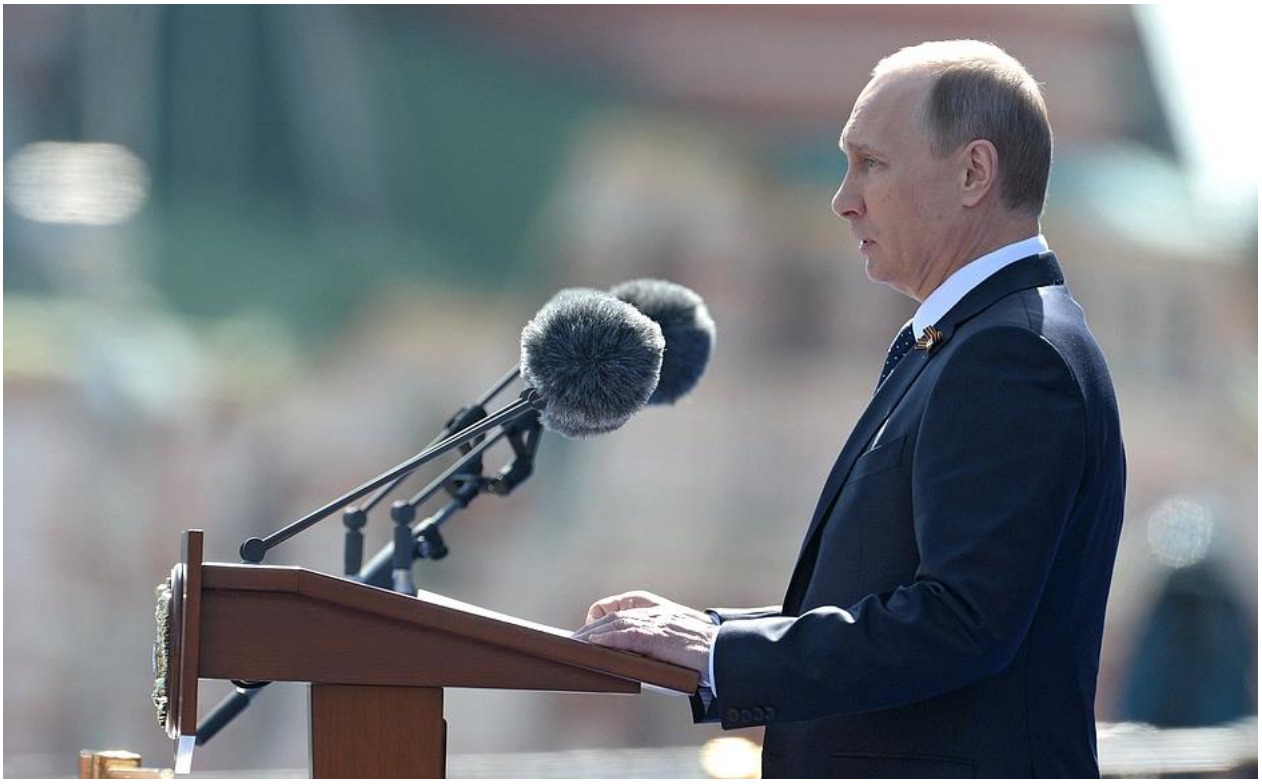
The Operational Code and the instability of belief systems:

An analysis on the influence of the Maidan crisis on Putin's presidency

Bachelor's thesis by Charlotte Tukker



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Supervisor Dr. F. E. Bakker
Second Reader Prof. dr. G. A. Irwin

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Governments of states that attempt to build new global institutions, interfere in wars or condemn other state's war crimes are events we hear about on daily basis through media. Events like these gradually change the world we live in and affect the affairs of states and the relations within world politics. Scholars of International Relations attempt to understand and predict these events and the affect that they have on the international level, but from time to time, scientists overlook the fact that governments of states are composed of human decision-makers. The same scientists approach states as impersonal abstract entities that act the way they act because of rational behaviour that is dictated by dominant structures.

Within the field of International Relations, individual level approaches have been emerging for the last couple of decades. Researchers of these individual-level scholars attempt to provide for a better understanding of world politics by implementing cognitive elements of human decision-makers. The influence of leaders' beliefs on decision-making has been subject of recent studies of cognitive scholars. Jonathan Renshon is one of the scientists that studies the belief systems of political leaders. With his study on George W. Bush (2008), Renshon investigates the causes of the former president's belief change. He argues that a lot of research on the instability of beliefs still has to be done to compose a complete understanding of the interaction between beliefs and decision-making.

Renshon investigated the influence of the 9/11 attacks on the Operational Code of G. W. Bush. Complete understanding of the relationship between the impact of specific events and the potential changes in belief systems could not be acquired with the results of just a few studies. Understanding arises during a process of comparison results of multiple studies that contradict or show similarities.

To contribute to the research on the causes of belief change, for this thesis, the influence of the 2013/2014 Maidan Crisis on Vladimir Putin's Operational Code is examined. The first section takes the role of the study of beliefs within IR into account. Next, Putin's beliefs of the pre-Maidan and post-Maidan period will be determined by means of the Operational Code construct. In conclusion, both operational codes will be compared and analysed to investigate whether the Maidan crisis affected Putin's beliefs.

Literature review

Every minute of every day, scientists attempt to understand the world and universe we live in. Behaviour of animals is studied by biologists, the development of the solar system is examined by astronomers and world politics and the affairs of states are explained by International Relations (IR) scholars. Within the field of IR, many theoretical perspectives exist on how to explain political matters. Some perspectives contradict, while others could be used complemental. Walt (1998), sketched out three central approaches to the field of IR: realism, liberalism and constructivism. Walt (1998, p. 30) argues that none of the theories captures the complexity of the field of IR, but the competition of different theories provides for the explanation of almost every aspect of world politics. Since every theory is based on different assumptions and critics the weaknesses of other theories, contradicted approaches could provide for a better understanding of the affairs of states. Realism is based on the assumption that states are in a constant self-interested struggle for power. Theorists of this scholar are pessimistic about human nature and this scholar dominated the field of IR during the Cold War. After the end of this conflict, the assumptions about human nature became less dark and theories as liberalism became leading theories within the field (Walt, 1998). The pessimistic world view of realist scholars was challenged by liberal theorists because they foresee a slow but inevitable transition away from the anarchistic and hostile nature of world politics (Snyder, 2004). This transition is foreseen because liberalists assume that international trade results in cooperation and interdependent ties between states. According to liberalists, cooperation will result in the development of international institutions through which democratic norms are spread (Snyder, 2004; Walt, 1998). Instead of the conflictual world view of realism, liberal scholars consider world politics more peaceful. While realism and liberalism focus on the role of states and international institutions, constructivist theories base their assumptions on values and ideas (Snyder, 2004). Constructivists argue that objective reality does not exist, and that political actors act within a social reality that is constructed through debates about values.

These theories will be referred to as 'structural theories' because they primarily focus on political structures and neglect cognitive elements on the individual level. According to Hudson (2005), these structural theories give the impression that the ground of IR lies in the impersonal abstract concept of states, while all that occurs in the affairs of nations is grounded in *human decision-makers acting singly or in groups*. IR is therefore grounded in the actions of human decision-makers, and the neglection of cognitive aspects of decision-makers is not helpful when providing

a complete understanding of international affairs. According to Bymann and Pollack (2001), IR scientists have three reasons why they generally exclude the role of individuals when studying international affairs. First, the 'small voices' of individuals are considered less important than general structures because, according to many IR scientists (Bymann & Pollack, 2001 p. 108), major events and anarchistic structures overdrawn these human voices. As described by theorists as Waltz (1959), human nature is considered a constant factor within varying structures. The actions of man could therefore never explain why, for example, states go to war. Second, actions of individuals are not considered valuable when it comes to generalisations because individuals are unique creatures that handle situations too individualistic. Third, because of several specific objections by leading IR theorists, the study of individuals is considered hopeless.

Theorists as Huntington (1993) Putnam (1988) and Waltz (1959), have already implemented the individual level into their research, but they only focussed on the role of those individuals within instable international structures instead of focussing on cognitive elements (Herman & Hagan, 1998; Schafer & Walker, 2006). By theorists such as Putnam (1988), leaders are considered constrained actors that choose their foreign policy strategy from a limited menu of available options. For structural scholars, leaders are considered rational actors that pick the best option from this menu, aiming to maximize their gains and minimize their losses (Schafer & Walker, 2006, p.5). Amongst these scholars, there is consensus on the assumption that human actors act rationally but theorists disagree on the definition of this rationality. Realists theorists consider the maintenance of a power position within the international system to be rational, while liberals scholars assume that it is rational to insure the position of international and domestic institutions (Schafer & Walker, 2006, p. 5). According to constructivist scholars, it is rational to replace or reproduce norms to insure an international order that protects cultural values.

The rationality of human behaviour is questioned by several theorists. Humans are considered cognitively limited because decision-making is constrained by several factors. Mintz (2007) assumes that leaders are not strictly rational and that they make suboptimal decisions based on judgements, emotions, beliefs, personality and other 'human' factors. He argues for a more psychological foundation to the understanding of IR, since decisions are made by humans and humans are affected by emotions. Hereby, rationality, as described by Simon (1985, p. 294), concerns 'the behavio[u]r that is appropriate to specified goals in the context of a given situation'.

According to Simon (1985), internal and external limitations exist which constrain a person's rationality. Internal limitations are concerned with earlier mentioned 'human' factors as emotions, while external limitations concern a person's selective, inadequate and incomplete search to uncertain information to base their decisions on. Individuals are considered bounded in their rationality by cognitive theorists and they argue that individuals are steered by their beliefs when it comes to decision-making (Walker & Schafer, 2006, p. 6).

The study of the influences of cognitive elements on decision-making became more relevant after the end of the Cold War (Walker & Schafer, 2006, p. 6; Herman & Hagan, 1998, p. 125). During the Cold War, the world was highly structured by a bipolar balance of power between the Soviet Union and 'The West'. This highly structured world order provided a menu with a limited range of choices for leaders. Superpowers had to determine the fears of other countries and had to respond to these fears in order to stabilise the balance of power. Smaller powers only had to recognize the power of the hegemonies and calculated ways to stay aside from the conflict or decided to ally with one of the superpowers to involve in the conflict (Walker & Schafer, 2006, p. 6). Therefore, theorists were able to explain and predict actions of leaders by structural theories (Walker & Schafer, 2006, p. 6). The post-Cold War era became less structured and the consensus on the nature of the new world order declined (Herman & Hagan, 1998, p. 125). Questions rose about whether the new world order was unipolar, bipolar or multipolar. States could therefore involve in, inter alia, unilateral, multilateral, regional or global affairs. This resulted in more different interpretations of situations and miscommunication between leaders. Structural theories started to fail to explain decision-making on foreign policy in this more chaotic world order (Mintz, 2007; Walker & Schafer, 2006). A broader range of sources for threats and opportunities occurred because of globalisation and the emerge of more actors within political processes (Schafer & Walker, 2006). Policy makers were forced to focus more on their internal focal points because clear external focal points disappeared with the end of the Cold War (Walker & Schafer, 2006, p. 4). Because policy makers started to rely more on their subjective world view when calculating foreign policy strategies, IR scholars started to focus more on the cognitive level of individuals.

Because of structural scholars' failure of explaining major events in world politics, micro-foundations of theories had to be reconsidered. Although, the end of the Cold War era intensified the need for new thoughts on theoretical frameworks about interactions in world politics (Hermann

& Hagan, 1998; Hudson, 2006; Walker & Schafer, 2006; Mintz, 2007), before the end of this era, attention on cognitive elements of behaviour of individuals was already focussed within the field of IR (George, 1969; Brodin, 1972; Walker, 1983; Rosenberg, 1986). Cognitive theories differ from structural theories regarding the role of leaders' beliefs as causal mechanism of beliefs upon decision-making, because cognitive theories allow for the possibility that beliefs can actively steer the choices of leaders instead of a just passively offering a reflection of reality (Walker & Schafer, 2006, p. 5). Holsti (1976, pp. 12-13) also recognizes the potential influence of beliefs on the outcome of decision-making but argues that systematic research on the relationship between beliefs and decision-making has relatively been neglected in political science. Holsti's 1976 research states certain circumstances under which the causal mechanism between beliefs and decision-making is likely to occur. First, when the environment is uncertain and when it is difficult for a leader to organise and process certain information due to scarcity, ambiguousness or contradictions, and second, when new information does not fit with a leader's pre-existing beliefs based on old information, stereotypes or other cognitive biases associated with strong emotions (Holsti, 1976).

Although research on the influence of beliefs on decision making is not new to the field of IR, the understanding of this relationship is far from perfect (Renshon, 2008, pp. 820-822). George (1969, p. 191) already claimed that beliefs are one of the variables that influence, but do not determine decision-making. Contemporary research on beliefs still focusses on questions on how and why beliefs shape or steer decisions and what beliefs are affected by (Feng, 2005; Renshon, 2008; Forsberg & Pursiainen, 2017; Dyson & Partent, 2018). The first step in these studies is the determination of what beliefs in fact are. Renshon (2008, p. 822) describes beliefs as 'that which we hold to be true'. Beliefs consist of propositions of fundamental assumptions on causal relations and the way the world operates. As described by George (1969, p. 191) 'beliefs provide norms, standards and guidelines that influence the actor's choice of strategy and tactics, his structuring and weighing of alternative courses of action'. Studying beliefs of leaders is considered theoretically useful because it seems critical in the understanding of decision-making, because beliefs act as filter through which perceptual processes operate (Renshon, 2008, pp. 820-822). Individuals do not react to an objective world around them, but filter everything that happens around them through their beliefs into a subjective reality. Decision-making of leaders is, potentially, steered by their beliefs because it offers them a framework to decomplexify their subjective view on reality.

Because the understanding of the influence of beliefs on decision-making processes is far from perfect, a lot of research has done and has to be done on this subject. The stability of beliefs is, for example, a subject that is studied and questioned by political scientists. On one hand, the stability of beliefs has convincingly proven by studies that were held in laboratory-settings (Renshon, 2008, p. 820), but on the other hand, belief stability has been disputed by several studies by, inter alia, Walker et al. (1998), Feng (2005) and Renshon (2008). These scientists used Alexander George's Operational Code construct to determine a leader's belief system. A belief system could be described as 'spider's web' with all beliefs connected to each other by strands which originate in the centre of the web' (Rosenberg, 1986, p. 735). By means of George's Operational Code construct, the belief systems from multiple time periods of leaders as Jimmy Carter, Mao Zedong and George W. Bush and were determined and scientists diagnosed significant differences between the belief systems of the different time periods. Little understanding exists about the causes of these changes of belief systems (Renshon, 2008, p. 825). Studies about the change of belief systems of Carter (Walker et al., 1998), Zedong (Feng, 2005) and Bush (Renshon, 2008) found differences of belief systems after specific events during their presidencies. Carter's belief system significantly changed after the 1979 Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, Mao's beliefs were affected by the Korean war and Bush's shifted after the 9/11 attack. This empirical research is helpful in the study on the causes belief change and stability and with this thesis, I attempt to contribute to this line of research and examine what influence specific events have on the Operational Code, and therefore belief systems, of leaders. The research question of this thesis will therefore be: *what influence have specific events on a leader's belief system?*

Theoretical Framework

The instability of belief systems has been studied by several scientists (Walker et al., 1998; Feng, 2005; Renshon 2008) that used the Operational Code construct to determine a leader's belief system. The Operational Code is a theory developed by Alexander George (1969) and is inspired by Nathan Leites' *A Study of Bolshevism.* Leites focusses on the relationship between belief systems of elites and their decision-making (George, 1969, p. 191). These elite belief systems are composed of a general set of beliefs about fundamental historical issues and central questions on politics in general. The idea behind Leites' 'operational code' is that these beliefs provide norms, standards and guidelines that influence an actor's tactic or choice of action (George, 1969, p. 191). One's Operational Code is, according to Leites and George (1969), one of the variables that influences human decision-making, but does not determine it (George, 1969, p. 191). George (1969, pp. 191-194) used Leites' principles to design a more codified and explicit model to study decision-making on the individual level, because he believes Leites' original work is useful and inspirational on one hand, but unusually difficult to understand on the other hand. The Operational Code could be a useful link to psychodynamic interpretations of the role of beliefs systems in an individual's behaviour under certain conditions (George, 1969, p. 195). Where Leites started to describe Bolshevik political strategy by Bolshevik characteristics, George conceptualized a leader's Operational Code as a belief system with philosophical beliefs that guide instrumental beliefs prescribing the most effective choice of action (Walker & Schafer, 2006, p. 4). These philosophical and instrumental beliefs are the key components of George's Operational Code construct. To determine a leader's operational code, five questions about each category of beliefs should be answered (Schafer & Walker, 2006, pp. 8-9). Thus, a leader's belief system is composed of the answers to these questions about political life. Philosophical beliefs are composed of assumptions and premises about, inter alia, the fundamental nature of politics and conflict, and the historical role of the individual (George, 1969, p. 199). Philosophical beliefs cover more general questions and issues than instrumental beliefs, which are composed of matters of more specific decision-making and implementation of policy (George, 1969, pp. 198-199). The ten questions, of which the answers design a leader's operational code, are presented in table 1.

Table 1: The Operational Code (Source: George, 1969)

Philosophical

P-1: What is the essential nature of political life? Is the political universe essentially one of harmony or conflict? What is the fundamental character of one's political opponents?

P-2: What are the prospects for the eventual realization of one's fundamental political values and aspirations? Can one be optimistic, or must one be pessimistic on this score; and in what respects the one and/or the other?

P-3: Is the political future predictable? In what sense and to what extent?

P-4: How much control or mastery can one have over historical development? What is one's role in moving and shaping history in the desired direction?

P-5: What is the role of chance in human affairs and in historical development?

Instrumental

I-1: What is the best approach for selecting goals or objectives for political action?

I-2: How are the goals of action pursued most effectively?

I-3: How are the risks of political action calculated, controlled, and accepted?

I-4: What is the best timing of action to advance one's interest?

I-5: What is the utility and role of different means for advancing one's interests?

Assumptions are made about the nature of belief systems by, inter alia, Philipp Rosenberg (1986) and Walker et al. (1998). Rosenberg (1986, pp. 735-736) assumes that belief systems are internally consistent, which means that different beliefs are logically coherent (Renshon, 2008, p. 823). Hereby, Rosenberg assumes that beliefs are ordered on a central-peripheral scale and that more peripheral, less important beliefs derive from central, more fundamental beliefs. Rosenberg argues that peripheral beliefs change when central beliefs change. This principle of hierarchy is essential in the understanding of the internal consistency of belief systems. By these assumptions, belief systems could be seen as metaphorical spider's webs in which all beliefs are connected to the centre of the 'Weltanschauung', 'a comprehensive, esp. personal, philosophy or conception of the universe and of human life' (Rosenberg, 1986, pp. 735-736). An individual's 'Weltanschauung' could shape political beliefs, from which foreign policy beliefs derive. George's distinction between philosophical and instrumental beliefs fits in Rosenberg's assumption of hierarchical ordered beliefs. Instrumental beliefs theoretically shift when a leader's philosophical beliefs

change and because philosophical beliefs are more fundamental, scientists assume that they are more prone to change than instrumental beliefs (Renshon, 2008, p. 827). Taken this into consideration, scientists could philosophical beliefs expect to change relatively less than instrumental beliefs. However, the opposite pattern is found by earlier studies (Renshon, 2008, pp. 827-828). In addition, Walker et al. (1998, p. 176), argue, based on Converse's study on the nature of belief systems in mass publics (1964), that belief systems are considered to remain stable over time. This stability was supported by empirical research for some, but not all, leaders (Holsti, 1977; Walker & Falowski, 1984; Malici & Malici, 2005). The logic of cognitive consistency, that is derive from the principles explained by Rosenberg (1986) and Walker et al. (1998), are based on the assumptions that individuals act rationally based on what they believe and that others, in social situations, expect them to do so (Walker et al., 2010a, p. 219).

Another assumption that is made about the nature of belief systems, is the hierarchal distinction between 'master' and 'other' beliefs (George, 1969; Holsti, 1977). According to George (1969) and Holsti (1977) the first philosophical belief forms a fundament for the other philosophical beliefs. Based on the assumption of cognitive consistency, instrumental beliefs derive from the philosophical beliefs, and therefore, all instrumental beliefs flow from P1, the first philosophical belief. George and Holsti assume that the beliefs about the nature of politics and the orientation of other political actors form the essential basis for other philosophical beliefs and courses of action. George (1969) and Holsti (1977), already refute the assumption that beliefs remain stable over time but consider belief systems relatively prone to change. Empirical research by Walker and Schafer (2006, p. 50) suggests that philosophical and instrumental beliefs vary significantly. They assume that instrumental beliefs do not necessarily flow from philosophical beliefs, and therefore, they conceptualized two, instead of one, master beliefs within the Operational Code. I-1, the first instrumental belief, is conceptualized as master belief as well. For this reason, Walker and Schafer (2006) dispute the principle of cognitive consistency when it comes to the consistency between the two sets of beliefs. Cognitive consistency is still acknowledged within the two sets of beliefs. Both first beliefs, P-1 and I-1, are conceptualized as master beliefs because other beliefs should derive from them.

To determine leaders' belief systems, researchers are limited in the options because it is difficult to study a political leader directly by, for example, interviews or experiments. Because of this problem, political scientists have developed techniques to analyse leaders 'at-a-distance' (Schafer & Walker, 2006). The advantage of using a 'at-a-distance' method is that psychological characteristics can be assessed without direct access to a leader. Contemporary Operational Code studies (Walker et al., 1998; Feng, 2005; Renshon 2008) use the Verbs In Context System (VICS) to analyse content and quantify the answers to George's questions (Schafer & Walker, 2006, p. 8). Verbal communication is analysed to indicate a person's state of mind, because the premise is that the way individuals speak about power and the field of politics, will tell much about their exercise of power (Schafer & Walker, 2006, p. 30). In other words, constructs, as Operational Code, are developed to connect the systematically analysed verbal behaviour to an actor's psychology (Schafer & Walker, 2006, p. 26). The VICS is used to quantify the answers to the Operational Code questions. Beliefs are calculated through VICS and result in scores on every question of the construct. These calculations are from now on referred to as indices. What these indices mean and how they relate to the questions, will be briefly discussed in this method section of this thesis.

Relevance of the Operational Code construct

As explained in the literature review, the field of IR is grounded in *human decision-makers acting singly or in groups* (Hudson, 2005). When explaining world politics, studying cognitive aspects of decision-makers is helpful in the provision of a complete understanding of the field. As described by Walker (1990, pp. 406-407), the Leites-George paradigm, Operational Code construct, offers an alternative to the classic rational-actor assumption that all policy decisions could be explained by an actor's cost-benefit analysis. This classic approach explains made decisions by the constant factor of decision-makers that operate under uncertain structures (Waltz, 1959; Walker, 1990). By this approach, every decision-maker is claimed to act the same under given circumstances, because they are considered to have the same approaches to rationality (Walker, 1990, p. 407). The alternative Leites-George paradigm has three assumptions that contradict the rational-actor approach (Walker, 1990, p. 406-407). First, every decision-maker has a unique composition of beliefs, personal traits and choice propensities. Second, this composition structures the decision-maker's range of goals and shapes the analysis of alternatives. And last, insofar as possible, the choices of the decision-maker are consistent with the first two principles and shape the boundaries

of rational behaviour of the decision-maker. Although, the assumption that the composition of beliefs, traits and choice propensities shape decisions is made, the actual impact of the individual's composition and the outcome of choices is not clearly defined (Walker, 1990; Renshon, 2008).

Within the Operational Code research program, scientists attempt to gain better understanding of the impact of beliefs on decisions (Walker, 1990; Marfleet & Walker, 2006). One of the fields of policy that is included in the research program, is the field of foreign policy and international affairs (Marfleet & Walker, 2006, p. 53). According to Marfleet and Walker (2006, pp. 53-54) several levels of foreign policy decisions could be distinguished. At the most basic level, words and deeds represent the exercise of political power by the state. Words and deeds, that are bounded to the words and deeds of other states, could be translated into moves. One state's moves are related to the moves of other states, and different sequences of moves over time form a state's tactics. Different sequences of tactics that interact between states, could compose the final level of foreign policy decisions; strategies. Taken these levels into consideration, the fields of both foreign policy and international relations could be studied by shifting the unit of analysis from the state to the systematic level (Marfleet & Walker, 2006, p. 54). Along with this shift, the unit of decision-making moves from a state's exercise of power by word and deeds to strategic interaction by the interplay of power between states. The initial IR puzzles focus on the interaction and relations between states, but the operational code construct adds the analysis of behavioural interaction and beliefs of leaders to these puzzles (Marfleet & Walker, 2006, p. 55). The context in which strategic choices are made are not neglected, but operational code analyses focus on the leader's belief system and the influence of these systems on the strategic moves he/she makes. Thus, with the Operational Code construct, the interaction between an individual's beliefs, which represent the cognition, upon, for example, foreign policy decisions is analysed. Studies of the Operational Code scholar are relevant for the complete understanding of IR. As stated by George (1969, 1979), the Operational Code is a theory with which determines one variable, the beliefs, within a complex and causal framework for explaining (foreign) decision-making. Although, the leader's beliefs do not determine, but influence, foreign policy, they are considered an important variable within the structures of world politics and to provide a complete understanding of the affairs of states, the Operational Code beliefs should be taken into consideration (George, 1969; Brodin, 1972; Renshon, 2008).

Empirical research

As explained before, the exact relationship between an individual's beliefs and their influence on decision-making has not yet been determined, but research on this subject is already done by several scientists. Empirically, changes in belief systems are found through studies by, inter alia, Walker et al. (1998), Walker and Schafer (2000), Feng (2005), Malici and Malici (2005) and Renshon (2008). Theoretically, briefly two major visions on how belief systems change could be distinguished (Renshon, 2008, p. 826). The first group evaluates beliefs over a longer period of time, the second group examines the influence of specific events on belief systems. Malici and Malici (2005) studied the Operational Codes of Fidel Castro and Kim Il Sung over a longer period of time, 1980 till 1994, during and after the Cold War era. They found that the operational code of Kim Il Sung remained stable, while the P-4, I-5b and I-5c indices of Fidel Castro significantly changed. The Operational Code of leaders could theoretically change over time because a process of learning could occur. Learning is defined by (Levy, 1994, p. 283) as: 'the change of beliefs or the development of new beliefs, skills, or procedures as a result of the observation and interpretation of experience'. Learning processes are considered to be influenced by the frames that individuals apply to historical experiences, and because these applied frames differ per person, variations in learning across different people in the same situations occur (Levy, 1994, p. 283).

The influence of specific events on belief systems is studied by a second group of scientists that consists of, for example, Walker et al. (1998), Walker and Schafer (2000), Feng (2005) and Renshon (2008). Renshon argues, inspired by the Jervis' study (1976), that belief change could be affected by specific events. His study on George W. Bush presents significant Operational Code changes in Bush's first three philosophical beliefs after 9/11. Bush's view of others became more pessimistic, while his beliefs concerning his own position remained stable. The change in philosophical beliefs contradicts the assumption that philosophical beliefs are more prone to change than instrumental beliefs. The findings of Renshon (2008) are in line with earlier studies on the influence of specific events on beliefs. Walker et al. (1998) concluded that Jimmy Carter's P-1 and P-2 beliefs changed significantly after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Carter's attitude towards international cooperation and the realization of his goals became more pessimistic. Walker and Schafer (2000) discovered that Lyndon B. Johnsons P-4, and P-5 and I-3 were affected by his planning for the Vietnam war. Feng (2005) investigated Mao Zedong's Operational Code and

found a change in all five philosophical beliefs after the Korean War. His view of the political universe was already pessimistic and hostile but reinforced during the war.

Method

The influence of specific events on a leader's belief system, will be tested by the case study of the 2013/2014 Maidan Crisis. The Maidan Crisis beholds a series of demonstrations on the Maidan square in Kiev, Ukraine, that occurred because of president Yanukovych's rejection to sign the Association Agreement with the European Union (EU). At the same time, Yanukovych sought rapprochement with Russia (Oversloot, 2018). Politicians from the EU supported the demonstrators and the renewed affairs between Ukraine and the EU were considered a threat to Russia. Considering Ukraine's history and strategical geographical position, the affairs with this country are both important to the EU and Russia (Smeets, 2015). Throughout history, Ukraine has been subject to a power-play between the EU and Russia and corporation with this state is a considered delicate issue, because of its strategical geographical position. The crisis resulted in an arms race of sanctions, and the greater strategic awareness of the importance of Ukraine (Pridham, 2014). Both the EU countries and Russia adjusted their foreign policy strategies to the new status of international relations. Russia's annexation of Crimea is an example of these renewed foreign policy strategies. Assumptions of, for example, realist theory could provide for explanations for the increasing tensions and arms race of sanctions, but structural scholars did not predict the annexation of Crimea by Russia (Forsberg & Pursiainen, 2017, p. 221). The cognitive study of individuals is neglected by these structural theories, while experts on Russia (Oversloot, 2017: Smeets 2015) consider the individual level of Putin relevant when studying Russia's foreign policy and its role within international affairs. Because the Russian decision-making processes are not transparent, the more important the cognitive dimension could, potentially, be (Forsberg & Pursiainen, 2017, p. 220-221). For this thesis, the events of the Maidan Crisis, are considered a specific event that could, based on earlier studies, potentially be of influence on Vladimir Putin's belief system.

To answer the research question of this thesis, verbal content of Vladimir Putin was analysed by using *Profiler Plus v. 7.3.2*, along with the Operational Code scheme. Putin's pre-Maidan Operational Code is compared to his post-Maidan Operational Code by comparing the outcomes produced by *Profiler Plus.* As explained earlier, the Operational Code construct is based on the

principle that a leader's belief system influences decision-making (George, 1969). The VICS has been developed to determine a leader's belief system 'at-a-distance' because it is difficult, or maybe impossible, to study leaders directly because they will not take part in experiments or interviews that study their inner self. The VICS uses speech acts, such as speeches, letters or interviews to indicate a leader's state of mind by providing quantified answers to George's ten questions (Schafer & Walker, 2006, pp. 31-33). The VICS works in two separate stages. The first stage consists of the scaling of the verbs of a sentence between conflictual (-) and cooperative (+). These scales consist of six intensities: -3 (*punish*), -2 (*threaten*), -1 (*oppose*), +1 (*support*) +2 (*promise*) +3 (*reward*). To illustrate this method, the following sentences can be used as example: State A *invades* state B. *Invades* is the verb of this sentence and is coded as -3 (*punish).* Verbs that cannot be coded as one of the categories, are coded as 0. The second stage of the VICS determines whether the grammatical subject refers to him/herself of others with the respect to the exercise of power (Schafer & Walker, 2006, pp. 31-32). This distinction is necessary to make because the second stage determines the philosophical and instrumental beliefs of a leader. The subject's reference to 'others' represent philosophical beliefs, while a reference to him/herself represents instrumental beliefs.

It is possible to do the VICS coding by hand or with a programme such as *Profiler Plus* (Walker & Schafer, 2006, p. 38). Coding by hand is very labour intensive, time consuming and sensitive for human error. *Profiler Plus* is an automated software program, developed by Social Science Automation, that is used to generate quantified data for 'at-a-distance' analyses of psychological studies. One of the disadvantages of automated coding is the disability of software programs to subjectively interpret phrases. Although, *Profiler Plus* was favoured above coding by hand because this program makes coding faster, more efficient and it gives a reliability percentage of 100 percent (Walker & Schafer, 2006, p. 38). *Profiler Plus* generates scores of speech acts on the twelve different categories, concerning the six intensities from -3 to +3 and the subjects reference to others or themselves. Furthermore, the program generates scores on four of the ten Operational Code questions. The scores on the P-1, P-2, I-1 and I-2 questions are automatically calculated in a range from -1 to +1. The remaining indices were calculated with the formulas stated by Schafer and Walker (2006, pp. 33-38). A statistical significant change in the scores on the different indices could make a case for belief change. To conduct the relevance of whether Putin's beliefs changed, which beliefs changed and in which direction and intensity the beliefs changed, the meaning of the

different beliefs, indices, will be briefly discussed in the upcoming section (Schafer & Walker, 2006, pp. 33-38).

P-1 The Nature of the Political Universe

P-1 is, together with I-1, one of the master beliefs because of the assumption of cognitive consistency. The other philosophical beliefs are connected to this indicis. P-1 consists of the leader's image of other actors within the political universe and is scaled from -1 to +1. Lower scores indicate a more hostile world view while higher scores assume the leader to have a friendlier image of other actors.

P-2 The Realization of Political Values

This indicis is scaled from -1 to +1 as well and the lower the score on this index, the more pessimistic a leader is on the realization of political values. The higher the score, the more optimistic a leader would be. Because all philosophical indices are connected to P1, the score on P1 could briefly predict the outcomes on the other philosophical indices. In general, a higher score on P-1 would result in a higher score on P-2 because a leader that has a friendlier image of the political universe, would be more positive about the realization of political values.

P-3 The Predictability of the Political Universe

This indicis beholds a leader's view on the predictability of the tactics of others. Except from P-1, P-2, I-1 and 1-2, all indices are scaled from 0-1. Lower scores on P-3 indicate that leaders belief that the political universe is less predictable than when higher scores are gained.

P-4 Control over Historical Development

P-4 indicates a leader's view on who has the control over the political universe, him/herself or others. This is the only indicis that focusses on the self/others distinction that is made by the, later discusses, VICS. Lower scores are related to beliefs that others are in more control of the political universe, while higher scores indicate beliefs about self-control.

P-5 The Role of Change

P-5 is related to P-3 and P-4, because the higher the beliefs about predictability and the self-control of the political universe are, the lower the role of change would be. The formula of this indicis is 1-P3*P4, and therefore lower scores indicate a lower role of change while higher scores indicate higher roles assigned to change.

I-1 Direction of Strategy

I-1 is, together with P-1, considered a master belief. All the other instrumental indices are connected to this index. Instrumental beliefs are divided in two categories on action: one about the strategy of action and one about the tactics. Strategies direction in action while tactics vary on intensity. The scope of this index reaches from -1 to +1 and lower scores indicate more utility to conflict actions, while higher scores indicate more utility to cooperative action.

I-2 Intensity of Tactics

This indicis reflects a leader's beliefs on the intensity of tactics that can reach from -1 to +1. The lower the scores, the more likely a leader proceeds to hostile tactics. Higher scores reflect a leader's willingness to cooperative tactics.

I-3 Risk Orientation

This indicis concerns the predictability of tactics by means of risk aversion and risk acceptance of a leader. Scores are scaled on an index from 0 to 1 and the lower the score, the more aversive a leader is to taking risks. The higher the score, the higher the level of rick acceptance is. This indicis is made measurable by focussing on the diversity of tactics. The more diverse different tactics are, the less risky they are considered, while less diversity within a portfolio of tactics is considered riskier.

I-4 Timing of action

This indicis consists of two categories: I-4a and I-4b and both concern the flexibility of tactics. I-4a indicates the flexibility of a leader's choice in terms of cooperative or conflictual tactics. I-4b

measures a flexibility in words and deeds. Both indexes vary from 0-1 and higher scores indicate a higher level of flexibility.

I-5 Utility of means

This indicis is divided in six subcategories:

a. Punish
b. Threaten
c. Oppose
d. Appeal
e. Promise
f. Reward

They al indicate a leader's beliefs about the utility of different tactics that mark the exercise of political power. All indices vary from 0-1 and lower scores indicate lower levels of utility, while higher scores indicate higher levels of utility.

Summarized, all indices vary from 0-1, except from P-1, P-2, I-1 and 1-2 that vary on a scale from -1 to +1. To define the intensities within the scales, descriptors are developed to provide for adequate interpretations of the generated quantified content (Walker et al., 2010a, pp. 226 – 227). As mentioned before, *ProfilerPlus* generates scores and by use of the descriptors, meaning will be given to these plain numbers. Regarding the P-1 indicis, the descriptors reach from -1, extremely hostile to +1, extremely friendly. -.75 Stands for very hostile, -.5 definitely hostile, -.25 somewhat hostile and 0.0 mixed. The positive scores indicate friendlier view of other actors: .25 somewhat friendly, .5 definitely friendly and .75 stands for a very friendly worldview. The adjectives that indicate the descriptors are the same for the P-1, P-2, I-1 and 1-2 questions since they are rated on the same scale. The other questions vary from 0-1. 0.0 Stands for very low, .25 for low, .5 for medium, .75 for high and 1 for very high. An overview of the descriptors is presented in table 2 (Walker et al., 2010a). The relevance of these indices will be clarified in the analysis section when the outcomes of the VICS and scores on the various indices will be compared and explained.

Table 2a: Philosophical VICS descriptors

P-1. Nature of the Political Universe (hostile/friendly)

HOSTILE								FRIENDLY
Extremely	Very	Definitely	Somewhat	Mixed	Somewhat	Definitely	Very	Extremely
−1.0	−.75	−.50	−.25	0.0	+.25	+.50	+.75	+1.0

P-2. Realization of Political Values (pessimism/optimism)

PESSIMISTIC								OPTIMISTIC
Extremely	Very	Definitely	Somewhat	Mixed	Somewhat	Definitely	Very	Extremely
−1.0	−.75	−.50	−.25	0.0	+.25	+.50	+.75	+1.0

P-3. Predictability of Political Future (very low/very high)

PREDICTABILITY				PREDICTABILITY
Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High
0.0	.25	.50	.75	1.0

P-4. Control over Historical Development (very low/very high)

CONTROL				CONTROL
Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High
0.0	.25	.50	.75	1.0

Table 2b: Instrumental VICS descriptors

I-1. Direction of Strategy (conflict/cooperation)

CONFLICT								COOPERATION
Extremely	Very	Definitely	Somewhat	Mixed	Somewhat	Definitely	Very	Extremely
−1.0	−.75	−.50	−.25	0.0	+.25	+.50	+.75	+1.0

I-2. Intensity of Tactics (conflict/cooperation)

CONFLICT								COOPERATION
Extremely	Very	Definitely	Somewhat	Mixed	Somewhat	Definitely	Very	Extremely
−1.0	−.75	−.50	−.25	0.0	+.25	+.50	+.75	+1.0

I-3. Risk Orientation (very low/very high)

RISK AVERSE				RISK ACCEPTANT
Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High
0.0	.25	.50	.75	1.0

I-4. Flexibility of Tactics (very low/very high)

A. Between Cooperation and Conflict

FLEXIBILITY				FLEXIBILITY
Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High
0.0	.25	.50	.75	1.0

B. Between Words and Deeds

FLEXIBILITY				FLEXIBILITY
Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High
0.0	.25	.50	.75	1.0

I-5. Utility of Means (very low/very high)

A. Cooperative Means Appeal/Support, Promise, Reward

UTILITY				UTILITY
Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High
0.0	.08	.16	.24	.32

B. Conflict Means Oppose/Resist, Threaten, Punish

UTILITY				UTILITY
Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High
0.0	.08	.16	.24	.32

Content

The content that is used was gathered from en.kremlin.ru, the official website of the Russian government. The used content consists of public speeches and interviews by and with president Vladimir Putin. Speeches are considered non-spontaneous and interviews are considered more spontaneous content. Speeches are prepared statements, often written by speechwriters, and just recited by the speaker, while interviews are considered more transparent because the interviewee has to deal with time limitations to consider the answers. A question that rises regarding the content is whether the leader's or speechwriter's Operational Code is determined when analysing speeches. According to Schafer and Walker (2006, p. 47) the leader's Operational Code is determined because speechwriters are likely to know the leader's views and do not generally write speeches that belie these views. Although, some 'at-a-distance' research programs prefer the use of more

spontaneous content as interviews. Research has shown that differences exist in the outcomes between spontaneous and prepared content (Dille, 2000; Marfleet, 2000; Schafer & Crichlow, 2000). Several scientists (Renshon, 2008) consider these differences negligible, while others find it rather meaningful (Dille, 2000; Marfleet, 2000). It is an area where still more research has to be done (Schafer & Walker, 2006. P. 47). Based on this knowledge, the content that is selected for this research, consists partly of spontaneous and partly of prepared content.

The used content is required to be a reflection of the mind of the analysed actor. Therefore, the used content should be spoken or written by the actor him/herself. This type of content is preferred over the use of secondary literature, because it is considered to be a better representation of the state of mind of the leader (Schafer & Walker, 2006, p. 31). Furthermore, Walker and Schafer (2008, p. 44) recommend students to use a minimum of ten randomly selected speech acts to develop a basic profile of a leader. This recommendation has been followed, and to create a basic profile of Putin before and after the Maidan Crisis, a total of 30 speech acts has been selected. I made a personal decision to add five speeches to both periods, because I wanted the speeches to gradually represent the full periods and cover multiple foreign policy topics. The speech acts were held in Russian and were translated by the Russian government. The originally spoken content by Putin is not used for this research because *Profiler Plus* only works with English digital content. It is taken into consideration that translations are not ideal to work with, because these translations could be sensitive for subtle changes in the meaning of words and sentences. Although, Operational Code research on Putin by Dyson and Parent (2018) is based on translated content that is also gathered from en.kremlin.ru. Furthermore, Operational Code studies by, inter alia, Feng (2005), Malici and Malici (2005), Walker et al. (2010) on Mao Zedong, Fidel Castro, Kim Il Sung and Saddam Hussein, are based on non-Anglophonic content. Because *Profiler Plus* does only work with English content, the use of translated speech acts is necessary to make Operational Code analyses of non-Anglophonic leaders. Furthermore, the selected content has to meet certain criteria about the number of coded verbs. Initially, used speech acts must meet a requirement of 1500 words (Renshon, 2008, p. 833), but not all Putin's content meets this amount of words. Walker and Schafer (2006) add another guideline for this matter. They state that usable content must contain at least 15 coded verbs. All selected speech acts consist of this minimum. Lastly, the selected the speech acts must primarily focus on foreign policy topics (Walker et al., 1998, p. 182; Renshon,

2008, p. 833). Taken all these guidelines into consideration, the sample frame of this research consists of:

- Speeches and interviews
- Spoken by Vladimir Putin
- Each speech act contains at least 15 coded verbs
- The speech acts primarily focus on foreign policy topics

The stability of a leader's Operational Code and the influence of specific events are analysed in this thesis. Therefore, the speech acts were selected from two periods, from May 7 2012 - November 20 2013 and from February 23 2014 - August 23 2015. Both periods last 1.5 year and the first period starts the day when Putin is inaugurated as president of Russia for the third time. This period lasts until the first day of the protest on the Maidan square in Kiev, Ukraine. In this thesis, this period is referred to as 'Pre-Maidan Presidency'. The second period is referred to as 'Post-Maidan Presidency' and starts the day after the end of the Maidan protests and also lasts for 1.5 year. An overview of the used speeches is presented in appendix 1.

Table 3: Selected speech acts

Phase	Period of time	Amount of speech acts
1. Pre-Maidan Presidency	May 7, 2012 (first day of Presidency) – November 20, 2013 (one day prior to the beginning of the Maidan Crisis)	15
2. Post-Maidan Presidency	February 23, 2014 (last day of the Maidan Crisis) – August 23, 2015 (one and half year after the end of the Maidan Crisis)	15

The Operational Code values of the first period were compared to the values of the second period to examine whether Putin's belief system was influenced by the exogenous shock of the Maidan protests. The two-sample *t*-test was used to determine whether the values of the two time periods changed statistically significant to answer the research question accurately. When making an analysis of the two time periods, it has to be taken into consideration that both time periods are

relatively short. The results, regarding Putin's Operational Code profile, are therefore only applicable to the time periods in which the data was gathered, because it is not considered possible to generalize the results to an overall belief system of a leader (Walker et al., 2010b, pp. 387-388).

Analysis

A summary of the results of the analysis of Putin's Operational Code is presented in table 4. The table shows the significant change in the P-1, P-2, P-3, P-5, I-1, I-2, I-3, I-4a and I-5*oppose* indices after the specific event of the Maidan-crisis. Appendix 2 consists of the complete SPSS results. Nine out of seventeen indices significantly changed after the Maidan-crisis. The consequences for Putin's beliefs based on the Operational Code, are explained in the upcoming section.

P-1 changed from 0,77 to 0,37, which indicates a shift from a *very friendly* to a *somewhat friendly* view of the political universe. Putin's P-2 changed from 0,43 to 0,17, from a *definitely optimistic* to a *somewhat optimistic* attitude concerning the realization of his political values. P-3 and P-5 changed significantly as well. P-3 changed from 0,24 to 0,14. This change indicates that Putin's beliefs concerning the predictability of the political universe marginally shifted from *low* to a little *lower*. P-5 changed in the opposite direction from 0,89 to 0,94. Both indices indicate a *very high* role of change within the political universe. The first, second, fourth and fifth instrumental beliefs also changed significantly. I-1 from 0,81 to 0,53, I-2 from 0,41 to 0,25, I-4a from 0,19 to 0,34 and I-5*oppose* from 0,04 to 0,13. The I-1 change indicates a shift from a *very cooperative* to a *definitely cooperative* direction of strategy, the I-2 change a shift from a *definitely cooperative* to a *somewhat cooperative* intensity of tactics, the I-4a a marginal shift from a *low flexibility* of tactics regarding cooperation and conflict to a slightly higher but still *low flexibility*. To conclude, the I-5*oppose* change indicates a shift from a *very low utility* concerning opposing conflict means, to a slightly higher but still *very low utility.*

Table 4: Operational Code Vladimir Putin

		Phase 1 (N=15)	**Phase 2** (N=15)
P1	Nature of the Political Universe	0,77	**0,37 (6,051)*** **
P2	Realization of Political Values	0,43	**0,17 (5,113)*** **
P3	Predictability of Political Future	0,24	**0,14 (3,622)*** **
P4	Control over Historical Development	0,43	0,40 (0,538)
P5	Role of Change	0,89	**0,94 (-2,323)***
I1	Strategic Approach to Goals	0,81	**0,53 (2,30)***
I2	Tactical Pursuit of Goals	0,41	**0,25 (2,107)***
I3	Risk Orientation	0,38	0,30 (1,792)
I4	Timing of Action		
a	Cooperation/Conflict	0,19	**0,34 (-2,531)***
b	Words/Deeds	0,48	0,49 (-0,116)
I5	Punish	0,05	0,09 (-1,128)
I5	Threaten	0,005	0,016 (-1,433)
I5	Oppose	0,04	**0,13 (-2,470)***
I5	Appeal	0,59	0,53 (0,977)
I5	Promise	0,10	0,08 (0,577)
I5	Reward	0,21	0,16 (-2,323)

Data in bold denote significant results
**p* ≤0,05, ***p* ≤0,01, ****p* ≤0,001

As result of the statistical analysis of Putin's Operational Code beliefs, it is concludable that 9 of Putin's beliefs slightly but significantly changed after the Maidan-crisis. Although, the ascertained shifts are not of major magnitude, the direction of change is the same for P-1, P-2, P-3, I-1 and I-2, and are thus of substantial relevance when it comes to drawing conclusions. The overall patter that could be observed is that Putin's views on the political universe became more pessimistic after the Maidan-crisis. These results are similar to the findings of Walker et al. (1998), Walker & Schafer (2000), Feng (2005) and Renshon (2008). The Operational Codes of Carter, Johnson, Mao Zedong, Bush, and now, Putin became statistically significant less optimistic. Taken this information into consideration, the conclusion could be drawn that specific events could affect the Operational Code beliefs of leaders. This study, although, does not include an analysis of the potential reasons why the events could affect beliefs, and could thus be subject to new puzzles within the field.

In his research, Renshon (2008) touches upon the fact that Bush's beliefs about himself remained relatively stable, while his perception of others shifted 'dramatically'. Similarities of this finding are found in the research on Putin as well. The P-4 indices, which beholds the control over historical development, is the only philosophical belief that did not significantly change after the Maidan-crisis. P-4 indicates the role of the leader, assigned to himself or others concerning the control of political events. Although, the P-5 value changed significantly, Putin's perception on the role of change remained *very high.* The P-5 is composed of the perceptions on the predictability of the political universe and the control over historical development. The P-4 remained significantly stable, and this stability, potentially, affected the relative stability of P-5, which also concludes the perception of himself instead of others.

As table 4 shows, every philosophical belief, except from P-4, changed significantly after the Maidan-crisis, and only four out of eleven instrumental beliefs made a significant shift. This contradicts the assumption of cognitive consistency. According to the assumption of cognitive consistency, beliefs are hierarchically ordered and instrumental beliefs derive from philosophical beliefs. Therefore, philosophical beliefs are considered more prone to change. This research shows the opposite pattern. Renshon's research on George W. Bush demonstrates this opposite pattern as well. Based on the axiom of cognitive consistency, scientists claimed that belief systems are composed of 'master' and 'other' beliefs (Walker et al., 2006). P-1 and I-1 are defined as master

beliefs because they are considered fundamental for the other beliefs. This assumption is refuted as well because the 'other' beliefs did not change in the same direction, or did not change at all after the Maidan-crisis. Because of these results, and the similarities to studies by Renshon (2008), the assumption of cognitive consistency could be further impugned.

Conclusion

This research contributes to the understanding of the influence of beliefs upon foreign policy decision-making. Although the exact relationship between beliefs and policy outcomes and causes of belief change are not determined with this research, some relevant issues are drawn to question. The analysis of the influence of the Maidan-crisis on Putin's Operational Code has led to the conclusion that the Operational Code of leaders is not per definition stable. The results of the analysis show changes within both Putin's philosophical and instrumental beliefs. His overall perception on the political universe became more hostile and pessimistic. Because of the changes in both the philosophical and instrumental beliefs, the assumption of cognitive consistency is further impugned in several ways: philosophical beliefs are not more prone to change and 'other' beliefs derive not necessarily from 'master' beliefs. Aside from this conclusion, more questions rise about the causes of belief change after specific events and the characteristics of those specific events that influence beliefs. In addition, the pattern of the relative stability of indices concerning the role of the leader him/herself, requires, like the rest of the questioned issues that are touched upon, further research before they could be resolved. To conclude, with this research, I distance myself from the statement that cognitive studies provide for a full understanding of the field of IR, but at the same time, cognitive studies on leaders could be used in addition to more structural scholars that sometimes lack the capability of explaining major events. Bringing the study of leaders back in the research programs on world politics and international relations could provide for more explanations for events that happen in the world we live in.

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Appendix 1: Used speech acts

Pre-Maidan Speech Acts

http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/15224	7 May 2012
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/15698	20 June 2012
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts16027	20 July 2012
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/16702	23 October 2012
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/17069	5 December 2012
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/messages/17118	12 December 2012
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/17842	7 April 2013
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/18529	5 July 2013
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/19281	25 September 2013
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/19484	24 October 2013
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/19600	11 November 2013

Spontaneous material

http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/15698	20 June 2012
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/17978	25 April 2013
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/19382	8 October 2013
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/19600	11 November 2013

Post-Maidan Speech Acts

http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20603	18 March 2014
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/21080	23 May 2014
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/46229	15 July 2014
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/46305	22 July 2014
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/46494	26 August 2014
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/46709	1 October 2014
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46860	24 October 2014

http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/47045	20 November 2014
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/messages/47173	4 December 2014
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/47540	29 January 2015
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/statements/49733	19 June 2015
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/statements/49862	3 July 2015
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/statements/49909	10 July2015
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/50156	19 August 2015
Spontaan	
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/46555	3 September 2014
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/statements/46612	12 September 2014
http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/49677	10 June 2015

Appendix 2: *T*-test Results (SPSS)

Group Statistics

	Period	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
I1	1	15	,8136	,12780	,03300
	2	15	,5330	,45467	,11739
I2	1	15	,4131	,14471	,03736
	2	15	,2462	,27058	,06986
I3	1	15	,3827	,13215	,03412
	2	15	,2967	,13069	,03375
I4a	1	15	,1867	,12664	,03270
	2	15	,3353	,18901	,04880
I4b	1	15	,4813	,29737	,07678
	2	15	,4927	,23368	,06034
I5Punish	1	15	,0473	,06065	,01566
	2	15	,0880	,12571	,03246
I5Threaten	1	15	,0047	,01356	,00350
	2	15	,0160	,02746	,00709
I5Oppose	1	15	,0420	,04916	,01269
	2	15	,1307	,13003	,03357
I5Appeal	1	15	,5947	,17844	,04607
	2	15	,5280	,19498	,05034
I5Promise	1	15	,1020	,13728	,03545
	2	15	,0800	,06761	,01746
I5Reward	1	15	,2100	,14818	,03826
	2	15	,1593	,08884	,02294
P1	1	15	,7670	,16126	,04164
	2	15	,3705	,19593	,05059
P2	1	15	,4296	,11710	,03024
	2	15	,1652	,16244	,04194
P3	1	15	,2407	,09772	,02523
	2	15	,1433	,03579	,00924
P4	1	15	,4347	,18890	,04877
	2	15	,3967	,19769	,05104
P5	1	15	,8853	,09561	,02469
	2	15	,9447	,02532	,00654

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
									95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	**Mean Difference**	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
I1	**Equal variances assumed**	1,931	,176	2,301	28	**,029**	,28055	,12194	,03076	,53034
	Equal variances not assumed			2,301	16,198	,035	,28055	,12194	,02230	,53880
I2	**Equal variances assumed**	,144	,708	2,107	28	**,044**	,16697	,07923	,00468	,32926
	Equal variances not assumed			2,107	21,403	,047	,16697	,07923	,00239	,33154
I3	**Equal variances assumed**	,037	,849	1,792	28	**,084**	,08600	,04799	-,01230	,18430
	Equal variances not assumed			1,792	27,997	,084	,08600	,04799	-,01230	,18430
I4a	**Equal variances assumed**	1,979	,171	-2,531	28	**,017**	-,14867	,05875	-,26900	-,02833
	Equal variances not assumed			-2,531	24,461	,018	-,14867	,05875	-,26979	-,02754
I4b	**Equal variances assumed**	1,688	,204	-,116	28	**,908**	-,01133	,09765	-,21136	,18869
	Equal variances not assumed			-,116	26,517	,908	-,01133	,09765	-,21187	,18920
I5Punish	**Equal variances assumed**	,864	,361	-1,128	28	**,269**	-,04067	,03604	-,11449	,03315
	Equal variances not assumed			-1,128	20,182	,272	-,04067	,03604	-,11580	,03446
I5Threaten	Equal variances assumed	6,918	,014	-1,433	28	,163	-,01133	,00791	-,02753	,00487
	Equal variances not assumed			-1,433	20,441	**,167**	-,01133	,00791	-,02781	,00514
I5Oppose	Equal variances assumed	4,782	,037	-2,470	28	,020	-,08867	,03589	-,16219	-,01514
	Equal variances not assumed			-2,470	17,923	**,024**	-,08867	,03589	-,16410	-,01324
I5Appeal	**Equal variances assumed**	,125	,726	,977	28	**,337**	,06667	,06824	-,07312	,20646
	Equal variances not assumed			,977	27,783	,337	,06667	,06824	-,07317	,20651
I5Promise	**Equal variances assumed**	2,401	,132	,557	28	**,582**	,02200	,03951	-,05894	,10294
	Equal variances not assumed			,557	20,415	,584	,02200	,03951	-,06031	,10431
I5Reward	Equal variances assumed	6,913	,014	1,136	28	,266	,05067	,04461	-,04071	,14204
	Equal variances not assumed			1,136	22,913	**,268**	,05067	,04461	-,04163	,14297
P1	**Equal variances assumed**	1,578	,219	6,051	28	**,000002**	,39647	,06552	,26226	,53068
	Equal variances not assumed			6,051	27,001	,000002	,39647	,06552	,26204	,53091
P2	**Equal variances assumed**	2,556	,121	5,113	28	**,000020**	,26436	,05170	,15845	,37027
	Equal variances not assumed			5,113	25,457	,000026	,26436	,05170	,15797	,37075
P3	Equal variances assumed	15,456	,001	3,622	28	,001	,09733	,02687	,04229	,15238
	Equal variances not assumed			3,622	17,689	**,002**	,09733	,02687	,04081	,15386
P4	**Equal variances assumed**	,037	,850	,538	28	**,595**	,03800	,07060	-,10662	,18262
	Equal variances not assumed			,538	27,942	,595	,03800	,07060	-,10663	,18263
P5	Equal variances assumed	12,402	,001	-2,323	28	,028	-,05933	,02554	-,11164	-,00702
	Equal variances not assumed			-2,323	15,954	**,034**	-,05933	,02554	-,11348	-,00519