

7-2003


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Recommended Citation

Immelman, A., & Beatty, A. (2003, July). *The political personality of Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe*. Paper presented at the 26th Annual Scientific Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology, Boston, MA, July 6-9, 2003. Retrieved from Digital Commons website: http://digitalcommons.csbsju.edu/psychology_pubs/30/



"I remember when in 1976 we met with the British at the Geneva Conference. . . . I was the Hitler of that time. . . . Hitler in Zimbabwe has one objective — sovereignty for his people, recognition of their independence, and their rights to freedom. If they say I am Hitler, let me be Hitler ten-fold and that's what we stand for."

— Robert Mugabe, speaking at the National Heroes' Acre, Harare, March 2003

THE PERSONALITY PROFILE OF ZIMBABWEAN PRESIDENT ROBERT MUGABE

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Paper presented at the Twenty-Sixth Annual Scientific Meeting
of the International Society of Political Psychology
Boston, MA
July 6–9, 2003

Acknowledgments. Jo Dutton and Polly Wambui Chege assisted with the literature search. Tagonei Mharapara assisted with the coding of the data. An earlier version of this paper (October 2001) was prepared for BBC4.

Abstract

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This paper presents the results of an indirect assessment of the personality of Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, from the conceptual perspective of Theodore Millon.

Psychodiagnostically relevant information regarding President Mugabe was extracted from biographical sources and media reports and synthesized into a personality profile 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 and Millon Index of Personality Styles manuals. Mr. Mugabe's primary personality patterns were found to be Conscientious/compulsive and Ambitious/self-serving (narcissistic), with secondary Dominant/controlling (aggressive), Retiring/alooof (introverted), and Distrusting/suspicious (paranoid) patterns. In addition, his profile revealed the presence of subsidiary Contentious/resolute (negativistic) and Reticent/circumspect (avoidant) features.

Mugabe's profile suggests the presence of Millon's *bureaucratic compulsive* syndrome — an obsessive-compulsive personality orientation infused with narcissistic features. Leaders with this composite character complex are noted for their officious, high-handed bearing, intrusive, meddlesome interpersonal conduct, unimaginative, meticulous, closed-minded cognitive style, grim, imperturbable mood, and scrupulous if grandiose sense of self.

Introduction

“The time has come for African rule,” said Robert Mugabe in 1964 of British-ruled Southern Rhodesia. Sixteen years later Rhodesia had gained its independence, changed its name to Zimbabwe, and elected Mugabe as its first prime minister.

Robert Gabriel Mugabe was born on February 21, 1924, in Kutama, Southern Rhodesia. In the late 1950s, while teaching in Ghana, he was influenced by the radical politics of Ghanaian president Kwame Nkrumah. He returned to Southern Rhodesia in 1960, where he began to advocate the overthrow of Rhodesia’s white minority government under Ian Smith. He was arrested in 1964 and imprisoned for 10 years, during which he acquired six university degrees through correspondence courses.

After his release from prison in 1975, he led a guerrilla war against Rhodesia’s white-dominated government. The war ended in 1979 with the Lancaster House Agreement, when whites agreed to a new constitution allowing black rule. Robert Mugabe became prime minister in 1980. Following constitutional changes in 1987, Mugabe became president and was reelected in 1990, 1996, and 2002.¹

Since Mugabe’s 1996 campaign pledge to accelerate the resettlement of poor blacks on formerly white-owned land acquired by the government, the Zimbabwean economy has continued its protracted decline, accompanied by an escalation of human rights abuses. In September 2000, at a United Nations sustainable development meeting in South Africa, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell “accused Mr. Mugabe of violating human rights and pushing the nation to the brink of starvation by ordering thousands of whites to hand over their farms to black novice farmers (Swarns, 2000, p. A3).

When Robert Mugabe assumed the leadership of Zimbabwe in 1980, he was hailed as a revolutionary hero and an emerging African statesman. Today, Mugabe faces the prospect of ending his political career maligned as an international pariah. What personality variables could account for President Mugabe’s failed political leadership? Could these be the very qualities that contributed to his success as the leader of a militant liberation organization? Those questions provide the context for the current investigation, which examines the personality of Robert Mugabe and the leadership and policy implications of his prevailing personality patterns.

We 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).

¹ The preceding paragraphs are excerpted and adapted from *Compton’s Interactive Encyclopedia*. Copyright © 1994, 1995, 1996 SoftKey Multimedia Inc. All rights reserved.

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).

Conceptually, the present 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 (see Immelman, 1993, 1998, 2002, 2003) for the study of personality in politics. Methodologically, the study involves an empirically based synthesis of diagnostically relevant content in biographical source materials, culminating in the construction of a personality profile intended to inform leadership behavior in a political context.

Millon's Model of Personality and Its Utility for Indirect Personality Assessment

Millon's model of normal personality styles and personality disorders, which is compatible with Axis II of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (4th ed.; *DSM-IV*) of the American Psychiatric Association (APA; 1994), has utility for political psychology research as well as for conventional clinical and industrial/organizational applications.

Several personality inventories have been developed to assess personality from a Millonian perspective. Best known among these is the widely used Millon Clinical Multiaxial Inventory-III (MCMI-III; Millon, Davis, & Millon, 1996), a standard clinical diagnostic tool employed worldwide. The Millon Index of Personality Styles (MIPS; Millon, 1994) was developed to assess and classify personality in nonclinical (e.g., corporate) settings. Similarly, Strack (1991) developed the Personality Adjective Check List (PACL) for gauging normal personality styles. Oldham and Morris, in their trade book, *The New Personality Self-Portrait* (1995), offer a self-administered instrument congruent with Millon's model.

The present author (Immelman, 1999; Immelman & Steinberg, 1999) adapted the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria (MIDC) from Millon's work, specifically for the assessment of personality in politics. The 12 MIDC scales (see Immelman, 1999, 2002, for the full MIDC taxonomy) correspond to major personality patterns posited by Millon (e.g., 1994, 1996) and are coordinated with the normal personality styles described by Oldham and Morris (1995) and Strack (1997).

The MIDC serves as a data reduction technique for synthesizing, transforming, and systematizing diagnostically relevant information collected from the literature on political figures (primarily biographical sources and media reports) operationalized at Millon's (1990) four data levels (biophysical, intrapsychic, phenomenological, and behavioral). This research design is

equivalent to Simonton's (1986, 1988) in that it quantifies, reduces, and organizes qualitative data extracted from the public record. Diagnostic information pertaining to the personal and public lives of political figures is gathered from a variety of published materials, selected with a view to securing broadly representative data sets.

The assessment methodology yields a personality profile derived from clinical analysis of diagnostically relevant content in biographical materials and media reports, which provides an empirical basis for predicting the subject's political performance and policy orientation (Immelman, 1998). Greenstein (1992) criticizes analysts who "categorize their subjects without providing the detailed criteria and justifications for doing so" (p. 120). In the present approach, the diagnostic criteria are documented by means of a structured assessment instrument, the second edition of the MIDC (Immelman & Steinberg, 1999); the justification for classification decisions is provided by documentation from biographical sources in the public domain. This not only allows for independent verification (or falsification), replication, and validation; it offers a viable alternative to methodologies that rely primarily on the achievement of high interrater reliability for validation purposes.

More comprehensive reviews of Millon's personological model and its applicability to political personality have been provided elsewhere (see Immelman, 1993, 1998, 2003). In short, the Millonian model advances personality-in-politics inquiry by offering a psychodiagnostically relevant (compatible with conventional clinical practice and congruent with *DSM-IV* Axis II) conceptual framework and methodology for the psychological assessment of personality in politics; sufficiently meeting necessary standards of adequate transposition from the source discipline of personality assessment to the target discipline of political psychology; and progressing beyond prescientific description of observable phenomena, toward theoretical systematization and systematic import (see Immelman, 2003, pp. 604–609).

For purposes of personality assessment, the critical operational constructs are Millon's (1990) eight attribute domains (see Table 1), encompassing four data levels: *behavioral* (expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct); *phenomenological* (cognitive style, object representations, self-image); *intrapsychic* (regulatory mechanisms, morphological organization); and *biophysical* (mood/temperament).

Purpose of the Study

The present study is a psychodiagnostic analysis of the personality of Robert Gabriel Mugabe, leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front (ZANU–PF) and president of Zimbabwe.

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 Robert Mugabe.

Sources of data. Diagnostic information pertaining to Robert Mugabe was collected from his biography and from media reports that shed light on his personal characteristics. Selection criteria included comprehensiveness of scope (e.g., coverage of developmental history as well as political career), inclusiveness of literary genre (e.g., biography, scholarly analysis, and media reports), and the writer's perspective (e.g., a balance between admiring and critical accounts). The following sources provided useful, diagnostically relevant biographical information:

1. *Mugabe* (1981) by David Smith and Colin Simpson, the leading biography of Robert Mugabe.
2. "Record Crowd Cheers Militant Mugabe in Rhodesia" by Jay Ross, in the January 28, 1980 issue of *The Washington Post*.
3. "A New Mugabe?" in the March 8, 1980 issue of *The Economist*.
4. "Mugabe: The Making of a Marxist" by Caryle Murphy, in the August 27, 1980 issue of *The Washington Post*.
5. "Man in the News: Zimbabwean Taking Charge" by Alan Cowell, in the August 11, 1984 issue of *The New York Times*.
6. "Will We Send Troops to Quell Any Trouble in Zimbabwe?" by Fergal Keane, in the April 1, 2000 issue of *The Independent*.
7. "Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe" by David Plotz, in the April 28, 2000 issue of *Slate*.
8. "Africa's Mess, Mugabe's Mayhem" by Robert Rotberg, in the September/October 2000 issue of *Foreign Affairs*.
9. "Mugabe, Mbeki, and Mandela's Shadow" by R. W. Johnson, in the Spring 2001 issue of *The National Interest*.
10. "Protected Dictator" in the August 26, 2001 issue of the London *Sunday Times*.
11. "The New Statesman Profile: Robert Mugabe" by Colin Legum, in the August 27, 2001 issue of the *New Statesman*.
12. "Comrade Bob" by Gary Younge, in the September 4, 2001 issue of *The Guardian*.
13. "Mugabe Rewards Loyalty Over Ability," by Chido Makunike in the August 30, 2002 issue of *Mail & Guardian* (South Africa).
14. "Mugabe Blames Zimbabwe's Troubles on Foreign Interference" by Terry Leonard, *Associated Press Worldstream*, September 2, 2002.
15. "Criticized by the West, Mugabe is a Hero to Many" by Rachel L. Swarns, in the September 6, 2002 issue of *The New York Times*.
16. "Blair is a Narrow Little Fellow, Charges Mugabe" in the January 15, 2003 issue of *Africa News* (from *The Post*).
17. "Mugabe Denies Plan to Retire Early, Leave Zimbabwe" by Geoff Hill, in the January 15, 2003 issue of *The Washington Times*.
18. "Cracks in the Wall," by Iden Wetherell in the January 17, 2003 issue of *Financial Mail* (South Africa).
19. "We Have the Power — Let's Arrest Mugabe" by Peter Tatchell, in the January 27, 2003 issue of *The Evening Standard* (London).
20. "Constitutional Reform Remains Top Priority" in the January 30, 2003 issue of *Africa News* (from *Financial Gazette*).

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 (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 second edition of the *Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria Manual* (Immelman, 1999).² The 12 MIDC scales (see Table 2) tap the first five "noninferential" (Millon, 1990, p. 157) attribute domains 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 *DSM-IV* (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.

Diagnostic Procedure

The diagnostic procedure, termed *psychodiagnostic meta-analysis*,³ can be described as a three-part process: first, an *analysis* phase (data collection) in which source materials are reviewed and analyzed⁴ to extract and code diagnostically relevant psychobiographical content; second, a *synthesis* phase (scoring and interpretation) in 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) in 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 (Immelman, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2003).

² Inventory and manual available from the first author upon request from qualified academic researchers.

³ We use the term *meta-analysis* because the personality profiles represent a synthesis of the observations of others, including biographers, psychobiographers, historians, psychohistorians, journalists, political analysts, and political psychologists. We use the term *psychodiagnostic* because the conceptual framework is more closely related to the realm of contemporary clinical assessment than to classic psychobiography or to conventional social-psychological and cognitive approaches to the assessment of political personality. The *psychodiagnostic* label is not intended to imply a presupposition of psychopathology: *diagnostic* is used in a generic sense to denote a process "serving to distinguish or identify," as defined in *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* (1997); accordingly, the object is to identify a leader's enduring personality configuration and to specify its political implications.

⁴ This step can be described as a "process analysis," in which the term *process* is employed to accentuate the contrast between the present approach and more conventional content-analytic procedures, which arguably tend to capture surface features of source materials. Process analysis, in contrast to content analysis, seeks to identify the underlying structural personality components and functional personality processes revealed by theory driven empirical analysis of biographical data with respect to the political leader under investigation.

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.

Cross-Cultural Considerations

Owing to its compatibility with conventional psychodiagnostic procedures and standard clinical practice in personality assessment, psychodiagnostic meta-analysis lends itself particularly well to cross-cultural application, given the relative uniformity of training in professional psychology around the globe. Moreover, the taxonomy of personality patterns assessed by the MIDC is congruent with the syndromes described on Axis II of the *DSM-IV*, with which psychologists worldwide are familiar.

Results

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

Mugabe received 63 endorsements on the 170-item MIDC. Descriptive statistics for Mugabe's MIDC ratings are presented in Table 3.

Table 3
MIDC Item Endorsement Rate by Attribute Domain

Expressive behavior	17
Interpersonal conduct	17
Cognitive style	10
Mood/temperament	7
Self-image	12
Sum	63
Mean	12.6
Standard deviation	3.9

Mugabe's MIDC scale scores are reported in Table 4 and presented graphically in the profile depicted in Figure 1.

Mugabe's most elevated basic (1–8) scale, with a score of 24, is Scale 6 (Conscientious), followed by a score of 22 on Scale 2 (Ambitious). Based on cut-off score guidelines provided in the MIDC manual, the Scale 6 elevation is just within the *mildly dysfunctional* (24–30) range, followed closely by Scale 2, well within the *prominent* (10–23) range. Scales 1A (Dominant) and 8 (Retiring) also are within the *prominent* range. Scales 5B (Contentious) and 6 (Reticent) are in the normal, functionally adaptive *present* (5–9) range. Finally, the derivative Scale 9 (Distrusting) reaches the *moderately disturbed* (20–35) level.

Table 4
MIDC Scale Scores for Robert Mugabe

Scale	Personality pattern	Raw	RT%
1A	Dominant: Asserting–Controlling–Aggressive (Sadistic)	14	5.7
1B	Dauntless: Adventurous–Dissenting–Aggrandizing (Antisocial)	2	2.2
2	Ambitious: Confident–Arrogant–Exploitative (Narcissistic)	22	24.7
3	Outgoing: Congenial–Gregarious–Impulsive (Histrionic)	0	0.0
4	Accommodating: Cooperative–Agreeable–Submissive (Dependent)	0	0.0
5A	Aggrieved: Unpresuming–Self-denying–Self-defeating (Masochistic)	2	2.2
5B	Contentious: Resolute–Oppositional–Negativistic (Passive-aggressive)	9	10.1
6	Conscientious: Respectful–Dutiful–Compulsive (Obsessive-compulsive)	24	27.0
7	Reticent: Circumspect–Inhibited–Withdrawn (Avoidant)	6	6.7
8	Retiring: Reserved–Aloof–Solitary (Schizoid)	10	11.2
	Subtotal for basic personality scales	89	100.0
9	Distrusting: Suspicious–Paranoid (Paranoid)	25	20.5
0	Erratic: Unstable–Borderline (Borderline)	8	6.6
	Full-scale total	122	127.1

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 depicted with scale gradations and equivalent *DSM* terminology (in parentheses).

In terms of MIDC scale gradation (see Table 2 and Figure 1⁵) criteria, Robert Mugabe was classified as primarily a blend of the Conscientious/compulsive (Scale 6) and Ambitious/self-serving (Scale 2) personality patterns, with secondary features of the Dominant/controlling (Scale 1A) and Retiring/aloof (Scale 8) patterns. Less significantly, the profile indicates the presence of subsidiary Contentious/resolute (Scale 5B) and Reticent/circumspect (Scale 7) features. Finally, Mugabe's profile indicates the presence of a Distrusting/suspicious (Scale 9) personality pattern.⁶

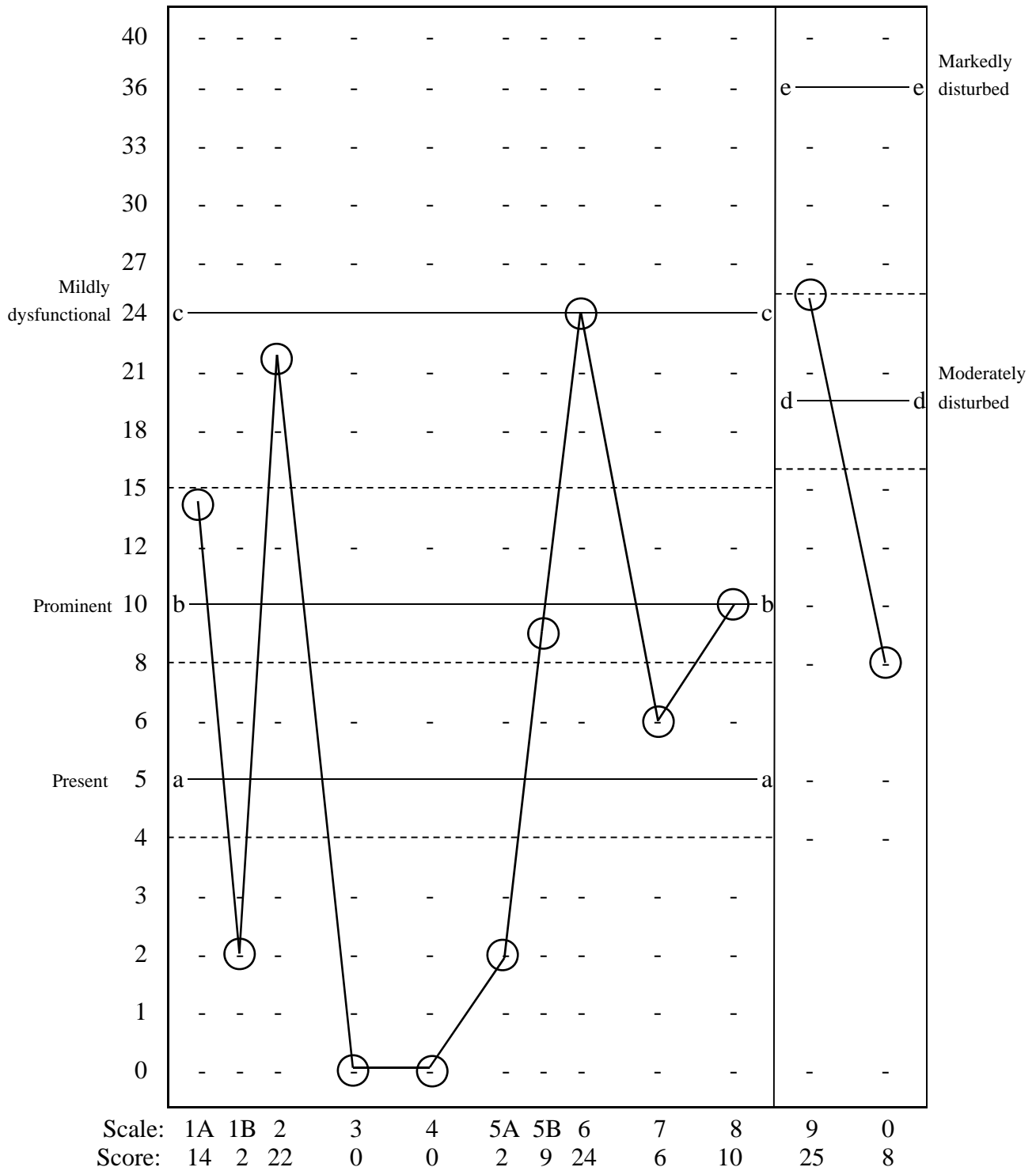
Discussion

The discussion of the results examines Robert Mugabe'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 theoretically integrative synthesis of the political and ideological implications of President Robert Mugabe's personality profile.

⁵ 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.

⁶ In each case the label preceding the slash signifies the basic 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 Robert Mugabe



With his elevated Scale 6, Robert Mugabe emerged from the assessment as a predominantly compulsive type, an exaggerated, maladaptive variant of the Conscientious pattern. The interpretation of Mugabe's profile must also account for his concurrent elevation on Scale 2 (Ambitious), which modulates his Conscientious pattern. In addition, his secondary elevations on Scales 1A (Dominant), 8 (Retiring), and 9 (Distrusting) should be considered. Given the distinctive elevations of the primary and secondary personality patterns, consideration of the subsidiary Scales 5B (Contentious) and 7 (Reticent) does not contribute substantively to the interpretation of Mugabe's profile.

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 are earnest, polite, respectful personalities. Exaggerated Conscientious features occur in dutiful, dependable, and principled but rigid personalities. In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form — marginally evident in the case of Robert Mugabe — 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.

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 Leary's (1957) *responsible-hypernormal* continuum. Millon's Conforming pattern is correlated with the "Big Five" *Conscientiousness* factor, has a modest positive correlation with its *Extraversion* factor, a modest negative correlation with its *Neuroticism* factor, and is uncorrelated with *Agreeableness* and *Openness to Experience* (see Millon, 1994, p. 82). Maladaptive, compulsive variants of the Conscientious pattern are tense and driven, exhibiting a rigid, self-defeating adherence to stringent internalized standards of perfection and external demands to adhere to social convention. Adaptive variants of this pattern are disciplined and organized, with "an unusual degree of integrity, adhering as firmly as they can to society's ethics and morals" (Millon, 1996, pp. 518–519). In the words of 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, conventionality. (p. 62)

Being principled, scrupulous, and meticulous, adaptively 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 its "superrationality," leading to a "devaluation of emotion [that] tends to preclude relativistic judgments and subjective preferences"; and a predilection for "seeing complex matters in black

and white, good and bad, or right or wrong terms” (Millon, 1996, p. 519). Millon (1994)⁷ summarizes the Conscientious pattern (which he labels *Conforming*) as follows:

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 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 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 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). Millon’s (1996) attribute domains accentuate the maladaptive range of the personality patterns in his taxonomy — in the case of the Conscientious pattern, the compulsive pole of the respectful–dutiful–compulsive continuum. The major diagnostic features of the prototypal maladaptive variant of the Conscientious pattern are summarized below, along with “normalized” (i.e., de-pathologized; cf. Millon & Davis, 2000, pp. 174–176) descriptions of the more adaptive variants of this pattern. Mugabe’s tendency is toward the maladaptive range or the continuum.

Expressive behavior. The core diagnostic feature of the expressive acts of Conscientious individuals is a sense of *duty*; they do their best to uphold convention, follow regulations closely, and are typically responsible, reliable, proper, prudent, punctual, self-disciplined, well organized, and restrained. They are meticulous in fulfilling obligations, their conduct is generally beyond reproach, and they typically demonstrate an uncommon degree of integrity. More exaggerated

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variants of the Conscientious pattern tend to be *rigid*; they are typically overcontrolled, orderly, and perfectionistic. Though highly dependable and industrious, they have an air of austerity and serious-mindedness and may be stubborn, stingy, and possessive. They are typically scrupulous in matters of morality and ethics, but may strike others as moralistic and condescending. They exhibit a certain postural tightness; their movements may be deliberate and dignified and they display a tendency to speak precisely, with clear diction and well-phrased sentences. Emotions are constrained by a regulated, highly structured, and carefully organized lifestyle. Clothing is characteristically formal or proper, and restrained in color and style. The most extreme variants of this pattern are highly *perfectionistic*; they are characteristically pedantic, painfully fastidious or fussy, and excessively devoted to work and productivity. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, pp. 513–515)

Interpersonal conduct. The core diagnostic feature of the interpersonal conduct of Conscientious individuals is *politeness*; they are courteous, proper, and dignified. They strongly adhere to social conventions and proprieties and show a preference for polite, formal, and “correct” personal relationships. With their strong sense of duty, they feel that they must not let others down or engage in behaviors that might provoke others’ displeasure. They are loyal to their families, their causes, and their superiors. More exaggerated variants of the Conscientious pattern are *exacting*; they are scrupulous in matters of morality and ethics and as unbending in their relations with subordinates, insisting that they adhere to personally established rules and methods. In marked contrast, they treat superiors with deference, are obsequious, and may ingratiate themselves, striving to impress authorities with their loyalty, efficiency, and serious-mindedness. The most extreme variants of this pattern are *uncompromising*; they are excessively punctilious, though supercilious and deprecatory behaviors may be cloaked behind a veil of legalities and regulations, and aggressive intent may be justified by recourse to rules, authorities, or imperatives higher than themselves. (Millon, 1996, pp. 514–515, 516; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 33)

Cognitive style. The core diagnostic feature of the cognitive style of Conscientious individuals is *circumspection*; they are cautious, prudent, deliberate, systematic, and attentive to detail. Wary of new or untested ideas, they are risk avoidant. More exaggerated variants of the Conscientious pattern are *unimaginative*; they are methodical, structured, pedestrian, uninspired, or routinized. Perfectionism may interfere with decision making and task completion, and they may have difficulty dealing with new ideas. The most extreme variants of this pattern are *constricted*; they are mechanical, inflexible, and rigid, constructing the world in terms of rules, regulations, schedules, and hierarchies. Their thinking may be constrained by stubborn adherence to conventional rules and personally formulated schemas, and their equilibrium is easily upset by unfamiliar situations or new ideas, making them excruciatingly indecisive at times. All variants of this pattern are concerned with matters of propriety and efficiency and tend to be rigid about regulations and procedures, though, ironically, all too often getting mired in minor or irrelevant details. They judge others by “objective” standards and time-proven rules of an orderly society and are inclined to disdain frivolity and public displays of emotion, which they view as irresponsible or immature. Though industrious, tidy, meticulous, practical, realistic, and diligent, their thinking may be deficient in flexibility, creativity, and imagination, and lacking in vision. (Millon, 1996, pp. 515–516; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 33)

Mood/temperament. The core diagnostic feature of the characteristic mood and temperament of Conscientious individuals is *restraint*; they are serious, reasonable, and rarely display strong emotions. More exaggerated variants of the Conscientious pattern are characteristically *solemn*; they are emotionally controlled, tense, or unrelaxed. The most extreme variants of this pattern are *grave*; heavy and uptight, they are joyless, grim, and somber, keeping a tight rein on emotions — especially warm and affectionate feelings, though they may occasionally exhibit abrupt, explosive outbursts of anger aimed at subordinates. Because of their dignified, serious-minded, solemn demeanor, all variants of the Conscientious pattern may at times be viewed as grim and cheerless. This is, however, due to disdain for frivolity rather than humorlessness per se; thus, although these individuals often come across as reserved, even stiff, “wooden,” or “heavy,” they may exhibit a dry, self-effacing sense of humor. Few, however, have a lively or ebullient manner; most are rigidly controlled and tight, and their failure to release pent-up energies may predispose them to psychophysiological disorders. (Millon, 1996, p. 518; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 33)

Self-image. The core diagnostic feature of the self-perception of Conscientious individuals is *reliability*; they view themselves as dependable, disciplined, responsible, industrious, efficient, and trustworthy. More exaggerated variants of the Conscientious pattern accurately perceive themselves as highly *conscientious*, even to a fault; they view themselves as scrupulous, meticulous in fulfilling obligations, and loyal, despite often being viewed by others as high minded, overperfectionistic, and fastidious. The most extreme variants of this pattern view themselves as *righteous*; they overvalue aspects of themselves that exhibit virtue, moral rectitude, discipline, perfection, prudence, and loyalty, and are fearful of error or misjudgment. They are excessively devoted to work, with a corresponding tendency to minimize the importance of recreational or leisure activities. All variants of the Conscientious pattern at times experience self-doubt or guilt for failing to live up to an ideal. Given their strong sense of duty and their view of themselves as reliable, conscientious, or righteous, these individuals are particularly sensitive to charges of impropriety, which may be devastating to their sense of self. Similarly, they dread being viewed as irresponsible, slack in their efforts, or in error, with a corresponding tendency to overvalue aspects of their self-image that signify perfectionism, prudence, and discipline. (Millon, 1996, p. 516)

Regulatory mechanisms. The core diagnostic feature of the unconscious regulatory (i.e., ego-defense) mechanisms of highly Conscientious individuals is *reaction formation*; they typically display reasonableness when faced with circumstances that would typically be expected to evoke irritation, anger, or dismay. More extreme variants of the Conscientious pattern repeatedly attempt to put a positive spin on their thoughts and behaviors by engaging in public displays of socially commendable actions that may be diametrically opposed to their deeper, forbidden impulses. Conscientious individuals classically employ a greater variety of regulatory mechanisms than other personality patterns, among them *identification*, *sublimation*, *isolation*, and *undoing*. Concerning the latter, in more extreme, compulsive manifestations of the Conscientious pattern, perceived failure of these individuals to live up to their own or others’ expectations may give rise to ritualistic acts to annul the evil or wrong they feel they have wrought, which induces them to seek expiation for their imagined sins and regain the goodwill they fear they have lost. (Millon, 1996, pp. 516–517)

Object representations. The core diagnostic feature of the internalized object representations of highly Conscientious individuals is *concealment*; there is a tendency for only those internalized representations that are socially acceptable, with their corresponding inner affects, memories, and attitudes, to be permitted into conscious awareness or to be expressed. Thus, personal difficulties and social conflicts anchored to past experiences are defensively denied, kept from conscious awareness, and maintained under the most stringent of controls. These individuals devalue self-exploration, claiming that it is antithetical to efficient behavior and that introspection only intrudes on rational thinking and self-control, or asserting that introspection is indicative of immature self-indulgence and thus anathema to social adaptation. Consequently, highly Conscientious persons often lack insight into their motives and feelings. (Millon, 1996, p. 516)

Morphologic organization. The core diagnostic feature of the morphological organization of highly Conscientious individuals is *compartmentalization*; to keep contrary feelings and impulses from affecting one another, and to hold ambivalent images and contradictory attitudes from spilling forth into conscious awareness, the organization of their inner world must be rigidly compartmentalized in a tightly consolidated system that is clearly partitioned into numerous, distinct, and segregated constellations of drive, memory, and cognition, with few open channels to permit interplay among these components. Thus, a deliberate and well-poised surface quality may belie an inner turmoil. To prevent upsetting the balance they have so carefully wrought throughout their lives, highly Conscientious individuals strive to avoid risk and to operate with complete certainty. Their toughest challenge, however, is to control their emotions, which they do by extensive use of intrapsychic defenses. Because they usually have a history of exposure to demanding, perfectionistic parents, a potent force behind their tightly structured world is their fear of disapproval. Because their public facade of conformity and propriety often masks an undercurrent of repressed urges toward self-assertion and defiance, they must guard against “detection,” which they achieve through characteristic control mechanisms such as reaction formation, and by favoring the formalistic interpersonal behaviors described in preceding sections. (Millon, 1996, pp. 517–518)

Scale 2: The Ambitious Pattern

The strong Ambitious pattern in Robert Mugabe’s profile — in the exaggerated, self-serving range of scale elevation — plays an important modulating role with respect to his predominantly Conscientious personality pattern. 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). 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 Asserting [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 — 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:

Alloof, 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 individual's secure appearance may cover feelings of personal inadequacy and 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 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 minor modifications)

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. The major diagnostic features of the prototypal maladaptive variant of the Ambitious pattern are summarized below, along with “normalized” (i.e., de-pathologized; cf. Millon & Davis, 2000, pp. 273–277) descriptions of the more adaptive variants of this pattern. Nonetheless, some of the designated traits may be less pronounced and more adaptive in the case of individuals for whom this pattern is less elevated or a secondary elevation.

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. More exaggerated variants of the Ambitious pattern tend to act in a *conceited* manner, their natural self-assurance shading into supreme self-

confidence, hubris, immodesty, or presumptuousness. They are self-promoting and may display an inflated sense of self-importance. They typically have a superior, supercilious, imperious, haughty, disdainful manner. Characteristically, though usually unwittingly, they exploit others, take them for granted, and frequently act as though entitled. The most extreme variants of this pattern are *arrogant*; they are self-serving, reveal a self-important indifference to the rights of others, and are manipulative and lacking in integrity. They commonly flout conventional rules of shared social living, which they view as naive or inapplicable to themselves. All variants of this pattern are to some degree self-centered and lacking in generosity and social reciprocity. (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. More exaggerated variants of the Ambitious pattern are *entitled*; they lack genuine empathy and expect favors without assuming reciprocal responsibilities. The most extreme variants of this pattern are *exploitative*; they shamelessly take others for granted and manipulate and use them to indulge their desires, enhance themselves, or advance their personal agenda, yet contributing little or nothing in return. Ironically, the sheer audacity of all variants of this pattern, rather than being clearly seen for what it is — impertinence, impudence, or sheer gall — often conveys confidence and authority and evokes admiration and obedience from others. Indeed, these personalities are skilled at sizing up those around them and conditioning those so disposed to adulate, glorify, and serve them. (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. More exaggerated variants of the Ambitious pattern are cognitively *expansive*; they display extraordinary confidence in their own ideas and potential for success and redeem themselves by taking liberty with facts or distorting the truth. The most extreme variants of this pattern are cognitively *unconstrained*; they are preoccupied with self-glorifying fantasies of accomplishment or fame, are little constrained by objective reality or cautionary feedback, and deprecate competitors or detractors in their quest for glory. All variants of this pattern to some degree harbor fantasies of success or rationalize their failures; thus, they tend to exaggerate their achievements, transform failures into successes, construct lengthy and intricate justifications that inflate their self-worth, and quickly deprecate those who refuse to bend to or enhance their admirable sense of self. (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. More exaggerated variants of the Ambitious pattern are *insouciant*; they manifest a general air of nonchalance, imperturbability, or feigned tranquility. They characteristically appear coolly unimpressionable or buoyantly optimistic, except when their narcissistic confidence is shaken, at which time either rage, shame, or emptiness is briefly displayed. The most extreme variants of this pattern are *exuberant*; they experience a pervasive sense of emotional well-being in their everyday life — a buoyancy of spirit and an optimism of outlook — except when their sense of superiority is punctured. When emotionally deflated, their air of nonchalance and

imperturbability quickly turns to edgy irritability and annoyance. Under more trying circumstances, sham serenity may turn to feelings of emptiness and humiliation, sometimes with vacillating episodes of rage, shame, and dejection. All variants of this pattern to some degree convey a self-satisfied smugness, yet are easily angered when criticized, obstructed, or crossed. (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. More exaggerated variants of the Ambitious pattern have an *admirable* sense of self; they view themselves as extraordinarily meritorious and esteemed by others, and have a high degree of self-worth, though others may see them as egotistic, inconsiderate, cocksure, and arrogant. The most extreme variants of this pattern have a *superior* sense of self. They view themselves as having unique and special qualities, deserving of great admiration and entitled to unusual rights and privileges. Accordingly, they often act in a pompous or grandiose manner, often in the absence of commensurate achievements. In high-level leadership positions, some of these individuals may exhibit a messianic self-perception; those failing to pay proper respect or bend to their will typically are treated with scorn and contempt. (Millon, 1996, p. 406)

Regulatory mechanisms. The core diagnostic features of the unconscious regulatory (i.e., ego-defense) mechanisms of Ambitious individuals are *rationalization* and *fantasy*; when their admirable self-image is challenged or their confidence shaken, they maintain equilibrium with facile self-deceptions, devising plausible reasons to justify their self-centered and socially inconsiderate behaviors. They rationalize their difficulties, offering alibis to put themselves in a positive light despite evident shortcomings and failures. When rationalization fails, they turn to fantasy to assuage their feelings of dejection, shame, or emptiness, redeem themselves, and reassert their pride and status. (Millon, 1996, p. 407)

Object representations. The core diagnostic feature of the internalized object representations of Ambitious individuals is their *contrived* nature; the inner imprint of significant early experiences that serves as a substrate of dispositions (i.e., templates) for perceiving and reacting to current life events, consists of illusory and changing memories. Consequently, problematic experiences are refashioned to appear consonant with their high sense of self-worth, and unacceptable impulses and deprecatory evaluations are transmuted into more admirable images and percepts. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, pp. 406–407)

Morphologic organization. The core diagnostic feature of the morphological organization of Ambitious individuals is its *spuriousness*; the interior design of the personality system, so to speak, is essentially counterfeit, or bogus. Owing to the misleading nature of their early experiences — characterized by the ease with which good things came to them — these individuals may lack the inner skills necessary for regulating their impulses, channeling their needs, and resolving conflicts. Accordingly, commonplace demands may be viewed as annoying incursions and routine responsibilities as pedestrian or demeaning. Excuses and justifications are easily mustered and serve to perpetuate selfish behaviors and exploitative, duplicitous social conduct. (Millon, 1996, pp. 407–408)

Scale 1A: The Dominant Pattern

Few people exhibit personality patterns in pure or prototypical form; more often, individual personalities represent a blend of two or more prevailing orientations. Robert Mugabe's secondary elevation on Scale 1A (Dominant) modifies his primary Conscientious and Ambitious patterns. Mugabe's strong loading on Scale 1A is well within the *controlling* range — a generally adaptive, though exaggerated expression of the Dominant pattern. At the well-adjusted pole of the asserting–controlling–aggressive continuum are strong-willed, commanding, assertive personalities. Exaggerated Dominant features occur in forceful, intimidating, controlling personalities. In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form — not the case with Mugabe — 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, and the *managerial* segment of Leary's (1957) managerial–autocratic continuum. 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). Thus, these individuals — though controlling and somewhat disagreeable — tend to be emotionally stable and conscientious. In combination with the Conscientious (Scale 6) and Contentious (Scale 5B) patterns — both of which are elevated in Mugabe's case — a prominent Dominant pattern points to Simonton's (1988) *deliberative* presidential style. 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)

Caution should be exercised in applying Millon's description of the Controlling (i.e., Dominant) pattern to Mugabe, given that it plays a secondary role in his overall personality configuration. This caveat also holds for Oldham and Morris's (1995) portrait of the Aggressive personality, which supplements Millon's description:

Aggressive [Dominant] men and women move instinctively to the helm. . . . 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, aspects of which can be expected to amplify Mugabe's primarily Conscientious, Ambitious personality amalgam:

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)

Scale 8: The Retiring Pattern

As stated before, few people exhibit personality patterns in pure or prototypal form; more often, individual personalities represent a blend of two or more prevailing orientations. Robert Mugabe's secondary elevation on Scale 8 (Retiring) modulates his primary Conscientious and Ambitious patterns. Mugabe's loading on Scale 8 is in the *aloof* range — a generally adaptive, though exaggerated expression of the Retiring pattern. At the well-adjusted pole of the reserved–aloof–solitary continuum are self-contained, unsociable, reserved personalities. Exaggerated Retiring features occur in stolid, unobtrusive, aloof personalities. In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form — not the case with Mugabe — the Retiring pattern displays itself in unanimated, asocial, solitary behavior patterns that may be consistent with a clinical diagnosis of schizoid personality disorder.

Normal, adaptive variants of the Retiring pattern (i.e., reserved and aloof types), characterized by low levels of sociability and companionability (Millon, 1994, p. 31), correspond to Oldham and Morris's (1995) *Solitary* style, Strack's (1997) *introversive* style, and Millon's (1994) *Retiring* pattern. Millon's Retiring pattern is negatively correlated with the five-factor model's *Extraversion* factor, positively correlated with its *Neuroticism* factor, has modest negative correlations with its *Openness to Experience* and *Agreeableness* factors, and is uncorrelated with its *Conscientiousness* factor (see Millon, 1994, p. 82).

According to Oldham and Morris (1995), these “solitary-style” individuals are self-contained people without a need for external guidance, admiration, or emotional sustenance. They feel no need to share their experiences and draw their greatest strength and comfort from within. According to Oldham and Morris (1995),

Solitary men and women need no one but themselves. They are unmoved by the madding crowd, liberated from the drive to impress and to please. Solitary people are remarkably free of the emotions and involvements that distract so many others. What they may give up in terms of sentiment and intimacy, however, they may gain in clarity of vision. (p. 275)

In the case of Mugabe, Oldham and Morris's description of the Solitary style should be applied with circumspection, considering its secondary role in his overall personality configuration. This caveat also applies to Millon's (1994) portrait of the Retiring pattern, which he summarizes as follows:

[Retiring individuals] evince few social or group interests. . . . Their needs to give and receive affection and to show feelings tend to be minimal. They are inclined to have few relationships and interpersonal involvements, and do not develop strong ties to other people. They may be seen by others as calm, placid, untroubled, easygoing, and possibly indifferent. Rarely expressing their inner feelings or thoughts to others, they seem most comfortable when left alone. They tend to work in a slow, quiet, and methodical manner, almost always remaining in the background in an undemanding and unobtrusive way. Comfortable working by themselves, they are not easily distracted or bothered by what goes on around them. Being somewhat deficient in the ability to recognize the needs or feelings of others, they may be seen as socially awkward, if not insensitive, as well as lacking in spontaneity and vitality. (p. 31)

Finally, Strack (1997) provides the following portrait of the normal (*introversive*) prototype of the Retiring pattern, aspects (e.g., social unresponsiveness) of which can be expected to modify Mugabe's primary Conscientious and Ambitious patterns:

Aloof, introverted, and solitary, these persons usually prefer distant or limited involvement with others and have little interest in social activities, which they find unrewarding. Appearing to others as complacent and untroubled, they are often judged to be easy-going, mild-mannered, quiet, and retiring. They frequently remain in the background of social life and work quietly and unobtrusively at a job. At school or in the workplace these people do well on their own, are typically dependable and reliable, are undemanding, and are seldom bothered by noise or commotion around them. They are often viewed as levelheaded and calm. However, these individuals may appear unaware of, or insensitive to, the feelings and thoughts of others. These characteristics are sometimes interpreted by others as signs of indifference or rejection, but reveal a sincere difficulty in being able to sense others' moods and needs. Introversive [Retiring] persons can be slow and methodical in demeanor, lack spontaneity and resonance, and be awkward or timid in social or group situations. They frequently view themselves as being simple and unsophisticated, and are usually modest in appraising their own skills and abilities. At the same time, their placid demeanor and ability to weather ups and downs without being ruffled are traits frequently prized by friends, family members, and co-workers. (From Strack, 1997, p. 488, with minor modifications)

Scale 9: The Distrusting Pattern

Finally, the secondary Scale 9 (Distrusting) elevation in Robert Mugabe's MIDC profile should be considered in examining his overall personality functioning. Mugabe's Scale 9 score is sufficiently elevated to suggest a dysfunctionally suspicious personality orientation, though falling slightly short of the criterion score for a fully emerged paranoid personality disorder. The Distrusting pattern, conceptually a decompensated, structurally defective extension of primarily the Dominant, Dauntless, Ambitious, and Conscientious patterns, has no normal variant. According to Millon (1996),

it is hard to conceive [of] normal paranoids. Although a number of these individuals restrain their markedly distorted beliefs and assumptions from public view, at no point does their fundamental paranoid inclination manifest itself in an acceptable, no less successful personality style. (p. 705)

The Distrusting pattern occurs on a continuum ranging from maladaptive to markedly disturbed. At the relatively adaptive pole are overly defensive, sullen, quarrelsome, highly suspicious personalities. In its most deeply ingrained, markedly disturbed form, the Distrusting pattern manifests itself in provocative, irascible, inviolable, paranoid behavior patterns that may be consistent with a clinical diagnosis of paranoid personality disorder.

Oldham and Morris (1995), with their *Vigilant* style, attempt to describe an adaptive version of this pattern:

Nothing escapes the notice of . . . [people who have a] Vigilant personality style. These individuals possess an exceptional awareness of their environment. . . . Their sensory antennae, continuously scanning the people and situations around them, alert them immediately to what is awry, out of place, dissonant, or dangerous, especially in their dealings with other people. Vigilant types have a special kind of hearing. They are immediately aware of mixed messages, the hidden motivations, the evasions, and the subtlest distortions of the truth that elude or delude less gifted observers. With such a focus, Vigilant individuals naturally assume the roles of social critic, watchdog, ombudsman, and crusader in their private or our public domain, ready to spring upon the improprieties — especially the abuses of power — that poison human affairs. (p. 157)

This style, essentially, is equivalent to the less maladaptive, *suspicious* variant of the MIDC's Distrusting pattern. In addition, the portion Oldham and Morris's (1995) description pertaining to hypervigilance ("scanning the people and situations around them") overlaps with the "insecure" variant of the MIDC's Reticent pattern — present in the case of Mugabe — whereas the reference to the crusader role in society incorporates aspects of the Conscientious and Dominant patterns — both of which feature prominently in Mugabe's profile.

Summary and Formulation: The Bureaucratic Compulsive

With his obsessive compulsiveness (Scale 6), considerable narcissism (Scale 2), substantial dominance (Scale 1A), austere, ascetic aloofness (Scale 8), and distinctly distrusting tendency (Scale 9), Robert Mugabe is a close match for Millon's (1996) *bureaucratic compulsive* syndrome, which is defined primarily by exaggerated or maladaptive levels of compulsiveness and narcissism (Millon, 1996, pp. 521–522; Millon & Davis, 2000, p. 179). Leaders with this composite character complex are noted for their officious, high-handed bearing, intrusive, meddlesome interpersonal conduct, unimaginative, meticulous, closed-minded cognitive style, grim, imperturbable mood, and scrupulous if grandiose sense of self.

A controlling, virtuous but moralistic upbringing with high expectations for perfection — as might arguably have been the case in the Jesuit mission school that helped shape the young Robert Mugabe's character — can in some instances breed adults who "displace anger and insecurity⁸ by seeking out some position of power that allows them to become a socially sanctioned superego for others," whose "swift judgment . . . conceals a sadistic and self-righteous joy" cloaked in the mantle of social virtue (Millon & Davis, 2000, p. 184).

⁸ When Robert Mugabe was about 10 years of age, his father abandoned the family to seek work in the urban area of Bulawayo, and later in the South African mines. Note, however, that paternal absence is a relatively common childhood experience in southern Africa, with its migrant labor system.

The bureaucratic compulsive character complex is rooted in the highly conscientious personality's deep ambivalence between obedience and defiance, modulated by the ambitious, narcissistic personality's overinflated ego. It is strongly characterized by the regulatory mechanism of sadistic *displacement* of hostile impulses. Parental (or surrogate) overcontrol in early childhood, combined with substantial overvaluation or -indulgence (stemming, for example, from only child status or "teacher's pet" treatment, which engenders a sense of entitlement) is hypothesized to be the critical early influences in the formation of mixed compulsive–narcissistic character structures.

To compensate for their internal ambivalence, bureaucratic compulsives "fuse their identity with the system as a means of achieving place, purpose, and protection" (Millon & Davis, 2000, p. 179). In the case of Robert Mugabe, the formalized external structures of the party and the state become the embodiment of the self. Thus, to relinquish control is to obliterate the self. Political opponents are to their personal psychology what invasive organisms are to the body's immune system — and the self-protective response equally swift and ruthless.

Millon and Davis (2000) summarize describe the bureaucratic compulsive personality syndrome as follows:

Bureaucratic compulsives ally themselves with traditional values and established authorities. They flourish in organizational settings, feeling comforted, strengthened, and empowered by clearly defined superior and subordinate relationships, definite roles, and known expectations and responsibilities. Once established, they function loyally and dependably. In effect, these individuals use highly developed and formalized external structures to compensate for the internal sense of ambivalence and indecisiveness that plague the average compulsive pattern. Many fuse their identity with the system as a means of achieving place, purpose, and protection. Their superiors know them as trustworthy, diligent, and faithfully committed to the goals and values of the institution, which fortifies their self-esteem and gives them a direction. Be it church, police, union, university, or business, without the organization most would feel lost or aimless in life. Punctual and meticulous, they adhere to the work ethic like worker ants in a colony, appraising their own and others' tasks with black-and-white efficiency, as done or not done.

Like the conscientious compulsive [Conscientious–Accommodating subtype], the bureaucratic subtype shades gently into normality. However, bureaucratic compulsives run the spectrum from nearly normal to completely sadistic. At a moderately disordered level, their rigid adherence to policies and rules makes them seem officious, high-handed, close-minded, and petty. At a severely disordered level, they may use their knowledge of the rules, effectiveness with red tape, and ingratiating attitude with superiors to terrorize subordinates or anyone else that crosses their path without paying them the proper dues and respect. (p. 179)

Political Implications

In the broader context of developing a more comprehensive understanding of the foundation of political leadership orientation in underlying personality dynamics, there may be some merit in exploring the nexus of Robert Mugabe's style and classic models of personality in politics.

Dean Keith Simonton (1988) has proposed five empirically derived presidential styles (charismatic, interpersonal, deliberative, neurotic, and creative). Given the fidelity with which they mirror the currently popular five-factor model, whose correlates with Millon's personality patterns have been empirically established (Millon, 1994, p. 82), Simonton's stylistic dimensions

may have considerable heuristic value for establishing links between personality and political leadership. Similarly, Lloyd Etheredge (1978) and Margaret Hermann (1987) have developed personality-based models of foreign policy leadership orientation that can be employed rationally and intuitively to enhance and complement the predictive utility of Millon's model with respect to leadership performance in the arena of international affairs.

From Simonton's perspective, Mugabe's highly elevated score on the MIDC's Conscientious scale, with concurrent Dominant and Contentious scale elevations, strongly suggests a *deliberative* executive leadership style. According to Simonton (1988), the deliberative leader

commonly "understands implications of his decisions; exhibits depth of comprehension" . . . , is "able to visualize alternatives and weigh long term consequences" . . . , "keeps himself thoroughly informed; reads briefings, background reports" . . . , is "cautious, conservative in action" . . . , and only infrequently "indulges in emotional outbursts." (p. 931)

The profile of the highly conscientious (Scale 6), distinctly dominant (Scale 1A), introverted (Scale 8) Mugabe is reminiscent of the *high-dominance introvert* in Etheredge's (1978) fourfold typology of personality-based foreign-policy role orientation and operating style, which he developed with reference to U.S. presidents and secretaries of state. According to Etheredge, high-dominance introverts in high-level leadership positions (e.g., Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Herbert Hoover) are quite willing to use military force to achieve their objectives, tending

to divide the world, in their thought, between the moral values they think it ought to exhibit and the forces opposed to this vision. They tend to have a strong, almost Manichean, moral component to their views. They tend to be described as stubborn and tenacious. They seek to reshape the world in accordance with their personal vision, and their foreign policies are often characterized by the tenaciousness with which they advance one central idea. (p. 449)

Although Etheredge's model does not specifically address domestic policy, it is a fair assumption that President Mugabe, as a high-dominance introvert, predictably would seek to reshape the newly liberated Zimbabwe in accordance with his personal vision, and that his policies would be characterized by the tenacity with which he advanced one central idea (e.g., land reform).

Etheredge's high-dominance introvert shares some aspects of Hermann's (1987) *expansionist* orientation to foreign affairs. These leaders have a view of the world as being "divided into 'us' and 'them,'" based on a belief system in which conflict is viewed as inherent in the international system. Expansionist leaders "are not averse to using the 'enemy' as a scapegoat" and their rhetoric often may be "hostile in tone" (pp. 168–169).

In a major study of sub-Saharan African leaders, Hermann (1987) indeed classified Mr. Mugabe as having been expansionist during the 1975–1979 pre-independence period, based on content analysis of his responses to reporters' questions as published in the media; however, interview responses sampled during the 1980–1982 post-independence period were not sufficiently distinctive to permit classification into a particular role orientation (p. 191).

In summary, dominant, introverted, highly conscientious leaders are task-oriented but relatively inflexible. Their characteristic response to political problems is to overlook the human dimension while invoking moral — often moralistic — principles and impersonal mechanisms (e.g., constitutional changes or use of force) to impose a solution, potentially with destructive or self-defeating consequences.

Conclusion

If Mr. Mugabe was unaccommodating, dogmatic, and inflexible before his reelection as president in 2002, he is likely to become increasingly so in his present term in office. That much is practically guaranteed by a combination of deeply ingrained compulsive and controlling features in his underlying personality pattern. Furthermore, to the extent that his conduct of late has been marked by a strong dose of suspiciousness, his leadership style is likely to become increasingly colored by a paranoid tendency. More so than other personality patterns, compulsive, controlling, and narcissistic patterns are vulnerable to paranoid decompensation under prolonged situational stress, resulting in a siege mentality and increasingly destructive, self-defeating, erratic behaviors. Moreover, this trend can be exacerbated by advancing age, when underlying personality patterns are most likely to rigidify. Of particular concern in this regard is an increasing risk for the onset of organic brain syndromes, which may further impair an aging leader's judgment, decision-making ability, and capacity to govern.

Drawing from Blaney's (1999) catalogue of traits associated with paranoid conditions, President Mugabe is likely to become increasingly mistrustful, suspicious, and vigilant; thin-skinned (hypersensitive to perceived slights and easily enraged by narcissistic injury); vengeful (determined to "balance the books" with respect to what he perceives as past wrongs); dichotomous ("us versus them" social perception); self-contained (impervious to corrective action in response to advice and new information); self-righteous (arrogant and acting with a sense of entitlement); and self-justifying (viewing his own transgressions either as a defensive necessity or as "payback" for the malevolence or wrongs of others).

In the face of personal failure or public humiliation — and it is increasingly evident that post-independence Zimbabwe is being run to ruin — narcissistic-spectrum personalities initially try to screen out criticism by rationalizing their difficulties and devising plausible "proofs" to salvage their deflated egos. Under siege, however, they grow increasingly irritable and angry, turning ever more defiant, hostile, and contemptuous of their detractors. Increasingly alienated, they become insular and unreceptive, unattractive and embarrassing characters — touchy and inflated, shunned and avoided caricatures of their former self (Millon, 1996, p. 413).

Ironically, an unintended consequence for Mr. Mugabe's reelection in 2002 could be the final unraveling of his legacy as a hero in Africa's struggle for liberation from colonialism and white domination.

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