

## Introduction:

# Bridgebuilding in Contemporary Foreign Policy Analysis

The current issue of “Teoria Polityki” (*Theory of Politics*) is devoted to Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA). This interdisciplinary research field is nowadays experiencing a renaissance (Hudson, 2015, p. 1). There have been numerous indicators that are evidence of this, with a 5-volume selection of the most important texts on this subject being published in 2011, edited by W. Carls and S. Guzzini. In 2018, the first encyclopedia devoted exclusively to this approach was published (*The Oxford Encyclopedia of Foreign Policy Analysis*), and further handbooks are being prepared (including *The Routledge Handbook of Foreign Policy Analysis Methods* and *The Oxford Handbook of Foreign Policy Analysis*). Papers on the subject have appeared not only in leading journals in the field of Political Science and International Relations but, since 2005, there has been a prestigious journal, “Foreign Policy Analysis” (published by Oxford University Press). The popularity of academic courses devoted to this subject in recent years is proved by the constantly increasing number of textbooks published on this subject (authors include, among others, L. Neack, Ch. Hill, V.M. Hudson, B.S. Day, S. Smith, A. Hadfield, T. Dunne, Ch. Alden, A. Aran, D. Beach, R.B. Pedersen, G. Hellmann, K.E. Jørgensen, A. Fahrmeir, M. Vec, J.F. Morin, J. Paquin). The Foreign Policy Analysis Section of the (formally North American, but de facto increasingly global) International Studies Association is the second largest, with over 1,000 members.

The papers published in this issue can be divided into four groups. The first shows how the concepts developing beyond the narrowly understood FPA (i.e. in Public Policy and International Relations) can be used to study the ideational factors in foreign policy. The second section concerns the latest trend in FPA, assuming the integration of various theoretical concepts of foreign policy (through binary role theory, combining FPA decision-makers studies with their IR counterparts, constructivism with realism, role theory with a two-level game

framework or classic realism with neoclassical realism). The third section is an example of a non-Western Foreign Policy Analysis and deals with Turkish and Indian foreign policy studies. The last group of papers contributes to the development of Polish Foreign Policy Analysis, as it uses Western concepts of foreign policy (Leadership Trait Analysis and theories of international relations) to analyze Poland's foreign policy. The whole issue ends with a text on the post-Cold War Polish FPA.

This volume may cause discomfort among some American and European researchers because they have different understandings of Foreign Policy Analysis (Hadfield and Hudson, 2015, pp. 139–167). Representatives of the branch of foreign policy studies developed in Europe may be surprised that some of the texts are only based on theoretical concepts developed mostly under the American FPA, positivist epistemology, and quantitative methodology. In turn, representatives of the FPA developed in the United States may be surprised by the broad understanding of foreign policy theories (often overlapping with theories of international relations), utilized philosophies of science and applied methods. As the editors of this issue, we believe that the tension generated in this way is not only a positive phenomenon in itself but is also necessary for scientific development, which is why we are glad that we were able to create space for such a tension.

The first section of the issue consists of two papers on the use of theoretical concepts for many years not associated with the narrowly understood FPA to analyze the ideational factor in foreign policy. The first is a form of importing the concept of “policy paradigm” developed in Public Policy, while the second text describes how identity is studied in three sets of theories typical for International Relations.

The issue opens with a paper prepared by a research team – Liv Frank, F. Asli Ergul Jorgensen, Knud Erik Jørgensen, Laura Landorff – undertaking the innovative use of the concept of “policy paradigms” in foreign policy studies. Usually, the term “paradigm” is used to describe a position in the philosophy of science (e.g. positivism) or as the name of the most important theoretical approaches in a given area of knowledge (e.g. the realist paradigm). In the case of “policy paradigms,” it is about identifying key ideas (akin to core beliefs), the adoption of which by decision-makers shapes the scope and range of decisions.

In the second paper of this volume, Stefano Guzzini traces the place of the ideational factors (i.e. identity) in foreign policy studies applying selected theories of international relations. In his paper, the author focuses on three groups of such concepts. Guzzini not only draws attention to the problems related to the place of identity in rationalist theories but also highlights that although constructivism and ontological security theory solve some of those problems, they also create other challenges in this regard.

The second section of this issue concerns papers that fit into the newest trend of innovative thinking about foreign policy, i.e. the integration of the existing theoretical concepts in this area. At the beginning of FPA, the pioneers of this approach (e.g. J. Rosenau) emphasized that it was to be based on integrating factors from many levels of analysis (e.g. individual, national or international). It is noted (Hudson and Day, 2019, pp. 191–215) that currently, there is a tendency to integrate the concepts developed in FPA with those from the broadly understood International Relations.

In his text, Stephen G. Walker presents a theoretical concept that allows to answer the question about the relationship between political leaders and (peaceful or violent) change in international relations. The paper does not limit itself to the introduction of assumptions but also uses the presented concept to analyze selected aspects of the relationship between Iran and the UK as well as Iran and the USA based on the game theory. The idea of binary role theory used in this paper is considered (Hudson and Day, 2019, pp. 191–215) as a manifestation of the aforementioned new wave of research aimed at integrating theoretical concepts typical of FPA and IR (this approach is referred to as “behavioral IR”, or simply the “Walker School”).

The paper prepared by Marijke Breuning is a literature review on the place of individual decision-makers in explaining foreign policy in terms typical of Foreign Policy Analysis and International Relations. The author notes that for almost half a century, there has been (in the United States) a discernible division between research conducted under (1) FPA, taking into account the role of individual leaders, and (2) IR focused on using factors from the international system level. Breuning points out that since American IR has been ready to use factors at the level of individual leaders in recent years, this creates a unique opportunity to integrate concepts developed under IR and FPA.

The next text is by Eva Michaels and deals with the integration of two mainstream theories of international relations: realism and constructivism. S. Barkin took the first steps towards the development of the concept of realist constructivism in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, but it was not met with significant interest at the time. Michaels not only describes the assumptions made by Barkin but also points out how these postulates can be revitalized through the concepts proposed within classical realism. The paper concludes with a section on how a re-defined form of realist constructivism can be applied to foreign policy studies.

Magdalena Kozub-Karkut, in her text, presents a synthesis of two key theoretical concepts developed in FPA: role theory and the two-level games framework. The author is aware of the difficulties stemming from the attempts to synthesize various theories of international relations and foreign policy but points out that these obstacles can be overcome in this particular case. Although similar attempts have been made before, Kozub-Karkut is fully aware of their weaknesses and tries to deal with them by developing her own concept of synthesis.

Mateusz Z. Filary-Szczepanik proposes four types of states (imperialist, young narcissist, status quo, and old narcissist) based on three features: sources of national power, extraction capability, and foreign policy behavior. The author's starting point is the concept of classical realism developed by Hans Morgenthau. Filary-Szczepanik hopes that by revitalizing Morgenthau's ideas, he will overcome the weaknesses of neorealism and neoclassical realism. Some researchers believe that neoclassical realism should be seen as one of the attempts to integrate theories of international relations with foreign policy theories (Hudson and Day, 2019, pp. 191–215).

The third group of texts deals with the analysis of the foreign policy of the non-Western powers: Turkey and India. We live in a world where the current international order, identified with the West, is being confronted with the emerging power of many non-Western states. It is, therefore, impossible to understand contemporary international relations without developing non-Western Foreign Policy Analysis (see Hudson, 2015, pp. 1–13).

The first text in this section was prepared by Barış Kesgin and is a comparative study of the leadership styles of Prime Minister Abdullah Gül and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in the context of decisions made by the Turkish parliament before the invasion of the coalition of the willing in Iraq in March 2003. The author uses the Leadership Trait Analysis and studies on the role of prime ministers in parliamentary decision-making to indicate how personality differences translate into a different shape of the decision-making process and final decisions.

Emilian Kavalski has prepared the second paper in this section, examining India's use of the Indo-Pacific region concept as a tool for consolidating the status of great power. The author, using the discursive study on foreign policy (developed by the Copenhagen School), shows how the concept of the existence of a given region of the world, on the one hand, serves to pursue the particular interests of a given state, and on the other hand, depends on (positive and negative) reactions of other countries to such a concept.

The last group of texts relates to Poland and contributes to the development of Polish Foreign Policy Analysis. As indicated in one of the texts published in this issue, foreign policy studies are widespread in Poland and are one of the most frequently used approaches in research on international relations. However, they are overwhelmingly atheoretical and from this perspective the three texts published in this section contribute to the development of Polish FPA as each focuses on theoretical concepts.

The first text in this section was prepared by Anna Umińska-Woroniecka and is an analysis of the influence of personality on the decision-making process that led to Poland's participation in the coalition of willing responsible for the March 2003 invasion and occupation of Iraq. The paper uses the Leadership Trait Analysis concept, which offers a structured approach to analyzing the personality of leaders. In world literature, many works have already been written on

the influence of personality on decisions about the use of armed forces during an international crisis because such a decisional situation is conducive to revealing the impact of these factors on shaping foreign policy. However, none of them previously concerned Poland.

The second paper published in this group is by Tomasz Pawłuszko and is an attempt to connect the political views of individual domestic stakeholders in the foreign policy formulation process with the assumptions of three mainstream theories of international relations. Inspired by a publication of Fred Chernoff's, the author claims that each and every international relations theory produces a specific set of beliefs about the world which can be found in the political views of individual participants in the political system of a given country. Although there have already been attempts to describe the concepts of the foreign policy of the main political parties in Poland based on realism and liberalism, it is innovative for Pawłuszko to identify a group of people in Poland whose views can be equated with constructivism.

The last paper in this group was prepared by Tomasz Pugacewicz and is an attempt to characterize the Foreign Policy Analysis in post-Cold War Poland. Despite the historiographic turn in global International Relations and the groundbreaking work of J. Czaputowicz and A. Wojciuk on the history of IR in Poland, the development of FPA has still not been thoroughly analyzed. The text focuses on five issues: (1) historical context, (2) FPA teaching, (3) institutional development, (4) Western ideas reception, and (5) applied theoretical approaches.

I would like to thank the authors of the individual papers who devoted their time to preparing the texts and responding to the reviews received. I am equally grateful to the reviewers who were ready to contribute anonymously to the shaping of this issue.

*Tomasz Pugacewicz*

## References

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