Political Science
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Decision-Making and International Security POL380H1-F
University of Toronto
Thursdays, 1-3:00 PM
September 5- November 28, 2024

Dr. Madison Schramm
Madison.schramm@utoronto.ca
Office Hours: Tuesdays, In-person, 11:30 to 1:30 PM
Sign up: Google Sign-up sheet (locked on Monday at 9:00 PM)
TA: Marlene Terstiege, marlene.terstiege@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 (10 %)
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.

Reading Midterm: 15%, October 24-25
Students must complete weekly reading quizzes (posted Thursday October 24) via Quercus by Thursday at 9 PM. The reading midterm is open book and should take no more than fifteen minutes. Students must take the reading midterm independently and not allowed to work together. Students are responsible for tracking deadlines, requirements, and confirming submission of assignments.

Intel Briefings (2): Due Monday October 14 (25%) and November 11 (25%) by 9 PM
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. Students are responsible for tracking deadlines, requirements, and confirming submission of assignments.

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

Final Exam: Examination last day of class, November 28, 25%
The final exam will be held on the last day of class (and include multiple choice, fill in the blank and 3-4 short answer questions.

Late Assignments

Students are responsible for tracking deadlines and requirements. Late work (without a granted extension) will be reduced by 5 percentage points for every day late. Students must request extensions at least 24-hours before assignments are due and will only be granted extensions with documentation and under extenuating circumstances. Other coursework and other forseen circumstances are not grounds for an extension.

Students requesting an extension after the deadline are required to have their registrar contact their TA and confirm the need. Students will not be granted an extension requested more than one week after the deadline under any 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

Requirement	Grade	Due Date	Submitted through
Attendance and participation	10%	Throughout semester	n/a
Reading Midterm	15%	October 25 9 PM	Via Quercus
Intelligence Brief 1	25%	Monday October 14 by 9 PM	Via Quercus
Intelligence Brief 2	25%	Monday November 11 by 9 PM	Via Quercus
Final Exam	25%	November 28	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 all 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.

Use of Artificial Intelligence (ChatGPT, GitHub Copilot, and open-source models that you have trained and/or deployed yourself.)
The use of generative artificial intelligence (AI) tools is strictly prohibited in all course assessments unless explicitly stated otherwise by the instructor. This includes, but is not limited to, ChatGPT, GitHub Copilot, and open-source models that you have trained and/or deployed yourself. You may not interact with, nor copy, paraphrase, or adapt any content from any generative AI for the purpose of completing assignments in this course. Use of generative AI will be considered use of an unauthorized aid, which is a form of academic misconduct under the Code of Behavior on Academic Matters.

This course policy is designed to promote your learning and intellectual development and to ensure that our evaluations are a fair and accurate assessment of your learning. You should aim to understand course content at a level that far exceeds what an automated tool can achieve. Our course—and in particular, each assignment—is designed to help you attain true mastery of the course content.

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 5; Introduction to Decision Making in International Security

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

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 12: Decision Units, Structure, and Methodology

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.

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

3. September 19: Confidence and Beliefs: So, What Do We Know?

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.

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.

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

Recommended

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

"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.

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 26: Cognitive Biases and Information Processing

Cottam, Martha L., et al. *Introduction to political psychology*. Routledge, 2015. Chapter 3,
Information Processing, pg 39-47

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

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

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.

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 3: Case Study Review—Margaret Thatcher and the Gulf War of 1991

Finlan, Alastair. *The Gulf War 1991*. Routledge, 2003. Introduction-11

(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.

Intelligence Brief 1 Due Monday, October 14, PM submitted via Quercus

---

6. Oct 10 Socio-cultural

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.

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.

Recommended

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

Oct 17 NO CLASS

---

7. Oct 24 Socio-cultural Cases

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.

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.

Reading Midterm, due October 25 9 PM

Reading Week Oct 31

---

8. Nov 7, Emotion

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.

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.

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

(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/

Intel Memo 2 Due Mon, Nov 11, 9 PM via Quercus

9. Nov 14: New Frontiers

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.

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.

10. Nov 21 HW Bush, the US and the Gulf War

"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

Brands, H. W. "George Bush and the Gulf War of 1991." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34.1 (2004): 113-131

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

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.

11. Nov 28 FINAL EXAM