

HERMANN

1: A Key to the of Foreign Policy

Harold and Margaret Sprout between foreign policy analysis and necessary perspective for the study of teaching and research they have sustained two areas of inquiry. The same can- A decade ago Sondermann concludes devoted most of their energies to however, has changed remarkably in intend that—despite the evenhanded ers—it is the study of foreign policy

earth of recent research on foreign s, though, mars the contribution of ce. A significant proportion of the of individual policy events, that is, 9 ork substitutes a fascinating account natic insight into the general nature ed descriptive accounts of United region. Still other analysts of foreign political science who “have focused n the processes by which public tively little concern with their con- variations in processes with varia- ers and their policies together with another part of the literature on lar kind of study, the overwhelming

ound on pages 76–79.

majority concern foreign policies of the United States. Whatever the merits of these foreign policy studies, they contribute little to the development of scientific theory. Those scholars in international and comparative politics committed to the development of networks of empirically reliable propositions appear to neglect foreign policy. Conversely, those scholars active in foreign policy display little interest in theory-building.

Advocates of the comparative study of foreign policy have stepped into this void. Although not entirely new, the current proponents possess two characteristics: (1) They seek to orient the study of foreign policy to all types of nation-states and other international actors; and (2) they wish to develop theories about foreign policy which yield empirically verifiable generalizations. In other words, the concept of comparison is used in two ways—to indicate the scope of inquiry is cross-national and to suggest the necessity for using the comparative method of analysis in scientific investigation. Some recent research of the Sprouts fits into the small group of comparative foreign policy studies. They employ the ecological perspective to consider the effects of environmental deterioration on resource allocations (i.e., policies) of different states.⁵ One of their former students, James Rosenau, also appears in the vanguard of those exploring the comparative study of foreign policy. In a recent article, he asks whether such studies are a fad, a fantasy, or a field.⁶ It is the contention of this chapter that the answer to his question, and in turn to the questions about the significance of the recent efforts by the Sprouts and others, depends upon our ability to establish meaningful ways of classifying different kinds of foreign policy.

More specifically, scholars who seek to include foreign policy as a central, construct in theories about politics must offer theoretically relevant ways of identifying kinds of policies. One can conceive of various intriguing relationships incorporating foreign policy as a salient variable, for example, the effect of elements both internal and external to a nation on its policies, or the consequences of different kinds of policies on various actors in the international system including those that originated the action, or the effects of policy on the processes by which it is formed. The critical weakness lies in the absence of well defined foreign policy variables. In contrast to foreign policy analysts, students of comparative and international politics have taken some important first steps in their respective fields toward identifying interrelations of potential theoretical significance and toward the development of quantitative indicators. Presumably, hypotheses about foreign policy will draw upon the developments in these two fields. Consider as an example the scholar who wishes to look at the impact of domestic political factors on various kinds of foreign policy. He can find some leads in the comparative literature as to what political variables in what types of systems are considered salient. He may even be fortunate and find some data already collected on selected domestic variables for a substantial number of nations. But what about theoretically meaningful ways of classifying foreign policy or the existence of sets of data using such classifications? The scholar faces a high probability that he will find nothing; he must begin from

scratch. In other words, students of comparative foreign policy may be able to borrow important concepts and even data banks for the variables to which types of policy might be related, but they must provide the ways of thinking about foreign policy.

To avoid subsequent disappointment the reader should be warned that no particular system will be advanced in these pages as a possible remedy to our need for better ways of identifying kinds of foreign policies. Instead more menial, but necessary, preliminary steps will be addressed including the types of classification presently in use, the requirements for a classificatory scheme, some alternative methods of constructing classifications, and the implications of research designs for foreign policy classifications.

II. Current Types of Classification

Various ways of describing and classifying foreign policies have been utilized for some time. Although a number of studies of foreign policy neglect the output or product almost completely, others have not. As a point of departure, we will review some of the most frequent kinds of classifications for distinguishing foreign policy as well as others that have been advanced, but less often used.

Geographical Region/Political Entities—One frequent means of classifying foreign policies rests upon the geographical region or political entities involved. Thus, we have studies of the policy of country *X* toward country *Y* or the policy of country *X* toward region *Z*.⁷ The foreign target, or occasionally the initiating nation, provides the organizing concepts with little reference to the substance or content of policies. One common typology of foreign policies is formed by relating policies toward the countries in a region across several distinguishable periods of time. Analysts undoubtedly find geographical and political categories attractive for numerous reasons. They are fairly easy to identify; they can be assembled into an exhaustive set; they have been used by policy makers and journalists to the point that they seem a "concrete and natural" way of organizing the world. More abstract variations of these categories would permit analysis of classes of states rather than the individual cases. The classic distinction between authoritarian and democratic polities has provided the basis for some studies of foreign policy, but in these instances more attention has been devoted to differences in processes than policies. Abstract geographical categories, such as insular or landlocked, receive even less systematic use as ways of distinguishing types of policies.

Strategic or Grand Designs—Like the previous categories this system finds wide use by both policy makers and scholars. Unlike the prior classifications, the present one deals with the substance of policy conceived in terms of broad objectives or intentions of the initiating states. Each category in this scheme encompasses numerous discrete foreign policy actions. Examples include "containment," "Brezhnev Doctrine," "disengagement,"

"socialism in one country," and "for strategic policies give rise to wars of liberation," and "flexibility" of such concepts for discussing the gain more currency as political for distinguishing types of policies of categories that locate all foreign used to characterize the dominant

Skills and Resources—Another rests upon the differentiation of associated with various foreign policies with modifiers like military, economic and so on. In other words, the content of military policy will involve including employing particular kinds of resources necessary for, say, an economic may fall into more than one category difficult at the boundaries of each can classify most policies into some books have been devoted to one

Action Properties—In sharp contrast in the preceding classifications discrete moves or actions made that policy requires action, it be to different types of acts. North a analysis of hostile and nonhostile categories of foreign policy according to McClelland whose scheme of headings like yield, grant, demand regards the loss of the larger content behaviors as a series of limitations

Relational Attributes—This system by establishing categories based on and some aspect of the context in of continuity and innovation in Deutsch and Pruitt both refer to Spiro proposes a classification of "fundamental versus circumstantial" categories include duration, relation By definition, action cannot be to past action or some other aspect Some of the recent explorations of implications to foreign policy classifications.

Basic Values—The great debate

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the reader should be warned that these pages as a possible remedy to the kinds of foreign policies. Instead of the steps will be addressed including the requirements for a classification, the methods of constructing classifications, and the ways for foreign policy classifications.

Classifying foreign policies have been the subject of a number of studies of foreign policy. Some are completely, others have not. As a result, the most frequent kinds of classifications as well as others that have been

One frequent means of classification is geographical region or political entities. The policy of country X toward country Y in region Z.⁷ The foreign target, or the organizing concepts with the typology of policies. One common typology of policies toward the countries in a particular period of time. Analysts undoubtedly find this attractive for numerous reasons. It can be assembled into an exhaustive list and presented to the point that it would permit analysis of classes of policies. The classic distinction between geographical and political provided the basis for some studies. More attention has been devoted to abstract geographical categories, but with less systematic use as ways of

previous categories this system has been used by scholars. Unlike the prior classification of substance of policy conceived in terms of the initiating states. Each category describes discrete foreign policy actions. Examples: "Eisenhower Doctrine," "disengagement,"

"socialism in one country," and "maintenance of empire." Similar labels for strategic policies give rise to designations like "massive retaliation," "wars of liberation," and "flexible response." Despite the widespread use of such concepts for discussing foreign policy,⁸ these descriptions often gain more currency as political symbols than as rigorous categories for distinguishing types of policy. They seldom constitute an inclusive set of categories that locate all foreign policies; instead one or two terms are used to characterize the dominant themes in a nation's foreign affairs.

Skills and Resources—Another means of identifying the substance of foreign policy rests upon the differentiation of capabilities and the specialization of tasks associated with various foreign policies. This procedure results in categories with modifiers like military, economic, cultural, propagandistic, diplomatic, and so on. In other words, the classification rests on the assumption that a military policy will involve individuals with special types of training and employing particular kinds of resources which will be different from those necessary for, say, an economic policy. Of course, many specific actions may fall into more than one category. Furthermore, distinctions become difficult at the boundaries of each grouping, but many analysts believe they can classify most policies into some set of these categories. Indeed, numerous books have been devoted to one or the other of these categories.⁹

Action Properties—In sharp contrast to the broad scope of categories in the preceding classifications, this method uses categories that codify discrete moves or actions made by actors within a nation. If one assumes that policy requires action, it becomes possible to group policies according to different types of acts. North and his colleagues select this method for the analysis of hostile and nonhostile acts.¹⁰ One of the most extensive classifications of foreign policy according to action properties has been developed by McClelland whose scheme contains 63 categories grouped into major headings like yield, grant, deny, seize, and demand.¹¹ Some scholars regard the loss of the larger context which results from classifying discrete behaviors as a serious limitation on coding by action properties.

Relational Attributes—This system reduces the problem just described by establishing categories based on the connection between an action and some aspect of the context in which it occurs. Waltz uses the categories of continuity and innovation in comparing British and American policies; Deutsch and Pruitt both refer to the responsiveness of a state's policies; and Spiro proposes a classification using "procedural versus substantive" and "fundamental versus circumstantial" dimensions.¹² Other relational categories include duration, relative cost, reversals, and frequency of action. By definition, action cannot be codified by this scheme without reference to past action or some other aspect of the larger setting in which it occurs. Some of the recent explorations of program, planning, and budgeting applications to foreign policy involve the use of relational attribute classifications.

Basic Values—The great debate among many political scientists in the

1950s over idealism versus self-interest in foreign policy illustrates classification using basic values. The debate generated efforts to identify the value premises underlying a nation's foreign policy. This means of classification resembles both national goals (described below) and strategic or grand designs, but the distinctive feature consists of categories derived from standards as to how individuals or nations ought to behave. Policies can be grouped as approximating one of a set of principles. Efforts to discover operational codes in a state's policies offer an example as do Lasswell's set of eight fundamental values: power, respect, rectitude, affection, well-being, wealth, skill, and enlightenment.¹³ With some modification the latter categories could be applied to foreign policies.

National Goals—Whereas values represent the principles that ought to guide a state's policies, goals constitute the ends toward which policy makers direct their nation. National goals represent abstract end-states applicable to a set of nations, but strategies or grand designs consist of programs that characterize a particular nation. Wolfers' familiar three-way division of national goals—national self-extension, national self-preservation, and national self-abnegation—illustrates a simple set of categories by which foreign policies might be classified.¹⁴ The Sprouts are developing a more extensive system of categories based on national goals.¹⁵

Communication Characteristics—Categories in this classificatory system identify aspects of the process by which a policy is conveyed from the initiating nation to the recipients. The fundamental distinction between verbal and nonverbal behavior, or what Schelling describes as the difference between tacit and verbal communication,¹⁶ illustrates the type of classification involved. The channels employed to convey a message offer another basis for grouping foreign policies according to their communication features. Presumably information theory could be applied to foreign policy to determine the number of "bits" of information contained in a particular foreign policy communication. Osgood identifies still another potential set of communication categories. Regardless of culture, he finds that all communicative behavior can be analyzed on three dimensions: evaluation (good/bad), potency (strong/weak), and activity (active/passive).¹⁷ All these ways of classifying policy require the examination of extremely discrete foreign policy behaviors.

Pattern Variables—According to Parsons and Shils "a pattern variable is a dichotomy, one side of which must be chosen by an actor before the meaning of a situation is determinate for him, and thus before he can act with respect to that situation."¹⁸ Parsons contends that there are five basic pattern variables:

- Affectivity—Affective neutrality
- Self-Orientation—Collective-orientation
- Universalism—Particularism
- Ascription—Achievement
- Specificity—Diffuseness

Although not necessarily ad hoc, the introduction of the concept of policy areas into the classification of foreign policies.¹⁹ Such schemes based on relational attributes of policy areas are described as relational attributes of policy areas. Relational attributes, on the other hand, are ad hoc.

Issue-Areas—Dahl suggests that the process of policy-making varies with the field of policy. He has developed this approach with reference to the same or different categories of processes used in formulating policy. This approach tentatively advances issue areas for the allocation of resources, and nonhuman resources. In issue-areas, Huntington's distinction between two separate processes of policy-making in military affairs.²²

Other means of classifying foreign policies. An extensive list reveals the diversity of classifications based on a variety of classifications based on the processes and principles for which policy is directed. Why is foreign policy, why is the example of military affairs. To answer that question we must develop schemes.

III. Requirements for Classification

Like most social scientists, the requirements for classification include the knowledge as well as they know the technical details. Categories can be exhaustive or nonexhaustive. Labeled "other." Nonexhaustive categories are exploratory. The neglect of nonexhaustive categories undermines the utility of some classification schemes. Beyond these logical standards, the classification on the purpose for which a classification is made.

Many classifications act as a means to locate a single item or a kind of information. The minimum of search. The classification of foreign policy is an example. The usual practice of classifying a foreign ministry according to organizational considerations. Bureaucratic politics may intrude upon the classification. Such divisions provide a mutual

interest in foreign policy illustrates the debate generated efforts to identify the nation's foreign policy. This means of classification (described below) and strategic or tactical goals (described below) and strategic or tactical feature consists of categories derived from individuals or nations ought to behave. Formulating one of a set of principles. Efforts to state's policies offer an example as do values: power, respect, rectitude, affective enlightenment.¹³ With some modification applied to foreign policies.

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particularism
commitment
business

Although not necessarily adhering to the formulation of Parsons, others introduce the concept of pattern variables as a means of classifying policies.¹⁹ Such schemes bear considerable resemblance to what we described as relational attributes. At least in Parsons' work, however, pattern variables purport to constitute an exhaustive set of interrelated dimensions. Relational attributes, on the other hand, are theoretically limitless and ad hoc.

Issue-Areas—Dahl suggests that the elites engaged in the governing process vary with the field of public policy involved.²⁰ Rosenau has developed this approach with respect to foreign policy. Policies are placed in the same or different categories depending on whether the actors and the processes used in formulating the policy are similar or different. He tentatively advances issue areas for policies dealing with status, territory, human resources, and nonhuman resources.²¹ Though he does not refer to them as issue-areas, Huntington's distinction between strategy and structure rests upon two separate processes concerned with different types of issues in military affairs.²²

Other means of classifying foreign policy could be added, but the present list reveals the diversity evident in current studies. In addition to the variety of classifications based on the substance of policy, our review identifies classifications derived from the initiating state or the recipients, the processes and principles for establishing policy, and the purposes toward which policy is directed. With this wide range of options for classifying foreign policy, why is the examination of kinds of foreign policy so retarded? To answer that question we must consider the requirements for classification schemes.

III. Requirements for Classification

Like most social scientists, students of foreign policy know that requirements for classification include mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories as well as they know the techniques for skirting these standards. A set of categories can be exhaustive by adding a catch-all, miscellaneous category labeled "other." Nonexclusive classifications can be excused because they are exploratory. The neglect or casual treatment of these standards seriously undermines the utility of some of the classification systems in current use. Beyond these logical standards, an examination of requirements depends on the purpose for which a classification is undertaken.

Many classifications act as organizational devices; they enable users to locate a single item or a kind of item from a much larger number with a minimum of search. The classification system of books in a library offers an example. The usual practice of arranging most bureaus or departments of a foreign ministry according to geographical areas most likely results from organizational considerations and long tradition.²³ Although bureaucratic politics may intrude upon the logic of the geographical arrangement, such divisions provide a mutually exclusive and exhaustive system for the

delegation of tasks. Thus, the geographical origin of an incoming cable provides a foreign ministry's communication center with a relatively unambiguous indicator as to which bureau should be assigned the "action" copy.

The development of theory serves as another broad reason for establishing classifications. A classification entirely satisfactory for organizational requirements may have little to offer in the generation of theory. Studies of foreign policy, even those that profess some theoretical interest, have tended to rely on means of classifying policy that were originally introduced as organizational devices.

If we specify that our interest is in scientific theory, then further requirements for classification take form. Two of major significance are the identification of relationships and the establishment of measures. The categories in a classification system should relate to numerous other characteristics. Kaplan treats the categories of classification as concepts and then distinguishes between those classificatory concepts that identify many relationships (natural) and those that do not (artificial).

A significant concept so groups or divides its subject-matter that it can enter into many and important true propositions about the subject-matter other than those which state the classification itself. Traditionally, such a concept was said to identify a "natural" class rather than an "artificial" one. Its naturalness consists in this, that the attributes it chooses as the basis of classification are significantly related to the attributes conceptualized elsewhere in our thinking. Things are grouped together because they resemble one another. A natural grouping is one which allows the discovery of many more, and more important, resemblances than those originally recognized. Every classification serves some purpose or other (the class-term has a use): it is artificial when we cannot do more with it than we first intended. The purpose of scientific classification is to facilitate the fulfillment of any purpose whatever, to disclose the relationships that must be taken into account no matter what.²⁴

One cannot insure in advance that the classification scheme he constructs will yield numerous valid relationships with other concepts or variables. Therefore the development of a scientific classification becomes an act of formulating hypotheses. "Any decision as to which classification scheme is best is itself a hypothesis, which subsequent investigations may lead us to reject." Copi continues this argument for treating scientific classifications as hypotheses by noting that the position applies to human events in social sciences: "Just as the biologist's classification scheme embodies his hypothesis as to which characteristics of living things are involved in a maximum number of causal laws, so the historian's decision to describe past events in terms of one rather than another set of properties embodies his hypothesis as to which properties are causally related to a maximum number of others."²⁵

The treatment of classifications as hypotheses that must be tested with

empirical data leads to the requirement that classification be based on "There is a direct line of logical connection to the most rigorous forms of measurement, of systematic ratings, ranking typologies, and simple quantitative measures that precede any sort of actual measurement in terms of which the objects under study are classified." The reference by Lazarsfeld and others to "reference" is simply to any categories, but rather than to any investigator who applies them, it is to permit the classification of direct relationships in such a way that the same items can be compared, less or when the sorting occurs or when the classification is operational.

In concluding this section, it is worth noting that alternative uses of classification for different purposes may have little theoretical value in the development of theory. A simple example is to distinguish between living organisms and water would group bats with birds. Another classification scheme would group mammals because categories in a classification with many more theoretically important categories. An example of geographical bureau classification is the organizational utility of such a classification. Of course, such an assertion could be made for phenomena we seek to explore. Theories relating climate, physical distance to foreign policy, and categories indicate much interest in these topics. And those that do, like geographical concepts.

IV. Alternative Methods of Classification

Having examined requirements for classification relevant to the development of theory, these alternatives apply to any classification with special reference to foreign policy.

Nominal Categories—This is the "list" method of classification. It is distinctive kinds of foreign policy interest. These types of policy behavior are system. Although he knows the system, the researcher has no knowledge

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empirical data leads to the requirement that the categories be measurable. "There is a direct line of logical continuity from qualitative classification to the most rigorous forms of measurement, by way of intermediate devices of systematic ratings, ranking scales, multidimensional classifications, typologies, and simple quantitative indices. . . . An operation which must precede any sort of actual measurement is the formation of the categories in terms of which the objects under study are to be classified or measured."²⁶ The reference by Lazarsfeld and Barton to the formation of categories is not simply to any categories, but rather to those which can be reliably used by any investigator who applies the category definition. The categories must permit the classification of directly or indirectly observable phenomena in such a way that the same items always fall in the same categories regardless of when the sorting occurs or who does it. In short, the categories must be operational.

In concluding this section, it is well to reiterate the implications of the alternative uses of classifications. Such systems devised for organizational purposes may have little theoretical worth, and may even obstruct the development of theory. A simple organizing classification which distinguishes between living organisms that fly in air and those that swim in water would group bats with birds and whales with fish. Biologists employ another classification scheme which identifies both bats and whales as mammals because categories in the latter system appear to be associated with many more theoretically important characteristics. To return to the example of geographical bureaus in a foreign ministry, it may be that the organizational utility of such a scheme exceeds its value for theory-building. Of course, such an assertion contains little merit until we establish what phenomena we seek to explore. Geographical categories may be useful for theories relating climate, physical location, contiguity of borders, or spatial distance to foreign policy. But few political scientists who use such categories indicate much interest in theories dealing with these and related topics. And those that do, like the Sprouts, tend to employ more abstract geographical concepts.

IV. *Alternative Methods of Classification*²⁷

Having examined requirements, let us consider some alternative methods for classification relevant to the construction of scientific theory. Presumably these alternatives apply to any content, but we shall discuss them with special reference to foreign policy.

Nominal Categories—This approach might be labeled the "shopping list" method of classification. The researcher recognizes a number of distinctive kinds of foreign policy which he believes to have theoretical interest. These types of policy become nominal categories in the classification system. Although he knows the categories create mutually exclusive classes, the researcher has no knowledge of whether, or how, the categories relate

to one another. Moreover, he may be able to divide some or all of the categories into subcategories, but the subcategories cannot be ordered or scaled in any meaningful way. Most likely, the categories result from an inductive process during which the investigator observes a large number of policies and notes that they differ with respect to some properties.

Many classifications follow this approach. It appears satisfactory for organizational purposes and possesses an undeniable attraction for initial explorations in theory-building. For example, one might define one category for policies involving the use of military forces, another for policies that involve the exchange of nonmilitary goods, a third for meetings between diplomatic representatives, and so on. Presumably, the scholar has a hunch that such categories lead to important differences in the processes by which policies are formed, or in the impact on other countries, or some other set of variables. The categories need not be derived on the basis of accumulated observations. For instance, one might try to classify foreign policies using the zero-sum and nonzero-sum concepts from the theory of games.

Even if nominal categories are mutually exclusive, we often have no assurance that the concepts are parallel or deal with the same level of analysis. As an obvious example consider the following set of mixed-level categories: Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America, the United States, and Canada. Mixed-level categories become a problem when drawing theoretical generalizations about the classificatory scheme. More important, the multiple-levels problem indicates a more basic difficulty with nominal categories; namely, we have extremely little information about the set of defining concepts. We do not know how the categories may be ordered with respect to one another. Often with ad hoc categories we do not know if they exhaust the universe of phenomena under examination unless we affix a remainder (i.e., "other") category. With more information another method of classification would likely be used. The minimal information requirement makes nominal categories good candidates for exploratory inquiries, but minimal information also makes theory development more difficult.

Single Dimension—This form of classification assumes that the researcher has information that will allow him to arrange all phenomena of interest at different values along a single variable. The underlying dimension provides the basis for sorting out the policies according to "more" or "less" or some other ordering principle. The variable may be discontinuous, in which case separate categories along the dimension will be discernible, or it may be continuous. A continuum might have categories or scale points for purposes of reference or organization, but they would be intrinsically no different from any other location on the dimension except for value.

Scholars concerned with the problems of war and peace have been among the users of the single-dimension method of classification. Some have classified foreign policies according to the amount of conflict or violence. In an effort to overcome the large number of policies clustered at or near the

"no conflict" end of the dimension of positive or negative affective policy statements. Economic form of the cost of various unit.

The single-dimension approach at least of which is the statistical beyond nominal categories. He can concentrate his attention on a given amount of time and more than the investigator using assets must be weighed against coverage plagues several more severe in the single-dimension "zero" or in some neutral category dimension. (The users of this problem by adding new categories in the same basket may method given the present state the investigator have enough about the possible theoretical single-variable formulation be raised as to whether the problem. Often the effort to generate conceptualizations which dimensions.

Multiple Dimensions—The dimension classification where one variable. If we establish located on each dimension, the classifications. The familiar variables represents the simple variables produces a multidimensional a point in that space located the author illustrates such as decision time, and surprise.² dimensional field theory by respect to a series of policies.

Of course, cross-classifications are located on all dimension distribution across each variable dimension. In addition, the Although the concepts may reveal them to be highly interrelated become unwieldy. Even though

able to divide some or all of the categories into subcategories cannot be ordered or ranked. It is likely, the categories result from an investigator observing a large number of instances with respect to some properties.

This approach. It appears satisfactory for its undeniable attraction for initial exploration. For example, one might define one category for military forces, another for policies on primary goods, a third for meetings between nations. Presumably, the scholar has a hunch about differences in the processes by which nations in other countries, or some other set of nations, are derived on the basis of accumulated experience. He might try to classify foreign policies using concepts from the theory of games.

When mutually exclusive, we often have no way to deal with the same level of analysis. Consider the following set of mixed-level categories: Latin America, the United States, and Europe. Some a problem when drawing theoretical classifications. More important, there is a more basic difficulty with nominal categories: little information about the set of categories may be ordered with ad hoc categories we do not know if they will stand under examination unless we affix a label. With more information another method is available. The minimal information requirement is a candidate for exploratory inquiries, but theory development more difficult.

Classification assumes that the researcher allow him to arrange all phenomena along a single variable. The underlying dimensioning out the policies according to "more" or "less" principle. The variable may be discontinuous. Categories along the dimension will be discrete. A continuum might have categories or not. The location or organization, but they would be determined by their location on the dimension except

problems of war and peace have been approached by this method of classification. Some have been ordered by the amount of conflict or violence. The number of policies clustered at or near the

"no conflict" end of the dimension, other researchers have used the degree of positive or negative affect (hostility-friendship) expressed in foreign policy statements. Economics provides another potential dimension in the form of the cost of various policies in dollars or some other monetary unit.

The single-dimension approach offers a number of benefits, not the least of which is the statistical advantages offered by forms of measurement beyond nominal categories. By selection of a single dimension, the researcher can concentrate his attention on the careful refinement of his variable. With a given amount of time and resources, he should be able to collect more data than the investigator using numerous dimensions or categories. These assets must be weighed against certain liabilities. The problem of adequate coverage plagues several methods of classification, but it appears most severe in the single-dimension approach. Some policies may cluster at "zero" or in some neutral category; they may not even be classifiable on the dimension. (The users of nominal categories can usually surmount this problem by adding new categories.) The old problem of placing all one's eggs in the same basket may be an acute difficulty for this classificatory method given the present state of knowledge about foreign policy. Does the investigator have enough anecdotes, analogies, and speculative hunches about the possible theoretical significance to risk the investment in a single-variable formulation of foreign policy. Finally, the question must be raised as to whether the proposed dimension actually is unidimensional. Often the effort to generate broad, comprehensive dimensions leads to conceptualizations which constitute fragments of many different dimensions.

Multiple Dimensions—This approach is a logical extension of the single-dimension classification where policy is conceptualized in terms of more than one variable. If we establish dimensions that permit every policy to be located on each dimension, then we create the opportunity for various cross-classifications. The familiar four-fold table involving two dichotomized variables represents the simplest form. Cross-classification of continuous variables produces a multidimensional space in which each policy represents a point in that space located by its position on each dimension. Elsewhere the author illustrates such an arrangement using the dimensions of threat, decision time, and surprise.²⁸ Wright gives a dynamic quality to his multidimensional field theory by tracing the movement of nations across time with respect to a series of policies.²⁹

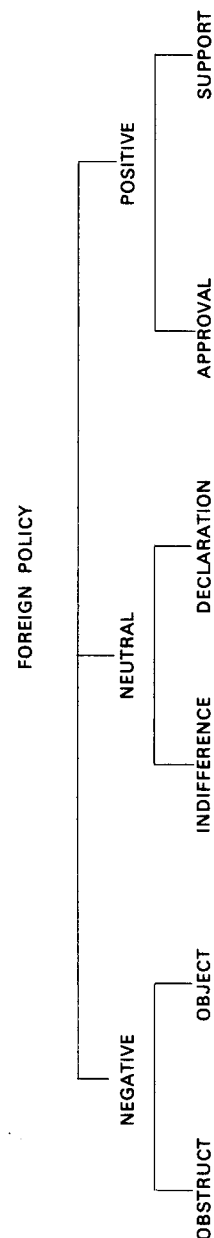
Of course, cross-classification is possible only when the same policies are located on all dimensions. The problem of inclusiveness and adequate distribution across each variable exists with this method as with the single dimension. In addition, the danger of nonindependent dimensions exists. Although the concepts may seem different to the researcher, analysis may reveal them to be highly intercorrelated. Finally, too many dimensions can become unwieldy. Even though computer-assisted means of data analysis

reduce the mechanical difficulty, the desire for parsimony in theoretical development remains.³⁰

*Progressive Differentiation*³¹—A fourth approach to classification, which extends the nominal category method, remains unused in political science, but has played a significant role in biology. Beginning with a broad subject like organisms or foreign policy, one divides the subject into a small number of distinct classes such that each class has a characteristic shared by all members of that class but by none in any of the other classes. Each of the classes is then subdivided using the same procedure. The dividing or branching may continue through a number of levels. Students of biology and zoology will recall that biological classification begins with the broadest category, kingdom (plant and animal), and proceeds through the increasingly differentiated categories of phylum, class, order, family, genus, and species. For example, the animal kingdom divides into the subkingdoms of *Protozoa* (one-celled animals) and *Metazoa* (many-celled animals). One of the phyla into which *Metazoa* are classified is *Chordata* which in turn contains three subphyla including *Vertebrata*. The vertebrate subphylum contains seven classes one of which is *Mammalia* and so on. Strictly for purposes of illustration an extremely tentative classification of foreign policy using this same method appears in Figure 1. The broadest heading of policy is divided into positive, neutral, and negative classes. A negative policy is hostile to the intended recipient, whereas a positive policy is friendly and a neutral policy is indifferent to the recipient. Explanations of further divisions appear below the figure.

The striking characteristic of this method of classification is not the presence of subclasses, but rather the distinctiveness of a class from those in other branches together with its commonality with all broader classes in the same branch. Since each class yields a number of statements about its similarities and differences with other classes in the system, progressive differentiation represents a significant theoretical exercise in a way not required by other approaches. As one moves down in the classification, the homogeneity of class members increases and the scope of theoretical assertions decreases. This approach also deals explicitly with the level of analysis problem by identifying one or more characteristics which differentiate each level from those above it.

Of the four methods of classification this one requires the most information about the subject. The distinctive characteristic of each class, subclass, sub-subclass, and so on, demands extensive knowledge about the properties of all elements in the system. Students of foreign policy may discover that they can conceive of numerous first divisions of policy: verbal-physical, unilateral-bilateral-multilateral, procedural-substantive, and so on. Before going very far, however, they are likely to find the necessity for more information than is available or the creation of classes that apply equally to several divisions already formed. Further, the differentiation is limited by the use of nominal scales. Some attributes do not appear as sharply defined



the desire for parsimony in theoretical

A fourth approach to classification, by method, remains unused in political science. Beginning with a broad policy, one divides the subject into a class that each class has a characteristic but by none in any of the other classes. Proceeding using the same procedure. The division is through a number of levels. Students of biological classification begins with the class (plant and animal), and proceeds through the divisions of phylum, class, order, family, genus, and species. The kingdom divides into the subkingdoms Protista and Metazoa (many-celled animals). Metazoa are classified as Chordata which includes Vertebrata. The vertebrate sub-classes of which is Mammalia and so on. Strictly tentative classification of foreign policy is shown in Figure 1. The broadest heading of foreign policy is neutral, and negative classes. A negative policy is directed toward a negative recipient, whereas a positive policy is directed toward a positive recipient. Explanations of the classification are given in the figure.

This method of classification is not the same as the distinctiveness of a class from those of other classes. A commonality with all broader classes yields a number of statements about the class. As one moves down in the classification, the number of statements increases and the scope of theoretical exercise also deals explicitly with the level of the class. For example, for more characteristics which differen-

tion this one requires the most informative characteristic of each class, subclass, or division. Extensive knowledge about the properties of foreign policy may discover that the most divisions of policy: verbal-physical, procedural-substantive, and so on. Before likely to find the necessity for more creation of classes that apply equally to either, the differentiation is limited by the rates do not appear as sharply defined

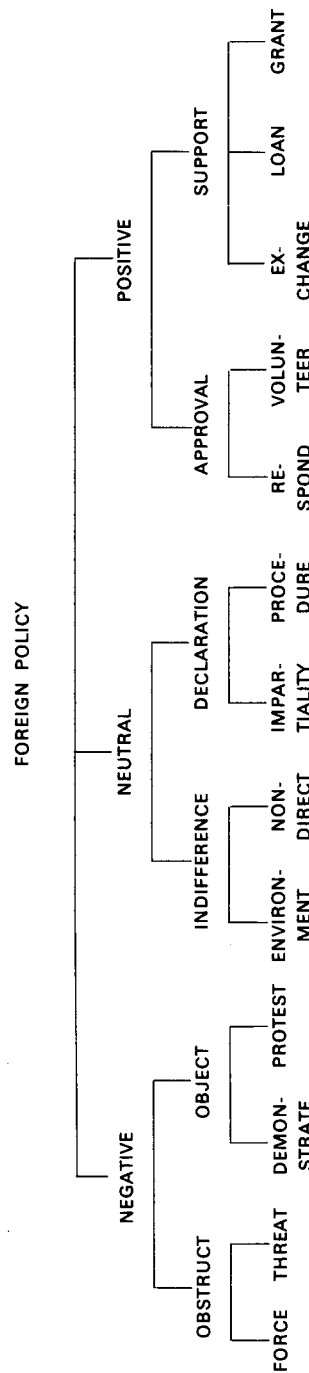


Figure 1. A classification of foreign policy using progressive differentiation. Note: Categories are defined in terms of the recognized intent of the initiating state and not the perceptions of the recipients or the actual effects as judged by independent observers. Items not defined below are discussed in the text. *Obstruct*: measures to block an objective of the recipient; *Force*: obstructive actions actually initiated to block an objective of the recipient; *Threat*: obstructive actions warning of conditional future measures to block an objective of the recipient; *Object*: measures indicating disapproval of the objectives or actions of the recipient; *Demonstrate*: objections accompanied by hostile physical behavior which is not obstructive; *Protest*: objections involving only verbal statements of disapproval; *Indifference*: measures involving no discernable effects to specific political actors; *Environment*: indifferent actions directed at non-human environment; *Non-direct*: indifferent actions addressed to unspecified or vaguely defined other actors; *Declaration*: measures deliberately designed neither to aid nor to hinder recipients; *Imparity*: declarative actions designed to maintain neutrality by noninvolvement or by just compensation for any damages; *Procedure*: approval actions considered to be devoid of any substance having a significant effect on other actor's objectives; *Approval*: measures affirming the desirability of other actor or its goals; *Respond*: approval actions elicited by sources external to the initiating state; *Volunteer*: approval actions that originate within the nation; *Support*: measures endorsing another actor or its objectives through the commitment of resources; *Exchange*: support actions involving trade in which resources are paid for in money or goods by the recipient; *Loan*: support actions for which the recipient promises to repay in the future; *Grant*: support actions for which no payment is required.

groups, but as a matter of degree or "shading." Although arbitrary categories can always be formed, this has the ironic effect of discarding information that would permit more sophisticated methods of measurement and analysis.

V. *Research Considerations Influencing Classification*

Even though we can describe the requirements and methods of classification, we cannot specify rules to insure that a particular system will assist in the development of theory. Other factors than the desire to be theoretically significant will influence the construction of a classification. This final section interprets these factors in a manner that promotes research preferred by the author. We must emphasize that other research interests will lead to alternative choices in building a classification system. Whatever his decision, the social scientist intending to classify foreign policy must confront these issues.

Definition of Foreign Policy—By now many readers must impatiently wonder in what sense this chapter uses the concept of foreign policy. It is an important concern because no agreement exists on the meaning of foreign policy. The serious investigator must stipulate his own definition which, in turn, influences his system of classification. A review of definitions indicates the range of choice and the issues involved.

Concerned specifically with an evaluation of United States' external activities, Seabury contends: "American foreign policies comprise the totality of purposes and commitments by which the United States, through its constitutionally designated authorities, seeks by means of influence, power, and sometimes violence to deal with foreign states and problems in the international environment."³² Modelski offers a more generalized definition which reflects his interest in systems analysis. "Foreign policy is the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment. Within it, two types of activities may be singled out for special attention: the inputs flowing into it, and the output it produces."³³ In contrast to Modelski's conception of foreign policy as the product of a system's processing of inputs, Furniss and Snyder emphasize the decision-makers within the system and their selective attention to the external setting.

Decision makers must be thought of as acting upon, and responding to, factors and conditions which exist outside themselves and the governmental organization of which they are a part. . . . Relevance will depend primarily on the attitudes and purposes of the decision makers, on the problems and threats which confront them—in short, on the perceptions and judgments of the decision makers. . . . To have a policy means that a course of action or set of rules or both have been selected with respect to some problem, contingency, or event which has occurred, is occurring, or is expected to occur.³⁴

Charles F. Hermann

Finally, consider Rosena policy as an undertaking. "An action that duly constituted or preserve or alter a situation in consistent with a goal or predecessors."³⁵ A comparative critical questions.

1. Who are the foreign p nated authorities, the nation body else? Can other than interest groups, etc., be actor

2. What occasions foreign commitment, an input from t makers of something that m national goals?

3. What is the unit of ana taking, or a course of action

4. Who is to be affected other sectors of foreign societ or situation, or the communi particularly intriguing. Is it actions addressed to external changing all or part of the g

5. Is foreign policy more effort to deal with selected re and unintended, that follow

Beyond these questions lie inquiry. Is foreign policy actu public policy? With increasin doubts about the validity of mestic and foreign policy.³⁶

Other than reaffirming the of past students of the subject, that foreign policy differs fro previously believed. For exam the difference between foreign nation depending on the natur development, and so on. Alter is one of degree and that funda system make the distinction gr position asserts the commonal this position might note that and foreign policy resulted al in the United States. As one western, industrialized democ ences multiply rapidly.

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Influencing Classification

requirements and methods of classification insure that a particular system will be used. Other factors than the desire to be consistent in the construction of a classification. Factors in a manner that promotes research emphasize that other research interests justify a classification system. Whatever method used to classify foreign policy must

know many readers must impatiently grasp the concept of foreign policy. It is an element exists on the meaning of foreign policy. He stipulate his own definition which, in addition. A review of definitions indicates factors involved.

evaluation of United States' external policies. American foreign policies comprise the factors by which the United States, through its priorities, seeks by means of influence, interaction with foreign states and problems in international systems analysis. Modelski offers a more generalized approach in systems analysis. "Foreign policy actions of communities for changing the behavior of their own activities to the international system. Activities may be singled out for special attention, and the output it produces."³³ In the study of foreign policy as the product of a system, Snyder emphasize the decision-making process. Selective attention to the external setting.

acting upon, and responding to, factors that influence themselves and the governmental organization will depend primarily on the attitudes and perceptions of the decision makers. . . . To have a set of rules or both have been selected with respect to an event which has occurred, is occurring, or

Finally, consider Rosenau who defines the unit of analysis in foreign policy as an undertaking. "An undertaking is conceived to be a course of action that duly constituted officials of a national society pursue in order to preserve or alter a situation in the international system in such a way that is consistent with a goal or goals decided upon by them or their predecessors."³⁵ A comparison of these definitions raises a number of critical questions.

1. Who are the foreign policy actors? Are they constitutionally designated authorities, the national community, the decision makers, or somebody else? Can other than the constituted officials, for example, elites, interest groups, etc., be actors in foreign policy?

2. What occasions foreign policy? Is it the fulfillment of a previous commitment, an input from the external system, the perception by decision makers of something that may or may not exist, or the achievement of national goals?

3. What is the unit of analysis? Is it an output of the system, an undertaking, or a course of action together with rules for action?

4. Who is to be affected by foreign policy? Can it be foreign states, other sectors of foreign societies, the international environment, a problem or situation, or the community initiating the policy? (The latter option is particularly intriguing. Is it appropriate to designate as foreign policies actions addressed to external actors but initiated solely for the purpose of changing all or part of the government's own society?)

5. Is foreign policy more than intended effect? Is foreign policy the effort to deal with selected recipients or the actual results, both intended and unintended, that follow from action?

Beyond these questions lies another—perhaps even more fundamental—inquiry. Is foreign policy actually different from other kinds of domestic or public policy? With increasing frequency scholars have given voice to their doubts about the validity of the long proclaimed distinction between domestic and foreign policy.³⁶

Other than reaffirming the uniqueness of foreign policy in the tradition of past students of the subject, several positions are possible. One can argue that foreign policy differs from domestic policy, but not in the ways we previously believed. For example, the specific property that accounts for the difference between foreign and domestic policy may vary from nation to nation depending on the nature of the political system, the level of economic development, and so on. Alternatively, one can contend that the difference is one of degree and that fundamental changes in nations or the international system make the distinction greater or smaller. Of course, the null difference position asserts the commonality of the two kinds of policy. An advocate of this position might note that in the past the distinction between domestic and foreign policy resulted almost exclusively from observations of policy in the United States. As one enlarges the study of foreign policy beyond western, industrialized democracies, the exceptions to the observed differences multiply rapidly.

This chapter rests on the premise that it is theoretically useful to distinguish foreign from domestic policy. In part this decision is based on the apparent inadequacy of current classifications of other kinds of public policy for foreign affairs. In part it is based on the subject matter of interest to the author and which he seeks to understand. Several caveats with respect to this position must be noted. Certainly the similarity or difference between foreign and other policies depends upon the properties to be examined and the level of generality of the constructs. Furthermore, with reference to a given property or set of properties, the final determination of difference depends upon empirical investigation.

In response to the other questions about the nature of foreign policy, the following definition is offered: Foreign policy consists of those discrete official actions of the authoritative decision makers of a nation's government, or their agents, which are intended by the decision makers to influence the behavior of international actors external to their own polity. The recipient international actors are individuals acting on their own behalf or as decision makers or as agents for organizations (governmental or private) including the governments of other nations. Foreign policy results from the decision makers' perceptions of present or expected problems in the relationships between a nation and its international environment (both human and nonhuman) including the consequences of the initiating state's own prior actions.

This definition contains a number of implications for the five questions raised earlier. A bias toward the decision-making and problem-solving approaches appears throughout the definition. All actors are individuals although only the authoritative decision makers of a nation (the state) initiate foreign policies. Certainly actors other than states act directly in international affairs, but the contention is that their behavior should be sharply distinguished from state behavior. Although the perceived consequences of state behavior serve as feedback, the distinctions noted by the Sprouts are maintained as critical (see footnote 2); therefore, foreign policy actions concern the intended influence, not the actual effect. The choices in the definition reflect judgments (perhaps "hunches" would be less presumptuous) about theoretical significance and about the practical problems related to empirical research. Because this definition is proposed for a particular kind of research rather than as a reference point for all those who study foreign policy, we need not review it here point by point. Consideration of one feature, however, will illustrate the interplay between the definition of foreign policy and classification.

Policy as Discrete Actions—We contend research on foreign policy is needed that treats policy as an operational concept on which empirical data can be gathered for all nation-states. This means that the unit of analysis must be defined so that it can be reliably identified by any careful analyst and that it occurs with sufficient frequency to permit statistical analysis. Therefore, we want cross-national foreign policy data which are

publically accessible for all nations should be sufficiently limited so that for each nation incorporating a year. (More will be said about this that initially our classification actions (e.g., the announcement or the breaking of diplomatic relations frequently associated with the conflict to obtain a Middle East settlement regime in power, or the totality of an undesired political system). In short, recognize the discrete action as a unit of analysis.

A number of problems arise from these actions. An argument against this is lost by consideration of an isolated sequence of events of which it is a part of substantial merit. Although some may assemble discrete acts into sequences of progressive differentiation classes, it is to assemble discrete actions into a larger unit of analysis. If these are separately recorded in the beginning with discrete actions.

Although the concept of action cannot be accepted as a primitive, this problem is the separation of actions. Does one count as a single action or each individual session or each necessary to construct guidelines based with this difficulty. Possibilities are involved in administering the separation of acts only when they involve separate resources between their international

In all likelihood the application will yield extremely large numbers from the perspective of statistical analysis. To point the task of recording actions, sampling procedures could be developed which also provide a means of data for some states. Most American sources of the United States more completely than closed societies and less developed countries of the source. Use of supplemental data may provide some assistance, particularly

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publically accessible for all nations. Moreover, the basic unit of analysis
should be sufficiently limited so that we can construct a profile or distribution
for each nation incorporating a period of time not much in excess of one
year. (More will be said about this point below.) These requirements suggest
that initially our classification should deal with discrete foreign policy
actions (e.g., the announcement of a trade agreement, an official state visit,
or the breaking of diplomatic relations) rather than broader formulations
frequently associated with the concept of policy (e.g., all actions designed
to obtain a Middle East settlement, the various efforts to maintain a friendly
regime in power, or the totality of measures to prevent the expansion of an
undesired political system). In short, our definition of foreign policy should
recognize the discrete action as the fundamental building block or unit of
analysis.

A number of problems arise from the use of discrete foreign policy
actions. An argument against this choice maintains that most meaning is
lost by consideration of an isolated act separate from the context and se-
quence of events of which it is a part. Without doubt this argument contains
substantial merit. Although some nuances may be lost, one would hope to
assemble discrete acts into sequences or larger groupings (moving up in
progressive differentiation classification, for example). It is easier to
assemble discrete actions into alternative broader clusters than to de-
compose a larger unit of analysis; unless, of course, all the individual acts
are separately recorded in the larger unit, in which case one actually is
beginning with discrete actions.

Although the concept of action has received considerable attention,³⁷
it cannot be accepted as a primitive, undefined term. A practical aspect of
this problem is the separation of acts or the level at which acts are defined.
Does one count as a single action the entire Paris Peace talks on Vietnam
or each individual session or each point at a given session? It will be nec-
essary to construct guidelines based on some criteria of relevancy to cope
with this difficulty. Possibilities include the exclusion of redundant acts
involved in administering the same decision, or alternatively, the inclusion
of acts only when they involve some redistribution of human or nonhuman
resources between international actors.

In all likelihood the application of these or comparable criteria still
will yield extremely large numbers of foreign policy actions. From the
perspective of statistical analysis the quantity is desirable, but beyond some
point the task of recording actions may become unmanageable. Systematic
sampling procedures could be used to limit the problem. Sampling pro-
cedures also provide a means of coping with the overreporting of actions for
some states. Most American sources of foreign policy report actions of the
United States more completely than they do for other countries. In general,
closed societies and less developed countries receive less attention regardless
of the source. Use of supplemental regional sources and national newspapers
may provide some assistance, particularly in establishing baselines for states

underreported in more general materials. With baselines established, nations for which actions are less frequently reported in the basic sources can be oversampled. Not only types of nations, but also certain kinds of actions are underreported. We can speculate about the kinds of actions that appear less regularly in public sources—intelligence-gathering activities, sensitive political negotiations, and so on—but we cannot reliably ascertain their frequency of occurrence. This problem remains a significant one in constructing profiles of a nation's foreign policy actions.

Profiles of Foreign Policy Actions—The previous references to profiles or distributions of foreign policy actions introduce a basic purpose of the research envisioned in this chapter. The researcher records the frequency of occurrence of every kind of policy in the selected classification scheme using a systematic sample of all foreign policy actions initiated by a state in a given period of time. He forms additional profiles for the nation using different time periods. For example, he might construct frequency distributions for the Soviet Union at five-year intervals since the end of World War II—1945, 1950, 1955, 1960, 1965. Alternatively he might elect to examine profiles for consecutive years.³⁸ Similar profiles using the same classificatory scheme and time periods would be prepared for other states. With data collected and classified in this manner, the investigator could answer questions like the following:

1. What does the configuration or profile of a given state's foreign policy actions look like? For a given state and time period are some kinds of actions initiated far more frequently than others?
2. How does the profile of a given state vary through time? Does a given state's frequency distribution change gradually over a number of years or does it shift abruptly?
3. How do the profiles of different states compare? What states appear to have approximately equivalent kinds and distributions of foreign policy behaviors and which states contrast sharply with one another? What states experience parallel changes in their distributions?
4. What is the combined configuration of foreign policy actions for all states in the international system at a given time? Does this over-all pattern change across time? What is the profile for different blocs or alliances?

These are essentially descriptive questions. They provide the bases, however, for a major theoretical undertaking which begins with the inquiry "why"? Why do states *A*, *B*, and *C* experience frequent and sudden changes in their dominant kinds of foreign policy action? Why do seemingly dissimilar states *E*, *I*, and *Q* have similar patterns of foreign policy? Some may protest that this highly inductive approach to theory building is less likely to be successful than a formal mathematical model that establishes relationships between a small set of constructs from which one derives propositions that can be tested against reality. As a rejoinder one might observe that a descriptive phase—mapping the terrain of a subject area—provides a necessary first step through which almost every field of science has passed.

In addition one should note the skills and temperament of

The character of the proposed method of classification to be used in the study, the single dimension approach, the focus. We want to canvas the range of quality of action. The exploratory use of nominal categories. If we are concerned with unrelated substantive attributes, it may be the best we can do. However, when dealing with nominal categories, it seems better to use a minimum fallback position. The approach for cross-classification and comparison has certain advantages. Since the accumulation of distinguishing characteristics and differentiation method have significant value, the needed information for progress in the study could be collapsed into a nominal category for the research discussed in this chapter. alternative classifications, each of which might use multiple levels of differentiation.

The critical point remains the selection of the kinds of foreign policy actions to be studied. We have not gathered data on possible classificatory systems and the collection of data is the first step, not for the purpose of creating a "pigeon hole" for all possible explanations, but for a comparative theory about foreign policy. The testing of relationships selected for study and the explanations for the profiles of

materials. With baselines established, nations currently reported in the basic sources can be nations, but also certain kinds of actions relate about the kinds of actions that appear—intelligence-gathering activities, sensitive—but we cannot reliably ascertain their problem remains a significant one in con-foreign policy actions.

Profiles—The previous references to profiles of actions introduce a basic purpose of the researcher records the frequency of in the selected classification scheme using foreign policy actions initiated by a state in a additional profiles for the nation using dif-ferent, he might construct frequency distribu-tion-year intervals since the end of World War 5. Alternatively he might elect to examine similar profiles using the same classificatory be prepared for other states. With data in a manner, the investigator could answer

of a given state's foreign policy actions at a given state and time period are some kinds more frequently than others?

Do the foreign policy actions of a given state vary through time? Does a state's foreign policy change gradually over a number of years?

Do the foreign policy actions of different states compare? What states appear to have different kinds and distributions of foreign policy actions? Do they contrast sharply with one another? What states appear to have similar distributions?

What is the configuration of foreign policy actions for all states at a given time? Does this over-all pattern appear to be the same profile for different blocs or alliances?

These are alternative questions. They provide the bases, the starting point for an undertaking which begins with the inquiry

Why do states experience frequent and sudden changes in their foreign policy action? Why do seemingly dissim-ilar patterns of foreign policy? Some may

be that the inductive approach to theory building is less likely to be successful than a mathematical model that establishes relation-

ships from which one derives propositions about foreign policy. As a rejoinder one might observe that a

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mathematical model that establishes relationships from which one derives propositions about foreign policy. As a rejoinder one might observe that a

In addition one should note that the inductive-deductive choice reflects the skills and temperament of the investigator.³⁹

The character of the proposed research contains implications for the method of classification to be used. Given the survey quality of the needed study, the single dimension approach offers a system with too narrow a focus. We want to canvas the range of actions not one particular kind or quality of action. The exploratory nature of the research invites the use of nominal categories. If we are dealing with a wide variety of seemingly unrelated substantive attributes of foreign policy action, that method may be the best we can do. However, given the restrictions on theory building with nominal categories, it seems desirable to hold the approach in reserve as a minimum fallback position. Its ordering properties and the possibilities for cross-classification and correlation give the multiple dimension approach certain advantages. Similarly the clear delimitation of levels and the accumulation of distinguishing characteristics in the progressive differentiation method have significant value in theory building. Should the needed information for progressive differentiation prove too difficult, it could be collapsed into a nominal categories approach. An initial strategy for the research discussed in this section might involve the use of several alternative classifications, each offsetting the weaknesses of the other. One classification might use multiple dimensions and another progressive differentiation.

The critical point remains that we now have no adequate classification of the kinds of foreign policy actions pursued by various states. Accordingly, we have not gathered data on policy actions. The development of such classificatory systems and the collection of data on policy remains an essential first step, not for the purpose of organizing the array of actions (viz., finding a "pigeon hole" for all possible actions), but for the construction of comparative theory about foreign policy. This step must be followed by the testing of relationships selected to investigate the hypotheses advanced as explanations for the profiles of foreign policy actions.

Notes and References

¹In addition to the Sprouts, a number of individuals influenced the ideas expressed in this chapter. These include my former colleague, Harry Eckstein, the graduate students who participated in my seminar on the comparative study of foreign policy (particularly Norman Frohlich, Edward Morse, and Stephen Salmore), and my associates in the project on the politics of adaptation headed by James N. Rosenau. Upon completing this manuscript, I received a copy of David H. Blake's "The Identification of Foreign Policy Output: A Neglected But Necessary Task" (Midwest Political Science Association, Ann Arbor, Michigan, April 24-26, 1969). Although it came too late to be commented upon in the body of this chapter, Blake's paper constitutes an important companion to the present work.

²This distinction is a major, recurrent theme in their writing. See, for example, Harold and Margaret Sprout, *The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs* (Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 222-223, and their "Environmental Factors in the Study of International Politics," in James N. Rosenau (ed.), *International Politics and Foreign Policy* (New York: Free Press, revised edition 1969), pp. 41-56.

³Fred A. Sondermann, "The Linkage between Foreign Policy and International

Politics," a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association in 1958 and reprinted in James N. Rosenau, (ed.), *International Politics and Foreign Policy* (New York: Free Press, 1961), pp. 8-17.

⁴Austin Ranney, "The Study of Policy Content: A Framework for Choice," in Austin Ranney (ed.), *Political Science and Public Policy* (Chicago: Markham, 1968), p. 3.

⁵See Harold and Margaret Sprout, *An Ecological Paradigm for the Study of International Politics* (Research Monograph No. 30, Princeton University, March, 1968); and their "The Dilemma of Rising Demands and Insufficient Resources," *World Politics*, XX (July 1968), pp. 660-693.

⁶James N. Rosenau, "Comparative Foreign Policy: Fad, Fantasy, or Field," *International Studies Quarterly*, XII (September 1968), pp. 296-329.

⁷An example of the country to country approach is Edwin O. Reischauer, *The United States and Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 3rd edition 1965). The country to region approach is illustrated by John S. Badeau, *The American Approach to the Arab World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968).

⁸For example, see John W. Spanier, *Amer-*

ican Foreign Policy Since World War II (New York: Praeger, 3rd edition 1968).

⁹From the hundreds of possible titles, a small sample illustrates the point. David Mervin, *Foreign Aid and American Foreign Policy* (New York: Praeger, 1966); Frederick C. Barghoorn, *Soviet Foreign Policy and American Foreign Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964); Phillip H. Coombs, *Foreign Policy and International Cultural Affairs* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964); Raymond Garthoff, *Soviet Military Policy* (New York: Praeger, 1966); and E.A.J. Johnson (ed.), *The Dimension of Diplomacy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1964).

¹⁰See Ole R. Holsti, Richard A. Brody, and Robert C. North, "Affect and Action in International Reaction Models," *Journal of Peace Research*, 3-4 (1964), pp. 190-199; and Ole R. Holsti, Robert C. North, and Richard A. Brody, "Perception and Action in the 1914 Crisis" in J. David Singer (ed.), *Quantitative International Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp. 123-158. Dina A. Zinnes has contributed

some of the most advanced work in scaling the intensity of hostility. See her "The Perception and Perception of Hostility in the Prewar Crisis: 1914" in J. David Singer (ed.), *Quantitative International Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp. 85-100.

¹¹Rudolph J. Rummel, "The Conflict and Action property, but his unit depends on the interaction of two or more parties and therefore, has significant limitations in the foreign policy category. See his "The Relationship Between National Attributes and Foreign Conflict Behavior" in J. David Singer (ed.), *Quantitative International Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp. 187-214.

¹²Charles A. McClelland, "The Quantity and Variety of Events, 1948-1963" in J. David Singer (ed.), *Quantitative International Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp. 159-186; and Barbara Fitzsimmons, Charles Hoggard, Charles A. McClelland, William Martin, and Robert Young, "World Event Interaction Survey Handbook and Coding Book," Department of International Relations, University of Southern California, January, 1969 (mimeo). For an independent effort to code a variety of attributes, see Erik V. Nordheim

ican Foreign Policy Since World War II (New York: Praeger, 3rd edition 1968).

⁹From the hundreds of possible titles, a small sample illustrates the point. David A. Baldwin, *Foreign Aid and American Foreign Policy* (New York: Praeger, 1966); Frederick C. Barghoorn, *Soviet Foreign Propaganda* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964); Phillip H. Coombs, *The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy: Educational and Cultural Affairs* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964); Raymond L. Garthoff, *Soviet Military Policy* (New York: Praeger, 1966); and E.A.J. Johnson (ed.), *The Dimension of Diplomacy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1964).

¹⁰See Ole R. Holsti, Richard A. Brody, and Robert C. North, "Affect and Action in International Reaction Models," *Journal of Peace Research*, 3-4 (1964), pp. 170-190; and Ole R. Holsti, Robert C. North, and Richard A. Brody, "Perception and Action in the 1914 Crisis" in J. David Singer (ed.), *Quantitative International Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp. 123-158. Dina A. Zinnes has contributed some of the most advanced work in scaling the intensity of hostility. See her "The Expression and Perception of Hostility in Prewar Crisis: 1914" in J. David Singer (ed.), *Quantitative International Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp. 85-119. Rudolph J. Rummel treats conflict as an action property, but his unit depends upon the interaction of two or more parties and, therefore, has significant limitations as a foreign policy category. See his "The Relationship Between National Attributes and Foreign Conflict Behavior" in J. David Singer (ed.), *Quantitative International Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp. 187-214.

¹¹Charles A. McClelland, "The Quantity and Variety of Events, 1948-1963" in J. David Singer (ed.), *Quantitative International Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp. 159-186; and Barbara Fitzsimmons, Gary Hoggard, Charles A. McClelland, Wayne Martin, and Robert Young, "World Event/Interaction Survey Handbook and Codebook," Department of International Relations, University of Southern California, January, 1969 (mimeo). For an independent effort to code a variety of action properties, see Erik V. Nordheim and

Pamela B. Wilcox, *Major Events of the Nuclear Age*, ORNL-TM-1830, Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Oak Ridge, Tennessee, August, 1967.

¹²Kenneth N. Waltz, *Foreign Policy and Democratic Politics* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967); Karl W. Deutsch and others, *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957); Dean G. Pruitt, "An Analysis of Responsiveness Between Nations," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, VI (March 1962), pp. 5-18; Herbert J. Spiro, "Foreign Policy and Political Style," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 366 (July 1966), pp. 139-148.

¹³See Harold Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, *Power and Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

¹⁴Arnold Wolfers, "The Pole of Power and the Pole of Indifference," *World Politics*, IV (October 1951), pp. 39-63.

¹⁵In a preliminary classification of goals, the Sprouts organized them under three broad headings: (1) promoting the national entity; (2) promoting subunits within the nation; and (3) promoting goals pertaining to areas or entities external to the nation. The Sprouts further reflection on national goals is in their forthcoming text, *Toward a Politics of the Planet Earth*, to be published by Van Nostrand Reinhold.

¹⁶Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960).

¹⁷Charles E. Osgood, George J. Suci, and Percy H. Tannenbaum, *The Measurement of Meaning* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957).

¹⁸Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, *Toward A General Theory of Action* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 53.

¹⁹See, for example, Edward L. Morse, "A Comparative Approach to the Study of Foreign Policy," Department of Politics, Princeton University, October 1968 (mimeo); and Samuel Beer and Adam Ulam (eds.), *Patterns of Government* (New York: Random House, 2nd edition 1962).

²⁰Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs?* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

²¹James N. Rosenau, "Pre-theories and Theories of Foreign Policy" in R. Barry Farrell (ed.), *Approaches to Comparative*

Politics," a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association in 1958 and reprinted in James N. Rosenau, (ed.), *International Politics and Foreign Policy* (New York: Free Press, 1961), pp. 8-17.

⁴Austin Ranney, "The Study of Policy Content: A Framework for Choice," in Austin Ranney (ed.), *Political Science and Public Policy* (Chicago: Markham, 1968), p. 3.

⁵See Harold and Margaret Sprout, *An Ecological Paradigm for the Study of International Politics* (Research Monograph No. 30, Princeton University, March, 1968); and their "The Dilemma of Rising Demands and Insufficient Resources," *World Politics*, XX (July 1968), pp. 660-693.

⁶James N. Rosenau, "Comparative Foreign Policy: Fad, Fantasy, or Field," *International Studies Quarterly*, XII (September 1968), pp. 296-329.

⁷An example of the country to country approach is Edwin O. Reischauer, *The United States and Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 3rd edition 1965). The country to region approach is illustrated by John S. Badeau, *The American Approach to the Arab World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968).

⁸For example, see John W. Spanier, *Amer-*

- and *International Politics* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1966), pp. 27-92; and James N. Rosenau, "Foreign Policy as an Issue Area" in James N. Rosenau (ed.), *Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy* (New York: Free Press, 1967), pp. 11-50.
- ²²Samuel P. Huntington, *The Common Defense* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), pp. 3-7.
- ²³Although most foreign ministries have some functional sections—administration, legal services, and public-press relations—geographical divisions dominate the arrangement in most countries. The Soviet Union makes use of geographical bureaus in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but a more basic division occurs between sections handling affairs with communist party states as opposed to those dealing with non-party states. See Jan F. Triska and David D. Finley, *Soviet Foreign Policy* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), pp. 35-38.
- ²⁴Abraham Kaplan, *The Conduct of Inquiry* (San Francisco: Chandler, 1964), pp. 50-51. The terms "natural" and "artificial" are frequently used in discussions of classifications, but they can be misleading if one assumes that "natural" refers to systems that have an existence in nature independent of the observer. See A. Broadfield, *The Philosophy of Classification* (London: Grafton, 1946).
- ²⁵Irving M. Copi, *Introduction to Logic* (New York: Macmillan, 2nd edition 1961), pp. 409-411. With reference to social science, it might be preferable to refer to strongly related variables rather than causal laws.
- ²⁶Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Allen H. Barton, "Qualitative Measurement in the Social Sciences: Classification, Typologies, and Indices" in Daniel Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell (eds.), *The Policy Sciences* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951), p. 155.
- ²⁷My thinking on this subject has been influenced considerably by Harry Eckstein. I have adapted one of his conceptions of alternate methods of classification; and although we might differ on the evaluations, I am indebted to him for aspects of the other three.
- ²⁸Charles F. Hermann, "International Crisis as a Situational Variable" in James N. Rosenau (ed.), *International Politics and Foreign Policy* (New York: Free Press, revised edition 1969), pp. 409-421.
- ²⁹Quincy Wright, "The Form of a Discipline of International Relations" in James N. Rosenau (ed.), *International Politics and Foreign Policy* (New York: Free Press, revised edition 1969), pp. 442-460.
- ³⁰Emphasis on parsimony, however, is not always justified. Other things being equal, a classificatory system with the fewest categories to cover the largest number of observations and relationships is to be desired over a classification with many categories. But in classification, as in theories, premature insistence on parsimony may substantially limit the utility of the system. Furthermore, "categorizing a given population into a few types or subtypes may reduce validity if the variance within single categories or types is thereby unduly increased." Edward A. Tiryokian, "Typologies," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 16 (New York: Macmillan-Free Press, 1968), p. 178.
- ³¹The term is Harry Eckstein's. In his graduate seminar on comparative politics, where he develops alternative methods of classification, Eckstein compares "progressive differentiation" with "progressive generalization." The latter method reverses the former by beginning with the smallest or most homogeneous class and by becoming more inclusive at each subsequent level. A somewhat similar discussion of classification as alternative processes of subdivision or accumulation appears in Baruch A. Brody, "Glossary of Logical Terms," *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 5 (New York: Macmillan-Free Press, 1967), p. 60.
- ³²Paul Seabury, *Power, Freedom and Diplomacy: The Foreign Policy of the United States* (New York: Random House-Vintage, 1965), p. 7.
- ³³George Modelski, *A Theory of Foreign Policy* (New York: Praeger, 1962), pp. 6, 7.
- ³⁴Edgar S. Furniss, Jr., and Richard C. Snyder, *An Introduction to American Foreign Policy* (New York: Rinehart, 1955), pp. 6, 28.
- ³⁵James N. Rosenau, "Moral Fervor, Systematic Analysis and Scientific Consciousness in Foreign Policy Research" in Austin Ranney (ed.), *Political Science and Public Policy* (Chicago: Markham, 1968), p. 530. See also the distinctions between domestic and foreign policy discussed in Chadwick F. "Comparison of Intranational and national Politics," *American Political Science Review*, 58 (June 1963), pp. 419.
- ³⁷For explorations of the concept of see Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, *Toward A General Theory of Action* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), and Harold and Margaret Sprout, *The Evolutionary Perspective on Human Affairs* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970); and Richard C. Snyder, H.W. and Burton Sapin (eds.), *Foreign Decision Making* (New York: Free Press, 1962), p. 64.
- ³⁸Of course, the selection and organization

Rosenau (ed.), *International Politics and Foreign Policy* (New York: Free Press, revised edition 1969), pp. 409-421.

²⁹Quincy Wright, "The Form of a Discipline of International Relations" in James N. Rosenau (ed.), *International Politics and Foreign Policy* (New York: Free Press, revised edition 1969), pp. 442-460.

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³²Paul Seabury, *Power, Freedom and Diplomacy: The Foreign Policy of the United States* (New York: Random House-Vintage, 1965), p. 7.

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³⁵James N. Rosenau, "Moral Fervor, Systematic Analysis and Scientific Consciousness in Foreign Policy Research" in Austin Ranney (ed.), *Political Science and Public*

Policy (Chicago: Markham, 1968), p. 222.

³⁶See the opening paragraphs of Bernard C. Cohen's essay, "Foreign Policy," in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 5 (New York: Macmillan-Free Press, 1968), p. 530. See also the various distinctions between domestic and foreign policy discussed in Chadwick F. Alger, "Comparison of Intranational and International Politics," *American Political Science Review*, 58 (June 1963), pp. 406-419.

³⁷For explorations of the concept of action, see Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, *Toward A General Theory of Action* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 53; Harold and Margaret Sprout, *The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 23; and Richard C. Snyder, H.W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin (eds.), *Foreign Policy Decision Making* (New York: Free Press, 1962), p. 64.

³⁸Of course, the selection and organization of

the time units depends upon the research design. Most likely, time periods will be chosen to permit the investigation of some prior hypotheses about variables expected to affect the distribution of foreign policy actions. For example, time periods might be selected to determine the influence of changes in a country's regime, shifts in the level of international tension, or the configuration of the international system.

³⁹A pair of barnyard analogies, which the author somewhat reluctantly attributes to a conversation with Harold Sprout, reminds us of the pitfalls present in excessive use of either approach. On the one hand, the excessive user of the inductive approach can be likened to the foolish farmer who piles manure higher and higher in the hopes that this action alone will cause a rose to spring forth. On the other hand, the excessive user of the deductive approach can be likened to the inefficient farmer who seeks to feed the sparrows by feeding the cows.