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# The Political Personalities of 2008 Republican Presidential Contenders John McCain and Rudy Giuliani

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**THE POLITICAL PERSONALITIES  
OF 2008 REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CONTENDERS  
JOHN MCCAIN AND RUDY GIULIANI**

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## Abstract

### **The Political Personalities of 2008 Republican Presidential Contenders John McCain and Rudy Giuliani**

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This paper presents the results of indirect assessments of the personalities of Arizona senator John McCain and former New York mayor Rudy Giuliani, contenders for the Republican Party nomination in the 2008 U.S. presidential election, from the conceptual perspective of personologist Theodore Millon. Information concerning Sen. McCain and Mayor Giuliani was collected from biographical sources and published reports and synthesized into personality profiles using the second edition of 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 manual. McCain's primary personality pattern was found to be Dauntless/dissenting, with secondary features of the Outgoing/gregarious and Dominant/controlling patterns. Giuliani's primary personality pattern was found to be Dominant/aggressive, with secondary features of the Conscientious/dutiful and Ambitious/confident patterns.

The combination of Dauntless and Outgoing patterns in McCain's profile suggests a *risk-taking adventurer* personality composite. Leaders with this personality prototype are characteristically bold, fearless, sensation seeking, and driven by a need to prove their mettle.

The combination of Dominant and Conscientious patterns in Giuliani's profile suggests an *aggressive enforcer* personality composite. Leaders with this personality prototype are tough, uncompromising, and believe they have a moral duty to punish and control those who deviate from socially sanctioned norms.

McCain's major personality strengths in a leadership role are the important personality-based political skills of independence, persuasiveness, and courage, coupled with a socially responsive, outgoing tendency that can be instrumental in connecting with critical constituencies for mobilizing support and implementing policy initiatives. His major personality-based limitation is a predisposition to impulsiveness, one manifestation of which is a deficit of emotional restraint.

Giuliani's major personality strength in a leadership role is a forceful, commanding personality style that permits him to take charge in times of crisis and inspire public confidence. His major personality-based limitation is a tendency to control and punish, which may foster divisiveness and animosity.

The major implication of the study is that it offers an empirically based personological framework for anticipating the candidates' respective leadership styles as chief executive, thus providing a basis for inferring the character and tenor of a prospective McCain or Giuliani presidency.

## Introduction

This paper reports the results of psychodiagnostic case studies of John Sidney McCain III and Rudolph William Louis Giuliani III, early front-runners for the Republican nomination for the 2008 U.S. presidential election. Data with respect to Rudolph (Rudy) Giuliani were collected in spring 1999 as the then mayor of New York City prepared to run for U.S. Senate in the state of New York. Data for Arizona senator John McCain were collected in fall 1999, during his campaign for the Republican nomination in the 2000 U.S. presidential election.

Neither study has been published previously. Although one might question the validity of profiles constructed solely on the basis of sources prior to 2000, it's arguably advantageous that the profiles are not colored by the two leaders' respective responses to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and the post-9/11 political landscape.

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

This perspective provides the context for the current paper, which presents an analysis of the personalities of John McCain and Rudy Giuliani and examines the political implications of their respective personality profiles 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 John McCain and Rudy Giuliani.

**Sources of data.** Diagnostic information pertaining to John McCain was collected from his campaign biography, *Faith of My Fathers* (McCain, 1999); Robert Timberg's generally admiring biography, *John McCain: An American Odyssey* (1999); and several news media reports selected to shed light on McCain's allegedly volatile temper (Altman, 1999; Berke, 1999; Lawrence, 1999; Matthews, 1999; McCain's temper, 1999).

Diagnostic information pertaining to Rudy Giuliani was collected from the generally critical book-length chronicle *Giuliani: Nasty Man* by former New York Mayor Ed Koch (1999) and a variety of news media reports that offered useful, diagnostically relevant biographical information (Barry, 1998; Blood, 1998; Gangel, 1998; Goodwin, 1999; Haberman, 1998; Harden, 1997, 1998; Herbert, 1998, 1999; Horowitz, 1999; Lipsyte, 1998; Manegold, 1993; Nagourney, 1998; Roberts, 1989; Schwartzman, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1999; Will, 1998).

**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.

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

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

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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)

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*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 extensive account of the procedure).

### **Results**

The analysis of the data includes a summary of descriptive statistics yielded by the MIDC scoring procedure, the MIDC profiles for John McCain and Rudy Giuliani, diagnostic classification of the subjects, and the clinical interpretation of significant MIDC scale elevations derived from the diagnostic procedure.

McCain received 30 endorsements on the 170-item MIDC. Judging from endorsement rates below the mean, the domains of mood/temperament and cognitive style were the most difficult to gauge. The assessment of cognitive style in particular relies substantially on inference, a difficult task when appraising a subject at a distance. As might be expected, the more directly observable domain of expressive behavior yielded an endorsement frequency above the mean, as — more atypically — did self-image.

Giuliani received 37 endorsements on the 170-item MIDC. Judging from endorsement rates below the mean, the domains of cognitive style and mood/temperament were the most difficult to gauge. The more directly observable domains of expressive behavior and interpersonal conduct yielded endorsement frequencies above the mean, as did self-image, which tends to be more difficult to infer at a distance.

Descriptive statistics for McCain's and Giuliani's MIDC ratings are presented in Table 3.



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

Attribute domain	McCain	Giuliani
Expressive behavior	8	9
Interpersonal conduct	6	9
Cognitive style	5	4
Mood/temperament	4	6
Self-image	7	9
Sum	30	37
Mean	6.0	7.4
Standard deviation	1.4	2.1

McCain's and Giuliani's MIDC scale scores are reported in Table 4. The same data are presented graphically in the profiles depicted in Figures 1 and 2.

**Table 4**  
*MIDC Scale Scores*

Scale	Personality pattern	McCain		Giuliani	
		Raw	RT%	Raw	RT%
1A	Dominant: Asserting–Controlling–Aggressive	10	23.8	27	51.9
1B	Dauntless: Adventurous–Dissenting–Aggrandizing	16	38.1	3	5.8
2	Ambitious: Confident–Self-serving–Exploitative	5	11.9	9	17.3
3	Outgoing: Congenial–Gregarious–Impulsive	11	26.2	3	5.8
4	Accommodating: Cooperative–Agreeable–Submissive	0	0.0	0	0.0
5A	Aggrieved: Unpresuming–Self-denying–Self-defeating	0	0.0	0	0.0
5B	Contentious: Resolute–Oppositional–Negativistic	0	0.0	0	0.0
6	Conscientious: Respectful–Dutiful–Compulsive	0	0.0	10	19.2
7	Reticent: Circumspect–Inhibited–Withdrawn	0	0.0	0	0.0
8	Retiring: Reserved–Aloof–Solitary	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Subtotal for basic personality scales	42	100	52	100.0
9	Distrusting: Suspicious–Paranoid	0	0.0	12	18.8
0	Erratic: Unstable–Borderline	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Full-scale total	42	100.0	64	118.8

*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.

The MIDC profile yielded by *McCain*'s raw scores is displayed in Figure 1.<sup>2</sup> McCain's most elevated scale, with a score of 16, is Scale 1B (Dauntless), followed by Scale 3 (Outgoing), with a score of 11, and Scale 1A (Dominant), with a score of 10. The primary Scale 1B elevation is well within the *prominent* (10–23) range and the two secondary elevations (Scales 3 and 1A) are just within this range. The only additional scale elevation of psychodiagnostic significance is the score of 5 on Scale 2 (Ambitious), which is at the lower threshold of the *present* (5–9) range. The scale score for all other scales was 0, which is unusual. McCain seems to have a relatively clear-cut personality configuration.

Based on the cut-off score guidelines provided in the MIDC manual, all of McCain's scale elevations (see Figure 1) are within normal limits, though Scale 1B (Dauntless), Scale 3 (Outgoing), and Scale 1A (Dominant) were moderately elevated, in the *prominent* range.

In terms of MIDC scale gradation (see Table 2 and Figure 1) criteria, McCain was classified as a Dauntless/dissenting (Scale 1B) personality, with secondary features of the Outgoing/gregarious (Scale 3) and Dominant/controlling (Scale 1A) patterns.<sup>3</sup> He also has an Ambitious/confident tendency, though this is a peripheral feature of his personality.

The MIDC profile yielded by *Giuliani*'s raw scores is displayed in Figure 2.<sup>4</sup> Giuliani's most elevated scale, with a score of 27, is Scale 1A (Dominant), followed by Scale 6 (Conscientious), with a score of 10, and Scale 2 (Ambitious), with a score of 9. The primary Scale 1A elevation is within the *mildly dysfunctional* (24–30) range. The secondary Scale 6 elevation is at the lower threshold of the *prominent* (10–23) range, while the secondary Scale 2 elevation is at the upper limit of the *present* (5–9) range. No other scale elevation is psychodiagnostically significant.

Based on the cut-off score guidelines provided in the MIDC manual, all of Giuliani's scale elevations (see Figure 2) are within normal limits, with the exception of Scale 1A (Dominant), which is in the *mildly dysfunctional* range.

In terms of MIDC scale gradation (see Table 2 and Figure 2) criteria, Giuliani was classified as a Dominant/aggressive (Scale 1A) personality, with secondary features of the Conscientious/dutiful (Scale 6) and Ambitious/confident (Scale 2) patterns.<sup>5</sup> In addition, there are indicators of a Distrusting tendency; however, the Scale 9 elevation falls just short of diagnostic significance.

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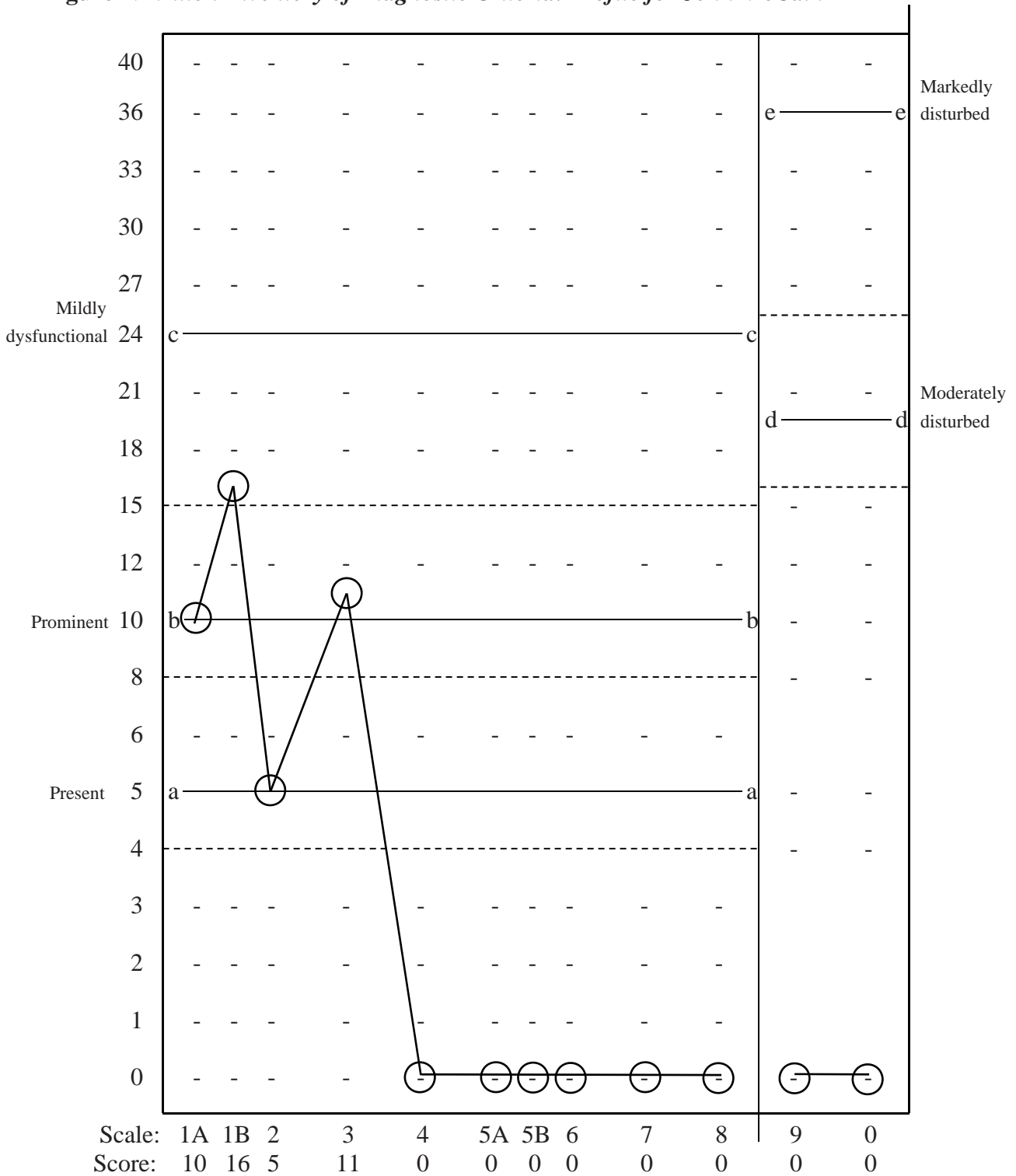
<sup>2</sup> See Table 2 for scale names. Solid horizontal lines on the profile form signify cut-off scores between adjacent scale gradations. For Scales 1–8, scores of 5 through 9 signify the *presence* (gradation *a*) of the personality pattern in question; scores of 10 through 23 indicate a *prominent* (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.

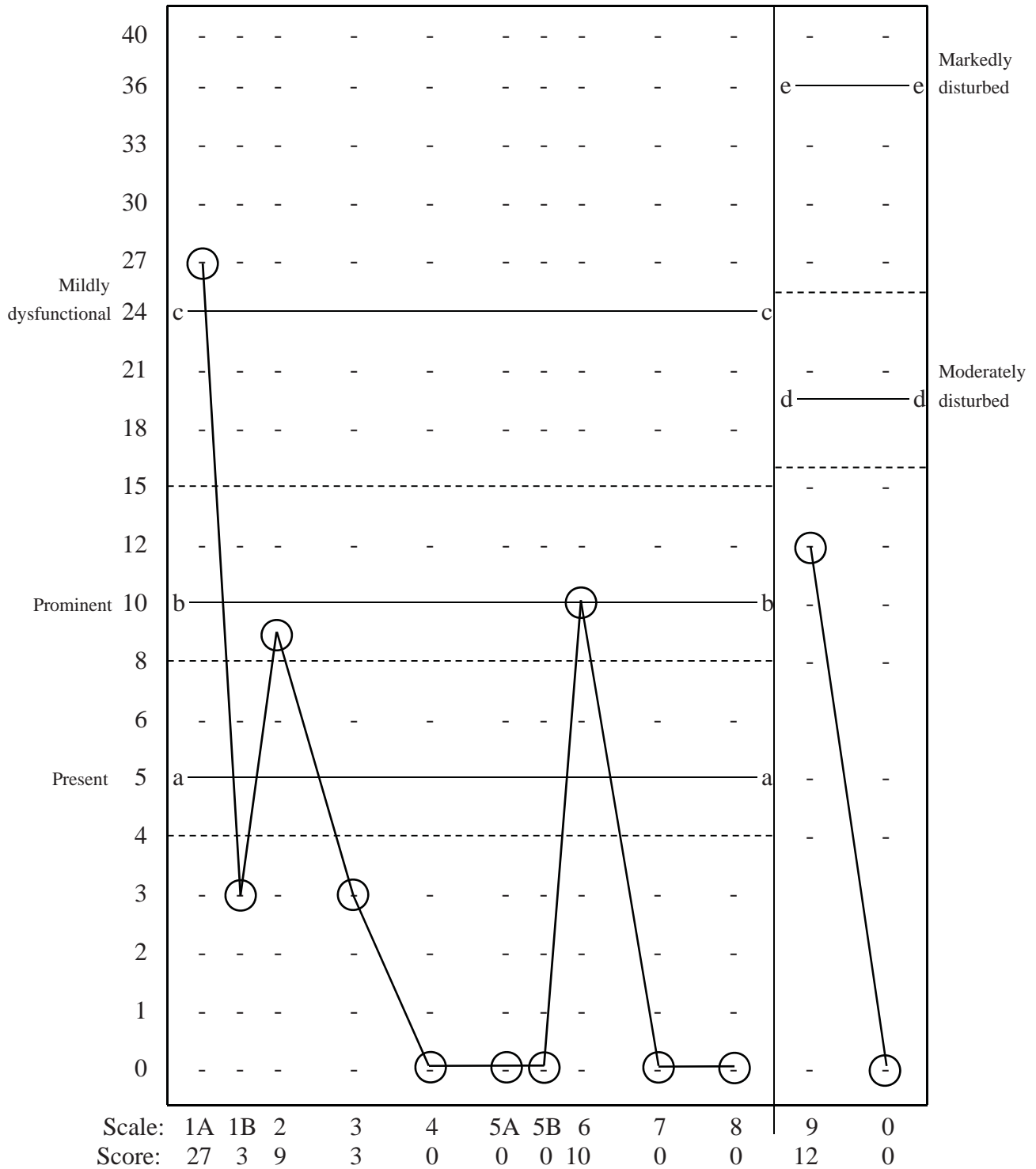
<sup>4</sup> See Footnote 2.

<sup>5</sup> See Footnote 3.

**Figure 1. Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: Profile for John McCain**



**Figure 2. Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: Profile for Rudy Giuliani**



## Discussion

The discussion of the results examines John McCain's and Rudy Giuliani'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 McCain's and Giuliani's personality profiles.

### *John McCain*

With his elevated Scale 1B, McCain emerged from the assessment as a clearly *dissenting* type, an adaptive, slightly exaggerated variant of the Dauntless pattern. The interpretation of McCain's profile must also account for secondary elevations on Scale 3 (Outgoing) and Scale 1A (Dominant).<sup>6</sup>

#### *Scale 1B: The Dauntless Pattern*

The Dauntless pattern, as do all personality patterns, occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. At the well-adjusted pole<sup>7</sup> are individualistic, daring, adventurous personalities. Exaggerated Dauntless features<sup>8</sup> occur in somewhat unconscientious, risk-taking, dissenting personalities. In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form,<sup>9</sup> the Dauntless pattern displays itself in reckless, irresponsible, self-aggrandizing behavior patterns that may be consistent with a clinical diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder.

Normal, adaptive variants of the Dauntless pattern (i.e., adventurous and dissenting types) are congruent with Oldham and Morris's (1995) *Adventurous* style, Millon's (1994) *Dissenting* pattern, and the low pole of Simonton's (1988) *interpersonal* executive leadership style. Theoretically, the normal, adaptive variant of the Dauntless pattern incorporates facets of the five-factor model's *Extraversion* factor and the low pole of its *Agreeableness* factor; however, the Dissenting scale of the Millon Index of Personality Styles (Millon, 1994) is uncorrelated with the NEO Personality Inventory's (Costa & McCrae, 1985) Extraversion factor, though — as expected — this scale is negatively correlated with its *Agreeableness* factor. In addition, the Dissenting pattern is moderately correlated with the NEO Personality Inventory's *Neuroticism* factor, has a small negative correlation with its *Conscientiousness* factor, and is uncorrelated with its *Openness to Experience* factor (see Millon, 1994, p. 82). The Dauntless pattern, as conceptualized in the

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<sup>6</sup> Consideration of the Dauntless and Outgoing patterns offers a sufficient basis for construing McCain's essential personality features. For a discussion of Dominant traits that might modulate McCain's Dauntless–Outgoing pattern, consult the section on Rudy Giuliani.

<sup>7</sup> Relevant to McCain.

<sup>8</sup> Some of these exaggerated features have featured prominently throughout McCain's life course; however, it is common for these traits to become attenuated since middle adulthood (see APA, 1994, p. 648).

<sup>9</sup> Not applicable to McCain.

MIDC, is congruent with the low poles of Simonton's (1988) *deliberative* and *interpersonal* leadership styles and incorporates elements of his *neurotic* and *charismatic* styles.

According to Oldham and Morris (1995, pp. 227–228), the following eight traits and behaviors are reliable clues to the presence of an Adventurous style:

1. *Nonconformity*. Live by their own internal code of values; not strongly influenced by the norms of society.
2. *Challenge*. Routinely engage in high-risk activities.
3. *Mutual independence*. Not overly concerned about others; expect each individual to be responsible for him- or herself.
4. *Persuasiveness*. “Silver-tongued” charmers talented in the art of social influence.
5. *Wanderlust*. Like to keep moving; live by their talents, skills, ingenuity, and wits.
6. *Wild oats*. History of childhood and adolescent mischief and hell-raising.
7. *True grit*. Courageous, physically bold, and tough.
8. *No regrets*. Live in the present; do not feel guilty about past or anxious about the future.

Oldham and Morris (1995) provide the following description of the *Adventurous* style:

[People] with this personality style venture where most mortals fear to tread. ... They live on the edge, challenging boundaries and restrictions, pitting themselves for better or for worse in a thrilling game against their own mortality. No risk, no reward, they say. Indeed, for people with the Adventurous personality style, the risk is the reward. (p. 227)

Ultimately, adventurous types “are fundamentally out for themselves” (Oldham & Morris, 1995, p. 228); they “do not need others to fuel their self-esteem or to provide purpose to their lives, and they don’t make sacrifices for other people, at least not easily” (p. 229). Furthermore, they believe in themselves and do not require anyone’s approval; they have “a definite sense of what is right or wrong for them, and if something is important to them, they’ll do it no matter what anyone thinks” (p. 229). This may be one of McCain’s political strengths, because career politicians are usually socialized or at least conditioned to be responsive to public and peer approval. Despite their self-orientation, adventurous people are capable of advancing a cause incidentally in the service of their personal desires or ambition; but, fundamentally, what matters is the momentary excitement, emotional vitality, or sense of aliveness that they experience, not love of person, country, or cause (p. 229).

Technically, Oldham and Morris’s Adventurous style appears to be a more adaptive variant of Millon’s “risk-taking psychopath,” a composite of his aggrandizing (antisocial) and gregarious (histrionic) personality patterns (see Millon, 1996, p. 452; Millon & Davis, 1998, p. 164; Millon & Davis, 2000, pp. 111–112). Notably, these two patterns, though in attenuated, socially adaptive form, represent McCain’s predominant MIDC elevations.

Millon (1994), who uses the term *Dissenting* as a label for the normal, adaptive variant of the aggrandizing, antisocial pattern, asserts that these individuals tend to “flout tradition,” “act in a notably autonomous fashion,” “are not social-minded,” and “are not inclined to adhere to conventional standards, cultural mores, and organizational regulations” (p. 32). They are

unconventional persons who seek to do things their own way and are willing to take the consequences for doing so. They act as they see fit regardless of how others judge them. Inclined at times to elaborate on or shade the truth, as well as ride close to the edge of the law, they are not conscientious — that is, they do not assume customary responsibilities. Rather, they frequently assert that too many rules stand in the way of people who wish to be free and inventive, and that they prefer to think and act in an independent and often creative way. Many believe that persons in authority are too hard on people who don't conform. Dissenters dislike following the same routine day after day and, at times, act impulsively and irresponsibly. They will do what they want or believe to be best without much concern for the effects of their actions on others. Being skeptical about the motives of most people, and refusing to be fettered or coerced, they exhibit a strong need for autonomy and self-determination. (p. 33)

Millon's description<sup>10</sup> provides theoretical underpinnings for the widespread perception of McCain as a "maverick." Moreover, the *DSM-IV* description of antisocial personalities as being "excessively opinionated, self-assured, or cocky" (APA, 1994, p. 646) is not far removed from biographical accounts of the young John McCain as a Naval Academy cadet and naval aviator.

Although the Adventurous (Oldham & Morris, 1995) and Dissenting (Millon, 1994) personality styles are adaptive variants of antisocial personality disorder, it should be noted that antisocial-spectrum personality patterns commonly become less pervasive, intrusive, and maladaptive by early middle age. According to *DSM-IV*, "Antisocial Personality Disorder has a chronic course but may become less evident or remit as the individual grows older, particularly in the fourth decade of life" (APA, 1994, p. 648).

Millon (1996), in examining the developmental background of these so-called "socially sublimated antisocials" (p. 462), asserts that their experiential history is often characterized by secondary status in the family. He writes:

It is not only in socially underprivileged families or underclass communities that we see the emergence of antisocial individuals. The key problem for all has been their failure to experience the feeling of being treated fairly and having been viewed as a person/child of value in the family context. Such situations occur in many middle- and upper-middle class families. (p. 462)

The circumstances of John McCain's itinerant youth and absent father (a naval officer) may both have played a part in the emergence of these dynamics.

Finally, Millon and Davis (2000) specifically address the relevance of the Dauntless pattern to leadership — notably the intermediate range of the continuum, where normality shades into the more aggrandizing variant of this pattern. They suggest that within this range "we find persons [e.g., some very successful industrialists, entrepreneurs, and corporate executives] who have never come into conflict with the law, but only because they are very effective in covering their tracks":

For many politicians, the deception of doublespeak is a talent necessary for survival. Skirting the edge of deceitfulness, they "spin" objective events by minimizing negatives and exaggerating

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<sup>10</sup> All Millon 1994 citations in this report refer to the Manual of the *Millon Index of Personality Styles* (MIPS). Copyright © 1994 by Dicandrien, Inc. "MIPS" is a trademark of The Psychological Corporation registered in the United States of America and/or other jurisdictions. Reproduced by permission of the publisher, The Psychological Corporation, a Harcourt Assessment Company. All rights reserved.



positives. When cornered, they focus attention on mitigating circumstances and lie by omission by failing to report the total circumstances and full motives of their actions. Moreover, they deliberately create public policy so complex that any particular aspect might be singled out to impress the special interest of the moment. (p. 107)

Millon's (1996) personality patterns have predictable, reliable, observable psychological indicators (expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct, cognitive style, mood/temperament, self-image, regulatory mechanisms, object representations, and morphologic organization). The diagnostic features of the Dauntless pattern with respect to each of the eight attribute domains are summarized in the MIDC manual (Immelman, 1999).

### ***Scale 3: The Outgoing Pattern***

Few people exhibit personality patterns in "pure" or prototypal form; more often, individual personalities represent a blend of two or more primary orientations. In interpreting McCain's profile, due consideration must be given to his concurrent elevation on Scale 3 (Outgoing), which modulates his Dauntless pattern. Specifically, McCain's loading on this scale classifies him as a gregarious type, an adaptive, slightly exaggerated variant the Outgoing pattern.

The Outgoing pattern, as do all personality patterns, occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. At the well-adjusted pole<sup>11</sup> are warm, congenial personalities. Slightly exaggerated Outgoing features<sup>12</sup> occur in sociable, gregarious personalities. In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form,<sup>13</sup> extraversion manifests itself in impulsive, self-centered, overdramatizing behavior patterns that may be consistent with a clinical diagnosis of histrionic personality disorder.

Normal, adaptive variants of the Outgoing pattern (i.e., congenial and gregarious types) correspond to Strack's (1997) *sociable* style and Millon's (1994) *Outgoing* pattern. It overlaps with the *cooperative* segment of Leary's (1957) *cooperative–overconventional* continuum (which is, however, more congruent with the Accommodating pattern). Millon's Outgoing pattern is highly correlated with the five-factor model's *Extraversion* factor, moderately correlated with its *Conscientiousness* and *Openness to Experience* factors, has a moderate negative correlation with its *Neuroticism* factor, and is uncorrelated with its *Agreeableness* factor (see Millon, 1994, p. 82).

In combination with the Ambitious pattern (Scale 2; marginally present in McCain), the Outgoing pattern bears some resemblance to Simonton's (1988) *charismatic* executive leadership style; and in combination with the Accommodating pattern (Scale 4; negligible in McCain's profile), with Simonton's *interpersonal* style.

Chief executives with an elevated Outgoing scale, accompanied by prominent Dauntless (Scale 1B) and Ambitious (Scale 2) patterns and a low score on Scale 6 (Conscientious), as is the case

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<sup>11</sup> Relevant to McCain.

<sup>12</sup> Marginally relevant to McCain.

<sup>13</sup> Not applicable to McCain.



with McCain, may be susceptible to errors of judgment related to “neglect of the role demands of political office, low resistance to corrupting influences, and impulsiveness. ... [as well as] favoring loyalty and friendship over competence-for-the-position in making appointments to high-level public office” (Immelman, 1993, p. 736). However, for McCain, the experience of attending military school, a family history of military service, lessons learned from the “Keating Five” scandal, and the attenuating effect of aging may well combine to temper any such tendency towards such lapses of judgment.

Millon (1994) summarizes the Outgoing pattern as follows:

At the most extreme levels of the Outgoing pole are persons characterized by features similar to the DSM’s histrionic personality. At less extreme levels, gregarious persons go out of their way to be popular with others, have confidence in their social abilities, feel they can readily influence and charm others, and possess a personal style that makes people like them. Most enjoy engaging in social activities. ... Talkative, lively, socially clever, they are often dramatic attention-getters who thrive on being the center of social events. Many become easily bored, especially when faced with repetitive and mundane tasks. ... [Although prone to] intense and shifting moods, gregarious types are sometimes viewed as fickle and excitable. On the other hand, their enthusiasms often prove effective in energizing and motivating others. Inclined to be facile and enterprising, outgoing people may be highly skilled at manipulating others to meet their needs. (pp. 31–32)

Strack (1997) provides the following portrait of the normal (*sociable*) prototype of the Outgoing 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:

They are characterized by an outgoing, talkative, and extraverted style of behavior and tend to be lively, dramatic, and colorful. These people are typically viewed by others as spontaneous, clever, enthusiastic, and vigorous. ... Sociable individuals may also be seen as fickle in their attachments. They may have quickly shifting moods and emotions, and may come across as shallow and ungenue. These persons tend to prefer novelty and excitement, and are bored by ordinary or mundane activities. ... They often do well interacting with the public, may be skilled and adept at rallying or motivating others, and will usually put their best side forward even in difficult circumstances. (From Strack, 1997, p. 489, with minor modifications)

In politics, leadership ability may well be compromised in individuals who “become easily bored, especially when faced with repetitive and mundane tasks,” and who are prone to “intense and shifting moods.” These limitations must, however, be weighed against the high degree of skill with which Outgoing leaders are able to engage their capacity for “energizing and motivating” the public.

Millon’s (1996) personality patterns have predictable, reliable, observable psychological indicators (expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct, cognitive style, mood/temperament, self-image, regulatory mechanisms, object representations, and morphologic organization). The diagnostic features of the Outgoing pattern with respect to each of the eight attribute domains are summarized in the MIDC manual (Immelman, 1999).

### *John McCain and the “Temper Question”*

In his 2000 presidential campaign for the Republican nomination, John McCain was dogged by persistent reports of a “volcanic temper,” raising some doubt about his fitness to govern. The story — though nascent for some time in whispered rumors — surfaced with a vengeance on October 25, 1999 when the *New York Times* reported that McCain’s “flaring temper and sometimes prickly personality ... may complicate his climb to the nomination” (Berke, 1999, p. A1). The story grew legs when the senator’s hometown newspaper, the *Arizona Republic*, editorialized on October 31, 1999: “Many Arizonans active in policymaking have been the victim of McCain’s volcanic temper and his practice of surrounding himself with aides who regard politics ... as a ‘blood sport’” (McCain’s temper, 1999, p. B6). The editorial called McCain’s attempt to spin the *New York Times* story “hogwash,” noting that McCain “often insults people and flies off the handle,” concluding, “There is also reason to seriously question whether McCain has the temperament, and the political approach and skills, we want in the next president of the United States” (McCain’s temper, 1999, p. B6).

What does McCain’s Dauntless–Outgoing profile have to say about his alleged temper and what are the implications for his fitness to govern? Resolving that question calls for consideration of Millon’s domain of mood/temperament, which focuses on activity level and the character and intensity of emotional experience. Dauntless personalities are temperamentally untroubled and easygoing, but quickly become irritable and aggressive when crossed. Outgoing personalities are emotionally expressive, with frequent but short-lived emotional displays. Leaders with an Outgoing personality pattern, though skilled at staying in touch with the mood of the people, are prone to periodic rages, though they usually reestablish emotional equilibrium in short order and typically do not hold grudges.

Turning to the relationship between temperament and leadership, Stanley Renshon, in *The Psychological Assessment of Presidential Candidates* (1996), asserted that the meaning of anger hinges on five critical questions. First, are the temper outbursts occasional or regular? (p. 373). In spite of the *Arizona Republic*’s claims that McCain “often insults people and flies off the handle” (McCain’s temper, 1999, p. B6), none of the news accounts examined in the present study suggested that the outbursts were particularly frequent. Though sometimes characterized as “volcanic” or “volatile,” indications are that McCain’s lapses in emotional restraint, though recurrent, are intermittent and sporadic. Occasional displays of anger, withering as they may be to those at the receiving end of his wrath, probably do not constitute an unmitigated failure in presidential temperament and may, in fact, have an adaptive aspect.

Second, are there particular issues that set off the displays of temper? (Renshon, 1996, p. 373). In his autobiography, *Faith of My Fathers* (1999), McCain blamed affronts to his honor or dignity as triggers for his anger. However, a report in *USA Today* by Jill Lawrence suggests that McCain does not select the targets of his anger as precisely as his autobiography would have the reader believe, quoting Tennessee senator Fred Thompson (“a McCain friend and supporter”) as saying that McCain “has been known not to suffer fools very gladly” (Lawrence, 1999, p. 12A).

Third, does the candidate easily recover from angry episodes, or does he nurse grudges? (Renshon, 1996, p. 373). Jill Lawrence (1999, p. 12A), writing in *USA Today*, noted that former

New Hampshire senator Warren Rudman, national co-chair of the 2000 McCain campaign, has pointed to McCain's efforts to normalize U.S. relations with Vietnam and lauded McCain for his compassion and lack of vindictiveness. However, Arizona's governor at the time, Republican Jane Dee Hull — whose comments to the *New York Times* prompted the brouhaha over McCain's temper — contradicted Rudman by asserting that “John has a long memory” for personal slights. According to the *USA Today* report, McCain “can hold a grudge for years” (p. 12A). But Mike Hellon, at the time Republican National Committee member from Arizona, told *USA Today*, “Once he's blown, it's over, it's done with” (Lawrence, 1999, p. 12A).

Fourth, does the candidate berate or belittle those unlikely or unable to retaliate? (Renshon, 1996, p. 373). For the most part, McCain's wrath as reported in the media has been directed at political peers or reporters from the *Arizona Republic*, whom he has allegedly assailed as “liars” and “idiots” (McCain's temper, 1999, p. B6). Apparently, McCain's temper is not directed primarily at subordinates and defenseless victims.

The tentative conclusion is that McCain's anger is expressed directly and appropriately, yet the “temper question” deserves closer scrutiny as the campaign unfolds, and for good reason: Displacing one's anger onto groups or individuals unlikely or unable to retaliate may be indicative of an authoritarian character structure or an underlying sadistic tendency (a deeply ingrained, maladaptively aggressive predilection to revel in the humiliation and misfortune of others). Although the *Arizona Republic*'s characterization of McCain as “sarcastic and condescending” (McCain's temper, 1999, p. B6) on the face of it may point in that direction, it is not supported by the present findings.

Fifth, is the candidate aware of, and does he try to control his temper? (Renshon, 1996, p. 373). The *Arizona Republic* reported that McCain acknowledges his “propensity for passion,” though denying the suggestion that he insults people and is quick to “fly off the handle” (McCain's temper, 1999, p. B6). And, by his own admission in his autobiography, McCain is aware of his anger. In fact, McCain has spoken openly of his lifelong “outsized temper.” For example, he had this to say to host Chris Matthews on the CNBC program *Hardball* (Sept. 10, 1999): “I used to lose [my temper] ... all the time. Every time I lost it, either in captivity or out, I said something I regretted, usually harming someone. ... So I not only count to ten, every day I get up and pray, ‘I don't want to lose my temper today’.”

One should not lose sight of the fact that it is precisely McCain's temperament, toughness, and resilience that earned him his reputation as a fighter — both in Vietnam, where he verbally assailed his captors, and on Capitol Hill. Thus, in one sense, McCain's temper, in addition to its more socially intrusive aspects, also embodies passion, courage, and straight-shooting candor. But whatever the deeper meaning and political implications of an unruly temper — and getting to the bottom of matters such as these is, in part, what election campaigns are all about — character, personality, and temperament are legitimate public issues. (For another perspective on this issue, see Renshon, 2001, pp. 237–242.)

### *A Note on John McCain's "Histrionic Pattern of Personality Adjustment"*

Psychologically, John McCain may well be the most scrutinized presidential candidate in U.S. history. On December 6, 1999, shortly after the completion of the present profile of McCain, the McCain campaign released medical records revealing that McCain participated in a prisoner-of-war study for 20 years following his release from North Vietnam in 1973, in which he was subjected to extensive physical and mental evaluations (Altman, 1999, p. A26; Associated Press, 1999, p. 34).

In their report, Dr. Jeffrey L. Moore and Dr. Michael R. Ambrose concluded, “[McCain] has been subject to an extensive battery of psychological tests and following his last examination in 1993, we judged him to be in good physical and mental health.” McCain’s mental evaluation includes reference to “a histrionic pattern of personality adjustment.” Dr. Ambrose, director of the Robert E. Mitchell Center for Prisoner of War Studies, explained that this meant “an outgoing personality” (Associated Press, 1999, p. 34). That assessment is consistent with the present finding that McCain has a dauntless, outgoing personality pattern.<sup>14</sup>

### *Summary and Formulation: The Dauntless–Outgoing Composite Pattern*

As noted earlier, Millon describes an antisocial–histrionic composite personality pattern, which he labels “the risk-taking antisocial” (see Millon, 1996, p. 452; Millon & Davis, 1998, p. 164; Millon & Davis, 2000, pp. 111–112). Millon and Davis’s (1998) description of the “risk-taking psychopath,” though less adaptive and socially more obtrusive than Millon’s *dissenting* style, appears to be more closely related to Oldham and Morris’s (1995) *adventurous* style.

Although McCain’s MIDC scale elevations do not rise to a level that would warrant any kind of “antisocial” label, it may be instructive to review the prototypal features of the *risk-taking* type, bearing in mind that McCain may possess some of its features in attenuated form. These personalities are driven by a need to “prove their mettle.” Beyond a tendency to respond before thinking, acting impulsively, and behaving “in an unreflective and uncontrolled manner,” these individuals are “substantially fearless,” undeterred by events “that most people experience as dangerous or frightening.” They are disinclined to give up their need for autonomy and independence, may lack self-discipline, and “are tempted to prove themselves against new and exciting ventures, traveling on a hyperactive and erratic course of hazardous activity” (Millon & Davis, 1998, p. 164). Elsewhere, Millon and Davis (2000) offer a thumbnail sketch of these individuals as “dauntless, venturesome, intrepid, bold, audacious, [and] ... daring” (p. 110). In short, the essential feature of antisocial-spectrum risk taking is risk taking for its own sake — “for the excitement it provides, and for the sense of feeling alive and involved in life” (Millon & Davis, 1998, p. 164). Unlike prototypal psychopaths, they are *not* driven by motives of envy, avarice, material gain, defense of reputation, or retribution.

As a final caveat, the more flagrant elements of the risk-taking pattern typically diminish considerably by middle age — a developmental milestone McCain reached some decades ago. And, to reiterate, his profile elevation on the MIDC Dauntless scale reached only moderate levels

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<sup>14</sup> It may be worth noting that, with the exception of Richard Nixon and Jimmy Carter, the more outgoing major-party candidate has prevailed in every presidential contest since Franklin D. Roosevelt.

— in large part, it should be noted, on the strength of McCain’s own autobiographical account of his youthful unruliness and indiscretions.

### *Rudy Giuliani*

With his highly elevated Scale 1A, Giuliani emerged from the assessment as a distinctively *aggressive* type, a mildly dysfunctional variant of the Dominant pattern. The interpretation of Giuliani’s profile must also account for more modest elevations on Scale 6 (Conscientious) and Scale 2 (Ambitious).

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

The Dominant pattern, as do all personality patterns, occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. At the well-adjusted pole<sup>15</sup> are strong-willed, commanding, assertive personalities. Slightly exaggerated Dominant features<sup>16</sup> occur in forceful, intimidating, controlling personalities. In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form,<sup>17</sup> the Dominant pattern displays itself in domineering, belligerent, aggressive behavior patterns that may be consistent with a clinical diagnosis of sadistic personality disorder.

Normal, adaptive variants of the Dominant pattern (i.e., asserting and controlling types) correspond to Oldham and Morris’s (1995) *Aggressive* style, Strack’s (1997) *forceful* style, Millon’s (1994) *Controlling* pattern, the *managerial* segment of Leary’s (1957) managerial–autocratic continuum, and the low pole of Simonton’s (1988) *interpersonal* executive leadership style. In combination with the Conscientious (Scale 6) and Contentious (Scale 5B; not present in Giuliani) patterns, an elevated Dominant pattern points to Simonton’s (1988) *deliberative* presidential style. Millon’s Controlling pattern is positively correlated with the five-factor model’s *Conscientiousness* factor, has a more modest positive correlation with its *Extraversion* factor, is negatively correlated with its *Agreeableness* and *Neuroticism* factors, and is uncorrelated with its *Openness to Experience* factor (see Millon, 1994, p. 82). Correspondingly, these individuals — though controlling and somewhat disagreeable — tend to be emotionally stable and conscientious. According to Millon (1994), Controlling (i.e., Dominant) individuals

enjoy the power to direct and intimidate others, and to evoke obedience and respect from them. They tend to be tough and unsentimental, as well as gain satisfaction in actions that dictate and manipulate the lives of others. Although many sublimate their power-oriented tendencies in publicly approved roles and vocations, these inclinations become evident in occasional intransigence, stubbornness, and coercive behaviors. Despite these periodic negative expressions, controlling [Dominant] types typically make effective leaders, being talented in supervising and persuading others to work for the achievement of common goals. (p. 34)

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<sup>15</sup> Relevant to Giuliani.

<sup>16</sup> Highly relevant to Giuliani.

<sup>17</sup> Minimally relevant to Giuliani.



Oldham and Morris (1995) supplement Millon's description with the following portrait of the normal (*Aggressive*) prototype of the Dominant pattern:

While others may aspire to leadership, Aggressive [Dominant] men and women move instinctively to the helm. They ... assume command as surely as is the top dog in the pack. Theirs is a strong, forceful personality style, more inherently powerful than any of the others. They can undertake huge responsibilities without fear of failure. They wield power with ease. They never back away from a fight. They compete with the supreme confidence of champions. ... When put to the service of the greater good, the Aggressive [Dominant] personality style can inspire a man or woman to great leadership, especially in times of crisis. (p. 345)

Finally, Strack (1997) offers 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. (From Strack, 1997, p. 490, with minor modifications)

Millon's (1996) personality patterns have predictable, reliable, observable psychological indicators (expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct, cognitive style, mood/temperament, self-image, regulatory mechanisms, object representations, and morphologic organization). The diagnostic features of the Dominant pattern with respect to each of the eight attribute domains are summarized in the MIDC manual (Immelman, 1999).

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

The Conscientious pattern, as do all personality patterns, occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. At the well-adjusted pole<sup>18</sup> are earnest, polite, *respectful* personalities. Exaggerated Conscientious features<sup>19</sup> occur in *dutiful*, dependable, and principled but rigid personalities. In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form,<sup>20</sup> the Conscientious pattern displays itself in moralistic, self-righteous, uncompromising, cognitively constricted, *compulsive* behavior patterns that may be consistent with a clinical diagnosis of obsessive-compulsive personality disorder.

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<sup>18</sup> Relevant to Giuliani.

<sup>19</sup> Minimally relevant to Giuliani.

<sup>20</sup> Not applicable to Giuliani.

Normal, adaptive variants of the Conscientious pattern (i.e., respectful and dutiful types) correspond 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. Millon's Conforming pattern is correlated with the five-factor model's *Conscientiousness* factor, has a modest positive correlation with its *Extraversion* factor, a modest negative correlation with its *Neuroticism* factor, and is uncorrelated with its *Agreeableness* and *Openness to Experience* factors (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*. ... The Conscientious personality style flourishes within cultures ... in which the work ethic thrives. 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." They are often religious, and 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. Well-organized and reliable, prudent and restrained, they may appear to be overly self-controlled, formal and inflexible in their relationships, intolerant of deviance, and unbending in their adherence to social proprieties. Diligent about their responsibilities, they dislike having their work pile up, worry about finishing things, and come across to others as highly dependable and industrious. (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. These individuals can be rule abiding to a fault, however, and may be perfectionistic, inflexible, and judgmental. A formal interpersonal style and notable constriction of affect can make some respectful [Conscientious] persons seem cold, aloof, and withholding. Underneath their social propriety there is often a fear of disapproval and rejection, or a sense of guilt over perceived shortcomings. 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, show persistence even in difficult circumstances, and work well under supervision. (From Strack, 1997, p. 490, with minor modifications)

Millon's (1996) personality patterns have predictable, reliable, observable psychological indicators (expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct, cognitive style, mood/temperament, self-image, regulatory mechanisms, object representations, and morphologic organization). The diagnostic features of the Conscientious pattern with respect to each of the eight attribute domains are summarized in the MIDC manual (Immelman, 1999).

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

Giuliani's Scale 2 elevation approaches his elevation on Scale 6 (Conscientious), which complicates the determination of whether his personality composite should be viewed as essentially Dominant–Conscientious or Dominant–Ambitious. The tentative judgment is that the former offers a more accurate characterization. Nonetheless, a comprehensive understanding of Giuliani requires due consideration of his Ambitious personality features, which serve to offset some of his Conscientious qualities.

The Ambitious pattern, as do all personality patterns, occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. At the well-adjusted pole<sup>21</sup> are confident, socially poised, assertive personalities. Slightly exaggerated Ambitious features<sup>22</sup> occur in personalities that are sometimes perceived as self-promoting, overconfident, or arrogant. In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form,<sup>23</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

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<sup>21</sup> Relevant to Giuliani.

<sup>22</sup> It is possible that some of these slightly exaggerated features are present in Giuliani; however, the results suggest that these traits are not deeply ingrained or pervasive across broad domains of Giuliani's personality.

<sup>23</sup> Not applicable to Giuliani.



combination with an elevated Outgoing pattern (Scale 3; not clearly present in Giuliani), it bears some resemblance to Simonton's (1988) *charismatic* executive leadership style.

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. There is a star quality born of self-regard, self-respect, self-certainty. ... 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. Ironically, the confident [Ambitious] individual's secure appearance may cover feelings of personal inadequacy and a sensitivity to criticism and rejection. Unfortunately, they usually do not permit others to see their vulnerable side. 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. (From Strack, 1997, pp. 489–490, with slight modifications)

Millon's (1996) personality patterns have predictable, reliable, observable psychological indicators (expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct, cognitive style, mood/temperament, self-image, regulatory mechanisms, object representations, and morphologic organization). The diagnostic features of the Ambitious pattern with respect to each of the eight attribute domains are summarized in the MIDC manual (Immelman, 1999).

### *Summary and Formulation: The Dominant–Conscientious Composite Pattern*

Predominantly aggressive individuals who also possess prominent conscientious features are perhaps best characterized as *hostile enforcers* (following Millon, 1996, pp. 490–491; Millon & Davis, 2000, p. 517, whose characterization of the “enforcing sadist” provides the basis for the following adaptation).

Hostile enforcers are characterized by deep-seated anger and hostility, permeated by a moralistic conscience. A stickler for rules and propriety, they are unrestrained in discharging their hostile impulses against the weak, the powerless, and the contemptible — ostensibly in the public interest. Not only do they act as though they have a monopoly on divining right and wrong; these personalities also believe they have a right and the obligation to control and punish violators, and that they are uniquely qualified to determine how punishment should be meted out.

Although hostile enforcers operate under the guise of socially endorsed roles to serve the public interest, the deeper motives that spur the aggressive enforcing actions of leaders with this personality style are of questionable legitimacy, given the extraordinary force with which they mete out their condemnation and punishment. In the realm of public service, the trademark characteristic of hostile enforcers is first to search out rule-breakers and perpetrators of incidental infractions that fall within the purview of their socially sanctioned role, and then to exercise their legitimate powers to the fullest extent.

The *modus operandi* of the hostile enforcer invariably provokes opposition and resistance, which in turn incites and perpetuates ever-stronger countermeasures against real and perceived enemies. Their resulting “bunker mentality” may mimic a paranoid orientation, but more likely is simply a manifestation of hardball politics in the service of an obdurate, relentless, uncompromising, no-holds-barred striving to preserve and consolidate personal power and control.

In public life the fatal flaw of this personality type is that, in carrying out their duties, they cannot restrain the emotions that drive their vindictively hostile behaviors. Ultimately, dominating everything and everyone becomes their goal, at the expense of exercising their responsibilities in a fair and balanced manner. The essence of this personality pattern in its most extreme form is vividly captured in the following sketch by Millon (1996), who employs the label *enforcing sadist* for the maladaptive variant of the Dominant–Conscientious personality composite:

Some of these personalities swagger about as prideful enforcers of the law; the more they dominate and discharge their venom, the more pridefully they swagger, and the more they feel righteously empowered. The more they discharge their hostility and exercise their wills, the more they display their dominance and feed their sadistic urges, the more they feel justified in venting their anger. Power has gone to their heads. Many begin to dehumanize their victims, further enlarging the sphere and intensity of their aggressive destructiveness. . . . Beneath their ostensible good intentions may lie a growing deceptive viciousness, a malicious inclination that eventually produces the very destructiveness they have been authorized to control. (pp. 490–491)

Millon and Davis (2000) describe the enforcing sadist as follows:

Every society charges certain agents with the power to enforce its rules to protect the common good. At their best, such individuals recognize the weight of their mission and balance social and

individual needs, consider extenuating circumstances, and dispassionately judge intentions and effects before rendering a final verdict. In contrast, the enforcing sadist is society's sadistic superego, vested in punishment for its own sake, unable to be appeased. Military sergeants, certain cops, university deans, and the harsh judge, all feel that they have the right to control and punish others. Cloaked within socially sanctioned roles, they mete out condemnation in the name of justice with such extraordinary force that their deeper motives are clear. Ever seeking to make themselves seem important, these sticklers for rules search out those guilty of some minor trespass, make them cower before the power of their position, and then punish them with a righteous indignation that reeks of repressed anger and personal malice. Despite their responsibility to be fair and balanced, such individuals are unable to put limits on the emotions that drive their vicious behaviors. Though not as troublesome, many minor bureaucrats also possess such traits. The enforcing sadist represents a combination of the sadistic and compulsive personalities. (p. 517)

The *enforcing sadist* — or *hostile enforcer* — label should be used with circumspection (see, for example, the post-9/11 Pennebaker & Lay study reported by Goode, 2002). It is not an apt characterization for leaders with modestly elevated Dominant and Conscientious scales. In less pronounced cases, consistent with the principle of syndromal continuity (see Immelman, 2005), the above description at best serves as an informative caricature for contextualizing the “true believer” ideological zeal typically found in these personality composites. Nonetheless, Giuliani's Scale 1A (Dominant) elevation is unusually high compared with other candidates in recent U.S. presidential elections, though his Scale 6 (Conscientious) score is not excessively elevated.

### ***Rudy Giuliani's Extreme Dominance: Self-Perpetuating Factors***

Personality by definition denotes a coherent pattern of deeply ingrained characteristics and inclinations that are deeply etched, cannot be easily eradicated, and pervade every facet of life experience. With respect to Rudy Giuliani, an important consideration in evaluating his fitness in office is his extreme dominance, or power orientation. In the potential role of chief executive of the United States, can Giuliani adapt to the political reality of checks and balances designed to restrain executive power, or will he lead inflexibly as a “hostile enforcer”? The likely tenor of a prospective Giuliani presidency can be anticipated by examining the three self-perpetuating processes of highly aggressive personalities as outlined by Millon: perceptual and cognitive distortions, demeaning of affection and cooperative behavior, and creating realistic antagonisms.

***Perceptual and cognitive distortions.*** First, highly dominant personalities have the persistent expectation that others will be devious or hostile, leading them repeatedly to distort others' incidental remarks or actions as signifying malicious intent. Minor slights may be magnified in their own mind as major insults. They may perceive threat where little or none exists and have difficulty changing their outlook and attitudes (Millon, 1996, pp. 498–499). As a result, advisers may be reluctant to express their unvarnished opinion for fear of retaliation.

***Demeaning of affection and cooperative behavior.*** Second, highly dominant personalities devalue sentimentality, tenderness, and cooperativeness. They are “hardheaded realists” who tend to lack sympathy for the weak and “are often contemptuous of those who express compassion and concern for the underdog.” By restraining positive feelings and repudiating cooperative behaviors, “these personalities provoke others to withdraw from them” (Millon, 1996, p. 499).

*Creating realistic antagonisms.* Third, highly dominant personalities “evoke counterhostility, not only as an incidental consequence of their behaviors and attitudes but because they intentionally provoke others into conflict.” They “enjoy tangling with others to prove their strength and test their competencies and powers,” which may prompt intense animosity in others (Millon, 1996, p. 499).

### ***The Roots of Rudy’s Dominance: Developmental Considerations***

For most personality-in-politics investigators who favor a descriptive approach to personality assessment and don’t engage in psychogenetic reconstruction, developmental questions are of secondary relevance; however, because each personality pattern has characteristic developmental antecedents, in-depth knowledge of a subject’s experiential history can be useful with respect to validating the results of descriptive personality assessment or for suggesting alternative hypotheses (Immelman, 2003, p. 612; Millon & Davis, 2000, pp. 73–74).

Tracing the origins of Rudy Giuliani’s character requires an examination of the characteristic developmental history of the dominant, aggressive personality pattern. In an in-depth profile of Giuliani in 1999, journalist Paul Schwartzman reported, “Rudy had a tic in one eye and was a restless baby, prone to staying awake for 48 hours at a time. This restlessness on more than one occasion prompted the nuns at school to smack him.” Millon (1996) hypothesizes that a “choleric infantile reaction pattern” is the critical *biogenic* factor that interacts with an *experiential history* of “parental hostility” to produce highly aggressive personalities, (p. 496). As Millon explains, nature interacts with nurture when a difficult-to-manage infant born with a testy, sullen temperament prompts parental hostility:

Parents often complain that their child displayed temper tantrums [crabby, prickly, fractious behaviors] even as an infant. . . . Given a “nasty” disposition and an “incorrigible” temperament from the start, these youngsters provoke a superabundance of exasperation and counterhostility from others. Their constitutional tendencies may, therefore, initiate a vicious circle in which they not only prompt frequent aggression from others, but, as a consequence, learn to expect frequent hostility. (p. 496)

Millon (1996) notes that parental hostility “may stem from sources other than the child’s initial disposition” (p. 497). The experiential history of highly aggressive individuals often reveals a family background in which the child served as a convenient scapegoat for parental anger arising from occupational, marital, or social frustrations. Rather than manage their anger directly and appropriately, these parents displace their anger onto their children.

Chronic exposure to parental rejection — typically teasing, belittlement, and humiliation — results in a view of the world as hostile and dangerous and breeds a suspicious if not paranoid outlook on life. Although children subjected to this treatment typically come to view themselves as weak, worthless, and beneath contempt (and tend to develop a timid, insecure, avoidant personality style), some children, perhaps by nature more resilient and hardy, learn instead to believe they are a power to contend with, sufficiently potent to influence others’ moods and actions (Millon, 1996, p. 497).

There is, however, no compelling evidence that the young Rudy experienced significant parental rejection, suggesting the more straightforward explanation that a generally aggressive or hostile parent simply serves as a model for imitation and social sanction for similar conduct. Public knowledge of Giuliani's upbringing is sketchy, but there are some compelling clues. According to Schwartzman,

Giuliani inherited his swagger and bombast from his father, Harold, a Brooklyn tavern owner who was not afraid to use his baseball bat to keep rowdy customers in line. In Dodgers-crazed Brooklyn, where the family lived before moving to Long Island, Harold raved about the Yankees and enjoyed dressing young Rudy in a miniature Yankees uniform and sending him outside where he was taunted by neighborhood kids. "To my father, it was a joke," Giuliani has recalled. "But to me it was like being a martyr." (1999)

This account is remarkable for its wealth of psychological clues. It provides suggestive evidence of occupational frustrations, parental humiliation and peer harassment, and youthful fortitude and resilience.

The various explanatory models outlined above are not, of course, mutually exclusive; personality style is overdetermined. The psychogenesis of the aggressive style is encapsulated in Millon's assertion that these personalities "go out of their way to denigrate any values that represent what they themselves did not receive in childhood." Thus, they become untrusting and harsh in their interpersonal relationships and the world at large; they are persistently on the defensive and any cracks in their tough outer facade or perceived exposure of personal weakness or inner vulnerability prompts capricious, precipitous surges of hostility and outbursts of rage.

### *Conclusion*

This preliminary assessment of John McCain and Rudy Giuliani, conducted during the 2000 election cycle, suggests that McCain's major personality strengths on the campaign trail and in a leadership role are the important personality-based political skills of independence, persuasiveness, and courage, coupled with a socially responsive, outgoing tendency that will enable him to connect with critical constituencies in mobilizing public and political support and — if elected — implementing his policy vision. His major personality-based limitation is a predisposition to impulsiveness, one manifestation of which is a deficit of emotional restraint.

Giuliani's major personality strength on the campaign trail and in a leadership role is a forceful, commanding personality style that permits him to take charge and inspire public confidence. His major personality-based limitation is an overcontrolling, excessively aggressive tendency, which may foster divisiveness and counterhostility.

As the 2008 presidential election cycle unfolds, additional data will be collected to update, augment, and amplify the profiles reported in the present study in the changing context of the prevailing political environment.

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