

UCM Course 2017-2018

FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

Coordinator: Birsen Erdogan

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Maastricht University, 22 September 2017

Introduction

We are not yet fully aware of the consequences of the recent developments we have witnessed in the world; election of Trump, instability and several interventions in the Middle East, increasing sense of insecurity especially in the West, several serious issues ranging from economic recession to environmental problems, from humanitarian catastrophes such as influx of refugees to disputes over weapons of mass destruction. Terrorist attacks on the US of September 11th 2001 may be a watershed moment comparable to the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9th 1989. Europe is witnessing very peculiar times as well with the flow of refugees, terrorist attacks in big cities and the turning points that EU is going through especially after financial crisis and Brexit. The situation all three countries that the Western powers intervened in recent years; Libya, Afghanistan, Yemen and Iraq is still not stable, not to mention failure of all attempts to stop the war in Syrian war, one of the most devastating wars of our times. The latter mutated to a proxy war and an area where the regional and great powers make various calculations and continue their struggles. Situation in Ukraine is still very tense and some claim the return of the Cold War in Europe. The conflict between Israel and Palestine has not been resolved. Arab spring did not bring stability to some regions in the MENA region, on the contrary maybe opened the Pandora's box for the competition and fighting of various groups over power. There are speculations about China's intentions and objectives to be the world superpower. There are tensions with North Korea and tensions in Venezuela. Last but not least, the USA, maybe the greatest power in the world, has just elected according to many a very unpredictable president. In general, we see more and more autocratic tendencies in democratically elected governments (Turkey, Hungary, Poland, Philippines, Thailand, Ukraine, India), increased securitisation and surveillance in European Union, the emergence of new protracted conflicts and maybe even failed states (South Sudan, Mali, Libya), ambiguities about the world energy resources and oil prices, serious claims of corruption in left-leaning governments (such as Brazil, Venezuela) and rise of right-wing or less liberal parties in several European countries (Denmark, Germany, Austria, France, Slovakia, Poland so on).

When state leaders make decisions, they are under various influences. These influences include their environments (national and international) and their emotions. Considering multiplicity of these influences, it is not always very easy to make the 'best' decision for the country. That is why, foreign policy is a very interesting field of study. This course pays attention to the enhanced research on the foreign policy analysis as a study-field. Course literature uses the theories of International Relations extensively in explaining world events and foreign policy choices of governments. The course also explains several foreign policy decisions of different state leaders by using case-studies and examples.

The course commences with foreign policy-making in general. Each substantive chapter of the course book is supported by a case-study again selected from the course book. The course explains the evolution of the foreign policy as a study, theories of foreign policy, decision-making, implementation in foreign policy and the role of psychology, media and norms.

The course at the end aims at giving an in-depth knowledge to the students on foreign policy as an academic study but also foreign policy as a practice.

We highly recommend this course to those who are planning to work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or in the intergovernmental organisations such as the United Nations.

Literature

Mandatory Book: Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne, (2016). Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases, Oxford University Press, Third Edition

In addition to the book, we are going to use several e-articles in this course. Some e-articles can be found on ELEUM and some can be retrieved through university library's collection of e-journals and some will be suggested by your tutors especially for a further and background information on some issues and theories.

Course Assessment

Optional assignment(s): 40%

Final Paper or take-home exam: 50%

Participation: 10%

Students can decide what kind of mid-term assignment(s) they want to submit. They can submit a midterm paper or two short papers. They can submit a short paper and make a class presentation. They can write a journal. Or they can do discourse, book, documentary, podcast or literature analysis/review. This list is open. Approach your tutor with suggestions, your intentions and information about your assessment.

- Students have to submit their written mid-term assignments latest on the 24th of November (23:30)!
- Presentations can still take place in the last week and journal can be submitted immediately after the last tutorial.
- Students should inform their tutor about the type of assignment they want to submit.
- Presentations depend on the time and space available. Only one student can make a presentation in a tutorial meeting (exception can be the last tutorial).
- A short paper is around 2000 words. A long paper is up to 3000 words.
- Every submission has to have a theoretical framework and a case has to be applied or analysed correctly and academically.
- Grades for the midterm assignment(s) will weight 40% of the total grade.
- The content of assignments CANNOT overlap with each other.
- More information about presentation is given below.

Final examination will be **either** a paper on a topic students chooses and tutor approves **or** a take-home exam given in the last day of the course (50% or the total grade). Papers and take-home exams are due on the 14th of December at 23:30. Students will submit their papers on a foreign policy issue, case, theory or analysis by using

what they have learned in this course (theories, approaches, discussions, cases, etc) and by making additional research. Papers may not overlap with the other papers or assignments. Final papers should be 3000 (min.) 3500 words (max.).

Guidelines and Assessment Criteria for Papers

1. A clear research question which addresses theoretical aspects of the course and what we have studied so far. Don't pick a journalistic question like "Why Did Bush Invade Iraq?" Instead your research question should address the theoretical aspects of this course and must be academically formulated (example, What is the Added Value of Neuroscience in Foreign Policy or What is the Nature of Division between neoconservatives and Realists in the USA?)
2. Clear structure: Introduction, central part and conclusion (include in the introduction a brief overview of what you will do in the rest of the paper). Write in well-developed paragraphs, and feel free to use subheadings to help reader follow the structure of your argument. As you write, ask yourself as you go along, "is this necessary to understand my research question and does it contribute toward providing an answer?"
3. Presentation of historical facts should be limited to those facts that are necessary to understand the research question.
4. Arguments in the paper must work toward providing an answer to the research question.
5. The analysis should be sufficiently in-depth.
6. Students should document all factual claims and references to scholarly literature (APA or footnotes, being consistent in your choice of form is what counts).
7. The paper should be sufficiently supported by documentation, including scholarly sources, reliable news and information from international agencies/organisations.
8. Check language, spelling and style.
9. Paper length must be between 3000 and 3500 words (5,000-5,500 for a team of two students) and 1.5 spaced. Number pages.
10. **A list of main problems observed in papers has been posted on ELEUM.** Take a look at it before starting your paper please. It will help you.

Take-home in this course will be given in the last day of the course. It will be about a real or hypothetical case or cases. It will cover an important part of the course from the beginning to the end. In the exam, students are not expected to make additional research but they expected to know and apply all course literature or as much as possible. Take home exam will measure the knowledge of the students of the course literature but also their argumentation, analytical and writing skills.

Presentations in this course will be based on a foreign policy news about an incident, event, comment or issue. Each student will make a short presentation on that foreign policy news. Student will make this presentation in a meeting specifically designed for that issue (role of public opinion, economy, national security, so on) or a

specific theory. This means that these presentations will be part of post-discussion of the tutorial! Presentations made based on fresh news, preferably from that week would be useful but old and historical events and news could also be used. In this 15 minutes presentation, student will tell the group what she/he finds relevant in that news to that meeting, how the issue is related, how it is explained by our literature, and how we can analyse it. Style and format are free. Students can make power point or prezi presentations or simply speak or make an interactive presentation with interesting tools and methods (surveys, games, maps, images, short movies so on). Pick a specific narrowed-down issue and not a broad topic with many inter-related questions. 15 minutes is a short time, and the main purpose of the presentation is to lead to enriched post-discussions. Presentations will start taking place from Meeting 3 onwards and will continue till the end. There will be one presentation in a tutorial (except the last tutorial meeting)!

Guidelines and Assessment Criteria for Presentations

1. You can make short presentations on a theory/model with a case study starting from Meeting 3.
Please beware that there will not be much time to make elaborated presentations (you have only 15 minutes).
2. A good presentation should have:
 - A good theoretical understanding of that tutorial (not only book sentences, but also your own analysis and understanding in your own words).
 - A good case applicable to the theory and ability of student reflecting on the theory with the case study. Clarity, grounded arguments, coherence and good analytical skills are expected.
 - Good presentation skills including speech skills, the use of interactive or visual tools.
 - Engaging the audience and generating a discussion in the tutorial.
 - You do not have to use only our course literature and arguments used by our authors. You are encouraged to find alternative resources, literature, opinions, examples. Think outside of the box and think broadly.
 - Originality, independent thinking and creativity will be praised.
 - However do not forget that your presentation is about that tutorial and has to make a contribution to the post-discussion.
3. Structure:
 - After a short Introduction about the case and the theory (2 minutes max.), the student will explain how the case is related, how it is explained by our and/or outside literature, and how we can analyse it.
 - Style and format are free. Anything interactive, lively, visually exhibited will be more appreciated. Any presentation displaying the analytical, original, creative, critical and independent mind of student will be highly appreciated by the tutors.

4. Presentations should not be like monologues but they should invite others to a discussion.
5. Other students are expected to participate in the debate.

ATTENDANCE & ADDITIONAL ASSIGNMENT & RESIT EXAM

For attendance, extra assignment and resit exam, rules and procedures determined by the UCM Academic Rules and Regulations will be applied. These rules can be found in student's or teacher's handbooks. The content and type of the additional assignment will be decided by the tutor and tutor will inform the student about it. Resit exam will be in the format of a paper.

In this course, lectures are also compulsory to attend. Students should follow at least 80 percent of all lectures. We highly recommend students to attend all tutorial meetings.

SCHEDULE OF POST-DISCUSSIONS IN TUTORIAL MEETINGS (names of the literature is given after the relevant task)

Meeting 1, 31st of October: Evolution of FPA and Realism.

Meeting 2, 3rd of November: Liberalism and FP.

Meeting 3, 7th of November: USA and the Primacy of National Security.

Meeting 4, 10th of November: Constructivism.

Meeting 5, 14th of November: Discourse Analysis.

Meeting 6, 17th of November: Economic Statecraft.

Meeting 7, 21st of November: Implementation and Behaviour.

Meeting 8, 24th of November: Duties Beyond Borders.

- 24th of November (23:30): Deadline for written mid-term assignments (except journals)

Meeting 9, 28th of November: Rational, Psychological and Neurological Models.

Meeting 10, 1st of December: Role of Media and Public Opinion.

Meeting 11, 5th of December: Level of Analysis.

Meeting 12, 8th of December: Final Analyses: One last tutorial, one last discussion.

- 8th of December: Take-home exam will be published.
- 14th of December (23:30): Deadline for Final Papers and Take-Home Exam

LECTURES

Lecture 1: **Indian Foreign Policy, Nicolas Blarel (Leiden)- 31 October**

Lecture 2: **American Foreign Policy, Dario Fazzi (Leiden) - 07 November**

Lecture 3: **Critical Theories in Foreign Policy Analysis, Falk Ostermann (Germany) - 14 November**

Lecture 4: **Jay Huang, Chinese Foreign Policy (Leiden)- 21 November**

Lecture 5: TBA - **28 November**

Lecture 6: **South African Foreign Policy and a Comparative Perspective (Erasmus), Michal Onderco- 05 December**

IMPORTANT: Lectures are compulsory to attend. Please attend at least 80 percent of all lectures.

Lectures are subject to change.

If there are other relevant lectures, we will announce them to our students.

MOVIES: There are many relevant movies, documentaries and series. Feel free to share them with your tutors and peers please. We suggest In the Loop, Killing Fields, Fog of the War, House of Cards, Newsroom.

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MEETINGS AND TASKS

Meeting 1- Task 1 (POST-DISCUSSION)

This is our first meeting and it will be a **post-discussion**. In this meeting, students can decide which case-scenario or country they want to analyse.

Evolution of Foreign Policy analysis and Realism

Realism has been one of the most important theories in International Relations especially during the Cold War. If we remember the basic assumptions of realism, we kind of guess what type of foreign policy approach the adherents of this theory will adopt. We had some realist states-people in the world politics like Henry Kissinger. Can realism explain the foreign policy of states today? By looking at the world today, one can also claim that realist approaches are not sufficient to explain behaviours of states. According to those people, there are certain weaknesses in realist theory.

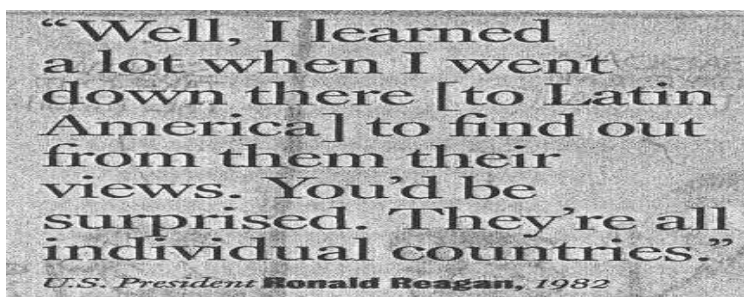
Our case study is about India as a rising economic power in the WTO and its possible consequences.

For this assignment, answer the learning goals below:

- How do we use realist explanations in FPA?
- Shortly discuss the different sub-schools of realism.
- Discuss examples from current world events from realist perspective.
- What are the main features of the Indian Foreign Policy? Its novelties?
- How are Indian foreign policy and identity developed? What are its problems, issues?
- What are the main internal and external actors and influences for Indian FP?
- What are realist and non realist elements in Indian foreign policy?

OPTIONAL: Read the Chapter 1 in your course book about the emergence and evolution of Foreign Policy.

Literature: Chapter 2: Realism and Foreign Policy and Chapter 18 on India and WTO.



Meeting 2- Task 2: Liberalism and Foreign Policy

You have learned what the liberal approaches of International Relations theories are and what kind of assumptions they make in a previous course. Liberal approaches do not have pessimism of realist theories. They do not have the same assumptions about the behaviours of actors either. Yet, just like realist approaches, (neo) liberal approaches are also based on rational actor models which operate with the logic of cost-benefit analysis.

A liberal and democratic state is expected to behave differently in foreign policy. There are several priorities for liberal states in determining the right foreign policy decision. It is assumed that liberal states behave differently in their foreign relations. Students will discuss foreign policy behaviours of liberal states and how certain liberal ideas and ideals lead to certain policies.

Literature: Chapter 3: Liberalism and Foreign Policy and Sebastian Rosato, The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory, *American Political Science Review*, 2003, 97:4 (e-journals are available through the web site of the University Library).

Recommended: Michael W. Doyle, Liberal internationalism: Peace, War and Democracy, available on: http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/articles/doyle/index.html; Michael W. Doyle, Democratic Liberalization, available on: http://www.un.org/democracyfund/Docs/MichaelDoyle_paperNov.pdf; Condoleezza Rice, The promise of Democratic Peace, available on: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/12/09/AR2005120901711.html>
For some information, statistics and reviews on Democratic Peace Theory, visit: <http://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/MIRACLE.HTM>



The Crisis in Democracy

Meeting 3- Task 3: USA and the Primacy of National Security

National security is a very commonly used but also a contested concept. The same can be said for the concept of 'threat.' These concepts are at the core of Realist assumptions. However, realism and its key concepts are challenged by different theories or schools. Another issue related to this discussion would be the choice of the best strategy to preserve national security. States can adopt different policies and foreign policy behaviours to protect their security. Even within one state, we can see differing strategies over time. After all G. W. Bush did everything for his country. However, one can claim that he adopted wrong strategies. We all wonder if the new president of the USA will make changes in the national security approach and follow a different strategy to maintain the security of nation. According to some, neoconservatives are so strong in the shaping of the American foreign policy that it is hard to overlook their influence.

Literature: Chapter 10: The Primacy of National Security, Chapter 16: Neoconservatism and the Domestic Sources of American FP and TBA.



Meeting 4- Task 4: Constructivism and Role of Ideas, Norms and Rules

According to constructivism, interests and identities of actors are not fixed but they are constructed by material and immaterial factors. This approach diverts the attention from state and system-centric explanations to more ideational, social and linguistic elements. In that regard, constructivism does not differ only from realist school, but it has also some differences with liberal approaches. Constructivists are not satisfied with fixed explanations and given realities, but they try to go beyond these issues by incorporating the role of language, norms, values, persuasion and argumentation in the decision-making process.

Think about the role of norms and rules in international relations. Do you think that states refrain acting in a certain way because it is not appropriate? Or do they only pursue their national interests and pre-given goals without even caring what their actions may entail normatively?

Constructivist researchers investigated several areas of foreign policy making and behaviour, including the role and influence of institutions on states, the EU integration and its effect on its members and candidate states, use or non-use of nuclear or chemical weapons, compliance with international agreements and evolution of international regimes.

In the empirical article on EU-Turkey, the questions of identity are revisited. What role does identity play in the relationship between the EU and non-member external countries? How does constructivist scholarship approach the questions of identity formation and the role identity plays in foreign policymaking? If identities are the basis of interests as constructivists claim, could ideational factors impact foreign policies?

Literature: Chapter 4: Constructivism and Foreign Policy; Bahar Rumelili, Negotiating Europe: EU-Turkey Relations from an Identity Perspective, *Insight Turkey*, 2008, 10:1 available here <http://files.setav.org/uploads/Pdf/insight-10-1-rumelili.pdf> and Nina Tannenwald, Nuclear Taboo, International Organization, 1999, 53:3.

Recommended: Chapter 24: New Actors, New Foreign Policy: EU and Enlargement; Joan DeBardeleben, Applying Constructivism to Understanding EU–Russian Relations, 2012, *International Politics* 49, 418-433; Thomas Risse, “Social Constructivism” in European Integration Theory (2nd edition), Wiener and Diez (eds), 2009, Ted Hopf, The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory, 1998, *International Security* 23:1, 171-200.

Post-structuralism understands almost all constructs in the social and political world as discursive practices. Any actor or issue in a discourse can acquire a positive (friend, harmless, one of us) meaning or a negative meaning (enemy, evil, 'them'). Before discussing the role of discourse, it is essential to refresh our knowledge on Post-structuralism and its main characteristics.

Literature: Chapter 5: Discourse Analysis, Post-Structuralism and FP and TBA.

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Meeting 6- Task 6: Economic Statecraft

States do not have only military forces at their disposal to influence the policies of another state. They also have various economic instruments and capabilities, which can be used to achieve foreign policy objectives. Economic sanctions, for instance, have been a long-standing tool of foreign policy, though it is debatable how effective they are. Maybe their success depends on the target country and the purpose of their use. Consider the US embargo on Cuba which has existed since the 1960s, but gradually lifted under Obama administration. Myanmar and Iran are other cases. What are the purpose of sanctions? Do they work? What about the current sanctions on Russia? What are they trying to accomplish, and do they have the intended impact?

Economic incentives/strengths of a state can sometimes be used in positive ways too, in foreign policy. Positive incentives can be used as tools of leverage. According to some, especially after the end of the Cold War, economic tools became very commonly used foreign policy instruments. Increasing interdependence among states is also another important factor which is closely related to the relationship between economy and foreign policy. Different International relations theories have differing opinions on the value of interdependence, though.

Our case study explores the relationship between the EU and Russia based on the EU's dependency on Russian natural resources as a case study.

Literature: Chapter 11: Economic Statecraft, and Chapter 23: Energy and Foreign Policy



Meeting 7, Task 7: Implementation and Behaviour

Foreign policy decisions are not taken in sterile environments. Context can be very important in formulating a decision and implementing it. Even certain terms and dimensions can vary from a leader to another. The concept of 'international' changes depending on your location and position. In decision-making there are many layers involved and actors have to consider them all. If one layer is the domestic layer, the other one would be 'outside.' How can leaders balance these two layers? Decision making and implementation can be different in big states and in some issue areas. If you are a leader, it is crucial for you to know your capabilities and instruments. Students will discuss politics in China, Australia and the UK. Discuss why implementing a certain policy (or not being able to implement it) is complicated. What are the important factors that leaders should take in to account? Why a decision is one thing and implementation is another? How would domestic environment support or hinder a policy in the foreign affairs or vice versa? What are important international factors or actors that leaders should consider in implementation? Case studies deal with entering to a war or not, a big country's controversial human rights record and not very well-known but quite impressive Brazilian foreign policy.

Literature: Chapter 17: China and the Tian'anmen Bloodshed of June 1989 and one of the below:

Chapter 22 Blair's Britain and the Road to War in Iraq

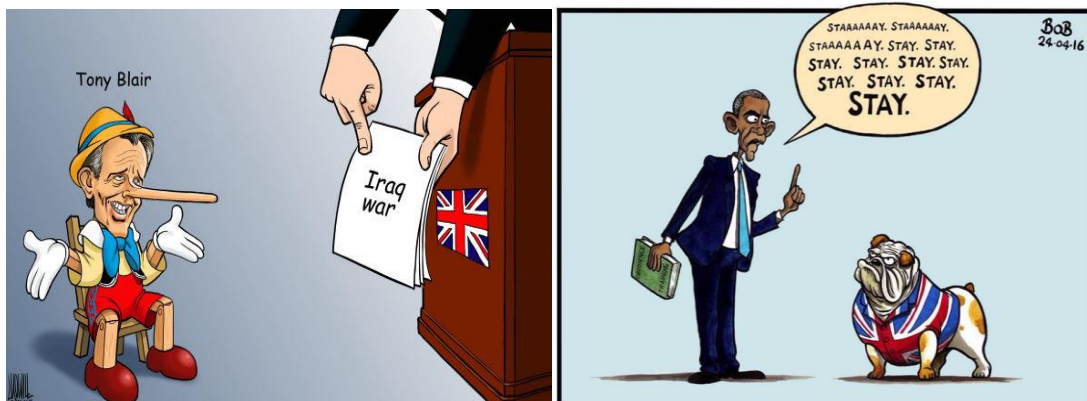
OR

Chapter 18 on Brazil.

OPTIONAL: Chapter 8: Implementation and Behaviour

Strongly recommended: Oliver Daddow and Pauline Schapper, “Liberal Intervention in the Foreign Policy Thinking of Tony Blair and David Cameron”, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 2013, 26:2.

Recommended: Oliver Daddow, “Interpreting the Outsider Tradition in British European Policy: Speeches from Thatcher to Cameron”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2015, 53:1; Oliver Daddow, Mark Bevir, “Introduction: Interpreting British European Foreign Policy”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2015, 53:1; Fenno Jr, R. F. (1986). Observation, context, and sequence in the study of politics. *The American Political Science Review*, 3-15.



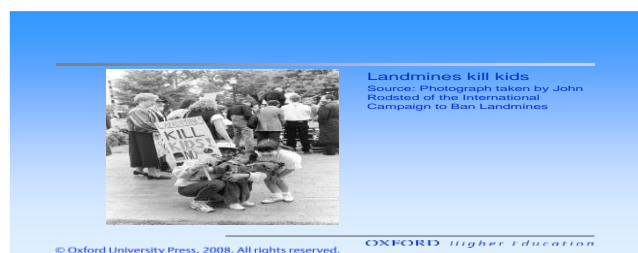


Meeting 8- Task 8: Human Rights, Duties Beyond Borders

According to realism, states do not have 'moral' duties and responsibilities but they have 'interests.' However, state leaders are human beings, too. Can they watch a tragedy happening somewhere in the globe with a cold heart? Remember Rwanda. The whole world including great powers and big organizations stood by and did not do anything to prevent the genocide. Interestingly, the US position towards Somalia was much more active and involved just a couple of years prior to the Rwanda genocide. There can be different explanations for the US passiveness in the case of Rwanda. Different international relations theories can also be used to see how the reluctance or activeness of states in the face of humanitarian emergencies is explained. In international system today, maybe we can talk about the competition between 'realpolitik' and 'responsibility.' The international campaign to ban landmines is a good illustrative of this competition. Our other case study involves humanitarian interventions and foreign policies of states about them.

Literature: Chapter 12: Duties Beyond Borders and ONE of these chapters: Chapter 15: Canada and Antipersonnel Landmines OR Chapter 24 on Syria OR Chapter 20 Australia and Global Climate Change.

Recommended: Jason Davidson, "France, Britain and Intervention in Libya", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 2013, 26:2.



Meeting 9- Task 9: Rational, Psychological and Neurological Models



Traditionally, the rational decision-making model was used by some scholars in explaining the foreign policy behaviours of state leaders. However, cognitive psychology has found important differences between the expectations of this model and the actual decisions. One wonders if individuals are generally biased before they make decisions and whether they in fact update their beliefs on the basis of newly acquired information. What would be the consequences of this? With the improvements in different research fields, scientists are now trying to see the effects of emotions and cognitive processes. It is still a valid question how much we should trust this kind of research, as the foreign-policy decisions are usually not taken by one person. Do emotions play a role in the group or national decision making in times of wars?

Study our case studies and think how rational actor model would have difficulties to explain some foreign policy choices.

Literature: Chapter 7: Foreign Policy Decision Making: Rational, Psychological and Neurological Models, Chapter 21: Israeli-Egyptian (In)Security and one of the below:

Emotional Beliefs by Mercer

OR

Revenge in International Politics, Lowenheim

OR

Humiliation after September 11, Saurette

Recommended: Janice Gross Stein, "Psychological Explanations of International Decision Making and Collective Behavior." In Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations*. 2nd edn. London: Sage, 2013. Pp. 195-219. Jonathan Mercer, "Rationality and Psychology in International Politics." *International Organization*, 59, 1 (Winter 2005): 77-106; Tyler M. Curley, "Social Identity Theory and EU Expansion," *International Studies Quarterly*, 2009, 53, pp.449-668 .Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, *Causes of War*, chap. 5: "Decision-Making: The Individual Level." Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. Jonathan Mercer, "Rationality and Psychology in International Politics." *International Organization*, 59, 1 (Winter 2005): 77-106. Rose McDermott, *Political Psychology in International Relations*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004. Chap. 4-5. Kenneth Boulding, "National Images and International Systems." *Journal of Conflict*

Resolution, 3: 120-31. Ted E. Brader and George E. Marcus, "Emotion and Political Psychology." In Leonie Huddy, David O. Sears, and Jack S. Levy, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*. 2nd edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. Chap. 7. Kathleen D. Vohs, Roy F. Baumeister, and George Loewenstein, eds., *Do Emotions Help or Hurt Decision Making? A Hedgefoxian Perspective*. New York: Russell Sage 2007. Rose McDermott, "The Feeling of Rationality: The Meaning of Neuroscience for Political Science," *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (December 2004): 691-706. Brent E. Sasley, "Theorizing States' Emotions." *International Studies Review* 13, 3 (September (2011): 452-476. Jonathan Mercer, "Emotion and Strategy in the Korean War," *International Organization*, 67, 02 (April 2013), 221-252. Rose McDermott, "Emotions and War: An Evolutionary Model of Motivation." In Manus I. Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies III*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009. Pp. 30-59.



Meeting 10- Task 10: The Role of Media and Public Opinion

In open regimes, we expect media and public opinion have a greater influence on the decision-making. However the reality can be reversed: the government or decision-makers may influence media and public opinion. In the 1990s, the whole world was talking about something called the 'CNN effect.' The power of CNN or similar media stem from the strategies they use to disseminate information and news coverage. If it was not media, how would the world public know about what happened in Tian'anmen square or to US pilots in Somalia? However, there are also some people who would never trust media. Today, we can talk about the 'Al-Jazeera effect,' when we think about alternative media. As usual, some IR theories can be used to explain the effects of media. As it is our case study, discuss the influence of media and public opinion in changing the Chinese policies in certain issues like violations of human rights. Our second case explores the foreign policy behaviour and the decision-making in the United States taking several variables into account.

Literature: Chapter 9: The Role of Media and Public Opinion and TBA.

Recommended Literature: Thomas Knecht and M. Stephen Weatherford, "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: The Stages of Presidential Decision Making." *International Studies Quarterly*, 50, 3 (September 2006), 705-27. Christopher Gelpi, Peter Feaver, and Jason Reifler, "Success Matters: Casualty Sensitivity and the War in Iraq." *International Security*, 30, 3 (Winter 2005/06): Adam J. Berinsky, "Assuming the Costs of War: Events, Elites, and American Public Support for Military Conflict." *Journal of Politics*, 69, 4 (November 2007): 975–997. Daniel W. Drezner, "The Realist Tradition in American Public Opinion." *Perspectives on Politics*, 6, 1 (March 2008): 51-70. Shana Kushner Gadarian, "Foreign Policy at the Ballot Box: How Citizens Use Foreign Policy to Judge and Choose Candidates." *Journal of Politics* 72, 4 (October 2010): 1046-62. Benjamin A. Valentino, Paul K. Huth, and Sarah E. Croco. "Bear Any Burden? How Democracies Minimize the Costs of War." *Journal of Politics* 72, 2 (April 2010): 528-44; Daniel W. Drezner, "The Realist Tradition in American Public Opinion." *Perspectives on Politics*, 6, 1 (March 2008): 51-70.

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VICTIMS OF WAR



'ENEMY'



CHRIS MADDEN

Meeting 11- Task 11: Levels of Analysis and Decision-Making

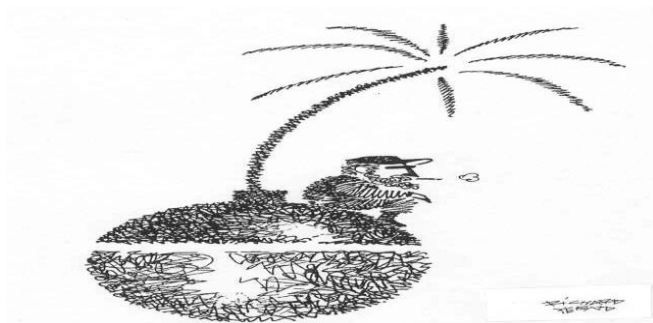
There are different approaches to explain foreign policy making. Realism and neoliberalism are two of them. In analyzing foreign policy decision making, the process of decision-making gains a considerable importance and relevance. Here different influences on actors are important to know such as the 'level of analysis' framework can be a useful tool to understand actions from different perspectives.

At least three times during the period following the Second World War we found ourselves at the brink of a third world war. During the Berlin Crisis of 1948-1949, the 1962 Cuban missile crisis and at the end of the 1973 Yom Kippur War, the world faced the danger of a direct confrontation between superpowers. Graham Allison has analysed the involvement of the United States in Cuban missile crisis. He focused in particular on who took decisions within the federal administration and how these decisions were taken. He explained the role played by organisations and bureaucracies. The following words by Graham Allison have become famous: "where you stand depends on where you sit".

Literature: Chapter 6, and Graham Allison "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," in *International Relations Theory*, P. Viotti and M. Kauppi (Eds), pp. 280-296.

Strongly Recommended: Chapter 14 and Graham Allison, "The Cuban Missile Crisis at 50," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2012.

Recommended: E-reader (Rosenau, J. (1980). Pre-theories and theories of foreign policy. In: *The scientific study of foreign policy*, Frances Pinter, London [etc.], pp. 132-140, 155-169.



Meeting 12- Task 12: Final Analyses (Scenario Building, Discourses, Presentations)

In this exercise session, you can do a couple of things:

- Take a case and discuss it in detail (strongly suggested cases: US President, Brexit, German foreign policy) by applying everything you learned in this course.
- Create a scenario (or tell your tutor to send you a scenario) and have a grounded discussion on it by taking issues and actors from various angles into account and make smart predictions for the future possibilities.
- Making discourse analysis presentations (or other presentations).
- Alternatively, you can do something different and novel and make an analysis of a speech (or series of speeches), a podcast, an incident, some news, a movie, documentary, book, series, etc.

Suggestions: Series: Borgen, Movies: In the Loop, Shadow Maker, Snowden, Power of Nightmares, Our Eyes in the Sky, various foreign policy podcasts, analysis of landmark speeches.

Objective in this tutorial is to give chances to students to complete their presentations/assignments and to wrap the course up by making an overall analysis one last time by using theories, methods and models.

