

Harnessing Backlash: How Leaders Can Benefit from Antagonizing Foreign Actors

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How Leaders Can Benefit from Antagonizing Foreign Actors?

- International public diplomacy is generally understood as an attempt to increase foreign goodwill and cooperation.
- The study of diplomacy has largely focused on states' ability to use "cheap talk" - which does not have any inherent costs for the speaker - to communicate with or manipulate their international negotiating partners, in spite of strong incentives to misrepresent their interests. These studies are unified by their assumption that public diplomacy is intended to increase positive foreign opinion for the state or the state's preferred policies.
- While diplomats nearly always claim to be seeking attraction, leaders also commonly elicit negative reactions from foreign publics. To understand this phenomenon, it is necessary to consider alternative goals for actions that look like public diplomacy but have the opposite effect.
- This paper argues that intentionally provoking a backlash from a valuable foreign actor, leaders can exchange foreign condemnation for an increase in domestic support. Author refer to this as "strategic antagonism".

- A new mechanism through which agency loss can result in noncooperative international outcomes that is distinct from the logic of diversionary war. Rather than generating an immediate military threat that evokes nationalism and unites domestic support, leaders can use strategic antagonism to pay a cost in terms of future international cooperation in order to signal commitment to a policy preferred by a specific domestic constituency.
- With the rise of populism around the globe, the use of strategic antagonism may become an even more fruitful tool as leaders try to signal their "outsider" credentials and convince voters that they do not conduct "politics as usual".

Hypothesis

- Hypothesis: Leaders can intentionally provoke a foreign backlash to gain domestic support, particularly when domestic audiences have policy preferences opposing those of the foreign target.
- Case: In 2015, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu traveled to the United States to oppose a multilateral agreement with Iran, only to infuriate the Obama administration and polarize US support for Israel. Although risky, Netanyahu's strategic antagonism appears to have paid large dividends, as he won an extremely tight election the following week and was successful in forming a right-wing coalition government.



Responses from individuals surveyed just before and just after Netanyahu's visit to show that the speech had the predicted effect on public opinion within key subsets of both the Israeli and US publics.

- **data_US:** 4866 obs. of 12 variables. Gallup and Pew each ran one survey in the weeks before the speech and in the weeks after. Data are from the Roper iPoll Center.
- **data_INES:** 174 obs. of 7 variables. Data are from the 2015 Israel National Election Survey.

favorable_netanyahu	post_visit	party	approve_obama	male	church_attend	college	income	age	white	ideology	jewish
1	After Visit	Democrat	Approve	Male	Attend church	No college	2	75	White	lib	Not Jewish
1	After Visit	Republican	Disapprove	Female	No church	College	3	29	White	mod	Not Jewish
1	After Visit	Republican	Disapprove	Female	NA	College	3	65	White	cons	Not Jewish
1	After Visit	Republican	Disapprove	Male	Attend church	No college	1	33	White	mod	Not Jewish
1	After Visit	Republican	Disapprove	Male	Attend church	No college	3	78	White	cons	Not Jewish
NA	After Visit	Democrat	Disapprove	Female	Attend church	No college	1	81	White	cons	Not Jewish
0	After Visit	Republican	Disapprove	Male	Attend church	No college	1	58	White	cons	Not Jewish
0	After Visit	Republican	Disapprove	Male	Attend church	College	1	76	White	cons	Not Jewish
1	After Visit	Republican	Disapprove	Female	No church	College	2	70	White	cons	Not Jewish
1	After Visit	Democrat	Approve	Male	NA	College	2	86	White	lib	Not Jewish
0	After Visit	Republican	Disapprove	Female	NA	No college	3	69	White	cons	Not Jewish
0	After Visit	Democrat	Disapprove	Female	Attend church	No college	1	69	White	mod	Not Jewish

Likud Support for Likud-led Coalition	vote_2013	after_visit After Speech	age	sex Female	jewish Jewish	upper_class Upper Class
0	Likud	After Speech	31	Female	1	1
0	Non-coalition	Before Speech	34	Male	1	1
1	Likud	Before Speech	67	Female	0	0
0	Non-coalition	Before Speech	61	Male	1	0
1	Non-coalition	Before Speech	56	Male	1	0
0	Non-coalition	Before Speech	68	Female	1	0
0	Non-coalition	Before Speech	52	Male	1	1
0	Non-coalition	Before Speech	37	Male	1	1
1	Non-Likud coalition	After Speech	21	Female	1	0
0	Non-coalition	After Speech	50	Female	1	1
0	Non-coalition	Before Speech	77	Female	1	0
0	Non-coalition	After Speech	36	Male	1	0

- Analysis of change in American public opinion pre and post Netanyahu's speech.

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Netanyahu Approval} \sim & \beta_0 + \beta_1 \times \text{After Speech} \\ & + \beta_2 \times \text{IV} + \beta_3 \times \text{After Speech} \times \text{IV} \\ & + \beta_4 \times \mathbf{X},\end{aligned}$$

where \mathbf{X} is a vector of control variable and IV is a categorical independent variable indicating the respondent's party, the key subgroup being Americans who identify as Democrats (`Democrat`).

- Probit model is used to analyse data.

```
1 model1 <- glm(favorable_netanyahu ~ post_visit*party + male + church_attend +  
  college + income + age + white + ideology + jewish, family=binomial(link  
  = 'probit'), data=data_US)
```

Model 1: American Public Opinion

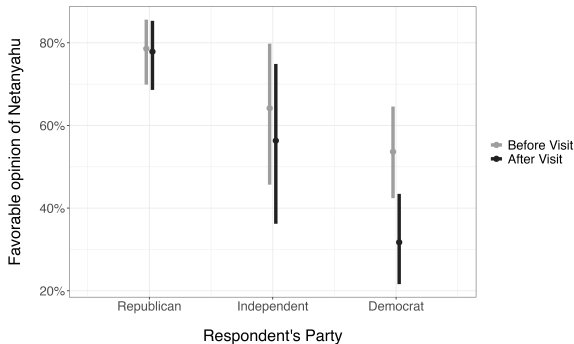


Figure: American Public Opinion

Model 1 shows that average American opinion of Netanyahu became more unfavorable following his speech. Republicans did not significantly change their approval of Netanyahu, while Democrats decreased their approval of Netanyahu by 21.1%. Vertical bars are 95% confidence intervals. The decrease within Democrats is statistically significant $p < 0.05$.

- Focus on American Democrats and their reaction to Netanyahu's speech.

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Netanyahu Approval} \sim & \beta_0 + \beta_1 \times \text{After Speech} \\ & + \beta_2 \times \text{IV} + \beta_3 \times \text{After Speech} \times \text{IV} \\ & + \beta_4 \times \mathbf{X},\end{aligned}$$

where \mathbf{X} is a vector of control variable and IV is a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent expressed approval of President Obama (`Approves of Obama`).

- Probit model is used to analyse data.

```
1 model2 <- glm(favorable_netanyahu ~ post_visit*approve_obama + male + church_
  attend + college + income + age + white + ideology + jewish, family=
  binomial(link='probit'), data=data_US)
```


Model 2: American Democrats Opinion

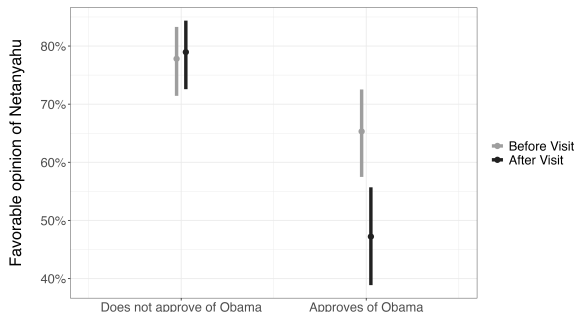


Figure: American Democrats Opinion

Model 2 shows that Americans that did not approve of Obama did not change their favorability towards Netanyahu following his speech, while Americans that approved of Obama decreased their favorability rating of Netanyahu by 17.1% $p < 0.05$. Vertical bars are 95% confidence intervals.

- Examination of the shift in Israeli public opinion towards a Likud-led coalition.

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Support Likud Coalition} \sim & \beta_0 + \beta_1 \times \text{After Speech} \\ & + \beta_2 \times \text{Coalition vote in 2013} \\ & + \beta_3 \times \text{After Speech} \times \text{Coalition vote in 2013} \\ & + \beta_4 \times \mathbf{X},\end{aligned}$$

where \mathbf{X} is a vector of control variable, `After Speech` is a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent was surveyed after Netanyahu's speech, `Coalition vote in 2013` is dummy variable indicating whether the respondent supported one of right-wing parties in the 2013 Knesset election.

- Linear model is used to analyze data.

```
1 model3 <- lm(Likud ~ vote_2013*after_visit + age + sex + jewish + upper_class  
  , data = data_INES)
```

Model 3: Israeli Public Opinion

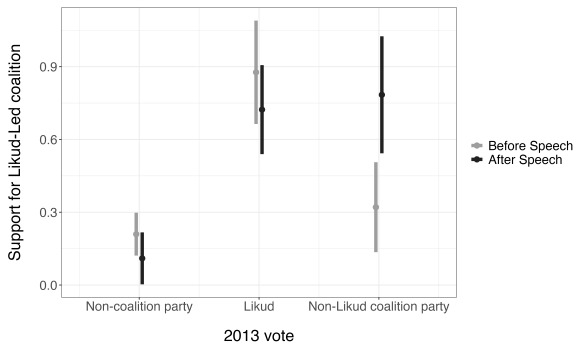


Figure: Israeli Public Opinion

Model 3 shows that Israelis who voted for a right-wing coalition party in 2013 increased their support for a Likud-led coalition in the period following Netanyahu's speech $p < 0.05$. Vertical bars are 95% confidence intervals.

Extension: Model 3a: Without interaction term

Interaction terms can make the interpretation of the model coefficients more complex. The effect of one predictor depends on the level of the other variable it interacts with. So, instead multiplicative model I decided to run additive.

■ Model 3 with interaction term

```
1 model_with_interaction <- lm(Likud ~ vote_2013 + after_visit + age + sex +  
    jewish + upper_class, data = data_INES)
```

■ Model 3a without interaction term

```
1 model_without_interaction <- lm(Likud ~ vote_2013 + after_visit + age + sex +  
    jewish + upper_class, data = data_INES)
```

■ Running stargazer() function to print the estimated coefficients (Table 1)

```
1 stargazer(model_with_interaction, model_without_interaction)
```

Table 1: Models Comparison

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Likud	
	Model 3	Model 3a
vote.2013Likud	0.667*** (0.126)	0.623*** (0.090)
vote.2013Non-Likud coalition	0.111 (0.113)	0.311*** (0.094)
after_visitAfter Speech	-0.100 (0.074)	-0.030 (0.064)
age	-0.005** (0.002)	-0.006*** (0.002)
sexFemale	0.035 (0.062)	0.051 (0.063)
jewish	0.227*** (0.083)	0.219** (0.085)
upper_class	-0.183** (0.072)	-0.193*** (0.073)
vote.2013Likud:after_visitAfter Speech	-0.054 (0.173)	
vote.2013Non-Likud coalition:after_visitAfter Speech	0.563*** (0.186)	
Constant	0.290*** (0.111)	0.300*** (0.113)

- The presence of interaction terms allows for the examination of how the effect of `vote_2013` categories on Likud changes before and after the speech (`after_visit`). The significant interaction between `vote_2013Non-Likud coalition` and `after_visitAfter Speech` indicates that for voters in the non-Likud coalition, the effect of the speech is important (statistically differentiable from zero), suggesting that these voters' support for Likud changes differently after the speech, compared to voters not in this category or time period.
- By removing the interaction terms, each predictor's effect is considered independently of the levels of other variables. This means that the Model 3a no longer accounts for the combined effect of voting behavior in 2013 and the timing relative to the speech. This model assumes the effect of voting behavior and the timing of the speech (before/after) on Likud support is constant, not influenced by the combination of these factors.

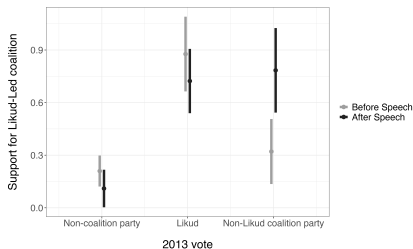


Figure: Model with interaction

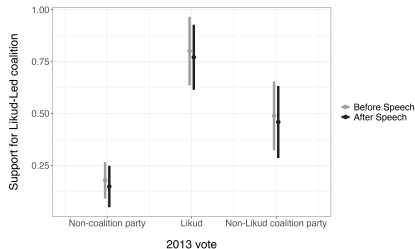


Figure: Model without interaction

The removal of interaction term may overlook important dynamics between the time of the speech and prior voting behavior. The multiplicative Model 3 captures the unique effect of the speech on changing attitudes towards Likud for different voter groups, which is lost in the additive Model 3a.

Replication Data for this article can be found in Harvard Dataverse at:
<https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/KMDXD7>

Photos Courtesy: US Congress, Menahem Kahana / AFP/Getty Images