

Seminar in Foreign and Security Policy
The Cognitive and Affective Underpinning of Foreign Policy Decision Making
Fall 2003

Political Science 633/600
Time: W 5:00-7:50
Room: Bush 2064
Office hour: Wed. 3:30-5:00

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Course Description:

The purpose of this course is to review and analyze the cognitive and affective underpinnings of foreign policy decision making. The discussions will focus on the contributions of cognitive theory and information processing to models of foreign policy and security decisions. We will address three basic aspects: (a) the *contents* of the foreign policy decisions; (b) the *processes* by which choices are made; and (c) the effects of the *context* (organizational/political and social) on the decisions.

Required Texts:

- Fiske, Susan T. and Shelley E. Taylor. 1990. *Social Cognition 2nd ed.* New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Payne, John W., James R. Bettman, and Eric Johnson. 1993. *The Adaptive Decision Maker.* Cambridge University Press.
- Vertzberger, Yaacov Y. I. 1990. *The World in Their Minds: Information Processing, Cognition, and Perception in Foreign Policy Decisionmaking.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press

Recommended:

- Maoz Zeev. 1990. *National Choices and International Processes.* N.Y.: Cambridge University Press.

Reserved Readings - Electronically

The chapters and articles are available online either through Jstor or the libraries E-doc service. The libraries E-doc service takes time sometimes as much as a week or more. If you do not know how to use this service, the librarians downstairs can help you.

Course Requirement

Four written reviews of readings (three-four pages each)	20%
Term paper (research design or conceptual analysis)	60%
Project Presentation	10%
Contribution to class discussions	10%

Points to consider:

Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) Policy Statement: The Americans with Disabilities Act is a federal anti-discrimination statute that provides comprehensive civil rights protection for persons with disabilities. Among other things, this legislation requires that all students with disabilities be guaranteed a learning environment that provides for reasonable accommodation of their disabilities. If you believe you have a disability requiring an accommodation, please contact the Department of Student Life, Services for Students with Disabilities in Room 126 of the Koldus Building, or call 845-1637.

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TENTATIVE SCHEDULE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

I. INTRODUCTION

September 3 *Introduction and premises (S-R) (S-O-R)*

Phenomenological aspects; the use (and abuse) of cognitive terms in the study of IR; A general framework for the study of cognitive IR: Contents (and Structures), Processes, and Contexts.

Fiske and Taylor, Chapter 1.

Lau, Richard R. and David O. Sears. 1986. "An Introduction to Political Cognition." In *Political Cognition*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Singer, J. David. 1969. "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations." In *International Politics and Foreign Policy* ed. James N. Rosenau. New York: Free Press.

September 10: *Methodologies*

Focus on the appropriateness of the method to the essence of the substantive question

George, Alexander L. 1979. "The Causal Nexus Between Cognitive Beliefs and Decision-Making Behavior: The Operational Code Belief System." In *Psychological Models in International Politics*, ed. Lawrence S. Falkowski. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Mook, Douglas G. 1983. "In Defense of External Invalidity." *American Psychologists* (April):379-387

Kaufman Chaim D. 1994. "Out of the Lab and into the Archives: A Method for Testing Psychological Explanations of Political Decision Making." *International Studies Quarterly* 38:557-586.

Ostrom, Charles W., Jr. and Brian L. Job. 1986. "The President and the Political Use of Force." *American Political Science Review* 80:541-66.

Mintz, A. & Geva, N. (1993) Why don't democracies fight each other?: An experimental assessment of the political incentive explanation. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 37(3):484-503.

Ford K.J., N. Schmitt, S.L. Schechtman, B. M. Hilts, and M.L. Doherty. 1989 "Process Tracing Methods: Contributions, Problems, and Neglected Research Questions." *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* Vol. 43:75-117.

II. INGREDIENTS OF KNOWLEDGE

September 17: *Schemata, Beliefs, Images, Attitudes and Information Attributes*

What do we know about our world and how is it organized?

Vertzberger, Chapters 1, 2, 3.

Fiske and Taylor, Chapters 4 and 8.

Schema:

Hirshberg, Matthew S. *Perpetuating Patriotic Perceptions: The Cognitive Function of the Cold War*. Westport, CT: Praeger. Chapter 2.

Images

Hermann, Richard K., James F. Voss, Tonya Y.E. Schooler, and Joseph Ciarrochi. 1997. "Images in International Relations: An Experimental Test of Cognitive Schemata." *International Studies Quarterly* 41: 403-33.

Kuklinski, James H., Robert C. Luskin and John Bolland. 1991. "Where is the Schema? Going Beyond the 'S' Word in Political Psychology." *American Political Science Review*, 85:1341-56.

Beliefs

Holsti, Ole. 1976. "Foreign Policy Viewed Cognitively." In *Structure of Decision*, ed. Robert Axelrod. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Lamb, Chris. 1985. "Belief Systems and Decision Making in the Mayaguez Crisis." *Political Studies Quarterly* 99:681-702.

- Taber, Charles S. 1992. "POLI: An Expert System Model of U. S. Foreign Policy Belief Systems." *American Political Science Review* 86:888-904.
- Ostrom and Job. 1986. Review.

September 24: *Cognitive Ingredients (II) - Operational Codes, Cognitive Maps, Analogies*

Vertzberger Chapter 6

- George, Alexander. 1969. "The Operational Code: A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision Making." *International Studies Quarterly* 13:190-222.
- Walker, Stephen G. 1983. "The Motivational Foundations of Political Belief Systems: A Re-Analysis of the Operational Code Construct." *International Studies Quarterly* 27:179-201.
- Axelrod, Robert. 1977. "Argument in Foreign Policy Settings: Britain in 1918, Munich in 1938, and Japan in 1970." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 21:727-44.
- Young, Michael D. 1996. "Cognitive Mapping Meets Semantic Networks." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40:395-414.
- Tetlock, Philip E. 1999. "Theory-Driven Reasoning About Plausible Pasts and Probable Futures in World Politics: Are We Prisoners of Our Preconceptions?" *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 43, No. 2. (Apr., 1999), pp. 335-366.

PROCESSES: MAKING SENSE OF WORLD POLITICS

October 1: *Perceptions, Problem Representation and Inferences: Effects of previous knowledge on acquisition of new knowledge.*

- Fiske and Taylor, Chapters 7, 9.
- Jervis Robert. 1988. "War and Misperception." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18:675-700.
- Jervis Robert. 2002. "Signaling and Perception: Drawing Inferences and Projecting Images." In *Political Psychology* ed. Kristen Renwick Monroe. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Voss, James F. and Ellen Dorsey 1992. "Perceptions and International Relations: An Overview." In *Political Psychology and Foreign Policy* ed. Eric Singer and Valerie Hudson. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Kruglanski Arie W. and Isaac Ajzen. 1983. "Bias and Error in Human Judgment." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 13:1-44.
- Geva Nehemia and J. Mark Skorick. 1999. "Information Inconsistency and the Cognitive Algebra of Foreign Policy Decision Making." *International Interaction* 25(4): 333-362

October 8:

Vertzberger, Chapters 1, 2.

- Taber, Charles, S. 1998. "The Interpretation of Foreign Policy Events: A Cognitive Process Theory" In: *Problem Representation in Foreign Policy Decision Making* Eds Donald A. Sylvan and James F. Voss. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Billings, Robert S and Charles F. Hermann. 1998. "Problem Identification in Sequential Policy Decision Making: The Re-representation of Problems" In: *Problem Representation in Foreign Policy Decision Making* Eds Donald A. Sylvan and James F. Voss. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Herrmann, Richard. 1988. "The Empirical Challenge of the Cognitive Revolution: A Strategy for Drawing Inferences about Perceptions." *International Studies Quarterly* 32:175-203.
- Herrmann, Richard K., James F. Voss. Tonya Y.E. Schooler, and Joseph Ciarrochi. 1997. "Images in International Relations: An Experimental Test of Cognitive Schemata." *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 41, pp. 403-33.

October 15: *Attributions and other forms of reasoning in formation of attitudes*

Fiske and Taylor, Chapters 2, 3, 11, 12.

- Sande, Gerald N., George R. Goethals, Lisa Ferrari, and Leila T. Worth 1989. "Value-Guided Attributions: Maintaining the Moral Self-Image and the Diabolical Enemy Image." *Journal of Social Issues* 45(2): 91-118.
- Sylvan Donald, A., Thomas M. Ostrom and Katherine Gannon. 1994. "Case-Based, Model-Based, and Explanation-Based Styles of Reasoning in Foreign Policy" *International Studies Quarterly* 38:61-90
- Tetlock Philip E. 1999. "Theory Driven Reasoning about Plausible Pasts and Probable Futures in World Politics: Are We Prisoners of Our Preconceptions?" *American Journal of Political Science* 43(2):335-366.

October 22: *Emotion, affect and their implication for information processing*

Fiske and Taylor Chapter 10

- Marcus, George E., W. Russell Neuman, and Michael B. MacKuen. 1990. *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment*. University of Chicago Press.
- Lodge, Milton and Charles Taber. 2000. "Three Steps Toward a Theory of Motivated Political Reasoning." In *Elements of Political Reason: Understanding and Expanding the Limits of Rationality*, eds. Arthur Lupia, Matthew McCubbins, and Samuel Popkin. London: Cambridge University Press
- Zajonc, R.B., Paula Pietromonaco, and John Bargh. 1982. "Independence and Interaction of Affect and Cognition." In *Affect and Cognition: The Seventeenth Annual Carnegie Symposium on Cognition*, eds. Margaret S. Clark and Susan T. Fiske. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Crawford, Neta C. 2000. "The Passion of World Politics." *International Security* 24(4):116-156.
- Izen, Alice M., Barbara Means, Robert Patrick, and Gary Nowicki. 1982. "Some Factors Influencing Decision-Making Strategy and Risk Taking." In *Affect and Cognition: The Seventeenth Annual Carnegie Symposium on Cognition*, eds. Margaret S. Clark and Susan T. Fiske. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Geva and Skorick <http://www.uiowa.edu/~c030111/shambaugh/participants.html>

IV. DECISION MAKING: FROM KNOWLEDGE TO ACTION

October 29: *Foreign Policy Decision Theories – rationality, prospects and bounded rationality*

- Morrow, James D. 1997. "A Rational Choice Approach to International Conflict." In *Decision Making on War and Peace: The Cognitive-Rational Debate*, eds. Nehemia Geva and Alex Mintz. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Simon Herbert A. 1995. "Rationality in Political Behavior." *Political Psychology* 16:45-61.
- Levy, Jack. S. 1992a. "An Introduction to Prospect Theory." *Political Psychology* 13:171-86.
- Levy, Jack. S. 1992b. "Prospect Theory and International Relations: Theoretical Applications and Analytical Problems." *Political Psychology* 13:283-310.
- Geva, Nehemia, Allison Astorino-Courtois, and Alex Mintz. 1996. "Marketing the Peace Process in the Middle East: The Effectiveness of Thematic and Evaluative Framing in Jordan and Israel." In *Arms Spending, Development, and Security*, eds. Manas Chatterji, Jacques Fontanel, and Akira Hattori. New Delhi: APH Publishing.
- Boettcher, William A., III. 1995. "Prospect Theory in International Relations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39:561-83.
- James, Patrick and John R. Oneal. 1991. "The Influence of Domestic and International Politics on the President's Use of Force." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 35(2):307-332.

November 5: *Decisions: Continued*
Adaptive decision making: Poliheuristic Theory and Cognitive Calculus

P.B.J. Chapters 1, 2, 3, 5, 6.

- Beach, Lee Roy, and Terence. R. Mitchell. 1978. "A Contingency Model for the Selection of Decision Strategies." *Academy of Management Review* 3:439-49.

- Mintz, Alex, and Nehemia Geva. 1997. "The Poliheuristic Theory of Foreign Policy Decisionmaking." In *Decisionmaking on War and Peace: The Cognitive-Rational Debate*, eds. Nehemia Geva and Alex Mintz. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Mintz, Alex, Nehemia Geva, Steven B. Redd, and Amy Carnes. 1997. "The Effect of Dynamic and Static Choice Sets on Political Decision Making: An Analysis Using the Decision Board Platform." *American Political Science Review* 91 (September):553-66.
- Taber, Charles S., and Marco R. Steenbergen. 1995. "Computational Experiments in Electoral Behavior." In *Political Judgment: Structure and Process*, eds. Milton Lodge and Kathleen M. McGraw. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Geva, Nehemia, James Mayhar, and J. Mark Skorick. 2000. "The Cognitive Calculus of Foreign Policy Decision Making: An Experimental Assessment." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44(4):447-471.
- Geva, Nehemia and J. Mark Skorick 2000 "The Cognitive Calculus of Sequential Foreign Policy Decision Making: Selective Exposure in Post-Decisional Information Processing." Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, April 27-30, 2000.

November 12: *Individual differences*

Fiske and Taylor, Chapter 5.

- Herrmann Richard K., Tetlock Philip E., and Penny S. Visser. 1999. "Mass Public Decisions to go to War: A Cognitive-Interactionist Framework." *American Political Science Review* 93(3):553-573.
- Fiske, Susan T., Donald R. Kinder, and W. Michael Larter. 1983. "The Novice and the Expert: Knowledge-Based Strategies in Political Cognition." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 19:381-400.
- Guttieri, Karen, Michael D. Wallace, and Peter Suedfeld. 1995. "The Integrative Complexity of American Decision Makers in the Cuban Missile Crisis." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39:595-621.
- Walker, Stephen G. and George L. Watson. 1994. "Integrative Complexity and British Decisions During the Munich and Polish Crises." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 38:3-23.
- Kowert, Paul A. and Margaret G. Hermann. 1997. "Who Takes Risks? Daring and Caution in Foreign Policy Making." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 41(5):611-637.
- Walker, Stephen G., Mark Schafer, and Michael D. Young. 1999. "Presidential Operational Codes and Foreign Policy Conflicts in the Post-Cold War World." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 43(5):610-625.

V. CONTEXT

November 19: *Organizations and groups*

Vertzberger, Chapters 4, 5.

- Hermann, Margaret G. and Charles F. Hermann. 1989. "Who Makes Foreign Policy Decisions and How: An Empirical Inquiry." *International Studies Quarterly* 33:361-87.
- Smith, Steve. 1985. "Policy Preferences and Bureaucratic Position: The Case of the American Hostage Rescue Mission." *International Affairs* 61:9-25.
- Janis, Irving L. 1982. *Groupthink 2nd Edition*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Chapter 8.
- George Alexander L. 1997. "From Groupthink to Contextual Analysis of Policy-making Groups." In *Beyond Groupthink: Political Group Dynamics and Foreign Policy-Making* Eds. Pual 't Hart, Eric Stern, and Bengt Sudelius. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Herek, Gregory, Irvin Janis, and Paul Huth. 1987. "Decision Making During International Crises: Is Quality of Process Related to Outcome?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 31:203-26.
- Maoz, Zeev. 1990. "Framing the National Interest: The Manipulation of Foreign Policy Decisions in Group Settings." *World Politics* 43:77-110.
- Geva, Nehemia, Belinda Bragg, and Charles F. Hermann, 2002 "Effects of Primary Group Identity and Decision Rules on Foreign Policy Decision Making Groups: An Experimental Analysis". Paper prepared for presentation at the 2002 International Studies Association Convention. New Orleans, LA. March 24 - March 27.
- Geva, Nehemia, Belinda Bragg, and Charles F. Hermann, 2003. "Leadership and Group Identity in Foreign Policy Negotiations: An Experimental Analysis". Paper prepared for presentation at the annual Conference of the International Association for Conflict Management. Melbourne Australia, June 15-18 2003

November 26: *Effects of context: Culture- Societal Factors*

Vertzberger, Chapter 5.

- Bar-Tal, Daniel. 1986. "Masada Syndrome: A Case of Central Belief." In *Stress and Coping in Time of War: Generalizations from the Israeli Experience*, ed. Norman A. Milgram. New York: Brunner Mazel.
- Hudson, Valerie M. 1995. "Culture and Foreign Policy: Developing a Research Agenda." Paper presented at the 36th annual convention of the International Studies Association, Chicago, February 21-25.
- Geva, Nehemia and D. Christopher Hanson. 1999. "Cultural Similarity, Foreign Policy Actions, and Regime Perception: An Experimental Study of International Cues and Democratic Peace." *Political Psychology* 20(4):803-827.
- Yang, Yi Edward, Nehemia Geva and Jiu Chang. 2003. "Gain and Loss in the Eyes of the Beholder: Application of Prospect Theory to Crisis Decisions in China and the U.S." Paper prepared for the Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Portland, Oregon, Feb 25-March 1, 2003

VI. SUMMARY

December 3: *Project Presentations and Summary*

Final Paper Due: December 12, 2003