



# Foreign Policy Analysis Course

## Session#2

### Domestic factors in FP



Hebrides  
Orkney Islands  
Stavanger  
Oslo  
Stockholm  
Uppsala  
Tallinn  
ESTONIA  
Tartu  
LATVIA  
Riga  
Liepāja  
Daugavpils  
Minsk  
BELARUS  
Vitsyebsk  
Smolensk  
Moscow  
Voronezh  
Edinburgh  
North Sea  
Baltic Sea  
Göteborg  
Åland  
Gotland  
Oland  
Klaipėda  
LITHUANIA  
Vilnius  
Kaliningrad  
RUSSIA  
Hamburg  
Berlin  
Warsaw  
POLAND  
Kraków  
Gdańsk  
Poznań  
Prague  
CZECH REPUBLIC  
Brno  
Slovakia  
Košice  
Bratislava  
Debrecen  
Budapest  
HUNGARY  
Pécs  
Timișoara  
L'viv  
UKRAINE  
Kiev  
Chomobyl'  
Donetsk  
Dnipro  
Dnipropetrovs'k  
Donets'k  
Lille  
BELGIUM  
Brussels  
Luxembourg  
LUXEMBOURG  
Paris  
FRANCE  
Munich  
Austria  
Vienna  
AUSTRIA  
Innsbruck  
Bern  
LIECHTENSTEIN  
Vaduz  
Geneva  
SWITZERLAND  
Lyon  
Milan  
Turin  
Slovenia  
Ljubljana  
Zagreb  
CROATIA  
SARAJEVO  
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA  
Sarajevo  
Mostar  
Novi Sad  
Belgrade  
SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO  
Pristina  
Bucharest  
ROMANIA  
Cluj-Napoca  
Iasi  
Tiraspol  
Odesa  
Sevastopol  
Constanta  
Varna  
BULGARIA  
Sofia  
Plovdiv  
Istanbul  
Samsun  
TURKEY  
Ankara  
Bursa  
Thessaloniki  
Macedonia  
Skopje  
Tirana  
ALBANIA  
Durrës  
Vlorë  
Bari  
Naples  
Rome  
ITALY  
Vatican City  
Florence  
San Marino  
MONACO  
NICE  
Marseille  
ANDORRA  
Andorra la Vella  
Barcelona  
Zaragoza  
Vigo  
Porto  
Lisbon  
SPAIN  
Madrid

10/15/23



# Question Case: Austria vs. Switzerland post-1989

# Black box of state

how factors related to societal inputs matter for state in FP?

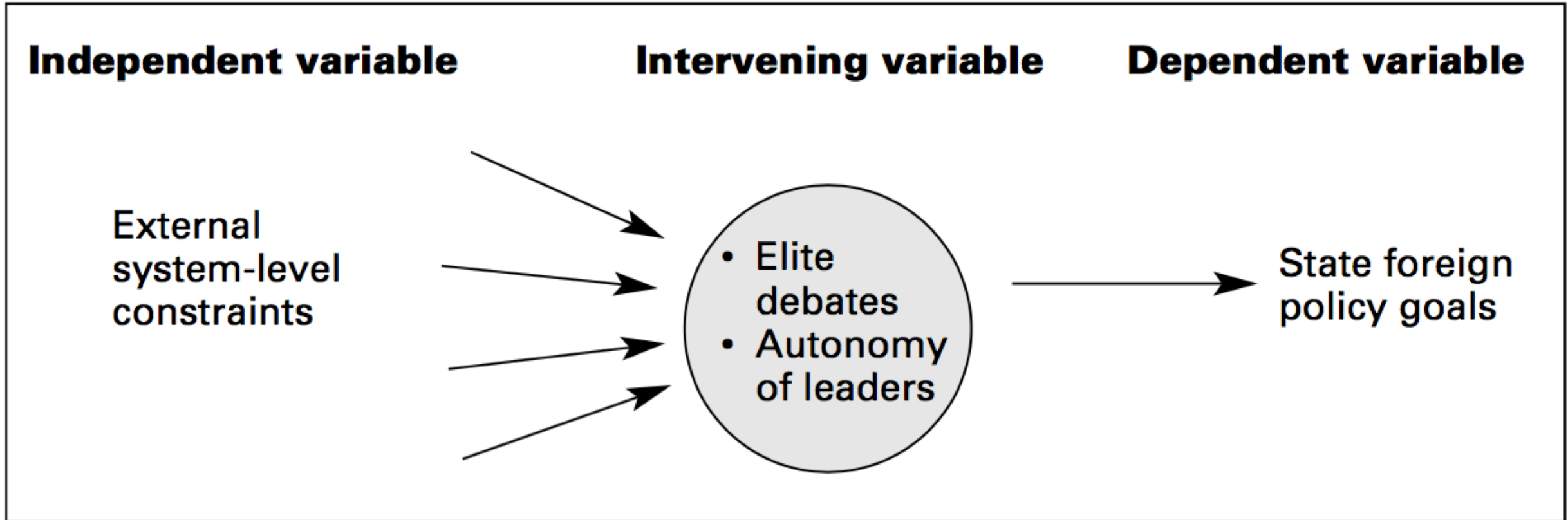


# Points of view

- Neo-classical realism vs. Structural realism
- Liberalism
- Social constructivism at state level

# Neo-classical realism

anarchy with a domestic face



# Neo-classical realism

anarchy with a domestic face

## National interest

- To ensure survival and the broader security of the state
- The desire to protect physical, political and cultural identity against encroachment by other nations (Morgenthau)
- Having examined its security requirement, it try to meet them (Waltz)

# National identity

(vs. national interest)

how a given states understands its national interest and the role in the world?

Classical (structural) point of view: the same





# FP Doctrine: FP interest + identity



Monroe doctrine  
Truman doctrine  
de Gaulle doctrine

# Sources of national identity

humans are social beings

naturally form groups

identity: differentiating from other groups



### Box 3.1 Identity and the China–Taiwan conflict

Sterling-Folker applies her analytical framework to the China–Taiwan conflict, attempting to show how both external systemic pressures and domestic identity politics drive Chinese, Taiwanese and US foreign policy interests toward each other. The conflict started in 1949 when the nationalist KMT government fled China to Taiwan after it lost in the Chinese civil war. In Taiwan the KMT party declared itself the legitimate government of all of China, and was backed by the US in this claim until the easing of US–Chinese tensions in the early 1970s. This easing of relations resulted in China taking a seat in the UN Security Council, relegating Taiwan to a semi-sovereign status without representation in international organizations, and where only a handful of states in the world officially recognized Taiwan as an independent country. China has maintained since 1949 that Taiwan is a mere rebellious province that should be reintegrated into China, potentially by military force. In Taiwan, the ruling KMT party in the 1980s and 1990s officially supported independence but accepted the status quo.

Sterling-Folker argues that liberals are wrong in thinking that the dramatic increase in economic interdependence in the 1990s and 2000s between the two countries will result in an easing of tensions. She argues that at the system level there is a natural tension between Chinese interests in expanding their power in the region and US interests in balancing against this expansion by supporting Taiwan. Domestically, in both China and Taiwan, groups had strong interests in using the conflict with the other as a means of forging stronger national identities that could be exploited for domestic political gain. For instance, in Taiwan the DPP party won elections in 2000 and 2004 based partly upon its pro-independence stance *vis-à-vis* China, using negative views of the ‘Other’ for domestic political gains. The nationalistic tactics resulted in more aggressive, pro-independence Taiwanese foreign policy goals *vis-à-vis* China (see also Clark 2007).

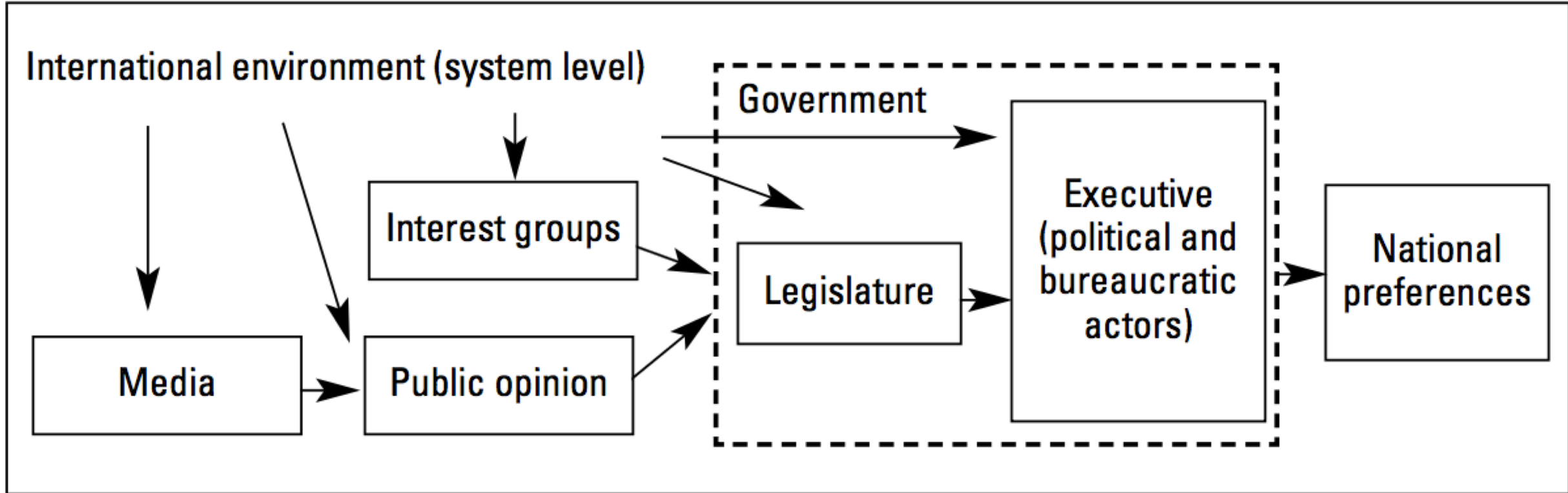
Yet recent events in Taiwan have also shown that analysts of foreign policy preferences should not read too much into events over the short term as Sterling-Folker has. The elections in 2008 brought the more conciliatory KMT party back to power, shifting the Taiwanese foreign policy goal away from independence; and recent developments have included a major trade agreement in 2010 that has cemented the thawing of relations.





# Liberalism: Opening the black box

Public opinion, interest groups, bureaucracy  
Reflect societal demands



National preferences are the result of the aggregation of societal demands through a country's political system



# Public opinion

conclusions came to be termed the Almond–Lippmann thesis. The thesis implied that the US government should not listen to public opinion, as the uninformed mood swings would result in foreign policies that do not reflect the national interest, however defined. These findings neatly dovetailed into the then popular classical realist theorization, where figures such as Morgenthau and Carr believed that state leaders would best follow the national interest by ignoring public opinion.

# Public opinion

Turning back to the more general theoretical discussion of *how* public opinion is aggregated into national preferences, there are two mechanisms that have been investigated in the US context for how public opinion can theoretically matter: one is the direct electoral channel and the second is the more indirect one through the popularity of the president and the ensuing political capital in Congress that high approval ratings give the president.



# Election & FP

lenged. Aldrich *et al.* (1989), however, found that public opinion on foreign affairs mattered for voter choice when: (1) voters actually held attitudes toward the foreign policy, (2) citizens accessed those attitudes for use when evaluating and choosing between candidates, and (3) when parties and candidates presented citizens with different foreign policy choices. The scholarly consensus today is that public opinion does use of military force (Knecht and Weatherford 2006). Further, public opinion matters most in crisis situations, whereas it matters less in more routine, non-crisis issues such as foreign trade or aid. (See Table



# Media: framing effects

# Interest groups

economic, ethnic, business, labor, cultural, religious, racial...







We Support  
our South African  
Brothers And Sisters

Free  
NI

THE Highland  
Support our  
Sisters' in

Support  
Majority Rule

We Support  
South Africa  
FOR THE







# Domestic political institutions

At the heart of this literature is the assumption that executives want to remain in office, making them dependent upon societal support to varying degrees. In **autocratic** systems, this can entail ensuring support from institutions such as the **military** or **key bureaucratic** actors, whereas in **democratic** systems an executive needs the support of a larger set of **societal and governmental actors**.

# Domestic political institutions

legislature in foreign policy-making. Most important is the number of 'veto players' in foreign policy-making, with 'veto players' defined as actors that have the power to veto a given decision (Tsebelis 1995). This factor is especially crucial when executives negotiate international agreements that have to be ratified by domestic legislatures, where decision-making rules for approval determine how much the executive must listen to domestic veto players (Milner 1997). In parliamentary systems where a government enjoys a large majority, the prime minister as head of government has quite free hands to negotiate deals, whereas in minority or coalition governments the executive is forced to accommodate the interests of a parliamentary majority. Veto players are usually more influential in presidential systems such as the US, where powers are split between the president and Congress (see Box



# Domestic political institutions

research is that the US president enjoys relatively strong powers *vis-à-vis* Congress in foreign policy in comparison to his weaker powers in domestic law making, leading some scholars to comment on the nature of the 'dual presidency' (strong foreign policy and weaker domestic

# Strong liberalism: fundamental transformation

fundamental *transformations* in the nature  
of relations between and within states can  
take place

Neo-functionalism is a theory that explains how the participation of governmental and non-governmental elites in international institutions can **transform state interests** from being purely centered on **national interests** toward a more **cooperative understanding of interests**.



# Social constructivism

## interest and identity construction

importance of ideas, norms and culture for foreign policy and international relations

Discursive formations<sup>†</sup> are the product of processes of domestic identity construction, influenced by external events. Looking at Russia, Hopf (2005: 238) argues that ‘while Russian identity has deep daily roots, its great power identity is in a daily construction project with the external world, especially with the US and Europe. Interaction with the US and Europe produces, reinforces, and counteracts the discourses of Russian identity at home’.





# Post-structuralism

the politics of identity and securitization theory

no single 'objective' truth or reality  
perceive the social world through language

language is not a neutral medium

threats are not just 'objective' threats



# Securitization

A threat has been constructed when an audience believes that 'if we do not tackle this problem, everything else will be irrelevant



از توجه شما متشکرم

سازان کریم