



Universiteit Leiden

**The Effects of Leadership Style on Foreign Climate Policy Behavior for
Two US Presidents**

How did the leadership styles of Obama and Trump influence climate policy?

Linde Noordegraaf s1337440

Bachelor Project: Political Leaders in International Relations

Supervisor: F.E. Bakker

Word Count: 8395

Date: 12-06-2016

Abstract

This study is concerned with the effects of presidential leadership style on foreign policy behavior, specifically in reference to the Paris Accord. Although the focus is on the individual, IR theory is acknowledged. The leaders examined are president Barack Obama and president Donald J. Trump. In Part I of the thesis, their leadership styles are established. Obama adapted a *Collegial* leadership style, while Trump adapted an *Actively Independent* leadership style. The traits that emphasize the differences in leadership styles, are *Belief*, *Need for Power* and *Distrust*. In Part II of the thesis, those distinctive trait scores are coupled to the Paris Accord. Obama scored moderate on *Belief* and *Need for Power* and low on *Distrust*. Trump scored high on *Belief* and *Need for Power* and very high on *Distrust*. The aim of this research is to build a stepping stone for research in the future on the effects of leadership style on climate policy.

Table of Content

1. Introduction	4
2. Literature Review	4
3. Leadership style and Foreign Policy	7
4. Theoretical Framework	9
5. Part I. The leadership styles of Obama and Trump	
5.1 Case	11
5.2 Method	12
5.3 Data	12
5.4 Leadership Trait Analyses Obama & Trump	13
6. Part II. The influence of leadership styles on climate policy	
6.1 Research design	18
6.2 Climate policy	20
6.3 Leadership style and climate policy	21
7. Discussion	24
8. Conclusion	24
Bibliography	26

1. Introduction

Together with almost 200 countries, Barack Obama, hereafter called Obama, believed climate change could be improved positively by the Paris Accord and thus signed it on September third, 2016 (The White House, 2016). The agreement was initiated by the United Nations (UN) and its aim was to stop global warming by keeping the rise of the global temperature below two degrees Celsius (United Nations, 2018). Obama has been an advocate for international alliances, because he saw opportunities for the United States of America (USA) to benefit from those relationships (The White House 2012; 2015). Little did Obama know, that this particular relationship was not built to last. Donald J. Trump, hereafter called Trump, had the withdrawal from the Paris Accord on his shortlist of things to do when he came into office. The Accord was viewed as a major threat to the United States (US) economy by Trump (The White House, 2017). According to Trump, The Accord costs the US economy up to three trillion US dollars. On top of that the positive impact of the Accord on climate change would be negligible in the eyes of Trump (The White House, 2017).

In International Relations (IR) theory, decisions made by political leaders are explained by using the impact of the structural factors on these actors (Singer, 1961, p. 80). With individuals like Trump and Obama, it seems that their personalities matter also. This research thus tries to point out that next to structural factors, personal characteristics also influence climate policy. Because Obama and Trump differ extremely not only on issues like climate policy, but also on issues like healthcare, immigration and economy, in this research it is assumed that they will differ in leadership styles (The White house, 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018). Trump clearly rejected the Paris Accord, while Obama signed the Accord. What triggered this complete turnaround in climate policy? Can IR theory explain this? Or can there also be an explanation found in the person pulling the strings? Since there is little known about the effects of leadership style on climate policy, this research tries to build a stepping stone for that particular field of research.

To unravel the research puzzle, first a literature review is presented, followed by answering the following sub question in part I: What are the leadership styles of Obama and Trump? Next, the main research question is answered in part II: How did the leadership styles of president Obama and president Trump influence climate policy? Finally, a discussion and conclusion are presented.

2. Literature review

Traditionally, in the field of International Relations (IR) there has mainly been a focus

on the dynamics between states in our anarchic world (Mearsheimer, 2014, pp. 54-55; Wendt, 1992, pp. 391-392). Since the grand theories focus upon the system as a whole, there is a lack of attention for its parts (Singer, 1961, p. 81). When looking at state decisions, the individual is not worth being considered according to Realists and Liberalists, in contrast to their focus on group interests (Heywood, 2011, pp. 54 - 65). For Realists, the individual is egocentric and driven by power maximization. According to Realists, this individual egoism results in state egoism, creating a conflictual international arena with no room for perpetual peace (Heywood, 2011, p. 56). Structural factors and the relative position of states in the international arena define state decisions according to Realists (Waltz, 1959). Realists cannot explain statecraft without seeing states as the main actors. Because they assume that an individual cannot rule over society, states are necessary in order to maintain control over societies. Without state sovereignty there would be chaos and disorder in the (inter)national arena in a Realist view (Heywood, 2011, pp. 55-57). Realists also argue that when conflicts appear between individuals, it is because they hold each other accountable for being a member of a certain group or state, not because of their individual differences (Gilpin, 1984, p. 290).

For Liberals the state is necessary, because it has the power to act as a protector for its citizens. Only the state can inflict this level of control on its citizens (Heywood, 2011, p. 65). According to Liberals, the individual is bound by reason and has the ability to resolve conflicts. Because individuals are most likely to avoid conflict, Liberals argue that state decisions will be focused on using force as the last resort (Heywood, 2011, p. 56). Both Liberalism and Realism argue that without sovereign power in the form of a state, there would be international disorder (Heywood, 2011, pp. 55 & 65). In these grand theories the individual is ought to be influenced by and to solely be part of the system as a whole (Heywood, 2011, p. 56). To conclude, these perspectives indicate to provide constant theories, with little room for the impact of individual motives in the political arena. It seems that the grand theories are not able to explain fully why under the same structural factors, political leaders make different decisions. According to political psychologists, a possible answer could lie in their personal characteristics (Hermann, 1980; Hermann & Kegley, 1995).

Political psychology scholars try to fill this gap wherein traditional IR scholars tend to overlook the individual (Byman and Pollack, 2001, p. 114 & p. 146). These scholars claim that the individual can have an influence on systemic structures, not only to be influenced by them (Hermann & Hagan, 1998, p. 135). Thus, IR theories are too generalizing, because they are set up to explain state behavior and not individual choices (Hudson, 2005, p. 14). Where

IR scholars use the state when explaining decision making of a state, political psychology scholars claim it is necessary to implement the individual to understand this. Every decision is initiated by an individual (Byman and Pollack, 2001, p. 145). How this individual is able to influence the decision-making process of a state is emphasized by Hermann and Kegley (1995). For example, it seems very logical to say that democratic states will refrain from attacking each other, as the democratic peace theory posits (Kant, 1969 [1795]). However, no attention is given to why those governments refrain from attacking each other (Hermann and Kegley, 1995, pp. 511-512). IR theorists argue that actors are influenced by structural factors during decision-making processes (Singer, 1961, p. 81). However, Hermann and Kegley argue that structural factors are not enough in order to explain the complex democratic peace theory. They conclude that this theory can be explained best by approaching it from a psychological perspective (Hermann and Kegley, 1995, p. 516). According to Hermann and Kegley, the beliefs of a leader and how a leader is institutionally constrained, has an impact on government policy (Hermann and Kegley, 1995, p. 515). Hermann and Kegley claim, especially during conflicts, individual factors such as emotions and perceptions, dominate the decision-making process. When a decision has to be made ad-hoc in a democracy, the bureaucratic restraints lessen. Decisions have to be made quickly in order to respond in time to the crisis, there is simply no time for long-lasting protocols. Studying leaders is of importance, because leaders make ultimate decisions (Hermann and Kegley, 1995, pp. 515 & 516).

This contrasts with traditional IR theories, in which the individual is viewed as an unimportant player in the decision-making process. As Waltz argues, the internal structure of a state and the structure of the international system influence decision-making processes. In contrast to the individual factors, the structural factors are most important when trying to understand international relations according to Waltz (Waltz, 1959). Byman and Pollack argue, because leaders differ in individual characteristics, these decisions are anything but constant (Byman and Pollack, 2001, p. 112 & p. 115). Hermann emphasizes this through her research regarding the power of individuals in the political arena (Hermann and Hagan, 1998; Hermann, 1980; Hermann, 2005). A leader is obliged to personally interpret the world around him or her. How this leader interprets threats or actions of other states, determines how policy is structured by this leader. Thus, political leaders are individual strategists, producing decisions in the domestic and international domain guided by their preferences (Hermann and Hagan, 1998, pp. 126 & 129).

In order to study leaders and their influence on foreign policy behavior, Hermann

(2005) constructed a leadership trait analysis (LTA). This LTA consists of a quantitative study on the content of spoken words in interviews and/or speeches (Hermann, 2005, p. 186). Seven different traits of leaders are defined by Hermann: 1. *Belief*, 2. *Need for Power*, 3. *Conceptual Complexity*, 4. *Self-Confidence*, 5. *Task-Focus*, 6. *Distrust* and 7. *In-Group Bias* (Hermann, 2005, p. 184). How a leader scores on these traits (low/moderate/high) shows if a leader challenges or respects constraints, is open or closed for contextual information, and if a leader is motivated by problems or relationships. The trait scores combined, form a leadership style (Hermann, 2005, pp. 181-182).

3. Leadership style and foreign policy

Does it really matter when a different type of leader is in control or do the structural factors outweigh the influence of a particular leader? In order to be able to say something about Obama's and Trump's leadership style and its effect on climate policy, it is necessary to understand in what ways leadership style is able to overall influence foreign policy. As discussed earlier, the leadership style of a leader consists of different trait scores. These scores explain why or how a leader reacts to certain situations or what kind of decisions that leader is most likely to make (Hermann, 2005). To make the relationship between leadership style and foreign policy visible, few empirical studies on the influence of leadership style on foreign policy will be outlined.

Görener (2011) investigated the leader Erdoğan and his trait scores. Erdoğan scored low on the trait *Conceptual Complexity*. This particular trait is focused on the leader's openness for other ideas and thoughts (Hermann, 2005, pp. 195-196). For Turkish foreign policy this low score indicates that Erdoğan has little nuanced understanding of the world around him. He wants to surround himself with like-minded people, because he does not tolerate any disagreements. Görener argues it is dangerous for Turkish policy to have a leader like Erdoğan, because he closes himself off from input of others. Also, the lack of checks and balances allows him to make individually formed decisions. Turkey is above all, situated in a conflictual region and a leader with little conceptual complexity will not be able to soothe conflicts, but rather rouse them according to Görener (Görener, 2011, p. 377).

Shannon and Keller (2007), used the interrelation of four leadership traits (*Need for Power, Belief, In-Group Bias and Distrust*) to explain the initiation of the war in Iraq by the Bush administration (Shannon & Keller, 2007, p. 79). All seven officials examined, scored high on the trait *Distrust*. This means that they are likely to see the world around them as a dangerous place. Because of this self-help attitude, international norms mean little or nothing

to these type of leaders. This high score, can help explain why the Bush administration was so wary of terrorist attacks, Saddam Hussein and of possible Weapons of Mass Destruction. The high level of *Distrust* can be seen as one of the motivators for the invasion of Iraq in 2003 (Shannon & Keller, 2007, p. 97).

Dyson (2006), executed the LTA of Tony Blair. By doing this, he also provided a personal explanation for the war in Iraq. Blairs' high score on the trait *Belief*, is represented in Blair's approach to the war in Iraq. A high score on *Belief* is linked to the use of force, in a way that Blair wanted to control the course of events at any point in time. Also, he was convinced of his ability to influence George W. Bush. Blair thought he was able to convince the public and the parliament that the war in Iraq was legitimate (Dyson, 2006, p. 298). Blair's low score on the trait *Conceptual Complexity* is represented in a sense that Blair viewed the world in black and white. In that way he addressed Saddam Hussein and his followers. "They" were different and had to be eliminated. Blair claimed the war in Iraq was legitimate, because in his mind, Saddam Hussein was in possession of weapons of mass destruction (Dyson, 2006, p. 299). Blair's high score on the trait *Need for Power*, is represented in Blair's choice to use force in a sense that he was concerned with being personally involved in the decision-making process regarding Iraq. Blair was not able to give power out of hand and only surrounded himself with colleagues that were most likely to approve his decisions (Dyson, 2006, p. 301).

To conclude, a leader is not only a rational actor in a political environment, but is also a human being with its own thoughts, ideas and emotions. In this research the focus will be on the nuanced assumption that in order to understand IR fully, the influence of the individual has to be considered too when looking at decision-making processes. It is clear that Obama embraced the Paris Accord, while Trump rejected the Paris Accord. One grand theory of IR seems incapable of explaining both of these contrasting decisions. Instead, personal characteristics of leaders seem able to be used to explain this turnaround. The assumption that the individual matters in IR, is explored by looking at the effects of different presidential leadership styles on climate policy, specifically the Paris Accord. As Bymann and Pollack (2001) discussed and Hermann (1980; 2005) has shown, different personalities result in different choices. This study will try to examine the argument that because of different traits, different foreign policy behavior evolves. To examine this, the following sub question is needed: What are the leadership styles of Obama and Trump? Followed by the main research question: *How did the leadership styles of Obama and Trump influence climate policy?*

4. Theoretical Framework

The leadership trait theory of Hermann is used to determine the leadership styles for Obama and Trump. Certain traits are intrinsically linked to a certain political leader and together these traits form his or her leadership style. This leadership style can be defined as the way leaders interact with other players in the international arena and how these interactions are shaped and interpreted by this leader (Hermann, 2005, p. 181). Every leader is unique in his or her own way and thus, different combinations of trait scores are possible. The Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA) of Hermann is used in order to narrow this combination of trait scores down to eight specific leadership styles, presented in table 1. These leadership styles are: 1. *Expansionistic*, 2. *Evangelistic*, 3. *Actively independent*, 4. *Directive*, 5. *Incremental*, 6. *Influential*, 7. *Opportunistic* and 8. *Collegial* (Hermann, 2005, p. 185). To determine what kind of leadership style a leader adopts, three dimensions are used to classify the trait scores. How a leader scores on the traits 1. *Belief* and 2. *Need for Power*, belongs to this first dimension. This dimension is focused on respecting or challenging constraints. 1. *Belief* is a trait which is concerned with how much a leader believes that he or she can control what happens in their direct political environment. The trait 2. *Need for Power* is focused on the ambition of a leader to have control over others (Hermann, 2005, pp. 188-190). The second dimension is concerned with processing contextual information and represents the traits: 3. *Conceptual Complexity* and 4. *Self-Confidence*. 3. *Conceptual Complexity* deals with how open a leader is to discussions and other ideas (Hermann, 2005, pp. 195 – 196). 4. *Self-Confidence* has to do with how important a leader feels in the political arena and how he or she deals with others (Hermann, 2005, p. 194). The third dimension is focused on the motivations of the leader. The traits 5. *Task-Focus*, 6. *Distrust* and 7. *In-Group Bias* belong here. 5. *Task-Focus* is concerned with how much a leader wants to accomplish his or her political goal, rather than building relationships with colleagues (Hermann, 2005, p. 198). 6. *Distrust* is concerned with how much a leader is suspicious about the motivations and ideas of others (Hermann, 2005, p. 102). 7. *In-Group Bias* is a trait which is concerned with the leader's identification with his or her own group (Hermann, 2005, p. 201).

Table 1. Leadership style as a function of responsiveness to constraints, openness to information and motivation

Responsiveness to constraints	Openness to information	Motivation	
		Problem focus	Relationship focus
Challenges constraints	Closed to information	<i>Expansionistic</i> (Focus of attention is on expanding leader's, government's, and state's span of control)	<i>Evangelistic</i> (Focus of attention is on persuading others to join in one's mission, in mobilizing others around one's message)
Challenges constraints	Open to information	<i>Actively Independent</i> (Focus of attention is on maintaining one's own and the government's manoeuvrability and independence in a world that is perceived to continually try to limit both)	<i>Directive</i> (Focus of attention is on maintaining one's own and the government's status and acceptance by others by engaging in actions on the world stage that enhance the state's reputation)
Respects constraints	Closed to information	<i>Incremental</i> (Focus of attention is on improving state's economy and/or security in incremental steps while avoiding the obstacles that will inevitably arise along the way)	<i>Influential</i> (Focus of attention is on building cooperative relationships with other governments and states in order to play a leadership role; by working with others, one can gain more than is possible on one's own)
Respects constraints	Open to information	<i>Opportunistic</i> (Focus of attention is on assessing what is possible in the current situation and context given what one wants to achieve and considering what important constituencies will allow)	<i>Collegial</i> (Focus of attention is on reconciling differences and building consensus—on gaining prestige and status through empowering others and sharing accountability)

Retrieved from: “Assessing leadership style: A trait analysis” by Hermann, M., 2005, p. 185, Michigan: University of Michigan.

Part I. The leadership styles of Obama and Trump

To test if leadership traits affect foreign policy behavior, in this research Obama and Trump are compared. There are two steps needed in order to conduct the comparison. The first step is to establish the leadership styles of Obama and Trump in Part I. The second step is to link their leadership styles to their foreign climate policy behavior in Part II.

5.1 Case

Empirically it is clear that Obama and Trump adopt a totally different approach towards climate policy, specifically the Paris Accord (The White House, 2016; 2017). The LTA is used in this research to test if an explanation for these decisions can be found in their personal characteristics, instead of only using the structural explanations that are provided by the grand theories of IR.

However, it should be noted, that the importance of these grand theories in international relations is acknowledged in this research. As mentioned earlier, the decisions of Obama and Trump cannot be explained both by the same IR perspective. By using a Liberal perspective, the signing of the Paris Accord could be explained. According to Liberals, individuals are driven by reason and are always striving for personal development (Heywood, 2011, p. 56). Liberalism generally adopts a positive view towards international alliances. According to Liberals, our international system is anarchic, but because states are interdependent of each other, cooperation is needed. Together states are capable to accomplish more and states need to be able to trust each other. For these reasons, the signing of the Paris Accord could be explained best by using solely a Liberal perspective (Heywood, 2011, pp. 61-64).

On the other hand, the rejection of the Accord can be explained from a Realist perspective. Realists argue that every individual is egoistic and driven by power maximization (Heywood, 2011, p. 56). Within the Realist principle of self-help, Realists believe that because of the anarchic system, states can only rely on themselves. An overarching sovereign is absent, so states find themselves in a chaotic world. Mutual trust between states can thus rarely be accomplished. Rejecting the Paris Accord would make sense to Realists, as it shows that individuals act independently and want to pursue a powerful position for themselves (Heywood, 2011, p. 60). In order to complement the different explanations derived from the grand theories, political psychology is used in this study as a complementary explanation to why two US presidents decide so differently.

5.2 Method

The LTA's for Obama and Trump are conducted by using the program ProfilerPlus, version 7.3.2 (Young, M. & Levine, N., 2014). The ProfilerPlus program is quantitative based in order to determine trait scores. The program is based on an automatic coding scheme and searches for words that are linked to the seven traits mentioned earlier. It determines the frequency of those words appearing in spoken material. Based on the number of times a word appears in a speech or interview, a trait score is revealed. When a leader frequently uses words that are linked to a certain trait, it results in a high score on this trait. For words that are absent linked to a certain trait, a low score results (Young, M. & Levine, N., 2014).

5.3 Data

For Obama, secondary literature is used to determine his leadership style. Backhaus & Stahl (2015) determined his leadership, based on 52 interview responses retrieved from his first presidential term.

Trump did not yet complete his presidential period. Consequently, there is a restriction on the time period from which data can be selected. For this reason the length of the presidential period available for Trump is fifteen months. This period starts in January 2017 and ends in April 2018. 50 data sources consisting of speeches are used to determine Trump's leadership style, included in Appendix 1. These speeches are retrieved from the White House website. Speeches, instead of interviews are used in this research, because it still catches the general ideas of a leader (Hermann, 2005, p. 179). Also, some of the speeches include discussions between Trump and the audience, thus a certain level of spontaneity is submitted (Schafer, 2000, p. 514). Every speech consists of a minimum of 100 words (Hermann, 2005, p. 180). The topics in Trump's speeches are Economy, National Security, Immigration, Foreign Policy and General Remarks. According to Hermann, to determine the leadership style in a complete way, it is best to use a variety of topics (Hermann, 2005, p. 180).

Both Obama's and Trump's trait scores are compared to the Anglo-American norming group (N=15). The scores for the Anglo-American norming group are considered to be moderate. The Anglo-American group is added in order to put the leadership trait scores of the presidents in perspective (Backhaus & Stahl, 2013). This Anglo-American norming group resemble Obama and Trump the most. Anglo-American leaders are English speaking, living in Anglo-America (Oxford, retrieved on June 8, 2018). By comparing the trait scores of Obama and Trump to the Anglo-American norming group, there can be concluded how they score (low/moderate/high) on these traits (Hermann & Young, 2012).

5.4 Leadership Trait Analyses Obama & Trump

The LTA's of Obama and Trump are presented and discussed below. Their trait scores are presented in table 2. When a trait score is more than one standard deviation above or below the mean of the Anglo-American norming group, the score is respectively high or low. Every score between the mean and one standard deviation, is a moderate one (Hermann, 2005, p. 106).

Dimension 1. Challenging or respecting constraints: *Belief and Need for Power*

OBAMA These traits tell something about respecting or challenging constraints in the political environment. According to the LTA, Obama has a moderate score for *Belief* and a moderate score for *Need for Power*. This means that Obama respects or challenges constraints, depending on the context (Hermann, 2005, p. 187). Looking at the context of Obama's political environment, this research establishes that Obama is most likely to respect constraints. As Hermann (2005, p. 187) notes: "*Building consensus and achieving compromise are important skills in their minds for a politician to have and to exercise*". Because Obama tried to be an advocate for compromises, for example on issues such as Obamacare, economy and foreign policy, it is assumed that Obama will **respect** his constraints. According to Obama, without compromises change cannot be accomplished (The White House, 2011; Shear, 2016).

TRUMP Trump scored high on both traits. Based on these trait scores, Trump is likely to **challenge** constraints in the political arena. It is expected that these leaders have a clear goal in mind and are willing to push the limits in order to accomplish this goal (Hermann, 2005, p. 187).

Dimension 2. Open or closed to contextual information: *Conceptual Complexity and Self-Confidence*

OBAMA These traits can tell something about how Obama perceives the world around him. According to Hermann, when a leader scores higher on the trait *Conceptual Complexity* (0,62) than on *Self-Confidence* (0,54), it is likely that this leader is **open** towards other ideas and information from others in the political environment (Hermann, 2005, p.187).

TRUMP Trump scored moderate on both traits and higher on *Conceptual Complexity* (0,58), than on *Self-Confidence* (0,44). Thus, Trump is expected to be **open** to contextual information (Hermann, 2005, p. 194). However, the moderate trait scores suggest that Trump is less open for contextual information in comparison to the trait scores of Obama.

Dimension 3. Relationship or problem focus: *Task-Focus, Distrust and In-group Bias*

OBAMA *Task-Focus* can tell if Obama is more focused on maintaining relationships or is more focused on solving problems. Obama scored moderate on the trait. This means that Obama is motivated by getting a certain task done or by maintaining relationships depending on the context (Hermann, 2005, p. 198). *Distrust* and *In-Group Bias* can tell something about how Obama reflects on the in- and out-group. On the trait *Distrust* Obama scored very low. This means that he views the world as a place with room for international cooperation. Obama scored moderate on the trait *In-Group Bias*, this means that Obama is concerned with protecting the in-group, but not at all costs. He does not feel like he *is* the group (Hermann, 2005, p. 200). Combined, these trait scores indicate that Obama is more likely to be motivated by **relationships** than by problems (Hermann, 2005, p. 197).

TRUMP Trump scored low on *Task-Focus*. This would suggest that he is most likely to be motivated by maintaining or initiating relationships when making decisions (Hermann, 2005, p. 198). However, Trump scored very high on the trait *Distrust*. This score means that he is likely to be very suspicious about the motives of other players in the political environment. Mutual trust does not exist in the international arena according to these type of leaders (Hermann, 2005, p. 203). Trump scored moderate on the trait *In-Group Bias*. This means that Trump is also focused on protecting the well-being of the in-group (Hermann, 2005, p. 202). Because of the high score on *Distrust* and moderate score on *In-group Bias*, Trump is most likely to be motivated by **problems**, instead of being motivated by relationships (Hermann, 2005, 197).

Table 2. LTA Obama and Trump, in comparison to Anglo-American Norming Group

	Traits	OBAMA			TRUMP			ANGLO-AMERICAN NORMING GROUP	
		Mean	*Deviation	Expression	Mean	*Deviation	Expression	Mean	Standard deviation
**1	<i>Belief</i>	0,4	0,04 (+)	moderate	0,41	0,05 (+)	high	0,36	0,04
	<i>Need for Power</i>	0,23	0,01(-)	moderate	0,27	0,03 (+)	high	0,24	0,02
**2	<i>Conceptual Complexity</i>	0,62	0,02 (+)	moderate	0,58	0,02 (-)	moderate	0,6	0,05
	<i>Self-Confidence</i>	0,54	0,09 (+)	high	0,44	0,01 (-)	moderate	0,45	0,08
**3	<i>Task-Focus</i>	0,61	0,01 (-)	moderate	0,48	0,14 (-)	low	0,62	0,06
	<i>Distrust</i>	0,08	0,04 (-)	low	0,24	0,10 (+)	high	0,12	0,03
	<i>In-Group Bias</i>	0,16	0,03 (+)	moderate	0,14	0,01 (-)	moderate	0,13	0,03

*from norming group **Dimensions constructed by Hermann (2005) as: 1. Challenging or respecting constraints. 2. Open or closed for contextual information. 3. Focused on problems or relationships. Retrieved from: “*Präsidentielle Führungsmerkmale und außenpolitisches Verhalten: Die Iranpolitik von George W. Bush und Barack Obama im Vergleich*” by Backhaus, B. & Stahl, B. (2015). and “*Leadership Trait Analysis and Threat Assessment with Profiler Plus*” by Young, M. and Levine, N. (2014).

Based on the trait scores for Obama and Trump, their leadership styles can be established. These leadership styles bring forward theoretical expectations for their foreign policy behavior. In part II of the thesis these expectations will be linked to their behavior in regard to climate policy. The traits most relevant when explaining their behavior regarding the Paris Accord, are the most distinctive traits: *Belief*, *Need for Power*, and *Distrust*. Next, these trait scores and their theoretical expectations will be discussed.

Collegial

Obama, based on the LTA results discussed above, Obama adapts a *Collegial* leadership style: he is most likely to be open for building consensus and is focused on maintaining a strong position while also enabling others to become powerful (Hermann, 2005, p. 185). Obama scored moderate on the traits *Belief and Need for Power*. When a leader scores moderate on both traits, it needs to be established whether this leader respects or challenges constraints, based on the context. For Obama, based on the context, is established that he respects constraints. For leaders that respect constraints, it is expected that they value consensus and are willing to compromise in order to achieve a certain goal (Hermann, 2005,

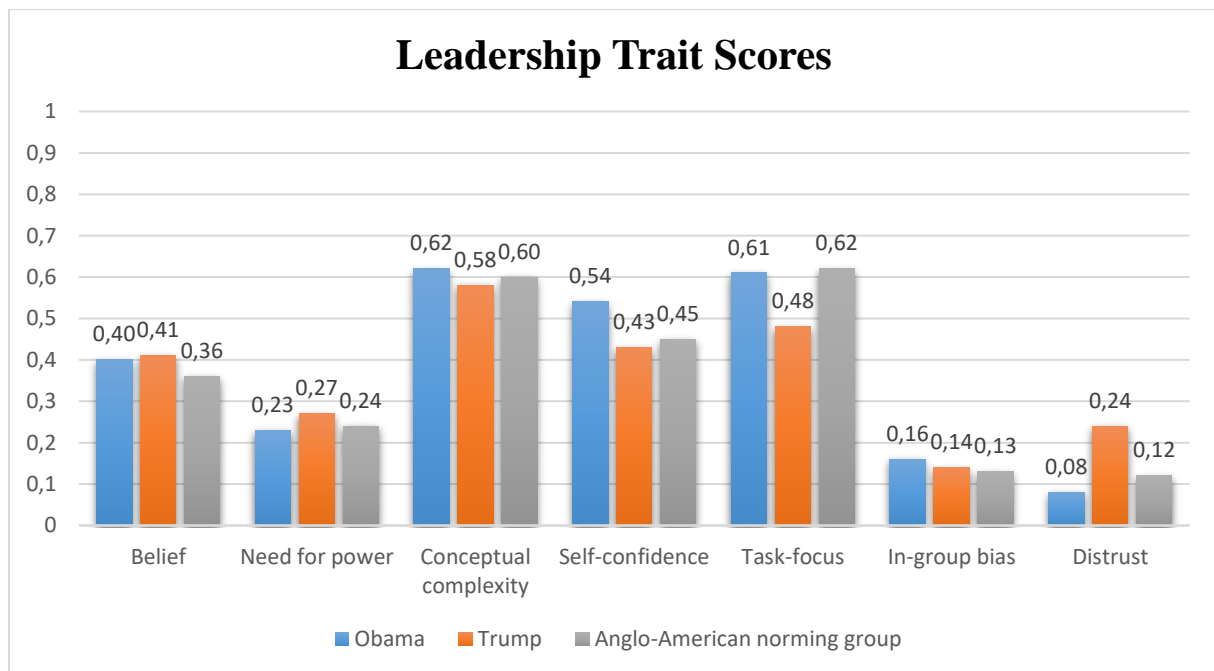
p. 187). When a leader scores low on the trait *Distrust*, we can expect to see a leader that views the world as a place with room for peace and cooperation between countries. Mutual trust between countries is possible and these type of leaders are able to put things into perspective (Hermann, 2005, p. 203).

Actively Independent

After having executed the LTA for Trump, his leadership style is established as *Actively independent*. This means that Trump is most likely to be focused on maintaining an independent position for the US in the international arena. Other states are viewed as a possible threat to this independent position (Hermann, 2005, p. 185). Trump scored high on the traits *Belief and Need for Power*. When a leader scores high on the traits *Belief and Need for Power*, we can expect to see that this leader challenges constraints. For foreign policy behavior, this mean that this type of leader is willing to push the limits in their political environment and knows what he or she wants and how to accomplish this at the most efficient way possible (Hermann, 2005, p. 187). Trump scored very high on the trait *Distrust*. When a leader has a high score on the trait *Distrust*, it is most likely for this leader to be very suspicious about the motives of other leaders in the world. Particularly, when others can affect the cause of the leader negatively (Hermann, 2005, p. 203).

Below in figure 1, the results of the LTA for Obama and Trump are presented.

Figure 1. Leadership trait scores Obama, Trump and Anglo-American Norming Group



Obama’s and Anglo-American trait scores retrieved from: *“Präsidentielle Führungsmerkmale und außenpolitisches Verhalten: Die Iranpolitik von George W. Bush und Barack Obama im Vergleich”* by Backhaus, B. & Stahl, B. (2015). Trump’s trait scores retrieved from: *“Leadership Trait Analysis and Threat Assessment with Profiler Plus”* by Young, M. and Levine, N. (2014).

Part II. The influence of leadership styles on climate policy

6.1 Research design

The grand theories of IR argue that individual leaders act constantly under systemic pressures. For that reason, the grand theories seem to be unable to provide an explanation for the different decisions Obama and Trump made in regard to the Paris Accord. Political psychology seem to be able to explain these differences more fully.

In order to conduct a comparative qualitative study, the Most Similar System Design (MSSD) is used as the logical framework to study the main research question. In order to be able to use the MSSD, it is important to make a comparison between cases that are most similar, except for the dependent variable and one independent variable. Also, the circumstantial factors should be kept constant as possible. The aim of the MSSD is testing theories, specifically trying to point out that the independent variable (leadership style of Obama and Trump) has an effect on the dependent variable (climate policy) (Anckar, 2008). However, it should be noted that the MSSD has a few shortcomings. First, there can only be a small number of cases examined, which makes it hard to generalize (Anckar, 2008, p. 399). Second, even within a MSSD there are always factors remaining that could also explain the possible relationship between the independent and dependent variable (Hague & Harrop, 2013, p. 386). Critics may argue that party affiliation would be one of the factors that also influenced the decisions surrounding climate policy for Obama and Trump. Could partisanship lead to signing or rejecting of the Accord? In this research the Republican and Democratic parties are viewed as “empty vessels”. Meaning that these parties are not in the position to exercise control over the decision-making behavior of their members and are not allowed to impose requirements on their members (Katz & Kolodny, 1994, p. 23). Also, the US presidential campaigns are mainly focused on individual rivalry. It matters most on who you vote, not on which party. Thus, party affiliation seem to matter less when president candidates compete (Katz, Kolodny, 1994, p. 31). Especially for Trump, the party seems to act as an empty vessel. On issues like immigration and trade he decided out of line with Republican ideologies (Rothwell & Diego-Rosell, 2016, p. 1). Specifically on the Paris Accord, Trump seemed to have caused agitation within his party. According to seventeen Republicans, Trump should have taken on the global leadership in order to fight global warming (Barrón-López, 2017). In this research climate change is considered to be an issue which is mostly individually addressed, and less influenced by party affiliation.

President Obama and president Trump are used for this comparative qualitative study,

because they seem to differ in leadership styles, but have been/are president under almost similar structural influences. In table 3 the logical framework of the MSSD for Obama and Trump is presented.

Table 3. MSSD Obama and Trump

Most Similar System Design	
Leadership style Obama: <i>Collegial</i>	Leadership style Trump: <i>Actively Independent</i>
Regimetype: Democracy	Regimetype: Democracy
US President in the beginning of the 21st century	US President in the beginning of the 21st century
Climate change important topic in international debates	Climate change important topic in international debates
Presence of the United Nations in the international system	Presence of the United Nations in the international system
Absence of serious threat to US in terms of interstate warfare	Absence of serious threat to US in terms of interstate warfare
Paris Accord: Signed	Paris Accord: Rejected

Adapted from: “*On the applicability of the most similar systems design and the most different systems design in comparative research*” by Anckar, C. (2008).

The LTA results show that Obama and Trump differ in the independent variable: leadership style. Obama adopted a *Collegial* leadership style, while Trump adopts an *Actively independent* leadership style. The circumstantial factors within the MSSD are: 1. The regime type, for both this is a democracy (The White House, 2015). 2. Both Obama and Trump are US presidents in the beginning of the 21st century. 3. Climate change is an important topic in international debates (The White House, 2009). 4. A serious threat to the US in terms of warfare is absent during their presidency. The dependent variable, their foreign climate policy behavior, differs. To grasp the difference in foreign policy behavior between Obama and Trump, climate policy is specified into the Paris Accord. Within the Paris Accord, mutual trust between the participating countries is an important factor. When a leader signs the Accord, this leader is most likely to believe in international cooperation and that this cooperation is needed to accomplish a certain goal i.e., reducing global warming (UN, 2018). When a leader rejects the Accord, it seems most likely that he or she has a feeling of distrust and unease towards this form of cooperation (The White House, 2016 & 2017).

The question remaining is how can a difference in leadership style explain different behavior towards the Paris Accord? To answer this question, first the approach of president

Obama and president Trump towards climate policy is presented. Secondly, their leadership styles are explored, especially the distinctive trait scores. The comparative qualitative study is based on searching for words that indicate the trait scores. Evidence is expected to be found in official statements and speeches surrounding the decision of the Paris Accord, provided by the White House website. Specifically, this means searching for words that resemble respecting constraints (Dimension 1) and relationship focus (Dimension 3) for Obama and searching for words that resembles challenging constraints (Dimension 1) and problem focus (Dimension 3) for Trump. All words that are representative for the traits are included in Appendix 2.

6.2 Climate policy

During Obama's presidency, climate change was one of the most important addressed issues. Obama presented a Clean Power Plan in December 2015. The reason Obama initiated this plan was, because he observed extreme weather conditions: temperature rises, hurricanes, superstorms, drought and he believed these extreme conditions can be subscribed to pollutions created by mankind (The White House, retrieved on May 12, 2018). Obama believed that global warming could be reduced by fighting greenhouse gas emissions. This means setting new standards for power plants, reshaping the energy infrastructure and reducing the energy waste in businesses and homes. Obama not only projected his plans on the homeland, but also addressed the countries abroad. He believed that cooperation was key when fighting global warming. This unfolded in working together with major economies, stopping the financing of power plants in other countries and supporting global free trade in clean technologies (The White House, retrieved on May 12, 2018). The Paris Accord summarizes this attitude towards climate change. The Accord is a broad international agreement in which mutual trust between the participating countries needs to flourish (The White House, 2015).

Obama created an action plan to save the planet and strongly supported the Paris Accord. In contrast, Trump seems to not even consider climate change to be a possible threat. Before the beginning of his presidential term, he made a controversial statement that set the tone for Trump's behavior towards climate change in the near future: "*The concept of global warming was created by and for the Chinese in order to make U.S. manufacturing non-competitive.*" (Trump, 2012). This quote summarizes Trump's behavior towards climate change: climate change has been fabricated in order to damage the US economy. The Clean Power Plan introduced by Obama, consequently was pushed off the table (Zhang et al., 2017, p. 214). Trump stated he wanted to support clean energy throughout the world, but only if he

is able to protect the US economy at the same time (The White House, 2017). Along those lines, Trump decreased the budget for climate change immensely. The budget for the Environmental Protection Agency was reduced from 8.2 billion dollars to 5.7 billion dollars. This means a decrease of 2.5 billion dollars, equivalent to 31.4% of the budget (The White House: Office of Management & Budget, 2018, p. 50). On top of those measures, Trump was focused on having like-minded officials surrounding him. This allowed him to push through his anti-climate policies, without having to deal with any counterarguments (Zhang et al., 2017, p. 214).

6.3 Leadership style and climate policy

As discussed before, it is clear that Obama and Trump make different decisions surrounding climate policy. To grasp this difference between Obama and Trump, climate policy is specified into the Paris Accord. Obama signed the Accord, while Trump rejected the Accord. The question remaining is: How can different trait scores, help explain different behavior in regard to the Paris Accord?

Obama adopted a *Collegial* leadership style, while Trump adopted an *Actively Independent* leadership style. The traits most relevant when explaining their behavior regarding the Paris Accord, are the traits that are classified as most distinctive: *Belief*, *Need for Power*, and *Distrust*. Next, these trait scores and their representation in Obama's and Trump's climate foreign policy behavior will be discussed.

Dimension 1. Challenging or respecting constraints: *Belief & Need for Power*

OBAMA Obama scored moderate on the traits *Belief and Need for Power*. For Obama it is established that he respects constraints. For leaders that respect constraints, it is expected that they value consensus and are willing to compromise in order to achieve a certain goal (Hermann, 2005, p. 187). This is represented in Obama's behavior towards the Paris Accord. The Accord is nothing but consensus building and compromising. All the countries participating, have to work together in order to reduce global warming. Respecting constraints of the international environment during the process is very important. Strict targets are set by the UN and participating countries have to report their progress on these targets in time. When these targets are dismissed by participating countries, global warming cannot be eradicated (The White House, 2015). As Obama states: "*But make no mistake, the Paris agreement establishes the enduring framework the world needs, to solve the climate crisis. It creates the mechanism, the architecture, for us to continually tackle this problem in an effective way*" (The White House, 2015). This quote also indicates that Obama is hopeful that not only his

country is able to behave accordingly to international constraints, but that other countries will follow. The participating countries also have to report on their environmental emissions through the Nationally Determined Contributions (NDC's) (UN, retrieved on May 15, 2018). Which sets up a strict set of rules for the participating countries in order to be able to be part of the Paris Accord.

Obama acknowledges the ambitiousness of the Paris Accord, but was very hopeful that countries were possible and willing to do everything to fight global warming (The White House, 2015). Because Obama respects the political constraints that come with the Agreement, he is capable of working within this framework in order to accomplish the goal of fighting global warming.

TRUMP Trump scored high on the traits *Belief and Need for Power*. When a leader scores high on the traits *Belief and Need for Power*, we can expect to see that this leader challenges constraints (Hermann, 2005, p. 187). This is represented in Trump's behavior towards the Paris Accord in a sense that from the beginning of his presidential term he had a very clear goal in mind: getting rid of the international agreement. The next quote resemble this: *"Thus, as of today, the United States will cease all implementation of the non-binding Paris Accord and the draconian financial and economic burdens the agreement imposes on our country"* (The White House, 2017). Even though, there were seventeen Republicans trying to save the Paris Accord, Trump did not want to listen to these contradictions. These Republicans claimed that the US would be left alone in the international environment at a time that the US could take on leadership in the fight against global warming. Party members kept on telling Trump and trying to convince him that climate change is a real thing and has to be addressed (Barrón-López, 2017). Nonetheless, Trump claimed:

Even if the Paris Agreement were implemented in full, with total compliance from all nations, it is estimated it would only produce a two-tenths of one degree — think of that; this much — Celsius reduction in global temperature by the year 2100. Tiny, tiny amount. (The White House, 2017).

This quote indicates that even when Trump experiences existential pressure from his party members, he still is willing to pursue his own goal. One of the explanations of Trump's rejection of the Accord can be found in his willingness to challenge political constraints.

Dimension 3. Relationship or problem focus: *Distrust*

OBAMA Obama scored low on the trait *Distrust*. This is also represented in Obama's decision surrounding the Paris Accord. He sees no reason to be wary about the motives of

other countries, but instead believes that mutual trust between countries is key when trying to reduce global warming. As Obama argues: *“Because no nation, not even one as powerful as ours, can solve this challenge alone. And no country, no matter how small, can sit on the sidelines. All of us had to solve it together”* (The White House, 2015). He also claims that through the Accord the international community is able to help the developing countries fight climate change. The participating countries of the Accord make sure that in the long term clean technologies and low-carbon transportation are implemented throughout the world (The White House, 2015). The next quote indicates the positive attitude Obama adopted towards the cooperation of the participating countries within the Accord. *“I also want to thank the people of nearly 200 nations -- large and small, developed and developing -- for working together to confront a threat to the people of all nations. Together, we’ve shown what’s possible when the world stands as one.”* (The White House, 2015). Because Obama believes in international cooperation and in mutual trust between countries, he was able to profoundly support the Paris Accord.

TRUMP Trump scored very high (more than three standard deviations above the mean of the Anglo-American norming group) on the trait *Distrust*. This is also represented in Trump’s behavior towards the Accord: *“We want fair treatments. We don't want other countries and other leaders to laugh at us anymore”* (CNN, 2017). Trump’s main goal is to protect the economy of the US. He believes that the Paris Accord damages the US economy. It would cost the US up to three trillion US dollars. This way of thinking is typical for a high score in *Distrust*. A threat is much more likely in Trump’s eyes instead of a positive outcome (The White House, 2017). This is strongly represented in the next quote:

The Paris Climate Accord is simply the latest example of Washington entering into an agreement that disadvantages the United States to the exclusive benefit of other countries, leaving American workers — who I love — and taxpayers to absorb the cost in terms of lost jobs, lower wages, shuttered factories, and vastly diminished economic production (The White House, 2017).

An explanation for Trump’s rejection of the Accord can be found in his distrustful behavior towards the international community and his distrustful view on the implications of the Paris Accord for the US.

7. Discussion

The reader of this study could question the differences between the moderate and high score on Belief for Obama and Trump. There is only a 0.01 difference in their scores, but Obama scores moderate, while Trump scores high. The difference between their trait scores is small, but this research follows the directions constructed by Hermann (2005). Obama is just within the moderate range, while Trump falls just outside the moderate range, which means his score is classified as a high score. To conclude, this means that Obama and Trump score differently on the trait Belief.

Prolonged, in this research the distinctive traits between Obama and Trump are discussed, because these traits can help explain the different decisions Obama and Trump made surrounding the Paris Accord. However, as shown earlier, there are also some similarities in the trait scores of Obama and Trump. They both scored moderate on the trait *Conceptual Complexity*. Also, they did not have striking differences in the trait scores of *Self-Confidence* and *Task-Focus*. However, it is the combination of trait scores that determines leadership style (Hermann, 2005, p. 211). Consequently, the different scores on Belief, Need for Power and Distrust conclude in different leadership styles for Obama and Trump. Those are the leadership traits which can help explain the differences between president Obama and president Trump in their foreign climate policy behavior.

8. Conclusion

The aim of this research is to explain the foreign policy behavior regarding the Paris Accord for two US presidents: Obama and Trump. The main focus is on the individual, but nuanced by acknowledging IR theory. IR theory seems not able to provide one perspective which can explain both decisions made by Obama and Trump, surrounding the Paris Accord. Within IR, the signing of the Accord can be explained by using Liberalism. Liberals view the Accord as a symbol for international cooperation. Realism can explain the rejection of the Accord. Because states have to rely on their own strength, mutual trust is not possible. Such an Accord would thus be useless. The LTA of Hermann is used in this research as a tool to test if different outcomes in foreign policy behavior can be explained by focusing on personal characteristics. Foreign policy behavior is defined as climate policy, specifically the Paris Accord. Obama adapted a *Collegial* leadership style, while Trump adapted an *Actively Independent* leadership style. The distinctive traits within these leadership styles are: *Belief*, *Need for Power* and *Distrust*. Obama scored moderate on *Belief* and *Need for Power* and low on *Distrust*. The moderate scores on *Belief* and *Need for Power* help us explain why Obama

respects constraints. Because Obama respects the political constraints that come with the Paris Accord, he is able to work within the framework set by the UN in order to accomplish the goal of fighting global warming. Trump's high scores on *Belief* and *Need for Power* help explain why he challenges constraints. Even Republicans tried to convince Trump about the necessity of the Accord. Because Trump was so driven by accomplishing his own goal of rejecting the Accord, he was willing to push limits and thus challenge constraints. Obama scored low on the trait *Distrust*. This low score indicates that Obama is able to work together with other countries in order to fight global warming. Because Obama believes in international cooperation and wishes mutual trust between countries, he was able to profoundly support the Paris Accord. Trump scored very high on the trait *Distrust*. Because Trump seems distrustful towards the international community and distrustful towards the positive outcomes of the Paris Accord, he rejected the Accord. To conclude, the leadership traits of Obama and Trump can provide us possible explanations for their decisions surrounding the Paris Accord. Currently, little research exists on leadership style and climate policy; the aim of this research is to build a stepping stone. In the future, research is needed to establish a clear relation between leadership style and leader's decisions surrounding climate policy.

Bibliography

- Anckar, C. (2008). On the applicability of the most similar systems design and the most different systems design in comparative research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 11(5), 389-401.
- Backhaus, B., & Stahl, B. (2015). Präsidentielle Führungsmerkmale und außenpolitisches Verhalten: Die Iranpolitik von George W. Bush und Barack Obama im Vergleich. In *Politische Psychologie* (pp. 146-171). Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG.
- Barrón-López, L. (2017). *Republicans Who Support Combating Climate Change Urge Trump To Stay In Paris Deal*. Retrieved from:
https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/republicans-climate-change_us_592f1825e4b09ec37c314856
- Byman, D. L., & Pollack, K. M. (2001). Let us now praise great men: Bringing the statesman back in. *International Security*, 25(4), 107-146.
- Condon, G. E. (2013). *On White House Staff, Obama Chooses Loyalty Over Change*. Retrieved from: <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2013/01/on-white-house-staff-obama-chooses-loyalty-over-change/443130/>
- CNN. (2017). *Trump on Paris accord: 'We're getting out'*. Retrieved from:
<https://edition.cnn.com/2017/06/01/politics/trump-paris-climate-decision/index.html>
- Dyson, S. B. (2006). Personality and foreign policy: Tony Blair's Iraq decisions. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 2(3), 289-306.
- Gilpin, R. G. (1984). The richness of the tradition of political realism. *International Organization*, 38(2), 287-304.
- Görener, A. Ş., & Ucal, M. Ş. (2011). The personality and leadership style of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan: implications for Turkish foreign policy. *Turkish Studies*, 12(3), 357- 381.
- Hague, R., Harrop, M., & Breslin, S. (2013). *Comparative government and politics* (Vol. 9). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hermann, M. G. (1980). Explaining foreign policy behavior using the personal characteristics of political leaders. *International Studies Quarterly*, 7-46.

- Hermann, M. G., & Hagan, J. D. (1998). International decision making: Leadership matters. *Foreign Policy*, 124-137.
- Hermann, M. G., & Kegley Jr, C. W. (1995). Rethinking democracy and international peace: Perspectives from political psychology. *International Studies Quarterly*, 39(4), 511-533.
- Hermann, M.G. (2005). Assessing leadership style: A trait analysis. In J.M. Post (ed), *The psychological assessment of political leaders* (178-212). Michigan: University of Michigan.
- Heywood, A. (2011). *Global politics*. London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hudson, V. M. (2005). Foreign policy analysis: actor-specific theory and the ground of international relations. *Foreign policy analysis*, 1(1), 1-30.
- Kant, I. (1969) [1795] *Perpetual Peace*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Katz, R. S., & Kolodny, R. (1994). Party organization as an empty vessel: Parties in American politics. *How Parties Organize: Change and Adaptation in Party Organizations in Western Democracies*, 23, 24-29.
- Mearsheimer, J. (2014). Anarchy and the Struggle for Power. *The Realism Reader*, 179. Oxford. Retrieved on: June 8, 2018. Retrieved from:
<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/anglo-american>
- Rothwell, J. T., & Diego-Rosell, P. (2016). Explaining nationalist political views: The case of Donald Trump.
- Schafer, M. (2000). Issues in assessing psychological characteristics at a distance: An introduction to the symposium. *Political Psychology*, 21(3), 511-527.
- Shannon, V. P., & Keller, J. W. (2007). Leadership style and international norm violation: The case of the Iraq war. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 3(1), 79-104.
- Shear, M. D. (2016). *Obama Says Thought and Compromise Are Key to Bringing Change*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/08/us/obama-says-thought-and-compromise-are-key-to-bringing-change.html>
- Singer, J. D. (1961). The level-of-analysis problem in international relations. *World Politics*, 14(1), 77-92.

- The White House. (2009). *Remarks by the President at UN Secretary General Ban Ki moon's Climate Change Summit*. Retrieved from: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-un-secretary-general-ban-ki-moons-climate-change-summit>
- The White House. (2011). *Compromise Isn't a Dirty Word*. Retrieved from: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2011/07/15/compromise-isn-t-dirty-word>
- The White House. (2012). *NATIONAL STRATEGY FOR GLOBAL SUPPLY CHAIN SECURITY*. Retrieved from: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/national_strategy_for_global_supply_chain_security.pdf
- The White House. (2013). *The 2013 State of the Union Address*. Retrieved from: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/photos-and-video/video/2013/02/12/2013-state-union-address-0>
- The White House. (2014). *Streamlining legal immigration*. Retrieved from: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/issues/immigration/streamlining-immigration>
- The White House. (2015). *FACT SHEET: How the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) Boosts Made in America Exports, Supports Higher-Paying American Jobs, and Protects American Workers*. Retrieved from: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/10/05/fact-sheet-how-trans-pacific-partnership-tpp-boosts-made-america-exports>
- The White House. (2015). *This Day in History: The Magna Carta, a Foundation of Our Democracy*. Retrieved from: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2015/06/15/day-history-magna-carta-foundation-our-democracy>
- The White House. (2015). *Statement by the President on the Paris Climate Agreement*. Retrieved from: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/12/12/statement-president-paris-climate-agreement>
- The White House. (2015). *U.S. Leadership and the Historic Paris Agreement to Combat Climate Change*. Retrieved from: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/12/12/us-leadership-and-historic-paris-agreement-combat-climate-change>

- The White House. (2016). *Remarks by the President on the Affordable Care Act*. Retrieved from: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2016/10/20/remarks-president-affordable-care-act>
- The White House. (2016). *President Obama: The United States Formally Enters the Paris Agreement*. Retrieved from: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2016/09/03/president-obama-united-states-formally-enters-paris-agreement>
- The White House. (2017). *President Trump Announces U.S. Withdrawal From the Paris Climate Accord*. Retrieved from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/articles/president-trump-announces-u-s-withdrawal-paris-climate-accord/>
- The White House. (2017). *Statement by President Trump on the Paris Climate Accord*. Retrieved from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-president-trump-paris-climate-accord/>
- The White House. (2017) *Executive Order Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States*. Retrieved from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/executive-order-protecting-nation-foreign-terrorist-entry-united-states/>
- The White House. (2017). *The Failing Obamacare Insurance Market*. Retrieved from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/articles/failing-obamacare-insurance-market/>
- The White House. (2017). *President Donald J. Trump Restores Responsibility and the Rule of Law to Immigration*. Retrieved from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trump-restores-responsibility-rule-law-immigration/>
- The White House. (2018). *President Donald J. Trump's Policy Agenda and Annual Report for Free, Fair, and Reciprocal Trade*. Retrieved from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trumps-policy-agenda-annual-report-free-fair-reciprocal-trade/>
- The White House: Office of Management & Budget. (2018). *America First, a Blueprint to Make America Great Again*. Retrieved from: https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/2018_blueprint.pdf

- The White House. *Climate Change and president Obama's Plan*. Retrieved on May 12, 2018.
Retrieved from: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/president-obama-climate-action-plan>
- Trump, D. J. (2012, 6 November). Retrieved from:
<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/265895292191248385>
- United Nations (2018). *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*.
http://unfccc.int/paris_agreement/items/9485.php
- Waltz, K.N. (1959). *Man, the State, and War* (New York: Columbia University Press)
- Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is what states make of it: the social construction of power politics. *International organization*, 46(2), 391-425.
- Young, M. & Hermann, M.G. (2012). *Profiler Plus*. Hilliard, OH: Social Science Automation. Online available at: <http://www.socialscienceautomation.com>
- Young, M. D. & Levine, N. (2014). Leadership Trait Analysis and Threat Assessment with Profiler Plus. Association for Computing Machinery.
- Zhang, Y. X., Chao, Q. C., Zheng, Q. H., & Huang, L. (2017). The withdrawal of the US from the Paris Agreement and its impact on global climate change governance. *Advances in Climate Change Research*, 8(4), 213-219.

Appendix 1. Data LTA Trump:

January 21st 2017 until March 30th 2018

Economy

- 1. Remarks by President Trump in Meeting with Manufacturing CEOs, feb 23, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-meeting-manufacturing-ceos/>
- 2. Remarks by President Trump et al. at Signing of Trade Executive Orders, march 31, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-et-al-signing-trade-executive-orders/>
- 3. Remarks by President Trump at 2017 North America's Building Trades Unions National Legislative Conference, april 4, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-2017-north-americas-building-trades-unions-national-legislative-conference/>
- 4. Remarks by President Trump on Buy American, Hire American Executive Order, april 18, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-buy-american-hire-american-executive-order/>
- 5. Remarks by President Trump at Signing of the Memorandum Regarding the Investigation Pursuant to Section 232(B) of the Trade Expansion Act, april 20, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-signing-memorandum-regarding-investigation-pursuant-section-232b-trade-expansion-act/>
- 6. Remarks by President Trump on Infrastructure, Aug 15, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-infrastructure/>
- 7. Remarks by President Trump at Signing of H.R. 1, Tax Cuts and Jobs Bill Act, and H.R. 1370, dec 22, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-signing-h-r-1-tax-cuts-jobs-bill-act-h-r-1370/>
- 8. Remarks by President Trump to the American Farm Bureau Annual Convention, jan 8, 2018

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-american-farm-bureau-annual-convention-nashville-tn/>

- 9. Remarks by President Trump on Tax Reform, feb 5, 2018
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-tax-reform-3/>
- 10. Remarks by President Trump at Signing of a Presidential Memorandum Targeting China's Economic Aggression, march 22, 2018
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-signing-presidential-memorandum-targeting-chinas-economic-aggression/>
- 11. Remarks by President Trump at the Generation Next Summit Panel Discussion with Charlie Kirk, march 22, 2018

National Security

- 12. Remarks by President Trump and Vice President Pence at CIA Headquarters, jan 21, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-vice-president-pence-cia-headquarters/>
- 13. Remarks by President Trump in Roundtable with County Sheriffs, feb 7, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-roundtable-county-sheriffs/>
- 14. Remarks by President Trump in Listening Session with the Fraternal Order of Police, march 28, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-listening-session-fraternal-order-police/>
- 15. President Trump's Speech to the Arab Islamic American Summit, may 21, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-trumps-speech-arab-islamic-american-summit/>
- 16. Remarks by President Trump to Law Enforcement Officials on MS-13, july 28, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-law-enforcement-officials-ms-13/>
- 17. Remarks by President Trump on the Strategy in Afghanistan and South Asia, aug 21, 2017

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-strategy-afghanistan-south-asia/>

- 18. Remarks by President Trump and Vice President Pence at Listening Session with Students, Teachers, and Parents, feb 22, 2018

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-vice-president-pence-listening-session-students-teachers-parents/>

Immigration

- 19. Remarks by President Trump During Meeting with Immigration Crime Victims, june 28, 2017

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-meeting-immigration-crime-victims/>

- 20. Remarks by President Trump and Vice President Pence in a Meeting on Immigration with Republican Members of the Senate, jan 4, 2018

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-vice-president-pence-meeting-immigration-republican-members-senate/>

- 21. Remarks by President Trump in Meeting with Bipartisan Members of Congress on Immigration, jan 9, 2018

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-meeting-bipartisan-members-congress-immigration/>

- 22. Remarks by President Trump at Customs and Border Protection Roundtable, feb 2, 2018

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-customs-border-protection-roundtable/>

- 23. Remarks by President Trump at Law Enforcement Roundtable on MS-13, feb 6, 2018

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-law-enforcement-roundtable-ms-13/>

Foreign Policy

- 24. Remarks by President Trump and Prime Minister Netanyahu of Israel in Joint Press Conference, feb 15, 2017

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-prime-minister-netanyahu-israel-joint-press-conference/>

- 25. Remarks by President Trump and Taoiseach Enda Kenny of Ireland at Friends of Ireland Luncheon, march 16, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-taoiseach-enda-kenny-ireland-friends-ireland-luncheon/>
- 26. Remarks by President Trump in Meeting with President Macri of Argentina, april 27, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-meeting-president-macri-argentina/>
- 27. Remarks by President Trump and President Iohannis of Romania in a Joint Press Conference, june 9, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-president-iohannis-romania-joint-press-conference/>
- 28. Remarks by President Trump to the People of Poland, july 6, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-people-poland/>
- 29. Remarks by President Trump and President Niinistö of Finland in Joint Press Conference, aug 28, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-president-niinisto-finland-joint-press-conference/>
- 30. Remarks by President Trump and President Moon of the Republic of Korea Before Bilateral Meeting, sep 21, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-president-moon-republic-korea-bilateral-meeting/>
- 31. Remarks by President Trump and Prime Minister Tsipras of Greece in Joint Press Conference, oct 17, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-prime-minister-tsipras-greece-joint-press-conference/>
- 32. Remarks by President Trump in a Meeting with Families of North Korean Abductees, nov 6, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-meeting-families-north-korean-abductees/>
- 33. Remarks by President Trump to the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea | Seoul, Republic of Korea, nov 7, 2017

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-national-assembly-republic-korea-seoul-republic-korea/>

- 34. Remarks by President Trump and President Moon of the Republic of Korea at State Dinner | Seoul, Republic of Korea, nov 7, 2017

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-president-moon-republic-korea-state-dinner-seoul-republic-korea/>

- 35. Remarks by President Trump and President Quang of Vietnam in Joint Press Conference | Hanoi, Vietnam, nov 11, 2017

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-president-quang-vietnam-joint-press-conference-hanoi-vietnam/>

- 36. Remarks by President Trump in Press Gaggle Aboard Air Force One en route Hanoi, Vietnam, nov 11, 2017

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-press-gaggle-aboard-air-force-one-en-route-hanoi-vietnam/>

- 37. Remarks by President Trump to the World Economic Forum, jan 26, 2018

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-world-economic-forum/>

- 38. Remarks by President Trump and Prime Minister Löfven of Sweden in Joint Press Conference, march 6, 2018

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-prime-minister-lofven-sweden-joint-press-conference/>

General Remarks

- 39. Remarks by President Trump in Press Conference, feb 16, 2017

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-press-conference/>

- 40. Remarks by President Trump in Meeting with the National Governors Association, feb 27, 2017

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-meeting-national-governors-association/>

- 41. Remarks by President Trump and Representative Steve Scalise in Meeting with the U.S. House Deputy Whip Team, march 7, 2017

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-representative-steve-scalise-meeting-u-s-house-deputy-whip-team/>

- 42. Remarks by President Trump at National Teacher of the Year Event, april 26, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-national-teacher-year-event/>
- 43. Remarks by President Trump on Regulatory Relief, june 9, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-regulatory-relief/>
- 44. Remarks by President Trump in Cabinet Meeting, july 31, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-cabinet-meeting-3/>
- 45. Remarks by President Trump at an Event Honoring the Native American Code Talkers, nov 27, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-event-honoring-native-american-code-talkers/>
- 46. Remarks by President Trump at Swearing-In Ceremony of Alex Azar as Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services, jan 29, 2018
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-swearing-ceremony-alex-azar-secretary-department-health-human-services/>
- 47. President Donald J. Trump’s State of the Union Address, jan 30, 2018
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trumps-state-union-address/>
- 48. Remarks by President Trump at the National Republican Congressional Committee March Dinner, march 20, 2018
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-national-republican-congressional-committee-march-dinner/>
- 49. President Trump Welcomes the Next Generation of Conservative Leaders, march 29, 2018
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-swearing-ceremony-alex-azar-secretary-department-health-human-services/>
- 50. Remarks by President Trump on the Infrastructure Initiative, march 30, 2018
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-infrastructure-initiative/>

Appendix 2. Qualitative study Obama and Trump

	OBAMA	TRUMP
Dimension 1.	respecting constraints (moderate score <i>Belief & Need for Power</i>)	challenging constraints (high score <i>Belief & Need for Power</i>)
	enduring framework the world needs	entirely new agreement with more favorable terms
	nationally determined climate targets	Accord imposes unrealistic targets on the U.S.
	reporting on their progress	impact on the climate would be negligible
	climate action targets	the United States will withdraw from the Paris Climate Accord
	establishes a framework	the United States will cease all implementation of the non-binding Paris Accord
	new global framework	the draconian financial and economic burdens the agreement imposes on our country
	foundation for countries to work together	time to pursue a new deal
	culmination of a broader effort by nations	no meaningful obligations on the world's leading polluters
	long-term, durable system	the current agreement effectively blocks the development of clean coal in America
	all countries will communicate their climate targets	under this agreement, we are effectively putting these reserves under lock and key
	Targets must be submitted	it is estimated it would only produce a two-tenths of one degree
	Requiring countries to report	The United States, under the Trump administration, will continue to be the cleanest and most environmentally friendly country on Earth
	countries are subject to a comprehensive technical expert review process	withdrawing is in America's economic interest and won't matter much to the climate
	commitment	we're out of the agreement
	The Paris outcome provides further confidence that this goal will be met	but under a framework that is fair and where the burdens and responsibilities are equally shared
	tireless task	the Paris deal hamstring the United States
	set the first-ever nationwide standards	I would exit or renegotiate any deal which fails to serve America's interests
	Negotiations that involve nearly 200 nations	It is time to make America great again
	full implementation of this agreement	We'll be the cleanest. We're going to have the cleanest air. We're going to have the cleanest water.
	final negotiations	We will be environmentally friendly, but we're not going to put our businesses out of work and we're not going to lose our jobs. We're going to grow; we're going to grow rapidly.

	OBAMA	TRUMP
Dimension 3.	relationship focus (low score on <i>Distrust</i>)	problem focus (high score on <i>Distrust</i>)
	A Transparent and Accountable Agreement	created a taxpayer funded U.N. climate slush fund
	unprecedented clarity to the public's understanding	Paris Accord would cost the U.S. economy nearly \$3 trillion
	participation of 187 countries	Undermines U.S. competitiveness and jobs
	enhanced transparency system	my solemn duty to protect America and its citizens
	all countries are on a level playing field	an agreement that disadvantages the United States
	An Agreement for a Low-Carbon Future	to the exclusive benefit of other countries
	to adopt the most ambitious climate change agreement in history	leaving American workers and taxpayers to absorb the cost in terms of lost jobs, lower wages
	all countries commit	440,000 fewer manufacturing jobs
	directs all parties to prepare, communicate and maintain successive and ambitious nationally determined climate targets	2.7 million lost jobs by 2025
	Countries will also engage in a multilateral review	this is not what we need
	steps the United States took in Paris to demonstrate its commitment	further decimation of vital American industries
	President Obama joined other world leaders	\$3 trillion in lost GDP and 6.5 million industrial jobs
	we needed a strong global agreement to accomplish this goal	this deal subject our citizens to harsh economic restrictions
	working together to confront a threat	I cannot in good conscience support a deal that punishes the United States
	the world stands as one	the Paris Accord is very unfair, at the highest level, to the United States
	partnered	So we can't build the plants, but they can, according to this agreement
	more than 190 countries adopted the Paris Agreement	Even Europe is allowed to continue construction of coal plants.
	jumpstarting an intense diplomatic effort	very, very big economic disadvantage
	working together	leaving millions and millions of families trapped in poverty and joblessness
	together, we're proving that it is possible	The Paris Agreement handicaps the United States economy
		We don't want other leaders and other countries laughing at us anymore
		another scheme to redistribute wealth out of the United States

Bibliography **Appendix 2.** :

The White House. (2015). U.S. Leadership and the Historic Paris Agreement to Combat Climate Change. Retrieved from: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/12/12/us-leadership-and-historic-paris-agreement-combat-climate-change>

The White House. (2015). *Statement by the President on the Paris Climate Agreement*. Retrieved from: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/12/12/statement-president-paris-climate-agreement>

The White House. (2016). *President Obama: The United States Formally Enters the Paris Agreement*. Retrieved from: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2016/09/03/president-obama-united-states-formally-enters-paris-agreement>

The White House. (2017). *President Trump Announces U.S. Withdrawal From the Paris Climate Accord*. Retrieved from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/articles/president-trump-announces-u-s-withdrawal-paris-climate-accord/>

The White House. (2017). *Statement by President Trump on the Paris Climate Accord*. Retrieved from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-president-trump-paris-climate-accord/>