Relationships Matter: Leaders, Shared Identity, and Nuclear Cooperation

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## Evidence

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#### Evidence

Analysis of leader traits & NCA's from 1950-2002 (n = 141,025)

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- Outside of IR, widely understood that identities important for cooperation (e.g. Tajfel 1978, Ellison 1993, Maddox 2005)

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  - "Simply knowing that an otherwise unknown person is a member of a salient in-group may be sufficient to engender trust as a default assumption" (Maddox 2005)
  - "The earliest trust rule is based on social distance trust neighbors, but not outsiders" (Ellison 1993)

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  - "Personal impressions are often formed rapidly and spontaneously from minimal information" (Todorov et al. 2009)
  - Brain makes a judgment about how trustworthy someone is in as little as 100 milliseconds based on characteristics of others; produces emotional response (Engell et al. 2007)

A psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based on the positive expectation of the intentions or behavior of another (Rousseau et al. 1998)

Two main components:

- Confident positive expectations about future conduct
- Willingness to be vulnerable and accept risk

## $\mathsf{Identity} \longrightarrow \mathsf{cooperation}$



Why nuclear cooperation?

## Nuclear cooperation & the dual use dilemma





Source: http://en.wikipedia.org and http://theconversation.com/

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- 1963 100MW Rajasthan Atomic Power Plant (RAPP-1), and uranium to fuel
- 1966 Assistance on RAPP-2
- 1974 "Peaceful" nuclear test at Pokhran;
   Canada suspends nuclear assistance including export license of \$1.5 million



#### Figure: Risky cooperation: the case of Canada and India

Source: https://www.thestar.com, cartoon by Theo Moudakis

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## Identity and nuclear cooperation



Figure: Outcomes for peaceful and military nuclear assistance

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# Identity and nuclear cooperation



Figure: Outcomes for peaceful and military nuclear assistance

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#### Expectations

Hypothesis 1. *Ceteris paribus*, leaders with more similar identities are more likely to cooperate on nuclear issues

Political constraints & leader autonomy

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- Bureaucracies with multiple veto-players: recipient leader's word alone may not convince supplier to provide risky technology

 $\Longrightarrow$  Recipient leaders with little bureaucratic oversight may be more able to execute their preferences without meddling from individuals or institutions within their own government

#### Constraint & outcomes of nuclear cooperation



Figure: Outcomes for peaceful and military nuclear assistance under constraint

#### Expectations

**Hypothesis 1**. *Ceteris paribus*, leaders with more similar identities are more likely to cooperate on nuclear issues

**Hypothesis 2**. *Ceteris paribus*, leaders with more similar identities are more likely to cooperate on nuclear issues when there are *fewer* institutional constraints on leader decision-making

In addition to the well-known and accepted strategic factors that drive nuclear cooperation does shared identity between leaders also influence patterns of nuclear cooperation?

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- *Model*: Logit

#### Dependent variable

• Any material, technology, or knowledge that would allow a country to develop, run, or expand a civilian nuclear program

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- Different categories of assistance include nuclear reactors, nuclear materials, fuel cycle facilities, nuclear safety, and intangible goods
- Omit military NCAs (8)
- Over 1,500 NCAs from 1950-2002

**Identity Score:** Count of the total number of shared identities ranging from zero to five

• Based on major social formative identities that impact how leader sees self in relation to others (Jenkins 2014)

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  - Shared socio-economic status (wealth, education, socio-economic)
  - Shared adult identities (married, children)
  - Shared military background (state or rebel)

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**Political Constraint**: Domestic institutional constraint of recipient measured as whether a change in one actor's preferences leads to a change in government policy (Henisz 2000)

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- Number of independent branches of government with veto power over policy change (Polity IV)
- Modified for alignment across branches and within-branch heterogeneity
- Theoretically ranges from 0 (least constrained) to 1 (most constrained); Highest level of constraint in sample is 0.72

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- Dyadic Conflict: Engaged in conflict

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- Shared Democracy: Six or higher (Polity IV)
- Economic Development: Real GDP in constant 1996 dollars (Gleditsch 2002)
- Time, Time<sup>2</sup>, Time<sup>3</sup>: Number of years since previous NCA signed, and squared and cubic terms (Carter & Signorino 2010)
- Also control for distance, trade, affinity, and individual regime type



Figure: Logit coefficient of identity score

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# Substantive effect of identity score on probability of NCA



Figure: Predicted probability of nuclear cooperation, Model 1 (N = 141,025)

# Interaction of political constraint and identity score



Figure: Average marginal effect of identity score (Model 2), 95% CIs

 Shared identity between leaders increases cooperation on nuclear issues, even while accounting for strategic factors (robust across model specifications)

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# **TRUMP: KIM AND I FELL IN LOVE**

## FOX NEWS ALERT

TENS TO HUNDREDS" OF PEOPLE WERE ATTENDING BEACH FESTIVAL WHEN MAGNITUDE 7.5 EARTHQUAK

- Shared identity between leaders increases cooperation on nuclear issues, even while accounting for strategic factors
  - ► May not be as important at high levels of domestic political constraint
- Identity matters in international politics!
  - Important in era when individual leader personalities appear to be increasingly prominent
- In particular, understanding leader relationships and the interaction of leader backgrounds and experiences contributes to understanding cooperation in world politics

Thank you!

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