Marcus Holmes

William & Mary
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Research Areas: International Relations; Diplomacy; International Security; Political Psychology; Behavioral and Experimental Approaches

Academic Appointments

William & Mary, Professor, 2023-Present.

William & Mary, Associate Professor, 2018-2023.

William & Mary, Assistant Professor, 2014-2018.

Fordham University, Assistant Professor, 2012-2014.

Academic Leadership and Research Administration

2023-2026. Chair, Department of Government, William & Mary.

2020-2023. Academic Director, William & Mary-St Andrews Joint Degree Programme.

2014-Present. Co-Director, Social Science Research Methods Center (SSRMC), William & Mary.

Director, Political Psychology of International Relations (PPIR) Lab, William & Mary.

2025. Dean's Executive Committee, Arts & Sciences, William & Mary.

2024-2025. Co-Director, Council of Chairs and Program Directors, Arts & Sciences, William & Mary.

Education

Ph.D., Political Science, Ohio State University, 2011. Dissertation: *The Force of Face-to-Face Diplomacy*. Committee: Alexander Wendt (Chair), Richard Herrmann, Jennifer Mitzen.

M.A., Communication, Culture & Technology, Georgetown University, 2006. Walsh School of Foreign Service *International Business Diplomacy* Honors Certificate.

B.A., Echols Honors Major in Digital Humanities, University of Virginia, 2002. Phi Beta Kappa; graduated with distinction.

Publications

Books

Interpersonal Diplomacy: The Making of Atomic Bonds in International Crises. With Nicholas J. Wheeler. (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2026).

Face-to-Face Diplomacy: Social Neuroscience and International Relations. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

Reviewed in *Perspectives on Politics*, *International Studies Review*, *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, *Diplomatica*, and *H-ISSF Roundtable*.

Digital Diplomacy: Theory and Practice. Co-edited with Corneliu Bjola. (London and New York: Routledge New Diplomacy Series, 2015).

Book in Progress

The New Court Diplomacy: Power, Flattery, and Foreign Policy from Versailles to Mar-a-Lago. Book project; working title.

Journal Articles

2026. Trust in the Shadow of Destruction: The Role of Security Dilemma Sensibility in Nuclear Crises, in "New Perspectives on Trust in International Conflicts," *International Studies Review* (with Nicholas J. Wheeler) 28.1: viafo27.

2025. High-Level Leader Visits: A Promising Area of Study in IR, *International Studies Perspectives* (with Ali Balcı, James D. Kim, Jonathan D. Moyer, Collin J. Meisel, Kylie McKee, Alexander Baturo, Byungwon Woo, Seulah Choi, Minseon Ku, Eric Van Rythoven).

2025. Diplomacy by Committee: Assessing Resolve and Costly Signals in Group Settings, *American Journal of Political Science* (with Carly Wayne, Mitsuru Mukaigawara, Joshua Kertzer) 69.4: 1218-1234.

2024. The Role of Artificial Intelligence in Nuclear Crisis Decision Making: A Complement, Not a Substitute, *Australian Journal of International Affairs* (with Nicholas J. Wheeler) 78.2: 164-174.

2023. Malicious Motives or Innocent Intentions? How Moral Reactions to Collateral Damage Shape Perceptions of Intent in Wartime Conduct, *Foreign Policy Analysis* (with Jonathan Chu and David Traven) 19.4.

2022. Overcoming the Four Horsemen of Reassurance Diplomacy: Explaining Variation in Face-to-Face Engagement, *Journal of Global Security Studies* (with Nicholas J. Wheeler) 7.3.

2022. Hawkish Biases and Group Decision-Making, *International Organization* (with Joshua Kertzer, Brad LeVeck, and Carly Wayne) 76.3: 513-548.

2021. The Logic of Negative Appeals: Graphic Imagery, Affective Empathy, and Foreign Development Aid, *Global Studies Quarterly* (with A. Burcu Bayram) 1.4.

2021. The Strength of Weak Bonds: Substituting Bodily Copresence in Diplomatic Social Bonding, *European Journal of International Relations* (with Nicholas J. Wheeler) 27.3: 730-752.

2021. Assessing the Renaissance of Individuals in International Relations Theory, *PS: Political Science & Politics* (with Eric Parajon and Richard Jordan) 54.2: 214-219.

2021. Inferring Intentions from Consequences: How Moral Judgments Shape Citizen Perceptions of Wartime Conduct, *Journal of Experimental Political Science* (with Jonathan Chu and David Traven) 8.2: 203-207.

2021. Measuring Without a Ruler: Assessing Compliance with Calculative International Norms, *Journal of Global Security Studies* (with David Traven) 6.1.

2020. Feeling their Pain: Affective Empathy and Public Preferences for Foreign Aid. *European Journal of International Relations* (with A. Burcu Bayram) 26.3: 820-850.

2020. Social Bonding in Diplomacy. *International Theory* 12: 133-161 (with Nicholas J. Wheeler).

2019. Re-evaluating Theory and Methods in Diplomatic History: Bringing in Psychology, Neuroscience, Micro-Sociology, and Quantum, *Diplomatica* 1.1: 19-25.

2018. Palestine in Hebrew: Overcoming the Limitations of Traditional Diplomacy, *Revista Mexicana de Politica Exterior (Mexican Journal of Foreign Policy)* 113 (with Ilan Manor, published as part of special issue on public diplomacy simultaneously in Spanish).

2017. The Psychological Logic of Peace Summits: How Empathy Shapes Outcomes of Diplomatic Negotiations, *International Studies Quarterly* 61: 107-122 (with Keren Yarhi-Milo).

2016. You Never Get a Second Chance to Make a First Impression? First Encounters and Face-Based Threat Perception, *Journal of Global Security Studies* 1.4: 285-302.

Reviewed in H-Diplo, 2017 Article Review 74

2015. Believing This and Alieving That: Theorizing Affect and Intuitions in International Politics, *International Studies Quarterly* 59.4: 706-720.

2015. Thinking Rationally without Really Thinking: The Logic of Rational Intuitionism in International Relations Theory, *International Studies Review* 17.3: 414-440 (with David Traven).

2015. Fight-or-Flight or Tend-and-Befriend? Stress and the Political Psychology of Crisis Diplomacy, *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 10.1: 15-21.

2014. International Politics at the Brain's Edge: Social Neuroscience and a New "Via Media," *International Studies Perspectives* 15.2: 209-228.

2014. The Social Brain Paradigm and Social Norm Puzzles, *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 26.3: 384-404 (with Costas Panagopoulos).

2013. The Force of Face-to-Face Diplomacy: Mirror Neurons and the Problem of Intentions, *International Organization* 67.4: 827-861.

2012. Homeland Security as International Security? The Case for International Relations as Disciplinary Model, *Journal of Homeland Security and Emergency Management* 9.1.

2011. National Security Behavioral Detection: A Typology of Strategies, Costs, and Benefits, *Journal of Transportation Security* 4.4: 361-374.

2011. Something Old, Something New, Something Borrowed: Representations of Anarchy in International Relations Theory, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 11.2.

2009. Just How Much Does That Cost Anyway? An Analysis of the Financial Costs and Benefits of the "No-Fly" List, *Homeland Security Affairs* 5.1.

2007. Culture Without the State: Reinvigorating Ukrainian Culture with Diasporic Efforts, *Review of Policy Research* 24.2: 133-154.

Book Chapters

2025. The Trust Gap: Why Face-to-Face Diplomacy Matters in Global Crises, *Inside the Situation Room: The Theory and Practice of Crisis Decision-Making*, edited by Hillary Rodham Clinton and Keren Yarhi-Milo, Oxford University Press (111-139).

2025. Leader Convergence and the Emotional Dynamics of Nuclear Crises (with Nicholas J. Wheeler), *The Oxford Handbook of Emotions in International Relations*, edited by Simon Koschut and Andrew Ross, Oxford University Press.

2023. Digital Diplomacy: Projection and Retrieval of Images and Identities, *The Oxford Handbook of Digital Diplomacy*, edited by Corneliu Bjola and Ilan Manor, Oxford University Press.

2023. Can you Trust in Zoom? Bonds and Trust in Digital Spaces (with Nicholas J. Wheeler), *Digital International Relations: Technology, Agency, and Order*, edited by Corneliu Bjola and Markus Kornprobst, Routledge.

2022. Diplomacy in the Rearview Mirror: Implications of Face-to-Face Diplomacy Ritual Disruption for Ministries of Foreign Affairs, *Ministries of Foreign Affairs in the World*, edited by Christian Lequesne, Brill.

2016. The Social Neuroscience of Secrets in Secret Diplomacy: Theorizing Secrecy Diplomacy, *Secret*

Diplomacy: Concepts, Contexts and Cases, edited by Corneliu Bjola and Stuart Murray, London and New York: Routledge.

2015. Digital Diplomacy and International Change Management, *Digital Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*, edited by Corneliu Bjola and Marcus Holmes, London and New York: Routledge (13-32).

2015. Conclusion: The Future of Digital Diplomacy, *Digital Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*, edited by Corneliu Bjola and Marcus Holmes, London and New York: Routledge (199-206).

2012. Liminal Agents and Structures in International Politics, *The Paths of Folklore: Essays in Honor of Natalie Kononenko*, edited by Svitlana Kukharenko and Peter Holloway, Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers (227-243).

Other Peer-Refereed Publications

2018. Digital Diplomacy. Oxford Research Encyclopedias: International Studies. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

2018. Face-to-Face Diplomacy. Oxford Research Encyclopedias: International Studies. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Book Reviews

2017. Review of *Pivotal Countries, Alternate Futures: Using Scenarios to Manage American Strategy*, (Michael F. Oppenheimer, Oxford University Press, 2015).

2016. Review of *Emotional Diplomacy: Official Emotion on the International Stage*, (Todd H. Hall, Cornell University Press, 2015), *Perspectives on Politics* 14.4: 1266-1268.

2016. Review of *Diplomacy's Value* (Brian C. Rathbun, Cornell University Press, 2014), *International Studies Review* 18: 554-556.

2016. Review of *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs: Cases in Successful Diplomacy* (edited by Robert Hutchings and Jeremi Suri, Oxford University Press, 2015), *H-Diplo*.

2015. Diplomacy after Policymaking: Theorizing Hyper-Empowered Individuals (Review of *Diplomatic Afterlives* (Andrew F. Cooper, Polity Press, 2014)), *International Studies Review* 17: 708-710.

2015. Review of *Mixed Emotions: Beyond Fear and Hatred in International Conflict* (Andrew Ross, University of Chicago Press, 2013), *Political Science Quarterly* 130.1: 174-176.

Other non-Refereed Publications

2016. "Anarchy" entry, *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology* (with W. Michael Campbell, Jr.).

Selected Public Scholarship and Commentary

2026. "Trump-XI summit: in a high-stakes meeting the two leaders can't afford to misread each other" (with Nicholas J. Wheeler). The Conversation, May 14.

2025. "Trump and Zelensky: when face-to-face diplomacy goes wrong it can be disastrous – especially if the whole world is watching" (with Nicholas J. Wheeler). The Conversation, March 3.

2023. "Reaffirming alliance: The crucial importance of the U.S.-Japan-South Korea trilateral summit" (with Nicholas J. Wheeler). The Hill, August 17.

2021. "Reagan and Gorbachev offer a script for Biden-Putin summit" (with Nicholas J. Wheeler). The Conversation, June 16.

2020. "UN General Assembly: Why Virtual Meetings Make it Hard for Diplomats to Trust Each Other" (with Mark NK Saunders and Nicholas J. Wheeler). The Conversation, September 22.

2018. "So Trump's Meeting Kim Jong Un After All. Here's why Face-to-Face Diplomacy Matters." The Monkey Cage (*Washington Post*), June 11.

2018. "Lessons for Trump-Kim Summit from Reagan and Gorbachev: Trust and Reassurance before Denuclearisation" (with Nicholas J. Wheeler). The Conversation, March 13.

External Grants and Sponsored Research

2022. U.S. Department of State / U.S. Embassy Tokyo Award, 2022-2024 (PI). $99,929 for the U.S.-Japan Baseball Diplomacy project with Paul Manna (Co-PI) and Hiroshi Kitamura (Co-PI).

2022. Drapers Company Fellowship. $10,000, for Social Bonding in Diplomacy research project.

2019. Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) Award 2019-2020. $374,093 for Aggregation in Foreign Policy Decision Making (AFPDM) project with Joshua Kertzer (PI), Carly Wayne, Brad LeVeck, Eric Min, Robert Schub, and Tyler Jost.

Awards and Honors

2022. Best Article Award, Diplomatic Studies Section, International Studies Association, for "The Strength of Weak Bonds."

2018. Co-winner, Best Book on Diplomacy Award, Diplomatic Studies Section, International Studies Association, for *Face-to-Face Diplomacy*.

2015. Best Article Award, Diplomatic Studies Section, International Studies Association, for "The Force of Face-to-Face Diplomacy."

2021. Plumeri Award for Faculty Excellence, William & Mary.

2018. William & Mary Alumni Association Fellowship Award.

2017. Reves Center for International Studies Faculty Fellowship Award, William & Mary.

2010. Mershon Center Dissertation Research Grant, Ohio State University.

2006-2008. Ohio State Distinguished Fellowship.

2004-2006. Georgetown University Graduate Scholarship.

2002. Phi Beta Kappa; Echols Scholar; graduated with distinction, University of Virginia.

Academic Affiliations

2021-present. Faculty Affiliate. Global Research Institute (GRI), William & Mary.

2014-2017. Honorary Research Fellow, Institute for Conflict, Cooperation and Security, University of Birmingham (UK)

Selected Invited Talks and Policy Engagement

December 2025. National Taiwan University, Taiwan.

December 2025. Academia Sinica, Taiwan.

October 2024. Conte Center, University of California, Irvine.

April 2023. Lansing Lee/Bankard Seminar in Global Politics, University of Virginia.

2018-2022. Geopolitics and Global Futures Programme, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Geneva, Switzerland (four invited sessions).

October 2020. Keynote Address, "Politics of Emotion in/for Inter-Korean Relations," University of North Korean Studies, Seoul, South Korea.

August 2019. Keynote Address, International Visitor Leadership Program National Programmers Workshop, Washington, DC.

2018-2019. "Emerging Global Challenges and Face-to-Face Diplomacy," Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State (five invited sessions).

June 2019. Ralph Bunche Library Speaker Series, U.S. Department of State.

February 2019. Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo, Norway.

January 2019. Grand Rounds, University of Vermont Department of Neuroscience and Neurosurgery.

September 2017. Department of Psychology, University of Virginia.

March 2016. McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

March 2016. First Digital Diplomacy Conference, Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tel Aviv, Israel (presented in absentia).

2014-2015. Institute for Conflict, Cooperation and Security, University of Birmingham, UK (multiple invited workshops and lectures).

May 2015. Diplomatic School of Armenia, Yerevan, Armenia.

January 2015. University of Queensland, Australia.

February 2014. University of Southern California.

January 2014. University of California, San Diego.

September 2013. Belgrade Security Forum, Belgrade, Serbia.

April 2013. Council on Foreign Relations Educator's Workshop, New York, NY.

September 2012. Future of Diplomacy Project workshop, New York, NY.

Teaching and Research Mentoring

Graduate Seminars

Analysis of International Politics (Fordham)

International Business & Governments (Fordham)

e-Diplomacy: Statecraft in a Digital Age (Georgetown)

Undergraduate Courses

Introduction to International Politics (Fordham; William & Mary)

Political Psychology of International Security (Fordham; William & Mary)

Theory and History in International Relations (William & Mary)

Building Trust Through Diplomacy (William & Mary DC Winter Seminar)

Advanced International Relations Theory (Fordham)

International Political Economy (Fordham)

Mass Violence and Genocide (Fordham)

Introduction to Politics (Fordham)

Selected Research Mentoring and Supervision

Faculty mentor, Alec Hahus, Global Research Institute Diplomacy Project Postdoctoral Fellow, 2025-2026.

PhD committee member for Minseon Ku; subsequently Global Research Institute Diplomacy Project Postdoctoral Fellow.

Selected independent tutorials supervised: Understanding Genocide; Macroeconomic Theory and International Policy; Neuroscience and Economic Decision-Making; Advanced Case Study Design; Cyber-Security; Constructivist Theory of International Organization; Social Media and Politics; Grant Writing.

Professional Leadership and Service

2017-Present. Co-Editor, *Palgrave* "Diplomacy and International Relations" series.

2016-Present. Associate Editor, *Hague Journal of Diplomacy*.

2015-Present. Associate Editor, *Diplomacy and Foreign Policy*, Brill Publishing.

2020-2021. Chair, Awards Committee, Diplomatic Studies Section, International Studies Association.

2017-2020. Chair, Diplomatic Studies Section, International Studies Association.

Reviewer for leading journals including *American Political Science Review*, *International Organization*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Politics*, *European Journal of International Relations*, *Security Studies*, and *Political Psychology*; and for Oxford, Cambridge, Michigan, and other university presses.