

Seminar in the Psychology of Political Leadership and Decision Making

Political Science 533b

Instructor: Dr. Thomas Preston

Spring Semester 2015

Office: 810 Johnson Tower

Office Hours: Fridays 1:00-2:00p.m.

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Class Time: Friday, 2:10-5p.m.; WILS 4

Course Description and Objectives

This seminar is designed to provide graduate students with a solid overview of the psychological theories of political leadership and decision making, as well as to acquaint them with a variety of methodological approaches useful in its study. The opening section of the course will explore many of the competing definitions and theories of political leadership - with an eye towards providing students with an overview of the fields of study ahead. The second section of the course will provide in-depth reviews of a variety of methodological approaches (e.g., personality assessment-at-a-distance profiling techniques; operational codes; cognitive mapping; psychobiography) currently used in the discipline to study political leadership. These competing approaches will be examined and critiqued by students. The course will examine how political leaders are selected and socialized, what factors affect the character of their leadership, and the ways in which leader personalities, or individual characteristics, affect their leadership or decision making styles. The final section of the course involves an overview of the decision making literature and the impact of problem representation, group dynamics, bureaucratic politics, and stress upon the decision process. It is hoped that this seminar in political psychology will demonstrate to the student the value of multi-disciplinary work -- and the fact that concepts, theories, and methodological approaches of use in one field can often be employed profitably in others. Students will also take part in a simulation during the semester in which they take on the role of professional leader analysts in the U.S. intelligence community. Each student will select a different world leader for analysis and, over the course of the semester, produce an assessment-at-a-distance profile of this leader.

Course Requirements

This seminar has been carefully designed to provide students with a comprehensive overview of the most important debates and literature on the psychology of political leadership and decision making. Unfortunately, this requires an extensive reading load in order to accomplish your training. Taking this into account, **this seminar places a substantial amount (20%) of the final grade on the active participation and demonstration by students during seminar discussions that they have read the assigned course materials.** Although challenging, it is only through such extensive coverage of the literature that you will attain the competency required to develop a specialization in this field and be able to successfully market yourself as qualified to do either research or teaching in this area, or work as a professional leader analyst within government. It is expected that students regularly attend seminar sessions, read the assigned weekly materials in advance, and actively participate in class discussions. **In addition, each week, two students will be responsible for leading class discussions on the assigned readings.** If there is a particular section you would be interested in focusing upon, please sign up for the discussant role for that week in advance with the instructor. Given the heavy reading load, it is strongly recommended that students read ahead whenever possible.

In terms of written assignments, there is one main paper project (a 25 to 30 page leader profile using assessment-at-a-distance techniques) and one mini-paper (10 pages) required for this seminar. These form the basis of a simulation in which students take on the role of professional leader analysts in the U.S. intelligence community. Each student will select a different world leader (non-U.S.) for analysis and, over the course of the semester, develop a detailed leader profile through completion of these two written assignments. Beginning in the second week of class, all students will choose a political leader about whom they would like to

learn more. This leader will be the subject of both written projects. The selected leader MUST be a CURRENT foreign (non-U.S.) leader, but he or she does not have to be the head of government. Thus, leaders of opposition political parties, rebel groups, terror organizations, international organizations, military or religious institutions, etc. may be selected, as well as normal heads of state. The most important criteria in choosing your leader are to select one: (1) for whom there are readily accessible biographical and/or autobiographical materials; (2) for whom there is, with proper digging, enough material about them for you to do the three projects; and (3) for whom you would be able to find available speeches and/or interviews with the press. **The following are the topics for the projects and the dates they are due:**

1. **Background Study of a Political Leader** - (30% of final grade, 10 pages, double-spaced minimum) Collecting psychobiographical information on your leader. Guide to writing this mini-paper is at back of this syllabus. **Mini-paper due in class on March 13th.**
2. **Completed Leader Profile and Analysis** - (50% of final grade, 25-30 pages minimum, double-spaced) Adopt one or more profiling technique(s) covered in class to provide a more in-depth overview of your leader. Guidelines and outline of the basic structure of this profile are provided at the back of the syllabus. This profile represents your expert analysis of your leader and what behaviors we might reasonably expect to see from them in different policy contexts (i.e., based upon your research about them, any applications of the psychological or decision-making literature you judge appropriate, or other coding you have done). **Leader Profile (LP) due on last day of class, May 1st.**

Seminar Participation Grading Index - (*used to evaluate student participation during each class session throughout the semester*).

<i>Grade</i>	Student Performance in Seminar Session
A	Active participation in seminar discussions PLUS substantial demonstration of having read the readings PLUS substantive demonstration of theoretical and/or critical thinking regarding the readings.
A-	Active participation in seminar discussions PLUS demonstration of having read and understood the readings.
B+	Limited participation in seminar discussions PLUS limited demonstration of having read and understood the readings.
B	Limited participation in seminar discussions PLUS no effective demonstration of having read or understood the readings.
C	No participation that session.

Late papers are heavily penalized (10% per day late beyond the deadline) and are not accepted at all if more than 4 days late. Of course, if you have extenuating circumstances (such as a prolonged illness or other personal problem), extensions may be granted, but only at the instructor's discretion. **Extensions will not be given for those who put off writing their papers until close to the deadline and run out of time.** Schedule your time well and work ahead so that you do not find yourself in a bind.

Code of Conduct

The University Student Handbook states that students have the right to freedom of expression but that disruptive behavior in classes will not be permitted. You are expected to participate in classroom activities in a professional manner. Private discussions with other students, passing notes, reading newspapers, disruptive eating, sleeping, or persistently arriving late or leaving early constitute inappropriate classroom behavior. If you demonstrate such behavior, you will be verbally warned in class to cease. If you persist in disruptive or distracting behavior, formal action, in accordance with WSU policy,

will be taken. Expectations for student assignments and participation are set by the course syllabus and are not negotiable. Students who decline to fulfill those expectations should select another course.

Statement of Disability Policy

Reasonable accommodations are available for students who have a documented disability. Please notify the instructor during the first week of class of any accommodations needed for the course. Late notification may mean that requested accommodations might not be available. All accommodations must be approved through the Disability Resource Center located in the Administration Annex Room 205, 335-3417. The student must complete and sign an Accommodation Form with a DRC staff member and take it to each instructor for signature.

Academic Dishonesty: WAC 504-25-015 and WAC 504-25-315

Academic Dishonesty includes cheating, plagiarism, and fabrication in the process of completing academic work. The University expects that student organizations will accept these standards and that their members will conduct themselves as responsible members of the academic community. These standards should be interpreted by students as general notice of prohibited conduct. They should be read broadly, and are not designed to define misconduct in exhaustive forms. All clear instances of academic dishonesty shall be reported to the Office of Student Affairs. The first reported instance at WSU of academic dishonesty by a student will be treated as purely an academic matter unless, in the judgment of the responsible instructor, more serious action should be taken through the disciplinary process. Any allegation of subsequent academic dishonesty will be treated as a matter to be referred to the Office of Student Affairs.

Required Texts & Readings

This seminar requires six books, listed below, which are available at the university bookstore.

These should all be in paperback - do not buy hardbacks from the bookstore unless they are used and cheap!

Readings denoted by an (*) next to the citation in your list of weekly readings in the syllabis are available online at the WSU Angel website (<https://lms.wsu.edu/>), which you can access as students by clicking onto the course. There are also optional, "suggested" readings listed for some weeks on your syllabis. You are NOT responsible for these in either seminar discussions or literature reviews. I have provided these optional readings purely in the spirit of providing those students interested in a particular topic additional materials of relevance. I have also, where possible, included the coding workbooks for some of the methods discussed (these are optional readings as well).

- (1) **Preston, Thomas. *The President and His Inner Circle: Leadership Style and the Advisory Process in Foreign Policy Making*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.**
- (2) **Post, Jerrold M. (ed.). *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003.**
- (3) **Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005. (ISBN: 0-262-57222-2).**
- (4) **'t Hart, Paul, Sundelius, B., and Stern, E. (eds.). *Beyond Groupthink: Group Decision Making in Foreign Policy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997.**
- (5) **Khong, Yuen Foong. *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992.**
- (6) **Allison, Graham and Zelikow, Philip. *The Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Second Edition, New York: Longman, 1999.**

Because of my affiliation with the Maxwell School at Syracuse, graduate students in this course have available to them the ability to download the Profiler Plus automated content analysis coding system to assist them in developing leader profiles. The following license code is good for one year: ProfilerPlus50JR-3237-ZI-yhLcR13E5

In addition, Hanneke Derksen at the Maxwell School at Syracuse University has agreed to provide my students with assistance with any difficulties encountered in running the program. His email is hderksen@maxwell.syr.edu.

The Psychology of Political Leadership And Decision Making

I. What is Political Leadership?: Competing Definitions, Concepts, and Theories of Leadership.

Week 1 (1/16): Overview of the Course.

Required Readings:

George, Alexander L. and Andrew Bennett. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005. (all) (start reading this book now, apply to materials over the next few weeks.)

Week 2 (1/23): What is Political Leadership & Why Should We Study It?: An Introduction to the Concept and Literature.

Required Readings:

- *Deutsch, Morton and Kinnvall, Catarina (2002). "What Is Political Psychology?" In Kristen Renwick Monroe (ed.), *Political Psychology*, pp.15-42.
- *Hermann, Margaret G. (2002). "Political Psychology as a Perspective in the Study of Politics." In Kristen Renwick Monroe (ed.), *Political Psychology*, pp.43-60.
- All of the following from Post, Jerrold (ed.) (2003). *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*: "Preface"; "Profiling Political Leaders: An Introduction," pp.1-7; "Assessing Leaders' Personalities: A Historical Survey of Academic Research Studies," pp.11-38; "Leader Personality Assessments in Support of Government Policy," pp.39-61.
- *Burns, James MacGregor (1978). *Leadership*, pp.9-46; 257-286; 422-462.
- *Hermann, Margaret G., Thomas Preston, Baghat Korany, and Timothy M. Shaw. (2001). "Who Leads Matters: The Effects of Powerful Individuals." *Leaders, Groups, and Coalitions: Understanding the People and Processes in Foreign Policymaking*, pp.83-131.
- *T Hart, Paul. (2014). *Understanding Public Leadership*. (London: Palgrave): "Unlocking Public Leadership," pp.1-20; "Leading With Authority," pp.47-71; "Leading With Others," pp.72-99.
- *Hermann, Margaret G. (1986). "Ingredients of Leadership." In M.G. Hermann (ed.), *Political Psychology: Contemporary Problems and Issues*, pp.167-192.
- *Hermann, Margaret G. and Hagan, Joe D. (1998). "International Decision Making: Leadership Matters." *Foreign Policy*, Spring, pp.124-137.
- *Thomas Preston. "Leadership and Foreign Policy Analysis." In Robert A. Denemark (ed.), *The International Studies Encyclopedia*, Vol. 8, pp.4856-4874. Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2010.

Suggested Optional Readings:

- Lyons, Michael. (1997). "Presidential Character Revisited." *Political Psychology*, Vol.18, No.4, pp.791-811.
- George, Alexander L. (1980). *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice*.
- Hermann, Margaret G. and Preston, Thomas (1994). "Presidents, Advisers, and Foreign Policy: The Effect of Leadership Style on Executive Arrangements." *Political Psychology*, Vol.15, No.1, pp.75-96.
- Searing, Donald D. (1995). "The Psychology of Political Authority: A Causal Mechanism of Political Learning Through Persuasion and Manipulation." *Political Psychology*, Vol.16, No.4, pp.677-696.
- Simonton, Dean Keith. (1988). "Presidential Style: Personality, Biography, and Performance." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, pp.928-936.
- Hargrove, Erwin C. (1993). "Presidential Personality and Leadership Style." In Edwards, Kessel, and Rockman (eds.), *Researching the Presidency: Vital Questions, New Approaches*, pp.69-109.
- Hudson, Valerie M. (2005). "Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations." *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Vol. 1, pp.1-30.
- All of the following from Cottam, Dietz-Uhler, Mastors, and Preston. (2010) *Introduction to Political Psychology*: "Personality and Politics," pp.13-35; "The Study of Political Leaders," pp.101-129.
- Hermann, Margaret G. (1980). "Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders," 7-46; "Comments on Foreign Policy Makers Personality Attributes and Interviews: A Note on Reliability Procedures." *International Studies Quarterly*, 24: 67-73.

II. Methodological Approaches for the Study of Leadership:

Psychobiography (depth psychology); Personality Assessment-at-a-Distance (trait psychology) techniques; Operational Codes; Motive Profiling, Cognitive Mapping; Selection and Socialization of Leaders; Trait vs. State Debate.

Week 3 (1/30): Theory-Building and Methodological Challenges to the Study of Leadership and Decision Making.

Required Readings:

- All of the following from Post, Jerrold (ed.) (2003). *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders: "The Search for Causal Mechanisms,"* pp.63-65; "Assessing Leaders at a Distance: The Political Personality Profile," pp.69-104.
- George, Alexander L. and Andrew Bennett. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005. (all)
- *Hermann, Margaret G. (2008). "Using Content Analysis to Study Public Figures." In Klotz and Prakeesh (eds.), *Qualitative Methods in International Relations*.
- *Taber, Charles S. (2000). "Problems of Empirical Inference in Elite Decision Making." *The Political Psychologist*, Vol.5, Issue 1 (Spring), pp.3-9.
- *Hermann, Margaret G. (2000). "An Appendix: Making Empirical Inferences About Elite Decision Making Politically Relevant." *The Political Psychologist*, Vol.5, Issue 1 (Spring), pp.24-29.
- *Simon, Herbert A. (1985). "Human Nature in Politics: The Dialogue of Psychology with Political Science." *The American Political Science Review* Vol. 79: 293-304.
- *King, Gary. (1993). "The Methodology of Presidential Research." In G. Edwards, J. Kessel, and B. Rockman (eds.), *Researching the Presidency: Vital Questions, New Approaches*, pp.387-412.
- *Greenstein, Fred I. (1969) *Personality and Politics: Problems of Evidence, Inference, and Conceptualization*, selected readings.
- *McCrae, Robert R. (1993). "Moderated Analyses of Longitudinal Personality Stability." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol.65, No.3: 577-585.
- *Alker, Henry A. (1972). "Is Personality Situationally Specific or Intrapsychically Consistent?", *Journal of Personality*, pp.1-16.
- *McClelland, David C. (1987). "Is Personality Consistent?" Chapter 9, *Motives, Personality, and Society*.
- *George, Alexander L. (1993). *Bridging the Gap: Theory and Practice in Foreign Policy*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace:
 "Foreword and Introduction," pp.xiii-xxvi; "The Gap Between Knowledge and Action," pp.3-30;
 "The Bridge Between Knowledge and Action," pp.105-145.
- *Johnston, Rob (2005). *Analytic Culture in the U.S. Intelligence Community*, pp.9-29.
- *All of the following from Heuer, Jr., Richard J. (1999). *Psychology of Intelligence Analysis*:
 "Improving Intelligence Analysis at CIA: Dick Heuer's Contribution to Intelligence Analysis," pp.xiii-xxvi; "Thinking About Thinking," pp.1-6; "Perception: Why Can't We See What Is There To Be Seen?," pp.7-16; "Strategies for Analytical Judgment: Transcending the Limits of Incomplete Information," pp.31-49; "Keeping an Open Mind," pp.65-84; "Analysis of Competing Hypotheses," pp.95-109; "Hindsight Biases in Evaluation of Intelligence Reporting," pp.161-171; "Improving Intelligence Analysis," pp.173-184.

Suggested Optional Readings:

- Greenstein, Fred I. (1969). *Personality and Politics: Problems of Evidence, Inference, and Conceptualization*. Chicago: Markham Publishing Company.
- King, Gary, Keohane, Robert O., and Verba, Sidney. (1994). *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*.
- Smith, Charles P., John W. Atkinson, David C. McClelland, and Joseph, Veroff, eds. (1992). *Motivation and Personality: Handbook of Thematic Content Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- *Marble, A.D., K. Lieberthal, E.O. Goldman, R.Sutter, E.F. Vogel, and C. Wallander (2006). "Bridging the Gap Between the Academic and Policy Worlds," *Asia Policy*, Vol.1, pp.2-41.

Week 4 (2/6): *The Use of Psychobiography and Depth Psychology to Study Leadership.*

Required Readings: Applications of Psychobiography and Depth Psychology to the Study of Political Leaders.

- All of the following from Post, Jerrold (ed.) (2003). *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*: Stanley A. Renshon, "Psychoanalytic Assessments of Character and Performance in Presidents and Candidates: Some Observations on Theory and Method," pp.105-133; "William Jefferson Clinton's Psychology," 277-302. Jerrold M. Post, "Saddam Hussein of Iraq: A Political Psychology Profile," pp.335-366.
- *All of the following from George, Alexander L. and George, Juliette L. (1998). *Presidential Personality and Performance*:
 "The Psychoanalyst and the Biographer," pp.13-22; "Some Uses of Dynamic Psychology in Political Biography," pp.23-54; "Writing Psychobiography: Some Theoretical and Methodological Issues," pp.55-76.
- *Runyan, William McKinley. (1981). "Why Did Van Gogh Cut Off His Ear?: The Problem of Alternative Explanations in Psychobiography." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* Vol. 40, no.6, pp.1070-1077.
- *Post, Jerrold M. (2004). "When Personality Affects Political Behavior," *Leaders And Their Followers in a Dangerous World: The Psychology of Political Behavior*, pp.11-49.
- *Post, Jerrold M. (1993). "Current Concepts of the Narcissistic Personality: Implications for Political Psychology." *Political Psychology*, pp.99-122.
- *Rosenthal, Seth A. and Pittinsky, Todd L. (2006). "Narcissistic Leadership." *The Leadership Quarterly* Vol. 16: 617-633.
- *Birt, Raymond. (1993). "Personality and Foreign Policy: The Case of Stalin." *Political Psychology*, pp.607-626.
- *Berggren, D. Jason and Rae, Nicol C. (2006). "Jimmy Carter and George W. Bush: Faith, Foreign Policy, and an Evangelical Presidential Style." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* Vol. 36, no.4 (December): 606-632.

Suggested Optional Readings:

- Renshon, Stanley A. (1996). *High Hopes: The Clinton Presidency and the Politics of Ambition*. New York: New York University Press.
- Glad, Betty. (1980). *Jimmy Carter: In Search of the Great White House*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Deluga, Ronald J. (1998). "American Presidential Proactivity, Charismatic Leadership, and Rated Performance." *Leadership Quarterly*, Vol.9, No.3, pp.265-291.
- Renshon, Stanley A. (1998). "Analyzing the Psychology and Performance of Presidential Candidates at a Distance: Bob Dole and the 1996 Presidential Campaign." *Leadership Quarterly*, Vol.9, No.3, pp.377-395.
- Greenstein, Fred I. (1969). *Personality and Politics: Problems of Evidence, Inference, and Conceptualization*. Chicago: Markham Publishing Company.
- Link, Michael and Glad, Betty. (1994). "Exploring the Psychopolitical Dynamics of Advisory Relations: The Carter Administration's 'Crisis of Confidence'." *Political Psychology*, pp.461-480.
- Renshon, Stanley A. (1995). "Character, Judgment, and Political Leadership: Promise, Problems, and Prospects of the Clinton Presidency." In S.A. Renshon, ed., *The Clinton Presidency: Campaigning, Governing, and the Psychology of Leadership*, pp.57-87. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Hargrove, Erwin C. (1988). *Jimmy Carter as President: Leadership and the Politics of the Public Good*. Foreword, Chapters 1-2; 5-6 (pp.xiii-xxv; 1-32; 111-193).
- Barber, James David. (1972). "Presidential Character and How to Foresee It." *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House*, chapter 1.

Week 5 (2/13): *The Use of Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA) to Study Leadership.*

Required Readings: Applications of LTA to the Study of Political Leaders.

- All of the following from Post, Jerrold (ed.) (2003). *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*: Margaret G. Hermann, "Assessing Leadership Style: Trait Analysis," pp.178-212; "William Jefferson Clinton's Leadership Style," pp.313-323; "Saddam Hussein's Leadership Style," pp.375-386.
- Preston, Thomas (2001). *The President and His Inner Circle: Leadership Style and the Advisory Process in Foreign Policy Making*. New York: Columbia University Press. (all)
- *Hermann, Margaret G. "Assessing Leadership Style: A Trait Analysis." (Handout).
- *Taysi, Tanyel and Thomas Preston. (2001). "The Personality and Leadership Style of President Khatami: Implications for the Future of Iranian Political Reform." In Ofer Feldman and Linda O. Valenty (eds.), *Profiling Political Leaders: A Cross-Cultural Studies of Personality and Behavior*, pp.57-77.
- *Kaarbo, Juliet and Hermann, Margaret G. (1998). "Leadership Styles of Prime Ministers: How Individual Differences Affect the Foreign Policy Process." *Leadership Quarterly*, Vol.9, No.3, pp.243-263.
- *Dyson, Stephen Benedict. (2006). "Personality and Foreign Policy: Tony Blair's Iraq Decisions," *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Vol.2, pp.289-306.
- *Kille, Kent J. (2006). *From Manager to Visionary: The Secretary-General of the United Nations*: "The Secretary-Generalship: The Individual Behind the Office," pp.7-38; "A Secretary-General's Avenues for Influence," pp.39-66.
- *Mitchell, David (2007). "Determining Indian Foreign Policy: An Examination of Prime Ministerial Leadership Styles." *India Review* 6, no. 4 (October-December): 251-287.
- *Thomas Preston. (2008) "Weathering the Politics of Responsibility and Blame: The Bush Administration and Its Response to Hurricane Katrina." In Paul 't Hart, Arjen Boin, and Allan McConnell (eds.), *Crisis and After: The Politics of Investigation, Accountability, and Learning*, pp.33-61. Cambridge University Press.
- *Dyson, Stephen Benedict (2007). "Stuff Happens: Donald Rumsfeld and the Iraq War," *Foreign Policy Analysis*, pp.327-347.

Suggested Optional Readings:

- Hermann, Margaret G. *Handbook for Assessing Personal Characteristics and Foreign Policy Orientations of Political Leaders*. Columbus, OH: Mershon Center Occasional Papers, 1983a.
- Young, Michael D. (2000). "Automating Assessment at a Distance." *The Political Psychologist*, Vol.5, Issue 1, (Spring), pp.17-23.
- Hermann, M.G. (1984). "Personality and Foreign Policy Decision Making: A Study of 53 Heads of Government." In D.A. Sylvan and S. Chan, *Foreign Policy Decision Making: Perception, Cognition, and Artificial Intelligence*, pp.53-80.
- Hermann, M.G. (1987). "Assessing the Foreign Policy Role Orientations of Sub-Saharan African Leaders." In S. Walker (ed), *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*, pp.123-140.
- Preston, Thomas and Margaret G. Hermann. (2004). "Presidential Leadership Style and the Foreign Policy Advisory Process." In Eugene R. Wittkopf and James M. McCormick, eds., *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence*, pp.363-380.

Week 6 (2/20) - No Class - (ISA Conference)

Week 7 (2/27): *The Use of Operational Codes to Study Leadership.*

Required Readings: Applications of Operational Code to the Study of Political Leaders – the traditional Georgian op-code versus the automated VICs op-code.

- *George, Alexander L. (1969). "The Operational Code: A Neglected Approach to the Study of Leadership and Decision-making." *International Studies Quarterly*, 13: 190-222.
- *George, Alexander L. (1979). "The Causal Nexus between Cognitive Beliefs and Decision-Making Behavior: The 'Operational Code' Belief System." In Lawrence Falkowski (ed.), *Psychological Models in International Politics*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- *Dyson, Stephen Benedict. (2001). "Drawing Policy Implications from the 'Operational Code' of a 'New' Political Actor: Russian President Vladimir Putin." *Policy Sciences*, 34: 329-346.
- All of the following from Post, Jerrold (ed.) (2003). *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*: Stephen G. Walker, Mark Schafer, and Michael D. Young, "Profiling the Operational Codes of Political Leaders," pp.215-245; 324-328; 387-391.
- *All of the following from M. Schafer and S.G. Walker (eds.) (2006). *Beliefs and Leadership in World Politics: Methods and Applications of Operational Code Analysis*:
 Stephen G. Walker and Mark Schafer, "Belief Systems as Causal Mechanisms in World Politics: An Overview of Operational Code Analysis," pp.3-22; Elena Lazarevska, Jayne M. Sholl, and Michael D. Young, "Links Among Beliefs and Personality Traits: The Distinctive Language of Terrorists," pp.171-184; Sam Robison, "George W. Bush and the Vulcans: Leader-Advisor Relations and America's Response to the 9/11 Attacks," pp.101-124.
- *Walker, Stephen G. (2004) "Role Identities and the Operational Codes of Political Leaders." In M.G. Hermann (ed.), *Advances in Political Psychology*, pp.71-106.
- *Walker, Stephen G., Schafer, Mark, and Marfleet, Gregory. (2012). "The British Strategy of Appeasement: Why Britain Persisted in the Face of Negative Feedback?" In Charles F. Hermann (ed.), *When Things Go Wrong: Foreign Policy Decision Making Under Adverse Feedback*, pp.111-141.
- *Schafer, Mark and Stephen G. Walker. (2006). "Democratic Leaders and the Democratic Peace: The Operational Codes of Tony Blair and Bill Clinton," *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 50, no.3: 561-583.

Suggested Optional Readings:

- Walker, Stephen G., Schafer, Mark, and Young, Michael D. (1998). *Verbs in Context System (VICS) Coding Manual*.
- Walker, Stephen G. and Falkowski, L. (1984). "The Operational Codes of U.S. Presidents and Secretaries of State: Motivational Foundations and Behavioral Consequences." *Political Psychology*, Vol.5, pp.237-266.
- Walker, Stephen G. (1983). "The Motivational Foundations of Belief Systems: A Re-Analysis of the Operational Code Construct." *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol.27,
- Walker, Stephen G. (1990). "The Evolution of Operational Code Analysis." *Political Psychology*, Vol.11, pp.403-418.
- Walker, Stephen G., Schafer, Mark, and Young, Michael D. (1998). "Systematic Procedures for Operational Code Analysis: Measuring and Modeling Jimmy Carter's Operational Code." *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol.42, pp.175-190.
- Symposium on At-A-Distance Psychological Assessment, *Political Psychology*, Vol.21, No.3, September 2000:
 Marfleet, B. Gregory. "The Operational Code of John F. Kennedy During the Cuban Missile Crisis: A Comparison of Public and Private Rhetoric," pp.545-558.

Week 8 (3/6): *Other Assessment-at-a-Distance Techniques for Studying Leadership (Integrative Complexity, Motive Profiling, Self-Monitoring).*

Required Readings: Applications of Motive Profiling and Integrative/Conceptual Complexity to the Study of Political Leaders.

All of the following from Post, Jerrold (ed.) (2003). *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*: Peter Suedfeld, Karen Guttieri, and Philip E. Tetlock, "Assessing Integrative Complexity at a Distance: Archival Analyses of Thinking and Decision Making," pp.246-270; 328-332; 391-396. Jerrold M. Post and Stephen G. Walker, "Assessing Political Leaders in Theory and in Practice," pp.399-412.

*Suedfeld, Peter and Philip E. Tetlock (2014). "Integrative Complexity at Forty: Steps Toward Resolving the Scoring Dilemma," *Political Psychology*, Vol. 35, No.1: pp.597-601.

*Conway, et. al. (2014). "Automated Integrative Complexity," *Political Psychology*, Vol. 35, No.1: pp.603-624.

*Tetlock, et. al. (2014). "Integrative Complexity Coding Raises Integratively Complex Issues," *Political Psychology*, Vol. 35, No.1: pp.625-634.

*Young, Michael D. and Margaret G. Hermann (2014). "Increased Complexity Has Its Benefits," *Political Psychology*, Vol. 35, No.1: pp.635-645.

*Houck, et. al. (2014). "Automated Integrative Complexity: Current Challenges and Future Directions," *Political Psychology*, Vol. 35, No.1: pp.647-659.

*Suedfeld, Peter and A.D. Rank. (1976). "Revolutionary Leaders: Long-term Success as a Function of Changes in Conceptual Complexity." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 34: 169-178.

*Foster, Dennis M. and Keller, Jonathan W. (2014). "Leaders' Cognitive Complexity, Distrust, and the Diversionary Use of Force." *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Vol. 10, pp.205-223.

All of the following from Post, Jerrold (ed.) (2003). *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*: David G. Winter, "Measuring the Motives of Political Actors at a Distance," pp.153-177; 306-312.

*Winter, David G. (2005). "Things I've Learned About Personality From Studying Political Leaders At a Distance." *Journal of Personality* Vol.73, no.3 (June): 557-584.

*Winter, David G. and Stewart, Abigail J. (1977). "Content Analysis as a Technique for Assessing Political Leaders." In M.G. Hermann (ed.), *A Psychological Examination of Political Leaders*. New York: Free Press, pp.21-61.

*Winter, David G. (1987). "Leader Appeal, Leader Performance, and the Motive Profiles of Leaders and Followers: A Study of American Presidents and Elections." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol.52, pp.196-202.

*Snyder, Mark and Steve Gangestad. (1986). "On the Nature of Self-Monitoring: Matters of Assessment, Matters of Validity." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 51, No.1, pp.125-139.

*Leone, Christopher. (2006). "Self-Monitoring: Individual Differences in Orientations to the Social World." *Journal of Personality* Vol.74, no.3 (June): 633-657.

*Ickes, w., Holloway, R. et. al. (2006). "Self-Monitoring in Social Interaction: The Centrality of Self-Affect." *Journal of Personality* Vol.74, no.3 (June): 659-684.

Suggested Optional Readings:

*Winter, David G. *Workbook for Determining Motive Scores of Leaders*. (Coding Manual)

Winter, David G. (1980). "Measuring the Motives of Southern African Political Leaders at a Distance." *Political Psychology*, Vol.2, No.2, pp.75-85.

Schmitt, David P. and Winter, David G. (1998). "Measuring the Motives of Soviet Leadership and Soviet Society: Congruence Reflected or Congruence Created?" *Leadership Quarterly*, Vol.9, No.3, pp.293-307.

McClelland, D.C. and R.E. Boyatzis (1982). "Leadership, Motive Pattern and Long-Term Success in Management." *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol.67: 737-743.

Snyder, Mark (1977). *Public Appearances, Private Realities: The Psychology of Self-Monitoring*, Chapters 3 & 4.

Smith, Charles P., John W. Atkinson, David C. McClelland, and Joseph, Veroff, eds. (1992). *Motivation and Personality: Handbook of Thematic Content Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press:

"Motivational Configurations," pp.87-99; "The Achievement Motive," pp.143-152; "A Scoring Manual for the Achievement Motive," pp.153-178; "The Affiliation Motive," pp.205-210; "A Scoring Manual for the Affiliation Motive," pp.211-223; "Power Motivation Revisited," pp.301-310; "A Revised Scoring System for the Power Motive," pp.311-324; "Conceptual/Integrative Complexity," pp.393-400; "The Conceptual/Integrative Complexity Scoring Manual," pp.401-418.

Simonton, Dean Keith. (1993). "Putting the Best Leaders in the White House: Personality, Policy and Performance." *Political Psychology*, pp.537-548.

Winter, David G., Hermann, Margaret G., Weintraub, Walter, and Walker, Stephen G. (1991). "The Personalities of Bush and Gorbachev Measured at a Distance: Procedures, Portraits, and Policy." *Political Psychology*.

Week 9 (3/13 - TBA alternative date): *The Selection & Political Socialization of Leaders, Political Culture, Generation Effects, and Birth Order.*

Required Readings:

*Holsti, Ole R. and Rosenau, James N. (1980). "Does Where You Stand Depend on When You Were Born?: The Impact of Generation on Post-Vietnam Foreign Policy Beliefs." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, pp.1-34.

*Stewart, L.H. (1977). "Birth Order and Political Leadership." In M.G. Hermann (ed.), *A Psychological Examination of Political Leaders*, chapter 9.

*Hermann, Margaret G. (1979). "Who Becomes a Political Leader?: Some Societal and Regime Influences on Selection of a Head of State." In L.S. Falkowski (ed.), *Psychological Models in International Politics*.

*Inglehart, Ronald. (1981). "Post-Materialism in an Environment of Insecurity." *The American Political Science Review*. Vol.75, pp.880-899.

*Central Intelligence Agency. (2003). *The Next Generation of World Leaders: Emerging Traits and Tendencies*. (all)

*Bynander, Fredrik and Paul 't Hart. (2006). "When Power Changes Hands: The Political Psychology of Leadership Succession in Democracies." *Political Psychology*:

*Post, Jerrold M. (2005). "When Hatred is Bred in the Bone: Psycho-cultural Foundations of Contemporary Terrorism." *Political Psychology*, Vol. 26, No.4 (August): 615-636.

*Bizumic, Boris and Duckitt, John (2012). "What Is and Is Not Ethnocentrism?" A Conceptual Analysis and Political Implications," *Political Psychology*, Vol. 33, No.6, pp.887-909.

*Ziller, R.C., Stone, W.F., Jackson, R.M., and Terbovic, N.J. (1977). "Self-Other Orientations and Political Behavior." In M.G. Hermann (Ed.), *A Psychological Examination of Political Leaders*.

*Mumford, Michael D. et. al. (2007). "The Sources of Leader Violence: A Comparison of Ideological and Nonideological Leaders." *The Leadership Quarterly* Vol.18: 217-235.

*Hudson, Valerie M. (2007). "Culture and National Identity," *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*, pp.103-123.

*Yan, Jun and James G. Jerry Hunt (2005). "A Cross Cultural Perspective on Perceived Leadership Effectiveness." *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management* Vol. 5, no.1: 49-66.

*Ayman, Roya and Karen Korabik (2010). "Leadership: Why Gender and Culture Matter." *The American Psychologist*, pp. 157-170.

Suggested Optional Readings:

Barber, James David. (1965). *The Lawmakers: Recruitment and Adaptation to Legislative Life*.

Inglehart, Ronald. (1971). "The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in Post-Industrial Societies." *The American Political Science Review*. Vol.65, pp.991-1071.

Renshon, Stanley A. (1996). *The Psychological Assessment of Presidential Candidates*. Forward, pp.ix-xii; Prologue, pp.1-4; Introduction, pp.5-21; Chapters 1-5, pp.25-145; Chapters 7-8, pp.179-230; Chapter 11, pp.280-309; Chapters 14-15, pp.359-400; Appendices, pp.401-438.

Rejai, Mostafa and Philips, Kay (1979). *Leaders of Revolution*. Sage Publications.

Glad, Betty. (1983). "Black-and-White Thinking: Ronald Reagan's Approach to Foreign Policy." *Political Psychology*, Vol. 4, pp.33-76.

SPRING BREAK 3/16-3/20 – (NO CLASSES!!!!)

III. An Overview of the Decision Making Literatures: Critical Questions and Areas for Future Research.

Week 10 (3/27): Overview of the Decision Making Literature

Required Readings:

- *Vertzberger, Yaacov. (1990). "Information Processing, Perception, and Misperception" (pp.7-50) and "The Information: Attribute and Access" (pp.51-110) in *The World In Their Minds: Information Processing, Cognition, and Perception in Foreign Policy Decision Making*. Stanford University Press.
- *McDermott, Rose. (1998). *Risk-Taking in International Politics: Prospect Theory in American Foreign Policy*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press:
 "Introduction", pp.1-14; "Prospect Theory", pp.15-44; "The Iranian Hostage Rescue Mission", pp.45-75;
 "The Decisions about admitting the Shah, pp.77-105; "Conclusions", pp.165-186.
- *Berejikian, Jeffrey D. and Early, Bryan R. (2013). "Loss Aversion and Foreign Policy Resolve," *Political Psychology*, Vol. 34, No.5, pp.649-671.
- *Hermann, Charles F. (2012), *When Things Go Wrong: Foreign Policy Decision Making under Adverse Feedback* (NY: Routledge):
 Hermann, Charles F., "What We Do When Things Go Wrong," pp.1-12; Hermann, Charles F. and Billings, Robert S., "Responding to Adverse Feedback: Group Decision Making in Protracted Foreign Policy Problems," pp.11-35; Preston, Thomas, "The Role of Leaders in Sequential Decision Making: Lyndon Johnson, Advisory Dynamics, and Vietnam," pp.53-88.
- *Haslam, S. Alexander, Reicher, Stephen D., and Platow, Michael J. (2011), *The New Psychology of Leadership: Identity, Influence, and Power*, (NY: Psychology Press):
 "Preface," pp.xviii-xxiii; "The current psychology of leadership: Issues of context and contingency, transaction and transformation," pp.21-44; "Foundations for the new psychology of leadership: Social identity and self-categorization," pp.45-76; "Being one of us: Leaders as in-group prototypes," pp.77-108.
- *Steinbruner, John D. (1974). *The Cybernetic Theory of Decision: New Dimensions of Political Analysis*. Princeton University Press:
 "Introduction", pp.3-21; "The Analytic Paradigm," pp.25-46; "The Cybernetic Paradigm," pp.47-87;
 "Cognitive Processes," pp.88-139.
- *Amodio, et. al. (2007): "Neurocognitive Correlates of Liberalism and Conservatism," *Nature Neuroscience*, pp.1246-1247.
- *Erisen, Cengiz, Lodge, Milton, and Taber, Charles S. (2014). "Affective Contagion in Effortful Political Thinking," *Political Psychology*, Vol.35, No.2, pp.187-206.

Suggested Optional Readings:

- Fiske, Susan T. and Taylor, Shelley E. (1991). *Social Cognition*. Second Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc..
(Fantastic resource providing overviews of psychological concepts & explanations of social psychology literature – a MUST read for those specializing in Political Psychology)!
- McGraw, Kathleen M. (2000). "Contributions of the Cognitive Approach to Political Psychology," *Political Psychology*, Vol.21, No.4: 805-824.
- Brewer, Marilyn B. (2001). "The Many Faces of Social Identity: Implications for Political Psychology," *Political Psychology*, Vol.22, No.1: 115-125.
- Schafer, Mark and Young, Michael D. (1998). "Method in Our Madness: Ways of Assessing Cognition." *Mershon International Studies Review*.
- Burke, John P. and Greenstein, Fred I. (1991). *How Presidents Test Reality: Decisions on Vietnam 1954 & 1965*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Garrison, Jean A. (1999). *Games Advisers Play: Foreign Policy in the Nixon and Carter Administrations*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.
- Hermann, C.F., Kegley, C., and Rosenau, J. (eds.) (1987). *New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy*, Boston: Allen and Unwin: Anderson, Paul A. "What Do Decision Makers Do When They Make a Foreign Policy Decision?: The Implications for the Comparative Study of Foreign Policy," pp.285-308; Powell, Charles, Dyson, James, and Purkitt, Helen. "Opening the 'Black Box': Cognitive Processing and Optimal Choice in Foreign Policy Decision Making," pp.203-220.

Week 11 (4/3): *Problem Representation, Counterfactuals, and the Use of Analogy in Decision Making.*

Required Readings:

- Khong, Yuen Foong (1992). *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. (all)
- *Neustadt, Richard E. and May, Ernest R. (1986). *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision Makers*. New York: The Free Press, pp.1-16; 34-90; 134-180; 232-270.
- *Houghton, David Patrick. (1998). "Historical Analogies and the Cognitive Dimension of Domestic Policymaking," *Political Psychology*, Vol. 19, No.2 (June), pp.279-303.
- *Stephen Benedict Dyson and Thomas Preston. (2006). "Individual Characteristics of Leaders and the Use of Analogy in Foreign Policy Decision Making," *Political Psychology*, Vol.27, No.2, pp.265-288.
- *Sylvan, Donald A. and Voss, James F. (1998). *Problem Representation in Foreign Policy Decision Making*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Read all of the following:
 D. Sylvan, "Introduction," pp.3-7; J.Voss, "On the Representation of Problems: An Information-Processing Approach to Foreign Policy Decision Making," pp.8-28; M. Cottam and D. McCoy, "Image Change and Problem Representation after the Cold War," pp.116-146; H. Purkitt, "Problem Representations and Political Expertise: Evidence from 'Think Aloud' Protocols of South African Elite," pp.147-186; S. Rubino-Hallman, "When Gender Goes to Combat: The Impact of Representations in Collective Decision Making," pp.261-278; D. Sylvan, "Reflecting on the Study of Problem Representation: How Are We Studying It, and What Are We Learning?," pp.333-342.
- *Tetlock, Philip E. and Belkin, Aaron (eds.). (1996). *Counterfactual Thought Experiments in World Politics: Logical, Methodological, and Psychological Perspectives*, pp.1-38; 95-118.
- *A. Brändström, F. Bynander, and Paul 't Hart. (2004). "Governing by looking back: Historical analogies and crisis management," *Public Administration*, 82, 1: 191-210.
- *Vertzberger, Yaacov. (1990). "Decisionmakers as Practical-Intuitive Historians: The Use and Abuse of History," *The World In Their Minds: Information Processing, Cognition, and Perception in Foreign Policy Decision Making*: 296-341.

Week 12 (4/10): *Group Dynamics and the Decision Making Process.*

Required Readings:

- *All of the following from Cottam, Dietz-Uhler, Mastors, and Preston. (2004) *Introduction to Political Psychology*: "The Political Psychology of Groups," pp.63-96.
- *Janis, Irving. (1972). *Victims of Groupthink*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Read the following:
 Intro, pp.2-13; "A Perfect Failure: The Bay of Pigs," pp.14-49; "In & Out of North Korea," pp.50-74; "Escalation of the Vietnam War: How Could It Happen?," pp.101-135; "The Making of the Marshall Plan," pp.167-181; "Preventing Groupthink," pp.207-224.
- *Aldag, Ramon J. and Fuller, Sally Riggs. (1993). "Beyond Fiasco: A Reappraisal of the Groupthink Phenomenon and a New Model of Group Decision Processes." *Psychological Bulletin* Vol.113, No.3: 533-552.
- 't Hart, Paul, Sundelius, Bengt, and Stern, Eric (eds.). (1997). *Beyond Groupthink: Group Decision Making in Foreign Policy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. (all)
- *'t Hart, Paul. "Preventing Groupthink Revisited: Evaluating and Reforming Groups in Government." *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, Vol.73, No.2/3 (February/March): 306-326.
- *Vertzberger, Yaacov. (1990). "The Social Milieu: Small-Group and Organizational Effets," *The World In Their Minds: Information Processing, Cognition, and Perception in Foreign Policy Decision Making*: 192-259.

Suggested Optional Readings:

- 't Hart, Paul. (1990). *Groupthink in Government: A Study of Small Groups and Policy Failure*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, pp. 99-206; 273-296
- Maoz, Z. (1989). "Framing the National Interest: The Manipulation of Foreign Policy Decisions in Group Settings." *World Politics*, pp.77-111.
- Hoyt, Paul D. (1997). "The Political Manipulation of Group Composition: Engineering the Decision Context." *Political Psychology*, Vol.18, No.4, pp.771-790.
- Stewart, P.D., M.G. Hermann, and C.F. Hermann. (1989). "Modeling the 1973 Soviet Decision to Support Egypt." *American Political Science Review*, Vol.83, No.1: 35-59.

Week 13 (4/17): *The Impact of Bureaucratic and Organizational Dynamics on Decision Making.*

Required Readings:

- Allison, Graham and Zelikow, Philip. (1999). *The Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Second Edition, New York: Longman. (all)
- *Bendor, J. and Hammond, T.H. (1992). "Rethinking Allison's Models." *American Political Science Review*, pp.301-322.
- *Welch, David. (1992). "The Organizational Process and Bureaucratic Politics Paradigms: Retrospect and Prospect." *International Security*, pp.112-146.
- *Preston, Thomas and 't Hart, Paul. (1999). "Understanding and Evaluating Bureaucratic Politics: The Nexus Between Political Leaders and Advisory Systems." *Political Psychology*, Vol.20, No.1, March, pp.49-98.
- *Stern, Eric, Verbeek, Bertjan, Welch, David, et.al. (1998). "Whither the Study of Governmental Politics in Foreign Policymaking?: A Symposium." *Mershon International Studies Review*, Vol.42, No.2, pp.205-256.
- *Rosenthau, U., 't Hart, P., and Kouzmin, A. (1991). "The Bureau-politics of Crisis Management." *Public Administration*, pp.211-233.
- *Hudson, Valerie M. (2007). "Group Decisionmaking: Small Group Dynamics, Organizational Process, and Bureaucratic Politics," *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*, pp.65-101.
- *'t Hart, Paul and Anchrit Wille. (2006). "Ministers and Top Officials in the Dutch Core Executive: Living Together, Growing Apart?" *Public Administration*, Vol.84, No.1: 121-146.

Week 14 (4/24): *The Impact of Crises, Stress, and Health Upon Decision Making.*

Required Readings:

- *Janis, Irving L. (1989). *Crucial Decisions: Leadership in Policymaking and Crisis Management*. New York: The Free Press. (all)
- *Hermann, Margaret G. (1979). "Indicators of Stress in Policymaking During Foreign Policy Crises." *Political Psychology*, Vol.1, pp.27-46.
- *Post, Jerrold M. (2004). "The Impact of Crisis-Induced Stress on Policy Makers," *Leaders And Their Followers in a Dangerous World: The Psychology of Political Behavior*, pp.100-122.
- *'t Hart, Paul. (2014). *Understanding Public Leadership*. (London: Palgrave):
"Leading in Crises," pp.127-148.
- *Robins, Robert S. and Dorn, Robert M. (1993). "Stress and Political Leadership." *Politics and the Life Sciences*, Vol.12, No.1, February, pp.3-17.
- *Hermann, Margaret G. and Dayton, Bruce W. (2009). "Transboundary Crises through the Eyes of Policymakers: Sense Making and Crisis Management," *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*, Vol. 17, No. 4, pp.233-241.
- *Wallace, Michael and Suedfeld, Peter. (1988). "Leadership Performance in Crisis: The Longevity-Complexity Link." *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 32, pp.439-452.
- *Rosenthal, Uriel and 't Hart, Paul. (1991). "Experts and Decision Makers in Crisis Situations." *Knowledge: Creation, Diffusion, Utilization*, Vol.12, No.4 (June): 350-372.
- *Suedfeld, Peter and Susan Bluck. (1988). "Changes in Integrative Complexity Prior to Surprise Attacks." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 32, No.4 (December): 626-635.
- *Janis, Irving L. and Mann, Leon. (1977). "A Conflict Model of Decision Making," *Decision Making: A Psychological Analysis of Conflict, Choice, and Commitment*: 45-106.
- *McDermott, Rose (2008). *Presidential Leadership, Illness, and Decision Making*, (NY: Cambridge University Press):
"Introduction," pp.1-18; "Aging, Illness, and Addiction," pp.19-44; "The Exacerbation of Personality: Woodrow Wilson," pp.45-82;"Leadership While Dying: Franklin Delano Roosevelt," pp.83-117.

Week 15 (5/1): The Politics of Blame, Crisis Management, and Crisis Decision Making.

Required Readings:

- Thomas Preston. *Pandora's Trap: Presidential Decision Making and Blame Avoidance in Vietnam and Iraq*. Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield: 2011/2013. (all)
- *'t Hart, Paul, Heyse, Liesbet, and Arjen Boin. (2001). "New Trends in Crisis Management Practice and Crisis Management Research: Setting the Agenda." *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*, Vol. 9, no.4, pp.181-188.
- *Bovens, M., 't Hart, P, Dekker, S., and Verheuvell, G. (1999) "The Politics of Blame Avoidance: Defensive Tactics in a Dutch Crime-Fighting Fiasco," in Anheier, H.K. (ed.) *When Things Go Wrong: Organizational Failures and Breakdowns*. London: Sage, pp.123-47.
- *'t Hart, P. and Boin, R.A. (2001) "Between Crisis and Normalcy: The Long Shadow of Post-Crisis Politics," in Rosenthal, U., Boin, R.A., and Comfort, L.K. (eds.) *Managing Crises: Threats, Dilemmas, Opportunities*. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, Ltd., pp.28-46.
- *Boin, Arjen, Paul 't Hart, Allan McConnell, and Thomas Preston. (2010). "Leadership Style, Crisis Response, and Blame Management: The Case of Hurricane Katrina." *Public Administration* Vol. 88, No.3, (September): 706-723.
- *Rosenthal, U., Boin, R.A., and Comfort, L.K. (eds.) (2001) "The Changing World of Crisis and Crisis Management," in Rosenthal, U., Boin, R.A., and Comfort, L.K. (eds.) *Managing Crises: Threats, Dilemmas, Opportunities*. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, Ltd., pp.5-27.
- *Boin, Arjen and Paul 't Hart (2003). "Public Leadership in Times of Crisis: Mission Impossible?" *Public Administration Review*, Vol.63, No.5, pp.544-553.
- *Parker, Charles F. and Stern, Eric K. (2005). "Bolt From the Blue or Avoidable Failure?: Revisiting September 11 and the Origins of Strategic Surprise," *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Vol. 1, No.3 (November): 301-327.
- *'t Hart, P, K. Tindall, and C. Brown. (2009). "Crisis Leadership of the Bush Presidency: Advisory Capacity and Presidential Performance in the Acute Stages of the 9/11 and Katrina Crises." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*.

Suggested Optional Readings:

- Boin, A., 't Hart, P., Stern, E., and Sundelius, B. (2005) *The Politics of Crisis Management: Public Leadership Under Pressure*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bovens, M. and 't Hart, P. (1996) *Understanding Policy Fiascoes*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Ellis, R.J. (1994) *Presidential Lightning Rods: The Politics of Blame Avoidance*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- Burke, J.P. and Greenstein, F.I. (1991) *How Presidents Test Reality: Decisions on Vietnam, 1954 and 1965*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Schonbach, P. (1990) *Account Episodes: The Management and Escalation of Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Alexander L. George, (ed.), (1991). *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management*. Westview.

Final Leader Profile Due Friday, May 1st

Project #1 – Background Study of a Political Leader

(Due in class on March 13th)

Who becomes a political leader? What kinds of backgrounds do political leaders come from? How representative are they of the people they lead? What is their route to power; how do they come to hold the positions they do? These are some of the questions we will consider in completing this first class project -- it involves examining the background of the political leader you have chosen to study this semester.

The following are four ways that you can go about examining the background of your political leader. **Choose two of them.** Base your choice on the kinds of information that are available on your leader. Search for information to answer the questions that are listed below the method you have selected. Then write your mini-paper using the questions as a guide to what to report. Remember the mini-papers should be 10 double-spaced pages in length.

Method 1: Effects of Childhood and Family Relationships

Historians and biographers following in the Freudian tradition have made a lot of the effects of childhood and adolescent experiences on the formation of personality and what leaders do later in life. What kind of family was your leader born into; what was its socioeconomic status; what was the father's occupation; how large was the family; were any grandparents important to what happened in the family? What was your leader's relationship with his or her mother and father; how was your leader treated vis-a-vis other siblings? What was your leader's relationships with his or her brothers and sisters; where did he or she fall in birth order? Were there any unusual experiences that your leader had in growing up that might have had implications for what he or she did later politically? What might be generational effects of any major event that happened between the ages of 16-27? Speculate on how the answers to these questions could have an effect on what your leader did in his or her leadership position.

Method 2: Effects of First Independent Political Success

Leaders must begin their careers somewhere. Some argue that how leaders achieve their first leadership position and what happens in that position affect what they do throughout their career. If you choose this method of exploring your leader's background, consider what the first political leadership position was that your leader held. This position may not be a formal political position but one where political skills are required to be effective. For instance, Ronald Reagan's first political position was as president of the Screen Actor's Guild; some other leader's may have been as President of the Student Government in high school or college, or head of the Law Review. Examine what your leader did to get this position and what he or she did while holding the position. Did working for this position involve certain kinds of personality traits or certain kinds of behavior? Who was instrumental in helping your leader get the position? What kinds of experiences did your leader have in this position; what kinds of problems did he or she face; how did he or she deal with these problems? Under what circumstances did he or she leave this position? Speculate about the implications of your answers for what your leader will do in other leadership positions. It is also worth considering their first political *failure* as well if you feel that is more appropriate.

Method 3: Route to Leadership Position

Leaders do not usually spring full-blown from the head of Zeus! They generally come up through the ranks to their position -- they pay their dues. There is a growing interest among political scientists studying political leadership in examining leaders' paths to power. Consider how your leader got the position he or she is holding. When did he or she first become interested in holding a political position? Was anyone responsible for fostering this interest and how did they foster it? Follow your leader through the various steps on the ladder to his or her last leadership position. See who helped him or her get where they did; how did he or she come to know these people; what did they require of your leader in return for their help? Do you see your leader adopting any styles of behavior to enable him or her to move up the ladder? Speculate about the effects of the route to power on what your leader did while in power and how the route to power might have influenced his or her personality.

Method 4: Religious, Ethnic, Cultural, Generational, and Situational Effects on Choice of Leader

The "match" theory of leadership suggests that leaders are chosen who fit or match the demands of the context at a particular point in time and that leaders select positions which match or fit their personalities. Consider what was happening in your leader's political group when he or she came to power. Also consider the religious, ethnic, generational, and cultural background of your leader and of those he leads. Did your leader have unique experiences that especially qualified him or her for assuming leadership? Were there reasons that his or her political constituents would have seen your leader as particularly qualified for the position? How close a match is there between what these political constituents expected of your leader and what he or she could deliver? Is your leader of the same political generation or cohort as others in the leadership or of the majority of his or her constituents? Speculate on how the match between your leader and the context affects what he or she can do in the position.

Project #2 – Overall Profile of Your Leader

(Due in class on Friday, May 1st)

The overall leader profile and analysis paper (25 pages in length minimum) represents your expert analysis of your leader and what behaviors we might

reasonably expect to see from them across differing policy contexts. You should apply to your analysis whatever materials from the seminar readings on leadership and decision-making you feel might be helpful in analyzing your leader, as well as materials you may find on their personal backgrounds, prior experience and expertise, any identifiable 'patterns' of previous behavior, or insights into their leadership styles, how they might organize their advisors, make decisions, or respond to stress (crisis or risky decision contexts).

In the real world, leader analysts would prepare reports on not only leaders, but also on other key officials in foreign governments (such as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, senior military leaders, etc.). Policymakers (your consumers of this information) will want answers to many key questions they have in dealing with these foreign officials and deciding upon their policy approaches to these countries. Your job as an analyst is to provide briefing materials (profiles) that will give them feedback on what these foreign officials are like, what backgrounds they have, and how they are likely to behave policy-wise in the future. Real profile materials produced in intelligence agencies are much briefer than those you will produce in this simulation exercise (i.e., real bios average 1-2 pages in length; longer papers on foreign officials only 5-7 pages!). However, by producing this longer profile in this seminar, you will gain the 'hands-on' experience of actually 'profiling leaders' that will enable you to begin to develop the skills required to generate the briefer, more concise reports required of the leader analyst.

The following list of questions are some of the ones you should be mindful of trying to answer in the analysis section of your foreign leader profile. Not all of them will be appropriate to your analysis or you may find you lack information to answer them given the materials you have access to in open sources. Feel free to add additional

questions to your analysis if you feel you have the information available on your leader. The list of questions below are actually used in producing real-life leader profiles in government.

- **Assess the personal strengths, weaknesses, or vulnerabilities of the leader.**
- **What motivates the leader?**
- **How can U.S. officials influence the leader?**
For example, if the U.S. does “x”, can we expect the leader or minister to do “y”?
- **Can we forecast reasonable expectations of future behavior?**
- **Does the head of state rely on his minister’s advice or does he try to be his own foreign minister?**
- **What is the relationship between the minister and the head of state (government)?**
- **Integrate characteristics of the minister or leader with the political, cultural, and social dimensions of his behavior.**
- **How does the leader or minister delegate responsibility?**
- **Is he a micromanager?**
- **Do other staffers feel they have opportunities to freely offer advice?**
- **Who does the leader or minister listen to for advice?**
- **What is the effectiveness of the leader?**
- **What is the leader or minister’s opinion of the U.S.?**
- **Any other leader characteristics (based on LTA, OpCode, or other analysis you have done) that you see as important to their behavior.**
- **Are there any health or age-related factors likely to impact the leader?**

Include in your profile a brief section summarizing basic vita material, which should include: date and place of birth; educational background; vocational experience; visits to the U.S.; marital status and number of children; and English and other language capabilities. (roughly a paragraph or two in length)

- **Note:** You may not be able to find a lot of this material, but do the best you can. Often, biographical material for leaders and officials can be found on a government’s web site.