

POLS 318: Theories of IR
Lecture 11 (02.24.2021):
Political Leaders and Elites

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Overview

- 1 Quick review
- 2 Introduction
- 3 Research Avenues
- 4 Leaders Research - Applications
- 5 Extra Material

Review

WHAT WE COVERED LAST MEETING?

- Political psychology and individual level of analysis.
- Prospect theory: reference dependence, gains and losses.
- Loss aversion, risky choices (Sadat 1973, The Asian disease).
- Emotions - anger, fear and IR.
- Misperceptions and heuristics.
- Limitations.

Questions?? Email me!

The Individual Leader

WHY, REALLY WHY?



Background

Research Origins

- Realism → 'architects' of diplomacy and BOP.
- Specific leaders: their personality, beliefs, and life experiences.
- Decline: structural theories (Neorealism, unitary actor).
- Lacking methods/data.

Methodological spike

- Large leader-specific datasets.
- Elite experiments:
- Allows use of similar theories and instruments (public-elites).
- Challenges: small samples, context and strategic behavior.

Studying Leaders

TWO SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT

(1) Institutional Leadership school

- Focus: situational approach.
- Institutions as constraints.
- Domestic and international conditions limit leader's agency.
- Mirror realist view, **however**,
- Greater weight on individual and her circumstances.

Studying Leaders

(1) Institutional Leadership school

- *Turnover*: leadership change and global behavior.
- Why? More uncertainty about the new 'boss'.
- Type → rational/strategic perspective.
- Leader specific data. [▶ ArchigosDataset](#)



Studying Leaders

TWO SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT

(2) **Leader Attribute school**

- Beliefs, attitudes, and experiences shape outcomes.
- Factors - individual characteristics:
 - Age, gender, biology.
- Factors - life experiences:
 - Education, military and/or rebel experience.
- Study leader affect on public: elite cues (advisors).
- Critical for supporting leaders.
- Advisor "type" (hawk/dove).

Studying Leaders

MAIN LESSON OF RESEARCH

Leader-specific attributes matter for interpretation of information and behavior in international system

- Identify variations in cases.
- Different views of similar information → outcomes.

Studying Political Leaders

Personality and IR behavior (Hermann 1980)

- How leaders' attributes matter for IR decisions?
- Personality? why?
- Specific traits that form FP orientations.
- Two types of orientations:
 - ① Independent → aggressive leader.
 - ② Participatory → conciliatory leader.
- Conditional on interest and training in Foreign policy.

Personality and IR

Individual Characteristics

- ① Beliefs: nationalism, ability to control events.
 - ② Motives: need for power and affiliation.
 - ③ Decision Style: conceptual complexity.
 - ④ Interpersonal Style: trust in others.
- Method: content analysis.
 - Press interactions (1959-1968).

Personality and IR

Some findings

- Orientation to change: nationalism or need for power (combined with low interest and training).
- Independence/Interdependence of actions: independent orientation and much training.
- Affect: friendliness or hostility towards other nations.
▶ AffectPersonality
- Feedback from environment: participatory vs. independent orientation.
- Overall: experience and dispositional effects.

Study Leaders

The Effects of Life Experiences (Horowitz and Stam 2014)

- Past events → heuristics and references.
- Experience in conflict setting → risk orientations.
- Types: Military, Combat, Rebel.



Previous Experience and IR

The Model

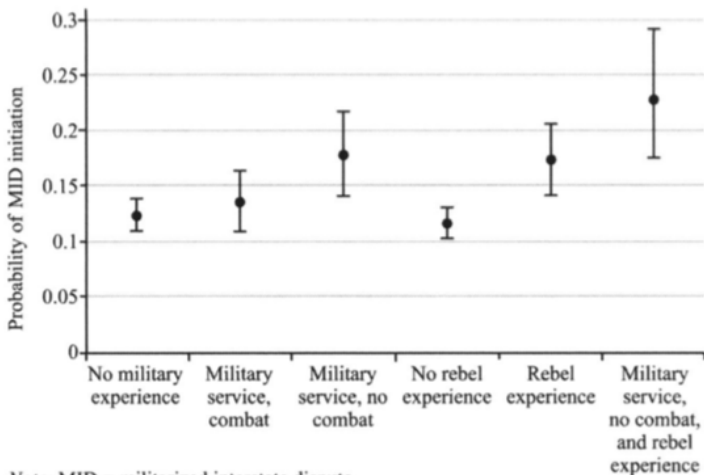
- Interaction with political institutions.
- Screening leaders into office.
- Militarized regime.



FIGURE 1. *Theoretical relationship between leader experiences and policy outcomes*

Previous Experience and IR

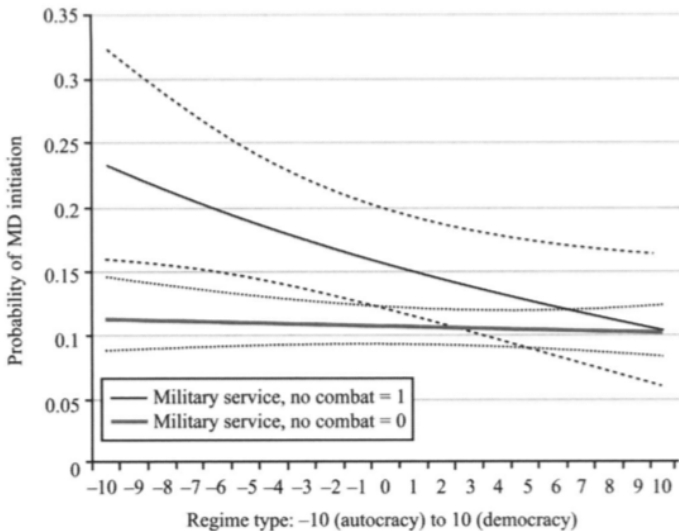
Military/Combat Experience and International Conflict



Note: MID = militarized interstate dispute.

Previous Experience and IR

Military/Combat Experience and International Conflict



Leader Attributes and Conflict

Military/Combat Experience

- Background military experience and initiation of wars.
- Past background → behavioral tendencies and beliefs.
- Military history → views regarding the use of force to address disputes and challenges.

Leader Attributes and IR

Military Alliances

- The extent of contribution to military alliances.
- The problem of *Free riding* a strong ally.
- Alliances as a public good - NATO.



Leader Attributes and IR

Business Experience and Military Alliances (Fuhrmann 2020)

- Leader experience and alliances.
- Business: executive level.
- Smaller contributions (defense expenditures), Why?
 - ① Egoistic tendencies.
 - ② Belief in self-efficacy and power.
- **Main findings:** business experience lead to reduces the growth in defense expenditures (1.24% for next year).
- Larger drop for bigger countries in Europe (UK, France, Germany): 3%.



Recommended readings

More studies on leaders and IR behavior:

- 1 Lupton, Danielle L. (2017). "Out of the service, into the house: Military experience and congressional war oversight." *Political Research Quarterly* 70, 2, 327-339.
- 2 Croco, Sarah E. (2011). "The decider's dilemma: Leader culpability, war outcomes, and domestic punishment." *American Political Science Review* 105, 3, 457-477.
- 3 Barnes, Tiffany D., and Diana Z. O'Brien. (2018). "Defending the realm: The appointment of female defense ministers worldwide." *American Journal of Political Science* 62, 2, 355-368.

Archigos Dataset

	idacr	leader	startdate	eindate	enddate	eoutdate	entry	exit			
23	USA	Reagan	1981-01-20	20jan1981	1989-01-20	20jan1989	Regular	Regular			
24	USA	G.H.W. Bush	1989-01-20	20jan1989	1993-01-20	20jan1993	Regular	Regular			
25	USA	Clinton	1993-01-20	20jan1993	2001-01-20	20jan2001	Regular	Regular			
26	USA	G.W. Bush	2001-01-21	21jan2001	2009-01-20	20jan2009	Regular	Regular			
27	USA	Obama	2009-01-20	20jan2009	2015-12-31	31dec2015	Regular	Still in Office			
28	CAN	Mackenzie	1873-11-07	07nov1873	1878-10-17	17oct1878	Regular	Regular			
29	CAN	Macdonald	1878-10-17	17oct1878	1891-06-06	06jun1891	Regular	Natural Death			
30	CAN	Abbott	1891-06-16	16jun1891	1892-12-05	05dec1892	Regular	Regular			
31	CAN	Thompson	1892-12-05	05dec1892	1894-12-12	12dec1894	Regular	Natural Death			
32	CAN	Bowell	1894-12-21	21dec1894	1896-05-01	01may1896	Regular	Regular			
33	CAN	Tanner	1896-05-01	01may1896	1906-07-11	11jul1906	Regular	Regular			
		posttenurefate		gender	yrborn	yrdied	borndate	ebirthdate	deathdate	edeathdate	
34			Exile	M	1815	1888	NA	.	NA	.	Regular
35			Exile	M	1832	1905	NA	.	NA	.	Health
			Exile	M	1841	1935	NA	.	NA	.	
			Missing: Natural Death within Six Months of Losing Office	M	1827	1896	NA	.	NA	.	
			Exile	M	1835	1916	NA	.	NA	.	
			OK	M	1832	1985	NA	.	NA	.	
			Exile	M	1820	1910	NA	.	1910-05-01	01may1910	
			Exile	M	1844	1923	NA	.	NA	.	
			Death	M	1854	1912	NA	.	NA	.	
			Missing: Natural Death within Six Months of Losing Office	M	1856	1913	NA	.	NA	.	
			Exile	M	1859	1918	NA	.	1918-10-28	28oct1918	
			Death	M	1861	1915	NA	.	NA	.	
			Exile	M	1847	1917	NA	.	1917-01-13	13jan1917	
			Death	M	1859	1915	1859-03-04	04mar1859	1915-07-28	28jul1915	
			Exile	M	1874	1959	NA	.	1959-09-03	03sep1959	
			Exile	M	1883	1974	1883-12-09	09dec1883	1974-10-21	21oct1974	
			OK	M	1903	1986	1903-03-16	16mar1903	NA	.	
			Imprisonment	M	1900	1953	1900-04-21	21apr1900	1953-07-20	20jul1953	

Personality and IR behavior

<i>Personal Characteristic</i>	<i>Over Whole Sample (N = 45)</i>		<i>Low Interest (N = 24)</i>		<i>High Interest (N = 21)</i>		<i>Little Training (N = 22)</i>		<i>Much Training (N = 23)</i>	
	<i>Direction</i>	<i>Intensity</i>	<i>Direction</i>	<i>Intensity</i>	<i>Direction</i>	<i>Intensity</i>	<i>Direction</i>	<i>Intensity</i>	<i>Direction</i>	<i>Intensity</i>
Independent Orientation (-) (+) ^a	-.40***	.32**	-.61***	.31*	-.06	.34*	-.18	.22	-.57***	.44**
Participatory Orientation (+) (-)	.39***	-.36***	.47***	-.71***	.21	-.31*	.31*	-.31*	.52***	-.44**
Nationalism (-) (+)	-.33**	.30**	-.44**	.35**	-.17	.28	-.40**	.30*	-.28*	.27
Belief in One's Own Ability to Control Events (-) (+)	-.11	-.02	-.26	.00	.17	-.01	-.08	.01	-.13	.09
Need Power (-) (+)	-.33**	.24*	-.61***	.35**	.09	.12	-.40**	.24	-.23	.26
Need Affiliation (+) (-)	.14	-.18	.05	-.41**	.32*	.06	.31*	-.32*	-.10	-.06
Conceptual Complexity (+) (-)	.20*	-.05	.19	.05	-.04	-.38**	-.03	-.13	.38**	-.03
Distrust of Others (-) (+)	-.25**	.27**	-.35**	.31*	-.10	.22	-.15	.22	-.39**	.36**