Matthew C. Millard

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EDUCATION

University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, AL, Ph.D., Political Science, 2017
   Major: *International Relations*
   Minor: *American Politics and Political Theory*

Duke University, Durham, NC, MA, Political Science, 2011
   International Relations

The Citadel, The Military College of South Carolina, Charleston, SC, 2009
   International Politics and Military Affairs and English, Magna Cum Laude

Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR)
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Summer 2014 and 2017, *EITM Certification*
   MLE for Generalized Linear Models, Introduction to R Statistical Computing Environment, Regression Analysis II: Linear Models, Mathematics for Social Scientists II, Bayesian Modeling for the Social Sciences I: Introduction and Application, Network Analysis I: Introduction

DISSERTATION

Learning the Trade: State Leaders and the Construction of International Relations (Chair: Douglas M. Gibler, University of Alabama; Susan Sample, University of the Pacific; Derrick Frazier, Air Command and Staff College; Dennis Foster, VMI)

> I argue that realism can best be understood as a learned practice that constrains leaders of states into an acceptable type of foreign policy behavior. To do this, I use an argument that examines alliances and how leaders make alliance texts that heavily copy from previous alliance texts, a case study of the arms race between the USSR and USA, and the behavioral changes among rivalry states in South America that have previously engaged in disputes with major states.

Publications

Millard, M.C. "Challenging Institutions: Getting Goods or Getting your own Institutions?"
Journal of Regional Studies (2017)

> I present a discussion of the current state of liberal internationalism as it relates to international organizations. I maintain that the literature focuses too much on liberal internationalism and less on non-liberal internationalism. This is problematic in a world where non-liberal states are increasingly becoming important players in the international system, as is the case with Russia and China. I argue that non-liberal states have a variety of approaches in their dealings with international institutions that can enable them to maximize their net gains from institutions. These are: 1.) keep using the liberal institution; 2.) utilize institutional a la cartism (forum shop); 3.) create an anti-liberal institution; or 4.) opt-out of institutions all together. Scholars and practitioners alike should acknowledge that international institutions can be a vehicle whereby non-liberal states maximize their power and diminish the power and influence of non-liberal states.

Millard, M.C. Editor and forward, Special Curated Issue, *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, (Alliances). 2016.
   http://cmp.sagepub.com/site/VSI/Reexamining_Alliance_Literature.xhtml

> I explore the most important alliance articles from *Conflict Management and Peace Science*. I show that most focus throughout the journal's history concerned arms races, the other primary way to prepare for war. I argue that the alliance literature has been neglected and overlooked and, upon reexamination, can provide useful information about how we can greater understand the causal relationships with war and dispute onset.

Millard, M.C. "A Tale of Two Systems: Learning to Cooperate and Compete in the International System"

Submitted to *Spectra* (revise and resubmit)

I argue that states and leaders in competitive frameworks learn to behave with realist policies from their interactions with other states and leaders and, in the absence of these interactions, they rely on previous experience to inform them in the decision-making process. Contrary to what scholars of the realist tradition maintain, I do not argue that the tenants consistent with realism are effectively human nature (for instance, Morgenthau, 1948) or due to the self-help, anarchic structure of the international system (Waltz, 1979). Instead, leaders in conflictual relationships learn these methods are an effective way in which to respond to the world around them as they learn the constraints that are placed on them by other states' leaders. And in the absence of previous interactions, they will rely on background variables, such as their own experience, to guide them in how to interact with other leaders.

Working Papers

Millard, M.C. and **Porter, C.** "Testing the Hard Case: Reactive Devaluation, Iran, and Nuclear Negotiation"
Submitted to *Journal of Experimental Political Science* (under review)

To assess the level of reactive devaluation in foreign policy negotiations, we conduct a survey of approximately 400 respondents. Our analysis measures the variance of relative support/opposition to the Iranian deal when the author of the proposal is varied. We examine the specific case of negotiations with Iran over its nuclear program to test our theory of psychological thresholds of trust in Iran and Islam, which when low, should trigger reactive devaluation. Our study improves upon existing literature by incorporating a larger and more generalizable sample and by testing a "harder" case for identifying the phenomenon. We find that the process of reactive devaluation is apparent in the face of non-existential threats, but may be more nuanced than previously suggested.

Millard, M.C. "When States Copy: An Analysis of Alliance Texts and Learning in International Relations" 1891-1995"
Submitted to *Journal of Global Security Studies (*under review)

Previous scholarly research on alliances have focused on how alliances serve as both signaling and coordination mechanisms or as credible commitments to an alliance partner. However, the texts used to initiate a formal alliance have largely been ignored. Previous studies have missed the textual significance because they often focus on how alliances relate to the probability of war. Instead, I examine alliance texts for evidence of learning. I argue that leaders of states are likely to copy previous alliance commitments, as they act as instructional tools as to how a leader should form a successful alliance. Relying first on their own states' experiences in making alliances, they then look towards alliance texts made by other states where those texts act as secondary instructional devices. I construct a matrix of state alliances from 1891-1995 and use this as a proxy variable for learning. I find that leaders and states with less alliance experience are more likely to copy other alliance texts. I also find that contiguity, distance between capital cities, regional difference, and a difference in national capabilities are likely to impact a leader's decision to copy from another alliance.

Millard, M.C. "Making the Conflict Jump: Evidence for Causal Mechanism of Diffusive Violence"
Submitted to *Conflict Management and Peace Science* (under review)

Below, I argue that evidence of diffusively learned conflict behavior can be found by examining states in rivalries and their interactions with non-rivalrous dyads. Using Thompson's (2001) definition of strategic rivalries and MID 4.01, I examine all MIDs for evidence of externalizing the lessons of rivalrous behavior. Using an evolutionary and diffusive framework, I argue that states perform a "conflict jump" when they apply the lessons learned in rivalrous conflicts to those with whom they are not engaged in rivalries. With these novel variables and tracing of the effects of how violence spreads, I find that states that were previously involved in a rivalry or are currently involved in a rivalry are likely to externalize this conflict behavior to other states. Specifically, I find that these states are more likely to initiate conflict against another state, they are more likely to use force or enter into war, and they are more likely to use higher levels of violence.

Millard, M.C. "Realized Military Integration: Europe's Answer to the New Realities of Warfare?"
Submitted to *Journal of Political Science*

Below, I present an argument that outlines the problems that faced the early military integration attempts in Europe. I argue that due to problems associated with economies of scale and a fragmented political Europe that share many of the same political interests a logical way in which to deal with insecurity is to pool resources. Using the approach of maximizing military utility with shared strategic goals, I argue that the negligible sovereignty loss to European militaries is outweighed by the effectiveness to be found in pooling military purchases, coordinating policies, strategies, and tactics. I argue that we can view the pooling of military resources as an effective way to answer new security challenges and traditional challenges such as a resurgent Russia.

Gibler, DM, Foster, D., and Millard, M.C. "Is Anyone Listening? Crisis Signaling by the British House of Commons, 1918-2004"

Several prominent theories suggest that legislative opposition to leadership policies in international crises can moderate governmental stances and/or embolden adversaries. However, empirical tests of these theories have looked only at indirect measures of both independent and dependent variables. We change this by employing large-scale, textual analysis software to examine all British Parliamentary debates concerning international crises, for the period 1918-2004. We account for variations in the levels of certainty, anger, and anxiety expressed by Members of Parliament during debates, and identify the level of agreement among party members. Our analyses of these debates suggest our measures perform well since both certainty and anxiety predict British crisis escalation quite well. However, potential signals of calculated risk-taking propensity on the part of the House of Commons do not, independently,

influence the escalatory behavior of the UK's primary adversaries in interstate crises. Certainty and anxiety in British Parliament are associated with *increased escalation* by adversaries, even when controlling for common predictors of crisis escalation. We discuss the implications of these arguments for theories of democratic signaling.

Krell, M. R. and Millard, M.C. "The Hidden Utility of Brexit"

We argue that identity plays an important role in decisions regarding national independence movements. We further argue that purely economic models of rational actors fails to capture the role of identity because of the difficulty in operationalizing the concept. Using a large-n panel survey of British respondents, we examine what role identity played in respondents' vote and vote intentions in the June 2016 Brexit vote. In examining pre-and post-election data, we find evidence to support our hypothesis that self-ascribed identity as "British" or "European" was an important factor in a respondent's decision on voting to remain or leave the European Union.

Millard, M.C. and Gold, A. "Introducing the PLAD Dataset: Plagiarism, Leaders, and Alliances Dataset"

The interplay between state and leader decision to create alliances and to in turn copy from previous alliances is explained. This dataset introduces a new variable that shows the rate of copied material in all available alliance texts from 1891-1995. It includes 109,445 observations of 180 alliance texts with 468 member sides. The dataset also comes merged with variables from other important datasets regarding contiguity, leader characteristics, state-level characteristics, alliance characteristics, and polity characteristics. This data shows that six alliances are more than 70% direct copies of previous alliances and 44 alliance texts are more than 50% copies of previous alliance texts. This dataset is useful for researchers exploring how states and leaders become socialized to behavior in the international system.

Gibler, D.M. and Millard, M.C. "When States Copy: The Case of Alliances and Socialization"

We present an argument that shows why states are likely to copy their own previous alliances. Building upon previous work, we explore the 44 alliance texts that are more than 50% copies of prior alliance texts. We show that these texts are almost invariably copies from previous alliance treaties the states have signed and are usually imposed alliances by major power states. We maintain that texts with high rates of copying are indications of where states and their leaders have learned from previous interactions with other states in the international system.

Millard, M.C. and Sobecki, N. "Learning to be Secret: Secret Alliance Treaties and Provisions and the Lessons of History"

Though alliances agreements are an important part of signaling intentions to another side's potential foes (Niou and Ordeshook, 1994; also, Gibler, 2009), there are instances in which it is useful to pursue secret alliances. We argue that states will pursue secret alliances that seek to divide up territory or other salient issues in the international system. We also find that, in conjunction with the signaling literature, secret alliances are less likely to be pursued in defensive alliances because they blur the signals being sent to potential opponents. To do this, I utilize a logit model of all alliances for which we have texts that occur between 1816-1995.

TEACHING

Saint Louis University

Instructor of Record:

POLS 1150: American Political Systems (Fall 2017)

POLS 2000: Methods in Political Science (Fall 2017)

POLS 2000: Methods in Political Science Lab (Fall 2017)

POLS 5020: Advanced Topics in Research Methods (Fall 2017)

Graduate level Quantitative Methods I course

University of Alabama

Instructor of Record:

PSC 442: International Conflict (Spring 2017)

PSC 202: Political Science Methods (Fall 2015; Spring 2016; Summer I 2016; Summer II 2016)

PSC 101: Introduction to American Politics (Spring 2015)

PSC 204: Introduction to International Relations (Fall 2014; Summer I 2017)

Teaching Assistant:

PSC 205: Introduction to Political Theory

PSC 203: Introduction to Comparative Politics (Fall 2012/Spring 2013)

PSC 435: War and Peace (Fall 2016)

PSC 522: Quantitative Methods (Fall 2016)

Graduate level. Graded problem sets and taught Stata labs to Ph.D. and MA students.

Additional Teaching Experience:

- Developed pre-test and post-test for introductory level courses in International Relations and American Politics at the University of Alabama.

- Assisted students on construction of a module for US Department of Homeland Security for project entitled Peer to Peer: Challenging Extremism (P2P) in partnership with EdVenture Partners. Students constructed a module via social media outreach to combat violent extremism.

- International Studies Undergraduate Academic Advisor, University of Alabama (2016).

- Other courses prepared: Conflict, War, and Peace and Quantitative Methods I

EXPERIENCE

Saint Louis University, Department of Political Science   St. Louis, MO
Instructor/Visiting Assistant Professor   2017-2018
- Instructor of record for courses in graduate methods and undergraduate methods and American courses.

Ambassador Bruce Heyman, United States Ambassador to Canada   Ottawa, Ontario
Embassy of the United States of America   Summer 2015
Bureau of Western Hemispheric Affairs
Temporary Assistant
- Security clearance level: SECRET (granted 2015)
- Planned and coordinated ambassador's travel, speeches, and appearances across US and Canada.
- Responsible for diplomatic greeting and protocol familiarity.
- Raised funds (CAN $277,000 raised for largest July 4th celebration outside US).
- Aided in other administrative responsibilities such as note taking at briefings, clearance officer duties, diplomatic protocol, planning and organizing of events.

University of Alabama, Department of Political Science   Tuscaloosa, AL
Graduate Teaching Assistant   2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017
- Received tuition paid in full in addition to a stipend of $13,500 per academic year.

University of Alabama, Department of Political Science   Tuscaloosa, AL
Graduate Research Assistant   2013-2014
- Coded MIDs and civil war overlaps for Karl DeRouen and Doug Gibler. Facilitated through a grant from Folke Bernadotte Academy of Sweden to Prof. Gibler and DeRouen totaling $38,456.

U.S. Representative Robert Aderholt   Washington, DC
Intern   Summer 2014
- Responsible for constituent services, meeting attendance, and other administrative tasks.

Luntz, Maslansky, and Associates (The Word Doctors)   New York, NY and Arlington, VA
Research Intern   2010
- Completed research and coding for political advertisements, congressional testimonies, and Fortune 500 companies.

Pearson Peacekeeping Centre   Ottawa, Ontario
Research Intern   2008

• Conducted research on gender-based violence in Darfur that was utilized by the center for the training of international peacekeeping force being sent to Sudan

FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, AWARDS

Institute for Human Studies, APSA travel grant, 2017-$450
Institute for Humane Studies, ICPSR grant, 2017-$3300
Hayek Fund for Scholars, IHS travel grant, ISA, 2017
Travel grant, (Univ. of AL Graduate School), ISA Midwest, 2016
Travel grant, ISA Conference, 2017
Prestage-Cook travel grant award, SPSA Annual Conference, 2016
Travel grant, ISA South Conference, 2015
Travel grant, (Univ. of AL. Political Science Department), Peace Science Society, 2015
Graduate Teaching Assistant Fellowship, 2012-2013; 2014-2015
Graduate Student's Association Travel Grant, 2014
Travel grant, Department of Political Science, University of Alabama, 2016
Phyllis Sparks Scholarship (The Citadel)
C. Tolbert Goolsby Scholarship (The Citadel)
D.D. Nicholson Scholarship (The Citadel)
Class of 1919 Scholarship (The Citadel)
Dean's List, 8 times (The Citadel)
President's List, 3 times (The Citadel)

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Institute for Human Studies, Scholarship and Free Society, June 2012
"Conflicting Notions: Locke, Property, Virtue, and Early American Republican Thought"

University of South Carolina, Graduate Student Conference, February 2013
"The Calculus of the Casualty-Aversion Hypothesis: Afghanistan, Public Opinion in the Use of Drones, and Elite Strategic Choice"

Texas A&M, Reflections on Violence Conference, March 2013
"Gender-Based Violence in Darfur"

Southern Political Science Conference, January 2015
"Uncle Sam is here to Help: An Analysis of US Involvement in International Crises, 1919-2007"

International Studies Association Conference, February 2015
"Uncle Sam is here to Help: An Analysis of US Involvement in International Crises, 1919-2007"

International Studies Association (Southern), October 2015
"Learning to Race: An Analysis of the Soviet/American Arms Race"

International Studies Association (Midwest), November 2015
"Learning the Trade: State Leaders and the Teaching of International Relations"

Educational Studies in Psychology and Research Methodology, April 2015 (with Chase Porter, University of Alabama)
"Revisiting Reactive Devaluation: The Case of Nuclear Weapons" (poster presentation)

Southern Political Science Association, January 2016 (with Chase Porter, University of Alabama)
"Revisiting Reactive Devaluation: The Case of Nuclear Weapons"

International Studies Association (Midwest), November 2016
"Learning to Become Friends: Plagiarism and the Making of International Alliances"

International Studies Association (Midwest), November 2016
"Introducing the PLAD Dataset: Plagiarism, Leaders, and Alliances Data"

Southern Political Science Association, January 2017
"Learning to Become Friends: Plagiarism and the Making of International Alliances"

International Studies Association, February 2017
"Learning Different Lessons: New State Membership, MID Success, and MID Initiation"

International Studies Association, February 2017
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Midwest Political Science Association, March 2017 (with Matthew Reid Krell, University of Alabama)
"The Hidden Utility of Brexit"

ADDITIONAL

Textbook Reviewer, Dixon, J.C., Singleton, R.A. and Straits, B.C. (2015). The Process of Social Research. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Discussant, University of Alabama Department of Political Science Colloquium, Dr. Kristen Wiegand, Fall 2014

Time-Series Analysis workshop, April 2015, Dr. Walt Enders, University of Alabama

Academic Writing Workshop, April 2015, Dr. Doug Gibler, University of Alabama

Advisory Committee, The Citadel Magazine, 2008-2009

Volunteer, University of Alabama Undergraduate Research and Creativity Conference, 2015

Cyber Security Awareness, PS 800 Certificate, George P. Schultz National Foreign Affairs Training Center, Foreign Service Institute, US Department of State

SERVICE

Treasurer, Political Science Graduate Student Association, 2015-2016
Company Commander, The Citadel
Company Honor Representative, The Citadel
Company Clerk, The Citadel
Squad Corporal, The Citadel
Company Operations Sergeant, The Citadel
Squad Sergeant (training cadre), The Citadel

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Peace Science Society
International Studies Association
  Sections: Diplomatic Studies, Foreign Policy Analysis, Intelligence Studies, International Security Studies
ISA South
ISA Midwest
Southern Political Science Association
Phi Sigma Alpha
Pi Kappa Phi