
Internationale Führung: einige rollentheoretische Überlegungen

Symposium zu Ehren von Hanns W. Maull
Deutsche Außenpolitik und internationale Führung:
Ressourcen, Praktiken und Politiken in einer veränderten
Europäischen Union

Das Forschungsnarrativ

1. International leadership refers to a „social relationship“ which constitutes „leaders“ and followers“ with respect to a common goal by a group of states.
2. There have been various leadership conceptualizations in the past. A role theoretical conceptualization is a plausible alternative to more actor-centered conceptualizations.
3. To examine leadership performance, I propose an input (representation) and output (effectiveness in achieving group goal) scheme.
4. When analyzing German foreign policies trajectory under the Merkel government, I find that there is no clear-cut pattern of leadership avoidance/ malperformance for German foreign policy, but a complex mix of both internal and external factors resulting in „leadership reticence“.

Internationale Führung als Rolle

Internationale Rollen: Definition und Erklärung

- In role theory, roles are typically recognized as social positions which are constituted by ego and alter expectations regarding the purpose of an actor in an organized group (cf. Thies 2010: 3-4; Andrews 1975: 529).

The position's function in the group is limited in time and scope and it is dependent on the group's structure and purpose. Whereas some roles are constitutive to the group as such, e.g. a recognized member of the international community, other roles or role sets are functionally specific, e.g. balancer, initiator etc.

International Leadership: definition and explanation

- International leadership may be defined as a social role consisting of expectations of a group of states towards one or more group members to enhance the group's goals by means at the leaders disposal and compliance by following states. This regularly includes the partial transfer of national policy competences and power resources to the group leader (Harnisch 2013).

Leadership thus requires both hard and soft power, that is leadership through representing the interests of the group (input legitimacy of leadership) and effectively achieving the goals of the group (output legitimacy).

To pursue leadership functions, the role holder needs social capital among which trust is the most important one.

Trust as an essential resource of international leadership

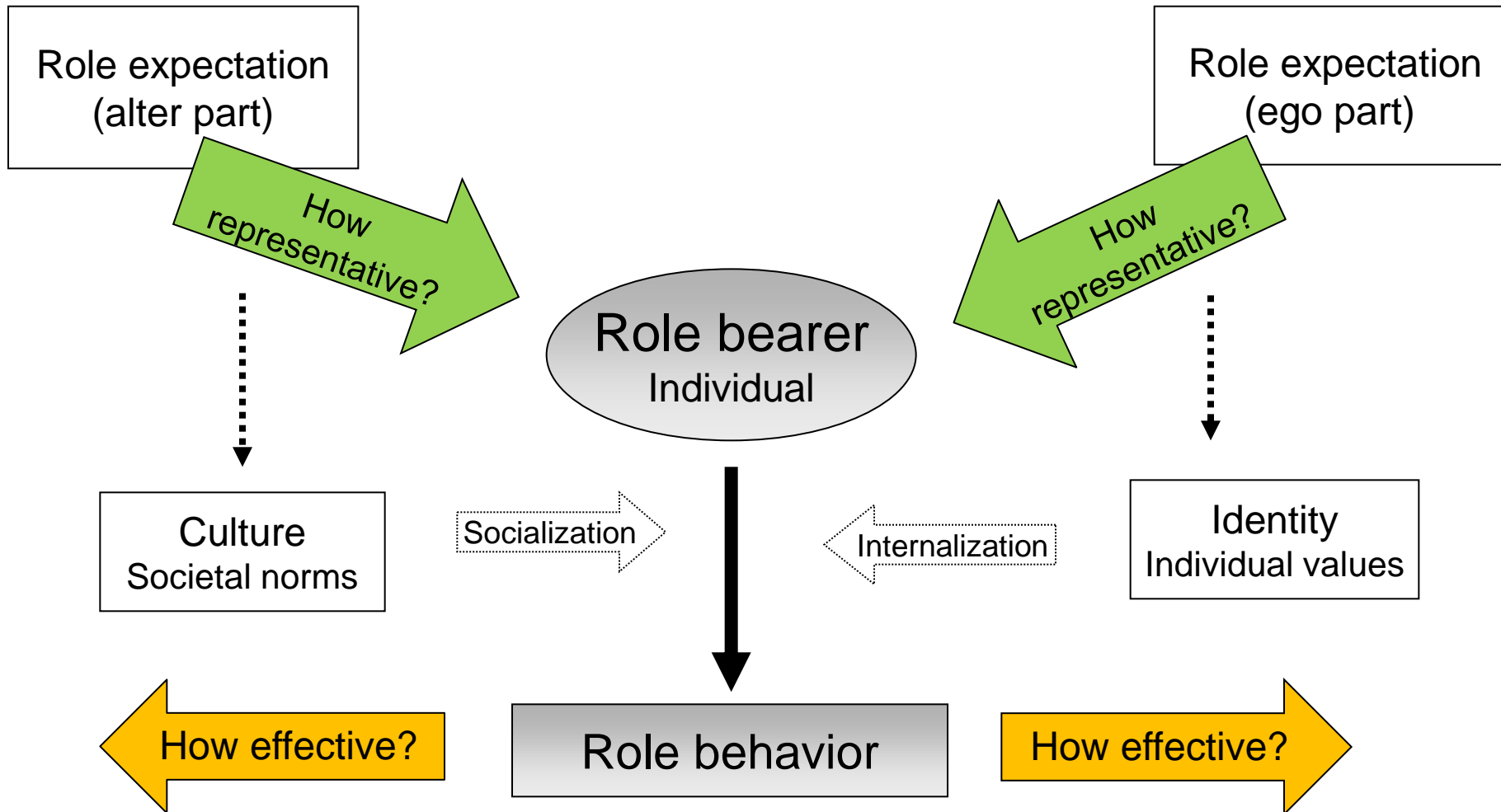
- Trust is the belief that one will not be harmed when his or her fate is placed in the hands others (Hardin 2006: 29).
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1. Trust always entails a combination of uncertainty and vulnerability as the trusting partner is exposed to potential opportunism.
 2. Nicolas Luhman: „trust is paid ... as an advance on success“.
 3. Ostrom/Walker: trust is not altruism but rather the expectation of reciprocity“.
 4. Trust may be strategic/limited – both in scope and time – and generalized – diffuse reciprocity in kind and time.

Measuring international leadership: the case of Germany

Measuring International leadership

Composition of leadership / Scope of constituency	Singular	Collective
Coalitional	Coalition of the willing	EU3+3
Inclusive	Germany in the Euro Crisis	EU/German leadership in UNFCCC

Measuring International leadership: the input and output dimension



Einleitung

Hanns Maull als „intellektueller Unternehmer“

Intellektuelles Unternehmertum: Unerhörtes tun, neue Lösungen anbieten

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tion could become important features at the level of the global economy as well.

American worries about being pushed aside and replaced as the leading Western power also largely miss the real point. For one thing, U.S. leadership is not really threatened, although it is undergoing qualitative changes. Moreover, as Herbert Stein has rightly pointed out, the American concern about losing preeminence confuses leadership with dominance and economic strength with economic monopoly.⁵ Put differently, these worries look at today's world of international relations—shaped by the dynamics of interdependence—through yesterday's lenses of balance-of-power politics among nation states obsessed with territorial insecurity and expansion. The politi-

Hanns W. Maull 2008: Germany and the Art of Coalition Building

- The ability to initiate, enlarge and empower coalitions able to assemble the power resources and develop the strategies to deal with international challenges against the background of globalization may in fact be the most important form of skill or 'soft power' in future international politics....
- Effective coalition building and effective multilateralism involve state actors as leaders and followers

Hanns W. Maull 2008: Coalition builder as a role

- a) setting the agenda,
- b) clearly defining common objectives,
- c) securing commitments,
- d) developing shared strategies or a common blueprint for action and implementation, with a clear division of roles and labour,
- e) setting time lines,
- f) securing legitimacy at home (support) and internationally (recognition and support) and, finally,
- g) a context in which those actors who try to block the coalition from achieving its objectives will be amenable to persuasion or coercion (or an appropriate mixture of both) or be unable to muster sufficient veto power.

Trust as an essential resource of international leadership

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