Personality Traits and Foreign Policy Views of Russian Elites

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Why are some people "hawks" and some "doves"?



What explains difference in foreign policy views of elites?

Research Question

Do personality characteristics of people who hold high positions in power affect their foreign policy views?

Rational Choice Theory Answer: NO!

What matter are interests, expectations, strategies, coalitions...

Political Psychology Approach

Emphasis on psychological traits of decision-makers

- Greenstein 1975;
- Holsti 1976;
- Etheredge 1978;
- Tetlock 1981

Challenge

Access to elites is extremely difficult to obtain -----

Reliance on secondary indirect sources, or expert evaluations, or content analysis

Our Approach

- Original survey data of Russian Elites based on
- Sixth Wave of Russian Elites Survey Project headed by William Zimmerman

Place in the Literature

 Bridging classical studies of elites' attitudes and beliefs with advanced research on psychological traits in social psychology

• Analysis of the elites' orientation on foreign policy beyond the US

Theoretical Framework

- Psychological Traits (Big 5 approach):
- Authoritarian Personality Theory (Adorno)
- Interpersonal generalization theory (Christiansen)
- Leader Trait Assessment theory (Hermann)

Hypothesis

Psychological traits that constitute personal authoritarianism should be associated with more aggressive foreign policy orientations

Dependent Variables

- Definition of National Interests of Russia
- Orientation toward the use of military force
- Perception of the US as a threat to Russian national security
- Opposition to international operations in Libya and Syria

Independent Variables

- Conservative Parenting Values
- Ethnocentrism
- Mental Rigidness
- Need for Order
- Punitiveness

Conservative Parenting Values

Obedience + responsibility + religiosity – (self-expression + tolerance + imagination + independence)

Ethnocentrism

• Composite Index based on feeling thermometer

Attitudes towards Russians – (attitudes towards Muslims + Caucasians + Immigrants + homosexuals)

Mental Rigidness

"Of all the various philosophies in the world there exist apparently only one that is undoubtedly correct"

Need for Order

- 5-point scale
- "order established at any price, even if it involves violations of human rights" to "by no means establishing order infringe upon citizen's rights".

Punitiveness

"the interests of society must be protected even if innocent people sometimes are imprisoned".

Controls

- Self-esteem
- Trust
- Group belonging (Military, Legislative, Executive, Business, Science and Media)
- Political affiliation (report of vote for Vladimir Putin)
- Membership in CPSU
- Age
- Gender
- Education



6th wave of the Russian Elite Survey September-October 2012

240 individuals from

- 1) Legislators
- 2) Government
- 3) Military
- 4) State-owned enterprises
- 5) Business-owners
- 6) Media
- 7) Science



Empirical Analysis

Confirmatory factor analysis

• Dependent variables represent different factors

- Strong factor of ethnocentrism (without homosexuals)
- No coherent factor beyond parenting values

Regression Analysis

	Broad	Use of	US as a	Opposition	Opposition
	National	Military	threat	to	to
	Interests	Force		intervention	intervention
				in Libya	in Syria
Conservative	-0.070	-0.76**	-0.750**	-0.56**	-0.764**
Parenting	(0.165)	(0.19)	(0.201)	(0.21)	(0.224)
Ethnocentrism	0.05**	-0.07**	0.06**	0.03**	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Mental Rigidness	-0.05	0.03	0.02**	0.01	-0.009
	(0.32)	(0.08)	(0.009)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Need for Order	0.35**	0.28	0.16	0.52**	0.53**
	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.22)	(0.22)
Punitiveness	-0.09	0.01	-0.01	-0.01	0.01
	(0.1)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Self-Esteem	0.01	0.31	-0.095	-0.231	0.138
	(0.034)	(0.384)	(0.396)	(0.386)	(0.397)
Trust	-0.017	-0.09	0.019	-0.011	-0.013
	(0.014)	(0.16)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.012)
Age	0.07	0.05**	0.014	-0.030	-0.016
	(0.32)	(0.02)	(0.24)	(0.026)	(0.025)
Gender	0.039	0.771	0.426	-0.032	(0.010)
	(0.436)	(0.572)	(0.450)	(0.505)	0.497

Regression Analysis

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Gender	0.039	0.771	0.426	-0.032	(0.010)
	(0.436)	(0.572)	(0.450)	(0.505)	0.497
Education	0.173	-0.102	-0.045	-0.519**	-0.303
	(0.201)	(0.651)	(0.201)	(0.232)	(0.296)
Membership in	-1.6**	-0.077	-0.156	-0.117	1.07**
CPSU	(0.6)	(0.599)	(0.558)	(0.630)	(0.505)
Support for	0.234	-0.344	0.027	-0.061	-0.006
Putin	(0.210)	(0.247)	(0.217)	(0.243)	(0.237)
Military	0.454	3.75**	0.242	0.254	0.775
	(0.616)	(0.862)	(0.681)	(0.814)	(0.811)
Executive	0.512	0.588	0.855	-0.060	0.591
	(0.632)	(0.702)	(0.627)	(0.862)	(0.778)
Legislative	2.9**	0.131	-0.190	0.01	0.608
	(0.7)	(0.744)	(0.885)	(0.862)	(0.848)
Business	0.301	0.585	0.325	0.693	0.616
	(0.711)	(0.742)	(0.623)	(0.757)	(0.807)
Media	1.256**	0.390	0.646	0.032	0.329
	(0.537)	(0.867)	(0.694)	(0.815)	(0.874)
Science	1.4**	-0.459	0.350	0.958	1.017
	(0.634)	(0.734)	(0.595)	(0.649)	(0.667)

Note standard errors in parentheses

Results

- Personality traits are strong and significant predictors of foreign policy orientations
- Conservative parenting values are associated with "Dovish" views. Also ethnocentrism is negatively related with positive attitudes towards military force. Isolationism
- 3) Need for order and mental rigidness more predictably were found to be positively associated with aggressive confrontationist foreign policy views

Interpretation

"Cheap talk": attitudes and behavior The role of emotions, intuition, beliefs in decision-making

"The essence of ultimate decision remains impenetrable to the observer - often, indeed, to the decider himself". JFK

Association or causality?

Conclusions

Political leaders are also human beings

