

Crisis Diplomacy

Two-Level Games

March 17, 2015

Why Domestic Politics Matter for Diplomacy

Democracies and dictatorships differ in:

- preferences**
- constraints**
- options**

Flashback: Models of Decision

- **Rational actor**
 - **Focus on interstate strategic interactions**
 - **Hold fixed preferences**
- **Governmental politics**
 - **Preferences as function of internal bargaining**
 - **Hold fixed other states' behavior**

Integrating the Models

Putnam's central question: How do domestic divisions affect international bargaining?

Central answer: Strong domestic audiences...

- 1. decrease chances of reaching settlement**
- 2. improve terms of settlement (if reached)**

The Two-Level Game

Basic Components

- **Actors**
 - **Governments (Level I)**
 - **Respective domestic audiences (Level II)**
- **Stakes: international policy**
- **Disagreement outcome: status quo**
- **Settlement outcome: new policy implemented**

The Two-Level Game

Sequence of Events

- 1. Governments bargain with each other**
 - No deal → status quo**
 - Deal → move onto next level**
- 2. Domestic audiences "ratify" the deal**
 - Both ratify → deal implemented**
 - Either doesn't → status quo**

Issue Space and Win Sets

- **Continuum of possible settlements**
 - **distribution of a benefit**
 - **division of a cost**
 - **policy space (e.g., left-right, dove-hawk)**
- **Win set: range of outcomes an actor deems acceptable**

Issue Space and Win Sets

Example: Tariff on Japanese Cars

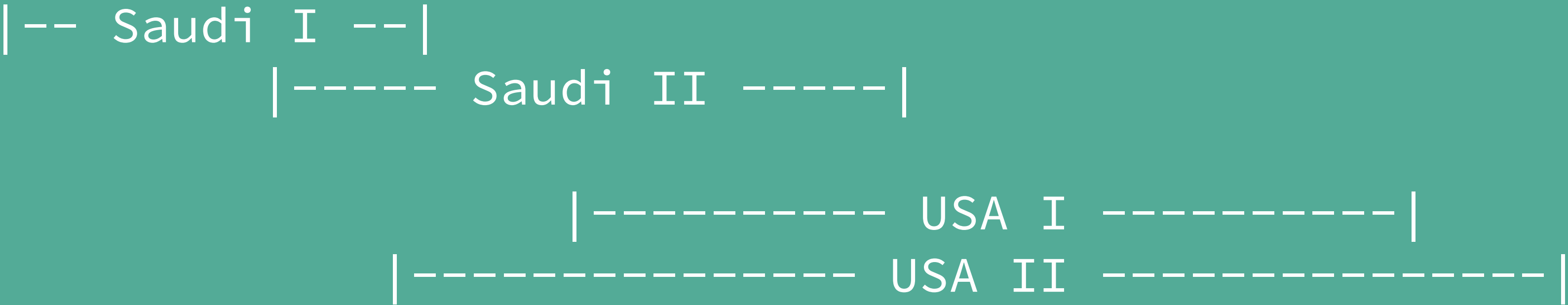
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Issue Space and Win Sets

Example: Global Women's Rights

less more



Attainable Outcomes

An outcome can be reached only if it lies in *every* actor's win set.

Attainable Outcomes: Example



Attainable Outcomes: Example



Attainable Outcomes: Example



Attainable Outcomes: Example



Win Set Size

Two effects of shrinking a country's Level II win set:

- 1. More say in the final deal**
- 2. Less chance of agreement altogether**

Win Set Size: Distributive Consequences

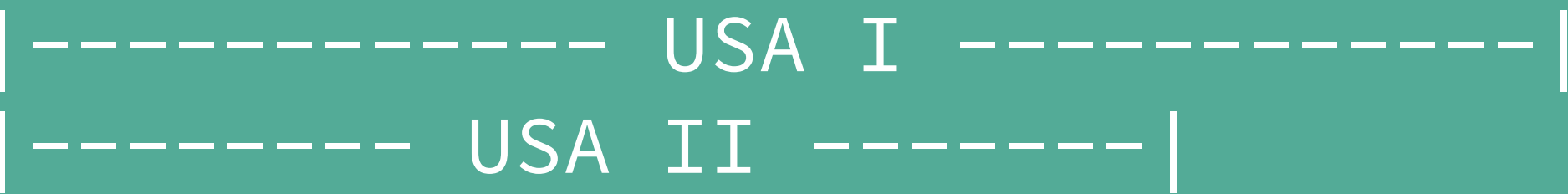
Smaller Level II win set → Better deal



Win Set Size: Distributive Consequences

Smaller Level II win set → Better deal

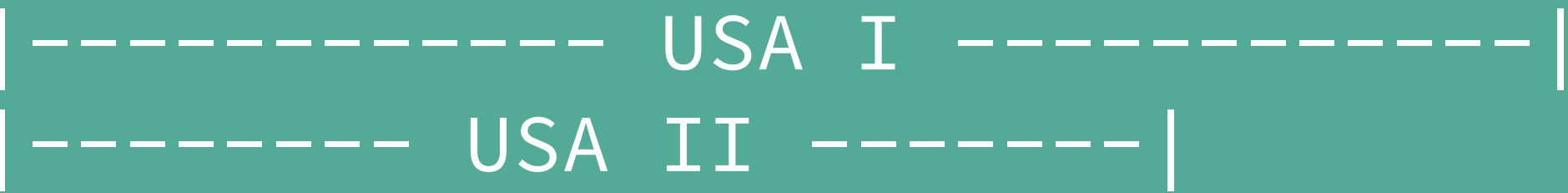
none****nuke



Win Set Size: Chances of Agreement

Level II win set *too small* → No deal

none****nuke



Win Set Size: Chances of Agreement

Level II win set *too* small → No deal

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Connections to Schelling

Taking a decision out of your hands has benefits...
... but it also has risks.

Origins of Win Sets

In a democracy, why would the leader's win set differ from the public's?

Origins of Win Sets

- **How the issue relates to domestic coalitions**
- **Domestic political institutions**
- **Promises by Level I leaders**

Expanding the Issue Space

Countries can bargain over more than one issue at once.

How does this affect Level I and Level II win sets?

And the outcomes of bargaining?

Dictatorships and Democracies

Which kind of government has an advantage in two-level games?

Limitations of Putnam's Analysis

What are the competing explanations?

What is this article missing?

For Next Time

- **Read Leeds, "Domestic Political Institutions, Credible Commitments, and International Cooperation" (JSTOR).**

Image Sources

— Chess boards: **Flickr** user streetwalker