T.C.

ANTALYA BİLİM UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF POSTGRADUATE EDUCATION

GLOBAL POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

THESIS PROGRAM

OPERATIONAL CODE ANALYSIS FOR THE CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER JUSTIN TRUDEAU: AN ATTEMPT TO UNDERSTAND THE OUTCOME OF THE NEW NAFTA

DISSERTATION

PREPARED BY

AHMED RAWHI ABOU ALKHAIR

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THESIS ADVISOR
ASSIST. PROF. DR. BURAK TOYGAR HALISTOPRAK

ANTALYA 2022

APPROVAL/NOTIFICATION FORM

ANTALYA BİLİM UNIVERSİTY

INSTITUTE OF POST-GRADUATE EDUCATION

AHMED ABOU ALKHAIR, a master's student of Antalya Bilim University, Institute of Post Graduate Education, Global Politics and International Relations with student successfully defended the dissertation entitled "OPERATIONAL CODE ANALYSIS FOR THE CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER JUSTIN TRUDEAU: AN ATTEMPT TO UNDERSTAND THE OUTCOME OF THE NEW NAFTA", which he prepared after fulfilling the requirements specified in the associated legislations, before the jury whose signatures are below.

Academic Title	**Name-Surname**	**Signature**
Thesis Advisor	**: Assist. Prof. Dr. Burak Toygar Halistoprak**	
Jury Member	**: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Buğra SARI**	
Jury Member	**: Assist. Prof. Dr. Dicle Korkmaz**	

Director of The Institute:

Thesis Submission Date : ……..

Thesis Defense Exam Date : ……

ÖZET

KANADA BAŞBAKANI JUSTIN TRUDEAU İÇİN OPERASYONEL KOD ANALİZİ: YENİ NAFTA'NIN SONUÇLARINI ANLAMA DENEMESİ

Kanada Başbakanı Justin Trudeau, Kanada Liberal Partisi'ne üyedir ve dış politikayı yürütmede derin liberal değerlere ve liberal yönelimlere sahip olmasıyla tanınmaktadır. Bu tez, Justin Trudeau'yu politik psikoloji alanına özgü olan operasyonel kod analizini kullanarak incelemektedir. Tez, Justin Trudeau'nın siyasi fikirleri ile 2017'den 2021 yılına kadar Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ne yönelik dış politika davranışı arasında bir bağ olup olmadığını anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmanın ana hipotezi, Justin Trudeau'nun diğer Kuzey Amerika liderlerinin biçimlenme grubuyla pozitif bir ilişki içinde olmasıdır. Bu bağlamda, bu araştırma Trudeau'nun liderlik tarzının kara kutusunu ve NAFTA'ya yönelik son değişiklikler ışığında dış politika tercihlerini çözme girişimi olarak Kanada Başbakanı Justin Trudeau'ya operasyonel kod analizini uygulamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeleri: Operasyonel Kod Analizi, Dış Politika Analizi, NAFTA, Justin Trudeau, Siyasal Psikoloji

ABSTRACT

OPERATIONAL CODE ANALYSIS FOR THE CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER JUSTIN TRUDEAU: AN ATTEMPT TO UNDERSTAND THE OUTCOME OF THE NEW NAFTA

Canada's Prime Minister Justin Trudeau is a member of the Liberal Party of Canada and is known for his profound liberal ideals and liberal foreign policy orientations. This thesis examines Justin Trudeau using the Operational Code Analysis (OCA) framework, which is a political psychology specialty. This thesis aims to see if there is a link between Justin Trudeau's political ideas and his foreign policy behavior toward the United States from 2017 to 2021. The central hypothesis of this thesis is that Justin Trudeau has a positive correlation with the norming group of other North American presidents. In this context, the study uses operational code analysis on Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau in an attempt to decipher the black box of Trudeau's leadership style and foreign policy preferences in light of NAFTA's most recent amendment.

Keywords: Operational Code Analysis, Foreign Policy Analysis, NAFTA, Justin Trudeau, Political Psychology

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

First and foremost, I heartedly put forward a plethora of my gratitude towards Allah for all the blessings, hardships, support, and mercy bestowed upon my shattered existence as a Palestinian refugee. To you, I am forever your servant.

I would like to extremely thank my unique parents Rawhi Abou Alkhair and Suzan Alassouli, for their endless kindness, efforts, and patience throughout the building of the man I am today. Had it not been for them by my side, I couldn't be able to finalize this dissertation. I extend my thanks to all my siblings for all the fun, talks, and annoying times we have lived together.

I like to sincerely and explicitly express my gracious appreciation to my supervisor Professor Burak Toygar Halistoprak. I was introduced to the subject of foreign policy analysis and political psychology throughout my academic experience as master's student, and it piqued my interest quickly. Professor Halistoprak has been an essential figure in the process of building up the faculty of my understanding of what's beyond verbal and textual conductance of leading FP behaviors.

Moreover, the experience that I have had at Bilim University regarding the academic staff has been one of the best throughout my educational experience. I share with all the respected professors my utmost gratitude for every word I have learned, every thinking session attended, and every knowledge acquired through you.

Furthermore, I would like to thank Professor Michael D. Young for helping provide access to Social Science Automation programs. I cannot give my academic contribution without mentioning my special Prof. Dr. Areen Khalifeh for her kind and valuable academic advice and guidance. Thank you all.

I would like to additionally extend my appreciation to two key figures that I am honored to have in my life and to whom I owe my most profound gratitude. First, my dear friend Abdulelah Hamed for his essential role in my personal and intellectual growth for more than a decade and hopefully in the years to come, many thanks for all the shared dwelling of thoughts and back and forth debates and discussions. You have been an absolute motivator to me.

Second, my dear colleague Marah Alhasan for her resilience in pushing me forward to follow my dreams without looking backward. Hats off to you. You have been an astonishing supporter of my well-being.

Finally, I am never hesitant to be thankful for the person who stood with me through all my existential bummers and pushed me patiently towards reaching this point of my life. Thank you, Ahmed Abou Alkhair.

Cordially

Ahmed Rawhi Abou Alkhair

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CP : Conservative Party

CRS : Congressional Research Service

CUSFTA : Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

DHS : Department of Security

DPSEPC : Department of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness

DT : Donald Trump

FP : Foreign Policy

FPA : Foreign Policy Analysis

IPSOS : Institut de Publique Sondage d'Opinion Secteur

LP : Liberal Party

LTA : Leadership Trait Analysis

NA : North America

NATO : North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NAFTA : North American Free Trade Agreement

NG : Norming Group

NORAD : North American Aerospace Defense Command

OCA : Operational Code Analysis

OECD : The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

PJBD : Permanent Joint Board on Defense

PCA : Paris Climate Accord

PM : Prime Minister

SD : Standard Deviation

TIP : Theory of Inferences about Preferences

UN : United Nations

USA : United States of America

USMCA : United States – Mexico – Canada

VICS : Verbs in Context System

WWII : World War II

CHAPTER 1

A BRIEF OVERVIEW

1.1 Introduction

Studies of foreign policy analysis (FPA) are critical to understanding how nations, individuals, and international interact. To identify these levels of analysis, a range of evaluation methodologies and research is going to be used under various scopes and instruments. Each side debates the best method for determining the optimal approach to FPA, such as the realist, behavioral, or constructivist approaches. The failure of realists to forecast the fate of the Soviet Union, on the other hand, has put the state-level analysis viewpoint on power in jeopardy. Rather than emphasizing governments as a source of power or leaders' rationale for conducting FP, social scientists have focusing leaders' decision-making process.

The Individual-level study is going to focus more specifically on the cognitive functions and behaviors that leaders may exhibit while conducting foreign policy FP. Within this context, recognizing human beings as an essential actors of any state may reveal that all other actors are reliant on the decision-making of the state's leaders. The realist perspective does not deny that leaders influence states in their actions; however, their influence pales in comparison to the state's (Waltz, 1979).

The influence of leaders is evaluated by cognitive and behavioral studies in politics as a means to open the black box of decision-makers. The novel work of Richard C. Snyder et al. on decision-making units has paved its way through FP analysis as the earliest attempt to redirect the focus of power on leaders rather than states (Snyder et al., 2002). His scope of the study has gathered social scientists to build their research on decision-making actors.

These researches provide various assessment tools for leaders' beliefs and personalities as causal mechanisms that can be applied to different actors. That is to say, understanding the psychology of leaders and how it influences their international decision-making will lead to a better understanding of their subjective beliefs and policy

preferences. This aspect could aid in predicting the leader's attitude toward various decisions and methods desired along the road. To go with the realist understanding of power and the rationality of leaders' decision-making is to suppress their differences in psychological traits, knowledge of power, and influence as acting units (Young & Schafer, 1998). For example, Adolf Hitler's perception of power led to terrifying results in international relations among nations (Shirer, 1941). Hence, to turn a blind eye to his personality and psychological differences means to suppress his cognitive influence as an individual.

In correspondence, the subfield of Political psychology that mixes political science and psychology has immensely focused on leaders' personalities and beliefs as a means to understand their behaviors. Mainly, an actor-specific array of assessment frameworks has been employed to serve the analysis of leaders, such as (1) Integrated Personality Study and (2) Trait Analysis, and (3) Cognitive Analysis (Post et al., 2003). Integrated personality studies cover the work of Jerrold M. Post on Assessing Leaders at a Distance: The Political Personality Profile (2004) and Stanley A. Renshon's work of Psychoanalytic Assessments (2004).

On the other hand, Trait analysis studies by Margaret G. Herman on Leadership Trait Analysis (1999), and Walter Weintraub's work of Verbal Behavior and Personality Assessment. While the studies on cognition are covered by the work of Alexander George on Operational Code Analysis (1967), which later Stephen G. Walker, Mark Schafer, and Michael D. Young contributed to this assessment tool (Schafer & Walker, 2006; Walker et al., 2018a; Young & Schafer, 1998). These studies attempt to integrate the psychological drives that underline the decision-making process inside leaders by understanding their interactions in a given situation regarding FP.

1.2 Significance of the Study

This thesis aims to apply the operational code analysis theoretical framework to the Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau to understand the outcome of the latest North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) dispute between Canada and the United States. Whereas NAFTA is considered the biggest trilateral trade agreement

between North American countries. in the last couple of years, when Donald Trump came to power, he addressed some of the problems that agreements like NAFTA and NATO harm the U.S. more than benefit them. With Justin Trudeau facing an unusual republican leader, his political tone has changed towards what he might see internally as a threat (Brown-Kaiser, 2018). Both leaders have started a verbal war when both countries have put tariffs on imports, evoking the very essence of the free trade agreement. By finding Trudeau's operational code, the researcher can identify the how and the why of the NAFTA results.

Building up upon Walker and Schafer (2006) on the bases of individual knowledge and the need for power, the significance of this study is about finding two main key points: (1) Justin Trudeau's operational code analysis (OCA), giving the convincing of the results from previous studies on leaderships studies and their implications on FP analysis on different leaders (Canbolat, 2014; Post et al., 2003; Schafer & Walker, 2006; Walker, 1990; Walker et al., 2018a, 2018a).

It is convenient to say that Operational Code Analysis has been a popular theoretical framework for analyzing leaders' FP orientation. Therefore, the study of Justin Trudeau, where this research is trying to answer, will not only contribute to the literature on the OCA of the Prime Minister but also (2) will try to investigate the nature of the prime minister's discourse, strategic influence on renegotiating NAFTA while facing an unconventional leader like Donald Trump (liberal vs conservative).

1.2 Research Questions

The questions in this thesis are grouped into three categories. The following are the research questions: (1) What is the operational code of Justin Trudeau? (2) What are Justin Trudeau’s strategic preferences regarding the making of FP? And (3) how does the leadership style of the Canadian PM play a role in the resolution of the NAFTA crisis with the United States?

1.3 Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy

In post-winning of the highest voice in October 2015, the prime minister Justin Trudeau claims that Canada is back. Further, Justin Trudeau has climbed the political ladder in a fashion that today's era can relate to his policy preferences. He is an advocate of people's voices and pushes down the liberal views all over the globe (Robertson, 2020). The most prominent FP objectives can be divided into two categories: First, his policy preferences regarding the international relations are gender equality and climate change. The second category is his domestic policy preferences which have been an existing issue since his late father, the former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, such as reconciliation, unity, and "Uncle Sam," as Robertson put it (Robertson, 2020, p. 2).

1.3.1 International Policy Preferences

The issue of gender equality has been around the table in Canadian domestic policy until PM Trudeau introduced his first cabinet. The cabinet formation, as a point of progress, consists of a gender-balanced committee with 15 women and 15 men. By doing that, he shapes a seeming module for the world to follow, which represents unity in diversity and an assessment of his values. With him calling himself a "feminist," Robertson claims he didn't receive attention from the rest when he gave a speech during a UN forum on women in 2016 (BBC News, 2016; Robertson, 2020; Shenoy, 2019). To support his political goal of gender equality via women's empowerment, his government passed pay equity legislation and sparked the introduction of a feminist budget. Moreover, he maintains his political views throughout the 2018 G7 Charlevoix session, emphasizing the importance of women's empowerment in Canadian society and worldwide.

Regardless of the critics, the idea of calling for gender equality and the empowerment of females is not something that only started with Trudeau's government, but it is an extension of the former Prime Minister Stephen Harper's efforts (Robertson, 2020). Moreover, in a report written by the McKinsey global institute, Canada is addressed by: "Accelerating progress toward gender equality" is not only a moral and social

imperative; it should also deliver a growth dividend for Canada. In a new report from the McKinsey Global Institute (MGI), the power of parity:

"Advancing women's equality in Canada, we find that by taking steps to address this issue, Canada could add $150 billion in incremental GDP in 2026 or see a 0.6 percent increase of annual GDP growth." (McKinsey Global Institute, 2017)

Second, are his concerns about climate change. Canada is a cold country, and the idea of resisting and trying to try decreasing the damage done by climate change will mean a presence of a critical of Canadian's approach to its natural resources like coal, gas, and oil pipelines. Since climate change exists because of the overuse of mainly coal, gas, and oil, Canada faces difficulties in managing the cold weather without these necessary natural resources (Robertson, 2020). And with many conflicts regarding what François Legault called dirty oil (Mylène Crête, 2018), the issue of clean energy usage raises between Alberta and Quebec proveniences, and the call for the pipelines was canceled due to this inner conflict. Another pipeline deal - the Northern Gateway pipeline- was canceled by Trudeau's government, which launched even more distress than unity in the Canadian society.

On the other hand, in Paris Climate Agreement, Trudeau firmly assured the international community that he was optimistic about global efforts to narrow global climate change (Trudeau, 2015). Such promises mean that, again, the federal government finds itself in a critical ordeal with the domestic demands, which causes a collision course between its worthiness to lead and the Canadian people, especially the indigenous people.

1.3.2 Domestic Policy Preferences

The indigenous people in Canada represent 4.9% of the total population of Canada. They are divided into Métis and Inuit. Around 1,670,000 people. According to Trudeau, they have called for reconciliation of the Indigenous people of Canada as an initiative that shows support to them. His first act was to sign the UN Declaration on the

Rights of Indigenous people in 2016 (OECD, 2020). Trudeau claims that Canadians have spent decades focusing on international poverty and human rights goals while failing their indigenous people. This issue addresses the apologetic character of Trudeau; he sees that the history of the indigenous people continuing genocides is a fatal mistake that the colonial powers are to blame.

This respectively leads to another national preference which is the idea of unity. Canada is a diverse country that holds many different ethnic groups that have different dialects, traditions, and belief systems. This aspect, by default, entails a multiculturalism norm within the Canadian provinces and multicultural coexistence. With such means, the idea of unity gets a bit out of reach because of how much pressure groups exert on their domestic and international demands. Trudeau is no stranger to such challenges since he frequently emphasizes the importance of unity while overlooking the fact that domestic demands can be difficult. As previously mentioned, by signing the Paris Climate Accord, Trudeau is attempting to demonstrate a level of commitment to this global concern that may undermine domestic problems (Robertson, 2020).

To fulfill his promises regarding the issue of climate change, Trudeau imposes a carbon tax for cities that do not meet the required level of lowering carbon usage. Another issue is the need in some provinces for oil and gas pipelines, which the Trudeau government has canceled due to the increased risk of global warming. Unity becomes much more complex when groups are not satisfied with the options presented on the table, especially groups that weigh for any given society. Even though Canadian people do not seem to disagree, in general, about the global warming issues, they can be seen as an advocate for solving this issue (Lemiski, 2019; Robertson, 2020)

Moving forward, the relationship between Canada and the U.S. goes beyond sharing borders, as Trudeau puts it:

"To say that the U.S. is our closest ally is an understatement. Canada has long benefited from this relationship and American leadership in the world. We are friends and partners more than mere allies. We share more than just a border – we share culture,

food, music, and business. We share a rich history, and we share many of the same core values." (Trudeau, 2019).

Canada has always sought to keep the U.S. in close ties by sharing the borders, culture, trade, and market. Such relationships exist in the United States and Canada and have been strengthening since the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and have progressed with North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD). Both nations have a shared 5,525-mile border and a similar background and ideals. They have substantial commercial and business relations, and in recent years, Canada and the United States are collaborating with others on issues related to intelligence and military.

The United States and Canada collaborate, nationally and internationally, to increase trading and defense viability and to speed up the lawful movement across the two nation's commodities and services. Where the objectives of the initiatives between the countries are: to identify and assessment of risks early; a legal trade and travel between borders; increasing in cooperation between intelligence (Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, 2021; Dawson & Speer, 2016)

Overall in wholly, Canada's issue with the U.S. is identified with former president Donald Trump's opposes Trudeau's policy preferences between the two nations. Some of these issues are unconcern about climate change, declining and refuting NAFTA - which is an eccentric solid agreement between the two countries- as well as migration-related issues (Dawson & Speer, 2016; IPSOS, 2017; Meyer & Fergusson, 2021; Robertson, 2020).

1.4 Case Selection: NAFTA Dispute between Justin Trudeau and Donald Trump

To initiate with, the relationship between the two leaders is between a liberal leader and a conservative leader. They differ in views, beliefs, and FP orientation domestically and internationally. North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was implemented in 1994 between Canada, Mexico, and the U.S. Its main objective is to

reduce tariffs and taxes on imports to enhance trade between them (AL Jazeera, 2017; Relations, 2018). Other goals of NAFTA are to liberalize textiles, car manufacturing, and agriculture within the context of trading between the three countries.

Moreover, the trade agreement extends to protect intellectual properties so that companies revive the economy forward, which in return creates more job opportunities. This result accrues in Canada and U.S. seeing an eruption in their overseas investment, which caused a prosperous economy. In 2013, The United States invested roughly $368 billion in Canada, while Canada's exports to the United States have reached $346 billion. Although the Canadian relationship with the U.S. is strong and a mutual agreement is present, many disputes have happened between Trudeau and Trump. Since Trudeau won the elections in 2015, the management of the relationship between the Two Countries has been a major area of his diplomatic concerns. Overall, Canada's ties management with the U.S. Shapes an important priority because Canada relies on US market access and is benefiting from US defense spending (NATO).

However, during the Trump administration, the relationship became unstable and more challenging. Trump raised his concerns and questions regarding several foundations of the partnership between the USA and Canada. Also, he expressed concerns about the U.S. NATO commitment in addition to renegotiating NAFTA and withdrawing from the international accords and institutions previously endorsed by both. During his campaign, Trump claimed that the objectives did not result in the predicted increase in the United States over time but instead resulted in a considerably lower number of job opportunities:

"At the center of this catastrophe are two trade deals pushed by Bill and Hillary Clinton: First, the North American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA...NAFTA was the worst trade deal in history... I'm going to tell our NAFTA partners that I intend to immediately renegotiate the terms of that agreement to get a better deal for our workers. And I don't mean just a little bit better. I mean a lot better. If they do not agree to a renegotiation, I will submit a notice under Article 2205 of the NAFTA agreement that America intends to withdraw from the deal." (Politico, 2016; Staff, 2016)

Throughout his speech addressing NAFTA, Donald Trump shows many negative responses on how badly it damaged U.S. citizens. Also, he refuses to keep the same agreement name, and avoiding to offer any commitment with Canada on whether to include Canada alongside Mexico or not, says Trump:

"I'm not going to use the name NAFTA. I refuse to use it. I've seen thousands and plants and factories close. I've seen millions of jobs lost to auto companies that move. What we're probably going to do is call it the "USMC," ... USMC, which would be the US, Mexico, and Canada. But it will probably or possibly be just USM. It will be the United States and Mexico." (Trump, 2018).

In approaching this dispute, Trump highlights issues that damage the American economy. These issues are addressed explicitly by Trump regarding economic and security relations between both countries, which are under NAFTA, such as softwood lumber, dairy, intellectual property, steel, and aluminum tariffs (Chatzky et al., 2020). As a counter agreement, an incident that occurred at the G7 summit of 2018 that have made things more critical between the two countries. Justin Trudeau remarks on tariffs:

"I told the president that we would be moving forward with retaliatory equivalent tariffs as of July 1st, and he expressed to me that he thought that would be a mistake, and I certainly agreed that it's not something that we want to do we do not want to harm American workers, we do not want to harm trade between Canada and the United States but the administration's choice to impose illegal and unacceptable tariffs illegitimate and unacceptable tariffs to Canadian steelworkers in Auto Workers only...."(Trudeau, 2018c).

As the verbal war went on, President Trump left the G7 summit early, but he did not let Trudeau go without hearing a straightforward answer, "Mild and Meek"(Connolly & Kalvapalle, 2018). Entirely in wholly, the back-and-forth responses have created more disagreements between the two nations' joint trade. These remarks between the two leaders have been seen as a trigger that made both of them feel insulted.

In Trump's opinion, an insult is based on not going head-to-head as it looks. Putting an unfair tariff on your closest ally or neighbors, on the other hand, is a massive insult for Trudeau. Then this thesis will move on to a detailed examination of Justin Trudeau's operational code and FP choices concerning the NAFTA disagreement with Donald Trump.

1.5 Outline of the Chapters

The following is the thesis structure and primary arguments. The first chapter provides a brief outline of this thesis, discussing different significant themes. It emphasizes the most critical aspects of the dissertation, such as the questions, the significance and relevance of the research, and the case study. The second chapter begins with a review of the literature on FPA. It goes over some of the critical literature for the research topic. Besides, it gives a broad overview of numerous leadership analysis tools, such as Leadership Trait Analysis, as well as diverse approaches to research methodologies that can be employed in decision-making studies. The literature review is then oriented toward the thesis's core, which is the coding process of Operational Code Analysis. It goes over the framework chosen for the analysis and the collection of typologies for the operational code. Finally, the section has been updated to include NAFTA literature to provide a comprehensive understanding of the conflict between Canada and the United States.

Moving forward, the connection between Canada and the United States is the focus of Chapter three. It examines their long-standing friendship and how their shared borders have aided in forming cooperative relationships. It also discusses the two countries' economic agreements, security collaboration, environmental concerns, and disagreements.

The research designs and techniques are discussed in the fourth chapter. Further, the hypothesis and research questions are highlighted in this chapter, and the instruments used to conduct this research are listed in the research design section of this chapter. VICS, Profiler Plus, and the speeches chosen for this study are those instruments.

Somewhere the dependent variable and independent variable are both mentioned and discussed in length in this section.

The discussion and analysis chapter is the fifth chapter of this thesis. Wherever The opening section of this chapter provides an overview of the chapter's expectations, the chapter aims to answer research concerns about Justin Trudeau's operational code analysis and FP preferences in general. Also, the application of operational code on Justin Trudeau brings forward the added value of the dissertation. Then, it concludes by analyzing the outcome of NAFTA throughout the results of Trudeau's operational code.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 An Overview of International Relations

Classical International Relations (IR) theories have played an important role in understanding the macro level of analysis, which mainly highlights Idealism and Rationalism. Before the end of the bipolar world, both of these schools were considered the most important schools that put a lot of weight and hold an intrinsic reason for the exercise of power. The school of idealism stands on that human nature is good and that they would choose peace over war. Idealist practice holds a link to liberalism in a way that both schools share optimism in human nature (Han et al., 2018).

The argument relies on that all human beings are rationalists, and in times of war they aspire for peace more than war. While on the other hand, realists believe that because of power, human beings are naturally egoistic and self-centered. Human nature according to the classical realists has been shaped in an era where multiple wars existed and power play in the past, and they are pessimistic about the nature of human beings (Singer 1961). The early work of Kenneth Waltz and David Singer employs only two levels of analysis, which are the systemic level (International) and the state level (National) (Singer, 1961; Waltz, 1959). The Systemic level and state level are identified within the macro-level of analysis, while the individual level is on the micro-level (Gebhard, 2016; Hudson, 2005a; Hudson & Vore, 1995; Smith, 1987).

2.1.1 Systemic Level Analysis

The systemic level stands according to the author provides a holistic approach to the international level as actors. This level makes it possible to see and assess international relations patterns, and this is only possible from a systemic point of view. Also, it makes observers provide a general overview of the international relations regarding the creation, changes, and dismantling of a political system, and it enables us to see the timeline of a given power configuration for a descriptive need.

While this level of analysis possesses such a holistic understanding of international relations, this level also presents crucial disadvantages. Singer argues that the general approach to IR brings negligence on different factors such as state autonomy and that each state has independency of choice. In other words, it does not allow observers and researchers to get into the details of what constitutes systems, and it neglects other possible actors such as states, institutions, individuals, and society (Singer, 1961). Moreover, Singer adds to it that, since it is not possible to have global uniformity of national actors, then it is not of any relevance to claim that the systemic level is the key to understanding systems.

The work of Hans. J. Morgenthau on the systemic level introduces a critical aspect that Singer points out as problematic. He states that Morgenthau's argument regarding the identicality of states brings shortcomings in the reality of differences. In other words, if the international systems are to be seen as actors, then it is logical to say that it is no different than any other individual actors who are by default different from one another. Therefore, to say that all states are identical in terms of their political aim and that all states look for the maximization of power is not a solid ground on subject analysis and it creates a black box. The black box here is supposedly the other forces that observe can analyze to get a clear picture of the intra-state relations, and by rejecting the differences of nations, we can not reach determined conclusions.

2.1.2 State Level Analysis

The second level of analysis is state-level. As one deeper level than the systemic level of analysis, the state level of analysis focuses much on the physical factors including country size, geopolitical locations, wealth, economy, and demographic, including the form of the government like the political structure or institutions (Singer 1961). With these components, Singer highlights that they are crucial to classify how strong states are, ranging from weak, moderate, or great power states, in which they provide power to those governments that possess physical and material dynamics to reach their political aim.

However, material dynamics in the state-level analysis are not the essential determinants, he argues that the state system may be more effective. In that sense, an

overlap between his point of view and democratic peace theory occurs, which claims that democratic systems do not go to war with each other because of the commonly shared values (Gebhard, 2016; Han et al., 2018; Hudson, 2005a; Hudson & Vore, 1995; Singer, 1961; Smith, 1987). On the other hand, Singer also raises some red flags about state-level analysis. He points out that even though this level allows us to not stick to the systemic level claim of homogonous systems, much focus on differences between states produces a fallacy of exaggerating, which then lead us to have much more complex factors than might be present. In other words, when the observer gets to the point where there can and might be an infinite amount of differences between nation-states, then this opens the door for human judgment to be a bias toward what the observer believes to be a virtuous objective truth(Singer, 1961).

Moving forward with the issues of this level is, is the idea of motives and goals of a national state. Says Singer:

"Though it may well be a peculiarity of the Western philosophical tradition, we seem to exhibit, when confronted with the need to explain individual or collective behavior, a strong proclivity for a goal-seeking approach." (Singer, 1961, p. 84).

He pinpoints that following this level solely to conduct an analysis raises the question of agency. Agency in the sense of, can we say that the conceptual or the physical attributes of what constitutes a state as a unit that can stand out alone without the presence of true agents' (Individuals) motives and purposes?. Within the context, Singer argues that social causality is a necessity in identifying an analysis based on an agent that can not take decisions on it is own, but rather dependent on other factors within the state as well.

2.2 Foreign Policy Analysis and Individual Level Analysis

Foreign Policy Analysis is an International Relations (IR) branch that focuses on FP matters. States' interaction with each other impacts state domestic politics (Han et al., 2018). FPA is the only approach that would be the FP explanatory of the States and other actors that subscribe to the International Relations field. In other words, FPA is an analytical level that emerges from the endeavor to understand the FP variables and

mechanisms used to formulate, assess, and execute FP decision-making (Hudson & Vore, 1995; Oppermann & Spencer, 2011). Thus, FPA on decision-making is considered a sub-field of IR. It attempts to identify states' attitudes by the examination of the decision-making process, and the variables affecting the process.

In a specific sense, the emergence of FPA as an area of focus goes back to the product of the failure of IR theories to oversee the change of the world after the cold war. It goes hand in hand with the fact that the end of the cold war turned the world upside-down because of the unexpected fall of the Soviet Union, thus, ending the bipolar world. In FPA on Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow, Hudson and Vore state that FPA's actual emancipation and heavy contribution started after Second World War (Hudson & Vore, 1995).

Following the previous review on the classical IR, theories conduct their analysis on the systemic -level and state-level to address unitary agents. The realist approach of IR before the fall of the Soviet Union focused on the state as the main decision-making unit, neglecting other actors such as individuals, groups, and international factors. In light of being a dominant discourse, the realist approach has substantially been overthrown with the emergence of new tools and theories to understand the system's unique structure, expanding the need to understand the FP in a more sophisticated manner and diverse manner.

On the other hand, FPA extends beyond the state, as the world's sole and most potent actor, to include one more level of investigation: Individual-Level Analysis. The interaction of the state and its inhabitants with international relations is known as FP. Besides, a collection of objectives, tactics, and strategies is adopted by a government to stimulate public interest. FPA has produced many theoretical perspectives that no longer entail just the classical IR approach, which mainly aims at the state or national level as the most crucial factor. State's interrelations made a significant contribution toward creating a different unit of analysis that their main argument focuses on proving that states are no more important than other variables and levels of analysis such as individuals, groups, organizations, and systems (Han et al., 2018; John, 2019; Norwich University Online, 2017). The research of Hudson and Vore (Hudson & Vore, 1995) highlights that some works have played an essential role in the expansion of FPA

discourse, which includes the results of James N. Rosenau (1966), Richard C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and Burton Spain (1954), and Harold and Margaret Sprout (1956).

Moreover, the foundations that the scholars of FPA landed and marked have showcased the importance of understanding the variables that undergo the decision-making process, as well as the need to highlight information about these variables to expand the scope of theories. By this, it entails that the work on ideas has shaped the consistency of scholars to involve multilayers analysis that exceeds the state-level analysis. Also, Hudson argues that the process of building FP analysis theories shouldn't, by all means, undermine the operation of the policymaking process (Gebhard, 2018; Han et al., 2018; Hudson, 2005b; Hudson & Vore, 1995; Smith, 1987). Although the state-level of analysis may be conceived as the base structure analysis in FPA, Snyder states that it's not limited to it:

"We adhere to the nation-state as the fundamental level of analysis, yet we have discarded the state as a metaphysical abstraction. By emphasizing decision-making as a central focus, we have provided a way of organizing the determinants of action around those officials who act for the political society. Decision-makers are viewed as operating in a dual-aspect setting so that unrelated internal and external factors become related in the actions of the decision-makers precise ways of relating domestic factors have not been adequately developed." (Snyder, Bruck, and Sapin,1954:53).

Moving forward in the literature, various FPA theories have been applied to decision-making actors. As a result, the actor-specific method focuses on a single actor's decision-making process at a time to reveal the minute elements that went into the formulation of FP. In retrospect, in FP Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations, Hudson argues that only human beings as physical entities have the necessary cognitive functions to be natural agents. At the same time, the concept of "state" cannot be a solid agent of referral.

These actors – agents- is who enrich such concepts to be perceived as actors or states (Hudson, 2005). Therefore, besides human agency, the author points out that the actor-specific approach involves other aspects of the decision-making process with theoretical paradigms that are interwound with multilevel, interdisciplinary, and integrative features. Hudson, alongside many scholars, identifies three levels of analysis:

International level, national level, and individual level (Gebhard, 2016; Han et al., 2018; Hudson, 2005; Hudson & Vore, 1995; John, 2019; Oppermann & Spencer, 2011; Smith, 1987).

Nevertheless, an Individual-level analysis does not necessarily refer to one actor but deals with a broader aspect of uniting factors and actors. Han and his colleagues state that many approaches have contributed to FP analysis, including the behavioral system. This approach focuses on individual decision-makers, their beliefs and orientations, their psychology, and their environment. Moreover, the book argues that these variables connected to the study subject shape their FP. Since the research aims to assess the data by applying the Operational Code Analysis framework, leadership approaches to FP decision-making are vital to identifying an individual-based analysis that undergoes different aspects and variables.

2.3 Leadership Approaches in Foreign Policy Decision Making (FPDM)

In addressing leadership studies in FPDM, political psychology is an essential scope of an array of attempts to explain multiple undergoing factors within leaders when making an FPDM, says Hudson:

"The mind of a foreign policy maker is not a tabula rasa: it contains complex and intricately related information and patterns, such as beliefs, attitudes, values, experiences, emotions, traits, style, memory, national, and self-conceptions. Each decision-maker mind is a microcosm of the variety possible in a given society." (Hudson & Vore, 1995, p. 217).

Accordingly, political psychology work can assess and evaluate leaders' decision-making process. Generally, various political psychology research approaches categorize two sorts of data collection: psychological constructs and methodology (Canbolat, 2014). Both categories highlight different types of research data gathering that are idiographic and nomothetic. In general, idiographic and nomothetic methods are not

different in research methodology. They both aim to have a generalized understanding of leaders' political patterns, but they differ in their data analysis aspects.

Idiographic research highlights specifics about individuals by gathering extensive data on a narrow scale like an event or a case. Researchers who use idiographic aim to excavate into the deep psychology of the matter of a leader for them to be able to foresee or visualize of leader's purpose. Therefore, this methodology uses psychobiography to investigate and assess an in-depth analysis of a leader's pattern that shapes their political behavior. Further, data collection and analysis for idiographic research examines biographies, and interviews, with the application of behavioral (Canbolat, 2014; Crossman, 2019).

On the other hand, nomothetic research focuses on extracting general patterns that are derived by analyzing data on a large scale, which can result in giving some psychological traits and applying them to many leaders that exert or show the same results when conducting their political aim. Found that the Data analysis approach for nomothetic research examines an extensive survey in databases and content analysis that mainly deals with statistical data that undertake the quantitative approach as the primary technique. Therefore, at-a-distance analysis relies primarily on the content that can contribute to the research of leaders that scholars like Margaret G. Hermann and Alexander L. George introduced in leadership studies.

2.3.1 Leader Trait Analysis (LTA) by Margaret G. Hermann

The Leader Trait Analysis (LTA) is a branch of leadership studies that focuses on the decision maker's characteristics such as purpose, personality, qualities, and decision-making style in explaining FP choices. The LTA attempts to categorize leaders according to their characters, focusing on their FP dispositions (Hudson & Vore, 1995). During the decades, researchers started to analyze sides of the politician's and leaders' lives, speeches, lexical choices, and many other things for a specific goal in each analysis. Hence, Hermann focuses on the personal traits of a leader because the author claims that the person's beliefs in choices and the way that the leaders conduct their FP may affect our lives, and the decisions that leaders take, by default, become affected by their personal beliefs. Furthermore, Hermann states that it is not easy to

analyze the personality traits of a leader, and this is due to their sensitive place and how it will not be acceptable to simply ask leaders to take a test to analyze them (Hermann, 1999)

Within such fundamental insight, Hermann highlights the importance of the interviews and the speeches in analyzing a leader. The writer argues that in discussions, the leaders are partially spontaneous, and they are alone where no one is helping them in deciding what to say and what to avoid, and this plays a vital role in studying their information, reactions, opinions, and how they talk. This will help the researchers know more about a leader and how these traits they noticed in a leader can affect their political choices and people's lives (Levine & Young, 2014).

Additionally, Hermann also shares that one of the analysis traits focuses on the leader's interviews with TV and social media with many different resources (Hermann, 1999). This entails that the analysis data are gathered by collecting all the leader's interviews and analyzing them by keeping in mind how spontaneous or not the discussion is. Hermann highlights that it is so important to pay attention to this detail because of the number of channels and social media interviews that gives the option of revision by leaders where they can decide what to keep and what to delete, which in return, will create inaccurate results. Herman also highlights that due to the diversity of polities and ideologies today, world leaders become more challenging to analyze in-depth. Besides, LTA relies on a framework that is then followed by a set of typologies that Hermann put forward in the literature (Hermann 1999; Levine and Young 2014).

2.3.2 Operational Code Analysis

The unexpected fall of the Soviet Union was a game-changer for many classical international relations theories that were aimed at state-level analysis. This aspect has pushed theorists to establish a more thorough understanding of actor-specific or individual-level analysis of the black box of leaders (Schafer & Walker, 2006b). In this regard, operational code analysis is an actor-specific assessment tool of FP that highlights the psychological aspects of leaders. It is an at-a-distance approach that examines the set of beliefs of a leader within society (Schafer & Walker, 2006b; Walker et al., 1998). The beliefs about leaders operate Systemic ally throughout a set of

questions that are asked about the leader's process of decision-making (George, 1967; Schafer & Walker, 2006b; Walker, 1983).

The operational code's key difference from the mainstream IR application of understanding FP is the application of the very aspect of individual-level analysis (George, 1967). This level of analysis stands on explaining political leaders and their belief schemes. Unlike the rational choice theory, which highlights that all actors are rational when they make FPDM, operational code is an attempt to understand FP preferences among the others by understanding leaders' perceptions and their complex belief systems. This is to highlight the importance of leaders' decisions on the approach that countries follow towards decision making. Hence, leaders' choices in policies are as important as other levels of analysis.

Moving forward, operational code analysis uses two types of coding procedures: (1) hand-coding and (2) automation software. In the past, researchers used hand coding as the tool for measuring the number and the indicative meaning of verb utterances. According to Walker and Schafer (2006), hand-coding consumes a lot of time for researchers to produce a paper or study operational code. This is considered one of the setbacks that hand-coding has, and it requires a lot of work (Schafer & Walker, 2006b). Another setback of hand-coding is that human errors which is presented and prevent the researchers from producing an accurate measurement of statistical studies. Moreover, Hand coding faces issues related to human bias, which can further contribute to personal political preference in applying operational code analysis.

On the other hand, Walker (2006) states that profiler Plus has eliminated those setbacks. Social Science Automation (www.socialscienceautomation.com) has introduced the software to be an utterly at-a-distance tool, and that was the reason behind the flourishment of political psychology studies (Dyson, 2001; Feng, 2005; Hermann, 1999; Malici & Buckner, 2008; Post et al., 2003; Renshon, 2009; Schafer & Walker, 2021). Nevertheless, the question of validity vs. reliability begs to differ.

The argument between the two coding methods is related to double folds. And the use of software coding is 100% categorized as a reliable source of help. However, the problem with this method is that it limits the number of verbs coded for speech selection. On the other hand, the hand-coding way is more efficient in the subject by

analyzing the meaning behind phrases than computer coding. Nevertheless, since we are talking about human beings, the coding procedure can become difficult due to factors like "bias, fatigue, and idiosyncratic differences in coders" (Schafer & Walker, 2006b, p. 39).

2.3.2.1 Development of the operational code analysis framework

The Operational Code was first introduced by Nathan Leites in two of his works, Code of the Politburo (1951) and A Study of Bolshevism (1953). In Leites' work, A Study of Bolshevism, beyond Merton's sociological approach to organizational decision-making, Leites adds to operational code analysis, social psychology, and psychoanalysis. He initially characterized Politburo's common reaction repertory as a set of decision-making rules, such as push to the limit (in a conflict scenario), and axioms, such as politics is a war, that made up the world view on which these rules were based on. Then, using a psycho-cultural examination of the underlying impulses linked with Bolshevism and their manifestation in various degrees in the personalities of Lenin and Stalin, he explained their roots (Walker, 1990).

In the book The New Foreign policy: Power Seeking in a Globalized Era written by Laura Neack, the author highlights that foreign policies and actions that are done by leaders create a sort of a map that gathers the behaviors, principles, and beliefs systems of leaders. These maps work as keys for analysts to conduct an analysis framework for further study. It is performed by analyzing the leader's analogies and pronouncements that expound his worldview. Hence, her book emphasized Operational Code Analysis (OCA) which is seen as a cognitive map that details both an individual's moral values and behavioral beliefs (Neack, 2008)

Moving forward, the author claims that analysts argue that a leader's collective philosophical beliefs make them behave in different ways. They also connect operational code to cognitive studies when they want to establish a leader's fundamental behavioral predisposition. The article showcased Hermann as cited. Her stance was that the leaders who have mistrust and bias against groups choose to spread their ideology or exert leverage to the detriment of others; leaders believe they have a moral obligation to

challenge one another; as a result, they are more likely to take chances and partake in violent and assertive actions (Neack, 2008).

2.3.2.2 Alexander George's modification of Leites's version of OCA

Alexander George's work, the "Operational Code" A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making, states that Leites' method of applying the OCA is complex and far from simplification and accuracy (George, 1967). In the study, he highlights that Operational Code can be used without linking it to the psychoanalytic hypotheses. Also, he states that Leites left the concept of Operational Code with a huge amount of ambiguity because his answers to the chosen questions were not well-defined. George continues to say that the meaning of the OC stayed fuzzy because of the complexity of Leites' work, which made it not easy for the readers to understand the structure of his work (George, 1967).

Furthermore, George discussed that Leites used the word OC to refer to the principle of the political planning that depicted the classical Bolshevik process of politics. George stated that Leites did not ask the reader to agree with how he particularly used psychoanalysis. Therefore, George sees that Leites did not construct the diverse beliefs and principles about politics linked with his concept of the Operational code. Besides, George stated that Leites did not clarify the hierarchy between the different elements of the code (George, 1967).

In another aspect of his study, George sees that the naming of the operational code should be changed to another name because of its misleading concept. And also, George sees that the connotation of the operational code can be inspected without connecting it to the psychoanalytic hypothesis, and the beliefs of the political actor can be concluded by the investigator based on what he observes and what the data offers him. Therefore, he discussed that if the researcher wanted to, it is possible to relate some of the questionable beliefs of the psychodynamic character to other motivational variables.

Also, it is stated that by diving into the unconscious motives of the actor, the investigator can easily predict how the political actor will behave in different scenarios.

From that, he provided an application of the theoretical framework. His framework is divided into two sections; each section consists of several questions:

"<u>Philosophical questions of OCA</u>:

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

P-2. What are the prospects for the eventual realization of one's fundamental politics? Values and aspirations? Can one be optimistic, or must one be pessimistic on this score, and in what respects is the one and the other?

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

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

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

<u>Instrumental questions of OCA:</u>

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

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

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

I-4. What is the best "timing" of action to advance one's interests?

I-5. What is the utility and role of different means for advancing one's interests?" (George, 1967, p. 200)

George worked on the philosophical questions to make them more general and to serve their purpose, as explained below:

> "1- What is the "essential" nature of political life? Is the political universe one of harmony or conflict? What is the fundamental character of one's political opponents?" (George, 1967, p. 200).

George argues that as a result, the political universe for the old Bolsheviks was one of genuine war. The Bolsheviks posed the fundamental question of politics and history as

“who will destroy whom?” This aspect was seen as a basic and irreconcilable clash between communists and their class foes. It arose from the "objective" historical state outlined by Marxist dialectics rather than being due to specific historical figures (George, 1967). Another Bolshevik conviction that any ‘"intermediate" historical position between being exterminated and establishing world hegemony was unstable was consistent with these notions. George mentioned that the threat of being eliminated by the enemy would remain a constant threat as long as the Bolsheviks did not attain world control. Other responses to the first question stated above are feasible and have been offered by many elites.

> “2- What are the prospects for eventually realizing one’s fundamental political values and aspirations? Can one be optimistic, or must one be pessimistic on this score, and in what respects the one and the other?” (George, 1967, p. 200).

George states that the traditional Bolshevik was upbeat, based on intellectual and theological notions that communism would eventually prevail on a global basis. Nonetheless, optimism was tinged with conditional pessimism, i.e., an underlying assumption that disaster could not be ruled out and remained a constant threat. Hence, it was necessary to be continually aware of the disaster threat and avoid contributing to its realization through faulty calculations and inadequate political actions.

> “3- Is the political future predictable? In what sense and to what extent?” (George, 1967, p. 200).

According to George, the direction and eventual outcome of the great historical shift from capitalism to communism are predictable. Still, the tempo and precise paths of this transition, according to the Bolsheviks, are not. As a result, at certain junctures or branch points in history, various outcomes are "objectively feasible." This standard view has had significant repercussions on how Bolsheviks address the subject of "activity," according to George. The "indeterminist" understanding of the multiple zigzags that historical events may take before achieving their foreseeable eventual end counterbalanced the "determinist" notion of history's passive orientation to action,

which was logically and psychologically implicit. The "indeterminist" component of the idea prevailed from an operational viewpoint, emphasizing the need for intelligent, well-calculated acts as a method of speeding up the historical process.

> “4- How much “control” or “mastery” can one have over historical development? What is one’s role in “moving” and “shaping” history in the desired direction?” (George, 1967, p. 200).

Furthermore, George claims that according to the Bolshevik viewpoint, the party is obligated to grab and exploit every "opportunity" for advancement because men can set the cost and length of an inevitable social transformation within extensive parameters. As a result, the answer to this question highlights the need for committed, disciplined, and astute political players to move history in the intended direction.

> “5- What is the role of “chance” in human affairs and in historical development? (George, 1967, p. 200).

George states that the typical Bolshevik response was that Marxism-Leninism could explain all politically significant occurrences. Hence, the idea that accidental circumstances may significantly alter history is dismissed. Also, George highlighted that by distorting the opponent's picture and picturing him as preternaturally intelligent and robust, Bolsheviks' thinking downplayed the role of chance, which had other disquieting consequences.

George continues to say that the assumption that there is only one "right" position or policy in every scenario accompanied this. Hence, all other policies or acts may lead to, or tend to, disaster — i.e., the catastrophe is regarded as an all-too-real possibility. Furthermore, political errors were seldom innocuous or less than gravely hazardous in the Bolshevik thought system.

The second modification is “Instrumental” questions. Where George worked on the instrumental questions to make them serve their purpose in assessing the philosophical beliefs, which will be discussed later on in the dissertation:

“1- What is the best approach for selecting goals or objectives for political action?”

“2- How are the goals of action pursued most effectively?”

“3- How are the risks of political action calculated, controlled, and accepted?”

“4- What is the best “timing” of action to advance one’s interests?”

“5- What is the utility and role of different means for advancing one’s interests?” (George, 1967, p. 200; Walker, 1990).

2.3.2.3 Ole Holsti’s & Stephen Walker’s Typologies Revision

Ole Holsti's study (1977) added a quantitative framework to George’s theoretical framework. This framework requires plotting the major beliefs P-1, P-4, and I-1 from answering George’s questions. P-1 refers to the leader’s views on the nature of the political beliefs, varying from very hostile to very friendly at the end of the spectrum. Second, I-1's purpose is to identify the leader’s strategic approach, which varies from very conflictual to very cooperative.

Third, the P-4 parameter refers to the level of control a leader possesses (Walker, 1983). Holsti states that knowing these scores brings a further understanding of a given leader, and using content analysis that constructs the answers to George’s questions is an effective way to merge with his set of typologies. The typologies consist of six quadrants that put the leader’s self-image as a reference for further assessment of their behavior towards the other-self, as indicated below:

Figure 1: Typologies of Beliefs About the Nature of Political Life A, B, C.

	Type A	*Type* B	*Type* C
What is the nature of the political universe?	Conflict is temporary; there is at least a latent harmony of interests.	Conflict is temporary; in a world of peaceful states there will be peace.	Conflict is temporary; it is possible to restructure the international system to reflect latent harmony of interests.
What are the basic sources of conflict?	Man's nature; lack of knowledge, understanding, empathy, adequate communication, etc.	Warlike states or classes of states.	The context of interstate relations; an anarchical international system.
What are the conditions of peace?	Better knowledge, education, etc., reform of inadequate institutions.	Containment, reform, or elimination of warlike actors.	Transformation of the international system.
What is the nature of conflict?	Often non-zero-sum.	Zero-sum.	Mixed.
What is the scope of conflict?	Issues are separable; limited linkages.	Issues tend to be closely linked.	Mixed.
What is the role of conflict in historical development?	Dysfunctional and avoidable.	Very functional in some circumstances.	Not functional, but unavoidable in an anarchical system.
Scenario of major danger of war.	'Conflict spiral' model.	War from miscalculation; 'appeasement model'.	Many and varied (e.g. from catalytic wars to those arising from inequitable distribution of resources).

Source: (Walker, 1983, p. 183)

Figure 2: Types of Beliefs About the Nature of Political Life D, E, F.

	Type D	*Type* E	*Type* F
What is the nature of the political universe?	Conflict, an inherent part of the human condition, is permanent.	Conflict is a permanent feature of the political universe.	Conflict is permanent because there are no effective restraints against it, nor any means of effecting peaceful change.
What are the basic sources of conflict?	Human nature; conflict is built into man's nature.	The nature of political units; irrespective of their attributes, all nations (or other units) will pursue selfish interests.	An anarchical international system, in which its constituent units are each responsible for their own security. Little chance of change in this.
What are the conditions of peace?	Maintain an equilibrium in the international system; skilled and enlightened leadership.	Maintain an equilibrium among political units, via alliances, collective security, etc.	Develop mechanisms for peaceful change within the international system.
What is the nature of conflict?	Mixed, but tending toward zero-sum.	Mixed, but tending toward zero-sum	Mixed, but strongly tending toward zero-sum.
What is the scope of conflict?	Issues may be separable, but tending toward at least moderately strong linkages.	Variable, depending on alignments within the international system.	Variable, depending on alignments within the international system.
What is the role of conflict in historical development?	Sometimes functional; unavoidable.	May be functional, e.g. to maintain an equilibrium. Not permanently avoidable.	Sometimes functional; unavoidable.
Scenario of major danger of war.	Inability to maintain equilibrium in the face of challenges to structure of the international system.	Inability to maintain a permanent equilibrium in the face of challenges to structure of the international system.	Inability to cope with the problems of peaceful change within the international system.

Source: (Holsti 1977: 165; Walker 1983, 184)

Then Walker has revised and narrowed down the outcome of Holsti typologies to be only four quadrants instead of six, with both philosophical and instrumental:

Figure 3: Revised version of Holsti's typologies

TYPE A	TYPE C
Settle>Deadlock>Dominate>Submit Conflict is temporary, caused by human misunderstanding and miscommunication. A "conflict spiral," based upon misperception and impulsive responses, is the major danger of war. Opponents are often influenced in kind to conciliation and firmness. Optimism is warranted, based upon a leader's ability and willingness to shape historical development. The future is relatively predictable, and control over it is possible. **Establish goals within a framework that emphasizes shared interests. Pursue broadly international goals incrementally with flexible strategies that control risks by avoiding escalation and acting quickly when conciliation opportunities arise. Emphasize resources that establish a climate for negotiation and compromise and avoid the early use of force.**	**Settle>Dominate>Deadlock>Submit** Conflict is temporary; it is possible to restructure the state system to reflect the latent harmony of interests. The source of conflict is the anarchical state system, which permits a variety of causes to produce war. Opponents vary in nature, goals, and responses to conciliation and firmness. One should be pessimistic about goals unless the state system is changed, because predictability and control over historical development is low under anarchy. **Establish optimal goals vigorously within a comprehensive framework. Pursue shared goals, but control risks by limiting means rather than ends. Act quickly when conciliation opportunities arise and delay escalatory actions whenever possible. Resources other than military capabilities are useful.**
TYPE DEF	TYPE B
Dominate>Settle>Deadlock>Submit Conflict is permanent, caused by human nature (D), nationalism (E), or international anarchy (F). Power disequilibria are major dangers of war. Opponents may vary, and responses to conciliation or firmness are uncertain. Optimism declines over the long run and in the short run depends upon the quality of leadership and a power equilibrium. Predictability is limited, as is control over historical development. **Seek limited goals flexibly with moderate means. Use military force if the opponent and circumstances require it, but only as a final resource.**	**Dominate>Deadlock>Settle>Submit** Conflict is temporary, caused by warlike states; miscalculation and appeasement are the major causes of war. Opponents are rational and deterrable. Optimism is warranted regarding realization of goals. The political future is relatively predictable, and control over historical development is possible. **One should seek optimal goals vigorously within a comprehensive framework. Control risks by limiting means rather than ends. Any tactic and resource may be appropriate, including the use of force when it offers prospects for large gains with limited risks.**

Source(Canbolat, 2014, p. 39) adopted from(Walker, 1983)

The framework and typologies are the only applications of this thesis, which will be discussed in the fifth chapter. However, a leader's score will not be the decisive factor in determining how to answer the research questions. The researcher can perform an excavation in-depth of some of PM Justin Trudeau's FP orientations and favored techniques by reading the scores in several ways.

Within the body of operational code studies, strategic preferences of leaders of their typology represent the pattern of behaviors while connecting them to their belief system in conducting and/or approaching FPmaking. This is applied by suggesting game models that can further extend the research ability to go beyond the scores and more into the analysis of their behaviors (Schafer & Walker, 2006b). They have provided what is called the Theory of Inferences about Preferences (TIP), which utilizes leaders' OCA scores of their master beliefs. In other words, they order leaders' strategic preferences to be able to shed light on how they would prefer to act within an arena of a strategic game. The preferences scheme and predictions of leaders have four variables that are: Dominate, Settle, Deadlock, and Submit. Therefore, the ordering of these preferences is related to a set of propositions that can change according to their OCA scores – Leader Typology - and the details are present in the table below:

Table 1: Theory of Inferences about Preferences

Proposition	Self and Other	Value	Preferences order
1	If (I-1, P-4a) or (P-1, P-4b) (+, <)		Then Settle>Deadlock>Submit>Dominate = (Appeasement)
2	If (I-1, P-4a) or (P-1, P-4b) (+, =)		Then Settle>Deadlock>Dominate>Submit = (Assurance)
3	If (I-1, P-4a) or (P-1, P-4b) (+, >)		Then Settle>Dominate>Deadlock>Submit = (Stag Hunt)
4	If (I-1, P-4a) or (P-1, P-4b) (-, <)		Then Dominate>Settle>Submit>Deadlock = (Chicken)
5	If (I-1, P-4a) or (P-1, P-4b) (-, =)		Then Dominate>Settle>Deadlock>Submit = (P. Dilemma)
6	If (I-1, P-4a) or (P-1, P-4b) (-, >)		Then Dominate>Deadlock>Settle>Submit = (Bully)

Source: (Canbolat, 2014, p. 119), adopted from (Schafer & Walker, 2006)

Later on, in chapter 5 of this thesis, Justin Trudeau's operational code scores will be the essential goal to analyze the prime minister's preferences for conducting FP. The explanation and application of the theory of Inferences about Preferences (TIP) are in the forth and fifth chapters.

2.4 Trudeau and Trump Dispute and Verbal War Over NAFTA

NAFTA is a trilateral trade agreement between North American countries: The United States, Canada, and Mexico. The dispute between the U.S. and Canada started in 2017 when Donald Trump questioned the merits of NAFTA, calling it the worst deal (Allen, 2022). For Trump, the NAFTA deal was a disaster for Americans, and it weakened many of the U.S. privet companies. Donald Trump promised people in their first days in the office that he would renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement (Putterman, 2020). In May 2017, the former president officially started the renegotiations of the trade deal. It took eight rounds of negotiations between the three North American countries to establish the new trade of United States – Mexico – Canada (USMCA).

At first, Trump has strongly pushed for two policies that were lately being rejected by the other parties. These two policies are (1) the Sunset clause and (2) automobile tariff protection qualifications (Putterman, 2020). Since this deal is bad for the American people, the sunset clause policy is brought up as a time constriction for the deal. In other words, NAFTA stayed in its old form for 26 years (1994 – 2020), and according to Trump, this has to stop. This aspect means the deal gets off every five years unless the parties agree to extend the period for another five years (Patterson, 2017).

The second policy is about protecting U.S. workers and laborers from getting hijacked by Mexico and Canada. Automobile free tariffs qualifications in NAFTA have been a bummer for Trump under the premises of unfairness for the United States. Under NAFTA, the qualification percentage was 62.5% of automobile parts to be manufactured in the three countries. However, Trump has rounded the free tariff qualification to be 50% of automobile parts to be excluded from the United States (Putterman, 2020). The policy did not pass by the other two countries, and in return, the three countries agreed that 75% of automobile manufacturers should come from any of the three countries to meet the qualification.

Moving forward, in 2018, Trump has threatened to pull the U.S. out of the trade agreement if congress didn't agree on the new agreement settlements says. Trump:

"I'll be terminating it within a relatively short period" (Cunningham, 2018)

In the article by Tomasz Soroka (2021), the author argues about the rhetoric used in the trade war between the two countries. The author highlights that the difference in temperaments between the two leaders is a key to labeling Trump as the "antithesis" of Trudeau's persona (Soroka, 2021, p. 97). That is where to say that the opposite characteristics of both leaders' pursuit of FP goals make communication between the two leaders problematic and tensional.

The ideological distinction between them is that speeches and statements used by the Canadian Prime Minister are not without views of his orientation towards free trade between countries and building strong and solid relations between neighboring countries. While on the other hand, Trump's rhetoric in dealing with trade issues came to refusing the notion of multilateral agreements and focusing on bilateral ones. The words and deeds of their protectionist FP approach supported by Trump stances like "make America stronger again," "Buy American, and hire American, while in act the threats he cast upon pulling out the U.S. from NAFTA (Soroka, 2021).

Adding up to the nationalist notion while affirming that the deal is to be done by Trump's terms or take it or leave it notion, and acting as if he has already sealed the contract even if he had to exclude Canada from the agreement if they don't comply to deadlines (Mark, 2018; Soroka, 2021). For Trudeau's part, the word and deed of his strategy was a good determinant of his role's effectiveness. However, he did not face Trump's verbal war in the same manner, using a similar notion in almost most of his speech says Trudeau in response to aluminum and steel tariffs:

"Let's be clear. These tariffs are unacceptable. Over the past 150 years, Canada has been the United States' most steadfast partner. Canadians and Americans fought shoulder to shoulder with one another in two World Wars and in Korea. From the beaches of Normandy to the mountains of Afghanistan, we have fought together and mourned our fallen together. And the Canadian Forces are serving alongside the Americans at this very moment (Trudeau, 2018b)"

Although Trudeau did not use similar language in his remarks to defend his position, that should not entail that the prime accepted the insults but instead decided to swerve

around it and focus on getting the best he could out of the deal for his country. By diverting the focus like that, the prime minister has pulled the personal offenses that Trump's words and deeds have done against the Canadians, and this gave him the upper hand in the verbal war, and that Canadian dependency on global trade is much better off than accepting the notion of antitrade (Soroka, 2021, p. 99).

CHAPTER 3

CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

3.1 An Overview of US-Canadian Relations

In the 1920s and 1930s, the relationship between America and Canada was in the best situation, and they blended in as well as ever before. Many connections became stronger, primarily the cultural and the economic, where many doubts were regressed regarding the American influence. Then, there was a change in the Canadian defense strategy where they saw that there was no possibility of having a cross-border problem. Both countries-initiated legations in 1926, and they stopped dealing with each other through the offices of the British.

Moreover, what was important was the influence of the American culture in many ways, such as radio, cars, and films. On the other hand, the Canadian government failed after trying many times to work on films and newscasting. Besides, there was a lot of pressure by many parties like the Roman Catholic Church applying some political pressure to prohibit the Canadians from taking part in the playful portion of the American culture.

In addition, the American President Franklin Roosevelt gave his word to the Canadians to protect them if they were attacked due to the possibility of having another European war. He became known to the Canadians through the unprecedented media, wherein in 1939, Roosevelt collaborated painstakingly with Canada after WWII. Also, America stained neutral, but Roosevelt and King made two of the most significant agreements that made the American obligation formal:

1. the Ogdensburg Agreement (1940) established the Permanent Joint Board on Defense.

2. The Hyde Park Agreement (1941) united the two economies for wartime purposes. Both agreements won widespread popular approval.

Most Canadians started to see that the US was the bastion that protected mutual morals and security after the cold war with the Soviet Union. Furthermore, as a result of WWII, the Canadians liked America more, according to the Public-opinion polls, and this new passion terrified King. Still, Canada widened many relations with America after the war. In 1959 a significant move was made by Canada when it corresponds to Canada-US Defense Production sharing Program. Besides that, in 1958, Canada and America agreed and signed the plan of the solidary continental air vindication (NORAD). Moving forward, not all Canadian accepted the new relations between the two countries. On the other hand, some parliamentarians were apprehensive about the American effect on the government of Canada and its stances, which happened during the 1956 Pipeline Debate (Ek et al., 2009; U.S. Embassy & Consulates in Canada, n.d.).

3.1.1 Security and Defense Cooperation

Trade between the two countries has been evolving since 1987. In 1987, they signed Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement (CUSFTA), which came into force in 1989. The agreement is based on free trade, which entails trade liberalization. The deal facilitates tariff elimination and reduces non-tariff barriers (G. A. Canada, 2015). One of the key features of this agreement is that it has a dispute settlement feature that allows fair trade and solutions for trade disputes.

In 1994, Mexico joined the agreement for its shared borders with Canada and the United States, which marks the most significant North American trade. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) aims to help create economic outbursts throughout the North American region and boost the quality of life of the people in the area.

In 2009, the three countries' tariffs and quotas were eliminated. Critical policymaking between the three partners is that if one of them is unsatisfied with specific policies, they can call upon change or refute it. During the Barak Obama administration, a negotiation round was held to reopen some guidelines. These revisions concerned policymakers that it might destabilize some of the agreement provisions of Canada, like energy and petrochemical provisions, dispute settlement, and the border. The system is mainly because the U.S. is the largest trade partner in this trilateral agreement (Ek et al., 2009, p. 33).

The latest update of the trilateral trade agreement is the United States – Mexico – Canada (USMCA), or (CUSMA) as the official name of the deal in Canada. USMCA comes as a modified version of the previous trade agreement. It came into force on the 1st of July, 2020. The NAFTA trade agreement has faced a lot of criticism in the past, but it has never exceeded the volume of criticism as it has under the Trump administration (Meyer & Fergusson, 2021). As a sign of a severe act, President Donald Trump has forced the U.S. out of the bilateral Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), leaving Canada with no other option but to revise the NAFTA agreement and come to a deal with the U.S. trade preferences.

3.1.2 Trade Agreements

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3.1.3 Other Disputes between Canada and USA

3.1.3.1 Border Security

Border security has been one of the prominent issues in these neighboring countries. In 1999, the U.S. border caught a terrorist named Ahmed Ressam passing through Canadian borders, which was later known that he intended to attack Los Angeles airport. This has marked a shift in the United States' approach to the boundaries. Later on, the American position on pressuring the act of control of the borders increased after the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the U.S (Ek et al., 2009, p. 15).

Yet, tightening control over borders affects free trade between both countries, which could massively affect economic losses because of the merchandises delay at the controlling points. This aspect has urged both countries to reach a mutual sense of extensive border security following new measures of improvements. They agreed to sign a Smart Border joint agreement that focuses on improving security measures while improving the border facilities by enhancing the level of their functionality and operation (Ek et al., 2009, p. 16). This aspect also has resulted in Canada introducing the Department of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness (PSEPC) as an initiative and act of readiness to possess more control over its borders.

3.1.3.2 Environmental Issues

Another issue regarding the relationship between the two countries is environmental-related issues. Both Canada and the U.S. have signed the Paris Climate Accord (PCA) in which prime minister Justin Trudeau has assured that Canada will work on reducing gas emissions by up to 45% by 2030 (U.S. Department of State, 2021). Canada's most significant setback is its heavy reliance on oil and gas due to its extreme winters. This heavy reliance on such means represents the issue that Canada has, with the gas emission reaching high levels to sustain life and trade. Oil sands, for example, reserves while getting stored in pipelines. These pipelines are known as Keystone XL, they would have extended to reach American soil, but it was refused by the United States.

Coal has also been a significant concern because Canada is a coal-rich country. Canadian foreign relations with other countries help them sell coal to a foreigner, bearing in mind that coal has tons of gas emissions properties and is used worldwide (Narwhal, 2021). One key figure in coal exporting is that Canada is considered one of the leading countries in shipping coal to other countries after Indonesia, Australia, Russia, the U.S., and South Africa (N. R. Canada, 2017). According to the U.S. Energy Information Administration, coal takes the lead as the highest source of emitting carbon dioxide (CO2) with (228.60) among other energy sources (EIA, 2022).

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 The Puzzle and Research Question

The problem of this research explains the newest NAFTA conflict between Canada and the United States. One of the permanent Canadian files in the office deals with US ties. Justin Trudeau, Canada's prime minister, is the country's youngest leader, having been elected twice between 2015 and today. He met Donald Trump, the former American president, during the NAFTA new deal (USMCA) negotiations. Both leaders are from opposing political parties (Democrat and Republican) and have opposing views on NAFTA and differing temperaments and strategic preferences. As a result, both politicians have waged a rhetorical war, which has resulted in tariffs on dairy products, aluminum and steel, autos, and other trade sectors.

To shed light, NAFTA is supposed to present Free Trade between the three North American countries. To re-accomplish the essence of the trade, the three North American countries have had many rounds to discuss the new deal. The dispute took three years to finally settle in 2020 (Reuters, 2020). However, during their contacts, Donald Trump's attitude was reasonably direct in disparaging Justin Trudeau, which I felt to be a fascinating difference. On the other hand, the PM utilizes implicit language that is replete with friendly-like behavior throughout all of the data I could gather about him, albeit he occasionally tends toward being less pleasant.

This observation may or may not have played a positive role in resolving the NAFTA dispute. Therefore, since this is the case, the researcher asks three questions that have the potential to make sense of the NAFTA settlement: (1) What is the operational code of Justin Trudeau? (2) What are Justin Trudeau’s strategic preferences regarding FP making? And (3) how does the leadership style of the Canadian PM play a role in the resolution of the NAFTA crisis with the United States?

4.2. Data (Speech List)

To address the study questions, this thesis applies the operational code analysis theoretical framework to some speeches, press conferences, and statements delivered by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. (George, 1967). The data in this analysis spans official speeches from Justin Trudeau's election as Prime Minister of Canada in 2015 to the present day.

Trudeau has emphasized the process of selecting official comments and speeches mainly focused on Canadian FP concerning NAFTA throughout time. However, a few facts that have been tested and identified on the official website are directly related to NAFTA. Instead, these few speeches are used because the prime minister is involved in an international act. Deputy prime minister Chrystia Freeland addresses a plethora of data about NAFTA on the official website, making it difficult for the researcher to identify pertinent Justin Trudeau speeches.

In general, all of the speeches obtained can be used to identify and thoroughly evaluate the conclusion of the NAFTA disagreement between Canada and the United States by gaining a better knowledge of Justin Trudeau's leadership style and how he approaches his FP preferences. According to (Walker et al., 1998), the selection of speeches should be based on the merits of FP issues. Furthermore, the speech selection should adhere to the VICS criteria, stating that existing verbs should highlight conflictual or cooperative behavior. Another requirement Walker emphasizes is that each speech should contain a minimum of 15 verbs and a maximum of 100.

Found that in thesis selects 17 speech acts of Justin Trudeau to meet the criteria of the VICS coding program. The criteria that it follows is that any speech of a leader should contain at least 1500 words. However, having a good number of verb utterances can qualify the speech for coding (Schafer and Walker 2006). All 17 speeches accumulate several (1,202) verbs. From the 17 speeches, 4 of them are merged for temporal domain purposes, which will be specified in the speeches table. Justin Trudeau’s FP remarks and transcripts are taken from the Canadian ministry of foreign affairs' official website. The selected speeches as indicated in the table below:

Table 2: Selected Speech Acts of Justin Trudeau

#	Speech	Date	Words
1	Prime Minister remarks addressing Parliament of the Netherlands	,29October 2021	2160
2	Remarks at the conclusion of the North American Leaders' Summit in Washington, D.C. Merged with Prime Minister Trudeau delivers remarks at the conclusion of his visit to Washington, D.C.	November 18, 2021 ,11October 2017	493 542
3	Prime Minister keynote speech at the World Economic Forum 2018	January 23, 2018	2632
4	Prime Minister Trudeau holds a media availability in Winnipeg	January 21, 2020	876
5	Prime Minister's remarks at the conclusion of the G7 Leaders' Summit	,13June 2021	1116
6	Prime Minister Trudeau delivers remarks to the Senate of the Republic of Mexico in Mexico City	,31May 2018	1520
7	Prime Minister's Speech to the French National Assembly	April 17, 2018	2959
8	PM Trudeau delivers remarks and answers questions at the end of the G7 Summit in Charlevoix, Quebec	June 9, 2018	4612
9	Prime Minister Trudeau announces areas of enhanced cooperation with the U.S.	June 26, 2019	866
10	Prime Minister Trudeau delivers the keynote address at a National Governors Association meeting	July 14, 2017	2616

11	Prime Minister Trudeau responds to steel and aluminum tariffs imposed by the United States	,31May 2018	2665
12	Prime Minister Trudeau holds a year-end news conference at the National Press Theatre Merged with Prime Minister Trudeau and Minister Freeland speaking notes for the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement press conference	December 19, 2018 ,1October 2018	371 1578
13	Speech by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Center for Public Affairs	,9February 2018	2931
14	Prime Minister Trudeau announces full construction on the Gordie Howe International Bridge	,5October 2018	755
15	Prime Minister Trudeau delivers a keynote address at the Fortune Global Forum in Toronto	October 15, 2018	1197
Total			29,889 words

4.3 Methodology and Research Design

Nathan Leites has introduced his classical work A study of Bolshevism (1953). In it, he provided a framework of operational code analysis (OCA), which mainly focused on Politburo. His framework in which OCA was conducted contained two analytical standards: cognitive heuristics and characterological traits. Leites argue that these traits have influenced the Soviet's decision-making process (Walker, 1990). On the other hand, Alexander George states that Leites's work was insufficient, uncategorized, and biased towards the soviet ideology. As a response, George came up with a modified operational code analysis that does not exclude Leites's work entirely but instead organizes it to be applicable for leaders in general and unbiased (George, 1969).

George did that by taking out the cognitive heuristics from the structure Leites provided and making it a conceptual substructure in the frame of typological questions of leaders' belief systems. However, it wasn't that famous until scholars used his framework and applied it to understand how the American FP decision-making is linked with the beliefs system of the leaders (Oppermann & Spencer, 2011; Walker, 1990).

4.3.1 The Application of the Methodology and Theoretical Framework

This section states the methodology and theoretical framework of the operational code analysis. The theoretical layout of the rationale behind OCA is that since leaders perform their FP publicly, then with time, their public behaviors become an essential part of their belief systems (Post et al., 2003; Renshon, 2009). The research applies the theoretical framework of Alexander George, which divides ten questions into two categories: (1) Philosophical and (2) Instrumental.

"Philosophical questions

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

P-2. What are the prospects for the eventual realization of one's fundamental politics? Values and aspirations? Can one be optimistic, or must one be pessimistic on this score, and in what respects is the one and the other?

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

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

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

Instrumental questions

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

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

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

I-4. What is the best "timing" of action to advance one's interests?

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

(George, 1967, p. 200)

This theoretical framework provides a consistent understanding of the black box that leaders hold toward FPmaking. The reason why this research will not follow the old version of the operational code of the Leites study is that it demonstrates how the qualitative method would generate valuable insights of mainly a dominant political party (George, 1967; Oppermann & Spencer, 2011; Post et al., 2003; Walker, 1990).

George's study has revealed many common issues related to accuracy and biases that come with this type of qualitative research (George, 1967). Moreover, the classical realists' understanding of power demeanor is that all leaders' orientation towards FP decision-making comes from their rationale and that it is enough to provide only state-level analysis. Hence, George's framework goes beyond the state-level analysis and focuses on the individual-level analysis, arguing that motives are also important because they assist in reflecting the belief system (Hermann, 1999).

This research is contextualized within the field of FP analysis, specifically using the operational code analysis framework provided by George and later improved further by Holsti and Walker's quantitative addition to OCA (Walker, 1990). The research uses this framework to achieve its purpose of analyzing Justin Trudeau's characteristics as an attempt to explain his FP orientation and decision-making process. As pin-pointed earlier in the literature chapter, the IR discipline generally focuses on three levels of analysis: Systemic Level, State Level, and Individual Level (Gebhard, 2016, 2018). Operational code analysis focuses mainly on one level of study, namely the individual level (Hudson & Vore, 1995; Walker, 1990; Walker et al., 1998). Therefore, the study is conducted by using both qualitative and quantitative approaches to analyzing Justin Trudeau's speeches.

The area of analysis gradually starts with the framework of George, which consists of a set of philosophical and instrumental questions. Second, the research applies the typologies of Holsti's framework to provide the analysis of self-image and other of Justin Trudeau. Third, the investigation will be expanded to use a case study methodology and descriptive approach to strengthen the data taken from the OCA score of Justin Trudeau. According to Baxter and Jack, a case study is a tool used to assist the

research and provided to expand and explore a chosen phenomenon that relies on different data sources.

“This qualitative case study is an approach to research that facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context using various data sources. This aspect ensures that the issue is not explored through one lens, but rather a variety of lenses which allows for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood.” (Baxter & Jack, 2015, p. 544)

The case study employed in the research is the dispute between Canada and the United States over NAFTA under Trump’s administration. This agreement has been active since 1994 between three countries which are Canada, the U.S., and Mexico. The dispute started in 2017 between the formal U.S. President Donald Trump and Justin Trudeau over some policies. The argument was settled on July 1, 2020, and the agreement's name changed from NAFTA to USMCA. The new acronym stands for U.S. - Mexico - Canada, which became in force in 2020 (U.S. Customs and Border Protection, 2020).

After exploring the selected case study, the research utilizes Donald Trump's operational code score to design a sequential game between the two leaders by comparing their master belief scores. Hence, there will be no new conduct of Trump’s OCA in this study instead it will utilize published research in the literature (Walker et al., 2018a). The comparison between the two leaders will help in further assessment of the case study of NAFTA by examining leaders’ belief systems along the way with their FP preferences.

4.3.1.1 Verbs in Context System (VICS)

Verbs in Context System is a toolkit coding system that Schafer and Walker introduced that provides quantitative data on psychological attributes for individuals (Canbolat, 2014; Schafer & Walker, 2006b). These psychological traits convey themselves in the form of an individual’s linguistic choices throughout direct context analysis. It is an at-a-distance tool that allows researchers to get information by counting different linguistic variables throughout the text (Schafer & Walker, 2006b;

Walker et al., 1998). It can further answer and assess the philosophical and instrumental beliefs needed to answer the research questions.

Moreover, VICS uses criteria to quantify the data by putting texts under the microscope of selected linguistic features - sentence structure - of speech acts. These features highlight many aspects of language use, and they are specified by verb utterance, subject of the verb, verb code - which consists of four features - and the context from which the verb is taken. The general indices of VICS are as follows (Schafer and Walker 2006):

Table 3: VICS Parameters of General Beliefs in Operational Code

	Philosophical and Instrumental	Index	Index Interpretation
1P	Nature of the Political Universe (Other's image)	%Positive minus %Negative Transitive Other Attributions	(1.0+)Friendly (1.0-)to Hostile
2P	Realization of Political Values (Optimism/Pessimism)	Mean Intensity of Transitive Other Attributions ÷ 3	(1.0+)Optimistic (1.0-)Pessimistic
3P	Political Future (Predication of other's tactics)	1 (-) Index of Qualitative Variation** for Other Attributions	(1.0)Predictable (0.0)Uncertain
4P	Strategy)torical Devolopment His (direction	Self (P-4a) or Other (P-4b) Attributions (Self plus Other Attributions)	High (1.0) to Low role (0.0)
5P	Role of Chance (Absence of control)	1 (-) [Political Future x Historical Development Index]	High Role (1.0) Low Role (0.0)

1-I	Approach to Goals	Percentage positive (–) Percentage negative self-attribution	High Cooperation (+1.0) High Conflict (-1.0)
2-I	Pursuit of Goals	Mean Intensity of Transitive Self Attributions ÷3	High Cooperation (+1.0) High Conflict (-1.0)
3-I	Risk Orientation	1- Index of qualitative variation for self-attribution	Risk Acceptance (1.0) Risk Reverse (0.0)
4-I	Timing of action	1 - Absolute Value [X Percentage – Y Percentage Self Attributions]	High (+1.0) Low shift (0.0)
	A. Cooperative vs Conflict Tactics	X= Cooperative Y= Conflict	
	B. Word vs Deed Tactics	X= Word Y= Deed	
5-I	Utility of Means	Exercises of power % from a to f	Very frequent (+1.0) to infrequent (0.0)
	Reward -A	Divided by total	
	Promise -B	lDivided by tota	
	Support/Appeal -C	Divided by total	

	Resist/Oppose -D	Divided by total	
	Threaten .E	Divided by total	
	Punish .F	Divided by total	

Source: (Canbolat, 2014, pp. 41–42) Adopted from (Schafer & Walker, 2006)

However, due to the lack of complete scores on the acquired data of (1) 5 American leaders and (2) World leaders, this research only covers the master beliefs of Justine Trudeau (I-1, P-1, P4-a, P4-b). The problem with not having the full data is that comparing an actor and a group of actors requires much more data than this research can present. Therefore, it is only possible to reach the master beliefs that VICS employs in the following figure:

Table 4. Interpreting the Indices of Leaders Master Belief: P-1, I-1, P-4.

P-1 Nature of the Political Universe (Hostile/Friendly)						
Hostile						Friendly
Very	Definitely	Somewhat	Mixed	Somewhat	Definitely	Very
-0.75	-0.50	-0.25	0.0	+0.25	+0.50	+.75
I-1 Direction of Strategy (Conflict/Cooperation)						
Conflict						Cooperation
Very	Definitely	Somewhat	Mixed	Somewhat	Definitely	Very
-0.75	-0.50	-0.25	0.0	+0.25	+0.50	+ 0.75
P-4 Control over Historical Development (Very Low/Very High)						
Control						Control
Very Low	Definitely	Somewhat	Mixed	Somewhat	Definitely	Very High
-.075	-0.50	-0.25	0.0	+0.25	+0.50	+0.75

Source: (Canbolat, 2014, p. 106)Adopted from(Walker, 2000)

4.3.1.2 Profiler Plus

Profiler plus is a content analysis software that helps researchers transfer texts into data. The thesis uses a profiler plus automated coding to guarantee the accuracy and reliability of the analysis. Its significance relies on its coding system, which was modified over ten years and is provided to operate on different coding schemes (Levine

& Young, 2014). Furthermore, it identifies, assesses, and it opens the black box of psychological motives and the image of self and other leaders intact with FP-making by 100% accuracy of the data taken from texts.

The toolkit allows researchers free control of how they want to conduct their data. It provides users with the options of research by using hand-coding, distributed, and computer assistance (Levine & Young, 2014). This coding system can code many frameworks produced by social scientists, such as operational code, LTA, verbal behavior analysis, and sentiment analysis. Profiler plus and VICS differ from the options given above. The first offers automatic coding, a time-saver, while the latter relies upon hand-coding, which is a time consumer.

4.3.1.3 Theory of Inference about Preference

After plotting the scores of Justin Trudeau on the quadrant, the research employs the theory of inference about preference (TIP). This theory assists in gathering more Systemic information about the strategies the leader follows when conducting their FP preference. The implication of using techniques to approach a particular political issue between leaders is that it shows the sequential 2x2 game played by the leader. In light of this, the theory consists of 6 different propositions:

Proposition	Self and Other	Value	Preferences order
1	If (I-1, P-4a) or (P-1, P-4b)	(+, <)	Then Settle>Deadlock>Submit>Dominate = (Appeasement)
2	If (I-1, P-4a) or (P-1, P-4b)	(+, =)	Then Settle>Deadlock>Dominate>Submit = (Assurance)
3	If (I-1, P-4a) or (P-1, P-4b)	(+, >)	Then Settle>Dominate>Deadlock>Submit = (Stag Hunt)
4	If (I-1, P-4a) or (P-1, P-4b)	(-, <)	Then Dominate>Settle>Submit>Deadlock = (Chicken)
5	If (I-1, P-4a) or (P-1, P-4b)	(-, =)	Then Dominate>Settle>Deadlock>Submit = (P. Dilemma)
6	If (I-1, P-4a) or (P-1, P-4b)	(-, >)	Then Dominate>Deadlock>Settle>Submit = (Bully)

Theory of Inferences about Preferences

According to Malici & Buckner (2008), the propositions can be divided into two categories: (1) Cooperative strategies and (2) Conflict strategies. The first three propositions entail the following predications: the first proposition indicates that if the leader is following the settlement approach, then the dominant player will imply his / her dominating power to make sure that the weaker player is accepting dominance or deadlock. Leaders who fall into this are most likely to follow an Appeasement strategy. In a situation of conflict, the appeasement strategy is used by the weak player to avoid war.

The second proposition indicates that if the leader follows the settlement approach, both players would equally impose deadlock while accepting domination. This aspect is known as Assurance Strategy; it is used when leaders look for assurance from the other player to avoid war. Third, the proposition indicates that if the leader follows the settlement approach against the stronger leader, the weaker player will prefer to go with deadlock but eventually will submit because of the lack of dominance. This aspect is known as the Stag Hunt strategy. It is used when the weak player realizes they are not looking for conflict but cooperation.

On the other hand, the second 3 propositions entail the following predications: the fourth proposition indicates that if the leader is following a conflict approach, the weaker player will prefer to go with a settlement but eventually will submit because the player does not have the ability deadlock. The player who follows such strategic preference is said to be Chicken, which means that the weaker player cannot compete so they will swerve.

The fifth proposition is if both players are equal, then both will pursue the settlement while accepting deadlock. This aspect is known as Prisoner Dilemma. Finally, the sixth proposition entails that the stronger player will be in favor of pursuing deadlock rather than submission. This matter is known as the Bully strategy. All of these six propositions are in favor of understanding the logic of the leader's inferences and policy preferences. It is essential to mention that these propositions cannot stand alone without the master beliefs of a leader (Malici & Buckner, 2008).

4.3.2 Research Limitations

The researcher encountered a few obstacles while writing this thesis. The data collected for the five North American leaders is the first limitation. Besides, there is no information on which North American leaders are involved in operational code analysis research. Second, there is a lack of data in comparison between the prime minister and the five North American leaders – except Donald Trump's operational code study – and world leaders. In Chapter 5, only (I-1 & P-1) scores are included in the mean scores and standard deviation.

4.3.3 Temporal and Spatial Domain

The temporal domain of the study is based on the Prime Minister of Canada in office as he represents the head of the government and chief executive of the country. With these high statues, the research can rely on analyzing the PM within the North American region (Schafer 2000). The period that the study focuses on is divided into two categories:

1. Justin Trudeau: Prime Minister of Canada and the leader of the Liberal Party (2017 - 2021). The speech selection of the PM was conducted from the start of the NAFTA dispute until 2021 to get the scores of OCA.

2- NAFTA disputes between Trudeau and Trump: the dispute lasted for three years until it resulted in the act and NAFTA changed to become USMCA (July 2017- July 2021).

While the spatial domain of the research is the two leaders' countries which are Canada and the United States of America, the two countries are located in the North American continent.

4.3.4 Dependent and Independent Variables

4.3.4.1. Dependent Variable

Canada's FP decision-making behaviors under Justin Trudeau are examined in this research as the primary dependent variable. This research aims to understand the Canadian FP under Trudeau towards the US administration under Trump. The

understanding process will be through analyzing the NAFTA dispute between the two leaders and on what terms it was settled. As mentioned previously, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was implemented in 1994 between Canada, Mexico, and the U.S., and the main objective of its creation were to reduce tariffs and taxes on imports to enhance trade between them (AL Jazeera, 2017; Relations, 2018). Other goals of NAFTA are to liberalize textiles, car manufacturing, and agriculture within the context of trading between the three countries.

However, during the Trump administration, the relationship started to shift to be conflictual and created multiple challenges. Trump raised his concerns and questions regarding several foundations of the partnership between the USA and Canada. Trump has expressed concerns about the trade agreement, which later called for renegotiating NAFTA and this has caused the U.S. to withdraw from the international accords and institutions previously endorsed by both. During his campaign, he stated that the objectives didn't bring an expected increase throughout the years to the United States but resulted in creating much fewer job opportunities.

Throughout his interactions with Donald Trump, there were some apparent behavioral and tone changes, mainly since one of Canada's permeant files handles the ties with the U.S.A (Robertson, 2020). In essence, the dependent variable of this research is the case study posited in the first chapter. Therefore, the dependent variable is further used as an account for Trudeau's leadership analysis by using operational code analysis (OCA) on Justin Trudeau.

4.3.4.2. Independent Variable: Leadership style (based on OCA)

The independent research variable is the operational code analysis framework of Justin Trudeau, and the set of typologies Holsti provided in his framework, which was later revised and reduced by Stephen G. Walker. The conduct of this research aims to operationalize Trudeau's operational code. Then his operational code scores are analyzed to demonstrate his FP orientation and preferences towards the norming group of North American leaders while specifying his FP conduct towards Trump and the NAFTA agreement and the norming group of world leaders. Once the leader's score is estimated, the traits will be set on one of the abovementioned typologies.

To get the operational code analysis scores, the research uses the collected speeches of Justin Trudeau. It puts them under the microscope of the two toolkits known as profiler plus and verbs in the context system. These data of events are collected separately in different time frames during the span of Trudeau's administration. The reason why these descriptive events and speeches are randomly picked in different time frames during Trudeau's administration is to try to eliminate the selective biases of the researcher. Once the random samples are collected, they will be analyzed using profiler plus toolkit to transfer the texts into data, then Verbs in Context System (VICS) will be used for the scoring process.

4.3.5 Hypothesis

A review of the literature shows that Justin Trudeau's operational code is not studied yet, although operational code analysis has been applied to other actors in the North American continent. This research aims to contribute to operational code literature by adding Trudeau's operational code. The thesis has multiple hypotheses, which are derived from the quantitative and qualitative approaches. The main hypothesis of this research is:

Hypothesis 1a: the operational code of Justin Trudeau correlates positively with the U.S. and other North American leaders.

Trudeau's operational code is more likely to be similar to the data given regarding 5 North American leaders whose strategic preferences and conduct of FP behaviors are cooperative. Leaders who follow suitable strategies fall under either type A or type C typologies (Walker, 1983). However, due to the ambiguity and lack of data regarding who are these 5 North Americans, I use the study on the general operational code of Donald Trump by (Walker et al., 2018a) to extract Donald Trump's operational code scores. His operational code is vital for explaining the sequential game that Trudeau plays while dealing with him on the topic of NAFTA. The master beliefs are indicated in the table below:

Table 5: The Scores of Master Beliefs of Donald Trump

Image of	Master Belief Indices	Scores
Self	1-I	0.19
	a4-P	0.30
Other	1-P	0.26
	b4-P	0.70

Source: Adopted from (Walker et al., 2018a, p. 12)

The research plotted the above empirical data in the discussion chapter indicates that Donald Trump's leadership type of 'self' falls in Type A. While on the other hand, his 'other' image attributes to hold any leader as a Type C leader. This matter represents the same leadership typology of Justin Trudeau's preferences (Self = Type A; Other = Type C). Therefore, based on TIP propositions, when compared to DT, Justin would follow a cooperative strategy as a preferred style to conduct FP. This aspect is shown later more clearly when the thesis discusses NAFTA disputes and the grounds for settling the dispute between the two countries.

Moving on to the second hypothesis of this research, as noted previously, there have not been any results of a previous operational code analysis on Justin Trudeau throughout my capacity to search the literature. The proposed research aims to contribute to the literature by applying the operational code analysis to the prime minister. This aspect entails the usage of the OCA module as the secondary hypothesis, articulated in (Schafer & Walker, 2006a):

Hypothesis 2a: P-1 (nature of the political universe) master belief positively correlates with a leader's perception of the outside world as harmonious and peaceful.

Hypothesis 2b: I-1 (approach for selecting goals and objectives) master belief positively correlates with a leader's cooperative/positive-sum game tactics and strategies.

Hypothesis 2c: P-4a (self-control over history) master belief positively correlates with a leader's tendency to follow foreign relaxation policy and risk-averse tactics.

Hypothesis 2d: P-4b (other's control over history). master belief positively correlates with a leader's predisposition to pursue an escalatory FP and brinkmanship tactics.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

Respectively, the chapter starts with plotting the obtained scores on the quadrants where Justin Trudeau's self-image and the others are located, which will profile him to see which leadership category he belongs to. Later on, the proposed first research question is answered by analyzing the scores given by Justin Trudeau's operational code. Then this section proceeds by comparing the scores of Justine Trudeau with the other North American leaders, known as the 'norming group.' The relevance of using norming group scores is to allow the comparison between Justin Trudeau and other North American leaders as a whole.

After getting the data, the research employs the Theory of Inferences to identify the strategic preferences that Trudeau is most likely to follow, then test them through his behaviors towards making a new NAFTA deal. Then, the research expands the comparison a bit further to cover world leaders. The comparison between them permits the study to extend the scope of data collection that can help in further assessment. The North American leaders' scores consist of 5 NA leaders, while the world leaders or population group consists of 214 leaders.

5.2 Data Analysis and Findings: Justin Trudeau Belief System.

This chapter discusses the belief system of Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau through the interpretation of the scores obtained from the OCA framework. By analyzing the obtained data, the research answers the three main questions: (1) What is the operational code of Justin Trudeau? (2) What are Justin Trudeau's strategic preferences regarding FP making? And (3) how does the leadership style of the Canadian PM play a role in the resolution of the NAFTA crisis with the United States? Moreover, while trying to answer the research questions, this chapter puts forward the hypotheses highlighted in the previous chapter and tests them.

The operational code analysis of Justine Trudeau is as follows. The prime minister's self-image is allocated towards quadrant type-A leaders. His self-belief system is divided into two, I-1, which indicates that Justin Trudeau doesn't prefer conflict, but instead, he is leaning toward being more cooperative and cooperative. At the same time, the scores of P4-a show that he has low historical control over development. According to the revised typologies of Holsti in the second chapter, the philosophical beliefs of type A leaders are oriented toward peace. They tend to see conflict as something uncontentious and that peace is the result of any given conflict.

The reason why it is temporary is that a type-A leader visualizes conflicts as an outcome of human misperception and misunderstanding of situations. Their opponents use appeasement and firmness to achieve goals due to the high optimism of type A leaders. Nevertheless, type-A leaders may vary with their optimistic temperament based on their capabilities and readiness to build and shape historical development with their interactions.

More into it, type-A leader strategies are flexible with cooperative nature. They lean away from conflictual FP behaviors. Justin Trudeau's image of self in the direction of his strategy preferences has scored (I-1= 0.58), while his control over history development scored (P4-a=0.27). This aspect means that he is most likely to be located in between definitely (+0.50) and very cooperative (+0.75), in addition to being somewhat high in control over historical development (+0.27).

On the other hand, according to the empirical data, Justine Trudeau's views of other world leaders have been plotted as type C leaders. Type C leaders follow a friendly strategic approach while their "self" sense of historical control is relatively high. They prefer to choose and change their tendencies with a strategy that aligns with their tactics orientations of Reward and Deter. Also, their perception of the state system is that it can be changed according to the harmony of interests.

This indicates that type C leaders hold an anarchical perception of the state system as the reason for conflicts. Their opponents differ in nature and would follow either an appeasement strategic approach or firmness. Unless the state system changes, type C leaders generally remain pessimistic about their perception of the state system. In other

words, their pessimist temperament is present because of anarchy, and under anarchy, it becomes hard to predict and control historical development (Walker 1990).

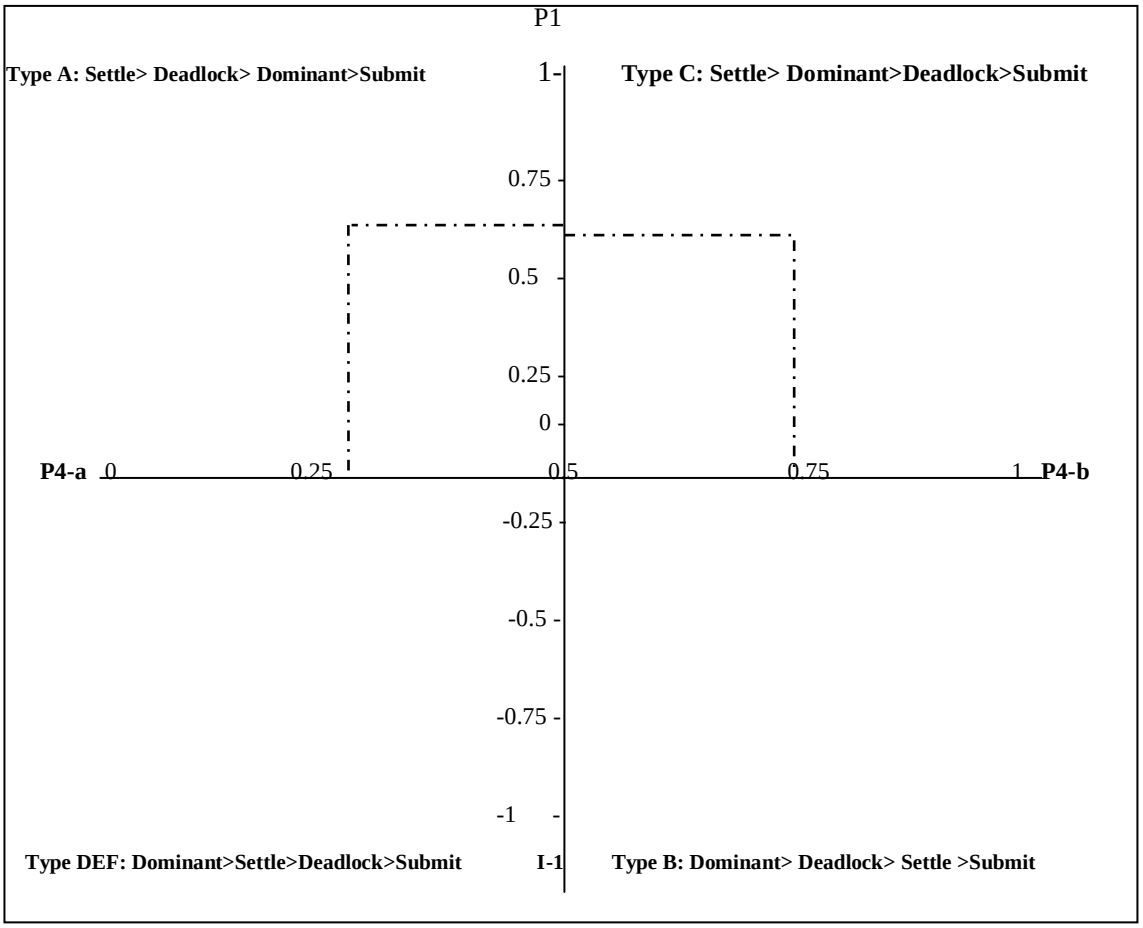
According to Trudeau's operational code scores of 'other,' the prime minister's score on the nature of the political universe is between definitely and very friendly (P-1 =0.61), while his score on the historical control over political development is very high control (P4-b=0.72). These scores indicate that Justin Trudeau perceives the international realm with a sense of excessive control of political events. Hence, these scores fall under the typology of type C leaders.

Moving forward, Justin Trudeau's FP preferences are highlighted to emphasize his orientation towards the U.S. under the Trump administration. This matter was followed by an analysis of the results of the dispute between both leaders regarding the NAFTA agreement, in which the obtained scores assist in interpreting his behaviors and strategies.

Table 6. Justin Trudeau's Master Beliefs of Self and Others Scores

Master beliefs	1-I	1P	a-4P	b-4P
Justin Trudeau	0.58	0.61	0.27	0.72

Figure 4: Operational Code Scores of Justin Trudeau Images of Self and Other.



In correspondence with the first hypothesis of the thesis, “the operational code of Justin Trudeau correlates positively with the U.S. and other North American leaders,” Justin Trudeau’s typologies of self and others correlate with the average North American leader. His operational code plotting indicates that this hypothesis is consistent, and his speeches are considered the empirical data from which the above scores have been taken. The operational code analysis of Justin Trudeau has identified that his image of “self” falls into type A, and his view of ‘other’ is at type C leadership. Trudeau's leadership typology Type A makes it relevant to his FP behaviors that focus on peace over war.

With the gathered score, the data answers the second group of hypotheses of this research which is about Trudeau’s operational code analysis:

“Hypothesis 2a: P-1 (nature of the political universe) master belief positively correlates with a leader’s perception of the outside world as harmonious and peaceful.

Hypothesis 2b: I-1 (approach for selecting goals and objectives) master belief positively correlates with a leader's cooperative/positive-sum game tactics and strategies.

Hypothesis 2c: P-4a (self-control over history) master belief positively correlates with a leader's tendency to follow relaxative FP and risk-averse tactics

Hypothesis 2d: P-4b (other's control over history) master belief positively correlates with a leader's predisposition to pursue an escalatory FP and brinkmanship tactics." (Schafer & Walker, 2006)

Approaching the second group of hypotheses relies on the scores of Justin's images of "self" and 'other.' It has been shown that the scores of the prime minister of "self" have given the results of Type A typology. Trudeau's preference for using his strategic approach falls under the importance of being very cooperative (I-1). His "self" perception of control is somewhat high (P4-a).

While on the other hand, the structure of the political universe of Trudeau's image of 'other' is to a degree prevails that his persona views the political realm to be very friendly and harmonious (P-1). At the same time, his views on 'other' leaders in terms of control make a case for him, seeing that they possess a very high control over historical development (P4-b).

These results showcase the PM views on those who have plotted the typology as a Type C leadership style. To sum up, this section has taken the mean scores of Justin Trudeau's operational code to identify to which typology might his perception of "self" and 'other' be identified. The next section makes a comparison between Trudeau's mean scores and other leaders in North America. The comparison is conducted using the data provided as the norming group data.

5.3 Comparison between Justin Trudeau, other North American Leaders, and World Leaders

In this section, the thesis extends the scope of data collection of Justin Trudeau's operational code by comparing his scores to other North American leaders and world leaders. The scores that will be used to make this comparison are I-1 and P1

for North American leaders and world leaders, alongside their norming groups. The variables consist of the number of leaders, mean scores, and standard deviation. Mean score means the leader in which the study is about. The following is the complete operational code of Justin Trudeau:

Table 9: Justin Trudeau Operational Code Scores

Instrumental and Philosophical		Scores	Interpretation of Index
1P: Nature of the Political Universe (Other's image)		0.61	Between Definitely & very Friendly
2P: Realization of Political Values (Optimism/Pessimism)		0.30	Between Somewhat &Definitely Optimistic
3P: Political Future (Predication of other's tactics)		0.19	&Between mixed somewhat
4P: Control over Historical Development			
	Self :a-4P	0.27	Somewhat Control
	Other :b-4P	0.72	Very High Control
5P: Role of Chance (Absence of control)		0.95	Very High Role of chance
Approach to Goals :1-I		0.58	Between Definitely & Very Cooperative
Pursuit of Goals :2-I		0.30	Somewhat Cooperative
Risk Orientation :3-I		0.20	Between Mixed & Somewhat Reserved

Timing of Action :4-I			High (+1.0) Low shift (0.0)
	A. Cooperative vs Conflict Tactics	0.42	Between Somewhat & Definitely Cooperative
	B. Word vs Deed Tactics	0.61	Between Definitely & Very Deed Tactics
5-I	Utility of Means		Very frequent (+1.0) to infrequent (0.0)
	Reward -A	0.22	Somewhat Frequent
	Promise -B	0.05	Infrequent
	Support/Appeal -C	0.51	Definitely Frequent
	Resist/Oppose -D	0.11	Infrequent
	Threaten .E	0.02	Infrequent
	Punish .F	0.09	Infrequent

Table 8: North American Leaders Norming Group

Indicators	# Of Leaders	Mean Scores	Standard Deviation
I1	5	0.5	0.14
P1	5	0.4	0.17

Source: (Schafer & Walker, 2021)

In comparison between Justin Trudeau and the other 5 North American leaders, their I-1 score of Trudeau is (0.58), while the I-1 average score of North American leaders is (0.50). This matter indicates that the prime minister's director of strategy is in the range of the average mean scores of North American leaders. He is as cooperative in terms of

strategic preferences as the rest. For P1, Trudeau scored (0.61) while the North American leaders scored (0.40). These results show that Trudeau's perception of 'other' in the political universe is as friendly as the perception of 'other' of the norming group, giving the SD of (0.17). As well as in terms of the strategic approach, Trudeau would follow a cooperative strategy as the average norming group of North America, given that the SD of the norming group is within the range (0.14).

In other words, the Standard Deviation of the 5 North American leaders' strategic approaches is (0.14). This aspect illustrates that the norming group Means Score (0.50) doesn't differ much from Trudeau's Mean Score (0.58) for his strategic approach to FP preferences. When the mean score of the norming group is deducted from the mean score of Trudeau's, it will be within the typical range of North American leaders' strategic approaches toward one another. In comparison, the Standard Deviation of North American leaders' perception of the other nature of the political universe is (0.17).

This matter indicates that the norming group's Mean Score of P1 (0.40) about Trudeau's perception of others in the political universe (0.61) is also within the normal range. This means that, even though the North American region's perception of 'other' FP conduct or the nature of the political universe is 0.17 points lower than Trudeau's P1 scores, it is still in the normal range. The norming group comparison of the two variables reassures the findings of the first proposed hypothesis, which indicates that Justin Trudeau's operational code correlates positively with the average NA leaders.

Table 11 refers to the Average World Leader Norming group scores of I1 and P1. The above scores of I1 and P1 are gathered by applying the operational code analysis for 214 World Leaders.

Table 9: World Leaders Norming Group

Indicators	# Of Leaders	Mean Scores	Standard Deviation
I1	214	0.51	0.16
P1	214	0.34	0.18

Source: (Schafer & Walker, 2021)

According to Walker's interpretation of score indices, it can be noticed that the average world leader's score on strategic approach is a steep difference from Trudeau's approach. As mentioned previously, Justin Trudeau's I-1 score of Trudeau is (0.58), while the I-1 average score of World Leaders is (0.51). This indicates that the prime minister's director of strategy is slightly higher than the average Mean Score of World Leaders. He is more cooperative in terms of strategic preferences than the rest of the World Leaders. On the other hand, Trudeau scored (0.61) while the World Leaders scored (0.34). These results show that Trudeau's perception of 'other' in the political universe is much more friendly than the perception of 'other' in a norming group. Regarding the strategic approach, Trudeau's score indicates that he is slightly more cooperative than the average norming group of World leaders.

As the thesis compares the Standard Deviation of World Leaders and Trudeau's strategic approach and the nature of the political universe, it becomes more evident that the gap is present within the North American comparison. The SD of world leaders in terms of their strategic approach is (I-1=0.16). This aspect indicates that the norming group's Mean Score (0.51) doesn't differ much from Trudeau's Mean Score (0.58) for a strategic approach to FP preferences. In other words, when the mean score of the norming group is deducted from the mean score, Trudeau will be within the typical range of the average world leader's strategic approach toward one another. At the same time, the Standard Deviation of World leaders' perception of the other nature of the political universe is (0.18). This aspect indicates that the norming group's Mean Score of P1 (0.34) about Trudeau's perception of 'other' in the political universe (P1=0.61) is above the norming group. This aspect means that the difference in perception between World leaders and Justin Trudeau shows an evident difference between his perception and theirs.

In sum, comparing Justin Trudeau's strategic approach (I-1) to both NA leaders and World Leaders weigh slightly more cooperative for the prime minister with others, yet it is still within the normal range. Also, the perception of 'other' between Trudeau and NA leaders is still in the normal range. However, the difference lies in comparing the perception of Trudeau and World Leaders of 'other.' With Trudeau scoring philosophical beliefs of 'other' (P1=61) and world leaders scoring (P1=34), the difference appears with the Standard Deviation of (SD=18).

5.3 Explanations of Strategic Preferences

Previously in the methodology chapter, the theory of inferences about preferences has been discussed briefly. The explanations of a leader's strategic intentions are about prepositions that highlight predictions given by the Theory of Inferences about Preferences (TIP). These prepositions refer to two sets of games that leaders play while strategically approaching FP (Schafer and Walker 2006). The inferences about preferences set are a sequential game that consists of four different variables: Deadlock, Submit, Dominant, and Settle. The indices in TIP indicate the master beliefs of leaders and their strategy preferences. After plotting the operational code of a leader in the typology scheme, the leader score is further examined by TIP to reveal the leader's strategic preference for FP decision-making and the interpretation of the table as the following.

Master beliefs of P-1 and I-1 can be assessed through TIP by indicating whether these beliefs are (<) below or (>) above the norming group's mean score of leaders. At the same time, P-4 a and P-4b master belief is aimed towards standard deviation. These indices' objectivity is to find out if these beliefs have more than one SD that can either be below (<) or (>)above or within the normal range (=) of SD. The locus of self-historical control over development (P-4a) in the TIP table indicates that if the leader has higher or (>) self-control than one standard deviation of the norming group mean score, then it means that this individual will show more 'self 'control than 'other.' While if this leader's score of P-4a is at (=) of one standard deviation, then this represents the leader's ability to express an equal historical control between 'self' and others. Suppose the leader's control over the historical development is lower or (<) than the average mean score for the norming group. In that case, this matter indicates that the leader will be more flexible by giving historical control to 'other' rather than to himself.

On the other hand, for the historical control over the development of 'other' P-4b, the result of 'other' equals (-1) of the P-4a score. This aspect means that if leader self-control is above or below the mean score of the provided norming group, then 'other' control (P-4b) has the same indices. Still, in the opposite direction, it will have more than one SD above or below the mean scores(Schafer & Walker, 2006b). The predictions given in the table refer to the ability to make logical determinants about FP decision-making and the possible strategies they might follow while conducting it.

Therefore, if the logical propositions are consistent with the application of operational code on leaders, then the establishment of the linkage between these propositions can be viewed as an emphasis on different sorts of games played by decision-makers. These games between leaders are interchangeably connected to their master beliefs of I-1, P1, and P4 of 'self' and 'other' (Walker, 1983). The operational code of Justin Trudeau's scores is further connected in the next section with the rationale of TIP to highlight the type of games he plays while selecting his FP preferences.

5.4 The Operational Code Analysis Scores for Donald Trump

Donald Trump's operational code is related to this study because of the proposed case study of the NAFTA agreement. His scores are essential to identifying the results of the NAFTA agreement, which later on have been changed to USMCA. These scores are placed in the following table:

Table 10: Operational Code Scores of Donald Trump

Philosophical		Scores	Interpretation of Index
1P: Nature of the Political Universe (Other's image)		0.26	Somewhat Friendly
2P: Realization of Political Values (Optimism/Pessimism)		0.20	&Between Mixed Somewhat Optimistic
3P: Political Future (Predication of other's tactics)		0.18	Somewhat Predication
4P: Control over Historical Development			
	Self :a-4P	0.30	Somewhat Control
	Other :b-4P	0.70	Very High Control
5P: Role of Chance (Absence of control)		0.95	High Control
Instrumental			
Approach to Goals :1-I		0.19	Between Mixed & Somewhat Cooperative

Pursuit of Goals :2-I		0.10	Between Mixed & Somewhat Cooperative
Risk Orientation :3-I		0.13	Risk Reserve
of Action Timing :4-I			
	A. Cooperative vs Conflict Tactics	0.81	Very high Conflict Tactics
	B. Word vs Deed Tactics	0.54	Definitely Deed Tactics
5-I	Utility of Means		
	Reward -A	0.10	Infrequent
	Promise -B	0.05	Infrequent
	Support/Appeal -C	0.45	Frequent Definitely
	Resist/Oppose -D	0.17	&Between Mixed Somewhat Frequent
	Threaten .E	0.06	Infrequent
	Punish .F	0.17	&Between Mixed Somewhat Frequent

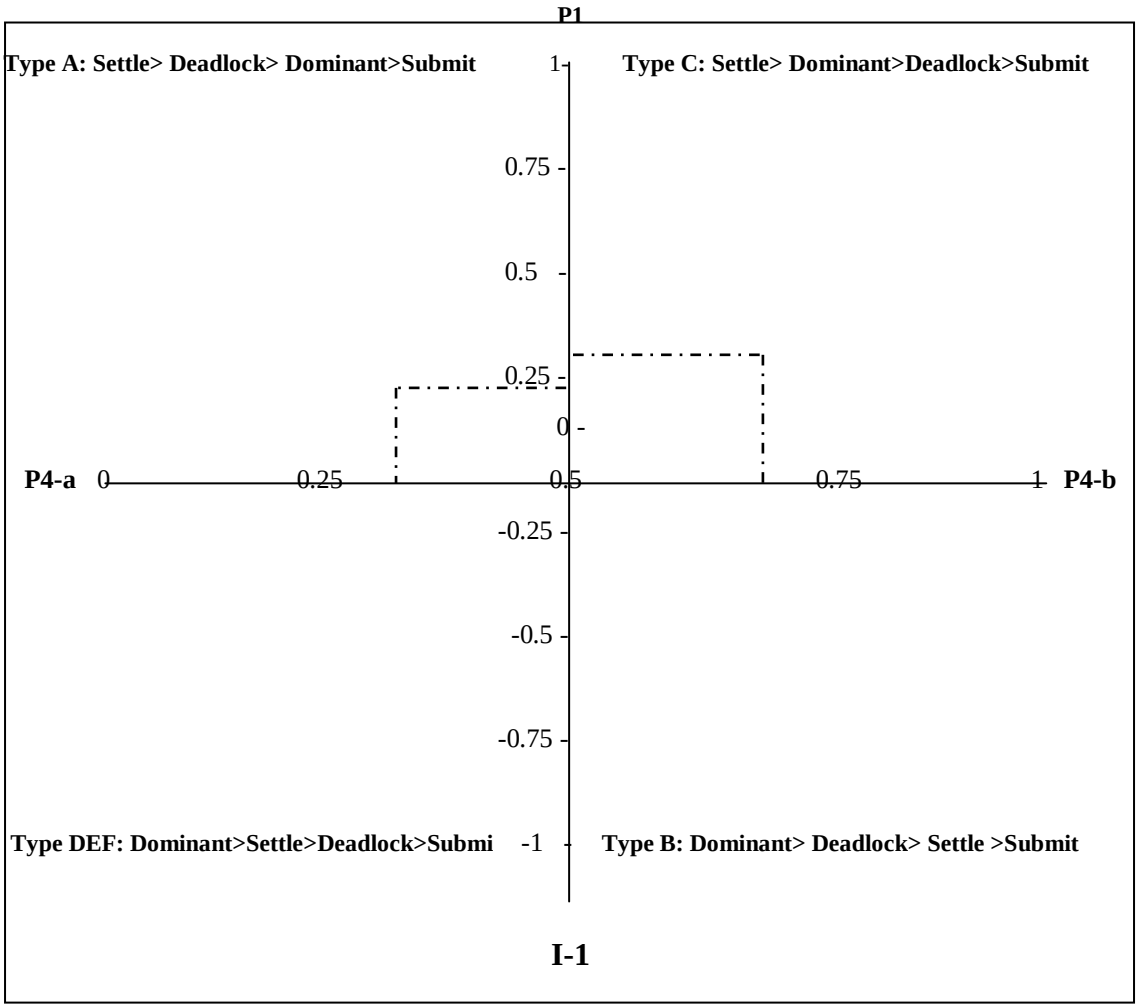
Source: Adopted (Walker et al., 2018b, pp. 12–13)

This table state the philosophical and instrumental master beliefs of ‘self’ and ‘other’ of Donald Trump. These master beliefs are represented to highlight the image of self /other, and referred to as I-1, P-1, P-4a, and P-4a. According to the scores above, the strategic preference of ‘self’ is (I-1=0.19). In comparison, the historical value of self-control over development is (P-4a=0.30). On the other hand, the master beliefs ‘other’ for Trump is (P-1=0.26). This master belief represents the nature of the political universe or the leader’s perception of other leaders. While the historical sense of ‘other’ control over development for Trump is identified with (P-4b=0.70).

These master beliefs can be plotted in a scheme for further investigation purposes. The further assessment of master beliefs enables the researcher to identify the typology of a leader through the plotting process to understand the ‘self’ and other’ and the leader’s

FP orientations. Moreover, the leader's direction towards FPmaking also identifies their strategy/game preference when conducting FP. In this section, the following typology scheme is present only to determine which type of leader Trump ‘self’ and ‘other’ are for later use.

Figure 5: Operational Code Scores of Donald Trump Image of Self and Other.



Last but not least, the operational code of Trump is borrowed from the study (The Operational Codes of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton (Walker et al., 2018b, p. 20) for the selected case study of the NAFTA agreement between Canada, the United States of America, and Mexico. The scores of the former president are essential in understanding the outcomes of the updated version of the NAFTA agreement and Trump’s strategic preferences while comparing it with Justin Trudeau’s scores.

5.5 Trudeau's Leadership Orientation

About Trudeau's OCA score, the plotting indicates that his typology of 'self' credited him as a Type A leader, while his perception of 'other' plotted in Type C leader. According to Holsti and Walker, this leadership type means that their philosophical beliefs are focused on peace. There is also a high tendency to perceive conflict as temporary and that peace results from conflicts. This is because a type A leader visualizes conflicts as an outcome of human misperception and misunderstanding of situations. Due to their optimistic nature, their opponents use appeasement and firmness to achieve goals.

Nevertheless, type-A leaders may vary with their optimistic temperament based on their capabilities and readiness to build and shape historical development with their interactions. They lean away from conflictual FP behaviors. Hence, leaders' Type A strategic approach is cooperative.

On the other hand, Trudeau's perception of the 'other' is plotted as a Type C leader. Type C leaders follow a friendly strategic approach while their "self" sense of historical control is relatively high. They prefer to choose and change their tendencies with a strategy that aligns with their tactics orientations of Reward and Deter. Also, their perception of the state system is that it can be changed according to the harmony of interests. This indicates that the type C leader's perception of the state system is anarchy, which is the reason for conflicts. Their opponents differ in nature and would follow either an appeasement strategic approach or firmness. Unless the state system changes, type C leaders generally remain pessimistic about their perception of the state system. In other words, their pessimist temperament is present because of anarchy, and under anarchy, it becomes hard to predict and control historical development (Walker, 1990).

In addition to the Types, the explanation of the TIP set of games in the previous section aims to understand Trudeau's FP preferences. This is then an attempt to answer the third question of this thesis, which is as follows: (3) What are Justin Trudeau's strategic preferences regarding the making of the FP of NAFTA? Justin Trudeau master beliefs of self are (I-1=0.58, P-4a=0.27) and the scores of other is (P-1=0.61, P-4b=72). While in return, Donald Trump's master beliefs of 'self' are (I-1=0.19, P-4a=30), and his

master beliefs of ‘other’ are (P-1=0.26, P-4b=70). Trudeau and Trump’s master beliefs of self and others are highlighted in the table below:

Table 11. Justin Trudeau and Donald Trump Master Beliefs Scores

Indicators	Justin Trudeau	Donald Trump
I-1	0.58	0.19
P-1	0.61	0.26
P-4a	0.27	0.30
P-4b	0.72	0.70

Source: (Walker et al., 2018a)

First, according to the TIP table in the previous section of this chapter, the propositions are identified with a set of values. These values are dependent upon the leader’s operational code scores. The research explains Trudeau's strategic preference concerning Donald Trump, as the case study of the NAFTA dispute requires determining Trudeaus strategic preferences (the set of games and/or scenarios). Trudeau's approach to strategy I-1 has scored (0.58), which is greater than Trump's I-1 score of (0.19), and Trudeau's score of self-control over historical development is (P-4a=0.27), which is almost similar to Trump’s self-control over historical development (P-4a=0.30). With these scores, Trudeau is expected to follow proposition 3, which means that he is expected to use a ‘Stag-Hunt strategy.’

The proposition indicates that if the leader is following the settlement approach against the stronger leader, the weaker player will prefer to go with deadlock but eventually will submit because of the lack of dominance ability. This is known as the Stag Hunt strategy. It is used when the weak player realizes that they are not looking for conflict but for cooperation

A Stag-Hunt strategy preference entails that if Trudeau's P-1 is bigger (>) than that of Trump and that he views the other control over history, P-4b is bigger (>) in contrast to Trump's score. The order of the expected strategy is to be: Settle over Dominant, Dominant over Deadlock, and Deadlock over Submit, which predicts the line of the strategy adopted by Trudeau against Trump's leadership style. Trudeau would pursue a cooperative approach, which about his counterpart, he is not oriented to be conflictual about the power of ‘self’ or ‘other:

Settle> Dominant > Deadlock >Submit

5.5 Trudeau's Implication on the Canadian Foriegn Policy

As discussed in the literature chapter, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is an agreement between Canada, Mexico, and the U.S. It was signed between the parties to ensure trade flexibility across their shared borders while reducing tariffs to the minimum for economic purposes. However, this agreement has faced multiple problems in terms of regulations and laws. One significant dispute was when Donald Trump questioned the viability and reliability of NAFTA to produce wealth for the US economy. The disagreement started to grow in 2017 and was settled in 2020. And Trump has forced his way into applying his FP preferences to the extent that he changed the name of the agreement from the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to the United States – Mexico – Canada (USMCA) (Reuters, 2020; U.S. Customs and Border Protection, 2020).

The explanation of Trudeau's position of being cooperative during the settlement of NAFTA relies on two primary folds. First, the results of the operational code analysis score have shown that, based on the data provided for the analysis, a Type A leader is expected to show cooperative FP behaviors and to align his/her FP-making with the leader who employs a tougher player as Type C. His image of 'self' and 'other', as stated in the previous section, serves as the explanatory factor of his FP behaviors toward NAFTA. In reference to the third chapter, one of the permanent files of Canada is to deal with the U.S. This aspect entails dealing with different types of leaders after every election. The reason why it is essential to have a tough and robust relationship with the U.S. is because of the shared interests that the two countries have.

As an aid for the score of the quadrant, Trudeau's remarks on NAFTA show a great deal of logic behind plotting his 'self' perception as a Type A leader and his perception of 'other' as a type C leader. In many speeches, Trudeau emphasizes the set of values and common grounds between Canada and the U.S. As a sign of good faith and friendship. The prime minister's lexical choices – partners, allies, neighbors, friends - make his personality on the agreeable end of the scale (Trudeau, 2017, 2018a, 2018b, 2018d, 2018e). Type A leaders tend to see conflict as something uncontentious, and that peace is the end result of any given conflict. Optimism is key.

Second, the TIP table of game preferences shows a consistent prediction of his moves when facing a leader like Trump. Justin Trudeau scores' interpretations proposed that with the given scores, Trudeau is expected to follow a Stag-Hunt strategy preference which highlights cooperation over conflict as the key factor of his settlement and selection of strategy.

Settle> Dominant > Deadlock >Submit

This aspect is seen in Trudeau's approach to Donald Trump's demands to modernize NAFTA and renegotiate. The Prime Minister tried to find a reasonable settlement as a counter offer option for the initial Trump orders of raising the bar on automotive tax-free qualifications. While on the other hand, bilateral talks took place between Mexico and the U.S. Although Trump has insisted on keeping the percentage of auto parts at 50% from the U.S. to ensure qualifications, it was faced with refusal. However, a settlement between the three parties was ratified, making the qualification of free tax applicable if the manufacture of 75% of automobiles is done in any of the trade pact's countries (Putterman, 2020).

It might be that Trump took offense at not winning the business deal, which led him to lash out at tariffs on Canadian Softwood. This move has created many disputes inside Canada, which lead the Canadian government to go head-to-head with the Trump administration before the World Trade Organization (WTO). This aspect is where Trudeau's show of dominancy has made him reject any means of deadlock behaviors from Trump, and WTO has found that Trump's administration was not consistent in their approach to this particular demand and called the ruling in favor of Canada(Soroka, 2021).

As a comeback strategy for Trump, he inflicted tariffs on Canadian aluminum and steel, making the Prime Minister countermove the policy with equivocal tariffs increase on the American industries. Canada has adopted the dollar-for-dollar strategy to corner the U.S. implications of damaging Canadian interest and breaking the WTO laws. This aspect has successfully resulted in Trump taking down tariffs on aluminum and steel, which made Canada eliminate taxes on the United States. After these rounds on tariffs,

the USMCA deal needed to be ratified by the three countries, but Canada took the time to revise the agreement. Trump was putting a lot of pressure on Trudeau to sign the USMCA, giving him deadlines to comply. While Trump was signing an initial agreement with Mexico, he threw out the importance of Canada in the deal, says Trump:

"There is no political necessity to keep Canada in the new NAFTA deal. If we don't make a fair deal for the U.S. after decades of abuse, Canada will be out" (Quessard et al., 2020, p. 245)

In a later response, Trudeau has assured that he is willing to meet the deadlines only if the new agreement is good for Canada, which aligns with the notion of a Stag-Hunt strategic preference. Although there have been many tight and loose rounds, Donald Trump has managed to form many aspects of his foreign policies into the new deal, not the U.S. policies.

CHAPTER 6

CONLCUSION

This chapter stands on several key points of the thesis: (1) mentioning the motivation and the building block of the study, (2) providing the study results and its implication, and finally, (3) suggesting paradigms for future research.

6.1 The Aim and Motivation

Operational Code Analysis is one of the earliest pioneering works in political psychology to provide an at-a-distance assessment method that allows researchers to examine leaders' decision-making strategies. With this study, I hope to accomplish two key goals that will further my academic interests: Firstly, applying the analysis tool of operational code to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau to analyze his leadership style and strategic preference. Secondly, the North American Free Trade Agreement that joins the three North American countries has challenged Justin Trudeau's leadership, which zoned him to make specific tactical moves that lured him of his conventional ways of decision-making. Thus, the objective here is to understand the implication of his leadership style on Canadian FP.

This dissertation operationalizes PM Justin Trudeau throughout his FP speeches as a means of analyzing his leadership type, style, and strategic preferences. The coding procedures of these speeches have been employed through the ‘at a distance’ tools of VICS and Profiler Plus. This aspect has provided the thesis with the empirical data needed for the leadership analysis. According to the pioneers of OCA ‘at a distance’ tools, Schafer and Walker implicitly clarify that human hand-coding reliability can get affected by human bias and error. In contrast, these tools' capabilities reach 100% reliability and accuracy to get valid scores (Schafer and Walker 2006, 39).

Before coding and analyzing Justin Trudeau’s scores, I employed the results of the latest NAFTA dispute between Trudeau and Trump to analyze his behaviors toward making the new agreement (USMCA) and to understand the impact of his strategic preferences on Canadian FP.

6.2 Summary of the Results

This study did an operational code analysis on Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, chronicling the answers to the following research questions: (1) What is the operational code of Justin Trudeau? (2) What are Justin Trudeau's strategic preferences regarding FP making? And (3) How does the leadership style of the Canadian PM play a role in the resolution of the NAFTA crisis with the United States?

To begin, the PM's master beliefs (P-1, P4-b, and I-1, P4-a) findings are interpreted as follows. The operational code score of 'other' (P-1) indicates that he views political life in a friendly light to ensure that policymaking runs smoothly. This aspect means Justin Trudeau's attitude toward people is pleasant and extremely friendly. The second 'other' master belief is about the power Trudeau feels other political entities have (P4-b). His score reflects that he sees others as having a lot of energy in the evolution of the world.

On the other hand, his vision of 'self' about his preferred technique emphasizes his views' cooperative nature. (I-1instrumental)'s master belief shows that the PM is somewhere in the middle of mixed and cooperative. His strategy complements his kind character, which explains why he prefers cooperation to conflict. Moving forward, his 'self' idea of influencing the development history indicates that he is partially in command. This implies that Trudeau's ideas on power self-attribution aren't particularly positive.

Following the interpretation of his scores, the study applies them to the quadrant that can determine which type of leader he is and which type of leader his counterpart is. According to the ' self ' quadrant data, the prime minister is a Type A leader. This indicates that he sees conflict as a passing phase, that every disagreement results from misunderstanding and implosive action, and that he is generally upbeat about it. While negotiating conditions, a Type A leader is eager to deal with political concerns in finding common ground, pursuing international goals, and providing flexible methods that assure no escalation of a given conflict.

Conversely, the results show that the prime minister's perception of the 'other' falls on the Type C leader in the quadrant. This form of leadership, like Type A leadership, sees conflict as a passing phase but differs in its understanding of the reasons for conflict. These leaders believe that the anarchic state structure is the source of conflict. They

view the state system with the belief that it can be changed to demonstrate the harmony of common ground between parties, yet with a gloomy disposition. Instrumentally, they'd choose the best goal plan to ensure they get what they want, regardless of what it takes.

A comparison between a group of five North American leaders and Justin Trudeau was required to analyze the results of the data supplied. This evaluation aimed to compare the PM to norming groups to reflect on the data's reasoning. It should be emphasized that due to a lack of resources, neither comparison category contains all of the master beliefs data. As a result, the comparison between Trudeau and the other five American presidents is based on the master beliefs of each (P-1 & I-1).

The results of (P-1) show that Justin Trudeau is still in the normal range and that he views political life in a warm light like the other five North American leaders. Furthermore, like the other 5 North American leaders, the results of (I-1) strategic preferences follow the same spherical attitude of cooperation. This aspect suggests that, as predicted, Trudeau's performance correlates positively with that of the United States and other NA leaders.

The second comparison is made between Justine Trudeau and world leaders to determine who is the most powerful (P-1 & I-1). Compared to world leaders, the results of (P-1) show that Justin Trudeau's opinion of the political universe is substantially friendlier. This put Trudeau's results in between definitely and very friendly, indicating that world leaders consider the political universe somewhat familiar. On the other hand, (I-1) scores show that Trudeau's strategic approach is in line with that of the average world leader. Both companies are likely to use a strategic and collaborative approach.

The thesis then applied game theory's notion of Inferences about Preferences to understand Justin Trudeau's strategic preferences better. According to the results of interpreted scores, the Prime Minister is most likely to pursue his political goal using the Stag-Hunt approach. The following is the expected strategy order:

Settle> Dominant > Deadlock >Submit

The thesis was able to apply the operational code analysis to the leadership behaviors displayed by Trudeau during the NAFTA issue using empirical data. It foreshadows Trudeau's counter-strategies to Trump's style of leadership. Trudeau would follow a suitable method, in which he is not oriented to be conflictual regarding the strength of' self' or 'other' about his counterpart. Although it is a cooperative plan, Trudeau's approach to the United States does not reflect an understanding of the long-standing connection between Canada and the United States of America. As a result, the research reveals that he employs a cooperative strategy to ensure that peace is achieved. The consequences of this analysis were present throughout the (NAFTA) to (USMCA) transition period in 2020.

6.3 Future Work Recommendation

This thesis examines Trudeau's operational code and its strategic significance in developing the USMCA new trade pact. Throughout the writing of this thesis, I posed a series of research questions that concern different research fields while remaining within the scope of political psychology, one of them is to be mentioned:

1) What is the role of the Prime Minister’s political image in representing Canadian FP? And to what extent does it affect his ability in decision-making?

The scope of such questions is yet to be studied because politics need to adapt to the new means of analysis, that are present on social media. It appears that PM Justin Trudeau caught the attention of the public with his activism on social media. In The Winning Political Campaign of the Digital Age: Justin Trudeau’s social media-oriented politics, Asa Lotfi states that new means of communication have arisen alongside the rise of new media, particularly social media (SM), which has unavoidably impacted marketing strategy and advertising for politicians.

Being an active SM user is one of the most recent tasks of a prominent political person in today's globe. The mean of how politicians use SM platforms, such as Twitter, in order to directly communicate with the public and share the newest updates about economic growth and progress (Vraga et al., 2014). Lofti claims that some politicians have come to the conclusion that social media may help them communicate with their supporters and audiences. Indeed, Justin Trudeau, the head of Canada's Liberal Party, is

one of the more tech-savvy and popular leaders, having surprisingly and swiftly acquired the public's confidence and love through his clever use of social media (Lotfi, 2019).

Trudeau, who was a 40-year-old candidate at the time, has advocated for minorities and made pledges in areas such as immigration, health care, marijuana legalization, and tax cuts for low- and middle-income people. Lotfi's analysis shows that Trudeau's use of social media (SM) is the most effective and most closely aligned with his campaign.

Trudeau's social media activity and public appearances have earned him the moniker "selfie prime minister," demonstrating his social participation and grasp of contemporary cultural trends such as the act of snapping a "selfie" (Marland, 2018). Lotfi also mentioned Kedzio's results concerning selfies and how it might also validate Justin Trudeau's knowledge of and attention to social networks and technology.

That is to say, Justin Trudeau's moniker as a "selfie prime minister," implies that he is aware of and suppresses character characteristics related to the social and technical activity. Lotfi argues that throughout his campaign, Justin Trudeau focuses on multiculturalism and acceptance of "diversity," and this was deemed to be his most dominating approach. Lofti says what distinguishes Trudeau's goals from those of his opponents is his use of technology as a tool for engaging in a type of politics the author refers to as "social media-oriented politics."

In an article written by Lalancette and Raynauld regarding media influence, they stated that Justin Trudeau's use of social media for politics in Canada is radically contrary in tone, yet very similar in terms of political communication approach. Trudeau is well-known for his youth, approachability, and optimistic political outlook. They further argue that Trudeau is particularly active on Instagram in order to bypass traditional media intermediaries and reach out to the general audience in Canada and abroad in highly individualized ways(Lalancette & Raynauld, 2019).

As part of a surge of new developments in visual political communication, these methods are gaining appeal and acceptance. Trudeau used the strategic development and use of "symbolic devices", which can be constructed with both visual and verbal messages, that provide a shorthand cue to audiences for the identification and

enhancement of specific" attributes of an individual, an organization, a phenomenon, or a cause can be defined as political image-making(Hill & Helmers, 2004).

Furthermore, the authors studied Justin Trudeau's strategic use of Instagram to push out visual political content to his followers—and the general public—in order to build, maintain, and strengthen a strategically crafted public image for himself, his message, and his actions, as well as build support in the context of the ongoing campaign. Also, they analyzed Trudeau's personal Instagram account and stated that it functioned as a crucial avenue for constituent contact, as seen by his Instagramming practices in the year after his election. Trudeau's use of Instagram increased considerably after January 2016, when he only shared three posts in each of the final three months of 2015. Lalancette and Raynauld stated that he updated his account at least ten times every month, and between March and June 2016, he shared 25 and 22 posts, respectively(Lalancette & Raynauld, 2019).

On other occasions, the prime minister also posted multiple times each day. While he only shared information once per day for 89 days, he did so twice on 15 days, three times on six days, and four times on two days and this shows his knowledge of the importance of social media nowadays. they continued to say that all of the photographs on Trudeau's personal Instagram that were used in this study were taken by Adam Scotti, the prime minister's official photographer. Hence, they claimed that the photos were created to highlight Trudeau's knowledge, talents, accomplishments, and talent in a good light, and to portray his job as Prime Minister as relevant, lively, and entertaining, despite its seriousness and rigor.

Most importantly, Trudeau's long-standing personal brand is promoted in many ways on his Instagram account, including his youth, athleticism, open-mindedness, interpersonal skills, and support for feminist issues (Marland, 2018; Marland et al., 2017).

In another article that joins Marland and Lalancette, they claimed that when it comes to images of party leaders, political campaigns make a lot of strategic decisions. Voters in Canada seek particular personality attributes in party leaders, including honesty, intellect, friendliness, sincerity, and trustworthiness, and image management strategies can assist to create the perception that leaders possess these features. Also, for showing the importance of the political photos Marland and Lalancette stated that several

photographic gaffes have harmed a politician's career in Canada (Marland & Lalancette, 2019).

The most famous is Robert Stanfield fumbling a football on the tarmac of an airport. Today's strategists are aware that digital pictures spread quickly and may become viral in a matter of seconds. Also, the revelation of old photos of Justin Trudeau donning brownface and blackface on many occasions was a surprising image management failure, especially for someone who had been featured on the cover of Rolling Stone magazine. Those divisive pictures spread like wildfire over the world in an instant. Marland and Lalancette argue the picture management of Canadian Prime Ministers Stephen Harper and Justin Trudeau has been analyzed. Almost every graphic released by their offices included both leaders.

However, the patterns that Trudeau exerts have been depicted as an approachable and youthful feminist with good ideas, whereas Harper has been humanized as a regular Canadian who enjoys hockey. In this study, Marland and Lalancette chose to compare images taken by The Canadian Press, a national news agency, on the same day with those posted on the official Instagram channels of the major political parties and their leaders during the 2019 campaign. According to what was mentioned previously, the authors stated that official photographers and freelance photojournalists may create dramatically distinct images(Marland & Lalancette, 2019). In the article there were two photos of Justin Trudeau, in the first one Trudeau is seen in the center of the frame in an official shot, as though he is leading a big group of people. In their point of view, people are encouraged to believe the snapshot is a celebration of him if we don't know what else is going on.

In the other photo, there is a bodyguard standing directly behind Trudeau; it is unusual to see a prime minister's security detail in public photographs. A security officer is seen holding down a demonstrator clutching eggs in the CP photo. A number of other demonstrators were also attempting to hurl eggs toward Trudeau, as shown in this video. Then Marland and Lalancette moved to a photograph that was shot on the same day as rallies against climate change in Canada and throughout the world. Scheer and his wife were seen harvesting apples by both the Conservative Party and the CP.

The Sheers are conveying the symbolism of a political party that protects the environment by donning Conservative party jackets. And in the other photo, the CP also captured images of a campaign stop in Saskatoon, where climate change activists sought to bring attention to the Conservative leader's absence from international rallies. The Conservative Party's social media channels made no note of the leader's visit to Saskatoon.

Finally, Marland and Lalancette believe that an information subsidy is the creation of digital content that takes advantage of the media's financial difficulties. They argue that it can help in understanding why information subsidies have consequences for political journalism, and why image management is critical in a digital context with such strong identity-centric visual components (Marland & Lalancette, 2019). All in all, the link between the political image role and operational code analysis, in my opinion, is that operational code analysis also measures the perception of leaders of themselves and others. And this perception can be employed in reference to the political image of leaders.

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APPENDIX

Coded Speeches of Justin Trudeau:

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ANNEX

Founded in 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was a trade agreement that established a free trade area between the United States, Mexico, and Canada. It aimed to facilitate free trade and investment among these countries. To this end, it has in particular eliminated the customs duties that stand in the way. Several institutions, including a commission that oversaw the implementation of the Agreement and the work of various NAFTA groups and bodies, guaranteed its trilateral functioning.

Very critical of it, US President Donald Trump wanted to end it, calling NAFTA "the worst deal ever signed". On November 30, 2018, the leaders of the three countries involved signed a new text, the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA). Among the points negotiated (dairy products, intellectual property, etc.), the USMCA expects the automotive industry to comply with the rules for the supply of American materials and components, and that Mexico will increase the remuneration of employees in this sector. Importantly, an entire digital chapter is included in the agreement, to regulate the expansion of GAFAM. Scheduled to enter into force in 2020 through 2036 and renewable once, the agreement will be subject to review every six years(Alena, n.d.).

A chronological timeline of NAFTA from inception until its current statues o and the agreement changes throughout time:

1979

President Ronald Regan discussed North American agreement; the initial proposal enlisted some goods trade to pass more freely across borders of U.S.A, Canada, and Mexico. The proposal also included that people of these countries can go in and out in a flexible matter.

1984

Tariff act and trade between the Canada and the U.S only was adopted, and this had pushed President Regan to force the bilateral free trade agreements.

1989

The second round of discussions about the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between Canada and the U.S.

1991

Mexico has joined and it became a trilateral agreement between the three countries, in which it marked the beginning of free trade regulations.

1992

The official signing and announcement of NAFTA took place by the US President George Bush, Canadian PM Brian Mulroney, and the Mexican President Carlos de Gortari. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), it took 14 months of negotiations and it marked the biggest trade agreement in the world

1994

The three countries-initiated trade regulations.

2006

President Bush persisted on following more security procedures at borders, and limiting the amount of people getting in and out as a mean to control terrorism.

2017

President Donald Trump have accused Canada of taking advantage of the US through unsubstantiated percentage of trade distribution.

2018

Donald Trump decision of ending the trilateral relationship between the three countries and ending NAFTA while providing a modified trade deal that can add more economy to the three countries.

2020

The new trade agreement United States – Mexico – Canada (USMCA) was signed and approved and NAFTA has officially ended. The new trade became active after many relegations and ratifications between the three neighboring countries.