domino theory that when one nation falls to communism, others nearby will soon follow a similar path.
- American military strength is not the best way to ensure world peace. (Reverse-coded)



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Moral Foundations Theory in IR

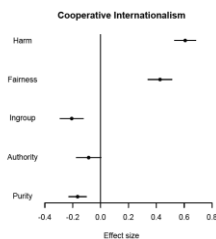
- Individualizing – MI
- Binding + MI



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Moral Foundations Theory in IR

- Individualizing + CI
- Binding - CI



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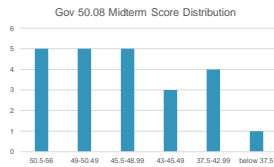
Moral Foundations Theory in IR

- On what policy issues did people with binding and individualizing foundations agree? Why?
- What does this imply about the conditions under which we would expect broad support for a foreign policy action?
- Given the material for today, what constitutes a moral foreign policy? What are the implications for conflict and cooperation?
- Should public opinion influence foreign policy?

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Midterms

- Quick point: Numbers != science
- See memo for instructions on viewing exam; scores will be visible on Canvas as soon as I return to my office.



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Fin.

Next time: Social Identity & Intragroup Conflict

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