

INTL 8205 Fall 2015
Decision Making in International Relations
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Introduction:

Whatever one's theoretical orientation, foreign policy outcomes are the direct result of human choices. Ultimately, it is *individuals* who *act*. The governing model of decision making currently deployed in international relations, whether implicit or explicit, comes to us from economics. Here, states, elites, leaders, and domestic pressure groups are assumed to be substantively and procedurally rational, and theories concerning state behavior begin from this premise.

However, across the social sciences we are in the early stages of a profound break with the past. The empirical study of human decision making in the fields of cognitive psychology, behavioral economics and neuroscience are generating profound insights about human decision making. Most importantly, deviations from classical rationality are now understood to be predictable and stable aspects of human choice. Foreign policy decisions should, therefore, be patterned and explainable even when they are not strictly rational.

For the subfield of international relations important questions emerge: Which psychological models of decision making are most appropriate and useful in the study of foreign policy? How to we incorporate cognitive models into our theoretical frameworks? When we use cognitive models what, if anything, do we learn about foreign policy that we didn't already know?

Our goal in this seminar is to examine these questions and attempt to anchor the study of international relations to the reality of human decision making. To do this, we will survey strategies for integrating cognitive insights into foreign policy analysis.

Assignments and Grading:

Review Essays – you will write eight (8) analytical essays on the weekly readings. These essays are to be synthetic and critical. You may choose when to complete these assignments, however they are due by 9am the day prior to the class session. Essays will account for 30% of your grade

Seminar Presentation – Each student will be responsible for summarizing and evaluating the readings, and for leading the seminar discussion (two sessions per student). 10%

Research Presentations – Near the end of the term each student will present the results of their research to the class 5%. In addition, throughout the course you will be asked twice to update the class on your progress 10%. These updates will serve as a primary source of feedback and constructive criticism on your project (written work submitted in advance).

Participation – Your active participation is necessary for a successful seminar. I will assign a grade based on the quality of your participation that will account for 15% of your grade. The participation grade has two components. The first requires consistent engagement in class discussions regarding the material, the second pertains the quality of your constructive comments about each student's research.

Research Design – You will craft an original research design. The project must have a clear problem statement derived from the relevant literature, a developed theoretical argument, explicit hypotheses, and include plan for variable construction. The only substantive constraint is that the paper deal with some aspect of foreign policy (broadly defined) and incorporate explicit micro-foundations. Successful projects are those that are *ready for empirical testing*. The research proposal will account for 30% of your grade.

Course Schedule:

All readings are available on-line, unless otherwise indicated.

(As per class agreement, we will include readings on experiments and experimental methods in IR.)

Jan 5. *Introduction to class, and to rationality*

Jan 12. *Foundations: Where and why do decisions matter?*

Valerie Hudson. "Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations" *Foreign Policy Analysis* (2005):1-30

Rose, Gideon. "Neoclassical realism and theories of foreign policy." *World politics* 51.01 (1998): 144-172.

Matthew Baum and Philip Potter "The Relationships Between Mass Media, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis" *Annual Review of Political Science* 11:39-65 2008.

Hyde, Susan D. "Experiments in international relations: lab, survey, and field." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18 (2015): 403-424.

McDermott, Rose. "New directions for experimental work in international relations." *International Studies Quarterly* 55.2 (2011): 503-520.

Jan 19. Early Cognitive Approaches

Michael Shapiro, Matthew Bonham (1973) "Cognitive Processes and Foreign Policy Decision Making" *International Studies Quarterly* 17:2 147-174

Suedfeld, Peter, and Philip Tetlock. "Integrative complexity of communications in international

crises." *Journal of conflict resolution* 21.1 (1977): 169-184.

Levinson, Daniel J. "Authoritarian personality and foreign policy." *Conflict Resolution* (1957): 37-47.

Holsti, Kalevi J. "National role conceptions in the study of foreign policy." *International Studies Quarterly* (1970): 233-309.

Mintz, Alex, Steven B. Redd, and Arnold Vedlitz. "Can we generalize from student experiments to the real world in political science, military affairs, and international relations?." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50.5 (2006): 757-776.

Jan 26. Personality/Operational Code

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

Hermann, M. G. (1980). "Explaining foreign policy behavior using the personal characteristics of political leaders". International Studies Quarterly, 24, 7-46.

Schafer, Mark. "Issues in assessing psychological characteristics at a distance: An introduction to the symposium." *Political Psychology* 21.3 (2000): 511-527.

(For a full treatment see: *Beliefs and leadership in world politics: Methods and applications of operational code analysis*, eds. Mark Schafer and Stephen G. Walker (2006): 25-53.

Macdonald, Julia, and Jacquelyn Schneider. "Presidential Risk Orientation and Force Employment Decisions The Case of Unmanned Weaponry." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2015)

Walker, Stephen G., Mark Schafer, and Michael D. Young. "Presidential operational codes and foreign policy conflicts in the post-cold war world." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43.5 (1999): 610-625.

Herrmann, Richard K., et al. "Images in international relations: An experimental test of cognitive schemata." *International Studies Quarterly* 41.3 (1997): 403-433.

Feb 2. Loss Aversion

Robert Jervis, "The Political Implications of Loss Aversion" 1992 *Political Psychology* 13:2

Berejikian, Jeffrey D., and Bryan R. Early. "Loss aversion and foreign policy resolve." *Political Psychology* 34.5 (2013): 649-671.

Nincic, Miroslav. "Loss aversion and the domestic context of military intervention." *Political Research Quarterly* 50.1 (1997): 97-120.

Tom, Sabrina M., et al. "The neural basis of loss aversion in decision-making under risk." *Science* 315.5811 (2007): 515-518.

De Martino, Benedetto, Colin F. Camerer, and Ralph Adolphs. "Amygdala damage eliminates monetary loss aversion." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 107.8 (2010): 3788-3792.

Sokol-Hessner, Peter, et al. "Thinking like a trader selectively reduces individuals' loss aversion." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 106.13 (2009): 5035-5040.

Rick, Scott. "Losses, gains, and brains: Neuroeconomics can help to answer open questions about loss aversion." *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 21: 453-463 2011.

Feb 9. Framing and Risk

Kahneman, Daniel, and Amos Tversky. "Prospect theory: An analysis of decision under risk." *Econometrica: Journal of the econometric society* (1979): 263-291.

Quattrone, George A., and Amos Tversky. "Contrasting rational and psychological analyses of political choice." *The American political science review* (1988): 719-736.

Taliaferro, Jeffrey W. "Quagmires in the periphery: Foreign wars and escalating commitment in international conflict." *Security Studies* 7.3 (1998): 94-144.

Kahneman, Daniel, and Jonathan Renshon. "Why hawks win." *Foreign policy* (2007): 34-38.

Berejikian, Jeffrey D. "A cognitive theory of deterrence." *Journal of peace research* 39.2 (2002): 165-183.

De Martino, Benedetto, et al. "The neurobiology of reference-dependent value computation." *The Journal of Neuroscience* 29.12 (2009): 3833-3842.

Trepel, Christopher, Craig R. Fox, and Russell A. Poldrack. "Prospect theory on the brain? Toward a cognitive neuroscience of decision under risk." *Cognitive Brain Research* 23.1 (2005): 34-50.

Kool, Wouter, Sarah J. Getz, and Matthew M. Botvinick. "Neural representation of reward probability: evidence from the illusion of control." *Journal of cognitive neuroscience* 25.6 (2013): 852-861.

McDermott, R. (2004). Prospect theory in political science: Gains and losses from the first decade. *Political Psychology*, 25(2), 289–312.

Week 7. Feb 16. Status

Forsberg, Tuomas, Regina Heller, and Reinhard Wolf. "Status and emotions in Russian foreign policy." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 47.3 (2014): 261-268.

Wohlforth, William C. "Unipolarity, status competition, and great power war." *World politics* 61.01 (2009): 28-57.

Larson, Deborah Welch, and Alexei Shevchenko. "Status seekers: Chinese and Russian responses to US primacy." *International Security* 34.4 (2010): 63-95.

Ruff, Christian C., and Ernst Fehr. "The neurobiology of rewards and values in social decision making." *Nature Reviews Neuroscience* 15.8 (2014): 549-562.

Levy, Dino J., and Paul W. Glimcher. "The root of all value: a neural common currency for choice." *Current opinion in neurobiology* 22.6 (2012): 1027-1038.

Izuma, Keise, Daisuke N. Saito, and Norihiro Sadato. "Processing of social and monetary rewards in the human striatum." *Neuron* 58.2 (2008): 284-294.

(Easy review for context: Rebecca Saxe, Johannes Haushofer "For Love or Money: A Common Neural Currency for Social and Monetary Reward" *Neuron*, Volume 58, Issue 2, 24 April 2008, Pages 164-165)

Feb 23. Group Identity

George Marcus et al. "Linking Neuroscience to Political Intolerance and Threat" *Politics and the Life Sciences*. V.17 n.2 1998

Emile Bruneau and Rebecca Saxe "Attitudes Toward the Outgroup are Predicted by Activity in the Precuneus in Arabs and Israelis" *Neuroimage* v.52 n4 2010

Grit Hein, et al. "Neural Responses to Ingroup and Outgroup Members' Suffering Predict Individual Differences in Costly Helping" *Neuron* v.68 n.1 2010

Cikara, Mina, Matthew M. Botvinick, and Susan T. Fiske. "Us versus them social identity shapes neural responses to intergroup competition and harm." *Psychological science* (2011).

Belle Derks and Michael Inzlicht "The Neuroscience of Stigma and Stereotype Threat" *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations* v.11 n.2 2008

Elizabeth Phelps and Laura Thomas. "Race, Behavior and the Brain: The Role of Neuroimaging in Understanding Complex Social Behaviors" *Political Psychology* v.24 n.4 2003

March 2. Trust

Aaron Hoffman. "A Conceptualization of Trust in International Relations" *European Journal of International Relations* v.8 n.3 2002

Brooks Kind-Casas, et al. "Getting to Know You: Reputation and Trust in a Two-person Economic Exchange" *Science*, Vol.308 N.5718 2005

Paul Zak et al "The Neuroeconomics of Distrust: Sex Differences in behavior and Physiology" *The American Economic Review* v.95 n.2 2005

Frank Krueger, Kevin McCabe, Jorge Moll, Nikolaus Kriegeskorte, Roland Zahn, Maren Strenziok, Armin Heinecke, Jordan Grafman . Neural correlates of trust. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, Volume 104, Number 50 (December 2007), pp. 20084-20089

Jian Li, et al. "Neural responses to sanction threats in two-party economic exchange" *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci.* 29 September 2009: 16835-16840.

March 9 Spring Break

March 16. Cooperation/Fairness

Michael Koenigs and Daniel Tranel "Irrational Economic Decision Making after Ventromedial Prefrontal Damage: Evidence from the Ultimatum Game" *Journal of Neuroscience* n.27 n4 2007

Alan Stanfey. "The Neural Basis of Economic-Decision Making in the Ultimatum Game" *Science* v.300 n.5626 2003

Christine Clavien and Rebekka Klien "Eager for Fairness or for Revenge? Psychological Altruism Economics" *Economics and Philosophy* v.26 n.3 2010

Golnaz Tabibnia "The Sunny Side of Fairness" *Psychological Science* v.19 n.4 2008

Ringius, Lasse, Asbjørn Torvanger, and Arild Underdal. "Burden sharing and fairness principles in international climate policy." *International Environmental Agreements* 2.1 (2002): 1-22.

Narlikar, Amrita. "Fairness in international trade negotiations: Developing countries in the GATT and WTO." *The World Economy* 29.8 (2006): 1005-1029.

Tingley, Dustin, and Barbara Walter. "Reputation building in international relations: An experimental approach." *International Organization* 65 (2011).

March 23. Persuasion

Schjoedt, Uffe, et al. "The Power of Charisma; Perceived Charisma Inhibits the Frontal Executive Network of Believers of Intercessory Prayer" *Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience*. V.6 n.1 2011

Vasily Klucharev "Brain mechanisms of persuasion: how 'expert power' modulates memory and attitudes" *Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience* v.3 n.4 2009

Emily Falk et al "Predicting Persuasion-Induced Behavior Change in the Brain" *The Journal of Neuroscience* v.30 n.25 2010

George Marcus "The Emotional Foundation of Political Cognition" The Impact of Anxiety on the Formation of Political Tolerance Judgments" *Political Psychology* v.26 n.6 2005

March 30. Threat/Fear

Neta Crawford. "The Passion of World Politics" *International Security* 24:4 2000

Li, et al. "Neural Responses to Sanction Threats in Two-Party Economic Exchange" *PANS* 106:39 2009

Shana Kushner Gadarian. "The Politics of Threat: How Terrorism News Shapes Foreign Policy Attitudes" *Journal of Politics* 72:2 2010

Berns, Gregory, et. al. (2006) "Neurobiological Substrates of Dread" *Science* 312(5774): 754 - 758

Mobbs, Dean, et. al. (2007) "When Fear Is Near: Threat Imminence Elicits Prefrontal-Periaqueductal Gray Shifts in Humans" *Science* 317(5841):1079 – 1083

April 6. (TBD – class pick)

Week 13: April 13:

Research Presentations (A)

Draft submitted to class by 10 am April 10.

Detailed audience written comments submitted to presenters in class (cc instructor)

Week 14: April 20

Research Presentations (B)

Draft submitted to class by 10 am April 17

Detailed audience written comments submitted to presenters in class (cc instructor)

Final project due April 26. 12pm.