



Political Science UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Decision-Making and International Security POL380H1-F University of Toronto

September 8- December 8, 2021

Thursdays, 12-2:00 PM, Sidney Smith Hall 2127 (in-person)

Dr. Madison Schramm

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Office Hours: Thursdays, In-person, 3:00 to 4:00 PM; online 4:00 PM to 5:00 PM

Sign up: <https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1WZoGI9hD2rfFykYhuTgpzgJ2E-RBbehQBdsj6pdN7qM/edit?usp=sharing>

TA: Michele St-Amant, michele.stamant@mail.utoronto.ca

Course Description

This course will investigate various approaches to studying decision-making in International Security. We will cover models that draw on political psychology, social identity theory, and new research in the field of International Relations to explore how heuristics, context, organization, identity, norms, and emotion affect decision-making. Throughout the term we will investigate which factors did (or should have) informed decision-making and how political elites wrestle with these challenges.

Learning Objectives

- *Introduce students to different approaches to decision-making in International Security
- *Develop students' ability to think critically about the different variables affecting elite decision-making
- *Develop students' ability to assess leaders' backgrounds and positionality and articulate the implications for decision making processes and International Security
- *Discern and explain patterns both in individual leaders' International Security decision-making over time and decision-making across leaders

STATEMENT ON ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF TRADITIONAL LAND

This course takes place on land that has been in relation with Indigenous people and societies since time immemorial. The Elders Circle of the University of Toronto has provided the following statement on acknowledgement of traditional land: We would like to acknowledge this sacred land on which the University of Toronto operates. It has been a site of human activity for 15,000 years. This land is the territory of the Huron-Wendat and Petun First Nations, the Seneca,

and most recently, the Mississaugas of the Credit River. The territory was the subject of the Dish with One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant, an agreement between the Iroquois Confederacy and Confederacy of the Ojibwe and allied nations to peaceably share and care for the resources around the Great Lakes. Today, the meeting place of Toronto is still the home to many Indigenous people from across Turtle Island and we are grateful to have the opportunity to work in the community, on this territory.

Revised by the Elders Circle (Council of Aboriginal Initiatives) on November 6, 2014. Available at: <https://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/fnh>

Requirements

Attendance and Participation

Attendance and active participation in all classes is required.

Readings

Students must complete all *required* readings before the lecture. All required readings will be available to students on Quercus.

Weekly Reading Quizzes (8 in total):

Students must complete weekly reading quizzes (posted Wednesday at noon September 14, 21, 28; October 5, 19, and 26; and November 2, and 16th) via Quercus by Thursday at 9 AM.

Quizzes are open book and should take no more than ten minutes. Students must take quizzes independently and not allowed to work together.

Intel Briefings (2): Due Monday October 17 and November 14 by 9 AM

Students will write two brief intelligence memos to Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs Melanie Joly applying lessons from the course to analyze a contemporary challenge in International Security. In the first memo, students will describe the important unit(s) of analysis and structure within which the President of the Philippines is making decisions regarding foreign policy in the South China Sea, and what a personality analysis of the president and common cognitive biases *might* tell us regarding the state's future posture. In the second brief, students will examine US President Biden's foreign policy regarding Russian's invasion of Ukraine to analyze how norms, culture, and identity *may* contribute to a better understanding of the US's future policy and what new frontiers in decision-making research can help us uncover. For both assignments, students will find suggested background readings (as well as formatting guidance) to get started and a short list of questions that must be addressed in the briefs.

(Plagiarism or other acts of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. See full statement below)

Final Exam: Examination period, date TBA

The final exam will include multiple choice, fill in the blank and 3-4 short answer questions.

Late Assignments

Late work (without a granted extension) will be reduced by 5 percentage points after every day late. Students will only be granted extensions with documentation and under extenuating circumstances.

Appeals and Re-Grading Policy

The first thing to do is to wait. Neither the TA nor the professor will discuss your assignment for at least 48 hours after the assignment has been returned to you. Your TA is your first point of contact. Since your TA marked your assignment in the first place, it is only fair to have them explain why you received the mark you did. If you are not satisfied with their explanation as to why you received the grade you did, you may ask them to re-grade your paper. Be aware, however, that this does not guarantee your mark will be raised. It could go up, down, or remain the same.

Grading

<i>Requirement</i>	<i>Grade</i>	<i>Due Date</i>	<i>Submitted through</i>
Attendance and participation	10%	Throughout semester	n/a
Weekly Reading Quizzes	25%	September 15, 22, 29; October 6, 20, and 27; and November 3, and 17	Via Quercus
Intelligence Brief 1	20%	Monday October 17 by 9 AM	Via Quercus
Intelligence Brief 2	20%	Monday November 14 by 9 AM	Via Quercus
Final Exam	25%	December 1	In-person

Course Policies and Procedures: This course will use Quercus to disseminate all course-related information and assignments. It is your responsibility to log on to Quercus regularly and obtain relevant information. All written assignments must be submitted through Quercus

Communication Information

You are responsible for checking Quercus and your UofT e-mail regularly. Your TA should be your first point of contact for most questions related to the course, including queries about course material, requests for extensions, and requests to regrade. Your TA will explain how to reach them during the first class. When corresponding by e-mail, please put “Decision-Making and International Security ” at the beginning of the subject line, followed by the subject of your e-mail (for example: “Decision-Making and International Security : Question about intel memo”). Neither the TA nor professor will respond to emails over the weekend or after 5PM during weekdays. Unless an emergency, responses will take 48-72 hours.

Accessibility

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability or health consideration that may require accommodations, please contact Accessibility Services at accessibility.services@utoronto.ca
<http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/as/contact-us>

Academic Integrity

Please refer to the Seven **Grandfathers of Academic Integrity:**

https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/wpcontent/uploads/Seven_Grandfathers_in_Academic_Integrity.pdf
The University of Toronto treats cases of academic misconduct very seriously. Academic

integrity is a fundamental value of learning and scholarship at the UofT. Participating honestly, respectfully, responsibly, and fairly in this academic community ensures that your UofT degree is valued and respected as a true signifier of your individual academic achievement.

The University of Toronto's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>) outlines the behaviours that constitute academic misconduct, the processes for addressing academic offences, and the penalties that may be imposed. You are expected to be familiar with the contents of this document. All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following the procedures outlined in the Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters. If you have any questions about what is or is not permitted in this course, please do not hesitate to contact me. If you have questions about appropriate research and citation methods, you are expected to seek out additional information from me or other available campus resources: Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University's plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (<https://uoft.me/pdt-faq>). You may opt out of this tool by contacting the instructor as early as possible in the semester to make alternative arrangements. Writing Centres: <http://writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/> Academic Success: <http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/asc> How not to Plagiarize: <http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize/> RESOURCES Writing

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University's plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (<https://uoft.me/pdt-faq>).

Support

Students can visit www.writing.utoronto.ca for information and advice on all aspects of academic writing. Students are encouraged to make use of the college writing centers for individualized consultations on their written assignments. Interested students should book their appointments with the writing centers early, as they fill up fast. Information about the writing centers is available at <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/arts-andscience>. Students can also take advantage of the Library's free "Writing Plus" academic skills workshop series, described at <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/writing-plus>. International students can find information about the English Language Learning program (ELL), which includes practice opportunities for improving oral communication and critical reading skills, at <http://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/current/advising/ell>. Registrar Support: Students are encouraged to contact their registrar promptly if they experience unexpected challenges during the course that may require accommodations.

Health and Wellness:

Students can access a wide range of programs and services to support their health and wellbeing. Many of these programs are listed at: <https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/department/health-wellness/6> Crisis Support: Students in distress can access a range of free crisis lines available from the University of Toronto and the City of Toronto, as listed below: • University of Toronto: <https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/task/support-when-you-feel-distressed/> • City of Toronto: <https://www.toronto.ca/311/knowledgebase/kb/docs/articles/311-toronto/information-and-business-development/crisis-lines-suicide-depression-telephonesupport-lines-non-crisis-mental-health-services.html> Most of these crisis lines are available 24 hours a day and some address specific problems that students may be experiencing. Immediate assistance is available as follows: • My SSP for University of Toronto Students: 1-844-451-9700. • Good 2 Talk Student Helpline: 1-866-925-5454 • Gerstein Crisis Centre: 416-929-5200 • Distress Centres of Greater Toronto: 416-408-HELP (4357) • The Centre for Addiction and Mental Health (CAMH): 250 College Street (walk-in)

You are not alone: please get help if you're experiencing difficulties or are in distress.

Reading and Schedule

1. September 8; Introduction to Decision Making in International Security

Cottam, Martha L., et al. *Introduction to political psychology*. Routledge, 2015. Chapter 1, "Introduction," pgs 1-12

Stein, Janice Gross. "Psychological explanations of international conflict." *Handbook of international relations* (2002): 292-308.

Hermann, Margaret G., and Joe D. Hagan. "International decision making: Leadership matters." *Foreign Policy* (1998): 124-137.

Recommended

(listen) Vedantam, Shankar. "The Cassandra Curse." *Hidden Brain*. <https://hiddenbrain.org/podcast/the-cassandra-curse/>

Rothman, Joshua. *The Art of Decision-Making*. The New Yorker, 19 Jan. 2019, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2019/01/21/the-art-of-decision-making>.

2. September 15: Decision Units, Structure, and Methodology- Quiz 1 (by 9 AM)

Jervis, Robert (1976). "Chapter 1: Perception and the Level of Analysis Problem," *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, pp. 13-31.

Hermann, Margaret G. "How decision units shape foreign policy: A theoretical framework." *International Studies Review* 3.2 (2001): 47-81.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., D. Alex Hughes, and David G. Victor. "The cognitive revolution and the political psychology of elite decision making." *Perspectives on Politics* 11.2 (2013): 368-386.

Recommended

McDermott, Rose. *Political psychology in international relations*. University of Michigan Press, 2004. "Chapter 2: Forms of Methodology in political Psychology"

3. September 22: Confidence and Beliefs: So, What Do We Know?-Quiz 2 (by 9 AM)

Jervis, Robert. "How Statesmen Think." *How Statesmen Think*. Princeton University Press, 2017. "Understanding Beliefs," pgs 15-40

Mitzen, Jennifer, and Randall L. Schweller. "Knowing the unknown unknowns: misplaced certainty and the onset of war." *Security Studies* 20.1 (2011): 2-35.

Johnson, Dominic DP, and Dominic Tierney. "The Rubicon theory of war: How the path to conflict reaches the point of no return." *International Security* 36.1 (2011): 7-40.

Michman, Dror, and Yael Mizrahi-Arnaud. "The Fog of Certainty: Learning from the Intelligence Failures of the 1973 War." *Brookings*, Brookings, 9 Mar. 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/10/23/the-fog-of-certainty-learning-from-the-intelligence-failures-of-the-1973-war/>.

Recommended

"It Won't Happen to Me: The Psychology behind Optimism Bias." *VICE*, 16 Oct. 2018, <https://www.vice.com/en/article/a3an4a/it-wont-happen-to-me-the-psychology-behind-optimism-bias>.

(listen) Vedantam, Shankar. "Waiting Games." *Hidden Brain*. <https://hiddenbrain.org/podcast/waiting-games/>

(listen) Vedantam, Shankar. "Facts Aren't Enough". *Hidden Brain*. <https://hiddenbrain.org/podcast/facts-arent-enough/>

Ecker, Ullrich K. H., et al. "The Psychological Drivers of Misinformation Belief and Its Resistance to Correction." *Nature News*, Nature Publishing Group, 12 Jan. 2022, <https://www.nature.com/articles/s44159-021-00006-y>.

Jervis, Robert. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton University Press, 2017. Chapter 6, "How Decision Makers Learn from History," pgs 217-279.

4. September 29: Cognitive Biases and Information Processing- Quiz 3 (by 9 AM)

Cottam, Martha L., et al. *Introduction to political psychology*. Routledge, 2015. Chapter 3, Information Processing, pg 39-43

McDermott, Rose. "Prospect theory in international relations: The Iranian hostage rescue mission." *Political Psychology*, (1992): 237-263

Khong, Y.F. (1992) *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decision of 1965*, Princeton University Press. pp. 2 – 46

Yarhi-Milo, Keren. "In the eye of the beholder: How leaders and intelligence communities assess the intentions of adversaries." *International Security* 38.1 (2013): 7-51.

Recommended

Jervis, Robert. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton University Press, 2017. Chapter 4, "Assimilation and Pre-existing Beliefs", pg 143- 181

Saunders, E. N. (2017). No substitute for experience: Presidents, advisers, and information in group decision-making. *International Organization*.

Janis, I. (1972). *Victims of Groupthink: A Psychological Study of Foreign Policy Decisions and Fiascoes*. Houghton-Mifflin. Chapters 1, 2, and 8.

"The Psychology of Stickiness: What America Can Learn from Its Annexation of the Philippines in 1898." *War on the Rocks*, 5 May 2022, <https://warontherocks.com/2022/05/the-psychology-of-stickiness-what-america-can-learn-from-its-annexation-of-the-philippines-in-1898/>.

(listen) Vedantam, Shankar. "Separating Yourself from the Pack." *Hidden Brain*. <https://hiddenbrain.org/podcast/separating-yourself-from-the-pack/>

(listen) Vedantam, Shankar. "Group Think." *Hidden Brain*. <https://hiddenbrain.org/podcast/group-think/>

5. Oct 6: Personality-Quiz 4 (by 9 AM)

George, Alexander L. "The "operational code": A neglected approach to the study of political leaders and decision-making." *International studies quarterly* 13.2 (1969): 190-222.

Hermann, Margaret G. "Explaining foreign policy behavior using the personal characteristics of political leaders." *International studies quarterly* 24.1 (1980): 7-46.

Gallagher, Maryann E., and Susan H. Allen. "Presidential personality: Not just a nuisance." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 10.1 (2014): 1-21.

Recommended

Renshon, Jonathan. "Stability and change in belief systems: The operational code of George W. Bush." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52.6 (2008): 820-849.

Dyson, Stephen Benedict. "Personality and foreign policy: Tony Blair's Iraq decisions." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 2.3 (2006): 289-306.

McDermott, Rose. *Political psychology in international relations*. University of Michigan Press, 2004, chapter 7, psychobiography

Winter, David G., et al. "The personalities of Bush and Gorbachev measured at a distance: Procedures, portraits, and policy." *Political Psychology* (1991): 215-245.

Chen, Adrian. "When a Populist Demagogue Takes Power." *The New Yorker*, 14 Nov. 2016, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/11/21/when-a-populist-demagogue-takes-power>.

6. Oct 13: Case Study Review—Margaret Thatcher and the Gulf War of 1991

Finlan, Alastair. *The Gulf War 1991*. Routledge, 2003. Pg 7-30

(skim) Jacobs, Richard H. "A chronology of the Gulf War." *Arab Studies Quarterly* (1991): 143-165.

Thatcher, Margaret. *Margaret Thatcher: the autobiography*. Harper Collins, 2013. Chapters 1-2 and 39 ("A Provincial Childhood," "Gowns Woman," and "Don't Go Wobbly"), pgs 1-44 and 697-708

Dyson, Stephen Benedict. "Cognitive style and foreign policy: Margaret Thatcher's black-and-white thinking." *International Political Science Review* 30.1 (2009): 33-48.

Recommended

Winter, David G. "Personality and leadership in the Gulf War." *The political psychology of the Gulf War* (1993): 107-117.

7. Oct 20 Socio-cultural- Quiz 5 (by 9 AM)

Cottam, Martha L., et al. *Introduction to political psychology*. Routledge, 2015. Chapter 3, "Categorization and Social Identity" pages 43-49.

Jepperson, Ronald L, et al. "Chapter 2: Norms, Identity and Culture in National Security." *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, Columbia University Press, 1996, pp. 33–72.

Berenskoetter, Felix. "Identity in international relations." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*. 2010.

Hoffmann, Matthew J. "Norms and social constructivism in international relations." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*. 2010.

Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. "International norm dynamics and political change." *International organization* 52.4 (1998): 887-917.

8. Oct 27 Socio-cultural Cases – Quiz 6 (by 9 AM)

Finnemore, Martha. "Chapter 5: Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention." *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, Columbia University Press, 1996, pp. 153–175.

Schramm, Madison, and Alexandra Stark. "Peacemakers or Iron Ladies? A Cross-National study of Gender and International conflict." *Security Studies* 29.3 (2020): 515-548.

Legro, Jeffrey W. "Culture and preferences in the international cooperation two-step." *American Political Science Review* 90.1 (1996): 118-137.

Zvobgo, Kelebogile, and Meredith Loken. "Why Race Matters in International Relations." *Foreign Policy*, 19 June 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/06/19/why-race-matters-international-relations-ir/>.

Recommended

Herman, Robert G. "Chapter 8: Identity, Norms, and National Security: The Soviet Foreign Policy Revolution and the End of the Cold War." *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, Columbia University Press, 1996, pp. 271–311.

Kier, Elizabeth. "Chapter 6: Culture and French Military Doctrine Before World War II." *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, Columbia University Press, 1996, pp. 186–204.

Liberman, Peter. "An eye for an eye: Public support for war against evildoers." *International Organization* 60.3 (2006): 687-722.

9. Nov 3, Emotion—Quiz 7 (by 9 AM)

Cottam, Martha L., et al. *Introduction to political psychology*. Routledge, 2015. Chapter 3, "Affect and Emotion," pages 49-53

Brader, T., & Marcus, G. E. (2013). Emotion and political psychology. In L. Huddy, D. O. Sears, & J. S. Levy (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of political psychology* (pp. 165–204). Oxford University Press.

Sasley, Brent E. "Theorizing states' emotions." *International Studies Review* 13.3 (2011): 452-476

Small, Deborah A., Jennifer S. Lerner, and Baruch Fischhoff. "Emotion priming and attributions for terrorism: Americans' reactions in a national field experiment." *Political Psychology* 27.2 (2006): 289-298.

Recommended

Ask, Karl, and Afroditi Pina. "On being angry and punitive: How anger alters perception of criminal intent." *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 2.5 (2011): 494-499.

(listen) Vedantam, Shankar. "The Benefits of Mixed Emotions." *Hidden Brain*.
<https://hiddenbrain.org/podcast/the-benefits-of-mixed-emotions/>

(listen) Vedantam, Shankar. "The Logic of Rage." *Hidden Brain*.
<https://hiddenbrain.org/podcast/the-logic-of-rage/>

November 10, NO CLASS, Reading Week

Intel Memo 2 Due Mon, Nov 14, 9 AM via Quercus

10. Nov 17: New Frontiers, Quiz 8 (by 9 AM)

McDermott, Rose. "Mutual interests: The case for increasing dialogue between political science and neuroscience." *Political Research Quarterly* 62.3 (2009): 571-583.

Mayer, Igor S. "The gaming of policy and the politics of gaming: A review." *Simulation & Gaming* 40.6 (2009): 825-862.

(listen) Vedantam, Shankar. "What Twins Tell Us." *Hidden Brain*.
<https://hiddenbrain.org/podcast/what-twins-tell-us/>

Ksiazkiewicz, Aleksander, and Seyoung Jung. "The Biology of Political Decision Making." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, 31 Mar. 2020,
<https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-960>.

Recommended

Holmes, Marcus. "The force of face-to-face diplomacy: Mirror neurons and the problem of intentions." *International organization* (2013): 829-861.

11. Nov 24 HW Bush, the US and the Gulf War and Tying it all together

"Biography: George H.W. Bush." *PBS*, Public Broadcasting Service,
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/bush-george/>.

Bush, George HW, and Brent Scowcroft. *A world transformed*. Vintage, 2011. Chapters "This Will Not Stand" and "Storm and Shield" pgs 302-357

Renshon, Stanley Allen, ed. *The Political psychology of the Gulf War: leaders, publics, and the process of conflict*. University of Pittsburgh Pre, 1993. "Chapter 2: President Bush Goes to War," pgs 29-49

Gildea, Ross James. "Psychology and aggregation in International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations* 26.1_suppl (2020): 166-183.

Recommended

Jentleson, Bruce W. *With Friends Like These: Reagan, Bush, and Saddam, 1982-1990*. New York: WW Norton, 1994.

Monten, Jonathan, and Andrew Bennett. "Models of Crisis Decision Making and the 1990–91 Gulf War." *Security Studies* 19.3 (2010): 486-520.

Hayes, Jarrod. "Agency and Structure in Foreign Policy Analysis." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. 2018.

Howard, Lise Morjé. "US foreign policy habits in ethnic conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 59.4 (2015): 721-734.

Mahoney, James. "Path dependence in historical sociology." *Theory and society* 29.4 (2000): 507-548.

(listen) Vedantam, Shankar. "Creatures of Habit". *Hidden Brain*.
<https://hiddenbrain.org/podcast/creatures-of-habit/>

12. Dec 1: Final Exam (in-class)