# Gauses of War Domestic Constraints and Bargaining

March 24, 2015

# Today's Agenda

- 1. Domestic audiences and international bargaining.
- 2. Presentation on "International Conflict and the Tenure of Leaders."
- 3. Presentation on "Political Bias and War."

# Recap: Causes of Bargaining Breakdown

- Uncertainty
- Commitment problems
- Mobilization

# **Domestic Politics and Bargaining Breakdown**

- How can domestic politics cause war?
- Do democracies or dictatorships have more bargaining power?

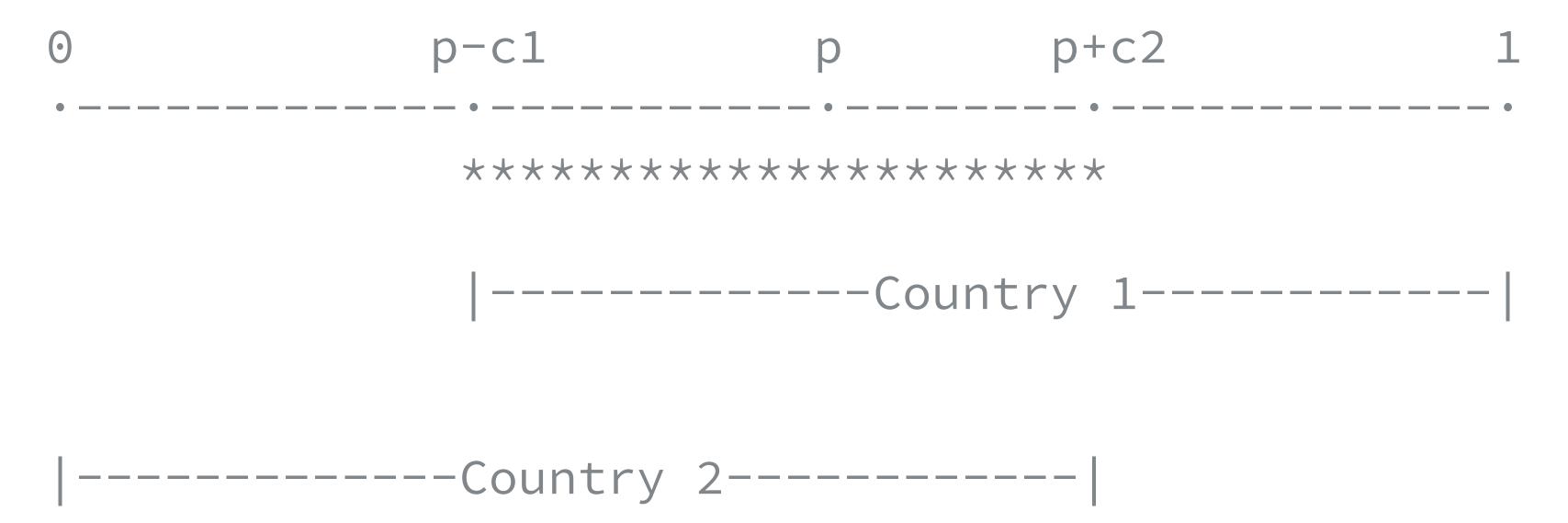
## International Negotiations as Two-Level Game

- 1. Governments bargain with each other
- 2. Domestic audiences "ratify" the deal
  - Everyone ratifies → Agreement implemented
  - —Anyone doesn't → Disagreement outcome

The two-level game is a *general* theory of international negotiations.

Let's apply it to bargaining in the shadow of war.

# The Usual Bargaining Model



## **Introducing Domestic Constraints**

```
p-c1
                        p+c2
              *****
          |-----Country 1-----|
              |----Country 1 public----|
-----Country 2-----|
|----Country 2 public----|
```

# **Bargaining Outcomes**

Effects of strengthening the domestic constraint:

- 1. More favorable settlement if a deal is reached
- 2. Less chance of reaching a deal

# **Domestic Constraints: Share of Spoils**

## **Tighter domestic constraint → Greater share**

```
\odot
         p-c1 p p+c2
              *****
          |-----Country 1-----|
              |----Country 1 public----|
|-----Country 2-----|
|----Country 2 public----|
```

# **Domestic Constraints: Share of Spoils**

## **Tighter domestic constraint → Greater share**

```
0
         p-c1 p p+c2
              ***
          |-----Country 1-----|
              |----Country 1 public----|
|-----Country 2-----|
|---Country 2 public---|
```

## **Domestic Constraints: Risk of War**

## Tighter domestic constraint → War more likely

```
0
        p-c1 p p+c2
            ***
         |-----Country 1-----|
            |----Country 1 public----|
|-----|
|---Country 2 public---|
```

## **Domestic Constraints: Risk of War**

# Tighter domestic constraint → War more likely

```
|-----Country 2-----|
|Country 2 public|
```

**Problems: The Cost of War** 

Isn't war more costly for the public?

**Problems: The Cost of War** 

```
p+c2
      p-c1
      ********
      |-----Country 1------
    --------Country 2------|
-----Country 2 public-----
```

**Problems: Democratic Peace** 

War is relatively unlikely between democracies. Wouldn't this theory imply the opposite?

## Conclusions

- Cross-cutting effects of domestic constraints
  - -Settlements less likely
  - Better outcomes if settlement is reached
- Application to bargaining in the shadow of war: shaky at best

#### **For Next Time**

- Read Fearon, "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes" (JSTOR)
- Start reading The Sleepwalkers?
- Presentation on "Domestic Opposition and Signaling in International Crises"
- Presentation on "Autocratic Audience Costs"

# **Image Sources**

- WTO protests: Flickr user strausser