## Foreign Policy Changes and International Norms Examining Internal and External Determinants

Workshop at the University of Freiburg, Germany October, 23-24 2014

Organization: Prof. Dr. Diana Panke (University of Freiburg) & Dr. Samuel Brazys (University College Dublin)

The study of foreign policy has a long-standing tradition within International Relations, due to its incorporation of individual agency into understandings of international cooperation and conflict (Hudson 2005, Stuart 2008). Already in 1966 James Rosenau, wrote that "foreign policy is shaped by internal as well as external factors" (1966: 99). Subsequently, foreign policy studies have opened the black box of decision-making. They analyze how institutional structures, bureaucratic capacities, domestic interest constellations or party politics as well as politicization or leader characteristics influence how decision-makers construct foreign policy positions on the basis of which the respective diplomats engage in international affairs. External determinants are, however, often reduced to the framing of the international context or the perception of the problem at hand (e.g. Sprout and Sprout 1965). Moreover, many empirical studies focus on the initial construction of foreign policy positions, but fewer examine the conditions under which these positions change. This is especially surprising since many IOs and regimes deal with the same or similar norms on a repeated basis and states can (and do) shift from non-adherence to compliance for a given international norm (or vice versa). Finally, due to the focus on individual actors, foreign policy studies are often not comparative in nature. They do not examine why some states are more persistent in their foreign policy positions towards specific international norms or what accounts for variation in norm consistency between states.

The workshop seeks to add value to the already rich field of foreign policy analysis through comparative studies in *foreign policy changes in relation to international norms*.

- How and when is foreign policy change likely and why are some states more flexible while others are more consistent when it comes to foreign policy positions concerning international norms on the negotiation agenda of an IO?
- Why do some states sometimes change their foreign policy stance with respect to existing international norms, while others are more persistent in their positions?

In answering these questions, special emphasis should be placed on integrating internal and external determinants of foreign policy change. The former might include, but is not limited to, changes in government composition, changes in foreign policy capacity or changes of domestic structure, and the latter includes the role of international socialization, naming and shaming, the development of trust between cooperation partners, dynamics of alliance or coalitions, the agency of third states, or IO institutional features (such as dispute settlement or adjudication).

The conference contributors are asked to shed light on foreign policy positions in at least two states with respect to at least one international norm (on the agenda of an IO or already passed). Taken together the papers will provide new comparative insights into internal and external determinants of foreign policy changes vis-à-vis emerging and existing international norms, thereby shedding light on several blind spots in the state of the art foreign policy analysis.

The workshop aims towards a collective publication, either as a special issue or a volume edited by the workshop organisers. The workshop is financially supported by the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies (FRIAS), which pays for travel expenses as well as accommodation of the invited paper givers.

Venue: University of Freiburg Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies (FRIAS) Albertstraße 19 D-79104 Freiburg i.Br. Germany

Date: October 23-24<sup>th</sup> 2014

## Schedule

## Thursday, October 23<sup>rd</sup> 2014

| 10.00                    | Welcome by Diana Panke and Sam Brazys                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                          | Samuel Brazys and Diana Panke "It Takes Two (Levels) to<br>Tango: Explaining State Vote-Shifts in International<br>Negotiations"<br>Discussant: Julie Kaarbo                                                                  |
| Session 1                | Julie Kaarbo "Coalition Politics, International Norms, and<br>Foreign Policy: Multiparty Decision-making Dynamics in<br>Comparative Perspective"<br>Discussant: Samuel Brazys and Diana Panke                                 |
| 10.15 -11.45             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Lunch break              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|                          | Alex Dukalskis "Foreign Policy Changes and the International<br>Criminal Court: An Analytical Framework with Evidence from<br>Asia, Africa, and the United States"<br>Discussant: Anja Jakobi                                 |
| Session 2<br>13.15-14.45 | Anja Jakobi "Do as I do? Foreign Policy Change and Global<br>Crime Governance"<br>Discussant: Alex Dukalskis                                                                                                                  |
|                          | Joel Voss "Emerging Democracies and the United Nations<br>Human Rights Council: Real Impact or Smoke and Mirrors?"<br>Discussant: Anne Peltner                                                                                |
| Session 3<br>15.00-16.30 | Anne Peltner "Foreign Policy Change and Norm Competition<br>– From State Sovereignty to Human Rights Protection?"<br>Discussant: Joel Voss                                                                                    |
|                          | Stephanie Bailer and Sara Hagemann "Decision-making in the<br>Council after the Lisbon Treaty - How governments record<br>their positions in an increasingly contested Council"<br>Discussant: Dirk Leuffen and Thomas Malang |
|                          | Dirk Leuffen and Thomas Malang "Consensus Everywhere?<br>Explaining Foreign Policy Voting Variation in the German<br>Bundestag"                                                                                               |
| Session 4                | Discussant: Stephanie Bailer and Sara Hagemann                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 16.45-18.30<br>Dinner    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 19.15                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 10.10                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

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| Session 5<br>8.30-10.00   | Hannah Dönges "Arguing Interventions in Transatlantic<br>Relations: Domestic Constituencies and Norms of Protection<br>in the cases of Kosovo and Libya"<br>Discussant: Shpend Kursani<br>Shpend Kursani "Explaining rapid foreign policy change:<br>Montenegro's and Macedonia's position towards Kosovo's<br>independence"<br>Discussant: Hannah Dönges                                                                                                                              |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Service 6                 | Catherine Hecht "Changes in States' Support for Recurring UN<br>General Assembly Resolutions on UN Assistance for Elections<br>and Democratization"<br>Discussant: Samuel Brazys and Diana Panke<br>Bernhard Zangl "Conditions for compliance: Changing US<br>dispute settlement behavior under the GATT/WTO system"<br>Discussant: Samuel Brazys and Diana Panke<br>Samuel Brazys and Diana Panke "Where does inconsistency<br>come from? Explaining dynamic vote-shifts in the UNGA" |
| Session 6<br>10.15 -11.45 | Discussant: Catherine Hecht                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Lunch break               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 13.15-14.45               | Publication stratgey                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |

End of the workshop 15.00

Please send your complete papers (7000 words) to all participants by October 10<sup>th</sup> 2014. The presentations should take between 15 and 20 minutes and the discussant 10 minutes per paper. This way we have 30 minutes for general discussion per session.