

Setting the tone

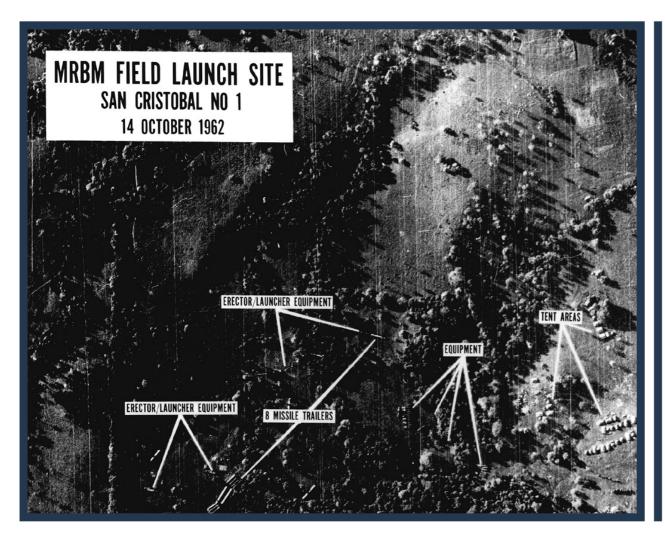
How talk reveals relational structures of power

Peter McMahan peter.mcmahan@mcgill.ca

Relational structures of power

- 1. ExComm and the Cuban Missile Crisis
- 2. A model of linguistic accommodation
- 3. Individual orientation and group structure

1. ExComm and the Cuban Missile Crisis



October 1962: US intelligence discovered evidence of Soviet missiles in Cuba.

President Kennedy convened the ad-hoc Executive Committee of the National Security Council (ExComm) to advise on the US response.

Consequential
Potential for nuclear war

Ad-hoc Situation negotiated *de novo*

Informal Candid talk encouraged

Recorded Most meetings secretly taped



Consequential

Potential for nuclear war

Ad-hoc

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Group sensemaking

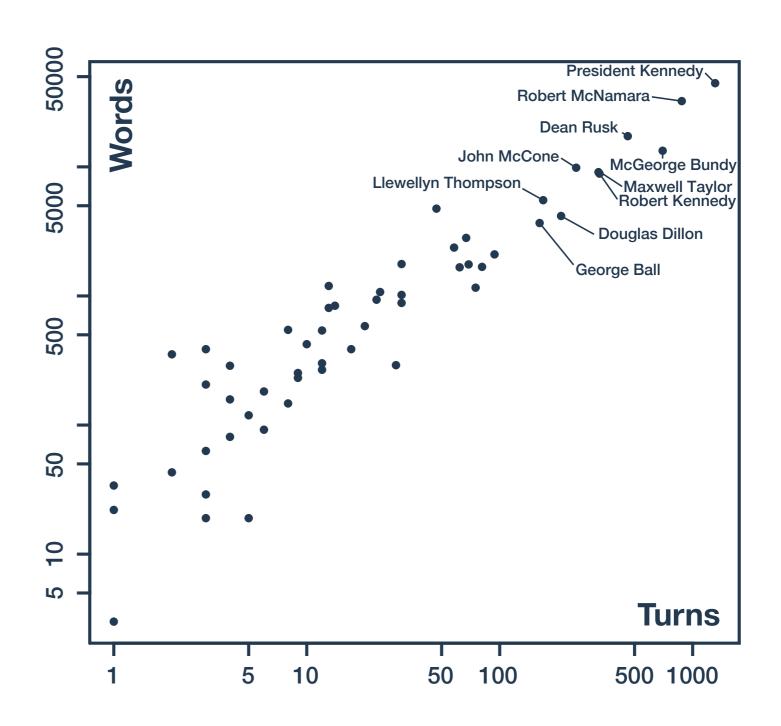


Situated relations



Contextualized group structure

- 16 transcribed meetings over 13 days
- 54 attributed speakers (16 "core" participants)
- 5,772 distinct conversation turns, dominated by a few active participants



2. A model of linguistic accommodation (style matching)

Style matching

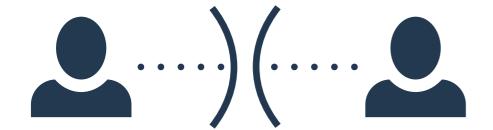


Individuals adjust their 'style' of communication to fit different social situations (code switching).

Style matching

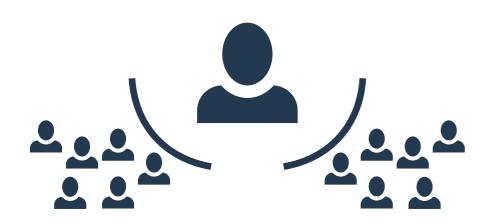


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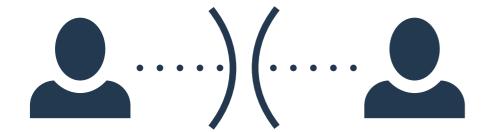


Individuals match linguistic style to conversation partners'.

Style matching



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Individuals match linguistic style to conversation partners'.



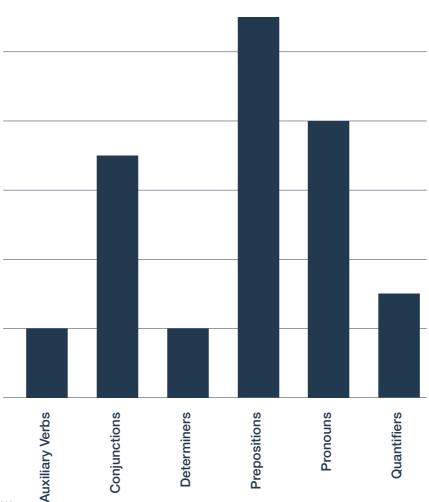
Asymmetry in linguistic accommodation associated with situated perceptions of status.

Defining linguistic style

Function words

Auxiliary verbs (should, must, may, ...)
Conjunctions (however, then, and, ...)
Determiners (a, any, per, ...)
Prepositions (above, of, through, ...)
Pronouns (them, mine, anyone, ...)
Quantifiers (many, each, some, ...)

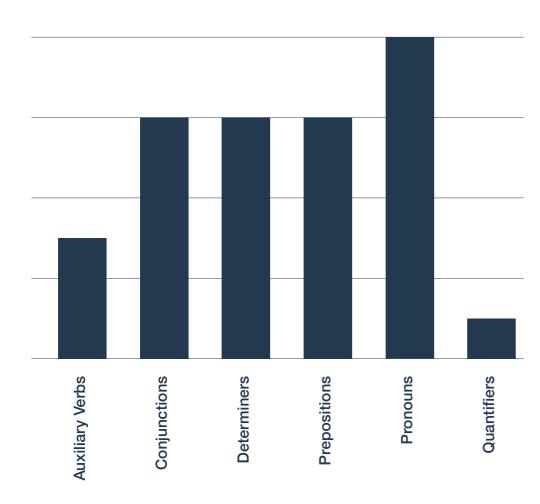
Stylistic signature



Defining linguistic style

Maxwell Taylor:

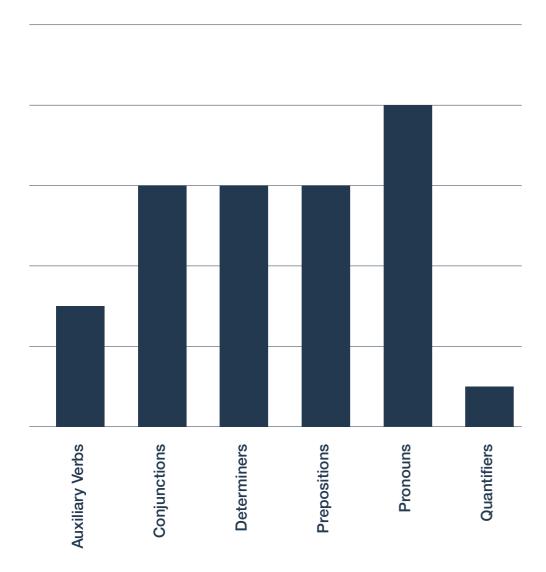
Mr. President, I should say that the Chiefs and the commanders feel so strongly about the dangers inherent in the limited strike that they would prefer taking no military action rather than to take that limited first strike. They feel that it's opening up the United States to attacks which they can't prevent, if we don't take advantage of surprise.



Defining linguistic style

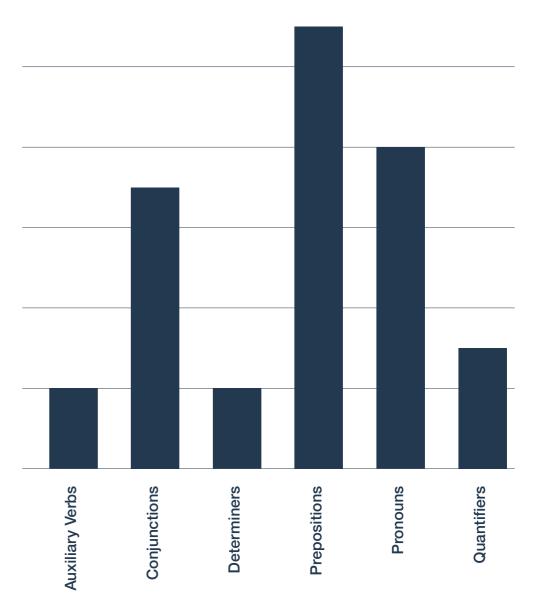
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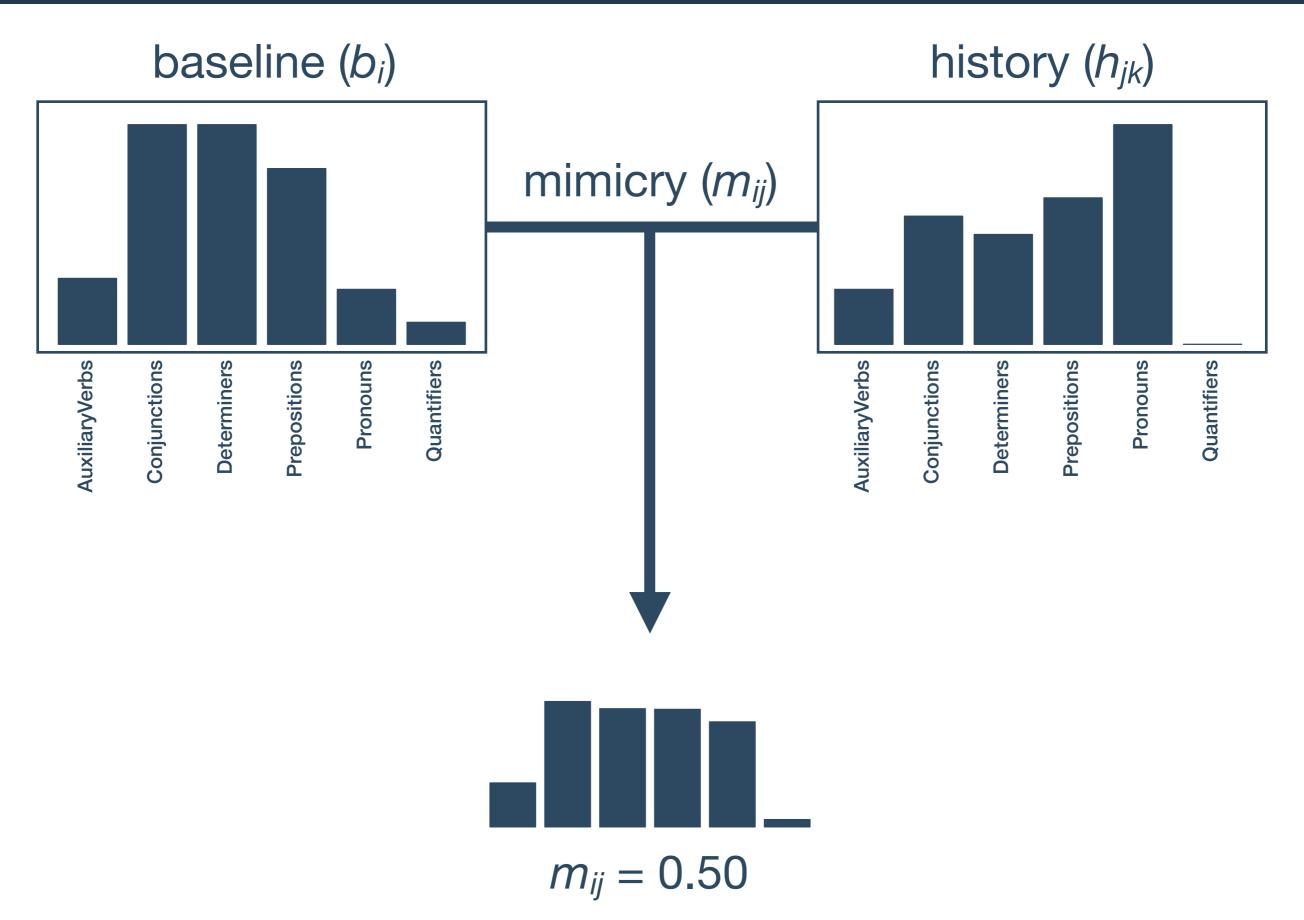


Robert McNamara:

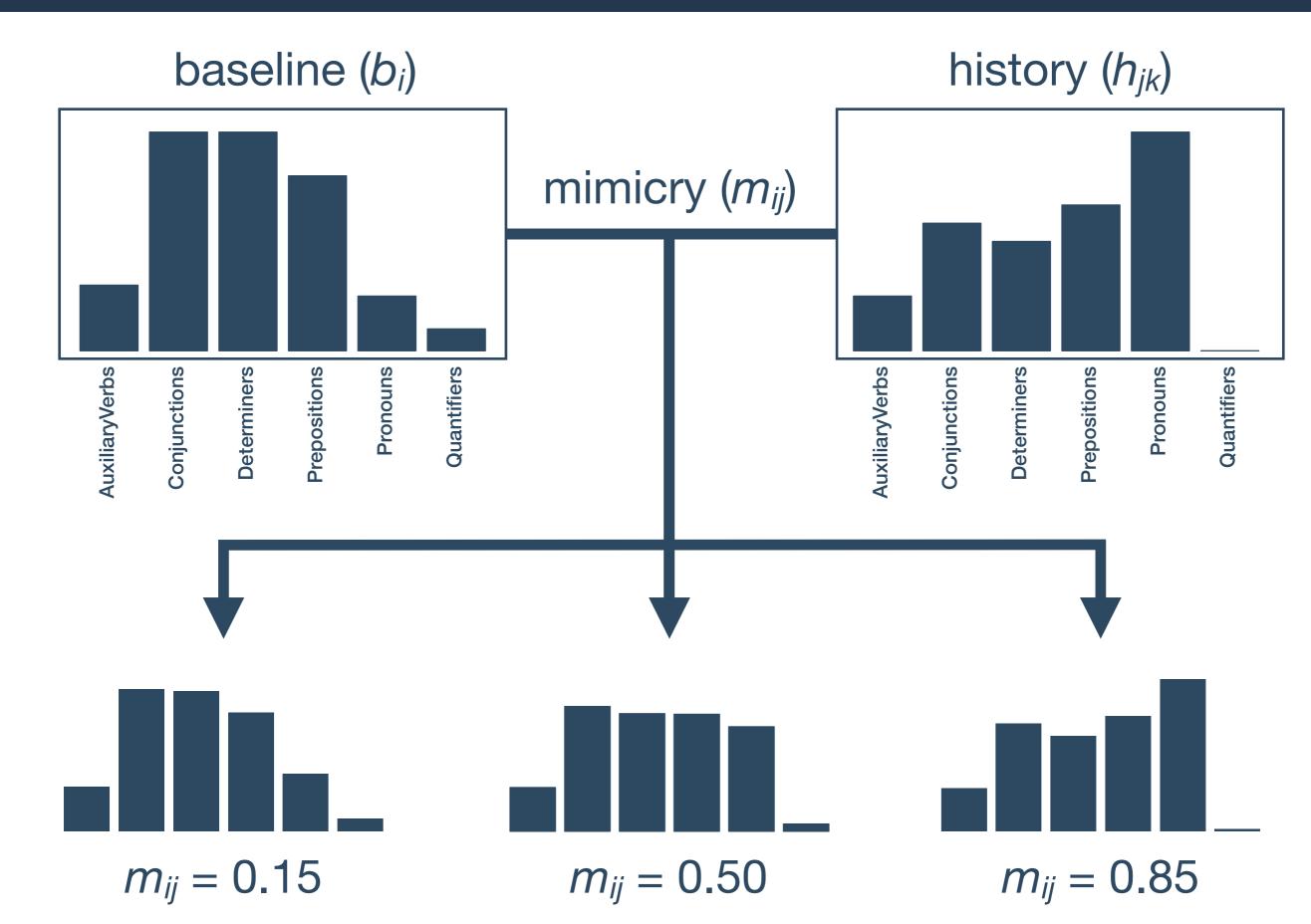
You can't just throw more of what we're now doing, because ... And then we need to have two things ready: A government for Cuba, because we're going to need one after we go in with bomber aircraft. And, secondly, plans for how to respond to the Soviet Union in Europe because sure as hell they're going to do something there.



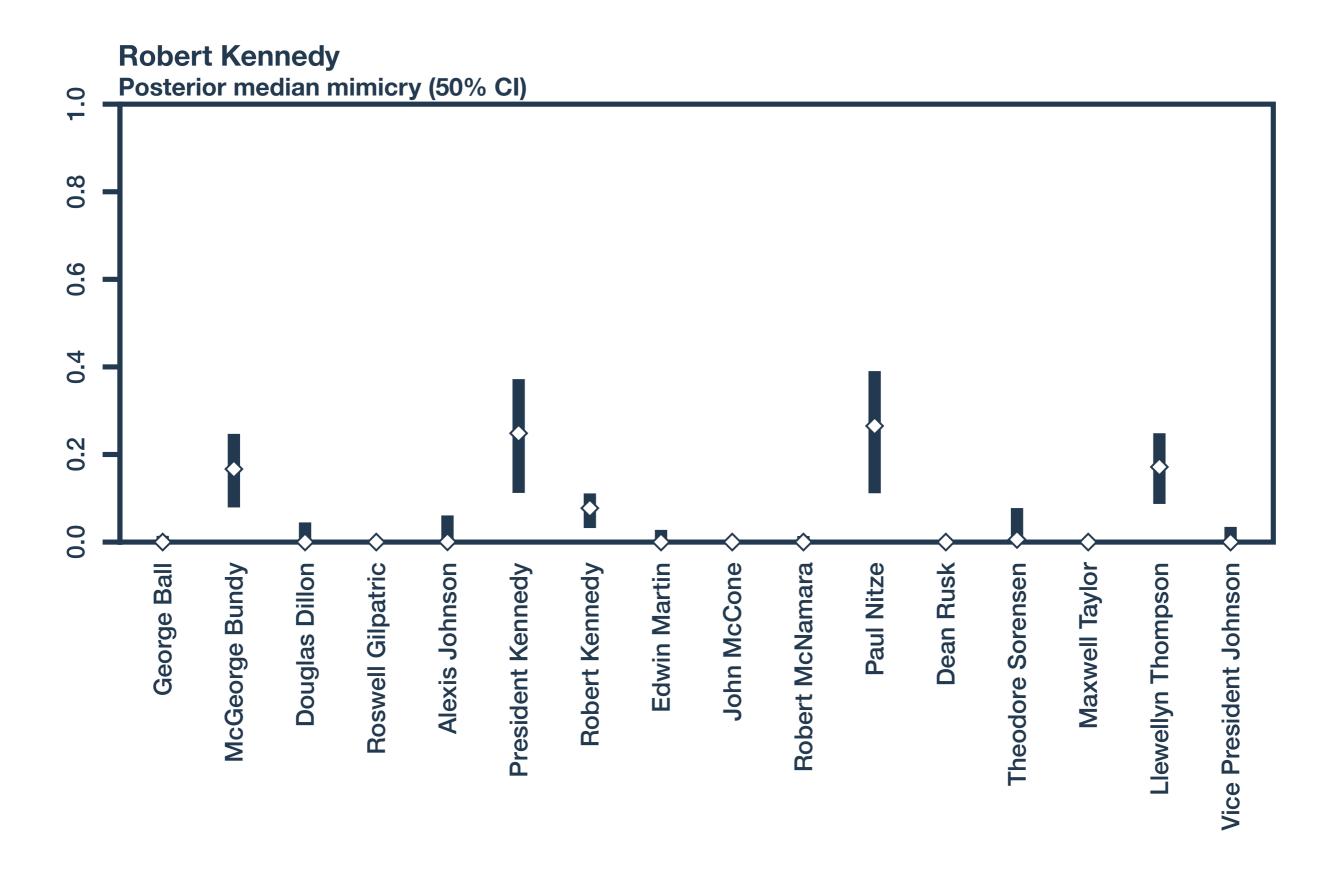
Model

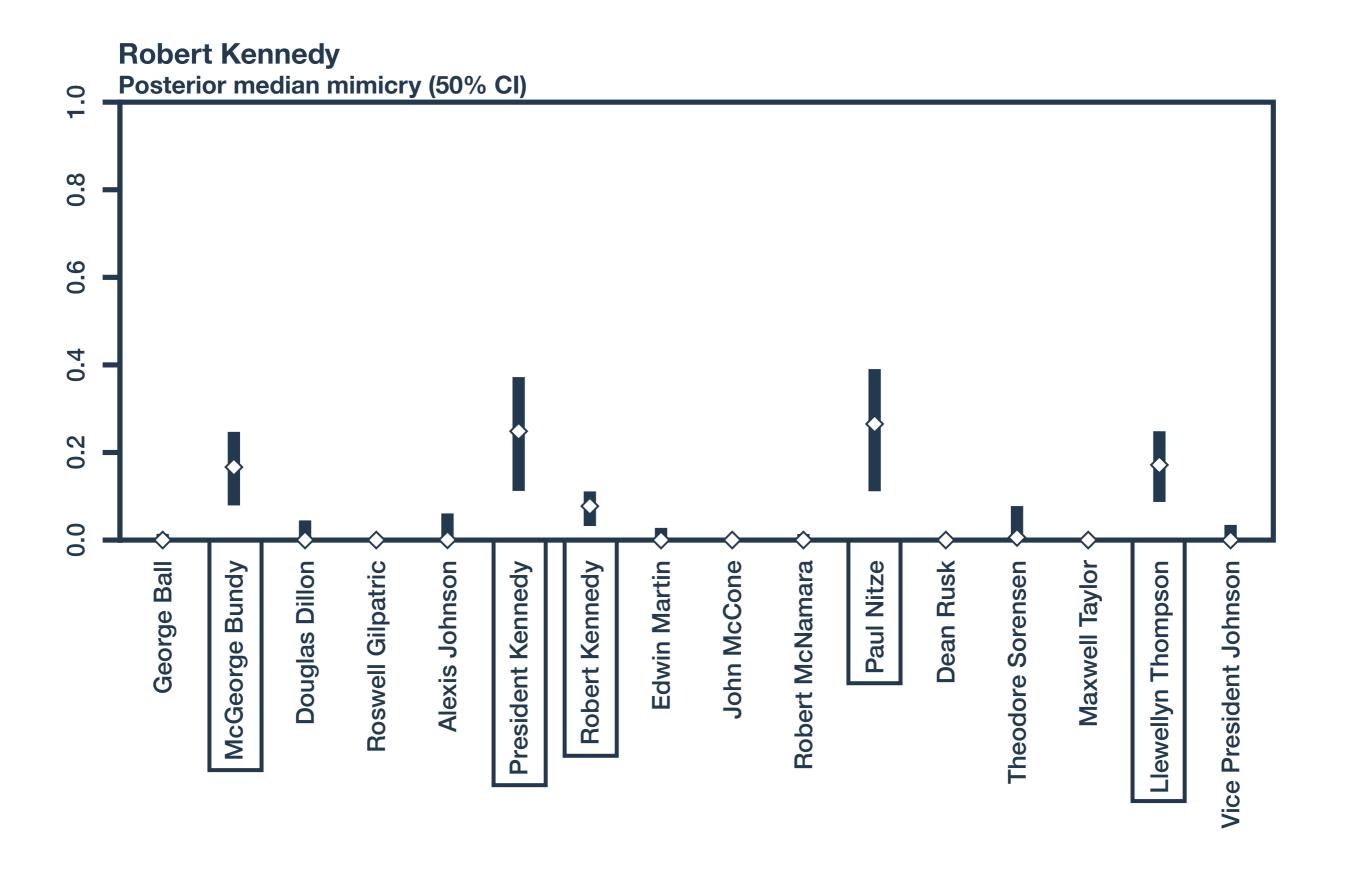


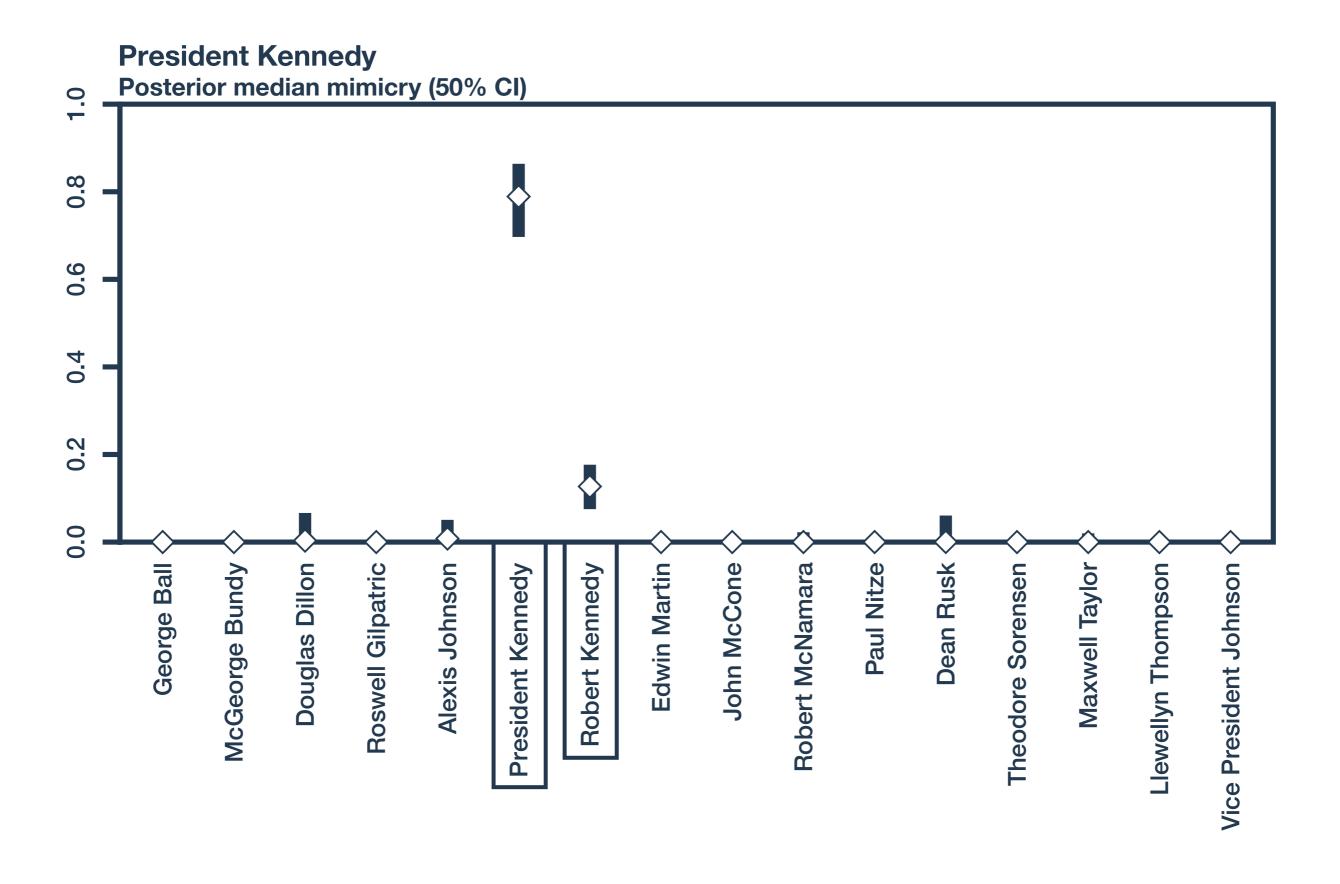
Model

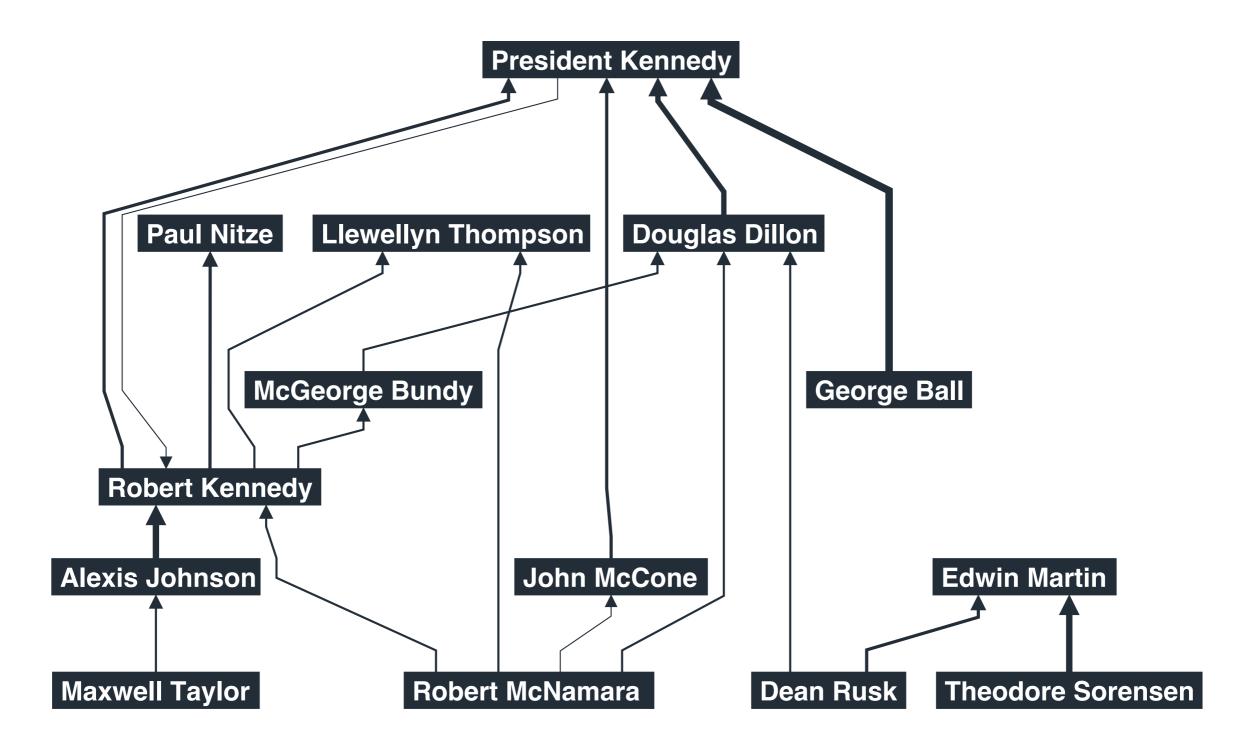


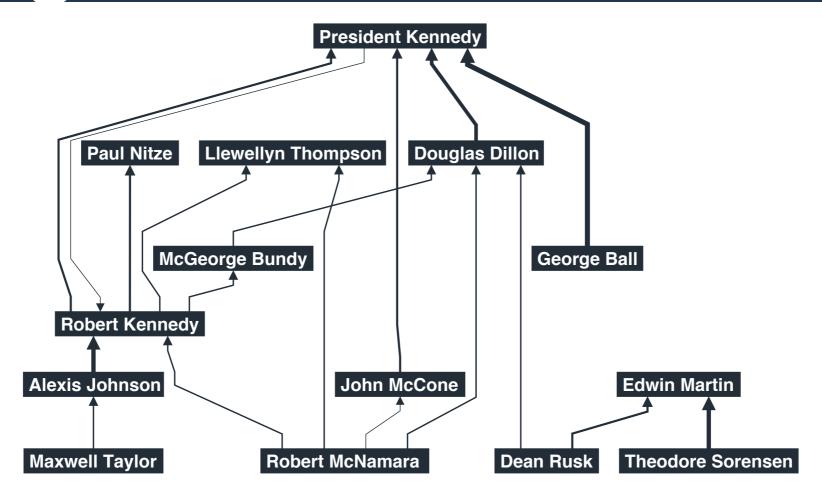
3. Individual orientation and group structure (results)







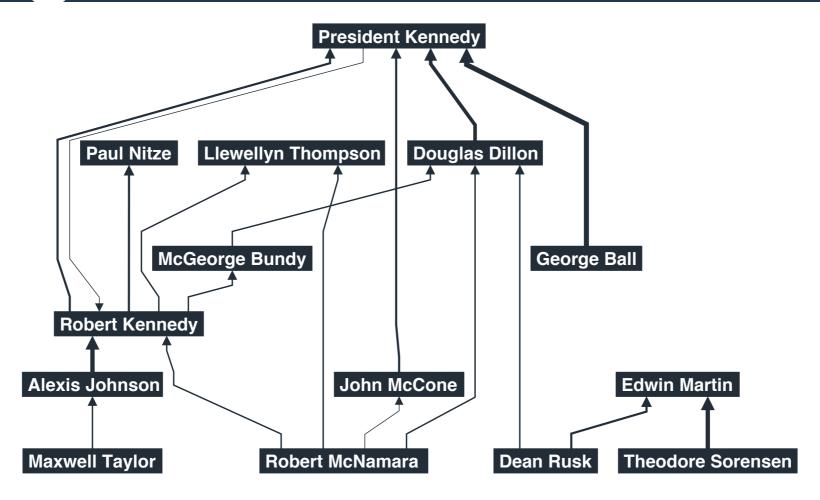




Strict hierarchy (one exception)

Acyclic (DAG)

President at 'top'



Strict hierarchy (one exception)

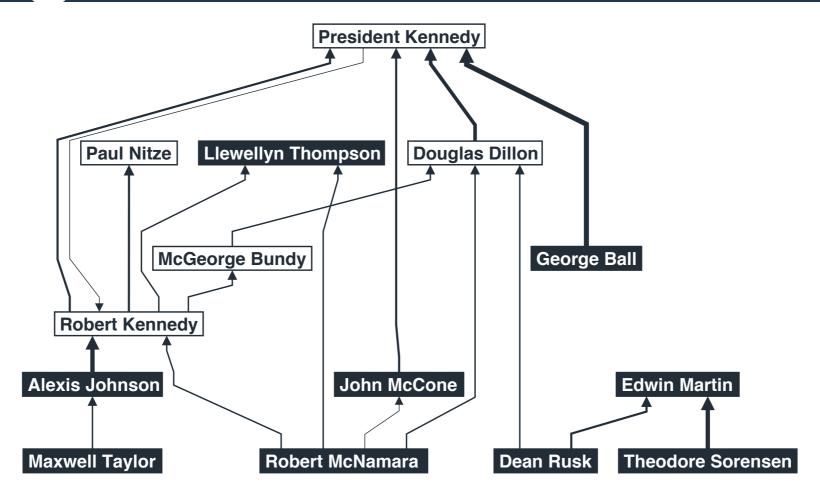
Acyclic (DAG)

President at 'top'

Positions beyond 'high' versus 'low'

McNamara: embedded

Rusk: peripheral



Strict hierarchy (one exception)

Acyclic (DAG)

President at 'top'

Positions beyond 'high' versus 'low'

McNamara: embedded

Rusk: peripheral

Reflects social class divides

Ivy-league education strongly associated with orientation

<u>Limitations</u>

Spoken language is not the whole picture

- Non-verbal interactions (body language, facial expressions, physical arrangement, ...)
- Non-human elements incorporated only indirectly (intelligence reports, military equipment, written messages, ...)

Conflation of statistical and situational uncertainty

 'Holes' in the structural picture could represent lack of interpersonal engagement or a lack of statistical power

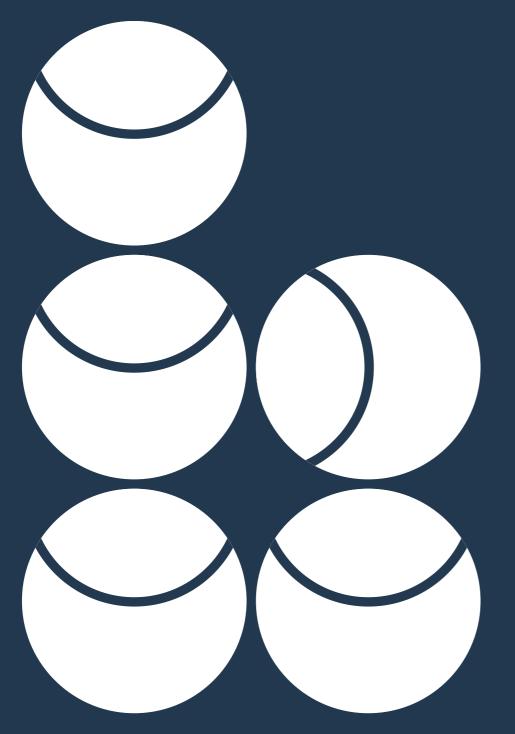
Take-aways

Language reveals individuals' relations to group

- "Definition of the situation" at the intersubjective level
- Orientation of each participant to group as whole'

Hierarchical structure emergent from relational stances

- Discursive processes and group relational structure are co-constituted in the situation
- Hierarchy is an empirical outcome rather than assumption of model/theory



Thank you!

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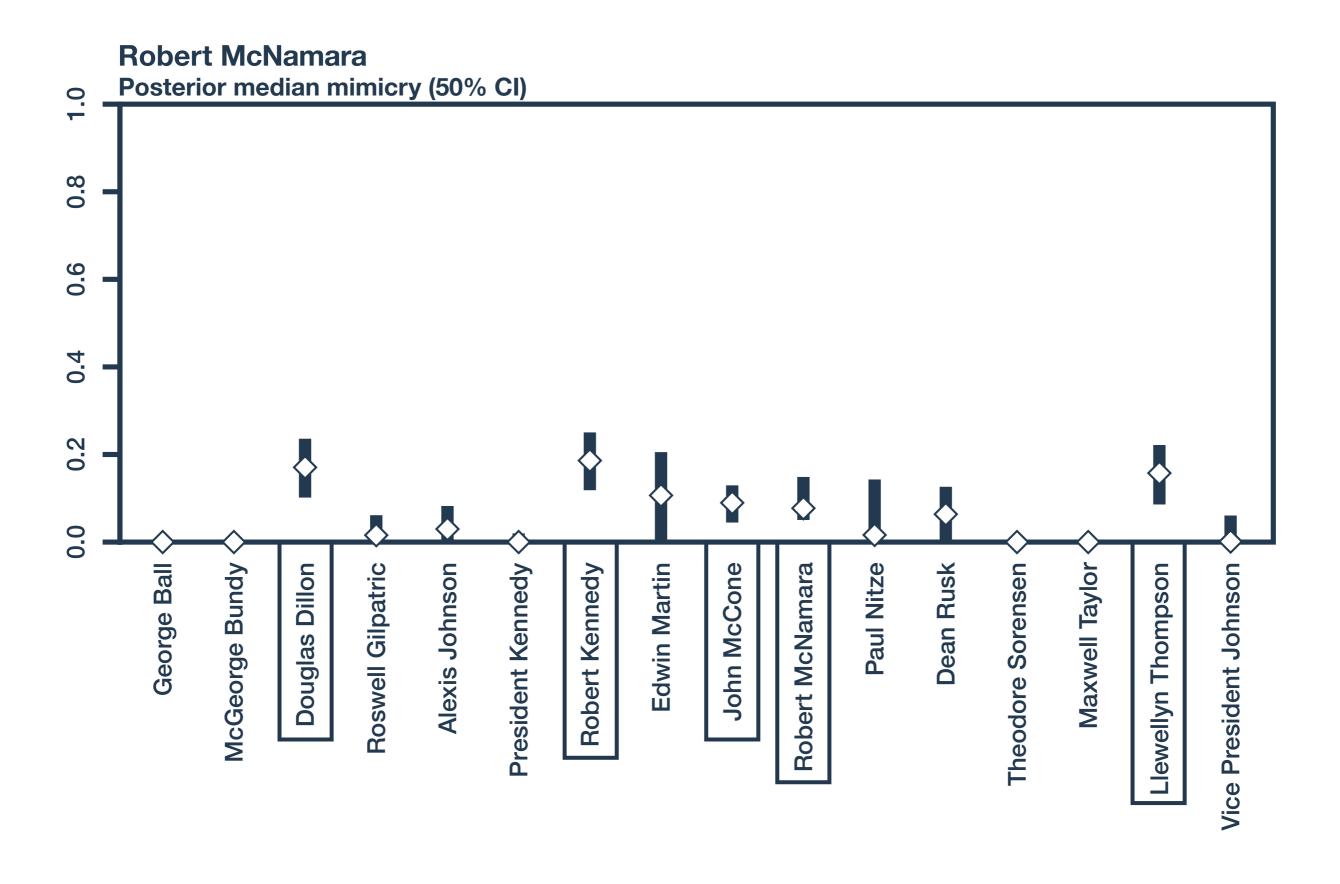
Slides:

https://kutt.it/sunbelt19

Model

$$egin{aligned} \mathbf{h}_{kj} &= rac{\sum_{\kappa \in U(j,k)} \mathbf{f}_{\kappa}}{\mathbf{1} \cdot \sum_{\kappa \in U(j,k)} \mathbf{f}_{\kappa}} \ \mathbf{f}_{k} &\sim \operatorname{Multinomial}\left(m_{\overline{k},\overline{k}} \mathbf{b}_{\overline{k}} + \sum_{j
eq \overline{k}} m_{\overline{k},j} \mathbf{h}_{jk} \; ; \; \sigma_{k}
ight) \ \mathbf{b}_{i} &\sim \operatorname{Dirichlet}(a_{b}) \ \mathbf{m}_{ij} &\sim \operatorname{Dirichlet}(a_{m}) \end{aligned}$$

- **f**_k: function word count of utterance k
- h_{kj}: cumulative function word count by person j prior to utterance k in current meeting
- **b**_i: baseline style of person *j* (unobserved)
- m_{i,j}: degree to which person i accommodates person j



Key ExComm membership

George Ball	Undersecretary of State	Northwestern
McGeorge Bundy	National Security Advisor	Yale
Douglas Dillon	Secretary of Treasury	Harvard
Roswell Gilpatric	Deputy Secretary of Defense	Yale
Alexis Johnson	Deputy Undersecretary for Political Affairs Occidental College	
Lyndon Johnson	Vice President	Southwest Texas State Teachers College
John F. Kennedy	President	Harvard
Robert Kennedy	Attorney General	Harvard
Edwin Martin	Assistant Secretary of State for Inter- American Affairs	Northwestern
John McCone	Director of Central Intelligence	Berkeley
Robert McNamara	Secretary of Defense	Berkeley
Paul Nitze	Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs	Harvard
Dean Rusk	Secretary of State	Davidson College
Theodore Sorensen	Special counsel to president	University of Nebraska, Lincoln
Maxwell Taylor	Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff	Kansas City Polytechnic Institute / West Point
Llewellyn Thompson	Former ambassador to the Soviet Union	University of Colorado

Key ExComm membership

