

INTL 8205: Foreign Policy Decision Making
Spring 2024.
Mondays, 4:00-7:00pm

Introduction:

Our goal in this seminar is to anchor the study of foreign policy to the reality of human decision making. Specifically, we will explore strategies for integrating cognitive insights into foreign policy analysis. 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 process of a profound break with the past. The empirical study of human decision making in the fields of cognitive psychology, behavioral economics, and neuroscience have produced important and novel insights into the mechanisms 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. This proposition sits as the core motivation in the drive to develop a new approach to foreign-policy analysis broadly termed “behavioral international relations.”

In applying this approach to the study of foreign policy decision making, critical questions emerge: Which psychological models of decision making are most appropriate and useful in the study of foreign policy? How do we incorporate cognitive models into our existing foreign policy frameworks? When we use cognitive models what, if anything, do we learn about foreign policy that we didn't already know?

In addition to the kinds of work that are typical in a graduate seminar, this class also includes a unique opportunity for you to obtain practical experience in designing and implementing a live decision-making experiment grounded in cognitive science - i.e. You will conceive, design, and implement a live experiment on a random sample of adults.

Assignments and Grading:

Weekly Summaries (20%) - Weekly summaries are due at the beginning of each class. These summaries provide a brief (500-word maximum) overview of each of the assigned readings. The model for these assignments is akin to an annotated bibliography.

- For guidance see on how to construct a proper annotated bibliography see:
https://sites.umuc.edu/library/libhow/bibliography_tutorial.cfm

Review Essays (20%) - You will write (3) analytical essays (approximately 2,000 words). These essays are to be synthetic and critical. The model for these assignments is akin to a literature

review in which you use assigned and supplemental readings to, for example, make an affirmative argument, derive a research question, critique an established theory/concept. There are four opportunities for critical essays identified in the reading list below.

- For guidance on how the various purposes of a literature review see: Knopf, Jeffrey W. "Doing a literature review." PS: Political Science & Politics 39, no. 1 (2006): 127-132.

Seminar Presentation (10%) - Each student will be responsible for leading two seminar discussions. Combined these presentations will account for 10% of your grade.

Participation (10%) - Your active participation is necessary for a successful seminar. 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 Funding Proposal (35%) - The funding proposal should focus on some aspect of foreign policy in a manner that explicitly incorporates a cognitive model of decision making and motivated by the relevant academic literature (approximately 5,000 words, not including budget references, or supplemental materials). The proposal must be responsive to the specifics of a funding call that I will circulate in class along with a rubric of necessary components. There are no other requirements with respect topic or methodological approach.

Research Proposal Presentations (5%) - Each student will present the results of their research to the class. Throughout the course, you will be asked to update the class on your progress. These updates will serve as a primary source of feedback and constructive criticism on your project.

Academic Integrity Statement and Policy

The UGA Student Honor Code states: "I will be academically honest in all of my academic work and will not tolerate academic dishonesty of others." A Culture of Honesty, the University's policy and procedures for handling cases of suspected dishonesty, can be assessed here: <https://honesty.uga.edu>. Any student caught cheating or plagiarizing will be referred to Judicial Affairs, as required by university policy.

All course work must be done on an individual basis, including exams, unless the syllabus clearly indicates that the assignment is team graded.

Mental Health and Wellness Resources:

- If you or someone you know needs assistance, you are encouraged to contact Student Care and Outreach in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-7774 or visit <https://sco.uga.edu>. They will help you navigate any difficult circumstances you may be facing by connecting you with the appropriate resources or services.
- UGA has several resources for a student seeking mental health services (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) or crisis support (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies>).

- If you need help managing stress anxiety, relationships, etc., please visit BeWellUGA (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) for a list of FREE workshops, classes, mentoring, and health coaching led by licensed clinicians and health educators in the University Health Center.
- Additional resources can be accessed through the UGA App.

Please note that faculty and staff are obligated to report any knowledge of sexual assault and/or relationship violence to UGA's Equal Opportunity Office.

Course Schedule:

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

For reference: Druckman, J. N., Greene, D. P., Kuklinski, J. H., & Lupia, A. (Eds.). (2011). Cambridge handbook of experimental political science. Cambridge University Press.

Week 1 (1/8): Introduction to Class, and to Rationality

••MLK Jan 15th••

Week 2 (1/22): Foundations: Behavioral International Relations and Foreign Policy

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

Hafner-Burton, E. M., Haggard, S., Lake, D. A., & Victor, D. G. (2017). "The behavioral revolution and international relations. *International Organization*, 71(S1), S1-S31.

Stein, Janice Gross. "The micro-foundations of international relations theory: Psychology and behavioral economics." *International Organization* 71, no. S1 (2017): S249-S263.

Supplemental:

- Jacobi, Daniel, and Annette Freyberg-Inan. "The forum: Human being(s) in International Relations." *International Studies Review* 14, no. 4 (2012): 645-665.
- Kertzer, J. D. (2017). Microfoundations in international relations. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 34(1), 81-97.

Week 3 (1/29): 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.

Week 4: (2/5): Personality/Operational Code

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

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

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

McDermott, Rose, and Peter K. Hatemi. "The relationship between physical aggression, foreign policy and moral choices: Phenotypic and genetic findings." *Aggressive behavior* 43, no. 1 (2017): 37-46.

Supplemental:

- Herrmann, Richard K., et al. "Images in international relations: An experimental test of cognitive schemata." *International Studies Quarterly* 41.3 (1997): 403-433.
- Hermann, M. G. (1980). "Explaining foreign policy behavior using the personal characteristics of political leaders". *International Studies Quarterly*, 24, 7-46.
- *Beliefs and leadership in world politics: Methods and applications of operational code analysis*, eds. Mark Schafer and Stephen G. Walker (2006): 25-53.

Critical Essay #1: *Critically evaluate the degree to which the early cognitive approaches and personality/operational code studies meet the goals set forth by the behavioral IR approach? Where do they fall short? How can these shortcomings be addressed, if at all?*

Week 5: (2/12): Legal and Moral Framing on Foreign Policy Preferences

Wallace, G. P. (2019). Condemning or Condoning the Perpetrators? International Humanitarian Law and Attitudes Toward Wartime Violence. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 44(1), 192-226.

Chilton, A. S., & Versteeg, M. (2016). International law, constitutional law, and public support for torture. *Research & Politics*, 3(1), 2053168016636413.

Kreps, S. E., & Wallace, G. P. (2016). International law, military effectiveness, and public support for drone strikes. *Journal of Peace Research*, 53(6), 830-844.

Sejersen, M. (2021). Winning Hearts and Minds with Economic Sanctions? Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Venezuela. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 17(1), oraa008

Week 6: (2/19) Gender, Sex, and Foreign Policy Preferences

Smith, K. E. (2020). Missing in Analysis: Women in Foreign Policy-Making. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 16(1), 130-141.

Bendix, W., & Jeong, G. H. (2020). Gender and Foreign Policy: Are Female Members of Congress More Dovish than Their Male Colleagues? *Political Research Quarterly*, 73(1), 126-140.

Caprioli, M., & Boyer, M. A. (2001). Gender, violence, and international crisis. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45(4), 503-518.

Lizotte, M. K., Eichenberg, R. C., & Stoll, R. J. (2020). Citizen support for the pursuit of gender equality in US foreign policy. *Journal of Human Rights*, 19(3), 291-306.

Cahill, L. (2006). Why sex matters for neuroscience. *Nature reviews neuroscience*, 7(6), 477-484.

Supplemental.

- Yang, J., Ming, X., Wang, Z., & Adams, S. M. (2017). Are sex effects on ethical decision-making fake or real? A meta-analysis on the contaminating role of social desirability response bias. *Psychological reports*, 120(1), 25-48.

Week 7 (2/26): Populism and Foreign Policy Preferences

Destradi, S., Cadier, D., & Plagemann, J. (2021). Populism and foreign policy: a research agenda (Introduction). *Comparative European Politics*, 19(6), 663-682.

Hall, J. (2021). In search of enemies: Donald Trump's populist foreign policy rhetoric. *Politics*, 41(1), 48-63

Friedrichs, G. M. (2022). Populist minds think alike? national identity conceptions and foreign policy preferences of populist leaders. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 18(2), orac004.

Jenne, E. K. (2021). Populism, nationalism and revisionist foreign policy. *International affairs*, 97(2), 323-343.

Supplemental

- Giurlando, P. (2021). Populist foreign policy: the case of Italy. *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 27(2), 251-267.
- Wicaksana, I. G. W., & Wardhana, A. (2021). Populism and foreign policy: The Indonesian case. *Asian Politics & Policy*, 13(3), 408-425.
- Ostermann, F., & Stahl, B. (2022). Theorizing populist radical-right foreign policy: Ideology and party positioning in France and Germany. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 18(3), orac006.
- Cadier, D. (2021). Populist politics of representation and foreign policy: evidence from Poland. *Comparative European Politics*, 19(6), 703-721.
- Wajner, D. F., & Giurlando, P. (2023). Introduction to Populist Foreign Policy (PFP). In *Populist Foreign Policy* (pp. 1-35). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.
- Özdamar, Ö., & Ceydilek, E. (2020). European populist radical right leaders' foreign policy beliefs: An operational code analysis. *European journal of international relations*, 26(1), 137-162.
- Wojczewski, T. (2020). Trump, populism, and American foreign policy. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 16(3), 292-311.

Critical Essay #2 Argue for or against the following proposition: The academic study of foreign policy preferences is conceptually and theoretically coherent.

****MARCH 4 SPRING BREAK****

Week 8: (3/11): Group/Social Identity

Mummendey, Amelie, Andreas Klink, and Rupert Brown. "Nationalism and patriotism: National identification and out-group rejection." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 40, no. 2 (2001): 159-172.

Seul, Jeffrey R. "Ours is the way of god': Religion, identity, and intergroup conflict." *Journal of peace research* 36, no. 5 (1999): 553-569.

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

Lee, Yueh-Ting, and Victor Ottati. "Attitudes toward US immigration policy: The roles of in-group-out-group bias, economic concern, and obedience to law." *The Journal of Social Psychology* 142, no. 5 (2002): 617-634.

Supplemental

- Emile Bruneau and Rebecca Saxe "Attitudes Toward the Outgroup are Predicted by Activity in the Precuneus in Arabs and Israelis" *Neuroimage* v.52 n.4 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

Week 9 (3/18) Status Seeking

(note: This week it is particularly important to familiarize yourself with the supplemental readings)

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

Viskupič, F. (2020). More Valuable than Blood and Treasure? Experimental Evidence on the Impact of Status on Domestic Preferences for Military Intervention. *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy*, 26(4).

Wohlforth, William C., Benjamin de Carvalho, Halvard Leira, and Iver B. Neumann. "Moral authority and status in International Relations: Good states and the social dimension of status seeking." *Review of International Studies* 44, no. 3 (2018): 526-546.

Jakobsen, Peter Viggo, Jens Ringsmose, and Håkon Lunde Saxi. "Prestige-seeking small states: Danish and Norwegian military contributions to US-led operations." *European Journal of International Security* 3, no. 2 (2018): 256-277.

Supplemental:

Micro Foundations:

- 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.
- 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*)

Status and Realism

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

Week 10: 3/25: Trust

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

Ruzicka, Jan, and Nicholas J. Wheeler. "The puzzle of trusting relationships in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty." *International Affairs* 86, no. 1 (2010): 69-85.

Justwan, Florian. "Trusting Publics: Generalized Social Trust and the Decision to Pursue Binding Conflict Management." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61, no. 3 (2017): 590-614.

Justwan, Florian, and Sarah K. Fisher. "Generalized Social Trust and International Dispute Settlement." *International Interactions* 43, no. 5 (2017): 717-743.

Supplemental

- *Data Set:* Justwan, F., Bakker, R., & Berejikian, J. D. (2018). Measuring social trust and trusting the measure. *The Social Science Journal*, 55(2), 149-159.
- Brooks Kind-Casas, et al. "Getting to Know You: Reputation and Trust in a Two-person Economic Exchange" *Science*, Vol.308 N.5718 2005
- Jian Li, et al. "Neural responses to sanction threats in two-party economic exchange" *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci.* 29 September 2009: 16835-16840.
- 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
- Paul Zak et al "The Neuroeconomics of Distrust: Sex Differences in behavior and Physiology" *The American Economic Review* v.95 n.2 2005

Critical Essay #3: To what extent can/are human dispositions with respect to identity, trust and status manipulated by political leaders.

Week 11 (4/1) Loss Aversion

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

Levy, Jack S. "Loss aversion, framing, and bargaining: The implications of prospect theory for international conflict." *International Political Science Review* 17, no. 2 (1996): 179-195.

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.

Supplemental: Micro Foundations

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

Week 12 (4/8) Prospect Theory, Framing, and Risk

Vis, Barbara, and Dieuwertje Kuijpers. "Prospect theory and foreign policy decision-making: Underexposed issues, advancements, and ways forward." *Contemporary Security Policy* 39, no. 4 (2018): 575-589.

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

Berejikian, J., & Zwald, Z. (2020). Why language matters: Shaping public risk tolerance during deterrence crises. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 1-34.

Linde, Jona, and Barbara Vis. "Do politicians take risks like the rest of us? An experimental test of prospect theory under MPs." *Political Psychology* 38, no. 1 (2017): 101-117.

Supplemental:

- Kowert, Paul A., and Margaret G. Hermann. "Who takes risks? Daring and caution in foreign policy making." *Journal of conflict Resolution* 41, no. 5 (1997): 611-637.
- Berejikian, Jeffrey D. "A cognitive theory of deterrence." *Journal of peace research* 39.2 (2002): 165-183.

- 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.
- McDermott, R. (2004). Prospect theory in political science: Gains and losses from the first decade. *Political Psychology*, 25(2), 289–312.
- 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.
- De Martino, Benedetto, et al. "The neurobiology of reference-dependent value computation." *The Journal of Neuroscience* 29.12 (2009): 3833-3842.

Week 13 (4/15) Evolutionary Psychology and Conflict

Alford, John R., and John R. Hibbing. 2004. "The Origin of Politics: An Evolutionary Theory of Political Behavior." *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (4).

Shaw, R. Paul, and Yuwa Wong. 1987. "Ethnic Mobilization and the Seeds of Warfare: An Evolutionary Perspective." *International Studies Quarterly* 31 (1): 5-31.

Kanazawa, Satoshi. 2009. "Evolutionary Psychological Foundations of Civil Wars." *Journal of Politics* 71 (1): 25-34.

Lopez, A. C., McDermott, R., & Petersen, M. B. (2011). States in mind: Evolution, coalitional psychology, and international politics. *International Security*, 36(2), 48-83.

Supplement: Additional overviews

- Cosmides, Leda, and John Tooby. 1994. "Evolutionary Psychology and the Invisible Hand." *American Economic Review* 84 (2): 327-332.
- Thayer, Bradley A. 2007. "Thinking about Nuclear Deterrence Theory: Why Evolutionary Psychology Undermines Its Rational Actor Assumptions." *Comparative Strategy* 26 (4): 311-323.
- Thayer, Bradley A. 2000. "Bringing in Darwin: Evolutionary Theory, Realism, and International Politics." *International Security* 25 (2): 124-51.

Critical Essay #4: How well do we understand risk-taking and conflict?

Week 14: 4/22

Research Presentations (A)

Week 15: 4/29

Research Presentations (B)

