


7-2010

# The Political Personality of U.S. President Barack Obama

Aubrey Immelman

St. John's University / College of St. Benedict, [aimmelman@csbsju.edu](mailto:aimmelman@csbsju.edu)

Follow this and additional works at: [http://digitalcommons.csbsju.edu/psychology\\_pubs](http://digitalcommons.csbsju.edu/psychology_pubs)

 Part of the [American Politics Commons](#), [Leadership Studies Commons](#), [Other Political Science Commons](#), [Other Psychology Commons](#), [Personality and Social Contexts Commons](#), and the [Political History Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Immelman, A. (2008, July). *The political personality of U.S. president Barack Obama*. Paper presented at the 33rd Annual Scientific Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology, San Francisco, CA, July 7-10, 2010. Retrieved from Digital Commons website: [http://digitalcommons.csbsju.edu/psychology\\_pubs/25/](http://digitalcommons.csbsju.edu/psychology_pubs/25/)

# **THE POLITICAL PERSONALITY OF U.S. PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA**

Aubrey Immelman

Department of Psychology  
Saint John's University

Unit for the Study of Personality in Politics  
College of Saint Benedict  
St. Joseph, MN 56374  
Telephone: (320) 363-5481  
E-mail: [aimmelman@csbsju.edu](mailto:aimmelman@csbsju.edu)

Paper presented at the Thirty-third Annual Scientific Meeting of the International Society  
of Political Psychology, San Francisco, CA

July 7–10, 2010



Presenter Aubrey Immelman and discussant Peter Suedfeld (Photo: Irina Rogozar-Kolpakova)

## Abstract

### The Political Personality of U.S. President Barack Obama

Aubrey Immelman  
Saint John's University  
Unit for the Study of Personality in Politics  
<http://www.csbsju.edu/uspp>  
College of Saint Benedict  
St. Joseph, MN 56374, U.S.A.

The paper presents the results of an indirect assessment of the personality of U.S. President Barack Obama, from the conceptual perspective of personologist Theodore Millon. Information concerning Obama was collected from biographical sources and media reports and synthesized into a personality profile using the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria (MIDC), which yields 34 normal and maladaptive personality classifications congruent with Axis II of *DSM-IV*.

The personality profile yielded by the MIDC was analyzed on the basis of interpretive guidelines provided in the MIDC and Millon Index of Personality Styles manuals. Obama's primary personality patterns were found to be Ambitious/confident and Dominant/asserting, with secondary features of the Accommodating/cooperative and Conscientious/respectful patterns. The combination of Ambitious and Accommodating patterns in Obama's profile suggests a *confident conciliator* personality composite.

Leaders matching the confident conciliator personality prototype, though self-assured and assertive, are characteristically gracious, considerate, and benevolent. Confident conciliators are charming and agreeable, with a special talent for settling differences; they favor mediation and compromise over force or coercion as a strategy for resolving conflict and are driven primarily by a need for achievement. Relative to other chief executives in similar positions, they are likely to be less driven by power, with a stronger need for affiliation.

The major implication of the study is that it offers an empirically based personological framework for anticipating Obama's leadership style as president.

## Introduction

This paper reports the results of psychodiagnostic case study of Barack Hussein Obama, 44<sup>th</sup> president of the United States, conducted during the 2008 presidential campaign.

Conceptually, the study is informed by Theodore Millon's (1969, 1986a, 1986b, 1990, 1991, 1994, 1996, 2003; Millon & Davis, 2000; Millon & Everly, 1985) model of personality as adapted (Immelman, 1993, 1998, 2002, 2003 2005) for the study of personality in politics.

I employ the terms *personality* and *politics* in Fred Greenstein's (1992) narrowly construed sense. Politics, by this definition, "refers to the politics most often studied by political scientists — that of civil government and of the extra-governmental processes that more or less directly impinge upon government, such as political parties" and campaigns. Personality, as narrowly construed in political psychology, "excludes political attitudes and opinions . . . and applies only to nonpolitical personal differences" (p. 107).

Personality may be concisely defined as:

a complex pattern of deeply embedded psychological characteristics that are largely nonconscious and not easily altered, expressing themselves automatically in almost every facet of functioning. Intrinsic and pervasive, these traits emerge from a complicated matrix of biological dispositions and experiential learnings, and ultimately comprise the individual's distinctive pattern of perceiving, feeling, thinking, coping, and behaving. (Millon, 1996, p. 4)

Greenstein (1992) makes a compelling case for studying personality in government and politics: "Political institutions and processes operate through human agency. It would be remarkable if they were *not* influenced by the properties that distinguish one individual from another" (p. 124).

That perspective provides the context for the current paper, which presents an analysis of the personality of Barack Obama and examines the political implications of his personality profile with respect to presidential leadership and executive performance.

The methodology employed in this study involves the construction of a theoretically grounded personality profile derived from empirical analysis of biographical source materials (see Immelman, 1999, 2003, 2005).

A comprehensive review of Millon's personological model and its applicability to political personality has been provided elsewhere (e.g., Immelman, 1993, 2003, 2005). Briefly, Millon's model encompasses eight attribute domains: expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct, cognitive style, mood/temperament, self-image, regulatory mechanisms, object representations, and morphologic organization (see Table 1).

**Table 1**  
*Millon's Eight Attribute Domains*

Attribute	Description
Expressive behavior	The individual's characteristic behavior; how the individual typically appears to others; what the individual knowingly or unknowingly reveals about him- or herself; what the individual wishes others to think or to know about him or her.
Interpersonal conduct	How the individual typically interacts with others; the attitudes that underlie, prompt, and give shape to these actions; the methods by which the individual engages others to meet his or her needs; how the individual copes with social tensions and conflicts.
Cognitive style	How the individual focuses and allocates attention, encodes and processes information, organizes thoughts, makes attributions, and communicates reactions and ideas to others.
Mood/temperament	How the individual typically displays emotion; the predominant character of an individual's affect and the intensity and frequency with which he or she expresses it.
Self-image	The individual's perception of self-as-object or the manner in which the individual overtly describes him- or herself.
Regulatory mechanisms	The individual's characteristic mechanisms of self-protection, need gratification, and conflict resolution.
Object representations	The inner imprint left by the individual's significant early experiences with others; the structural residue of significant past experiences, composed of memories, attitudes, and affects that underlie the individual's perceptions of and reactions to ongoing events and serves as a substrate of dispositions for perceiving and reacting to life's ongoing events.
Morphologic organization	The overall architecture that serves as a framework for the individual's psychic interior; the structural strength, interior congruity, and functional efficacy of the personality system (i.e., ego strength).

*Note.* From *Disorders of Personality: DSM-IV and Beyond* (pp. 141–146) by T. Millon, 1996, New York: Wiley; *Toward a New Personology: An Evolutionary Model* (chapter 5) by T. Millon, 1990, New York: Wiley; and *Personality and Its Disorders: A Biosocial Learning Approach* (p. 32) by T. Millon and G. S. Everly, Jr., 1985, New York: Wiley. Copyright © 1996, © 1990, © 1985 by John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Adapted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc. and Theodore Millon.

## Method

### *Materials*

The materials consisted of biographical sources and the personality inventory employed to systematize and synthesize diagnostically relevant information collected from the literature on Barack Obama.

*Sources of data.* Diagnostic information pertaining to Obama was collected from two autobiographies and a broad array of approximately 150 media reports that offered useful, diagnostically relevant psychobiographic information, referenced in the Appendix.

*Personality inventory.* The assessment instrument, the second edition of the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria (MIDC; Immelman & Steinberg, 1999), was compiled and adapted from Millon's (1969, 1986b; 1990, 1996; Millon & Everly, 1985) prototypal features and diagnostic criteria for normal personality styles and their pathological variants. Information concerning the construction, administration, scoring, and interpretation of the MIDC is provided in the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria manual (Immelman, 1999).<sup>1</sup> The 12-scale (see Table 2) instrument taps the first five "noninferential" (Millon, 1990, p. 157) attribute domains previously listed in Table 1.

The 12 MIDC scales correspond to major personality patterns posited by Millon (1994, 1996), which are congruent with the syndromes described on Axis II of the fourth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV)* of the American Psychiatric Association (APA; 1994) and coordinated with the normal personality styles in which these disorders are rooted, as described by Millon and Everly (1985), Millon (1994), Oldham and Morris (1995), and Strack (1997). Scales 1 through 8 (comprising 10 scales and subscales) have three gradations (a, b, c) yielding 30 personality variants, whereas Scales 9 and 0 have two gradations (d, e) yielding four variants, for a total of 34 personality designations, or types. Table 2 displays the full taxonomy.

---

<sup>1</sup> Inventory and manual available upon request from the author.

**Table 2**  
***Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: Scales and Gradations***

---

Scale 1A:	Dominant pattern a. Asserting b. Controlling c. Aggressive (Sadistic; <i>DSM-III-R</i> , Appendix A)
Scale 1B:	Dauntless pattern a. Adventurous b. Dissenting c. Aggrandizing (Antisocial; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.7)
Scale 2:	Ambitious pattern a. Confident b. Self-serving c. Exploitative (Narcissistic; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.81)
Scale 3:	Outgoing pattern a. Congenial b. Gregarious c. Impulsive (Histrionic; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.50)
Scale 4:	Accommodating pattern a. Cooperative b. Agreeable c. Submissive (Dependent; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.6)
Scale 5A:	Aggrieved pattern a. Unpresuming b. Self-denying c. Self-defeating ( <i>DSM-III-R</i> , Appendix A)
Scale 5B:	Contentious pattern a. Resolute b. Oppositional c. Negativistic (Passive-aggressive; <i>DSM-III-R</i> , 301.84)
Scale 6:	Conscientious pattern a. Respectful b. Dutiful c. Compulsive (Obsessive-compulsive; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.4)
Scale 7:	Reticent pattern a. Circumspect b. Inhibited c. Withdrawn (Avoidant; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.82)
Scale 8:	Retiring pattern a. Reserved b. Aloof c. Solitary (Schizoid; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.20)
Scale 9:	Distrusting pattern d. Suspicious e. Paranoid ( <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.0)
Scale 0:	Erratic pattern d. Unstable e. Borderline ( <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.83)

---

*Note.* Equivalent *DSM* terminology and codes are specified in parentheses.

### ***Diagnostic Procedure***

The diagnostic procedure, termed *psychodiagnostic meta-analysis*, can be conceptualized as a three-part process: first, an *analysis* phase (data collection) during which source materials are reviewed and analyzed to extract and code diagnostically relevant content; second, a *synthesis* phase (scoring and interpretation) during which the unifying framework provided by the MIDC prototypal features, keyed for attribute domain and personality pattern, is employed to classify the diagnostically relevant information extracted in phase 1; and finally, an *evaluation* phase (inference) during which theoretically grounded descriptions, explanations, inferences, and predictions are extrapolated from Millon's theory of personality based on the personality profile constructed in phase 2 (see Immelman, 1999, 2003, 2005, for a more detailed account of the procedure).

### **Results**

The analysis of the data includes a summary of descriptive statistics yielded by the MIDC scoring procedure, the MIDC profile for Barack Obama, diagnostic classification of the subject, and the clinical interpretation of significant MIDC scale elevations derived from the diagnostic procedure.

Obama received 32 endorsements on the 170-item MIDC. Judging from endorsement-rate deviations from the mean (see Table 3), data on Obama's expressive behavior are overrepresented in data set, while data on his cognitive style were the most difficult to obtain.

The assessment of cognitive style relies substantially on inference, a difficult task when appraising a subject at a distance. In contrast, the relatively high endorsement frequency for the more directly observable domain of expressive behavior is consistent with previous studies.

Descriptive statistics for Obama's MIDC ratings are presented in Table 3.



**Table 3**  
*MIDC Item Endorsement Rate by Attribute Domain*

Expressive behavior	9
Interpersonal conduct	6
Cognitive style	5
Mood/temperament	6
Self-image	6
Sum	32
Mean	6.4
Standard deviation	1.4

Obama's MIDC scale scores are reported in Table 4. The same data are presented graphically in the profile depicted in Figure 1.

**Table 4**  
*MIDC Scale Scores for Barack Obama*

Scale	Personality pattern	Raw	RT%
1A	Dominant: Asserting–Controlling–Aggressive (Sadistic)	7	20.6
1B	Dauntless: Adventurous–Dissenting–Aggrandizing (Antisocial)	3	8.8
2	Ambitious: Confident–Self-serving–Exploitative (Narcissistic)	7	20.6
3	Outgoing: Congenial–Gregarious–Impulsive (Histrionic)	3	8.8
4	Accommodating: Cooperative–Agreeable–Submissive (Dependent)	5	14.7
5A	Aggrieved: Unpresuming–Self-denying–Self-defeating (Masochistic)	1	2.9
5B	Contentious: Resolute–Oppositional–Negativistic (Passive-aggressive)	1	2.9
6	Conscientious: Respectful–Dutiful–Compulsive (Obsessive-compulsive)	4	11.8
7	Reticent: Circumspect–Inhibited–Withdrawn (Avoidant)	2	5.9
8	Retiring: Reserved–Aloof–Solitary (Schizoid)	1	2.9
	Subtotal for basic personality scales	34	100
9	Distrusting: Suspicious–Paranoid (Paranoid)	0	0.0
0	Erratic: Unstable–Borderline (Borderline)	0	0.0
	Full-scale total	34	100.0

*Note.* For Scales 1–8, ratio-transformed (RT%) scores are the scores for each scale expressed as a percentage of the sum of raw scores for the ten basic scales only. For Scales 9 and 0, ratio-transformed scores are scores expressed as a percentage of the sum of raw scores for all twelve MIDC scales (therefore, full-scale RT% totals can exceed 100). Personality patterns are enumerated with scale gradations and equivalent *DSM* terminology (in parentheses).

The MIDC profile yielded by Obama's raw scores is displayed in Figure 1.<sup>2</sup> Obama's most elevated scales are Scale 2 (Ambitious) and Scale 1A (Dominant), both with scores of 7, followed by Scale 4 (Accommodating), with a score of 5, and Scale 6 (Conscientious), with a score of 4. The primary Scale 2 and 1A elevations are in the *present* (5–9) range, while the two secondary elevations (Scales 4 and 6) are at the lower threshold of that range. No other scale elevation is of any psychodiagnostic significance.

Based on the cut-off score guidelines provided in the MIDC manual, all of Obama's scale elevations (see Figure 1) are well within normal limits.

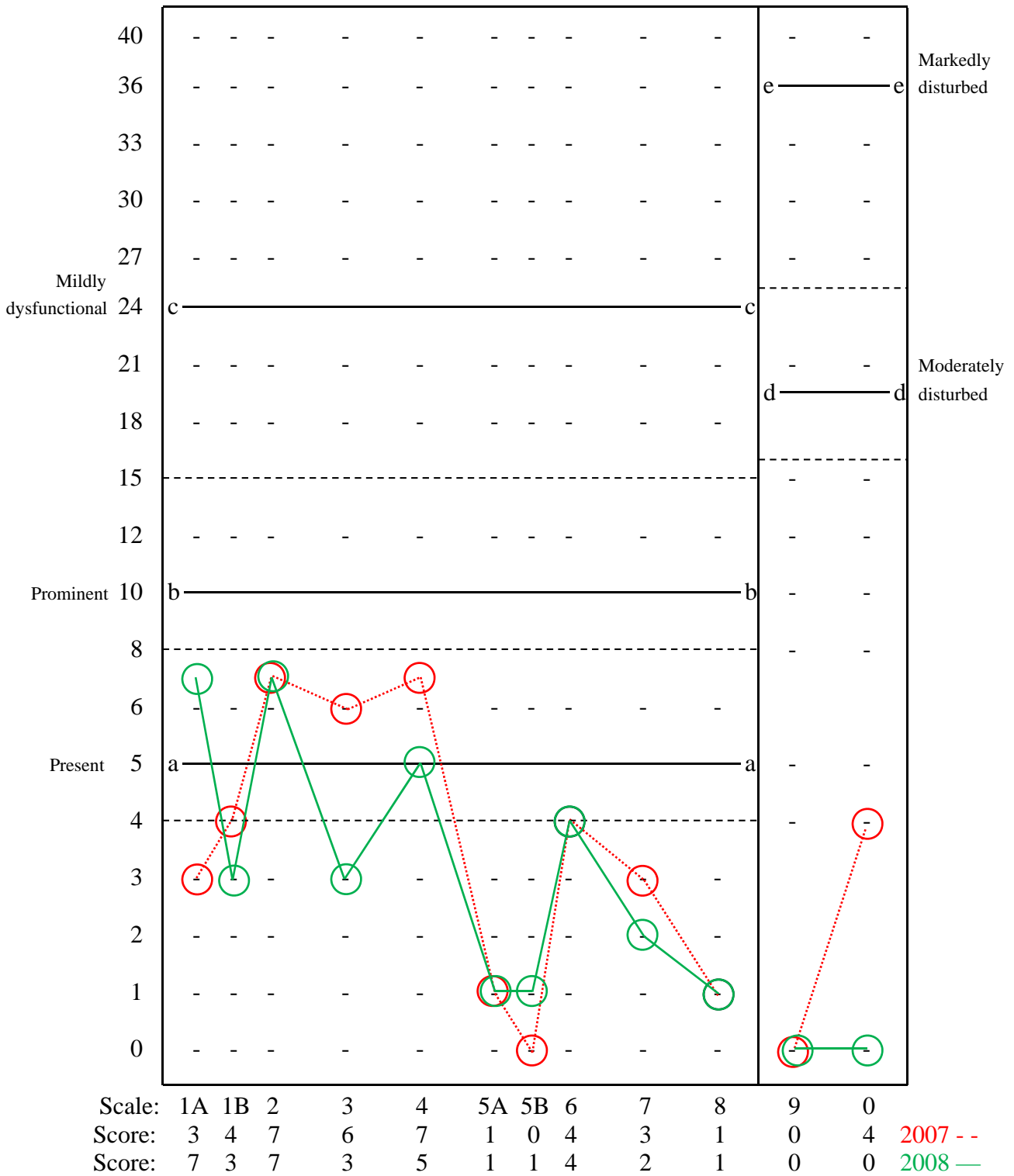
In terms of MIDC scale gradation (see Table 2 and Figure 1) criteria, supplemented by clinical judgment, Obama was classified as primarily an Ambitious/confident personality, infused with Conscientious/respectful and Dominant/asserting features, the latter being somewhat offset by a distinctive Accommodating/cooperative tendency.<sup>3</sup> The combination of Ambitious and Accommodating patterns in Obama's profile suggests a *confident conciliator* personality composite.

---

<sup>2</sup> See Table 2 for scale names. Solid horizontal lines on the profile form signify cut-off scores between adjacent scale gradations. For Scales 1–8, scores of 5 through 9 signify the *presence* (gradation *a*) of the personality pattern in question; scores of 10 through 23 indicate a *prominent* (gradation *b*) variant; and scores of 24 to 30 indicate an exaggerated, *mildly dysfunctional* (gradation *c*) variation of the pattern. For Scales 9 and 0, scores of 20 through 35 indicate a *moderately disturbed* syndrome and scores of 36 through 45 a *markedly disturbed* syndrome.

<sup>3</sup> In each case the label preceding the slash signifies the categorical personality pattern, whereas the label following the slash indicates the specific scale gradation, or personality type, on the dimensional continuum; see Table 2.

**Figure 1. Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: Profile for Barack Obama**



## Discussion

The discussion of the results examines Obama's MIDC scale elevations from the perspective of Millon's (1994, 1996; Millon & Davis, 2000) model of personality, supplemented by the theoretically congruent portraits of Oldham and Morris (1995) and Strack (1997). The discussion concludes with a brief synthesis of the practical implications of Obama's personality profile.

With his slightly elevated Scale 2, Obama emerged from the assessment as a *confident* type, a normal, adaptive variant of the Ambitious pattern. His slight elevation on Scale 1A (Dominant), in my opinion, is not of great consequence; it is at the lower threshold of what would typically be expected in any individual in a high-level leadership position. The interpretation of Obama's profile must also account for secondary elevations on Scale 4 (Accommodating) and Scale 6 (Conscientious).

Compared with other presidential candidates I've studied since 1996, Obama's profile is unusual in that it is relatively flat, with no elevations in the *prominent* or *dysfunctional* ranges.

### ***Scale 2: The Ambitious Pattern***

The Ambitious pattern, as do all personality patterns, occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. At the well-adjusted pole<sup>4</sup> are confident, socially poised, assertive personalities. Slightly exaggerated Ambitious features<sup>5</sup> occur in personalities that are sometimes perceived as self-promoting, overconfident, or arrogant. In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form,<sup>6</sup> the Ambitious pattern manifests itself in extreme self-absorption or exploitative behavior patterns that may be consistent with a clinical diagnosis of narcissistic personality disorder.

Normal, adaptive variants of the Ambitious pattern (i.e., confident and self-serving types) correspond to Oldham and Morris's (1995) *Self-Confident* style, Strack's (1997) *confident* style, and Millon's (1994) *Asserting* pattern. Millon's Asserting pattern is positively correlated with the five-factor model's *Extraversion* and *Conscientiousness* factors and negatively correlated with its *Neuroticism* factor (Millon, 1994, p. 82). It is associated with "social composure, or poise, self-possession, equanimity, and stability" — a constellation of adaptive traits that in stronger doses shades into its dysfunctional variant, the narcissistic personality (Millon, 1994, p. 32). In combination with an elevated Outgoing pattern (Scale 3), it bears some resemblance to Simonton's (1988) *charismatic* executive leadership style.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Relevant to Barack Obama.

<sup>5</sup> Not applicable to Barack Obama.

<sup>6</sup> Not applicable to Barack Obama.

<sup>7</sup> Marginally applicable to Barack Obama.

Millon (1994) summarizes the Asserting (i.e., Ambitious) pattern as follows:

An interpersonal boldness, stemming from a belief in themselves and their talents, characterize[s] those high on the . . . Asserting [Ambitious] scale. Competitive, ambitious, and self-assured, they naturally assume positions of leadership, act in a decisive and unwavering manner, and expect others to recognize their special qualities and cater to them. Beyond being self-confident, those with an . . . [Ambitious] profile often are audacious, clever, and persuasive, having sufficient charm to win others over to their own causes and purposes. Problematic in this regard may be their lack of social reciprocity and their sense of entitlement — their assumption that what they wish for is their due. On the other hand, their ambitions often succeed, and they typically prove to be effective leaders. (p. 32)

Oldham and Morris (1995) offer the following portrait of the normal (*Self-Confident*) prototype of the Ambitious pattern:

Self-Confident [Ambitious] individuals stand out. They're the leaders, the shining lights, the attention-getters in their public or private spheres. Theirs is a star quality born of self-regard, self-respect, self-certainty — all those *self* words that denote a faith in oneself and a commitment to one's self-styled purpose. Combined with the ambition that marks this style, that . . . self-regard can transform idle dreams into real accomplishment. . . . Self-Confident [Ambitious] men and women know what they want, and they get it. Many of them have the charisma to attract plenty of others to their goals. They are extroverted and intensely political. They know how to work the crowd, how to motivate it, and how to lead it. (p. 85)

Strack (1997) provides the following description of the normal (*confident*) prototype of the Ambitious pattern, based on Millon's theory, empirical findings from studies correlating his Personality Adjective Check List (PACL; 1991) scales with other measures, and clinical experience with the instrument:

Aloof, calm, and confident, these personalities tend to be egocentric and self-reliant. They may have a keen sense of their own importance, uniqueness, or entitlement. Confident [Ambitious] individuals enjoy others' attention and may be quite bold socially, although they are seldom garish. They can be self-centered to a fault and may become so preoccupied with themselves that they lack concern and empathy for others. These persons have a tendency to believe that others share, or should share, their sense of worth. As a result, they may expect others to submit to their wishes and desires, and to cater to them. . . . When feeling exposed or undermined, these individuals are frequently disdainful, obstructive, or vindictive. In the workplace, confident [Ambitious] persons like to take charge in an emphatic manner, often doing so in a way that instills confidence in others. Their self-assurance, wit, and charm often win them supervisory and leadership positions. (Adapted from Strack, 1997, pp. 489–490, with minor modifications)

Millon's personality patterns have well-established diagnostic indicators associated with each of the eight attribute domains of expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct, cognitive style, mood/temperament, self-image, regulatory mechanisms, object-representations, and morphologic organization. Millon's (1996) attribute domains accentuate the maladaptive range of the personality patterns in his taxonomy — in the case of the Ambitious pattern, the exploitative pole of the confident–self-serving–exploitative continuum (see Millon & Davis, 2000, pp. 273–277). The major diagnostic features of the prototypal adaptive variant of the Ambitious pattern are summarized below.

**Expressive behavior.** The core diagnostic feature of the expressive acts of Ambitious individuals is their *confidence*; they are socially poised, self-assured, and self-confident, conveying an air of calm, untroubled self-assurance, without being conceited or arrogant, as is often the case with less adaptive variants of this pattern (adapted from Millon, 1996, p. 405; Millon & Everly, 1985, pp. 32, 39).

**Interpersonal conduct.** The core diagnostic feature of the interpersonal conduct of Ambitious individuals is their *assertiveness*; they stand their ground and are tough, competitive, persuasive, hardnosed, and shrewd without being entitled or exploitative, as is sometimes the case with less adaptive variants of this pattern (Millon, 1996, pp. 405–406; Millon & Everly, 1985, pp. 32, 39).

**Cognitive style.** The core diagnostic feature of the cognitive style of Ambitious individuals is their *imaginativeness*; they are inventive, innovative, and resourceful, and ardently believe in their own efficacy, without the cognitive expansiveness or unconstrained self-glorifying fantasies of maladaptive variants of this pattern (Millon, 1996, p. 406; Millon & Everly, 1985, pp. 32, 39).

**Mood/temperament.** The core diagnostic feature of the characteristic mood and temperament of Ambitious individuals is their social *poise*; they are self-composed, serene, and optimistic, and are typically imperturbable, unruffled, and cool and levelheaded under pressure, without the insouciance, irrational exuberance, or narcissistic rage characteristic of less adaptive variants of this pattern (Millon, 1996, p. 408; Millon & Everly, 1985, pp. 32, 39).

**Self-image.** The core diagnostic feature of the self-perception of Ambitious individuals is their *certitude*; they have strong self-efficacy beliefs and considerable courage of conviction, without the overly admirable sense of self or egotistic sense of superiority frequently evident in maladaptive variants of this pattern (Millon, 1996, p. 406).

**Regulatory mechanisms.** The core diagnostic features of the unconscious regulatory mechanisms of Ambitious individuals are *rationalization* and *fantasy*; however, these ego defenses are only minimally present in adaptive variants of this pattern (Millon, 1996, p. 407).

**Object representations.** The core diagnostic feature of the internalized object representations of Ambitious individuals is their *contrived* nature, where the inner imprint of significant early experiences that serves as a template for perceiving and reacting to current life events, consists of illusory and changing memories, permitting problematic experiences to be transmuted into more admirable images and percepts; however, those structural residues are minimally present in adaptive variants of this pattern (Millon, 1996, pp. 406–407).

**Morphologic organization.** The core diagnostic feature of the morphological organization of Ambitious individuals is the *spuriousness* of the interior design of their personality system, resulting in a deficiency of the inner skills necessary for regulating impulses, channeling needs, and resolving conflicts; however, such deficits in ego strength are rarely present in adaptive variants of this pattern (Millon, 1996, pp. 407–408).

### ***Scale 1A: The Dominant Pattern***

As noted earlier, I don't believe the Dominant pattern (Scale 1A) plays a central role in Obama's personality functioning beyond accounting for a threshold level of assertiveness and competitiveness. As do all personality patterns, the Dominant pattern occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. In the case of Obama, only the normal variant — associated with assertive, strong-willed personalities — has any bearing.

The normal, adaptive variant of the Dominant pattern corresponds to Strack's (1997) *forceful* style and the *managerial* segment of Leary's (1957) managerial–autocratic continuum. According to Millon (1994, p. 82), Controlling (i.e., Dominant) individuals tend to be emotionally stable and conscientious. In combination with the Conscientious (Scale 6) pattern, an elevated Dominant pattern points to a presidential style that Simonton (1988) has labeled *deliberative*. Strack (1997) provides the following description of the normal (*forceful*) prototype of the Dominant pattern, based on Millon's theory, empirical findings from studies correlating his Personality Adjective Check List (PACL; 1991) scales with other measures, and clinical experience with the instrument:

Like confident [Ambitious] persons, forceful [Dominant] individuals can be identified by an inclination to turn toward the self as the primary source of gratification. However, instead of the confident [Ambitious] personality's internalized sense of self-importance, forceful [Dominant] people seem driven to prove their worthiness. They are characterized by an assertive, dominant, and tough-minded personal style. They tend to be strong-willed, ambitious, competitive, and self-determined. Feeling that the world is a harsh place where exploitiveness is needed to assure success, forceful [Dominant] individuals are frequently gruff and insensitive in dealing with others. In contrast to their preferred, outwardly powerful appearance, these individuals may feel inwardly insecure and be afraid of letting down their guard. In work settings, these personalities are often driven to excel. They work hard to achieve their goals, are competitive, and do well where they can take control or work independently. In supervisory or leadership positions, these persons usually take charge and see to it that a job gets done. (Adapted from Strack, 1997, p. 490, with minor modifications)

### ***Scale 4: The Accommodating Pattern***

As noted earlier, my clinical judgment, informed by considerations of theoretical coherence, suggests that Obama's Dominant (Scale 1A) features are offset by a secondary Accommodating tendency. The Accommodating pattern, as do all personality patterns, occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. In the case of Obama, only the normal variant — associated with cooperative, conciliatory personalities — has any significance.

The normal, adaptive variant of the Accommodating pattern corresponds to Strack's (1997) *cooperative* style and Millon's (1994) *Agreeing* pattern. The Accommodating pattern also overlaps with the *docile* and *cooperative* segments of Leary's (1957) *docile–dependent* and *cooperative–overconventional* interpersonal styles. Millon's Agreeing pattern is highly correlated with the five-factor model's *Agreeableness* factor. The Accommodating style is equivalent to Simonton's (1988) *interpersonal* executive leadership style.

According to Millon (1994) the Accommodating pattern (which he labels *Agreeing*)

is akin to the normal “cooperative” segment of Leary’s [1957] cooperative–overconventional interpersonal style, representing an accommodating, participatory, compromising, and agreeing pattern of behavior. . . . [The Accommodating pattern] corresponds . . . to the Big-Five’s Factor II, Agreeableness . . . in conveying a self-respecting concordance with others; a congenial obligingness is voluntary rather than being coerced or being a product of self-derogation. Those who fit the congenial/Agreeing [Accommodating] pattern are notably cooperative and amicable. Disinclined to upset others, they are willing to adapt their preferences to be compatible with those of others. Trusting others to be kind and thoughtful, they are also willing to reconcile differences and to achieve peaceable solutions, as well as to be considerate and to concede when necessary. Cordiality and compromise characterize their interpersonal relationships. (p. 34)

Millon (1996) further notes that Accommodating personalities in the adaptive range of the pattern tend to demand little from others, are relatively uncritical, and are invariably gracious, even to those they may dislike (p. 335).

Strack (1997) provides the following portrait of interpersonal style of the normal (*cooperative*) prototype of the Accommodating pattern, based on Millon’s theory, empirical findings from studies correlating his Personality Adjective Check List (PACL; 1991) scales with other measures, and clinical experience with the instrument:

Cooperative [Accommodating] persons are often cooperative, reliable, considerate of others, and deferential. They may appear even-tempered, docile, obliging, or self-effacing. When faced with difficult or stressful situations, cooperative persons may seek others to provide authority, leadership, and direction. (Adapted from Strack, 1997, p. 489)

### ***Scale 6: The Conscientious Pattern***

Finally, Obama’s profile reveals a small secondary Conscientious tendency. As do all personality patterns, the Conscientious pattern occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. In the case of Obama, only the normal variant — associated with earnest, polite, respectful personalities — has any relevance, and minimally so (because of the very modest Scale 6 elevation).

The normal, adaptive variant of the Conscientious pattern corresponds to Oldham and Morris’s (1995) *Conscientious* style, Millon’s (1994) *Conforming* pattern, Strack’s (1997) *respectful* style, and the *responsible* segment of Leary’s (1957) *responsible–hypernormal* interpersonal continuum. As might be expected, Millon’s Conforming pattern is correlated with the five-factor model’s *Conscientiousness* factor (see Millon, 1994, p. 82). Adaptive variants of the Conscientious pattern have “a well-disciplined and organized lifestyle that enables individuals to function efficiently and successfully in most of their endeavors,” in contrast to “the driven, tense, and rigid adherence to external demands and to a perfectionism that typifies the disordered [compulsive] state.” They “demonstrate an unusual degree of integrity, adhering as firmly as they can to society’s ethics and morals” (Millon, 1996, pp. 518–519).



As stated by Oldham and Morris (1995):

Conscientious-style people . . . [have] strong moral principle[s] and absolute certainty, and they won't rest until the job is done and done right. They are loyal to their families, their causes, and their superiors. Hard work is a hallmark of this personality style; Conscientious types *achieve*. . . . Conscientious traits . . . [include] hard work, prudence, [and] conventionality. (p. 62)

Being principled, scrupulous, and meticulous, conscientious individuals “tend to follow standards from which they hesitate to deviate, attempt to act in an objective and rational manner, and decide matters in terms of what they believe is right.” . . . Maintaining their integrity “ranks high among their goals” while “voicing moral values gives them a deep sense of satisfaction.” The major limitations of this personality style are (a) its “superrationality,” leading to a “devaluation of emotion [which] tends to preclude relativistic judgments and subjective preferences”; and (b) a predilection for “seeing complex matters in black and white, good and bad, or right or wrong terms” (Millon, 1996, p. 519).

Millon (1994) summarizes the Conscientious pattern (which he labels *Conforming*) as follows:

[Conscientious individuals possess] traits not unlike Leary's [1957] responsible-hypernormal personality, with its ideal of proper, conventional, orderly, and perfectionistic behavior, as well as bearing a similarity to Factor III of the Big-Five, termed Conscientiousness. Conformers are notably respectful of tradition and authority, and act in a reasonable, proper, and conscientious way. They do their best to uphold conventional rules and standards, following given regulations closely, and tend to be judgmental of those who do not. (p. 33)

Strack (1997) provides the following portrait of the normal (*respectful*) prototype of the Conscientious pattern, based on Millon's theory, empirical findings from studies correlating his Personality Adjective Check List (PACL; 1991) scales with other measures, and clinical experience with the instrument:

Responsible, industrious, and respectful of authority, these individuals tend to be conforming and work hard to uphold rules and regulations. They have a need for order and are typically conventional in their interests. . . . A formal interpersonal style and notable constriction of affect can make some respectful [Conscientious] persons seem aloof and withholding. . . . Indecisiveness and an inability to take charge may be evident in some of these persons due to a fear of being wrong. However, among co-workers and friends, respectful [Conscientious] personalities are best known for being well organized, reliable, and diligent. They have a strong sense of duty and loyalty, are cooperative in group efforts, and show persistence even in difficult circumstances. (Adapted from Strack, 1997, p. 490)

### ***Leadership Implications***

The present study offers an empirically based framework for anticipating Obama's performance as chief executive. As noted earlier, the combination of Ambitious and Accommodating patterns in Obama's profile suggests a *confident conciliator* personality composite, which forms a personological substrate (i.e., psychological driver) for his leadership style.

Leaders who match the *confident conciliator* personality prototype, though self-assured and assertive, are characteristically gracious, considerate, and benevolent. Confident conciliators are

charming and agreeable, with a special talent for settling differences; they favor mediation and compromise over force or coercion as a strategy for resolving conflict and are driven primarily by a need for achievement. Relative to other chief executives in similar positions, they are likely to be less driven by power, with a stronger need for affiliation.

In terms of the hypothesized links between Millon's personality patterns and concomitant leadership styles (Steinberg, 2008; Steinberg & Immelman, 2008), the following general expectancies regarding Obama's likely leadership style as chief executive can be inferred from his personality profile:

- Ambitious, self-assured, gracious, considerate
- Preference for mediation and compromise over force or coercion as a strategy for resolving conflict
- High need for achievement; moderate need for affiliation; low need for power
- More pragmatic than ideological
- More task- than relationship oriented
- Likely to act as a strong advocate in his administration, using his powers of persuasion to advance his policy vision
- Preference for gathering information from a variety of sources rather than relying solely on advisors and administration officials
- In dealing with members of Congress, may show preference for avoiding unnecessary conflict by trying to remain above the fray in heated, highly divisive debates
- Preference for articulating and defending his policies in person rather than relying on staff and administration officials to speak for him

## Conclusion

I conclude this paper with a newspaper column, published the weekend before the November 2008 presidential election, in which I summarized Obama's major personality strengths and limitations and attempted to anticipate the likely tenor of an Obama presidency, based on the personality profile reported in the present study.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> *Note.* A slightly edited version of this article was published under the title "Sen. Barack Obama: Is he tough enough?" as part of a special election feature, "Who Are These Candidates," in the *St. Cloud Times* (p. 7B), November 1, 2008.

## Barack Obama: A Question of Toughness

By Aubrey Immelman

October 31, 2008

Among the many leaders I have studied — presidential candidates as well as foreign adversaries as a consultant to the U.S. military — Barack Obama is something of a rarity.

First, Obama seems almost uniquely free of “psychological warts”; his personality profile is as smooth as his eloquence on the podium. Second, with the exception of Nelson Mandela and Bill Bradley, who unsuccessfully challenged Al Gore for the 2000 Democratic nomination, Obama is the only high-level leader I’ve studied — foreign or domestic — who can truly be called a conciliator.

Taken together, three studies I’ve conducted since 2007 with student research collaborators in the Unit for the Study of Personality in Politics at the College of St. Benedict and St. John’s University reveal Obama as an ambitious, self-confident, modestly dominant leader who is outgoing, congenial, and accommodating.

### Double-edged sword

Obama’s combination of confidence, dominance, and congeniality fits the profile of a charismatic leader. Psychologically, Obama’s self-confidence and congeniality are qualities at the heart of his exceptional ability to inspire followers, articulate a vision, and connect with people. However, it’s also a double-edged sword, for those are the very qualities that also suggest a president — like Bill Clinton — overly concerned with self-validation and the need for affirmation.

In office, the executive performance of confident, ambitious leaders like Obama, who is only modestly dominant, is driven by four core qualities: power, pragmatism, ideology, and self-validation. Because of their strong belief in their own skills and talents, consolidating their power is an important driver for their leadership behavior but, because they are not driven by a naked quest for power, they favor pragmatism as a strategy for achieving success.

However, because of the extraordinary confidence leaders like Obama have in their own ideas and potential for success, their pragmatism may be tempered by strong idealism and an ideology-driven desire to transform society.

### A deliberative rarity

A notable (though not central) aspect of Obama’s personality is that, among presidential candidates I have studied since 1996, Obama is one of the few that can be labeled conscientious or deliberative — a trait he shares with former presidential candidates Al Gore and Mitt Romney.

This suggests that as president he will be attentive to detail and well equipped to appreciate the long-term implications of his policy objectives. For voters looking for a new, more thoughtful direction in presidential policymaking, that would be a plus.

### **The other ‘Bradley effect’**

That brings me to the Bradley effect. No, not former Los Angeles mayor Tom Bradley — an African-American who lost the 1982 California gubernatorial race despite being ahead in the polls going into the election — but 2000 Democratic presidential hopeful Bill Bradley.

As noted above, Obama is the only leader I’ve profiled who is substantially accommodating, agreeable, and conciliatory.

That’s nice, but we live in a dangerous world and accommodating leaders have a tendency to be conflict-averse.

### **The ‘right stuff’?**

For voters, the key question should not so much be whether Obama has the right stuff to move the nation in the right direction, but whether he has what it takes to prevail in the dog-eat-dog world of international politics.

Accommodating personalities like Obama have a strong need to reconcile differences and are able to concede when necessary. But that begs the question, When is it really necessary to make concessions?

On the other side of the coin, cordiality and compromise characterize accommodating leaders; they are respectful and gracious, even with adversaries and people that they don’t like very much. That tendency could be significant on the domestic front to change the tone in Washington, something President Bush promised but failed to deliver.

### **‘Confident conciliator’**

With his unique amalgam of ambition, charisma, and agreeableness (what I call a “confident conciliator”), Obama has the capacity to maneuver his way skillfully in Washington, to seek consensus, and to break the gridlock — assuming his idealism does not get in the way of pragmatic necessity.

So, as the clock runs down to the day of decision on Tuesday, the question for undecided voters should no longer be “Who is Barack Obama?” but whether Obama is tough enough to pull the trigger unflinchingly in — God forbid — the event it becomes a necessity to secure America’s vital national security interests in a post-9/11 world.

## References

- American Psychiatric Association. (1994). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.). Washington, DC: Author.
- Greenstein, F. I. (1992). Can personality and politics be studied systematically? *Political Psychology*, *13*, 105–128.
- Immelman, A. (1993). The assessment of political personality: A psychodiagnostically relevant conceptualization and methodology. *Political Psychology*, *14*, 725–741.
- Immelman, A. (1998). The political personalities of 1996 U.S. presidential candidates Bill Clinton and Bob Dole. *Leadership Quarterly*, *9*, 335–366.
- Immelman, A. (1999). *Millon inventory of diagnostic criteria manual* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Unpublished manuscript, St. John's University, Collegeville, MN.
- Immelman, A. (2002). The political personality of U.S. president George W. Bush. In L. O. Valenty & O. Feldman (Eds.), *Political leadership for the new century: Personality and behavior among American leaders* (pp. 81–103). Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Immelman, A. (2003). Personality in political psychology. In I. B. Weiner (Series Ed.), T. Millon & M. J. Lerner (Vol. Eds.), *Handbook of psychology: Vol. 5. Personality and social psychology* (pp. 599–625). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Immelman, A. (2005). Political psychology and personality. In S. Strack (Ed.), *Handbook of personology and psychopathology* (pp. 198–225). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Immelman, A., & Steinberg, B. S. (Compilers) (1999). *Millon inventory of diagnostic criteria* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Unpublished research scale, St. John's University, Collegeville, MN.
- Leary, T. (1957). *Interpersonal diagnosis of personality: A functional theory and methodology for personality evaluation*. New York: Ronald Press.
- Millon, T. (1969). *Modern psychopathology: A biosocial approach to maladaptive learning and functioning*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders. (Reprinted 1985 by Waveland Press, Prospect Heights, IL)
- Millon, T. (1986a). A theoretical derivation of pathological personalities. In T. Millon & G. L. Klerman (Eds.), *Contemporary directions in psychopathology: Toward the DSM-IV* (pp. 639–669). New York: Guilford.
- Millon, T. (1986b). Personality prototypes and their diagnostic criteria. In T. Millon & G. L. Klerman (Eds.), *Contemporary directions in psychopathology: Toward the DSM-IV* (pp. 671–712). New York: Guilford.
- Millon, T. (1990). *Toward a new personology: An evolutionary model*. New York: Wiley.
- Millon, T. (1991). Normality: What may we learn from evolutionary theory? In D. Offer & M. Sabshin (Eds.), *The diversity of normal behavior: Further contributions to normatology* (pp. 356–404). New York: Basic Books.

- Millon, T. (with Weiss, L. G., Millon, C. M., & Davis, R. D.). (1994). *Millon Index of Personality Styles manual*. San Antonio, TX: Psychological Corporation.
- Millon, T. (with Davis, R. D.). (1996). *Disorders of personality: DSM–IV and beyond* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). New York: Wiley.
- Millon, T. (2003). Evolution: A generative source for conceptualizing the attributes of personality. In I. B. Weiner (Series Ed.), T. Millon & M. J. Lerner (Vol. Eds.), *Handbook of psychology: Vol. 5. Personality and social psychology* (pp. 3–30). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Millon, T., & Davis, R. D. (2000). *Personality disorders in modern life*. New York: Wiley.
- Millon, T., & Everly, G. S., Jr. (1985). *Personality and its disorders: A biosocial learning approach*. New York: Wiley.
- Oldham, J. M., & Morris, L. B. (1995). *The new personality self-portrait* (Rev. ed.). New York: Bantam Books.
- Simonton, D. K. (1988). Presidential style: Personality, biography, and performance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 55, 928–936.
- Steinberg, B. S. (2008). *Women in power: The personalities and leadership styles of Indira Gandhi, Golda Meir, and Margaret Thatcher*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill–Queen’s University Press.
- Steinberg, B. S., & Immelman, A. (2008). *Theoretical links between personality patterns and leadership style*. Unpublished manuscript, McGill University and St. John’s University, Montreal, PQ and Collegeville, MN.
- Strack, S. (1991). *Personality Adjective Check List manual* (rev.). South Pasadena, CA: 21<sup>st</sup> Century Assessment.
- Strack, S. (1997). The PACL: Gauging normal personality styles. In T. Millon (Ed.), *The Millon inventories: Clinical and personality assessment* (pp. 477–497). New York: Guilford.

## APPENDIX

### References for Psychodiagnostic Source Materials

- Adams, Cindy (2008, June 9). Obama's memoir's really 18 years old [Electronic version]. *New York Post*. Retrieved June 19, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Bacon Jr., Perry (2006, February 20). The exquisite dilemma of being Obama. *Time* [Electronic version]. Retrieved June, 15, 2007, from <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1158975,00.html>.
- Balz, Dan & Murray, Shailagh (2007, November 12). Democrats' provocative Iowa dinner conversation [Electronic version]. *Washington Post*. Retrieved July 21, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Barabak, Mark Z. (2007a, December 16). Obama is hitting his stride in Iowa. *Los Angeles Times* [Electronic version]. Retrieved April 7, 2008, <http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/nation/la-na-obama16dec16,0,1585817.story>.
- Barabak, Mark Z. (2007b, June 7). Obama's way is with words, not hugs. *Los Angeles Times* [Electronic version]. Retrieved June 4, 2008, from <http://www.latimes.com/news/politics/la-na-obama7jun07,0,3411373.story?page=2>.
- Barnes, Tom (2008, April 21). Obama not conceding any parts of Pennsylvania [Electronic version]. *Pittsburg Post-Gazette*. Retrieved June 12, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Becker, Jo & Drew, Christopher (2008, May 11). Pragmatic politics, forged on the South Side [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved June 13, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Bellantoni, Christina (2008, January 22). Debate brings conflict to fore; Obama slams Hillary in S.C. [Electronic version]. *Washington Times*. Retrieved June 25, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Borger, Gloria (2006, November 6). Does Barack really rock? *U.S. News & World Report* [Electronic version]. Retrieved June 11, 2007, from <http://www.usnews.com/usnews/news/articles/061029/6glo.htm>.
- Borowski, Greg J. (2008, February 14). Obama addresses state, U.S. topics [Electronic version]. *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*. Retrieved June 23, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Bosman, Julie (2008, June 15). Obama goes one on one, battling 'just a speechmaker' label [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved June 16, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Bosman, Julie & Broder, John M. (2008, June 13). Obama's campaign opens a new web site to strike back at 'dishonest smears' [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved June 19, 2008, from LexisNexis.

- Brown, Carrie Budoff, & Politico, Jonathan Martin (2008, June 9). McCain and Obama offer stark contrasts in style [Electronic version]. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*. Retrieved June 11, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Brown, Mark (2004, March 17). Voters warmed to Obama, the next hot politician [Electronic version]. *Chicago Sun–Times*. Retrieved August 9, 2007, from LexisNexis.
- Burns, Douglas (2007, April 2). Carroll Countians find Obama’s message of hope ‘refreshing.’ *Daily Times Herald* [Electronic version]. Retrieved June 3, 2008, from <http://carrollspaper.lupsoftware.com/main.asp?SectionID=1&subsectionID=1&articleID=3715>.
- Bush, Michael (2008, April 7). Mark Penn gets run over on the way to the White House [Electronic version]. *Advertising Age*. Retrieved June 23, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Butler, Desmond (2008, June 23). Testing could delay missile defense plans [Electronic version]. *Associated Press*. Retrieved June 23, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Carpenter, Mackenzie (2008a, January 11). Can anyone in 2008 leave us speechless? [Electronic version]. *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. Retrieved June 19, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Carpenter, Mackenzie (2008b, April 3). Michelle Obama wows them at CMU [Electronic version]. *Pittsburgh Post–Gazette*. Retrieved June 19, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Charlton, Brian (2007, February 6). In diverse Honolulu, young Obama was part of a multiethnic existence [Electronic version]. *Associated Press*. Retrieved April 30, 2007, from LexisNexis.
- Chozick, Amy (2008, August 1). Politics: Too fit to be president? [Electronic version]. *The Associated Press*. Retrieved August 1, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Clark, Daniel (2007, April 23). Obama’s arrogance: Senator cites self, instead of the law. *Enter Stage Right* [Electronic version]. Retrieved June 5, 2008, from <http://www.enterstageright.com/archive/articles/0407/0407obamalaw.htm>.
- Clinton escalates attacks on Obama, hits him on foreign policy. (2008, February 26). [Electronic version]. *Frontrunner*. Retrieved June 23, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Cohen, Sharon (2008, June 3). Barack Obama: Finding common bonds in different worlds [Electronic version]. *Associated Press*. Retrieved June 12, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Cohen, Sharon (2004, November 3). Obama’s incredible year: From state lawmaker to U.S. Senate — and Democratic superstar [Electronic version]. *Associated Press State and Local Wire*. Retrieved June 17, 2008, from LexisNexis.



- Crowley, Michael (2008, March 26). Mutual contempt. *New Republic* [Electronic version]. Retrieved June 5, 2008, from <http://www.tnr.com/politics/story.html?id=9f9b36f8-f297-4a48-9574-f231803be083&p=1>.
- Dart, Bob (2008, January 20). Obama's mantra: 'Yes, we can' [Electronic version]. *Austin American–Statesman*. Retrieved June 23, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Despeignes, Peronet (2004, July 27). Dem star taking convention debut in stride [Electronic version]. *USA Today*. Retrieved June, 15, 2007, from LexisNexis.
- Dorning, Mike (2007, July 30.) Obama hones youthful image. *Chicago Tribune* [Electronic version]. Retrieved April 2, 2008, from [http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/politics/obama/chi-obama-youth\\_30jul30,0,1634177.story](http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/politics/obama/chi-obama-youth_30jul30,0,1634177.story).
- Dorning, Mike & Parsons, Christi (2007a, June 12). Carefully crafting the Obama 'brand' [Electronic version]. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved June 19, 2007, from LexisNexis.
- Dorning, Mike & Parsons, Christi (2007b, January 14). Inside Obama's inner circle: Ahead of likely presidential campaign, senator relies on core of trusted advisers [Electronic version]. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved June 16, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Dougherty, Steve (2007). *Hopes and dreams: The story of Barack Obama*. New York: Black Dog & Leventhal.
- Doyle, John (2008, February 25). Obama: Truly cool, in a McLuhanesque sense. *Globe and Mail* [Electronic version]. Retrieved June 5, 2008, from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/RTGAM.20080226.wvdoyle25/BNStory/usElection2008/>.
- Duffy, Michael & Gibbs, Nancy (2008, March 17). The long way home [Electronic version]. *Time*, 171(11), p. 34. Retrieved June 12, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Eilperin, Juliet (2007, January 17). Smoking hot: How Barack Obama's filthy habit could win him the presidency [Electronic version]. *Chicago Sun–Times*. Retrieved June 19, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Fields, S., & Times, T. W. (2008, February 25). Look who's just in from Venus. *Washington Times* [Electronic version]. Retrieved June 5, 2008, from <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2008/feb/25/look-whos-just-in-from-venus/>.
- Fineman, Howard (2007, February 6). Rudy Gulian — The GOP's Barack Obama. *MSNBC* [Electronic version]. Retrieved June 4, 2008, from <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/17012279/>.

- Fleming, Leonard N., & Ung, Elisa (2005, November 7). Candidates speeding to the finish line; In a final weekend push, U.S. Sen. Barack Obama provided star power for colleague Jon S. Corzine [Electronic version]. *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Retrieved June 19, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Ford, Glen (2007, January 16). Barack Obama: The mania and the mirage. *Black Agenda Report* [Electronic version]. Retrieved June 5, 2008, from [http://www.blackagendareport.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=40](http://www.blackagendareport.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=40).
- Fournier, Ron (2007, June 17). The unknown: Is Obama ready? *Washington Post* [Electronic version]. Retrieved June 4, 2008, from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/06/16/AR2007061600494.html>.
- Gearan, Anne (2008, July 9). US, Czech Republic sign defense agreement [Electronic version]. *Associated Press*. Retrieved July 9, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Gerson, Michael (2008, May 23). A phenom with flaws [Electronic version]. *Washington Post*. Retrieved June 12, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Goldman, Adam & Tanner, Robert (2008, May 16). Old friends recall Obama's years in LA, NY [Electronic version]. *Associated Press State & Local Wire*. Retrieved June 12, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Gordon, Michael R., & Zeleny, Jeff (2007, November 2). If elected: Obama envisions new Iran approach [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved April 6, 2008, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/02/us/politics/02obama.html>.
- Graff, Garrett M. (2006, November 1). The legend of Barack Obama. *Washingtonian* [Electronic version]. Retrieved April 29, 2007, from <http://www.washingtonian.com/articles/people/1836.html>.
- Greenberg, Paul (2008, March 25). Obama's speech on race: A light of reason [Electronic version]. *Tulsa World*. Retrieved June 19, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Healy, Patrick & Zeleny, Jeff (2008a, February 22). Debate takes on contentious air [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved April 6, 2008, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/22/us/politics/22debate.html?pagewanted=1&ref=opinion>.
- Healy, Patrick & Zeleny, Jeff (2008b, January 22). Obama and Clinton square off; Debate on issues turns personal [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved June 13, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Helman, Scott (2008a, June 4). Confidence, calm were key to Obama's success Candidate 'simply fit the time very well' [Electronic version]. *Boston Globe*. Retrieved June 18, 2008, from LexisNexis.

- Helman, Scott (2007, October 12). Early defeat launched a rapid political climb [Electronic version]. *Boston Globe*. Retrieved April 2, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Helman, Scott (2008b, May 15). Obama strongly rejects remarks by former pastor; Cleric's rhetoric renews turmoil for candidate [Electronic version]. *Boston Globe*. Retrieved June 20, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Helman, Scott (2008c, June 10). Obama takes the offensive vs McCain. Democrat delivers attack on economic differences [Electronic version]. *Boston Globe*. Retrieved June 25, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Hunter, Jennifer (2007, September 27). Clinton, opponents spar gently; Front-runner stands up to criticism, but Obama gets well-placed jabs in [Electronic version]. *Chicago Sun-Times*. Retrieved June 16, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Issenberg, Sasha (2008a, April 13). Inventing John McCain, maverick icon of American duty and patriotism, is as much a literary creation as a political one. Meet the author [Electronic version]. *Boston Globe*. Retrieved June 19, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Issenberg, Sasha (2008b, April 21). Obama, Clinton exchange attacks; Harsh turn of tone as Pa. primary nears [Electronic version]. *Boston Globe*. Retrieved June 19, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- It's also called diplomacy. (2008, May 21). [Electronic version]. *States News Service*. Retrieved June 19, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Jackson, David & Long, Ray (2007, April 4). Showing his bare knuckles. *Los Angeles Times* [Electronic version]. Retrieved June 24, 2008, from <http://www.latimes.com/chi-0704030881apr04,0,7558869.story?page=1>.
- Kakutani, Michiko (2006, October 17). Obama's foursquare politics, with a dab of dijon. *New York Times* [Electronic version]. Retrieved June 19, 2007, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/10/17/books/17kaku.html?ex=1182657600&en=096db955fdc23a22&ei=5070>.
- Kantor, Jodi (2007, January 28). In law school, Obama found political voice [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved June 9, 2007, from LexisNexis.
- Kantor, Jodi (2008, July 30). Teaching law, testing ideas, Obama stood slightly apart [Electronic version]. *The New York Times*. Retrieved August 1, 2008, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/30/us/politics/30law.html?ex=1218254400&en=3e11bb7d07b13663&ei=5070&emc=eta1>.

- Keen, Judy (2007, January 17). The big question about Barack Obama [Electronic version]. *USA Today*. Retrieved June 5, 2007, from [http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2007-01-16-obama-experience-cover\\_x.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2007-01-16-obama-experience-cover_x.htm).
- Kiely, Kathy (2006, March 6). Democrats see Obama as face of 'reform and change' [Electronic version]. *USA Today*. Retrieved June 5, 2007, from [http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2006-03-05-obama-cover\\_x.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2006-03-05-obama-cover_x.htm).
- Kiely, Kathy & Page, Susan (2008, July 21). Obama makes high-stakes debut on foreign stage; Risk vs. reward: How trip plays in U.S. crucial [Electronic version]. *USA Today*. Retrieved July 21, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Klein, Joe (2006, October 15). The fresh face [Electronic version]. *Time*. Retrieved June 7, 2007, from <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1546362,00.html>.
- Klein, Joe (2008, May 5). Shrinking Democrats [Electronic version]. *Time*, 171(18), p. 20. Retrieved June 13, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Kornblut, Anne E. (2007, April 29). Top Democrats strain to keep pace [Electronic version]. *Washington Post*. Retrieved April 27, 2007, from LexisNexis.
- Kovaleski, Serge F. (2008, February 9). Old friends say drugs played bit part in Obama's young life [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved June 20, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Kroft, Steve (Host). (2007, February 11). Sen. Barack Obama [Electronic transcript]. *60 Minutes*. New York: CBS. Retrieved June 5, 2008 from <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2007/02/11/60minutes/main2458530.shtml>.
- Lawrence, Jill (2007, April 23). Candidates hope ideas strike chords [Electronic version]. *USA Today*. Retrieved April 27, 2007, from LexisNexis.
- Lawrence, Jill (2006, December 11). Obama draws crowds as he tours New Hampshire [Electronic version]. *USA Today*. Retrieved June 5, 2007, from LexisNexis.
- Lawrence, Jill & Schouten, Fredreka (2008, April 23). Obama cites gains despite 'uphill climb' [Electronic version]. *USA Today*. Retrieved June 10, 2008, from [http://www.usatoday.com/news/politics/election2008/2008-04-22-penn-obama\\_n.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/news/politics/election2008/2008-04-22-penn-obama_n.htm).
- Lawson, Dominic (2008, February 26). Obama must beware of turning into a cult [Electronic version]. *The Independent* (London). Retrieved June 5, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Leibovich, Mark (2005, February 24). The senator's humble beginning [Electronic version]. *Washington Post*. Retrieved June 5, 2007, from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A48523-2005Feb23.html>.

- Levenson, Michael & Saltzman, Jonathan (2007, January 28). At Harvard Law, a unifying voice; Classmates recall Obama as even-handed leader [Electronic version]. *Boston Globe*. Retrieved June 9, 2007, from LexisNexis.
- Liebau, Carol Platt (2007). The Barack I knew. *Townhall* [Electronic version]. Retrieved April 29, 2007, from [http://www.townhall.com/columnists/CarolPlattLiebau/2007/03/05/the\\_barack\\_i\\_knew](http://www.townhall.com/columnists/CarolPlattLiebau/2007/03/05/the_barack_i_knew).
- Lithwick, Dahlia (2008, March 29). A complicated record on race [Electronic version]. *Newsweek*. Retrieved June 4, 2008, from <http://www.newsweek.com/id/129584/page/1>.
- Loven, Jennifer (2008, July 1). Obama defends his patriotism, lauds McCain's, too [Electronic version]. *Associated Press Online*. Retrieved July 1, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- MacFarquhar, Larissa (2007, May 7). The conciliator [Electronic version]. *New Yorker*, 83(11), pp. 46–57. Retrieved June 5, 2007, from LexisNexis.
- MacGillis, Alec (2008, February 6). On a mission to translate belief into a reality [Electronic version]. *Washington Post*. Retrieved July 21, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Marinucci, Carla (2008a, June 9). Putting the punch in presidential sales pitches [Electronic version]. *San Francisco Chronicle*. Retrieved June 11, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Marinucci, Carla (2008b, April 30). Will rebuke rid Obama of his pastor problem? Analysts say his response to Wright likely to be effective [Electronic version]. *San Francisco Chronicle*. Retrieved June 19, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Marshall, John (2008, March 13). Samantha Power: Ex-Obama aide explains self after 'monster' mistake [Electronic version]. *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. Retrieved June 19, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Martin, Andy (2007, February 12). The mask of Barack Obama: A psychological profile [Electronic version]. *Political Gateway*. Retrieved March 29, 2007, from <http://politicalgateway.com/main/columns/read.html?col=732>.
- McCormick, John (2008, April 24). 'Professor Obama' runs an orderly campaign [Electronic version]. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved June 12, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Mendell, David (2007). *From promise to power*. New York: Amistad.
- Mooney, Alexander (2008, June 5). Obama: 'Settle down' on VP choice [Electronic version]. *CNN*. Retrieved June 10, 2008, from <http://www.cnn.com/2008/POLITICS/06/05/obama.interview/index.html>.

- Mundy, Liza (2008, May 4). Maternal truths; How much about your teenage transgressions should you tell your kids? [Electronic version]. *Washington Post*. Retrieved June 20, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Mundy, Liza (2007, August 12). A series of fortunate events; Barack Obama needed more than talent and ambition to rocket from obscure state senator to presidential contender in three years. He needed serious luck [Electronic version]. *Washington Post*. Retrieved June 19, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Murray, Shailagh (2008, July 14). In Obama's circle, Chicago remains the tie that binds [Electronic version]. *Washington Post*. Retrieved July 14, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Nagourney, Adam (2007, April 8). 2 years after big speech, a lower key for Obama [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved April 30, 2007, from LexisNexis.
- Nagourney, Adam (2006, December 4). Early 'maybe' from Obama jolts '08 field [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved April 6, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Nagourney, Adam & Zeleny, Jeff (2008, May 11). Already, Obama and McCain map fall strategies [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved June 19, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Nagourney, Adam & Zeleny, Jeff (2007, February 11). Obama formally enters presidential race [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved April 6, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Nicholas, Peter (2008, July 25). Campaign '08: Democrats; Obstacles linger for Obama; The Democrat is winning fans abroad, but is struggling to gain real ground over McCain at home [Electronic version]. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved July 25, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Obama, Barack (2006). *The audacity of hope*. New York: Crown.
- Obama, Barack (1995). *Dreams from my father*. New York: Times Books.
- Obama: My lessons in racism [Electronic version] (2007, September 6). *Time*. Retrieved June 4, 2008, from [http://entertainment.timesonline.co.uk/tol/arts\\_and\\_entertainment/books/book\\_extracts/article2392820.ece](http://entertainment.timesonline.co.uk/tol/arts_and_entertainment/books/book_extracts/article2392820.ece).
- Pallasch, Abdon M. (2007, December 17). Strong, silent type; He was 'smart, innovative, relentless,' and he mostly let other lawyers do the talking [Electronic version]. *Chicago Sun -Times*. Retrieved June 16, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Palmer, Caitriona (2008, March 8). Can Mr. Clean get down and dirty? [Electronic version]. *The Independent*. Retrieved June 4, 2008, from <http://www.independent.ie/national-news/can-mr-clean-get-down-----and-dirty-1311190.html>.

- Parker, Ashley (2008, May 27). On the court and on the trail, one aide looms over Obama [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved June 13, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Parsons, Christi (2007, May 22). Michelle Obama resigns as director of Wal-Mart supplier [Electronic version]. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved June 20, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Parsons, Christi, Japsen, Bruce, & Sectar, Bob (2007, April 22). Barack's rock: Sen. Obama's blunt, tough partner, Michelle, helps shape her husband's politics and life and is integral to his White House run [Electronic version]. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved May 1, 2007, from LexisNexis.
- Pearson, Rick & Long, Ray (2007, May 3). Careful steps, looking ahead; After arriving in Springfield, Barack Obama proved cautious, but it was clear to many he had ambitions beyond the state Senate. *Chicago Tribune* [Electronic version]. Retrieved June 12, 2007, from <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/politics/chi-0705030101may03,0,1225441.story>.
- Possley, Maurice (2007, March 30). Activism blossomed in college [Electronic version]. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved June 24, 2008, from <http://www.latimes.com/chi-0703291042mar30,0,7231182.story>.
- Powell, Michael (2008a, June 4). Calm in the swirl of history [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved June 10, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Powell, Michael (2008b, April 1). Moving to down-to-earth oratory for working people [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved April 6, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Powell, Michael (2008c, June 3). Obama, awaiting a new title, carefully hones his partisan image [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved June 12, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Profile: Barrack Obama [Electronic version] (2008, June 4). *BBC News*. Retrieved June 4, 2008, from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/3936013.stm>.
- Purdum, Todd (2008, March). Raising Obama [Electronic version]. *Vanity Fair*. Retrieved June 9, 2008, from <http://www.vanityfair.com/politics/features/2008/03/obama200803>.
- Roberts, Sam (2008, January 12). Obama giving Clinton a race in her backyard [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved April 6, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Rogak, Lisa (Ed.) (2007). *Barack Obama: In his own words*. New York: Carroll & Graf.
- Sailer, Steve (2007, March 26). Obama's identity crisis [Electronic version]. *American Conservative*. Retrieved May 1, 2007 from [http://www.amconmag.com/2007/2007\\_03\\_12/feature.html](http://www.amconmag.com/2007/2007_03_12/feature.html).

- Safire, William (2007, February 4). Obamarama [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved June 11, 2007, from LexisNexis.
- Saltonstall, David (2008, June 5). Let the battle commence! [Electronic version]. *Daily News* (New York). Retrieved June 11, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Samuelson, Robert J. (2008, June 11). A vote for McBama [Electronic version]. *Washington Post*. Retrieved June 17, 2008, from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/06/10/AR2008061002528.html?sub=new>.
- Sanders, Edmund (2008, July 17). So alike and yet so different; His Kenyan father shared Obama's ambition and talent. The son's self-control sets the two apart [Electronic version]. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved July 17, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Sawyer, Diane (Anchor) (2008, January 7). Democratic debate [Electronic transcript]. *Good Morning America*. New York: ABC News. Retrieved June 5, 2008, from <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/Vote2008/Story?id=4092530&page=4>.
- Scharnberg, Kirsten & Barker, Kim (2007, March 23). Barack Obama's youth shaped by different worlds [Electronic version]. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved June 4, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Scott, Janny (2008, May 18). The story of Obama, written by Obama [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved June 13, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Secter, Bob & McCormick, John (2007, March 30). Portrait of a pragmatist [Electronic version]. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved August 10, 2007, from <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/chi-0703300121mar30,1,282774.story?coll=chi-newsnationworld-hed&ctrack=4&cset=true>.
- Shales, Tom (2004, August 2). Conventions can't get a break [Electronic version]. *Television Week*. Retrieved June 19, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Sheinin, Aaron Gould (2008, February 26). Countdown 2008: Road to the White House; On the run: McCain: Voters will judge security based on Iraq [Electronic version]. *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. Retrieved June 23, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Shesgreen, Deirdre (2004, November 19). Obama arrives, and Fitzgerald says goodbye [Electronic version]. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Retrieved June 19, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Sidoti, Liz (2008a, May 5). McCain-Obama race would offer contrast in style [Electronic version]. *Star-Ledger* (New Jersey). Retrieved June 20, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Sidoti, Liz (2008b, July 8). Obama proposes bankruptcy changes [Electronic version]. *Associated Press*. Retrieved July 21, 2008, from LexisNexis.



- Sirota, David (2006, June 8). Mr. Obama goes to Washington. *The Nation* [Electronic version]. Retrieved March 29, 2007, from <http://www.thenation.com/doc/20060626/sirota>.
- Slevin, Peter (2007, February 9). Obama forged political mettle in Illinois capitol [Electronic version]. *Washington Post*. Retrieved June 5, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Smith, Tony (2007, March 11). They need a global strategy, not just tactics for Iraq [Electronic version]. *Washington Post*. Retrieved June 20, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Steele, Shelby (2008). *A bound man: Why we are excited about Obama and why he can't win*. Riverside, NJ: Simon & Schuster.
- Steinberg, Neil (2008, June 20). Keeping it simple [Electronic version]. *Chicago Sun-Times*. Retrieved June 20, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Steinberg, Neil (2004, June 28). With Ryan gone, the real craziness can begin [Electronic version]. *Chicago Sun-Times*. Retrieved June 20, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Steinhauer, Jennifer (2007, March 17). Charisma and a search for self in Obama's Hawaii childhood [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved April 28, 2007, from LexisNexis.
- Superdelegate switches; Endorses Sen. Obama [Electronic version]. (2008, May 1). *USA Today*. Retrieved June 10, 2008, from [http://www.usatoday.com/news/politics/election2008/2008-05-01-obama-todayshow\\_n.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/news/politics/election2008/2008-05-01-obama-todayshow_n.htm).
- Tapper, J. (2007, August 1). Obama delivers bold speech about war on terror [Electronic version]. *ABC News*. Retrieved April 6, 2008, from <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/Story?id=3434573&page=1>.
- Thanawala, Sudhin (2008, March 27). Obama overcame outsider feelings to fit in at private high school [Electronic version]. *Associated Press State & Local Wire*. Retrieved June 24, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Thomas, Mike (2004, August 9). What's behind Barack's celebrity? [Electronic version]. *Chicago Sun-Times*. Retrieved June 11, 2004, from LexisNexis.
- The unauthorized biography of Barack Obama*. (n.d.). Part 5: Harvard Law Rocks, 1989 –1991. Online at <http://www.obamaisgood.com/unauthorizedbiography/partvharvardlawrocks.html>
- Urbina, I. (2008, February 12). Virginia's diversity offers a challenge to Democrats [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved April 6, 2008, from LexisNexis.

- Wallsten, Peter (2008, April 30). Campaign '08: Race for the White House; Obama angrily disowns pastor [Electronic version]. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved June 19, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Wallsten, Peter & Hamburger, Tom (2008 February 18). Campaign '08: Primary strategies; Clinton-country incursion; Obama's going after Latinos and blue-collar whites, two mainstays of her support, in Ohio and Texas [Electronic version]. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved June 23, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Weisman, Jonathan, Murray, Shaiagh, & Slevin, Peter (2008, June 4). Strategy was based on winning delegates, not battlegrounds [Electronic version]. *Washington Post*. Retrieved June 12, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Weiss, Joanna (2007, December 14). Some voters hear body language of candidates clearly hints of intent, character can be communicated [Electronic version]. *Boston Globe*. Retrieved June 23, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Wills, Christopher (2004, October 13). Obama mixes exotic background with street-level experience [Electronic version]. *Associated Press State & Local Wire*. Retrieved June 17, 2006, from LexisNexis.
- Wolffe, Richard (2007a, Feb. 12). Campaign trail highs. And lows. *Newsweek* [Electronic version]. Retrieved April 27, 2007, from <http://www.newsweek.com/id/42993>.
- Wolffe, Richard (2007b, May 7). Details, details [Electronic version]. *Newsweek*. Retrieved June 5, 2008, from <http://www.newsweek.com/id/35101>.
- Wolffe, Richard & Briscoe, Daren (2007, July 8). Newsweek's interview with Barack Obama [Electronic version]. *Newsweek*. Retrieved July 13, 2007, from <http://www.newsweek.com/id/33201>.
- Zeleny, Jeff (2008, April 12). Obama remarks called 'out of touch' [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved June 19, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Zeleny, Jeff & Rutenberg, Jim (2008, June 16). Obama the delegator picks when to take reins [Electronic version]. *New York Times*. Retrieved June 16, 2008, from LexisNexis.
- Zremski, Jerry (2008, April 9). Petraeus urges withdrawal delay; Avoids timetable for further reducing U.S. troops in Iraq [Electronic version]. *Buffalo News*. Retrieved June 23, 2008, from LexisNexis.