

**Leadership Trait Assessment Approach**  
**Analysis of personality traits of political decision makers at the**  
**example of Slobodan Milošević**

**Bachelor Thesis**

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## Abbreviations

LTA	Leadership Trait Assessment Approach
OPC	Operational Code Approach
ibid	Ibidem, at the same place
Et al	And others
UÇK	Albanian: `Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës` (English: Kosovo Liberation Army)
UN	United Nations, (United Nations)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization

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## **Abstract**

The thesis paper draws on the Leadership Trait Assessment Approach developed by Margaret Hermann. The aim is to develop a critical discussion of its methodological and theoretical construct, as well as the approach itself. The leveling of constructive criticism is facilitated by applying the theory to the empirical example of Slobodan Milošević.

The thesis paper can be divided in two parts. In the first section, Slobodan Milosevic's political personality is analyzed, drawing on the LTA, using the Software Profiler Plus. Spontaneous and non-spontaneous verbal data is collected from open sources that comprise 90.000 words. Based on his political personality, selected elements in the context of the Kosovo conflict, which were influenced by his actions, are discussed.

The second part develops a critical discussion of the LTA. It reflects on problematic aspects of the approach such as the scientific positions of positivism and empiricism, the first-image approach, the causal concept of verbal output, personality traits, and political actions, the verbal content analyze and coding, the dependency of the personality results on the analyzing material, the at-a-distance method, as well as various theoretical definitions. The aim of the second section is to portray the potentials and constraints of the theory.

The paper examines the bi-partial research question: How do the personality-psychological characteristics of Slobodan Milošević, which are analyzed based on the Leadership Trait Assessment Theory, impact the Kosovo conflict of the 1990s? What are the potentials and constraints of the Leadership Trait Assessment Theory?

In the first part, the thesis is based on the quantitative methodology of an explicit content analysis of the verbal output of Milošević. The second section complements with a critical, discursive reconditioning of the issue and the approach.

The main literature sources are the works of Margaret Hermann, Michael Young, Stephen Benedict Dyson, Jerrold Post, Thomas Preston, Stephen Walker, David Winter, Walter Weintraub, Stanley Renshon, and Nick Levine.

The conclusion of the thesis draws inference that the influence of Milošević's personality on the Kosovo conflict, based on the LTA theory, cannot be based on valid reasoning. The result demonstrates that the LTA shows problematic aspects, which mark the constrains of the approach.

## 1 Introduction

“No other European politician since 1945 resembled the archetype of Adolf Hitler as much as [Slobodan Milošević] who terrorized Southeast Europe for over a decade” (Frey 2005: 75). This statement characterizes the developments in Yugoslavia from a narrow individual perspective. It demonstrates the presumption “Who leads matters” (Hermann et al 2001: 83) which is the basis of Hermann’s political personality research. Certainly, the statement has to be critically rejected, yet it causes cynical thinking when studying the characteristic traits of individuals in politics, and therefore, serves as a skeptical introduction of this thesis.

This paper positions itself in the theory of political psychology of international relations and draws on the Leadership Trait Assessment Theory which was developed by Margaret Hermann. It is theoretically differentiated from other papers as it chooses a personality-related first image approach. The aim is to develop a critical discussion of the LTA. The procedure is supported by applying the theory to an empirical example. Therefore, in the first section of the paper, the theory is applied to the example case of Slobodan Milošević. The aim is to study the influence of his political personality on the Kosovo conflict of the 1990s. In the following section, a critical discussion of the theory is developed which is based on the prior findings, and includes general issues in addition to that. The research questions are: How do the personality-psychological characteristics of Slobodan Milošević, which are analyzed based on the Leadership Trait Assessment Theory, impact the Kosovo conflict of the 1990s? What are the potentials and constraints of the Leadership Trait Assessment Theory?

This paper is academically relevant as it establishes a comprehensive discourse of the LTA. The critical discussion is not a singular discussion but addresses fundamental issues of political science. Moreover, this paper provides a practical contribution to international relations. While the influence of individual actors in politics is discussed, political-systematic aspects and the importance of other political actors is emphasized. Finally, the paper also proves to be relevant for society as the relationship between political actors and society is examined.

Concerning the structure, the paper has two parts. In the first part, the LTA is applied to the case example of Milošević. To do so, the theory of the approach and the central actions of Milošević during the Kosovo conflict are outlined. Then, the political personality of Milošević is analyzed. The analyze is based on an explicit quantitative content analyze of verbal expressions which is operated through the software Profiler Plus. The findings are compared to actual, empirical behavior which confirms or disproves the findings. The second part develops a critical discussion of the LTA. The criticism refers to fundamental aspects of the approach as well as the findings of the first section.

**2 Theoretical foundations to develop a LTA personality profile**

The second chapter develops the theoretical framework of the research questions in order to provide a comprehensive instrument to analyze the political personality of Slobodan Milošević. This section draws on the Leadership Trait Assessment Theory developed by Margaret Hermann.

**2.1 Political Psychology**

First, the theoretical framework has to be defined. The political decisions and actions of Milošević that are to be analyzed can be determined as foreign-policy behavior. Since the influence of this personality is to be analyzed, the paper draws on the theoretical framework of political psychology. The political psychology of international relations draws on the first image approach as laid out by Kenneth Waltz because the character traits of the individual decision maker are seen as the focal determinants for its political decision. The decisive presumption states “Who leads matters” (Hermann et al 2001: 83) and points out that the decision maker has a defining influence on the political path (Brummer and Oppermann 2014: 157). Key theories are the Prospect Theory, the Operational Code Approach (OPC), the Polyheuristic Theory, the LTA, and the Groupthink Theory (Frank et al 2015: 10). Only OPC and LTA are personality-related first image theories which reveals the “Black Box” (ibid: 12) of the individual person. That is highly important in the course of this paper. The thesis is based on the LTA because the approach convinces with a better performance through clearer terminology. Moreover, it implements a profound analyze of the political personality of the political actor rather than only focusing on his believes.

**2.2 Leadership Trait Assessment Theory**

The LTA was developed by Margaret Hermann in 1980. The main contributions to enhance the theory are from Preston, Dyson, Karboo, Post and Winter. The procedure foresees to develop a personality profile of the political actor through an explicit quantitative content analyze of the verbal output. The outcome indicates the leadership style. The analysis is based on three dimensions of leadership style and seven personality variables (see table below).

LEADERSHIP STYLE	PERSONALITY TRAIT
Reactions to political constraints	Believe in the ability to control events
	Need for power
Openness toward information	Self-confidence
	Conceptual complexity
Motivation	Mistrust towards others
	Ingroup Bias
	Task or relationship orientation

### 2.2.1 Leadership Style

Leadership style is defined as the way the decision maker relates to the political relevant individuals around him (Hermann and Karbo 1998: 243). Political relevant individuals are advisers, constituents, as well as other political actors. In doing so, structures of the interaction, norms, rules, and principles are considered (Hermann 2002: 5). Below, the three dimensions of leadership style are outlined. The dimension **'reaction to constraints'** defines whether the decision makers accepts or challenges political and systematic constraints. It describes how important it is for the individual to exert power, leverage, and control on his surroundings, respectively to how adaptable he is (Hermann and Karbo 1998: 248). The dimension **'openness toward information'** defines to what extend the decision making of the political individual is based on a comprehensive information search and processing, or whether affirmative information is chosen selectively (ibid: 249). **'Motivation'** defines the long-term orientation of the decision maker. That comprises what the individual considers important, what guides his decisions, as well as his ambition to seek leadership positions. Motivation can be driven internally by an ideology or externally by the wish to receive a certain feedback from the surroundings (ibid).

### 2.2.2 Personality traits

Below, the seven traits will be presented. The **'believe to control events'** defines how strongly the actor is convinced that he can exert control over political situations through his actions and decisions. Individuals with a distinct believe pursue active political agendas. They are hardly willing to compromise as they are convinced to control the course of events themselves (Keller and Young 2008: 692). Actors with a weakly defined believe are more cautious and respect context factors. They are willing to delegate work (ibid). The trait is coded by words which indicate that the actor follows proactive agendas (Dyson 2006: 292).

**'Need for power'** describes how strongly the decision maker seeks to influence, control, and dominate others. Actors with a strong need for power are primarily interested in self-driven goals then in shared gains. They take a zero-sum position in negotiations (Keller and Yang 2008: 691). They prefer autocratic decision-making processes and suppress disagreements. Actors that strive for power less strongly consider satisfying the needs of others. They tolerate a greater opposition and act primarily when political constraints are low and consequences are non-durable (ibid: 692). The need for power is coded by verbs that relate to active, strong actions (Hermann 2002:15f) like offensive vocabulary.

**'Self-confidence'** relates to how great the political actor evaluates his significance and capability to impact his political surroundings. Agents with a strong self-confidence are insensitive toward incoming information. They are content about themselves and do not search for opportunities to

evaluate themselves through the feedback of others (Hermann 2002: 21). Actors with a low self-confidence are affected by contextual events. They are in search of information to evaluate themselves and to satisfy the needs of others (ibid: 22). The coding for self-confidence comprises adjectives used by the decision maker to evaluate himself in relation to words like 'I' or 'mine' (ibid: 21).

The dimension '**conceptual complexity**' describes the way the actor makes decisions and uses advisers. Furthermore, it defines whether the decision maker is open to information from his political environment and to what extent the decision-making process is based on information (Preston and Dyson 2006: 267). Actors with a high complexity deliberate various positions, can handle ambiguity, and react flexible to developments. Low conceptual complexity is associated with categorization and black and white thinking. These decision makers are less receptive for feedback and close-minded toward alternative approaches (Hermann 2002: 22). Coding for this trait proceed by reference to words that indicate a differentiated respectively a classifying viewpoint of the decision maker (ibid). Examples are 'approximately, absolute, doubtless' (Dyson 2006:292).

The fifth character trait '**mistrust**' defines how strongly the decision maker accepts claims and acts of others in good faith respectively to rejecting them wary. Individuals with a distinct mistrust view the world as threatening and scrutinize the motives of others (Keller and Yang 2008: 693). Even actors with a low mistrust question the intentions of others, yet they evaluate those perspectives less important in their deliberation (Hermann 2002: 32). Political possibilities are more important for them (ibid: 27). Coding is executed based on words used by the individual in reference towards others (ibid: 31).

'**Ingroup Bias**' describes the belief that the own ingroup takes a key role in the political process. Ingroup bias is associated with a feeling for national identity and honor (Dyson 2006: 292). An individual with a strong ingroup bias intents to protect his ingroup. That influences his foreign policy insofar that events are more likely perceived as threatening than as a political opportunity. Actors that exhibit a lower ingroup bias see opportunities for win-win situations (Hermann 2002: 27). They solve challenges in diplomatic ways and within international setups (ibid: 30). This character trait is coded by words that refer to the ingroup. Examples are: 'Peaceful, powerful, own policy' (Dyson 2006: 292).

The trait '**task**'- respectively to '**relationship orientation**' describes the focus of the decision maker in interpersonal relationships. If the individual is task orientated, he primarily strives to reach a set target and therefor disregards opposition forces. For the relationship orientated actor, establishing interpersonal relations and respecting the feelings and needs of others is more important (Keller and Yang 2008: 691). He strives to establish team spirit and morality (Hermann 2002: 26). When coding



the trait, words are counted that indicate problem solving respectively to words that indicate respecting the needs of others. Examples are 'performance, success, mercy, liberation, advocacy' (Hermann 2002: 26).

### **2.2.3 Method**

In order to determine personality traits this paper draws on the method of explicit quantitative content analyze of verbal output. That is a "at-a-distance" (Frank 2015: 317) method. It is distant because the researcher analyses verbal output of an individual that is not physically present and where direct contact is not possible. The approach is based on the assumption that the amount of certain words and phrases used by the decision maker correlates to the importance of its content for the individual. Therefore, the frequency of the words coded is related to the overall amount of verbal data (Hermann 2002: 11). The personality profile is generated based on this quantification and in relation to Hermann's comparison group (ibid: 32).

The minimum requirement of the content analyze is 50 verbal units that comprises at least 100 words. The reliability of the profile increases when the amount of words is raised (Hermann 2002: 3). The preferred source of verbal data is spontaneous material, such as interviews. Non-spontaneous material, such as speeches, can also be part of the verbal data. However, it should be reflected that this material is less spontaneous, might be staged, or prepared by someone else (Hermann and Karboo 1998: 251). The verbal data should encompass the entire tenure of the decision maker, comprise various topics, and be recorded in different settings. That prevents the research result to be theme and situation specific (Hermann 2002: 3f).

The analyze is based on a standardized code system. The code system is operated by the software Profiler Plus which has a customized 'dictionary' to analyze the seven personality traits (Frank et al 2015: 13). The software was developed in 1998 and replaced hand coding (Young and Levine 2014: 1). The software can analyze single words as well as words in context of the sentence (ibid: 3). The software does only analyze content in English and Spanish (Frank 2015: 321). Therefore, this paper has to draw on translations which causes inaccuracy. Nevertheless, the code system will be used for this research because working with Profiler Plus facilitates comparability and validity.

### **2.2.4 Procedure**

The development of the personality profile is based on five steps. First, verbal data is coded for all seven traits with the assistance of Profiler Plus. The quantitative result is matched with the standardized results of a comparison group. The comparison group is the result of a study that Hermann conducted in 1999. The study is based on 87 heads of state from 46 countries and 122 political leaders from 48 countries. The individuals held decision making positions in political setups

such as the cabinet, opposition, or in revolutionary organizations since 1945 (Hermann 2002: 32f). Table 2.1 in the appendix shows the quantified results as well as the mean of each trait. By reference to the first standard deviation, the trait can be categorized. If this result confirms with the mean, the decision maker exhibits an average characteristic attribute. If the result is lower than the range of the first standard deviation, the trait is weakly defined. If the result is higher than the first standard deviation, the actor proves a distinct trait (ibid: 32). The result of the personality profile and the leadership style is derived from this quantification. Based on this profile, expectations of the behavior of the individual are proposed. In a final step, those expectations are compared with empirical evidence of the actual actions taken by the decision maker (Frank 2015: 323). The researcher is advised to contextualize the verbal data to better understand the results. To do so, the topics touched in the verbal data, the addressed audience, as well as the setting has to be considered.

Hermann addresses the issue of validity and reliability of LTA results in various studies. Her findings are that the results of the computer based approach match hand coding at a rate of 0.90 (Hermann 2002: 39). The comparability of translated and native verbal data is quantified with 0.92 (ibid: 40). Furthermore, the study proved a comparability of 0.84 for the analyze at a distance and interpersonally (ibid: 41).

### **2.3 Resume**

The second chapter provides a comprehensive theoretical instrument of the LTA theory that can be utilized to analyze Slobodan Milošević in the fourth chapter. This section explained definitions, the method, and the procedure of the LTA.

### **3 Empirical developments towards the Kosovo conflict**

The third chapter portrays Milošević's political actions relating to the Kosovo conflict. The strict connection and the centralization of Milošević is chosen deliberate. That is not to suggest that he is solely responsible for the conflict, but it allows to compare the personality profile and the empirical actions in the fifth chapter.

#### **3.1 Political path towards the Kosovo conflict**

The foundation for Milošević's political path is a memorandum that the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts published in 1986 which is his central instrumental piece. It portrays the antagonism between the Serbian and Albanian people in an inimical way (LeBor 2004: 77f). Also, it discusses the genocide of the Serbian people (ibid: 76). The exceptional role of Serbia and the associated nationalism is highlighted (Husic 2007: 39). The Serbian elite deploys the memorandum to nationalize the Serbian public sphere (Dominik 2001: 108) and thus demonstrates Milošević strong support for a nationalist agenda (Pavlakovic 2005: 16).

The decisive momentum that enforces Milošević's rise to power is the speech he gives at Kosovo Polje 1987. Milošević is sent to Prishtina due to violent contentions between Serbian protesters and Albanian police forces (Dominik 2001: 112). His most significant remark originates from that happening: 'No one is going to beat you anymore' (Thomas 1999: 47). He becomes the national hero and second Tito (Husic 2007: 47). He utilizes this newly obtained popularity at the eighth session of the Communist Party, which became known as the 'cleansing session', to take actions against opponents within the party (Dominik 2001: 113). Through eliminating the opposition, Milošević establishes his position of power and is elected Serbian president in 1990 (Husic 2007: 74).

The developments leading to the Kosovo conflict have to be contextualized within the political situation in Yugoslavia. In the 1980s, the disintegration becomes apparent and facilitates the idea of an extended Serbian territory (LeBor 2004: 144). Therefore, Milošević initiates the anti-bureaucratic revolution (Dominik 2001: 108) and makes himself the symbol of the fight for freedom, opposing egoistic politicians. For this he gains great popularity (ibid). In 1989, Milošević imposes an illegal constitutional change which centralizes political authority in Belgrade (Wunsch Gaarmann 2015: 37). Consequently, the Yugoslavian war erupts. Experts argue that Milošević enters the Kosovo war because he expects psychological-strategic advantages (Thomas 1999: 414) to foster the Serbian national movement which was weakened during the Yugoslavian war.

#### **3.2 The Kosovo conflict**

The first step into the Kosovo war is the speech Milošević gives at the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the battle in Kosovo Polje 1989 (Thomas 1999: 49f). The speech arouses the Serbian heroism by revitalizing the

Kosovo myth and creating tremendous symbolic power for the region. Milošević calls upon the Serbian people for an armed war against the Kosovo-Albanians and for the territory of Kosovo (Thomas 1999: 50). He stresses that Kosovo belongs to Serbia and is soaked by Serbian blood (ibid: 49). Experts reason that Milošević realizes at that time that he can mobilize the mass with a nationalist ideology (Pavlakovic 2005: 16f).

Due to the constitutional change, Kosovo is illegally deposed from its autonomous status. The Kosovo assembly is forced by military threats to depose itself. Due to the cleansing wave, more than 5000 Kosovo-Albanian executive leaders lose their jobs which are replaced by Serbians (Dominik 2001: 118, as per Brey). In the course of the 1990s, oppressive actions increase and a campaign to 'Serbinize' Kosovo takes place (Pichler 2006: 151). The goal is to expel Albanians from Kosovo (Trix 2005: 311). More than 120.000 Kosovo-Albanians are being dismissed from their jobs in the public sector and are being excluded from public life in society (ibid: 317). Schools are closed, property rights are widely revoked (ibid: 311), and agricultural land is being destroyed (ibid: 318). Human rights violations such as torture, arbitrary detentions, and house searches become ordinary (ibid: 319). Belgrade is in control of all public institutions and companies (ibid: 317). In Serbia, the fear of Albanians taking over is fueled (Dominik 2001: 110). Milošević portrays himself as the protector against the Albanian aggression in the tirade of hate (LeBor 2004: 83).

The trigger of the Kosovo war is the assassination of Adem Jashari, the founder of the Kosovo liberation army UCK in March 1998 (LeBor 2004: 278). Subsequently, violent disputes between the UCK and Serbian forces increase. In summer, a Serbian grand offensive takes place whereby 250.000 Albanians have to flee (ibid: 279f). The conflict parties agree on a ceasefire facilitated by NATO. However, the ceasefire is breached by Serbians that massacre Kosovo-Albanians in January (Wunsch Gaarmann 2015: 44). That is the trigger for the international intervention. Peace negotiations take place in France, but only the Albanians sign the agreement (Trix 2005: 333). Therefore, NATO airstrikes are launched on March 24<sup>th</sup>. They force the regime to surrender on June 9<sup>th</sup> (ibid: 334). Due to resolution 1244, Kosovo becomes UN protectorate (ibid: 336). In the course of the war, more than one and a half million Albanians have to flee (Wunsch Gaarmann 2015: 45) and 13.000 people die (Trix 2005: 334). Purposeful ethnic cleansing of Kosovo-Albanians take place (LeBor 2004: 281). Following Milošević's surrender of Kosovo, the decline of his position of power becomes apparent. His followers recede from their offices (Husic 2007: 100) and protests accelerate. Milošević reacts with secret meetings and aggravated repressions (ibid: 101). He loses early elections and the military denies support (ibid: 102). Thus, he is officially discharged. In June 2001, he is turned in to the war criminal's tribunal in Den Haag (ibid: 103f) where he dies in his cell on March 11<sup>th</sup> 2006 (ibid: 109).

### **3.3 The political position of Milošević**

To understand the position of power that Milošević holds, it has to be considered that he is in control of the police (monopoly of force), media (public opinion), and the political party (political process) (LeBor 2004: 140). Since Milošević does not trust the Yugoslavian army, he arms the Serbian police forces heavily (Pavlakovic 2005: 23). The forces persecute oppositionists (Dominik 2001: 293) and conduct violent acts against Kosovo-Albanians (Trix 2005: 319).

Due to media censorship, it is feasible for Milošević to construct external threat from Kosovo. That enables him to legitimize the use of force against Albanians (Pavlakovic 2005: 15). He succeeds because media entities are under the control of government, opposition media entities are shut down (LeBor 2004: 272), and anti-government journalists are being abducted (Dominik 2001: 293). Media serves to spread the nationalist ideology and the Serbian ethnocentrism (Wirth 2002: 290). Milošević symbolizes the father figure of the dependent Serbian nation (Dominik 2001: 292). With regards to the Kosovo conflict, the instrumental remarks demonstrate victimization of Serbians, dehumanization and degradation of defined others, as well as omnipresent conspiracy (Ramet 2005: 125). Historical events and symbols are highlighted (ibid: 129).

Formally speaking, the political process is shaped by democratic, pluralistic structures (Thomas 1999: 422), yet the entire political power is bound to Milošević who establishes a highly personalized network of extra-institutional, political, economic (ibid: 424), and military powers (Husic 2007: 57). The pivotal political mean is mass mobilization through nationalism (Pavlakovic 2005: 15). Milošević promotes nationalism even though he does not believe in its basic values himself (Dominik 2001: 112). He utilizes the nationalist movement solely for his rise to power (Pavlakovic 2005: 15) and is successful because he has a feeling for the disposition of the Serbian people (Dominik 2001: 289). For this purpose, Milošević utilizes ethnic symbolic politics to transcend rational, political decisions (Thomas 1999: 425). Thereby, Kosovo always represents the “master-symbol” (ibid: 425) to stir nationalist feelings (Dominik 2001: 289).

### **3.4 Resume**

The third chapter contributes to the research question as it demonstrates the foundation for Milošević's path towards the Kosovo conflict. The path is based on his enforcement of the nationalist agenda which is affirmed by the Serbian people. Strengthened by instrumental statements, he receives broad public support. The direct trigger for the repressive actions against Kosovo Albanians, which develops to become the Kosovo war, seem to be the speech at Kosovo Polje and the revitalization of the Kosovo myth.

#### 4 Personality analyze results

Below, the results of the LTA personality analyze of Milošević's verbal output are illustrated to develop a personality and leadership style profile (see attachment 2.2 and 2.5).

As a first step, the variables of the leadership style dimension **reaction to political constraints** are being discussed. Milošević holds an **average believe to control events**, tending towards a low markedness. Consequentially it can be derived that Milošević assesses his ability to influence a political situation through his decision making moderate. He pursues a political agenda, yet he keeps context information and the needs of other political actors in mind when he implements it. It is to be assumed that Milošević acts cautious and primarily in situations that are promising. Furthermore, according to the analyze result, he is willing to compromise. Milošević's **need for power** is less marked. The data suggests, Milošević holds a low need to influence and control events or to dominate others. He seems anxious to respect the interests and concerns of others. It is to be assumed that Milošević establishes a spirit of morality and community, and that he prefers to act if constraints and consequences are low. His behavior, which is based on the norms and values of the ingroup, is intended to create a trustful relationship among members. Furthermore, it is intended to facilitate participation. It is likely that he forms his agenda accordingly to a greater good. Since Milošević demonstrates a weak need for power and an average believe to control events, it is to be assumed that he accepts political constraints. In this vein, he shows empathy for his environment, is open for negotiations, interested in the opinion of his ingroup, and judges on a case-to-case basis. In order to implement his decisions, he needs a certain degree of consent. Moreover, he aims to fulfill his objectives and comply with constraining parameters.

As a next step, the leadership dimension **openness toward information** is analyzed. Considering the results of the personality analyze, Milošević's **self-confidence** can be classified as average, tending towards a less marked characteristic. It can be inferred that his policies are influenced by contextual factors and events. He supposedly seeks affirmation from his environment to implement actions and evaluate himself. Therefore, his behavior may appear inconsistent. Milošević shows an average **conceptual complexity**, tending towards a less marked characteristic. It can be inferred that he discusses various positions during the decision-making process, that he can handle ambiguity, and that he acts accordingly to contextual factors. It is to be assumed that he is attentive towards information from his environment and that he includes those in his actions. However, due to the average characteristic, the deliberation might be characterized by categorization. Moreover, his actions might be based on long established, unquestioned believes and are implemented regardless of critical feedback. It can be derived from the personality analyze that Milošević is open to information from the environment. It is to be assumed that he acts pragmatically based on the needs and ideas of others. Before implementing a decision, he is likely to processes a comprehensive

amount of information, including discrepant input, the opinion of experts, and the interest of his ingroup. He seems to be receptive to contextual information and aims to persuade others of his position by conveying concern and empathy.

Finally, the leadership dimension **motivation** is being discussed. Milošević's less marked **mistrust in others** stands out. It can be inferred from the result that Milošević views his environment as threatening. He questions the motives of others, yet he does not weight them strongly in the decision-making process. The focal incentive of his actions are political opportunities. It is to be assumed that he can delegate responsibility to others. Also, Milošević's less marked **Ingroup Bias** stands out. He supposedly feels a weak emotional attachment to his ingroup. National identity, honor, as well as intra-group culture and status seem to be irrelevant to him. He focuses on opportunities for win-win situations and solves political issues in a diplomatic manner. Finally, the overly average result of **task orientation** is being discussed. It can be inferred from the result that Milošević either acts task and relationship oriented, accordingly to the situation, or that his actions are always characterized by both orientations. Therefore, Milošević seems to strive to fulfill a set task. Presumably, he prefers autocratic decision-making processes and neglects the opposition. It is to be assumed that he defines his political environment through problems that are to be solved. He utilizes individuals around him as instruments to reach a set goal whereby he might be willing to conduct immoral actions. At the same time, it is to be assumed that Milošević is relationship orientated. Therefore, he strives to establish a sense of group belonging, consensus, participation, morality, and loyalty. From the above outlined leadership trait, it can be inferred that Milošević's motivation is based on internal as well as external factors. His external motivation is based on consideration of contextual factors and his task orientation. Moreover, his internal motivation is defined by the needs and feedback of the ingroup.

#### **4.1 Resume**

The fourth chapter contributes to the research question in so far as the results of Milošević's personality analysis are outlined. The outline emphasizes that Milošević is open for information from his political environment, and is considerate of contextual information as well as of positions of others. It should be noted that his personality profile, based on spontaneous and non-spontaneous material, demonstrate the same results (see appendix 2.3, 2.4). Only his self-confidence seems to be strongly marked in the spontaneous material. This finding can mitigate Hermann's argument of falsification due to speechwriters. Furthermore, this finding strengthens the outlined personality profile as it is confirmed.

## 5 Comparison with empirical data

Below, the results of the personality analysis of Milošević, as outlined in the fourth chapter, are being compared with the empirical data, as presented in the third chapter. In that way, a discussion of the analyzed characteristics of Milošević is being facilitated. The results of the personality analysis are to be confirmed according to conformational information or to be rejected according to discrepant information.

### 5.1 Leadership dimension reaction to political constraints

First, the personality trait **believe in the ability to control events** is being considered. The empirical data presents two aspects that **confirm** the average characteristic. For one, the enormous significance of the memorandum for Milošević can be interpreted in such a way that he regards contextual information and the opinion of other actors. He utilizes the memorandum as an instrumental piece after he assesses that he can generate a nationalist movement within the (political) elite. In this vein, he acts within a promising context. For another thing, the use of instrumental speeches confirms the assumption that Milošević acts primarily when beneficial context factors are present. Milošević creates parameters that foster his political path by means of his instrumental speeches. That refers especially to the construction of the Albanian aggression. The Serbian people demand a protective political agenda which can be implemented by Milošević who presents himself as a guardian. Likewise, the Kosovo myth seems to be an example for it. Based on the victimization of the Serbian people and the acquisition the Albanian people are illegitimate inhabitants of Kosovo, a motivation is fostered within Serbia to initiate the Kosovo war.

This compares to four empirical occasions that **oppose** the average character trait. The fact that Milošević utilizes his popularity to antagonize intra-party opponents is contrary to the assumption that he evaluates his actions as less influential. Yet, he uses his popularity to influence the political situation which seems inconsistent. Furthermore, his control over the police forces and media contradicts the assumption that Milošević regards the positions of other political actors and acts cautious. The media censorship and the related spread of instrumental statements opposes the assumption that Milošević does not seek to exert influence. Moreover, the control over the police forces contradicts the notion that he acts primarily in promising situations. It is to be assumed that Milošević arms the police forces to control precarious situations. Furthermore, the establishment of a personalized network contradicts Milošević's willingness to compromise and to include other political actors. It also seems inconsistent that Milošević increases repressions and secret meetings in reaction to his increasing loss of power. It is to be assumed that he refrains from doing so because he reacts to developments in his political environment and does not believe that he can influence it himself.



Next, the less marked personality trait **need for power** is being discussed. The empirical data shows three aspects that **confirm** the characteristic. First, the fact must be considered that Milošević exploits the memorandum as he perceives that he can receive strong support from the political elite. This fact supports the assumption that he considers the interests of others when deliberating political options and that he primarily acts when constraints are low. Also, the initiation of the Kosovo war can confirm the personality trait. Milošević realizes that the Serbian people and the political elite support a nationalist ideology that focuses on Kosovo. Therefore, there are no constraints when initiating the war. Furthermore, these actions are aligned with the preference of the ingroup and thus establish a spirit of solidarity and trust. Finally, also the use of instrumental statements can confirm the less marked need for power. The ethnocentrism spread by Milošević gives leverage to the Serbian people due to an antagonized comparison with the Albanian people and thus establishes a collective. The Kosovo myth unites the Serbian people due to a historical, heroic identity, whereby morality is being established.

On the contrary, the empirical data also provides seven events that **contradict** the personality trait. Milošević is in control of the media and the police forces which enables him to conduct ruthless actions which are certainly not in the interest of the Serbian people. It appears inconsistent that he exerts influence through media censorship although it is to be assumed that he does not wish to control events. It also contradicts the assumption that Milošević seeks to establish trust in his ingroup. Likewise, it should be questioned why Milošević acquires control of the heavily armed police forces if he does not plan to control events. Another contradicting point to the assumption Milošević does not want to exert control, is the establishment of the personalized network. The contradiction is most obvious when assessing the constitutional change that strengthens political authority in Belgrade. Another fact that contradicts Milošević's personality profile is his speech at Kosovo Polje in 1989. During that speech he awakens a Kosovo heroism within the Serbian people and invokes a violent conflict against Kosovo-Albanians. This seems contrary to the assumption that Milošević is not interested to exert power and acts primarily in situations without constraints. Also, the incidents during the Kosovo conflict in the 1990s are inconsistent. Milošević enforces violent, immoral actions such as the illegal constitutional change, the military threat to dissolve the Kosovo assembly, and the repression of Kosovo-Albanians from public life. The personality profile indicates that Milošević respects the interests of others and acts primarily in situations without consequences. Furthermore, the media presentation of Milošević as a guardian against the Albanian aggression contradicts the assumption he does not want to be perceived as a hero. Furthermore, it seems to be inconsistent that Milošević exploits the nationalist movement merely to gain power although he supposedly does not strive to exert power.

It can be inferred from this outline that the personality trait **believe in the ability to control events** can be confirmed as well as disproved. Milošević accepts political constraints in terms of public opinion as he aligns his agenda accordingly. He is open for contextual information and acknowledges the positions and needs of others. However, the actions taken by him suggest that his need for power and control are more firmly marked than the personality analysis indicates.

## 5.2 Leadership dimension openness to information

The empirical data provides three events that **confirm** Milošević's average marked **self-confidence**. It can be inferred from the use of the memorandum as an instrumental piece that Milošević needs confirmation for his actions. He realizes that the political elite advocates a nationalist agenda which he can implement with strong support. Also, the Kosovo conflict can be interpreted in such a way that Milošević considers contextual information. He understands that he holds popularity for his nationalist agenda and thus calls upon the Serbian people to initiate an armed fight during his speech at Kosovo Polje. The nationalist orientated population supports him in defining ethnic lines. Finally, Milošević also exhibits inconsistent behavior as he breaches the ceasefire agreement with NATO.

This compares to three events that argue **against** the average self-confidence of Milošević. For one, it is the fact that he presents himself as the freedom fighter and father figure of the nation. That implies a tremendous amount of self-confidence and thus is in contradiction to the analyzed personality trait. Moreover, the constitutional change contradicts the supposedly low self-confidence. It is to be assumed that Milošević respects the hostile position of the republics as he needs confirmation for his actions. However, he does not and goes as far as to confront them with military action. It also seems contradicting that Milošević takes repressive measures during his decline of power although his ingroup signaled him to surrender. These actions indicate tremendous self-confidence and a disregard of the feedback of the ingroup.

Below, the personality trait **conceptual complexity** is being discussed. The empirical data provides four aspects that **support** the average characteristic. For one, the instrumentalization of the memorandum indicates that Milošević embraces and respects political positions of his environment. He differentiates that he receives support for a nationalist position and thus utilizes the memorandum as a pivotal instrumental piece. Furthermore, it has to be considered that Milošević holds control over the public opinion, the monopoly of force, and the political process. This can be interpreted in such a way that he perceives these three authorities to be necessary to implement his nationalist agenda. Due to these powers, he is able to foster antagonizing group processes and to legitimize violence against Kosovo-Albanians. He can conduct those immoral actions because he can form the public opinion through his control over media. Due to his control over the political process and the police forces, he is able to enforce his actions. Milošević's conceptual complexity also

shows at the beginning of the Kosovo conflict. During his speech at Kosovo Polje, he is open for the information of the ingroup that they support his nationalist agenda and an armed fight against Kosovo-Albanians. Likewise, his emphasis of the Kosovo myth confirms Milošević's conceptual complexity. He seems to perceive that a rational assessment of violent actions is problematic. Therefore, he disguises those actions in a symbolic agenda by making Serbia a hero like state.

This compares to two events that **contradict** the relatively low marked personality trait. First, the constitutional change should be examined. During his decision-making process, he does not consider that the Yugoslavian republics would reject the changes and even initiate violent resistance. Likewise, Milošević seems to not consider that a breach of the ceasefire agreement and denying signing the peace treaty might lead to NATO airstrikes.

It can be inferred from the outline above that the analyzed personality trait openness towards information is mostly confirmed. Milošević seems to be open for information from his political environment. Due to his relatively low self-confidence, and his relatively high conceptual complexity, external views predominate his decision-making process. However, those findings are opposed by the fact that his conceptual complexity seems to be low and he tends to overestimate himself when he enforces adversarial actions.

### **5.3 Leadership dimension motivation**

The empirical data provides four elements that **confirm** Milošević's extremely low **mistrust in others**. For one, the instrumentalization of the memorandum indicates that Milošević acts upon political opportunities. He pursues a nationalist agenda because he can aggregate support for it. In the same vein, he seems to perceive a political opportunity to initiate the Kosovo conflict during his speech at Kosovo Polje. Therefore, he vitalizes the myth to foster the desire within the Serbian people to occupy Kosovo. Also, the constitutional change has to be considered. The fact that he conducts the change although it is highly problematic, indicates that he does not consider negative outcomes as he does not perceive his environment as threatening. In the same vein, his denial to sign the peace treaty and the breach of the ceasefire indicates that Milošević does not perceive the international community as threatening during his decision-making process. Therefore, he conducts actions that might provoke their reaction.

This compares to six elements that **contradict** Milošević's less marked mistrust in others. It seems inconsistent that he takes action against political opponents during the 'cleansing session'. According to the analysis result it is to be expected that he does not perceive them as a threat to his political position and thus would be willing to share political power. It is also inconsistent that he arms the Serbian forces heavily because he does not trust the Yugoslavian army. That suggests that he was preparing himself for violent confrontations; yet that contradicts the assumption he does not

perceive his environment as threatening and does not dread sabotage. In the same vein, it is contradicting that he spies on and assassinates anti-government journalists. Moreover, the constitutional change which strengthens political authority within Serbia contradicts his assumed willingness to share responsibility and political power. The 'Serbization' of Kosovo can be interpreted in the same vein. Furthermore, it should be questioned why Milošević advocates an antagonized position to oppose Kosovo-Albanians who have been marked as enemies. According to the analysis result it is to be assumed that he does not view the world hostile and dichotomous.

As a next step, Milošević's extremely less marked **ingroup bias** is being discussed. The empirical data provides five elements that **confirm** the characteristic. The espionage of Serbian political actors and journalists indicates that Milošević does not demonstrate a specific, emotional relationship to individuals of his ingroup. In the same vein, the constitutional change can be interpreted. He is willing to conduct immoral actions since he does not have any emotional ties to the thereby disadvantaged Yugoslavian people. The surrender of Kosovo indicates that national status is not important to Milošević. Likewise, the use of instrumental speeches seems to verify his less marked ingroup bias. Milošević is able to manipulate since he does not feel emotionally and thus morally attached to his ingroup. Finally, the nationalism that he advocates but is not convinced of, indicates a non-existing national identity.

This compares to three aspects that **contradict** the analysis result. For one, the constitutional change must be considered. It is to be assumed that Milošević is not interested in the status position of his ingroup which is why the centralization of political authority in Belgrade seems to be inconsistent. Another point is the initiation of the Kosovo conflict. For one thing, the appeal to initiate an armed fight against Kosovo-Albanians is inconsistent with the assumed willingness for diplomatic negotiations and win-win situations. Examples are the 'Serbization', the enormous repressions against the Albanian population, as well as the breach of the ceasefire, and the noncompliance with the peace negotiations. For another thing, the tremendous emphasis of the Kosovo myth and the effort to occupy Kosovo, based on an allegedly historic claim, contradicts the assumption that Milošević is not interested to maintain or enhance the culture and status of the ingroup. The establishment of a friend-foe-antagonism contradicts his presumed willingness for win-win situations. Finally, it must be questioned why Milošević presents himself as a freedom fighter for the suppressed Serbian people if this group is emotionally insignificant to him and if he is open for diplomatic solutions.

As a final step, the task- versus relationship orientation is being discussed. The extremely average characteristic can be interpreted in such a way that Milošević is motivated by accomplishing a task as well as bolstering relations. Below, four aspects are highlighted that **support** the **relationship orientation**. The use of instrumental remarks can be interpreted in such a way that a defined ingroup-

outgroup-divide fosters cohesion, morality and loyalty within the ingroup. Here, the most remarkable sentence 'no one is going to beat you anymore' (Thomas 1999: 47) should be highlighted because it is to be assumed that Milošević wants to foster group coherence. The Serbian people are supposed to get attached to him, the freedom fighter, father, and guardian. Moreover, the Kosovo myth can be interpreted in such a way that Milošević tries to establish morality by transcending a rational, political decision. Kosovo as the "master-symbol" (Thomas 1999: 425) creates consensus on the political goals of Serbia which is the incorporation of Kosovo. Also, group coherence is being strengthened through the friend-foe-antagonism that creates an external threat. Furthermore, the media censorship indicates that Milošević wants to establish loyalty by depriving the Serbian people of alternative information sources and spreading information that benefit the regime. It also has to be considered that Milošević utilizes the memorandum in his agenda presumably because it receives support by the political elite, thus he can foster participation. Finally, the 'Serbization' suggests a relationship orientation as Milošević elevates his ingroup to establish loyal relations.

Elements that contradict his relationship orientation, conversely argue for a **task orientation**. The empirical data provides six elements for that. First, Milošević's ability to conduct immoral actions in the form of instrumental manipulation can prove of this character trait. Individuals seem to serve as instruments to achieve a goal. Milošević constructs an external threat and defines the Albanians as enemies to achieve his goals by means of a strong, internal group coherence. Due to the emphasis of the Kosovo myth, the Serbian heroism is activated. That serves the purpose to radicalize people that are exploited as instruments. The personalized network confirms the task orientation as it facilitates an autocratic decision-making process. Also, the Kosovo conflict itself has to be considered. Experts say, Milošević enters into the Kosovo conflict because of psychological, strategic advantages and therefore can verify his personality trait. Moreover, the Kosovo conflict is marked by task oriented acts like the illegal constitutional change and the military threats. The extremely repressive 'Serbization' suggests that Milošević defines his political environment through problems that have to be solved. The 'Serbization' of Kosovo is supposed to facilitate the inclusion. In doing so, Milošević even takes the risk of breaching the ceasefire agreement and not signing the peace agreement. He disregards the international opposition in order to reach a set goal. Furthermore, the constitutional change has to be considered. It can foster the goal to strengthen the dominant position of Serbia in Yugoslavia. Milošević enforces this goal despite strong oppositional movements. Also, the armament of the Serbian police forces can be interpreted as a violent mean to reach a goal. Finally, also the intensification of repressions suggests task orientation as this fosters autocratic decision making.

Based on the information outlined above, it is to be concluded that Milošević's internal motivation and his task orientation predominate his personality. Therefore, the analysis results are mostly rejected. He is more strongly focused to reach a set goal than to establish relationships. Relationships seem to only serve the purpose to facilitate the accomplishment of tasks. That interpretation is

especially supported by his low ingroup bias. Milošević's mistrust in others seems to be stronger marked than the analysis results suggests.

#### **5.4 Resume**

When comparing the personality results of Milošević and the empirical actions, it becomes obvious that the analyzed traits are only partly confirm with the empirical data. All seven traits can be approved as well as rejected. However, the fifth chapter illustrates that Milošević is open to information from his environment. In this vein, he accepts constraints in form of contextual factors and the political orientation of his ingroup. This is facilitated by his specific characteristic of self-confidence, conceptual complexity, and his need for power and control. The fifth chapter contributes to the research question as it demonstrates that the influence of Milošević's psychological traits on the Kosovo conflict are far smaller than his personality analysis suggests.

## **6 Critical discussion**

The first part of this paper has demonstrated that the use of the LTA and the personality analysis involves problematic aspects. Therefore, this second part proceeds with a critical approach in order to facilitate a critical, constructive discussion of the theory.

### **6.1 Personality traits and leadership dimensions**

At first, the non-transparent genesis and the meaning of the personality traits and leadership dimensions for the analysis of a political actor are being discussed.

When applying the LTA, the question arises why specifically those seven personality traits are used to analyze the actor. Hermann's explanation is unsatisfying: The variables are used "because they have been found to relate to foreign policy behavior in several studies" (1980: 8). Winter explains more precisely that the traits represent the publicly visible, stylistic characteristics of the actor's personality (2003a: 31). Thereby he points to an important, in the theoretical literature neglected aspect. The LTA does not enable the researcher to carry out an analysis of the fundamental personality of the political actor but rather an analysis of his political, public personality. However, that still leaves the meaning of the personality traits of the actor unclear. This uncertainty can be found when comparing the authors Post and Mahdasian. Post declares the personality traits as consistent over time and across various topics (2003: 69) which is why he describes them as stable characteristics that can easily be analyzed. On the contrary, Mahdasian criticizes that the traits are falsely understood as invariant characteristics of the actor, though their dependence on contextual factors must be emphasized (2002: 136).

In the same vein, it is not transparent why (only) those three dimensions of the leadership style are considered. More so, the theory does not explain whether only the selected personality traits shape the particular leadership dimension. Hermann even relativizes the importance of the dimensions. "Leadership style can also influence what political leaders do. The influence, however, is more indirect" (Hermann 2014: 121). Leadership style should rather be understood as the context of the decision-making process and implementation (ibid). The conclusion can be drawn that an explanation about the importance and restrictions of the personality traits as well as the leadership dimensions is necessary for a better understanding of the theory.

Furthermore, it is to be criticized that the application of only seven personality traits seems rather limited, considering the complexity of the human psyche. The procedure creates a problematic, rigid categorization that does not satisfy the variety of human personality. Renshon acknowledges this fact by arguing that the personality analysis emphasizes specific traits too strongly (2003: 113) and therefore neglects other aspects of the personality. He points out that the LTA disregards the overall context. Although theories need fixed parameters by means of which the LTA can be applied, the

theory has to be open for discussion. The LTA theory cannot perform in such a way.

## **6.2 Theoretical concept**

The section below elaborates that the conceptual assumption of a causal relation between verbal output, political personality, and direct actions is problematic.

The LTA theory does not provide a valid explanation of the relation between the use of certain words and the implications for personality traits. The authors explicitly refer to assumptions that support the theory: "We assume that styles of speaking reflect characteristic nonverbal behavior" (Weintraub 2003: 138). The assumptions are in particular that the more often an individual uses a specific word, the more important its content is to the individual (Hermann 2003: 186). Furthermore, the personality of the individual influences the style of what the individual says and his choice of words. Communication also has meaning (Hermann 2008: 151) that allows to infer about the personality. However, these arguments are problematic as the theory is not based on profound linguistic research. That is why the assumptions are only assumptions. Also, the LTA does not provide the opportunity to research which specific meaning the words have for the individual under investigation which is why the inference on the personality is unfounded. The researcher can only obtain this kind of knowledge due to interpersonal exchange.

The concept also does not explain the relationship between the personality of the actor and his political actions. To what extent are his actions directly motivated by the analyzed personality? Hermann argues that the analyzed characteristics of the individual determine his orientation during the decision-making process and his reaction to the political environment. In this way, they are also transferred to his foreign policy (1980: 12). Furthermore, the underlying causal assumptions of the LTA have to be explained, considering it a political psychology theory. According to Hermann the goal of political psychology is to establish a causal relation "between what political leaders are like and the actions and policies of the institutions they run" (2014: 117). However, Mahdasian notes that this relationship between personality variables and political behavior is, to date, only based on assumptions. There is no sufficient research that can establish a direct link (2002: 145). Further research is necessary.

As another critical point, the relation between the use of words and explicit political actions has to be questioned. Since the connection between verbal output and personality is difficult, a link to allegedly consequential actions seems even more doubtful. Hermann argues that the way decision makers talk about political events shapes their expectations and strategies, and therefore finally their actions (2008: 153). However, the opposite seems more coherent. The perceptions and expectations of the individuals determine their choice of words, as well as their strategies and actions. Language appears to merely be the external intermediary rather than the initiator of



actions.

Beyond that, the assertion of Hermann and Preston that the individual characteristics of the actor influence his choice of advisers and therefore is conveyed into their foreign policy (1994: 75) has to be evaluated critically. That implies that the personality of the advisers has to be examined since they suggest options of action based on the way they perceive a political situation. Therefore, political advisers shape political actions at least as much as the decision maker.

Special attention should also be paid to the conceptual critic of Mahdasian which puts the stability of the personality profile and therefore the validity of the LTA fundamentally in question. Mahdasian was able to prove through his research that the analyzed results of the personality traits change over time. Differences in the personality profile are even evident on a daily basis (2002: 120). In the same vein, do the addressed topics prove a significant relevance for the profile (ibid: 102). The profile is also different when the basis is spontaneous or non-spontaneous material (ibid: 73). Though this seems not be true for my research (see appendix 2.3, 2.4), Mahdasian demonstrates that the personality profile depends strongly on the data basis. Consequently, it raises the question whether the verbal content analysis at-a-distance is an appropriate method in the context of LTA research.

### **6.3 First image approach**

The first image approach is problematic due to two reasons. It disregards contextual information and miss-represents the position of individual actors within the collective, political process.

First, it has to be criticized that situational and contextual factors of the decision-making process are neglected due to the focus on the individual actor in the context of his personality analysis and the consequential explanation of political events. Thus, the second and third image in the form of systematical constraints and domestic processes are being ignored. Yet, especially the political system, the cultural setting, situational specifics, available political resources, as well as the public opinion frame the options of decision and action. The decision maker is limited to choose actions within this frame.

Even though the authors explain that the context influences the political actions, this concession is under-represented in the theory. Hermann writes that different political-systematic structures favor or impede the personality traits (1980: 13). Furthermore, the decision-making process is limited by the available input (Hermann and Hermann 1989: 362). Winter calls this "if-then" correlation (2003a: 36). However, these critical remarks are relativized by Post who outlines that the core of political decisions are always the personality of the actor (2003: 69). Although the authors acknowledge the importance of contextual information, these are not considered during the personality analyzing process and in the concept. The researcher has to conduct the contextualization of the results

autonomously.

Moreover, the first-image approach establishes a misleading relation between the political decision maker and society. Renshon criticizes that extensive social and historical events are being explained through an individual psychology (2003: 113). An individual is being centralized in an essentially collective, political process. Thus, the relevant influence of the constituency, the ingroup, (political) elites, advisers, and domestic as well as foreign policy actors is being neglected. The first image approach incorrectly conveys the impression that the decision maker possesses absolute autonomy.

The strict focus on the individual is based on the assumption that this individual and his political personality strongly influence the decision-making process and the implementation of political actions. Renshon clearly states: "The psychology of presidents matters enormously" (2003: 105). Their perceptions, values, as well as their ambitions and the associated psychology do make a difference (ibid). The authors Hermann and Hermann justify the first image approach because they perceive the decision maker as the ultimate decision-making unit (1989: 362). He holds a position of power that allows him to make decisions concerning political resources ultimately, independently, and irreversible. Even though there are indeed substantial domestic and extraterritorial forces that influence his political actions, this influence has to be filtered through the actor (ibid). Hermann also argues, the individual is focused because the LTA is based on psychological theories that perceive the individual as the appropriate research unit (1986: 5). Even though the research subject stands in relation to the group, the determining research unit is the individual character.

It can be inferred that the decision maker holds a powerful position of authority and therefore is able to exert power on the political course of action. However, the analysis has to include contextual information and has to be embedded accordingly because the political process is being done collectively. It should be stressed that the analysis only looks at an individual case and cannot be generalized. It is to be questioned whether it is possible to interpret an event on the basis of an individual psychology although the case proves to have such strong external forces. However, the method adds value to the methods of social science because it highlights a specific aspect within the context of a social phenomenon. Since political actions are conducted by humans, an anthropological, psychological explanation is valuable.

#### **6.4 At-a-distance method**

The critical remarks about the at-a-distance method refer to the lack of interpersonal profiling whereby important information are neglected. Due to the abstract application of the theory, nonverbal, body language information is not considered. However, according to some body language specialists, they significantly constitute the communication process. Furthermore, information about the tone and voice are not considered that can indicate what kind of content is

important for the individual. Also the public context, the setting, and the atmosphere are not considered when developing the personality profile. However, this kind of information is important in order to contextualize the verbal content. Moreover, the personality analysis is not based on a personality test but on indirect conclusions whereby the researcher's interpretation of the verbal content varies significantly. In comparison, the reason for choosing the at-a-distance method has to be considered. The method allows to assess individuals that are otherwise inaccessible. However, it could be improved by considering nonverbal information. Experts in body language and voice training could examine visual aspects in recordings of speeches and interviews and add this information to the LTA analysis.

## **6.5 Verbal content analysis**

The critical discussion of the verbal content analysis calls the diversity of meaning and interpretation of words into question and stresses the impact of the researcher's perceptions for the results of the research.

The strong importance that is given to verbal content seems to contradict with the positivistic methods of the LTA research. Even though the words serve as quantitative, abstract variables, it has to be noted that they were chosen by individuals to express a certain meaning. That is problematic because words have different meanings for different individuals. It is questionable for example whether the word 'moral', that is used to code, has the same meaning for all political decision makers and therefore makes possible to reflect the same personality variable. Our language is not a transparent mean to depict an absolute and universal reality. Hermann justifies the recourse to the verbal content analysis as it serves to analyze individuals that are inaccessible for a personality test (1980: 14). It is a way of examining individuals that does not require cooperation (Hermann 2003: 178). Therefore, the method seems purposive rather than optimal. The focus on words would be more suited within a discursive approach.

Moreover, it has to be remarked that the application of personality traits, as presented in the theoretical literature, seems problematic. Even though the literature offers comprehensive definitions, there is a major scope for interpretations. For example, it is not clear what the parameters that define relationship orientation really stand for. Relationship oriented actors strive to establish camaraderie and morality. Yet, it is not clear how a political actor establishes morality. How can he establish camaraderie within a people that comprises a vast amount of people? Furthermore, there are overlaps between the personality variables. Respecting contextual factors is a parameter for conceptual complexity, the belief in the ability to control events, as well as self-confidence. That introduces the question whether there is a correlation between the variables and what that implies.

The above laid out illustrates that the researcher strongly impacts the personality analysis and the application of the LTA. The theoretical literature addresses that issue, “Systems of verbal analysis that depend upon the measurement of meaning demand the exercise of subtle judgment by scorers” (Weintraub 2003: 137). Hermann also explicitly refers to conclusions that are inferred from the verbal data (2008: 151). Renshon adds that the study of political personality, based on verbal output, is only an attribution to the decision maker. The perception and disposition of the researcher greatly influences his interpretation (Renshon 2003: 126). No researcher is exempted to have a reaction to the material (ibid: 127) that will influence his research. That impact should be known to the research and disclosed in his paper.

## **6.6 Material**

The following section discusses challenges that emerge due to choose of analytical material and the English language as the code system.

The research holds great responsibility when collecting the verbal data (Renshon 2003: 121) because the choice of material impacts the result of the personality research. The setting and recipients strongly affect the verbal content because the words and phrases are orientated accordingly. The person that conducts the interview should receive special attention because he directs the course of the conversation. Furthermore, Hermann remarks every decision maker has a secret part that he will not show publicly. Examples are personal motivations to seek offices, the notion not to be held responsible for what he states publicly, or only to state publicly what attracts support (Hermann 1980: 27). Also, it has to be noted that many political document and correspondences are under seal (Winter 2003b: 176). All this clearly shows that the choice of analyzing material influences the result.

Furthermore, it has to be considered that Hermann prefers interviews as analyzing material (2003: 179). Speeches are written by speechwriters and rather represent their political personality. Although this fact seems true due to the focus on the exact choice of words, this should not imply that speechwriters are totally independent of the decision maker. Instead, the political actors deliberately and carefully choose their speechwriters, and the speeches have to be approved by the decision maker (Winter 2003b: 174). More so, this should not blind to the fact that even interviews are not truly spontaneous and free. Even here the decision maker is exposed to the influence of others. For example, he typically receives guidelines ahead of an interview on what positions to take, and often interview questions are agreed upon. Also, the setting and the audience impacts the actor and his choice of words.

The above laid out calls into question whether it is at all possible to analyze the personality of a political decision maker based on verbal content analysis; especially because public material deliberately represents an opinion (Renshon 2003: 117). Yet, Winter remarks that public material of

the decision maker is perceived as his own and therefore he and others act accordingly (2003b: 174).

In the context of this bachelor thesis (originally published in German) another challenge arose because the code system is based on the English language. Hermann notes that the use of translations is problematic because it is not possible to translate the exact same meaning of words in different languages (2008: 157). LTA researchers that do not speak the same mother tongue as the research subject are faced with another challenge; they have to rely on the correctness of the information presented by the translator. It is questionable whether the translator is able to grasp and convey the exact meaning that was intended by the actor. Not only does he face semantic challenges, even more so do personal biases and the target audience influence the translations. It is even problematic to examine verbal material in English of a non-native English-speaking subject. It is to be assumed that the verbal content deviates from what the actor intended to express. Besides the linguistic aspect, also the systematic, cultural, and political context of the decision maker is decisive for his statements (Hermann 1986: 6), however this information is disregarded when translations apply. Even though Hermann relativized the impact of translations in several studies, from a semantic and cultural anthropological standpoint, the LTA theory has to be narrowed down to the English linguistic area. A cross-country analysis that uses politics as a homogenizing element and ignores contextual factors is problematic. That finding also puts Hermann's comparative study in question.

## **6.7 Coding**

The critical thoughts concerning the LTA coding refer to the 'dictionary', the guidelines for coding, and the software Profiler Plus.

First, the use of the 'dictionary' has to be assessed critically. Neither the theoretical literature, nor the specific description by Hermann (2002) on how to apply the LTA provides a transparent explanation about the specific words that were used for coding the personality traits. The literature does not provide the number of words used as codes nor an explanation why these specific words were used. There is a major difference between the description of Levine and Young that hand-coding of personality traits is only based on ten indicators and that coding instructions are rather limited (2014: 2), respectively to the description of Dyson that Profiler Plus today is based on a comprehensive dictionary (2006: 291). No explanation is provided for the difference. Disclosure of this fact would be helpful in order to assess the personality results. That kind of information might also shed light on distinctions and overlaps between personality traits. For example, what is the difference in coding for the word success that indicates the personality variable Ingroup Bias as well as relationship orientation? Furthermore, it has to be considered that the 'dictionary' constantly requires updates. New words or phrases enter common language, meanings change, and new political actors or events happen that individuals refer to.

In another point, the guidelines for the verbal analysis have to be critically discussed. The number of 50 verbal units of a minimum of 100 words seems random since Hermann does not provide an explanation for the number. Mahdasian assumes that the number was limited because hand coding requires an enormous amount of workload (2002: 147). Yet, he criticizes that one-word-answers such as 'absolute' are ignored because of the 100-word specification (ibid: 59). However, precisely that word is important when coding for conceptual complexity. He also remarks that the strict guidelines and the preference of interviews constrain the research process. Instead, he advocates for analyzing all material available (ibid). It can be inferred that general guidelines are useful to allow various LTA researches to be compared; however, the existing ones have to be questioned.

It should also be questioned whether the computer-based coding process is an appropriate instrument. Is the computer software able to understand how sentences and words are connected and how they relate to a specific context? For example, the trait self-confidence is coded in reference to words that demonstrate how the individual evaluates himself in relation to the personal pronoun. Although the program codes by sentence and section, the personal pronoun might be found in the same sentence or section as the evaluation. Moreover, the program might not be able to understand stylistic phrases such as rhetorical questions, metaphors, antitheses, or euphemisms. Therefore, the analysis of instrumental speeches seems difficult. However, the challenges of a technology-based analysis have to be contrasted with the advantages. Verbal material can be analyzed in a greater amount, less time, and less expenses apply. Also, LTA based researches are comparable and less depended on the judgment of individual researchers due to a standardization. However, it would be misleading to assume the computer software is absolutely objective. The coding guidelines were developed by individuals that hold specific views and therefore only represent a limited part of the (linguistic) reality.

Furthermore, it is problematic that the output of the software only comes in a table like this: HD 587, LD 2687, DIS 0.1793. It can be inferred from this result that the individual exhibits 0.1793 mistrust in others. The value is calculated by 587 indicators that demonstrate strong mistrust in others, and 2687 indicators that demonstrate little mistrust. Yet, the result is not transparent. It would be helpful to enclose a list of words that were used to code for the trait in order to allow the researcher to evaluate the result. Moreover, the result of 0.1793, which demonstrates very weak mistrust, speculates the fact that the actor also demonstrated strong mistrust in 587 cases.

## **6.8 Comparison study**

Another point that has to be critically discussed is the development of the personality profile based on the comparison study of Hermann. First, it should be positively remarked that standardization is necessary in order to allow for interpretation of quantitative research results. Also, the study

demonstrates comprehensive research undertaken by Hermann. It represents an international median and therefore declares validity.

However, there are several challenges. The study incorrectly suggests that the comparison group is homogeneous. In the same vein, it mistakenly suggests a comparable context for the decision maker under investigation and the decision makers within the comparison group. The political function is used to unify the research subjects, however that neglects the very important political context of the individuals. Hermann argues that even the political decision makers within a country can be extremely different (2008: 169). Yet, her study examines 209 decision makers from 48 countries. That also incorrectly suggests the comparability of cultural and historical factors. Moreover, do these decision makers come from different political contexts and systems whereby the influence of systematic, contextual factors are undermined. It has to be added that the comparison study comprises a difficult time aspect. The examined decision makers were in office between 1945 and 1999 (ibid). However, (international) politics have changed dramatically since and therefore call in question how contemporary the study is. It can be inferred from this outline that the study should be updated and background information should be disclosed. In this way, the researcher can better evaluate the development, the examined actors, geographical aspects, and the historical context. Furthermore, it should be noted that the study might be subject to biases that were introduced during its development since it is likely that primarily decision makers were examined that provided comprehensive verbal material. Finally, Mahdasian notes that the study was developed through hand-coding that is based on a minimal amount of words (2002: 59). Yet, today, the study serves as a comparison for research that is developed through computer-based analysis comprising the comprehensive 'dictionary'. The comparison study urgently has to be updated.

## **6.9 Theoretical Position**

The following section will discuss the theoretical positioning of the LTA and the corresponding method. The aspects under discussion are the positivistic approach, the empiricism, and the causal research design.

Positivistic research methods are problematic in the field of social sciences because they require the reduction of reality. Also, they are based on quantitative, causal relations that are not consistent with the vast variety of social realities and human actions. Within the LTA frame, leadership style is being calculated through the mean and standard deviation of a personality trait that was determined by quantitative methods; yet that result describes complex human behavior and largely non-researchable traits. Furthermore, by applying positivistic methods, a necessary discourse is suppressed. It also leads the researcher to think in fixed terms and falsely represents society and the individual as a closed system. That discounts social processes and the greater context.

On the other hand, it has to be argued that positivistic methods are a legitimate scientific position. Their application can be justified in the context of this paper because it is based on psychological methods. Apart from this, the approach can be justified in the context of the LTA because it is intended to be a practical concept. When applying research to such practical situations as touched by the LTA, it is beneficial to have positivistic findings that do not allow a margin for discussion and interpretation.

Furthermore, the research position of empiricism is to be discussed. This paper is based on an empirical approach as the personality analysis is accompanied by a comparison with empirical material. In doing so, it is problematic that the empirical reality is reproduced in a restricted manner due to a lack of sources of material that touch on every aspect respectively to the enormous number of events, as well as the subjectivity of the author in form of his political and personal biases. Therefore, certain empirical events are focused whereby reduction occurs and errors apply. The researcher ascribes too much importance to the analyzed results; however, he refers to limited parts of reality (Renshon 2003: 113). That causes the problematic referral of too much to too less (ibid). Moreover, public material is inaccurate because every author has a specific perspective through which he explains events (ibid: 116). Therefore, it has to be disclosed in the process of the research why the specific empirical sections were chosen. Here, the influence of the primary authors has to be mentioned because they present the empirical events subjective. The researcher that receives and reproduces their literature introduces a second subjectivity because he chooses which empirical events to include. Furthermore, it has to be considered that empirical approaches do not allow for processes because everything is fixed beforehand. That could lead to verifying research.

As another point, the theory's claim for a causal explanation has to be questioned. The goal of LTA research most commonly is framed by the question 'How does the political personality of the decision maker impact his political actions?' (Walker and Post 2003: 63). Renshon adds as criticism that the personality traits are not perceived as part of a complex context within which the establishment of causal relations are questionable (2003: 113). The causal approach misappropriates contextual information. Within the social sciences it is especially problematic to make causal predictions (ibid: 127) as it neglects the enormous variety of human reality.

#### **6.10 Contextualization**

In order to understand the LTA theory, it is important to illustrate its formation. The approach seems to have an inherent, underlying negativity. For example, Hermann introduces her work by outlining that LTA research generates the portrays of political decision makers that drive their government to aggressive agendas. These individuals exhibit a strong need for power, low conceptual complexity,



and a nationalist attitude (Hermann 1980: 7f). Therefore, the theory appears to ascribe blame and responsibility to allegedly bad people. However, that creates a problematic bias. A justification for the assumptions of the approach might be the neorealist influence during the development of the theory. During the Cold War, the psychological examination of political actors is being developed by American security agencies (Post 2003: 52). The incentive was to support the domestic decision maker with comprehensive psychological analysis of the addressed foreign political decision maker. The focus is their behavior, style of negotiation, strategies, crisis management, and rhetoric (Post 2003: 69). That focus demonstrates the presence of negative associations during the development of the theory and might explain its orientation. Since the theory was developed for the purpose of practical application, the closedness of the theoretical system and the causal approach might be explained. A discussion of the analyzed results is not desirable. Instead, it is important to examine the orientation of the political counterpart in order to improve cooperation. Even the first image approach can be explained through the historical context. The political decision maker is perceived as the central actor because there is less non-state, civil society influence.

#### **6.11 Remarks on the results of this research**

The following section discusses the results of this research as presented in the fifth chapter. First, it has to be criticized that the centralization of Milošević, in the context of the Kosovo war, is a misrepresentation. Due to the singular focus, it may seem as if he is the only person responsible. That is clearly to be rejected. The analysis shows that the Serbian people and the (political) elite have a strong influence on his actions. The centralization arose due to the first image and psychological approach that is focused on the individual. That perspective is enriching for this paper because the individual actor Milošević, who holds a highly significant position, is being examined in detail. However, it has to be questioned whether certain actions that were ascribed to him during the analysis have indeed been conducted by him. Especially the actions during the Kosovo conflict like human rights violations and ethnic cleansings were conducted autonomously by the police forces rather than by direct action of Milošević. In the same vein, many actions have to be attributed to his advisers because they prepare instrumental statements and media campaigns rather than him. It is questionable for example, whether Milošević made himself or was made the freedom fighter of the Serbian nation. Moreover, in several situations Milošević does not seem to hold an executive position but provides an initiative. An example is his speech at Kosovo Polje that generates support of the attendees and therefore triggers aggressive actions against Kosovo-Albanians. Milošević's contribution to this happening is merely to give the speech; the actions are being executed by the police forces and legitimized by the Serbian people. Therefore, it has to be questioned how valid the attributions of the sixth chapter are. Furthermore, it has to be criticized that the empirical events, as presented in the third chapter, are abstract happenings; however, in the context of the LTA they are being perceived as explicit actions by Milošević. This interpretation is based on the presentation of

facts in the empirical literature. Furthermore, it has to be noted that the descriptions only comprise a very limited range of reality. Important developments and background information are being neglected.

In this context, a problematic phenomenon has to be highlighted. The presentation of Milošević as bearing sole responsibility is widespread in the literature and media. For example, Milošević is often being described as the 'Butcher of the Balkan' (Tatum 2010: 109). As the introduction of this paper demonstrated, Frey describes this as 'Hitler-Syndrome' (2005: 8). Frey demonstrates that media spreads exaggerated depictions that are wrongly accepted by public opinion. Thereby, the enormous responsibility that Milošević bears is not to be downplayed, however the media demonization of him is to be criticized.

As another point, it has to be reflected that Milošević does not exhibit the character traits as expected beforehand the analysis. According to received authors, he is narcissistic (Wirth 2002: 295) and strongly obsessed by his will to gain power (Husic 2007: 24). It was to be expected that Milošević exhibits a strong need for power, a strong believe in his ability to control events, as well as a distinct self-confidence. As a matter of fact, however, the results of his personality analysis show great insecurity, reliance on the ingroup, and respect for contextual information. That shows that the literature depicts wrong attributions that the reader incorrectly accepts. That default demonstrates the advantages of LTA research. The LTA tries to illustrate the internal perspective of the actor instead of relying on external attributions.

The most important knowledge gained while developing this paper is the realization that the comparison of the analyzed character traits and the empirical data is not based on valid proof. The analyzed character traits as well as the personality traits can be interpreted in vastly different ways. The theory provides only little precise instructions. For one, the same empirical event serves as support as well as the reason to reject one specific personality trait. An example is the empiric event of the constitutional change when discussing the personality trait Ingroup Bias. Moreover, the empirical events are open for interpretation. For example, what is the personalized, extra-institutional network that Milošević establishes and that is considered when discussing three personality traits (Need for power, task orientation, believe in the ability to control events)? Also, certain empirical events seem to support various variables and are therefore considered more than once. For example, the regard for contextual information serves as support as well as the reason to reject the traits need for power, believe in the ability to control events, as well as self-confidence. It can be inferred that the correlation is not based on valid reasoning but on the specific interpretation of the researcher. That holds the risk to conduct verifying research. Also, it shows that the LTA cannot explain all aspects.

## 7 Possibilities and Constraints

As a result of the critical discussion in the sixth chapter, the following section outlines the possibilities and constraints of the LTA theory. That provides an answer for the second research question. The sixth chapter demonstrates that the LTA is no holistic approach. The points of criticism mark the constraints of LTA research. Therefore, the following section outlines the most important suggestions for improvement. It would be helpful if the literature explicitly stresses that LTA depicts the *political* personality of the actor. Arguing on this basis, the diffuse traits and leadership dimensions might be explained better. In doing so, it has to be considered that the decision maker holds a specific (political) role upon which's requirements and attributes he acts. Therefore, he has always to be perceived in the context of his political function as well as the prevailing social and systematic factors. That also lessens the problematic first image approach. The LTA literature should furthermore highlight that political decision are not ordinary, but take place under special circumstances. That fact might explain the conceptual tirade between verbal output, personality, and actions. Moreover, as criticism at the at-a-distance method, the internal perspective of the actor should become more relevant through interpersonal exchange between the decision maker and the researcher. That reduces the prevalence of problematic external attributions as part of the verbal content analysis. It would also be desirable to review the comparison study, the coding guidelines, and the software. Finally, it is important to point out that the application of the research results on empirical data exceeds the LTA theory. It is an attribution made by the researcher.

Several findings, that are critical aspects of the LTA, may at the same time well be seen as positive. Thus, the focus on a single actor emphasizes individual responsibility and keeps the researcher from translating negative politics to the public. Instead, responsibility is put in the hand of an individual which creates a moral plea to other decision makers. Hence, the approach appears to be forward-looking because it highlights the enormous influence of a specific actor on the political process. Moreover, the first image approach appears practical since politics are always interpersonal exchange. It is not an abstract system that operates, but diplomats with specific perceptions, attitudes, and consequential actions that determine the political path. Besides that, the LTA can indeed illustrate process and dynamics. Politics changes over time. Whereas the fundamental systematic and constitutional frame is unchanged, new individuals, that are influenced by societal and cultural attributes, enter that frame on a regular cycle. They are being focused in the LTA. It is also positive that the LTA gives salience to verbal statements. That gives more attention to the content of what political decision makers say. As another point, it has to be considered that the LTA contributes to important areas of politics due to the interdisciplinary approach because it opens the Black Box 'Individual'. Political Psychology should be strengthened within the field of political science because it touches on important aspects such as theories of conflict, individual misuse of power, leadership, or group processes. Finally, the approach also holds an important practical component.

## 8 Conclusion

The most important finding of the bachelor thesis is that the LTA has to be assessed critically. That addresses the second research question: 'What are the possibilities and constraints of the Leadership Trait Assessment theory?'. The constraints of the approach are foremost the first image approach and the at-a-distance method. Besides that, challenges arise when applying the theory due to semantic aspects, unclear theoretical definitions, as well as non-transparent conceptual correlations between verbal output, personality, and political actions. Also, the comparison study, coding guidelines, and the theoretical position are problematic. Due to these problems, it is evident that the LTA is not a holistic approach which is one of its constraints because the theory seems to claim this quality. That stops a very important scientific discourse. In contrast to that, the possibilities of the approach prevail. The strongest advantage is the focus on an individual actor. The Black Box 'Individual', that is often neglected in political science, is opened. Furthermore, the LTA highlights individual responsibility that people in public offices hold. Finally, politics that is often perceived as abstract and a process is evaluated from a psychological-anthropological perspective and therefore highlights the acting human. Finally, the possibilities of the theory are based on the practical approach.

The results of the bachelor thesis relate to the first research question: 'How do the personality traits of Slobodan Milošević, that are analyzed based on the Leadership Trait Assessment Theory, impact the Kosovo conflict of the 1990s?' Applying the LTA to the case example was important in order to develop a deep understanding for the approach and to derive profound criticism. The paper showed that the comparison of personality traits and empirical data strongly depends on the interpretation of the researcher. Therefore, the comparison is not based on valid reasoning. However, the findings of this research mostly support the analyzed personality traits of Milošević. It becomes evident that Milošević is focused on contextual factors, external information, and the regard for the needs of others. Moreover, he needs a high degree of support and confirmation. As a result, the strong influence of the Serbian people, advisers, and other political actors is evident. On the other hand, the findings also contradict the analyzed personality traits of Milošević's believe to control events, his mistrust in others, and his relationship orientation. As a result, it can be inferred that Milosevic's traits indirectly impact the Kosovo conflict. He reacts according to the desire of his ingroup by drawing antagonizing ethnical borders and pursuing a nationalist agenda. In this way, group-processes take place and violent actions are made possible. That is the beginning of the Kosovo conflict. The Kosovo conflict is possible because Milošević exhibits a low self-confidence and need for power as well as a relatively high conceptual complexity. That combination allows him to be open for information from his environment.

The appeal to work with the LTA is its interdisciplinary approach that can enhance many areas of political science. Also, the practical component of the theory, that was made for real-world application, is appealing. Such approaches are neglected in the field of political science and thus should be highlighted.

The bachelor thesis has to be criticized because I conducted research based on the LTA theory without the appropriate theoretical, psychological, academic background. It has to be reflected whether the application of the LTA can be performed in a convincing manner without comprehensive training in profiling, verbal content analysis, and the LTA theory. Furthermore, it has to be criticized that the paper refers to 'the Serbian' and 'the (Kosovo-)Albanians' which wrongly suggests homogeneity. Moreover, the paper misappropriates the positive aspects of the LTA due to the focus on the critical discussion of negative aspects. Finally, it has to be noted that especially the first part of the paper is greatly shortened. The reduction of the empirical data and the explanation of the findings of the personality analysis are due to the guidelines of the bachelor thesis. Yet, the goal of the paper, to explain and apply the LTA, was successfully achieved. It would be desirable to expand the findings of this research.

The merit of this paper is surely the comprehensive critical discussion that is developed besides the common application of the theory. This paper exceeds others because it supports as well as rejects the findings of the personality analysis. That allows to demonstrate that various alleged facts about Milošević and the Kosovo war are in fact attributions made by others. Furthermore, it shows that uncritical acceptance of theoretical literature and empirical data can be misleading.

Regarding future LTA researcher, this paper advocates two things. First, it would be enriching if the LTA theory would be part of a comprehensive discussion in order to enhance and update it. Second, the paper strongly advocates a real-world related issue. Despite several problematic aspects, the paper demonstrated the enormous influence that individual decision makers can have on international politics. Considering current nationalistic, populist movements, it is a highly important issue and has to be strengthened in political science.

## Appendix

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## 2 Tables

### 2.1 Comparison study Hermann

	87 Heads of state	122 Political leaders
Believe in ability to control events	Average= 0.44 Low < 0.30 High > 0.58	Average= 0.45 Low < 0.33 High > 0.57
Need for power	Average= 0.50 Low < 0.37 High > 0.62	Average= 0.50 Low < 0.38 High > 0.62
Self-confidence	Average= 0.62 Low < 0.44 High > 0.81	Average= 0.57 Low < 0.34 High > 0.80
Conceptual complexity	Average= 0.44 Low < 0.32 High > 0.56	Average= 0.45 Low < 0.32 High > 0.58
Mistrust in others	Average= 0.41 Low < 0.25 High > 0.56	Average= 0.38 Low < 0.20 High > 0.56
Ingroup Bias	Average= 0.42 Low < 0.32 High > 0.53	Average= 0.43 Low < 0.34 High > 0.53
Task or relationship orientation	Average= 0.59 Low < 0.46 High > 0.71	Average= 0.62 Low < 0.48 High > 0.76

## 2.2 Results of LTA personality analysis of Milošević

Personality trait	Value	Amount indicators high	Amount indicators low	Comparison	Result
Believe in ability to control events	0.3284	598	1123	Average = 0.44 < 0.30 > 0.58	Average
Need for power	0.3043	545	1246	Average = 0.50 < 0.37 > 0.62	Low
Self-confidence	0.4865	434	458	Average = 0.62 < 0.44 > 0.81	Average
Conceptual complexity	0.5302	3452	3059	Average = 0.44 < 0.32 > 0.56	Average
Mistrust in others	0.1793	587	2687	Average = 0.41 < 0.25 > 0.56	Low
Ingroup Bias	0.1577	244	1303	Average = 0.42 < 0.32 > 0.53	Low
Task or relationship orientation	0.6090	1830	1175	Average = 0.59 < 0.46 > 0.71	Average

### 2.3 Results of LTA personality analysis of Milošević based on non-spontaneous material

Personality trait	Value	Amount indicators high	Amount indicators low	Comparison	Result
Believe in ability to control events	0.3669	153	264	Average = 0.44 < 0.30 > 0.58	Average
Need for power	0.3196	132	281	Average = 0.50 < 0.37 > 0.62	Low
Self-confidence	0.3072	47	106	Average = 0.62 < 0.44 > 0.81	Low
Conceptual complexity	0.5308	1139	1007	Average = 0.44 < 0.32 > 0.56	Average
Mistrust in others	0.2009	268	1066	Average = 0.41 < 0.25 > 0.56	Low
Ingroup Bias	0.1796	88	402	Average = 0.42 < 0.32 > 0.53	Low
Task or relationship orientation	0.5583	546	432	Average = 0.59 < 0.46 > 0.71	Average

### 2.4 Results of LTA personality analysis of Milošević based on spontaneous material

Personality trait	Value	Amount indicators high	Amount indicators low	Comparison	Result
Believe in ability to control events	0.3167	445	960	Average = 0.44 < 0.30 > 0.58	Average
Need for power	0.2995	413	966	Average = 0.50 < 0.37 > 0.62	Low
Self-confidence	0.5230	387	353	Average = 0.62 < 0.44 > 0.81	Average
Conceptual complexity	0.5305	2324	2057	Average = 0.44 < 0.32 > 0.56	Average
Mistrust in others	0.1641	319	1625	Average = 0.41 < 0.25 > 0.56	Low
Ingroup Bias	0.1476	156	901	Average = 0.42 < 0.32 > 0.53	Low
Task or relationship orientation	0.6338	1286	743	Average = 0.59 < 0.46 > 0.71	Average

## 2.5 Leadership Style Milošević

Dealing with constraints Accepts constraints	Believe in ability to control events Average
	Need for power Low
Openness for information Open for information	Self-confidence Average
	Conceptual complexity Average
Motivation Intern and external	Mistrust in others Low
	Ingroup Bias Low
	Task or relationship orientation Average

### 3 Information about the verbal material

#### Material

Amount documents: 44  
Amount verbal units: 319  
Amount words: 90.290

#### Spontaneous material

Amount documents: 29  
Amount verbal units: 304  
Amount words: 57.127 (63%)

#### Non-spontaneous material

Amount documents: 15  
Amount verbal units: 15  
Amount words: 33.163 (37%)

#### Recipients of the spontaneous material:

Serbian media: 10  
International media: 9

Serbian media is: Sky Television, Radio Belgrade, Antenna TV, Belgrade TV, Radio Television Serbia, Serbia TV, Serbian Radio, Politika  
International media is: France 2 TV, Time Magazine, Washington Post, UPI, KHOU TV, Fox News, AP

#### Recipients of the non-spontaneous material:

Serbian Congress: 5  
Serbian Assembly: 2  
Serbian People: 7  
International Criminal Tribunal Yugoslavia 1

#### Year of the documents

Year	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1995
Amount	1	1	3	1	3	6	12	1

Year	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Amount	1	1	1	5	4	2	2

#### Topics of the spontaneous material

General classification	Specification based on frequency of reference (top-down)
International Intervention	sanctions, international (military) intervention, international negotiation, mediation, conference, UN, NATO, international public opinion, Vance-Owen Plan, Cooperation
International Relations	EU, United States, Greece, Russia, Germany
Serbia	Economy, elections, domestic policy, Socialist Party, National Assembly, media, censorship, instrumental speeches, discharge of journalists, public opinion, developments of the future, nationalism, communism, international isolation, education system, history of the nation
Yugoslavian	Bosnia, Kosovo, developments of the future, conflict, Muslims, opportunities for freedom, humanitarian aid, Montenegro, Croatia, Great Serbia, Macedonia, federal structure
Milošević	Trail at the ICTY, war crimes, remorse, fear, legitimacy of the ICTY, family situation, career

**Topics of the non-spontaneous material**

General classification	Specification based on frequency of reference (top-down)
Serbia	economy, sanctions, market, trade, political situation in Yugoslavia, conflicts, difficult history, opportunity for freedom, future developments in Yugoslavia, political situation in Serbia, party system, social party, left wing party, political agenda, constitution, Kosovo, Serbian people, culture, society
Nationalism	Freedom, unity, obligation, solidarity, willingness to sacrifice, success, identity, isolation, patriotism
History	Second world war, Kosovo battle 1389, refugees to Serbia, developments of politics and society in Yugoslavia
Violence	war, war crime, violence, illegal ICTY and international intervention
External actors	International Aggression, humiliation, intimidation, NATO, UN, threat, belonging to Europa

**Sources online:** C-Span, CNN, AP, ICTY, Mount Holyoke College, Roskilde University, University of Arizona, Blog `Slobodan Milošević, YouTube

## Curriculum Vitae

### Academic Education

2013 - 2016	BA Cultural Anthropology (GPA 3,7)
2014 - 2017	BA Political Science (GPA 3.8)

### Internships

09/01 – 12/18/2015	Transatlantic Dialog Program Washington DC
01/11 – 03/11/2016	German Mission to the United Nations New York
04/06 – 06/16/2017	Hudson Institute Washington DC

### Further Education

03/24 – 03/27/2015	American Indian Workshop: Indigenous Self-Determination
05/29 – 05/31/2015	Simulation Game: Humanitarian Intervention Kosovo Conflict
07/12 – 07/22/2016	International Summer Academy in Pristine (Kosovo): „Peace building in post-conflict areas. Diplomacy, Leadership and Negotiation. “
09/07/2016	Webinar: “Terrorism and Media”
11/18 – 11/20/2016	Seminar: “Rhetoric and Communication”
11/24 – 27/11/2016	Seminar: “German asylum and migration policies”
02/27 – 03/03/2017	Seminar: “International Security. New challenges for the armed forces”

### Research Projects

07/12 – 07/27/2016	Anthropological Field Research in Kosovo
04 – 05/2017	Quantitative Research: “Terrorism and Media”

### Stay Abroad

2012/2013	Six months Work and Travel in New Zealand
2013	Four months Work and Travel in Southeast Asia
2015/2016	Ten months internship United States
2017	Four months internship United States

### Special Achievements

2014/2015	Scholarship of the German Nation
2015/2016	DAAD PROMOS Scholarship for studies abroad
Since 2016	Scholarship of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation
2016	Scholarship of the Goethe University for research abroad