

# Exploring Theoretical Approach to Foreign Policy Analysis: Unveiling the Lost Episode of History in Wartime

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## Abstract

The study of foreign policy analysis (FPA) has always been intricated in nature. Scholars of this field have employed various approaches in piecing the puzzle. Despite plenty of studies taken place throughout history, scholars remain highly skeptical about the approaches used in conducting the research. Even now there is yet a solidarity voice as to which approach best captures the entire picture of the great puzzle. This article aims to explore and enunciates a suitable theoretical approach in analyzing the foreign policy of the small non-democratic states or countries toward the greater powers amid political instability or international crisis like that of the World Wars or the Second Indochina War and so on under historical context. It is anticipated that this article could contribute to researchers who encounter ambiguity in choosing a theoretical approach for their research in particular those with case studies of wartime where primary sources are already scarce.

**Keywords:** Level-of-analysis, Approaches to foreign policy analysis, Political psychology, Political phenomena, Small and non-democratic states.

## 1. Introduction

“Man does not arrange his problems or divide them up neatly along lines laid down by academic disciplines...”<sup>1</sup> (Sherif and Carolyn 1969, p.7)

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1 See also in Iyengar, Shanto, and William James McGuire. *Explorations in Political Psychology*. Duke University Press, 1993: 3.

Through many decades after the birth of the study of Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA), almost like the mixing of various chemical substances for the sake of experiment in the laboratory, scholars of the field had been on constant ride attempting to search for the exact hallmark for FPA; is it of the social science, political science, international relations, up to this point prominent scholars of the related fields have yet clearly had their answer as to where exactly the FPA stands on the map. The ride did not stop at just questioning where does FPA belong; scholars of the fields also embark on a more sophisticated puzzle — which approaches best used in explaining and understanding the field of FPA, by employing the existing approaches ranging from the very fundamental social science theories to psychology, history, political science, to international relations theories, etc., the discussions yet still go on.

One may ask is it important to even pinpoint the FPA onto the map of the mainstream fields of social science? This article aims to address the abovementioned questions and then demonstrates reasons why the levels-of analysis is deemed fit and thus be employed to analyze the foreign policy of small non-democratic states in time of crisis or wartime.

It should be noted that this article aims to explore and enunciates a suitable theoretical approach in understanding the foreign policy of small non-democratic states toward the greater powers amid political instability and/or international crisis like the world wars, and so on under the historical context. Since the paper core concern embeds in the lost episode of state's foreign policy during crisis and wartimes, finding a fitting approach to study the already scarce existing primary sources remains a great challenge to scholars interested in unveiling that missing piece of the history; another main reason not many scholars take up the challenge to examine the foreign policy of the small non-democratic state instead many studies rather place the focus on the great powers or middle powers.

This work is divided into four sections. First, the work provides definitions of foreign policy commonly used among scholars and the brief of spectrums of the study of FPA. The second part discusses the mainstream approaches and debates among scholars regarding the approaches. Referencing Waltz's levels-of-analysis, the following section is the articulation of how the three levels-of-analysis is deemed to be best portrayed the theme topic. Lastly, the anticipated risks in employing the levels of analysis in the cases where history left us almost no evidence to quarry any deeper

under the surface.

## 1.1 Understanding Foreign Policy— by Definition

To quote one of the most recent works of FPA, Alden, Chris and Aran (2017) offer an overview of the study of FPA as below.

“In a nutshell, foreign policy analysis (FPA) is the study of the conduct and practice of relations between different actors, primarily states, in the international system. ... At the heart of the field is an investigation into decision making, the individual decision makers, processes and conditions that affect foreign policy and the outcomes of these decisions.” (Alden and Aran 2017, p.3)

Before jump into the discussion regarding the abovementioned questions, it is crucial to first grasp the very idea of what foreign policy refers to. One can tell at a glance that the term “foreign policy” is the combination of two words: “foreign” and “policy”.

If to take the term as it is, “foreign policy” may infer to “policy” that is considered “foreign”. In the Cambodian language, for example, the term “foreign policy” is “**នយោបាយការបរទេស**” which refers to “policy for foreign affairs”.<sup>2</sup> Miriam M. Müller explains the term from the basic of the German word “Außenpolitik” for “foreign policy” whereby “Außen” literally means “external” (Müller 2015, p.49). Another German author, Wilfried Von Bredow, also uses the notion of “außenpolitik” to coins out the definition for “foreign policy” as

“The sum of all interactions of a state with other states or non-state actors outside its territorial borders. The state is represented by its government and claims [...and takes] ultimate responsibility for all external relevant actions of its citizens.”<sup>3</sup> (Müller 2015, p.49)

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2 The term “**នយោបាយការបរទេស**” is rather an explanation rather than the literal translation of the term “foreign policy” itself. In Cambodian language, the word “policy” is “**នយោបាយ**” and “**ការបរទេស**” means “foreign affairs”. Therefore, the term “**នយោបាយការបរទេស**” in Cambodia refers to “all policies designed for the sake of cooping or dealing with matters associate with foreign countries.”

3 See the original text in German in Von Bredow, Wilfried. “Die Außenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland.” [The foreign policy of the Federal Republic of Germany] *Eine Einführung*, Wiesbaden (2006):38.

Irish, M.D. and Frank, E. (1975, p.1) in *US Foreign Policy: Context, conduct, content* explain the general concept of “foreign policy”, for the US at least, as follows

“The foreign policy of the United States refers to the courses of action which official U.S. policymakers determine to take, beyond the territorial jurisdiction of the United States, in order to secure and advance the national interests of the American people, and to enhance the power and prestige of the United States in world affairs.”<sup>4</sup> (East, M.A et.al. 1978, p.28)

The abovementioned definitions are mere to exemplifies how ambiguous the term “foreign policy” can get. The common grounds among them mainly give out the blurry image of how the affairs between the “external” and “internal” are differentiated. However, there is plenty of gap in-betweens as Charles F. Hermann (1978) points out how the notion of “foreign policy” is being used so often yet remains undefined. Hermann points out the importance of how one defines the concept of “foreign policy” would ultimately shape their understanding of how much foreign policy is being conducted or employed to achieve a certain goal. In other words, how one defines the term “foreign policy” is closely linked to how one perceives what is the designated goal of the policy; this is where problems happen. It is still unclear or at least to Hermann as he asks, “How does the analyst discern the true nature of a government’s goals?” (Hermann 1978, p.31)

## **2. Mainstream Approaches to FPA— The Intersection or New Borderlines?**

The questions raised by Hermann were not at all unprecedented; other scholars who work on this field also uncover further intertwining knots— who has the power to set the “goals”? is it the individual leader, the government, or merely the reflection of the international system.

Without knowing where exactly the FPA belongs in the vast spectrums of social science, it is hardly possible to propose any approach to study FPA to its full potential. Thus, answers the questions posit earlier in the introductory part of the article why scholars of various fields of social science have been trying to constantly situate FPA

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4 See the original text in Irish, Marian Doris, and Elke Frank. *US Foreign Policy: Context, conduct, content*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt P, 1975:1.

into the map, or in other words, into their fields of expertise to find the fitting approaches to study foreign policy among nations. Below are the examples of the predominant approaches use in studying the FPA.

Joseph De Rivera, one of the prominent scholars in the field of FPA, is famous for his attempt in taking the comprehension of FPA to another new level. He proposes the observation of the FPA from the perspective of psychology. In his book, *The Psychological Dimension of Foreign Policy*, he writes

“One danger of taking psychology for granted is the danger of failing to see that things could have happened differently if man had behaved differently— something he is quite capable of doing when he achieves an awareness of his determinants. ...Any analysis that divorces history, political science, psychology, and other social sciences is apt to be incomplete and somewhat misleading.” (De Rivera 1968, p.2)

With his work, De Rivera (1968, p.3) highlights one important clue that later sparks the interest of other researchers; that is, to shift the conventional approach of using IR theories to examine FPA to a look through a psychological perspective. He stresses on the unique nature of mankind as one of the elements not to be taken for granted. Prior to De Rivera, Kelman, Herbert C. (1965) also demonstrates the crucial element that scholars should not overlook when studying international relations; that is, individual attitudes as he writes “I shall try to show, first, that there are certain specific aspects of foreign policy to which the study of individual attitudes and cross-national interactions does have direct relevance.” (1965, p.566)

Sharing the same view on employing a multidimensional approach, Frankel, Joseph (1963) suggests the incorporation of historical context into the analysis of foreign policymaking. His suggestions include an in-depth inspection of three stages — the pre-decisional, the decisional, and the post-decisional. In addition to that, Frankel also examines not only decision-makers, he also explores domestic and international settings making the observations even more vibrant. Similar to that of Frankel, Jervis, R., et.al. (1989) employ psychological approach to explain the making of foreign policy by incorporating several historical events. Observing psychological variables including motives, policy-makers’ emotions, and so on, Jervis and his colleagues eventually develop the well-known theory of deterrence in relation to psychological determinants.

The application of multidisciplinary approaches to observe the FPA soon becomes a trend. Scholarly works of the following decades no longer place the focal point only on state nor international context, attention is now being shifted to the psychological facades of the individuals. Singer, E. and Hudson, V. M. (1992) in their work *Political Psychology and Foreign Policy* emphasize the connections of cognition, perception, personality, main determinants of political psychology, and the conducting of foreign policy. In the international context where political leaders face with various dilemmas, their personalities share a fair amount of impacts on the making of foreign policy.<sup>5</sup> Hudson, V. M. (2005) takes another step further by bridging three major fields — history, political psychology, and theory of IR, she conceptualized the *actor-specific* theory from the conventional IR theories that focus mainly on states as the key actors in conducting affairs across nations.

Resounding with the previous works, McDermott, Rose (2004) advocates the importance of multidisciplinary in the field of political science and international relations. Challenging with major IR theories like realism, liberalism, constructivism, and rational choice theory, McDermott stresses that individual matters for each policymaker might have their uniqueness; therefore, when deciding on foreign policy, they do not always follow a pattern of rational behavior. On the other hand, Rapport, Aaron (2017) partly embraces the conjunct part of political psychology and IR theories. Departing from the *rational choice* theory and the *role* theory of the constructivist, he proposes the use of cognitive approaches in FPA in which he based his observation on individual leader's beliefs, identities, and images, and so on.

The discussion on the crossing boundaries between FPA and political psychology would have been incomplete without mentioning literature works from Margaret G. Hermann. Her works can be considered as one of the hallmarks that insert sets of conceptual schemes of political psychology determinants into the field of FPA along with empirical dataset for further fellow scholars. For instance, her work (1980a) examines the personal characteristics of political leaders of 45 heads of government and the impacts the characteristics have on foreign policy behaviors. *Ingredients of*

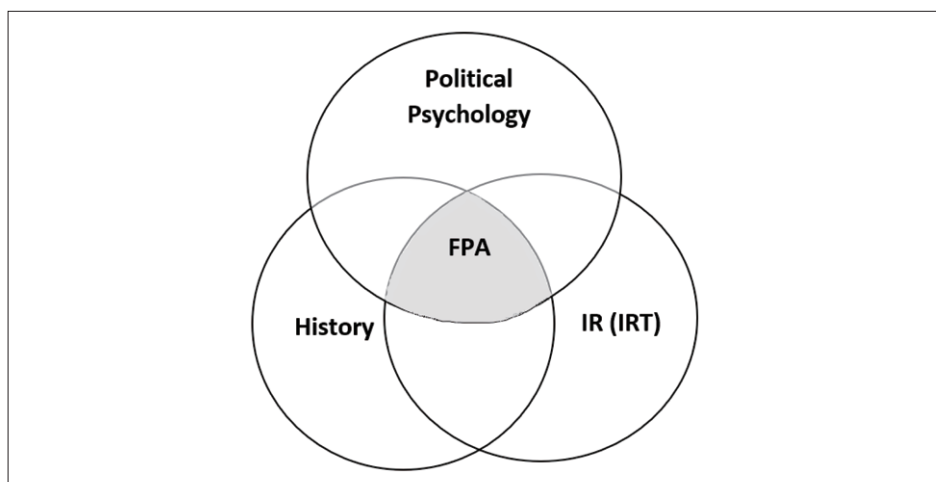
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5 The latest version of the book is published in 2020. See further in Singer, E., & Hudson, V. M. (2020). *Political Psychology and Foreign Policy*. Routledge. Singer and Hudson also share their scholarly work with Purkitt on the same year in conceptualize the political decision-making process of small groups using the Cuban missile crisis as their case study.

*Leadership* offers conceptual schemes explaining political leaders' behavior in the making of foreign policy as well as conducting domestic affairs (1986b, pp.167-192).

By this point is almost clear that the field of FPA has been developed indeed from the interactions among states and non-state actors in the international system; that is part of the undeniable connections the FPA shares with the field of IR and political science; so close that scholars of these related fields tend to overlook the 'amalgam' nature of FPA and limit the approach in studying the FPA to either that of IR theories or solely of social science. However, as established in relevant literature above, through decades of ongoing discussions and debates on which approach suitable for understanding the complicated nature of FPA, it appears that the combination of approaches of major fields of social science like that of IR theories, political psychology, political science, and history, likewise, is still appropriate in picturing the FPA rather than the use of merely one conventional approach.

To put in a clearer picture for understanding where the FPA situates on the map of social science, the author illustrates the figure below to some extent sum up the exemplify of literature works above, and to at least pin out the intersection between FPA and three major fields of social science mentioned above.



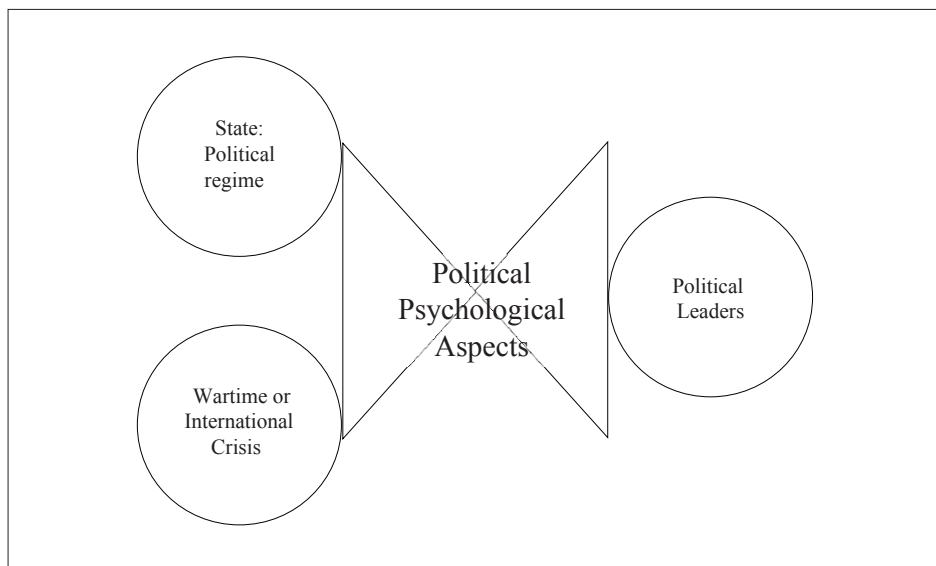
**Fig. 1:** Intersections between FPA and three major fields of Social Science.

**Note:** Each borderline here represents fields (FPA, History, Political Psychology, and IR) and approaches of social science discussed previously in the section above.

**Source:** Illustrated by the author.

### 3. Integrating the Level-of-Analysis

As mentioned previously in the introductory part, this work references Waltz's level-of-analysis, the following section is the articulation of how the level-of-analysis is deemed to be best to portray the theme topic. The diagram below shows what the author proposes to include in the examination at each level using the multidimensional approach of FPA to reflect the intricate nature of small non-democratic states during wartime.



**Fig. 2:** The application of level-of-analysis onto the theme topic

**Source:** Illustrated by the author.

#### 4.1 The Individual Level

To be more precise, as shown in the diagram, at the individual level, the author suggests the political psychological concepts as the backbone to examine the underlying factors deemed to influence or impact the perception and behavior of the top political leaders of small non-democratic states. The political psychological concepts suggested by Hermann (1980a, 1986b) will be employed in order to articulate thoroughly upon top political leaders' attitudes and characteristics. The main concept is summarized in table 1 below.



There are three reasons the author proposes the approach of political psychology to assess the individual level. Firstly, as noticed earlier that the work particularly emphasizes researches that study the timeframe of the war period or crises; thus, researchers might have already anticipated that a fair amount of primary sources in some cases might perish due to poor preservation methods and/or were destroyed by war. Cambodia, for instance, was a small non-democratic state in the Southeast Asian region. Not long after her independence in the 1950s, Cambodia was soon dragged into the Second Indochina War followed by decades of political instability and the genocide in the 1970s that almost totally scrapped off the entire Khmer race of world chronology. Primary sources under Sihanouk's administration (1945-1970) can be accessed vastly and have been studied by both westerns and Cambodian historians as well as other related specialists. On the contrary, the remaining primary sources of his successor, Lon Nol's administration (1970-1975), are so scarce in number; consequently, there is barely a handful of previous scholarly works bold enough to study of FPA of the Lon Nol. That being the case, by observing from the psychological aspects of the top political leaders, one would be able to grasp underpinning clues from another dimension with the existing primary sources in hand.

Secondly, in case of those who attempt to compare foreign policies of political administrations amidst the wartime, given the imbalance of amount of primary sources available, assessing the foreign policy of the two political administrations from the political psychological approach will not only allow researchers to unveil the underlying factors behind the making of the foreign policies of the administrations from another dimension that have yet explored by other researchers but this approach will also compensate the lack of primary sources and helps maintain the consistency while comparing the two administrations.

Thirdly, in particular, for small non-democratic states, the top political leader often has the power to make the final call in the making of foreign policy, in contrast to the democratic way. Therefore, in non-democratic states, public opinion might have little to no effect on the final decision. Almond, Gabriel A., and G. Bingham Powell (1966, p.22), emphasize that "every political system is continually involved in *recruiting* individuals into political roles." Such individuals bring along their beliefs, values, and so on as they take up their political roles. Thus, without an in-depth examination of top political leaders' psychological facades, there is a fair chance that researchers would

incline to conclude that the outcome of the foreign policy is merely one of the stereotypes of the “non-democratic states”. In other words, by scrutinizing from the political psychological approach, one would be able to uncover different causes that explain the foreign policy outcome of the administrations.

**Table 1:** Five Personal Characteristics

<b>Political Beliefs</b>	Each political leader is bounded by his/her own basic political beliefs; such beliefs determine the strategies or route in which he/she would lead the country.
<b>Leadership Style</b>	How a leader interacts with his/her political units. The leader’s preference in working individually or with a team, for instance, can indicate his or her effects on the subordinates.
<b>Motivation</b>	The main motivation to be in one political position, for example, to seek approval or recognition, will drive the leader to take action to achieve that motive.
<b>Reactions to Stress</b>	Being a political leader by no means makes them resilient to stress; yet, with such challenging and supreme positions, stressful situations serve as trials to his/her leadership.
<b>Background Factors</b>	The background factors such as previous political experiences, how he/she was recruited into the position; and the political context when he/she starts to rule would help determine the political behavior afterward.

**Source:** This table compiled by this author to simplify *Personal Characteristics* of political leaders uses to further analyze the political leadership of political leaders based upon Rhodes, Rod AW, and Paul T. Hart (2014). The table was firstly included in another article by the author in the Journal of the Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies. No.39 (2020.3), 1-15.<sup>6</sup>

In sum, the function of the political psychological aspects (as shown in figure 2) here is like the lens that individual leaders see their state and the international

<sup>6</sup> See the article in Journal of the Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies. No.39 (2020.3), 1-15. Titled: “Cambodia’s Foreign Policy: The Portrait of Leadership on the Brink of the Second Indochina War - the Missing Piece.”

environment; and, it is also through this very same lens that reflects individual leaders' beliefs and values back to the state and the international world in forms of decisions, the so-called "foreign policy".

## 4.2 The State Level

The author examines the political regime as a domestic setting for the small non-democratic states. In this level, the author refers mainly to relevant literature of political regimes in particular those of the non-democratic countries, and then embarks on a further step to see the possibilities in comparing the two administrations. Some of the scholarly works of comparative politics that include the integrations and the study of correlations between individual leaders and political types will also be discussed.

For instance, Lasswell, Harold Dwight's work, *Power and Personality*, studies the personality of political leaders concerning power. Exemplifies some powerful leaders in ancient times like Genghis Khan, Alexander the Great were raised with favorable circumstances where they were trained and educated to be "the subject of power" and those who were behind them were considered as the pushing forces to cultivate the personality of such great and powerful leaders. He also emphasizes the link between political types and basic forms of personality development (Lasswell 2009, pp.41-61).

Almond and Powell (1966, pp.19-25), provide overviews on the development of approaches to comparative politics. In their work, both authors define the term "political system" as "made up of the interacting roles of nationals, subjects, voters, ..." The authors also demonstrate the flow of inputs and outputs used to explain the interactions among 'roles' of individuals in society and how that gradually make the entire structure evolves into what they called '*psychological dimension*' of political culture— attitudes, beliefs, values.

Lantis, Jeffrey S., and Ryan Beasley (2017) examine the evolution of comparative foreign policy analysis as the subfield of IR. Key indicators including '*role theory*', international pressures, and/or momentous events are deemed as external factors influencing individual decision-makers in conducting foreign policies. The article also highlights some significant scholarly works that draw attention to key variables— individual leaders, internal and external factors.

Korany, Bahgat (1990, p.22) studies the foreign policy of Third-World countries.

The work's focal attention is placed upon the empirical data of countries in the Middle East and North Africa. This work also critiques the contemporary FPA theories that despite the awareness of barriers like local political, social taboos, '*lesson of history*', and so on, FPA scholars are still prone to bias and generalization when it comes to selecting suitable case study and theory-building.

This level, therefore, serves as an external factor layered upon the perception of leaders. The reasons to explore this level from the context of the political regime are 1). to examine the fundamental circumstances of the state's administration. The political regimes of the non-democratic states ranking from authoritarian, militarism, autocracy, to totalitarian, and so on; each has its very own characteristic that could hint further to how the states flourish or worst, collapse. 2.) to not disregard the possible variable as well as the unique characteristic of the non-democratic countries at the nation-building stage during wartime. The non-democratic states at the nation-building stage tend to have poor economic performance (Tanneberg, D., Stefes, C., & Merkel, W. 2013). For example, amidst the Second Indochina War and the Cold War, the world was divided into two blocs of ideology; the region of Southeast Asia too was no exception from such international dilemmas. Countries like Indonesia and Cambodia, although chose to remain neutral during the early phase of the Second Indochina War, were eventually forced to lean toward either side of the ideological bloc in turn of foreign assistance for the sake of their nation-building. Thence, assessing from this approach, the researchers will be able to highlight the various perspectives of small non-democratic states in war as well as the dilemmas they encountered when conducting the foreign policy toward the greater powers.

### 4.3 The War Level

Michel, Jesse S. (2007) studies leadership coherence in a social-cognitive approach. In his work, Michel points out two main approaches in understanding leadership behavior: person-oriented and situation oriented. Then he proposes the integration of both models (Person x Situation Interaction Approaches) along with psychological theories used in discussing the approaches. At this level, the war and/or international crisis is considered to be a fixed variable of the entire equation. Take Cambodia, Laos in the Second Indochina War for example, geographically these small non-democratic countries had no chance of evading the war due to the fact that they directly share the

border with the Vietnams. Thailand and Myanmar would have shared the same fate had they picked the other side of the ideological bloc.

In addition to Michel's work, Dyson, Stephen Benedict (2006) attempts to integrate the multi-dimensional approach (Individual level x War/International level) to explain Tony Blair's decision in attacking Iraq alongside with Bush administration. The work digs into the personality of Tony Blair to understand the underlying reasons behind Blair's decision to support Bush in the War in Iraq despite having to encounter criticism at home. Dyson concludes that the leader's personality under some circumstances becomes a crucial factor in making foreign policy. Larson, Deborah Welch (1985), another author to focus on "situational crisis" to construct the origin of the infamous '*containment policy*' of the U.S by employing psychological theories in explaining the origin of containment policy under Truman's administration.

Based on neoclassical realism, Götz, Elias (2017) uses three images from Waltz's to revisit the case of Russia's involvement in the Ukraine crisis. Götz proposes the integrated version of the three images as a synthetic approach in examining the foreign policy of Russia. He studies Putin's personality, belief system, as well as his world view and discussed how Russia would have conducted foreign policy differently without Putin as the top decisionmaker. On the state level, Götz looks at institutional elements like regime survival, domestic politics. In this level, he incorporates the theory of regime-security where he links this to how Putin's leadership draws public opinion from domestic instability toward the current crisis in Ukraine instead. Here, Götz highlights the connection between domestic politics with the situation abroad. Then, on the international level, Götz makes his assumption on national identity and prestige; what he refers to as '*ideational explanations*' and '*geopolitical explanations*', the urge to seek prestigious status as the great power and pressure or opportunity presents in the international system.

In sum, the author suggests that this level mainly serves as the background scenario to limit the research timeframe as well as to provides basic information regarding significant historical events that triggered the decision-making of the individual leaders.

## 5. The Knowledge Gap and Anticipating Risks

It is a well-aware fact among scholars working in the field of FPA that there have

been many attempts in integrating multiple approaches from different spectrums of social science. However, like the abovementioned scholarly works, though the level-of-analysis is often used among scholars, those who attempt to employ all three levels at a time to scrutinize the case study remain small in number. And very often, the attempts to use the three-in-one formula invite critiques and always under watchful eyes as it is considered to be the overarching objective or even unrealistic.

David Singer, J. (1961) and Buzan, Barry (1995) are among scholars who look into details and calculate the risks in integrating level-of-analysis and/or the bold attempting in squeezing more than one approach in IR as well as FPA. Metaphorically, they emphasize, it is like having to “choose between the flowers or the garden, the rocks or the quarry, the trees or the forest, the houses or the neighborhood, ...”<sup>7</sup> (David Singer 1961, p.77).

Müller, Miriam M. (2015) also emphasizes the risk of employing more than two levels or images at once, as she refers to Waltz’s work. Alden, Chris, and Aran (2017, pp.1-4) also echoing such risks mentioned in previous literature. East, Maurice A. (1978), too, includes the anticipated risks of integrating different perspectives in his work, adds that the risks however cannot outweigh the pros of combining multiple approaches, either. These authors share common views on the problems, yet they also agree that the risks are worthwhile but under some circumstances. It indeed undeniably takes both time and effort, but not impossible. Salmore, S.A et.al. (1978) take a leap of faith and propose an integrated model though underdeveloped at that time remain yet the most sophisticated models until now (1978, pp.191-210).

## 6. Concluding Remarks

The foreign policy in the real world itself is just like the reflection of occurrences in the international arena. With such multi façade, the approaches used to capture the entire image of the FPA, too, should not be confined to just one dimension. Imagine looking at the map of the world on a *globe* in comparison to the map printed on a piece of paper. They both show the exact locations of countries and places on earth; yet, the differences among them are uncanny. It is up to researchers to weigh the pros and cons and decide whether or not it is worth taking the risks. The discussion and suggestions proposed to

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<sup>7</sup> See the original text in David Singer, J. (1961). The Level-of-analysis Problem in International Relations. *World Pol.*, 14, 77.

employ multiple approaches is the author's attempt to at least simulate the mirroring scenarios as similar as possible of what happened back in wartime through the eyes of a man who led, in order to understand the conduct of foreign policy in the actual world. For, in reality, the entire equation of foreign policy-making does not simply take place under just one factor but, instead, the combinations of many other underlying determinants at once.

As for this work, the main aims are, to reiterate once again, to explore and enunciate a suitable theoretical approach deemed fit in understanding the foreign policy of the small non-democratic states toward the greater powers during wartime or international crisis under the historical context. Thus, the possible risks and problems in employing multidimensional approaches shall be included in the calculations based upon the conditionalities of the selected theme topic and research timeframe.

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