

# Marcus Holmes

William & Mary  
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Williamsburg, VA 23185

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## 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, Undergraduate Research Award*

## Appointments

William & Mary, Associate Professor, 2018 - present.

William & Mary, Assistant Professor, 2014 - 2018.

Fordham University, Assistant Professor, 2012 - 2014.

Fordham University, Lecturer, Spring 2012.

Fordham University, Adjunct Instructor, 2010-2011.

Georgetown University, Lecturer, Summer 2011.

## Publications

### Book

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

Co-winner of "2018 Best Book on Diplomacy Award" from Diplomatic Studies Section of International Studies Association. Reviewed in *Perspectives on Politics*, *International Studies Review*, *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, *Diplomatica*, and *H-ISSF Roundtable*.

### Journal Articles

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

Forthcoming. Hawkish Biases and Group Decision-Making, *International Organization* (with Joshua Kertzer, Brad LeVeck, and Carly Wayne).

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

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

Awarded Best Article - International Studies Association Diplomatic Studies Section, 2022

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.

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 Política 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 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.

Awarded Best Article - International Studies Association Diplomatic Studies Section, 2015

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.

### *Edited Books*

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

### *Book Chapters*

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.<sup>PR</sup>

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.<sup>PR</sup>

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).<sup>PR</sup>

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).<sup>PR</sup>

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

### *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.).<sup>W&M Student</sup>

### *Op-eds and Commentary*

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.

2018. "Palestine in Hebrew: A New Approach to Palestinian Digital Diplomacy" (with Ilan Manor). *Medium: An International Affairs Blog*, January 29.

2017. "With Trump Leaving on His First Foreign Trip, Here are 4 Lessons About Face-to-Face Diplomacy" (with Nicholas J. Wheeler). *The Monkey Cage* (Washington Post), May 19.

## Invited Participation

### *Lectures and Workshops*

September 2021. Geopolitics and Global Futures Programme. Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Geneva, Switzerland.

October 2020. International Symposium on Chaos, Complexity and Leadership. Ankara, Turkey (presented remotely).

October 2020. Keynote Address: Politics of Emotion in/for Inter-Korean Relations. University of North Korean Studies, Seoul, South Korea (presented remotely).

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

June 2019. Geopolitics and Global Futures Programme. Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Geneva, Switzerland.

June 2019. Emerging Global Challenges and Face-to-Face Diplomacy. Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State.

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

May 2019. Emerging Global Challenges and Face-to-Face Diplomacy. Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State.

April 2019. Emerging Global Challenges and Face-to-Face Diplomacy. Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State.

March 2019. Emerging Global Challenges and Face-to-Face Diplomacy. Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State.

January 2019. Trust and International Security. University of Namur, Namur, Belgium.

February 2019. Face-to-Face Diplomacy: Social Neuroscience and International Relations. Norwegian Institute of International Affairs.

January 2019. Face-to-Face Diplomacy: Social Neuroscience and International Relations. Grand Rounds, University of Vermont Department of Neuroscience and Neurosurgery.

August 2018. Emerging Global Challenges and Face-to-Face Diplomacy. Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State.

June 2018. Geopolitics and Global Futures Programme. Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Geneva, Switzerland.

March 2018. Face-to-Face Diplomacy. Virginia Festival of the Book, Charlottesville, VA.

March 2018. Face-to-Face Diplomacy. University of Birmingham (UK).

September, 2017. University of Virginia, Department of Psychology, Charlottesville, VA.

March, 2016. McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

March, 2016. 1st Digital Diplomacy Conference of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tel Aviv, Israel. (Presented in absentia).

November, 2015. 30th Anniversary of the Geneva Summit Workshop. University of Birmingham (UK).

October, 2015. Trust and Distrust in International Politics Workshop. University of Birmingham (UK). (Presented in absentia).

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

March, 2015. Institute for Conflict, Cooperation, and Security, University of Birmingham (UK).

January, 2015. University of Queensland (Australia).

June, 2014. Institute for Conflict, Cooperation, and Security, University of Birmingham (UK).

June, 2014. University of Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

February, 2014. University of Southern California.

January, 2014. University of California San Diego.

September, 2013. Belgrade Security Forum, Belgrade, Serbia.

June, 2013. National University of Public Service, Budapest, Hungary. (Presented in absentia).

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

September, 2012. The Future of Diplomacy Project, New York, NY. Organized by Vincent Pouliot, Iver Neumann, and Ole Jacob Sending.

July 2009. National Science Foundation Institute for Genomic Biology, University of Illinois, Urbana, IL.

May 2009. Carnegie Endowment Junior Fellows Workshop, Washington, DC.

Summer 2007. Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute, Cambridge, MA.

## Conferences

April 2018. Feeling Their Pain: Affective Empathy and Public Preferences for Foreign Aid (with A. Burcu Bayram). *International Studies Association*, San Francisco, CA.

April 2018. Shouting to Get Everyone to Shut Up: A Theory of Compliance with Deontic and Utilitarian International Norms (with David Traven). *International Studies Association*, San Francisco, CA.

September 2017. Exploring Social Bonding in Diplomacy (with Nicholas J. Wheeler). *British International Studies Association U.S. Foreign Policy Workshop*, Edinburgh, Scotland.

August 2017. Exploring Social Bonding in Diplomacy (with Nicholas J. Wheeler). *American Political Science Association*, San Francisco, CA.

June 2017. Measuring without a Ruler? (with David Traven). *International Studies Association Hong Kong*, Hong Kong.

April 2017. Digital International Relations. *Fifth Global International Studies Conference*, Taipei, Taiwan.

February 2017. Digital International Relations. *International Studies Association*, Baltimore, MD.

October 2016. Trust and Distrust in the 4th Image (with Nicholas J. Wheeler). *Conference on Interdisciplinary Approaches to Politics*, University of Leeds, UK.

September 2016. Digital International Relations. *Development Studies Association*, University of Oxford, UK.

March 2016. Trust and Distrust in the 4th Image (with Nicholas J. Wheeler). *International Studies Association*, Atlanta, GA.

March 2016. You Never Get a Second Chance to Make a First Impression. *International Studies Association*, Atlanta, GA.

September 2015. Symbolic Violence and Rewards: Diplomats Cultivating Reputations on the Internet. *9th Pan-European Conference on International Relations*, Giardini Naxos, Sicily, Italy.

February 2015. Panel Co-Chair, Taking Stock - Behavioral International Relations. *International Studies Association*, New Orleans, LA.

June 2014. A Reputation for Empathy (with Keren Yarhi-Milo). *British International Studies Association*, Dublin, Ireland.

May 2014. The Social Neuroscience of Secret Diplomacy. *European Workshop in International Studies*, Izmir, Turkey.

March 2014. Believing This and Alieving That. *International Studies Association*, Toronto, CA.

- March 2014. A Reputation for Empathy (with Keren Yarhi-Milo). *International Studies Association*, Toronto, CA.
- September 2013. e-Diplomacy: Between Promises and Reality, *European Consortium for Political Research General Conference*, Bordeaux, France.
- September 2013. The Social Brain Paradigm and Social Science Puzzles, *American Political Science Association*, Chicago, IL.
- April 2013. The Dark Outskirts of Rationality: Believing This and Alieving That in International Politics, *International Studies Association*, San Francisco, CA.
- April 2013. An Intuitionist Approach to Moral Judgments (with David Traven), *International Studies Association*, San Francisco, CA.
- March 2013. Believing This and Alieving That in International Politics, *Fordham University Brown Bag Series*.
- March 2013. Believing This and Alieving That in International Politics, *Joint Sessions of the European Consortium for Political Research*, Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz, Germany.
- October 2012. Explaining Probability Neglect: Toward a Grand Theory of Homeland Security?, *International Security Studies Section of ISA and the International Security and Arms Control Section of APSA*.
- August 2012. Revisiting Personal Diplomacy during Germany Reunification at the End of the Cold War, *American Political Science Association*, New Orleans, LA (cancelled due to Hurricane Sandy - presented online).
- April 2012. The Force of Face-to-Face Diplomacy, *Joint Sessions of the European Consortium for Political Research*, University of Antwerp, Antwerp, Belgium.
- April 2012. Bringing Digital Humanities to International Relations: Reflecting on Development Practice from Afar, *International Studies Association*.
- April 2011. Neuroscience and Personal Diplomacy, *Joint Sessions of the European Consortium for Political Research*, University of St. Gallen, St. Gallen, Switzerland.
- March 2011. Neuroscientific Inquiry and International Relations, *Research in International Politics Workshop*, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH.
- May 2008. Political Psychology and International Relations Research, *Social Entrepreneurship in the Middle East Guest Lecture*, Professor Dale D. Murphy, Washington/Qatar Joint Lecture.
- March 2007. The Politics of Developing an Information Society: The Case of Serbia (with George Bozovic), *International Studies Association*, Chicago, IL.
- March 2006. Rituals as Development Strategy: An Analysis of the Role of Rituals in Participatory Development Projects, *International Studies Association*, San Diego, CA.
- November 2005. Researching the Visual, *Creative Arts, Film, and Media*, University of Portsmouth, UK.
- September 2005. Politics of the Image: The Morphology of the Stalinist Poster and post-Stalinist Art, *The Search Outside the Text: Research Methodologies*, University of Ottawa, Canada.
- May 2005. Cultural Boxes, Voice and the Poor: The Role of the Individual in Understanding the Poor and What It Means for International Development, *Global Studies Association*, Knoxville, TN.
- May 2000. Transcending the Intellectual Trap with Digital Media, *University of Virginia Outstanding Undergraduate Research Conference*, Charlottesville, VA.

## Awards, Grants, and Honors

2019. Defense Advanced Research Project 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, Tyler Jost.
2015. International Studies Association (Diplomatic Studies Section) Best Article Award
- 2014-2017. Named Honorary Research Fellow, Institute for Conflict, Cooperation and Security, University of Birmingham (UK)
2013. International Studies Association Travel Grant, European Consortium for Political Research Travel Grant, International Studies Association-Peace Science Society Travel Grant
2012. European Consortium for Political Research Travel Grant
2011. European Consortium for Political Research Travel Grant
2010. Mershon Center (Ohio State University) Dissertation Research Grant
2008. Candidacy Exams Passed with Distinction
2007. International Studies Association Travel Grant
- 2006-2008. Ohio State Distinguished Fellowship
2006. International Business Diplomacy Honors Certificate (Georgetown University), M.A. Thesis "Refining Ideas: Norm Institutionalization and the Jubilee 2000 Campaign," (Committee: J.P. Singh, Dale D. Murphy and James N. Rosenau) Defended with Distinction
- 2004-2006. Georgetown University Graduate Scholarship
2002. Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Eta Sigma Honor Society, National Society of Collegiate Scholars, Jefferson Cup
- 1998-2002. Echols Scholar (University of Virginia Honor Society)

## Teaching

### *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; W&M)
- Introduction to Politics (Fordham)
- International Political Economy (Fordham)
- Advanced International Relations Theory (Fordham)
- Mass Violence and Genocide (Fordham)
- Political Psychology of International Security (Fordham; W&M)



### *Research Lab*

Director, Political Psychology of International Relations (PPIR)

### *Tutorials Supervised*

Understanding Genocide (Fordham)  
Macroeconomic Theory and International Policy (Fordham)  
Neuroscience and Economic Decision-Making (Fordham)  
Advanced Case Study Design (Fordham)  
Cyber-Security (Fordham)  
Constructivist Theory of International Organization (Fordham)  
Social Media and Politics (Fordham)  
Grant Writing (Fordham)

### *Teaching Assistant*

International Cultural Policies (Georgetown, for J.P. Singh)  
Technology, Culture, and Development (Georgetown, for J.P. Singh)

### *Students Supervised Currently in PhD Programs/Academia*

Eric Parajon. Project: "Maintaining Continuity of Relationships: The Benefits of Video Communication Technology"

## Service

### *University*

Academic Director, William & Mary-St Andrews Joint Degree Programme  
Co-Director, Social Science Research Methods Center (SSRMC)

### *Profession*

2017-Present. Co-Editor, *Palgrave* "Diplomacy and International Relations" series.  
2017-Present. Chair, Diplomatic Studies Section of *International Studies Association*.  
2016-Present. Associate Editor, *Hague Journal of Diplomacy*.  
2015-Present. Associate Editor, *Diplomacy and Foreign Policy*, Brill Publishing.  
Reviewer for *American Political Science Review*, *International Organization*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Politics*, *European Journal of International Relations*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Security Studies*, *International Studies Perspectives*, *Review of International Organizations*, *International Political Sociology*, *International Theory*, *International Studies Review*, *Politics, Theory Culture & Society*, *Diplomacy and Foreign Policy*, *International Sociology*, *Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, *Political Psychology*, Oxford University Press, Palgrave Macmillan, CQ Press, Pearson, among others.

## Media

October 2017: Radio interview with Slovak Public Radio.

July 2017: Radio interview with "With Good Reason" program in Charlottesville, VA.

May 17, 2017: "With Trump leaving on his first foreign trip, here are 4 lessons about face-to-face diplomacy," with Nicholas J. Wheeler. *The Monkey Cage at The Washington Post*.

May 11, 2017: "Time for Jimmy Carter to go Back to North Korea," with Nicholas J. Wheeler. *The Diplomat*.

May 11, 2017: "Digitizing Palestinian Public Diplomacy," with Ilan Manor. *Center for Public Diplomacy Blog at the University of Southern California*.

## Consulting Experience

2005-2010. Pursuant, Inc. Market Research Firm, Washington, DC

*Research Associate:* Responsibilities included conducting qualitative and quantitative market research, analyzing the data using multivariate and regression statistical methods and crafting strategic recommendations for clients. Particular emphasis and skill set in designing, programming and implementing survey instruments.

2002-2004. Deloitte Consulting, Washington, DC

*Business Analyst:* Responsibilities included leveraging corporate best practices and industry-leading technology to help private sector, state and federal government clients solve complex business problems. Clients included Transportation Security Administration (TSA), Department of Homeland Security (DHS), and Customs and Border Protection (CBP).

## Awards

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

2018. William & Mary Alumni Association Fellowship Award.

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

## References

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Georgetown University  
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